

Island Violating Movement in (colloquial) French

Dominique Sportiche

UCLA
dominique.sportiche@ucla.edu

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Basic Setup

I would like to make a single point:

A reasonable characterization of movement dependencies leads to the conclusion some (e.g. CLLD) violate (all) islands

The challenge then is to modify the ingredients of Phase theory to selectively allow these movements through, while blocking others. I will reach the following conclusions:

1. The left periphery must be enriched along the lines of Rizzi (1997)
2. Successive cyclicity is a clause bound succession of Topicalizations and/or Focalizations.

Basic Setup

Two kinds of XP/XP Long Distance Dependencies between a structurally 'high' α and a structurally 'low' β :

- Binding of β by α

(1) Nobody $_{\alpha}$ thinks that (I believe that) you saw him $_{\beta}$

- Movement from β to α (Question or Relative Clause formation, Topicalization)

(2) a. Who $_{\alpha}$ does nobody think that (I believe that) you saw $_{\beta}$
 b. The woman who $_{\alpha}$ nobody thinks that (I believe that) you saw $_{\beta}$
 c. This woman $_{\alpha}$, nobody thinks that (I believe that) you saw $_{\beta}$

- **NB:** Here, the discussion is limited to A-bar movement.

Basic Setup

Two kinds of XP/XP Long Distance Dependencies between a structurally 'high' α and a structurally 'low' β :

- Binding of β by α
- Movement from β to α (Question or Relative Clause formation, Topicalization, ...)

Binding and Movement have properties:

- In common: c-command of β by α
- Not in common
 - Island sensitivity: (always?) true of movement only = no island boundary between β and α

* α ... [*islandboundary* ... β

- Displacement property (= superficially non local saturation):
true of movement only = α saturates β .
In: *Bill, Mary saw t* → *Bill* is an argument of *see*.
In: *Bill, Mary saw him* → *him* is the argument of *see* and *Bill* binds it.

A standard view

Question about movement dependencies:

- Is it true that: Movement (=non local saturation) iff Island sensitivity?
- If true, why is it?

Standard answer

- Movement (=non local saturation) iff Island sensitive: **YES**
- Why?
A version of Bounding theory: e.g. Phase Theory (entailing successive cyclicity),
contrasting the structural paths of Movement and Binding dependencies.

Assessing this standard view

To evaluate this standard answer

- Movement iff Island sensitive: YES

And how it is derived

- Why? A version of Bounding theory: Successive Cyclicity, Subjacency or Phase Theory augmented by or incorporating a version of government theory - ECP - to handle CED like effects.

We must first:

1. Identify Movement dependencies **independently** of Island sensitivity
2. Verify the correlation: Movement iff Island sensitivity

Assessing this standard view I

How to identify Movement dependencies **independently** of Island sensitivity: not immediately clear:

We must use a characteristic property of movement independent of island sensitivity.

1. Presence of Gap? Neither necessary nor sufficient:

- Not sufficient: gap could have other origins (silent pronoun: *pro*)
- Not necessary: some gapless (resumptive) structures exhibit island sensitivity (e.g. Lebanese questions and relatives, cf. Aoun et al., 2001, among many other cases: see Rouveret, 2011).

(3) Jean, on le connait
 Jean, we him know

If *Jean* is a Hanging Topic: No movement.

If *Jean* is CL(itic) L(eft) D(islocated): Movement.

2. Non local semantic saturation? Hard to tell: cf. (3) above

3. WCO?

- Not necessary: not always found with movement (Topicalization, Null operator constructions, cf. Lasnik and Stowell, 1991). Not applicable to what we are investigating: CLLD.
- Controversially not sufficient (QR)

Assessing this standard view II

4. PG licensing?

- (4) a. Who did you invite t [*island* without knowing PG]
 b. Who did [*island* your interest in PG] surprise t

The Parasitic Gap/Real Gap distinction is based on ... island sensitivity: the PG is the one in an island (so we can't independently decide which is the real gap).

5. **Idiom chunk distribution?** Sufficient but not necessary. Only work in a subset of cases (cf. * in CLLD).

Assessing this standard view

To identify Movement dependencies **independently** of Island sensitivity, we need some other (necessary and) sufficient condition. Which?

Displaced interpretation aka Reconstruction/Connectivity:

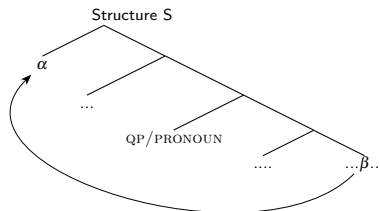
The possibility in an α/β dependency for α to semantically behave as if it was structurally located where β is. Why?

- It is natural: if α is an argument of some lower predicate, it should behave as such an argument semantically (e.g. for binding and scope).
- Reconstruction is reliable: (apart from equative constructions which have special semantic properties (because of the verb *be*), cf. Sharvit, 1999) in all the standard/agreed upon cases of (A-bar) movement and non movement, if reconstruction is available, movement is taken to have occurred.
- The precise properties of reconstruction and how it correlates with movement is predictable: it is possible to construct a theory of how movement functions that predicts this correlation (cf. Sportiche, 2016)
 - *Movement is the case of a single syntactic object having more than one structural address (=more than one occurrence).*
 - *The Full Interpretation Principle applied to syntactic objects (not occurrences).*

Plan

- Recall the conclusion I will reach: **Movement iff Island sensitive is incorrect**
- The path to this conclusion:
 1. A quick reminder about reconstruction
 2. A summarized exploration of the reconstruction properties of CL(itic) L(eft) D(islocation) (a counterpart to German Contrastive Topicalization, it seems) showing it is a (long distance) movement dependency, even though there is a resumptive clitic.
 3. An illustration that CLLD can reach into Strong Islands
- From this conclusion: Explore how we can model that some but not all movement is island sensitive within a Principles and Parameters/ Minimalist system.
 1. The need to enrich the periphery, the edge of Phases (as in Rizzi, 1997)
 2. How movement proceeds successive cyclically.
 3. Examine the role of resumption in Movement cases.

Reconstruction



- (5) Reconstruction of α : semantically treat β as identical to α .
Total reconstruction of α : semantically treat β as identical to α and do not interpret α at all.

Reconstruction: generalizations

More specifically, to account for such representative examples (here Topicalization) as:

- (6) a. **Reconstruction (for Condition C)**
 *[The picture of **John**_j]_α, **he**_j sold [*the picture of John*]_β
- b. **Total reconstruction (for scope)**
~~[The picture of his_k mother]~~_α, **nobody**_k would sell [*the picture of his_k mother*]_β
~~[The woman of his dreams]~~_α, John is **looking for** [*the woman of his dreams*]_β *de dicto possible*

We conclude:

- (7) a. If a pied piped complement in α triggers a Condition C effect with the pronoun below it, movement must be involved from a position - β - below the position of the pronoun.
- b. If α can reconstruct for scope below a quantifier/intensional operator, it means that a possible derivation involves movement from some β position in the scope of this quantifier/operator to the α position. Reconstruction for scope (e.g. pronominal binding) must be total (total reconstruction is required): only traces lower than the binder of the pronoun can be interpreted, as shown in (6-b), (where the crossed out material is not interpreted).

Background on CLLD

French CLLD: an XP which can be associated with a clitic is found at the left periphery of a clause, to the left of the associated clitic:

- (8)
- | | | |
|----|---|-------------|
| a. | Jean, il est parti | |
| | John 3.S.M.NOM. is left | |
| | 'John, he left' | Subject |
| b. | Jean, on le connait | |
| | John we 3.S.M.ACC. know | |
| | 'John, we know' | Object |
| c. | A Paris, on y va souvent | |
| | To Paris we LOC. go often | |
| | 'To Paris, we go often' | Locative PP |
| d. | Triste de te voir partir, Albert pourrait le devenir | |
| | Sad to see you go Albert could 3.S.M.ACC. become | |
| | 'Sad to see you go, Albert could become' | AP |
| e. | Que Marie est coupable, on le sait | |
| | That Marie is guilty we 3.S.M.ACC. know | |
| | 'That Maria is guilty, we know' | CP |
| f. | Que Marie soit coupable, on en doute | |
| | That Marie be guilty we GEN. doubt | |
| | 'That Maria is guilty, we doubt' | CP |

Background on CLLD

CLLD can be long distance or short distance. In long distance CLLD, the clitic and its associate XP are in different clauses as shown below:

- (9) **La voisine de Jean**, on dit que tu **la** connaissais
 the neighbor of John, we said that you 3.S.F.ACC. knew
 'John's neighbor, we said that you knew'

Any element that can be pronominalized by a clitic can be short distance or long distance CLLD-ed. The corresponding 3rd person clitics are listed below:

Subject	DO	IO	Locative PPs	Possessors	APs	CPs	CPs or Gen. PPs
il, elle	le, la	lui	y, en	son, sa	le	le	en

Is CLLD movement?

CLLD has been analyzed (in a variety of languages) as:

- A movement dependency (cf. Agouraki 1992; Cecchetto 2000; Cinque 1977; Kayne 1975; López 2009, inter alia)
- A base generated binding dependency (cf. Alexopoulou and Kolliakou 2002; Anagnostopoulou 1994, Cinque 1990; De Cat 2007; Tsimpli 1995; Zagana 2002, inter alia).
- A combination of movement and base generation (cf. Iatridou 1995).

Distinguishing CLLD from HTLD

Left peripheral elements resumed by clitics need not exemplify CLLD. They may also be Hanging Topics (HTLD).

Some criteria to control for the difference (after Krapova and Cinque, 2008)

1. Presence (CLLD) vs. absence (HTLD) of connectivity/reconstruction effects (including Case in relevant languages), cf. in particular Rudin (2013, 33ff).
2. HTLD is limited to DPs, while CLLD is available with any category for which there is a clitic, e.g. PPs, CPs or APs in French.
3. There can be more than one CLLD-ed XP in a given clause but no more than one HTLD-ed DP.

- (10) On me dit que de Sarah_k, à Jessica_m, il lui_m en_k parle
 They me tell that of Sarah, to Jessica, he to-her of-her talks about
 They tell me that he talks about Sarah to Jessica

Since we are systematically detecting the presence of connectivity/reconstruction effects, we must be dealing with CLLD given point 1 above and CLLD must be movement.

CLLD Reconstruction: condition C

CLLD of any non subject XP shows a Condition C effect below the subject: in (11), the pied piped name *Pierre* coindexed with the subject pronoun *il*, *pro* yields ill-formedness.

- (11)
- a. [La cliente de Pierre_j]_k, il_{*j,√m} la_k traiterait bien
 the client of Pierre, he 3.S.F.ACC. would treat well
 'The client of Pierre, he would treat well'
 - b. [A la cliente de Pierre_j]_k, il_{*j,√m} lui_k répondrait
 To the client of Pierre, he 3.S.F.DAT. would reply
 'To the client of Pierre, he would reply'
 - c. [Dans la maison de Pierre_j]_k, il_{*j,√m} y_k entre souvent
 Into the house of Pierre, he loc enter often
 'Into Pierre's house, he often enters'

CLLD Reconstruction: Scope

Total reconstruction for scope is possible, here under a subject: the pronoun *son*, can be bound by the QP: all of its instances must be in the QP's scope

- a. [La prof de son_j fils]_k, aucun/chaque parent_j la_k connaît bien
 the teacher of his son, no/every parent 3.S.F.ACC. knows well
 'The teacher of his son, no/every parent knows well'
- b. [A la prof de son_j fils]_k, aucun/chaque parent_j lui_k a parlé
 To the teacher of his son, no/every parent 3.S.F.DAT. has spoken
 'To the teacher of his son, no/every parent has spoken'

Free choice indefinites: must be in the scope of an appropriate licenser (here the conditional) :

- c. [[À un enfant]_k, on lui_k parlerait
 To a child, we 3.S.M.DAT. would talk
 'To a child we would talk'

CLLD Reconstruction: Summary

- In simple clauses, CLLD-ed XPs move from their normal position to which:
 - They reconstruct (condition C effect)
 - They can (but need not) totally reconstruct, licensing pronominal binding or *de dicto* readings

CLLD Reconstruction: Long Distance

This extends to long distance CLLD with one caveat:

Total Reconstruction is possible: pronominal binding

- a. [Les critiques de son_j dernier livre]_k, aucun/chaque auteur_j pense qu' elles_k seront ignorées
 the criticisms of his last book, no/every author thinks that 3.P.F.NOM. will be ignored
 'The criticisms of his last book, no/every author thinks they will be ignored'
- b. [Les critiques de son_j dernier livre]_k, je pense qu' aucun/chaque auteur_j les_k ignorait
 the criticisms of his last book, I think that no author 3.P.F.ACC. ignored
 'The criticisms of his last book, I think that no/every author has ignored' Condition C effects decay with distance (a processing effect?)

Total Reconstruction is possible: Free choice indefinites:

- a. [[À un enfant]_k, il est clair qu' on lui_k dirait qu' il pleut
 a child, it is clear that we 3.S.M.DAT. would tell that it is raining
 'To a child it is clear that we would not tell that it is raining'
- b. *[À un enfant]_k, il est clair qu' on lui_k a dit qu' il pleuvrait
 a child, it is clear that we 3.S.M.DAT. told that it would rain
 'To a child it is clear that he told that it would rain'

CLLD Reconstruction: Caveat

Caveat: Condition C decays with distance.

The following sentences progressively improve:¹

- a. [La voisine de Jean_j]_k, il_j dit qu' elle_k est partie
 the neighbor of John, he said that 3.S.F.NOM. is left
 'The female neighbor of John, he said that she left'
- b. [Quelle voisine de Jean_j]_k il_j dit t_k être partie
 Which neighbor of John 3.S.M.NOM. he said t to have left
 'Which neighbor of John's he said left?'
- a. [La voisine de Jean_j]_k, je lui_j ai dit qu' elle_k est partie
 the neighbor of John, I 3.S.M.DAT. has told that she is left
 'The neighbor of John, I told him that she left'
- b. [Quelle voisine de Jean_j]_k tu lui_j as dit t_k être partie
 Which neighbor of John you 3.S.M.DAT. has told t to have left
 'Which neighbor of John's did you tell him that she left?'
- a. [La voisine de Jean_j]_k, on a dit qu' il_j la_k rencontrait souvent
 The neighbor of John, we said that he 3.S.F.ACC. met often
 'The neighbor of John, we said that he met her often'
- b. [Quelle voisine de Jean_j]_k on a dit qu' il_j rencontrait souvent t_k
 Which neighbor of John we said that he met often t
 'Which neighbor of John did we say the he met often?'

¹A plausible processing account can be given of this observation.

CLLD Reconstruction: Caveat

Caveat: Condition C decays with distance.

The following sentences progressively improve, **even with predicate preposing reconstruction, which mandatorily totally reconstructs**(cf. Heycock, 1995), and where Condition C effects are perceived as strongest (Adger et al., 2017)

- a. [How proud of [John_k]] was he_k?
- b. [How proud of [John_k]] did Mary say that he_k that everyone was?
- c. [How proud of [John_k]] did Mary say that you thought that he_k assumed that everyone was?
-
- a. [Fier de [Jean_k]]_m, il_k le_m sera.
Proud of John, he it will be
- b. [Fier de [Jean_k]]_m, Marie dit qu'il_k croit que tout le monde le_m sera.
Proud of Jean, Marie says that he believes that everyone it will be
- c. [Fier de [Jean_k]]_m, Marie dit que tu penses qu'il_k croit que tout le monde le_m sera.
Proud of Jean, Marie says that you think that he believes that everyone it will be

This means that lack of a Condition C effect is uninformative.
But reconstruction for binding or scope does suggest movement.

CLLD Reconstruction: Summary

- CLLD-ed XPs move from their normal position to which:
 - They reconstruct (condition C effect).
 - They can - but need not - totally reconstruct (allowing pronominal binding)
- Conclusion: **CLLD is a potentially long distance movement dependency** (cf. Angelopoulos and Sportiche, 2018)

CLLD into Islands

CLLD can violate islands cf. De Cat (2007) - (here a relative clause complex NP, but true of some other islands) and **simultaneously** show the same reconstruction effects as in non island cases:

Examples with scope reconstruction in case of:

1. pronominal binding (first noted in Guilliot and Malkawi (2006) and Malkawi and Guilliot (2007): Reconstruction effects do take place inside islands in the presence of a resumptive pronoun (in French and Jordanian Arabic).
2. *de dicto* readings
3. Free choice indefinites

CLLD into Islands I

1. Total reconstruction for **pronominal binding** below the subject:

[Les devoirs de ses_j élèves]_k, on connaît plein de lycées où aucun
 the assignments of his pupils, we know lots of high schools where no
 prof_j ne les_k corrige
 teacher them-acc grade

2. Total reconstruction for **pronominal binding** below the indirect object:

Les notes de ses_j enfants]_k, on connaît tous les lycées où on
 the assignments of his pupils, we know all the high schools where no
 ne les_k montre à aucun parent_j
 teacher them-acc grade

CLLD into Islands II

3. Total reconstruction for low *de dicto* readings below the verb:

[La femme de ses rêves]_k j' ai fait la liste de tous les pays dans lesquels
 the woman of his dreams, I made the list of all the countries in which
 Jean la_k cherche
 John her is looking for

4. Total reconstruction of *free choice indefinites* below a conditional:

[[Un enfant]_k, il faudrait vérifier la formation de tous ceux qui le_k
 a child, we should check the training of all those who would
 garderait
 babysit him

Island Free Movements

Corroboration with categories that can't be Hanging Topics (non DPs).

Total reconstruction of APs for pronominal binding below the subject:

- a. Heureux que ses_j élèves réussissent]_k, on connaît tous les lycées
 Happy that his pupils succeed, we know all the high schools
 où aucun prof_j l'_k est
 where no teacher it-acc wishes

Total reconstruction of Clauses for pronominal binding below the subject:

- a. [Que ses_j élèves réussissent]_k, on connaît la plupart des de lycées
 that his pupils succeed, we know most high schools where
 où aucun prof_j le_k souhaite
 no teacher it-acc wishes

CLLD Reconstruction: Summary

- CLLD-ed DPs move from their normal position to which:
 - They reconstruct (condition C effect)
 - They can - but need not - totally reconstruct (allowing pronominal binding), **even into strong islands**.
- Conclusion: CLLD is a movement dependency that violates strong islands.

Questions

- Some movements obey islands: wh-movement (without resumption)
 - Some movement does not: CLLD
1. What distinguishes them?
 2. How to construe Bounding theory to let islands be permeable to the latter but not to the former?

Questions

1. What distinguishes them?

- 1.1 CLLD-ed constituents are (contrastive) **Topics**. They pick out some previously introduced entity/class: They are 'referential'. Quantifiers can't be CLLD-ed. Wh-moved phrases are quantificational and (at least for questions), they denote the **Focus** of their clause.
- 1.2 This correlate with the fact that CLLD does not trigger WCO effects, but wh-movement does.

2. How to construe Bounding theory to let islands be permeable to the latter but not to the former?

Some specific assumptions are needed to proceed.

- 2.1 Structure of the Left Periphery as in Rizzi (1997)
- 2.2 Successive cyclicity and Phase theory (Phases: CP, DP, at least)

Phase theory

Meant to account for islands such as *wh*-islands or the CNPC as follows:
 For the C(omplex) NP C(onstraint): [_{DP} D... CP] for example, Movement must transit through a designated Escape position at the Phase Edge.

$$[DP-Phase-Boundary \dots [CP-Phase-Boundary \text{EscapeP}_{wh} C [Opaque-Domain \dots Target.]]]$$

-PHASE EDGE -

1. CP is a relative clause, so the unique escape position is already occupied.
2. The target is in an opaque domain, not subjacent to the outside of the phase, hence not visible from it.
3. Extraction of the Target is ruled out.
 - 3.1 Quite possibly, this is not the only reason as the CNPC yields stronger violations than say *wh*-islands.
 - 3.2 *Wh*-extraction from DP is independently restricted to some complements of the head Noun (cf. Godard, 1992).
 - 3.3 The escape position at the edge of DP is not accessible to the target either.
 - 3.4 A double violation of the Subjacency requirement is incurred.

Phase theory

We want to preserve this logic for wh-movement:

$$[DP \dots [CP-Phase \text{EscapeP}_{wh} C [Opaque-Domain \dots Target.]]]$$

while allowing for island violating movement for CLLD. In the logic of Phase theory, this means:

1. CLLD like all movements must transit via the phase edge
2. A CLLD escape position at this phase edge must be available even if wh-movement has taken place in this phase
3. This position cannot be available to wh-movement (else it would violate islands too).

$$[DP \dots [CP-Phase \text{EscP}_{CLLD} \text{EscP}_{wh} C [Opaque \dots Target.]]]$$

4. This position must be available at the DP phase edge too, even to non complements of the Head N Targets.

$$[DP-Phase \text{EscP}_{CLLD} \dots N \dots [CP-Phase \text{EscP}_{CLLD} \text{EscP}_{wh} C [Opaque \dots Target.]]]$$

Phase Periphery

$$[DP\text{-Phase EscP}_{CLLD} \dots N \dots [CP\text{-Phase EscP}_{CLLD} EscP_{wh} C [\dots \text{Target} \dots]]]$$

DP peripheral Topic position possibly exemplified by such examples as:

- Tu connais [Modiano, son dernier livre?] *Modiano* ≠ DO
You know Modiano his last book
- T'as entendu Marie, les ennuis qu'on lui a faits *Marie* ≠ DO
D'you hear Marie, the troubles they to-her gave & binds a non wh-extractable position
- A propos de Sarah, le mec qui la taquine = A propos du mec qui taquine Sarah
About Sarah, the guy who teases her = About the guy who teases Sarah

Phase Periphery

[*DP-Phase* EscP_{CLLD} ...N... [*CP-Phase* EscP_{CLLD} EscP_{wh} C [...Target...]]

1. A correct prediction: Filled CLLD position is not island creating for wh-movement (cf. also Aoun et al., 2009, for the same facts in Lebanese Arabic)

(12) ✓ Où tu penses que Sarah, on va l'envoyer t?
 where you think that Sarah, they will her send?

(12) A filled CLLD position is available even if wh-movement has taken place in this phase

(13) On m'a demandé Sarah_k, quand tu l'_k a remarquée
 They me ask Sarah when you her noticed
 They asked when you noticed Sarah

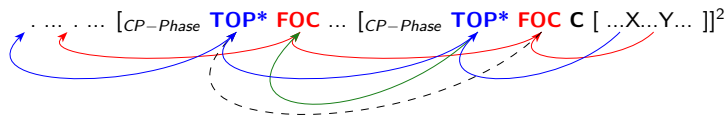
2. CLLD OK in the presence of wh-movement and Wh-movement OK in the presence of CLLD. They can coexist without interfering with each other: this means that extraction out of a clause (or a phase) cannot transit at the edge through one (or several) undifferentiated position(s), otherwise multiple wh-phrases could escape.
 Rather movement must proceed via specialized positions congruent with the movement type involved.

Phase Periphery

$$[DP\text{-Phase EscP}_{CLLD} \dots N \dots [CP\text{-Phase EscP}_{CLLD} EscP_{wh} C [\dots \text{Target} \dots]]]$$

1. Wh-movement and CLLD can coexist without interfering with each other: these movement must proceed via specialized positions dedicated to the movement type involved.
2. Minimal hypotheses:
 - 2.1 CLLD specific $YP_{CLLD\text{-Escape}} = \text{landing site for CLLD} = \text{TOP(ic)}$
 - 2.2 Wh-movement specific $EscP_{wh} = \text{FOC(us)} \neq \text{TOP(ic)}$

Successive Cyclicity



1. For clauses, we essentially end up with (a portion of) the enriched left periphery of Rizzi (1997): FORCE TOP* FOC FINITENESS
2. Consequence:
There is no purely "formal" successive cyclic movement:
To extract an XP out of any clause, this XP must be made a peripheral FOC(us) or TOP(ic) of this Clause
 - 2.1 Movement steps can be homogeneous from FOC to FOC or TOP to TOP.
 - 2.2 An heterogeneous step from TOP to FOC is in principle possible (documented in Sportiche, 2018, cf. e.g. McCloskey's 2002 "mixed chains") and makes a correct prediction (cf. later).
 - 2.3 A heterogeneous step from FOC to TOP is excluded: a topic is given unlike a focus. Once given, it cannot be the focus of a lower constituent.

²Recall, multiple CLLD allowed in a given clause, hence TOP*

An Incorrect Prediction

[*CP-Phase* TOP FOC ...C... [*CP-Phase* TOP FOC C [*Opaque* ...Target...]]

- Any Topicalization and perhaps all of Lasnik and Stowell, 1991 Null Operator Constructions with Referential Antecedents as e.g. Tough-movement (*This problem is tough* OP_m to solve t_m or Too/Enough-Movement constructions *This bed is too heavy* OP_m to lift m which are also WCO free) is **wrongly** predicted to violate islands.
- Something else must be blocking island violating Topicalization: The conspicuous difference between (English) Topicalization (and these null operator constructions) and French DP CLLD is the presence of the **resumptive clitic pronoun**.

Briefest sketch of an ECP account

- Why should resumption make a difference ?
- Resumption is generally assumed to salvage island violations by replacing a movement dependency by a binding dependency (antecedent, Resumptive element).
 - So lack of movement is a possibility: in this case we expect no reconstruction into the island. This happens (cf. e.g. Lebanese Arabic, Aoun et al., 2001)
 - French CLLD shows reconstruction so this is not an option here.

Briefest sketch of an ECP account

- Resumption plays another role.
- There are some (pretty incontrovertible) cases of non island violating wh-movement with mandatory resumption found at least in two Kru languages of West Africa (Vata and Gbadi), cf. Koopman (1982) and (Koopman, 1984, sections 2.3.3.2 and 6.2.4), and in Swedish in Engdahl (1985).

(14) Vata or Swedish rendered in Pseudo English
Who do you think that (*he) left

They make almost identical observations and drew similar conclusions about the behavior of these resumptive pronouns:

1. They license parasitic gaps
 2. They give rise to weak crossover effects.
 3. They satisfy the ATB requirement on extraction from coordinate structures (one gap, one resumptive);
 4. They "are used systematically only in the subject position of tensed clauses in fact, to void what would otherwise be COMP-trace violations.
- Koopman and Engdahl conclude that these resumptive pronouns behave just like wh-traces and are phonetically realized traces to overcome COMP-trace aka ECP.
 - A candidate answer is thus the ECP (which movement must satisfy in addition to bounding theory even inside islands, (cf. Pesetsky, 1984): the clitic must somehow ECP-license an otherwise unlicensed trace in the source clause.

Briefest sketch of an ECP account

.... [*CP-Phase* **TOP** **FOC** **C** [*Opaque* ... Target₁ ... Target₂]]

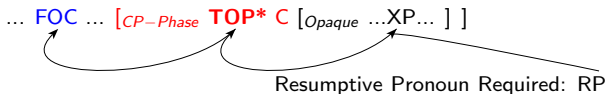
1. Say movement is licensed via AGREE. Then TOPic probes and FOCus probes do not interfere with each other.
2. But suppose ECP licensing (holding at LF, cf. QR - Kayne, 1981) requires some identification by an antecedent (Lasnik and Saito, 1984's *antecedent government*).
3. If this ECP required identification is sensitive to intervention and the hierarchy at an edge is TOP > FOC, FOC would block ECP licensing from TOP. The target will have to be licensed some other way, e.g. by a Clitic.

A correct prediction

Guilliot and Malkawi (2006) and Malkawi and Guilliot (2007): Reconstruction effects do take place inside islands in the presence of a resumptive pronoun (in Jordanian Arabic) with **wh-movement**!

- (15) chuft SSuura₂ tabafat ?ibn-ha₁ illi zfiltu la?annu kul
 see.Past.1s the-picture of.son.his that be-angry=past2p because each
 mwazzafah₁ bidha t?alli?-ha₂ bi-l-maktab
 employee-Fem want.imp.3sf hang.Past.3sf-it in.the.office
 I saw **the picture of his son** that you are angry because **each employee** wants
 to hang **it** in the office'

Alternative wh-movement:



1. A QP cannot be a topic, but a QP trace functions as a definite description and can be.
2. A sequence of steps from TOP to FOC is independently documented (see Sportiche, 2018)
3. If XP is in island, there must be a resumptive to satisfy the ECP.
4. We get the result that movement from inside an island is possible (and can thus reconstruct) whether it is CLLD or wh-movement but only if there is resumption: this inverts the common view that resumption precludes movement.

Summary

- Not all movements obey islands.
- The left periphery must be enriched along the lines of Rizzi (1997)
- Successive cyclicity is a clause bound succession of Topicalizations and/or Focalizations.
- Islands effects can arise because of the ECP.

Acknowledgments

THANKS

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Reconstruction under subjects: not mandatory

For Condition C:

It can be shown that total reconstruction is not mandatory: a DP (here *Pierre*) inside an adjunct to a preposed phrase does not have to trigger a Condition C effect with the subject pronoun *il*: this shows that total reconstruction is not required; the CLLD-ed object can be interpreted higher than the subject, in the left periphery. In such a position, the adjunct, here a relative clause, can be late merged, bleeding Condition C, as in (16):

- (16) a. [La cliente que Pierre_j représente]_k, il_{√j,√m} la_k représente bien
 the client that Pierre represents, he 3.S.F.ACC. represents well
 'The client that Pierre represents, he represents her well'
- b. [A la cliente que Pierre_j représente]_k, il_{√j,√m} lui_k répond
 To the client that Pierre represents, he 3.S.F.DAT. replies
 toujours
 always
 'To the client that Pierre represents, he always replies to her'

CLLD into Islands: condition C

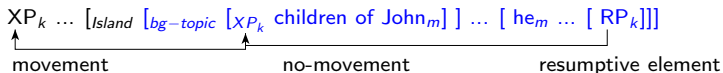
Does the fact that CLLD can violate island predicts condition C effects inside islands?
Condition C effects do not seem to arise:

- a. [Les enfants de Jean_j]_k, on connaît plein de lycées où
the children of Jean, we know lots of high schools where he
il_j les_k inscrirait pas
them-Acc would register not

Pronominal binding reconstruction arises if movement is **possible** from the reconstructed position.

Condition C effects arise if movement is **required** from the reconstructed position.

But movement could be from an island peripheral base generated Topic higher than the pronoun:



Such configurations are independently documented e.g. in Selayarese, Irish or Lebanese Arabic, cf. Finer (1997), McCloskey (2002), Sportiche (2018).

Condition C: controlling for Focus

CLLD of any non subject XP shows a Condition C effect below the subject: in (17), the pied piped name *Pierre* coindexed with the subject pronoun *il, pro* yields ill-formedness. But the offending name is phrase final and gets focal stress— ζ WCO?

- (17)
- a. [Même la **cliente** de Pierre_j]_k, il_{*j,√m} la_k traiterait bien
Even the client of Pierre, he 3.S.F.ACC. would treat well
'The client of Pierre, he would treat well'
 - b. [Même à la **cliente** de Pierre_j]_k, il_{*j,√m} lui_k répondrait
Even to the client of Pierre, he 3.S.F.DAT. would reply
'To the client of Pierre, he would reply'
 - c. [Même dans la **maison** de Pierre_j]_k, il_{*j,√m} y_k entre souvent
Even into the house of Pierre, he loc enter often
'Into Pierre's house, he often enters'

CLLD into Islands: condition C

To check condition C, we need to guarantee that movement has indeed taken place from below the pronoun. This can be done by having a pronoun in the preposed constituent bound by a quantifier lower than the pronoun:



- a. [La présentation de ces crétins_m à ses_p élèves]_k, on connaît plein de lycées où ils_m ont dit qu'aucun prof_p écoutait t_k
 The presentation by these cretins to his students, we know lots of high schools where they said that no teacher it-acc listened to not

Judgements become quite difficult, especially given Condition C decay.

Guillot and Malkawi's take on pronominal binding into islands

Guillot and Malkawi (2006) and Malkawi and Guillot (2007).

1. Guillot and Malkawi (2006) and Malkawi and Guillot (2007): Reconstruction effects do take place inside islands in the presence of a resumptive pronoun (in French and Jordanian Arabic, with *wh*-movement).
2. Because it does not show Condition C effects, they conclude it can't be movement (but cf. earlier caveat).
3. The reconstruction effect arise because resumptive pronouns can be e-type:
Which book about his mother [*Island* [_{RP} the ~~book about his mother~~]]
Suppletion: [_{RP} the [~~book about his mother~~ *e*]] = it (cf. Elbourne, 2001)
4. Insufficient (i) Can't handle *de dicto* or free choice indefinites reconstructions into islands
5. Insufficient (ii):
 - 5.1 To get pronominal binding/ *de dicto* readings or free choice indefinite licensing, reconstruction must be total: the antecedent has to semantically delete in the high position. But why?
 - 5.2 Overgenerates: Hanging Topic vs CLLD
In both cases, a left peripheral DP binds a resumptive pronoun, but one case can reconstruct totally (CLLD), while the other can't (HTLD).

HTLD vs. CLLD analysis

How is this difference handled? Superficially:

- (18) Jean, on le connaît
 Jean, we know him.

If CLLD is movement, the clitic cannot be the argument of the verb. The analysis is:

- (19) a. HTLD: Binding
 Jean_k, on le^k connaît *pro*_k^k
 Jean, we him know (silent pronoun)
- b. CLLD: Movement
 Jean_k, on le^k connaît *t*_k^k
 Jean, we him know (trace)

This analysis is justified in detail in Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2018).

Island differences

Only covered: wh-type islands

- wh-islands
- Relative clauses
- (Possibly Adnominal clausal complements)
- wh-adjuncts

Not covered

- Subject Condition
- Sentential subject
- Non wh-adjuncts

The latter fall under Huang's CED generalization which in one way or another relies on the complement/ non complement asymmetry and (because of the ECP complement/non complement asymmetry) is handled by the ECP rather than by Phase theory.