Properties of $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement

1   The state of the art in 1976

(1)   **Two Movement Rules (transformations)**
   a. Move NP.   ["NP" = something with ϕ-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.
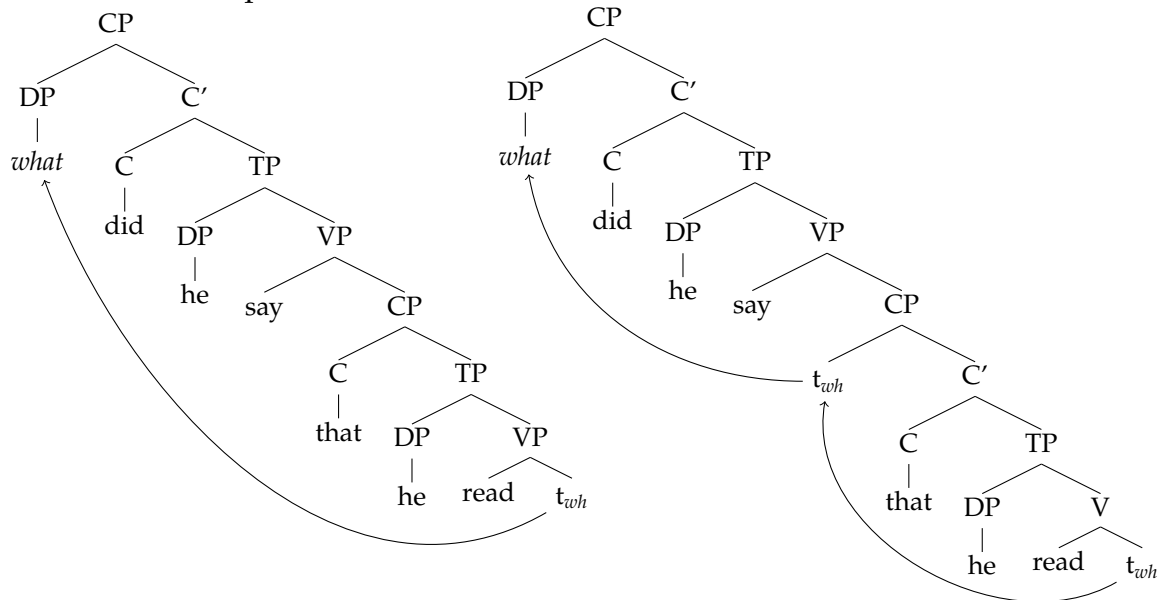   b.   * John was likely that ____ won.

(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 _____]?

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 ... [$_\alpha$ ... [$_\beta$ ... Y ...] ...] ... X ...
where α and β are bounding nodes.[1]

(12) **Escape hatches:**
Apparent unbounded *wh*-movement proceeds through COMP (read: "Spec,CP").
There is only one COMP per clause.

(13) *Who* do [$_{TP}$ you believe [$_{CP}$ ___ that [$_{TP}$ Mary said [$_{CP}$ ___ that [$_{TP}$ Sue thinks [$_{CP}$ ___ that [$_{TP}$ John will visit ___]]]]]]?
Movement of *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.)

3 Islands as diagnostics for $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement

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

☞ Do we have evidence that *only*-movement is sensitive to islands?

(14) **Clause-internal focus-movement:** (Horvath, 2007)

    a.   Kinek mutattad be Jánost?
        'To whom did you introduce John?'

    b.   [AZ UNOKAÚGOMNAK] mutattam   be Jánost.
        the niece-my-DAT   showed-1SG VM John-ACC
        'I introduced John TO MY NIECE.'

    c. * Bemutattam   Jánost   AZ UNOKAÚGOMNAK.
        VM-showed-1SG John-ACC the niece-my-DAT

    d. * AZ UNOKAÚGOMNAK bemutattam   Jánost.
        the niece-my-DAT VM-showed-1SG John-ACC

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[1]For Chomsky (1977): NP and $\overline{\text{S}}$. In the current literature: CP, DP, *v*P.

(15) **Long-distance extraction:** (Horvath, 2007)

a. Q: Kinek   hallottad   hogy János   kölcsönadott 2000 dollárt?
     whom-DAT heard-2SG that   John-NOM loaned   2000 dollar-ACC

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

b. A: [MARINAK]   hallottam   hogy János   kölcsönadott 2000 dollárt].
     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
Mary-DAT heard-1SG the news-ACC that   John-NOM loaned   2000
dollárt].
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 ELNÖK(ÖT)ı   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 ELNÖKÖTı   mondtad 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)

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