

Chomsky (2000): “Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework” [MI] [3.1–3.3]

inquiries = tentative^[89]; MP is programmatic, not a theory^[92]

3.1 Background^[89-93]

- a. L is a device generating expressions EXP = <Phon, Sem>^[91]
- b. “how well is FL designed?”^[92]
- c. Methodological aspect of MP: heuristic, therapeutic value; distinguish genuine explanation from “engineering solutions”; preliminary solution, reformulations legitimate means for further inquiry; “elimination of descriptive technology yields results that are as good as, or even better than, before”^[93]
- d. Substantive aspect of MP: optimal design of L, ‘perfect solution’ to minimal design specifications^[93]

3.2 Design Specifications^[94-98]

- a. Uncle Noam’s story telling time: primate with human mental architecture and sensorimotor apparatus, but no language organ; has our modes of perceptual organisation, our propositional attitudes (beliefs, desires, hopes, fears, etc.), at best expressible by a Fodorian language of thought → some event reorganises brain, inserting FL; organ FL must meet **legibility conditions** (n. 16; MP’s **bare output conditions**) → How good a solution is FL to meet these conditions?^[94]
- b. “a computation of an expression Exp *converges at an interface level IL* if Exp is legible at IL [...]; otherwise it *crashes* at IL” → (un)interpretability; n. 19: **convergence** is an internal property of an Exp, defined in terms of properties of external systems^[95] [*Uriagereka stresses that legibility is a far better term for what’s at stake than interpretability is*]
- c. Perfect solution to minimal design specifications = a system that satisfies a very narrow subset of empirical conditions in an optimal way turns out to satisfy all empirical conditions → **strongest minimalist thesis** (SMT)^[96]
 - (1) *SMT*
Language is an optimal solution to legibility conditions.
- d. “descriptive machinery must satisfy stringent conditions imposed by [the SMT]” → issues relating to interfaces are of central concern^[96] → “The [SMT] replaces the obscure notion of ‘linguistic evidence’ by the meaningful notion: **satisfaction of interface conditions.**”^[97]
- e. Our task: “construct an optimal device to satisfy just these conditions, and see how well it satisfies other empirical conditions. [...] add ‘imperfections’ as required”^[98] [*Uriagereka: “an empirical exercise on limits”*]
- f. Inquiry into FL and external systems is a simultaneous task

3.3 Architecture^[98-112]

a. $L = \text{recursive definition of a set of Exps} = \langle \text{PF}, \text{LF} \rangle \rightarrow$ **weak derivational approach** \rightarrow ILs, post-cyclic operations^[98] [\neq strong derivational approach to L assuming dynamic interfacing [cf. Epstein & Seely 2006]; \neq representational approach assuming L to be a direct definition of the set $\{\text{Exp}\}$ [cf. Brody 1995, 2003; Williams 2003]]

b. **Economy** (least effort): **① eliminate superfluous elements** in representations (Full Interpretation); **② eliminate superfluous steps** in derivations (motivated operations) \rightarrow economy conditions driven by interface considerations \rightarrow operative complexity^[99]:

\Rightarrow **operational economy**: bar PF-vacuous movement, limit effects on PF (Procrastinate), covert operations must have an effect on LF-interpretation;

\Rightarrow **locality economy**: **①** reduction of search space (**minimal search**: “Shortest Movement/Attract”, successive-cyclic movement (RM, subjacency), search restricted to c-command/minimal domains); **② local determinability** (barring look-ahead, backtracking, comparison of derivations)

c. **UG**: universal? feature set F , computational procedure C_{HL} , (trivially) L , parameters excl.^[100]

1. $F \xrightarrow{L} [F]$ *1-time selection of a language-specific subset from F*

2. $[F] \xrightarrow{L} \text{Lex}$ *1-time assembly of a lexicon*

3. $\text{Lex} \xrightarrow{C_{HL}} \mathbf{LA}$ *1-time selection of a **lexical array***

4. $\mathbf{LA} \xrightarrow{C_{HL}} \text{LF}(\text{Exp})$ *narrow syntax computation (i.e. mapping to LF)*

Num of MP:§4 is a set of tokens, i.e. with indices.

\Rightarrow **LA**: “Suppose automobiles lacked fuel storage, so that each one had to carry along a petroleum-processing plant.”^[99f.]; “If the derivation accesses the lexicon at every point, it must carry along this huge beast, rather like cars that constantly have to replenish their fuel supply.”^[100f.] \rightarrow **reduction of operative complexity**^[101]

d. **operations**^[101]

(2) *Merge*

$\text{Merge}(\alpha, \beta) \rightarrow K(\alpha, \beta)$

(3) *Agree*

$\text{Agree}(\alpha, F)$ in a specific domain, α a LI

Uriagereka notes that Agree corresponds to Attract F of MP:§4.

(4) **Move (= Agree + Merge)**

$\text{Move}(P(F)^*, \text{Spec}\alpha) = \text{Agree}(\alpha, F) + \text{Merge}(P(F), \alpha P) \rightarrow [_{\alpha P} P(F) \alpha [\dots t_{P(F)} \dots]]$

* $P(F)$ a phrase determined by F

\Rightarrow **A-movement** = $\text{Move}(P, \text{Spec}\phi)$; otherwise, **\bar{A} -movement**

\Rightarrow $\text{Move} = \text{Agree}, \text{Merge}, \text{ and determination of } P(F)$ (generalised **pied-piping**; cf. MP:§4.4.4) \rightarrow Move is a last resort; “**Preference for Agree over Move**” motivates Procrastinate^[101f.]

e. **Lex:** substantive vs. functional categories [*lcats vs. fcats*]^[102]

(5) **Core functional categories (CFCs, of the clausal system)**

- a. C (force/mood)
- b. T (tense/event structure*)
- c. v (transitive light verb head)

*As also pointed out by Uriagereka, event structure is actually related to Outer and Inner aspect, and to Aktionsart (i.e. to Asp > vP).

⇒ **CFCs contain uninterpretable ϕ -Fs** ($[u\phi]$), T and v obligatorily [*C-agreement is rare*] → “core of the systems of (structural) Case agreement and ‘dislocation’ (Move)”^[102]

The notation $[uF]/[iF]$ is from Pesetsky & Torrego (2001). Where relevant, Chomsky uses $[\pm F]$.

⇒ n. 31: C and T are surrogates for richer systems → CFCs vs. Cartographies

e. **S-selection** [*Chomsky assumes c-selection/subcategorisation to be derivable from s-selection; cf. MP:§1.2*]^[102]

(6) **Selectional relations**

- a. unselected root C (\neq T/v)
- b. $X_{lcat} \rightarrow C$
- c. $X_{fcats} \rightarrow v$
- d. $C \rightarrow T[u\phi]$
- e. $V \rightarrow T[u\phi_{def(ective)}]$ or T_{def}
- f. T/v → verbal elements
- g. v → nominal EA in [Spec, v]

[*nondefective or ϕ -complete T; T_{comp}*]
 [*T lacking $[u\phi]$, or a sub-feature thereof, $[uPERSON]$*]

(7) **Extra Spec**^[102] [*‘extra’ = beyond s-selection?*]

- a. C → *wh*-phrase [*Top, etc.?*]
- b. T → surface subject (EPP)
- c. v → shifted object (OS)

} [EPP]-features of C/v determine positions not forced by Projection Principle^[102]

f. Structural properties of CFCs^[102f]

(8) $\alpha = [XP [(EA) H_{(CFC)} YP]]$ *abstract schema of CFC-structure*

(9) If $H = v/C$, XP is *not* purely merged (i.e. v/C allow no Expls)^[102f] [*Uriagereka: ‘whether’ = [Expl,SpecCP]?*]

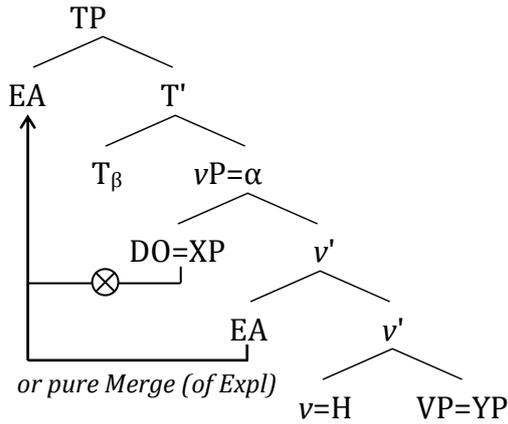
⇒ **“Pure Merge in θ -position is required of (and restricted to) arguments.”**^[103] [*cf. IM vs. EM*]

(10) $[\beta T_{\beta} \dots \alpha]$, β minimal [*‘minimal’ = w/o Specs/adjoined elements?*]

a. if $H = C$, T_{β} independent of α ^[102f] [*Uriagereka: independence of embedded clauses*]

⇒ there T_{β} are questions about $[\alpha \text{ what } C [_{TP} \text{ John read } t_{\text{what}}]]$ ^[103]
 no dependence ($T_{\beta}C$)
 closed system (w.r.t. Case, ϕ , binding,...)

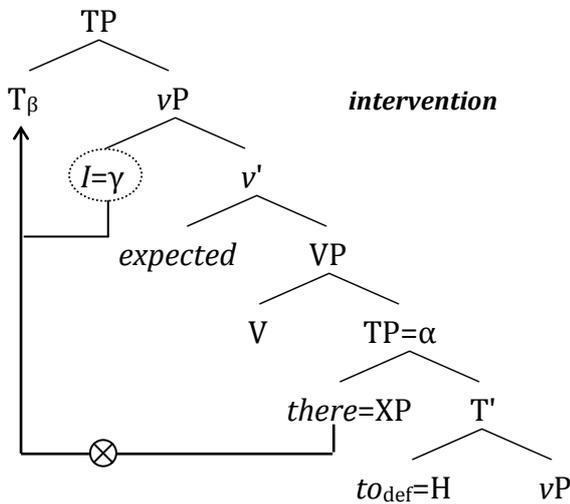
b. if $H = v$, Agree(T_β, EA), EA may move, XP may not^[103f.]



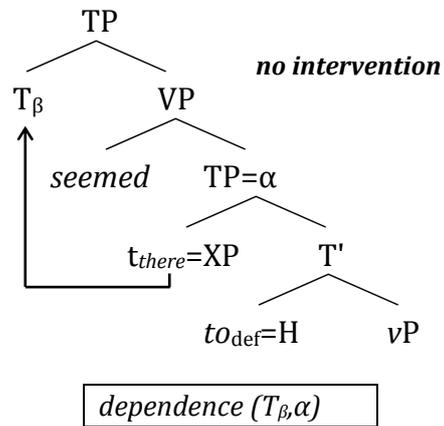
Old question (OS): DO and EA are equidistant to T_β , alright, so T_β can choose, right? However, in (5bii) Chomsky explicitly states “XP [= DO] **cannot**”. As far as I can see, it could...

Many students read the book never.
There read the book never many students.

c. if $H = T_{def}$, Move(XP, Spec T_β), if no γ intervenes: $T_\beta \dots \gamma \dots [\alpha \text{ XP } T_{def} \dots]$ ^[103f.]



I expected there to be a proof discovered.



There seemed to be a proof discovered.

dependence (T_β, α)

g. **Merge-over-Move (MoM)** [no principle, but a preference derived from more general complexity considerations]^[104]

(11) Icelandic **Object shift (OS)**^[103f.]

i. [α read+v [$_{VP}$ t_{read} [DO the book]]]

ii. [α [$_{Subj}$ many students] read+v [$_{VP}$ t_{read} [DO the book]]] Merge EA

iii. [β T_β [α [DO the book] [$_{Subj}$ many students] read+v [$_{VP}$ t_{read} t_{DO}]]] Move DO

iv. \checkmark [β [$_{Subj}$ many students] read [α t_{Subj} [DO the book] t_{read} [$_{VP}$ t_{read} t_{DO}]]] Merge EA

iv'. \checkmark [β there read [α [DO the book] [$_{Subj}$ many students] t_{read} [$_{VP}$ t_{read} t_{DO}]]] Merge Expl

ii. [α [DO the book] read+v [$_{VP}$ t_{read} t_{DO}]] Move DO

iii. [β T_β [α [$_{Subj}$ many students] [DO the book] read+v [$_{VP}$ t_{read} t_{DO}]]] Merge EA

iv. \checkmark [β [$_{Subj}$ many students] read [α t_{Subj} [DO the book] t_{read} [$_{VP}$ t_{read} t_{DO}]]] Merge EA

\Leftarrow iv'. * [β there read [α [$_{Subj}$ many students] [DO the book] t_{read} [$_{VP}$ t_{read} t_{DO}]]] Merge Expl
ungrammatical
word order

obeys MoM
violates MoM

- (12) i. [α T_{def} [be a proof discovered]]
 ii. *there is likely [α a proof to be discovered] *violates MoM*
 iii. *I expected [α t_i to be a proof discovered] *violates θ -theory (cf. (9))*
 iv. ✓ I expected [α a proof to be discovered]
 v. ✓ there is likely [t_{there} to be a proof discovered]
 vi. ✓ I expected [there to be a proof discovered]^[104]
 vii. ✓ [TP me_(dat) [VP t_{me} seem [TP several people to be in the room]]] *cf. (iv); Quirky Case*
 vii. ✓ [TP there [VP seem [TP [Subj several people] t_{there} to be t_{Subj} in the room]]]^[105] *TEC-MS*

h. **Operative complexity** (cf. b, c)^[104f.]

- (13) a. Simple operations pre-empt more complex ones.
 b. Search space is limited (locality).
 c. Access to the feature set F is restricted by [$F \xrightarrow{L} [F]$].
 d. Computation is locally determined (no look-ahead).

i. **Control infinitivals:** structurally, finite clauses (CPs) with tense–modal structure and ϕ -complete T (i.e. $C \rightarrow T_{comp}$) (\neq raising/ECM : $V \rightarrow T_{def}$) [*Control infinitivals behave phase-like*]^[104f.]

- ➔ They ❶ can be moved/clefted [*It is [CP PRO to eat the zucchini] that I_i promised t_{CP}*]; ❷ can occur as root clauses [*What PRO_{arb} to do!?*; *PRO_{arb} To go to Paris...!*]; ❸ their PRO subject receives structural Case (null Case) from T – [*Uriagereka cites Rizzi’s 1982 original Italian examples*]

j. **Lexical subarrays** (LA_i)^[106]

(14) there is a possibility [α that proofs will be discovered]^[103]

- ➔ If LA = {*proofs, there,...*}, why does *proofs* move in α instead of *there* being merged? [i.e. **the Marantz/Romero puzzle**; of course the eventually resulting string would be deviant: *Proofs are a possibility that there will be discovered or *Is/Are a possibility that there will be proofs discovered; given local determination at α , however, this isn’t relevant]

Revision/extension of (c):

1. Lex $\xrightarrow{C_{HL}}$ LA = {LA_i, LA_j,...} *1-time selection of a lexical array¹*
2. LA $\xrightarrow{C_{HL}}$ LA_i *(multiple) extraction of LA_i to active memory (‘workspace’)*
3. LA_i $\xrightarrow{C_{HL}}$ LF(Exp) *narrow syntax computation (i.e. mapping to L_F)*

(15) *Back to (14)...*

- i. LA = {LA_i = {*that, proof,...*}, LA_j = {*there, be,...*}}
- ii. [α that proofs will be discovered] *exhaustion of {there} \in LA_i at α*
- iii. [β there is a possibility [α that proofs will be discovered] *exhaustion of {there} \notin LA_j at β*

- ➔ **Criteria for LA_i:** should determine a ‘natural SO’ (“relatively independent in terms of interface properties”^[106])

¹ So, is LA *pre-structured* into LA_s (similar to DS; cf. Uriagereka)? What structures LA_s? A weakly computational mechanism? Chomsky explicitly excludes cyclic access of C_{HL} to Lex in order to construct subarrays (n. 29, n. 41; his petroleum-plant metaphor).

I. LF: **propositionality** → vP with full θ-structure, CP incl. force and tense

[‘Propositionality’ as the identifier of phasehood has been called into question. A less problematic criterion might be (as also pointed out by Uriagereka) the notion of **minimal domain with a complete set of relevant Fs**; also cf. Chomsky’s **closed system**^[103]]

II. PF: **isolability** → fronting, extraposition, pseudoclefting, response fragments,...

☞ LA_i ∋ {C|v} (‘Each subarray must contain at least? one phase head, C or v.’)

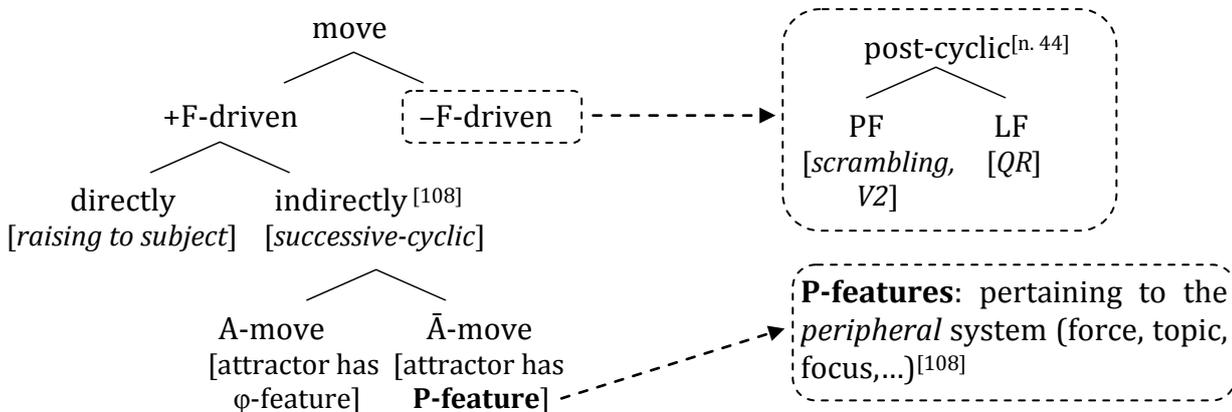
☞ Propositionality outdoes convergence as a defining property of LA_i: *wh*-elements carry a **strong uninterpretable F** as movement trigger (≠ MP:§4)^[107]

(16) [Which article]_[uF] C_[F] is there t_{wh} some hope_{[α t_{wh} that John will t_{wh} read t_{wh}]?}^[103]
 CP-PH₂: **convergent** → Delete([uF]) CP-PH₁: ‘**non-convergent**’

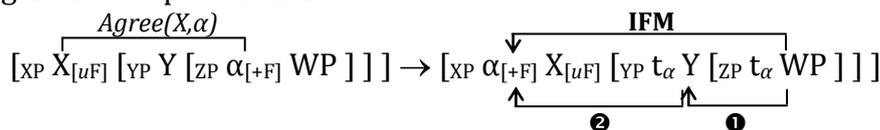
k. **Phases**: “Take a *phase* of a derivation to be an SO derived in this way by choice of LA_i. A phase is **CP** or **vP**, but **not TP** or a verbal phrase headed by H lacking φ-features and therefore not entering into Case/agreement checking: **neither finite TP nor unaccusative/passive verbal phrase** is a phase.”^[106]

(17) *Cyclicity condition*^[107] (to become *activeness condition*^[123])
 The head of a phase is “**inert**” after the phase is completed, triggering no further operations.

l. **Typology of movement (M)**^[107f.]



☞ **Indirect feature-driven movement (IFM)**: Why *indirect*? Movement triggered by φ/P occurs **successive-cyclically**, i.e. in several shorter movement steps. In the following configuration, where X = attractor and α = attractee, α cannot skip SpecYP, hence is *indirectly* triggered to stop over there:



☞ **[P] = feature driving successive-cyclic movement!**

[How is *direct* feature-driven movement (raising to subject) different from A-IFM? Does [EPP] on T trigger subject raising, or [uφ]? A-movement of, say, EA from SpecvP to SpecTP (be it triggered by [EPP] or [uφ]) involves only one step, thus is not successive-cyclic, nor indirect...?]

m. **Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC)** → strong cyclicity condition^[108]

(18) *Phase structure*

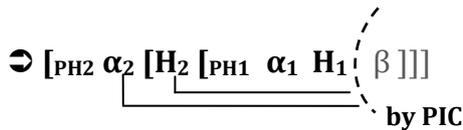
HP = [α [H β]]

β = **domain**(H) [= *internal domain of M:\$4*]

α = **edge**(H) [= *a hierarchy of one or more Specs; checking domain of M:\$4*]

(19) **PIC**^[108]

In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, **only H and its edge are accessible** to such operations.



↻ **IFM is motivated by the PIC!** Stuff that eventually ends up high in a structure needs to escape the PIC by (successive-cyclically) moving to the next edge available [*edges as escape hatches*]. Local (i.e. phasal) determination obviates questions of **look-ahead** w.r.t. IFM.^[108]

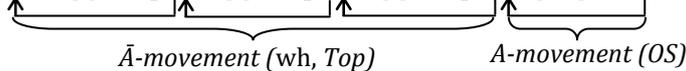
n. **EPP**: asymmetry T vs. C/v → optionality, Expl,...^[109]

(20) The head H of phase Ph may be assigned an EPP-feature.^[109]

↻ **The Marantz/Romero puzzle; solved:** If LA ∋ {Expl}, Move is always pre-empted. With subarrays. *after* exhaustion of LA_i, H may be (non-universally; cf. OS) assigned an [EPP] by (20) (for OS, \bar{A} -movement, etc.). → This [EPP] can only be satisfied by *Move*, not by (pure) Merge (like T[EPP] can), there being no LI (**incl. Expl**) left in LA_i!

↻ Chomsky speculates that 0 might ultimately be conditioned by specificity, information structure (n. 25: also cf. MP:294, 377)^[109f.]

(21) SpecC₂[P] ... Specv₂[P] ... SpecC₁[P] ... Specv₁[EPP] ... XP ^[110]

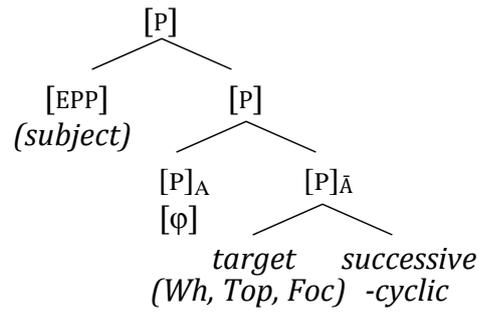


\bar{A} -chain (SpecC₂, Specv₂, SpecC₁, Specv₁)

A-chain (Specv₁, XP)

Specv₂ = \bar{A} -position due to [P] assigned by 0 [*for improper movement cf. n. 35*]

↻ **Re: Typology of EPP-features** (cf. l): It seems (to me) that [P] is the hyperonym for the subject-[EPP] of T on the one hand (obligatory, allows pure Merge,...), and features driving successive-cyclic movement as well as the discourse-scope features (*Wh, Top, Foc*,...) at the target of successive-cyclic movement, on the other (call the latter [P] \bar{A}). Then, there are also ϕ -features, apparently feeding A-movement (call those [P]_A).



I don't get this (cross-) classification: What triggers subject raising, [EPP] or [$u\phi$]? What if movement triggered by [P]_{A/ \bar{A}} involves only one step? Is this still IFM? And: subject raising (in e.g. raising constructions) can occur successive-cyclically, in which case it would be indirect...

o. Once more: **computational complexity** (cf. b, c, h):^[110f.]

- (22) a. Computational complexity matters for cognitive systems.
 b. The solution must be comprehensive, with a guarantee of "quick decision" for all derivations.
 c. Complexity should not be allowed to grow "too fast."
 d. Decisions in computation attend only to principles of UG.