

A versus A' Movement

A. Two types of movement

- The two types of movements are named for the kind of position that the constituent moves to (the landing site)
 - A movement: landing site is an A(argument) position
 - passive
 - unaccusative advancement
 - subject-to-subject raising
 - A' movement: landing site is an A' (non-argument) position
 - wh-movement
 - topicalization
 - relative clause formation
- A(argument) positions: subject position, object position, complement position
- non-A(argument) (A') positions: adjoined position, specifier of CP, other non-complement positions

B. Differences between A and A' movement

	A MOVEMENT	A' MOVEMENT
	passive, unaccusative advancement, raising	Russian topicalization, English <i>wh</i> -movement
<i>Landing site</i>	A position	A' position
<i>Category of moving element</i>	DPs only	unrestricted (DPs and other categories)
<i>Locality</i>	clause-bound	unbounded
<i>Interaction with binding & Binding Theory (BT)</i>	creates new binding options, BT evaluated after movement	no new binding options, BT evaluated before movement
<i>Parasitic gap licensing</i>	No	yes
<i>Crossover violations</i>	No	yes
<i>Ordering</i>	can feed A or A' mvt	can only feed A' movement

C. Diagnostics

1. Category constraints

- A movement: only DPs
- (1) a. **The criminal** was arrested ~~the criminal~~ (by the police).
 b. ***Under the bed** was slept ~~under the bed~~ (by the dog).

- A' movement: various kinds of phrases (DP, PP, AP, etc.)
- (2) a. **Who** will you choose ~~who~~ in the election?
 b. **In which book** has she hidden the money ~~in which book~~?
 c. **How happy** did he seem ~~how happy~~ to you?

2. Locality

- A movement: clause-bound or crossing at most a nonfinite TP
- (3) a. **Mary** was arrested ~~Mary~~.
 b. **Mary** seems [~~Mary~~ to like snails].
- (4) a. ***Mary** seems [that ~~Mary~~ likes snails].
 b. ***Mary** seems [that it is likely [~~Mary~~ to like snails]].
- A' movement: potentially unbounded but subject to islands
- (5) a. **Who** should she call ~~who~~?
 b. **Who** did you say [that she should call ~~who~~]?
 c. **Who** might Bob claim [that you said [that she should call ~~who~~]]?
 d. etc.

- An island is a syntactic configuration out of which movement is impossible: embedded question, relative clause, clausal adjunct, subject, etc.

3. Interaction with binding

a. Binding Theory

- (6) *Binding Principles*
- A. A reflexive must be bound in its minimal clause
 B. A pronoun must be free in its minimal clause
 C. A Referring expression must be free everywhere
- (7) a. X is *bound* if it is coindexed with a c-commanding antecedent
 b. X is *free* if X is not bound

- A movement creates new binding options. The Binding Principles can be satisfied after A movement.

Principle A

- (8) *The children* seem to *each other* ~~the children~~ to be happy.

Principle B

- (9) **They* seem to *them* ~~they~~ to be happy.

Principle C

- (10) **She* seems to *Mary* ~~she~~ to be happy.

- A' movement does not change binding options. The Binding Principles seem to apply before A' movement (so-called RECONSTRUCTION)

Principle A

- (11) a. Which picture of *herself* do you think *Mary* will display ~~which picture of herself~~?
 b. *Who* did *Mary* say ~~who~~ killed *himself*?
 c. *Herself*, we suspect *she* admires ~~herself~~ most.

Principle B

- (12) a. **Who* did *Mary* say ~~who~~ killed *him*?
 b. **Her*, I think *she* admires ~~her~~ most.

Principle C

- (13) a. *Which investigation of *Don* did *he* resent ~~which investigation of Don~~ most?
 b. *How many claims that *Don* is a crook will *he* tolerate ~~how many claims that Don is a crook~~?

a. Bound variable interpretation of pronouns

- (14) a. *X* is *bound* if it is coindexed with a c-commanding antecedent
 b. *X* is *free* if *X* is not bound
- (15) A bound variable interpretation of a pronoun requires that the pronoun be bound by a quantified noun phrase
- (16) a. *Everyone* thinks that *he* will win.
 (can mean “Everyone thinks about himself that he will win”)
 b. *Who* thinks that *he* is smart?
 (can mean “Who thinks about himself that he is smart?”)
 c. **He* thinks that *everyone* will win.
 (cannot mean “Everyone thinks about himself that he will win”)
 d. *A picture of *everyone* is on *his* desk.
 (cannot mean “Every person has a picture of himself on his desk”)

A movement: bound variable interpretation possible after movement

- (17) *Everyone* seems to *himself* ~~everyone~~ to be the best choice.

A' movement: no bound variable interpretation possible after movement

- (18) **Who* does *his* mother think that I should praise ~~who~~?
 (cannot mean “Who is the person such that his mother thinks that I should praise him?”)

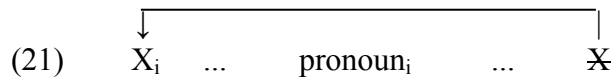
4. Parasitic gaps

- A *parasitic gap* is a gap inside an island that is nonetheless grammatical, because of the presence of another gap elsewhere in the sentence

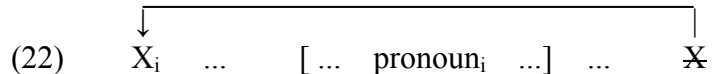
- A' movement: licenses parasitic gaps
- (19) a. Which book did you throw away __ without first consulting with me?
 b. *Which book did Mary give a talk [without first reading __]?
 c. Which book did you throw away __ [without first reading __pg]?
- A movement: does not license parasitic gaps
- (20) a. *John was arrested __ after I met __pg.
 b. *John seems __ to have read the letter before we saw __pg.

5. Crossover

- Strong Crossover (SCO) configuration: an element undergoing movement crosses over a coindexed pronoun that c-commands the origin site of the moved element



- Weak Crossover (WCO) configuration: an element undergoing movement crosses over a coindexed pronoun that does not c-command the origin site of the moved element



- A' movement: Crossover configurations are ungrammatical
- (23) a. *Who does *he* think Mary likes ~~who~~? SCO
 intended meaning: *Who* thinks that Mary likes *him*?
 b. *Who did you say *he* made you visit ~~who~~?
 intended meaning: Who did you say made you visit him?
- (24) a. ??Who did *his* mother say Mary likes ~~who~~? WCO
 intended meaning: *Whose* mother said Mary likes *him*?
 b. ??Who does *his* boss dislike?
 intended meaning: *Whose* boss dislikes *him*?
- A movement: Crossover configurations are grammatical
- (25) a. *John* strikes *himself* as ~~John~~ the best choice. SCO
 b. *John* seems to *his* mother ~~John~~ to be the best candidate. WCO

6. Ordering

- A movement can feed A' movement or another A movement
- (26) Who ~~who~~ will be invited ~~who~~?
 (27) John seems to me ~~John~~ to have been cheated ~~John~~.

- A' movement cannot feed A movement
- (28) a. It seems that Mary likes this guy.
b. It seems [that this guy, Mary really likes ~~this guy~~].
c. *This guy seems [that ~~this guy~~ Mary really likes ~~this guy~~].
- (29) *Improper Movement*
Movement from an A' position to an A position is impossible

D. Summary

- If we find a phenomenon that looks like movement, the first step is to determine whether it really is movement or not
- If it is movement
 - What is moving?
 - Where is it moving to?
 - Under what conditions does the movement take place?
 - Is this movement A or A' movement?
- There are two types of movement (A and A') and they have different properties