

A talk in four unequal parts

- (1) **The Subject Criterion** (Rizzi 06)
A criterial head SUBJ, distinct from and higher than T, attracts a nominal to its Spec. This nominal is frozen in place.
- (2) Rizzi & Shlonsky (07) discuss strategies for circumventing the Subject Criterion (expletive pro, Fin+phi etc.)
- (3) Another strategy is *splitting* or subextraction (cf. Rizzi 06):
If $[_{\alpha P} \alpha \beta]$ is criterially-frozen, $\beta \neq \alpha$ can be extracted.

Part I: Criterial Freezing of Quantifier Movement

- (4) Quantifier Raising: Every person left.
- (5) The SC is satisfied by the DP [every person]. The quantifier can be 'split' from its restriction and Q-raised. No violation of Criterial Freezing.
- (6) Quantifier Lowering (Hornstein 95, Johnson & Tomioka 98)
- (7) Some student (or other) has answered many of the questions. (many > \exists , \exists > many)

Why does inverse scope involve lowering + reconstruction?

Johnson & Tomioka:

- a. English *some* cannot be in the scope of negation (because it is a positive polarity item)
I have not met some student (\neq I haven't met any student).
- b. When negation is added to (7), inverse scope is impossible:
Some student or other hasn't answered many of the questions on the exam.
(*many > some, some > many)
- c. When some is replaced by a non-PPI, inverse scope is again possible.
Two students haven't answered many of the questions on the exam.
(many > some, some > many)

- (8) Quantifier "Lowering" can be thought of as activating a lower copy of the subject QP.
- (9) **Criterial Freezing (reformulated)**
A phrase meeting a criterion cannot be further effected.
- (10) In QR, it is the quantifier which must be 'raised', not the restriction.
 $[_{\text{SubjP}} \{\text{every}\}] [_{\text{SubjP}} [\{\text{every}\} \text{person left}]]$
- (11) In QL, the restriction must also be 'lowered', since it has to be in the scope of the lowered quantifier:
 $[_{\text{SubjP}} [\{\text{some student}\}]] \text{SUBJ} \dots [\{\text{many}\}] [\{\text{some student}\}] \dots [_{\text{VP}} \dots [\{\text{many}\} \text{questions}\} \dots]]$
- (12) Why is Q-lowering nevertheless possible in (7)? Because the 'working copy' can be the copy in Spec/T, so that material in Spec/Subj is not effected.
 $[_{\text{SubjP}} [\text{some student}]] \text{SUBJ} [_{\text{TP}} [\{\text{some student}\} >] \text{T} \dots [\{\text{many}\}] [\{\text{some student}\}] \dots [_{\text{VP}} \dots [\{\text{many}\} \text{questions}\} \dots]]$.
- (13) Non-canonical subjects fail to reconstruct. Hindi: Anand & Nevins 03
 - a. kisii šaayer-ne har ghazal lik^hii
some poet-ERG every song-NOM write.f-PERF
'Some poet wrote every song.' ($\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$)
 - b. koi šaayer har ghazal lik^htaa hai
some poet-NOM every song-ACC write.m-IMPF be-PRES
'Some poet writes every song.' ($\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$)

- (14) PEPPER: A-movement only for EPP does not reconstruct Anand & Nevins 03
- (15) T agrees with the nominative object, There is no copy of the ergative subject in Spec/T. Hence, lowering would violate (9). The crucial point is that quirky subjects are not probed by T (they do not have NOM and agreement is with the object).

PART II: French Wh in situ is chain-related to C

Intervention of negation (Starke 01, Baunaz, 08)

- (16) a. Tu crois qu'elle a fait quoi?
you think that she has done what?
- b. Que crois-tu qu'elle a fait?
what think-you that she has done?
- (17) a. *Tu crois qu'elle a pas fait quoi?
You think that she has not done what
- b. Que crois-tu qu'elle n'as pas fait?
what think-you that she neg has not done
- (17a) is sharply ungrammatical under the standard downfall intonation felicitous in (16a). But with a change of accent on the situ-wh, (17a) is acceptable. The different accents correlate with prepospositional readings, i.e., a list-like range or an existential/specific one, see Baunaz 08, Starke, 01.

Improvement under modals

(Starke, p. 24)

- (18) a. *Comment t'es pas parti?
how did you not leave
- b. Comment t'as pas voulu partir?
how did you not want to leave
- (19) a. ??t'es pas parti comment?
you left how
- b. T'as pas voulu partir comment?
you did not want to leave how

Indirect questions with *si*

- (20) a. ??Qui te demandes-tu s'ils considéreraient engager___?
who do you wonder whether they would consider hiring
- b. ??Tu de demandes s'ils considéreraient engager qui?
you wonder whether they would consider hiring who

Specific NPs

(Starke, p. 25)

- (21) a. de qui tu aimerais voir une photo?
of whom would you like to see a photo
- b. *de qui tu aimerais voir cette/ma photo?
of whom would you like to see this/my photo
- (22) a. Tu aimerais voir une photo de qui?
you would like to see a photo of whom
- b. *tu aimerais voir cette/ma photo de qui
you would like to see this/my photo of whom

Factive islands

(adapted from Merchant 98)

- (23) a. ??(?)Quel légume est-ce que l'infirmière a nié que le patient avait mangé hier?
which vegetable did the nurse deny that the patient had eaten yesterday

- b. *Où regrettes-tu que la police a trouvé la victime?
where do you regret that the police found the victim
- (24) a. L'infirmière a nié que le patient avait mangé quel légume hier?
the nurse denied that the patient had eaten which vegetable yesterday
- b. Tu regrettes que la police a trouvé la victime où?
you regret that the police found the victim where

If factive islands are hidden NP islands (Kiparsky & Kiparsky, 1970), then the contrast between (23) and (24) should be likened to that in (25).

- (25) a. ??Quel chiffre d'affaires crois-tu la rumeur que cette société a fait?
What turnover do you believe the rumour that this company had
- b. Tu crois à la rumeur que cette société a fait quel chiffre d'affaires?
You believe the rumour that this company had what turnover

LF Pipe-piping effects

(cf. Nishigauchi 90), Obenauer 94:297)

- (26) a. *Combien de personnes connaissez-vous des gens qui pourraient héberger?
how many persons do you know people who could host
- b. Vous connaissez des gens qui pourraient héberger combien de personnes?
you know people who could host how many people
- c. *Vous connaissez des gens qui ont une maison où héberger combien de personnes?
you know people that have a house where to host how many people

PART III: Criterial Freezing of Subject Wh in situ

- (27) a. Tu as fait quoi?
you have done what
- b. Tu as vu qui?
you have seen who
- (28) a. Qui as-tu vu?
who have you seen
- b. *Quoi as-tu vu?
what have you seen
- (29) *Quoi* can only appear in situ.
- (30) a. Qui est tombé?
who has fallen
- b. *Quoi est tombé?
what has fallen
- (31) a. *Qui* has the option of bypassing Spec/SUBJ and moving directly to Spec/C. The Subject Criterion is satisfied by Fin+Phi (viz. Rizzi & Shlonsky 07).
- b. *Quoi* is criterially-frozen in Spec/SUBJ.
- (32) a. Il a construit une machine qui sert (à faire) quoi? (Obenauer, p. 297)
He has built a machine that serves (to do) what
- b. *?Il a construit une machine que qui va utiliser?
He has built a machine that who is going to use
- c. Il a construit une machine que quelle entreprise va utiliser?
He has built a machine that which company is going to use
- (33) a. Il a dit que Marie devait parler à qui?

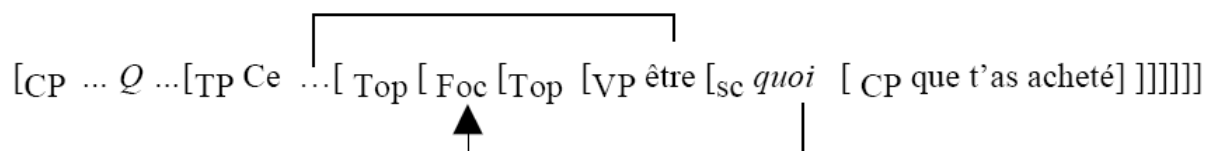
- He has said that M. should speak to who?
- b. ?Il a dit que qui devait parler à Marie (op. cit. note 23, p. 298)
He said that who should speak to who
- c. *Qui a-t-il dit que ___ devait parler à Marie?
Who did he say that should speak to who
- (34) a. Tu crois qu'il s'est passé quoi?
You think that there has happened what
- b. ??Tu crois que quoi s'est passé?
You think that what has happened (Starke 2001: p.53, note 14)
- (35) Subject-Criterion violations are more variable in embedded subject position than in the highest subject position. A parallelism might be drawn with *that/trace* effects in English, which are also subject to substantial variability, (Sobin 02).

PART IV: Wh in situ and Wh-Clefts – Questions and Problems

- (36) Belletti 2006:
“...*wh in situ* is not literally an *in situ* process but it involves a shorter movement than regular *wh* movement: while the *wh*-word reaches the left peripheral relevant position in the CP area in the latter, in the former it stops in the low VP peripheral focus position.”
- (37) Belletti's (13)
- a. T'as dit quoi?
- b. [CP ... Q ... [TP t'as dit [FocP *quoi* [Ø_{+wh} [VP t_v [VP t_v <quoi>]]]]]]
you have said what

- (38) If *quoi* can move to the VP periphery, why can't it move on to the CP-periphery?

- (39) Belletti's (14)



- (40) a. C'est quoi que tu as mangé?
it is what that you have eaten
- b. *Quoi c'est que tu as mangé?
what it is that you have eaten
- (41) a. C'est qui que tu as rencontré?
it is who that you have met
- b. Qui c'est que tu as rencontré?
who it is that you have met
- These facts can be taken to argue *against* the view that *wh in situ* in French are moved to a focus position.
 - Correlatively, *wh*-clefts do not involve movement from inside a relative-clause like constituent.

- (42) Possible solution: The *wh* pivot in clefts is adjoined to the Relative clause-like constituent, as opposed to being in the Spec of Focus P:
 [TP ...T...[VP...être...[SC ce [DP [DP qui] [CP op_i que tu as vu _____i]]]
- (43) qui que c'est soit, quoi que c'est soit
 whoever, whatever,
- (44) **Clefts have an existential presupposition:**
 A: C'est quoi que tu fais dans la vie?
 what do you do in life
 B: #Rien.
 nothing
- (45) **Wh in situ do not necessarily:**
 A: Tu fais quoi dans la vie?
 you do what in life
 B: Rien.
 nothing
- (46) a. Tu fous quoi? (Starke)
 you f*** what?
 b. *C'est quoi que tu fous?
 it is what that you f***
- (47) **Clefts have an exhaustive presupposition:**
 A: C'est à qui que tu as parlé à la soirée de Bertrand?
 it is to whom that you spoke at Bertrand's party
 B: #J'ai parlé) à Marie, entre autres / par exemple
 (I spoke) to Mary, among others / for example
- (48) **Wh in situ do not necessarily:**
 A: Tu as parlé à qui à la soirée de Bertrand?
 you talked to who at B.'s party?
 B: (J'ai parlé) à Marie, entre autres / par exemple.
 (I talked) to Mary, among others / for example
- (49) a. Qui donc (est-ce que) tu as vu hier?
 who the did you see yesterday
 b. *Tu as vu qui donc hier?
 you saw who then yesterday
 c. ?C'est qui donc que tu as vu hier?
 it is who then that you saw yesterday
- (50) **Both clefts and wh in situ are sensitive to negative islands, but to differing degrees**
 a. *Ce n'est pas qui que tu as rencontré à la fête (Rizzi 06)
 it isn't who that you met at the party
 a'. Ce n'est pas Jean que tu as rencontré à la fête?
 it isn't John that I met at the party
 b. *Qui ce n'est pas que tu as rencontré à la fête?
 who it isn't that you met at the party
 c. T'as pas parlé à qui? --> Baunaz, Starke: Ok when presuppositional.
- (51) a. C'est qui que tu as vu?

- it is who that you saw
- b. Qui c'est ___ que tu as vu?
who it is ___ that you saw
- (c. Qui est-ce que tu as vu? behaves like 'simple' movement --> it isn't a cleft.)
- (52) a. *Qui penses-tu que c'est ___ qu'il a rencontré?
who do you think that it is that you saw
- b. *Que dis-tu que c'est ___ que Jean a vu?
what do you say that it is that John saw
- c. *Qui est-ce que c'est ___ qu'il a rencontré?
who *est-ce que* it is ___ that you met
- (53) a. Which senator who can serve your interests did you vote for?
b. ?Which senator did you vote for who can serve your interests?
- (54) a. *Which senator didn't you vote for who can serve your interests?
b. *Which senator did you plan to vote for who can help your interests?
c. *Which senator did John say that he would vote for who can serve your interests?

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