Here lies the handout from the talk presented at the Tilburg Conference on Rightward Movement, in Tilburg, the Netherlands, on October 7, 1994: Carol Neidle, Judy Kegl, Benjamin Bahan, and Debra Aarons, **Rightward Wh-Movement in American Sign Language**.

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More updated information about the work of the American Sign Language Linguistic Research Project is available at <http://web.bu.edu/ASLLRP>.

Rightward Wh-Movement in American Sign Language

Carol Neidle*, Judy Kegl**, Benjamin Bahan*, and Debra Aarons***

carol@louis-xiv.bu.edu, kegl@andromeda..rutgers.edu, bahan@louis-xiv.bu.edu, aarons@louis-xiv.bu.edu

*Boston University, Program in Applied Linguistics, 718 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, MA 02215 USA
**Rutgers University, Center for Molecular and Behavioral Neuroscience, 197 University Avenue, Newark, NJ 07102 USA
***University of Stellenbosch, Department of General Linguistics, Private Bag X5018, 7599 Stellenbosch, South Africa

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I. Illustration of non-manual grammatical markings in ASL

1. JOHN BUY HOUSE
   'John bought a house.'

   _____ y/n
2. JOHN BUY HOUSE
   'Did John buy a house?'

   _____ wh
3. JOHN BUY WHAT
   'What did John buy?'

   _____ neg
4. JOHN   NOT   BUY HOUSE
   'John did not buy a house.'

II. Optional spread of non-manuals over c-command domain

   ___ neg
5. JOHN   NOT   [BUY HOUSE]$_{VP}$

   'John did not buy a house.'

   _____ neg
6. JOHN   NOT   [BUY HOUSE]$_{VP}$
   'John did not buy a house.'

   _____ wh
7. [JOHN BUY t_i YESTERDAY]$_{IP}$ WHAT$_i$
   'What did John buy yesterday?'

   _____ wh
8. [JOHN BUY t_i YESTERDAY]$_{IP}$ WHAT$_i$
   'What did John buy yesterday?'

III. Obligatory spread as required for realization of non-manual marking with manual material

9-a. * JOHN   [   ]$_{Neg}$ BUY HOUSE

                          _____ neg
9-b. JOHN   [   ]$_{Neg}$ BUY HOUSE

   'John did not buy a house.'

10-a. * [[JOHN BUY WHAT YESTERDAY]$_{IP}$ [   ]$_{C [+wh]}$]

                                   ___ wh
10-b. * [[JOHN BUY WHAT YESTERDAY]$_{IP}$ [   ]$_{C [+wh]}$]

                          _____ wh
10-c. [[JOHN BUY WHAT YESTERDAY]$_{IP}$ [   ]$_{C [+wh]}$]

   'What did John buy yesterday?'

IV. Evidence for rightward wh-movement in ASL
   (see chart on next page for examples 11 through 20)

V. Evidence that it is an entire phrase that moves

                                              _____ wh
21-a. JOHN SEE t YESTERDAY WHICH TEACHER TWO-OF-THEM

                          _____ wh
21-b. JOHN SEE t YESTERDAY WHICH TEACHER TWO-OF-THEM

   'Which of those two teachers did John see yesterday?'

IV. Evidence for rightward wh-movement

How to decide between rightward and leftward wh-movement? The labelled columns contain the sentences predicted to be grammatical assuming leftward/rightward movement. Those that are ~~struck through~~ represent data that are equally consistent with the alternative hypothesis, and thus not decisive.		
Apparent leftward movement ?	*In situ*	**Apparent rightward movement ?**
13. $\overline{}$wh ~~WHO t LOVE JOHN~~ 14. *? $\overline{}$wh WHO JOHN LOVE t	11. $\overline{}$wh WHO LOVE JOHN 12. $\overline{}$wh JOHN LOVE WHO	15. $\overline{}$wh t LOVE JOHN WHO 16. $\overline{}$wh ~~JOHN LOVE t WHO~~
How to distinguish *in situ* wh-words in object position (e.g., (12)) from object wh-words in Spec of CP (e.g., (16))? • Position with respect to IP-final adverb.		
Evidence that (20) involves rightward movement	17.[JOHN LIPREAD MARY YESTERDAY]$_{IP}$ 19. [JOHN LIPREAD WHO YESTERDAY]$_{IP}$ $\overline{}$wh	18. * [JOHN LIPREAD YESTERDAY MARY]$_{IP}$ 20. [JOHN LIPREAD t YESTERDAY]$_{IP}$ WHO $\overline{}$wh
How to distinguish *in situ* wh-words in subject position ((11)) from a subject that has moved left to Spec of CP ((13))? • Non-manual spread distinguishes *in situ* and moved cases.		
Evidence that (11) does not involve leftward movement:	Spread over entire clause is obligatory with *in situ* wh-words: 19'.* [JOHN LIPREAD $\overline{\text{WHO}}$wh YESTERDAY]$_{IP}$ 11'.* [$\overline{\text{WHO}}$wh LOVE JOHN]$_{IP}$	Spread over entire clause is optional with wh-words in Spec of CP: 20'. [JOHN LIPREAD t YESTERDAY]$_{IP}$ WHO $\overline{}$wh 15'. [t LOVE JOHN] WHO $\overline{}$wh

VI. Extraction to [Spec, CP] of embedded clause vs. matrix clause, with optional spread of non-manual over c-command domains

22. $[_{CP_1}$ $[_{IP_1}$ JOHN WONDER $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{IP_2}$ MARY BUY t_i $]_{IP_2}$ WHAT$_i$ $]_{CP_2}$ $]_{IP_1}$ $]_{CP_1}$
     <u>   wh</u> (over WHAT)

23. $[_{CP_1}$ $[_{IP_1}$ JOHN WONDER $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{IP_2}$ MARY BUY t_i $]_{IP_2}$ WHAT$_i$ $]_{CP_2}$ $]_{IP_1}$ $]_{CP_1}$
     <u>   wh</u> (over MARY BUY t WHAT)

24. * $[_{CP_1}$ $[_{IP_1}$ JOHN WONDER $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{IP_2}$ MARY BUY t_i $]_{IP_2}$ WHAT$_i$ $]_{CP_2}$ $]_{IP_1}$ $]_{CP_1}$ *(on this reading)*
     <u>   wh</u> (over JOHN WONDER MARY BUY t WHAT)

   'John wonders what Mary bought.'

25. $[_{CP_1}$ $[_{IP_1}$ TEACHER EXPECT $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{IP_2}$ t_i PASS TEST $]_{IP_2}$ $]_{CP_2}$ t_i $]_{IP_1}$ WHO$_i$ $]_{CP_1}$
     <u>   wh</u> (over WHO)

26. * $[_{CP_1}$ $[_{IP_1}$ TEACHER EXPECT $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{IP_2}$ t_i PASS TEST $]_{IP_2}$ $]_{CP_2}$ t_i $]_{IP_1}$ WHO$_i$ $]_{CP_1}$
     <u>   wh</u> (over t PASS TEST t WHO)

27. $[_{CP_1}$ $[_{IP_1}$ TEACHER EXPECT $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{IP_2}$ t_i PASS TEST $]_{IP_2}$ $]_{CP_2}$ t_i $]_{IP_1}$ WHO$_i$ $]_{CP_1}$
     <u>   wh</u> (over TEACHER EXPECT t PASS TEST t WHO)

   'Who did the teacher expect to pass the test?'

VII. Rhetorical questions, with same wh-movement as wh-questions

<u> rhq </u>
28-a. LOVE JOHN   WHO   MARY

<u>   rhq </u>
28-b. LOVE JOHN   WHO   MARY

   'Mary is the one John loves.'

VIII. Non-manual spread determined post-movement

<u>topic$_1$</u>   <u>   wh </u>
29. JOHN$_i$, YOU SEE t_i WHERE
   '*John* where did you see?'

   <u>   wh </u>
30.   YOU SEE JOHN WHERE
   'Where did you see John?'

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Basic sentence structure for ASL (as argued for in Aarons, Bahan, Kegl & Neidle)

positions for left dislocations and topics →

positions for right dislocation →

position to which wh-words may move

surface subject → NP

TENSE (position for modals, lexical tense markers) → T

NEGATION (position for NOT, NEVER) →

ASPECT (e.g., FINISH/ PERF-ASP) →

XP
XP   CP
CP   XP
CP   TAG
CP   XP
C'   Spec
TP   C
T'   NegP
Neg'
Neg   AGR$_S$P
AGR$_S$'
AGR$_S$ AspP
Asp'
Asp   AGR$_O$P
AGR$_O$'
AGR$_O$ VP

TAG consisting of reduced version of main clause (CP), including (potentially) TENSE, affirmative or negative marking, NP subject, wh-word

shares essential features of main clause (tense, polarity, question-status)