

On the various sizes of (pro)nominal complementizers

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1 Introduction¹

- In formal syntax, subordinators are traditionally considered as morphemes (particles, clitics, affixes).
 - encoding force, finiteness and mood (Rosenbaum 1967, Austin 1975, Rizzi 1997, 2004).
 - Because they turn clauses into complements, they have been uniformly labeled *Complementizers* (Rosenbaum 1967, Dixon 2006, Noonan 2007 a.o), suggesting that embedded conjunctions are all of the same syntactic category, i.e, C).
- That there exists a special category COMP cross- and intra-linguistically, just like there are categories V, N, or A, has been challenged, in light of the recent works in cartography:
 1. The Split-CP approach: Force^o, Fin^o etc...(Rizzi 1997).
 2. Empirically, languages vary as to what information they lexicalize: English *that*, French *que* vs. Greek *oti*, *pu*, *pos* and *na*. (Christidis 1986, Roussou 1994, 2010, 2012 (a.o), Giannakidou 2009).
 3. items falling under the label COMP do not seem to be at first sight generalizable under one single category cross- but also intra- linguistically. Some examples (non-exhaustive):
 - nominals : - relative/demonstrative ((English *that*, German *dass* (...)
Roberts&Roussou 2003, Kayne 2008b, Roussou 2010, Leu 2008),
 - interrogatives ((Italian *che* ‘that’) Manzini&Savoia 2003, Manzini 2010),
 - indefinite ((Modern Greek *oti* ‘that’) Roussou 2012),
 - definite ((Modern Greek *pu* ‘factive *that*’) Roussou 2010, Christidis 1986),
 - polar ((Modern Greek *an* ‘if/whether’) Roussou 2010)),
 - adverbials - (English *so that*, *in that*), French *bien que*, Italian *benchè*...
(Norsdström 2010, Haegeman 2004 (a.o)),
 - verbs - (Breton *la(r)*, Gungbe *dɔ* a.o (Jouitteaux 2012, Aboh 2009)).
- Currently, the idea that Comp is (sometimes or always) nominal cross-linguistically increasingly attracts interest and proposals proliferate. (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971, Aboh 2005, Kayne 2008a, Arsenijevic 2009, Haegeman&Ürödgı 2010a,b Manzini & Savoia 2003, Manzini 2010, Nye 2012).
- ‘What you see is what you get’- approach: **Roussou 2010** notes that etymologically Greek Comps come from different types of nominal: indefinite (*oti* = *that* = ‘the what’), definite (*pu*= factive *that*, Christidis 1986), etc.

The central claim of this talk is that there are multiple complement *que* structures in French

- What we see as a uniform *que* complement corresponds in fact to different structures of various syntactic sizes (see Todorovic 2012 for Serbo-Croatian, Grano 2012 for English)
- This property accounts for dependencies in a relativized minimality framework (Rizzi 2004).

¹ I would like to thank Liliane Haegeman, Rachel Nye, Genoveva Puskás and Tomislav Socanac for their fruitful comments at various stages of this work.

1.1 Background

- The research is set within the nanosyntactic perspective to grammar, (Starke 2009, 2010).
- This approach takes syncretism seriously.
- LIs ‘come in various “sizes”: they spellout either bigger or smaller constituents’ (Starke 2010:3).
- there is no lexicon before syntax.

2 The data (adapted from Baunaz and Puskas (to appear))

- ‘Semi-factive’ predicates like *admettre* ‘admit’ / *concevoir* ‘conceive’ / *comprendre* ‘understand’ that take the indicative mood do not allow any type of extractions, (1-3):²
 - (1) a. * Quel tournoi est-ce que Paul conçoit/admet que Roger a gagné?
Which tournament does Paul conceive /admit that Roger has.ind won
 - b. * Paul conçoit /admet que Roger a gagné quel tournoi?
Paul conceives /admits that R. has.ind won which tournament
 - (2) a. * Comment est-ce que Paul conçoit /admet que Roger a gagné le tournoi?
How does Paul conceive/admit that Roger has.ind won the tournament
 - b. * Paul conçoit /admet que Roger a gagné le tournoi comment?
Paul conceives /admits that Roger has.ind won the tournament how
 - (3) * *Qui diable* est-ce que Paul conçoit/admet que Roger peut aimer ?
who the hell does P. conceives/admits that R. can.ind love
- predicates like *dire* ‘say’ / *affirmer* ‘claim’ allow extractions of any type, (4-6) :
 - (4) a. Quel tournoi est-ce que Paul dit/affirme que Roger a gagné?
Which tournament does Paul say/claim that Roger has-ind won
 - b. Paul dit/affirme que Roger a gagné quel tournoi?
Paul says/claims that Roger has.ind won which tournament
 - (5) a. Comment est-ce que Paul dit/affirme que Roger a gagné le tournoi?
How does Paul say/claim that R. has-ind won the tournament
 - b. Paul dit/affirme que Roger a gagné le tournoi comment?
Paul says/claims that Roger has.ind won the tournament how?
 - (6) a. Qui diable est-ce que Paul dit/affirme que Roger peut aimer?
who-the hell does Paul say/claim that Roger can.ind love
 - b. * Paul dit/affirme que Roger peut aimer qui diable?
Paul says/claims that Roger can.ind love who-the hell
- predicates like *regretter* ‘regret’ and semi-factives taking the subjunctive mood (*admettre* ‘admit’ / *concevoir* ‘conceive’ / *comprendre* ‘understand’) allow extraction of arguments *quel* N only (7) vs. (8). *Qui diable* ‘who the hell’ extraction is banned (9):

² The judgments given in this section hold for information-seeking questions only, i.e, the echo-reading is not taking into account. For instance, (1)-(3) are all fine under echo readings, but are marked with a star, since these are not fine as information-seeking questions.

- (7) a. Quelle raquette est-ce que Paul regrette/conçoit/admet que Roger ait vendu?
Which tennis racket does Paul regret/conceive/admit that R. has.subj sold
b. Paul regrette/conçoit/admet que Roger ait vendu quelle raquette?
Paul regrets/conceives/admits that R. has.subj sold tennis racket?
- (8) a. * Comment est-ce que Paul regrette/ conçoit/admet que Roger ait gagné le tournoi?
how does P. regret/conceive/admit that R. has.subj won the tournament
b. * Paul regrette / conçoit/admet que Roger ait gagné le tournoi comment?
Paul regrets / conceive/admit that R. has.subj won the tournament how?
- (9) a. * *Qui diable* est-ce que Paul regrette/conçoit/admet que Roger puisse aimer?
who the hell does P. regrets/conceives/admits that R. can.subj love
b. * Paul regrette/conçoit/admet que Roger puisse aimer qui diable?
Paul regrets/conceives/admits that R. can.subj love who-the hell
- predicates of the *préférer* 'prefer' and *vouloir* 'want' type allow any type of extractions, in (10)-(12), just like the predicates of *saying* in (4-6):

- (10) a. Quelle raquette est-ce que Paul préfère/veut que Roger vende?
Which tennis racket does P. prefer/wants that R. sell.subj
b. Paul préfère/ veut que Roger vende quelle raquette?
Paul prefers/wants that R. sell-subj which tennis racket
- (11) a. Comment est-ce que Paul préfère/veut que Roger ait gagné le tournoi?
How does P. prefer/want that R. has.subj won the tournament
b. Paul préfère/veut que Roger ait gagné le tournoi comment?
Paul prefers/wants that R. has.subj won the tournament how?
- (12) a. Qui diable est-ce que Paul préfère/veut que Roger puisse aimer?
who-the hell does P. prefer/want that Roger can.subj love
b. * Paul préfère/veut que Roger puisse aimer qui diable?
Paul prefers/wants that R. can.subj love who-the hell

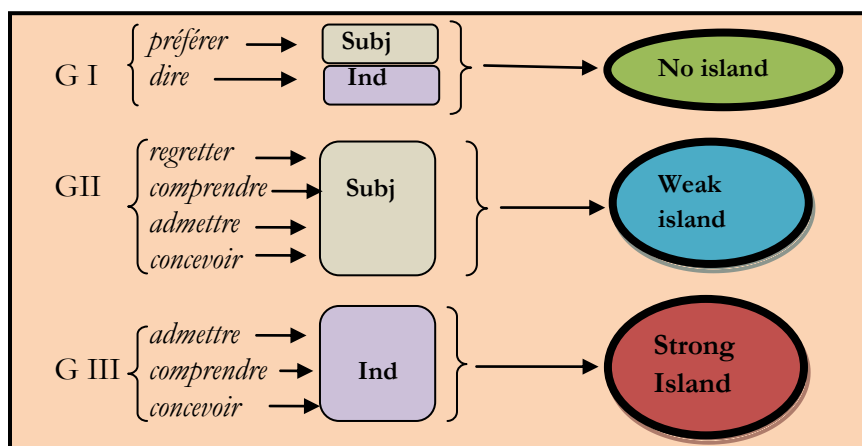
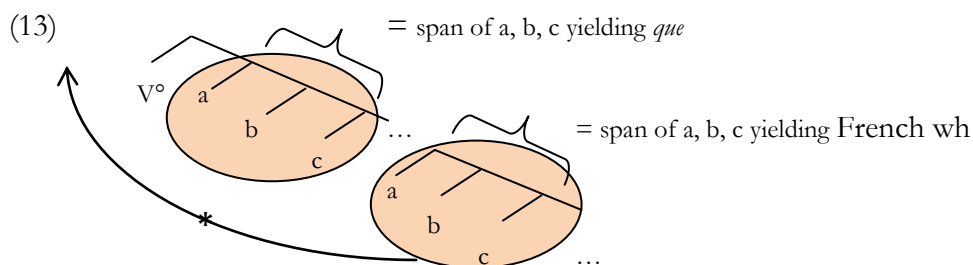


Table 1 - Empirical generalizations for wh-extractions

- Given RM, the kind of intervener must be of the same type as the wh-phrase.
- The data in (1) - (12) suggest that the key element to account for the contrast in grammaticality is the type of Comps involved.
- RM will be expressed in terms of a constraint on features, (13).



3 The status of French Comp *que*

- (14)
- a. Je pense qu(e) il viendra
I think that he will.come
 - b. Que fait-il ?
What does he do ?
 - c. Quel/*que livre a-t-il lu ?
What book did you read
 - d. L'homme que Marie a vu
The man that Mary has seen

Claim: Comp *que* is a noun phrase, but neither of an interrogative, nor of relative kind.

3.1 Complementizer *que* is not an interrogative pronoun

- Interrogative *que* 'what' is the weak counterpart of the animate *qui* 'who' :

- (15)
- | | | | | |
|----|--|----|-------|---|
| a. | Que fait Marie ?
What does Mary | vs | a'. * | Que Marie fait-(elle) ?
what Mary does-(she) |
| b. | Qui a-t-elle vu ?
who has-cl-she seen | | b.' | Qui Marie/elle a vu ?
who Mary/she has seen |

- Obenauer 1976, Poletto&Pollock 2004, a.o: French interrogative *que* is a clitic:

- (16)
- a. Il a vu *que/quoi?
He has seen what.cl/what
 - b. Avec *que/quoi as-tu fait ça?
With what.cl/what have you done this
- (Manzini&Savoia 2003: (24))

- Comp *que* diverges drastically from clitic interrogative *que*:
 - (i) nominal Comp *que* is not a clitic
 - (ii) nominal Comp *que* has no counterpart: nominal comp *que* is not weak.
 - (iii) nominal Comp *que* is not interrogative: by definition, it introduces declarative propositions.

⇒ Comp *que* is not similar to the interrogative *que*.

3.2 Complementizer *que* is not a relative pronoun

- Sportiche 2011: that the relative pronoun *que* is a weak pronoun:
 - Weak pronouns show neutralization with [+/-human] and sensitivity to Case.
 - Sportiche 2011:98: comp *que* could be ‘a ‘neutral’ weak complement relative pronoun’.
 - Sportiche 2011, Kayne 2008a: ‘subordinate clauses could be a type of relative clause’
- Against this idea, I wish to show that the relative pronoun *que* and nominal Comp *que* occupy different structural positions.
 - The argument is based on the choice of mood.
- In Romance, relative embedded clauses can alternate between the indicative and the subjunctive mood (see Farkas 1985, Quer 1998, 2009 for Spanish and Catalan, Panzeri 2006 for Italian, a.o see also Giannakidou 1998 for Greek).

- (17) a. referential antecedent \longrightarrow Indicative RC
 b. non-referential antecedent \longrightarrow Subjunctive RC

- (18) a. Nous préférons *un enfant* **qui** est/ #soit assez petit pour passer par le trou de la toile
 b. Nous préférons *un enfant* **qui** #est/ soit assez petit pour passer par le trou de la toile.
 We prefer for a child who is.ind/subj small enough to slip through the slit in the cloth
 c. Nous préférons *un livre* **que** l’on peut/ puisse lire ensemble
 We prefer for a book that we can.ind/can.subj read together

- (19) Roger préfère/regrette que /*qui Marc soit parti
 Roger prefers/regrets that Marc is.subj left

1. mood is not licensed similarly in the two constructions, suggesting that RCs and nominal CPs have different structures.

2. Subjunctive mood is not licensed in the same way in (8) and (9)

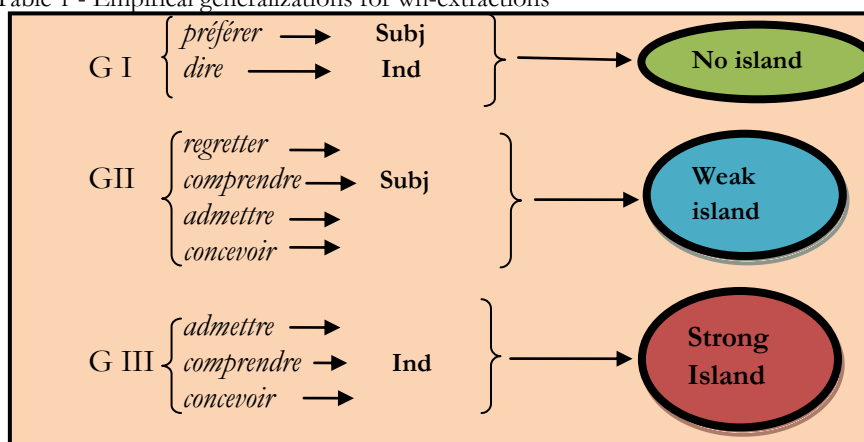
3. If embedded clauses were hidden relatives, as proposed by Kayne 2008b, and suggested by Sportiche 2011, we would expect that the same mood mechanism in the two constructions at stake to be in place. Contrary to facts.

\Rightarrow Relative pronouns and Comp *que* occupy different structural positions.

4 Analysis

4.1 Background

Table 1 - Empirical generalizations for wh-extractions



4.1.1 Baunaz and Puskás (to appear)

- (20) **Veridicality** (Giannakidou 2009b:1889)
 "a propositional operator F is veridical iff from the truth of Fp we can infer that p is true according to some individual x (i.e. in some individual x 's epistemic model"

- in French, predicates come in three semantic flavours, summarized in Table 2:

Table 2 –veridicality and predicates

	predicates	Islands
Strong veridical (SI)	<i>Savoir</i> 'know', <i>comprendre</i> 'understand' = (GIII)	Strong Island
Relative veridical (WI)	<i>Regretter</i> 'regret', <i>comprendre</i> 'understand' = (GII)	Weak Island
Non-veridical (NI)	<i>Dire</i> 'say', <i>penser</i> 'think', <i>préférer</i> 'prefer' = (GI)	No Island

Claim: what governs the distribution of *que* complements is veridicality.

4.1.2 Feature classes (Rizzi 2004)

- (21)
- Argumental: person, number, gender, case
 - Quantificational: Wh, Neg, measure, focus...
 - Modifier: evaluative, epistemic, Neg, frequentative, celerative, measure, manner,....
 - Topic
- (Rizzi 2004)
- (22) Y is in a Minimal Configuration with X iff there is no Z such that
- Z is of the same structural type as X, and
 - Z intervenes between X and Y.
- (Rizzi 2004)

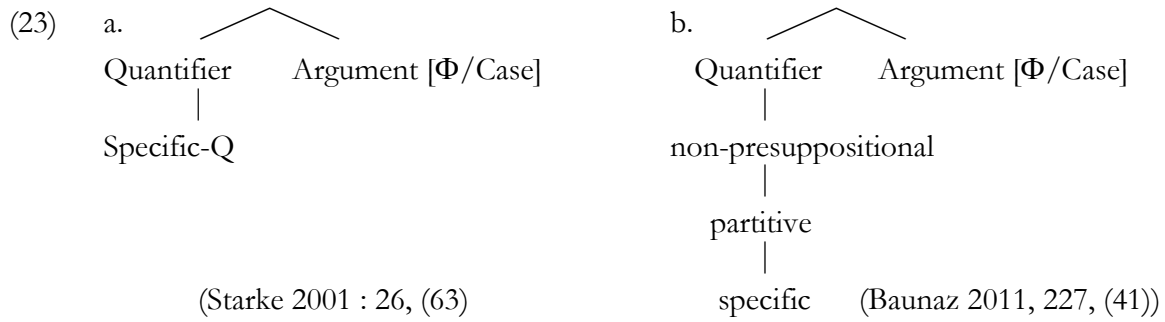
4.1.3 Feature composition, feature hierarchy: Starke 2001, Baunaz 2011, (to appear)

- In addition, to feature class, I also assume feature composition (ϕ , Q etc...) and feature hierarchy (Starke 2001, Baunaz 2011, to appear).
- Starke 2001 investigated wh-phrases in-situ in French and shows that they can be interpreted depending on two discursive contexts: specific and range, relabeled here as partitive.
- Baunaz 2011: - extension to quantifiers in French: both specific and partitive quantifiers require contextually specified domains (vs. out-of-the blue contexts). As for questions :
 - Specificity means that there is a familiar individual- that the interlocutor is inferred by the speaker to have in mind, such that the presupposition entailed by the information- question is satisfied by it. It involves a closed domain.
 - The domain of partitive phrases involves a closed set of alternatives that are presupposed (see Pesetsky's 1987 *D-linking*).
 - Somehow, specificity requires a narrower context than partitivity, i.e, it narrows down the context to familiar individuals, i.e., specificity contains partitivity.³
- Wh-phrases can also be used in *out-of-the blue* contexts, i.e., contexts where the interlocutor has no clue about a referent for the wh-phrase.⁴
- The semantic notions just outlined have syntactic consequences; in particular they may trigger weak islands (Starke 2001), scope islands (Baunaz 2011, to appear), and movement to the left periphery (in particular *partitivity*, see Falco 2010 on WCO effects).
- Starke 2001 proposes the different types of movement can be hierarchically organised in the feature tree in (23a), where nodes correspond to different types of movements (Q-movements, A-movement etc...).

³ A consequence is that partitive phrases can appear to be specific, whereas the reverse is not true: indeed specific phrases cannot be interpreted as partitive. This is attested empirically, with partitive vs. specific pronominal substitution (i), where partitive phrases can be interpreted as either partitive (*en*) or specific (*l'*) in (iA), depending on the prosody falling on the XP, whereas the reverse is not true: indeed specific phrases cannot be interpreted as partitive, (iB). In the case where a partitive constituent has a specific interpretation, it will be called *specific*.

- (i) A. Pierre a lu [un [des livres]], parmi ceux de la liste (de livres), mais je ne sais pas lequel.
 P. read one of the books, from those in the list (of books), but I don't know which one
- (a) Pierre en a lu un, mais je ne sais pas lequel. (partitive)
 P. cl.gen has read one, but i don't know neg which one
- (b) Pierre en a lu / un, c'est *L'homme du Lac* d'Indriðason. (specific)
 P. cl.gen. has read one, it is *The draining Lake* by Indriðason
- B. Pierre a lu [un livre], parmi ceux de la liste (de livres), c'est *L'homme du Lac*. (specific)
- (a) Pierre l'a lu (specific)
 P. cl.acc. has read
- (b) Pierre l'a lu, # mais je ne sais pas lequel (partitive)
 P. cl.acc. had read, but I don't know which one
- (c) # Pierre en a lu un, mais je ne sais pas lequel. (partitive)
 P. cl.gen has read one, but i don't know which one

⁴ This type of wh-phrase does not involve commitment of existence: the existential presupposition underlying the wh-phrase has been cancelled. As such there is no individual or set of alternatives satisfying it.



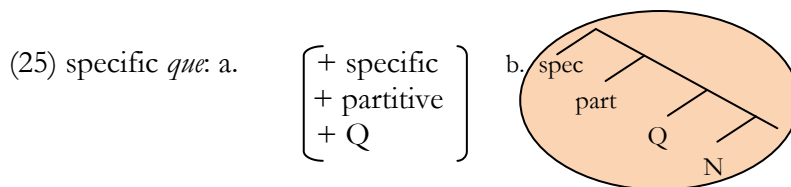
- (24) a. Wh-phrases: $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ specific} \\ + \text{ partitif} \\ + \text{ Q} \end{array} \right]$ a'. Wh-phrase: specific > partitive > Q_{wh} > N
- b. Wh-phrase: $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ partitive} \\ + \text{ Q} \end{array} \right]$ b'. Wh-phrase: partitive > Q_{wh} > N
- c. Wh-phrase: $\left[+ \text{ Q} \right]$ c'. Wh-phrase: Q_{wh} > N

- Q is the class to which these noun phrases belong.

4.2 Proposal

- Strong and relative veridical predicates select existentially presupposed *que*, while non-veridical predicates, which do not infer truth, select non-presupposed *que*.

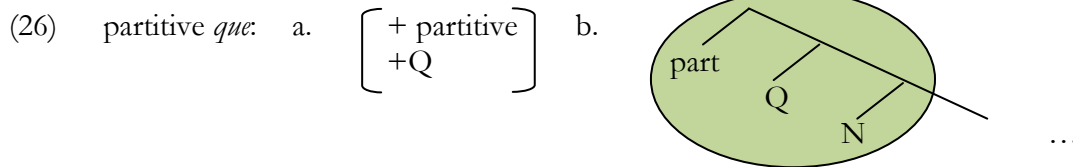
- (i) Specific nominal *que* is selected by strong veridical predicates (*admettre* 'admit' + ind)
- Specific *que* binds a single proposition.
 - It creates a strong island and blocks any extraction (1, 2), i.e, it is quantificational.
 - With specific-Comp *que*, extraction is never possible⁵:
 - specific, partitive and non-presupposed arguments are blocked, (1-3)
 - they are either of the same size as the specific *que* (specific *wh*) or smaller (partitive and non-presupposed *wh*);
 - adjuncts, which are only + Q, are 'smaller', so they are blocked, too.



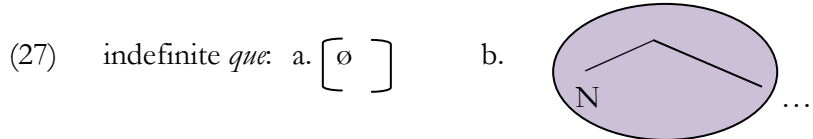
⁵ Similarly to French, 'one of the main properties of *pu*-complement in MG is that they block extraction of any sort', (Roussou 1992: 126), (i). As such, I propose that specific *que* is the counterpart of MG *definite pu* (Christidis 1986):

- (i) a. * Pjon thimase pu sinandises? (MG)
Who rememeber-2s that met-2s
'Who do you remember that you met?'
- b. * Pote thimase pu sinandises ti Maria?
When remember-2s that met-2s the Maria
* "When do you remember that you met Maria?" (Roussou 1992: 126, (7))

- (ii) partitive nominal *que* is selected by relative veridical predicates (*regretter* and *admettre* + subj):
- Relative veridical predicates trigger possible shifts in the epistemic models of Subject vs. Speaker and the truth of the embedded proposition is relative.
 - Only allows d-linked argument extraction, (7, 8 vs. 9), i.e., they create weak islands.
 - it is quantificational.
 - Partitive *que* is not an absolute blocker⁶



- (iii) indefinite nominal *que* is selected by non-veridical predicates (*vouloir*, *préférer* and *dire*)
- It is permeable to any wh-arguments and wh-adjuncts alike, (4, 5)/(10, 11).
 - It is not quantificational.
 - It's an indefinite (27b).⁷



- Table 3 summarizes the situations we arrived at.

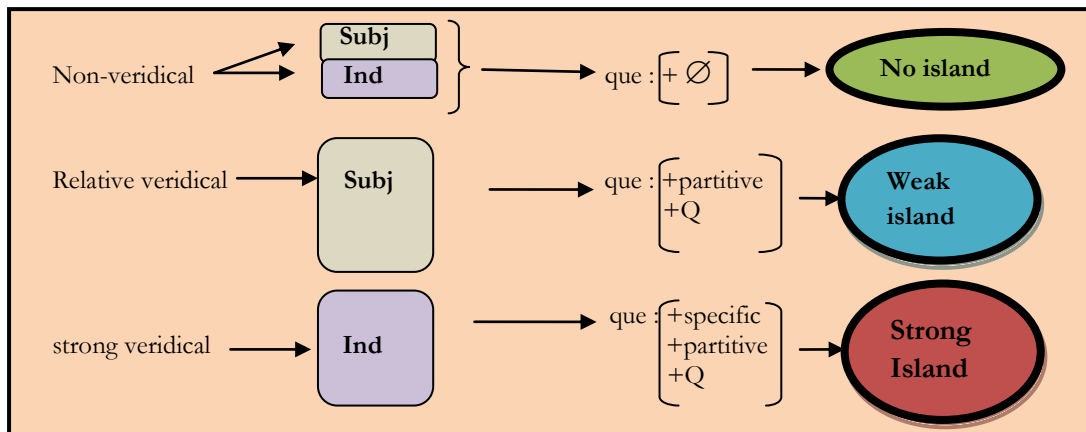


Table 3 - Empirical generalizations for wh-extractions

⁶ Note that in MG, these verbs select CPs introduced by the definite Comp *pu*. Interestingly, Giannakidou 1998 provides data concerning wh-extractions with verbs like *regret* in MG which are similar to French, in that respect, (i).

- (i) a. Pjon lipase pu pligosos? (MG)
Who be-sorry-2sg that hurt-2sg
‘Who do you regret that you hurt?’
- b. * Pote lipose pu efjes?
When be-sorry-2sg that left-2sg
‘When do you regret that you left?’ (Giannakidou 1998:220, (70))

⁷ Note that just like in French, both argument and adjunct can be extracted with indefinite *oti* in MG:

- (i) a. Pjon ipe o Pavlos oti idhe? (MG)
Who said-3sg the Paul that saw-3sg
‘Who did Paul say that he saw?’
- b. Pote ipes oti idhes ton Pavlo?
Who said-2sg that saw-2sg the Paul
‘When did you say that you saw Paul?’ (Giannakidou 1998: 220, (69))

5 Conclusion

I conclude that size matters:

- The more structure nominal Comp has, the more it intervenes.
- The less structure it has, the less it intervenes.

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