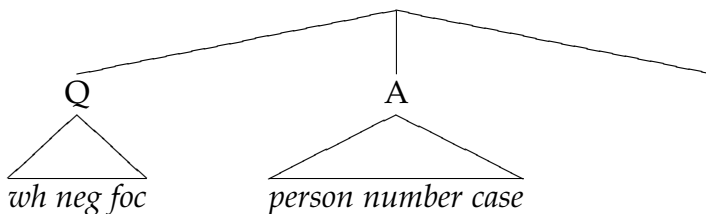


Referent: Stefan Keine
 Seminar: Multidominanz
 Datum: 12.1.2010

Starke (2001): 'Move Dissolves Into Merge'

1 Relativized Minimality

- (1) *Relativized Minimality:*
 $*\alpha \dots \gamma \dots \alpha$
 if $\text{class}(\alpha) = \text{class}(\gamma)$ and γ intervenes between the two occurrences of α
- (2) *Consequences of (1):*
- a. $*\alpha_i \dots \alpha_j \dots \alpha_i$
 - b. $\alpha\beta \dots \alpha \dots \alpha\beta$
 - c. $*\alpha \dots \alpha\beta \dots \alpha$
 - d. $*\alpha\beta \dots \alpha\beta \dots \alpha\beta$
- (3) *Extraction out of weak islands (eWI):*
- a. How do you think that I should cook this stuff <how>?
 - b. (i) *How don't you think that I should cook this stuff <how>?
 (ii) *How do you wonder why I should cook this stuff <how>?
 (iii) *How should I often cook this stuff <how>?
- (4) *Feature hierarchy:*



- (5) A: Belgamore and Belfedore lost their dog, and have been unsuccessfully looking for it for 3 days. On the fourth day, Belgamore decides to go out again and continue looking for any clue. Belfedore, tired and despaired, gives up and stays at home. In the evening, Belgamore comes back very excited and ...
- B: In wonder what Belga found!
- A: a. ... and what do you think that Belgamore discovered?
 b. #... and what do you wonder whether Belgamore discovered?
 = *Q ... Q ... Q

(6) Charles and Herbert are worried. In order to win the Tetrapon game, they need to discover two more facts about the great founder of Tetrapon Inc. They have already found the answer to the other 15 quizzies, but two questions elude them, and today is the last day. Unfortunately, Herbert is victim of his bimensual temporary sickness and cannot participate. Charles sets out to town to try and discover those two facts. His efforts are long and many, but as he comes back in the evening, he tells Herbert: 'Look, I've only discovered one of the two needed facts...'. Herbert gloomily looks at him from his bed and asks:

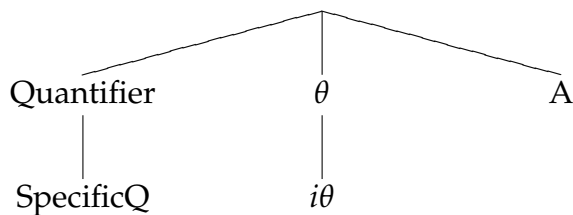
- a. So, what did you discover?
- b. So, what is it that you dicovered?
- c. So, what didn't you discover?
= $Q\beta \dots Q \dots Q\beta$

(7) $Q\beta$ -movement carries existential presupposition but Q-movement doesn't.

(8) *Definiteness island*:

- a. Who did you want to buy a picture of?
- b. *Who did you want to buy the picture of?
= $*Q(\beta) \dots Q\beta \dots Q(\beta)$

(9)



2 The 'Round Robin' Constraint

(10) *French 'tout'-movement*:

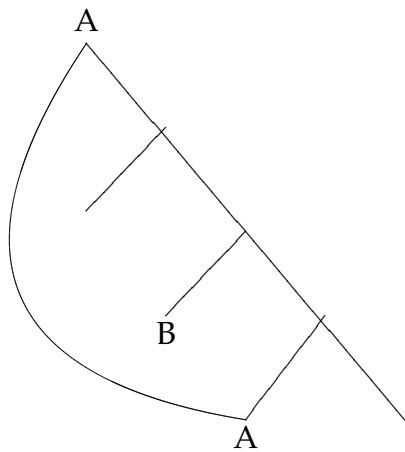
- a. (i) ?elles ont **toutes** tout admis
they_{fem} have all_{fem} all admitted
- (ii) *elles ont tout **toutes** admis
they_{fem} have all all_{fem} admitted
- b. (i) ??il a **toutes** tout voulu qu' **elles** admettent
he has all_{fem} all wanted that they_{fem} admit
- (ii) *il a tout **toutes** voulu qu' **elles** admettent
he has all all_{fem} wanted that they_{fem} admit
- c. (i) ?elles ont **toutes** tous voulu qu' ils partent
they_{fem} have all_{fem} all_{masc} wanted that they_{masc} leave
- (ii) *elles ont tous **toutes** voulu qu' ils partent
they_{fem} have all_{masc} all_{fem} wanted that they_{masc} leave

(11) *'Round Robin' Constraint*:

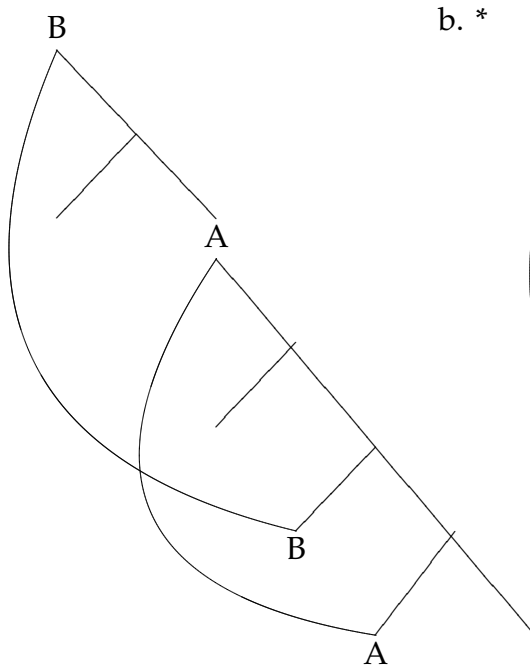
$*\alpha_i \dots \alpha_j \dots \alpha_j \dots \alpha_i$ \Rightarrow base order has to be preserved

3 Multidominance 1: Move

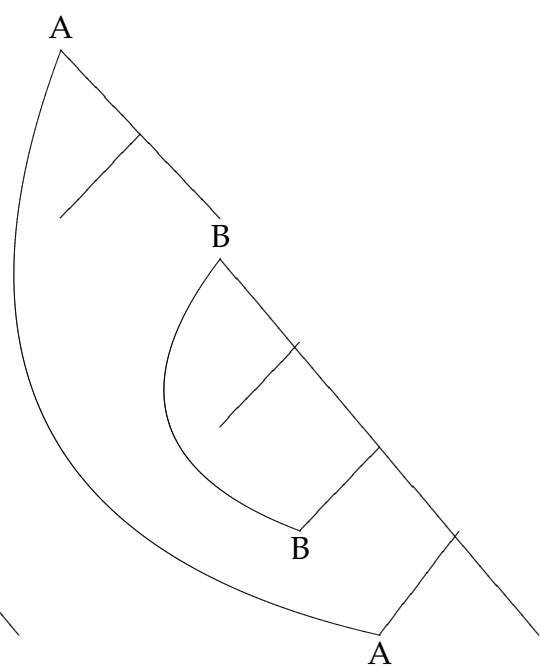
(12) *



(13) a.



b. *

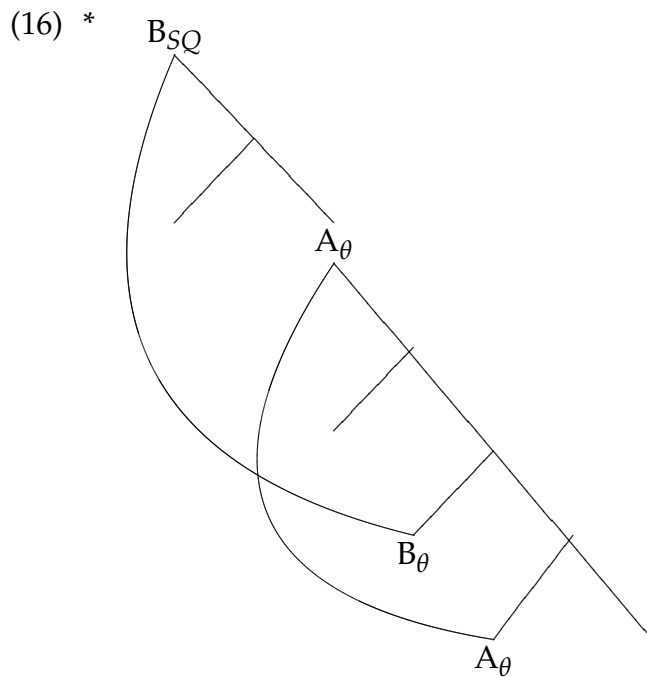


(14) α X-*includes* β iff α dominates all X-*mergers* of β .

(15) X-*merge*(α, β) iff

a. $\alpha, \beta \in X$, and

b. $\neg \exists \gamma, \gamma \in X, \alpha$ X-*includes* γ, γ c-*commands* β .



4 Multidominance 2: Agree

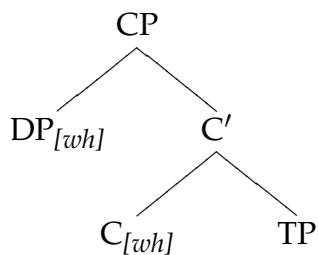
(17) *'Kernel' assumptions:*

- a. There exists a concatenation operation (e.g. 'merge').
- b. There exists an 'fseq' – a sequence of functional projections – such that the output of (17a) must respect fseq.

(18) *Asymmetric Projection* (abandoned):

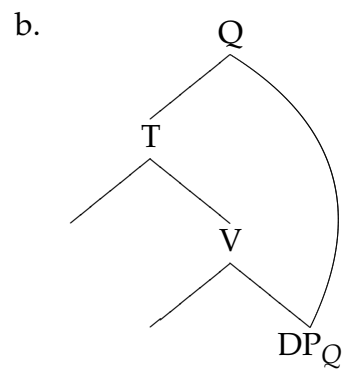
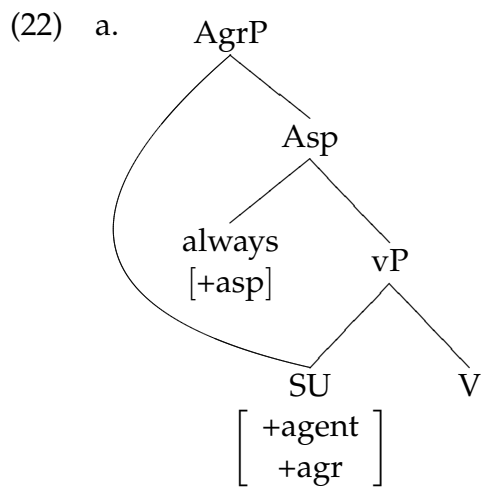
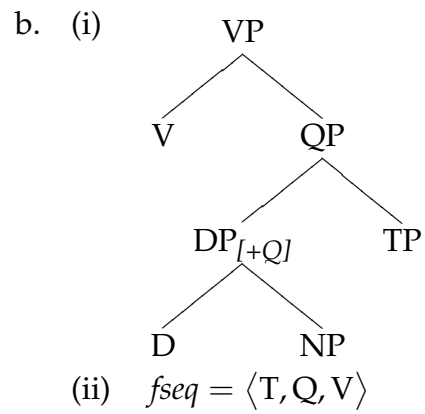
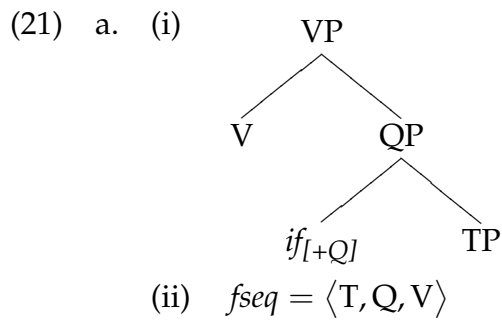
A feature f in an XP node cannot legitimate its mother (it cannot 'project'), but the same f in an X° node can legitimate a maximal projection (it can 'project').

(19)



(20) *Problems to be solved:*

- a. functional heads implied by (19) are null most of the time
- b. duplication of every feature
- c. 'double-articulation' of phrase structure
- d. status of spec-head locality



- (23) $X\text{-merge}(\alpha, \beta)$ iff
- $\beta \in X$, and
 - $\neg \exists \gamma, \gamma \in X, \alpha$ includes γ and γ c-commands β .

References

Starke, Michal (2001). Move Dissolves Into Merge: A Theory of Locality. PhD thesis, University of Geneva.