Escape hatches are phase edges, but not all phase edges are escape hatches

References, data, and more info...

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Main empirical observation

When wh-elements, NPs, and APs move to Spec, DP, there is variation with respect to whether further movement can occur.

- Dutch what-for-constructions (WFCs): wh-movement (1)
- Dutch Split Topicalization (ST): movement of NP (2)
- Malayalam adjective fronting (AdFr): movement of AP (3)



Main theoretical claim

Edges of DPs are sometimes transparent and sometimes opaque.

Proposal

Once a phase merges a specifier, two competing instructions must be followed:

- Sets generated by merge must be Labeled (in order for any set to be selected), and retain Labels even when fully transferred.
- 2. As much of a phase as possible must be **Transferred**; transferred material cannot be used for Labeling.

By default, the grammar prioritizes **Labeling**, so phase edges are opaque. In exceptional cases: prioritize Transfer or no priority.

DP data

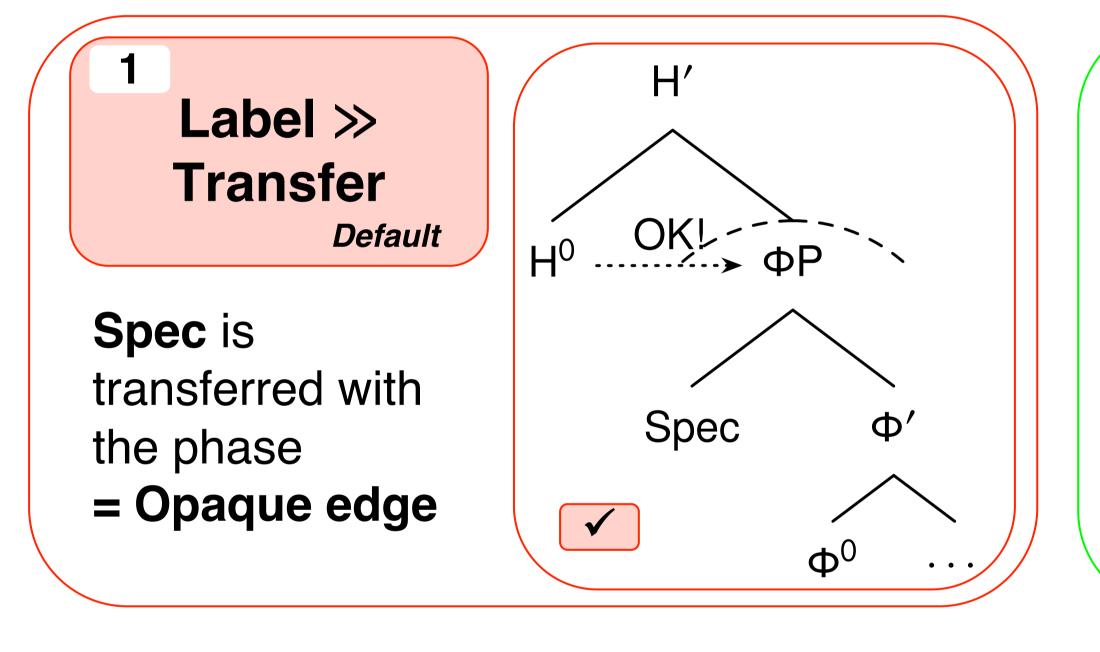
- t_i uitgezocht? wijnen], heeft Emma _{DP} Wat a. voor has E. chosen what wines 'What kind of wines did Emma choose?'
 - $[Wat]_i$ heeft Emma $[DP t_i \ voor \ wijnen]$ uitgezocht? for wines chosen 'What kind of wines did Emma choose?'
- [Boeken van Chomsky], heb ik maar [DP een t_i] gelezen. Chomsky have books read one 'As for books by Chomsky, I have read only one.' Dutch

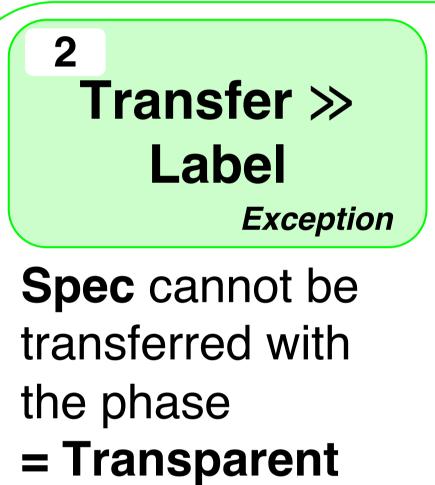


Group B 1a ✓ 1b ✓

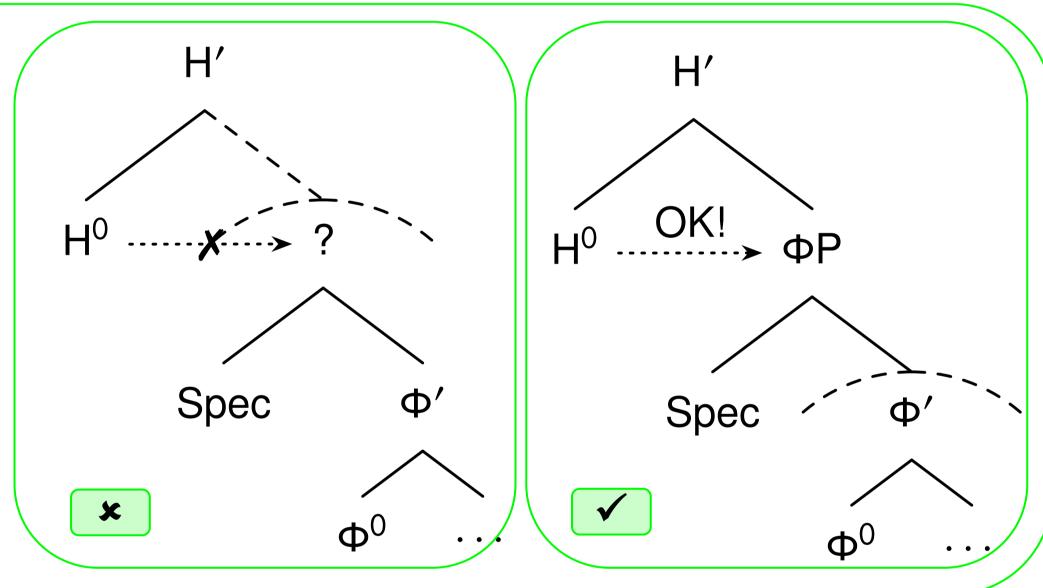
Group C N=56 1a ✓ 1b ✓ 2 ✓

- (3) Rāman [DP bhamgiyuļļai vanni. orŭ a. R. beautiful house bought INDEF 'Raman bought a beautiful house.'
 - *Bhaṃgiyuḷḷa¡ Rāman [DP tiorŭ vanni. t, *vīţŭ*] beautiful R. house bought **INDEF** 'Raman bought a beautiful house.' Malayalam





edge



Label ≈ Transfer Exception

Extension to CPs

Hungarian: *wh*-expletive constructions (WHEs) (4)

- Regular successive cyclic movement (SCM) \rightarrow (4a).
- Movement of wh-elements ends in embedded Spec, $CP \rightarrow (4b)$.
 - No priority of Labeling or Transfer: Spec can avoid Transfer (4a), or not (4b).

Mongolian: embedded subject variants (ESVs) (5)

- Accusative case: Condition B effect (+ optional hyperraising) (5a).
- Nominative case: no such effect (5b).

No priority of Labeling or Transfer: Spec can avoid Transfer (5a), or not (5b).

CP data

- akarod Kivel_i beszéljek t_i hogy a. speak;SBJV;1SG with_whom want;2sg;DEF_OBJ that 'With whom do you want me to talk?'
 - gondolsz, hogy kit Mit látott János what think;2sg that who;acc see;pst;3sg John;nom 'Who do you think that John saw?' Hungarian

(Horvath, 1997, pp. 533, 510)

- [margaash tüün-iig_{*i/i} ir-ne (5) Odgerel_i khel-sen gej] a. tomorrow 3sg-acc come-N.PST COMP say-PST 'Odgerel; said that (s)he; is coming tomorrow.'
 - [margaash ter_{i/i} Odgerel_i khel-sen ir-ne gej tomorrow 3sg-NOM Ο. come-N.PST COMP say-PST 'Odgerel_i said that (s)he_{i/i} is coming tomorrow.' Mongolian

(Fong, 2019, p.13)

Examples of instruction prioritization by phase type

	I abal >> Tuanafau	Transfer >> Label	Label ≈ Transfer (both options generable)	
	Label >> Transfer		Label first	Transfer first
CP phases	Embedded Qs?	Canonical SCM	WHE constructions, nominative ESVs	Non-WHE SCM, accusative ESVs
DP phases	Unsplittable WFCs, AdFr	ST	Optional pied-piped WFCs	Split WFCs
Other phases	Midfield scrambling?	Other SCM	Low topicalization?	High topicalization?



