

snippets

Issue 46 - June 2024

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Raising, uncased

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2024-046-gree>

In his influential account of hyperraising in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), Nunes (2008, 2019) argues that hyperraising is mediated by whether a given raising predicate assigns inherent case to its CP complement. Per Nunes, for A-movement out of a CP to be licit, the CP itself must have been assigned inherent case by the raising predicate. An inherent case-bearing CP is taken by Nunes to be inactive for A-movement such that the CP does not count as an intervener in an A-over-A (Chomsky 1964) configuration, and accordingly hyperraising is not blocked. I challenge this case-mediated-intervention account by providing counterexamples from BP.

Nunes purports to show that (i) hyperraising is possible with some predicates (1a), but not others, (1b); and (ii) predicates that permit hyperraising *disallow* CP-raising to subject (1c), while predicates that disallow hyperraising do allow CP-raising (1d).

(1) Nunes's (2008) contrast

- a. *OK* Os menino-s parece-m [_{CP} que os ~~meninos~~ estão doente-s].
OK the boy.M-PL seem-3PL [_{CP} that the boys are sick-PL]
'The boys seem to be sick.'
- b. * Os menino-s fora-m dit-o-s [_{CP} que os ~~meninos~~ estão doente-s].
* the boy.M-PL be.PAST-PL said-M-PL [_{CP} that the boys are sick-PL]
Intended: 'The boys were said to be sick.'
- c. * [_{TP} [_{CP} Que os ~~menin-o-s~~ estão doente-s] parece].
* [_{TP} [_{CP} that the boy.M-PL are sick-PL] seem.3SG]
Intended: 'It seems that the boys are sick.'
- d. *OK* [_{TP} [_{CP} Que os ~~menin-o-s~~ estão doente-s] foi dito].
OK [_{TP} [_{CP} that the boy.M-PL are sick-PL] was said.3SG]
'That the boys were sick was said.'

Nunes claims that this asymmetry is due to *parecer* being an inherent case assigner while *foi dito* isn't.

Nunes' contrast is confounded by a factor observed by Halpert (2019): that CP-raising is only possible where a DP is permitted. A DP is not permitted as the subject of *parece* 'seems' in BP (2), so CP-raising is ruled out on independent grounds, in contrast to *ser certo* 'to be certain'-type predicates as in (3), which are not systematically considered by Nunes (2008, 2019).

- (2) * O fato que os ~~meninos~~ estão doentes parece.
* the fact that the boys are likely seems
Intended: 'The fact that the boys are sick seems.'
- (3) O fato que os ~~meninos~~ estão doentes é certo.
the fact that the boys are sick is certain
'The fact that the boys are sick is certain.'

When we do consider predicates like *ser certo* ‘to be certain’ (a baseline example is given in (4)), an embedded CP can indeed raise to subject (5), and for 8/10 BP speakers I consulted, it can also host a hyperraised matrix subject that triggers plural agreement on the verb (6):

- (4) [_{TP} É certo [_{CP} que esses lugar-es existe-m]].
 [_{TP} is certain.M.SG [_{CP} that these place.M-PL exist-PL]].
 ‘It is certain that these places exist.’
- (5) [_{TP} [_{CP} Que esses lugar-es existe-m] é certo]].
 [_{TP} [_{CP} that these place.M-PL exist-PL] is certain.M.SG]]
 ‘That these places exist is certain.’
- (6) [_{TP} Esses lugar-es são cert-o-s [_{CP} que esses lugar-es existe-m]].
 [_{TP} these place.M-PL are certain-M-PL [_{CP} that these places exist-PL]].
 ‘These places are certain to exist.’

Further, 5/6 consultants confirmed in subsequent judgments the availability of an idiomatic reading in (7) for the expression *o bicho vai pegar* (literally ‘the bug is going to grab’, meaning ‘bad things are going to happen’), which supports this being a true raising structure.

- (7) O bich-o é cert-o [_{CP} que o bich-o vai pega-r].
 the bug-M.SG is certain-M.SG [_{CP} that the bug goes grab-INF]
 Lit. ‘The bug will certainly grab.’; equivalent to ‘Shit is certainly going to hit the fan.’

Finally, counterexamples are not limited to *ser certo* ‘to be certain’ and are attested with other adjectives, such as *ser claro* ‘to be clear’¹ or *ser provável* ‘to be likely’², and with the raising verb *parecer* ‘seems’ as long as *parecer* is followed by an adjective, as in (8). Crucially, the same *parecer* + *ADJ* predicate also allows CP-raising to subject as in (9), which I constructed and checked with two BP-speaking consultants:

- (8) As outras 62 conjurações parecem claras que correspondem a Jesus.
 the other 62 conjuration.F.PL seem.PL clear.F.PL that correspond.PL to Jesus.
 ‘It seems clear that the other 62 examples correspond to Jesus.’³
- (9) Que as outras 62 conjurações correspondem a Jesus parece claro.
 that the other 62 conjuration.F.PL correspond.PL to Jesus seem.3SG clear.M.
 ‘That the other 62 examples correspond to Jesus seems clear.’

I should also note that Nunes (2008) includes a single example of *parece obvio* ‘seems obvious’ and deems it unable to license hyperraising, although this too is attested in various written sources and judged grammatical in follow-up judgments from two BP speakers (10), who also allow the constructed example in (11) with a CP subject.

¹<https://istoedinheiro.com.br/nogueira-tenho-mil-vezes-mais-identificacao-com-bolsonaro-do-que-tinha-com-pt/>

²<https://www.iguariasnaturais.com.br/temperos-e-especiarias/mostarda-em-po>

³<https://books.google.com/books?id=F3qXEAAAQBAJ&pg=PT43&lpg=PT43&dq=%22parecem+claras+que%22&source=bl&ots=1NaOp19EtL&sig=ACfU3U1tD1cWB1pupB1jzYw-sCT6QLQ6rA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi28svkr7CEAxWrElkFHTAuDvgQ6AF6BAgUEAM#v=onepage&q=%22parecem%20claras%20que%22&f=false>

- (10) % algumas coisas que parecia-m ‘óbvias’ que ir-iam acontece-r não ir-ão.
 % some thing.F.PL that seemed-PL obvious.F.PL that go-COND happen-INF NEG go-FUT
 ‘Some things where it seemed ‘obvious’ that they were going to happen won’t actually happen.’⁴
- (11) Que algumas coisas ir-iam acontecer parecia óbvio.
 that some things go-COND happen seemed obvious.M.SG
 ‘That some things were going to happen seemed obvious.’

While Nunes acknowledges microvariation with respect to possible hyperraising predicates (reflected here with the observation that Nunes himself apparently rejects data like (10)), speakers who do allow hyperraising over *parece óbvio* ‘seem obvious’ crucially also allow CP itself to raise to subject, contra Nunes’s predictions.

The novel data provided here suggest that hyperraising is possible in BP even when the CP being raised out of it is active for A-movement (e.g. movement to Spec,TP), weakening Nunes’s inherent case account. Given the new data that reshape the locality profile of hyperraising in BP, we should revisit analyses that rely on phase-deactivation and/or Minimality (in which barrierhood is related to whether the constituent to be raised out of is able to raise) to mediate hyperraising (e.g. Nunes 2008, 2019; Carstens and Diercks 2013; Halpert 2019), or we should revisit Nunes’s classification of BP hyperraising as a strictly A-movement phenomenon (see Dias 2022 on this possibility in BP and Lohninger et al. 2022; Lohninger and Yip 2023 on the typology of cross-clausal A/A’ movement cross-linguistically).

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⁴<https://twitter.com/Paninodesu/status/1304586148874989568>

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