1. Overview

What is hyper-raising (HR)? Raising of the subject of an embedded finite clause into the matrix clause

1.1 Brazilian Portuguese: HR to subject

a. Parece que o João comprou um carro.
   seems [compró o João a coisa] [a car]

b. O João parece que comprou um carro.
   João seems [compró um carro] [a car]

1.2 Other languages: Lubukusu, Zulu

2. Hyper-raising involves raising

Reconstruction is possible

(4) Dois soldados parecem que morrem em todas as batalhas. [\(\Rightarrow\) every=two]
   Two soldiers seem to die in every battle.

   Compare copy-raising:

(5) Two soldiers seem like they die in every battle. [\(\Rightarrow\) every=two]

Idioms are preserved

(6) Dorj čangaar bat-im núd-īg orse deer-e ear-saŋ gīi-hū-dorj. [\(\Rightarrow\) Dorj loudly
   Bat-gen eye-acc top on-smart climb-3pl comp say-3pl
   ‘Dorj said loudly that Bat is good and noble.’

   Compare prolepsis:

(7) Mary knows about the cat that it is/it is out of the bag. (\(\Rightarrow\) literal only)

3. A solution to the PIC problem

Proposition: HR is a stepwise movement that targets first the edge of the embedded clause, then the matrix clause.

(8) \[ CP \rightarrow T / v \ldots [\left[ \ldots [\left[ DP \text{COMP}_A \ldots \text{COMP}_B \ldots ] \ldots ] \ldots ] \ldots ] \]
   \[ \ldots \]
   \[ \ldots \]
   \[ \ldots \]
   By the PIC, being at the edge of the embedded clause, the embedded subject is visible to the matrix T or v.

Is there evidence that [Spec, CP] really is relevant in the derivation of HR? Yes, from medial-raising:

Medial-raising: when the “hyper-raised” DP receives case (acc) from a matrix source, but staying inside the embedded clause all the while.

4. Medial-raising in Mongolian

Reflexive possessive -e must be locally bound.

   Bat loud-instr [sister-instr ACC REFLEX POSS] converge-with comp say-3pl int.
   ‘Bat said loudly that his [own] sister is wonderful.’

   ‘Bat said loudly that his [own] sister is wonderful.’

   Bat sister-instr ACC REFLEX POSS loud-instr sister-instr ACC REFLEX POSS converge-with comp say-3pl
   ‘Bat said loudly that his [own] sister is wonderful.’

   ‘Bat tomorrow sister-instr ACC REFLEX POSS come-NP comp say-3pl
   ‘Bat said that his [own] sister is coming tomorrow.

5. Interaction with long distance scrambling in Mongolian

Medial-raising seems to be possible. What happens when the ACC surfaces in the matrix clause?

   Bat Dorj ACC loud-INSTR [good noble comp say-3pl
   ‘Bat said loudly that Dorj is good and noble.’

Proposition: optional scrambling from [Spec, CP] into the matrix clause.

But: long-distance scrambling is not possible in Mongolian.

   ‘Bat [Dorj NOM] loud-INSTR [Dorj NOM] good noble comp say-3pl
   ‘Bat said loudly that Dorj is good and noble.’

b. ‘Dorj’ / Bat [\(\Rightarrow\) ‘Dorj’] [Dulmaa-d nom-00 og-sŏn gēj] med-n.
   ‘Bat knows that Dorj gave his book to Dulmaa.

   ‘Dulmaa-d’ / Bat give-PST comp loud-INSTR say-PST
   ‘Bat said loudly that Dorj gave his book to Dulmaa.

Proposition: LD scrambling not possible. ACC DPs seemingly LD scramble, but they in fact move to [Spec,CP] first. From there, it can move into the matrix clause, overriding a ban on LD scrambling.

If correct, this analysis lends further support to the relevance of [Spec,CP] in the derivation of HR.

6. HR as a type of A-movement

Agreement in BP (A-movement does not trigger agreement):

(14) a. As crianças parece-m [\(\Rightarrow\) come-m in doce]
   The children seem-want [come-to-sweet] candy.
   ‘The children seem to have eaten candy.’

Creation of new antecedents for binding in Japanese:

   They-ACC, each other-GEN, teacher-NOM [\(\Rightarrow\) flower-look-at] think-think.
   ‘Them, each other’s, teachers think if it, as fools.

Passivization in Korean (and Japanese)

(16) Chelswu-k:s [\(\Rightarrow\) ttoktokkaka-tako] [mit-e]-ci-n-ta.
   Chelswu-NOM ([\(\Rightarrow\) an-1st]-passive-ACC) believe-PST-ACC.
   ‘Chelswu is believed to be smart.’

These are signature properties of A-movement. If HR involves movement to [Spec, CP], this must also be an A-position.

7. HR of lower arguments across the subject

In Kipisis (and Imbhabura Quechua), a lower argument can raise across the embedded subject.

Additional minimality problem

(17) a. mıc: ĕ Mu:sá [k:til Kiplangat pêndiŋ]
   wants Musa [\(\Rightarrow\) till Kiplangat cut the meat]
   ‘Musa wants that Kiplangat cut the meat.’

b. mıc: ĕ Mu:sá pêndiŋ [k:til Kiplangat]
   wants Musa meat [\(\Rightarrow\) till cut Kiplangat]
   ‘Musa wants that Kiplangat cut the meat.’

c. mıc: pêndiŋ Mu:sá [k:til Kiplangat]
   wants meat [\(\Rightarrow\) till cut Kiplangat]
   ‘Musa wants that Kiplangat cut the meat.’

Locality:

(18) *s:me-si-um k:til yâ: Mu:sá [k:til-in Kiplangat cö:nd]
   want-2s [\(\Rightarrow\) till in Kiplangat] cuss.
   1s-want-2s [\(\Rightarrow\) make Musa] 3s-cut-2s Kiplangat int.: ‘I want that Musa make Kiplangat cut you.’

   Compare preprospects:

(19) I know of Mary; [\(\Rightarrow\) that John said that she; is the best candidate for he job].

Inactivity of agents of passives

(20) a. pê:nú kí-kà-ki-tíl Mù:sá. [\(\Rightarrow\) cut meat top-pass-cut Musa]
   ‘The meat was cut by Musa.’

   Musa cut meat top-pass-cut int.: ‘The meat was cut by Musa.

c. Mıc: Kiplangat [k:til pê:nú]
   want meat [\(\Rightarrow\) till cut Kiplangat]
   1s-want Kiplangat [\(\Rightarrow\) pass-cut int.]
   ‘I want the meat to be cut by Kiplangat.

Proposal: HR in Kipisis is derived by a composite A\(\Rightarrow\)CP-probe in C.

(21) \[ cp \rightarrow T / v \ldots [\left[ \ldots [\left[ DP \text{COMP}_A \ldots \text{COMP}_B \ldots ] \ldots ] \ldots ] \ldots ] \]
   \[ \ldots \]
   \[ \ldots \]
   Embedded subject can be skipped over if it doesn’t have the matching A\(\Rightarrow\)CP-faces. No minimality problem.

(17-b)(17-c) fall out from the proposal that HR is triggered by features in C, in combination with the possibility of composite probes.

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