

# Non-distinctiveness, chain formation and parasitic gaps

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## 1 Introduction

Maybe the most extended version of *Copy Theory* (Chomsky 1993) involves what Nunes (2004) calls the *Copy+Merge* approach.

- (1) a.  $K = [_{TP} \text{ was } [_{VP} \text{ arrested } [_{DP} \text{ Cosmo}]]]$   
b. Copy  
 $K = [_{TP} \text{ was } [_{VP} \text{ arrested } \text{Cosmo}]]$   
 $L = [_{DP} \text{ Cosmo}]$   
c. Merge  
 $K = [_{TP} [_{DP} \text{ Cosmo}] [_{T'} \text{ was } [_{VP} \text{ arrested } [_{DP} \text{ Cosmo}]]]]$

This kind of approach is strongly supported by **reconstruction patterns**, i.e., cases in which a movement gag displays effects of isomorphism with respect to its filler.

- (2) \*Which picture of Cosmo did he<sub>i</sub> buy ~~which picture of Cosmo<sub>i</sub>~~?

In this talk, I maintain that **anti-reconstruction phenomena** provides evidence for the approach to syntactic movement briefly sketched in (3).

- (3) There is no rule of formation of copies or remerge. (Chomsky 2007:10)

Two things come immediately to mind as requisites for such an approach.

- **Ingredient A:** a mechanism that allows distinguishing elements forming a movement chain from unrelated constituents.
- **Ingredient B:** an account of why chains cannot be formed across certain domains.

More explicitly, **Ingredient A** refers to an algorithm that enforces the formation of a chain  $C = \{\text{Cosmo}^1, \text{Cosmo}^2\}$  in a sentence like (4a), but prevents it in (4b).<sup>1</sup>

- (4) a.  $\text{Cosmo}^1$  was arrested ~~Cosmo<sup>2</sup>~~.  
b.  $\text{Cosmo}^1$  arrested Cosmo<sup>2</sup>.

While **Ingredient B** refers to the reason why the chain  $C = \{\text{who}^1, \text{who}^2\}$  is well formed in (5a) but leads to unacceptability in (5b).

- (5) a.  $[_{XP} \text{ Who}^1 \dots [_{YP} \dots [_{ZP} \text{ who}^2 ]]]$ .  
b. \* $[_{XP} \text{ Who}^1 \dots [_{ISLAND} \dots [_{ZP} \text{ who}^2 ]]]$ .

<sup>1</sup>Numerical indexes on copies have the only function of distinguishing occurrences, no matter they form a chain or not.

In this presentation, I will discuss some pieces of the puzzle that is modelling movement without the operations *Copy* or *Remerge*. Particularly, we will see:

- An explicit proposal for **Ingredient A** that may allow to abandon the Copy operation under certain assumptions.
- How this system may account for reconstruction and anti-reconstruction phenomena in parasitic gaps.
- That the proposed system derives a condition on A'-movement that gaps inside adjuncts can comply only if they are parasitic gaps.<sup>2</sup>

## 2 A proposal for Ingredient A

Two main assumptions: **(i)** features are ordered pairs  $\langle \text{Attr}, \text{VAL} \rangle$  formed by an Attribute and a corresponding VALUE (Adger & Svenonius 2011); **(ii)** there are activity features for A'-dependencies (i.e.,  $\omega$ -features).

As there are no privative features under these assumptions, **all distinctive behaviour between two constituents is because they have different features, or opposing values for a certain feature.**

- (6) a.  $[_{DP} \text{ the neighbour}] = \{\langle \kappa, \emptyset \rangle, \langle \text{Number}, \text{SG} \rangle, \langle \text{Person}, 3 \rangle, \dots\}$   
b.  $[_{DP} \text{ which neighbour}] = \{\langle \kappa, \emptyset \rangle, \langle \omega, \emptyset \rangle, \langle \text{Quant}, \text{WH} \rangle, \langle \text{Number}, \text{SG} \rangle, \langle \text{Person}, 3 \rangle, \dots\}$ <sup>3</sup>

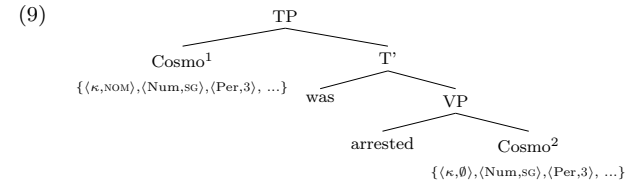
In previous work (Muñoz Pérez 2017), I proposed that Non-Distinctiveness, the sameness relation between chain-members under Copy Theory, may be defined as an asymmetric comparison between the feature-values of the labels of two constituents.

- (7) Non-Distinctiveness  
A constituent  $\beta$  is non-distinct from a constituent  $\alpha$  if for every feature-value of  $\beta$  there is an identical feature-value in  $\alpha$ .

This definition supposes a representational algorithm of chain formation as the following.

- (8) Two constituents  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are part of the same chain if:
  - a.  $\alpha$  c-commands  $\beta$ ,
  - b.  $\beta$  is non-distinct from  $\alpha$ ,
  - c. there is no  $\delta$  between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  such as  $\beta$  is non-distinct from  $\delta$ , or  $\delta$  is non-distinct from  $\alpha$ .

In a sentence like (4a) both occurrences of *Cosmo* should form a single chain  $C = \{\text{Cosmo}^1, \text{Cosmo}^2\}$ .

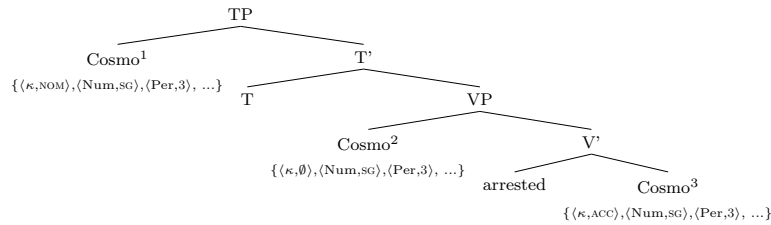


While in (4b), the overt occurrences of *Cosmo* pertain to different chains  $C_1 = \{\text{Cosmo}_1, \text{Cosmo}^2\}$  and  $C_2 = \{\text{Cosmo}^3\}$ .

<sup>2</sup>I should clarify right now that this account for the islandhood of adjuncts is INCOMPLETE, as it does not work for A-movement, for instance.

<sup>3</sup>I tentatively follow Rizzi (2004:243) in assuming that wh-features pertain to a Quantificational class.

(10)



Thus, in a chain  $CH = \{\alpha, \beta\}$  in which  $\alpha$  c-commands  $\beta$ ,  $\beta$  **may be underspecified with respect to  $\alpha$** .

## 2.1 What if we abandon the Copy operation?

In that case, we must **form chains with base-generated constituents**.

The conditions on chain formation in (8) do not constrain the lexico-syntactic form of chain-members. If there is no Copy operation, then the representation in (11) would yield the chain  $CH = \{DP^1, DP^2\}$ .

- (11) [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>DP<sup>1</sup></sub> The neighbour] [<sub>T'</sub> was [<sub>VP</sub> arrested [<sub>DP<sup>2</sup></sub> ~~the neighbour that I met when I moved to my new place~~]]]]]

This unwanted result may be filtered by appealing to **representational economy**. Following and adapting the account of Condition C in Schlenker (2005), I take that the distribution of restrictors in DPs is regulated by a principle of non-redundancy. Unlike Schlenker's *Minimize Restrictors!*, I assume that (i) the relevant principle applies under c-command, and (ii) extends to any type of DP, not only definite descriptions.<sup>4</sup>

- (12) Given a  $DP^1$  that c-commands an anaphorically dependent  $DP^2$ , the restrictor in  $DP^2$  must be as little redundant **as possible** with respect to the restrictor in  $DP^1$ .

This principle introduces a ranking of preferences with respect to what kind of restrictor a  $D^0$  must take.

- (13) Ranking of minimization of restrictors
- Noun phrase + optional modifiers  
[<sub>DP</sub> D [<sub>NP</sub> NP<sub>⟨e,t⟩</sub> ADJ<sub>⟨e,t⟩</sub>]]
  - Noun phrase  
[<sub>DP</sub> D NP<sub>⟨e,t⟩</sub>]
  - Pronoun ( $\varphi$ -features as restrictor)  
[<sub>DP</sub> D <sub>$\varphi$</sub> ]
  - Bare  $D^{\min/\max}$  (no restrictor)  
[<sub>DP</sub> D]

According to (13),  $DP^2$  in (11) is the worst alternative to function as  $DP^1$ 's gap.

- (14) Alternatives for  $DP^2$  in (11)  
[<sub>DP</sub> the ] > [<sub>DP</sub> he ] > [<sub>DP</sub> the neighbour] > [<sub>DP</sub> the neighbour that I met...]

Independently required principles also rule out representations like (11), but would not have the “minimizing” effect introduced in (12). For instance, it could be argued that (11) violates the *Full Interpretation Principle*.

- (15) Full Interpretation (Chomsky 1986:98)  
Every element of PF and LF must receive an appropriate interpretation. None can simply be disregarded. At the level of PF, each phonetic element must be licensed by some physical interpretation.

<sup>4</sup>Applying this type of principle to chain-members implies an unification of movement and construal relations that I will not discuss now.

Since none of the constituents within the relative clause in (11) satisfies Full Interpretation, the sentence should be ruled-out. A similar kind of prediction could also be obtained by appealing to *conditions on recoverability of deletion*. **The effect of this assumption is that the lexical material that may be interpreted in a gap is restricted to what appears in the filler.**

## 2.2 Accounting for some (anti)reconstruction effects

The basic idea is that reconstruction is a phenomenon constrained by the non-redundancy principle in (12) and interpretability requirements. Consider the sentence in (16).

- (16) [<sub>DP<sup>1</sup></sub> The claim that Cosmo<sub>i</sub> was asleep] seems to him<sub>i</sub> to be  $DP^2$  correct.

If  $DP^2$  **was a copy** of  $DP^1$ , this sentence should be ruled-out due to a Condition C violation. This is not what the principle in (12) predicts.

- (17) Alternatives for  $DP^2$  in (16)  
[<sub>DP</sub> the ] > [<sub>DP</sub> it ] > [<sub>DP</sub> the claim that Cosmo was asleep]  
THIS ONE!

Since there are no particular semantic conditions on traces of A-movement other than being placeholders for theta-assignment, the best alternative for  $DP^2$  is a  $D^{\min/\max}$ . This type of representation has been previously proposed by Takahashi & Hulsey (2009), although their account relies on countercyclical operations, i.e., *Wholesale Late Merger*.

- (18) [<sub>DP<sup>1</sup></sub> The claim that Cosmo<sub>i</sub> was asleep]<sub>{⟨κ, NOM⟩, ⟨Number, SG⟩, ...}</sub> seems to him<sub>i</sub> to be [<sub>DP<sup>2</sup></sub> ~~the~~ ]<sub>{⟨κ, θ⟩, ⟨Number, θ⟩, ...}</sub> correct.

Consider the example in (19).

- (19) \* [<sub>DP<sup>1</sup></sub> Which picture of George<sub>i</sub>] did he<sub>i</sub> see  $DP^2$ ?

This sentence is bad if *George* and *he* corefer, so there must be an occurrence of the NP *picture of George* within  $DP^2$  causing a Condition C violation. I take that this “redundancy” between  $DP^1$  and  $DP^2$  is a precondition to interpret the latter as an anaphoric definite description (i.e., a sort of variable) through *Trace Conversion*.<sup>5</sup>

- (20) Apply Trace Conversion on a DP in the scope of an operator OP if (i) they are members of the same movement chain, and (ii) they have identical NP restrictors (modulo adjuncts).

Since  $DP^1$  needs to form an operator-variable dependency to be interpreted,  $DP^2$  is required to contain the NP *picture of George*.

- (21) Alternatives for  $DP^2$  in (19)  
[<sub>DP</sub> which<sup>min/max</sup> ] > [<sub>DP</sub> what <sub>$\varphi$</sub>  ] > [<sub>DP</sub> which picture of George ]  
\* \* THIS ONE!

Therefore, **interpretability requirements override the non-redundancy principle in (12)**, which in this sentence leads to a violation of Condition C.

- (22) a. \* [<sub>DP<sup>1</sup></sub> Which picture of George<sub>i</sub>]<sub>{⟨κ, acc⟩, ⟨ω, Q⟩, ⟨Quant, WH⟩, ...}</sub> did he<sub>i</sub> see [<sub>DP<sup>2</sup></sub> ~~which picture of George<sub>i</sub>~~]<sub>{⟨κ, acc⟩, ⟨ω, Q⟩, ⟨Quant, WH⟩, ...}</sub>?  
b. \* For what  $x$ ,  $x$  a picture of George<sub>i</sub>, he<sub>i</sub> saw **the picture  $x$  of George<sub>i</sub>**

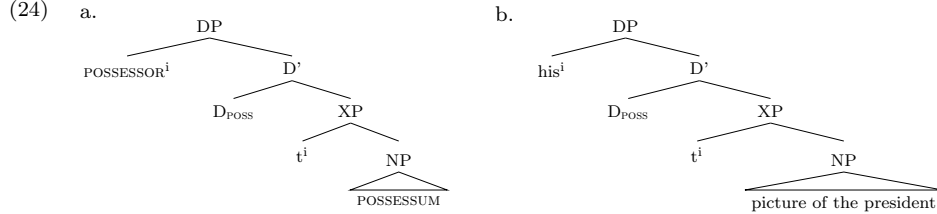
<sup>5</sup>Fox's definition of Trace Conversion is as follows:

- (1) Trace Conversion (Fox 2002:67)  
a. Variable Insertion: (Det) Pred  $\rightarrow$  (Det [Pred  $\lambda y$  ( $y = x$ )])  
b. Determiner Replacement: (Det) [Pred  $\lambda y$  ( $y = x$ )]  $\rightarrow$  the [Pred  $\lambda y$  ( $y = x$ )]

Consider a third and last example, taken from Lebeaux (2009:47).

- (23)  $[_{DP^1} \text{ His}_i \text{ picture of the president}_k]$  seemed to every man<sub>i</sub>  $DP^2$  to be seen by him<sub>k</sub>  $DP^3$  to be a real intrusion.

In this sentence, the NP *picture of the president* must not reconstruct in  $DP^3$ , but the pronoun *his* must do so in  $DP^2$  to be bound by the quantifier *every man*. I take that prenominal possessors involve a DP structure like the one sketched in (24).<sup>6</sup>



Moreover, I take that **DPs headed by  $D_{POSS}$  can only form chains with other DPs headed by  $D_{POSS}$** .<sup>7</sup> As a consequence, there are only two options for the  $DP^2$  position.

- (25) Alternatives for  $DP^2$  with respect  $DP^1$  to in (23)  
 $[_{DP} D_{POSS}] > [_{DP} \text{ his picture of the president }]$   
 OK                      ALLOWS BINDING *his*

As pointed out by Schlenker (2005), *violations of the minimization principle are allowed if they introduce new semantic effects*. Therefore, picking a redundant occurrence of *his picture of the president* for  $DP^2$  is allowed.

In contrast, there is no difference whether a full occurrence of the constituent appears in  $DP^3$  or not:

- (26) Alternatives for  $DP^3$  with respect  $DP^2$  to in (23)  
 $[_{DP} D_{POSS}] > [_{DP} \text{ his picture of the president }]$   
 THIS ONE!

So the resulting representation is the one sketched in (27).<sup>8</sup>

- (27)  $[_{DP^1} \text{ His}_i \text{ picture of the president}_k] \{ \langle \kappa, \text{NOM} \rangle, \langle \text{Number}, \text{SG} \rangle, \dots \}$  seemed to every man<sub>i</sub>  $[_{DP^2} \text{ his}_i \text{ picture of the president}_k] \{ \langle \kappa, \emptyset \rangle, \langle \text{Number}, \text{SG} \rangle, \dots \}$  to be seen by him<sub>k</sub>  $[_{DP^3} DP_{POSS}] \{ \langle \kappa, \emptyset \rangle, \langle \text{Number}, \emptyset \rangle, \dots \}$  to be a real intrusion.

As seen, a system that does not employ the Copy operation captures in an elegant way many anti-reconstruction patterns.

<sup>6</sup>As discussed in Alexiadou et al. (2007), there are a number of alternatives to maintain that the possessor is generated below  $D^0$ . I remain agnostic regarding the details of the analysis.

<sup>7</sup>This follows from the conditions in (8) under different assumptions, e.g., suppose that  $[_{D^0}]$  has an unvalued feature  $\langle \text{Attr}, \emptyset \rangle$  that attracts an NP to  $\text{Spec}, D_{POSS}$ , while other elements of the determiner type (i.e., the definite determiner *the*, pronouns, etc.) have a by-default valued version of the same feature  $\langle \text{Attr}, \text{DEF} \rangle$ .

<sup>8</sup>Notice that the same assumptions allow explaining the following sentence, also from Lebeaux (2009):

- (1)  $*[_{DP^1} \text{ His}_i \text{ picture of the president}_k]$  seemed to him<sub>k</sub>  $DP^2$  to be seen by every man<sub>i</sub>  $DP^3$  to be a real accomplishment.

Basically, the whole DP *his picture of the president* must reconstruct in  $DP^3$  for the pronoun *his* to be bound by *every man*. However, this already causes a Condition C violation with respect to *him*.

### 3 Reconstruction and anti-reconstruction in parasitic gaps

Movement cannot take place from within adjuncts (28a). However, this seems to be possible if there is already a movement dependency in the matrix structure, i.e., the gap inside the adjunct is “parasitic” on the gap in the main clause (28b).

- (28) a.  $*[_{DP} \text{ Which paper}]^1$  did Elaine review the book  $[_{ADJUNCT} \text{ without reading } t^i]$ ?  
 b.  $[_{DP} \text{ Which paper}]^1$  did Elaine review  $t^i$   $[_{ADJUNCT} \text{ without reading } PG^i]$ ?

An immediate question that the this phenomenon raises is whether the gaps  $t^i$  and  $PG^i$  in (28b) have the same properties. There are reasons to believe they are different, at least in certain cases. For instance, while standard gaps of A'-movement trigger weak crossover effects (29a), parasitic gaps do not seem to do so (29b).

- (29) a.  $*\text{Who}^i$  did  $\text{his}_i$  teacher vouch for  $t^i$ ?  
 b.  $\text{Who}^i$  did you gossip about  $t^i$   $[_{ADJUNCT} \text{ despite } \text{his}_i \text{ teachers having vouched for } PG^i]$ ?

To account for this asymmetry, Lasnik & Stowell (1991) suggest that parasitic gaps do not function as variables. In our terms, this would imply that *the difference between  $t^i$  and  $PG^i$  in (29b) is that the latter is not required to be interpreted as an anaphoric definite description through Trace Conversion*.

Under this assumption, consider the sentence in (30).

- (30)  $[_{DP^1} \text{ Which picture of Jerry}_i]$  did Elaine destroy  $DP^2$   $[_{ADJUNCT} \text{ after he}_i \text{ saw } DP^3]$

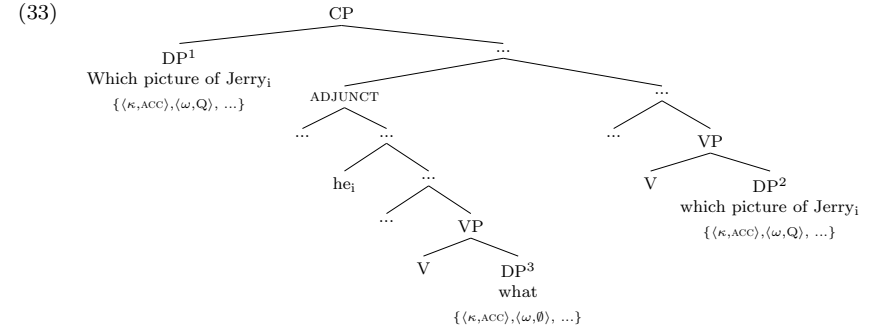
Just as in (19),  $DP^2$  must contain a full occurrence of *which picture of Jerry* to replace *which* for a definite determiner and interpret the phrase as a variable.

- (31) Alternatives for  $DP^2$  in (30)  
 $[_{DP} \text{ which}^{\text{min/max}}] > [_{DP} \text{ what}_\varphi] > [_{DP} \text{ which picture of Jerry}]$   
 \*                      \*                      THIS ONE!

While the same alternatives are available for  $DP^3$ , there is an important difference:  $DP^3$  is not required to function as a bound variable, so there is no need to pick a full occurrence of *which picture of Jerry* in that position. A bare interrogative determiner  $\text{which}^{\text{min/max}}$  will not work as a first option since  $DP^3$  needs to value the  $\varphi$ -features of the  $v$ -head within the adjunct.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, “the best pick” for  $DP^3$  is a pronoun.

- (32) Alternatives for  $DP^3$  in (30)  
 $[_{DP} \text{ which}^{\text{min/max}}] > [_{DP} \text{ what}_\varphi] > [_{DP} \text{ which picture of Jerry}]$   
 \*                      THIS ONE!

An sketchy tree for (30) is as in (33). This representation predicts the formation of two chains  $CH_1 = \{DP^1, DP^2\}$  and  $CH_2 = \{DP^1, DP^3\}$ , from which only the former is interpreted as an operator-variable dependency. Also, this tree shows that there is no Condition C violation.

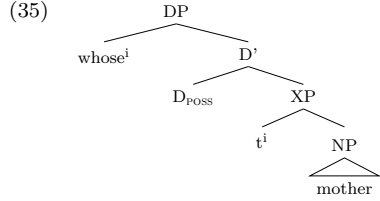


<sup>9</sup>I take that some  $\varphi$ -features of the DP, e.g., Number, are intrinsically valued in the NP (or in a functional projection below D).

There are certain contexts in which parasitic gaps do reconstruct. As Williams (1990:271) points out, whose-phrases show reconstruction effects: in (34), the pronoun *he* cannot be interpreted as linked to *whose*; Williams presumes that this is due to Condition C.

(34)  $[_{DP^1} \text{ Whose}_i \text{ mother}] \text{ did we warn } DP^2 \text{ } [_{ADJUNCT} \text{ before he}_{*j} \text{ arrested } DP^3]?$

I previously assumed that (i) pronominal possessors are generated below a head  $D_{POSS}$  and subsequently move to Spec, $D_{POSS}$  (35), and (ii) that DPs headed by  $D_{POSS}$  can only form chains with other DPs headed by  $D_{POSS}$ .



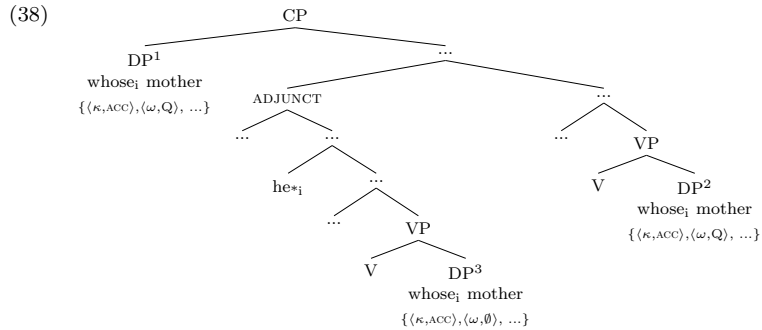
Under this second assumption, the alternatives for  $DP^2$  in (34) are only two.  $DP^2$  must be interpreted as containing a variable, so a complete occurrence of *whose mother* is required in this position.

(36) Alternatives for  $DP^2$  in (34)  
 $[_{DP} D_{POSS}] > [_{DP} \text{ whose mother}]$   
 \* THIS ONE!

As stated, parasitic gaps are not required to be or to contain variables, so  $DP^3$  could in principle have no NP restrictor. However, this DP must at least be able to value the  $\varphi$  of the  $v$  probe inside the adjunct. Since a bare  $D_{POSS}$  cannot do this, the full DP *whose mother* must be picked in this position.

(37) Alternatives for  $DP^3$  in (34)  
 $[_{DP} D_{POSS}] > [_{DP} \text{ whose mother}]$   
 \* THIS ONE!

The resulting structure is sketched in (38).<sup>10</sup>



Two chains are formed here according to (8):  $CH_1 = \{DP^1, DP^2\}$  and  $CH_2 = \{DP^1, DP^3\}$ . Since  $DP^2$  and  $DP^3$  are identical to  $DP^1$ , Trace Conversion applies in both positions (cf. (20)). The crucial prediction is that the pronoun *he* will cause a weak crossover effect if interpreted linked to *whose*.

Consider the pair of sentences in (39).

- (39) a.  $[_{DP^1} \text{ Which picture of himself}_i] \text{ did Cosmo}_i \text{ destroy } DP^2 \text{ } [_{ADJUNCT} \text{ after Elaine saw } DP^3]$   
 b.  $*[_{DP^1} \text{ Which picture of herself}_i] \text{ did Cosmo destroy } DP^2 \text{ } [_{ADJUNCT} \text{ after Elaine}_i \text{ saw } DP^3]$

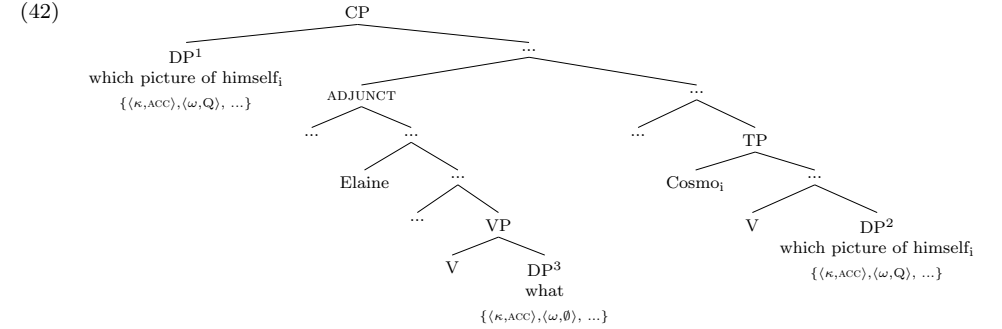
Lets begin with (39a). Only a full occurrence of *which picture of himself* in  $DP^2$  yields a proper operator-variable dependency.

(40) Alternatives for  $DP^2$  in (39a)  
 $[_{DP} \text{ which}^{\min/\max}] > [_{DP} \text{ what}_\varphi] > [_{DP} \text{ which picture of himself}]$   
 \* \* THIS ONE!

While a pronoun in  $DP^3$  is enough to value the  $\varphi$ -features of  $v$  inside the adjunct.

(41) Alternatives for  $DP^3$  in (39a)  
 $[_{DP} \text{ which}^{\min/\max}] > [_{DP} \text{ what}_\varphi] > [_{DP} \text{ which picture of himself}]$   
 \* THIS ONE! \*

The resulting representation is sketched in (42), in which the anaphor *himself* in  $DP^2$  is bound by *Cosmo*.



With respect to (39b), there is no good alternative at all for  $DP^2$ . Crucially, the NP *picture of herself* cannot appear in this position as the anaphor *herself* does not find a proper antecedent neither in  $DP^1$  nor in  $DP^2$ , the only two members of the chain  $CH = \{DP^1, DP^2\}$ .

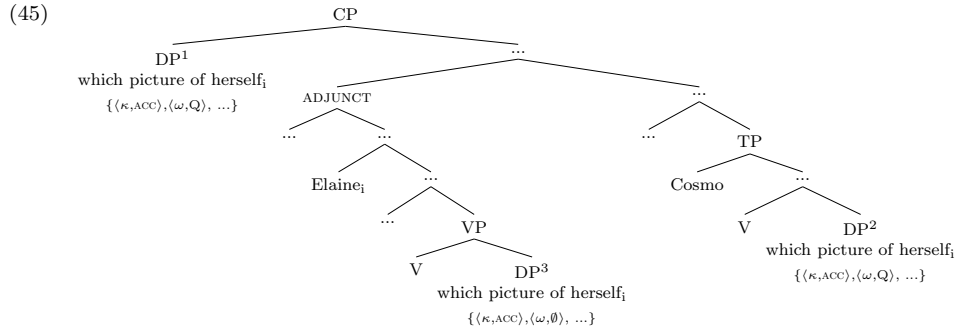
(43) Alternatives for  $DP^2$  in (39b)  
 $[_{DP} \text{ which}^{\min/\max}] > [_{DP} \text{ what}_\varphi] > [_{DP} \text{ which picture of herself}]$   
 \* \* \*

Therefore, the unacceptability of this sentence does not depend on whether there is reconstruction or not inside the adjunct:  $DP^3$  could be either a pronoun or a full DP.

(44) Alternatives for  $DP^3$  in (39b)  
 $[_{DP} \text{ which}^{\min/\max}] > [_{DP} \text{ what}_\varphi] > [_{DP} \text{ which picture of herself}]$   
 \* OK ALLOWS BINDING *herself*

The representation in (45) shows that no occurrence of the anaphor *herself* in the chain  $CH = \{DP^1, DP^2\}$  finds an antecedent according to Condition A. On the contrary, the chain  $CH = \{DP^1, DP^3\}$  has an occurrence of *herself* within  $DP^3$  that is bound.

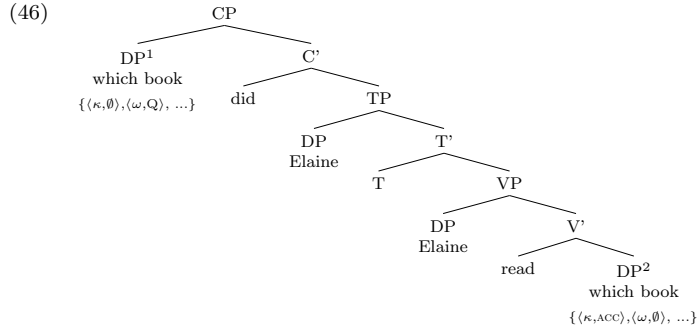
<sup>10</sup>I assume that the  $\omega$ -features of *whose* percolate to the DP projection.



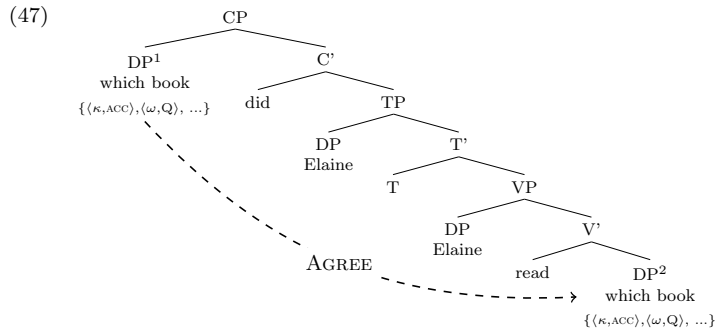
In sum, the proposed system allows to account for puzzling reconstruction and anti-reconstruction patterns in parasitic gaps.

## 4 What about Ingredient B?

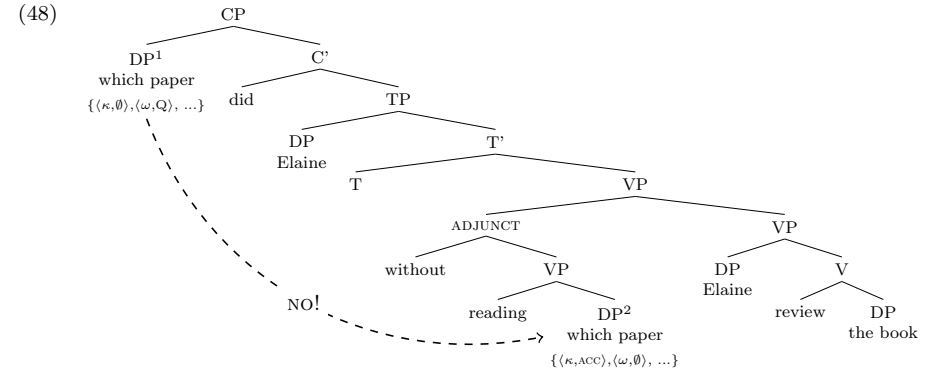
A system that forms chains from base-generated constituents must explain why island restrictions exist at all. At least for adjunct islands, it may be proposed that their encapsulated nature follows from the locality of Agree. That is, when base-generated, a wh-phrase in the specifier of an interrogative complementizer satisfies its  $\omega$ -feature, but its  $\kappa$ -feature remains unvalued.



The  $\kappa$ -feature of DP<sup>1</sup> in may be satisfied through Agree with DP<sup>2</sup>, as in (47). This way, both DPs satisfy their activity-features.



However, if DP<sup>2</sup> is inside an island, the Probe DP<sup>1</sup> cannot reach it. Therefore, a sentence like the one exemplified in (28a) is unacceptable due to an unvalued  $\kappa$ -feature in DP<sup>1</sup>.



Notice, however, that this kind of restriction applies only to A'-dependencies. Independent restrictions are required to account for A-movement, for instance (see appendix).

## 5 Concluding remarks

- An inclusion relation between feature-values allows to distinguish between elements forming a chain and unrelated repetitions of a constituent.
- By adopting this view and abandoning the Copy operation, it is possible to account for many anti-reconstruction effects. The patterns follow from the interaction of representational economy and interpretability requirements.
- However, the proposed system only derives movement restrictions for A'-dependencies. Additional assumptions are required to account for other constraints on syntactic displacement.

## 6 A loose end

Kayne (1983) notices that parasitic gaps within islands inside islands produce unacceptable results.

- (49)
- ? [DP The books]<sup>i</sup> you should read t<sup>i</sup> [before it becomes difficult to talk about PG<sup>i</sup>].
  - \* [DP The books]<sup>i</sup> you read t<sup>i</sup> [before [talking about PG<sup>i</sup>] becomes difficult].

While an approach to parasitic gaps based on the copy operation can account for this restriction (Nunes 2004), the system advanced here has nothing to say about this contrast.

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