

Head Movement in Overt Syntax: Its Interaction with Object Shift and PF Requirements

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Abstract

This paper reconsiders Chomsky's (1995, 2001) and Boeckx and Stjepanović's (2001) claim that head movement is a purely PF phenomenon, discussing whether V-raising to T may be applicable in overt syntax. On the basis of the data of Japanese and Korean Exceptional Case-marking (ECM), it is shown that V-raising to T may in principle be applicable in overt syntax. However, it is also shown that V-raising to T is disallowed if the complementizer is null and does not satisfy Bošković and Lasnik's (2003) condition that it must be adjacent to V in PF. The conclusion based on these observations is that the applicability of head movement in overt syntax crucially relies on the satisfaction of PF-requirements. This conclusion lends support for the CP analysis of ECM in English as well as Japanese and Korean.