Feature Movement or Agreement at a Distance?

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I. Covert A-relations

(1)a There is/*are a man here
   b There are/*is men here

(2)   There is a man here   S-structure
(3)   A man is t here   LF   Chomsky (1986)

(4)   BUT   Lasnik and Saito (1991), den Dikken (1995)
(5)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]

(6)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]

(7)a Some defendant$_i$ seems to his$_i$ lawyer [t to have been at the
      scene]
   b *There seems to his$_i$ lawyer [t to have been some defendant$_i$
      at the scene]

(8)   "The operation Move...seeks to raise just F."   Chomsky
      (1995)
(9)   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.   ,
      (somewhat extending a proposal of Chomsky (1995))

(10)   All else equal, movement should never be of an entire
       syntactic category, but only of its formal features.
(11)   When movement is overt, because driven by a strong
       feature, PF requirements will normally force movement of
       a category containing the formal features, via pied-
       piping.
(12)   For LF movement, on the other hand, pied-piping will
       normally not be necessary, hence, by economy, will not
       even be possible. Only the formal features will move,
       and they will move exactly to the heads that have
       matching features. [Procrastinate now becomes a true
       economy principle; moving less material is more
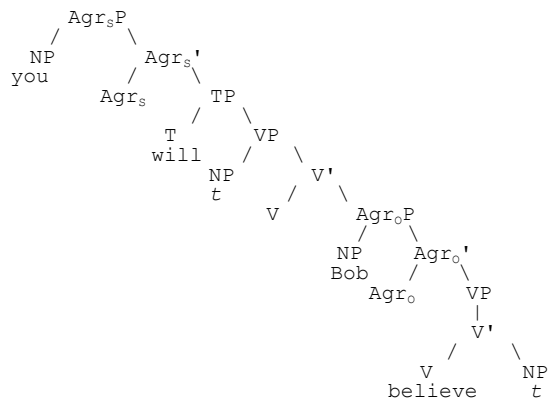   economical than moving more.] In a standard existential

sentence like (13), then, the associate <u>someone</u> does not
actually move to <u>there</u>.

(13)   There is someone here

(52)   The movement of features in this case is driven by the
       (weak) unchecked Φ-features of Agr, <u>there</u> lacking
       agreement features of its own.

(14)   Chomsky (2000) presents a different, even more minimal,
       theory of covert operations, one that provides an
       alternative treatment for the binding and licensing
       paradigms above.

(15)   "In <u>MP</u>, Agree is analyzed in terms of feature-movement
       (Attract)....Here we...dispense with Attract...Checking
       reduces to deletion under matching..." Chomsky (2000)

(16)   "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 <u>MP</u> and
       related work."   Chomsky (2000)

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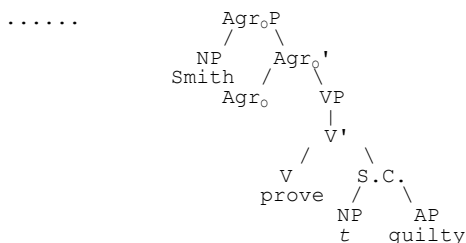   movement can provide the basis for an account of this.

II. Pseudogapping

(18)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)

(19)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~~

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

(21)   NP-raising to Spec of Agr$_o$ ('Object Shift') is overt in
       English. [Koizumi (1993;1995), developing ideas of
       Johnson (1991)]
(22)   Pseudogapping as overt raising to Spec of Agr$_o$ followed
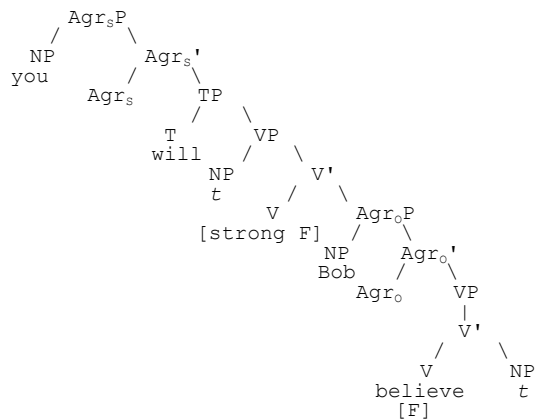   by deletion of VP. [Lasnik (1995a)]

(23)
```
            AgrsP
           /    \
         NP     Agrs'
         you    /    \
             Agrs    TP
                    /  \
                   T    VP
                  will /  \
                     NP    V'
                     t    /  \
                        V    AgroP
                            /    \
                          NP     Agro'
                          Bob    /   \
                             Agro    VP
                                |
                                V'
                               /  \
                              V    NP
                           believe  t
```

(24)
```
......              AgroP
                   /    \
                 NP     Agro'
                Smith   /   \
                     Agro    VP
                             |
                             V'
                            /  \
                           V    S.C.
                         prove  /  \
                              NP    AP
                              t   guilty
```

(25)   *You will Bob believe
(26)   *The Assistant DA will Smith prove guilty

(27)
```
            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]
```

(28)   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.

(29)   This complementarity between normally obligatory movement
        (raising of V) and ellipsis thus receives a rather
        straightforward account in terms of feature movement. It
        is not clear how this would be expressed if feature
        movement were eliminated from the theory in favor of long
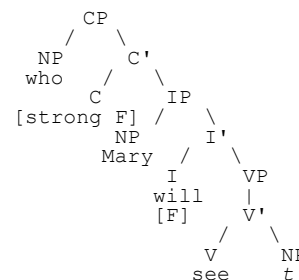   distance agreement.

III. Sluicing

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

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

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

(33)
```
             CP
            /  \
          NP    C'
          who   /  \
               C    IP
         [strong F] / \
                  NP    I'
                 Mary  /  \
                      I    VP
                     will  |
                     [F]   V'
                          /  \
                         V    NP
                        see    t
```

(34)   *Who Mary will see?
(35)   Who will Mary see?

(36)   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.
(37)   This complementarity between normally obligatory movement
        (raising of Infl) and ellipsis thus receives a rather
        straightforward account in terms of feature movement. It
        is not clear how this would be expressed if feature
        movement were eliminated from the theory in favor of long
        distance agreement.

IV. A Constraint on One Type of Remnant Movement

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

(40)   [How likely [PRO to win]] is John

(41) *[How likely [*t* to be a riot]] is there   [out by Proper
     Binding Condition]

(42) *[How likely [*t* to be a man outside]] [_{c̄} is [_{IP} there ...]

(43) "a man" must replace "there" in LF (as in Chomsky
     (1986)), but this movement is illicit here, being
     sidewards.   Barss (1986)

(44) Expletive replacement cannot be correct, as shown by the
     paradigms in I. 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.

(45) *[How likely [*t* to be a man outside]] [_{c̄} is [_{IP} there ...]
                   [F]   [F]
                    |_____↑

(46) No such account is available on the long distance
     agreement theory:

(47) There is [how likely [to be [a man outside]]]
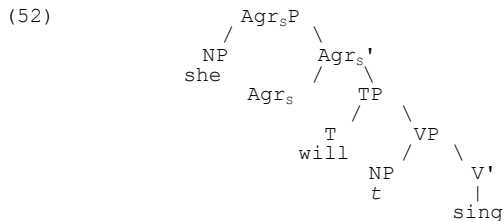   ✓[F]   [F]

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

(49) [There is [very likely [*t* to be [a man outside]]]]
         [F]   [F]
          ↑_____|
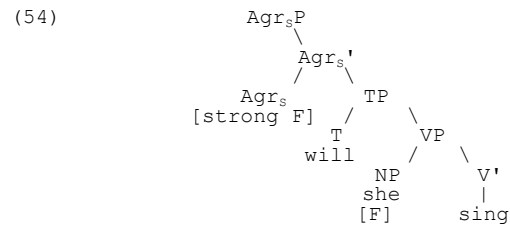
V. The EPP
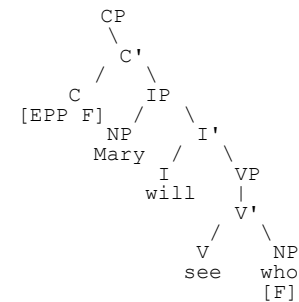
(50) Certain heads have a strong feature, demanding overt
     movement for checking.   Chomsky (1995, Ch. 4)

(51) Certain heads require Spec's.   Chomsky (2000; 1981)

(52)
```
              AgrsP
             /    \
           NP      Agrs'
           she    /    \
              Agrs      TP
                       /  \
                      T    VP
                    will  /  \
                        NP    V'
                        t     |
                            sing
```

(53) Mary said she won't sing, although she will ~~sing~~

(54)
```
              AgrsP
                  \
                  Agrs'
                 /    \
             Agrs      TP
          [strong F]  /  \
                     T    VP
                   will  /  \
                       NP    V'
                       she   |
                       [F]  sing
```

(55) *Mary said she won't sing, although will ~~she sing~~

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

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

(58)
```
              CP
                \
                C'
               /  \
              C    IP
          [EPP F] /  \
               NP     I'
              Mary   /  \
                    I    VP
                  will   |
                         V'
                        /  \
                       V    NP
                      see   who
                            [F]
```

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

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

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