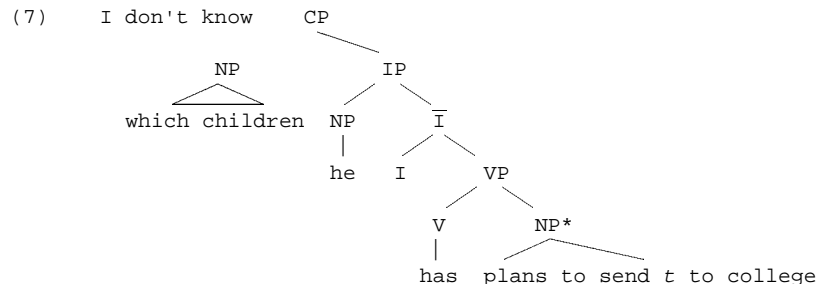**Where do you put the * ?**

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I. Ellipsis and island violation repair

(1)   I believe that he bit someone, but they don't know who
         (I believe that he bit)
(2)a   *I believe the claim that he bit someone, but they don't
         know who I believe the claim that he bit
   b (??)I believe the claim that he bit someone, but they don't
         know who
(3)a   *Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know
         who Irv and were dancing together [Coordinate Structure
         Constraint]
   b (??)Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know
         who
(4)a   *She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom
         doesn't realize which one of my friends she kissed a man
         who bit   [Complex NP Constraint]
   b (??)She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom
         doesn't realize which one of my friends
(5)a   *That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't
         divulge who that he'll hire is possible [Sentential
         Subject Constraint]
   b (??)That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't
         divulge who   All above from Ross (1969)

(6)a *I don't know which children he has plans to send to
        college
   b   He has plans to send some of his children to college, but
       I don't know which ones   Chomsky (1972)

(7)   I don't know   CP

              NP   IP

         which children NP   Ī

                         |
                         he   I   VP

                                V   NP*
                                |
                               has plans to send *t* to college

(8)   Chomsky's suggestion [see also Lakoff (1970), Baker and
      Brame (1972), Lakoff (1972)] is that * (# in Chomsky's
      presentation) is assigned to an island when it is crossed
      by a movement operation (the complex NP in (7)). If a
      later operation (Sluicing in this case) deletes a
      category containing the *-marked item, the derivation is
      salvaged.
(9)   For Chomsky (1972), the condition banning * applies at
      surface structure. The results are the same if, instead,
      it is a PF condition, as suggested by Lasnik (1995b),
      Lasnik (In press).

(10)   I know that he must be proud of it, but I don't know how
       proud (he must be of it)
(11) *I know that he must be proud of it, but I don't know how
       proud (he must be proud of it)   Ross (1969)
(12)   The Left Branch Condition is a requirement of a different
       sort.   Ross (1969), Merchant (1999).

(13)   Another possibility is that LBC is not, in itself,
       different, but that in (11), we have not a mere
       Subjacency violation, but an ECP violation (since the
       moving item is not an argument). And the ECP is known to
       hold at LF.

(14) Johnny stole someone's wallet, but I forget whose (wallet)
(15) ....whose (pro)
                                               Ross (1969)

(16)   ?The speaker discussed some linguist and some
       philosopher's theory, but I can't remember which linguist
       (*the speaker discussed and some philosopher's theory)

(17) *They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language,
       but I don't know which they do [~~IP want to hire someone
       who speaks~~]   Merchant (1999)

(18) *They want to hear a lecture about a Balkan language, but
       I don't know which (Balkan language) they do
(19)   They want to hear a lecture about a Balkan language, but
       I don't know which (Balkan language) they want to hear a
       lecture about
(20) *They want the students to attend a lecture about a Balkan
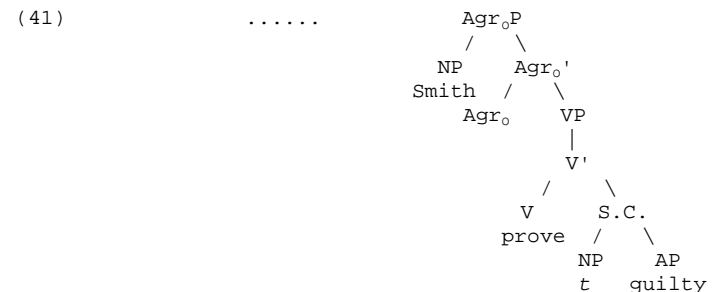   language, but I don't know which they do

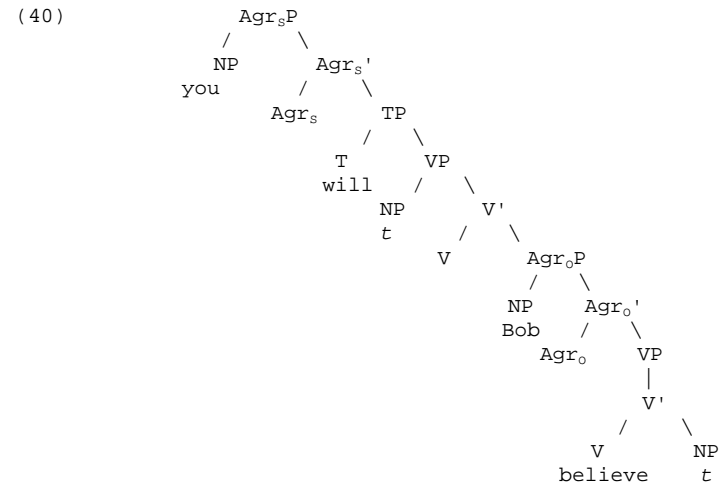## II. Trace deletion: Subjacency vs. ECP   Chomsky (1991),
       Chomsky and Lasnik (1993)

(21) ??Who do you wonder [_CP_ whether [_IP_ John said [_CP_ _t_' _e_ [_IP_ _t_
       solved the problem]]]]   (*)

(22)   Deletion is possible only to turn an illegitimate LF
       object into a legitimate one, where the legitimate LF
       objects are:

(23)a Uniform chains (all of whose members are in A-positions;
       A'-positions; or X^0-positions)
    b Operator-variable pairs.

(24)   Deletion in the chain (Who, t', t) is permissible since
       the chain is neither uniform (Who and t' are in A'-
       positions, t in an A-position) nor is it an operator-
       variable pair.

(25)   More generally, in the case of successive-cyclic A'-
       movement of an argument, an intermediate trace (starred
       or otherwise) can (in fact must) be deleted in LF,
       voiding an ECP violation when the trace to be deleted is
       starred.

(26)   On the other hand, long movement as in (27) **will** be an
       ECP violation, since the movement chain in this instance
       is uniformly A', so economy prevents the deletion of t':

(27) *How do you wonder [$_{CP}$ whether [$_{IP}$ John said [$_{CP}$ t' e [$_{IP}$ Mary
       solved the problem t]]]]   (*)

(28) Not a great analysis, perhaps, but it has one advantage
      over virtually all existing alternatives: It works.

(29) Similarly, ultra-long A-movement will also be properly
      excluded, even when the first step is 'short', as in
      (30), with its uniform A-chain:

(30) *John seems [that [it is likely [t' to be arrested t]]]
                                (*)

(31) There is a potential problem with this account of long A-
      movement. Chomsky (1995) and Lasnik (1999a) point out
      several circumstances where A-movement fails to display
      reconstruction effects. Based on this, and on the fact
      that the trace of A-movement has little, if any, semantic
      work to do, Lasnik (1999a) proposes that A-movement
      doesn't leave a trace.

(32)a (it seems that) everyone isn't there yet
    b everyone seems [t not to be there yet]

(33) "Negation can have wide scope over the Q in [(32)a], ...
      but not in [(32)c],.... reconstruction in the A-chain
      does not take place, so it appears." Chomsky (1995,
      p.327)

(34) Possible answer, based on a conjecture of Lasnik (1994):
      If a bad movement must put a * on a chain, and if the
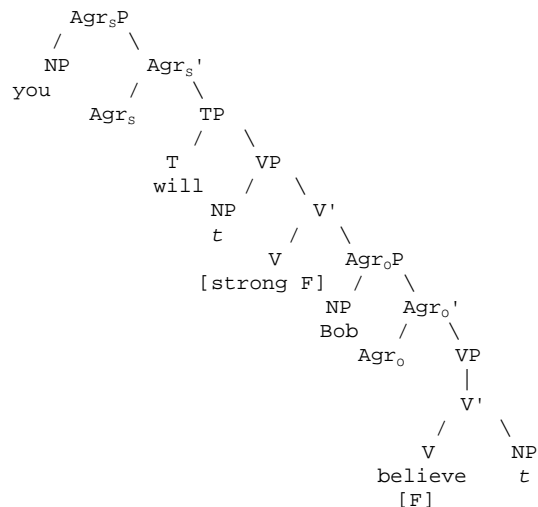   chain has no trace, then the * goes on the moving item
      itself.

III. Strong features, defective PF objects, and ellipsis
   A. Pseudogapping

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(35)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)

(36)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~~

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

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

(39)   Pseudogapping as overt raising to Spec of Agr$_O$ followed
       by deletion of VP. [Lasnik (1995a)]

(40)   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

(41)   ......   Agr$_O$P
                          /   \
                        NP   Agr$_O$'
                      Smith   /   \
                          Agr$_O$ VP
                                      |
                                      V'
                                    /   \
                                  V   S.C.
                                prove   /   \
                                       NP   AP
                                        t   guilty

(42)   *You will Bob believe
(43)   *The Assistant DA will Smith prove guilty

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```
(44)              Agr_sP
                 /    \
               NP      Agr_s'
               you    /    \
                  Agr_s     TP
                          /   \
                        T      VP
                       will   /  \
                            NP     V'
                            t     /  \
                                 V    Agr_oP
                           [strong F]  /  \
                                     NP    Agr_o'
                                     Bob   /  \
                                      Agr_o    VP
                                                |
                                                V'
                                               /  \
                                              V    NP
                                           believe  t
                                             [F]
```

(45)   Once the matching feature of the lower lexical V is
        'attracted', the lower V becomes defective (marked *, if
        you like). 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. [Lasnik (1999b), developing an idea of Ochi
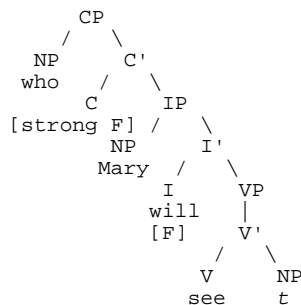   (1999)]

B. Sluicing

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

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

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

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

(50)   *Who Mary will see?
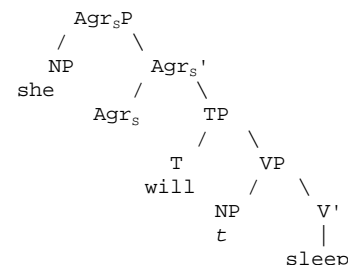(51)   Who will Mary see?

(52)   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. A consequence for the EPP

(53)   Certain heads have a strong feature, demanding overt
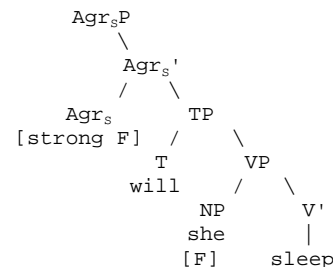   movement for checking.   Chomsky (1995)
(54)   Certain heads require Spec's. Chomsky (In press);
        Chomsky (1981)

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

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

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

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

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

V. A problem for 'Inclusiveness'?

(60)   "...any structure formed by the computation ... is
        constituted of elements already present in lexical items
        selected for N; no new objects are added in the course of
        computation apart from rearrangements of lexical
        properties..." Chomsky (1995, p.228)

(61) "... a *-feature, which is not a lexical feature – since it appears nowhere in the lexicon – ... enters into a derivation as the output of certain movements. It is this assumption that violates the Inclusiveness Condition." Kitahara (1999, p.79)

(62)a An expression is marginally deviant if its derivation employs an MLC-violating application of Attract.

   b An expression is severely deviant if its derivation employs an MLC-violating application of Attract that forms a legitimate LF object as its output.   Kitahara (1999)

(63) "The marginal deviance of [long argument movement] follows from [(62)a]. Notice that ... there is no need to mark anything in the course of a derivation."   Kitahara (1999, p.80)

(64) "The severe deviance of [long adjunct movement] follows from [(62)b]. Here again, there is no need to mark anything in the course of a derivation." Kitahara (1999, p.81)

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