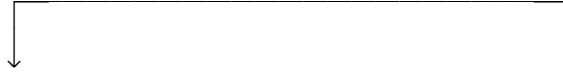


Topics in the syntax-phonology interface: day 3

Object Shift



- (1) það lásu [þessar bækur] aldrei [neinir stúdentar] í fyrra ____ [Jonas 1996:37]
it read these books never any students last-year
'No students read these books last year'

- why doesn't the object block Agree between T and the subject?

answer: DISL of object, plus:

Locality is not computed until the end of the phase.

Icelandic participle agreement

- (2) það virðast hafa verið veiddir nokkrir fiskar
it seem have been caught-M.NOM.PL some fish-M.NOM.PL
'There seem to have been caught [some fish]'
- (3) Við töldum hafa verið veidda nokkra fiska
we believe have been caught-M.ACC.PL some fish-M.ACC.PL
'We believe there to have been caught [some fish]'

• How does the participle manage to agree in Case with *some fish*, even though this Case doesn't get valued until the main clause is built?

answer:

Features are not erased until the end of the phase.

(6)

- a. John-ga [Mary-ga eego-ga yoku dekiru to] omoikondeita
John NOM Mary NOM English NOM well can that believed-falsely
'John believed (falsely) that Mary can speak English well'
- b. John-ga [Mary-o eego-ga yoku dekiru to] omoikondeita
John NOM Mary ACC English NOM well can that believed-falsely
- c. *John-ga [Mary-ga eego-o yoku dekiru to] omoikondeita
John NOM Mary NOM English ACC well can that believed-falsely
- d. # John-ga [Mary-o eego-o yoku dekiru to] omoikondeita
John NOM Mary ACC English ACC well can that believed-falsely

overt movement is demonstrably not forced by ECM in Japanese (Hiraiwa 2001c):

(7)

- a. Taro-ga *orokanimo* [Hanako-o baka da to] omotta
Taro NOM stupidly Hanako ACC fool is that thought
- b. Taro-ga Hanako-o *orokanimo* [baka da to] omotta
Taro NOM Hanako ACC stupidly fool is that thought
'Taro stupidly thought that Hanako was a fool'
- c. Taro-ga *orokanimo* [dare-o baka da to mo] omowanakatta
Taro NOM stupidly who ACC fool is that MO didn't-think
'Taro didn't think stupidly that anyone was a fool'
- d. * Taro-ga dare-o *orokanimo* [baka da to mo] omowanakatta
Taro NOM who ACC stupidly fool is that MO didn't-think
- e. Taro-ga dare-o *orokanimo* [baka da to] omoi mo sinakatta
Taro NOM who ACC stupidly fool is that think MO didn't-do

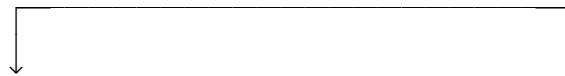
--> v of the main clause can check Case on two DPs in the embedded clause ((7d))
why doesn't the higher one induce a Defective Intervention Constraint?

same argument from Raising to Subject:

- (8) a. John-ga [mada Mary-ga kodomo-ni amaku] kanjita
 John NOM still Mary NOM children DAT lenient felt
 ‘Mary seems to John to be still lenient to children’
- b. John-ga [Mary -o/*ga kodomo-ni] omotta
 John NOM Mary ACC/NOM child DAT thought
- c. John-ga [yosooijooni nihonjin-ga eego-ga hidoku] kanjita
 John NOM than-expected Japanese NOM English NOM bad felt
 ‘It seemed to John that the Japanese are worse at speaking English
 than he had expected’

Hiraiwa (2001c): Multiple Agree: when a single Probe has multiple Goals, the Goals don’t interfere with each other.

and once we have this, we may not need phase-level evaluation of locality:



- (9) það lásu [þessar bækur] aldrei [neinir stúdentar] í fyrra ____ [Jonas 1996:37]
 it read these books never any students last-year
 ‘No students read these books last year’

(though what about the English case?)

reminiscent of “Subjacency Tax” and related phenomena:

(10) *English*

- a. ***Which book** did the senator deny
 the rumor that he wanted to ban ____ ?
- b. **Which senator** ____ denied
 the rumor that he wanted to ban *War and Peace*?
- c. **Which senator** ____ denied
 the rumor that he wanted to ban **which book** ?

(11) *Japanese* (Watanabe 1992)

a. *Taroo -wa Hanako -ga nani -o katta ka dooka tazuneta no
 Taroo TOP Hanako NOM what ACC bought whether asked Q
 'What did Taroo ask [whether Hanako bought]?'

b. Taroo-wa Hanako -ga kuruma-o katta ka dooka
 Taroo TOP Hanako NOM car ACC bought whether
 _____dare -ni tazuneta no?
 who DAT asked Q
 'Who did Taroo ask [whether Hanako bought a car]?'

c. Taroo-wa Hanako -ga nani -o katta ka dooka
 Taroo TOP Hanako NOM what ACC bought whether
 _____dare -ni tazuneta no?
 who DAT asked Q
 'Who did Taroo ask whether Hanako bought what?'

(12) *Bulgarian* (Roumyana Izvorski, Ani Petkova, Roumyana Slabakova, p.c.)

a. ***Koja kniga** otrece senatora*t
 which book denied the-senator
malva*ta ce iska da zabrani _____
 the-rumor that wanted to ban
 'Which book did the senator deny
 [the rumor that he wanted to ban t]?'

b. **Koj senator** _____ otrece
 which senator denied
malva*ta ce iska da zabrani Vojna i Mir
 the-rumor that wanted to ban war and peace
 'Which senator denied
 the rumor that he wanted to ban *War and Peace*?'

c. **Koj senator** **koja kniga** _____ otrece
 which senator which book denied
malva*ta ce iska da zabrani _____
 the-rumor that wanted to ban
 'Which senator denied the rumor that he wanted to ban which book?'

- possible conclusion: there's something special about a Probe with multiple Goals

"Believe in the principle of MINIMAL COMPLIANCE. It protects us all."

--http://www.hsncincy.com/challenges/norwood_073101.html

one last note on Icelandic

(13) Mér virðist/ *virðast Jóni líka hesternir
me-DAT seem-3sg seem-3pl Jon-DAT like horses-NOM.PL

- Chomsky 2000: Defective Intervention Constraint
- Hiraiwa 2001c: Multiple Agree. Matrix T agrees with all the DPs in the sentence, Agrees with the closest one (badly)

(14) [Að líka slíkir bílar] er mikið happ [Harley 1995, 149]
to like such cars-NOM is great luck

Feature deletion at the end of a phase

Pesetsky and Torrego (2001)

C has a uT-feature that is checked either by T-to-C (#a)
or by movement of Spec TP's occupant (#b):

(15) a. Mary thinks [_{CP} that [Sue will buy the book]]



b. Mary thinks [_{CP} Sue [__ will buy the book]]



General principles of one-stop-shopping prevent the option in (15a) when there's some independent reason to do (15b):

(16) a. Who (*did) leave?
b. Who do you think [(that) __ left]?

question #1: what is [T] doing on *Sue* in (15b)?

answer: uT is nominative Case (Relativized Extreme Functionalism)

question #2: see question #1. Didn't nominative Case (uT) get checked off in Spec TP?

answer: no, because features do not delete until the end of the phase.

...and sometimes beyond:

- (17) a. [That Sue will buy the book] was expected by everyone
b. * [Sue will buy the book] was expected by everyone

-->features on matrix T can only get checked by T, not by uT

[*that* involves T-to-C, and T has T]

[*Sue* is Spec TP-to-C, and *Sue* has uT]

(18) [Which book Mary read yesterday] is not known

(19) A feature marked for deletion must disappear at the end of the CP cycle if it has the EPP property. Otherwise it may delete at the end of the derivation.

[declarative embedded C has uT with the EPP property]

[interrogative embedded C doesn't]

And now for something completely different: Distinctness

I. Introduction: Bans on Overcrowding

There seem to be a number of phenomena involving bans on **things of the same type** that are **too close together** (where both of these have to be defined): "Syntactic OCP"

(lots of literature; cf. George (1980), Kornfilt (1984), Menn and MacWhinney (1984), Mohanan (1994a, b), Yip (1998), Ackema (2001), and references cited there)

English Quotative Inversion (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2001)

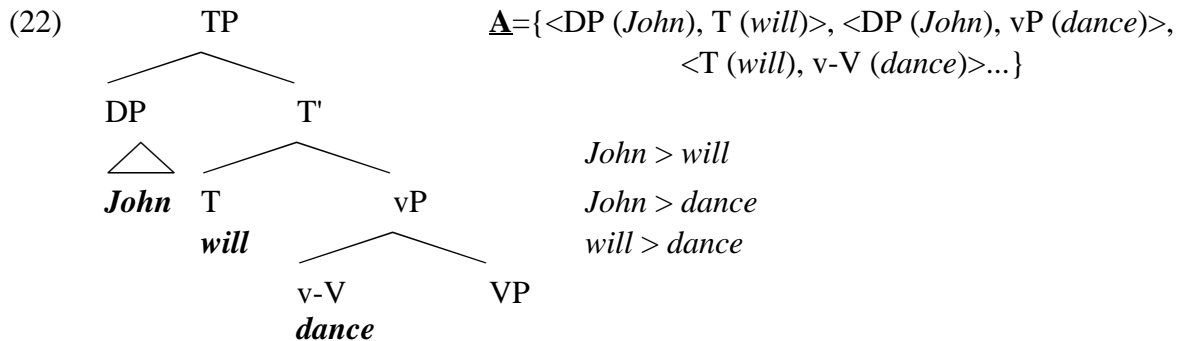
- (20) a. "It's raining," said the weatherman
 b. "It's raining," said [the weatherman] [to the anchorwoman]
 c. * "It's raining," told [the weatherman] [the anchorwoman]

Double-ing (Ross 1972)

- (21) a. It began raining
 b. It's beginning to rain
 c. * It's beginning raining

- **assumption #1:** Chomskyan (1998, 2001) phases, multiple spell-out

- **assumption #2:** Kaynean (1994) antisymmetry



--> α precedes β if
 something dominating α asymmetrically c-commands something dominating β

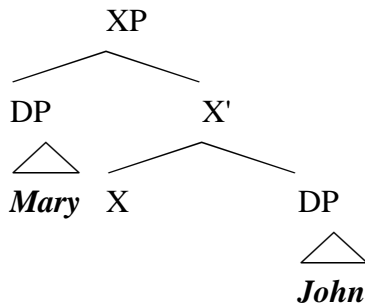
- **assumption #3:** traces aren't linearized
 ...in fact, no projection of a trace can appear in $\underline{\mathbf{A}}$.

new proposal: For any $\langle \alpha, \beta \rangle$ in $\underline{\mathbf{A}}$, α and β are just node labels.

$\underline{\mathbf{A}}$ for (22) = { <DP, T>, <DP, vP>, <T, v-V>, ... }

[so what?]

(23) $\underline{\mathbf{A}} = \{ \langle \text{DP}, \text{DP} \rangle \dots \}$



$\underline{\mathbf{A}}$ contains <DP, DP>

not <DP (*Mary*), DP(*John*)>, [possibly related to Late Insertion]

<DP₁, DP₂>, or

<DP-in-Spec-XP, DP-complement-of-X>

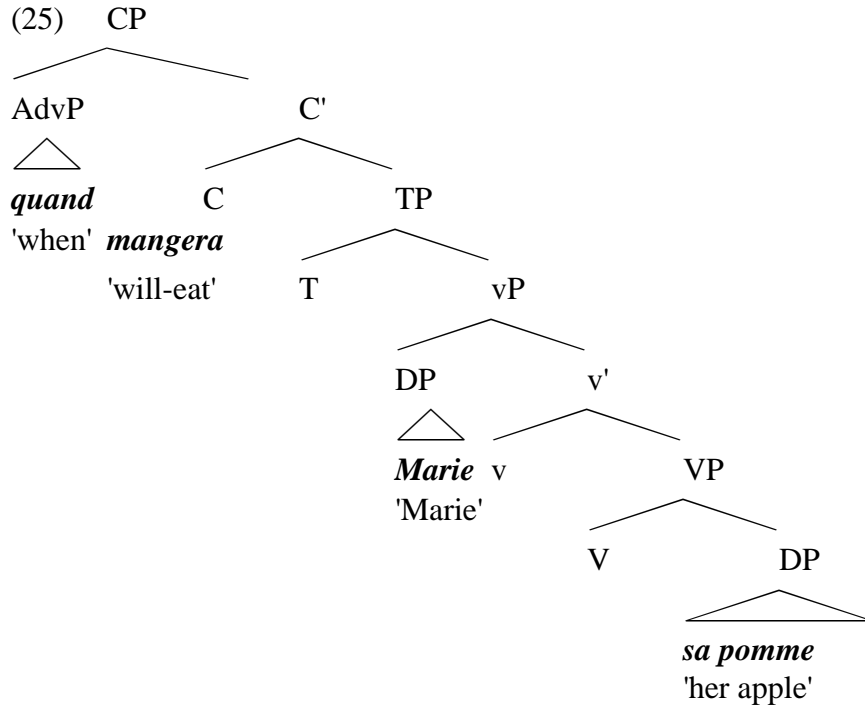
<DP, DP> is not very helpful: either self-contradictory (DP precedes itself) or uninformative (a DP precedes a DP), depending on how you read it.

-->useless for linearization. If linearization can't succeed without this, it fails.

II. Some failures of Distinctness

French Stylistic Inversion (Kayne and Pollock 1979, Valois and Dupuis 1992)

- (24) a. Je me demande quand partira ton ami
I me ask when will-leave your friend
'I wonder when your friend will leave'
- b. *Je me demande quand mangera [Marie] [sa pomme]
I me ask when will-eat Marie her apple
'I wonder when Marie will eat her apple'



just considering c-command relations,

A for $vP = \{ \langle DP(Marie), v \rangle, \langle DP(Marie), V \rangle, \langle DP(Marie), V \rangle, \langle DP(Marie), DP(sa\ pomme) \rangle, \langle DP(Marie), VP \rangle, \langle v, V \rangle, \langle v, DP(sa\ pomme) \rangle \}$

assuming that projections of traces are not linearized and cannot appear in A,

A for $vP = \{ \langle DP(Marie), v \rangle, \langle DP(Marie), V \rangle, \langle DP(Marie), V \rangle, \langle DP(Marie), DP(sa\ pomme) \rangle, \langle DP(Marie), VP \rangle, \langle v, V \rangle, \langle v, DP(sa\ pomme) \rangle \}$

Distinctness:

A for $vP = \{ \langle DP, DP \rangle \}$

-->linearization fails

English Quotative Inversion

- (26) a. "It's raining," said the weatherman
 b. "It's raining," said [the weatherman] [to the anchorwoman]
 c. * "It's raining," told [the weatherman] [the anchorwoman]

Gerunds

- (27) a. the singing of the children
 b. the singing of songs
 c. *the singing [of the children] [of songs]

Multiple sluicing, multiple exceptives, *even* (Sauerland 1995, Moltmann 1995)

- (28) a. Every man danced with every woman, except [John] [with Mary]
b. Every man danced with every woman, even [John] [with Mary]
c. I know somebody was dancing with somebody, but I don't know [who] [with whom]
- (29) a. *Every man admired every woman, except [John] [Mary]
b. *Every man admired every woman, even [John] [Mary]
c. *I know somebody insulted somebody, but I don't know [who] [whom]

not a universal condition:

- (30) a. Jede Frau sah jeden Mann ausser [diese Frau] [diesen Mann]
every woman saw every man except this woman this man
b. Ich habe jedem Freund ein Buch gegeben, aber ich weiß nicht mehr wem welches
I have every friend a book given but I know not more who which
'I gave every friend a book, but I don't remember anymore who which'
- (31) Watashi-wa dono otokonoko-ni-mo hoshigatteita subete-no hon-o ageta ga,
I TOP every boy DAT wanted every book gave but
dare-ni nani -o ka wasureta.
who DAT what ACC Q forgot
'I gave every boy all the books he wanted, but I've forgotten who what'

linked to rich Case marking in German and Japanese?

cf. conditions on Case-drop in Japanese:

- (32) Dareka -ga kita to kiita kedo, **dare (ga)** ka wakaranai
someone NOM came that heard but who NOM Q know-NEG
'I heard that someone came, but I don't know who'
- (33) Dareka -ga nanika -o katta to kiita kedo,
someone NOM something ACC bought that heard but
dare *(ga) nani *(o) ka wakaranai
who NOM what ACC Q know-NEG
'I know that somebody bought something, but I don't know who what'

- Tagalog predication**
- (34) a. Umuwi si Juan
went-home Juan
'Juan went home'
- b. Mataas si Juan
tall Juan
'Juan is tall'
- c. Tungkol sa balarila ang libro
about grammar the book
'The book is about grammar'
- d. Guro si Maria
teacher Maria
'Maria is a teacher'
- e. * Ang guro si Maria
the teacher Maria
'Maria is the teacher'
- a'. Si Juan ay umuwi __
↑
- b'. Si Juan ay mataas __
↑
- c'. Ang libro ay tungkol sa balarila __
↑
- d'. Si Maria ay guro __
↑
- e'. ✓ Si Maria ay ang guro __
↑

III. The relevance of phase boundaries

The Boring Alternative Hypothesis (BAH)

Syntactic objects with identical labels cannot be linearly adjacent (sometimes)

Distinctness is not about linear adjacency, part I:

linear adjacency with no distinctness effect

Assume multiple spell-out, with strong phases CP, transitive vP, and maybe DP

new assumption: the "edge" of a phase is spelled out with the higher phase
(Nissenbaum 2000)

prediction: if a strong phase boundary intervenes,
adjacent objects with identical labels should be OK

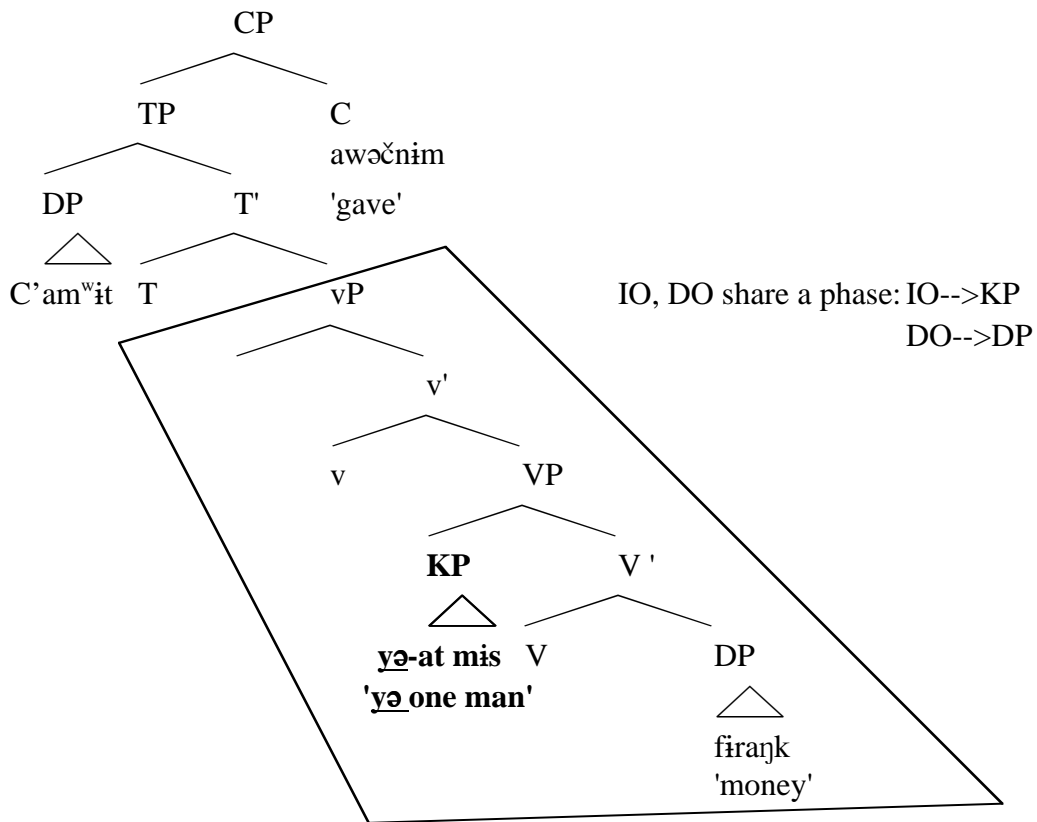
yə on all IOs:

- (40) C'am^wit yə-at mis firaŋk awəčnim
 C'am^wit yə one man money gave
 'C'am^wit gave money to a (specific or non-specific) man'

yə always absent on DOs of ditransitives:

- (41) a. C'am^wit yə-tkə x^wita giyə awəčnim
 C'am^wit yə child the dog gave
 'C'am^wit gave the child a/the dog'
 b. *C'am^wit yə-tkə x^wita yə-gyə awəčnim
 C'am^wit yə child the yə dog gave

(42)



Hindi *-ko*, Miskitu *-ra*, Spanish *a...*

...appear on animate specific direct objects (of monotransitives)

- (43) a. Ravii (ek) gaay k^hariidnaa caahtaa hai [Hindi: Mohanan 1994a]
Ravi one cow to-buy wish AUX
'Ravi wishes to buy a (non-specific) cow'
b. Ravii ek gaay-ko k^hariidnaa caahtaa hai
Ravi one cow **KO** to-buy wish AUX
'Ravi wishes to buy a (specific) cow'
- (44) a. Yang aaras (kum) atkri [Miskitu: Ken Hale, p.c.]
I horse a bought
'I bought a horse'
b. Yang aaras-ra atkri
I horse **RA** bought
'I bought a/the (specific) horse'
- (45) a. Laura escondió un prisionero durante dos años [Spanish: Torrego 1998]
Laura hid a prisoner for two years
'Laura hid a (non-specific) prisoner for two years'
b. Laura escondió a un prisionero durante dos años
Laura hid **A** a prisoner for two years
'Laura hid a (specific) prisoner for two years'

...appear on indirect objects

- (46) Ilaa-ne mǎã -ko baccaa diyaa [Hindi]
Ila ERG mother **KO** child gave
'Ila gave a/the child to the mother'
- (47) Yang tuktan ai yaptika-ra brihbalri [Miskitu]
I child his mother **RA** brought
'I brought the child to his mother'
- (48) Describieron un maestro de Zen al papa [Spanish]
they-described a master of Zen **A**-the pope
'They described a Zen master to the pope'

...don't (usually) * appear on direct objects of ditransitives

- (49) *ilaa-ne mãã -ko bacce-ko diyaa [Hindi]
Ila ERG mother **KO** child **KO** gave
'Ila gave a/the child to the mother'
- (50) *Yang tuktan -ra ai yaptika-ra brihbalri [Miskitu]
I child **RA** his mother **RA** brought
'I brought the child to his mother'
- (51) *Describieron a un maestro de Zen al papa [Spanish]
they-described **A** a master of Zen **A**-the pope
'They described a Zen master to the pope'

* Spanish does allow examples like (51) with some verbs:

- (i) ?Mostré/ presenté al alumno al profesor
I-showed/I-introduced **A**-the student **A**-the teacher
'I showed/introduced the student to the teacher'

Torrego (1998) offers arguments that the direct objects of such verbs are structurally higher than those of verbs like the one in (51); she suggests a general "exclusion of structures that have [two DPs marked with *a*] in the same Case-checking domain" (Torrego 1998, 134), which is certainly compatible with the approach developed here.

Case more generally

Dependent Case (Massam (1985), Yip et al (1987), Marantz (1991), Harley (1995))

Case-competitors (Bittner and Hale (1996))

Burzio's Generalization



Case marking appears when more than one DP is present.

- | | | |
|-------------|-----------|------------------|
| *DP | DP | |
| √DP | KP | [Nom Acc] |
| √ KP | DP | [Erg Abs] |
| √DP | NP | [Incorporation?] |

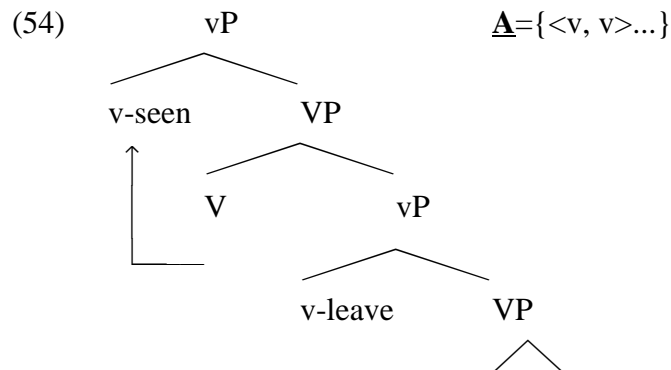
Perception verb passives, doubl-ing, doubl-inf

English perception verbs with bare-verb complements...

- (52) a. We saw John leave
 b. We let John leave
 c. We made John leave

...cannot be passivized

- (53) a. *John was seen __ leave
 b. *John was let __ leave
 c. *John was made __ leave



...can be linearly adjacent to complement verb

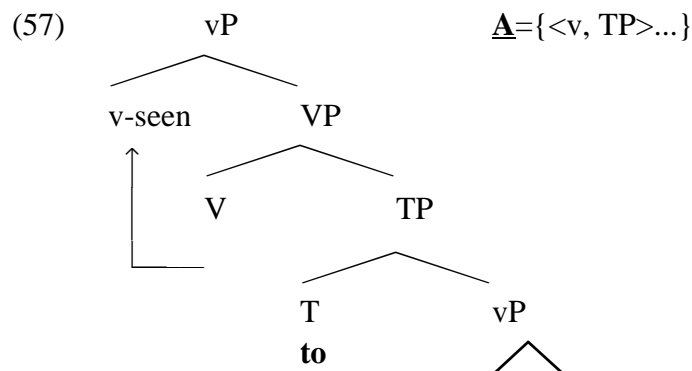
- (55) a. [how many prisoners] did you see __ leave?
 b. [how many prisoners] did you let __ leave?
 c. [how many prisoners] did you make __ leave?

allow higher verb in English to raise out of vP:

- higher vP in (55) is **transitive**, hence a strong phase; verbs linearized in different phases
- higher vP in (53) is **intransitive**, hence not a strong phase; verbs linearized together

...can be saved by an intervening functional head

- (56) a. John was seen __ to leave
 b. John was made __ to leave



(also accounts for transitivity requirement on verbs taking bare verb complements)

- (58) a. John appears [intelligent]
b. *John appears [enjoy movies]

English doubl-ing (Ross 1972), Italian double infinitives (Longobardi 1980)...

- (59) a. It continued to rain
b. It continued raining
c. It's continuing to rain
d. *It's continuing raining
- (60) *Paolo potrebbe sembrare __ dormire tranquillamente
Paolo could seem-INF sleep-INF quietly

...can be linearly adjacent:

- (61) a. the children [that I was watching [__ playing]
b. Ecco l'uomo [che puoi vedere __ portare ogni giorno dei fiori a Mario]
here's the-man that you-can see-INF take-INF every day some flowers to Mario

...can (sometimes) be saved by an intervening functional head:

- (62) a. *Claudio potrebbe desiderare finire il suo lavoro
Claudio could want-INF finish-INF the his work
b. Claudio potrebbe desiderare di finire il suo lavoro

and cf. English *wanna*-contraction:

- (63) a. Who do you want [PRO to beat __]? -->*wanna*
b. Who do you want [_{VP} __ to leave] -->**wanna*
c. I don't want [[PRO_{arb} to flagellate oneself in public] to become standard...] -->**wanna*

OC vs. NOC:

Landau: OC involves T-to-C

Hornstein, Manzini & Roussou: OC is really Raising

either way: *wanna*-contraction is possible just when *want* and *to* are in the same phase

Linear adjacency isn't always sufficient to get a Distinctness effect:

- (i) Giyə [_{VP} fəɾəz nəkəsəm]
dog horse bit
'A dog bit a horse'
- (ii) Who did you see [_{VP} leave]?

-->Distinctness is about structure, not linear order

Adverbs? What adverbs?

- (68) a. "It's raining," said the weatherman
b. "It's raining," said [the weatherman] [to the anchorwoman]
c. * "It's raining," told [the weatherman] [the anchorwoman]
- (69) a. "It's raining," said the weatherman **sadly**
b. "It's raining," said [the weatherman] **sadly** [to the anchorwoman]
c. * "It's raining," told [the weatherman] **sadly** [the anchorwoman]
- (70) a. Je me demande [où Marie mange **habituellement** sa pomme]
I wonder where M. eats usually her apple
b. *Je me demande [où mange Marie (**habituellement**) sa pomme]

(and see also the conditions on "PF adjacency" in Bobaljik (1995))

Polish (Szczegielniak (1999))

travelling inflection in Polish:

- (71) *Polish* (Adam Szczegielniak, p.c.)
- a. On wie z(e poszedł do kina
he knows that went-2SG to movies
'He knows that you went to the movies'
- b. On wie z(eś poszeddo kina
he knows that-2SG went to movies

complementizer repetition: inflection must land on second complementizer:

- (72) *Polish* (Adam Szczegielniak, p.c.)
- a. On wie z(e z(eś poszeddo kina
he knows that that-2SG went to movies
- b. *On wie z(e z(e poszed do kina
he knows that that went-2SG to movies

...even if a topic intervenes between the complementizers:

- (73) a. On myśla: z(e Janowi z(eś da ksia7z(ke7
he thought that John that-2SG gave book
'He thought that you gave the book to John'
- b. * On myśla: z(e Janowi z(e ś ksia7z(ke7
he thought that John that gave-2SG book

V. Functional and lexical heads

All of the above cases have (potentially) involved interactions between functional heads.

Chomsky (2001), Alec Marantz (p.c.): Late Insertion may only apply for functional heads

-->lexical heads might interact differently for Distinctness?

Italian double-infinitive filter, revisited

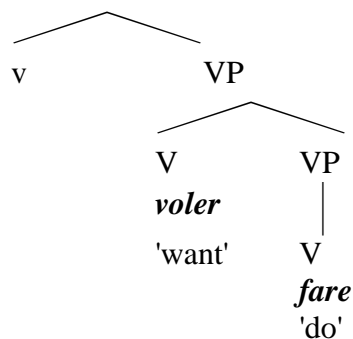
- (74) *Paolo potrebbe sembrare __ dormire tranquillamente
 Paolo could seem-INF sleep-INF quietly

restructuring verbs are an exception:

- (75) a. Giovanni comincia a **volerlo** **fare**
 Giovanni begins to want-INF-it do-INF
 b. *Giovanni comincia a **voler farlo**

Wurmbrand (1998, to appear): restructuring verbs are missing all their functional structure.

- (76) vP $\underline{A}=\{<voler, fare>...\}$?



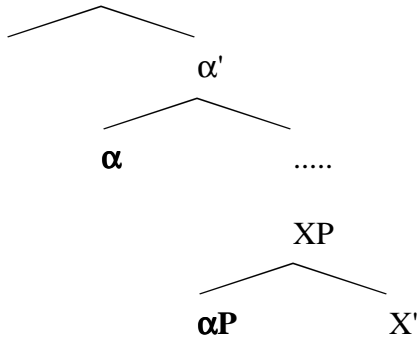
Construct state

- (77) a. ha-bayit šel ha-mora [Hebrew]
 the house of the teacher
 b. [beyt] ha- mora
 house the teacher
 c. *ha-beyt ha-mora

- (78) a. [[hata] fhear] an tí [Irish: Bammesberger 1983]
 hat man the house-GEN
 'the hat of the man of the house'
 b. *hata an fhear an tí
 c. *hata (an) fhir an tí
 hat the man-GEN the house-GEN

VI. Specifiers

- (79) * αP
- $\langle \alpha, XP \rangle$: XP doesn't dominate lower αP ?
 - $\langle \alpha, \alpha P \rangle$: don't distinguish bar levels?
or, ordering X with XP=*?



Case resistance, anti-Case resistance, anti-anti-Case resistance

- (80) a. *They're talking about [that they should leave] [Case resistance]
 b. They're talking about [what they should buy] [anti-Case resistance]
 c. *They're talking about [with whom they should dance] [anti-anti-Case resistance]

(and evidence that this is all an output constraint, maybe on linearization)

- (80)' a. *We talked about [that he was sick] for days
 b. [That he was sick], we talked about __ for days (Bresnan 2001, 17)

If declarative C=P, then (80a) is a Distinctness case:

- (81) $\underline{A} = \{ \langle P, C(=P) \rangle \dots \}$
-

The well-formedness of (80b) is a mystery.

(80c)=Distinctness again, assuming (82) is ruled out:

- (82) $\underline{A} = \{ \langle P, PP \rangle \dots \}$
-

Relativization

- (83) a. a person [with whom to dance]
- b. *a person [whom to admire]
- c. a person [to admire]

- (84) a. l'homme [avec qui j'ai dansé] [French: Pesetsky 1998, 341]
 the-man with whom I-have danced
- b. *l'homme [qui je connais]
 the-man whom I know
- c. l'homme [que je connais]
 the-man that I know

Classic story: "deletion up to recoverability" (Chomsky 1977)

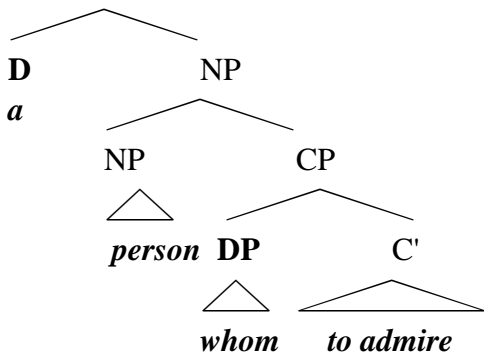
Problem for classic story:

- (85) a. *a person [whose uncle to admire]
- b. *l'homme [la femme de qui tu as insultée] [French: Pesetsky 1998, 343]
 the-man the wife of whom you have insulted

New story: with this kind of relative clause, you can't use a DP relative operator.

Why a DP?

- (86) A={ <D, DP>... }



DP-internal syntax

Chaha

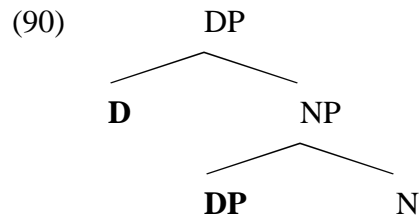
- (87) yə-βet wəka
 yə house roof-beam
 'the house's roof-beams'

Wampanoag

- (88) a. Washkeetôp nâw-âw mashq-ah
 man see DIR bear **OBV**
 'The (previously discussed) man sees a bear'
 b. Washkeetôpâ-ah nâw-uq mashq
 man **OBV** see INV bear
 'A man sees the (previously discussed) bear'
 c. washkeetôp wu-hshum -ah
 man 3 daughter-in-law **OBV**
 'the man's daughter-in-law (previously discussed or not)'

English

- (89) a. they destroyed the city
 b. the destruction [**of** the city]



VII. Deletion

- (91) Koj kakvo kupi? [Bulgarian]
 who what bought?
- (92) John-ga nihongo-ga wakaranai [Japanese]
 John NOM Japanese NOM understand-NEG
 'John doesn't know Japanese'
- (93) Gianni me lo dice [Italian]
 G. me it says
 'Gianni says it to me'

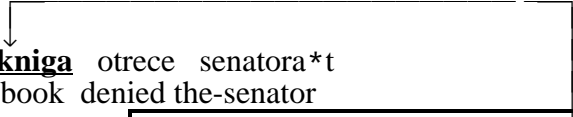
- *me-lui* constraint for (e.g.) wh-phrases.....=Principle of Minimal Compliance?

(98) *Bulgarian* (Roumyana Pancheva, Ani Petkova, Roumyana Slabakova... p.c.)

a. ***Koja knjiga** otrece senatora*t
 which book denied the-senator

malva*ta ce iska da zabrani _____

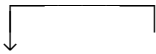
the-rumor that wanted to ban

'Which book did the senator deny [the rumor that he wanted to ban t]?'
 

b. **Koj senator** _____ otrece
 which senator denied

malva*ta ce iska da zabrani *Vojna i Mir*

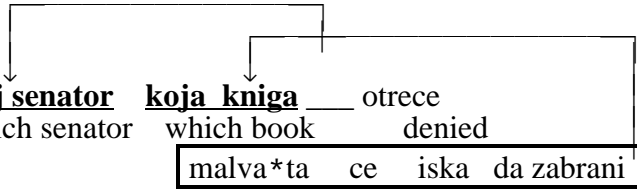
the-rumor that wanted to ban war and peace

'Which senator denied the rumor that he wanted to ban *War and Peace*?'
 

c. **Koj senator** **koja knjiga** _____ otrece
 which senator which book denied

malva*ta ce iska da zabrani _____

the-rumor that wanted to ban

'Which senator denied the rumor that he wanted to ban which book?'
 

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