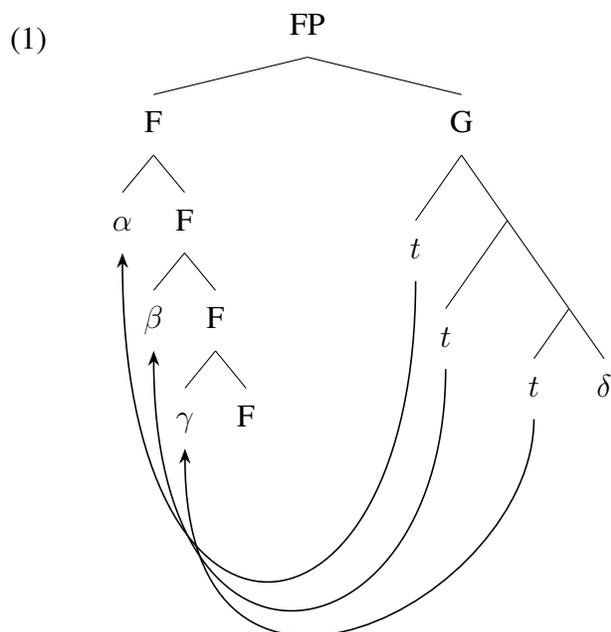


Parametric space and the grammar of multiple head-movement

Literature critical of grammatical *parameters* has identified significant problems, both empirical and conceptual, in the growth of parametric space necessary to accommodate small, local cross-linguistic variation, i.e. microparameters (Newmeyer, 2005; Pinker, 2009, among many). In this talk, this general problem is reconsidered through comparison of four language-specific cases of *multiple head-movement* (MHM), a morphosyntactic phenomena (Collins, 2002) schematised in (1), which is utilised to greater and lesser extents in Innu-aimûn (Algonquian), Finnish, neo-Aramaic and Russian.



Characteristics of MHM:

- MHM preserves the relative base order of displaced head.
- MHM sees X^0 modifiers (i.e. adverbs) as candidates for movement or intervention.
- MHM can displace a single head or multiple heads.

Innu-aimûn makes extensive use of MHM (Branigan, 2012; McCulloch, 2013), with all categories that trigger X^0 -movement involved: C, T, v, p, D, and n. Thus in the embedded clause in (2a), C attracts T, then the verb. Examples from other categories, equally complex and more so, will illustrate the generality of the pattern.

- (2) a. *Ni-mishkâtenimâ-u kâ=tshîtute-t.* (MHM to C)
 1-be.surprise-1/NONPAST PAST=leave-3
 ‘I am surprised that he left.’
- b. *uâpakî ni-ka=ueuestâ-n n-utâpan.* (MHM to T)
 tomorrow 1-PROSP=repair-1/NONPAST 1-car
 ‘Tomorrow I’m fixing my truck.’
- c. *Etien kie u-kuss-a natu-atshik-ue-uat niekate mamit.* (MHM to v)
 Etienne and 3-son-OBV hunt-seak-TR-3p/NEUT over there downstream
 ‘Etienne and his son went seal hunting over there, downstream.’
- d. *neu-kuapikakan ni-maushu-n.* (MHM to D)
 4-pail 1-berry.pick-1
 ‘I picked four pailfuls of berries.’
- e. *nîtâtshuanît* ‘at the foot of the rapids’ (*nît-* ‘at the base’ + *âtshuan* ‘rapids’) (MHM to p)

At the opposite parametric extreme, Finnish and neo-Aramaic employ MHM only in very restricted environments. Finnish does so in the derivation of answers to polar questions.

- (3) a. — *Onko Matti koskaan halannut käydä Roomassa?*
 has Matti ever wanted to.go to-Rome
 ‘Has Matti ever wanted to go to Rome?’
 b. — *On halunnut käydä.*
 has wanted to.go
 ‘Yes, he has.’

Finnish polar answers are CPs which freely undergo TP ellipsis (Holmberg, 2001). The presence and linear order of a series of heads outside the elided TP directly reflects how polar C (optionally) attracts multiple X⁰ constituents out of the elided constituent.

In various neo-Aramaic dialects, MHM interacts with differential object marking (DOM). With no specific object, perfective aspect appears as a suffix (Kalin 2016), which influences the templatic skeleton of the verb stem, as in (4c). Specific objects trigger DOM, and MHM then must take place at T, as in (4b). As a result, perfective aspect is realised as a prefix, which is more distant from the verb stem in the derived structure and therefore does not influence its templatic shape.

- (4) a. *Axnii xa ksuuta kasw-ox.* c. *Axnii xa ksuuta ksuu-lan.*
 we one book write.IMPF-1p we one book write-PFV-1p
 ‘We write a book.’ ‘We wrote a book.’
 b. *Axnii oo ksuuta tm-kasw-ox-laa.*
 we that book PERF-write-1p-3fs
 ‘We wrote that book.’ (Senaya; Kalin (2014))

In Russian, T and secondary imperfective Asp *-yva-* each trigger MHM to bring together verbs and perfective prefixes. For example, in (5b), Asp attracts first *pere-*, then *za-*, then the verb stem *pis*; then T attracts *po-*, and *pere-za-pis-yva*, in turn.

- (5) a. *On na-kolo-l orexov.*
 he CMLT-crack-PAST nuts
 ‘He cracked enough nuts.’ (Svenonius 2005)
 b. *Vasja po-pere-za-pis-yva-l diski.*
 Vasja DELIM-REPET-behind-write-IMPF-PAST CDs
 ‘Vasja spent some time re-recording CDs.’ (Tatevosov, 2011)

The resulting structure is uniquely consistent with known morphophonology (Pesetsky, 1979; Fowler, 1994), because the verb stem is more closely attached to T or Asp than to any prefixes.

An entirely microparametric account of this range of variation would require that Algonquian children set a number of independent parameters, one for each movement-triggering head. This ignores the generality of the pattern, and fails to capture the diachronic stability of this feature of Algonquian languages generally. A purely macroparametric account would suit the Algonquian data, but cannot readily accommodate the more limited role played by MHM in Finnish, neo-Aramaic, or Russian. The latter are better accommodated by an entirely microparametric model. The same problem adheres to mixed macro/micro-parametric models like that of Roberts (to appear). I show that only Baker’s (2002) approach matches the range of possibilities—a model in which UG provides only a small set of macroparameters, but exceptions (“micro-” or “meso-” parameters) with smaller scope are generated at need from this initial endowment by the LAD.