

Locality and Extraction in Mandar

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A longstanding question in syntactic theory: what are the types of movement operations made available by the faculty of language, and what gives rise to the differences between them?

The Classical Answer: The syntax distinguishes between two different types of displacement:

1. A-movement, which is strictly local, interacts with Case/Agreement, and targets only DPs,
2. ...and \bar{A} -movement, which avoids these restrictions and obeys looser constraints on locality.

(1) A-Movement: *Mary* seems [___ to have left].

(2) \bar{A} -Movement: *Who* ['d you see ___]?

- **Mystery one:** can these differences be linked to the positions that they target?
 - A-positions: potential thematic positions (argument positions) (Chomsky 1981)
 - \bar{A} -positions: non-thematic positions (adjunct positions) (Chomsky 1989)

A separate question lies in a restriction on \bar{A} -extraction: the Ergative Extraction Constraint

- Ergative-Absolutive alignment: a system of Case/Agreement that's different from English, where intransitive subjects behave like transitive objects instead of transitive subjects.

(3) *Morphological Ergativity:*

a. *She*_{ABS} ran.

b. *Her*_{ERG} saw *she*_{ABS}.

- A subset of ergative systems show an apparent restriction in the \bar{A} -domain:
 - You can extract the intransitive subject and transitive object; not the transitive subject.

(4) *The Ergative Extraction Constraint:*

a. *Who* [left ____{ABS}]?

b. *Who* ['d you see ____{ABS}]?

c. ~~*Who*~~ [____{ERG} saw you]?

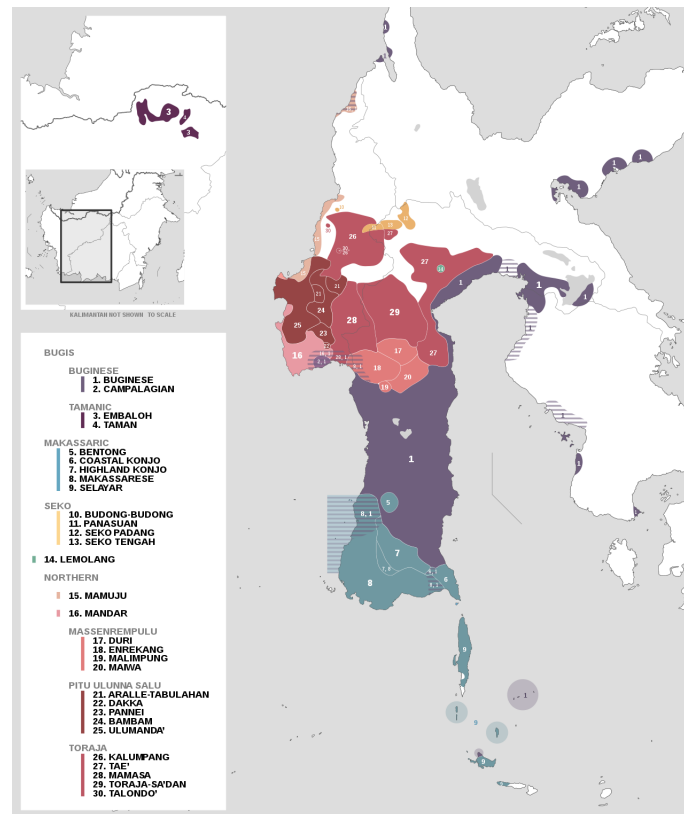
- **Mystery Two:** if \bar{A} -extraction is flexible, why should such a constraint exist?

The goal of this talk: to investigate these matters in Mandar, a language of Indonesia.

1. This language shows the ergative extraction constraint.
2. This reflects a deeper pattern: apparent \bar{A} -operations shows A-style locality.
3. This restriction is linked to the position they target: it's lower than normal \bar{A} -movement.
4. This leads us to architectural questions on the nature of movement and clause-building.

1.0: Mandar

Mandar is a language that’s spoken by about 400,000 people on the island of Sulawesi.



The language has the profile of an Austronesian language from this area: (cf. Tagalog)

- Verb-initial word order
- Ergative-absolutive agreement
- Verbal alternations between transitive and antipassive.

The shape of a Mandar clause:

(5) **Mar-rokko i** battang, tapi **na-larang i** dottor.
 ANTIP-smoke 3ABS cigarette but 3ERG-forbid 3ABS doctor
 “He_{ABS} smokes cigarettes, but the doctor_{ERG} forbids it_{ABS}.”

Sikki et al. 1987; 1192

The data in this talk will come from three sources:

1. Fieldwork in Sulawesi 2019, 2022...
2. Ongoing work with Jupri Talib, Anchu Mansur, and Nabila Haruna 2018-
3. Prior descriptive literature; compiled into a searchable online corpus (www.kratylos.org)

1.1: The Extraction Constraint

Our starting point is a restriction on WH-movement: the Ergative Extraction Constraint.

- In WH-questions, it is possible to extract the **absolutive subject** and the **absolutive object**:

- (6) a. **Innai** missung _____{ABS}?
 who left
 ‘Who_{ABS} left?’
 b. **Innai** mu-ita _____{ABS}?
 who 2ERG-see
 ‘Who_{ABS} did you_{ERG} see?’

- But it’s not possible to extract the ergative argument.

- (7) ***Innai** na-ita o _____{ERG}?
 who 3ERG-see 2ABS
 BAD: ‘Who_{ERG} saw you_{ABS}?’

- The only way to extract the external argument: use a construction where it’s absolutive.

- (8) **Innai** ma’-ita _____{ABS} o?
 who AGENT.FOCUS-see 2ACC
 ‘Who_{ABS} saw you_{ACC}?’

This is part of a broader constraint: **WH-movement can only target the absolutive argument**.

- In antipassive clauses, you can extract the absolutive subject, but not the oblique object.

- (9) ***Apa** mas-saka iAli _____{OBL}?
 what ANTIP-catch NAME
 BAD: ‘What_{OBL} ’s Ali_{ABS} catching?’

- The same constraint rules out the extraction of many other things.

- No direct-questioning an argument PP. (**Into what did it fall?*)
- No direct-questioning a non-DP adjunct. (**where did they go?*)

Summary: there is an “Absolutives-Only Extraction Constraint.”

- This is familiar from the literature on Western Austronesia, where similar constraints on argument extraction are widespread (Keenan 1976, Kroeger 1993, Paul 1998, Chen 2017).
- Similar constraints exist in: Inuit (Bittner 1987), West Circassian (Ershova 2019), Kwakwala (Anderson 1984), Salishan (Davis et al. 1993), Tsimshianic (Davis & Brown 2011, Brown 2016), Kanamari (Katukinan; Queixalos 2010), and parts of Mayan (Larsen & Norman 1979).

N.b.: in Mandar, this holds of relativization and focus-fronting too. We’ll focus on WH-questions.

1.2: The Nature of the Restriction

First Challenge: how can we understand the Absolutives-Only Extraction Constraint?

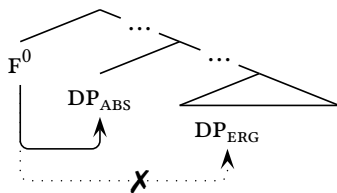
Two lines of thought predominate:

- **Case-Based Accounts** of the constraint:
 - Background: movement is triggered by higher heads (Altruism; Lasnik 1996)
 - These heads only want things with Absolutive Case (Discrimination; Deal 2016)
 - ...or they avoid arguments with Ergative Case (Ergative-as-PP: Polinsky 2012)
- **Locality-Based Accounts** of the constraint:
 - The absolutive argument raises above the ergative argument, (Campana 1992)
 - usually due to the way that absolutive Case is assigned, (Levin & Massam 1985)
 - ...and this sets up a configuration where only the absolutive argument can extract.

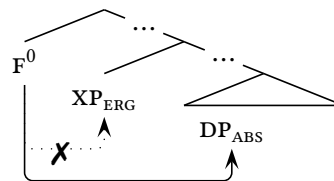
Initial Goal: to build toward a Locality-Based Analysis of Mandar.

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(10) *The Locality Analysis*



(11) *Rejected: The Case Alternative*



First argument: the source of Absolutive Case sits above the source of Ergative Case.

- The heuristic: the structural positions of absolutive and ergative agreement.
1. Absolutive agreement appears in the middle field, but ergative agreement is verb-adjacent.

(12) Ndang i mala u-pau.
 NEG 3ABS can 1ERG-say
 'I can't say it.'

Friberg & Jerniati 2000

2. Absolutive agreement, but not ergative agreement, interacts with functional heads that sit high in the clause: ASP^0 (they form portmanteaux) and c^0 (it varies with clause type).

(13) a. Massau mi, jari malai ma'.
 recover PFV.3ABS so return PFV.1ABS
 'He recovered, so I came home.'

Friberg & Jerniati 2000

b. Bulang, indoia' mai, anna'-u mala ma'-issangi alaweu.
 moon shine on me, that-1ABS.SUBJUNCTIVE might ANTIP-know self
 'Moon, shine on me, that I might know myself.'

(Bulang, by Sulkep Liaco')

1.3: High Absolutive Syntax

Second Argument: the absolutive argument always moves above the ergative.

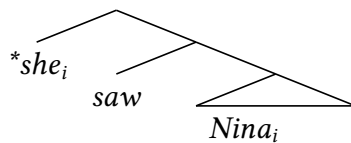
1. The absolutive argument can appear in the middle field, but the ergative argument cannot.

(14) Rua i **iAli** na-pelambi' iMina.
 Have 3ABS NAME 3ERG-visit NAME
 'Mina_{ERG} has visited Ali_{ABS}.'

2. The absolutive argument c-commands all of the other arguments in the clause.

- Condition C: names cannot be c-commanded by coindexed pronouns.

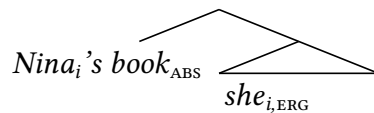
(15) *English: Condition C*



- The distribution of pronouns and names shows that the absolutive is high in Mandar:

(16) Na-na-waca i manini [_{ABS} buku na-alli iNina dionging].
 will-3ERG-read 3ABS later book 3ERG-buy NAME yesterday
 'She_i'll read the book that Nina_i bought yesterday.'

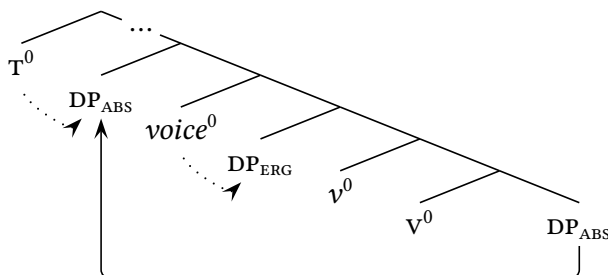
(17) *Mandar: Condition C*



Drawing these two strands together, we arrive at a High-Absolutive analysis:

- Absolutive Case is assigned by T^0 ; Ergative Case is assigned by $voice^0$.
- The absolutive argument moves above the ergative argument in order to interact with T^0 .
- The result: the absolutive argument always moves into the highest position in the clause.

(18) *High-Absolutive Syntax*

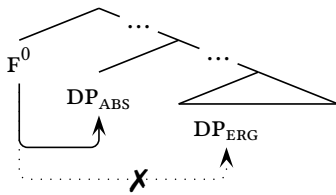


2.0: The Locality Constraint

From this perspective, we can reinterpret the Absolutives-Only Extraction Constraint:

- The absolutive argument is always the highest argument in the clause.
- The head that triggers WH-movement can only attract the closest argument.
- The result: there's no WH-movement of anything except the absolutive argument.

(19) *The Locality Constraint*



Second Challenge: why should WH-movement be subject to such a constraint?

- The classical theory: WH-movement belongs to a class of “**A**”-movements that:
 - Bypass most intervening arguments (*What* did you send Mary ___?)
 - Tolerate pied-piping of prepositions (*To whom* did you send the letter ___?)
 - Can escape finite clauses. (*Who* did you visit ___?)
- These operations ostensibly contrast with a class of “**A**”-movements, which:
 - Cannot bypass intervening arguments (**The letter* was sent Mary ___.)
 - Prohibit pied-piping of prepositions (**On the leaf* was stepped ___.)
 - Cannot escape finite clauses. (**Mary* seemed ___ was ok.)

From this standpoint, we can reframe the initial puzzle in a different way:

Could Mandar WH-movement have the properties of A-movement?

Some Guiding Desiderata:

- EXPLANATION: the analysis should derive its results from architectural principles of syntax, not just restate the problem in the lexicon (*cf.* the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture).
- EXTENSION: the analysis should offer a plausible perspective on patterns beyond Mandar (as many High Absolutive languages show a similar constraint; Bittner 1987; Brown 2016...).
- FLEXIBILITY: ...and it should provide enough flexibility to account for known exceptions (Pizarro-Guevara 2020, Erlewine & Lim 2022) while still maintaining a restrictive character.

2.1: The Raising Connection

To deconstruct Mandar WH-movement, we'll look at:

- Targets: can it apply to non-DPs? **On a leaf was stepped ____.*
- Finiteness: can it proceed from finite clauses? **Mary seemed ____ was brilliant.*
- Symmetry: does it look like real cases of Raising in the language?

Targets: Mandar WH-movement can only target DPs.

- To form locative questions, you can't extract a PP.

- (20) a. Bemme i **tama iting gelas.**
 fall 3ABS into this glass.
 'It fell into this glass.'
- b. ***Tama apa** bemme (i) _____{OBL}?
 into what fall 3ABS
 BAD: "Into what did it fall?"

- The strategy: strand the P in a pseudopassive, then extract the DP.

- (21) **Apa** na-bemme-i **tama** _____{ABS}?
 what 3ERG-fall-APPL into
 'What_{ABS} was fallen into?'

Finiteness: Mandar WH-movement can only proceed out of non-finite clauses.

- The diagnostic: no absolutive agreement.

- (22) **Inna** na-mu-pile (*i)?
 which will-2ERG-choose 3ABS
 'Which will you pick?'

Symmetry: the same restrictions hold over Raising to Subject.

- Evaluative predicates (hard, easy...) allow for Raising to the absolutive position.
- This process can only target the highest argument of the immediately lower clause.

- (23) a. Maparri' i bau [u-ande _____{ABS}].
 tough 3ABS fish 1ERG-eat
 'Fish is tough for me_{ERG} to eat _____{ABS}.'
- b. ***Maparri a'** yau [u-ande _____{ERG} bau].
 tough 1ABS 1SG 1ERG-eat fish
 BAD: "I'm tough _____{ERG} to eat fish_{ABS}."

- And naturally, it requires the lower clause to be non-finite.

2.2: Further Evidence

All of this suggests that Mandar WH-movement has the profile of Raising to Subject:

This result leads us to two further predictions about long-distance WH-movement:

- Finiteness: it should require every clause along its path to be non-finite.
- Strict locality: it should pass through the subject position of every clause on its way.

(24) *Everyone seems [___ to be likely [___ to come to Santa Cruz]].*

Finiteness: every clause along the path of WH-movement must be non-finite.

(25) **Inna** mu-sanga (*i) ___ [na-u-pile (*i) ___] ?
 which 2ERG-think 3ABS will-1ERG-pick 3ABS
 ‘Which one do you think I’ll pick?’

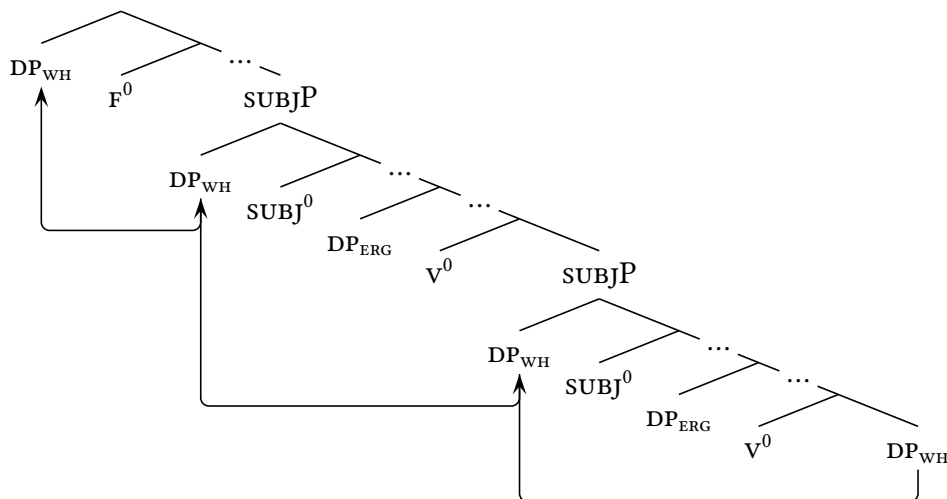
Strict locality: WH-words pass through the absolutive position of every clause on their way.

- Clausal embedding verbs are usually antipassive (OBJECT ≠ ABS), but:
- When WH-words are extracted across them, they take the kind of morphology that would appear if objects or applied arguments raised to the absolutive position.

(26) a. **Mah**-hara a’ mua’ **ma**’-ua i iAli mua’ **mang**-uma i iMina.
 ANTIP-hope 1ABS that ANTIP-say 3ABS NAME that ANTIP-plant 3ABS NAME
 ‘I hope that Ali said that Mina was planting.’
 b. Apa **mu-po**-hara ____{ABS} **na-ua-ngan** iAli ____{ABS} **na-uma** ____{ABS}?
 what 2ERG-APPL-hope 3ERG-say-APPL NAME 3ERG-plant
 ‘What do you hope ___ Ali said ___ Mina was planting?’

Interim Conclusion: WH-movement has the properties of Raising.

(27) *Long-Distance WH-Movement*



3.0: Why is Mandar WH-movement like Raising?

With this result secure, we can understand puzzle one in a slightly different way:

Why does WH-movement have the properties of Raising in Mandar?

N.b.: we're dealing with a pattern that's larger than Mandar.

- The symmetry holds in Western Austronesian: Tagalog (Kroeger 1993), Selayarese (Finer 1997), Indonesian (Cole & Hermon 2005), Malagasy (Paul 1998), Formosan (Chen 2017),
- Plus: Kwakwala (Anderson 1984), Gitksan (Brown 2016), Thompson River Salish (Kroeber 1997), Ktunaxa (McClay & Birdstone 2015), Dinka Bor (Van Urk 2015), and from the right perspective, K'iche' and Kaqchikel (and possibly related languages; Mendes & Ranero 2021).

The literature on individual cases of this pattern has responded by suggesting:

- that WH-movement is A-movement Anderson 1984
- that WH-movement is a subtype of \bar{A} -movement Finer 1997
- that WH-movement is a mixture of A- and \bar{A} -movement Van Urk 2015

The real question: “Why do movement operations have the properties that they do?”

- The goal of the Minimalist Program: to avoid enshrining these differences as primitives.
- The classical framework of A and \bar{A} is beset with independent challenges.
 - Tough Movement is “unexplained and in principle unexplainable” (Holmberg 2000)
 - There are issues with many putative correlates of the split (e.g., Reconstruction)

The result: there's an emerging consensus that we need to to rethink the A- \bar{A} divide.

- One body of work attempts to reformulate the divide in various different ways (Chomsky 2008; Obata & Epstein 2011; Van Urk 2015; Fong 2019, Safir 2019)
- Another seeks to pin down the correlates of the split in a more nuanced way (Gong 2022).

My proposal: there is no primitive split between A- and \bar{A} -movement.

- Both proceed through the same syntactic operation (MOVE; formally AGREE + MERGE).
- Both are triggered by the same types of syntactic features (Generalized EPP-features).
- The locality profile of movement is linked to the height of its landing site.
 - Movement that targets low positions, like SPEC,TP, shows strict A-style locality.
 - Movement that targets high positions, like SPEC,CP, shows the profile of \bar{A} -movement.
- There is no need to posit mixed A- \bar{A} movements or positions (Mahajan 1990).
 - The Ergative Extraction Constraint follows from general constraints on movement.
 - It tracks a broad cross-linguistic pattern: low steps of \bar{A} -movement obey A-locality.

3.1: Clauses that launch Wh-Movement are Smaller

Empirical Foundation: the clauses that launch WH-movement in Mandar are reduced.

1. They must be non-finite.

(28) [?? Innai ma'bottor (*i)]?
 who gamble AGR
 'Who's gambling?'

2. They cannot contain an overt complementizer.

(29) [?? Innai (*mua') ma'bottor]?
 who that gamble
 'Who's gambling?'

3. Both τ^0 and c^0 are suppressed along the path of long WH-movement.

(30) Apa mu-pohara (*mua') na-uangan iAli (*mua') na-uma iMina?
 what 2ERG-hope that 3ERG-say NAME that 3ERG-plant NAME
 'What do you hope (*that) was said by Ali to be planted by Mina?'

4. WH-movement blocks the insertion of CP-level adjuncts along its path.

(31) a. [_{CP} **Bara'** [_{TP} manao ai pa'mai'na]].
 hopefully painful 3ABS his heart
 'Hopefully he'll get his due.'
 b. U-eppei i to [?? (*bara') na-pole ____].
 1ERG-await 3ABS the people hopefully will-come
 'I'm waiting for the people who are (*hopefully) going to show up.'

5. WH-movement forces a "jailbreak" for second-position clitics.

(32) a. U-sanga [_{CP} na-mindai' **bo** i de' nomor lima e] .
 1ERG-think will-appear again 3ABS this number five here
 'I think this five will come up again.'
 b. Inna **bo** [?? mu-sanga [?? na-mindai' ____ ____]]?
 which again 2ERG-think will-appear
 'Which do you think will come up again?'

Intuition: the absence of overt x^0 s means the absence of XPS (no $c^0 \rightarrow$ no CP; Doherty 1993)

Result: the clauses that launch WH-movement are smaller than those which do not.

3.2: Height and Relativized Locality

These results allow us to approach two questions that surround WH-movement:

- STOPPING POINT: what’s the position that WH-movement passes through?
- MAXIMAL SIZE: what’s the highest projection in a clause that’s extracted from?

Background: the clause is organized into a sequence of functional projections.

(33) $c^0 > T^0 > POL^0 > PERF^0 > PROG^0 > voice^0 > v^0 > v^0$
 that you would not have been being persuaded

Observation: the Mandar clauses that launch WH-movement contain everything below T^0 .

- These clauses can host negation, which sits immediately beneath T^0 , in POL^0 .
- They contain all of the functional structure beneath that point: $PERF^0$, $voice^0$, v^0 , v^0 .

(34) **Innai** [_{POLP} ndang [_{PERFP} rua [_{voiceP} millamba]]].
 who not have leave
 ‘Who has never left?’

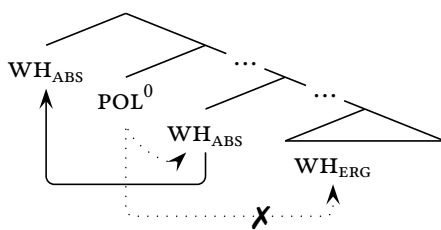
Proposal: Mandar WH-movement proceeds out of POLP, passing through SPEC,POLP.

- The features that drive WH-movement originate at the base of the extended projection (v^0).
- As the extended projection unfolds, the lowest x^0 in which they can be active is POL^0 .
- From this position, they trigger AGREE and then MERGE, yielding movement.

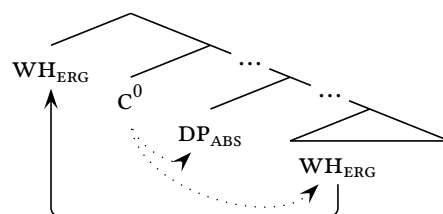
The locality constraint arises as a direct consequence of this low landing site:

- The steps of movement that are triggered low in the extended projection obey strict locality.
- It is only higher up, at the CP-level, that looser locality constraints emerge.

(35) *Low Movement: Strict Locality*



(36) *High Movement: Flexibility*



Sidenote: structure-building stops at POLP in Mandar clauses that launch WH-movement.

- This is a stipulation at present, but it’s connected to a broader cross-linguistic pattern.

(37) a. I’m sure [_{CP} that everyone is coming to Santa Cruz].
 b. Who are you sure [_{TP} ___ is coming to Santa Cruz]?
 c. Who are you sure * [_{CP} that ___ is coming to Santa Cruz]?

3.3: Low Extraction Beyond Mandar

This analysis allows us to capture strictly-local \bar{A} -extraction in a streamlined and elegant way.

- There's no need to postulate a primitive split between A- and \bar{A} -movements (or features)
- There's no need to posit an A= \bar{A} conspiracy in Mandar or other High-Abs languages.
- Rather: the basic restriction follows from two basic components:
 1. The locality profile of movement follows from the height of its landing site, and
 2. The relevant steps of WH-movement target relatively low positions.

The first component is completely necessary; because the Mandar pattern is the norm.

Example One: Reduced Relativization

- English has a type of reduced relative clause that can't contain agreement, τ^0 , or c^0 .

(38) The headway [?? ____ being made on the A- \bar{A} divide]

- (39) a. *The child [TP **doing** watch TV]
 b. *The child [CP that **being** watched]

- This structure is the same size as the clauses that launch WH-movement in Mandar:

(40) The bananas [POLP **not already** eaten]

(41) Any students [PERFP **having already** finished the exam]

- And it shows the same constraint on strict locality:

(42) a. The monkey [PERFP ____ being watched by the children]

b. *The monkey [PERFP the children watching ____]

Example Two: Romance Pseudorelatives

- Beneath verbs of direct perception, French employs this RC-like structure: Kayne 1982

(43) J'ai vu Jean **qui** ____ fumait.
 I saw John c was smoking
 'I saw John smoking.'

- The pseudorelative is not a full CP; it can't host topicalization (possible in French RCs),
- And like reduced relatives, it only allows for relativization of the highest argument.

(44) *J'ai vu Marie **qui** Jean embrassait ____.
 I saw Mary c John was kissing
 BAD: 'I saw Mary being kissed by John.'

Jorge's comment: "it is almost certain that something similar happens in Turkish."

3.4: One Response to Strict Locality

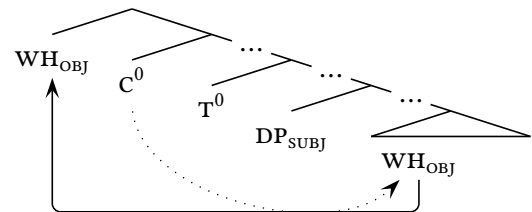
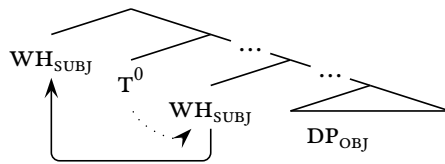
We can see evidence for the second ingredient from the attested responses to the constraint.

There's one response which is widespread in English: **Reprojection**.

- There are processes of “ \bar{A} ”-movement associated with low heads, like T^0 ,
- These processes generally obey strict locality, because they target low landing sites.
- When they violate the strict locality constraint, they appear to target higher positions.
- To avoid strict locality, the movement-driving feature is passed to a higher head, like C^0 .

(45) *Local Extraction: Stay Small*

(46) *Non-Local Extraction: Build More*



English WH-movement shows this pattern:

- Do-support suggests that non-highest movement targets a higher position.
- Convergent evidence: the possibility for an overt C^0 in Belfast English Henry 1995

- (47) a. [_{TP} who ___ left]?
 b. [_{CP} what did [_{TP} you buy ___]]?
- (48) a. I wonder [_{CP} **which dish that** they picked ___].
 b. *I wonder [_{TP} **which author that** ___ wrote this book].

So does infinitival relativization:

- Subject and “high adjunct” relatives can receive a pure future interpretation,
- But Object and “low adjunct” relatives require something like an extra covert modal:

- (49) a. the guy [_{TP} ___ to fix the sink] is here.
 b. the reason [_{TP} ___ to do this] is that it'll save time.
- (50) a. the sink [_{MODP} MODAL [_{TP} to fix ___]] is this one.
 b. the time [_{MODP} MODAL [_{TP} to do it ___]] is now.

See also: German/Dutch v2

(per Travis 1984; Zwart 1993)

- (51) a. [_{TP} Es hat das Brot gegessen].
 it has the bread eaten
 ‘It ate the bread.’
 b. [_{CP} Das Brot/*es hat [_{TP} das Kind gegessen].
 the bread/it has the kid eaten
 ‘The kid ate the bread/*it.’

German; ?

3.5: A Second Response to Strict Locality

The effect that underlies the resolution to strict locality in Mandar is one of **Suspension**.

- There are cases where higher heads stop lower heads from attracting things.

(52) a. He shouldn't've been told, and **nor** [TP ___ should've been [VP anyone else]].

b. J'exige [CP **que** [TP ___ soit éliminée [VP cette solution]]].
 I require that be_{SUBJUNCTIVE} eliminated this solution
 'I require that this solution be eliminated.'

- There are cases where this effect is correlated with the movement of something else.

(53) a. This proposal was much more problematic
 [CP **than** [TP ___ had been [VP any of the ones before it]]].

b. [CP **Quand** [TP ___ deviendra [VP ___ célèbre ce comédien]]]?
 when will become famous this comedian
 'When will this comedian become famous?'

- **This effect is visibly called up to resolve problems of locality in Mandar.**

- In the ditransitive construction, the recipient usually moves to the absolutive position.
 - * It triggers a form of agreement which appears in second-position, and
 - * It shows the standard binding behavior for absolutive arguments.

(54) [TP Byasa o melo' [VP na-bengan sicco']].
 usually 2ABS will 3ERG-give a little
 "He will usually give you a little."

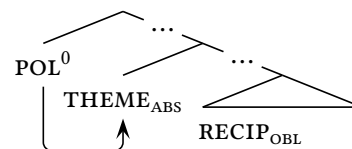
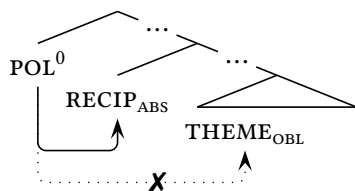
- WH-movement can target the theme in the ditransitive, **but when this occurs**, recipient agreement appears lower and the recipient does not leave the VP.

(55) [FP Apa byasa melo' [VP na-bengan o]] .
 what usually will 3ERG-give 2ABS
 "What will he usually give you?"

- Claim: POL⁰ wants to attract the theme, so it stops voice⁰ from pulling up the recipient.

(56) *Default: No Extracting Theme*

(57) *Solution: Keep the Recipient Low*



4.0: Conclusion

This theory leads us to a new understanding of the Ergative Extraction Constraint.

- There's no need to postulate any mechanism that's specific to ergativity at all.
- The operative constraints are ones that hold in cross-linguistic perspective.

This result fits very naturally with our initial desiderata:

- EXPLANATION: the analysis derives its result from architectural principles of syntax
- EXTENSION: the analysis offers a plausible perspective on patterns beyond Mandar.
- FLEXIBILITY: the analysis provides enough flexibility to account for known variation.

In the same vein, it lays the groundwork to reformulate the A- \bar{A} distinction.

- It allows us to understand the particular properties of “low” \bar{A} -operations:
 - There's no featural difference between strictly-local \bar{A} -movements and non-local ones.
 - The differences in locality emerge exclusively from the height of the landing site.
- And it opens up a path to understanding the other correlates of the split in a new way.

Finally, it opens up a set of questions on the nature of structure-building itself.

- The analysis makes three claims about Extended Projection:
 1. The features which drive movement can be passed along the extended projection.
 2. Features of one x^0 in the extended projection can interfere with features on another.
 3. Movement operations can suspend the need for further structure-building.
- These ideas connect to a range of foundational puzzles in syntactic theory:
 - Extraction-Raising interactions: High WH-movement blocks raising of the subject.

(58) [_{CP} **Quand** [_{TP} deviendra [_{VP} célèbre **ce comédien**]]]?
 when will.become famous this comedian?
 - The Comp-Trace Effect: Low WH-movement blocks the projection of c^0 .

(59) a. I'm sure [_{CP} that everyone is coming to Santa Cruz].
 b. Who are you sure [_{TP} ___ is coming to Santa Cruz]?
 c. Who are you sure * [_{CP} that ___ is coming to Santa Cruz]?

Finally, this project continues a long tradition of syntactic research at UC Santa Cruz,

- Which engages in a careful and long-term fashion with lesser-studied languages
- And brings its results to bear on the most fundamental questions in syntactic theory.