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T-to-C movement in Polynesian

A case-study from Tokelauan

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Proposal - key claims

- TAM particle raises into left periphery
- Accounts for complementary distribution of COMP and TAM
- Expanded left periphery (Rizzi 1997)
- Predicate movement causes a verb-initial word order in Tokelauan
- Object evacuates predicate before predicate-raising (VSO)
- Object remains in predicate (VOS)

Tokelauan basic word order

TAM-VSO unmarked word order

(1) Na tuki e John ia Rangi
 PST hit ERG John ABS Rangi
 'John hit Rangi.'

TAM-VOS

(2) Na tunu ika ia John.
 PST cook fish ABS John
 'John cooked fish.'

Verb-initial language

Tense/aspect/modal (TAM) particle precedes verb

Tense/aspect/modal (TAM)

Tense/Aspect/Modal (TAM) particle

Assumption 1: TAM originates in T (Massam 2000; 2001; Otsuka 2005; Collins 2017)

- TAM is clause initial
- In other Polynesian languages, TAM raises to C
- Essentially TAM → C movement (T-to-C movement)

T-to-C movement

T-to-C movement is proposed for several Polynesian languages

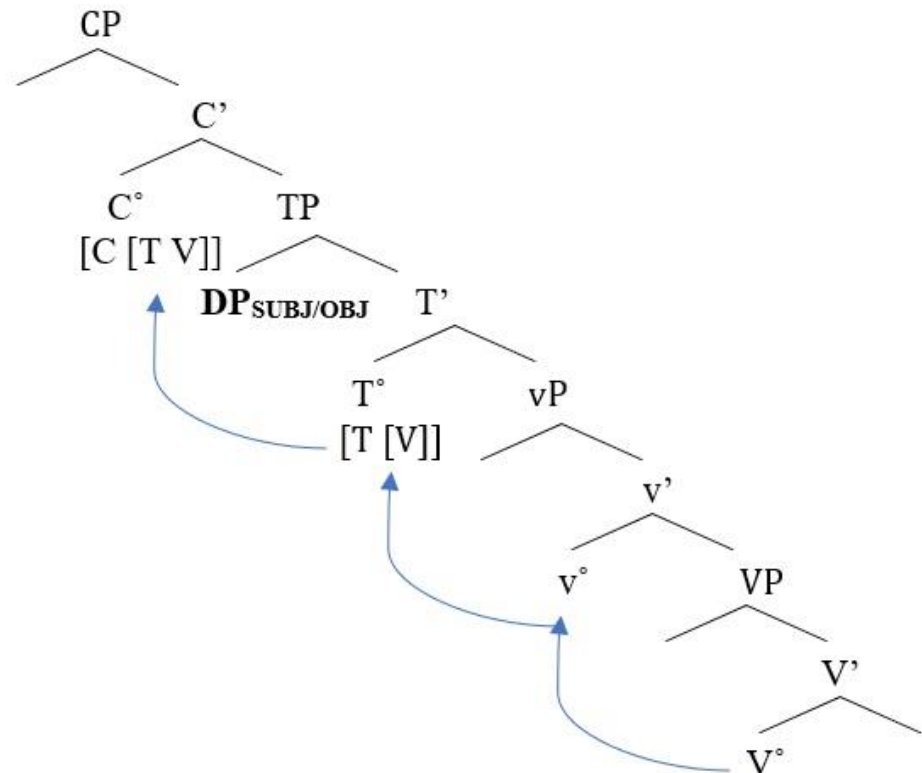
E.g. Samoan (Collins 2017), Tongan (Custis 2004; Otsuka 2005)

This accounts for complementary distribution of TAM and COMPs

Tongan (Otsuka 2005)

Tongan

- V-movement raises verb to T
- Tongan has both VOS and VSO word orders
- To account for scrambling, it is proposed either the subject or the object raises to SpecTP
- V must raise above arguments = T raise to C

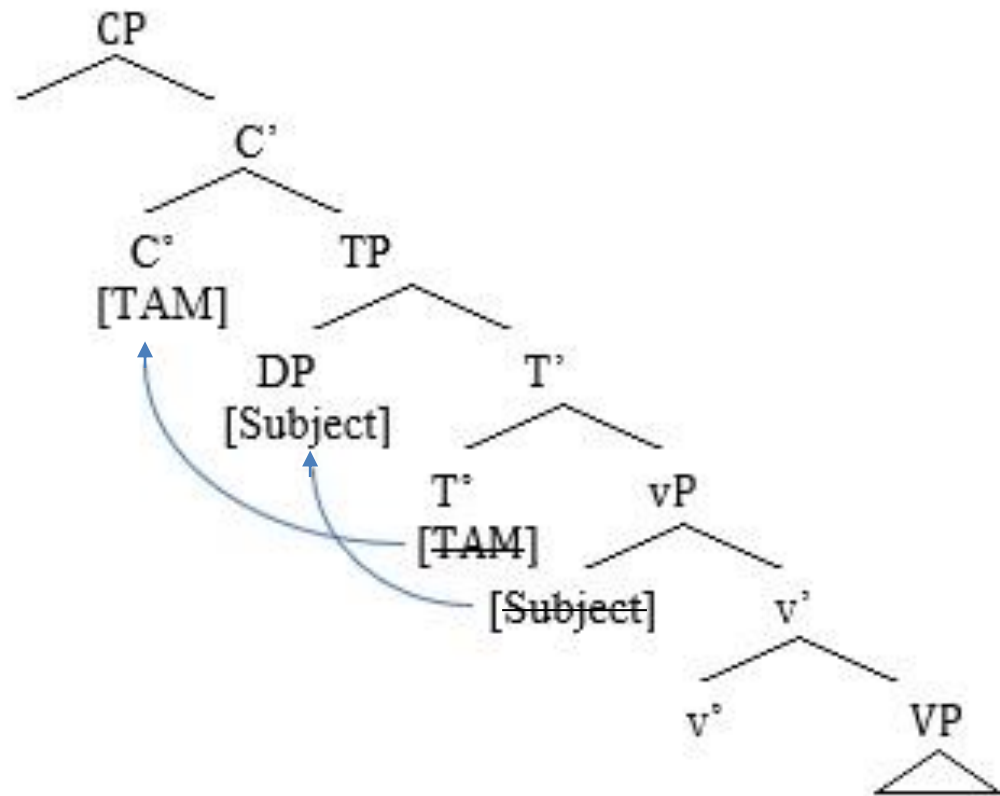


Samoaan (Collins 2017)

Samoaan

- Subject pronouns raise to SpecTP
- TAM particles precede subject pronouns
- TAM raises to C

TAM and COMP in complementary distribution



TAM and COMP in complementary distribution

Major claim for T-to-C movement

TAM and COMP are both found in the same syntactic position

- If C is filled with a complementiser, TAM cannot also go here
- This explains why TAM and COMP in complementary distribution
- If TAM and COMP are in the same slot = T-to-C movement

Tokelauan

TAM and COMP in complementary distribution

(3) Na taumafai ia John **ke** (*na) hao te vaka mai te afā.
PST try ABS John **COMP PST** escape DEF boat from DEF hurricane
'John tried to escape the ship from the hurricane.'

(4) E mahani **oi** (*e) velo e John ni ika.
TAM usual **COMP PRS** spear ERG John INDF.PL fish
'It is usual that John spears the fish.'

Tokelauan

TAM and COMP not in complementary distribution

(5) Ko John na fehili mai **pe** **na** tunu e ai te ika.
ko John PST ask DIR **COMP** PST cook ERG who DEF fish
 ‘John asked who cooked the fish.’

(6) **Kāfai** foki **e** i luga ni ika i tō vaka
COMP too **PRS** LOC above DEF fish LOC 2SG.POSS canoe
 ‘If there are fish on your canoe.’ (Hooper 1993:166)

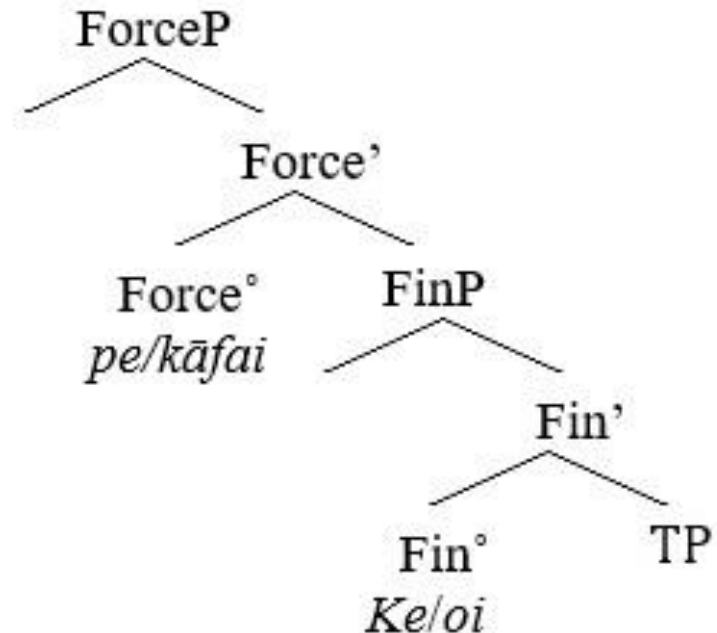
Two C positions

***ke/oi* in complementary distribution with TAM**

= TAM raises to this COMP position

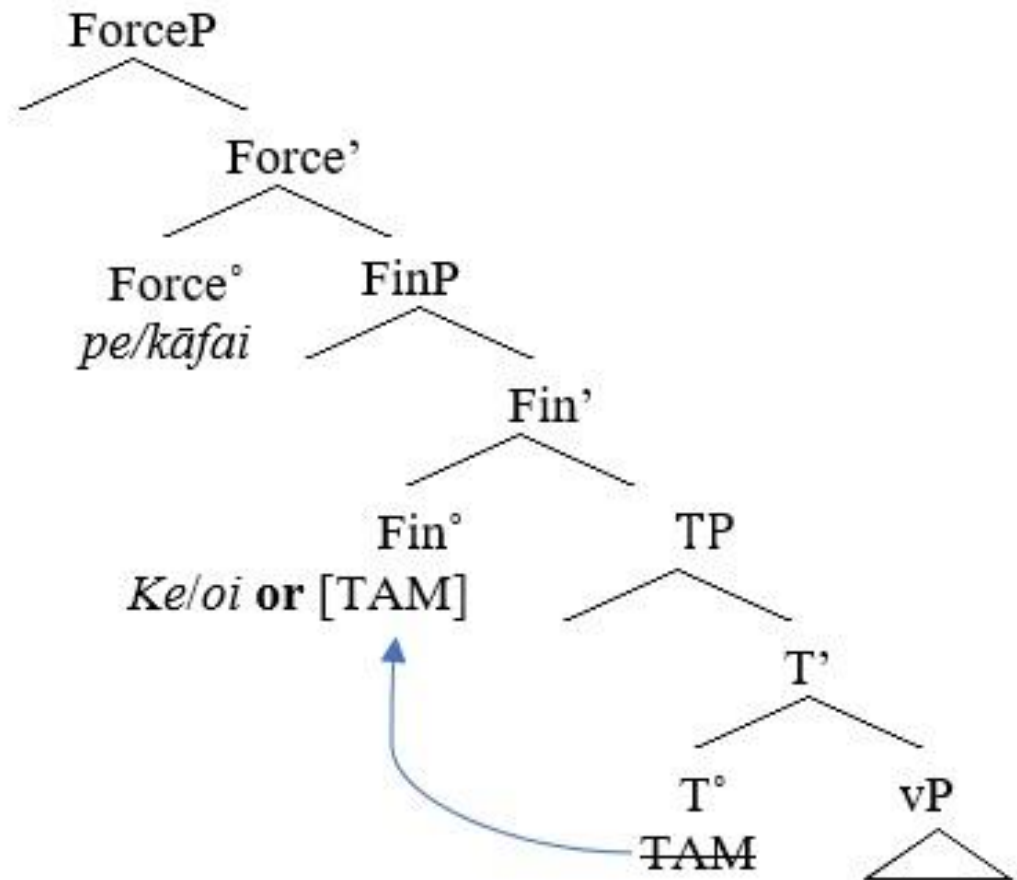
***pe/kāfai* can cooccur with TAM**

= higher COMP position where these reside



Preliminary proposal

- TAM raises to FinP, where *ke/oi* resides
- ForceP holds complementizers *pe/kāfai*
- ForceP and FinP from (Rizzi 1997)



ko-topicalisation

ko-topicalisation raises a DP to precede TAM

(7) E tuki e John ia **Viliamu**
TAM hit ERG John ABS **Viliamu**
'John hits Viliamu.'

(8) **Ko** **Viliamu** na tuki e John
TOP **Viliamu** TAM hit ERG John
'John hit Viliamu.'

ko-topicalisation

ko-topic following *pe* COMP

- (9) Ko John na lea mai *pe* ko te ika na tunu e Rangi.
 TOP John PST say DIR **COMP** TOP DEF fish PST cook ERG Rangi
 ‘John said if/whether Rangi had cooked the fish.’

ko-topic preceding *ke* COMP

- (10) Ko John nae fofou ko Jess *ke* ia tukia ia Rangi.
 TOP John TAM want TOP Jess **COMP** 3SG hit ABS Rangi
 ‘John wants Jess to hit Rangi.’

ko-topicalisation

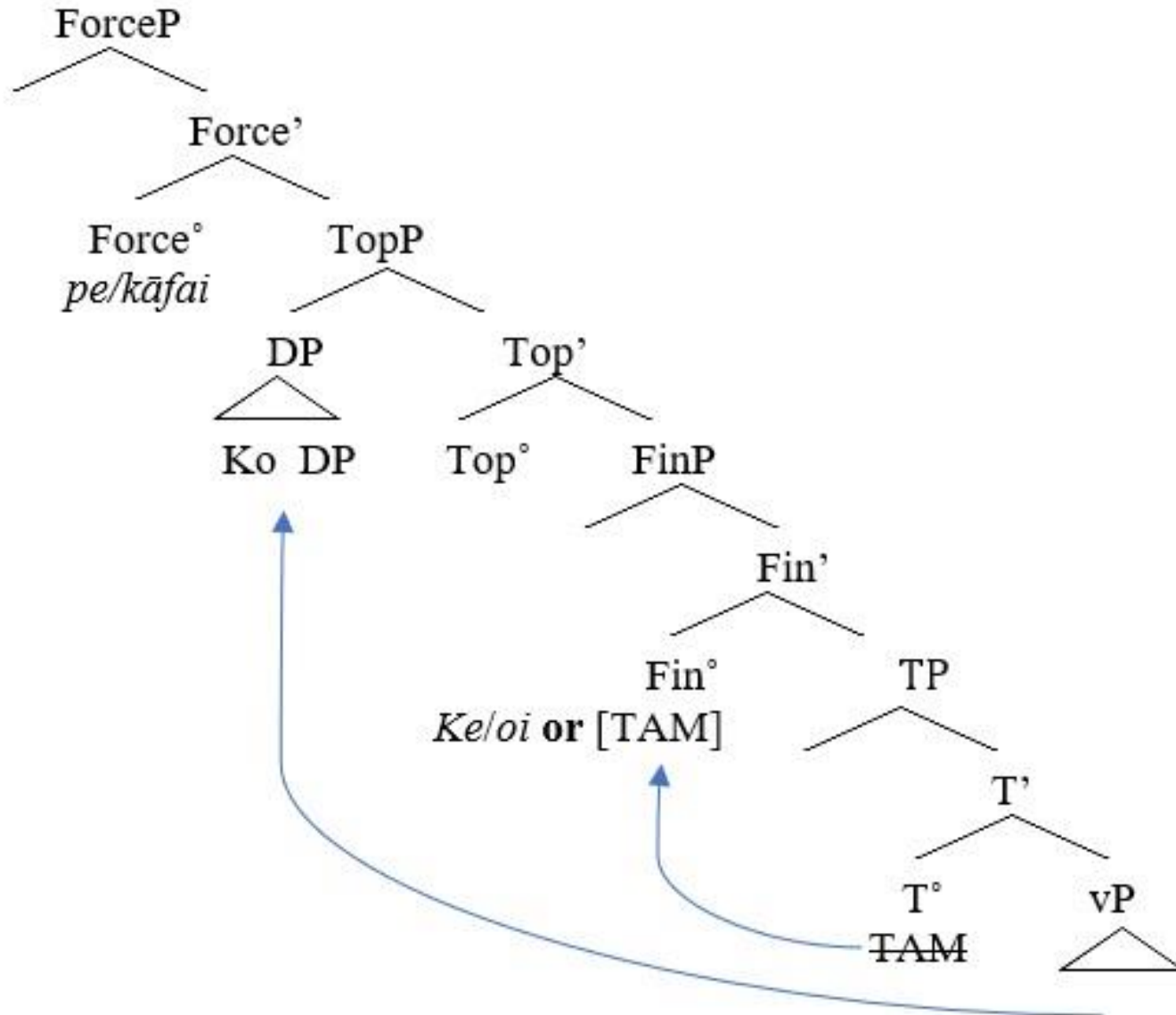
ko-topic following *pe* COMP

= Topicalization projection must be below ForceP (*pe/kāfai*)

ko-topic preceding *ke* COMP

= Topicalization projection must be above FinP (*ke/oi*)

Left periphery



Deriving V-initial word order

- Generated TAM-initial order: TAM V S O and TAM V O S
- Explains why TAM is in complementary distribution with certain COMP but not with others

Assumption 2: Underlying SVO word order (Anderson and Chung 1977)

Alternation between the VSO and VOS?

- Otsuka: V-T-C, Subj or Obj move to SpecTP
- Massam: VP-movement to SpecTP
 - VP contains O = VOS = TAM V O S
 - VP does not contain P = VSO = TAM V S O

VP-fronting or V-fronting

Underlying SVO word order (Anderson and Chung 1977)

Two potential ways to achieve V-initial order

V-fronting

- Verb head raises above both arguments
- Irish (McCloskey 1991), Tongan (Custis 2004; Otsuka 2005), Maori (Pearce 2002) and Niuean (Clemens 2014)

VP-fronting

- VP raises above subject
- Object either leaves VP before fronting (VSO) or remains in VP (VOS)
- Malagasy (Pearson 1998; Rackowski & Travis 2000), Zapotec (Lee 2000), Niuean (Massam 2000, 2001)

Coordinated verbs

- (11) Na **kiki** **ma** **tuki** e John ia Rangi
 PST **kick** **and** **hit** ERG John ABS Rangi
 'John kicked and hit Rangi.'

Not two clauses coordinated – negation will negate both verbs

- (12) E **heki** kiki ma tuki e ia ia Rangi
 TAM**NEG** kick and hit ERG 3SG ABS Rangi
 'He did not kick and hit Rangi.'

Coordinated verbs must be understood as an XP (Rackowski & Travis 2000; Aldridge 2002; Collins 2017)

= VP movement for Tokelauan.

VP fronting

- EPP feature on T head
- EPP feature in Tokelauan is [+PRED] (Massam and Smallwood 1997; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998; Lee 2000 Massam 2000; Otsuka 2005).

Predicate raises to SpecTP

TAM raised from T to Fin

= TAM-V word order

VOS order

VOS order obtained when entire predicate raises in Tokelauan
(Pseudo-noun incorporation - Massam 2001)

If there's VP-movement, and if there's TAM-Fin movement:

$[_{TP} \text{ TAM } [S [_{VP} \text{ V O }]]$ Base order

VO TAM S Step 1: VP-movement

TAM VOS Step 2: TAM-movement

VSO order

VSO order obtained when Object leaves VP before VP-movement.

If there's VP-movement, and if there's TAM-Fin movement:

$[_{TP} \text{ TAM } [S [_{VP} V O]]$ Base order

$\text{TAM } S O [_{VP} V t]$ Step 1: Obj-movement

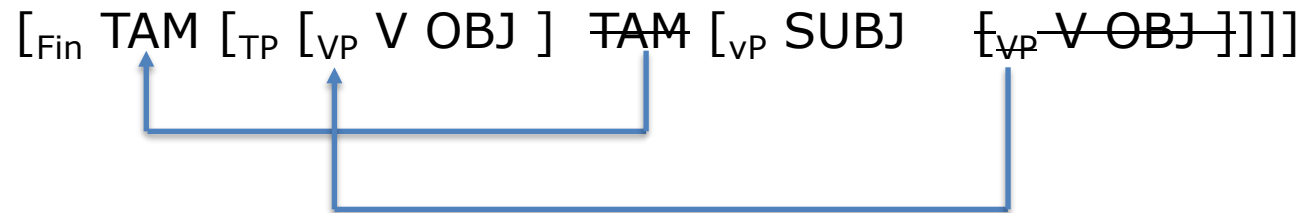
$[_{VP} V] \text{ TAM } S O$ Step 2: VP-movement

$\text{TAM } [_{VP} V] \text{ TAM } S O$ Step 3: TAM-Fin movement

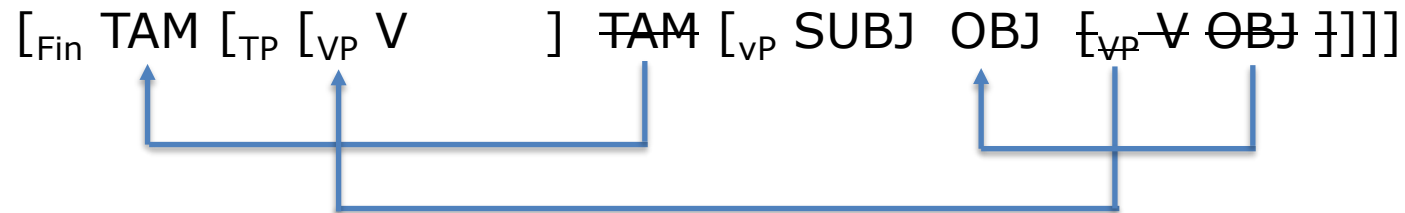
Following Collins (2017), OBJ raises to SpecvP, lower than the SUBJ.
See also Massam (2000; 2020) for other landing positions

VSO and VOS order

VOS



VSO



Summary

- TAM raises to Fin° , where *ke/oi* resides
- ForceP hold complementizers like *pe/kāfai*
- TopicP is higher than FinP, but lower than ForceP
- Ko-topic raises to TopP
- EPP[+PRED] raises VP to SpecTP
- Object remains in VP (VOS)
- Object leaves VP (VSO)



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Thanks you for listening.