

More Movement

A. Review

- A survey of movement constructions
 - wh-movement
 - passive
 - topicalization
 - unaccusative advancement
 - scrambling
 - subject-to-subject raising

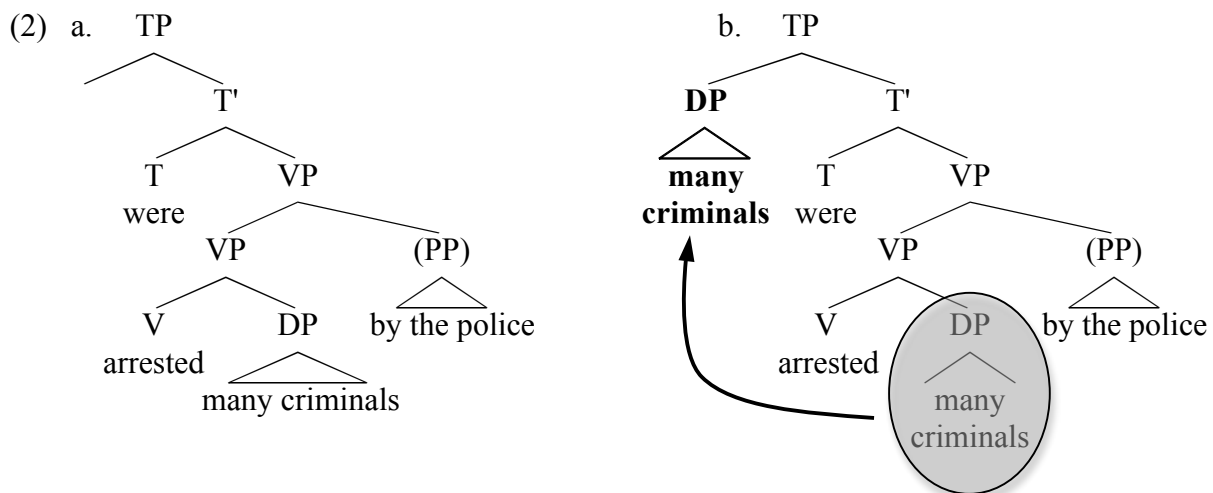
B. Passive

- What are the differences between active sentences and the corresponding passives?

- (1) a. The police arrested many criminals.
 b. Many criminals were arrested (by the police).

1. Analysis

- The theme (active object) becomes the subject of the passive clause



2. Evidence for movement

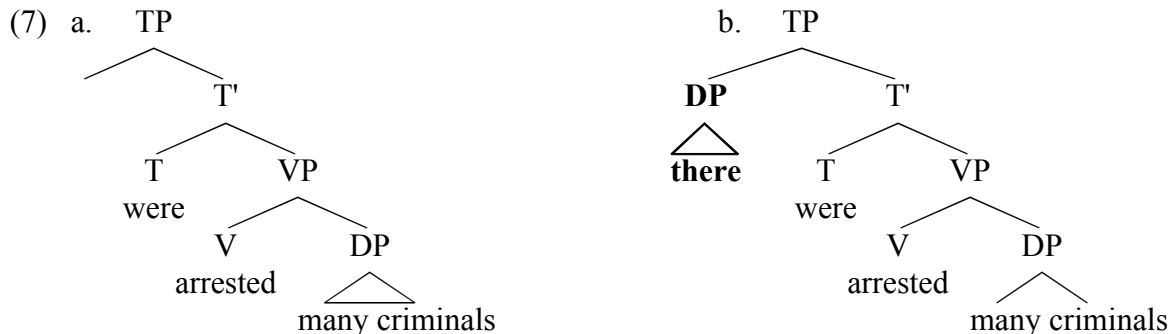
- How do we know that the theme has moved from the object position?

a. passive expletive constructions

- A construction in which the theme remains in the object position and the subject position is occupied by an expletive
- (3) a. The police arrested many criminals.
 b. Many criminals were arrested (by the police).
 c. There were arrested many criminals.
- (4) a. A significant change in policy has been announced.
 b. There has been announced a significant change in policy.
- (5) Er werd een boot gehuurd DUTCH
 there was a boat rented
 'A boat was rented.'

- (6) Il a été arrêté plusieurs terroristes à la frontière FRENCH
 it has been arrested many terrorists at the border
 'There were arrested many terrorists at the border.'

- In passive expletive constructions we see the theme in the object position



b. resultatives

- Resultatives are secondary predicates that indicate the result of some action

- (8) a. The blacksmith hammered the metal **flat**.
 b. We soaked the glasses **clean**.
 c. Ivan shot him **dead**.

- (9) *Direct Object Restriction* (Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995)
 Resultatives may only be predicated of direct objects

- (10) a. *The blacksmith hammered on the metal **flat**.
 b. *Ivan shot at him **dead**.
 c. *The audience laughed **silly**.

- Passives license resultatives

- (11) a. The metal was hammered **flat** (by the blacksmith).
 b. The glasses were soaked **clean** (by us).
 c. He was shot **dead** (by Ivan).

- Passives are not exceptions to the Direct Object Restriction if they are derived by movement of an object

C. Unaccusative Advancement

- English transitivity alternations

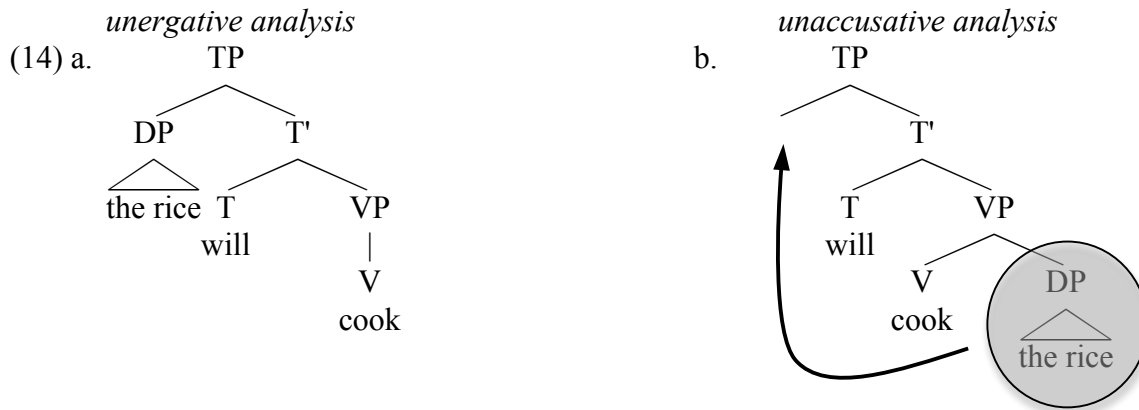
- (12) a. Jack will cook the rice.
 b. The rice will cook.

- (13) a. The kids broke a bottle.
 b. A bottle broke.

- Unaccusative predicates vary across languages, typically they have theme/patient (non-agentive) subjects

1. Analysis

- The a sentences are active transitive clauses. What about the b sentences?



- An unaccusative is a predicate that does not have an external argument

2. Evidence for Movement

- Diagnostics for unaccusativity vary across languages

a. English resultatives

- Unaccusative verbs license resultatives

- (15) a. The rice cooked **dry**.
 b. The bottle broke **open**.
 c. Our bird bath froze **solid**.

b. Russian genitive of negation (Chvany 1975, Pesetsky 1982)

- Direct objects may appear in the genitive case in the presence of negation

- (16) a. Ja uvidel ptic-u/*ptic-y
 1SG saw bird-ACC/bird-GEN
 'I saw a/the bird.'
 b. Ja ne uvidel ptic-u/ptic-y
 1SG NEG saw bird-ACC/bird-GEN
 'I did not see a/any/the bird.'

- Genitive of negation is impossible on subjects of transitive verbs and some intransitive verbs, even in the presence of negation

- (17) a. Ni-kak-ie mal'čik-i ne polučili podarki
 NEG-kind-NOM.PL boy-NOM.PL NEG received gifts
 'No boy received gifts.'

- b. *Ni-kak-ix mal'čik-ov ne polučilo podarki
 NEG-kind-GEN.PL boy-GEN.PL NEG received gifts

- (18) a. Ni-kak-ie devočk-i ne tancevali
 NEG-kind-NOM.PL girl-NOM.PL NEG danced
 'No girl danced.'

- b. *Ni-kak-ix devoček ne tancevalo
 NEG-kind-GEN.PL girl.GEN.PL NEG danced

- Genitive of negation is possible on subjects of unaccusative verbs

(19) a. Ni-kak-ie grib-y zdes' ne rastut
 NEG-kind-NOM.PL mshroom-NOM.PL here NEG grow
 b. Zdes' ne rast'ot ni-kak-ix grib-ov
 here NEG grow NEG-kind-GEN.PL mushroom-GEN.PL
 'No mushrooms grow here.'

- If the subject of an unaccusative verb starts out as an object, we can maintain the generalization that only objects are licensed in the genitive of negation

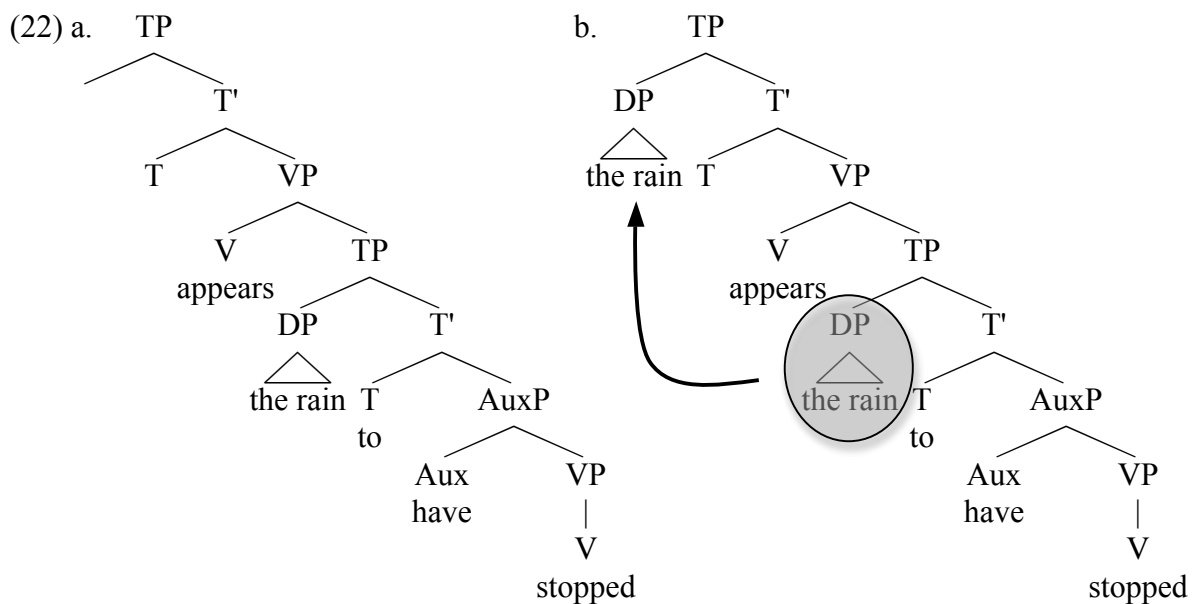
D. Subject-to-subject raising (SSR)

- A construction in which the subject of a (non-finite) complement clause appears in the main clause subject position

(20) a. John is likely ~~John~~ to win.
 b. The rain appears ~~the rain~~ to have stopped.

- SSR predicates do not have a thematic subject argument

(21) a. It is likely that John will win.
 b. It appears that the rain has stopped.



E. Summary

- Three movement constructions: passive, unaccusative verbs, subject-to-subject raising
- What do these three constructions share?

References

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- Davies, William, and Stanley Dubinsky. 2004. *The grammar of raising and control: A Course in syntactic argumentation*. New York—London: Blackwell.
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