

On moving out of [moved elements and phases]

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Many authors have argued for the ban in (1) (Ross 1967, Postal 1972, Huybregts 1976, Wexler and Culicover 1980, Diesing 1992, Collins 1994, Takahashi 1994, Müller 1998, Lasnik 1999, Stepanov 2001, Rizzi 2006, Boeckx 2008, Gallego 2009, Lohndal 2011, Corver 2014, Uriagereka 2012, among others).

(1) Movement is not possible out of moved elements.

The ban on extraction from subjects in SpecIP is a case of (1) since under the VP internal subject hypothesis extraction from subjects in SpecIP involves extraction from moved elements (2). Extraction is also banned from moved objects, as in (3a), where the object is assumed to move (see Johnson 1991, Lasnik 2001), and with Spanish *a*-marked objects (4), which also move (see Torrego 1998). The effect is also found with A'-moved elements (5).

(2) ?*I wonder [_{CP} who_i [_{TP} [_{DP} friends of t_i]_j [_{VP} t_j hired Mary]]]]

(3) a. ?*Who_j did you call [friends of t_j]_i of up t_i?

b. Who_i did you call up friends of t_i?

(4) ?*[De quién]_j has visitado [_{DP} a muchos amigos t_j]_i [_{VP} ... t_i]
of whom have-2sg visited a many friends

‘Who have you visited many friends of?’

(Gallego & Uriagereka 2006)

(5) ?*Vowel harmony, I think that [articles about t_i]_j you should read t_j carefully.

(6) *Was_i denkst du [_{CP} [_{VP} t_i gelesen]_j hat_k [_{IP} keiner t_k t_j]]?

what think you read has no one

‘What do you think no one read?’

(Corver 2014)

The literature also reports exceptions to (1). While some are driven by theoretical considerations (Collins 2005), and some have been explained away (see Gallego 2007 on Torrego’s 1985 claim that movement from SpecCP is allowed in Spanish), there are still cases that clearly violate (1). Thus, possessor extraction is allowed from the moved object in Serbo-Croatian (7), and P-stranding movement is possible after the PP itself moves in Dutch (8).

(7) Jovanovu_i je on [t_i sliku]_j vidio t_j

John’s.acc.f.sg is he picture.acc.f.sg seen

‘He saw John’s picture.’

(Serbo-Croatian)

(8) waar_i had jij dan [t_i mee t_j]_j gedacht [dat je de vis t_j zou moeten snijden]?

where had you then with thought that you the fish would must cut

‘What did you think you should cut the fish with?’

(Dutch)

The talk argues that (1) needs to be revised in light of exceptions to (1); in particular, the talk argues for the generalization in (9) (I adopt Bošković’s 2014 approach to phases).

(9) Phases that host successive-cyclic movement cannot undergo movement.

The talk also proposes a deduction of the revised version of (1) (i.e. (9)) in the labeling system, extending it to a number of additional cases. One such cases involves Reis’s (1997) ban on moving V-2 clauses in German, illustrated by (10): it is shown that the deduction of (9) proposed in the talk also deduces the ban on moving V-2 clauses.

(10) *[Er_i sei unheimlich beliebt]_j, möchte jeder_i gern glauben t_j.

he is.SUBJ immensely popular would.like everyone like believe

‘Everyone would like to believe he is immensely popular.’

(Wurmbrand 2014)