

On locality effects in Romance: the role of clitic doubling

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1. Introduction

This paper discusses two non-local syntactic phenomena that trigger different locality effects across the Romance languages, namely long distance relations such as Hyper-raising and Long Distance Agree, on one hand, and clitic doubling and its role in defective intervention with dative experiencers on the other.

Brazilian Portuguese (BP), Romanian (Ro) and Spanish (Sp) have long distance relations. The sentences in (1) potentially qualify as hyper-raising for Brazilian Portuguese and Romanian (cf. *John_i seems that t_i is sick*) (Ura 1994, 1996) and raising for Spanish.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|----|
| (1) | a. | <i>Os meninos parecem que estão doentes.</i> | BP |
| | | The children seem-3PL that are-3PL sick-3PL | |
| | | ‘The students seem to be sick.’ | |
| | b. | <i>Copiii par să fie bolnavi.</i> | Ro |
| | | children-the seem-3PL subj _{PTC} be-3PL sick-3PL.MASC | |
| | | ‘The children seem to be sick.’ | |
| | c. | <i>Los niños parecen dormir tranquilos.</i> | Sp |
| | | the children seem-3PL sleep quiet-3PL.MASC | |
| | | ‘The children seem to be sleep quiet.’ | |

Besides long distance movement, Spanish and Romanian also show obligatory Long Distance Agree (LDA) (cf. (Alexiadou et al 2012)), in contrast to Brazilian Portuguese:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|----|
| (2) | a. | <i>Parece (*m) que os meninos estão doentes.</i> | BP |
| | | seem-3SG (3PL) that the children be-3PL sick | |
| | | ‘The children seem to be sick.’ | |
| | b. | <i>Par/ *pare să fie (copiii) bolnavi (copiii).</i> | Ro |
| | | seem-3PL/ seem-3SG subj _{PTC} be-3PL (children-the) sick (children-the) | |
| | | ‘The children seem to be sick.’ | |
| | c. | <i>Parecen/ *Parece dormir (los niños) tranquilos (los niños).</i> | Sp |
| | | seem-3PL/ seem-3SG be-INF (the children) quiet (the children) | |
| | | ‘The children seem to sleep quiet.’ | |

These long distance relations raise a crucial question that we attempt to answer in this paper: Is there a Spec-TP/AgrP available for subjects in (Hyper)-raising in all these languages (cf. (1)) or not?

Much work has been done on hyper-raising in Brazilian Portuguese, (Ferreira 2000, Martins & Nunes 2005, 2009), not so much so on Romanian and Spanish. We will show that Brazilian Portuguese has a subject position available for hyper-raised DPs while Romanian and Spanish do not have the same subject position. Furthermore, Alboiu (2007) and Alexiadou et al (2012) show that Romanian and Spanish have LDA. We will argue that Romanian and Spanish always display LDA and not (hyper)-raising, while Brazilian Portuguese only displays the latter.

We also investigate another type of long distance relation in this paper¹, namely clitic doubling and its role in repairing defective interventions of experiencers in raising constructions. In Brazilian Portuguese, a dative experiencer poses minimality on the movement of the embedded subject to the matrix Spec-TP in hyper-raising structures (3a). The same intervention effects are found in Romanian and Spanish seemingly (hyper-)raising unless the experiencer is a clitic or a DP doubled by a clitic (cf. (3b),(3c)).

- (3) a. **Os alunos parecem pro professor que estudaram para* BP
 the students seem-3PL [to the teacher]_{EXPRC} that studied-3PL for
a prova.
 the exam
 ‘The students seem to the teacher to have studied for the exam.’
- b. *Copiii *(ii) par profesorului să studieze pentru* Ro
 children CL-DAT seem-3PL professor-DAT subj_{PTC} study-3PL for
examen.
 exam
 ‘The children seem to the teacher to study for the exam.’
- c. *Los niños *(le) parecen al profesor estudiar para el examen.* Sp
 children CL-DAT seem-3PL to-the professor study-INF for the exam
 ‘The children seem to the teacher to study for the exam.’

In Brazilian Portuguese, hyper-raising of the embedded subject over a Wh-experiencer (trace) is unacceptable (4a). The same intervention effects are found in Romanian and Spanish unless the experiencer is a clitic or a DP doubled by a clitic (cf. (4b), (4c)).

- (4) a. **Pra quem os alunos parecem que estudaram para a prova?* BP
 [to whom]_{EXPRC} the students seem-3PL that studied-3PL for the exam
 ‘To whom do the students seem to have studied for the exam?’
- b. *Cui *(ii) par studenții să studieze pentru examen?* Ro
 whom CL-DAT seem-3PL students subj_{PTC} study-3PL for examen
 ‘To whom do the students seem to study for the exam?’
- c. *¿A quién *(le) parecen los estudiantes estudiar para el examen?* Sp
 whom CL-DAT seem-3PL the students study-INF for the examen?
 ‘To whom do the students seem to study for the exam?’

We will show how these patterns can be accounted for by understanding the parametric differences between these languages and the theory of minimality. Specifically, we argue that these differences are due to the availability of matrix subject position, clitic doubling and the role they play on agreement/movement intervention.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2 we study the availability of pre-verbal subject positions in Brazilian Portuguese, Romanian and Spanish in (Hyper)-raising structures. Section 3 explains how minimality effects might be obtained in (Hyper)-raising with experiencers. Moreover, we present Bruening’s (2014) counter-argument to defective

¹ Note that Romanian and Spanish native speakers (10 Romanian and 10 Spanish speakers) showed variable preferences for such constructions. They were considered by some native speakers as only marginally acceptable or incorrect. Crucially, this is not due to minimality reasons, it has to do with the fact that both Romanian and Spanish have an impersonal *seem* with an expletive *pro* in Spanish and the expletive SE in Romanian, and those forms are more frequently used than the raised subject ones even if there is no experiencer intervening in the matrix clause:

i) *Parece que ese taxista está cansado.*
 seems that taxi-driver is tired
 ‘It seems that the taxi-driver is tired.’

intervention and we provide an explanation for her data based on linear order. Section 4 briefly concludes the paper.

2. Pre-verbal DPs: subjects or left dislocation?

2.1 Brazilian Portuguese

Much work has been done investigating null arguments in the subject position of indicative clauses in Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP). The accepted story goes as follows. The verbal paradigm in modern Brazilian Portuguese is considerably simplified when compared to the verbal paradigm in earlier stages. These changes have significantly restricted the possibility of null subjects in finite clauses (see Duarte 1995, and Nunes 2011 for a recent approach). As a result Brazilian Portuguese is different from both its Romance siblings (like Spanish and Italian, which are prototypical *pro*-drop languages) and non *pro*-drop languages, like English.

The behavior of the null subject in BP mimics that of obligatorily controlled PRO. Ferreira (2000, 2009) and Rodrigues (2004) argue that Brazilian Portuguese cannot license referential *pro* in subject position and that the null subject in Brazilian Portuguese, like controlled PRO, is a trace of A-movement (following Hornstein 2001).

From this perspective, a sentence such as (5) is to be derived along the lines of (6), where the embedded T is ϕ -incomplete and the matrix T is ϕ -complete. Note that the DP *João* is merged in vP and enters into a thematic relation with that predicate², later on moving to [Spec,TP] of the matrix clause where it receives Case.

Brazilian Portuguese comes to license not only finite control (cf. (5) and its derivation in (6)), but also Hyper-raising constructions (cf. (7)) (in the sentence of Ura 1994).

(5) *João disse que vai viajar.*

(6) [TP [João]_i T ϕ -complete [vP t_i disse [CP que [TP t_i T ϕ -incomplete [vP t_i vai viajar]]]]]
 João said that will travel
 ‘John said he was going to travel.’

(7) *Os alunos parecem que estão cansados.*
 the students seem-3PL that are tired
 ‘The students seem to be tired.’

The fact that the DP in (5) and (7) is really in a [Spec, TP] position is extensively shown by Martins and Nunes (2005, 2009). First, the DP in question triggers agreement with the matrix

² It is crucial for their analysis that a DP can have more than one thematic role associated with it in a derivation, following standard assumptions of the Movement Theory of Control (Hornstein 2001, Boeckx, Hornstein and Nunes 2010). Also, it should be noted that Brazilian Portuguese has a strong EPP feature for T agreement/Case. At least in those cases, the embedded subject DP must move to matrix Spec-T. Evidence for that is given below: in infinitive complements, the subject cannot stay in the embedded TP (ia), there’s no long distance agreement between matrix verb and embedded subject. If the embedded subject is Case marked in the embedded domain, the matrix clause verb must bear 3p singular default agreement (cf. (ib)); once the embedded subject cannot be Case-marked by embedded T, it must raise to matrix T (cannot stop at vP) (cf. (ic)).

(i) a. **Parecem [os alunos estar cansados]*
 seem-PL the students be-INF tired
 b. **Parecem [que os alunos estão cansados]*
 seem-PL that the students are-IND tired
 c. **Parecem os alunos [que estão cansados]*
 seem-3PL that the students are-IND tired

predicate, as shown in (5) above (Ferreira 2000, 2009). Martins and Nunes (2005, 2009) point out that weak pronouns, idiom chunks and quantifiers cannot be topicalized in Brazilian Portuguese, but can be hyper-raised, as we show respectively below. Preverbal DPs in Hyper-raising constructions behave as actual subjects in an A-position. The sentence in (8b) is perfectly acceptable with a weak pronoun DP subject *cê* ('you') and (9b) preserves the idiomatic reading of the idiom chunk, and in (10b) *ninguém* ('none') can be hyper-raised.

- (8) a. **Cês_i*, *Pedro disse que vão sentar na primeira fila.*
 you-PL_{weak pronoun}, Pedro said that go-3PL sit in-the first row
 'Peter said that you will sit in the first row.'
- b. *Cês_i* *parecem que t_i estão muito estressados.*
 you-PL_{weak pronoun} seem-3PL that be-3PL too stressed
 'It seems that you are too stressed out.'
- (9) a. *A vaca, Pedro disse que foi pro brejo.*
 the cow, Pedro said-3SG that went-3SG to-the swamp
 Idiomatic reading blocked: # 'Pedro said that things went bad.'
- b. [*A vaca*]_i *parece que t_i foi pro brejo.*
 the cow seem-3SG that went-3SG to-the swamp
 Idiomatic reading: 'It seems that things went bad.'
- (10) a. **Ninguém, Maria disse que vai alugar o apartamento esse mês.*
 nobody, Maria said-3SG that go-3SG rent the apartment this month
 'Maria said that no one will rent the apartment this month.'
- b. *Ninguém_i parece que t_i vai alugar o apartamento esse mês.*
 nobody seem-3SG that go-3SG rent the apartment this month
 'It seems that nobody will rent the apartment this month.'

The short conclusion is that Brazilian Portuguese hyper-raised subjects are in an A-position (Ferreira 2000, 2009; Martins and Nunes 2005, 2009). This is because the embedded T allows A-movement of its DP subject much like a simple raising sentence (cf. *John seems to be tired*).

2.2 Romanian and Spanish

It has been shown that pre-verbal DPs in Romanian are always left-dislocated (topics or contrastive focus) (cf. Alboiu 2007). Also, Barbosa (1994), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998), Fischer (2013) analyze SVO orders in Greek, Romanian and Spanish in terms of Clitic Left Dislocation, i.e., the subject is left-dislocated to a preverbal Topic position in a parallel manner to the left displacement of objects when they are clitic-doubled.

However, there is another approach to pre-verbal DPs in null subject languages that considers these as actual subjects (Hulk & Pollock 2001, Holmberg 2005, Sheehan 2006). Nevertheless, none of these theories are free of problems. The former theories have the advantages of explaining scope reconstruction, free inversion, extraction and the binding properties of postverbal subjects but cannot account for why preverbal subjects in null subject languages in some cases seem to occupy an A-position. The latter analyses cannot explain the extraction, free inversion and binding tests and cannot predict why only "some" preverbal subjects are in an A-position. Since the disagreement in the literature is extensive, we will settle with the view in Rizzi (2001) that pre-verbal subjects in Spanish and Romanian move to a left dislocated position to the left periphery³ for the sake of this paper, and review some of

³ Accordingly, Rizzi (2001) shows that the skeleton of left periphery in Romance has an A-position available which might explain the dichotomous data regarding the behavior of preverbal subjects.

the points argued in the literature⁴. We test for (Hyper)-raising DPs in Romanian and Spanish to see whether they behave similarly.

2.2.1 QP Interpretation & Scope Reconstruction

Preverbal and postverbal subjects in raising constructions have different scope readings Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) and AAIM (2012):

Preverbal subjects

- (11) a. *Un bărbat frumos o iubește pe fiecare colegă de-a mea.* **Ro**
 a man handsome CL-ACC loves PE-ACC every colleague of mine (A > Every)
 ‘One and the same man seems to love every colleague of mine.’ (*Every>A)
- b. *Un hombre guapo ama a cada amiga mía.* **Sp**
 A handsome man loves every friend of mine. (A > Every)
 ‘One and the same man loves every friend of mine.’ (*Every>A)

Postverbal subjects:

- (12) a. *O iubește un bărbat frumos pe fiecare colegă de-a mea* **Ro**
 CL-ACC loves a man handsome PE every colleague of mine (A > Every)
 ‘Every colleague of mine is loved by a handsome man.’ (Every>A)
- b. *Ama un hombre guapo a cada amiga mía.* **Sp**
 loves a man handsome to every colleague of mine (A > Every)
 ‘Every colleague of mine is loved by a handsome man.’ (Every>A)

We see the same variation in raising. Matrix DP can only take wide scope:

- (13) a. *Un bărbat frumos pare să o iubească pe fiecare colegă de-a mea.* **Ro**
 a man handsome seem subj_{PTC} love PE.acc every colleague of mine
 (A > Every)
 ‘One and the same man seems to love every colleague of mine.’ (*Every>A)
- b. *Un hombre guapo parece amar a cada amiga mía.* **Sp**
 a man handsome seem love every friend of mine (A > Every)
 ‘One and the same man seems to love every friend of mine.’ (*Every>A)

The in situ subject DP can have both wide and narrow scopes.

- (14) a. *Pare să o iubească un bărbat frumos pe fiecare colegă de-a mea.* **Ro**
 seems subj_{PTC} CL love a man handsome PE every colleague of mine
 (A > Every)
 ‘It seems that every colleague of mine is loved by a handsome man’ (Every>A)
- b. *Parece amar un hombre guapo a cada amiga mía.* **Sp**
 seems love a man handsome to every colleague of mine (A > Every)
 ‘It seems that every colleague of mine is loved by a handsome man’ (Every>A)

2.2.2 Information structure

Note that a subject can be in the preverbal position only if it is a Topic or contrastive focus⁵:

⁴ Notice that our goal in this paper is not to but rather to compare the nature of pre-verbal DPs in simple clauses to those that are hyper-raised in both Spanish and Romanian.

⁵ Nava and Zubizarreta (2010) show that there are different patterns of focus among dialects of Spanish. Preverbal subjects might have narrow focus, cf. Nava and Zubizarreta (2010) a. o. for more on the prosody of dislocated elements in Spanish. For more information about Romanian informational structure, see Alboiu (2007) and references therein. We show that Focus can be realized either in the preverbal or in the postverbal

- (15) a. *Ce s-a întâmplat?* Ro
 What has happened?
 b. *A vărsat **Maria** laptele.*
 has spilt Mary milk-the
 b'. #***MARIA** vărsat laptele!*
 Mary has spilt milk-the.
 'Mary has spilt the milk.'
 c. *Pare să fi vărsat **Maria** laptele.*
 seems subj_{PTC} be spilt Mary milk-the
 'It seems that Maria has spilt the milk.'
 c'. #***MARIA** pare să fi vărsat laptele.*
 Mary seems subj_{PTC} has spilt milk-the
 'Maria seems to have spilt the milk.'
- (16) a. Q: *Cine a vărsat laptele?* Ro
 Who has spilt the milk?
 b. ***MARIA** l-a vărsat!*
 Mary CL-ACC-has spilt
 b'. *L-a vărsat #**Maria**/**MARIA***
 CL.ACC-has spilt Mary/ MARY
 'Mary has spilt it.'
 c. ***MARIA** pare să-l fi vărsat.*
 Mary seems subj_{PTC}-CL-ACC be spilt
 'Maria seems to have spilt it.'
 c'. *Pare să-l fi vărsat #**Maria**/**MARIA***
 seem-3SG subj_{PTC}-CL-ACC be spilt Mary/MARY
 'It seems that Mary has spilt it.'
- (17) a. Q: *¿Qué pasó?* Sp
 'What happened?'
 b. *Botó **María** la leche.*
 spilt-3SG Maria the milk
 'Mary has spilt the milk.'
 b'. #***MARIA** botó la leche!*
 Mary spilt the milk
 'Mary has spilt the milk.'
 c. *Parece haber botado **María** la leche.*
 seems-3SG have-INF spilt Maria the milk
 'It seems that Maria has spilt the milk.'
 c'. #***MARIA** parece haber botado la leche.*
 Mary seems-#SG have-INF spilt the milk
 'Maria seems to have spilt the milk.'
- (18) a. Q: *¿Quién botó la leche?* Sp
 'Who has spilt the milk?'
 b. ***MARÍA** la botó!*
 Mary CL-ACC-has spilt.

- b'. *La botó #María/ MARÍA*
CL.ACC spilt-3SG Mary.
'Mary has spilt it.'
- c. *MARÍA parece haberla botado.*
Mary seems-3SG have-CL-ACC spilt
'Mary seems to have spilt it.'
- c'. *Parece haberla botado #María/ MARÍA.*
seem-3SG have-INF-CL-ACC spilt Mary/MARY
'It seems that Mary has spilt the milk.'

The variation in the position of subjects in different contexts has been proven also in the empirical work of Gabriel (2010) for Buenos Aires:

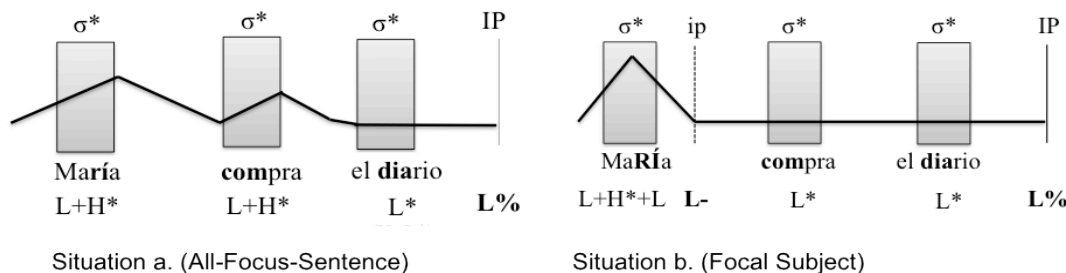
Table 1: Word Order and Information Structure

Information Structure:	All-Focus-Sentence	Focal Subject	Other (e.g. Focal Object)
	a. <i>¿Qué pasó?</i> 'What happened?'	b. <i>¿Quién compró el diario?</i> 'Who bought the newspaper?'	c. <i>¿Qué compró María?</i> 'What did Mary buy?'
<i>María compró el diario.</i>	OK	*	OK
<i>MARÍA compró el diario.</i> ¹	*	OK	*
<i>Compró María el diario.</i>	(OK) ²	*	?
<i>Compró MARÍA el diario.</i>	*	?	*
<i>Compró el DIARIO, María.</i>	*	*	OK
<i>Compró el diario MARÍA.</i>	*	OK	*

(S) *María* = Mary, (V) *compró* = bought-3sg, (O) *el diario* = the newspaper
 1 = the capitals indicate that the element is prosodically marked
 2 = in some varieties, but not in Buenos Aires Spanish

How the intonation may play a role is illustrated schematically in Figure 1, taking Situation a. vs. Situation b. (Table 1) as examples (from Pešková 2014)

Figure 1: Different intonation contours of the sentence *María / MARÍA compra el diario.*



In contrast, Brazilian Portuguese allows pre-verbal neutral DPs to be raised. Neither focus nor contrast is needed in (19a) or (19c), although focus can be added by using stress.

- (19) a. *O que aconteceu? / Quem derramou o leite?* BP
'What happened?' / 'Who spilt the milk?'
- b. *María/MARÍA derramou o leite.*
Mary spilt the milk
- b' **Derramou María o leite.* *VSO in BP
spilt Mary the milk
'Mary spilt the milk.'
- c. *María/MARÍA parece que derramou o leite.*
Mary seem-3SG that spilt the milk
'It seems that Mary spilt the milk.'

- c'. *Parece que Maria/MARIA derramou o leite.*
 seem-3SG that Mary spilt the milk
 'It seems that Mary has spilt the milk.'

We have seen above that in contrast to Romanian and Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese has only one position for marked and unmarked subjects; this language does not permit postverbal subjects.

2.2.3 Bare Quantifiers

If the preverbal subject is in an A-bar position, then the bare quantifiers should be ruled out in some contexts in Romanian and Spanish (cf. Alboiu 2007). Note that the preverbal bare quantifiers in these languages are licit only if they trigger a specific reading (cf. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998):

- (20) a. *Ce e gălăgia asta?* Ro
 what is noise-the this
 'What's all this noise?'
 b. *Victor/#Cineva pare să cânte la trombon.*
 Victor/somebody seem-3SG subj_{PTC} sing-3SG at trombone
 'Victor/Someone seems to play the trombone.'
- (21) a. *¿Qué es con este ruido?* Sp
 what is with this noise
 'What's all this noise?'
 b. *Victor/#Alguien parece tocar el trombón*
 Victor/somebody seem-3SG play the trombone
 'Victor/Someone seems to play the trombone.'

The above mentioned tests seem to conclude that in Romanian and Spanish there is no subject Spec-TP, therefore, preverbal DPs are left dislocated elements. In view of this, two questions arise:

- i) How is the DP subject Case licensed if the embedded domains are defective (infinitives in Spanish and tenseless subjunctives in Romanian)?
- ii) If pre-verbal matrix DPs are left dislocated, how they obligatorily display agreement with matrix verb?

We will explain those in what follows.

2.3 Long Distance Agreement in Romanian and Spanish

We assume that in Romanian and Spanish, the agreement between the matrix verb and the embedded subject happens without raising (cf. Polinsky & Potsdam 2002, AAIM 2012).

- Agree* **LDA**
- (22) a. [TP *Par* [CP/TP *să doarmă* [copiii]]] Ro
 seem-3PL subj sleep-3PL the children
 'The children seem to sleep.'
- b. *Parecen dormir los niños* Sp
 seem-3PL sleep the children'

LDA is possible because the embedded T cannot assign Case due to its tense deficient properties in raising Romanian subjunctives (Farkas 1992, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, cf. also

Alboiu 2007, AAIM 2012) and to its φ -deficient features in Spanish infinitives (Pires 2006). Both Spanish infinitives and Romanian subjunctives lack a CP layer (Alboiu 2006, 2007) and *Agree* can occur without violating locality constraints, such as the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) (Chomsky 2001).

To sum up, we find the following variation across the Romance languages under discussion: in Brazilian Portuguese ‘Raising’ is A-movement to Spec-TP (subject position) while ‘Raising’ in Romanian and Spanish that permit LDA is always an A’-movement (Left Dislocation) or a movement to an A position in the Left Periphery in line with Rizzi (2001).

3. Analysis

In this section, we will address the intervention effects that experiencers may cause in context of raising. With the above ingredients and a few more, we can explain why and how these languages differ regarding the intervention of experiencers.

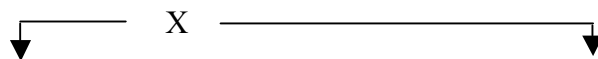
3.1 DP Intervention

In Brazilian Portuguese the A-movement of subject is not possible when there is a full experiencer DP (cf. (23a)). The sentence is fine, however, with clitic experiencers. It is well known that dative/oblique DPs/PPs block subject-to-subject movement (see McGinnis 1998 for French, Torrego 1998 2002 for Spanish, Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003 for Icelandic, Rizzi 1986, Boeckx 2008 for Italian)⁶.

- (23) a. **Os alunos parecem pro professor que estudaram para a prova.* BP
 the students seem-3PL [to the teacher] _{EXPRC} studied-3PL to the test
 ‘The students seem to the professor that they studied to the exam.’
 b. *Os alunos me parecem que estudaram para a prova.*
 the students [to-me]_{CL} seem-3PL that studied-3PL to the exam
 ‘The students seem to me to have studied to the exam.’

The general explanation for these facts follows from a Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995: 311) or a Relativized Minimality (RM) (Rizzi 1990) violation: an element α may enter into a relation with an element β if there is no γ that meets the requirement(s) of α and γ c-commands β . The illicit relation is sketched in (24).

- (24) a. [α ... [... γ ... [... β ...]]] (γ c-commands β and α c-commands γ)



- b. [_{TP} the students seem [_{DP} to-the teacher] [_{CP} that [_{TP} the students studied to the test]]]

If Romance [*a* DP] experiencers are not PPs but rather DPs where the preposition *a* is considered to be a morphological realization of inherent Case, then experiencer DPs should block A-movement⁷. However, if clitic heads move and adjoin to T, they do not c-command the target of the movement and the blocking effects will disappear (cf. Torrego 2002;

⁶ Crucially, the Romance experiencers function as a DP (the preposition is a realization of inherent Case, Torrego 1998, 2002).

⁷ English behaves quite exceptionally with respect to this, as it allows raising over a full PP experiencer. See Boeckx (2008) and Kitahara (1997) for detailed discussion. In a nutshell, English experiencers behave like full PPs and therefore do not cause intervention effects for they don't c-command the embedded subjects in syntax.

(i) John seems to Mary [to be nice].

Anagnostopoulou 2003).

In contrast to Brazilian Portuguese, in Romanian (25) and Spanish (26), a dative DP experiencer does not intervene in the A'-movement of the subject DP to the matrix clause, but rather in LDA. The sentences are, however, licit once the dative experiencer is just a clitic (*b* examples) or it is double by a clitic (*a* examples).

- (25) a. *(Copiii) *(îi) par (copiii) profesorului să studieze (copiii)* Ro
 children CL-DAT seem-3PL (children) professor-DAT subj_{PTC} study-3PL
 'The children seem to the principal to study for the examen.'
 b. *(Copiii) îi par (copiii) să studieze (copiii) pentru examen.*
 children CL-DAT seem-3PL children subj_{PTC} study-3PL children for examen
 'The children seem to him/her to study for the examen.'
- (26) a. *Los niños *(le) parecen (los niños) al profesor estudiar (los niños)* Sp
 children CL-DAT seem-3PL the children to professor study-INF the children
 'The children seem to the principal to study for the exam.'
 b. *Los niños le parecen estudiar para el examen.*
 children CL-DAT seem-3PL study-INF for the exam
 'The children seem to him/her to study for the exam.'

We explain the different defective intervention effects in Brazilian Portuguese, and Romanian and Spanish by assuming that the clitic doubling of the dative experiencers renders Romanian and Spanish sentences grammatical. Specifically, the clitic is obligatory in order to remove the intervening ϕ -features of the dative (Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005) since LDA is sensitive to defective intervention (cf. Chomsky 2000).

- (27) *_{[TopicP [Copiii]]} [TP par [profesorului] [TP să studieze [copiii]]] Ro
 children seem-3PL professor subj_{PTC} study-3PL children
 'The children seem to the professor to study.'

- (28) _{[TopicP [Copiii]]} [TP îi par-T [profesorului_i] [TP să studieze [copiii]]]
 children CL-DAT seem-3PL professor subj_{PTC} study-3PL children
 'The children seem to sleep.'
-

The derivation in (27) crashes because the embedded subject DP does not check Case since the features of the dative experiencer intervene (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Preminger 2008).⁸ In contrast, the derivation in (28) is saved because:

- i. The experiencer is doubled by a clitic that hosts the ϕ -features of the A-chain, rendering the ϕ -features in the DP inert for derivation (Anagnostopoulou 2003).
- ii. The clitic head Cl (Sportiche 1998) moves to T and its features are no longer in the probe domain of T (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003, Marchis & Alexiadou 2013, Marchis 2014)

⁸ Note that the experiencer must also obligatorily occur with the dative clitic in order to have its ϕ -feature and Case valued. Hence, "seem" + experiencers seems to be similar to the quirky constructions of the type *gustar* ('like') in Romance where the dative clitics are obligatory and the experiencer has structural quirky case (Rivero 2004).

iii. T is allowed to LDA with the embedded subject DP since there are no longer features that intervene.

So we conclude that the Left Dislocation of the embedded subject to the matrix clause is irrelevant to LDA: Agree and Case checking of the DP holds between the matrix T and the embedded DP copy.

3.2 Counter-evidence: Bruening (2014)

3.2.1 The problem

Bruening (2014) argues that the experiencer PP does not act as defective intervener since adjunct phrases, which are argued not to interfere with A-movement, are ungrammatical in the same position as experiencer PPs:

- (29) a. **Jean a semblé [au cours de la réunion] avoir du talent.* French
 John has seemed during the meeting to have talent
 ‘John seemed during the meeting to have talent.’
 b. ??*Gianni sembra [in alcune occasioni] fare il suo dovere.* Italian
 Gianni seems on some occasions to.do the his duty
 ‘Gianni seems on some occasions to do his duty.’ (Bruening 2014: 714)

Bruening argues that the ungrammaticality of these examples is actually due to the linear position of adjuncts.

3.2.2 Towards an explanation

The adverbial phrase and the experiencers can potentially be attached to different parts of a raising structure: an experiencer is part of the matrix VP (either introduced by an applicative head or in a PP) and the adverbial phrase may be adjoined to the embedded clause. There is no reason to believe that the ungrammaticality of (29) above and (30) below are related: there are different constraints that can be accounted for independently, contrary to Bruening’s assumptions:

- (30) **Jean a semblé à Maria avoir du talent*
 Jean seems to Marie to.have of talent
 ‘Jean seems to Marie to have talent.’ (Bruening 2014:1)

Note that adjuncts like *in those conditions* presented in Bruening (2014) are marginal in the same position also in Romanian and Spanish.

- (31) a. ?*Maria parece en esas condiciones no ir más de vacaciones.* Sp
 Maria seems in those conditions no to.go more on vacation
 b. ?*Maria pare în aceste condiții să nu mai plece în concediu.* Ro
 Mary seems in these conditions subj not go-3PL on vacation
 ‘Mary seems in those conditions not to go anymore on vacation.’

However, not all adverbial phrases are illicit or marginal in the position between the raising verb and the infinitive/subjunctive. In contrast to the adverbial phrases provided by Bruening (2014), some modal and temporal adverbials such as *today, tomorrow, now, often, never* a.o.

in (32) and (33) are licit in the position argued by Bruening to be unacceptable, i.e. modifying the matrix VP:

- (32) a. *Pedro pareceu ontem não querer mais vir pra festa.* BP
 Peter seemed yesterday not want-3SG-INF more come to-the party
 ‘John seemed yesterday not to want to come to the party anymore.’
 b. *Os alunos pareceram inequivocamente estarem prestando atenção.* BP
 the students seem unequivocally be-3PL-INF paying attention
 ‘The students unequivocally seem to be paying attention.’
- (33) a. *Ion părea ieri să nu mai vrea să vină la petrecere.* Ro
 John seemed yesterday subj not more want-3SG subj come-3SG the party.
 ‘John seemed yesterday not to want to come to the party anymore.’
 b. *Ion părea adesea să aibă talent.* Ro⁹
 Johns seemed often subj have-3SG talent
 ‘John often seemed to have talent.’
 NOT: ‘John seemed to have talent often’

We assume that the contrast between (29) and (32)/(33) is due to several reasons: First, it is not clear that Bruening’s adverbial phrases are part of the matrix clause (they can be easily interpreted in the embedded event), while our adverb examples clearly modify the matrix verb. Therefore, the positions of these different adjuncts might play a role in the acceptability of these sentences.

Moreover, according to Cinque (1999) and Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005), adverbs like in (33) belong to “higher sentence adverbs” that have a rigid word order (cf. (34)) and they are invariably excluded from interpolation structures:

(34) (...) repetitive (event) adverbs (‘again’) > frequentative (event) adverbs (‘often’) > alethic adverbs of possibility (‘possibly’) > habitual adverbs (‘usually’) > subject oriented adverbs (e.g., ‘deliberately’) > celerative (event) adverbs (‘slowly’).

Interestingly, these higher sentence adverbs unambiguously modify the higher matrix verb and as expected, they are licit in raising constructions unlike Bruening’s adverbs that allegedly modify the embedded event. Returning to experiencers, unlike adjuncts, they are merged in the matrix clause to the left of the verb and its clausal complement, either as an applicative head *v* or a subject of the VP. Therefore, experiencers are not in the same structural position as the adverbs. Thus, even if Bruening’s analysis of the ungrammaticality of the adverb cases (cf. (29)) based on linearity is correct, this same analysis cannot be extended to the experiencer intervention cases (cf. (30)), as they are arguments inserted above *V* and not adjuncts to the right of *V* (for a more detailed analysis see Marchis Moreno & Petersen to appear).

4. Conclusion

To conclude, we have argued in this paper that languages that permit defective intervention with dative experiencers allow clitic doubling and they might lack a Spec-TP subject position in (Hyper-)/raising-like structures. According to Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998), these properties seem to be a reflex of a single one: “the extensive availability of clitic/agreement-associate relationships in a language which permit DPs to remain *in situ*”.

Moreover, we have shown that Bruening’s data do not consider a counter-argument to our

⁹ We thank Ion Giurgea for this example and for drawing our attention to the different ad joint positions of adverbs in Romanian.

analysis of defective intervention as the ungrammatical examples with high adverbs she presents are not due to intervention but rather to linear order.

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