

Syntax 380L  
December 6, 2001

**Final Exam**  
due on December 13, 2001

Please take the judgements as given.

**1.1.** The following examples illustrate the phenomenon of **Comparative Deletion**.

- (1) a. John is taller [than Mary is].  
b. John is taller [than Mary told us that Bill is].

These examples are said to involve *Comparative Deletion* (CD) because they are perceived to be semantically related to the (ungrammatical) examples in (2). Most speakers strongly prefer the examples in (1) to the examples in (2). This could plausibly be related to a general principle of natural language that avoids redundancy.

- (2) a. (\*) John is taller [than Mary is tall].  
b. (\*) John is taller [than Mary told us that Bill is tall].

In certain dialects of English, it is acceptable to say the following:

- (3) a. John is taller [than what Mary is].  
b. John is taller [than what Mary told us that Bill is].

This phenomena is also found in the following sentences.

- (4) a. Mary isn't taller [than [what she was 5 years ago]].  
(ok for some speakers).  
b. Mary isn't taller [than [she was 5 years ago]].  
c. Mary isn't taller [than [what John believes [that Bill claimed [that she was 5 years ago]]]].  
(ok for some speakers).  
d. Mary isn't taller [than [John believes [that Bill claimed [that she was 5 years ago]]]].  
e. \*Mary isn't taller [than [John believes [Bill's claim [that she was 5 years ago]]]].  
f. \*Mary isn't taller [than [what John believes [Bill's claim [that she was 5 years ago]]]].  
  
g. \*Mary isn't taller [than [what I wonder [whether she was five years ago]]]].  
h. \*Mary isn't taller [than [I wonder [whether she was five years ago]]]].

Provide an analysis of *Comparative Deletion*. Does *Comparative Deletion* involve *A'*-movement? If CD does involve *A'*-movement, what is moving from where to where? Using constituency tests (e.g. coordination, fronting etc.), determine the structural location of the *than*-clause with respect to the matrix clause.

Your analysis should account for the following contrasts. Demonstrate that it does.

- (5) a. More students<sub>i</sub> flunked than anyone/\*they<sub>i</sub> thought would flunk.  
b. More students<sub>i</sub> flunked than thought they<sub>i</sub> would flunk.
- (6) a. More Democrats<sub>i</sub> voted than anyone/\*they<sub>i</sub> expected to vote.  
b. More Democrats<sub>i</sub> voted than had expected that they<sub>i</sub> would vote.
- (7) a. More Democrats<sub>i</sub> voted than anyone/\*?their<sub>i</sub> friends expected to vote.  
b. More Democrats<sub>i</sub> voted than had expected that anyone/their<sub>i</sub> friends would vote.
- (8) a. More books were published than the editor said (\*that) would be.  
b. Mimi published more books than her publisher said (that) she would.  
c. More students flunked than I predicted (\*that) would pass.  
d. Mimi flunked more students than I predicted (that) she would.
- (9) a. I thought that there was more meat than there is/\*'s.  
b. John was more upset then than he is/\*'s now.  
c. She was as happy about it then as she is/\*'s now.
- (10) a. I threw away more books than I kept [without reading].  
(ok: # of books thrown away > # of books kept without reading)  
(unavailable: # of books thrown without reading > # of books kept)  
b. Jerome followed more suspects than Arthur interrogated [without arresting].  
(ok: # of suspects followed > # of suspects interrogated without arresting)  
(unavailable: # of suspects followed without arresting > # of suspects interrogated)  
(Focus on the licensing of the object gap within the *without* clause.)

**1.2. Consider now the phenomenon of Comparative Subdeletion (CSD).**

- (11) a. Michael Jordan has more scoring titles than Dennis Rodman has tattoos.  
b. The shapes seem to be wider than they are thick.  
c. My sister drives as carefully as I drive carelessly.

Unlike CD, it may not be obvious that CSD involves a gap/deletion of any sort. But there is good evidence that there is a gap in CSD (cf. 12).

- (12) a. \*Michael has more scoring titles than Dennis has two/may tattoos.  
b. \*The shapes seem to be wider than they are 2 inches/that thick.  
c. \*My sister drives as carefully as I drive so/very carelessly.

CSD is similar to CD in certain ways. CSD behaves like CD with respect to extraction.

- (13) a. \*Michael has more scoring titles than Dennis is a guy who has. (CD)  
b. \*Michael has more scoring titles than Dennis is a guy who has tattoos. (CSD)

- (14) a. \*The shapes were longer than I wondered whether they would be. (CD)  
 b. \*The shapes were longer than I wondered whether they would be thick. (CSD)
- (15) a. \*My sister drives as carefully as I avoid accidents when I drive.  
 b. \*My sister drives as carefully as I get into accidents when I drive carelessly.

CSD also behaves like CD with respect to the interpretation of pronouns.

- (16) a. More Democrats<sub>i</sub> voted than anyone/\*they<sub>i</sub> expected to vote. (CD)  
 b. More Democrats voted than anyone/\*they<sub>j</sub> expected Republicans<sub>j</sub> to vote. (CSD)
- (17) a. More Democrats<sub>i</sub> voted than anyone/\*?their<sub>i</sub> friends expected to vote. (CD)  
 b. More Democrats voted than anyone/\*?their<sub>j</sub> friends expected Republicans<sub>j</sub> to vote. (CSD)

However, CSD does not always behave like CD. The following data illustrates some cases where CSD and CD do not behave alike.

• The presence of *that*:

- (18) CD  
 a. More books were published than the editor said (\*that) would be.  
 b. More boys flunked than I predicted (\*that) would pass.
- (19) CSD  
 a. More books were published than the editor said (that) articles would be.  
 b. More boys flunked than I predicted (that) girls would pass.

• The possibility of auxiliary contraction:

- (20) CD  
 a. I thought there was more meat than there is/\*'s.  
 b. John was more upset then than he is/\*'s now.  
 c. She was as happy about it then as she is/\*'s now.
- (21) CSD  
 a. There's more meat than there's rice.  
 b. John was more upset then than he's angry now.  
 c. She was as happy about it then as she's sad now.

- The possibility of adjunct gaps:

(22) CD

- a. I threw away more books than I kept without reading.
- b. Jerome followed more suspects than Arthur interrogated without arresting.

(23) CSD

- a. \*I threw away more books than I kept magazines without reading.
- b. \*Jerome followed more leads than Arthur interrogated suspects without arresting.

- The possibility of multiple comparisons:

(24) CSD

- a. Christmas makes as many children as happy as it makes adults unhappy.
- b. Max persuaded more men to buy more cars than you persuaded women to buy trucks.

(25) CD

- a. \*Christmas makes as many children as happy as birthdays make.
- b. \*Max persuaded more people to buy more cars than you persuaded to buy.

Provide an account of CSD that captures the above data. Show that it does so. Your account should reveal why CSD behaves like CD with respect to certain tests but not others. If you assume that CSD involves *A'*-movement, indicate what you think moves from where to where and when.

## 2. Consider the following data from West Ulster English.

- (26) a. What all did you get for Christmas?  
b. Who all did you meet when you were in Derry?  
c. Where all did they go for their holidays?
- (27) a. What did you get for Christmas?  
b. Who did you meet when you were in Derry?  
c. Where did they go for their holidays?
- (28) a. What did you get all for Christmas?  
b. Who did you meet all when you were in Derry?  
c. Where did they go all for their holidays?
- (29) a. I don't remember what all I said.  
b. I don't remember what I said all.
- (30) 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?

- (31) 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?
- (32) a. What all did he tell him (that) he wanted?  
 b. What did he tell him all (that) he wanted?  
 c. \*What did he tell all him (that) he wanted?  
 d. ?What did he tell his friends/Mickey all (that) he wanted?  
 e. \*What did he tell all his friends/Mickey (that) he wanted?
- (33) a. What all did he say to him that he wanted to buy?  
 b. \*What did he say all to him that he wanted to buy?  
 c. ?What did he say to him all that he wanted to buy?  
 d. ?\*What did he say to his friends all that he wanted to buy?  
 e. \*What did he say all to his friends that he wanted to buy?
- (34) a. What all do you think (that) he'll say (that) we should buy?  
 b. What do you think all (that) he'll say (that) we should buy?  
 c. What do you think (that) he'll say all (that) we should buy?  
 d. What do you think (that) he'll say (that) we should buy all?

Propose a hypothesis to explain the above data. How does the entire set of West Ulster English data provided above bear on the theory of *wh*-movement? While you do not have to discuss each example individually, your proposal should handle all the above examples and your discussion should show that it does.

The fact that (32d) and (33c) are not perfectly grammatical might remain unexplained. Similarly, you should assume that (33d) is simply ungrammatical.

3. This question deals with the phenomenon of *to*-contraction displayed in (35-37).

- (35) a. I want to go there tomorrow.  
 b. I wanna go there tomorrow.
- (36) a. You have to go there tomorrow.  
 b. You hafta go there tomorrow.
- (37) a. I used to go to the movies.  
 b. I useta go to the movies.

(35-37b) illustrate the so-called *to*-contraction phenomenon, in which the infinitival marker *to* is contracted with the preceding verb. The sequence *want+ to* in (35a), for instance, is replaced by *wanna* in (35b). The contraction of *want + to* to *wanna* is referred to more specifically as *wanna*-contraction. *To*-contraction is not completely free. It is not the case that any sequence of *want to*, for instance, can be contracted to *wanna*. Consider (38-40).

- (38) a. Whom do you want to invite?  
 b. Whom do you wanna invite?  
 c. Whom do you want to invite Mary?  
 d. \*Whom do you wanna invite Mary?  
 e. Whom do you want to succeed? (ambiguous)  
 f. Who do you wanna succeed? (unambiguous)
- (39) a. I don't want to flagellate oneself in public to become standard practice in this monastery.  
 b. \*I don't wanna flagellate oneself in public to become standard practice in this monastery.
- (40) a. I don't want anyone who continues to want to stop wanting.  
 b. \*I don't want anyone who continues to wanna stop wanting.

On the basis of the data in (38-40), identify the constraints that are operative on *wanna*-contraction. Now consider the data in (41).

- (41) a. This is the car in which she used to go to the movies.  
 b. This is the car in which she usedta go to the movies.  
 c. This is the car which she used to go to the movies.  
 d. \*This is the car which she usedta go to the movies.

Do your constraints on *wanna*-construction predict the paradigm in (41). If not, modify your constraints so that they do.