

On Forward and Backward Raising

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1. Introduction

Tagalog control and raising infinitives allow two basic word orders: V1 » SUBJECT (AGENT) » V2 as in (1a), (2a) and V1 » V2 » SUBJECT (AGENT) as in (1b), (2b) (the relevant verbs are underlined and the subject is bold).¹

- (1) a. Kaya **ni Manuel** na bumili ng bagong kotse
able DET Manuel LNK NOM.buy DET new car
'Manuel is able to buy a new car.' [Kroeger 1993: 182, (29a)]
- b. Kaya ng bumili **si Manuel** ng bagong kotse
able LNK NOM.buy PTT Manuel DET new car
'Manuel is able to buy a new car.' [Kroeger 1993: 182, (29b)]
- (2) a. Nagmumukha **ang bata** ng kumain ng mangga
appear.NOM PTT child LNK eat.NOM DET mango
'The child appeared to eat a mango.' [Nakamura 2000: 392, (2b)]
- b. Nagmumukha ng kumain **ang bata** ng mangga
appear.NOM LNK eat.NOM PTT child DET mango
'The child appeared to eat a mango.' [Nakamura 2000: 392, (2a)]

Two important works on Tagalog infinitives are the restructuring approaches developed in Kroeger (1993) and Mercado (2003). Somewhat simplified, according to these works, the matrix and embedded predicates together form a single clause (for Kroeger only the (b) examples above, for Mercado both the (a) and (b) examples). In this paper, I raise certain questions for assuming (mono-clausal) restructuring in Tagalog infinitives, and provide the outline of an alternative account illustrated in (3), according to which the difference between the (a) and (b) examples reflects the difference between *forward (control) raising* [F(C)R] and *backward (control) raising* [B(C)R], respectively (Hornstein 1999, et seq., Polinsky and Potsdam 2002, 2006, 2012).

- (3) a. [TP V1-matrix {SUBJECT} [TP₂ V2-infinitive {~~SUBJECT~~}...]] F(C)R
b. [TP₁ V1-matrix {SUBJECT} [TP₂ V2-infinitive {SUBJECT}...]] B(C)R

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¹ I refer to the privileged argument (the argument associated with the verbal voice marking) as PTT (promotion to trigger; Pearson 2005) argument, and to the underlying external argument (the agent) as 'subject'. Abbreviations used for Tagalog (for other languages, I follow the notation used in the sources cited): V.NOM = actor voice (PTT=agent), V.ACC = object voice (PTT=direct object), V.DAT = dative/locative voice (PTT=indirect object, locative, embedded clause), PTT+N (determiner/marker used for PTT), DET N (non-PTT determiner/Case marker), LNK = linker element. Other abbreviations: AV (actor voice), PV (patient voice).

2. Against restructuring

Although the frameworks and analyses pursued in Kroeger (1993) and Mercado (2003) differ substantially, one property these accounts share is that constructions with the V2»SUBJECT order such as (4) are assumed to involve a restructured monoclausal configuration. An immediate observation one can make regarding these examples is that the constructions do not involve verbs that are typically among the class of restructuring verbs in other languages. For instance, in German and Italian, *hesitate* and *plan* do not allow restructuring. In Tagalog, in contrast to other restructuring languages (including other Austronesian languages), all infinitival constructions show the properties associated with (alleged) restructuring, such as the V2»SUBJECT order.

- (4) a. *Nagatubili* ng *magbigay* *si Maria* ng *pera* sa *bata* BCR
 hesitate.PERF.NOM LNK give.NOM PTT Maria DET money DAT child
 ‘Maria hesitated to give money to the child.’ [Mercado 2003: 3, (6)]
- b. *Nag-balak* *bisitahin* *ni Maria* ang *kapatid* *niya* BCR
 plan.PERF.NOM visit.ACC DET Maria PTT sibling 3.SG.GEN
 ‘Maria planned to visit her sister.’ [Kroeger 1993: 197, (60b)]

A further difference between Tagalog infinitives and restructuring in other languages, including other Austronesian languages, is that in the former no voice dependencies exist between the matrix and embedded predicates, and no argument structure deficiency seems to exist in the embedded predicate. As shown in Wurmbrand 2013a, 2014b, To appear), in many languages we find a form of *long object movement*, a construction in which the embedded predicate is dependent on the voice properties of the matrix predicate as illustrated by the examples in (5). In constructions where the matrix predicate is passive or occurs in the PV, the embedded object is promoted to matrix subject, and, if applicable in the language, receives nominative case and agrees with the matrix predicate. Languages differ regarding the voice marking on the embedded predicate—in German, Mayrinax Atayal, and Takibakha Bunun, the embedded predicate must be realized with default AV, whereas in Isbukun Bunun (also Chamorro, among others), the embedded verb must match the voice of the matrix predicate (embedded AV in (5d) is impossible).

- (5) a. *dass der Traktor und der Lastwagen zu reparieren versucht wurden* German
 that [the tractor and the truck] NOM to repair tried were PASS PL
 ‘that they tried to repair the tractor and the truck’ [Wurmbrand 2001]
- b. *naqaru.un i t.um.uting ni yumin ku bawaq* Mayrinax Atayal
 finish PV LNK beat AV beat GEN Yumin NOM pig
 ‘Yumin finished beating/killing the pigs.’ [Chen 2010: 5]
- c. *tanam-u =ku ka bali’i [kilim ti]* Takibakha Bunun
 try-PV =1SG.OBL ABS Bali_i [AV.search ti]
 ‘I try to look for Bali.’ [Shih 2014: 3, (3b)]
- d. *Iliskinun-ku bunbun-a tu baliv-un* Isbukun Bunun
 want PV 1SG.ACC banana-that NOM TU buy PV
 ‘I wanted to buy the bananas.’ [Wu 2013: 40]

In Tagalog, on the other hand, as pointed out in Mercado (2003), there are no voice or argument structure dependencies of the sort in (5). The choice of matrix voice has no effect on the embedded predicate. As shown in (6), for instance, the PTT marking of the embedded object in (6) is clearly linked to the voice of the embedded verb and the matrix voice has no effect on that relation.² Thus, a restructuring approach according to which the matrix and embedded predicates involve a single voice domain (what is referred to as *voice restructuring* in Wurmbrand 2013a, To appear) cannot be assumed for Tagalog.

² For further examples and issues raised for the restructuring analyses see Wurmbrand (2013b).

- (6) a. *Binalak* *bisitahin* *ni Maria* *ang kapatid* *niya*
 plan.PERF.ACC visit.ACC DET Maria PTT sibling 3.SG
 ‘Maria planned to visit her sister.’ [Kroeger 1993: 197, (58b)]
- b. *Nag-balak* *bisitahin* *ni Maria* *ang kapatid* *niya*
 plan.PERF.NOM visit.ACC DET Maria PTT sibling 3.SG
 ‘Maria planned to visit her sister.’ [Kroeger 1993: 197, (60b)]

3. The distribution of clitics

So why restructuring? A common restructuring property cross-linguistically is clitic climbing. As shown in (7a), clitics cannot escape from a tensed (finite) embedded clause in Tagalog. However, the minimally different infinitive in (7b) allows clitic climbing of the subject. Furthermore, object clitics can climb in both BR and BCR contexts as shown in (8) (see Kroeger 1993 for evidence that *dapat* is a raising predicate). This is exactly as expected if finite clauses are full clausal domains, but (at least certain) infinitives form a mono-clausal structure with the matrix clause—i.e., both Kroeger’s and Mercado’s restructuring accounts successfully derive the difference between (7a) and (7b).

- (7) a. *Dapat* {**mo*} (*na/ng*) *binasa* {*mo*} *na* *ang liham ko*
 Ought {2.SG} (LNK) read.PERF.ACC {2.SG} already PTT letter my
 ‘You should have already read my letter.’ [Kroeger 1993: 195, (55a,b)]
- b. *Dapat* {*mo*} (*na/ng*) *basahin* {*mo*} *ang liham ko*
 Ought {2.SG} (LNK) read.ACC {2.SG} PTT letter my
 ‘You should read my letter.’ [Kroeger 1993: 195, (56a,b)]
- (8) a. *Hindi* *siya* *dapat* *utusan* *ni Pedro* BR
 not 3.SG.PTT should order.DAT DET Pedro
 ‘Pedro should not order her around.’ [Kroeger 1993: 190, (47)]
- b. *Hindi* *siya* *kaya* *ng* *utusan* *ni Pedro* BCR
 not 3.SG.PTT able LNK order.DAT DET Pedro
 ‘Pedro cannot order her around.’ [Kroeger 1993: 183, (32a)]

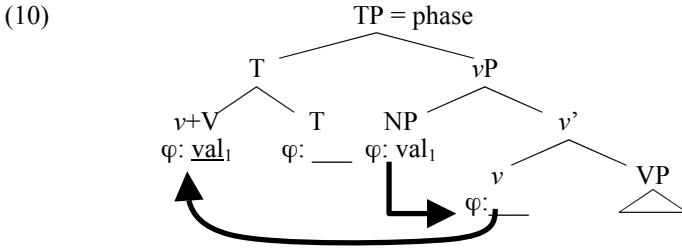
An interesting contrast, however, is found in constructions in the V1 » V2 » SUBJECT order: clitics can be placed before the matrix verb or after the embedded verb when the matrix predicates is a raising predicate as in (9a), but only the higher position is available when the matrix verb is a control predicate as in (9b). When the subject occurs in the higher position as in (9c), on the other hand, clitics can again occur in the lower position. Since both (9a) and (9b) would count as restructuring for Kroeger and Mercado, the question arising is why clitic climbing is optional in raising contexts but not in control contexts.³ For the approach to be proposed here, the question is why clitic climbing is optional in backward raising but obligatory in backward control. After laying out my account, I will show how a backward (control) raising account derives these data.

- (9) a. *Hindi* {✓*siya*} *dapat* *utusan* {✓*siya*} *ni Pedro* BR
 not {3.SG.PTT} should order.DAT {3.SG.PTT} DET Pedro
 ‘Pedro should not order her around.’ [Kroeger 1993: 190, (46), (47)]
- b. *Hindi* {✓*siya*} *kaya* *ng* *utusan* {**siya*} *ni Pedro* BCR
 not {3.SG.PTT} able C/L order.DAT {3.SG.PTT} DET Pedro
 ‘Pedro cannot order her around.’ [Kroeger 1993: 183, (32a,b)]
- c. *Hindi* *kaya* *ni Pedro* *ng* *utusan* *siya* FC
 not able det Pedro LNK order.DAT 3.SG.PTT
 ‘Pedro cannot order her around.’ [Kroeger 1993: 183, (32c)]

³ For Mercado’s account optionality of clitic climbing is problematic. Clitics must occur in the second position in the TP. Since infinitival T is deficient and incorporation always takes place, clitics should always occur in the matrix clause, independently of whether the higher or the lower copy of the incorporated verb is pronounced.

4. Phases and the EPP

Tagalog is VSO language, and following Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), I assume that the EPP is satisfied by $v+V$ -to-T movement. The technical implementation of this idea is based on the feature valuation approach proposed in Wurmbrand (2012, 2013c, 2014a): the φ -features of v are valued by the subject (under Reverse Agree); the φ -features of T are valued by the moved $v+V$. T is thus indirectly also valued by the subject, but without the subject moving to Spec,TP. Lastly, following several recent strands of research (see, for instance, den Dikken 2007, Gallego 2005, 2010, Gallego and Uriagereka 2006, Alexiadou et al. 2014), this form of head movement extends (or slides up) the vP phase to TP as in (10) (traditional head-adjunction structure is shown, but a re-projection analysis would also be possible).



Evidence for the phasal status of TP comes from Sabbagh’s (2014) recent proposal of PF lowering in certain *wh*-movement contexts in Tagalog. As shown in (11), a fronted *wh*-phrase must follow the complementizer and cannot precede it.

- (11) a. *Hindi ko alam* [CP *kung saan magsimula*]
 not I know [CP COMP where start]
 ‘I don’t know where to start.’ [Sabbagh 2014: 44, (7a)]
- b. **Hindi ko alam* [CP *saan kung magsimula*]
 not I know [CP where COMP start]
 ‘I don’t know where to start.’ [Sabbagh 2014: 44, (8)]

Sabbagh claims that this word order is not expected on the basis of the syntactic structure, but arises due to a lowering operation at PF, which is prosodically driven according to the prosodic constraints below. In this system, a prosodic word (ω) should precede a phonological phrase (ϕ), which in turn should precede an Intonational phrase (i).

- (12) a. *WhP lowering* [Sabbagh 2014: 58, (39)]
 Wh-phrases lower from Spec,CP and adjoin to TP when C is overt (= *kung*).
- b. *Weak Start*: $*(\pi_1\pi_2 \dots, \text{ where } \pi_1 > \pi_2)$ [Sabbagh 2014: 62, (45)]
 A prosodic constituent begins with a leftmost daughter that is no higher on the prosodic hierarchy than the constituent that immediately follows.

The derivations for (11) are given in (13). If there is no complementizer, the prosodic mapping is according to *Weak Start* (the *wh*-phrase, a phonological phrase, precedes the higher ranked TP, an Intonational phrase), and no adjustment is necessary. If, on the other hand, there is a complementizer, the serialization *WhP C* would violate *Weak Start* since the higher ranked phonological phrase, the *WhP*, precedes the complementizer, a lower ranked prosodic word. As a result, the *WhP* lowers below the complementizer.

- (13) a. [CP *WhP* \emptyset_C [TP ...]] \Rightarrow ϕWhP iTP
- b. [CP *WhP kung* [TP ...]] \Rightarrow ϕWhP $\omega COMP$ iTP * $\phi \gg \omega$
- Lowering \Rightarrow ~~ϕWhP~~ $\omega COMP$ ϕWhP iTP $\checkmark \omega \gg \phi$

The phase approach followed here allows us to avoid the ad hoc assumption of PF-lowering and adjunction to TP, and to derive the facts in a standard spell-out model. If TPs are phases in Tagalog, movement must proceed through the edge of TP. The examples in (11) thus have the structure in (14), where there are two copies of the *WhP*. At spell-out, one of the two copies must be chosen, and adopting Sabbah's *Weak Start* constraint, the lower copy is chosen whenever using the higher copy would violate *Weak Start*. Apparent lowering can thus be reduced to copy choice (which is prosodically driven), which provides a welcome simplification of PF-linearization.

- (14) a. $[_{CP} \{WhP\} \textit{kung} [_{TP} \{WhP\} \dots]]$ Syntax
 b. $[_{CP} \{\cancel{WhP}\} \textit{kung} [_{TP} \{WhP\} \dots]]$ PF

5. Back to infinitives

The analysis I propose in this article builds on the strengths of the previous approaches, but implements them in a different theoretical context, which will allow us to overcome the difficulties of the previous accounts and provide a solution for the puzzles mentioned.

Since Kroeger's account (in contrast to an account that assumes obligatory restructuring applying to all infinitival constructions) fares very well in accounting for the two positions of clitics in infinitival constructions and the optionality of clitic placement in certain cases, I borrow from Kroeger's account the claim that infinitival constructions involve two separate clausal domains and that the subject in an infinitival construction can be base-generated in the matrix (control) or the embedded clause (raising or control). In contrast to Kroeger's account, I maintain that there are always two clausal TP-domains and that there is no restructuring (but I do assume that the CP-domain is missing in certain infinitives). Mercado's account, on the other hand, has the advantage that it allows functional projections (such as *vP*, TP) in all infinitives but that these projections can be 'circumvented' if necessary. While, in contrast to both approaches, I reject the hypothesis that infinitival constructions involve a mono-clausal configuration or a form of complex predicate formation (i.e., I employ neither verb movement out of an infinitive, nor any clause union mechanism such as argument structure fusion), I assume that, very much like what is typically assumed for English, infinitival T in raising constructions is 'deficient' in not being able to Case license the embedded subject.⁴ This has as a consequence that in raising constructions the embedded subject must enter a dependency with the matrix T (cf. (15a)). Following current theoretical approaches, this dependency is established via Agree and only possible when the subject is accessible to matrix T—that is, the subject has not yet been spelled-out—and no competing NP occurs between T and the subject. In control constructions (cf. (15b)), the embedded subject undergoes movement to the matrix Spec,*vP* to establish the required *argument-of* relation with the matrix verb. I leave open whether in control contexts subject Case is assigned infinite internally or via the control dependency.

- (15) a. $T_{\text{Matrix}} \dots [\text{INFINITIVE} \text{ SUBJECT } T_{[-\text{Case}]}]$ Raising
 b. $\text{SUBJECT}/v \dots [\text{INFINITIVE} \text{ SUBJECT } T_{[\pm\text{Case}]}]$ Control

The raising and control dependencies must be local, and therefore to determine accessibility, the phasal status of the intervening projections needs to be established. There are two assumptions I make, which have been proposed independently for other languages. First, in Tagalog infinitival C, if projected at all, lacks phasal status.⁵ Subjunctives and infinitives, in contrast to finite CPs, are porous for various properties cross-linguistically, and a common means to derive this transparency involves the deactivation of the CP phase (see, for instance, Alboiu 2006, 2007, Wurmbrand 2013b). Second, as outlined in the previous section, due to *v+V*-movement, TPs are phases in Tagalog.

⁴ Note that I do not assume an ergative analysis of Tagalog, but a NOM-ACC Case alignment.

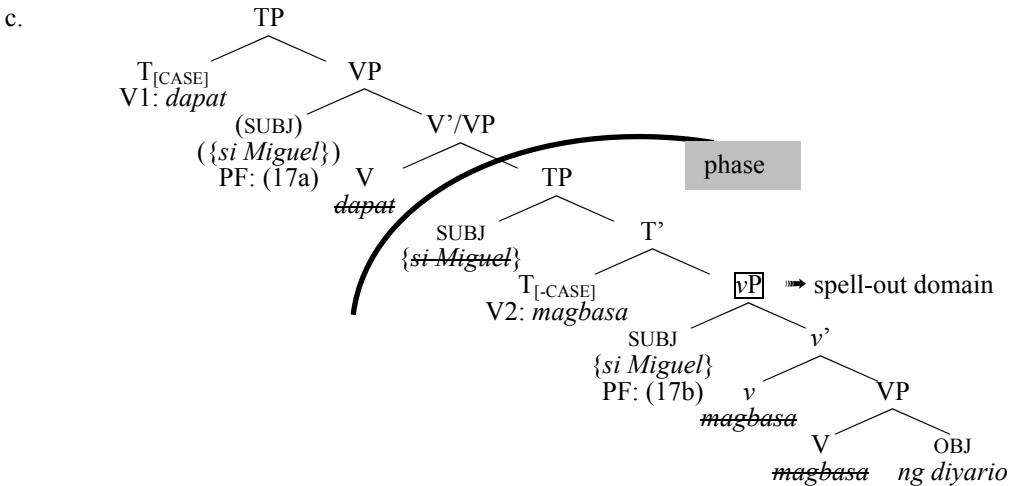
⁵ See van Urk and Richards (To appear) for a similar claim regarding certain apparent C-elements in Dinka.

For infinitival constructions, the following consequence arises. As shown in (16), for a subject embedded in an infinitive to be visible for matrix T, the subject must move at least to the specifier of the embedded TP (indicated by). Although *vP* is not a phase in Tagalog, TP is, and hence, assuming a cyclic spell-out model, *vP* is spelled-out when TP is complete. If the subject remained *vP*-internally, it would not be accessible to matrix T, since it would be spelled out as part of the *vP*, and spelled out items are inaccessible for further Move and Agree operations. (17) provides a representative pair of examples involving FR and BR and the structure proposed.

(16) T+V1 [_{vP} ... [TP=Phase T+v+V2 [_{vP} SUBJ ~~v+V~~ ...]]] infinitives

(17) a. *Dapat si Miguel (na) magbasa ng diyario* FR
 should PTT Miguel (lnk) NOM.read DET newspaper
 ‘Miguel should read a/the newspaper.’ [Kroeger 1993: 174, (16a); T. Silao, p.c.]

b. *Dapat magbasa si Miguel ng diyario* BR/Agree
 should NOM.read PTT Miguel DET newspaper
 ‘Miguel should read a/the newspaper.’ [T. Silao, p.c.]



As shown in (17c), V-to-T movement extends the embedded *vP* phase to TP, making the *vP* a spell-out domain which becomes inaccessible after the embedded TP phase is completed. To be accessible to matrix T for Case licensing, the embedded subject must move to the embedded Spec,TP. In this position, matrix T can Agree with the subject and license its Case, since in the matrix clause, too, V-to-T movement extends the *vP* phase to TP.⁶ Matrix T can thus see everything down to the embedded T, but not the (contents of the) embedded *vP*. (I stay indifferent about what features exactly are involved in structural Case licensing, assuming simply that (finite) T must Agree with the DP to license it.) Since Tagalog allows BR, pronunciation of the lower copy of the subject (i.e., the copy in the embedded Spec,*vP*) is possible, yielding the structure in (17b). Finally, to derive (17a), the subject moves further to the matrix clause (see Wurmbrand 2013c for possible motivation of this movement).⁷

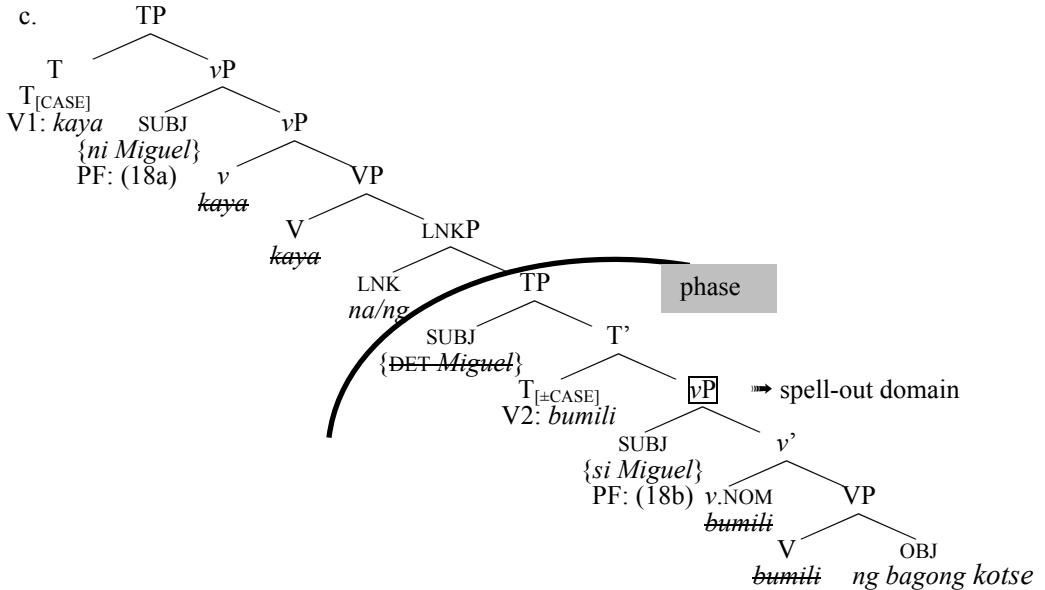
⁶ For simplicity, I give a simple VP structure for raising constructions. Note that I assume (following, among others Legate 2003, Sauerland 2003, Wurmbrand 2013b) that passive, unaccusative, and raising *vP*s are phases, which in *vP*-to-T movement languages are extended to TP.

⁷ An interesting question is whether it is also possible to spell-out the copy of the subject in the embedded Spec,TP at PF. This is difficult to show, since generally there is an adjacency requirement between the complementizer/linker element and the verb, which prohibits the order C—SUBJ-T/V (this requirement may be the result of further V-movement to C). However, Mercado (2003) notes that certain focus constructions allow material to occur between C and the verb, but the example given there involves an ECM-construction, and no data for raising infinitives are currently available. Due to the lack of data, I need to leave this question open at this point.

The examples in (1) are repeated again in (18a,b), and the structure proposed is given in (18c).

(18) a. *Kaya ni Manuel na bumili ng bagong kotse*
 able DET Manuel LNK NOM.buy DET new car
 ‘Manuel is able to buy a new car.’ [Kroeger 1993: 182, (29a)]

b. *Kaya ng bumili si Manuel ng bagong kotse*
 able LNK NOM.buy PTT Manuel DET new car
 ‘Manuel is able to buy a new car.’ [Kroeger 1993: 182, (29b)]

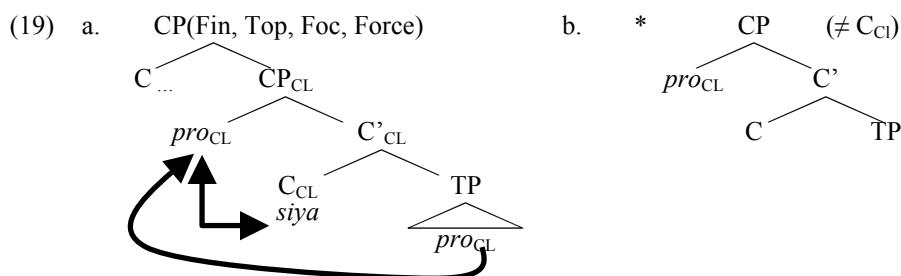


As shown, phases are again the embedded and matrix TPs due to V-to-v-to-T movement. The LNK element is not a phase head but I assume it is part of the higher vP/TP phase (note that the *ng* form always cliticizes to the previous word, showing that it is part of the prosodic domain of the matrix VP in (18)). As in raising constructions, the subject starts out in the embedded vP and raises to the embedded Spec,TP to escape spell-out of the embedded vP when TP is completed. In this position, the subject would be visible for matrix T, however, since the higher verb is a control verb, which requires an external argument, the subject cannot remain in Spec,TP, but must move and merge with *v* to establish an *argument-of* relation with the matrix predicate. Note that I do not assume that theta-roles are features, but I rather follow an approach according to which Merge relations are translated semantically as thematic relations such as *agent of* in the case of a Merge pair {DP, v.AGENT}. If a control verb like *try*, *be.able* does not merge with a DP that can be interpreted as an agent, the structure fails semantically. As is generally the case in a movement approach to control, there is no restriction against a single argument establishing more than one *argument-of* relation. Importantly, since theta relations are not features, *argument-of* relations cannot be established at a distance, and movement of a DP to the argument introducing head is required. Thus, the second step of movement in (18) is obligatory. Lastly, as in raising, there is again an option to pronounce different copies of the subject movement chain. If the lower copy is pronounced, the subject realizes the voice properties of the embedded *v*. In the example in (18), the embedded *v* Agrees with the subject (indicated as v.NOM), and the subject is hence realized with the *si* marker when the lower copy is pronounced. If the higher copy is pronounced, the subject is realized with the *ni* marker, since the modal *kaya* does not show overt voice agreement (nor any other morphology), hence the subject occurs with the non-agreeing NON-PTT form.

6. Clitic placement in finite and B(C)R constructions

Tagalog clitics are second position clitics which typically appear after the verb or certain items, such as negation, that occur in pre-verbal position (see Schachter and Otanes 1972, Kroeger 1993, *i.a.*,

for more specific definitions of second position). As argued in detail by Kroeger (1993), second position is defined within IP/TP and CP-material is not included for calculating what counts as second. I take this to show that clitics appear between TP and CP—specifically, I assume, following Sportiche (1996), that there is a clitic projection above the TP but below the lowest CP projection. Sportiche suggests that clitics are agreement heads projected as part of the clausal spine. To be associated with the correct theta-role, an argument is moved from the theta-position to the specifier of the clitic projection. The argument associated with the clitic can be overt, which is the case in clitic doubling constructions, or a covert element such as *pro*. The latter is the case in Tagalog, specifically, in clitic constructions, a *pro*_{CL} is generated in an argument position and undergoes movement to the specifier of the clitic projection. The basic structure is given in (19a). As shown, *pro*_{CL} and the clitic enter a mutual dependency: the clitic supplies agreement features for *pro*_{CL} and *pro*_{CL} acts as an operator/quantifier binding the clitic, thereby establishing the correct interpretation. In this paper, I assume that the latter property types the clitic projection as an operator projection starting the CP domain. Hence, the CP_{CL} is an A'-projection (but see Wurmbrand 2013c for a more fine-grained proposal regarding the A/A'-status of CP_{CL}). Lastly, like other quantifier movement, *pro*_{CL} is clause-bound, which I implement here as a restriction on *pro*_{CL} movement: since *pro*_{CL} is in need of establishing an agreement dependency (ultimately with the clitic) it is free to move within the A-domain of a clause, however, it can only move to the A'-domain if this leads to a successful agreement relation. Thus, A'-movement to Spec,CP_{CL} is possible, however, A'-movement to any other CP projection as in (19b) is excluded.



In this system, CP_{CL} delineates the domain in which the clitic has to occur as the second element. In the typical case, the verb appears as the first element, either via V+v+T-to-Cl movement or via a PF clitic placement rule which linearizes clitics as the second (overt) element within the CIP. Furthermore, the tense/finiteness asymmetry found in clitic climbing can be accounted for. Finite clauses are CPs as in (19b), which cannot be crossed by clitics/*pro*_{CL}, and thus the CP_{CL} must be in the embedded clause for the clitic to be licensed.

Turning to infinitives, we have seen that in BR constructions, embedded clitics can occur either in the matrix or the embedded clause, whereas in BCR constructions, only the matrix position is possible (cf. (9)). The current proposal provides an interesting account of this asymmetry. The structures for the low clitic positions are given in (20) (movement is indicated by copies, and crossed out copies are the ones not chosen at PF). There are two pieces that need to be considered in these examples: the embedded subject and the clitic. Let us start with the BR case in (20a). Although the subject is pronounced in the low position in the infinitive, this is not the position in which it can be licensed. To enter a Case dependency with matrix T, as proposed above, the subject must move to the edge of the embedded CP (for simplicity, I assume here that the top CP-projection is a phase), i.e., the clitic phrase in (20a). Being at the edge of CP_{CL} the subject is accessible to matrix T and can thus be properly Case licensed. Although Spec,CP_{CL} is an A'-position, this does not preclude Case valuation, since Case assignment to DPs in A'-positions is attested in other languages (see, for instance, Şener 2008 for arguments that Case can be assigned to an A'-position in Turkish). The structure in (20a) thus succeeds. In control constructions, on the other hand, movement of the subject to the embedded Spec,CP_{CL} is not sufficient. To establish the required *argument-of* relation with matrix *v*, the embedded subject must move on to the matrix Spec,*v*P, as indicated in (20b). This movement step, however, is problematic. Movement from Spec,CP_{CL} (an A'-position) to the matrix Spec,*v*P (an A-position) constitutes a case of *improper movement* and is thus ruled out by whatever one's favorite *improper movement* constraint is.

- (20) a. $[\text{TP-matrix } T \dots [\text{CP-CL=Phase } \textit{ni Pedro pro}_{\text{CL}} \textit{siya} [\text{TP } \dots \textit{ni Pedro pro}_{\text{CL}}]]]$ BR
 b. $*[\text{vP-matrix } \textit{ni Pedro} \dots [\text{CP-CL=Phase } \textit{ni Pedro pro}_{\text{CL}} \textit{siya} [\text{TP } \dots \textit{ni Pedro pro}_{\text{CL}}]]]$ BCR

Finally, the derivations for the high clitic positions are in (21). I propose that B(C)R constructions involve a reduced structure—the embedded clauses are bare TPs and no A'-domain is projected on top of the TP⁸. Since TP is a phase, both the *pro*_{CL} and the subject move to Spec,TP as in (21a). If the matrix predicate is a raising predicate, (21b), the subject can remain in the embedded Spec,TP and Agree with T in that position to be Case licensed. If the subject is a control predicate, (21b), the subject moves to the matrix Spec,vP to establish an *argument-of* relation with the matrix verb. Since Spec,TP is an A-position, this step of A-movement is possible and does not constitute an *improper movement* violation. In both derivations in (21b,c), the *pro*_{CL} then moves to the matrix Spec,CP_{CL} (possibly stopping over in the matrix Spec,TP) where it enters the required dependency with the clitic.

- (21) a. $[\text{VP-matrix } V1 [\text{TP-embedded=Phase } \textit{ni Pedro pro}_{\text{CL}} T+V2 [\text{vP } \textit{ni Pedro pro}_{\text{CL}}]]]$ B(C)R
 b. $[\text{CP-CL } \textit{pro}_{\text{CL}} \textit{siya} [\text{TP-matrix } T+V1 \dots [\text{TP-emb } \textit{ni Pedro pro}_{\text{CL}} T+V2 \dots]]]$ BR
 c. $[\text{CP-CL } \textit{pro}_{\text{CL}} \textit{siya} \dots [\text{vP-matrix } \textit{ni Pedro} \dots [\text{TP-emb } \textit{ni Pedro pro}_{\text{CL}} T+V2 \dots]]]$ BCR

7. Broader consequences

The analysis proposed here adds to the B(C)R approaches noted in the literature (for space reasons I cannot summarize them here; see Wurmbrand 2013c). As suggested in Wurmbrand (2013c), the rareness of B(C)R could be attributed to the universal default preference for overtly indicating a movement dependency by choosing the higher copy, which can only be overridden by special PF properties such as possibly the different PTT marking on the two copies. A further consequence suggested by the analysis here is that B(C)R is perhaps more-widespread. Given that Tagalog has been analyzed as restructuring, it may well be that certain restructuring phenomena in other languages (in particular phenomena that do not involve any voice dependencies between the matrix and embedded predicates) display B(C)R rather than restructuring.

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⁸ Omitting an A'-domain can be seen as a form of restructuring (see Wurmbrand To appear). However, the crucial point of the current paper is that the embedded clauses are full-fledged TPs with no deficient tense or voice domains, and that in the V—V—SUBJECT order the only mechanism that associates the subject with the higher predicate is via movement of the subject rather than any restructuring applying between the two clauses.

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