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LONG HEAD MOVEMENT IS A-BAR MOVEMENT: THE CASE STUDY OF KAWAHÍVA

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BACKGROUND

•Head Movement (HM) generally obeys the Head Movement Constraint (HMC)(Travis 1984), i.e., "X may only move into the Y that properly governs it". But Long Head Movement (LHM) is known to violate this constraint.

•A recent paper proposes two types of HM: syntactic & postsyntactic HM(Harizanov & Gribanova 2019), and show that only the latter obeys the HMC.

•Other works(Harizanov 2019, a.o.), in order to explain the HMC violation by LHM, have proposed that LHM is A'- movement.

•Here I show that Long Verb Movement (LVM) of bare verbs in Kawahíva strongly supports this phrasal account to LHM.

CLAIM

•Kawahíva VSO main clauses (1) results from A'-movement of V^0 to Spec,CP, which then undergoes M-merger with C^0 at PF.

(1) O-'u ki gã pira ko.
3A-eat PST they fish REALIS
'They ate fish.'

•LVM is A'-movement because it's **non-local** and has **discourse effects**.

•I claim this movement is **triggered by [pred]**(Bowers 1993; Massam 2000), **which has the EPP property.** As such, it needs to be checked off by a predicative head before syntax spells out.

•An alternative analysis, VP remnant movement, is dispelled based on evidence from NPI licensing.

KAWAHÍVA: LANGUAGE AND DATA

•Kawahíva is a Brazilian Tupí-Guaraní language, spoken by around 550 people, in a population with over 1060 individuals.

•Data comes from original fieldwork on the Júma [ISO:jua] and Uru Eu Wau Wau [ISO: urz] dialects.

EVIDENCE FOR MOVEMENT

•**POSITION OF T^0:** Assuming the core sequence [C-T-v-V], and that V is above T^0 in (1), I propose that **when V^0 moves, it moves higher than TP**. I claim the landing site is within the CP domain.

•**CP DOMAIN:** CP elements (e.g., *aramẽ* 'after that', *a'ea rupi* 'with that', *a'ero* 'then', frame-setting PPs, etc.) **block LVM**. It must follow then that V and CP-elements compete for the same spot given this distribution.

(2) Aramẽ ki hẽa, evo'ihua'ea po-i
after.that PST she pasta make-INF
'After that she made pasta.'

(3) ypyji=ve ki jie gã=repiak-i
early=to PST I 3B=see-INF
'Early on I saw them.'

•**AGREEMENT:** Also, V1 always get Set A agreement (subject markers) (1), but in the presence of CP-elements (2-3), V can only get Set B (object markers), which are pronominal clitics (dos Santos, ms.), aside from receiving special morphology, -i.

•If agreement results from ϕ-probes, and *aramẽ* and *ypyjive* are in the CP, it follows that there is a probe on C^0, because blocking LVM also blocks its spellout. The absence of agreement in (2-3) follows from the ϕ-features on C^0 leaving the syntax without a verb host for them, which is blocked by the CP-elements.

•CP-elements block LVM and Set A spellout because LVM is movement to Spec. When LVM is allowed, the verb can host phi-features because it m-merger with C^0.

EVIDENCE FOR A'-MOVEMENT

•**NONLOCAL**: LVM may cross clause boundaries. In (4), the raising verb *auhu* 'to seem' takes a finite object complement clause, and the inflected embedded verb *o'u* 'to eat' appears in the initial position of the matrix clause. The structure of this sentence is represented in (5).

(4) O-'u ve'e auhu ki hẽa mbiara oi'i
3A-eat to seem PST she meat time.ago
'It seems that she ate meat not so long ago.'

(5) $[_{CP}$ O-'u ve'e $[_{VP}$ auhu $[_{CP}$ $[_{C^0}$ $[_{TP}$ ki $[_{vP}$ hẽa $[_{VP}$ mbiara ~~'u~~]]]]]]]

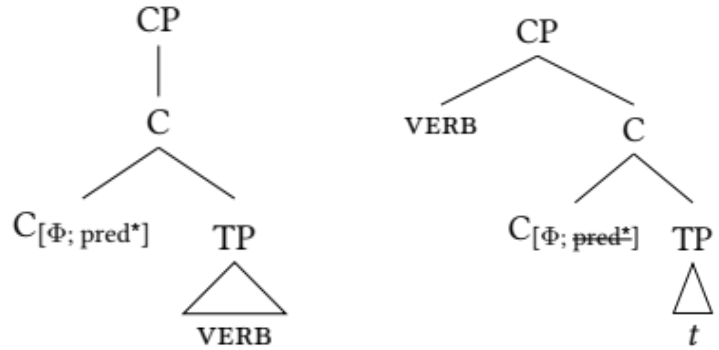
•**DISCOURSE EFFECTS:** LVM participates in constructions with different discourse effects, such as presentational and out-of-the-blue clauses; thus, (1), from above, could be uttered in both scenarios. LVM also figures in answers (7) to polar questions (6).

(6) ere-'u po nde pira?
2A-eat IRR you fish
'Did you eat fish?'

(7) a-'u ki jie *pro* ko.
1A-eat PST I pro REALIS
'I did.' (lit.: I ate it.)

DISCUSSION & ANALYSIS

•**[pred] on C^0:** I claim LVM is triggered by the feature [pred]. A representation is offered below. CP-elements can also match [pred] and hence block LVM (cf. 2-3), because they are headed by postpositions, which are also predicative heads that form a natural class with verbs by several diagnostics: both can be nominalized, use of the same set of aspectual suffixes, etc., and of course, compete for the same spot.



•Remnant movement: Although the traditional approach to predicate-initial languages is the VP-remnant movement, where the VP moves to a spec position after object extraction, little evidence supports this alternative here, given the data from NPI licensing. By (8-9), we see that *gãmõ* 'anyone' is allowed only under sentential negation with {nd-…-i}. Because this licensing only follows if negation c-commands the indefinite, it must be that the negated verb in (8) is not nested inside a phrase. Otherwise, negation wouldn't be able to license the NPI.

(8) nd-a-hepiag-i ki jie gã-mõ
NEG-1A-see-NEG PST I they-INDF
'I didn't see anyone.'

(9) *a-hepia ki jie gã-mõ
1A-see PST I they-INDF
'I saw anyone.'

CONCLUSION

- Recent proposals suggested that LHM is phrasal movement, specifically A'-movement, given its A'-bar properties.
- I showed that Kawahíva LVM is a clear instance of A'-bar movement of V, given its non-local and interpretive effects, which are hallmarks of this type of movement.