

Antilocality and argument-internal parasitic gaps

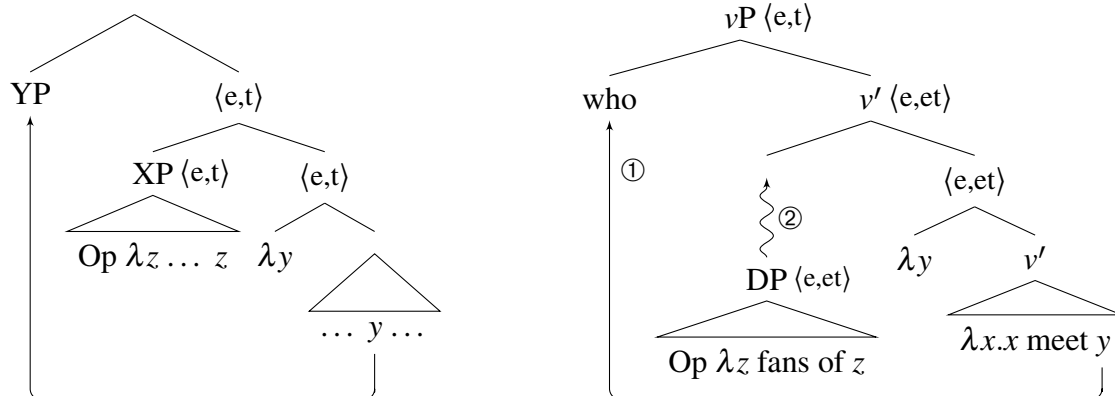
Claim: We present a new observation about parasitic gaps (PGs): in the double object construction (DOC), movement of the DO cannot license a PG in the IO, whereas a parallel configuration is possible in other ditransitive frames. This follows, we argue, from Nissenbaum’s (2000) analysis of PGs and the assumption that the PG-licensing movement step is constrained by Antilocality (Abels 2003). This also has broader implications for the nature of successive cyclic movement and phases.

Subject-internal PGs: Nissenbaum (1998, 2000) provides an elegant theory of PGs in adjuncts that is based on the abstract licensing configuration in (2): an XP containing a PG (the adjunct in (1a)) must be merged between the PG’s antecedent YP and the λ -binder derived by YP movement. Due to null operator movement, XP is of type $\langle e,t \rangle$ and can combine with its sister via Predicate Modification. Nissenbaum argued that this can be extended to subject-internal PGs (1b) if the subject is merged after intermediate movement of the antecedent (3). Assuming that bare plurals are of type $\langle e,t \rangle$, adding a parasitic gap makes the DP of type $\langle e,et \rangle$. The subject combines with its sister that is also a two-place predicate. This takes place via a recursive mode of composition proposed in Nissenbaum (1998), which we extend to definite and quantified DPs containing PGs.

- (1) a. What₁ did you file t₁ [without reading pg₁] ?
 b. Who₁ did [_{DP} fans of pg₁] meet t₁ ?

(2) *Licensing configuration for PGs*

(3) *Subject-internal PGs*



Object-internal PGs: PGs are also possible in internal arguments of a ditransitive (Engdahl 1983), e.g. in the higher object of a prepositional dative (4a). In contrast, a PG is not possible in the higher object of a DOC (5a) (mentioned in den Dikken 2018:97,fn.46). PGs in the lower object (4b, 5b) are ruled out by Engdahl’s anti-c-command condition, however this cannot account for (4a) vs (5a).

(4) *Prepositional dative*

- a. Who₁ did you give [_{DP} pictures of pg₁] [_{PP} to t₁] yesterday?
 b. *Which books₁ did you give t₁ [_{PP} to [_{DP} fans of pg₁]] yesterday?

(5) *Double object construction*

- a. *Which books₁ did you give [_{DP} fans of pg₁] t₁ yesterday?
 b. *Who₁ did you give t₁ [_{DP} pictures of pg₁] yesterday?

We propose that the ungrammaticality of (5a) instantiates the generalization in (6). In our analysis, the crucial difference between (4a) and (5a) is the presence of the PP layer dominating t₁ in (4a).

(6) A PG-containing DP and the licensing gap (LG) cannot be structurally too close.

This ‘closeness’ is defined structurally (intervening projections), rather than by linear proximity. Examples such as (7) show that a PG can in principle be adjacent to its LG (Haegeman 1984).

(7) This is a note which₁ [unless we destroy pg₁] t₁ will ruin our relationship.

Novel data from the *spray/load*-alternation show that the correct generalization is not about θ -roles either. The θ -roles in (8–9) are parallel to (4–5). The ungrammatical (5a) has the PG in the goal argument, however this is possible in the thematically parallel (9a). Thus, the crucial difference does not involve θ -roles, but the presence of additional PP structure in (9a), as also shown by (4a).

(8) *Spray-load alternation (prepositional goal)*

- a. Which trucks₁ did you load [DP pictures of pg_1] [PP into t_1] yesterday? (✓PG in Theme)
- b. *Which pictures₁ did you load t_1 [PP into [DP boxes for pg_1]] yesterday? (✗ PG in Goal)

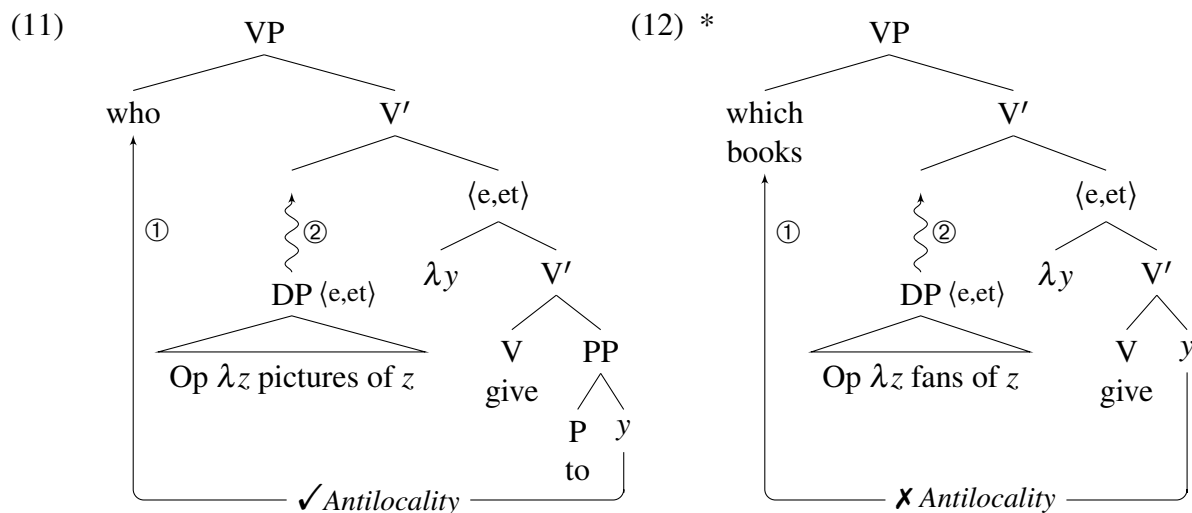
(9) *Spray-load alternation (prepositional theme)*

- a. Which pictures₁ did you load [DP boxes for pg_1] [PP with t_1] yesterday? (✓PG in Goal)
- b. *Which boxes₁ did you load t_1 [PP with [DP pictures of pg_1]] yesterday? (✗ PG in Theme)

The effect of a PP layer is also found with verbs with an optional preposition in the DOC (10a). Any additional structure is sufficient to satisfy (6), e.g. embedding the LG in the lower object (10b).

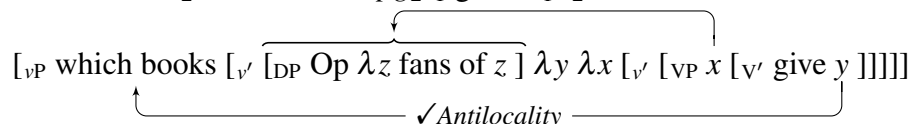
- (10) a. Which drug₁ did they provide [DP addicts of pg_1] [PP *(with) t_1] yesterday?
- b. Which show₁ did she give [DP fans of pg_1] [DP free tickets for t_1] yesterday?

Analysis: Recall that a PG-containing DP must be in the licensing configuration in (2). To derive this, the antecedent must move directly above the position where this DP is later merged. We propose that this movement must obey Antilocality, i.e. it must cross at least one maximal projection (e.g. Abels 2003). In (4a) and other examples where the LG is embedded, movement respects Antilocality (11), whereas in (5a) it does not (12). This then accounts for the generalization in (6).



We have seen that the violation in (12) is obviated by embedding the LG, thereby creating distance between it and the PG-containing DP. This can also be achieved by moving the DP. (5a) becomes possible when the IO is moved under passivization (13), in striking confirmation of this prediction.

- (13) Which books₂ were [fans of pg_2]₁ given t_1 t_2 ?



Implications: Intermediate movement can be motivated by interpretive requirements, in addition to phase-based locality. In our analysis, movement to Spec-VP in (12) is only necessary to license a parasitic gap. This is why movement of the DO of a DOC is grammatical when it does not license a PG in the IO (and can therefore skip Spec-VP, as VP is not a phase). This supports some recent claims that semantic arguments for phasehood (e.g. reconstruction effects) are inconclusive if movement can be driven by factors other than phasehood alone (den Dikken 2006, Keine 2020).