

# Amelioration of the Subject Condition Effects by Remnant Movement

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## 1. Introduction

### (1) Subject Condition Effects as "Freezing Effects"

Takahashi (1994); Ishii (1997); Nunes and Uriagereka (2000); Stepanov (2001; 2007); Boeckx (2003; 2008); Gallego (2007); Gallego and Uriagereka (2007)

### (2-3): *Internal/External Argument Contrast with the Subject Condition*

#### (2) Extraction from an External Argument

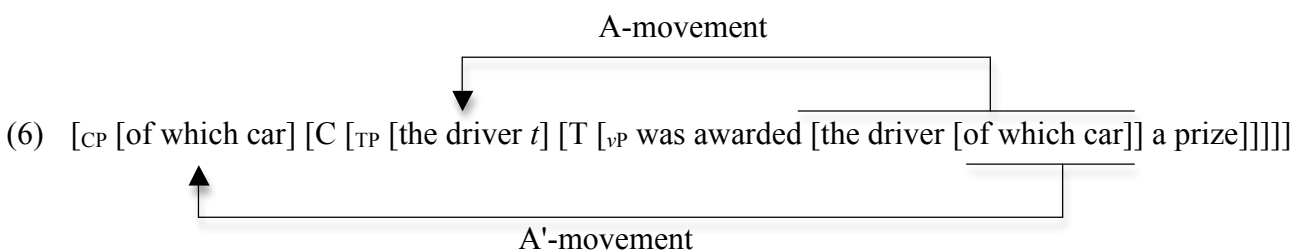
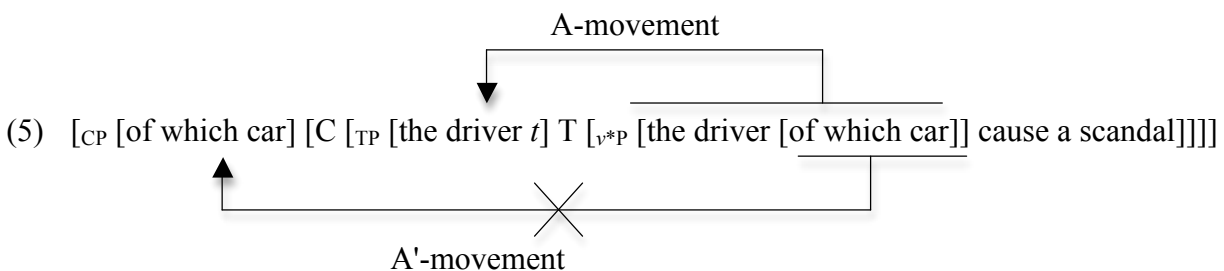
- a. \*Of which car did [the driver *t*] cause a scandal?
- b. \*Of which car did [the picture *t*] cause a scandal?

#### (3) Extraction from an Internal Argument

- a. Of which car was [the driver *t*] awarded a prize?
- b. Of which car was [the picture *t*] awarded a prize? (Chomsky 2008: 147)

#### (4) Chomsky's (2008) Probe Theory

- a. C and v\*, but not T and V, are phase heads.
- b. Phase heads have both edge- and Agree-features. The edge-feature triggers "A'-movement" to the Spec of C or the Spec of v\*, whereas the Agree feature, which is inherited by T or V, triggers "A-movement" to the Spec of T or the Spec of V.
- c. "A'-movement" and "A'-movement" proceed in parallel, *i.e.*, "A'-movement" does not target the head of an "A-chain" but its foot.



- (7) An element embedded in a lower phase already passed in the derivation is not accessible to a higher phase head. (Chomsky 2008: 147-8)
- (8) Edge Condition (Gallego and Uriagereka 2007: 55)  
Syntactic objects in phase edges are internally frozen.
- (9) Against Chomsky's (2008) Analysis of the Subject Condition  
Broekhuis (2006); Gallego (2007); Gallego and Uriagereka (2007); Boeckx (2008)
- (10-11): *No Internal/External Argument Contrast with Non-D-linked Wh-phrases*
- (10) a. \***Of whom** did [the driver *t*] cause a scandal?  
b. \***Of whom** did [the picture *t*] cause a scandal?
- (11) a. \***Of whom** was [the driver *t*] awarded a prize?  
b. \***Of whom** was [the picture *t*] awarded a prize?
- (12-15): *Extraction of a DP Wh-phrase*
- (12) a. (Among BMW, Ferrari, Honda, Porsche, and Toyota)  
\***Which racing car** did [the driver of *t*] cause an accident?  
b. (Among the recent US presidents)  
\***Which president** did [the picture of *t*] cause a scandal?
- (13) a. (Among BMW, Ferrari, Honda, Porsche, and Toyota)  
??**Which racing car** was [the driver of *t*] awarded an honorable prize?  
b. (Among Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn)  
??**Which planet** was [a picture of *t*] taken by Bill?
- (14) a. \***What** did [the driver of *t*] cause an accident?  
b. \***Who** did [a picture of *t*] cause a scandal?
- (15) a. \***What** was [the driver of *t*] awarded an honorable prize?  
b. \***What** was [a picture of *t*] taken by Bill?
- (16) DP subextraction (subextraction without pied-piping of a preposition) is less acceptable than PP subextraction (subextraction with pied-piping).  
(Ross 1967; Kuno 1973; Gallego 2007; Gallego and Uriagereka 2007; Boeckx 2008; Chomsky 2008)

#### Claims

1. A Remnant Movement Analysis of the Subject Condition Effects
2. No Crosslinguistic Variation between English and Japanese with the Subject Condition Effects

## 2. A Remnant Movement Analysis

### 2.1 Theoretical Assumptions

#### 2.1.1 The Notion of Phase

(17) The Notion of Phase (Legate 2003; 2005)

Both transitive verbal phrases ( $v^*P$ ) and unaccusative/passive verbal phrases ( $vPs$ ) are phases.

#### 2.1.2 The Phase Impenetrability Condition

(18) The Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) (adapted from Chomsky 2001: 13)

In  $[_{ZP} Z \dots [_{HP} \alpha [_H H YP]]]$ , where HP is a phase and ZP is the next phase, the domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP, where phases are  $v^*P/vP$  and CP.

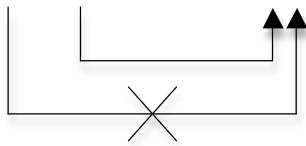
#### 2.1.3 The Traditional Probe Theory

(19) The Traditional Probe Theory

a. There is no feature inheritance mechanism; C has an edge-feature while T has an Agree-feature.

b. Derivational steps are strictly cyclic; C and T do not probe "in parallel."

(20)  $[_{CP} C [_{TP} T [_{v^*P/vP} v^*/v \beta]]]$



#### 2.1.4 Restrictions on Remnant Movement

(21) There is a hierarchy of movement types which regulates the order of application of movement operations, including remnant movement. (Grewendorf 2003; Abels 2007a, b)

(22) A'-movement > A-movement

(23) Antisymmetric Ordering on Remnant Movement

Movement of type X can be followed by remnant movement of type Y unless Y is a lower type than X. (adapted from Abels 2007b)

(24) The Minimal Link Condition (MLC) (Chomsky 1995: 311)

H (K) attracts  $\alpha$  only if there is no  $\beta$ ,  $\beta$  is closer to H(K) than  $\alpha$ , such that H(K) attracts  $\beta$ .

(25) a. A-movement -> Remnant A'-movement

It is known  $[_{AP} \text{how likely } t_1 \text{ to win}]_2$  Oscar<sub>1</sub> is  $t_2$ ].

b. A'-movement -> Remnant A-movement

\* $[_A \text{ picture of } t_1]_2$  is known  $[\text{which king}_1 \text{ to have been sold } t_2]$ ].

(Abels 2007a: 7)

(26) Müller's generalization: A'-movement -> Remnant A'-movement

\* $[_{WH} \text{Which book about } t_1]_2$  don't you know  $[\text{who}_1 \text{ to read } t_2]$ ?

(cf. ?? $[_{WH} \text{Which book about Nixon}]_2$  don't you know  $[\text{whether to read } t_2]$ ?)

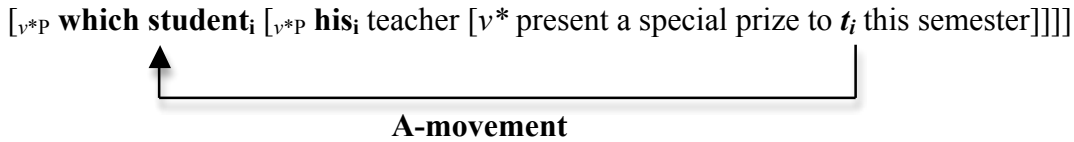
### 2.1.5 Successive Cyclic Overt *Wh*-movement

(27) D-linked *Wh*-phrases

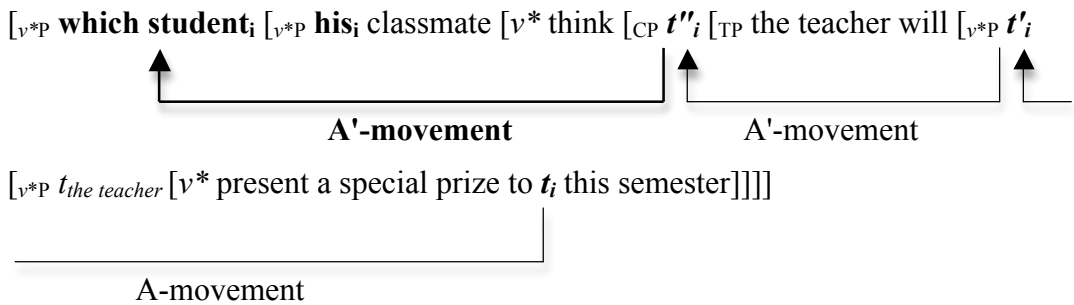
- a. **Which student<sub>i</sub>** do you think [that **his<sub>i</sub>** teacher will present a special prize to **t<sub>i</sub>** this semester]?
- b.\*? **Which student<sub>i</sub>** does **his<sub>i</sub>** classmate think [that the teacher will present a special prize to **t<sub>i</sub>** this semester]?

(Ishii 2006: 159)

(28) The embedded *v*\*P structure of (27a)



(29) The matrix *v*\*P structure of (27b)

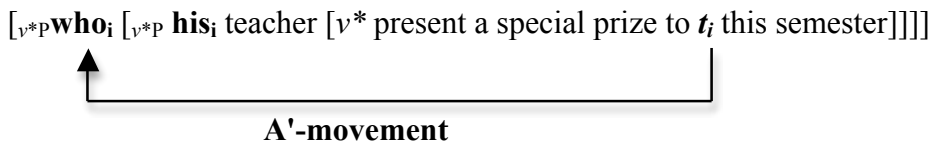


(30) Non-D-linked *Wh*-phrases

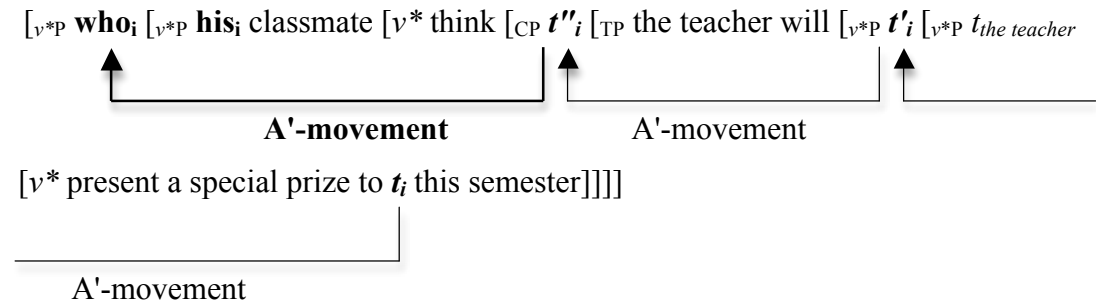
- a.\*? **Who<sub>i</sub>** do you think [that **his<sub>i</sub>** teacher will present a special prize to **t<sub>i</sub>** this semester]?
- b. \*? **Who<sub>i</sub>** does **his<sub>i</sub>** classmate think [that the teacher will present a special prize to **t<sub>i</sub>** this semester]?

(Ishii 2006: 159)

(31) The embedded *v*\*P structure of (30a)



(32) The matrix *v*\*P structure of (30b)

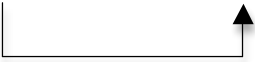
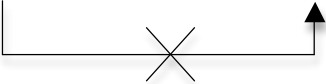


### 2.2 A Proposal



- (33) a. \***Of which car** did [the driver **t**] cause a scandal? (=2a))
- b. **Of which car** was [the driver **t**] awarded a prize? (=3a))

### 2.2.1 No Subextraction Derivations

(34) Subextraction Derivation of (33a)

- a. [TP T [<sub>v\*P</sub> the driver of which car v\* [cause [a scandal]]]]  

- b. [TP [the driver of which car] T [<sub>v\*P</sub> t v\* [cause [a scandal]]]]
- c. [CP C [TP [the driver of which car] T [<sub>v\*P</sub> t v\* [cause [a scandal]]]]]  


(35) Subextraction Derivation of (33b)


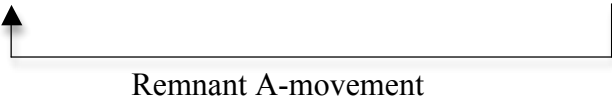
- a. [TP T [<sub>vP</sub> v [awarded the driver of which car a prize]]]  

- b. [TP [the driver of which car] T [<sub>vP</sub> v [awarded t a prize]]]
- c. [CP C [TP [the driver of which car] T [<sub>vP</sub> v [awarded t a prize]]]  


(36) The Inactivity Condition (Chomsky 2008: 150; see also Chomsky (2000; 2001; 2008); see also Boeckx 2003; 2008; Gallego 2007; Gallego and Uriagereka 2007)


An A-chain becomes invisible to further computation when its uninterpretable features are valued.

### 2.2.2 Remnant Movement Derivations

(37) Remnant Movement Derivation of (33b): A-movement -> Remnant A-movement

- a. [<sub>vP</sub> of which car<sub>1</sub> [v-was awarded [ [the driver *t<sub>I</sub>*] a prize]]]  

- b. [TP [the driver *t<sub>I</sub>*]<sub>2</sub> [T [<sub>vP</sub> of which car<sub>1</sub> [v-was awarded [*t<sub>2</sub>*] a prize]]]]]  

- c. [CP of which car<sub>1</sub> [C [TP [the driver *t<sub>I</sub>*]<sub>2</sub> [T [<sub>vP</sub> *t'<sub>I</sub>* [v-was awarded [*t<sub>2</sub>*] a prize]]]]]]]

(38) Remnant Movement Derivation of (33a)

- [<sub>v\*P</sub> the driver of which car [v\* [cause a scandal]]]  


(39) \*Of whom was [the driver *t*] awarded a prize? (= (11a))

(40) Remnant Movement Derivation of \*(39): A'-movement -> Remnant A-movement

a. [<sub>VP</sub> **of whom**<sub>1</sub> [<sub>vP</sub>-was awarded [[the driver of *t*<sub>1</sub>] a prize]]]



A'-movement

b. [<sub>TP</sub> [the driver *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [T [<sub>VP</sub> of whom<sub>1</sub> [<sub>vP</sub>-was awarded [*t*<sub>2</sub> a prize]]]]]



Remnant A-movement

(\* by the antisymmetric ordering on remnant movement (23))

c. [<sub>CP</sub> **of whom**<sub>1</sub> [C [<sub>TP</sub> [the driver *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [T [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>1</sub>' [<sub>vP</sub>-was awarded [*t*<sub>2</sub> a prize]]]]]]]]]

### 3. Consequences

#### 3.1 Raising and ECM Constructions

(41-44): Raising Construction

(41) a. **Of which car** is [the driver *t*] likely to cause a scandal? (Chomsky 2008: 153)

b. **Of which car** does [the driver *t*] seem to have caused a scandal?

(42) a. (Among BMW, Ferrari, Honda, Porsche, and Toyota)

?? **Which car** is [the driver of *t*] likely to cause a scandal?

b. (Among BMW, Ferrari, Honda, Porsche, and Toyota)

?? **Which car** does [the driver of *t*] seem to have caused a scandal?

(43) a. \***Of whom** is [the picture *t*] likely to cause a scandal?

b. \***Of whom** does [the picture *t*] seem to have caused a scandal?

(44) a. \***Who** is [the picture of *t*] likely to cause a scandal?

b. \***Who** does [the picture of *t*] seem to have caused a scandal?

(45-48): ECM Construction

(45) a. **Of which car** did they believe [[the driver *t*] to have caused a scandal]?

b. **Of which car** did they believe [[the picture *t*] to have caused a scandal]?

(Chomsky 2008: 153)

(46) a. (Among BMW, Ferrari, Honda, Porsche, and Toyota)

?? **Which car** did they believe [[the driver of *t*] to have caused a scandal]?

b. (Among the recent US presidents)

?? **Which president** did they believe [[the picture of *t*] to have caused a scandal]?

(47) a. \***Of whom** did they believe [[the driver *t*] to have caused a scandal]?

b. \***Of whom** did they believe [[the picture *t*] to have caused a scandal]?

(48) a. \***Who(m)** did they believe [[the driver of *t*] to have caused a scandal]?

b. \***Who(m)** did they believe [[the picture of *t*] to have caused a scandal]?

(49) Remnant Movement Derivation of (41a): A-movement -> Remnant A-movement

a. [<sub>vP</sub> **of which car**<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v-be likely</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [the driver *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> cause a scandal]]]]]



A-movement

b. [<sub>TP</sub> [**the driver** *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [T [<sub>vP</sub> of which car<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v-be likely</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> *t*'<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> cause a scandal]]]]]]]



Remnant A-movement

c. [<sub>CP</sub> **of which car**<sub>1</sub> [C [<sub>TP</sub> [the driver *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [T [<sub>vP</sub> *t*'<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v-be likely</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> *t*'<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> cause a scandal]]]]]]]]]

(50) Remnant Movement Derivation of \*(43a): A'-movement -> Remnant A-movement

a. [<sub>vP</sub> **of whom**<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v-be likely</sub> [[the picture *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> cause a scandal]]]]]



A'-movement

b. [<sub>TP</sub> [**the picture** *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [T [<sub>vP</sub> of whom<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v-be likely</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> *t*'<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> cause a scandal]]]]]]]



Remnant A-movement

(\* by the antisymmetric ordering on remnant movement (23))

c. [<sub>CP</sub> **of whom**<sub>1</sub> [C [<sub>TP</sub> [the picture *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [T [<sub>vP</sub> *t*'<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v-be likely</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> *t*'<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> cause a scandal]]]]]]]]]

(51) Remnant Movement Derivation of (45a): A-movement -> Remnant A-movement

a. [<sub>v\*P</sub> **of which car**<sub>1</sub> [they [<sub>v\* believe</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [the driver *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> have caused



A-movement

a scandal]]]]]

b. [<sub>v\*P</sub> [**the driver** *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [of which car<sub>1</sub> [they [<sub>v\* believe</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> *t*'<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> have



Remnant A-movement

caused a scandal]]]]]]]

c. [<sub>CP</sub> **of which car**<sub>1</sub> [C [<sub>TP</sub> they [T-believe [<sub>v\*P</sub> [the driver *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [*t*'<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v\*</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> *t*'<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> have caused a scandal]]]]]]]]]]]

(52) Remnant Movement Derivation of \*(47a): A'-movement -> Remnant A-movement

a. [<sub>v\*P</sub> **of whom**<sub>1</sub> [they [<sub>v\* believe</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [the driver *t*<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> have caused a scandal]]]]]



A'-movement

b. [<sub>v\*P</sub> [**the driver** *t*<sub>I</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [of whom<sub>1</sub> [they [<sub>v\*</sub> believe [<sub>TP</sub> *t*'<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> have

Remnant A-movement

caused a scandal]]]]]]

(\* by the antisymmetric ordering on remnant movement (23))

c. [<sub>CP</sub> **of whom**<sub>1</sub> [C [<sub>TP</sub> they [T-believe [<sub>v\*P</sub> [the driver *t*<sub>I</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [*t*'<sub>I</sub> [<sub>v\*</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> *t*'<sub>2</sub> to [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> have caused a scandal]]]]]]]]]]

### 3.2 Sentential Subjects

(53) a. \***Which teacher** was [that the principal would fire *t*]<sub>2</sub> expected by the reporters?

b. \***Who** was [that the principal would fire *t*] expected by the reporters?

(54) Remnant Movement Derivations of \*(53): A'-movement -> Remnant A-movement

a. [<sub>vP</sub> **which teacher**<sub>1</sub>/**who**<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v</sub>-was expected [<sub>CP</sub> *t*'<sub>I</sub> [that principal would fire *t*<sub>I</sub>]]

A'-movement                      A'-movement

by the reporters]]

b. [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> **the principal would fire** *t*<sub>I</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [T [<sub>vP</sub> which teacher<sub>1</sub>/who<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v</sub>-was expected *t*<sub>2</sub>]

Remnant A-movement

by the reporters]]]]

(\* by the antisymmetric ordering on remnant movement)

c. [<sub>CP</sub> **which teacher**<sub>1</sub>/**who**<sub>1</sub> [C [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> that the principal would fire *t*<sub>I</sub>]<sub>2</sub> [T [<sub>vP</sub> *t*'<sub>I</sub> <sub>v</sub>-was expected *t*<sub>2</sub>] by the reporters]]]]]]

### 4. Supposed Crosslinguistic Variations with the Subject Condition Effects

(55) No Subject Condition Effects in Japanese (Saito and Fukui 1998: 463; see also Kayne 1984; Saito 1985; 1992; Lasnik and Saito 1992; Takahashi 1994; Fukui 1995; Ishii 1997)

?**Nani-o** [John-ga [[Mary-ga *t* katta] koto]-ga mondai-da to] omotteru] no  
 what-Acc John-Nom Mary-Nom bought fact-Acc problem-is that think Q  
 Lit. 'What, John thinks that [the fact that Mary bought *t*] is a problem.'

Cf. *Scrambling out of the Object* (Saito and Fukui 1998: 463)

(56)?**Nani-o** [John-ga [[Mary-ga *t* katta] koto]-o mondai-ni siteiru] no  
 what-Acc John-Nom Mary-Nom bought fact-Acc problem-into making Q  
 Lit. 'What, John is making an issue out of [the fact that Mary bought *t*].'



(57) Subject Condition Effects in Japanese

- a. ?\***Nani-o** [John-ga [[Mary-ga *t* katta] koto]-ga Bill-o okoraseta to]  
what-Acc John-Nom Mary-Nom bought fact-Nom Bill-Acc made-angry that  
omotteiru] no  
think Q  
Lit. 'What, John thinks that [the fact that Mary bought *t*] made Bill angry.'
- b. ?\***Dare-ni** [John-ga [[Mary-ga *t* atta] koto]-ga Bill-o kanasimaseta to]  
who-Dat John-Nom Mary-Nom met fact-Nom Bill-Acc made-sad that  
omotteiru] no  
think Q  
Lit. 'Who, John thinks that [the fact that Mary met *t*] made Bill sad.'

*Short-distance scrambling licenses a reciprocal anaphor:*

- (58) a. [Karera-ga [otagai -no sensei] -o hihansita] (koto)  
**they**-Nom **each other**-Gen teacher-ACC criticized (fact)  
'They criticized [each other's teachers]'
- b. ?\*[[**Otagai**-no sensei]-ga **karera**-o hihansita] (koto)  
**each other**-Gen teacher-Nom **they**-Acc criticized (fact)  
'[Each other's teachers] criticized them.'
- c. ?[**Karera**-o<sub>i</sub> [[**otagai**-no sensei]-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* hihansita]] (koto)  
**they**-Acc **each other**-Gen teacher-Nom criticized (fact)  
'Them<sub>i</sub>, [each other's teachers] criticized *t<sub>i</sub>*.' (Saito 2003: 485)

*Long-distance scrambling does not license a reciprocal anaphor within a matrix subject:*

- (59) a. \*[[**Otagai**-no sensei]-ga [Tanaka-ga **karera**-o hihansita to] itta] (koto)  
**each other**-Gen teacher-Nom Tanaka-Nom **they**-Acc criticized that said (fact)  
'[Each other's teachers] said that Tanaka criticized them.'
- b. \*[[**Karera**-o<sub>i</sub> [[**otagai**-no sensei]-ga [Tanaka-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* hihansita to] itta]] (koto)  
they-Acc each other-Gen teacher-Nom Tanaka-Nom criticized that said (fact)  
Lit. 'Them<sub>i</sub>, [each other's teachers] said that Tanaka criticized *t<sub>i</sub>*.' (Saito 2003: 485-6)

*Short-distance scrambling licenses variable binding:*

- (60) a. ?\*[**Sono**<sub>i</sub> tyosya]-ga **dono hon-ni-mo**<sub>i</sub> keti-o tuketa  
**its**<sub>i</sub> author-Nom **which book-to-even**<sub>i</sub> gave-criticism  
'[Its author] criticized every book.'
- b. [**Dono hon-ni-mo**<sub>i</sub> [[**sono**<sub>i</sub> tyosya]-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* keti-o tuketa]]  
**which book-to-even**<sub>i</sub> **its**<sub>i</sub> author-Nom gave-criticism  
'Every book<sub>i</sub>, [its<sub>i</sub> author criticized *t<sub>i</sub>*].' (Saito 2003: 485)

*Long-distance scrambling does not license a bound variable within a matrix subject:*

(61)?\***[Dono hon-ni-mo<sub>i</sub> [[sono<sub>i</sub> tyosya]-ga [Hanako-ga  $t_i$  keti-o tuketa] to] itta]**

**which book-to-even<sub>i</sub> its<sub>i</sub> author-Nom Hanako-Nom gave-criticism that said**

'Every book<sub>i</sub>, its author said that Hanako criticized  $t_i$ .' (Saito 2003: 486)

(62-63): *Long-distance scrambling licenses a reciprocal anaphor within a matrix indirect object.*

(62) a. \* [John-ga [**otagai-no sensei**]-ni [PRO **karera-o** homeru yooni] itta] (koto)

John-Nom **each other-Gen teacher-Dat they-Acc** praise to told (fact)

Lit. 'John told [each other's teachers] to praise them.'

b. [**Karera-o<sub>i</sub>** [John-ga [**otagai-no sensei**]-ni [PRO  $t_i$  homeru yooni] itta] (koto)

**they-Acc** John-Nom **each other-Gen teacher-Dat** praise to told (fact)

Lit. 'Them<sub>i</sub>, John told [each other's teachers] to praise  $t_i$ .'

(63) a. \* [John-ga [**otagai-no sensei**]-ni [Mary-ga **karera-o** hihansiteiru to]

John-Nom **each other-Gen teacher-Dat** Mary-Nom **they-Acc** criticize that

tugeguti sita]] (koto)

told (fact)

Lit. 'John told to [each other's teachers] that Mary is criticizing them.'

b. ? [**Karera-o<sub>i</sub>** [John-ga [**otagai-no sensei**]-ni [Mary-ga  $t_i$  hihansiteiru to]

**they-Acc** John-Nom **each other-Gen teacher-Dat** Mary-Nom criticize that

tugeguti sita]] (koto)

told (fact)

Lit. 'Them<sub>i</sub>, John told to [each other's teachers] that Mary is criticizing  $t_i$ .'

(64-65): *Long-distance scrambling licenses a bound variable within a matrix indirect object.*

(64) a. \* [[John-ga [**sono<sub>i</sub> tyosya**]-ni [PRO **dono hon-ni-mo<sub>i</sub>** keti-o tukeru yooni] itta

John-Nom **its<sub>i</sub> author-Dat** **which book-to-even<sub>i</sub>** gave-criticism to told

'John told to its author to criticize every book.'

b. [**Dono hon-ni-mo<sub>i</sub>** [John-ga [**sono<sub>i</sub> tyosya**]-ni [PRO  $t_i$  keti-o tukeru yooni] itta

**which book-to-even<sub>i</sub>** John-Nom **its<sub>i</sub> author-Dat** gave-criticism to told

'Every book<sub>i</sub>, John told to its author to criticize  $t_i$ .'

(65) a. \* [John-ga [**sono<sub>i</sub> tyosya**]-ni [Mary-ga **dono hon-ni-mo<sub>i</sub>** keti-o tuketa] to] itta

John-Nom **its<sub>i</sub> author-Dat** Mary-Nom **which book-to-even<sub>i</sub>** gave-criticism that said

'John told to its author said that Hanako criticized every book.'

b. [**Dono hon-ni-mo<sub>i</sub>** [John-ga [**sono<sub>i</sub> tyosya**]-ni [Mary-ga  $t_i$  keti-o tuketa] to] itta

**which book-to-even<sub>i</sub>** John-Nom **its<sub>i</sub> author-Dat** Mary-Nom gave-criticism that said

'Every book<sub>i</sub>, John told to its author said that Hanako criticized  $t_i$ .'



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