

ROMANCE AND BALKAN FACTIVE ISLANDS IN A NANOSYNTACTIC LIGHT

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FACTIVE ISLANDS

(1) a. ?[Which article] did you **regret/understand/forget** that I had selected *t*?
 b. *How did you **regret** that his son had fixed the car *t*?
 (ex. from Rooryck 1992: 2, (1c,b))

Factive verb
weak island

(2) a. What_i do you know that he wrote *t* quickly?
 b. *How_i do you know that he wrote a new book *t*?

Non-factive verb
no island

(3) a. [Which article] did you **believe** that I had selected *t*?
 b. How_i do you **believe** that I had selected the article *t*?

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FACTIVE ISLANDS

- Factive verbs (*regret, remember*) select complements clauses that are presupposed to be true; non-factive verbs (*say, believe, want*) do not. (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970)
- Long-distance extraction out of factive complements creates *weak islands (WI)*.

(4) Argument extraction is possible Wh_{arg}... [factive complement ... Wh_{arg}]
 (5) Adjunct extraction is not possible * Wh_{adj}... [factive complement ... Wh_{adj}]

(Rizzi 1990, Rooryck 1992)

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FACTIVE ISLANDS

Different approaches:

- CP is different in factive constructions, involving nominal or referential properties and/or presuppositional status (see Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1970, Rouveret 1980, Rizzi 1990, de Cuba 2007, de Cuba & Úrögdi 2010, among many others). See also Haegeman & Úrögdi 2010, Haegeman 2012 for Movement restrictions are accounted in terms of operator movement

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OUR CLAIM

- We claim that the **matrix verb** itself also plays a role in creating islands.
- Data from Romance (French, Italian) and Balkan (Modern Greek, Serbian [Niš], Serbian [Belgrade], Croatian, Bulgarian).
- In these language groups, factive constructions may involve *strong islands (SI)*, when both arguments and adjuncts are banned for extraction (a situation not found in English, (1)-(3))
- Three formal features are responsible for the island effects observed.
 - Normally these features are spelled out as a complementizer, but sometimes they can be spelled out on the matrix verb.

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BACKGROUND

- Nanosyntax
- Three main ingredients
 - Verbal fseq
 - Comp fseq
 - Featural Relativized Minimality (RM)

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NANOSYNTAX

- We adopt the nanosyntactic idea that morphemes are internally complex and composed of syntactico-semantic features which are hierarchically ordered according to a functional sequence (fseq).
- Crosslinguistic variation is understood in terms of different patterns of lexicalization.
- Each language 'packages' the same underlying functional sequence into lexical entries in its own language-specific way (see Starke 2009, 2011, 2014; Caha 2009, Baunaz and Lander 2018).

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THREE MAIN INGREDIENTS

- (i) Verbal fseq (Ramchand 2008, Puskas 2013, Baunaz 2017, Baunaz and Puskas (submitted), a.o)
- (ii) Complementizer fseq (Baunaz 2015, 2016, 2018; Baunaz and Lander 2018, a.o)
- (iii) Featural Relativized Minimality (Starke 2001, Rizzi 2004, Baunaz 2015, 2016, 2018, a.o)

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THREE MAIN INGREDIENTS

Featural RM (Rizzi 2004, 2013; Starke 2001) and factive islands (Baunaz 2015, 2016, 2018)

- (6) a. * $\alpha \dots \alpha \dots \alpha$
b. $\alpha \beta \dots \alpha \dots \alpha \beta$ (Starke 2001: 8 (16))
- (7) a. * $\alpha \dots \alpha \beta \dots \alpha$
b. * $\alpha \beta \dots \alpha \beta \dots \alpha \beta$ (Starke 2001: 8 (17))

Factive Islands: [Wharg/Whad] ... Comp ... ~~Wharg/Whad~~

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FACTS AND ANALYSIS

- Complementizers
 - French and Standard Italian always select *que* or *che* to head an embedded tensed CP complement.
 - Other languages show variation on this point (see Manzini & Savoia 2003, 2011, Ledgeway 2015 (a.o) on Italian dialects and Roussou 2010, 2020 on Greek).
 - Some Balkan languages have multiple different complementizers.
- Islandhood

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COMPLEMENTIZERS CROSS-LINGUISTICALLY

- Romance
- Balkan
 - Direct vs. Indirect complementizers
 - Specific vs. partive complementizers

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COMPLEMENTIZERS CROSS-LINGUISTICALLY

- (8) French: *que*
Italian: *che*

NOT FOR TODAY

 - The special mood particle indicating subjunctive mood (*na* in MG, *da* in Bulgarian, *da* in SC).
- (9) Modern Greek (MG): *oti*, *pu* (and *pos*, not discussed here)
Bulgarian: *deto* and *če*
Serbian/Croatian: *što* and *da*

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REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES: GREEK

Cognitive factives optionally select for *pu* or *oti*

Cognitive factives = remember, discover, complain...

- (10) a. O Janis paraponethike **pu/oti** ton ksexasa. (MG)
the John complained.3SG that him forgot.1SG
'John complained that I forgot him.' (Giannakidou 2011: 3, (6))
- b. Thimame **pu/oti** ton sinandisa sto Parisi.
remember.1SG that him met.1SG in.the Paris
'I remember that I met him in Paris' (Giannakidou 2009: 1887, (9))

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REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES: GREEK

Christidis (1982)

- Content of *pu*-complements is directly perceived; content of *oti*-complements is not (see also Giannakidou 1998, Siegel 2009, Roussou 2010, 2020, Angelopoulos 2019 and many others).

- (11) a. *Idha oti efighe.*
saw.1SG that left.3SG
'I saw that he left.'
- b. *Ton idha pu efighe.*
3SG.ACC.saw.1SG that left.3SG
'I saw him leaving'
(Angelopoulos 2019: 218, (61))

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REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES: GREEK

pu ≠ *oti*

- (12) a. Thinmithika (istera apo poli prospathia) **oti** ton icha sinadisi s-to Parisi.
remembered.1SG after from a lot of effort that 3SG.ACC had.1SG met in.the P.
'I remembered after a lot of effort that I had met him in Paris'
- b. Thinmithika (*istera apo poli prospathia) **pu** ton icha sinadisi s-to Parisi.
remembered.1SG after from a lot of effort that 3SG.ACC had.1SG met in.the P.
'I remembered after a lot of effort that I had met him in Paris'
(Angelopoulos 2019: 218, (62))

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REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES: GREEK

"A verb like *thimame* ('remember') can take either *oti* or *pu* as its complement. A factive reading can be available with *oti* presumably due to the semantics of the matrix predicate (we remember/recall events that have somehow taken place). (...) In the context of a verb like *thimame*, the distinction between an *oti*- and a *pu*-complement can be viewed in terms of **weak vs. strong presupposition** respectively, in the sense of Terrell (1977)."

(Roussou 2010: 590, our bold)

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COMPLEMENTIZERS SO FAR

	DIRECT	INDIRECT
Modern Greek	<i>pu</i>	<i>oti</i>

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REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES:
SERBIAN (NIŠ)Factives like 'know' can select *da* or *što*

- (14) Znam **da/što** si bio u Gentu.
3know.1SG that ALX.PAST.2SG been in Ghent
'I know that you've been to Ghent.' / 'I'm familiar with the fact that you've been to Ghent.'
(Baunaz 2018 : 219, (4a))

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REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES: SERBIAN (NIŠ)

Arsenijević (2015, 2020a,b)

(14) a. Sećas se što je Jovan imao sestru?
remember.2SG REFL that ALX Jovan had sister
'Remember the sister that John had?' (or: 'Remember the well-known fact that John had a sister?')
Direct accessibility (familiar to speaker)
(Arsenijević 2020a: 29, 2020b: 343)

b. Sećas se da je Jovan imao sestru?
remember.2SG REFL that ALX Jovan had sister
'Remember that John had a sister?'
Indirect accessibility (ambiguous but tends to be indefinite)
(Arsenijević 2020a: 29, 2020b: 343)
(Arsenijević 2020a: 29, (39))

"The use of *što* in [[15a]], on the more easily available reading, marks that the described situation is **familiar and unique**, which then infers that the sister is also familiar and unique (i.e. that Jovan has only one sister and that the interlocutors know who she is) – even though the nominal expression is the same as in [[15b]], where the reading is ambiguous with a tendency for the **indefinite interpretation**. The use of *da* is hence neutral in this respect, even though in both examples the subordinate clause is **clearly factive**." (Arsenijević 2020a:29, our bold)

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COMPLEMENTIZERS SO FAR

	DIRECT	INDIRECT
Modern Greek	<i>pu</i>	<i>oti</i>
Serbian (Niš)	<i>što</i>	<i>da</i>

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REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES: BULGARIAN

Factives like 'remember' can select *deto* or *če*

(15) Pomnja, *čdeto/če* te sreštnax na pazara.
'I remember that I met you at the market/meeting you at the market'
(Bauzaz 2016:72, (9b))

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REGRET-TYPE PREDICATES: BULGARIAN

Factives like 'regret' can select *deto* or *če*

(16) Naistina sžžijavam, *deto/če* ne otedix poveče vniimanie na postrojkata.
'I really regret that I did not devote greater attention to the construction'
(Krapova 2010, 26, (56a))

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COMPLEMENTIZERS: BULGARIAN

- Simeonova (2018):
- *deto* is the factive complementizer; involves definiteness
- *če* is neutral (unmarked) with respect to factivity; propositional

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COMPLEMENTIZERS SO FAR

	DIRECT	INDIRECT
Modern Greek	<i>pu</i>	<i>oti</i>
Serbian (Niš)	<i>što</i>	<i>da</i>
Bulgarian	<i>deto</i>	<i>če</i>

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DIRECT = SPECIFIC INDIRECT = PARTITIVE

- Aligning with the dichotomy discussed in Roussou 2010 (weak vs strong presupposition), Arsenijevic 2020 (indefinite factive vs familiarity) and Simeoneva 2019, Baunaz (2015, 2016, 2018) interprets the facts in terms of existential presupposition.
- she argues that
 - pu/deto/što* are **specific comp**
 - oti/če/da* – when embedded under factive verbs – are **partitive comp**

Specific complementizers locate the complement proposition with respect to a given point of reference, binding a single propositional variable, which corresponds to a single truth value (true) (see also Roussou 2010).

Partitive complementizers range over (a given set of) propositional variables (either true or false).

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... AND NON-PRESUPPOSED

- Some verbs select for **non-presupposed comp** (typically non-factive verbs).
 - Modern Greek and Bulgarian have *oti* and *če*, Serbian and Croatian *da*.
- Structurally speaking, non-presupposed complementizers are the least marked (have the least structure), and specific complementizers the most marked (have the more structure, see Baunaz 2015, 2016 and 2018)
 - Also syncretism**
 - The Comp fseq:** Specific > Partitive > c

c = 'category', which can vary for ex: mg.pu = adv, mg.oti = nominal; fr.que = nominal, fr.de = prepositional ... (see Baunaz and Lander 2017, 2018 a.o)

Non-presuppositional complementizer ranges over non-finite sets of propositional variables (neither true nor false);

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COMPLEMENTIZERS SO FAR

	Specific [Spec [Part [c]]]	Partitive [Part [c]]	Non-presupposed [c]
Modern Greek	pu	oti	oti
Bulgarian	deto	če	če

- Non-factive matrix verbs select for the non-presupposed Comp
- Factive matrix verbs select either for the specific or partitive Comp

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ISLANDHOOD

- Modern Greek
 - Well-behaved
- Bulgarian
 - Well-behaved
- Serbian/Croatian
 - Not well-behaved, with variation among speakers of different areas
 - Serbian (Niš)
 - Croatian
 - Serbian (Belgrade)

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FACTIVE ISLANDS ARE CONDITIONED BY THE COMPLEMENTIZER

Modern Greek

(17) a. * Pjoni thimase **pu** sinandises tʃ / who remember.2SG that met.2SG pu → strong island

b. * Pote thimase **pu** sinandises Maria tʃ / when remember.2SG that met.2SG Mary

c. Pjoni thimase **oti** sinandises tʃ / who remember.2SG that met.2SG oti → weak island

d. ?? Pote thimase **oti** sinandises Maria tʃ / when remember.2SG that met.2SG Mary

(Baunaz 2018: 234, (22), (24)); pu examples are from Roussou (1992, 126, (7))

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FACTIVE ISLANDS ARE CONDITIONED BY THE COMPLEMENTIZER

Bulgarian

(18) a. * Kakvo si spomnjash, **deto** Ivan e napisal! / what remember.2SG that I. has written deto → Strong island

b. * Kade si spomnjash, **deto** Ivan e napisal pismoto. / where remember.2SG that I. has written letter.the

(19) a. Kakvo si spomnjash, **če** Ivan e napisal! / what remember.2SG that I. has written če → Weak island

b. * Kade si spomnjash, **če** Ivan e napisal pismoto. / where remember.2SG that I. has written letter.the

We thank Tomislav Sočanac and Iliana Krapova for these data.

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COMPLEMENTIZERS AND ISLANDHOOD

	Specific [Spec [Part [c]]]	Partitive [Part [c]]	Non-presupposed [c]
Modern Greek	<i>pu</i>	<i>oti</i>	<i>oti</i>
Bulgarian	<i>deto</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>če</i>
Islandhood	STRONG	WEAK	NONE

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SERBIAN (NIŠ)

• Serbian/Croatian present less clear-cut patterns.

• Serbian (Niš)

'know', 'remember'	<i>znati / sećati se + što</i>	Strong island
'know', 'remember'	<i>znati / sećati se + da</i>	Weak island
'say', 'think'	<i>reći / misliti + da</i>	No island

So far so good...

See Appendix, ex. (I)-(III)

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SERBIAN (NIŠ)

'regret'	<i>žaliti + da</i>	Weak island	(expected, <i>da</i> = [Part [c]])
	<i>žaliti + što</i>	Weak(!) island	(unexpected, <i>što</i> = [Spec [Part [c]])

- 'regret' with *da* = 'apologize, regret to inform' (non- (or less) emotive reading)
- 'regret' with *što* = 'feel sorry, wish differently, etc.' (emotive reading)

See Appendix, ex. (vi)-(v)

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SERBIAN (NIŠ)

• Different kinds of *što* (syncretism): emotive and non-emotive

• [c]	<i>(reći +) da</i>	(verb of saying with non-presupposed Comp)	NI
• [Part [c]]	<i>(žaliti +) da</i>	(non-emotive reading of 'regret')	WI
• [Emo [Part [c]]]	<i>(žaliti +) što</i>	(emotive 'regret'; not <i>da</i> because <i>da</i> lacks [Emo])	WI
• [Spec [Part [c]]]	<i>(sećati se +) što</i>	(cognitive reading of 'remember')	SI
• [Emo [Spec [Part [c]]]	<i>(sećati se +) što</i>	(emotive reading of 'remember')	SI

	Emotive Specific	Specific	Emotive Partitive	Partitive	Non-presupposed
Serbian (Niš)	<i>što</i>	<i>što</i>	<i>što</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>

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COMPLEMENTIZERS AND ISLANDHOOD

	Specific [Spec [Part [c]]]	Partitive [Part [c]]	Non-presupposed [c]
Modern Greek	<i>pu</i>	<i>oti</i>	<i>oti</i>
Bulgarian	<i>deto</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>če</i>
Serbian (Niš)	<i>što</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>
Islandhood	STRONG	WEAK	NONE

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CROATIAN

• Croatian has NO strong islands, except when complement clause is coindexed with a pronoun 'it'

(20) *Žalim to što je otišao* → 'regret' + [Spec [D]] + [Part [c]]
 regret.1SG it that he left

'regret'	<i>žaliti + to + što</i>	Strong island → Ct. *Which article do you regret it that I selected?
'regret'	<i>žaliti + što</i>	Weak island
'say', 'think'	<i>reći / misliti + da</i>	No island

See Appendix, ex. (vi)

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COMPLEMENTIZERS AND ISLANDHOOD

	Specific [Spec [Part [c]]]	Partitive [Part [c]]	Non-presupposed [c]
Modern Greek	pu	oti	oti
Bulgarian	deto	če	če
Serbian (Niš)	što	da	da
Croatian	to + što	što	da
Islandhood	STRONG	WEAK	NONE

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PROBLEM IN CROATIAN

- However, also *da* with weak islands:
 'remember' sjećati se + *da* Weak Island
- Unexpected, since *što* should create weak islands and *da* should create no islands in Croatian.

See Appendix, ex. (vii)

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SOLUTION

- If these verbs can spell out the feature Part, then only *c* is left over to be lexicalized as *da*.
- well-behaved situation (e.g. Greek): [REMEMBER...] + [Part [c]]
 otī (→ weak island)
- 'remember' in Croatian: [REMEMBER... [Part]] + [c]
 da
 → weak island because extraction has to cross verb (with Part) too

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LEXICAL ENTRIES IN CROATIAN

- 'regret' [REGRET ...]
 • Selects the partitive complementizer *što*.
- 'remember' [REMEMBER ... [Part]]
 • Such an entry forces the complementizer to shrink to *da*, since Part can be – in fact must be (Anchor Condition) – spelled out on the verb.

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SERBIAN (BELGRADE)

- Like Croatian, this variety has:
 'regret' zoliti + što Weak Island (well-behaved)
 'remember' sjećati se + da Weak Island (Part on verb)

See Appendix, ex. (viii)-(xix)

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SERBIAN (BELGRADE)

- But 'know' selects *da* and creates a strong island
 'know' znati + da Strong island
- Meaning not only [Part] but also [Spec] is packaged on the verb.
 [KNOW... [Spec [Part]]] + [c]
 • *c* has to be realized as *da*
 • The verb contains the features problematic for extraction.

See Appendix, ex. (x)-(xi)

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BULGARIAN

- Bulgarian is just like Serbian (Belgrade) on this point:
- Eg. 'know' takes \acute{e} and creates a strong island

'know' $znam$ + \acute{e}

Strong Island

- Meaning not only [Part] but also [Spec] is packaged on the verb.

[KNOW... [Spec [Part]]] + [c]

- c has to be realized as \acute{e}

- The verb (with Spec) blocks extraction.

See Appendix, ex. (xii)

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ENGLISH AND ROMANCE 'KNOW'

English (WI) vs. Romance (SI)

- (21) a. * What do you know that he wrote ~~what~~ quickly? Eng. WI
b. * How do you know that he wrote a new book ~~how~~?
- (22) a. *?/? Qu'est-ce que tu sais qu'il a écrit rapidement? Fr. SI
b. * Comment est-ce que tu sais qu'il a écrit un nouveau livre?
- (23) a. ??/# (Che) Cosa sai che (lui) ha scritto velocemente? It. SI
b. * Come sai che (lui) ha scritto un libro?

Variation with regard to what kind of island with 'know'.

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BUT SYNCRETISM OBSCURES THE UNDERLYING STRUCTURE

English

English that is syncretic, so we don't know exactly which features it lexicalizes with 'know'.

- Simplest analysis: [KNOW...] + [Part [c]]
that → **Weak island**

- But could also be: [KNOW... [Part]] + [c]
that → **Weak island**

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BUT SYNCRETISM OBSCURES THE UNDERLYING STRUCTURE

Romance

French que is also syncretic, so we don't know exactly which features it lexicalizes with 'know'.

- Simplest analysis: [KNOW...] + [Spec [Part [c]]]
que → **Strong island**
- Or: [KNOW... [Spec]] + [Part [c]]
que → **Strong island**
- Or: [KNOW... [Spec [Part]]] + [c]
que → **Strong island**

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CONCLUSION

- Individual verbs can show variation between them because each verb has its own lexical entry, allowing for verb-specific packaging.
- Some verbs do not package Comp features, others package either Part or both Spec and Part in their lexical structure.
- Greek and (for the most part) Bulgarian are well-behaved in that distinctions made in their complementizer systems tell us what kind of islandhood patterns to expect.
- Serbo-Croatian varieties show more variation, with different lexical packaging strategies available.
- Our analysis shows that verbs can also be considered interveners, which is a brand-new insight.

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Serbian (NI_S) is much like Greek, though with the complication of emotivity packaged on Comp.

GREEK	[VERB...]	[Spec	[Part	[c]]]	(pu)	SI
			[Part	[c]]]	(oti)	WI
CROATIAN	[REGRET...]	[Spec]IT	[Part	[c]]]	(to što)	SI
	[BE SAD...]		[Part	[c]]]	(što)	WI
	[SAY...]		[c]		(da)	NI
	[REMEMBER... [Part]]		[c]		(da)	WI
SERBIAN (BELGRADE)						
	[REGRET...]		[Part	[c]]]	(što)	WI
	[REMEMBER... [Part]]		[c]		(da)	WI
	[KNOW... [Spec [Part]]]		[c]		(da)	SI
BULGARIAN						
	[REMEMBER...]	[Spec	[Part	[c]]]	(deto)	SI
			[Part	[c]]]	(\acute{e})	WI
	[KNOW... [Spec [Part]]]		[c]		(da)	SI
	[SAY...]		[c]		(da)	NI

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APPENDIX

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SERBIAN (NIŠ) (EXAMPLES)

'know', 'remember': *znati / sećati se + što/da*

- (i) a. * Koga se sećas što si upoznao ti?
who remember.2SG that AUX meet.PAST.PART
"Who do you remember that you met?" **Strong island**
- b. * Kad se sećas što si upoznao Mariju ti?
when remember.2SG that AUX meet.PAST.PART Maria
* "When do you remember that you met Maria?"
- (ii) a. ? Koga se sećas da si upoznao ti?
who remember.2SG that AUX meet.PAST.PART
"Who do you remember that you met?" **Weak island**
- b. * Kad se sećas da si upoznao Mariju ti?
when remember.2SG that AUX meet.PAST.PART Maria
* "When do you remember that you met Maria?"

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SERBIAN (NIŠ) (EXAMPLES)

'say', 'think' *reći / misliti + da*

- (iii) a. Koga je Pavao rekao da je vidio?
who aux. Paul say.PAST.PART that ALIX see.PAST.PART
"Who did Paul say that he saw?" **No island**
- b. Kad si rekao da si vidio Pavla?
when ALIX say.PAST.PART that ALIX see.PAST.PART Paul
"When did you say that you saw Paul?"

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SERBIAN (NIŠ) (EXAMPLES)

'regret': *žaliti + da / što*

- (iv) a. Koga žališ što si povrijedio ti?
Who regret.2SG that AUX hurt.PAST.PART
"Who do you regret that you hurt?" **Weak island**
- b. * Kad žališ što si otišao ti?
when regret.2SG that AUX leave.PAST.PART
"When do you regret that you left?"
- (v) a. Koga žališ da si povrijedio ti?
b. * Kad žališ da si otišao ti? **Weak island**

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CROATIAN (EXAMPLES)

- (vi) a. Koga žališ što si povrijedio ti?
Who regret.2SG that ALIX hurt.PAST.PART
"Who do you regret that you hurt?" **Weak island**
- b. * Kad žališ što si otišao ti?
when regret.2SG that ALIX leave.PAST.PART
"When do you regret that you left?"

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CROATIAN (EXAMPLE)

- (vii) a. Što se sjećaš da je Ivan napisao u Berlinu?
what remember.2SG that has I. written in Berlin **Weak island**
- b. * Kad se sjećaš da je Ivan napisao knjigu u Berlinu?
when remember.2SG that has I. written book in Berlin

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SERBIAN (BELGRADE) (EXAMPLES)

(viii) a. *Koga žališ što si povrijedio t?*
Who regret.2SG that AUX hurt.PAST.PART
"Who do you regret that you hurt?" Weak island

b. * *Kad žališ što si otišao t?*
when regret.2SG that AUX leave.PAST.PART
"When do you regret that you left?"

(xix) a. *Koga se sećas da si upoznao t?*
who remember.2SG that AUX meet.PAST.PART
"Who do you remember that you met?" Weak island

b. ?? *Kad se sećas da si upoznao Mariju t?*
when remember.2SG that AUX meet.PAST.PART Maria
"When do you remember that you met Maria?"

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SERBIAN (BELGRADE) (EXAMPLES)

znati + da

(x) a. *Znaš da je Ivan prevario nekoga*
know.2SG that AUX Ivan cheat.PAST.PART someone
"You know Ivan cheated on someone"

b. *Znaš da je Ivan stigao tad*
know.2SG that AUX Ivan arrived then
"You know Ivan arrived then"

(xi) a. * *Koga znaš da je Ivan prevario t?*
Who know.2SG that AUX Ivan cheat.PAST.PART

b. * *Kad znaš da je Ivan stigao t?*
When know.2SG that AUX Ivan arrived Strong island

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BULGARIAN (EXAMPLES)

znam + če

(xii) a. * *Kakvo znaesh, če toj e napisal v Berlin?*
what know.2SG that he has written in Berlin Strong island

b. * *Kade znaesh, če toj e napisal nova kniga?*
where know.2SG that he has written new book

We thank Tomislav Sočanac and Iliana Krapova for these data.

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