2.

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Effects of self-attachment and the status of functional projections
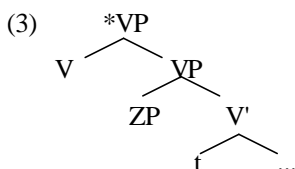
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Epstein 1998 discusses the effects of Full Interpretation (FI) and X-bar theory on the shape of LF representations. He argues that after checking with V a purely functional head F deletes (FI) and is replaced by V. Following X-bar theory (*$[_{FP}$ V]) all nodes labelled F, F', FP must then be replaced by V, V', VP. Thus the combination of FI and X-bar theory leads to LF representations that consist of recursive VPs, e.g. (1) has the LF in (2) (the situation is comparable in theories relating the occurrence of structure directly to verb movement, e.g. Ackema et al 1993, Nash and Rouveret 1997, Neeleman and Weerman 1999).
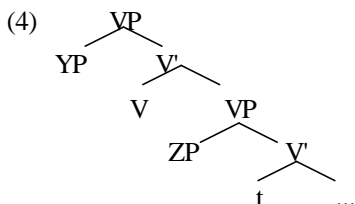
(1) $[_{CP}$ ... $[_C$ V+AgrO+T+AgrS+C] ... $[_{AgrSP}$ ...t... $[_{TP}$ ...t... $[_{AgrOP}$ ...t... $[_{VP}$ ...t...

(2) $[_{VP}$ ...V... $[_{VP}$ ...t... $[_{VP}$ ...t... $[_{VP}$ ...t... $[_{VP}$ ...t...

   Chomsky 1994 discusses structures created by self-attachment, i.e. structures in which the moved verb rather than the target projects. He argues that the self-attachment structure in (3) is ungrammatical.

(3)

The problem with (3) is that it violates the condition that the head of a phrase be uniquely defined (*$[_{XP}$ X X]). Both V and the trace are possible heads of the top node (V trivially, and the trace if V is taken to be adjoined to the lower VP). However if V has a specifier, the structure is grammatical (cf. Koeneman 1995):

(4)

Note that the self-attachment structure (4) resembles Epstein's LF representations.
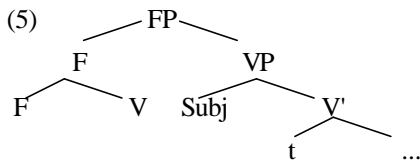
The combination of Epstein 1998 and Chomsky 1994 's arguments has surprising consequences. If functional projections (targeted by V) are VPs at LF, and self-attachment structures like (3) are ungrammatical, we get the following:

Prediction 1: There can be no (structurally) verb-initial structures.
(Any structure with V in a (derived) initial position will face the problems of (3).)

Prediction 2 (an extension of Prediction 1)**:** There can be no (verbal) functional projections that lack a specifier.
(The problems with (3) remain if the structure is embedded within a bigger structure: *[$_{VP}$ ZP V [$_{VP}$ YP V [$_{VP}$ XP V [$_{VP}$ WP V [$_{VP}$ V [$_{VP}$ UP V...)

Prediction 1 implicates the structure of VSO languages. To avoid the problems of (3) V must move to an initial functional head that does not delete, i.e. a head containing (at least) not exclusively checking features, as in (5).

(5)

```
              ___FP___
           F           VP
         /   \       /    \
        F     V    Subj    V'
                         /    \
                        t      ...
```

If F does not delete, every phrase has a uniquely defined head. This may explain the generalization that VSO languages typically have pre-verbal particles (cf. Carstairs-McCarthy 1999, Bury 2000).

Prediction 2 entails that there can be no parameters determining whether a particular (verbal) FP has a specifier or not. This rules out analyses where e.g. the occurrence of Spec-TP varies across languages (cf. Chomsky 1993, 1999, Bobaljik and Jonas 1996). Theories employing a highly articulated clausal architecture such as Cinque 1999 may also be affected by these arguments.

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