

Types of Movement

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Scrambling as A-bar Movement

Ref.: Müller & Sternefeld (1994), Müller (1995)

Claim:

Scrambling in German is A-bar movement.

1. Long-Distance Movement

Observation:

A-movement cannot apply long-distance; A-bar movement can.

- (1) *Long-distance movement:*
- *John₁ seems [CP that was killed t₁]
 - What₁ do you think [CP that she read t₁] ?
- (2) *dass keiner Hygrometer_i sagt [CP dass Antje t_i mag]
that no-one hygrometers says that Antje likes

Question:

How can this locality restriction be derived if scrambling is A-bar movement?

Answer:

This follows from the Principle of Unambiguous Binding (PUB; Müller & Sternefeld (1993)).

- (3) *Principle of Unambiguous Binding (PUB):*
A variable that is α -bound must be β -free in the domain of the head of its chain (where α and β refer to different types of positions).

2. Anaphoric Binding

- (4) a. John_i seems to himself_i [IP t_i to have shot Bill]
b. *[John and Mary]_i [IP [each other]_i do not really like t_i]
- (5) a. dass der Fritz_i sich_i [AP t_i schlau] vorkommt
that ART Fritz_{nom} REFL sly appears/strikes as
b. *[Den Frank]_i hat [IP sich_i manchmal t_i nicht gemocht]
ART Frank_{acc} has REFL sometimes not liked
- (6) a. dass der Arzt_i den Patienten_j sich_{i/j} t_i im Spiegel zeigte
that the doctor_{nom} the patient_{acc} REFL_{dat} in-the mirror showed

- b. dass man die Gäste_i einander_i t_i vorgestellt hat
that one_{nom} the guests_{acc} RECI_{dat} introduced-to has
- (7) a. dass der Arzt_i dem Patienten_j sich_{i/*j} im Spiegel zeigte
that the doctor_{nom} the patient_{dat} REFL_{acc} in-the mirror showed
b. *dass man den Gästen_i *einander_i vorgestellt hat
that one_{nom} the guests_{dat} RECI_{acc} introduced-to has
- (8) dass Antje_i ihr_i die Augen [PP über sich_{j/i}] öffnete
that Antje her_{dat} the eyes_{acc} about REFL opened
- (9) a. *dass [IP [den Frank]_i [IP sich_i manchmal t_i nicht gemocht hat]]
that ART Frank_{acc} REFL sometimes not liked has
b. *dass [IP [den Frauen]_i [IP einander_i t_i Bücher schenkten]]
that the women_{dat} RECI_{acc} books gave
- (10) dass der Fritz sich [PP von Henscheid]_j gestern [NP ein Buch t_j]
that ART Fritz_{nom} REFL_{dat} by Henscheid yesterday a book_{acc} bought
gekauft hat
has
- (11) a. [NP ein Buch [PP von Henscheid]_i [PP über sich_i]]
a book by Henscheid about REFL
b. dass dies [PP von Henscheid]_i [PP über sich_i (selbst)] geäußert wurde
that this by Henscheid about REFL uttered PASS
- (12) [Von Henscheid]_j hat der Fritz_k sich_{k/*i} [NP ein Buch t_j] gekauft
by Henscheid has ART Fritz REFL a book bought
- (13) dass der Fritz_k [PP von Henscheid]_j sich_{k/*i} [NP ein Buch t_j] gekauft hat
that ART Fritz_{nom} by Henscheid REFL a book bought has
- (14) a. subject > DO > IO > PP argument V
b. *subject > IO > DO > PP argument V

3. Strong Crossover

- (15) a. *Who_i does she_i like t_i ?
b. *Ich weiss nicht [CP wen_i sie_i t_i getroffen hat]
I know not who_{acc} she_{nom} met has
- (16) a. *John_i he_i likes t_i
b. *Den Fritz_i kann er_i t_i nicht leiden
ART Fritz_{acc} can he_{nom} not like
- (17) a. John_i seems to himself_i [IP t_i to have shot Bill]
b. dass der Fritz_i sich_i [AP t_i schlau] vorkommt
that ART Fritz_{nom} REFL smart appears/strikes-as
- (18) *dass [IP den Fritz_i [IP er_i [VP t_i nicht leiden kann]]
that ART Fritz_{acc} he_{nom} not like can

4. Weak Crossover

- (19)??[Which boy]_i does [NP his_i mother] like t_i ?
- (20) John_i [IP [NP his_i mother] likes t_i
- (21) *Condition on Bound Variable Pronouns:*
A bound variable pronoun must be co-indexed with a c-commanding A-position.
- (22) [Every boy]_i seems to [NP his_i mother] [IP t_i to be intelligent]
- (23) a. dass jeder_i [NP seine_i Schwester] verabscheut
that everyone_{nom} his sister_{acc} loathes
b. ??dass jeden_i [NP seine_i Schwester] t_i verabscheut
that everyone_{acc} his sister_{nom} loathes
- (24) a. Wer_i verabscheut t_i [NP seine_i Schwester] ?
who_{nom} loathes his sister_{acc}
b. ??Wen_i verabscheut [NP seine_i Schwester] t_i ?
who_{acc} loathes his sister_{nom}
- (25) a. Jeder_i verabscheut t_i [NP seine_i Schwester]
everyone_{nom} loathes his sister_{acc}
b. ??Jeden_i verabscheut [NP seine_i Schwester] t_i
everyone_{acc} loathes his sister_{nom}
- (26) dass [jedes Kind]_i [NP seiner_i Mutter] [IP t_i klug zu sein] scheint
that every child his mother_{dat} intelligent to be seems

Alternative judgments: dialect split

- (27) Wen_i verabscheut [IP t_i' [IP [NP seine_i Schwester] t_i]] ?
who_{acc} loathes his sister_{nom}
- (28) [Welches Kind]_i t_i' scheint [NP seiner_i Mutter] [IP t_i klug zu sein] ?
which child seems his mother_{dat} intelligent to be
- (29) a. *dass [NP seine_i Schwester] jeden Mann_i verabscheut
that his sister_{nom} every man_{acc} loathes
b. *[NP Seine_i Schwester]_j verabscheut t_j jeden Mann_i
his sister_{nom} loathes every man_{acc}
- (30) *Condition on Bound Variable Pronouns* (revised):
A bound variable pronoun must have
a. a c-commanding binder at S-structure, and
b. a c-commanding A-binder at LF.
- (31) *Condition on Bound Variable Pronominals* (second revision):
??[...bound variable pronoun[- δ]...]
- (32) δ -Assignment:
a. At S-structure, a pronoun receives the feature [+ δ] iff it has a binder, and [- δ] otherwise.

- b. At LF, a pronoun receives the feature [+ δ] iff it has an A- binder, and [- δ] otherwise.

Open problem: long-distance superiority

- (33)?*Wen_i denkt [NP seine_i Schwester] dass jeder t_i verabscheut ?
who_{acc} thinks his sister that everyone loathes

5. Parasitic Gaps

- (34) *Who_i [IP t_i met you [CP before you recognized e_i]] ?
- (35) a. What_i did you file t_i [CP before reading e_i] ?
b. *[This book]_i was filed t_i [CP before reading e_i]
- (36) a. [Welches Buch]_i haben alle [CP ohne e_i zu lesen] t_i ins Regal gestellt ?
which book have all_{nom} without to read into-the shelf put
b. [Dieses Buch]_i haben alle [CP ohne e_i zu lesen] t_i ins Regal gestellt
this book have all_{nom} without to read into-the shelf put
- (37) *dass [dieses Buch]_i [CP ohne e_i zu lesen] dem Peter t_i gegeben wurde
that this book without to read ART Peter_{dat} given was
- (38) a. dass [dieses Buch]_i alle [CP ohne e_i zu lesen] t_i ins Regal gestellt haben
that this book all_{nom} without to read into-the shelf put have
b. dass alle [dieses Buch]_i [CP ohne e_i zu lesen] t_i ins Regal gestellt
that all_{nom} this book without to read into-the shelf
haben
put have
- (39) *dass alle [CP ohne e_i zu lesen] [dieses Buch]_i ins Regal gestellt haben
that all_{nom} without to read this book into-the shelf put have
- (40) a. A-chains are maximal and involve a local binding requirement (Chomsky (1981), Rizzi (1986)).
b. A maximal A-chain $\langle \alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n \rangle$ has exactly one Case-marked position, and exactly one θ -marked position (Chomsky (1986; 1986a)).
- (41) *Who_i [IP t_i met you [CP Op_i before you recognized e_i]] ?
- (42) What_i did you file t_i [CP Op_i before reading e_i] ?
- (43) a. *[This book]_i was filed t_i [CP Op_i before reading e_i]
b. *dass [dieses Buch]_i [CP Op_i ohne e_i zu lesen] dem Peter t_i gegeben wurde
that this book without to read ART Peter_{dat} given was
- (44) dass [dieses Buch]_i alle [CP Op_i ohne e_i zu lesen] t_i ins Regal gestellt haben
that this book all_{nom} without to read into-the shelf put have
- (45) a. dass der Fritz_i sich_i [AP t_i schlau] vorkommt
that ART Fritz REFL smart appears/strikes-as
b. dass die Teilnehmer_i einander_i [IP t_i unglücklich zu sein] schienen
that the participants RECIIP unhappy to be appeared

6. Reconstruction

- (46) a. ?*dass der Arzt_j sich*/i/j den Patienten_i t_i im Spiegel gezeigt hat
that the doctor_{nom} REFL_{dat} the patient_{acc} in-the mirror shown has
b. ??dass die Gastgeber seine_i Tanzpartnerin [jedem Mann]_i t_j vorgestellt
that the hosts_{nom} his dancing-partner_{acc} every man_{dat} introduced-to
haben
have
- (47) a. Sich_i (selbst) hat Fritz_i schon immer t_i gemocht
REFL PRT has Fritz always liked
b. [Seine_i Tanzpartnerin]_j muss [jeder Mann]_i selbst t_j aussuchen
his dancing-partner must every man himself choose
- (48) a. dass sich_i der Fritz_i t_i schlau vorkommt
that REFL ART Fritz smart appears
b. dass seine_i Mutter jeder_i t_i mag
that his mother_{acc} everyone_{nom} likes
- (49) a. ?*Sich_i (selbst) hat der Arzt den Patienten_i t_i im Spiegel gezeigt
REFL PRT has the doctor the patient_{acc} in-the mirror shown
b. ??[Seine_i Tanzpartnerin]_j haben die Gastgeber [jedem Mann]_i t_j vorgestellt
his dancing-partner have the hosts every man_{dat} introduced-to

7. Dative and Accusative Objects

Assumption:

DO > IO is the base order in the VP; but if it bears dative case, the IO moves to a GF-position (which is also an A-bar position, but more A-like than the typical scrambling position) (μ).

7.1. Weak Crossover

- (50) a. ??dass jeden_i seine_i Mutter t_i mag
that everyone_{acc} his mother_{nom} likes
b. ??Wen_i hat seine_i Mutter t_i nicht gemocht ?
who_{acc} has his mother_{nom} not liked
- (51) a. dass jeder_i seine_i Mutter mag
that everyone_{nom} his mother_{acc} likes
b. Wer_i mag t_i seine_i Mutter nicht ?
who_{nom} likes his mother_{acc} not
- (52) a. dass die Gastgeber jedem Mann_i seine_i Tanzpartnerin vorgestellt haben
that the hosts_{nom} every man_{dat} his dancing partner_{acc} introduced have
b. dass jedem Mann_i die Gastgeber t_i seine_i Tanzpartnerin vorgestellt haben
that every man_{dat} the hosts_{nom} his dancing partner_{acc} introduced have
c. Wem_i haben die Gastgeber t_i seine_i Tanzpartnerin vorgestellt ?
whom_{dat} have the hosts_{nom} his dancing partner_{acc} introduced

- (53) a. ?dass die Gastgeber jeden Mann_i seiner_i Tanzpartnerin vorgestellt haben
that the hosts_{nom} every man_{acc} his dancing partner_{dat} introduced-to have
b. ?dass jeden Mann_i die Gastgeber seiner_i Tanzpartnerin t_i vorgestellt haben
that every man_{acc} the hosts_{nom} his dancing partner_{dat} introduced-to have
c. ?Wen_i haben die Gastgeber seiner_i Tanzpartnerin t_i vorgestellt ?
who_{acc} have the hosts_{nom} his dancing partner_{dat} introduced-to
- (54) *Constraint on Bound-Variable Pronouns* (revised): A bound-variable pronoun must be GF-bound at LF.
- (55) ?... DO_i ... [VP [NP seiner_i ...]_j [VP t_i [V' t_j]]]...
- (56) *Chain-Binding* (Barss (1984)):
X chain-binds Y iff X and Y are co-indexed, and
a. X c-commands Y, or
b. X c-commands a trace of Z, where Z = Y or Z contains Y.
- (57) a. Man schickte [NP jedes Kind_i] [PP zu seiner_i Familie] heim
one sent every child_{acc} to its family home
b. Die Wahrsagerin hat [NP jeder Frau_i] die Augen [PP über ihren_i Mann]
the soothsayer has every woman_{dat} the eyes_{acc} about her husband
geöffnet
opened

7.2. Weibelhuth's Paradox

- (58) ?weil Fritz jeden Gast_i [CP ohne e_i anzuschauen] seinem_i Nachbarn
because Fritz every guest_{acc} without to-look-at his neighbour_{dat} introduced-to
vorgestellt hat
has
- (59) ... jeden Gast_i [CP ohne e_i anzuschauen] [VP [seinem_i Nachbarn]_j [VP t_i [V' t_j vorgestellt]]] ...
- (60) weil Fritz die Gäste_i [CP ohne e_i anzuschauen] einander_i vorgestellt hat
because Fritz the guests_{acc} without to-look-at each other introduced-to has
- (61) ...die Gäste_i [CP ohne e_i anzuschauen] [VP t_i [V' einander_i vorgestellt]]]...

Mahajan:

- (62)?*weil Fritz jeden Gast_i seinem_i Nachbarn [CP ohne e_i anzuschauen]
because Fritz every guest_{acc} his neighbour_{dat} without to-look-at
vorgestellt hat
introduced-to has
- (63)?*weil Fritz jeden Gast_i der Maria [CP ohne e_i anzuschauen] vorgestellt
because Fritz every guest_{acc} ART Maria_{dat} without to-look-at introduced-to

hat
has

- (64) weil Fritz jeden Gast_i gestern [_{CP} ohne e_i anzuschauen] beleidigt hat
because Fritz every guest_{acc} yesterday without to-look-at offended has

References

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