

FACTIVE ISLANDS

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

(2) a. What do you know that he wrote to quickly?
b. * How do you know that he wrote a new book te?

Non-factive verb
no island
(3) a. [Which article] did you believe that I had selected te?
b. How do you believe that I had selected the article te?

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FACTIVE ISLANDS

- Factive verbs (regret, remember) select complements clauses that are presupposed to be true; non-factive verbs (so, believe, word) do not. (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970)

- Long-distance extraction out of factive complements creates week islands (WI).

(4) Argument extraction is possible

Whag... [score complement ... Whar]

(5) Adjunct extraction is not possible

* Whaq... [suctive complement ... Whas]

FACTIVE ISLANDS

Different approaches:

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

3 4

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 (5l), when both arguments and adjuncts are banned for extraction (a situation not found in English, (I)+(3l))

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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Nanosyntax
 Three main ingredients
 Verbal feq
 Comp feq
 Featural Relitvized Minimality (RM)

6

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 (fiseq). Crosslinguistic variation is understood in terms of different patterns of lexicalization. Each language spacific way understying functional sequence into lexical entries in its own language-specific way (see Starke 2009, 2011, 2014; Caha 2009, Baunaz and Lander 2018).

(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) Fastural 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. *α...α..α β...α..α β...α β.

Complementizers

FACTS AND ANALYSIS

FACTS AND ANALYSIS

- French and Standard Italian always select que or one to head an embedded tensed CP complement.

- Other languages show variation on this point (see Manzin & Savoia 2002, 2011, Ledgewy) 2016 (a.o.) on Italian dialects and Roussou 2010, 2020 on Greek).

- Some Balkan languages have multiple different complementizers.

- Islandhood

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Romance

 Balkan
 Direct vs. Indirect complementizers
 Specific vs. partive complementizers
 LINGUISTICALLY

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REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES: GREEK

Cognitive factives optionally select for pu or oti
Cognitive factives = remember, discover, comploin...

(10) a. O Janis paraponethike puloti ton ksexasa. (MG)
the John complained 35G that him forgot ISG
'John complained that I forgot him'. (Giannakidou 2011: 3, (6))
b. Thimame puloti ton simandisa sto Parisi.
remember ISG that him met. ISG inche Paris
'I remember that I met him in Paris' (Giannakidou 2009:1887, (9))

Christidis (1982)

- Content of pu-complements is directly perceived content of of-complements is not (see also Gamaldotus 1998, Segre 2009, Roussou 2010, 2020, Angelopoulos 2019 and many others).

(II)

a. Idha ott elighe.
Save Iso that left 33cs
1 saw that he left

b. Ton idha pu elighe.
30:ACC saw Iso that left 35cs
1 saw thim leaving*
(Angelopoulos 2019; 218, (61))

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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 3 SG.ACC had.1SG met in.the P.
'I remembered after a lot of effort that 1 had met him in Paris'

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

"A verb like thimame ('remember') can take either oit or pu as its complement. A factive reading can be available with oit presumably due to the semantics of the matrix predictate (we remember/recall events that have somehow taken place).

(...) In the context of a verb like thimame, the distinction between an oit- and a pur-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 pu ou

REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES:
SERBIAN (NIŠ)

Factives like 'know' can select do or što

(14) Znam da/što si bio u Gentu.
3 know. 1S chat ALMARIZSC been in Ghent
1 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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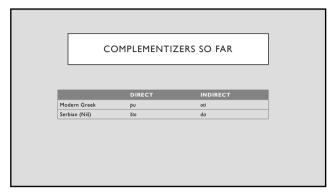
REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES:
SERBIAN (NIŠ)

Arsenijević (2015, 2020a,b)

(14) a. Sećaš se što je Jovan imao sestru?
remember 25G RPL that AUX Jovan had sister
Remember the sister that John had? (or:Remember the well-known farr that John had a sister?)
remember 25G RPL that AUX Jovan had sister
Remember that John had a sister?
remember 25G RPL that AUX Jovan had sister
Remember that John had a sister?

"The use of što in (15a), on the more easily available reading, marks that the described situation is familiar and unique (e. 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 inters that the sister is also familiar and unique (e. Let at Jovan has only one sister and that the interfocutors 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 [mdefinite interpretation] rhe use of dio is hence neutral in this respect, even though in both examples the subordinate clause is



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REMEMBER-TYPE PREDICATES:
BULGARIAN

Factives like 'remember' can select deto or če

(15) Pomnja, "deto/če te sreštnax na pazara.

'I remember that I met you at the market/meeting you at the market'

(Baunaz 2016-72.(9b))

REGRET-TYPE PREDICATES: BULGARIAN

Factives like 'regret' can select deto or če

(16) Naistina såžljavam, deto/če ne otedlik poveče vnimanie na postrojkata.

'I really regret that I did not devote greater attention to the construction'
(Krapova 2010, 26, (56a))

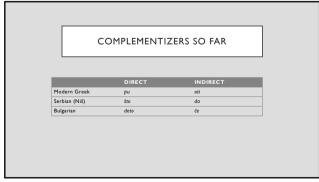
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COMPLEMENTIZERS: BULGARIAN

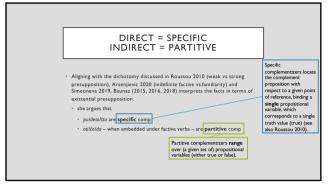
- Simeonova (2018):

- deto is the factive complementizer; involves definiteness

- če is neutral (unmarked) with respect to factivity; propositional



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... AND NON-PRESUPPOSED

* Some verbs select for non-presupposed comp (typically non-factive verbs).

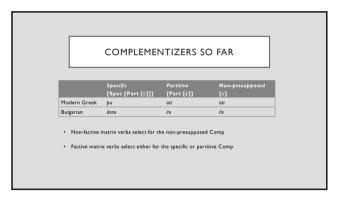
* Modern Greek and Bulgarian have oil and &c, Serbian and Croatian do.

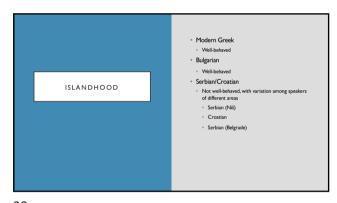
* Structurally speaking, non-presupposed complementizers are the least marked (have the least structure), and specific complementizers the most marked (have the more structure), and specific complementizers the most marked (have the more structure), and specific complementizers the most marked (have the more structure), and specific complementizers the most marked (have the more structure), and specific 2015, 2016 and 2018)

* Also syncretism

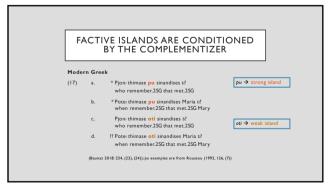
* The Comp fseq: Specific > Partitive > c = 'category', which can vary for ex: mg.pu = odv; mg.odi = nominal; fr.que = nominal, fr.de = prepositional ... (see Baunaz and Lander 2017, 2018 a.o.)

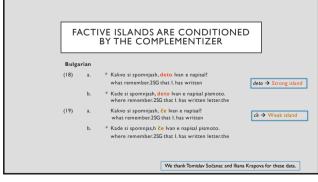
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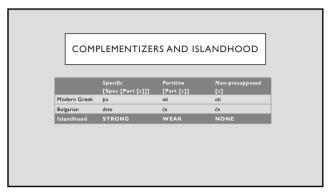


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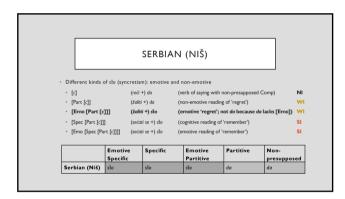
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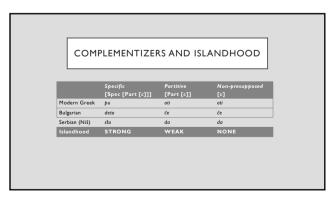


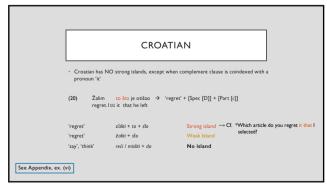
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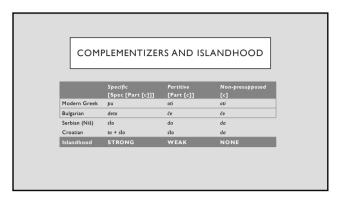


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PROBLEM IN CROATIAN

- However, also do with weak islands:

'remember' sjećati se + da Weak Island

- Unexpected, since sio should create weak Islands and do 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]]
at (→ weak island)

Tremember' in Croatian: [REMEMBER... [Part]] + [c]
da

→ weak island because extraction has to cross verb (with Part) too

LEXICAL ENTRIES IN CROATIAN

- 'regret' [REGRET ...]
- Selects the partitive complementizer sto.

- 'remember' [REMEMBER ... [Part]]
- Such an entry forces the complementizer to shrink to do, since Part can be – in fact must be (Anchor Condition) – spelled out on the verb.

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SERBIAN (BELGRADE)

- But 'know' selects do 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:
Bg. 'know' takes & and creates a strong island

'know' znom + & Strong Island

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

[KNOW... [Spec [Part]]] + {c}
- c has to be realized as &
- The verb (with Spec) blocks extraction.

See Appendix, ex. (xii)

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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

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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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.

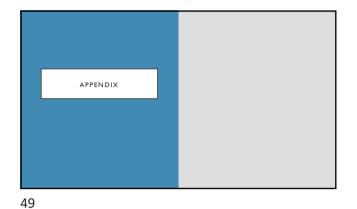
Greek and (for the most part) Bulgarian are well-behaved in that distinctions made in their complementizer systems tell us what kind of islandhood patterns to expect.

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.

Serbian (Niš) GREEK [VERB...] is much like
Greek, though
with the
complication of
emotivity
packaged on
Comp. [c]] [Spec]IT [Part [c]] (to što) SI [BE SAD...] [SAY...] [Part [REMEMBER... [Part]] SERBIAN (BELGRADE) [REGRET...] [REMEMBER... [Part]] WI (da) [KNOW... [Spec [Part]]] [c] (da) BULGARIAN [REMEMBER...] [Spec [Part [c]]] [KNOW... [Spec [Part]]] (da)

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SERBIAN (NIŠ) (EXAMPLES)

'say','think' reći I misliti + do

(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!'
b. Kad si rekao da sividio Pavla?
when ALIX say.PAST.PART that ALIX see.PAST.PART Paul
'When did you say that you saw Paul!'

SERBIAN (NIŠ) (EXAMPLES)

"regret': Zalīti + da / sto

(iv) a. Kopa žališ što ai powrijedio b ?
Who regret As i that AuX hurz-PART ART
Who do you regret that you hurzt?

b. *Kad žališ fot si otišao t?
when regret Zis othat AuX leave-PART-PART
Who do you regret that you lifet?

(v) a. Koga žališ da si povrijedio b ?
(v) a. Koga žališ da si povrijedio b ?
(v) b. *Kad žališ da si otišao t?

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CROATIAN (EXAMPLES)

(vi) a. Koga: žališ što si povrijedio ti ?

Who regret.25G that AUX hurt.PASTPART

"Who do you regret that you hurt?"

b. * Kad: žališ što si otišta ti?

when regret.25G that AUX leave.PASTPART

"When do you regret that you left?"

CROATIAN (EXAMPLE)

(vii) a. Ŝto se sjećaš da je Ivan napisao u Berlinu?
what remember:25G that has I. written in Berlin
b. * Kad se sjećaš da je Ivan napisao knjigu u Berlinu?
when remember:25G that has I. written book in Berlin

53 54

SERBIAN (BELGRADE) (EXAMPLES)

(viii) a. Kogai zališ što si povrijedio sł Who regvet žio that AUX hurz PASTANAT Who do you regvet žio that AUX hurz PASTANAT Who do you regvet that you hurz!

b. * Kada zališ što si odoża zł si poznac zł who remember žio sto zaliż zaliż z

SERBIAN (BELGRADE) (EXAMPLES)

znoti + da

(x) a. Znaš da je Ivan prevario nekoga know 25 G that A U X Ivan cheate A ST. PART someone You know Ivan cheated on someone'

b. Znaš da je Ivan stigao tad know 25 G that A U X Ivan arrived then You know Ivan arrived then You know Ivan arrived then

(xi) a. * Koga znaš da je Ivan prevario tr? Who know 25 G that A U X Ivan cheate PA ST. PA R T

b. * Kad znaš da je Ivan stigao tr?

When know 25 G that A U X Ivan cheate PA ST. PA R T

b. * Kad znaš da je Ivan stigao tr?

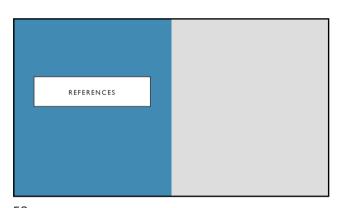
When know 25 G that A U X Ivan cheate PA ST. PA R T

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BULGARIAN (EXAMPLES)

znam + če

(xii) a. * Kakvo znaesh, če toj e napisal v Berlin?
what know.25G that he has written in Berlin
b. * Kade znaesh, če toj e napisal nova kniga?
where know.25G that he has written new book



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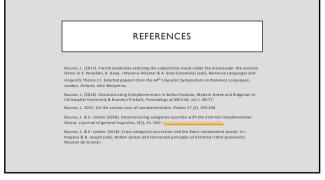
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