

A first look at the landscape of Unbounded Dependency Constructions

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From local to non-local dependencies

- A head generally realizes its arguments locally within its head domain (i.e., within a local tree if an X-bar structure is assumed).
- Certain kind of constructions resist this generalization, such as, for example, the *wh*-question (from the NYT):
 - (1) a. Who do you think $_$ writes well about human sadness?
 - b. Who do you think the cops are going to believe $_$?
- How can the non-local relation between a head and such arguments be licensed? How can the properties be captured?

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A first example: *Wh*-elements

Wh-elements can have different functions:

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|--|----------------------------|
| (2) a. Who did Hobbs see $_$? | Object of verb |
| b. Who do you think $_$ saw the man? | Subject of verb |
| c. Who did Hobbs give the book to $_$? | Object of prep |
| d. Who did Hobbs consider $_$ to be a fool? | Object of obj-control verb |

Wh-elements can also occur in subordinate clauses:

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|---|
| (3) a. I asked who the man saw $_$. |
| b. I asked who the man considered $_$ to be a fool . |
| c. I asked who Hobbs gave the book to $_$. |
| d. I asked who you thought $_$ saw Hobbs. |

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Different categories can be extracted:

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| (4) a. Which man did you talk to $_$? | NP |
| b. [To [which man]] did you talk $_$? | PP |
| c. [How ill] has the man been $_$? | AdjP |
| d. [How frequently] did you see the man $_$? | AdvP |

This sometimes provides multiple options for a constituent:

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| (5) a. Who does he rely [on $_$]? |
| b. [On whom] does he rely $_$? |

Unboundedness:

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| (6) a. Who do you think Hobbs saw $_$? |
| b. Who do you think Hobbs said he saw $_$? |
| c. Who do you think Hobbs said he imagined that he saw $_$? |

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A syntactic link from filler to gap is needed

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|---|
| (7) a. Kim _i , Sandy trusts $_i$. |
| b. [On Kim] _i , Sandy depends $_i$. |
| (8) a. * [On Kim] _i , Sandy trusts $_i$. |
| b. * Kim _i , Sandy depends $_i$. |

And this link has to be established for an unbounded length:

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| (9) a. Kim _i , Chris knows Sandy trusts $_i$. |
| b. [On Kim] _i , Chris knows Sandy depends $_i$. |
| (10) a. * [On Kim] _i , Chris knows Sandy trusts $_i$. |
| b. * Kim _i , Chris knows Sandy depends $_i$. |
| (11) a. Kim _i , Dana believes Chris knows Sandy trusts $_i$. |
| b. [On Kim] _i , Dana believes Chris knows Sandy depends $_i$. |
| (12) a. * [On Kim] _i , Dana believes Chris knows Sandy trusts $_i$. |
| b. * Kim _i , Dana believes Chris knows Sandy depends $_i$. |

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Unbounded dependency constructions

An unbounded dependency construction

- involves constituents with different functions
- involves constituents of different categories
- is in principle unbounded

Two kind of unbounded dependency constructions (UDCs)

- Strong UDCs
- Weak UDCs (*easy*, purpose infinives, ...) → not addressed here

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Strong UDCs

An overt constituent occurs in a non-argument position:

Topicalization:

(13) Kim_i, Sandy loves _{-i} .

Wh-questions:

(14) I wonder [who_i Sandy loves _{-i}].

Wh-relative clauses:

(15) This is the politician [who_i Sandy loves _{-i}].

It-clefts:

(16) It is Kim_i [who_i Sandy loves _{-i}].

Pseudoclefts:

(17) [What_i Sandy loves _{-i}] is Kim_i .

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Weak UDCs

No overt constituent in a non-argument position:

Purpose infinitive (*for-to* clauses):

(18) I bought it_i for Sandy to eat _{-i} .

Tough movement:

(19) Sandy_i is hard to love _{-i} .

Relative clause without overt relative pronoun:

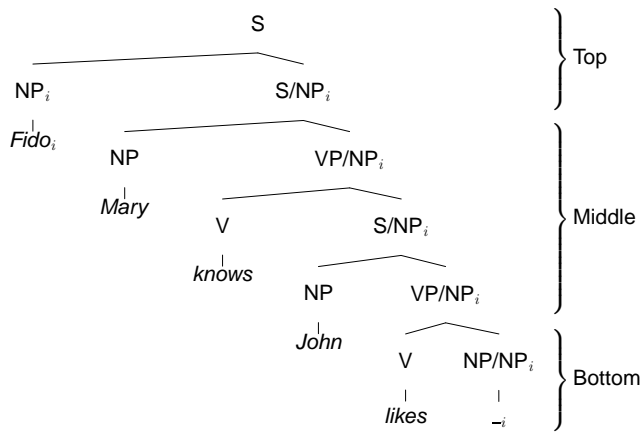
(20) This is [the politician]_i [Sandy loves _{-i}].

It-clefts without overt relative pronoun:

(21) It is Kim_i [Sandy loves _{-i}].

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An example for a strong UDC



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