Optional final problem on *wh*-movement and islands

**Part 1**

1. Draw trees for the sentences in (1). Assuming that the bounding nodes for subjacency are DP and CP, indicate *all necessary* instances of *wh*-movement with appropriate circles and arrows. [Please write the *wh*-phrase itself only in the position in which it is pronounced.] Assume for the moment that all three examples are acceptable.

(1) a. Which books did John say that Mary thinks Tom put ___ on reserve in the library?

Your tree should have 3 CPs in it. (Make sure that what follows *thinks* is a CP!) If you're following the instructions to the letter, the DP *which books* (call which an instance of D!) moves from the position of the underline to the middle Spec,CP — skipping the lowest Spec,CP. That's because the instructions ask for *all necessary* instances of *wh*-movement. In the theory as given in class, with DP and CP bounding nodes, movement to the lowest Spec,CP might be possible (obligatory if the lowest C has the uWh feature), but is not required by subjacency. If I were grading it, I'd take off a point or two for not seeing this detail!

I see that my directions asked you only to show *wh*-movement, which was sloppiness on my part. You should also know that *did* moves from I to C.

b. Whose friends have you taken pictures of ___ ?

*Who* is Spec,DP; *'s is D; *friends* is NP. Your tree should show this phrase moving directly to Spec,CP. Also: *have* moves from V to I, and then from I to C. [I didn't actually ask you to show this; see above.]

c. Who did you wonder why I invited ___ to the party?

*Who* moves directly from the object position of *invited*, crossing only one bounding node - the lower CP.

2. Suppose we were wrong about the bounding nodes for English. Suppose they were DP and IP.

a. Do any previously optional instances of *wh*-movement become necessary? If so, which ones, and why? Conversely, do any previously necessary instances of *wh*-movement become optional?

Nothing previously necessary becomes optional.

b. Do any examples change their predicted status from good to bad -- or from bad to good? If so, explain -- and tell me what your judgment is.

Example (1b) should now be unacceptable, since DP and IP are crossed, and there's no landing site within DP. [This seems to be a wrong conclusion.]

Likewise, (1c) should now be unacceptable, assuming there is only one Spec,CP position per CP available for (overt) *wh*-movement in English. Movement of *who* would have to cross 2 IPs on its way to the highest CP, since the lower one is filled. You might wonder whether *who* could move first, then followed by *why*. This appears to be impossible, and might be attributed to a number of factors, which I won't go into here. (You could Google for strict cycle. You could also ask me about "traces").

**Part 2**

1. Draw trees for the unacceptable sentences in (2). Assume the *wh*-made it to its final destination somehow, perhaps by bribing appropriate border guards, but also assume that it did its best to land everywhere it could on the way.

2. For each example, indicate if any movement step (or steps) violates subjacency on the assumption that the bounding nodes are DP and CP. Say how.

3. If any example violates one of the other constraints that we discussed (perhaps in addition to subjacency), indicate which one(s), and exactly how the constraint is violated.

(2) a. *Who did you buy a picture of Sue and ___ ?

I wouldn't be too picky about your structure for *Sue and who*. The answer to question 3 is "Coordinate Structure Constraint". I suppose if you decided on a [DP, DP and DP] structure, you might see *who* as crossing two DPs and thus as a subjacency violation. This couldn't be a general theory of CSC effects, though, since non-bounding node categories show the same phenomenon, e.g. *How proud is Bill very tall and ____*. where it's an AP that's extracted, and subjacency would say nothing special about extraction from [AP, AP and AP].
Part 3

For many speakers, the following two sentences contrast. What is the reason for the contrast, and what does this tell us about how movement works?

(3)

a. ??What did you persuade whom to buy __?

b. Who did you persuade __ to buy what?

The issue here is "Attract Closest". (This effect is called a Superiority Effect.) Who is closer to the matrix CP than what, and should be the element that undergoes \(wh\) movement first.

Draw a tree for (3b).
Make sure you remember that *persuade* takes two complements, a DP and a CP, where the CP has a null C and has PRO as its subject.

Assume, as discussed in the final week, that English is like Bulgarian after all -- except that some of the movements that are overt in Bulgarian are covert in English. Indicate all instances of movement with appropriate circles and arrows, marking which one(s) are overt and which, covert.

If this were Bulgarian, *who* would occupy the higher of two Specs of CP, and *what* would occupy the lower. Needless to say, in English, it is movement of *who* that is overt, and movement of *what* is covert.