





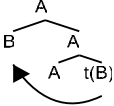
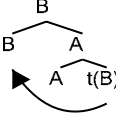
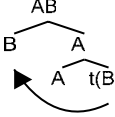
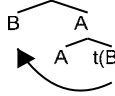
### ***Missing: Labels in Minimalism***

**I. ISSUE:** This talk examines the nature of constituent labels created by two basic structure building operations in the Minimalist Program: *External Merge* (*ExtM*) and *Internal Merge* (*IntM*). The standard minimalist assumption is that in *ExtM* structures, one of the merged elements projects as the label, and in *IntM* structures, the Probe always does. However, these two options do not exhaust the logical range of possibilities. For *ExtM*, the options are (i) Project A (1a), (ii) Project B (1b), (iii) *Project Both* A and B (1c), and (iv) *Project Neither* A nor B (1d). And for *IntM*, the options are: (i) *Project Probe* (2a), (ii) *Project Goal* (2b), (iii) *Project Both Probe and Goal* (2c), and (iv) *Project Neither Probe nor Goal* (2d). The proposal I defend in this paper, both on theoretical and empirical grounds, is that all the logical possibilities are in fact attested.

**II. MISSING LABELS IN EXTERNAL MERGE:** The labeling algorithm of Chomsky 1995 allows *Project Both* as long as the two projecting elements do not conflict in categorial features. I argue that this is precisely what happens in comparative conditionals (CCs), exemplified in (3). The first CP in CCs (*the more you smile* in (3)) has been previously analyzed as an adjunct, which predicts that it should be an island for extraction. This prediction is *not* confirmed. Focusing on languages that allow both standard and comparative correlatives (Hindi, Hungarian, and Polish), I show that in CCs both clauses allow extraction (as shown in (4-5) for Hindi). This cannot be a parasitic gap phenomenon since not all languages that allow extraction from comparative correlatives allow parasitic gaps. As further shown in (6), standard correlatives in Hindi *do* show the expected effects of the Adjunct Condition. This contrast follows from *Project Both* analysis, coupled with an *Agree*-based theory of adjunct islands proposed by Rackowski and Richards (2005), in which an independently motivated *Agree* relationship between the matrix  $v$  and the embedded CP makes this CP transparent for movement. In CCs, the matrix  $v$  agrees with both CPs (since the labels of both have projected), thus making them both transparent for extraction.

**III. MISSING LABELS IN INTERNAL MERGE:** The *Project Goal* option in *IntM* structures can solve the ongoing debate regarding the structure of free relatives. Free relatives, exemplified in (7a) have been analyzed in two very different ways with respect to the position of the wh-phrase. On the Comp Account, the wh-phrase is in Spec,CP and the head is empty (Groos and van Riemsdijk 1981, Grosu 1998, among others) (7b). On the Head Account, it is in the head position (and the Spec,CP position is empty) (Bresnan and Grimshaw 1978, Larson 1987, Citko 2002) (7c). Locality effects favor the Comp Account, whereas matching effects favor the Head Account. (8a) shows that the movement of the wh-word in free relatives obeys islands, and (8b) shows that the category of the wh-word determines the category of the entire free relatives. *Project Goal* allows for a derivation in which the wh-pronoun moves and projects (see also Larson 1998, Bury 2003, Donati 2006). This explains both locality and matching, thus combining the insights of the Head and the Comp Account. I also propose a *Project Both* derivation for head movement, illustrated in (9b) for V- $v$  movement. V targets the root of the tree, and the labels of both the Probe and the Goal project. The advantages of *Project Both* approach to head movement are as follows: (i) it obeys the Extension Condition, (ii) it is syntactic not phonological (contra Chomsky 2001, Boeckx and Stjepanovic 2001, and Holmberg 1999, and further supporting Matushansky 2006, Suranyi 2005, Lechner 2005), (iii) it explains why head movement cannot cross extended projections.

**IV. CONCLUSION:** The current proposal departs from Collins (2002) and Seely (2006), who eliminate labels on the grounds that labels violate inclusiveness. However, if a label is thought of as simply a copy of one of the merged elements (or its features), inclusiveness is *not* violated (no new information is added, and copying is an independently motivated operation). Thus, labels are *not* a priori undesirable, and the system proposed here, which does not impose any restrictions on labels, is preferable on minimalist grounds.

- 1) a. Project A  b. Project B  c. Project Both  d. Project Neither 
- 2) a. Project Probe  b. Project Goal  c. Project Both  d. Project Neither 

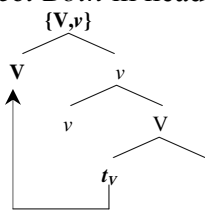
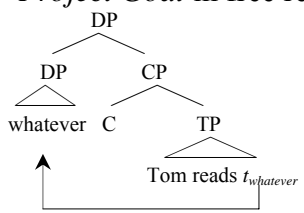
3) [<sub>CP1,CP2</sub> [<sub>CP1</sub> The more you smile], [<sub>CP2</sub> the happier you get] ]. (*Merge CP<sub>1</sub> & CP<sub>2</sub>, Project Both*)

4) \***Kis-ko<sub>i</sub>** Mary soch-tii hai ki [<sub>CP1</sub> tum *t<sub>i</sub>* jitnaa zyaadaa jaanoge]  
 who-ACC Mary think-HAB.F be.PRS that you how.much more know-FUT  
 [<sub>CP2</sub> tum us-ko utnaa-hii zyaadaa pasand karoge]?  
 you he-ACC that.much-only more like do-FUT  
 ‘Who does Mary think that the more you get to know, the more you like him?’

5) \***Kis-ko<sub>i</sub>** Mary soch-tii hai ki [<sub>CP1</sub> tum us-ko jitnaa zyaadaa jaanoge] [<sub>CP2</sub> tum *t<sub>i</sub>* utnaa-hii zyaadaa pasand karoge]?  
 who-ACC Mary think-HAB.F be.PRS that you he-ACC how.much more know-FUT you that.much-only more like do-FUT  
 ‘Whom does Mary think that the more you get to know him, the more you will like?’

6) \***Kaun-sii kitaab<sub>i</sub>** Mary soch-tii hai ki [<sub>CP1</sub> jis-ko *t<sub>i</sub>* pasand hai] [us-ko Anna Karenina paRh-nii chaahiye]  
 which book Mary think-HAB.F be.PRS that REL-DAT like is he-DAT Anna Karenina read-INF should  
 ‘Which book does Mary think the one who likes (it) should read Anna Karenina?’

- 7) a. John plays what(ever) he hears.  
 b. John plays [<sub>DP</sub> Ø [<sub>CP</sub> *whatever<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> he likes *t<sub>i</sub>* ] ] (*Comp Account*)  
 c. John plays [<sub>DP</sub> *whatever* [<sub>CP</sub> Ø [<sub>TP</sub> he likes \_\_\_ ] ] (*Head Account*)
- 8) a. \* John plays *whatever<sub>i</sub>* he hears [<sub>DP</sub> the claim [<sub>CP</sub> that Mary likes *t<sub>i</sub>*]] (*locality*)  
 b. \* John listens [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> *whatever<sub>i</sub>*] Mary plays *t<sub>i</sub>* ] (*matching*)
- 9) a. *Project Goal* in free relatives b. *Project Both* in head movement



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