On the proper treatment of Minimality violations (enforced by antilocality) Retreat of RU Cyclic Optimization

Syn🚲Syn

Fabian Heck & Lei Liu

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Background: Branan (2022)

Point of departure:
Luganda has symmetric passivization: Both the indirect/applied object and the direct object can undergo raising in passive constructions (Pak 2008).

(1) a. Abaana$_i$ ba-a-w-ebw' __$_i$ ekitabo.
2.child 2-PST-give-PASS 7.book
'The children were given the book.'

b. Ekitabo$_i$ ky-a-w-ebw' abaana __$_i$.
7.book 7-PST-give-PASS 2.child
'The book was given to the children.'

(2) a. Omusawo$_i$ y-a-kwat-ir-w-a __$_i$ eddagala.
1.doctor 1-PST-hold-APPL-PASS-FV 5.medicine
'The doctor had the medicine held for him.'

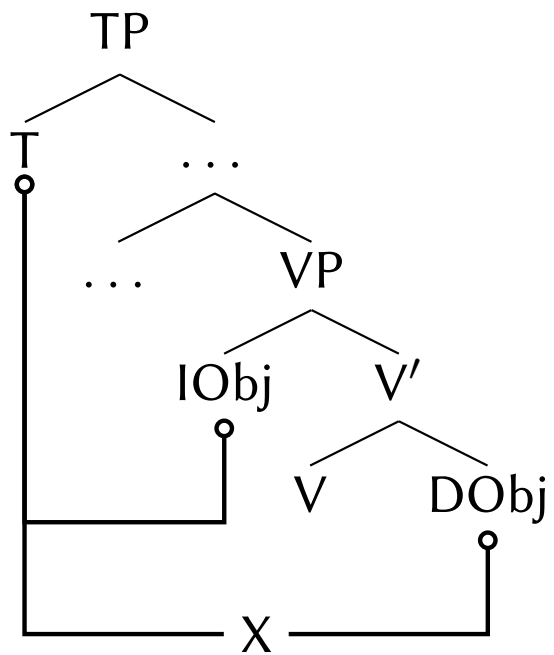
b. Eddagala$_i$ ly-a-kwat-ir-w-a omusawo __$_i$.
5.medicine 5-PST-hold-APPL-PASS-FV 1.doctor
'The medicine was held for the doctor.'

Background: Branan (2022)

The first puzzle:
How is raising of the lower argument possible, given the Minimal Link Condition in (3)?

(3) Minimal Link Condition (MLC; Ferguson 1993, Chomsky 1995):
If a probe P c-commands goal Φ, and Φ asymmetrically c-commands goal Ψ, then P cannot access Ψ.

(4)



Background: Branan (2022)

The second puzzle (already Pak 2008):
"[. . .] when an underlying ditransitive is marked with the applicative and is in the passive, the applicative argument and the indirect object may be promoted to subject position, but the direct object may not."

Branan (2022, 4)

(5) a. Omuggo$_i$ gw-a-lag-is-ibw-a __$_i$ omusomesa abaana.
3.stick 3-PST-show-APPL-PASS-FV 1.teacher 2.child
'A stick was used to show the teacher the children.'

b. Omusomesa$_i$ y-a-lag-is-ibw-a omuggo __$_i$ abaana.
1.teacher 1-PST-show-APPL-PASS-FV 3.stick 2.child
'The teacher was shown the children using a stick.'

c. *Abaana$_i$ ba-a-lag-is-ibw-a omuggo omusomesa.
2.child 2-PST-show-APPL-PASS-FV 3.stick 1.teacher __$_i$
'The children were shown to the teacher using a stick.'

Background: Branan (2022)

Problem for a leapfrogging account (Pak 2008):

- The property of "noniterative symmetry" is interesting because it poses a problem to the standard analysis in terms of leapfrogging (e.g., McGinnis 1998, Doggett 2004).
- Namely, if the direct object can pass the indirect object and the applied object (via leapfrogging) in isolation, then it should be able to do so in combination.

(6)
a. DObj$_i$ . . . [$_{\text{VP}}$ __$_i$ IObj . . . __$_i$ . . .]
b. DObj$_i$ . . . [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ __$_i$ AObj . . . [$_{\text{VP}}$ . . . __$_i$ . . .]]
c. *DObj$_i$ . . . [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ __$_i$ AObj . . . [$_{\text{VP}}$ __$_i$ IObj . . . __$_i$ . . .]]

Background: Branan (2022)

Branan's (2022) proposal:

- Movement is subject to the antilocality condition in (7-a) (Bošković 2015, Brillman and Hirsch 2016, Erlewine 2016).
- There is the preference-principle in (8), which allows probes to ignore closer goals if their attraction would violate antilocality.

(7) Generalized Spec-to-Spec antilocality (GSSAL)

a. Movement of a phrase from Spec,XP must cross a maximal projection other than XP.

b. Movement from position A to position B crosses C if and only if C dominates A but not B.

(8) Principle of Conflicting Requirements:
Elements do not count for the MLC if their movement would violate AL.

Assumptions: Branan (2022)

Further assumptions:

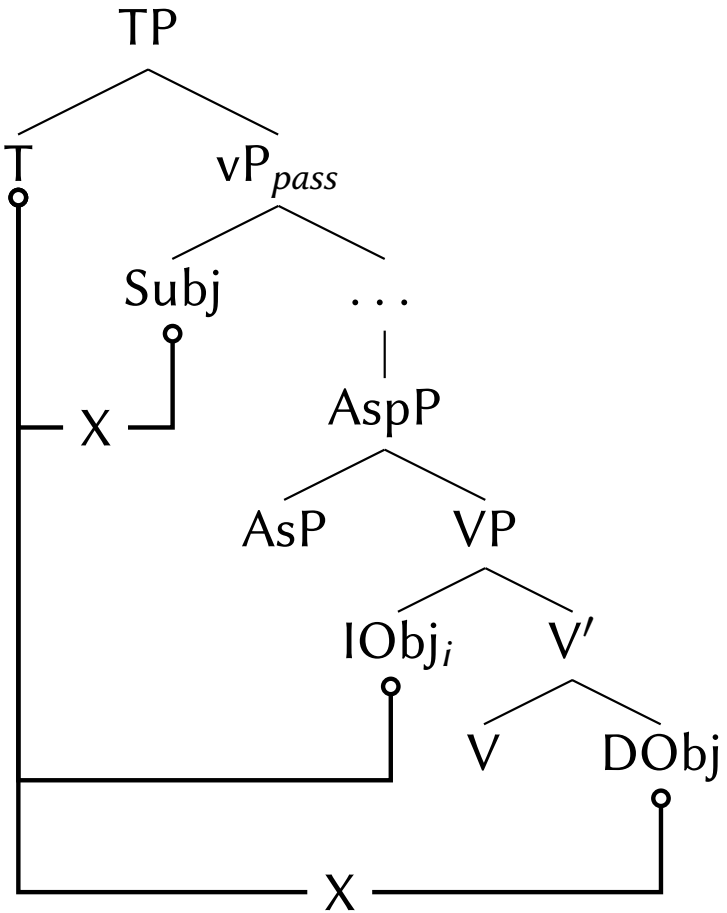
- There is an aspect-phrase sandwiched in between (passive) vP and ApplP in Luganda (which is always present), see (9).
- A covert external argument is merged in Specv$_{pass}$ to satisfy an EPP-feature.
- If the external argument is not merged, then the indirect/applied object moves to Specv$_{pass}$ to satisfy the EPP.

(9) Y-a-fuumb-ir-idd-w-a.
1-PST-cook-APPL-**ASP**-PASS-FV
'Something was cooked for her.'

Analysis: Branan (2022)

(10) Omusawo$_i$ y-a-kwat-ir-w-a __$_i$ eddagala.
1.doctor 1-PST-hold-APPL-PASS-FV 5.medicine
'The doctor had the medicine held for him.'

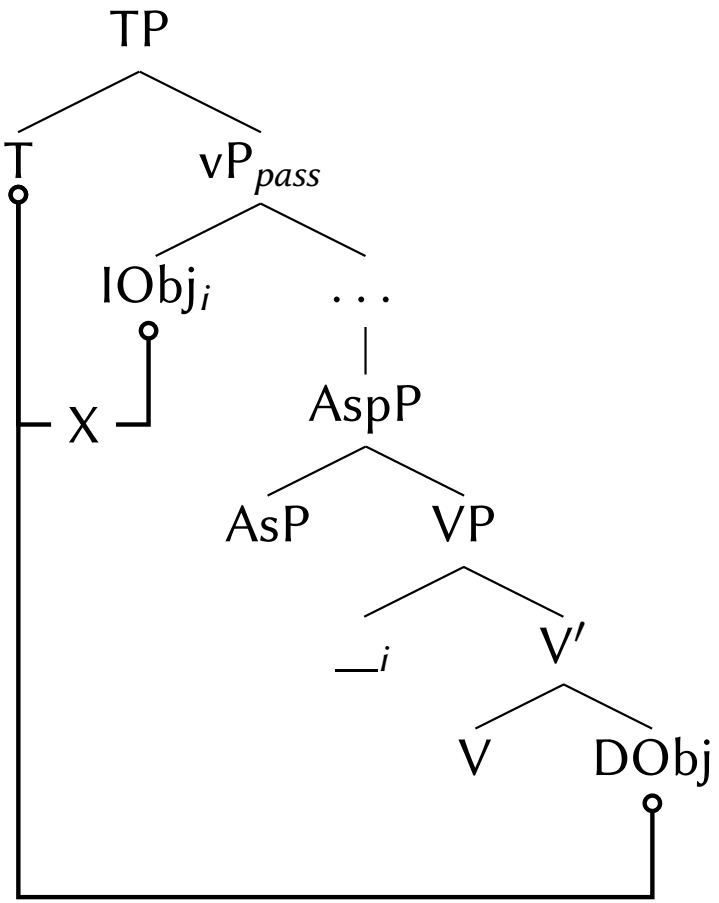
(11)



Analysis: Branan (2022)

(12) Eddagala$_i$ ly-a-kwat-ir-w-a omusawo $\_\_{}_i$.
5.medicine 5-PST-hold-APPL-PASS-FV 1.doctor
'The medicine was held for the doctor.'

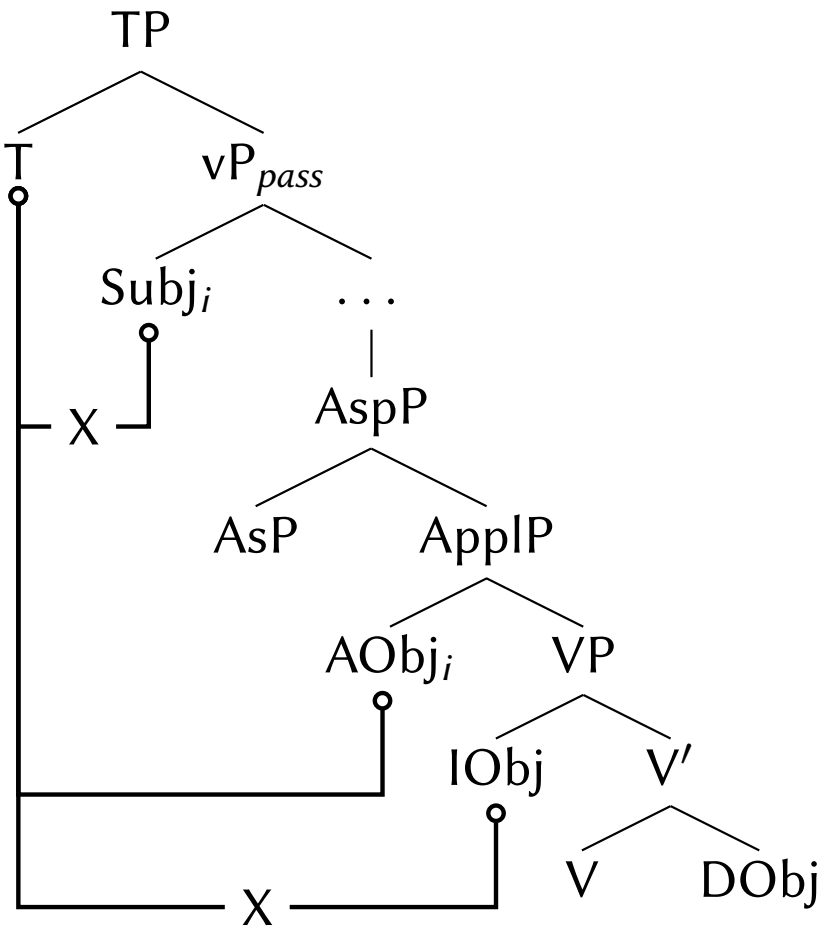
(13)



Analysis: Branan (2022)

(14) Omuggo$_i$ gw-a-lag-is-ibw-a __$_i$ omusomesa abaana.
3.stick 3-PST-show-APPL-PASS-FV 1.teacher 2.child
'A stick was used to show the children the teacher.'

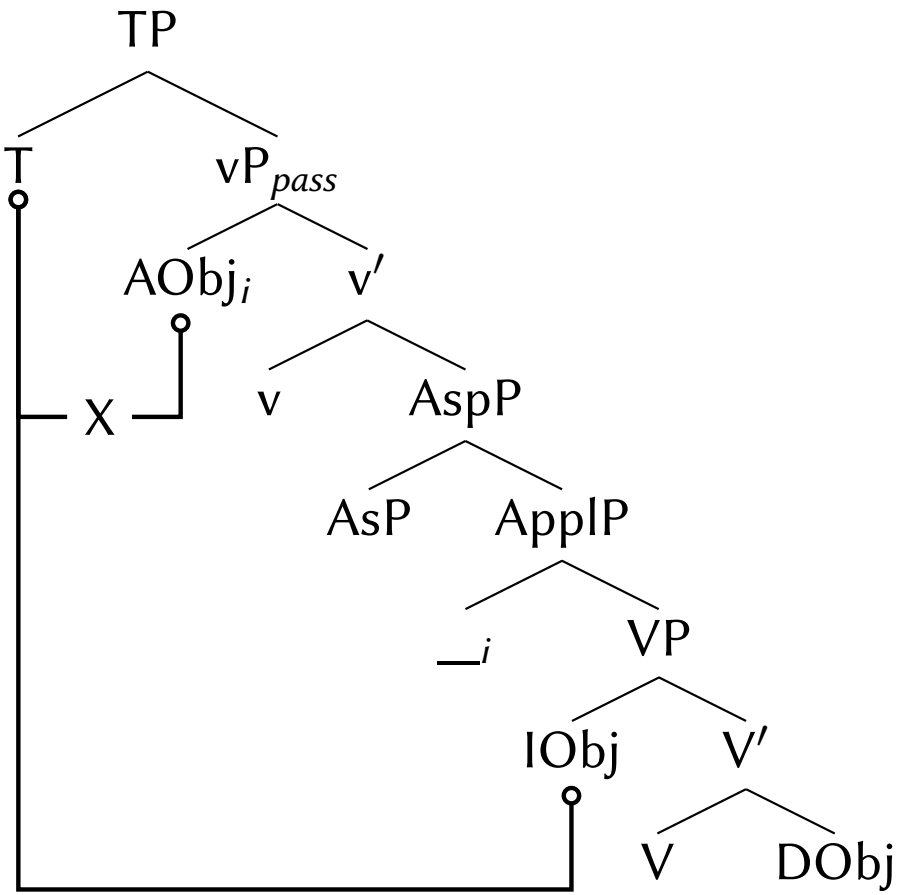
(15)



Analysis: Branan (2022)

(16) Omusomesa$_i$ y-a-lag-is-ibw-a omuggo $\_\__i$ abaana.
1.teacher 1-PST-show-APPL-PASS-FV 3.stick 2.child
'The teacher was shown the children using a stick.'

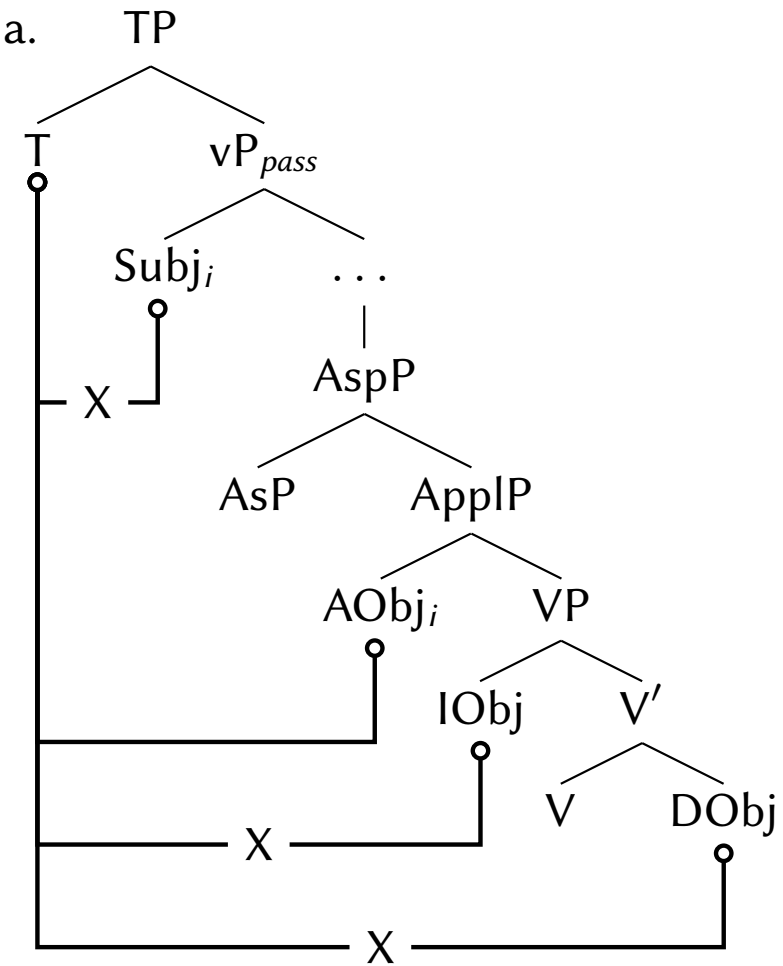
(17)



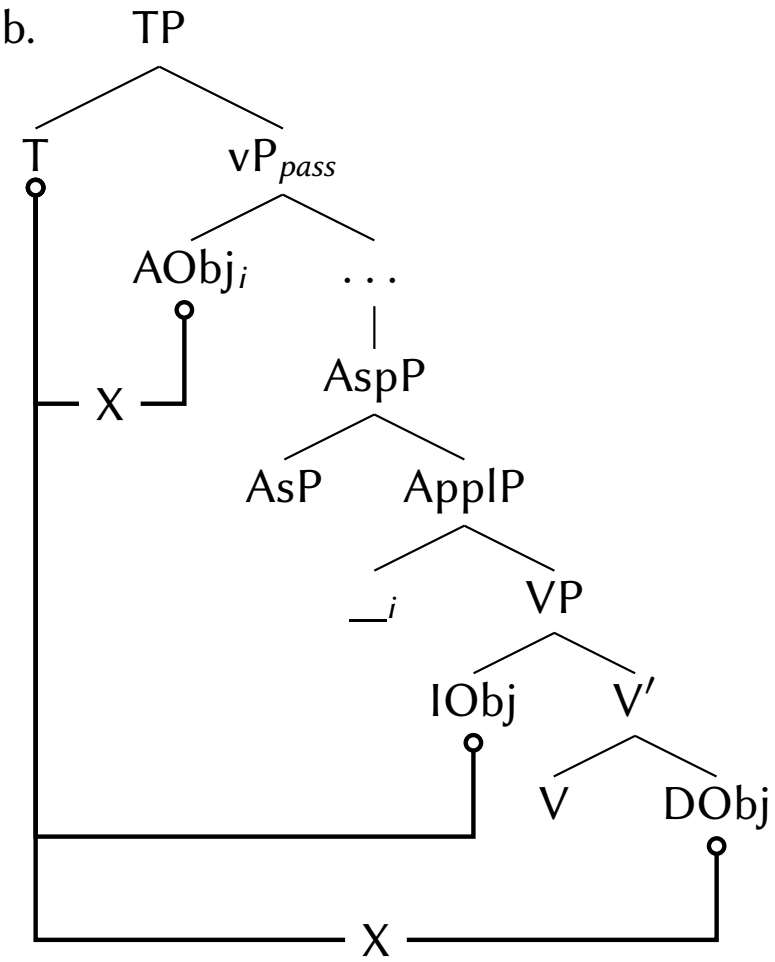
Analysis: Branan (2022)

(18) *Abaana$_i$ ba-a-lag-is-ibw-a omuggo omusomesa __$_i$.
2.child 2-PST-show-APPL-PASS-FV 3.stick 1.teacher
'The children were shown to the teacher using a stick.'

(19) a.



b.



Discussion: Branan (2022, §5.2)

Question:
How is the preference-principle in (20) to be understood?

(20) Principle of Conflicting Requirements:
Elements do not count for the MLC if their movement would violate AL.

Two possibilities:

- The MLC is a violable. Furthermore, if GSSAL $\gg$ MLC, then (20) follows from an optimality theoretic organization of the grammar.
- GSSAL, and thus (20), is the consequence of how probing proceeds: The specifier of the complement of a probe is simply never inspected by the probe. Under this view, violability of the MLC is not required.

Discussion: Branan (2022, §5.2)

Note:
Branan (2022) himself does not take a clear stand regarding one of these two possibilities. Essentially, the decision is left open.

This talk

Claim:
Assuming that one is willing to accept Branan's (2022) analysis, then an optimality theoretic implementation is to be preferred.

Shape of the argument:

- There are other plausible cases where the MLC appears to be violated and where GSSAL does not suffice to capture the facts.
- Therefore, understanding GSSAL as a consequence of the probing procedure does not work for these cases.
- Consequently, alternative assumptions have to be invoked under a non-optimality theoretic approach, and it is not always clear what they might be.
- Under an optimality theoretic view, it suffices to identify another constraint C such that C $\gg$ MLC.

This talk

Facts/analyses discussed here:

- Raising to ergative in Nez Perce (Deal 2019)
- Raising to absolutive in Niuean (Longenbaugh and Polinsky 2018)
- A-Scrambling in Tongan (Branan 2022)

Further potential cases (not discussed here):

- Multiple foci in Limbum (Becker and Nformi 2016, Driemel and Nformi 2018)
- Multiple topics in Italian (Rizzi 1997, 2004)
- Object shift in Spanish (Ordóñez 1998, Gallego 2013)

Raising to ergative in Nez Perce (Deal 2019)

Raising to ergative in Nez Perce:

- The highest argument controls subject-agreement on the verb.
- In active ditransitives, this is the subject (21-a). In unaccusative applicatives, the direct object controls agreement (21-b).
- This suggests that the direct object of the unaccusative has become the highest argument by raising to Specv, thereby receiving ergative case (assigned to Specv).

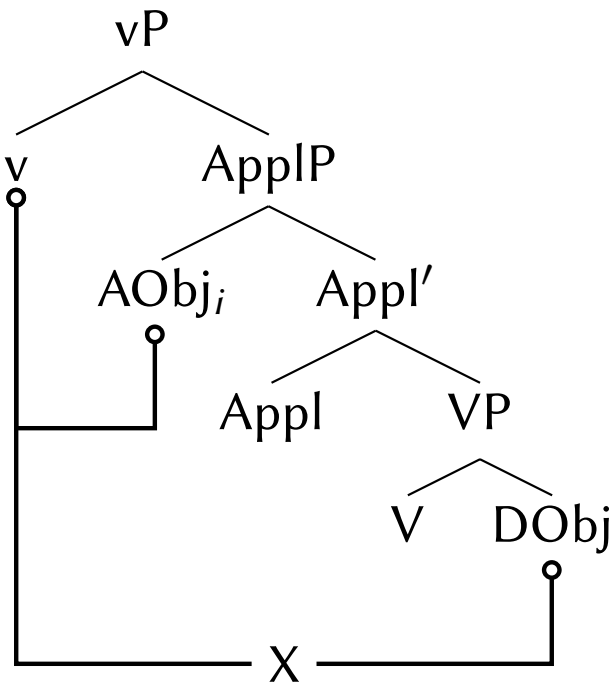
(21) a. Pit'in-im ha-'ayato-na **hi**-naac-'nahpayk-oo-Ø-ya
girl-**ERG** PL-woman-ACC **3SUBJ**-O.PL-bring-APPL-P-REM.PAST
Fido.
Fido.nom
'The girl brought Fido to the women.'

b. Ha-'aayat-**om** nuun-e **hi**-pa-naas-pay-noo-yo'-kom.
PL-woman-**ERG** 1PL-ACC **3SUBJ**-S.PL-O.PL-come-APPL-FUT-CIS
'The women will come to us.'

Raising to ergative in Nez Perce (Deal 2019)

Puzzle:
Given the MLC, how can the direct object in (21-b) raise to Specv across the applied object? One would expect the applied object to be accessible, not the direct object:

(22)



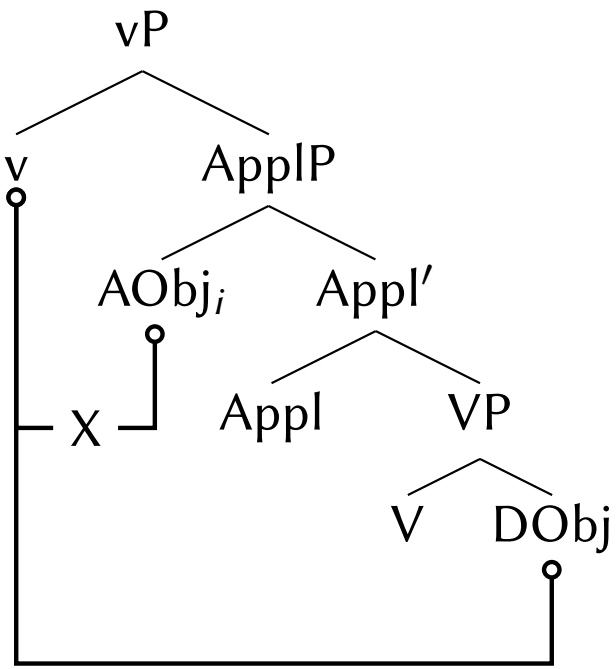
Solution (Deal 2019):
The analysis proposed by Branan (2022) is anticipated, although without explicitly invoking optimization.

Raising to ergative in Nez Perce (Deal 2019)

Analysis (Deal 2019):

- Unaccusative v bears an EPP-feature. In an applicative unaccusative, such v merges with ApplP.
- Raising of the applied object in SpecApplP to Specv would violate GSSAL. Therefore the applied object is ignored, and the direct object is allowed to raise although the applied object is closer to v.

(23)



Raising to ergative in Nez Perce (Deal 2019)

(24) Ha-'aayat-**om** nuun-e **hi**-pa-naas-pay-noo-yo'-kom.
PL-woman-**ERG** 1PL-ACC **3SUBJ**-S.PL-O.PL-come-APPL-FUT-CIS
'The women will come to us.'

Re-analysis:

(25) *vP-optimization*

Input: . . .	GSSAL	FC	MLC
K_1: $[_{vP}$ – . . . $[_{ApplP}$ AObj . . . $[_{VP}$ DObj . . .]]]		*!	
K_2: $[_{vP}$ $AObj_i$ . . . $[_{ApplP}$ $\__i$ . . . $[_{VP}$ DObj . . .]]]	*!		
☞K_3: $[_{vP}$ $DObj_i$ . . . $[_{ApplP}$ AObj . . . $[_{VP}$ $\__i$ . . .]]]			*

(26) Feature Condition (FC; Chomsky 1995):
Probes must be satisfied.

Raising to ergative in Nez Perce (Deal 2019)

Possessor raising (Deal 2019):

- When the highest argument in the c-command domain of v contains a (free) possessor, then this possessor must undergo raising.
- By assumption, raising targets the specifier of a functional head μ right below vP.
- The analysis in terms of possessor raising is motivated by the fact that object agreement is controlled by the highest argument in the c-command domain of v: A raised possessor controls object agreement (and receives accusative). (27) illustrates for a transitive.

(27) Háama-pim hi-**nées**-wewkuny-en'y-Ø-e **ha**-háacwal-**na**
man-ERG 3SUBJ-**O.PL**-meet-μ-P-REM.PAST **PL**-boy-**ACC**
láwtiwaa.
friend.NOM
'The man met the boys' friend.'

Raising to ergative in Nez Perce (Deal 2019)

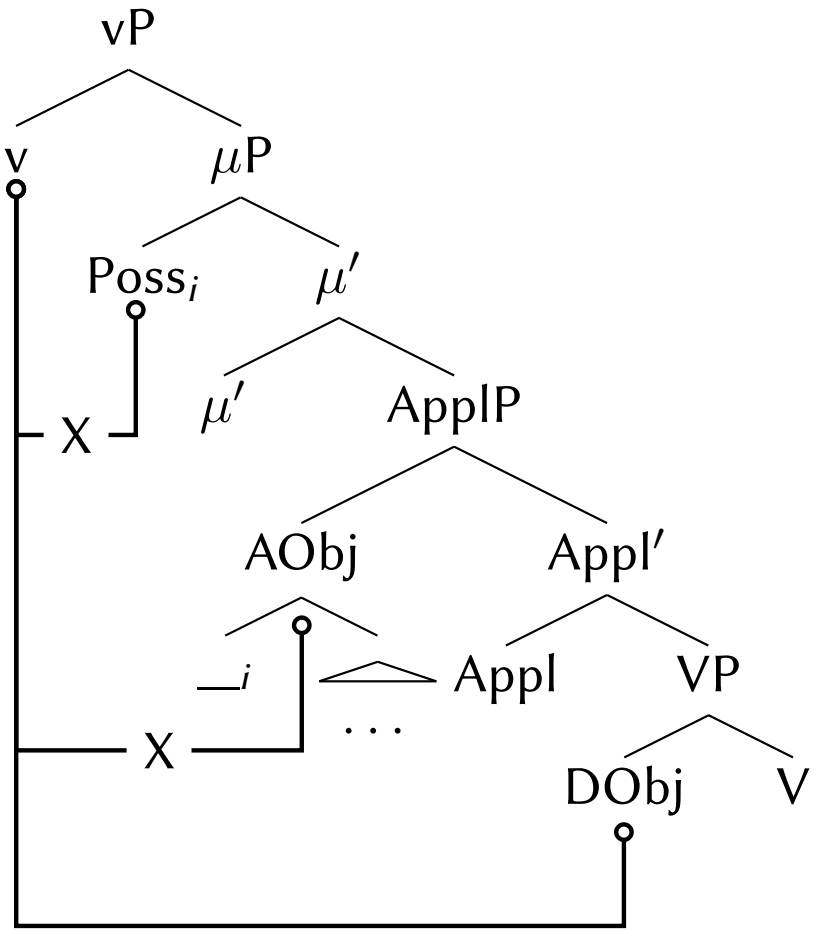
A twist (Deal 2019):

- Possessor raising also applies to a possessor contained in the AObj of an applicative unaccusative (28).
- Again, the raised possessor controls object agreement (and receives accusative).
- Crucially, in this construction, the direct object raises to become the ergative, as before, and not, as one might expect, the applied object!

(28) Ko-nim **ha**-'ayato-**na** hi-**nees**-'ileese-nuu-ey'-se
DEM-ERG **PL**-woman-**ACC** 3SUBJ-**O.PL**-make.noise-APPL-μ-IMPERF
pi'amkin.
meeting.NOM
'That person is making noise at the ladies' meeting.'

Raising to ergative in Nez Perce (Deal 2019)

(29)



Raising to ergative in Nez Perce (Deal 2019)

Analysis (Deal 2019, 408):

- The possessor cannot undergo further raising to Specv due to GSSAL.
- Raising to ergative of the AObj would be an instance of remnant movement (possessor raising having previously created the remnant).
- Since possessor raising to Specμ and raising to Specv (to ergative) are both instances of A-movement, raising to Specv of the remnant would violate the Müller-Takano generalization (30).
- Thus, neither possessor nor applied object may raise. Consequently, the direct object may exceptionally undergo raising, again.

(30) Müller-Takano Generalization (MTG; Müller 1996, Takano 2000):
Movement creating a remnant R and subsequent movement affecting R must not be of the same type.

The argument (Nez Perce)

Assumptions:

- Deal's (2019) logic can be directly translated into an analysis in terms of violable, ranked constraints plus optimization.
- All one has to do is assume that the crucial ranking in Nez Perce is MTG, GSSAL, FC $\gg$ MLC.

The argument (Nez Perce)

(31) Ko-nim **ha**-'ayato-**na** hi-**nees**-'ileese-nuu-ey'-se
DEM-ERG **PL**-woman-**ACC** 3SUBJ-**O.PL**-make.noise-APPL-μ-IMPERF
pi'amkin.
meeting.NOM
'That person is making noise at the ladies' meeting.'

Analysis:

(32) *vP-optimization*

Input: . . .	MTG	GSSAL	FC	MLC
K_1: $[_{vP}$ – . . . $[_{\mu P}$ Poss . . . $[_{ApplP}$ AObj . . . . . . $[_{VP}$ DObj . . .]]]]			*!	
K_2: $[_{vP}$ Poss$_i$ . . . $[_{\mu P}$ _$_i$ . . . $[_{ApplP}$ AObj . . . . . . $[_{VP}$ DObj . . .]]]]		*!		
K_3: $[_{vP}$ AObj$_i$ . . . $[_{\mu P}$ Poss . . . $[_{ApplP}$ _$_i$ . . . . . . $[_{VP}$ DObj . . .]]]]	*!			
☞K_4: $[_{vP}$ DObj$_i$ . . . $[_{\mu P}$ Poss . . . $[_{ApplP}$ AObj . . . . . . $[_{VP}$ _$_i$ . . .]]]]				*

The argument (Nez Perce)

The argument:

- In contrast, it is much less clear what an analysis without (hidden) violability of the MLC could look like.
- In particular, an analysis in terms of GSSAL alone is not possible since the applied object is far enough away from v to be attracted without compromising antilocality.
- Since the GSSAL is not the only factor in play, a re-analysis purely in terms of restrictions on the probing procedure fails.

Raising to absolutive in Niuean (Longenbaugh and Polinsky 2018)

Raising to absolutive in Niuean:

- Longenbaugh and Polinsky 2018 (relying on Seiter 1980) argue that Niuean shows MLC-violations in three different constructions: a) raising to absolutive, b) raising to genitive, c) *wh*-movement.
- In the first case, the subject (ergative) or the object (absolutive) of a transitive clause (headed by a subjunctive complementizer) embedded under a raising predicate can undergo raising to the matrix Specv (triggered by an EPP-feature).
- A raised ergative subject changes its case from ergative to absolutive.

(33) a. To maeke [**e** ekekafo]$_i$ [ke lagomatai $\_\__i$ [**a** Sione]].
FUT possible **ABS** doctor SBJ help **ABS** Sione
'The doctor can help Sione.'

b. To maeke [**a** Sione]$_i$ [ke lagomatai [**he** ekekafo] $\_\__i$].
FUT possible **ABS** Sione SBJ help **ERG** doctor
'The doctor can help Sione.'

Raising to absolutive in Niuean (Longenbaugh and Polinsky 2018)

Optionality:
Raising to absolutive in Niuean is optional (34). By assumption, the EPP-feature responsible for raising is optional.

(34) To maeke [ke lagomatai [he ekekafo] [a Sione]].
FUT possible SBJ help ERG doctor ABS Sione
'It's possible the doctor can help Sione.'

Raising to absolutive in Niuean (Longenbaugh and Polinsky 2018)

Puzzle:
Given the MLC, how can the direct object in (34-b) raise to matrix Specv across the embedded subject?

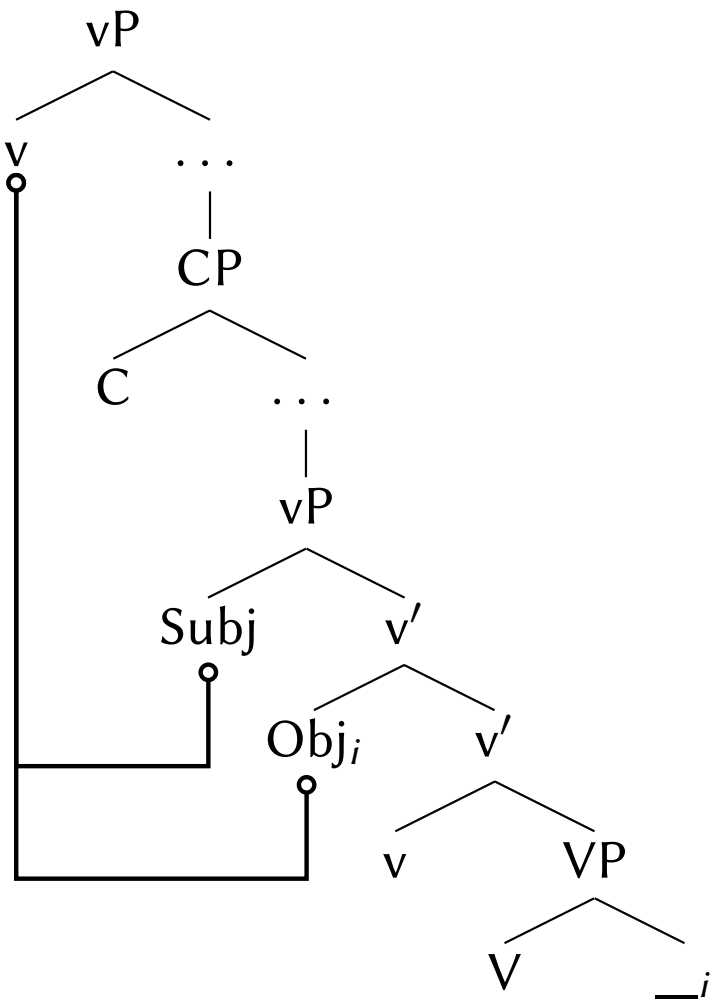
Solution (Longenbaugh and Polinsky 2018):

- The object first moves to an inner Specv. After this, both subject and object fill specifiers of the same vP and are therefore assumed to be "equidistant" (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001) to probes outside of vP.
- By definition of equidistance, the MLC becomes irrelevant, and the object can undergo raising.

Raising to absolutive in Niuean (Longenbaugh and Polinsky 2018)

Equidistance:

(35)



The argument (Niuean)

But:

- Equidistance does not follow from anything in the theory of Longenbaugh and Polinsky 2018 (despite the heading of their §6). After all, the subject still asymmetrically c-commands the object in (35).
- If equidistance is just a stipulation, and there is independent evidence suggesting that the MLC can be violated, then it appears preferable to invoke an analysis in terms of a violable MLC in the case of Niuean raising.

The argument (Niuean)

Questions to be answered:

- Why can the object violate the MLC although subject raising is possible, too (raising of the subject does not violate the MLC and therefore should block object raising under the OT-logic)?
- Why does the subject change its case from ergative to absolutive when it undergoes raising?

The argument (Niuean)

Idea:

- Raising the subject is costly *because* ergative case has to be changed to absolutive case.
- These costs do not show up with the object because the object already bears absolutive in the embedded clause.
- The costs of an MLC-violation (object raising) and the costs for changing the case value must then neutralize each other (constraint tie).

The argument (Niuean)

Assumptions:

- There is a constraint militating against changing case values from input to output (Ident(Case), (36)).
- The EPP-feature on v that is responsible for raising, by assumption, can only be satisfied by an absolutive argument (cf. Bobaljik 2008).
- Raising without probe satisfaction is prohibited by Last Resort (37) (needed to block unwanted derivations based on matrix v without EPP).
- The ranking assumed for Niuean is FC $\gg$ Ident(Case)$\circ$MLC ($\gg$ LR).

(36) Ident(Case):
The value of a case feature must not be changed.

(37) Last Resort (LR; Chomsky 1995):
Movement requires probing.

The argument (Niuean)

(38) a. To maeke [**e** ekekafo]$_i$ [ke lagomatai $\_\_i$ [**a** Sione]].
FUT possible **ABS** doctor SBJ help **ABS** Sione
'The doctor can help Sione.'

b. To maeke [**a** Sione]$_i$ [ke lagomatai [**he** ekekafo] $\_\_i$].
FUT possible **ABS** Sione SBJ help **ERG** doctor
'The doctor can help Sione.'

Analysis:

(39) *vP-optimization*

Input: Subj$_{[erg]}$, Obj$_{[abs]}$, v$_{[EPP]}$	FC	IDENT(CASE)	MLC	LR
K$_1$: [$_{vP}$ v . . . [$_{CP}$ . . . . . [$_{vP}$ Subj$_{[erg]}$ . . . Obj$_{[abs]}$]]]	*!			
☞K$_2$: [$_{vP}$ Subj$_{[abs]},_i$ v . . . [$_{CP}$ . . . . . [$_{vP}$ $\_\__i$ . . . Obj$_{[abs]}$]]]		*		
☞K$_3$: [$_{vP}$ Obj$_{[abs]},_i$ v . . . [$_{CP}$ . . . . . [$_{vP}$ Subj$_{[erg]}$ . . . $\_\__i$]]]			*	

The argument (Niuean)

The argument:

- In the structure assumed by Longenbaugh and Polinsky (2018) for Niuean, (35), both subject and object are too far away from the landing site of raising for GSSAL to be relevant (even if one assumes that raising passes via SpecC).
- (Assuming, as Longenbaugh and Polinsky 2018 do, that subject and object both occupy a Specv-position, GSSAL would treat them alike, anyway.)
- If GSSAL is not relevant, an interpretation in terms of restrictions on the probing procedure along the lines of Branan (2022) is not in sight.
- With equidistance not a serious option (see above), this leaves us with an analysis where the MLC is genuinely violable.

A-Scrambling in Tongan (Branan 2022)

A-Scrambling in Tongan:

- Branan (2022) (relying on Otsuka 2005) reports that scrambling in Tongan may displace an absolutive object across an ergative subject (40-a).
- Also, an oblique object may scramble across an absolutive subject (40-b).

(40) a. Naʻe fili [ʻa Pila]$_i$ [ʻe Sione] __$_i$.
PST choose ABS Pila ERG Sione
'Sione chose Pila.'

b. Naʻe ʻalu [ki Tonga]$_i$ [ʻa Sione] __$_i$.
PST go o Tonga ABS Sione
'Sione went to Tonga.'

A-Scrambling in Tongan (Branan 2022)

A-Scrambling in Tongan (continued):

- In a ditransitive, the (higher) absolutive object may scramble across the ergative (41-b).
- But the (lower) oblique object may not (41-a).
- Finally, the (lower) oblique object may scramble across the (higher) absolutive object (if the subject cliticizes) (41-c).

(41) a. *Naʻe tuku [ʻi he loki]$_i$ [ʻe Sione] [ʻa e tohi] __$_i$.
PST leave in DEF room ERG Sione ABS DEF book
'Sione left the book in the room.'

b. Naʻe tuku [ʻa e tohi]$_i$ [ʻe Sione] __$_i$ [ʻi he loki].
PST leave ABS DEF book ERG Sione in DEF room
'Sione left the book in the room.'

c. Naʻa ne tuku [ʻi he loki] [ʻa e tohi] __$_i$.
PST 3SG leave in DEF room ABS DEF book
'He/She left the book in the room.'

A-Scrambling in Tongan (Branan 2022)

Assumption (Otsuka 2005):
A-Scrambling in Tongan targets SpecT (the verb is higher than T).

Puzzle:
How can scrambling across the subject avoid a violation of the MLC?

Problem for the leapfrogging account:

- An oblique object may scramble across an (absolutive) subject, and a (lower) oblique object may scramble across a (higher) absolutive object.
- But the two cannot be put together: The lower (oblique) object cannot scramble across the (ergative) subject if an absolutive object intervenes.

(42)
a. $\text{Obj}_{loc,i} \ldots [_{\text{vP}} \_\__i \ \text{Subj}_{abs} \ldots \_\__i \ldots]$
b. $\text{Obj}_{loc,_i} \ldots [_{\text{VP}} \_\__i \ \text{Obj}_{abs} \ldots \_\__i \ldots]$
c. $^{*}\text{Obj}_{loc,i} \ldots [_{\text{vP}} \_\__i \ \text{Subj}_{erg} \ldots [_{\text{VP}} \_\__i \ \text{Obj}_{abs} \ldots \_\__i \ldots]]$

A-Scrambling in Tongan (Branan 2022)

Solution (Branan 2022):

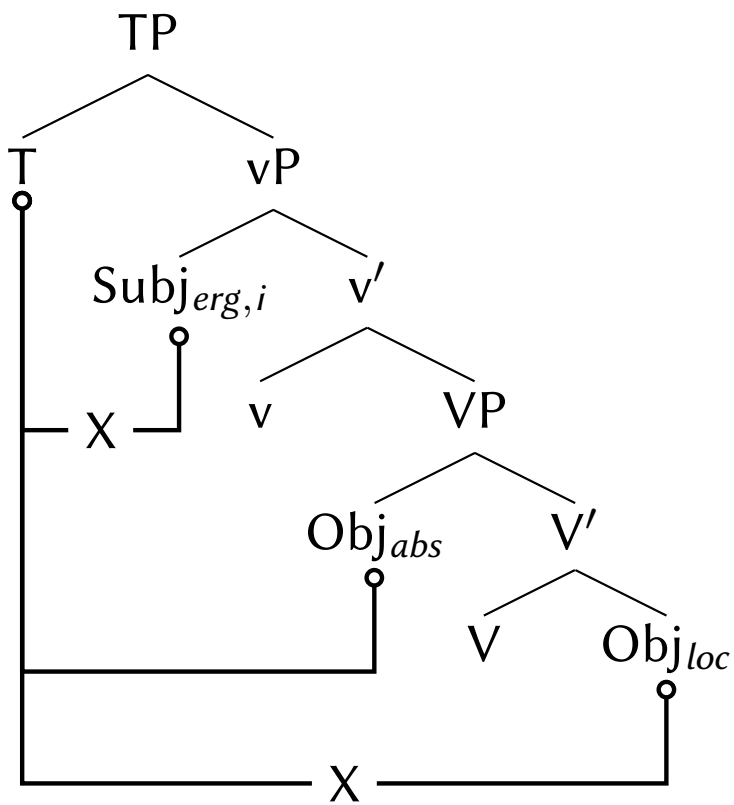
- Movement of the subject to SpecT would violate GSSAL. Therefore, the next lower argument gets the chance to raise (despite being not the highest argument).
- In contrast, raising of the second internal argument is blocked again by the MLC.

A-Scrambling in Tongan (Branan 2022)

(43) a. *Na‘e tuku [‘i he loki]$_i$ [‘e Sione] [‘a e tohi] _$_i$.
PST leave in DEF room ERG Sione ABS DEF book
‘Sione left the book in the room.’

b. Na‘e tuku [‘a e tohi]$_i$ [‘e Sione] _$_i$ [‘i he loki].
PST leave ABS DEF book ERG Sione in DEF room
‘Sione left the book in the room.’

(44)



A-Scrambling in Tongan (Branan 2022)

A twist (Branan 2022, 20-21):

- While scrambling of an inanimate oblique object across an inanimate absolutive object (and ergative subject) is impossible (45-a), moving a human oblique object across a non-human absolutive object (and ergative subject) is fine (45-b), in fact the only option (45-c).
- With two inanimate objects, scrambling the higher is fine (45-d).

(45) a. *Naʻe lī [ki tuʻa]$_i$ [ʻe Mele] [ʻa e veve] __$_i$.
PST throw to outside ERG Mele ABS DEF rubbish
'Mele threw the rubbish outside.'

b. Naʻe ʻoange [kia Sione]$_i$ [ʻe Mele] [ʻa e ika] __$_i$.
PST give to.PERS Sione ERG Mele ABS DEF fish
'Mele gave a fish to Sione.'

c. *Naʻe ʻoange [ʻa e tohi]$_i$ [ʻe Sione] __$_i$ [kia Mele].
PST give ABS DEF book ERG Sione to.PERS Mele
'Sione gave a book to Mele.'

d. Naʻe lī [ʻa e veve]$_i$ [ʻe Mele] __$_i$ [ki tuʻa].
PST throw ABS DEF rubbish ERG Mele to outside
'Mele threw the rubbish outside.'

A-Scrambling in Tongan (Branan 2022)

Analysis (Branan 2022):

- The EPP-feature in Tongan responsible for scrambling is a composite probe that not only searches for the feature [D] (or [N]) but simultaneously for the feature [+HUMAN].
- In (45-a-d), the ergative subject is ignored due to GSSAL. In (45-a,d), both objects are inanimate. Therefore, the MLC decides against probing the lower object.
- In (45-b,c), the lower object is [+HUMAN], the higher is [−HUMAN]. In this case, the preference principle in (46) (van Urk 2015; cf. already Chomsky 2001, 15), which favors probing of the object that bears both [D]/[N] and [+HUMAN], decides.

(46) MULTITASKING:
If two operations A and B are possible [. . .], and the features checked by A are a superset of those checked by B, the grammar prefers A.

The argument (Tongan)

Observation:

- The preference principle in (46) directly translates into an analysis in terms of optimization.
- The Feature Condition will automatically enforce probing for the object that matches more features on the probe, thereby forcing an (additional) violation of the MLC upon the optimal candidate.

The argument (Tongan)

(47) Na‘e ‘oange [kia Sione]$_i$ [‘e Mele] [‘a e ika] __$_i$.
PST give to.PERS Sione ERG Mele ABS DEF fish
‘Mele gave a fish to Sione.’

Analysis:

(48) *TP-optimization*

Input: Subj$_{[+hum]}$ Obj$_{[-hum]}$, Obj$_{[+hum]}$	FC	GSSAL	MLC	LR
K$_1$: [$_{TP}$ T . . . [$_{vP}$ Subj$_{[+hum]}$ . . . . . [$_{VP}$ Obj$_{[-hum]}$ . . . Obj$_{[+hum]}$]]]	**!			
K$_2$: [$_{TP}$ Subj$_{[+hum],i}$ T . . . [$_{vP}$ __$_i$ . . . . . [$_{VP}$ Obj$_{[-hum]}$ . . . Obj$_{[+hum]}$]]]		*!		
K$_3$: [$_{TP}$ Obj$_{[-hum],i}$ T . . . [$_{vP}$ Subj$_{[+hum]}$ . . . . . [$_{VP}$ __$_i$ . . . Obj$_{[+hum]}$]]]	*!		*	
☞K$_4$: [$_{TP}$ Obj$_{[+hum]}$ T . . . [$_{vP}$ Subj$_{[+hum]}$ . . . . . [$_{VP}$ Obj$_{[-hum]}$ . . . __$_i$]]]			**	

The argument (Tongan)

(49) Na‘e tuku [‘a e tohi]$_i$ [‘e Sione] __$_i$ [‘i he loki].
PST leave ABS DEF book ERG Sione in DEF room
‘Sione left the book in the room.’

Analysis:

(50) *TP-optimization*

Input: $\text{Subj}_{[+hum]}$ $\text{Obj}_{[-hum]}$, $\text{Obj}_{[-hum]}$	FC	GSSAL	MLC	LR
K_1: $[_{TP}$ T . . . $[_{vP}$ $\text{Subj}_{[+hum]}$ . . . . . . $[_{VP}$ $\text{Obj}_{[-hum]}$ . . . $\text{Obj}_{[-hum]}$]]]	**!			
K_2: $[_{TP}$ $\text{Subj}_{[+hum],i}$ T . . . $[_{vP}$ __$_i$ . . . . . . $[_{VP}$ $\text{Obj}_{[-hum]}$ . . . $\text{Obj}_{[-hum]}$]]]		*!		
☞ K_3: $[_{TP}$ $\text{Obj}_{[-hum],i}$ T . . . $[_{vP}$ $\text{Subj}_{[+hum]}$ . . . . . . $[_{VP}$ __$_i$ . . . $\text{Obj}_{[-hum]}$]]]	*		*	
K_4: $[_{TP}$ $\text{Obj}_{[-hum]}$ T . . . $[_{vP}$ $\text{Subj}_{[+hum]}$ . . . . . . $[_{VP}$ $\text{Obj}_{[-hum]}$ . . . __$_i$]]]	*		**!	

The argument (Tongan)

Branan (2022, §5.2):

- The argument is noted, but apparently it is does not considered to be decisive in favor of the optimization approach.
- Instead, the following suggestion is made as to how one may uprade the analysis without optimization.

"Multitasking lends itself straightforwardly to an OT approach [. . .]. For the search space approach [. . .] one might think of Multitasking as a condition for the termination of search (see Deal 2015 [. . .]): a head might probe past the Shortest goal when that goal does not totally satisfy its features. Or one might think of Multitasking [. . .] as a way of resolving cases where the search space contains more than one goal [. . .]."

Branan (2022, 33)

The argument (Tongan)

But:

- It does not suffice to allow a (composite) probe to look beyond the first goal G_1 if G_1 does not totally satisfy the probe.
- Once the second goal G_2 is found, G_1 must have been kept in store because it may be that G_2 cannot satisfy more features than G_1 (in which case it is G_1 that must be attracted).
- Thus, the question must be resolved whether to attract G_1 or G2. For this, an additional resolution mechanism is needed. The above quote leaves open what this mechanism would be (if it is not MULTITASKING). OT is exactly such a mechanism.

The argument (Tongan)

The argument:

- Again, the approach in terms of a restriction on probing does not suffice to capture the whole picture.
- One may, of course, keep MULTITASKING as it is, but this is just a piecemeal stipulation.
- In contrast, the approach in terms of optimization is straightforwardly extendable to the facts given in (45) without further ado.

Conclusion

Conclusion:

- While (most of) the facts presented by Branan (2022), in principle, allow for an interpretation in terms of a restriction on probing, it turns out that the analysis is not really comprehensive.
- There are plausible instances of MLC-violations both in Branan (2022) (cf. the analysis of scrambling in Tongan) as well as elsewhere (Longenbaugh and Polinsky 2018 on raising to absolutive in Niuean and Deal 2019 on raising to ergative in Nez Perce, etc.) that form an overall pattern.
- These are not approachable by the proposed restriction on probing as they do not (only) involve GSSAL but also other constraints.
- An optimality theoretic approach allows to integrate these constraints directly into the given resolution mechanism. The alternative consists in the piecemeal stipulation of various other principles, which is not satisfying as the pattern does not receive a uniform account.

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