

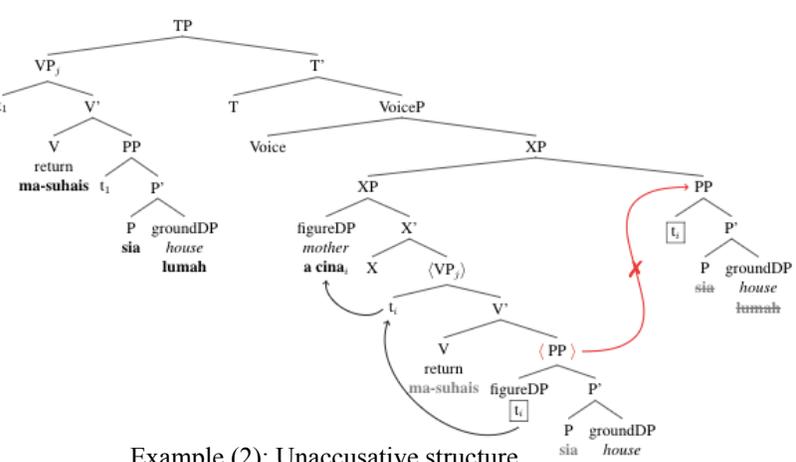
Conversely, Bunun’s predicate-initial word order can also be derived by roll-up head movement of the verb (McCloskey 1991 and Carnie 1995 for Irish, Clemens & Coon 2018 for Mayan languages). In addition to potentially providing a derivation for the collection of voice, tense, and aspect morphemes onto the verbal stem, it provides a natural explanation for the possibility of the word order in (3b), provided by Shih 2017 in support of a head-movement analysis. Head movement would only target the V head, leaving its PP complement *in situ* below. However, this data would appear to contradict Wu 2013’s argument for a VP-fronting analysis of Bunun.

(3) **PP complement can stay low** (a) from fieldwork, (b)=(185a) from Shih 2017:146

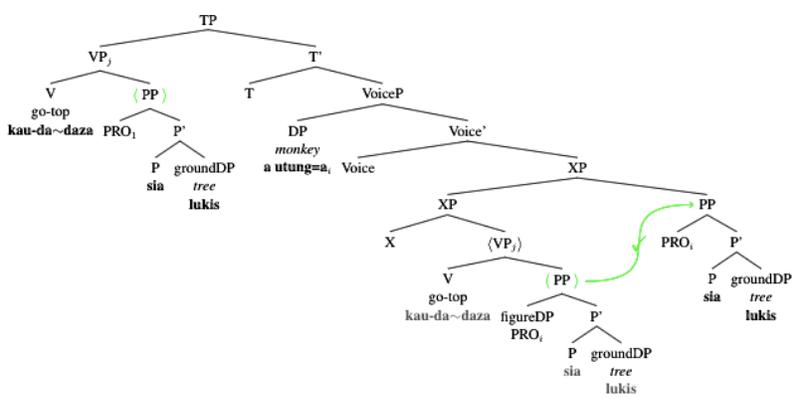
- a. [k(a)u-da~daza sia lukis] a utung=a
 [AV.go-RED~top LOC tree] NOM monkey=DIST.NOM
 That monkey went-to-the-top of a tree

- b. k(a)u-da~daza a utung=a [sia lukis]
 AV.go-RED~top NOM monkey=DIST.NOM [LOC tree]

Analysis. I argue that this data is not a contradiction, but a previously unnoticed contrast based on argument structure. I assume that unaccusative subjects are internal arguments licensed by V°, whereas unergative subjects are introduced as external arguments licensed in the specifier of a higher VP shell (Voice°, following Kratzer 1996). I take resultatives, which are internal-argument-oriented, to be predicates that base-generate that internal argument in their specifier / subject position (Hoekstra 1988, Bowers 1993, 1997, Stechow 1995, Beck & Snyder 2001, Son & Svenonius 2008). When unaccusative verbs select resultative PPs, they raise that internal argument to spec-VP, whereas unergative verbs have no internal arguments and instead directly introduce their subjects high in spec-VoiceP. Consequently, unergatives permit the PP to vacate the VP (here modeled as rightward extraposition), unlike unaccusatives, whose remnant PP complements must stay within the VP and end up being pied-piped with the verb.



Example (2): Unaccusative structure, with disallowed PP extraction in red



Example (3): Unergative structure, with optional PP extraction in green

Selected references. BECK, SIGRID & WILLIAM SNYDER. 2001. “Complex predicates and goal PPs: Evidence for a semantic parameter.” *Proceedings of the 25th BUCLD*. HUANG, HUI-CHUAN J. & SHIH, CHAO-KAI. 2016. “Bunongyu yufa gailun [A sketch grammar of Bunun].” *Series on Formosan Languages* 6. Taipei: Council of Indigenous Peoples. LI, LILIAN LI-YING. 2018. *A Grammar of Isbukun Bunun*. Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University Dissertation. SHIH, CHAO-KAI. 2017. *Restructuring and Phrase Structure in Takibakha Bunun*. Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University Dissertation. SON, MINJEONG & PETER SVENONIUS. 2008. “Microparameters of cross-linguistic variation: Directed motion and resultatives.” *Proceedings of the 27th WCCFL*. WU, HSIAO-HUNG IRIS. 2013. “Verb initial order as predicate fronting in Isbukun Bunun.” *Language and Linguistics* 14.3: 571-598.