

# A-Bar Movement with Case Effects: Indirect evidentiality in Romanian<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

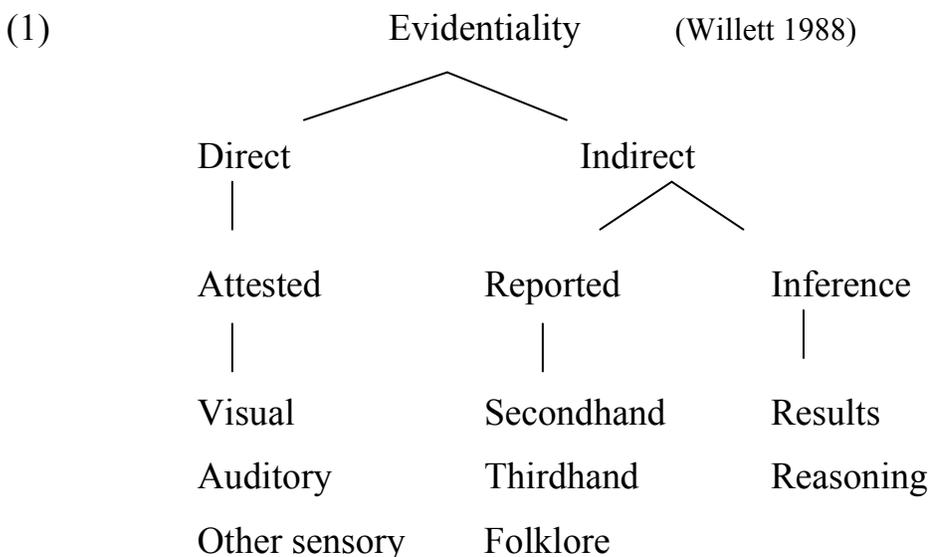
### 1.1 On Evidentiality

- *Evidentiality* captures the specification of the source of information for the utterance (Cruse 2010).

- Faller (2002: v), “evidentiality [is] the linguistic encoding of the speaker’s grounds for making a speech act, which in the case of assertions corresponds with his or her source of information”.

- There are different ways in which information may reach the speaker (e.g., eyewitness, hearsay, inferences etc.), and these ways are conveyed in language through various strategies.

- In this respect, Willett (1988) proposes a clear dichotomy between direct and indirect evidence. The classification in Willett (1988), shown in (1), grasps the mixed types of indirect evidence that may occur with the use of the same lexical item:



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

## 1.2 Focus of Talk:

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

- (2) 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 (2a) & (2b) is that in (2a) the source of indirect evidence is undisclosed, while in (2b), the source of indirect evidence is *Mihai*.

Vs of knowledge pattern with perception Vs when they are used for indirect evidence (inferential reading), (3a-b), but do not allow for gerund complements, (3c):

- (3) a. Am ghicit [cǎ Mihai/el își aranjează plecarea].  
 AUX.1 guessed that Mihai/3SG.M.NOM REFL arranges leave.the  
 ‘I figured out that Mihai is arranging his leave/trip.’
- b. L<sub>k</sub>-am ghicit pe Mihai<sub>k</sub> [cǎ-și aranjează<sub>k</sub> 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<sub>k</sub>-am ghicit pe Mihai aranjându-și plecarea.  
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 guessed DOM Mihai arranging-REFL leave.the

As with (2a) vs. (2b), the interpretive difference between (3a) and (3b), shifts from unspecified source in (3a), to an inference based on what the speaker/subject of matrix notices when evaluating *Mihai*’s behaviour => *Mihai* is the source of evidence in (3b).

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

<sup>2</sup> 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.

- (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<sub>k</sub>-am auzit pe Victor<sub>k</sub> [ 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<sub>k</sub>-am auzit pe Victor<sub>k</sub> 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 2a, 3a); or, in the matrix clause, with ACC Case (see 2b, 3b)
  - ⇒ 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<sub>k</sub>-am** auzit **pe Mihai<sub>k</sub>** [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).'

So, is this standard ECM?

① *on E(xceptional) C(ase) M(arking) = Subject Raising to Object for Case:*

- (i) a. I believe them.  
b. I believe [that they are interested in syntax]  
c. I believe [them /\*they to be interested in syntax].  
d. It was believed [that they were interested in syntax].  
e. \*It was believed [them to be interested in syntax].  
f. They<sub>i</sub> were believed [t<sub>i</sub> to be interested in syntax].

No, as:

- (2-4a) shows NOM is available CP-internally;
- (6) shows that lexical DAT subjects are as flexible as their NOM counterparts

- (6) a. Am auzit [că lui Mihai<sub>k</sub> îi<sub>k</sub> place matematica]  
AUX.1 heard that **DAT. Mihai** **DAT** likes math.the  
'I heard that Mihai likes math.'
- b. **L<sub>k</sub>-am** auzit **pe Mihai<sub>k</sub>** [că-î<sub>k</sub> 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).'

- (7) & (8) show that the finite *că* 'that' CP is phasal (i.e. a complete Spell-Out domain) with RtoO, so, following Chomsky (2008), Case is also licensed CP internally

- 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 2c), different tense values are possible with *indirect* evidentiality and ACC subjects, as shown in (7):

- (7) 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<sub>k</sub>-am auzit pe Mihai<sub>k</sub> [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.'

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

- (8) a. \*Vi a [(Juan) que (Juan) *sabia* francés].  
 saw.I to-ACC Juan that Juan knew.he French  
 'I saw that Juan could speak French.'
- b. 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.'

⇒ **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. \*Î consider pe Ion [că e băiat deștept].  
 CL.3SG.M.ACC consider.1SG DOM Ion [that is boy smart]  
 c. Î 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?

① on Control:

- (ii) a. **The students<sub>i</sub>** tried/managed [**PRO<sub>i</sub>** to read the new Chomsky all by themselves<sub>j</sub>].  
b. The children persuaded **the pumpkin<sub>i</sub>/ him<sub>i</sub>** [**PRO<sub>i</sub>** to scare the witches away].

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

- (11) a. **L<sub>k</sub>-am** convins (**pe Ion<sub>k</sub>**) [să plătească (**el<sub>k/\*j</sub>**) 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. **Îl<sub>k</sub>** știu **pe Rareș<sub>k</sub>** [că e (\***el<sub>k</sub>**) om bun].  
CL.3SG.M.ACC know.1SG DOM Rares [that is he man good  
'I know Rares to be a good man.'

(iii) 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. \***Îl<sub>k</sub>** știu **pe Rareș<sub>k</sub>** [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 one internal argument:

(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)

(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**

### 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<sub>k</sub>-am                            văzut \*(pe    studentul)        [care<sub>k</sub> 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<sub>k</sub>-am                            miroșit            (pe Ion<sub>k</sub>)        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

⇒ 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, (I)-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, these 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).<sup>3</sup>

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

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

- (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 evidentials):

- (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.  
 CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX1 heard DOM Ion then  
 ‘I heard Ion then.’ (ok. direct evidence but \*indirect/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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 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

## 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 (i.e. shift in evidentiality) so A-bar

Other arguments for **A-bar movement**:

1. bare quantifiers are ruled out, see (27); so, not A-position (Cinque 1990, a.o.):

- (27) 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.'

Compare to the English ECM in (28):

- (28) I expected **someone** to show up any minute.

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

- (29) a. 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.'
- b. \*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.'

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

- (30) a. Îl<sub>k</sub> ştim pe Ion<sub>k</sub> [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<sub>k</sub> ştim pe Ion<sub>k</sub> [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

① long-distance *wh*-movement is cyclical (i.e. stops in Spec,CP of the embedded clause before moving into Spec,CP of the matrix clause)

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<sub>i</sub>* ai auzit <*pe cine<sub>i</sub>*> [<*DP<sub>i</sub>*> *că* pleacă <*DP<sub>i</sub>*> 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<sub>i</sub>* ai auzit [<*DP<sub>i</sub>*> *că* pleacă <*DP<sub>i</sub>*> 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* spunea [*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 Some A(rgument) properties of RtoO

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

- (33) *O* aud [*pe fiecare mamă*]<sub>k</sub> copiii ei<sub>k/j</sub> [*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.’

## 4.3 Shift in Evidentiality as feature-driven movement

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

- a. neutral evidentiality (typically direct, no source): lexical marking only (i.e. Vs of perception are intrinsically evidential) - no encoding in narrow syntax (i.e. no special features);
- b. shifted evidentiality (i.e. indirect; identified source): syntacticized as a morphosyntactic [Ev]idential edge feature (EF) in the predicate domain

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

- [uφ/ACC] (i.e. phi-feature and Case probe), and
- [uEv/EF]

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

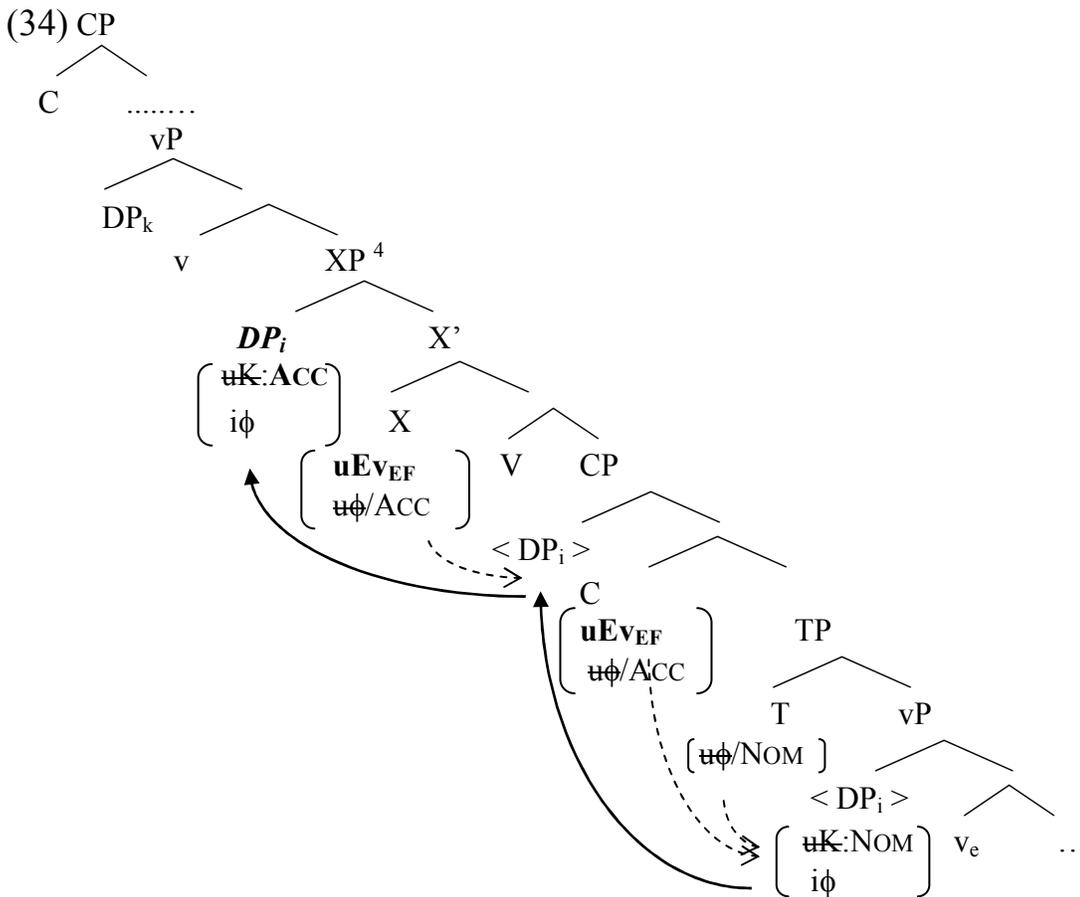
#### 4.4 Chain formation and M(ultiple) C(ase) C(hecking)

So, what we have here is a case of long-distance extraction

=> this necessitates a syntactic Agree relation between the embedding verb and the finite CP complement (Rackowski & Richards 2005, van Urk & Richards 2013)

=> essentially, the embedded C/Force must encode the relevant evidential properties of its matrix selector (which is also in line with Giorgi, 2010, who argues that the highest layer of selected indicative CP domain contains the speaker's temporal and spatial coordinates).

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



<sup>4</sup> Nothing hinges on the exact label of the verbal head assigning ACC Case in RtoO; X can be T<sub>0</sub> of Pesetsky and Torrego (2004), Tr of Bowers (2002), AGR-O of Lasnik (2003), Asp (Travis 2010), a.s.o. Crucially, assuming Chomsky's (2007), (2008) Feature-inheritance model, it has to be a functional head internal to the phasal v.

(34) shows:

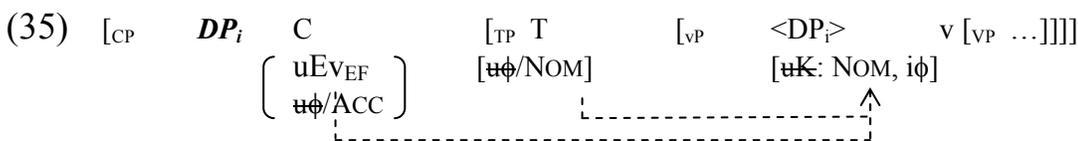
- (i) that the RtoO-ed DP establishes an A-chain with embedded T and an A-bar chain with matrix v (via embedded C);
- (ii) that the embedded DP has 2 sources for Case valuation (i.e. **M(ultiple)C(ase)C(hecking)**): NOM (or DAT) (in the embedded CP) & ACC (in the matrix)

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

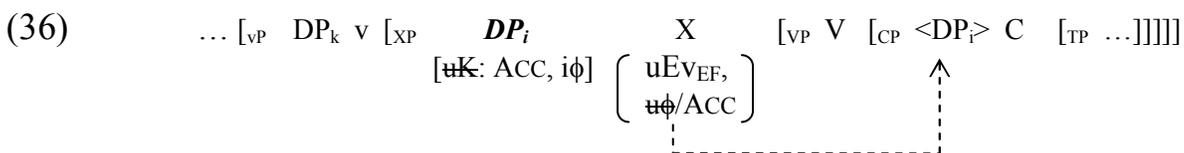
**Unproblematic**, since:

- (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) Valuation (here for ‘Case’) occurs at Transfer/Spell-Out (Epstein & Seely 2002, Richards 2007);
- (iii) Cross-linguistically, with MCC, the upstairs Case, is the one pronounced, regardless of whether it is more marked or not (Bejar & Massam 1999).

Step-by-step derivations:



and then:



Note that given the simultaneous presence of a  $[u\phi/ACC]$  and a  $[uE_{V_{EF}}]$ , Chomsky’s *maximize match*, which ensures that a Goal capable of simultaneously valuing both deficiencies is to be preferred over two separate Goals, will guarantee that the Goal is the embedded subject DP; see also van Urk & Richards’ (2013) concept of ‘*Multitasking*’.

## 5. Conclusions

- $v [E_{V/EF}, u\phi/ACC]$  feature combo:
  - triggers A-bar mvt. of the embedded subj. DP across finite phasal CP;
  - guarantees ACC lexicalization;
  - yields some A-movement effects (e.g. MCC);
  - yields interpretive effects (i.e. shift in evidentiality);

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