





- f. [T' [AgrO greeted<sub>v</sub>+AgrO ]+T [AgrOP her t<sub>AgrO</sub> [VP he [v' t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>her</sub> ] ] ] ]  
 g. [TP he [AgrO greeted<sub>v</sub>+AgrO ]+T [AgrOP her t<sub>AgrO</sub> [VP t<sub>he</sub> [v' t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>her</sub> ] ] ] ]  
 h. [AgrSP he AgrS [TP t<sub>he</sub> [AgrO greeted<sub>v</sub>+AgrO ]+T [AgrOP her t<sub>AgrO</sub> [VP t<sub>he</sub> [v' t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>her</sub> ] ] ] ] ] ]

(19) [AgrSP he AgrS [TP t<sub>he</sub> T [AgrOP AgrO [VP t<sub>he</sub> [v' greeted her ] ] ] ] ] ]

- correlation between verb movement and argument movement — also: **overgeneralization?**

(20) \*He greeted her.

(21) [VP her [v' greeted he ] ]

[with the intended meaning 'She greeted him.']

- (22) a. [AgrO' AgrO [VP her [v' greeted he ] ] ]  
 b. [AgrO' greeted<sub>v</sub>+AgrO [VP her [v' t<sub>v</sub> he ] ] ]  
 c. [AgrOP her greeted<sub>v</sub>+AgrO [VP t<sub>her</sub> [v' t<sub>v</sub> he ] ] ]  
 d. [T' T [AgrOP her greeted<sub>v</sub>+AgrO [VP t<sub>her</sub> [v' t<sub>v</sub> he ] ] ] ]  
 e. [TP he T [AgrOP her greeted<sub>v</sub>+AgrO [VP t<sub>her</sub> [v' t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>he</sub> ] ] ] ] ]

- (23) a. MinD(T) = {he, AgrOP}  
 b. MinD(greeted<sub>v</sub>, t<sub>v</sub>) = {her, t<sub>her</sub>, t<sub>he</sub>, }  
 c. MinD(AgrO) = {her, greeted, VP}  
 d. MinD(greeted) = {t<sub>her</sub>, t<sub>he</sub>}

- (24) a. [T' [AgrO greeted<sub>v</sub>+AgrO ]+T [AgrOP her t<sub>AgrO</sub> [VP t<sub>her</sub> [v' t<sub>v</sub> he ] ] ] ]  
 b. [TP he [AgrO greeted<sub>v</sub>+AgrO ]+T [AgrOP her t<sub>AgrO</sub> [VP t<sub>her</sub> [v' t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>he</sub> ] ] ] ] ]

- (25) a. MinD(AgrO, t<sub>AgrO</sub>) = {he, her, greeted, VP}  
 b. MinD(T) = {he, AgrOP}  
 c. MinD(greeted<sub>v</sub>, t<sub>v</sub>) = {her, t<sub>her</sub>, t<sub>he</sub>, }  
 d. MinD(AgrO) = {her, greeted, VP}  
 e. MinD(greeted) = {t<sub>her</sub>, t<sub>he</sub>}

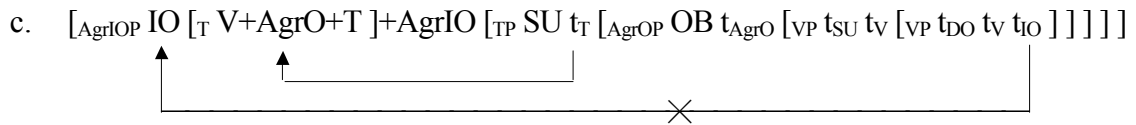
- a residual issue: the **three agreement problem**

(26) [AgrOP DO V+AgrO [VP SU t<sub>v</sub> [VP t<sub>DO</sub> t<sub>v</sub> IO ] ] ]

(27) [AgrIOP **IO** [AgrO V+AgrO ]+AgrIO [AgrOP DO t<sub>AgrO</sub> [VP SU t<sub>v</sub> [VP t<sub>DO</sub> t<sub>v</sub> **t<sub>io</sub>** ] ] ] ] ]

(28) [AgrSP AgrS [AgrIOP AgrIO [TP T [AgrOP AgrO [VP SU V [VP DO t<sub>v</sub> IO ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ]

- (29) a. [AgrOP DO V+AgrO [VP SU t<sub>v</sub> [VP t<sub>DO</sub> t<sub>v</sub> IO ] ] ]  
 b. [TP SU [AgrO V+AgrO ]+T [AgrOP DO t<sub>AgrO</sub> [VP t<sub>SU</sub> t<sub>v</sub> [VP t<sub>DO</sub> t<sub>v</sub> IO ] ] ] ] ]



- (30) a.  $[_{VP} SU [_{V'} V OB ] ]$  (SVO order)  
 b.  $[_{AgrOP} V+AgrO [_{VP} SU [_{V'} t_{V} OB ] ] ]$  (VSO order)  
 c.  $[_{AgrOP} OB V+AgrO [_{VP} SU [_{V'} t_{V} t_{OB} ] ] ]$  (OVS order)  
 d.  $[_{TP} [_{AgrO} V+AgrO ]+T [_{AgrOP} OB t_{AgrO} [_{VP} SU [_{V'} t_{V} t_{OB} ] ] ] ] ]$  (VOS order)  
 e.  $[_{TP} SU [_{AgrO} V+AgrO ]+T [_{AgrOP} OB t_{AgrO} [_{VP} t_{SU} [_{V'} t_{V} t_{OB} ] ] ] ] ]$  (SVO order)

• also, equidistance from (17) faces a conceptual problem: **target or movement?**

- (31) \***He** greeted *her*. (32)  $[_{VP} her [_{V'} greeted he ] ]$   
 [with the intended meaning ‘She greeted him.’]

- (33) a.  $[_{AgrSP} AgrS [_{TP} he T [_{AgrOP} AgrO [_{VP} her greeted t_{he} ] ] ] ] ]$   
 b.  $[_{AgrSP} AgrS [_{TP} he T [_{AgrOP} her greeted_{V+AgrO} [_{VP} t_{her} t_{V} t_{he} ] ] ] ] ]$

• towards **eliminating Agr**

- (34)  $[_{VP} SU [_{V'} v [_{VP} V OB ] ] ] ] \rightarrow [_{VP} OB [_{V'} SU [_{V'} v [_{VP} V t_{OB} ] ] ] ] ]$

- (35) **Equidistance** (final version)  
 If two positions  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are in the same MinD, they are equidistant from any other position.

- (36)  $[_{TP} SU T [_{VP} OB [_{V'} t_{SU} [_{V'} v [_{VP} V t_{OB} ] ] ] ] ] ]$

- (37) a.  $[_{VP} her [_{V'} v [_{VP} V he ] ] ]$  “He greeted her.”  
 b.  $[_{VP} her [_{V'} t_{her} [_{V'} v [_{VP} V he ] ] ] ]$   
 c.  $[_{TP} he T [_{VP} her [_{V'} t_{her} [_{V'} v [_{VP} V t_{he} ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$
- 

- (38) a.  $[_{VP} SU [_{V'} v [_{VP} DO V IO ] ] ]$  ditransitive structure  
 b.  $[_{VP} DO [_{V'} SU [_{V'} v [_{VP} t_{DO} V IO ] ] ] ] ]$   
 c.  $[_{VP} IO [_{V'} DO [_{V'} SU [_{V'} v [_{VP} t_{DO} V t_{IO} ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$   
 d.  $[_{TP} SU [_{VP} IO [_{V'} DO [_{V'} t_{SU} [_{V'} v [_{VP} t_{DO} V t_{IO} ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$
- 

- (39) a.  $[_{VP} SU [_{V'} v [_{VP} V OB ] ] ]$  (SVO word order)  
 b.  $[_{VP} OB [_{V'} SU [_{V'} v [_{VP} V t_{OB} ] ] ] ]$  (OSV word order)  
 c.  $[_{TP} SU [_{T'} T [_{VP} OB [_{V'} t_{SU} [_{V'} v [_{VP} V t_{OB} ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$  (SOV word order)