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1. INTRODUCTION

Displacement property of human language: a phrase at one place in the sentence seems to produce an effect as if it is at another place.

(1) a. Sơn sẽ đọc thơ của nội
   Sơn will read poem of him
   'Son will read his poems'
   b. *Nội, sẽ đọc thơ của Sơn.

(2) a. Thơ của nội, thì Sơn sẽ đọc
   Poem of him, TOP Sơn, will read
   'Sơn's professor hates him'
   b. *Thơ của Sơn, thì nội, sẽ đọc

(3) Giáo sư của Sơn rất ghét nội
   professor of Sơn very hate him
   Sơn's professor hates him

(4) a. *John kissed
   b. who did John kiss

Theoretical solution: two copies of the same phrase, standing in a relation called "movement".

(5) [Thơ của Sơn, thì nội, sẽ đọc] [thơ của Sơn]
   [topic of the sentence] [object of the verb]
   (higher copy) (lower copy)

(6) Copy theory of movement
   Movement of X consists of (i) creating a chain (α, β) where α is the higher copy and β is the lower copy of X and (ii) eliminating the phonetic content of β.

(7) Numeration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spell-out</th>
<th>Phonetic Form = thơ của Sơn thì nội sẽ đọc thơ của Sơn</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>creating (α, β)</td>
<td>deleting β</td>
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(8) Condition on creating (α, β)
   β cannot be inside a noun phrase which does not contain α

(9) a. thơ của Sơn thì [s tôi tin] [s là Sơn sẽ đọc ___]
   poem of Sơn TOP I believe that Sơn will read ___
   b. *thơ của Sơn thì [s tôi tin] [s yêu cầu Sơn sẽ đọc ___]
     poem of Sơn TOP I believe story Sơn will read ___

(10) a. what does John think [s that Mary will read ___]
    b. *what does John believe [s the story that Mary will read ___]

2. THE HYPOTHESIS

Is there any condition on the deletion of β?

(11) If not ⇒ remerge theory

It is not the case that the lower copy is always silent. Example: predicate fronting in Vietnamese

(12) a. sách thì Sơn nên đọc sách
   b. Sơn thì Sơn nên đọc sách
      Sơn TOP Sơn nên đọc sách
   c. *đọc thì Sơn nên đọc sách
      read TOP Sơn should read sách
   d. đọc thì Sơn nên đọc sách
      read TOP Sơn should read sách

And it seems to be movement…

(13) a. đọc thì tôi tin [s là Sơn đọc sách]
    read TOP I believe that Sơn read sách
    b. *đọc thì tôi tin [s yêu cầu Sơn đọc sách]
       read TOP I believe story Sơn read sách

(14) Condition on Copy Deletion (CCD)
    β can be deleted only if it ends an XP, i.e. only if its right edge coincides with the right edge of a maximal projection

(15) Theory of bare phrase structure (Chomsky 1994)

(16) Definition
    An XP (maximal projection) is a constituent which does not project, i.e. an X which is not right under an X.
3. PREDICTION: MOVEMENT OF XP
We predict that deletion of the lower copy is always possible if it is an XP that moves, since it is trivially true that the right edge of an XP coincides with the right edge of an XP.

(17) which book did you read which book

4. PREDICTION: SVO VS. SOV
We predict that there is a systematic difference in predicate fronting between languages with SVO and those with SOV underlying order.

(18) V...
(19) V...

(20) SVO: Hebrew
liknot Dan kiva liknot et ha-sefer
buy.INF Dan hoped buy.INF ACC the-book

(21) SVO: Vietnamese
dõc thõi Som nen
dõc sach
read TOP Som should
read book

(22) SOV: German
geküsst dürfte er schon öfter [vp wenn geküsst] haben
kissed might he already more often whom kissed have

(23) SOV: Dutch
gekust wil hij vaak [vp een vrouw gekust] hebben
kissed wil he often a woman kissed have


To the best of my knowledge, these languages are SVO languages.

5. PREDICTION: NP-SPLIT IN VIETNAMESE
Fronting of N ⇒ deletion of β is optional
a. sách thõi tôi mua một quyển sách về vật lý
book TOP I buy one K book about physics
As for books, I bought a one about physics
b. sách thõi tôi mua một quyển sách về vật lý
book TOP I buy one K book about physics
As for books, I bought a one about physics

\[ a+b+c \]

(26) \[ K \] = \{ λP ∈ D_{opt}. λx ∈ D_{e}(P(x)) \ atomic(x) \}

(27) \[ \lambda K \ [book \ about \ physics] \] = \[ \lambda K \ [book] \ [about \ physics] \] = the set of atomic books about physics

(28) sách...

(29) sách...

(30) a. vs thõi tôi đã gặp hai người vợ của Son
wife TOP I have met two K wife of Son
I have met two of Son’s wives’
b. *vs thõi tôi đã gặp hai người vợ của Son
wife TOP I have met two K wife of Son
I have met two of Son’s wives’

(31) \[ \lambda p \] = \{ λx.λy. y is female and married to x \}
⇒ a relation, not a predicate
The syntactic configuration which allows deletion of the lower copy is not semantically interpretable
⇒ observation: deletion is not possible.

6. PREDICTION: SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

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.

7. HEAD-ADJUNCTION

(34) Jean embrasse souvent Marie

(35) TP
    Jean
    T
    embrasse
    T
    VP
    souvent
    VP

(2001) for arguments that head-adjunction is a PF operation. See Gergel (2005), Lechner (2005),
Matushansky (2006), Vicente (2007) for argument that head-adjunction is part of narrow syntax.