



Q-movement in French

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INTRODUCTION

In (1), the degree quantifier *plus* 'more' can appear in different positions without any concomitant change in the truth-conditions.

- (1) a. Thomas a bu plus d' eau que de vin.
Thomas has bought more DE water than DE water
Thomas drank more water than wine.
- b. Thomas a plus bu d' eau que de vin.
Thomas has more drunk DE water than DE wine
Thomas drank more water than wine.
(lit. *Thomas has more drunk water than wine.)

Similar to Quantification At a Distance (QAD) (2) (Kayne 1975, Obenauer 1983)

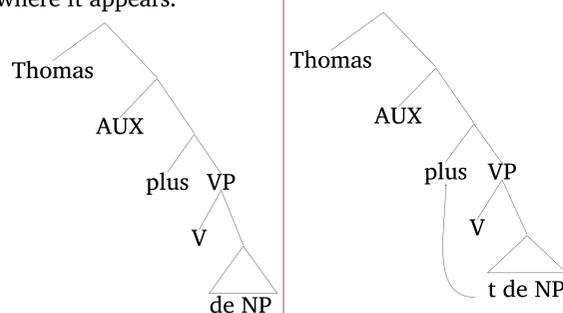
- (2) a. Anatole a mangé beaucoup de viande.
Anatole has eaten much DE meat
Anatole has eaten a lot of meat.
- b. Anatole a beaucoup mangé de viande.

- I talk about QAD in comparatives; Comparison At a Distance (CAD) which has not been studied
- QAD and CAD look similar syntactically: the quantifier *plus* 'more' or *beaucoup* 'much' can be separated from its restrictor
- The four comparative words that can be in CAD are: *plus* 'more', *moins* 'less', *autant* 'as much', and *davantage* 'more'

- 2 hypotheses
 - H1: base-generation
 - H2: movement

The quantifier is base-generated in the position where it appears.

The adverb moves from de-NP.



- Much of the literature on QAD has argued that base-generation is the correct analysis
- I will argue that, at least for CAD, H2/movement is the correct analysis**
- If H2 is on the right track, we expect to see 2 things:
 - locality restrictions
 - scope reconstruction effects
- Contributions:
 - bears upon the analysis of QAD (Obenauer 1983, Burnett 2009)
 - is an extension of the work on QAD, which is a phenomenon of significant theoretical interest because it is part of the family of split-constructions
 - properties of DegP movement (Heim 2001)

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First argument: Locality

HOW FAR CAN PLUS BE?

SUMMARY	<i>plus</i> de NP Modals Some control verbs Causatives	* <i>plus</i> de NP Extraction islands Tensed clauses
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- (3) Across finite clause and island boundaries: *
- a. *J' ai plus pensé [que tu avais vendu de pain].
I have more thought that you had sold DE bread
Intended: Today I thought you had sold more bread.
- b. *Il a plus pédalé [avec de force].
he has more pedalled with DE strength
Intended: He pedalled with more strength.
- c. *Max s'est plus demandé [à qui donner de fruits].
Max has more wondered to whom give DE fruit
Intended: Max wondered who to give more fruit to.

- (4) Across infinitival boundary: ✓
- a. Je vais plus devoir manger de riz que de pain.
I go more must eat DE rice than DE bread
I'm going to have to eat more rice than bread.
- b. Il a plus essayé de lire de livres que de BD.
he has more tried to read DE books than DE comic_books
He tried to read more books than comic books.
- c. Je vais plus faire tailler d' arbres à mon jardinier
I go more make prune DE trees to my gardener
que de rosiers
than DE rose
I'm going to make my gardener prune more trees than rose bushes.

INTERVENTION

SUMMARY	Bad * <i>plus</i> ...ADV...de NP * <i>plus</i> ...DP...de NP	Good ADV _i <i>plus</i> ...t _i ...de NP cl _i <i>plus</i> ...t _i ...de NP wh _{-i} <i>plus</i> ...t _i ...de NP
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- A time adverbial or a PP is an intervener between *plus* and *de NP*
- (5) Intervener = PP à Paul 'to Paul'
- a. *Marie a plus conseillé [à Paul] d' acheter de magazines
Marie has more advised to Paul to buy DE magazines
que de journaux.
than DE newspapers
Marie advised Paul to buy more magazines than newspapers.
- b. Marie [lui]_{cl} a plus conseillé d' acheter de magazines que de journaux.
- c. [À qui] est- ce que Marie a plus conseillé d' acheter
To whom is it that Marie has more advised to buy
de magazines que de journaux ?
DE magazines than DE newspaper
To whom did Marie advise to buy more magazines than newspaper ?
- Intervention makes a syntactic solution more plausible
 - defective intervention (Rizzi 1986) has been invoked for French raising constructions to explain the contrast between (6a) and (6b)
- (6) a. *Jean semble [à Marie] être intelligent.
Jean seems to.Marie be intelligent
Intended: Jean seems to Marie to be intelligent.
- b. Jean [lui]_{cl} semble être intelligent.

PARALLEL WITH TOUT-MOVEMENT (≠ QAD)

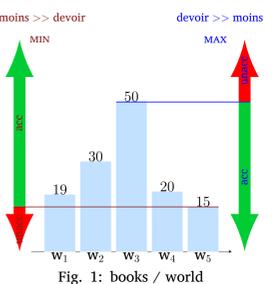
SUMMARY	<i>tout</i> moves (Kayne 1975) <i>tout</i> is subject to locality restrictions <i>plus</i> has the exact same locality restrictions as <i>tout</i> <i>plus</i> movement is plausible
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- tout* 'all' as a direct object can be in different positions unlike the usual direct object
- (7) Object *tout* movement
- a. Elle a voulu lire tout.
she has wanted read all
She wanted to read everything.
- b. Elle a voulu tout lire.
- c. Elle a tout voulu lire.
- tout* 'all' movement is subject to intervention too
- (8) Intervener = DP son frère 'her brother'
- a. *Elle a tout laissé [son frère] gérer seul.
she has all let her brother handle alone
Intended: She left her brother in charge of everything on his own.
- b. Elle [l']_{cl} a tout laissé gérer seul.
- c. [Qui] est- ce qu' elle a tout laissé gérer seul ?
who is it that she has all let handle alone
Who did she leave in charge of everything?

- The *plus* - de NP dependency is subject to:
 - locality restrictions that are typical of movement
 - intervention effects
 - the same locality restrictions as *tout* movement

Second argument: Scope reconstruction

- Can the operator be interpreted below the position where it appears?
 - H2 predicts that Deg can be interpreted lower than where it is pronounced
 - How can we test this?
 - We add another scope-bearing element, e.g. a modal.
 - H2 predicts MODAL >> Deg is possible in CAD
- (9) Vos enfants vont moins devoir envoyer de lettres que ça.
Your children go less must send DE letters than this
Your children are required to send fewer letters than that (=50).



SURFACE-SCOPE READING

- (10) The min. requirement reading (moins >> devoir):
- CP
 CP DegP
 Vw' Vos enfants vont envoyer_{v'} d-MANY livres moins CP que ça
 Max{d | Your children are going to send d-MANY letters in w'} < 50

True in this context: Parents are gathered together in their children's classroom for a meeting with their teachers. The children are all going to apply for an internship over the summer. One teacher tells the parents that one year, a child sent out 50 application letters. Since there is no upper limit, this is possible but he reassures the parents that their children of course can send fewer. He says: (9)

INVERSE-SCOPE READING

- (11) The max. requirement reading (devoir >> moins):
- CP
 Vw' CP DegP
 Vos enfants vont envoyer_{v'} d-MANY livres moins CP que ça
 Vw' ∈ Acc(w).
 Max{d | Your children are going to send d-MANY letters in w'} < 50
- MAX reading → MIN reading
 - does (9) have max reading? falsity judgment task needed:
- (12) Context: Parents are gathered together in their children's classroom for a meeting with their teachers. The children are all going to apply for an internship over the summer. One teacher tells the parents that one year, a child sent out 50 application letters. Of course, children are free to send as many or even more letters but it's also definitely not necessary for them to send as many. Two parents are talking:
- A. (9)
- B. Mais c' est faux voyons ! Au contraire, s' ils But this is false see ! On the contrary if they veulent, ils peuvent en envoyer à toutes les want they can them send to every the entreprises du pays.
company in.the country
But that's not true, come on! If they want, they can send letters to every single company in the country!

- Is (12) coherent? Yes: DegP/*moins* takes lower scope
- Predicted by movement hypothesis: DegP reconstructs below *devoir* 'must'

CONCLUSION

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- Locality restrictions are naturally explained by movement
- Lower scope is possible: reconstruction is predicted by movement
- CAD is derived via movement of the comparative quantifier
- Consequences for QAD
 - If QAD and CAD are instantiations of the same phenomenon, either QAD involves movement or my account is wrong
 - If QAD is derived via movement too, revisions are required to the analysis
 - What about the event reading reported for QAD constructions (Obenauer 1983)?
 - evidence from questionnaire that event reading is not there in CAD (see appendix)
 - one dialect does not have event reading for QAD ('Québec French' (Burnett 2009))

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References

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