Evidence for successive cyclic wh-movement

1. Languages with wh-agreement
   - Irish, Chamorro, Palauan, Hausa, Passamaquoddy, Coptic
2. Successive inversion phenomena
   - Belfast English, Spanish, French
3. Intermediate copy pronunciation
   - Child English, German dialects
4. Wh-scope marking (‘partial wh-movement’)
   - German, Romany, Hungarian, Hindi
5. Stranded all in West Ulster English
6. Intermediate reconstruction effects

1. Languages with wh-agreement
   (see Haïk, Isabelle. 1990. Anaphoric, pronominal, and referential INFL. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 8: 347-374 for an overview)

Irish (data from James McCloskey, 1979, Transformational syntax and model theoretic semantics: A case study in Modern Irish; D. Reidel: Dordrecht)

Declaratives:

(1) Deir sé go dtuigeann sé an scéal.
   *s*$he$ that$ understands$ he$ the$ story*
   ‘He says that he understands the story.’

(2) Dúirt sé gur bhuail tú é.
   *said he C struck you him*
   ‘He said you struck him.’

Yes-no Questions:

(3) An bpósfaidh tú mé?
   *Q will.marry you me*
   ‘Will you marry me?’

WH-Questions:

(4) Cén fear a l thiteann go talamh
   *which man C falls to earth*
   ‘Which man falls to earth?’

(5) Cé [a l bhuail tú] ?
   *who C struck you*
   ‘Who did you hit?’

(6) Cé a l mheas tú a l chonaic tú?
   *who C thought you C saw you*
   ‘Who did you think that you saw?’

(7) Cén t-úrscéal a l mheas mé a l dúirt sé a l thuig sé.
   *which novel C thought I C said he C understood he*
   ‘Which novel did I think he said he understood?’
I don’t know which man C falls to earth.
'I don’t know which man falls to earth.'

I don’t know who C struck you
'I don’t know who you hit.'

I don’t know which novel I thought he said he understood.

al also occurs in clefts, relative clauses, ‘reduced’ clefts, certain manner and temporal adjunct clauses, and in ‘negative emphatic’ constructions


Yes-no: Chamorro kao left-peripherally (cf. Irish aN)

Did you speak to him/her?

Constituent questions: the interrogative phrase is left-peripheral in the clause, immediately preceding the complementizer na (which can be null):

a. Ginin hayi na’ un-chuli’ i lepblu? C184
   'From whom? Comp agr-take the book
   'From whom did you take the book?'

b. Hayi kumákati? C184
   'Who is crying?'

c. Hafa malago’-mu? C184
   'What? WH[obl].want-agr
   'What do you want?'

d. Kuantu biahi mu-mimisa? C185
   how.many? time agr-go.to.mass.Prog
   'How often does he go to church?'

Wh-agreement with a nominative is realized overtly only with realis transitive verbs:

a. Hayi na famagu’un siha pumatik i bola? C201
   who? L children Pl WH[nom].kick the ball
   'Which children kicked the ball?'
'Who scolded them?'
c. Hayi um-ayuda hao? C201
   'Who? WH[nom]-help you
Who helped you?'

(16) Hayi sinangane-n̄a si Juan malago'-n̄a pāra
   who? WH[obj2].say.to-agr Juan WH[obl].want-agr Fut
   u-bisita? C211
   WH[obj].agr-visit
   'Who did Juan tell (us) that he wants to visit?'

(17) a. Ha-fa'gasì si Juan i kareta. C236
    agr-wash Juan the car
   'Juan washed the car.'
b. Hayi fuma'gasì i kareta? C236
   who? WH[nom].wash the car
   'Who washed the car?'
c. Hafa fìna'gasëse-n̄a si Henry pāra hagu? C236
   what? WH[obj].wash-agr Henry for you
   'What is Henry washing for you?'

Inflection on verbal and adjectival predicates in wh-questions:

[Nom] -um- when the predicate is realis and transitive
[Obj, Obj2] (optional) nominalization, plus –in- when the predicate is transitive
[Obl] nominalization, plus (optional) –in- when the predicate is unaccusative

Overt realization of wh-agreement replaces regular subject-verb agreement.
If wh-agreement is not overt, then the predicate has the regular subj-verb agreement.
E.g., with questioned subjects of transitive but irrealis predicates:
(18) Hayi pāra u-sàngani yu' ni ansa? C238
    who? Fut WH[nom].agr-say.to me Obl answer
    'Who is going to tell me the answer?'

and with questioned objects if the nominalization option isn't chosen:
(19) Hafa un-kākannu'? C239
    'What are you eating?'

2 Successive inversion

Belfast English (data from Alison Henry. 1995, Belfast English and Standard English: Dialect
variation and parameter setting. OUP: Oxford)

(20) a. Who did John hope [would he see __]?
b. What did Mary claim [did they steal __]?
c. I wonder what did John think would he get __?
d. Who did John say [did Mary claim [had John feared [would Bill attack __]]]?

Spanish and French ('stylistic inversion'); Torrego 1984, Kayne and Pollock 1999, Pesetsky and
Torrego 2001
3 Wh-copy


(21) a. What do you think what Cookie Monster eats? (age 5;0)  
b. Who do you think who Grover wants to hug? (age 4;9)  
c. What do you think what’s in that box? (3;3)

**German**

(22) Wer glaubst du, wer nach Hause geht?  
*who think you who to home goes*  
'Who do you think is going home?'

4 Partial wh-movement (aka wh-expletives, aka wh-scope marking)  
(see Dana McDaniels 1988 *NLLT* and Julia Horvath 1997 *NLLT*)

**German**

(23) Was glaubst du, mit wem er gesprochen hat?  
*what think you with whom he spoken has*  
'With whom do you think that he spoke?'

**Hungarian**

(24) Mit gondolsz, hogy kit látott János?  
*what.ACC you.think that who.ACC saw.3sg J.NOM*  
'Who do you think that Janos saw?'

5 Stranded all in West Ulster English  

(25) a. What all did he say (that) he wanted?  
b. What did he say (that) he wanted all?  
c. What did he say all (that) he wanted?

(26) a. Where do you think all they’ll want to visit?  
b. Who did Frank tell you all that they were after?  
c. What do they claim all (that) we did?

6 Intermediate reconstruction  

(27) a. *Which paper that he₁ wrote for Ms. Brown₂ did every boy₁ hope that she₂’d regrade?*  
   (Example answer: His worst one.)  
b. *Which book that he₁ asked Ms. Brown₂ for did she₂ say every boy₁ had to return by Monday?*