

English affix-hopping without affixes hopping: Spanning eliminates T-to-V Lowering

Our analysis of English verb-inflection: for Spell-Out, a list of sets of heads in complementation-relations (e.g. $\{T, v, V\}$, $\{C, T, v\}$, $\{C, T\}$, ...) is generated. Each set is a ‘s(et)-span’, and the list of set-spans is the ‘S-list’. Exponents (phonological forms) are matched to set-spans ($\{see, T_{pst}, v\} \rightarrow /saw/\$), and associated with a linear-order (via asymmetric c-command as in [4]). We assume two ‘linearization features’: @ and @*. An @-bearing-head serves as an optional linearization-site for an exponent; an @*-bearing-head crashes the derivation unless an exponent linearizes there. In English, C_Q and verbalizer-V bear @*. The linear-order and allomorph representations are combined via association lines, as in Fig 1. *Do*-support triggers when $\{T, v\}$ is not in the S-list, due to an intervening head between T and v.

This differs from Lowering [2], which requires post-syntactic manipulation of structure, but also from mainstream Spanning [6 *et seq*] in assuming spans to be unordered.

1. Negation’s place in allomorphy: Negation can feed allomorphy of modals: *will not* \rightarrow *wo-n’t*, so $\{\text{NEG}, T, \text{Mod}\}$ must be an s-span. The use of VP-constituent-negation with a modal is permissible (1). Without a modal, VP-negation can block both affix-hopping (2a) and *do*-support (2b) [2]. Rather than analyze this in terms of a Morphological/Sub-Word distinction, we analyze it as NEG breaking up the $\{v, V\}$ span. *Do*-support is not triggered as $\{T, v\}$ is still in the S-list, but T cannot affix to the verb as $\{T, v, V\}$ is not in the S-list (ex. 1). Unlike Embick & Noyer, we need not explain the distribution of complex-heads in narrow-syntax, as we do not assume they exist.

2. Why AUX raises past NEG/to C: The auxiliaries which can raise past NEG to T (3a) can also raise to C (3b). We assume that the verbal categorizer V bears @* in English. So, lexical verbs must stay low. No such condition is placed on v_{have} or v_{be} , which can move. Assuming T bears @, AUX will linearize in T unless C_Q is present, which will force AUX to linearize in C_Q (due to the presence of @*).

3. Why modal scope doesn’t feed/bleed allomorphy: Following [3] i.a., we take modals to be base generated above or below T+Neg, with semantic effects (4). There is no consequence for allomorphy. We capture this by assuming $\langle \text{AUX}, T, \text{NEG} \rangle$ and $\langle T, \text{NEG}, \text{AUX} \rangle$ are identical for Spell-Out: i.e., spans are unordered.

Conclusion: Like affix-hopping analyses [1, 5], we retain an explanation for how negation, auxiliaries, and VP-ellipsis/fronting all bleed inflection being realized on the main verb. Ellipsis, as PF-deletion, deletes all spans containing elided heads (v, V , triggering *do*-Support (5a)). Spans are sensitive to the effects of phrasal movement: vP -fronting destroys the $\{T, v\}$ span (5b). This is achieved without recourse to post-syntactic manipulation of structure (T-to-V lowering). We explain other facts like negation’s role in allomorphy, the non-effect of modal scope, and the connection between Head-Movement-Constraint-violating movement past NEG and raising to C.

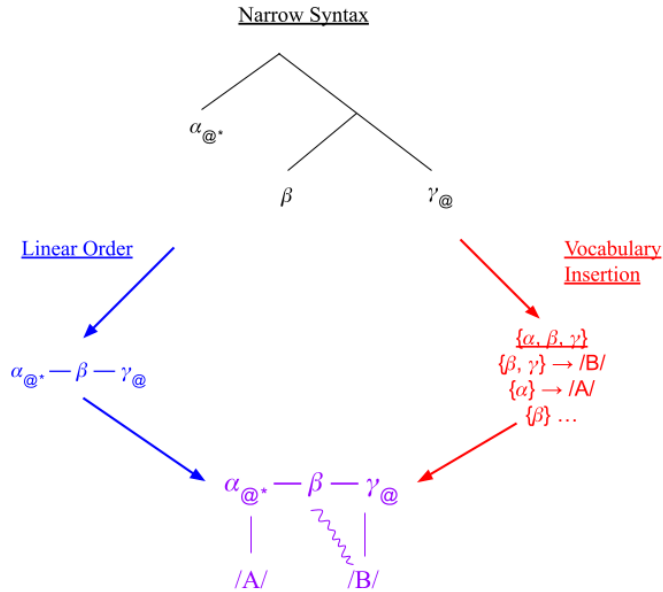


Figure 1: A sketch of how information passes from Narrow Syntax to the two kinds of information relevant to linearization: order and content. – = linearizes in, ~ = expones.

Examples

- (1) a. John can always not agree
 b. John can't always not agree
- (2) a. *John always not agrees
 b. *John does always not agree (Embick & Noyer 2001)
- (3) a. John has₁-n't t₁ read this book.
 b. Has₁ John not t₁ read this book? (traces only for exposition)
- (4) The boys can't watch TV...
 a. ...they never knows what cartoons are on. (EPISTEMIC >> ∇)
 ≈ *It must be the case that no boy watches TV.*
 b. ...their parents are too strict. (∇ >> DEONTIC)
 ≈ *Every boy is such that he must not watch TV.*
- (5) a. John likes this book and Mary does <like this book> too.
 b. I told John to read this book, and [[_{VP} read this book]_i he did t₁]

Works cited: [1] N. Chomsky 1957, *Syntactic Structures*. [2] D. Embick & R. Noyer 2001, *Movement operations after syntax*. [3] V. Hacquard 2006, *Aspects of Modality*. [4] R.S. Kayne 1994, *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. [5] H. Lasnik 1999, *Verbal Morphology: Syntactic structures meets the minimalist program*, [6] P. Svenonius 2012, *Spanning*.