School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies

Linguistic travels in time and space: Festschrift for Liz Pearce

Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics
Volume 23, 2017

School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies

Linguistic travels in time and space: Festschrift for Liz Pearce

Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics

Volume 23, 2017

ISSN 1170-1978 (Print)
ISSN 2230-4681 (Online)

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Linguistic travels in time and space: Festschrift for Liz Pearce

Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics

Volume 23, 2017

Edited by Heidi Quinn, Diane Massam, and Lisa Matthewson

School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies
Victoria University of Wellington
P.O. Box 600
Wellington
New Zealand

Published 2017

Front cover image: Globe Master 3D, shared under CC-BY 3.0 license,
http://en.globalquiz.org/quiz-image/indonesia-space-view/

Back cover photo: Diane Massam

ISSN 1170-1978 (Print)
ISSN 2230-4681 (Online)

Linguistic travels in time and space: Festschrift for Liz Pearce

Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics
Volume 23, 2017

CONTENTS

	Editorial note	
	Tabula congratulatoria	
Laurie Bauer	How can you put *Liz* into a tree?	1
Sigrid Beck	An alternative semantic cycle for universal quantifiers	5
Adriana Belletti	Passive and movement of verbal chunks in a V/head-movement language	15
Guglielmo Cinque	A note on Romance and Germanic past participle relative clauses	19
Nicola Daly and Julie Barbour	Teachers' understandings of the role of translation in vernacular language maintenance in Malekula: some early thoughts	29
William D. Davies	Untangling multiple Madurese benefactives	35
Paul de Lacy	Circumscriptive haplologizing reduplicants	41
Mark Hale	Phonetics, phonology and syntax in synchrony and diachrony	53
Hans Henrich Hock	Indo-European linguistics meets Micronesian and Sunda-Sulawesi	63
Leina Isno	Nembangahu – The big stone	69
Richard S. Kayne	The syntax of *wherewithal*	77
Michael J. Kenstowicz	A note on the phonology and phonetics of CR, RC, and SC consonant clusters in Italian	87
Alistair Knott and Martin Takac	A sensorimotor interpretation of Logical Form, and its application in a model of Māori sentences	101

Paul Law	Some issues on verbal reciprocals in Malagasy	115
John Lynch	Why did Erromangan wind names turn 90 degrees?	129
Lisa Matthewson, Heidi Quinn, Diane Massam, and Lynsey Talagi	The curious case of preverbal *ko* in Niuean	139
Timothy Mckinnon, Peter Cole, Yanti, and Gabriella Hermon	Phrase-level stem alternations in Sumatran Malayic	159
Miriam Meyerhoff	Possession marking in Nkep (East Santo, Vanuatu)	169
Yuko Otsuka	On Cia and C-final bases in Polynesian	181
Bill Palmer	Pronouns and the DP in Hoava	191
Luigi Rizzi	A note on the typology of topic and focus markers	205
Nick Thieberger	Unable to say too much about *kano* in Nafsan (South Efate)	211
Lisa deMena Travis	Adjacency and DP licensing	217
Dieter Wanner	Surselvan 1s /-əl/, or: *Jeu anflel quei buca curios*	229
	Policy guidelines	241
	Contents of volumes 1–22	243

Passive and movement of verbal chunks in a V/head-movement language

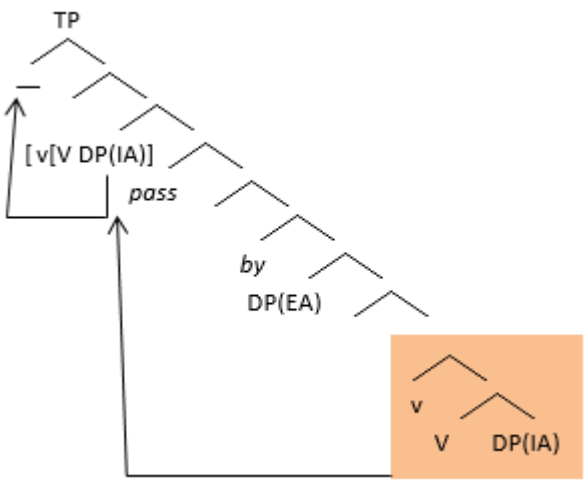
Adriana Belletti

The present squib raises the following question: Could movement of a verbal chunk be generally disfavoured in a given language? In particular, if the language is best described as displaying instances of head movement processes including V-movement ones in the domain of inflectional morphology, should this then entail that processes affecting (portions of) phrasal verbal constituents should be globally excluded?

If the influential analysis of passive in terms of movement of a verbal chunk/ *smuggling* à la Collins (2005) is assumed (cf. also Belletti & Rizzi 2012; Belletti 2014) the question above becomes particularly relevant, and amounts to asking whether passive should be excluded, or at least disfavoured, in a V/head movement language as compared to a language without (or with reduced instances of) V/head movement.

The analysis of passive in terms of movement of a verbal chunk has the important side-effect of overcoming a potential locality/Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990; 2004) violation. The violation of locality would inevitably arise if the DP internal argument (IA), the derived subject in the passive, were raised into the (relevant, EPP) subject Spec/TP position directly, across the intervening DP external argument (EA). As (1) illustrates, no such violation occurs if the process affects a chunk of the verb phrase, containing the verb (with the appropriate morphology) and DP(IA). The moved chunk does not contain the DP(EA), which is left behind in a lower position in the clause structure. The DP(IA) is thus raised into Spec/TP from the derived position, encountering no intervention problem. According to the analysis sketched out in (1), a component of the passive voice, labelled *pass* for convenience, attracts the relevant portion of the verb phrase into its specifier:

1.



Linguistic travels in time and space: Festschrift for Liz Pearce
Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics 23 (2017) 15–18

The derivation in (1) is thus motivated on principled grounds.

Māori is a V/head movement language. According to Pearce (2002), the head movement analysis simply accounts for complex basic word orders of the language and for the morphosyntax of adverbial particles, which are best analysed as building up the functional spine of the clause, as in (2):

2. E tupu tonu mai nei anō i te pari o taua whēnua.
   T/A grow still hither near1 still P the abundance of that land
   'Because of the fertility of that land, (they) are still growing there.' (Pearce 2002: ex.2)

Furthermore, the fact that a modified noun cannot undergo incorporation is also a clear indication that head movement-type processes are at work in the language in the nominal domain as well. This is illustrated by the contrast in (3a) vs. (3b) with respect to the position of the T/A marker *ana,* (which contrasts with the situation in Niuean as described in Massam 2001 , discussed in Pearce 2002):

3. a. *E kimi whare kia noho ai ia ana tērā tangata.
      T/A seek house SUBJNCT live there 3SG T/A that man

   b. E kimi whare ana tērā tangata kia noho ai ia.
      T/A seek house T/A that man SUBJNCT live there 3SG
      'That man is looking for a house for him to live in.' (Pearce 2002: ex.22)

Pearce's V/head movement analysis of Māori appears to account more adequately for the relevant observed distributions than a potential alternative analysis in terms of remnant phrasal movement. In the latter analysis, a chunk of the verb phrase (previously voided of its arguments and only containing the verb) would move (into the Spec of a given functional head), giving the impression of a head movement process (along the lines of e.g. Koopman & Szabolcsi's 2000 approach).

Going back to the question raised at the outset, if this question is given a positive answer, then passive should be absent or at least disfavoured in the relevant language, as it involves phrasal movement of a portion of the verb phrase. The use of alternatives to passive should then be expected, such as e.g. object topicalisation or use of arbitrary subjects in active clauses (a way of demoting the subject comparable to passive). Note that recent evidence from the acquisition of Italian indicates that Italian-speaking young children adopt precisely these alternatives when they still do not adequately master passive, specifically when they do not yet master movement of the relevant verbal chunk implicated in passive (cf. experimental results presented in Belletti & Manetti 2017; Snyder & Hyams 2015 for related discussion).

If, in contrast, the question raised at the outset is given a negative answer, this would mean that no "global" dis-preference for moving chunks of verb phrases should be expected in principle, but rather, the existence of processes of this type should be established construction by construction, in fact probing/attracting head by probing/attracting head. Specifically, one should expect that passive could be in principle available in the language, all other things being equal.

The latter conclusion should probably be preferred on conceptual grounds: there does not seem to be any formal, principled way to characterize a global ban against phrasal movement of portions of verb phrases. The availability of the process should be determined through the setting of different micro-parameters related to the (movement-attracting) properties of different functional heads (cf. Rizzi forthcoming for related considerations on micro-parametric variation, in the spirit of the Borer-Chomsky conjecture). Moreover, the *smuggling*-type movement illustrated in (1) appears to be different from the remnant phrasal movement of a verb phrase that mimics head movement: in the latter the verb phrase has been emptied of its arguments; in the former, in contrast, the moved chunk crucially contains both the verb and the DP(IA).

Italian is a language that is best described as instantiating the V/head-movement process, in both finite and non-finite inflectional morphology (Belletti 1990; Cinque 1999). Passive is a productive construction in Italian. This indicates that the conceptually preferable conclusion is met in Italian.

All other things being equal, one would expect passive to also be available in Māori, still maintaining Pearce's V/head movement analysis of the language. An example like the following from Pearce's (2002) article indicates that the conceptually preferable conclusion is met in Māori as well, as passive appears to be a productive construction in the language (a very productive one in fact; see Pucilowski 2006 for discussion of possible reasons linked to the analysis of the language in terms of split-ergativity).

4. Ā mahara-tia tonu-tia hoki e mātou ngā kupu o tāna waiata.
   and remember-PASS still-PASS also by 1PLEXCL the-PL word of her song
   'And we still remember the words of her song.'

In conclusion, even if the V/head-movement analysis seems preferable and more adequate in the domain of inflectional morphology, phrasal instances of movement of portions the verb phrase may still be present in a given language, as in the case of the derivation of passive addressed in this squib.

The question remains open whether phrasal movements of portions of the verb phrase are in fact always of the type implemented in passive, in which the verbal phrasal chunk that is moved into the specifier of the attracting functional head contains more than just the verb; in the case of passive, it contains the verb and its internal argument. Another case similar to passive in this respect is provided by Romance-type causatives (Belletti forthcoming).

References

Belletti, Adriana. 1990. *Generalized verb movement*. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier.

Belletti, Adriana. 2014. Notes on passive object relatives. In Svenonius, Peter (ed.) *Functional structure from top to toe*, 97–114. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Belletti, Adriana. forthcoming. Labeling (Romance) causatives. In Enoch Aboh & Haeberli, Eric & Puskas, Genoveva & Shonenberg, Manuela (eds.) *Elements of comparative syntax: Theory and description,* 13–46. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Belletti Adriana & Rizzi, Luigi. 2012. Moving verbal chunks in the low functional field. In Brugè, Laura & Cardinaletti, Anna & Giusti, Giuliana & Munaro, Nicola & Poletto, Cecilia (eds.) *Functional heads: the cartography of syntactic structures*, vol. 7*,* 129–137. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Belletti, Adriana & Manetti, Claudia. 2017. Topics and passives in Italian speaking children and adults. Université de Genève & Università di Siena. (Submitted ms.)

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Collins, Chris. 2005. A smuggling approach to the passive in English. *Syntax* 8(2). 81–120.

Koopman, Hilda & Szabolcsi, Anna. 2000. *Verbal complexes.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Massam, Diane. 2001. Pseudo noun incorporation in Niuean. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19. 153–197.

Pearce, Elizabeth. 2002. VP-raising versus V-raising in Māori. In Rakowski, Andrea & Richards, Norvin (eds.) *Proceedings of AFLA VIII: the eighth meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association* (MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 44), 225–240. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.

Pucilowski, Anna. 2006. *Split-ergativity in Māori*. Christchurch, NZ: University of Canterbury. (MA thesis)

Rizzi, Luigi. 1990. *Relativized minimality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Rizzi, Luigi. 2004. Locality and left periphery. In Belletti, Adriana (ed.) *Structures and beyond: the cartography of syntactic structures*, vol. 3, 223–251. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rizzi, Luigi. forthcoming. On the format and locus of parameters. *Linguistic Analysis.*

Snyder, William & Hyams, Nina. 2015. Minimality effects in children's passives. In Di Domenico, Elisa & Hamann, Cornelia & Matteini, Simona. (eds.) *Structures, strategies and beyond,* 343–368*.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Adriana Belletti
University of Geneva, University of Siena
adriana.belletti@unige.ch