LING 819 Spring 2011
EPP

I. Repair of EPP violations?

Merchant pp. 220-230

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

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

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

(7) 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:

(8) *Which candidate were [posters of *t*] all over town
(9) Which candidate were there [posters of *t*] all over town

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

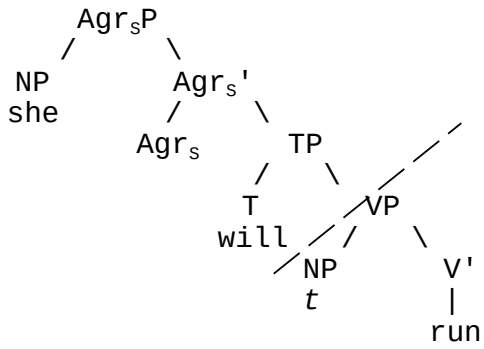
(12) Guess [which Marx brother]$_2$ ~~[$_{IP}$ _ is [$_{VP}$ going to be published [a biography of t_2]]]~~
(13) *Guess [which Marx brother]$_2$ [$_{IP}$ _ is [$_{VP}$ going to be published [a biography of t_2]]]

(14) (13) violates the EPP, so why is (12) 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.

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

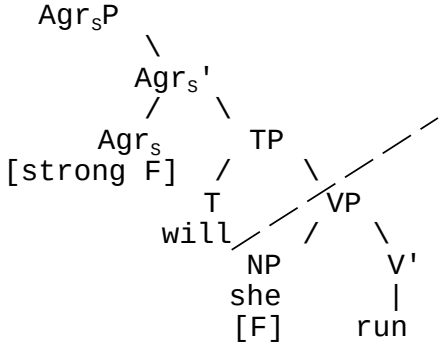
(15) Certain heads have a strong feature, demanding overt movement for checking. Chomsky (1995)
(16) Certain heads require Spec's. Chomsky (2000), Chomsky (1981)

(17)



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

(19)



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

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

(22) 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).

(23) [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)

(24) 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

(25)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)

(26) Covert A-movement should be able to turn (25)b into (25)a in LF.

(27) Or maybe not. Craenenbroeck (2004) and Craenenbroeck and Dikken (2005) show that under the Lasnik theory of optionality of object shift, (25)b would necessarily lack the Agr$_O$ projection that (25)a would necessarily have (the EPP requirement of Agr$_O$ driving

the movement). So the relevant covert movement could not take place.

(28) 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):

(29) 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.

(30) So why <u>is</u> (23) 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 (23).

(31) 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. [Craenenbroeck and Dikken (2006), the published version of Craenenbroeck and Dikken (2005), eliminates this the error, but at the cost of eliminating any discussion of (23).]

COMPARE

(32) *It seems to its$_i$ author that every book$_i$ is definitive

OR EVEN

(33) *Its$_i$ author completed every book$_i$ rapidly

(34) 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 ...

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

(36) So if there is no covert A-movement, then it must be that there is overt A-movement in this example, and in (23) as well (given Merchant's argument that A'-movement won't suffice).

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

(38) 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

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

(40) Short scrambling is (or can be) A-movement. If there were covert A-scrambling, then (39) should be as good as (38). Takano (1998)

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

(42) ?[karera$_i$-o [[otagai$_i$ -no sensei]-ga <u>t</u>$_i$ hihansita]] (koto)

them each other-gen teacher-nom criticized fact
Saito (1994)

(43) Covert A-scrambling, if it existed should remedy the Condition A violation.

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