On Certain Interactions Between Movement and Ellipsis
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I. The mechanism of obligatory movement

(1) CP
    / \ C'
  / \ C "IP"

(2) Who will Mary hire

(3) CP
    / \ 
NP C'
  who / \ 
    C IP
will / \ 
    NP I'
Mary / \ 
    I VP
  t / \ 
    NP V'
  t / \ 
    V NP
  hire t

(4) Mary will hire John

(5) Agr₁P
    / \ 
NP Agr₁'
  Mary / \ 
    Agr₁ TP
  / \ 
    T VP
  will / \ 
    NP V'
  t / \ 
    V Agr₁P
  hire / \ 
NP Agr₁'
  John / \ 
    Agr₁ VP
  / \ 
    V V'
  / \ 
    V NP
  t t

(6) *Who Mary will hire

(7) *Mary will John hire

(8) Overt movement is triggered by a 'strong feature' on the attractor, the position to which the movement takes place.

(9) "...simply define a strong feature as one that a derivation 'cannot tolerate': a derivation D-E is canceled if E contains a strong feature..."

(10) "A strong feature...triggers a rule that eliminates it: [strength] is associated with a pair of operations, one that introduces it into the derivation...a second that (quickly) eliminates it." Chomsky (1995)

(11) "The operation Move, we now assume, seeks to raise just F [the feature(s) relevant to checking]." Chomsky (1995, p. 262)

(12) "...only PF convergence forces anything beyond features to raise." Chomsky (1995, p. 265)

(13) "For the most part - perhaps completely - it is properties of the phonological component that require pied-piping. Isolated features and other scattered parts of words may not be subject to its rules, in which case the derivation is canceled; or the derivation might proceed to PF with elements that are 'unpronounceable,' violating FI."

(14) "Applied to the feature F, the operation Move thus creates at least one and perhaps two "derivative chains" alongside the chain CHₘ(F,tₘ) constructed by the operation itself. One is CHₙ₋₁(FF,Fₜ), consisting of the set of formal features FF(F) and its trace; the other is CHₙ₋₁(α,tₘ), α a category carried along by generalized pied-piping and including at least the lexical item containing F. CHₙ₋₁ is always constructed, CHₙ₋₁ only when required for convergence...As noted, CHₙ₋₁ should be completely dispensable, were it not for the need to accommodate to the sensorimotor apparatus." [p.265]
II. Ellipsis as an alternative repair strategy

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

(16) Speaker A: Mary will hire someone. Speaker B: Who Mary will hire? [Sluicing]

(17) Agr P
   / \ 
NP  Agr S'
Mary / \ 
  Agr  TP
  / \ 
T  VP
will / \ 
NP  V'
  t / \ 
V  NP
hire  t

(18) Susan will hire Bob and Mary will hire t
    [Pseudogapping]

III. The EPP

(19) Certain heads have a strong feature, demanding overt movement for checking. Chomsky (1995, Ch. 4)

(20) Certain heads require Spec's. Chomsky (in press; 1981)
Mary will hire someone. *Tell me Mary will hire who.

Interrogative C requires a Spec. It does not suffice to check its 'EPP feature'. Chomsky was right the first (and third) time, and wrong the second.

Bibliography


