

# IGRA 01

## Opacity in Syntax

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# Counter-feeding in Syntax

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# Wanna Contraction

## 1. Control vs ECM

1.1 Who do you want to meet ?

1.2 Who do you wanna meet ?

1.3 Who do you want to meet Mary ?

1.4 \* Who do you wanna meet Mary?

## Coarse Analysis

Two operations:

**Wanna-contraction** (optional)

contract adjacent *want* and *to*

**Wh-movement** (obligatory)

front a *wh*-word

# Counter-bleeding in Syntax

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# Reflexivization in Imperatives

## 2. Reflexivization in Imperatives

2.1 \* Wash you!

2.2 Wash yourself!

### Analysis

Two processes:

**Principle A** an anaphor is bound within its minimal clause

**Imperative subject deletion** In imperatives, subjects are deleted

## *Wh*-movement from ECM Complements

3. Who<sub>1</sub> do [<sub>TP</sub> you believe [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> to have left]] ?

# Problematic assumptions

**ECM complements are TPs**

(because CPs block case assignment)

**Subjacency**

movement cannot cross two bounding nodes

- Bounding nodes in English: DP and TP

## Examples for Subjacency

\* How<sub>1</sub> does [<sub>TP</sub> she know [<sub>CP</sub> [which car]<sub>2</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Mary fixed t<sub>2</sub> t<sub>1</sub>]]] ?

How<sub>1</sub> do [<sub>TP</sub> you think [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Mary fixed the car t<sub>1</sub>]]] ?



# Revised assumptions

**Goal** Preserve spirit of assumptions

## New Assumptions

- ECM complements are TPs *at some point*
- *All* sentential complement verbs select for CPs
- new operation: **Structure removal**
  - can delete heads

# Solution

**believe selects CP**

do [<sub>TP</sub> you believe [<sub>CP</sub> who<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> to have left]]]

**move WH**

who<sub>1</sub> do [<sub>TP</sub> you believe [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> to have left]]]

**case via structure removal**

who<sub>1</sub> do [<sub>TP</sub> you believe [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> to have left]]

## 4. Anti-freezing vs freezing

4.1  $[_{VP} t_1 \text{ gelesen}]_2 \text{ hat } [\text{das Buch}]_1 \text{ keiner } t_2$

4.2 \*  $\text{Was}_1 \text{ denkst du } [_{VP} t_1 \text{ gelesen}]_2 \text{ hat keiner } t_2$

4.3 \*  $\text{Was}_1 \text{ hat } [_{VP} t_1 \text{ gelesen}]_2 \text{ keiner } t_2$

**CED** Movement cannot cross a barrier

1. an XP is a barrier iff it is not a complement
2. ... iff it has been moved

**X-Criterion** an [X]-marked YP must show up in SpecZP, where Z requires [X]

- i.e. movement is feature-driven, consent is required from both parties
- [TOPIC], [SCRAMBLE], [WH]

# A case study on syntactic copying

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# Background

- Yoruba is
  - an official language of Nigeria
  - spoken natively by ~40 mil people
  - useful to think of as a Kwa language
- Yoruba has
  - three level tones (H, M, L)
  - (Subject-)Verb-Object, Noun-Determiner, Noun-Possessor
  - three areal constructions:
    1. serial verbs
    2. predicate clefts
    3. verbal relatives

## Simple sentences

1. Jimo ra adie  
Jimo buy chicken  
'Jimo bought a chicken'
2. Adie ti Jimo ra kere  
chicken that Jimo buy little  
'The chicken Jimo bought was little'

## Simple sentences

1. Jimo ra adie  
Jimo buy chicken  
'Jimo bought a chicken'
2. Adie **ti** Jimo ra kere  
chicken that Jimo buy little  
'The chicken Jimo bought was little'



## Verbal relatives

Jimo ra adie

1. Adie ti Jimo ra kere  
chicken that Jimo buy little  
“The chicken that Jimo bought is little.”
2. Rira ti Jimo ra adie ko da  
buying that Jimo buy chicken not good  
“The way/fact that Jimo bought the chicken wasn't good.”
3. Rira adie ti Jimo ra adie ko da  
buying chicken that Jimo buy chicken not good

Jimo ra adie

1. Adie **ti** Jimo ra kere  
chicken that Jimo buy little  
“The chicken that Jimo bought is little.”
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buying chicken that Jimo buy chicken not good

## Copying in VRels

Jimo ra adie

- \* Jije ti Jimo ra adie  
eating that Jimo buy chicken
- \* Rira nkan ti Jimo ra adie  
buying something that Jimo buy chicken
- \* Rira adie ti Jimo ra nkan  
buying chicken that Jimo buy something

## Phrasal copies in Yoruba I: Serial Verbs

- Bode ti Akin ṣubu  
Bode push Akin fall  
“Bode pushed Akin down.”
- Titi ti Bode ti Akin ṣubu  
pushing REL Bode push Akin fall  
“The fact/way Bode pushed Akin down”
- Titi Akin ṣubu ti Bode ti Akin ṣubu  
pushing Akin fall REL Bode push Akin fall
- Titi ṣubu ti Bode ti Akin ṣubu  
pushing fall REL Bode push Akin fall

## Phrasal copies in Yoruba II: Tones

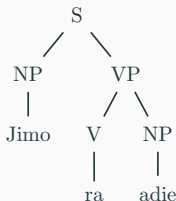
- Olu **rā** adie  
Olu buy chicken
- **Rirà** ti Olu **rā** adie  
buying REL Olu buy chicken
- **Rirā** adie ti Olu **rā** adie  
buying chicken REL Olu buy chicken

## Simple Sentences

- Rira ti Jimo ra adie ko da  
buying that Jimo buy chicken not good

“The way/fact that Jimo bought the chicken wasn't good.”

- Rira adie ti Jimo ra adie ko da  
buying chicken that Jimo buy chicken not good



## Complex Sentences

- Titi ti Bode ti Akin subu ko da  
pushing that Bode push Akin fall not good  
“The way/fact that Bode pushed Akin down wasn’t good.”
- Titi subu ti Bode ti Akin subu ko da  
pushing fall that Bode push Akin fall not good
- Titi Akin subu ti Bode ti Akin subu ko da  
pushing Akin fall that Bode push Akin fall not good

The derivational history of serial verb constructions:

- $V_1$
- $V_1 V_2$
- $V_1 O V_2$



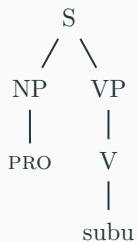
## Verbal Relative Clauses and Typology

S [V<sub>1</sub> O V<sub>2</sub>]<sub>VP</sub>

- Yoruba (Yoruboid: Nigeria)  
copying of V, V<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>2</sub>, and VP
- Wolof (Atlantic: Senegal):  
copying of V, V<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>2</sub>
  - Twi (Kwa: Ghana):  
copying of V

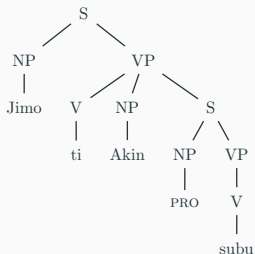
## The Structure of Serial Verbs

- Argument Sharing in SVCs mediated by PRO



## The Structure of Serial Verbs

- Argument Sharing in SVCs mediated by PRO
- Verbs in a series have then the following gross structure:

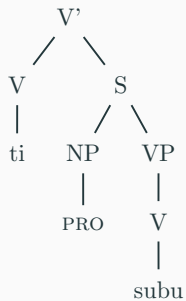


## The Structure of Serial Verbs

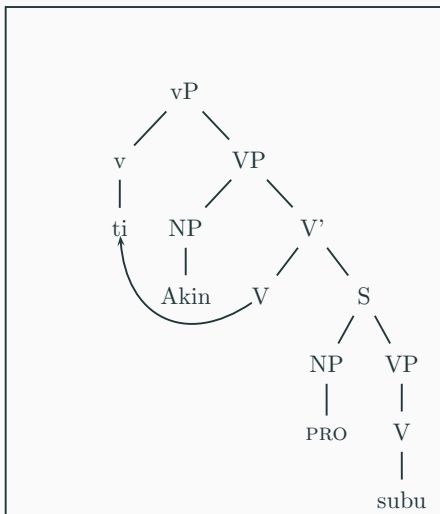


V  
|  
ti

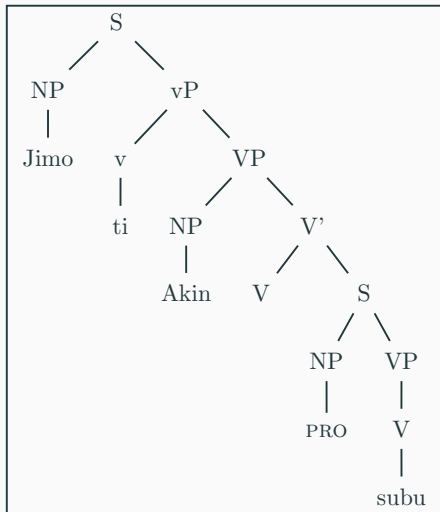
## The Structure of Serial Verbs



## The Structure of Serial Verbs



## The Structure of Serial Verbs



## Deriving Opaque Copies

Titi şubu ti Bode ti Akin şubu

- [ti şubu] ← **copy here!** (merge *ti* and {şubu})
- [Akin [ti şubu]] (merge *Akin*)
- [ti [Akin [ şubu]]] (head move *ti*)
- [Bode [ti [Akin [ şubu]]]] (merge *Bode*)
- [ti [Bode [ti [Akin [ şubu]]]]] (merge *ti*)
- [[**ti şubu**] [ti [Bode [ti [Akin [ şubu]]]]]] (merge copy of *ti şubu*)



## Deriving Opaque Copies II

Rira ti Olu ra adie

- [rà] ← copy here!
- [rà adie] (merge *ra* and {*adie*})
- [rā adie] (tone change rule)
- [Olu [rā adie]] (merge *Olu*)
- [ti [Olu [rā adie]]] (merge *ti*)
- [rà [ti [Olu [rā adie]]]] (merge copy of *ra*)