Howard Lasnik
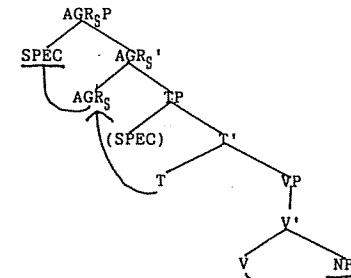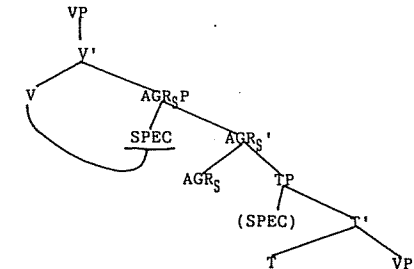University of Connecticut

Minimalist Concepts and Tendencies

(1)   Languages are based on simple principles that interact to form intricate structures. {Here, minimalism is simply the culmination of a decades old research direction.}

(2)   The language faculty is 'nonredundant'. For example, an ill-formed sentence is ruled out by just one principle or constraint. {In Chomsky's work, this goes back at least to the late 1970's.}

(3)   The language faculty has 'symmetry': parallel phenomena fall under the same principles.

(4)   Principles of 'economy' play a central role in determining computations and the structural descriptions they generate. (In recent theorizing, Greed, Procrastinate, Shortest Move, etc.) {Hints of this in the earliest work in generative grammar.}   <I will be exploring some of these in some detail.>

(5)   Language has two interface levels: LF, which interfaces with the conceptual-intentional performance system; and PF, which interfaces with the articulatory-perceptual performance system. There are no other levels. {In part, reminiscent of Generative Semantics proposals of the mid- to late- 1960's.}   <This has major implications for virtually every aspect of syntax. I will be particularly concerned with Case, Binding, ellipsis, and quantifier scope.>

(6)   Conditions on the levels represent necessary properties of the interfaces.   <The notions 'well-formed LF object' and 'well-formed PF object' will be considered.>

(7)   A linguistic expression is a formal object that satisfies the interface conditions in the optimal way.

(8)   Basic linguistic relations are stated in terms of core structural notions, those given by X' theory. Thus, Spec-head and head-complement, but not government.   <I will discuss the interactions between this desideratum and (3) above, especially with respect to theories of Case and agreement.>

(9)   Strong lexicalism: words enter syntactic structures fully inflected, and with abstract features to be checked by functional heads. There is no word formation by syntactic affixation; Case is a matter of checking rather than assignment; etc. {Obvious roots in "Remarks on Nominalization".}   <I will examine some of the history of theories of case and of verbal inflection in this regard. With respect to verbal inflection, I will argue for a weaker form of lexicalism.>

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A Minimalist Approach to Case

A. Levels of Representation: Case Considerations

(1)   John saw Mary

(2)   John believes Mary to be intelligent

(3)

AGR$_S$P
  SPEC   AGR$_S$'
         AGR$_S$ TP
              (SPEC)   T'
                   T   AGR$_O$P
                      SPEC   AGR$_O$'
                          AGR$_O$ VP
                                V'
                             V   AGR$_S$P
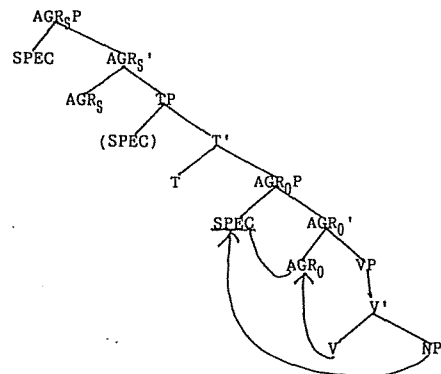   NP ....
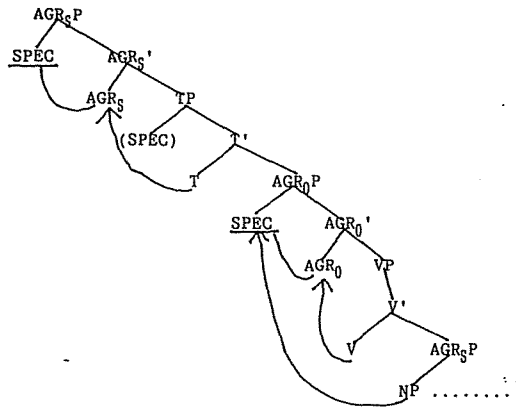
(4) T raises to AGR$_S$ and, when T is finite, the combination licenses
     nominative Case in SPEC of AGR$_S$.
(5) V raises to AGR$_O$, and, when V is accusative, the combination licenses
     accusative Case in SPEC of AGR$_O$.

(6)

AGR$_S$P
  SPEC   AGR$_S$'
      AGR$_S$ TP
          (SPEC)   T'
              T   AGR$_O$P
                 SPEC   AGR$_O$'
                     AGR$_O$ VP
                           V'
                        V   NP

(7) The Case feature of an NP must be licensed via SPEC-head agreement. An
     NP with an unlicensed Case feature is an ill-formed LF object. A-
     movement is driven by the need for the Case feature to be licensed (one
     aspect of 'Economy of Derivation').
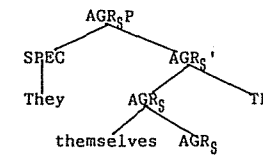
B. The 'Extended Projection Principle'

(8) *has been arrested John
(9)   John has been arrested
(10) The police have arrested John
(11) *The police have John arrested

(12) By licensing Case, the relevant feature of a head is discharged and
      disappears.
(13) Tense in English has a 'strong' NP licensing feature. A strong feature
      (or a functional head containing one) is an ill-formed PF object.
(14) 'Procrastinate'. Delay performing a necessary operation until LF,
      except to prevent a PF violation.
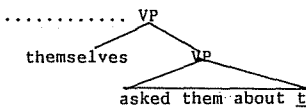
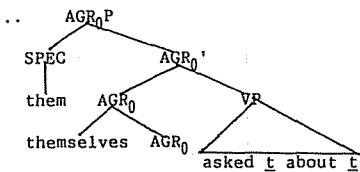C. SPEC of AGR$_O$: Further Arguments

(15) They injured themselves

(16)

AGR$_S$P
  SPEC   AGR$_S$'
  They   AGR$_S$ TP
       themselves   AGR$_S$

(17) I asked them about themselves

(18) .... VP
          themselves   VP
                   asked them about t

(19) .... AGR$_O$P
               SPEC   AGR$_O$'
               them   AGR$_O$ VP
                     themselves AGR$_O$
                              asked t about t

(20) The FBI proved that few students were spies
(21) The FBI proved few students to be spies

(22) Joan believes he$_i$ is a genius even more fervently than Bob$_i$ does
(23) *Joan believes him$_i$ to be a genius even more fervently than Bob$_i$ does

2

3

β

β

(24) ?The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials
(25) ?The DA accused the defendants during each other's trials
(26)?*The DA proved [that the defendants were guilty] during each other's
     trials

(27) Noone saw anything
(28) *Anyone saw nothing

(29) The DA accused none of the defendants during any of the trials
(30) ?The DA proved [none of the defendants to be guilty] during any of the
     trials
(31)?*The DA proved [that none of the defendants were guilty] during any of
     the trials

(32) Jones proved the prisoners guilty with one accusation each
(33) Jones proved the defendants to be guilty with one accusation each
(34) Jones prosecuted the defendants with one accusation each
(35)??Jones proved that the defendants were guilty with one accusation each

D. On the Other Hand...: The Problem of Apparent S-structure Requirements

(60) Which book that John$_i$ read did he$_i$ like
(61) *He$_i$ liked every book that John$_i$ read
(62) *Who said that he$_i$ liked which book that John$_i$ read

(63) John$_i$ wonders which picture of himself$_i$ Mary showed to Susan
(64) *John$_i$ wonders who showed which picture of himself$_i$ to Susan
(65) John$_i$ said that every picture of himself$_i$, Mary likes
(66) *John$_i$ said that Mary likes every picture of himself$_i$

(67) There arrived two knights on each other's horses
(68) Two knights arrived t on each other's horses
(69) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's
     trials
(70) *The DA proved [there to have been two men at the scene] during each
     other's trials

(67) If the general program is correct, either there is no QR, or QR raises
     just the quantifier head, and not the entire quantificational expres-
     sion. Similarly for LF _wh_-movement. We will return to this issue.

4

β

(1) *John is likely [t will win]

(2) Standard analysis from the 1980's: Movement is a 'last resort'. If an
    NP already is in a Case-marked position, it can't move to another. (A
    still earlier related approach was in terms of 'Case clash'; note that
    even two instances of the same Case, as in (1), clash.)

(3) I believe it to be likely John will win
(4) It is likely John will win

(5) Last resort relative to what? Should (3), (4) be compared to (16), (1)?
    The answer is no if derivations to be compared have identical lexical
    choices. The relevant comparison would then be between (16), (1) and
    (6), (7) (which are themselves ungrammatical), in violation of the
    'Extended Projection Principle'.

(6) *I believe __ to be likely John will win
(7) *__ is likely John will win

(8) Thus, the proposal that the movement of an item α is driven exclusively
    by requirements of α itself, even if failure to move results in a
    'crashed' derivation, as in (6), (7). This is 'Greed'.

(9) __ seems to [$_α$ a strange man] [that it is raining outside]   [Chomsky
    (1993)]

(10) Raising of α must be blocked, both in LF ((9) is not a well-formed
     sentence) and in overt syntax:

(11) *A strange man seems to t that it is raining outside

(12) Chomsky's proposal is that α has no reasons of its own for moving,
     either overtly or covertly, since its Case is licensed by _to_. Again,
     Greed is implicated, since movement would help the derivation satisfy
     the EPP.

(13) Contrary to standard assumptions, (1) and (11) do not actually provide
     evidence for Greed. In fact, under independently plausible assumptions,
     they argue against Greed, since that constraint is redundant for such
     examples.

(14) The Case feature of an NP must be checked. A reasonable technical
     instantiation of this is as follows: if the Case feature survives until
     the LF interface level, the derivation crashes. The feature disappears

C-1

when it is checked. But then, if the derived subjects in (1) and (11)
has already had its Case checked before it moves to subject position,
the nominative Case feature of Tense will never be checked, and that
will cause the derivation to crash.

(15) For (11), there is even further redundancy, since a single NP couldn't
possible check both the nominative feature of Tense and the oblique
feature of to.

(16) *I believe [John to be likely [t will win]]

(17) Here the problem is similar, but with the relevant unchecked feature
that of AGR$_0$ above believe. Again, Greed is at best superfluous, and at
worst, redundant. [More on questions about ECM constructions later.]

(18) *It is believed [a man to seem to t that S] (Chomsky 1994)

(19) On the face of it, a much stronger argument for Greed. There is one
Case feature to be discharged (that of to), and one NP to check that
feature (a man). The movement is solely to satisfy the EPP, thus is
altruistic, in violation of Greed.

(20) *There is likely [someone to be [t here]]

(21) [$_\gamma$ to be [$_\beta$ someone here]

(22) Procrastinate: LF movement is preferred to overt movement.

(23) At the outset of a derivation, all lexical items to be used are
selected. The derivation includes generalized transformations, which
combine these lexical items into one structure. At stage (21), it is
preferable to fill the SPEC of γ by inserting there rather than by
raising someone, since, locally, the latter move would violate
Procrastinate. Then when γ is further embedded, once there is raised to
the higher subject position, there will be no need to move someone at
all in the overt syntax, and, in particular, no need to move it to the
position vacated by there (20), in favor of (24).

(24) There is likely to be someone here

(25) [$_\gamma$ to seem to a man that S]

(26) At this point, the SPEC of γ must be filled. The choices are the
raising of a man, or the insertion of it. But just as in Chomsky's
discussion of (20), Procrastinate favors the latter over the former,
blocking (25) in favor of (27):

(27) It is believed [t to seem to a man that...]

(28) Greed is irrelevant to the choice.

C

(29) *John$_i$ Infl [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ [$_{V'}$ HIT t$_i$]

(30) HIT is like hit, except that it has no Case feature.

(31) John has originated in complement position, picking up the object θ-role
of the verb, then moved to SPEC of VP, picking up the subject role, on
its way to SPEC of IP. Greed would rule out this derivation (thus
explaining why HIT doesn't exist) if a θ-role is a formal feature that a
verb must discharge but not a formal feature that an NP must possess.

(32) The 'associate' of there moves to there in LF. This accounts for the
familiar agreement paradigms:
(33)a There is/*are a man here
   b There are/*is men here

(34) *There seem to a lot of us that S

(35)a Greed: Movement of α to β must be for the satisfaction of formal
    requirements of α.
   b 'Enlightened self interest': Movement of α to β must be for the
    satisfaction of formal requirements of α or β.
or c Movement of α to β is free.

(36) If (34) is well-formed (but semantic gibberish) with a lot of us in
situ, as claimed by Chomsky (1993), then (only?) (35)a will exclude it.
[If it is semantic gibberish even with movement of a lot of us to There,
then (35)a,b, or c will suffice.]

(37) If, on the other hand, (34) is formally defective, the failing must be
some unsatisfied requirement of There or of Infl, since all requirements
of the complement of to are satisfied. This argues for Greed.

(38) There is someone here

(39) If the Case of someone is licensed by is (Belletti 1988; Lasnik 1992;
Chomsky 1994), what is the difference between (34) and (38)?
(40) Chomsky (1994) suggests, in line with Greed, that the complement of to
in (34) has its Φ-features checked by to, or by an agreement projection
immediately above to, while someone in (38) must move to There to have
its Φ-features checked.
(41) The problem with that line of reasoning, though, is that Chomsky also
argues that an agreement projection dominates the small clause
complement of be in existential constructions, and that Φ-features are
checked in the specifier of that projection. So even if a DP needs to
have its Φ-features checked, those of someone already would be, short of
moving all the way to There. There is, therefore, no 'greedy'
motivation for the movement.

C

Case and Expletives Revisited

Howard Lasnik
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(42) Two possible 'enlightened' motivations for the movement:
(43)a There is an LF affix. A stranded affix is an ill-formed object.
   b There is morphologically defective, lacking Φ-features, so the Φ-features of AGR$_S$ will not be checked unless the associate moves to There.

(44) What did John buy

(45) Chomsky (1993) proposes that raising of a wh-operator to SPEC of CP is driven by the need for a morphological Q-feature to be checked. In a simple interrogative clause, C has this feature, as does the operator that raises to it.
(46) Thus the operator raises to check its own feature, and in so doing, it satisfies the feature of the head it raises to. This is consistent with Greed.

(47) Who bought what
(48) Chomsky (1993) argues that, exactly along the lines of Chomsky (1973), the wh-phrases that are in situ overtly remain in situ at LF, and are interpreted in the appropriate Comp without movement to that Comp at any level of representation.
(49) For the one wh that actually does move, we must identify a driving force, in particular, (under Greed) a morphological feature of that wh that must be checked.
(50) Further, that feature must distinguish the wh that moves from the ones that do not, because if all had the feature, the unmoved ones would cause the derivation to crash.

(51) Alternatively, if the feature is simply freely assigned to any wh-phrase, then there is no description of standard Superiority effects, as in (52):
(52) *What did who buy

(53) I believe [John to [$_{VP}$ t own a house]]
(54) There must be some strong feature of non-finite tense driving the overt movement to subject position. But the relevant feature is not a Case feature, since Case in ECM constructions is checked in the SPEC of a higher AGR$_0$.
(55) Since there is, in general, also no agreement requirement of the subject that needs to be satisfied in SPEC of AGR$_S$, there is no apparent feature of the NP that needs to be satisfied. Yet Greed, unlike enlightened self interest, demands that there be one.

(56) John is believed [t to be likely [t to be arrested t]

4

C

(1) There is someone here

(2) There is [$_a$ a strange man] in the garden

(3) "In [(2)] α is not in a proper position for Case checking; therefore it must raise at LF, adjoining to the LF affix there..."

(4) *There seems to [$_a$ a strange man] [that it is raining outside]

(5) "α has its Case properties satisfied internal to the PP, so it is not permitted to raise, and we are left with a freestanding there."

(6) "...raising of α in [(4)] is blocked by the fact that its own requirements are satisfied without raising, even though such raising would arguably overcome inadequacies of the LF affix there.".

(7) A strange man is t in the garden
(8) e is a strange man in the garden

(9) If overt raising were not to apply in this instance, the PF representation would include the 'strong NP feature' of Tense. Given that a strong feature is not a legitimate PF object, the derivation is illegitimate; it 'crashes'.
(10) Moving 'early' (i.e., overtly) solely to satisfy the morphological requirements of another item is permitted.

(11)   There is [$_a$ a strange man] in the garden

(12) When Tense checks a feature, the strong NP feature of Tense disappears.
(13) In (11), Tense must check the Case of there in overt syntax, or the derivation will crash at PF. Further, as an immediate result of this overt checking, the relevant feature of Tense disappears. But this means that the feature is no longer available to check the Case feature of [$_a$ a strange man] when that expression adjoins to there in the LF component.

(14) The Case of the associate of there is independently licensed. Belletti (1988) calls this independent Case 'partitive'.

(15) There is an LF affix.

(16) The LF will crash unless the associate of <u>there</u> adjoins to it. Plausibly, this would suffice to drive the LF movement at issue in much the same way that the strong NP feature of Tense drives overt subject standard raising. In the former instance, without movement, we would be left with an illegitimate LF object. In the latter instance, we would be left with an illegitimate PF object.

(17) 'Enlightened self interest': movement is motivated by morphological requirements, but the requirements need not be limited to those of the moved item; the target can be the beneficiary.

(18) *There seems to [$_\alpha$ a strange man] [that it is raining outside]

(19) Even Greed would not explain the impossibility of a version of (18) with <u>to</u> replaced by <u>TO</u>, where <u>TO</u>, analogous to Chomsky's <u>HIT</u> considered in the discussion of Greed, is like <u>to</u>, but lacking a Case feature.

(20) *There is likely [that John is tall]

(21) <u>There</u> must be an affix on an NP with partitive Case.
(22) *There strikes John/someone that Mary is intelligent

(23)a I want there to be someone here at 6:00
    b *I want there someone here at 6:00

(24)a Someone is likely to be here
    b There is likely to be someone here
    c *There is likely someone to be here

(25) There is likely [someone to be [<u>t</u> here]]

(26) I believe [someone to be [<u>t</u> here]]

(27) Chomsky suggests that a structure such as (25) is blocked by Procrastinate.

(28) [$_\gamma$ to be [$_\beta$ someone here]]

(29) Someone laughed
(30) [$_{VP}$ someone [$_{\gamma'}$ laughed]]

(31) Someone arrived
(32) There arrived someone   [with <u>someone</u> in its initial position as complement of <u>arrived</u>]

(33) *There someone laughed   [with <u>someone</u> in its initial position as SPEC of VP]

2

D

(34) È   stato messo un libro sul   tavolo
      has been put a book on the table
(35) *È   stato messo il libro sul   tavolo
      has been put the book on the table

(36) Ho   sempre considerato [$_{SC}$ Gianni intelligente]
      I have always considered   Gianni intelligent]

(37) *Sono considerati [alcuni studenti intelligenti]
      are considered   some   students intelligent

(38) Partitive is an inherent Case.

(39) There will be [a man available]

(40) While <u>be</u> might have the Case licensing feature, it does not θ-mark <u>a man</u>.

(41) According to Chomsky (1986), inherent Case is distinguished from structural Case in several respects.
(42)a First, it is assigned at D-structure (vs. S-structure for structural Case).
    b Next, its standard configuration is the head-complement relation between assigner and assignee.
    c Finally, the Case assigner must also assign a θ-role to the Case assignee.

(43)a   b

(44)
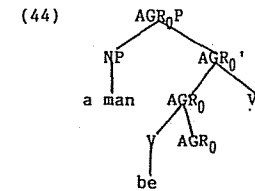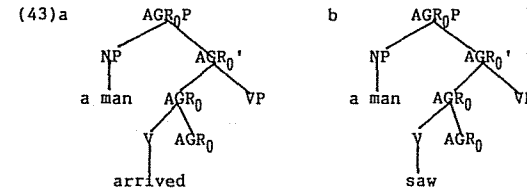
(45) <u>Be</u> here is a 'light verb'. It has no θ-roles of its own to assign.

3

P

(46) Given that be has the partitive Case feature, and given that it is a
     light verb, the possibility arises that the passive verb does not itself
     license partitive Case. Rather, analogous to (44), the complex of be
     and the passive verb in AGR_0 licenses partitive Case in the SPEC of
     AGR_0.

(47) *Sono considerati [alcuni studenti intelligenti]
      are considered   some   students intelligent

(48) Now the specific failure of licensing is due to the distance between
     sono, the possessor of the partitive Case feature, and intelligenti, the
     θ-marker of alcuni studenti.

(49) *There has been put a book on the table

(50) There has been a book put on the table

(51) There has been [a book put t on the table]

(52) There has-been [e put a book on the table]

(53) There is a functional head with a strong NP feature driving the overt
      movement of a book in (50). The most plausible candidate for this
      functional head is the passive morpheme, which I take to head the small
      clause complement of 'be'.

(54) The fact that the Italian (34) is good suggests, all else equal, that the
      NP feature of the passive functional head in that language is weak.

(55) * È stato un libro messo sul   tavolo
         has been a book   put   on the table
(56)a *[e] era del pane   sul tavolo
           was some bread on the table

(57) There is likely to be a building demolished

(58) There is a building likely to be demolished

(59) There is a solution

(60) How$_i$ is there likely to be [a building demolished t_i]

(61) ?*How$_i$ is there a building likely to be [demolished t_i]

Howard Lasnik

Minimalism and Verbal Morphology   University of Connecticut

I. English vs. English; English vs. French

(1) A traditional description of the verb system in terms of 'head movement':
     a S is the maximal projection of the inflectional morpheme Infl (= C of
        Syntactic Structures).
     b Infl takes VP as its complement.
     c When the head of VP is have or be it raises to Infl, the next head up.
        (not is a modifier of VP?)
     d Otherwise Infl lowers to V (under a condition of adjacency?).
     e Otherwise do adjoins to Infl.

(2) The 'stranded affix' filter: A morphologically realized affix must be a
     syntactic dependent of a morphologically realized category, at surface
     structure. (Lasnik (1981))

(3) (2) eliminates much of the strict rule ordering and arbitrary obligatory
     marking of Syntactic Structures, but does not guarantee that do-support
     is a 'last resort', operating only when there is no other way to avoid a
     stranded affix.

(4) A syntactic version of the 'Elsewhere Condition' of Kiparsky (1973): If
     transformations T and T' are both applicable to a P-marker P, and if the
     set of structures meeting the structural description of T is a proper
     subset of the set of structures meeting the structural description of
     T', then T' may not apply. (Lasnik (1981))

(5) The SDs of verb raising and affix hopping mention Infl and (aux) V, while
     that of do-support mentions only Infl.

(6) Alternative: UG principles are applied wherever possible, with language-
     particular rules used only to "save" a D-structure representation
     yielding no output. Verb raising and affix hopping are universal; do-
     support is language-particular. (Chomsky (1991))

(7)a *John likes not Mary
   b   Jean (n')aime pas Marie

(8) In French, all verbs are capable of raising, not just have and be.
     Unlike the situation in English, affix hopping and do-support are never
     needed. (Emonds (1978))

(9) 'Infl' is not one head; it consists of (at least) Tense and Agr, each
     heading its own projection.

(10)a English Agr, because not morphologically rich, is 'opaque' to θ-role transmission. Thus, if a verb with θ-roles to assign were to raise, it would be unable to assign them, resulting in a violation of the θ-criterion.
  b French Agr, because morphologically rich, is 'transparent' to θ-role transmission. (Pollock (1989))

II. Economy of Derivation

(11) Raising is preferred to lowering, because lowering will leave an unbound trace that will have to be remedied by re-raising in LF. (Chomsky (1991))

(12)a *John not writes books
  b John does not write books

(13) Why isn't (12)a, with overt affix lowering followed by LF re-raising, preferred over (12)b, with language particular last resort do-support?

(14)
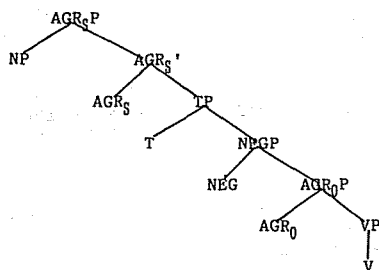
(15) The Head Movement Constraint (reduced to an ECP antecedent government requirement) prevents the LF re-raising needed in the derivation of (12)a. The intervening head NEG cannot be crossed.
(16) But then why is overt raising possible in French, and, in the case of have and be, in English as well?

(17)a If AGR moves, its trace can be deleted, since it plays no role in LF.
  b If V moves, its trace cannot be deleted.
  c Deletion of an element leaves a category lacking features, [e].
  d Adjunction to [ê] is not permitted.   (Chomsky (1991))

(18)a When V overtly raises (French), (7)b, it first adjoins to AGR_0, creating [$_{AGRO}$ V AGR_0];
  b Next, AGR_0 raises to T, crossing NEG, thus leaving a trace that is marked [-Y], indicating a violation of the ECP. That trace is an AGR;
  c Eventually, in accord with (17)a, the [-Y] trace is deleted, so there is no ECP violation (where ECP is, as in Lasnik and Saito (1984;1992), an LF filter: *[-Y]).

2

(19)a When V vainly attempts to covertly (re-)raise in LF (English), (12)a, AGR_S has already lowered overtly to T, leaving an AGR trace (which deletes, leaving [e]), and creating a complex T, .
  b which has lowered to AGR_0, leaving a T trace and creating a still more complex AGR,
  c which has lowered to V, leaving an AGR trace (which deletes, leaving [e]), and creating a complex V.
  d This complex V raises to the [e] left by the deletion of the AGR_0 trace, a movement that is, by (17)d, necessarily substitution, thus turning [e] into V.
  e This element now raises across NEG to (the trace of) T, leaving behind a [-Y] trace which is, crucially, a V trace, hence non-deletable. The resulting LF is in violation of the ECP.

(20) Note that (17)a, (18)c are inconsistent with a central economy condition of Chomsky (1991): Deletion is only permitted to turn an ill-formed LF object onto a well-formed LF object, where the relevant well-formed objects are Operator-variable pairs and 'uniform chains' (chains all of whose members are X^0s, are in A-positions, or are in A'-positions). This is precisely to prevent making a short licit head-, A-, or adjunct-movement, followed by a long illicit movement, with subsequent deletion of the offending trace. But exactly that is crucially being allowed here.

(21) A related problem is that generally, an illicit movement results in some degradation (e.g., Subjacency effects), even if the offending trace is eventually eliminated. But the overt V-movement at issue here is fully grammatical.

III. A Minimalist Approach
1.   (Chomsky (1993))

(22)a Strong lexicalism: verbs are pulled from the lexicon fully inflected.
  b There is thus no obvious need for affix hopping.
  c Rather, the inflected V raises to Agr (and T) to 'check' the features it already has. This checking can, in principle, take place anywhere in a derivation on the path to LF.
  d Once a feature of AGR has done its checking work, it disappears.

(23) So what's the difference between French and English?

(24)a In French, the V-features of AGR (i.e., those that check features of a V) are strong.
  b In English, the V-features of AGR are weak.

(25)a If V raises to AGR overtly, the V-features of AGR check the features of the V and disappear. If V delays raising until LF, the V-features of AGR survive into PF.
  b V-features are not legitimate PF objects.
  c Strong features are visible at PF; weak features are not. Surviving strong features cause the derivation to 'crash' at PF.

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(26) This forces overt V-raising in French.

(27) In English, delaying the raising until LF does not result in an ill-formed PF object, so such a derivation is <u>possible</u>. What makes it <u>necessary</u> is:

(28) 'Procrastinate': Whenever possible, delay an operation until LF.

(29) Why do <u>have</u> and <u>be</u> raise overtly?

(30) <u>Have</u> and <u>be</u> are semantically vacuous, hence not visible to LF operations. Thus, if they have not raised overtly, they will not be able to raise at all. Their unchecked features will cause the LF to crash.

(31) Questions about (30): (1) Should syntactic operations, even those in the LF component, care about purely semantic properties? (2) If English subjunctives have a V feature to be checked, <u>have</u> and <u>be</u> evidently can raise in LF (and, along with main verbs, do so across negation):

(32)a I desire that John not leave
    b I desire that John not be here

(33) The potential problem in (32) clearly arises in other languages, such as Swedish, where auxiliary verbs pattern exactly with main verbs in remaining in situ in embedded clauses:

(34)a ..., om   hon inte ofte har sett honom
            whether she not often has seen him
    b *   om hon har inte ofte sett honom
    c * Om hon inte har ofta sett honom

(35) *John not left

(36) Chomsky (1993) does not discuss how to rule out (35). Note that (19) does not carry over to this framework (even if we wanted it too). This much is clear: it must be ruled out, but its derivation must not crash. If it crashed, it couldn't block (37), since Procrastinate only chooses among convergent derivations.

(37) *John left not

ii.

(38) At the core of 'economy' approaches, of which the 'minimalist' approach is one, is the concept of choosing the best among competing derivations. It has never been clear in general, however, what determines the relevant comparison set. Chomsky (1994) has suggested a highly principled answer: To begin a derivation, you choose from the lexicon all the items you will use, annotating each with a counter indicating how many times it will be used. Call this collection a 'numeration'. The comparison set includes all and only derivations from the same numeration. This has the positive effect that (39)a does not block (39)b (or vice versa), since the numerations differ with respect to <u>there</u>.

(39)a There is someone here
    b Someone is here

4

(40) In line with strong lexicalism, forms of <u>do</u>, just as much as <u>there</u>, are in the lexicon. <u>Do</u>, when it occurs, will then be part of a numeration. Derivations with and without <u>do</u> are not comparable. The 'last resort' nature of <u>do</u>-support cannot be directly captured. I note this problem hee, but put it aside.

IV. Notes Towards a Hybrid Minimalist Account

(41) Chomsky's lexicalist-minimalist account demands that AGR and T are just abstract features that check against features of fully inflected verbs which raise to them. The earlier accounts treated such Infl items as bound morphemes that had to become affixes on otherwise bare verbs. Can both possibilities coexist? (42) sketches such a possibility.

(42)a French verbs are fully inflected in the lexicon (possibly correlating with the fact that there are no bare forms; even the infinitive has an ending).
    b <u>Have</u> and <u>be</u> are fully inflected in the lexicon (possibly correlating with the fact that they are highly suppletive, but see below).
    c All other English verbs are bare in the lexicon.

(43) Infl is freely an affix or a set of abstract features.

(44)a Finite featural Infl is strong in both French and English.
    b Affixal Infl must merge with a V, a PF process (distinct from head movement) demanding adjacency.   Halle and Marantz (1993)); Bobaljik (1993))

(45)a ... Infl ... V ...   OK. V will overtly raise.
        +F   +F

    b ... Infl ... V ...   OK. PF merger.
        Af   bare

    c ... Infl ... V ...   * at LF. +F of I won't be checked.
        +F   bare

    d ... Infl ... V ...   * at LF. +F of V won't be checked.
        Af   +F   (Maybe * at PF also, if merger fails.

(46)a French Infl will thus always have to be featural.
    b English Infl will always have to be featural, when the verb is <u>have</u> or <u>be</u>.
    c English Infl will always have to be affixal with any other verb.

(47)a *John not left   {Merger couldn't have taken place.}
    b *John left not   {<u>Left</u> isn't in the lexicon, so no feature could drive raising.}

(48) Jean (n')aime pas Marie
(49) John has not left

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(50) Why is raising allowed in (48), (49)? Here are 3 possibilities:
(51)a NEG and V are heads of different sorts, rendering an even more
     relativized version of RM irrelevant.
   b NEG is not a head, but a modifier. Note that its major role as a head
     had been to block (47)a, which is now irrelevant to the issue.
   c {The most radical} There is no Head Movement Constraint. In any theory
     where movement is driven solely by the need for features to be
     satisfied, the standard HMC example is irrelevant: *Read John will _t_ the
     book won't be generated simply because no feature will drive the
     movement of _read_ to Comp. It is only finite verbs that raise to Comp,
     clearly indicating that the crucial feature is Tense.

(52)   John slept, and Mary will too
(53)a *John slept, and Mary will slept too
   b   John slept, and Mary will sleep too

(54)   ?John was sleeping, and Mary will too
(55)a *John was sleeping, and Mary will sleeping too
   b   John was sleeping, and Mary will sleep too

(56)   John has slept, and Mary will too
(57)a *John has slept, and Mary will slept too
   b   John has slept, and Mary will sleep too

(58)   Hypothesis 1: Any form of a verb V can be 'deleted under identity'
       with any form of V (reminiscent of Fiengo and May's 'vehicle change').

(59)   *John was here, and Mary will too
(60)a *John was here and Mary will was here too
   b   John was here and Mary will be here too

(61)   Could it be that a trace can't serve as (part of) an antecedent for
       deletion?
(62)   Linguistics, I like, and you should to
(63)   ?Someone will be in the office, won't there?
(64)   That this approach will fail is likely. Yes it is.

(65)   John will be here, and Mary will too

(66)   ?*John has been here, and Mary will too

(67)   *John was being obnoxious, and Mary will too
(68)   *John was being obnoxious, and Mary has too

(69)   ?John should have left, but Mary shouldn't have left
(70)   *John has left, but Mary shouldn't have left

(71)   John has a driver's license, but Mary shouldn't
(72)   ?*John hasn't a driver's license, but Mary should

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(73) Hypothesis 2: Any form of a verb V other than _be_ or 'auxiliary' _have_
     can be 'deleted under identity' with any form of V. A form of _be_ or
     auxiliary _have_ can only be deleted under identity with the very same
     form.

(74) Is this difference related to (degree of) suppletion?

(75)   John went, and Mary will too
(76)   *John was being obnoxious, and Mary will too

(77) The paradigm of _go_ is highly suppletive, yet apparent deletion under
     incomplete identity is allowed. Progressive form of all verbs,
     including _be_, is completely regular, yet such deletion is disallowed.

(78)   *John slept, and Mary was too
(79)   John slept, and Mary was sleeping too

(80)   *John will sleep. Mary is now.
(81)   John will sleep. Mary is sleeping now.

(82) Hypothesis 3: A form of a verb V can only be deleted under identity
     with the very same form. Forms of _be_ and auxiliary _have_ are introduced
     into syntactic structures already fully inflected. Forms of 'main'
     verbs are created out of lexically introduced bare forms and independent
     affixes.

(83)   John Infl sleep, and Mary will sleep too

(84)   John was ing sleep, and Mary will sleep too

(85)   John has en sleep, and Mary will sleep too

(86)   John Infl sleep, and Mary was _ing_ sleep too

(87)a John is not foolish
   b *Be not foolish
   c Be foolish

(88)a The Imperative morpheme (generated in the position of Tense) is
     strictly affixal, hence there will never be raising to it (just merger
     with it)
   b OR Imp is freely affixal or featural, and _be_ and auxiliary _have_ lack
     imperative forms in the lexicon.

(89)a *Not leave   {Lack of adjacency blocks merger}
   b *Not be foolish

(90)   Leave. I don't want to.
(91)   Mary left. I don't want to.

(92)   Be quiet. I don't want to.
(93)   Mary is quiet. *I don't want to.

7

E

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Minimalist Concepts and Tendencies

(1) Quantifier Raising issues:
     (i) Extreme minimalist concerns, confirmed to some extent by our
     investigation of the LF theory of Case, implicate LF as the level
     of representation responsible for Binding phenomena. Yet QR does
     not generally 'repair' apparent S-structure violations.
     (ii) Wh-movement can plausibly be argued to be morphologically
     driven. A feature in COMP (overt in many languages) needs to be
     'discharged', and the corresponding feature on the wh-phrase needs
     to be 'checked'. There is no clear evidence for such a state of
     affairs with quantifiers.

(2) But what of the well-known strong arguments for QR?

(3) Quantifier scope is limited to the clause containing the quantifier.
     This argues for a movement transformation (constrained by Subjacency).
(4) Quantifier scope is not limited to the clause containing the quantifier.
     This argues for a movement transformation.
(5) Neither of these is a particularly compelling argument, and, obviously,
     they can't both be correct.

(6) The scope of a nominative quantifier is limited to the clause containing
     that quantifier.
(7) The scope of a nominative quantifier is limited to the clause containing
     that quantifier.
(8) See (5) above.

(9) WH - quantifier scope relations are properly accounted for (only) by QR.

(10)   What did everyone buy (ambiguous)
(11)   Who bought everything (unambiguous)
(12)   Who saw everyone (unambiguous)

(13)

(14)

(15)

2

F

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Minimalist Concepts and Tendencies

(16)   What did everyone₁ buy with his₁ bonus money
(17)   Everyone bought something
(18)   Someone bought everything
(19)   Everyone₁ bought something with his₁ bonus money

(20)   A very old idea: what = wh+something; who = wh+someone.
(21)   What did you buy
(22)   you bought WH-something
(23)   WH [you bought _-something]
(24)   WH [everyone bought _-something]

(25)   What do you think everyone bought
(26)   WH you think [everyone bought _-something]
(27)   You think [everyone bought something]
(28)   You think that $\forall x \exists y$ | x bought y

(29)   What does everyone think you bought
(30)   WH everyone thinks [you bought -something]
(31)   Everyone thinks you bought something
(32) $\forall x$ x thinks $\exists y$ | you bought y
(33) $\neq\forall x \exists y$ | x thinks you bought y

(34)   What does everyone₁ think he₁ bought
(35)   WH everyone₁ thinks [he₁ bought -something]
(36)   Everyone₁ thinks he₁ bought something
(37) $\forall x$ x thinks $\exists y$ | he bought y
(38) $\forall x \exists y$ | x thinks he bought y

(39)   A further argument: in Sluicing, an indefinite serves as antecedent for
        a deleted wh-trace:
(40)   Mary saw someone. Guess who (Mary saw $\underline{t}$).

(41)   An alternative perspective on a classic argument: For WCO, QR reduces
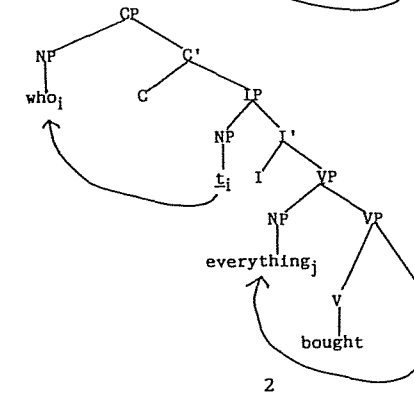   (43) to (42), as shown in (44). The present (very old) proposal reduces
        (42) to (43), as shown in (45)
(42) ?*Who₁ does his₁ mother love $\underline{t}_i$
(43) ?*His₁ mother loves someone₁
(44)   [everyone]₁ [[his₁ mother] loves $\underline{t}_i$]
(45)   WH [[his₁ mother] loves _-someone₁]

3

F

(1)   Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did
(2)   Dulles [$_{VP}$ suspected everyone Angleton did [$_{VP}$ e]]
       $\overline{\text{suspected everyone Angleton did [}_{VP}\text{ e]}}$

(3)   May argues that if the direct object undergoes QR before copying takes
       place, the regress is avoided. Instead of (2), we have (4):

(4)   [everyone [Op₁ Angleton did [$_{VP}$ e]]₁ [Dulles [$_{VP}$ suspected $\underline{t}_i$]]
       $\overline{\text{[}_{VP}\text{ suspected }\underline{t}_i\text{]}}$

(5)   This analysis crucially relies on QR raising the <u>entire</u> quantificational
       expression, hence, argues for such an operation.

(6)   John scratched his arm and Mary did too
(7)   I turned in my assignment, but most of the other students didn't [turn in
       their assignments]
(8)   Cheryl stops to look at any pretty flower she stumbles onto, and I do too

(9)   Wyngaerd and Zwart (1991) propose that Fiengo and May's 'Vehicle Change'
       can ignore the difference between a full NP and a variable. For
       example, (10) can be copied as (11):

(10)   [$_{VP}$ suspected everyone Angleton did [$_{VP}$ e]]
(11)   [$_{VP}$ suspected $\underline{t}$]

(12)a (?*)John kissed Mary, but I wonder who Harry did [e]
    b (?*)John loves himself, but I wonder who Harry does [e]

(13)   In (12), the NPs treated as identical are entirely dissimilar, while in
       (10)-(11), they have an obvious relation: they have the same index.
       Identity of indices is a constraint on this extended form of Vehicle
       Change.

(14)   Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did
(15)   *Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did

(16)   ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did not
(17)   ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did as well

(18) ?*Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did
(19)   Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did not
(20)   Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did as well

(21)a ?John believed everyone you did __ to be a genius
    b *John believed (that) everyone you did __ was a genius

(22) The subject of a finite clause is incapable of hosting an ACD site.
     Larson and May (1990)

(23)a ?I expect everyone you do ___ to visit Mary
    b *I expect (that) everyone you do ___ will visit Mary
(24)a ?I find everyone you do ___ to be qualified
    b *I find (that) everyone you do ___ is qualified
(25)a ?I predicted no one you did ___ to be a liar
     *I predicted (that) no one you did ___ has been a liar

(26)   I expect that everyone you expect will visit Mary will visit Mary

(27) The configurations in the (b) examples permit ellipsis that is not
     antecedent contained:
(28)   John expects that everyone Bill invites will visit Mary, and I expect
        that everyone you do [invite] will visit Mary

(29) Larson and May (1990): "whereas quantified subjects can be given scope
     out of infinitives, this is not generally possible with tensed
     complements."   "...whereas [(30)a] permits a wide-scope reading for
     everyone vis-à-vis someone and believe, according to which for each
     person x there is someone who believes x is a genius, [(30)b] permits
     only a narrow-scope reading for everyone, according to which there is
     some person who believes genius to be a universal characteristic":

(30)a   Someone believes everyone to be a genius
    b   Someone believes (that) everyone is a genius

(31) Everyone can raise out of its clause in (30)a, but not in (30)b.
     Similarly, everyone you did can raise out of its clause in (21)a, but
     not in (21)b, with the consequence that the ACD regress will be
     resolvable in (21)a, but not in (21)b.

(32) Williams (1986) similarly indicates that (33), which is quite similar to
     (30)b, lacks a broad scope reading for everyone:

(33)   Someone thinks everyone saw you at the rally

(34) Interestingly, May (1988) sharply disagrees with Williams, calling the
     claimed lack of broad scope for everyone in (33) a "spurious datum", and
     reporting as a "standard observation" that a universal quantifier in
     this position can be understood as having broad scope. He goes on to
     state that "there does not seem to be any grammatical principle that can
     limit extraction from the complement subject position..."

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(35)   What did everyone buy for Max
(36)   Who bought everything for Max
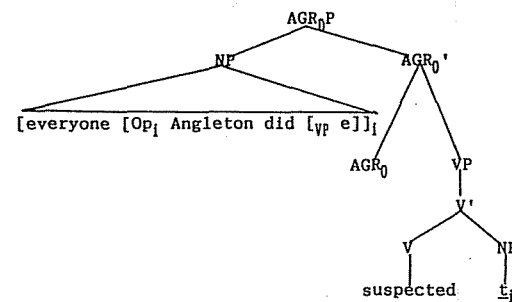
(37)   Who do you think everyone saw at the rally

(38)
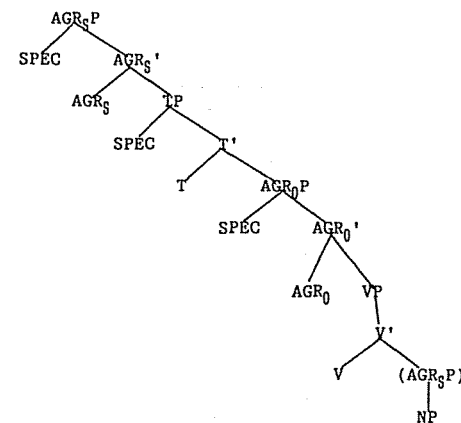
(39)   *John believed (that) everyone you did ___ was a genius
(40)   *I expect (that) everyone you do ___ will visit Mary
(41)   *I find (that) everyone you do ___ is qualified
(42)   *I predicted (that) no one you did ___ has been a liar

(43)   Who thought that Fred read how many of the books that Bill did

(44) = Who thought that Fred read how many of the books that Bill read
(45) ≠ Who thought that Fred read how many of the books that Bill thought he
        had read

(46) Overt wh-movement does allow ACD resolution. (47) is rather awkward,
     but is surely far better than (43) on the reading comparable to that of
     (45):

(47)   How many of the books that Bill did did you think that Fred read

(48) Similarly, overt extraction of a nominative wh-phrase permits ellipsis
     resolution, in contrast with the in situ nominative expressions
     considered above. Compare (42) above with (49):

(49)   Who that you did did Harry predict has been a liar

3

(50) The fact that ACD regresses cannot be resolved by <u>wh</u> in situ supports
      either Baltin's position that ACD must be resolved at S-structure or
      Chomsky's position that there is no LF <u>wh</u>-movement.

(51) ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did not
(52) ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did as well

(53)   Philby, who Angleton suspected, is likely [<u>t</u> to defect]

(54) ?Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton did not
(55) ?Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton did as well

(56) Hornstein (1993): Indirect objects raise at LF to SPEC of AGR_0. All
      other PPs are outside the VP to begin with, so they don't cause a
      regress in the first place.

(57)a Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton suspected as well
    b Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton spoke to as well

(58)a ?Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton did not
    b ?Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton did as well

(59) #Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton talked as well

(60) Alternative: reanalysis, and raising of object of reanalyzed verb to
      SPEC of AGR_0. This correctly predicts a correlation with pseudo-
      passive:

(61)a Philby was spoken to
    b Philby was talked about

(62)a *Mary stood near Susan, who Emily did not
    b *Mary stood near Susan, who Emily did as well
    c *Susan was stood near (by Mary)

(63) (62)c shows that <u>stand near</u> cannot reanalyze. Plausibly, a consequence
      of this inability is that the Case of the object of <u>near</u> will not be
      licensed in SPEC of AGR_0, but rather, internal to the PP (or perhaps in
      the SPEC of some functional projection just above the PP). The elided
      VP internal to that NP will thus not be able to escape the resolution
      regress.

(64) The Case approach might require a sort of Vehicle Change. In (65), t_i
      is the trace of movement to a Case-licensing position, hence, an A-
      trace, while its copy clearly must be a variable, or Op_i will be
      vacuous.

4

G-

(65)

```
                    AGR0P
                   /     \
                 NP       AGR0'
        _____|_____   \
       [everyone [Op_i Angleton did [VP e]]_i]
                              \
                          AGR0    VP
                                   \
                                    V'
                                   /  \
                                  V    NP
                                  |    |
                              suspected  t_i
```

(66) Fiengo and May (1992) suggest that the kind of ACD we have been looking
      at (involving appositive relative clauses) involves 'pseudo-gapping',
      hence is not VP ellispsis at all.
(67)   Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did Burgess

(68)a ?Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton did as well
    b ??Dulles spoke to Philby, and Angleton did Burgess

(69)a ?Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton did as well
    b ??Dulles talked about Philby, and Angleton did Burgess

(70)a *Mary stood near Susan, who Emily did as well
    b *Mary stood near Susan, and Emily did Harriet

(71) Speculation 1: Apparent ACD can involve pseudo-gapping, and pseudo-
      gapping involves raising to SPEC of AGR_0 and VP ellipsis.
(72) Consequence: In these constructions, the raising to SPEC of AGR_0 is
      <u>overt</u> (and the VP ellipsis at least <u>can</u> be deletion).

(73) *Dulles Philby_i suspected t_i

(74) Speculation 2: (Rougly following Ura (1993) and Koizumi (1993)) Accu-
      sative NPs generally raise overtly to SPEC of AGR_0, with V raising
      overtly to a higher position. As usual, both movements are driven by a
      <u>strong</u> feature.

(75) Why then is pseudo-gapping good, given that the V hasn't raised?
(76) Suppose the relevant strong feature is a feature of the V. And suppose,
      following Chomsky (1993) but contra Chomsky (1994), that an unchecked
      strong feature is an ill-formed PF object.
(77) Prediction: Deletion of (a category containing) an item with an
      unchecked strong feature salvages the derivation.

5

⌒

(78) The correlation seen above between reanalysis and ACD, which further
     motivated the Case approach, surprisingly breaks down when restrictive
     relative clauses are considered.

(79) ?Mary stood near everyone Emily did

(80) As noted by Hornstein (1993), and as I indicated earlier, the mechanism
     cannot be QR, since if QR can raise an entire quantificational expres-
     sion, the minimalist goal of eliminating S-structure binding conditions
     in favor of LF ones cannot be attained.

(81) A man arrived who was wearing a red hat
(82) *John arrived who was wearing a red hat

(83) I visited a man that $\begin{Bmatrix} who \\ John \\ \emptyset \end{Bmatrix}$ mentioned recently

(84)
    a
    b I visited a man recently $\begin{Bmatrix} who \\ that \\ ?*\emptyset \end{Bmatrix}$ John mentioned
    c

(85) ?I threw something away I had no further use for

(86) Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did
(87) ?Mary stood near everyone Emily did
(88) ?Mary stood near a woman yesterday who was distributing leaflets

(89) Mary [$_{VP}$[$_{VP}$ stood near everyone] [$_{CP}$ Op [Emily did [$_{VP}$ e]]]]]

(90) Mary [$_{VP}$[$_{VP}$ stood near everyone] [$_{CP}$ Op [Emily (did) [$_{VP}$ stood near
     everyone]]]]]

(91) everyone [$_{IP}$ Mary [$_{VP}$[$_{VP}$ stood near $\underline{t}$] [$_{CP}$ Op [Emily (did) [$_{VP}$ stood near
     $\underline{t}$]]]]]]

(92) Mary wondered which pictures of himself Bill saw

(93) Mary wondered [$_{wh-}$ which picture of himself] [Bill saw
             [$_{wh-}$ which picture of himself]

(94) Mary mentioned the pictures of himself that Bill saw

(95) Mary mentioned the pictures of himself that Bill saw
             the pictures of himself

(96) Dulles suspected everyone Angleton said Philby did
(97)?*Dulles suspected everyone Angleton wondered why Philby did
(98) Who did Angleton say Philby suspected
(99)??Who did Angleton wonder why Philby suspected

(100)?*Dulles suspected everyone that Angleton believed the claim that Philby
      did
(101) ??Who did Angleton believe the claim that Philby suspected

(102) On May's analysis, there is no movement involved, either overt or
      covert. Rather, [suspected $\underline{t}$] is simply copied into the null VP, in
      (100) and (101). Traces are freely generable in all CP-SPECs, and
      freely assigned indices and phi-features. These freely generated traces
      then remain at LF. When there is a 'match' at that level of representa-
      tion, Subjacency is satisfied, and, one can assume, similarly for the
      ECP.

(103) ??What$_i$ do you wonder [whether [John read $\underline{t}_i$]]
(104) *Why$_i$ do you wonder [whether [John read the book $\underline{t}_i$]]

(105) ??What do you wonder whether John said Mary read
(106) *Why do you wonder whether John said Mary read the book

(107)a Arguments: each element is in an A-position, α_1 Case-
             marked and α_n θ-marked.
      b Adjuncts: each element is in an A-bar-position.
      c Lexical elements: each element is in an X^0-position.
      d Predicates (possibly predicate chains).
      e Operator-variable constructions, each a chain (α_1, α_2),
             where the operator α_1 is in an A-bar-position and the variable α_2
             is in an A-position.

(108) Intermediate traces of argument operator-variable chains must delete.

(109) This problem disappears under the deletion analysis I have posited.
      There is overt movement, conforming to Subjacency, then deletion. (This
      recapitulates an old argument of Ross (1969), and a recent version of it
      due to Takahashi (in press).

6

7

G.

G-

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Minimalist Concepts and Tendencies

(1) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's trials

(2) *The DA proved [there to have been two men at the scene] during each other's trials

(3) In (1), two men raises to SPEC of AGR_0 above prove, from which position it c-commands each other.

(4) In (2), two men adjoins to there, and the complex raises to SPEC of AGR_0 above prove. It seems that in this instance, two men does not c-command each other.

(5) The DA proved [Noone to be at the scene] during any of the trials

(6) *The DA proved [there to be two men at the scene] during any of the trials

(7) Some linguists seem to have been given good job offers

(8) There seem to have been some linguists given good job offers

(9) Some linguists seem to each other to have been given good job offers

(10) *There seem to each other to have been some linguists given good job offers

(11) No linguists seem to any philosophers to be available

(12) *There seem to any philosophers to be no linguists available

(13) Tentative conclusion: (contra Chomsky and May) if X adjoins to Y, X does not c-command out of the complex.

(14) But then how does the associate of there c-command its trace?

(15) Very technical and unappealing answer: 2 different notions of c-command are involved.

(16) Much more interesting, but probably impossibly problematic answer: A-movement doesn't leave a trace.

(17) Two reasons for thinking this 2nd answer might be correct:

(18) Unlike operator movement which necessarily creates a 2-membered object (perhaps thus justifying further traces to establish the connection), an A-moved argument is complete in itself.

(19) If Chomsky is correct that there are no reconstruction effects with A-movement, this follows immediately from (16). It isn't clear how it follows for Chomsky, since reconstruction simply makes use of a copy, and a trace is a copy.

(20) Do we need a trace to represent the θ-relations of the moved argument? Not if θ-roles (along with Case and Φ-features) are features of an argument that are be checked in the course of a derivation. The moved argument is itself a record of the history of its derivation.

(21) Shortest move/relativized minimality effects involve a trace that remains at the level of LF. If A-movement doesn't leave a trace, how do we account for the ill-formedness of 'super-raising'?

(22) Suppose3 when a movement is too long, the chain is marked with *. For A'-movement, there is a choice; either the moved item or its trace can be marked (and if the latter, sometimes it can delete, alleviating the ill-formedness). With A-movement, there is no choice, since there is, by hypothesis, no trace. The moved argument must be marked *, and, of course, it can't delete.

(23) Some remaining problems:

(24)a Reconstruction effects with predicate fronting have been argued by Huang to implicate an A-trace in VP-internal subject position.

b Criticize $himself_{i/*j}$ $John_j$ thinks $Bill_i$ will

(25)a Proper binding effects with A-movement discussed by Lasnik and Saito (but rejected by Huang:

b*How likely t to be a riot is there

c*How likely t to be out of the bag is the cat

2

H

Minimalist Concepts and Tendencies

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