

Classical Greek proleptic extraction or how to overcome improper movement

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In this talk, working in the frame of Phase Theory, I am going to address Classical Greek cases of long-distance topicalizations like (1) or (2) that are a challenge to the current accounts of extractions out of a finite complement clause, because they involve extractions out of islands, apparent look-ahead movements and improper movements (forming a mixed chain of A and \bar{A} -positions).

- (1) $\acute{\epsilon}dei$ $aut\acute{o}n_i$ $h\acute{o}ti$ $meson$ t_i $\acute{\epsilon}khoi$
he.knew him-ACC that in.the.middle was
'He knew that he (the king) was in the middle.'

(Xen. *Anab.* 1, 8, 21-2)

I show that contrary to appearances every step is a topic position and every movement is motivated by a topic feature so that all these problems are overcome, without resorting to labeling (*à la* Chomsky 2013). Crucially, long-distance DP-topicalization is enabled only when the DP is case-marked by the matrix verb (see the accusative feature on *Hermogénē* in 2a and the structure under 2b).

- (2) a. **Hermogénē_i** ge $m\acute{e}n$ $t\acute{\iota}s$ $h\acute{e}m\acute{o}n$ ouk $o\acute{\iota}den$ t'_i $h\acute{o}s$ $t\acute{o}$ $taut\acute{e}s$ $\acute{e}r\acute{o}ti$ t_i $katat\acute{e}ketai?$
Hermogenes-ACC ptc ptc who among.us not knows how by.its.love melts
'As for Hermogenes, who of us does not know that he is pining away with this love?'

(Xen. *Symp.* 8.3)

- b. [CP2 Hermogénē tís ouk [vP2 t'_i oíden [CPI t'_i hōs tō taútēs érōti [vP1 t_i katatēketai]]]]

Otherwise the DP must stay in the embedded clause's left periphery (see the nominative case on *aretē* and its position in (3)). This suggests that the DP has to go through Spec, vP where it gets case marked (an A position), which provides evidence for a step that, following Phase Theory, would be missing in the derivation otherwise.

- (3) $Eth\acute{e}l\acute{o}$ $z\acute{e}te\acute{\iota}n$ **aretē_i** $h\acute{o}$ t_i $est\acute{\iota}n$.
I.want inquire virtue-NOM what is.
'I want to inquire into the nature of virtue'

(Plato, *Meno*, 81e2)

Crucially, however, Case checking goes along with a discourse feature, which seems to be the condition to overcome improper movement in this situation. This analysis is parallel to what Alboiu and Hill (2016) proposed for Romanian and provides new evidence for van Urk's (2015) idea that the A/ \bar{A} distinction must be rephrased in terms of features.

References

- Alboiu, Gabriela & Virginia Hill. 2016. Evidentiality and Raising to Object as A'-Movement: A Romanian Case Study. *Syntax* 19.256-85.
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