

An *AGREE*-based account of the gap distribution in *tough*-constructions vs gapped-degree phrases

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A first puzzle

Two kinds of infinitival constructions

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- **Puzzle 1: how do we account for this “gap” contrast between TCs and GDPs?**

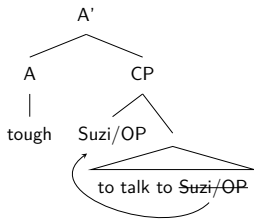
Nature and behavior of the “gap” in TCs and GDPs

- In TCs, the “gap” is considered to be either a trace,¹ or a null operator.²
- In GDPs, it is uniformly assumed to be a null operator.³
- In any case, **the “gap” is supposed to \bar{A} -move to the edge (Specifier) of a phrase located at the periphery of the embedded clause.**

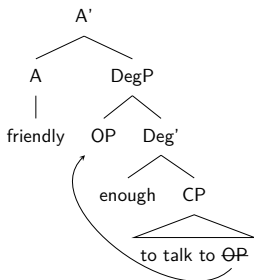
¹ Rosenbaum 1967; Hicks 2009; Longenbaugh 2017 i.a.

² Chomsky 1977; Lasnik and Fiengo 1974; Rezac 2006 i.a.

³ Nissenbaum and Schwarz 2011



(a) The TC-gap \bar{A} -moves to **Spec-CP**

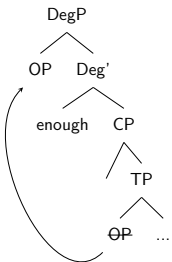


(b) The GDP-gap \bar{A} -moves to **Spec-DegP (above CP)**

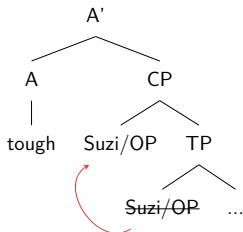
A solution to the first puzzle

The Anti-locality (AL) account (Brillman and Hirsch 2016)

- To solve Puzzle 1 and tease apart sTCs and sGDPs, **AL suggests that sTCs have a movement dependency (between Spec-TP and Spec-CP) which is “too local”.**
- In GDPs, the gap can move directly from Spec-TP to Spec-DegP (skipping Spec-CP), thus satisfying AL!



(a) sGDP case: Spec-TP → Spec-DegP satisfies AL



(b) sTC case: Spec-TP → Spec-CP violates AL

A second puzzle

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- This is unexpected in an AL-based account, as TGDPs contain a DegP layer, just like regular GDPs!
- Moreover, AL is debated and has received many competing implementations over the years...⁴Is it really part of UG, or just the manifestation of a more general and grounded principle?

⁴Grohmann 2000; Abels 2003; Erlewine 2015; Brillman and Hirsch 2016

Proposal

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- **Flesh out** a series of semantic type-driven constraints restricting the shape of the infinitival complement of TCs, GDPs, and TGDPs.
- **Replace** AL by a specific implementation of Kinyalolo's constraint (KC), a repairable constraint targeting cases of multiple agreement by the same goal with different probes.

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- **Replace** AL by a specific implementation of Kinyalolo's constraint (KC), a repairable constraint targeting cases of multiple agreement by the same goal with different probes.
- **Rule out** unattested sTCs and sTGDPS by filtering KC repaired-structures using the semantic constraints ("type-mismatch" filtering).

TCs, GDPs, and TGDPs at the syntax-semantics interface

Semantic constraints at a glance

3 type-driven constraints

The following constraints will act as post-syntactic “filters” that will allow to rule out the unattested constructions, among all those generated by the syntax.

- ***NoCP**: TCs must combine with a full-fledged CP.
- ***CP**: (T)GDPs cannot combine with a CP.
- ***NoTP**: TCs and TGDPs require a TP somewhere within their complement.

Background on the semantics of embedded clauses

Embedded clauses distribute like DPs... (Kratzer 2006; Moulton 2009; Moulton 2015; Bogal-Allbritten and Moulton 2016 i.a.)

- Attitude verbs like *believe* can combine with either DPs (e.g. *this story*) or CPs (e.g. *that Jolyne lies*).

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A key role given to the C-head

- This motivates an analysis of CPs whereby the C-head (*that*, *for*) takes a proposition as argument and returns a property of “individuals with propositional content” (type $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$).

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- This motivates an analysis of CPs whereby the C-head (*that*, *for*) takes a proposition as argument and returns a property of “individuals with propositional content” (type $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$).
- We conclude from this analysis that **any embedded clause containing a full CP is property-denoting, whereas a clause devoid of a CP is proposition-denoting.**

Constraints' rationale

*NoCP: TCs must embed CPs

- *Tough*-predicates have been argued to be properties of events (events being of type e), and to combine with the infinitival clause *via* Predicate Modification (Gluckman 2021).

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- Under that view, the infinitival clause must be a property of events with propositional content (type $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$).
- In the framework set out by (Kratzer 2006) and subsequent work, this is only possible in the presence of a C-head (whether overt or covert).

*CP: (T)GDPs do not combine with CPs

- Degree-modified constructions relate an actual degree to a modalized one, which leads degree-modified adjectives to combine with propositions.⁵ From (Hacquard 2015):

$\llbracket \text{too friendly} \rrbracket = \lambda Q_{st}. \lambda x_e.$

$\text{Friendly}(\iota d : \forall w' \in \text{Acc}(w). \neg Q(w')) \iff \text{Friendly}(d)(x)(w'))(x)(w)$

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- Therefore, GDPs and TGDPs must embed clauses that are devoid of any CP-superstructure.

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- *Tough*-predicates are subjective and require a judge argument.⁶

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- Whenever a TC or TGDP does not contain an overt *for*-phrase, the judge of the “toughness” seems to coincide with the implicit subject of the embedded clause – left aside an alternative “arbitrary” reading.

- (4) Joseph: Suzi is (too) **tough** to talk to
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- This is a signature interpretation of control constructions...
 - ...and in turn suggests that the embedded clause of TCs and TGDPs must include a Spec-TP position susceptible to host a subject, whether it is a PRO or an overt one.

⁶Pesetsky 1987; Lasnik 2005; Keine and Poole 2017

TCs, GDPs, and TGDPs and Kinyalolo's constraint

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- In particular, Exfoliation effects that were initially thought to be AL-driven (*that*-trace effects) can now be KC-driven.
- Our account requires this more general view and will extend the domain of KC to the DegP system.
- Also, it crucially postulates that **KC is not a post-syntactic phenomenon, but rather feeds semantic interpretation.**

Key assumptions about the underlying structure of TCs and (T)GDPs

- We assume that all 3 structures start out with an adjectival (AP) layer, embedding a degree-modifying layer (DegP).
- The infinitival complement of DegP is initially a full-fledged CP.
- Embedded objects move from Comp-V and subjects from Spec-vP.

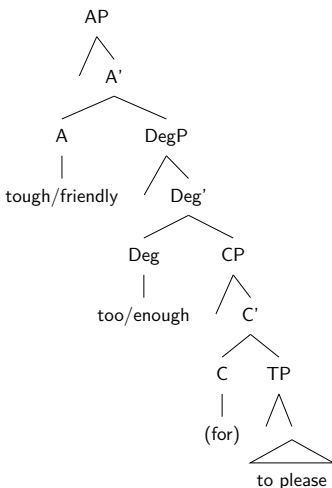
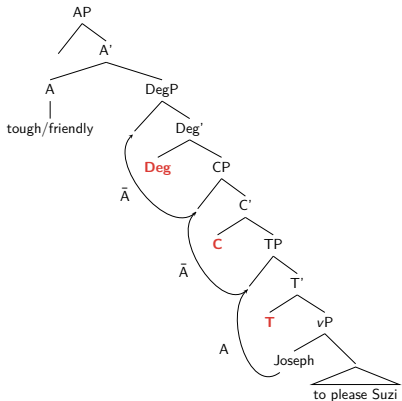
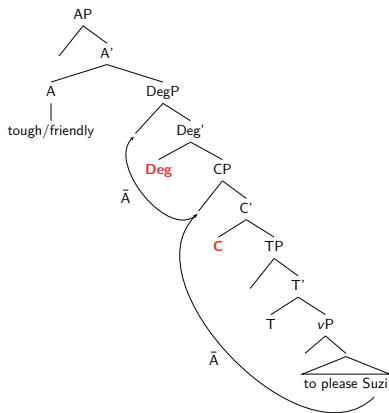


Figure: Underlying structure of TCs, GDPs, and TGDPs



(a) Movement chain from the Subject position: Spec-vP \xrightarrow{A} Spec-TP $\xrightarrow{\bar{A}}$ Spec-CP $\xrightarrow{\bar{A}}$ Spec-DegP



(b) Movement chain from the Object position: Comp-V $\xrightarrow{\bar{A}}$ Spec-CP $\xrightarrow{\bar{A}}$ Spec-DegP

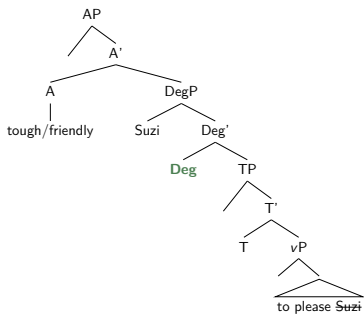
Figure: Movement chains involved in the subject-gap and the object-gap case

Putting KC-repaired structures and semantics constraints together

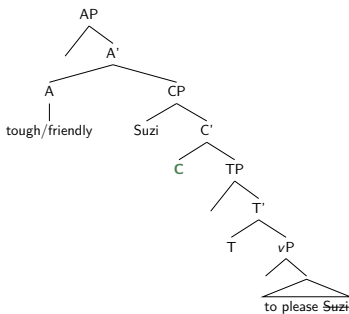
The object-gap case (simple case!)

Two possible KC-repaired structures

- The object agrees with C and Deg heads, which leads to one KC-violation.
- Either CP (lower layer) or DegP (higher layer) gets deleted.



(a) CP-obviation (lower head)



(b) DegP-deletion (higher head)

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Compatibility of the resulting structures with TCs', GDPs', and TGDPs' semantic requirements

- The (AP > DegP > TP) structure from Fig. 5a only violates ***NoCP**, and is thus compatible with TGDPs and GDPs.

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- **In other words, the underlying object-gap structure yields two KC-repaired structures which are together compatible with all three constructions, as desired!**

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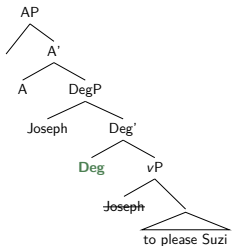
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KC-repaired structure → Semantic constraint ↓	AP>DegP>TP	AP>CP>TP
*NoCP (target:TCs)	*	
*CP (target:(T)GDPs)		*
*NoTP (target:TCs, TGDPs)		
Compatible construction(s)	(T)GDPs	TCs

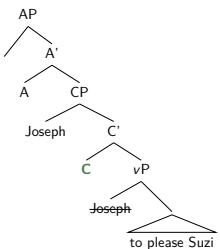
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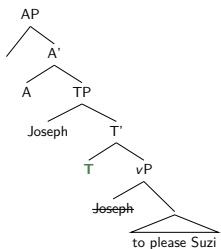
- The object agrees with the T, C and Deg heads, which leads to two KC-violations.
- The resulting deletion patterns are resp. (TP+CP)-, (TP+DegP)- and (CP+DegP)-deletion.



(a) (TP+CP)-deletion
(2×lower head)



(b) (TP+DegP)-deletion
(lower+higher head)



(c) (CP+DegP)-deletion
(2×higher head)

The subject-gap case (complex case!)

Compatibility of the resulting structures with TCs', GDPs', and TGDPs' semantic requirements

- The (AP > DegP) structure from Fig. 6a violates ***NoCP** and ***NoTP**, and is thus compatible with GDPs only.

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- The (AP > CP) structure from Fig. 6b violates ***CP** and ***NoTP**, and is thus incompatible with all the structures at stake.
- The (AP > TP) structure from Fig. 6c violates ***NoCP**, and is thus incompatible with TCs. Moreover, it is devoid of any DegP layer, and therefore obviously incompatible with (T)GDPs.

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- **In other words, the underlying subject-gap structure yields three KC-repaired structures which are together compatible with GDPs only, as desired!**

KC-repaired structure → Semantic constraint ↓	AP>DegP	AP>CP	AP>TP
* NoCP (target:TCs)	*		*
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* NoTP (target:TCs, TGDPS)	*	*	
* NoDegP (target:(T)GDPs)		*	*
Compatible construction(s)	GDPs	-	-

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 - **An algorithm, driven by Kinyalolo's Constraint, that produces candidate structures** that can be successfully "filtered" by the type-driven constraints.
- However, the account requires a very unrestricted version of Kinyalolo's Constraint.
- Additionally, it is yet unclear how it accommodates for clauses involving *for*-phrases; in particular, o(T)GDPs are predicted to be devoid of a CP, but yet are compatible with a *for*-phrase...

Thank you!

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