Covert raising and finite ECM in Turkish, Uyghur, and Japanese

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ECM Into Finite CPs

In a number of languages, it's been observed that ECM is possible into a finite CP where the embedded subject DP receives ACC from a matrix-level head, i.e. v (Kuno 1976, Zidani-Eroğlu 1997, Şener 2008, *i.a.*).

- This is the case in *Japanese* (1), *Turkish* (2), & *Uyghur* (3):

(1) John-ga   {Bill$_i$-**o**} orokanimo [{Bill$_i$-**o**}/t_i tensai da   to] omotteiru
     John-NOM Bill-ACC stupidly   Bill-ACC   genius COP C   think.PROG
     'John stupidly thinks Bill is a genius' (Tanaka 2002)

(2) Doktorlar {Can$_i$-**ı**} sık sık [{Can$_i$-**ı**}/t_i öldü   diye] duymuş
     doctor.PL Can-ACC often   Can-ACC   die.PST.3SG C   hear.EVID.PST
     'Doctors often heard that Can died.' (Şener 2008)

(3) Mahinur {Adil$_i$-**ni**} da'im   [{Adil$_i$-**ni**}/t_i lagman eti   dep]
     Mahinur Adil$_i$-ACC frequently   Adil$_i$-ACC   lagman make.PST.3SG C
     oylaydu
     think.NPST.3SG
     'Mahinur frequently thinks that Adil made lagman'

- ACC-subjects can either overtly raise to the matrix clause or remain in the embedded CP.
- Finite ECM has been standardly analyzed as (Hiraiwa, 2001; *i.a.*):
  ❶ ACC-valuation via AGREE between matrix v and embedded DP (in Spec CP);
  ❷ Optional movement to matrix clause, i.e. Spec vP.

(4)
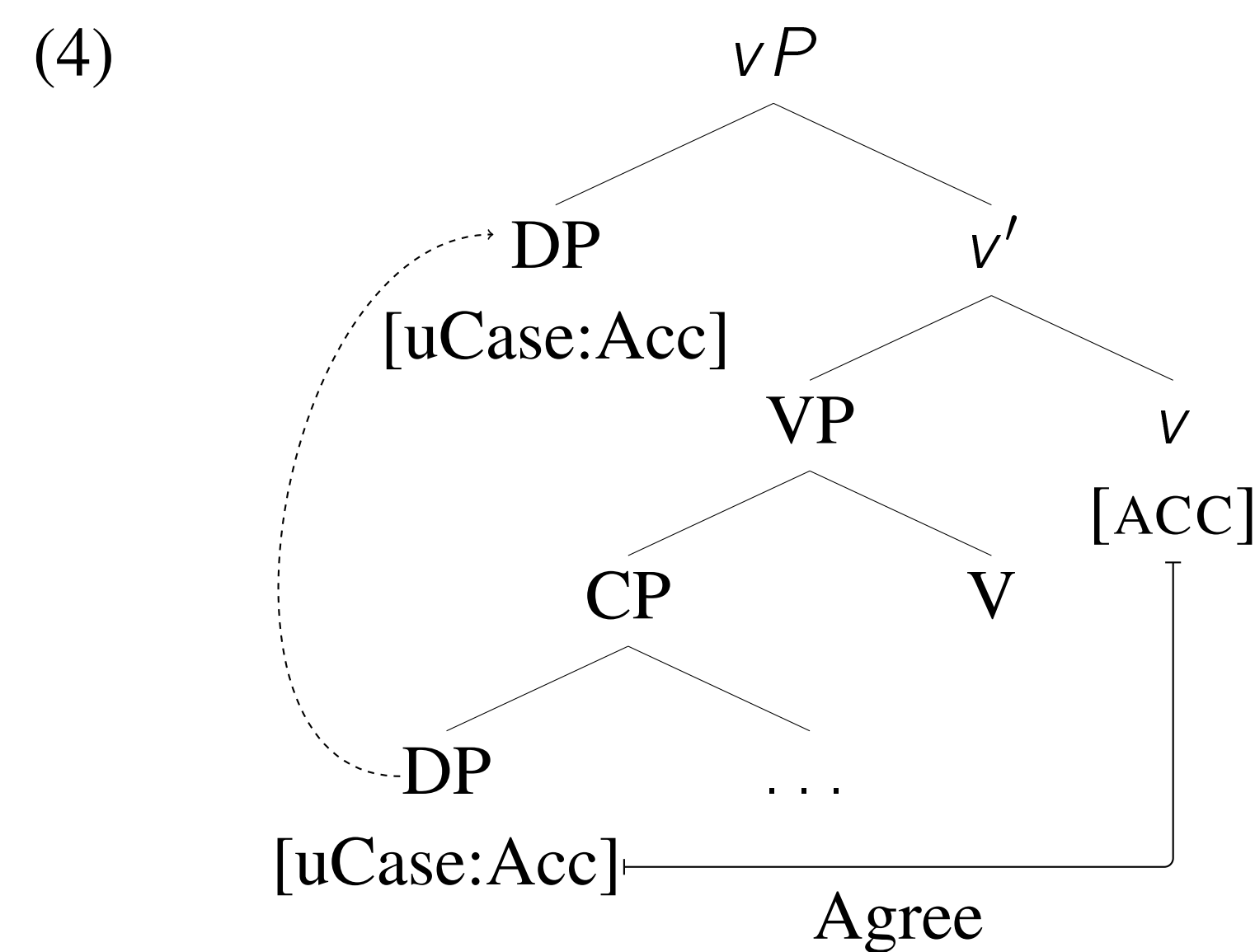
Observation

While it is indeed the case that ACC-subject DPs may optionally raise to the matrix clause **overtly**, I observe a typological split between *Japanese, Turkish,* & *Uyghur* with respect to **covert** movement:

❶ *Japanese:* If the ACC-subject DP does not **overtly** raise to the matrix clause, then it must raise **covertly**.

❷ *Turkish* & *Uyghur:* ACC-subject DPs can optionally **overtly** raise, there is no covert raising.

Selected References: Bošković, Z. (2022) *The Comp-Trace Effect and contextuality of the EPP.* Proceedings of WCCFL 39, to appear. ○ Hiraiwa, K. (2001) *Multiple Agree and the Defective Intervention Constraint.* MITWPL. ○ Kuno, S. (1976) *Subject Raising.* Syntax and semantics 5: Japanese generative grammar. ○ Saito, H. (2018) *The monster tells where you are.* Proceedings of WCCFL 35. ○ Major, T. (2021) *On the nature of 'say' complementation.* PhD Diss, UCLA. ○ Sener, S. (2008) *.Non-canonical case licensing is canonical.* Ms. ○ Taguchi, S. (2008) *Japanese ECM and embedded bare topicalization.* Proceedings of NELS 38. ○ Tanaka, H. (2002) *Raising to object out of CP.* Linguistic Inquiry. ○ Zidani-Eroğlu, L. (1997) *Exceptionally case-marked NPs as matrix objects.* Linguistic Inquiry.

CP-Extraposition

- *Uyghur* (5a) & *Turkish* (6a): CP-extraposition is permitted with an embedded ACC-subject; impossible with overt raising (cf. (5b),(6b)).
- *Japanese* (7a): CP-extraposition is not possible with ACC-subjects (cf. (7b)).

(5) a. Mahinur t_i oylaydu   [Tursun-**ni**   yakshi   lagman-ni
        Mahinur   think.NPST.3SG Tursun-ACC   good   lagman-ACC
        eti   dep]$_i$
        make.PST.3SG C
        'Mahinur thinks, Tursun made delicious lagman'

     b. *Mahinur Tursun$_j$-**ni** t_i oylaydu [t_j yakshi lagman-ni eti dep]$_i$

(6) a. ?Berk t_i duymuş   [Mete-**yi** sınf-ta   kaldı   diye]$_i$
        Berk   hear.EVID.PST Mete-ACC class-LOC fail.PST.3SG C
        'Berk apparently heard, Mete failed the class.' (Şener 2008)

     b. *Berk Mete$_j$-**yi** t_i duymuş [t_j sınf-ta kaldı diye]$_i$

(7) a. * [Bill-**o**   sono-hon-o   katta-to]$_i$ John-ga t_i itta
          Bill-ACC the book-ACC bought-C John-NOM   said
          'Bill bought the book, John said'

     b. *[t_j sono-hon-o katta-to]$_i$ John-ga Bill$_j$-**o** t_i itta (Tanaka 2002)

- Given that extraposed CPs are islands for raising, the above facts suggest that in *Japanese* ACC-subjects which have not raised overtly, must do so covertly.

Scope Facts

- *Japanese* (8): ACC-subjects allow both surface and inverse scope interpretation relative to the matrix subject (Tanaka 2002; Taguchi 2008).
- *Uyghur* (9) & *Turkish* (10): ACC-subjects only allow for surface scope interpretation.

(8) Dareka-ga   [minna-**o**   tensai da to] omoteiru
     someone-NOM everyone-ACC genius is   C   think.PROG
     'Someone believes everyone to be a genius' ($\exists > \forall; \forall > \exists$) (Taguchi 2008)

(9) Birsi   [hemme adem-**ni**   oldi   dep] oylaydu
     someone every   person-ACC die.PST.3SG C   think.NPST.3SG
     'Someone thinks that every person died.' ($\exists > \forall; *\forall > \exists$)

(10) Biri   [herkes-**i**   öldü   diye] biliyormuş
     Someone everyone-ACC die.PST.3SG C   believe.PROG.EVID.PST
     'Someone thought everyone died' ($\exists > \forall; *\forall > \exists$)

- Given that QR is clause-bound, the above facts suggest that in *Japanese* the ACC-subject must be in the matrix clause since it can scope over the matrix DP.

Proposal

Covert raising of ACC-subject DPs correlates with the DP's base-generation position:

❶ If the ACC-subject DP is base-generated in an A-position, then it does not covertly raise to the matrix clause.

❷ If the ACC-subject DP is base-generated in an Ā-position, then it must either covertly or overtly raise to the matrix clause.

Base-generation Positions

- *Japanese*: ACC-subjects base-generated in the embedded Spec CP (Taguchi 2008; Saito 2018; Bošković 2022).
- *Uyghur* & *Turkish:* ACC-subjects base-generated in the embedded Spec vP.
- **Evidence:** ACC-subject participation in idiom chunks. If possible, then indicates the presence of a lower copy in Spec vP, i.e. reconstruction.
- *Japanese*: no idiomatic interpretation.

(11) John-wa [te-ga/*-**o**   soko-made mawar-anai   to] omotteiru
     John-TOP hand-NOM/ACC there-to   get.around-not C think.PROG
     Intended:'John thinks that he can't take good care of it'

- *Uyghur*: idiomatic interpretation possible.

(12) Adil [burut-ung-(**ni**)   xet tartiptu   dep] angilidi
     Adil mustache-2POSS-ACC letter pull.PST.INDIR.3SG C   hear.PST.3SG
     'Adil heard you've become a man' (adapted from Major (2021))

- *Turkish* ACC-subjects resist participation in idioms. Şener (2008) argues this is due to movement from Spec vP to Spec CP *via* topicalization, which resists reconstruction.

Evidence for Spec vP base-generation in Turkish

- *Turkish* (13): optional default 3SG agreement on embedded verb.
- *Uyghur* (14): embedded verb surfaces with default 3SG.

(13) Pelin   [sen-**i**   Timbuktuya   git-ti-∅/**n**   diye]
     Pelin   2SG-ACC   Timbuktu.DAT   go-PST-3SG/2SG   C
     biliyormuş
     know.PROG.PST.EVID
     'Pelin thought that you went to Timbuktu' (Şener 2008)

(14) Adil [sen-**i**   Tursun-ni   söy-y-i-**du**/*siz   dep] anglidi
     Adil 2SG-ACC Tursun-ACC love-NPST-3SG/2SG C   hear.PST.3SG
     'Adil heard that you love Tursun'

- I interpret the presence default agreement as indicating that ACC-subjects are not base-generated in Spec CP with a *pro* in Spec TP.

Explaining Covert Raising

I propose that what forces raising in the case where the ACC-subject is base-generated in Spec CP is the following condition:

- A DP which receives structural Case must have at least one member in its chain, i.e. a copy, that is in an A-position.

Japanese:

❶ The DP is base-generated in Spec CP and receives ACC from v.

❷ In order satisfy the above condition if the DP has not moved overtly to Spec vP, then it must covertly.

Uyghur & *Turkish:*

❶ The DP is base-generated in Spec vP and raises to Spec CP.

❷ DP receives ACC from v in Spec CP.

❸ The DP can optionally scramble to the matrix clause. But since the lower copy in the embedded Spec vP is in an A-position, no covert raising is triggered if there is no overt movement.