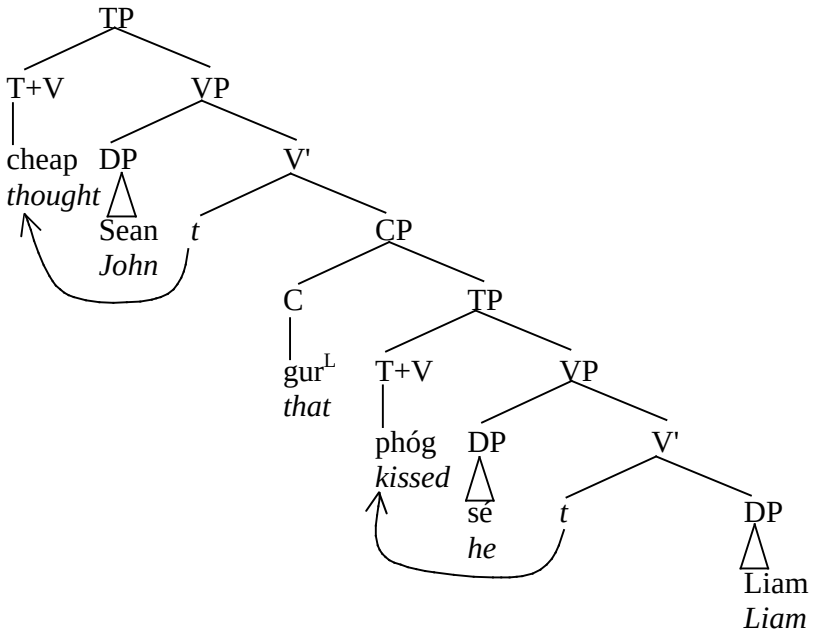
0 Irish trees: complementizer agreement with wh-dependencies

go^{N}/*gur*^{L}	"that" when there's no question word
a^{L}/*ar*^{L}	"that" when there is a question word
a^{L}/*ar*^{N}	"that" when there is a question word with a pronoun in the place of a trace

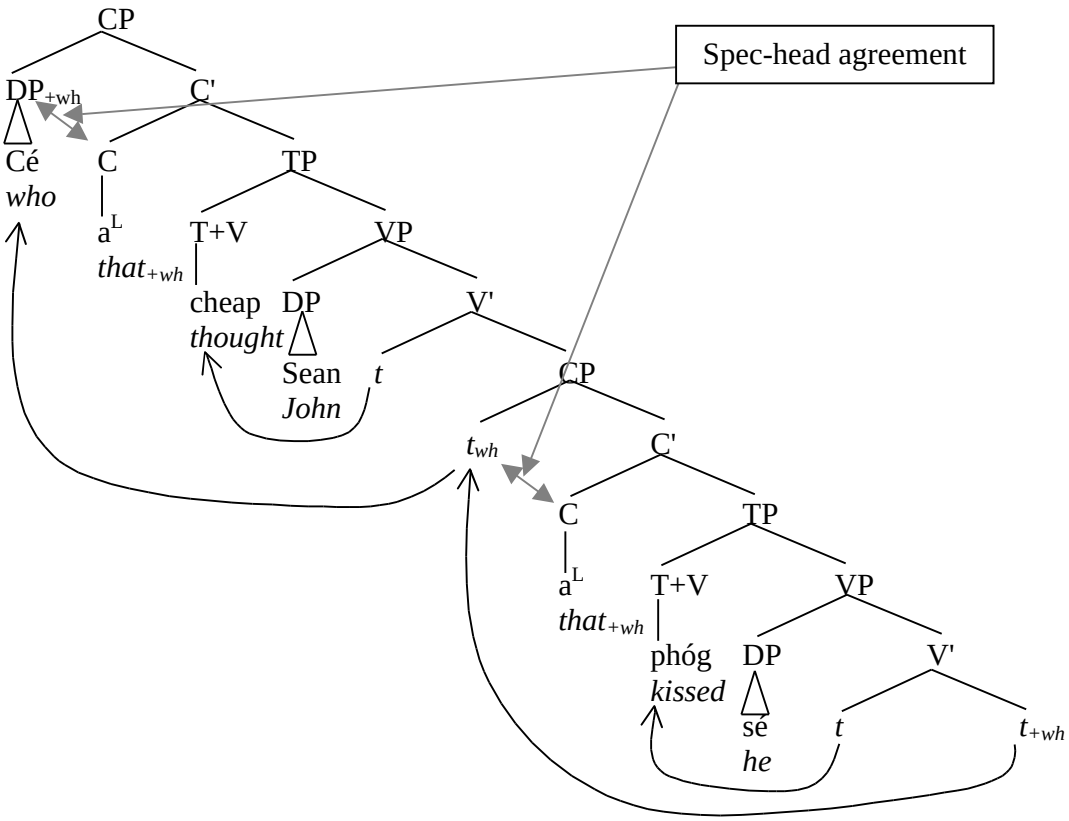
1.



"John thought that he kissed Liam"

→ remember, Irish has V-to-T movement, plus the subject stays lower than T
→ of course, from our reading of McCloskey, we know that the subject actually moves to an AgrSP between VP and TP, but I haven't shown that, since in these cases it's string-vacuous.

2.



"Who did Sean think that he kissed?"

1 What we've got:

3. A typology of wh extraction:

a) good out of an arbitrary number of embedded declarative clauses

b) bad extractions::

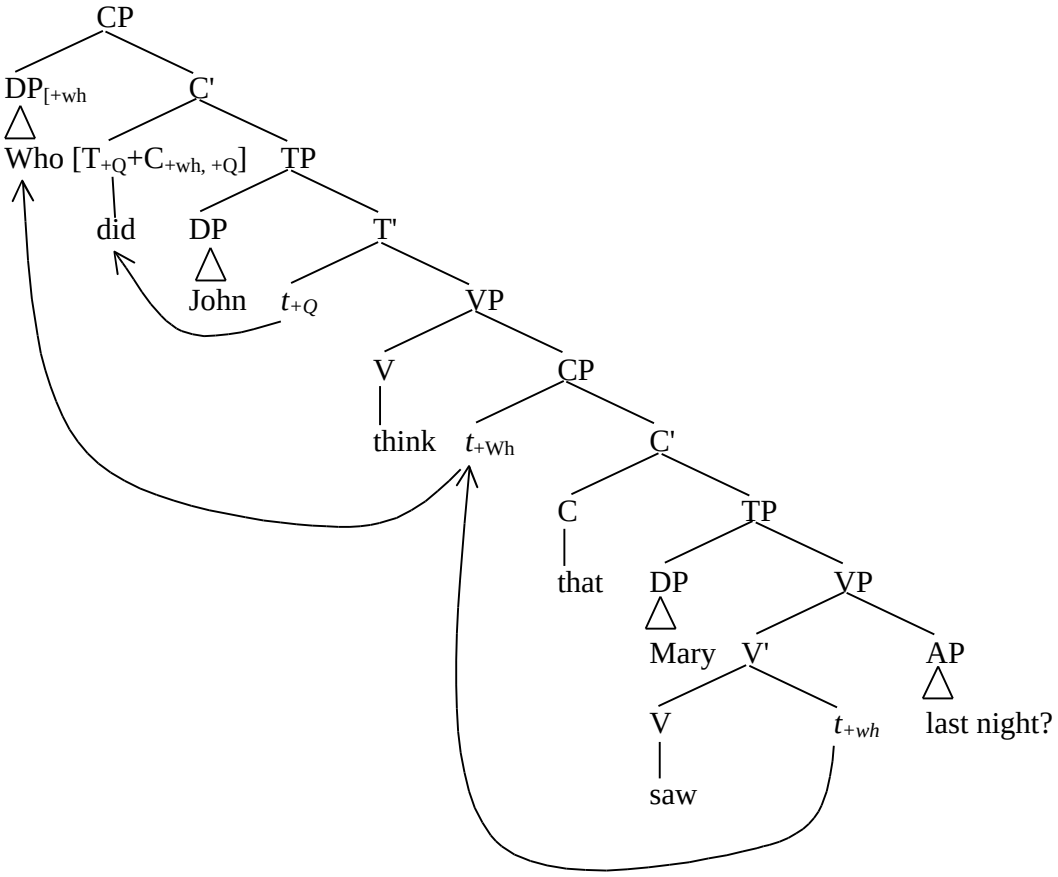
i)	- *out of a clause embedded in a DP*	CNPC
ii)	- *out of a any phrase in subject position*	Subject Condition
iii)	- *a 'left branch'* (phrase in spec-DP)	Left Branch Condition
iv)	- *out of one half of a coordinated phrase*	CSC
v)	- *out of a "wh-island"*	Wh-island constraint

c) plus they're all *much* worse when we look at extracting an adjunct rather than an object.

d) we can be pretty confident that the unbounded dependencies involve successive-cyclic movement through the Spec-CP of each intermediate clause (cf. Irish agreement)

2 Old-style account of argument extraction: Subjacency

4. Wh-movement is successive-cyclic (i.e. through Spec-CPs)
(Note: I haven't shown the movement of the subject from its theta-position in Spec-VP)



What's going wrong in each of the above cases? *Hypothesis: the movement is trying to go 'too far' in one jump.*
→ "One jump" can cross just one "bounding node" or "blocking category"
→ In a sense, traces are subject to a kind of binding condition: their antecedents must be close enough to them for them to be interpreted

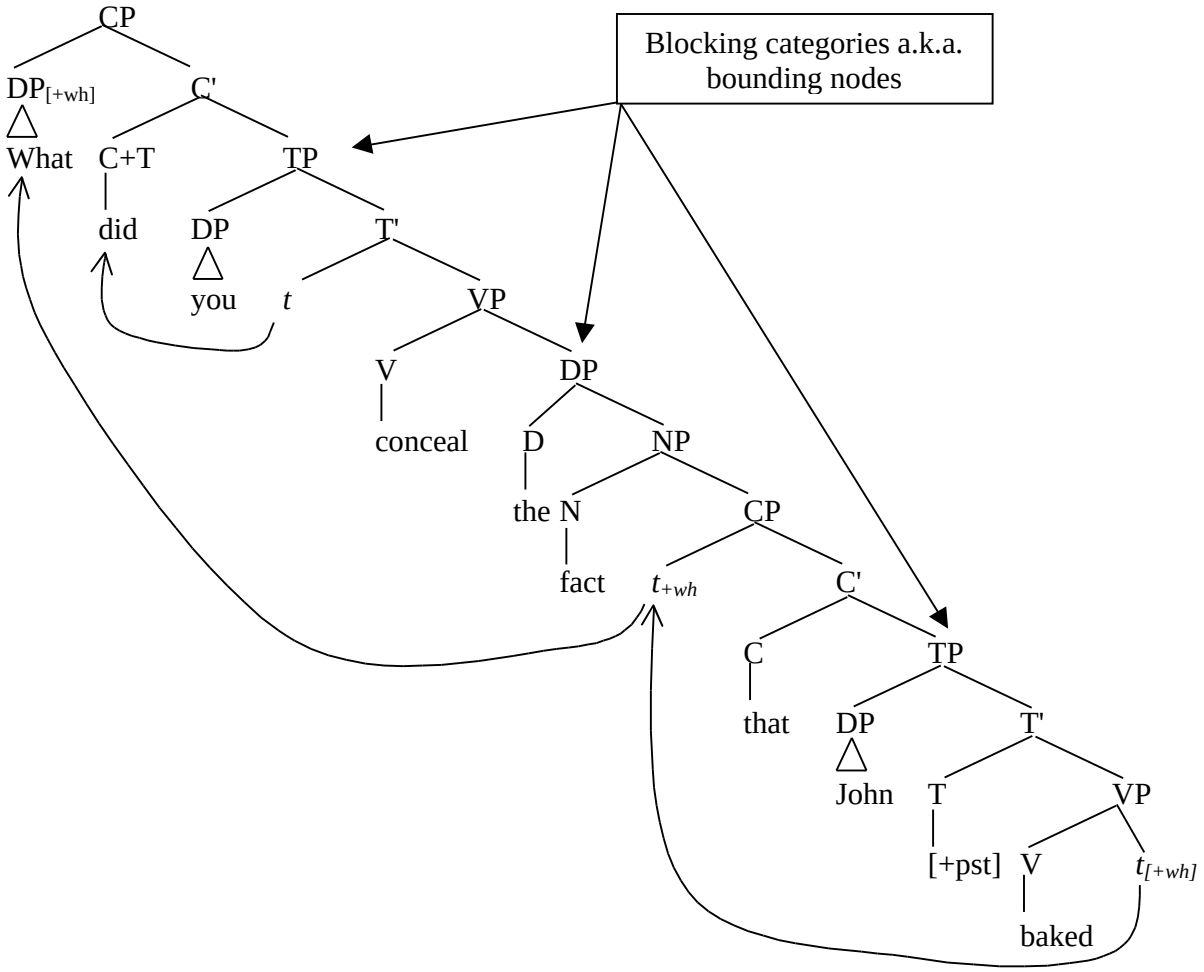
Subjacency:

In a structure like the following:
[α … [XP …[YP …. β …] …] …]
where XP and YP are blocking categories, α and β may not be related by movement (i.e. β may not be the trace of α).

→ Blocking categories = TP and DP

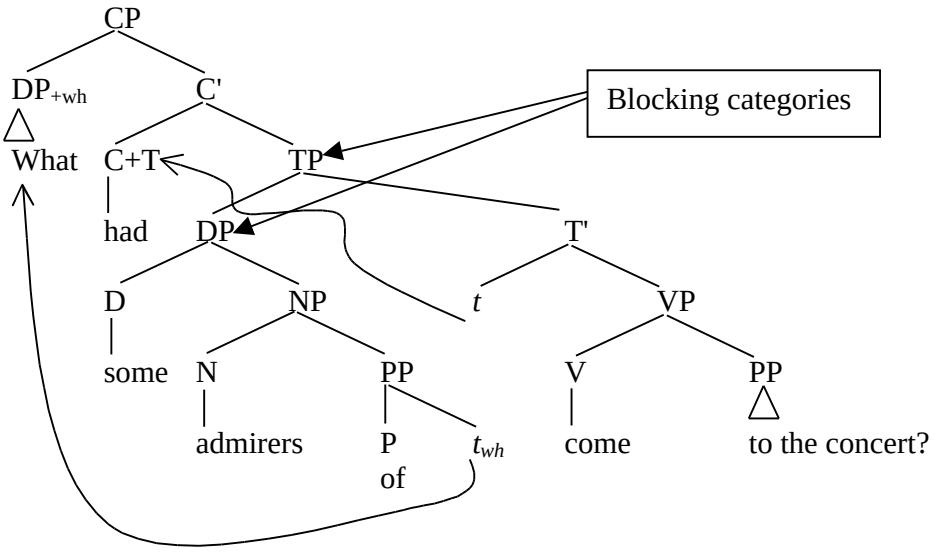
5. CNPC:

You concealed the fact that John baked <u>a cake</u>



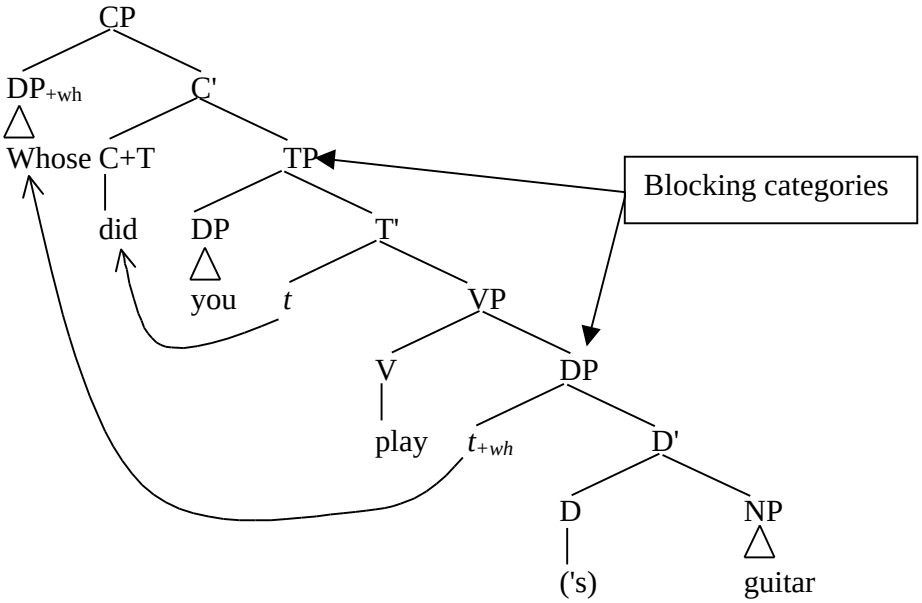
6. Subject condition:

Some admirers of <u>classical music</u> had come to the concert.



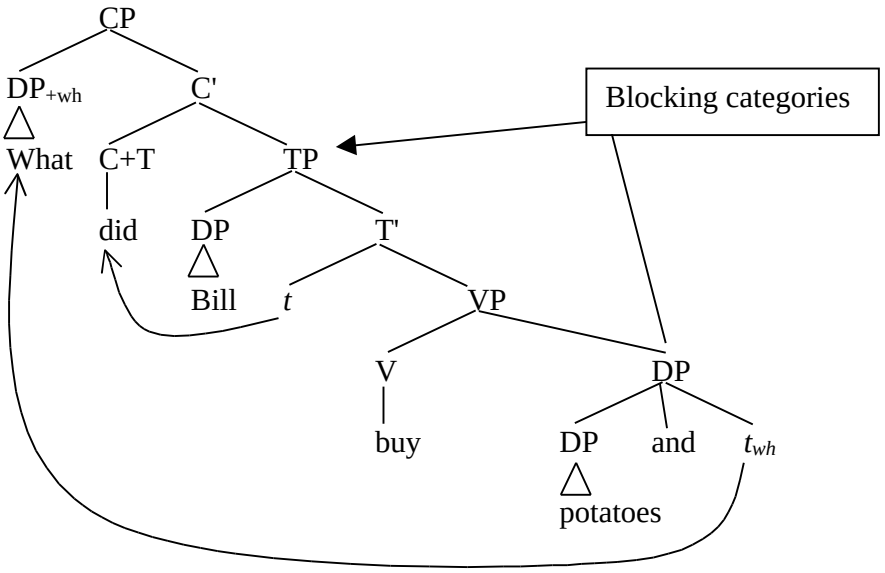
7. Left Branch Condition

I played John's guitar



8. Maybe even takes care of the CSC:

Bill bought potatoes and leeks



But what about *Bill bought potatoes and cooked leeks?* Here the coordinated category is VP, not DP. VP is *not* a bounding category, so shouldn't *What did Bill buy and cook leeks?* be good? But it ain't…

Possible hypothesis: what if all coordinations are secretly TP coordinations? I.e. *Bill bought potatoes and cooked leeks* is really *Bill bought potatoes and Bill cooked leeks.*

Bill bought potatoes and leeks is really *Bill bought potatoes and Bill bought leeks*. This is called "conjunction reduction", and since TP is a bounding category, all instances of conjunction would then be subject to subjacency.

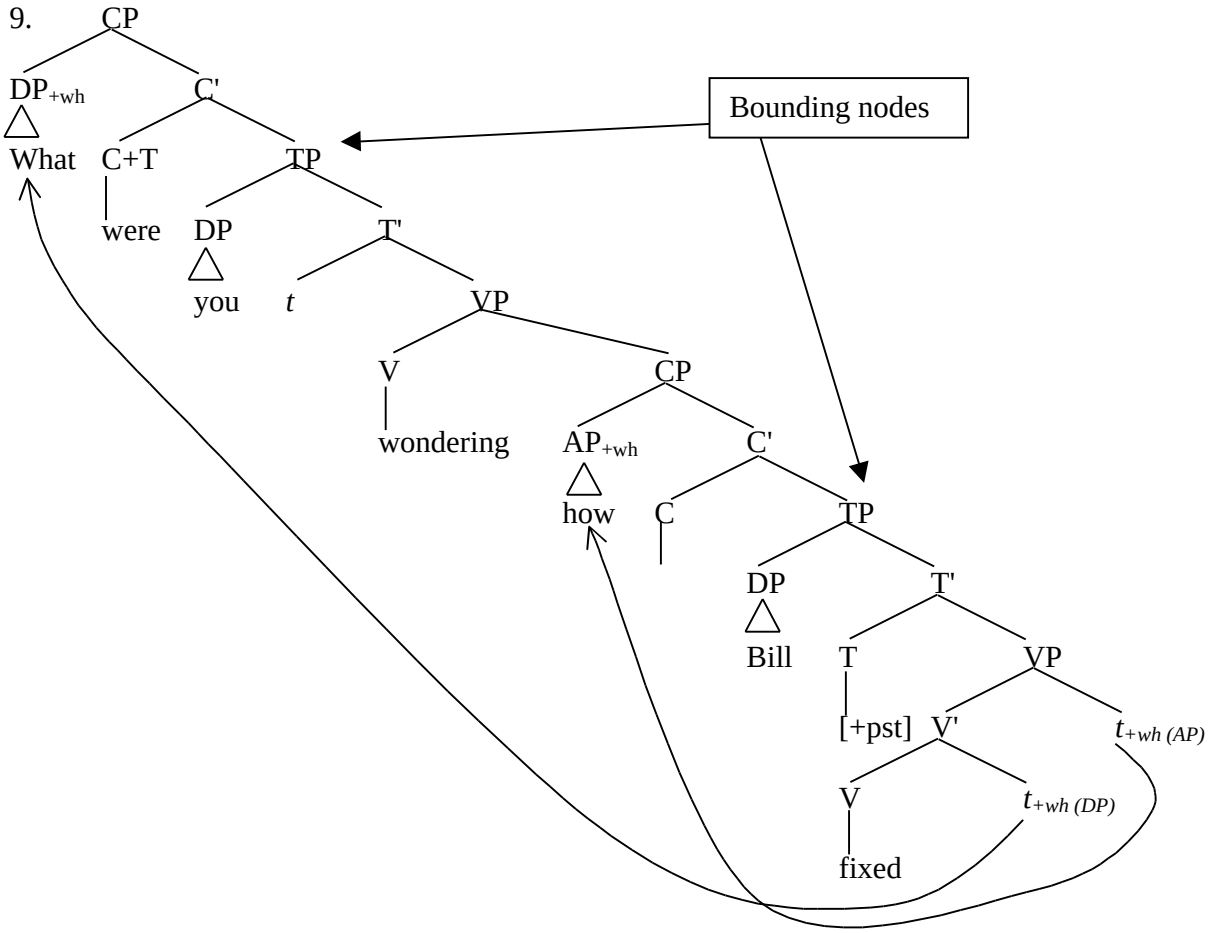
Problem: this wouldn't explain why extraction out of *both* halves of a conjoined VPs is ok: *What did Bill buy and cook*? Or maybe it would: then we could imagine that both of the TP halves of the conjunction were really CPs. The wh-phrase would stop in spec-CP on the way up in both cases. If a CP has to have a special feature in order for a wh-phrase to stop in its spec, then two +wh CPs would be 'like categories', hence conjoinable. Trying to extract from just one half, then, would mean that you were covertly trying to conjoin unlike categories (a +wh and a -wh CP), which we independently know to be ill formed.

What about the wh-island cases?

I was wondering how Bill fixed the car.
??What were you wondering how Bill fixed?

→ Crucial idea: *there's only one Spec-CP*. Embedded questions have an already-filled Spec-CP. Hence the *wh*-phrase can't land there on the way up — it has to get to the matrix clause in 'one jump'. That jump will skip two bounding nodes, and hence violate Subjacency

9.



2 Extracting *subjects* from clauses in the various places where a clause is possible:

a) out of embedded declarative clauses:
I think that Bill said Mary bought the cake.
Who do you think that Bill said bought the cake?

b) out of a clause embedded in a DP:
I concealed [the fact [that John baked a cake]
*Who did you conceal the fact that baked a cake?
I saw [the man [that Bill liked]
*Who did you see the man that liked? (on the *subject* extraction reading)

c) out of a phrase in subject position:
That *the police* would arrest several rioters was a certainty
*Who was that would arrest several rioters a certainty?

d) out of an embedded wh-clause
I wondered how John had baked that cake
*Who did you wonder how had baked that cake?

Next time:

→ the ECP and argument/adjunct asymmetries
→ A Minimalist account of all these
→ a homework