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Wh-Movement and the Theory of Feature-Checking (review)

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essays in Part 1 are: 'Language, world, and cognitive processing' (3–11), 'Grammar as an under-ground process' (12–29), 'Doing sums with language' (55–87), 'Internal variability in competence' (88–118), and 'The paradoxes and natural language' (119–35).

Part 2 deals with syntactic empirical issues and begins with an extended discussion on 'Predicate raising and dative in French and sundry languages' (139–84) where it is argued that causative constructions in French and other languages are best analyzed syntactically rather than in lexical terms. The chapter 'Negative's travels' (185–208) discusses sentences in which negation takes scope lower than its surface position. The next reprint, 'Operator lowering' (209–49), also takes up the scope behavior of negation. The other two chapters in Part 2 are 'English subject-complementation' (250–66) and 'Clitic pronoun clusters' (267–90).

Part 3 begins with 'Presuppositions and the universe of interpretation' (293–311). By far, this is the most interesting part of the book. S's work on presupposition, donkey-anaphora, and topic in particular is most interesting. The views presented here are both informative and exciting. Apart from the essay just mentioned, Part 3 contains 'Logical form and semantic form: An argument against Geach' (312–18), 'Lexical meaning and presupposition' (319–32), 'Presupposition and negation' (333–83), 'Why does 2 mean "2"? Grist to the anti-Grice mill' (384–93), 'Towards a discourse-semantic account of donkey anaphora' (394–408), and 'A discourse-semantic account of topic and comment' (409–18).

Finally, Part 4 contains what constitutes S's latest interest in linguistics—creole studies. Four chapters are included here: 'Semantic transparency as a factor in creole genesis' (with Herman Chr. Wekker) (421–31), 'Serial verb constructions' (432–54), 'Tense and aspect in Sranan' (455–83), and 'The question of predicate clefting in the Indian Ocean Creoles' (484–95).

Although some of the issues tackled in the book are now rather old and esoteric, especially for a modern reader not 'brought up' during the so-called 'linguistic wars', this book offers a good example of the variety and quality of S's work. It is certainly a very good companion to his *Western linguistics: An historical introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), and despite many biased comments against generative grammar, it provides many insights into the cognitive nature of language. [ERIC MATHIEU, *University College London*.]

Wh-movement and the theory of feature-checking. By ANDREW SIMPSON. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2001. Pp. xi, 244. ISBN: 1556198566. \$90.00.

In this substantially revised version of his 1995 dissertation, Simpson offers a 're-examination of the

syntactic licensing conditions affecting wh-phrases cross-linguistically and how assumptions concerning the encoding of such dependencies may licitly be used to motivate other more general properties of the internal organization of the language faculty' (1). S's major proposal is the abolishment of covert (LF) movement of wh-phrases as a licensing strategy for wh-elements. Ch. 1, 'Wh in situ and the LF movement hypothesis' (1–67), offers the theoretical background for the particular view of the nature and locality of wh-licensing that S develops in Chs. 2 and 3. After going over arguments for LF (category) movement of wh-phrases that have not undergone wh-movement by Spell Out (or PF, which amounts to the same in the architecture of the grammar that emerges from S's discussion), S critically reviews the theoretical reasoning and empirical evidence in favor of it. He counters the traditional view with his proposal that wh-in situ at PF/Spell Out is wh-in situ everywhere. S offers an alternative, nonmovement account for all the apparent evidence for LF-movement discussed earlier.

Ch. 2 lays out S's alternative theory: 'Wh-movement and feature-checking' (69–145). After proposing that overt wh-in situ may be licensed in situ in the languages under consideration (in Ch. 1, S discusses data from Ancash Quechua, Bahasa Indonesia, Chinese, English, Japanese, and Romanian, but considers many more in the following chapters), S now sets out to explain why there is overt wh-movement to begin with. In his theory of wh-licensing, S revises some of the central points of the minimalist checking theory. Most prominently, S proposes that the wh-feature [Wh] is not licensed in a +Q Comp, but on each wh-phrase, and that consequently all wh-phrases bear [Wh]. It follows that the specifier-head relation is not the only structural relation permitting feature-checking: it is just one (exemplified by multiple wh-fronting languages, such as Bulgarian or Romanian). Other options include licensing within the sentence as a unit (English, Chinese) and the tense domain immediately containing a +Q Comp (Iraqi Arabic, Hindi). An obvious consequence of the adjustments to checking theory that S provides in this chapter is not only the question whether LF-movement exists at all but also whether LF should have a place in the architecture of the grammar. If one finds this question appealing, one might want to consider pursuing this question more radically and with broader empirical coverage, a potential project for future research.

The monograph finishes with Ch. 3, 'Partial movement and wh-expletive questions' (147–232). How this construction that has received a number of names in the literature, depending on analytical preferences, fits into this framework is revealed in the chapter heading: S analyzes 'partial movement', aka 'wh-scope marking' or 'partial wh-movement' construc-

tions, as interrogative expletive constructions. S argues for a typological split concerning the nature of this 'WH-expletive'. In German and Hungarian partial movement, for example, the element in question (e.g. German *was*, Hungarian *mit*) acts like an interrogative counterpart of English *it* while Japanese *ka* or Chinese *ne* resemble *there*-type expletives. Concluding remarks that give prospects for further issues round off this chapter.

This book is a well-argued discussion of some pertinent topics that deserve a closer look. I recommend this book to anyone interested in a principles and parameter-style architecture in general and, more narrowly, in the syntax of WH-questions. [KLEANTHES K. GROHMANN, *University of Cologne*.]

The phonology of Hungarian. By PÉTER SÍPTÁR and MIKLÓS TÖRKENCZY. (The phonology of the world's languages.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pp. xiv, 319. ISBN: 019823841X. \$99.00

This book comprises nine chapters: 'Introduction' (3–12), 'Preliminaries' (13–48), 'The vowel system' (51–74), 'The consonant system' (75–94), 'Phonotactics' (95–153), 'Processes involving vowels' (157–75), 'Processes involving consonants' (176–213), 'Processes conditioned by syllabic structure' (214–77), and 'Surface processes' (278–96). The chapters are organized thematically into three parts: 'Background' (3–48), 'Systems' (51–153), and 'Processes' (157–296). It concludes with a list of references (297–312) and a general index (313–19). The dialect described is Educated Colloquial Hungarian, 'the spoken language of "educated" people living in Budapest' (3). To facilitate access to the facts and their conclusions, the authors present 'a rule-based account of the phonology of Hungarian' (3), adopting a nonlinear, derivational framework (as opposed to a nonderivational framework such as government phonology or optimality theory). There are numerous references throughout to important previous discussions of the subject matter.

For those who are not specialists in Hungarian phonology, Parts 1 and 2 will be the most useful. Part 1 provides a good, if brief, overview of the orthography, relevant phonological theory, previous literature, Hungarian dialects, the origins of the word-stock, Hungarian phonetics (segmental and suprasegmental), and morphology in both its inflectional and derivational aspects. There is also some attention to sentence structure. Part 2 is devoted primarily to establishing the underlying phonological units of Hungarian and the essentials of its syllabic structure, but there is preliminary attention to several

important processes (e.g. low vowel lengthening, stem vowel shortening), including vowel harmony. The discussion of vowel harmony is especially good. It is clear and uncluttered by attempts to regularize a process which, in fact, requires the establishment of stem types. That is, the authors deal with so-called transparent vowels (i.e. vowels that do not participate in harmony) as such—they do not attempt to accommodate them as surface realizations of abstract underlying units that undergo absolute neutralization. In addition, they include rounding harmony (i.e. the alternation *o/ö/e*) in their discussion and also treat the interaction of harmony with vowel lowering (i.e. the pattern *o/ö/ale*). The result is a comprehensive and integrated reference of harmonic and harmonic-related phenomena. Part 2 concludes with a lengthy and highly informative discussion, available nowhere else in English, of syllabic structure and constraints on consonants in sequence, both at word-level and morpheme-level.

Part 3 is somewhat more theoretical, providing nonlinear descriptions of the phenomena previously mentioned and others including vowel-zero alternations, palatalization, voicing assimilation, and assibilation. The phonology of *t* is discussed in substantial detail, both as it relates to verbs with this segment occurring stem-finally and to its occurrence in the suffix signaling 'past tense'. The section concludes with a discussion of postlexical phenomena.

This book will not disappoint specialist or nonspecialist readers. The former will value it for the originality of its analyses; the latter, for its clear presentation of the facts. All will appreciate it as a competent, organized source of the facts and bibliographic references to other treatments. [MARK J. ELSON, *University of Virginia*.]

Diccionario Tzeltal de Bachajón Chiapas. Ed. by MARIANNE SLOCUM, FLORENCE L. GERDEL, and MANUAL CRUZ AGUILAR. Mexico City: SIL, 1999. Pp. 336.

The *Diccionario Tzeltal de Bachajón Chiapas* is a revised and expanded version of *Vocabulario Tzeltal de Bachajón*, originally published in 1965 by Slocum and Gerdel. The material is based upon the Tzeltal spoken in Bachajón, a municipio (county) in the lowlands of Chiapas, Mexico, that is home to a large number of Tzeltal speakers (roughly 100,000 according to a 1993 SIL survey). Tzeltal, a Mayan language belonging to the Tzeltalan branch of the family, is spoken by over 261,000 people throughout Chiapas (according to INEGI, el Instituto de Estadística, Geografía e Informática).

The dictionary conforms largely to the customary SIL format. Each entry in the dictionary consists of: (1) the entry itself; (2) its grammatical classificat-