

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

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Theory
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Introduction

issues addressed by Fanselow (2003, 2004):

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

The proposal

problem of head movement: “accused of being incompatible with fundamental laws of movement theory” (Faselow 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

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)

Head adjunction

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

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)

Remnant phrasal movement

evidence for remnant phrasal movement in other contexts
(Fanselow 2004, 12):

- (3)
- a. [gestern hier dem Kind den Stern **gezeigt**] hatte sie
 - b. [hier dem Kind den Stern **gezeigt**] hatte sie gestern
 - c. [dem Kind den Stern **gezeigt**] hatte sie gestern hier
 - d. [den Stern **gezeigt**] hatte sie gestern hier dem Kind
 - e. [**gezeigt**] hatte sie gestern hier dem Kind den Stern

Problems

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

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

no independent motivation for scrambling the particle *an*

Proposal

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. $[\alpha \alpha \Sigma]$

Münchhausen-style movement

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

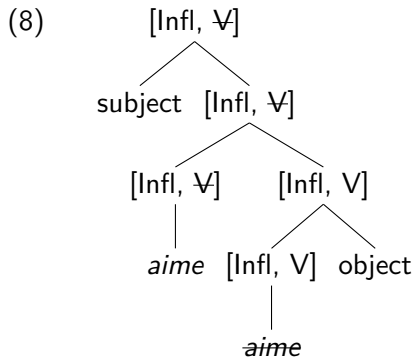
Verb second movement

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)

Structure

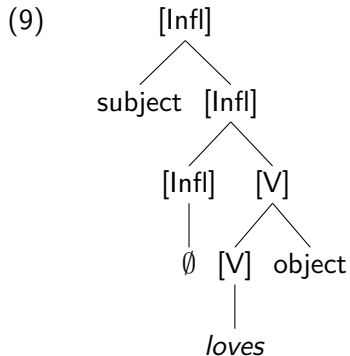


English

English verb *loves*: categorised only as V

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

Structure



V2

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)

Economy

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)

First position

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

Sentential adverbs

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

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

Scrambling

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)

Feature bundles

→ 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)

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

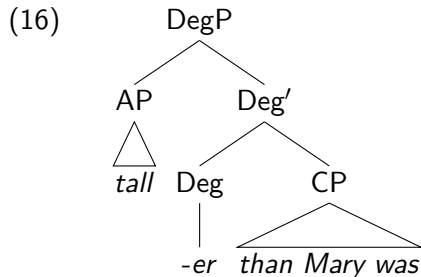
- not only finiteness but also clause typing not necessarily involving a CP proper, e.g. in embedded interrogatives (Bacskai-Atkari 2020, to appear)
- movement within the degree expression also shows Münchhausen-style movement (Bacskai-Atkari 2019, to appear)

Degree expressions

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

Structure

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



Problem

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

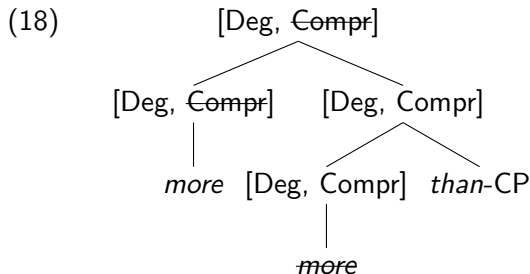
→ solution: elements like *more* move up to a higher projection
(Bacskai-Atkari 2014, 2018, following Lechner 1999):

(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)

Structure



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

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

Thank you!

Danke!

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