

A Unified Theory of Movement

The Lexicon

X-Bar Rules

The model of
Grammar
we've
developed in
this class so far

D-Structure

Theta Criterion, Binding Conditions

Transformational Rules

DP Movement
Head Movement
Wh-movement
Expletive Insertion
Do-insertion

S-Structure

EPP, Case Filter, MLC

Grammaticality Judgments

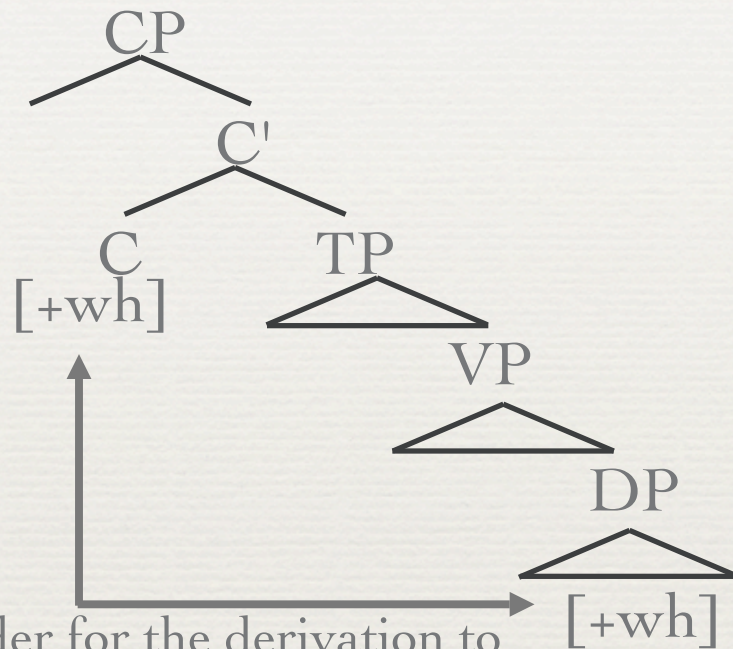
Evaluating the grammar

- ♦ Observational?
 - ♦ Partly, it certainly accounts for much of the data you might run across in a corpus (although not all).
- ♦ Descriptive?
 - ♦ Partly, it does account for many grammaticality judgments (although not all)
- ♦ Explanatory?
 - ♦ Since much of the grammar is innate, and the rest is parameterized, yes.

But could it be
simpler?

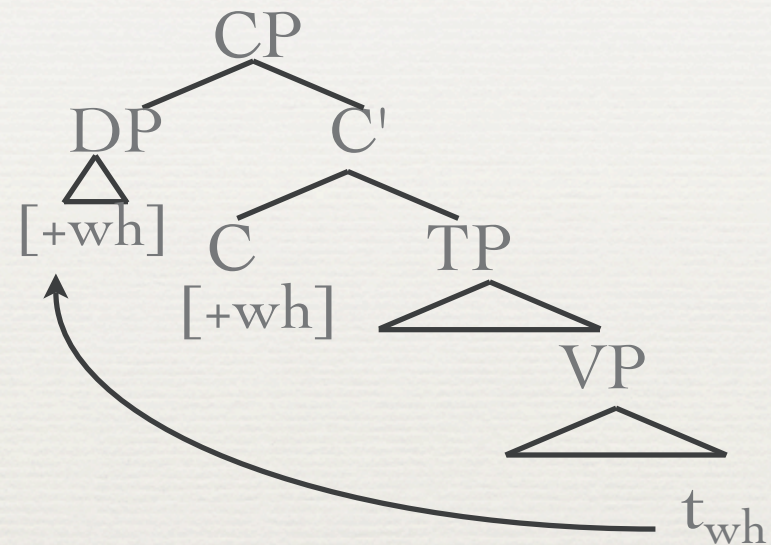
Unifying the three types of movement

Wh-features



In order for the derivation to "converge", the two $[+wh]$ features must "check" against each other. But in order to do so they must be local. Here they are too far apart.

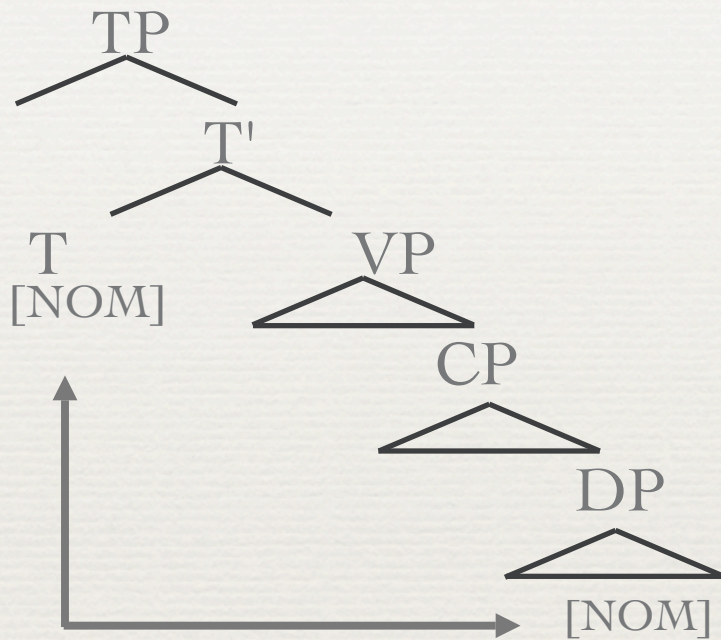
Before movement



After movement, the $[wh]$ features are close to one another, so they can check

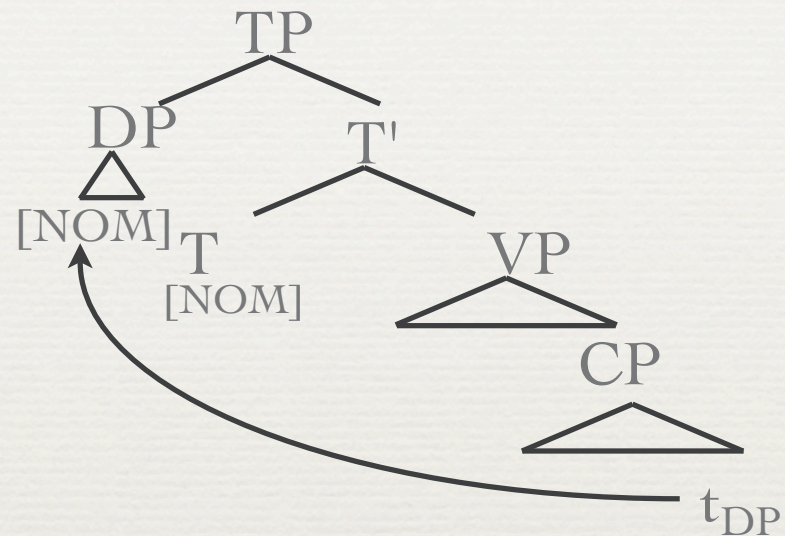
After movement

[NOM] Case-features



In order for the derivation to "converge", the two [NOM] features must "check" against each other. But in order to do so they must be local. Here they are too far apart.

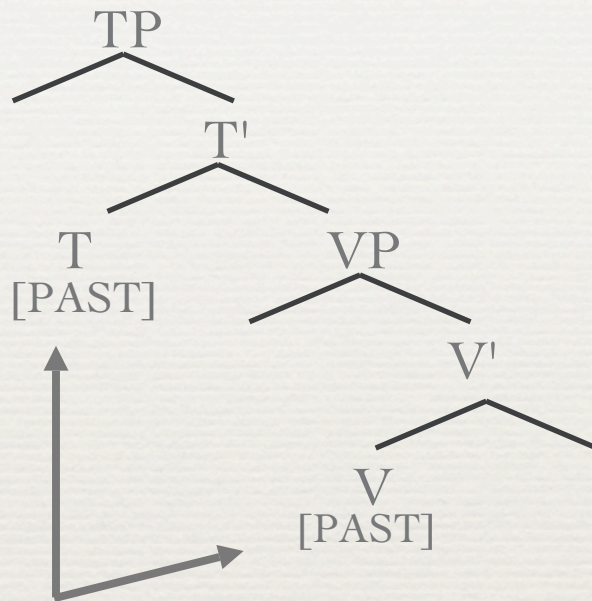
Before movement



After movement, the [NOM] features are close to one another, so they can check

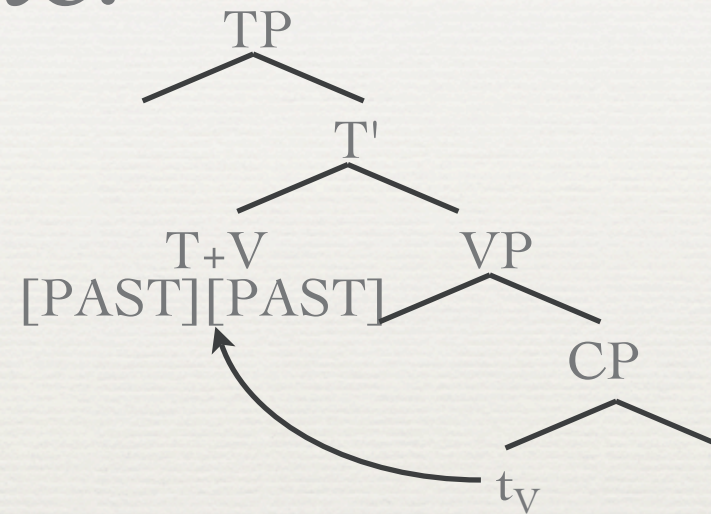
After movement

Tense-features, [Q] features etc.



In order for the derivation to "converge", the two [Past] features must "check" against each other. But in order to do so they must be local. Here there are too far apart.

Before movement



After movement, the [PAST] features are close to one another, so can they can check

After movement

Local Configuration

- ♦ ***Principle of Full Interpretation:*** Features must be checked in a local configuration
- ♦ Local Configuration
 - ♦ [ACC] features: Head/Complement configuration
 - ♦ [PAST], etc., [Q] features: Head-head configuration
 - ♦ [WH]: Specifier/Head configuration.

Move

- ♦ With this in place we can simplify our movement rules down to one rule:
- ♦ **Move**: Move stuff around.
- ♦ This is filtered by FI: movement happens only to get features close to one another.

Merge

- ♦ There is an equivalent single rule that replaces the three X-bar rules. This is MERGE. We're not going to spend any time on this rule. But roughly it's "stick stuff together" and then it is filtered by FI. The X-bar rules can be viewed as constraints that hold over the output.

Explaining Cross Linguistic Variation

Giving a more uniform explanation to cross-linguistic variation

- ♦ How do we account for the fact that English lowers its T and French raises its V etc.?
- ♦ To answer this question we need to take a little detour into semantics:

Two kinds of Quantifiers

- ♦ Universal Quantifier (\forall): Every, All,
- ♦ Existential Quantifier (\exists): Some, A, One
- ♦ Notice that the following sentence is ambiguous
 - ♦ Everyone ate an apple.
 - ♦ Meaning 1: Each person ate their own apple
 - ♦ Meaning 2: There was a single apple that everyone had a piece of.

Two kinds of Quantifiers

- ♦ Everyone ate an apple.
 - ♦ Meaning 1: Each person ate their own apple
 - ♦ For every person x , there is some apple y , such that x ate y :
 - ♦ $\forall x(\exists y[x \text{ ate } y])$ (Universal quantifier has "wide scope")
 - ♦ Meaning 2: There was a single apple that everyone had a piece of.
 - ♦ For some apple y , and every person x ate y .
 - ♦ $\exists y(\forall x[x \text{ ate } y])$ (Universal quantifier has "narrow scope")

Let's translate into syntax: With wide scope the universal quantifier c-commands the existential quantifier, with narrow scope the c-command relationships are reversed.



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Ambiguity

- ♦ Remember: Ambiguity is supposed to be structural -- appear in the tree.
- ♦ How do we get the narrow scope reading, where *some* c-commands *every*?
- ♦ Movement:
 - ♦ An apple_i everyone ate t_i
- ♦ But hold on a minute! This is the wrong order for the sentence.
- ♦ Uhm, maybe there is a kind of movement you can't hear? This is called **COVERT** movement.

Saussurian Signs

- ♦ Every Linguistic expression consists of two linked parts: a signifier (sound) and a signified (meaning). Let's built on that concept and assume that there are really two parts to every sentence:
 - ♦ A Phonetic Form (PF) (signifier)
 - ♦ A Logical Form (LF) (signified)
- ♦ We call these “interface levels” because they are the interface between the syntax and the phonology/semantics.

A Minimalist Model

Lexicon

↓
X-bar or
merge →

D-Structure

Overt
movement you
can hear

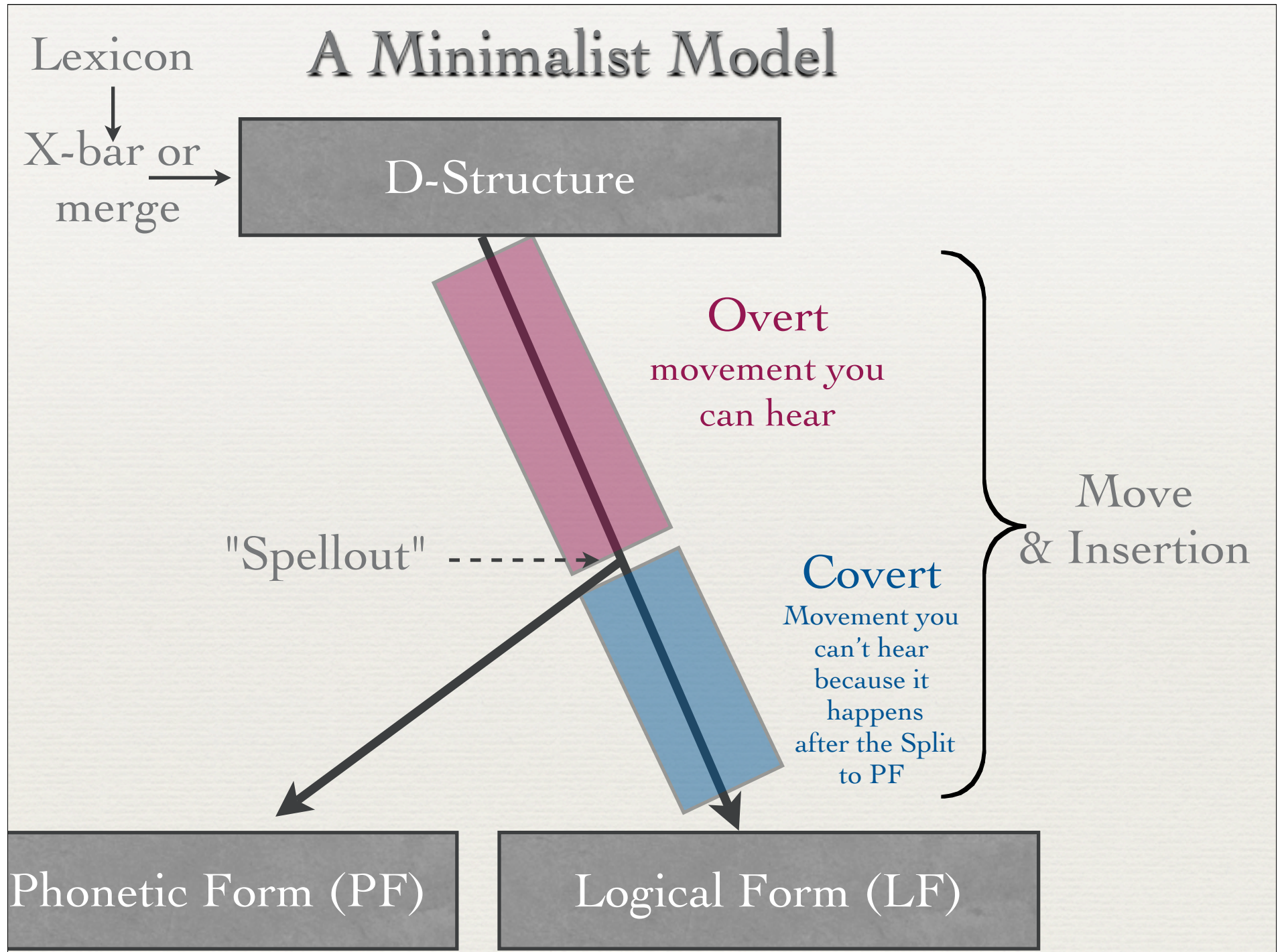
"Spellout" →

Covert
Movement you
can't hear
because it
happens
after the Split
to PF

Move
& Insertion

Phonetic Form (PF)

Logical Form (LF)



Covert Quantifier Movement

[_{CP} [_{TP} **Everyone ate an apple**]] "Spellout" (and PF)

Covert Movement

[_{CP} **an apple_i** [_{TP} Everyone ate t_i]] LF

The cross-linguistic claim

- ♦ All languages have exactly the same movements. (i.e. English has verb raising).
- ♦ BUT languages vary in whether the movement is overt or covert. This is encoded in parameters.

Head Movement

FRENCH

Head Movement Overt

Je $T_{[pres]}$ souvent mange_[pres] des pommes



Overt Move

Je $T_{[pres]}$ +mange_[pres] souvent t_v des pommes

Je $T_{[pres]}$ +mange_[pres] souvent t_v des pommes

ENGLISH

Head Movement Covert (main verbs)

I $T_{[pres]}$ often eat_[pres] apples



Covert Move

I $T_{[pres]}$ often eat_[pres] apples **SO**

I $T_{[pres]}$ +eat_[pres] often t_v apples **LF**

Wh-movement in Chinese

a) Ni kanjian-le shei?

You saw who

"Who did you see?"

b) *Shei ni kanjian-le *t*?

Who you saw

"Who did you see?"

Wh-movement

ENGLISH

Overt Wh-movement

[_{CP} C_[+wh] [_{TP} You did see what_[+wh]]]

Overt Move

[_{CP} what_i did+C_[+wh] [_{TP} You t_T see t_i]]

[_{CP} what_i did+C_[+wh] [_{TP} You t_T see t_i]]

CHINESE

Covert Wh-movement

[_{CP} C_[+wh] [_{TP} Ni kanjian-le shei_[+wh]]]

[_{CP} C_[+wh] [_{TP} Ni kanjian-le shei_[+wh]]]

Covert Move

[_{CP} Shei C_[+wh] [_{TP} Ni kanjian-le t_i]]

S
O
L
F

DP-movement

Assumption VP-internal Subjects

FRENCH

Overt DP movement

[TP T_[pres] [VP il mange_[pres] des pommes]]

Overt Move

il T_[pres]+mange_[pres][VP t_{DP} t_V des pommes]

il T_[pres]+mange_[pres][VP t_{DP} t_V des pommes]

IRISH

Covert DP movement

[TP T_[pres] [VP sé itheann_[pres] úill]]

T_[pres]+Itheann [VP sé t_V úill]

Covert Move

Sé T_[pres]+Itheann [VP t_{DP} t_V úill]

SO

LF

Is there any further evidence for covert movement?

- ♦ Note there are two kinds of wh-in-situ
 - ♦ English Echo Questions
 - ♦ Japanese/Chinese Wh-questions
- ♦ The latter kind involve movement, the first kind do not.
- ♦ Movement should trigger MLC effects -- you shouldn't be able to escape out of a wh-island.

MLC violations in Japanese

*Nani-o doko-de katta ka oboete-iru no?

What-acc where-at bought Q remember Q

“What do you remember where we bought?”

Summary

- ♦ Simplified Theory of movement:
 - ♦ 1 rule (move)
 - ♦ 1 principle (FI)
 - ♦ Move to get local
- ♦ Cross-linguistic variation is accounted for using timing. All movement types are universal, but whether that movement is overt or covert (silent) is parameterized