

# Hyperraising

LING 252 · Ethan Poole · 17 February 2022

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## 1 Carstens & Diercks 2013

### 1.1 Data

\* *Hyperraising construction in Luyia (Bantu)*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1/2/3/... = noun class

#### (1) Lubukusu

- a. Ka-lolekhana (mbo) babaandu ba-kwa  
6SA-seem (that) 2people 2SA.PST-fall<sup>1</sup>  
'It seems that the people fell.'
- b. babaandu ba-lolekhana (mbo) ba-kwa  
2people 2SA-seem (that) 2SA.PST-fall  
'The people seem like they fell/The people seem to have fallen.'

#### (2) Lusaamia

- a. Bi-bonekhana koti Ouma a-kusa enyumba eyaye [Lusaamia]  
8SA-appear that 1SA-sell 9house 9POSS  
'It appears that Ouma is selling his house.'
- b. Ouma a-bonekhana (koti) a-kusa enyumba eyaye  
1SA-appear (that) 1SA-sell 9house 9POSS  
'Ouma appears as if he's selling his house/Ouma appears to be selling his house.'

#### • *Embedded clause is non-defective*

Unlike previously reported cases of hyperraising (as of 2013), the embedded clause is an ordinary finite clause, not subjunctive or defective. It exhibits the full range of tense and agreement possibilities:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> FP = far past  
RP = recent past

#### (3) Lubukusu

- a. Efula e-lolekhana e-kw-ile  
9rain 9SA-seem 9SA-rain-FP  
'It seems to have rained'  
[Lit: Rain seems that has fallen]
- b. Efula e-lolekhana y-a-kw-ile  
9rain 9SA-seem 9SA.RP-fall-PST  
'It seems to have rained'  
[Lit: Rain seems that has fallen]

#### (4) Lusaamia

- Efula yi-bonekhana i-na-kwa muchiri (FUT = Future)  
9rain 9SA-appear 9SA-FUT-fall tomorrow  
'It seems that it will rain tomorrow'  
[Lit: Rain seems will fall tomorrow]

• **Subject can “reconstruct”<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>3</sup> As discussed below, they don’t provide any explicit evidence for reconstruction.

- Both Lubukusu and Lusaamia are null subject languages. Thus, the hyperraising construction could plausibly involve copy raising, rather than genuine A-raising:

- (5) a. Alex<sub>1</sub> seems \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub> to be sick. *Raising*  
 b. Alex<sub>1</sub> seems like she<sub>1</sub> is sick. *Copy raising*

- The two possibilities can be teased apart by looking at the interpretation. In the copy-raising construction (in English), the matrix subject must be the “perceptual source”. This is not required in the hyperraising construction:

- (6) Context: I look in the refrigerator only to find that it is empty.  
 a. It seems that somebody has eaten all the food!  
 b. Somebody seems to have eaten all the food!  
 c. #Somebody seems like they have eaten all the food!

(7) **Lubukusu**

Scenario: You don’t see any animals in the game park.

- a. Ka-lolekhana mbo chisaang’i chi-kona  
 6SA-seem that 10animal 10SA-sleep.PRES  
 ‘It seems that the animals are sleeping.’

- b. Chisaang’i chi-lolekhana chi-kona  
 10animal 10SA-seem 10SA-sleep.PRES  
 ‘The animals seem to be sleeping.’

(8) **Lusaamia**

Scenario: You find that the watering hole is empty.

- a. Bi-bonekhana koti eng’ombe chi-ng’were amachi  
 8SA-appear that 10cow 10SA-drink 6water  
 ‘It appears that the cows drank the water’

- b. Eng’ombe chi-bonekhana chi-ng’were amachi  
 10cow 10SA-appear 10SA-drink 6water  
 ‘The cows appear to have drunk the water’

⇒ While copy raising is possible, at least *some* hyperraising constructions involve genuine A-raising.

• **Evidence for A-movement?**

- Carstens and Diercks’s comparison with copy raising is a natural-class argument. They assume that because the hyperraising construction does not pattern like copy raising, it must be A-raising.

⇒ However, they do not provide any positive evidence in favor of A-movement. It could be, for example, be (finite) control or prolepsis.

- **Complementizers**

- In Lusaamia, all complementizers block hyperraising:

- (9) a. Eng'ombe chi-bonekhana koti chi-ng'were amachi  
 10cow 10SA-appear that 10SA-drink 6water  
 'The cows appear as if they have drunk the water'  
*No reconstructed reading*

- In Lubukusu, *mbo* 'that' allows hyperraising across it, but the agreeing complementizer *-li* does not:

- (10) Chisaang'i chi-lolekhana mbo chi-kona  
 10animal 10SA-seem that 10SA-sleep.PRS  
 'The animals seem to be sleeping.'  
*Reconstructed reading generally accepted*

- (11) \*Mikaeli a-lolekhana a-li a-si-kona  
 Michael 1SA-seem that 1SA-PERS-sleep  
 'Michael seems to be still sleeping.'


## 1.2 Analysis

- \* **Basic idea**

Hyperraising cannot occur out of phases.


- **No complementizer = No CP**

In both Lubukusu and Lusaamia, when there is no complementizer, the finite clause is a TP, rather than a (phasal) CP:

- (12) DP seem [TP \_\_\_\_ T VP ]  


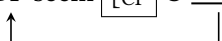
- **'mbo' = Nonphasal CP**

In Lubukusu, *mbo* heads a *defective* CP that is crucially not a phase. Thus, raising out of it does not violate the PIC:

- (13) DP seem [CP mbo \_\_\_\_ T VP ]  


- **Other complementizers = Phasal CP**

All complementizers in Lusaamia and the agreeing complementizer *-li* in Lubukusu project an ordinary phasal CP. Thus, raising out of it violates the PIC:

- (14) \*DP seem [CP C \_\_\_\_ T VP ]  


- **Copy raising**

When the CP is phasal, copy raising is possible:

- (15) DP<sub>1</sub> seem [CP C pro<sub>1</sub> T VP ]

- **Activity Condition**

- Much of Carstens and Diercks (2013) is concerned with the Activity Condition, because the hyperraising construction would appear to violate it.

(16) **ACTIVITY CONDITION**

A DP whose case feature is valued becomes inactive and thereby unable to undergo subsequent A-processes.

- This discussion assumes that the Activity Condition is needed to rule out hyper-raising in English and other languages.
- We know, however, that the Activity Condition is not sufficiently general to account for attested improper-movement configurations anyway.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Müller (2014)

## 2 Zyman 2017

- P'urhepecha is a language isolate spoken mainly in the central-western state of Michoacán, Mexico. It is exclusively suffixing, agglutinating, head-marking, and dependent-marking, and it has a relatively flexible word order.

- \* **Hyperraising to object**

- With certain embedding verbs, the embedded subject can occur after the complementizer, in which case it is nominative, or before the complementizer, in which case it is accusative:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This alternation is reported to be possible for only some speakers.

- (17) a. Ueka-sin-Ø-di=si      **eska** Xumo u-a-Ø-ka      ma k'umanchikua.  
 want-HAB-PRS-IND3=pS that Xumo make-FUT-PRS-SBJV a house  
 'They want Xumo to build a house.'
- b. Ueka-sin-Ø-di=si      Xumu-ni **eska** u-a-Ø-ka      ma k'umanchikua.  
 want-HAB-PRS-IND3=pS Xumo-ACC that make-FUT-PRS-SBJV a house  
 'They want Xumo to build a house.'

- Relevant embedding verbs: *ueka*- 'want', *uetarincha*- 'need', and *mite*- 'know'.
- When the embedded subject is accusative, it can (marginally?) appear to the left of a matrix adverbial:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> I don't know what to make of "The relevant sentences ... are relatively or even quite acceptable".

- (18) (?)Emilia ueka-sin-Ø-di      Xumo-ni **mintsita-ni jingoni** **eska** jaruata-a-Ø-ka  
 Emily want-HAB-PRS-IND3 Xumo-ACC heart-ACC with that help-FUT-PRS-SBJV  
 pauani.  
 tomorrow  
 'Emily wants Xumo with all her heart to help her tomorrow.'

⇒ Zyman interprets (18) as evidence that the accusative DP moves into the matrix clause. Strictly speaking though, it only shows that the accusative DP *can* move into the matrix clause.

- **Three possible analyses**

- (19) a. **Hyperraising**  
 ... DP ... [CP ... DP ... ]  
 ↑  
 b. **Prolepsis**  
 ... DP<sub>1</sub> ... [CP ... *pro*<sub>1</sub> ... ]

c. **Finite object control**

... V DP<sub>1</sub> ... [CP ... PRO<sub>1</sub> ... ]

• **Arguments against prolepsis**

- ① Accusative subjects prevent extraction of an(other) element out of the embedded clause:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> As acknowledged in a footnote, this is also a property of prolepsis in German.

- (20) a.  $\iota$ Ambe<sub>i</sub> uetarincha-sin-Ø-gi=sī [CP **eska** Emilia pia-a-Ø-ka \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>]?  
 what<sub>i</sub> need-HAB-PRS-INT=pS [CP that Emily buy-FUT-PRS-SBJV \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>]  
 ‘What do they need Emily to buy?’ (INT = interrogative mood.)  
 b. Uetarincha-sin-Ø-di=sī Emilia-ni [CP **eska** pia-a-Ø-ka itsukua].  
 need-HAB-PRS-IND3=pS Emily-ACC [CP that buy-FUT-PRS-SBJV milk]  
 ‘They need Emily to buy milk.’  
 c. ??  $\iota$ Ambe<sub>k</sub> uetarincha-sin-Ø-gi=sī Emilia-ni [CP **eska** pia-a-Ø-ka \_\_\_\_<sub>k</sub>]?  
 what<sub>k</sub> need-HAB-PRS-INT=pS Emily-ACC [CP that buy-FUT-PRS-SBJV \_\_\_\_<sub>k</sub>]  
 int. ‘What do they need Emily to buy?’<sup>4</sup>

- ② The accusative DP must correspond to the highest embedded argument; that is, it is subject to minimality:

- (21) a. Ueka-sin-Ø-ga=ni Elena-ni<sub>i</sub> [CP **eska** \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> jananari-a-Ø-ka Berta-ni].  
 want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS Elena-ACC<sub>i</sub> [CP that \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> respect-FUT-PRS-SBJV Bertha-ACC]  
 ‘I want Elena to respect Bertha.’  
 b. \*Ueka-sin-Ø-ga=ni Berta-ni<sub>k</sub> [CP **eska** Elena jananari-a-Ø-ka \_\_\_\_<sub>k</sub>].  
 want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS Bertha-ACC<sub>k</sub> [CP that Elena respect-FUT-PRS-SBJV \_\_\_\_<sub>k</sub>]  
 int. ‘I want Elena to respect Bertha.’

- ③ Accusative subjects are sensitive to islands:

- (22) a. Ueka-sin-Ø-ga=ni **eska** k’uanatsenta-a-Ø-ka uariti enga minariku-Ø-Ø-ka  
 want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that return-FUT-PRS-SBJV woman<sub>RESP</sub> SUB meet-PFV-PRS-SBJV  
 juramuti-ni.  
 president-ACC  
 ‘I want the woman who knows the president to return.’ (No ACC-C.)  
 b. Ueka-sin-Ø-ga=ni uariti-ni enga minariku-Ø-Ø-ka juramuti-ni<sub>i</sub> **eska**  
 want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS woman<sub>RESP</sub>-ACC SUB meet-PFV-PRS-SBJV president-ACC that  
 k’uanatsenta-a-Ø-ka \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>.  
 return-FUT-PRS-SBJV \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘I want the woman who knows the president to return.’ (ACC-C affects highest DP in *eska*-CP.)  
 c. \*Ueka-sin-Ø-ga=ni juramuti-ni<sub>k</sub> **eska** k’uanatsenta-a-Ø-ka uariti [RC enga  
 want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS president-ACC<sub>k</sub> that return-FUT-PRS-SBJV woman<sub>RESP</sub> [RC SUB  
 minariku-Ø-Ø-ka \_\_\_\_<sub>k</sub>].  
 meet-PFV-PRS-SBJV \_\_\_\_<sub>k</sub>]  
 int. ‘I want the woman who knows the president to return.’ (ACC-C can’t cross RC boundary.)

- The island data already follow from minimality, so it is not clear to me that we can actually test island sensitivity for this construction.

- **Arguments against control**

❶ The accusative DP is not a thematic argument of the matrix predicate:

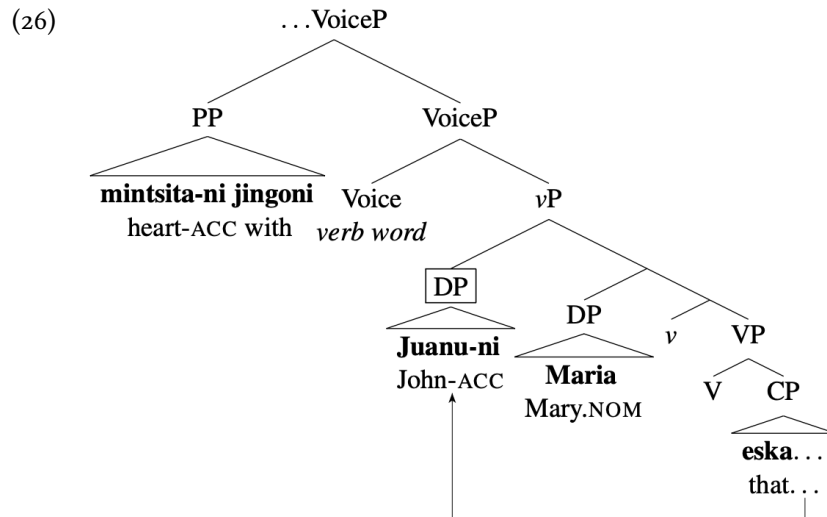
- (23) a. [Context: Near my house there's another, old house that blocks my view, and no one lives there.]  
 ?Ueka-sin-Ø-ga=ni inde-ni k'umanchikua-ni **eska** xembanta-na-a-Ø-ka.  
 want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that<sub>MED</sub>-ACC house-ACC that destroy-PASS-FUT-PRS-SBJV  
 'I want that house to be destroyed.' (N.B. I don't want the house.)
- b. [Context: In the park there's an old abandoned car that I think is really ugly.]  
 ?Ueka-sin-Ø-ga=ni ima-ni parikutarakua-ni **eska** pinande-a-Ø-ka.  
 want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that<sub>DIST</sub>-ACC car-ACC that disappear-FUT-PRS-SBJV  
 'I want that car to disappear.' (N.B. I don't want the car.)<sup>6</sup>

❷ A negative accusative DP can take scope below the embedding predicate:

- (24) [Context: In a noisy, chat-filled library, a teacher who's trying to concentrate on her reading says...]<sup>7</sup>  
 (?) **None-ni** uetarincha-sin-Ø-ga=ni **eska** uandana-a-Ø-ka.  
 no.one-ACC need-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that talk-FUT-PRS-SBJV  
 'I need [(for) no one to talk].'
- (25) Unfortunately, Sophie persuaded **no one**<sub>i</sub> [XP PRO<sub>i</sub> to go to the rock show].  
 ✓ *no one* >> *persuade*: 'There was no one who Sophie persuaded to go to the rock show.'  
 \**persuade* >> *no one*: \*'Sophie brought it about by persuasion that [there was no one who went...].'

- \* **Analysis**

The embedded subject raises into the matrix verb phrase:



### 3 Fong 2019

- (Khalkha) Mongolian is a head-final language with nominative–accusative case alignment, local scrambling, and differential object marking.

#### 3.1 Accusative subjects

- Subjects of embedded finite clauses can be nominative or accusative:<sup>8</sup>

- (27) a. Bat [ margaash **Dulmaa** nom unsh-n gej ] khel-sen.  
 Bat [ tomorrow Dulmaa.NOM book read-N.PST COMP ] say-PST
- b. Bat [ margaash **Dulmaa-g** nom unsh-n gej ] khel-sen.  
 Bat [ tomorrow Dulmaa-ACC book read-N.PST COMP ] say-PST  
 ‘Bat said that Dulmaa will read a book tomorrow.’

<sup>8</sup> These data are similar to Sakha accusative subjects (Baker and Vinokurova 2010).

- *Accusative subjects are embedded*

- ➊ As shown above in (27), an accusative subject can follow an unambiguously-embedded adverb.

- ➋ An accusative subject can be part of an idiom in the embedded clause:

- (28) Dorj chang-aar **Bat-iin nüd(-iig)** oree deer-ee gar-san gej khel-sen.  
 Dorj loud-INSTR Bat-GEN eye(-ACC) top on-REFL.POSS climb-PST COMP say-PST  
 ‘Dorj said loudly that Bat was very surprised.’  
 (Lit.: ‘Dorj said loudly that Bat’s eyes climbed on top of themselves.’)

- ➌ The embedded clause can itself scramble while containing the accusative subject:

- (29) a. Dulmaa chang-aar **sharlovan-g** Bat-id baigaa gej khel-sen.  
 Dulmaa loud-INSTR carrot-ACC Bat-DAT COP.PRES COMP say-PST
- b. [ **Sharlovan-g** Bat-id baigaa gej ] Dulmaa chang-aar *t* Dorj-id  
 [ carrot-ACC Bat-DAT COP.PRES COMP ] Dulmaa loud-INSTR *t* Dorj-DAT  
 khel-sen.  
 say-PST  
 ‘Dulmaa said loudly (to Dorj) that Bat has a carrot.’

- ➍ If the accusative subject is an NPI, it can only be licensed by embedded negation:

- (30) a. Nara **khen(-iig) ch** iree-güi gej khel-sen.  
 Nara who(-ACC) CH come.PST-NEG COMP say-PST  
 ‘Nara said that nobody came.’
- b. \*Nara **khen(-iig) ch** ir-san gej khelee-güi.  
 Nara who(-ACC) CH come-PST COMP say.PST-NEG

- ➎ An accusative subject can be interpreted opaquely w.r.t. the embedding predicate:

- (31) Lusyn dagina bodit endalrach bai-deg-güi ch, Navchaa [ **lusyn dagina(-iig)**  
 mermaid real in.life COP-HAB-NEG CH Navchaa [ mermaid(-ACC)  
 irch bai-n gej ] khel-sen.  
 come.FUT AUX-N.PST COMP ] say-PST  
 ‘Although mermaids don’t exist, Navchaa said that a mermaid is coming.’

⇒ These considerations rule out a prolepsis analysis, and presumably an object-control analysis as well.

- **Accusative case comes from the matrix clause**

- The embedded subject cannot be accusative if the matrix clause is passive:

(32) [ **Dulmaa(\*-g)** sain seheetin gej ] khel-gd-sen.  
 [ Dulmaa(\*-ACC) good noble COMP ] say-PASS-PST  
 ‘It was said that Dulmaa is good and noble.’

- It also cannot be accusative if the embedded clause is in the subject position:

(33) a. [ **Bat(\*-iig)** chikher id-sen gedge n’ ] nama-ig gaikhsh-ruul-san.  
 [ Bat(\*-ACC) candy eat-PST COMP POSS.3 ] 1SG-ACC surprise-CAUS-PST  
 ‘That Bat ate candy surprised me.’  
 b. [ **Dorj(\*-iig)** tsagtaa ir-sen (gedge) n’ ] nama-ig gaikhsh-ruul-san.  
 [ Dorj(\*-ACC) late come-PST (COMP) POSS.3 ] 1SG-ACC surprise-CAUS-PST  
 ‘That Dorj arrived late surprised me.’

⇒ Thus, the accusative case on the subject either comes from  $v_{AG}$  (on FHCT) or is dependent case licensed by a matrix DP (on DCT).

- Importantly, these data rule out an analysis whereby the complementizer assigns accusative case. Under such an analysis, we would not expect the makeup of the matrix clause to play any role.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Thus, an analysis à la Major (2021) would not work for Mongolian.

- **Accusative subjects are higher than nominative subjects**

- ① An accusative DP cannot follow an embedded dative DP:

(34) a. Odgerel [ Dulmaa-d **shine baishin(\*-g)** baigaa gej ] khel-sen.  
 Odgerel [ Dulmaa-DAT new house(\*-ACC) COP.PRES COMP ] say-PST  
 b. Odgerel **shine baishin(-g)** Dulmaa-d t baigaa gej khel-sen.  
 Odgerel new house(-ACC) Dulmaa-DAT t COP.PRES COMP say-PST  
 ‘Odgerel said that Dulmaa has a new house.’

- ② An anaphor in an accusative subject can be bound from the matrix clause, but an anaphor in a nominative subject cannot:<sup>10</sup>

(35) a. Bat<sub>i</sub> [ margaash **egch-iig-ee**<sub>i/ij</sub> ir-ne gej ] khel-sen.  
 Bat [ tomorrow sister-ACC-REFL.POSS come-N.PST COMP ] say-PST  
 b. [ **Egch-iig-ee**<sub>i/ij</sub> ir-ne gej ] Bat<sub>i</sub> t khel-sen.  
 [ sister-ACC-REFL.POSS come-N.PST COMP ] Bat t say-PST  
 ‘Bat said that his (own) sister is coming tomorrow.’

<sup>10</sup> Fong shows this fact for both the reflexive possessive -AA and the anaphor *ööröö*.

(36) a. \*Bat chang-aar [ **egch-ee** gaikhal-tai gej ] khel-sen.  
 Bat loud-INSTR [ sister.NOM-REFL.POSS wonder-with COMP ] say-PST  
 (Int.: ‘Bat said loudly that his (own) sister is wonderful.’)  
 b. \*Bat [ margaash **egch-ee** ir-ne gej ] khel-sen.  
 Bat [ tomorrow sister.NOM-REFL.POSS come-N.PST COMP ] say-PST  
 (Int.: ‘Bat said that his (own) sister is coming tomorrow.’)

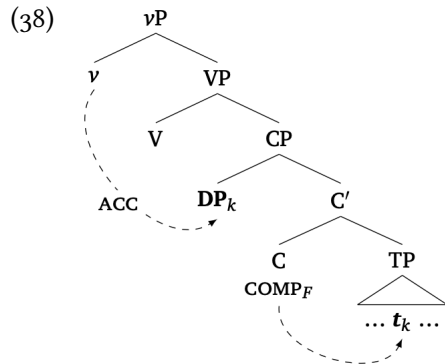
- ③ An accusative subject behaves for Condition B like it is in the matrix clause, but a nominative subject does not:

(37) a. Odgerel<sub>i</sub> [ margaash **ter**<sub>i/ij</sub> ir-ne gej ] khel-sen.  
 Odgerel [ tomorrow 3SG.NOM come-N.PST COMP ] say-PST  
 ‘Odgerel said that (s)he (*Odgerel or someone else*) is coming tomorrow.’  
 b. Odgerel<sub>i</sub> [ margaash **tüün-iig**<sub>i/ij</sub> ir-ne gej ] khel-sen.  
 Odgerel [ tomorrow 3SG-ACC come-N.PST COMP ] say-PST  
 ‘Odgerel said that (s)he (*only someone else, not Odgerel*) is coming tomorrow.’



\* **Analysis**

- The embedded subject optionally raises to embedded [Spec, CP], from where it receives accusative without violating the PIC:



- To account for accusative subjects being able to following an embedded adverbial, Fong assumes an articulated left periphery that can house both:

- (39) a. Bat [ margaash **Dulmaa-g** nom unsh-n gej ] khel-sen.  
 Bat [ tomorrow Dulmaa-ACC book read-N.PST COMP ] say-PST  
 ‘Bat said that Dulmaa will read a book tomorrow.  
 b. [<sub>CP</sub> DP<sub>subj</sub> ... v ... [<sub>CP</sub> margaash DP<sub>ACC</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> COMP [<sub>TP</sub> (...) t ... ]]]]

• **Discussion**

- As acknowledged in fn. 5, on this analysis, it is unclear why matrix negation is unable to license an accusative subject NPI.
- Moreover, it is unclear (to me) how reconstruction for NPI licensing is supposed to work in the first place.

- \* Lahiri (2017) argues that GQ traces allow reconstruction for NPI licensing in Hindi, because they produce scope reconstruction and NPI licensing is scope-based.
- \* Dawson and Deal (2019) argue that prolepsis in Tiwa (Tibeto-Burman; India) can involve a bound GQ pronoun, because proleptic objects can take narrow scope, but do not allow opaque readings.<sup>11</sup>
- \* Taken together, these arguments suggest that apparent reconstruction for NPI licensing may not be an argument for movement.

<sup>11</sup> See also Keine and Poole (2018).

- Unlike P’urhepecha, an accusative subject does not block movement of other elements out of the embedded clause:

- (40) a. Nara [ Dorj(-iig) **buuz-iig** id-sen gej ] khel-sen.  
 Nara [ Dorj(-ACC) buuz-ACC eat-PST COMP ] say-PST  
 ‘Nara said that Dorj ate the buuz.’  
 b. **Buuz-iig** bol Nara [ Dorj(-iig) t id-sen gej ] hel-sen.  
 buuz-ACC TOP Nara.NOM [ Dorj(-ACC) t eat-PST COMP ] say-PST  
 ‘The buuz, Nara said that Dorj ate.’

- If the embedded clause has an articulated left periphery, it is unclear why said periphery cannot house a dative DP or a manner adverb:

- (41) a. Odgerel [ Dulmaa-d **shine baishin(\*-g)** baigaa gej ] khel-sen.  
 Odgerel [ Dulmaa-DAT new house(\*-ACC) COP.PRES COMP ] say-PST  
 b. Odgerel **shine baishin(-g)** Dulmaa-d t baigaa gej khel-sen.  
 Odgerel new house(-ACC) Dulmaa-DAT t COP.PRES COMP say-PST  
 ‘Odgerel said that Dulmaa has a new house.’
- (42) Dorj [ {**\*khurdan**} Nara(-g) {**khurdan**} baishin {**khurdan**} bari-san gej ]  
 Dorj [ {**\*quickly**} Nara(-ACC) {quickly} house {quickly} build-PST COMP ]  
 khel-sen.  
 say-PST  
 ‘Dorj said that Nara built a house quickly.’

### 3.2 Hyperraising

\* For at least some speakers, an accusative subject can surface in the matrix clause:<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> According to Fong, two out of the four speakers who she consulted allow this construction.

- (43) a. Bat chang-aar [ **nokhoi** gaikhal-tai gej ] khel-sen.  
 Bat loud-INTR [ dog.NOM wonder-with COMP ] say-PST  
 b. Bat {**nokhoi-g**} chang-aar {**nokhoi-g**} gaikhal-tai gej khel-sen.  
 Bat {dog-ACC} loud-INTR {dog-ACC} wonder-with COMP say-PST  
 ‘Bat said loudly that dogs are wonderful.’
- (44) a. Bat **Dulmaa(-g)** nom unsh-n gej khel-sen.  
 Bat Dulmaa(-ACC) book read-N.PST COMP say-PST  
 b. **Dulmaa-g** Bat [ ec nom unsh-n gej ] khel-sen.  
 Dulmaa-ACC Bat [ ec book read-N.PST COMP ] say-PST  
 ‘Bat said that Dulmaa will read a book.’

#### • Arguments against prolepsis

❶ The accusative DP must be the embedded subject:

- (45) a. Navchaa chang-aar [ Odgerel **deeremchn-iig** bari-san gej ]  
 Navchaa loud-INTR [ Odgerel.NOM thief-ACC catch-PST COMP ]  
 khel-sen.  
 say-PST  
 ‘Navchaa said loudly that Odgerel caught a thief.’  
 b. \*Navchaa **deeremchn-iig** chang-aar [ Odgerel ec bari-san gej ]  
 Navchaa thief-ACC loud-INTR [ Odgerel.NOM ec catch-PST COMP ]  
 khel-sen.  
 say-PST

❷ The accusative subject can be part of an embedded idiom:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> I would interpret the ‘?’ as evidence that an idiomatic meaning is *not* preserved.

- (46) a. Dorj chang-aar **Bat-iin nüd(-iig)** ore deer-ee gar-san gej  
 Dorj loud-INTR Bat-GEN eye(-ACC) top on-REFL.POSS climb-PST COMP  
 khel-sen.  
 say-PST  
 b. ?Dorj **Bat-iin nüd-iig** chang-aar [ ec ore deer-ee gar-sen  
 Dorj Bat-GEN eye-ACC loud-INTR [ ec top on-REFL.POSS climb-PST  
 gej ] khel-sen.  
 COMP ] say-PST  
 ‘Dorj said loudly that Bat was very surprised.’  
 (Lit.: ‘Dorj said loudly that Bat’s eyes climbed on top of themselves.’)

❸ The accusative subject forces a gap:

- (47) Dorj **Nara-g** chang-aar [ (\*ter) sain gej ] khel-sen.  
 Dorj Nara-ACC loud-INTR [ (\*3SG) good COMP ] say-PST  
 ‘Dorj said loudly that Nara will come tomorrow.’

- **No remnant movement**

- When the embedded clause is scrambled, the accusative subject cannot be separated from it:

(48) \* $[_{CP} t_{Dorj}$  sain sheetin gej ], Bat **Dorj-iig** chang-aar  $t_{CP}$  khel-sen.  
 [  $t$  good noble COMP ] Bat Dorj-ACC loud-INSTR  $t$  say-PST  
 (Int.: ‘That Dorj is good and noble, Bat said loudly.’)

- Fong argues that this combination is ruled out because the trace in the remnant is unbound.

- **Problem:** We know that such diving paths are in principle possible:

(49) [ How likely \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub> to win ]<sub>2</sub> is Alex<sub>1</sub> \_\_\_\_<sub>2</sub>?

⇒ Assuming that A-movement happens before scrambling (Abels 2007), the diving path in (48) should be possible.

- **Island sensitivity**

- Fong claims that the accusative subject in this construction is sensitive to islands:

- (50) a. Nara [ **muur** bömbög-öör toglo-dog baa **nokhoi** yas-aar  
 Nara [ cat.NOM ball-INSTR play-HAB CONJ dog.NOM bone-INSTR  
 toglo-dog gej ] khel-sen.  
 play-HAB COMP ] say-PST
- b. Nara **muur-iig** bömbög-öör toglo-dog baa **nokhoi-g** yas-aar  
 Nara cat-ACC ball-INSTR play-HAB CONJ dog-ACC bone-INSTR  
 toglo-dog gej khel-sen.  
 play-HAB COMP say-PST
- c. \***Nokhoi-g** Nara **muur-iig** bömbög-öör toglo-dog baa *ec* yas-aar  
 dog-ACC Nara cat-ACC ball-INSTR play-HAB CONJ *ec* bone-INSTR  
 toglo-dog gej khel-sen.  
 play-HAB COMP say-PST  
 ‘Nara said that the cat plays with a ball and the dog plays with a bone.’<sup>15</sup>
- (51) a. Bat chang-aar **Odgerel(-iig)** üdeshiilich-d ilbechin ur-val, Och  
 Bat loud-INSTR Odgerel(-ACC) party-DAT magician invite-COND Och  
 bayla-n gej khel-sen.  
 happy-N.PST COMP say-PST  
 ‘Bat said loudly that, if Odgerel invites a magician to the party, Och will be happy.’
- b. \*Bat **Odgerel-iig** chang-aar [ *ec* üdeshiilich-d ilbechin ur-val, Och  
 Bat Odgerel-ACC loud-INSTR [ *ec* party-DAT magician invite-COND Och  
 bayla-n gej ] khel-sen.  
 happy-N.PST COMP ] say-PST

⇒ **Problem:** How are the non-movement baselines with accusative subjects possible in the first place?

- **Evidence that hyperraising is local A-scrambling**

- ❶ Only accusative subjects can scramble out of the embedded clause:<sup>14</sup>

- (52) a. Bold **Tuya\*(-g)** haramsaltai-gaar [  $t$  teneg gej ] bod-son.  
 Bold Tuya\*(-ACC) sadly-INSTR [  $t$  stupid COMP ] think-PST  
 ‘Bold thought with sadness that Tuya is stupid.’
- b. \*Navchaa **deeremchn-iig** chang-aar [ Odgerel  $t$  bari-san gej ]  
 Navchaa thief-ACC loud-INSTR [ Odgerel.NOM  $t$  catch-PST COMP ]  
 khel-sen.  
 say-PST

<sup>14</sup> The string in (52c) should be possible if the embedded subject is nominative; cf. (34a).

- c. \*Bat **Dulmaa-d** [ Dorj(-iig) t nom-oo ög-sön gej ]  
 Bat Dulmaa-DAT [ Dorj(-ACC) t book-REFL.POSS give-PST COMP ]  
 chang-aar khel-sen.  
 loud-INSTR say-PST

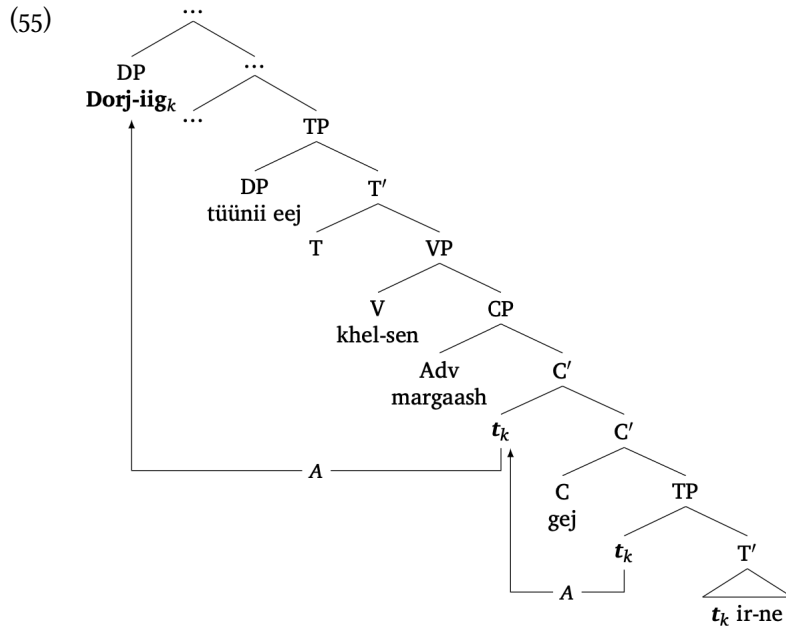
② Moving the accusative subject is not subject to WCO:

- (53) a. Öör-iin-kh n' eej **okhin бүр(-iig)** ukhaan-tai gej  
 self-GEN-EPATH POSS.3 mother girl every(-ACC) intelligence-with COMP  
 khel-sen.  
 say-PST  
 'Her/His (e.g. Dorj's) mother said that every girl is intelligent.'
- b. **Okhin бүр-iig** öör-iin-kh n' eej [ t ukhaan-tai  
 girl every-ACC self-GEN-EPATH POSS.3 mother [ t intelligence-with  
 gej ] khel-sen.  
 COMP ] say-PST  
 'Her<sub>i</sub> mother said that every girl<sub>i</sub> is intelligent.'  
 ('For every girl x, x's mother said that x is intelligent.')

③ Moving the accusative subject can amnesty a Condition C violation:

- (54) a. Bi **Bat(-iig)<sub>i</sub>** sain khün gej tüün-d<sub>i/j</sub> khel-sen.  
 1SG.NOM Bat(-ACC) good person COMP 3SG-DAT say-PST  
 'I told her/him that Bat is a good person.'
- b. **Bat-iin<sub>i</sub> eej-iig** bi [ t sain khün gej ] tüün-d<sub>i</sub>  
 Bat-GEN mother-ACC 1SG.NOM [ t good person COMP 3SG- ] DAT  
 khel-sen.  
 say-PST  
 'I told her/him that Bat's mother is a good person.'

\* *Analysis*



⇒ Because embedded [Spec, CP] is an A-position in Mongolian, subsequent movement from that position—whether it be A-movement or  $\bar{A}$ -movement—does not constitute improper movement (under the traditional Ban on Improper Movement).

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