

Moving away from antilocality

A defense of very local movement

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Standard assumption: movement must be local.

Constraints on movement

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Example:

Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000:108)

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The other side of the coin: Can movement be **too local**?

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(See also: Saito and Murasugi 1999; Grohmann and Haegeman 2003; Grohmann and Panagiotidis 2015; Ticio 2005; Schneider-Zioga 2007; Abels 2012; Grohmann 2011; Bošković 2015, 2016; Erlewine 2016, 2020; Brillman and Hirsch 2016; Brillman 2017; Amaechi and Georgi 2019; Deal 2019; Martínez Vera 2019; Davis 2020, 2023; Newman 2020; Zyman 2021; Arregi and Murphy 2022; Branan 2022; Toquero-Pérez 2022; Fritzsche 2023; Petersen O'Farrill 2023; Richards to appear; Bondarenko and Davis to appear)

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Is antilocality empirically **adequate**?

- ▶ Does very local movement not exist at all?

Our response

A generalized antilocality constraint is **theoretically unmotivated**.

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- ▶ **A defense of very local movement:**
possessor relativization in West Circassian.
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a brief history and critique.
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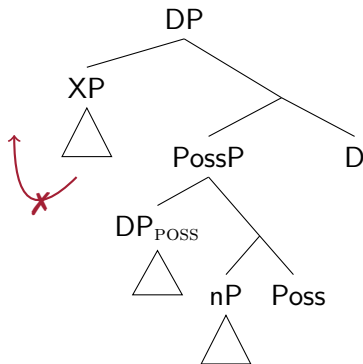
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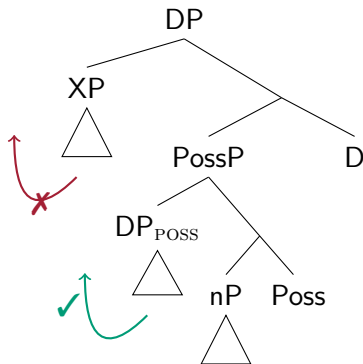
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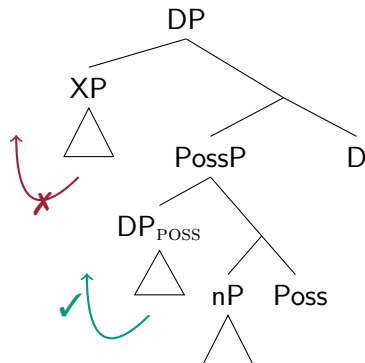
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⇒ merged below Spec,DP
—in Spec,PossP

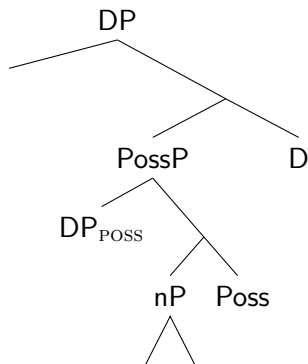


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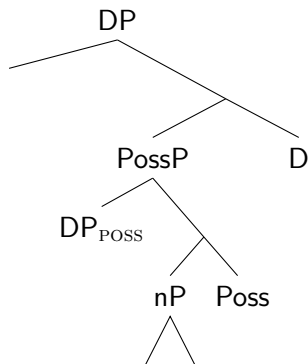
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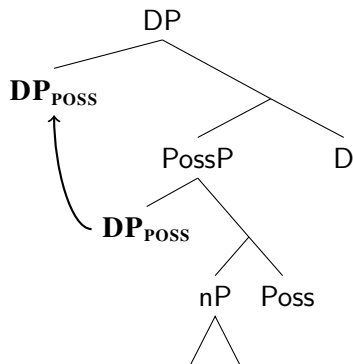
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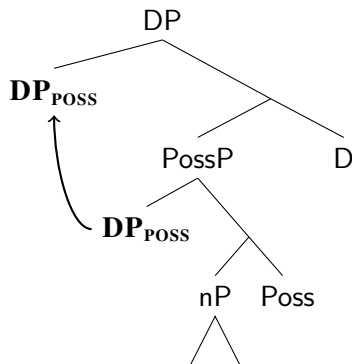
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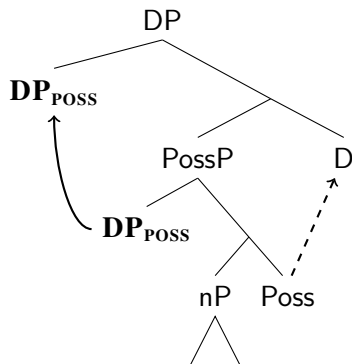
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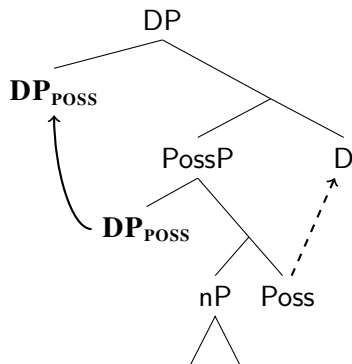
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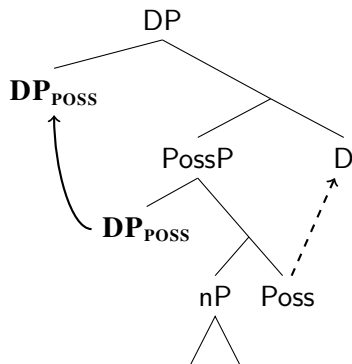
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Possessor movement violates Spec-to-Spec antilocality.

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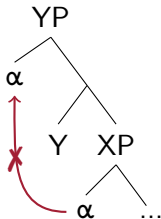
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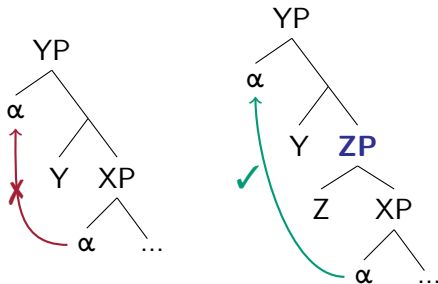


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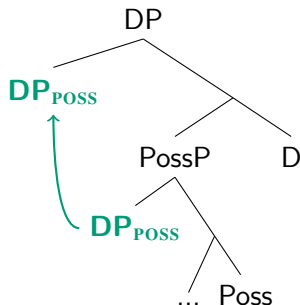
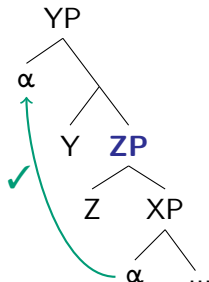
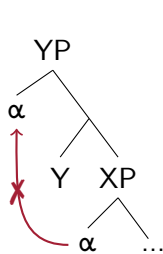


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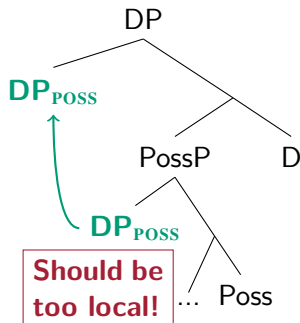
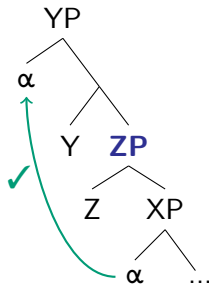
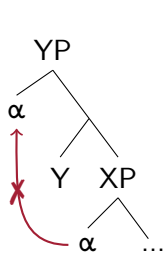


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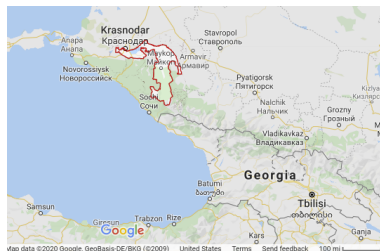
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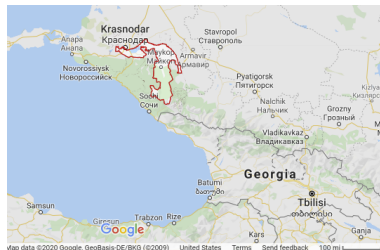
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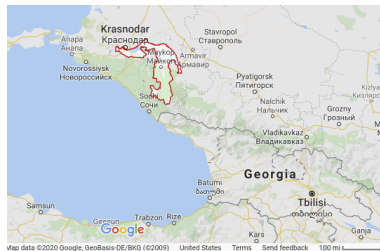
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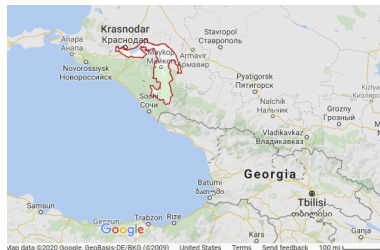
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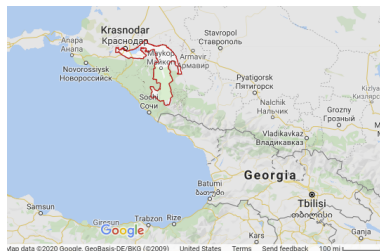
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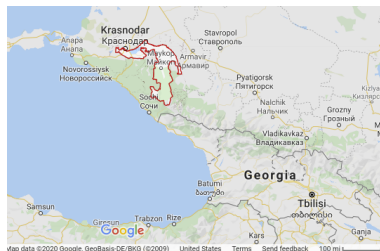


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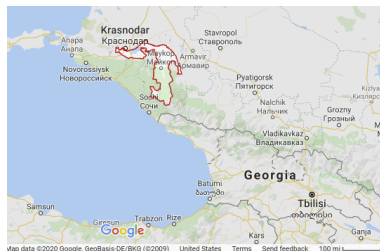


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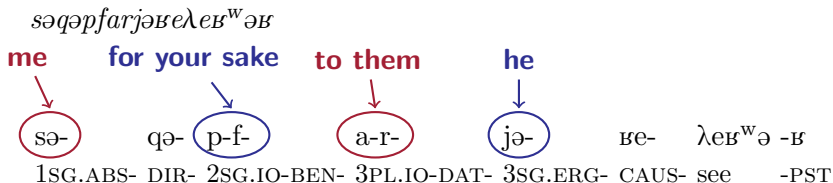
sə-	qə-	p-f-	a-r-	jə-	βe-	λeβ ^w ə	-β
1SG.ABS-	DIR-	2SG.IO-BEN-	3PL.IO-DAT-	3SG.ERG-	CAUS-	see	-PST

‘He showed me to them for your sake.’

(Korotkova and Lander 2010:301)

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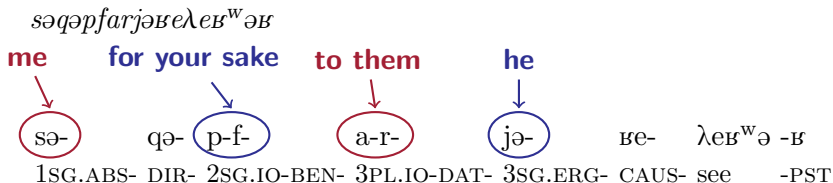


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Agreement order: **ABS-** **IO+APPL-** **ERG-**

Head marking on nominals

Possessor agreement:

s- šəpχ^wəxer
1SG.POSS- sister.PL.ABS

‘my sisters’

Case marking is ergative

S

mə pšaše-**r** daxew qaš^we
this girl-**ABS** well dances

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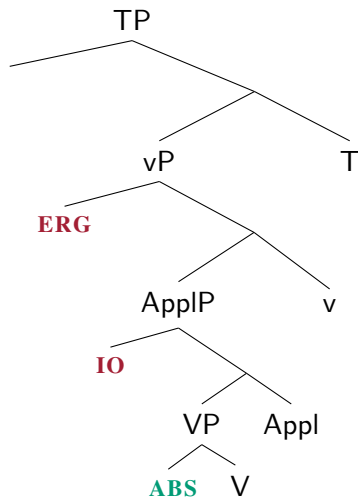
O

sabəjxe-**m** haxe-**r** qaλeβ^wəβ
children-**ERG** dogs-**ABS** saw

‘The children saw the dogs.’

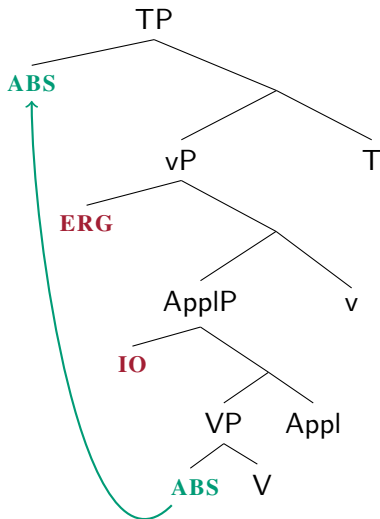
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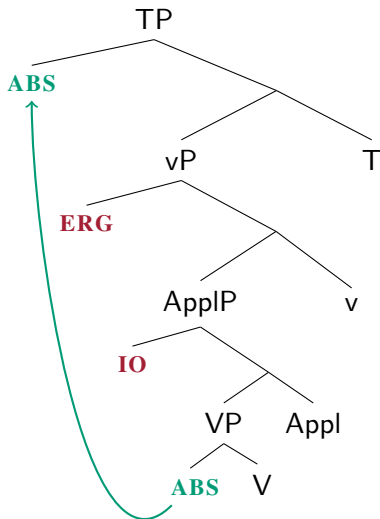
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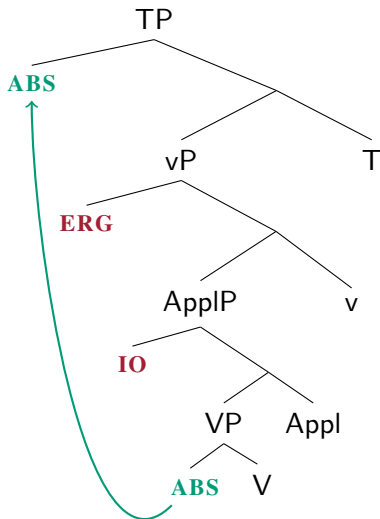
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- ▶ ERG and IO DPs remain in situ.
- ▶ **Evidence:** parasitic gaps and reciprocal binding

(Ershova 2019, 2021, 2023)



Structure of relative clauses

(Caponigro and Polinsky 2011; Lander 2012; Ershova 2021)

Finite clause:

a-š'	txəλə-r	[mə ɟəfə-m]
that-ERG	book-ABS	this person-OBL
Ø-	Ø-	r- jə- tə-ʁ
3ABS-	3SG.IO-	DAT- 3SG.ERG- give-PST

'S/he gave a book to this person.'

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Relative clause:

[**Op** txələ-r IO Ø- **ze-** r- jə- tə-be]
 book-ABS 3ABS- **WH.IO-** DAT- 3SG.ERG- give-PST
 ɟəfə-r
 person-ABS

'the person to whom s/he gave the book' (Lander 2012:276)

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Possessor relativization

ŝ^wəzew_i [__POSS zə- q^we](ABS) hapsem
woman WH.POSS- son prison.OBL
Ø-Ø-č-a-zaŋe-r
3ABS-3IO.SG-LOC-3PL.ERG-throw.PST.ABS

‘the woman whose son they threw in jail’

(Ershova 2024)

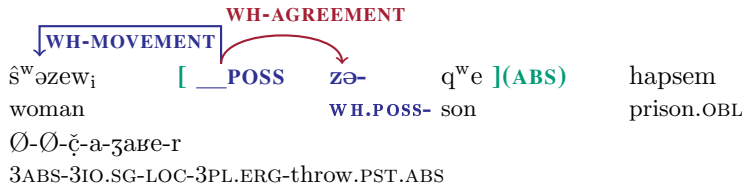
Possessor relativization

↓ WH-MOVEMENT
ŝ^wəzew_i [__ POSS zə- q^we](ABS) hapsem
woman WH.POSS- son prison.OBL
Ø-Ø-č-a-zaɸe-r
3ABS-3IO.SG-LOC-3PL.ERG-throw.PST.ABS

‘the woman whose son they threw in jail’

(Ershova 2024)

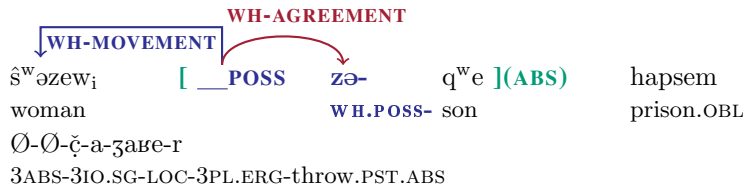
Possessor relativization



'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization

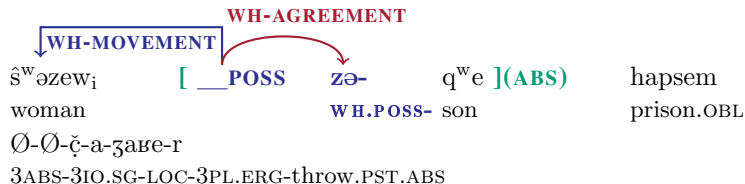


'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

✓ from ABS internal argument

(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization

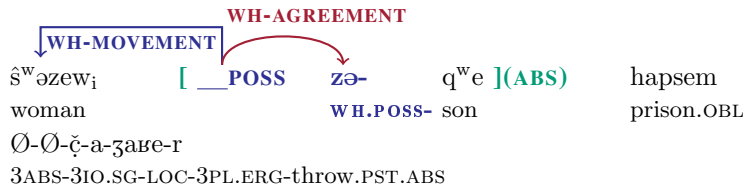


'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

- ✓ from ABS internal argument
- ✓ from ABS external argument

(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization

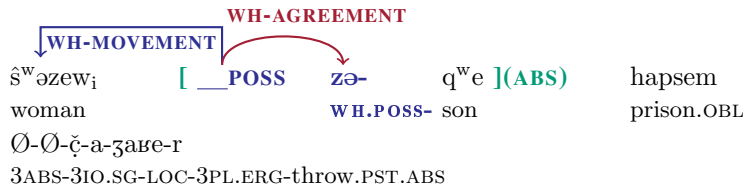


'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

- ✓ from ABS internal argument
- ✓ from ABS external argument
- ✓ from complement of P

(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization

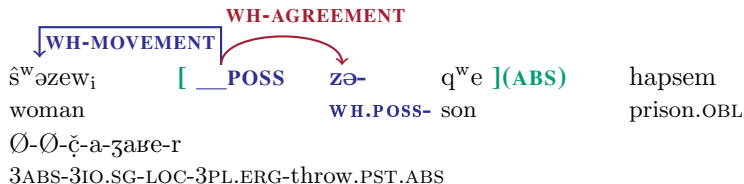


'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

- ✓ from ABS internal argument ✗ from ERG DP
- ✓ from ABS external argument
- ✓ from complement of P

(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization

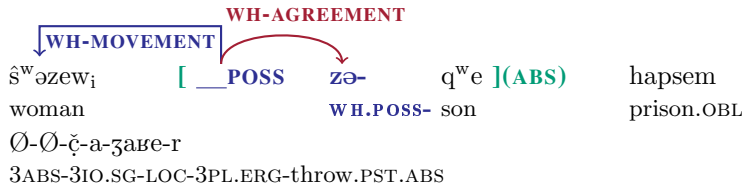


'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

- ✓ from ABS internal argument
- ✓ from ABS external argument
- ✓ from complement of P
- ✗ from ERG DP
- ✗ from IO DP

(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization



'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

✓ from ABS internal argument

✗ from ERG DP

✓ from ABS external argument

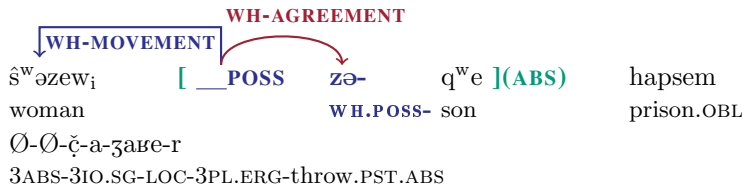
✗ from IO DP

✓ from complement of P

phase edges

(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization



'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

✓ from ABS internal argument

✗ from ERG DP

✓ from ABS external argument

✗ from IO DP

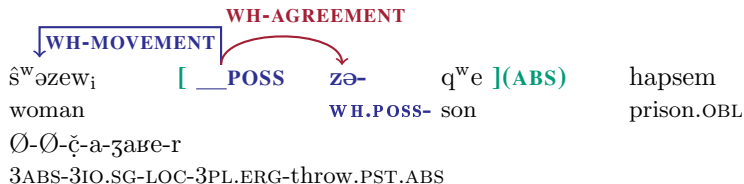
✓ from complement of P

phase edges

Spec,vP (Chomsky 2000, etc.)

(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization



'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

✓ from ABS internal argument

✗ from ERG DP

✓ from ABS external argument

✗ from IO DP

✓ from complement of P

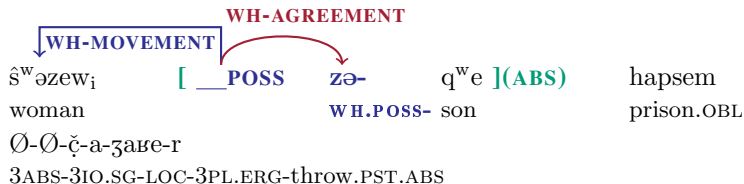
phase edges

Spec,vP (Chomsky 2000, etc.)

Spec,AppIP
 (McGinnis 2000, 2001)

(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization



'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

✓ from ABS internal argument

✗ from ERG DP

✓ from ABS external argument

✗ from IO DP

✓ from complement of P

phase edges

✓ from possessor of ABS

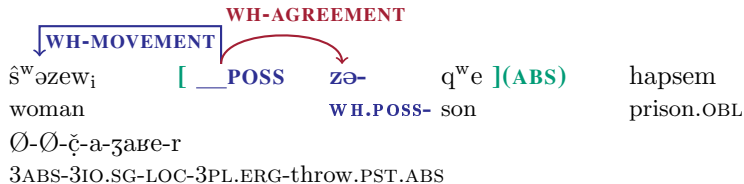
Spec,vP (Chomsky 2000, etc.)

Spec,AppIP

(McGinnis 2000, 2001)

(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization



'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

✓ from ABS internal argument

✗ from ERG DP

✓ from ABS external argument

✗ from IO DP

✓ from complement of P

phase edges

✓ from possessor of ABS

Spec,vP (Chomsky 2000, etc.)

Spec,AppIP

(McGinnis 2000, 2001)

⇒ not phase edge

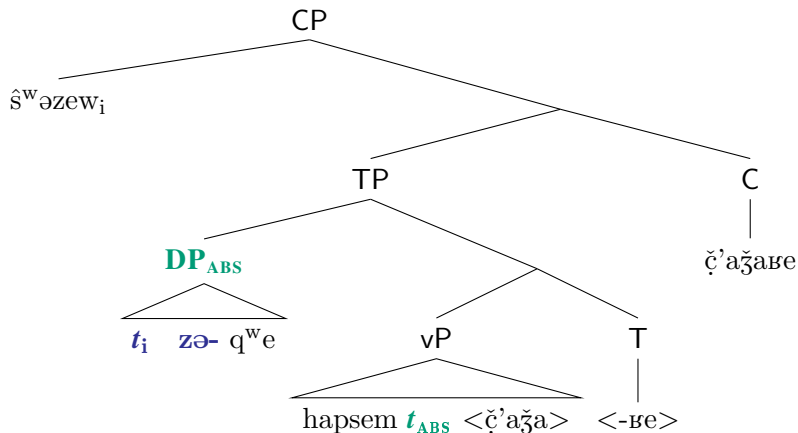
(Ershova 2024)

Possessor relativization from ABS theme

ŝ^wəzew_i [t_i zə- q^we] hapsem t_{ABS} č'aʒaɸe -r
woman WH.POSS- son prison.OBL they threw -ABS

'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

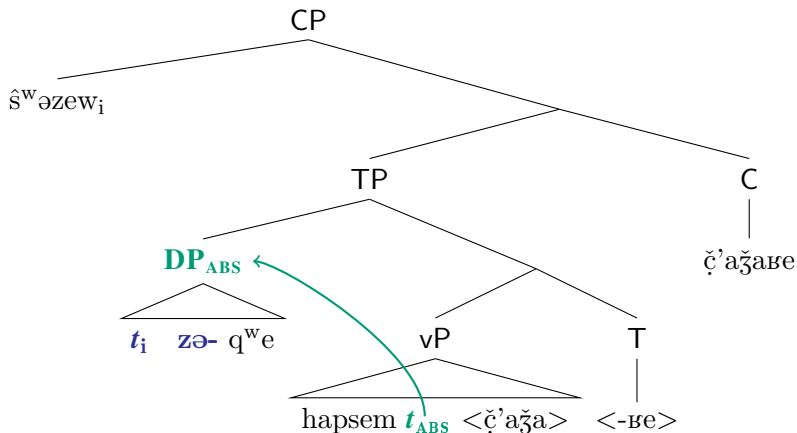
Possessor relativization from ABS theme



$\hat{S}^w_{əzew_i}$ [t_i $zə-$ q^we] hapsem t_{ABS} $\check{c}'a\check{z}əbe$ -r
 woman WH.POSS- son prison.OBL they threw -ABS

'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

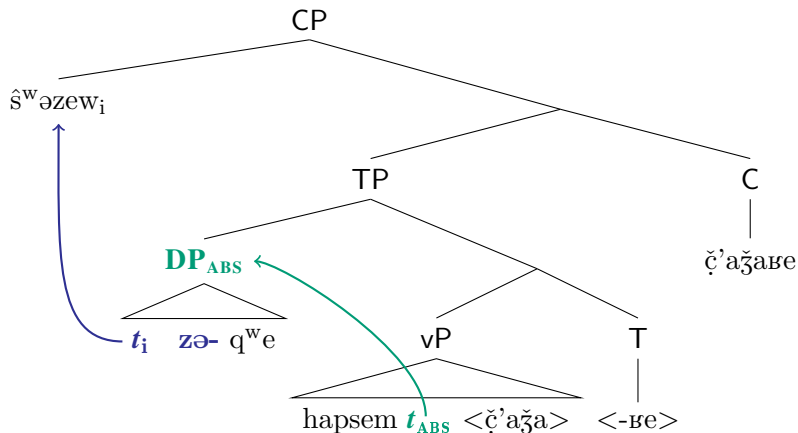
Possessor relativization from ABS theme



$\hat{S}^w_{əzew_i}$ [t_i $zə-$ q^w_e] hapsem t_{ABS} $\check{c}'a\check{z}əbe$ -r
 woman WH.POSS- son prison.OBL they threw -ABS

'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

Possessor relativization from ABS theme



$\hat{S}^w_{\text{əzew}_i}$ [t_i $z\text{-}$ q^w_e] hapsem t_{ABS} $\check{c}'a\check{z}a_{\text{BE}}$ -r
 woman WH.POSS- son prison.OBL they threw -ABS

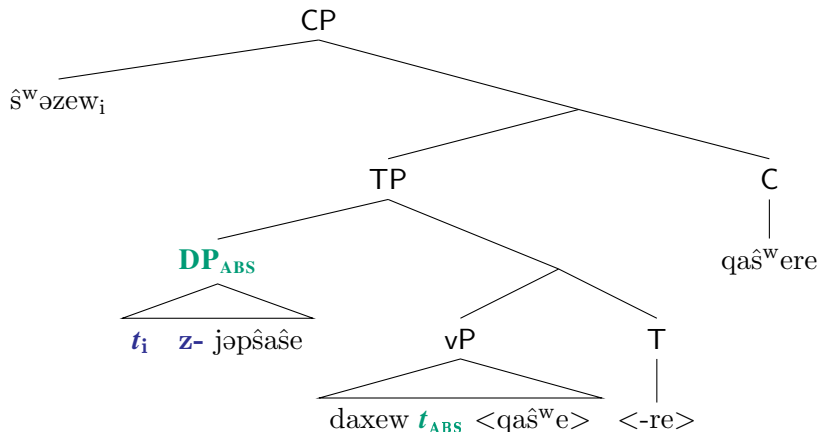
'the woman whose son they threw in jail'

Possessor relativization from ABS external argument

ŝ^wəzew_i [t_i z- jəpŝaŝe] daxew t_{ABS} Ø-qaŝ^were -r
woman WH.POSS- girl well 3ABS-dance.PRS -ABS

‘the woman whose daughter dances well’

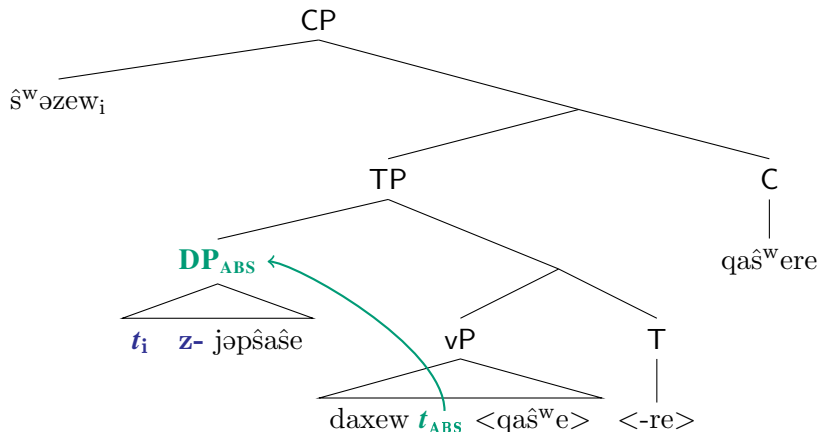
Possessor relativization from ABS external argument



$\hat{S}^w_{əzew_i}$ [t_i z- jəpšaše] daxew t_{ABS} Ø-qas^were -r
 woman WH.POSS- girl well 3ABS-dance.PRS -ABS

'the woman whose daughter dances well'

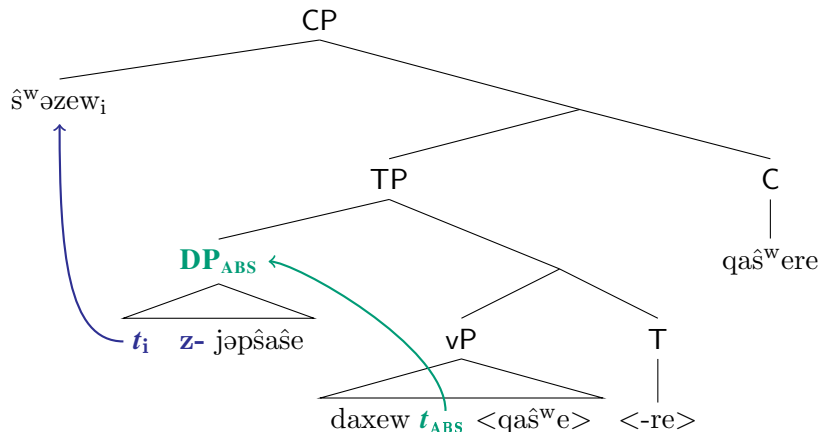
Possessor relativization from ABS external argument



$\hat{S}^w\text{əzew}_i$ [t_i z- jəpšaše] daxew t_{ABS} Ø-qaš^were -r
 woman WH.POSS- girl well 3ABS-dance.PRS -ABS

'the woman whose daughter dances well'

Possessor relativization from ABS external argument



$\hat{S}^w_{əzew_i}$ [t_i $z-$ $jəpšəše$] $daxew$ t_{ABS} \emptyset - $qəš^we$ $-r$
 woman WH.POSS- girl well 3ABS-dance.PRS -ABS

'the woman whose daughter dances well'

Possessor relativization from complement of P

Op_i [PP t_i zjə-wəne dež'] mezə-r ɸerjek^we
 WH.POSS-house at forest-ABS last year

Ø-Ø-š'ə-stəɸer

3ABS-3SG.IO-LOC-burn.PST.ABS

'the one near whose house the forest burned last year'

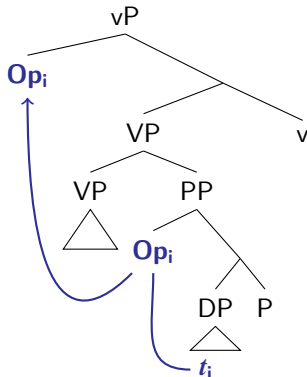
Possessor relativization from complement of P

Op_i [_{PP} t_i zjə-wəne deʒ'] mezə-r ɸerjek^we
 WH.POSS-house at forest-ABS last year

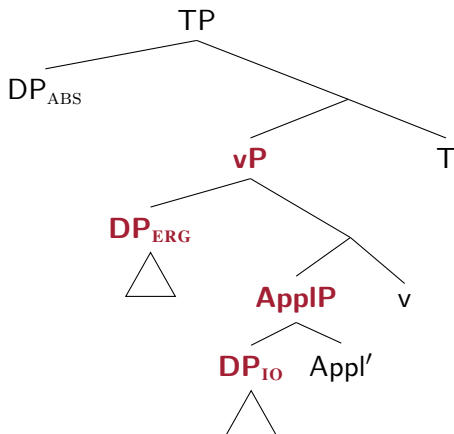
 $\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\check{s}'\text{-st}\text{\textbackslash}er$

3ABS-3SG.IO-LOC-burn.PST.ABS

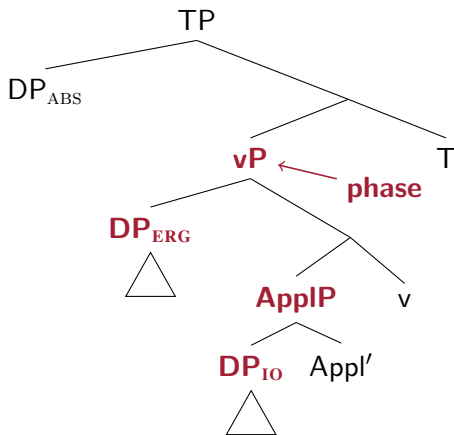
'the one near whose house the forest burned last year'



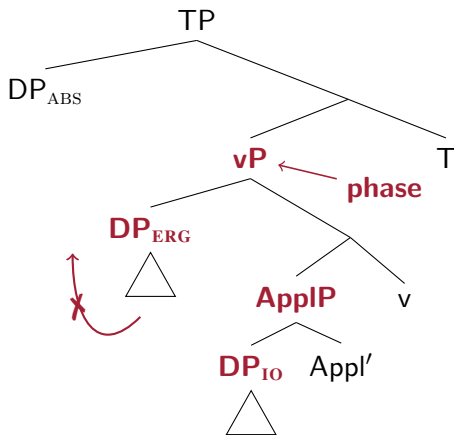
Relativization from phase edges is ungrammatical



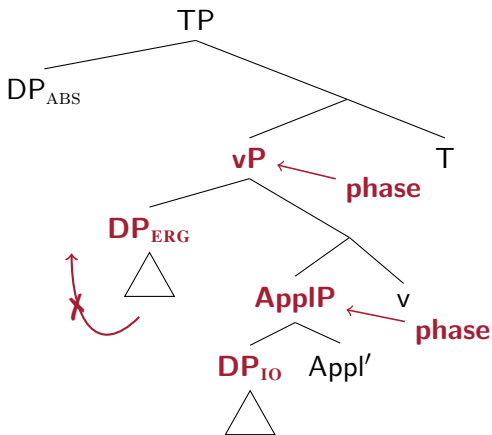
Relativization from phase edges is ungrammatical



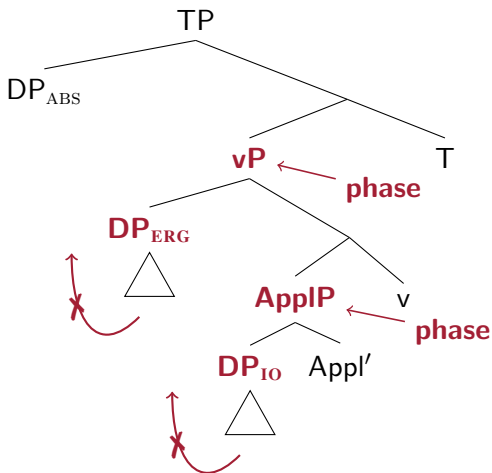
Relativization from phase edges is ungrammatical



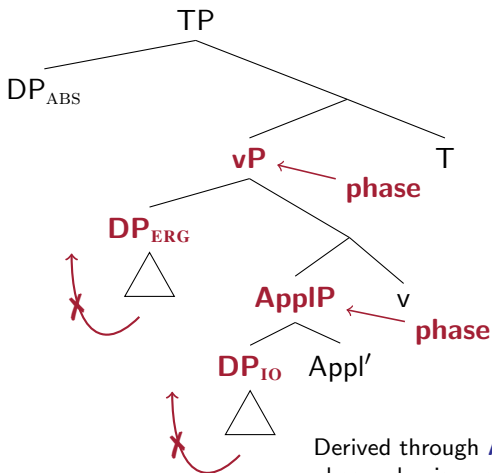
Relativization from phase edges is ungrammatical



Relativization from phase edges is ungrammatical



Relativization from phase edges is ungrammatical



Derived through **Agree-based phasehood**:
phase edge is opaque because phase intervenes
(Rackowski and Richards 2005; van Urk and Richards 2015; Halpert
2019; Ershova 2024)
(Appendix)

Possessor of ERG cannot be relativized directly

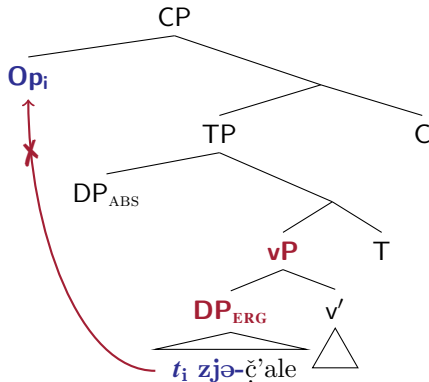
* Op_i [*t_i* **zjə-č'**ale] daxew wered Ø-q-ə-ɽ^werer
 WH.POSS-boy well song 3ABS-DIR-3SG.ERG-sing.PRS.ABS

Intended: 'the one whose son sings well'

Possessor of ERG cannot be relativized directly

* Op_i [t_i **zjə-č'ale**] daxew wered Ø-q-ə-ɽ^werer
WH.POSS-boy well song 3ABS-DIR-3SG.ERG-sing.PRS.ABS

Intended: 'the one whose son sings well'



Possessor of IO cannot be extracted

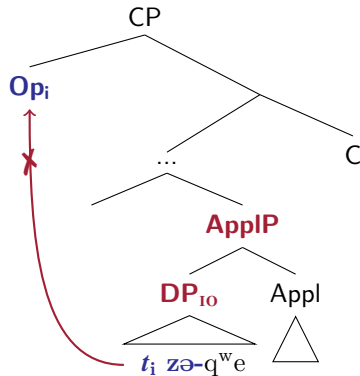
* š^wəzew_i [t_i zə- q^we] č'elejeɞažer Ø-je-çeçaber
woman WH.POSS- son teacher.ABS 3ABS-3SG.DAT-scold.PST.ABS

Intended: 'the woman whose son the teacher scolded'

Possessor of IO cannot be extracted

* $\hat{s}^w \text{əzew}_i$ [t_i zə- $\text{q}^w \text{e}$] č'elejəʒəʒer Ø-je-çəçəber
woman WH.POSS- son teacher.ABS 3ABS-3SG.DAT-scold.PST.ABS

Intended: 'the woman whose son the teacher scolded'



Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument
- ✓ ABS external argument

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument
 - ✓ ABS external argument
- } **Spec,TP**

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument
 - ✓ ABS external argument
 - ✓ complement of P
- } **Spec,TP**

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument
 - ✓ ABS external argument
 - ✓ complement of P
- } **Spec,TP**
- PP = adjunct to VP**

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument
 - ✓ ABS external argument
 - ✓ complement of P
- Spec,TP**
- PP = adjunct to VP**

Possessor relativization is impossible from:

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument
 - ✓ ABS external argument
 - ✓ complement of P
- Spec,TP**
- PP = adjunct to VP**

Possessor relativization is impossible from:

- ✗ ERG external argument

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument
 - ✓ ABS external argument
 - ✓ complement of P
- Spec,TP**
- PP = adjunct to VP**

Possessor relativization is impossible from:

- ✗ ERG external argument
- ✗ IO applied object

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument
 - ✓ ABS external argument
 - ✓ complement of P
- } **Spec,TP**
- PP = adjunct to VP**

Possessor relativization is impossible from:

- ✗ ERG external argument
 - ✗ IO applied object
- } **phase edges**

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument
 - ✓ ABS external argument
 - ✓ complement of P
- } **Spec,TP**
- PP = adjunct to VP**

Possessor relativization is impossible from:

- ✗ ERG external argument
 - ✗ IO applied object
- } **phase edges**

Possessor relativization is also possible from possessor DPs

Interim summary: Phase edges are opaque

Possessor relativization is possible from:

- ✓ ABS internal argument
 - ✓ ABS external argument
 - ✓ complement of P
- } **Spec,TP**
- PP = adjunct to VP**

Possessor relativization is impossible from:

- ✗ ERG external argument
 - ✗ IO applied object
- } **phase edges**

Possessor relativization is also possible from possessor DPs
⇒ **possessors are not at a phase edge (Spec,DP)**

Possessor relativization from a possessor

pšašew _i	[DP [DP <i>t_i</i> zə-šəpχ ^w](POSS)	Ø-jəpšešer ^w](ABS)
girl	WH.POSS -sister	3SG.POSS-girlfriend
dexededew	Ø-qaš ^w ere]	-r
very beautifully	3ABS-dance.PRS	-ABS

‘the girl whose sister’s friend dances very beautifully’

Possessor relativization from a possessor

pšašew _i	[DP [DP <i>t_i</i> zə-šəpχ ^w](POSS)	Ø-jəpšešer ^w](ABS) [♦]
girl	WH.POSS -sister	3SG.POSS-girlfriend
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pšašew _i	[DP [DP <i>t_i</i> zə-šəpχ ^w](POSS)	Ø-jəpšešer ^w](ABS) [♦]
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dexededew	Ø-qaš ^w ere]	-r
very beautifully	3ABS-dance.PRS	-ABS

‘the girl whose sister’s friend dances very beautifully’

♦ Only possible from ABS DP.

Possessor relativization from a possessor

pšašew _i	[DP [DP <i>t_i</i> zə-šəpχ ^w](POSS)	Ø-jəpšešer ^w](ABS) [♦]
girl	WH.POSS -sister	3SG.POSS-girlfriend
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very beautifully	3ABS-dance.PRS	-ABS

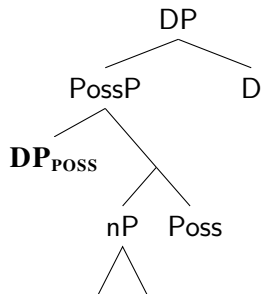
‘the girl whose sister’s friend dances very beautifully’

♦ Only possible from ABS DP.

⇒ **Possessor DP is not in Spec,DP (=phase edge).**

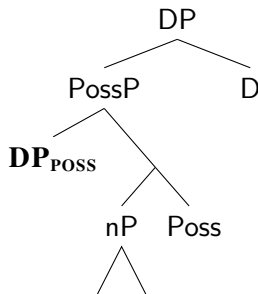
Possessor is in Spec,PossP

- Possessor is merged in Spec,PossP immediately under DP (Szabolcsi 1983, 1994)



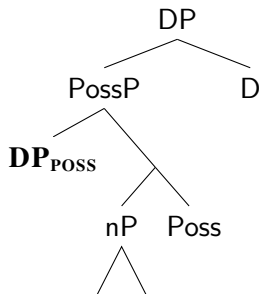
Possessor is in Spec,PossP

- ▶ Possessor is merged in Spec,PossP immediately under DP (Szabolcsi 1983, 1994)
- ▶ Common in literature on Turkic
(Kharytonava 2011; Tat 2013; Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig 2015; Öztürk and Taylan 2016; Ótrott Kovács 2023)



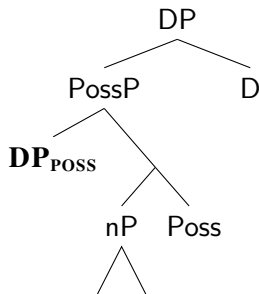
Possessor is in Spec,PossP

- ▶ Possessor is merged in Spec,PossP immediately under DP (Szabolcsi 1983, 1994)
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(Kharytonava 2011; Tat 2013; Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig 2015; Öztürk and Taylan 2016; Ótrott Kovács 2023)
- ▶ Correlates with:



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- ▶ Correlates with:
 - ▶ spec-head ϕ -agreement

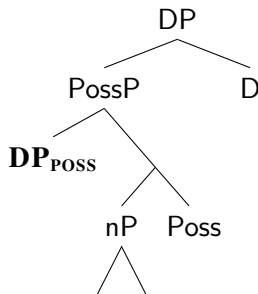


Possessor is in Spec,PossP

- ▶ Possessor is merged in Spec,PossP immediately under DP (Szabolcsi 1983, 1994)

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- ▶ Correlates with:
 - ▶ spec-head ϕ -agreement
 - ▶ case licensing by Poss



Possessor is in Spec,PossP

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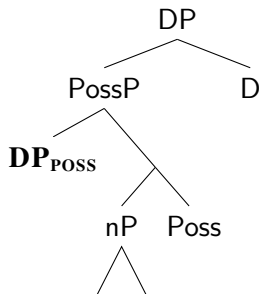
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Öztürk and Taylan 2016; Ótrott Kovács 2023)

- ▶ Correlates with:

- ▶ spec-head ϕ -agreement
- ▶ case licensing by Poss



(se) s-šə

I 1SG.POSS-brother

‘my brother’

Possessor is in Spec,PossP

- Possessor is merged in Spec,PossP immediately under DP (Szabolcsi 1983, 1994)

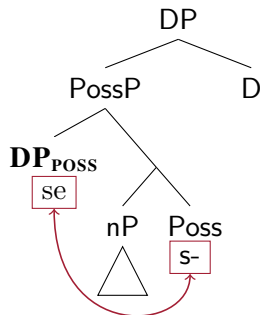
- Common in literature on Turkic

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Öztürk and Taylan 2016; Ótrott Kovács 2023)

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- spec-head ϕ -agreement
- case licensing by Poss



(se) s-šə

I 1SG.POSS-brother

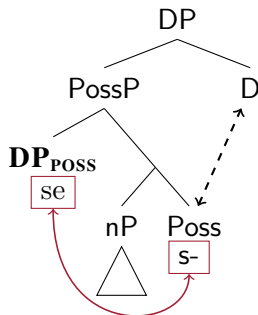
‘my brother’

Possessor is in Spec,PossP

- Possessor is merged in Spec,PossP immediately under DP (Szabolcsi 1983, 1994)

- Common in literature on Turkic
(Kharytonava 2011; Tat 2013; Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig 2015; Öztürk and Taylan 2016; Ótrott Kovács 2023)

- Correlates with:
 - spec-head ϕ -agreement
 - case licensing by Poss
- D and Poss are structurally adjacent



Possessor is in Spec,PossP

- Possessor is merged in Spec,PossP immediately under DP (Szabolcsi 1983, 1994)

- Common in literature on Turkic

(Kharytonava 2011; Tat 2013; Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig 2015;

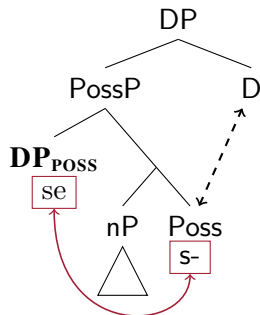
Öztürk and Taylan 2016; Ótrott Kovács 2023)

- Correlates with:

- spec-head ϕ -agreement
- case licensing by Poss

- D and Poss are structurally adjacent

evidence from morphology



(se) s-šə

I 1SG.POSS-brother

'my brother'

The morphology of D = case suffixes

Overt case suffixes correlate with definiteness/specificity.

(Arkadiev and Teselets 2019)

The morphology of D = case suffixes

Overt case suffixes correlate with definiteness/specificity.

(Arkadiev and Testelefs 2019)

ʔaze-deɸ^wə-**m** wjəɸeχ^wəʒ'əš't
doctor-good-**ERG** will cure you

'**The** good doctor will cure you.'

The morphology of D = case suffixes

Overt case suffixes correlate with definiteness/specificity.

(Arkadiev and Testelefs 2019)

ʔaze-deɸ^{wə}-**m** wjəɸeχ^{wə}əž'əš't
doctor-good-**ERG** will cure you

'**The** good doctor will cure you.'

ʔaze-deɸ^{wə} wjəɸeχ^{wə}əž'əš't
doctor-good will cure you

'**A** good doctor will (be able to) cure you.' (Arkadiev and Testelefs 2019:726)

The morphology of D = case suffixes

Overt case suffixes correlate with definiteness/specificity.

(Arkadiev and Testelefs 2019)

ʔaze-deɸ^{wə}-**m** wjəɸeχ^{wə}əž'əš't
doctor-good-**ERG** will cure you

'**The** good doctor will cure you.'

ʔaze-deɸ^{wə} wjəɸeχ^{wə}əž'əš't
doctor-good will cure you

'**A** good doctor will (be able to) cure you.' (Arkadiev and Testelefs 2019:726)

Case suffix = D (definiteness + case)

Structural adjacency between heads is difficult to determine:

Morphological effects with D: case fusion

Structural adjacency between heads is difficult to determine:

Covert structure vs. absence of structure?

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Adjacency is diagnosable in the morphology.

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In West Circassian:

Adjacency is diagnosable in the morphology.

D undergoes morphologically conditioned **case fusion** with **structurally adjacent heads**.

Case fusion with number

Case fusion with number

Plural + oblique case:

Case fusion with number

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Two suffixes: č'ale-**xe-m** 'boy-PL-OBL'

Case fusion with number

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Case fusion with number

Plural + oblique case:

Two suffixes: č'ale-**xe-m** 'boy-PL-OBL'

One suffix: č'ale-**me** 'boy-PL.OBL'

Case fusion:

$[PL] - [OBL] \longrightarrow [PL, OBL]$

Case fusion with number

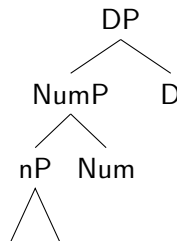
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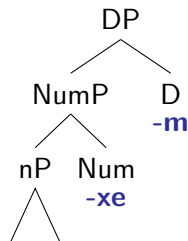
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Case fusion with number

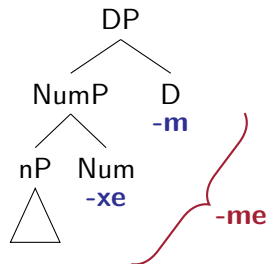
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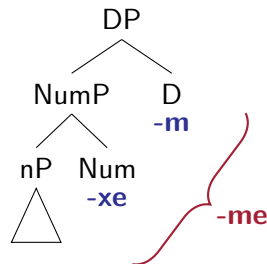
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Case fusion:

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Structural adjacency + linear adjacency



Case fusion with Poss

Singular DP w/possessor: no overt case marking

(Rogava and Keraševa 1966:70)

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‘my friend’

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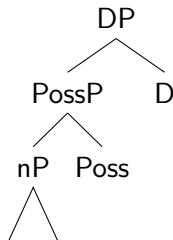
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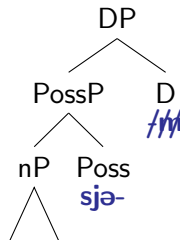
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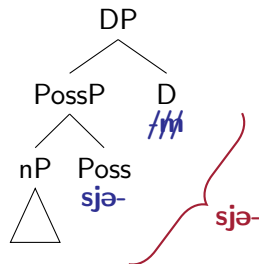
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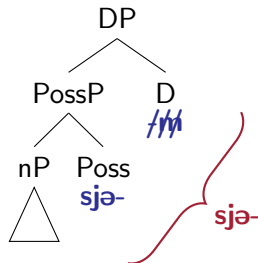
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Possessive prefix \neq D: PossP can appear without DP (Appendix)

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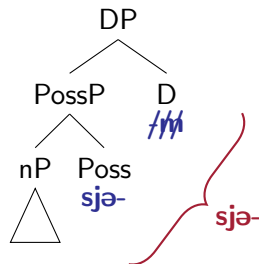
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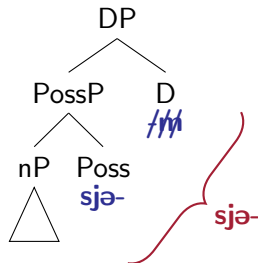
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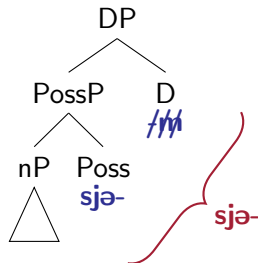
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Affixes are not linearly adjacent \Rightarrow **Structural adjacency**

Confirmation: fusion is disrupted by intervening head

Poss-D fusion disrupted by Num

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Possessive + overt Num:

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Nominal:

sjə-š’ərəq^w-jə-t̪^wə -m
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‘my two boots’ (Adyghe Corpus)

Poss-D fusion disrupted by Num

Possessive + overt Num:

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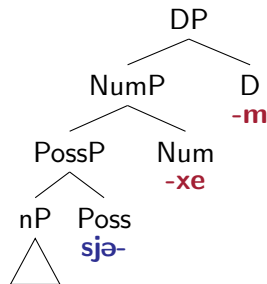
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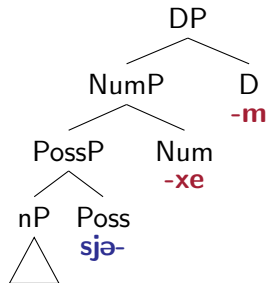
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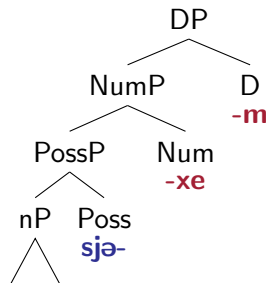
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Poss-D fusion disrupted by Num

Possessive + overt Num:

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Plural suffix:

sjə-nəbžer^{wə}-xe **-m**
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Numeral:

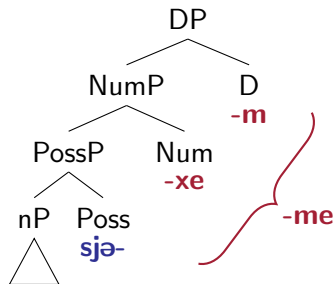
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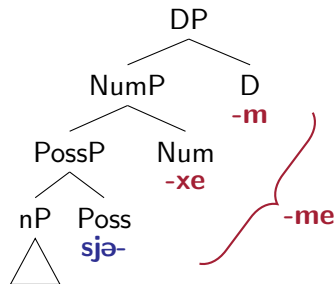
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sjə-nəbžɛʷə-me
1SG.POSS-friend-PL.OBL

'my friends' (Adyghe Corpus)

POSS does not intervene

⇒ Poss is below Num



The role of high Num

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- ▶ High Num denotes restrictive plurality

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- ▶ Num-less DPs are ambiguous wrt number

(Kumakhov 1971; Arkadiev and Testelefs 2019; Bagirokova et al. 2022)

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No morphological number marking \Rightarrow **no NumP**

Takeaway: case fusion and adjacency

D tends to fuse with its neighbor in certain environments.

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Environment 1: Num + D

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Structural adjacency

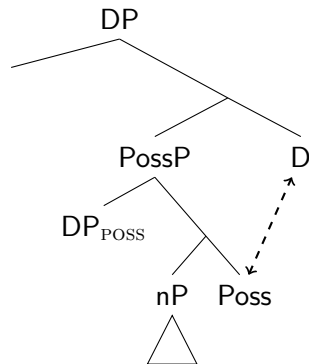
Evidence from morphology: Poss movement is very local!

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Poss and D interact across an overt root

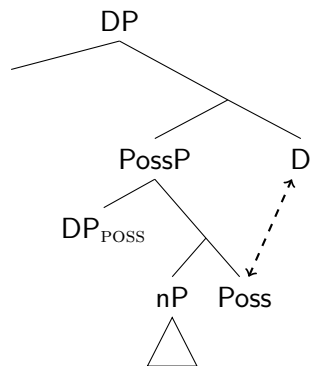


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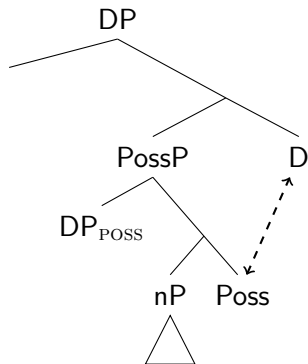
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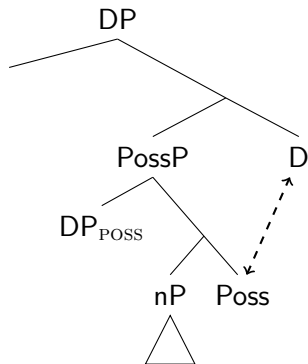
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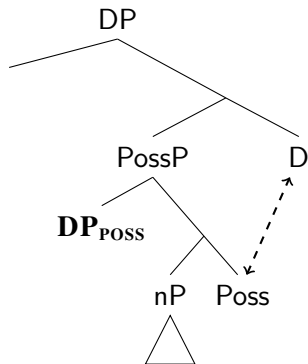
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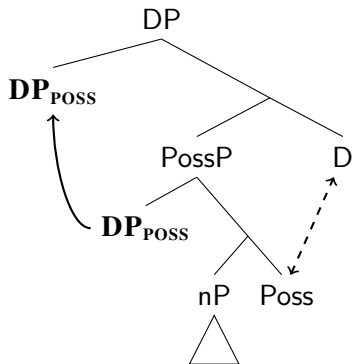
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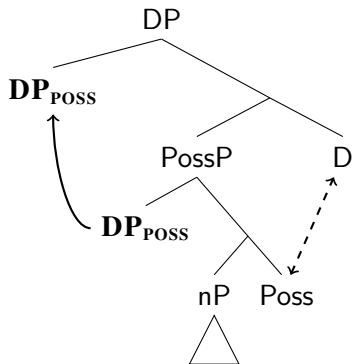
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⇒ **Possessor relativization is very local!**



Antilocality and additional structure

- ▶ Overt Num disrupts Poss–D fusion

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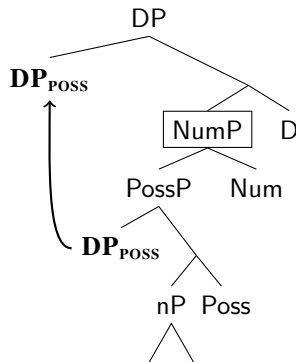
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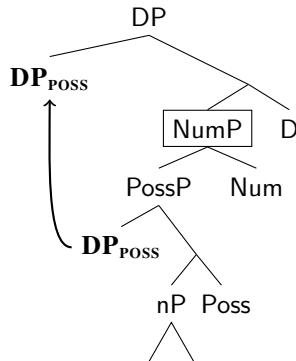
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Not confirmed!



Additional structure does not affect possessor relativization

Op_i [DP t_i [NumP [PossP t_i zjə-č'ale] -xe] -r] bedzerə-m
WH.POSS-boy -PL -ABS market-OBL

š'əsλeɸ^wəxer

3ABS+3SG.IO+LOC+1SG.ERG+see.PST

'the one whose sons I saw at the market' (Ershova 2024:15)

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3ABS+3SG.IO+LOC+1SG.ERG+see.PST

✓POSS movt over NumP

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- ▶ **A defense of very local movement:**
possessor relativization in West Circassian.
- ▶ **Theoretical groundwork of antilocality:**
a brief history and critique.
- ▶ **Antilocal phenomena explained in other ways:**
constraints on subject extraction.

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Saito and Murasugi 1999:182 (our emphasis)

- a. A chain link must be **at least of length 1**.

Chain links must have some length

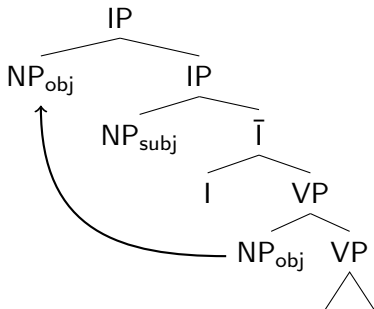
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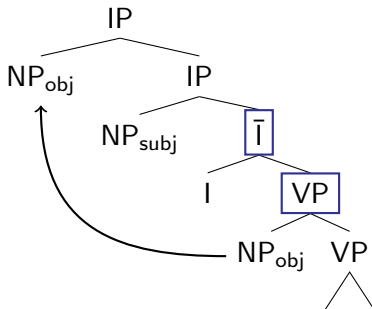
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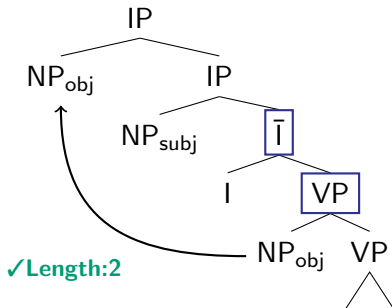
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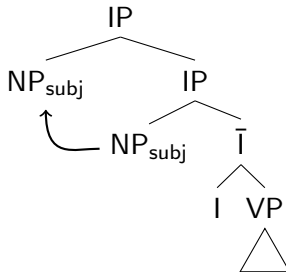
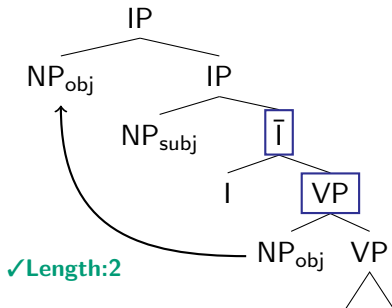
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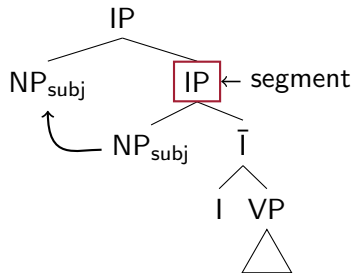
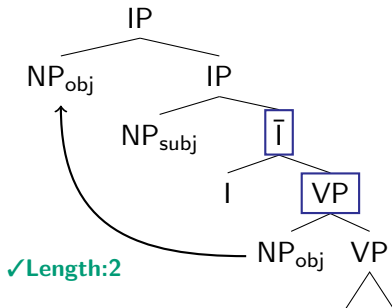
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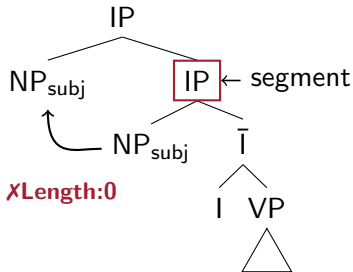
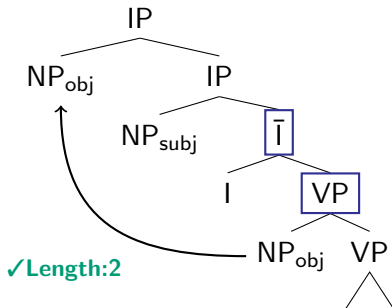
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Last Resort (Abels 2012:105)

A constituent α may only be merged—internally or externally—if that leads to the immediate sharing of a feature.

(Chomsky 1993; Svenonius 1994; Lasnik 1995; Bošković and Takahashi 1998; Pesetsky and Torrego 2006, a.o.)

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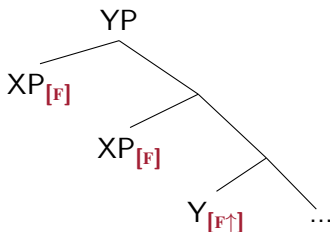
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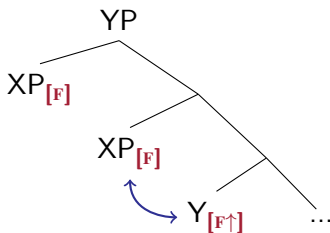
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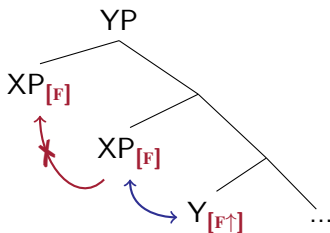
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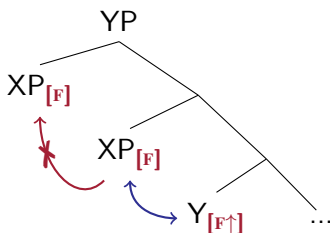
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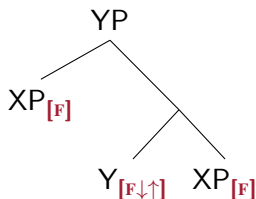
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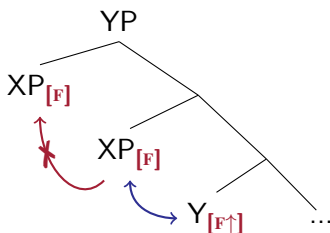
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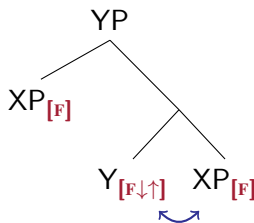
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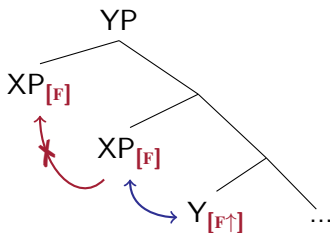
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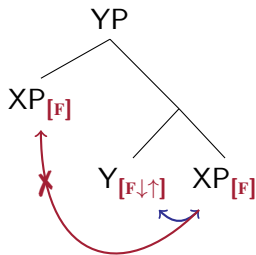
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(Georgi and Müller 2010; Müller 2010; Georgi 2014, 2017; Martinović 2015, 2023; Ershova 2019, 2024)

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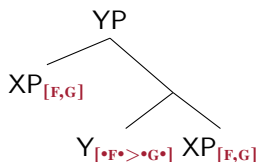
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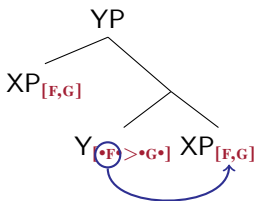
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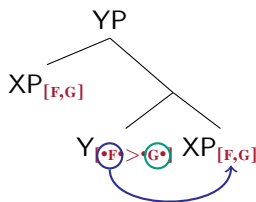
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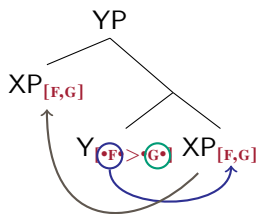
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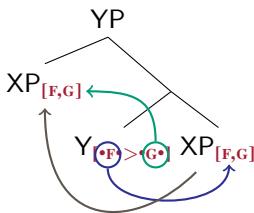
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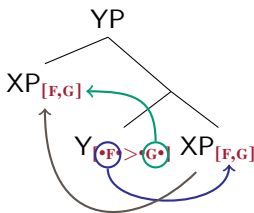
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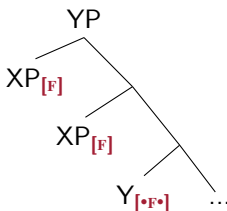
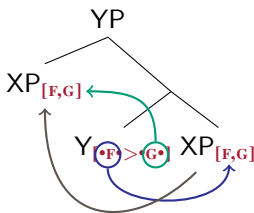
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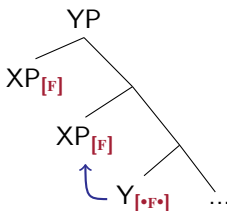
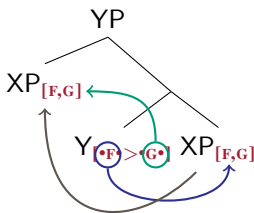
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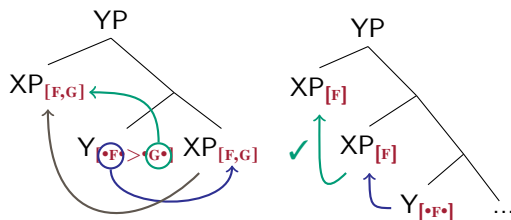
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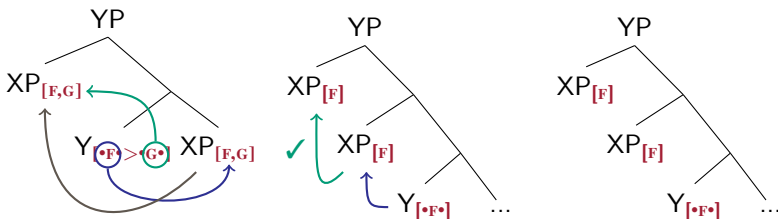
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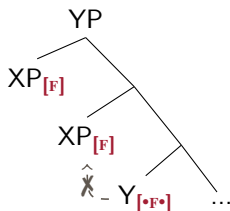
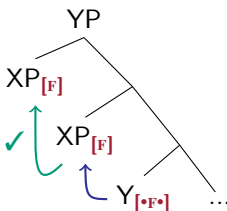
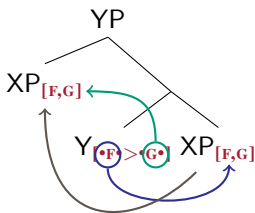
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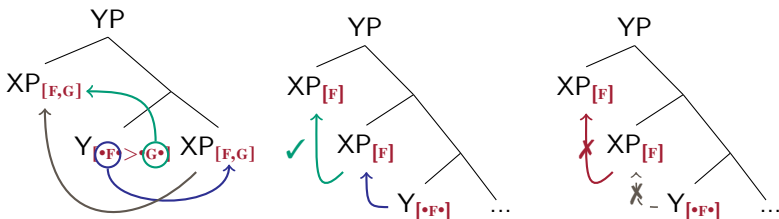
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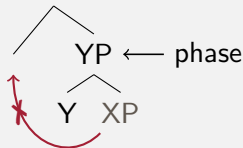
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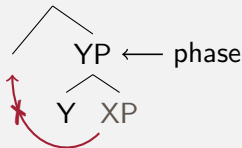
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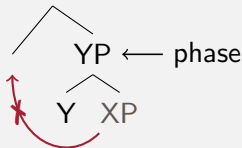


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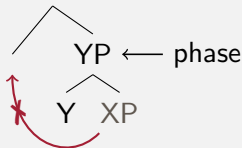


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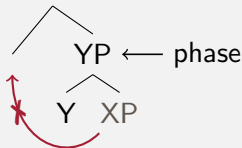


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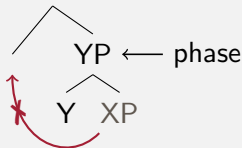


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(But see Arregi and Murphy 2022)

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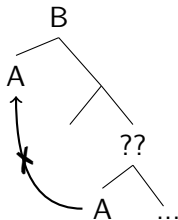
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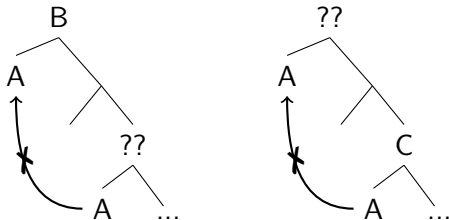
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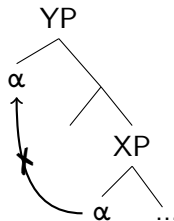
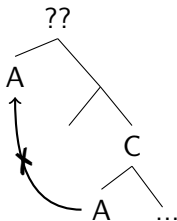
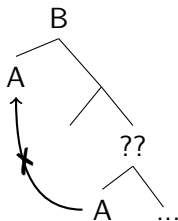
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- ▶ These constraints have other, equally adequate explanations.

- ▶ **A defense of very local movement:**
possessor relativization in West Circassian.
- ▶ **Theoretical groundwork of antilocality:**
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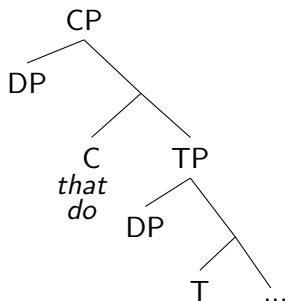
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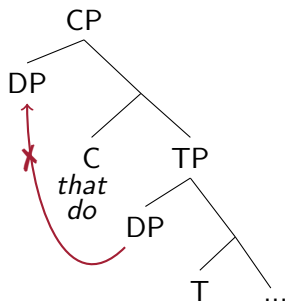
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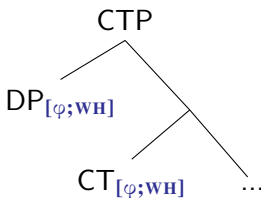
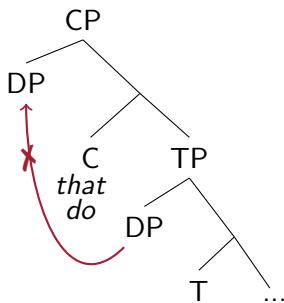
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- ▶ More likely explanation is based on properties of the left periphery and interactions between C and T.

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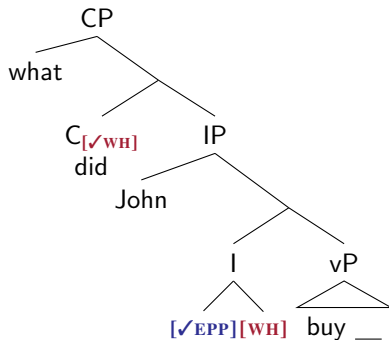
CI does not reproject if subject checks [WH] feature in situ.

Composite CI can explain subject \bar{A} -extraction

Object wh-movement:

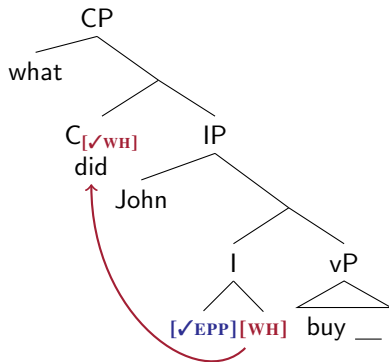
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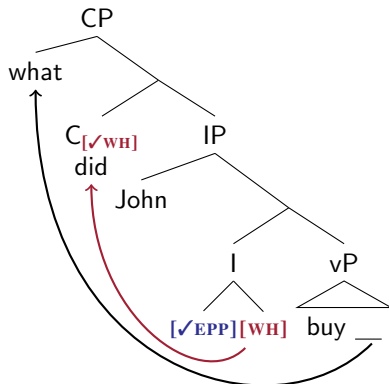
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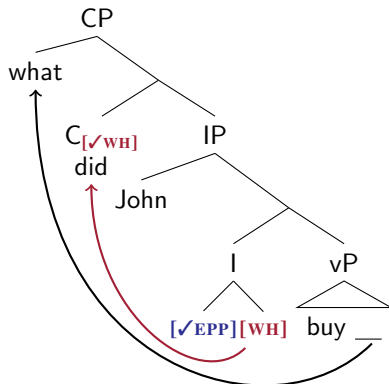
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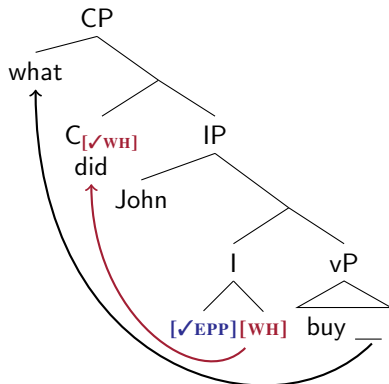
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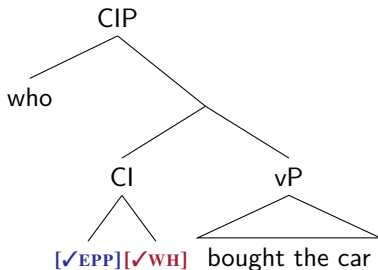


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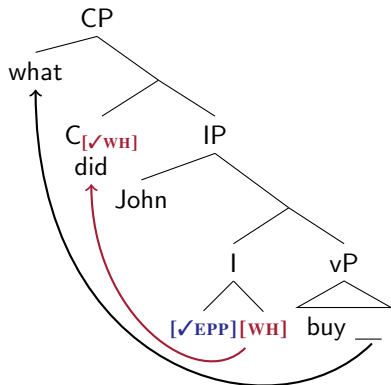


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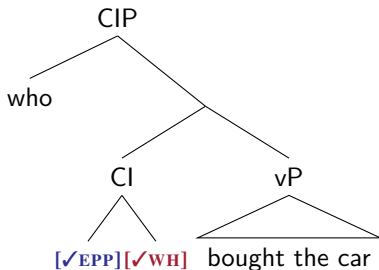


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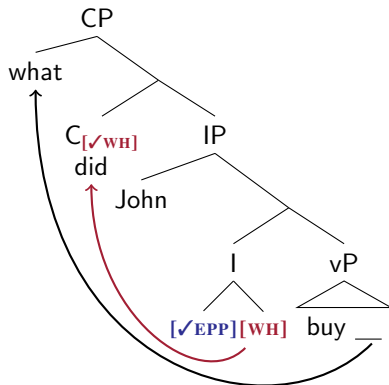
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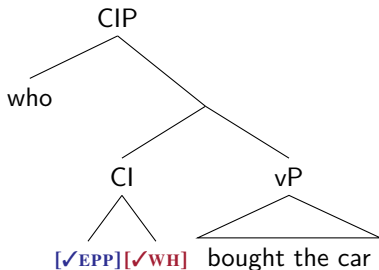
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Evidence for locality: allomorphy between Poss and D

- ▶ Poss triggers allomorphy on D despite not being linearly adjacent.
- ▶ Allomorphy is disrupted by additional structure between Poss and D (NumP).

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- ▶ Local allomorphy effects can be a testable diagnostic.
- ▶ For example, if movement from Spec,XP to Spec,YP disrupts allomorphy triggered by X on Y, additional structure must have been added!

Thank you!

- ▶ West Circassian consultants: Svetlana K. Alishaeva, Saida Gisheva, Susana K. Khatkova, and Zarema Meretukova
- ▶ Participants of 24.956 (Fall 2023) at MIT.
- ▶ Audience at MIT LingLunch.

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<https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0024384115001709>.

- ▶ **Closest** (modified from Rackowski and Richards 2005:579; my additions in **boldface**)

A goal α is the closest one to a given probe if there is no distinct goal β such that for some **distinct** X (X a head or maximal projection), X c-commands **or dominates** α but does not c-command **or dominate** β .

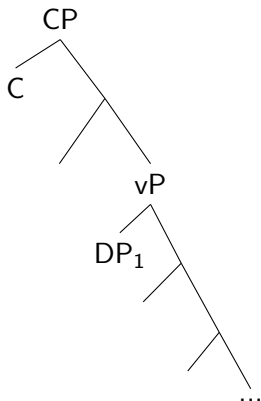
- ▶ **Additional assumptions** (Rackowski and Richards 2005:582)

- ▶ A probe must Agree with the **closest** goal α that **can move**.
- ▶ A goal α **can move** if it is a phase.
- ▶ Once a probe P is related by Agree with a goal G , P can ignore G for the rest of the derivation (Richards 1998; Hiraiwa 2001).

(Ershova 2024)

Agree-based theory of locality domains

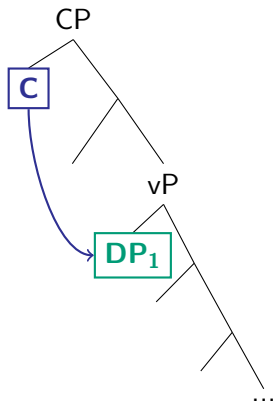
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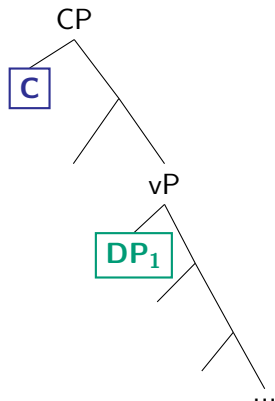
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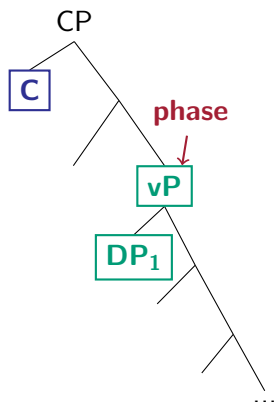


- ▶ Movement is triggered by Agree between a **probe** and the closest **goal**
- ▶ All **phases*** are potential **goals**

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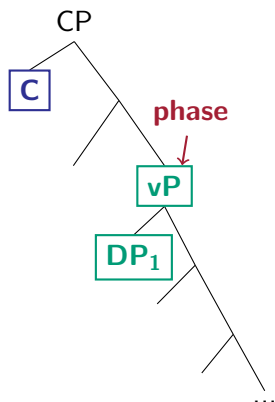


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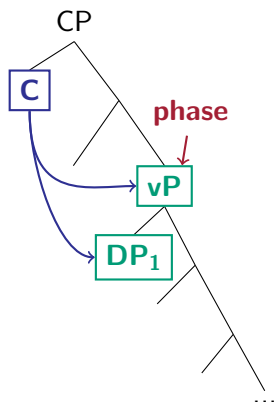


- ▶ Movement is triggered by Agree between a **probe** and the closest **goal**
- ▶ All **phases*** are potential **goals**
- ▶ DP₁ and vP are both **closest goals**
because there is no XP
which c-commands or dominates DP₁,
but does not c-command or dominate vP

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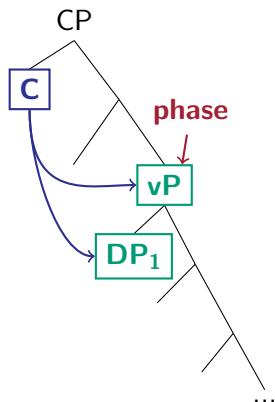


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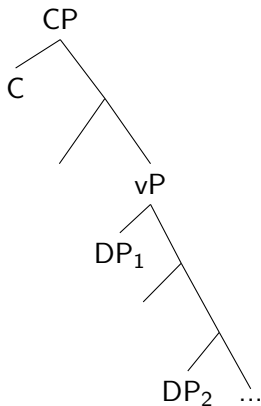
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vP and Spec,vP are equidistant
= both accessible to the probe

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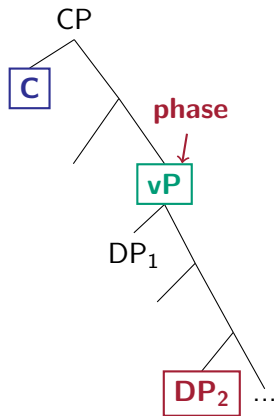
Phases as interveners



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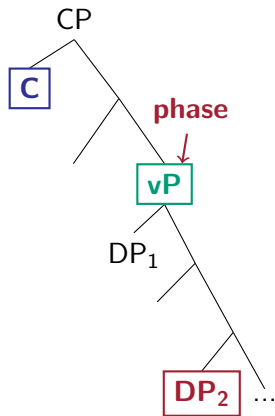
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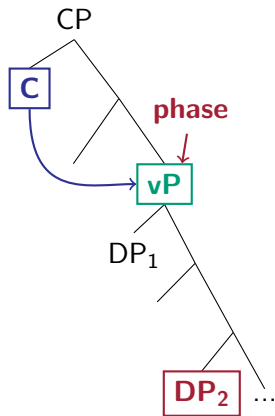
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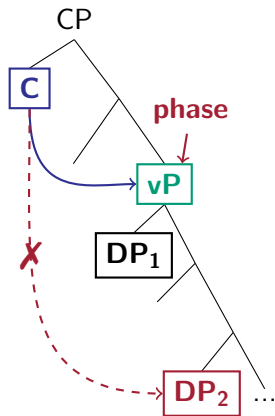
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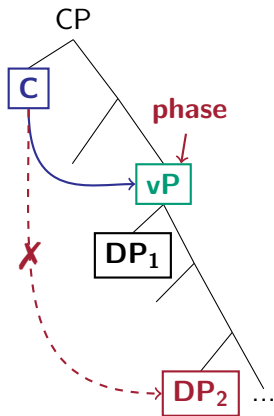
Phases as interveners



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 DP_1 c-commands DP_2 ,
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Phases as interveners



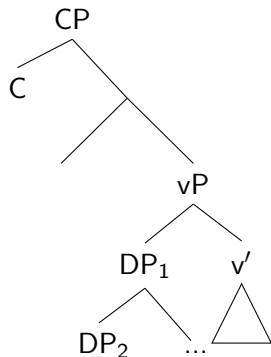
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Only vP and Spec,vP are accessible
to the probe
= vP is opaque for subextraction

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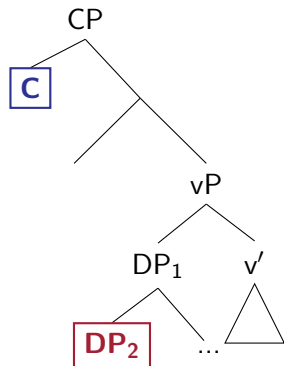
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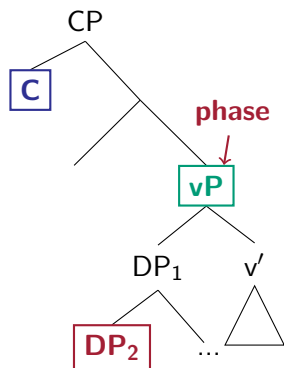
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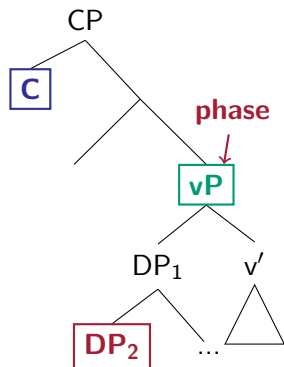


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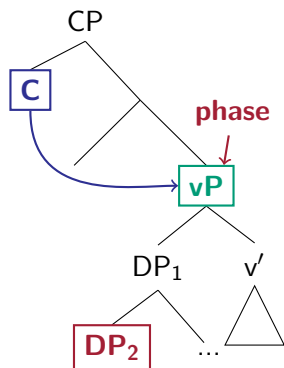


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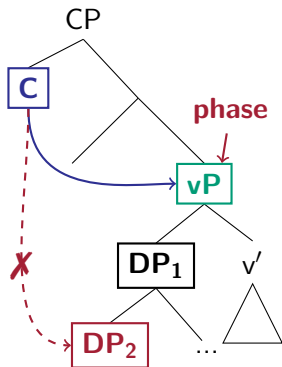
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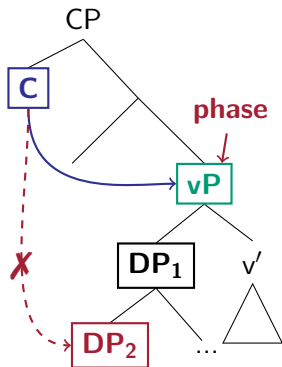
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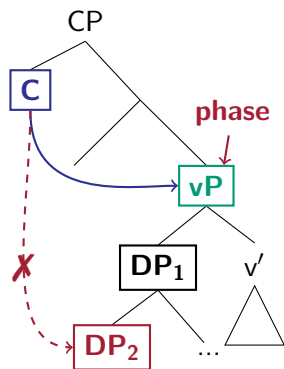
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Ershova (2024):
Confirmed by **dynamic phasehood**: phases
(and phase edges) can be 'unlocked' by Agree
~ Principle of Minimal Compliance (Richards 2016)

Possessive prefix is not D

PossP can appear without DP

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E.g. in predicative position

bzəwə-xe-r **sjə**-nəbžəɸ^wə-**x**

bird-PL-ABS **1SG.POSS**-friend-**PL**

‘Birds are my friends’ (Adyghe Corpus)

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⇒ possessive prefix ≠ D

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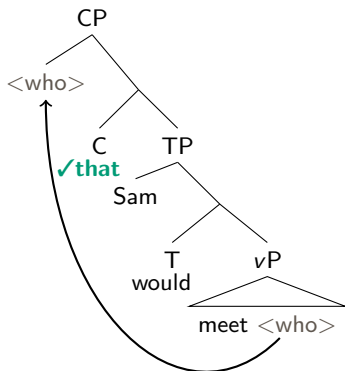
Subject moves from Spec,TP to Spec,CP
⇒ features of T or C must be deleted.

Dissimilation can explain subject \bar{A} -extraction

Who did John say...

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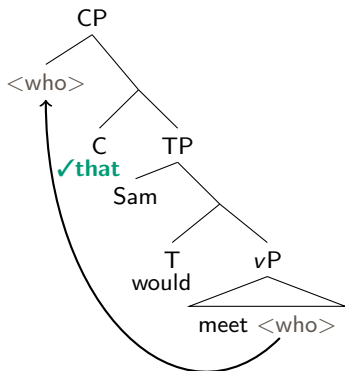
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Object wh-movement

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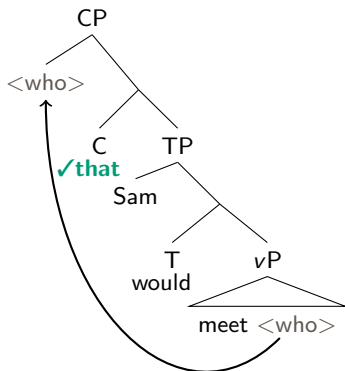
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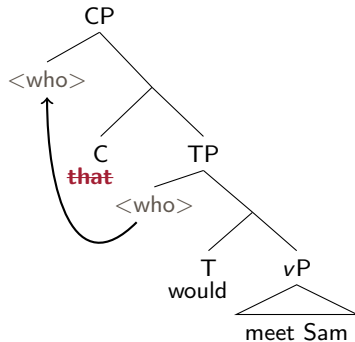
Object wh-movement
⇒ no dissimilation

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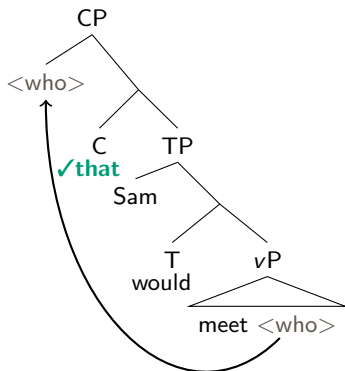
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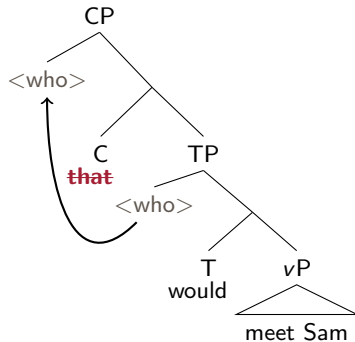
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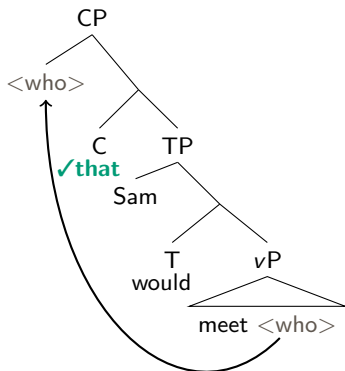
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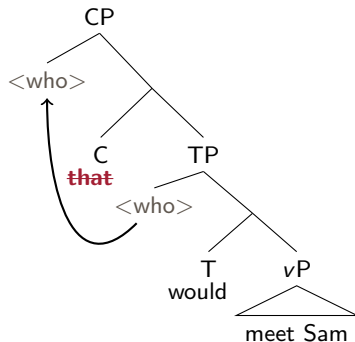
Subject wh-movement
⇒ C-T dissimilation

Dissimilation can explain subject \bar{A} -extraction

Who did John say...



Object wh-movement
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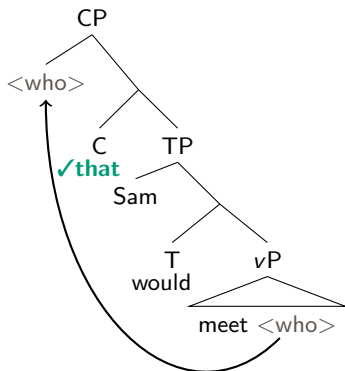


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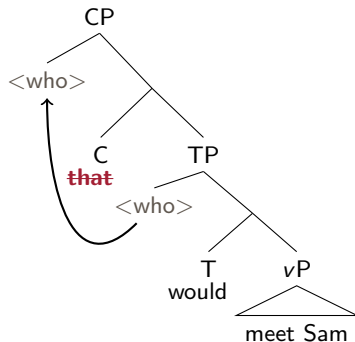
Dissimilation triggered by T-C adjacency

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Who did John say...



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- ▶ Variability in obviation effects with additional material.
- ▶ Agreement doesn't always correlate with subject movement to Spec,TP (Baier 2017)