The Case of A-bar ECM: Evidence from Romanian

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1. Introduction

Romanian verbs expressing knowledge from reasoning (*cunosc* 'know'*, ştiu* 'know') or perception/inference (*văd* 'see/realize', *aud* 'hear/find out', *miros* 'smell/figure out') allow the thematic subject of their embedded clause to surface either in the finite indicative complement CP, with Nominative (henceforth, NOM) spell-out, as in (1a), or, in the matrix clause, with Accusative (henceforth, ACC) spell-out, as in (1b, c): [1]

(1) a. Am văzut [că Ion/el lăcomeşte la mâncare].
AUX.1 seen that Ion/he is.greedy.3SG at food
'I/We saw that Ion is greedy with food.'

b. L_k-am văzut pe Ion_k [că $lăcomeşte_k$
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.1 seen DOM Ion that is.greedy.3SG
la mâncare].
at food
'I saw Ion being greedy with food.'

c. Am_j văzut $animalele_k$ [că-$ncepeau_k$ [s-o ia
AUX.1 seen animals.the that started.3PL SUBJ-it take
la fugă]].
at run
'I saw the animals starting to run.'

Cross-linguistically, complements to perception verbs with ACC subjects are known to be tense deficient (see Guasti 1993, Felser 1999, a.o.), regardless of whether they occur as bare infinitives (e.g. English), infinitives with *pro* subjects (e.g. Italian, Spanish),

[1] 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 <e> type direct objects (Cornilescu 2002), serving as a Differential Object Marker (Hill 2012, following Bossong 1985), SE: an underspecified argument, REFL: reflexive.

subjunctives (e.g. Greek), or *that*-indicatives in pseudorelatives (e.g. Italian, French, Spanish). These complements lack referential (or relative) tense, requiring instead a simultaneous interpretation with the tense of the matrix (Higginbotham 1983). Crucially, however, in Romanian, different tense values are possible with ACC subjects, as shown in (2) with matrix past tense: in (2a), the complement has present tense, in (2b), past tense.

(2) a. Am mirosit-o pe Maria [că vrea
AUX.1 smelled- CL.3SG.F.ACC DOM Maria that wants
[să ne tragă plasa]] .
SUBJ to.us draw net.the
'I figured out that Maria intends to con us.'

b. Am mirosit-o pe Maria [că voia
AUX.1 smelled- CL.3SG.F.ACC DOM Maria that wanted
[să ne tragă plasa]].
SUBJ to.us draw net.the
'I figured out that Maria intended to con us.'

This paper argues for the following: (i) the derivation in (1b, c) arises from Raising to Object (RtoO)/ECM across a phasal indicative CP; (ii) RtoO in Romanian is A-bar movement; and, (iii) the trigger for movement is discourse related. We first discuss some empirical properties of complements to reasoning and perception verbs (Section 2) and argue that these are exclusively mono-transitive predicates selecting a CP complement theme. Section 3 provides diagnostic tests concerning the initial Merge position of the thematic embedded subject DP and concludes in favor of a movement analysis to the matrix clause predicate domain. Section 4 provides an analysis of RtoO in Romanian as successive-cyclic A-bar movement; this is motivated by the absence of bare quantifiers, lack of passivization, and interference with long-distance wh-movement. We offer an account for ACC lexicalization of the moved DP and argue for an [Evaluative] feature triggering this movement. Section 5 is a conclusion.

2. Empirical Properties

2.1 Restriction to Subjects but not Standard ECM

The data in (3) show that only the subject of the embedded clause may surface as ACC in the main clause; attempting to raise the object, as in (3a), results in ungrammaticality.

(3) a. L_k-am văzut pe Ion_k [că spală
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.1 seen DOM Ion that washes.3
podeaua].
floor.the

b. *Am văzut podeaua [că (Ion) o spală].
AUX.1 seen floor.the that Ion it washes.3
'I saw that Ion is/was washing the floor.'

So, the facts resemble ECM, except that, unlike with ECM, the complement is not an infinitive or tenseless subjunctive/indicative, but a phasal CP *that*-indicative domain, as evidenced by (2). Essentially, what we are dealing with is a DP subject valued ACC, *despite* the fact that its thematic CP domain can also value it NOM. The availability of NOM follows straightforwardly, since these CPs are in no way reduced or lacking and their subjects are also free to lexicalize within the embedded domain, see (1a). Further support in favor of separating a need for Case-valuation from ACC lexicalization (contra the case of ECM), comes from data with lexical Case subjects. As shown in (4a), some Romanian predicates require Dative Experiencer subjects; (4b) shows that these subjects may equally surface in the main clause with ACC lexicalization on a par with NOM DPs.

(4) a. Am văzut [că (lui Ion$_k$) îi$_k$ e foame].
AUX.1 seen that the.DAT Ion CL.3SG.DAT is hungry

b. [L$_k$-am văzut pe Ion$_k$ [că îi$_k$ e foame].
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.1 seen DOM Ion that CL.3SG.DAT is hungry
'I saw that Ion was hungry.'

Another argument against A-movement type ECM comes from a comparison with standard ECM verbs like *vrea* 'want' and *consider* 'consider' in Romanian, which do not allow for this construction. The NOM subject of the embedded clause, see (5a, 6a), does not have the option of surfacing as an ACC in the matrix, see (5b, 6b). The only exception is when the complement is a small clause, (6c), without internal NOM availability, (6d).

(5) a. Vreau [ca ei să reuşească].
want.1SG that.SUBJ he SUBJ succeed.3.SUBJ

b. *Îi vreau pe ei [(ca) să
CL.3PL.ACC want.1SG DOM 3PL that.SUBJ SUBJ
reuşească].
succeed.3.SUBJ
'I want them to succeed.'

(6) a. Consider [că Ion e băiat deştept].
consider.1SG [that Ion is boy smart]

b. *Îl consider pe Ion [că e băiat deştept].
CL.3SG.M.ACC consider.1SG DOM Ion that is boy smart

c. Îl consider pe Ion [băiat deştept].
CL.3SG.M.ACC consider.1SG DOM Ion [boy smart]

d. *Consider [Ion băiat deştept].
consider.1SG [Ion boy smart]
'I consider Ion to be a smart guy.'

The next sub-section investigates whether we are perhaps dealing with object control rather than ECM - a direction not immediately dismissable under 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 an Object Control Analysis

Verbs of perception have been argued to be prototypical mono-transitives (Rigter and Beukema 1985), which would exclude an object control analysis. However, for the sake of argumentation, we consider the thematic grid of Romanian verbs of knowledge and perception and show that these are indeed mono- rather than di-transitive.

Following Harley (2002), di-transitive verbs must allow for a lexical reanalysis as CAUSE+HAVE/LOCATION, where each lexical component has a theta-role to be saturated in syntax. The Romanian verbs under discussion do not lend themselves to this reanalysis. In (1b, c), the speaker conveys their own perception of the propositional content of the CP complement, as opposed to making the embedded subject experience or perform that event or state. More specifically, these matrix predicates indicate the source of perception or information, yielding an evaluative reading.

In addition, there are other asymmetries between object control constructions in Romanian and the verbs considered here. First, object control is typically optional, see (7a), whereas the ACC DP in our constructions is obligatorily co-referent to the embedded subject, see (7b). Second, while object control constructions allow for a co-referent pronoun in the embedded clause, as in (7c), our constructions do not, as shown in (7d).

(7) a. L-am convins pe Ion [că pământul
CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 convinced DOM Ion that earth.the
e rotund].
is round
'I convinced Ion (of the fact) that the Earth is round.'

b. *Îl$_k$ ştiu pe Rareş$_k$ [că pământul
CL.3SG.M.ACC know.1SG DOM Rares that earth.the
e rotund].
is round
'*I know Raresh that the world is round.'

c. L$_k$-am convins (pe Ion$_k$) [să plătească
CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1 convinced DOM Ion [SUBJ pay.SUBJ.3
(el$_{k/*j}$) lumina].
he light.the
'I/We convinced Ion to pay the hydro bill.'

d. Îl$_k$ ştiu pe Rareş$_k$ [că e (*el$_k$)
CL.3SG.M.ACC know.1SG DOM Rares [that is he
om bun].
man good
'I know Raresh to be a good man.'

Furthermore, object control predicates permit passivization of their DP object, see

(8a), while these constructions do not, see (8b). The only option is to *SE*-passivize, as in (8c), in which case the subject stays in the embedded clause:

(8) a. Ion a fost convins [să plătească (el) lumina].
Ion AUX.3 been convinced [SUBJ pay.SUBJ.3 he light.thea
'Ion was convinced to pay the hydro bill.'

b. *Ion a fost văzut demult [că lăcomeşte la mâncare].
Ion AUX.3 been seen of.long that is.greedy at food

c. S-a văzut demult [că Ion lăcomeşte la mâncare].
SE-AUX.3 seen of.long that Ion is.greedy at food
'It was noticed long ago that Ion is greedy with food.'

To conclude, Romanian verbs of knowledge and perception are mono-transitive predicates capable of selecting propositional CP arguments. Consequently, they do not involve object control. Perhaps then the CP is a relative clause, modifying a selected DP object, an assumption we consider and dismiss in the next sub-section.

2.3 Against a Relative Clause Account

Despite the fact that similar constructions in Romance have been labeled pseudorelatives, they have been shown to be structurally different from both restrictive and non-restrictive relatives (see Guasti 1993 and references therein). The same is true of Romanian, where restrictive relatives cannot modify proper names, ruling out examples like (1b), (2), (3a), (4b), and (7), for instance, while non-restrictives are marked with an intonational break, unlike our cases. In addition, Romanian, like English, allows for relativization of all argument types, while here we see a restriction to subjects. However, what is perhaps crucial is that adjacency, a requirement of relative clauses, is not obligatory here. (9a) shows an adverb blocking clausal adjacency between the ACC DP and the CP, while in (9b), the matrix clause subject interferes.

(9) 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 ştia 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.'

In sum, a relative clause analysis is ruled out, unsurprising when one considers that the indicative *că* 'that' complementizer is absent from Romanian relatives more generally. However, the absence of adjacency illustrated in (9) also cements the claim that the ACC DP resides in the main rather than the embedded clause. In the next section, we debate whether the ACC DP is directly merged in the main clause or moved there.

3. First or Second Merge: Diagnostic Tests

3.1 First Merge/Prolepsis Tests

Under 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 (see Bruening 2001, Davies 2005, Massam 1985). This is pragmatically motivated, as 'anticipation', for foregrounding the new theme in the discourse (Panhuis 1984).

In view of the above, prolepsis is expected to triggers interpretive differences (Davies 2005). In Romanian, in contrast to English, where the reading is maintained in RtoO (e.g. *I believe that he is intelligent* ≡ *I believe him to be intelligent*), the interpretation does change. A shift in the nature of evidentiality ensues: in (1a), the speaker refers to the event as a whole, whereas in (1b, c), the speaker evaluates the DP referent. In (1b), *Ion* is assessed in relationship to his eating habits, while in (1c), the speaker is concerned with the state of the 'animals', inferring something abnormal from their behavior. However, the problem is that prolepsis should not be restricted to subjects – any constituent of the embedded clause should be able to respond to the discourse trigger (Bruening 2001). In the next sub-section, we show that the syntax of Romanian RtoO is *not* that of a proleptic construction, despite the fact that discourse pragmatics is indeed involved.

3.2 Second Merge/Movement Tests

In what follows, we replicate tests from Bruening (2001), Bošković (2007), and Davies (2005), which show that the ACC DP in the matrix undergoes RtoO from the lower CP.

3.2.1 Constituency Tests

While both (13a) and (13b), with RtoO, are well-formed, substitution shows that *asta* 'this' can only replace the CP when it contains its subject: compare (13c) to (13d).

(13) a. Am văzut [că Ion traversează strada].
AUX.1 seen that Ion crosses street.the
'I/We saw that Ion is crossing the street.'

b. L-am văzut pe Ion [că traversează strada].
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.1 seen DOM Ion that crosses street.the
'I/We saw Ion crossing the street.'

c. Am văzut [$_{DP}$ asta].
AUX.1 seen this
'I/We saw this.'

d. *L-am văzut pe Ion [$_{DP}$ asta].
CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.1 seen DOM Ion this

In the same vein, (14) shows that CP movement is also only possible when the CP contains its subject: compare (14a) with (14b).

(14) a. [Că Ion traversează strada pe roşu] ştim cu toţii.
That Ion crosses street.the on red know.1PL with all-the
'As for the fact that Ion crosses the street on a red light, we all know that.'

b. *[Că traversează strada pe roşu] îl ştim cu toţii pe Ion.
That crosses street.the on red CL.3SGM.ACC know.1PL we all DOM Ion

Since only constituents can be substituted and moved, (13) and (14) both show that the ACC DP is first merged as a constituent of the complement clause.

3.2.2 Sensitivity to Islands

The data in (15) and (16) show that the ACC DP in the matrix clause obeys islands, so it must be involved in movement. (15a) shows RtoO from the embedded CP, but this is blocked with complex NP islands: compare (15b) with (15c). (16) shows that the ACC DP is ruled out in the matrix when it is part of the coordinated subject DP in the complement.

(15) a. Ion o mirosise pe Maria [că-şi aranja
Ion CL.3SGF.ACC smelled DOM Maria that-DAT.REFL
aranja plecarea].
arranged departure.the
'Ion figured out that Maria was arranging her departure.'

b. Ion mirosise faptul [că Maria îşi aranja plecarea].
Ion smelled fact.the that Maria DAT.REFL arranged departure.the
'Ion figured out the fact that Maria was arranging her departure.'

c. *Ion o mirosise pe Maria [$_{DP}$ faptul
Ion CL.3SGF.ACC smelled DOM Maria fact-the
[că-şi aranja plecarea]].
that-DAT.REFL arranged departure.the

(16) a. Ion mirosise [că Luca şi 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$_i$ [că Luca şi ea$_i$
Ion CL.3SGF.ACC smelled DOM Ana that Luca and she
vroiau să plece].
wanted SUBJ leave

3.2.3 Reconstruction

Lastly, reconstruction effects also show movement out of the complement CP. See (17).

(17) a. Văd [că maică-sa îl iubeşte
see.1SG that mother-his/her CL.3SGM.ACC loves
pe fiecare aşa cum e].
DOM each as how is
'I see that their mother loves each of them just as they are.'

b. O văd pe maică-sa [că-l iubeşte
CL.3SGF.ACC see DOM mother-his/her that- CL.3SGM.ACC loves
pe fiecare aşa cum e].
DOM each as how is
'I see that their mother loves each of them just as they are.'

(17a) shows the embedded subject lexicalized as NOM in the complement clause. In (17b), with the embedded subject realized as the matrix ACC DP, its variable *sa* 'his/her' can only be bound by the quantifier *fiecare* 'each' of the embedded clause. For this to be possible, the ACC DP must reconstruct at LF. Not only is a movement chain legitimized by this operation, but the type of chain is also revealed (see Barss 1986, Mahajan 1990): specifically we are dealing with an instance of *A-bar movement*.

4. Analysis of RtoO in Romanian

The following picture emerges for RtoO in Romanian: (i) the embedded subject is base-generated in the complement clause regardless of its locus of lexicalization (i.e. embedded vs. matrix); (ii) A-bar movement crosses the CP (contra Bruening 2001) since main clause material can interfere between the raised DP and the embedded CP; (iii) given the ACC lexicalization of the raised DP, movement targets the matrix vP domain.

4.1 Target of Movement

Standard ECM, where the DP moves from a *non-finite* complement clause to a matrix Case position (e.g. Bošković 2007, Bowers 1993, 2002, Johnson 1991, Koizumi 1995), assumes movement to a position between vP and VP (or is to Spec,VP, Lopez 2001).

However, we have shown that RtoO in Romanian is not standard ECM: movement is out of a finite phasal CP and shows A-bar effects. This is different, for instance, from Japanese, which also allows only for subjects to cross finite CPs but is an instance of A-movement (Kuno 1976, Tanaka 2002). Additional arguments for A-bar movement of Romanian RtoO also come from lack of passivization, (8b), and are provided in (18)-(20).

(18) a. Am mirosit [că (cineva) ne minte (cineva).]
AUX.1 smelled that someone 1PL.ACC lies someone
'I/We suspected that someone was lying to us.'

b. Am mirosit (*pe cineva) [că ne minte.]
AUX.1 smelled DOM someone that 1PL.ACC lies
'I/We suspected someone to be lying to us.'

(19) a. *Pe cine$_k$ ai mirosit <pe cine$_k$> [că ne minte]?
DOM who AUX.2SG smelled who that 1PL.ACC lies
'Who did you suspect was lying to us?'

b. Pe care$_k$ l$_k$-ai mirosit <pe care$_k$>
DOM which CL.3SGM.ACC- AUX.2SG smelled DOM which
[că ne minte]?
that 1PL.DAT lies
'Which one did you suspect was lying to us?'

(20) a. Îl$_k$ ştim 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 (going to) the theatre.'

b. *Ce-l$_k$ ştim 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?'

(18) shows that bare quantifiers are ruled out in RtoO, so the position targeted is not an A position. Furthermore, the asymmetry in (19) shows that the raised DP is subject to a specificity condition: the DP must be sentient, part of the thematic, old information, and is typically animate, so a 'proto-agent' (à la Dowty 1991), that is also D-linked (à la Pesetsky 1987). Lastly, (20b) shows that RtoO blocks wh-movement to the matrix. Note, however, that in Romanian, subjects can be extracted across *că* 'that', see (21), so A-bar RtoO is consistent with this possibility (i.e. Romanian lacks *that*-trace effects).

(22) Cine spuneai [că ne-a trimis cartea]?
who said.2SG that 1PL.DAT-AUX.3SG sent book.the
'Who did you say sent us the book?'

The position to which the embedded subject moves in Romanian RtoO is lower than T (since it follows the lexical verb in T) but can precede the in-situ matrix subject, (9b), or aspectual/vP adverbs, (9a). We propose that RtoO targets the highest functional head of the matrix predicate phase, which we label v*. Interestingly, this domain also hosts thematic/non-rhematic material evacuated outside the vP in simple clauses (Alboiu 2002).

4.2 Evidentiality and Feature Driven Movement

The facts presented here suggest that RtoO in Romanian is successive cyclic A-bar movement (via embedded Spec,CP) triggered by a discourse related feature optionally

inserted in the derivation. We propose that this is an [**Eval**(uative)] feature grammaticized onto the inherently evidential main clause predicate. That verbs of knowledge and perception may optionally bring this feature into the derivation as part of their lexical definition is well documented typologically (Noonan 1985), while current studies indicate that encoding of evidentiality may occur in different domains in the clause: in CP (Cinque 1999), in TP (Speas 2010), or in vP (Kidwai 2010). Since [Eval] v* requires a salient DP in its specifier, we assume a [uTop] Probe on this head, made available by the syntactically encoded pragmatics of evidential verbs. Note that restricting RtoO to the embedded subject is a semantic requirement imposed here by the nature of evidentiality; following Chung and Timberlake (1985), the *source* of evaluation in secondary events is the matrix subject and the *target* has to be the embedded subject. Consequently, syntax must ensure that no other DP crosses the CP for evaluation. But how exactly is this done?

4.3 Restriction to Subjects and ACC DP Lexicalization

In this section we show that by grammaticizing the [Eval] feature onto a domain that also has A-features (to rule out adjuncts) and, more specifically, the lowest such domain in the clause (to ensure visibility), the syntactic component can oblige the semantic conditioning of evidentiality, in effect guaranteeing restriction of RtoO to the embedded subject.

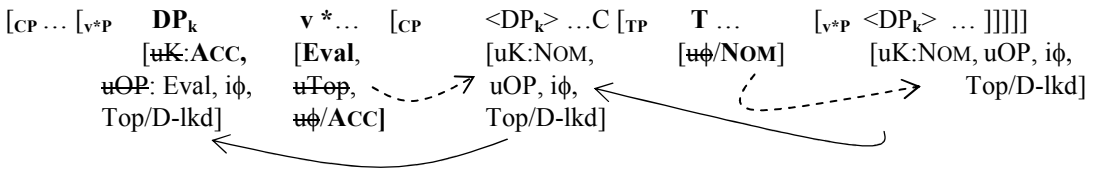
Given the simultaneous presence of both [uTop] and [uϕ/ACC] on v*, *maximize match* will guarantee that the Operator is the embedded subject, since this is the only argument without a deleted Case feature. RtoO and ACC lexicalization follow as discussed below.

We follow Chomsky (2008) and Pesetsky and Torrego (2001), and assume that deletion/erasue is a property of Spell-Out and that *checked features are still syntactically active prior to Spell-Out*, that is, up to the next Phase. This means that Case, [uK], on the embedded subject DP is in principle accessible to the matrix v* [uϕ/ACC] Probe. More specifically, unlike internal arguments, which are Case valued in the v*P, with erasure at the next Phase (i.e. the CP level), the external argument receives NOM from T, in the embedded CP, so its Case feature is not erased at the CP level but available until the next Phase (i.e. the matrix v*P).[2] To clarify, we assume that structural Case is a property of the Phase (Chomsky 2008) and, as such, that NOM Case valuation is available both in (1a) type contexts and in (1b) type situations. However, note that the embedded subject DP is not visible to the matrix domain unless it dislocates to the edge of the CP Phase. So, unless this DP moves to Spec,CP, matrix v* would not be able to engage with it. Since we are dealing with Operator movement, it is not unreasonable to assume that the embedded subject DP has a [uOP] feature which requires it to move to Spec,CP since this feature is not valued in the embedded clause. As in Chomsky's (2008) account of *Who saw John*, where the base-generated copy of [who] is engaged separately by T and by C, we propose

[2] While the syntactic component does not allow (in)direct objects to undergo RtoO, Themes of unaccusatives and passives are okay as the vP is arguably not a phase in those constructions.

then that the embedded subject establishes two chains in RtoO of the type in (1b): one with embedded T *and* the other with matrix v* via Spec,CP, as shown in (22).

(22) Mechanics of Romanian RtoO with Vs of knowledge and perception



(22) also shows that [uK], the feature guaranteeing syntactic visibility for A-Probing, is valued twice (by embedded T and by matrix v*) but lexicalized once (i.e. as ACC, the upper copy). Note that subject extraction does not take place from Spec,TP but from the subject's initial v*P-internal merge position (Rizzi and Shlonski 2005, Chomsky 2008), as evidenced by the exclusively post-verbal floated quantifiers: compare (23a) to (23b).

(23) a. I_k-am văzut eu pe studenţi$_k$ [că (*cam toţi) ezită
them-AUX.1 seen I DOM students [that (most all) hesitate
(cam toţi$_k$) [să voteze]].
(most all) [SUBJ vote]]
'I noticed that most all students are hesitant to vote.'

b. Au ştiut [că (Ion) e om bun (Ion)].
AUX.3PL known [that Ion is man good Ion
'They knew that Ion is a good man.'

Since the embedded subject is probed by both [uTop] and [uϕ/ACC], RtoO is technically *both* A *and* A-bar movement. Interestingly, there is some indication that this approach might be on the right track given the reversed binding possibilities in (24):

(24) O văd [pe fiecare mamă]$_k$ copiii ei$_{k/j}$ [că munceşte mult].
CL.3SG.F.ACC see.3PL DOM each mother children her that works hard
'Her children see each mother working hard.'

4.4 RtoO and Indirect Questions/Free Relatives

A last issue concerns availability of RtoO with indirect questions/free relatives. Consider (25) and how the presence of a wh-operator fails to block subject movement to Spec,CP.

(25) a. Vezi tu invidia [CP <invidia> [FocP *la ce*
see.2SG 2SG.NOM envy-the envy at what
aduce <invidia> pe om]]?
brings envy DOM man
'See what envy does to people?! '

b. O văd pe maică-sa [$_{CP}$ <maică-sa> [$_{FocP}$ *cît*
CL.3SGF.ACC see PRT mother-his/her mother-his/her how much
îl iubeşte <maică-sa> pe fiecare]]
CL.3SGM.ACC loves mother-his/her PRT each
'I see how much their mother loves each of them.'

Comorovski (1986) noted that Romanian D-linked wh-phrases can escape out of embedded interrogatives. Since our subject is a D-linked constituent, no blocking effects are expected here either. This is easily explained, as non-D-linked wh-phrases are in Spec,FocusP (Rizzi 1997), see (26), and do not interfere with the CP edge, Spec,ForceP:

(26) [$_{CP}$ ForceP > TopP > FocusP > FinP] > TP > vP

5. Conclusions

This paper discusses properties of Romanian constructions with matrix knowledge and perception verbs selecting finite phasal CPs (i.e. *that*-indicatives and indicative indirect questions), in which the subject of the embedded clause surfaces as an ACC DP in the matrix clause under specific evaluative semantics. Based on movement properties and linearization, it is argued that the DP in RtoO undergoes A-bar movement across the complement CP to the highest specifier of the matrix v*P. Given that, in these contexts, the embedded subject is probed by both [uTop] and [uϕ/ACC], simultaneous A and A-bar effects are obtained. More specifically, both ACC lexicalization and the option of binding the main clause subject would indicate A-movement, whereas reconstruction effects, absence of passivization and of bare quantifiers indicate A-bar movement. The paper at once contributes to the theoretical debate on cross-linguistic ECM/RtoO and to a more fine-grained understanding of evidential systems.

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