

# Introduction to Syntax: 24.951

Recitations #2 and #3

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# Today's topics and goals

- Hyperraising
  - ▶ What hyperraising is.
  - ▶ Exiting finite clauses via Spec-CP.
  - ▶ A- vs.  $\bar{A}$ -movement (Weak Crossover; locality; Ban on Improper Movement).
- Hyperraising: movement vs. base-generation
  - ▶ Hyperraising vs. prolepsis.
  - ▶ Island sensitivity.

# What is hyperraising?

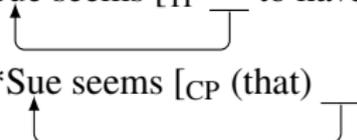
Raising to the subject position:

- (1) a. Sue seems [TP            to have won the prize].  
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## Raising to the object position:

- (2) a. Mary proved Sue conclusively [TP        to have won the prize].  
b. \*Mary proved Sue conclusively [CP (that)        won the prize].  
c. Who did Mary prove conclusively [CP        won the prize]?
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- (2b) is an instance of hyperraising to object.

## Some notes on the data

- Why add *conclusively*?

(2a) Mary proved Sue conclusively [TP \_\_\_ to have won the prize].



- ▶ Because it gives us a benchmark as to where the embedded clause begins.

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- (3) a. Mary proved [TP Sue to have won the prize].  
b. Mary proved Sue [TP \_\_\_ to have won the prize].

- The same goes for the “null *that*”:
  - (4) a. Mary proved [<sub>CP</sub> that Sue won the prize].  
b. Mary proved Sue [<sub>CP</sub> \_\_ won the prize].
- More on the prohibition of *that* in (2b) later.
  - (2b') \* Who did Mary prove [<sub>CP</sub> that \_\_ won the prize]?

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## Back to the main question

(1b) \*Sue seems [CP (that)       ] won the prize].



(2b) \*Mary proved Sue conclusively [CP (that)       ] won the prize].



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## (i) How movement from a CP proceeds

- (5) a. Each other<sub>k</sub>'s parents invited John and Mary<sub>k</sub>.
- b. Which side of herself was Mary proud of?
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## Exercise

1. The sentence below is ambiguous. What are the possible interpretations?
2. How can we explain this range of possible interpretations?
  - (7) Which side of himself did John say that Fred liked?

- We can now consider why *that* is prohibited in (2b) (repeated below as (9b)).
  - (8) a. Mary proved/believed [<sub>CP</sub> that Sue won the prize].  
b. Mary proved/believed [<sub>CP</sub> Sue won the prize].
  - (9) a. Who did Mary prove/believe [<sub>CP</sub> \_\_\_ won the prize]?  
b. \* Who did Mary prove/believe [<sub>CP</sub> that \_\_\_ won the prize]?

- Under the assumption that exiting an intermediate CP requires moving through Spec-CP:

(9b') Who did Mary prove [<sub>CP</sub>            that [<sub>TP</sub>            won the prize]].

The diagram shows two horizontal lines representing the Spec-CP and the TP complement of the verb 'prove'. An arrow starts from the right side of the TP line and points to the left side of the CP line. A second arrow starts from the right side of the CP line and points to the left side of the TP line, indicating that the TP complement must move through Spec-CP to exit the CP.

- **Doubly Filled Comp Filter:** it cannot be the case that both Spec-CP and C<sup>0</sup> are filled at the same time.

- (10)
- I wonder [<sub>CP</sub> who she saw].
  - I wonder [<sub>CP</sub> if/whether she saw Jaimie].
  - \* I wonder [<sub>CP</sub> who if/whether she saw].

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The diagram shows two horizontal lines with upward-pointing arrows. The first line starts under the word 'prove' and ends under the first empty space in the CP complement. The second line starts under the word 'that' and ends under the second empty space in the TP complement. A vertical line connects the two lines under the word 'that', indicating that the TP complement is the Spec-CP of the higher CP.

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- Recall a Weak Crossover violation in *Wh*-movement:

(11) Which child<sub>k</sub> does his<sub>\*k/j</sub> mother love \_\_\_?

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Weak Crossover violation		
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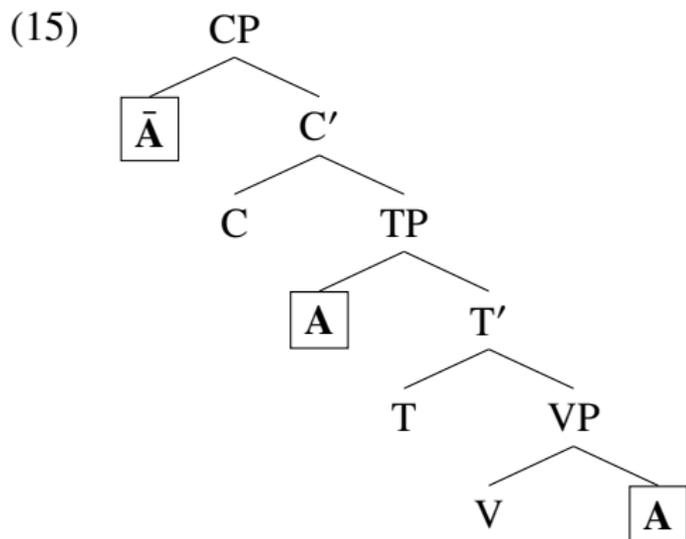
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- This is a glimpse of the A vs.  $\bar{A}$  distinction:

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Weak Crossover violation	yes	no
Mvt of object over subject	yes	no

- For more properties: Safir (2019; p. 287ff).

- A vs.  $\bar{A}$ -positions:



# Putting the pieces together

- What we want to explain:
  - (2) a. Mary proved Sue conclusively [<sub>TP</sub> to deserve the prize].
  - b. \* Mary proved Sue conclusively [<sub>CP</sub> (that) deserved the prize].
- Assumptions:
  - (i) In order to exit a CP, a moving XP has to pass through Spec-CP.
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- So why is (2b) ungrammatical?

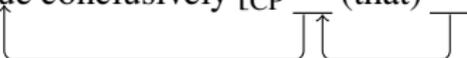
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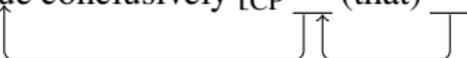
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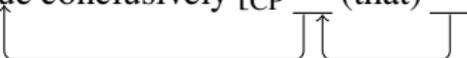
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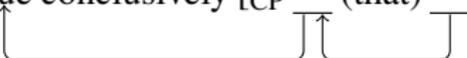
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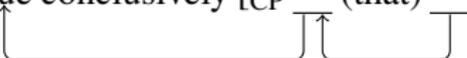
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$\bar{A}$ -movement of a constituent X cannot be followed by movement of X to an A-position.

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The diagram illustrates movement paths in the sentence. A bracket labeled **A** spans from the word "conclusively" to the first blank space. A bracket labeled  $\bar{\mathbf{A}}$  spans from the word "(that)" to the second blank space. Arrows point from the blank spaces up to the words "conclusively" and "(that)".

- The Ban on Improper Movement belongs to the A vs.  $\bar{A}$  distinction:

	$\bar{A}$ -movement	A-movement
Weak Crossover violation	yes	no
Mvt of object over subject	yes	no
Can feed A-movement	no	yes

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## Exercise

1. The sentence below is ungrammatical. Assuming that *which students* moves in the way depicted, explain why.

(17) \*[CP Which students<sub>k</sub> [TP \_\_<sub>k</sub> seem [CP \_\_<sub>k</sub> [TP \_\_<sub>k</sub> are the best candidates for the job]]]]?

2. Conversely, why is the sentence below grammatical?

(18) Which students does it seem are the best candidates for the job?

-  Pesetsky, David (2013) “Phrasal Movement and Its Discontents: Diseases and Diagnoses.” In Cheng, Lisa Lai-Shen and Norbert Corver, eds. *Diagnosing Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 123–157.
-  Pesetsky, David (to appear) “Complementizer-trace effects”. *Companion to Syntax*. Available at: <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/002385>.
-  Safir, Ken (2019). “The A/ $\bar{A}$  distinction as an epiphenomenon.” *Linguistic Inquiry* 50, no. 2: 285–336. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1162/ling\\_a00305](https://doi.org/10.1162/ling_a00305).