

Feature Movement or Agreement at a Distance?

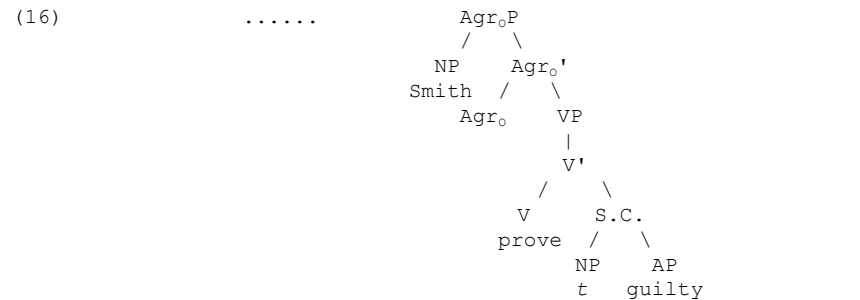
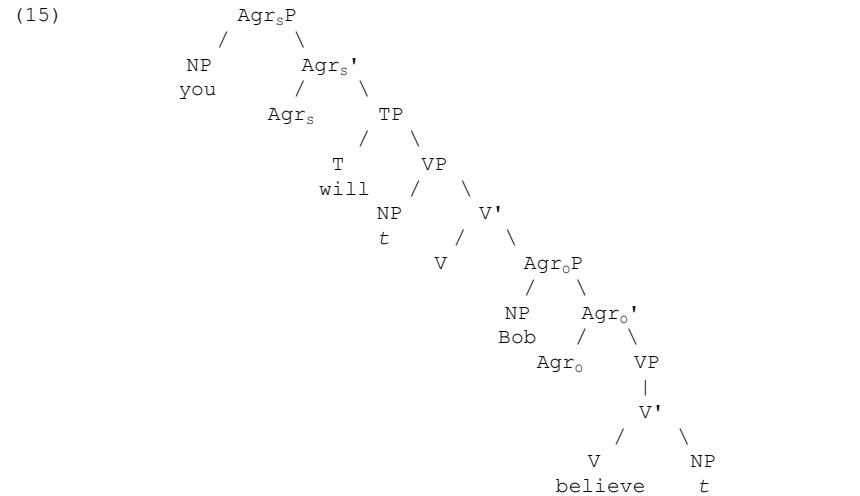
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I. Introduction

- (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-Σ 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 ∅ the weatherman
 b I rolled up a newspaper, and Lynn did ∅ a magazine
 c Kathy likes astronomy, but she doesn't ∅ 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 Agr₀ ('Object Shift') is overt in English. [Koizumi (1993;1995), developing ideas of Johnson (1991)]
- (14) Pseudogapping as overt raising to Spec of Agr₀ followed by deletion of VP. [Lasnik (1995a)]



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

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

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