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ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF COMPOSITE A'/A PROBES

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FWF Der Wissenschaftsfonds.

The A'/A Difference

A-properties	A'-properties
local	long-distance
restricted to nominals	not restricted to nominals
no reconstruction for principle C	resconstruction for principle C
no WCO	WCO
new antecedents for anaphors	no new antecedents for anaphors

- Positional perception of the A'/A difference [classical view]
  - > A-movement targets IP/TP
  - > A'-movement targets CP
- Featural perception of the A'/A difference [van Urk 2015]
  - > A-features: [Φ], [θ], [n], [D]
  - > A'-features: [FOC], [TOP], [WH], [REL]
- Composite probes: e.g. wh-movement (=A') restricted to nominals (=A)

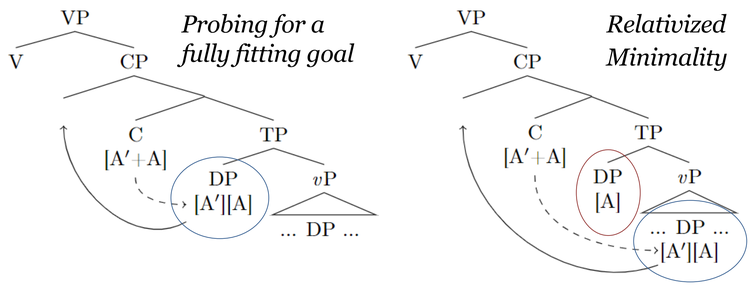
3 Types of Composite Probes

	Conjunctive [A'+A]	Dependent [A'|A]	Independent [A'][A]
A-Minimality	no	yes	yes
Partly fitting goals stop further probing	no	yes	N/A
The two probes probe independently	no	no	yes

[Scott 2021, Lohninger et al. 2022, Lohninger To appear]

Conjunctive Probes [A'+A]

- Derivation succeeds iff the goal satisfies both parts of the probe
- Partly fitting, intervening goals can be skipped
- *Relativized Minimality* [Rizzi 1990]: the closest (fully) fitting goal is found ≠ necessarily the closest DP.



- Dinka Bor [van Urk 2015]; Khanty [Colley & Privoznov 2020]; Ndengeleko [Scott 2021]

Ndengeleko [FOC+n]: focalization restricted to nominals

Intervening DP can be skipped:

(1) Ni-m-pa-y-a Nádya ki-lyó.
1SG.SM-1.SM-give-APPL-FV Nadya 7-food
'I'm giving NADYA food.' [Scott 2021: 19]

Verbs have to be nominalized (NC 15) to be focalized:

(2) N-and-á *(u)-telek-a pilau.
1SG.SM-AUX-FV *(15)-cook-FV rice
'I am COOKING rice.' [Scott 2021: 14]

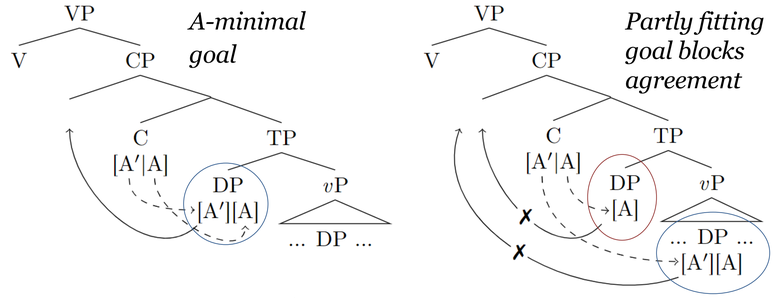
EXAMPLE

- ***Interaction & Satisfaction Condition*** [Deal 2015]
  - > Satisfaction condition conjoint of [A'] and [A]
  - > Interaction with partly fitting goals possible: e.g. Khanty locative marking on all skipped goals

ANALYSIS

Dependent Probes [A'|A]

- [A'] and [A] probe and find fitting goals on their own
- They are not strong enough to trigger agreement independently
- Partly fitting goals block further agreement; derivation crashes
- Only successful derivation: closest DP carries both features



- Acehnese [Aldridge 2017]; Māori [Douglas 2018]; Mayan [Coon et al. 2020]; Tagalog [Aldridge 2017]; Toba Batak [Erlewine 2018; Branan & Erlewine 2020]

Toba Batak [WH|D]: wh-extraction restricted to DPs

Intervening DP halts probing:

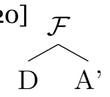
(3) * Aha [man-uhor *t* si Poltak]?
What [ACT-buy *t* PN Poltak]
Int.: 'What did Poltak buy?' [Erlewine 2018: 664]

Wh-extraction only possible with subject DP:

(4) Ise [man-uhor buku *t*]?
who [ACT-buy book *t*]
'Who bought a book?' [Erlewine 2018: 664]

EXAMPLE

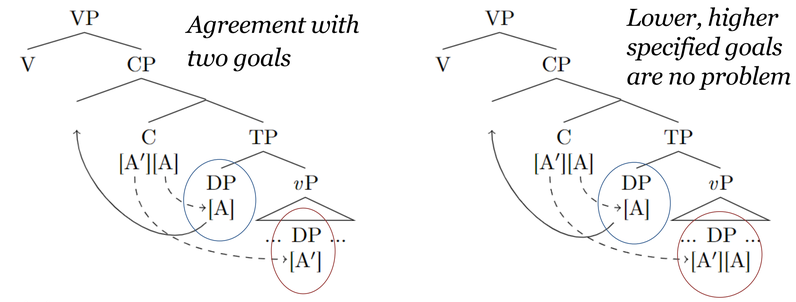
- ***Feature Geometry*** [Harley & Ritter 2002, Coon et al. 2020]
  - > [A] and [A'] are part of the same feature geometry F
  - > Goals that fit parts of the geometry can be found
  - > If two goals are found: *Feature Gluttony* [Coon & Bale 2014]
  - > Agreement with both goals: crash
- ***Contingent Probes*** [Branan 2021]
  - > [A] and [A'] probe one after another
  - > [A] restricts the search-domain of [A']



ANALYSIS

Independent Probes [A'][A]

- [A'] and [A] probe on their own & can establish agreement on their own
- Agreement with (& movement of) two goals possible
  - > but language specific restrictions
- Lower, higher specified goals do not cause a crash of the derivation



- Kipsigis [Scott 2021; Bossi & Diercks 2019]

Kipsigis [δ][D]: wh-extraction restricted to DPs

Same goal: (5) Kii-Ø-goo-chi ngo Kibet kitabut?
PST-3SG-give-APPL who Kibet book
'Who gave Kibet a book?'
[Bossi & Diercks 2019: 8]

Different goals: (6) Koo-Ø-min lagok komie bandeek.
PST-3PL-plant children well maize
'The children planted the maize WELL.'
[Bossi & Diercks 2019: 18]

EXAMPLE

- ***Head movement*** [Erlewine 2018]
  - > T with [A] moves to C with [A'] -> CT head
  - > Features remain independent

ANALYSIS

Formation of composite probes: 2 options

↓ Downward: Feature Inheritance

- **[A] originates on C**
- [Φ] on T are inherited from C [Richards 2007, Chomsky 2008, Gallego 2014]
- Composite probes = lack of Inheritance [Legate 2014, Aldridge 2017, Martinović 2015]
- Three mechanisms of Inheritance [Ouali 2008]
  - > KEEP (no [Φ] are inherited) [A'+A]
  - > SHARE ([Φ] are copied onto T) [A'|A]
  - > DONATE (all [Φ] are inherited) [A'][A]
- Discussion: Anti-Agreement? No lack of [Φ] on T in conjunctive probes? All three mechanisms possible in one language? Restricting mechanisms? Can SHARE derive a feature geometry?

↑ Upward: Feature Percolation

- **[A] originates on T**
- [A] percolates upwards from TP into CP
- Composite probes are derived by Percolation into CP
- Support from LDA Hierarchy [Mursell 2020]
  - > Languages allowing LDA with focus also allow it with topic; not vice versa
  - > LDA involves composite probes [Wurmbrand 2019, Lohninger et al. 2022]
  - > [A] percolate into an extended left periphery: Focus > Topic [Rizzi 1997]
- Discussion: T lacks [Φ] when it comes without C? Hierarchy visible in non-LDA contexts? Formation of three types?

Selected References

Branan, K. (2021). Conditional opacity and contingent probes. Ms., ZAS Berlin. **Bossi**, M. and **Diercks**, M. (2019). V1 in Kipsigis: head movement and discourse-based scrambling. In: *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 4(1). **Deal**, A. R. (2015). Interaction and satisfaction in φ-agreement. In: *Proceedings of the 45th annual meeting of the North East Linguistic Society (NELS)*. **Erlewine**, M. Y. (2018). Extraction and licensing in Toba Batak. In: *Language* 94(3) **Ouali**, H. (2008). On C-to-T φ-feature transfer: the nature of agreement and anti-agreement in Berber. In: *Agreement Restrictions*. **Scott**, T. (2021). Formalizing three types of mixed A'/A agreement. Ms., UC Berkeley.

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