

Cross-clausal A-dependencies

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1. Background and overview

Cross-clausal A-dependencies [CCA]

- A-dependencies: thematic licensing, case, agreement (Move, Merge, and Binding related to these properties).
- Cross-clausal: Case and/or agreement are determined by/within a different predicate/clause than the Θ -role of the DP involved.
- Phenomena: Exceptional Case Marking [ECM], raising to object, “long-distance” agreement

Empirical distribution

- Can CCAs apply across clause-boundaries? What type of clause boundaries?

- (1) a. *I believe **her** to have won the downhill race.*
 b. **I believe (that) **her** won the downhill race.*

Table 1: CCA and finiteness	Non-finite	Finite
English, Icelandic	✓	✗
Turkish, Buryat	✓	✓
German, Dutch ECM	✗	✗
Zulu	✗	✓

Main theoretical contribution

- CCA and clause reduction (CP omission/deletion in ECM and raising): comparison with restructuring shows that English-type clause reduction in ECM would be the odd case.
- Hypothesis: CCA does not require clause reduction.
- CCA and locality (the *Improper* issue)—How can CPs be crossed by A-dependencies?
- Main claim: CPs in CCA are (regular) phases.
- *Improper A after A'*: Flexible approach to typing projections/positions as A or A' (van Urk 2015).
- Towards a unified account of the language variation (work in progress).

2. Cross-clausal A-dependencies

2.1 Types of CCA

Hyper raising

- (2) a. *Os meninos parecem que fizeram a tarefa.*
 the boys seem.3.PL that did.3.PL the homework
 ‘The boys seem to have done their homework.’ [Nunes 2009: 5, (2)]
- b. *Cê / Alguém parece que está doente.*
 you.WEAK / someone seem that is sick
 ‘You seem/Someone seems to be sick.’ [Ferreira 2009: 24, (18)]

- c. **Cê, João me disse que vai ser aprovada.*
 you.WEAK João me told that will be approved.FEM
 ‘You, John told me that you will be approved.’ [Ferreira 2009: 24, (19a)]
- d. **Alguém, João me disse que seria aprovado.*
 Someone João me told that would.be approved.MASC
 ‘You, John told me that you will be approved.’ [Ferreira 2009: 24, (19b)]

Hyper ECM

- Case of embedded argument comes from the matrix predicate.
- ACC is possible even when the embedded predicate does not allow ACC, and impossible when ACC is not possible in the matrix.

- (3) a. *Makarna-Ø/*yı ye-n-di.* Turkish
 pasta-NOM/*ACC eat-PASS-PAST
 ‘Pasta was eaten.’ [Şener 2011: 2, (5a)]
- b. *John [makarna-yı ye-n-di diye] duy-du.*
 John.NOM [pasta-ACC eat-PASS-PAST COMP] hear-PAST
 ‘John heard that pasta was eaten.’ [Şener 2011: 3, (5b)]
- (4) a. [*Pelin-Ø Timbuktu-ya gi-ti diye*] *bil-in-iyor.*
 [P-NOM T-DAT go-PAST COMP] know-PASS-PRES
 ‘Pelin is known to have gone to Timbuktu.’ [Şener 2011: 3, (6a)]
- b. * [*Pelin-i Timbuktu-ya gi-ti diye*] *bil-in-iyor.*
 [P-ACC T-DAT go-PAST C] know-PASS-PRES
 ‘Pelin is known to have gone to Timbuktu.’ [Şener 2011: 3, (6b)]
- (5) a. *xübün badma-da atarxə-nə.* Buryat
 boy Badma-DAT envy-PRES.
 ‘The boy envies Badma.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 2, (5)]
- b. *xübün badmə / ???/*badm-ijə na:dənxə abə-xə gəžə atarxə-nə.*
 boy Badma-NOM / ???/*Badma-ACC toy buy-NMN COMP envy-PRES.
 ‘The boy envies that Badma will buy a to.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 2, (6)]
- c. *səjənə [CP 3nə xan-ijə badm-ar šərdə-gdə-hən gəžə] mədə-nə.*
 Sajana [CP this wall-ACC Badma-INST paint-PASS-PFCT COMP] know-PRES
 ‘Sajana knows that this wall has been painted by Badma.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 3, (ii)]

Hyper agreement

- Case is/can be determined in the embedded clause, but an embedded argument enters an agreement dependency with the matrix predicate.
- Nez Perce: NOM or ERG depending on the transitivity of the embedded predicate; object agreement is the result of covert raising to object (Deal 2017), which has an effect on the case of the matrix subject (ERG).

- (6) a. *Harold-nim hi-nees-nek-se* [CP *hitemenew’et hi-wsiix wiweepcux.*] Nez P.
 Harold-ERG 3.SUBJ-O.PL-think-IMPV [CP *student.NOM 3.SUBJ-be.PRES.PL smart*]
 ‘Harold thinks the students are smart.’ [Deal 2017: 5, (10)]
- b. *Taamsas-nim hi-nees-nek-se* [CP *mamay’as-nim poo-payata-six Angel-ne.*]
 Taamsas-ERG 3.SUBJ-O.PL-think-IMPV [CP *children-ERG 3/3-help- IMPV.S.PL Angel-ACC*]
 ‘Taamsas thinks the children are helping Angel.’ [Deal 2017: 5, (11)]

2.2 CCA and finiteness

- (7) a. *Leó sá Astrid-i borða ís-inn.* Icelandic
 Leo saw Astrid-ACC eat-INF ice-the
 ‘Leo saw Astrid eat the ice cream.’
- b. **Leó sá Astrid-i borða-ð-i ís-inn.*
 Leo saw Astrid-ACC eat-PAST-3.SG ice-the
 ‘Leo saw Astrid had eaten the ice cream.’
- (8) a. *badmə [NP namejə tʰrgə ʒbdəl-h-ijə(-mni)] mʒd-ʒ.* Buryat
 Badma [NP 1.SG.ACC cart break-NMN-ACC(-POSS.1.SG)] know-PAST
 ‘Badma found out that I broke the cart.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 10, (40); 23]
- b. *sajənə [CP namejə tʰrgə ʒmdəl-ʒ(*-b) gʒʒə] mʒd-ʒ.*
 Sajana [CP 1.SG.ACC cart break-PAST(*-1.SG) COMP] know-PAST
 ‘Sajana found out that I broke the cart.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 19, (82)]
- (9) a. *Sie glaubt (*ihn) Goldfische zu mögen.* German
 She believes (*him.ACC) goldfish to like
 ‘She believes herself (control)/*him (ECM) to like goldfish.’
- b. *Sie glaubt er / *ihn mag Goldfische.*
 She believes he.NOM / *he.ACC goldfish to like
 ‘She believes he likes goldfish.’
- (10) a. **uZinhle u-bonakala [uku-(zo-) xova ujeqe.]* Zulu
 AUG.1.Zinhle 1.S-seem [INF-(FUT) make AUG.1.steamed.bread]
 ‘It seems that Zinhle will make bread.’ [Halpert 2016b: 186, (3), (187), (5)]
- b. *Ngi-funa uSipho [CP ukuthi apheke iqanda.]*
 1.SG-want AUG.1.Sipho [CP that 1.SUBJ.cook AUG.5.egg]
 ‘I want Sipho to cook an egg.’ [Halpert 2016a: 41, (66b)]

2.3 CCAs vs. prolepsis

- (11) a. *I know of Leo that he left.* Prolepsis
 b. *I know DP_i [CP (that) pro_i left.]* language with *pro* drop; local case/agreement
 c. *I know [CP DP (that) left.]* CCA

There is a diverse set of evidence that the DP involved in a CCA originates in the lower clause:

Buryat (Bondarenko To appear), *Japanese* (Hiraiwa 2001, Goto 2014), *Mishar Tatar* (Podobryaev 2014), *Nez Perce* (Deal 2017), *Passamaquoddy* (Bruening 2001), *P'urhepecha* (Zyman 2017), *Tsez* (Polinsky and Potsdam 2001), *Turkish* (Şener 2008, 2011), *Uyghur* (Shklovsky and Sudo 2014), *Zulu* (Halpert 2016a, Halpert and Zeller 2015).

- Word order: embedded material » ACC

- (12) a. *Tünügün Ahmet manga [ete Aygül-ni ket-idu] di-di.* Uyghur
 yesterday Ahmet 1.SG.DAT [tomorrow **Aygül-ACC** leave-IMPF.3] say-PAST.3
 ‘Yesterday Ahmet said that Aygül would leave tomorrow.’ [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 388, (18)]
- b. *ojunə [üsəgəldər badm-ijə na:dənxə ab-a gʒʒə] mʒd-ʒ.* Buryat
 Ojuna [yesterday **Badma-ACC** toy take-PST COMP] know-PST
 ‘Ojuna found out that yesterday Badma bought a toy.’ (possible) [Bondarenko To appear: 76, (17)]

- c. *Pelin* [*dün Mert-i sınav-a gir-di diye*] *bil-iyor.* [Turkish]
 Pelin.NOM [yesterday **Mert-ACC** exam-DAT enter-PAST COMP] know-PRES
 ‘Pelin thinks that yesterday, Mert took an exam.’ [Şener 2011: 5, (11)]
- d. ‘Aayat-onm hi-nees-nek-se [CP watiisx **mamay’ac** hi-pa-paay-no’.] [Nez Perce]
 woman-ERG 3.SUBJ-O.PL-think-IMPV [CP 1.day.away **children.NOM** 3SUBJ-S.PL-arrive-FUT]
 ‘The woman thinks the children will arrive tomorrow.’ [Deal 2017: 6, (13)]
- e. *John-ga* [*mada Mary-wo kodomo-da to*] *omotta.* [Japanese]
 John-NOM [still **Mary-ACC** child-COP COMP] thought
 ‘John thought that Mary was still a child.’ [Hiraiwa 2001: 72, (11)]

Other types of evidence:

- Idiomatic readings with embedded verb
- No additional overt pronominal subjects
- NEG/NPI licensing
- PBC violations when complement is moved without CCA DP
- Island sensitivity
- Scope of CCA DP below the matrix verb

2.4 ACC in/through/across Spec,CP

2.4.1 ACC vs. NOM

- (13) [Buryat, Mishar Tatar, Turkish, Uyghur]
 ECM DP — embedded Spec,CP (optionally higher)
 non-ECM NOM below C

- Uyghur: when the embedded subject is co-referent with the matrix subject, ACC must be an anaphor and cannot be a pronoun; whereas NOM must be a pronoun and cannot be an anaphor.

- (14) a. *Men* [*peqet öz-em-ni-la nan ye-men*] *di-dim.* [Uyghur]
 1.SG [only **REFL-1.SG-ACC-only** bread eat-IMPV.1.SG] say-PAST.1.SG
 ‘I said that only I eat bread.’ [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 391, (26a)]
- b. *?*Men* [*peqet öz-em-Ø-la nan ye-men*] *di-dim.*
 1.SG [only **REFL-1.SG-NOM-only** bread eat-IMPV.1.SG] say-PAST.1.SG
 ‘I said that only I eat bread.’ [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 391, (26b)]
- (15) a. *Men* [*peqet men-la nan ye-men*] *di-dim.* [Uyghur]
 1.SG [only **1.SG-NOM-only** bread eat-IMPV.1.SG] say-PAST.1.SG
 ‘I said that only I eat bread.’ [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 391, (27a)]
- b. **Men* [*peqet meni-la nan ye-men*] *di-dim.*
 1.SG [only **1.SG-ACC-only** bread eat-IMPV.1.SG] say-PAST.1.SG
 ‘I said that only I eat bread.’ [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 391, (27b)]

ACC is in the (binding) domain of the matrix subject, NOM is not.

- Buryat: ACC NPI must be licensed by matrix NEG; GEN/NOM by embedded NEG; NPI require clause-mate NEG at the surface in Buryat.

- (16) a. *badma x3n-i-šjə t3rgə 3mdəl-3 g3žə xar-a-güj* [Buryat]
 Badma **who-ACC-PTCL** cart break-PAST COMP see-PAST-NEG
 ‘Badma didn’t see anyone break the cart.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 14, (63)]
- b. **badma x3n-i-šjə t3rgə 3mdəl-3-güj g3žə xar-a.*
 Badma **who-ACC-PTCL** cart break-PAST-NEG COMP see-PAST
 Intended: ‘Badma saw that nobody broke the cart.’ [SW] [Bondarenko To appear: 14, (64)]
- c. **badma x3n-šjə t3rgə 3mdəl-3 g3žə xar-a-güj*
 Badma **who.NOM-PTCL** cart break-PAST COMP see-PAST-NEG
 ‘Badma didn’t see anyone break the cart.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 14, (66)]
- d. *badma x3n-šjə t3rgə 3mdəl-3-güj g3žə xar-a.*
 Badma **who.NOM-PTCL** cart break-PAST-NEG COMP see-PAST
 Intended: ‘Badma saw that nobody broke the cart.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 14, (65)]

ACC is in the (negation) domain of the matrix clause, NOM is not.

Combining the inside/outside tests

- DP.ACC that is licensed or bound into by a matrix element can still appear under an *embedded* adverbial.

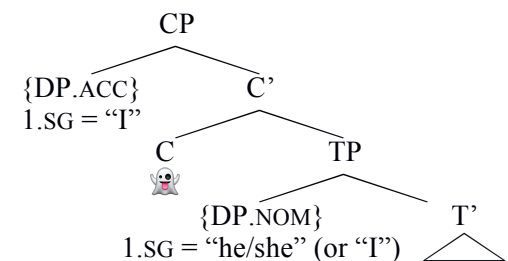
- (17) a. *badmə [üsəgəldər x3n-i-šjə t3rgə 3mdəl-3 g3žə] xar-a-güj* [Buryat]
 Badma [yesterday **who-ACC-PTCL** cart break-PAST COMP] see-PAST-NEG
 ‘Badma didn’t see anyone break the cart yesterday.’ (possible) [Bondarenko To appear: 18, (78)]
- b. *badmə [üsəgəldər örin-gö hamg-ijə zurəg zur-a g3žə] m3də-nə.*
 Badma [yesterday **POSS.SELF-REFL wife-ACC** picture paint-PAST COMP] know-PRES
 ‘Badma_i knows that his_i wife painted a picture yesterday.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 18, (80)]

ACC is high enough in the CP to be visible from the outside (and above C—see below), yet still in the embedded clause.

2.4.2 Shifted indexicals

- (18) a. *Leo said that I left.* I = Susi
 b. *Leo said: “I left.”* I = Leo

- Shifted indexicals: 1st and 2nd person pronouns that do not refer to the speaker but a matrix argument. In languages allowing shifted indexicals, (18a) can mean “Leo said that he left.”
- It can be shown that true embedding is involved and not quotes; matrix—embedded dependencies; e.g., *wh*-movement, Neg licensing, distributive plural pronouns (Shklovsky and Sudo 2014, Podobryaev 2014).

- (19)  [Buryat, Uyghur, Turkish, Mishar Tatar]
 ACC/GEN cannot shift
 NOM can or must shift

- (20) a. *sajənə naməjə t3rgə 3mdəl-ə(*-b) g3žə m3d-3.* [Buryat]
 Sajana **1.SG.ACC** cart break-PRT1(*-1.SG) COMP know-PRT1
 ‘Sajana found out that I (=speaker) broke a cart.’
 *‘Sajana found out that she (=Sajana) broke a cart.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 19, (82)]

- b. *sajəna (bi) tɜrgə ʒmdəl-ə-b gʒʒə mɜd-ʒ.*
 Sajana (1.SG.NOM) cart break-PRT1-1.SG COMP know-PRT1
 ‘Sajana knows that I (=speaker) broke a cart.’ [T. Bondarenko, p.c.]
 ‘Sajana found out that she (=Sajana) broke a cart.’ [Bondarenko To appear: 19, (83)]

- (21) a. *Ahmet [mening kit-ken-lik-im-ni] di-di.* [Uyghur]
 Ahmet [1.SG.GEN leave-REL-NMLZ-1.SG-ACC] say-PAST.3
 ‘Ahmet said that I/*he left.’ (non-shifted, *shifted) [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 383, (4a)]
- b. *Ahmet [men ket-tim] di-di.*
 Ahmet [1.SG.NOM leave-PAST.1.SG] say-PAST.3
 ‘Ahmet said that he/*I left.’ (shifted, *non-shifted) [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 383, (4b)]
- c. *Ahmet [sen ket-ting] di-di.*
 Ahmet [2.SG.NOM leave-PAST.2.SG] say-PAST.3
 ‘Ahmet said that he/*you left.’ (shifted, *non-shifted) [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 386, (13a)]
- d. *Ahmet [seni ket-ti] di-di.*
 Ahmet [2.SG.ACC leave-PAST.3] say-PAST.3
 ‘Ahmet said that you/*he left.’ (non-shifted, *shifted) [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 386, (13b)]

Domain effect, not just about NOM vs. ACC

- Indexical pronouns embedded in ACC cannot shift, whereas they can/must shift when embedded in a NOM.
- (22) a. *badmə [Ø ba:bɛ-mni] jab-a gʒʒə mɜdə-nə.* [Buryat]
 Badma.NOM [Ø father.NOM-1.SG] go-PST COMP know-PRES
 ‘Badma_i knows that his_i father has left.’
 ‘Badma knows that my (speaker’s) father has left.’ [T. Bondarenko, p.c.]
- b. *badmə [Ø ba:bɛ-jə-mni] jab-a gʒʒə mɜdə-nə.*
 Badma.NOM [Ø father.ACC-1.SG] go-PST COMP know-PRES
 *‘Badma_i knows that his_i father has left.’
 ‘Badma_i knows that my_k (speaker’s) father has left.’ [T. Bondarenko, p.c.]
- Turkish, Mishar Tatar: only covert pronouns shift (Şener and Şener 2011, Podobryaev 2014).
 - But: the ACC/NOM difference is still visible.

- (23) a. *Alsu [irtägä [pro sestra-m-nɣ] kil-ä-r diep] at'-tr.* [Mishar Tatar]
 Alsu [tomorrow [pro sister-1.SG-ACC] come-ST-POT COMP] tell-PST
 ‘Alsu_i said that my/*her_i sister would come tomorrow.’ [Podobryaev 2014: 87, (214)]
- b. *Alsu [irtägä [pro sestra-m] kil-ä-r diep] at'-tr.*
 Alsu [tomorrow [pro sister-1.SG] come-ST-POT COMP] tell-PST
 ‘Alsu_i said that my/her_i sister would come tomorrow.’ [Podobryaev 2014: 87, (215)]





The relevance for structure

- Case, domain effects: indicate syntactic involvement; shifting (monster) operator in CP (Anand and Nevins 2004, Anand 2006, Sudo 2012, Shklovsky and Sudo 2014, Podobryaev 2014, Messick 2016).
- Shifting can only occur below that operator (something needs to be said about optionality/mixing).
- Anything above ACC does not shift; multiple arguments are possible in Spec,CP in Uyghur—nothing above ACC can shift (even if the context would favor shifting).

ECM ACC DPs must be above this operator — i.e., in Spec,CP.

The final piece

- A shifted indexical interpretation indicates that there is a CP (the operator must be present to trigger shifting).
- If there is also still an ACC DP (which cannot shift), we have strong evidence for the presence of a CP in ECM.
- Mixed shifting in Buryat makes exactly that case (all possible interpretations are given).

- (24) a. *badmə* [CP *mini ba:bɛ-jə*  [TP *nam-da durə-güj gʒʒə*]] *hanə-nə*.
 Badma.NOM [CP **1.SG.GEN father-ACC**  [TP 1.SG-DAT love-NEG COMP]] think-PRES
 ‘Badma thinks that my father doesn’t love me/him_i.’ [T. Bondarenko, p.c.]
- b. *badmə* [CP  *mini ba:bɛ nam-da durə-güj gʒʒə*] *hanə-nə*.
 Badma.NOM [CP  **1.SG.GEN father.NOM** 1.SG-DAT love-NEG COMP] think-PRES
 ‘Badma_i thinks that my/his_i father doesn’t love me/him_i.’ (all combinations) [T. Bondarenko, p.c.]

Conclusions:

- CCA case is possible into CPs.
- CCA case requires the DP to be above C (if ACC could be lower it should be possible to shift, which is not the case).

3. Comparison with clause reduction

Two types of ECM

- (25) a. *I saw/let him steal my ice cream.* Small clause ECM
 b. *Leo believes/expects me to like ice cream.* Big clause ECM

- Germanic (Christopoulos and Wurmbrand To appear): all Germanic languages allow small clause ECM but only English and Icelandic allow ECM with *believe*; some Mainland Scandinavian languages allow ECM with *consider* and/or *expect*, and there are further (language-specific) restrictions (see below).

Table 2: ECM in Germanic	Small clause ECM	Big clause ECM			
		<i>say/claim</i>	<i>believe</i>	<i>consider</i>	<i>expect</i>
Icelandic	✓	✓	✓	✓	N/A
English	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓
Swedish	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
Norwegian	✓	✗	✗	restricted	restricted
German/Dutch	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗

Clause reduction phenomena (restructuring)

- German shows extensive clause reduction: verb clusters, pronoun fronting, scrambling, long passive.
- But (big) ECM is entirely excluded, no matter what matrix verb is chosen.

- (26) a. *weil ihn_i der Leo* [TP *t_i zu reparieren*] *beschlossen hat* ✓ Clause reduction
 since it.ACC_i the.NOM Leo [TP *t_i to repair*] decided has
 ‘since Leo decided to repair it’
- b. *weil ich (*den Leo) zu verreisen beschlossen habe* *ECM
 since I (*the.ACC Leo) to travel decided have
 ‘since I decided (*Leo) to travel.’

- (27) a. *?weil ihn der Leo [TP t_i zu treffen] erwartet hat* ✓ Clause reduction
 since him.ACC the.NOM Leo [TP t_i to meet] expected has
 ‘since Leo expected to meet him’
- b. *weil ich (*den Leo) rechtzeitig anzukommen erwartet habe* *ECM
 since I (*the.ACC Leo) on.time to.arrive expected have
 ‘since I expected (*Leo) to arrive on time.’

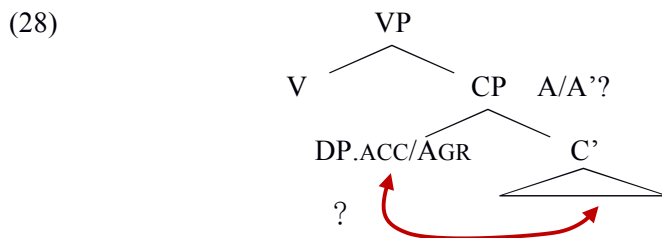
More generally

- CPs cross-linguistically block restructuring phenomena (Wurmbrand 2001, 2014, 2015)—restructuring is only possible when CP is absent, which shows that clause reduction is in effect for restructuring.
- The class of verbs that resist restructuring complements (i.e., prohibit clause reduction) are attitude and speech predicates.
- Yet these predicates form the core of ECM in English, which, at least in the bigger picture, makes clause reduction for ECM suspicious/unlikely.

Table 3: Clause reduction & ECM	Attitude, speech (<i>believe, claim</i>)	Future (<i>decide</i>)	Tenseless (<i>try</i>)
Restructuring: Italian-type	*	*	✓
Restructuring: German-type	*	✓	✓
ECM (English)	✓	*	*

If not clause reduction in ECM, what then? Towards an alternative...

- Following the theories of clause reduction as well as the cross-linguistic distribution of ECM (see in particular the conclusions drawn via shifted indexicals), attitude ECM complements would have to be CPs.



- Assuming that an *Improper A after A'* restriction (no A-dependencies after A'-dependencies) holds in all languages (see below for evidence), this then raises the following questions:
 - What gets the ECM DP to Spec,CP?
 - How is the (apparent) *Improper A-dependency* resolved?
 - How does the variation observed across languages (Table 1) arise?

4. Restrictions on the embedded clause in CCAs

4.1 Topicality

- Cross-clausal agreement in Tsez (Polinsky and Potsdam 2001, Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2005) and ECM in Turkish require the DP involved to be a topic (I only give examples of the latter here).

- (29) A: *Can'dan n'aber? Pelin onun partide ne yediğini söyledi mi?*
 ‘What about John? Did Pelin tell you what he ate at the party?’
- B: *Valla Can'ı bilmiyormuş ama...*
 ‘Well, he didn’t know about John, but...’

- a. *Pelin* [*Mete*_{TOP} *istakoz-dan*_{C-FOC} *ye-di* *diye*] *duy-muş.*
 Pelin.NOM [*Mete*.NOM *lobster-ABL* *eat-PAST* *COMP*] *hear-EVID.PAST*
 ‘Pelin heard that Mete ate from the lobster (at the party).’
- b. *Pelin* [***Mete-yi***_{TOP} *istakoz-dan*_{C-FOC} *ye-di* *diye*] *duy-muş.*
 Pelin.NOM [***Mete-ACC*** *lobster-ABL* *eat-PAST* *COMP*] *hear-EVID.PAST*
 ‘Pelin heard that Mete ate from the lobster (at the party).’ [Şener 2011: 4, (9)]

- ACC subjects (vs. NOM) cannot be associated with *Presentational Focus* (P-FOC).

- (30) A: *Mert’in partisine kimler gitmiş biliyor musun?*
 ‘Do you know who showed up at Mert’s party?’
- B: *Mert’in kendisine sormadım ama ...*
 ‘I haven’t asked Mert himself about it but ...’
- a. *Pelin* [*Sinan*_{P-FOC} *git-ti* *diye*] *duy-muş.*
 Pelin [*Sinan*.NOM *go-past* *COMP*] *hear-EVID.PAST*
 ‘Pelin heard that Sinan went (to the party).’
- b. #*Pelin* [***Sinan-ı***_{P-FOC} *git-ti* *diye*] *duy-muş.*
 Pelin [***Sinan-ACC*** *go-past* *COMP*] *hear-EVID.PAST*
 ‘Pelin heard that Sinan went (to the party).’ [Şener 2011: 3, (7)]

- ACC subjects (vs. NOM) cannot be associated with *Contrastive Focus* (C-FOC).

- (31) A: *Mert’in partisine herkes gitmiş mi?*
 ‘Do you know if everyone (he invited) went to Mert’s party?’
- B: *Mert’le konuşmadım ama ...*
 ‘I haven’t talked to Mert but ...’
- a. *Pelin* [*yalnızca Sinan*_{C-FOC} *git-ti* *diye*] *duy-muş.*
 Pelin [*only Sinan*.NOM *go-past* *COMP*] *hear-EVID.PAST*
 ‘Pelin heard that only Sinan went (to the party).’
- b. #*Pelin* [***yalnızca Sinan-ı***_{C-FOC} *git-ti* *diye*] *duy-muş.*
 Pelin [***only Sinan-ACC*** *go-past* *COMP*] *hear-EVID.PAST*
 ‘Pelin heard that only Sinan went (to the party).’ [Şener 2011: 3-4, (8)]

4.2 Forms of predication

- In some languages, cross-clausal case is restricted to certain types of predication.
- Languages differ how exactly this predication is defined.

- (32) Semantic/pragmatic constraint (Horn 2008: 6) Japanese
- The proposition expressed by an accusative-quotative complement must be a property ascription on the referent of the accusative subject when evaluated with respect to the belief world of the agent of attitude (the referent of the matrix subject noun phrase).

- (33) Major Subject (Yoon 2007: 626 (19)) Korean
- Preference for generic/habitual versus episodic interpretation of Sentential Predicate
 - Preference for the lexical predicate within the Sentential Predicate to be an individual-level predicate
 - Preference for the Major Subject to be more salient than Grammatical Subject

- Korean: ECM DP is restricted to *major subject* (not necessarily the grammatical subject)—the subject of a categorical judgment sentences, a characteristic property, what the sentence is about (topic-like).

- (34) a. *Cheli-nun wonswungi-?*lul/ka banana-lul cikum meknunta-ko sayngkakhanta.* Korean
 C-TOP **monkey-***ACC/NOM banana-ACC now eat-COMP thinks
 ‘Cheli considers a/the monkey to be eating a banana right now.’ [Yoon 2007: 630, (26a)]
- b. *Cheli-nun wonswungi-lul/ka banana-lul cal meknunta-ko sayngkakhanta.*
 C-TOP **monkey-ACC/NOM** banana-ACC well eat-COMP thinks
 ‘Cheli thinks monkeys love to eat banana.’ [Yoon 2007: 630, (26b)]

- ECM DP is often restricted to specific/definite interpretations.

- (35) a. *Kyengchal-i myes-myeng-uy namca-lul peminila-ko tancenghayssni?* Korean
 Police-NOM how.many-CL-GEN **man-ACC** culprit-COMP conclude.INT
 ‘How many of the men do the police consider to be culprits?’ [Yoon 2007: 620, (8a)]
- b. *Kyengchal-i myes-myeng-uy namca-ka peminila-ko tancenghayssni?*
 Police-NOM how.many-CL-GEN **man-NOM** culprit-COMP conclude.INT
 ‘How many men do the police consider to be culprits?’ [Yoon 2007: 620, (8b)]

- (36) a. *Ooku-no nihonzin-wa dareka-ga rosiago-ga dekiru to omou.* Japanese
 Many-COP Japanese-TOP **someone-NOM** Russian-NOM be.able COMP think
 ‘Lots of Japanese think that (there is) someone (who) can speak Russian.’
 [Horn 2008: 232, (37a); based on Kitano 1990: 23-24, (74)]
- b. *Ooku-no nihonzin-wa dareka-o rosiago-ga dekiru to omou.*
 Many-COP Japanese-TOP **someone-ACC** Russian-NOM be.able COMP think
 ‘Lots of Japanese think that someone specific can speak Russian.’
 [Horn 2008: 232, (37b); based on Kitano 1990: 23-24, (74)]

Norwegian

- Lødrup 2008 shows that there is a strong tendency in Norwegian for ECM subjects to be dislocated (e.g., via verb second movement or other movement operations); if the subject remains in the regular object position, the structure is often degraded or unacceptable (see also the *wager*-class restrictions in English, Pesetsky 1992).
- Furthermore, ECM in Norwegian is restricted to embedded individual-level predicates (or usages), and eventive interpretations are impossible (see also Lødrup 2008):

- (37) a. *Ingen forventer lærere å være perfekte.* Norwegian
 nobody expects **teachers** to be perfect
 ‘Nobody expects teachers to be perfect.’ [Lødrup 2002: 3, (10)]
- b. **Jeg forventer ham å drepe mus-en.*
 I expect **him** to kill mouse-the
 ‘I expect him to kill the mouse.’

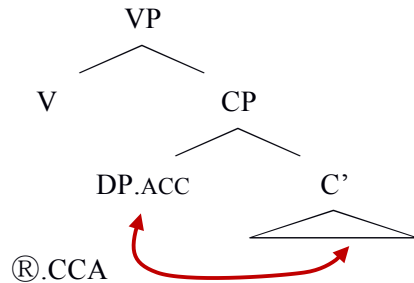
- CCAs are semantically restricted in some languages; in others (English, Buryat) they do not appear to be.
- It is not well understood yet what exactly the semantic restrictions on CCA in individual languages are and when they do and don’t apply.

Table 4: CCA restrictions	Syntactic C/T restrictions	Semantic/pragmatic restrictions
English, Icelandic	yes	no?
Norwegian, Tsez	yes	yes
Buryat, Uyghur	no	no?
Turkish, Korean, Japanese	no	yes

But...

- The fact that, in some languages, there are clear restrictions on the embedded predicate when CCA feeding movement to Spec,CP takes place makes it at least plausible that CCA requires some (predication-like) dependency, \textcircled{R} .CCA, between the CCA involved DP and the embedded predicate.
- This relation shows semantic effects in some languages but appears to be semantically bleached in other languages; I suggest that \textcircled{R} .CCA nevertheless is what triggers movement.

(38)



4.3 Reconstruction

- \textcircled{R} .CCA traps the ECM DP in the high position (at LF).
- ECM shows restrictions on reconstruction of the ECM DP.
- Note: reconstruction into the embedded clause (below CP) has to be distinguished from reconstruction under the matrix verb (the latter is possible in most CCA languages)

- (39) a. $[\text{CP } [her \textit{danışman-a}]_i \textit{ } [pro \textit{öğrencisi}]-\emptyset \textit{ tanıt-ıl-dı } \textit{ diye }] \textit{ bil-iyor-um.}$ Turkish
 [every advisor-DAT *pro* student-NOM introduce-PASS-PST COMP] know-PRES-1.SG
 ‘I know that his/her student was introduced to every advisor.’ [Şener 2008: 25, (54a)]
- b. $[\text{CP } [pro \textit{öğrencisi}]-\emptyset \textit{ } [her \textit{danışman-a}]_i \textit{ t } \textit{ tanıt-ıl-dı } \textit{ diye }] \textit{ bil-iyor-um.}$
 [*pro* student-NOM every advisor-DAT introduce-PASS-PST COMP] know-PRES-1.SG
 ‘I know that his/her student was introduced to every advisor.’ [Şener 2008: 25, (54b)]
- c. * $[\text{CP } [pro \textit{öğrencisi}]-ni \textit{ } [her \textit{danışman-a}]_i \textit{ t } \textit{ tanıt-ıl-dı } \textit{ diye }] \textit{ bil-iyor-um.}$
 [*pro* student-ACC every advisor-DAT introduce-PASS-PST COMP] know-PRES-1.SG
 ‘I know that his/her student was introduced to every advisor.’ [Şener 2008: 25, (54c)]

- (40) a. *Mary-wa sannin-no {gakusei-ga / **gakusei-o** } subete-no sensei-ni* Japanese
 Mary-TOP three-GEN {student-NOM / **student-ACC**} all-GEN teacher-DAT
 { $\forall > 3$ / * $\forall > 3$ }
syookaisareru bekida to omotteiru.
 introduction.do.PASS should COMP think
 ‘Mary thinks that three students should be introduced to every teacher.’ [Takano 2003: 807, (51a,b)]

- b. *?Na-nun caki sensayng-uy {chwuchense-ka / *chwuchense-lul }* Korean
 I-TOP SELF teacher-GEN {letter-NOM / ***letter-ACC** }
citohaksayngtul-eyke kakkak kongkay-toy-eyahanta-ko sayngkakhanta.
 advisees-DAT each release-PASS-MUST-COMP thinks
 ‘I believe that their teacher’s letters of recommendations should be released to each advisee.’
 [Yoon 2007: 621, (12a,b)]

- English: Difference in scope between ECM and finite subjects for *few* DPs

- (41) a. *The FBI proved that few students were spies.* [Postal 1974]
 b. *The FBI proved **few students** to be spies.*

- Some speakers accept scope reconstruction in examples like the below, others don't; but there seems to be a clear difference between ECM and finite contexts:

(42) a. *I believe **everyone** not to have arrived yet.* [Lasnik 1999: 199, (41); ambiguous; %]
 b. *I believe everyone hasn't arrived yet.* ambiguous

- QR and instability of WCO make this less conclusive in English; reconstruction may be less restricted than in some of the other languages, which would go together with the semantically more bleached nature of \textcircled{R} .ECM in English.

5. Towards a unified account of CCA

5.1 Ways not to go

Against case driven movement

- A common reason for ECM (movement) is case—the embedded subject is not case licensed in embedded clause (GB, Zeller 2006, Carstens and Diercks 2013) and hence still *active*. But there are some reasons to doubt that.
- Turkish: ECM DP can optionally agree with embedded verb.

(43) a. *Pelin [sen- \emptyset Timbuktu-ya git-ti-n diye] bil-iyor-muş.* Turkish
 P.NOM [you-NOM T-DAT go-PAST-2SG C] know-PROG-EVID
 'Pelin thought that you went to Timbuktu.' [Şener 2008: 2, (4)]

b. *Pelin [sen-i Timbuktu-ya git-ti-(n) diye] bil-iyor-muş.*
 P.NOM [you-ACC T-DAT go-PAST-(2SG) C] know-PROG-EVID
 'Pelin thought that you went to Timbuktu.' [Şener 2008: 2, (5)]

- Janitzio P'urhepecha: ECM DP can be associated with a nominative stranded quantifier.

(44) *Ueka-sin- \emptyset -ga=ni Alonzo-ni, Paku-ni ka Puki-ni* Janitzio P'urhepecha
 want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1SS Alonzo-ACC, Paco-ACC and Wildcat-ACC
eska=si iamindu-eecha ch'ana-a- \emptyset -ka.
 that=pS all-PL(NOM) play-FUT-PRS-SBJV
 'I want Alonzo, Paco, and Puki [= three dogs] to all play.' [Zyman 2017:12, (31)]

- Nez Perce: agreement across a CP; agreeing DP stays in the embedded clause in overt syntax and realizes whatever case it gets there (NOM or ERG depending on the transitivity of the embedded predicate); but (covert) raising to object has an effect on the case of the matrix subject (ERG) (Deal 2017).

(45) a. *Harold-nim hi-nees-nek-se* [CP *hitemenew'eeet hi-wsiix wiweepcux.*] Nez P
 Harold-ERG 3.SUBJ-O.PL-think-IMPV [CP *student.NOM 3.SUBJ-be.PRES.PL smart*]
 'Harold thinks the students are smart.' [Deal 2017: 5, (10)]

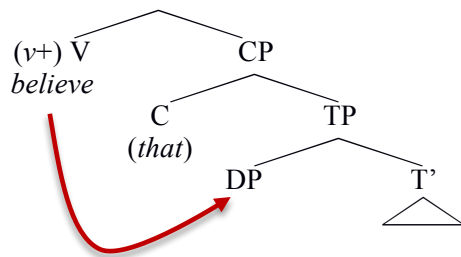
b. *Taamsas-nim hi-nees-nek-se* [CP *mamay'as-nim poo-payata-six Angel-ne.*]
 Taamsas-ERG 3.SUBJ-O.PL-think-IMPV [CP *children-ERG 3/3-help- IMPV.S.PL Angel-ACC*]
 'Taamsas thinks the children are helping Angel.' [Deal 2017: 5, (11)]

The above all point to the existence of regular case in the embedded clause.

Against deficient CP domains

- Domain extension/variation/neutralization/delay: If CP is not a phase (or not a strong phase, or not a phase yet), A-movement can proceed across it without causing an improper A-dependency (Tanaka 2002, Zeller 2006, Deal 2017).

(46)



To be rejected
CP ≠ a phase (or the like)

- Issue: CP is only selectively “special”—it does not become a general A-domain.
- In Japanese, the CP remains an A'-domain for other movement operations, even when Hyper ECM takes place.
- Cross-clausal scrambling can be A-movement in Japanese, but only from infinitives (which I assume is a restructuring effect—a true case of CP omission/transparency).
- When a finite CP is present, cross-clausal scrambling is possible but does not feed into A-binding (in contrast to short scrambling).

(47) a. ??*Otagai_i-no supai-ga* [*Nissan-to Honda-ni*]_i *kuwasii*. Japanese
 each other_i's spy-NOM [Nissan and Honda-with]_i familiar
 ‘[with Nissan and Honda]_i, each other_i' s spies are familiar.’ [Tanaka 2004: (7a)]

b. [*Nissan-to Honda-ni*]_i *otagai_i-no supai-ga* *kuwasii*.
 [Nissan and Honda-with]_i each other_i's spy-NOM familiar
 ‘[with Nissan and Honda]_i, each other_i' s spies are familiar.’ [Tanaka 2004: (7b)]

(48) a. [*Nissan-to Honda-ni*]_{SCR} *Toyota-no supai-ga* **John-o** *hoka-no dono-meekaa-yori* *t*_{SCR}
 [Nissan and Honda-with]_{SCR} Toyota's spy-NOM **John-ACC** any other maker more-than *t*_{SCR}
kuwasii-to *omot-teiru*.
 familiar-COMP think-PROG
 ‘Toyota's spy thinks of John as more familiar with Nissan and Honda than any other manufacturers.’
 [Tanaka 2004: (8)]

b. ??[*Nissan-to Honda-ni*]_i *otagai_i-no supai-ga* **John-o** *hoka-no dono-meekaa-yori*
 [Nissan and Honda-with]_i each other_i's spy-NOM **John-ACC** any other maker more-than
kuwasii-to *omot-teiru*.
 familiar-COMP think-PROG
 ‘With [Nissan and Honda]_i, each other_i's spies think of John more familiar than any other manufacturers.’
 [Tanaka 2004: (6)]

- Zulu: object agreement across non-ECM CPs is not possible; CP blocks CCA unless raising to object takes place (this contrast also seems incompatible with a delayed phase approach as in Deal 2017).

(49) a. *ngi-ya-m-funa* **uSipho** [CP (*ukuthi*) *apheke iqanda.*]
 1.SG-YA-1.O-want AUG.1.Sipho [CP (that) 1.SUBJ.cook AUG.5.egg]
 ‘I want Sipho to cook an egg.’ [Halpert 2016a: 42, (68a)]

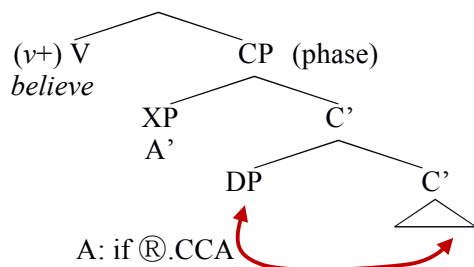
b. **ngi(-ya)-m-funa* [CP *ukuthi* **uSipho** *apheke iqanda.*]
 1.SG-YA-1.O-want [CP that AUG.1.Sipho 1.SUBJ.cook AUG.5.egg]
 ‘I want Sipho to cook an egg.’ [Halpert 2016a: 42, (68b)]

- A similar effect seems to be found in Nez Perce (Deal 2017): covert Hyper ECM triggers ergative on the matrix subject (but subject remains in embedded clause at the surface); in that case complementizer agreement (higher C with lower subject) is possible; when the higher subject is nominative (i.e., no Hyper ECM), complementizer agreement is blocked. Although the embedded CP is transparent for ECM, it is not for other ϕ -relations.

5.2 Taking stock

- CCA across CPs exists.
- Those CPs appear to be regular CPs for phenomena other than cross-clausal Case, agreement; which also indicates that *Improper A after A'* restrictions hold in languages with CCA.
- CCA requires movement to Spec,CP; this movement is not case driven (CCA is a consequence of \textcircled{R} .CCA).

(50)



Null hypothesis:
CCA is uniform across languages

General properties:
~ CPs are phases
~ *Improper A after A'* restriction

CCA position (and only that one in the CP) has to be able to count as an A-position in certain languages/constructions

5.3 Composite probes

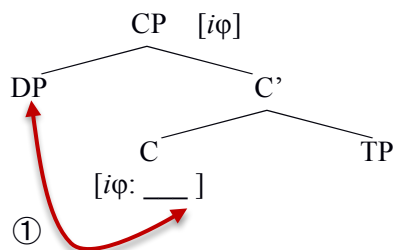
- Composite probes: Coon and Bale 2014, van Urk 2015, Longenbaugh 2016

(51) *Featural view of the A/A'-distinction:* [van Urk 2015: Chapter 2]
All differences between A- and A'-movement derive from the features involved in Agree.

- Dinka: movement to Spec,CP has mixed A/A'-properties (A: ϕ -agreement, case, no WCO, new binding relations, no obligatory reconstruction; A': A'-locality, no minimality effect of intervening A-positions)
- C: OP (*wh...*), ϕ
- Lubukusu complementizer agreement: agreeing C has evidential properties (Diercks 2010, 2013, Diercks et al. To appear); Diercks et al. To appear: C has interpretable unvalued ϕ -features

CCA derivation (preliminary)

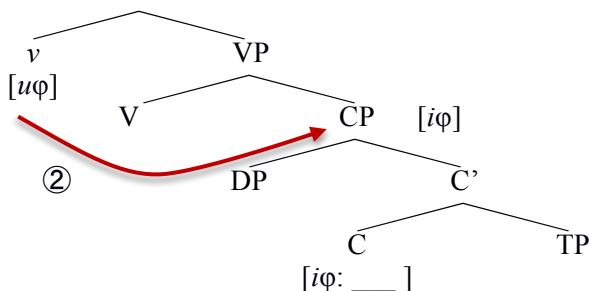
(52)



- $\textcircled{1}$ \textcircled{R} .CCA:
- *i* ϕ Agree DP—C
 - Syntactic effect: creates A-dependency
 - Semantic output: different types of predication

- Lack of *i* ϕ :
- Spec,CP is solely A'
 - no CCA

(53)



- $\textcircled{2}$ Agree *v*—CP:
- Halpert 2016a, b, Rackowski and Richards 2005
 - Object agreement (if available)
 - Availability of ECM case (restrictions from above)

Language variation regarding ECM

- Semantic outcome of \textcircled{R} .CCA (topic, major subject, predication, verum focus, yet to be discovered others...)
- Property of C: availability of $i\varphi$ (Table 5)
- Matrix v agreement properties (restrictions from above—see below)

Table 5: φ -availability of C	C [+finite]	C [-finite]	ECM
English, Icelandic	—	$i\varphi$	only non-finite
Buryat, Turkish	$i\varphi$	$i\varphi$	finite/non-finite
German, Dutch	—	—	no ECM
Zulu	$i\varphi$	— (maybe)	only finite

ECM case

- v —C(P)—DP dependency: essential and necessary configuration for ECM case (to restrict ECM to languages with $i\varphi$ C; to not allow ECM to any DP at the CP Edge)
- Since the DP in Spec,CP is in an A-position after ① and at the edge of the CP phase, it is part of the case computation of the matrix predicate—through the two Agree dependencies, via transitivity, it effectively becomes a matrix object as far as the case determination is concerned.
- Variation: timing of case computation (the DP can also receive regular case in the embedded clause before movement, as in Nez Perce, or both as in Janitzio P’urhepecha stranded quantifier contexts).

Restrictions from above

- (54) a. **Mary demanded Bill to read the book.* [Pesetsky 1992: 17, (68a)]
 b. **I decided Leo to stay home.*
 c. **I claimed Leo to be staying home.*

(55) Agent/ECM correlation:

For α , β and γ in E, if α assigns Agent to γ in E and requires γ to be animate as a lexical property, then α Case-marks β only if α θ -marks β . [Pesetsky 1992: 21, (83)]

- Like English, Icelandic does not allow ECM with agentive future verbs (e.g., *decide* — only control), but ECM is obligatory with agentive speech verbs (vs. English).
- Such idiosyncrasies can be built into the v —CP dependency.

- (56) a. **Jónas sagði að hafa farið í bíó.*
 Jonas said to have gone to cinema
 ‘Jonas said/claimed to have gone to the cinema.’
- b. *Jónas sagði Garp hafa farið í bíó.*
 Jonas said Garpur.ACC have gone to cinema
 ‘Jonas said that Garpur has gone to the cinema.’

Complementizer agreement

- Does the account make predictions about complementizer agreement [CA]?
- It depends...
- Important point: The dependency in (52) is a semantic dependency that should not automatically be equated with morphological agreement
- Lubukusu: CCA (specifically object agreement/raising to object) is possible; when the embedded clause has a verum focus interpretation, CA is also possible
- General restriction on CA in Lubukusu: C can only agree with subjects; this is also the case in CCA

(57) *E-mu-enya Barack Obama ndi a-khile.*
 1SGS.PRS-1OM-want 1Barack Obama 1SG.that 1S-win-SBJ
 ‘I DO want Barack Obama to succeed’ [Diercks et al. To appear:13, (43b)]

- The verum focus requirement shows again that CCA is semantically restricted.
- CA could still involve the derivational step in (52), including *semantic* Agree with C, however, this does not lead to *morphological* agreement, due to the subject restriction on CA (which could be derived, following Diercks 2010, 2013, Diercks et al. To appear via movement of anaphoric C to the matrix *vP*).
- Since the verb also shows subject and object agreement in Lubukusu, the ability to establish two Agree relations is motivated in the language.

5.4 Consequences and extensions

Uniform approach to clause reduction

- Attitude complements are CPs, even when ECM takes place.
- ECM with attitude complements is possible *because* they involve a CP which allows \textcircled{R} .CCA.

Table 6: Clause reduction & ECM	Attitude, speech (<i>believe, claim</i>)	Future (<i>decide</i>)	Tenseless (<i>try</i>)
Minimum complement size	CP	TP	<i>vP</i>
Restructuring	none	some	most
ECM (English)	✓	*	*

NO ECM with TP complements (future and tenseless complements)

- TP lacks *iφ* hence no (semantic) \textcircled{R} .CCA and Agree with matrix *v* can be established; although Spec,TP is an A-position, a DP in Spec,TP is only associated with T and not matrix *v* due to the missing dependency $\textcircled{2}$.

CCA in nominalizations

- English: ACC *ing*, Tsez: cross-clausal agreement
- Buryat, Turkish, Ugyhur... : embedded subject often alternatives between GEN (internal case) and ACC (CCA). Since nominal structure goes together with *iφ*, the basic environment for CCA can be established like in CPs.

A new direction for the infamous English wager class?

- (58) a. **We wagered Mary to be the most likely winner.*
 b. *Mary, who we wagered to be the most likely winner...*
 c. *Mary was wagered to be the most likely winner.*

- Assumption: *wager* complements do not allow \textcircled{R} .CCA (e.g., maybe because they do not project a CP)
- If an independent operation (*wh*-movement, relativization) creates a predication dependency, this could perhaps feed into CCA.

6. Conclusion

- CCA across (finite) CPs exist.
- Clause reduction in (English) ECM is unlikely from a cross-linguistic perspective of clause reduction.
- CCA often comes with restrictions on the relation between the DP involved and the embedded clause; these can be very bleached.
- A unified account of CCA cross-linguistically is possible—variation can be attributed to lexical items (feature content of C and *v*) and the specific mapping of the prerequisite Agree/predication dependency to semantics.
- But this will mean rethinking common assumptions about ECM in English (which, at least I think, is progress).

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