FOCUS ON TOPIC!

AN A'/A-SHIFTING ACCOUNT TO MULTIPLE WH-QUESTIONS AND CROSS-CLAUSAL A-DEPENDENCIES

Magdalena Lohninger • University of Vienna • magdalena.lohninger@univie.ac.at

Synopsis I present a typological correlation between WH-movement and Cross-clausal A-dependencies (CCA; such as Hyper-ECM, Hyperraising or Long-Distance Agreement), leading to a new analysis of (multiple) WH-constructions and the corresponding CP domain. Unifying Richards' (1997) account of WH-movement as A-movement, Rizzi's (1997) proposal of an extended left periphery, Wurmbrand's (amongst others 2001, 2014) and Sundaresan's (2012, 2018) work on Restructuring and recent literature on CCA (amongst others Tanaka 2002, Şener 2008, Obata & Epstein 2011, Van Urk 2015, Bondarenko 2017, Wurmbrand 2018, Zyman 2018, and Fong 2019), I bring forward a framework built on an A'/A shifting threshold within CP which provides the right predictions concerning the connection between A-WH-movement and CCA.

WH-movement as A-movement to CP Richards (1997) proposes that certain instances of (multiple) WH-movement have A-quality. He divides languages (independently from what is moved on the surface) into two types, depending on whether they A'-move ("A'-WH-languages", e.g. Bulgarian, Mandarin Chinese, English, Korean, Brazilian Portuguese, Romanian, Tsez) or A-move ("A-WH-languages", e.g. Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Japanese, Turkish, Greek, Hungarian, Nez Perce) their WH-words. Tying the difference between A-WH-languages and A'-WH-languages to WCO effects and Superiority between WH-words, he presents an analysis of A-moved WH-words to a TP-adjoined position (see Rudin 1988 and Bošković 2002 for similar accounts). I extend this proposal by claiming that A-moved WH-words target CP instead of TP. A-WH-languages come with an A-position in their extended left periphery; their *FocusP* serves as a landing site for A-moved WH-words (see also Bošković 1997, 2002 arguing for the focus-quality of WH-movement in A-languages). Evidence against CP being a pur A'-domain comes from recent works on CCA, presenting the possibility of A-movement and A-relations into CPs.

Typological Generalization: The connection between A-WH-movement and CCA If A-WH-movement and CCA both target (A-)positions in the CP, we expect possible interactions between the two phenomena. This is indeed the case: Comparing A-WH-languages with languages allowing CCA renders a novel typological generalisation:

(1) Whenever a language A-moves its WH-words, it allows CCA (but not the other way around).

This generalisation is built on the empirical observation that there are languages allowing both CCA and A-WH-movement and such languages which allow neither. Additionally, there are languages allowing CCA but not A-WH-movement but crucially, there is no attested language class which allows A-WH-movement but not CCA.

✓ *A-WH-mvt* ✓ *CCA*	✓ *A-WH-mvt* ✗ *CCA*	✗ *A-WH-mvt* ✓ *CCA*	✗ *A-WH-mvt* ✗ *CCA*
Turkish, Japanese, Greek, Hungarian, Nez Perce		Korean, Brazilian Portuguese, Romanian, Mandarin Chinese, Tsez	English, Bulgarian

An A'/A shift in CP In order to explain the unidirectional correlation between A-WH-movement and CCA, I propose an analysis alongside an extended left periphery (Rizzi 1997) plus the possibility of not building clauses to the top (as proposed in many works on restructuring by Wurmbrand (2001, 2014) and in Sundaresan (2012, 2018). The relevant part for my proposal is the uppermost part of the split CP-domain:

(2) [*ForceP* [*FocusP* [*TopicP*...]]]

I assume that within a single CP-domain (consisting of several projections), A'-positions and A-positions are, in principle, both allowed. However, they stand in a hierarchical relation to each other: A'-projections can embed A-projections but not the other way around. *ForceP* always has A'-qualities and serves as a final landing-site

for A'-moved WH-words. Embedded in *ForceP* is *FocusP*, which can have A-properties and is targeted by A-WH-movement. Embedded into *FocusP* is *TopicP*, also able to have A-quality and serving as a landing-site for elements participating in CCA relations (CCA.DP) (see Şener 2008). This renders the following structure for the CP-domain:

(3)   [*ForceP* $\boxed{\text{A'-WH}}$ [*FocP* $\boxed{\text{A-WH}}$ [*TopicP* $\boxed{\text{CCA.DP}}$ [...TP]]]]

At some point within this extended CP-domain, there is an A'/A-threshold, called the "A'/A shift". All projections above this threshold have A'-quality, all projections beneath it have A-quality. Languages part into different groups regarding the locus of threshold. There are languages where the shift from A' to A lies between *ForceP* and *FocusP*, such where it lies between *FocusP* and *TopicP* and such where it lies below *TopicP*. A-WH-movement requires a *FocusP* with A-qualities and CCA requires a *TopicP* with A-qualities. Assuming that A'-projections cannot be embedded into A-projections within one domain, the analysis provides an explanation for the A-WH-movement + CCA generalisation in (1) and correctly derives the attested language classes (a-c). The derivation of the unattested class (✓*A-WH-movement* + ✗ *CCA*) would require an A'-*TopicP* embedded into an A-*FocusP*; such a configuration cannot be derived in a shifting threshold framework.

			[**ForceP**	[**FocusP**	[**TopicP**]]]
a)	✗ *A-WH* + ✗ *CCA*		A'	A'	A' $\boxed{\text{SHIFT}}$
b)	✗ *A-WH* + ✓ *CCA*		A'	A' $\boxed{\text{SHIFT}}$	A
c)	✓ *A-WH* + ✓ *CCA*		A' $\boxed{\text{SHIFT}}$	A	A
d)	✓ *A-WH* + ✗ *CCA*	*	A' $\boxed{\text{SHIFT}}$	A $\boxed{\text{SHIFT}}$	A'

Furthermore, based on Şener (2008), I propose that the embedded CP is only projected up to *TopicP* in CCA constructions, rendering the (A)-Spec*TopicP* a left-edge. Contrary to that, embedded WH-CPs always require an (A') *ForceP* (possibly due to selectional and semantic clause-typing reasons). Thus, WH-movement should block CCA when they occur simultaneously; a prediction that is borne out amongst others in Turkish (Şener 2008), Janitzio P'urhepecha (Zyman 2018) and Tsez (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001):

(4)   enir   [łu   micxir   b-ok'ākʼ-ru-łi   ] **r/*b**-iyxo
      mother [who.ERG money.III.ABS -steal-PSTPRT-NMLZ] IV/*III-knows
      'The mother knows who stole the money.' *Tsez* [LDA + WH-mvt] (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001: p. 634)

Bibliography • **Bondarenko, T. 2017**. ECM in Buryat and the optionality of movement. In *Proceedings of the 12th workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics (WAFL 12). MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*. • **Bošković, Ž. 2002**. On multiple wh-fronting. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33(3). 351–383. • **Fong, S. 2019**. Proper movement through Spec-CP: An argument from hyperraising in Mongolian. *Glossa: A journal of general linguistics* 4(1). • **Obata, M. & Epstein, S. D. 2011**. Feature-Splitting Internal Merge: Improper Movement, Intervention, and the A/A Distinction. *Syntax*, 14(2), 122-147. • **Polinsky, M. & Potsdam, E. 2001**. Long-distance agreement and topic in Tsez. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19, 583–646. • **Richards, N. 1997**. *What moves where when in which language?* Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Doctoral dissertation). • **Rizzi, L. 1997**. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar*, 281–337. Springer. • **Rudin, C. 1988**. On multiple questions and multiple wh fronting. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 6(4). 445–501. • **Şener, S. 2008**. Non-canonical case licensing is canonical: Accusative sub-jects of CPs in Turkish. *Ms.* • **Sundaresan, S. 2012**. *Context and (co) reference in the syntax and its interfaces*. University of Tromsø and Stuttgart. (Doctoral dissertation). • **Sundaresan, S. 2018**. An alternative model of indexical shift: Variation and selection without context-overwriting. University of Leipzig. *Ms.* • **Tanaka, H. 2002**. Raising to object out of CP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33(4). 637–652. • **Van Urk, C. 2015**. *A uniform syntax for phrasal movement: A case study of Dinka Bor*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Doctoral dissertation). • **Wurmbrand, S. 2001**. *Infinitives: Restructuring and clause structure.* Mouton de Gruyter (Studies in Generative Grammar 55) • **Wurmbrand, S. 2014.** Restructuring across the world. In: L. Veselovská and M. Janebová (eds.), *Complex Visibles Out There. Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium 2014: Language Use and Linguistic Structure*, 275-294. Olomouc: Palacký University. • **Wurmbrand, S. 2018**. Cross-clausal A-dependencies. In: L. Stigliano, E. Ronai & Y. Sun (eds.), *Papers from the 54th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society (CLS 54)*. Chicago, Ill.: Chicago Linguistic Society. • **Zyman, E. 2018**. *The rich syntax of grammatical relations: Raising and hyper-raising in P'urhepecha*. Santa Cruz, CA: University of California. (Doctoral dissertation).