## Tel-Aviv University The School of Philosophy, Linguistics and Science Studies Department of Linguistics

## THURSDAY INTERDISCIPLINARY COLLOQUIUM

Thursday 5.11.2020 16:15-17:45

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Joint work with Stefan Keine (UCLA)

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The traditional view (Chomsky 2000, 2001 and much subsequent work) holds that CPs and (transitive) vPs are phases, at least in the verbal domain. In paper, we present several arguments that document striking locality asymmetries between CPs and vPs, which remain unaccounted for if CPs and vPs are on par as locality domains qua phases. At the same time, the literature has presented a number of strong arguments that vP is a phase alongside CP (e.g., that both may be the landing site of successive-cyclic movement; see Abels 2012, Citko 2014, Georgi 2014, Van Urk 2020a,c, among others).

In this talk, we focus in particular on three such arguments: (a)  $k\acute{e}$ -morphology in Dinka; (b) meN-deletion in Indonesian; and (c)  $k\grave{e}$ -morphology in Defaka. These three arguments have been taken as clear evidence that elements that are extracted out of a vP must pass through [Spec,vP], and hence as evidence for vP phases. We propose a reanalysis of these facts that does not appeal to vP phasehood. We argue that all three case studies indeed involve an intraclausal intermediate landing site, but that this is not always [Spec,vP]. However, we propose that the need for this landing site is not the effect of vP phases. Instead, we adopt the independently motivated idea that C in certain languages may only attract the structurally closest DP (Aldridge 2004, 2008a, Rackowski and Richards 2005, Branan and Erlewine 2020, Coon et al. 2020). This restriction has the important consequence that if any DP other than the structurally highest one is to be A-moved, it must first move to a position above the highest DP (generally the external argument).

Thus, we argue that such movement is not due to vP phasehood but rather due to intervention by a higher DP. This, then, supports a picture in which CPs are phases (hence Spell-Out domains) but vPs are not.

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