EPP, repair by ellipsis, and the organization of the grammar
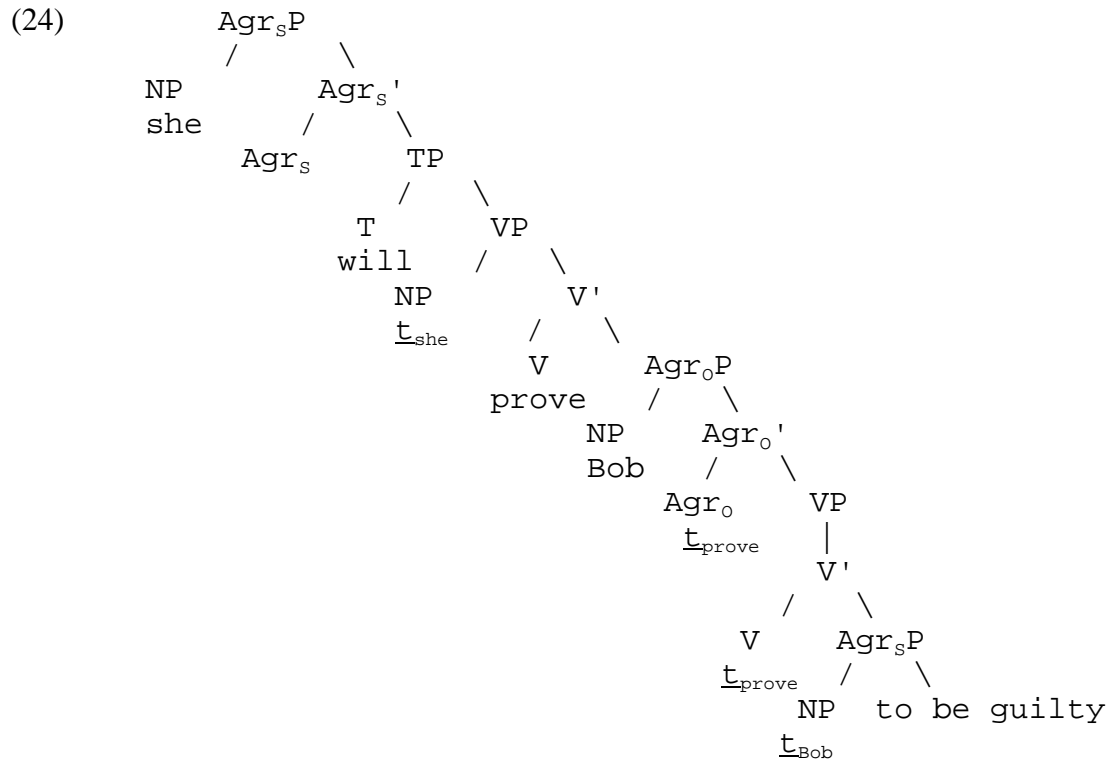## Howard Lasnik

Section 1
The Existence (and Optionality) of Overt Object Shift in English

(1) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene of the crime] during each other's trials
(2) The DA proved [no suspect$_i$ to have been at the scene of the crime] during his$_i$ trial
(3) The DA proved [noone to have been at the scene] during any of the trials   Lasnik
        and Saito (1991), following Postal (1974)

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

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

(10) Which book that John$_i$ read did he$_i$ like
(11) *He$_i$ liked every book that John$_i$ read
(12) *I don't remember who thinks that he$_i$ read which book that John$_i$ likes
(13) Chomsky (1981): S-structure is crucial to at least one of the binding conditions, Condition
        C.

(14) Barss (1986) draws the same conclusion for Condition A, based on examples like the
        following:
(15) John$_i$ wonders which picture of himself$_i$ Mary showed to Susan
(16) *John$_i$ wonders who showed which picture of himself$_i$ to Susan

(17) Under the minimalist assumption that there is no level of S-structure, the LF operations QR
        and wh-movement don't exist or they apply in such a way that binding possibilities don't
        change.

(18) Lasnik and Saito (1991) and {den Dikken, 1995 #582} draw the same conclusion about the
        'expletive replacement' operation proposed by Chomsky (1986):
(19) *The DA proved [there to have been two men at the scene of the crime] during each other's
        trials
(20) *The DA proved [there to have been no suspect$_i$ at the scene of the crime] during his$_i$ trial
(21) *The DA proved [there to have been noone at the scene] during any of the trials

(22) Under the 'split-VP' hypothesis of Koizumi (1993) and Koizumi (1995):

(23) She will prove Bob to be guilty

(24)
```
              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
```

(25) If the adverbials in (1)-(3) are attached in the vicinity of the lower matrix VP, the binding
and licensing receive a natural account.

(26) It is now natural to assume that the 'EPP' requirement driving raising to 'subject position'
resides in Agr, hence is also responsible for raising to 'object position', under the
assumption of Chomsky (1991) that 'Agr$_S$' and 'Agr$_O$' are merely mnemonic.

(27) An additional argument for overt raising of an object or an ECM subject; Pseudogapping as
VP ellipsis Jayaseelan (1990), with the remnant having raised to Spec of Agr$_O$, as
discussed earlier.
(28) Mary hired John, and Susan will ~~hire~~ Bill
(29) The DA proved Jones (to be) guilty and the Assistant DA will ~~prove~~ Smith ~~(to be) guilty~~

(30) So object shift is <u>possible</u>. Is it obligatory?
(31) *Joan believes him$_i$ to be a genius even more fervently than Bob$_i$ does
(32) Joan believes he$_i$ is a genius even more fervently than Bob$_i$ does   Postal (1974)

(33) But there are arguments that object shift does not always take place.   [Based on Lasnik
(1999), Lasnik (2001b)]

(34) ?*Who was [a picture of t̲] selected

(35)   Who did you select [a picture of t]

(36) If object and subject both raise overtly, to [Spec, Agr$_O$] and [Spec, Agr$_S$] respectively, the
        CED, or whatever it follows from, cannot distinguish (34) from (35).   Branigan
        (1992)

(37) On the other hand, as already noted in Lasnik (1995b), when the object is a Pseudogapping
        remnant, extraction from it is seriously degraded:

(38) Bill selected a painting of John, and Susan should ~~select~~ a photograph of Mary

(39) ?*Who will Bill select a painting of, and who will Susan ~~select~~ a photograph of

(40) The special prosecutor questioned two aides of a senator during each other's trials

(41) ??Which senator did the special prosecutor question two aides of during each other's trials

(42)   Which senator did the special prosecutor question two aides of during the president's trial

(43) The mathematician proved few theorems about Mersenne numbers during any of the
        lectures

(44)??Which numbers did the mathematician prove few theorems about during any of the
        lectures

(45) Which numbers did the mathematician prove few theorems about during the conference
        lectures

(46) These paradigms argue, contra Lasnik (1995b), that when an object has overtly raised it **is**
        an island for extraction, and, therefore, since objects are not invariably islands, that such
        raising is optional.

(47) Mary called up friends of John

(48) ?Mary called friends of John up   Johnson (1991)

(49)   Who did Mary call up friends of

(50) ?*Who did Mary call friends of up

(51)   Mary made John out to be a fool

(52)   Mary made out that John is a fool

(53)   Mary made out John to be a fool

(54) 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:

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

(56) Chomsky (p.327) argues as follows: "Negation can have wide scope over the Q in [(55)a]...
        but not in [(55)b]", concluding that "...reconstruction in the A-chain does not take place,
        so it appears."

(57) 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
        (58).

(58) The mathematician made every even number out not to be the sum of two primes
(59) The alternative word order for (58), with <u>every even number</u> unraised, does allow narrow
         scope for the universal:
(60) The mathematician made out every even number not to be the sum of two primes

(61) I expected [everyone not to be there yet]   Chomsky (1995)
(62) I believe everyone not to have arrived yet
(63) I proved every Mersenne number not to be prime

(64) Everyone is believed not to have arrived yet
(65) Every Mersenne number was proved not to be prime

(66) Someone is likely to solve the problem
(67) It is likely that someone will solve the problem

(68) No large Mersenne number was proven to be prime
(69) (68) cannot accurately be paraphrased by (70).
(70) It was proven that no large Mersenne number is prime

(71) Noone is certain to solve the problem
(72) It is certain that noone will solve the problem

(73) The DA made no defense witnesses out to be credible
(74) The DA made out that no defense witnesses were credible
(75) The DA made out no defense witnesses to be credible

(76) The DA proved no defense witnesses to be credible
(77) No defense witnesses were proved to be credible by the DA

(78) Note that if the ECM subject has to be 'high' in order to license some element in the higher
         clause, then the lower reading for that ECM subject becomes impossible:
(79) The DA proved no defense witnesses to be credible during any of the trials

(80) With optionality of Object Shift now established, we must return to Postal's argument that it
         is obligatory:

(81) *Joan believes him$_i$ to be a genius even more fervently than Bob$_i$ does

(82) It is not uncommon for Object Shift to be obligatory with pronouns in a language even when
         it is optional with lexical NPs.

(83) Mary made John out to be a fool
(84) Mary made out John to be a fool

(85) Mary made him out to be a fool

(86) *Mary made out him to be a fool

(87) For English, this might follow from the clitic nature of weak object pronouns, as suggested
       by Oehrle (1976).
(88) The detective brought him in
(89) *The detective brought in him   Chomsky (1955)

(90) One way to make the raising optional might be to abandon the idea that Agr_O is the same
       item as Agr_S, assuming, instead, that only the latter obligatorily has an EPP feature.
(91) Some of the discussion in Chomsky (1995, p.350) hints at an alternative possibility.
       Chomsky reasons that "If Agr has no strong feature, then PF considerations, at least, give
       no reason for it to be present at all, and LF considerations do not seem relevant." He thus
       suggests, in passing, that "Agr exists only when it has strong features."
(92) Along these lines, suppose, then, that the optionality of raising is the optionality of Agr_O.
(93) This leaves us with the question of why Agr_S is obligatory. This is exactly the question of
       why the standard EPP holds, still a mystery.

Section 2
What Kind of Constraint is the EPP?

I. Background

(94) 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)

(95) 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)

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

(97) 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]

(98) 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]

(99) 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)). (96)b is out because Infl is unable to assign/check its Case. The EPP is redundant.

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

(101) Central examples like (96) are actually uninformative. True, they display redundancy, but they don't tell us how the redundancy ought to be eliminated.

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

(103)"... 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)

(104)"... 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)

(105)"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)

(106) All of these accounts demand that a Case assigner (checker) actually assign (check) its Case, thus, they assume the ICF.

(107) However, as observed by Nevins (2004), the Phase Impenetrability Condition will independently block the illicit movement.

(108) *Eddie seems [to _] [that California is in political trouble]

(109) 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:

(110) *Eddie was said [to _] [that California is in trouble]

(111) On a pseudopassive derivation, the Case assigning property of the preposition should be 'absorbed'. It is reasonable to conjecture that whatever rules out (110) could also rule out (108).

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

(114) A new argument for the ICF: Boskovic reasons that (112) are perfectly coherent (as demonstrated by (113)), and are bad just because *here* and *there* can't bear Case.

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

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

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

(118) Thus, independent motivation for the ICF is much less clear than might have been expected. In fact the strongest remaining argument might be the account in the preceding section of the ungrammaticality of long Pseudogapping.

(119) 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 <u>not</u> take place after movement.

(120) 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).

(121) *the belief [to seem [Peter is ill]]
(122) *[To seem [Peter is ill]] is widely believed
(123) *John has conjectured [to seem [Peter is ill]]   Boskovic (1997)

II. ECM configurations and the EPP

(124) Standard ECM constructions, on their standard analysis, initially look like powerful evidence for the EPP, until we recall the Postal and Lasnik-Saito arguments that the ECM subject is not in Spec of the lower clause, but rather is in Spec of Agr$_O$ in the higher clause, arguably a canonical accusative Case position.

(125) ON THE OTHER HAND, as discussed above, there is considerable evidence that the ECM subject need not raise, i.e., that it can remain in Spec of IP (since it is not in its base thematic position). That is, ECM constructions do after all provide an argument for the EPP.

III. Binding theoretic evidence for the EPP

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

(129) ?Jack called up himself
(130) ?They called up each other

(131) 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)]
(132) This argues, contra Fukui and Speas (1986) and Epstein and Seely (1999), that A-movement is successive cyclic.

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

(134) *John$_i$ injured him$_i$
(135) *John$_i$ believes him$_i$ to be a genius

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

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

(139) 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))

(140) Weak pronouns must cliticize onto the verb.   Oehrle (1976)
(141) The detective brought him in
(142) *The detective brought in him   Chomsky (1955)

(143) Failure to cliticize in (137) is repaired by ellipsis.
(144) In (136), on the other hand, the pronoun and its antecedents are clause-mates independent
       of cliticization.

(145) ?*John$_i$ injured him and Bill$_i$
(146) ?John$_i$ believes him$_i$ and Bill to be geniuses

(147) ( )John$_i$ made him$_i$ and Bill out to be geniuses
(148) ( )John$_i$ made out him$_i$ and Bill to be geniuses

(149) Now given that Condition B relies on a clause-mate characterization of GC, the following
       example, the Condition B version of (131), argues for successive cyclic A-movement,
       hence for the EPP:
(150) John$_i$ appears (to Mary) [to seem to him$_i$ [to be the best candidate]]

(151) Potential problem, pointed out by Tom Roeper: In just those VP ellipsis situations where
       Condition B effects are ameliorated, so are Condition C effects. But this is unexpected
       since Condition C involves no locality, clause-mate or otherwise. A relevant example,
       parallel to (137) above, is the following:

(152) ??Mary believes John$_i$ to be a genius and he$_i$ does too

Compare:

(153) *He$_i$ believes John$_i$ to be a genius
(154) And even though Condition C involves no locality, once again, we find amelioration only
       in non-local domain:

(155)a   *Mary injured John$_i$ and he$_i$ did too
   b   *He$_i$ injured John$_i$

(156)   Perhaps this is not really so surprising, as Condition C effects often disappear under ellipsis. Another example is:

(157)a   Mary thinks John$_i$ is a genius and he$_i$ does too
   b   *He$_i$ thinks John$_i$ is a genius

(158)   It was facts like this that provided much of the motivation for the 'Vehicle Change' of Fiengo and May (1994). Fiengo and May show how + and –pronominal correlates can be equated for the purposes of ellipsis. Thus a name [–a, –p] and corresponding pronoun [–a,+p] count as identical. Fiengo and May's treatment is in terms of an LF copying theory of ellipsis, but nothing crucial changes if the equivalence is stated in terms of identity deletion.
(159)   We now have a handle on the parallelism between Condition B and apparent Condition C in ellipsis contexts - (137) vs. (152). Even in the latter circumstance, the subject of the infinitival clause could actually be the pronoun *him*. The two examples then become identical for our purposes: it is failure of *him* to cliticize that is remedied by deletion.

(160)   There are contexts where pronouns are disallowed, yet we still get apparent Condition C amelioration (a phenomenon noticed by Christopher Potts, and brought to my attention by Jason Merchant). The following is an example (though not of precisely a type discussed by Potts).

(161)   *He$_i$ said that I should show Susan John$_i$
(162)   Mary said that I should show Susan John, but he didn't ~~say that I should show Susan John/him~~
(163)   *(He didn't say that) I should show Susan him

(164)   Potts's point was that vehicle change won't account for the Condition C amelioration this time, since a pronoun in place of the name is still bad (though for other reasons).
(165)   In this instance, the other reasons could be exactly what I appealed to earlier - the clitic nature of weak accusative pronouns. In that case, vehicle change <u>would</u> give the desired result.
(166)   (163) then violates this PF requirement, and VP ellipsis deletes the PF violation.

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

(170) *Mary showed Susan him

IV. Repair of EPP violations?

Merchant pp. 220-230

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

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

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

(177) 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:

(178) *Which candidate were [posters of t] all over town
(179)   Which candidate were there [posters of t] all over town

(180) *Which candidate did they say [to get t to agree to a debate] was hard
(181) Which candidate did they say it was hard [to get t to agree to a debate]

(182) Guess [which Marx brother]$_2$ [~~$_{IP}$ _ is [$_{VP}$ going to be published [a biography of t_2]]~~]
(183) *Guess [which Marx brother]$_2$ [$_{IP}$ _ is [$_{VP}$ going to be published [a biography of t_2]]]
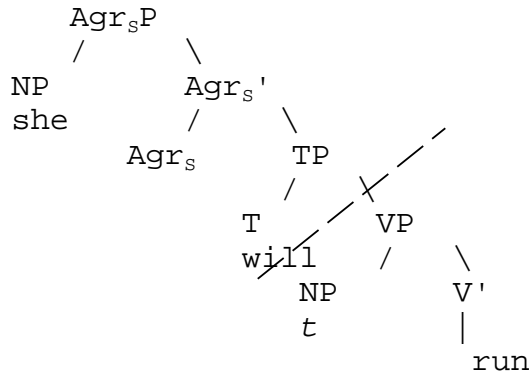
(184) (183) violates the EPP, so why is (182) good? Infl has a strong EPP feature, where 'strong'
       means uninterpretable at the PF interface. If, as a result of deletion, the strong feature
       does not reach the PF interface, then the absence of checking movement should not
       matter. According to Merchant, that's what happens in the Sluicing examples.

V. The nature of the EPP   [Based on Lasnik (2001a)]

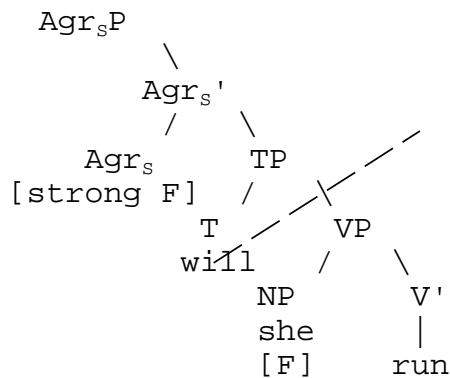(185) Certain heads have a strong feature, demanding overt movement for checking.   Chomsky (1995)
(186) Certain heads require Spec's.   Chomsky (2000), Chomsky (1981)

(187)
```
                    Agr_sP
                   /      \
              NP           Agr_s'
              she         /      \
                      Agr_s       TP        /
                               /     X    /
                             T    /   VP
                            will  /    \
                               NP       V'
                               t        |
                                          run
```

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

(189)
```
                      Agr_sP
                            \
                          Agr_s'
                         /      \
                    Agr_s        TP        /
                  [strong F]    /    X   /
                             T   /   VP
                            will  /    \
                               NP       V'
                               she      |
                               [F]     run
```

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

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

(192) So can violations of this version of the EPP be repaired? That would actually be consistent with Merchant's discussion, and also with the argument just above (since Infl survives the ellipsis, so the EPP violation persists).

(193) [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)

(194) Here, there must have been raising in the sluice in order for the bound pronoun to be licensed. Merchant proposes that the relevant raising is covert.
 BUT
(195)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)

(196) Covert A-movement should be able to turn (195)b into (195)a in LF.

(197) Or maybe not. Craenenbroeck (2004) and Craenenbroeck and Dikken (2005) show that under the Lasnik theory of optionality of object shift, (195)b would necessarily lack the Agr_O projection that (195)a would necessarily have (the EPP requirement of Agr_O driving the movement). So the relevant covert movement could not take place.

(198) 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):

(199) 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.

(200) So why is (193) good? Craenenbroeck and Dikken (2005) (continuing to assume that Subject Condition violations cannot be repaired by ellipsis, and EPP violations can) claim that it is QR that is responsible for the binding of *its* in (193).

(201) 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
(202) *It seems to its$_i$ author that every book$_i$ is definitive
OR EVEN
(203) *Its$_i$ author completed every book$_i$ rapidly

(204) 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 A demands A-binding. Yet ...

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

(206) So if there is no covert A-movement, then it must be that there is overt A-movement in this example, and in (193) as well (given Merchant's argument that A'-movement won't suffice).

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

(208) 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

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

(210) Short scrambling is (or can be) A-movement. If there were covert A-scrambling, then (209) should be as good as (208).   Takano (1998)

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

(212) ?[karera$_i$-o [[otagai$_i$ -no sensei]-ga $\underline{t}_i$ hihansita]] (koto)
    them   each other-gen teacher-nom   criticized fact
                                    Saito (1994)
(213) Covert A-scrambling, if it existed should remedy the Condition A violation.

VI. An argument against the EPP?

(214) 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.

(215) Possible responses:
(216) 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.

(217) 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:
(218) 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.
(219) 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.
(220) 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)
(221) Note that this would entail that EPP violations cannot be repaired, if, as argued in Section
    V, the EPP is not a matter of strong feature checking.

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