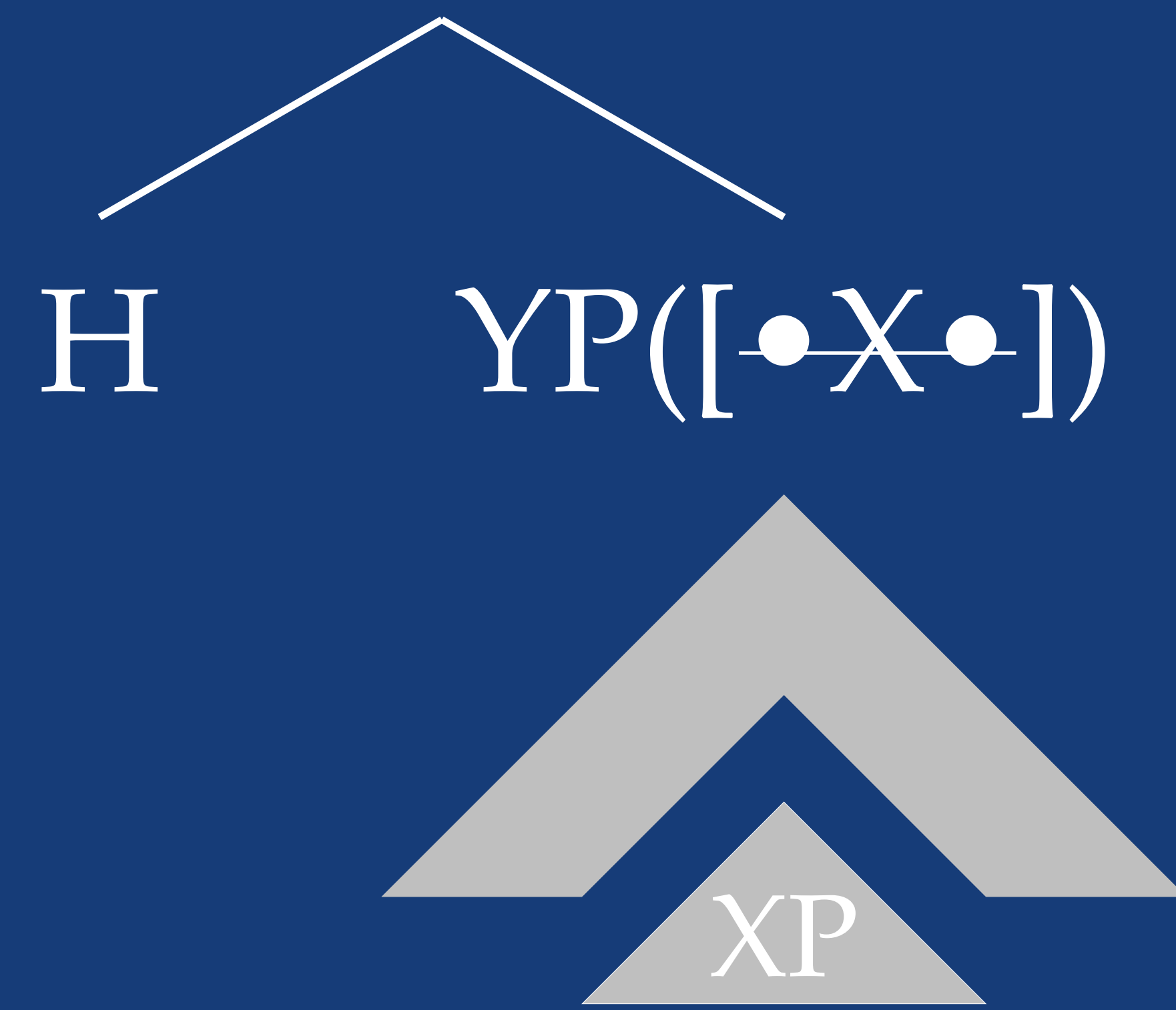


Path-based locality

defines locality using paths of *shared, checked selectional features*.



Whether H and XP are local is determined by which features have projected up to H's sister.

We develop a theory of feature projection from XPs that distinguishes between complements, specifiers, and adjuncts.

- Complements project
- Specifiers don't
- Adjuncts might

This derives the CED and exceptions to it.

Kenyon Branan (ZAS)
Elise Newman (University of Edinburgh)

Implicit assumption: features project if possible.

(1) **Condition on projection from XPs**

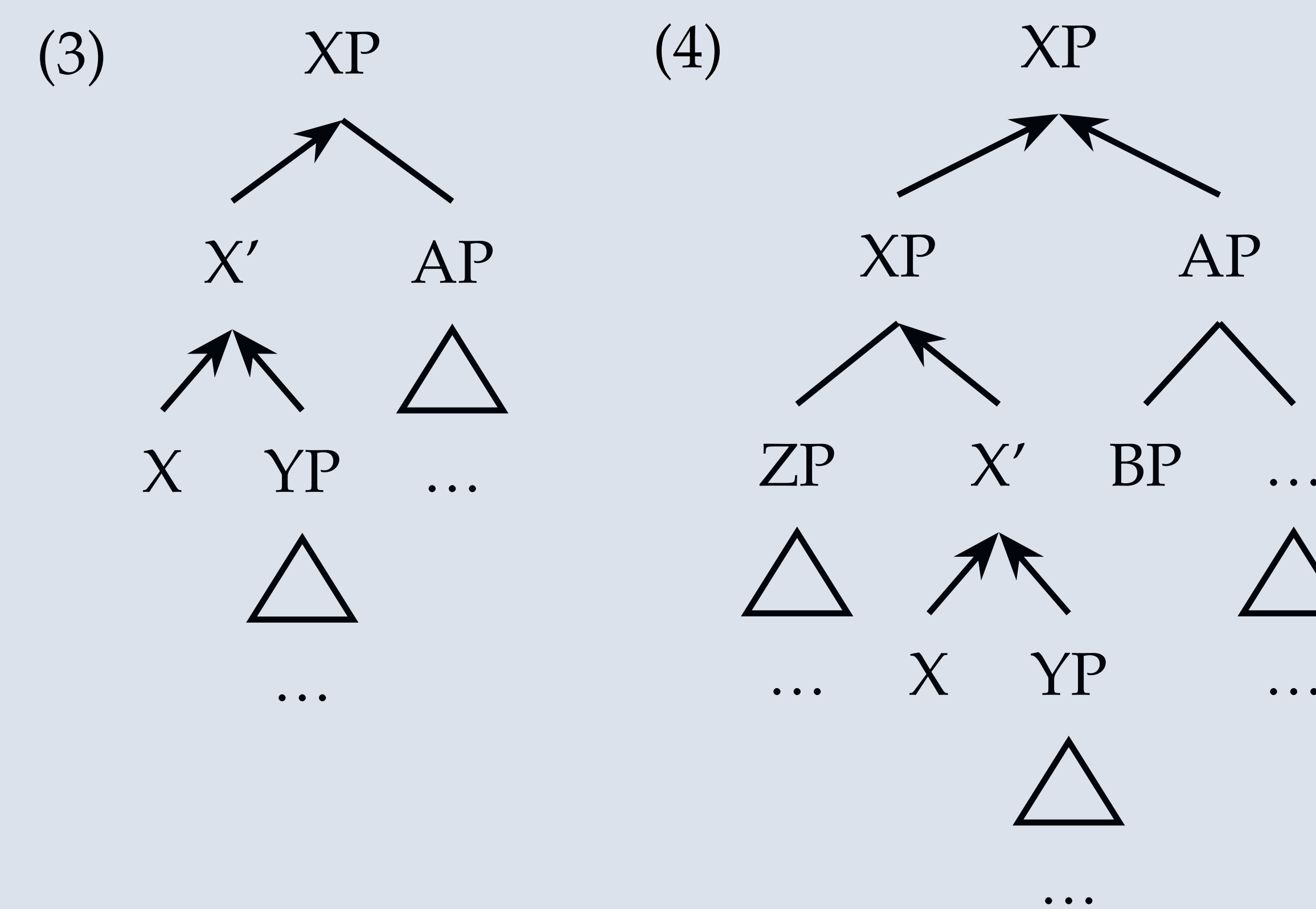
A feature bundle [•F•] on an XP projects iff its sister is an indivisible bundle.

(2) **Indivisible bundles:**

- Syntactic atoms. *e.g. a terminal node*
- Bundles projected from only one daughter.

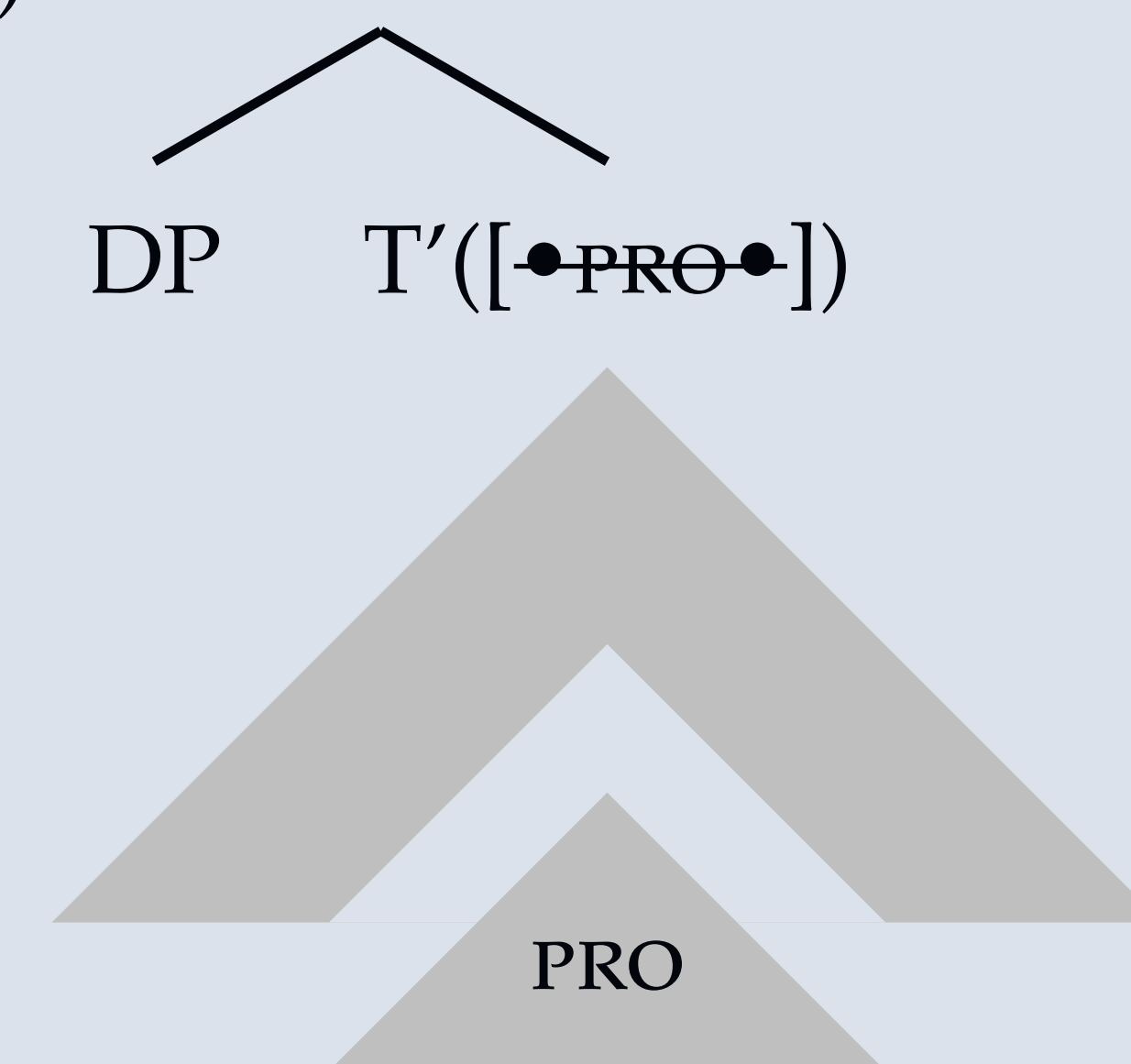
Paths between elements are defined by these rules.

Full projection arises only when host and adjunct both have specifiers.



Obligatory Control requires a path to PRO.

(5) *(McFadden et. al 2019)*



NOC arises when PRO is not local to a binder.

A **clustering effect**: *Wh*-extraction requires OC.

- What is the flower_i open [PRO_i to attract]?
- * What is the door_i open [PRO_{arb} to hear]?

OC arises only when the matrix clause and selected elements in an adjunct clause are local.

Other dependencies cluster with OC.

- Which direction_j was the flower_i open to [OP_j PRO_i to attract pollinators from _]
- * Which person_j was the door_i open to [OP_j PRO_{arb} to hear confessions from _]

Clustering dependencies need not involve movement out of the adjunct clause.

Parasitic gaps, per Nissenbaum (2000):

- Have an operator at their edge.
- Must merge above the subject in spec,vP.

They have independently been argued to satisfy both of the conditions our theory requires for the features of an adjunct to project.

Open question: does the presence of OP at the edge of the adjunct create a context for OC? Or is it the other way around?

Supplementary argument: OC/NOC doesn't correlate with adjunct size. *(Green 2019)*

- Some NOC adjuncts generally disallow overt subjects and complementizers, while some erstwhile OC adjuncts allow them.
- OC adjuncts that contain null operators (including, but not limited to, parasitic gaps) have been suggested to always be at least the size of a CP.

Clustering effects can't straightforwardly arise from a CP/non-CP distinction.

Supplementary facts: Balkar scrambling.

- Multiple scrambling from an OC adjunct clause and of an argument of the matrix clause is allowed.
- Comparable multiple scrambling with an overt subject in the adjunct clause is barred.
- A (3-4) contrast, reflecting different adjunction sites. *(Privoznov 2021)*