

Unifying long head movement with phrasal movement: a new argument from spellout



Handout

Karlos Arregi
The University of Chicago

Asia Pietraszko
University of Rochester

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Email

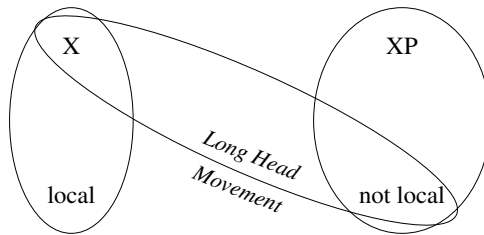
1. The place of Long Head Movement in the typology of movements

(1) Long Head Movement (V-fronting) in Breton

Hadet neus <hadet> hon familh ar gwinizh.
planted 3.have <planted> our family the wheat
'Our family has planted the wheat.'

Schafer 1994:176

What moves:



Head Movement

Phrasal Movement

Locality (HMC):

A new parallel between Long Head Movement and phrasal movement

V-fronting and VP-fronting
have the same spellout possibilities crosslinguistically

Theoretical upshot

This is *not* an argument to conflate head and phrasal movement more generally.
Instead, the spellout evidence tells us that:

1. Long Head Movement and phrasal movement are the same operation, and
2. Local head movement is a different operation.

2. A new argument that Breton V-fronting is phrasal movement

VP-fronting and V-fronting have the same spellout options crosslinguistically

	VP-fronting	V-fronting
Simple:	[_{VP} verb ...] ... ∅	[_V verb] ... ∅
Doubling:	[_{VP} verb ...] ... verb	[_V verb] ... verb
Do-support:	[_{VP} verb ...] ... do	[_V verb] ... do

Three possible spellouts for VP-fronting

- (2) **Simple:** Single V in fronted position (compound tenses)
[_{VP} **gemt** den særligt godt] tror jeg nu ikke de har <VP>
[_{VP} **hide.PART** it particularly well] think I now not they have <VP>
'I don't think they have hidden it very well.' Danish (Mikkelsen 2011:86)
- (3) **Doubling:** Infinitival V copy in fronted position, unfronted finite V copy
[_{VP} **ogłądać** mecz] **ogłada-łam** <VP>
[_{VP} **watch.INF** game] **watch-PST.1SG**
'Watch the game, I did.' Polish
- (4) **Do-support:** Infinitival V copy in fronted position, unfronted finite do
[_{VP} **watch** the game] **I did** <VP> English

Three possible spellouts for Breton V-fronting

- (5) **Simple** in compound tenses (perfect, passive)
Hadet neus hon familh ar gwinizh.
planted 3.have our family the wheat
'Our family has planted the wheat.' Schafer 1994:176
- (6) **Doubling** in simple tenses for some verbs/dialects
Mont a **yan** d' ar jardin.
go.INF PRT **go.PRS.1SG** at the garden
'I am going to the garden.' Joutiteau 2012:136
- (7) **Do-support** in simple tenses for all verbs/dialects
Koll a **reas** ar martolod e gasketenn.
lose.INF PRT **do.IPV** the sailor his cap
'The sailor lost his cap.' Stephens 1982:112

VP-fronting = V-fronting down to inflectional detail

Simple:	[_{V(P)} verb.PTCP ...] ... aux.FIN ∅
Doubling:	[_{V(P)} verb.INF ...] ... verb.FIN
Do-support:	[_{V(P)} verb.INF ...] ... do.FIN

3. Simple fronting under Aux: phrasal V(P) movement

Simple fronting

[_{V(P)} verb.PTCP ...] ... aux.FIN ∅

Move(VP) = Copy+Merge+Delete

(8) [_{VP} planted the wheat] our family has <planted the wheat> (English)

① *VP starts as complement of Aux* ② *Copy VP*

③ *Merge new copy in higher position* ④ *Delete by assigning ∅ to lower copy*

Move(V) = Copy+Merge+Delete

(9) [_v planted] has our family <planted> the wheat (Breton gloss)

① *V starts as the head of VP* ② *Copy V*

③ *Merge new copy in higher position* ④ *Delete by assigning ∅ to lower copy*

(Chomsky 1993, Nunes 2004, Saab 2008)

4. Doubling: phrasal V(P) movement after head movement of V to T

Doubling

[_{V(P)} verb.INF ...] ... verb.FIN

Based on Nunes 2004, Saab 2008, Hein 2018 & Arregi & Pietraszko 2020:

(10)

① Head movement
② Phrasal movement

⇒ V spelled out both in fronted V(P) and T

Head movement formalized as Generalized Head Movement (GHM)
(Arregi & Pietraszko 2018, 2020)

Morphological features of head X represented as μ_X (Harley 2004)

(11)

Abbreviated as:

Generalized Head Movement relates two heads by concatenating their μ features

(12) → (13)

complex head

(13) Ogląda-łam mecz.
watch-PST.1SG game
'I watched the game.' Polish

It's feature sharing, not copying or displacement:

- A **single complex head** associated with **both terminals (here V and T)**.
- Parametrically linearized in either (T in Polish, V in English).

Like traditional head movement, it incorporates **HMC**.

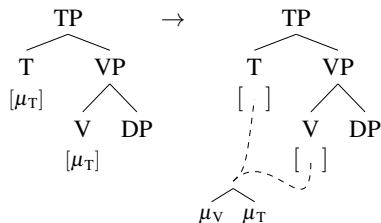
Doubling in VP fronting

[VP verb.INF ...] ... verb.FIN

- (14) [VP oglądać mecz] ogląda-łam <VP>
 [VP watch.INF game] watch-PST.1SG
 'Watch the game, I did.'

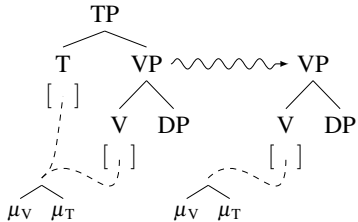
Polish

- (15) GHM relates V and T



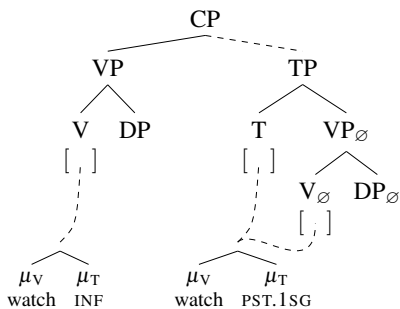
If the derivation ended here one copy of the verb would surface, as above.

- (16) Move(VP) creates a copy of VP



Copy(VP) creates an extra copy of the complex head.

- (17) Move(VP) merges new copy at the root, and deletes the lower one



Doubling is the automatic result of there being two copies of the complex head.

Why the fronted verb has infinitival form

- (18) Defective Spellout

If μ_X is not linked to X, it's spelled out defectively.

- μ_T is linked to T in lower complex head → normal pronunciation as PST.1SG
- μ_T is not linked to T in higher complex head → defective pronunciation as INF
- μ_V is linked to V in both complex head → normal pronunciation as watch in both

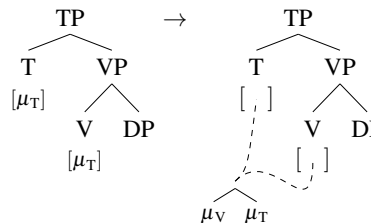
Doubling in V fronting

[V verb.INF] ... verb.FIN

- (19) Mont a yan d' ar jardin.
 go.INF PRT go.PRS.1SG at the garden
 'I am going to the garden.'

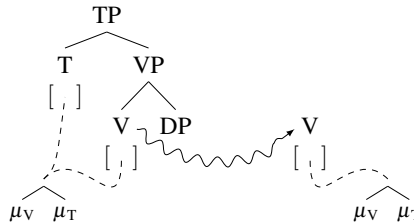
Breton (Jouitteau 2012:136)

- (20) GHM relates V and T



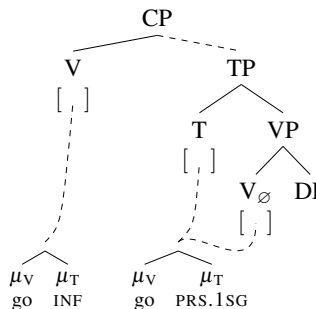
If the derivation ended here one copy of the verb would surface.

- (21) Move(V) creates a copy of V



Copy(V) creates an extra copy of the complex head.

- (22) Move(V) merges new copy at the root, and deletes the lower one



Doubling is the automatic result of there being two copies of the complex head.

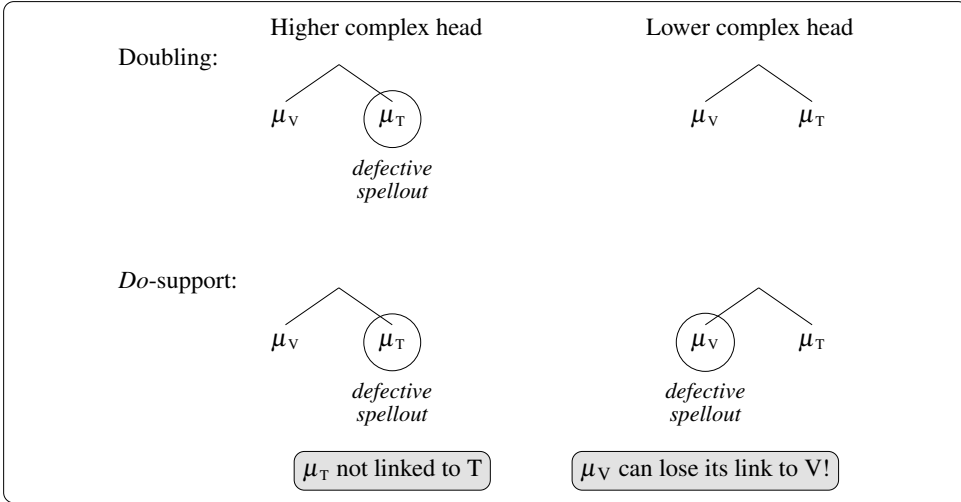
The parallels between VP and V fronting

- The fronted verb has infinitival form: μ_T not linked to T in higher complex head.
- The lower verb has finite form: μ_T is linked to T in lower complex head.
- The verb is doubled: μ_V is linked to V in both complex heads.

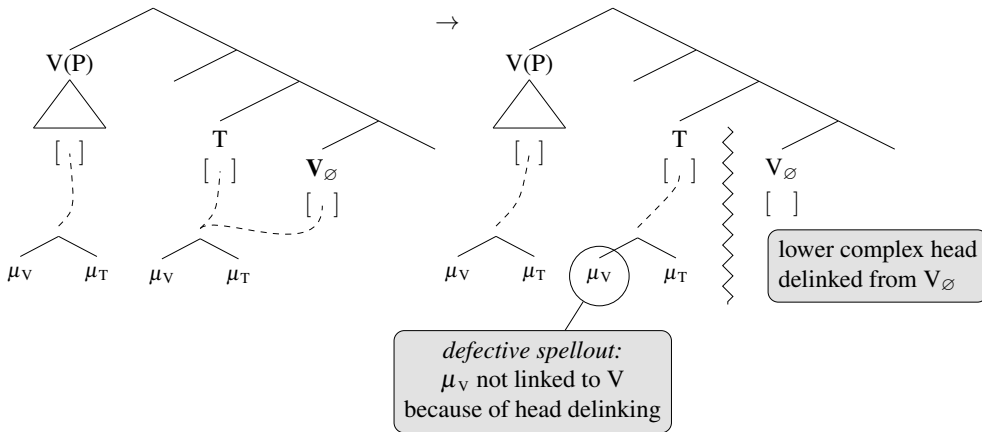
Doubling is the automatic result of the Copy part of Move, which can target XP or X.

5. Do-support: It's just doubling!

Doubling: [V(P) **verb.INF** ...] ... **verb.FIN**
 Do-support: [V(P) **verb.INF** ...] ... **do.FIN**



(23) In some cases, a complex head is **delinked** from unpronounced nodes



(24) **Head Delinking**

- a. A complex head may delink from X_\emptyset .
- b. Whether a complex head delinks from X_\emptyset or not is a lexical property of X.

(25) The defective spellout of μ_V is *do*.

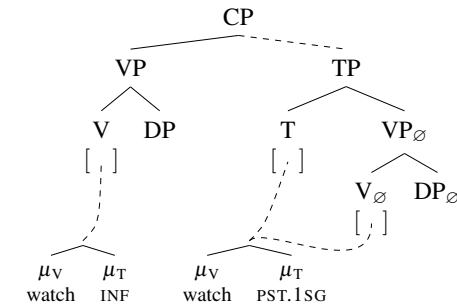
Do-support is just doubling ...

... with a further step of delinking & defective pronunciation:

	VP-fronting	V-fronting
No delinking	Doubling in Polish	Doubling in Breton
Delinking	Do-support in English	Do-support in Breton

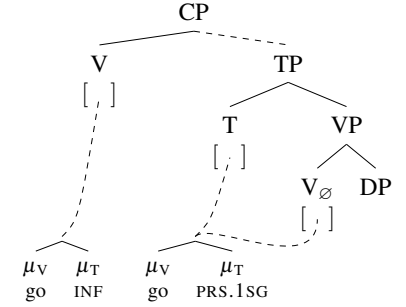
VP-fronting with doubling

(26) **ogładać** mecz **ogłada-ł**am
watch.INF game **watch-PST.1SG**
 'Watch the game, I did.' (Polish)



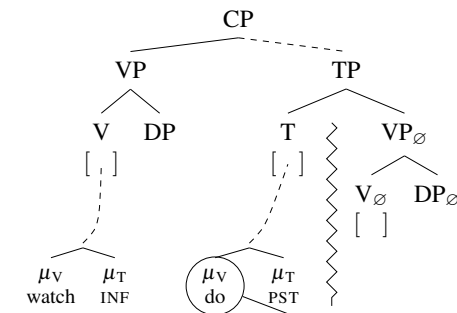
V-fronting with doubling

(27) **Mont** a **yan** d' ar jardin.
go.INF PRT **go.PRS.1SG** at the garden
 'I am going to the garden.' (Breton)



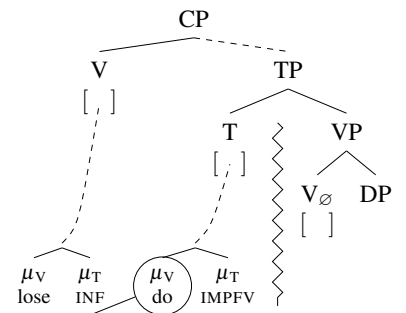
VP-fronting with do-support

(28) **Watch** the game, I **did**.
 (English)



V-fronting with do-support

(29) **Koll** a **reas** ar martolode gasketenn.
lose.INF PRT **do.IPFV** the sailor his cap
 'The sailor lost his cap.' (Breton)



(30)

	English	Breton	Polish
Delinking triggered by:	all verbs	most verbs	no verb

6. From typology of displacements to ontology of movement operations

	Typology		
	<i>Short HM</i>	<i>Long HM</i>	<i>Phrasal Mvmt</i>
Target:	X	X	XP
Locality:	local	not local	not local

Two ways to map this typology to an ontology of movement operations:

Target-based ontology

Target:	X	X	XP
Locality:	local	not local	not local
	<i>Head Movement</i>		<i>Phrasal Movement</i>

Locality-based ontology

Target:	X	X	XP
Locality:	local	not local	not local
	<i>Generalized HM</i>		<i>Move</i>

If Long HM = Phrasal movement

- **Target-based:** All displacements are the result of the **same operation**. (i.a. Roberts 2010, Preminger 2019)
- **Locality-based:** Two **distinct operations** still possible. (Us, Harizanov & Gribanova 2019, Hein 2018)

The target-based ontology leads to a wrong prediction:

- If there's a single operation, then *Short HM* and phrasal movement have the same properties.

Short HM and phrasal movement have different properties beyond locality:

- Different spellout of copies (i.a. Nunes 2004, Landau 2006, Saab 2008, LaCara 2016, Harizanov & Gribanova 2017)
- Different interaction with ellipsis (i.a. McCloskey 1991, Goldberg 2005, Saab 2008, Gribanova 2013, in prep)
- Short HM has a downward version, phrasal movement doesn't (Harizanov & Gribanova 2019, Arregi & Pietraszko 2020)

A locality-based ontology

- allows for these differences, and
- predicts that Long HM behaves like phrasal movement wrt all of them.

The parallels between Long HM and phrasal movement are ultimately an argument for a locality-based ontology of movement operations.

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