An argument that Merge and Move are intermixed

"Reconstruction effects": Either --
> **(i) BT applies to an element before it moves; or**
> **(ii) BT applies to the copy left behind by movement.**

(1) **BT(C) reconstruction effects for complements of N inside *wh*-phrases**
> a. *[Which picture of John$_i$] does he$_i$ think we like __ best?
>
> b. *[Which claim [$_{complement}$ that John$_i$ is a fool]] did he$_i$ resent __ most?

(2) **Absence of reconstruction effects for modifiers/adjuncts of N' inside *wh*-phrases**
> a. [Which picture near John$_i$] does he$_i$ think we like __ best?
>
> b. [Which claim [$_{rel. clause}$ that John$_i$ overheard __]] did he$_i$ resent __ most?
>
> c. [Which book [$_{rel. clause}$ that John$_i$ bought __]] did he$_i$ like __ best?

Account of the goodness of (2a-c):
> Step 1: construct *which picture/claim/book* and merge with V.
> Step 2: build the rest of the CP and do *wh*-movement of *which picture/claim/book*.
> Step 3: now Merge the modifier/adjunct to the *wh*-moved DP. Note that the modifier/adjunct
> never appears in a position c-commanded by *he*!

Account of the badness of (2a-c):
> Subcategorization properties must be satisfied immediately in the course of tree-building.
> Merge of the complement of *picture/claim* cannot be delayed until after *wh*-movement

Can you do overt Merge of an adjunct after covert movement?

(3) **Extraposition**
> a. We liked the pictures a lot near John's side of the table.
> b. Mary likes the book a lot that John bought.

Analysis: Covertly move the object up and to the right, then merge the adjunct!
It looks like the adjunct moved on its own!

But:
> Prediction — the phrase modified by the adjunct will have wide scope, because it
> covertly moved.

(4)   a. Mary wants to visit a city near Paris.
> [ambig: a particular city [wide scope] or any one will do [narrow scope]

> b. Mary wants to visit a city very badly near Paris.
> [reading? _____]

(5)   a. Mary needs a book that describes Canada.
> [ambig]

> b. Mary needed a book today that describes Canada.
> [reading? _____]