

# Moving into Islands

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interfaces

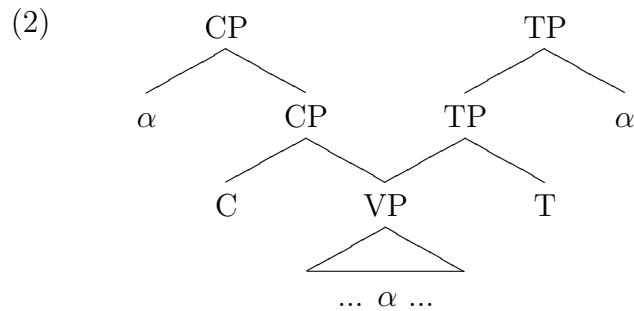
## 1 Introduction

## 2 The basic idea

Proposal:

- (1)
  - a. The clause is partitioned into three domains corresponding to VP, TP, CP. However, it is denied that TP is the intermediate projection of VP and CP the final projection. Rather both CP and TP are final projections on their own. This means CP does not dominate TP, but both dominate VP.
  - b. Different syntactic objects (SO) can move into [Spec,CP] and [Spec,TP].
  - c. The positions correlate with the two types of phrasal movement:
    - (i) [Spec,TP] is the position for A-movement,
    - (ii) [Spec,CP] is the position for A'-movement.
  - d. A- and A'-movement are triggered for different reasons:
    - (i) A-movement is triggered to create unambiguous labels,
    - (ii) A'-movement is triggered for interpretive reasons at LF.

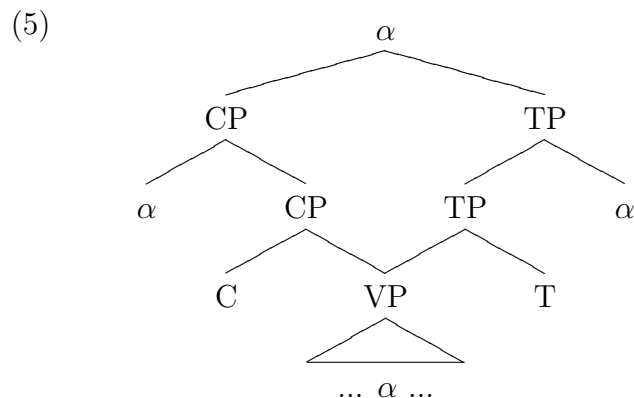
In essence the proposal amounts to the following tree structure:



- (3) *Nature of the tree:*
- a. Both the CP and the TP-branch constitute cycles of their own.
  - b. Both the CP-branch and the TP-branch constitute an island for applications of operations from the respective other cycle.

Obvious questions abound:

- (4)
- a. Do the branches have a dominating mother node as in (5), i.e. is the clausal structure essentially a coordination?
  - b. How do structures such as (3) become interpreted at the semantic interface?
  - c. How do structures such as (3) become linearized at the phonological interface?



Assuming that there is a shared mother node means that CP and TP are basically conjuncts of a coordinate structure. It depends to be determined, what the mother nodes of TP and CP actually is.

### 3 Two kinds of movement

We follow traditional assumptions that movement to [Spec,TP] is different from movement to [Spec,CP]:

- (6) a. Movement to [Spec,TP] is driven to avoid symmetrical structures, so that unambiguous probe-goal relations can be established (Moro, 2006), (Mayr, 2007).
- b. Movement to [Spec,CP] is driven by interpretive needs.

French *Stylistic Inversion* (SI), *wh*-questions with postverbal subjects, is only possible if the direct object (DO) moves out of VP (Kayne and Pollock, 1978), (Déprez, 1988) and others. In (Mayr, 2007) it is argued that the subject never moves in SI, it stays in [Spec,VP]. I.e. there is the following restriction:

- (7) *Direct argument restriction:*  
Only one direct argument can remain in the verbal domain (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 2001).
- (8) a. \*A qui a donné ce livre Jean?  
to whom has given that book Jean
- b. \*Ou enverra votre frère le paquet?  
where will send your brother the package  
(Déprez, 1988)
- c. A qui l'a montré Jean-Jacques?  
to whom it has shown Jean-Jacques  
(Kayne and Pollock, 2005)
- d. Qu'a montré Jean-Jacques?  
what has shown Jean-Jacques

Indirect object PPs can remain in VP:

- (9) a. Que dira ton frère a Jean?  
what tell-FUT your brother to John  
'What will your brother tell John?'
- b. ??Que dira a Jean ton frère?  
what tell-FUT to John your friend  
(Déprez, 1988)

Covert movement does not satisfy restriction (7):

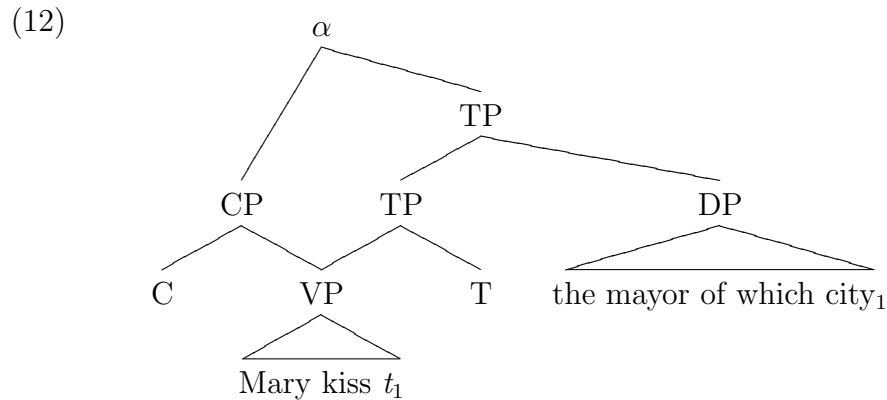
- (10) a. \*A donnée Sophie tous les livres à Etienne.  
           has given Sophie all the books to Etienne  
       b. \*A donné un homme chaque cadeau á Sophie.  
           has given one man each present to Sophie  
       c. \*Admira un homme chacune chanteuse.  
           admired one man each singer-FEM

## 4 Some phenomena and the question of a shared mother node

### 4.1 Subject islands

This entails that the following violation of the subject island is due to the fact that C cannot probe anything within TP, if probe-goal relations are defined over c-command:

- (11) \*[Of which city]<sub>1</sub> did the [mayor *t*<sub>1</sub>] kiss Mary



Long-distance extraction from subject islands is bad, because they violate the CSC:

- (13) a. \*Of which city did John say the mayor kissed Mary?  
       b. [PP of which city]<sub>1</sub> did John say [<sub>α</sub> [CP C] [DP the mayor *t*<sub>1</sub> T]] [VP *t*<sub>1</sub> kissed Mary]]

A question arises wrt. examples, where a *wh*-subject moves to [Spec,CP] independently and a *wh*-PP is long-distance extracted:

- (14) a. Of which book did John say which author had been fired?  
       b. [PP of which book]<sub>1</sub> did John say [<sub>α</sub> [CP [DP which author *t*<sub>1</sub>] had] [TP

[<sub>DP</sub> which author  $t_1$  T]] [<sub>VP</sub>  $t_1$  had been fired]]

(14) shows that that matrix C can ATB-extract a PP embedded in a DP, if that DP is moved to both the embedded [<sub>Spec</sub>,TP] and [<sub>Spec</sub>,CP] first. This gives indirect support to a coordination analysis. Especially since the following, where no movement of the subject to the embedded [<sub>Spec</sub>,CP] takes place is ungrammatical:

(15) \*Of which book did John say an author had been fired?

(16) \*Of which book was the author fired?

## 4.2 Resumptive strategies

(Borer, 1984, 249f) shows that an object resumptive pronoun can appear either in-situ or fronted to any higher topic or topic-like position in CP (17), but a subject resumptive pronoun can only remain in situ (18):

- (17)
- a. kaniti et ha-šulxan še xana amra še dalya  
(I) bought-ACC the-table that Hannah said that Dalya believes  
ma'amina še Kobi raca oto.  
that Kobi wanted him  
'I bought the table that Hannah said that Dalya believes that Kobi  
wanted.'
  - b. kaniti et ha-šulxan še Xana amra še  
(I) bought-ACC the-table that Hannah said that Dalya  
dalya ma'amina še oto Kobi raca e.  
believes that him Kobi wanted
  - c. kaniti et ha-šulxan še xana amra še oto  
(I) bought-ACC the-table that Hannah said that him Dalya  
dalya ma'amina še kobi raca e.  
believes that Kobi wanted
  - d. kaniti et ha-šulxan še oto xana amra še  
(I) bought-ACC the-table that him Hannah said that Dalya  
dalya ma'amina še Kobi raca e.  
believes that Kobi wanted  
'I bought the table that Hannah said that Dalya believes that Kobi  
wanted.'

- (18) a. kaniti et ha-šulxan še xana amra še dalya  
 (I) bought-ACC the-table that Hannah said that Dalya claimed  
 ta'ana še hu ya'ale harbe kesef.  
 that he will cost alot money
- b. \*kaniti et ha-šulxan še xana amra še hu  
 (I) bought-ACC the-table that Hannah said that he Dalya  
 dalya ta'ana še e ya'ale harbe kesef.  
 claimed that will cost a lot money
- c. \*kaniti et ha-šulxan še hu xana amra še  
 (I) bought-ACC the-table that he Hannah said that Dalya  
 dalya ta'ana še e ya'ale harbe kesef.  
 claimed that will cost a lot money  
 'I bought the table that Hannah said that Dalya claimed that will cost  
 a lot of money.'

Relativization of the subject (without a resumptive) is possible:

- (19) kaniti et ha-šulxan še xana amra še dalya  
 (I) bought-ACC the-table that Hannah said that Dalya claimed  
 ta'ana še yaale harbe kesef.  
 that will cost alot money  
 'I bought the table that Hannah said that Dalya claimed that will cost a lot  
 of money.'

The contrast in resumptive pronoun behavior can be argued to indicate that subject resumptive pronouns occupy a different position than that of full DP subjects. Rizzi and Shlonsky (2005) argue that Hebrew resumptives are weak pronouns, that is they are forced to raise out of the VP. Evidence for this comes from the fact that weak subject pronouns are possible in postverbal position in Hebrew, as in (21-b), they may not remain below adverbs such as “usually” in a post verbal or inverted position, as in (21-a), whereas full DPs in do not exhibit such restrictions (20):

- (20) a. matai yocet be-derex klal Rina la-sadot?  
 when goes out usually Rina to-the fields
- b. matai yocet Rina be-derex klal la-sadot?  
 when goes out Rina usually to-the fields  
 'When does Rina usually go out to the fields?'
- (21) a. matai yocet be-derex klal hi la-sadot?  
 when goes out usually she to-the fields

- b. matai yocet hi be-derex klal la-sadot?  
 when goes out she usually to-the fields  
 'When does she usually go out to the fields?'

## 5 Linearization

Linearization of CP and TP wrt. each other is straight forward. Following Kayne (1994):

- (22) If non-terminal A linearly precedes non-terminal B, every terminal  $\alpha$  dominated by A must precede every terminal  $\beta$  dominated by B.

## 6 Interpretation

## References

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