Deriving selective opacity in adjuncts

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I. Problem:

➢ Why are adjuncts transparent for obligatory control (OC), but opaque for ϕ-probing and extraction?

▪ ϕ-probes can be valued by lower goals in certain complement clauses, e.g. (1) from Hindi-Urdu.

▪ But nothing like this has been observed with a lower goal in an **adjunct** clause, as in the hypothetical (2).

(1) Vivek-ne [kitaab parh-nii] chaah-ii
V-erg book.f read-inff want-pfv.fsg
'Vivek wanted to read the book.' (Bhatt 2005)

(2) *Vivek worked-f [to buy the book.f]

▪ Adjuncts are also generally islands for extraction (7b).

▪ However, obligatory control (OC) is possible not just into complement clauses but also into adjuncts (3).

(3) Mary$_i$ went to the store [PRO$_i$ to buy potatoes]

➢**Solution**: directional asymmetries in selection with adjuncts plus valuation parasitic on checking.

II. Background assumptions:

▪ Landau (2000, 2015), McFadden & Sundaresan (2018), a.o.: Control is an instance of Upward Agree (UA).

▪ Bjorkman & Zeijlstra (2019): Instances of valuation must be licensed by UA. A lower goal can value a higher probe if this lower goal already stands in an (indirect) UA relation with the higher probe.

▪ Zeijlstra (2019): Selection involves UA. Hence, in syntactic domains where every higher head selects the closest c-commanded head, upward valuation should be possible.

III. Selection and adjuncts:

▪ Merge can apply between an element with an uninterpretable feature [uX] and one with a matching interpretable feature [iX].

▪ Upon merger, all features except [iX] and [uX] (and their associated sub-features/values) percolate. This is what underlies feature checking / UA. Interpretable features by definition can never project beyond their maximal projection; uninterpretable features can.

▪ Selection: if a head H carries a feature [iH] and a feature [uG], it needs to merge with an element carrying [iG]. Upon merger, only [iH] projects to the top node. This way H selects GP (see trees in IV).

▪ Valuation is parasitic on checking: valuation can take place when the probe and the goal stand in a checking/ selection chain (see formal definition in IV).

▪**Adjuncts are not selected by their host; they select their host.**

▪ A verbal adjunct e.g. carries two features: [iV] and [uV]. Upon merger with a VP (carrying [iV] as well), only the adjunct 's [iV] projects.

▪ Within complement clauses, every higher head selects its complement. Valuation should always be possible: lower goals can always value higher probes.

▪ Since adjuncts are not selected by any higher head, valuation out of an adjunct is not licensed. An adjunct-internal goal cannot value an adjunct-external probe.

▪ Since adjuncts select their hosts, an adjunct-external goal can value an adjunct-internal probe. This is crucially what underlies adjunct control.

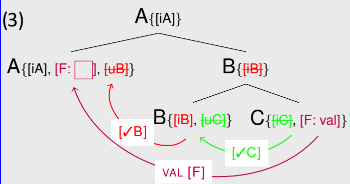
IV. Account:

Valuation: An unvalued feature [Y:] on a Probe P is valued by [Y: val] on a Goal G iff: (i) there is a feature [iX] on G which checks a feature [uX] on P, or (ii) for a sequence of heads H_1, $H_2 \ldots H_n$ in a single phase, such that P = H_1 and G = H_n, for all j such that 1 < j ≤ n, there is a feature [iX] on H_j that checks a feature [uX] on H_{j-1}.

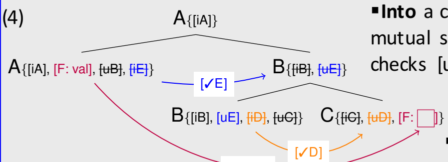
▪Cyclic valuation **out of** a complement (LDA) is straightforward (Tree 3): C checks [uC] on B, which checks [uB] on A, hence C can value A for [F].

▪**Into** a complement (complement OC) is possible with mutual selection (Tree 4): A checks [uE] on B, which checks [uD] on C, hence A can value C for [F].

(3)

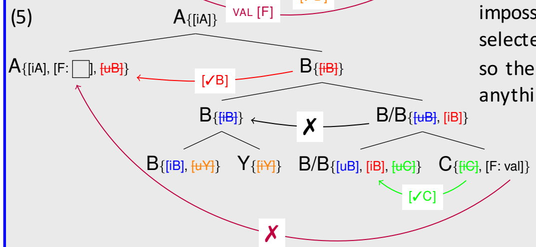


(4)



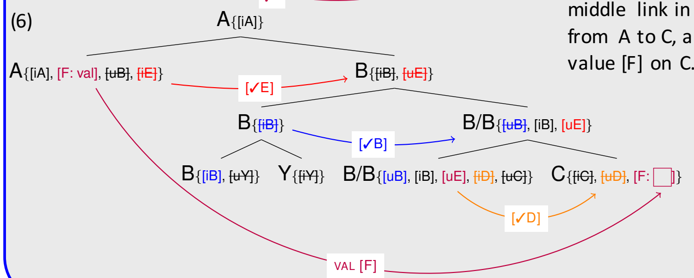
▪ **Out of** an adjunct (adjunct LDA) is impossible (Tree 5) because adjuncts aren't selected: B/B checks nothing on the host B, so there's no path from [F: val] on C to anything in the host.

(5)



▪ **Into** an adjunct (adjunct OC) is possible (Tree 6) because the adjunct **does** select its host. B checks [uB] on B/B, providing the middle link in a path of checking from A to C, allowing [F] on A to value [F] on C.

(6)



V. Extraction from complements and adjuncts:

▪ If move is re-merge, it must be triggered by a [uF] at the landing site, which must locate the item to move in its closest c-command position (i.e., the probe's specifier).

▪ Such probing should be subject to the same checking-path requirements as valuation.

▪ Extraction from complements will be analogous to (3), and thus predicted to be possible.

▪ Extraction from adjuncts will be, analogously to (5), blocked because the adjunct is not selected by anything in the host:

(7a) What$_i$ did you say that she bought t$_i$?

(7b) *What$_i$ did Mary leave before buying t$_i$?

However, in certain cases (like (8)), extraction from adjuncts is possible:

(8) What$_i$ did Maria arrive whistling t$_i$?

▪ Truswell (2011): These require a particular semantics (his Single Event Condition).

▪ We propose, adapting Graf (2015), that such examples involve exceptional mutual selection between adjunct and host.

▪ This derives their special semantics and allows the probing that drives extraction from the adjunct.

VI. Conclusions and consequences:

▪ Selection and feature checking result from the same mechanism: features always percolate, unless two matching interpretable and uninterpretable features stand in a sisterhood relation.

▪ Only when licensed by additional selectional relations between a probe and a goal, can valuation take place.

▪ Under this proposal, it follows why valuation into adjuncts (as in the case of adjunct control) is possible. It is also explained why valuation out of an adjunct is not possible.

▪ Movement (where the original goal carrying an interpretable feature appears below the movement target) is subject to the same licensing mechanism that underlies valuation.

▪ Locality conditions for movement and valuation should therefore be similar, as appears to be the case.

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