

Antilocality and argument-internal parasitic gaps

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Parasitic gaps

(1) Which article₁ did you file t₁ [without reading *pg*₁] ?




The puzzle: PGs in ditransitives

Licensing a PG in 1st object by LG in 2nd object:

Possible in prepositional dative construction (PDC):


(2) Who₁ did you give [a picture of *pg*₁] [PP to t₁] ?




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Possible in prepositional dative construction (PDC):


(2) Who₁ did you give [a picture of *pg*₁] [PP to t₁] ?


Not possible in double object construction (DOC):

(3) *Which book₁ did you give [a fan of *pg*₁] t₁?



It's not adjacency

No general ban on adjacency between gaps:


- (4) This is a note which₁ [unless we destroy *pg*₁] t₁ will ruin our relationship.
 (Haegeman 1984)

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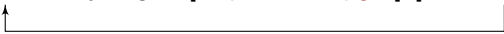
- (4) This is a note which₁ [unless we destroy *pg₁*] t₁ will ruin our relationship.
 (Haegeman 1984)


The pattern persists even if gaps aren't adjacent:

- (5) *Which book₁ did you give [a fan of *pg₁* with long hair] t₁ ?


It's structural distance


PP layer separates PG & LG in PDC (6), not DOC (7).


(6) Who₁ did you give [a picture of *pg*₁] [PP to t₁] ?


(7) *Which book₁ did you give [a fan of *pg*₁] t₁?



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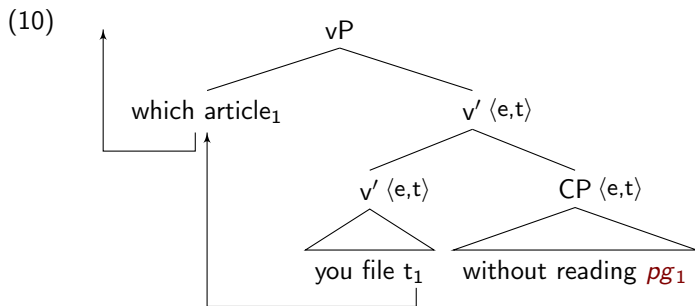
⇒ Embedding LG in 2nd object fixes DOC:

(8) Which book₁ did you give [a fan of *pg*₁] [a signed copy of t₁] ?


Parasitic gaps in Nissenbaum 2000

- (9) Which article₁ did you file t₁ [without reading *pg*₁] ?

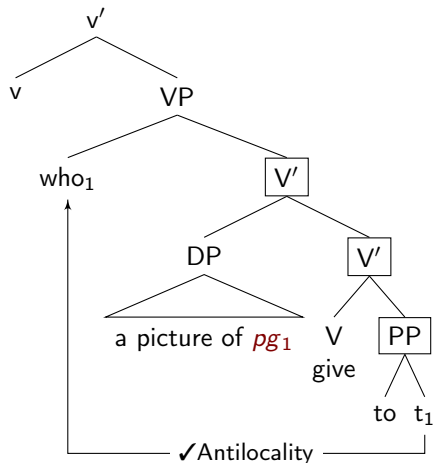
Wh-phrase moves through a position just above PG-containing XP:



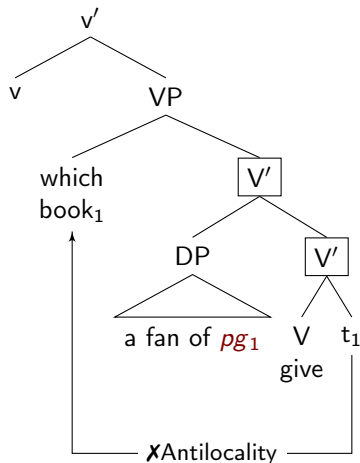
The solution: Antilocality

- (11) **Antilocality:** Movement must cross at least one XP. (Abels 2003)

PDC: PP voids Antilocality




DOC: No XP to void Antilocality



More evidence


A DOC with a P in 2nd object voids Antilocality:

(12) Which award₁ did they present [a critic of *pg*₁] [PP with t₁] ?
↑




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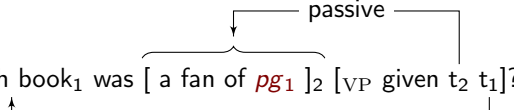
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Movement of 1st object in DOC voids Antilocality:

(14) Which book₁ was [a fan of *pg*₁]₂ [VP given t₂ t₁]?


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- Successive cyclic movement can target edges of phrases that aren't phases (e.g. VP).
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- Only compatible with certain analyses of DOCs, e.g. Pylkkänen's (2008) low Appl, not high Appl.
⇒ DOC must contain less structure than PDC.