Positions vs. items in the syntax of superraising

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1 Introduction

- ***A well-known constraint on A-movement***
  It is well-known that **superraising**, A-movement out of a finite clause, is impossible in English (1) while $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement out such clauses is fine (2):

  (1) *No A-movement out of finite clause*
  *John seems [*t* likes oatmeal].

  (2) *$\overline{A}$-movement out of finite clause*
  Who do you think [*t* likes oatmeal]?

  (3) *A-movement out of nonfinite clause*
  John seems [*t* to like oatmeal].

- ***Two families of accounts***
  There are two broad families of accounts for this restriction:
  - **Position-based**:
    A-movement from an $\overline{\text{A}}$-position is impossible (*improper movement*, see Chomsky 1977, 1981, et seq.).
  - **Item-based**:
    A-movement of a case-marked element is impossible, as a result of Chomsky's (2000, 2001) Activity Condition (4) (Nunes 2010; Carstens 2011; Diercks 2012; Halpert 2012). Interestingly, several accounts that eschew the Activity Condition as such still attribute the impossibility of (1) to case (e.g., Nevins 2005; Carstens 2010; Obata 2010; Obata & Epstein 2011).

    (4) Activity Condition
    DPs whose case feature is valued become inactive and thereby invisible to subsequent A-processes.

- ***Positions vs items***
  - **Position-based** accounts state the constraint on the basis of syntactic positions, i.e. the syntactic **context** of a DP.
  - **Item-based** accounts refer to a DP's internal properties: A-movement is possible only if the DP has **no case**.
    ⇒ Case acts as a switch: Case assignment to DP bleeds A-movement of DP.

- ***This talk***
  Based on evidence from Hindi-Urdu (henceforth Hindi), I will present arguments against a case-based account of superraising: The ban against A-movement out of a finite clause is position-based, not item-based.
  ✳ A-movement can target already case-marked DPs.
  ✳ A-movement out of finite clauses (superraising) is still impossible.
  ⇒ A case-based account does not derive this ban on superraising in Hindi.
  ✳ A position-based account derives the Hindi facts without further ado.
  ⇒ Such an account renders superfluous a case-based account of superraising in English.

- ***Roadmap***
  §2 shows that crossclausal movement in Hindi never feeds case assignment.
  §3 shows that A-movement is possible out of nonfinite clauses, contra the Activity Condition.
  §4 shows that Hindi nonetheless exhibits a ban on superraising.
  §5 proposes a position-based account of Hindi A/$\overline{\text{A}}$-movement.

2 Crossclausal movement and case in Hindi

- ***Crossclausal movement in Hindi***
  DPs in Hindi may move out of finite and nonfinite clauses alike:

(5) a. *Movement out of nonfinite clause*[1]
Rām-ko$_1$ Sītā-ne [t_1 dekh-nā] cāhā
Ram-ACC Sita-ERG see-INF wanted
'Sita wanted to see Ram.'

b. *Movement out of finite clause*
Rām-ko$_1$ Sītā-ne socā hai [ki Pratāp-ne t_1 dekhā]
Ram-ACC Sita-ERG think be that Pratap-ERG saw
'Sita thought that Pratap saw Ram.'

✳ ***Claim***
Neither movement out of a finite nor out of a nonfinite clause feeds case assignment. The case of the moving element is invariably assigned inside the lower clause.

- ***Three arguments:***
  1. Case preservation
  2. Case unavailability
  3. Genitive agreement

2.1 *Argument 1: Case preservation*

- Crossclausal movement in Hindi can target a variety of DPs. Crucially, an element's case is never affected by movement but must match its base position. This is illustrated for direct objects in (6) and for instrumental objects in (7).

(6) *Case preservation: Direct objects*
a. *Baseline*
Sītā-ne **Rām-{ko/*se/*kā}** dekhā
Sita-ERG Ram-{ACC/*INSTR/*GEN} saw
'Sita saw Ram.'

b. *Movement out of nonfinite clause*
Rām-{ko/*se/*kā} Sītā-ne [t dekh-nā] cāhā
Ram-{ACC/*INSTR/*GEN} Sita-ERG see-INF wanted
'Sita wanted to see Ram.'

c. *Movement out of finite clause*
Rām-{ko/*se/*kā} Sītā-ne socā hai [ki Pratāp-ne
Ram-{ACC/*INSTR/*GEN} Sita-ERG think be that Pratap-ERG
t dekhā]
saw
'Sita thought that Pratap saw Ram.'

(7) *Case preservation: Instrumentals*[2]
a. *Baseline*
Pratāp **Sītā-{se/*ko/*kā}** milā hai
Pratap Sita-{INSTR/*ACC/*GEN} meet be
'Pratap met Sita.'

b. *Movement out of nonfinite clause*
Sītā-{se/*ko/*kā} Pratāp-ne [t milā-nā] cāhā
Sita-{INSTR/*ACC/*GEN} Pratap-ERG meet-INF wanted
'Pratap wanted to meet Sita.'

c. *Movement out of finite clause*
Sītā-{se/*ko/*kā} Rām-ne socā [ki Pratāp t
Sita-{INSTR/*ACC/*GEN} Ram-ERG think that Pratap-ERG
milā hai]
meet be
'Ram thought that Pratap met Sita.'

⇒ The case of a moving element must be assigned **before crossclausal movement takes place**.

2.2 *Argument 2: Case unavailability*

- In Hindi, possessors may undergo crossclausal movement. Moved possessors must surface in with genitive case, just like in their base position.

[1] It is also possible in (5a) to extrapose the infinitival clause to the right of the matrix verb.

[2] The accusative marker *-ko* is marginally possible in (7) under the reading 'Sita found Pratap'. The possibility of *-ko* and the distribution of its reading is not affected by movement.

(8) *Case preservation: Possessors*

a. *Movement out of nonfinite clause*
Sītā-{kā/*ko/*se}$_1$ Rām-ne [[$_{DP}$ t_1 lekh] paṛh-nā]
Sita-{GEN/*ACC/*INSTR} Ram-ERG article read-INF
cāhā
wanted
'Ram wanted to read Sita's article.'

b. *Movement out of finite clause*
Sītā-{kā/*ko/*se}$_1$ Rām soctā hai [ki Pratāp [$_{DP}$ t_1
Sita-{GEN/*ACC/*INSTR} Ram think be that Pratap
lekh] paṛhtā hai]
article read be
'Ram thinks that Pratap reads Sita's article.'

- ***Case unavailability***
Genitive case is never assigned by verbs in Hindi. Therefore, genitive case only exists in the nominal domain (Bhatt 2005).

⇒ This entails that the genitive case in (8) must be assigned **before crossclausal movement takes place**.

2.3 *Argument 3: Genitive agreement*

- ***ϕ-agreement with genitive marker***
In Hindi, the genitive marker obligatorily agrees in number and gender with the head noun of the container DP:

(9) *Genitive agreement*

a. Rām [Sītā-{**kā**/***kī**} lekh] paṛhtā thā
Ram Sita-{GEN.M.SG/*GEN.F.SG} article.M read was
'Ram read Sita's article.'

b. Rām [Sītā-{***kā**/**kī**} kitāb] paṛhtā thā
Ram Sita-{*GEN.M.SG/GEN.F.SG} book.F read was
'Ram read Sita's book.'

- Crucially, this agreement has to persist under crossclausal movement:

(10) *Genitive agreement: Movement out of nonfinite clauses*

a. Sītā-{**kā**/***kī**} Rām-ne [[$_{DP}$ t lekh] paṛh-nā]
Sita-{GEN.M.SG/*GEN.F.SG} Ram-ERG article.M read-INF
cāhā
wanted
'Ram wanted to read Sita's article.'

b. Sītā-{***kā**/**kī**} Rām-ne [[$_{DP}$ t kitāb] paṛh-nā]
Sita-{*GEN.M.SG/GEN.F.SG} Ram-ERG book.F read-INF
cāhā
wanted
'Ram wanted to read Sita's book.'

(11) *Genitive agreement: Movement out of finite clauses*

a. Sītā-{**kā**/***kī**} Rām soctā hai [ki Pratāp [$_{DP}$ t
Sita-{GEN.M.SG/*GEN.F.SG} Ram think be that Pratap
lekh] paṛhtā hai]
article.M read be
'Ram thinks that Pratap reads Sita's article.'

b. Sītā-{***kā**/**kī**} Rām soctā hai [ki Pratāp [$_{DP}$ t
Sita-{*GEN.M.SG/GEN.F.SG} Ram think be that Pratap
kitāb] paṛhtā hai]
book.F read be
'Ram thinks that Pratap reads Sita's book.'

⇒ Genitive agreement demonstrates that the genitive case of the moving possessor must be assigned **before crossclausal movement takes place**.

2.4 *Section summary*

- The information necessary to determine the correct case form of the moving element is not available in the higher clause; it is only available in the downstairs clause.
- Therefore, the case form must be determined before crossclausal movement takes place.

⇒ **All crossclausal movement in Hindi applies to already case-marked DPs.**

3 A-movement of case-marked DPs

- ***A prediction of the Activity Condition***
  According to the Activity Condition (12), no element can A-move once it has received case.

  (12) **Activity Condition**
  DPs whose case feature is valued become inactive and thereby invisible to subsequent A-processes.

- Because crossclausal movement applies to case-marked DPs, the Activity Condition predicts (13).

  (13) **Prediction of the Activity Condition**
  All crossclausal movement in Hindi is $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement.

✳ ***Claim***
This prediction is not borne out: Movement out of **nonfinite** clauses exhibits A-properties.

- ***Evidence***
  Movement out of nonfinite clauses in Hindi passes A-tests (Keine 2013) and in this regard patterns with movement within a single clause. See Déprez (1989), Mahajan (1990, 1994), Gurtu (1992), Jones (1993), Dayal (1994), and Kidwai (2000) for previous work on Hindi scrambling.

- (14) shows that movement out of a nonfinite clause can feed pronominal binding (is subject to weak crossover), and (15) shows that it may result in reciprocal binding.[3] This pattern holds irrespective of the case of the moving element.

  (14) ***No weak crossover*** → *A-extraction possible*

  a. *No-movement baseline → Binding impossible*
  Us-kī$_{2/*1}$ bahin [**har laṛke-ko$_1$** dekha-nā] cāhtī thī
  3sg-gen sister every boy-acc see-inf want be
  'His/her sister wanted to see every boy.'
  (*bound reading impossible*)

  b. *Extraction feeds binding → A-movement*
  Har laṛke-ko$_1$ us-kī$_1$ bahin [t_1 dekha-nā] cāhtī thī.
  every boy-acc 3sg-gen sister see-inf want be
  'For every boy x, x's sister wants to see x.'

  (15) ***Reciprocal binding*** → *A-extraction possible*

  a. *No-movement baseline → Reciprocal binding impossible*
  *Ek-dūsre-kī$_1$ bahinõ-ne [[**Rām aur Pratāp-ko$_1$**] mār-nā] cāhā.
  each other's sisters-erg Ram and Pratap-acc hit-inf want
  Intended: 'Ram and Pratap, each other's sisters wanted to hit (them).'

  b. *Extraction feeds binding → A-movement*
  [**Rām aur Pratāp-ko$_1$**] ek-dūsre-kī$_1$ bahinõ-ne [t_1 mār-nā]
  Ram and Pratap-acc each other's sisters-erg hit-inf
  cāhā.
  want
  'Ram and Pratap, each other's sisters wanted to hit (them).'

- The availability of A-movement out of nonfinite clauses even holds for possessor movement:

  (16) *Possessor extraction feeds pronominal binding → A-movement*
  Har laṛke-kā$_1$ us-kī$_1$ bahin-ne [[$_{\text{DP}}$ t lekh] paṛh-nā] cāhā
  every boy-gen 3sg-gen sister article read-inf wanted
  'For every x, x's sister wanted to read x's article.'

  (17) *Possessor extraction feeds reciprocal binding → A-movement*
  [**Rām aur Pratāp-ke**]$_1$ ek-dūsre-kī$_1$ bahinõ-ne [[$_{\text{DP}}$ t lekh]
  Ram and Pratap-gen each other's sisters-erg articles
  paṛh-ne] cāhe
  read-inf wanted
  'Ram and Pratap, each's sisters wanted to read the other's articles.'

✳ ***Conclusion***

– A-movement is possible out of nonfinite clauses.
– Yet, such movement invariably applies to case-marked DPs (§2).
⇒ Case-marked DPs can A-move in Hindi.

(18) **Case and A-movement and Hindi**
Case assignment does not deactivate a DP in Hindi and subsequent A-movement is possible, contra the Activity Condition.

[3] Mahajan (1990) uses the reflexive *apnā* to make the same point. For most speakers, though, *apnā* is subject-oriented (e.g., Dayal 1994; Kidwai 2000) and thus unsuitable as a test.

4 The ban on superraising

- ***Where we are***
  We have seen that A-movement of case-marked DPs is possible in Hindi. Consequently, case-marking does not deactivate a DP (18).
  - Recent work on Bantu languages has argued that case does not deactivate DPs in all languages (Carstens 2010, 2011; Obata 2010; Obata & Epstein 2011; Diercks 2012; Halpert 2012; Carstens & Diercks 2013).

- ***The ban on superraising***
  Crucially, Hindi still displays a ban on superraising: A-movement out of a finite clause is impossible.

- Only $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement is possible out of finite clauses (Mahajan 1990). This is shown in (19) for weak crossover and in (20) for reciprocal binding.

(19) ***Weak crossover*** → *A-extraction impossible*

a. *Direct object movement*
Har laṛke-ko$_1$ us-kī$_{2/*1}$ bahin soctī hai [ki Rām-ne t_1
every boy-ACC 3SG-GEN sister think be that Ram-ERG
dekhā].
see
'His$_2$ sister thinks that Ram saw every boy$_1$.'
(*bound reading impossible*)

b. *Possessor movement*
Har laṛke-kā$_1$ us-kī$_{2/*1}$ bahin-ne kahā [$_{CP}$ ki Rām-ne
every boy-GEN 3SG-GEN sister-ERG said that Ram-ERG
[$_{DP}$ *t* lekh] paṛhā]
article read
'His/her sister said that Ram read every boy's article.'
(*bound reading impossible*)

- If A-movement out of a finite clause were possible, (19b) would have bound reading, contrary to fact.

(20) ***No reciprocal binding*** → *A-extraction impossible*

a. *Direct object movement*
*[**Rām aur Pratāp-ko$_1$**] ek-dūsre-kī$_1$ bahinõ-ne socā [ki
Ram and Pratap-ACC each other's sisters-ERG think that
Sangītā-ne mārā]
Sangita-ERG hit
'Ram and Pratap, each other's sisters thought that Sangita had hit (them).'

b. *Possessor movement*
*[**Rām aur Pratāp-ke**]$_1$ ek-dūsre-kī$_1$ bahinõ-ne socā [$_{CP}$
Ram and Pratap-GEN each other's sisters-ERG thought
ki Monā-ne [$_{DP}$ *t* lekh] paṛhe]
that Mona-ERG articles read
'Ram and Pratap, each's sister thought that Mona read the other's articles.'

- If A-movement were possible in (20b), reciprocal binding would be possible, contrary to fact.

(21) **Descriptive ban on superraising in Hindi**
A-movement cannot leave a finite clause, only $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement can.

✳ ***Conclusion: The predicament of a case-based explanation***

– Case-valued DPs can A-move in Hindi (18).
– A-movement out of finite clauses is still impossible (21).
⇒ A case-based account of superraising fails to account for (21).

(22) *Summary: The ban on superraising does not follow from case in Hindi*

	A-movement	$\overline{\text{A}}$-movement
Feeds case assignment	✗	✗
Can escape nonfinite clauses	✓	✓
Can escape finite clauses	✗	✓

✳ Superraising must be blocked by something that is not case.

- ***The overarching pattern***
  The empirical generalization for Hindi crossclausal extraction is given in (23):

  (23) **Empirical generalization**
  a. $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement but not A-movement may leave a finite clause.
  b. Both A- and $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement are possible out of nonfinite clauses.

- ***English and Hindi***
  The generalization in (23) is, of course, the same as in English in terms of the *positions* involved.

- ***Next section***
  Is a position-based account more successful for Hindi? – Yes!

5 A position-based account of Hindi superraising

- ***Constraining A-movement***
  To adequately restrict A-movement, we need a **position-based** account. Generally speaking, any constraint that rules out A-movement from Spec,CP will derive the Hindi facts:

  1. *Ban on Improper Movement*
     (Chomsky 1973, 1981; May 1979)
  2. *Chain Uniformity*
     (Lasnik & Saito 1992; Fukui 1993)
  3. *Universal Constraint on Operational Ordering in Language* (UCOOL)
     (Abels 2007, 2009; Neeleman & van de Koot 2010)
  4. *Principle of Unambiguous Binding*
     (Müller & Sternefeld 1993, 1996; Müller 1995)
  5. ***Size-based constraints***
     (Williams 1974, 2003, 2011, 2013; Müller 2014a,b; Keine 2015)

- I will adopt a size-based account here.

5.1 *Proposal*

- ***A size-based constraint***
  For the sake of concreteness, I will adopt here a particularly strong constraint: the Generalized Ban on Improper Movement motivated in Williams (2003, 2011, 2013):

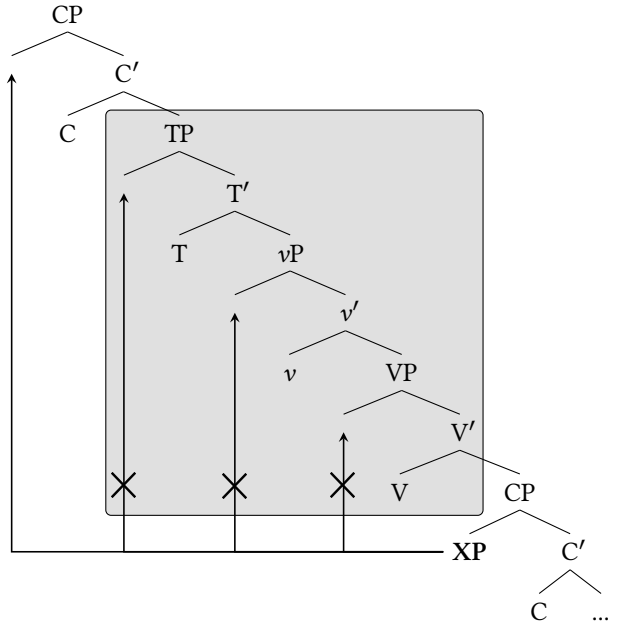
  (24) **Generalized Ban on Improper Movement**
  Given a functional sequence $X_1 > \cdots > X_n$ (where X_i takes X_{i+1} as its complement), if if $X_i > X_j$, then movement from X_i to X_j is impossible.

- ***Consequences***
  (24) states that movement from Spec,CP to Spec,TP is impossible because CP is 'larger' than TP (i.e., C > T). Importantly, movement from Spec,CP to Spec,CP is possible according to (24), because C is not higher than C (i.e., C $\not>$ C).

⇒ **The relative height of the launching and landing sites determine whether extraction is possible. This renders (24) a position-based constraint.**

✳ ***Excluding English superraising***
(24) rules out superraising as follows: Because finite clauses are CPs, movement out of them can land no lower than Spec,CP. A-movement to Spec,TP is thus impossible ⇝ see (25)

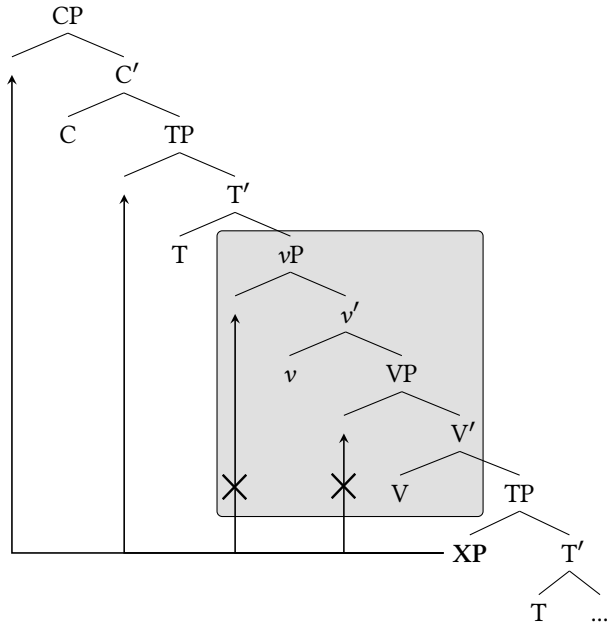
(25) *Movement options from CPs under (24) → only $\overline{A}$-extraction possible*



⇒ The ban on superraising thus follows from (24).

✳ ***Extraction from nonfinite clauses***
Because nonfinite clauses are TPs, movement out of them can land in either Spec,TP or Spec,CP. A- and $\overline{\text{A}}$-extraction is thus possible ⇝ see (26)

(26) *Movement options from TPs under (24) → A- and $\overline{\text{A}}$-extraction possible*



(27) **Summary**

a. *Movement from Spec,CP*
   i. ✓[Spec,CP] → [Spec,CP]
   ii. ✗[Spec,CP] → [Spec,TP]: **superraising**

b. *Movement from Spec,TP*
   i. ✓[Spec,TP] → [Spec,CP]
   ii. ✓[Spec,TP → [Spec,TP]

- ***Aside: Deriving the Ban***
  See the references just cited for proposals of how various version of (24) can be derived:
  – Williams (2003, 2011, 2013) proposes a nonstandard theory of syntax that has (24) as a theorem, because clauses are built in tandem (also see Nevins 2005).
  – Keine (2015) proposes that a less strict version of (24) follows from a constraint on AGREE.
  – Müller (2014a,b) proposes a system in which (24) only holds for *criterial* landing sites, which is hence compatible with successive-cyclic movement through Spec,*v*P.

✳ ***Claim***
This account captures the Hindi facts without further ado because the positional properties are the same as in English.

- ***The size of clauses in Hindi***
  There is good evidence that finite and nonfinite clauses differ in their sizes in Hindi:

  (28) a. **Finite clauses**
  can bear the complementizer *ki* 'that' and carry interrogative force
  ⇒ **are CPs**

  b. **Nonfinite clauses**
  can never contain a complementizer and obligatorily lack interrogative force (Dayal 1996)
  ⇒ **are TPs**

- ***The height of the landing sites***
  Due to Hindi's very flexible word order, surface inspection does not reveal where A- and $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement land.

- ***Where does $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement land?***
  Indirect evidence comes from the paradigm in (29).[4]
  – In (29), a finite clause is embedded within a nonfinite clause, which is itself embedded in the matrix clause.
  ⇒ Because the lowermost clause is finite, any extraction out of it must be $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement.
  – The infinitival clause is extraposed to diagnose movement into it (Bhatt & Dayal 2007).
  – In (29b), movement into the nonfinite clause is impossible → **$\overline{\text{A}}$-movement cannot land inside a nonfinite clause**
  – In (29c), the DP is moved all the way into the (finite) matrix clause and the result is grammatical.

[4] Thanks to Klaus Abels for suggesting this test to me.

(29) *$\overline{A}$-movement cannot land in nonfinite clauses*

a. *Base configuration:*
Mãĩ cāhtā hũ̃ [kah-nā [ki mãĩ-ne **kitāb** paṛh lī hai]]
I want be say-INF [that I-ERG book read take be
'I want to say that I read the book.'

✓[matrix clause [non-finite clause [finite clause DP]]]

b. *No $\overline{A}$-mvt into non-finite clauses:*
*Mãĩ cāhtā hũ̃ [**kitāb**$_1$ kah-nā [ki mãĩ-ne t_1 paṛh lī hai]]
I want be book say-INF that I-ERG read take be

*[matrix clause [non-finite clause DP [finite clause t]]]

c. *$\overline{A}$-mvt into finite clauses:*
Kitāb$_1$ mãĩ cāhtā hũ̃ [kah-nā [ki mãĩ-ne t_1 paṛh lī hai]]
book I want be say-INF that I-ERG read take be

✓[matrix clause DP [non-finite clause [finite clause t]]]

(30) *Conclusion*
$\overline{A}$-movement lands in **Spec,CP**.

- ***Where does A-movement land?***
As (31) shows, A-movement can land within a nonfinite clause. As in (29), the infinitival clause is extraposed to make sure that the movement does not leave it.

(31) *A-movement can land in nonfinite clauses*
Rām-ne cāhā [**har** **kuttā**$_1$ us-ke$_1$ baccõ-ko t_1 dikhā-nā]
Ram-ERG want every dog 3SG-GEN owner-DAT show-INF
'Ram wanted to show every dog x to x's owner.'

(32) *Conclusion*
A-movement lands in **Spec,TP** (or lower).

(33) **Summary: Properties of Hindi**
a. Finite clauses → CPs
b. Nonfinite clauses → TPs
c. $\overline{A}$-movement lands in Spec,CP
d. A-movement lands in Spec,TP

⇒ ***Consequence***
These distributional facts are identical to English. Therefore, the position-based constraint in (24) derives Hindi without further ado.

- ***Aside: Beyond the A/$\overline{A}$-distinction***
(24) is much more fine-grained than the binary A/$\overline{A}$-distinction. It thus predicts that height and locality should interact more generally. There is indeed good evidence for a systematic connection between the two, going well beyond the binary A/$\overline{A}$-distinction.
→ see Williams (2003, 2011, 2013), Abels (2007, 2009, 2012), Müller (2014a,b), Keine (2015)

6 Conclusion

- In **English**, case and position are confounded:
  - A-movement feed case, $\overline{A}$-movement does not
  - A-movement lands in TP, $\overline{A}$-movement does not
  - ⇒ Therefore, we do not know whether the locality differences are due to case or position.

- **Hindi** allows us to tease them apart:
  - A- and $\overline{A}$-movement both don't feed case
  - A-movement lands in TP, $\overline{A}$-movement does not
  - ⇒ Therefore, the locality difference must be due to position, not case

(34) *Summary: A- and $\overline{A}$-movement in Hindi*

	A-movement	$\overline{A}$-movement
Feeds case assignment	✗	✗
Landing site	TP	CP
Can escape TPs	✓	✓
Can escape CPs	✗	✓

(24)

- ***Case and A-movement***
  - There is no need to appeal to case to exclude superraising.
  - There is no general Activity Condition. A-movement is not restricted to DPs with unvalued case.

- ***A larger question: Can case ever bleed movement?***
  Whether case can *ever* bleed movement is an open question (see Preminger 2014 and Poole 2015 for a positive answer).

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