The View from the Syntax
Some Comments on Winfried Lechner (Semantically Active) Head movement presentation
Workshop for Martin Prinzhorn

Hilda Koopman
koopman@ucla.edu

University of California, Los Angeles

University of Vienna
November 11 2017

General topic

- Postsyntactic syntax?
- Narrow syntax
    - Winfried Lechner 2007-2017: Is "head movement" in the syntax or in PF?
      ..can be answered if "head movement" can be shown to have semantic effects..
    - *further question* Are some phrasal movements postsyntactic?

Head movement in PF?

Expectation of PF account: no interaction with (narrow) syntax (regardless of scope).

- Early argument againrs: Koopman (1984) position of head and extractability..

- "Head "movement extends domain.
  Head Constraint of van Riemsdijk (1978), and the Government Transparency Corollary of Baker (1988)
  ... enables certain phrases to reach higher scope position[1]

- Romance clitics, Verb Movement and PRO (Kayne, 1991)...

---

[1]Negative indefinites in Scandinavian, Christensen (1986), Svenonius (2002, 2000), and English Kayne (1998, 2000), Burnett et al. ((to appear)

Romance clitics, Verb Movement and PRO (Kayne, 1991)

(1) a. de le faire   serait une bonne idée
        it do-inf | French |

  b. Farlo   sarebbe una buon idea
      do.inf.it

      [To do/doing it] would be a good idea | Italian |

- Romance Clitics are in a fixed position in the clause;
- Height of Movement-parameter:
  $\rightarrow$ (further) leftward movement of the infinitive past the clitic in Italian.

  (2) | v-inf$_{It}$ | Cl | v-inf$_{Fr}$ |

Correlation with other known differences?

- *pro*-drop (French no , Italian yes)
- different Romance varieties also differ w.r.t. the following:

    (3)   a.   *Marie ne sait   pas si PRO aller   au cinéma
               Marie neg knows pas si PRO go.inf to movies
          b.   Gianni non sa   se PRO andara al cinema
               Gianni neg knows si PRO go.inf to movies

    (4)   a.   ... se farlo   It: yes-PRO
          b.   *.... si le faire   Fr: no -*PRO

Table based on Kayne (1991)

V.inf-Cl	pro drop	si PRO	*attested?*
yes	yes	yes	Italian, Spanish,..
no	yes	no	Occitan, Sardinian
no	no	no	French, Gardenese ..
yes	no	yes	Piedmontese, Milanese,
no	yes	yes	0

- *"whether an infinitive precedes the clitic or follows it has consequences for whether a Romance language allows infinitival complements headed by si with a PRO subject."*

- $\rightarrow$ head movement in syntax. [2]

- how high a head moves in a given language may be arbitrary, but it may feed syntactic and (?) interpretative processes .

---

[2]Koopman (2012), Campbell (1991),..

Can "head movement" have semantic effects? Split scope

not > can >every

not every professor can have a workshop for his birthday

...accept semantics, but evaluate/reanalyze the syntax.

1. background assumptions: spell out where I am coming from.
2. "head movement" or variation of E merge of MOD?
3. reanalyze syntax: $\rightarrow$ a much more transparent interface
4. support: distributional properties of the construction (English), further questions

Background assumptions: the view from the syntax

- Questions of Architecture and Division of Labor
  - from shallow structures, to highly decompositional structures...
  - from Levels of representations: D-structure, S structure with (traces) Riemsdijk and Williams (1986), and QR in LF
  - to MP: a single syntax (derivational syntax (cyclic interpretation, cyclic late spell-out)), with Merge, and Move(I-merge) as copy and delete, and QR as low spell out..
  - to narrow syntax, and post-narrow syntax (=PF syntax)?

Assume: Overt Scope Principle

- Kayne (1998): "cases of covert phrasal movement can be advantageously rethought in terms of overt movement"
  $\rightarrow$ *LF and PF Interpretation are informative about the sequence of Merge*

- Overt Scope Principle
  A syntactic object cannot be interpreted higher than where it is pronounced in the syntax.
  $\rightarrow$ reconstruction (cyclic interpretation) is OK, but no QR (or spell out of low copy)
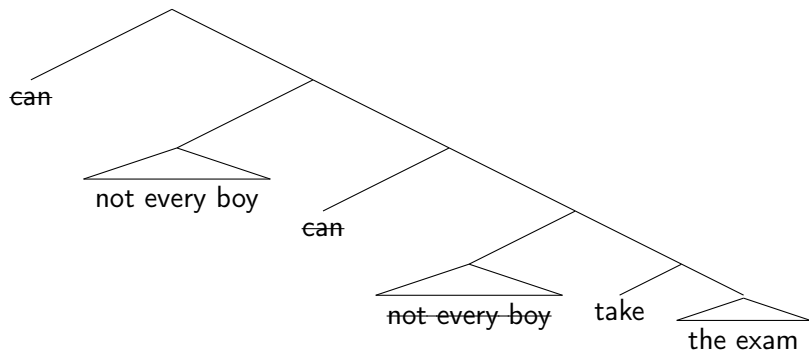
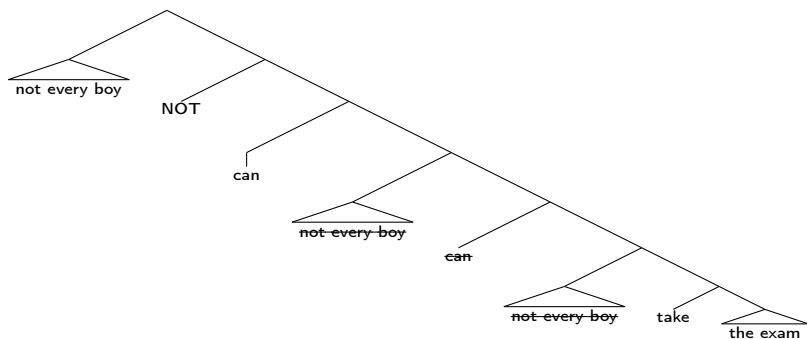# Syntactic derivation (Winnie Lechner -without labels) step 1

with this in mind..

not every boy   take   the exam
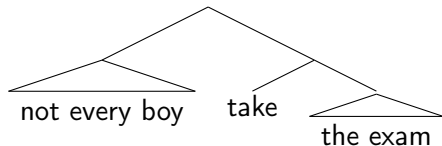
Syntax– Step 2: Merge *can*, "move" (I-merge) *not every boy*

not every boy

can

~~not every boy~~ take the exam
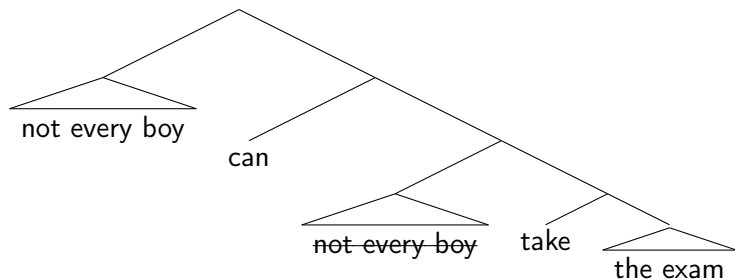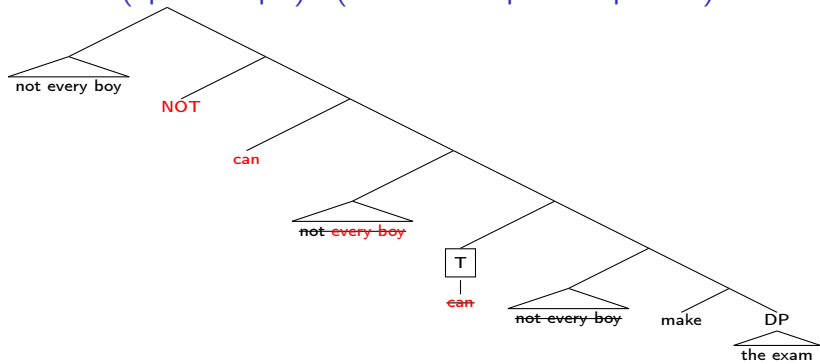
Syntax–step 3: Merge ? I-merge *can*:

Syntax–step 4 Merge abstract NOT, move *not every boy* –PF (delete..)

① labels?

② ... reduncancy in the syntactic representation?

Semantics (split scope): (red= interpreted pieces)

1. *not every boy* must be interpreted above the base position of the modal (*nice evidence!*).
   → In fact above T. *show further support below, and ask why: syntax!*
2. *can* takes scope from a position above *every boy* (=head movement).

Distributional properties (Collins (2017) for refs to previous literature

Preverbal vs postverbal asymmetries

(5) Negated Quantifier Phrase Constraint (NQPC)
If X is an overt occurrence of [not DP], then X c-commands a
clause-mate T.   Collins 2017

- Good cases

  1. *not QP* subject: A-movement.

     (6)   *not every boy, not even Bill*, but not: **not Bill left*

  2. Negative Inversion (with movement to Spec, Focus)

     (7)   Not every boy can she have danced with

  3. appositive relatives (*his guitars, not many of which*)

     (8)   There are umpteen Hendrix discographies and a
            thriving literature on his guitars (not many of which

- Bad cases

  1. *Not QP* cannot be postverbal [3]. → not QR-able.

     (9)   a.   *John saw not every slide
             b.   *John spoke to not every student
             c.   *he liked not every present
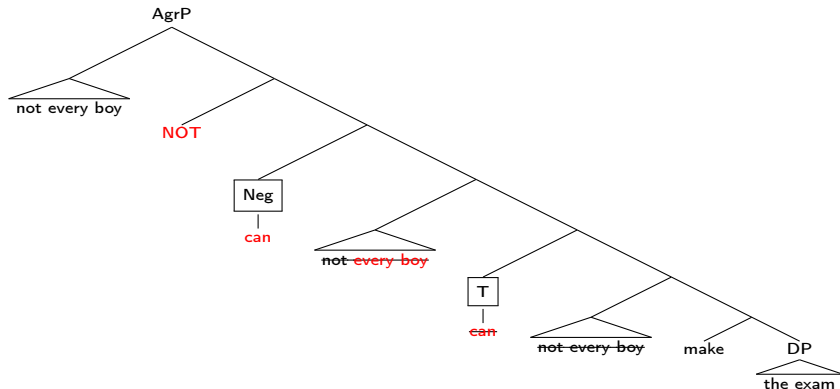   d.   *NOT he like not every present

  2. *not QP* cannot be DP internal, unless *not* is DP initial.

     (10)   * His refusal of not every bribe was exactly what we expected.

     (11)   Not everyone's family could be here today

---

[3]Scandinavian negative indefinites cannot be postverbal

# The view from the syntax:– problems

1. labeling– *can* is taking scope from the moved position or the T position.. → Reflects two possible E-merge positions of *possibility* MOD w.r.t **every**.
2. PF/LF redundancy (u, and i features). Only one scope position for *not* and why cannot *(not) every boy* reconstruct below T?

Syntactic structure–Labeling 1..

Assume WL is completely right– does it follow that head movement has semantic effects?
If head movement in the syntax: headedness/ labeling[4]

a.   b.
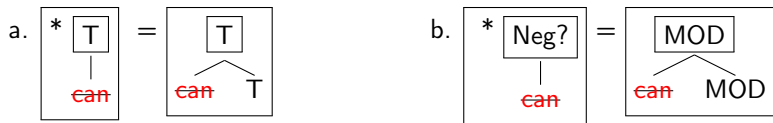
(12)   In a: T must project, as other properties of the projection depend on T
        In b: *can* cannot project Neg in b (and neg is indeed not PF interpreted on *can*).
        where is Mod w.r.t. to T?

(13)   Mod > [$_{TP}$ not every boy] T or [$_{TP}$ not every boy] T > Mod

---

[4]Williams (1981), Chomsky (2013)

2 External merge orders: not head movement has semantic effects

(14)   Distribution of *can*: V, $T_{present}$, $Mod_{possibility}$
        read: "can" is a piece of phonological structure which must be
        "associated" with V, $T_{present}$, $Mod_{possibility}$
   T, V and Mod are silent–only scope tells us how they are ordered

I assume both hierarchies are possible (i.e. two different merge structures).

(15)   two (?independent) possibilities of E-merge of:
        $\boxed{Mod_{possibility} > T}$ **or** $\boxed{T > Mod_{possibility}}$

(16)   a.   *can* moves until all properties are satisfied; $Mod_{possibility}$
              can enter into two different configurations.
        b.   It is not head movement that carries up MOD, and allows
              projecting MOD in a position above TP. excluding this possibility is
              theoretically desirable
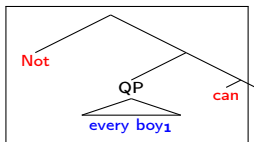
Interpretability of *not* and *(not) every N*
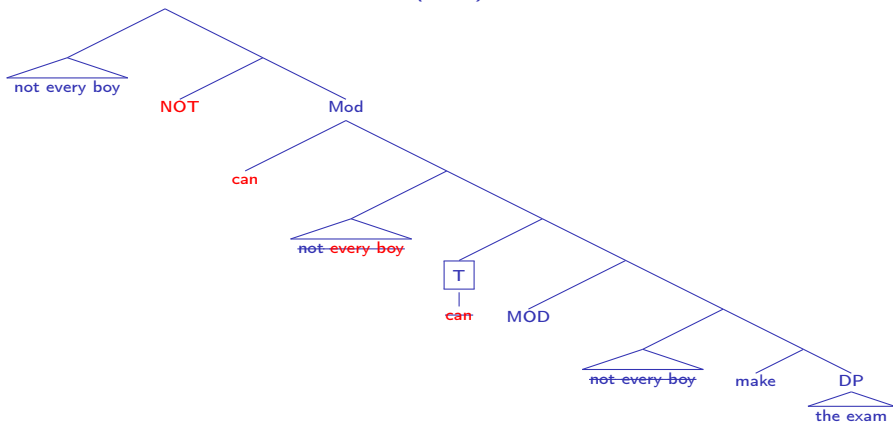
- Redundancy in the syntactic representation– why are not all the *not*'s interpretable?
- why cannot *every boy* be interpreted *below* the base position of *can* (= T)? *how many subject positions are there?*
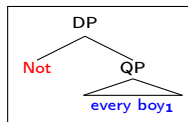
Redundancy: *Not* and the Overt Scope Principle

- *Not* is (only) interpretable in the position in which it is pronounced.

- The sentence is negative: Not every professor can ... , can he?

- *not* is E-merged where it is pronounced [5], Williams (2003), Sportiche (2005). $\boxed{\checkmark \text{ Overt scope principle}}$.

- Constituency?(a (Lasnik, 1976, Kayne 1998)) [6]

- Why are all these *not*'s uninterpretable? They are not structurally present. *not* occurs once (as in a) $\boxed{\checkmark \text{ Overt scope principle}}$. Not does not reconstruct (since it did not move).

---

[5]Kayne (1998); **?**

[6]More needs to be said about coordinatability of not ever DP

Redundancy and *every*
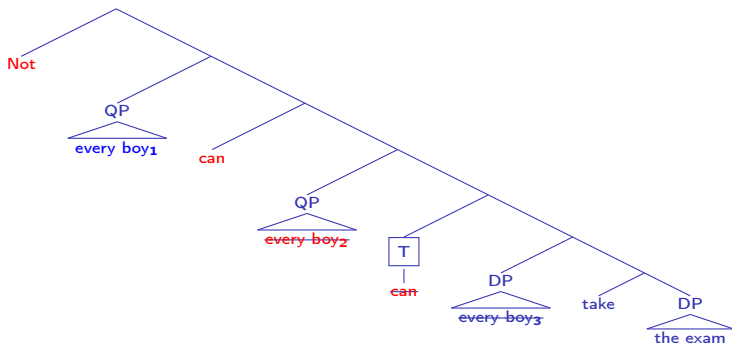
- *every boy* must be interpretable below *can*, but above T/Mod:
- → cannot reconstruct below the modal, regardless of the number of subject positions.
  →(perhaps) *every* is forced to enter the derivation above T. [7]

---

[7]Williams (2003), Sportiche (2005),..

This yields the following (simplified) syntactic representation

● Not: build QPs/DPs and merge in arguments positions– but functional material enters the derivation at different levels of embedding. "scattering" [8]
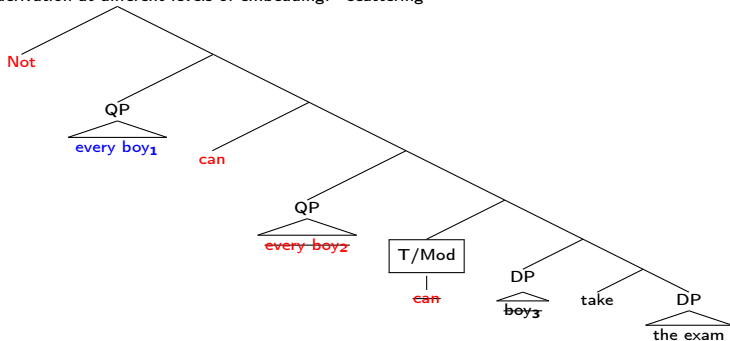
● ┃ Overt scope principle ┃ : syntactic derivation constrains the interpretations. Overt scope Principle reduces possible analyses, and provides hints as to where certain elements come into the derivation. (If you cannot reconstruct, the property is absent at that point in the derivation.)

---

[8] PPs, starting from Kayne (1994), Cinque (2006), DPs Sportiche (2005), etc.. , or Williams (2003 levels of embedding conjecture)

Accounting for Distributional properties Collins (2017)

(17)   Negated Quantifier Phrase Constraint (NQPC)
        If X is an overt occurrence of [not DP], then X
        c-commands a clause-mate T.   Collins 2017

not c-commands T; the NQPC must move up to *not*: .

- Good cases
  1. *not QP* subject → A-movement. *every* must be merged in the T region
  2. Negative Inversion (with A' movement to Spec, Focus)

     (18)   Not every professor had he danced with

- Bad cases

  1. *Not QP* cannot be postverbal [9]
     (19) is not a constituent–, and the postverbal position is not a position where neg can take sentential scope in English.

     (19)   *I showed [not every slide] *not must take sentential scope

  2. *not QP* cannot be DP internal, unless *not* is DP initial
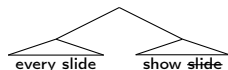
     (20)   *His refusal of not every bribe was exactly what we expected.   not cannot be merged here
             Not [[everyone] 's family] could be here today   as good as *everyone's family could be here*

---

[9]Scandinavian negative indefinites cannot be postverbal

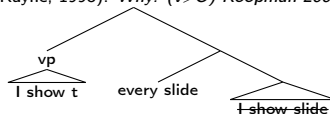# English: *not [Vp [every slide]*

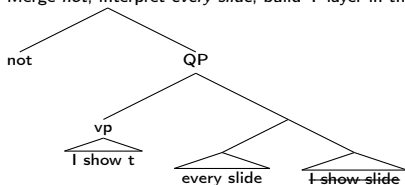(21)   I didn't show every slide   not > every

- vP moves around object (Kayne, 1998). *Why: (v>O) Koopman 2009: Minimality: so the subject can escape.*

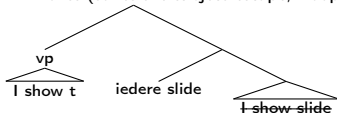- Merge *not*, interpret *every slide*, build T layer in the usual way.

Dutch: *not Vp every slide*

(22)   Dutch: No problems with object NQP– but Dutch is not: Neg V O!
The finite verb ends up in final position (as does the verb cluster or in V second position.

    a.   Ik heb niet iedere   slide laten zien
            I have not everyone slide let   see
            I did not show every slide

- vP moves (to let the subject escape, Koopman 2009) (v>O)

- Merge *niet*, interpret *every slide*, move vP to T layer. → linear adjacent!
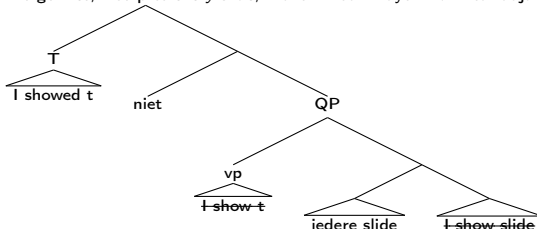
Extensions–Comparative syntax–Differences between varieties of English

West Texan English[10]

(23) a. Didn't everybody come to the workshop
      b. didn't noone come to the workshop   negative concord
      c. ain't everyone come to the workshop[11].

- choice of *not* and *n't*: n't is bound to T. → do support (in West Texan), ain't/be support,

---
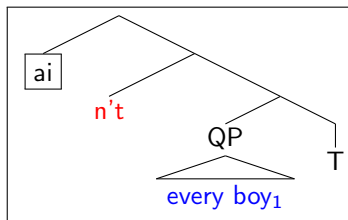
[10]Foreman (1999), Matyiku (2017)

[11]..following up on *Can't/(ain't) every professor (can) get a secret workshop* and available readings

Conclusion

- Head movement or its equivalent is in the syntax, regardless of scope
- Taking the Overt Scope Principle seriously, leads to
    - a (potentially) much cleaner syntax semantics interface
    - a simple theory of reconstruction
    - (I further) insights in the way surface constituency is built from Merge, and the question of determining what merges where and why. This question deserves to be taken up more widely.
    - a general argument that ondoing the syntactic derivations reveals the underlying hierarchy.

References

Burnett, Heather, Hilda Koopman, and Sali Tagliamonte. (to appear) 2018. Structural explanations in syntactic variation: The evolution of english negative and polarity indefinites. Language Variation and Change 1. To appear.

Campbell, Richard. 1991. Tense and agreement in different tenses. The Linguistic Review 8:159–184.

Chomsky, Noam. 2013. Problems of projection. Lingua 130:33–49.

Christensen, Kirsti K. 1986. Norwegian ingen: a case of post-syntactic lexicalization. In Workshop at the Ninth Scandinavian Conference, ed. Dahl sten and Anders Holmberg, 21–35. Stockholm: University of Stockholm.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 2006. Restructuring and functional heads: The cartography of syntactic structures,|, volume 4. Oxford University Press.

Collins, Chris. 2017. The distribution of negated quantifier phrases in english. February 2017.

Foreman, John. 1999. Syntax of negative inversion in non-standard english. In Proceedings of the Seventeenth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics. Stanford: CSLI. Citeseer.

Kayne, Richard S. 1991. Romance clitics, Verb movement, and PRO. Linguistic Inquiry 22:647–686.

Kayne, Richard S. 1994. The antisymmetry of syntax. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Kayne, Richard S. 1998. Overt vs. covert movement. Syntax 1:128–191.

Kayne, Richard S. 2000. Parameters and universal grammar. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Koopman, Hilda. 1984. The syntax of verbs. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris Publications.

Koopman, Hilda. 2012. Samoan ergativity as double passivization. Functional Heads: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 7:168–180.

Matyiku, Sabina. 2017. Semantic effects of head movement: Evidence from negative auxiliary inversion. Doctoral Dissertation, Yale, http://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/003708.

Riemsdijk, Henk van, and Edwin Williams. 1986. Introduction to the theory of grammar. MIT Press.

Sportiche, Dominique. 2005. Division of Labor between Merge and Move: Strict Locality of Selection and Apparent Reconstruction Paradoxes. In Proceedings of the Workshop Divisions of Linguistic Labor.

Svenonius, Peter. 2000. Quantifier movement in icelandic. The Derivation of VO and OV 31:255.

Svenonius, Peter. 2002. Strains of negation in norwegian. Working papers in Scandinavian syntax 69:121–46.

Williams, Edwin. 1981. On the notions" lexically related" and" head of a word". Linguistic inquiry 12:245–274.

Williams, Edwin. 2003. Representation Theory. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.