Cross-clausal A-dependencies

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1. Where we stand

- CCA into finite CPs exists
- The DP involved in CCA occurs above C and can remain in the embedded clause in most of the languages considered
- ECM in English: a CP-reduction approach is surprising/unlikely in light of the cross-linguistic distribution of restructuring
- Note: This does not mean that there can't be clause reduction in CCA—the only claim I make here is that clause reduction has to follow the restructuring hierarchy, i.e.. it cannot apply in attitude complements (which are the typical ECM contexts in English).

What then?

- 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.

(1)
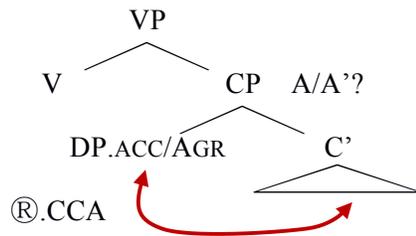
- The following questions now have to be addressed:

  - What is Ⓡ.CCA? What gets the CCA DP to Spec,CP?
  - Assuming that an *Improper A after A'* restriction holds in all languages (evidence for some hyper CCA languages will be provided), how is the (apparent) *Improper* CCA resolved?
  - How does the variation observed across languages (Table 1) come about?

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

2. Restrictions on the CCA DP and/or embedded clause

2.1 No reconstruction (below CP)

- CCA across CPs: Ⓡ.CCA blocks the DP from reconstructing below C.

(2) a. [CP [*her danışman-a*]ᵢ [*pro öğrencisi*]-Ø *tanıt-ıl-dı*   *diye*] *bil-iyor-um.*   Turkish
         [every advisor-DAT *pro* student-NOM   introduce-PASS-PST   COMP] know-PRS-1.SG
         'I know that his/her student was introduced to every advisor.'   [Şener 2008: 25, (54a)]

    b. [CP [*pro öğrencisi*]-Ø   [*her danışman-a*]ᵢ t *tanıt-ıl-dı*   *diye*] *bil-iyor-um.*
         [*pro* student-NOM   every advisor-DAT   introduce-PASS-PST   COMP] know-PRS-1.SG
         'I know that his/her student was introduced to every advisor.'   [Şener 2008: 25, (54b)]

c. *[CP [**pro öğrencisi**]-ni [*her danışman-a*]ᵢ t *tanıt-ıl-dı diye*] *bil-iyor-um.*
   [**pro student-ACC** every advisor-DAT introduce-PASS-PST COMP] know-PRS-1.SG
   'I know that his/her student was introduced to every advisor.' [Şener 2008: 25, (54c)]

(3) a. *Leo-wa sannin-no* {*gakusei-ga* / **gakusei-o** } *subete-no sensei-ni* | Japanese |
   Leo-TOP three-GEN {student-NOM / **student-ACC**} all-GEN teacher-DAT
   {∀ > 3 / *∀ > 3 }
   syookaisareru bekida to omotteiru.
   introduction.do.PASS should COMP think
   'Leo 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)]

(4) a. ?*Kim-wa soitu-ᵢno/proᵢ hahaoya-no syansin-ga subete-no*
   Kim-TOP the.person-GEN mother-GEN picture-NOM all-GEN

   gakuseiᵢ-ni miserareru bekida to omotteiru. | Japanese |
   student-DAT be.shown should that think
   'Kim thinks that his or her mother's picture should be shown to every student.'
   [Takano 2003: 807, (52a)]

b. *Kim-wa soituᵢ-no/proᵢ hahaoya-no **syasin-o** subete-no*
   Kim-TOP the.person-GEN mother-GEN **picture-ACC** all-GEN

   gakuseiᵢ-ni miserareru bekida to omotteiru.
   student-DAT be.shown should that think
   'Kim thinks that his or her mother's picture should be shown to every student.'
   [Takano 2003: 808, (52b)]

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

(5) 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:

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

- 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 Ⓡ.ECM (see below).

2.2 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.

2

(7) a. *Topic Condition on Long-Distance Agreement*
         LDA occurs when the referent of the embedded absolute NP is the (primary) topic of the embedded
         clause.   [Polinsky and Potsdam 2001: 610, (58)]

(8) a. *eni-r*   [*už-ā*   *magalu*   *b-āc'ru-łi*   ]   *r-iyxo*   Tsez
         mother-DAT   [boy-ERG   bread.III.ABS   III-eat-PSTPRT-NMLZ].IV   IV-know
         'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.'   [Polinsky and Potsdam 2001: 584, (1a)]

     b. *eni-r*   [*už-ā*   *magalu*   *b-āc'ru-łi*   ]   *b-iy-xo*
         mother-DAT   [boy-ERG   bread.III.ABS   III-eat-PSTPRT-NMLZ]   III-know-PRES
         'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.'   [Polinsky and Potsdam 2001: 584, (1b); 606, (48a)]

(9) a. *eni-r*   [*už-ā*   *magalu-(go)n*   *b-āc'ru-łi*   ]   *b-iy-xo*
         mother-DAT   [boy-ERG   bread.III.ABS-TOP   III-eat-PSTPRT-NMLZ]   III-know-PRES
         'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.'   [Polinsky and Potsdam 2001: 610, (57b)]

     b. **eni-r*   [*už-ā*   *magalu-(go)n*   *b-āc'ru-łi*   ]   *r-iy-xo*
         mother-DAT   [boy-ERG   bread.III.ABS-TOP   III-eat-PSTPRT-NMLZ]   IV-know-PRES
         'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.'   [Polinsky and Potsdam 2001: 610, (57a)]

(10) a. *eni-r*   [*t'ek-kin*   *y-igu*   *yāł-ru-łi*   ]   *r-iy-xo*
         mother-DAT   [book.II.ABS-FOC   II-good   be-PSTPRT.NMLX   ]   IV-know-PRES
         'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.'   [Polinsky and Potsdam 2001: 611, (61a)]

     b. **eni-r*   [*t'ek-kin*   *y-igu*   *yāł-ru-łi*   ]   *y-iy-xo*
         mother-DAT   [book.II.ABS-FOC   II-good   be-PSTPRT.NMLX   ]   II-know-PRES
         'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.'   [Polinsky and Potsdam 2001: 611, (61a)]

(11) A: *Can'dan n'aber? Pelin onun partide ne yediğini söyledi mi?*
         'What about Kim? Did Pelin tell you what he ate at the party?'

     B: *Valla Can'ı bilmiyormuş ama...*
         'Well, he didn't know about Kim, but...'

     a. *Pelin*   [*Mete* TOP   *istakoz-dan* C-FOC   *ye-di*   *diye*   ]   *duy-muş.*
         Pelin.NOM   [Mete.NOM   lobster-ABL   eat-PST   COMP   ]   hear-EVID.PST
         '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-PST   COMP   ]   hear-EVID.PST
         '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).

(12) 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-pst   COMP   ]   hear-EVID.PST
         'Pelin heard that Sinan went (to the party).'

     b. *#Pelin* [***Sinan-ı*** P-FOC *git-ti*   *diye*   ]   *duy-muş.*
         Pelin   [**Sinan-ACC**   go-pst   COMP   ]   hear-EVID.PST
         'Pelin heard that Sinan went (to the party).'   [Şener 2011: 3, (7)]

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

(13) 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-pst COMP] hear-EVID.PST
      '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-pst COMP] hear-EVID.PST
      'Pelin heard that only Sinan went (to the party).'   [Şener 2011: 3-4, (8)]

2.3   Forms of predication

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

(14) 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).

- 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).

(15) a. *Na-nun* **Pwukhansan-ul** *mwul-i   manhi nanta-ko sayngkakhanta.*   Korean
      I-TOP **Mt. Pwukhan-ACC** water-NOM a.lot flow-COMP think
      'I believe that there are a lot of springs flowing from Mt. Pwukhan.'   [Yoon 2007: 618, (4c)]

   b. *Mwul-i   Pwukhansan-eyse/*lul manhi   nanta.*
      water-NOM Mt. Pwukhan-LOC/*ACC a.lot   flows
      'Many springs flow from Mt. Pwukhan.'   [Yoon 2007: 627, (21b)]

   c. **Pwukhansan_i-i (MS)** *mwul-i   e_i manhi   nanta.*
      Mt. Pwukhan_i-NOM water-NOM e_i a.lot flows
      'As for/ it is Mt. Pwukhan (from which) a lot of springs flow.'   [Yoon 2007: 627, (21c)]

(16) 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)]

(17) Major Subject (Yoon 2007: 626 (19))   Korean

   a. Preference for generic/habitual versus episodic interpretation of Sentential Predicate
   b. Preference for the lexical predicate within the Sentential Predicate to be an individual-level predicate
   c. Preference for the Major Subject to be more salient than Grammatical Subject

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

(18) a. *Kyengchal-i   myes-myeng-uy   **namca-lul** peminila-ko   tancenghayssni?*   <u>Korean</u>
     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)]

(19) a. *Ooku-no   nihonzin-wa   **dareka-ga**   rosiago-ga   dekiru   to   omou.*   <u>Japanese</u>
     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)]

- Embedded predicate is often restricted to individual-level predicates.

(20) a. *Cheli-nun   **tolkolay-lul/ka**   phoyutongmwul-ila-ko   sayngkakha-n-ta.*   <u>Korean</u>
     C-TOP   **dolphins-ACC/NOM**   mammal-COP-COMP   thinks-PRS-DECL
     'Cheli considers dolphins to be mammals.   [Yoon 2007: 629, (23a)]

   b. *Cheli-nun   **tolkolay-lul/ka**   yenglihata-ko   sayngkakhanta.*
     C-TOP   **dolphins-ACC/NOM**   intelligent-COMP   thinks
   'Cheli considers dolphins to be intelligent.'   [Yoon 2007: 629, (23b)]

(21) a. *Cheli-nun   **tolkolay-*?lul/ka**   pointa-ko   sayngkakhanta.*
     C-TOP   **dolphins-*?ACC/NOM**   visible-COMP   thinks
     'Cheli considers dolphins to be visible.'   [Yoon 2007: 629, (24a)]

   b. *Cheli-nun   **tolkolay-*?lul/ka**   mwul-eyse   ttwie   ollassta-ko   sayngkakhayssta.*
     C-TOP   **dolphins-ACC/NOM**   water-from   jump   up.PST-COMP   thought
     'Cheli considered dolphins to have jumped from the water.'   [Yoon 2007: 629, (24b)]

2.4 ®.CCA

Yoon's major subject analysis

(15)
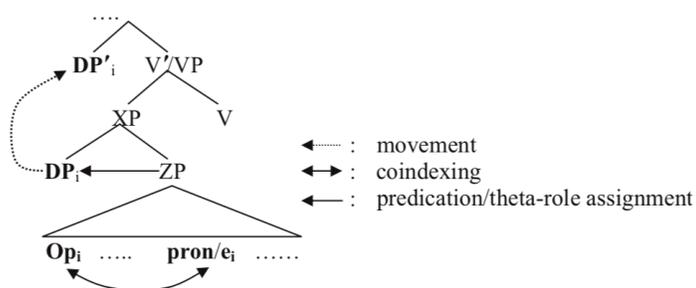
DP′:   The surface/derived Object position of moved Major Subject
DP: Base position of the Major Subject
ZP: Sentential Predicate
XP: Sentential constituent containing a Major Subject and Sentential Predicate
Pron/e: Constituent within Sentential Predicate coindexed with Major Subject

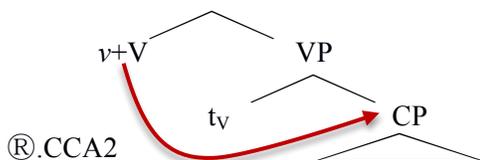   [Yoon 2007: 623, (15)]

- Some of the details are Korean-specific, but one point I hypothesize to carry over to hyper CCA in general is the additional thematic relation the CCA DP establishes with the embedded predicate and/or between the matrix predicate and the embedded clause—Ⓡ.CCA.

(22) a.
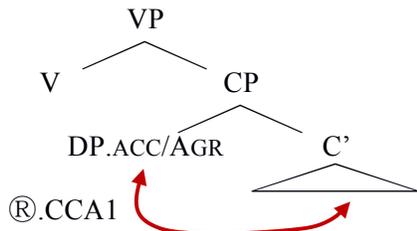
Restrictions on the embedded predicate
(topicality, predication)

b.

Restrictions from the matrix predicate
(Case, thematic)

2.5   Distribution of Ⓡ.CCA

Table 2: CCA restrictions	Semantic: Ⓡ.CCA
Turkish, Korean, Japanese, Norwegian, Tsez	Ⓡ.CCA1, Ⓡ.CCA2
English, Icelandic, Buryat	Ⓡ.CCA2; ?Ⓡ.CCA1
Uyghur	Ⓡ.CCA1

2.5.1 Norwegian — restrictions from above and below

- ECM in Norwegian is restricted to embedded individual-level predicates (or usages), and eventive interpretations are impossible (see also Lødrup 2008).

(23) 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.'

- The verbs allowing ECM are quite restricted and there is variation

  c. *Internett-brukerne   anser   dette   å være   en fordel.*
          internet-users.DEF   consider   this   to be   an advantage
          'The internet users consider this to be an advantage.'   [Lødrup 2008: 162, (26)]

  d. *%Vi   anser   **henne**   å   være   intelligent*   Norwegian
          We   consider   her   to   be   intelligent
          'We consider her to be intelligent.'   [Sigurðsson 1989: 83, (3); *speakers consulted]

- Lødrup 2008 also 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 below).

2.5.2 English — Restrictions from above

Pesetsky 1992	ECM	PRO	NP-trace	Other verbs given in Pesetsky
believe	✓	*	✓	*figure, find, hold, imagine, judge, know, reckon, suppose, suspect, understand*
wager	*	*	✓	*shout, sight, yell, assert, avow, claim, conjecture, declare, decree, disclose, grant, guarantee, intimate, maintain, note, observe, posit, recollect, said, state, stipulate, verify*
want	✓	✓	*	*desire, need, wish, %can't stand, %loathe, %hate, %like, %love, %prefer*
demand	*	✓	*	*ask, choose, consent, contrive, decide, demand, endeavor, hope, intend, mean, need, offer, petition, plan, prepare, promise, propose, refuse, request, resolve, seek, strive, struggle, swear, undertake, vow*

(24) a. *Leo believed Joe to have read the book.*   ✓ECM
   b. *Joe was believed to have read the book.*   ✓NP-trace
   c. **Joe believed to have read the book.*   *PRO

(25) a. **Sue wagered Joe to have won the race.*   *ECM
   b. *Joe was wagered* t$_{Joe}$ *to have won the race.*   ✓NP-trace (%)
   c. **Joe wagered to have won the race.*   *PRO

(26) a. *Leo wanted Joe to read the book.*   ✓ECM
   b. **Joe was wanted to read the book.*   *NP-trace
   c. *Joe wanted to read the book.*   ✓PRO

(27) a. **Leo demanded Joe to commit the crime.*   *ECM
   b. **Joe was demanded to commit the crime.*   *NP-trace
   c. *Joe demanded to commit the crime.*   ✓PRO

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(101)      PROPOSITION              IRREALIS
           [-PRO, +t]               [+PRO, —t]
                              ‡
—AGENT        believe         ‡        want
[+ecm]                        ‡
       ~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~(object)
+AGENT        wager           ‡        demand
[-ecm]                        ‡
                     (subject)
```
           [Pesetsky 1992: 26, (101)]

(28) a. 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)]

Variation — both within English and cross-linguistically

(29) a. **Jónas   sagði   að   hafa   farið í bíó.*   Icelandic
       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.'

- Pesetsky's generalization could be seen as a restriction from above, although it is a negative one — only the lack of Agent in *v* can license ECM.

A hybrid prolepsis restriction (R. Larson, p.c)

(30) a.   *Leo believed Joe to have read the book.*   ✓ ECM
      b.   *Leo believed of Joe that he read the book.*   ✓ *of* DP

(31) a.   *Leo wanted Joe to read the book.*   ✓ ECM
      b.   *Leo wants of Joe that he read the book.*   ✓ *of* DP

(32) a.   **Joe tried Leo to turn off the lights.*   *ECM
      b.   **Joe tried of Leo that he turns off the lights.*   **of* DP

(33) a.   **Kim admitted Leo to have entered the room.*   *ECM
      b.   **Kim admitted of Leo that he entered the room.*   **of* DP

- A preliminary survey has shown that there are clear tendencies (but there is also some noise)

ECM	Example	OK?	Example	OK?
	Leo believed Joe to have read the book.	OK	Leo believed of Joe that he read the book.	OK
	Leo assumed Joe to have read the book.	OK	Leo assumed of Joe that he read the book.	OK
	Leo imagined Joe to have read the book.	OK	Leo imagined of Joe that he read the book.	OK
	Leo suspected Joe to have read the book.	OK	Leo suspected of Joe that he read the book.	OK
	Leo understood Joe to have read the book.	OK	Leo understood of Joe that he read the book.	OK?
	Leo wanted Joe to read the book.	OK	Leo wants of Joe that he read the book.	OK?
	Leo desires Joe to read the book.	OK?	Leo desires of Joe that he read the book.	OK
	Leo needs Joe to read the book.	OK	Leo needs of Joe that he reads the book.	OK?
	Leo wished Joe to read the book.	%	Leo wishes of Joe that he read the book.	OK?

| PRO	Example	OK?	Example	OK?
	Joe agreed Leo to turn off the lights.	**	Joe agreed of Leo that he turns off the lights.	**
	Joe assented Leo to turn off the lights.	**	Joe assented of Leo that he turns off the lights.	**
	Joe attempted Leo to turn off the lights.	**	Joe attempted of Leo that he turns off the lights.	**
	Joe tried Leo to turn off the lights.	**	Joe tried of Leo that he turns off the lights.	**
	Joe decided Leo to turn off the lights.	*	Joe decided of Leo that he turns off the lights.	**
	Joe intended Leo to turn off the lights.	*	Joe intended of Leo that he turns off the lights.	**
	Joe planned Leo to turn off the lights.	*	Joe planned of Leo that he turns off the lights.	**
	Joe refused Leo to turn off the lights.	*	Joe refused of Leo that he turns off the lights.	**

trace	Example	OK?	Example	OK?
	Kim admitted Leo to have entered the room.	?*	Kim admitted of Leo that he entered the room.	?*
	Kim announced Leo to have entered the room.	?*	Kim announced of Leo that he entered the room.	?*
	Leo discovered Joe to have read the book.	??	Leo discovered of Joe that he read the book.	?*
	Kim claimed Leo to have entered the room.	?/*	Kim claimed of Leo that he entered the room.	OK
	Kim said Leo to have entered the room.	*	Kim said of Leo that he entered the room.	OK
	Kim affirmed Leo to have entered the room.	**	Kim affirmed of Leo that he entered the room.	OK?
	Kim mumbled Leo to have entered the room.	**	Kim mumbled of Leo that he entered the room.	**
	Kim muttered Leo to have entered the room.	**	Kim muttered of Leo that he entered the room.	**
	Kim screamed Leo to have entered the room.	**	Kim screamed of Leo that he entered the room.	**
	Kim whispered Leo to have entered the room.	**	Kim whispered of Leo that he entered the room.	**

Possible generalization (more testing is needed; see below for one exception):

ECM is only possible with verbs that, in principle, allow an *of* DP (necessary, not sufficient condition).
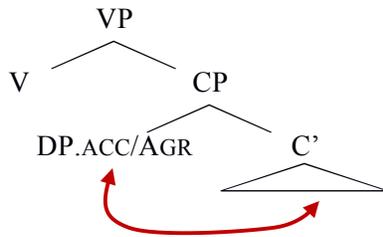
- This could be seen as an effect of Ⓡ.CCA
- ECM: the ACC DP is what the embedded clause is about (open question — expletives); and the matrix predicate needs to be able to accommodate that via the prolepsis potential (visible via an *of* DP in finite contexts).

(34) a.
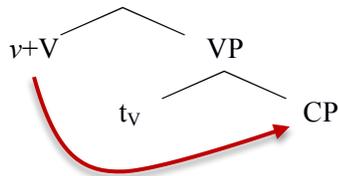
     Ⓡ.CCA2: Prolepsis potential

```
         v+V         VP
               t_V        CP
```

b.   VP   Ⓡ.CCA1?
         Mediate prolepsis potential (*v*/V — embedded clause)

```
       V        CP
         DP.ACC/AGR     C'
```

Exception:

- *find, consider, judge*: allow ECM, but no *of* DP possible.
- These verbs also allow small clause ECM; and they are among the predicates that (marginally) allow ECM in Scandinavian, where otherwise large ECM is excluded.
- Since it is a definable class, it seems at least plausible that something else is going on in these configurations.

Wager class?

- What distinguishes the *wager* verbs from ECM verbs is the impossibility of an *of* DP (see above).
- In contrast to control verbs, however, they allow *about* PPs.

(35) a. *Kim admitted about Leo that he entered the room.*   ✓ *about* PP
  b. *Leo, who Kim admitted to have entered the room.*   ✓ Movement

(36) a. **Kim tried about Leo that he enters the room.*   **about* PP
  b. **Leo, who Kim tried to enter the room.*   **Movement

trace	Example	OK?	Example	OK?
	Kim admitted about Leo that he entered the room.	OK	Leo, who Kim admitted to have won the race.	OK
	Kim announced about Leo that he entered the room.	OK	Leo, who Kim announced to have won the race.	?(?)
	Leo discovered about Bill that he read the book.	OK	Kim, who Leo discovered to have read the book.	?
	Kim claimed about Leo that he entered the room.	OK	Leo, who Kim claimed to have entered the room.	OK?
	Kim said about Leo that he entered the room.	OK	Leo, who Kim said to have entered the room.	?
	Kim affirmed about Leo that he entered the room.	?	Leo, who Kim affirmed to have won the race.	OK
	Kim mumbled about Leo that he entered the room.	OK	Leo, who Kim mumbled to have won the race.	%
	Kim muttered about Leo that he entered the room.	OK	Leo, who Kim muttered to have won the race.	%
	Kim screamed about Leo that he entered the room.	OK	Leo, who Kim screamed to have won the race.	%
	Kim whispered about Leo that he entered the room.	OK	Leo, who Kim whispered to have won the race.	%

PRO	Example	OK?	Example	OK?
	Kim agreed about Leo that he turns off the lights.	(OK)	Leo, who Kim agreed to turn off the lights.	*
	Kim assented about Leo that he turns off the lights.	*	Leo, who Kim assented to turn off the lights.	*
	Kim attempted about Leo that he turns off the lights.	**	Kim, who Leo attempted to turn off the lights.	*
	Kim tried about Leo that he turns off the lights.	**	Leo, who Kim tried to turn off the lights.	*
	Kim decided about Leo that he turns off the lights.	(OK)	Leo, who Kim decided to turn off the lights.	*
	Kim intended about Leo that he turns off the lights.	*	Leo, who Kim intended to turn off the lights.	??
	Kim planned about Leo that he turns off the lights.	*	Leo, who Kim planned to turn off the lights.	*
	Kim refused about Leo that he turns off the lights.	*	Leo, who Kim refused to turn off the lights.	*

- How exactly *wager* contexts are derived will not be attempted here.
- The important point is simply that there are also restrictions imposed by matrix predicates—Ⓡ.CCA, which can be made visible via the potential of *of/about* DPs.

2.5.3 Uyghur vs. Turkish

- Turkish: ECM DP has to be at the Edge of CP—highest topic (Şener 2011)
- Exception: Adverbs can precede ACC (options: adjuncts vs. specifiers; adv reconstruction; late merge of adv).

(37) A: *Pelin Filiz-in Mert-e ne verdiğini biliyor mu?*
       'Does Pelin know what Filiz gave Mert?'

   B: *Valla Filiz-in Mert-e ne verdiğini bilmiyormuş ama...*
       'Well, he didn't know about what Filiz gave Mert, but...'

   a. *Pelin*   [*Serkan* C-TOP *Nilüfer-e* C-TOP *bir mix kaset* *ver-di*   *diye*] *duy-muş.*
       Pelin.NOM [Serkan.NOM Nilüfer-DAT   a mixed-tape   give-PAST COMP] hear-EVID.PAST
       'Pelin heard that Serkan gave Nilüfer a mixed tape.'

   b. *Pelin*   [*Nilüfer-e* C-TOP *Serkan* C-TOP *bir mix kaset* *ver-di*   *diye*] *duy-muş.*
       Pelin.NOM [Nilüfer-DAT   Serkan.NOM   a mixed-tape   give-PAST COMP] hear-EVID.PAST
       'Pelin heard that Serkan gave Nilüfer a mixed tape.'

   c. *Pelin*   [*Serkan-ı* C-TOP *Nilüfer-e* C-TOP *bir mix kaset* *ver-di*   *diye*] *duy-muş.*
       Pelin.NOM [Serkan-ACC   Nilüfer-DAT   a mixed-tape   give-PAST COMP] hear-EVID.PAST
       'Pelin heard that Serkan gave Nilüfer a mixed tape.'

   d. **Pelin*   [*Nilüfer-e* C-TOP *Serkan-ı* C-TOP *bir mix kaset* *ver-di*   *diye*] *duy-muş.*
       Pelin.NOM [Nilüfer-DAT   Serkan-ACC   a mixed-tape   give-PAST COMP] hear-EVID.PAST
       'Pelin heard that Serkan gave Nilüfer a mixed tape.'   [Şener 2011: 4-5, (10)]

- Uyghur: ECM DP is above C (cannot shift), but doesn't have to be the highest argument; arguments above ACC do not block ACC (vs. Turkish).
- But ACC is still obligatorily in the C-domain in Uyghur as well, since it cannot shift (and anything above ACC cannot shift either).

(38) a. *Context:* I am Kim. Ahmet said to Muhemmet about me, "Kim sent a letter to Aygül." Muhemmet told me what Ahmet said, and I tell Aygül about this.

       Ahmet [*sanga*   **meni**   *xet*   *ewet-ti*   ] *di-di.*   Uyghur
       Ahmet [2.SG.DAT **1.SG.ACC** letter   send-PST.3] say-PST.3
       'Ahmet said that I sent a letter to you.'   [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 395, (39)]

   b. *Context:* I am Kim. Ahmet said to Aygül, "Kim sent a letter to you." Aygül told me what Ahmet said. Now I tell Muhemmet what I heard from Aygül.

       #Ahmet Aygül-ge   [*sanga*   **meni**   *xet*   *ewet-ti*   ] *di-di.*
       Ahmet Aygül-DAT [2.SG.DAT **1.SG.ACC** letter   send-PST.3] say-PST.3
       'Ahmet said to Aygül that I sent a letter to you (=Muhemmet).'   [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 396, (40)]

- A correlate?
- Uyghur (Shklovsky and Sudo 2014): ACC may be determined within the embedded CP without a dependency with matrix *v*.
- Matrix passive blocks ACC on matrix arguments (e.g., the nominalized clause) but <u>not</u> on the "ECM" ACC
- But there may be some speaker variation (fn. 6, p. 389): "Öztürk (2013) reports different facts for the variety of Uyghur she works with. Our consultant consistently rejects passive sentences with accusative case. We have no explanation for this difference."

(39) a. *Doxtur Ahmet-ni kör-di.*
doctor Ahmet-ACC saw-PST.3
'A doctor saw Ahmet.' [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 390, (21a)]

% b. *Doxtur teripidin Ahmet-(*ni) kör-el-di.*
doctor by Ahmet-(*ACC) saw-PASS-PST.3
'Ahmet was seen by a doctor.' [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 390, (21b)]

c. *Ahmet manga* [*Aygül-ning kit-ken-lik-i-ni*] *di-di.*
Ahmet 1.SG.DAT [Aygül-GEN leave-REL-NMLZ-3-ACC] say-PST.3
'Ahmet told me that Aygül left.' [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 390, (22a)]

d. *Manga* [*Aygül-ning kit-ken-lik-i-(*ni)*] *di-el-di.*
1.SG.DAT [Aygül-GEN leave-REL-NMLZ-3-(*ACC)] say-PASS-PST.3
'I was told that Aygül left.' [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 390, (22b)]

➡ e. *Manga* [*Aygül-(ni) ket-ti*] *di-el-di.*
1.SG.DAT [Aygül-(ACC) leave-PST.3] say-PASS-PST.3
'I was told that Aygül left.' [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 390, (23)]

- Constraint against two ACCs in same clause: "ECM" ACC is incompatible with another *embedded* ACC, but not another *matrix* ACC

(40) a. *Tursun* [*meni nan yaq-ti*] *di-di.*
Tursun [1.SG.ACC bread bake-PST.3] say-PST.3
'Tursun said that I made bread.' [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 389, (20a)]

b. *Tursun [*meni nan-ni yaq-ti*] *di-di.*
Tursun [1.SG.ACC bread-ACC bake-PST.3] say-PST.3
'Tursun said that I made bread.' [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 389, (20b)]

c. *Tursun* [*meni imtihan-din öt-ti*] *di-di.*
Tursun [1.SG.ACC test-ABL pass-PST.3] say-PST.3
'Tursun said that I passed the test.' [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 389, (20c)]

d. *Ahmet-ni Aygül-ge* [*herbir oqughuchi(-ni) ket-ti*] *di-güz-dim.*
Ahmet-ACC Aygül-DAT [each student(-ACC) leave-PST.3] say-CAUS-PST.1SG
'I made Ahmet say to Aygül that every student left.'

Preliminary conclusion:

- Uyghur has Ⓡ.CCA1 only (no dependency with matrix *v*/V)
- Case assigned in Topic position (ACC = topic case)

(41) Ⓡ.CCA1
topic case

11
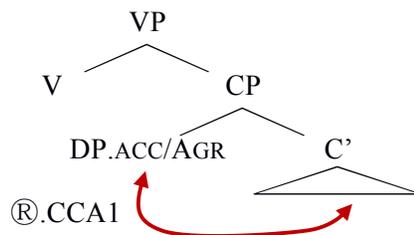
3. Putting things together

- o What is Ⓡ.CCA? What gets the CCA DP to Spec,CP?
- o Assuming that an *Improper A after A'* restriction holds in all languages (evidence for some hyper CCA languages will be provided), how is the (apparent) *Improper* CCA resolved?
- o How does the variation observed across languages (Table 1) come about?

3.1 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.

(42) a.   *Pelin*   [*sen-ø*   *Timbuktu-ya*   *git-ti-n*   *diye*]   *bil-iyor-muş.*   Turkish
    P.NOM   [you-NOM   T-DAT   go-PST-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-PST-**(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.

(43)   *Ueka-sïn-Ø-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=sï   ***iamindu-eecha***   *ch'ana-a-Ø-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).

(44) a.   *Harold-nim*   *hi-nees-nek-se*   [CP ***hitemenew'eet***   *hi-wsiix*   *wiweepcux.*]   Nez P
    Harold-ERG   3.SUBJ-O.PL-think-IMPFV   [CP **student.NOM**   3.SUBJ-be.PRS.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-IMPFV   [CP **children-ERG**   3/3-help- IMPFV.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.

3.2 Against deficient CP domains
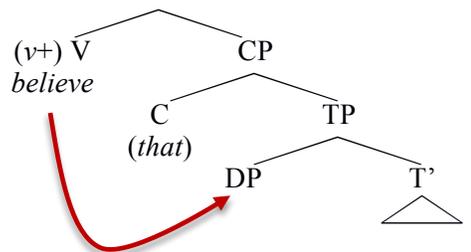
(45)   CP ≠ a phase (or the like)

- 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).

The 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).
- These facts also show that the *Improper A-after-A'* restriction holds in Japanese, even when CCA takes place: LD movement is possible, but it has to be A'-movement (since it follows a previous step of A'-movement to Spec,CP).

(46) 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)]

(47) 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)]

(48)
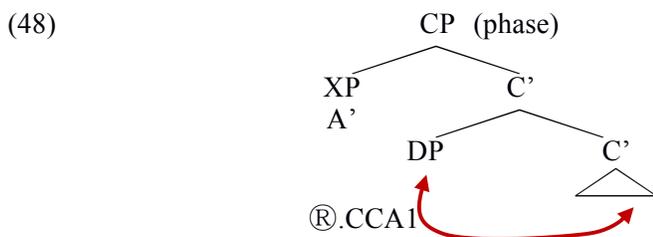
CCA position (and only that one in the CP) has to be able to count as an A-position in certain languages/constructions

- Zulu: object agreement across CP non-ECM clauses 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.

- Tsez: Polinsky and Potsdam 2001 show that A'-movement in Tsez is clause-bound, thus possibly locality domains; yet the embedded nominalizations are transparent for CCA.

3.3 Taking stock

- CCA across CPs exists.
- Those CPs appear to be regular CPs for phenomena other than CCA.
- CCA requires movement to Spec,CP; this movement is not Case driven but a consequence of Ⓡ.CCA1.
- There are also restrictions coming from above — Ⓡ.CCA2.

Working assumptions moving forward:

- CCA works uniformly across languages.
- CPs are phases/standard locality domains.
- *Improper A after A'* restriction holds generally, even in languages/contexts with CCA.

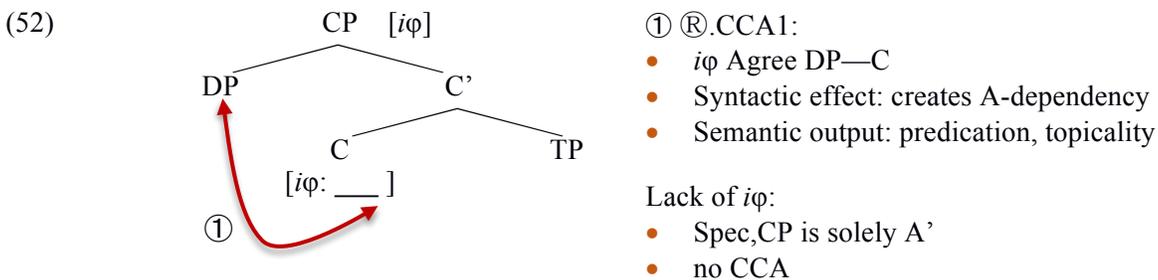## 3.4 Composite probes

- Composite probes: Coon and Bale 2014, van Urk 2015, Longenbaugh 2016b
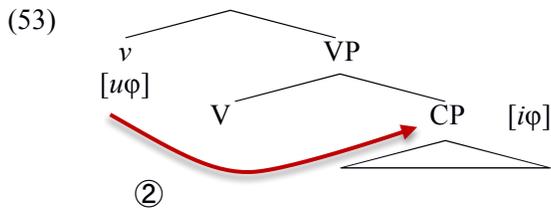
(50) *Featural view of the A/A'-distinction:*   [van Urk 2015: Chapter 2]
     All differences between A- and A'-movement derive from the features involved in Agree.

- 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)

(51)
```
              CP
            /    \
        A/A'      C'
                 /  \
                C    …
           OP (wh…), φ
```
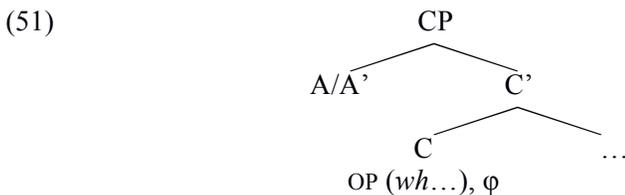
A possible approach to CCA — preliminary

(52)
```
           CP  [iφ]
          /      \
        DP        C'
                 /  \
                C    TP
           [iφ: ___ ]
             ①
```

① Ⓡ.CCA1:
- *i*φ Agree DP—C
- Syntactic effect: creates A-dependency
- Semantic output: predication, topicality

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

(53)

② Ⓡ.CCA2:

- Agree *v*—CP (Halpert 2016a, b, Rackowski and Richards 2005)
- Or: additional 'prolepsis' theta-role for CCA.DP
- Object agreement (if available)
- Availability of ECM case (restrictions from above)

ECM case

- *v*—C(P)—DP dependency: essential configuration for ECM case.
- 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.
- Thus: case as a consequence of agreement
- 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).
- Topic case in Uyghur.

Language variation regarding ECM

- Semantic outcome of Ⓡ.CCA
- Property of C: availability of *i*φ
- Matrix *v* agreement properties

Table 3: φ-availability of C	C [+finite]	C [−finite]	ECM
English, Icelandic	—	*i*φ	only non-finite
Buryat, Turkish	*i*φ	*i*φ	finite/non-finite
German, Dutch	—	—	no ECM
Zulu	*i*φ ?	—	only finite

3.5   Extensions and open issues

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.

(54)   *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 *v*P).
- Since the verb also shows subject and object agreement in Lubukusu, the ability to establish two Agree relations is motivated in the language.

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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 *i*φ, the basic environment for CCA can be established like in CPs.

Conditions for creating A-domains

- *wh*-movement (typically?) does not seem to be compatible with Spec,CP becoming an A-position (K. Abels, p.c).
- If *wh*-movement occurs first, it turns the CP into a pure A'-domain.

(55) a. S*alamtul-i*   *John-i*   *way* *michi-ess-ta-ko*   *mit-ess-ni?*   Korean
           people-NOM   John-NOM   why   crazy-PST-D-C   believe-PST-Q
           'Why$_i$ did people believe [that John was crazy t$_i$]?'
           'Why$_i$ did people believe [that John was crazy] t$_i$?'   [Park 2014: 8, (17)]

      b. S*alamtul-i*   *John-ul*   *way* *michi-ess-ta-ko*   *mit-ess-ni?*
           people-NOM   John-ACC   why   crazy-PST-D-C   believe-PST-Q
           '??*Why$_i$ did people believe [that John was crazy t$_i$]?'
           'Why$_i$ did people believe [that John was crazy] t$_i$?'   [Park 2014: 8, (17)]

- Clearly there is more about the (semantic) dependency between the moved DP and C that needs to be determined to make sure that only certain movement operations turn Spec,CP into an A-position (just having phi features there does not seem to be sufficient for the cases I have been considering).

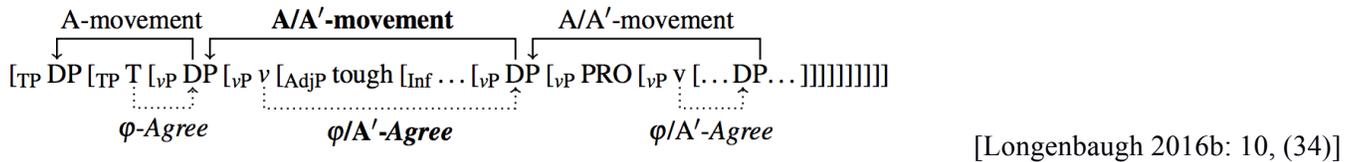- *Tough constructions*

Tough-movement and the relevance for the A/A'-distinction

(56) a. *Linguists are tough to please.*   [Hicks 2009: 535, (1)]
      b. *These flowers are pretty to look at.*

(57) a. *It is tough to please linguists.*   [Hicks 2009: 536, (2)]
      b. **It is pretty to look at these flowers.*

(58) a. (?)*Lloyd Webber musicals are easy to condemn without even watching.*   [Hicks 2009: 542, (22, 23)]
      b. **Lloyd Webber musicals are likely to be condemned without anyone even watching.*
      c. *John will be hard to persuade Mary to vouch for.*   [Lasnik and Stowell 1991: 695, (27b)]

(59) a. *Who$_i$ will be easy for us to get his$_i$ mother to talk to?*   [Lasnik and Stowell 1991: 691, (20a)]
      b. *John$_i$ should be easy for his$_i$ wife to love.*   [ibid: 695, (28a)]
      c. *Every book will be easy for you to persuade its author to publicize.*   [ibid: 696, (31c)]

(60) a. *Pictures of John$_i$ are difficult for him$_i$ to ignore.*
      b. **About Mary is easy to speak.*
      c. *Mary is easy to speak about.*

(61) a. *John$_i$ is tough* [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{TP}$ PRO *to please* t$_{OP}$]]   [Chomsky 1977]
      b. **What sonatas is this violin easy to play on?*

- Many puzzles; e.g., theta-role of matrix subject, relation between matrix subject an OP, locality

(62) a. *My vegetables were hard (on me) that Sue stole. [Longenbaugh 2016a: 10, (58)]
   b. *My hat was irritating that I lost.

- English, Icelandic have *tough*-movement which shows mixed A- and A'-properties (see Messick 2013, Longenbaugh 2016a, Sigurðsson 2016)

A-movement   **A/A′-movement**   A/A′-movement

$[_{TP}$ DP $[_{TP}$ T $[_{vP}$ DP $[_{vP}$ v $[_{AdjP}$ tough $[_{Inf}$ ... $[_{vP}$ DP $[_{vP}$ PRO $[_{vP}$ v [... DP ...]]]]]]]]]]

φ-Agree   *φ/A′-Agree*   *φ/A′-Agree*

[Longenbaugh 2016b: 10, (34)]

- CP is left out in these structures; possible extension: blame non-finite C for the (mixed) A-nature

- German: no *tough*-movement; only A-movement (Wurmbrand 1994, 2001)

(63) a. *Dieses Buch ist schwer Hans zu überzeugen zu lesen.
      This book is hard John to convince to read
      'This book is hard to convince John to read'

   b. *This book was easy to convince John to read.* [Wurmbrand 2001: 29, (17)]

4. 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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