

The A'/A difference

- **Positional A'/A difference** [classical view]
 - > A-movement targets IP/TP
 - > A'-movement targets CP
- **Featural A'/A difference** [van Urk 2015]
 - > A-features: [Φ], [θ], [n], [D]
 - > A'-features: [FOC], [TOP], [WH], [REL]
- **Composite [A'/A] probes: Mixture of A'/A properties**
 - > E.g.: wh-movement with A-restrictions
 - > E.g.: non-local A-movement

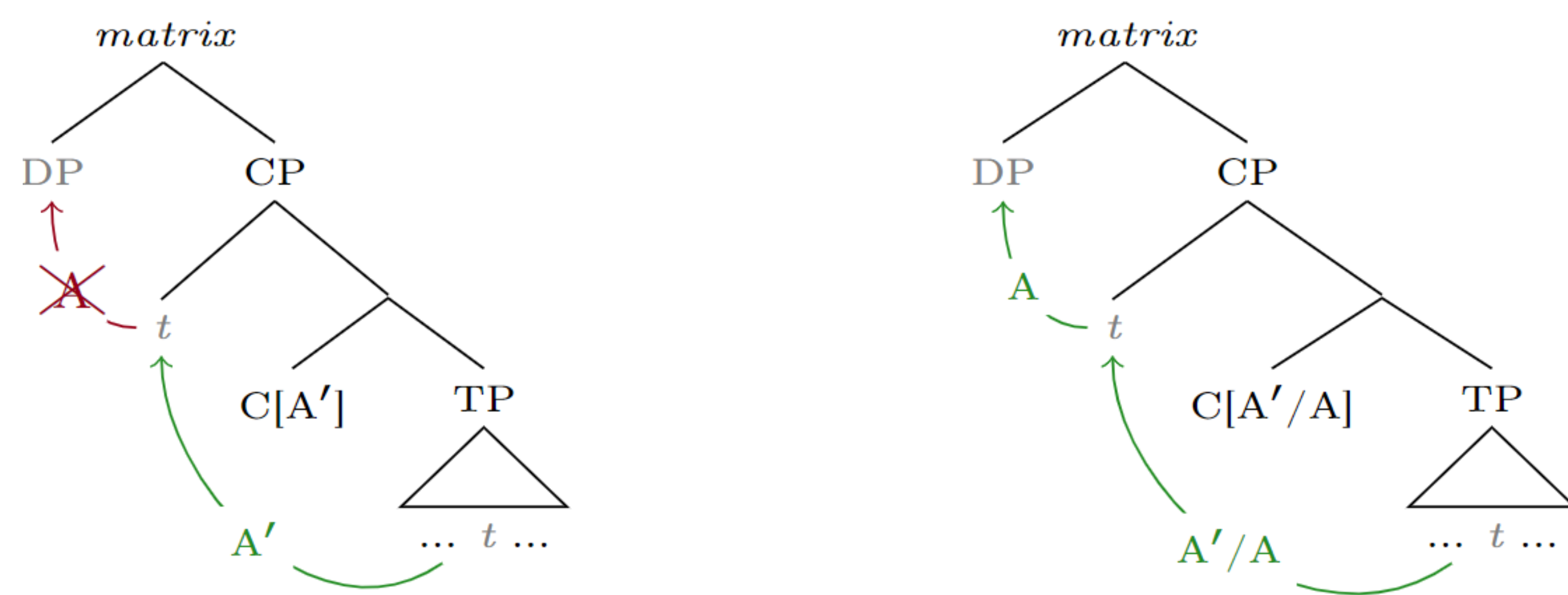
Cross-clausal A-dependencies [CCA]

- Hyperraising, Long-distance Agreement, Hyper-ECM
- *I believe [that her won the triathlon]. [Wurmbrand 2019: 1]
 - *She seems [that t won the triathlon]. [Wurmbrand 2019: 1]
 - Bat *nokhoi-g* chang-aar [t gaikhal-ta gejj | khel-sen. Bat dog-ACC loudly [t wonder-with COMP | say-PST 'Bat said loudly that dogs are wonderful.' Mongolian Hyperraising to object [Fong 2019: 3]
 - Coeng jyy gamgok/tengman [waa t m-wui ting]. CL rain feel.like/hear [COMP t not-will stop] 'It is felt/heard that the rain will not stop.' Cantonese Hyperraising to subject [Lee & Yip 2022: 3]

• Ban on Improper Movement: $A' \nrightarrow A$

• Composite Probe analysis of CCA: $A'/A \rightarrow A$

[Wurmbrand 2019, Lohninger et al. 2022]



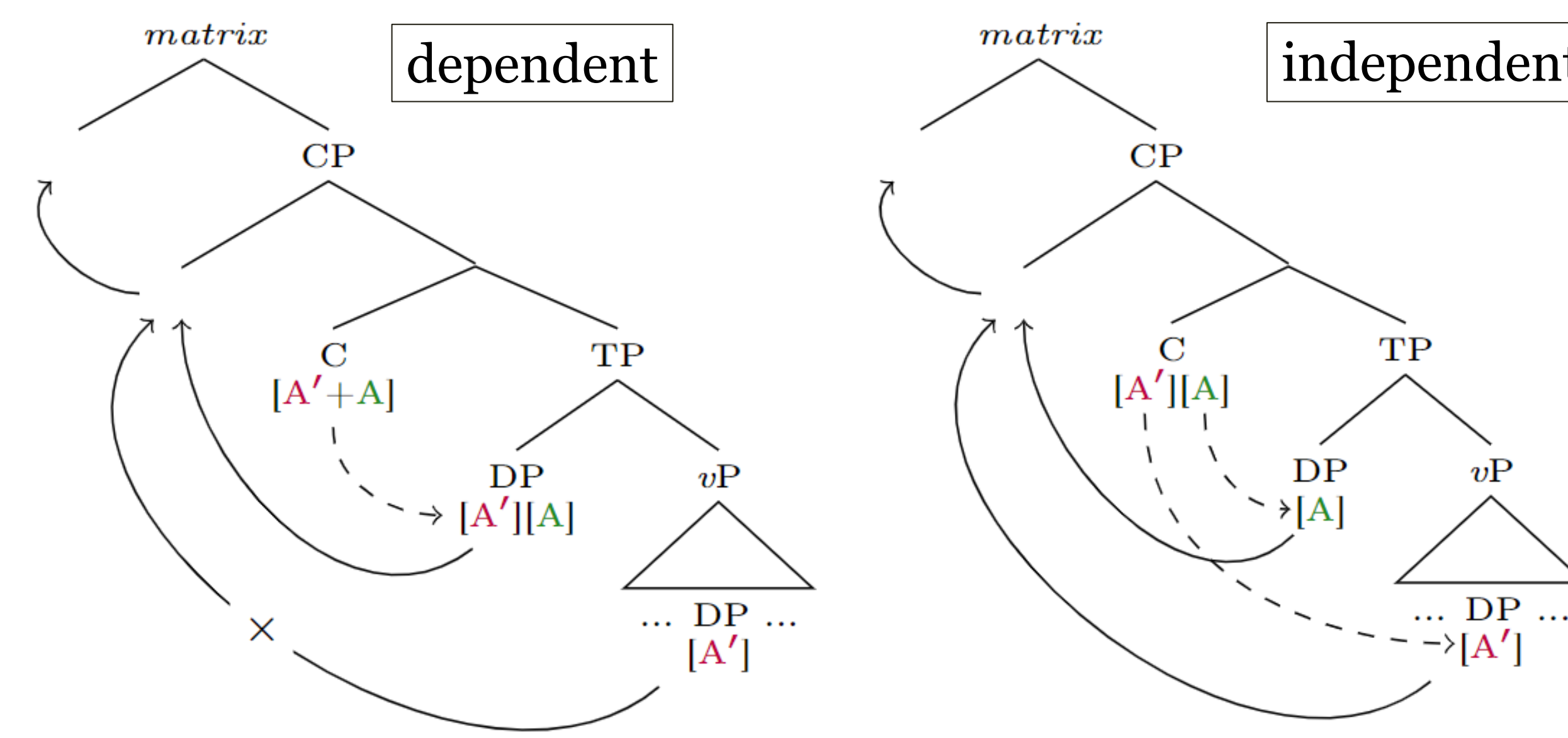
Ban on Improper Movement

Composite movement

(In)dependence of Composite Probes

Composite Probes differ in how (in)dependent their parts (A' & A) are from each other [Scott 2021, Lohninger et al. 2022]

- **Dependent [A'/A] Probe** [van Urk 2015, Erlewine 2018,...]
 - > Probe searches for a single goal with both fitting features
 - > Japanese, Korean, Romanian, Tsez, Turkish
- **Independent [A'] [A] Probe** [Scott 2021]
 - > Probes can probe independently, can agree with two goals
 - > Braz. Portuguese, Buryat, Cantonese, Mongolian, Nez Perce, Uyghur, Vietnamese, Zulu



Semantic Restrictions on CCA.DP

- Dependent Probe requires the CCA.DP to receive a certain semantic interpretation (topic, focus, major subject,...)
 - Independent Probe does not posit semantic requirements
- Am mirosit (*pe cineva) [că t ne minte]. have.1 smelled (*DOM someone) [COMP t 1PL.DAT lies] Int.: 'I/we suspected that someone was lying to us.' Romanian (dependent) [Alboiu & Hill 2016: 276]
 - Houduo jan (*ne,) gamgok [waa t wui lai]. many person (*TOP) feel.like [COMP t will come] 'It is felt that many people will come.' Cantonese (independent) [Lee & Yip 2022: 18]

Independent Probing

- [A] on C enables CCA [Alboiu & Hill 2016, Bondarenko 2017, Zyman 2018, Fong 2019, Mursell 2020, Gong 2022]
- [A'] probes separately
- Discourse-bound interpretation is triggered by [A']
 - > Dependent probing → semantic restrictions
 - > Independent probing → no semantic restrictions

Predictions

Independent Probe: A'-movement + CCA

- [A'] can agree with a separate goal & trigger movement
- A'-movement (wh-movement, topicalization, focalisation, relativisation) simultaneously to CCA should be possible

Independent probing languages allow CCA + A'-movement.

- Buuz-iig bol Nara [Dorj(-iig) t id-sen gejj | khel-sen. buuz-ACC TOP Nara.NOM [Dorj(-ACC) t eat-PST COMP] say-PST 'The buuz, Nara said that Dorj ate.' Mongolian Hyper-ECM + Topicalisation [Fong 2019: 28]
- Quais livros elas parec-em [que t ler-am t]? which books they seem-PL [that t read-PL t] 'Which books do they seem to have read?' Braz. Portuguese Hyperraising + Wh-movement [Kobayashi 2020: 18]
- Nó nghe nói [ngay c sách t cũng không đọc t] 3SG hear [even at.all book t also not read t] 'It is heard that s/he does not even read books.' Vietnamese Hyperraising + Focalisation [Lee & Yip 2022: 21]

- [Go fung gamgok [waa t wui ceoilam t]] ge syu. [CL wind feel.like [COMP t will blow.down t]] MOD tree 'The tree which it is felt like the wind will blow down.' Cantonese Hyperraising + Relativisation

Dependent Probe: *A'-movement + CCA

- [A'] probes together with the [A] and has to find the same goal
- A'-movement simultaneously to CCA should be impossible

Dependent probing languages forbid CCA + A'-movement.

- *Ce l-ai simțit pe Ion [că t nu vrea t]? what him-have.2SG felt DOM Ion [COMP t not wants t] Int.: 'What did you feel that Ion did not want?' Romanian *Hyperraising + Wh-movement [Alboiu & Hill 2016: 277]
- *enir [tu micșir b-ok'ak'-ru-ti] b-iyxo mother [who.ERG money.III.ABS III-steal-PSTPR-T-NMLZ] III-knows Int.: 'The mother knows who stole the money.' Tsez *LDA + Wh-movement [Polinsky & Potsdam 2001: 634]
- *[(biz-im) [Mert-i t öp-tü diye] duy-duğ-umuz] [kızı-Ø] [(we-GEN) [Mert-ACC t kiss-PAST COMP] hear-REL-1PL.POSS] girl-NOM hasta-y-mış. sick-COP-EVID.PAST Int.: 'The girl that we heard that Mert kissed is sick.' Turkish *Hyper-ECM + Relativisation [Şener 2008: 34]

	Dependent	Independent
No sem. restr. on CCA.DP	✗	✓
CCA + A'-mvt.	✗	✓
Languages	Japanese, Korean, Romanian, Tsez, Turkish	Braz. Portuguese, Buryat, Cantonese, Mongolian, Nez Perce, Passamaquoddy, Uyghur, Vietnamese, Zulu

Conjoint Probing of Independent Probe

- [A'] and [A] can probe together for one element

- men [Ötkür-niñ qatfan kel-idi-van-(liq)-i-ni] bil-i-men. I [Ötkür-GEN when come-IMPF-RAN-(LIQ)-3.POSS-ACC] know-IMPF-1SG 'I know when Ötkür will come.' Uyghur LDA + Wh-movement [Asarina & Hartmann 2011: 8]
- [Ötkür-iñ-la kel-gen-lik] xever-i muhim. [Ötkür-GEN-only come-RAN-LIQ] news-3.POSS important 'The news that only Ötkür came is important.' (focus) Uyghur [A'] and [A] probe together [Asarina & Hartmann 2011: 10]

Selected References

Fong, S. (2019). "Proper movement through Spec-CP: An argument from hyperraising in Mongolian". In: *Glossa* 4.1, 1–42. Scott, T. (2021). Formalizing three types of mixed A'/A agreement. Ms., UC Berkeley. van Urk, C. (2015). "A uniform syntax for phrasal movement: A case study of Dinka Bor". PhD Thesis. MIT. Wurmbrand, S. (2019). "Cross-clausal A-dependencies". In: *Proceedings of CLS54*, 585–604.

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