

On Gisbert Fanselow's (2002) argument against VP remnant movement

Tue Trinh

Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

Gisbert Fanselow's Contributions to Syntactic Theory & GGS 47
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The work

Fanselow, Gisbert. 2002. Against remnant VP movement. In Dimensions of Movement: From Features to Remnants, edited by Artemis Alexiadou, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Sief Barbiers & Hans-Martin Gärtner, pp. 91–125. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Context: Trinh's (2011) proposal

(1) Constraint on Copy Deletion (CCD)

The Copy Deletion can apply to β in a chain (α, β) only if β ends an XP, i.e. only if the rightmost morpheme of β coincides with the rightmost morpheme of a maximal projection

(2) Parameterization of Copy Deletion

- Copy Deletion must apply (Type A)
- Copy Deletion must apply when it can (Type B)

Trinh, Tue. 2011. Edges and Linearization: An Investigation into the Pronunciation of Chains. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Example of Type A: English (SVO)

Type A: Copy Deletion must apply!

(3) a. *buy John should [VP *buy* this book]
b. *buy John should [VP *buy* this book]
c. sleep \emptyset John should [VP *sleep* \emptyset]

Assumption: intransitives are really transitives (Hale and Keyser, 1993, 2002).

Example of Type B: Hebrew (SVO)

Type B: Copy Deletion must apply when it can!

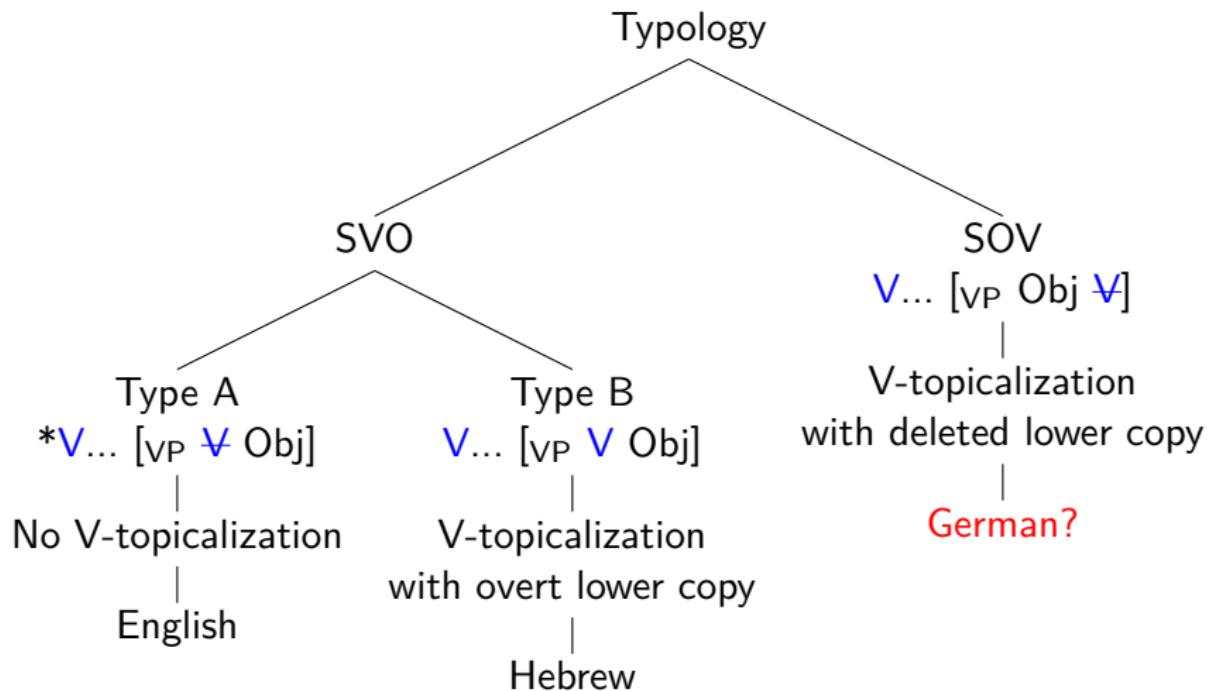
(4) a. liknot Dan kiva *(liknot) et ha-sefer
buy Dan hoped buy the book

b. lalexet Dan kiva (lalexet)
walk Dan hoped walk (Landau, 2006, 2007)

(5) a. **buy** Dan hoped to [VP **buy** the book]
b. **walk** Dan hoped to [VP **walk** \emptyset]
c. **walk** \emptyset Dan hoped to [VP **walk** \emptyset]

Vietnamese (Trinh, 2009), Vata (Koopman, 1984, 2000), Nupe (Kandybowicz, 2006, 2007, 2008), Russian (Abels, 2001), Gungbe (Aboh and Dyakonova, 2009)

Typology



German

German has “incomplete category fronting” (ICF), which looks like V topicalization with deleted lower copy.

(6) a. Hans wird das Buch lesen
Hans will the book read

b. Lesen wird Hans das Buch
read will Hans the book

What if ICF is not V topicalization with deleted lower copy, but instead VP “remnant movement”?

Remnant movement

(7) VP remnant movement

a. Step 1: vacate the VP!

(i) Scrambling:

$XP_1 \dots [VP \ t_1 \ V]$

(ii) Extraposition:

$[VP \ t_1 \ V] \dots XP_1$

b. Step 2: move the “remnant” VP

$[VP \ t_1 \ V]_2 \dots t_2 \dots$

Thiersch (1985); den Besten and Webelhuth (1987, 1990); Webelhuth (1992); Kayne (1998); Müller (1998)

The argument

To argue that German does not constituent evidence for the CCD, we have to argue that (8a) is true. To argue that German does constitute evidence for the CCD, we have to argue that (8b) is true.

- (8) a. all cases of ICF involve VP remnant movement
- b. some cases of ICF do not involve VP remnant movement

Fanselow (2002) argue that (8b) is true!

The main thrust of the argument: stranded elements in ICF constructions can be things that do not scramble or extrapose.

ICF and scrambling

Indefinite **niemand** does not scramble but can be stranded.

(9) a. dass der Fritz niemanden geküsst hat
 that the Fritz no one kissed has

 b. *dass niemanden der Fritz geküsst hat
 that no one the Fritz kissed has

(10) geküsst hat der Fritz niemanden
 kissed has the Fritz no one

ICF and scrambling

Indefinite **wen** do not scramble but can be stranded.

(11) a. dass der Fritz wen geküsst hat
 that the Fritz someone kissed has

 b. *dass wen der Fritz geküsst hat
 that someone the Fritz kissed has

(12) geküsst hat er bestimmt schon wen
 kissed has he certainly already someone

ICF and extraposition

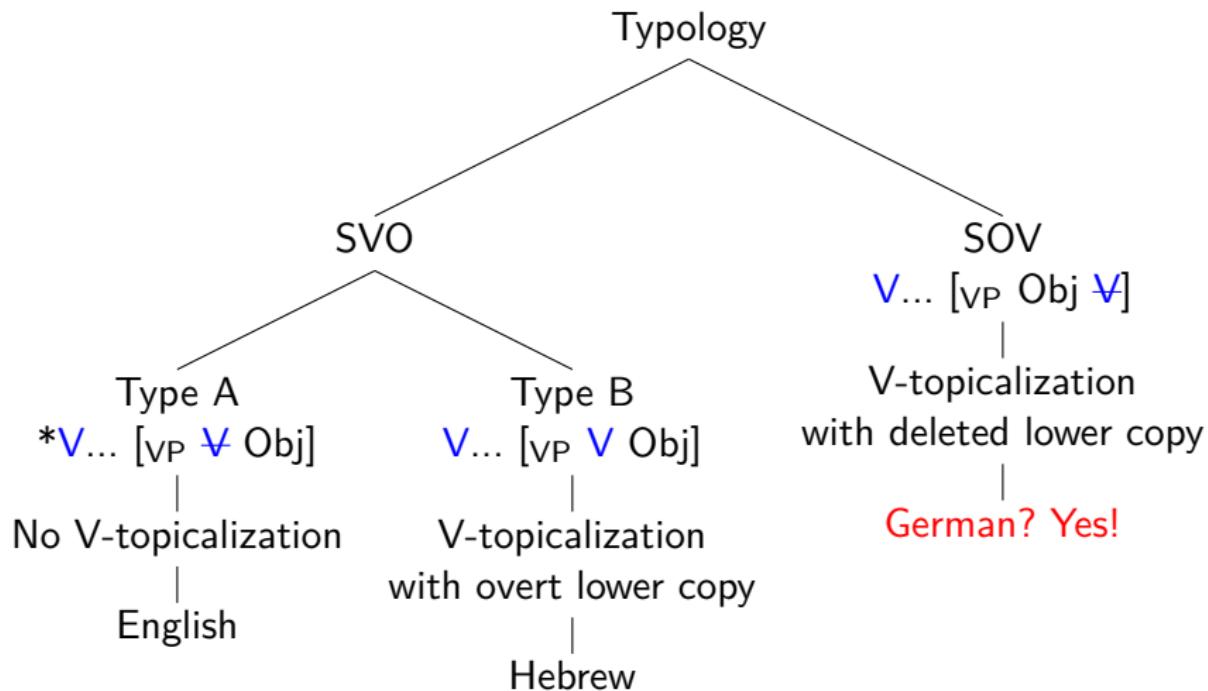
Extraposed constituents must be to the right of T.

(13) a. [c dass] er geträumt [T hat] von Maria
 that he dreamt has about Maria
b. *[c dass] er geträumt von Maria [T hat]
 that he dreamt about Maria has

Indefinite **niemanden** and **wen**, which do not scramble, can be stranded to the left of T.

(14) a. geküsst [c wird] er **niemanden** haben [T t_{wird}]
 kissed will he no one have
b. geküsst [c dürfte] er schon öfter **wen** haben [T $t_{\text{dürfte}}$]
 kissed might he already often someone have

Typology



Gisbert's analysis

Gisbert has shown that some cases of ICF in German cannot be remnant VP movement. Does he assume that German has V topicalization? No!

(15) gelesen wird Hans das Buch haben

- (i) wird Hans [VP_{haben} das Buch [VP_{gelesen} gelesen] haben]
- (ii) [VP_{gelesen} gelesen]₁ wird Hans [VP_{haben} das Buch *t*₁ haben]
→ Spell-Out
- (iii) wird Hans [VP_{haben} das Buch [VP_{gelesen} gelesen] haben]
- (iv) wird Hans [VP_{haben} das Buch [VP_{gelesen} *t*₂] gelesen₂-haben]
→ θ -roles assignment at LF

(16) Questions

- a. What about SVO languages?
- b. What about semantics?

What about SVO languages?

Fanselow (2002: 98): "A satisfactory account of incomplete VP fronting must not only show how the construction arises in German, it must also offer a reason for why it is impossible in English, French and other SVO languages [...] [Müller (1998)] is certainly correct in stating that none of the previous non-remnant movement analyses of incomplete VP preposing had a good answer to the question of why there are no counterparts to this operation in SVO languages."

(17) Gisbert's answer:

θ -roles assignment in these languages cannot wait until LF but must happen right away

→ what does this have to do with being SVO?

→ Gisbert did not consider SVO languages like Hebrew

What about semantics?

What about it?

Gisbert's main concern

In my view, what prevents Gisbert from accepting that German has V topicalization is his belief in the Chain Uniformity Principle (CUP).

(18) Chain Uniformity Principle (Chomsky, 1995)

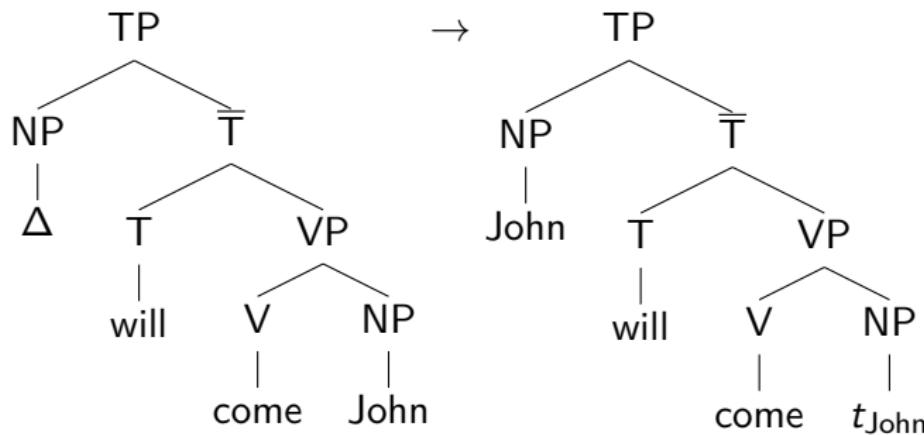
Copies of a chain must have identical phrase structural status (either all are maximal or all are minimal).

Fanselow (2002: 93–94): “The specifier position of CP is a landing site for maximal projections only. Therefore, analyses of incomplete category fronting [...] in which submaximal projections are moved [...] are not very attractive from a theoretical point of view [...]. If submaximal projections could be promoted to the status of a maximal projection after movement [...], the chain [...] would violate the Chain Uniformity Principle [...].”

Addressing Gisbert's concern: response #1

CUP is the modern incarnation of the Structure Preservation Hypothesis which constrains the mapping from deep to surface structure: things can't change labels just by moving (Emonds, 1964).

(19)



But we don't have deep structure anymore!

Addressing Gisbert's concern: response #2

Even if we assume CUP, it is not obvious that V topicalization is a violation, given the relative definition of maximal and minimal projections (Chomsky, 1995).

(20) a. X is maximal iff X does not project
b. X is minimal iff X is not a projection of anything which is not X

Given (20), the topicalized V is both maximal and minimal, which means it is minimal.

Vielen Dank!

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