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QUIRKY VERB MOVEMENT IN SLOVENIAN

(Qualifying Review 1 Paper)

1. INTRODUCTION

Verb movement is a phenomenon that has been studied extensively within the framework of Chomskyan generative grammar. Since Pollock 1989, a seminal work on the phenomenon, a number of studies have offered important insights into both language-specific and language-universal properties of verb movement. Generally, the term 'verb movement' (or 'verb raising') refers to the displacement of the verb (V) from its base position (as the head of the V(erb) P(hrase)) in the clausal structure to some higher (functional) head in the functional layer. In the framework of the Government & Binding Theory in the 80s, verb movement was motivated by the need of a bare lexical verb to associate with the inflectional affixes hosted by the functional heads (the 'Stranded Affix Filter'; Lasnik 1981, in Lasnik 2000; see also Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1991 in Chomsky 1995; Belletti 1990, among others). By contrast, the M(inimalist) P(rogram) (Chomsky 1995) posits a strict lexicalist approach, assuming that all verbs enter the syntactic derivation already clothed with tense and agreement features and that these only need to be checked against appropriate functional heads above VP. Functional heads do not contain any overt inflectional material but only bundles of abstract morphosyntactic features which serve to check the corresponding inflectional features of the lexical heads. In order for feature-checking to take place the verb has to move from its base position to the relevant functional heads in the functional layer above the lexical layer. Hence, all type of movement in the MP is triggered by feature-checking requirements.

This paper focuses on verb movement in Slovenian from a very different perspective as it has generally been reported in the syntactic literature. It deals with verb placement of finite lexical verbs in declarative clauses, trying to answer the question of what are the general properties of Slovenian verb placement and showing that the term 'quirky' in the title is more than justified since all recent accounts of verb movement in Slovenian have postulated some kind of 'optionality accounts' by positing that some main lexical verbs raise out of VP whereas some stay *in situ*, presumably due to poor(er) mood and tense morphology or some extraneous aspect force/feature.

Adopting Cinque's account on 'restructuring' verbs in Italian (Cinque 2002, forthcoming), I propose a new conceptual (and empirically well-motivated) account of verb placement in Slovenian without having to posit *optionality* in the sense of any previous account, nor postulate any 'general' verb movement at all with 'genuine' lexical verbs. I show that verb movement with modal auxiliaries, copula *be*, auxiliary *be*, and some other, mostly unaccusative verbs, is only apparent in the sense that these verbs are modal-like or 'functional' in nature, base-generated in distinct modal and aspectual functional heads above VP rather than in the base position in the VP.

2. SLOVENIAN MORPHOSYNTAX

A slight digression is in place to familiarize the reader with general properties of the syntax of verb morphology of Slovenian.

2.1 Finite vs. non-finite distinction in Slovenian

Slovenian does *not* show a typical finite-non-finite distinction, such as Italian, Spanish, English, or French, for example. There are no ECM constructions or constructions with the complementizer *for* followed by an infinitival clause. Non-finite forms (ending in *–ti* or *–t*) only appear after modal verbs (which is a very small, restricted class of verbs, see below), so practically no lexical verb c-selects an infinitival clause unless in infinitival clauses of purpose. These constructions are sometimes traditionally referred to as *supine* constructions (Ilc, p.c.), as in (1) and (2) below, where the infinitival clause expresses 'purpose' or 'intention' (Toporišič 2000: 402)[1]

(1) Peter gre *slikat* labode na Bled.
Peter goes paint-$_{inf}$ swans on Bled
'Peter goes to Bled to paint the swans'

(2) Poslal je dekleta *pomolst*.
sent *pro* is girls milk-$_{inf}$
He sent the girls to milk the cows'

[1] A supine construction is a construction containing a verb of movement (*go, walk, drive, send*), followed by an infinitive.

2.2 Modal verbs in Slovenian

Toporišič (2000: 612) lists the following verbs as modal verbs in Slovenian: *moči* (can), *hoteti* (want), *morati* (must, should), *smeti* (can, may, might, must). *Morati* (must) is a 'pure' modal auxiliary (AUXMOD) which takes an infinitival complement:

(3) Peter mora priti ob treh
Peter must (3^{rd}sgpres) come-$_{inf}$ at three
'Peter must come at three.'

Modal auxiliaries inflect for tense and person/number agreement. They have two non-finite forms, e.g., the infinitive *morati* (must) and the past participle (the –l participle) *moral*[2]. AUXMOD subcategorizes for the infinitive of lexical verbs (cf. example in (3)).

2.3 The Tense/Agreement system in Slovenian

Slovenian distinguishes among three tenses, only one being simple, namely the present tense. The past and future tenses are both periphrastic (compositional/complex), formed with the AUX *be* (AUXBE)[3] and the active past participle (the '–l participle')[4]. The agreement system comprises three persons (1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{rd}), three numbers (sg, du, pl), and three genders (masc, fem, neut).

Be is the only AUX that is used in the formation of tenses. It inflects for tense (present or future) and person/number agreement. Both the present and the future forms of AUXBE are clitics and have no full counterparts, but may be stressed for emphasis or contrast (Milojević Sheppard 1997). AUX *be* has two non-finite forms, the infinitive (*biti*) and the past participle (the –l participle) (*bil*), which inflects for gender and number agreement.

[2] Ilc (p.c.) reminds me that AUXMOD *noče* (not want, 3^{rd} sg) has no nonfinite forms and should thus be analyzed as a single unit, morphologically composed of a negative head *ne* [neg] + the finite form *hcč*- [want, +Tense/Agr].

[3] I will use the label AUXBE to make a distinction between auxiliary *be* and copula *be* (COPBE).

[4] Ilc (p.c.) remarks that it is probably safer to call the Slovenian participle simply 'the –l participle'. However, for my later analysis of participial constructions, it is crucial to label such participle as 'the past participle'. It is true that many syntactitians working with Slavic languages simply use the term 'participle' (Milojevic-Sheppard 1997, Lambova 2003 among others) though in glosses, they always gloss the –l participle with the English –ed participle ('past participle'). (Milojević Sheppard 1997, Franks 1998, Lambova 2003, among others), assuming their label 'participle' truly corresponds to 'past participle' cross-linguistically.

AUX *be* agrees with the Subject in person and number, and with the participle in gender and number. AUX *be* c-selects the active –l participle of lexical verbs (to form compound tenses) and the –n/-t passive participle of lexical verbs to form passive constructions:

(4) Peter je kupil nov avto
Peter be (3rdsg pres) bought (masc sg) new car
'Peter has bought/bought a new car.'

(5) Peter bo kupil nov avto
Peter be(3rdsg fut) bought (masc sg) new car
'Peter will buy a new car.'

(6) Avto je bil kupljen
car be (3rdsg pres) been (masc sg) bought
'The car was bought.'

(7) Avto bo kupljen
Car be (3rdsg fut) bought (masc sg)
'The care will be bought.'

The infinitival ending is dropped when the tense/agreement suffixes are added. The following is a full paradigm for the verb *igrati* (to play) in the present tense, the masc/fem personal pronouns in the nominative being shown in parenthesis:

PERSON	SG	DU	PL
1st	(Jaz) igra**m**	(Midva/Midve) igra**va**	(Mi/Me) igra**mo**
2nd	(Ti) igra**š**	(Vidva/Vidve) igra**ta**	(Vi/Ve) igra**te**
3rd	(On/Ona) igra**∅**	(Onadva/Onidve) igra**ta**	(Oni/One) igra**jo**

The productive present tense suffixes carry both the tense and agreement features that cannot be teased apart morphologically (i.e., just like in the Italian present tense, for example).

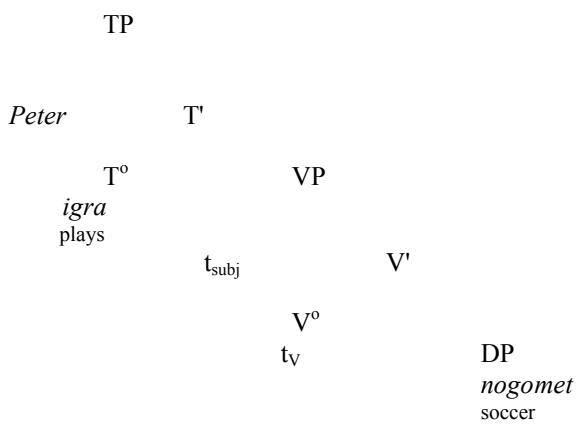
Section 3 sketches the placement of finite verbs in adult Slovenian. Particular attention is given to the placement of finite verbs with respect to adverbs.

3. VERB MOVEMENT

As noted above, in the minimalist generative framework a verb is pulled from the lexicon fully inflected for tense/agreement (and possibly other verbal functional features, such as aspect; see below) and is believed to raise out of VP to check such features against the appropriate functional heads. Slovenian has rich tense and agreement morphology in the present tense, as we saw above (compare the paradigm in the table above with the English paradigm in the present tense), so one would assume that it exhibits overt verb V-T movement, just like French and Italian[5]:

(8) Peter igra nogomet
Peter play (3^{rd}sgpres) soccer
'Peter plays soccer.'

(8')



However, the example in (8) does not tell us anything about the obligatoriness of the verb moving out of the VP (i.e., the verb could simply remain *in situ*). In the spirit of Pollock 1989, we should look at examples with adverbs, negation, and floating quantifiers to be able to say more about verb movement. However, I will leave aside floating quantifiers and negation in this paper and concentrate on adverbs only, the reason being that both negation and floating quantifiers are believed to be unreliable diagnostics for verb

[5] Slovenian is not a V2 language, so it does not exhibit V-T-C movement in declarative sentences. However, V-T-C movement is present in interrogative sentences and in the so-called long head movement (LHM) in compositional tenses; see Section 5 for participial constructions in Slovenian.

movement (but see Ilc 2002 and Ilc & Milojević Sheppard 2002, 2003 for their analyses with floating quantifiers and negation)[6].

The following examples from Ilc 2002 show that the verb in Slovenian does not raise out of VP at all (assuming that the adverbs are either generated in VP (Pollock 1989) or in Spec(ifier) positions of various functional projections above VP (Cinque 1999 and all subsequent work):

(9) Janez odkrito ljubi Marijo
John honestly loves Mary

(10) Janez baje obiskuje Marijo
John apparently visits Mary

The adverbs in (9) and (10) scope over the whole sentence, which provides evidence that the verb cannot raise to some higher functional projection in the TP[7]. However, in the following two examples the adverbs scope only over the object DP, the verb appearing superficially before the adverb:

(11) Janez ljubi odkrito Marijo (ne Marjete)
John loves honestly Mary (not Daisy)

(12) Janez ljubi baje Marijo (ne Marjete)
John loves apparently Mary (not Daisy)

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[6] The negative head *ne* always precedes the finite verb, similar to Italian and Spanish negation. Furthermore, Ilc 2002 and Ilc p.c. show that there are several types of sentence negation and Slovenian negation in unmarked environments (i.e. , when NEG is an unstressed negator) follows 'the prefix type' of negation where the negator *ne*, the head of NegP, requires a finite V^o for a host. ne+V^o form a syntactic unit, which can function as a host for a P2 clitic (i). Note that negator *ne* cannot be analyzed as other syntactic clitics in Slovenian since it is not subject to Wackernagel restraint:

(i) *Ne pravi ji več laži.*
Not tell (3rdsgpres) her-DAT(cl) anymore lies
'He's not telling her lies anymore.'

(ii) *Nikoli ji ga nihče ne bo dal.*
Never her-DAT (cl) it-ACC (cl) noone not be (3rdsgfut) given
'Noone will ever give it to her.'

Hence, Ilc concludes that negation is not an individual head projecting a NegP, but is a reflection of morphological process within the VP, the consequence being that negation cannot be a good criterion for verb movement.

[7] However, *honestly* and *apparently* are pretty 'high' adverbs in the Cinque system, and one might object that they are base-generated in a position higher than the canonical subject position and that the subject can simply be left-dislocated. I'll show below that Slovenian has no verb movement even with low adverbs; I used these examples here as Ilc 2002 speculates on verb movement on these examples, although I see potential danger for such an analysis.

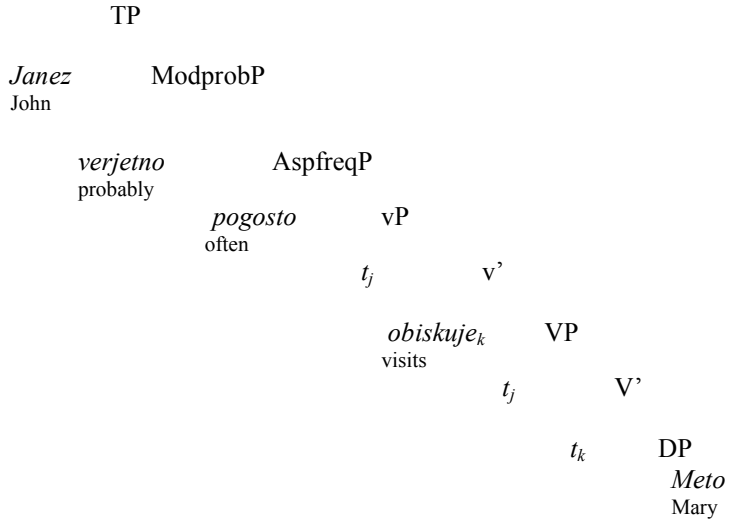
Though one could postulate (11) and (12) show evidence for V-T raising in Slovenian, one should not jump to hasty conclusions. First, these two sentences do *not* sound neutral at all. The stressed/emphasized element is the object DP and a lot of Slovenian native speakers would find such sentences extremely odd. Second, the status of the adverbs in (11) and (12) is not clear, i.e., the question remains whether the adverb is generated in IP, getting a narrow scope, or generated in the VP (hence entailing no V-I(T) movement). To be clearer on this question, we need to look at examples with two adverbs:

(13) Janez verjetno pogosto obiskuje Marijo
John probably often visits Mary

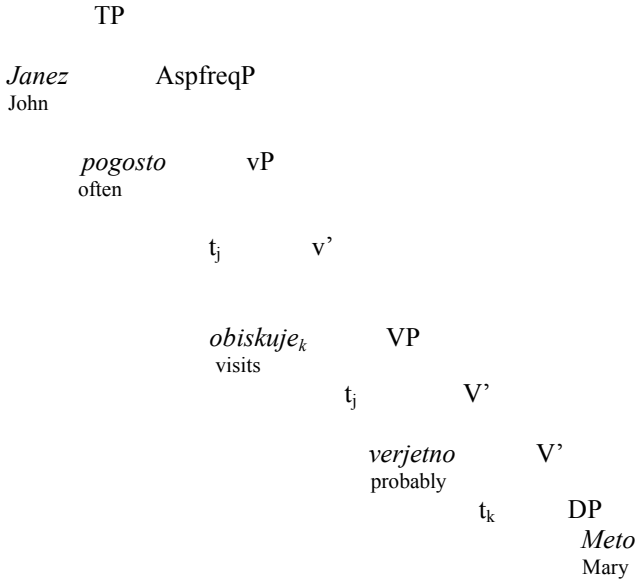
(14) Janez pogosto obiskuje verjetno Marijo (ne Marjete)
John often visits probably Mary (not Daisy)

If we adopt Cinque's model (Cinque 1999), which Ilc 2002 adopts as well, $ModP_{prob}$ is hierarchically above $AspP_{freq}$, the adverbs being base-generated in the Spec positions of these two functional projections respectively. Both adverbs in (13) scope over the IP, whereas in (14) only *pogosto* (often) scopes over the IP, *verjetno* (probably) scoping only over the object DP. (13) with the verb moving to a higher functional projection, again, sounds at least odd if not unacceptable, and definitely not neutral (the DP object being stressed phonetically). (13') represents the structure of (13) and (14') that of (14), according to Ilc 2002:

(13')



(14')



Note that according to Ilc, the adverb in (14') is inside the VP. Ilc argues that this explains the narrow scope of *probably* (only over the object DP). As such, he conludes that (14') cannot serve as evidence for V-I(T) movement. Though this is a logical conclusion, Cinque's system doesn't allow 'modal' adverbs being generated inside the VP. Furthermore, the sentence must have a contrastive reading and does not sound natural at all (cf. (12)). For a better conclusion, one needs to look at other adverbs, particularly at 'low' adverbs (see below).

Slovenian data also constitute a counterexample to both Rohrbacher's (1994, 1999) and Vikner's (1997) verb movement generalizations. Rohrbacher 1994 states that a language has V-to-I(T) movement if and only if there is distinct 1st and 2nd person agreement morphology of regular verbs at least in one number of one tense (Rohrbacher 1994: 108). Vikner (1997: 201) elaborates on Rohrbacher's idea, but restricts the condition to *all* tenses, i.e., a language exhibits verb movement if and only if there is distinct agreement morphology in all tenses, where all tenses are understood as synthetic and not periphrastic. Rohrbacher (1999) extends this analysis of verb movement to Germanic languages and proposes the following generalization about the correlation between verbal inflectional morphology and overt V-I(T) movement: The Paradigm-Verb Raising

Correlate: A language has V to I(T) raising if and only if at least in one number of one tense of the regular verb paradigm(s), the person features [1ST] and [2ND] are both distinctively marked (Rohrbacher 1999: 116).

To accommodate Slovenian, Ilc & Milojević Sheppard (2002: 21) tweak Rohrbacher's generalizations, proposing that overt V-I(T) verb movement occurs if and only if all three absolute tenses are formed synthetically and all synthetic tenses have distinctive agreement morphology[8]. Compare Slovenian T and Agr morphology and tense formation with those of English, Italian, and French in the table in (15):

(15)

	synthetic tenses						obligatory overt V-I(T) movement
	past		present		future		
	T	Agr	T	Agr	T	Agr	
French	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Italian	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
English	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
Slovenian	-	-	+	+	-	-	-

Slovenian, as we saw above, has distinct endings for all persons in the present tense, but has no *obligatory* V-I(T) movement. We could conclude that probably both the agreement and tense morphology must be rich (strong?) for verb movement to take place. Slovenian has very rich agreement morphology, but a pretty poor tense morphology (two out of three tenses being formed periphrastically with auxiliaries). Furthermore, Slovenian has poor mood morphology, declarative and imperative moods being the only moods in the language in question. It is exactly this weakness of both morphological systems that let Ilc 2000 and 2002 posit the account with *optional* V-I(T) movement.[9]

[8] I generally object to such generalizations on empirical grounds, as such theorizing receives very poor cross-linguistic support. Lasnik (p.c.) also remarks that one would expect such generalization(s) to be simply incorrect, presumably as they offer no insight into syntax-morphology interplay in the model we are proposing, unless all it is at stake is really morphology.

[9] A word on optionality is in place here. Ilc 2002 concludes that verb movement in Slovenian is *optional*, taking optionality in the sense of 'in certain syntactic environments' (without spelling out his sense of 'optionality). However, optionality can be understood in two senses, namely 'optional in the same syntactic derivation (where the verb can move or need not move in the same environment' (i.e., the same environment with either the verb being raised or *in situ* will yield a grammatical derivation) or 'optional in the sense that the movement is obligatory in a certain context and prohibited in others' (i.e., environment X calls for obligatory verb movement, whereas environment Y calls for obligatory non-movement). I will

Contrary to tense and mood morphology, Slovenian has extremely rich aspectual morphology. All verbs carry either perf(ective) or imperf(ective) aspect, most of the verbs following the perf(ective)-imperf(ective) minimal pair. The aspect is marked morphologically either with prefixation, change of verb (stem), or suppletion:

(16) a. *pisati* (write, imperf) vs. *napisati* (write, perf)
b. *hoditi* (go, imperf) vs. *iti* (go, perf)
c. *skakati* (jump, imperf) vs. *skociti* (jump, perf)

Sometimes perf verbs made from imperf verbs can turn again into imperf by one of the three morphological processes from above (secondary imperfect):

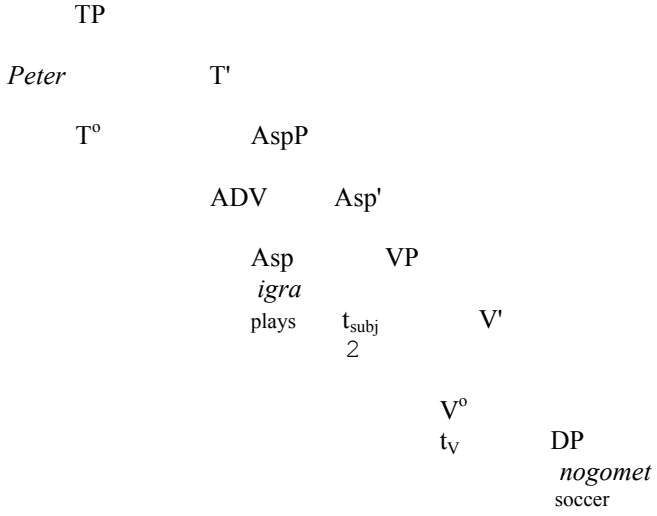
(17) gledati (see, imperf) → ogledati (si) (see, look, perf) → ogledovati (si) (look, see, imperf)

If rich agreement and tense morphology allow overt verb movement from V to I(T), then it is plausible to propose that due to rich aspectual morphology a lexical verb in Slovenian will move to AspP to check the aspectual feature[10]. Prior to Cinque's account on restructuring verbs (Cinque 2002), one could have hypothesized that this is the *only* and *longest* movement in present tense declaratives, an even stronger claim than Ilc 2002 makes. Hence the sentence in (8) above, *Peter (ADV_{freq}) igra nogomet* ('Peter (ADV_{freq}) plays soccer'), repeated here as (18), would be structurally represented as:

show that 'optional' in verb movement in Slovenian refers to both senses of optionality, making the analysis (from syntactic perspective at least, morphology aside) even less tangible, though optionality seems to be more common in the second sense, which, as we will see later, will be a welcome fact for our analysis.

[10] This might be a pure assumption, however, as strong feature does not necessarily reflect in 'strong' (i.e., overt) morphology. I will keep assuming that overt aspectual morphological feature on the verb needs to be checked off against the Asp head (see also Ilc and Milojevć Sheppard 2002 for the same proposal).

(18)



A problem for such an analysis arises immediately, namely how to analyze sentences where verb movement is obvious (later we will see that it is *obligatory*). Though such constructions might be rare, they do appear in the language in question. Consider the following set of sentences (with the verb in bold type):

(19)a Marija **gre** pogosto v šolo z avtom.
Mary goes often to school by car
'Mary often goes to school by car.'

(19)b *Marija pogosto **gre** v šolo z avtom.
Mary often goes to school by car

Interestingly, even in English main lexical verbs can raise across the adverb, as already noticed in Pesetsky 1989, though all the subsequent literature on verb movement has taken Pollock's analysis as standard, assuming no main-verb movement in English. Pesetsky showed that leftward main-verb movement is possible in English with intransitives or transitives followed by PP objects[11]. Hence, the following English sentences are all grammatical:

[11] Pesetsky moves such verbs either to a position that he calls μ, above VP and below INFL, or to INFL, where a verb moved to INFL can assign Case via its trace, while a verb moved to μ cannot. He distinguishes between English μ [-θ-opaque, + Case-opaque] from French μ [-θ-opaque, - Case-opaque] and English INFL [+θ-opaque, - Case-opaque] from French INFL [-θ-opaque, - Case-opaque] (Finite). V-I movement for main lexical verbs and AUX verbs would thus proceed through the intermediate μ (for reasons of HMC or ECP), where μ is a node above each AUX or main V, generated in the tree only when

(20)a Margaret comes often to this cafeteria. [SUBJ Adv V]
b Margaret often comes to this cafeteria. [SUBJ V Adv]

(21)a Bill knocked recently on it. [from Pesetsky 1989, p.17]
(22)b Bill recently knocked on it.

(22)a Harry relies frequently on her.
(22)b Harry frequently relies on her.

However, DP objects do not allow SUBJ V Adv word order:

(23) *Harry sees frequently Mary.
(24) *The doctor examined carefully the patient.

I believe that the fact that English doesn't allow a DP object to be separated from the verb probably simply follows from some general condition of adjacency, as also noted by Pesetsky. The verb that is a case assignor must assign Case rightward to the adjacent DP. In the case of PP complements, the DP receives Case from the preposition and no adjacency condition is needed.

We saw above in (19) that in declaratives with the unaccusative verb *iti* (go) verb movement is obligatory (cf. the ungrammaticality in (19)b). Verb movement is also obligatory in interrogatives (V-T-C) with the same verbs that show raising in declaratives:

(25) a *Ali **gre** Marija pogosto v kino?*.
Q go (3rd sg pres) Mary often to movies
'Does Mary often go to the movies?'
(25)b * Ali Marija pogosto **gre** v kino?
Q Mary often goes to movies?

(26)a Ali **mora** Peter pogosto priti ob petih?
Q must Peter often come at five?
'Must Peter often come at five?
(26)b *Ali Peter pogosto mora priti ob petih?
Q Peter often must come at five

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needed, i.e., it is not a syntactically contentful affix of any kind (unlike AGR-S as for Pollock 1989 or AGR-O, as for Chomsky 1991), in the cases of existential *be* and *have*, non theta-marking verb that do assign case, the verbs move to INFL without landing in μ , since this position does not have to be generated and is motivated only to save the Economy principles; see Pesetsky 1989, p.21ff).

This paper does not deal with interrogatives, though our model can be naturally extended to questions, too. Another environment where verb movement is obligatory is in copula *be* (COPBE) constructions. Consider the following couple of sentences with COPBE in bold type:

(27)a Marija **je** vedno zelo previdna.
Mary **is** always very careful
'Mary is always very careful.'

(27)b Janez **je** ponavadi dokaj previden.
John **is** usually quite careful
'John is usually quite careful.'

So far the story smells very much of English verb movement, namely AUXMOD verbs, AUXBE, and COPBE always raise, whereas main lexical verbs remain *in situ*. However, as we saw above, *not all* main lexical verbs remain *in situ*. *Iti* (go), for example, always calls for verb movement. *Priti* (come) and *prispeti* (arrive) sound better with verb movement than without it. At first glance, it looks that the class of verbs that allow movement includes the set of *unaccusatives* in the language.

However, such a hypothesis cannot hold once one inspects transitive verbs like *hoteti* ('want')[12]:

(28)a Marija **hoče** vedno biti prva. (more natural than (28)b)
Mary wants always be-$_{inf}$ first
'Mary always wants to be first.'

(28)b (?)Marija vedno **hoče** biti prva
Mary always wants be-$_{inf}$ first

(29)a Marija **hoče** vedno (imeti) svoj delež. (more natural than (29b)
Mary wants always (have-inf) her share
'Mary always wants to have her share.'

[12] Note that *hoteti* (want) is in fact listed as a modal verb in Toporišič's Slovenian Grammar, usually followed by an infinitival clause (cf. also our discussion above on Slovenian modals). As such, it is expected to raise to I (T), if it is not base-generated there already; see below.

(29)b(?)Marija vedno **hoče** (imeti) svoj delež.
Mary always wants (have-inf) her share

Cinque (Ilc, p.c.) says that if a language doesn't exhibit verb movement with 'very low' adverbs (e.g., *quickly*, *early*), it probably doesn't have V-T movement. Consider the following sentences (with the verb in bold type):

(30) a. Marija hitro **kupi** kruh.
Mary quickly buys bread

(30) b. * Marija **kupi** hitro kruh.
Mary buys quickly bread

(31) a. Marija zgodaj **kupi** kruh.
Mary early buys bread

(31) b. * Marija **kupi** zgodaj kruh.
Mary buys early bread

It seems at first glance that we are back to our optionality account. Ilc & Milojević Sheppard 2003 indeed still refers to verb movement in Slovenian as *optional*, but from a slightly different perspective now, following Collins 1997, whose account develops a proposal that sometimes a formal feature can be neither strong nor weak. They quote Collins (p.117) that while a strong feature is a feature that is visible at PF and a weak feature is a feature that may be checked only by a pure feature (where this is understood to be a feature that is not part of any lexical item), these two definitions are independent. In other words, they can be cross-classified, allowing for a third type of feature, i.e., a feature that is neither strong nor weak. Such a feature would not be visible at PF and would not have to be checked by a pure feature. As a result, it could be checked either overtly or covertly, hence movement could be optional. Based on such a hypothesis, they argue that Slovenian displays optional overt verb movement to the functional head Asp in the IP-layer, as the following quote shows:

> 'Applying the modified theory of features as proposed by Collins to V-to-Asp movement in Slovenian, the optionality of overt movement to Asp can be straightforwardly accounted for as follows: the V-feature of Asp is (contrary to our claim above) neither strong nor weak and can therefore be checked either by overt or covert movement. However, such an account of V-to-Asp movement casts serious doubt on the validity of the correlation between verbal morphology and feature strength (as assumed above). If strong features are associated with rich verbal morphology and weak features with weak verbal morphology, then what, if any, is the correlation between features which are neither strong nor weak and verbal morphology? Specifically, how can we explain the case of Slovenian, with its rich aspectual morphology and a V-feature in Asp that is neither strong nor weak? Does the correlation between feature strength and verbal morphology perhaps hold only for the first two types of features but not for the third type?

> If so, a uniform theory of features would be rendered impossible – clearly, a conceptually unwanted result.' (p. 30).

As a solution to the optionality problem and the interplay between feature strength and morphology, they replace Move α for Move F (Chomsky 1995) and together with the modified feature theory of Collins 1997, they propose the following (p.32):

(i) In French and Italian the V-feature of T is strong, which triggers overt raising of the tense feature of the verb, with the whole verb being carried along with it to T.
(ii) In English, the V-feature of T is weak, so it may be checked only by a pure feature, i.e. a feature that has moved away from its lexical item (cf. (32b)). Since weak features are checked only by covert movement (cf. footnote 30), the tense feature of the verb raises to T at LF, with the verb staying *in situ* in the overt syntax.
(iii) In Slovenian, the V-feature of Asp is neither strong nor weak. It may therefore be checked either overtly, with the verb being pied-piped to Asp, or covertly, with only the aspectual feature of the verb raising to Asp at LF and the verb staying *in situ* in the overt syntax.

Intuitively several arguments run against such an analysis. First, as mentioned already above, optionality does not function across the board, but is restricted to certain verbs only. Hence, why would the aspectual feature of, say verb x be different from the aspectual feature of verb y if both verbs would have the same syntactic position, exactly the same aspectual morphology, and the same aspectual interpretation. In other words, what determines the strength/kind of feature and more generally, what decides on the specification of the mixed feature if not the verb itself but rather some extraneous other morphosyntactic force. Second, if the verb raises over the adverb to the Asp head only, rather than the T head, why do we have so much data showing verb raising all the way to T (in some declaratives and all wh-questions practically). I believe that Ilc & Milojević Sheppard's 2003 account is only a technological tweak that at the end of the day brings us back to the very same problem of optionality, unknown feature strength and poorly understood interplay between feature strength and overt morphology. I will show below that movement with AUX verbs, COPBE, AUXBE and, with other 'restructuring verbs' is only apparent, with these verbs not being generated in the VP, but rather higher in the functional structure.

4. 'RESTRUCTURING' VERBS AND VERB MOVEMENT IN SLOVENIAN

Following his account of a functional structure of the clause (Cinque 1999), Cinque 2002 sheds light to the 'restructuring phenomenon' (Rizzi 1967, 1978, in Cinque 2002), where certain syntactic phenomena (such as clitic placement) that are otherwise clause-bound appear to be able to span over two clauses. It has been noted in the literature in the last 25 years that the only three classes of verbs that allow clitic climbing with infinitival complements are modal verbs (e.g., *can, must*), aspectual verbs (e.g., *begin*, *continue, finish*), and motion verbs (e.g., *go, arrive, come*).

Clitic climbing is one of the phenomena subsumed under the so-called transparency effects (phenomena of word order in verbal periphrasis), which, as empirical investigation has shown, include the same class of verbs. As Cinque points out (p.1), none of the existing accounts can answer the basic questions of why the clitic climbing phenomenon exists in the first place, and, in particular, why it exists only with those three particular verb classes. Cinque's answer to the problem is a natural extension of his study on the relative order of functional morphemes in head positions, and of the corresponding classes of adverbs following the UG-given universal hierarchical structure of functional projections (Cinque 1999), as represented in (32) below:

(32)

$MoodP_{speech\ act} > MoodP_{evaluative} > MoodP_{evidential} > MoodP_{epistemic} > TP_{Past} > TP_{Future} > MoodP_{irrealis} > AspP_{habitual} > AspP_{repetitive(i)} > AspP_{frequentative(i)} > ModP_{volitional} > AspP_{celerative(i)} > TP_{anterior} > AspP_{terminative} > AspP_{continuative} > AspP_{retrospective} > AspP_{proximate} > AspP_{durative} > AspP_{generic/progressive} > AspP_{prospective} > ModP_{obligation} > ModP_{permission/ability} > AspP_{completive} > VoiceP > AspP_{celerative(ii)} > AspP_{repetitive(ii)} > AspP_{frequentative(ii)} \ldots\ldots\ldots > VP$

'Restructuring' verbs, according to Cinque, are base-generated in distinct functional heads in the sense that each head will lexicalize the content of one or another functional verb. This may be obvious for modals, but it is also true for aspectual as well as motion verbs. The lexicon of each language would hence include 'lexical verbs proper',

'functional verbs' and 'mixed verbs', i.e., those that can function as pure lexical verbs, or as functional verbs, depending on the environment (see below).

Compare the following simple semantic distinction of *go* and *come* in English:

(33)a **Go** get me some ice cream.
(33)b **Go** to school early.

(34)a **Come** see me at five.
(34)b **Come** to school early.

From the examples above, we do have the feeling of a semantic difference between the verbs in a, as opposed to those in b. Presumably, the verbs in a would be functional in the sense that they do not have a 'genuine lexical' meaning, unlike the verbs in b. Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2003 labels verbs in b *quasi-functional*, making a distinction between 'real functional' (modal and aspectual verbs) and 'quasi-functional' (causative, motion, and perception verbs). The optionality in terms of these verbs is understood as the ability of one and the same verb to be used either as a lexical verb (generated in the VP) or a functional verb (generated above VP in a functional head that matches the semantics of the verb).

When such verbs are regular verbs, heading a VP, they take a fully-fledged sentential complement (CP), as in (35)a:

(35)a) $[_{CP} \ldots[_{FP}\ldots[_{FP}\ldots[_{VP}$ **V** $[_{CP}\ldots[_{FP}\ldots[_{FP}\ldots[_{VP}$ V]]]]]]]]

However, when they are functional, they are directly inserted in the head position of the corresponding functional head, as in (35)b:

(35)b $[_{CP} \ldots[_{FP}\ldots[_{FP}$ $\mathbf{V_{restr}}$ $[_{FP}\ldots[_{VP}$ V]]]]]

Based on empirical investigation, Cinque shows the universal order of 'restructuring' verbs, for example, in Italian the verb *solere* (use), associated with the habitual aspectual head coocurrs with the restructuring verb *tendere* (tend), the only possible order for most speakers is *solere>tendere* (hence, $Asp_{habitual} > Asp_{predispositional}$).

Furthermore, since these verbs are functional (cf. Rosen's 'light' verbs' in the previous accounts on AUX verbs), they should have no thematic roles to assign, hence, no arguments of their own. In other words, there cannot be object control, but only subject control and raising constructions with these verbs. Nor can there be unaccusative subject control restructuring verbs (with the subject originating in the object position), the natural candidates for unaccusatives being motion verbs[13].

A quick look at the verbs that seem to raise in Slovenian shows that these include unaccusative intransitives, particularly motion verbs, such as *iti* (go), *oditi* (leave), *priti* (come), and *prispeti* (arrive). Restructuring verbs are also volitional verbs (Cinque 2002: 15), such as *hoteti* (want) or *želeti* (wish) which all exhibit at least apparently optional if not obligatory verb movement in Slovenian (cf. (28). The same is true for aspectual verbs as well. Consider:

(36)a Marija pogosto konča delati ob štirih.
Mary often finishes work-$_{inf}$ at four

(36)b *Marija konča pogosto delati ob štirih.
Mary continues often work-$_{inf}$ at four

In the spirit of Cinque, I claim that the predicates that show the 'raising effect', do not actually raise, but are functional in the sense that they are base-generated above VP. However, when some of such verbs do take complements (e.g., volitional verbs), they function like genuine lexical verbs and head the VP.

The idea about volitional verbs being functional may seem a bit controversial, as *want*, for example, appears to be lexically a transitive verb, taking a DP object as in '*John wants a car*.' However, following Den Dikken, Larson and Ludlow (1996), Cinque (p.20)

[13] Cinque goes even further and shows that restructuring verbs generally don't impose selectional restrictions on the subject, hence, restructuring verbs take no external argument either. After Zubizarreta 1982, he proposes that such predicates may assign not primary, but adjunct theta-roles, hence their selectional requirements being a consequence of their semantics. I will not go into more technical details of Cinque 2002, which tries to justify the idea of functional verbs in the first place. I simply take Cinque's hypothesis as plausible and show how it can shed light onto quirky verb movement in Slovenian. Justifying Cinque's idea on the basis of more Slovenian data is beyond the scope of this paper. What is more, Slovenian doesn't show 'classical' clitic climbing as Italian, being a second position (P2) clitic language.

claims that this is only apparent on the surface and that the 'real' structure for a sentence above is really the one in (37):

(37) John wants [$_{XP}$ HAVE] [$_{DP}$ a car]

Thus a Slovenian sentence in (38) would have a sentence structure as in (38'), with an abstract verb 'eat' or 'have':

(38) Janez hoče vedno sladoled.
John wants always ice cream
'John always wants ice cream.'
(38') Janez [$_{FP}$ hoče] [$_{FP}$ vedno] [$_{VP}$ V [$_{DP}$ sladoled]
John wants always '*eat*' ice cream

Let's apply another simple test. If restructuring verbs do have the property of apparent verb raising in Slovenian, then there should be no restriction on 'verb raising' with respect to the two 'very low' adverbs from (30) and (31) above. The following data with the restructuring motion verb *iti* (go) and the non-restructuring verb *kupiti* (buy) confirms this hypothesis (observe the opposite pattern in the sentences below with respect to verb placement):

(39) a. *Marija hitro/zgodaj **gre** v šolo.
Mary quickly/early goes to school

(39) b. Marija **gre** hitro/zgodaj v šolo.
Mary goes quickly/early to school.

(40) a. Marija hitro/zgodaj **kupi** kruh.
Mary quickly/early buys bread

(40) b. * Marija **kupi** zgodaj/hitro kruh.
Mary buys early/quickly bread

As briefly noted above, contrary to 'pure functional' verbs which are always inserted in the functional heads above VP, there may be the so-called 'quasi functional' verbs, such as (some) motion verbs or perception verbs (e.g., *see, feel*). These verbs have two different usages, namely the lexical one and the functional one. When used as lexical verbs, they take DP complements, just like other genuine lexical verbs. As functional verbs, they don't take complements and are in fact different verbs which generally display a subtle difference in meaning (cf. (33) and (34) above). Having this in mind, our optionality in terms of verb raising may be well-motivated and consequently well-explained. I believe that when Slovenian predicates show verbs raising, verb raising is just apparent since the verbs do not head the VP, but are rather inserted directly in

functional heads above VP. Such an explanation could easily account for cases of apparently obligatory verb movement, as in the verbs of motion, or volitional verbs. When verbs appear to remain *in-situ*, however, I claim that they remain in the VP or alternatively, as noted above, they move to the aspectual heads to check off their aspectual feature if postulated that the aspectual feature is strong and that this reflects in overt morphology.

Intrerestingly, Ilc & Milojević Sheppard's 2003 account now works even in our model. Though assuming a technological trick about the mixed feature strength, Ilc & Milojević Sheppard, after presenting the data with adverb placement with respect to some verbs, concludes that in some cases the adverb needs to be assumed to be base-generated in the VP domain rather than the IP domain, to account for non-movement of certain predicates. Applying such a conclusion to our model, we can claim that the adverbs are generated in their usual rigid positions, either 'low' or 'high', and always above VP, following Cinque 1999, but it is rather the verbs that are generated in different positions, specifically either in the VP or higher in functional heads[14].

'Restructuring' verbs do vary across languages and even within an individual language. This may be seen as a fact that goes against the UG approach postulated here. However, this impression is quite misleading, as Cinque writes (p.27):

> The idea that "restructuring" verbs correspond to distinct functional heads of a universal functional hierarchy does not *per se* entail that all languages should have a verb (a free morpheme) corresponding to each such head. It could well be that a language expresses a certain functional head via a bound morpheme (say, a suffix), or no head category at all (but rather via an AdvP, arguably in the specifier of that head).

Spanish, for example, has a functional verb 'acabar de' (lit. 'finish'), which corresponds to Slovenian adverb *pravkar* (English: just), i.e., the so-called retrospective aspect:

[14] However, further empirical investigation needs to reveal that none of the verbs that function as functional can assign internal theta-roles and should not be sensitive to external theta-role selection either. I have shown this for most of Cinque's restructuring verbs, though more empirical work is definitely needed in this area.

(41) Marija je pravkar prišla domov. (Slovenian)
Mary is just come home
'Mary has just gotten/come home.'

(42) Maria acaba de llegar a casa. (Spanish)
Maria 'just' come$_{-inf}$ to home

Hence, in the Spanish case the retrospective aspect head will be filled with a (functional) verb, whereas in Slovenian, it will be occupied by an aspectual adverb. Furthermore, the optionality of verb placement within the same derivation with respect to adverbs could be taken to be the reflection of verbs and adverbs being generated in different functional heads which are semantically equivalent, e.g., Cinque's hierarchy shows two positions for $AspP_{frequentative}$ and two positions for $AspP_{repetitive}$, for example. This potentially solves the problem of verb placement in our model in constructions with past participles (= in compound tenses), where most functional verbs can appear higher or lower than certain adverbs in the derivation with the same numeration.

5. PARTICIPIAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND FUNCTIONAL VERBS

Let us now turn our attention to the compound/periphrastic tenses. As mentioned above, the Future and Past tenses are complex, formed with the AUXBE and the active past participle ending in –l. The AUXBE is in the *present* form in the past tense and in the *future* form in the future tense. The –l participle always shows number and gender agreement with the subject, but never a person agreement:

(43) Marija je videla Janeza
Mary be (3rd sg pres) seen (fem sg) John
'Mary has seen/saw John'

(44) Marija bo videla Jneza
Mary be (3rd sg fut) seen (fem sg) John
'Mary will see John'

(45) Janez je videl Marijo
John be (3rd sg pres) seen (masc sg) Mary
John has seen/saw Mary'

(46) Janez bo videl Marijo
John be (3rd sg fut) seen (masc sg) Mary
'John will see Mary'

What is interesting in (43) and (45) is that the meaning of the sentence clearly denotes the *past* tense, though neither the AUXBE nor the –l participle exhibits the past tense morphology (i.e., neither of the two verbal elements has a feature /+past/)[15]. Furthermore, the past participle cannot carry the feature /+PAST/ either, since it is used both in the past and future tenses. Following our discussion above on aspect in Slovenian, I argue that the aspectual feature is the only feature that the participle may have.

Based on the empirical data and our theorizing in the previous sections, I claim that past participles in Slovenian are generated in V head when they are genuine lexical verbs and in distinct functional (aspectual/modal) heads when they are functional verbs. Our model from the previous section now naturally extends to the past and future tenses, as the following data shows:

(46)a Marija je pogosto poljubljala Janeza.
Mary is often kissed Janeza.
'Mary has often kissed/often kissed John.'
(46)b *Mary je poljubljala pogosto Janeza.
Mary is kissed often John

(47)a Janez je verjetno pogosto obiskal Marijo, ko je bila bolna.
John is probably often visited Mary when is been sick
'John probably often visited Mary when she was sick.'
(47)b *Janez je verjetno obiskal pogosto Marijo, ko je bila bolna.
John is probably visited often Mary when is been sick

However, with functional or quasi-functional verbs in the past and future tenses it seems that we get optionality in terms of verb placement with respect to the aspectual adverb in most cases:

[15] Zanuttini (p.c.) reminds me that this might not be 'past tense' at all, since it exhibits no past tense morphology, but simply some perfective tense, such as present perfect in English or Italian, for example. However, traditional Slovenian grammars have always analyzed this as past tense, though such tense is clearly not formed synthetically, as the English or German past tense.

(48)a Peter je moral pogosto iti peš v šolo. (modal)
Peter is 'had to' often go-$_{inf}$ on foot to school
'Peter has often had/often had to go to school on foot.
(48)b Peter je pogosto moral iti peš v šolo.
Peter is often 'had to' go-$_{inf}$ on foot to school

(49)a Marija je šla pogosto v kino. (motion verb)
Mary is gone often to movies
'Mary has often gone/often went to the movies'
(49)b Marija je pogosto šla v kino.
Mary is often gone to movies

(50)a Marija je vedno hotela poslušati glasbo. (volitional verb)
Mary is often wanted listen-$_{inf}$ music
'Mary has always wanted/always wanted to listen to the music.'
(50)b Mary je hotela vedno poslušati glasbo.
Mary is wanted always listen-$_{inf}$ music

Following Cinque's fully-articulated functional structure and our model of functional verbs as verbs generated in the functional layer, facts from (48), (49), and (50) can be straightforwardly accounted for. In (48)a the modal *morati* is generated in $ModP_{obligation}$ and the adverb *pogosto* below it, in $AspP_{frequentative(ii),}$ with the infinitive heading the VP. In (48)b, however, the higher $Asp_{frequnetative}$ head will lexicalize as an aspectual adverb *pogosto*, while the lower frequentative aspect head will not lexicalize at all, the modal still being base-generated in the head of $ModP_{obligation}$. In (49)a the higher $Asp_{frequentative}$ will lexicalize as a functional motion verb and the lower $Asp_{frequentative}$ as an adverb, whereas the situation will be reverse in (49)b. In (50)a, *vedno* will be base-generated in the higher $Asp_{frequentative}$ head, while the functional volitional verb will be base-generated in $Mod_{volitional}$. In (50)b, the volitional verb will still be in $Mod_{volitional}$ with the lower $Asp_{frequentattive}$ now lexicalizing as the adverb *vedno*.

In sum, the past participle carries only the aspectual feature which is checked off against the appropriate Asp head above the VP, or in the case of functional verbs, the participles will be inserted in the functional (aspectual/modal) heads corresponding to the aspectual/modal nature of the verb. The SUBJ-participle agreement is licensed in the Spec-head relation in the VP (the SUBJ is base-generated under Spec VP and agrees with

the past participle (= the licensing of phi-features holds before movement of the past participle applies)[16] or higher in the structure in some Spec-head configuration for functional verbs[17], assuming the usual dislocation of the VP-internal subject to a higher projection, presumably to a Spec position of some temporal phrase.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper first examined verb movement in Slovenian in the light of generative analyses of V-T movement in French, Italian, and English (Belletti 1990; Chomsky 1995; Ouhalla 1991; Pollock 1989). Based on the standard diagnostic of adverb placement, I argued that Slovenian exhibits optional overt movement of the verb from its base position in the VP to a higher functional head in the IP layer and that such optionality should be accounted for in more details than it has been in the existing literature which has described verb movement as merely optional without making any specific claims about such optionality nor about the class and the syntactic and semantic nature of verbs which show such optionality.

I showed that the class of verbs which exhibit apparent movement to functional projections in the IP layer in Slovenian isn't arbitrary, but that it rather overlaps with the class of 'restructuring' verbs, allowing clitic climbing in Italian and Spanish and other transparency effects cross-linguistically.

Adopting Cinque's system of verbs being either genuine (lexical), heading the VP, or functional, inserted directly in the functional heads above the VP, or both, and adopting the fully-articulated functional structure of the functional layer, I proposed a new conceptual (and empirically well-motivated) account of verb movement in Slovenian which does not posit optionality in the sense of any of the previous accounts. What is

[16] Some may object to this reasoning, following Chomsky that feature-checking should not take place in a theta-position; Lasnik (p.c.) notes that Chomsky's prohibition of feature-checking in theta-position is a pure assumption.

[17] I also assume AUXBE is generated directly in T^o, presumably in the head of any of the three TP projections that Cinque shows in his fully-articulated functional structure.

more, I showed that there is no verb movement in Slovenian with genuine lexical verbs, and that verb movement with modal auxiliaries, copula *be*, auxiliary *be*, and some other, mostly unaccusative verbs is only apparent in the sense that these verbs are 'light' or 'functional', base-generated in distinct modal and aspectual functional heads in the functional layer above VP.

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