

Movement and Labeling

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1 Introduction

The free relative clause is singular in (1), but can be plural if there is a so-called nucleus—the bold faced constituents in (2). The free relative with no nucleus is called a standard free relative (SFR), and the one with a nucleus a transparent free relative (TFR). The SFR is only used as a singular definite DP, but the TFR shares with the nucleus the same values with regard to number, definiteness, semantic type, and many other grammatical features.

- (1) What you ordered was/*were delivered a minute ago.
- (2) What John calls **pebbles** are lying on the lawn.

This paper explores the possibility of providing a uniform account for the two different types of *what*.

2 Standard Free Relative Clause

Donati (2006), Chomsky (2008), and Cecchetto and Donati (2010) propose that *what* can be a head in the landing site after undergoing A'-movement, since it is an X^0 . In (1), for instance, *what* is the label of the whole projection. The most serious problem with this approach is that even the XPs project their label in the landing site; considering number agreement, it is clear that *what books* is a head in (3).

- (3) What books she has are in the attic.

This paper claims that the free relative pronoun *what* and *what NP* can project their label for semantic reasons. Predicates carry out two functions: predication and modification, and predicators can project, whereas modifiers cannot. If *tall* is used as a modifier in (4), it fails to project, and if, on the other hand, it is used as a predicator, it projects. Notice that branching constituents are heads in (4a-b), which suggests that labeling is not dependent on the X'-status but on the semantic relation.

- (4) a. [_{NP} tall [handsome boys]], when *tall* is used as a modifier.
b. [_{AP} [very tall] boys], when *tall* is used as a predicator.

If A'-movement takes place, the sister of the dislocated constituent is interpreted as a predicate—an $\langle e, t \rangle$ type (Heim and Kratzer 1998). The predicate can be used as a predicator or a modifier. Suppose that CP is interpreted as a modifier in (5). If so, *what* projects its label.

- (5) [_{DP} what_i [_{CP} C he says t_i]] is non-sense

That is, the label of the whole projection is determined on the basis of the relation

between *what* and C' or CP.

- (6) a. I wonder [_{CP} what [_C John proposed what]] (Predication)
 b. I like [_{DP} what [_C John proposed]] (Modification)

If they form a predication relation, the label is CP, and if they form a modification relation, it is DP.

3 Transparent Free Relative Clause

The TFR is characterized by the matching effect between the nucleus and the free relative: the grammatical features of the nucleus determine those of free relatives. I propose that this is related to the fact that *that* is ambiguous as a result of grammaticalization. Pesetsky (2000) proposes that *wh*-words consist of two parts: *wh* + pronominal. For instance, *what* is made up of *wh* and *that*, and *when* is a combination of *wh* and *then*. It is well-known that *that* is ambiguous between a pronoun and a complementizer. The complementizer *that* has no features related with reference, since it is an output of semantic bleaching. I propose that the *that* of the TFR *what* maintains the features of the pronoun *what* but has no specified values for those features as a result of partial semantic bleaching.

(7)

	pronoun <i>that</i>	<i>that</i> of transparent <i>what</i>	comp <i>that</i>
Grammatical Category	Determiner	U(nderspecified)	Complementizer
Number	-pl	U if it is D/N.	N/A
Definiteness	+definite	U if it is D/N	N/A

The underspecified features are specified via AGREE with the Nucleus—*pebbles* in the case of (2).

- (8) a. [_{TP} ... what_[α category, α pl, α definite, ...] pebbles_{[NP, +pl, -definite, ...]]]: *wh*-movement}



- b. [_{NP} what_{[NP, +pl, -definite, ...]] [_{CP} ... what_[NP, +pl, -definite, ...] pebbles_[NP, +pl, -definite, ...]]]}

If the CP is interpreted as a modifier, *what* projects its label: the TFR is treated just like the SFR in that *what* is a host for a clausal modifier. Now it is not surprising that the SFR is taken to be a singular definite DP, whereas the features of TFR are dependent on those of the Nucleus; *what* is the head of both constructions, and the *what* of the SFR consists of *wh* and pronoun *that*, which is singular and definite, whereas the *what* of the TFR consists of *wh* and underspecified *that*, which is specified by the Nucleus via AGREE.

To conclude, the free relative *what* can be a head in the landing site, since it can be the host of a clausal modifier that is produced via its own A'-movement.