

Prominence-based licensing in head movement and head bundling

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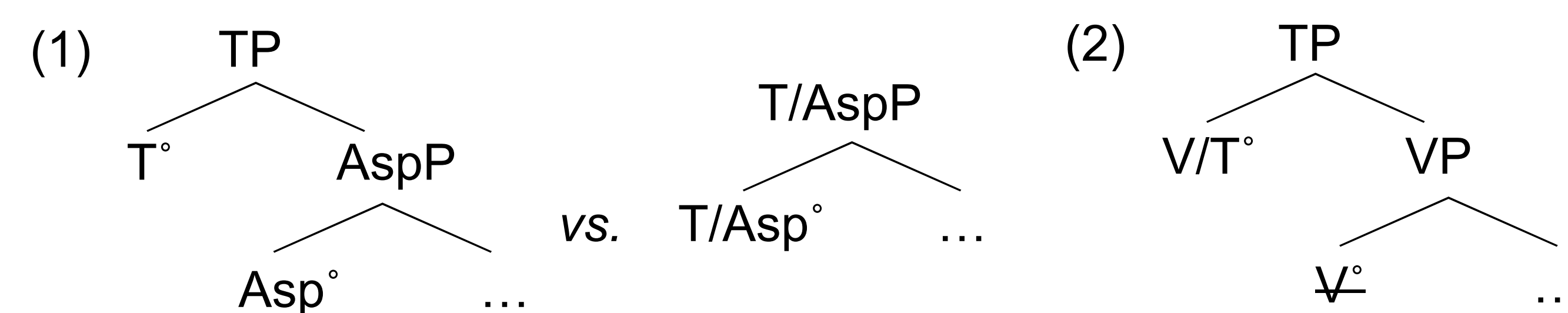
1. Introduction

Two types of variation in the structure of extended projections are analyzed in terms of **head bundling**:

[1] The number of functional projections built from a feature set, i.e. *feature scattering* (Georgi & Pianesi 1997):

[2] Concatenation of heads following head movement, i.e. *head adjunction* (Travis 1984, Baker 1988)

- Ex. [1]: Distinct vs. bundled TenseP, AspectP.
- Ex. [2]: V-to-T movement.



Main claim 1: Both types of bundling are driven by a **prominence-based licensing** restriction on syntactic features:

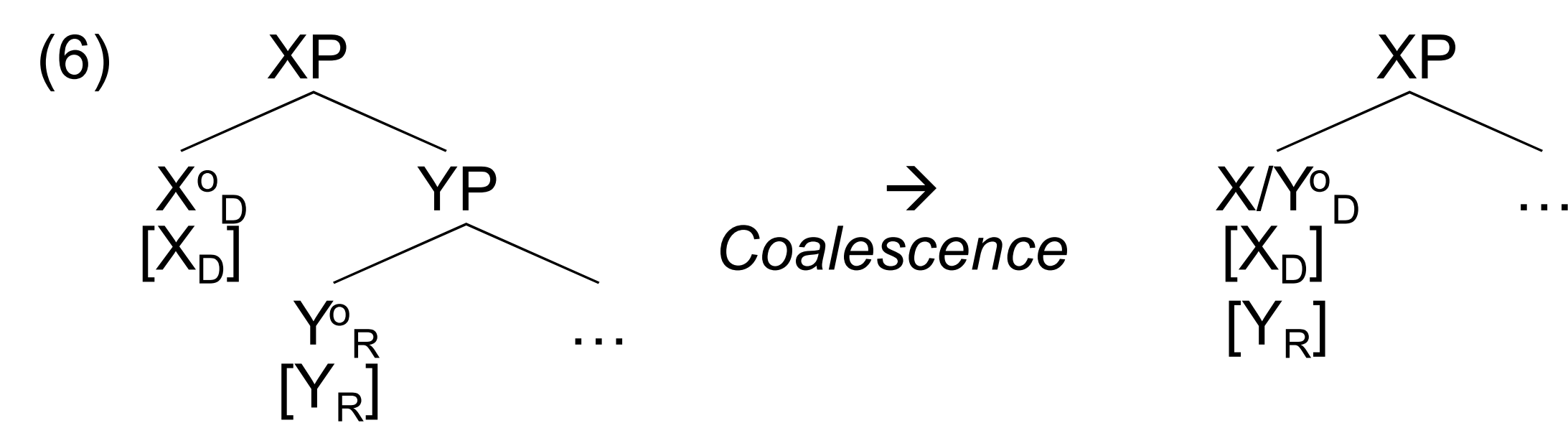
- Some features are grammatically expressed only when associated with a position of prominence.
- Each category feature is either **dominant** or **recessive**, and first Merged on a distinct head (3,4).
- Recessive features compel bundling; by the end of the derivation, every head must contain a dominant feature (5).

Main claim 2: Heads are bundled by a syntactic bundling operation **Coalescence** (Hsu 2016).

Feature scattering and head-adjunction share a *locality restriction*.

- Feature scattering applies to hierarchically contiguous features (Georgi & Pianesi 1997).
- Head-adjunction requires the lower head to move and c-command the target head (Matushansky 2006).

Coalescence applies in a *head-adjacency* configuration where a dominant head c-commands a recessive head.



- Feature scattering: Coalescence not preceded by internal Merge.
- Head adjunction: Coalescence preceded by internal Merge.

2. Delayed Gratification effects

Phrasal movement to some projections is only possible if head movement has also taken place.

- Scandinavian Object Shift (den Dikken 2007): Swedish ex.

(7) jag kysste henne inte kysste henne
I kissed her not
'I did not kiss her.'

(8) a. *at jag henne inte kysste henne
that I her not kissed

b. at jag inte kysste henne
that I not kissed her

'... that I did not kiss her.'

- Nupe perfect clause extraction (Kandybowicz 2009)
- Romance V-to-T movement (Gallego 2005, 2010)

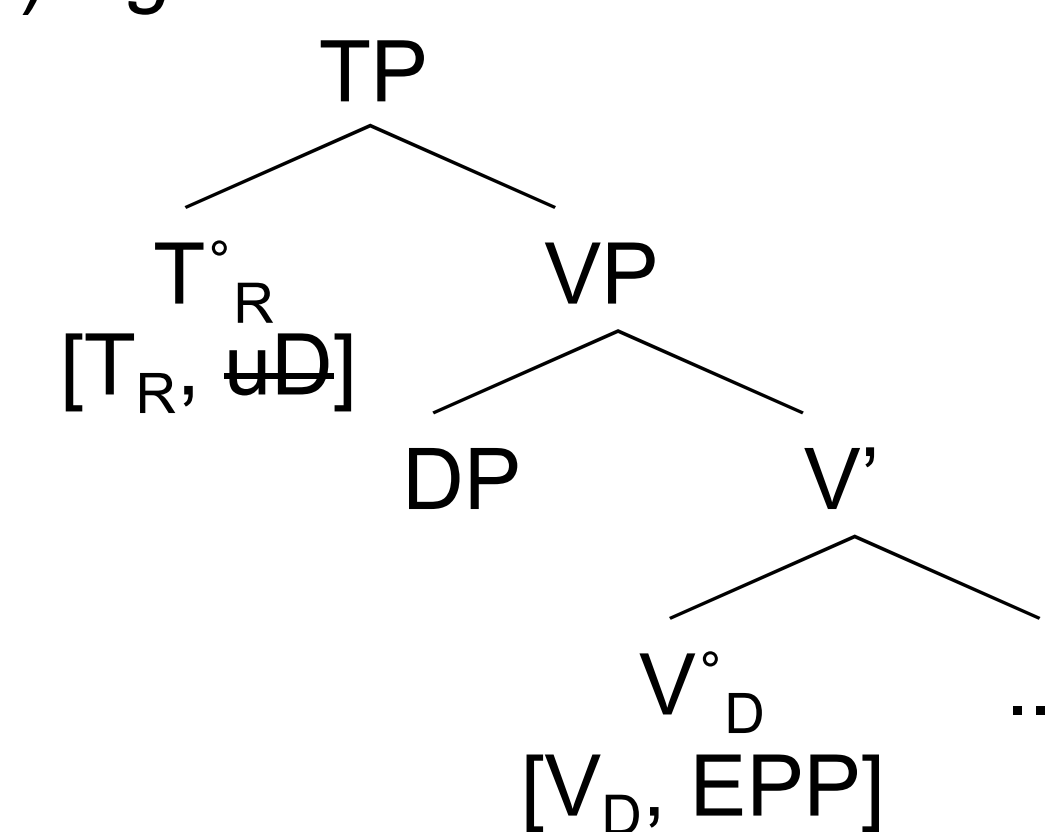
Unexpected if head movement, phrasal movement are fully independent, or if head movement is postsyntactic.

Proposal: A probe on the target head associates with the [EPP] feature of lower, dominant head after Coalescence.

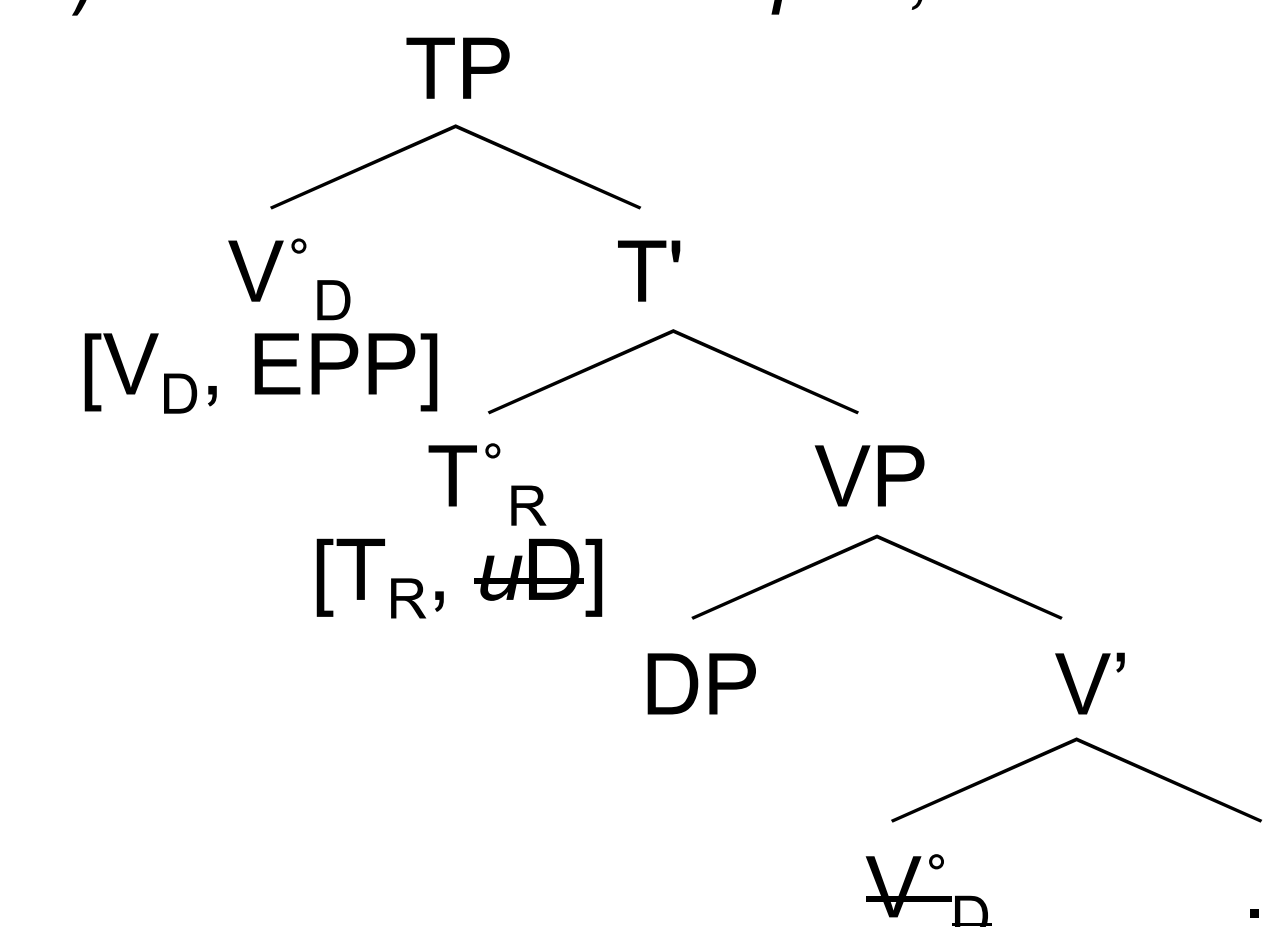
Auxiliary assumptions:

- [uF] probes checked by Agree (9), but not immediately deleted (Pesetsky & Torrego 2000).
- Checked [uF] triggers phrasal movement only when its head has [EPP] (12).
- [EPP] can associate with multiple probes during a derivation, and is not deactivated.

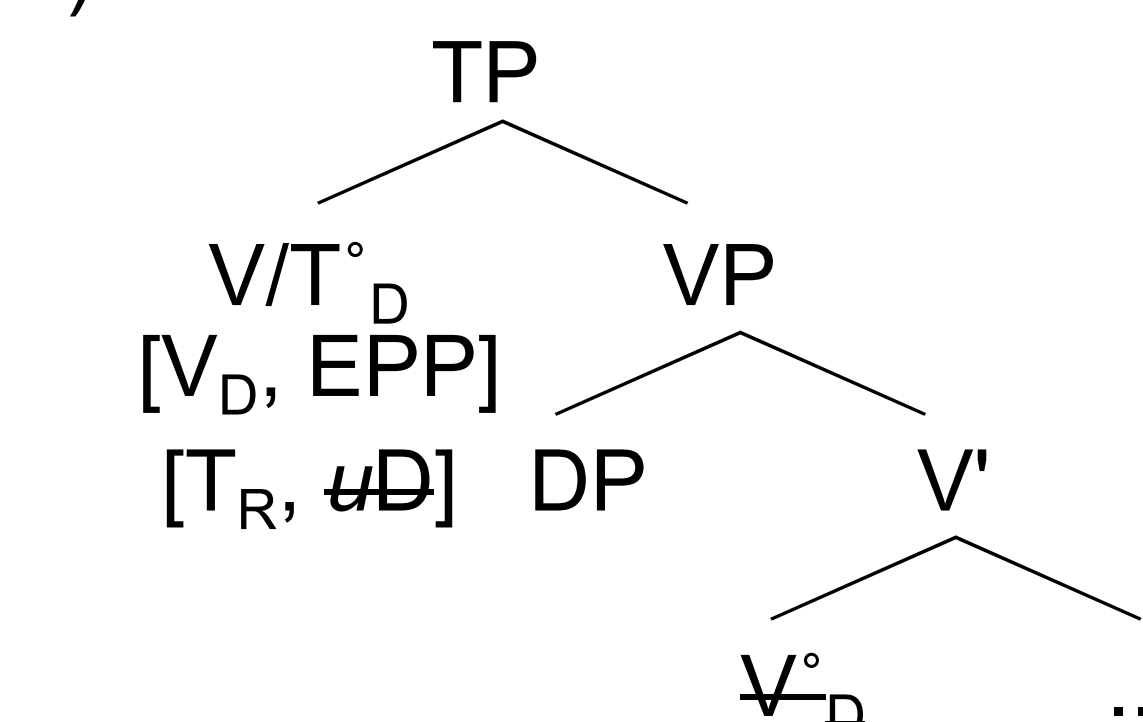
(9) Agree



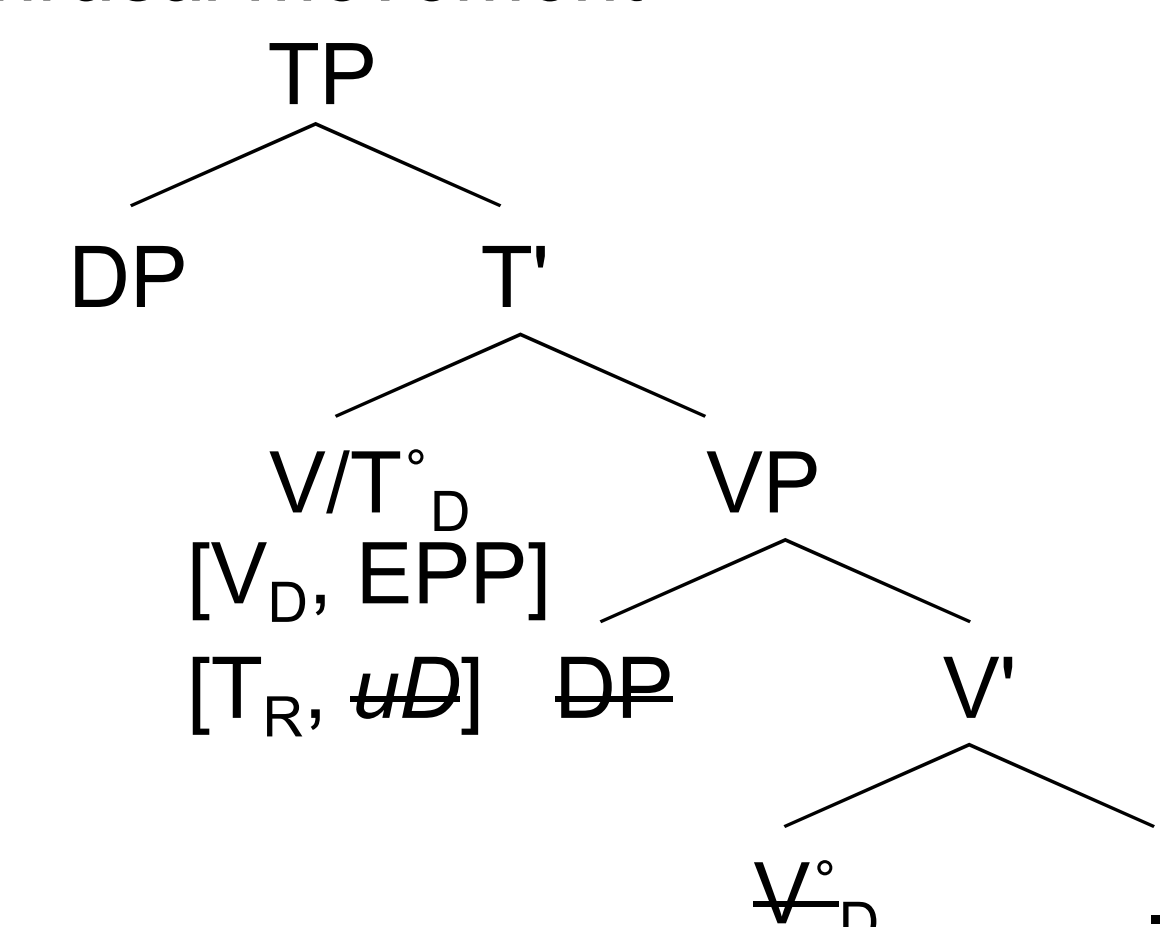
(10) V movement to Spec, TP



(11) Coalescence



(12) Phrasal movement



3. Unrestricted Edge Feature effects

Multiple probes on one head compete to trigger phrasal movement; "unrestricted edge feature" pattern (Fanselow 2009).

- German V2: First position can be occupied by topic, focus, or pragmatically neutral subject (Mohr 2009).

(13) [Diesen Minister]_{TOP} hat die Presse schon lange kritisiert
this minister has the press already long criticized
'This minister has long been criticized by the press.'

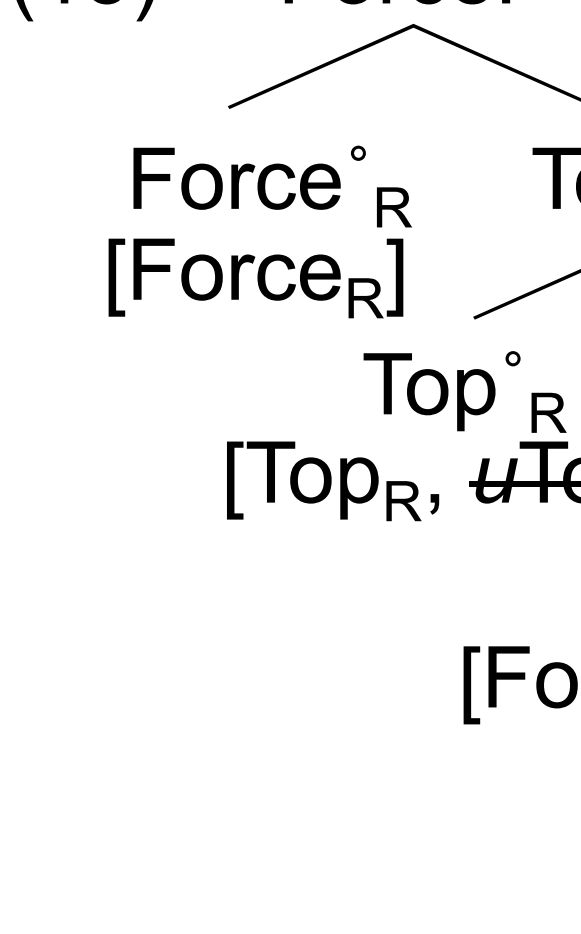
(14) [Einen MINISTER]_{FOC} hat die Presse schon lange kritisiert
a minister has the press already long criticized
'a MINISTER has long been criticized, (not the chancellor).'

Proposal: Such patterns arise when multiple recessive features are bundled on a dominant head with [EPP].

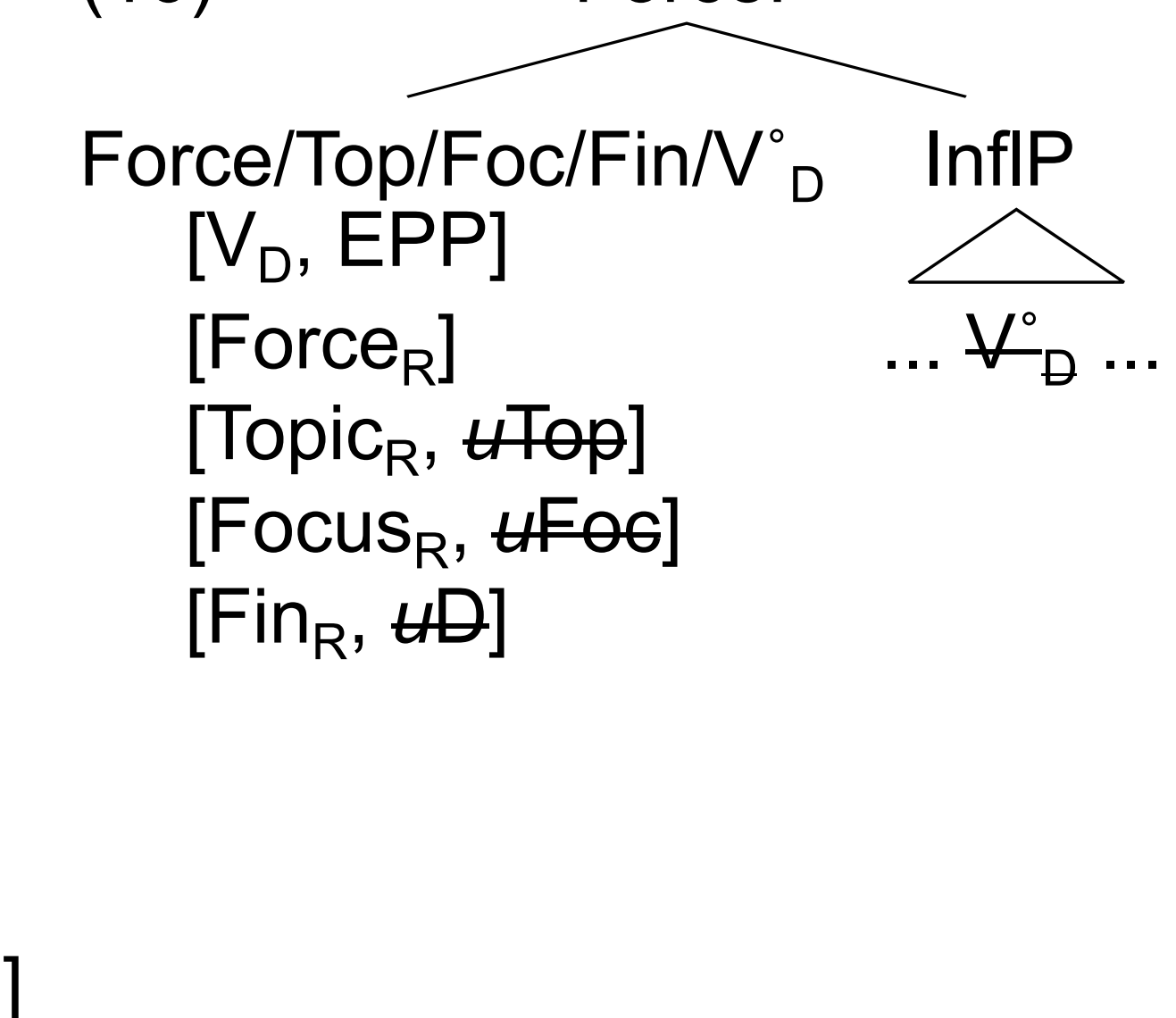
Before verb movement, distinct Topic[°]_R, Focus[°]_R, Finiteness[°]_R heads (Rizzi 1997) are Merged, each associated with a probe.

- Each probe is checked by agreement, but cannot yet trigger phrasal movement (15).

(15) ForceP



(16) ForceP



- Main clauses: Coalescence fed by verb movement (16). EPP associates with [uTop], [uFoc] or [uD], triggering XP movement.
- Embedded clauses: Coalescence follows external Merge of a dominant complementizer *dass* without [EPP].

4. Summary

Head movement and bundling "**prune**" tree structures by combining weak branches (X[°]_R) with productive ones (X[°]_D).

Parametric variation in two properties of extended projections is explained in terms of the distribution of dominant features.

- More dominant features → more articulated functional structure.
- More dominant features → fewer head movements possible.