

**Grewendorf & Kremers (2009, „Phases and cycles. Some problems with Phase Theory“)***Transfer* (§3.1)

The phonological unit that interacts with syntax is the phonological phrase ( $\phi$ ).

Correspondence rule:  $[XP] \Leftrightarrow \{\phi\}$

- (1) a.  $[_{IP}$  Gianni avrà  $[_{VP}$  già mangiato [ le belle mele ]].  
 Gianni will.have already eaten the good apples  
 b. {Gianni} {avrà già mangiato} {le belle mele}

$\Rightarrow$  Asymmetry  $\phi$  – Transfer domain:  $[_{VP}$  già mangiato] – { **avrà** già mangiato }

$\Rightarrow$  The phonological structure can only be assigned after the higher phase has been transferred

Proposal ( $\omega$  = prosodic word):

- (2) i. {già mangiato} {le belle mele}  $[VP]$   
 $\omega \quad \omega \quad \omega \quad \omega$   
 ii. {Gianni} avrà  $[IP \Rightarrow$  avrà *no*  $\phi]$   
 $\omega \quad \omega$   
 iii. {Gianni} **avrà** {già mangiato} {le belle mele}  $[VP + IP]$   
 $\omega \quad \omega \quad \omega \quad \omega \quad \omega \quad \omega$   
 iii. {Gianni} {avrà già mangiato} {le belle mele}  $[Directionality\ of\ restructuring\ language-specific]$   
 $\omega \quad \omega \quad \omega \quad \omega \quad \omega \quad \omega$

*NTC* (§3.2)

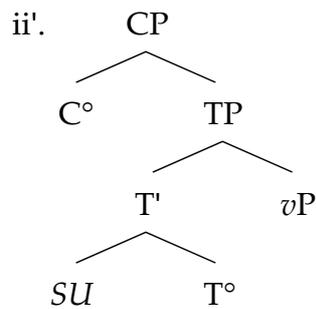
Parallel movement problematic for NTC

- (3) i.  $[_{TP} T[_{VP} \dots XP \dots]]$   
 ii.  $[_{CP} C_{[EPP]} [_{TP} T_{[EPP]} [_{VP} \dots XP \dots]]]$   $[FI]$   
 iii.  $[_{CP} C_{[EPP]} [_{TP} \mathbf{XP} T_{[EPP]} [_{VP} \dots t_{XP} \dots]]]$   $['acyclic' movement]$

OP adopts Richards' (2001) tucking-in as IM to the edeg 'as closely to the probe as possible'

Set-notation reveals a flaw in OP's interpretation of tucking-in (unlike the tree graph):

- (4) i.  $[_{CP} C [_{TP} T [_{VP} \dots]]] \Rightarrow \{C, \{C, \{T, \{T, vP\}\}\}$   
 ii.  $[_{CP} C [_{TP} SU T [_{VP} \dots]]] \Rightarrow \{C, \{C, \{T, \{\{T, \{SU, T\}\}, vP\}\}\}$



⇒ *vP* in [Spec, TP] and *SU* in [Compl, TP] is evidently not what we want ⇒ IM may not target  $H^\circ$  itself, but its *1<sup>st</sup> projection* (here, TP) ⇒ Captured by Richards' "at the edge", which, however, reintroduces the Spec-Compl distinction as a primitive

⇒ Merge cannot produce the desired output {C, {C, {T, {Subj, {T, {T, vP}}}}}}

(5) {C, {C, {T, {T, vP}}}}

⇒ Substitute {T, {Subj, {T, {T, vP}}}} for {T, {T, vP}}

⇒ {C, {C, {T, {Subj, {T, {T, vP}}}}}}

### Parallel probing (§3.3)

#### Theoretical motivations

① Under FI, T simply cannot initiate a search when merged (residual EPP-effects in infinitival TPs?)

② *Generalised Inactivity Condition*: A-chain heads are invisible to *all* operations ⇒ A'-movement must occur before or simultaneous with A-movement

⇒ 2 relevant chains, whose heads are *not* directly related

Evidence for copy in [Spec, TP]

(6) WCO

a. Who<sub>i</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* seems to his<sub>i</sub> friends to be preferable?

b. \*Who<sub>i</sub> do you seem to his<sub>i</sub> friends to prefer?

The lack of a Weak Crossover effect in (a) is due to the fact that the *his* is A-bound by an element in (matrix) [Spec, TP].

(7) Who did John *who* John see *who*?

⇒ Intermediate *who* doesn't intervene between T and *John* because only *heads* of chains (complete chains) create intervention effects; if T *were* a phase head, intervention effects should arise (by the MLC); evaluation of MLC at next higher phase head (here, C) is no longer needed

Problem 1 (p. 399): Chomsky's empirical motivation for parallel probing, the extraction out of derived Subjects as in *Of which car was the driver awarded a prize?*, is problematic. Apart from the numer-

ous contradictory judgements in sources cited by G&K, Chomsky himself has given judgements to the contrary in the past:

- (8) \*Who was [a picture of  $t_{who}$ ] taken by Bill? (BPS: 412)  
 (9) \*Who<sub>i</sub> do you expect [stories about  $t_i$ ] <sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [ $t_j$  to terrify John]]? (Chomsky 1973)

*Accepting the data, problems still abound...*

Problem 2: Parallel probing operates within  $v^*P$  as well; both SU and  $DO_{wh}$  are merged simultaneously, such that their hierarchical order ( $[v^*P\ wh\ SU\ v^*\ \dots]$ ) cannot be guaranteed, which, however, is necessary given that C-I assigns a  $\theta$ -role only to the inner Spec (overgeneration?)

Problem 3: Parallel probing yields representationalism (at least at the phase/Transfer level)

### *Icelandic Experiencer Constructions (§3.4)*

Parallel probing reinstates the strong PIC (where T cannot probe into the Complement of  $v^*P$  anymore): The Complement of  $H^o$  is Transferred on completion of HP

- (10)a. það virðist/\*virðast einhverjum manni [hestarnir vera seinir].  
 EXPL seems/\*seem.PL some man.DAT the-horses.NOM be slow  
 'It seems to some man that the horses are slow.'  
 b. Manninum virðist/virðast  $t_{DAT}$  [hestarnir vera seinir].  
 man.DAT seems/seem.PL the.horses.NOM be slow  
 'It seems to the man that the horses are slow.'  
 c. Hvaða manni veist þú að virðist/\*virðast  $t_{wh}$  [hestarnir vera seinir]?  
 which man.DAT know you that seems/seem the-horses be slow  
 'To which man do you know that the horses seem to be slow?'
- (11)[<sub>CP</sub> Mér [<sub>TP</sub> \*virðist/virðast [ <sub>$v^*P$</sub>   $t_{EXP}$   $t_v$  [<sub>VP</sub>  $t_V$  [<sub>TP</sub> þeir vera skemmtilegir ]]]]]]  
 me.DAT seem.3SG/3PL they.3PL.NOM be interesting  
 'It seems to me that they are interesting.'

*Note:* I didn't quite get through the argument; so, let's discuss...

### **Re: Copies in [Spec, TP]**

- (12)[<sub>CP</sub> Hverjum hefur [<sub>TP</sub> *hverjum*  $t_T$  [ <sub>$v^*P$</sub>  *hverjum*  $t_v$  [<sub>VP</sub>  $t_V$  [<sub>TP</sub> Olafur virst vera gafaður ]]]]]]?  
 who.DAT has Olaf.NOM seem.SG be intelligent

- (13) Who was [<sub>TP</sub> (\*there) never seen]?

In German, [Spec, TP] *can* be empty, thus why not in Icelandic?

- (14)a. Hier wird [<sub>TP</sub> (\*es) nicht geraucht].  
 b. Dem Mann graut [<sub>TP</sub> (\*es) vor mir].

⇒ Lack of overt Expl does not entail the presence of a copy in [Spec, TP]!

### Alternative to Parallel Probing: [EF]-based system (§4)

In OP, “A'-movements into the C-domain are no longer triggered by uninterpretable or unvalued features, but simply by C's property of being able to merge with other elements” (p. 419) ⇒ [EF]'s are no uninterpretable F's, thus pose no problem for the 'Transfer argument' (F's cannot have F's ⇒ C<sub>HL</sub> cannot detect uninterpretability ⇒ For D to converge, [*u*F]'s must be disposed of immediately ⇒ This can only happen at the phase level ⇒ Phase heads = locus of [*u*F])

(15)i. [TP John<sub>[*u*Case:]</sub> T<sub>[EF]</sub> [<sub>*v*\*P</sub> *t*<sub>John</sub> loves Mary ]].

⇒ [EF]-triggered Subject-raising

ii. [CP C<sub>[EF]</sub> [TP John<sub>[*u*Case:Nom]</sub> T<sub>[EF, *u*φ:3sg]</sub> [<sub>*v*\*P</sub> *t*<sub>John</sub> loves Mary ]].

⇒ T inherits [*u*φ: ] from C ⇒ Spec-Head agreement & Case-assignment

As to OP's questionable judgements of extraction out of derived Subjects: “[A]s Nunes and Uriagereka (2000) argue, it follows from the copy theory of movement that subparts of “traces” (i.e., lower copies) are inaccessible for extraction” (p. 422)