

## Composite A'/A constructions

- = mixture of A'/A properties in a single movement operation
- = composite [A'/A] probe analyses
- > **Dinka extraction** (van Urk 2015)
- > **Mandarin BEI passives, low foc/top** (Chen 2023)
- > **Khanty passives** (Colley & Privoznov 2020)
- > **Balinese/Malagasy pivots** (Lohninger & Kathochoritis 2024)
- > **Hyperraising** (Wurmbrand 2019, Lohninger et al. 2022)
- > **LDA across CP** (Wurmbrand 2019, Mursell 2020, 2021)

	A-mvt	A'-mvt
restricted to noun phrases/ $\phi$ -elements	+	-
can proceed across CP boundary	-	+
creates new antecedents for anaphor binding	+	-
can induce weak crossover	-	+
licenses parasitic gaps	-	+
must reconstruct	no	mostly yes
interacts with case/ $\phi$	+	-
can bypass intervening DPs (minimality)	-	+
can feed into A-movement (BIM)	+	-
info-structural/ clause-typing effects	-	+

The English A'/A distinction →

## Questions & Claims

- Q1** → Is the mixture of A'/A properties **systematic**?
- Q2** → Can we find a **uniform syntax for [A'/A] probes**?
- C1** → There are mixed probes, there is **NO mixed movement**
- C2** → Refinement of the binary A'/A distinction into a

**tripartite A'/A signature**, defined by...

- i) movement chain → A or A'
- ii) probing head → [A], [A'], [A'/A]
- iii) location of probe → on C or Voice

**C3** → i)-iii) determine different A'/A properties:

i) <b>movement chain:</b>	⇒ case-marking, antecedents for anaphor binding, WCO, PGs, feeding subsequent A-mvt, reconstruction effects
ii) <b>probing head:</b>	⇒ restriction to nominals, minimality effects, information-structural/ clause-typing effects, $\phi$ -agreement
iii) <b>probe on C:</b>	⇒ ability to cross CP

## A uniform syntax for [A'/A] probes

- [A'/A] ...
- ... needs **fully fitting goal** (A'/A goal)
- ... **not sensitive to defective intervention**, or partly fitting goals = A'/A minimal → [SAT: A'+A] (Scott 2021)
- ... **triggers A- or A'-movement:**
- [A'•A•] → A-movement (abstraction over individuals)
- [A'•/A] → A'-movement (abstraction over choice functions)
- (cf. [•A'•] → A'-movement)
- (cf. [•A•] → A-movement)
- ... can be **located on different heads** (mainly C or Voice)
- can **enter the structure in different ways** (derivational, parametric, language change, non-canonical passives)
- ... **independent probing as last-resort option**

## The theoretical A'/A SIGNATURE

### i) Movement chain:

	A-mvt	A'-mvt
Interaction with case	+	-
Induces weak crossover	-	+
Creates new antecedent for anaphor binding	+	-
Licenses parasitic gaps	-	+
Can feed further A-movement	+	-
Reconstruction (mainly for principle C)	-	+

### ii) Probing head:

	[A]	[A']	[A'/A]
restricted to nominals/ $\phi$ -goals	+	-	+
info.-structural/ clause-typing effects	-	+	+
can bypass an intervening $\phi$ -goal	-	+	+
can induce $\phi$ -agreement	+	-	+

### iii) Probe on C → movement can cross CP

This is where the mixture lies

## The empirical A'/A SIGNATURE

The construction-specific A'/A signature: i-iii) can combine in different ways

	probe	mvt type	feed case	WCO	anaph. bind.	PG	feeds A-mvt	reconstruction	info-struct. effects	restricted to $\phi$ -goal	feeds $\phi$ -agree	Minimality	can cross CP
i	A'	A'	×	✓	×	✓	×	✓	✓	×	×	A'	✓
ii	A'/A	A'	×	✓	×	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	A'/A	varies
iii	A	A	✓	×	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓	✓	A	×
iv	A'/A	A	✓	×	✓	×	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	A'/A	varies

i) **Movement type**  
> A or A' <

ii) **Probe type**  
> [A] or [A'] or [A'/A] <

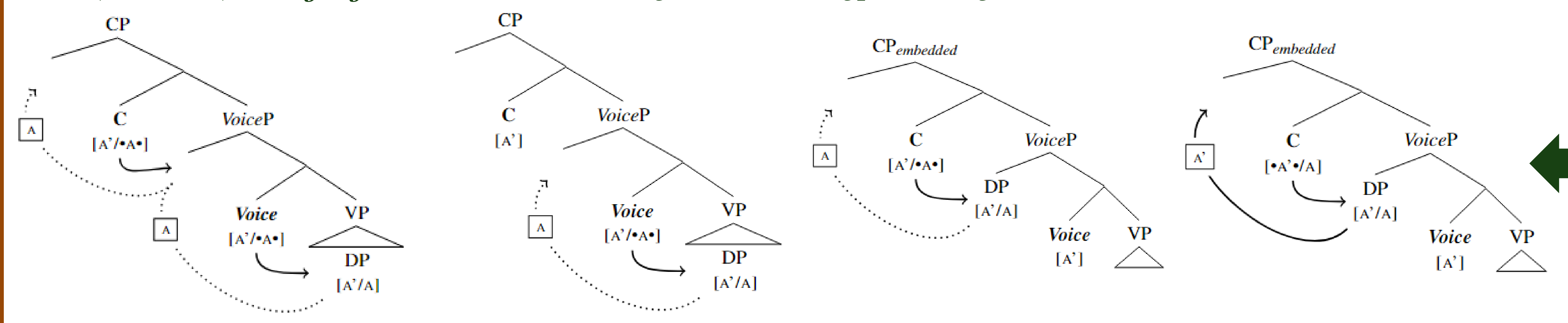
iii) **Probe on C?**

### Dinka, Balinese, Malagasy

### Mandarin, Khanty

### Hyperraising

### LDA



- i) **English** topicalization, wh-movement, relativization → C
- ii) Long-dist. agreement (**Innu-Aimûn, Passamaquoddy, Tsez**) → C
- iii) **English** raising to subject, passivization → T
- iv) **Dinka** topicalization, wh-movement, **Balinese & Malagasy** promotion to pivot → C + Voice
- Mandarin BEI passives, low topics/foci** → Voice
- Khanty passives** → Voice
- Hyperraising to subj./obj. (**Braz. Portuguese, Cantonese, Mongolian, Nez Perce, Romanian, Turkish**) → C

Handout:

Selected References



Chen, F. (2023). "Obscured universality in Mandarin". PhD thesis. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Colley, J. & Privoznov, D. (2020). "On the topic of subjects: Composite probes in Khanty". In: Proceedings of NELS50. Lohninger, M. & Kathochoritis, I. (2024). Between topics and subjects: an A'/A typology of Austronesian pivots. Proceedings of WCCFL42. Lohninger, M., Kovač, & Wurmbrand, Susi (2022). "From Prolepsis to Hyperraising". In: Philosophies 7.2. Mursell, J. (2021). The syntax of information-structural agreement. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Scott, T. (2021). Formalizing two types of mixed A'/A agreement. Ms., UC Berkeley. Berkeley, CA. 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.

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