Locality Constraints

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(DP) islands

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(DP) islands

What$_i$ did Bill claim [$_{CP}$ that he read t_i?]

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(DP) islands

What$_i$ did Bill claim [$_{CP}$ that he read t_i?]

*What did Bill make [$_{DP}$ the claim [$_{CP}$ that he read t_i ?]]

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(DP) islands

can get out of a CP

What$_i$ did Bill claim [$_{CP}$ that he read t_i?]

*What did Bill make [$_{DP}$ the claim [$_{CP}$ that he read t_i ?]]

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(DP) islands

can get out of a CP

What$_i$ did Bill claim [$_{CP}$ that he read t_i?]

*What did Bill make [$_{DP}$ the claim [$_{CP}$ that he read t_i ?]]

can't get out of an DP

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(DP) islands

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can't get out of an DP

Islands are surrounded by water: you can't get off of (out of) them. Wh-movement can't get out of an island

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(DP) islands

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can't get out of an DP

Islands are surrounded by water: you can't get off of (out of) them. Wh-movement can't get out of an island

DPs are islands

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DP Islands

- Check out what Moe says in the following clip:

Simpsons clip: (c) Fox
slides:
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?*You know what I blame this on the breakdown of?

- I blame this on [the breakdown of society].

- Questioning *society* requires extraction of a *wh*-phrase from inside a DP (*the breakdown of society*).
- The Complex DP Constraint (CNPC):
  - *wh_i [... [$_{DP}$ ... t_i ...] ...]

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Wh-islands

I wonder $[_{CP}$ what$_i$ $[_{TP}$ John bought t_i with the \$20 bill]]

$[_{CP}$ How$_i$ do $[_{TP}$ you think $[_{CP}$ John bought the sweater t_i ?]]]

*$[_{CP}$ How$_k$ do $[_{TP}$ you wonder $[_{CP}$ what$_i$ $[_{TP}$ John bought t_i t_k]]]]

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Wh-islands

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Wh-islands

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Wh-islands

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Wh-islands

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*$[_{CP}$ How$_k$ do $[_{TP}$ you wonder $[_{CP}$ what$_i$ $[_{TP}$ John bought t_i t_k]]]]

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Wh-islands

I wonder [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ [$_{TP}$ John kissed t$_i$?]]

Who$_j$ did you think [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_j$ kissed the gorilla?]]

*Who$_k$ did you wonder [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ [$_{TP}$ t$_k$ kissed t$_i$?]]

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Wh-islands

I wonder [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ [$_{TP}$ John kissed t$_i$?]]

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Wh-islands

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Wh-islands

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Who$_j$ did you think [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_j$ kissed the gorilla?]]

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Wh-islands

I wonder [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ [$_{TP}$ John kissed t$_i$?]]

Who$_j$ did you think [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_j$ kissed the gorilla?]]

*Who$_k$ did you wonder [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ [$_{TP}$ t$_k$ kissed t$_i$?]]

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Wh-islands

- A CP with a wh-word in its specifier is an island for the movement of another wh-word.
- The Wh-island Constraint:
  - * wh_i [… [$_{CP}$ wh_k [… t_i …] …] …]

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Other Islands

- *Subject condition*: You can't extract out of the subject CP of a clause:
  - [$_{TP}$ [$_{CP}$ that the police would arrest *several rioters*] was a certainty.]
  - *Who was [$_{TP}$ [$_{CP}$ that the police would arrest t_i] was a certainty]?
- The Subject Condition:
  - *wh$_i$ … [$_{TP}$ [$_{CP}$ … t_i …] T …]

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Other Islands

- *Coordinate Structure Constraint*: You can't extract out of either conjunct of a conjoined phrase:
  - I liked Mary and John
  - *Who$_i$ did you like Mary and t$_i$?
  - *Who$_i$ did you like t$_i$ and John?

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Other Islands

- *Coordinate Structure Constraint*: You can't extract out of either conjunct of a conjoined phrase:
  - I [$_{VP}$ ate some popcorn] and [$_{VP}$ drank some soda].
  - *What$_i$ did you eat some popcorn and drink t_i
  - *What$_i$ did you eat t_i and drink some soda?

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Other Islands

- The Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC):
  - *wh_i … [$_{XP}$ [$_{XP}$ … t_i …] conj [$_{XP}$ …]] …
  - or *wh_i … [$_{XP}$ [$_{XP}$ …] conj [$_{XP}$ … t_i …]] …
  - or *wh_i … [$_{XP}$ [$_{XP}$ …] conj t_i] …
  - or *wh_i … [$_{XP}$ t_i conj [$_{XP}$ …]] …

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How do we account for the island phenomena?

- We're going to provide an explanation for only one of these island types (wh-islands) but we'll see that that explanation extends to DP and head movement too.
- The Minimal Link Condition (informal version):
  - Move to the closest *potential* landing site.
  - (formal version is in your textbook)

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The MLC and Cycles

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The MLC and Cycles

$[_{CP}$ What do $[_{TP}$ you think $[_{CP}$ $[_{TP}$ Bill loves $t_i]]]]$

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The MLC and Cycles

$[_{CP}$ What do $[_{TP}$ you think $[_{CP}$ $[_{TP}$ Bill loves $t_i]]]]$

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The MLC and Cycles

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The MLC and Cycles

$[_{CP}$ What do $[_{TP}$ you think $[_{CP}$ $[_{TP}$ Bill loves $t_i]]]]$

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The MLC and Cycles

$[_{CP}$ What do $[_{TP}$ you think $[_{CP}$ $[_{TP}$ Bill loves $t_i]]]]$

$[_{CP}$ What do $[_{TP}$ you think $[_{CP}$ $[_{TP}$ Bill loves $t_i]]]]$

If you do the movement in two hops (first to the intermediate CP specifier, then to the higher CP specifier) then you don't violate the MLC.

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Intermediate Stop off?

- Is there any evidence that the wh-phrase actually stops on it's way up to the top?
- Some dialects of German and Malayalam pronounce a copy in the intermediate specifier
- Kids pronounce a copy at that location

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Wh-islands: Try 1

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Wh-islands: Try 1

[$_{CP}$ ____ did$_{[+wh]}$ [$_{TP}$ you wonder [$_{CP}$ _____ Ø$_{[+wh]}$ [$_{TP}$ who kissed what ?]]

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Wh-islands: Try 1

[$_{CP}$ ____ did$_{[+wh]}$ [$_{TP}$ you wonder [$_{CP}$ _____ Ø$_{[+wh]}$ [$_{TP}$ who kissed what ?]]

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*

Can't do this. The specifier of this CP is already filled by "what"

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Wh-islands: Try 1

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Wh-islands: Try 2

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Wh-islands: Try 2

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*

Can't do this! It violates the MLC!!

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Wh-islands: Try 3

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Wh-islands: Try 3

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can't do this! Specifier of lower CP is occupied by trace of who

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Wh-islands: Try 3

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*

can't do this! Specifier of lower CP is occupied by trace of who

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No way to do it!

- There is no way to derive a wh-island sentence like:

  *Who do you think what read?

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MLC effects with DP-movement

- Mark$_i$ is likely [t$_i$ to have left]
- *It* is likely that Mark has left
- Mark$_i$ seems [t$_i$ to have left]
- *It* seems [that Mark has left]
- __ seems [that ___ is likely [Mark to have left]
- It seems that Mark$_i$ is likely [t$_i$ to have left]
- *Mark$_i$ seems that it is likely [t$_i$ to have left]
  - This last sentence is known as "super-raising"

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MLC effects with DP-movement

- *[$_{TP}$ Mark$_i$ seems that [$_{TP}$ it is likely [t$_i$ to have left]]]

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MLC effects with DP-movement

- *[$_{TP}$ Mark$_i$ seems that [$_{TP}$ it is likely [t$_i$ to have left]]]

First potential
nominative position

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MLC effects with DP-movement

- *[$_{TP}$ Mark$_i$ seems that [$_{TP}$ it is likely [t$_i$ to have left]]]

First potential
nominative position

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MLC effects with DP-movement

- *[$_{TP}$ Mark$_i$ seems that [$_{TP}$ it is likely [t$_i$ to have left]]]

First potential
nominative position

This movement thus violates the MLC

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MLC effects with Head Movement

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MLC effects with Head Movement

Mangez vous des pommes?
eat you of.the apples

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MLC effects with Head Movement

Mangez vous des pommes?
eat you of.the apples

$[_{CP}\ C_{[+Q]}\ [_{TP}\ \text{vous}\ T_{[pres]}\ [_{VP}\ t_{vous}\ \text{mangez des pommes}]]]$

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MLC effects with Head Movement

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MLC effects with Head Movement

Mangez vous des pommes?
eat you of.the apples

$[_{CP}\ C_{[+Q]}\ [_{TP}\ \text{vous}\ T_{[pres]}\ [_{VP}\ t_{vous}\ \text{mangez des pommes}]]]$

Avez vous mangé des pommes?
have you eaten of.the apples

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MLC effects with Head Movement

Mangez vous des pommes?
eat you of.the apples

$[_{CP}\ C_{[+Q]}\ [_{TP}\ \text{vous}\ T_{[pres]}\ [_{VP}\ t_{vous}\ \text{mangez des pommes}]]]$

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$[_{CP}\ C_{[+Q]}\ [_{TP}\ \text{vous avez}\ [_{VP}\ t_{vous}\ \text{mangé des pommes}]]]$

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MLC effects with Head Movement

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MLC effects with Head Movement

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MLC effects with Head Movement

Mangez vous avez des pommes?
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MLC effects with Head Movement

Mangez vous avez des pommes?
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$[_{CP}\ C_{[+Q]}\ [_{TP}$ vous avez $[_{VP}\ t_{vous}$ mangé des pommes$]]]$

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MLC effects with Head Movement

Mangez vous avez des pommes?
eat you have of.the apples

[$_{CP}$ C$_{[+Q]}$ [$_{TP}$ vous avez [$_{VP}$ t$_{vous}$ mangé des pommes]]]

First potential head position to land in

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MLC effects with Head Movement

Mangez vous avez des pommes?
eat you have of.the apples

$[_{CP}\ C_{[+Q]}\ [_{TP}$ vous avez $[_{VP}\ t_{vous}$ mangé des pommes$]]]$

First potential head position to land in

©Andrew Carnie, 2006

MLC effects with Head Movement

Mangez vous avez des pommes?
eat you have of.the apples

$[_{CP}\ C_{[+Q]}\ [_{TP}$ vous avez $[_{VP}\ t_{vous}$ mangé des pommes$]]]$

First potential head position to land in

This is sometimes known as the head-movement constraint (HMC) but it's due to the MLC.

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Wh-in-situ in English

- D: "Hey, I just heard that Shelly loves Ferdinand."
- A: "Shelly loves WHO?"
- D: "You heard me; Shelly loves Ferdinand!"

- Unlike real wh-questions, Echo questions like the one above aren't requests for information, but are requests for confirmation of info. These don't involve wh-movement. This is one of two phenomena called wh-in-situ

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Wh-in-situ in English

- Echo questions don't have to have a wh-phrase in them:
  - Fred saw a spaceship in the LINGUISTICS LOUNGE?
- They are marked by special intonation and stress.
- This is possibly coded with a special null C head, which bears some kind of feature that triggers intonation.

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Summary

- There are locality conditions on Wh-movement.
- These are called Island effects:
  - DP islands (CNPC)
  - Wh islands (MLC)
  - Subject Islands (SC)
  - Coordinate Island (CSC)

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Summary

- The MLC says "Move to the closest potential position"
- Explains
  - Wh-islands
  - "Super-raising"
  - Head Movement Constraint
- Echo questions in English don't involve movement but probably involve a special C that has intonation features associated with it.

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