

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

Robin Jenkins  
University of Connecticut

## 1 Introduction

This paper investigates a point of cross-linguistic variation regarding the structural position of embedded subjects in finite exceptional case-marking (FECM) constructions in Japanese, Turkish, and Uyghur. As in a number of languages, Japanese, Turkish and Uyghur instantiate a configuration where the subject of an embedded finite clause may receive Case from a higher clause head.

While embedded subjects may also receive Case from within the embedded clause in all three languages, I observe a split regarding the structural position of embedded subjects in FECM configurations. In Japanese FECM, embedded subjects must always raise out of the embedded clause to a matrix position. If they do not do so overtly, then they do it covertly. Meanwhile, in Turkish and Uyghur FECM no obligatory raising of embedded subjects is observed. While embedded subjects may optionally raise overtly, i.e. scramble, to the higher clause, no covert raising is observed.

I show that this split with respect to obligatory raising of embedded subjects correlates with another difference between Japanese, and Turkish and Uyghur FECM: the base-generation position of embedded subjects. In Japanese FECM, the embedded subject is base-generated at the edge of the embedded clause, SpecCP; in Turkish and Uyghur the embedded subject is base-generated lower in the embedded clause and raises to SpecCP.

I propose that it is due to this difference regarding base-generation positions that raising is forced in Japanese FECM constructions. Specifically, I propose that due to a general constraint on DP-chains regarding the structural position of DP-copies, raising is forced in Japanese FECM contexts, but not in Turkish and Uyghur FECM contexts.

## 2 Finite ECM in Japanese, Turkish and Uyghur

As shown below, in Japanese (1), Turkish (2), and Uyghur (3) the case morphology of subjects in embedded finite CPs alternates between NOM and ACC.

- (1) John-ga [<sub>CP</sub> Bill-ga/o tensai da to] omotteiru  
John-NOM Bill-NOM/ACC genius COP C think.PROG  
'John thinks that Bill is a genius.' (Tanaka 2002)
- (2) Pelin [<sub>CP</sub> Can-~~Ø~~/ı öldü diye] duymuş  
Pelin Can-NOM/ACC die.PST.3SG C hear.EV.PST.3SG  
'Pelin heard that Can died.'

- (3) Mahinur [<sub>CP</sub> Adil- $\emptyset$ /**ni** polu eti dep] oylaydu  
 Mahinur Adil-NOM/ACC polu make.PST.3SG C think.NPST.3SG  
 ‘Mahinur thinks that Adil made polu.’

While the cases where the embedded subject surfaces with NOM illustrate a typical embedded subject configuration (where the subject DP is licensed by the embedded T and located in SpecTP), the instances where the subject is marked with ACC are generally thought to be instances of ECM into a finite CP, i.e. FECM.<sup>1</sup> Here, the embedded subject DP is licensed by the matrix *v*.

In Japanese (4a), Turkish, (5a), and Uyghur (6a), FECM is not possible with a passivized matrix predicate, as indicated by the impossibility of ACC on the embedded subject (while NOM is still available (4b,5b,6b)).

- (4) a. \*<sub>CP</sub> Bill-**o** tensai da to] omowareta  
 Bill-ACC genius COP C think.PASS.PST  
 ‘It was thought that Bill is a genius.’  
 b. <sub>CP</sub> Bill-**ga** tensai da to] omowareta
- (5) a. \*<sub>CP</sub> Pelin-**i** öldü diye] biliniyormuş  
 Pelin-ACC die.PST.3SG C know.PASS.PROG.EV.PST.3SG  
 ‘It was thought that Pelin died.’  
 b. <sub>CP</sub> Pelin- $\emptyset$  öldü diye] biliniyormuş
- (6) a. \*<sub>CP</sub> Mehmet-**ni** kitap-ni oqudi dep] oylaildi  
 Mehmet-ACC book-ACC read.PST.3SG C think.PASS.PST.3SG  
 ‘It was thought that Mehmet read the book.’  
 b. <sub>CP</sub> Mehmet- $\emptyset$  kitap-ni oqudi dep] oylaildi

Assuming *v* does not assign [ACC] under passivization, the impossibility of ACC on the embedded subjects in (4a,5a,6a) indicates that the matrix *v* is the source of [ACC]-assignment.

Moreover, embedded subjects receive [ACC] while located in the embedded CP. In (7,8,9), the ACC embedded subjects may linearly follow temporal adverbs that modify the embedded clause.

- (7) John-ga [<sub>CP</sub> mada Mary-**wo** kodomo da to] omotta  
 John-NOM still Mary-ACC child COP C think.PST  
 ‘John thought that Mary was still a child.’ (Hiraiwa 2005)
- (8) Pelin [<sub>CP</sub> dün Mert-**i** sınava girdi diye]  
 Pelin yesterday Mert-ACC exam.DAT enter.PST.3SG C  
 biliyor  
 know.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Pelin thinks that yesterday Mert took an exam.’ (Şener 2008)

<sup>1</sup>For Japanese see: Kuno (1976), *i.a.*. For Turkish see: George & Kornfilt (1981), *i.a.*. For Uyghur see: Major (2021), *i.a.*.

- (9) Mahinur [<sub>CP</sub> ete Ayghül-**ni** ketidu dep] oylaydu  
 Mahinur tomorrow Ayghül-ACC leave.NPST.3SG C think.NPST.3SG  
 ‘Mahinur thinks that tomorrow Ayghül will leave.’

Assuming that in (7,8,9) the temporal adverbs adjoin to a phrase within the embedded CP, the fact that ACC-marked embedded subjects may follow such adverbs indicates that they can receive [ACC] while located in the embedded CP.<sup>2</sup>

Evidence from pronoun binding indicates that the position where the embedded subject DP receives [ACC] is SpecCP of the embedded CP. For Japanese (10), binding between a matrix subject DP and embedded ACC-subject pronoun is impossible (binding is possible with NOM-subject pronoun in non-ECM constructions).

- (10) Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga [<sub>CP</sub> kare<sub>i</sub>-**ga**/\***o** tensai da to] omotteiru  
 Taro-NOM 3SG-NOM/ACC genius COP C think.PROG  
 ‘Taro<sub>i</sub> thinks that he<sub>i</sub> is a genius.’ (Taguchi 2015)

The absence of binding between the matrix DP and the ACC-subject DP in (10) indicates that the ACC-marked subject is in the same binding domain as the matrix DP (and higher than NOM-subjects which may be bound). Assuming that CPs delineate binding domains, where only their edges, i.e. SpecCP, may be part of a higher domain, the impossibility of pronoun binding in (10) indicates that ACC-marked DP is located in SpecCP, where it receives [ACC].

Similar tests with reciprocal binding indicate that in Turkish and Uyghur ACC-marked subject DPs receive [ACC] in SpecCP as well. As shown for Turkish (11) and Uyghur (12), when the embedded subject DP is a reciprocal anaphor, it must be ACC-marked. Reciprocal binding is impossible with NOM-subjects here.<sup>3</sup>

- (11) Biz<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> birbirimiz<sub>i</sub>-\***/i** viski-yi içti diye]  
 1PL each.other-NOM/ACC whiskey-ACC drink.PST.3SG C  
 biliyoruz  
 know.PRS.1PL  
 ‘We<sub>i</sub> think of each other<sub>i</sub> to have drunk the whiskey.’ (Şener 2008)
- (12) [Mehmet bilen Ayghül]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> birbiri<sub>i</sub>-\***/ni** ketidu dep]  
 Mehmet with Ayghül each.other-NOM/ACC leave.NPST.3SG C  
 oylaydu  
 think.NPST.3SG  
 ‘[Mehmet and Ayghül]<sub>i</sub> think each other<sub>i</sub> will leave.’

Given that the reciprocal must be in the same domain as its binder, (11,12) show that the ACC-subject DPs are located in SpecCP here as well.

While in all three languages, the ACC subject may remain inside the embedded CP, they may also scramble to a matrix position. In Japanese (13), Turkish (14), and

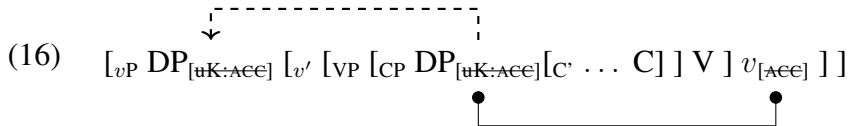
<sup>2</sup>Note that the above facts in (7,8,9) also show that ACC-subjects are not base-generated outside the embedded CP, i.e. proleptic arguments (Salzmann 2017).

<sup>3</sup>Due to interfering factors Japanese reciprocal *otagai* ‘each other’ cannot be used as a diagnostic here (for discussion, see Nishigauchi (1992)).

Uyghur (15), the ACC-subject may precede the manner-adverb, which presumably is adjoined to the matrix *v*P/VP, indicating that the ACC-subject can scramble to a matrix position.

- (13) John-ga Bill<sub>i</sub>-o orokanimo [<sub>CP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* tensai da to] omotteiru  
 John-NOM Bill-ACC stupidly genius COP C think.PROG  
 ‘John stupidly thinks Bill is a genius.’ (Tanaka 2002)
- (14) Pelin Can<sub>i</sub>-i sık sık [<sub>CP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* öldü diye] duymuş  
 Pelin Can-ACC often die.PST.3SG C hear.EV.PST.3SG  
 ‘Pelin often heard that Can died.’
- (15) Mahinur Adil<sub>i</sub>-ni da’im [<sub>CP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* polu eti dep] oylaydu  
 Mahinur Adil-ACC often polu make.PST.3SG C think.NPST.3SG  
 ‘Mahinur often thinks that Adil made polu.’

In light of the above facts, I conclude that Japanese, Turkish and Uyghur FECM constructions instantiate the configuration in (16) ((Taguchi 2009; Şener 2008), cf. (Hiraiwa 2005)). As shown below, in FECM constructions the embedded subject DP is in SpecCP where it receives [ACC] from the matrix *v* and may optionally scramble out (see Taguchi (2015) for arguments that this movement is scrambling).



### 3 Covert raising

The previous section showed that Japanese, Turkish, and Uyghur instantiate FECM configurations, where the embedded subject DP is licensed with [ACC] by the matrix *v* while located in SpecCP. In this section, I observe a split between Japanese FECM, and Turkish and Uyghur FECM regarding the position of the ECMed subject. I argue that in Japanese FECM, the ECMed subject actually always raises out of the embedded CP, in particular, if it does not overtly, then it must covertly.<sup>4</sup> Conversely, in Turkish and Uyghur FECM there is no obligatory raising, or covert raising, of the ECMed DP.

In Japanese, embedded CPs, with a NOM-subject, may be extraposed as in (17a). In FECM constructions, CP-extraposition is blocked in cases where the ECMed subject has overtly moved out of the CP, as in (17b). Interestingly, CP-extraposition is also not possible in cases where the ECMed DP has not scrambled out the embedded CP, as in (17c).

- (17) a. John-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* itta [<sub>CP</sub> Bill-ga sono hon-o katta to]<sub>i</sub>  
 John-NOM said Bill-NOM that book-ACC buy C  
 ‘John said that Bill bought the book.’

<sup>4</sup>See Taguchi (2009, 2015) for further arguments to this effect for Japanese.

- b. \*John-ga Bill<sub>j</sub>-o *t<sub>i</sub>* itta [<sub>CP</sub>*t<sub>j</sub>* sono hon-o katta to]<sub>i</sub>  
 John-NOM Bill-ACC said that book-ACC buy C  
 ‘John said that Bill bought the book.’ (Tanaka 2002)
- c. \*John-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* itta [<sub>CP</sub> Bill-o sono hon-o katta to]<sub>i</sub>

Given that extraposed CPs are islands (Ross 1967; Johnson 1985), the impossibility of scrambling the ECMed DP in (17b) is unsurprising in this respect. The fact that (17c) patterns with (17b) (but not (17a)), I argue, indicates that the ECMed DP must move out of the embedded CP in (17c) as well. More generally, the above facts suggest that even in cases where the ECMed DP appears overtly in the embedded CP, i.e. (17c), covert movement must occur (cf. (17a)). Thus, the general impossibility of CP-extraposition for Japanese FECM constructions.<sup>5</sup>

Contrasting with Japanese, Turkish and Uyghur FECM constructions show no evidence that the ECMed DPs covertly raise. As in Japanese, CP-extraposition is possible with NOM-subjects, as in (18a) for Turkish and (19a) for Uyghur. Further, as with Japanese, extraposed CPs disallow overt movement of the ECMed DP out of the embedded CP in Turkish (18b) and Uyghur (19b). Interestingly, unlike Japanese, CP-extraposition is possible in cases where the ECMed DP overtly remains in the embedded CP in both Turkish (18c) and Uyghur (19c).

- (18) a. Berk *t<sub>i</sub>* duymuş [<sub>CP</sub> Mete sınıfta kaldı diye]<sub>i</sub>  
 Berk hear.EV.PST.3SG Mete class.LOC fail.PST.3SG C  
 ‘Berk apparently heard, that Mete flunked the class.’
- b. \*Berk Mete<sub>j</sub>-yi *t<sub>i</sub>* duymuş [<sub>CP</sub>*t<sub>j</sub>* sınıfta kaldı diye]<sub>i</sub>  
 Berk Mete-ACC hear.EV.PST.3SG class.LOC fail.PST.3SG C  
 ‘Berk apparently heard, that Mete flunked the class.’
- c. ?Berk *t<sub>i</sub>* duymuş [<sub>CP</sub>Mete-yi sınıf-ta kaldı diye]<sub>i</sub> (Şener 2008)
- (19) a. Mahinur *t<sub>i</sub>* oylaydu [<sub>CP</sub> Adil polu eti dep]<sub>i</sub>  
 Mahinur think.NPST.3SG Adil polu make.PST.3SG C  
 ‘Mahinur thinks, that Adil made polu.’
- b. \*Mahinur Adil<sub>j</sub>-ni *t<sub>i</sub>* oylaydu [<sub>CP</sub>*t<sub>j</sub>* polu eti dep]<sub>i</sub>  
 Mahinur Adil-ACC think.NPST.3SG polu make.PST.3SG C  
 ‘Mahinur thinks, that Adil made polu’.

<sup>5</sup>Note that extraposed CPs are also islands for *wh-in-situ* in Japanese, as in (ia,b).

- i. a. \*John-wa *t<sub>i</sub>* itta ka [Mary-ga nani-o katta to]<sub>i</sub>?  
 John-TOP said Q Mary-NOM what-ACC bought C  
 ‘What did John say that Mary bought?’
- b. \*Kimi-wa *t<sub>i</sub>* omoimasu ka [Hanako-ga naze hashitteiru to]<sub>i</sub>?  
 2SG-TOP think Q Hanako-NOM why running C  
 ‘For what reason/why do you think that Hanako is running?’

c. Mahinur  $t_i$  oylaydu [<sub>CP</sub>Adil-**ni** polu eti dep]<sub>i</sub>

Unlike Japanese FECM, the possibility of CP-extraposition in (18c,19c) where the ECMed DP overtly remains in the CP indicates that no covert movement occurs here (otherwise (18c,19c) should be ungrammatical, on a par with (17c)).

Additionally, CP-fronting is possible in Japanese (20a). But it is not possible to move a phrase out of the CP before CP-fronting (20b,20c) (Saito 1992).

- (20) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Hanako-ga sono hon-o yonda to]<sub>i</sub> Taro-ga  $t_i$  sitta  
 Hanako-NOM that book-ACC read C Taro-NOM said  
 ‘That Hanako read that book, Taro said.’  
 b. \*<sub>[CP</sub> Hanako-ga  $t_j$  yonda to]<sub>i</sub> Taro-ga sono hon-o<sub>j</sub>  $t_i$  sitta  
 c. \*<sub>[CP</sub> $t_j$  sono hon-o<sub>j</sub> yonda to]<sub>i</sub> Taro-ga Hanako<sub>j</sub>-**o**  $t_i$  sitta  
 that book-ACC read C Taro-NOM Hanako-ACC said  
 ‘That Hanako read that book, Taro said.’

Crucially, FECM is unacceptable even if the ECMed DP remains within the fronted CP (21), which also follows if the ECMed DP has to move of the FECM clause (covertly, if not overtly).

- (21) \*<sub>[CP</sub> Hanako-**o** sono hon-o yonda to]<sub>i</sub> Taro-ga  $t_i$  sitta  
 Hanako-ACC that book-ACC read C Taro-NOM said  
 ‘That Hanako read that book, Taro said.’

Crucially, the Turkish (22) and Uyghur (23) counterparts of (21) are acceptable.

- (22) ?<sub>[CP</sub> Ayşe-**yi** viski-yi içti diye]<sub>i</sub> Pelin  $t_i$  biliyor  
 Ayşe-ACC whiskey-ACC drink.PST.3SG C Pelin know.PRS.3SG  
 ‘That Ayşe drank the whiskey, Pelin thought.’  
 (23) [<sub>CP</sub> Ayghül-**ni** Adil-ni söydu dep]<sub>i</sub> Mehmet  $t_i$  anglidi  
 Ayghül-ACC Adil-ACC love.NPST.3SG C Mehmet hear.PST.3SG  
 ‘That Ayghül loves Adil, Mehmet heard.’

Evidence from scope possibilities further indicates the in Turkish and Uyghur the ECMed DP does not covertly raise to a matrix position. As shown below, in Turkish (24) and Uyghur (25) the ECMed DP only receives a surface scope interpretation relative to the matrix DP; an inverse scope interpretation is impossible.

- (24) Biri [<sub>CP</sub> herkes-**i** öldü diye] biliyormuş  
 someone everyone-ACC die.PST.3SG C know.PROG.EV.PST.3SG  
 ‘Someone thought everyone died’ ( $\exists > \forall$ ; \* $\forall > \exists$ )  
 (25) Birsı [<sub>CP</sub> hemme adem-**ni** oldı dep] oylaydu  
 someone every person-ACC die.PST.3SG C think.NPST.3SG  
 ‘Someone thinks that every person died.’ ( $\exists > \forall$ ; \* $\forall > \exists$ )

In contrast to Turkish and Uyghur, Japanese ECMed DPs do show scopal ambiguity with respect to the matrix DP. As (26a) show, both surface and inverse scope interpretations of the ECMed DP relative to the matrix DP are possible (cf. 26b).

- (26) a. Dareka-ga [<sub>CP</sub> minna-**o** tensai da to] omoteiru  
 someone-NOM everyone-ACC genius is C think.PROG  
 ‘Someone believes everyone to be a genius’ ( $\exists > \forall$ ;  $\forall > \exists$ )
- b. Dareka-ga [<sub>CP</sub> minna-**ga** tensai da to] omoteiru  
 someone-NOM everyone-NOM genius is C think.PROG  
 ‘Someone believes everyone to be a genius’ ( $\exists > \forall$ ;  $*\forall > \exists$ )  
 (Taguchi 2015)

The contrast can be accounted for if the ECMed DP moves into the matrix clause in Japanese, but not in Turkish and Uyghur (Tanaka (2002), in fact, interprets the above ambiguity regarding ECMed DPs in Japanese as evidence of raising to the matrix clause). Further, note that such ambiguity must be due to covert movement of the ECMed DP and not the result of optional overt movement, i.e. scrambling. If the ambiguity in (26a) were due to scrambling into the matrix clause, then the Turkish and Uyghur constructions, (24), (25) respectively, should be ambiguous as well (given that scrambling to the matrix clause is possible (14,15)). The reason why the scrambling derivation is blocked here is because string-vacuous scrambling is quite generally not possible (Hoji 1985), hence (26a) cannot be a case of scrambling.

To summarize, the above facts indicate that Japanese FECM diverges from Turkish and Uyghur FECM regarding the position of ECMed DPs. In Japanese, the ECMed DP always raises to the matrix clause, overtly or covertly. In Turkish and Uyghur FECM, there is no obligatory raising of the ECMed DP, and there is no covert movement of the ECMed DP.

#### 4 Base-generation positions

The previous section showed that Japanese FECM diverges from Turkish and Uyghur FECM regarding obligatory raising. This section shows that this split regarding obligatory raising correlates with a key difference between Japanese ECMed DPs and Turkish and Uyghur ECMed DPs: base-generation positions.

As shown for Japanese below in (27), while NOM subject DPs can participate in idiom chunks, ECMed DPs cannot. Here, only a literal interpretation of the embedded CP is possible.

- (27) John-wa [<sub>CP</sub> te-ga/\*-**o** soko-made mawar-anai to] omotteiru  
 John-TOP hand-NOM/ACC there-to get.around-not C think.PROG  
*Idiom:* ‘John thinks that he can’t take good care of it.’ (Takano 2003)

In the case with the NOM-subject DP, which has raised to SpecTP from a lower, TP-internal, base-generated position (e.g. SpecvP), participation in idiom chunks is expected given that the NOM-DP can reconstruct to the lower position for an idiomatic interpretation (Sportiche 2006). In the case of the ECMed DP, which is in SpecCP, no idiomatic interpretation is possible. Given the absence of an idiomatic interpretation under Japanese FECM, this indicates that the ECMed DP has

not undergone movement from a TP-internal position (leaving a copy) to SpecCP, otherwise reconstruction for an idiomatic interpretation should be possible. Thus, following Taguchi (2009), Saito (2018), and Bošković (to appear), I adopt the proposal that for Japanese the ECMed DP is base-generated in SpecCP and coindexed with a *pro* in SpecTP, as in (28).<sup>6</sup>

(28)  $[_{VP} [_{CP} DP_i [_{C'} [_{TP} pro_i [_{T'} \dots T] ] C ] ] V]$

Contrasting with Japanese, Uyghur permits idiomatic construals of ECMed DPs with embedded predicates, as in (29).

(29) Ayghül  $[_{CP}$ burut-ung-(**ni**) xet tartiptu dep]  
 Ayghül mustache-2POSS-ACC letter pull.INDIR.PST.3SG C  
 angilidi  
 hear.PST.3SG  
*Idiom:* ‘Ayghül heard that you’ve become a man’ (adapted from (Major 2021))

Given that ECMed DPs can participate in idiom chunks in Uyghur, this indicates that ECMed DPs must be able to reconstruct to a lower, TP-internal, position to participate in an idiomatic interpretation. Thus, indicating the presence of a lower DP copy. Thus, I propose that Uyghur FECM constructions involve base-generation of the ECMed DP below SpecCP, e.g. Spec $v$ P, which then undergoes movement to the edge of the embedded clause, SpecCP, as in (30) (cf. also (16)).

(30)  $[_{VP} [_{CP} DP \downarrow [_{C'} [_{TP} [_{vP} t [_{v'} \dots v] ] T] C ] ] V]$

In Turkish, ECMed DPs resist reconstruction for idiomatic construals, as in (31). However, close examination shows that Turkish ECMed DPs are base-generated lower than SpecCP (as in Uyghur).

(31) \*Öğretmen  $[_{CP}$  Pelin-in etekleri-(**\*ni**) tutuştu diye]  
 teacher Pelin-GEN skirt.PL.3POSS-ACC catch.fire.PST.3SG C  
 duymuş  
 hear.EV.PST.3SG  
*Idiom:* ‘The teacher heard that Pelin was very anxious.’ (Şener 2008)

Evidence that Turkish ECMed DPs are base-generated lower than SpecCP comes from the availability of default agreement on the embedded verb in FECM constructions, which is also observed in Uyghur FECM. In Uyghur, the ECMed DP cannot agree with the embedded verb, which must surface with default 3SG agreement, as in (32). Turkish displays a similar pattern, as in (33). Here, the embedded verb can optionally agree with the ECMed DP or surface with default 3SG agreement too.

<sup>6</sup>Taguchi (2009) and Saito (2018) provide additional diagnostics which indicate Japanese ECMed DPs are base-generated in the embedded SpecCP.



- (32) Adil [<sub>CP</sub> seni Tursun-ni söy-y-**du**/\***siz** dep] anglidi  
 Adil 2SG.ACC Tursun-ACC love-NPST-3SG/2SG C hear.PST.3SG  
 ‘Adil heard you love Tursun.’
- (33) Pelin [<sub>CP</sub> seni Timbuktuya gitti-**Ø**/**n** diye]  
 Pelin 2SG.ACC Timbuktu.DAT go.PST-3SG/2SG C  
 biliyormuş  
 know.PROG.EV.PST.3SG  
 ‘Pelin thought that you went to Timbuktu.’ (Şener 2008)

If it were the case that the absence of reconstruction effects in Turkish FECM were due to the ECMed DP being base-generated in SpecCP coindexed with *pro* in SpecTP, then since Turkish has an agreeing subject *pro*, *pro* should always be agreeing with the verb in (33), i.e. no default agreement. Thus, I conclude that Turkish FECM instantiates the configuration in (30) where the subject DP moves to SpecCP from a lower, TP-internal, position.<sup>7</sup>

Regarding the absence of reconstruction effects, following Şener (2008), I suggest that in Turkish the embedded subject DP undergoes topicalization movement to SpecCP, which resists reconstruction in Turkish (Kornfilt 2005).<sup>8</sup> Evidence for topicalization movement comes from the impossibility ECMed NPIs (34), which resist topicalization movement (Lasnik & Uriagereka 1988), (cf. Japanese (35) and Uyghur (36), where NPIs can be ECMed).

<sup>7</sup>Regarding the apparent optionality of agreement morphology, there has been some dispute as to whether it reflects a point of interspeaker variation (Kornfilt 1977) or an instance of true optionality (Kural 1993; Aygen 2002; Zidani-Eroğlu 1997; Şener 2008). I suggest that agreement morphology here is a truly optional PF effect, given that for the speakers I have consulted the presence/absence of agreement does not appear to have any syntactic effects, i.e. the presence/absence of agreement does not correlate with a deeper structural/syntactic difference. Thus, as in (i), CP-extrapolation is possible with and without agreement. If the presence of agreement correlated with the ECMed DP being base-generated in SpecCP (with a *pro* in SpecTP), then (i) should be ungrammatical on a par with Japanese FECM (17c) which instantiates this configuration (28). Given that (i) is grammatical in both instances, I conclude, with the aforementioned works, that agreement with the ECMed DP is a case of low level morphological optionality.

- i Pelin  $t_i$  biliyormuş [<sub>CP</sub> seni Timbuktuya gitti-**Ø**/**n** diye]<sub>i</sub>  
 Pelin know.PROG.EV.PST.3SG 2SG.ACC Timbuktu-DAT go.PST-3SG/2SG C  
 ‘Pelin thought that you went to Timbuktu.’

<sup>8</sup>As shown below in (ia), the anaphor, which has undergone topicalization to SpecCP, cannot reconstruct below the subject DP to its base-position, (cf. (ib)).

- i a. ??/\*kendine<sub>i,1</sub> Ahmet<sub>1</sub> her akşam  $t_i$  bir içki hazırlar  
 SELF.DAT Ahmet every evening a drink prepare.AOR  
 ‘Ahmet<sub>1</sub> prepares every evening a drink for himself<sub>1</sub>.’  
 b. Ahmet<sub>1</sub> her akşam kendine<sub>1</sub> bir içki hazırlar (Kornfilt 2005)

- (34) \*Pelin [<sub>CP</sub> kimse-**yi** bu kitab-i okumadi diye]  
 Pelin nobody-ACC this book-ACC read.NEG.PST.3SG C  
 biliyor  
 know.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Pelin thinks that nobody read this book.’ (Şener 2008)
- (35) Taroo-wa orokanimo [<sub>CP</sub> dare-**o** baka da to-mo] omotteinai  
 Taro-TOP stupidly who-ACC stupid COP C-either think.NEG.PROG  
 ‘Taro stupidly doesn’t believe that anyone is stupid.’ (Hiraiwa 2005)
- (36) Men [<sub>CP</sub> hechkim-**ni** ketmidi dep] umid.qilimen  
 1SG nobody-ACC leave.NEG.PST.3SG C hope.NPST.1SG  
 ‘I hope that nobody left.’ (Major 2021)

To summarize, this section showed that obligatory raising of the ECMed DP correlates with the DP’s base-generation position. In Japanese FECM, the embedded subject DP is base-generated in SpecCP and must raise to the matrix clause. In Turkish and Uyghur, the embedded subject DP is base-generated lower in the embedded clause, e.g. Spec*v*P, where it moves to SpecCP (in Turkish this movement is topicalization), from SpecCP the DP may optionally scramble to the matrix clause or remain in SpecCP.

## 5 Deriving the split

As the previous sections showed, the base-generation position of the ECMed DP correlates with whether raising to the matrix clause must occur in FECM constructions. In these two respects the ECMed DP in Japanese differs from the ECMed DP in Turkish and Uyghur.

Considering this correlation, I propose that what underlies obligatory raising in Japanese FECM is the following licensing condition on DP-chains:

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

The key point to (37) is that whether raising is forced depends on whether the ECMed was base-generated in SpecCP or lower in the embedded clause, e.g. Spec*v*P,  $\bar{A}$  and A-positions respectively.

In Japanese, the ECMed DP always raises, either overtly or covertly, to the matrix clause. Here, the embedded subject is base-generated in SpecCP, which is an  $\bar{A}$ -position, where it receives [ACC] from the matrix *v*. From this position, the ECMed DP may undergo scrambling to the matrix Spec*v*P. In such cases, (37) is satisfied with overt movement.<sup>9</sup> However, if the DP does not overtly scramble to

<sup>9</sup>Further evidence from binding indicates that movement to Spec*v*P in Japanese FECM is an instance of movement to an A-position. As shown below in (ib), the ECMed DP can scramble over the matrix DP and bind the anaphor, thereby alleviating the Condition A violation in (ia).

- i a. \*Otagai-no sensei-ga karera-**o** [<sub>CP</sub> *t*<sub>i</sub> bakada da to] omotteiru  
 each.other-GEN teach-NOM them-ACC fool COP C think.PROG

Spec*v*P, then it must raise covertly to Spec*v*P in order to satisfy (37), since otherwise no member of the DP-chain will be in an A-position.<sup>10</sup>

In Turkish and Uyghur FECM, no covert raising to Spec*v*P is triggered since (37) is always satisfied due to embedded subject DPs being base-generated in a lower A-position. Here, the DP is base-generated lower, e.g. Spec*v*P, and moves to SpecCP (in the case of Turkish this movement is topicalization). From SpecCP, the DP receives [ACC] from the matrix *v* and may optionally scramble to the matrix Spec*v*P. However, if the ECMed DP does not scramble out, then no covert raising is forced given that the DP-chain has one member in an A-position, e.g. Spec*v*P.

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper, I investigated a point of cross-linguistic variation regarding the structural positions of ECMed DPs in FECM constructions. I showed that while Japanese, Turkish and Uyghur FECM constructions pattern alike in several respects, they diverge regarding the position of ECMed DPs. I showed that in Japanese ECMed DPs always raise, either covertly or overtly, to matrix Spec*v*P. In Turkish and Uyghur ECMed DPs can either optionally raise overtly to the matrix clause or remain in the embedded SpecCP. Crucially, there is no covert movement. Moreover, this split with respect to obligatory raising correlates with the base-generation position of ECMed DPs. Namely, in Japanese, the ECMed DP is base-generated in SpecCP. In Turkish and Uyghur, the ECMed DP is base-generated lower and raises to SpecCP. Finally, I proposed that this split regarding the position of ECMed subjects between Japanese, and Turkish and Uyghur is due to the requirement on DP-licensing which requires at least one member in a DP-chain to be in an A-position, which forces raising in the Japanese FECM context.

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‘Each other<sub>1</sub>’s teachers thinks of them<sub>1</sub> as fools.’

b. karera<sub>i</sub>-o otaga-no sensei-ga t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CP</sub>t<sub>i</sub> bakada da to] omotteiru  
 them-ACC each.other-GEN teach-NOM fool COP C think.PROG

‘Each other<sub>1</sub>’s teachers thinks of them<sub>1</sub> as fools.’

(Tanaka 2002)

Assuming that only A-movement creates new binding relations, and that  $\bar{A}$ -movement cannot feed A-movement (Chomsky 1973, 1981; *i.a.*), the fact that the scrambled ECMed DP in (ib) can bind the anaphor under A-scrambling over the matrix DP indicates that the previous movement step, i.e. SpecCP to Spec*v*P, must be A-movement as well (Saito 1992).

<sup>10</sup>Interestingly, (37) (and its application to Japanese FECM) may shed light on the Improper Movement Condition (Chomsky 1973, 1981; *i.a.*). Traditional cases of Improper Movement violations involve movement chains where a DP undergoes A-to- $\bar{A}$ -to-A movement. However, it has been proposed that the Improper Movement Condition may reduce to a generalized ban on A-dependencies with a DP in an  $\bar{A}$  position (Keine 2020; Poole 2022). Interestingly, Japanese FECM involves an A-dependency from an  $\bar{A}$ -position, i.e. SpecCP-to-Spec*v*P movement. Given that  $\bar{A}$ -to-A movement is licit in Japanese FECM (in fact, it is required per (37)), the correct statement of the Improper Movement Condition should be a ban on A-to- $\bar{A}$  movement feeding A-movement, i.e. A-to- $\bar{A}$ -to-A, rather than a ban on A-dependencies from an  $\bar{A}$ -position generally (i.e.  $\bar{A}$ -to-A is allowed).

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