EXTENDING THE EXTENSION CONDITION

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AIMS:

- Show that X°-movement, esp. V-movement, does exist and that it is a narrow syntactic operation, not a PF-phenomenon (≠ Kayne 1998, Nilsen 2000, Müller 2001, Chomsky 1999)
- Revise the Extension Condition
- Postulate a correlation between the Extension Condition and the presence of an EPP-feature

THE DATA:

English

(1) Peter read the book.

Welsh (Roberts 2000)

(2) Mi welais i Megan.
Prt saw I Megan

German

(3) daß Peter das Buch gelesen hat
that Peter the book read has

=> embedded clause

(4) Peter hat das Buch gelesen.
Peter has the book read

=> main clause

(5) Dieses Buch hat kein Mensch
This book has no human being
gelesen.
read
"No-one has read this book."

=> topicalisation

THE FRAMEWORK:

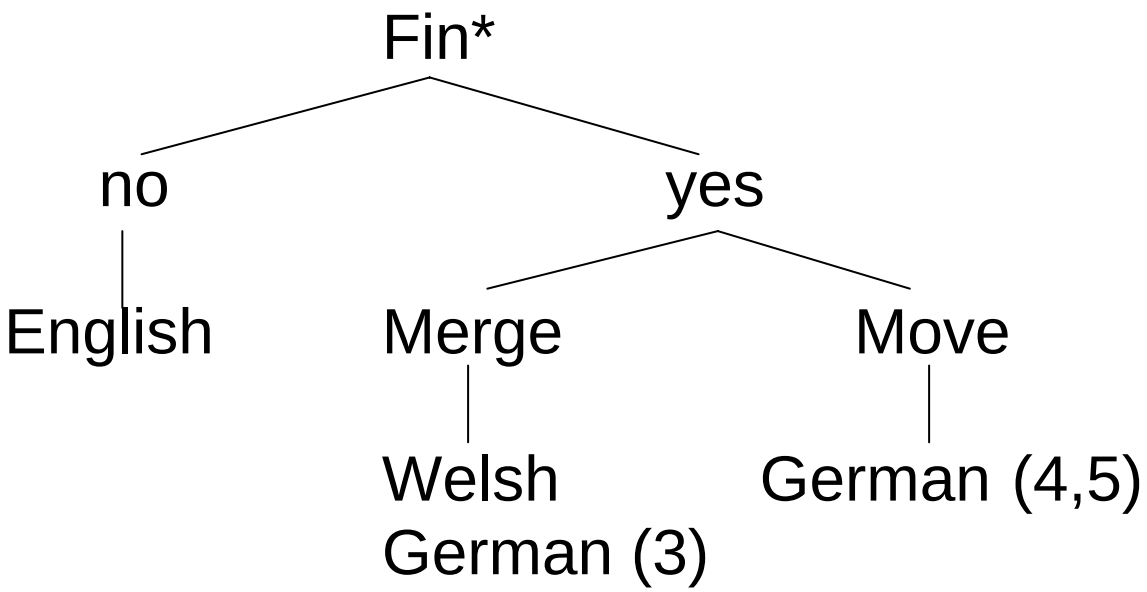
Clause structure:

C-system: (Force) (Top) (Foc) (Fin)
I-system: (Ref) (Top) (Foc) T (Aux)
V-system: v, V
(not considering AdvPs)

structure of VP following Roberts (2000)

The *-parameter (Roberts & Roussou 1998, Roberts 2000)

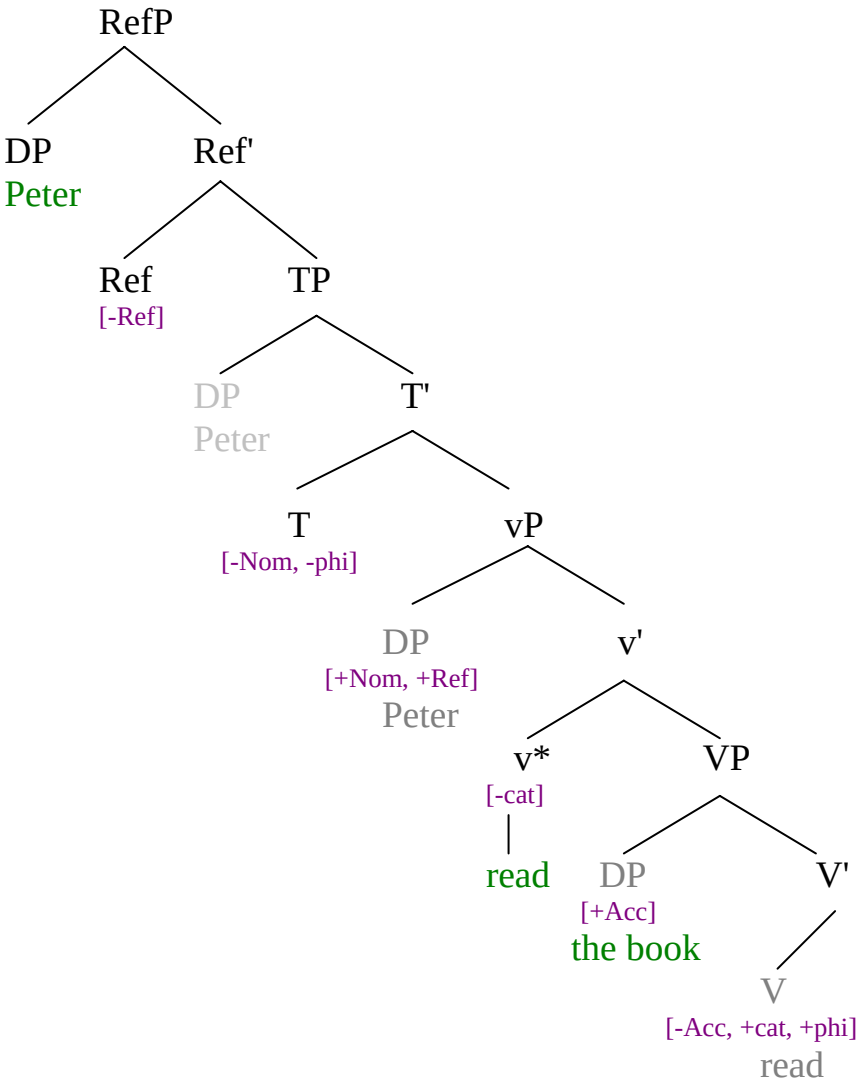
- Heads are parametrised as to whether they require PF-realisation or not.
- a * symbolises the need for PF-realisation.
- * can be realised either by Merge or by Move.



The Extension Condition (Chomsky 1993, 1995)

- requires that syntactic operations extend the tree at the root
- only holds of substitution operations and not of adjunction operations (esp. X°-movement)

(1') English – no Fin*



Note:

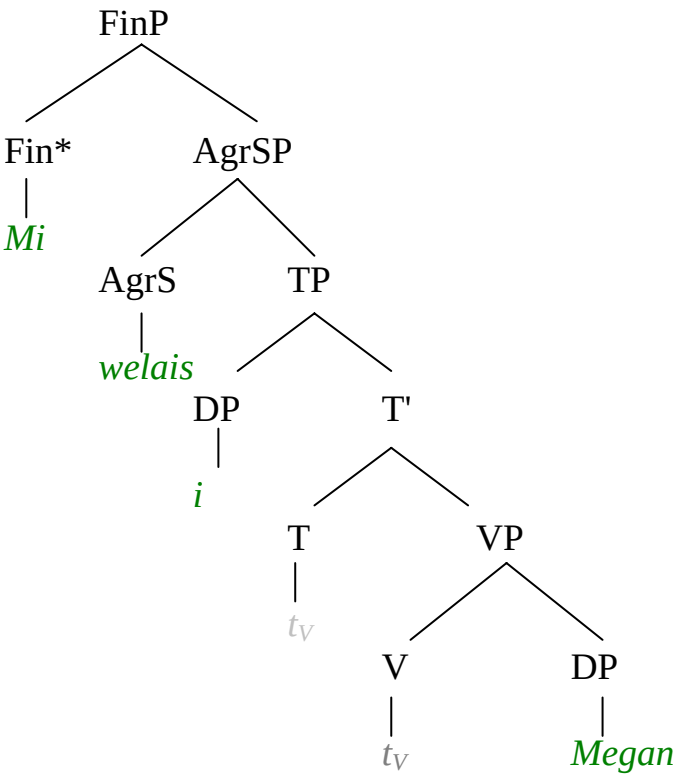
No long-distance agree possible, except for checking of verbal phi-features in languages with poor verbal morphology. All checking is done in head-head or Spec-head relations (looking into Spec is possible).

Merge:

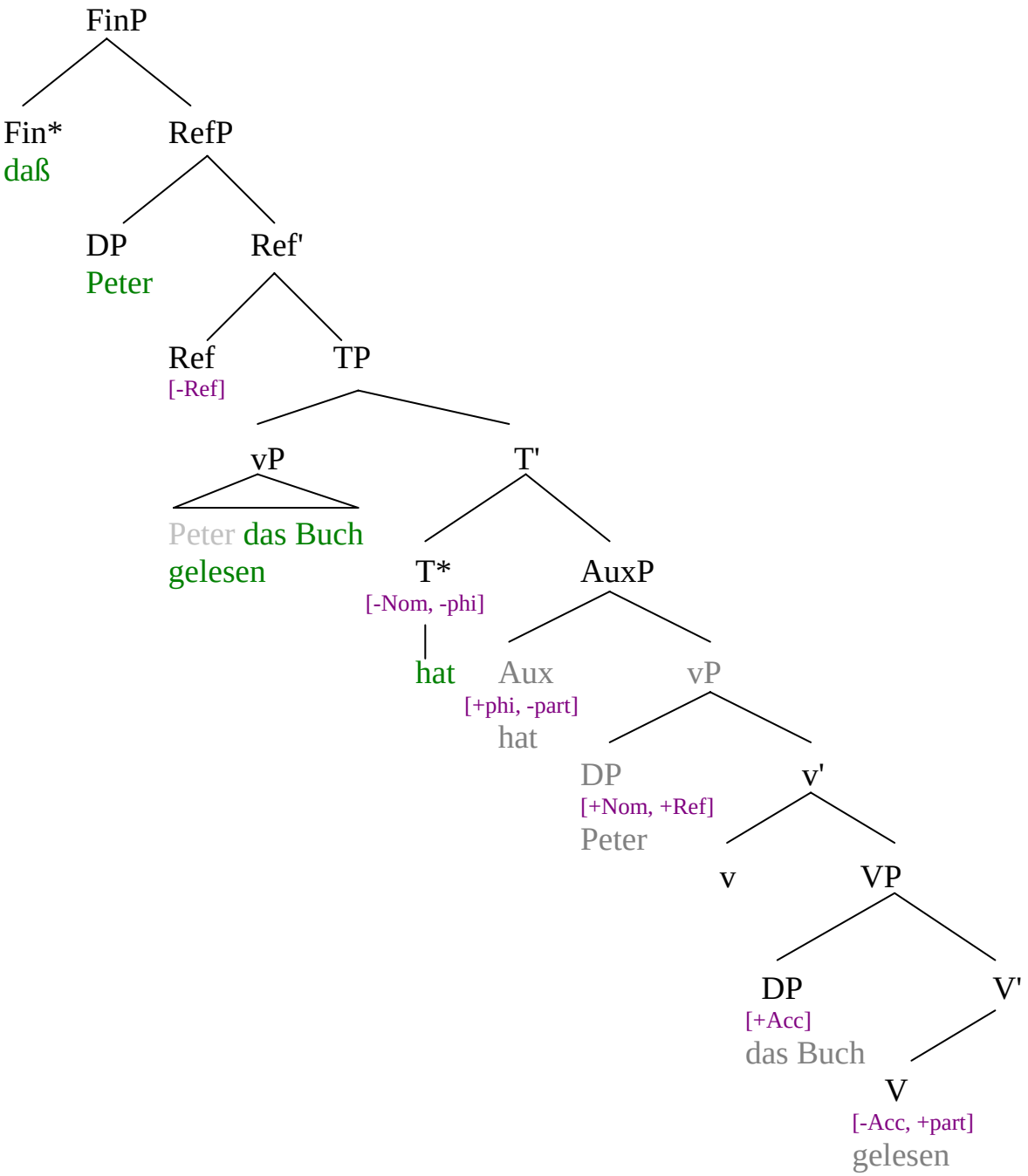
If Fin* is satisfied by merger of a particle (Welsh) or of a complementiser (German embedded clauses), the Extension Condition is met.

(2') Welsh – Fin* satisfied by Merge

(tree taken from Roberts 2000, therefore different "design")

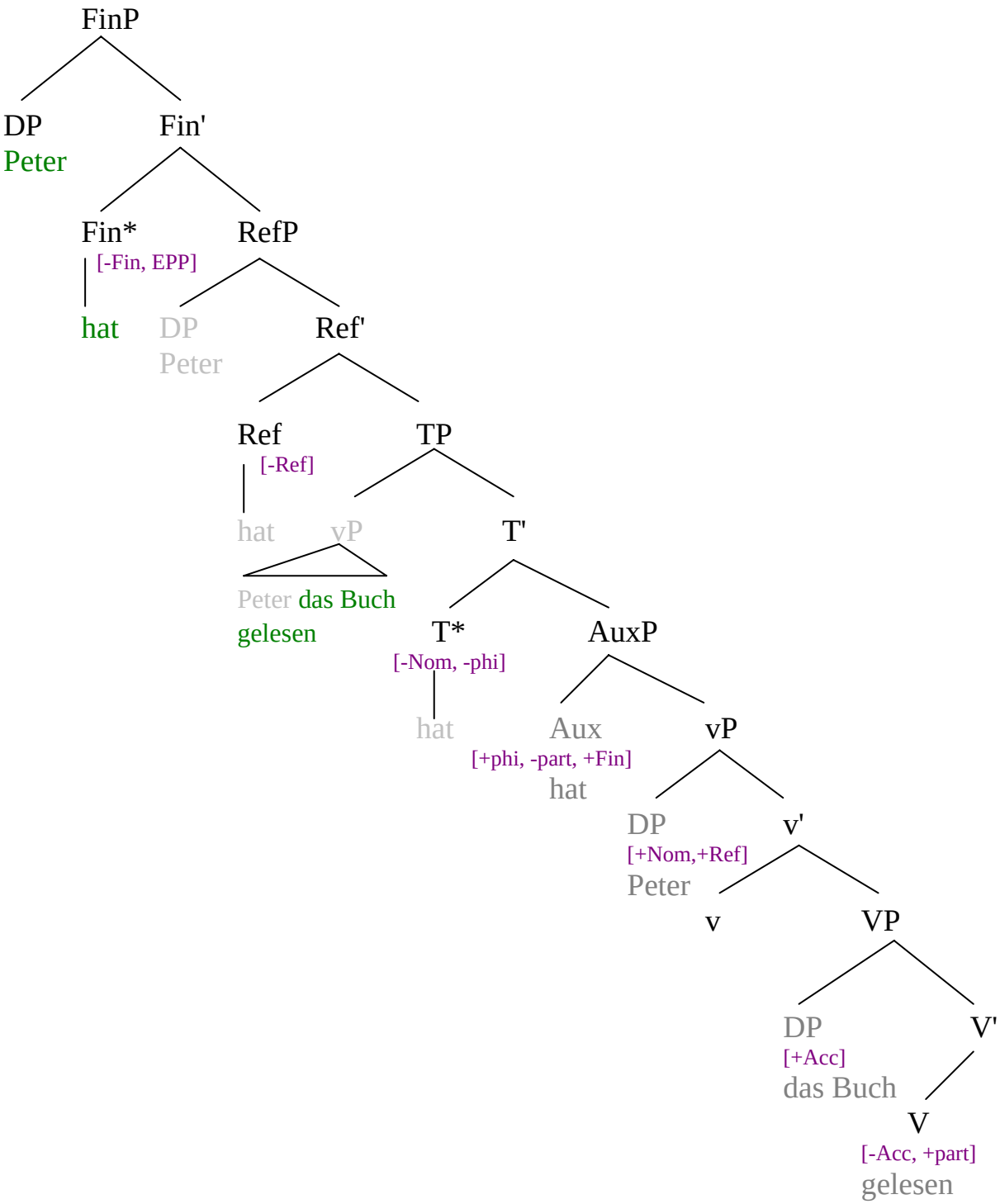


(3') German embedded clauses – Fin* satisfied by Merge

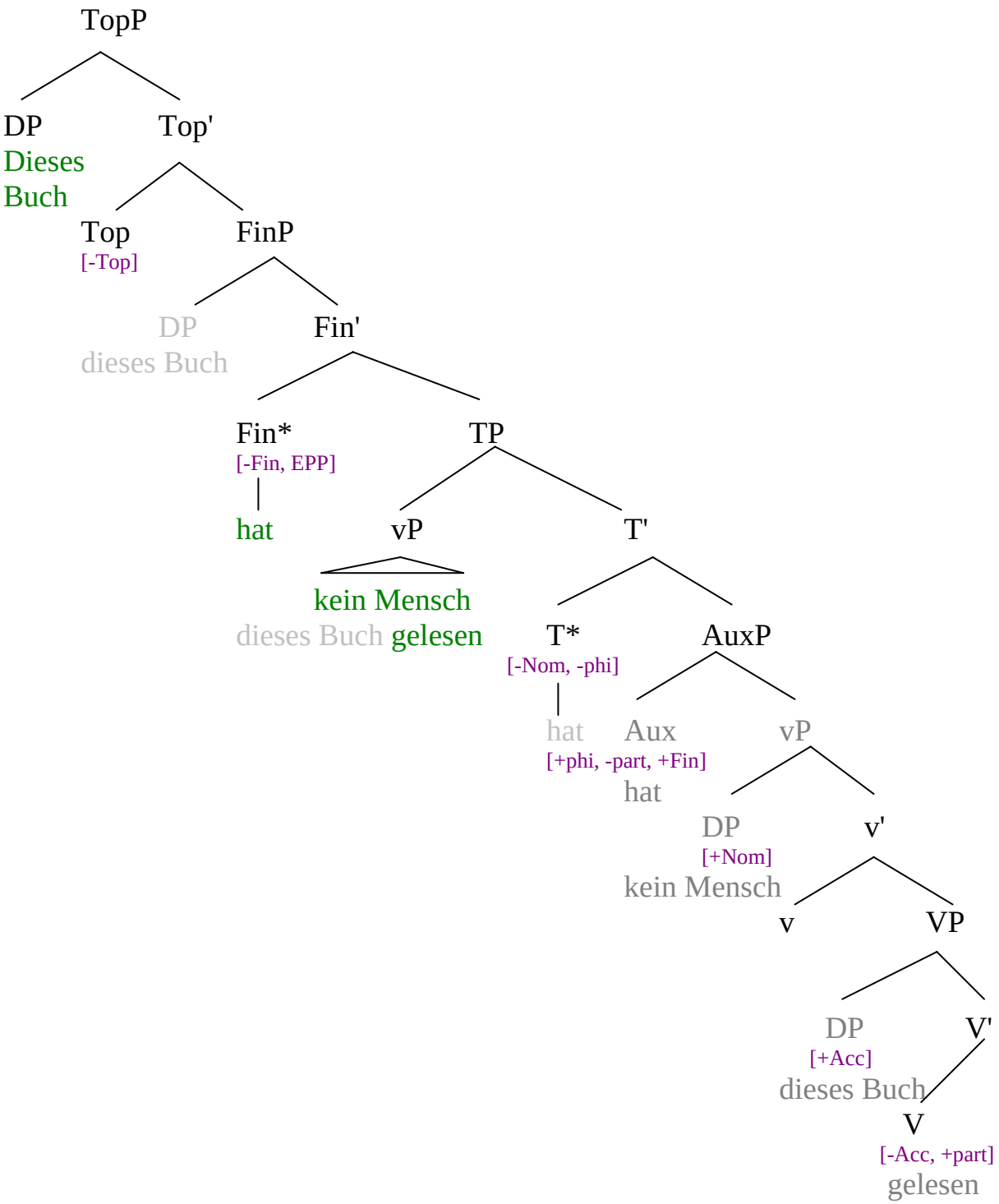


Note: The root-embedded asymmetry as illustrated in (4') and (3') is due to "checking" Fin* by Move or Merge, respectively.

(4') German main clauses – Fin* satisfied by Move



(5') German topicalisation



Move:

If Fin* is satisfied by V-movement, this operation alone does not satisfy the Extension Condition.

SOLUTION:

EPP-feature:

- "I need a Spec in order to extend my projection"
- Heads with a * that trigger X°-movement but have no other feature that requires XP-movement are automatically associated with an EPP-feature.
- Only T, Fin and Force can ever have an EPP-feature.
  - All other functional categories are discourse-related/interpretational and therefore only present if an XP needs to check a feature.

E.g. TopP is projected only if we have a topicalised XP.

– V-to-v movement does not affect the presence or absence of SpecvP because this presence or absence is determined by the type of verb (e.g. trans./unacc.).

The "New" Extension Condition

The Extension Condition is satisfied if as a result of all feature-checking on the given head the tree is extended at the root.

Relativised Minimality:

- All XPs that target the C-system are operators (subjects are underspecified and turn into operators once they are in SpecFinP), i.e. they are all of the same type

=> a topicalised XP cannot move across a subject in SpecFinP

=> Relativised Minimality rules out V3
=> The Extension Condition rules out V1

WHAT ABOUT THE "UNIVERSAL EPP" ON T?

- In most cases, what has been called the EPP reduces to [Nom]-Case checking in SpecTP

=> [Nom] is checked by a DP in SpecTP no matter whether T is overtly realised or not (see trees above)

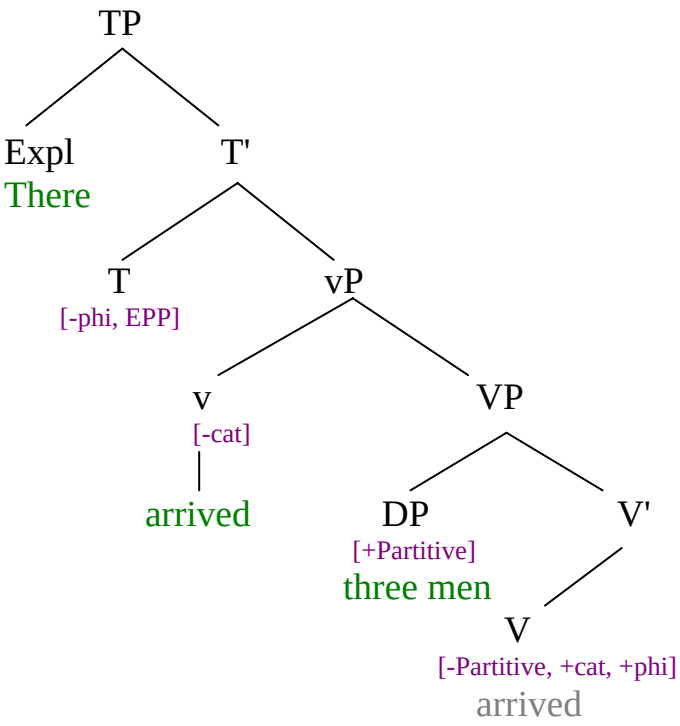
- Only if no Nominative is assigned in a clause, T is associated with an EPP-feature (independent of

whether we have T or T*)

=> if we have V-movement to T*, the EPP is clearly needed

=> if we have T, we can say that one part of TP has to be realised for some semantic reason (e.g. to locate the event in time) – if it isn't T, it must be SpecTP (6)

(6) English expletive *there* checking EPP on T



Phrased slightly differently:

– Both EPP and Case (here [Nom]) trigger movement (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001), so EPP is redundant if [Nom] is present (or the two features are collapsed)

- Null-subject languages may have T* which is satisfied by merger of inflectional affixes (cf. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998)

=> subsequent movement of the verb stem to bind these affixes does not qualify as syntactic X°-movement which requires that SpecTP be filled but is a morpho-logical operation (yet part of narrow syntax)

CONCLUSION:

- All verbal X°-movement is part of narrow syntax.

EITHER it is forced by the need to check some feature * (Q, Fin or phi) => then the head in question has to have an EPP-feature, or [-Nom] in the case of T
OR it is forced by the HMC (kind of look-ahead) as in T-to-Ref-to-Fin movement, where the Extension Condition is met anyway because Ref is only projected when a DP has to check its [+Ref]-feature.
OR it is morphologically triggered

- The EPP-feature is truly a feature which ensures that the projection is extended (i.e. its name is fully justified)

- The need to satisfy the Extension Condition and the presence of an EPP-feature are correlated.

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