

Raising to Object from finite CPs: dual A/A-bar and MCC ¹

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1. Focus of Talk & Roadmap:

Vs of perception are intrinsically evidential, but, in Romanian, type of complementation determines direct, (1c), versus indirect, (1a-b), evidentiality (Willett 1988)²:

- (1) a. Am auzit [cǎ Mihai/el va cânta la pian].
AUX.1 heard that Mihai/SG.M.NOM will play at piano
'I heard Mihai will play the piano.'
[indirect evidence (hearsay): undisclosed source]
- b. L-am auzit pe Mihai [cǎ va cânta la pian].
CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 heard DOM Mihai that will play at piano
'I heard Mihai claim that he will play the piano.'
[indirect evidence: disclosed source]
- c. L-am auzit pe Mihai cântând la pian.
CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 heard DOM Mihai playing at piano
'I heard Mihai playing the piano.'
[direct/sensory evidence]

The interpretive difference between (1a) & (1b) is that in (1a) the source of indirect evidence is undisclosed, while in (1b), the source of indirect evidence is *Mihai*.

Vs of knowledge pattern with perception Vs when they are used for indirect evidence (inferential reading), (2a-b), but do not allow for gerund complements, (2c):

- (2) a. Am ghicit [cǎ Mihai/el își aranjează plecarea].
AUX.1 guessed that Mihai/3SG.M.NOM REFL arranges leave.the

¹ Thanks to all native speakers who helped confirm the data. All errors are our own.

² We use the following abbreviations: AUX: auxiliary, SUBJ: subjunctive, CL: object pronominal clitic, SG: singular, PL: plural, M: masculine, F: feminine, DOM: a particle associated with Romanian direct objects that have an <e> type denotation (Cornilescu 2002) and that serves as a Differential Object Marker (Hill 2010, following Bossong 1985), ACC: Accusative case, DAT: Dative case, SE: an underspecified argument, REFL: reflexive.

- ‘I figured out that Mihai is arranging his leave/trip.’
- b. **L_k-am** ghicit **pe Mihai_k** [*că-și* aranjează_k plecarea].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 guessed DOM Mihai that-REFL arranges leave.the
 ‘I figured Mihai out that he is arranging his leave/trip.’
- c. * **L_k-am** ghicit **pe Mihai** aranjându-și plecarea.
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 guessed DOM Mihai arranging-REFL leave.the

As with (1a) vs. (1b), the interpretive difference between (2a) and (2b), shifts from unspecified source in (2a), to an inference based on what the speaker/subject of matrix notices when evaluating *Mihai*'s behaviour => *Mihai* is the source of evidence in (2b).

This evaluative semantics explains why individual-level predicates are ruled out in these constructions; see (3):

- (3) a. Am înțeles [că **Ion_k/el_k** e_k înalt / supărat].
 AUX.1 understood that Ion/3SG.M.NOM is tall /upset
 ‘I/We realized that Ion is tall / upset.’
- b. **L_k-am** înțeles **pe Ion_k** [că e_k (* înalt) / supărat].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 understood DOM Ion that is tall /upset
 ‘I/We understood Ion being (*tall) / upset.’

Note also that the gerund is equally ruled out with Vs of perception under indirect evidentiality, see (4):

- (4) a. Am auzit [că **Victor/el** pleacă în Spania].
 AUX.1 heard that Victor/3SG.M.NOM leave.3SG in Spain
 ‘I heard that Victor is going to Spain.’
- b. **L_k-am** auzit **pe Victor_k** [că pleacă în Spania].
 CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.1 heard DOM Victor that leave.3SG in Spain
 ‘I heard Victor say that he was going to Spain.’
- c. * **L_k-am** auzit **pe Victor_k** plecând în Spania.
 CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.1 heard DOM Victor leaving in Spain

- Crucially, with indirect evidence, all Romanian Vs expressing knowledge from reasoning (e.g. *afla* ‘find out’, *știu* ‘know’ *ghici* ‘guess’) or perception (*văd* ‘see/realize’, *aud* ‘hear/find out’, *miros* ‘smell/figure out’) select *că* ‘that’-indicative complementation and allow the pattern seen above:
 - ⇒ the thematic subject of their embedded clause surfaces either in the complement CP, with NOM (or lexical DAT) Case (see 1a, 2a); or, in the matrix clause, with ACC Case (see 1b, 2b)
 - ⇒ this syntactic difference correlates with a semantic shift in evidentiality (Rooryck 2001)

We argue for the following:

- (i) the derivations in (b) arise from Raising to Object (**RtoO**) (i.e. the embedded subject DP moves to the matrix vP domain) **across a phasal indicative CP**;
- (ii) the trigger for movement is related to syntactic encoding of **Evidentiality**;
- (iii) **RtoO** in Romanian has properties of both **A and A-bar movement**;
- (iv) **M(ultiple)C(ase)C(hecking)** is involved



2. Empirical properties and theoretical consequences:
 - not ECM; not control; not pseudo-relatives; not small clauses
 - matrix V selects phasal CP complement
3. First or Second Merge:
 - not Prolepsis
 - Movement (RtoO)
4. Analysis:
 - RtoO as successive-cyclic A-bar movement:
 - *BQs
 - *passivization
 - *concurrent long distance wh-movement
 - with some A-properties:
 - ACC Case & binding
 - Shift in evidentiality as feature driven movement
 - MCC
5. Conclusions

2. Properties of these RtoO constructions

2.1 Restriction to subjects but not standard ECM

Only subjects of the embedded clause may undergo Merge in the matrix clause.

(5) shows this asymmetry between subjects (5a) and objects (5b):

- (5) a. L_k -am auzit **pe Mihai_k** [că studiază matematica].
 CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.1 heard DOM Mihai that studies.3 math.the

- b. *Am auzit **matematica** [că (Mihai) (o) studiază].
 AUX.1 heard math.the that Mihai (it) studies.3
 ‘I heard that Mihai is studying math(s).’

- Crosslinguistically, complements to perception verbs with ACC subjects are tense deficient (see Guasti 1993, Felser 1999, a.o.) and require simultaneous interpretation with the tense of the matrix (Higginbotham 1983). This is regardless of structure: bare infinitives/gerunds (e.g. English), infinitives with *pro* subjects (e.g. Italian, Spanish), subjunctives (e.g. Greek), or *that*-indicatives in pseudorelatives (e.g. Ital, French, Span).

- While this is true of direct evidentiality in Romanian gerunds (see 1c), different tense values are possible with indirect evidentiality and ACC subjects, as shown in (6):

- (6) a. Am mirosit-o **pe Maria** [că vrea/ vrusese
 AUX.1 smelled-CL.3SG.F.ACC DOM Maria that wants/had.wanted
 [să ne tragă plasa].
 SUBJ to.us draw net.the
 ‘I figured out that Maria intends/had intended to con us.’
- b. **L_k-am** auzit **pe Mihai_k** [că ar fi cântat/o să cânte la pian].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 heard DOM Mihai that would’ve play/will play at piano
 ‘I heard Mihai claiming that he has played/will play the piano.’

So, is this standard ECM? No, as:

- (7) shows that lexical DAT subjects are as flexible as their NOM counterparts

- (7) a. Am auzit [că lui Mihai_k **îi_k** place matematica]
 AUX.1 heard that **DAT. Mihai** **DAT** likes math.the
 ‘I heard that Mihai likes math.’
- b. **L_k-am** auzit **pe Mihai_k** [că-**i_k** place matematica]
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 heard DOM Mihai that-DAT likes math.the
 ‘I heard Mihai say that he likes math(s).’

- (1-4a) shows NOM is available CP-internally;
- (6), (8) show that the *că* ‘that’-CP is phasal with RtoO, so, following Chomsky (2008), Case is also licensed CP internally

- Unlike what Rafel (2000) observes for Spanish, (8b), Romanian perception Vs with RtoO can take propositional complements (i.e. with ‘know’), (8a), so are phasal CPs.

- (8) a. **L-am** văzut **pe Victor** [că știe spaniolă].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 seen DOM Victor that knows.3SG Spanish
 ‘I saw that Victor could speak Spanish.’

- b. *Vi a [(Juan) que (Juan) *sabía* francés].
 saw.I to-ACC Juan that Juan knew.he French
 ‘I saw that Juan could speak French.’

⇒ **not standard ECM as a Case need on the embedded DP subject is not the trigger for the relationship with the matrix domain**

Also, standard ECM Vs like *want*, *consider*, etc. do not allow for this construction:

- the NOM subject of the embedded clause, see (9a, 10a), does not have the option of surfacing as an ACC in the matrix clause, see (9b, 10b), unless the construction changes to a small clause, (10c), with no NOM availability, (10d).

- (9) a. Vreau [ca ei să reușească].
 want.1SG that.SUBJ he SUBJ succeed.3.SUBJ
 b. *Îi vreau pe ei [(ca) să reușească].
 CL.3PL.ACC want.1SG DOM 3PL that.SUBJ SUBJ succeed.3.SUBJ
 ‘I want them to succeed.’
- (10) a. Consider [că Ion e băiat deștept].
 consider.1SG [that Ion is boy smart]
 b. *Îi consider pe Ion [că e băiat deștept].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC consider.1SG DOM Ion [that is boy smart]
 c. Îi consider pe Ion [băiat deștept].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC consider.1SG DOM Ion [boy smart]
 d. *Consider [Ion băiat deștept].
 consider.1SG [Ion boy smart]
 ‘I consider Ion to be a smart guy.’

Object control rather than ECM?

- ⇒ not immediately unreasonable especially under current accounts of Case-marked PRO (e.g. Adger 2007, Alboiu 2010, Bobaljik and Landau 2009, Cecchetto and Oniga 2004, Landau 2008, Schütze 1997, Sigurðsson 1991, 2008).

2.2 Against Object Control

- (i) Perception Vs are prototypical mono-transitives (Rigter & Beukema 1985; also Guasti 1993, Noonan 1985, Rafel 2000).
- (ii) Rom. Vs of knowledge & perception cannot be lexically re-analysed as Harley’s (2002) di-transitives, i.e. CAUSE+HAVE/LOCATION:

- ⇒ With RtoO, the speaker conveys their own perception of the propositional content of the sentential complement, as opposed to making someone experience or perform that event or state.
- ⇒ Recall that the verbs that trigger these RtoO configurations indicate the source of perception or information, yielding an evaluative indirect evidential reading.

(iii) In addition, while object control constructions allow for co-referent pronouns in the embedded clause, see (11a), these constructions do not, see (11b);

- (11) a. **L_k-am** convins (**pe Ion_k**) [să plătească (**el_{k/*j}**) lumina].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 convinced (DOM Ion) [SUBJ pay.SUBJ.3 he light.the
 ‘I/We convinced Ion to pay the hydro bill.’
- b. **Î_k** știu **pe Rareș_k** [că e (***el_k**) om bun].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC know.1SG DOM Rares [that is he man good
 ‘I know Rares to be a good man.’

(iv) also, object control is always optional in Rom, see (12a), also Cotfas (2012); the object of our verbs is obligatorily co-referent to the embedded subject, see (12b).

- (12) a. **L-am** convins **pe Ion** [că **pământul** e rotund].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 convinced DOM Ion that earth.the is round
 ‘I convinced Ion (of the fact) that the Earth is round.’
- b. ***Î_k** știu **pe Rareș_k** [că **pământul** e rotund].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC know.1SG DOM Rares that earth.the is round

- ⇒ Romanian Vs of knowledge & perception are **mono-transitive** predicates
- ⇒ **don’t involve object control**

Now, mono-transitivity means that the matrix V selects 1 internal argument:
 either

(i) the referring DP, in which case the CP is an adjunct:

- a. CP is some sort of relative clause (e.g. Kayne 1984, Burzio 1984), or
- b. CP is an adverbial clause modifying the matrix predicate (e.g. the case of Italian *incontrare* ‘meet’, Cinque 1992)

or

(ii) the CP, in which case, the DP could be:

- a. at the left edge of the embedded clause (e.g. the reduced/small clause analysis of Guasti 1993, Rafel 2000)
- b. in the matrix clause

2.3. CP is not an adjunct (but an argument)

2.3.1 Against a VP-adjunct account

(13a) is ambiguous:

- (13) a. L-am auzit pe Mihai (,) [CP că i-a trântit ușa].
him-have.1SG heard DOM Mihai that to.her-has slammed door.the
'I heard Mihai because he slammed the door on her.' or
'I heard Mihai (saying that) he slammed the door on her.'
- b. L-am auzit pe Mihai [PP din cauza asta].
him-have.1SG heard DOM Mihai for cause this.
'I heard Mihai because of this.'

In (13b), the adverbial PP successfully replaces the CP, indicating that the perception verb selects the referring DP only.

However, (13b) reduces the ambiguity of (13a) to direct evidence and the indirect evidence reading is lost.

=> CP can only be a VP-adjunct with direct but not indirect evidence; see also (14)

- (14) *L-am ghicit eu pe Mihai [PP în flagrant delict] / [AdvP atunci].
him-have.1SG guessed I DOM Mihai in flagrant delict / then
'I guessed/figured out Mihai red handed / then.'

2.3.2 Against a (Pseudo)-Relative Clause account

Rom default relatives require CP-DP adjacency & overt DP (i.e. cannot modify a clitic):

- (14) L_k-am văzut *(pe studentul) [care_k ne-a invitat].
CL.3SG.M-have.1 seen DOM student.the which CL.1PL-has invited
'I saw the student who invited us.'

Absence of DP-CP adjacency & clitic-only are ok with RtoO; see (15):

- (15) a. L_k-am mirosit (pe Ion_k) demult [că minte].
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.1 smelled DOM Ion of.long that lies.3SG
'I figured out a long time ago that Ion lies.'
- b. Îl știa (pe Ion) toată lumea [că era om bun].
CL.3SGM.ACC knew DOM Ion all world.the that was man good
'Everybody knew Ion to be a good man.'

(15a) shows an adverb blocking clausal adjacency between the ACC DP and the CP, while in (15b) the matrix clause subject interferes; both are fine with just the clitic.

✓ adjacency is not a requirement, so a relative clause analysis is ruled out

- ⇒ this is in line with *că* ‘that’ being absent from Rom RCs more generally;
- ⇒ an RC analysis would have trouble explaining the restriction to subjects since, like English, Romanian allows for relativization of all argument types
- ⇒ lastly, Cinque’s (1992) DP-CP constituency tests all fail for Romanian (unlike in other Romance Ls); see (16):

- (16) a. pseudo-cleft:
*Ceea ce am auzit/văzut e pe Victor) că repara casa.
that which have.1SG heard/seen is DOM Victor that fixed house.the
‘What I’ve heard/seen is that Victor was fixing the house.’
- b. movement to Topic:
*Pe Victor că repară casa, (l)-am auzit.
DOM Victor that fixes house.the him-have.1SG heard
‘That Victor is fixing the house is what I heard.’

⇒ CP is the argument of the matrix V

2.4 CP argument is a fully articulated phasal domain

2.4.1 Against a Small Clause account for DP+CP

- First, since the DP+CP do not form a constituent, cannot be a SC either ...
- Second, if Cinque’s (1992) tests do not work, neither do Rafel’s (2000):

(17) coordination with other SCs

- a. Al entrar, vi a María que fumaba marihuana y
to.the enter saw.1 to María that smoked.she marihuana and
a Juan totalmente borracho. (Rafel 2000: 72)
to Juan totally drunk
‘When I entered, I saw María smoking marihuana and Juan totally drunk.’ [Sp]
- b. *Cînd am intrat în camera am văzut-o pe Maria
when have.1 entered in room have.1 seen- CL.3SG.F DOM Maria
că fumează și pe Ion beat.
that smokes and DOM Ion drunk
‘When I entered the room, I saw Maria smoking and saw Ion drunk.’ [Rom]

and DP-CP adjacency, a requirement in other Romance, does not hold for Rom (15).³

³ Direct evidentiality is another matter; there a SC analysis is indeed the correct option for Romanian too (Alboiu & Hill 2013).

To recap: properties of the CP selected in indirect perception:

- independent Tense
- independent Case
- (18) shows expanded left-peripheral domain (à la Rizzi 1997) also available

- (18) a. L-am văzut **pe Matei** [că [TOP **Elenei**] nu vrea
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 seen DOM Matei that Elena.DAT nor want
 să-i dea niciodată dreptate].
 SUBJ-CL.3SG.F.DAT give.SUBJ.3 never justice
 ‘I noticed about Matei that he never wants to agree with Elena.’
- b. L-am văzut **pe Victor** [că [FOC **TOCMAI ATUNCI**]
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 seen DOM Victor that exactly then
 a ezitat].
 AUX.3SG hesitated
 ‘I noticed about Victor that it was exactly then that he hesitated.’

⇒ **RtoO in Rom: matrix V selects a fully articulated/phasal CP domain**

3. First or Second Merge (Prolepsis or Movement)

The next issue is whether the construction with ACC and matrix spell-out of the embedded subject DP is derived by first or second Merge.

3.1 First Merge/Prolepsis

- In this scenario, the DP (or associated clitic) is base-generated/first merged in the matrix clause for discourse requirements and is chain related to an A or A-bar position in the complement clause which, cross-linguistically, can be finite or non-finite (e.g. Bruening 2001, Davies 2005, Massam 1985).
- This permutation is pragmatically motivated, as “anticipation”, for foregrounding the new theme in the discourse (Panhuis 1984)

Problems:

1. Prolepsis not expected to be restricted to subjects (Bruening 2001): any constituent of the embedded clause should be able to respond to the discourse trigger;
2. Cross-linguistically, with prolepsis, matrix Vs constitute a flexible semantic class (i.e. not constrained to evidential):

- (19) a. Atin a-bala-agi **Hasan** dha' Siti ja' entar ka Sorbaja. **Madurese**
 Atin AV-say-BV Hassan to Siti COMP go to Sorbaja
 'Atin said to Siti that Hasan went to Surabaya.'
 b. Siti ngera **Hasan** bari' melle motor.
 Siti AV.think Hasan yesterday AV.buy car
 'Yesterday Siti thought Hasan to have bought a car.'
 c. Ita a-bukteagi **Hasan** ja' ngeco' sapedha.motor.
 Ita AV-prove Hasan COMP AV.steal motorcycle
 'Ita proved Hasan stole the motorcycle.'
 (from Davies 2005: 648-651)
- (20) a. *Ion i-a spus-(o) (pe) Sanda Mariei [că ~~Sanda~~ vine imediat].
 Ion to.her-has said-her DOM Sanda Maria.DAT that Sanda comes immediately
 Intended: 'Ion told Maria that Sanda comes immediately.'
 b. *Ion (o) crede (pe) Maria [că ieri ~~Maria~~ a cumpărat o mașină].
 Ion her believes DOM Maria that yesterday Maria has bought a car
 Intended: 'Ion thinks that Maria bought a car yesterday.'
 c. *Ion (o) dovedește (pe) Maria [că ieri ~~Maria~~ a furat motocicleta].
 Ion her proves DOM Maria that yesterday Maria has stolen motorcycle.the
 Intended: 'Ion proves that Maria has stolen the motorcycle yesterday.'

3. Paraphrasing with 'about'; compare (21) from Davies (2005:646) to Rom (22):

(21) I believe about **Kate** that she won the Daughter-of-the-Year award.

- (22) a. **Îl** știu **pe Ion** [că e om bun].
 him know.1SG DOM Ion that is man good
 'I know Ion to be a good man.'
 b. *Știu despre Ion [că e om bun].
 know.1SG about Ion that is man good

⇒ **not Prolepsis**

3.2 Second Merge/Movement

- Tests replicated from Bruening (2001), Bošković (2007), and Davies (2005), show that the ACC DP subject lexicalized in the matrix clause first merges in the embedded clause and then undergoes movement/RtoO across the embedded CP.

3.2.1 Constituency tests

Embedded CP substitution, in (23), and movement, in (24), point to the fact that the DP subject lexicalized as ACC in the matrix clause first merges in the embedded clause.

- (23) a. L-am auzit pe Ion reparând casa.
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX1 heard DOM Ion fixing house.the
'I heard Ion fixing the house.'
- b. L-am auzit pe Ion atunci.
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX1 heard DOM Ion then
'I heard Ion then.'
- c. L-am auzit pe Ion [că repară casa.]
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX1 heard DOM Ion that fixes house.the
'I heard Ion say he's fixing the house.'
- d. #L-am auzit pe Ion atunci. (ok direct but *indirect).
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX1 heard DOM Ion then
'I heard Ion then.' (ok. direct evidence but *reportative)
- (24) a. Am ghicit imediat [că Ion ne trage plasa].
AUX1 guessed immediately that Ion us draws net.the
'I figured out right away that Ion is pulling our leg.'
- b. [Că Ion ne trage plasa] am ghicit imediat.
that Ion us draws net.the AUX1 guessed immediately
'That Ion is pulling our leg I figured out right away.'
- c. L-am ghicit imediat pe Ion că ne trage plasa.
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX1 guessed immediately DOM Ion that us draws net.the
'As for Ion, I figured out right away that he is pulling our leg.'
- d. *Că ne trage plasa l-am ghicit imediat pe Ion.
that us draws net.the CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX1 guessed immediately DOM Ion

⇒ ACC DP first Merged in the embedded CP and 2nd Merged in the matrix

3.2.2 Sensitivity to Islands

Embedded subject lexicalization as ACC DP in the matrix clause is ungrammatical with complex NP islands, see (25), and coordination, see (26).

- (25) a. Ion mirosise faptul [că **Maria** își aranja plecarea].
Ion smelled fact.the that Maria DAT.REFL arranged departure.the
'Ion figured out the fact that Maria was arranging her departure.'
- b. Ion **o** mirosise **pe Maria** [că-și aranja plecarea].
Ion CL.3SGF.ACC smelled DOM Maria that-DAT.REFL arranged departure.the
'Ion figured out that Maria was arranging her departure.'
- c. *Ion **o** mirosise **pe Maria** [DP faptul [că-și aranja plecarea]].
Ion CL.3SGF.ACC smelled DOM Maria fact-the that-DAT.REFL arranged departure.the
- (26) a. Ion mirosise [că **Luca și Ana** vroiau să plece].
Ion smelled that Luca and Ana wanted SUBJ leave

- ‘Ion figured out that Luca and Ana wanted to leave.’
- b. *Ion o mirosise pe Ana [că Luca și ea vroiau să plece].
 Ion CL.3SGF.ACC smelled DOM Ana that Luca and she wanted SUBJ leave

⇒ ACC DP obeys islands, so involved in **movement**

3.2.3 Reconstruction

Following Barss (1986), a.o., Bruening (2001) points out that reconstruction into the embedded clause also signals movement chains.

Reconstruction is successful in these constructions. See (27b), where the raised DP contains a variable bound by the quantifier *fiecare* ‘each’ in the embedded clause:

- (27) a. Am auzit [că maică-sa îl iubește pe fiecare așa
 AUX1 heard that mother-his/her CL.3SGM.ACC loves DOM each as
 cum e].
 how is
 ‘I heard that their mother loves each of them just as they are.’
- b. Am auzit-o pe maică-sa [că-l iubește pe
 AUX1 heard-CL.3SGF.ACC DOM mother-his/her that-CL.3SGM.ACC loves DOM
 fiecare așa cum e].
 each as how is
 ‘I heard that their mother loves each of them just as they are.’

⇒ ACC DP reconstructs, so involved in **A-bar movement** (Barss 1986, Mahajan 1990)

3.2.4 Taking stock

- DP subject is base-generated in the embedded clause regardless of its lexicalization locus (i.e. embedded vs. matrix)
- movement crosses CP (contra Bruening 2001, Cinque 1992, Guasti 1993, Rafel 2000, a.o.) since matrix clause material can interfere between ACC DP and CP domain and DP is to the left of C
- movement targets matrix vP domain given ACC and linearization below T
- shows A-bar movement properties
- yields new evidential interpretation (i.e. [+Evaluative], shift in evidence type)

4. Analysis of RtoO with Romanian evidential Vs

4.1 Successive cyclic A-bar movement

Romanian RtoO is *not* standard ECM (i.e. not triggered for Case):

- ⇒ movement is out of a finite phasal CP (i.e. a domain with NOM Case)
- ⇒ movement has interpretive effects

Arguments for **A-bar movement**:

1. reconstruction - seen in (27b)
2. bare quantifiers are ruled out, see (28); so, not A-position (Cinque 1990, a.o.):

- (28) a. Am mirosit [că (cineva) ne minte (cineva).]
 AUX.1 smelled that someone 1PL.DAT lies someone
 ‘I/We suspected that someone was lying to us.’
- b. *(L)-am mirosit **pe cineva** [că ne minte].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 smelled DOM someone that 1PL.DAT lies
 ‘I/We suspected someone to be lying to us.’

3. lack of passivization of RtoO-ed embedded subject, see (29b, d)

- (29) a. L-am văzut **pe Toni** [că n-are încotro].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 seen DOM Toni that not-has where
 ‘I saw that Toni has no choice.’
- b. ***Toni/El** a fost văzut [că n-are încotro].
 Toni.NOM AUX.3 PASS.been seen that not-has where
 ‘Toni was seen to have no choice.’
- c. L-am auzit **pe Victor** [că pleacă în Spania].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 heard DOM Victor that leaves in Spain
 ‘I heard Victor say that he was going to Spain.’
- d. ***Victor/El** a fost auzit [că pleacă în Spania].
 Victor.NOM AUX.3 PASS.been heard that leaves in Spain
 ‘Victor/He was heard talking about going to Spain.’

4. RtoO blocks long-distance *wh*-movement to the matrix, as shown in (30b).

- (30) a. **Îl_k** știm **pe Ion_k** [că nu gustă teatru].
 CL.3SG.M.ACC know.1PL DOM Ion [that not tastes theatre]
 ‘We know that Ion doesn’t like the theatre.’
- b. ***Ce-l_k** știm **pe Ion_k** [că nu gustă]?
 what-CL.3SG.M.ACC know.1PL DOM Ion [that not tastes]
 ‘What do we know Ion not to like?’

=> Romanian RtoO uses Spec,CP (i.e. the subordinate phase edge) to access the matrix clause, so another constituent may not do so

Interestingly, if the raised subject is itself a *wh*-phrase, subsequent movement to matrix Spec,CP is ok; see (31a) with RtoO & ACC subject lexicalization. NOM subject lexicalization is also ok, see (31b), but there is a shift in ‘evidence type’ (Rooryck 2001).

- (31) a. *Pe cine_i* ai auzit [*pe cine_i*] [*<DP_i>* că pleacă *<DP_i>* în Spania]?
 DOM who AUX.2SG heard DOM who DP that leave.3SG DP in Spain
 ‘Who did you hear (say) that they were leaving for Spain?’
 [indirect evidence: attested source]
- b. *Cine_i* ai auzit [*<DP_i>* că pleacă *<DP_i>* în Spania]?
 who AUX.2SG heard DP that leave.3SG DP in Spain
 ‘(About) Who did you hear that they were leaving for Spain?’
 [indirect evidence: hearsay]

Sidenote: Romanian lacks *that*-trace effects, see (32), so postulating subject A-bar movement across *că* ‘that’ is unproblematic:

- (32) *Cine* spunei [*că* ne-a trimis cartea]?
 who said.2SG that 1PL.DAT-AUX.3SG sent book.the
 ‘Who did you say sent us the book?’

4.2 Dual A and A-bar status of RtoO

Arguments for A-movement:

1. ACC lexicalization
2. reversed binding possibilities, see (33):

- (33) *O* aud [*pe fiecare mamă_k*] copiii ei_{k/j} [*că muncește mult*].
 CL.3SG.F.ACC hear.3PL DOM each mother children her that works hard
 ‘Her children hear each of their mothers say she is working hard.’

➤ **Romanian RtoO is dual A/A-bar movement to the matrix predicate domain**

4.3 Shift in Evidentiality as feature-driven movement

We propose that the matrix V is marked for evidentiality, as follows:

- a. neutral evidentiality (direct or indirect): lexical marking only - no encoding in narrow syntax (i.e. no special features);
- b. shifted (Evaluative, identified source): syntacticized as a morphosyntactic [Evid]ential edge feature on the predicate domain (i.e. [Evid/EF])

So, in RtoO, matrix *v* is endowed with two Probes:

- [u ϕ /ACC] (i.e phi-feature and Case probe), and
- [Evid/EF]

➤ in RtoO, matrix Probe: *v* [u ϕ /ACC, Evid/EF]

As in Gallego (2011): type of movement is defined by the probe, not configurationally (i.e. A-movement triggered by ϕ features, A-bar movement triggered by EF)

4.4 Chain formation and M(ultiple) C(ase) C(hecking)

Following Giorgi (2010), the highest layer of selected indicative CP domains contains the speaker's temporal and spatial coordinates => 'index'-ing of embedded C/Force.

Sidenote: current studies indicate that encoding of evidentiality may occur in different domains: in CP (Cinque 1999), in TP (Speas 2010), or in vP (Kidwai 2010).

=>

- (i) that embedded C/Force is indexed in such a way as to ensure a relationship between the SOURCE of evaluation (i.e. matrix subject/speaker) and its TARGET (i.e. embedded subject), a sentient, typically animate, so arguably a 'prot-agent' DP (in the sense of Dowty 1991);
- (ii) that the embedded subject uses Spec,CP/ForceP as an escape hatch to make itself visible to matrix probes;
- (iii) that the simultaneous presence of the [u ϕ /ACC] and [Eval, EF] probes on matrix *v*, guarantee displacement (with interpretive effects) and ACC lexicalization.

The DP undergoing RtoO in Romanian has two sources for Case valuation (at least in indicatives with *că* 'that'): NOM from embedded T, and ACC from matrix *v*

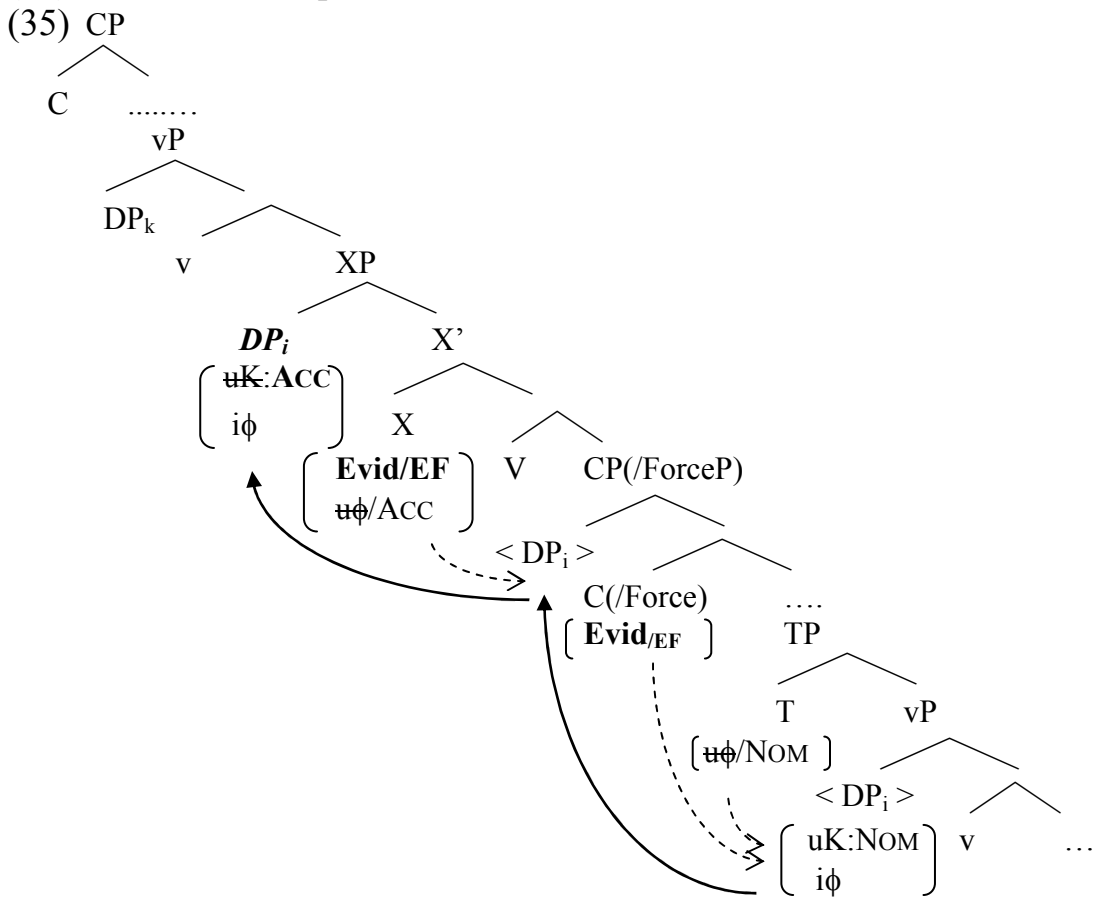
The embedded DP subject establishes several chains in RtoO constructions:

- A-chain with embedded T (instantiated as Su-V agreement);
- A-bar chain with embedded C/Force (see interaction with long-distance *wh*-mvt);
- A/A-bar chain with matrix *v* (see dual properties).

In addition, embedded C & T probe the DP separately (i.e. subject extraction takes place from embedded Spec,vP, not Spec,TP); see quantifier float availability in (34); see Rizzi & Shlonski 2005, Chomsky 2008, Obata & Epstein 2011, for related discussion.

- (34) a. **I_k-am** văzut eu **pe studenții_k** [că (*cam toți) ezită
 them-AUX.1 seen I DOM students [that (most all) hesitate
 (**cam toți_k**) [să voteze]].
 (most all) [SUBJ vote]
 ‘I noticed that most all students are hesitant to vote.’
- b. Au știut [că (Ion) e om bun (Ion)].
 AUX.3PL known [that Ion is man good Ion]
 ‘They knew that Ion is a good man.’

(35) is a structural representation for Romanian RtoO with evidential Vs:



(35) also shows that the embedded DP has 2 sources for Case valuation (i.e. **MCC**): NOM & ACC (alternatively, the DAT & ACC option was also mentioned, recall (7b))

=>

Case, [uK], on the RtoO-ed DP is probed twice, with obligatory ACC lexicalization ⁴

Unproblematic, since:

- (i) Deletion/erasure of features is a property of Spell-Out (Chomsky 2008, Pesetsky & Torrego 2001); so checked features remain syntactically active until S-O;
- (ii) Cross-linguistically, with MCC, the upstairs Case, , is the one pronounced, regardless of whether it is more marked or not (Bejar & Massam 1999).

5. Conclusions

Well-known that Su-to-Su raising triggers evidential meanings (i.e. inferential nature of raising), see Ruwet (1972), Rooryck (2001), also in Rom, compare (36a) to (36b):

- (36) a. Se pare [că Ioana a reușit].
 SE seems that Ioana has succeeded
 ‘It seems that Ioana has succeeded.’ [hearsay]
- b. Ioana pare [să <Ioana> fi reușit]
 Ioana seems SUBJ Ioana be.ASP succeeded
 ‘Ioana seems to have succeeded.’ [inferential]

This paper has argued for Su-to-*Obj* (RtoO) with Rom knowledge and perception Vs as the result of a shift in indirect evidentiality:

- from neutral/no source to evaluative/known source

This is in the spirit of Postal’s (1974) observation re meaning differences between English *that*-clauses and their raised counterparts in (37).

- (37) a. I found that Julius Caesar was boring.
 b. I found Julius Caesar to be boring.

⁴ Nothing hinges on the exact label of the verbal head assigning ACC Case in RtoO; this can be Tr of Bowers (2002), AGR-O of Lasnik (2003), Asp (Travis 2010), etc. What is clear is that it is a functional head internal to the phasal v (cf. also Johnson 1991).

Crucially, with Rom RtoO:

➤ v [Evid/EF, $u\phi$ /ACC] feature combo:

- triggers A-bar mvt. of the embedded subj. DP across finite phasal CP;
- guarantees ACC lexicalization;
- yields some A-movement effects;
- yields interpretive effects;
- creates a context for MCC

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