

## Sideward Movement: Triggers, Timing, and Output

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Within DS-based models such as GB, sideward movement (i.e. movement from a syntactic tree K to another syntactic tree L independent from K) is not a theoretical possibility, for all syntactic computations operate with a single root tree – the one made available by DS. However, this picture becomes completely different within minimalism. Once DS is abandoned and Move is reinterpreted as the output of the interaction between the more basic operations Copy and Merge, sideward movement arises as a natural consequence of the computational system. Metaphors aside, sideward movement is *not* a novel operation or a new species of movement. It is just a description of a specific interaction between the more basic operations Copy and Merge, as illustrated in (1). Several authors have argued that the steps outlined in (1) actually underlie the derivation of several types of constructions (for a sample, see Nunes 1995, 2001, 2004, Bobaljik 1995, Bolbaljik and Brown, Nunes and Uriagereka 2000, Hornstein 2001, Hornstein and Nunes 2002).

(1) a. *Applications of Select, Merge, and Copy:*

K = [ ...  $\alpha$  ... ]

L = [ ... ]

b. *Copying of  $\alpha$ :*

K = [ ...  $\alpha$  ... ]

L = [ ... ]

M =  $\alpha$

c. *Merger of  $\alpha$  and L:*

K = [ ...  $\alpha$  ... ]

N = [ $\alpha$  [L ... ]]

In this presentation, I will discuss the specific implementation of sideward movement proposed in Nunes (2004), exploring some extensions and refinements. I will first discuss adjunct control constructions, which have been analyzed in terms of sideward movement by Hornstein (2001). I will specifically focus on adjunct control involving wh-phrases in Portuguese, which is distinct in that interpretation of the adjunct subject is subject- or object-oriented depending on whether wh-*in situ* or wh-movement is involved (cf. (2)). I will argue that these constructions shed light on specific triggers and the relevant timing for sideward movement to apply.

(2) *Portuguese:*

a. O João<sub>k</sub> cumprimentou a Maria<sub>i</sub> depois de *ec*<sub>k/\*i</sub> entrar na sala  
the João greeted the Maria after of enter in-the room  
'João greeted Maria after entering the room.'

b. O João<sub>k</sub> cumprimentou quem<sub>i</sub> depois de *ec*<sub>k/\*i</sub> entrar na sala?  
the João greeted who after of enter in-the room

c. Quem<sub>i</sub> o João<sub>k</sub> cumprimentou t<sub>i</sub> depois de *ec*<sub>k/i</sub> entrar na sala?  
who the João greeted after of enter in-the room  
'Who did João greet after entering the room?'

The second topic of the presentation will focus on different PF outputs found in derivations involving sideward movement. More specifically, I will discuss cases where

a lower copy is phonetically realized (cf. (3)), cases where more than one copy is phonetically realized (cf. (4)), and cases where sideward movement is argued to take place in the morphological component (cf. (5)).

- (3) *Romanian* (Bošković 2002)  
Ce precede **ce** fără să influențeze? (Romanian)  
what precedes what without subj.particle influence.3p.sg  
'What precedes what without influencing?'
- (4) a. *Telugu* (Haddad 2007)  
[[**Kumar** sinima cuus-tuu] [**Kumar** popkorn tinnaa-Du]]  
*Kumar.NOM movie watch-CNP Kumar.NOM popcorn ate-3-M.S*  
'While watching a movie, Kumar ate popcorn.'  
b. *Assamese* (Haddad 2007)  
[[**Ram-Or** khong uth-i] [**Ram-e** mor ghorto bhangil-e]]  
*Ram-GEN anger raise-CNP Ram-NOM my house destroyed-3*  
'Having got angry, Ram destroyed my house.'
- (5) *Brazilian Portuguese* (Ximenes 2002, Nunes and Ximenes 2008)  
Ela não pensou **no** João e **na** Maria viajarem.  
*she not thought in-the João and in-the Maria travel-INF-3PL*  
'She didn't think about João and Maria traveling.'