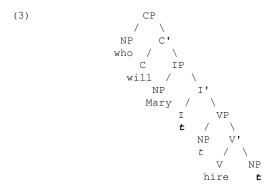
UConn 8/31/99

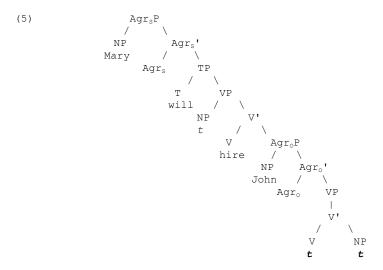
## On Certain Interactions Between Movement and Ellipsis Howard Lasnik

## I. The mechanism of obligatory movement

(2) Who will Mary hire



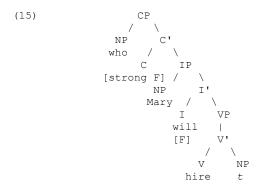
(4) Mary will hire John



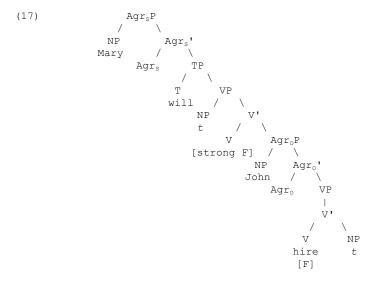
(6) \*Who Mary will hire

- (7) \*Mary will John hire
- (8) Overt movement is triggered by a 'strong feature' on the attractor, the position to which the movement takes place.
- (9) "...simply define a strong feature as one that a derivation 'cannot tolerate': a derivation  $D \rightarrow \Sigma$  is canceled if  $\Sigma$  contains a strong feature..."
- (10) "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." Chomsky (1995)
- (11) "The operation Move, we now assume, seeks to raise just F [the feature(s) relevant to checking]." Chomsky (1995, p.262)
- (12) "...only PF convergence forces anything beyond features to raise." Chomsky (1995, p. 265)
- (13) "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."
- "Applied to the feature F, the operation Move thus creates at least one and perhaps two "derivative chains" alongside the chain  $\mathrm{CH_F}=(F,t_F)$  constructed by the operation itself. One is  $\mathrm{CH_{FF}}=(FF[F],t_{FF[F]})$ , consisting of the set of formal features  $\mathrm{FF}[F]$  and its trace; the other is  $\mathrm{CH_{CAT}}=(\alpha,t_\alpha)$ ,  $\alpha$  a category carried along by generalized pied-piping and including at least the lexical item containing F.  $\mathrm{CH_{FF}}$  is always constructed,  $\mathrm{CH_{CAT}}$  only when required for convergence...As noted,  $\mathrm{CH_{CAT}}$  should be completely dispensable, were it not for the need to accommodate to the sensorimotor apparatus." [p.265]

II. Ellipsis as an alternative repair strategy



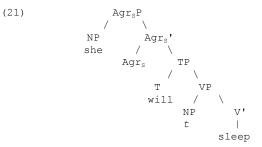
(16) Speaker A: Mary will hire someone.
Speaker B: Who Mary will hire? [Sluicing]



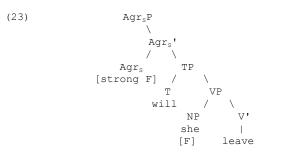
(18) Susan will hire Bob and Mary will John hire [Pseudogapping]

III. The EPP

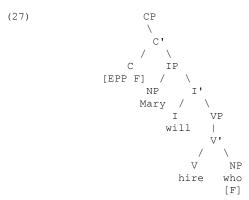
- (19) Certain heads have a strong feature, demanding overt movement for checking. Chomsky (1995, Ch. 4)
- (20) Certain heads require Spec's. Chomsky (in press; 1981)



(22) Mary said she won't leave, although she will leave



- (24) \*Mary said she won't leave, although will she leave
- (25) Agr (or T) requires a Spec. It does not suffice to check its 'EPP feature'.
- (26) Mary will hire someone. Tell me who Mary will hire.



- (28) Mary will hire someone. \*Tell me Mary will hire who.
- (29) Interrogative C requires a Spec. It does not suffice to check its 'EPP feature'. Chomsky was right the first (and third) time, and wrong the second.

## 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: Foris.
- 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.
- Groat, Erich. 1995. English expletives: a minimalist approach.
  Linguistic 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
- 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, H. 1997. Levels of representation and the elements of anaphora. In H. Bennis, P. Pica, and J. Rooryck (eds.) Atomism and Binding. Foris, pp. 251-268.
- Lasnik, H. 1999. On feature strength: Three minimalist approaches to overt movement. Linguistic Inquiry 30:197-217.
- Lasnik, Howard. In press. Chains of arguments. In Working minimalism, ed. Samuel D. Epstein and Norbert Hornstein. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- 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 piedpiping chain. Open Linguistics Forum, Ottawa.
- Postal, Paul. 1974. On raising: One rule of English grammar and its theoretical implications. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT
- 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.
- 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.