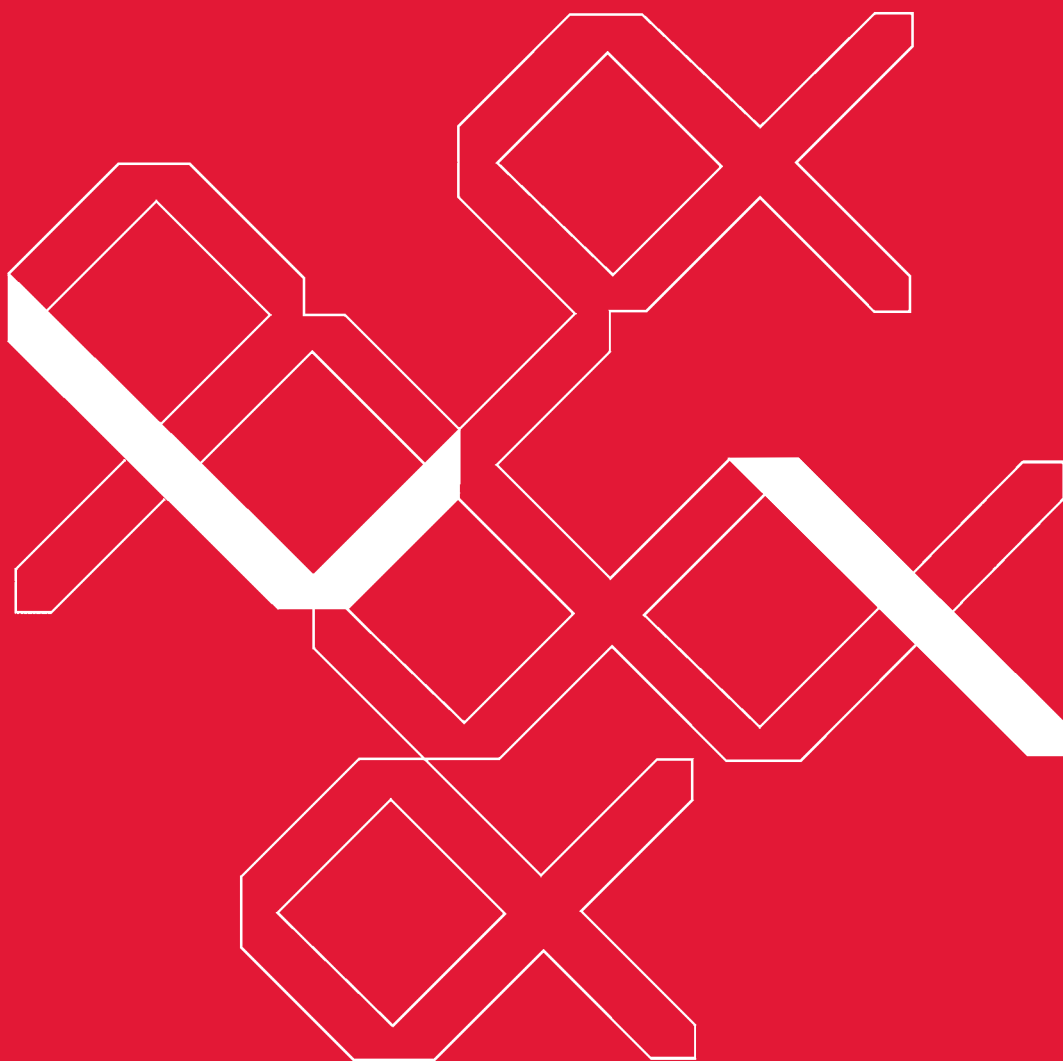




Linguistic Inquiry
Monograph Fifty-Six

Uttering Trees

Norvin Richards



Uttering Trees

Linguistic Inquiry Monographs

Samuel Jay Keyser, general editor

A complete list of books published in the Linguistic Inquiry Monographs series appears at the back of this book.

Uttering Trees

Norvin Richards

**The MIT Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
London, England**

© 2010 Massachusetts Institute of Technology

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopying, recording, or information storage and retrieval) without permission in writing from the publisher.

For information about special quantity discounts, please e-mail
special_sales@mitpress.mit.edu

This book was set in Times New Roman and Syntax on 3B2 by Asco Typesetters, Hong Kong.

Printed and bound in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Richards, Norvin.

Uttering trees / Norvin Richards.

p. cm. — (Linguistic inquiry monograph ; 56)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-262-01376-5 (hardcover : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-262-51371-5

(pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Prosodic analysis (Linguistics) 2. Grammar, Comparative and general—Phonology.

3. Grammar, Comparative and general—Syntax. I. Title.

P224.R53 2010

414'.6—dc22

2009024581

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Contents

	Series Foreword	vii
	Acknowledgments	ix
1	Introduction	1
2	Distinctness	3
3	Beyond Strength and Weakness	143
4	Conclusion	205
	Notes	207
	References	217
	Index	229

Series Foreword

We are pleased to present the fifty-sixth in the series *Linguistic Inquiry Monographs*. These monographs present new and original research beyond the scope of the article. We hope they will benefit our field by bringing to it perspectives that will stimulate further research and insight.

Originally published in limited edition, the *Linguistic Inquiry Monographs* are now more widely available. This change is due to the great interest engendered by the series and by the needs of a growing readership. The editors thank the readers for their support and welcome suggestions about future directions for the series.

Samuel Jay Keyser
for the Editorial Board

Acknowledgments

I've been extraordinarily lucky, as I've been working out the ideas presented here, to have had the chance to learn from a wide variety of people, and I'm very grateful to all of them for their generosity. Here's a (surely incomplete) list.

The theory in chapter 2 was inspired by Moro (2000) and by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001). I'd like to thank Andrea Moro, Artemis Alexiadou, and Elena Anagnostopoulou, not only for writing these works, but for much fruitful discussion since.

The theory in chapter 3 was inspired by a visit to Mornington Island in Australia. I'm very grateful to the Lardil people for welcoming me into their community, and to Ken Hale for giving me the chance to go there.

For help with particular languages and language families, many thanks to Alya Asarina, Željko Bošković, Andrew Carnie, Damir Ćavar, Michel Degraff, Martina Gračanin-Yüksek, Lydia Grebenyova, Kleanthes Grohmann, Ken Hale, Sabine Iatridou, Patrick Jones, Winnie Lechner, Jeff Leopando, Lawrence Maligaya, Victor Manfredi, Joshua Monzon, Pierre Mujomba, Degif Petros, Joachim Sabel, Uli Sauerland, Arthur Stepanov, Sandra Stjepanović, Adam Szczegielniak, Michael Wagner, Susi Wurmbrand, and Kazuko Yatsushiro.

Too many people to count have helped me figure out what I was saying and why; I'd especially like to thank David Adger, Karlos Arregi, John Bailyn, Mark Baker, Željko Bošković, Noam Chomsky, Sandra Chung, Jessica Coon, Danny Fox, Martina Gračanin-Yüksek, Ken Hale, Morris Halle, Claire Halpert, Wayne Harbert, Alice Harris, Sabine Iatridou, Takako Iseda, Shin Ishihara, Hilda Koopman, Richard Larson, Shigeru Miyagawa, Jon Nissenbaum, David Pesetsky, Sasha Podobryaev, Henk van Riemsdijk, Andres Salanova, Lisa Selkirk, Tim Stowell, Esther Torrego, Michael Wagner, Mary Ann Walter, and Hedde Zeijlstra.

I also would like to thank audiences at MIT, SUNY Stony Brook, Middle East Technical University, Boğaziçi University, Indiana University, St. Petersburg State University, Queen Mary University of London, ZAS, the University of Novi Sad, the University of Paris 8, Moscow State University, National Tsing Hua University, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Syracuse University, Cornell University, Princeton University, McGill University, the University of Maryland, the University of Illinois, UCLA, the University of Calgary, Rutgers University, the University of Campinas, Yeungnam University, Yale University, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Minho, and WCCFL 20 at the University of Southern California.

Thanks, too, to Ada Brunstein, Elizabeth Judd, Anne Mark, and Sandra Minkinen for their superb editing and copyediting, and to four anonymous reviewers.

None of these people are responsible for the many mistakes I am sure I have made, all of which were my own idea.

Finally, many thanks to my family, for their love, support, and grammaticality judgments.

1 Introduction

This is a book about conditions imposed on the narrow syntax by its interface with phonology. The idea that some of the properties of syntax follow from its interface with phonology is not new. Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program pursues the idea that most if not all of the properties of syntax are consequences of the need to create linguistic objects that are well suited for the interfaces. Kayne's (1994) Antisymmetry is a particular proposal about an algorithm for rendering the hierarchical structure of a tree as a linearly ordered string of words, which has consequences for which types of trees are acceptable.

I will make two new proposals about the conditions on the syntax-phonology interface. The first, called "Distinctness," is a claim about the nature of well-formed linearization statements, of the type first proposed by Kayne. In particular, I claim that a linearization statement $\langle \alpha, \beta \rangle$ is only interpretable if α and β are distinct from each other. In some languages, such as English, nodes are typically nondistinct if they have the same label (though we will see that in many languages, distinctness is more difficult to define than this). Consequently, any phase in which two DPs, for example, must be linearized with respect to each other yields a linearization statement $\langle \text{DP}, \text{DP} \rangle$, which causes the derivation to crash. I will claim that parts of classic Case theory can be made to follow from this general principle, which also covers facts that have nothing to do with DPs.

The second proposal, "Beyond Strength and Weakness," is an attempt to predict, for any given language, whether that language will exhibit overt *wh*-movement or not. The claim is that all languages are required to minimize the number of prosodic boundaries of a certain type between *wh*-phrases and the complementizers where they take scope. In some languages, this general prosodic requirement can be met by manipulating the prosody directly. In others, the prosody cannot be manipulated in this

way, and the only way to satisfy the general condition is to move the *wh*-phrase closer to the complementizer in question. I claim that we can predict whether a language can leave *wh* in situ or not by investigating more general properties of its prosody, which have nothing to do with *wh*-questions particularly. The proposal is related to recent works investigating the interaction between prosody and syntax (Zubizarreta 1998, Ishihara 2001, Szendrői 2001, Arregi 2002, Vicente 2005, and the references cited there), some of which develop the idea that syntactic movements can have the purpose of improving the prosodic structure of the sentence.

Both of these proposals attempt to deepen our current explanations for syntactic phenomena. Classic Case theory has a number of empirical successes, many of which are captured by the theory of Distinctness developed in chapter 2. To the extent that that theory succeeds, it not only broadens the empirical coverage of the existing theories, but offers an answer to a question that we often do not ask: Why should languages have Case at all? In chapter 3, I turn to another typically unasked question: Why do some languages have overt *wh*-movement, while others do not? The goal in that chapter is to find the level of description on which languages do not in fact vary; all languages, I claim, obey a universal prosodic condition on *wh*-questions. The apparent variation can be reduced to previously observed variations in prosodic systems.

References

- Abels, Klaus. 2003. *Successive cyclicity, anti-locality, and adposition stranding*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Abney, Steven. 1987. *The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Ackema, Peter. 2001. Colliding complementizers in Dutch: Another syntactic OCP effect. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32:717–726.
- Adger, David, and Daniel Harbour. 2007. Syntax and syncretisms of the Person Case Constraint. *Syntax* 10:2–37.
- Aissen, Judith. 1979. *The syntax of causative constructions*. New York: Garland.
- Aldridge, Edith. 2004. *Ergativity and word order in Austronesian languages*. Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University.
- Alexiadou, Artemis. 2001. *Functional structure in nominals: Nominalization and ergativity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 2001. The subject in situ generalization and the role of case in driving computations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32:193–231.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 2007. The subject in-situ generalization revisited. In Uli Sauerland and Hans-Martin Gärtner, eds., *Interfaces + recursion = language? Chomsky's minimalism and the view from syntax-semantics*, 31–60. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Liliane Haegeman, and Melita Stavrou. 2007. *Noun phrase in the generative perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Anttila, Arto, and Vivienne Fong. 2000. The partitive constraint in Optimality Theory. *Journal of Semantics* 17:281–314.
- Archangeli, Diana, and Douglas Pulleyblank. 2002. Kinande vowel harmony: Domains, grounded conditions, and one-sided alignment. *Phonology* 19:139–188.
- Arregi, Karlos. 2002. *Focus on Basque movements*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Ausín, Adolfo. 2000. A multiple spell-out account of *wanna*-contraction. Paper presented at WECOL.
- Baker, Mark. 1988. *Incorporation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Baker, Mark. 2003. Agreement, dislocation, and partial configurability. In Andrew Carnie, Heidi Harley, and MaryAnn Willie, eds., *Formal approaches to function in grammar: In honor of Eloise Jelinek*, 107–132. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Baker, Mark, and Chris Collins. 2006. Linkers and the internal structure of vP. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24:307–354.
- Bammesberger, Alfred. 1983. *A handbook of Irish*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

- Bayer, Josef. 1996. *Directionality and logical form: On the scope of focusing particles and wh-in-situ*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Bernstein, Judy. 1991. DPs in French and Walloon: Evidence for parametric variation in nominal head movement. *Probus* 3:101–126.
- Bhatt, Rajesh, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1996. Object shift and specificity: Evidence from *ko*-phrases in Hindi. In Lise Dobrin, Kora Singer, and Lisa McNair, eds., *Proceedings of CLS 32*, 11–22. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Bianchi, Valentina. 1999. *Consequences of antisymmetry: Headed relative clauses*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Biberauer, Theresa. 2008. Doubling and omission: Insights from Afrikaans negation. In Sjeff Barbiers, Olaf Koenenman, Marika Lekakou, and Margreet van der Ham, eds., *Syntax and semantics, v. 36: Microvariation in syntactic doubling*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group.
- Bittner, Maria, and Ken Hale. 1996. Ergativity: Toward a theory of a heterogeneous class. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27:531–604.
- Black, Cheryl. 1995. Boundary tones on word-internal domains in Kinande. *Phonology* 12:1–38.
- Blaszczak, Joanna, and Hans-Martin Gärtner. 2005. Intonational phrasing, discontinuity, and the scope of negation. *Syntax* 8:1–22.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1917. *Tagalog texts with grammatical analysis*. Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan, and Andrew Carnie. 1996. A minimalist approach to some problems of Irish word order. In Robert Borsley and Ian Roberts, eds., *The syntax of the Celtic languages*, 223–240. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan, and Idan Landau. 2009. Fact and fiction in Icelandic control. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40:113–132.
- Bonet, Eulalia. 1991. *Morphology after Syntax: Pronominal Clitics in Romance Languages*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Borsley, Robert, and Maria-Luisa Rivero. 1994. Clitic auxiliaries and incorporation in Polish. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12:373–423.
- Bošković, Željko. 1997. On certain violations of the Superiority Condition, AgrO, and economy of derivation. *Journal of Linguistics* 33:227–254.
- Bošković, Željko. 1998. LF movement and the Minimalist Program. In Pius Tamanji and Kiyomi Kusumoto, eds., *Proceedings of NELS 28*, 43–57. Amherst: GLSA, University of Massachusetts.
- Bošković, Željko. 2001. *On the nature of the syntax-phonology interface: Cliticization and related phenomena*. Oxford: Elsevier Science.
- Bresnan, Joan, and Jonni Kanerva. 1989. Locative inversion in Chicheŵa: A case study of factorization in grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:1–50.
- Burzio, Luigi. 1986. *Italian syntax: A government-binding approach*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Carnie, Andrew. 1995. *Non-verbal predication and head-movement*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Cecchetto, Carlo, Carlo Geraci, and Sandro Zucchi. 2007. Another way to mark syntactic dependencies: The case for right peripheral specifiers in sign languages. Ms., Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca and Università degli Studi di Milano.
- Chang, Lisa. 1997. *Wh-in-situ phenomena in French*. Master's thesis, University of British Columbia.
- Cheng, Lisa, and Johan Rooryck. 2000. Licensing *wh*-in-situ. *Syntax* 3:1–19.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1970. Remarks on nominalization. In Roderick Jacobs and Peter Rosenbaum, eds., *Readings in English transformational grammar*, 184–221. Waltham, MA: Ginn & Co.

- Chomsky, Noam. 1977. On *wh* movement. In Peter Culicover, Thomas Wasow, and Adrian Akmajian, eds., *Formal Syntax*, 71–132. New York: Academic Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1980. On binding. *Linguistic Inquiry* 11:1–46.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, eds., *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89–155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In Michael Kenstowicz, ed., *Ken Hale: A life in language*, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2005. On phases. Ms., MIT.
- Chung, Sandra. 1990. VPs and verb movement in Chamorro. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 8:559–619.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1981. On the theory of relative clauses and markedness. *Linguistic Review* 1:247–294.
- Collins, Chris. 2002. Eliminating labels. In Samuel David Epstein and T. Daniel Seely, eds., *Derivation and explanation in the Minimalist Program*, 42–64. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Collins, Chris, and Phil Branigan. 1997. Quotative inversion. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15:1–41.
- Comorovski, Ileana. 1996. *Interrogative phrases and the syntax-semantics interface*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Coon, Jessica. Forthcoming. VOS as predicate fronting in Chol. *Lingua*.
- Davies, William, and Carol Rosen. 1988. Unions as multi-predicate clauses. *Language* 64:52–88.
- Deguchi, Masanori, and Yoshihisa Kitagawa. 2002. Prosody and *wh*-questions. In Masako Hirovani, ed., *Proceedings of NELS 32*. Amherst: GLSA, University of Massachusetts.
- Déprez, Viviane. 1988. Stylistic inversion and verb movement. In Joyce Powers and Kenneth de Jong, eds., *Proceedings of ESCOL '88*, pp. 71–82. Columbus: Ohio State University.
- Dikken, Marcel den. 2006a. A reappraisal of *vP* being phasal—a reply to Legate. Ms., CUNY Graduate Center.
- Dikken, Marcel den. 2006b. *Relators and linkers: The syntax of predication, predicate inversion, and copulas*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Dobashi, Yoshihito. 2004. Multiple spell-out, label-free syntax, and PF-interface. *Exploration in English Linguistics* 19.
- Dobashi, Yoshihito. 2006. Cyclic spell-out, phonological phrasing, and focus. *Studies of Human Science* 2:65–75.
- Doggett, Teal Bissell. 2004. *All things being unequal: Locality in movement*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Downing, Laura. 2005. The prosody of focus-related enclitics in some Southern Bantu languages. Handout from talk given at SOAS.
- Elordieta, Gorka. 1997. Accent, tone, and intonation in Lekeitio Basque. In Fernando Martínez-Gil and Alfonso Morales-Front, eds., *Issues in the phonology and morphology of the major Iberian languages*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Embick, David. 1995. Mobile inflections in Polish. In Jill Beckman, ed., *Proceedings of NELS 25*, 127–142. Amherst: GLSA, University of Massachusetts.
- Embick, David. 2000. Features, syntax, and categories in the Latin Perfect. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31:185–230.
- Embick, David, and Rolf Noyer. 2006. Distributed Morphology and the syntax/morphology interface. In Gillian Ramchand and Charles Reiss, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Interfaces*, 289–324. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Emonds, Joseph. 1976. *A transformational approach to English syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- Emonds, Joseph. 1985. *A unified theory of syntactic categories*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Endo, Yoshio. 1996. Right dislocation. In Masatoshi Koizumi, Masayuki Oishi, and Uli Sauerland, eds., *MITWPL 29: Formal approaches to Japanese linguistics 2*, 1–20. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Fabb, Nigel. 1984. *Syntactic affixation*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Fanselow, Gisbert. 2001. Features, θ -roles, and free constituent order. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32:405–437.
- Fox, Danny. 2000. *Economy and semantic interpretation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fox, Danny, and David Pesetsky. 2004. Cyclic linearization of syntactic structure. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31:1–46.
- George, Leland. 1980. *Analogical generalizations of natural language syntax*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Giorgi, Alessandra, and Giuseppe Longobardi. 1991. *The syntax of noun phrases: Configuration, parameters, and empty categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grimshaw, Jane. 1997. The best clitic: Constraint conflict in morphosyntax. In Liliane Haegeman, ed., *Elements of grammar*, 169–196. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Guasti, Maria Teresa. 1993. *Causative and perception verbs: A comparative study*. Torino, Italy: Rosenberg and Sellier.
- Guasti, Maria Teresa. 1997. Romance causatives. In Liliane Haegeman, ed., *The new comparative syntax*, 124–144. London: Longman.
- Guilfoyle, Eithne, Henrietta Hung, and Lisa Travis. 1992. Spec of IP and Spec of VP: Two subjects in Austronesian languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10:375–414.
- Gussenhoven, Carlos. 2004. *The phonology of tone and intonation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hale, Ken. 2002. On the Dagur object relative: Some comparative notes. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 11:109–122.
- Halle, Morris. 1990. An approach to morphology. In Juli Carter, Rose-Marie Dechaine, William Philip, and Tim Sherer, eds., *Proceedings of NELS 20*, 150–184. Amherst: GLSA, University of Massachusetts.
- Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed Morphology and the pieces of inflection. In Kenneth Hale and S. Jay Keyser, eds., *The view from Building 20*, 111–176. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Halpert, Claire. 2008. Subject position and agreement strategies in Kinande and Zulu. Handout from talk given at MIT.
- Hamlaoui, Fatima. 2008. On the role of discourse and phonology in French *wh*-questions. Ms., University of Ottawa.
- Harada, Shin-ichi. 1973. Counter Equi-NP deletion. *Annual Bulletin* 7:113–148. Tokyo: Research Institute of Logopedics and Phoniatrics, Tokyo University.
- Harbour, Daniel. 2007. A feature calculus for Silverstein hierarchies. Handout from talk given at the Workshop on Morphology and Argument Encoding, Harvard University, September 8.
- Harley, Heidi. 1995. *Subjects, events, and licensing*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Hayes, Bruce, and Aditi Lahiri. 1991. Bengali intonational phonology. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9:47–96.
- Hinnebusch, Thomas, and Sarah Mirza. 1979. *Kiswahili: Msingi wa kuseme kusoma na kuandika | Swahili: A foundation for speaking, reading, and writing*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

- Hiraiwa, Ken. Forthcoming. Spelling out the double-*o* constraint. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*.
- Hiraiwa, Ken, and Shinichiro Ishihara. 2002. Missing links: Cleft, sluicing, and “no *da*” construction in Japanese. In Tania Ionin, Heejeong Ko, and Andrew Nevins, eds., *MITWPL 43: Proceedings of HUMIT 2001*, 35–54. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Hirotoni, Masako. 2005. *Prosody and LF interpretation: Processing Japanese wh-questions*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Hoekstra, Teun. 1984. *Transitivity*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Iatridou, Sabine, and Hedde Zeijlstra. 2009. The need for differentiation. Class handout, MIT.
- Igarashi, Yosuke, and Yoshihisa Kitagawa. 2007. Focus and Monotony. Handout for talk given at the 3rd Workshop on Prosody, Syntax, and Information Structure, Indiana University, September 14–15, 2007.
- Ishihara, Shinichiro. 2001. Stress, focus, and scrambling in Japanese. In Elena Guerzoni and Ora Matushansky, eds., *MITWPL 39: A few from Building E39*, 142–175. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Ishihara, Shinichiro. 2003. *Intonation and interface conditions*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Ishihara, Shinichiro. 2007. Major Phrase, focus intonation, multiple spell-out (MaP, FI, MSO). *Linguistic Review* 24:137–167.
- Ito, Junko, and Armin Mester. 2007. Prosodic categories and recursion. Talk given at WPSI 3, Indiana University.
- Jones, Patrick, and Jessica Coon. 2008. Tone in Kinande. Ms., MIT.
- Kahnemuyipour, Arsalan. 2005. Towards a phase-based theory of sentential stress. In Martha McGinnis and Norvin Richards, eds., *MITWPL 49: Perspectives on phases*, 125–146. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Kanerva, Jonni. 1989. *Focus and phrasing in Chichewa phonology*. Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University.
- Kanerva, Jonni. 1990. Focusing on phonological phrases in Chichewa. In Sharon Inkelas and Draga Zec, eds., *The phonology-syntax connection*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kaufman, Daniel. 2005. Aspects of pragmatic focus in Tagalog. In I Wayan Arka and Malcom Ross, eds., *The many faces of Austronesian voice systems: Some new empirical studies*, 175–196. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Kayne, Richard. 1972. Subject inversion in French interrogatives. In Jean Casagrande and Bohdan Saciuk, eds., *Generative studies in Romance languages*, 70–126. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Kayne, Richard. 1975. *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kayne, Richard. 1977. French relative *que*. In Marta Luján and Fritz Hensey, eds., *Current Studies in Romance Linguistics*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Kayne, Richard. 1984. *Connectedness and binary branching*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Kayne, Richard. 1994. *Antisymmetry*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kayne, Richard. 2004. Prepositions as probes. In Adriana Belletti, ed., *Structures and beyond: The cartography of syntactic structures*, vol. 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kayne, Richard, and Jean-Yves Pollock. 1978. Stylistic inversion, successive cyclicity, and move NP in French. *Linguistic Inquiry* 9:595–621.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1993. Object agreement phrases and the split VP hypothesis. In Jonathan Bobaljik and Colin Phillips, eds., *MITWPL 18: Case and agreement I*, 99–148. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.

- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 2000. String vacuous overt verb raising. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 9:227–285.
- Kornfilt, Jaklin. 1986. The Stuttering Prohibition and morpheme deletion in Turkish. In Ayhan Aksu Koç and Eser Erguvanlı Taylan, eds., *Proceedings of the Turkish Linguistics Conference*, 59–83. Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Publications.
- Kratzer, Angelika, and Elisabeth Selkirk. 2007. Phase theory and prosodic spellout: The case of verbs. *Linguistic Review* 24:93–135.
- Krause, Cornelia. 2001. *On reduced relatives with genitive subjects*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Kubozono, Haruo. 2007. Focus and intonation in Japanese: Does focus trigger pitch reset? In S. Ishihara, S. Jannedy, and A. Schwartz., eds., *Interdisciplinary studies on information structure* 9:1–27. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam.
- Kuroda, Shige-Yuki. 1988. Whether we agree or not: A comparative syntax of English and Japanese. *Linguisticae Investigationes* 12:1–47.
- Kuwabara, Kazuki. 1996. Multiple *wh*-phrases in elliptical clauses and some aspects of clefts with multiple foci. In Masatoshi Koizumi, Masayuki Oishi, and Uli Sauerland, eds., *MITWPL 29: Formal approaches to Japanese linguistics 2*, 97–116. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Landau, Idan. 2004. Severing the distribution of PRO from Case. *Syntax* 9:153–170.
- Lee, Felicia. 2000. VP remnant movement and VSO in Quiavini Zapotec. In Andrew Carnie and Eithne Guilfoyle, eds., *The syntax of verb-initial languages*, 143–162. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Legate, Julie. 2003. Some interface properties of the phase. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34:506–515.
- Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1980. Remarks on infinitives: A case for a filter. *Journal of Italian Linguistics* 1(2):101–155.
- Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1994. Reference and proper names: A theory of N-movement in syntax and Logical Form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25:609–665.
- Longobardi, Giuseppe. 2001. The structure of DPs: Some principles, parameters, and problems. In Mark Baltin and Chris Collins, eds., *The handbook of contemporary syntactic theory*, 562–603. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Marantz, Alec. 1991. Case and licensing. In Germán Westphal, Benjamin Ao, and Hee-Rahk Chae, eds., *Proceedings of ESCOL '91*, 234–253. Columbus: Ohio State University.
- Marantz, Alec. 1993. Implications and asymmetries in double object constructions. In Sam Mchombo, ed., *Theoretical aspects of Bantu grammar I*. Stanford, CA: CSLI.
- Marantz, Alec. 1997. No escape from syntax: Don't try morphological analysis in the privacy of your own lexicon. In Alexis Dimitriadis et al., eds., *Proceedings of the 21st Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium: Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* 4:2, 201–225.
- Massam, Diane. 1985. *Case theory and the projection principle*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Massam, Diane. 2000. VSO and VOS: Aspects of Niuean word order. In Andrew Carnie and Eithne Guilfoyle, eds., *The syntax of verb-initial languages*, 97–116. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Massam, Diane. 2001. Pseudo noun incorporation in Niuean. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19:153–197.
- McCloskey, James. 1996. Subjects and subject positions in Irish. In Robert Borsley and Ian Roberts, ed., *The syntax of the Celtic languages*, 241–283. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McGinnis, Martha. 1998. *Locality in A-movement*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- McGinnis, Martha. 2001. Variation in the phase structure of applicatives. In Johan Rooryck and Pierre Pica, eds., *Linguistic variations yearbook*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Menn, Lise, and Brian MacWhinney. 1984. The Repeated Morph Constraint: Toward an explanation. *Language* 60:519–541.
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Michaels, Jennifer, and Catherine Nelson. 2004. A preliminary investigation of intonation in East Bengali. Ms., UCLA.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. Forthcoming. *Why move? Why agree?* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mohanan, Tara. 1994a. *Argument structure in Hindi*. Stanford, CA: CSLI.
- Mohanan, Tara. 1994b. Case OCP: A constraint on word order in Hindi. In Miriam Butt, Tracy Holloway King, and Gillian Ramchand, eds., *Theoretical perspectives on word order in South Asian languages*, 185–216. Stanford, CA: CSLI.
- Moltmann, Friederike. 1995. Exception sentences and polyadic quantification. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 18:223–280.
- Moro, Andrea. 2000. *Dynamic antisymmetry*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Munn, Alan. 1995. The possessor that stayed close to home. In Vida Samiian and Jeanette Schaeffer, eds., *Proceedings of WECOL 24*, 181–195.
- Murayama, Kazuto. 1998. An argument for Japanese Right Dislocation as feature-driven movement. Ms., Kanda University of International Studies.
- Mutaka, Ngessimo. 1994. *The lexical tonology of Kinande*. Munich: LINCOM Europa.
- Mutaka, Ngessimo, and Kambale Kavutirwaki. To appear. Kinande/Konzo-English Dictionary with an English-Kinande/Konzo Index. Brussels: Tervuren.
- Ndayiragije, Juvenal. 1999. Checking economy. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30:399–444.
- Neeleman, Ad, and Hans van de Koot. 2005. Syntactic OCP effects. In Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk, eds., *The Blackwell syntactic companion*. London: Blackwell.
- Neidle, Carol, Judy Kegl, Dawn MacLaughlin, Benjamin Bahan, and Robert G. Lee. 2000. *The syntax of American Sign Language: Functional categories and hierarchical structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Nespor, Marina, and Irene Vogel. 1986. *Prosodic phonology*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Nevins, Andrew. 2004. Derivations without the Activity Condition. In Martha McGinnis and Norvin Richards, eds., *MITWPL 49: Perspectives on phases*, 287–310. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Nissenbaum, Jon. 2000. *Investigations of covert phrase movement*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Odden, David. 1996. *The phonology and morphology of Kimatuumbi*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pak, Marjorie. 2008. *The postsyntactic derivation and its phonological reflexes*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Perlmutter, David. 1971. *Deep and Surface Structure Constraints in Syntax*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Pesetsky, David. 1987. *Wh-in-situ: Movement and unselective binding*. In Eric Reuland and Alice ter Meulen, eds., *The representation of (in)definiteness*, 98–129. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Pesetsky, David. 1995. *Zero syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Pesetsky, David. 1998. Some optimality principles of sentence pronunciation. In Pilar Barbosa, Danny Fox, Paul Hagstrom, Martha McGinnis, and David Pesetsky, eds., *Is the best good enough?: Optimality and competition in syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press and MITWPL.
- Pesetsky, David. 2000. *Phrasal movement and its kin*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Pesetsky, David, and Esther Torrego. 2006. Probes, goals, and syntactic categories. In Yukio Otsu, ed., *Proceedings of the 7th annual Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics*. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo Publishing Company.
- Pierrehumbert, Janet, and Mary Beckman. 1988. *Japanese tone structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Pires, Acrisio, and Heather Taylor. 2007. The syntax of *wh*-in-situ and common ground. Submitted to *Proceedings of the 37th LSRL*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Poser, William. 1984. *The phonetics and phonology of tone and intonation in Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Poser, William. 2002. The double-o constraints in Japanese. Ms., University of Pennsylvania.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2002. *Introducing arguments*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Rackowski, Andrea. 2002. *The structure of Tagalog: Specificity, voice, and the distribution of arguments*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Rackowski, Andrea, and Lisa Travis. 2000. V-initial languages: X or XP movement and adverbial placement. In Andrew Carnie and Eithne Guilfoyle, eds., *The syntax of verb-initial languages*, 117–141. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Raimy, Eric. 2000. *The phonology and morphology of reduplication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Reglero, Lara. 2005. *Wh*-in-situ constructions: Syntax and/or phonology? In John Alderete, Chung-Hye Hañ and Alexei Kochetov, eds., *Proceedings of WCCFL 24*, 334–342. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Richards, Marc. 2004. *Object shift and scrambling in North and West Germanic: A case study in symmetrical syntax*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge.
- Richards, Marc. 2007. On feature inheritance: An argument from the Phase Impenetrability Condition. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38:563–572.
- Richards, Norvin. 1993. *Tagalog and the typology of scrambling*. Honors thesis, Cornell University.
- Richards, Norvin. 1999. Featural cyclicity and the ordering of multiple specifiers. In Samuel D. Epstein and Howard Lasnik, eds., *Working Minimalism*, 127–158. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Richards, Norvin. 2000. Another look at Tagalog subjects. In Ileana Paul, Viviane Phillips, and Lisa Travis, eds., *Formal issues in Austronesian linguistics*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Richards, Norvin. 2001. *Movement in language: Interactions and architectures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ritter, Elizabeth. 1991. Two functional categories in noun phrases: Evidence from modern Hebrew. In Susan Rothstein, ed., *Syntax and semantics 25: Perspectives on phrase structure*, 37–62. New York: Academic Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Liliane Haegeman, ed., *Elements of grammar: Handbook in generative syntax*, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, Miguel. 2007. *The syntax of objects: Agree and differential object marking*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Ross, John. 1972. Doubl-ing. *Linguistic Inquiry* 3:61–86.
- Rouveret, Alain, and Jean-Roger Vergnaud. 1980. Specifying reference to the subject: French causatives and conditions on representations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 11:97–202.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1985. *Aspects of Bulgarian syntax: Complementizers and WH constructions*. Columbus, OH: Slavica.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1988. On multiple questions and multiple *wh*-fronting. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6:445–501.

- Sabbagh, Joseph. 2008. Copular clauses and predicate initial word order in Tagalog. Ms., Reed College.
- Saito, Mamoru. 2002. On the role of selection in the application of Merge. In Makoto Kadawaki and Shigeto Kawahara, eds., *Proceedings of NELS 33*, 323–346. Amherst: GLSA, University of Massachusetts.
- Salanova, Andres. 2004. Obligatory inversion as avoidance of unlinearizable representations. Ms., MIT.
- Sandalo, Filomena, and Hubert Truckenbrodt. 2002. Some notes on phonological phrasing in Brazilian Portuguese. In Aniko Csirmaz, Zhiqiang Li, Andrew Nevins, Olga Vaysman, and Michael Wagner, eds., *MITWPL 42: Phonological answers (and their corresponding questions)*, 285–310. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Santorini, Beatrice, and Caroline Heycock. 1988. *Remarks on causatives and passive*. Technical Report No. MS-CIS-88-33. Philadelphia: Department of Computer and Information Science, University of Pennsylvania.
- Sauerland, Uli. 1995. Sluicing and islands. Ms., MIT.
- Schachter, Paul. 1976. The subject in Philippine languages: Actor, topic, actor-topic, or none of the above. In Charles Li, ed., *Subject and Topic*, 491–518. New York: Academic Press.
- Schachter, Paul. 1996. The subject in Tagalog: Still none of the above. *UCLA Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 15.
- Schachter, Paul, and Fe Otanes. 1972. *Tagalog reference grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schneider-Zioga, Patricia. 2000. Anti-agreement and the fine structure of the left periphery. In Ruixi Ai, Francesca del Gobbo, Makie Irie, and Hajime Ono, eds., *UCI Working Papers in Linguistics* 6, 94–114. Irvine: Department of Linguistics, University of California.
- Schneider-Zioga, Patricia. 2007. Anti-agreement, antilocality, and minimality: The syntax of dislocated subjects. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25:403–446.
- Schütze, Carson. 1997. *INFL in child and adult language: Agreement, case, and licensing*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Schwartz, Florian. 2007. *Ex-situ* focus in Kikuyu. In Enoch Oladé Aboh, Katharina Hartmann, and Malte Zimmermann, eds., *Focus strategies in African languages: The interaction of focus and grammar in Niger-Congo and Afro-Asiatic*, 139–160. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Seidl, Amanda. 2001. *Minimal indirect reference: A theory of the syntax-phonology interface*. New York: Routledge.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth. 1984. *Phonology and syntax: The relation between sound and structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth. 1986. On derived domains in sentence phonology. *Phonology Yearbook* 3:371–405.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth. 1995. Sentence prosody: Intonation, stress, and phrasing. In John Goldsmith, ed., *The handbook of phonological theory*, 550–569. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth. 2006. Bengali intonation revisited: An Optimality Theoretic analysis in which FOCUS stress prominence drives FOCUS phrasing. In Chungmin Lee, Matthew Gordon, and Daniel Büring, eds., *Topic and focus, intonation and meaning*, 215–244. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth. 2009. Spelling out syntactic constituents as prosodic domains: Match constraints and the syntax-prosodic structure interface. Handout from talk given at Harvard University.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth, and Koichi Tateishi. 1988. Constraints on minor phrase formation in Japanese. In Lynn MacLeod, Gary Larson, and Diane Brentari, eds., *Proceedings of CLS 24*, 316–336. Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.

- Selkirk, Elisabeth, and Koichi Tateishi. 1991. Syntax and downstep in Japanese. In Carol Georgopoulos and Roberta Ishihara, eds., *Interdisciplinary approaches to language: Essays in honor of S.-Y. Kuroda*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór. 1991. Icelandic case-marked PRO and the licensing of lexical arguments. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9:327–363.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of features and ergativity. In Robert Dixon, ed., *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Simpson, Andrew. 2000. *Wh-movement and the theory of feature checking*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Simpson, Andrew, and Tanmoy Bhattacharya. 2003. Obligatory overt *wh*-movement in a *wh*-in-situ language. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34:127–142.
- Skopeteas, Stavros, and Elisabeth Verhoeven. 2009. Distinctness effects on VOS order: Evidence from Yucatec Maya. In Heriberto Avelino, Jessica Coon, and Elisabeth Norcliffe, eds., *MITWPL 59*: pp. 157–173. *New perspectives in Mayan linguistics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Smith, Jennifer. 2005. On the *wh*-question intonational domain in Fukuoka Japanese: Some implications for the syntax-prosody interface. In Shigeto Kawahara, ed., *UMOP 30: Papers on prosody*. Amherst: GLSA, University of Massachusetts.
- Soh, Hooi Ling. 1998. *Object scrambling in Chinese*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Srivastav, Veneeta. 1991. Subjacency effects at LF: The case of Hindi *wh*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22:762–769.
- Stowell, Tim. 1981. *Origins of phrase structure*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Strozer, Judith. 1976. *Clitics in Spanish*. Doctoral dissertation, UCLA.
- Sugahara, Mariko. 2003. *Downtrends and post-FOCUS intonation in Tokyo Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Szabolcsi, Anna. 1994. The noun phrase. In Ferenc Kiefer and Katalin É. Kiss, eds., *Syntax and semantics 27: Syntactic structure of Hungarian*. New York: Academic Press, pp. 179–275.
- Szczegielniak, Adam. 1997. Deficient heads and long head movement in Slovak. In Martin Lindseth and Steven Franks, eds., *Proceedings of FASL 5, The Indiana Meeting*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, pp. 312–333.
- Szczegielniak, Adam. 1999. “That-t effects” crosslinguistically and successive cyclic movement. In Karlos Arregi, Benjamin Bruening, Cornelia Krause, and Vivian Lin, eds., *MITWPL 33: Papers on morphology and syntax, cycle one*, 369–393. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Szendrói, Kriszta. 2001. *Focus and the syntax-phonology interface*. Doctoral dissertation, University College London.
- Takahashi, Daiko. 1993. Movement of *wh*-phrases in Japanese. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11:655–678.
- Takahashi, Daiko. 1994. Sluicing in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 3:265–300.
- Torrego, Esther. 1998. *The dependencies of objects*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Truckenbrodt, Hubert. 1995. *Phonological phrases: Their relation to syntax, focus, and prominence*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Truckenbrodt, Hubert. 1999. On the relation between syntactic phrases and phonological phrases. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30:219–255.
- Uechi, Akihiko. 1998. *An interface approach to topic/focus structure*. Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia.
- Uribe-Etxebarria, Myriam. 2002. In situ questions and masked movement. In P. Pica and J. Rooryck, eds., *Linguistic Variation Yearbook*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Valois, Daniel. 1991. The internal structure of DP and adjective placement in French and English. In Tim Sherer, ed., *Proceedings of NELS 21*, 367–382. Amherst: GLSA, University of Massachusetts.
- Valois, Daniel, and Fernande Dupuis. 1992. On the status of (verbal) traces in French: The case of stylistic inversion. In Paul Hirschbühler and Konrad Koerner, eds., *Romance languages and modern linguistic theory*, 325–338. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Vicente, Luis. 2005. Word order variation in Basque as non-feature-driven movement. Ms., Leiden University.
- Wagner, Michael. 2005. *Prosody and recursion*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Walter, Mary Anne. 2005. The Distinctness Condition in Semitic syntax. Ms., MIT.
- Wu, Hsiao-Hung Iris. 2008. *Generalized inversion and the theory of Agree*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 1998. Downsizing infinitives. In Uli Sauerland and Orin Percus, eds., *MITWPL 25: The interpretive tract*, 141–175. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2003. *Infinitives: Restructuring and clause structure*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2006. Licensing Case. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 18:175–236.
- Yang, Dong-Whee. 2005. Focus movements, Distinctness condition, and intervention effects. Ms, MIT.
- Yip, Moira. 1998. Identity avoidance in phonology and morphology. In Steven Lapointe, Diane Brentari, and Patrick Farrell, eds., *Morphology and its relation to phonology and syntax*. Stanford, CA: CSLI.
- Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa. 1998. *Prosody, focus, and word order*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

