

snippets

Issue 37 - December 2019
Special issue in honor of Uli Sauerland

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Indexical shift meets ECM

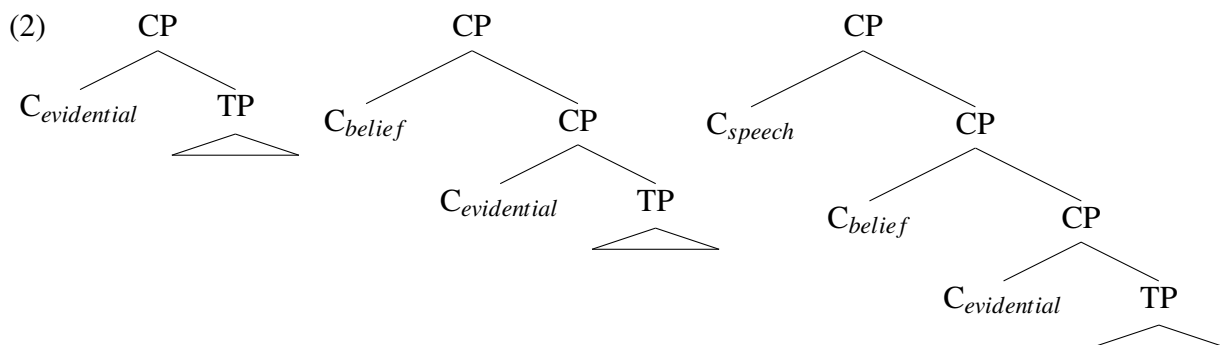
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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2019-037-wurm>

In [Sauerland and Yatsushiro 2014](#), it is suggested that indexical shift in Japanese shows syntactic restrictions which are best implemented in a ‘monster’ approach where a context-shifter in the CP domain – \hat{C} – changes the context such that indexicals do not refer to the actual speech context but the context of the matrix clause (see also [Anand and Nevins 2004](#), [Anand 2006](#), [Sudo 2012](#), [Sundaresan 2012, 2018](#), [Shklovsky and Sudo 2014](#), [Podobryaev 2014](#), [Messick 2016](#)). The syntactic presence of such a \hat{C} -shifter is further supported by the cross-linguistic distribution of indexical shift, which follows the implicational hierarchy in (1) ([Sundaresan 2012, 2018](#), [Deal 2017](#)).

- (1) speech > belief > evidential/knowledge
“if indexical shift is effected in the scope of a non-speech attitude predicate, it must also be effected in the scope of a speech predicate.” ([Sundaresan 2018](#): 29)

[Sundaresan \(2012, 2018\)](#) proposes, following the Cinque hierarchy, fine-grained CP structures with the containment relations as indicated in (2)—higher domains include lower domains, but lower domains do not necessarily project up to the full clausal structure (see also [Krifka 2018](#) for specific semantic definitions creating similar containment relations).



The containment structures in (2) together with language-specific specifications for the location of the \hat{C} -shifter derives the implicational nature of the hierarchy: if the \hat{C} -shifter is tied to a lower CP-position, then it is necessarily present when higher projections are added; on the other hand, if it is tied to a higher position, it is not present in complements with a smaller CP-structure.

Interestingly, the distribution of ECM in Germanic follows a very similar hierarchy as shown in the table below (some of the data have been reported in [Holmberg 1986](#), [Thráinsson 1993](#), [Lødrup 2002, 2008](#), [Christensen 2007](#); a systematic summary is provided in [Christopoulos and Wurmbrand To appear](#)). As shown, the higher up a complement clause projects according to the hierarchy in (1)/(2), the less available ECM is.

Given that the ECM hierarchy seems to match the indexical shift hierarchy, it may be desirable to tie these hierarchies to a common property. As far as is known yet, there is no direct connection

	Icelandic	English	Swedish	German
<i>I said her to have won.</i>	✓	*	*	*
<i>I believe her to have won.</i>	✓	✓	*	*
<i>I consider her to have won.</i>	✓	✓	✓/!	*
<i>I saw her win.</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 2: ECM in Germanic

between the (im)possibility of indexical shift and the (im)possibility of ECM — the two properties operate largely independently of each other. However, I suggest that the common factor underlying the parallels in the cross-linguistic distribution of these properties is the hierarchical containment configurations in (2).

In many accounts of ECM, a core assumption is that ECM complements do not involve a CP. Suppose, this is achieved via deletion of CP-projections (e.g., to allow ECM with a speech predicate, all three CP-layers in (2) would have to be deleted). The generalization could then be stated that if a language allows omission of higher CP layers, it necessarily also allows omission of lower CP layers, but not vice versa.

A different approach is to allow ECM across CPs (see [Wurmbrand 2019](#)), by extending the A-domain of a clause to the CP. In this approach, the generalization is cast as following: if a higher CP-layer has A-properties (hence allowing ECM), lower CP-layers necessarily do too. In other words, the A-domain ‘grows’ upwards along the containment structure in (2). Depending on how such A-extension is formalized, the hierarchy, in particular the observation that the extension of the A-domain cannot skip CP-layers, may fall out automatically, or it may be related to a general *No A-after-A'* effect regulating structure building and syntactic dependencies such that A-phenomena derivationally always precede A'-phenomena.

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This work was supported by the Austrian FWF project *Universals and variation in clausal complementation* (M2332-G30).

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