

Linearizing Rightward Movement

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1. Introduction

Rightward movement as outlined in (1) has received much attention since Ross (1967) (see Akmajian 1975, Baltin 1978, Johnson 1985, Rochemont 1978, Rochemont and Culicover 1990, Sabbagh 2007, among many others).

- (1) a. I gave t_1 to Gary [every one of my articles on lazy pronouns]_i. (Johnson 1985:83)
b. A review t_1 came out yesterday [of this article]_i. (Ross 1986:176)
c. I saw a book t_1 yesterday [that everyone has read]_i. (Johnson 1985:83)

The aim of this paper is to offer a new analysis of rightward movement without appealing to rightward adjunction, which is prohibited by Kayne (1994) and Fukui and Takano (1998). Rather it will be proposed that rightward movement involves projection of a moved constituent, which has been argued on independent grounds (see Larson 1998, Donati 2006, and Citko 2006, among others for free relatives, and Bachrach and Kazir 2007 for ACD).

This paper also discusses why rightward movement is more restricted in terms of locality, compared to leftward movement such as *wh*-movement. Rightward movement is clause-bounded, as shown in (2) (see Sabbagh 2007 for a different view).

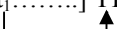
- (2) a. *I have expected [that I would find t_1 to Mary] since 1939 [the treasure said to have been buried on that island]_i. (Postal 1974:93)
b. *It was believed [that Mary bought t_1 for her mother] by everyone [an ornate fourteenth century gold ring.]_i. (Rochemont and Culicover 1990:136)

In (2), the heavy NPs are dislocated across the adjuncts in the matrix clause. Ross (1967) refers to the relevant constraint as the Right Roof Constraint (henceforth, RRC). It will be shown that the RRC is naturally derived under the proposed analysis.

2. Leftward movement approaches to rightward movement

2.1. Heavy NP shift

Traditionally, rightward movement has been analyzed in terms of rightward adjunction, as illustrated in (3).

- (3) [XP [XP .. t_1] YP₁]


However, this traditional approach to rightward movement is challenged by Kayne's (1994) and Fukui and Takano's (1998) mechanisms of linearization, where linear order is determined by hierarchical relation. Under their approaches, only leftward adjunction is permitted and rightward adjunction is

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prohibited (see Kayne 1994 and Fukui and Takano 1998 for more details of their mechanisms of linearization).

Under the theory without rightward adjunction, one of the possibilities is to derive rightward movement by a series of leftward movements. For example, concerning Heavy NP shift, this approach is pursued by Den Dikken (1995) and Kayne (1998), whose original insight is due to Larson's (1988, 1990) predicate raising analysis.¹ The details of their analyses aside, the derivation of rightward movement has two steps of leftward movement, as shown in (4b-c).

- (4) a. John put on the table [the book that he had just bought].
 b. John [the book that he had just bought]₁ put t₁ on the table.
 c. John [put t₁ on the table]₂ [the book that he had just bought]₁ t₂.
-
- Leftward movement of the heavy NP
 Predicate raising

The heavy NP undergoes leftward movement in (4b) and then the remnant predicate moves to some higher position than the heavy NP in (4c). The apparent “rightward movement” of the heavy NP is obtained successfully without recourse to rightward adjunction, but this type of predicate raising approach also fails to expect the RRC. Let us take (2a) as an example. In (2a), the heavy NP *the treasure said to have been buried on that island* crosses the clause boundary. Under the predicate raising approach, nothing prevents (2a) from having the derivation given in (5).

- (5) a. I have expected [that I would find [the treasure..... island] to Mary] since 1939.
 b. I have [the treasure..... island]₁ [_{VP} expected [that I would find t₁ to Mary] since 1939].
 c. I have [_{VP} expected [that I would find t₁ to Mary] since 1939]₂ [the treasure..... island]₁ t₂.
-

First, the heavy NP undergoes leftward movement, crossing the embedded CP in (5b). Then, the matrix predicate phrase undergoes leftward movement. Given that the predicate raising in (5c) takes place in the same way as (4c), it is natural to reduce the ungrammaticality of (2a) to the long distance movement of the heavy NP movement in (5b). A-bar leftward movement such as *wh*-movement is not clause-bounded, however. The predicate raising approach has to postulate some additional locality constraint which prohibits heavy NP movement across the clause-boundary.

¹ Larson (1988) introduces the following optional rule:

- (i) V' Reanalysis rule
 Let α be a phrase [_{V'}.....] whose θ -grid contains one undischarged internal θ -role.
 Then α may be reanalyzed as [_V.....]. (Larson 1988:348)

If the rule above applies to (4a), then *put on the table*, which is V', is reanalyzed as V and then undergoes verb movement, as illustrated in (ii).

- (ii) John [put on the table]₁ [the book that he had just bought] t₁.

If the rule (i) does not apply, only *put* undergoes verb movement, which yields a canonical word order. Larson's predicate raising analysis also correctly expects the RRC effect. Long distance heavy NP shift, exemplified by (2), is simply underivable. Nothing allows a matrix predicate phrase to move, leaving behind a constituent in the embedded clause.

Under Larson's analysis, however, it is not straightforward why extraction is not allowed out of the dislocated phrase. The relevant contrast is given in (iii).

- (iii) a. Who₁ did you buy a beautiful picture of t₁ yesterday?
 b. *Who₁ did you buy yesterday a beautiful picture of t₁? (Rochemont and Culicover 1990:134)

There should be no difference between (iiia) and (iiib), with respect to the syntactic position of *a beautiful picture of*.

Den Dikken (1995) suggests that the first step of leftward movement, that is, leftward heavy NP movement, is a movement to [Spec, AgroP], which reduces the relevant clause-boundedness to that of A-movement.² However, this attempt cannot be extended to the rightward movement of PP, which does not undergo A-movement. As shown in (6), prepositional phrases can also undergo rightward movement.³

(6) I put a stain t_1 yesterday [_{PP} on my favorite antique rolltop desk]₁. (Johnson 1985:84)

2.2. Extraposition

Next, let us turn to the issue of how to derive extraposition without appealing to rightward adjunction. If the strategy of two steps of leftward movement is extended to the extraposition of CP, then (1c) would have the derivation given in (7).

- (7) a. I saw a book [that everyone has read] yesterday.
 b. I [that everyone has read]₁ saw a book t_1 yesterday.
 c. I [saw a book t_1 yesterday]₂ [that everyone has read]₁ t_2 .
-

The availability of the first leftward movement would be suspicious, however. Kayne (1994) notes this point. Relative clauses cannot undergo leftward movement, as shown in (8).

- (8) a. *[That you should know about]₁, something t_1 just happened. (Kayne 1994:119)
 b. *[Who we don't know]₁, someone t_1 just walked into the room. (ibid.)
 c. *[Who I knew]₁, they arrested a man t_1 yesterday. (Wilder 1995:278)

Kayne suggests that an apparently extraposed relative clause is actually stranded as a result of the raising of the head of the relative clause, as illustrated in (9).

(9) Something₁ just happened [_{t₁} that you should know about].

Adopting Vergnaud's (1974) head raising analysis of relative clauses, Kayne argues that *something* moves to [Spec, CP] inside the relative clause, first. Then, it undergoes A-movement to the matrix clause, leaving behind the relative clause.

However, this stranding analysis is also problematic. As Kayne notes, the stranding analysis has the difficulty of dealing with extraposition out of PP such as (10) because *to someone* is not a constituent, obviously.⁴

(10) John is going to talk to **someone** tomorrow [who he has a lot of faith in]. (Kayne 1994:126)

² See also Nishikawa (1990) for a similar view. He also argues that the landing site of rightward movement is [Spec, AgoP], which is on the right hand side.

³ Lasnik (1999) argues that a remnant A-moves out of an ellipsis site to [Spec, AgroP] in Pseudogapping. Based on the fact that a prepositional phrase can be also a remnant of Pseudogapping, he suggests that a prepositional phrase can also move to [Spec, AgroP] as well as a DP object. If Lasnik is correct, then (6) would cease to be problematic for Den Dikken's analysis.

⁴ Kayne (1994) sketches the following derivation for (10):

- (i) a.talk tomorrow [_{PP} to [_{DP} D someone₁ who he has a lot of faith in t_1]]
 b.talk tomorrow [_{PP} someone₁ [_{PP} to [_{DP} D t_1 who he has a lot of faith in t_1]]]
 c.talk tomorrow [_{PP} [_{QP} to₂ someone₁] [_{PP} t_2 [_{DP} D t_1 who he has a lot of faith in t_1]]]
 d.talk [_{QP} to₂ someone₁]₃ tomorrow [_{PP} t_3 [_{PP} t_2 [_{DP} D t_1 who he has a lot of faith in t_1]]]

First, *someone* moves to [Spec, CP] inside the relative clause in (ia) and *someone* moves to [Spec, PP] in (ib). Then, *to* left-adjoins to *someone* in (ic). The last step is movement of *to someone* across *tomorrow*.

Furthermore, as pointed out by Wilder (1995), the stranding analysis cannot be extended to extraposition of the noun complement such as (11a)

- (11) a. The claim was made [that Mary will hire Peter].
 b. [_{DP} the [_{NP} claim CP]]

Under the stranding analysis, *the claim* is supposed to move, stranding its complement CP. However, as shown in (11b), it is generally assumed that CP is a sister of the head of the noun phrase and thus *the* and *claim* do not make a constituent. The stranding analysis has no way other than to move a non-constituent, which is generally prohibited.

To sum up, the leftward movement approaches to rightward movement have been reviewed, which do not employ rightward adjunction. They have empirical problems to be solved, however. In the next section, an alternative analysis will be provided.

3. Proposals

3.1. Projecting Focus phrase after Movement

In this section, a new analysis of rightward movement will be proposed. This analysis has three ingredients. The first one is (12).

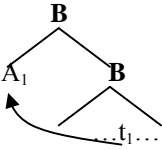
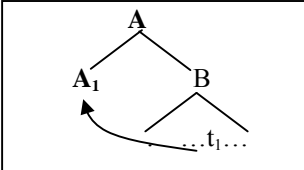
- (12) A constituent which undergoes rightward dislocation is headed by a functional head Focus (henceforth, Foc), which has no phonetic content.

For example, the dislocated constituent in (1a) *every one of my articles on lazy pronouns* is selected by Foc, as illustrated in (13). What is actually dislocated is the entire FocP.

- (13) [_{FocP} Foc [_{DP} every one of my articles on lazy pronouns]]

Secondly, it is assumed that the edge of vP is a target of movement, following Chomsky (2000) and Fox (2000), among others.

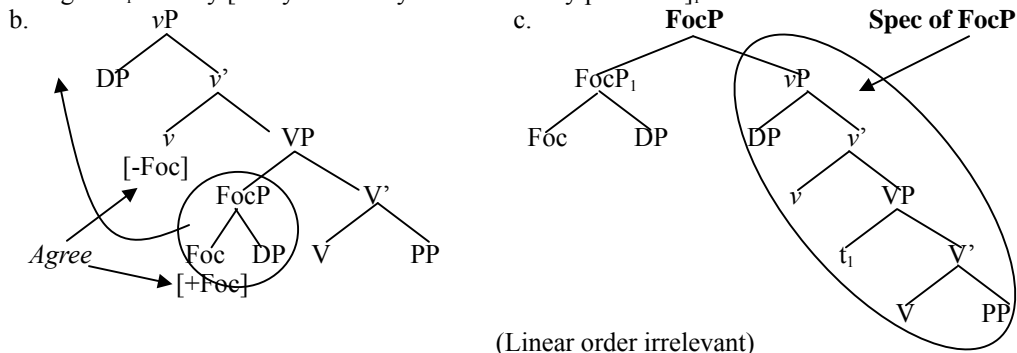
Third, crucially, a moved phrase can project, which is originally proposed for free relatives by Larson (1998), Donati (2006), and Citko (2006), among others. Regularly, when a constituent undergoes movement, it does not project, as illustrated in (14a). For example, in the case of subject raising, T projects, not the moved subject. Similarly, when *wh*-movement takes place, C projects.

- (14) a.  b. 

In contrast to regular leftward movement, it is proposed that rightward movement involves projection of a moved phrase, which is schematically illustrated in (14b).

Given these, it will be shown how rightward movement is derived. Let us take (1a), repeated as (15a), as an example. The derivation is given in (15b-c).

(15) a. I gave t_1 to Gary [every one of my articles on lazy pronouns]₁.



It is assumed that v has an uninterpretable feature, which is referred to as [-Foc] in this paper. This feature undergoes Agree with [+Foc] feature of FocP. Then, FocP moves to the edge of vP . Crucially, the moved FocP projects, as illustrated in (15c), where vP occupies a specifier position of FocP. Given that specifiers precede complements as universal word order (Kayne 1994 and Fukui and Takano 1998), vP precedes the dislocated object at PF, which is a complement of FocP. The apparent rightward movement effect is obtained successfully.⁵ Then, the derivation proceeds. After the movement of FocP takes place, T is merged with FocP and then the subject moves to [Spec, TP].

The next question is what mechanism forces a moved FocP to project. (16) is proposed.

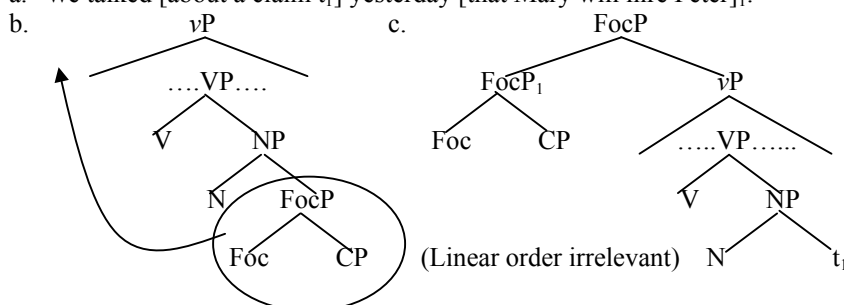
(16) a. A goal can have the EPP-feature as well as a probe.

b. Internal Merge (movement) is induced by the EPP-feature of either a probe or a goal.

Given that specifiers are created by the EPP-feature, then it is natural that a moved phrase can create a specifier by projecting itself, if it has the EPP-feature. Under the proposed analysis, rightward movement is characterized as movement of a constituent which has the EPP-feature. On the other hand, when a probe has the EPP-feature, movement is leftward. That is, the directionality of movement comes from the locus of the EPP-feature. This view of movement is consistent with the hypothesis that linear order is part of the phonological component (Chomsky 1995).

The proposed analysis can be extended to extraposition. For example, CP-extraposition such as (17a) involves the derivation given in (17b) and (17c).

(17) a. We talked [about a claim t_1] yesterday [that Mary will hire Peter]₁.



CP is base-generated as a sister of Foc in (17b). Then, FocP moves to the edge of vP and is merged with vP . Crucially, FocP projects in a similar way to heavy NP shift. The structure given in (17c) yields the linear order where vP precedes CP at PF, because the former is in the specifier of FocP. Recall from the

⁵ The proposed analysis faces a non-trivial issue concerning Copy deletion. Nunes (2001) argues that c-command relation plays a crucial role for copy deletion at PF. On the assumption that c-command is restricted to categories and thus segments cannot c-command (Kayne 1994:16), however, the moved FocP in (15b) fails to c-command its lower copy, which prevents the latter from being deleted at PF. I leave this issue for future research. I thank Asaf Bachrach for bringing my attention to this issue.

discussion in section 2 that Kayne (1994) has the difficulty of deriving the grammaticality of (17a). Under his theory, *the claim*, is supposed to undergo movement in a leftward way, leaving the *that*-clause behind, but *the* and *claim* do not make a constituent. In contrast, the proposed analysis does not face such a constituency problem at all. Furthermore, nothing under the proposed analysis prohibits extraposition out of PP, which is also problematic for Kayne's head raising analysis.

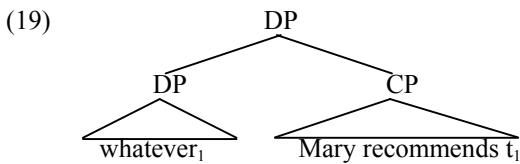
To sum up, it has been proposed that rightward movement involves projection of a moved constituent, which is due to the EPP-feature of it. It moves to the edge of ν P and projects up. ν P precedes the moved constituent at PF because the former ends up being in [Spec, FocP]. Theoretically importantly, the proposed analysis derives "rightward movement effects" without appealing to rightward adjunction, which is prohibited by Kayne (1994) and Fukui and Takano (1998).

3.2. On projecting DP after movement

Projecting a moved constituent is originally argued, based on free relatives such as (18), by Larson (1998), Donati (2006), and Citko (2006), among others (see also Bachrach and Katzir 2007 for extending the idea to ACD).

(18) John reads whatever book Mary recommends.

Under this type of analysis, the head of a free relative clause moves and then projects, as illustrated in (19).



However, the proposed analysis is incompatible with their analysis. It is expected that *Mary recommends* should precede *whatever*, because CP adjoins to DP, based on the structure given in (19). The correct linear order cannot be obtained. It is suggested that free relatives should not involve projecting a moved constituent. The proposed analysis is compatible with a head raising analysis of Chinese relative clauses, as argued by Aoun and Li (2003).

In Chinese, the head of a relative clause follows the relative clause, as shown in (20a). Adopting Vergnaud's (1974) head raising analysis, Aoun and Li argue that (20a) involves the derivation given in (20b), where the head of the relative clause raises and is merged with CP. Then, the raised head, *shuo* 'book' projects.

- (20) a. [ta kan de] shuo
 he read DE book
 'the book he read'
 b. [_{DP} [_{CP} ta kan t₁ de] shuo₁]

Aoun and Li argue that the reconstruction effect observed in (21b) is readily captured by the head raising analysis.

- (21) a. wo jiao zhangsan quan mei-ge-ren kai ziji de chezi lai.
 I ask Zhangsan persuade every-CL-person drive self DE car come
 'I asked Zhangsan to persuade everyone to drive self's car over.'
 b. [wo jiao zhangsan quan mei-ge-ren kai t₁ lai de] [_{ziji} de chezi]₁.
 I ask Zhangsan persuade every-CL-person drive come DE self DE car
 'self's car that I asked Zhangsan to persuade everyone to drive over' (Aoun and Li 2003:132)

In (21b), the head of the relative clause includes *ziji*, which is supposed to be bound by its antecedent in

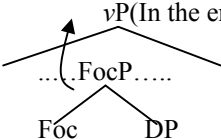
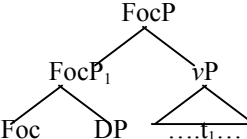
the relative clause. The grammaticality of (21b) shows that reconstruction of the head of the relative clause takes place, which is directly expected under the head raising analysis.

4. Deriving the Right Roof Constraint

In this section, it will be shown how the proposed analysis derives the RRC. The relevant example is repeated as (22).

- (22) *I have expected [that I would find t_1 to Mary] since 1939 [the treasure said to have been buried on that island]₁. (Postal 1974:93)

The heavy NP undergoes movement to the edge of vP in the embedded clause and FocP projects, as schematically illustrated in (23). If the heavy NP could undergo further movement in a similar way to *wh*-movement, then rightward movement should not be clause-bounded. (22) should be grammatical, contrary to fact.

- (23) a.  b. 

It is argued that the lower FocP in (23b) cannot undergo movement, which is due to the ban on movement of intermediate projections. Recently Hornstein (2005) derives the immovability of an intermediate projection from the A-over-A principle (Chomsky 1964). It is important to mention that only DP cannot undergo movement, leaving behind Foc, because it is plausible to assume that the locus of the feature relevant to Focus movement is on the head of FocP.⁶

It is expected that nothing prevents the higher FocP in (23b) from undergoing movement. The

⁶ Rightward movement in Turkish does not seem to obey the RRC, as observed in (i).

- (i) Ayşe [Ahmet'in t_1 konuştuğu]nu biliyor öğrencilerle.
Ayşe-Nom Ahmet-Gen speak-Past-Acc know-pres-3sg students-with
'Ayşe knows that Ahmet spoke with the students.' (Kural 1997:501)

It is speculated that the availability of long distance rightward movement in Turkish hinges on that of long distance scrambling such as (ii) in the language.

- (ii) Kimse₁ Ahmet [t_1 uyumadığı]ni biliyor.
No-one-Gen Ahmet speak-Neg-Past-3sg-Acc know-Pres-3sg
'Ahmet knows no body slept.' (Kural 1997:503)

(i) has the derivation given in (iii), where *öğrencilerle* is scrambled across the clause boundary first, as shown in (iiia). It is assumed that the landing site of scrambling in Turkish is the edge of TP. Given that uninterpretable focus features can be given to C as well as v , the matrix C induces Agree with *öğrencilerle*. The latter is merged with the matrix CP and projects in a similar way to English rightward movement, as illustrated in (iiib).

- (iii) a. [_{TP} [_{FocP} Foc öğrencilerle]₁ Ayşe [Ahmet'in t_1 konuştuğu]nu biliyor].
b. [_{FocP} [_{FocP} Foc öğrencilerle]₁ [_{CP} C_[-Foc] [_{TP} t_1 Ayşe [Ahmet'in t_1 konuştuğu]nu biliyor]]].

At PF, the matrix CP precedes *öğrencilerle*, because the former is a specifier of FocP. An important question is why the scrambled phrase does not project on the way to the matrix clause. Nothing prevents it from stopping at the edge of vP and projects, on the assumption that scrambling takes place in a successive cyclic fashion. One of the possibilities is that scrambling is not a syntactic movement but rather involves base-generation at the surface position, as argued by Bošković and Takahashi (1998), among others. Under this possibility, *öğrencilerle* is base-generated in the matrix clause and undergoes Focus movement. The speculation here is not compatible with the view that long distance scrambling involves some sort of post-syntactic operations at PF, proposed by Ueyama (2002) and Fukui and Kasai (2004). Further investigation, including empirical properties of rightward movement in Turkish, is needed but this will be left for future research.

higher FocP, that is, ν P and the rightward dislocated phrase are expected to be moved. This expectation is borne out by (24).

- (24) Everyone said that John would give to Mary all of the money that he won at the track, and [give t_1 to Mary [all of the money that he won at the track]]₁ he did t_2 .
(Rochemont and Culicover 1990:119)

In (24), the preposed predicate phrase includes *all of the money that he won at the track*, which undergoes rightward dislocation. The proposed analysis has another prediction that nothing prevents movement of only ν P, which is in [Spec, FocP]. This prediction is confirmed by Rochemont and Culicover's (1990) observation, which is given in (25).

- (25) ?Everyone said that John would give to Mary something very valuable to him, and [ν P give t_1 to Mary]₂ he did t_2 [all of the money that he won at the TRACK]₁. (ibid.:120)

Rochemont and Culicover (1990) observe that the example is grammatical, although it is a little degraded. It is possible to prepose the predicate phrase, leaving behind the rightward dislocated phrase.

To sum up, it has been argued that the RRC, which has been a long-standing problem, is reducible to the ban on movement of an intermediate projection, which would be reducible to the A-over-A principle ultimately (Hornstein 2005).

5. On the ban on P-stranding

It has been well-known that Heavy NP shift does not allow P-stranding, which has been also a long-standing puzzle in the literature. The relevant example is given in (26).

- (26) *I can't talk [about t_1] to my father-in-law [the terrible dreams I've been having]₁.
(Riemsdijk 1978:142)

If the proposed analysis is correct, (26) partially involves a structure given in (27) before movement.

- (27)[_{PP} about [_{FocP} Foc [_{DP} the terrible dreams I've been having]]]

It is speculated that the ill-formedness of (26) is due to the selectional relation between P and FocP. At this point, there is no explanation for why P cannot select Foc and a deeper explanation is needed in the future, but before concluding the paper, it will be demonstrated that some focus particles in Japanese behave in a similar way to Foc, which is involved in rightward movement, with respect to this point. *Sika* and *mo* are such particles. The relevant examples are given in (28) and (29).⁷

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(28) a. [_{FocP} [_{PP} Taro nituite] sika]
 Taro about only
 b. *[[_{PP} [_{FocP} Taro sika] nituite]
 Taro only about</p> | <p>(29) a. [_{FocP} [_{PP} Taro nituite] mo]
 Taro about also
 b. *[[_{PP} [_{FocP} Taro mo] nituite]
 Taro also about</p> |
|---|---|

6. Conclusion

In this paper, a new analysis of rightward movement has been offered. Rightward movement involves projection of a moved FocP. There are two theoretical advantages with the proposed analysis. One is to obtain "rightward movement" effects without appealing to rightward adjunction, which is prohibited by Kayne (1994) and Fukui and Takano (1998). The other is to reduce the RRC to the

⁷ Note that either order is available to *dake* 'only'.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(i) a. Taro dake nituite
 Taro only about</p> | <p>b. Taro nituite dake
 Taro about only</p> |
|---|---|

immovability of an intermediate projection, which Hornstein (2005) argues is derivable from the A-over-A principle.

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