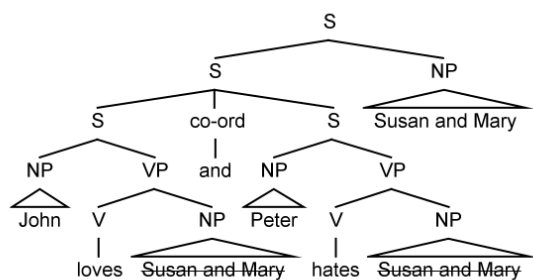


## Categories and Transformations – 4.7.3 (pp. 324 – 326)

### 4.7.3 XP-Adjunction and the Architecture of Linguistic Theory

This section constitutes an all-out attack on adjunction as we know it – at least NC seems to be saying that adjunction should not be integrated within the MP.

There are two paths of treating adjunction, one within the MP, dealing with very elementary structures, and another one outside, dealing with “extraposition, right-node raising, VP-adjunction, scrambling,” and other rearrangements (324).



For illustration, the tree to the left shows an example of what I understand to be right-node adjunction. For reasons that haven't yet become clear to me, all this stuff is to be excluded from the MP in the strict sense.

On p. 324-5, NC says: “In early transformational grammar, a distinction was sometimes made between ‘stylistic’ rules and others. Increasingly, the distinction seems to be quite real: the core

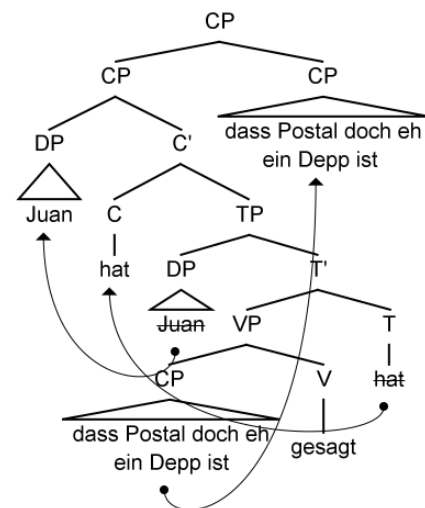
computational properties we have been considering differ markedly in character from many other operations of the language faculty, and it may be a mistake to try to integrate them within the same framework of principles.” One of the reasons given for the distinction is that adjunction is not driven by feature checking.

To illustrate once more the elementary nature of some processes that are now excluded, look at an example of extraposition in German I came across when I tried to drill the TP/CP analysis of sentences into the heads of my unsuspecting students in this Summer's language acquisition seminar. Without extraposition of the embedded CP, the sentence is complete garbage:

- (1) Juan hat dass Postal doch eh ein Depp ist gesagt.

All the same, that would be the natural outcome according to the German syntactic parameter settings. Why doesn't this work? Note that the necessity to extrapose does not extend to DPs and PPs; the following sentences are perfectly fine

- (2) Juan hat Chomsky damit beruhigt, dass Postal doch eh ein Depp ist.  
 (3) Iwo hat Juans fetten Wälzer endlich ins Regal stellen können.



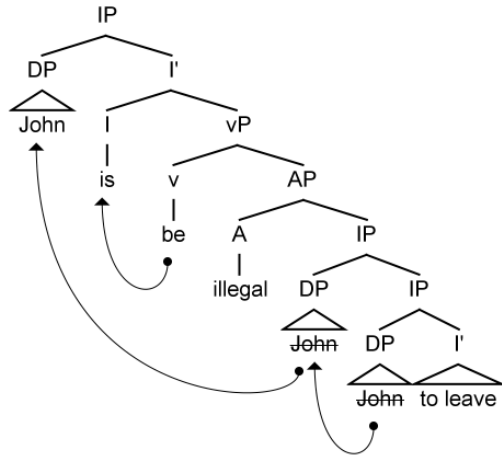
In “Approaching UG from Below,” NC talks about processing necessities that give spoken language in particular a kind of “paratactic quality”; maybe this has something to do with it in that having to process a complete proposition/CP within a CP just doesn't work. To find out whether this generalizes, one would of course have to look at other languages.

NC then goes on to look into the question of whether checking domains should include YP adjoined to XP. The short answer to this is “No,” even though for me at least the task remains to tease out what the final paragraph of the section on p. 326 exactly means.

## Categories and Transformations – 4.7.4 (pp. 326 – 329)

### 4.7.4 Other Improperities

This section seeks to exclude all sorts of improper movements “on principled grounds.”



Example (133) to the left is excluded since *illegal* requires a complement with a PRO-subject which in turn would have to have null case. But when John is moved to the spec of the matrix IP, it receives nominative, and the derivation crashes because of case mismatch.

As for (134), the argumentation escapes me; somehow the derivation is supposed to be bad because the intermediate trace cannot be deleted, and it can't be deleted because in

(134) \* John seems [that [ $t_2$  [it was told  $t_1$  [that...

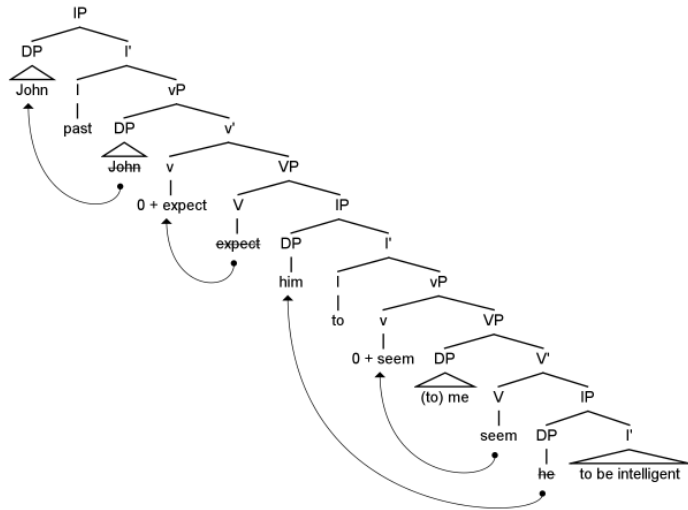
there is no reconstruction, the latter being restricted to special cases of A' movement involving operators.

Examples (135) to (137) are also supposed to show this. The approximate structure of (135) would be the one below:

If the pronoun *he* were reconstructed to its original position for binding purposes, it would be “far enough” away from its antecedent *John* to not cause a violation of condition B of BT as another potential binder, namely *me*, would intervene.

But that is contrary to fact, so we see that there is no reconstruction for binding purposes here.

What the “agentive reading” in example (136) is supposed to be I do not fully understand.



Another demonstration of the absence of reconstruction is example (137) adapted from May. There, in the embedded sentences negation can have wide scope over the quantifier *everyone*, provided that the latter is not raised into the matrix sentence. If reconstruction were possible for the establishment of scope relations, raising of the quantifier to the matrix sentence should not matter.

The next to last paragraph on p. 327 refers back to difficult questions from 4.7.2, and I won't go into it.

NC then goes on to once more stress that the minimalist assumption is that  $C_{HL}$  is uniform from N to LF, any distinctions pre- and post-Spell-Out (SO) being only the reflex of other factors.

The discussion then turns to the extension condition. Merge satisfies EC for elementary reasons, one could say, by definition. But the same is not true for both adjunction and Attract/Move. If  $\alpha$  raises to K to become its specifier or adjoin to it, this can extend the root only at the very top, i.e., if K had so far been the root, for obvious reasons. In the covert component, all extensions can only apply to the top of the structure already derived by SO.

Let's look now at

(138) \* who was [ $\alpha$  a picture of  $t_{wh}$ ] taken  $t_\alpha$  by Bill

This is generally analyzed as a Condition on Extraction Domain (CED) violation: You can't extract out of a subject, hence *who* is not allowed to move out of the phrase with the label  $\alpha$ . But what if we wait with moving  $\alpha$  into the subject position – i.e., the passivization – until after *who* has moved out of it? Then there is no CED violation, and other reasons must be found to bar the structure. Perhaps such “counter-cyclic” operations where the smaller extracted element moves past a position into which the larger element is then inserted are simply disallowed, but perhaps, NC speculates, movement out of the object position is too long as compared to extraction out of the subject position. The latter is barred by CED, but might then be more economical, blocking the “longer” extraction from the – at that stage of the derivation – object.

Next NC discusses Relativized Minimality (RM). Here we find the following classification

- (1) Head movement – HMC
- (2) A-movement
- (3) A'-movement,

where both

- (I) skipping an already filled position
- (II) counter-cyclic operations where a position is skipped that is later filled

are to be ruled out. (I) is easy; it falls under the MLC, which in turn is built into the definition of Move/Attract.

What about (II)? For (1), this kind of skipping is simply impossible. If a head skips, let's say, the next higher head before the later is even merged, it skips out of the structure altogether. (2) and (3) are not really discussed, apart from the remark about strong features where the problem is said not to arise, but perhaps chapter 4.10 has more for us with regard to this.

NC concludes by speculating that maybe the EC on overt operations does not have to be stipulated. He once more stresses that after SO, the lexicon is inaccessible both on the road to LF and the road to PF. The following sentence:

The Morphology module indirectly allows variation before and after Spell-Out, as do strength of features and such properties of language such as the PF conditions on movement that induce generalized pied piping (329)

seems a bit enigmatic to me as it appears to me as a complicated way of stating that it all reduces to feature strength.

Feature strength in turn has to do exclusively with the AP interface: It is there that language varies, whereas the conclusion can be maintained that the computations of  $C_{HL}$  from the numeration N to LF are uniform and don't vary.