

Fanselow (2003): Münchhausen-style head movement and the analysis of verb second

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1 Introduction

issues addressed by Fanselow (2003; 2004):

- a general theory of head movement
- the analysis of (German) verb second (V2)

problem of head movement: “accused of being incompatible with fundamental laws of movement theory” (Fanselow 2004: 9)

previous models also reductionist – banishing head movement to phonology (Chomsky 2000) or head movement as remnant movement (e.g. Müller 2003)

but: these models are not without problems

→ proposal: a new, restrictive and reductionist theory of head movement

2 A restrictive theory of head movement

problematic case: V-to-C (and V-to-I) movement as substitution – substitution does not exist in a restrictive theory of movement (Chomsky 1993; 1995)

- (1) er **hat**_i ihn gesehen t_i
he has him seen
‘He saw him.’ (Fanselow 2004: 10)

one possibility: head adjunction to a null complementiser (van Riemsdijk 1998)

head adjunction also in V-V contexts:

- (2) dass er [sie t_i [_V [_V **zu küssen**]_i wagt]]
that he her to kiss dares
‘that he dares to kiss her’ (Fanselow 2004: 10)

problems with head adjunction:

- violation of the extension requirement (Chomsky 1995) – the moved element attaches to the daughter of the root, not the root itself
- violation of Chain Uniformity (Chomsky 1995) – the moved element does not project further (i.e. it behaves like a phrase)

both problems can be avoided by the remnant phrasal movement approach (e.g. Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000, Mahajan 2001, Fanselow & Ćavar 2001)

evidence for remnant phrasal movement in other contexts:

- (3)
- [gestern hier dem Kind den Stern **gezeigt**] hatte sie
yesterday here the child the star shown had she
'she had shown the the star to the child here yesterday' (Fanselow 2004: 12)
 - [hier dem Kind den Stern **gezeigt**] hatte sie gestern
here the child the star shown had she yesterday
'she had shown the the star to the child here yesterday' (Fanselow 2004: 12)
 - [dem Kind den Stern **gezeigt**] hatte sie gestern hier
the child the star shown had she yesterday here
'she had shown the the star to the child here yesterday' (Fanselow 2004: 12)
 - [den Stern **gezeigt**] hatte sie gestern hier dem Kind
the star shown had she yesterday here the child
'she had shown the the star to the child here yesterday' (Fanselow 2004: 12)
 - [**gezeigt**] hatte sie gestern hier dem Kind den Stern
shown had she yesterday here the child the star
'she had shown the the star to the child here yesterday' (Fanselow 2004: 12)

but: no evidence for a phrasal counterpart for V2 and scrambling not always an option:

- (4)
- dass der Zug pünktlich **ankommt**
that the train punctally at.comes
'that the train arrives on time' (Fanselow 2004: 21)
 - der Zug **kommt** pünktlich an
the train comes punctually at
'the train arrives on time' (Fanselow 2004: 21)
 - *der Zug **ankommt** pünktlich
the train at.comes punctually
'the train arrives on time'

no independent motivation for scrambling the particle *an*

proposal to avoid these problems:

- (5) After the attraction of α to the root of Σ , either α or Σ may project.
 (Fanselow 2004: 23)

two constellations (Fanselow 2004: 24):

- (6) a. $[\Sigma \alpha \Sigma]$
 b. $[\alpha \alpha \Sigma]$

feature checking: strong uninterpretable features in an XP must be checked before the XP merges with another that projects (YP)

→ problem: head movement apparently unmotivated

proposal: the moved head possesses the checking feature and the feature to be checked at the same time (Münchhausen-style movement)

→ configuration (Fanselow 2004: 26):

- (7) $[XP \dots X \dots] \rightarrow X [XP \dots t_X \dots]$

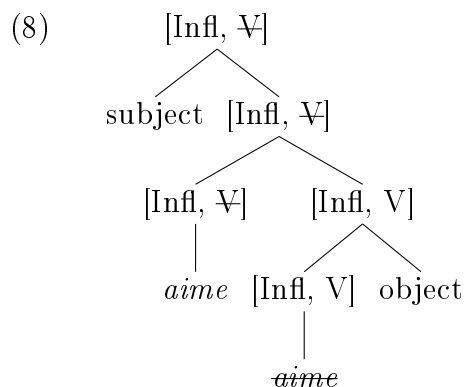
movement is local and limited to certain contexts only → avoiding overgeneralisation

3 Verb second movement

verb movement primarily related to the underlying features specified in the lexicon

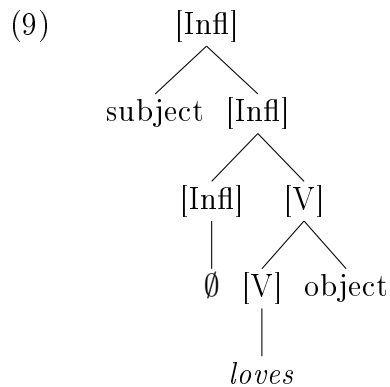
French verb *aime*: categorised as V and Infl

→ Münchhausen-style movement from V to Infl (Fanselow 2004: 28):



English verb *loves*: categorised only as V

→ no movement from V to Infl (Fanselow 2004: 29):



V2 movement in German (and Dutch): additional [fin] feature

advantage: verb fronting and inserting a complementiser in complementary distribution only in terms of checking off [fin] but not on a pre-theoretical assumption of competing for the same Comp “position”

- (10) a. **dass** der Mann den Wagen sah
that the man the car saw
‘that the man saw the car’ (Fanselow 2004: 30)
- b. der Mann **sah** den Wagen
the man saw the car
‘the man saw the car’ (Fanselow 2004: 30)

inserting a complementiser more economical than movement (Fanselow 2004: 32)

→ this can block movement but not necessarily so: embedded V2 patterns (cf. Vikner 1995)

Yiddish:

- (11) Jonas bedoyert **az** dos bukh **hob** ikh geleyent
Jonas regrets that this book have I read
‘Jonas regrets that I have read this book’ (Fanselow 2004: 32)

further question regarding V2: the first position

[Spec,CP] position an operator position: hosting *wh*-elements and foci can be accounted for in a straightforward way

but: German and Dutch also show fronting of topics and sentential adverbs

- (12) a. **Vielleicht** hat der Schauspieler seinen Text vergessen.
perhaps has the actor his text forgotten
'Perhaps, the actor has forgotten his text.' (Fanselow 2004: 36)
- b. **Waarschijnlijk** is hij ziek.
probably is he sick
'He is probably sick.' (Fanselow 2004: 37)

scrambling possible also in non-V2 contexts:

- (13) a. den Fritz mag niemand
the.ACC Fritz likes nobody
'nobody likes Fritz' (Fanselow 2004: 40)
- b. dass den Fritz niemand mag
that the.ACC Fritz nobody likes
'that nobody likes Fritz' (Fanselow 2004: 40)

→ fronting the element into the first position independent of verb movement

but: this leaves the 'second' property unaccounted for – V1, V3 could also arise

proposal: features to be checked come in structured bundles – [fin] higher than and checked prior to the feature triggering the movement of the first constituent (identified as [edge] by Fanselow & Lenertová 2011)

4 Outlook

Fanselow (2003; 2004) offers a novel view on feature checking: rather than stipulating empty [u-F] and/or [i-F] elements, checking off a feature involves the generation of structure

- (14) a. [fin]
b. [fin] ... [fin]

→ Münchhausen-style movement is compatible with the extension requirement, features essential in generating syntactic structure

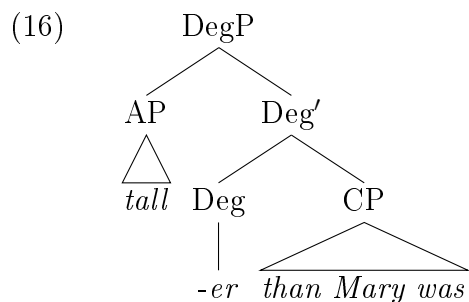
further extensions:

- not only finiteness but also clause typing not necessarily involving a CP proper, e.g. in embedded interrogatives (Bacskai-Atkari 2020; to appear)
- movement within the degree expression also shows Münchhausen-style movement (Bacskai-Atkari 2019; to appear)

degree expressions:

- (15) a. taller (than Mary was)
 b. more intelligent (than Mary was)
 c. as intelligent (as Mary was)

basic analysis of degree expressions (Bacskai-Atkari 2014; 2018, following Lechner 1999; 2004):



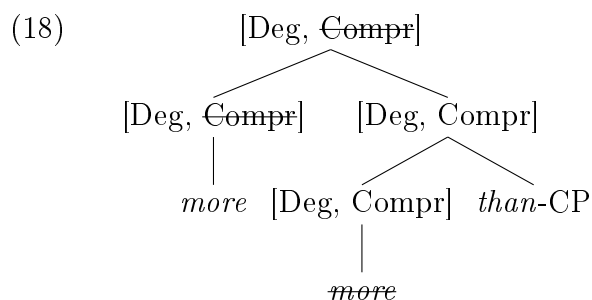
not straightforward for cases like (15b) and (15c)

→ solution: elements like *more* move up to a higher projection (Bacskai-Atkari 2014; 2018, following Lechner 1999):

- (17) [intelligent more] → [more_i [intelligent t_i]]

but: movement seems to be unmotivated (other than by word order)

solution: Münchhausen-style movement of degree elements (Bacskai-Atkari 2019; to appear):



elements lexically specified as both [Deg] and [Compr], leading to degree comparison, or just as [Compr], leading to non-degree comparison

5 Conclusion

Fanselow (2003; 2004) provides an attractive solution to the head movement problem

- head movement is not substitution
- head movement is not phrasal movement
- Münchhausen-style movement restricted to certain contexts – but not only to V2

→ Münchhausen-style movement offers a true structure building mechanism

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