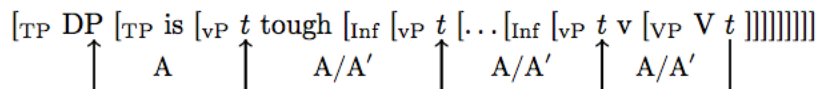


Tough-movement (TM, see (1)) in English has posed a long-standing challenge to key principles in generative syntax including the A-A' dichotomy, Case theory, and others.

- (1) a. It is difficult to analyze TM.
- b. TM is difficult to analyze *t*.

In this talk, I propose a new analysis that attempts to reconcile the idiosyncratic properties of the construction with the wider theoretical paradigm. Building on the recent work of van Urk (2015), I propose that natural language furnishes composite A/A' probes on (a subset of) those heads that bear both  $\phi$ - and A'-features. In English, this identifies *v*, but crucially not C, which bears only A'-features, as a potential host for a composite A/A'-probe (cf. Kayne 1984; Pesetsky 1991; Rezac 2013; a.o.). TM, I argue, involves cyclic composite A/A'-movement through successive Spec(vP)s, terminating in matrix Spec(vP), followed by a step of pure A-movement to matrix Spec(TP).

(2)



One salient consequence of this analysis (and the one on which I devote the remainder of this talk) is that it derives the relative restrictiveness of TM compared to other types of A'-movement, a fact that traditional analyses have never managed to adequately address. Specifically, the inability of C to host composite A/A'-probes, which follows from the bifurcation of  $\phi$ - and A'-features in the English left periphery, combined with the Ban on Improper Movement, entails that movement to Spec(CP) can never be followed by composite movement.

(3) **Ban on improper movement:**

No instance of pure A'-Movement involving constituent XP may be followed by an instance of  $\phi$ -driven movement involving constituent YP reflexively dominated by XP

TM is thus predicted to be incompatible with intervening CP layers, a fact that I show derives the unusually restricted nature of TM without further stipulation. This has consequences for a number of recent discoveries concerning TM, specifically those of Hartman (2011), which I discuss briefly.