

Uttering Trees

Norvin Richards

**The MIT Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
London, England**

© 2010 Massachusetts Institute of Technology

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopying, recording, or information storage and retrieval) without permission in writing from the publisher.

For information about special quantity discounts, please e-mail
special_sales@mitpress.mit.edu

This book was set in Times New Roman and Syntax on 3B2 by Asco Typesetters, Hong Kong.

Printed and bound in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Richards, Norvin.

Uttering trees / Norvin Richards.

p. cm. — (Linguistic inquiry monograph ; 56)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-262-01376-5 (hardcover : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-262-51371-5

(pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Prosodic analysis (Linguistics) 2. Grammar, Comparative and general—Phonology.

3. Grammar, Comparative and general—Syntax. I. Title.

P224.R53 2010

414'.6—dc22

2009024581

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Index

- Abels, Klaus, 11
Abney, Steven, 57
Ackema, Peter, 207n8
Activity condition, 140
Adger, David, 81
Adjacency, 4, 16–17, 19, 23, 25, 32, 36, 39, 42
Aissen, Judith, 10, 207n1
Akkadian, 73–74, 129
Aldridge, Edith, 136, 165
Alexiadou, Artemis, 9, 16, 48–50, 57
Algonquian, 136–137, 215n65
American Sign Language, 216n10
Anagnostopoulou, Elena, 16, 31–32, 48–50
Animacy, 6, 26, 29, 38–39, 44–46, 50, 55, 57, 73–74, 79–86, 141, 208n13, 208n16, 211n39, 214–215n63, 215n65
Antilla, Arto, 207n1
Applicative, 90–91, 104, 115–116, 120, 211n44
Arabic, classical, 211n37
 Egyptian, 156
Archangeli, Diana, 103
Arregi, Karlos, 2, 160, 162, 164
Asarina, Alya, 210n30
Augment, 97–99, 115, 123, 213–214n58
Ausín, Adolfo, 208n9

Baker, Mark, 88, 91–93, 95–97, 99–100, 131, 212n48, 212n50, 212n51, 213n56
Bammesberger, Alfred, 72
Bangla, 157, 190, 192–195, 199, 216n14, 216n17
Basque, 153–154, 157, 160–165, 181, 189, 194–195, 199, 215–216n9, 216n10, 216n17
Bayer, Josef, 190, 192, 216nn14–16
Beckman, Mary, 215n4
Bengali, 190. *See also* Bangla
Bernstein, Judy, 55
Bhatt, Rajesh, 31–32
Bhattacharya, Tanmoy, 190, 192, 195, 216n14, 216n15
Bianchi, Valentina, 36–38
Biberauer, Theresa, 207n8
Bittner, Maria, 131
Black, Cheryl, 103
Blaszczak, Joanna, 215n6
Bloomfield, Leonard, 136
Bobaljik, Jonathan, 140, 210n36
Bonet, Eulalia, 48
Borsley, Robert, 41
Bošković, Željko, 50–51, 53, 197–198, 207n8, 213–214n58
Boundary tone, 159, 167–168
Branching, 173–178
Branigan, Phil, 13, 16
Bresnan, Joan, 13, 182–183
Browne, Wayles, 51
Bulgarian, 213–214n58
Burzio, Luigi, 10

Carnie, Andrew, 12, 210nn35–36
Case, 1–3, 6–8, 19–20, 24–25, 31, 34, 39–41, 43–48, 50–55, 57, 72–74, 76, 79–80, 83, 95, 125–127, 129, 131–133, 135–137, 140–141, 205, 210n29, 210n31, 211n37, 211n40, 214n60, 214n62
 dependent, 131–132
 differential marking, 25–32, 38, 55–57, 73, 79–81, 90, 131
 ergative, 131, 211n40, 214n61
 multiple nominative, 209n25
 quirky, 51
 syncretism, 47–48, 52–53, 210n29
Case Resistance, 127, 137–140, 215n67
Catalan, 9
Causative, 10–11, 104, 111–113, 214n59
Ćavar, Damir, 53
Cecchetto, Carlo, 216n10
Chaha, 25–30, 32, 38–39, 55, 90, 132, 154, 208n12
Chang, Lisa, 197

- Cheng, Lisa, 198
 Chicheŵa, 154, 157, 182–190, 196, 199
 Chinese, 90–91, 105, 154, 165
 Chol, 88–90, 211n42
 Chomsky, Noam, 1, 4, 14, 18, 34, 57, 114, 138, 207n2, 215n66
 Chung, Sandra, 12, 179–180
 Cleft, 44–45, 112–113, 125–126, 209n24, 212n53
 Cinque, Guglielmo, 34
 Clitic, 41–42, 69–70, 77, 103, 105, 109, 124, 216n13
 Collins, Chris, 6, 13, 16, 91–92, 95–97, 99–100, 212n48, 212nn50–51, 213n56
 Comorovski, Ileana, 198
 Construct state, 70–75, 105, 129, 141, 211n37
 Coon, Jessica, 88–89, 103, 211nn42–43, 212–213n54
 Croatian, 50–54, 57, 76, 80
 Cyclic linearization, 202
- Dagur, 130
 Davies, William, 10
 DeGraff, Michel, 33
 Deguchi, Masanori, 144
 Déprez, Viviane, 15
 den Dikken, Marcel, 10–11, 207n2
 Dependent case, 131–132
 Differential case marking, 25–32, 38, 55–57, 73, 79–81, 90, 131
 Distributed Morphology, 6, 21, 48
 Dobashi, Yoshihito, 149, 179, 186
 Doggett, Teal, 13
 Doubl-*ing*, 17, 23–25, 65–67, 208n10
 Double-*ga* construction, 44–45, 209n25
 Double infinitive filter, 17, 24–25, 67–70, 208n11, 210n33
 Double object construction, 4, 9, 90–92
 Double-*o* constraint, 111–113
 Downing, Laura, 184, 188
 Downstep, 168, 171
 Dupuis, Fernande, 15–16
 Dutch, 43, 50, 133–135, 214n61, 214–215n63
- Echo questions, 198–199
 Elordieta, Gorka, 160, 163
 Embick, David, 6, 41, 207n3
 Emonds, Joseph, 91, 137
 Endo, Yoshio, 190
 Ergative, 131, 211n40, 214n61
 Exceptive, 8
 Extended Projection Principle (EPP), 140, 143, 207n7
- Fabb, Nigel, 17
 Fanselow, Gisbert, 49
- Featural cyclicity, 114
 Feature inheritance, 14, 18, 138–139, 215n66
 Fong, Viviane, 207n1
 ForceP, 37–38
 Fox, Danny, 202, 206, 215n1
 French, 10, 15–16, 25, 33–34, 88, 156, 196–199, 210n33
 Fukuoka Japanese, 146–147, 185, 190
- Gärtner, Hans-Martin, 215n6
 George, Leland, 207n8
 Geraci, Carlo, 216n10
 German, 43, 46, 48–51, 54, 133–134, 141, 210n36
 Gerund, 9, 57–67, 210n32
 Giorgi, Alessandra, 64
 Gračanin-Yüksek, Martina, 51–53, 210n28
 Grebenyova, Lydia, 210n30
 Greek, 9, 43, 47–51, 53
 Grimshaw, Jane, 207n8
 Grohmann, Kleantes, 209n26
 Guasti, Maria Teresa, 10–11
 Guilfoyle, Eithne, 136
 Gussenhoven, Carlos, 160
- Haegeman, Liliane, 9, 57
 Hale, Ken, 30, 72, 130–131, 210n35
 Halle, Morris, 6, 207n3
 Halpert, Claire, 107
 Hamlaoui, Fatima, 198
 Harada, Shin-ichi, 111
 Harbour, Daniel, 81–85, 211n39, 211n40
 Harley, Heidi, 131
 Hayes, Bruce, 194–195, 216n17
 Hebrew, 71–72, 129, 210n34
 Heycock, Caroline, 17
 Hiaki, 129
 Hindi, 25, 29–32, 55, 132, 208n16, 208n18, 216n15
 Hinnebusch, Thomas, 188
 Hiraiwa, Ken, 44, 111
 Hirotsu, Masako, 144, 215n6
 Hoekstra, Teun, 207n1
 Hung, Henrietta, 136
 Hungarian, 74–75, 129
- Iatridou, Sabine, 47, 133, 209n27, 210n34
 Igarashi, Yosuke, 215n3
 Impoverishment, 48
 Improper movement, 214n60
 Incorporation, 88, 131, 211n43
 Initial Lowering, 158
 Inversion, 13, 88, 90
 locative inversion, 13–14, 16, 95, 105–106, 109–110
 quotative inversion, 13, 16, 88, 90, 132
 in Spanish, 76–79, 83–86

- stylistic inversion, 13, 15–16
 subject-object reversal, 93, 106, 108–109,
 115, 121, 213n56, 213–214n58
- Irish, 12, 72–74, 129, 210n35, 210n36,
 211n37
- Iseda, Takako, 44, 191
- Ishihara, Shinichiro, 2, 44, 144, 149, 158,
 179, 185, 215n4, 215n8
- Italian, 10–11, 17, 24–25, 67–70, 208n11,
 210n33
- Italian Sign Language, 216n10
- Ito, Junko, 149
- Japanese, 43–46, 50–51, 54, 57, 79, 105,
 111–114, 125–127, 130, 132, 141, 143–
 147, 149, 151–155, 158–163, 165, 181,
 184–186, 189–195, 199, 209nn23–25,
 214n59, 215nn3–4, 215–216n9
 Fukuoka dialect, 146–147, 185, 190
- Jones, Patrick, 103, 212–213n54, 213n55
- Kahnemuyipour, Arsalan, 149, 179
- Kanerva, Jonni, 13, 182–184
- K(ase), 4, 9, 11, 27–28, 32, 34, 55, 57, 72,
 74, 86–87, 116, 125, 127–135, 174–182,
 201–202, 208n15, 208n18, 211n37,
 214n61
- Kato, Sachiko, 44
- Kaufman, Daniel, 165
- Kavutirwaki, Kambale, 91
- Kayne, Richard, 1, 3–5, 7, 9–10, 15–16,
 34
- Kikuyu, 187–188
- Kimatuumbi, 187–188
- Kinande, 14, 91–111, 113–125, 127,
 212n47, 212n48, 212n50, 212n51, 212n53,
 212–213nn54–56, 213–214n58
- Kirundi, 93
- Kitagawa, Yoshihisa, 144, 215n3
- Koizumi, Masatoshi, 44, 91
- van de Koot, Hans, 207n8
- Korean, 209n25
- Kornfilt, Jaklin, 207n8
- Kratzer, Angelika, 149, 179
- Krause, Cornelia, 129–130
- Kubozono, Haruo, 149, 185
- Kuroda, Shige-Yuki, 111
- Kuwabara, Kazuki, 44
- Label, 1, 5–6, 12, 41, 149
- Lahiri, Aditi, 194–195, 216n17
- Landau, Idan, 140
- Late insertion, 6, 210n34
- Lechner, Winnie, 209n26
- Lee, Felicia, 12
- Legate, Julie, 207n2
- Leopando, Jeff, 216n11
- Lexical accent, 159–163
- Lexical head, 6–7, 21, 69–71, 207n4,
 210n34
- Liaison, 196
- Light verb, 111, 113
- Linker
 in Kinande, 91–105, 107–109, 111, 124,
 212n48, 212n51, 213n56, 213–214n58
 in Tagalog, 165
- Locative inversion, 13–14, 16, 95, 105–106,
 109–110
- Longobardi, Giuseppe, 24, 55, 64, 69
- Look-ahead, 145–146, 155, 162, 200, 206,
 215n1
- McCloskey, James, 210n36
- McGinnis, Martha, 184, 215n8
- Macrostem, 103, 212–213n54
- MacWhinney, Brian, 207n8
- Major Phrase, 148–149, 215–216n9
- Maligaya, Lawrence, 216n11
- Manfredi, Victor, 213n55
- Marantz, Alec, 6, 131, 140
- Massam, Diane, 12, 88, 131, 211n43
- Menn, Lise, 207n8
- Merchant, Jason, 43, 47
- Mester, Armin, 149
- Michaels, Jennifer, 194–195, 216n17
- Minor Phrase, 148–153, 158–165, 173, 175,
 177–180, 182, 185, 189, 198–199, 201,
 215–216n9
- Mirza, Sarah, 188
- Miskitu, 25, 29–30, 32, 55, 132
- Miyagawa, Shigeru, 93, 107, 212n47
- Mohanar, Tara, 29–30, 207n1, 208n16
- Moltmann, Friederike, 8
- Monzon, Joshua, 216n11
- Moro, Andrea, 87
- Mujomba, Pierre, 91, 93, 96–100, 105–108,
 212n46
- Munn, Alan, 75
- Murayama, Kazuto, 190
- Mutaka, Philip Ngessimo, 91, 97–98, 103
- Ndayiragije, Juvenal, 93
- Neeleman, Ad, 207n8
- Neidle, Carol, 216n10
- Nelson, Catherine, 194–195, 216n17
- Nespor, Marina, 148, 156, 173
- Nevins, Andrew, 140
- Nissenbaum, Jon, 4, 201
- Nominalization, 9, 38, 54
- Nominative, multiple, 209n25
- Noyer, Rolf, 6, 207n3
- Object shift, 25–28, 32, 87, 89, 132, 208n18
- Obviation, 136–137, 215n65
- Odden, David, 188
- Otaner, Fe, 165

- Pak, Marjorie, 149, 156, 179
 Passive, 10, 17–18, 23, 25, 67, 139, 210n33
 Penultimate lengthening, 182
 Perception verb, 17–22, 67–68
 Perlmutter, David, 207n8
 Pesetsky, David, 9, 34, 99, 202, 206, 208n20
 Petros, Degif, 208n12
 Phonologically null, 7, 21, 59, 103, 148, 192–193, 208n19
 Pierrehumbert, Janet, 215n4
 Pires, Acrisio, 196–197
 Pitch compression, 145–148, 163, 185–186
 Pitch track, 144–147, 166–168, 170–172, 174, 176, 178, 215n2
 Polish, 41–42
 Pollock, Jean-Yves, 15–16
 Portuguese, 196–197, 199
 Poser, William, 111, 158, 214n59
 Possessor, 38, 61–62, 71, 73–76, 105, 129, 136–137, 169, 171, 178–179, 194, 202
 Predicate-initial, 11–13, 88, 210n36
 PRO, 35, 57, 59, 61, 140, 210n32
 Pro-drop, 103, 105, 109, 124
 Pseudo-incorporation, 88, 131, 211n43
 Pulleyblank, Douglas, 103
 Pylkkänen, Liina, 90
- Quantifier Raising (QR), 215n1
 Quotative inversion, 13, 16, 88, 90, 132
- Rackowski, Andrea, 12, 136, 165
 Raimy, Eric, 207n1
 Raising, 25, 65, 208n11
 Reglero, Lara, 190, 197
 Relative clause, 25, 34–38, 40, 73, 129–130, 140, 208n19, 214n60
 Restructuring, 25, 46, 69–70, 207n6
 Richards, Marc, 215n66
 Richards, Norvin, 114, 136, 165, 213n57, 213–214n58
 Rightward movement, 45, 164, 191, 216n10
 Ritter, Elizabeth, 55, 72
 Rivero, Maria-Luisa, 41
 Rizzi, Luigi, 36, 209n22
 Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, Miguel, 31
 Romanian, 198
 Rosen, Carol, 10
 Ross, John, 23, 65
 Rouveret, Alain, 10
 Rudin, Catherine, 50, 213–214n58
 Russian, 53–54
- Sabbagh, Joseph, 12
 Sabel, Joachim, 209n26
 Saito, Mamoru, 111–113
 Salanova, Andres, 76–79, 83, 86, 211n38
 Sandalo, Filomena, 197
- Santorini, Beatrice, 17
 Sauerland, Uli, 8, 43, 209n26
 Schachter, Paul, 136, 165
 Schneider-Zioga, Patricia, 93, 212n47, 212n53
 Schütze, Carson, 140
 Schwartz, Florian, 188
 Scrambling, 164–165, 200, 215n7
 Seidl, Amanda, 156, 182, 184, 187, 215n8
 Selkirk, Elisabeth, 148–149, 156–159, 161, 179, 194–196, 215–216n9, 216n18
 Serbian, 50–54
 Shortest Attract, 114, 118
 Sigurðsson, Halldór, 140
 Silverstein, Michael, 83, 211n40
 Simpson, Andrew, 190, 192, 195, 216nn14–15
 Skopeteas, Stavros, 211n41
 Sluicing, 3, 8, 42–50, 132–135, 209n24, 210n36, 214–215n63
 Smith, Jennifer, 144, 146
 Soh, Hooi-Ling, 90
 Spanish, 25, 29–32, 39, 55, 57, 73–74, 77–87, 90, 114, 116, 125, 129, 132, 190, 199, 208n18, 210n33, 211n38, 214–215n63
 Srivastav, Veneeta, 216n15
 Stavrou, Melita, 9, 57
 Stepanov, Arthur, 210n30
 Stjepanović, Sandra, 51, 53
 Stowell, Tim, 137
 Stress clash, 197, 207n5
 Stress retraction, 197
 Strict Layer Hypothesis, 148–149
 Strozer, Judith, 30
 Stylistic inversion, 13, 15–16
 Subject-object reversal, 93, 106, 108–109, 115, 121, 213n56, 213–214n58
 Sugahara, Mariko, 144, 149, 158, 185
 Swahili, 187–188
 Syncretism, 47–48, 52–53, 210n29
 Szabolcsi, Anna, 74
 Szczegielniak, Adam, 41–42
 Szendrői, Kriszta, 2
- Tagalog, 11–12, 135–136, 153–154, 157, 165–182, 189, 199, 201, 216n13
 Takahashi, Daiko, 43, 215n7
 Tateishi, Koichi, 158–159, 161, 215–216n9
 Taylor, Heather, 196–197
 Tibetan, 154
 Tone retraction, 182–183
 TopicP, 37, 209n22
 Torrego, Esther, 29–31, 34, 39, 55, 80, 208n20
 Travis, Lisa, 12, 136
 Truckenbrodt, Hubert, 148, 156, 182–184, 187–188, 197, 215n4
 Turkish, 10

- Uechi, Akihiko, 173
 Uribe-Etxebarria, Myriam, 190
- Valois, Daniel, 15–16, 55
*v*_CP, 14–15, 18–19, 22–24, 26–28, 32–33,
 58, 78, 87, 94, 101, 117–120, 122–124,
 138–139, 208n10, 212n52, 213–214n58
- Vergnaud, Jean-Roger, 10
 Verhoeven, Elisabeth, 211n41
 Vicente, Luis, 2
 Vogel, Irene, 148, 156, 173
- Wagner, Michael, 148, 156, 186, 209n26
 Walter, Mary Ann, 73, 211n37
 Wampanoag, 136–137, 215n65
Wanna-contraction, 208n9
Wh-domain, 146–148, 150–153, 155–157,
 159, 162–163, 179–181, 184–188, 193,
 195–197, 215n3, 215n5
Wh-movement, 1–2, 19, 50–54, 76–77, 83–
 84, 86–87, 99, 102–105, 110–111, 125,
 143–200, 205–206, 211n38, 212n53,
 215n7, 216n10
 multiple, 50–54, 76, 200
wh in situ, 2, 103, 143–144, 148, 151–157,
 159, 164–165, 181–182, 184–190, 195–
 199, 216n15
- Wrap-XP, 184, 186–188
 Wu, Iris, 13
 Wurmbrand, Susi, 49, 70, 207n6, 209n26
- Yang, Dong-Whee, 209n25
 Yatsushiro, Kazuko, 44, 209n23
 Yip, Moira, 207n1
 Yucatec Maya, 211n41
- Zeijlstra, Hedde, 133, 210n34
 Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa, 2
 Zucchi, Sandro, 216n10