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*DP and CP: a Relativized Minimality approach  
to one of their non parallelisms*

oral presentation in session: 5 Theoretical and compara-  
tive syntax (Luigi RIZZI)

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# DP and CP: a Relativized Minimality approach to one of their non parallelisms\*

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**Abstract:** Despite certain parallelisms, DPs and CPs also reveal profound differences. Here, we focus on one crucial difference between them: the one concerning extraction. In many languages extraction from (complement) DPs is more severely constrained than extraction from (complement) CPs (as we show on the basis of Italian and Bulgarian, in particular). We will try to derive this difference from a difference in the internal make-up of DPs and CPs in interaction with Phase Theory and a version of Rizzi's Relativized Minimality which partly modifies Krapova and Cinque's (2008) specific implementation to deal with multiple wh-fronting in languages like Bulgarian.

## I. Relativized Minimality

We assume the following definition of Relativized Minimality (RM) (Rizzi 2013,179):

(1) "In the configuration

... X ... Z ... Y ...

a local relation (e.g., movement) cannot hold between X and Y if Z intervenes [where "Z intervenes" if X c-commands Z and Z c-commands Y] and Z fully matches the specification of X in the relevant morphosyntactic features"<sup>1</sup>

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\*For the requirements of the Italian academic system Guglielmo Cinque takes responsibility for section I and Iliyana Krapova for sections II, III and IV. We thank the audience of the parallel session on "Theoretical and comparative syntax: Some current issues." of the 19<sup>th</sup> ICL in Geneva for their questions and Luigi Rizzi for his comments to a previous draft of this article.

<sup>1</sup> Z "fully matches" the feature specification of X only in the a. and d. cases of (i) below ("where +A and +B are features") (cf. Rizzi 2011,§4):

(i)		X	Z	Y	
a)	Z is identical	+A	+A	+A	*
b)	Z is properly included	+A,+B	+A	+A,+B	ok
c)	Z is disjoint	+A	+B	+A	ok
d)	Z properly includes	+A	+A,+B	+A	*

As to the “relevant morphosyntactic features” we assume the classes specified in (2), adapting Rizzi’s (2011,2013) classification:

(2) The classes of “relevant morphosyntactic features”

a. [+Operator] (phrases binding a non-singleton, *non-individual*, variable)<sup>2</sup>: interrogative *wh*-phrases (*how, what, whether, who, how much/many...*), bare quantifiers (*qualcosa* ‘something or other’; *qualcuno* ‘someone or other’, *tutto* ‘everything’), distributive quantifiers (*ogni*+ NP), negative quantifiers (*niente* ‘nothing’, *nessuno* ‘nobody’, etc.), measure/degree phrases (*combien, beaucoup, how AP*, etc.), focused adverbs, and base-generated inherent operators like Negation, *se* ‘if’, *come mai* ‘how come’, etc.

b. [+Adverbial modifier]: Higher (evaluative, evidential, epistemic...) and lower (celerative, frequentative, manner), adverbs, Negation,...

c. [+A(rgument)]: Person, Number, Gender, Case,...<sup>3</sup>

We take the features ‘topic’, ‘focus’, ‘wh-interrogative’, and ‘wh-relative’ not to be *directly* relevant to the computation of the ‘full matching’ of definition (1), because it is the operator or the adverbial modifier nature of the elements X and Z that are responsible for the presence or absence of a RM violation. Only when a phrase with a (bare) operator or adverbial feature crosses over another phrase with an operator or adverbial feature (cases (i)a and (i)d of fn.1) does a RM violation

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<sup>2</sup> [+operator] is a shorthand for the quantificational part of a QP, deprived of the (stranded or reconstructed) restriction, which thus binds a non-individual variable. An operator with the quantificational part accompanied by a restriction can instead bind an individual variable if D-linked. Under the present, featural, formulation this implies that a quantifier phrase like *quanti problemi* ‘how many problems’ (potentially ambiguous between [+operator] and [+operator, +D-linked] invariably counts as an intervener for a [+operator] phrase (either case (i)a or case (i)d of the previous footnote – see (i) below), but not for a [+operator,+D-linked] phrase under the [+operator] option (case (i)b of the previous footnote – see (ii) below). For fuller discussion see Beck (1996), Szabolcsi and Zwarts (1997), Rizzi (2001b,2013), Miyagawa (2004), Szabolcsi (2005) and references cited there.

(i) \*Come<sub>i</sub> non sapevi quanti problemi fosse riuscito a risolvere t<sub>i</sub>?

How didn’t you know how many problems he had managed to solve?

(ii) (?)Quale studente<sub>i</sub> non sapevi quanti problemi fosse riuscito a risolvere t<sub>i</sub>?

Which student didn’t you know how many problems had managed to solve?

<sup>3</sup> The [+A(rgument)] feature will only become relevant when we discuss extraction from DPs in section IV below.

ensue. Simple crossing of a topic over a topic ((3)a), of a focalized phrase over a focalized phrase ((3)b), of an interrogative *wh*-phrase over an interrogative *wh*-phrase ((3)c), of a relative *wh*-phrase over a *wh*-relative phrase ((3)d), does not necessarily induce a RM violation.<sup>4</sup>

(3)a. Questo<sub>i</sub>, penso che a lui<sub>k</sub>, non glielo dovrete dire (cf. Rizzi 2004, §11)<sup>5</sup>  
 CLLDtopic CLLDtopic

This, I think that to him you should not tell.him.it

b. ?A GIANNI<sub>k</sub>, non a MARIO, penso che di ME<sub>i</sub> piuttosto che di TE dovrebbero parlare t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub><sup>6</sup>  
 focus focus

To G. (focus), not to M., I think that about me (focus) rather than about you they should talk

c. Chi non sai ancora se vogliono invitare?

wh-interr wh-interr

who don't you know yet whether or not they want to invite

d. Gianni, al quale<sub>i</sub> non c'è nessuno che sia in grado di resistere t<sub>i</sub>,... (Cinque 2010)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> These features will only count (indirectly) in making X of (1) not to fully match the features of Z, if X is +operator, +topic (i.e.+D-linked) and Z is just +operator.

<sup>5</sup> This is apparently true even for English, despite occasional claims that in English embedded topics create Topic islands. See (i) (Richard Kayne, p.c.):

(i) That kind of gift, I think that to that kind of child, I would never have given

<sup>6</sup> Extraction of a focus phrase from a clause introduced by another focus phrase is somewhat cumbersome (though not impossible). This is plausibly due to independent reasons (the difficulty in Italian of having two foci in one and the same sentence).

<sup>7</sup> It would seem to be impossible to test the crossing of one relative *wh*-phrase over another relative *wh*-phrase as such a movement would also cross a strong relative clause island. While this is usually the case (see e.g. (i)), there is at least one construction which allows us to see the crossing of one relative *wh*-phrase over another in the absence of a strong relative clause island. This construction, noted originally in the Scandinavian languages, appears to occur in other languages as well (when certain general conditions are satisfied - see the examples in (ii) and Cinque 2010 for discussion):

(i) \*Giorgio, sul quale<sub>i</sub> hanno arrestato il giornalista che ha scritto queste cose t<sub>i</sub>,...

G., about whom they have arrested the journalist who wrote these things,...

(ii)a. Giorgio, al quale<sub>i</sub> conosco più di qualcuno che sarebbe disposto ad affidare i propri risparmi t<sub>i</sub>,...

'Giorgio, whom I know somebody that would be ready to entrust with their savings, . . .'

b. Ida, di cui<sub>i</sub> non c'è nessuno che sia mai stato innamorato t<sub>i</sub>,...

'Ida, whom there is nobody that was ever in love with, ...'

c. Giorgio, al quale<sub>i</sub> non c'è proprio niente che saremmo in grado di offrire t<sub>i</sub> (per convincerlo a restare),...

'Giorgio, to whom there is really nothing that we would be able to offer (to convince him to stay), ...'

wh-rel                                  wh-rel  
Gianni, whom there is nobody that is able to resist,..

On the other hand, irrespective of the particular movement involved in the extraction, if the features of Z of (1) (the intervening phrase) are identical to, or properly include, the features of X of (1) (the phrase being extracted) a RM violation ensues. Instead if the features of Z are distinct from, or are properly included in, X no RM violation ensues. See (4) vs. (5), where extraction involves CLLD (Topicalization), (6) vs. (7), where extraction involves Focus Movement, (8) vs. (9) where extraction involves Interrogative Wh-Movement, and (12) vs. (13), where extraction involves Relative Wh-Movement (we consider later the case of a phrase with an adverbial modifier feature crossing over another phrase with the same feature).

*Extraction by Clitic left dislocation (Topicalization):*

- (4)a. \*1000 euro<sub>i</sub>, mi chiedo dove non li costi t<sub>i</sub>.  
           +operator                  +operator  
           One thousand euros, I wonder where it doesn't cost them  
           (cf. *1000 euro, penso che non li costi* 'One thousand euros, I think it doesn't cost them')
- b. \*Qualcosa<sub>i</sub>, mi chiedo perché debba fare t<sub>i</sub> per aiutarlo  
           +operator                  +operator  
           Something or other, I wonder why he has to do to help him  
           (cf. *Qualcosa, penso che debba fare per aiutarlo* 'Something or other, I think he has to do to help him')
- c. \*Molti, mi chiedo per quale di queste ragioni non sia riuscito a risolverne  
           +operator                  +operator,+D-linked  
           Many, I wonder for what reason he did not manage to solve  
           (cf. *Molti, credo che non sia riuscito a risolverne* 'Many, I think he did not manage to solve')
- (5)a. Qualcosa<sub>i</sub>, penso che a Gianni dovranno pur dire t<sub>i</sub>  
           +operator                  -operator  
           Something or other, I think that to Gianni they will have to say  
           b. In questo modo<sub>i</sub>, non immagino chi potrebbe essersi comportato t<sub>i</sub> (Rizzi 1990,104)

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As (3)d and (ii) show, a relative *wh*-phrase does not induce a minimality barrier for another relative *wh*-phrase (whether *che* itself is a (weak) relative pronoun, as argued in Kayne 2008 and Sportiche 2008, or a complementizer co-occurring with a silent *wh*-pronoun).

-operator +operator

In this way, I don't imagine who could have behaved

c. A Gianni, credo che QUESTO gli volessero dire (non qualcos'altro) (Rizzi 2011, §3)

-operator -operator

To Gianni, I believe that this (focus) they wanted to say (not something else)

*Extraction by Focus movement:*

(6)a. \*NIENTE<sub>i</sub> mi domando come mai abbia mangiato t<sub>i</sub> !

+operator +operator

Nothing (focus) I wonder how come he ate

(cf. *NIENTE credo che abbia mangiato!* 'Nothing I think he ate')

b. \*TUTTO<sub>i</sub> mi hanno chiesto a quale dei suoi amici potrebbe aver detto t<sub>i</sub> !

+operator +operator, +D-linked

Everything (focus) they asked me to whom among his friends he could have said

(cf. *TUTTO penso che possa aver detto a qualcuno dei suoi amici*)

c. \*IN OGNI CITTA'<sub>i</sub> non era scoppiata una bomba t<sub>i</sub> !

+operator +operator

In every city (focus) a bomb didn't explode

(7)a. QUESTO<sub>i</sub> mi chiedo chi possa aver detto t<sub>i</sub>

-operator +operator

This (focus) I wonder who may have said

b. TUTTO<sub>i</sub> credo che a lui dovrete dire t<sub>i</sub> !

+operator -operator

Everything (focus) I think that to him you should say

c. IN QUESTO MODO<sub>i</sub> penso che a lui dovrete rivolgervi t<sub>i</sub> !

-operator -operator

This way (focus) I think that to him you should refer!

*Extraction by interrogative wh-movement:*

(8)a. \*Per quale ragione<sub>i</sub> non immagini chi potrebbe essere licenziato t<sub>i</sub>? (Rizzi 1990, 104)<sup>8</sup>

+operator +operator

For what reason are you wondering who could be fired?

b. \*Quanto spesso<sub>i</sub> ti hanno chiesto se lo vedevi t<sub>i</sub>?<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Even if the operator *per quale ragione* 'for what reason' has a restriction it is not D-linked, and thus qualifies simply as [+operator] triggering a RM violation (case (i)a of footnote 1).

<sup>9</sup> Irrelevantly possible if *quanto spesso* 'how often' is construed with the upper clause.

+operator

+operator

How often did they ask you whether you saw him?

c. \*Quando<sub>i</sub> credi che qualcuno troverà t<sub>i</sub> anche lei?

+operator

+operator

When do you think that someone or other even she will find?

(9)a. A chi<sub>i</sub> pensi che DI QUESTO dovremmo parlare t<sub>i</sub> (piuttosto che dei nostri guai)

+operator

-operator

To whom do you think that about this (focus) we should talk (rather than about our problems)

b. Quando<sub>i</sub> pensi che a Gianni potremo dire tutta la verità t<sub>i</sub>?

+operator

-operator

When do you think that to Gianni we will be able to say the entire truth?

c. A quale dei suoi parenti<sub>i</sub> non ricordi cosa volesse lasciare t<sub>i</sub>?

+operator, +D-linked

+operator

To which one of his relatives don't you remember what he wanted to leave?

If interrogative *wh*-phrases ambiguously qualify as either [+operator] or [+operator, +D-linked] elements it is understandable why a sentence like (10)a is possible, and why a sentence like (10)b is not (cf. the discussion in Rizzi 2011, §4).<sup>10</sup>

(10)a. A che bibliotecario<sub>i</sub> non ricordi quale libro<sub>j</sub> devi riconsegnare t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>i</sub>? (Rizzi 2011)

To which librarian don't you remember which book you have to give back?

b.\*?A che bibliotecario<sub>i</sub> non ti ricordi [quale libro<sub>j</sub> abbiamo deciso [quando<sub>k</sub> riconsegnare t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub>]

To which librarian don't you remember which book we have decided when to give back?

Interestingly, a sentence like (11), which apparently displays the same type of extraction out of two *wh*-phrases as (10)b is instead acceptable. Here, given that only *A che bibliotecario* crosses over the other two *wh*-phrases, it can be [+operator, +D-linked] while the other two *wh*-phrases can just be [+operator].

(11) A che bibliotecario<sub>i</sub> non ricordi [quali studenti<sub>j</sub> t<sub>j</sub> non sapessero [come<sub>k</sub> fare a riconsegnare i loro libri t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub>]?]

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<sup>10</sup> In (10)a *A che bibliotecario* can have the value [+operator, +D-linked] while *quale libro* can have the value [+operator], thus falling under the case (i)b of footnote 1. In (10)b, on the other hand, *quale libro* must have the value [+operator, +D-linked] to be able to cross over [+operator] *quando*. But, then, extraction of *A che bibliotecario* across these two *wh*-phrases will induce a violation of RM whether it has the value [+operator] or [+operator, +D-linked].

To which librarian don't you remember which students did not know how to hand in their books

*Extraction by relative wh-movement:*

(12)a. \*Il bravo matematico<sub>i</sub> che si domandavano se fosse t<sub>i</sub> ...

+operator

+operator

the fine mathematician that they were wondering whether he was..

(cf. *Il bravo matematico che pensavano che fosse..* 'the fine mathematician they thought he was..')

b. \*Quello che<sub>i</sub> non so perché abbia detto t<sub>i</sub> è falso<sup>11</sup>

+operator

+operator

That which I don't know why he said is this

(cf. *Quello che credo che abbia detto è questo* 'that which I think that he said is this')

c. \*Questo è l'unico modo in cui<sub>i</sub> voglio sapere chi si è comportato t<sub>i</sub>

+operator

+operator

This is the only way in which I want to know who behaved

(13)a. La sola persona a cui<sub>i</sub> non ricordavo quando avessero inviato la mail t<sub>i</sub> era Gianni

-operator

+operator

The only person to whom I did not remember when they had sent an e-mail was Gianni

b. Gianni, che<sub>i</sub> non so se abbiate già conosciuto t<sub>i</sub>,..

-operator

+operator

Gianni, who I don't know whether you already met,...

c. L'unico di loro a cui<sub>i</sub> credo che qualcosa prima o poi diranno t<sub>i</sub> è Gianni

-operator

+operator

The only one of them to whom I think that something or other they will sooner or later say is G.

Concerning the [+adverbial modifier] feature, see Rizzi (2004), who discusses various pieces of evidence for distinguishing such a position (which he labels "Modifier Phrase" (ModP)) from the more familiar positions occupied by topicalized, focalized and wh-phrases; a position lower than the positions targeted by topicalized, focussed and wh-phrases.

Preposing to such position does not require the special contextual conditions that characterize focalized and topicalized AdvPs. Fronting to ModP ((14)) differs from the corresponding

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<sup>11</sup> This is a so-called 'light headed' relative clause (cf. Citko 2004), which fills a gap in the *wh*-paradigm of the headless, or free, relative clause construction in Italian, replacing (*che*) *cosa* 'what', which cannot be used as a free relative pronoun.



topicalized and focalized versions ((15) and (16), respectively), in a number of ways (cf. also Cinque 2004, section 6).

(14) Rapidamente, qualcuno farà sparire i documenti  
Quickly, someone will make the documents vanish

(15) Rapidamente, NESSUNO farà sparire i documenti  
Quickly, nobody will make the documents vanish

(16) RAPIDAMENTE, qualcuno farà sparire i documenti  
Quickly (focus), someone will make the documents vanish

First, only fronting to ModP can occur in out-of-the-blue contexts:<sup>12</sup>

(Poi, cosa pensi che succederà? What do you think will happen, then?)

(17)a. Di sicuro, rapidamente, qualcuno farà sparire tutti i documenti (cf.(14))

Without doubt, quickly, someone will make all the documents vanish

b. \*Mah. Rapidamente, NESSUNO farà sparire tutti i documenti (cf.(15))

c. \*Mah. RAPIDAMENTE, qualcuno farà sparire tutti i documenti (cf.(16))

Second, only fronting to ModP displays Relativized Minimality effects:

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<sup>12</sup> The topicalized version (15) and the focalized version (16) require contexts such as (i) and (ii), respectively:

(i) (Si pensava che qualcuno potesse far sparire i documenti rapidamente, ma. . .)

Rapidamente, NESSUNO farà sparire tutti i documenti

(One would think that someone could make all the documents vanish quickly, but..)

Quickly, nobody (focus) will make all the documents vanish

(ii) (Qualcuno farà sparire tutti i documenti troppo piano. . .)

No! TROPPO RAPIDAMENTE, farà sparire tutti i documenti (non troppo piano)

(Someone will make all the documents vanish too slowly..)

No! Too quickly (focus), he will make all the documents vanish (not too slowly)

For some reason that remains to be understood, AdvPs (and other non referential XPs) are typically

(some exclusively—see below) topicalized (clitic left dislocated) from positions under the scope of negation

(as in (15), (19), (22), and (i) above). Cf. Cinque (1990: 89–94).

(18) \*Rapidamente, qualcuno probabilmente farà sparire tutti i documenti

Quickly, someone will probably make all the documents vanish

(19) Rapidamente, NESSUNO probabilmente farà sparire tutti i documenti

Quickly, nobody (focus) will probably make all the documents vanish

(20) RAPIDAMENTE, qualcuno probabilmente farà sparire tutti i documenti

Quickly (focus), someone will probably make all the documents vanish

Third, only fronting to ModP is clause-bound:<sup>13</sup>

(21) \*Rapidamente, penso che qualcuno farà sparire tutti i documenti

Quickly, I think that someone will make all the documents vanish

(22) Rapidamente, penso che NESSUNO farà sparire tutti i documenti

Quickly, I think that nobody (focus) will make all the documents vanish

(23) RAPIDAMENTE, penso che qualcuno farà sparire tutti i documenti

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<sup>13</sup> The clause-boundedness of the fronting of AdvPs to sentence-initial position is also noted in Nakajima (1991: 339, 343), and carries over to such cases as *\*Probably<sub>i</sub> they say that<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> he will not make it*.

See also Ernst (2002: section 8.3.2.4). Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) also note that “[i] is not given the interpretation of [(ii)], as it would be if *carefully* in [(i)] had been moved from the D-structure position of *carefully* in [(ii)]:

(i) Carefully, John told me to fix the car

(ii) John told me to [fix the car carefully]” (Chomsky, 1995: 48)

Likewise, in Italian (iii) does not have the same interpretation as (iv), suggesting that *domani* ‘tomorrow’ cannot have moved from the position occupied by *domani* in (iv), but interestingly it can have the same interpretation as (v), suggesting that movement is possible from a clause-initial position (cf. Cinque, 1990:89–94):

(iii) *Domani* Gianni mi ha detto che verrà ‘Tomorrow G. told me that he will come’

(iv) Gianni mi ha detto che verrà *domani* ‘G. told me that he will come tomorrow’

(v) Gianni mi ha detto che *domani* verrà ‘G. told me that tomorrow he will come’

Postal and Ross (1970) claim that the latter possibility is unavailable in English when the matrix clause is in the past, but this does not seem to be true in general, to judge from Haegeman (2006: section 2.3.1).

Quickly (focus), I think that someone will make all the documents vanish

There is another property which supports Rizzi's finding of a separate ModP in the CP field which AdvPs can access in addition to accessing TopicP and FocusP: the existence of a whole class of AdvPs which can freely access the latter two positions but not the former. In Cinque (1999: section 5.1) it is noted that "lower adverbs" (from the negative AdvP *mica* downward), as opposed to all higher ones, cannot precede the subject under normal conditions. See (24) (=3) of Cinque, 1999: chapter 5):<sup>14</sup>

(24) a Maria mica prende il treno

M. not takes the train

b \*Mica Maria prende il treno

Not M. takes the train

c \*Già Maria e` di ritorno, per le una

Already M. is back, at one o'clock

d \*Più Maria non mi pensa

No longer M. thinks of me

e \*Ancora Maria gli parla

Still M. speaks to him

f \*Sempre Maria ripete le stesse cose

Always M. repeats the same things

g \*Appena Maria si era coricata, quando squillo` il telefono

Just M. had gone to bed, when the phone rang

h \*Subito Maria mi avvertiva (no focus intonation on subito)

Immediately M. would call me

i \*?Brevemente Maria ci sta parlando della sua avventura

Briefly M. is telling us about her adventure

l \*Quasi Maria cadde dall'emozione

Almost M. fell for the emotion

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<sup>14</sup> The ungrammaticality of the lower cases (l. to o.) is actually sharper, as Paola Beninca' (p.c.) observed, than that of the higher ones. For the impossibility of a presubject positioning of the same adverbs in English, see Jackendoff (1972: 50), Cinque (1999: 112).

m \*Completamente Maria distrusse tutto quello che aveva fatto fino ad allora

Completely M. destroyed all that she had done till then

n \*Bene Maria fece tutti i compiti

Well M. did her homework

o \*Presto Maria si alzava ogni mattina

Early M. would get up every morning

This can be made sense of if such AdvPs cannot be moved to ModP in the CP field. The fact that they can (with some exceptions) appear in front of the subject if topicalized or focalized is then further evidence that Topicalization and Focalization should be kept distinct, as Rizzi proposes, from Preposing to ModP.

As mentioned at the outset, we assume every extraction out of CP to occur successive-cyclically as dictated by Phase Theory (extractions out of *wh*-islands included). This means that after fronting of an interrogative *wh*-phrase to the relevant Spec of the Split CP field (InterrP), the extractee targets the edge of the CP phase, which we will call Spec,EP for concreteness (also see Rizzi 2010).

Movement of a phrase to the edge of a *wh*-island should then be possible or impossible depending on the type of phrase which lands there after crossing the phrase(s) found in the left periphery of the CP. So, for example, extraction from a *wh*-island should be possible only when the phrase in Spec,EP is featurally distinct from the *wh*-phrase in Spec,InterrP (case (i)c of footnote 1), or is featurally richer than the *wh*-phrase in Spec,InterrP (case (i)b of footnote 1). This however appears to raise a puzzle in the case of extractions out of *wh*-islands in Bulgarian.

Before seeing this in section III, we briefly discuss in section II Abels's (2012) proposal to derive the order of phrases in the left periphery from principles of locality.

## II. On the derivability of the order of elements in the left periphery from Locality.

Abels (2012) suggests that if some local orders in the left periphery could be made to follow from long-distance intervention effects (Locality), then no local order in the left periphery would need to be stipulated. While this may turn out to be possible for certain cases, there are local orders which appear not to be reducible to (long-distance) intervention effects in any simple way. This is shown,

for example, by the fact, noted in Krapova (2010,214) that while (25) is acceptable (26)a is not (even if the reverse is true in root contexts – see (27)a-b):<sup>15</sup>

(25) This book<sub>i</sub> I wonder to whom we should give t<sub>i</sub> (Krapova 2010,214)<sup>16</sup>

(26)a \*I wonder this book to whom we should give

vs

(26)b ?I wonder to whom this book we should give (Watanabe 1993,122, from Pesetsky 1989)

(27)a ?And this book to whom should we give? (Watanabe 1993,122)

b \*To whom this book should we give?

A possible (partial) account of the root/embedded asymmetry would be to say that in embedded contexts interrogative wh-phrases have to raise higher than topics (e.g., to ForceP, in Rizzi's map of the left periphery, perhaps for selectional requirements, in English), while their dedicated position is otherwise lower than topics.

The problem is however compounded by the fact that in English topicalization creates an island for wh-extraction long-distance (see (28), from Haegeman and Ürögdi 2010,127), which makes it difficult to understand the acceptability of the embedded local order Interr.Wh- > topic on the basis of long-distance intervention effects, though these might in principle account for the root local order:

(28) \*Who did you say that to Sue Bill introduced

In any event the local orders of interrogative wh-phrases and topics do not seem to reduce straightforwardly to the possibility of extracting one across the other long-distance.

Another case in point is provided by the possibility, in Italian, of long-distance extraction of a wh-phrase from a CP containing a Clitic Left Dislocation phrase vs. the impossibility, or near

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<sup>15</sup> As Abels (2012,233) concedes, if X can cross over Y long-distance, yet cannot precede Y in the left periphery of the same clause (but must follow Y), then such an order cannot be reduced to Locality.

<sup>16</sup>For other examples of Topicalization out of wh-islands in English, see Kayne(1981,fn.33) and Haegemann and Ürögdi (2010,127).

impossibility, of the local order interr. Wh- > Clitic Left Dislocation phrase even in embedded contexts:<sup>17</sup>

(29)a Come pensavi questi esempi di poterli analizzare?

How were you thinking these examples of being able to analyse?

b Chi pensavi che questi libri li avesse spostati

who were you thinking that these books them had removed?

(30)a. \*Mi chiedevo come questi esempi poterli analizzare

I was wondering how these examples to analyse them

b. Mi chiedevo questi esempi come poterli analizzare

I was wondering these examples how to analyse them

(31)a ??Hanno chiesto chi questi libri li ha spostati (Benincà 2012,33)<sup>18</sup> vs.

b Hanno chiesto questi libri chi li ha spostati (Benincà 2012,33)

A further case of mismatch between local and long-distance orders is provided by the order of Interr. wh-phrases and focus phrases. While extraction of a focus phrase from a wh-island and that of a wh-phrase from a clause introduced by a focus phrase are both possible, the order of a focus phrase and a wh-phrase in the same CP (whenever possible<sup>19</sup>) is rigidly ordered, with the focus phrase preceding the interrogative wh-phrase:

(32)a. A GIANNI (nón a Mario) mi chiedevo cosa dare

To G. (focus) (not to M.) I was wondering what to give

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<sup>17</sup> In root clauses this order - \**Chi questi libri li ha spostati?* ‘who these books them has removed’ - may be additionally excluded by whatever reason excludes a non topic subject from intervening between the wh- and the verb - \**Chi Gianni ha visto?* ‘who G. saw?’).

<sup>18</sup> “In main – and more easily, in dependent – interrogatives the order wh LD [topic] is acceptable only with a special intonation and interpretation” (Benincà 2012,fn8): in the case of [(31)a] with the wh-phrase receiving a topic intonation followed by a pause. Cf. Benincà (2012,fn8) for a possible suggestion as to why this order is easier in dependent than in root contexts. The contrast appears to be sharper in infinitival interrogatives (cf. (30) vs. (31)).

<sup>19</sup> The co-occurrence of a focus phrase and a wh-interrogative appears to be possible in embedded contexts (see (33)a), but not in root clauses for reasons that remain to be fully understood (for a possible reason see Rizzi 2001a,§2).

b. Cosa pensavi A GIANNI (nón a Mario) di dare?

What were you thinking to G. (focus) (not to M.) to give

(33)a. Non so A GIANNI (nón a Mario) cosa dare

I don't know to G. (focus) (not to M.) what to give

b. \*Non so cosa A GIANNI (nón a Mario) dare

I don't know what to G. (focus) (not to M.) to give

The final case of mismatch that we discuss between local and long-distance orders is provided by the order of relative pronouns/complementizers and Clitic Left Dislocation phrases. While the extraction of a Clitic Left Dislocation phrase from the relative clause type discussed above (see (3)d and (ii)a-c of footnote 6 above) is possible ((34)), the order of a Clitic Left Dislocation phrase wrt the relative pronoun/complementizer is strictly relative pronoun/ complementizer > Clitic Left Dislocation phrase ((34)b-c):

(34) A Gianni<sub>i</sub> non conosco [nessuno che sarebbe disposto a parlare t<sub>i</sub>]

To Gianni I know noone that would be willing to talk

(35)a. Non conosco [nessuno che a Gianni<sub>i</sub> sarebbe disposto a parlare t<sub>i</sub>]

I know noone that to Gianni would be willing to talk

b. \*Non conosco [nessuno a Gianni<sub>i</sub> che sarebbe disposto a parlare t<sub>i</sub>]

I know noone to Gianni that would be willing to talk

For further discussion of the question whether local orders can be made to follow from long-distance ones, see Callegari (2014).

We turn now to consider the puzzles represented by extractions from wh-islands in Bulgarian.

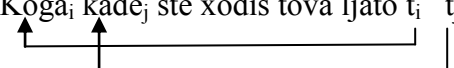
### III. Some puzzles concerning extraction from wh-islands in Bulgarian.

Bulgarian wh-questions obligatorily front all of the wh-phrases in a rigid order (Rudin 1981,1986, 1988, Krapova and Cinque 2008, and other works cited there):

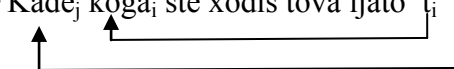
*koj* > *kogo* > *na kogo* > *koga* > *kāde* > *kakvo* > *kak* (Krapova and Cinque 2008)  
 who whom to whom when where what how

For example, when they move to CP the temporal wh-phrase *koga* has to precede the locative wh-phrase *kāde*, which in turn has to precede the manner wh-phrase *kak* (see Krapova and Cinque 2008 for the order of other wh-phrases and for the apparent free ordering of some of them, when one or the other is D-linked or Clitic Left Dislocated).

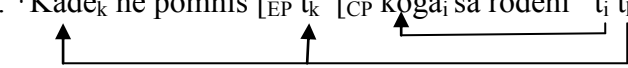
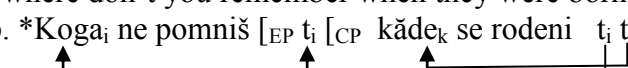
Given the independent evidence for assuming that temporal phrases are merged higher than locative phrases, which in turn are merged higher than manner phrases, Krapova and Cinque (2008) proposed a qualification of the principle of RM to the effect that only an entire chain, not just one link of a chain, counts as an intervener. This allowed us to account for the fact that the movements indicated in (36) do not violate RM (in fact preserving the order of Merge in the derived position). In the derived representation, each of the wh-phrases spans over not a whole chain but just one link of a chain:

(36)  $Koga_i$   $kāde_j$  *šte xodiš tova ljato*  $t_i$   $t_j$  ?  
  
 when where will you.go this summer?

The impossible order in (37) was there taken to violate RM under this qualification because the chain of *kāde* spans over the entire chain of *koga* ( $koga_i \dots t_i$ ):

(37) \* $Kāde_j$   $koga_i$  *šte xodiš tova ljato*  $t_i$   $t_j$  ?  
  
 where when will you.go this summer?

This qualification of RM leads however to a first puzzle if we consider the extraction of one of them across the wh-island created by the other. Consider (38)a-b:

(38)a. \* $Kāde_k$  ne pomniš  $[_{EP} t_k [_{CP} koga_i$  sa rodeni  $t_i t_k ]$  ?  
  
 where don't you remember when they were born?  
 b. \* $Koga_i$  ne pomniš  $[_{EP} t_i [_{CP} kāde_k$  se rodeni  $t_i t_k ]$  ?  
  
 when don't you remember where they were born?



The ungrammaticality of (38)b is unexpected as the extraction of *koga* to the CP edge (Spec,EP) on its way to the matrix clause only spans over one link of a chain, not an entire chain. And yet the result is ungrammatical.

Even if evaluation of RM (with Krapova and Cinque's 2008 qualification) is limited to a phase we would not be able to rule out (38)b, it seems. At the end of the phase corresponding to the clausal complement of *pomniš* 'you.remember' ([<sub>EP</sub> ]) no entire chain is crossed; only one *link* of a chain, and from Spec,EP to the next phase neither entire chains nor links of a chain are crossed.<sup>20</sup>

A possibility to consider is that Krapova and Cinque's (2008) qualification only holds when the *wh*-phrases are attracted by the same type of features, in the case of (36) and (37) criterial features, in which case any further movement would be prevented by Criterial Freezing (Rizzi 2006). If one of the two is attracted by a different feature to a non criterial position, say Spec,EP on its way out of the *wh*-island, even a single link of a chain counts as an intervener and is enough to cause a violation as in standard RM; whence the ungrammaticality of (38)a-b.

There are two additional puzzles that need to be addressed.

The first concerns the fact that while it is possible to extract either *kāde* or *koga* from a complement *če* clause (cf. (39)a-b), the two of them cannot be extracted together, even in the order (*koga kāde*) that rigidly obtains within a single clause (cf. (40)a-b):

- (39)a. *Koga<sub>i</sub> misliš [t<sub>i</sub> če Ivan e otišāl na kino t<sub>j</sub>]*?  
 when do.you.think that Ivan has gone to the cinema?

<sup>20</sup> Even extraction in one fell swoop (in a framework without phases) would seem not to violate RM (under Krapova and Cinque's 2008 qualification). See (i) and (ii), which represent the two possible options: extraction from the derived position in CP (which we are in fact going to argue is not possible) and extraction from the in-situ position of Merge. This is the case for both *kāde* 'where' and *koga* 'when' in (i), and at least for *koga* 'when' in (ii):

- (i)a. \**Kāde<sub>k</sub> ne pomniš [CP koga<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub> sa rodeni t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub> ]*  
 Where don't you remember when they.were born?  
 b. \**Koga<sub>i</sub> ne pomniš [CP t<sub>i</sub> kāde<sub>k</sub> sa rodeni t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub> ]*  
 When don't you remember where they.were born?  
 (ii)a. \**Kāde<sub>k</sub> ne pomniš [CP koga<sub>i</sub> sa rodeni t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub> ]*  
 Where don't you remember when they.were born?  
 b. \**Koga<sub>i</sub> ne pomniš [CP kāde<sub>k</sub> sa rodeni t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub> ]*  
 When don't you remember where they.were born?

b. Kādej misliš [EP t<sub>j</sub> [če Ivan e otišāl t<sub>j</sub> včera]?  
 where do.you.think that Ivan has gone yesterday?

(40)a\* Koga<sub>i</sub> kādej misliš<sub>[EP t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [če Ivan e otišāl t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j]]</sub>?</sub>

when where do.you.think that Ivan has gone? went?)

(Cf. Koga i kāde misliš če Ivan e otišāl? ‘When and where do you think that Ivan has gone?’)

b\*Kādej koga<sub>i</sub> misliš<sub>[EP t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [če Ivan e otišāl t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j]]</sub>?</sub>

where when do.you.think that Ivan has gone

(Cf. Kāde i koga misliš če Ivan e otišāl? ‘Where and when do you think that Ivan has gone?’)

This might follow, as Luigi Rizzi suggested to us, if only a single escape hatch (a single Spec,EP) is available, so that while one of the *wh*-phrases will be attracted to it the other will be trapped inside the lower CP phase, thus being unable to raise to the matrix COMP.

The second puzzle concerns the fact that no *wh*-phrase can be extracted from a *če* complement clause if another *wh*-phrase is fronted in the matrix clause even when their order complies with the rigid order obtaining within a single clause. See (41):

(41) \*Koj<sub>i</sub> kāde<sub>k</sub> t<sub>j</sub> kazva<sub>[EP t<sub>k</sub> [če Ivan e otišāl t<sub>k]]</sub></sub>

who where says that Ivan has gone

Tentatively, this might also follow if Krapova and Cinque’s (2008) qualification only holds if both the features of the probe (the criterial features of the matrix COMP) and the relevant features and the goal (the features of the foot of the chain) are identical. In (41), after the lower phase is sent to PF, t<sub>k</sub> in Spec,EP and t<sub>i</sub> in the matrix clause have at least one feature that differs. The former is [+A-bar], the latter [+A].

All the facts reviewed so far concerning *wh*-movement in Bulgarian seem to us to point to the following generalization: the qualification of RM proposed in Krapova and Cinque (2008) should be limited to multiple movements of phrases which are merged *in the same phase* and are attracted by the same type of features, with the effect of preserving their order of Merge.<sup>21</sup> In all other cases crossing even of a single link of a chain induces a violation of RM.

<sup>21</sup> The same appears to be true of scrambling in West Flemish, which preserves the order of Merge of SU, IO and DO within a single clause (Haegeman 1993 and p.c.)

Apart from the restrictions imposed by RM extraction from CP through Spec,EP is essentially free, in stark contrast with extraction from DP, which is extremely selective, to judge from languages like Italian and Bulgarian, as we briefly discuss in the next section.

#### IV. Extraction out of DP in Bulgarian.

As argued in detail in Cinque (1980,2014) only what qualifies as the subject of the DP can extract from it in Italian. The same is apparently found in Bulgarian. Of all DP-internal *na* ‘of’-phrases, only the one which introduces the subject of the DP can extract.

The empirical generalizations appear to be the following:

i) DP-internal arguments and adjuncts introduced by a preposition different from *na* ‘of’ (as in e.g. (42) containing the preposition *za* ‘for’) cannot be extracted;

- (42)a. [DP obštoprietoto mnenie za тази kniga] (PPs other than *na* ‘of’-phrases)  
 common.the opinion about that book  
 ‘the common opinion about that book’  
 b. \*Tova e knigata, [za kojato]<sub>i</sub> ne pomnja [DP obštoprietoto mnenie t<sub>i</sub>]  
 this is the.book on which don’t remember.1sg the.common opinion

ii) (Dative=Indirect object) *na* ‘to’-phrases<sup>22</sup> which introduce a Goal cannot be extracted, (43b);

- (43)a. [DP razdavaneto na nagradi na detsata] (Indirect object *na*-phrase)  
 giving-out.the of awards to children.the  
 ‘the distribution of awards to the children’  
 b. \*Tova sa detsata, [na koito]<sub>i</sub> pomnja [DP razdavaneto na nagradi t<sub>i</sub>]  
 these are children.the to whom remember.1sg giving-out.the of awards

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- (i)a. da Valère<sub>i</sub> de studenten<sub>j</sub> dienen boek<sub>k</sub> verzekest t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>k</sub> gegeven eet  
 that Valère the students that book probably given has  
 b. \*da de studenten Valère dienen boek verzekest gegeven eet  
 c. \*da dienen boek Valère de studenten verzekest gegeven eet  
 d. \*da Valère dienen boek de studenten verzekest gegeven eet  
 e. \*da dienen boek de studenten Valère verzekest gegeven eet

<sup>22</sup> The preposition *na* in Bulgarian is ambiguous between a ‘Dative’, a ‘Genitive’ and a Directional preposition, which is why in this section, we represent it with different glosses according to grammatical context and interpretation.

iii) (Genitive=Possessive) *na* ‘of’-phrases corresponding to the syntactic object cannot be extracted, cf. (44b).

- (44) a. [DP *negovoto opisanie na apartamenta*] (Direct object *na*-phrase)  
 his.the description of apartment.the  
 ‘his description of the apartment’  
 b. \**apartamenta*, [*na kojto*]<sub>i</sub> *ne pomnja* [DP *negovoto opisanie t<sub>i</sub>*]  
 apartment.the of which not remember.1sg his.the description

iv) Directional *na* ‘to’-phrases corresponding to the Directional Themes cannot be extracted, cf. (45b).

- (45)a. [DP *pristiganeto na letište Sofia*] (Directional *na*-phrase)  
 arrival.the at airport Sofia  
 ‘the arrival at the Sofia airport’  
 b. \**letište Sofia*, [*na koeto*]<sub>i</sub> *vidjax* [DP *negovoto pristigane t<sub>i</sub>*]  
 airport Sofia, at which I saw his.the arrival

This leaves only (Genitive) *na* ‘of’-phrases which correspond to the syntactic subject as possible extractees. The following *na*-phrases qualify as subjects of the DP and indeed can be extracted:<sup>23</sup>

a) *Expericencer na ‘of’-phrases:*

- (46) *mážät*, [*na kojto*]<sub>i</sub> *šte pomnja* *vinagi* [DP *želanijata t<sub>i</sub>*]  
 man.the, of whom will remember-1sg always desires.the  
 lit. ‘The man of whom I will always remember the desires’  
 ‘the man, whose desires I will always remember’

b) *Theme na ‘of’-phrases of obligatory passive nominals:*<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See Cinque and Krapova (2013) for a more detailed discussion on the diagnostics that unequivocally single out the subject of the DP in Bulgarian.

- (47) prestāpnika, [na kojto]<sub>i</sub> <sup>25</sup> gledax [DP arestuvaneto t<sub>i</sub>] po televizijata  
 criminal.the of whom watched.1sg arrest.the on TV.the  
 lit. ‘the criminal of whom I watched the arrest on TV...’  
 ‘the criminal whose arrest I watched on TV’

c) *Theme* na ‘of’-phrases of optionally passive nominals.<sup>26</sup>

- (48) problema, [na kojto]<sub>i</sub> toku-što čuxme [DP interesnoto objasnenie t<sub>i</sub>] (ot profesora)...  
 problem.the of which just now heard.1pl interesting.the explanation (by professor.the),..  
 lit. ‘the problem, of which we just heard the interesting explanation (by the professor),..’

d) *Agent* na ‘of’-phrases of optionally active nominals:

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<sup>24</sup> The Theme is the single available argument with obligatory passive nominals and it is expressible by a *na*-phrase. In Bulgarian, such nominals typically end in *-ne*, e.g. *pečene* ‘baking’, *opravzane* ‘emptying’, *prepisvane* ‘copying’, *zalavjane* ‘capture’, *uništoženie/uništožavane* ‘destruction’, *rešavane* ‘solving/solution’, *otkrivane* ‘discovering/discovery’, *objasnjavane* ‘explaining/explanation’ An example is given in (i). See Cinque and Krapova 2013 for more details and an analysis.

- (i) zalavjaneto na vojnika (ot vruga)  
 capture.the of soldier.the by enemy.the  
 ‘the capture of the soldier (by the enemy)’

<sup>25</sup> Bulgarian possesses a standard, i.e. literary form for the oblique uses of human referents (*kogo* ‘whom-Interrogative’, resp. *kogoto* ‘whom-rel.’) which however is often neutralized (appearing as the default *koj/kojto*) in colloquial speech. This is the form we illustrate here.

<sup>26</sup> In Cinque and Krapova (2013) we identify a class of derived nouns in Bulgarian corresponding to transitive verbs and allowing for an active or a passive configuration. In the former case nouns combine simultaneously with a subject argument (typically an Agent) and an object argument (typically a Theme), cf. (i) below, while in the latter case -- cf. (ii) below -- they combine only with a subject Theme while optionally taking an *ot* ‘by’-phrase. The nominals belonging to this class typically end in *-nie*, e.g., *objasnenie* ‘explanation’, *rešenje* ‘solution’, *opisanie* ‘description’, *narušenje* ‘violation’, *povišenje* ‘raise’, etc.

- (i) na Ivan opisanieto na novodošlata (Agent, Theme = active configuration)  
 of Ivan description.the of newcomer.fem.the  
 ‘Ivan’s description of the newly arrived lady’  
 (ii) opisanieto na novodošlata (ot Ivan) (Theme, Agent *by*-phrase = passive configuration)  
 description.the of newcomer.fem.the (by Ivan)  
 ‘the description of the newly arrived lady (by Ivan)’

(49) profesorăt, [na kojto]<sub>i</sub> toku-što čuxme [DP interesnoto objasnenie na problema t<sub>i</sub>]  
 professor.the, of whom just now heard.1pl interesting.the explanation of problem.the  
 lit. ‘the professor, of whom we have just listened to the interesting explanation of the problem.’  
 ‘the professor whose interesting explanation of the problem we have just listened to’

e) *Na* ‘of’-phrases corresponding to the single possessivizable argument in unergative and unaccusative nominals:<sup>27</sup>

- (50)a. Učenijat, [na kojto]<sub>i</sub> ne pomnja [DP poslednoto otkritie t<sub>i</sub>]  
 scientist.the of whom not remember.1sg last.the discovery  
 ‘the scientist, whose last discovery I don’t remember’
- b. [Na koj]<sub>i</sub> vidjaxte pristiganeto t<sub>i</sub>?  
 of whom saw-2pl arrival.the  
 ‘Whose arrival did you see?’
- c. mážăt, [na kojto]<sub>i</sub> vsički vidiaxme [DP neočakvanija spasilel t<sub>i</sub>]  
 man.the of whom all saw unexpected.the savior  
 ‘the man whose unexpected savior we all saw’

Given this set of data, we arrive at the generalization in (51) which we believe follows from the tenets in (52) (cf. Cinque (2012)):

(51) Only genitive *na* ‘of’-phrases corresponding to the *syntactic subject* can be extracted.

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<sup>27</sup> As is well-known, unaccusative nouns, (in Bulgarian e.g., *pristigane* ‘arrival’, *zaminavane* ‘departure’, *padane* ‘fall’, etc.) and unergative nouns (e.g. *protest* ‘protest’, *reakcia* ‘reaction’, *obrăštenie* ‘appeal’, etc.) possess a single argument corresponding to a different theta-role (Agent or Theme), depending on the subclass. This argument inevitably qualifies as the subject. Examples are given in (i) and (ii):

- (i) pristiganeto na vojnika (Theme)  
 arrival.the of soldier.the  
 ‘the arrival of the soldier’
- (ii) protestăt na vojnika (Agent)  
 protest.the of soldier.the  
 ‘the soldier’s protest’

(52)a. DPs are phases (which forces movement to the highest specifier of DP (Spec,EP), before extraction takes place).

b. The highest specifier of DP (the one through which extraction takes place) is an A- (rather than an A'-) position, as the evidence seems to suggest (there are no Wh-Interrogative, Topic, or Focus positions in the left periphery of the DP in either Italian or Bulgarian – cf. Giusti 1996,107, Cinque and Krapova 2013, Cinque 2014,§3).<sup>28</sup>

c. Movement is subject to locality conditions; specifically, to RM.

From these three tenets it follows that any extraction from DP other than the subject's will cause a violation of RM, due to the intervention of the subject of DP (also an A-position), thus yielding an account of the original generalization (a phrase with a +A feature crossing over a phrase with a +A feature - see (2)c. above).

If the Spec of the edge reflects in its feature composition the feature composition of the overt phrases in the respective left peripheries the crucial difference between CP and DP (in Italian and Bulgarian; possibly more generally) in the extraction out of each rests on the presence in the former of a rich A-bar periphery as opposed to the single +A(argument) periphery of the latter. Whence the more severe restrictions on extraction from DPs than on extraction from CPs under RM.

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<sup>28</sup> On possessors in object and result nominals in Bulgarian and Greek see Giusti and Stavrou (2008).

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