

CONSTRAINING COPY DELETION

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE HYPOTHESIS

- (1) Copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995)
 $\begin{matrix} X & \dots & X \\ \uparrow & & \uparrow \\ \text{---} & & \text{---} \end{matrix}$ → Delete applies to (α, β) and eliminates phonetic material from β
- (2) Constraint on Copy Deletion (CCD)
 A chain (α, β) is **deletable** only if β ends an XP

1.2. SOME ILLUSTRATIONS

- (3) the man will ~~the man~~ kick the ball
- (4) liknot Dan kiva liknot et ha-sefer
 buy.INF Dan hoped buy.INF ACC the-book
- (5) lesen wird er ein Buch lesen
 buy.INF will he a book buy.INF

1.3. PENDING QUESTION: HEAD-ADJUNCTION

- (6) a. dass sie das Buch (*lesen) lesen
 that they the book (*read) read
 b. will John (*will) read the book

1.4. PLAN OF THE TALK

- (7) a. **Predicate fronting**
- ```

 V-topicalization
 / \
 yes no
 / \
double pronunciation Norwegian, Swedish
 / \
yes no
 / \
Hebrew, Vietnamese German, Dutch

```
- b. **NP-split** in Vietnamese  
 c. Head-adjunction  
 d. Further issues

## 2. PREDICATE FRONTING IN HEBREW AND VIETNAMESE

### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

In Hebrew and Vietnamese, a topicalized verb is pronounced twice, clause-initially and before the direct object.

- (9)  $V \dots [_{VP} \dots V \text{ object}]$   
 $\uparrow$  → chain created = (V, V)

Thus, if (9) is the analysis of predicate fronting in Hebrew and Vietnamese, the CCD explains the phenomenon of double pronunciation in these languages. I will offer independent evidence that (9) is the correct analysis of predicate fronting in Hebrew and Vietnamese.

## 2.2. HEBREW

The topicalized verb and its TP-internal copy is related by  $\bar{A}$ -movement.

- (11) Complex NP island  
 \*liknot Dan daxa et ha-te'ana še-hu kiva liknot  
 buy.INF Dan rejected ACC the-claim that-he hoped buy.INF  
 et ha-sefer  
 ACC the-book
- (12) Subject island  
 \*liknot še-Gil yirce liknot et ha-sefer ze cafuy  
 buy.INF that-Gil want.FUT buy.INF ACC the-book COP expected
- (13) Adjunct island  
 \*liknot Dan samax ki Dina kiva liknot et ha-sefer  
 buy.INF Dan was.happy because Dina hoped buy.INF ACC the-book
- (14) Factive/non-bridge island  
 \*liknot Dan laxaš/hitca'er še-Dina kiva liknot et ha-sefer  
 buy.INF Dan whispered/regretted that-Dina hoped buy.INF ACC the-book

The topicalized verb is not a remnant VP created by object extraposition.

- (15) a. Extraposition of the object  
 $[_{VP} \text{ verb object}] \dots \text{object}$   
 $\uparrow$  → chain created = (object, object)
- b. Remnant VP-topicalization  
 $[_{VP} \text{ verb object}] \dots [_{VP} \text{ verb object}] \dots \text{object}$   
 $\uparrow$  → chain created = (VP, VP)
- (16) a. Dan kiva liknot maxar et ha-sefer  
 Dan hoped buy.INF tomorrow ACC the-book  
 b. ?Dan kiva liknot maxar oto  
 Dan hoped buy.INF tomorrow it
- (18) a. liknot Dan kiva liknot et ha-sefer  
 buy.INF Dan hoped buy.INF ACC the-book  
 b. liknot Dan kiva liknot oto  
 buy.INF Dan hoped buy.INF it

The topicalized verb is not a remnant VP created by object shift (scrambling).

- (19) a. Scrambling of the object to the left of VP  
 $\text{oto} \dots [_{VP} \text{ liknot oto}]$   
 $\uparrow$
- b. Adjunction of V to a null functional head above the scrambled object  
 $[_F \text{ liknot } F] \dots \text{oto} \dots [_{VP} \text{ liknot oto}]$   
 $\uparrow$
- c. Topicalization of the remnant VP  
 $[_{VP} \text{ liknot oto}] \dots [_F \text{ liknot } F] \dots \text{oto} \dots [_{VP} \text{ liknot oto}]$   
 $\uparrow$

→ (19a) and (19b) not independently attested (Landau 2006, Preminger p.c.)  
 → why is [Spec,C] overt?

## 2.3. VIETNAMESE

- (20) a. no nen doc sach  
 he should read book

- b. no thi nen doc sach  
 he TOP should read book
- c. sach thi no nen doc  
 book TOP he should read
- d. doc thi no nen doc sach  
 read TOP he should read book

The topicalized verb is its TP-internal copy is  $\bar{A}$ -related.

- (22) Unboundedness  
 doc thi toi nghi la no nen doc sach  
 read TOP I think that he should read book
- (23) Complex NP island  
 \*doc thi toi tin chuyen no doc sach  
 read TOP I believe story he read book
- (24) Subject island  
 \*doc thi no doc sach la tot  
 read TOP he read book COP good
- (25) Adjunct island  
 \*doc thi no vui vi toi doc sach  
 read TOP he happy because I read book
- (26) Factive /non-bridge island  
 \*doc thi toi tiec/thi-thao la no doc sach  
 read TOP I regret/whisper that he read book

The topicalized verb is not a remnant VP created by object scrambling.

- (27) Only definite objects can scramble, and the landing site must be higher than [Spec,T]
- a. quyen sach nay no nen doc  
 CL book this he will read
- b. \*no nen quyen sach nay doc  
 he should CL book this read
- c. \*mot quyen sach no nen doc  
 one CL book he should read
- (29) doc thi no nen doc mot quyen sach  
 read TOP he should read one CL book  
 'As for reading, he should read a book'

The topicalized verb is not a remnant VP created by object extraposition.

- (30) Short bare nouns such as *sach* 'book' cannot extrapose.
- a. no doc sach hom-qua  
 he read book yesterday
- b. \*no doc hom-qua sach  
 he read yesterday book

- (31) doc thi no nen doc sach  
 read TOP he should read book

## 2.4. SUMMARY

- (31) [CP V ... [VP ... V object]]  
 ▲ → chain created = (V, V)

The CCD explains the fact that the topicalized verb is pronounced twice, both at the matrix [Spec,C] and at the base position. In this sense, Hebrew and Vietnamese give empirical support to the CCD.

## 3. PREDICATE FRONTING IN GERMAN AND DUTCH

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

There is another way to explain the double pronunciation phenomenon in Hebrew and Vietnamese.

- (32) Revised Constraint on Copy Deletion (RCCD)  
 CH = ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ) is deletable only if CH is uniform

German and Dutch provide evidence that the correct constraint is the CCD, not the RCCD.

- (32) [CP V ... [VP ... object V]]  
 ▲ → chain created = (V, V) → not uniform

### 3.2. GERMAN

It has frequently been observed that German allows a (non-tensed) verb without any arguments to occupy the Vorfeld (Thiersch 1985, den Besten and Webelhuth 1987, Müller 1998, Fanselow 2002, Hinterhölzl 2002, among others).

- (33) a. lieben will Hans die Maria  
 love wants Hans the Maria  
 b. gelesen hat Hans das Buch  
 read has Hans the Buch  
 Hinterhölzl (2002: 127)

Predicate fronting in German is regular topicalization

- (34) Unboundedness  
 lesen denke ich wird Hans ein Buch  
 read think I will Hans a book
- (35) Complex NP island  
 \*lesen glaube ich die Geschichte, dass Hans ein Buch wird  
 read believe I the story, that Hans a book will
- (36) Subject island  
 \*lesen ist dass Hans ein Buch wird ganz überraschend  
 read is that Hans a book will totally surprising

<sup>1</sup> Although intransitives and unaccusatives are not the main concern of this paper, it is perhaps worth noting that when an intransitive or unaccusative verb is fronted in Hebrew and Vietnamese, double pronunciation is not obligatory, but optional (thanks go to Omer Preminger for providing the Hebrew facts).

- (i) Hebrew  
 lalexet Dan kiva (lalexet)  
 walk.INF Dan hoped (walk.INF)
- (ii) Vietnamese  
 den thi no se (den)  
 come TOP he will (come)

This fact follows straightforwardly from the CCD and the theory proposed in Hale and Keyser (1993), according to which intransitives are hidden transitives with covert objects: when V is fronted, double pronunciation is obligatory, and when VP is fronted, it is impossible, and as both V- and VP-fronting are available in Hebrew and Vietnamese, optionality of double pronunciation is observed.

(37) Adjunct island  
 \*lesen bin ich glücklich, weil Hans ein Buch wird  
 read am I happy because Hans a book will

(38) Factive /non-bridge island  
 \*lesen bereue/flüstere ich, dass Hans ein Buch wird  
 read regret/whisper I that Hans a book will

Arguments have been given that topicalization of the main verb in German may take place without any VP constituent having scrambled or extraposed out of VP (Fanselow 2002, Hinterhölzl 2002).

(39) Interrogative wh-phrases cannot scramble (Müller and Sternefeld 1993: 471)  
 a. ich weiß nicht, wem<sub>1</sub> der Fritz t<sub>1</sub> was gesagt hat  
 I know not, to whom the Fritz what said has  
 b. \*ich weiß nicht, wem<sub>1</sub> was<sub>2</sub> der Fritz t<sub>1</sub> t<sub>2</sub> gesagt hat  
 I know not, to whom what the Fritz said has

(40) Indefinite wh-phrases cannot scramble (Marie-Christine Meyer p.c.)  
 a. dass der Fritz wen geküsst hat  
 that the Fritz whom kissed has  
 b. \*dass wen der Fritz geküsst hat  
 that whom the Fritz kissed has

Let us register another fact about German. In this language, extraposed materials must follow both the main verb – if it is not in C – and any auxiliary that follows the main verb. Extraposition to a position before the main verb and a following auxiliary is not possible.

(41) a. dass er [von einer schönen Frau] geträumt hat  
 that he of a beautiful woman dreamed has  
 b. dass er t<sub>1</sub> geträumt hat [von einer schönen Frau]<sub>1</sub>  
 that he dreamt has of a beautiful woman  
 c. \*dass er t<sub>1</sub> geträumt [von einer schönen Frau]<sub>1</sub> hat  
 that he dreamt of a beautiful woman has  
 'That he has dreamt of a beautiful woman'

If the object of a topicalized verb is a wh-phrase and precedes an auxiliary, it must be inside VP.

(42) Interrogative wh-phrases (Fanselow 2002: 101)  
 geküsst wüsste ich gern wer wen hat  
 kissed knew I gladly who whom.ACC has

(43) Indefinite wh-phrases (Fanselow 2002: 103)  
 geküsst dürfte er schon öfter wen haben  
 kissed might he already more-often whom.ACC have

Scrambled objects become opaque for extraction (Müller 1998).

(44) a. worüber<sub>1</sub> hat keiner [ein Buch t<sub>1</sub>] gelesen  
 about-what<sub>1</sub> has no one a book read  
 b. \*worüber<sub>1</sub> hat [ein Buch t<sub>1</sub>]<sub>2</sub> keiner t<sub>2</sub> gelesen  
 about-what<sub>1</sub> has a book no one read  
 (Müller 1998: 12)

But extraction from stranded objects is possible.

(45) a. er dürfte sie ja wohl kaum damit widerlegt haben  
 he might her yes well barely there with refuted have  
 b. widerlegt dürfte er sie da<sub>1</sub> ja wohl kaum [t<sub>1</sub> mit] haben  
 refuted might he her there yes well barely with have  
 (Fanselow 2002: 110)

### 3.3. DUTCH

A similar argument can be made for Dutch (Hedde Zeijlstra).

(46) a. kussen wil Jan een vrouw  
 kiss wants Jan a woman  
 b. gedronken heeft Jan een biertje  
 drunk has Jan a beer

(47) Unboundedness  
 lezen denk ik dat Jan een boek wil  
 read think I that Jan a book wants

(48) Complex NP island  
 \*lezen geloof ik dat verhaal, dat Jan een boek wil  
 read believe I the story, that Jan a book wants

(49) Subject island  
 \*lezen is dat Jan een boek wil totaal verrassend  
 read is that Jan a book wants totally surprising

(50) Adjunct island  
 \*lezen ben ik gelukkig, omdat Jan een boek wil  
 read am I happy because Jan a book wants

(51) Factive/non-bridge island  
 \*lezen betreur/fluister ik, dat Jan ein boek wil  
 read regret/whisper I that Jan a book wants

Predicate fronting in Dutch is V-topicalization

(54) a. Jan wil een vrouw gekust hebben  
 Jan wants a woman kissed have  
 b. \*Jan wil gekust een vrouw hebben  
 Jan wants kissed a woman have  
 'Jan M have kissed a woman'

(52) gekust wil hij vaak een vrouw hebben  
 kissed wil he often a woman have  
 'he wants to have often kissed a woman'

### 3.4. SUMMARY

We have argued that German and Dutch permits V-topicalization: the main verb can raise to [Spec,C], with other VP constituents remaining in situ. Schematically:

(55) [CP V ... [VP ... object V # ]]  
 ▲ → chain created = (V, V)

Given the basic SOV word order of German and Dutch, the absence of double pronunciation follows from the CCD: (V, V) is deletable, since the lower V copy is at the right edge of VP.

## 4. PREDICATE FRONTING IN NORWEGIAN AND SWEDISH

### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

Norwegian and Swedish are SVO languages. The CCD predicts that if V is fronted to [Spec,C] in these languages, double pronunciation will result, since the lower V copy is not at the right edge of an XP. To the best of my knowledge, predicate fronting in Norwegian and Swedish does not show double pronunciation. It follows that if the CCD is true, predicate fronting in Norwegian and

Swedish cannot be V-topicalization, but must be remnant VP movement. I argue that Norwegian and Swedish are not counterexamples to the CCD, i.e. that these languages do not have V-topicalization.

#### 4.2. NORWEGIAN

VP-topicalization is possible in Norwegian.

- (56) a. syngi har jeg ikke  
          sung have I not  
          'I did not sing'
- b. syngi trur jeg at han ikke har  
          sung believe I that he not has  
          'I believe he did not sing'
- c. sett mannen har jeg ofte  
          seen the-man have I often

V-topicalization is not possible.

- (57) \*sett har jeg oft mannen  
      seen have I often the-man  
      'I often saw the man'
- (58) \*<sup>?</sup>sett har jeg dem ofte  
      seen have I them often  
      'I saw them often'

#### 4.3. SWEDISH

Holmberg (1999) claims that Swedish has V-topicalization (Holmberg 1999: 7).

- (59) Kysst har jag henne inte (bara hållit henne i handen)  
      kissed have I her not (only held her by the-hand)
- (60) a. V-topicalization  
          [<sub>CP</sub> kysst ... [<sub>TP</sub> ... inte [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> henne]]]  
          ▲
- b. Object Shift (counter-cyclic)  
          [<sub>CP</sub> kysst ... [<sub>TP</sub> ... henne inte [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>DP</sub>]]]  
          ▲
- (61) Holmberg's Generalization (Holmberg 1999: 15)  
      Object Shift cannot apply across a phonologically visible category asymmetrically c-commanding the object position except adjuncts

Holmberg postulates HG on the basis of facts such as (63) (Holmberg 1999: 1-2).

- (63) a. Overt V blocks OS  
          \*jag har henne<sub>1</sub> inte [<sub>VP</sub> kysst t<sub>1</sub>]  
          I have her not kissed
- b. Overt indirect object blocks OS  
          \*jag gav<sub>1</sub> den<sub>2</sub> inte [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> Elsa t<sub>2</sub>]  
          I gave it not Elsa
- c. Overt verb particle blocks OS  
          \*dom kastade<sub>1</sub> mej<sub>2</sub> inte [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> ut t<sub>2</sub>]  
          they threw me not out

Holmberg also presents (64) as supporting evidence for HG (Holmberg 1999: 8-9).

- (64) a. jag hörde henne<sub>1</sub> inte [t<sub>1</sub> hålla föredrag]  
          I heard her not give talk
- b. [hörde henne hålla föredrag] har jag inte  
          heard her give talk have I not
- c. \* [hörde t<sub>1</sub> hålla föredrag] har jag henne<sub>1</sub> inte  
          heard give talk have I her not  
          'Heard her give a talk, I have not'

- (66) Fox and Pesetsky (2005)  
      a. Spell-out linearizes VP and CP ('phases') cyclically  
      b. Spell-out cannot add inconsistent information  
      c. Traces are invisible to Spell-out

- (67) a. ?[Gett henne t<sub>1</sub>] har jag den<sub>1</sub> inte ...  
          given her have I it not  
      b. \* [Gett t<sub>1</sub> den] har jag henne<sub>1</sub> inte ...  
          given it have I her not
- (68) a. \*Hört<sub>V</sub> har jag henne<sub>1</sub> inte t<sub>V</sub> [t<sub>1</sub> hålla föredrag]  
          heard have I her not give talk  
      b. \*Hört<sub>V</sub> har jag inte t<sub>V</sub> [Per hålla föredrag]  
          heard have I not Peter give talk

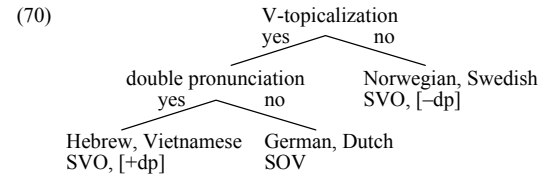
#### 4.3. CONCLUSION

Den Besten and Webelhuth (1987: 15): "[t]here is a sharp contrast between the Germanic SVO and SOV languages with respect to sentences where a nonfinite verb is topicalized together with (zero or) one of its objects, stranding (at least) one object."

→ the CCD can make sense of this observation

Assume a parameter, [±dp]. Languages which are [+dp] tolerate the pronunciation of both copies of (certain) chains, while those with [-dp] do not.

- (69) Theorem  
      If a language has V-topicalization, it is either SOV or [+dp]



#### 5. NP-SPLIT IN VIETNAMESE

##### 5.1. OPTIONALITY OF DOUBLE PRONUNCIATION

- (72) sach thi toi mua mot quyen (sach) ve vat-ly  
      book TOP I buy one CL (book) about physics  
      'As for books, I bought a one about physics'

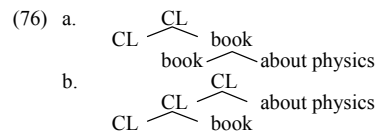
##### 5.2. CHIERCHIA (1998)

- (73)  $\begin{matrix} \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} \\ | & | & | & | \\ \text{a+b+c} & \text{b+c} & \text{c+d} & \\ | & | & | & \\ \text{a} & \text{b} & \text{c} & \end{matrix}$  = [[book-s]]  
 $\begin{matrix} \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} \\ | & | & | & | \\ \text{a+b} & \text{b+c} & \text{c+d} & \\ | & | & | & \\ \text{a} & \text{b} & \text{c} & \end{matrix}$  = [[book]]

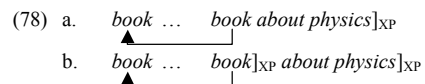
(74)  $\begin{matrix} a+b+c \\ a+b & b+c & c+d \\ a & b & c \end{matrix} = [[furniture]]$

(75)  $[[CL]] = [\lambda P.\lambda x.P(x) \wedge atomic(x)]$

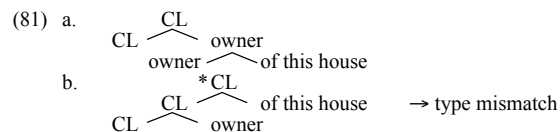
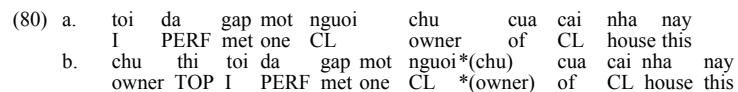
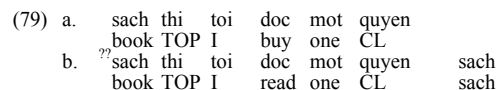
5.3. EXPLAINING OPTIONALITY OF DOUBLE PRONUNCIATION



(77)  $[[[(76a)]]] = [[[(76b)]]] = \text{the set of atomic books about physics}$



5.4. DERIVING OTHER FACTS



6. HEAD-ADJUNCTION

6.1. THE PROBLEM

Head-adjunction poses a problem for the CCD: irrespective of whether the lower copy ends an XP or not, there is never double pronunciation.

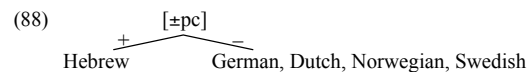
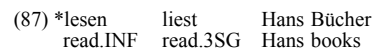
- (82) Rina kanta et ha-sefer  
Rina bought ACC the-book
- (83) liknot hi kanta et ha-praxim  
buy.INF she bought ACC the-flowers
- (84) Landau's (2006) analysis for (89): parallel chains  
V ... [T V+T] ...  $\forall$  object

6.2. HYPOTHESIS 1

- (85) Implicational Constraint on Copy Deletion (ICCD)  
Delete applies to CH = (α, β) only if the two members of CH stand in the following relation:  
If α ends an XP, then β does too.
- (86) Adjoined heads do not end XP  
→ adjoined heads are not XPs (Chomsky 1994: 408-409)  
→ head-adjunction is left-adjunction (Baker 1988)
- $\begin{matrix} X^\circ \\ / \quad \backslash \\ H \quad X^\circ \end{matrix}$

What about 'parallel chains'?  
→ X fails to be pronounced if there is one deletion process which applies to X

Question: why does Hebrew have parallel chains, while German does not?



- (89) Yiddish is [+pc] (Cable 2004: 2)  
Essen est Maks fish  
eat.INF eat.3SG Maks fish
- (90) Spanish is [+pc] (Vicente 2007: 62)  
conducir, Juan condujo un camion  
drive.INF Juan drive.3SG a truck
- (91) Yiddish is [+dp] (Cable 2004: 2)  
gegessen hot Maks gegessen fish  
eaten has Makx eaten fish
- (92) Spanish is [+dp] (Vicente 2007: 7)  
jugar, Juan suele jugar al futbol los domingos  
play.INF Juan HAB.3SG play.INF at football the Sundays

Suppose German and Dutch are [-dp]

- (93) [+pc] = [+dp] = {Hebrew, Spanish, Yiddish, (Vietnamese)}  
[-pc] = [-dp] = {German, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish}

Since [+pc, -dp] and [-pc, +dp] are coherent settings, the absence of languages with these settings indicates that a generalization is being missed.

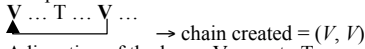
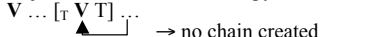
6.3. HYPOTHESIS 2

Suppose V-to-T movement is a PF-operation which creates no chain (Chomsky 1995, Grodzinsky and Finkel 1998, Chomsky 2000, Boeckx and Stjepanovich 2001).<sup>2</sup>

(94) V-to-T movement  
 $X - T - Y - V - Z \rightarrow X - [T V T] - Y - Z$

<sup>2</sup> For empirical and conceptual arguments that head-adjunction is part of narrow syntax, see Gergel (2005), Lechner (2005), Matushansky (2006), Vicente (2007).

The lack of double pronunciation in head-adjunction automatically follows: the lower copy is not pronounced because there is no lower copy! This solution also enables us to get rid of [ $\pm$ pc], since there are no parallel chains.

- (95) a. V-topicalization  

  
 b. Adjunction of the lower V copy to T  


→ only [+dp] languages allow the derivation in (100)

## 7. FURTHER ISSUES

→ Chain Uniformity = a generalization about head-initial and [-dp] languages, e.g. English (Emonds 1964: 11).

→ Reference to edges of syntactic constituents of designated types in the X-bar hierarchy is a distinctive property of syntax-phonology mapping rules (Selkirk 1984, 1986, Chen 1985, Hale and Selkirk 1987, Truckenbrodt 1995).

- (96) Align(XP,R/L)  
 Align the right/left edge of every XP with the right/left edge of a phonological phrase

- (97) Prosodic Constraint on Copy Deletion (PCCD)  
 ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ) is deletable only if  $\beta$  is followed/preceded by a phonological phrase boundary

- (98) Output of overt syntax → Align(XP,R) → Delete → Prosodic structure → further rules...

Japanese lacks V-topicalization (Yasutada Sudo p.c., Shigeru Miyagawa p.c.)...

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