

- O'NEILL, PAUL. 2013a. The morpheme and morphosyntactic/semantic features. *The boundaries of pure morphology: Diachronic and synchronic perspectives*, ed. by Silvio Cruschina, Martin Maiden, and John Charles Smith, 221–46. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- O'NEILL, PAUL. 2013b. The notion of the morpheme. *Morphological autonomy: Perspectives from Romance inflectional morphology*, by Maria Goldbach, Martin Maiden, and John Charles Smith, 70–94. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- STEWART, TOM, and GREGORY STUMP. 2007. Paradigm function morphology and the morphology/syntax interface. *The Oxford handbook of linguistic interfaces*, ed. by Gillian Ramchand and Charles Reiss, 383–421. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- STUMP, GREGORY. 2002. Morphological and syntactic paradigms: Arguments for a theory of paradigm linkage. *Yearbook of Morphology* 2001.147–80.
- STUMP, GREGORY. 2006. Heteroclis and paradigm linkage. *Language* 82.279–322.

Department of English
University of Kentucky
1215 Patterson Office Tower
Lexington, KY 40506-0027
[gstump@uky.edu]

Rightward movement in a comparative perspective. Ed. by GERT WEBELHUTH, MANFRED SAILER, and HEIKE WALKER. (Linguistik aktuell/Linguistics today 200.) Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2013. Pp. viii, 476. ISBN 9789027255839. \$158 (Hb).

Reviewed by MICHAEL S. ROCHEMONT, *University of British Columbia*

Rightward movement in a comparative perspective is a useful and wide-ranging collection of papers on constructions that patently display rightward movement, though one of the major issues that arises in discussion of such cases, and no less so in this book, is whether they involve 'movement' at all. Indeed, when syntacticians speak of rightward movement they speak metaphorically, since even syntacticians who believe in literal movement do not believe that all nonadjacent dependent relations from the right must involve movement. In fact, at least some rightward movement configurations are generally agreed not to involve movement of a dislocated and rightward-positioned dependent phrase at all (e.g. English relative clause extraposition).

It is fitting that this title appears in John Benjamins's 'Linguistik aktuell/Linguistics today' series, following on from *Rightward movement* (Beerermann, LeBlanc, & van Riemsdijk 1997). The present volume's perspective is comparative in several ways: theoretical (different frameworks), empirical (different types of data: corpus-based, experimental, reported grammaticality judgments), and crosslinguistic (different languages and language families). In addition, the chapters overall compare different motivational sources for rightward movement (processing/parsing, syntax, prosodic phonology, or some combination thereof). The book is enhanced by a comprehensive and compelling introduction by the editors that makes a contribution to the study of rightward movement configurations in its own right. This introduction gives an overview of the analytical challenges that characterize rightward movement configurations in general and relative clause extraposition in particular, and critically surveys existing proposals, including those to be found in the papers that follow in the book. Among the descriptive and explanatory issues that arise are: (i) construal (how does the rightward-positioned dependent constituent recover those aspects of its interpretation that are dependent on a leftward-situated nonadjacent position or host?); (ii) locality/boundedness (what is the source of the varying boundedness effects that govern the relation between the rightward-positioned dependent phrase and its dependent host position, and why do these differ across constructions?); (iii) whether a uniform account of (subsets of) rightward movement configurations is at all possible; (iv) why it is just the constructions so

labeled that appear to involve a specifically rightward dependency relation; (v) why rightward-oriented dependency relations are mandatory in some cases and optional in others (e.g. relative clause extraposition is generally optional, whereas comparative and result clause extraposition or German verbal-complement finite clause extraposition is not); and (vi) what the division of labor is between processing, prosody, and syntax in providing for the specific properties of and motivations for rightward movement configurations of different types. The chapters in this book, including the introduction, together address all of these questions in one form or another, bringing new evidence and perspectives to bear on the issues from comparative, analytical, and psycholinguistic domains of investigation. The editors have conveniently organized the contributions into four sections: empirical, minimalist, other theoretical, and prosodic perspectives. Let us review each in turn.

Part 1, 'Empirical perspective', begins with two papers exploring the interaction of parsing/processing effects with syntactic constraints, indicating gradient effects of the latter that are arguably due to considerations of the former. 'Constraints on intra- and extraposition', by MARKUS BADER, JANA HÄUSLER, and TANJA SCHMID, presents a study of the acceptability of extraposition of infinitival complements, of modal and of control verbs, to the German *Nachfeld*: modal verbs demand extraposition of an infinitival complement, while control verbs allow more variability, often easily permitting 'intraposition'. After careful study of the theoretical literature, and noting the relevance of verb-cluster formation in particular, the authors investigate the issues using both corpus studies and grammaticality-judgment experiments. While modal verbs participate in verb-cluster formation whenever possible, control verbs vary in the ease with which they participate in this operation and are therefore more susceptible to the weight considerations that are often associated with parsing-motivated ordering effects. The authors do show that verb-cluster formation is itself prone to weight effects in regard to the amount of nonverbal material that is permitted within a verb cluster. These gradient effects are seen to arise through the varying tensions between grammatical and processing constraints. 'Subclausal locality constraints on relative clause extraposition', by JAN STRUNK and NEAL SNIDER, similarly explores the tension between syntactic and processing considerations, with corpus and experimental evidence on relative clause extraposition from German and English. In support of reports in the theoretical literature, they find that there is little evidence for a categorical subclausal constraint on extraposition such as subjacency (or some later formulations), particularly with respect to extraposition out of a DP embedded within another DP, in both English and in German. They propose instead that syntactic locality is noncategorical in nature and is but one of a set of noncategorical constraints, the others based on weight and length interference effects, interacting probabilistically. Finally, in 'Constraints on relative clause extraposition', HEIKE WALKER conducts an experimental investigation of grammaticality judgments on the claimed definiteness and predicate restrictions on relative clause extraposition in English. Despite conflicting judgments in the literature, she finds that the experimental evidence corroborates the existence of these restrictions, as well as their sensitivity to the grammatical function of the host of the extraposed relative.

There are four chapters in Part 2, 'The minimalist perspective'. BALKIZ ÖZTÜRK's 'Rightward movement, EPP, and specifiers' examines rightward dependency configurations in two SOV languages, Khalka (Mongolian) and Uyguhr (Turkic). On the surface, both languages seem to freely allow rightward repositioning of noun phrases, even cross-clausally, but Öztürk shows that more careful study reveals significant differences in the properties of these configurations in the two languages. It appears that Uyguhr genuinely allows rightward repositioning that is completely parallel to leftward movement in the language, whereas Khalka repositioning does not seem to involve movement at all, but rather conjunction of two independent clauses, with subdeletion within the second one. His analysis draws a correlation between EPP (extended projection principle) effects and rightward movement, which he defends with data from other SOV languages, including Japanese, Turkish, and three other Turkic languages. The second chapter, 'Neglected cases of rightward movement' by CARLO GERACI and CARLO CECCHETTO, studies rightward movement of WH-phrases and negative quantifiers primarily in three distinct sign languages: American (ASL), Italian (LIS), and Indo-Pakistani (IPSL). Their ultimate analysis proposes grammar-internal differ-

ences to account for the variation among the languages with respect to the specific properties of rightward movement, in interaction with processing considerations that are sensitive to the grammatical operations that each language allows. The relative freedom of rightward movement in, for example, WH-questions in sign languages in contrast to spoken languages is argued by the authors to be due to the differing modalities in question: visual-gestural vs. oral-auditory.

The third chapter in this section, CRISTIANO CHESI'S 'Rightward movement from a different perspective', consults data from English, Dutch, and Italian in analyzing variation in clause-boundedness in two rightward movement configurations, extraposition and heavy NP shift, also addressing the definiteness and adjunct/argument contrasts in extraposition. Chesi employs a left-to-right, top-down minimalist grammar that uses a phase-based memory buffer to handle A-bar dependencies. He shows that such a system is capable of expressing the required generalizations and improves on earlier accounts in its specific analysis of quantifier raising particularly, at least to the extent that this operation is relevant for extraposition. Independently motivated components of the grammatical architecture he proposes provide for the specific empirical properties discussed, properly distinguishing the relevant properties of leftward and rightward movement. The final chapter in this section is 'Cumulative rightward processes', by MARLIES KLUCK and MARK DE VRIES, which explores the interaction between extraposition and right-node raising, with novel data primarily from Dutch and supporting data from English and German. Surprisingly, they show that these two operations can feed one another. They also argue that the properties of the constructions that result are predicted from their proposed theoretical analyses of the operations in isolation, neither of which they claim involves literal rightward movement. For right-node raising they propose a multidominance approach, and for relative clause extraposition they argue for a 'specifying coordination plus ellipsis' analysis. Interestingly, neither the authors nor the editors observe that their proposal might provide a solution to the most vexing problem facing all analyses of relative clause extraposition (as emphasized by the editors in their introduction), namely extraposed relative clauses with split antecedents (e.g. *A man went out and a woman came in who were similar*).

Part 3, 'Other theoretical perspectives', has two chapters. ELENI GREGORMICHELAKI'S 'A dynamic perspective on left-right asymmetries: CLLD and clitic doubling in Greek' uses the parsing-based framework of dynamic syntax, an approach that incrementally builds a semantic representation from a string of words with no separate syntactic representation. She argues that her approach allows for a uniform account of the occurrence of clitics that double a DP in Greek, whether from the left (clitic left dislocation, CLLD) or from the right (clitic doubling), despite structural and interpretational asymmetries in the two constructions. These asymmetries are seen as epiphenomenal once the timing of the operations introducing the clitic pronouns and doubled DPs is considered, without the need for arbitrary syntactic constraints and features. 'On the locality of complement clause and relative clause extraposition', by BERTHOLD CRYSMANN, examines a contrast in locality restrictions on complement vs. relative clause extraposition from complex noun phrases in German. His proposal builds on earlier head-driven phrase structure grammar (HPSG) analyses of extraposition, making use of a single nonlocal percolated feature, which may percolate either full local values or restricted indexical information, to model rightward displacement in the analysis of both complement and relative clause extraposition. The differences between the two constructions are a function of the need for extraposed complement clauses to access full local values under percolation in contrast to the need for only percolated indices for the interpretation of extraposed relatives.

The two chapters in Part 4, on the 'Prosodic perspective', propose prosodic accounts for the properties of specific extraposition constructions. EDWARD GÖBBEL'S chapter, 'Extraposition of light and de-focused PPs in English', advances the view that (certain types of) PP extraposition in English result from the operation of phonological and not syntactic constraints, and he provides an optimality-theoretic analysis of the data and of the optionality and the restrictions that his discussion uncovers. In this view, PP extraposition is a process that adjusts PF (phonetic form) representations to satisfy prosodic phonological constraints stated over the syntax-phonology interface. Constraints are either strictly or freely ranked, which provides the needed flexibility to capture op-

tionality when it arises. Finally, in 'Prosodic constraints on extraposition in German', KATHARINA HARTMANN argues for a prosodic trigger to capture the behavior of extraposed clausal complements to verbs in German. VP-internal clausal objects are forced rightward in German in order to derive a structure that optimally satisfies the interface constraints on syntax-prosody mapping. The rightward positioning of these clauses more readily accommodates the prosodification of VP-final material (specifically the verb) that remains otherwise unparsed by the mapping. Hartmann argues that extraposition is a syntactic operation that relies on both syntactic and prosodic conditions: it is a last-resort syntactic strategy to repair a nonoptimal syntax-prosody mapping. (Other possible responses include topicalization or scrambling of the object clause.)

The chapters in this volume expand our understanding of rightward movement in a variety of ways, in terms of the motivation for such operations (whether derived by literal movement or not), the specific properties they exhibit, and the range of variation they display across languages. In so doing this volume makes a significant contribution to the study of rightward movement configurations in all respects.

REFERENCE

BEERMANN, DOROTHEE; DAVID LEBLANC; and HENK VAN RIEMSDIJK (eds.) 1997. *Rightward movement*. (Linguistik aktuell/Linguistics today 17.) Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

[michael.rochemont@ubc.ca]