ARGUMENT MOVEMENT IN THE TIV LANGUAGE

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Abstract – This paper investigates the mechanism of argument movement in the derivation of grammatical Tiv construction. It examines Tiv as a syntactically ergative language and how ergative case is valued as well as the feature computation of T in ergative constructions. Raising constructions in Tiv is defined as hyper-raising and this paper also provides insight on how features in such constructions are valued so as to avoid a situation which this paper also identifies as feature roaming. The paper also considers the effects of phase heads: whether strong phase heads block movement or not; it also seeks to account for the features responsible for copy movement where it is operational in Tiv especially in subject to object movement. Using the framework of the Minimalist program, this work submits that DPs ergative constructions value their case in relationship with the verb before movement which makes the movement not for greed but to value the edge feature of T; therefore, T in ergative constructions is identified as mere Ts. In raising constructions, the mechanism of case delay has to be employed so as to avoid "feature roaming". In this case copies left at the extraction sites, overt or covert are still useful in valuation of case in raising constructions in Tiv. In cases of copy movement, the paper accounts for such instances in terms of strong structural features such as Edge feature and complementation. The paper recommends that narrow syntax condition such as Earliness condition is too strict for Tiv syntax and the syntax of other related languages and therefore should be relaxed.

Keywords: Minimalist program, Ergative, Raising, Feature(s), Case delay.

1. Introduction

Argument movement (A-movement) is a form of scrambling that involves the movement of a nominal element from a one Nominal position to another within a clause. These nominal items could be in the form of pronouns (*we* 'you', *mo* 'me', *se* 'we', *ve* 'they', *un* 'he/she'), proper nouns (*Terna, Tersoo; ya, gbenda, sule*). Argument movement is motivated by various principles within the framework of Minimalism ranging from greed to self-enlightened interest as shall be seen in the main body of the work. The reason for A-movement is to value features possessed by a probe in a derivation while the moving DP serves as the goal. These features include: case features, edge features, and other structure relational need such as complement.

Grammarians who are scholars of this program opine that arguments originate from the VP. This is based on the split VP hypothesis. The split VP hypothesis posit that the VP is split into a light verb and the main verb. At the spec, of the main VP is the argument which serves as the object argument of the verb. In other words, it is the internal argument of the predicate as it directly theta marks; and at the outer shell of the VP is a light abstract verb from where the subjects of constructions are derived. This notion about the origin of logical subjects in grammatical constructions is known as the "VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis" (VPISH), and has been widely adopted in research since the mid-1980s and will be also used in this paper. The concept of movement is however not defined from their original positions acquired via external merge, but from positions acquired via internal merge into another argument position.

This work is however divided into sections. Section one identifies the properties of A-movement in the Tiv language. Section two examines ergative constructions in the Tiv

language. Section three discusses raising in relation to subject-to-subject raising, and subject to subject raising in the language. Section four concludes the paper. This work suggests the absence of passive constructions in Tiv, therefore it shall not be treated as a form of movement relating to this language.

1.1. Properties of A-movement in Tiv

a. The moved element is a DP.

b. Movement is an obligatory operation.

c. The site from which the DP moves is a position to where case can be valued.

d. The landing sites of the movement are positions to which no theta role is assigned.

e. The movement terminates in a position where Case is finally valued.

f. Movement goes strictly upward. In particular, each step of the movement is to a c-commanding position.

2. Ergative constructions

Ergative/unaccusative constructions are those constructions where there is a systematic correspondence existent between the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb in the sense that they display similar case feature. It is the subject of these intransitive verbs that are called ergative while those of the transitive verbs are referred to as absolutive (Crystal 1980, p. 172). In the words of Radford (1988), an ergative construction is "[…] an intransitive clause which has a transitive counterpart in which the transitive object corresponds to the ergative subject" (Radford 1988, p. 446).

Unergative verbs differ from unaccusatives in that the subject of a unergative verb has the thematic role of an agent argument, whereas the subject of an unaccusative verb has the thematic property of being a theme argument. The general belief is that an ergative structure is a construction in which the transitive verb becomes unaccusative, and the accusative case is realized in the subject position.

Tiv is a syntactically ergative language. This is because it has no morphological inflection/reflection for ergativity. Syntactic ergativity does not imply the absence of the morpho-syntactic feature, but just like other morpho-syntactic case, the feature is inherent from the pre-syntactic derivation, and is therefore valued and deleted by the verb during the process of assigning theta role to the DP. For example

1. [TP ìjíngí   la   I   hémbe   ~~ìjíngí la~~]
   [TP *Mirror the AgrS   break Pst. ~~Mirror~~*]
   'The mirror broke'.

2. [TP Tso la   á   Mílé   ~~tso la~~]
   [TP *Ship the AgrS sink Pst. ~~ship the~~*]
   'The ship sank'

3. [TP Ya   ne hía   ~~ya   ne~~]
   [TP *House this   burn ~~house this~~*]
   'This house burnt'

From the data above, the case of the subjects has been valued by the ergative verbs. The theta roles of the subject 'ìjíngí la', 'Tso la', and 'ya ne' both have their case features val-

ued before movement. The DPs also have their theta roles assigned by the verbs to which they served as internal arguments. Therefore, the reason for movement is to satisfy the edge features of the T in the constructions.

For discursive purposes, (1) can explained as being derived by merging the verb '*hémbe*' with the DP '*ìjíngí*' to form VP. The DP occupies the spec position of the VP as the object of '*hémbe*' where its ergative case features have been valued. The ergative case feature is valued here because it is a lexical feature that operates along the same line with theta roles. The VP is then merged to an abstract light performative verb with V strong features that attracts the verb '*hémbe*' to move from its position to merge to it. This merge produces the light *v*-bar projection. The light verb also has strong [EPP] feature that requires it to have a subject, and therefore, it attracts the DP '*ìjíngí*' to move and merge with it to form the *v*P projection.

The movement of ergative subjects takes the shortest leap in Tiv; i.e. movement is in phases in Tiv no matter the distance to be covered by the moved item; short or long movement is still propositional. This replaces the strict cyclicity condition and is observed so as to avoid the wrath of PIC. The abstract *v* is also a phase head which is defined as propositional and serves as intermediate movement domain for moving constituents within a construction. Sequel to this, at the end of the *v*P derivation, the complements of *v* are transferred to the interface levels for interpretation.

The *v*P is then merged with an AgrS particle 'i' to form AgrS bar. The AgrS possesses an [EPP] feature in Tiv language. This requirement enables it to value its unvalued agreement features with an appropriate goal. Therefore, AgrS probes downwards and tracks[1] the DP '*ìjíngí*' in the subject position of the light verb and triggers it to move and merge to it as its specifier, thus forming AgrSP. The DP '*ìjíngí*' values its agreement features of person and number at the AgrS projection as required and deletes them. The AgrSP is merged with an abstract T to form T-bar projection. The abstract T has [EPP] features that require it to have a subject. This makes it to attract the closest argument '*ìjíngí*' still in line with ACP which makes it to move and merge to it. The TP is then merged to an abstract Force head to give it the declarative force it needs, and as a phase head enable it to be transferred to the interface levels

The movement into the specifier position of T is not for the principle of greed. This is because the argument has already had its ergative case features valued and deleted in its relationship with the verb. Consequently, it moves into the subject position just in satisfaction of the clause requirement to have a logical subject, thereby valuing the Edge feature of T. Ergative case is a theta related case, better described as Lexical/inherent case assigned by the verb in association with theta role, and therefore the DP maintains its ergative case and theta role even when it moves to the subject position.

The problem that one may encounter in accounting for ergative constructions in Tiv is the question as how T is able to value and delete the nominative case features since its features does not match those of the ergative subject so as to avoid Feature Roaming[2] because finiteness of a T is suspected to suggest the presence of Nominative case. The submission here is that T in Tiv ergative constructions is a mere[3] T which is not assigned

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[1] Tracking is a term used to describe the awareness of constituents with matching features within a derivation.

[2] Feature Roaming is a term developed and used in this paper to describe the situation where features will be stranded after entering a computation due to lack of valuation, thereby destabilizing the derivation.

[3] A mere head is that which contains only semantic features, in this case a mere T is that without case features either because the features were absent from the pre-syntactic computation or they have been valued and it is left with only semantic role(s).

unvalued case feature in the pre-syntactic computation; its function in ergative construction is semantic. However its Edge feature will be satisfied because it is there from the pre-syntactic computation. The analyzed construction can be formally represented as follows

4.
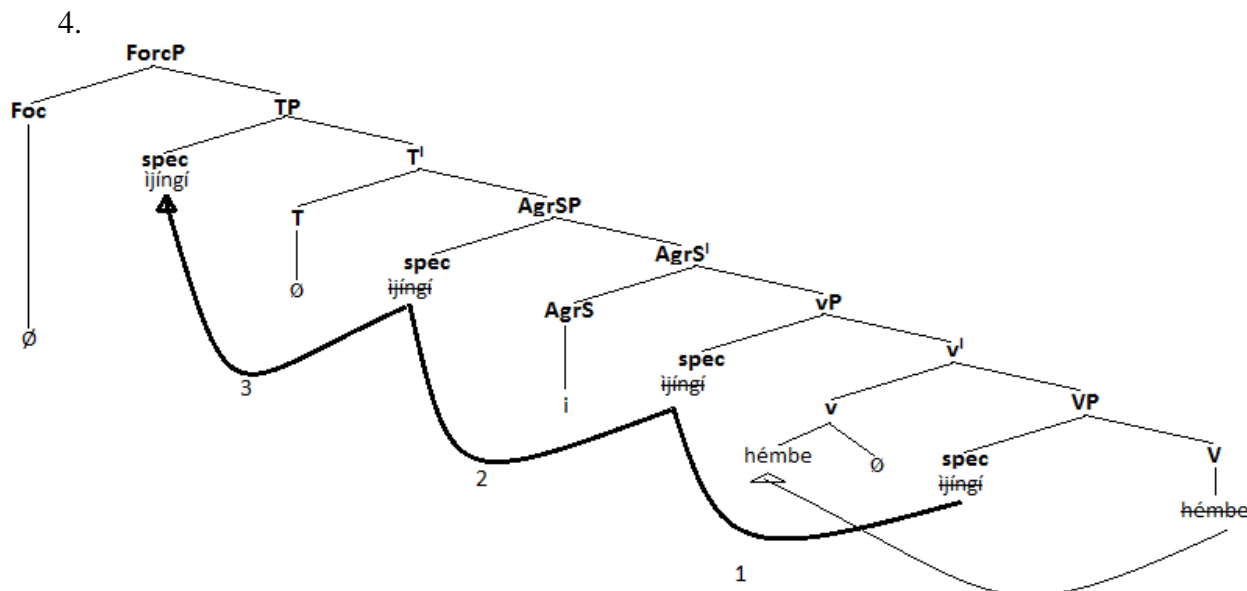
Reading from the schema above, the thematic role assigned to the DP is that of the theme – the item that is affected by the action denoted by the verb. This is possible because '*ìjíngí*' did not originate from the specifier position of the light verb where an agent role would have been assigned to it, rather it moves from the object position where it has already been assigned theta role to the subject position.

3. Raising Constructions in Tiv

Raising is a potent process of movement, whereby owing to the subcategorization structure of the verb and other essential grammatical features such as [EPP] and case, the subject of an embedded clause is raised to the subject position of the matrix clause. In this form of A-movement, the category remains the same in Tiv language as well as the category. Raising can be motivated semantically by scope because any argument position in the matrix clause has scope over those in the embedded clause. One distinctive feature of Raising predicates such as '*inja er'*/*seem* is that they are unaccusative and do not assign an external thematic role. For this reason, it would have been possible for an expletive – a semantically null element– to be the subject of a Raising predicate. Tiv chooses to leave the subject position of a raising predicate empty because Tiv does not have any expletive. However, this has been identified as one of the areas of exploration for students of the grammar of various languages, which Tiv is not an exception.

Raising predicates in Tiv have unique behaviours in terms of optionality. Aligning the submission of this paper with Baltin (2001), 'there is no known raising predicate at all that allow for an optional infinitive/finite complement' in Tiv; however, the possibility of a raising predicate taking an infinitival complement is not easily predictable, especially in Tiv but predominantly, raising is from a finite embedded clause to a finite matrix clause.

   This work illustrates the following issues about heads (phase and non-phase):

i. Languages like Tiv chose to make overt non-defective phase heads than defective phase heads (hence C_{def} selects T_{def} while C* selects T*)

ii. Defective or non-defective phase head do not block movement of a constituent out of a minimal sentence

iii. Sequel to (i) above, defective T in Tiv has C and yet fails to value case features, therefore C is also defective

3.1 Subject to subject raising

The subject to subject movement in Tiv is a form of movement whereby the subject of an embedded sentence is being raised to the matrix subject position for scope and valuation of features - [EPP] and case. Subject to subject raising in Tiv is from a finite construction to a finite construction. In as much as the construction is finite, the Nominative case feature of the DPs is not valued in the embedded clause, but delayed till the DP reaches the edge of the matrix T. Subject to subject raising in itself can be summarized based on its behavior thus:

a. The raising construction involves not less than two clauses where one is the matrix clause and the other embedded clause.

b. The matrix verb does not assign a thematic role to its external argument because prior movement: the theta position is empty.

c. The subject to subject raising in Tiv is basically to satisfy the stipulation of [EPP] and case, and semantically for scope thence, case valuation is delayed and valued in the matrix clause.

Raising predicates in Tiv do not carry an expletive in the matrix subject position prior to movement. The subject position is empty; therefore it is interpreted as a null subject construction. For example:

5.
a. [$_{TP}$ ka ínja er[$_{TP}$ Sésùgh vôôr nàhán]]
 [$_{TP}$ *is sense like* [$_{TP}$ *Sésùgh tired so*]]
 'It seems Sesugh is tired'

b. [$_{TP}$ Sésùgh ngu ínja er [$_{TP}$ ~~sésùgh~~ a vôôr nàhán]]
 [$_{TP}$ *Sesugh is sense like* [$_{TP}$ ~~*Sesugh*~~ *AgrS tired so*]].
 'Sesugh seems to be tired'.

6.
a. [$_{TP}$ Ka ínja er [$_{TP}$ bégha ngu ken gèrí ne nàhán]]
 [$_{TP}$ *is sense like* [$_{TP}$ *Lion is in town this so*]]
 'It seems there is a lion in this town'

b. [$_{TP}$ Bégha ngu sha ínja [$_{TP}$ ~~bégha~~ I lú-n ken gèrí ne]]
 [$_{TP}$ *Lion is on sense* [$_{TP}$ ~~*Lion*~~ *AgrS be-ing in town this*]]
 'A lion seems to be in this town'

From the above cited examples (5a, 6a,) the subject positions are empty though they can be interpreted as being filled with an expletive in English. In (5b & 6b) the subjects of the embedded constructions have moved to occupy the subject positions of the matrix sentences. This requires a change of copular. '*ka*' in Tiv language is a stative auxiliary and

can be used to produce the same grammatical effects that "it is" can produce in English. However, in raising constructions, this change is compulsory so that the effect will be removed in the same way the effect of an expletive is removed from a construction after raising. Raising is from a finite embedded clause, and even though the embedded clause is finite (i.e. hyper raising), case valuation is delayed in the embedded clause in Tiv since there is no expletive in the numeration of the matrix clause and "valuation is required for convergence" (Ademola-Adeoye 2010; Rodrigues 2004; Ura 1998). The movement of the DP in these finite and non-finite constructions is complete copying and null copies of the moved items are left behind for reconstruction.

Though AgrS can be used in interpretations of null subject constructions (structurally and/or semantically elliptical constructions) but it does not apply in this context and therefore is not found in the matrix sentence containing the raising predicate because it cannot satisfy the need of these constructions since they have less nominal value and no case value. The absence of the agreement marker in the matrix construction must not be interpreted as lack of agreement. In most cases, the raised DP agrees more with the embedded sentence that the matrix sentence. In such cases, an overt Agr marker may be found next to the extraction site of the moved DP as in 5 and 6 above. The valuation of agreement features in the embedded clause must also be delayed and valued in the matrix clause with the argument absorbing the features. The thematic roles/positions of the verbs are full realized and assigned to the arguments in the construction.

The derivation of (5b) is done by the selection and merge of the verb '*vôôr*' with the Adverb '*nàhán*' to form a VP. The adverb occupies the specifier position of the verb in the projection. The VP is then merged to a light performative verb top form *v*-bar. The light performative verb has strong V and [EPP] features. The V features attract the verb to move from it position to adjoin to the light verb. The [EPP] feature is satisfied by merging '*Sésùgh*' to the Edge of the light verb to for a *v*P.

Movement is also in phases in Tiv: short or long movement is still propositional. This replaces the strict cyclicity condition and is observed so as to avoid the wrath of PIC. The light verb as it has been discussed previously is a phase head, which having projected maximally transfers its complement to the interface levels thereby rendering them frozen – island-like. Therefore the verb transfers the complement leaving behind its Edge constituent(s).

The second phase begins with the merger of the *v*P to an Agr head '*a*' to form a AgrS bar. The AgrS head as a probe with unvalued Agreement feature of person and number probes downwards for a suitable goal with valued Agr features of person and Number. Adhering to ACP, the abstract AgrS head tracks and attracts the DP '*Sésùgh*' from the spec, *v*P to move and merge to it Edge to form AgrSP. In this relationship, the Agr features are valued and deleted. The AgrSP is merged to an abstract finite T to form T bar. T as a probe also has unvalued case features inherited from C and probes downwards for a goal to value it case features. Tracking the DP '*Sésùgh*' it attracts it from the spec, AgrSP to its specifier position.

At this stage, case is not valued in the embedded clause but delayed until the DP goes into agreement with the matrix T. In a case like this, where it is assumed that case is delayed and valued in the matrix clause, an important question is what happens to the unvalued features of the embedded T, which in agree relationship with an appropriate goal does not value its feature, because a probe also needs to deactivate its features so as not keep roaming for a goal to delete/absorb its features, else computation will not be stable resulting to "Feature Roaming". The answer will be that in Tiv the copy left at the extraction site in the embedded clause absorbs the case before the transfer to the interface levels

where it will receive a null spellout. The moved copy values and deactivates its case features while retaining its phonetic spellout in relation with the matrix T. This point to the fact that the eventually null copies left in the extraction sites are still active and useful in computation and derivation as they can be absorb features prior to transfer.

This calls for the copying of the nominal items before valuation of case is carried out; this will not mean delay in transfer but in valuation. This is because, defining the domain of transfer as the complement of a phase head, the argument will be copied first, absorption[4] of the case feature of the embedded T will follow and deletion of the syntactic object, then transfer will take place. The Earliness Condition (EC) states that "Operations must apply as early as possible in a derivation" (Radford 2009), therefore movement will have to take place first to the edge of the phase head C*, and C* will project maximally ready for transfer. However, logically transfer will be delayed also so that the copy left at the extraction site will be able to absorb and delete the case of the finite embedded T. Both the matrix and embedded T have [+Tns] while the AgrS has [uPerson, uNumber]: by implication operation timing could be relaxed if it will result to destabilized derivation. If EC is to apply, it means that the embedded T and AgrS will track the goal with [+person, +Number, Case] and all the features will be valued in the embedded sentence be the different heads. This will leave the matrix T with [+Tns (uCase)] and the matrix AgrS [uPerson, uNumber], and consequently the derivation will be destabilized. It must not be forgotten that any feature that enters into a derivation must be valued.

The price to pay would only be that at the feature valuation would be delayed until a copy of the DP is copied to the edge of the phase head. "If a derivation with uninterpretable features is transferred to the interface unvalued, uninterpretable features will cause the derivation to crash" (Chomsky 2006, p. 13). Case absorption will not stop the copy in the extraction site from receiving null phonetic interpretation, because movement and valuation takes place before transfer and null interpretation only applies in the PF component. After valuation, T becomes mere and inactive of morpho-syntactic features, but assuming a Morpho-semantic form.[5] Only ergative constructions have mere Ts from the pre-syntactic computation but in raising, finite T becomes mere after features have been valued and deleted.

The TP is merged to a raising adverb '*er*' to form AdvP. This is then merged with *v* to form the VP which is the original point of the matrix verb. The matrix verb is then merged to a light performative verb, the specifier position of which is used by the DP in its movement upwards in line with shortest move condition, and the verbs move to adjoin to the light verb to form *v*P. The *v*P is merged to '*ngu*' T head. T has [EPP] features which are satisfied by attraction and movement of '*Sesugh*' into the position not for greed but just to satisfy [EPP] requirement, thus forming a TP.

Phase heads at the end of every derivation are merged overtly or covertly so as to transfer the last computation to the interfaces levels. The TP is then merged to an abstract Forc head to give it the declarative force it needs. This can be represented as follows:

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[4] It must be understood that absorption is less strict than valuation. While valuation is procedural, absorption just incorporates a syntactic feature into a syntactic object that does not possess. Therefore once the valued case feature of the argument is copied and not duplicated, the argument will no longer possess the valued case feature as a goal.

[5] Angitso (2012) identified T, Asp and other affixing heads as containing morpho-semantic features, which trigger head movement.

7.
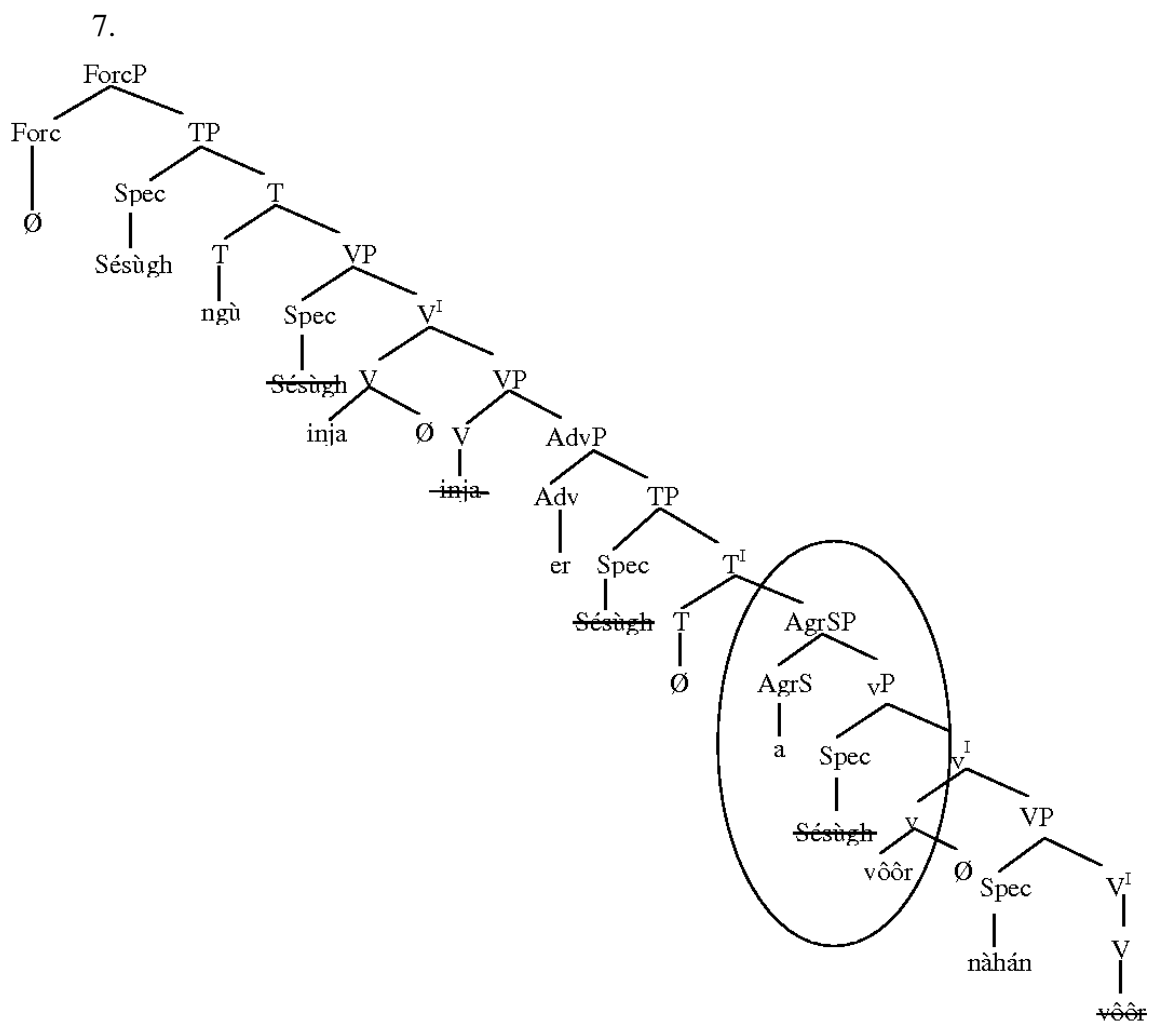
By way of distinction, the operation of raising in Tiv described above is different from control constructions which does not bear and need case, no previous expletive/empty subject, no scope reconstruction such as:

8.

a.   [TP Bèm   vènda [TP u zán sha ya   na]]
     [TP *Bèm   refuse* [TP *to go   on   house his*]]
     'Bem refused to go to his house'

b.   [TP Tersoo úmbùr   [TP u yamén Tákèradá la   ga]]
     [TP *Tersoo   remembered* [TP *to buy   Book   the   not*]]
     'Tersoo did not remembered to buy the book'

9.

a.   [TP Mséndoo nôngo [TP u pàsén íkyáren   I ùnivérsíti]]
     [TP *Msendoo   tried* [TP *to pass   examination of University*]]
     'Msendoo tried to pass the University examination'

b.   [TP Tártèngèr hùngùr [TP u   tôôn Bíbílo na shá húnda]]
     [TP *Tartenger   forgot* [TP *to carry Bible his on   door*]]
     'Tartenger forgot to pick his Bible from the door'.

The data in (8) and (9) are control constructions whose subjects have not been raised from the embedded construction; (a) and (b) are not different constructions.

In synopsis, subject to subject raising in Tiv is strictly a case of hyper-raising. Here, the valuation of nominative case features in finite subject to subject raising are not carried out in any syntactic configuration until the matrix T-head enters the derivation. In finite raising case valuation is delayed. The agreement of the raised DP and the embedded clause must however not be underestimated.

3.2 Subject to object raising

Subject to object raising (henceforth S-O R) is not a strange form of DP movement in Grammar but it comes with a lot of objections, considering the fact that a subject is claimed to move into an object position. The questions usually revolve around the inherent features of the DP, the head and the authenticity of the logic behind the movement of the DP. Tiv language displays a sound behavior that explains some vital issues that arise in this form of raising. Subject to object raising in Tiv is an instance of copy raising – where there is movement of a DP from the subject position of a finite embedded clause and leaves behind a copy that has the status of a full-fledged pronoun when the moved DP is a pronoun (as in what this project refer to as *"se, ve" constructions*), but complete movement when it has to do with lexical DPs, *un-constructions* and pronouns other than those mentioned for copy raising. According to Carllis (2005), subject to object movement typically occurs with:

a. cognition verbs such as *lùmùn* (believe) and *wáìkyo* (consider).

b. many verbs of intention, desire or decision such as *ver áshe* (expect), *soo* (need, and want)

c. verbs of discovery, e.g. *zua* (find)

However the most frequent verbs in S-O R constructions are *ver áshé* (expect), *dè/ná iyan* (allow), *zùà* (find), enable and require, in agreement with Biber *et al*. (1999); Mair (1990), Givon (2001). Cognition and intention verbs do not permit subject to object movement of some pronouns in Tiv.

In subject to object movement in Tiv, a moved nominal item delays (especially pronouns) the valuation of its nominative case property while in the [spec, TP] by allowing it to remain active and violating the Earliness condition (EC). The Minimalist Thesis is that case features are inherent in the DP from pre-syntactic derivation as uninterpretable features and active awaiting deactivation and deletion. This stand is viable for English because even though it does not morphologically inflect for case, DPs especially pronouns reflect case as in he/him, she her. For Tiv therefore, since the pronouns rarely inflect and even reflect case, they enter the derivation with neutral active case features that will be deactivated and valued by an appropriate head (T for Nom., V for Acc., etc) and can no longer function as a goal (Chomsky 2001, p. 6), therefore the interpretation will be based on their positions and the probe it relates with structurally.

10. [$_{TP}$ Se   lùmùn [$_{TPdef.}$ u   pásé-n   íkyarèn]]
    [$_{TP}$ *We agree* [$_{TPdef.}$ *to pass-cont. examination*]]
    'We have agreed to pass examination'

11. [$_{TP}$ Aôndoná   á   tésé   ve]
    [$_{TP}$ *Aôndoná AgrS teachPST them*]
    'Aôndona taught them'

12. [TP A   ôr   a   ve   [ForcP er [TP ve   yem mákeránta]]]
    [TP *AgrS say to   them* [ForcP *that* [TP *they go   school*]]]
    'He/she asked them to go to school'

13. [TP Se   na ún   jìghjìgh]
    [TP *We   give him/her faith*]
    'We believe him/her'

14. [TP Se   fa   [ForcP er   [TP Aôndo ngù a   vese]]]
    [TP *We know* [ForcP *that*   [TP *God   is   with us*]]]
    'We know that God is with us'

The valuation of this case feature is not necessarily a trigger for movement to the object position even though Tiv pronouns rarely assume different phonological shapes as can be found in English pronouns – he/him, she/her. There is every need for a predicate in Tiv language to have its Argument structure saturated. The fact that a predicate takes a clausal complement does not mean imply the saturation of the argument structure. Besides, the object position of the matrix sentence has scope over even the subject position of the embedded sentence; therefore scope could be another reason for movement here.[6] Though less than the satisfaction of EPP yet vital, subcategorization (i.e. complementation) is also a grammatical requirement yet to be acknowledged and discussed by students of grammar. In Tiv, Semantically certain predicates need patients, and these patients sometimes are the agents of the embedded clause. Here, there is always a need to copy the subject of the embedded clause to the object position where the verb can value its accusative case. This paper therefore suggests that subcategorization is a potent structural requirement in grammar in charge of the lower axis of a grammatical construction. Consider:

15.
a. [TP Tersoo á   yílá   [ForcP er [TP ún a   tíndi ún a   nyáregh]]]
   [TP *Tersoo AgrS callPST*   [ForcP *that* [TP *he AgrS send him with money*]]]
   'Tersoo called that he should send money'

b. [TP Tersoo á   yílá   ún [ForcP er   [TP ún a   tíndi ún a   nyáregh]]]
   [TP *Tersoo AgrS callPST him* [ForcP *that* [TP he *AgrS send him with money*]]]
   'Tersoo called him to send him money'

In Tiv S-O R, there is partial and complete movement of DPs from the subject position to the object position in the sense that when the DP is copied and moved, instead of leaving a copy of itself at the extraction site which should eventually receive a null spellout, the copy left receives a phonetic and logical interpretation – a typical instance of Hyper and copy-raising in Tiv. This is to carter for the structural need of the clause where there will be an item that will not render the embedded clause ungrammatical by complete movement. For example:

16.
a. [TP Se   na jìghjìgh [ForcP ye [TP ve a   hìde mbee u laadì]]]
   [TP *We give faith*   [ForcP *that* [TP *they AgrS return end of Sunday*]]]
   'We believe that they will return at the end of the week'

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[6] We strongly believed that scope is in degrees in the sense that first degree scope can be found in the matrix clause, inferring that constituents in the matrix clause have scope over those in the embedded clause which will be second degree scope.

b. [_TP_ Se   na ve   jìghjìgh [_ForcP_ ye [_TP_ ve a   hìde mbee u laadì]]]
   [_TP_ *We give them faith* [_ForcP_ *that*[_TP_ *they AgrS return fut. end of Sunday*]]]
   'we believe them that they will return at the end of the week'

17.
a. [_TP_ Or tèsé-n   u nongo wásé   ka a   de   [_ForcP_ ye [_TP_ se   va
   [_TP_ *Man teach-cont. of line   our is AgrS allow IMPERF   [_ForcP_ that [_TP_ we*
   mákeránta léti]]]
   come school late]]]
   'Our class teacher allows that we come to school late'

b. [_TP_ Or tèsé-n   u nongo wásé de   se [_ForcP_ ye [_TP_ se   va
   [_TP_ *Man teach-cont. of line   our allow PERF. us* [_ForcP_ *that* [_TP_ *we come*
   mákeránta léti]]]
   school late]]]
   'Our class teacher allows us to come to school late'

From the above data, the "*se/ve*" constituents are pronouns and they have moved from their positions in the subject position of the embedded sentences to the matrix clause object position with overt copies left at the extraction site. The instances where there are overt copies of the moved elements left in the extraction sites, are for semantic reasons than syntactic reasons. The copies are there for reconstruction reasons than satisfaction of EPP and the valuing and deletion of the nominative case of T to avoid feature roaming. By implication, case is delayed until a copy of the DP is raised to the edge of the phase head, then the nominative case is valued and the derivation transferred to the interface levels. Semantically the overt copies left complete the sense in these constructions.

From example (16b) and (17b) above, the occurrence of the Complementizer does not hinder the movement of the DP from the subject position to the object position of the matrix verb, rather the object DP will use the edge of the phase head as an intermediate step in its movement to the object position of the matrix clause (through the phase head using the multiple specifier hypothesis) as a way of avoiding the wrath of PIC.

The absence of a Complementizer, at least a null Complementizer in Tiv constructions will generally render the constructions defective because there will be nothing to transfer the phase to the interface levels. Consequently, an abstract or/and overt Complementizer (defective or non-defective) are needed in Tiv syntax. The distinction of defective and non-defective Complementizer suggests two types of T heads: Bare T and Mere T. A bare TP (headed by a non-finite T) is empty because it has no defined temporal semantic input in a construction, and by the feature inheritance mechanism there is no potent C-head from which it will inherit unvalued case feature: lack of finiteness implies lack of case features. Mere T is that without unvalued case feature because it has already been valued and can only be used for semantic purposes or the case feature is absent from the pre-syntactic computation. This is a regular form of movement in Tiv even though the DP is raised across a phase head which is not defective as in the examples above and similar constructions. The C in Tiv is present because it is the head from which T inherits unvalued case feature for valuation so as to get full interpretation and it does not block movement.

In Tiv however, the moved subject DP has full agreement with the embedded T, but chooses to delay the valuation of case because it will not be possible to copy after case valuation. In fact in Tiv as it would be seen in subject to object movement, case delay is potent due to the fact that the nominal items in the language do not reflect and inflect case, therefore attempted early valuation may result to disagreement of the probe and the goal thereby causing the derivation to crash because case cannot be valued if there is no agree-

ment. In this case, the pronouns enter the derivation with a generally valued case which will be defined based on the probe to which it is attracted (T= NOM, V=ACC.).

In cases where it is assumed that case is delayed and valued in the matrix clause, it has already been submitted in this work that the null copy left at the extraction site in the embedded clause absorbs the case before the transfer to the interface levels where it will receive a null spellout when there is no pronominal copy (full or resumptive) in the extraction site to absorb the case. When there is a full pronominal in the extraction site, it absorbs the case. Since there is no overt pronoun (full or resumptive) to absorb the case in (38b)-(39b) below, the copies nullifies and deletes the case before receiving a null spellout. It must be reiterated that in instances in Tiv language where there is a resumptive pronoun in the extraction site, it values and deletes the case, as will still be shown later. The moved copy values and deactivates its case features while retaining its phonetic spellout.

Lexical Nouns and a Pronoun like '*un*' have a unique behavior when it comes to the issue of subject to object raising and therefore will be called '*un-constructions*'. Lexical nouns move completely as a way of avoiding redundancy in grammar as illustrated in example 19 below. '*un*' as a pronoun moves completely form the embedded clause to the matrix clause leaving behind a copy that will eventually receive a null spellout by deletion. For example:

18.
a. [TP Or   tèsé-n   yángé kav   ForcP er [TP un ngù bîè-n   ken ìyough   I
   [TP *Man teach-cont. day   discover*[ForcP *that* [TP *he is cheat-cont in house of*
   kàrénév]]]
   examination]]]
   'The teacher discovered that he was cheating in the examination hall'

b. [TP Or tèsé-n   yángé kav   ún [TP ~~un~~ bîè-n   ken ìyough I
   [TP *Man teach-cont. day   discover him* [TP ~~he~~ *cheat-cont in   house of*
   kàrénév]]
   examination]]
   'The teacher discovered him to be cheating in the examination hall'

19.
a. [TP Terhemen na gbéndá [ForcP er [TP Tersoo a   zá ké ya]]]
   [TP *Terhemen give road   [ForcP that [TP Tersoo AgrS go in house]]]*
   'Terhemen permitted that Tersoo can go home'

b. [TP Terhemen na   Tersoo gbéndá [ForcP er [TP Tersoo a   zá ké ya]]]
   [TP *Terhemen   give Tersoo road   [ForcP that [TP ~~Tersoo~~ AgrS go in house]]]*
   'Terhemen has permitted Tersoo to go home'

Example (19b) displays an instance of complete movement. The matrix verb is composed of V-N items and a noun does not take an object in Tiv, but the verb does, therefore the verbal construction has to be split up to fix the object next to the verb. In (19a) and (b), there is a complementizer which has not hindered movement. The copy of the raised DP in (19b) valued the nominative case before receiving a null spellout. Transfer was also delayed.

'*un*' movement in S-O R is sometimes an instance of covert movement (LF movement) while in another it is that of overt movement, due to the procrastination of the operation prior to spellout such as (20b) and (21b) shown below:

20.
a. [TP Terfa wàsè   [TP ún a   zùà a   mákeránta]]
    [TP *Terfa enable*   [TP *he AgrS get AgrO school*]]
    'Terfa enabled that he gets a school'

b. [TP Terfa wàsè   ún [TP ~~un~~ zùà a   mákeránta]]
    [TP *Terfa enables him*[TP ~~he~~ get   AgrO school*]]
    'Terfa helped him get a school'

21.
a. [TP Tersoo tíndi [ForcP er   [TP ún   a   za yam tákèrádá]]]
    [TP *Tersoo send* [ForcP *that* [TP *he/she AgrS go buy   book*]]]
    'Tersoo sent him that he should go and buy a book'

b. [TP Tersoo tíndi ún   [ForcP er [TP ~~ún~~   a   za yam tákèrádá]]]
    [TP *Tersoo sent him/her* [ForcP *that* [TP ~~he/she~~ AgrS go   buy   book*]]]
    'Tersoo sent him/her that he should go and buy a book'

22.
a. [TP Tersoo   na   jìghjìgh [ForcP er   [TP ún   a   ii   ìkyègh ga]]]
    [TP *Tersoo   give faith*   [ForcP *that* [TP *he/she AgrS steal chicken not*]]]
    'Tersoo did not believe that he/she will steal chicken'

b. [TP Tersoo   na   ún   jìghjìgh [ForcP er [TP ~~ún~~   a   ii   ìkyègh
    [TP *Tersoo   give him/her faith*   [ForcP *that* [TP ~~him/her~~   AgrS steal chicken
    ga]]]
    not]]]
    'Tersoo did not believe her to steal the chicken'

(20b) above is an instance of covert movement because it is less expensive and sneaky. (21b) and (22b) are covert movement because it crosses the complementizer, making it clear for one to notice that a syntactic object actually moved. Examples (20)-(22) above are all instances of movement from finite to finite clauses.

There are however cases where the DP remains in situ and does not move outside the embedded clause even at the LF. This can be explained as dependent the type of verb in the matrix sentences. In Tiv intention verbs such as "soo" (want, need); if movement of any sort applies, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. An unwritten rule guiding such constructions can be relayed as cognitive and intention verbs must carry an overt Complementizer which in some cases does not block the movement of the subject of the embedded clause from raising to become the object of the matrix sentence. For example:

23.
a. [TP Mba márén   náv soo   [ForcP er [TP ún   a   zá mákeránta]]]
    [TP *Plu.   parent   his/her want* [ForcP *that* [TP *she/he AgrS go school*]]]
    'His/Her parents wants that He/She should go to school'

b. ??[TP Mba márén náv soo ún   [ForcP er [TP ~~ún~~   a   zá mákeránta]]]
    [TP *Plu.   parent his/her wants her/him* [ForcP *that*[TP ~~he/she~~ AgrS go   school*]]]
    'His/Her parents want her to go to school'

In (23b) there is an attempt to move the subject of the embedded clause to the matrix clause which have resulted into ungrammaticality. The translation in English has an embedded non-finite clause, but in Tiv both clauses are finite, reading from the absence of the infinitival '*u/to*'.

Verbs such as '*vershíma*' (expect) also exhibit an interesting behavior in Tiv language as they do not give rise to grammatical sentences when the subject of the embedded clause has been raised to become the object of the matrix sentence. Partial and complete copying of the constituent does not apply to yield grammaticality in any sentence. Rather it prefers duplicate the subject of the embedded clause for emphasis.[7] The example below shows that '*vershima/expect*' is not a raising verb in Tiv because the same behavior is noticed with lexical DPs as in (24) below. For example:

24.
a. [TP Baba vershíma [ForcP er [TP se pásé íkyárén]]]
   [TP *Baba expects*   [ForcP *that* [TP *we pass examination*]]]
   'Baba expects that we pass our examination'

b. ??[TP Baba   vershíma se [ForcP er [TP ~~se~~ pásé íkyárén]]]
   [TP *Baba expects us* [ForcP *that* [TP ~~we~~ pass examination*]]]
   'Baba expects us to pass examination'

Rather:

25. [TP Baba vershíma [ForcP er [TP sé se pásé íkyárén]]]
    [TP *Baba expects*   [ForcP *that* [TP *we AgrS pass examination*]]]
    'Baba expects us to pass examinations'

26.
a. [TP Tersoo vershíma [ForcP er [TP Terna a mough sha]]]
   [TP *Tersoo expect*   [ForcP *that* [TP *Terna AgrS stand up*]]]
   'Tersoo expects that Terna will stand up'

b. ??*[TP Tersoo vershíma Terna [ForcP er [TP ~~Terna~~ a mough sha]]]
    [TP *Tersoo expect   Terna* [ForcP *that* [TP ~~Terna~~ *AgrS stand   up*]]]
    'Tersoo expects Terna to stand up'

In (24b) the test is run by moving the embedded subject pronoun which proved to be ungrammatical. Rather in (25b), by duplicating the subject, the sentence is grammatical. This indicates that matrix scope is a potent reason for subject to object movement because the object of the matrix verb has more scope that the subject of an embedded clause. In (26b) an attempt to move the proper noun has yielded ungrammaticality. In this case, duplication of the subject is not permitted even for the sake of emphasis.

Raising in Tiv exhibit a certain behavior which implies strict restriction on subsequent movement(s) of an already raised DP in subject to object movement, or subject to subject movement except it raises through *phase route*. Raised DPs cannot be further moved by sub-extraction (raising out of another embedded clause) and taken to another position, while extraction of regular DPs is permitted. This will make the sentence semantically elliptical and structurally ungrammatical. This is quite different from shortest movement in the sense that in Tiv a moving DP cannot stop in transit at the edge of a phase head except it remains in situ after derivation. This point implies that not all raised DPs belong to the matrix clause. For example:

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[7] The process of duplicating subjects in Tiv is to give it emphasis.

27.

a. [_{FocP} Ka hánmà wán   [_{TP} ú hén   [_{ForcP} we [_{TP} nan   a   za wán ìkyegh
   [_{FocP} *FM which child*   [_{TP} *you think* [_{ForcP} *that* [_{TP} *ResPro AgrS go little chicken*
   [_{TP} u za tee-n   ~~wan~~   ~~ikyegh~~?]]]]]
   [_{TP} *to go sell-cont ~~little~~ ~~chicken~~*?]]]]]
   'Which child do you think that will go to sell the chicken?'

**b. [_{FocP} ka hánmà wán [_{TP} ú   hén wán ìkyegh [_{ForcP} we [_{TP} nan   a   za
   ~~wán~~ ~~ikyegh~~ [_{TP} u za téén   ~~wán~~ ~~ikegh~~?]]]]]
   [_{FocP} *FM which child* [_{TP} *you think little chicken* [_{ForcP} *that* [_{TP} *ResPro AgrS   go*
   ~~little chicken~~ [_{TP} *to go sell-cont. ~~little chicken~~*?]]]]]
   'Which child do you think will go to sell the chicken?'

In (27a), '*wán ìkyegh*' has been moved from the object position of the embedded clause to the object position of the higher clause. (27b) is ungrammatical because '*wán ìkyegh*' has been moved again form the object position of the higher clause to another higher clause. If '*wán ìkyegh*' were moving to the position it occupies in (27b), it would have followed the edge of the phase heads to escape to its target position.

4. Conclusion

In synopsis, the operation of moving arguments in Tiv language has similarities and variations with other languages. Tiv operates hyper-raising where movement is from an embedded finite clause to a matrix finite clause. In this case, since both constructions are potent in valuation of the nominative case feature, case delay is employed to avoid a situation this paper identifies as feature roaming. In fact, case and agreement features of the DP to be raised are delayed and valued in the matrix clause. Subject to object movement is predominately copy movement even though there are instances where there is complete movement. In this movement, pronouns enter the derivation with neutral case which is interpreted with an appropriate head after valuation since Tiv pronouns apart from "vese/*us*" does not reflect case like English pronouns. Subject to object movement is potent even when there is an overt phase head, therefore phase heads do not block A-movement in the Tiv language. It is however recommended that the concept of case delay be explored further in relation to the mechanisms of MP.

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