

Scrambling the EGG
 Handout 5: The Sensitive Feature People
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- What a theory of (Russian/Slavic) Scrambling must account for:

0. All 6 basic constituent orders are grammatical

(1) a.	Mal'čiki books _{ACC}	čitajut read	knigi. books _{ACC}	√ SVO	(Russian)
b.	Knigi books _{ACC}	mal'čiki books _{ACC}	čitajut. read	√ OSV	
c.	Mal'čiki books _{ACC}	knigi books _{ACC}	čitajut read	√ SOV	
d.	Knigi books _{ACC}	čitajut read	mal'čiki. books _{ACC}	√ OVS	
e.	Čitajut read	mal'čiki books _{ACC}	knigi. books _{ACC}	√ VSO	
f.	Čitajut read	knigi books _{ACC}	mal'čiki books _{ACC}	√ VOS	

1. There are extensive WH-movement/Scrambling similarities:

- Complex NP Constraint:

(2) a. ***Kogo** ty pozvonil [agentu [kotoryj ljubit ___]]? (*wh)
 Whom_{ACC} you phone [spy_{DAT} [who loves ___]]
 *"Who did you phone a spy who loves?"

b. ***Borisa** ty pozvonil [agentu [kotoryj ljubit ___]]. (*Scr)
 Boris_{ACC} you phone [spy_{DAT} [who loves ___]]
 "Boris you phoned a spy who loves" (Bailyn 1995a)

(3) a. ***Ty doktor** znaeš' [ljudej [kotoryx ___ volnuet]]? (*Scr)
 you doctor_{NOM} know [people [who_{ACC} ___ worries]]
 *"The doctor do you know people who worries?"

b. ***Kto** ty znaeš' [ljudej [kotoryx ___ volnuet]]? (*wh)
 who_{NOM} you know [people [who_{ACC} ___ worries]]
 *"Who do you know people who worries?" (Bailyn 2017b)

- Coordinate Structure Constraint:

(4) a. ***Kogo** ty videl [Mašu i ___]? (*wh)
 Whom_{ACC} you saw [Masha_{ACC} and ___]
 *"Who did you see Masha and?"

b. ***Borisa** my videli [Mašu i ___]. (*Scr)
 Boris_{ACC} we saw [Masha_{ACC} and ___]
 *"Boris we saw Masha and."

(5) a. ***Kakuju** ty videl [___ kvartiru i [Mašin dom]]? (*wh)
 which_{ACC} you saw [___ apartment_{ACC} and [Masha's house]_{ACC}]
 *"Which did you see apartment and Masha's house?"

- b. ***Novuju** my videli [___ kvartiru i [Mašin dom]]. (*Scr)
 new_{ACC} we saw [___ apartment_{ACC} and [Masha's house]_{ACC}]
 *"NEW we saw apartment and Masha's house."

• Constraint on Extraction Domains (subjects)

- (6) a. ***O kom** [novaja knjiga ___] udivila publiku ? (*wh)
 about whom [new book ___] surprised public
 *"Who did a new book about surprise the public?"
- b. ***O Borise** [novaja knjiga ___] udivila publiku. (*Scr)
 about Boris [new book ___] surprised public
 *"About Boris a new book surprised the public?"

• Constraint on Extraction Domains (adjuncts)

- (7) a. ***Kogo** ty ušel domoj, [potomu što Maša ljubiti ___] ? (*wh)
 who_{ACC} you left to.home [--- because--- Masha loves ___]
 *"Who did you go home because Masha loves?"
- b. ***Borisa** ja ušel domoj, [potomu što Maša ljubiti ___] (*Scr)
 Boris_{ACC} I left to.home [---because--- Masha loves ___]
 *"Boris I went home because Masha loves?"

• Proper Binding Condition (Japanese):

- (8) *[[_{cp} Mary-ga ___₁ katta to]₂ [John-ga [_{cp} sono hon-o_i [_{tp} [Bill-ga ___₂
 Mary_{NOM} ___₁ bought that [John_{NOM} that book_{ACC} [[Bill_{NOM} ___
 itta]] to] omotteiru]].
 said]] that] think

"[that Mary bought ___₁]₂, John [that book₁] thinks that, Bill said ___₂."

(from Saito 1994, quoted in Bailyn 2001)

• Proper Binding Condition (Russian):

--Russian PBC with WH-movement:

- (9) a. ?[**O čem**]_i tebe interesno [**kakie knigi** ____i]_k Maša kupila ____k ?
 [about what] you interesting [which books ____i]_k Masha bought ____k
 "??What did you wonder which books about Mary bought?"
- b. **[**Kakie knigi** ____i]_k tebe interesno [**o čem**]_i Maša kupila ____k ?
 [which books ____i]_k you interesting about what Masha bought ____k
 ***"Which books do you wonder about what Mary bought?"

--Russian PBC with Scrambling:

- (10) a. Ja znaju, što **knigu**_i Boris xočet [čtoby Maša pročitala ____i] (√ DP Scr)
 I know that book Boris wants [that Masha read ___]
 "I know that the book, Boris wants Masha to read." _
- b. [Čtoby Maša pročitala [**knigu**]]_k ja znaju, [što Boris xočet ____k] (√ CP Scr)
 that Masha read book I know [that Boris wants ___]
 ?"That Masha read the book, I know that Boris wants."

- (11) a. **Knigu_i** (zavtra) [čtoby Maša pročitala _____i]_k ja znaju, [čto Boris xočet ____]_k
 book tomorrow [that Masha read ____] I know [that Boris wants ____]
 ?“The book, that Masha read tomorrow, I know Boris wants.” (?CP Scr) > DP Scr)
- b. **[**Čtoby Maša pročitala _____i**]_k ja znaju, [čto **knigu** Boris xočet _____k]
 [that Masha read _____i]_k I know [that book_{ACC} Boris wants ____]
 ***“That Masha read, I know that the book Boris wants.” (*DP Scr > CP Scr)

→The Russian OSV construction involves A'-movement (like WH-mvt or Topicalization)

• What about OVS ?? (Bailyn 2004, 2017a) (or Japanese OSV: Miyagawa 2001)		
(12) a.	* Každuju devoču_i eë _i mama ljubit ____ [every girl] _{ACC} [her mother] _{NOM} loves ____ “Every girl her mother loves.”	*OSV (WCO)
→ b.	Každuju devoču_i ljubit eë _i mama [every girl] _{ACC} loves [her mother] _{NOM} “Every girl is loved by her mother”	✓ OVS (no WCO)
(13) a.	* Vystrely drug druga ubili milicionerov [shots each other] _{NOM} killed policemen _{ACC} “Shots of each other killed the policemen.”	*SVO
b.	Milicionerov ubili vystrely drug druga policemen _{ACC} killed [shots each other] _{NOM} “The policemen were killed by each other’s shots.” (Titov 2013, ex 5)	✓ OVS (O binds into S)
• The OVS construction involves A-movement. “Generalized Inversion” (Bailyn 2004)		

(• The Russian **SOV** constructions involves middle field scrambling (Mykhaylyk 2010), which could be A or A'-movement, being vP-adjunction)

Russian 6 basic word orders		
order	construction	syntactic properties
✓ <u>SVO</u>	base	subject → SpecT; no V ⁰ → T ⁰
✓ <u>OSV</u>	local scrambling or Top/Foc mvt	adjunction to TP
✓ <u>OVS</u>	Generalized Inversion	Obj (or PP) moves to SpecT(V ⁰ → T ⁰ (or subject extraposition))
<u>SOV</u>	Middle Field “short” Scrambling	adjunction to vP; A, A'-properties; Base-generation possible
<u>VSO</u>	“fairy tale” word order	V ⁰ → T ⁰ ? (and no subject raising)
<u>VOS</u>	Extraposition (maybe “light predicate raising”)	Right adjunction to vP? (“subject post-posing”)

BUT:

2. There also are extensive WH-movement/Scrambling differences:

- Russian shows typical WH-islandhood for WH-movement:

(14) a. *Ty **čto** slyšala, [**kogda** uvozili ___]? (*wh)

You what_{ACC} heard [when took away ___]

*“What did you hear them taking away?”

b. *Ty **kto** videl, [**kogda** ___ pod’ezžal]? (*wh)

you who_{NOM} saw [when ___ was arriving]

*“Who you see when arrived?”

- Scrambling in such contexts is FINE: (“Zemskaya’s Paradox”)

(15) a. Ty **musor** slyšala, [**kogda** uvozili ___]? (√ Scr)

You trash_{ACC} heard [when took away ___]

“Did you hear them taking the trash away?” (Zemskaya 1973: 399)

b. Ty **doktor** videl, [**kogda** ___ pod’ezžal]? (√ Scr)

you doctor_{NOM} saw [when ___ was arriving]

“Did you see the doctor arriving?” (Zemskaya 1973: 399)

3: Scrambling is insensitive to wh-islands

- Extraction from indicative *čto* clauses

→ WH-movement in such contexts is degraded: (for reasons not entirely understood)

(16) a. ***Čego** žal’, [čto malo ___]? (*wh from *čto* clauses)

what too bad [that there are few ___]

“What is it too bad that there are so few of?”

b. ??**Kakie vešč**i tebe ne nraivitsja, [čto pridetsja s soboj taščit’ ___]?

what things you neg likes [that have to with self bring ___]

“What things don’t you like (the fact) that you have to bring with you?”

c. ***Čto** neprijatno, [čto vy ne kupili ___]? (*wh from *čto* clauses)

what unpleasant [that you neg bought ___]

“What is it unpleasant that you didn't buy?”

d. ??**Kogo** kažetsja, [čto [otpustit’ ___ odnogo tak pozdno]] bylo by bezumiem

who seems [that to-let-go ___ alone so late would be insanity

“Who does it seems that it would be insane to allow out to alone so late?”

→ Scrambling is fine: (exs from Zemskaya 1973: 398-405) (more of Zemskaya’s Paradox)

(17) a. **Ogurcov** žal’ [čto malo ___] (√ Scr)

pickles too bad [that there are few ___]

“Pickles, it’s too bad that there are so few of [them].”

b. **Plašč** mne ne nraivitsja, [čto pridetsja s soboj taščit’ ___] (√ Scr)

coat me neg likes [that have to with self bring ___]

“The raincoat, I don’t like (the fact) that you have to bring with you.”

c. Vot **bumagi** mne neprijatno, [čto vy ne kupili ___] (√ Scr)

here paper me unpleasant [that you neg bought ___]

“The paper, it’s unpleasant that you didn't buy.”

- d. Mne **Katju** kažetsja, čto [otpusit' __ odnu tak pozdno] bylo by bezumiem me Katja_{ACC} seems that [to-let-go __ alone so late] would be insanity
 “It seems to me that it would be insane to allow Katja out alone so late.”

• WH-adjunct extraction is even worse from *čto*-clauses; indicating true weak-islandhood.

- (18) ***Kogda** ty dumaeš' [čto ego sestra priexala __] ? (*wh)
 when you believe [that his sister arrived __]
 “When do you think that his sister arrived?”

• Adjunct Scrambling is still fine

- (19) **Včera** govorjat, [čto ego sestra priexala __] (✓Scr)
 yesterday they say [that his sister arrived __]
 “Yesterday they say that his sister arrived.”

4: Russian *čto* clauses are weak-WH islands

(20) Pieces of Zemskaia's Paradox: (from Bailyn under review)

	--wh-movement--			--Scrambling--		
	wh-subj	wh-obj	wh-adjunct	subject	object	adjunct
a. Complex NP	*	*	*	*	*	*
b. CSC	*	*	*	*	*	*
c. PBC	*	*	*	*	*	*
d. CED	*	*	*	*	*	*
e. Reconstruction	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
f. <i>čto</i> -clauses	*	??	*	✓	✓	✓
g. <i>kak</i> -clauses	*	??	*	✓	✓	✓
h. real wh-islands	*	*	*	✓	✓	✓

5: Scrambling (sometimes) differs from other kinds of A'-movement

(21) Reasons not to give up on movement accounts (Bailyn 2001, 2006, 2017b):

- All non-movement accounts lose the Scr = WH generalizations captured in (20)a-e
- BT predict the wrong range of interpretive effects
- VanG and Titov lose all coherent constituency
- All accounts massively complicate the theory

→ Что делать? (*What is to be done?* Chernyshevsky 1863; Lenin 1902)

Appeal to a more nuanced form of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990, 2004)

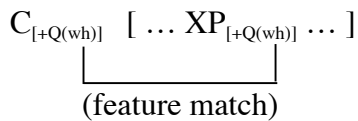
(22) Classes of features (Rizzi 2004; Bailyn 2017b)

- Argumental: person, number, gender, case (only relevant for A-movement)
- [+Q] Quantificational: Wh, Neg, measure, Focus . . .
- [-Q] Non-quantificational:
 - [+Mod] Modifiers: evaluative, epistemic, Neg, frequentative, measure, manner, . .
 - [+Top] Topic
 - [+Σ] Scrambling¹

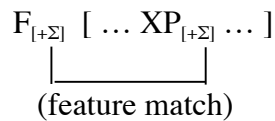
¹ [+Σ] was introduced for Scrambling by Grewendof & Sabel 1999 and Kawamura 2004)

(23) Derivation of simple A'-relations:

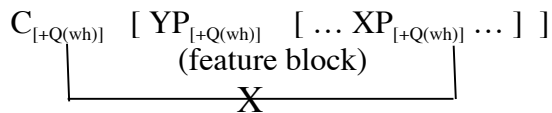
a. wh-movement:



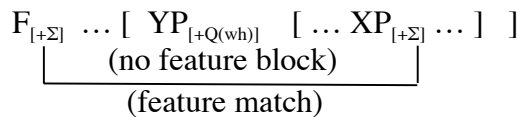
b. A'-scrambling:

(24) Relativized Minimality effects (eg wh-islands):

a. wh-island:



b. Scrambling out of wh-island:

**6: Rizzi (2004) is right – we need *feature classes*!**

(25) Relativized Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 2004, Bailyn 2018):

[+Q] elements block [+Q] elements; [-Q] elements do not block [+Q] elements

- (26) a. ***Kakogo**_[+wh] on **mnogo**_[+Q] citiroval [___ avtora] ? (*wh over *mnogo*)
 which_{ACC} he much cited [___ author]_{ACC}
 “Which author did he cite a lot?”
- b. ***DOKTOR**_[+Foc] studenty sprosili [**kogda**_[+wh] ___ priexal]. (*Foc over *kogda*)
 DOCTOR_{NOM} students asked [when ___ arrived]
 “[It’s] the DOCTOR the students asked when [he] arrived”
- (27) a. **Kakogo**_[+wh] on **včera**_[+Mod] citiroval [___ avtora] ? (√wh over *včera*)
 which_{ACC} on yesterday cited [___ author]_{ACC}
 “Which author did he cite yesterday?”
- b. **Étogo**_[+Σ] on **mnogo**_[+Q] citiroval [___ avtora] . (√Scr over *mnogo*)
 this_{ACC} he much cited [___ author]_{ACC}
 “This author he cited a lot.”

• (27) shows [-Q] elements do not block [+Q] movement.

• BUT Shields (2005) shows [-Q] elements can block each other”

- a. ??Ja **bystro**_[+Σ] xoču, [čtoby ona **často**_[+Mod] ___ exala] . (??Scr over *často*)
 I quickly want [that she often ___ went]
 “I want it to often go quickly.” (ex from Shields 2005, my diacritics)
- b. **Gde**_[+wh] ty xočeš', [čtoby ona **často**_[+Mod] obedala ___] ? (√wh over *často*)
 where you want [that she often dines ___]
 “Where do you want her to often eat?” (example from Shields 2005)
- c. **Komu**_[+wh] ty **srazu**_[+Σ] xočeš', [čtoby ona pozvonila ___ ___] ?
 who you right away want [that she call ___ ___]
 “Who do you want her to call right away?” (√wh over Scrambled *srazu*)

(28) **The Testelets-Lyutikova observation** (Testelets 2001, Lyutikova 2009)*Relativization is not sensitive to WH-islands* (ex (**Error! Reference source not found.** from Lyutikova 2009: 36)

- a. tut pojavljaetsja novyj mir, v **kotorom** ja ne znaju [**kak** žit' ___]
 here appears new world in which I neg know [how to.live]

“And there appears a new world here in which I don’t know how to live”

29) Summary of blocking data:

kind of mvt	----- potential blocker -----					
	----- [+Q] blockers -----				----- [-Q] blockers -----	
	[+WH]	[+Foc]	[+Quant]	[+Neg]	[+Mod]	[+Σ]
WH-movement	*	*	*	*	✓	✓
Focus movement	*	*	*	*	✓	✓
Scrambling	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓
Relativization	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

7: Feature classes allow us to not give up movement theories of Scrambling!

→ **Crucial prediction:** Scrambling of a [+Q] element out of a wh-island should fail?

(30) a. Ty **vsex**_{[+Q], [+Σ]} slyšala, [**kogda**_[+wh] uvozili ___]? (✓ [+Q] Scr over [+WH])
 You everyone_{ACC} heard [when took away ___]
 “Did you hear them taking everyone away?”

b. Ty [**každyj doctor**]_{[+Q], [+Σ]} videl, [**kogda**_[+wh] ___ pod’ezžal] ?
 you [every doctor_{NOM}] saw [when ___ was arriving]
 “Did you see every doctor arriving? (✓ [+Q] Scr over [+WH])

But it’s fine!

We have achieved a paradox: we need feature classes to account for the scrambling facts, but this leads us to expect quantifiers can’t scramble out of WH islands. But they can.


→ Introducing **Marking for Scrambling**

31) **Marking for Scrambling:** [box 10]

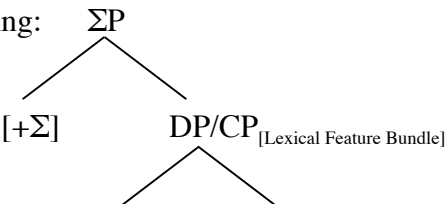
- Step 1. Some kind of syntactic object is built (e.g. DP)
- Step 2. The [+Σ] head is merged with the DP, creating a new syntactic object (ΣP)
- The resulting ΣP behaves as a [-Q] object, escaping wh-islands, etc.

32) a. The syntactic objects just before Marking for Scrambling: (Bailyn 2018)

i. [+Σ] + ii. DP/CP_[Lexical Feature Bundle]



b. The syntactic object after Marking for Scrambling:



33) ??Ja **bystro**_[+Σ] xoču, [čtoby ona **často**_[+Mod] ___ exala] .
 I quickly want [that she often ___ went]
 “I want it to often go quickly.” (ex from Shields 2005, my diacritics)

Prediction: Overt wh-movement languages (with active strong WH-feature) should not allow wh-scrambling or wh-topicalization. = √ for Slavic, Germanic etc

- The remaining elephant in the room:
 - Why is there no LDS in German/Dutch?? Possibilities:
 - something about extraction domains and escape hatches that involves V2, CP structure (so a PUB-like account)
 - something about the nature of local Scrambling inducing a freezing effect (so a Grewendorf/Sabel-like account)
 - a more radical possibility: German does not in fact even have local (A') Scrambling (so, it might have VP-internal base-generation optionality, but nothing more)

(34) (some) research topics:

Russian/Slavic

- a. How are Russian V-initial orders derived? (Serbo-Croatian (BCS) is very different)
- b. Why are Russian *čto* clauses weak ([+Q]) islands? How do other Slavic L's behave?
- c. How do Slavic languages differ in Scrambling/WH-asymmetries?
- d. How do binding and scope interact with Scrambling across Slavic?

General/Theoretical

- e. What is the internal structure of feature bundles? So, how can Rel be [+wh] but [-Q]?
- f. What is the *interpretation* of Scrambling (is it discourse-driven?)
- g. What base-generation options *are* allowed? (and how are they constrained?)
- h. Why are some constraints absolute (strong), (CSC, CNPC, PBC, CED) while others are subject to some form of blocking via Relativized Minimality?

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