OBJECTIVE CASE CHECKING
AND PARAMETRIC VARIATION

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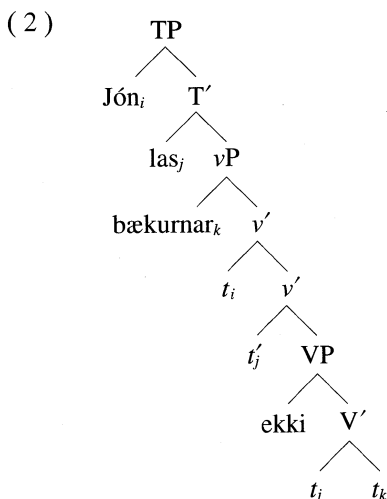
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This paper offers an analysis of objective Case checking as an alternative to Chomsky's (1995) anslysis where the so-called Object Shift in Icelandic is assumed to amount to overt objective Case checking. I argue that overt object movement for Case checking takes place within a projection of a verb and is different from Object Shift. Assuming that the Case feature of the verb is strong in English and Icelandic, and weak in French, we can explain some parametric differences among the languages.*

1. Introduction

Since Koopman (1984) and Travis (1984) Case has been widely assumed to be a factor in determining word order variation among languages. Icelandic Object Shift (OS) is another case that is often considered to be an instance of movement to a Case position (See Johnson (1991, 1994), Vikner (1991) and Chomsky (1995)). In Chomsky (1995), for example, a sentence like (1) is analyzed as having the structure in (2):
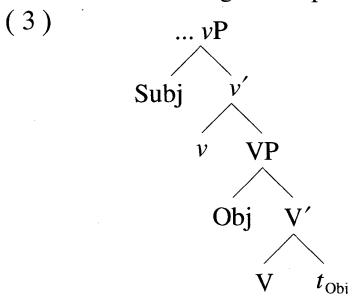
(1)   Jón las bækurnar ekki.
         John read the books not
         'John did not read the books.'

(2)

```
           TP
          /  \
       Jón_i   T'
             /  \
          las_j   vP
                /  \
      bækurnar_k    v'
                  /  \
               t_i    v'
                     /  \
                  t'_j    VP
                        /  \
                     ekki   V'
                          /  \
                       t_j    t_k
```

At the point of the derivation where the verb *las* has raised to the light verb *v* and the subject has been merged in its Spec position, the object *bækurnar* raises overtly to the outer Spec of *v* and its Case feature is checked against that of *las*.

It will be shown in this paper that the position to which objects shift in Icelandic, that is, [Spec, *v*P], is not a Case position and that overt objective Case checking takes place in [Spec, VP] as in (3).

(3)

```
          ... vP
           /  \
       Subj    v'
             /  \
           v     VP
               /  \
            Obj    V'
                 /  \
               V    t_Obj
```

Let us refer to this object raising within VP as Object Raising (OR). It is triggered by a strong Case feature of V. Essentially following Postal (1974), Johnson (1991, 1994), Koizumi (1993, 1995) and Runner

(1995), I will argue that overt OR takes place in English but not in French, which explains some differences between the two languages.[1] Furthermore, it will be shown that Icelandic is another language that is subject to overt OR.

The organization of this paper is as follows. In section 2, I will present and briefly discuss some of the basic assumptions to be adopted in this article. In section 3, we will see that in English object NPs overtly raise to [Spec, VP] to check the Case feature of the verb if they are not in a checking configuration with it, under the assumption that the Case feature of the verb is strong in principle in that language. Section 4 deals with objective Case checking in French. Some differences, especially, in word order between English and French will be explained on the assumption that the Case feature of the verb is weak in French. In section 5, I will argue that Icelandic is like English in that the Case feature of the verb is strong, and that OS must be distinguished from OR.   Section 6 is a summary and conclusion.

2.   Basic Assumptions

The major assumptions I will adopt in the following discussion are given below:

(4)   a.   The formal features (FFs) of a verb can contain a strong [−Interpretable] feature, and therefore can trigger overt movement.

   b.   Adverbs are inserted by Merge into the specifier position of a head that is compatible with the meaning of the adverbs. The insertion of lexical items which do not enter into feature checking is possible only before checking takes place.

   c.   Not only Attract but also Merge participates in feature checking in a checking domain.

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[1] To derive the effect of overt OR in English, Koizumi (1993, 1995) and Runner (1995) claim that N-feature of AGRo is strong in English. If the claim is reinterpreted in the present AGR-less theory, one possibility would be that D-feature of v is strong in the language, which brings wrong results as we will see below. Another possibility would be that Case feature of V is strong, a position I will take in this paper. The latter is, however, not totally the same as Koizumi and Runner's original claim, to which we will return in section 4.2.1.

(4a) amounts to saying that there can be overt raising to [Spec, VP] in some languages. I will argue that English is such a language. Thus the object in (5) overtly moves to [Spec, VP] to check the strong Case feature of the verb:

(5)   John read$_i$ [$_{VP}$ the book$_j$ t_i t_j].

(4a) leads us to abandon the assumption that only functional categories but not lexical categories can contain a strong feature and bear on language variation. As Chomsky (1995: 6) says, whether the assumption is right is not so clear (cf. Borer (1984), Fukui (1986, 1988)). (4a) does not mean that any kind of feature in lexical and functional categories can induce overt movement. What is responsible for language variation, then, lies in FFs that are not interpretable at the interface.[2]

(4b) regulates the occurrence of adverbs. The intuitive idea behind it is that if checking has such a function as closing the projection of categories, it should prohibit Merge from inserting adverbs after checking takes place (cf. Takano (1996: 89-90)). Multiple checking by more than one element is still possible, however, as far as unchecked strong features remain.

There should be a selectional restriction between a head and its complement in one way or another: C selects TP, T selects vP and so on. I thus assume that adverbs cannot be generated in the complement position of a head. It depends on the theory whether adverbs are generated in a specifier position or in an adjoined position, or more generally, whether some element is inserted into a specifier position or into an adjoined position (see Kayne (1994), Fukui and Saito (1996)). In Chomsky (1995: 235) an adverb like *probably* can be adjoined to TP:

(6)   a.   [$_{TP}$ John [$_{TP(\rightarrow T')}$ probably [$_{TP(\rightarrow T')}$ has left already]]]
         b.   [$_{TP}$ There [$_{TP(\rightarrow T')}$ probably [$_{TP(\rightarrow T')}$ will be snow tomorrow]]]

After the adjunction has taken place, the subject is attracted into the

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[2] A more restrictive assumption is that parameters are restricted to [−Interpretable] FFs of nonsubstantive categories. Taking the light verb into consideration, Chomsky (1995) introduces a distinction between substantive and nonsubstantive categories instead of the functional vs. lexical distinction. Both of the two distinctions are, however, difficult to maintain if adjectives, which are substantive and lexical, can bear a strong [nominal-] feature (Chomsky (1995: 353)).

specifier position of T.   The question is whether it is permissible in building a structure to project a two-segment category to form a new category TP?   A natural way to avoid such a question would be to permit the insertion of an adverb into the specifier position by Merge.

Let us now turn to (4c).   It means that checking takes place automatically when a checking configuration is formed, or when the Spec-Head relation is established.   Thus, in (7), the Case feature of *the book* is checked at the same time as it is merged into the specifier position of the verb:[3]

(7)   [$_{TP}$ John$_i$ T [t_i put$_j$ [$_{VP}$ the book t_i on the desk]]

Furthermore, the subject *John* enters into checking relation with the verb in the position of [Spec, vP] and has its agreement features checked there although there is no overt agreement on the verb in this case.

The status of these assumptions is quite familiar in that they are verified as long as my analysis in what follows is empirically correct.

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[3] By adopting (4c), we can reduce the number of additional movements especially at LF, minimizing the computational load.   In Serbo-Croatian, not only the auxiliary verb but also the past participle shows overt agreement with the subject as in (i):

(i)   Oni su poljubili Mariju.
        they are kissed-pl Maria
        'They kissed Maria.'   (Bošković (1995b: n. 222, p. 210))

The subject checks off the features of the main verb adjoined to v as the former is inserted into [Spec, vP] by Merge.   Thus covert movement of the verb is unnecessary.

This assumption is crucial only to subjects in the following discussion, particularly, in the discussion of Icelandic OS in section 5.2.   It will also become crucial in checking the Case feature of the object in double object constructions, which I will not discuss here.

Notice that I am now adopting the "mixed" structural/operational distinction between checking and θ-relations, abandoning Chomsky's operational (Attract vs. Merge) distinction.   Thus checking relations are determined only in checking domains, and θ-relations are established only by Merge.   There is no structural/operational complementarity between these relations.   Cf. Bobaljik (1995).

Finally, I tentatively assume that the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) applies to the output of Morphology to determine word order and that overt syntax provides the LCA with relevant configurational structures.

3.   Objective Case Checking in English

3.1.   Overt Object Raising

Let us first consider how objective Case checking is performed in English.   Chomsky (1995) proposes (8a) as the clause structure of English at the point of Spell-Out.   (8b) is the structure I postulate for English:

(8)   a.   TP

```
             TP
            /  \
       Subj_i   T'
               /  \
          (Adv1)   T'
                  /  \
                 T    vP
                     /  \
                (Adv2)   vP
                        /  \
                      t_i   v'
                           /  \
                        V-v    VP
                              /  \
                         (Adv3)   V'
                                 /  \
                               t_v   Obj
```

b.   TP

```
             TP
            /  \
       Subj_i   T'
               /  \
          (Adv1)   T'
                  /  \
                 T    vP
                     /  \
                    t_i   v'
                         /  \
                    (Adv2)   v'
                            /  \
                         V-v    VP
                               /  \
                          Obj_j    V'
                                  /  \
                             (Adv3)   V'
                                     /  \
                                   t_v   t_j
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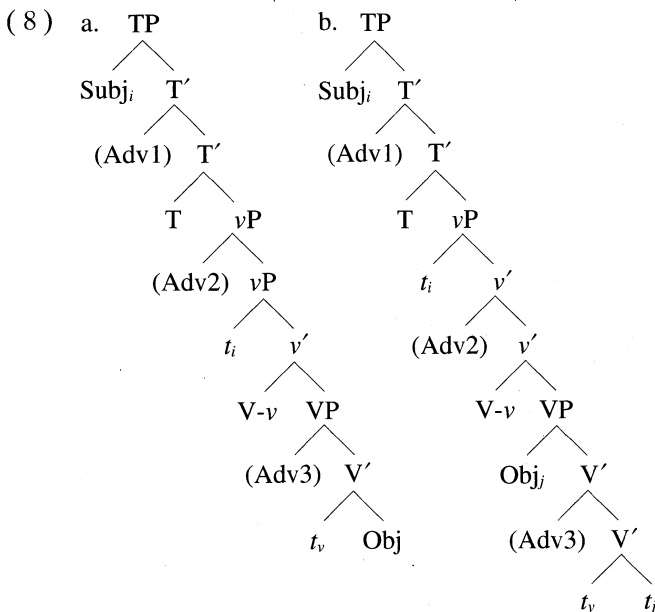
In (8a), the subject moves overtly to [Spec, TP] to satisfy the strong EPP feature of T.   (The formal features (FF) of) the object, on the other hand, moves covertly to T to which V-v adjoins.   Essentially, adverbs are possible only in those specified positions (Adv1, Adv2, and Adv3) in (8a).   Adv1 is a typical S(entential)-adverb position, and Adv2 and Adv3 are positions for VP-adverbs like *often* (see Chomsky (1995: 330-331)).

Focussing on the latter two adverb positions, let us consider how basic facts in (9)-(11) are derived in Chomsky's system:

(9)   a.   *John reads often books.

      b.   John reads often to his children.

(10) a. John often reads books.
    b. John often reads to his children.
(11) a. *John reads every day books.
    b. John reads every day to his children.
    c. *John every day reads to his children.

(9) shows that *often* can intervene between the verb and its preposi-
tional object but not between the verb and its NP object. The same
is true of *every day* as in (11a, b). While *often* may also show up
preverbally as in (10), *every day* cannot do so as in (11c). This
contrast is straightforwardly accounted for if we assume that while *often*
can occupy either Adv2 or Adv3, *every day* can appear only in the
position of Adv3.

As for the contrast between (9a, 11a) and (9b, 11b), Chomsky (1995:
331-332, n.104) attributes it to the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) on
the assumption that adverbs share certain features with NPs that V-v
can attract. The MLC blocks covert movement of the FFs of the
object in (9a) and (11a), the adverb being closer to the target V-v.[4]
Thus the Case feature of the object, which is [−Interpretable], remains
unchecked, causing the derivation to crash. The expected LF of (9a),
for example, is (9′a):

(9′) a. $[_{TP}$ John$_i$ T $[_{vP}$ t_i reads$_j$ $[_{VP}$ often t_j books]]]
            FF(V)_____t
            FF(Obj)_____*_____t

The grammaticality of (9b) and (11b) is assured as long as PPs need not
move.

This explanation of (9) and (11a, b) has two problems. First, if
adverbs block movement of an NP in their c-commanding domain,
overt movement of the subject over Adv2 to [Spec, TP] should also be
blocked for the very same reason (see fn. 4). As is clear from (10),
this expectation is not borne out. And, for that matter, even if this
movement were permitted, covert object raising over Adv2 to T would
be also blocked in (10a). Second, Chomsky's explanation cannot
extend to French. The S V Adv O order in (9a) is permitted in

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[4] For this explanation to hold, the definition of closeness should be (i):
(i) β is *closer* to the target K than α if β c-commands α.

(Chomsky (1995: 358))

I also assume the simple definition (i) in the following discussion. For an
alternative definition, see Chomsky (1995: 356), Ura (1995) and Collins (1996).

French (see Emonds (1978) and Pollock (1989)).   I will return to the latter problem in section 4.

Let us then assume that the clause structure of English is (8b), where the object overtly raises to [Spec, VP] and the adverb is inserted before OR (see (4b)).   Given (8b), (9a-b) are analyzed as having the following structures:

($9''$)   a.   [$_{TP}$ John$_i$ T [$_{vP}$ t_i reads$_j$ [$_{VP}$ often t_j books]]]

   b.   [$_{TP}$ John$_i$ T [$_{vP}$ t_i reads$_j$ [$_{VP}$ often t_j to his children]]]

From the fact that the verb *read* optionally takes an NP complement, we can see that it optionally specified as [+Acc], which I argue is strong in English (see (4a)).   Suppose first that the verb contains [+Acc].   According to the definition of the strong feature (see Chomsky (1995: 232-235)), the derivation of ($9''$a) itself, where *books* has not raised to [Spec, VP], is not possible.[5]   In ($9''$b), where the complement is a PP, the strong [+Acc] feature remains unchecked and this derivation is canceled.[6]   Suppose next that the verb does not contain [+Acc].   The derivation of ($9''$a) still does not converge, since the [−Interpretable] Case feature of *books* is left unchecked at LF, although it is not strong.   This problem does not arise in ($9''$b), since the PP does not have a Case feature.   Thus, only the derivation of ($9''$b) converges.

(10a-b) are analyzed as follows:

(10$'$)   a.   [$_{TP}$ John$_i$ T [$_{vP}$ t_i often reads$_j$ [$_{VP}$ books$_k$ t_j t_k]]]

   b.   [$_{TP}$ John$_i$ T [$_{vP}$ t_i often reads$_j$ [$_{VP}$ t_j to his children]]]

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[5] Actually, *books* raises to [Spec, VP] and thus we get (i):

(i)   John reads books often.

I will not deal with sentence-initial adverbs and sentence-final adverbs except ones like *often* in (i) in this paper, and take only sentence-internal adverbs into consideration.

[6] Chomsky (1995: 309) distinguishes between cancellation and nonconvergence as follows:

(i)   "... cancellation of a derivation under mismatch should be distinguished from nonconvergence.   The latter permits a different convergent derivation to be constructed if possible. ... If the optimal derivation creates a mismatch, we are not permitted to pursue a nonoptimal alternative."

Notice that it is assumed in Chomsky (1995: 234) that the derivation D is canceled if α with a strong feature is in a category not headed by α.   In this paper, I adopt Chomsky's terminology.   But as an anonymous reviewer points out, cancellation and crash do not make any difference in cases like ($9''$b) since there is no second optimal derivation.

The adverb appears preverbally and thus corresponds to Adv2 in (8b). If the verb contains [+Acc], only the derivation in (10′a) with overt OR converges. In this analysis, there is no need to assume that adverbs share certain features with NPs that V can attract. And hence, they do not block OR in (10′a). In (10′b), where a PP is selected, the strong feature of the verb remains unchecked and the derivation is canceled.

If the verb does not contain [+Acc], on the other hand, only the derivation in (10′b) converges. In (10′a), where an NP is selected, the Case feature of the NP is not checked and the derivation does not converge.

Let us turn to (11). (11a-c) have the following structures at Spell-Out point:

(11′) a. [$_{TP}$ John$_i$ T [$_{vP}$ t_i reads$_j$ [$_{VP}$ every day t_j books]]]
       b. [$_{TP}$ John$_i$ T [$_{vP}$ t_i reads$_j$ [$_{VP}$ every day t_j to his children]]]
       c. [$_{TP}$ John$_i$ T [$_{vP}$ t_i every day reads$_j$ [$_{VP}$ t_j to his children]]]

The contrast between (10a) and (10b) can be explained in exactly the same way as (8a, b). The unacceptability of (10c) is accounted for by simply assuming that *every day* can appear in [Spec, VP] but not in [Spec, vP], as mentioned above.[7]

We have so far seen how the basic word order in (9)-(11) is derived based on (8b). The point is that OR takes place overtly in English and that the landing site is [Spec, VP].

3.2. Overt Object Raising for Case Checking

In this section, I will present three pieces of evidence for the claim that the Case feature of the verb is strong in principle and overt OR can take place in English.

3.2.1.. ECM Constructions

Since Postal (1974), ECM constructions like (12) have been used as

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[7] The possibility of the occurrence of adverbs is quite idiosyncratic. Masayuki Ike-uchi provides me with the following data:
(i) a. Kevin Mitchell, who *daily* wears his "Hit Dog" T-Shirt under his uniform, is being used as ...
       b. Two managers *last week* said San Diego's Trevor Hoffman and Houston's Billy Wagner are the two best closers ...
                                        (*The Boston Globe*, August 18, 1996)
(i) shows that *daily*, *last week* and so on can appear in [Spec, vP].

empirical evidence for the existence of overt movement to the object position in English:

(12) a. I have found Bob recently to be morose.

(Postal (1974: 146))

b. I've believed John for a long time now to be a liar.

(Kayne (1985: 114))

cf. *I have found recently Bob to be morose.

The adverbs appearing after the infinitival subject are construed as modifying the matrix VP, which implies that the infinitival subject is out of the complement clause. It is known that not every native speaker of English agrees with the acceptability of sentences like (12). Furthermore, according to Stowell (1991), manner adverbials tend to offer more resistance to appearing in the position than time adverbials:[8]

(13) a. *John believed Mary repeatedly to have left.

(with an intended interpretation)

b. *John believed Mary sincerely to have left.

(Stowell (1991: 189))

As Johnson (1991) points out, however, even sentences like (13) improve when *Wh*-movement or passivization applies as in (14):

(14) a. Who does Mary believe sincerely to be a fool?

b. Mikey was believed sincerely to be intelligent.

(Johnson (1991: 584, n. 5, p. 588))

This suggests that sentences like (13) must be regarded as underlying sentences like (14).

Thus the sentences in (12) can be taken as a piece of evidence for the claim that objective Case is checked in the overt syntax in English. Given the structure of (8b), (12a) is, roughly speaking, assigned a structure like (15):

(15) $[_{TP}$ I$_i$ have $[_{vP}$ t$_i$ found$_j$ $[_{VP}$ Bob$_k$ recently t$_j$ $[_{IP}$ t$_k$ to be morose]]]]

Note at this point that (12) would be problematic to Chomsky's (1995) analysis even if the Case feature of the verb were assumed to be

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[8] Weak pronouns still seem to be acceptable as in (i):

(i) a. I believe him$_i$ irrefutably $[t_i$ to be a liar].

b. I suspect him$_i$ strongly $[t_i$ to be a liar].   (Authier (1991: 729))

This behavior of weak pronouns stems from their clitic-like nature, to which we will return below.

strong in English.   In (8a), overt object raising is identified as movement to [Spec, vP] but not to [Spec, VP].   Therefore, (12) should have the OV order as in (16), contrary to fact:[9]

(16)   [$_{TP}$ I$_i$ have [$_{vP}$ t_i Bob$_k$ found$_j$ [$_{VP}$ recently t_j [$_{IP}$ t_k to be morose]]]]

3.2.2.   The Expletive in the Object Position

A second piece of evidence for the claim that the Case feature of the verb is strong in English comes from the existence of an expletive element in the "object position."   Postal and Pullum (1988) argue that an expletive can appear in the object position as in (17):[10]

(17)   a.   They never mentioned it to the candidate that the job was poorly paid.

b.   We can take it for granted that there will be an appeal.

c.   I regret it very much that we could not hire Mosconi.

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[9] Notice that if our line of argument is correct, it implies that the expletive *there* bears Case in (i) (see Bošković (1995b)):
(i)   John believes there to be no solution to the problem.
This is not implausible if we take sentences like (i) into consideration:
(ii)   a.   For there to be many flowers on the table would make us happy.
       b.   *There to be for many flowers on the table would make us happy.
The expletive can only appear in the "Case position." If the expletive were inserted only to check the strong D feature of T, (iib) would converge. It is not clear at this point, however, how the Case feature of the expletive is checked.   It might be that the expletive would check the Case feature of T but the Case feature of the expletive would not be deleted and need further checking by the associate.
If *there* occupies the position of [Spec, VP] in (i), adverbial elements are expected to be able to follow the expletive.   This expectation, however, is not borne out as in (iiia):
(iii)   a.   *We proved there to the authorities to be a thief among us.
       b.   *We proved to the authorities there to be a thief among us.
                                                        (Takano (1996: 203))
We now can only speculate that some additional factor is involved in (iiia).   Note, furthermore, that the acceptability of sentences like (iv) is not clear among speakers:
(iv)   a.   I've believed it for a long time to be always hot and humid there.
       b.   They've believed advantage for a long time to have been taken of them.
For those speakers who judge (iv) to be unacceptable, a similar factor might be involved.   I will leave this problem unsolved.
[10] Bolinger (1973) and Rothstein (1995) take a different position that *it* in structures like (17) is not an expletive, a possibility I will not pursue in this paper.

If the Case feature of the verb were checked covertly in English as Chomsky (1995) argues, the expletive *it* should not be present in that position. The analysis here, coupled with the standard assumption that CPs do not bear a Case feature, can correctly predict the position of the expletive.[11]   Let us see how (17a), for example, is derived in my system:

(17′)   a. $[_{TP}$ They$_i$ T $[_{\nu P}$ t_i never mentioned$_j$ $[_{VP}$ it $[_{V'}$ to the candidate t_j $[_{CP}$ that ...]]]]]

After the stage where *mentioned* and its CP complement were merged, the PP *to the candidate* is merged as [Spec, VP]. (If the light verb were inserted at this point of the derivation, the strong Case feature of V would not be checked.) *It* is then inserted as a second specifier of V to correctly check off the strong feature. *They* is generated as a specifier of the light verb to which the verb *mentioned* is attached, and then moves to [Spec, TP] to check the strong EPP feature of T. This finally derives (17a). The "expletive in the subcategorized position" is thus identified as the one in [Spec, VP].[12]

We have thus far seen that clauses cannot check off the strong Case feature of the verb and that an expletive element is inserted to check the feature. This does not mean, however, that the expletive always appears when a CP is selected as a complement of the verb that has an ability to assign Case. Consider the following sentences:

(18)   I blame *(it) on you that we can't go.

(19)   a.   They mentioned (it) to the candidate that the job was poorly paid.

   b.   We require (it) of our employees that they wear a tie.

(Iwakura (1994: 134, 138))

While the existence of the expletive is obligatory in (18), it is optional in (19). This indicates that not only the ability of Case assignment but also its obligatoriness depends on the individual verb. The contrast is easily accounted for if we assume that the verb in (18) always bears a strong Case feature and the verbs in (19) optionally do so.[13]

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[11] See Noji (1997) for the discussion of sentential subjects.

[12] There arise some problems with Reinhart (1980), Stowell (1981) and Iwakura (1994) who essentially argue that the expletive in (17) shows up after CP extraposition. But I will not enter into details due to space limitation.

[13] Sentences like (18) will be a problem with Bošković's (1995a) claim that clauses may be Case-marked.

3.2.3. Verb Particle Constructions

In this subsection, we will see that verb-particle constructions con-
stitute the third evidence for the claim that objective Case is strong in
English. As is well known, the particle in verb-particle constructions
can show up in two different positions as in (20):

(20) a. John looked up the reference.
      b. John looked the reference up.

This "particle movement" is restricted to cases where an NP is selected
as the object and is otherwise impossible as in (21) and (22):

(21) a. John teamed up with Bill.
      b. *John teamed with Bill up.
(22) a. She pointed out that he was wrong.
      b. *She pointed that he was wrong out.

(Kayne (1985: 104, 106))

Johnson (1991, 1994) attributes the contrast between (20) and (21, 22)
to Case reasons and argues that object NPs move to be Case-marked.

The subject of the infinitival complement of ECM predicates behaves
like ordinary NP objects with respect to the particle movement as
shown in (23):

(23) a. Mikey made out George to be a liar.
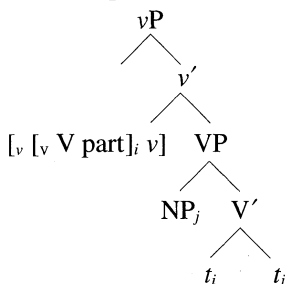   b. Mikey made George out to be a liar.

(Johnson (1991: 595))

The question is how the two patterns of verb-particle constructions
are derived. Based on the checking system here with overt OR, they
can be assigned the following structures (irrelevant parts of the struc-
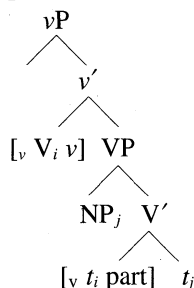ture are omitted):[14]

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[14] The analysis here is in the same spirit as Johnson's (1991) mentioned just
above, which is proposed in the GB framework. The latter analysis has several
problems the details of which I will not enter into here.

Following Keyser and Roeper (1992), I assume that the verbal complex is formed
by generating a particle in the clitic position within a verb.

(24)   a. V-particle-NP   b. V-NP-particle

vP vP

v' v'

$[_v [_v \text{V part}]_i v]$ VP $[_v \text{V}_i v]$ VP

NP$_j$ V$'$ NP$_j$ V$'$

t_i t_j $[_v t_i \text{ part}]$ t_j

Whether the particle precedes the object depends on whether it raises to v with the verb, which would be a problem of pied-piping ((20a) vs. (20b)). (21b) and (22b) are now ruled out, since PPs and CPs are never raised for Case reasons. Notice that the contrast between (20b) and (21-22b) cannot be accounted for in Chomsky (1995) as it stands.

This analysis of verb-particle constructions predicts that adverbs can appear in the following positions (see (8b)):

(25)   a.   John (Adv2) looked up the number (Adv3)
        b.   John (Adv2) looked the number (Adv3) up

The prediction is basically borne out (see Bolinger (1971) and Fraser (1974) *inter alia*):[15]

(26)   a.   John (carefully) looked (*carefully) up (*carefully) the number (carefully).
        b.   John (carefully) looked (*carefully) the number (carefully) up.

Let us now consider the cases in which a weak pronoun is selected as a complement of the verb-particle complex as in (27, 28):

(27)   a.   *Mikey looked up it.
        b.   Mikey looked it up.

(28)   a.   *Mikey made out him to be a liar.
        b.   Mikey made him out to be a liar. (Johnson (1991: 595))

Suppose that weak pronouns must cliticize to the main verb (see fn. 8). If the verbal complex as a whole moves to the light verb as in (24a),

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[15] The data is somewhat idealized, and (26) is a representative paradigm. Acceptability differs among individual verb-particle constructions. For different judgments, particularly, on Adv3 in (25b), see Johnson (1991). It may be that adverbs that can appear in this position are limited in class. For dialectal differences, see Koizumi (1993).

the pronoun in [Spec, VP] cannot attach to the main verb in it due to the intervening particle. If the main verb alone moves to the light verb as in (24b), the pronoun can attach to it. This accounts for the above facts.

In this section, we have seen three pieces of evidence for the claim that objective Case checking takes place overtly in English and have demonstrated that the present analysis with the assumption that English verbs can contain a strong Case feature makes correct predictions as to the data so far presented.[16]

4.   French

As is pointed out in Emonds (1978) and Pollock (1989), there are some systematic differences in word order between English and French. In this section, we will see that although they are problematic to Chomsky's (1995) analysis (see section 3.1), they can be correctly captured in my system by assuming that the Case feature of the verb is weak in French (see Koizumi (1995)).

4.1.   Covert Object Raising

Let us begin with some basic facts in French.   In finite clauses, the verb precedes VP-adverbs like *souvent* as in (29a) and *pas*, a negative, as in (29b):

> (29)   a.   Jean (*souvent) embrasse (souvent) Marie.
> John   often   kisses   often   Mary
> 'John often kissed Mary.'

---

[16] As an anonymous reviewer points out, sentences like (ia) and (ii) would be a problem even under the analysis here:
> (i)   a.   *John pointed to me out that he was wrong.
>   b.   John pointed out to me that he was wrong.
> (ii)   *John teamed carelessly up with Bill.

A possible way to explain (ia) would be to explore the possibility of generating CP as [Spec, VP], which is realized to the right side (see Chomsky (1995: n. 77, p. 388)):
> (iii)   a.   John pointed [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ [$_v$ t_v out] to me] that he was wrong].
>   b.   John pointed out [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ t_v to me] that he was wrong].

As for the acceptability of sentences like (ii), I could not obtain a proper idealization (see fn. 15).

    b.   Pierre ne (*pas) mange (pas).

        Pierre ne   not eats   not

        'Pierre does not eat.'   (Pollock (1989: 367, 393))

In nonfinite clauses, on the other hand, the verb can both precede and follow VP-adverbs as in (30), and can never precede *pas* as in (31) (Pollock (1989: 374, 378–379)):

    (30)   (Complètement) perdre (complètement) la tête

            completely   to lose completely   one's head

            pour les belles étudiantes, c'est   dangereux!

            for pretty students   that is dangerous

            'To lose completely one's head over pretty students is dangerous!'

    (31)   Ne (pas) regarder (*pas) la télévision consolide

            ne not   watch   not the television strengthens

            l'esprit critique.

            one's independence

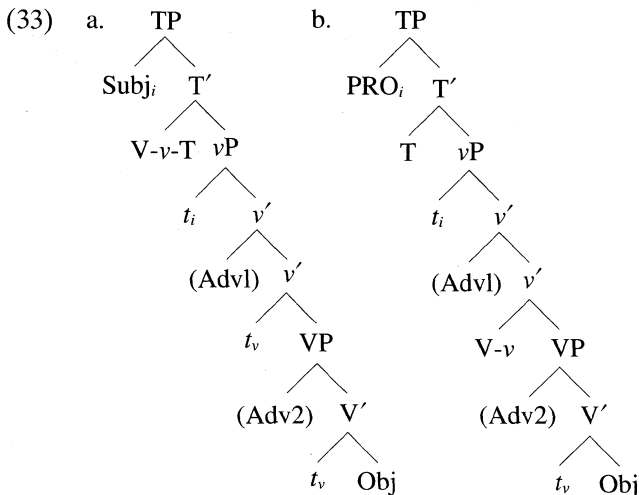   'Not to watch television strengthens one's independence.'

   As we have seen in section 3.1, VP-adverbs never intervene between the verb and its object in English.   To explain the difference between the two languages, Pollock (1989) argues that the verb can overtly move to AGR (and then to T when T is specified as [+finite]) in French but not in English:

    (32)   [$_{TP}$ NP T (Neg) [$_{AGRP}$ AGR [$_{VP}$ (Adv) V NP]]]

This argument cannot be carried over to Chomsky's (1995) system even if AGR is reinterpreted as the light verb.   This is because, as I argued above (see the discussion around the (a) examples of (9) and (11)), the MLC blocks covert object raising over the adverb, and thus the V-Adv-NP order is wrongly excluded.

   This problem does not arise in my analysis.   The difference in word order between the two languages follows if we simply assume that object NPs do not overtly raise to [Spec, VP] in French, that is, the Case feature of the verb is weak in French.   The structures postulated for French are the following:[17]

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(33)   a.   TP   b.   TP

           Subj$_i$ T′   PRO$_i$ T′

              V-v-T vP   T vP

                  t_i v′ t_i v′

               (Advl) v′   (Advl) v′

                    t_v VP   V-v VP

                 (Adv2)   V′   (Adv2)   V′

                      t_v Obj t_v Obj

(33a) is the structure of finite clauses at the point of Spell-Out and (33b), that of nonfinite clauses. V is assumed to raise to v, and further to T in finite clauses. Let us further assume that as in English, VP-adverbs like *souvent* are merged into the specifier position of v or V, that is, Advl or Adv2 (see (4b)). Whichever position the adverb occupies, then, it cannot precede the verb in finite clauses, which explains (29a). The Case feature of the object is attracted and checked at LF by the Case feature of V which has been adjoined to T. Adverbs do not block the feature movement just because they have no Case feature.

In nonfinite clauses, on the other hand, VP-adverbs can precede and follow the verb, deriving (30). In order to explain (30), Pollock had to stipulate that the V-to-AGR movement in (32) is optional in nonfinite clauses. Such a stipulation is not needed in the analysis here, a welcome result.

Advl can also be an appropriate position for a negative like *pas* although its category might be Neg.[18] This accounts for the contrast between (29b) and (31).

_____

[18] If so, then *pas* and *not* can be treated in the same way as *ekki* in Icelandic, which will be discussed in section 5. I do not, however, intend to totally exclude the possibility of negatives forming their own projections, NegPs, or being in [Spec, NegP], which in no way affects the discussion below. So let us suppose that negatives appear in the position of Advl.

4.2.   Additional Evidence

If this line of argument is on the right track, English and French should show further differences with respect to ECM constructions, expletive elements, and verb-particle constructions.   Using them as diagnostics, I will present additional evidence for the claim that objective Case checking takes place covertly in French.

4.2.1.   ECM Constructions

Let us start with ECM constructions.   If the Case feature of the verb is weak in French, the infinitival subject in ECM constructions would never move (over the matrix VP-adverb) to [Spec, VP] (cf. (12)).

To begin with, as Kayne (1984: 110-111) points out, there are no ECM constructions in French as shown in (34b):

(34)   a.   I believe/acknowledge/have determined John to be the most intelligent of all.

   b.   *Je crois/reconnais/constate Jean être le plus intelligent de tous.

Therefore we cannot directly examine whether the assumption about French is correct or not.   But an indirect argument for it is still possible.

One might argue that (34b) will be expected to be acceptable even in the analysis here because the EPP feature of the embedded T needs to be checked.   Notice, however, that the movement of NPs just to check off the EPP feature of T should be prohibited as in (35) and (36) (Bošković (1995b: 131)):[19]

(35)   a.   *$[_{IP} [_{IP} \text{John}_i \text{ to seem } [_{IP} t_i [_{VP} t_i \text{ likes Mary}]]]_j \text{ is believed } t_j]$

   b.   *$[_{IP} [_{IP} \text{PRO}_i \text{ to be illegal } [_{IP} t_i \text{ to } [_{VP} t_i \text{ park there}]]]_j \text{ is believed } t_j]$

(36)   a.   *the belief $[_{IP} \text{John}_i \text{ to seem } [_{IP} t_i [_{VP} t_i \text{ likes Mary}]]]$

   b.   *the belief $[_{IP} \text{PRO}_i \text{ to be illegal } [_{IP} t_i \text{ to } [_{VP} t_i \text{ park there}]]]$

Bošković (1995b) attributes the ungrammaticality of these sentences, which is problematic to Chomsky's (1995) Attract theory, to the violation of Greed.   It is not clear whether Greed is needed as an independent economy principle or not.   But whatever excludes (35) and (36)

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[19] With Bošković (1995), I am assuming a distinction between no Case and null Case.   The subject position of *to seem* and *to be illegal* is not a position where PRO can appear, and hence it is a position to which no Case is assigned.

would also exclude (34b).[20]   The point is that in (34b) there is no
motivation for the infinitival subject to move from its original position
except for checking the strong EPP feature of T.   If there are some
further reasons, the derivation will be possible as in (37):

> (37)   Quel garçon crois /reconnais   /constates-tu   être le
>   which boy   believe/acknowledge/determine-you be   the
>   plus intelligent de tous?
>   most intelligent of all
>   'Which boy do you believe/acknowledge/determine (to) be
>   the most intelligent of all?'

> (Kayne (1984: 111))

(37) shows that *Wh*-movement of the infinitival subject is possible.   If
the Case feature of the verb were strong in French, (34b) would be as
acceptable as (37), because there *is* a reason for further movement.
As is clear from the above discussion, in (34a), an English ECM
construction, the NP *John* is raised via the embedded infinitival subject
position to [Spec, VP], which is triggered by the strong Case feature.

The grammaticality of (34b) cannot be attributed to the total lack
of Case assigning ability of French ECM verbs.[21]   If they could
never have a Case feature, then (37) would also be excluded because
the infinitival subject cannot have its [−Interpretable] Case feature
checked.

We can now safely conclude that (34b) constitutes a piece of evi-
dence for the claim that the Case feature of the verb is weak in French.

It should be noted at this point that English exceptionally allows
some ECM verbs to pattern with French ECM verbs as in (38):

> (38)   a.   *Peter wagered the students to be crazy.
>   b.   Who did Peter wager to be crazy?

> (Bošković (1995b: 79))

If not V itself but a nonsubstantive category like *v* determined the
presence or absence of OR, this would remain as a problem (see fn. 1).
If, on the other hand, some verbs exceptionally contain a weak or
strong feature, we have only to list such a piece of information as an

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[20] A principled explanation of these data is beyond the scope of this paper.   It
might be true that the EPP feature of T is not such a feature that can attract some
element.

[21] From the fact that ECM verbs in French can take an infinitival clause with
PRO as its subject, we can say that they do not always assign Case.

idiosyncratic property of the verb in the lexicon, which is not impossible in my analysis where FFs of a lexical category can be weak/strong. The Case feature of the verb *wager* is specified as weak. Thus the claim that objective Case checking can take place within VP is preferable empirically as well as theoretically (cf. Tonoike (1992)).

4.2.2. The Expletive in the Object Position

We have already seen in subsection 3.2.2 that in English an expletive element can appear in the object position, [Spec, VP] in my analysis, to check the strong Case feature of the verb. If the Case features of French verbs are weak as I argue, there should not be an expletive element in this position.[22] This prediction is borne out as in (39):

(39)   a. *Ils   n'ont jamais mentionné ça à l'intention du candidat
          they never   mentioned it to the candidate
          [que ce   travail était mal   payé].
           that this job   was poorly paid .
          'They never mentioned it to the candidate that this job
          was poorly paid.'

       b. *Nous exigeons ça de nos employés [qu'ils   portent
           we   require it of our employees that they wear
           une cravate].
           a   tie
          'We require it of our employees that they wear a tie.'
                                                    (Authier (1991: 724))

French has no counterpart of *it* in the object position.[23]

The unacceptability of (39) does not mean that both *mentionner* 'mention' and *reuérir* 'require' have no Case feature, because they can take an NP as their complement. Thus the lack of the expletive in

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[22] We cannot rule out the sentences in which the expletive happens to occur when the Case feature of the verb is weak. In order to exclude them, a stricter interpretation of strong/weak features would be necessary. The same problem would arise in the case of the EPP feature of T. The problem is how to explain the entire distribution of the expletive. This is, however, beyond the scope of this paper. Let us simply assume in the following discussion that expletives can be inserted only to check a strong feature.

[23] The expletive can appear in the subject position of a small clause:
    (i)   Jean trouve ça/pro stupide [que Marie soit partie].
            Jean finds   it   stupid   that Marie left
            'Jean finds it stupid that Marie left.'   (Authier (1991: 737))

(39) suggests that the Case feature of French verbs is weak.[24]

5.   Icelandic

Icelandic is familiar as a language with Object Shift.   I will show in this section that Icelandic behaves like English in that the Case feature of the verb is strong in principle and object NPs are overtly raised to [Spec, VP] if they are not already there, but this movement differs from OS that is considered as the movement to [Spec, vP].

5.1.   Basic Facts

Let us consider sentences like (40):

    (40)   a. Jón keypti ekki bókina.
                 John bought not the book
                 'John did not buy the book.'
          b. Jón keypti bókina   ekki.
                 John bought the book not

(40) show that the object may move over an adverb like *ekki* to the right of the verb.   The movement is prohibited if an auxiliary verb is added as in (41):

    (41)   a. Jón hefur ekki keypt bókina.
                 John has   not bought the book
                 'John has not bought the book.'
          b. *Jón hefur bókina   ekki keypt.
               John has   the book not bought
                                (Jonas (1992: n.15, p.183))

Holmberg (1985) generalizes this phenomenon as follows:

    (42)   *Object Shift*: Move an object NP leftwards within the X-bar projection of its governing verb, when this verb is phonetically empty.   (Holmberg (1985: 184))

(42) amounts to saying that OS is dependent on the movement of a main verb.

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[24] Recall that English has two patterns in verb-particle constructions (see (24)), and that this is due to the overt OR to [Spec, VP].   The question is whether the two patterns are possible in French verb-particle constructions.   If French has no overt OR as I have argued, the V-NP-part pattern should not be permitted.   As Green (1973: 272-273) says, French has no particle.   Thus the prediction is neither refuted nor supported.

Let us see how Chomsky (1995) analyzes Icelandic OS:

(43) $[_{TP}$ Subj$_i$ $[_T$ V-$v]_j$ $[_{vP}$ t_i Obj$_k$ t'_j $[_{VP}$ Adv t_j $t_k]]]$

The verb moves to the light verb and furthermore to T if it is a finite verb.   The object, on the other hand, is shifted over an adverb to [Spec, vP] to check the strong D-feature of v.   The latter movement is assumed to be optional due to the presence or absence of D-feature, which derives both (40a) and (40b).[25]

This analysis of OS contains some problems.   First, sentences like (44) cannot be derived:

(44)   Jón hefur lesið bækurnar oft.
        John has   read the books often

                                (Collins and Thráinsson (1993: 144))

Oft, which is a typical VP-adverb, may be regarded as an element in [Spec, VP].   The main verb, which is nonfinite, raises to v but not T. What occupies T is the auxiliary.   If the object were shifted to [Spec, vP] in (44), the main verb would follow it.   In (44) the object would have to follow the adverb, since OS cannot apply here.

Second, sentences like (45) would wrongly be overgenerated:

(45)   *Jón hefur lesið hægt   bókina.
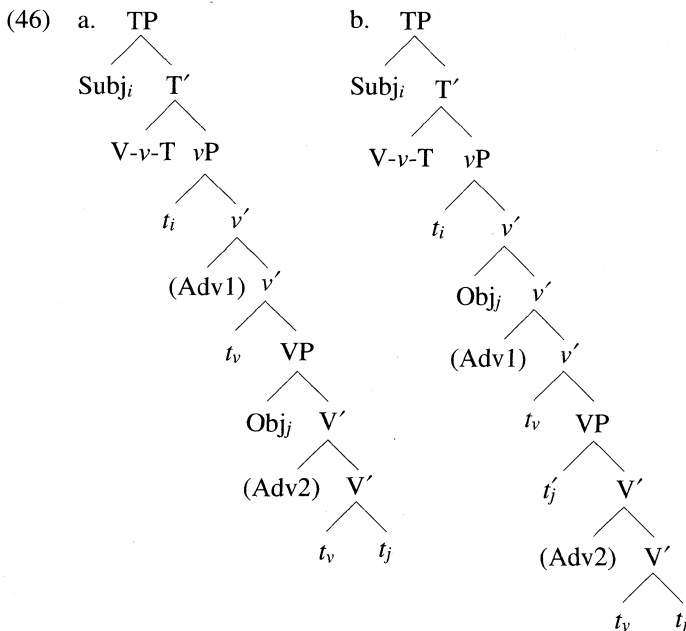   John has   read slowly the book
        'John has read the book slowly.'   (Johnson (1994: 23))

Here again, the auxiliary is present and the main verb raises to v but not to T.   (45) shows that adverbs cannot intervene between the main verb adjoined to v and its object.   OS is optional, and thus (45) will incorrectly be derived if it does not take place.

5.2.   An Analysis

Instead of (43), I will propose (46) for the structures of Icelandic under the assumption that the Case feature of the verb is strong in this language:

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[25] I will return, in fn. 31, to the contrast between (40b) and (41b), namely, Holmberg's generalization.

(46) a. TP
```
        TP
       /  \
    Subj_i  T'
           /  \
      V-v-T    vP
              /  \
            t_i   v'
                 /  \
            (Adv1)   v'
                    /  \
                  t_v   VP
                       /  \
                    Obj_j  V'
                          /  \
                     (Adv2)   V'
                             /  \
                           t_v   t_j
```

b. TP
```
        TP
       /  \
    Subj_i  T'
           /  \
      V-v-T    vP
              /  \
            t_i   v'
                 /  \
              Obj_j  v'
                    /  \
               (Adv1)   v'
                       /  \
                     t_v   VP
                          /  \
                        t'_j  V'
                             /  \
                        (Adv2)   V'
                                /  \
                              t_v   t_j
```

(46a) is an "ordinary" clause structure.   (46b) is a structure where OS takes place.   The verb overtly moves to v and then to T if it is a finite verb.   The object is, on the other hand, subject to OR to check the strong Case feature of the verb.   Let us assume for OS that the D-feature of v in Icelandic is strong and that it *can* escape erasure *once*.[26] For the D-feature to be checked, then, two options are available at the stage of the derivation where Adv1 and v' (or vP more accurately) have been merged: (i) to merge the subject and (ii) to attract the object and then merge the subject (see (4c)).[27]   If the first option is adopted, (46a) is derived.[28]   If the latter option is taken, (46b) is derived (see

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[26] Here we do not (and cannot) resort to unforced violations of Procrastinate. For the questionable status of Procrastinate, see, for example, Chomsky (1996).

[27] I am adopting local economy in the sense of Collins (1996), abondoning Chomsky's (1995: 348) assumption that Merge is selected over Attract if that yields a convergent derivation.

[28] The subject in [Spec, vP] may not move to the outer Spec even if the D-feature of v remains undeleted.   Whether the movement takes place or not,

(4b)).[29]   (46a, b) correspond to (40a, b), respectively, on the assumption that *ekki* is Adv1:

(40′)   a. $[_{TP}$ Jón$_i$ keypti$_j$ $[_{vP}$ t_i ekki t'_j $[_{VP}$ bókina$_k$ t_j $t_k]]]$

     b. $[_{TP}$ Jón$_i$ keypti$_j$ $[_{vP}$ t_i bókina$_k$ ekki t'_j $[_{VP}$ t'_k t_j $t_k]]]$

The contrast between definite NPs and indefinite NPs with respect to OS in (47) can be attributed to the property of the strong D-feature of v that it cannot attract elements that do not contain a D-feature (see Chomsky (1995: 342)).[30]

(47)   a.   Jón   keypti   ekki bókina   /bók.
          John bought   not   the book/a book
          'John did not buy the book/a book.'

     b.   Jón   keypti   bókina   /*bók   ekki.
          John bought the book/a book not

                                  (Holmberg and Platzack (1995: 144))

Since indefinite NPs are such elements, they are not attracted by the D-feature of v.   The same is true of (48), which have sometimes been referred to as a piece of evidence for the view of Case as triggering OS:

(48)   a.   Jón   reynði ekki [að raka   sig].
          John tried   not   to shave self
          'John didn't try to shave himself.'

     b.   *Jón reyndi [að raka sig] ekki.   (Johnson (1991: 606))

Infinitival clauses do not obey OS just because they do not contain a D-feature.

Given the analysis here, (44) and (45) are no longer problematic.

neither the PF representations nor the LF representations make any difference. Thus, essentially following Chomsky (1995: 294), let us assume that no feature can attract an element that is already in a checking relation with it.   This kind of assumption would also be necessary in multiple subject constructions.

[29] The derivation where the subject is first merged would not converge.   In order to check the strong EPP feature of T, either Subj or Obj has to raise to [Spec, TP]. Raising of Subj is barred by the MLC (see fn. 4).   Raising of Obj, which would be possible in Chomsky's system too and raise a problem, should be prohibited by the same reason as (35) and (36) are ruled out, although it is not clear at this point. Obj can only check the strong EPP feature of T.

[30] For further semantic/pragmatic differences we will not touch on here, see Bobaljik (1995) and Diesing (1996).   As for the EPP feature of T, I am assuming that it is nominal, either D or N (see Chomsky (1995: 342)).

(44) is analyzed as having the following structure:

(44') $[_{TP}$ Jón$_i$ hefur $[_{vP}$ t_i lesið$_j$ $[$bækurnar$_k$ oft t_j $t_k]]]$

Icelandic is a language with overt OR, so NP objects precede Adv2 as in (44) but never follow it as in (45) above (cf. fn. 5 and (8a)).   Object movement involved here is not OS but OR.   This is one of the consequences of the proposal that the two object movements in question should be distinguished.

I have been assuming that [Spec, vP] can be occupied by certain VP-adverbs (see (9) and (30) above).   If the analysis here is correct, we expect that, when the verb stays in the position of the light verb, they can appear preverbally.   (49) is the example in point:

(49)   Í gær   hafa stúdentanir alveg   lokið
       Yesterday have the students completely finished
       verkefninu.
       the assignment
       'Yesterday the students have completely finished the assignment.'

(Jonas (1992: n.12, p.182))

Let us now turn to the fact that OS is obligatory if the object is a weak pronoun.   This is exemplified by (50):

(50)   a.   *Jón þekkir ekki hana.
            John knows not her
            'John does not know her.'
       b.   Jón þekkir hana ekki.
            Jón knows her   not

(50) are accounted for if weak pronouns behave like a clitic, as Holmberg and Platzack (1995) suggest.   If weak pronouns cliticize onto the verb of which they are objects, they cannot be detached from the verb, and Holmberg's generalization is partly explained.[31]

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[31] I have at present no principled explanation for Holmberg's generalization concerning sentences like the (b) examples of (40-41) where a full NP is shifted.   It might be true that full NPs would have a clitic-like property in Icelandic.   As regards Holmberg's generalization, Chomsky also admits that it does not follow from his analysis of Object Shift (see Chomsky (1995: 358)).   However, if Bobaljik's (1995) approach to Object Shift is correct, the generalization in question does not exist, and thus need not be explained.

5.3.   Additional Evidence

The next thing I have to do is to verify the argument concerning objective Case checking in Icelandic—the argument that the Case feature of the verb is strong and hence object NPs must be overtly in a checking configuration with the verb, that is, [Spec, VP]. I have already argued in the discussion of English and French that if the Case feature is strong in a language, the language is supposed to have ECM constructions, expletives in [Spec, VP], and the two patterns in verb-particle constructions. Let us take up and discuss the verb-particle construction here.[32]

(52) indicate that both V-particle-NP and V-NP-particle patterns are possible when the verb selects an NP as its complement:

(52)   a.   Jón hefur rétt   niður hamarinn.
           John has   passed down the hammer
           'John has passed down the hamer.'

       b.   Jón hefur rétt   hamarinn   niður.
           John has   passed the hammer down

(Collins and Thrainsson (1996: 430))

The analysis here assigns (52) the following structures:

(52′)   a. $[_{TP}$ Jón$_i$ hefur $[_{vP} t_i$ $[_v$ $[_V$ rétt niður$]_j$ $v]$ $[_{VP}$ hamarinn$_k$ t_j $t_k]]]$

        b. $[_{TP}$ Jón$_i$ hefur $[_{vP} t_i$ $[_v$ rétt$_j$ $v]$ $[_{VP}$ hamarinn$_k$ $[_V t_j$ niður$]$ $t_k]]]$

The two patterns in (52) are derived depending on whether the particle moves with the main verb. The fact that the two patterns are not

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[32] Icelandic has both ECM constructions and expletives in the object position as is clear from (i, ii):

(i)   Ég taldi   hestana   hafa   verið gefna konungi.
       I   believe the horses(Acc) to have been given a king(Dat)
       'I believe the horses to have been given a king.'   (Jonas (1992: 190))

(ii) Ég harma það   (meira en   or   fá lyst)   [að   Jón skuli hafa
       I   regret it(Acc) (more than words can describe) that John   has
       barið Maríu].
       hit   Mary
       'I regret it (more than words can describe) that John has hit Mary.'

(Thráinsson (1979: 215-216))

In these examples, the matrix main verb raises to T. Thus I cannot definitely conclude from these data that the ECMed subject and the expletive occupy [Spec, VP]. That is, they could raise directly to [Spec, vP], skipping [Spec, VP]. The examples containing auxiliaries would be decisive but are unfortunately not available for me at this point.

allowed in sentences like (53) is also as expected, since CPs, which have no Case feature, do not move to [Spec, VP]:

(53) a. Jón hefur bent   á [að María fór].
          John has   pointed out that Mary left
          'John has pointed out that Mary left.'
      b. *Jón hefur bent   [að María fór] á.
          John has   pointed that Mary left out

(Collins and Thráinsson (1993: 164))

To clarify the issue, let us compare my analysis with Chomsky's with respect to this construction.   Recall that in his analysis, object NPs are assumed to optionally move to [Spec, *v*P] in Icelandic.   To such an analysis, (52b) is problematic because the moved object NP would have to precede the main verb, which is adjoined to the light verb.   By contrast, if the Case feature of the verb is strong in Icelandic and object NPs must always be in [Spec, VP], as I argued, the problem does not arise.   This once again follows from the analysis here that distinguishes between OS and OR.

6. Summary and Conclusion

In this article, pointing out several problems with Chomsky's analysis, I have claimed that overt objective Case checking should be done in [Spec, VP], not in [Spec, *v*P] and that OS is different from OR.   I have proposed that objective Case checking takes place overtly in both English and Icelandic, and covertly in French on the assumption that the Case feature of the verb is strong (in principle) in the former two and is weak in the latter.   Throughout the discussion, I have been assuming that the FFs of lexical categories can contain a strong feature, that checking of strong features "closes" the projection of categories, and that Merge as well can participate in feature checking.

All the arguments and assumptions have been developed and proposed essentially within the general Minimalist framework.   In this sense, the argument in this article, if correct and adequate, will give an interesting support to the MP, and can be interpreted as an attempt to improve the theory outlined in Chomsky (1995).

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