

snippets

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Indexical shift meets ECM

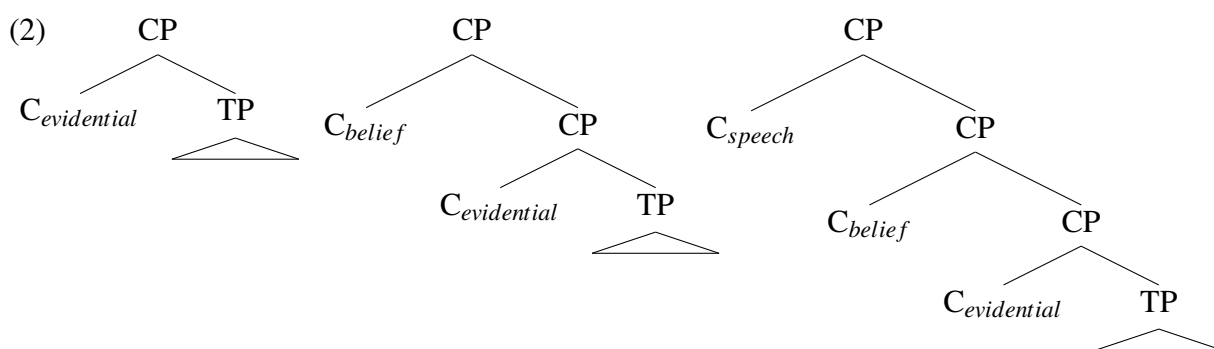
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In Sauerland and Yatsushiro 2014, it is suggested that indexical shift in Japanese shows syntactic restrictions which are best implemented in a ‘monster’ approach where a context-shifter in the CP domain – C_{shift} – changes the context such that 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 C_{shift} -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 C_{shift} -shifter derives the implicational nature of the hierarchy: if the C_{shift} -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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