What is the EPP?

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I. Background

(1)   Any sentence other than an imperative in which there is an S that does
      not contain a subject in surface structure is ungrammatical.
      Perlmutter (1971, p.100)

(2)   The Extended Projection Principle (EPP) (there called by Chomsky
      'principle P') "is the structural requirement that certain
      configurations ... must have subjects..." Chomsky (1981, p.27)

(3)a.   It seems that John is here
   b. *Seems that John is here

(4)   This did not follow from θ-theory, since even when the predicate has
      no subject θ-role to assign, a subject must nonetheless be present, at
      least in one class of languages. "...the subject of a clause is
      obligatory in English and similar languages." [p.40]

(5)   Chomsky (1982) introduced the name 'Extended Projection Principle',
      since the requirement goes beyond anything demanded by the Projection
      Principle, "which states informally that the θ-marking properties of
      each lexical item must be represented categorially at each syntactic
      level...". [p.8]

(6) Fukui and Speas (1986) (recently followed by Epstein and Seely (1999),
      among others) propose that the effects of the EPP follow from a more
      general requirement, that a Case assigner must assign/check its Case
      (now sometimes called the Inverse Case Filter (ICF)). (3)b is out
      because Infl is unable to assign/check its Case. The EPP is redundant.

(7) Or is the ICF redundant?
      a. Is the ICF independently motivated?
      b. Is the EPP independently motivated?

(8) Central examples like (3) are actually uninformative. True, they
      display redundancy, but they don't tell us how the redundancy ought to
      be eliminated.

(9) *Mary is believed [__ is intelligent]

(10) "... movement is a kind of 'last resort.' An NP is moved only when
      this is required ... in order to escape a violation of some principle
      [such as] the Case filter ..." Chomsky (1986, p. 143)
      We must "prevent a nominal phrase that has already satisfied the Case
      Filter from raising further to do so again in a higher position."
      Chomsky (1995, p.280)

(11) "... a visible Case feature ... makes [a] feature bundle or
      constituent available for 'A-movement'. Once Case is checked off, no
      further [A-]movement is possible."   Lasnik (1995a, p.16)

(12) "If uninterpretable features serve to implement operations, we expect
      that it is structural Case that enables the closest goal G to select
      P(G) to satisfy EPP by Merge. Thus, if structural Case has already
      been checked (deleted), the phrase P(G) is "frozen in place," unable
      to move further to satisfy EPP in a higher position. More generally,
      uninterpretable features render the goal active, able to implement an
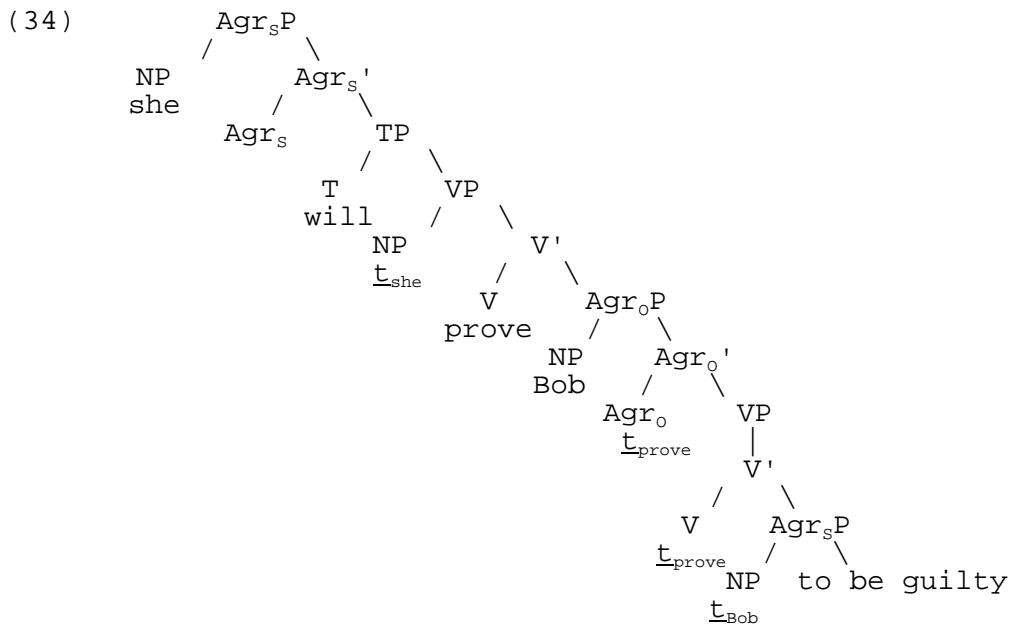
operation: to select a phrase for Merge (pied-piping) or to delete the
probe." Chomsky (2000, p.123)

(13) All of these accounts demand that a Case assigner (checker) actually
assign (check) its Case, thus, they assume the ICF.
(14) However, as observed by Nevins (2004), the Phase Impenetrability
Condition will independently block the illicit movement.

(15) *Eddie seems [to __] [that California is in political trouble]

(16) No obvious solution to this one, but Nevins (2004), attributing the
observation to Brent DeChene, presents other rather similar instances
of impossible A-movement, but where ICF would not help:

(17) *Eddie was said [to __] [that California is in trouble]

(18) On a pseudopassive derivation, the Case assigning property of the
preposition should be 'absorbed'. It is reasonable to conjecture that
whatever rules out (17) could also rule out (15).

(19)   *Mary loves here/there
(20)a   Mary loves it here/there
    b   Mary loves this/that place   Boskovic (2002)

(21) A new argument for the ICF: Boskovic reasons that (19) are perfectly
coherent (as demonstrated by (20)), and are bad just because *here* and
there can't bear Case.

(22)a   Mary found/discussed this place
    b   *Mary found/discussed here
    c (*)Mary found/discussed it here

(23)a   I talked about this place
    b   *I talked about here
    c (*)I talked about it here

(24)a I love it when you sing
    b I love when you sing   (Lydia Grebenyova p.c.)

(25) Thus, independent motivation for the ICF is much less clear than might
have been expected.

(26) Note also that under an Agree-based theory of Case, the ICF could
never actually force movement of a DP to the Spec of a Case-licensing
head, since first, Agree could take place before movement, and second,
Agree could not take place after movement.

(27) There are situations where neither θ-theory nor Case theory demands a
subject, yet one is apparently still required (even if the result is
ungrammatical; i.e., with or without a (pleonastic) subject, the
sentences are bad).

(28) *the belief [to seem [Peter is ill]]
(29) *[To seem [Peter is ill]] is widely believed
(30) *John has conjectured [to seem [Peter is ill]]   Boskovic (1997)

II. ECM configurations and the EPP

(31) Standard ECM constructions, on their standard analysis, initially look
like powerful evidence for the EPP:
(32) She will prove [Bob to be [t guilty]]

(33) But Lasnik and Saito (1991), following Postal (1974), argue that the
     ECM subject has raised into the higher clause, suggesting that it is
     in Spec of Agr_O, arguably a canonical accusative Case position. The
     matrix verb then must have raised still higher, as in the analysis of
     Koizumi (1993), Koizumi (1995):

```
(34)          Agr_SP
            /      \
       NP        Agr_S'
       she       /  \
           Agr_S      TP
                    /    \
                 T        VP
                 will    /   \
                     NP        V'
                     t_she    /   \
                            V       Agr_OP
                          prove    /   \
                                 NP       Agr_O'
                                 Bob     /   \
                                   Agr_O      VP
                                   t_prove    |
                                              V'
                                            /    \
                                           V       Agr_SP
                                        t_prove   /   \
                                                 NP    to be guilty
                                                 t_Bob
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(35) The evidence for raising involves anaphor binding, bound variable
     anaphora, and negative polarity item licensing:

(36) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene of the crime] during
     each other's trials
(37) The DA proved [no suspect$_i$ to have been at the scene of the crime]
     during his$_i$ trial
(38) The DA proved [noone to have been at the scene] during any of the
     trials

(39)?*The DA proved [that two men were at the scene of the crime] during
     each other's trials
(40)?*The DA proved [that no suspect$_i$ was at the scene of the crime] during
     his$_i$ trial
(41)?*The DA proved [that noone was guilty] during any of the trials

(42) The DA accused two men during each other's trials
(43) The DA discredited no suspect$_i$ during his$_i$ trial
(44) The DA cross-examined none of the witnesses during any of the trials

(45) But then, we no longer have an obvious argument for the EPP, as the
     ECM DPs are not in Spec of IP, and they might never have even passed
     through that position.

(46) ON THE OTHER HAND, there is considerable evidence that the ECM subject
     need not raise, i.e., that it can remain in Spec of IP. That is, ECM
     constructions do after all provide an argument for the EPP.

(47) Mary made John out to be a fool
(48) Mary made out that John is a fool
(49) Mary made out John to be a fool   Kayne (1985), Johnson (1991)

(50) An observation about scope that Zubizarreta (1982) attributes to
     Chomsky, and that is discussed again by Chomsky (1995) provides
     further evidence for the optionality of 'object shift' with ECM
     subjects:

(51)a. (it seems that) everyone isn't there yet
     b. everyone seems [t not to be there yet]
(52) Chomsky (p.327) argues as follows: "Negation can have wide scope over
     the Q in [(51)a]... but not in [(51)b]", concluding that
     "...reconstruction in the A-chain does not take place, so it appears."
(53) When the word order makes it clear that a universal ECM subject has
     raised, that subject cannot be interpreted inside the scope of
     negation in the complement clause, as seen in (54).
(54) The mathematician made every even number out not to be the sum of two
     primes
(55) The alternative word order for (54), with every even number unraised,
     does allow narrow scope for the universal:
(56) The mathematician made out every even number not to be the sum of two
     primes

(57) I expected [everyone not to be there yet]   Chomsky (1995)
(58) I believe everyone not to have arrived yet
(59) I proved every Mersenne number not to be prime

IV. Binding theoretic evidence for the EPP

(60) The 'Governing Category' for Condition A is based on 'clause-mate'.
         Lasnik (2002b), Postal (1974)
(61)a   Jack made himself out to be immoral
    b ?*Jack made out himself to be immoral
(62)a   They made each other out to be honest
    b ?*They made out each other to be honest

(63) ?Jack called up himself
(64) ?They called up each other

(65) John appears to Mary to seem to himself/*herself to be the best
     candidate   [pointed out to me in this connection by Adolfo Ausín;
     also attributed to Danny Fox, via David Pesetsky, in Castillo et al.
     (1999)]
(66) This argues, contra Fukui and Speas (1986) and Epstein and Seely
     (1999), that A-movement is successive cyclic.

(67) The 'Governing Category' for Condition B is based on 'clause-mate'.
         Lasnik (2002a) [But see Fiengo and May (1994) for an alternative
         take.]

(68) *John$_i$ injured him$_i$
(69) *John$_i$ believes him$_i$ to be a genius

(70) *Mary injured him$_i$ and John$_i$ did too
(71) ?Mary believes him$_i$ to be a genius and John$_i$ does too

(72) How can VP deletion repair a Condtion B violation?

(73) Suppose Postal (1966), Postal (1974) was right (contra Chomsky (1973))
     that the relevant structural configuration for such obviation is based
     on the notion clause-mate. (For related discussion, see Lasnik
     (2002b))

(74) Weak pronouns must cliticize onto the verb.   Oehrle (1976)
(75) The detective brought him in
(76) *The detective brought in him   Chomsky (1955)

(77) Failure to cliticize in (71) is repaired by ellipsis.
(78) In (70), on the other hand, the pronoun and its antecedents are
      clause-mates independent of cliticization.

(79) ?*John$_i$ injured him and Bill$_i$
(80) ?John$_i$ believes him$_i$ and Bill to be geniuses

(81) ( )John$_i$ made him$_i$ and Bill out to be geniuses
(82) ( )John$_i$ made out him$_i$ and Bill to be geniuses

(83) Mary showed Susan Bill$_i$ even though he$_i$ didn't want her to.
                              (Jason Merchant, attributed to Chris Potts)
(84) *He$_i$ didn't want Mary to show Susan Bill$_i$
(85) *He didn't want Mary to show Susan him

(86) *Mary showed Susan him

V. Repair of EPP violations?   Merchant (2001, pp. 185-193)

(87) *Which Marx brother did she say that [[a biography of _] is going to
       be published this year]
(88) *Which Marx brother did she say that [[a biography of _] will appear
       this year]

(89) A biography of one of the Marx brothers is going to be published this
       year - guess which!
(90) A biography of one of the Marx brothers will appear this year - guess
       which!

(91) *Which Marx brother did she say that [a biographer of _] worked for
       her
(92) A biographer of one of the Marx brothers worked for her, but I don't
       remember which

(93) Subject position is an island. But there is a potential source for
       the sluices where the extraction is not out of 'subject position',
       roughly as in:

(94)*Which candidate were [posters of t] all over town
(95) Which candidate were there [posters of t] all over town

(96) Guess [which Marx brother]$_2$ ~~[$_{IP}$ _ is [$_{VP}$ going to be published [a
       biography of t_2]]]~~
(97) *Guess [which Marx brother]$_2$ [$_{IP}$ _ is [$_{VP}$ going to be published [a
       biography of t_2]]]

(98) (97) violates the EPP, so why is (96) good? Infl has a strong EPP
       feature, where 'strong' means uninterpretable at the PF interface.
       If, as a result of deletion, the strong feature does not reach the PF
       interface, then the absence of checking movement should not matter.
       According to Merchant, that's what happens in the Sluicing examples.

(99) On the other hand, Merchant (based on Ross (1969)) also presents
       considerable evidence that certain island violations (his 'PF
       islands) can be repaired by ellipsis. Could the subject island be one
       of these? Or are we dealing with EPP repair?

(100) [Every biography of one of the Marx brothers]$_1$ seemed to its$_1$ author
       to be definitive, but I don't remember which (Marx brother)

(101) Here, there must have been raising in the sluice in order for the
       bound pronoun to be licensed.
(102) Merchant proposes that phrasal A-movement takes place in covert
       syntax. Thus, EPP, an overt requirement, would have been violated,
       had deletion not removed the offending item (Infl on this account).

BUT

(103)a. The DA made every defendant$_1$ out to be guilty during his$_1$ trial
     b.*The DA made out every defendant$_1$ to be guilty during his$_1$ trial
            Lasnik (2001b), Lasnik and Park (2003)

(104) Covert A-movement should be able to turn (103)b into (103)a in LF.
(105) Or maybe not. Craenenbroeck (2004) and Craenenbroeck and Dikken
      (2005) show that under the Lasnik theory of optionality of object
      shift, (103)b would necessarily lack the Agr$_O$ projection that (103)a
      would necessarily have (the EPP requirement of Agr$_O$ driving the
      movement). So the relevant covert movement could not take place.

(106) However, Craenenbroeck and Dikken (2005), while rejecting the Lasnik
      and Park (2003) argument that there is no covert A-movement still
      accept its conclusion (on another basis):
(107) If the EPP is a PF requirement (which they assume, following
      Merchant), then it should never drive covert movement at all. Hence,
      there is, in fact, no covert A-movement.

(108) So why <u>is</u> (100) good? Craenenbroeck and Dikken (2005) (continuing to
      assume that Subject Condition violations cannot be repaired by
      ellipsis) claim that it is QR that is responsible for the binding of
      its in (100).
(109) But Merchant had already convincingly rejected that possibility,
      pointing out that A'-movement of the quantifier (unlike A-movement)
      would create a Weak Crossover configuration.
COMPARE
(110) *It seems to its$_i$ author that every book$_i$ is definitive
OR EVEN
(111) *Its$_i$ author completed every book$_i$ rapidly

(112) Further, while there may have been doubt about whether A-movement is
      what is needed to license a bound variable pronoun, there is surely
      no doubt that Condition demands A-binding. Yet ...

(113) Students of a certain linguist seem to themselves to be geniuses, but
      I won't tell you which linguist

(114) So if there is no covert A-movement, then it must be that there is
      overt A-movement in this example, and in (100) as well (given
      Merchant's argument that A'-movement won't suffice).

(115) Thus, Subject Condition violations can be repaired. There is then
      still no evidence that EPP violations can.

(116) John-ga   subete-no gakusei-o$_i$ soitu-no$_i$ sensei-ni   syookaisita
       -Nom   all-gen   student-acc he-gen   teacher-dat   introduced
      'John introduced every student$_i$ to his$_i$ teacher

(117) *John-ga   soitu-no sensei-ni   subete-no gakusei-o   syookaisita
        -Nom he-gen   teacher-dat all-gen   student-acc introduced

(118) Short scrambling is (or can be) A-movement. If there were covert A-
      scrambling, then (117) should be as good as (116). Takano (1998)

(119) ?*[[otagai$_i$ -no sensei]-ga   karera$_i$-o hihansita] (koto)
          each other-gen teacher-nom   them   criticized fact

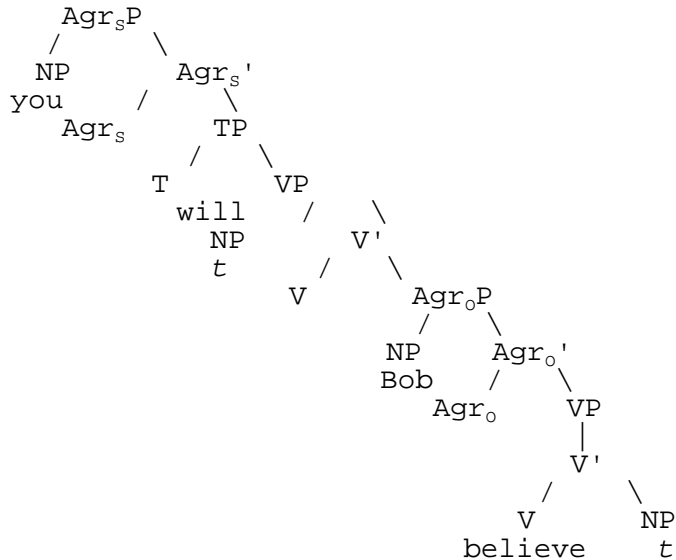(120) ?[karera$_i$-o [[otagai$_i$ -no sensei]-ga t_i hihansita]] (koto)
         them   each other-gen teacher-nom   criticized fact
                                            Saito (1994)
(121) Covert A-scrambling, if it existed should remedy the Condition A
       violation.

VI. Failure of repair of EPP violations? [Based on Lasnik (2001a)]

(122) Certain heads have a strong feature, demanding overt movement for
      checking.   Chomsky (1995)
(123) Certain heads require Spec's.   Chomsky (2000), Chomsky (1981)

(124) Lasnik (2001a), Lasnik (2002c) shows that apparent failure to move in
      order to check a strong feature can be repaired by ellipsis.
      Pseudogapping provides one instance:

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

(126) NP-raising to Spec of Agr_O ('Object Shift') is overt in English.
      [Koizumi (1993), Koizumi (1995), developing ideas of Johnson (1991)]
(127) Pseudogapping as overt raising to Spec of Agr_O followed by deletion
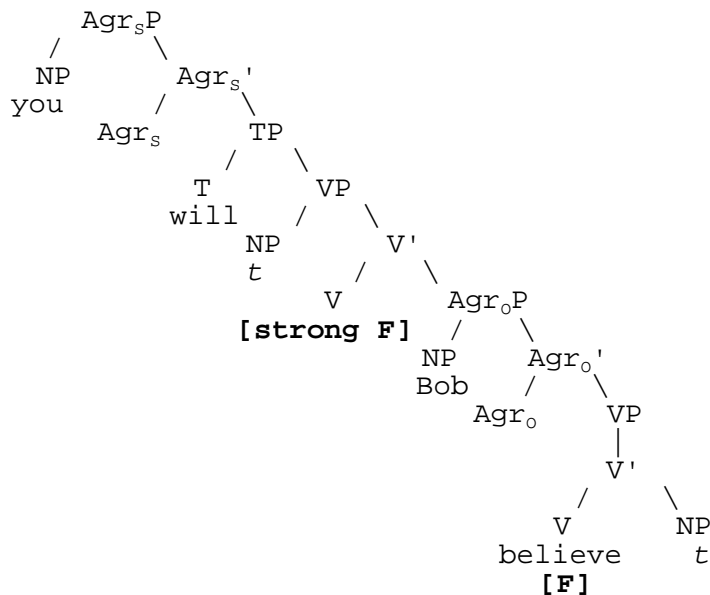   of VP.   Lasnik (1995b)

(128)
```
                Agr_sP
               /     \
            NP        Agr_s'
            you      /     \
               Agr_s        TP
                       /      \
                     T         VP
                    will      /   \
                           NP       V'
                           t       /  \
                                 V      Agr_oP
                                       /     \
                                     NP       Agr_o'
                                     Bob     /    \
                                        Agr_o      VP
                                                   |
                                                   V'
                                                  /   \
                                                 V     NP
                                              believe   t
```

(129)*You will Bob believe

(130) In (131), if only the attracted features raise, but the V does not, a
      PF crash will ensue (Ochi (1999)), but only if the offending item
      still exists. Deletion provides another way to salvage the
      derivation. When the lower VP is deleted without the V having
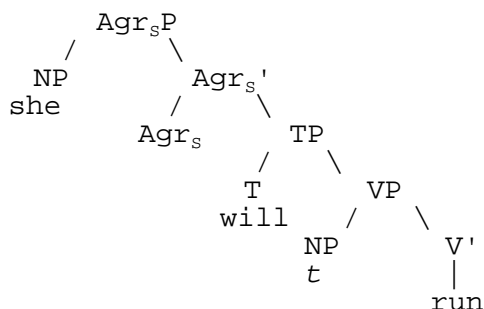   raised, a PF crash is avoided.

(131)
```
                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]
```

(132) 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
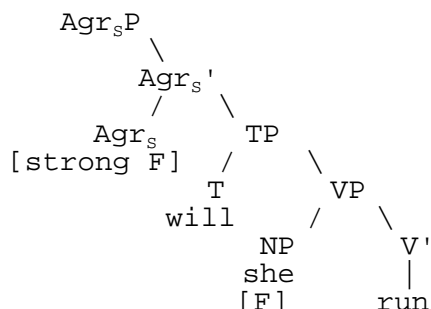   = Pseudogapping in the relevant instances) takes place. [Lasnik
       (1999)]

(133) Now suppose that EPP satisfaction were likewise a matter of strong
       feature checking.

(134)   Agr$_S$P
                      /   \
                 NP   Agr$_S$'
                she   /   \
                     Agr$_S$ TP
                            /   \
                           T   VP
                          will   /   \
                             NP   V'
                              t |
                                      run

(135) Mary said she won't run, although she will ~~run~~

(136)   Agr$_S$P
                       \
                      Agr$_S$'
                      /   \
                 Agr$_S$ TP
              [strong F] /   \
                         T   VP
                        will   /   \
                          NP   V'
                         she |
                         [F]   run

(137) *Mary said she won't run, although will ~~she run~~

(138) Agr requires a Spec. It does not suffice to check its 'EPP feature'.
(139) Further, there is some reason to believe that this need for a Spec is
       not a PF requirement, given that various phonetically null elements
       (pro, PRO) can satisfy it. I will immediately return to what kind of
       requirement the EPP is.

VII. An argument against the EPP?

(140) Epstein and Seely (1999) offer a conceptual/technical argument
       against the EPP: The EPP demands successive cyclic A-movement, thus
       creating a chain. According to Chomsky (1995), a chain is a set of
       'occurrences' where each occurrence is defined in terms of sisterhood.
       Since an EPP position is a Spec of some X, its sister is X', an
       intermediate projection of X. But it is widely assumed that syntactic
       operations can't target intermediate projections. Therefore the
       needed chain links can't exist, so the EPP must not be valid.

(141) Possible responses:
(142) Is it completely clear that syntactic operations can't target X'? I
       actually believe that the assumption is correct, but it is interesting
       to note that very little actual evidence has been offered in the
       literature.

(143) Why <u>must</u> occurrences be defined in terms of sisterhood? Motherhood
       would seem to work equally well, and avoid any question of
       intermediate projections.

Most importantly:

(144) Epstein and Seely assume, completely reasonably, that chains are representational objects, existing at the ends of derivations. At that point, it is certainly true that most of the occurrences constituting a chain are intermediate projections. However, this has no consequences for the EPP per se.

(145) There is no a priori reason to assume that the EPP requirement must be met at the end of the derivation. Rather, it might be viewed derivationally. In fact, this seems natural, given that the only alternatives are an LF constraint or a PF one. Yet semantically null elements (pleonastics) and phonetically null elements (PRO, pro) can satisfy it.

(146) But then, assuming standard bottom-up structure building, at the point where the EPP will be satisfied, the moving DP will be targeting a maximal projection - the entire existing structure. Lasnik (2003)

(147) Note that this would entail that EPP violations cannot be repaired, if, as argued in Section VI, the EPP is not a matter of strong feature checking.

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