

On Split Islands

Damir Ćavar
Indiana University

March 2016

In this paper we discuss split constituents, focusing on constructions in which a syntactic island for extraction (1c and 2c) is realized in the surface discontinuously (1b and 2b), as can be seen in the following examples that involve a preposition phrase:

(1) Polish:

- a. *Marek siedzi w nowym samochodzie.*
M. sit.3s in new car
'Marek sits in a new car.'
- b. *W którym Marek samochodzie siedzi?*
in which M. car sit.3s
'In which car does Marek sit?'
- c. * *Samochodzie Marek siedzi w nowym.*
car M. sit.3s in new

(2) Croatian:

- a. *Marko sjedi u novim autu.*
M. sit.3s in new car
'Marko sits in a new car.'
- b. *U kojim Marko autu sjedi?*
in which M. car sit.3s
'In which car does Marko sit?'
- c. * *Autu Marko sjedi u novim.*
car M. sit.3s in new

We will compare the data with similar constructions in Germanic languages, and discuss analyses within the Minimalist Program Chomsky (1995), as suggested by Fanselow

and Cavar (2002), as well as base-generation approaches in terms of Lexical Functional Grammar Bresnan (2001), as suggested by Cavar and Seiss (2011). The partial deletion approach as suggested in Fanselow and Cavar (2002) has been criticized in the literature for its unrestrictive nature. The use of a general copy and partial deletion mechanism does not seem to be plausibly constrainable to explain the empirical facts and constraints. The base-generation approach suggested in terms of LFG in Cavar and Seiss (2011) seems to lack the explanatory power of a movement or copy-deletion approach. We will discuss the possibility to include information-theoretic considerations and feature-based mechanisms in both analyses, that would plausibly restrict the partial-deletion mechanism, as well as support the base-generation analysis in LFG-terms.

References

Joan Bresnan. *Lexical-Functional Syntax*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2001.

Damir Cavar and Melanie Seiss. Clitic placement, syntactic discontinuity, and information structure. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, editors, *Proceedings of LFG 2011: University of Hong Kong*, pages 131–151. CSLI Publications, 2011.

Noam Chomsky. *The Minimalist Program*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995.

Gisbert Fanselow and Damir Cavar. Distributed deletion. In Artemis Alexiadou, editor, *Theoretical Approaches to Universals*, pages 65–107. Benjamins, Amsterdam, 2002.