Maryland October 22, 1999

### Feature Movement or Agreement at a Distance?

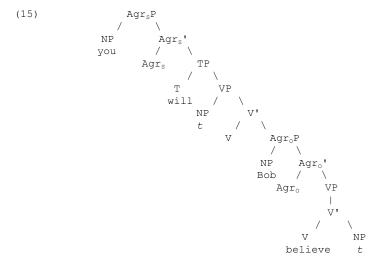
Howard Lasnik
University of Connecticut
lasnik@sp.uconn.edu

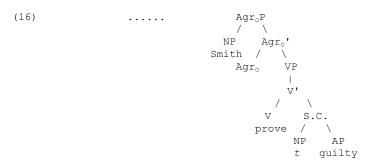
#### I. Introduction

- (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  $D \! \! \Sigma$  is canceled if  $\Sigma$  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.

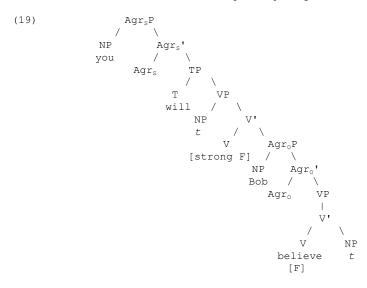
## II. Pseudogapping

- (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  $\frac{}{\text{prove}}$  Smith  $\frac{}{\text{quilty}}$ 
  - 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  $Agr_0$  ('Object Shift') is overt in English. [Koizumi (1993;1995), developing ideas of Johnson (1991)]
- (14) Pseudogapping as overt raising to Spec of  $Agr_0$  followed by deletion of VP. [Lasnik (1995a)]





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



(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?

- (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 defendant  $_{i}$  seems to his  $_{i}$  lawyer [t to have been at the scene]
  - b \*There seems to  $\mbox{his}_i$  lawyer [t to have been some defendant; 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; during his; trial
- (41)a The DA proved [no  $suspect_i$  to be at the scene of the crime] during his, 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.)

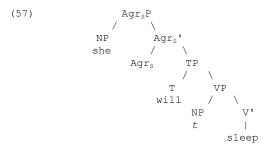
### V. A Constraint on One Type of Remnant Movement

- (43) How likely to win is John
- (44) \*How likely to be a riot is there Lasnik and Saito (1992), following Kroch and Joshi (1985)
- (45) [How likely [PRO to win]] is John
- (46) \*[How likely [t to be a riot]] is there [out by Proper Binding Condition]
- (47) \*[How likely [t to be a man outside]] [ $\bar{c}$  is [ $\bar{c}$  there ...]
- (48) "a man" must replace "there" in LF (as in Chomsky (1986)), but this movement is illicit here, being sidewards. Barss (1986)
- (49) 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: The agreement features of Infl must be checked, and "there" has no agreement features of its own.
- (50) \*[How likely [t to be a man outside]] [ $_{\overline{c}}$  is [ $_{\text{IP}}$  there ... ] [F] [F]
- (51) No such account is available on the long distance agreement theory:
- (52) There is [how likely [ to be [a man outside]]]

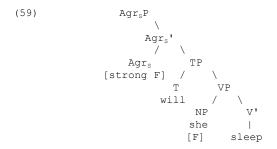
  √[F] [F]
- (53) Note that this account, for better or for worse, thus demands a separate LF cycle for feature movement, as in the T-model.

#### VI. The EPP

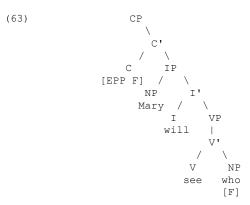
- (55) Certain heads have a strong feature, demanding overt movement for checking. Chomsky (1995, Ch. 4)
- (56) Certain heads require Spec's. Chomsky (in press; 1981)



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



- (60) \*Mary said she won't sleep, although will she sleep
- (61) Agr (or T) requires a Spec. It does not suffice to check its 'EPP feature'.
- (62) Mary will see someone. Tell me who Mary will see.



- (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'.

# Bibliography

- Barss, Andrew. 1986. Chains and anaphoric dependence: On reconstruction and its implications. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Bošković, Željko. 1997. Superiority and economy of derivation:
  Multiple Wh-fronting. WCCFL, U. of Washington.
- Branigan, Philip. 1992. Subjects and complementizers. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. Lectures on government and binding. Dordrecht:
- Chomsky, Noam. 1986. Knowledge of language. New York: Praeger.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1991. Some notes on economy of derivation and representation. In Principles and parameters in comparative grammar, ed. Robert Freidin, 417-454. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press
- Chomsky, Noam. 1993. A minimalist program for linguistic theory. In The view from Building 20, ed. Kenneth Hale and Samuel J. Keyser, 1-52. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1994. Bare phrase structure. MIT occasional papers in linguistics. Department of Linguistics an Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. The Minimalist Program. MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. In press. Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam and Howard Lasnik. 1993. The theory of principles and parameters. In Syntax: an international handbook of contemporary research, volume 1, ed. Joachim Jacobs, Arnim von Stechow, Wolfgang Sternefeld, and Theo Vennemann, 506-569. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- den Dikken, Marcel. (1995). Binding, expletives, and levels.
  Linguistic Inquiry 26:347-354.
- Epstein, Samuel D. In press. Un-principled syntax and the derivation of syntactic relations. In Working minimalism, ed. Samuel D. Epstein and Norbert Hornstein. Cambridge, Mass.:
- Groat, Erich. 1995. English expletives: a minimalist approach.
  Linquistic Inquiry 26:354-365.
- Jayaseelan, Karattuparambil A. 1990. Incomplete VP deletion and gapping. Linguistic Analysis 20: 64-81.
- Johnson, Kyle. 1991. Object positions. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 9:577-636.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1993. Object agreement phrases and the split VP hypothesis. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics Volume 18.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1995. Phrase structure in minimalist syntax. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Kroch, Anthony, and Aravind Krishna Joshi. 1985. The linguistic relevance of Tree Adjoining Grammar. Report MS-CIS-85-16. Department of Computer and Information Science, Moore School,

- University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penn.
- Larson, Richard K. 1988. On the double object construction.
  Linguistic Inquiry 19: 335-391.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1993. Lectures on minimalist syntax. UConn working papers occasional papers in linguistics. [Reprinted, with minor revisions, in Minimalist Analysis. Blackwell, 1999.]
- Lasnik, Howard. 1995a. A note on Pseudogapping. In MIT Working Papers in Linguistics Volume 27, 143-163. [Reprinted, with minor revisions, in Minimalist Analysis. Blackwell, 1999.]
- Lasnik, Howard. 1995b. Last resort and attract F. In Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Formal Linguistics Society of Mid-America.
- Lasnik, Howard and Mamoru Saito. 1991. On the subject of infinitives. In Papers from the 27th regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society, 324-343. [Reprinted, with minor revisions, in Minimalist Analysis. Blackwell, 1999.]
- Lee, Rhanghyeyun K. 1993. Constraints on A-movement, negative polarity items licensing, and the checking theory. Paper presented at the 1993 Seoul International Conference on Generative Grammar, August 1993.
- Lee, Rhanghyeyun K. 1994. Economy of representation. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Levin, Nancy. 1978. Some identity-of-sense deletions puzzle me. Do they you. In Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, 229-240. Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago University, Chicago, Ill.
- Levin, Nancy. 1979/1986. Main verb ellipsis in spoken English.

  Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, Columbus.

  [Published 1986 by Garland, New York]
- Lobeck, Anne. 1990. Functional heads as proper governors. In

  Proceedings of North Eastern Linguistic Society 20, 348-362.

  GLSA, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Martin, Roger. 1992. Case theory, A-chains, and expletive replacement. Ms., University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Ochi, Masao. 1997. Move or Attract?: Attract F and the pied-piping chain. Open Linguistics Forum, Ottawa.
- Postal, Paul. 1974. On raising: One rule of English grammar and its theoretical implications. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Ross, John Robert. 1969. Guess who? In Papers from the Fifth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, ed. Robert I. Binnick, Alice Davison, Georgia M. Green, and Jerry L. Morgan, 252-286. Chicago Linguistic Society, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1988. On multiple questions and multiple wh-fronting. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 6: 445-501.
- Saito, Mamoru, and Keiko Murasugi. 1990. N'-deletion in Japanese. In University of Connecticut Working Papers in Linguistics 3, ed. Javier Ormazabal and Carol Tenny, 87-107. University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Tancredi, Chris. 1992. Deletion, deaccenting, and presupposition.

  Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Uriagereka, Juan. In press. Multiple spell-out. In Working minimalism, ed. Samuel D. Epstein and Norbert Hornstein. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Watanabe, Akira. Wh-in-situ, Subjacency, and chain formation. In MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics 2.

Wyngaerd, Guido Vanden. 1989. Object Shift as an A-movement rule.
In MIT Working Papers in Linguistics Volume 11.