

# Raising, uncased

April 2024

**Overview** 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' contrast (Nunes 2008)
  - a. <sup>OK</sup>Os menino-s **parece-m** [<sub>CP</sub> que os ~~meninos~~ estão doente-s].  
the child-M-PL **seem-3PL** [<sub>CP</sub> that ~~the boys~~ are sick-PL]  
"The boys seem to be sick."
  - b. \* Os menino-o-s **fora-m dit-o-s** [<sub>CP</sub> que os ~~meninos~~ estão doente-s].  
the child-M-PL **be.PAST-PL said-M-PL** [<sub>CP</sub> that the boys/children are sick-PL]  
Intended: "The boys/children were said to be sick."
  - c. \* [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Que os menino-o-s estão doente-s] **parece**]].  
[<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> that the child-M-PL are sick-PL **seem.3SG**]]  
Intended: "It seems that the boys are sick."
  - d. <sup>OK</sup>[<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Que os menino-o-s estão doente-s] **foi dito**].  
[<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> that the child-M-PL are sick-PL **was said.3SG**]]  
"That the boys were sick was said."

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

**A confound and counterexamples** Nunes' contrast is confounded by a factor observed by Halpert (2019): a 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 in 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'), 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) [<sub>TP</sub> É certo [<sub>CP</sub> que esses lugar-es existe-m]].  
 [<sub>TP</sub> is certain.M.SG [<sub>CP</sub> that these place.M-PL exist-PL]].  
 "It is certain that these places exist."
- (5) [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Que esses lugar-es existe-m] é certo]].  
 [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> that these place.M-PL exist-PL] is certain.M.SG]]  
 "That these places exist is certain."
- (6) [<sub>TP</sub> Esses lugar-es são cert-o-s [<sub>CP</sub> que esses lugar-es existe-m]].  
 [<sub>TP</sub> these place.M-PL are certain-M-PL [<sub>CP</sub> that these places exist-PL]].  
 "These places are certain to exist."

Finally, 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 [<sub>CP</sub> que o bich-o vai pega-r].  
 the bug-M.SG is certain-M.SG [<sub>CP</sub> that the bug goes grab-INF]  
 Lit. "The bug will certainly grab", equivalent to "Shit is certain to hit the fan".

Finally, counterexamples are not limited to *ser certo* ('to be certain') and are attested with other adjectives, as in *ser claro* ('to be clear') [attested online] or *ser provável* ('to be likely') [attested online] 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." [attested online]
- (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 óbvio* '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, including the constructed example in (11) with a CP subject.

- (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."  
 [Twitter]
- (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 in the fact 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' predictions.

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

## References

- Carstens, V. and Diercks, M. (2013). Parameterizing case and activity: Hyper-raising in Bantu. In *Proceedings of the 40th Annual Meeting of the North East Linguistics Society (NELS40)*, pages 99–118, Amherst, MA. UMass Amherst Graduate Linguistics Student Association.
- Chomsky, N. (1964). The Logical Basis of Linguistic Theory. In *Eight Decades of General Linguistics (2013)*, pages 123–236. Brill.
- Dias, T. (2022). Hyper-raising and the subject position in Brazilian Portuguese. *The 13th Generative Linguistics in the Old World in Asia (GLOW in Asia XIII) 2022 Online Special*, page 59.
- Halpert, C. (2019). Raising, unphased. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 37(1):123–165.
- Lohninger, M., Kovač, I., and Wurmbrand, S. (2022). From prolepsis to hyperraising. *Philosophies*, 7(2):32.
- Lohninger, M. and Yip, K.-F. (2023). (In)dependence of features on composite probes. In *Proceedings of the 53th Annual Meeting of the North East Linguistics Society (NELS53)*.
- Nunes, J. (2008). Inherent case as a licensing condition for A-movement: The case of hyper-raising constructions in Brazilian Portuguese. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, 7(2).
- Nunes, J. (2019). Remarks on finite control and hyper-raising in Brazilian Portuguese. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, 18(1).