

Embedding, Covert Movement, and Intervention in Kathmandu Newari

Borui Zhang
Dustin A. Chacón
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Presentation Outline

Section 1: Introduction

- 1.1 Theoretical Background
- 1.2 The Puzzle
- 1.3 Our Proposal

Section 2: Non-Verbal-Argument CPs

- 2.1 Basic *wh*-questions
- 2.2 *Mian* clauses
- 2.3 Adjunct clauses
- 2.4 So far

Section 3: Verbal-Argument CPs

- 3.1 Intervention effects in V-argument CPs
- 3.2 Island effects in V-argument CPs
- 3.3 So far

Section 4: Recap

Section 5: Towards an Account

Section 6: Summary

1 Introduction

- In this paper, we argue that Newari permits *wh*-operators to either covertly move to fix their scope, or may take scope *in-situ*.
- Additionally, we argue that clausal complements to verbs (“verbal argument CPs”) may be islands for covert movement in Newari, unexpectedly.

1.1 Theoretical Background

- Some languages move *wh*-operators overtly, others leave them in-situ:

(1) *What_i* did Ram eat *t_i*? (English)

(2) Rām-na *chu* na-la?
Ram-ERG what eat-*PST*
‘What did Ram eat?’ (Newari)

- Broadly, there are two analyses of how *wh*-in-situ takes wide scope without overtly moving. One approach posits **covert movement** of the *wh*-operator (Huang 1982, Soh 2005, Yang 2012):

(3) a. Surface syntax: [_{CP} [_{TP} Ram *what* ate]
b. LF: [_{CP} *what_i* [_{TP} Ram *t_i* ate]]

- *Prima facie*, covert movement analyses predict that *wh*-in-situ should exhibit many of the same properties as overt movement, e.g., island effects in Mandarin Chinese (Huang 1982, Bayer 2006, Cheng 2009)

(4) *Qiaofeng xihuang [_{DP} [_{CP} Botong *weishenme* xie de] shu]
Qiaofeng like Botong *why* written DE book
‘For what reason *x*, Qiaofeng likes the book that Botong wrote for *x*?’

- Another approach proposes that *wh*-in-situ can take wide semantic scope in-situ through **focus composition** (Beck 2006, Hamblin 1973, Karttunen 1977)

(5) a. $\llbracket [\text{TP Ram ate } \mathbf{what}] \rrbracket^g = \text{undefined}$
 $\llbracket [\text{TP Ram ate } \mathbf{what}] \rrbracket^{g,h} = \text{Ram ate } h(1)$

(6) a. $\llbracket [\text{CP Q Ram ate } \mathbf{what}] \rrbracket^g = \lambda p \exists x [p = \lambda w. \text{Ram ate } x \text{ in } w]$
 $\llbracket [\text{CP Q Ram ate } \mathbf{what}] \rrbracket^{g,h} = \lambda p [p = \lambda w. \text{Ram ate } h(1) \text{ in } w]$

- Beck (2006) argues that the focus alternatives composition analysis accounts for intervention effects, in which a *wh*-operator in-situ is ungrammatical if it’s in the scope of another focus-operator, because the focus-operator’s argument’s semantic value is undefined:

(7) * [_{CP} C ... *Intervener* ... **wh**]

(8) * John-*hi* *kyaa* khariide-gaa?
John-only what buy-FUT
‘What will only John buy?’ Hindi (Malhotra 2009)

(9) * Minsu-*man* **nuku**-lûl po-ass-ni?
 Minsu-only who-ACC see-Pst-Q
 ‘Who did only Minsu see?’
 Korean (Beck 2006)

(10) a. [John what buy]^g = undefined
 b. [Only]^g([John what buy]^g) = ?

1.2 The Puzzle

- In Newari, intervention effects are not observed for *wh*-in-situ in main clauses:

(11) Rām-na-*caka* **chu** na-u?
 Ram-ERG-only what eat-PST
 ✓ ‘What did only Ram eat?’

- However, an intervener blocks an embedded *wh*-in-situ from taking wide scope:

(12) Sitā-m̄ [CP Rām-na **chu** na-u (dhakā)] dhā-u
 Sita-ERG Ram-ERG what eat.PST that say-PST
 ✓ ‘Sita said what Ram ate.’
 ✓ ‘What did Sita say that Ram ate?’

(13) Sitā-m̄ [CP Rām-na-*caka* **chu** na-u (dhakā)] dhā-u
 Sita-ERG Ram-ERG-only what eat.PST that say-PST
 ✓ ‘Sita said what only Ram ate.’
 * ‘What did Sita say that only Ram ate?’ (Intervention effect)

- Additionally, *wh*-in-situ is not sensitive to traditional island constructions (e.g., relative clauses), in (14).

(14) *Relative Clause in main clauses*
 ✓ Rām-na [RC **su-na** dā ma] guru nāplā-u?
 Ram-ERG who-ERG hit CL teacher meet-PST
 ‘which person *x*, such that *x* met the teacher who *x* hit?’

- Unless the relative clause is in the scope of verbal complement CP, in (15).

(15) *Relative Clause inside argument CP*
 * ākās-ām̄ [CP Rām-na [RC **su-na** dā ma] guru nāplā-u]
 Akash-ERG Ram-ERG who-ERG hit CL teacher meet-PST
 dhā-u?
 say-PST
 ‘Who is the person *x*, such that Akash said that Ram met the teacher who *x* hit?’

- To sum up, Newari *wh*-in-situ in CPs that are argument to verbs display both **island effects** and **intervention effects**. In other cases, (i.e. in main clauses and adjunct clauses), *wh*-in-situ displays **neither** island effects nor intervention effects.

Clausal Type	Structure	Island effect	Intervention effect
Main clause	[M-CP [Adj-CP ... <i>wh</i> ...]]	No	No
V-complement CP	[M-CP V [Arg-CP ... <i>wh</i> ...]]	Yes	Yes

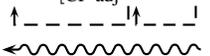
- Thus, the diagnostics for covert movement and focus composition fail for *wh*-in-situ in general in Newari.

Questions:

- (1) Why do *wh*-phrases fix their scope depending on where they surface?
- (2) Why do we not find traditional island structures in Newari?
- (3) Why does Newari pattern this way, but previously studied languages (Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Hindi) do not?

1.3 Our Proposal

- Newari permits either covert movement (CM) or focus alternatives composition (FA), to interpret the *wh*-phrases, as shown in (16), and it only permits in-situ focus alternatives composition for those in argument CPs, as in (17).

(16) ✓ [CP-matrix C ... [CP-adj C ... *wh* ...]]


(17) ✓ [CP-arg C ... [CP-arg C ... *wh* ...]]


2 Non-Verbal-Argument CPs

2.1 Basic *wh*-questions

- In Newari *wh*-phrases stay in-situ to take matrix scope.

- (18) a. Rām-na **chu** na-la
 Ram-ERG what eat-PST
 ‘What did Ram eat?’
- b. **su-na** aṃ na-la
 Who-ERG mango.ABS eat-PST
 ‘Who ate mangos?’

- *Wh*-phrases can optionally scramble to the closest the CP edge.

- (19) **Chu** Rām-na — na-la?
 what Ram.ERG eat-PST
 ‘What did only Ram eat?’

2.2 Main clauses

- We do not observe intervention effects (for both argument-*wh* and adjunct-*wh*) in Newari main clauses as in (20).

- (20) a. ✓ Rām-a-*caka* **chu** na-u?
 Ram-ERG-only what eat-PST
 ‘What did only Ram eat?’
- b. ✓ Rām-na-*caka* **chæ** aṃ na-u?
 Ram-ERG-only why mango.ABS eat-PST
 ‘Why did only Ram eat a mango?’

2.3 Adjunct clauses

- Island sensitivity is predicted for *wh*-in-situ on covert movement analyses:

- (21) * Qiaofeng xihuan [_{CP} Botong **weishenme** xie de] shu?
 Qiaofeng like Botong why write de book
 Intended: ‘For what reason *x*, such that Qiaofeng like the book that Botong wrote for *x*?’
 Mandarin (Huang 1982)

- We find no island sensitivity for *wh*-operators in Newari relative clauses, *because*-clauses, complex NP clauses, and comparative clauses (More data in Appendix B).

- (22) *wh*-phrase taking wide scope from relative clause
 ✓ Rām-na [_{NP} [_{RC} **su-na** dā ma] guru] nāplā-u?
 Ram-ERG who-ERG hit CL teacher met-PST
 ‘which person *x*, such that *x* met the teacher who *x* hit?’

- (23) *wh*-phrase taking wide scope from comparative clause
 ✓ Rām-a [_{CP} **su-na** bwæṃ wani-u shyā yaku] swimming
 Ram-ERG who-ERG run go-PST than more swimming
 ya-i.
 do-NonPst.
 ‘Who is the person *x*, such that Ram swims more than *x* runs?’

- (24) *adjunct wh*-phrase taking wide scope from *because* clause
 ✓ [_{ADJ} ji-ṃ **gana** ma waṃ-u liṃ], ji fel ju-la.
 1.SG-ERG where NEG go-PST because, 1.SG. fail happen-PST
 ‘Where is the place *x*, such that because I didn’t go *x*, I failed (the test)?’

- We do not observe intervention effects in adjunct clauses.

- (25) ✓ Rām-na-*caka* [_{NP} [_{CP} **su-na** dā ma] guru] nāplā-u?
 Ram-ERG-only who-ERG hit CL teacher meet-PST
 ‘which person *x*, such that Ram met the teacher who *x* hit?’

- (26) ✓ Rām-a-*caka* [_{CP} **su-na** bwæṃ wani-u shyā yaku] swimming
 Ram-ERG-only who-ERG run go-PST than more swimming
 ya-i.
 do-NonPst.
 ‘Who is the person *x*, such that only Ram swims more than *x* runs?’

2.4 So far

- Neither main clauses nor adjunct clauses show intervention effects in Newari. Adjunct CPs don't show island effects.

Clausal Structure	Results	Conclusion
[_{CP-M} ... <i>wh</i> ...]	[-Intervention]	Covert Movement
[_{CP-M} [_{Adj-CP} ... <i>wh</i> ...]]	[-Intervention, - Island]	Covert Movement

- We so far conclude that covert movement is what happens here, and adjunct clauses are not the traditional island constructions as we know.

- Example: Covert *wh*-movement of non-verbal-argument CPs in (22)

✓ [_{CP-M} C ... [_{CP-adj} C ... *wh* ...]]

↑-----↑-----↑

3 Verbal-Argument CPs

- Wh*-phrases inside of a verbal-argument CP can take wide scope in-situ. (See Appendix A for more CP embedding possibilities)

(27) ✓ Sitā-na [_{CP} **su-na** aṃ na-u dhāyā] sy-la?
 Sita-ERG who-ERG mango.ABS eat-PST that know-NONPST
 'Who did Sita know that ate the mango?'

3.1 Intervention effects in V-argument CPs

- Focus intervention effects occur in selected clauses, for both argument-*wh* and adjunct-*wh*, as in (28).

(28) a. *Intervention effect for argument-wh taking matrix scope*
 Sitā-ṃ [_{CP} Rām-a-caka **chu** na-u (dhakā)] dhā-u
 Sita-ERG Ram-ERG-only what eat.PST that say-PST
 ✓ 'Sita said what only Ram ate.'
 * 'What did Sita say that only Ram ate?'

b. *Intervention effect for adjunct-wh taking matrix scope*
 Sitā-ṃ [_{CP} Rām-a-caka **chæ** aṃ na-u (dhakā)]
 Sita-ERG Ram-ERG-only why mango.ABS eat.PST that
 dhā-u
 say-PST
 ✓ 'Sita said why only Ram ate mango.'
 * 'Why did Sita say that only Ram ate mango?'

- Intervention effects are ameliorated when the *wh* scrambles to the left edge of the CP.

(29) a. *Scramble the argument-wh to fix intervention effect*
 Sitā-ṃ [_{CP} **chu** Rām-a-caka ____ na-u (dhakā)] dhā-u
 Sita-ERG what Ram-ERG-only eat.PST that say-PST
 * 'Sita said what only Ram ate.'
 ✓ 'What did Sita say that only Ram ate?'

b. *Scramble the adjunct-wh to fix intervention effect*
 Sitā-ṃ [_{CP} **chæ** Rām-a-caka ____ aṃ na-u (dhakā)]
 Sita-ERG why Ram-ERG-only mango.ABS eat.PST that
 dhā-u
 say-PST
 * 'Sita said why only Ram ate mango.'
 # 'Why did Sita say that only Ram ate mango?'

- For fronted argument CPs, overtly moving *wh* to the embedded clause edge can also avoid intervention effects.

(30) *Overtly moving argument-wh to ameliorate intervention effect*
 a. *Intervention effect in fronted CP*
 [_{CP} Rām-a-caka **chu** na-u (dhakā)] Sitā-ṃ dhā-u
 Ram-ERG-only what eat.PST that Sita-ERG say-PST
 ✓ 'Sita said what only Ram ate.'
 * 'What did Sita say that only Ram ate?'

b. *Intervention effect avoided in fronted CP*
 [_{CP} **Chu** Rām-a-caka ____ na-u (dhakā)] Sitā-ṃ dhā-u
 what Ram-ERG-only eat.PST that Sita-ERG say-PST
 ✓ 'Sita said what only Ram ate.'
 ✓ 'What did Sita say that only Ram ate?'

(31) *Overtly moving adjunct-wh to ameliorate intervention effect*a. *Intervention effect of adjunct-wh*

[_{CP} Rām-a-*caka* **chæ** oṃ na-u (dhakā)] Sitā-ṃ
 Ram-ERG-only why mango.ABS eat.PST that Sita-ERG
 dhā-u
 say-PST
 ✓ ‘Sita said why only Ram ate mango.’
 * ‘Why did Sita say that only Ram ate mango?’

b. *Intervention effect avoided by scrambling adjunct-wh*

[_{CP} **Chæ** Rām-a-*caka* ____ oṃ na-u (dhakā)] Sitā-ṃ
 why Ram-ERG-only mango.ABS eat.PST Sita-ERG that
 dhā-u
 say-PST
 ✓ ‘Sita said why Ram ate mango.’
 ✓ ‘Why did Sita say that Ram ate mango?’

- What will happen when the intervener is in the matrix clause? Moved CPs in double embedded clauses show the evidence of intervention effects, as in (32b).

(32) a. Rām-a [_{CP} [_{CP} Sitā-ṃ **chu** na-u] sāyl-aṃ dhā-u] swace
 Ram-ERG Sita-ERG what eat.PST Sayal-ERG say-PST think
 yā-u
 do.PST
 ‘What did Ram think that Sayal said that Sita ate?’¹
 b. * Rām-a-*caka* [_{CP} [_{CP} Sitā-ṃ **chu** na-u] sāyl-aṃ dhāu]
 Ram-ERG-only Sita-ERG what eat.PST Sayal-ERG say.PST
 swace yā-u
 think do.PST
 Intended: ‘What did only Ram think that Sayal said that Sita ate?’

- Overtly moving the entire complex CP object can ameliorate intervention effects.

(33) [_{CP} [_{CP} Sitā-ṃ **chu** na-u] sāyl-aṃ dhāu] Rām-a-*caka* swace
 Sita-ERG what eat.PST Sayal-ERG say.PST Ram-ERG-only think
 yā-u
 do.PST
 ‘What did only Ram think that Sayal said that Sita ate?’

3.2 Island effects in V-argument CPs

- We previously showed that there are no island effects in the matrix clauses. However, we do observe island effects in argument CP clauses (See more in Appendix B).

(34) *Island effects happen in relative clauses inside the argument CP*

* ākās-āṃ [_{CP} Rām-a [_{NP} [_{RC} **su-na** dā ma] guru] nāplā-u]
 Akas-ERG Ram-ERG who-ERG hit CL teacher meet-PST
 dhā-u?
 say-PST
 ‘Who is the person x, such that Akas said that Ram met the teacher who x hit?’

(35) *Island effects of because-clauses inside the argument CP*

* Rām-a [_{CP} [_{ADJ} ji-ṃ **gana** ma waṃ-u liṃ], ji fel
 Ram-ERG 1.SG-ERG where NEG go-PST because, 1.SG. fail
 ju-la] dhā-u
 happen-PST say-PST
 ‘Where is the place x, such that Ram said because I didn’t go x, I failed (the test)?’

3.3 So far

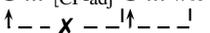
- The opposite from main clauses: verbal-argument CPs show intervention effects in Newari. Adjunct CPs inside of argument CPs show island effects.

Clausal Structure	Results	Conclusion
[_{M-CP} V [_{Arg-CP} ... <i>wh</i> ...]]	[+Intervention]	Focus Alternative
[_{M-CP} V [_{Arg-CP} [_{Adj-CP} ... <i>wh</i> ...]]]	[+Island]	Focus Alternative

- In-situ focus composition for argument CPs:

✓ [_{CP-matrix} C [_{CP-arg} C ... [_{CP-arg} C ... **wh** ...]]]


- Fail to do in-situ focus composition for argument CPs:

* [_{CP-matrix} C [_{CP-arg} C ... [_{CP-adj} C ... **wh** ...]]]


- We so far conclude that argument CPs require focus alternatives composition, and are island for covert movement.

¹It is likely for some independent reasons the double embedded does not yield a narrow scope reading. The same as in example (33).

4 Recap

Results of examining intervention effects and island effects:

Clausal Structure	Results	Conclusion
[Matrix-CP <i>wh</i> ...]	[-Intervention]	covert / focus
[Matrix-CP [Adj-CP ... <i>wh</i> ...]]	[-Intervention, - Island]	covert movement
[Matrix-CP V [Arg-CP ... <i>wh</i> ...]]	[+Intervention]	focus alternatives
[Matrix-CP V [Arg-CP [Adj-CP ... <i>wh</i> ...]]]	[+Island]	focus alternatives

- Covert *wh*-movement for non-argument CPs: as the sentences in (22), (23), and (24).

✓ [CP-matrix C ... [CP-adj C ... *wh* ...]]

↑ _ _ _ _ ↑ _ _ _ _

- In-situ focus composition for argument CPs: as the sentence in (27).

✓ [CP-matrix C [CP-arg C ... [CP-arg C ... *wh* ...]]]

←~~~~~

- Fail to do in-situ focus composition for argument CPs: as the sentences in (34) and (35)

* [CP-matrix C [CP-arg C ... [CP-adj C ... *wh* ...]]]

↑ _ _ **x** _ _ ↑ _ _ _

- Comparing to English derivation of multi-*wh*-questions (Kotek and Hackl 2013):

✓ [CP-matrix *wh* .. C [CP-arg C ... [CP-adj C ... *wh* ...]]]

←~~~~~↑ _ _ _ _ _ ↑ _ _ _ _

5 Towards to an Account: A combination of Covert Movement and Focus Alternatives in Newari

- What needs to be explained:

- Why does the mechanism of fixing *wh*-scope depend on the construction that the *wh*-operator surfaces in?
- Why are Verbal Argument CPs islands for covert movement, but not adjunct clauses?
- Are the locality constraints on covert movement similar to overt movement?

- We propose that, in general, Universal Grammar permits *wh*-operators to take scope either by covert movement or focus alternatives

- Given the absence of intervention effects in main clauses, we proposed that *wh*-operators covertly move in Newari.
- However, in principle, a focus alternative analysis may be available. Thus, the sentence in (36) may be syntactically ambiguous:

(36) Rām-na **chu** na-la?
Ram-ERG what eat-PST
'What did Ram eat?'

- (37) a. Covert movement LF:

[CP C Rām-na **chu** na-la].

↑ _ _ _ _ _

- b. Focus alternatives composition LF:

[CP Q Rām-na **chu** na-la].

←~~~~~

- If so, then covert movement across a verbal argument CP must be blocked. To account for this, we posit that verbal argument CPs contain a silent pronoun in Spec,CP, that is co-indexed with the perspective holder in the clause. This pronoun mediates "conjunct/disjunct agreement", a kind of evidential agreement that is seen in Tibeto-Burman languages (Zu 2015, Coppock and Wechsler 2016).

(38) a. Wo-ṃ_i [CP *pro*_i [TP lā na-e dhakā]] dhāl-a
He.ERG meat eat-CONJ C said
'He_i said that he_i will eat meat.'

b. Wo-ṃ_i [CP *pro*_j [TP lā na-i dhakā]] dhāl-a
He.ERG meat eat-DISJ C said
'He_i said that he_j will eat meat.'

Newari (Hargreaves 1991)

- This *pro* blocks the Spec,CP escape hatch, rendering verbal argument CPs islands:

Focus alternatives composition for argument CPs, but not covert movement

[CP-matrix C [CP-arg OP_{conj/disj} C ... [CP-arg C ... *wh* ...]]]

↑ _ _ _ _ _ **x** _ _ _ _ _

←~~~~~

- For now, this analysis appears to have some conceptual and empirical problems. First, our analysis implies that covert movement is constrained by subjacency. However, traditionally subjacency effects are not observed for covert movement (Huang 1982).
- Relatedly, we are forced to say that many traditional islands (CNPC, relative clauses, adjunct clauses) are not islands for covert movement in Newari, and that embedded CPs are islands. However, overt movement (e.g., relativization) appears to pattern in

the expected ways – extraction from traditional islands is unacceptable, and extraction from embedded clauses is:

- (39) a. *Rām-na [NP [RC [NP [RC t_i khaṃ-u ma] masā] Nepali kha ma]
 Ram-ERG see-PST CL child Nepali COP CL
guru_i] nāplā-u
 teacher meet-PST
 ‘Ram met the teacher_i that the child that saw t_i was Nepali.’
- b. *Ji-ṃ [NP [CP [Adj wa t_i wa-la liṃ] Nepal-bhāsā bwani-u]
 I-also 3.SG went because Newari-language study-CL
 skul_i] wa-na
 school went
 ‘I also went to the school that Ram studied Newari language because he went’
- (40) Ram [CP-adj Sita-ṃ [CP-arg w-ito t_i ya dhāka] dhā-ma] **guru_i**;
 Ram Sita-ERG she-DAT like C say-CL teacher
 nāplā-u
 meet-PST
 ‘Ram met the teacher that Sita said that she liked.’

- Finally, this approach overgenerates. Recall that *wh*-operators in an adjunct clause embedded in a verbal argument CP cannot take sentential scope, which we diagnosed as an island effect. However, if a focus alternative analysis is always available in principle, this sentence is predicted to be grammatical. Thus, we need some way of blocking focus alternatives in these contexts, even though it seems necessary in other contexts:

- (41) *Island effects happen in relative clauses inside the argument CP*
 *ākās-āṃ [CP Rām-a [NP [RC **su-na** dā ma] guru] nāplā-u]
 Akas-ERG Ram-ERG who-ERG hit CL teacher meet-PST
 dhā-u?
 say-PST
 ‘Who is the person x, such that Akas said that Ram met the teacher who x hit?’

- Despite these faults, the evidence in Newari suggests that covert movement and focus alternatives are both available, each with their own locality constraints. The data pattern that we’ve described follows as a conspiracy from these constraints, plus independently-motivated grammatical properties (i.e., conjunct/disjunct agreement)

6 Summary

1. Newari non-argument CPs (main clauses and adjunct clauses) do not show intervention effects or island effects, while intervention effects are observed in the argument CPs, and island effects appear when adjunct clauses are embedded inside of the argument CPs.

Clausal Structure	Results	Conclusion
[Matrix-CP <i>wh...</i>]	[-Intervention]	covert / focus
[Matrix-CP [Adj-CP ... <i>wh...</i>]]	[-Intervention, - Island]	covert movement
[Matrix-CP V [Arg-CP ... <i>wh...</i>]]	[+Intervention]	focus alternatives
[Matrix-CP V [Arg-CP [Adj-CP ... <i>wh...</i>]]]	[+Island]	focus alternatives

2. The distributed patterns of island effects and interventions in Newari suggest that this language uses both covert movement and focus alternative computation to account for *wh*-in-situ.

A Newari Basics

- Newari canonical word order is SOV.

- (42) a. Rām-na aṃ na-i
 Ram-ERG mango.ABS eat-NON-PST
 ‘Ram eats mangos.’

- Complement CPs can appear in three possible positions: preceding the matrix verb, following the matrix verb, or sentence-initial. However, *wh* in postverbal position cannot take sentential scope.

- (43)

✓ S [CP ...] V	✓ S [CP ... <i>wh</i> ...] V
✓ S V [CP ...]	* S V [CP ... <i>wh</i> ...]
✓ [CP ...] S V	✓ [CP ... <i>wh...</i>] S V

The difference is that unlike many other languages where fronted CP cannot take the wide scope, Newari fronted CP can take the scope. For example, compare Malayalam in (44) to Newari in (45).

- (44) * [CP Sita eethu pustakam vaayich ennu] Raman vicaarichu?
 sita which book read COMP Raman thought
 Intended: ‘Which book did Raman this Sita Read?’ Malayalam: (Aravind 2015)

- (45) ✓ [CP chu Rām-a — na-u (dhakā)] Sitā-ṁ dhā-u
 what Ram-ERG eat.PST that Sita-ERG say-PST
 ✓ ‘Sita said what Ram ate.’
 ✓ ‘What did Sita say that Ram ate?’

B Extra Data

Complex NPs

- (46) **No Island effects of complex NPs in matrix clause.**
 ✓ Rām-na [NP [CP Sitā-na chu ne-i dhayu] tathaya]
 Ram-ERG Sita-ERG what eat-NON-PST that news
 sy-u
 know-PST
 ‘What is the x, such that Ram know the news that Sita will eat?’
- (47) ✓ Rām-a [NP [CP Sitā-ṁ guble aṁ na-u] (wa) halā]
 Ram-ERG Sita-ERG when mango.ABS eat-PST that rumor
 shy-u
 know-PST
 ‘What is the time x, such that Ram know the rumor that Sita ate mango at x time?’
- (48) **Complex NPs are likely to be islands in argument CP.** Our language consultant came back forth with the judgments with this pattern:
 # Sāyāl-aṁ [CP Rām-na [NP [CP Sitā-na chu ne-i dhayu]
 Sayal-ERG Ram-ERG Sita-ERG what eat-NON-PST C
 tathaya] sy-u] dhā-u
 news know-PST say-PST

Intended: ‘What is the x, such that Sayal said that Ram know the news that Sita will eat?’

- (49) * ākās-aṁ [CP Rām-a [CP Sitā-ṁ guble aṁ na-u] (wa)
 Akas-ERG Ram-ERG Sita-ERG when mango.ABS eat-PST that
 halā shy-u] swace yato?
 rumor know-PST think do.PST
 Intended: ‘When did Akas thought Ram know the rumor that Sita ate mango?’

Relative Clauses

- (50) **No island effects in relative clauses in matrix clause.**
 ✓ Rām-a [NP [RC su-na dā ma] guru] nāplā-u?
 Ram-ERG who-ERG hit CL teacher meet-PST
 ‘Who is the person x, such that Ram met the teacher who x hit?’
- (51) **Island effects happen in relative clauses in the argument CP.**
 * ākās-aṁ [CP Rām-a [NP [RC su-na dā ma] guru] nāplā-u]
 Akas-ERG Ram-ERG who-ERG hit CL teacher meet-PST
 dhā-u?
 say-PST
 ‘Who is the person x, such that Akas said that Ram met the teacher who x hit?’

Comparative Clauses

- (52) **No island effects of comparative clauses in the matrix clause.**
 ✓ Rām-a [CP su-na bwæṁ wani-u shyā yaku] swimming
 Ram-ERG who-ERG run go-PST than more swimming
 ya-i.
 do-NonPst.
 ‘Who is the person x, such that Ram swims more than x runs?’
- (53) **Island effects of comparative clauses in the argument CP.**
 * ākās-aṁ [CP Rām-a [THAN sunā bwæṁ wani-u shyā yaku]
 Akas-ERG Ram-ERG who-ERG run go-PST than more
 swimming ya-i] dhā-u?
 swimming do-NONPST say-PST.
 Intended: ‘Who is the person x, such that Akas said Ram swims more than x runs?’

Because-Clauses**(54) No island effects of because-clauses in the matrix clause.**

✓ [ADJ *ji-m̄* **gana** ma waṃ-u liṃ], *ji fel ju-la*.
1.SG-ERG where NEG go-PST because, 1.SG. fail

happen-PST

‘Where is the place x, such that because I didn’t go x, I failed (the test)?’

(55) Island effects of because-clauses in the argument CP.

* *Rām-a* [CP [ADJ *ji-m̄* **gana** ma waṃ-u liṃ], *ji fel*
Ram-ERG 1.SG-ERG where NEG go-PST because, 1.SG. fail

ju-la] *dhā-u*

happen-PST say-PST

‘Where is the place x, such that Ram said because I didn’t go x, I failed (the test)?’

Before/After-Clauses**(56) No island effects of before/after-Clauses in matrix clauses**

✓ [ADJ *Sāyāl-āṃ* *chu he-i* *nyṃ/daṃkā*] *Sitā pasale*
Sayal-ERG what bring-NONPST before/after Sita store-LOC

wan-i.

go-NONPST

‘What is x, such that before Sayal brings x, Sita will go to the store.’

(57) No island effects of before/after-Clauses in argument CPs

✓ *Rām-na* [CP [ADJ *Sāyāl-āṃ* *chu he-i* *nyṃ/daṃkā*] *Sitā*
Ram-ERG Sayal-ERG what bring-NONPST before/after Sita

pasale wan-i] *dha-u*.

store-LOC go-NONPST say-PST

‘What is x, such that Ram said that before Sayal brings x, Sita will go to the store.’

Wh-Clauses**(58) No island effects of wh-clauses in matrix clauses.**

✓ *Rām-a* [CP *Sāyāl-āṃ su-ito dā-lā dhaya*] *bihchar yāna-swana?*
Ram-ERG Sayal-ERG who.DAT hit-Q that] wonder do.PST-PROG

‘Ram is wondering whether Sita hit whom?’

(59) No island effects of wh-clauses in argument CP.

Sitā-na [CP *Rām-a* [CP *Sāyāl-āṃ su-ito dā-lā dhaya*] *bihchar*
Sita-ERG Ram-ERG Sayal-ERG who.DAT hit-Q that] wonder

yāna-swana] *dhā-u?*

do.PST-PROG say-PST

‘Sita said Ram is wondering whether Sita hit whom?’

References

- Aravind, A. (2015), ‘Minimality and wh-licensing in Malayalam’, *Syntax Square, MIT*.
- Bayer, J. (2006), ‘Wh-in-situ’.
- Beck, S. (2006), ‘Intervention effects follow from focus interpretation’, *Natural Language Semantics* 14(1), 1–56.
- Cheng, L. L.-S. (2009), ‘Wh-in-situ, from the 1980s to now’, *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3(3), 767–791.
- Coppock, E. and Wechsler, S. (2016), ‘The proper treatment of egophoricity in Kathmandu Newari’, *Paper presented Semantics and Philosophy in Europe, Cambridge, UK, Sept.*
- Hamblin, C. L. (1973), ‘Questions in Montague English’, *Foundations of Language* 10(1), 41–53.
- Hargreaves, D. J. (1991), The concept of intentional action in the grammar of Kathmandu Newari, PhD thesis, University of Oregon.
- Huang, C. J. (1982), ‘Move wh in a language without wh movement’, *The Linguistic Review* 1(4), 369–416.
- Karttunen, L. (1977), ‘Syntax and semantics of questions’, *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1(1), 3–44.
- Kotek, H. and Hackl, M. (2013), ‘A new syntax for multiple wh-questions: Evidence from real time sentence processing’, *Manuscript, MIT*.
- Malhotra, S. (2009), ‘Intervention effects and wh-movement’, *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 15(1), 16.
- Soh, H. L. (2005), ‘Wh-in-situ in Mandarin Chinese’, *Linguistic Inquiry* 36(1), 143–155.
- Yang, B. C.-Y. (2012), ‘Intervention effects and wh-construals’, *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 21(1), 43–87.
- Zu, V. (2015), Competition and obviation from French to Newari, in ‘Proceedings of NELS’, Vol. 46.