

# PF and LF locality: Evidence from Greek comparatives

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## 1 $\text{Abstract}_1$ (PS-abstract), $\text{abstract}_2$ (Phono-abstract)

- (1) Two kinds of traditional abstractness in syntax
  - a.  $\text{abstract}_1$  (PS-abstract) structure: models the grouping and relations between groups of words that is not physically present in the speech signal (known as constituent, geometrical, hierarchical, or simply phrase structure (PS))
  - b.  $\text{abstract}_2$  (phono-abstract) structure: consists of nodes in the geometry which may not correspond to any pronounced elements in the speech stream (these nodes may be equivalent to ‘words’, single lexical nodes, or to phrases).
- (2) Architectural alternatives
  - a. All higher-order (phrasal) structures are projected from and contain only elements that are pronounced  
**Corollary: There are no phrases or heads that consist solely of the empty string.**  
‘WYSIWYG’ theory (‘What you see is what you get’): Ginzburg and Sag 2000, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, much work in categorial grammars, some work in Autolexical Grammar (Sadock 1991)—part of the *Simpler Syntax* Hypothesis
  - b. Some phrases and heads have no pronunciation.  
**Corollary: Their presence can only be detected indirectly.**

## 2 Comparatives in Greek

### 2.1 Clausal and phrasal comparatives in English

- (3) Clausal comparatives (what follows *than* is clausal)
  - a. Mary plays the guitar better than [*clause* John plays the guitar].
  - b. More people live in Russia than [*clause* live in the US].
  - c. In the 2000 presidential election in Florida, more people<sub>1</sub> thought they<sub>1</sub> voted for Gore than [*clause* thought they voted for Bush].

- (4) Phrasal comparatives (what follows *than* is ‘phrasal’ (viz. a single DP))
- Mary plays the guitar better than [<sub>phrase</sub> John].
  - Mary reads more books than [<sub>phrase</sub> John].
  - More people like Mary than [<sub>phrase</sub> John].
- (5) Who is Mary taller than?
- (6) No-one<sub>1</sub> is taller than himself<sub>1</sub>.

## 2.2 Clausal and phrasal comparatives in Greek

		absolute	comparative	
			synthetic	analytic
(7)	comparative morphemes	psil-os	psil- <b>oter</b> -os	<b>pjo</b> psil-os
		<i>tall</i> -AGR	<i>tall-er</i> -AGR	<b>perisotero</b> psil-os <i>more</i> <i>tall</i> -AGR
		(-os is masc.sg.nom)		

		phrasal	clausal
(8)	standard markers <sup>1</sup>	<b>apo</b>	<b>ap-oti</b>
		<i>from</i>	<i>from-wh</i> (free relative)
		<i>than</i> .PHRASAL	<i>than</i> .CLAUSAL

- (9) a. I Maria pezi kithara kalitera **apoti** pezi kithara o  
*the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.CLAUSAL plays guitar the*  
 Giannis.  
*Giannis.NOM*  
 ‘Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.’
- b. Perisoteri anthropi pistevun oti i Maria pezi kithara **apoti**  
*more people think.3pl that the Maria plays guitar than.CLAUSAL*  
 pistevun oti pezi violi.  
*think.3pl that play.3sg violin*  
 ‘More people think that Maria plays guitar than think that she plays violin.’
- (10) a. I Maria pezi kithara kalitera **apo** ton Gianni.  
*the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.PHRASAL the Giannis.ACC*  
 ‘Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis.’
- b. Perisoteri anthropi thelun na mathun anglika **apo**  
*more people want.3p SUBJ learn.3p English than.PHRASAL*  
 germanika.  
*German.*  
 ‘More people want to learn English than German.’ (lit. ‘More people want that they learn English than German.’)

<sup>1</sup>*ap-os-o/i/...* and (metalinguistic comparative) *para* clausal markers will not be discussed here, though they share many properties with *ap’oti* clauses; see Xeila-Markopoulou 1990 for the former and Giannakidou and Stavrou 2008 for the latter.

Greek prepositionhood:

- (11) a. I Maria erxetai **apo** tin Athina.  
*the Maria.NOM is.coming from the Athens.ACC*  
 ‘Maria is coming from Athens.’  
 b. To dhoro **apo** ton Gianni irthe.  
*the gift from the Giannis.ACC arrived*  
 ‘The gift from Giannis arrived.’
- (12) **Apo** pjon (ipes oti) epekse kalitera kithara i Maria  
*than.PHRASAL whom (said.2sg that) played better guitar the Maria.NOM*  
*xtes?*  
*yesterday*  
 ‘Than whom did (you say that) Maria play(ed) guitar better yesterday?’
- (13) Kanenas<sub>1</sub> dhen ine psiloteros **apo** [ton eafto tu]<sub>1</sub>.  
*n-person not is taller than.PHRASAL the self his*  
 ‘No-one is taller than himself.’

### 2.3 *Reduced clausal comparatives* (Lechner 2001, 2004, Lerner and Pinkal 1995, Bhatt and Takahashi 2007)

- (14) More people live in Russia than in the US.  
 (15) More people thought they voted for Gore than for Bush.
- (16) a. Amy likes to play the guitar loudly more than quietly.  
 b. More people like to watch movies than climb mountains.
- (17) Amy plays the guitar better than Sam the violin.
- (18) a. I Maria pezi kithara kalitera **apoti** o Gianni.  
*the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.CLAUSAL the Giannis.NOM*  
 ‘Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.’  
 b. Perissoteri anthropi nomizan oti psifisan ton Gore  
*more people thought that they.voted.for the Gore.ACC*  
**apoti** ton Bush.  
*than.CLAUSAL the Bush.ACC*  
 ‘More people thought that they voted for Gore than thought they voted for Bush.’
- (19) a. \* I Maria pezi kithara kalitera **apoti** ton Gianni.  
*the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.CLAUSAL the Giannis.ACC.*  
 ‘Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.’

- b. \* I Maria pezi kithara kalitera **apo** o Giannis.  
*the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.PHRASAL the Giannis.NOM*  
 ‘Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.’

Non-DP and multiple remnants are possible only with reduced clausal comparatives:

- (20) a. Perisoteri anthropi menun stis IPA **apoti** sti Rosia.  
*more people live in.the USA than.CLAUSAL in.the Russia*  
 ‘More people live in the US than in Russia.’  
 b. Perisoteri anthropi milisan me ton Gianni tin Kyriaki **apoti**  
*More people spoke with the Giannis the Sunday than.CLAUSAL*  
*me ton Anesti to Savato.*  
*with the Anestis the Saturday*  
 ‘More people spoke with Giannis on Sunday than with Anestis on Saturday.’
- (21) a. \* Perisoteri anthropi menun stis IPA **apo** sti Rosia.  
*more people live in.the USA than.PHRASAL in.the Russia*  
 (‘More people live in the US than in Russia.’)  
 b. \* Perisoteri anthropi milisan me ton Gianni tin Kyriaki **apo**  
*more people spoke with the Giannis the Sunday than.PHRASAL*  
*me ton Anesti to Savato.*  
*with the Anestis the Saturday*  
 (‘More people spoke with Giannis on Sunday than with Anestis on Saturday.’)

## 2.4 Standard analyses (Hankamer 1973, Kennedy 1999, etc.)

- (22) Properties of **apo** vs. **apoti** comparatives

	<b>apo</b>	<b>apoti</b>
allows only one remnant?	yes	no
allows only DP remnant?	yes	no
marks remnant with accusative?	yes	no
allows pied-piping?	yes	no
allows binding/neg-concord from matrix clause?	yes	no

- (23) a. **apo**-standards are just a DP prepositional object  
 b. **apoti**-standards are clausal, possibly reduced (due to movement of the remnant + clausal ellipsis)

- (24) a. Abby plays guitar better [<sub>PP</sub> than [<sub>DP</sub> Ben]].  
 b. I Maria pezi kithara kalitera [<sub>PP</sub> apo [<sub>DP</sub> ton Gianni]].  
*the Maria plays guitar better than.PHRASAL the Giannis.ACC*  
 ‘Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis.’

- (25) a. More people live in Russia than [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> in the US]<sub>2</sub> <live t<sub>2</sub>>].

- b. I Maria pezi kithara kalitera **apoti** [CP [o Giannis]<sub>3</sub>  
*the Maria plays guitar better than.CLAUSAL the Giannis.NOM*  
 <[TP pezi kithara t<sub>3</sub> ]>].  
*plays guitar*  
 ‘Maria plays guitar better than Giannis does.’
- (26) a. I Maria milai me ton Petro pio sixna **apoti** [CP [PP me  
*the Maria speaks with the Petro.ACC more often than.CLAUSAL with*  
 ton Gianni]<sub>1</sub> <[TP milai t<sub>1</sub> ]>].  
*the Giannis.ACC speaks*  
 ‘Maria talks with Petros more often than with Giannis.’
- b. \* I Maria milai me ton Petro pio sixna **apoti**  
*the Maria speaks with the Petro.ACC more often than.CLAUSAL*  
 [CP [DP ton Gianni]<sub>2</sub> <[TP milai me t<sub>2</sub> ]>].  
*the Giannis.ACC speaks with*  
 (‘Maria talks with Petros more often than Giannis.’)

## 2.5 Unexpected island sensitivities

- (27) *Phrasal* comparatives in Greek show island effects.  
 Reduced *clausal* comparatives do not.<sup>2</sup>
- (28) Perisoteri anthropi menun sto kratos pu kivernai o Putin  
*more people live in.the state that governs the Putin*
- a. **apoti** o Bush. (mean 3.71, SD=1.7, N=7)  
*than.CLAUSAL the Bush.NOM*
- b. \* **apo** ton Bush. (mean 1.43, SD=1.13, N=7)  
*than.PHRASAL the Bush.ACC*
- ‘More people live in the country that Putin governs than live in the country that Bush governs.’
- (29) O Nikos evlepe perisoteres tenies otan tu tis sistine i Nana  
*the Nikos saw more movies when him them recommended the Nana*
- a. **apoti** i Elena.  
*than.CLAUSAL the Elena.NOM*
- b. \* **apo** tin Elena.  
*than.PHRASAL the Elena.ACC*

<sup>2</sup>The numbers given in (28a,b) are from a written graded acceptability task questionnaire I administered to seven speakers in the summer of 2007 in Katerini, Greece; participants were asked to rate the sentences (and 25 others) on a scale of 1 (‘not at all natural’) to 5 (‘completely natural’).

‘Nikos saw more movies when Nana recommended them to him than he saw when Elena recommended them to him.’

- (30) To oti o pritanis prokitai na kalesi ti katharistria ine perisotero  
*the that the dean is.going to invite the cleaner is more*  
 aksioperiergo  
*noteworthy*

a. **apoti** tin Maria.  
*than.CLAUSAL the Maria.ACC*

b. \* **apo** tin Maria.  
*than.PHRASAL the Maria.ACC*

‘That the dean is going to invite the cleaning lady is more noteworthy than that he is going to invite Maria.’

Neither do *unreduced* clausal comparatives show island effects:

- (31) Perisoteri anthropi menun sto kratos pu kivernai o Putin **apoti**  
*more people live in.the state that governs the Putin than.CLAUSAL*  
 menun sto kratos pu kivernai o Bush.  
*live in.the state that governs the Bush.NOM*

‘More people live in the country that Putin governs than live in the country that Bush governs.’

- (32) O Nikos evlepe perisoteres tenies otan tu tis sistine i Nana  
*the Nikos saw more movies when him them recommended the Nana*  
**apoti** evlepe otan tu tis sistine i Elena.  
*than.CLAUSAL saw when him them recommended the Elena.NOM*

‘Nikos saw more movies when Nana recommended them to him than he saw when Elena recommended them to him.’

- (33) To oti o pritanis prokitai na kalesi ti katharistria ine perisotero  
*the that the dean is.going to invite the cleaner is more*  
 aksioperiergo **apoti** ine to oti prokitai na kalesi tin Maria.  
*noteworthy than.CLAUSAL is the that is.going to invite the Maria.ACC*

‘That the dean is going to invite the cleaning lady is more noteworthy than that he is going to invite Maria is.’

## 2.6 Variable island sensitivities

### 2.6.1 Elliptical repair in sluicing, VP-ellipsis, and fragment answers

(34) **Idea:** Island conditions are irreducibly *syntactic* in nature (island constraints must be stated over *syntactic* representations, and are not reducible to semantic conditions or to processing overload. (Phillips 2006)

(35) Islands can be repaired by ellipsis: Ross 1969, Chomsky 1972, Merchant 2001, 2004, 2008, Lasnik 2001, Lasnik and Park 2003, Fox and Lasnik 2003, Agüero-Bautista 2007, Boeckx 2007

(36) *No ellipsis*

\*Ben wants to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which he wants to hire someone who speaks.

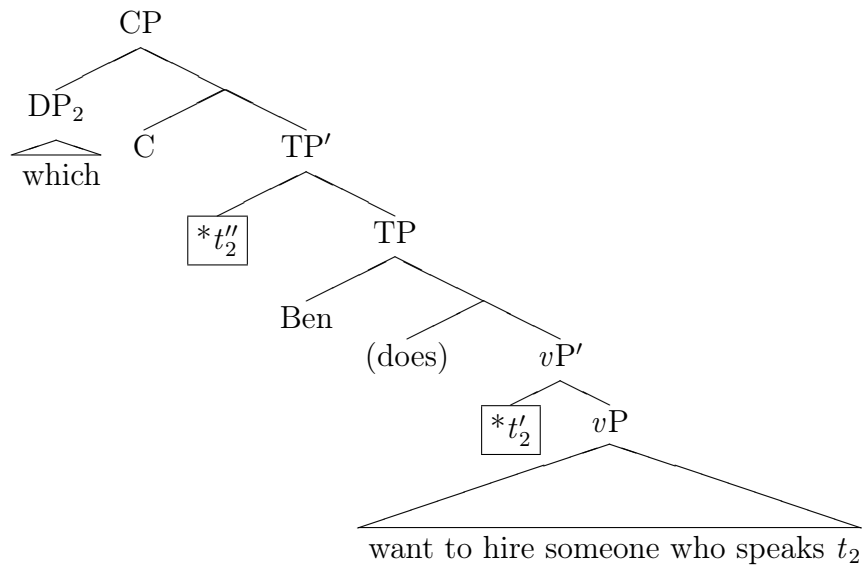
(37) *Sluicing*

Ben wants to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which.

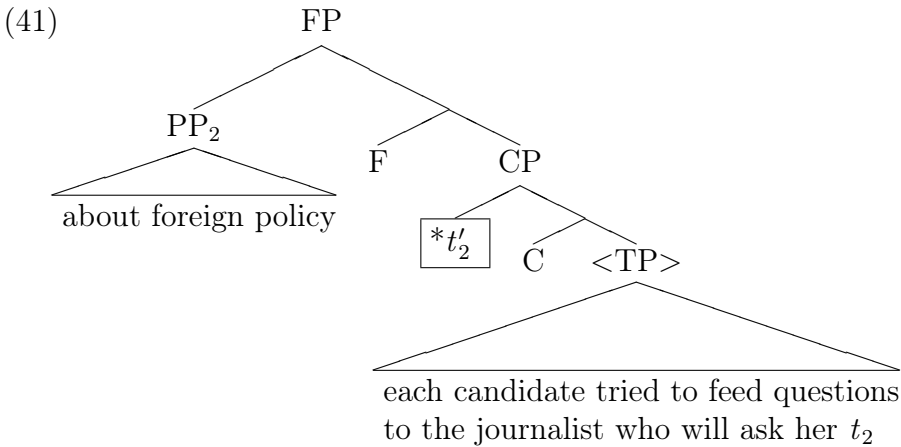
(38) *VP-ellipsis*

\*Abby wants to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember what kind of language Ben does. (= <want to hire someone who speaks>)

(39)



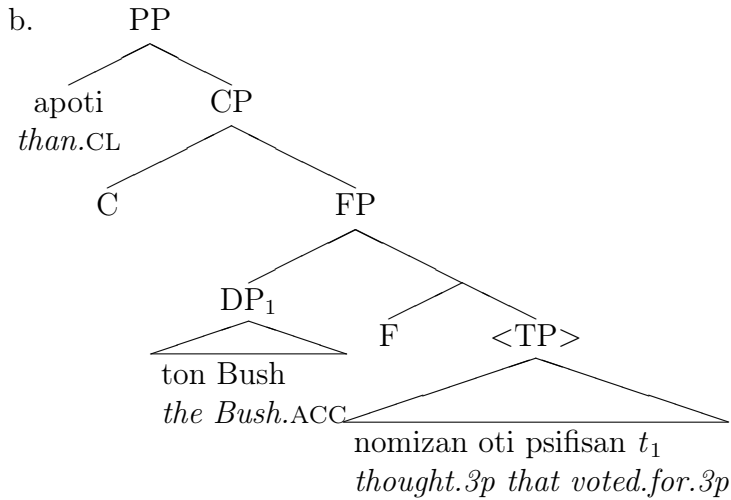
- (40) a. A: Did each candidate<sub>1</sub> try to feed questions to the journalist who will ask her<sub>1</sub> *about abortion* (at the debate)?  
 b. B: \*No, [about foreign policy].  
 c. cf. B: No, each candidate<sub>1</sub> tried to feed questions to the journalist who will ask her<sub>1</sub> *about foreign policy*.



### 2.6.2 Variable island effects in Greek comparatives

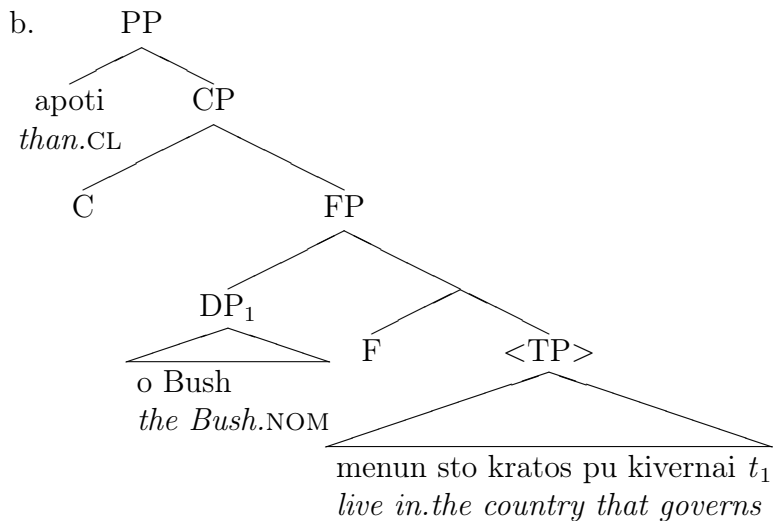
- (42) a. Perisoteri anthropi nomizán oti psifísan ton Gore  
*more people thought that they.voted.for the Gore.ACC*  
 apoti ton Bush.  
*than.CLAUSAL the Bush.ACC*

‘More people thought that they voted for Gore than (thought that they voted for) Bush.’

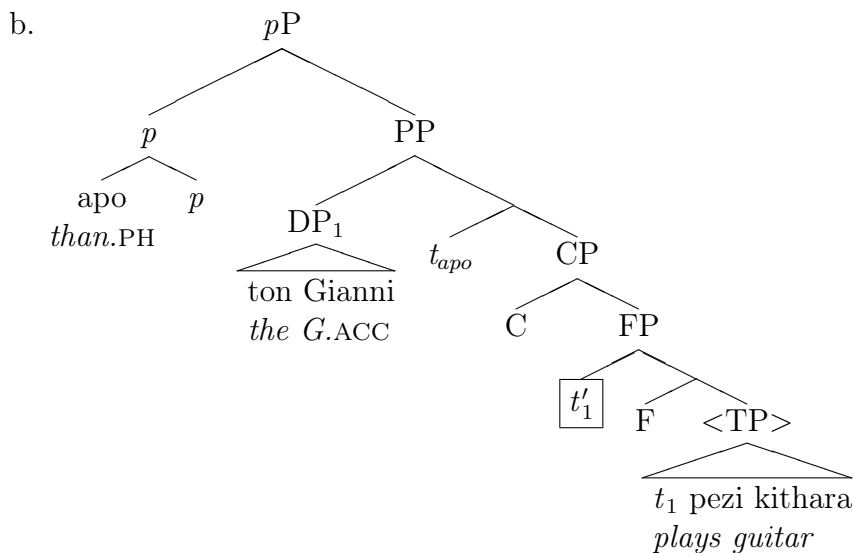


- (43) a. Perisoteri anthropi menún sto kratos pu kivernai o Putin  
*more people live in.the state that governs the Putin*  
 apoti o Bush.  
*than.CLAUSAL the Bush.NOM*

(lit.)‘More people live in the country that Putin governs than (live in the country that) Bush (governs).’

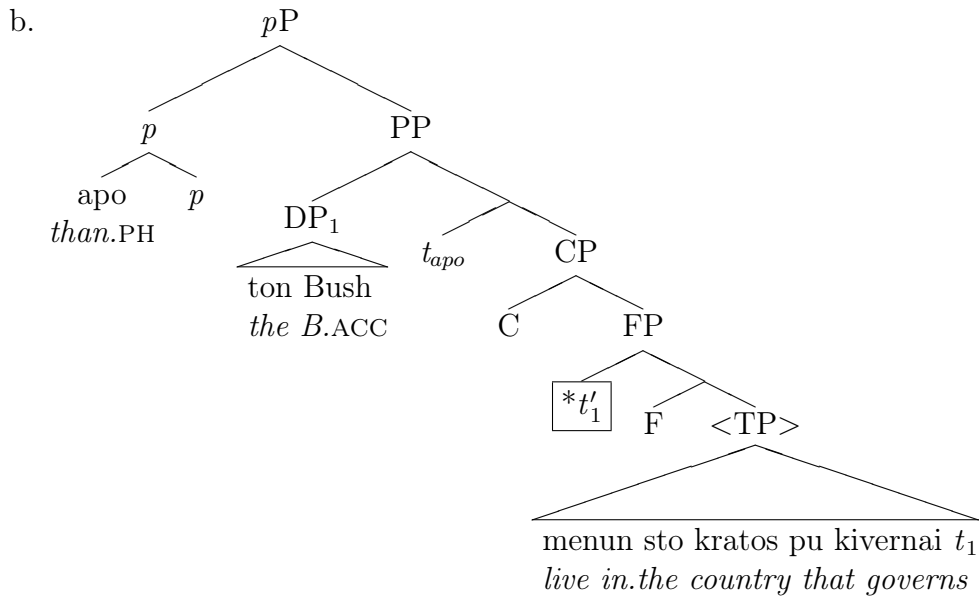


- (44) a. I Maria pezi kithara kalitera apo ton Gianni.  
*the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.PHRASAL the Giannis.ACC*  
 ‘Maria plays guitar better than Giannis.’



Evidence for additional structure (implicated especially in assigning case, as such higher shells are in the verbal domain) in the prepositional phrase: Matsubara 2000, Kayne 2004; Theophanopoulou-Kontou 1992, Terzi 2005, Botwinik-Roten and Terzi to appear. (On raising out of finite clauses, Joseph 1979, 1990, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1999, etc.; on raising to an additional case position, Béjar and Massam 1999, Merchant to appear; on raising to object of a preposition, McCloskey 1984, McCloskey and Sells 1988)

- (45) a. \* Perisoteri anthropi menun sto kratos pu kivernai o Putin  
*more people live in.the state that governs the Putin*  
 apo ton Bush.  
*than.PHRASAL the Bush.ACC*  
 ‘More people live in the country that Putin governs than (live in the country that) Bush (governs).’



Schematically:

- (46) apoti  
 apo [PP ton Bush<sub>1</sub> t<sub>apo</sub> [CP [FP \*t'<sub>1</sub> <TP> menun sto kratos  
 than the Bush.ACC the Bush.NOM live in.the state  
 pu kavernai t<sub>1</sub> ]>]]  
 pu kavernai t<sub>1</sub> ]>]]]  
 that governs

- (47) Apo pjon (ipes oti) epekse kalitera kithara i Maria  
 than.PHRASAL whom (said.2sg that) played better guitar the Maria.NOM  
 xtes?  
 yesterday

‘Than whom did (you say that) Maria play(ed) guitar better yesterday?’

- (48) Kanenas<sub>1</sub> dhen ine psiloteris apo [ton eafto tu]<sub>1</sub>.  
 n-person not is taller than.PHRASAL the self his  
 ‘No-one is taller than himself.’

Joseph 1990:(14): (see also Joseph 1979, McCloskey 1984, Kayne 2004)

- (49) Me ton kombo na ftani sto xteni etsi, i lisi  
 with the knot.ACC SUBJ reach.3s to.the comb thus the solution.NOM  
 faneronotan.  
 manifested.3s

‘With things coming to a head in this way, the solution was becoming evident.’  
 (lit. ‘With the knot thus reaches the comb, ...’)

### 2.6.3 English comparatives (Reinhart 1991)

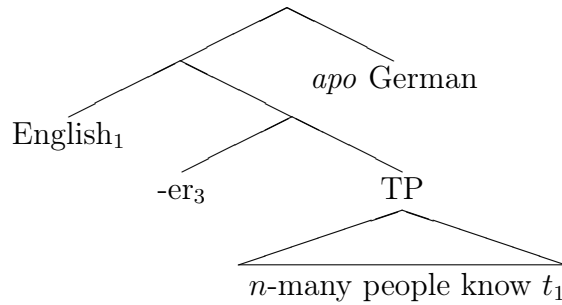
- (50) \* More people live in the country that Putin governs than Bush. (≠than live in  
 the country that Bush governs)

- (51) \* Nikos saw more movies when Nana recommended them to him than Elena.  
 (≠than Nikos saw when Elena recommended them to him)
- (52) \* That the dean is going to invite the cleaning lady is more noteworthy than  
 Maria. (≠than that the dean is going to invite Maria)
- (53) \* More people know someone who lives in Russia than in Tibet.

#### 2.6.4 -er<sub>2</sub> vs. -er<sub>3</sub>?

Perhaps locality effects reflect *covert* movement of the correlate required by the semantics (following Heim 1985, Bhatt and Takahashi 2007)?

- (54) a. More (=many-er<sub>3</sub>) people know English<sub>correlate</sub> *apo* German.  
 b.  $\llbracket -er_3 \rrbracket = \lambda D_{\langle e, dt \rangle} \lambda x_e \lambda y_e [\exists d [[D(x)](d)] \wedge d > \max(\lambda d' [[D(y)](d')])]$   
 c.



- d.  $\llbracket n\text{-many\_people\_know\_}t_1 \rrbracket = \lambda x_1 \lambda n_d [n\text{-many\_people\_know\_}x_1]$   
 e.  $\exists d [[d\text{-many\_people\_know\_English}] \wedge d > \max(\lambda d' [d'\text{-many\_people\_know\_German}])]$

**Idea:** The difference between English and Greek is that in Greek clausal comparatives, movement of the correlate does not occur (*pace* Merchant 2000 for indefinite correlates of sluicing); in English clausal comparatives, movement of the correlate is required (as it is in phrasal comparatives in both languages). Compare covert wh-movement differences: Chinese (covert movement triggers island effects) vs. Japanese (no covert movement, no island effects). Chinese=English; Japanese=Greek (cf. Richards 2001 for such a typology)

### 3 Conclusion

As Culicover and Jackendoff 2005:246fn11 put it, “If [such] cases ... were ungrammatical, that would be far better evidence of the reality of invisible [*sic*, intended: phono-abstract syntactic—JM] structure.”

And indeed it is.

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