



Ling 566  
Dec 1, 2016  
Long Distance Dependencies

# Overview

- Some examples of the phenomenon
- What is new and different about it
- Brief sketch of the TG approach
- Broad outlines of our approach
- Details of our approach
- Subject extraction
- Coordinate Structure Constraint
- Reading questions

# Examples

- *wh*-questions:

*What did you find?*

*Tell me who you talked to*

- relative clauses:

*the item that I found*

*the guy who(m) I talked to*

- topicalization:

*The manual, I can't find*

*Chris, you should talk to.*

- *easy*-adjectives:

*My house is easy to find.*

*Pat is hard to talk to.*

# What these have in common

- There is a ‘gap’: nothing following *find* and *to*, even though both normally require objects.
- Something that fills the role of the element missing from the gap occurs at the beginning of the clause.
- We use topicalization and *easy*-adjectives to illustrate:

*The manual*, *I can't find* \_\_\_\_\_

*Chris* *is easy to talk to* \_\_\_\_\_

# Gaps and their fillers can be far apart:

- *The solution to this problem, Pat said that someone claimed you thought I would never find\_\_\_\_\_.*
  - *Chris is easy to consider it impossible for anyone but a genius to try to talk to\_\_\_\_\_.*
- ☞ That's why we call them “long distance dependencies”

# Fillers often have syntactic properties associated with their gaps

*Him, I haven't met \_\_\_\_.*

*\*He, I haven't met \_\_\_\_.*

*The scissors, Pat told us \_\_\_\_\_ were missing.*

*\*The scissors, Pat told us \_\_\_\_\_ was missing.*

*On Pat, you can rely \_\_\_\_.*

*\*To Pat, you can rely \_\_\_\_.*

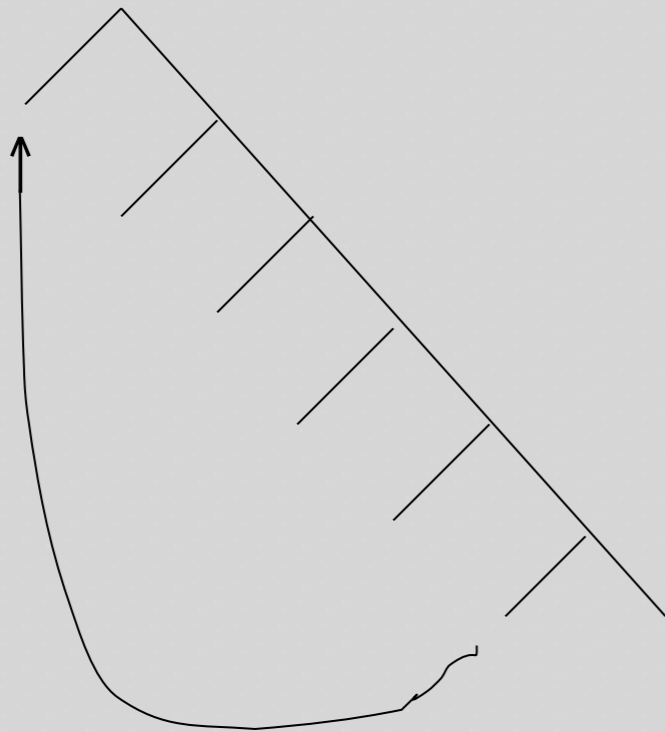


# LDDs in TG

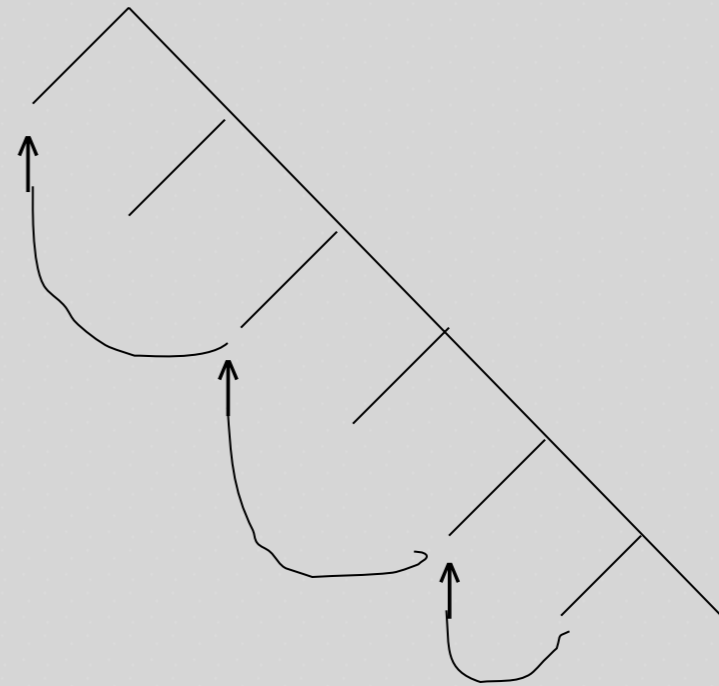
- These were long thought to constitute the strongest evidence for transformations.
- They were handled in TG by moving the filler from the gap position.
- Case, agreement, preposition selection could apply before movement.

# A big debate about LDDs in TG

- Does long-distance movement take place in one fell swoop or in lots of little steps?



Swooping



Looping



# Looping is now generally accepted in TG

- Various languages show morphological marking on the verbs or complementizers of clauses between the filler and the gap.
- Psycholinguistic evidence indicates increased processing load in the region between filler and gap.
- This opens the door to non-transformational analyses, in which the filler-gap dependency is mediated by local information passing.

# Very Rough Sketch of Our Approach

- A feature GAP records information about a missing constituent.
- The GAP value is passed up the tree by a new principle.
- A new grammar rule expands S as a filler followed by another S whose GAP value matches the filler.
- Caveat: Making the details of this general idea work involves several complications.

# The Feature GAP

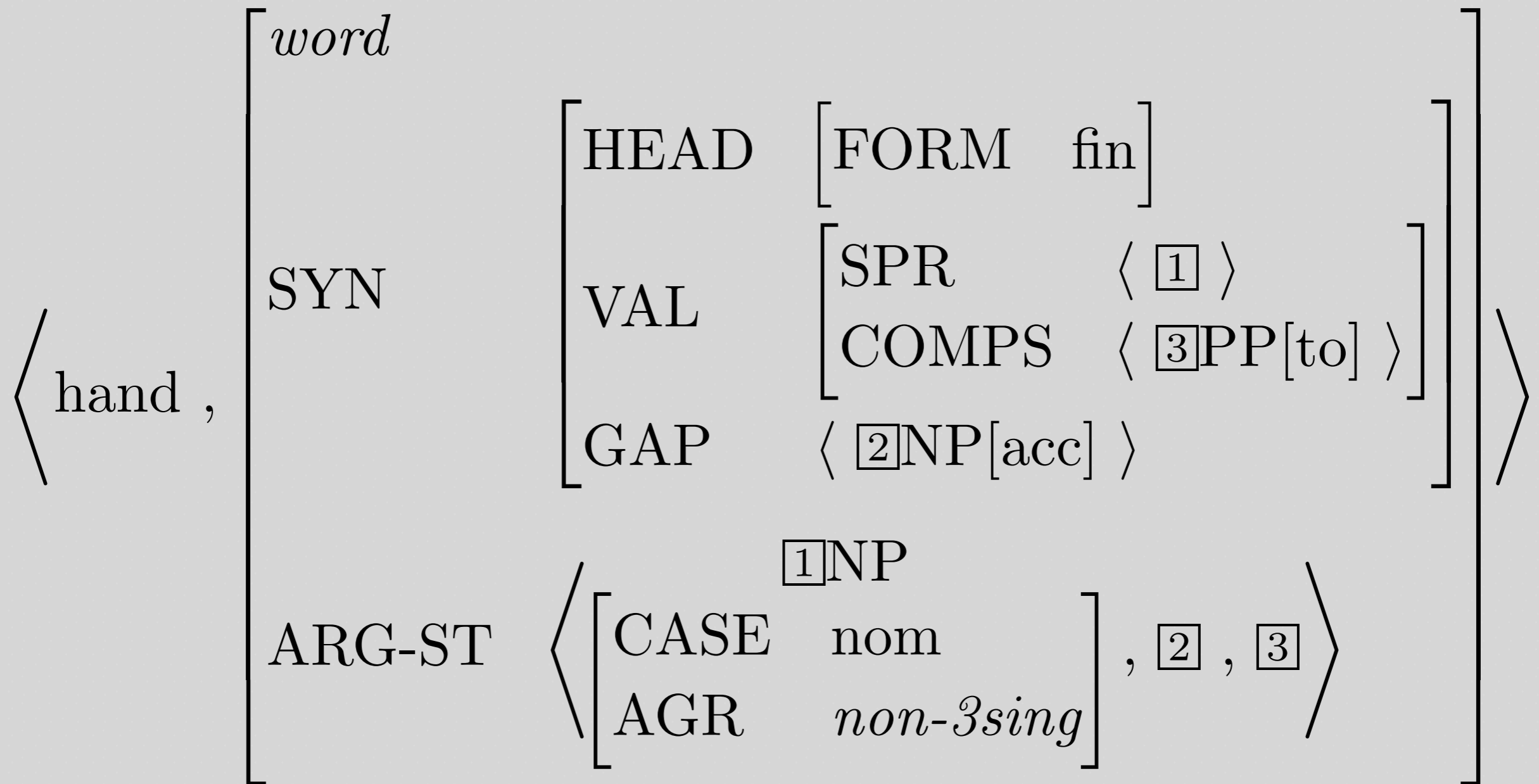
- Like valence features and ARG-ST, GAP's value is a list of feature structures (often empty).
- Subject gaps are introduced by a lexical rule.
- Non-subject gaps are introduced by revising the Argument Realization Principle.

# The Revised ARP

$$\text{word:} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYN} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{VAL} \\ \text{GAP} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SPR} \\ \text{COMPS} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \boxed{A} \\ \boxed{B} \ominus \boxed{C} \end{array} \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

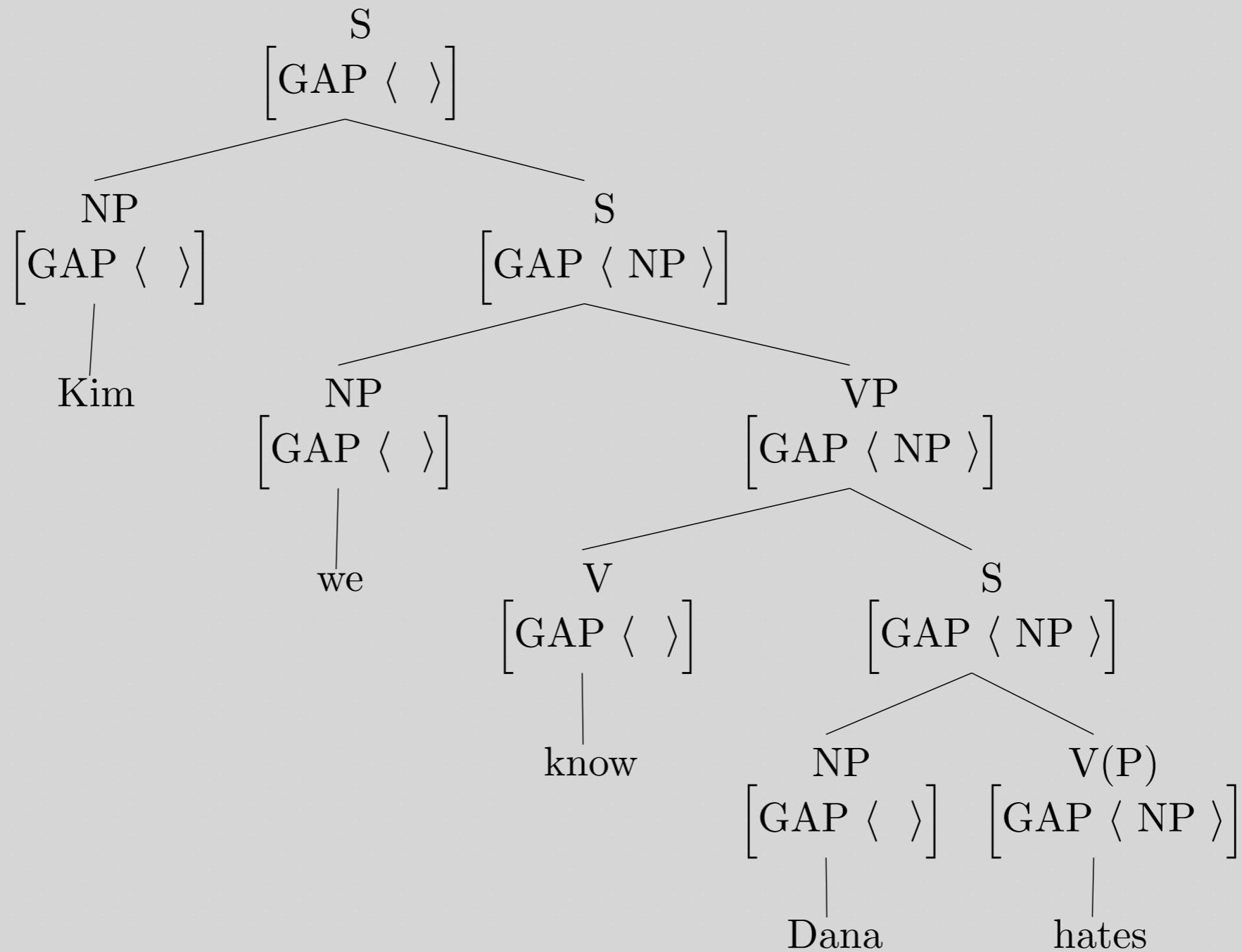
- $\ominus$  is a kind of list subtraction, but:
  - it's not always defined, and
  - when defined, it's not always unique
- The ARP now says the non-SPR arguments are distributed between COMPS and GAP.

# A Word with a Non-Empty GAP Value





# How We Want GAP to Propagate





# What We Want the GAP Propagation Mechanism to Do

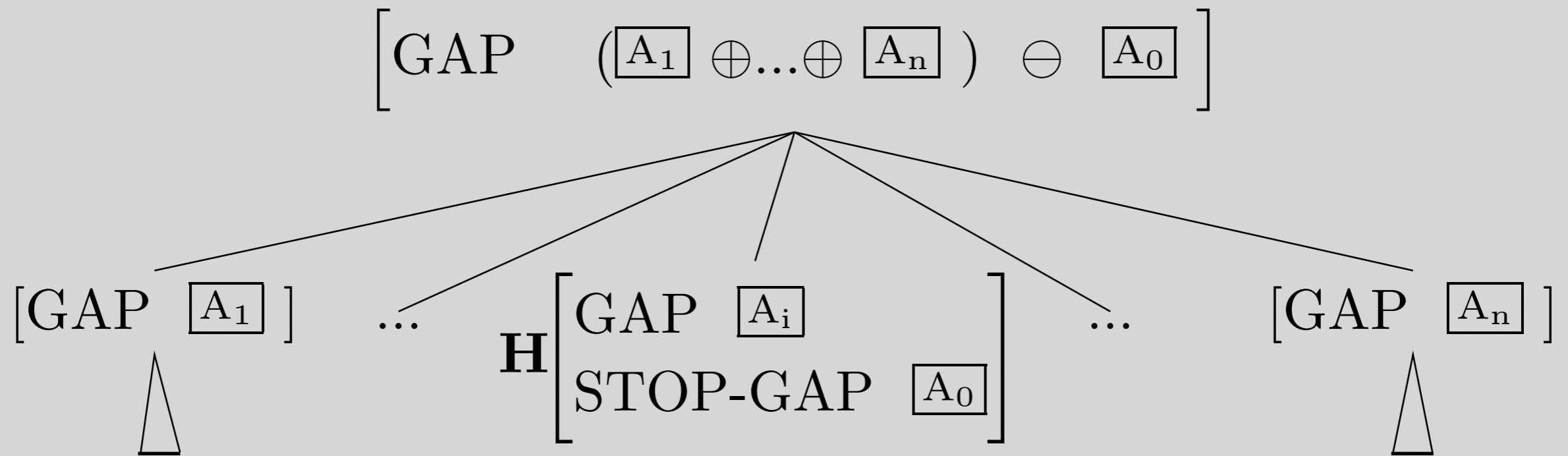
- Pass any GAP values from daughters up to their mothers,
- **except** when the filler is found.
- For topicalization, we can write the exception into the grammar rule, but
- For *easy*-adjectives, the NP that corresponds to the gap is the subject, which is introduced by the Head-Specifier Rule.
- Since specifiers are not generally gap fillers, we can't write the gap-filling into the HSR.

# Our Solution to this Problem

- For *easy*-adjectives, we treat the adjective formally as the filler, marking its SPR value as coindexed with its GAP value.
- We use a feature STOP-GAP to trigger the emptying of the GAP list.
  - STOP-GAP stops gap propagation
  - *easy*-adjectives mark STOP-GAP lexically
  - a new grammar rule, the Head-Filler Rule mentions STOP-GAP

# The GAP Principle

A local subtree  $\Phi$  satisfies the GAP Principle with respect to a headed rule  $\rho$  if and only if  $\Phi$  satisfies:



# How does STOP-GAP work?

- STOP-GAP is empty almost everywhere
- When a gap is filled, STOP-GAP is nonempty, and its value is the same as the gap being filled.
- This blocks propagation of that GAP value, so gaps are only filled once.
- The nonempty STOP-GAP values come from two sources:
  - a stipulation in the Head-Filler Rule
  - lexical entries for *easy*-adjectives
- No principle propagates STOP-GAP

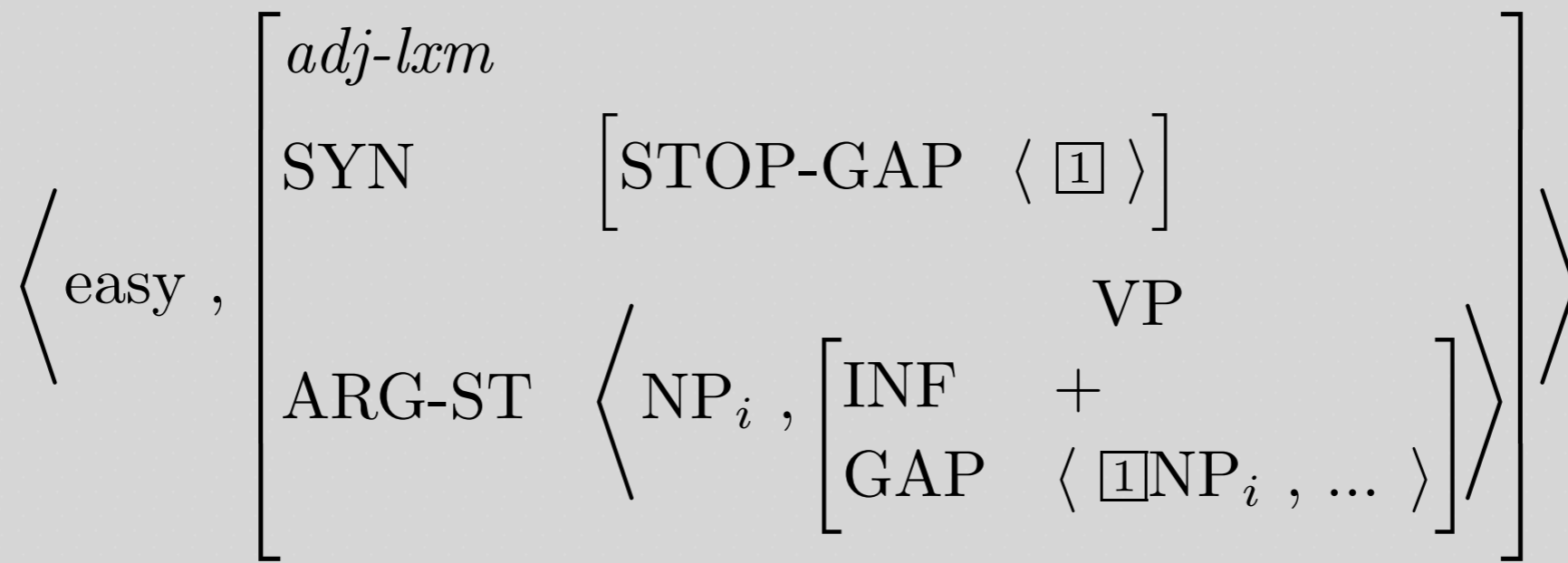
# The Head-Filler Rule

$$[phrase] \rightarrow \boxed{1} \left[ \text{GAP} \quad \langle \rangle \right] \mathbf{H} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{verb} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \textit{fin} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{VAL} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SPR} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{STOP-GAP} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{GAP} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

- This only covers gap filling in finite Ss
- The filler has to be identical to the GAP value
- The STOP-GAP value is also identical
- The GAP Principle ensures that the mother's GAP value is the empty list



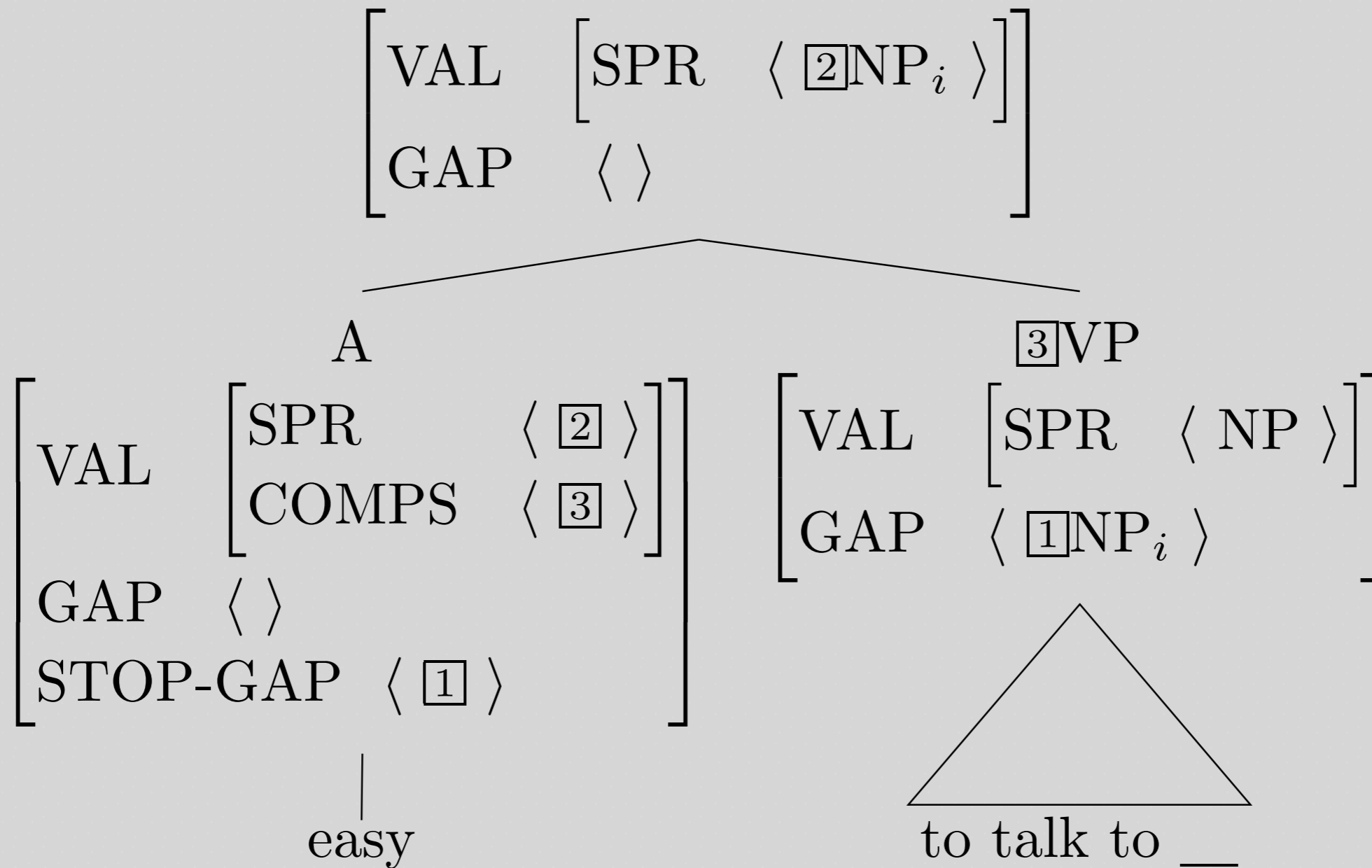
# Gap Filling with *easy*-Adjectives



- Because STOP-GAP and GAP have the same value, that value will be subtracted from the mother's GAP value.
- The first argument is coindexed with the GAP value, accounting for the interpretation of the subject as the filler.



# A Tree for *easy to talk to*\_\_\_\_\_



# STOP-GAP Housekeeping

- Lexical entries with nonempty STOP-GAP values (like *easy*) are rare, so STOP-GAP is by default empty in the lexicon.
- Head-Specifier and Head-Modifier rules need to say [STOP-GAP < >]
- Lexical rules preserve STOP-GAP values.

# GAP Housekeeping

- The initial symbol must say [GAP < >]. Why?
  - To block *\*Pat found* and *\*Chris talked to* as stand-alone sentences.
- The Imperative Rule must propagate GAP values. Why?
  - It's not a headed rule, so the effect of the GAP Principle must be replicated
  - Imperatives can have gaps:  
*This book, put on the top shelf!*

# Sentences with Multiple Gaps

- Famous examples:

*This violin, sonatas are easy to play\_\_\_ on\_\_\_.*

*\*Sonatas, this violin is easy to play\_\_\_ on\_\_\_.*

- Our analysis gets this:
  - The subject of *easy* is coindexed with the **first** element of the GAP list.
  - The Head-Filler rule only allows one GAP remaining.
- There are languages that allow multiple gaps more generally.

# Where We Are

- filler-gap structures:

*The solution to this problem, nobody understood\_\_\_\_\_*

*That problem is easy to understand\_\_\_\_\_*

- The feature GAP encodes information about missing constituents
- Modified ARP allows arguments that should be on the COMPS list to show up in the GAP list
- GAP values are passed up the tree by the GAP Principle



## Where We Are (continued)

- The feature **STOP-GAP** signals where **GAP** passing should stop
- The **Head-Filler Rule** matches a filler to a **GAP** and (via **STOP-GAP**) empties **GAP**
- Lexical entries for *easy*-adjectives require a gap in the complement, coindex the subject with the gap, and (via **STOP-GAP**) empty **GAP** on the mother



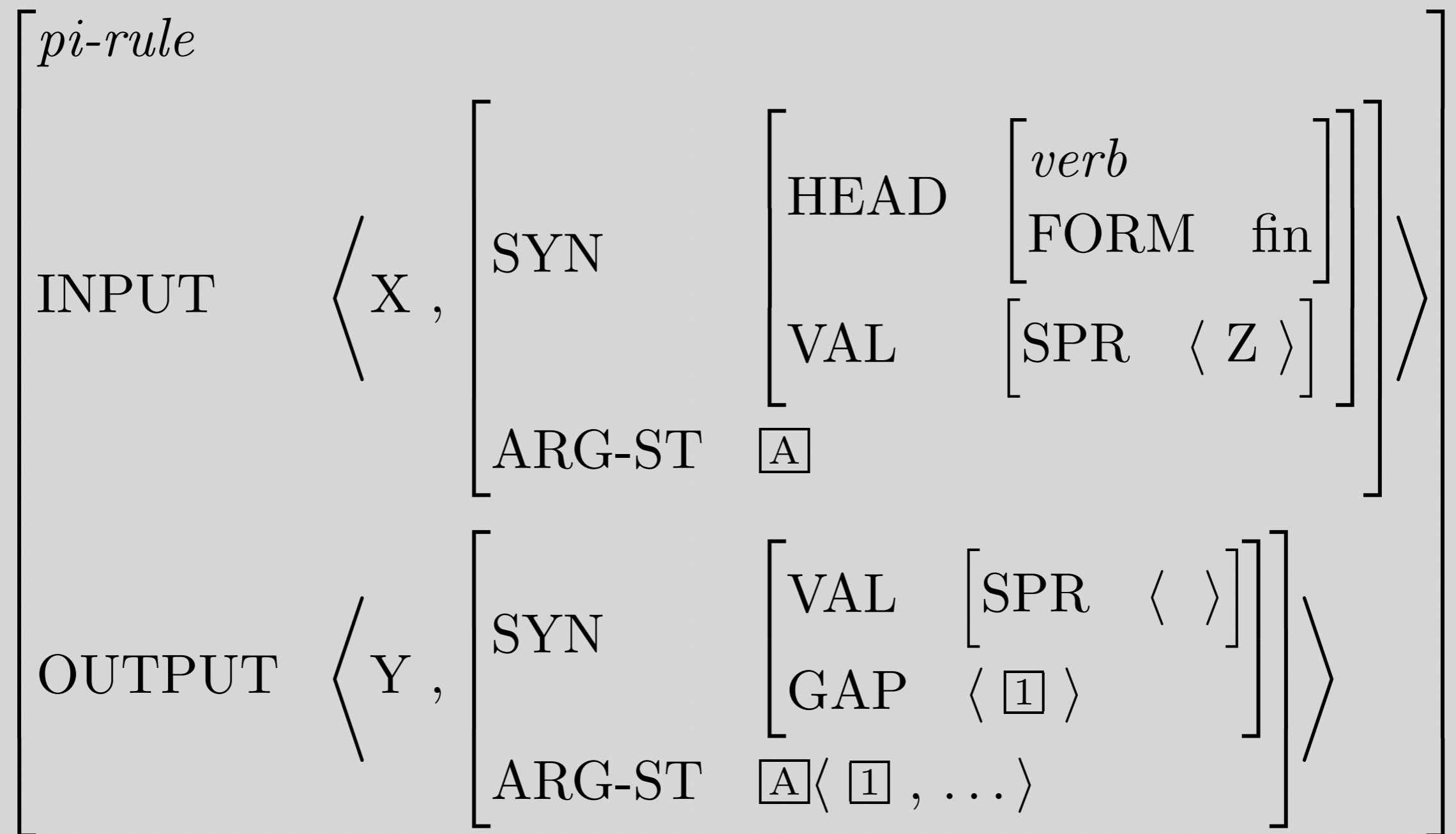
# On to New Material....

- Sentences with subject gaps
- Gaps in coordinate constructions

# Subject Gaps

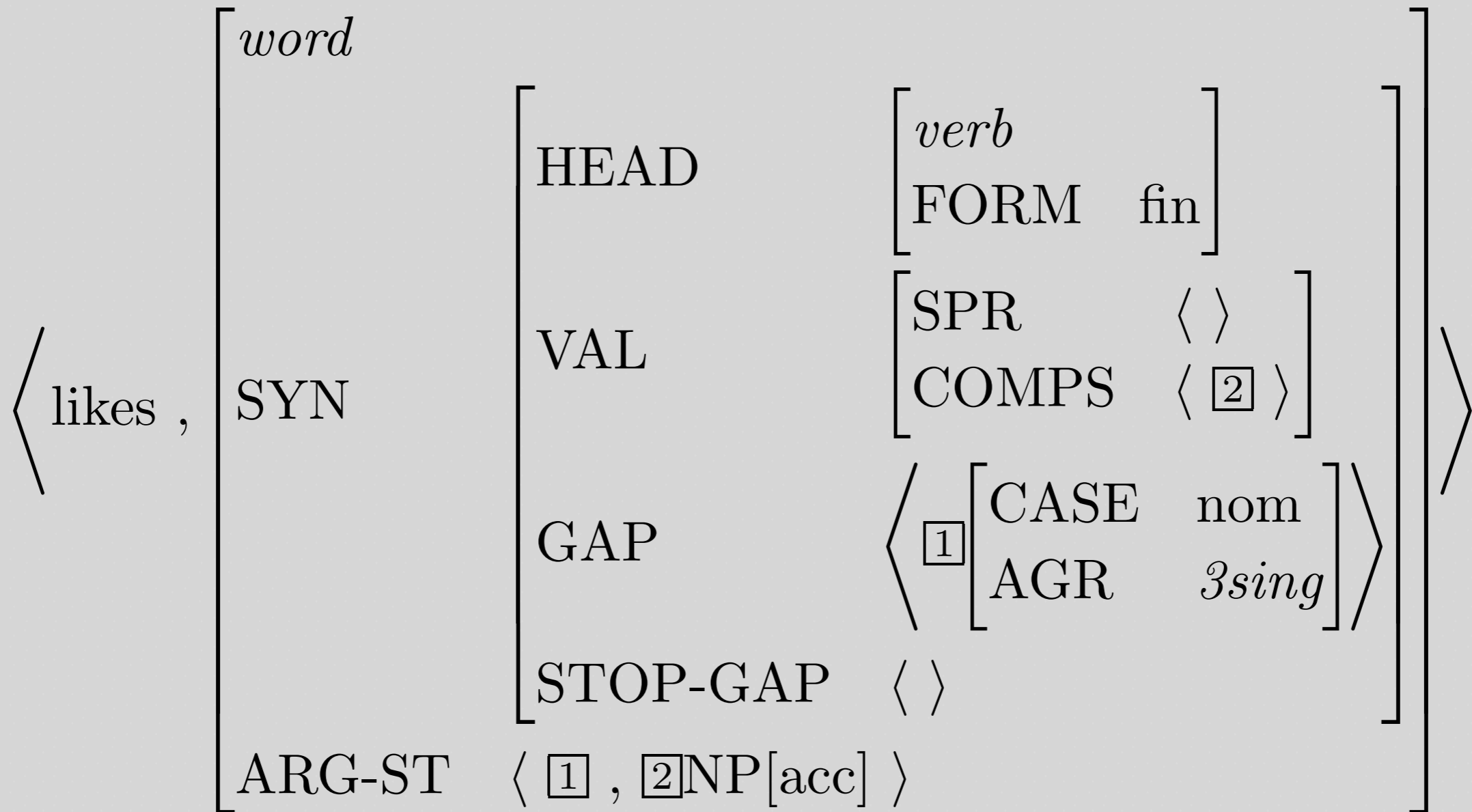
- The ARP revision only allowed missing complements.
- But gaps occur in subject position, too:  
*This problem, everyone thought \_\_\_\_ was too easy.*
- We handle these via a lexical rule that, in effect, moves the contents of the SPR list into the GAP list

# The Subject Extraction Lexical Rule



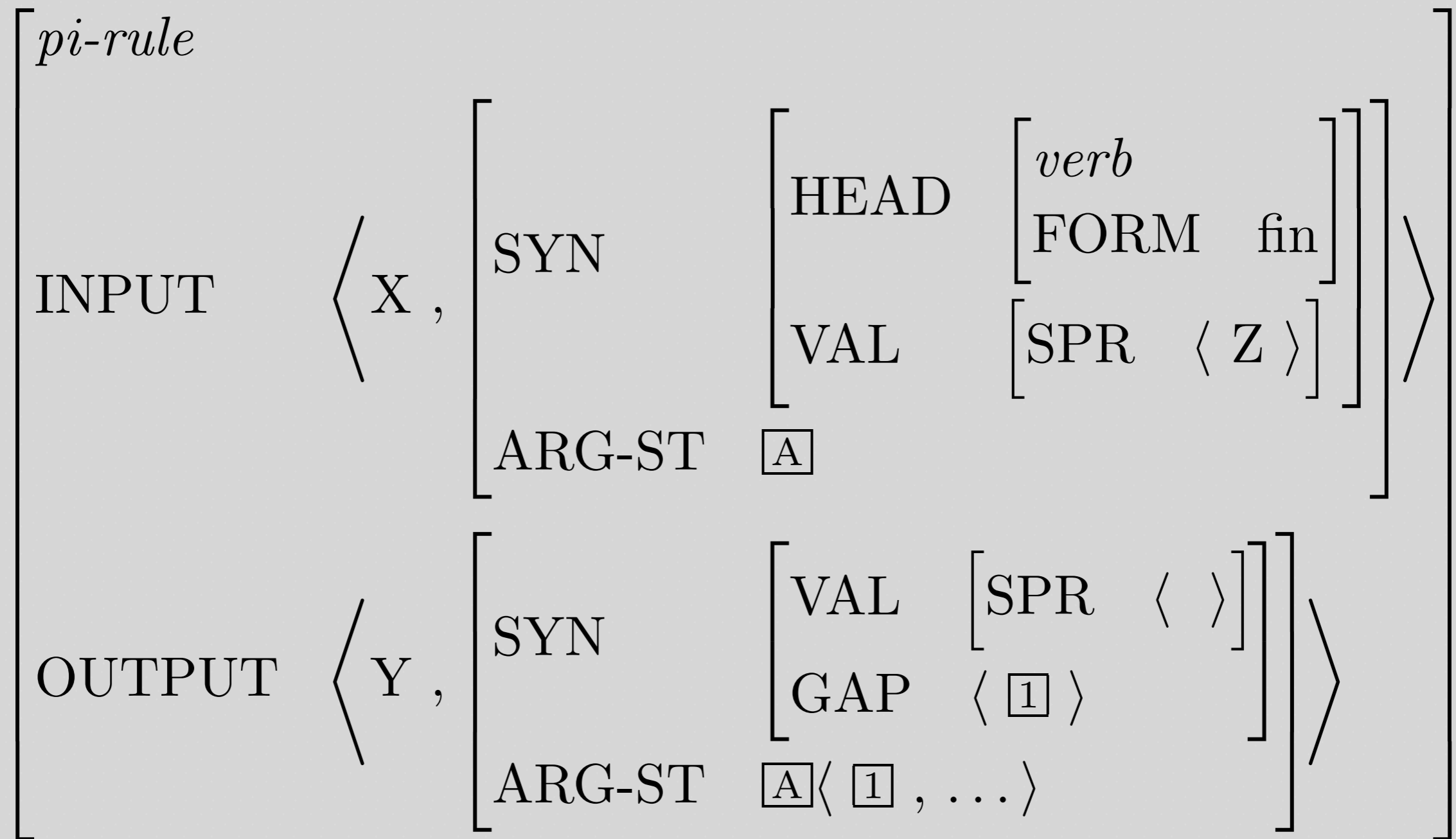
- NB: This says nothing about the phonology, because the default for *pi-rules* is to leave the phonology unchanged.

# A Lexical Sequence This Licenses



- Note that the ARP is satisfied

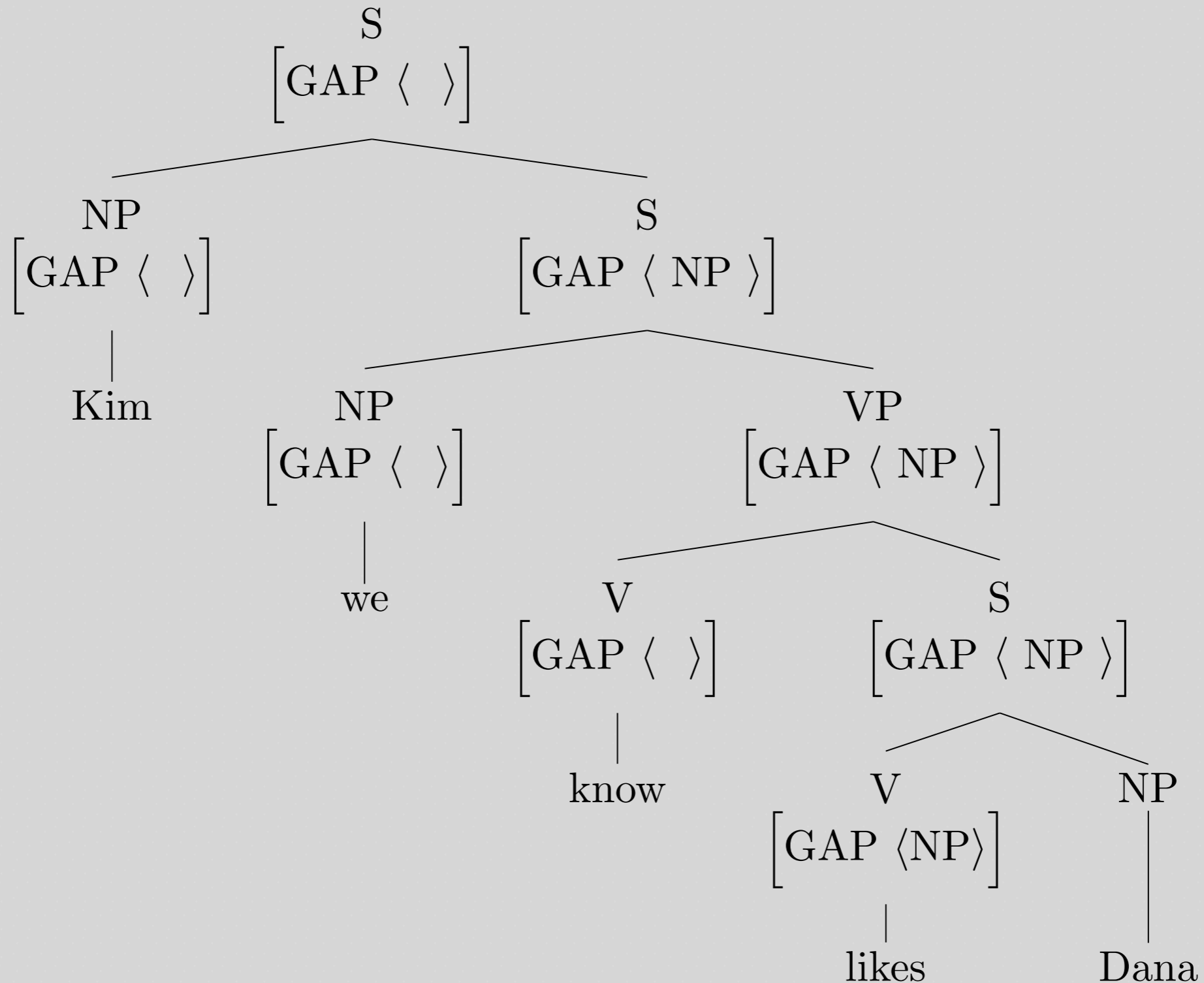
# The Subject Extraction Lexical Rule



- RQ: Isn't Z actually [1]? Why doesn't the rule say so?



# A Tree with a Subject Gap



# Island Constraints

- There are configurations that block filler-gap dependencies, sometimes called “islands”
- Trying to explain them has been a central topic of syntactic research since the mid 1960s
- We’ll look at just one, Ross’s so-called “Coordinate Structure Constraint”
- Loose statement of the constraint: a constituent outside a coordinate structure cannot be the filler for a gap inside the coordinate structure.

# Coordinate Structure Constraint Examples

- \*This problem, nobody finished the extra credit and \_\_\_\_\_
- \*This problem, nobody finished \_\_\_\_\_ and the extra credit.
- \*This problem, nobody finished \_\_\_\_\_ and started the extra credit.
- \*This problem, nobody started the extra credit and finished \_\_\_\_\_

- But notice:

This problem, everybody started \_\_\_\_\_ and nobody finished \_\_\_\_\_

# The Coordinate Structure Constraint

- In a coordinate structure,
  - no conjunct can be a gap (conjunct constraint),  
and
  - no gap can be contained in a conjunct if its filler is outside of that conjunct (element constraint)
- .....unless each conjunct has a gap that is paired with the same filler (across-the-board exception)

# These observations cry out for explanation

- In our analysis, the conjunct constraint is an immediate consequence: individual conjuncts are not on the ARG-ST list of any word, so they can't be put on the GAP list
- The element constraint and ATB exception suggest that GAP is one of those features (along with VAL and FORM) that must agree across conjuncts.
- Note: There is no ATB exception to the conjunct constraint.  
*\*This problem, you can compare only \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.*



# Our Coordination Rule, so far

$$\begin{array}{l} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{IND} & s_0 \end{array} \right] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{l} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{IND} & s_1 \end{array} \right] \dots \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{IND} & s_{n-1} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{HEAD} & conj \\ \text{IND} & s_0 \\ \text{RESTR} & \langle \left[ \text{ARGS} \langle s_1 \dots s_n \rangle \right] \rangle \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{IND} & s_n \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

- Recall that we have tinkered with what must agree across conjuncts at various times.
- Now we'll add GAP to the things that conjuncts must share

# Our Final Coordination Rule

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{GAP} & \boxed{A} \\ \text{IND} & s_0 \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \\
 \\
 \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{GAP} & \boxed{A} \\ \text{IND} & s_1 \end{array} \right] \dots \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{GAP} & \boxed{A} \\ \text{IND} & s_{n-1} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{HEAD} & conj \\ \text{IND} & s_0 \\ \text{RESTR} & \langle \left[ \text{ARGS} \langle s_1 \dots s_n \rangle \right] \rangle \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \boxed{0} \\ \text{GAP} & \boxed{A} \\ \text{IND} & s_n \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

- We've just added GAP to all the conjuncts and the mother.
- This makes the conjuncts all have the same gap (if any)
- Why do we need it on the mother?

# Closing Remarks on LDDs

- This is a huge topic; we've only scratched the surface
  - There are many more kinds of LDDs, which would require additional grammar rules
  - There are also more island constraints, which also need to be explained
- Our account of the coordinate structure constraint (based on ideas of Gazdar) is a step in the right direction, but it would be nice to explain why certain features must agree across conjuncts.

# Overview

- Some examples of the phenomenon
- What is new and different about it
- Brief sketch of the TG approach
- Broad outlines of our approach
- Details of our approach
- Subject extraction
- Coordinate Structure Constraint

# Reading Questions

- Why are GAP/STOP-GAP in SYN but not VAL?
- Why can't we just use the Valence Principle?
- Is the GAP feature-structure technically on every word, and we are just specifying it now?



# Reading Questions

- How does a word know whether it should put something on COMPS or GAP? Especially since I don't think there's anything that requires something on the COMPS list to appear in a sentence, just like we can have things on the SPR list that don't actually appear.
- How do the GAP or STOP-GAP features affect the SEM values in our syntax trees?

# Reading Questions

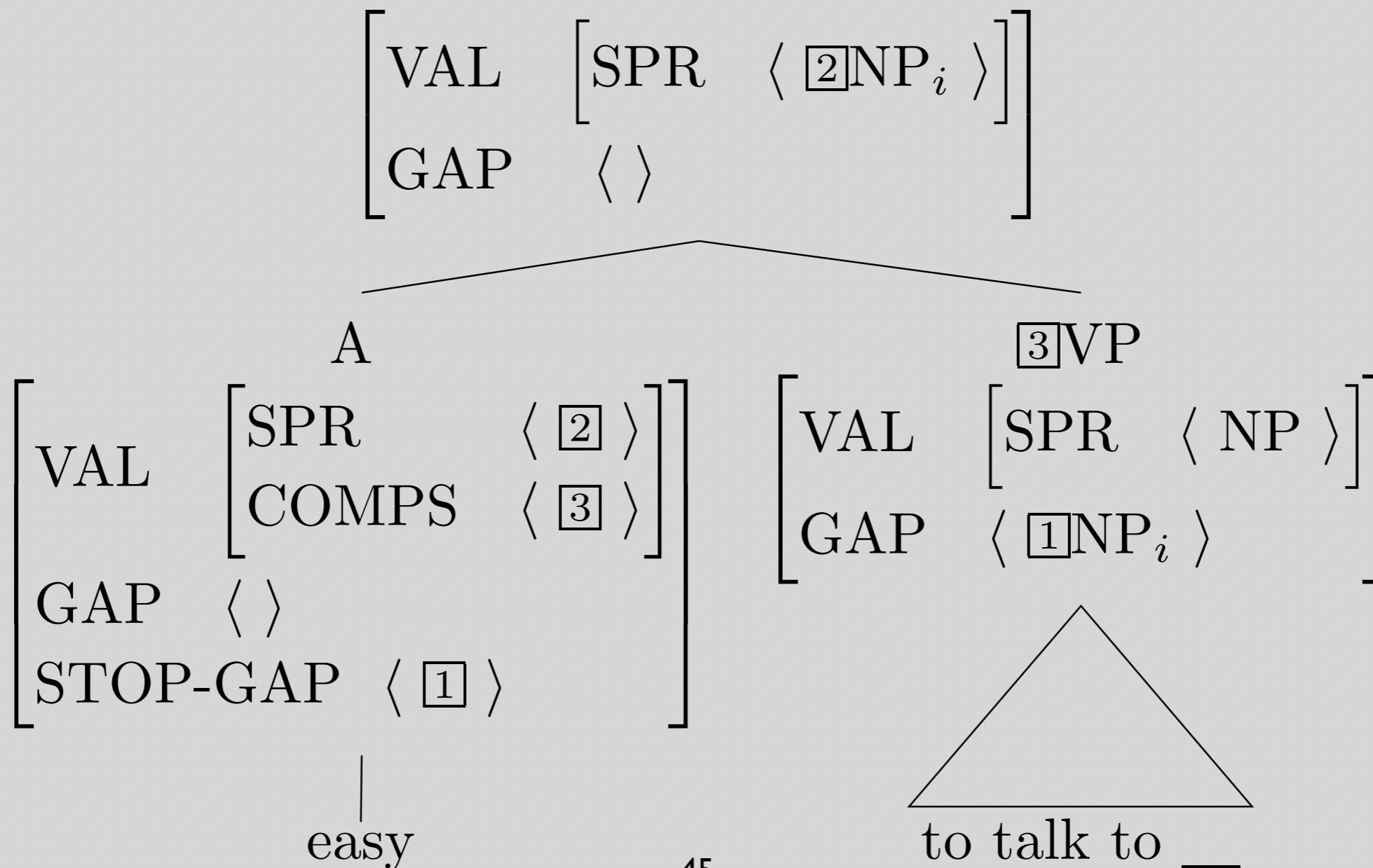
- When does a node "know" to have a non-empty STOP-GAP feature? Is it based on the grammar rules only?
- Why does GAP need a corresponding STOP-GAP? Why aren't there other STOP-\* type values?
- How does the GAP Principle know which GAP to identify with STOP-GAP in multiple gap sentences?

# Reading Questions

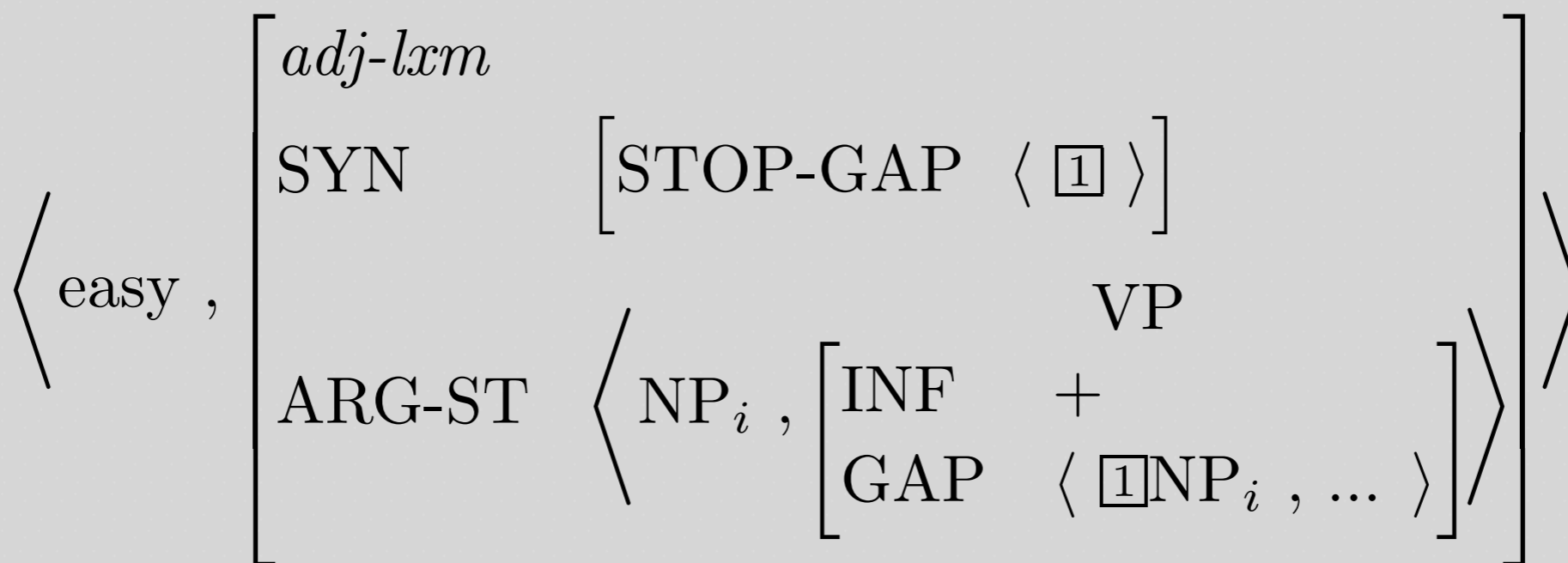
- Why is STOP-GAP defeasible in (36)?
- (36) *lexeme*: [ STOP-GAP / < > ]

# Reading Questions

- Why don't the COMPS's GAP and the SPR have the same tag in this tree?



# Reading Questions

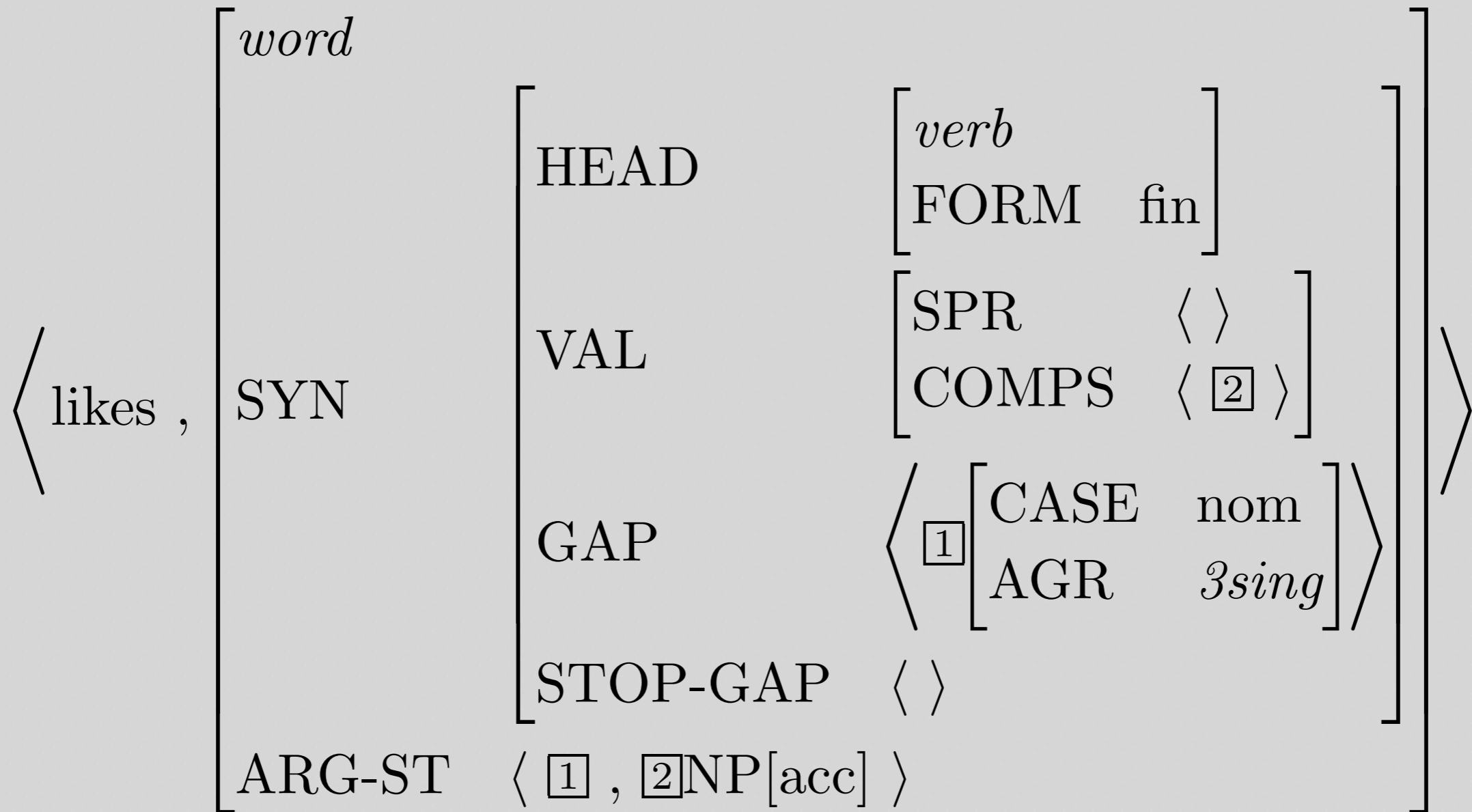




# Reading Questions

- Does the new ARP mean we can't have subject gaps?
- What sorts of sentences does the lexical sequence in (49) on p.443 give rise to?

# A Lexical Sequence This Licenses



# Reading Questions

- How would we get:
  - *What did you give the baby?*
  - *\*Where did you give the baby?*

# Reading Questions

- If given a semantic representation, does a sentence generator produce all possible gappy sentences as well as non-gappy sentences? The gaps seem more likely to appear in certain contexts, so is there a way to tell a generator that you either do or don't want those sentences?
- Are there other analyses of these long-distance dependencies other than our GAP analysis and the trace analysis that was mentioned?

# Reading Questions

- Is there a particular reason that we're avoiding putting an empty element on the tree to symbolize a gap? Is it just because practically the current method works better with the rest of the grammar, or is there an additional philosophy or formalism that makes putting gap symbolizing empties undesirable?
- What does 'island' exactly represent? I'm a little confused about how our grammar predicts its existence as well.



# Reading Questions

- I wonder if the gaps always have to be filled. In particular, I was thinking about Chinese (and perhaps Japanese?), where subjects are routinely omitted and LDDs may cross sentence boundaries.
- What about subject drop in Spanish?

# Reading Questions

- How are other island effects handled, e.g.  
*\*Which book did you meet a child who read \_\_\_?*
- What ensures inversion in non-subject, matrix clause wh questions?
- What ensures that wh words don't show up in situ?