Properties of $A$-movement

1 The state of the art in 1976

(1) Two Movement Rules (transformations)
   a. Move NP. ["NP" = something with $\phi$-features]
   b. Move $wh$-phrase. ["$wh$-phrase" = something with $wh$-features]

(2) NP-movement cannot cross a finite clause boundary
   a. John was likely ___ to win.
   b. *John was likely that ___ won.

(3) Wh-movement is unbounded
   a. What did he say that he read ___?
   b. What does she believe that he said that he read ___?
   c. What are they claiming that she believes that he said that he read ___?
   d. What do you think that they are claiming that she believes that he said that he read ___?

(4) Two possible (simplified) derivations for (3a):
   a. “One fell swoop”
   b. “Successive cyclic movement”
2 islands

Although wh-movement is unbounded, it is not completely unrestricted. As observed in Ross (1967), wh-movement is constrained by ‘islands’:

(5) **The Sentential Subject Constraint**
No NP can be extracted from within a subject.

* Who did [[that John spoke to ____ ] surprise you]?

(6) **The Coordinate Structure Constraint**
In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.

a. * What did John eat [beans and ____ ]?

b. * What did John go to class and Mary read ____ ?

(7) **The Left Branch Condition**
No NP which is the leftmost constituent of a larger NP can be reordered out of this NP by a transformational rule.

a. * Whose does John like ____ sister?

   (cf Whose sister does John like ____ )

b. * How expensive did he buy a car ____ ?

   (cf How expensive a car did he buy ____ ?)

(8) **Adjunct Islands**
No extraction out of an adjunct clause.

* What did you go home [because you needed to do ____ ]?

(9) **The Complex NP Constraint**
No extraction out of a clause embedded under a noun. (Affects both relative clause modifiers of DPs, and CP complements of N.)

a. * How many cities does John have brothers [who live in ____ ]?

   (Relative Clause: an island)

b. How many cities does John have brothers [living in ____ ]?

   (Participial Clause; not an island)

c. * What does John believe [the report [that Mary bought ____ ]]?

   (CP Complement of N; an island)

d. What does John believe [(that) Mary bought ____ ]?

   (Finite Complement; not an island)

(10) **Wh-Islands**
No extraction out of an embedded clause headed by a wh-word.

* What does John wonder [where Mary went to buy ____ ]?
\textit{Wh}-movement is derived via transformations. The existence of islands can be explained if these transformations are successive cyclic:

(11) **Subjacency** (Chomsky, 1973)
No movement rule may involve X and Y in:
\[ ... X ... [\alpha \ldots [\beta \ldots Y \ldots ] \ldots ] \ldots X ... \]
where \(\alpha\) and \(\beta\) are bounding nodes.

(12) **Escape hatches:**
Apparent unbounded \textit{wh}-movement proceeds through COMP (read: “Spec,CP”). There is only one COMP per clause.

(13) Who do \( [\text{TP}] \) you believe \([\text{CP}] \) that \([\text{TP}] \) Mary said \([\text{CP}] \) that \([\text{TP}] \) Sue thinks \([\text{CP}] \) that \([\text{TP}] \) John will visit \([\text{CP}] \) ]]]?
Movement of \textit{who} never violates Subjacency, since it proceeds through COMP.

(This can only account for some, but not all, of the islands above. Other stipulations are needed to account for e.g. subjects island.)

\section{Islands as diagnostics for \(\overline{A}\)-movement}

Our discussion of Hungarian left us with the conclusion that \textit{wh}-movement and focus-movement target the same syntactic position.

\(\Box\) Do we have evidence that only-movement is sensitive to islands?

(14) **Clause-internal focus-movement:** (Horvath, 2007)
\begin{itemize}
  \item a. Kinek mutattad be Jánost?
    'To whom did you introduce John?'
  \item b. \([\text{AZ UNOKAÚGOMNAK}]\) mutattam be Jánost.
    the niece-my-DAT showed-1SG VM John-ACC
    'I introduced John to my niece.'
  \item c. * Bemutattam Jánost \(\text{AZ UNOKAÚGOMNAK}.\)
    VM-showed-1SG John-ACC the niece-my-DAT
  \item d. * \(\text{AZ UNOKAÚGOMNAK} \) bemutattam Jánost.
    the niece-my-DAT VM-showed-1SG John-ACC
\end{itemize}

\(^{1}\text{For Chomsky (1977): NP and \(S\). In the current literature: CP, DP, vP.}\)
(15) **Long-distance extraction:** [Horvath, 2007]

   ‘To whom did you hear that John had loaned 2000 dollars?’

   Mary-DAT heard-1SG that John-NOM loaned 2000 dollar-ACC
   ‘I heard that John had loaned 2000 dollars to Mary.’

(16) **No movement out of Complex NP:** [Horvath, 2007]

* [Marinak] hallottam a hírt hogy János kölcsönadott 2000 dollar-ACC
  Mary-DAT heard-1SG the-news-ACC that John-NOM loaned 2000 dollar-ACC
  ‘It’s to Mary that I heard the news that John had loaned $2000’

(17) **No movement out of adjunct clause:** (Gervain 2002, as cited in Szendrői 2006)

* Az elnököri figyelmeztettek minket hogy meg érkezett[].
  the president(-acc) warned-they us-acc that prt arrived
  ‘They warned us that the president arrived.’

NB: wh-elements not in Spec,CP, hence might be expected not to block extraction of another element → no wh-island.

(18) **Movement out of embedded clause headed by wh possible: No wh-island:**

* Az elnököt mindtad hogy hallottad hogy mikor érkezett meg].
  the president-acc said-you that heard-you that when arrived prt
  ‘You said you heard when the president had arrived.’ (Szendrői, 2006)

**References**


