ON FINITE SUBJECT-TO-OBJECT RAISING IN SPANISH[1]

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ABSTRACT. In this paper, I analyze inflected complements of perception, causative and permissive verbs in Spanish in which the null subject is obligatorily co-referent with the matrix object antecedent. Even though these configurations have mostly received a control or a 'pseudo-relative' analysis, I pursue the line of reasoning that finite 'subject-to-object' raising, which has been proposed for languages like Greek, Romanian, Japanese or Korean, might also exist in Spanish. I will argue that this analysis captures several intriguing properties of this configuration which have been noted in the literature, such as temporal anaphoricity, direct perception readings, obligatory co-reference, floating quantifiers, emphatic pronouns, and resumptive pronoun strategies. I argue that left-peripheral as well as temporal deficiency of the embedded clause has the consequence that the CP is not a strong phase and cannot legitimate structural nominative case, enabling A-movement out of the inflected complement. Finally, I discuss some related structures that point to the conclusion that 'finite raising' might exist in the *pro*-drop language Spanish.

Keywords: *raising, control, pseudo-relative, syntax, Spanish, null subjects, finiteness*

RESUMEN. En este artículo, analizo los complementos flexionados de los verbos de percepción, causativos y permisivos del español en los que el sujeto nulo es obligatoriamente correferencial con el objeto matriz. Pese a que estas configuraciones han recibido generalmente un análisis como estructuras de control o pseudo-relativas, propongo que son resultado de ascenso sujeto a objeto en contextos finitos, algo que se ha propuesto para el griego, rumano, japonés o coreano. Argumentaré que este análisis captura algunas propiedades importantes de esta estructura, ya notadas en la bibliografía, como la anaforicidad temporal, lecturas de percepción directa, correferencia obligatoria, cuantificadores flotantes, pronombres enfáticos, y estrategias de pronombre reasuntivo. Propongo que la deficiencia temporal e informativa de la oración subordinada tiene la consecuencia de que el SC no es una fase fuerte y no puede legitimar el caso nominativo, permitiendo que haya movimiento-A desde el complemento flexionado. Finalmente, discuto algunas estructuras relacionadas que apoyan la conclusión de que el ascenso finito puede existir en una lengua pro-drop como el español.

Palabras clave: ascenso, control, pseudo-relativa, sintaxis, subjetos nulos, español, finitud

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1   Introduction

It has been observed that several languages sanction obligatory control out of inflected clauses (Farkas 1985, Landau 2004). Such cases of 'finite control' have been widely studied in languages like Greek or Romanian in which the subjunctive takes over various functions that infinitives fulfill in English or Spanish and in languages such as Brazilian Portuguese, in which inflectional paradigms are weakened and in which a development towards a 'partial pro-drop language' can be observed (cf. works in Kato & Negrão 2000, Barbosa 2009, Holmberg et al. 2009, among many others).

It is less frequently discussed that there is also a configuration in Spanish with an embedded inflected complement which has apparent control properties (cf. Suñer 1984, 1986), even though subjunctives show subject obviation effects and inflected clauses are generally not controlled. This construction involves a matrix verb with an accusative DP or clitic and an inflected complement with a null subject which must be co-referent with the matrix object antecedent:

(1) Lo$_i$ vi   que ___$_i$ andaba   cabizbajo.
     him saw.1SG that   walked.3SG depressed
     'I saw him being depressed'   (Sp.; Suñer 1984:255)

(2) Vi   a Paco$_i$ que ___$_i$ se   examinaba   la   herida.
     saw.1SG DOM Paco that   himself examined.3SG the   wound
     'I saw Paco examining his wound.'

                                                          (Sp.; Suñer 1984:255)

Despite inflected AGR, which should license *pro*, the null subject resembles a [-R(eferential)] (in the sense of Landau 2000) PRO, which does not allow free reference, blocks full [+R] DP subjects, and shows Binding Condition C effects (see (3.a)), in parallel to object control structures with infinitives (see (3.b)):

(3) a. La$_i$ vi   [que {___$_{i/*j}$ / *Juan / *María$_i$} bailaba].
        her saw.1SG that   Juan   María   danced.3SG
        'I saw her dancing.'
     b. La$_i$ obligué   [a bailar {___$_{i/*j}$ / * Juan / *María$_i$}].
        her forced.1SG P danced   Juan   María
        'I forced her to dance.'

This structure alternates with 'prototypical' finite embedded clauses, allowing [+R] DP subjects, but only if the matrix object antecedent is not realized:

(4) Vi   [que (*pro*$_x$ / María) hacía el   trabajo].
     saw.1SG that he/she/Mary   made   the   work
     'I saw that he/she/Mary made the work.'

Thus, the structure in (4), even though introduced by the same lexical perception verb as the structures in (1) and (2), has fundamentally different properties.

Similar structures have been observed in other Romance languages, such as Italian (Graffi 1980, Cinque 1992, Casalicchio 2016), French (Kayne 1975), Catalan (Rafel

1999), European Portuguese (Brito 1995),[2] among others. In the literature, two predominant and concurring analyses have been widely discussed for these languages: On one hand, several authors analyze structures like (1) and (2) in parallel to relative clauses, so-called "pseudo-relatives" (e.g. Radford 1975, Kayne 1975, Cinque 1992, Campos 1994, Rafel 1999, Graffi 1980, 2017, Casalicchio 2016). Even though the versions differ in their implementations (see Graffi 2017 for an overview), the apparent matrix object is analyzed as forming part of a small clause, in which a predication relation is established between the accusative DP and the embedded IP. For expository purposes, I demonstrate a version of the 'pseudo-relative' approach in (5), in which the small clause is a CP (see Casalicchio 2016) and the relation between the ACC DP and the null subject of the predicate is one of co-reference, other analyses deal with the relation in terms of movement:

(5) …

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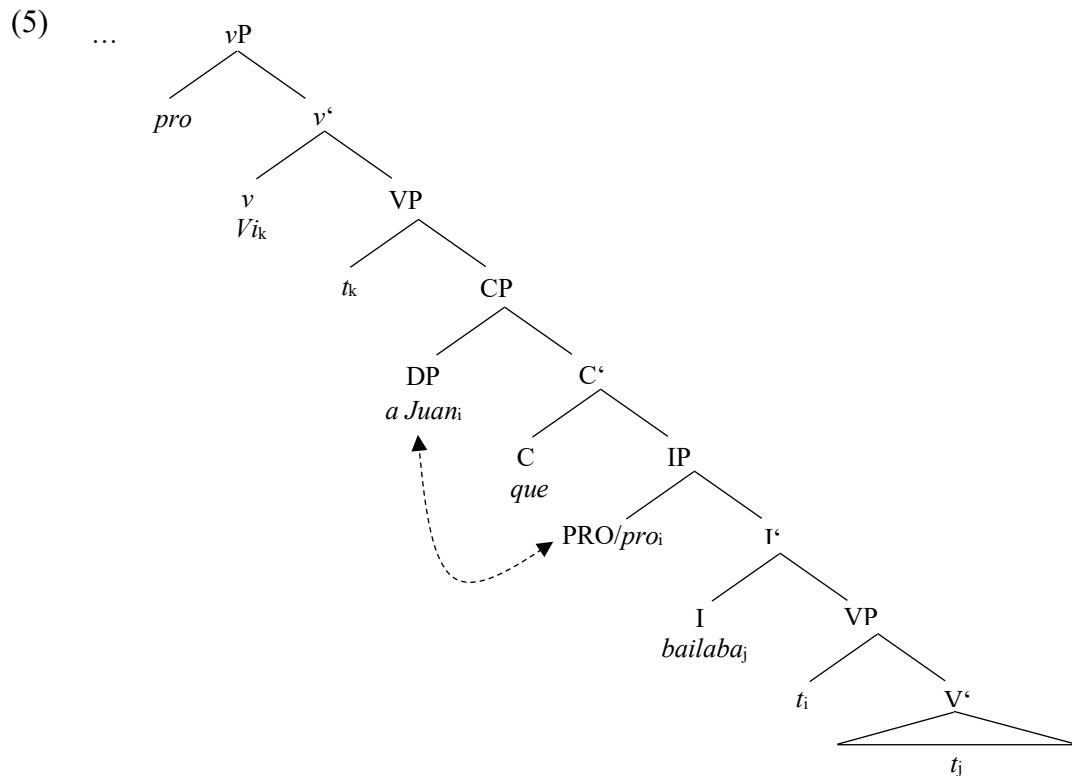
[2] Costa et al. (2016:126f) argue that European Portuguese is restrictive in the use of pseudo-relatives and uses a prepositional infinitive in several contexts in which Italian uses a pseudo-relative:

(i) a.   * Eu vi-o   que   corria.   (Pt.; Costa et al. 2016:127)
            I   saw-him that   ran.3SG
     b.   Eu vi-o   a correr.   (Pt.; Costa et al. 2016:127)
            I   saw-him P run.INF
            'I saw him running.'

This might be a first indication that the inflected clause in Spanish has some underlying properties of an infinitive, which I will argue in this paper.
   See Casalicchio (2019) for discussion of similarities between "prepositional infinitives" in European Portuguese and "predicative gerunds" in Spanish.

In this approach, the accusative DP is not a matrix argument of the verb but the subject of a small clause, which itself sanctions co-reference with a null subject of the IP predicate.

Another approach considers the relation between the accusative DP and the null subject of the inflected clause to be one of control (see Suñer 1984, Camacho 2011):

(6)　　…　vP

pro　　v'

v / Vi_j　　VP

DP / $a\ Juan_i$　　V'

V / t_j　　CP

C / que　　IP

PRO_i/pro_i　　I'

I / $bailaba_j$　　VP

t_i　　V'

t_j
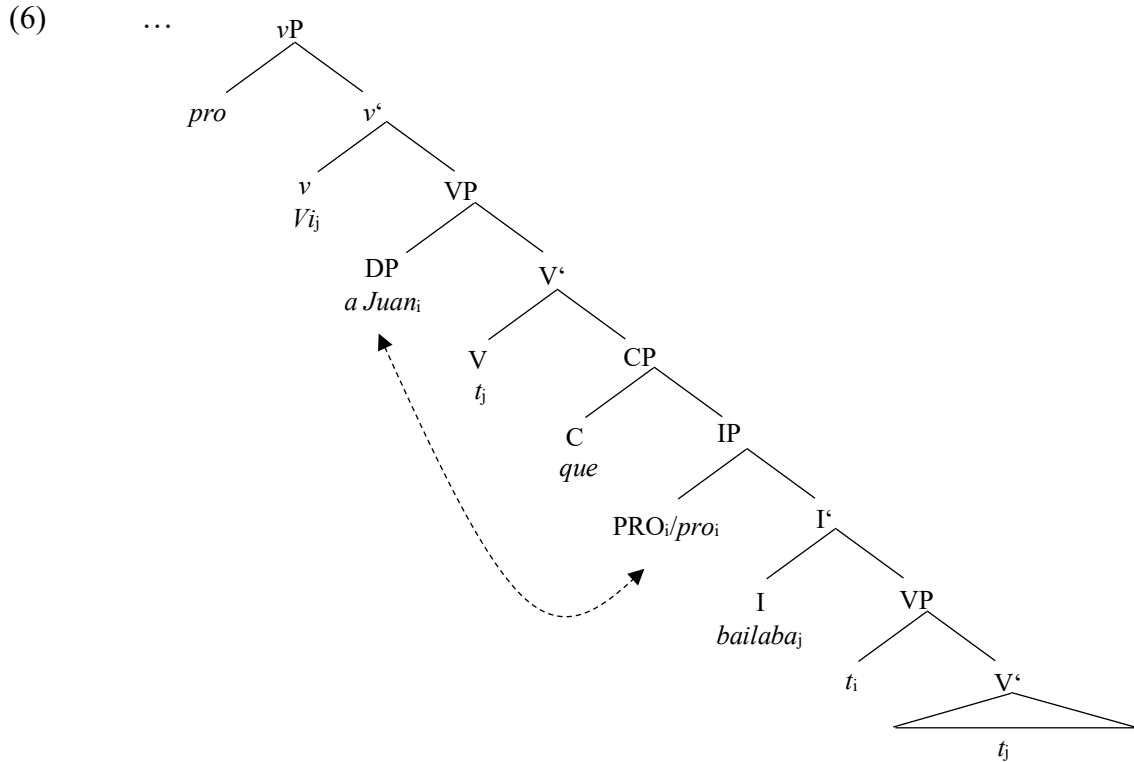
In this paper, I pursue the possibility of a third approach for the corresponding structure in Spanish. I revive an analysis which has in fact been discussed, but discarded, by Suñer (1984): These structures are the result of A-movement, i.e. we are dealing with an ECM-like structure in terms of subject-to-object raising. In such an analysis, the structure of (1)/(2) is similar to finite 'raising-to-object' configurations that have been proposed for languages like Japanese and Korean (Kuno 1976, Tanaka 2002, Yoon 2007) or Greek (Alexiadou et al. 2010:110).

In fact, while a pseudo-relative analysis has been widely adopted for Italian, and also for Spanish (e.g. Campos 1994, Rafel 1999), the corresponding structures have some different properties in the two languages. As will be discussed below, 'finite raising-to-object' structures in Spanish indicate that we are not dealing with a full phasal CP, as can be seen, for example, in the impossibility of clause-internal topicalization operations like Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) and the possibility of *wh*-extraction. Furthermore, while it has been pointed out that Italian pseudo-relatives, contrary to 'true' relative clauses, show subject-object-asymmetries (Graffi 1980, Cinque 1992, Casalicchio 2016), the corresponding Spanish structure lacks this effect if a resumptive clitic is inserted (cf. Campos 1994, Aldama García 2018). I will argue that these differences, among other properties, indicate that the structure involves movement out of the inflected complement in Spanish.

However, if such an approach is pursued, it must be addressed why movement is possible out of a finite clause, which is blocked in other complementation structures in a full *pro*-drop language like Spanish (see Campos 1994, Fernández Sánchez 2015):

(7) *Los niños parecen   que duermen.
    the kids   seem.3PL that sleep.3PL
    'The kids seem to sleep.'

Building on ideas of Gallego (2010) and Boeckx et al. (2010), I argue that inflected complements allow transparency in certain cases, which crucially depends on the phi- *and* tense properties of the embedded clause. I furthermore argue, building on Camacho (2011), that another relevant factor is the deficiency of the left periphery. Thus, the lack of topic- and deictic coordinates (Bianchi's 2003 external Logophoric centre) results in a transparent CP.

This paper is structured as follows: first, I discuss evidence against finite (logophoric) control of *pro* in Spanish. Then I turn to some general properties of the configuration, which have been observed in the literature: tense anaphoricity, direct perception, and restrictions with respect to the matrix verbs sanctioning the configuration. I argue that they are compatible with a 'finite raising' approach. In section 4, I turn to the technical implementation of finite subject-to-object raising. In this context, I also discuss an alternative A'-movement approach as has been proposed by Alboiu & Hill (2016) for Romanian. In section 5, I discuss some further evidence in favor of a raising approach, such as floating quantifiers, emphatic pronouns, lack of subject-object asymmetries, extraction possibilities, and direct perception readings. In section 6, I argue that structures involving *estar que* do not involve "pseudo-raising" (Campos 1994), but genuine subject-to-subject movement out of an inflected clause. In section 7, I briefly discuss whether predicative complements involving *hay que* (Suñer 1984, Brucart 1999) could also receive a finite raising analysis. Section 8 discusses some data with respect to constituency which have been observed by Campos (1994) and Rafel (1999) and are potentially problematic for a raising analysis. Section 9 is devoted to some concluding remarks and outlining future lines of research.

2   Is there 'finite control' in Spanish?

Suñer (1984) notes that configurations like those in (1) and (2) resemble control configurations in Spanish. However, given that AGR is inflected in these configurations – in fact, it is possible with 1st, 2nd and 3rd person inflection in Spanish - we are dealing with a 'governed' Spec,IP position (in GB terms) and, hence, a case of "controlled *pro*" rather than PRO:

(8)   Me$_i$ vio   que [$_{IP}$ *pro*$_{i/*x}$ I$_{[1SG]}$-salía].
       me   saw.3SG that   went-out.1SG
       'He saw me going out.'
(9)   Te$_i$ vi   que [$_{IP}$ *pro*$_{i/*x}$ I$_{[2SG]}$-salías].
       you   saw.1SG that   went-out.2SG
       'I saw you going out.'

If we are dealing with a small *pro* element, the question is what triggers the control relation. Camacho (2011) proposes an analysis, in which the unavailability of free reference of *pro* is linked to a defective/reduced left CP-periphery, as can be seen from the impossibility of topicalization operations like Clitic Left Dislocation:

(10) a. Vi   a María   que compró   los panes.
        saw.1SG DOM María that bought.3SG the bread
        'I saw Mary buying bread.'
    b. *Vi   a María que los panes, los   compró.
        saw.1SG DOM   that the bread them brought.3SG

(Camacho 2011:26 [glosses added])

Thus, the inflected complement, even though having a fully specified AGR area, would have a defective CP spine. In particular, topic coordinates, mediating the interpretation of small *pro* (see Frascarelli 2007, Sigurðsson 2011) are absent, in contrast to other CP complements:[3]

(11) Le digo [ForceP que [TopP **[Top$_x$]** [IP *pro$_x$* {hago/haces/hace} los deberes]]].
     him say.1SG   that   make.1SG/2SG/3SG the   homework
     'I said to him that I/he would do what I/he can.'
(12) La$_i$ vi [FinP que [IP *pro$_i$* bailaba]].
     her saw.1SG that   danced.3SG
     'I saw her dancing.'

That complements of e.g. communicative verbs like *decir* 'say' do project a full ForceP is evidenced by the possibility of clitic left dislocation structures, as in the following corpus example:

(13) y   bueno / dijiste que las vacaciones las   tienes   en agosto ¿no?
     and well   you-said that the holidays   them you-have in august no
     'And well… you said that, your holidays, you will have them in august, right?'
                 (RAE, CORPES XXI, oral source, Spain [translations added])

In fact, if we follow Rizzi's (1997) fine left periphery, it could be argued that the finite complement of verbs like *decir* 'say' projects a full ForceP, but perception verbs in structures like (1)/(2) only sanction a reduced FinP (and no TopP, FocP or ForceP). The complementizer *que* would be located in Fin (see (12)), similarly to non-finite

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[3] Defective complements with a reduced CP are often realized as infinitives so that the question arises why the structures analyzed here do not surface as a nonfinite form. However, defective CPs are cross-linguistically often realized as inflected clauses as well, as has been argued in the context of subjunctive complements (see Gallego 2010 and references). As is well-known, Spanish has three competing forms in the complement of perception verbs: infinitives, gerunds, and inflected clauses (see Ciutescu 2018; Casalicchio 2019 for discussion):

(i) Vi   a   Juan   bailar.
    saw.1SG   ACC Juan   dance.INF
(ii) Vi   a   Juan   bailando.
    saw.1SG   ACC Juan   dance.GER
(iii) Vi   a   Juan   que bailaba.
    saw.1SG   ACC Juan   that danced.3SG

Casalicchio (2019:83f) discusses semantic differences between predicative gerunds and bare infinitives in Spanish. It is to be expected that also 'finite raising-to-object' configurations show some functional or semantic differences to gerunds and infinitives. Given that the focus of this paper is on the configuration with an inflected complement, I cannot provide a full comparative analysis and leave it for future research.

complementizers like Italian *di*. According to Camacho (2011), the null subject must be co-referent with a matrix antecedent because the embedded clause lacks topic coordinates which could link to a topic antecedent.

Camacho (2011) furthermore argues that the null subject is similar to logophoric pronouns and long-distance anaphors (cf. Camacho 2011:22). In fact, the author argues that the null subject displays various properties that are usually discussed in the context of big PRO (see Landau 2000, 2013, 2015, Hornstein 2002), among these an obligatory *de se* interpretation which, according to Landau (2013, 2015), is a crucial characteristic of logophorically controlled (in contrast to predicative) PRO. If one pursues this reasoning further, one could argue that the null subject in structures like (1)/(2) is similar to cases of 'logophoric control' in the sense of Landau (2015).[4]

However, such an approach to structures like (1)/(2) makes various predictions which, as I will argue in the next section, are not borne out.

2.1   Against a 'finite control' analysis for Spanish

Structures of type (10) do not allow topicalization operations like CLLD. However, one problem of linking this to control is that the latter do in fact allow topicalization in some configurations. Thus, one crucial argument of Rizzi (1997) is that there is a high as well as a low topic projection, the latter being projected above Fin and available in control infinitives:

(14) Credo,   il tuo libro, di aprezzarlo   molto.
      believe.1SG your book C appreciate.INF-it much
      'I believe I appreciate your book a lot.'   (It.; Rizzi 1997:288)
(15) Creo,   tu libro,   haberlo   visto encima de la   mesa.
      believe.1SG your book have.INF-it seen on   of   the   table
      'I believe I've seen your book on the table.'

(Sp.; Fernández Sánchez 2016:116)

If the inflected Fin complement in (10) does not allow topicalization operations, it would be even more reduced than some control infinitives.[5]

Furthermore, the assumption that we are dealing with logophoric identification with obligatory *de se* interpretations makes the prediction that structures like (1)/(2) should share several properties with logophoric control in the sense of Landau (2015). First, Landau argues that logophoric control, in contrast to predicative control, allows control shift. In fact, an object control verb like *pedir* 'to ask/beg' allows shifting the control relation to the subject if the PRO of the embedded infinitive is not an Agent but a Beneficient:

(16) a. Le$_j$ *pro*$_i$ pedí [*ec*$_j$ darme   una buena noticia].
          him   asked.1SG give.INF-me a   good   news
          'I asked/begged him to give me some good news.'
          → object control verb

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[4] Note, however, that Camacho (2011) defines the null subject as *pro* (and not PRO), which is obligatorily identified by an antecedent in the matrix clause because of the lack of topic coordinates.
[5] However, not all control infinitives allow CLLD in Spanish (see e.g. Haegeman 2004:178; Gallego 2010:147).

b. Le$_j$ *pro*$_i$ pedí   [*ec*$_i$ recibir   una buena noticia].
   him   asked.1SG receive.INF a   good news
   'I asked/begged him to receive some good news.'
   → shift to subject control OK

In the case of the finite complement of perception verbs, on the contrary, shifting control to the subject is impossible, independently of the theta-role of the embedded subject:

(17)   *pro*$_i$ Vi   a Juan$_j$ [que *ec*$_{*i/j}$ recibía   una buena noticia].
       saw.1SG Juan.ACC that   received.*1SG/3SG a   good news
       'I saw Juan receiving some good news.'
       'Lit. I saw Juan that (he/*I) received some good news.'
       → object 'control' only

A further prediction that an analysis in terms of logophoric identification makes is that only [+human] referents can function as matrix object antecedents, given that only perspective holders can be potential antecedents for a logophorically identified pronominal element (see Landau 2015 and references cited therein). However, corpus examples can be found in which inanimate, or animate but [-human], referents form part of the relevant configuration:

(18)   [Context: la camioneta 'the van']
     […] **la hicieron que se estrellara** en el muro de contención […]
     (CREA corpus (RAE); written source (fiction), México, 1995; Victoria Zepeda, Felipe. *La casta divina. Historia de una narcodedocracia*. Edamex [emphasis added])
     '[…] they made it crash against the wall […]'
     'Lit. […] they made it$_i$ that it$_i$ crashed against the wall […]'

(19)   [Context: una salamandra 'a salamander']
     […] pese a que **la ves que es asquerosa**, te atrae muchísimo.
     (CREA corpus (RAE); Spain, written source (fiction). García Simón, Agustín: *«Hontanalta. Floren». Cuando leas esta carta, yo habré muerto*. Madrid: Ediciones Siruela, 2009 [emphasis added])
     '[…] despite that it looks disgusting, it attracts you a lot.'
     'Lit. […] despite that you see it$_i$ that it$_i$ is disgusting, it attracts you a lot.'

Thus, logophoric identification does not seem to be involved in the configuration under discussion.

Note, furthermore, that independently of the identification mechanism of the embedded null subject (logophoric or predicative), a control analysis implies a ditransitive structure. However, causative and perception verbs are often analyzed as two-place and not as three-place predicates (see e.g. Hernanz 2016:667f, Mensching 2017 for discussion). In fact, if we were dealing with a three-place predicate, it would be questionable why the finite complement of *ver* in structures like (1)/(2) is not introduced by a preposition (e.g. *a*) just like other three-place control verbs with an accusative matrix antecedent:

(20) Lo obligué   **a** [salir]   /   **a** [que saliera].
     him forced.1SG P go-out.INF   P   that went-out.SUBJ.3SG
     'I forced him to go outside.'

(21) Lo   vi **(*a)** [que salía].
     him saw P   that went-out.3SG
     'I saw him going outside.'

Perception verbs like *ver* 'see' are often analyzed as ECM and not as control verbs (see Hernanz 2016 for Spanish). In section 4, I argue that in (1) and (2), we are dealing with an ECM-like structure in terms of subject-to-object raising. Before that, I will discuss some further properties of the structure under investigation that have been noted in the literature. It will be shown that they are fully compatible with a raising account.

3 Some further properties of 'finite raising-to-object' in Spanish

There are some properties that have notoriously been discussed in the context of the structures under investigation, above all in connection to 'pseudo-relative' analyses. These include: (i) subject-object asymmetries, (ii) tense anaphoricity, (iii) direct perception readings, and (iv) only a restricted set of matrix verbs enters the relevant configuration in Spanish.

3.1 Subject-object asymmetries

It has been noted for Italian (see Graffi 1980, 2017, Casalicchio 2016, among others) and Spanish (see Rafel 1999) that structures like (1) – (2) exhibit subject-object asymmetries, as opposed to 'true' relative clauses. Thus, only subjects of the embedded clause can be co-referent with an accusative antecedent:

(22) a. Vi   [a María$_i$ [que Ø$_i$ pegaba   a   Pedro]]
        saw.1SG DOM María that   beat.3SG DOM Pedro
        'I saw Mary hitting Peter.'
    b. *Vi   [a   María$_i$ [que Pedro pegaba Ø$_i$]]
        saw.1SG DOM María   that Pedro beat.3SG
        'Lit. *I saw Mary that Peter hit.'

In a pseudo-relative analysis of these structures, it is claimed that a minimality violation accounts for the patterns in (22): In (b), the subject intervenes in the relation between the antecedent *a María* and either its *trace* or a *pro*/PRO element (represented by Ø), depending on the implementation. Casalicchio (2016), for example, proposes that pseudo relatives are full ForcePs which form a small clause. The Force head has an EPP feature triggering merger of the subject of the small clause while the rest of the clause enters a predicative relation with the subject (see Casalicchio 2016 for details):

(23) SC=ForceP[+EPP] [Maria$_i$ che TopP[… TP[*pro$_i$* canta vP[~~*pro$_i$* canta~~]]]]
                                    (adapted from Casalicchio 2016:36)

If *Maria* in a transitive structure would be coindexed with the object position, *pro* would intervene in the coindexing relation.

    There are some questions arising from this approach: first, on the conceptual side, it is not fully clear why it is *pro* that is merged in Spec,*v*P and moved to Spec,TP and the antecedent *Maria* externally (first) merged in Spec,ForceP, above all if we are dealing with an EPP feature. Thus, it is unclear what blocks a derivation in which *Maria* in (23)

is base-generated as the external argument, moved to Spec,TP and further-moved to Spec,ForceP. Theoretically, such a derivation should be possible, especially if we are dealing with a discourse-sensitive, A'-position like Spec,ForceP. If such a derivation is theoretically possible, then the question arises why *Maria* couldn't be a base-generated object and further A'-moved to Spec,ForceP to check the EPP. The *pro* subject should not intervene in A'-movement operations, just like it doesn't in the case of *wh*-movement or topicalization. One possibility would be to stipulate that we are dealing with A-movement but, then, it needs to be explained why this should be the case, especially if C as well as T can be equipped with an EPP feature, triggering movement (cf. Chomsky 2001:12ff) or an *Edge Feature* (cf. Chomsky 2008).[6]

Apart from these theory-internal considerations, Spanish poses an empirical challenge for a pseudo-relative analysis: It has been observed by Campos (1994) and, more recently, by Aldama García (2018), that subject-object asymmetries can be circumvented by inserting an object (accusative or dative) clitic:

(24) Lo vi   que le   daban golpes por todos los lados.
      him saw.1SG that him-DAT give.3SG hits   everywhere
      'I saw how he was beaten everywhere.' (Campos 1994:211 [translations added])
(25) Lo vi   que lo   arrestaban.
      him saw.1SG that him arrested.3PL
      'I saw how he was arrested.'   (Campos 1994:235 [translations added])

If it is coindexing which is blocked by the *pro*-subject, it is questionable why insertion of a clitic should make the structure grammatical. In fact, corpus examples can be found in which a non-subject clitic is apparently 'controlled':

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[6] For Italian, Casalicchio (2016:38) provides reconstruction data against the view that the subject of the embedded clause moves:

(i) * Vedere i   propri_i figli   che preoccupano Gianni_i mi dispiace
       see.INF the own   children that worry   Gianni me displeases
                                                        (It.; Casalicchio 2016:38)

If 'i propri figli' was moved from a position below 'Gianni', it should be able to be bound by it (see Belletti & Rizzi 1988 for evidence that the subject in the *preoccupare* class is generated in a position c-commanded by the experiencer). Given that binding is impossible, this is evidence that the subject is externally merged high in the structure and not moved to it (see Casalicchio 2016 for details).

However, in Spanish, this test cannot be easily applied because the configuration generally requires a direct perception reading (see discussion in section 3.3), i.e. the event of the embedded clause and the referent constituting the ACC DP is directly perceived by the matrix subject. In the case of the reconstruction test, we are dealing with an embedded psych verb, expressing a non-directly perceivable event. In fact, at least those native speakers that I consulted either do not accept the structure even without binding effects or if it was accepted, it required an agentive reading of the subject:

(ii) ?? Vi   a   Juan que (le)   preocupaba a María.
         saw.1SG ACC Juan that (him) worried   María

One speaker accepted the sentence without the dative clitic, but only with an agentive reading of the form *Vi a Juan (que hacía algo) que le preocupaba a María* 'I saw John (doing something) that worried Mary', which includes an observable event of *hacer algo* 'to do something'. However, in this case, the (elliptical) null Agent would be base-generated in a higher position than the dative NP, so that the subject would never be c-commanded by the latter and movement would not be an adequate test. More research is necessary to determine whether the binding test can be applied in Spanish.

(26) […] así que si **me** ves que se **me** pone el ojo brillante […]
      (COPRES XXI (RAE), oral source, Spain, 2016 [emphasis added])
      '[…] Thus, if you see that my eye is sparkling […]'
      'Lit. […] if you see **me**ᵢ that **me**ᵢ sparkle my eyes […]'

Evidently, the existence of this configuration in Spanish is problematic for a control analysis because we do not have control of a null subject here (but see Camacho 2011:28 for discussion of a possible solution). In a 'pseudo'-relative analysis, it would have to be explained why an object clitic makes an otherwise ungrammatical structure acceptable, at least in Spanish.

3.2   Tense anaphoricity
It has been observed by various authors that the tense of the embedded clause of sentences like (1) or (2), in contrast to 'true' relatives, underlies restrictions in that it is anaphoric to the main clause tense (see Campos 1994, Rafel 1999:169, Graffi 2017:117):

(27) a. *Veo   a   José que venía.
             see.PRES.1SG DOM José that came.IMP.3SG
      b. *Vi   a   José que   viene/vendrá.
             see.PAST.1SG DOM José that come.PRES.3SG/come.FUT.3SG
                                                    (Campos 1994:212 [glosses added])

As far as I can see, this fact is conceptually problematic for a 'pseudo-relative clause' analysis (but it is compatible with a control analysis): even though the lack of independent tense is acknowledged and taken as evidence against a 'true' relative clause structure (see Campos 1994, Rafel 1999:169, Graffi 2017:117, Casalicchio 2016:25, among others), it is not directly clear how the relation between the lack of independent tense and a 'pseudo-relative' clause structure is encoded,[7] above all if we assume that these structures contain a full ForceP (see Casalicchio 2016). If tense and agreement features are downloaded from C-to-T (see Chomsky 2007, 2008), indicating a close relation between the structure of the C-domain and the T-domain, it would be expected that a full CP licenses a fully specified TP.

   As I will argue in section 4, this situation is fully expected if we adopt an ECM analysis of these structures in terms of subject-to-object raising: the opacity of embedded CPs does not only depend on phi but on a combination of T + AGR (see Picallo 1985, Gallego 2010, Boeckx et al. 2010). Tense deficiency has the consequence that the FinP is not a strong phase and does not block subject movement in the Spanish configuration under discussion.

3.3   Direct perception?
It has been argued by Campos (1994), citing Suñer (1978), that the *que*-clause in the relevant configuration with a perception verb can only have direct perception readings (see (b) of (28)):

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[7] In Casalicchio (2013:31), examples can be found which show that tense anaphoricity is not fully strict in the 'absolute construction' and the 'presentational have' in Italian. Given that the focus of this paper is on complement clauses of perception verbs in Spanish, where tense anaphoricity seems to hold, I leave these issues for future research.

(28) a. Vi   que María estaba de regreso, dado que su auto estaba en el   garage.
        saw.1SG that Mary was   back   because her car was   in the garage
        'I saw that Mary was back, given that I saw her car in the garage.'
    b. *Vi   a María que estaba de regreso dado que su auto estaba en el   garage.
        saw.1SG Mary   that was   back   because her car was in the garage
        'Lit. #I saw Mary_i that she_i was back, given that her car was in the garage.'
                      (ex. from Campos 1994:214 [translations added], citing Suñer 1978)

In (b), the matrix subject referent has not directly perceived how María arrived but has inferred it from indirect evidence, namely because her car was in the garage. This type of inference is possible with perception verbs without a matrix object antecedent (see (a)), but not in the configuration under investigation which contains the *que*-complement as well as the matrix object antecedent.

According to Campos (1994), a correlation can be found in the impossibility of embedded negation, given that negated events cannot be directly perceived:

(29) * Vi   a   Juan que no durmió en su cama.
        saw.1SG DOM Juan that not slept.3SG in   his bed
        'I saw that John was not sleeping in his bed.'
                           (Campos 1994:215 [glosses added])

However, I would like to argue that the correlation between negation and impossibility of 'finite raising' structures is not perfect. Looking at the following example, it becomes clear that negation *per se* does not block the relevant configuration:[8]

(30) Vi   a   la   madre que no paraba. / La vi   que no paraba.
        saw.1SG DOM the mother that not stopped   her saw.1SG that not stopped
        'I saw that the mother didn't stop. / I saw that she didn't stop.'

This is not due to a lack of the requirement of direct perception. Rather, it is because mapping between negation and impossibility of direct perception readings is not one-to-one. In (29), it is impossible to observe 'Juan' and simultaneously his not sleeping in the bed directly – it can only be inferred from indirect evidence, for example, his sleeping on the couch. In (30), on the other hand, her 'not stopping', implies that the mother is actively doing something which can be directly perceived in the same temporal and locative space. Consider also the following corpus example:

(31) De pronto **lo veo que no habla**, que se pone morao
    (CORPES XXI (RAE); written source (fiction), Spain; Mayorga, Juan: *Teatro para minutos: (28 piezas breves)*. Ciudad Real: Ñaque Editora, 2009 [emphasis added])
    'Suddenly I see that he doesn't speak, that he turns blue.'
    'Lit. Suddenly I see him_i that he_i doesn't speak, that he turns blue.'

Here the negated event of *que no habla* 'that he doesn't speak' is immediately followed by an event of direct perception *que se pone morao* 'that he turns blue'. This indicates that direct perception is still a requirement on the relevant configuration.

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[8] See Casalicchio (2019) for discussion of the role of negation in gerunds in Spanish and prepositional infinitives in Portuguese. There, it is argued that the availability of negation in these configurations depends, not only on syntactic, but also semantic factors.

In section 5.5, I will argue that the requirement of direct perception readings follows straightforwardly from a raising account: a truncated CP layer is necessary in order to allow A-movement out of the embedded clause and, if epistemic and evidential values are encoded in hierarchically ordered functional categories above IP (see Cinque 1999, Speas 2004), a truncated CP structure has the consequence that not all types of evidential information can be licensed in the embedded complement clause.

3.4   Types of verbs entering 'finite raising-to-object'

Most typically, the configuration in Spanish is discussed in the context of perception verbs (see Suñer 1984, Campos 1994, Hernanz 1999, Camacho 2011). However, another verb type which is discussed by Suñer (1984) is permissive *dejar* 'let':

(32) Las_i   dejó que _____i terminaran   el helado.
       them.F-ACC let   that   finish-3PL.SUBJ the ice-cream
       'She let them finish the ice-cream.'   (Sp.; Suñer 1984:255)

The difference to the configuration with perception verbs is that the complement is subjunctive. However, independently of the mood specification, the interpretation of the null subject is still that of an obligatorily co-referent one. Note furthermore that the configuration is also possible with causative *hacer* 'make' (see Hernanz 1999:2240, citing Treviño 1994). The following demonstrates a corpus examples of this configuration (see also ex. (18)):

(33) La Policía **me hace que venga** de Santander a Madrid en avión […]
       (CREA corpus (RAE); Spain; written source; *ABC*, 26/04/1988: El juicio por el
       "caso Nani" [emphasis added])
       'The police makes me come from Santander to Madrid by plane.'
       'Lit.; The police makes me_i that I_i come from Santander to Madrid by plane […]'

These structures are highly problematic for a control analysis, given that the accusative clitic or DP cannot be analyzed as a complement of the matrix verb (cf. also Hernanz 1999), which could potentially be argued for perception verbs:

(34)   a.   *La Policía me hace.   (causative meaning intended)
                   the police   me make.3SG
         b.   La policía me hace   venir.
                   the police   me make.3SG come.INF
         c.   La Policía me hace   que venga [...].
                   the police   me make.3SG that come.SUBJ.3SG
                   'The police makes me come here.'

Note that all these verbs – *ver*, *oír*, *dejar*, and *hacer* – have in common that they are ECM-verbs, i.e. they are verbs that sanction an *accusativus cum infinitivo* structure. In a pseudo-relative or control analysis, it is not directly clear how the relation between ECM-taking verbs and licensing the relevant structure is encoded in Spanish.

4   The analysis: finite raising in Spanish

We have seen that a control analysis cannot be upheld for the Spanish structure under investigation. Furthermore, a pseudo-relative analysis also faces some conceptual challenges in the case of Spanish. In this section, I argue that a raising analysis can

straightforwardly account for the data, once we accept that raising out of inflected clauses is not uniformly blocked (cf. Boeckx et al. 2010, Alexiadou et al. 2010, among many others).

4.1   Apparent 'finite control' in Spanish as 'ECM' or 'raising-to-object'?
The phenomenon of apparent 'accusative subjects' of certain non-finite clauses has been discussed for a variety of languages and has received different treatments. First, nonfinite complements of perception verbs have been analyzed as Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), i.e. as the assignment of accusative Case by a matrix verb to the subject of an embedded infinitive across a (defective) clause-boundary (see Chomsky 1981, 1982; Hernanz 1999, Ciutescu 2013 for Spanish). Under this analysis, *a Juan* is an accusative subject of the nonfinite verb:

(35)   Vi$_{[Acc]}$ [$_{IP}$ a Juan$_i$ I-salir$_j$ [$_{vP}$ ~~Juan$_i$ salir$_j$~~]

        saw.1SG   Juan.ACC   go.out.INF
        'I saw John going out.'

A second possible analysis of these nonfinite structures is 'raising-to-object'. This analysis has been proposed for English by e.g. Postal (1974), Lasnik & Saito (1991), or Lasnik (2001). A raising analysis assumes that the embedded 'semantic subject' moves to the matrix object position, i.e. it does not receive accusative Case long-distance:[9]

(36)   Vi$_j$ [a Juan$_i$ ~~vi$_j$~~ [$_{IP}$ ~~a Juan$_i$~~   salir].

For the 'finite ECM' structures under consideration in this paper, long-distance Case assignment can be directly discarded. Such an approach would predict that accusative-marked subjects are licensed inside the complement, contrary to fact:

(37)   a. * Vi   [que a   Juan bailaba].
             saw.1SG   that DOM Juan danced.3SG
        b. * Vi   [que bailaba   a   Juan].
             saw.1SG   that danced.3SG   DOM   Juan
        c.   Vi   a   Juan [que   bailaba].
             saw.1SG DOM Juan that   danced
             'I saw John dancing.'

Thus, the only possible solution is movement. However, it must be solved why long-distance accusative assignment is blocked (see (a) and (b) of (37)) and movement to the target position obligatory.

4.2   Raising-to-object out of inflected complements in Spanish
If a 'finite raising' analysis is pursued, the following questions need to receive an answer: (i) Why is movement obligatory, i.e. why is long-distance agreement blocked? (ii) What is the landing site of the moved DP? (iii) What triggers movement? And (iv) why is movement possible out of a finite clause, but only out of a very restricted set of complements?

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[9] I do not discuss complex predicate analyses here (see Labelle 1996, Ciutescu 2013, Mensching 2017).

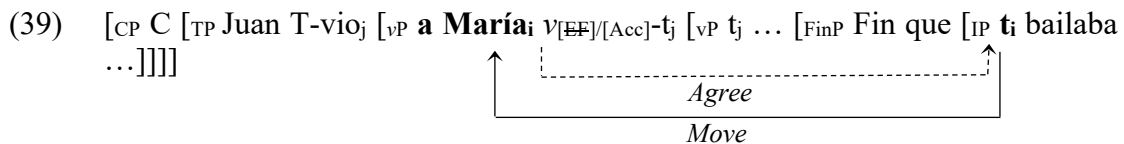### 4.2.1 The trigger and landing site for movement

Let us consider (i) to (iii) together, given that they are closely intertwined. Note that it is not unusual for movement to be obligatory in some configurations or languages, while it is optional in others. Thus, while movement from the theta-position Spec,*v* to Spec,T in finite clauses is obligatory in English, it is optional in Spanish, yielding postverbal subjects. One approach to this difference links it to the Null Subject Parameter (see e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998), 'strong' agreement morphology and V-to-I movement absorbing the EPP, making in situ nominative *Agree* possible:[10]

(38) $[_{CP}$ C $[_{IP}$ **I**$_{[NOM]}$-Durmió $[_{vP}$ **Juan** …]]]

              slept.3SG   Juan
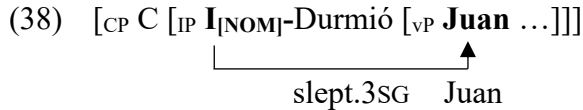
In English, on the other hand, weak agreement morphology cannot absorb the EPP and, thus, Internal Merge obligatorily applies.

The same account can explain the obligatoriness of movement in Spanish 'raising-to-object': in Chomsky (2001, 2007, 2008), not only subject movement, but Internal Merge more generally, is triggered by an EPP (or Edge Feature) and not by morpho-syntactic features like [Case]. Languages can differ with respect to the distribution of Edge Features (EF) on functional heads, depending, for example, on morpho-syntactic properties of the systems involved.

In the case of subject movement, an EF can be argued to be absorbed by strong subject-verb agreement morphology and V-to-T movement in Spanish (see (38)). In the case of object movement, on the other hand, there is no strong verb-object agreement morphology which could absorb the EF triggering movement. This already gives a first hint to the questions (ii) and (iii): just as nominative Case and phi-*Agree* with T (or AgrS) is established with a subject DP in Spec,*v*P, objects agree in accusative Case with a functional head – AgrO (cf. Pollock 1989) or little *v* (cf. Chomsky 1995, 2001):[11]

(39) $[_{CP}$ C $[_{TP}$ Juan T-vio$_j$ $[_{vP}$ **a María**$_i$ $v_{[EF]/[Acc]}$-t$_j$ $[_{vP}$ t$_j$ … $[_{FinP}$ Fin que $[_{IP}$ **t**$_i$ bailaba …]]]]

                                        Agree

                                        Move

This analysis also solves a problem that has been raised in the literature: Suñer (1984) in fact discusses the possibility of assuming raising (rather than control) for the configurations in (1) and (2). However, one reason for discarding this option was that it would violate the theta-criterion, the 'object' receiving a theta-role from the embedded and the main verb. While this problem arose in early GB theory, where the internal theta-role as well as accusative Case were assigned under government to the complement position of V, it does not arise in more recent theories. According to Pollock's (1989) system, neither nominative nor accusative Case is assigned by lexical V to a theta-position. Accusative, just like nominative, is assigned by a separate functional category: AgrO or little *v*. If we adopt this approach, finite raising-to-object

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[10] I will not review the different approaches to subject verb inversion in consistent NSLs. Different implementations either posit an expletive *pro* in subject position and/or nominative Case absorption and/or EPP absorption (see Rizzi 1982, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998 for discussion).

[11] I do not make any claim about the necessity of assuming a separate AgrOP projection or to reduce it to a higher specifier of *v*P. In Chomsky (1995) AgrO, consisting of uninterpretable features, is abandoned given that only interpretable categories can reach the interfaces for the derivation not to crash.

can apply out of the clausal complement without violating the theta-criterion: while the internal theta-role is checked by the direct object *que*-clause, the Agent of the embedded clause directly moves to the matrix structural accusative Case position, checking EF and [acc], just as in standard cases of raising, where a subject moves into the nominative Case, but non-theta-position:

(40)   Vi...[$_{vP}$ a María [$_{vP}$ *pro* v̶i̶-$v_{[ACC]}$... [VP v̶i̶-V$_{[Theme]}$ [FinP que [IP M̶a̶r̶í̶a̶ bailaba ...

Given that the embedded FinP is reduced, locality restrictions such as phasehood are not violated (see section 4.2.2).

Still, a further problem that has to be solved is why the clausal object (i.e. the *que*-clause) does not interfere in accusative Case assignment: if *Agree* is triggered by the matrix functional head *v* (or AgrO) as a Probe, the question is why the embedded clause itself is not a closer Goal, blocking *Agree* with the external argument of the inflected clause:

(41)   [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ Juan T-vio$_j$ [$_{vP}$ t$_j$-$v_{[ACC]/[EF]}$ ... [FinP **Fin** que [IP **(María)** bailaba

Agree

A solution lies in the fact that at least certain types of embedded clauses (in contrast to DP objects) do not check accusative Case (cf. Stowell 1981; see also Iatridou & Embick 1997 for the assumption that CP/IP clauses are phi-featureless).[12] If this is the case, *Agree* with the external argument of the embedded verb is unproblematic and not blocked by the defective clausal layer.

Thus, a raising-to-object analysis can account for the correlation between the availability of inflected complements with obligatorily coreferential null subjects and ECM-triggering matrix verbs – they sanction a structural accusative position, attracting the embedded Agent, without assigning the internal thematic role to it, which is assigned to the clausal *que*-complement. The special property of 'finite raising-to-object' with these verbs is that their inflected complement does not project a full clausal structure, thus licensing movement out of it. This issue will be further discussed in the next section.

4.2.2   Movement out of finite complement clauses in Spanish
If the analysis outlined in the preceding section is on the right track, we would be dealing with Case-driven movement of a subject into the structural (but not thematic) matrix object position. However, it is standardly assumed that A-movement out of finite CP clauses violates two constraints and is, therefore, blocked in English and Spanish: (i) the activity condition and (ii) phasehood (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001).

Let us turn to (i): the Activity Condition (Chomsky 2000:127, 2001) basically states that a DP, once it checks its unvalued or uninterpretable Case features, becomes inactive for A-movement. This accounts for the following contrast in several languages (see Campos 1994, Fernández-Sánchez 2015 for discussion):[13]

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[12] I do not discuss (nominalized) argument clauses of factive verbs at this point, whose status seems to be more intricate (see also Picallo 2002 for discussion).
[13] However, see Mare & Pato (2018) for discussion of double agreement with *parecer* in certain Spanish dialects. See also Fernández-Salgueiro (2008) for discussion of "further-raising".

(42) * Los niños$_i$ parecen [que t$_i$ duermen].   (A-movement blocked)
        the children seem.3PL that   sleep.3PL
(43)   Los niños$_i$ parecen   [t$_i$ dormir].   (A-movement possible)
        the children seem.3PL   sleep.INF
        'The children seem to sleep.'
(44)   Los niños$_i$ parece   [que Ø$_i$ duermen].   (A'-relations possible)[14]
        the children seem.3SG that   sleep.3PL
        'The children, it seems that they sleep.'

The explanation for the impossibility of "hyper-raising" (in the sense of Ura 1994; see Boeckx et al. 2010) in (42) is based on the activity condition in that nominative Case valuation by the embedded T head inactivates the subject DP so that it cannot A-move further. In (43), nonfinite T, being phi-deficient, does not check nominative Case and, thus, the DP is free to move further to the matrix subject position. In (44), the lack of agreement between the matrix verb and the moved DP indicates that we are not dealing with A-movement (see Fernández Sánchez 2015 for further discussion).

The question then is why the DP *a María* in (39) is able to move from the embedded finite clause, where it should have checked nominative Case, into the matrix clause. Note that the account of (42) to (44) is based on a traditional one-way definition of the relation between finiteness, nominative Case and *empty categories*, which can be depicted in a simplified manner as follows:

(45) a.   [+finite] → [+NOM]   → DP subject / *pro* / *wh*-trace (variable)
       b.   [-finite] → [-NOM]   → PRO / NP-*trace*

However, this binary implication has been questioned on various grounds, above all in the context of the existence of 'finite control' (see Landau 2004, 2013). Furthermore, it has been widely discussed that lower copies of moved elements can be pronounced in some languages and configurations (Boeckx et al. 2007, 2010). Also in the domain of raising, problems for the binary correlation in (45) have been widely discussed (see Polinsky & Potsdam 2006, Boeckx et al. 2010, Alexiadou et al. 2010 and references). In Brazilian Portuguese, for example, structures parallel to the Spanish example in (42), involving "hyper-raising", are possible (see Boeckx et al. 2010, citing Ferreira 2000):

(46)   Os estudantes parecem/acabaram   que viajaram   mais cedo.
        the students   seem.3PL/finished.3PL that traveled.3PL more early
        'The students seem to have traveled earlier / The students ended up travelling earlier.'   (Boeckx et al. 2010:71, citing Ferreira 2000)

The reason why movement is possible in (46) has to do with the deficient nature of person agreement in Brazilian Portuguese (see Boeckx et al. 2010), being a partial *pro*-drop language (see Barbosa 2009, Holmberg et al. 2009). Thus, Boeckx et al. (2010:71) argue that the T head in hyper-raising is not fully specified for person, but only number features.

In a finite control structure like (47), Landau (2004) argues that we are dealing with a subjunctive complement with anaphoric tense, making 'finite control' possible:

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[14] I remain neutral with respect to whether this configuration should be analyzed as a base-generated topic, establishing co-reference with a null *pro* or as A'-movement.

(47) Ion_i încearca să resolve (el_i) problema. (Rom.; Farkas 1985:91)
Ion tries SUBJ solves (he) the-problem
'Ion tries to solve the problem.'

Landau (2004) concludes that there is no binary relation between finiteness and Case or between agreement and Case, but the licensing of PRO or a DP-subject crucially depends on an interaction between phi- *and* tense properties of T *and* C.

We have already seen that the embedded *que*-clause in Spanish 'finite subject-to-object raising' structures does not allow tense mismatches (see (27)). Thus, it can be argued that nominative case does not inactivate the DP given that INFL does not have full tense. The assumption that tense is a crucial factor for licensing syntactic, structural Case also finds support in Pesetsky & Torrego (2004), where structural nominative is in fact an uninterpretable tense feature on D of the subject:

(48) *The nature of nominative case* (Pesetsky & Torrego 2004:495)
Nominative case is an instance of an uninterpretable Tense feature (uT) on D.

Thus, there is good reason to believe that the tense deficiency of the complement clause is at least one factor for making Spanish raising-to-object structures possible.

Let us turn to the problem of phasehood. A-movement of the DP out of the embedded clause should either violate the *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC; Chomsky 2000, 2001) or, if it used the escape hatch Spec,CP and check accusative in the matrix clause, it should yield Improper Movement (Chomsky 1995). The solution I would like to adopt is that the embedded clause in raising-to-object in Spanish is not a strong phase. It has been argued in the context of Romance subjunctives that certain CP-complements are not strong phases (see Uriagereka & Gallego 2007, Gallego 2010, Torrego 2018). Specifically, Uriagereka & Gallego (2007) argue that it is not only phi-feature deficiency, but also tense-deficiency which can determine phasal (in-)completeness, which is in line with the assumption that strong phasal heads cannot have unvalued features (cf. Torrego 2018:103). What is interesting is that Uriagereka & Gallego (2007) explicitly draw a parallel between finite subjunctive complements and English-type ECM.

With respect to the finite complement of perception verbs investigated here, even though not containing morphologically subjunctive, but indicative mood, it is tense-defective. Furthermore, we have seen that the embedded clause is not a full ForceP, given the impossibility of topicalization (Camacho 2011; ex. (10)). The reduced FinP complement can thus be argued to be at most a weak phase, which does not block A-movement. The final structure is depicted as follows:

(49)

IP
pro$_i$ I'
  INFL AgrOP
  Vi$_j$
    a Juan$_k$ AgrO'
      AgrO$_{[ACC]}$ VP
      t$_j$
        t$_i$ V'
          V FinP
          t$_j$
            Fin IP
            que
              t$_k$ I'
                I VP
                bailaba$_l$
                  t$_k$ V'
                    t$_l$

Agree
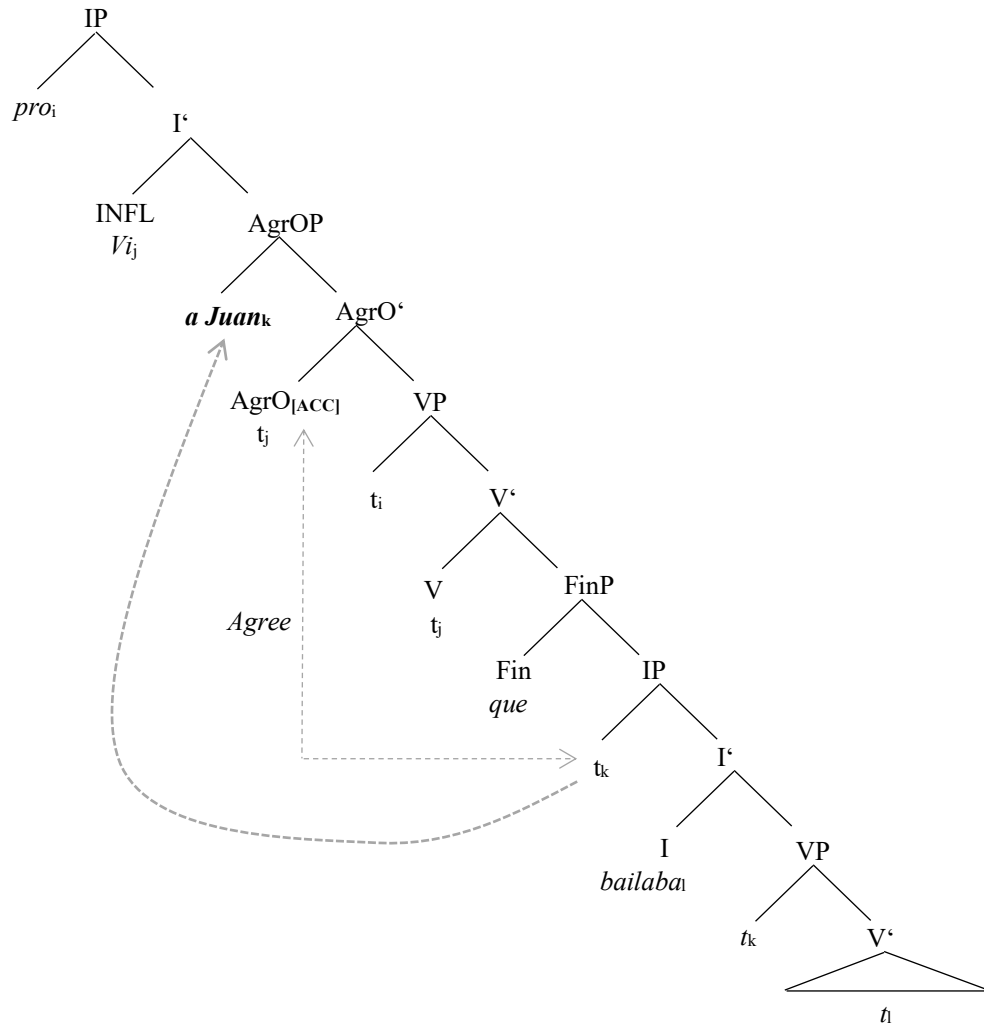
The analysis finds some further, theory-internal support from the reasoning pursued by Bianchi (2003) in the context of what she terms the (external) Logophoric Centre of a clause. The author (2003:8) argues that structural nominative Case, licensing [+R(eferential)] DP subjects, does not only rely on INFL-related phi-features, but on [person] anchored to the centre of deixis in the C-area, i.e. the "external Logophoric Centre". Even though Bianchi (2003) proposes that the "internal Logophoric centre", responsible for anchoring anaphoric person in control infinitives, as well as the external Logophoric centre, anchoring finite person features, are encoded in Fin, it has been suggested that only the former is located in Fin, but the latter in Force (cf. Haegeman 2004:186; see also Herbeck 2015b for discussion):

(50)   [$_{ForceP}$ $\Delta_{SPEAKER/ADDRESSEE}$ [... [$_{FinP}$ Δ_{SELF} [$_{IP}$ ... $_{VP}$ ...]]]]

In the light of the evidence discussed, the following generalization seems to hold:

(51)   Only if a clause sanctions full deictic speaker/hearer and topic identification does nominative Case syntactically inactive a subject DP.

Given that finite subject-to-object raising structures in Spanish have deficient tense and, at the same time, a deficient left periphery, nominative Case can at most be a morphological reflex,[15] but not structurally inactivate a DP subject.

This reasoning is further in line with Chomsky's (2007, 2008) suggestion that phi and tense are inherited by T from C. In contexts where C is not present (ECM and raising), T is not specified for phi or tense. If the reasoning pursued here is on the right track, this view would have to be refined according to the richness of the fine left periphery in a specific structure. If the CP is reduced, as in the case of finite raising-to-object structures in Spanish, only morphological person and Case features, but no full syntactic person-features being deictically anchored in C, nor structural Case deactivating a DP subject, can be inherited by T.

In the next subsection, I shortly discuss an alternative movement account: to treat raising-to-object out of finite complements as A'-movement, triggered by a discourse-sensitive feature, which has been proposed by Alboiu & Hill (2016) for Romanian.

4.2.3   An alternative: A'-movement

For Romanian, Alboiu & Hill (2016) also propose a movement analysis to explain structures comparable to the ones in (1) and (2) in Romanian:

(52) L-am   auzit pe   Mihai$_k$ că   repară$_k$ casa.
      him-have.1SG heard DOM Mihai   that   fixes   house.the
      'I've heard Mihai (claiming that) he's fixing the house.'

(Rom.; Alboiu & Hill 2016:256)

The configuration in Romanian, however, displays several differences to the Spanish one: among other properties, the embedded clause is temporally deictic (vs. temporal anaphoricity in Spanish) and it does not show a direct but an indirect evidential reading (cf. Alboiu & Hill 2016:261). This way, the authors argue that the Romanian embedded clause is a full (phasal) CP and movement to the matrix position has at least some A'-properties (cf. 273ff). Thus, the trigger for movement is a discourse-sensitive one (together with an EF). Alboiu & Hill (2016) argue that the relevant feature is to be found in the indirect evidentiality interpretation, i.e. in the shift "from undisclosed to disclosed source of evidence" (275) in Romanian. Technically, A&H (2016) assume that the matrix little *v* head bears an unvalued evidentiality feature and an Edge Feature (*u*Ev/EF), which establishes the Probe/Goal relation and Internal Merge respectively. Furthermore, the same little *v* head bears an uninterpretable phi/acc feature, by which the DP is spelled out as accusative. This accounts for mixed A'-/A-properties of the configuration.

However, there are some problems for this approach when applied to Spanish: Alboiu & Hill (2016) argue that the accusative DP blocks long *wh*-movement out of the embedded clause in Romanian. This is due to an intervention effect between two A'-chains. In Spanish, however, it has been argued by Suñer (1984), Campos (1994), and Camacho (2011:25) that *wh*-movement is not categorically impossible, at least if the ACC element is a clitic:

(53)   a. ? ¿Qué$_i$ la   escuchó que tarareaba   t$_i$?   (Suñer 1984:261)
              what her-ACC heard.3SG that was-humming.3SG
              'What did he hear her humming?'

---

[15] For a distinction between morphological and structural Case, see e.g. Marantz (1991).

    b.   ¿Con quién$_i$ lo   ves   que anda t$_i$ en la escuela?
         with whom him-ACC see-2SG that go-3SG   to school
         'With whom did you see him going around at school?'

This seems to indicate that the accusative antecedent does not block long *wh*-movement *per se* in Spanish and, thus, we do not necessarily have an A'-chain intervention effect. Note, furthermore, that the possibilities of extraction in Spanish are also problematic for a pseudo-relative account in terms of a small clause CP: Casalicchio (2016) argues that a 'pseudo-relative' analysis predicts impossibility of extraction because the antecedent DP occupies (and thus blocks) the phase edge. This seems to be borne out for Italian:

(54) *Cosa$_i$ hai   visto Maria che comprava ~~cosa$_i$~~? (It.; Casalicchio 2016:36)
        what   have.2SG seen Maria that bought.3SG
(55) ?*Quante   mele l' hai visto che mangiava?   (It.; Suñer 1984:268)
        how-many apples him have seen that was-eating.3sg

However, in Spanish, it seems that extraction is not fully ruled out if the ACC element is a clitic, which is evidence in favor of the assumption that we are not dealing with a strong phase complement and A-movement as well as direct A'-movement is possible.[16] Note in this context that already Suñer (1984:268) observes that one difference between the Spanish and Italian configuration is that extraction is not possible in the latter language (as in (55)). Thus, it might in fact be the case that different analyses are to be pursued for Spanish, Italian, and Romanian.

    Lastly, let me point out one conceptual problem with an A'-movement approach when applied to Spanish: Alboiu & Hill (2016) argue that it is a discourse-sensitive feature (together with an EF) on *v* that triggers A'-movement in Romanian. This feature is an evidentiality feature on the main predicate, being responsible for the indirect

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[16] One piece of evidence against Case-driven movement that A&H (2010:259) mention for Romanian is more problematic: they claim that passivization is not possible in the Romanian raising-to-object configuration, which is possible in English ECM. The native speakers I consulted also find the passive structure degraded in Spanish:

(i)   *? María fue vista que bailaba   en la   fiesta.
       María was seen that danced.3SG at the   party
       'Mary was seen dancing at the party.'

However, an impersonal structure with *se* is also judged as marginal, which cannot be accounted for in terms of Case-marking because the DOM marking is realized:

(ii) ?? Se vio   a   María que bailaba   en la fiesta.
       SE saw.3SG DOM María that danced.3SG at the party
       'Someone saw Mary dancing at the party.'

I leave this issue for future research, given that the sentences would have to be checked more systematically, but if these observations are correct, one potential way of arguing would be to claim that the marginality is due to the lack of direct perception, the impersonal construction not involving an explicit, specific 'perceiver'. Thus, Case-driven movement could still be at stake, the ban against 'movement' in passive and impersonal constructions being due to a semantic restriction.
    However, it needs to be taken into account that such a line of reasoning faces the problem that passivization seems to be possible in Italian pseudo-relatives, as an anonymous reviewer points out. See also Cinque (1992:11) for discussion of the possibility of NP-movement in Italian pseudo-relatives.

evidence interpretation in the Romanian configuration. Let us transfer this reasoning to Spanish: it could be argued that the 'direct perception' reading is the crucial property of finite raising-to-object and, thus, an unvalued evidential feature on *v* triggers movement of the object DP. However, this reasoning would be conceptually problematic: in the standard case of A'-movement, a DP which moves to a left-peripheral position is interpreted in this position with respect to the feature it values, i.e. a DP moved to a Spec,TopP is interpreted as a 'topic' at the interfaces, just like a DP appearing in Spec,FocP is interpreted as 'focus'. Turning to 'raising-to-object', it is difficult to argue that the moved DP is interpreted as 'evidential'. Thus, in a sentence like *Vi a María que bailaba* 'I saw Mary dancing', it is the whole embedded event/state 'Mary dancing' which relies on direct perception or direct evidence, but it is not the DP 'María' which is interpreted as 'evidential'.

To conclude, finite raising-to-object structures are not necessarily derived via A'-movement triggered by a feature relating to evidentiality in Spanish. I argue that it is the result of object movement into the matrix structural accusative (but not thematic) position and, hence, the structure could be argued to be very similar to the following analysis proposed in Alexiadou et al. (2010) for Greek:

(56) I   Maria ekane **ton Jani**$_i$ na **t**$_i$ klapsi   orgismenos
     the Mary made the John-ACC SUBJ   cries-3SG angry-NOM
     'Mary made John cry angry.'   (Greek; Alexiadou et al. 2010: 110)

The authors argue for the existence of multiple Case chains (see Bejar & Massam 1999) in that the accusative DP is moved from the matrix clause, where it is assigned nominative Case, as witnessed by the nominative marking on the modifier in the embedded clause. Even though for Spanish, this test cannot be applied, given the lack of Case agreement on modifiers, I have argued that structural nominative Case, inactivating a subject, is not assigned unless the embedded CP contains external, deictic speaker/addressee coordinates.

5   Some evidence for movement

Until now, I have argued that a movement analysis of structures like (1) and (2) can account for various data. In this section, I want to discuss some further evidence in favor of a raising-to-object analysis of the relevant configuration in Spanish.

5.1   Floating quantifiers

Rafel (1999) observes that the relevant complements of perception verbs allow floating quantifiers:

(57) He   visto a   tus   estudiantes que corrían   todos hacia   la salida.
     have.1SG seen DOM your students   that (they)-ran all   towards the exit
     'I saw your students running all towards the exit.'
                                                (Rafel 1999:187 [glosses added])

Floating quantifiers have been taken as a diagnostic for movement. One analysis claims that the DP antecedent and the quantifier are first merged in a big DP and the DP antecedent is subsequently moved, leaving the quantifier behind (cf. e.g. Sportiche 1988). This way, (57) would receive a straightforward analysis involving movement:

(58) He [visto [a tus estudiantes]ᵢ [~~visto~~ [que ~~[tus estudiantes]ᵢ~~corrían [QP todos
have.1SG seen your students   that your students ran.3PL   all
~~[DP tus estudiantes]ᵢ~~] …]]]

Given that Rafel (1999) adopts a pseudo-relative analysis of the relevant structures in
Spanish, in which the accusative DP is base-generated in Spec,CP (and not moved to
that position), the author has to adopt an analysis of (57) in which *todos* is a modifier
of *pro* in subject position. However, the author crucially builds on evidence that
emphatic pronouns are ruled out in the corresponding structures and, hence, he
concludes that the subject position of the *que*-clause must be empty so that the clause
can be interpreted as a predicate (cf. *ibid*. 188). In the next section, I will show that this
reasoning is problematic.

5.2   Emphatic pronouns
As I have pointed out, Rafel (1999:187) argues that the relevant structures in Spanish
are pseudo-relatives in the form of a small clause. For the clause to be interpreted as a
predicate, the subject position must be empty. Hence, overt pronouns are judged to be
ungrammatical. However, the native speakers I consulted do not reject emphatic
pronouns inside raising-to-object structures:

(59) Los vi   que **ellos (mismos)** hacían   el trabajo.
cl-ACC saw.1SG that they (selves)   made-3PL the work
'I saw how they did the work themselves.'

In fact, a corpus search of CORPES XXI (RAE) yields some examples with an overt
pronoun inside the complement clause:

(60) Cuando **la oí que ya ella salía del baño**, […]
(CORPES XXI (RAE), written source (fiction), Spain. Criado, Ana: *Hay que ve'lo
pa cre'lo. El ruido de las miradas*. Madrid: Lengua de trapo, 2001 [emphasis
added])
'When I heard her coming out of the bathroom, […]'
'Lit. When I heard herᵢ that sheᵢ already came out of the bathroom […]'

In (60), *ella* 'she' inside the embedded clause is coreferent with the object clitic *la* of
the main clause. In the following sentence from an oral source, a similar situation
obtains:

(61) […] cuando **me vio que yo hablaba** con ella, […].
(CREA corpus (RAE); Venezuela, oral source [emphasis added])
'When she saw me talking to her.'
'Lit. […] when she saw meᵢ that Iᵢ talked to her […]'

Here, the 1SG pronoun *yo* of the embedded clause is obligatorily co-referent with the
1SG clitic *me* of the matrix clause.
    Thus, at least for some speakers, overt realization of the embedded subject position
is possible if associated with emphatic marking. In a movement account, this finds an
immediate explanation: It has been argued in the literature that emphatic pronouns have
at least one derivation in which they are the result of movement (see e.g. Belletti 2005,
see also Herbeck 2015b for discussion). In Belletti's (2005) analysis, both FQs and

emphatic pronouns are initially merged in a BigDP together with their DP antecedent and subsequently move leaving the FQ or pronoun behind.[17]

(62) [Me$_i$ vio$_j$ [~~me$_i$~~ ~~vio$_j$~~ [que [~~me$_i$~~ [yo$_i$]]$_k$ hablaba ~~[me$_i$ [yo$_i$]]$_k$~~ ~~hablaba~~ con ella…]]]
       me saw.3SG   that   I   spoke.3SG   with her
       'She saw me talking to her.'

An anonymous reviewer points out that such an analysis would also be compatible with a pseudo-relative analysis, given that a floating quantifier or an emphatic pronoun could be first merged together with *pro* in a big DP in Spec,*v*P and *pro* would move to Spec,TP, leaving the quantifier or pronoun behind. While it is true that this reasoning is compatible with postverbal floating quantifiers and emphatic pronouns, it is less straightforward with preverbal overt pronouns (as in (60) and (61)), given that this would presuppose that the pronoun moves into the high left periphery. However, as we have seen, finite raising-to-object complements seem to have a reduced clausal projection in Spanish. Thus, the data with respect to overt pronouns is evidence that the accusative DP moves.

5.3   Lack of subject-object asymmetries
A problem, both for a pseudo-relative as well as a control analysis of configurations like (1) and (2) in Spanish comes from the fact that subject-object asymmetries, which have been argued to exist in Italian, are not categorical in Spanish if the gap is substituted by a dative or accusative clitic pronoun. Thus, Campos (1994) and Aldama García (2018) observe that the matrix accusative DP/clitic of a perception verb can be co-referent with an embedded object if the latter is not a gap but a dative or accusative clitic (see (24) - (26)):

(63) Lo   vi   que le   daban golpes por todos los lados.
       him saw-1SG that him-DAT (they)-hit   everywhere
       'I saw them hitting him everywhere.'

                                             (Campos 1994:211 [translations added])

Under a control analysis, this structure is problematic because there is no PRO-subject, which is controlled, but a dative or accusative clitic which is obligatorily co-referent with the matrix ACC DP. In a pseudo-relative analysis, we also face a problem, above all if it is assumed that the accusative DP is base-generated in Spec,CP and coindexed with a *pro*-subject (in the vein of Rafel 1999): it is unclear what makes coindexing with an accusative or dative clitic possible here (rather than with the subject).

   This can straightforwardly be explained in a movement analysis: It has been argued that resumptive pronouns are a "Last Resort" strategy – they rescue a structure which violates a syntactic constraint (cf. Shlonsky 1992, Sharvit 1999). In fact, Rafel (1999:178) discusses the possibility of analyzing clauses of the type (1) and (2) as pseudo-relatives involving a last resort strategy, where *pro* is inserted as a resumptive pronoun. In Spanish, however, the resumptive pronoun would not be inserted to rescue a locality violation of movement, but to solve a derivation in which two Cases are

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[17] Note that the clitics and DPs in the embedded clause are only represented as morphologically accusative in the syntactic derivation for convenience. The approach necessitates a Distributed Morphology approach according to which pronouns and DPs are just morpho-syntactic feature bundles (plus a Root) in syntax, and morphologically realized as nominative or accusative after syntax (in the vein of Halle & Marantz 1993, among others).

assigned to the same nominal expression. Rafel (1999) discards this analysis because, as he states, it would predict resumptive ACC or DAT clitics to be possible, which he judges as ungrammatical in the following examples:

(64) *He   vist la Maria que en Joan *la* lliurava   al   jutge.
    have.1SG seen the Maria that the Joan her handed-over.3SG to-the judge

(65) *He   vist el jutge que en Joan *li* lliurava   la Maria.
    have.1SG seen the judge that the Joan him handed-over.3SG the Mary
                                 (Cat.; Rafel 1999:178 [glosses added])

It should be noted, however, that Rafel is discussing examples from Catalan here. In Spanish, we have seen that the resumptive pronoun strategy seems to be available. I would thus like to argue that it is exactly a resumptive pronoun analysis, which Rafel discards based on Catalan data, that accounts for the Spanish structure if we accept that it involves movement.

In fact, resumptive pronouns have crucially been related to movement. Interestingly, Pesetsky (1998) analyzes them as 'pronounced *traces*'. The author argues that *traces* are usually not overtly realized because of a (violable) constraint – "silent trace". However, realization at the phonetic interface can arise as a rescuing mechanism last resort if a higher constraint would be violated (such as island constraints). This is exactly what happens in the Spanish configuration, in which subject-object asymmetries arise if the clitic is not realized, i.e. if the *trace* is not pronounced:[18]

(66) Lo$_i$ vi   que *(lo$_i$) arrestaban.
    him saw.1SG that   him arrested.3PL
    'I saw him being arrested.'

Note that, in a late insertion framework such as Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993 and related work), 'traces' of a DP and 'pronouns' are not necessarily distinct bundles when they reach the morphological component. In fact, already Chomsky (1981:323) argued that traces are morpho-syntactic feature bundles left behind by a moved nominal expression. If this is the case, the *trace* of a DP consists, basically, of D and phi (plus possibly *n*), i.e. of the DP minus its √Root. This morpho-syntactic feature bundle can be spelled out, i.e. either as zero (which might universally considered the default) or overtly (which would need a trigger, such as Case or [focus]), independently of its derivational history of being the result of internal or external merge (see also Herbeck 2015a,b, 2018).

Thus, 'finite raising-to-object' structures lacking subject-object asymmetries are in fact evidence for a movement analysis. They include resumptive pronouns in the sense that they are post-syntactically realized DP-*traces*:

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[18] A related structure could be found in so-called "copy raising" structures in English:

(i)   Richard seems like he is in trouble.   (Polinsky & Potsdam 2006:175)

In the literature, there are different positions on whether this structure could be analyzed as raising plus lower copy pronunciation or as a different phenomenon involving base-generation (see e.g. Potsdam & Runner 2001 for discussion). See also Deprez' (1992) discussion of apparent raising structures with a pronominal copy in Haitian Creole.

(67) Case driven *trace* pronunciation

Lo vi que **lo** *pro* arrestaban.

him saw.1SG that him arrested.3PL

'I saw him being arrested.'

In (67), the *trace* is equal to the morpho-syntactic bundle of [D] + [phi:3SG] + [Case:ACC]. That *traces* are zero by default can be motivated by several pragmatic and economy principles, such as Givón's (1983) *mirror principle* or Levinson's (1987) hierarchies. These principles express that continuous and co-referent relations are expressed by (phonetically and/or structurally) 'smaller' forms. The relation between a *trace* and its antecedent created by movement is by definition the most 'continuous', 'anaphoric' relation one can get and, thus, it is only expected that null is the default and overt realization is only licit under specific circumstances and in need of a trigger.

A similar reasoning could account for the possibility of emphatic pronouns in these configurations for some speakers (see (59) to (61)). The difference is that it is not a Case driven rescue mechanism that is involved, but it is an incompatibility between null realization and focus assignment, which would yield a crashing derivation at PF. This way, the morpho-syntactic features left behind by the moved DP (i.e. the 'trace') must receive a non-zero Vocabulary Item in post-syntactic morphology (see Herbeck 2015a,b). Thus, overt, co-referent elements in the configurations under discussion are evidence in favor rather than against a movement approach.

5.4 Extraction possibilities

Given that the possibility of long A'-movement out of the embedded complement clause has already been discussed (see examples (53)), I would only like to mention here that this possibility, apart from being evidence against a pseudo-relative analysis with the accusative DP in Spec,CP – at least for Spanish – is evidence in favor of a movement analysis, in which the ACC clitic does not have to pass through the CP phase edge ((68) based on Suñer's 1984 example in (53)):

(68) ¿ Con quién$_i$ lo$_j$ ves [$_{FinP}$ que [$_{IP}$ t$_j$ anda [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ en la escuela]]]?

with whom him-ACC see-2SG that go-3SG to school

In the proposed analysis, the ACC nominal element does not move through Spec,CP because we are not dealing with a full CP complement and, hence, not with a strong phase. This way, *wh*-movement can apply out of the embedded clause without causing an intervention effect of the matrix object clitic. That this structure is degraded with full ACC DPs according to Campos (1994:231), however, is awaiting further research.[19]

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[19] While *wh*-movement seems to be possible if the matrix ACC element is a clitic, the situation is less clear with full ACC DPs:

(i) * A quién viste a Juan que besaba. (Campos 1994:231 [glossed added])

whom saw.2SG John that kissed.3SG

I have to partly leave this issue open. However, one way of solving this problem would be to assume that it is not the DP in Spec,CP, which blocks this operation, but the DP in the matrix Spec,*v*P, which is a strong phase and, thus, its specifier should be used as an escape hatch. One way to argue would be that, after accusative Case checking, the DP moves into the 'low left periphery' (in the sense of Belletti 2005) while the clitic pronoun stays in the accusative Case (or clitic) position, hence the intervention effect of the former, but not the latter. However, to pursue this line of reasoning further, a detailed study of the

5.5 Direct perception readings

Under the proposed analysis, the semantics (evidentiality) of the configuration in combination with an EF does not directly motivate raising-to-object (in contrast to Alboiu & Hill's 2016 analysis of Romanian). I have argued that such a move would yield some conceptual problems.

The direct perception requirement receives a straightforward explanation if it is related to the CP domain. Recall that the embedded clause of finite raising-to-object is truncated, having reduced left-peripheral activity (see Camacho 2011). I adopt Cinque's (1999) and Speas' (2004) reasoning in assuming that epistemicity/evidentiality is encoded as a functional category above the IP ((69) adapted from Speas 2004):

(69)   Verb [SAP Speech Act [EvalP Evaluative [EvidP Evidential [EpistP Espistemological …

Recall that the complements of perception verbs *can* have an indirect perception reading if they take a full CP, i.e. exactly in those configurations in which raising-to-object does not apply. Thus, there are two types of *ver*: one is a verb which licenses a full SpeechActPhrase. In this vein, a sentence like (70) implies at least an inference and evaluation on part of the speaker:

(70)   Veo   que has   aprobado.
        see.1sg that have.2SG passed
        'I see/understand that you have passed the course.'

In (70), it is not necessary that the speaker has directly witnessed the event of the student's passing the exam, but can have inferred it.

Given that the evaluative phrase is structurally higher than the evidential and epistemic phrases, all we need to assume is that 'direct perception' correlates with the general truncated status of 'raising-to-object' complements:

(71)   Veo [SpeechActP que [… Juan se   fue   de viaje]]
        see.1SG   that   Juan REFL went of   travel
        'I see/understand that John has gone on vacation.'
        → no raising-to-obj → indirect evidence possible
(72)   Vi   a Juan [EvidP que [… iba   en coche]]
        saw.1SG   Juan.ACC   that   went.3SG in car
        'I see John driving his car.'
        → raising-to-obj → only direct evidence (EvidP)

Movement of subject-to-object in Spanish is thus not directly triggered by an [evidential]/[EF] feature (pace Alboiu & Hill's 2016 analysis of Romanian), but it is the result of the truncated status of the CP complement, which (i) makes only a reduced

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information structure of the configuration would have to be undertaken, which is beyond the scope of this paper. I therefore leave this issue for future research.

It is interesting to note in this context that in the following example from Camacho (2011), *wh*-extraction would not be fully ruled out even in the presence of an accusative DP, which provides further evidence for the assumption that the ACC DP does not cause intervention effects:

(ii)   ? ¿Qué   viste   a   María   que compraba?
          what   saw.2SG ACC María   that bought.3SG   (Camacho 2011:25 [glosses added])

inventory of left peripheral coordinates available and (ii) makes A-movement out of the weak FinP phase possible.

6 A further potential configuration of 'finite raising' in Spanish

There is another configuration in Spanish, which could potentially receive a 'finite movement' analysis. In fact, Campos (1994), beside 'pseudo-relative' structures, discusses a configuration of what he calls 'pseudo-raising'. I would like to argue that this configuration could be analyzed as true cases of raising out of a finite clause in Spanish:

(73) Estoy que me muero   de hambre.
      be.1SG that me die.1SG of hunger
      'I'm starving.'

As Campos (1994) discusses, these structures have similar properties as 'pseudo-relatives'. Thus, we observe Binding Condition C effects (see (74)) and obligatory co-reference (see (75)):

(74) (Juan) está   que (*Juan) se muere   de hambre.
      Juan   is.3SG that   Juan SE die.3SG   of hunger
      'John is starving.'
(75) *Estoy   que te   mueres de hambre.
       am.1SG that you.REFL die.2SG of   hunger

This configuration, even though it involves an inflected complement, has anaphoric tense:

(76) *Estoy   que me moría   de hambre.
       be.PRES.1SG that me die.IMP.1SG of hunger

Related to the before-mentioned observations, the subject cannot be licensed inside the embedded clause, but 'pseudo-raising' is obligatory:

(77) *Está   que los muchachos salen.   (Campos 1994:204 [glosses added])
       be.3SG that the guys   leave.3PL

Campos (1994) argues that 'pseudo-raising' and 'pseudo-relatives' should receive the same analysis which, in his view, is a small clause analysis:

(78) 'pseudo-relative': (adapted from Campos 1994:213)
      DP V$_{perception}$ [$_{SC}$ DP$_i$ [$_{SC}$ que [$_{IP}$ … pro_i …]]]
(79) 'pseudo-raising': (adapted from Campos 1994:213)
      a.   Ø está [$_{SC}$ DP$_i$ [$_{SC}$ que [$_{IP}$ … pro_i …]]]   (underlying structure)
      b.   DP$_i$ está [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ [$_{SC}$ que [$_{IP}$ … pro_i …]]]   (surface structure)

However, there is an important problem for this approach: it must be explained why 'raising' is obligatory in (79), but not in the 'pseudo-relatives' in (78).

If we are dealing with 'finite raising' in the case of the complement of perception verbs and *estar que* constructions, this problem does not arise: in the analysis pursued in this paper, finite raising-to-object is in fact *always* obligatory in Spanish if the

complement clause is reduced. This explains why long-distance accusative case agreement is impossible (see (80), repeated here for convenience):

(80)   Vi   (a   Juan) que (*a   Juan) bailaba   (*a   Juan).
       saw.1SG DOM Juan that   DOM Juan danced.3SG DOM Juan
       'I saw John dancing.'

(81)   Vi   que Juan   bailaba.
       saw.1SG that Juan.NOM   danced.3SG
       'I saw that John danced.'

The alternation with the structure in (81), with a fully realized nominative subject inside the embedded clause, is due to a difference in the left peripheral richness of the CP: a full ForceP in (81), containing a deictic centre, and a reduced FinP in (80), which cannot license a referential subject. All that is needed to account for obligatory raising with *estar que* is that *estar* does not license full ForceP complements.

   Thus, while I agree with Campos (1994) that 'pseudo-raising' and 'pseudo-relatives' should receive the same analysis, I argue that this analysis involves true raising out of an inflected complement:

(82)   [IP *pro* I-estoy … [FinP   que [IP ~~pro~~ me-I^0-muero …]]
                am.1SG   that   me   die.1SG

Why should raising to subject be possible in the configurations under discussion here, but not with the typical raising predicates like *parecer* 'seem' in Spanish? As we have seen, a crucial factor in Spanish seems to be [tense] which is related to an external Logophoric centre – the speech event – in the C-domain:

(83)   Parece   que se irá   /   se fue   /   se va   a Madrid.
       seem.3SG that SE go.FUT.3SG / SE go.PAST.3SG / SE go.PRES.3SG   to Madrid
       'It seems that he went/will go/goes to Madrid.'

The inflected complement of *parecer* is fully specified for [+T; +AGR] which in turn legitimates an external Logophoric centre, the CP constituting a strong phase, blocking A-movement.

   Note, finally, that Campos (1994) observes that 'pseudo-raising' is possible, not only with embedded subjects, but furthermore with direct and indirect objects, similarly to what we have seen in the case of perception verbs:

(84)   Pablito$_i$ está que lo$_i$ mandan   a acostarse.
       Pablito is   that him send.3PL to go-to-bed.INF
       'Pablito is about to be sent to bed.' (Sp.; Campos 1994:209 [translations added])

As with perception verbs, subject-object-asymmetries do exist in this configuration – they just do not exist if the object clitic is realized:

(85)   *Pablito está que mandan   a acostarse.
        Pablito is   that send.3PL to go-to-bed.INF
        'Paul is about to be sent to bed.'

Thus, again, we seem to be dealing with cases of a last resort mechanism of *trace* pronunciation, with the result of a resumptive pronoun.

7 The *hay que* plus inflected complement configuration
A further configuration which could receive a movement account is noted by Suñer (1984) and involves existential *haber*:

(86) Los hay   que no trabajan.   (Sp.; Suñer 1984:255)
      them there-is that not work.3PL
      'There are those that don't work.'

Also in this configuration, the accusative clitic *los* is the semantic subject of the embedded *trabajar* and it surfaces as accusative with the matrix existential verb.

However, Suñer (1984:255) rejects a raising analysis of structures like (86) because, as she argues, raising would have to be stipulated as obligatory given that it does not enter the same alternation as the one observed in (80) vs. (81) with perception verbs. This can be demonstrated with the following pair of sentences:

(87) a.   Los hay   que no trabajan.
        them there-is that not work.3PL
    b. *Hay   que personas no trabajan.
        there-is that people   not work

As Suñer (1984:255) argues, the only solution in a raising analysis would be to stipulate that movement is obligatory in (87), but optional in configurations with perception verbs. However, in the analysis pursued in this paper, finite subject-to-object movement is in fact *always* obligatory (see discussion in section 4.2.1 and above in the context of *estar que)*. The alternation between movement and non-movement with perception verbs is because of a FinP vs. ForceP complement, respectively. In the configuration with FinP, movement is obligatorily effected. Thus, structures like (86), similarly to those in (73) and (74), do only sanction a reduced FinP complement. If such a line of reasoning is pursued, a raising account could also be applied to the inflected complements of *hay que*.

However, there is a potential problem for this analysis, as an anonymous reviewer points out. Brucart (1999) notes that the complements of *hay que* can also be prepositional:

(88) Las hay   con las que no es fácil estar de acuerdo.
      them there-are with those that not is easy be.INF of   agreement
      'There are those with whom it is not easy to agree'.
                           (Brucart 1999:430 [translations added])

If a movement analysis is to be applied to this configuration, it could not be effected directly from a theta-position, but from the specifier of the embedded clause:

(89) Hay personas [[personas] con las que no es fácil estar de acuerdo].
(90) Las hay las [[las] con las que no es fácil estar de acuerdo].

Even though movement from a theta- to a Case-position is harder to motivate for this configuration, I would just like to note that there is also evidence that some type of movement might be involved in the relevant structure:

(91) Algunas hay   con las   que no es fácil estar   de acuerdo.
     some   there-are with them that not is easy be.INF of agreement

(Brucart 1999:430 [glosses added])

As Brucart (1999) notes, the accusative nominal phrase can be separated from the *que*-clause in some cases. This straightforwardly follows if the DP has the potential to move, even though it is less clear whether it is A-movement that is at stake here.

8   Constituency - conflicting evidence?

In this section, I discuss some observations that have been made in the literature with respect to constituency (see Cinque 1992 for Italian, Campos 1994, Rafel 1999 for Spanish) that seem to be problematic for the raising-to-object analysis defended here. I would like to argue, however, that at least some of the data is compatible with a raising-to-object approach, but that the assumption of competing derivations might be necessary.

Potentially problematic for a raising account is Campos' (1994) observation that the ACC DP can appear as a *fragment* together with the *que*-clause, i.e. they can be replaced by a *wh*-word:

(92) A: ¿Qué es lo que viste que estás tan nervioso?
          'What have you seen that you are so nervous?'
      B: A Marta que asaltaba un banco.
          'Marta robbing a bank'

(Campos 1994:219 [translations added])

This is evidence in favor of the assumption that the DP and the embedded clause form one constituent which, in Cinque (1992) and Campos (1994), is a pseudo-relative in the form of a small clause. Similar data have been provided in the form of pseudo-clefts and the possibility of substitution by the neuter pronoun *lo* (cf. Rafel 1999:171).

It should be stressed, however, that the proposed analysis of raising-to-object assumes a double function of the accusative DP: it forms part of the embedded FinP at one point in the derivation, namely, before moving into its final surface position. It might in fact be that, depending on information structure, movement through Spec,Fin is one option, above all if it is inside a focused constituent and the matrix clause is elided background material.

(93) [~~TP~~ *pro* ~~Vi-T~~ [~~vP~~ (a Marta) [~~vP~~ *pro* …[FinP (a Marta) Fin-que [TP T [vP ~~Marta~~ asaltaba un banco ...]]]]]]

This would, however, presuppose an ambiguity between A- and A'-movement. Note in this context that Rafel (1999:fn.5) states that some tests (such as pronominal substitution, and appearance in focus position) could also be applied to detect a double-constituent structure. Thus, while (a) of (94) is evidence for a mono-constituent status of the ACC DP plus *que*-clause, (b) of (94) would be evidence in favor of a bi-constituent status:

(94) a. ¡Hasta a Juan que bailaba   un tango vimos   ayer!
         even John   that danced.3SG a   tango saw.1PL   yesterday
                                   (Rafel 1999:171 [glosses added])
    b. ¡Hasta a Juan vimos   ayer   que bailaba   un tango!
       even John   saw.1PL yesterday that danced.3SG a tango
       'We even saw John dancing a tango.'   (Rafel 1999:fn. 5 [glosses added])

In the analysis defended here, one possible line of reasoning would be to assume that this ambiguity derives from the availability of two competing derivations: (i) one involving A-movement into the matrix accusative position, from which the ACC DP can further move into a Focus position (as in example (b)) and (ii) another one involving movement through Spec,FinP, where the copy of the DP is realized at the edge of FinP if the whole *que*-clause is in Focus position.

A related issue of conflicting evidence arises in the (non-)separability of the ACC DP and the embedded *que*-clause. A pseudo-relative analysis predicts that the two cannot be separated. Campos (1994:218) claims that emphatic subject pronouns cannot appear between the ACC DP and the *que*-clause in the following example:

(95) *(Yo) vi   a   Juan yo mismo que salía   de la casa.
     I   saw.1SG ACC John I self   that went.out of the house

A pseudo-relative analysis could argue that intervention of the emphatic pronoun between the ACC DP in Spec,CP and the *que*-clause is impossible.

However, those native speakers that I consulted accept an intervening temporal adverb between the two elements in Spanish:

(96) Vi   a   Juan ayer   que bailaba   con mi novia.
    saw.1SG ACC Juan yesterday that danced.3SG with my girlfriend

If adverbs can intervene between the ACC DP and the *que*-clause, this can be explained by assuming that the former moves further into the matrix clause:

(97) [*pro*i Vi [vP a Juanj [vP ayer [vP ~~pro~~i ... [FinP que ... ~~Juanj~~... bailaba con mi novia]]]]]

A tentative alternative line of reasoning to account for the degradedness of (95) in a 'raising-to-object' analysis could go along the following lines: *mismo* 'self' when combined with a pronoun is a focus particle (see Sánchez 1994). In usual matrix configurations, involving a subject and a direct object, moving the object above the subject has the effect of yielding focus on the subject (in the VOS order; see Zubizarreta 1998, López 2009). If this is the case, the sequence V[ACCDP]SO might yield a problematic configuration for Focus assignment.

To sum up, while several tests with respect to constituency have been taken as evidence in favor of a pseudo-relative account of the relevant configuration, it seems to be the case that alternative lines of reasoning have the potential to accommodate them in an approach which assumes that at least one derivation of this structure involves movement of the ACC DP out of the embedded *que*-clause into a higher Spec of the matrix *v*P (but not into the thematic position). In order to fully implement these observations, however, a deeper study of the information structure of the 'accusative subject' in this configuration will have to be carried out, which I leave for future research.

9   Conclusions and outlook

In this paper, I have defended a 'finite raising-to-object' account for the complements of perception, causative, and permissive verbs in Spanish. Thus, I have pursued the possibility of reviving an analysis that was considered but discarded by Suñer (1984). I have argued that several arguments against a raising analysis can be resolved in current phase theory if we assume that tense deficient clausal complements, even if inflected, do not deactivate a subject DP. In fact, a movement account is capable of explaining well-known and intriguing data: tense anaphoricity of the complement, lack of referential subjects, direct perception readings, lack of subject-object asymmetries with clitic insertion, left peripheral deficiency, floating quantifiers, emphatic pronouns, among others. I have argued that neither a control nor a pseudo-relative analysis is capable of accounting for the Spanish configuration in a straightforward manner.

We have also seen that, even though a finite raising analysis is capable of accounting for various properties of the configuration, there are issues that await future research:

(i)   A more systematic study of the apparent impossibility of passivization and, furthermore, of the degradedness of the configuration with impersonal *se* (see fn. 16).

(ii)   (Im-)possibility of different intervening material between the ACC DP and the *que*-clause and, related to that issue, conflicting evidence regarding constituency (see section 8).

(iii)   Possibility of *wh*-extraction in the presence of an accusative clitic, but degradedness if the ACC element is a full DP (see fn. 19).

Lastly, it is also an open question whether the analysis is transferable to other Romance languages. Given evidence discussed by Cinque (1992), Casalicchio (2016), Graffi (2017) for Italian, it is possible that in fact a different analysis could be pursued for this language. Where the parametric differences are to be located is also an issue for future research, one possible candidate being differences in the availability of object scrambling/object shift/p-movement (cf. Ordónez 2007, López 2009, Gallego 2013).[20] In order to resolve these questions, it seems that a deeper look into the semantics and information structure of the configuration as well as a more systematic investigation of similarities and differences with respect to 'accusative subjects' of inflected complements in individual Romance languages would be fruitful.

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[20] Aldama García (2018), on the other hand, links the difference to the availability of clitic doubling.

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