

A multiple dominance approach to parasitic gaps

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Goal: Recently, the existence of multiple dominance structures has been argued on various empirical grounds (Wilder 1999 and Citko 2005, among many others). The goal of this paper is to present another piece of evidence for multiple dominance, based on parasitic gap (PG) constructions in (1).

Proposal: Citko (2000) suggests that in the case of long distance ATB movement such as (2), the *wh*-phrase is originally base-generated in the second conjunct and then undergoes *wh*-movement. When the *wh*-phrase moves to the edge of CP, it gets shared with the matrix V in (3). Finally it moves to [Spec, CP]. This paper extends her analysis to PG constructions. The *wh*-phrase in (1) is originated in the object position of *reading* and then moves to the edge of the adverbial CP. *File* is merged with the *wh*-phrase, in a similar way to (3). I assume with Johnson (1991) and Koizumi (1993) that English has overt object shift. Thus, *which paper* overtly moves to [Spec, AgroP] in (4). Then, the adverbial clause adjoins to *v*P and the *wh*-phrase moves to [Spec, CP] through the edge of *v*P. One might ask why the movement of *which paper* out of the adverbial clause induces no island violation. I assume that CED islands emerge when they are merged into a structure (Nunes and Uriagereka 2000 and Nunes 2004). When *which paper* moves out of the adverbial clause, the latter is still an independent syntactic object. Thus, the adverbial clause does not block the extraction of *which paper* out of it.

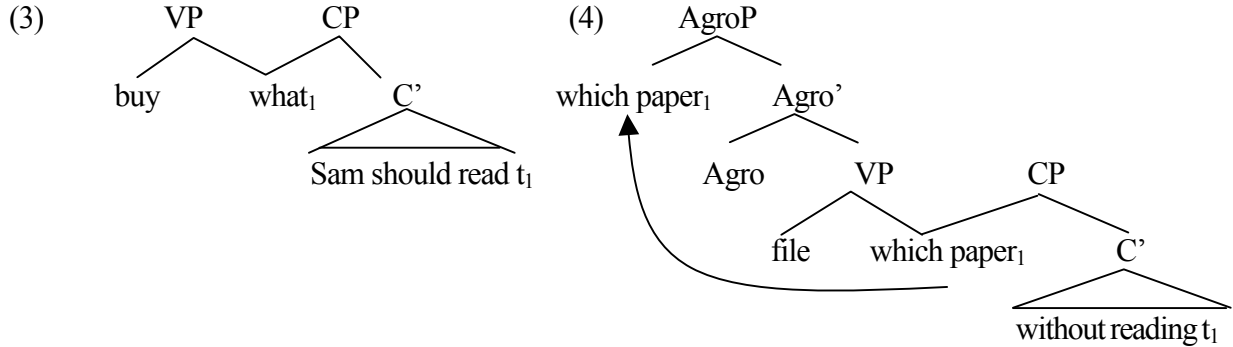
Empirical support: The proposed analysis explains mysterious properties of PG constructions. First, the antecedent of a parasitic gap should be a noun phrase in (5a). Under the proposal, *about which* gets shared at the edge of CP. The derivation proceeds and the adverbial clause adjoins to *v*P in (6). The next step is that *about which* directly moves to the edge of *v*P. Crucially, when the *wh*-phrase moves, the adverbial clause has already adjoined to the matrix clause and works as an adjunct island. Recall that in the case of the nominal *wh*-phrase in (1), it is capable of moving out of the adverbial clause before the latter adjoins to the matrix clause because the movement to [Spec, AgroP] is available. ATB movement has no such categorial restriction, as shown in (5b). The contrast between (5a) and (5b) is naturally captured under the proposed analysis because when *about which* also directly moves from the second conjunct to the first conjunct in (5b), the first conjunct and the second are merged, but the second conjunct is not an adjunct. Thus, there is nothing wrong with the derivation. Second, the trace of the antecedent of a parasitic gap should not c-command a parasitic gap in (7). (7) partially has a structure given in (8a), where the subject *wh*-phrase is immediately dominated by the matrix *v*P and the adverbial CP. In order for the *wh*-phrase to move to [Spec, TP] without violating the Adjunct Condition, the movement has to take place before the adverbial clause adjoins to the matrix clause, as illustrated in (8b). Thus, the adjunction site of the adverbial clause is supposed to be higher than TP. However, it is independently argued that the relevant adjunction site is lower than TP, based on the ungrammaticality of (9a), which indicates that the subject c-commands the adverbial clause. The proposed analysis correctly excludes (7) because there is no appropriate adjunction site for the adverbial clause. Third, as shown in (10), the antecedent of a parasitic gap should undergo overt movement. In-situ *wh*-phrases cannot be an antecedent of a parasitic gap. Under the proposed analysis, in (10), the *wh*-phrase stops at the matrix [Spec, AgroP], not moving to [Spec, CP]. What is wrong with this derivation? I assume with Chomsky (2000) that a constituent has to have an uninterpretable feature to be visible for movement. The activation feature cannot be checked at the intermediate step of successive cyclic movement. *Which report* has an activation feature [-wh], which is supposed to be checked as a reflex of Q-feature-checking in C. Thus, [-wh] feature of the *wh*-phrase cannot be checked at [Spec, AgroP]. The ungrammaticality of (10) is due to the uninterpretable feature [-wh]. There is another possible derivation for (10), where the *wh*-phrase has no activation feature for *wh*-movement and stays at [Spec, AgroP] in the adverbial clause. For this derivation, after the adverbial CP is created, the matrix verb is merged with the *wh*-phrase. However, at the point of the derivation where the adverbial CP is created, the *wh*-phrase has already underwent Spell-Out and is inaccessible to the computational system because

it is within the previous phase. This derivation is also correctly blocked.

Examples

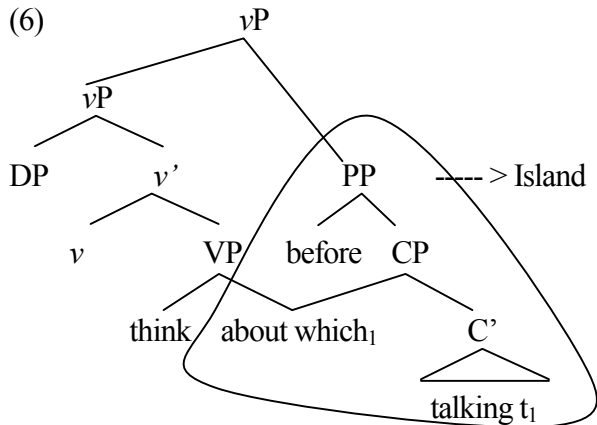
(1) Which paper₁ did you file t₁ without reading pg₁?

(2) What₁ will John buy t₁ and Mary think Sam should read t₁? (Citko 2000: 48)

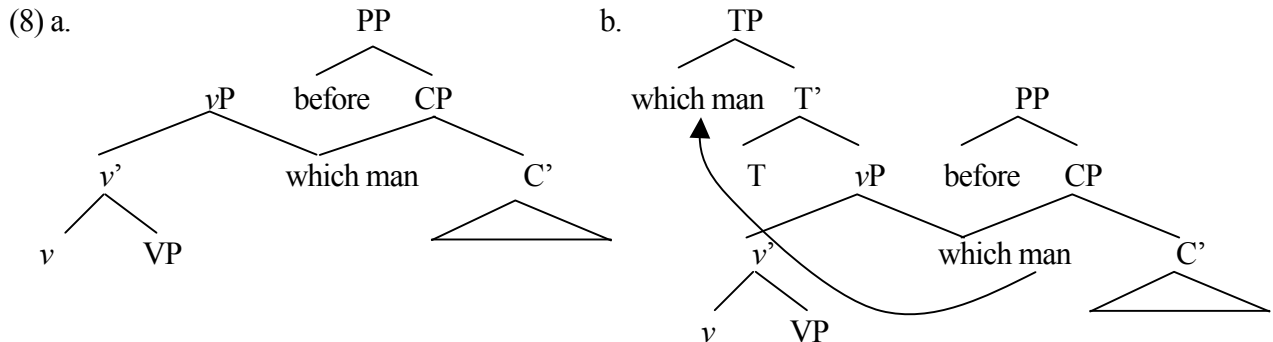


(5) a. *This is a topic [about which]₁ you should think t₁ before talking pg₁?

b. This is a topic [about which]₁ you should think t₁ and I should talk t₁? (Postal 1993)



(7) *I wonder which man₁ t₁ called you before you met pg₁.



(9) a. *He₁ left the party without talking to John's₁ friend.

b. John₁ left the party without talking to his₁ friend.

(10) *Who filed which report₁ without reading pg₁?

References [1]Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In *Step by step*, 89-155. [2]Citko, B. 2000. Parallel Merge and the syntax of free relatives. Doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook. [3]Citko, B. 2005. On the nature of Merge: External Merge, Internal Merge, and Parallel Merge. *LI* 36: 475-496. [4]Johnson, K. 1991. Object positions. *NLLT* 9:577-636. [5]Koizumi, M.1993. Object agreement phrases and the split VP hypothesis. In *MIT working papers in linguistics* 18, 99-148. [6]Nunes, J. 2004. Linearization of chains and sideward movement. [7]Nunes, J and J. Uriagereka. 2000. Cyclicity and extraction domains. *Syntax* 3: 20-43. [8]Postal, P. 1993. Parasitic gaps and the across-the-board phenomenon. *LI* 24: 734-754. [9]Wilder, C. 1999. Right node raising and the LCA. *Proceedings of WCCFL* 18, 586-598.