

INTERVENTION EFFECTS ARE SYNTACTIC

Intervention effects (e.g., Beck 1996, Beck and Kim 1997, Hoji 1985, Rizzi 1992, Takahashi 1990).

- (1) \*Was glaubt niemand, wen Karl gesehen hat?  
what believes nobody whom Karl seen has  
'Who does nobody believe that Karl saw?'

Intervenors in Japanese and Korean

- (2) Hoji 1985 (cf. also Hagstrom 1998)

a. ?\*Daremo-ga nani-o katta no? *universal quantifier*  
everyone-NOM what-ACC bought Q  
'What did everyone buy?'

b. ??Dareka-ga nani-o katta no? *existential quantifier*  
someone-NOM what-ACC bought Q  
'What did someone buy?'

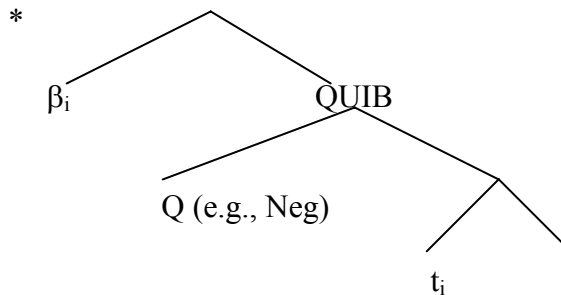
c. \*[John-ka Mary]-ga nani-o katta no? *disjunction*  
[John-or Mary]-NOM what-ACC bought Q  
'What did John or Mary buy?'

- (3) Nani-o<sub>i</sub> daremo-ga/dareka-ga/[John-ka Mary]-ga t<sub>i</sub> katta no?  
what-ACC<sub>i</sub> everyone-NOM/someone-NOM/[John-or Mary]-NOM t<sub>i</sub> bought Q  
'What did everyone/someone/John or Mary buy?'

- (4) Takahashi (1990) (cf. also Tanaka 1997)

\*Taroo-*sika* nani-o kaw-anakat-ta no?  
Taro-except what-ACC buy-NEG-PAST Q  
'What did only Taro buy?'

- (5) Quantifier-Induced Barrier (Beck 1996, Beck and Kim 1997)  
 The first node that dominates a quantifier, its restriction, and its nuclear scope is a QUIB.



Beck: only applies to LF movement (cf. also Pesetsky 2000)

An Alternative, Pragmatics Approach (Tomioka 2004)

Tomioka (2004) gives arguments that ostensibly favor a pragmatic approach to intervention. He notes that the intervenors identified in Japanese and Korean do not constitute a semantically coherent set. Instead, he observes that what they all have in common is their inability to topicalize —they do not occur with the topic marker *-wa* in Japanese or *-(n)un* in Korean.

- (6) “Anti-Topic Items”

*\*daremo-wa/\*dareka-wa/\*[John-ka Mary]-wa/\*Taro-sika-wa...*  
 everyone-TOP/someone-TOP/[John-or Mary]-TOP/Taro-except-TOP

- (7) The basic idea is that in the marginal wh-questions in (2) and (4), the ATIs, which occur on the left edge of the sentence, are in a position that is most natural for a topic to occur.

- (8) Taroo-wa nani-o katta no?  
 Taro-TOP what-ACC bought Q  
 ‘What did Taro buy?’

Intervention Effects May Be Cancelled in Certain Contexts

- (9) Embedding  
 “embedded subjects are not topic marked” (p. 12) (cf. relevant discussion in Kuno 1973; Kuroda 1965, 1992)

Kimi-wa [CP daremo-ga nani-o yonda to] omotteiru no?  
 you-TOP [CP everyone-NOM what-ACC read- COMP think Q  
 ‘What do you think that everyone read?’

(10) Non-subject ATI

Ken-wa daremo-ni nani-o ageta no?  
Ken-TOP everyone-DAT what-ACC gave Q  
'What did Ken give everyone?'

(11) Our (tentative) point:

In example where the intervention effect is "cancelled," **the wh-phrase does not undergo (normal) movement.** The wh-phrase in Tomioka's examples are **D-linked** in the sense of Pesetsky (1987).

Problem with Tomioka's Analysis

"Intervention Effects are not Pragmatic," Shigeru Miyagawa and Yoshio Endo, MIT and Yokohama National University ms., 2004.

*Daremo* 'everyone' by itself may be interpreted as specific (cf. Hoji 1985). Adding "almost" avoids this non-quantificational interpretation (cf. Beck 1996, etc.).

(12) a. Kimi-wa [<sub>CP</sub> hotondo daremo-ga Hanako-no-ronbun-o  
you-TOP [<sub>CP</sub> almost everyone-NOM Hanako-GEN-article-ACC  
yonda to] omotteiru no?  
read- COMP think Q  
'Do you think that almost everyone read Hanako's article?'

b. ?\*/<sup>OK</sup>Kimi-wa [<sub>CP</sub> hotondo daremo-ga nani-o  
you-TOP [<sub>CP</sub> almost everyone-NOM what-ACC  
yonda to] omotteiru no?  
read- COMP think Q

ATIs that do not allow this specific/non-specific alternative always induce intervention.

(13) Non-subject ATI

\*/<sup>OK</sup>Ken-wa Hanako-ni-sika nani-o age-nakat-ta no?  
What did Ken-TOP everyone-DAT-except what-ACC gave-NEG-PAST Q  
'Ken give only Hanako?'

(14) Embedding

\*/<sup>OK</sup>Kimi-wa [<sub>CP</sub> Hanako-sika nani-o kaw-anak-ta to] omotteiru no?  
you-TOP [<sub>CP</sub> Hanako-except what-ACC buy- NEG-P COMP think Q  
'What do you think that only Hanako bought?'

Non-D-linked Environments: Tomioka's examples turn out to be marginal.

(15). [<sub>cp</sub> Hodondo daremo-ga nani-o yonda koto]-ga mondai na no?  
[<sub>cp</sub> almost everyone-NOM what-ACC read fact]-NOM problem Q

‘What is the problem that almost everyone read?’

- (16) ?\*[<sub>cp</sub> Hotondo daremo-ga ittai nani-o yonda koto]-ga mondai na no?  
[<sub>cp</sub> almost everyone-NOM world what-ACC read fact]-NOM problem Q  
‘What in the world is the problem that almost everyone read?’

- (17) Tokorode,  
by the way  
\*[<sub>cp</sub> Hotondo daremo-ga nani-o yonda koto]-ga mondai na no?  
[<sub>cp</sub> almost everyone-NOM what-ACC read fact]-NOM problem Q  
‘By the way, what is the problem that almost everyone read?’

D-linking can cancel even the most basic intervention effect.

- (18) John-to Henry-to Mike-no uti,  
John-and Henry-and Mike-and among  
?(Hotondo) daremo-ga dare-o kirat-te-iru no?  
(almost) everyone-NOM who-ACC hate Q  
‘Among John, Henry, and Mike, who does almost everyone hate?’

- (19) D-linking and superiority (Pesetsky 1987)

- a. \*What did who read?
- b. Which book did which boy read?

Why does D-linking “cancel” intervention effects? We can reduce it to the fact that when the wh-phrase is scrambled, this, too, cancels intervention effects.

- (20) Nani-o<sub>i</sub> daremo-ga/dareka-ga/[John-ka Mary]-ga t<sub>i</sub> katta no?  
what-ACC<sub>i</sub> everyone-NOM/someone-NOM/[John-or Mary]-NOM t<sub>i</sub> bought Q  
‘What did everyone/someone/John or Mary buy?’

- (21) Miyagawa (2004), based on observations by Beck (1996), Cresti (1995), Lahiri (2002).

The restriction of a presuppositional wh-chain is interpreted “high” in the structure, in the vicinity of the wh quantification; the restriction of a non-presuppositional chain is interpreted “low” in the structure.

- (22) How many people do you wonder whether to invite? (only presuppositional)

- (23) D-linked wh-chains are presuppositional by nature. Hence the quantificational structure of a presuppositional wh-chain is identical to the scrambled case in (20).

- a. Overt form of a D-linked wh-question with QUIB:  
QUIB wh-phrase<sub>D-linked</sub> Verb.
- b. Quantificational form of (a):

Wh + Restriction<sub>i</sub>QUIB t<sub>i</sub> Verb

(24) Non-presuppositional wh-phrase and intervention effect:

\* wh x QUIB [x Restriction] Verb

(25) Superiority: QUIB effect?

- a. \*What did who read?
- b. Which book did which boy read?

(26) a. What do you wonder whether to read?

b. What the hell do you wonder whether to read? (bad??? All right???)

Another problem: *naze* ‘why’ does not show intervention effect (Miyagawa 1997, etc)

(27) a. Hanako-sika naze erabarenakatta no?  
Hanako-except why was.chosen. Q  
‘Why was only Hanako chosen?’

b. Hotondo daremo-ga naze syukudai-o sinakatta no?  
almost everyone-NOM why homework-ACC didn’t.do Q  
‘Why did almost everyone do the homework?’

(28)a. \*Taroo-sika [<sub>CP</sub> Hanako-ga naze erabareta to] omotte-inai no?  
Taro-except [<sub>CP</sub> Hanako-NOM why was.chosen C] think-NEG Q  
‘Why does only Taro think that Hanako was chosen?’

b. ?\*Hotondo daremo-ga [<sub>CP</sub> Hanako-ga naze sigoto-o yameru to]  
almost everyone-NOM [<sub>CP</sub> Hanako-NOM why job-ACC quit C]  
omotteiru no?  
think Q  
‘Why does almost everyone think that Hanako will quit her job?’