

## No Merge is an Island

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To a first approximation, minimalism seeks to deduce GB principles from good design considerations revolving around elegance, economy, efficiency, symmetry and the like. It has proven quite difficult to recast locality/island conditions in these terms. This is in part due to the fact that locality is one domain where our empirical knowledge, gathered over the EST/GB period, is quite detailed. It is hard to unify so many fine-grained generalizations. But the difficulty faced by minimalists may also be due to the fact that the standard approach to locality, epitomized by Chomsky 1973, 1977, attempts to characterize islands in derivational terms built into the essence of narrow syntax. Within minimalism, the basic operations defining narrow syntax (Merge, Agree) are so general (read also: unrestricted) that it seems very hard to see how islands could emerge from these. Perhaps for this reason, it is not surprising to find some recent works (including my own [Boeckx 2003, 2008]) going back to pre-1973 works such as Ross 1967, 1969, and push the idea that islands are best characterized as interface phenomena. Contexts where islands are circumvented (resumption, sluicing) have proven very rich sources of information in this respect. All in all, I think it is fair to say that we now have several interesting, partially converging hypotheses regarding one aspect of the CED (the one pertaining to derived specifiers), but the other aspect of the CED . the adjunct condition . remains more elusive. The phenomenon of pied-piping also remains very poorly understood. In this talk, I would like to do three things: (i) insist that most locality conditions are interface phenomena, and that narrow-syntactic devices (including phases) are only indirectly related to islands, (ii) examine various conceptions of adjunction (late Merge, Pair Merge, Merge-with-no-label) and explore the consequences of each for islandhood, and (iii) use resumption to shed light on other island- circumvention contexts involving ellipsis and pied-piping.