Feature Movement or Agreement at a Distance?
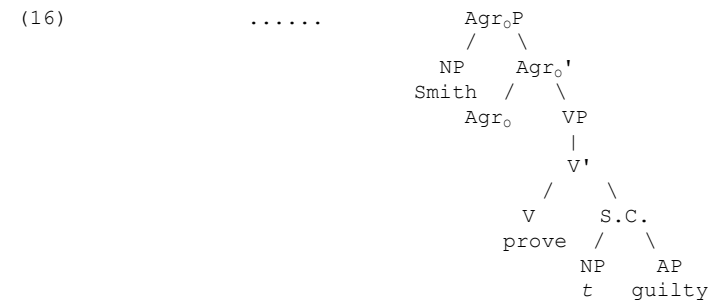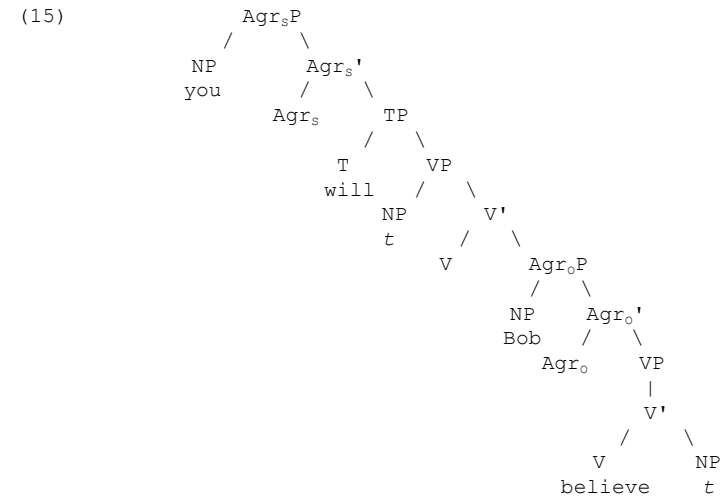
Howard Lasnik
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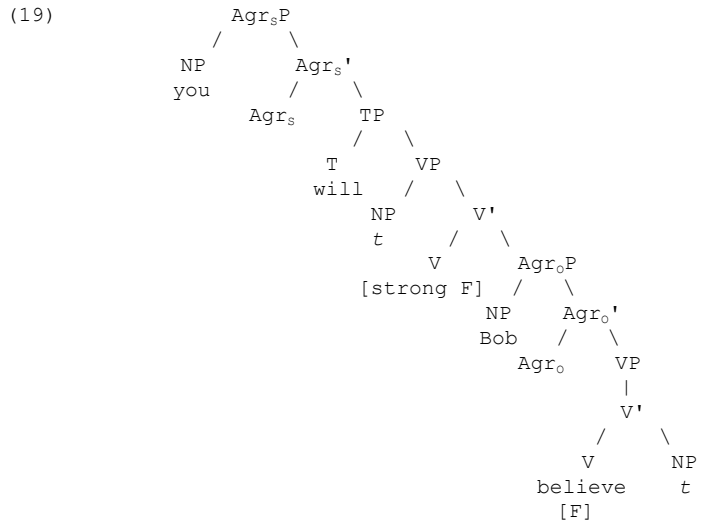lasnik@sp.uconn.edu

I. Introduction

(1)   "The operation Move, we now assume, seeks to raise just F."
       Chomsky (1995, p. 262)

(2)   "...only PF convergence forces anything beyond features to
       raise." Chomsky (1995, p. 265)

(3)   "...simply define a strong feature as one that a derivation
       'cannot tolerate': a derivation $D \rightarrow \Sigma$ is canceled if Σ contains
       a strong feature..."

(4)   "A strong feature...triggers a rule that eliminates it:
       [strength] is associated with a pair of operations, one that
       introduces it into the derivation...a second that (quickly)
       eliminates it."

(5)   "For the most part - perhaps completely - it is properties of
       the phonological component that require pied-piping.
       Isolated features and other scattered parts of words may not
       be subject to its rules, in which case the derivation is
       canceled; or the derivation might proceed to PF with elements
       that are 'unpronounceable,' violating FI." Chomsky (1995)

(6)   " Just how broadly considerations of PF convergence might
       extend is unclear, pending better understanding of morphology
       and the internal structure of phrases. Note that such
       considerations could permit raising without pied-piping even
       overtly, depending on morphological structure..."

(7)   "In MP, Agree is analyzed in terms of feature-movement
       (Attract)....Here we...dispense with Attract...Checking
       reduces to deletion under matching..." Chomsky (in press,
       p.39)

(8)   "There is a single cycle; all operations are cyclic. Within
       narrow syntax, operations that have or lack phonetic effects
       are interspersed. There is no distinct LF component within
       narrow syntax...Agree alone, not combined with Merge in the
       operation Move, can precede overt operations, contrary to the
       assumptions of MP and related work."   Chomsky (in press,
       pp.48-49)

(9)   There are certain constructions where deletion of (a
       category containing) an item is an alternative to the
       normally obligatory raising of that item. Feature movement
       can provide the basis for an account of this.

II. Pseudogapping

(10)a If you don't believe me, you will ø the weatherman
    b I rolled up a newspaper, and Lynn did ø a magazine
    c Kathy likes astronomy, but she doesn't ø meteorology
      Levin (1978)

(11)a The DA proved Jones guilty and the Assistant DA will ~~prove~~
      Smith ~~guilty~~
    b ?John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will ~~give~~ Susan ~~a
      lot of money~~

(12)   You might not believe me but you will Bob

(13)   NP-raising to Spec of Agr_O ('Object Shift') is overt in
       English. [Koizumi (1993;1995), developing ideas of Johnson
       (1991)]

(14)   Pseudogapping as overt raising to Spec of Agr_O followed by
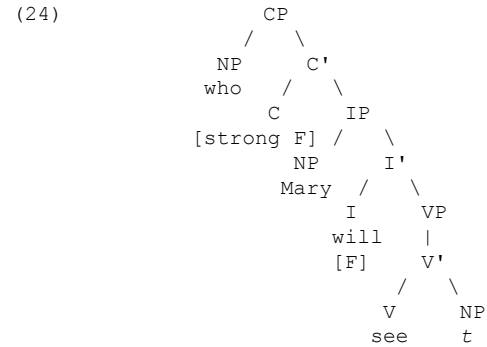   deletion of VP. [Lasnik (1995a)]

(15)
```
                  Agr_s P
                 /      \
             NP        Agr_s'
             you       /    \
                   Agr_s      TP
                            /    \
                          T       VP
                        will     /   \
                               NP      V'
                               t      /   \
                                    V      Agr_O P
                                          /      \
                                       NP        Agr_O'
                                       Bob       /    \
                                             Agr_O      VP
                                                        |
                                                        V'
                                                      /    \
                                                     V       NP
                                                  believe     t
```

(16)
```
              ......          Agr_O P
                             /      \
                          NP        Agr_O'
                        Smith       /    \
                              Agr_O       VP
                                          |
                                          V'
                                        /    \
                                       V       S.C.
                                     prove    /    \
                                            NP       AP
                                            t      guilty
```

(17) *You will Bob believe
(18) *The Assistant DA will Smith prove guilty

(19)
```
                  AgrₛP
                 /    \
             NP        Agrₛ'
             you      /    \
                  Agrₛ       TP
                          /    \
                        T       VP
                      will    /   \
                           NP      V'
                           t      /   \
                                 V      AgrₒP
                            [strong F]  /   \
                                     NP      Agrₒ'
                                     Bob    /   \
                                         Agrₒ     VP
                                                  |
                                                  V'
                                                /   \
                                              V      NP
                                           believe    t
                                             [F]
```

(20) Once the matching feature of the lower lexical V is
      'attracted', the lower V becomes defective. A PF crash will
      be avoided if either pied-piping or deletion of a category
      containing the lower V (VP Deletion = Pseudogapping in the
      relevant instances) takes place.

III. Sluicing

(21) Sluicing - WH-Movement followed by deletion of IP
      (abstracting away from 'split Infl' details). [Saito and
      Murasugi (1990), Lobeck (1990)]

(22) Speaker A: Mary will see someone.
      Speaker B: I wonder who ~~Mary will see~~.

(23) Speaker A: Mary will see someone.
      Speaker B: Who ~~Mary will see~~?

(24)
```
                  CP
                 /   \
             NP        C'
             who      /   \
                   C        IP
             [strong F]   /   \
                        NP      I'
                       Mary    /   \
                             I      VP
                            will    |
                            [F]     V'
                                  /   \
                                V      NP
                               see      t
```

(25) *Who Mary will see?
(26)   Who will Mary see?

(27) Assume that matrix interrogative C contains the strong
      feature, with the matching feature of Infl raising overtly to
      check it. This leaves behind a phonologically defective
      Infl, which will cause a PF crash unless either pied-piping
      or deletion of a category containing that Infl (Sluicing)
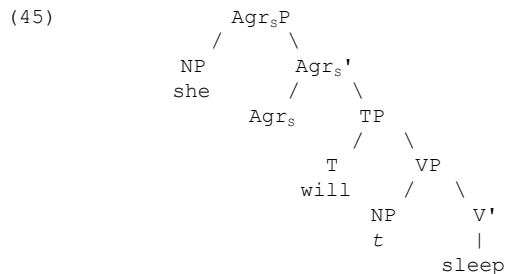   takes place.

IV. On the Overtness of Object Shift in English

(28) Infl-raising to C is uncontroversially overt in normal matrix
      interrogatives. NP-raising to Spec of Agrₒ, on the other
      hand, is standardly assumed to be covert in English. Lasnik
      (1995b), based on Lasnik and Saito (1991) [see also Postal
      (1974) and Wyngaerd (1989)] and den Dikken (1995), argues
      that such movement is, indeed, overt.

(29)a There is a man here
    b There are men here

(30)a Many linguistics students aren't here
    b There aren't many linguistics students here

(31)a Some linguists seem to each other [t to have been given good
       job offers]
    b *There seem to each other [t to have been some linguists
       given good job offers]

(32)a No good linguistic theories seem to any philosophers [t to
       have been formulated]
    b *There seem to any philosophers [t to have been no good
       linguistic theories formulated]

(33)a Some defendantᵢ seems to hisᵢ lawyer [t to have been at the
       scene]
    b *There seems to hisᵢ lawyer [t to have been some defendantᵢ at
       the scene]
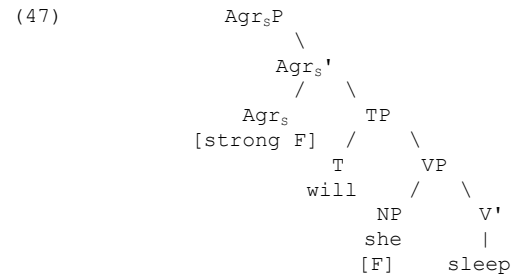
(34) "The operation Move...seeks to raise just F."   Chomsky
     (1995)

(35) When movement is covert, hence only of formal features, the
     referential and quantificational properties needed to create
     new binding and scope configurations are left behind, so no
     such new configurations are created.   Lasnik (1995b)
     (contra Chomsky (1995), at least in part)

(36)   The DA questioned two men during each other's trials
(37)a The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during
       each other's trials
     b *The DA proved [there to have been two men at the scene]
       during each other's trials

(38)   The DA questioned noone during any of the trials
(39)a The DA proved [noone to be at the scene] during any of the
       trials
     b *The DA proved [there to be noone at the scene] during any of
       the trials

(40)   The DA questioned no suspect$_i$ during his$_i$ trial
(41)a The DA proved [no suspect$_i$ to be at the scene of the crime]
       during his$_i$ trial
     b*The DA proved [there to be no suspect$_i$ at the scene of the
       crime] during his$_i$ trial

(42) One further argument: Given the feature movement theory of
     covert movement, if an instance of movement creates a new
     ellipsis configuration, that movement must be overt. (This
     is true whether ellipsis is PF deletion or LF copying.)

V. The EPP

(43) Certain heads have a strong feature, demanding overt
     movement for checking.   Chomsky (1995, Ch. 4)

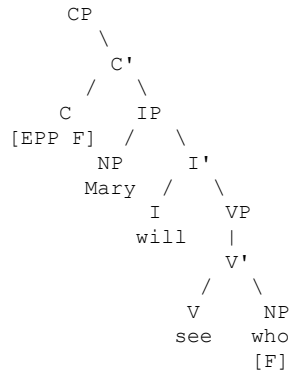(44) Certain heads require Spec's.   Chomsky (in press; 1981)

(45)
```
                Agr_sP
              /        \
           NP          Agr_s'
          she         /     \
                  Agr_s       TP
                            /   \
                          T      VP
                        will    /  \
                             NP      V'
                              t       |
                                    sleep
```

(46) Mary said she won't sleep, although she will ~~sleep~~

(47)
```
                      Agr_sP
                           \
                         Agr_s'
                         /    \
                      Agr_s     TP
                   [strong F]  /   \
                             T      VP
                           will    /  \
                                 NP      V'
                                 she      |
                                [F]     sleep
```

(48) *Mary said she won't sleep, although will ~~she sleep~~

(49) Agr (or T) requires a Spec. It does not suffice to check its
     'EPP feature'.

(50) Mary will see someone. Tell me who ~~Mary will see~~.

```
(51)                    CP
                          \
                           C'
                          /  \
                         C    IP
                      [EPP F] /  \
                            NP    I'
                           Mary  /  \
                                I    VP
                              will   |
                                     V'
                                    /  \
                                   V    NP
                                  see  who
                                       [F]
```

(52) Mary will see someone. *Tell me ~~Mary will see who~~.

(53) Interrogative C requires a Spec. It does not suffice to
      check its 'EPP feature'.

VI. A Constraint on One Type of Remnant Movement

(54)   How likely to win is John
(55) *How likely to be a riot is there   Lasnik and Saito (1992),
      following Kroch and Joshi (1985)

(56)   [How likely [PRO to win]] is John
(57) *[How likely [*t* to be a riot]] is there   [out by Proper
      Binding Condition]

(58) *How likely to be a man outside is there
(59)   "a man" must replace "there" in LF (as in Chomsky (1986)),
      but this movement is illicit here, being sidewards.   Barss
      (1986)

(60) Expletive replacement cannot be correct, as shown by the
      paradigms in IV. But the essence of Barss's account can be
      maintained under the feature movement analysis.

(61) There is [very likely [to be [a man outside]]]
(62) There is [how likely [to be [a man outside]]]

(63) Note that this account, for better or for worse, demands a
      separate LF cycle for feature movement, as in the T-model.

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