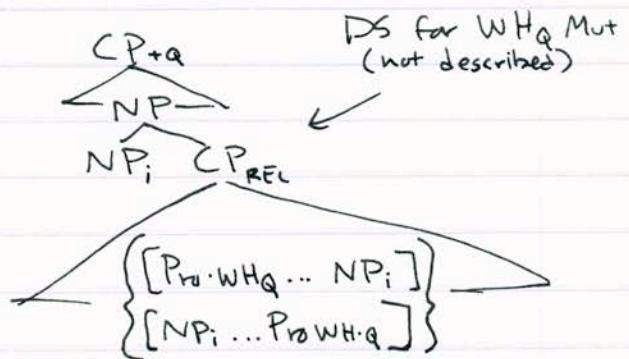
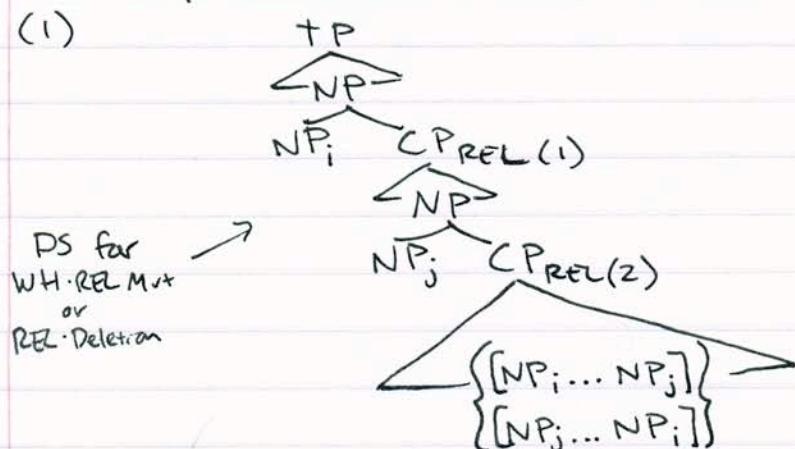


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 Syntax II Homework 6
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After examining the relevant data, we can determine that relative clauses are islands for the transformations WH·q·Mut, WH·REL·Mut, and REL·DELETION. We see in this way that the BOUNDED/UNBOUNDED distinction does not bear on Islands constraints (at least not universally).

We can imagine sentences in which relative clauses could contain the relativized element for one of the UNBOUNDED transformations. Such a sentence would contain an NP which is the head of a relative clause; in other words, it would be adjoined to a CP_{REL}. As with all relative clauses, the adjoined CP_{REL} must contain an XP which bears the REL feature and is coindexed with the "head" NP. However, in these cases, that REL element is within one further CP_{REL}, this one adjoined to some NP within the CP_{REL} in the matrix sentence. These examples have a structure like the simplified ones in (1):

(1)

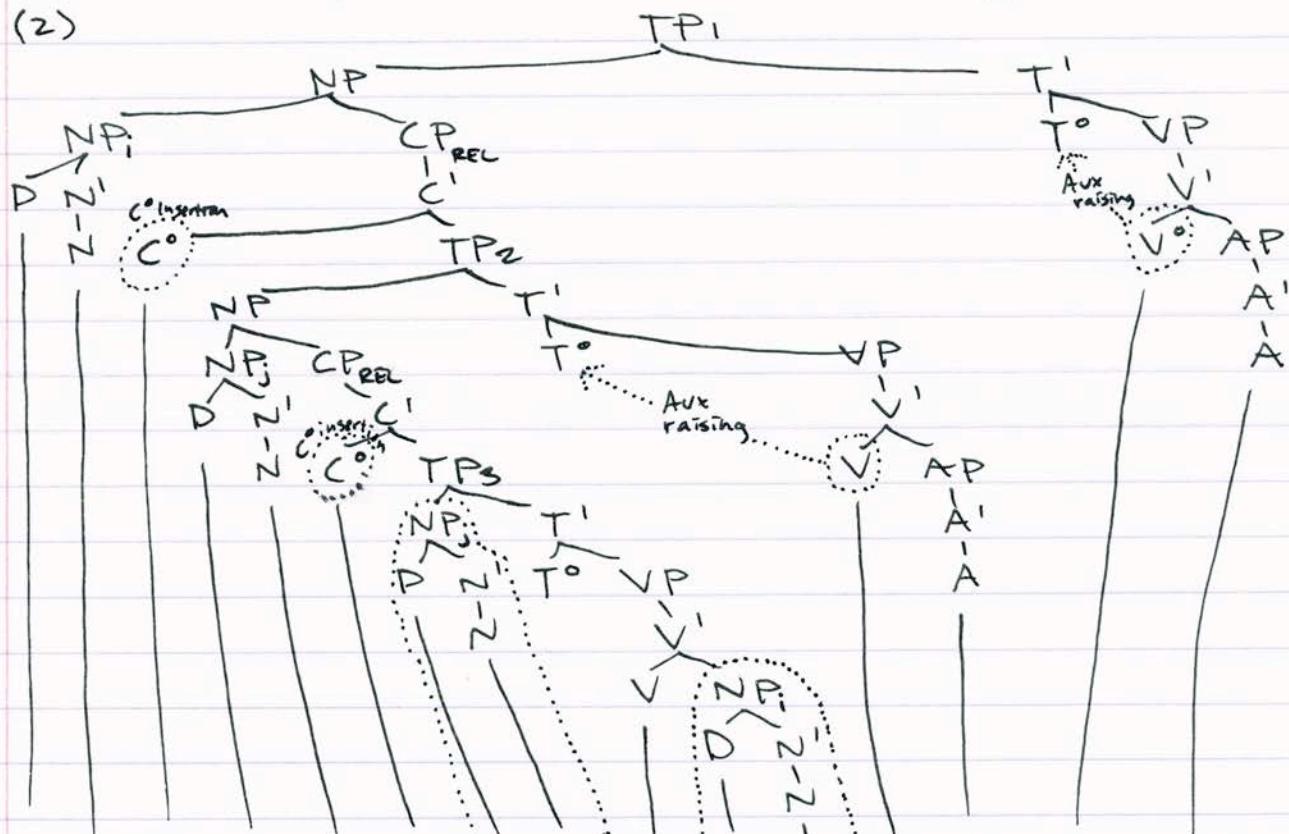


We see that CP_{REL}(2) contains the relativized elements of both NP_i and NP_j; it should not matter in what order these elements occur, or what positions they fill (at least there is no evidence that either of these properties should bear on grammaticality). If these structures like this allowed in our grammar, we would expect

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them not to show up in surface structure. Instead, they would be obligatorily transformed by one of the λ UNBOUNDED transformations such that there would be no coreferential NP in $CP_{REL}(z)$ except perhaps in specifier-of- CP_{REL} position. We see this in the hypothetical derivation in (2), which would result in the ungrammatical (3):

(2)



The man that the girl that the girl met the man is cool is smart.

great!

(3)* The man that the girl that met is cool is smart.

We know that the sentence in TP_2 is of an acceptable form, and that the deletion of the coreferential NP_j in TP_3 is possible, from (4):

(4) The girl that met the man is cool.

We also know that $CP_{REL}'s$ can contain $CP_{REL}'s$, from (5)

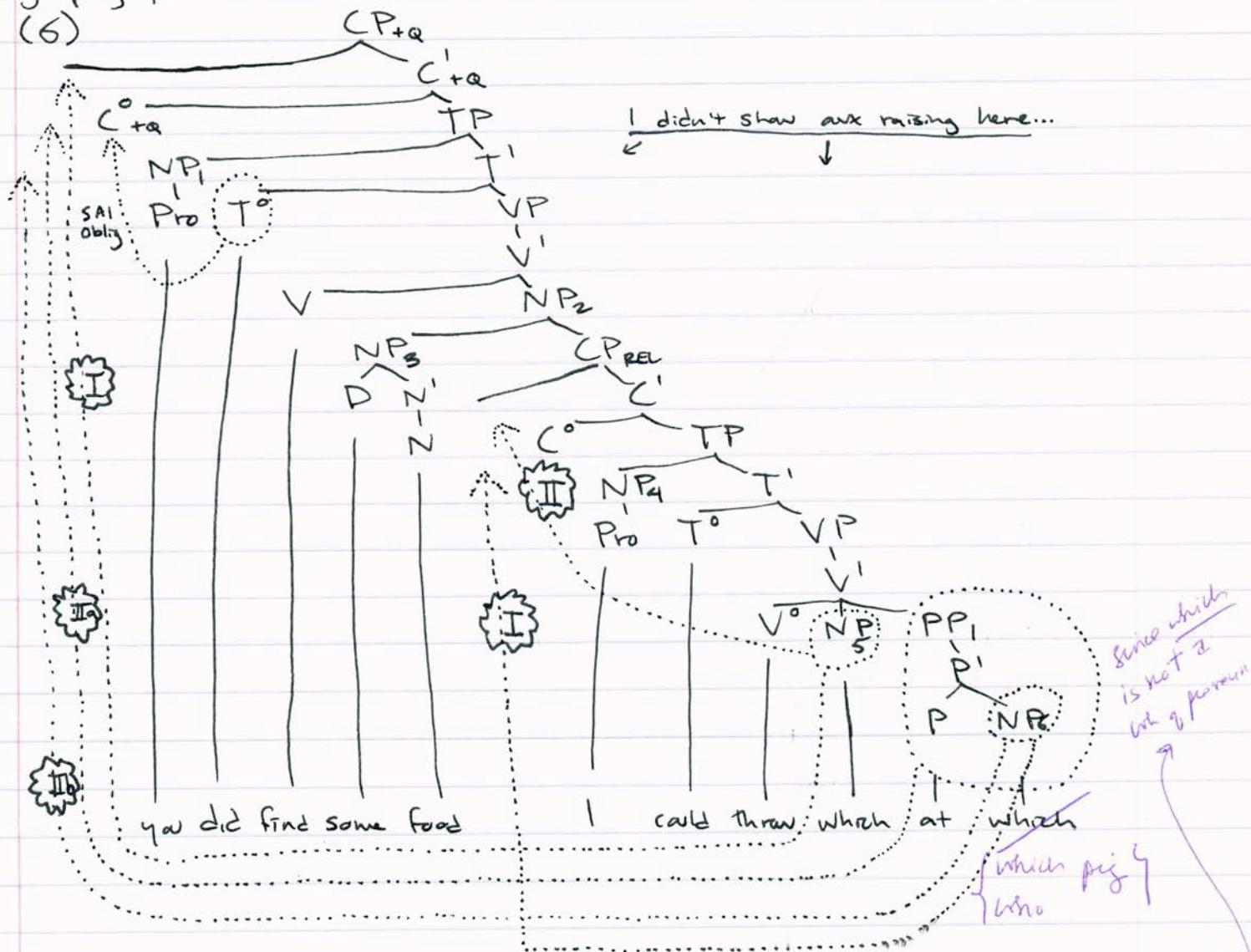
(5) The man [that the girl [that CP_{REL} is nice] met CP_{REL}] is cool.

We notice here that the relativized elements in (2) could be reversed in position with the same (ungrammatical) surface structure (3).

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It seems here that the only significant difference between (3) and (5) is that the matrix relativized element occurs within not one but two CP_{REL} nodes. I conclude that REL-Deletion is subject to ~~any~~ REL-adjunct constraints, ie cannot reach into an embedded relative clause to delete a relativized element. The same is true of WH-Q-Movement, as illustrated in the hypothetical derivations in (6). Here I indicate two distinct possibilities by grouping possible transformations with Roman numerals.

(6)



We see that (6)I can occur if NP_5 is Pro-WH-Q and NP_6 is Pro-WH-REL and coindexed with NP_3 :

*(6)I Which did you find some food which I could throw at?

Who or
which pig

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However, if NP_5 is ProWH-REL and coindexed with NP_3 , and if NP_6 is ProWH-Q, we see two possibilities. In (6)IIa, PP_i bears the WH-Q feature and is moved; in (6)IIa only NP_6 WH-Q moves.

- * (6)IIa. At which^{pig} did you find some food which[✓] I could throw? (Sorry)
- * (6)IIb. Which^{pig} did you find some food which[✓] I could throw at?

All of these are ungrammatical. Again, the embedded CP_{REL} is of a grammatical form; we see this in (7):

(7)a. Some food [which I could throw at James] would be nice.

b. Some food [at which I could throw James] would be nice.

We also see that sentences like (6) (but with the ProWH-Q element not in a relative clause) are perfectly fine: ~~not~~

(8) Who[✓] did you give some food [which[✓] I could throw — at James] to — ?

Here again, it seems that Island constraints are what determine grammaticality...

We see the same results with WH-REL Mut, as illustrated in (9) (next page).

In this example, we see the (ungrammatical) movement of the ~~—~~[—] (doubly) embedded NP_i across (P_{REL2}), and also the (grammatical) movement of either the PP "in which" or the NP "which" (both of which bear the WH-REL feature) into specifier-of-CP position. We know that this second movement, which occurs completely within one (P_{REL}), is grammatical from sentences like (10):

(10)a. The hotel [_{CP} in which the car fit —] was gargantuan.

b. The hotel [_{CP} which the car fit in —] was gargantuan

We also see that (9) is only ill-formed in as much as the relativized element of NP_i is in ~~—~~[—] (P_{REL2}) from sentences like (11):

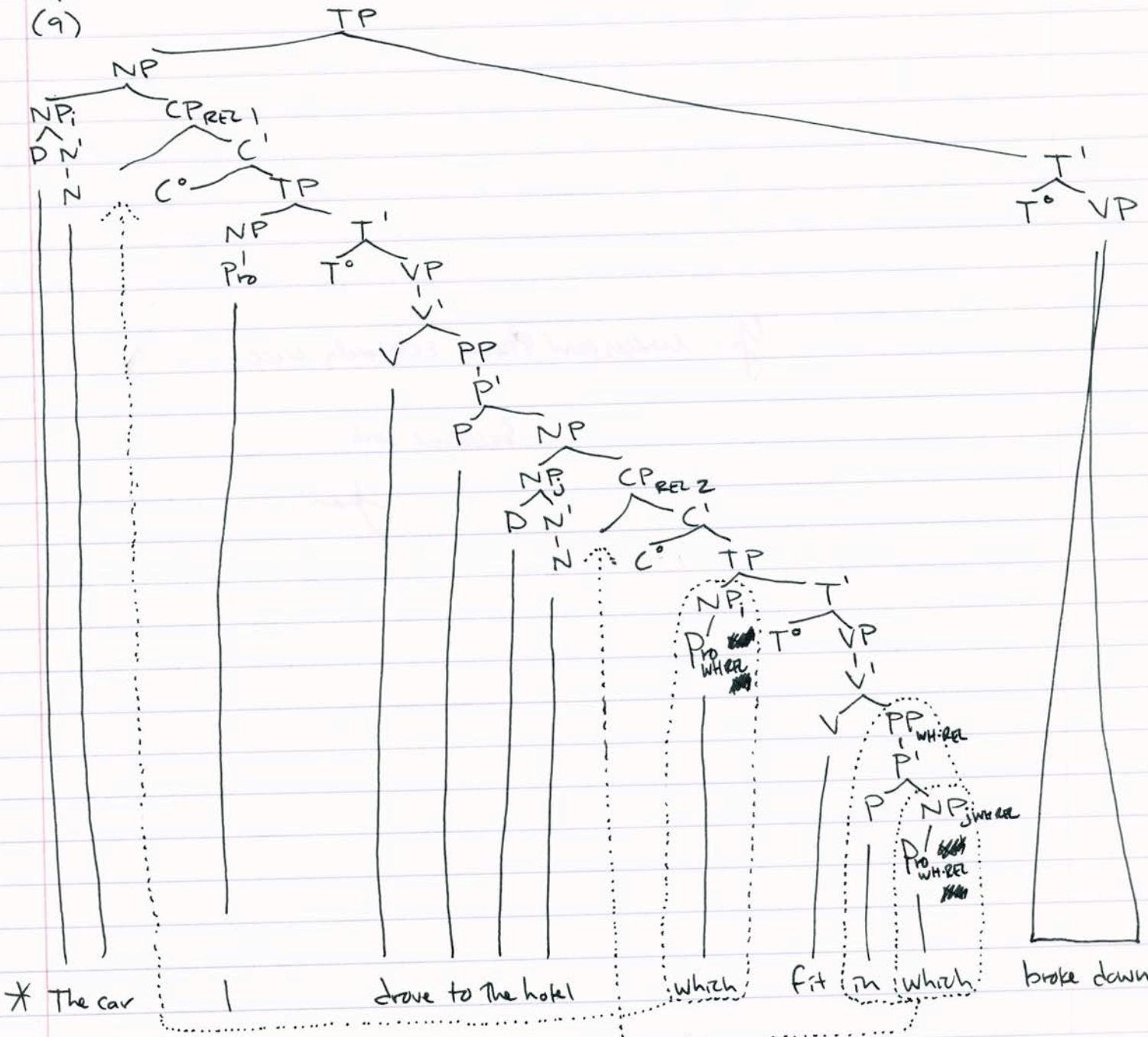
(11)a. The car [_{CP} in which I drove to the hotel [_{CP} in which the car fit —] —] broke down.

b. The car [_{CP} which I drove to the hotel [_{CP} in which the car fit —] in —] broke down.

Again, we see that (9) seems to be blocked by Island constraints concerning relative clauses. I conclude, then, that (in our grammar) relative clauses are Islands for all of the UNBOUNDED transformations

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(9)



This sentence would result in:

- + (9) a The car which I drove to the hotel in which fit — broke down.
* b The car which I drove to the hotel which — fit in — broke down.