Raising to object in Amis*

Tingchun Chen

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Abstract

This paper investigates raising-to-object (RtO) in Amis (Formosan, Austronesian). I argue that RtO in Amis can be derived by either movement or base-generation. Phenomena that support reconstruction can distinguish the two structures once the object sits unambiguously outside the embedded clause. Moreover, I show that RtO derived by movement is topicalisation to the left edge of the embedded clause. RtO topicalisation is subject to subjacency, in contrast with another type of topicalisation. To account for this, I posit that the former is triggered by a composite A/A' probe whereas the latter involves pure A'-movement.

Abstract

Cet article étudie la montée vers l'objet (MVO) en amis (formosan, austronésien). J'avance que la MVO en amis peut être soit dérivée de déplacements, soit de la génération de base. Les phénomènes qui appuient la reconstruction peuvent distinguer les deux structures lorsque l'objet se trouve sans ambiguïté à l'extérieur de la proposition enchâssée. En outre, je montre que la MVO dérivée de déplacements est la thématisation à la limite gauche de la proposition enchâssée. La thématisation de la MVO est assujettie à la sousjacence, à la différence d'un autre type de thématisation. Afin d'expliquer ceci, je propose que ce premier soit déclenché par une sonde composite A/A', alors que ce dernier n'implique que le déplacement A'.

1 Introduction

This paper investigates raising-to-object (RtO) in Amis (Formosan, Austronesian; Hai'an dialect). (1a)[1] provides an example. In (1), the nominal thematically associated with the embedded verb sits squarely inside the embedded clause and receives nominative case (NOM). In (1b), this nominal precedes the embedded verb and receives accusative case (ACC) instead.

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[1]Abbreviations not included in the Leipzig Glossing Rules: ASP=aspectual marker, AV=actor voice, EXH=exhaustive focus, LNK=linker, P=preposition, PV=patient voice, STAT=stative, TOP=topic marker.

(1) a. Ma-fana'   kako   mi-liyas-to   **ko-ya**   **tamdaw** inacila.
         IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG IPFV.AV-leave-ASP NOM-that person   yesterday
         'I know that that person left yesterday.'

     b. Ma-fana'   kako   **to-ya**   **tamdaw** mi-liyas-to   inacila.
         IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG ACC-that person   IPFV.AV-leave-ASP yesterday

Similar phenomena have been studied in multiple languages, including many Austronesian lan-
guages (Cebuano/Kapampangan: Sells 2000; Malagasy: Pearson 2001; Paul and Rabaovololona
1998; Madurese: Davies 2005; Niuean: Massam 1985; Bejar and Massam 1999; Sundanese: Kurni-
awan 2011; Tagalog: Kroeger 1993; Law 2011; a.o.). One recurring issue concerns whether the ACC
nominal in (1b) originates inside the embedded clause or is base-generated in the matrix clause. I
argue that both strategies are available in Amis. I show that a range of phenomena suggest that
the ACC nominal can be interpreted in the embedded clause. However, once the ACC nominal is
unambiguously outside the embedded clause, these phenomena no longer hold.

    I further argue that RtO derived by movement is topicalisation to the left edge of the embedded
clause. I report a type of judgment that is not discussed in previous studies on Amis RtO (Y.
Chen 2008; V. Chen and Fukuda 2016; Liu 2011)[2] and show that this topicalisation is constrained
by subjacency: only the highest nominal may move. I posit that this topicalisation is a composite
A/A'-movement (van Urk 2015). This accounts for its mixed A/A' properties and how it differs
from another type of topicalisation that is not subject to the same subjacency constraint.

    This paper is organised as follows: §2 argues that RtO in Amis may be derived by either
movement or base-generation; §3 illustrates the topic properties of RtO derived by movement and
proposes a composite A/A'-movement analysis; §4 concludes.

2   Raising to object: two strategies

One question previous studies on RtO try to address is whether the object preceding the embedded
verb (RO henceforth, short for *raising object*) originates in the embedded clause or in the matrix
clause. (2) illustrates these two options schematically, based on (1b). In (2a), the RO originates
in the embedded clause and moves up (not necessarily out of the embedded clause, as indicated
by XP). In (2b), the RO is merged high and is associated with a *pro* in the embedded clause (cf.
prolepsis). Given that Amis is a *pro*-drop language, this *pro* in principle may be unpronounced.

(2) a. Movement: I know [$_{RO}$ that person]$_i$ [$_{XP}$ <that person>$_i$ left yesterday].
     b. Base-generation: I know [$_{RO}$ that person]$_i$ [$_{CP}$ *pro$_i$* left yesterday].

I illustrate in this section a series of phenomena which show that both options are available in Amis
and how they can be teased apart. In addition, the behaviour of RtO out of a finite clause is largely
identical to that of RtO out of a gerund, though for reasons of space, I will only include one example
of RtO out of an embedded gerund. This offers evidence for parallel treatment of NOM subjects of
finite clauses and genitive (GEN) subjects of gerunds.

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[2]These studies report that only NOM nominals may undergo RtO. This accords with another type of speaker
judgment I found. See §3 for more discussion. These works differ in where the ACC nominal originates and whether
some type of movement is involved. For reasons of space, I will discuss differences only when they are relevant.

We start with two pairs of examples that illustrate most clearly that in a RtO construction, the RO can be associated with the embedded and the matrix clause simultaneously. First, I argued elsewhere[3] that in finite clauses and gerunds in Amis, case assignment applies twice to all the arguments and multiple cases are pronounced only when a nominal is a contrastive topic (CT). In both (3a)-(4a) below, when the RO is a CT, it appears with three cases: ACC on top of the two cases assigned in the embedded clause/gerund. In addition, these ROs can further topicalise to the left edge of the matrix clause, as in (3b)-(4b) (*i* is a topic marker). (3)-(4) suggest that RtO can be derived by movement, as in (2a). A more precise implementation of (2a) will be presented in §3.

(3)   a.   Ma-fana'   kako   **to-ko-ni**   **Panay** mi-tefing   to   siri.
           IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG ACC-NOM-GEN PN   IPFV.AV-touch ACC goat
           'I know that [Panay]$_{CT}$ is touching [(a) goat(s))]$_{EXH}$.'

      b.   **To-ko-ni Panay** i, ma-fana' kako mi-tefing to siri.

(4)   a.   Faheka   kako   **to-no-ni**   **Panay** to   pi-tefing to   siri.
           surprised NOM.1SG ACC-GEN-GEN PN   ACC AV-touch ACC goat
           'I'm surprised at [Panay's]$_{CT}$ touching [(a) goat(s)]$_{EXH}$.'

      b.   **To-no-ni Panay** i, faheka kako to pi-tefing to siri.

2.1   Distinguishing movement and base-generation

The rest of this section offers more evidence for (2a) and demonstrates that (2b) is also possible. I will disambiguate the two structures by adding two high temporal adjuncts, one associated with the matrix clause and another with the embedded clause, as in (5) schematically.[4] Specifically, in (5) (and in the Amis examples that follow), *today* modifies the matrix clause and *yesterday* modifies the embedded clause. We will see that when a RO follows *today*, the diagnostics we will apply show that it originates inside the embedded clause, whereas when a RO precedes *today*, all of these diagnostics fail. For ease of reference, I will call a post-*today* RO *low RO* (merged in the embedded clauses and moved up) and a pre-*today* RO *high RO* (base-generated in the matrix clause).

(5)   I know {[HIGH.RO that person]} [today] {[LOW.RO that person]} left yesterday.

First, (6b) shows that a low RO preserves the idiomatic reading that is available in (6a). On the other hand, with a high RO, as in (6b), the idiomatic reading is lost.

(6)   **Idiom preservation**
      a.   Ma-fana'   kako   anini o   fali **ko sowal no-ra**   **tamdaw** inacila.
           IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG today PRED wind NOM word   GEN-that person   yesterday
           'I know today that that person's words yesterday are meaningless (lit. are wind).'

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[3] Please refer to Chen (to appear) for details. For the purpose of this paper, the most important thing is that the inner two cases in (3)-(4) are assigned in the embedded clause/gerund.

[4] Temporal adjuncts can in fact also appear at the beginning of a clause. In the Amis examples below, in principle, the first adjunct should be able to be associated with the embedded clause and the second one with the matrix clause. However, if this is possible, it is a marked interpretation that did not interfere with the diagnostics as intended.

   b.   Ma-fana'   kako   ‹anini› **to sowal no-ra**   **tamdaw** o   fali   inacila.
          IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG today ACC word GEN-that person   PRED wind yesterday

   c. #Mafana' kako **to sowal nora tamdaw** ‹anini› o fali inacila.

Second, wh-words with the regular final stress is ambiguous between an interrogative reading and an existential reading, given an appropriate environment. The licensing environment of existential wh-indefinites in Amis can be described as polarity-sensitive (Hengeveld et al. 2018). It is not possible in an affirmative, as (7a) shows. The existential reading becomes available when the wh-word scopes under negation, one of the licensors, as in (7b).

(7)   **Existential wh-indefinites are licensed under negation**

   a.   *Mi-asip   ko   cimá to   codad ni   Panay i matini.
          IPFV.AV-read NOM who ACC book GEN PN   P now
          Intended: 'Someone is reading Panay's book(s) now.' (* for the existential reading only)

   b.   Caay pi-asip ko   cimá to   codad ni   Panay i matini.
          NEG AV-read NOM who ACC book GEN PN   P now
          'No one is reading Panay's book(s) now.'

Applying this diagnostic to RtO, as in (8b), we found that even though on the surface, a low RO precedes the embedded negation, it can still be interpreted as an existential wh-indefinite under the negation. The sentence becomes ungrammatical with a high RO, as (8c) shows.

(8)   a.   Ma-fana'   kako   anini caay pi-liyas **ko**   **cimá** inacila.
          IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG today NEG AV-leave NOM who   yesterday
          'I know today that no one left yesterday.'

   b.   Ma-fana'   kako   ‹anini› **to**   **cimá** caay pi-liyas   inacila.
          IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG today ACC who   NEG AV-leave yesterday

   c.   *Mafana' kako **to cimá** ‹anini› caay piliyas inacila. (* for the existential reading only)

Third, modifiers can float and receive the same case as its head in Amis (data not included). (9a) shows that *mafola'ay* 'stupid' can modify a proper name directly. (9b) shows that a low RO can be associated with a NOM-marked modifier in the embedded clause. This is not possible with a high RO, as in (9c).[5] (9b) in addition shows that the low RO has already received case (NOM at least) before it moves up. This is consistent with the case-stacking example we saw before in (3).

(9)   **Floating modifiers**

   a.   ... anini mi-liyas-to   **ko-ya**   **ma-fola'-ay**   **ci**   **Mayaw** inacila.
          today IPFV.AV-leave-ASP NOM-that IPFV.STAT-stupid-REL NOM PN   yesterday
          '(I know) today that that stupid Mayaw left yesterday.'

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[5]Floating numeral quantifiers (FNQ) are also possible in Amis, but curiously, do not differentiate the two structures. I don't have an account for this now, but FNQs and modifiers do have different distributions independently.

b. Ma-fana'   kako   ‌anini‌ **ci   Mayaw-an** mi-liyas-to   **ko-ya**
    IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG today ACC PN-ACC   IPFV.AV-leave-ASP NOM-that
    ma-fola'-ay   inacila.
    IPFV.STAT-stupid-REL yesterday

c. *Mafana' kako **ci Mayawan** ‌anini‌ miliyasto **koya mafola'ay** inacila.

Last, the base-generation structure in (2b) might lead one to expect that with a high RO, it should be possible to have a co-referential pronoun in the embedded clause. What we find is in fact the opposite. As (10a)-(10b) show, it is possible to have a resumptive pronoun in the embedded clause with a low RO, but not with a high RO. Not all A'-movements in Amis permit resumption. Relativisation, including argument wh-questions, do not license resumption when no island intervenes. Topicalisation, on the other hand, does allow resumption, regardless of islands. For instance, in the case-stacking examples in (3b) and (4b), the topicalised case-stacked nominal can co-occur with a resumptive pronoun showing matching stacked cases. Resumption is also possible with another type of topicalisation, *o*-topicalisation, which we will see in §3. In fact, in §3, I will show that low ROs must indeed be topics. Given this and the data above which suggest that low ROs originate inside the embedded clause, it is reasonable to posit that it arrives at its surface position by topicalisation. As a result, that resumption is licensed in (10a) is expected. However, it is unclear why a co-referential pronoun in the embedded clause is ruled out with high ROs. Given that data on reflexive binding, to be discussed shortly, suggest that a *pro* is present syntactically, I tentatively attribute (10b) to constraints on when *pro* cannot be pronounced.

(10) **Resumptive pronouns**

a. … ‌anini‌ [**to-ya   tamdaw**]$_i$ mi-liyas-to   **cingra**$_i$ inacila.
        today ACC-that person   IPFV.AV-eave-ASP NOM.3SG yesterday
    '(I know) today that [that person]$_i$, s/he$_i$ left yesterday.'

b. Mafana' kako [**toya tamdaw**]$_i$ ‌anini‌ miliyasto (***cingra**$_i$) inacila.

2.2   Movement and base-generation are not always distinct

I discuss two environments where the movement and the base-generation structures in (2) do not behave differently. First, (11a) establishes that a matrix subject cannot bind a reflexive pronoun in the embedded object. Next, (11b)-(11c) show that low and high ROs can both bind an embedded reflexive, even though they precede the embedded verb. (11b) is expected given the discussion in §2.1. I suggest that that (11c) is also possible is evidence for the presence of *pro* in the embedded clause. That is, even though the behaviour of the two structures in (2) converge with respect to binding an embedded reflexive, they should nevertheless be accounted for differently.

(11) **Binding of an embedded reflexive**

a. Ma-fana'   ci   Panay$_i$ mi-komimit   ci   Mayaw$_j$ cingraan-to$_{*i/j}$.
    IPFV.STAT--know NOM PN   IPFV.AV-pinch NOM PN   ACC.3SG-REFL
    'Panay$_i$ knows that Mayaw$_8$ is pinching himself$_{*i/j}$.'

b. ... kako | anini | **ci** **Mayaw-an** mi-komimit   cingraan-to   inacila.
       NOM.1SG today ACC PN-ACC   IPFV.AV-pinch ACC.3SG-REFL yesterday
    'I (know) today that Mayaw pinched himself yesterday.'

c. Mafana' kako **ci Mayawan** | anini | mikomimit cingraanto inacila.

Whether movement occurs or not is a major difference between the two structures in (2). We might expect that the base-generation structure (i.e. high ROs but not low ROs) should be insensitive to islands. This has indeed been used as evidence for a prolepsis analysis (e.g. Davies 2005; Kurniawan 2011). However, (12) below shows that both low and high ROs are sensitive to islands.[6] Nevertheless, in English at least, prolepsis does not seem to be uniformly insensitive to islands. For instace, native speakers consulted did not all accept examples such as, *I know of [the coffee]$_j$ that the person who bought it$_j$ has left*. In absence of a better understanding of prolepsis and island sensitivity, I put this issue aside for now.

(12) *Ma-fana'   kako   **to kafey** mi-liyas-to   **[ko-ya** **mi-'aca-ay**   <**to**
      IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG ACC coffee IPFV.AV-leave-ASP NOM-that IPFV.AV-buy-REL ACC
      kafey> **a**   **tamdaw]**.
      coffee   LNK person
      Intended: 'I know that (the) coffee, the person who bought (it) left' or
      'I know *of/??about (the) coffee that that person who bought (it) left.'

To sum up briefly, I demonstrated that RtO in Amis can be derived by movement out of an embedded clause or by base-generating a RO in the matrix clause. The diagnostics that require interpretation in the embedded clause reliably rule out the base-generation structure (i.e. high RO). In §3, I show that in Amis, topichood is another property that distinguishes the two structures in (2).[7]

3   Raising-to-Object derived by movement is topicalisation

We saw above in (10) that resumption is only possible with low ROs. I mentioned that resumption is generally possible with topicalisation in Amis. Below I show that low ROs must indeed be topics.

First, as (13) shows, low ROs, but not high ROs, can be followed by the topic marker *i*.

(13) **Topic marker *i***

a. Ma-fana'   ci   Panay | anini | **to-ya**   **waco i**, mi-limek   inacila.
    IPFV.STAT-know NOM PN   today ACC-that dog   TOP IPFV.AV-hide yesterday
    'Panay knows today that that dog, (it) hid yesterday.'

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[6]I assume that the * on (12) indicates that it is incompatible with either structure in (2). RtO out of coordination is also ruled out, but can be repaired by resumption. V. Chen and Fukuda (2016) reported that RtO in Amis is insensitive to adjunct islands or complex DP islands, and this supports base-generation. However, their example of RtO out of an embedded adjunct island can potentially be interpreted as two separate clauses with the subject (the posited RO) in the embedded adjunct *pro*-dropped. (12), on the other hand, would be senseless if the embedded clause is a separate clause and the object in the relative clause is simply dropped. In addition, their example of complex DP islands involves an atypical head-initial relative clause that is usually rejected by my consultants (and the entire complex DP is somehow not case-marked). It is difficult to draw a conclusion based on these.

[7]That ROs must be topics is also found in Tsez (Polinsky and Potsdam 2001) and Turkish (Wurmbrand 2018).

   b. *Mafana' ci Panay **toya waco i** ⎡anini⎤ milimek inacila.

In addition, (14b) shows that when a RO is associated with a nominal introduced by an existential construction, it cannot be marked by *i*. Existential construction is often used to express thetic (topicless) judgments. Based on (13) above, I assume that when a RO is marked by *i*, it is a low RO. That (14b) cannot co-occur with *i* is expected if low ROs are always topics.

(14) **Existential construction**

   a. Ma-fana'   kako ira i parad **ko** **codad**.
     IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG exist P table NOM book
     'I know there are books on the table.'

   b. Ma-fana'   kako **to** **codad (*i)** ira i parad.
     IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG ACC book TOP exist P table

Last, (15) shows that low ROs are incompatible with interrogative wh-words.[8] This again suggests that low ROs must be topics.[9]

(15) **Interrogative wh-words**

   a. *Ma-fana'   kiso ⎡anini⎤ **to cimá-an** mi-liyas-to   inacila?
     IPFV.STAT-know NOM.2SG today ACC who-ACC IPFV.AV-leave-ASP yesterday
     Intended: 'Who do you know today that left yesterday?'

   b. Mafana' kiso **to cimáan** ⎡anini⎤ miliyasto inacila?

The discussion above suggests that low ROs are topics. Based on this, I posit that low ROs are merged as arguments in the embedded clause and arrive at the surface position by topicalisation to the left edge of the embedded clause. This explains why low ROs can be interpreted inside the embedded clause, why they must follow adjuncts associated with the matrix clause, and their sensitivity to islands. In addition, sitting at the edge of the embedded clause, low ROs are visible to case assignment in the matrix clause and may further topicalise to the edge of the matrix clause, as in (3b)-(4b) above. Moreover, given that high ROs must precede adjuncts associated with the matrix clause and cannot reconstruct into the embedded clause, I posit that high ROs are base-generated in the matrix clause and are associated with an embedded *pro* through a prolepsis structure. Note that (13) does not preclude high ROs from being topics. (13b) is ruled out because matrix topics, at least those marked by *i*, must appear at the left edge.

  In the remainder of this paper, I will focus on low ROs and introduce another type of topicalisation. Based on their differences, I posit that low ROs involve composite A/A'-movement whereas the other type of topicalisation is pure A'-movement.

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[8]Wh-in-situ is possible in Amis. Wh-words with penultimate stress are ambiguously interrogative, unlike those with final stress. Penultimate stress is regularly found with focused elements in Amis, but other than interrogative wh-words, these are typically expressed with a (pseudo-)cleft and thus, cannot be used to test RtO as easily.

[9]Low ROs also cannot be non-referential generalised quantifiers, e.g. *mámang a sito* 'few LNK students.' This is also a diagnostic for topichood used in Reinhart (1981) and Constant (2014).

3.1 Composite A/A'-movement

Previous studies on Amis and other Austronesian languages often reported that only NOM nominals (or their referential equivalents in other works) may undergo RtO. This is true for all of the examples we have seen so far. (16) in addition shows that the ACC nominal cannot undergo RtO. Given that this NOM-only constraint is typical of A'-movement in Formosan and Philippine-type Austronesian languages, this has led some to posit that RtO involves A'-movement (e.g. Sells 2000, a.o.).

(16) *. . . **to-ya**   **cecay a**   **codad** mi-asip   ci   Panay inacila.
          ACC-that one   LNK book   IPFV.AV-read NOM PN   yesterday
    Intended: '(I know) that that book, Panay read (it) yesterday.'

NOM-only RtO does not hold for every Amis speaker, however. For some, only the highest nominal in the embedded clause/gerund may undergo RtO. The two types of judgments converge on Actor Voice clauses, where the highest nominal is also NOM. They differ on non-Actor Voice clauses, where the highest[10] nominal (subject) is GEN and NOM goes to a lower argument. For example, in a Patient Voice clause, as in (17a)-(17b), the "highest-only" speakers allow the embedded GEN subject, but not the NOM object, to undergo RtO (the grammaticality marking in (17) reflects this judgment). The pattern is the exact opposite for the NOM-only speakers.[11]

(17) a. Ma-fana'   kako   **ci Panay-an** asip-en ko-ya   cecay a   codad.
          IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG ACC PN-ACC   read-PV NOM-that one   LNK book
        'I know that Panay, (she) read that book.'

    b. *Ma-fana'   kako   **to-ya**   **cecay a**   **codad** asip-en (ni   Panay).
          IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG ACC-that one   LNK book   read-PV (GEN PN)
        Intended: 'I know that that book, Panay read (it).'

The following discussion concentrates on the "highest-only" type of judgment, which seems to have gone unnoticed in previous works on Amis RtO. Note that applying the existential wh-indefinite diagnostic discussed in (8) to (17a) shows that the RO in (17a) can reconstruct. That is, this "highest-only" pattern is not an exception to be attributed to a base-generation structure.

    Amis has another type of topicalisation, which I will call *o*-topicalisation. As (18) shows, *o*-topicalisation is not limited to the highest nominal. In (18a), the ACC object topicalises across the NOM subject. In (18b), the NOM object topicalises across the GEN subject.[12] The highest nominals can still undergo *o*-topicalisation (data not included). In addition, *o*-topics, unlike and RtO topics, are not case-marked. The contrast between these two types of topicalisation can be

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[10]Data on Condition C and bound pronominal variable show that regardless of voice and case, subjects always c-command objects in Amis. In addition, unlike Malagasy and Tagalog, NOM nominals in Amis do not establish a new binding relationship (Pearson 2005; Richards 2000). There is also no definiteness or specificity restriction on NOM nominals. Therefore, positing that in non-AV clauses, NOM non-agents must move across agents is unmotivated.

[11]This bifurcation applies to RtO only. For all, relativsation and argument wh-extraction are NOM-only. Another topicalisation, *o*-topicalisation, to be discussed below, exhibits yet another pattern. For one type of speaker, *o*-topicalisation can apply to any nominal, regardless of case. For another, *o*-topicalisation freely applies to NOM nominals. It can apply to GEN subjects (of PV clauses) but this requires resumption. It can also apply to ACC objects (of AV clauses), but only when they are non-human. That is, for both types of speaker, in terms of what can move, there are three types of movement.

characterised as a difference between A'-movement and mixed A/A'-movement. RtO topicalisation is mixed in the sense that RtO topics receive an additional case and are constrained by subjacency. At the same time, RtO topicalisation can be long-distance (e.g. (3b)-(4b)) and licenses resumption.
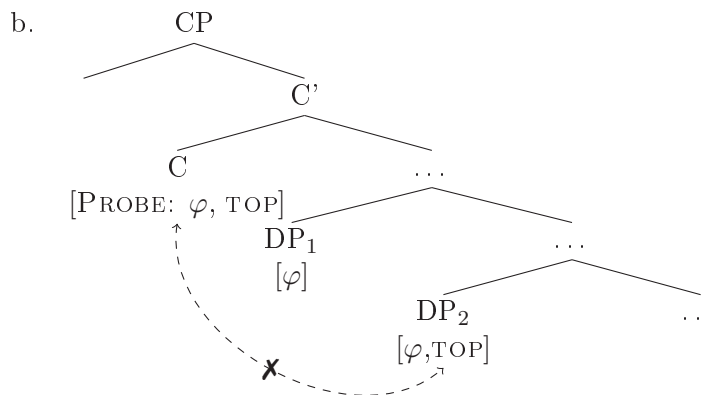
(18)   **O-topicalisation**

    a.   ... **o-ya**   **cecay a**   **codad** mi-asip   ci   Panay inacila.
            PRED-that one   LNK book   IPFV.AV-read NOM PN   yesterday
            '(I know that) that book, Panay read (it) yesterday.' (cf. (16))

    b.   Ma-fana'   kako   **o-ya**   **cecay a**   **codad** asip-en ni   Panay.
            IPFV.STAT-know NOM.1SG PRED-that one   LNK book   read-PV GEN PN
            'I know that that book, Panay read (it).' (cf. (17b))

To capture the contrast between the two types of topicalisation, I posit that RtO topicalisation is triggered by a composite probe [PROBE:φ,TOP] in C, as in (19a). I also adopt the idea that movement involves a two-step procedure (Chomsky 2000 et seq.): a probe first finds the closest XP with matching features (dotted line) and attracts XP to its specifier. In (19a), the probe finds the highest DP, which bears matching features, and fronts it. In (19b), the lower DP bears fully matching features. However, the higher DP, a partially matching goal, intervenes. Following Erlewine (in press), I posit that a partially matching goal disrupts the probe's search and the derivation fails as a result. (19a)-(19b) together account for RtO topicalisation's subjacency requirement found with the "highest-only" type of speaker. I further posit that o-topicalisation is triggered by a pure A' probe [PROBE:TOP]. As a result, an intervening DP without [TOP] is simply skipped. Therefore, o-topicalisation may attract any nominal. Last, attributing the difference between the two types of topicalisation to different featural makeups of probes offers a potential explanation for why only RtO topics receive an additional case, if we correlate Agree with a φ probe with the possibility/necessity of overt morphological case (cf. Rezac 2003). A meaningful discussion along this line will need to consider case behaviour in simplex clauses. This goes beyond the scope of this paper.

(19)   a.

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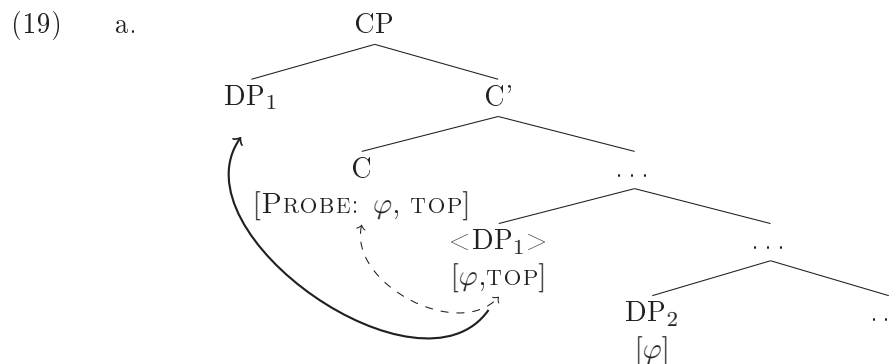
[12]This pattern also does not apply to every speaker, as described in footnote 11.

b.

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                    CP
                   /  \
                      C'
                    /   \
                   C      ...
        [Probe: φ, top]  /  \
                       DP₁        ...
                       [φ]       /  \
                            DP₂       ...
                          [φ,top]
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4 Conclusion

To summarise, I demonstrated that Raising-to-Object in Amis can be derived by two strategies: (i) topicalisation to the edge of the embedded clause or (ii) base-generating an object in the matrix clause and associating it with *pro* in the embedded clause. I showed that when a RO is unambiguously outside the embedded clause, all the diagnostics indicate unavailability of reconstruction. Moreover, I discussed how RtO topicalisation differs from *o*-topicalisation with respect to subjacency and case-marking. To account for this, I posited that RtO topicalisation is triggered by a composite A/A'-probe and that a partially matching goal cannot be attracted but nevertheless intervenes.

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