

Contents

| | | |
|----------|---|-----------|
| 1 | Introduction | 1 |
| 1. | Movement type asymmetries | 1 |
| 2. | Overview | 12 |
| 2 | Wh-movement at S-structure | 15 |
| 1. | Introduction and overview | 15 |
| 2. | Proper government and subjacency | 18 |
| 2.1. | Conditions on the moved item | 18 |
| 2.2. | Improper movement | 23 |
| 2.3. | Barriers | 25 |
| 3. | Barriers in situ | 30 |
| 3.1. | VP | 30 |
| 3.2. | IP | 31 |
| 3.3. | CP | 38 |
| 3.4. | NP | 40 |
| 3.5. | NP-shells and finite complement clauses | 51 |
| 3.6. | Infinitives | 54 |
| 3.7. | CNPC effects | 56 |
| 3.8. | PP | 60 |
| 3.9. | AP | 68 |
| 4. | Barriers in derived positions | 70 |
| 4.1. | A-movement | 70 |
| 4.2. | Scrambling | 72 |
| 4.3. | Topicalization | 76 |
| 4.4. | Wh-movement | 81 |
| 5. | Adjunct barriers | 84 |
| 5.1. | Finite adjunct clauses | 84 |
| 5.2. | Non-finite adjunct clauses | 87 |
| 6. | Conclusion | 89 |
| 3 | Scrambling | 91 |
| 1. | Introduction and overview | 91 |
| 2. | Basic properties | 95 |
| 2.1. | Optionality | 95 |
| 2.2. | Iterability | 100 |
| 2.3. | The structure of scrambling chains | 101 |
| 3. | Adjunction sites | 102 |
| 3.1. | Adjunction to VP and IP | 102 |
| 3.2. | Adjunction to XP | 112 |
| 4. | Locality | 122 |

| | | |
|----------|---|------------|
| 4.1. | Clause-bound scrambling | 122 |
| 4.2. | Long-distance scrambling | 126 |
| 5. | Operator scrambling | 142 |
| 5.1. | Illicit operator scrambling in German | 142 |
| 5.2. | Operator scrambling in Korean and Japanese | 146 |
| 5.3. | Operator scrambling in Russian | 149 |
| 5.4. | Full Representation | 150 |
| 6. | Categorial selectivity | 153 |
| 7. | Anaphoric binding | 158 |
| 8. | Strong crossover | 163 |
| 9. | Weak crossover | 164 |
| 10. | Parasitic gaps | 172 |
| 11. | Reconstruction | 176 |
| 12. | Conclusion | 179 |
| 4 | Dative movement | 183 |
| 1. | Introduction and overview | 183 |
| 2. | The paradox: movement vs. binding | 186 |
| X 3. | VP-structure | 188 |
| 3.1. | Larson's approach | 188 |
| 3.2. | Arguments against Larson's approach | 190 |
| 3.3. | VP-structure in SOV languages | 195 |
| 3.4. | VP-structure in SVO languages | 198 |
| 4. | Barriers revisited | 200 |
| 4.1. | The islandhood of dative NPs | 200 |
| 4.2. | The role of selection | 204 |
| 4.3. | Incorporation from specifier positions | 206 |
| 5. | Anaphoric binding | 212 |
| 5.1. | Binding of anaphors in German | 212 |
| 5.2. | Parametric variation | 214 |
| 5.3. | Binding of reciprocals | 217 |
| 6. | Pronominal reference | 219 |
| 6.1. | The data | 220 |
| 6.2. | Blocking coreference with an IO pronoun | 222 |
| 7. | Weak crossover | 228 |
| 7.1. | The VP-internal distribution of bound-variable pronouns | 228 |
| 7.2. | Webelhuth's paradox | 231 |
| 8. | A-bar movement | 233 |
| 8.1. | The data | 233 |
| 8.2. | Previous analyses | 235 |
| 8.3. | A PUB account | 237 |
| 9. | Passivization | 239 |
| 9.1. | Passivization in German double object constructions | 240 |

| | | |
|----------|---|------------|
| | 9.2. Passivization in Danish double object constructions . . . | 242 |
| | 9.3. Passivization in Norwegian double object constructions | 243 |
| | 9.4. Passivization in English double object constructions . . . | 244 |
| | 9.5. Passivization in West Flemish double object constructions | 245 |
| X10. | Free datives | 246 |
| | 10.1. The phenomenon | 246 |
| | 10.2. Do free datives originate in an NP? | 248 |
| | 10.3. Free datives originate in Spec μ | 250 |
| 11. | Conclusion | 252 |
| 12. | Appendices | 253 |
| | 12.1. Appendix 1: on VP-shells | 253 |
| | 12.2. Appendix 2: particle distribution | 255 |
| | 12.3. Appendix 3: empty prepositions | 259 |
| | 12.4. Appendix 4: focus projection | 266 |
| 5 | Wh-movement at LF | 269 |
| 1. | Introduction and overview | 269 |
| 2. | Superiority and a constraint on <i>wh</i> -adjuncts in situ | 270 |
| 3. | <i>Wh</i> -in-situ in German | 272 |
| 4. | IP as an LF barrier | 278 |
| | 4.1. IP as an S-structure barrier | 278 |
| | 4.2. Barriers and <i>wh</i> -in-situ in English | 279 |
| | 4.3. Long-distance <i>wh</i> -movement at LF in English | 284 |
| | 4.4. On S-structural adjunct movement | 286 |
| | 4.5. <i>Wh</i> -in-situ in French | 288 |
| 5. | Co-indexing of I and C | 290 |
| | 5.1. Short <i>wh</i> -movement at LF in German | 290 |
| | 5.2. Successive-cyclic long-distance <i>wh</i> -movement at LF in German | 291 |
| | 5.3. Islands for long-distance <i>wh</i> -movement at LF in German | 294 |
| 6. | Adjunction to IP | 299 |
| | 6.1. IP barriers and unambiguous binding | 299 |
| | 6.2. LF movement without traces? | 304 |
| 7. | <i>Wh</i> -in-situ languages | 308 |
| 8. | Multiple <i>wh</i> -movement at S-structure | 314 |
| 9. | Residual issues | 318 |
| | 9.1. LF movement of subjects | 318 |
| | 9.2. Lexical government or Θ -government? | 320 |
| | 9.3. Residual Superiority effects | 323 |
| 10. | Conclusion | 325 |

| | | |
|----------|--|------------|
| 6 | Topicalization | 327 |
| 1. | Introduction and overview | 327 |
| 2. | Topicalization is not adjunction | 330 |
| 2.1. | Iterability | 330 |
| 2.2. | Long-distance movement | 331 |
| 2.3. | Clause-bound movement | 333 |
| 2.4. | Verb raising | 333 |
| 2.5. | Locality | 335 |
| 2.6. | Bridge contexts | 336 |
| 3. | Topicalization is not movement to SpecC | 338 |
| 3.1. | Complementizers | 338 |
| 3.2. | V/2 movement | 339 |
| 3.3. | Long-distance topicalization, topic islands, and <i>wh</i> -islands | 340 |
| 3.4. | Long-distance <i>wh</i> -movement, topic islands, and <i>wh</i> - islands | 342 |
| 4. | Topicalization is movement to SpecT | 343 |
| 4.1. | The proposal | 343 |
| 4.2. | The non-existence of <i>wh</i> -topicalization | 345 |
| 4.3. | Successive-cyclic topicalization | 347 |
| 5. | The Specifier Criterion | 348 |
| 6. | The distribution of embedded topicalization | 351 |
| 7. | C and T in German | 353 |
| 8. | C and T in English | 357 |
| 9. | Topic islands | 361 |
| 10. | <i>Wh</i> -islands | 362 |
| 11. | Infinitives | 365 |
| 12. | Root clauses | 373 |
| 13. | Conclusion | 376 |
| 7 | Conclusion | 381 |
| | Notes | 384 |
| | References | 433 |
| | Index | 468 |