

Finite Raising to Object and the Mechanics of Agree

Erik Zyman · University of California, Santa Cruz · ezyman@ucsc.edu



Introduction

One major difference between finite and nonfinite subjects:

In familiar languages like English, nonfinite subjects can A-move out of their clause, but finite subjects cannot (11).

- (1) a. Sophie_i seems [_i to be embezzling money].
- b. *Sophie_i seems [(that) _i to be embezzling money].

→ Why is A-movement restricted in this way?

If (A-)movement depends on Agree, the reason may be...

- (2) The **Activity Condition**: An element must bear an unvalued feature to be able to serve as a goal for Agree. (Chomsky 2000, 2001)

If so, then when a finite subject receives Case under Agree (e.g., from T_[+FIN]), it will have no more unvalued features...

...and will become invisible to higher A-probes, ruling out (further) A-movement.

Here, I present novel data illustrating **hyperraising to object** in P'urhepecha, an isolate of Mexico spoken by >120,000 people, mostly in the central-western state of Michoacán...

...and specifically in the variety spoken on the island of Janitzio.

The data show that:

- (3) a. An embedded finite subject can enter into new A-relations if it can move close enough to the matrix.
- b. → **An element with no unvalued features can serve as a goal for Agree.**

This tells against the Activity Condition as an inherent constraint on Agree (cf. Nevins 2004).

→ Finite/nonfinite contrasts like that in (1) must have some other source.

The phenomenon: "Accusative + Complementizer" (ACC-C)

In Janitzio P'urhepecha, a finite complement clause normally has a nominative (morphologically unmarked) **subject**:

- (4) Ueka-sin-Ø-di-sí eska Xumo u-a-Ø-ka ma k'umanchikua.
want-HAB-PRS-IND3=pS that Xumo make-FUT-PRS-SJV a house
'They want Xumo to build a house.'

But under some verbs (ueka- 'want', uetarincha- 'need', %mita- 'know'), the embedded subject can be accusative and precede the embedded C:

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



If the accusative DP (DP_{ACC}) raises from the embedded CP, this cannot be due to its need for Case:

DP_{ACC} can be associated with a **nominative floated quantifier** in the embedded CP. → Nominative Case is available in the embedded CP.

- (6) Ueka-sin-Ø-ga-ni Alonso-ni, Paku-ni ka Puki-ni eska-sí iamindu-eecha
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS Alonso-ACC, Paco-ACC and Puki-ACC that=PS all-PL
ch'ana-a-Ø-ka. 'I want Alonso, Paco, and Puki [three dogs] to all play.'

→ If DP_{ACC} raises from the embedded CP, it does so even though it could have been Case-licensed there, posing a considerable challenge to the Activity Condition.

DP_{ACC} is in the matrix

Q₁: Is DP_{ACC} in the matrix, or at the left edge of the embedded CP (e.g., in [Spec,CP])?

DP_{ACC} can precede matrix adverbials:

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

If a pronoun, DP_{ACC} can induce Condition B effects in the matrix clause:

- (8) *Jimena, ueka-sin-Ø-di ima-ni, ka Luisa-ni eska andape-a-Ø-ka=sí.
Jimena want-HAB-PRS-IND3 I-ACC and Louisa-ACC that win-FUT-PRS-SJV=pS
lit. '??Jimena, wants her, and Louisa to win.'

→ DP_{ACC} is in the matrix.

ACC-C is movement, not prolepsis

Q₂: Is ACC-C movement (hyperraising)? Or is it prolepsis (a base-generated anaphoric dependency involving *pro*, ≈ 'They want in relation to Xumo, that he, build a house')?

Three strands of evidence that ACC-C is movement and *not* prolepsis:

Locality: DP_{ACC} must correspond to the embedded subject, not to a lower embedded DP.

- (9) *Ueka-sin-Ø-ga-ni Bertha-ni eska Elena janani-a-Ø-ka
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS Bertha-ACC that Elena respect-FUT-PRS-SJV
int. 'I want Elena to respect Bertha.'

Island-sensitivity: ACC-C obeys island constraints. (cf. Bruening 2001, §3.1.4)

- (10) *Ueka-sin-Ø-ga-ni juramuti-ni eska k'uanatsenta-a-Ø-ka uariti [rc engá
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS president-ACC that return-FUT-PRS-SJV woman REL
minari-ku-Ø-Ø-ka ec. int. 'I want the woman who knows the president to return.'

Escape-hatch blocking: ACC-C blocks (further) movement out of the embedded CP, suggesting that DP_{ACC} moves out of this CP, stopping off in [Spec,CP] and blocking this escape hatch.

- (11) ? *¿Ambe-eri ueka-sin-Ø-gi Alicia-ni eska kusta-a-Ø-ka-? _i
what=2sS want-HAB-PRS-INT Alice-ACC that play_{music}-FUT-PRS-SJV
int. 'What (music) do you want Alice to play?'

ACC-C is movement, not (finite) object control

Q₃: Could ACC-C be finite object control? ('I want Xumo, [_{CP} = rationale clause PRO] that build a house)' = 'I want Xumo for the purpose of his building a house')

Two pieces of evidence that ACC-C is movement and *not* finite object control:

DP_{ACC} is not an argument of V:

- (12) (?)Ueka-sin-Ø-ga-ni i-ni uariperakua-ni eska k'amara-a-Ø-ki ia.
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS this-ACC war-ACC that end-FUT-PRS-SJV already
'I want this war to end. (≠ 'I want this war')' (cf. Halpert & Zeller 2015, (9b))

Embedded scope for negative DP_{ACC}s: A negative DP_{ACC} can take scope under the matrix verb, hence apparently in the embedded CP.

- (13) [In the library there's a teacher who's trying to concentrate on her reading, but can't, because there are people there who are talking and making noise. She says...]
(?)None-ni uetarincha-sin-Ø-ga-ni eska uandana-a-Ø-ka.
no.one-ACC need-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that talk-FUT-PRS-SJV
'I need [no one to talk].'

If DP_{ACC} raises from the embedded CP, this can be analyzed as scope reconstruction. If DP_{ACC} is a controller base-generated in the matrix, it is somewhat mysterious.

→ ACC-C is neither prolepsis nor object control, but genuine **hyperraising** (Carstens & Diercks 2013, Halpert & Zeller 2015, Petersen & Terzi to appear, and refs. therein).

Analysis

Janitzio P'urhepecha clause structure (cf. Zyman 2016, MS):

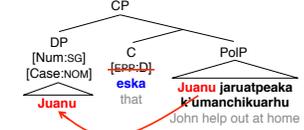
... [PoIP ... [MoodP ... [TP ... [AspP ... [VoiceP MANNER-ADV [VoiceP V-Voice [_{VP} (DP_{SUBJ}) V [_{VP} V ...]]]]]]]

Sentences like (14) show that hyperraising to object targets a specifier position of vP:

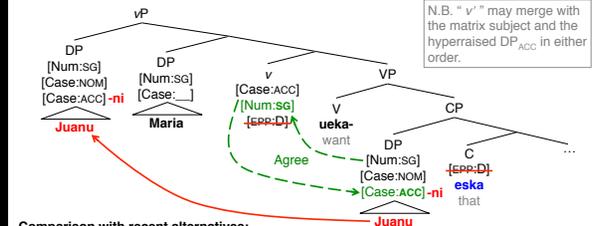
- (14) ?Mentu isí mintsita-ni jingoni ueka-sin-Ø-di Juanu-ni Maria eska jaruatape-a-Ø-ka
always thus heart-ACC with want-HAB-PRS-IND3 John-ACC Mary that help-FUT-PRS-SJV
k'umanchikua-rhu. 'Mary always wants John with all her heart to help out at home.'

Derivation: The subject of the embedded finite CP gets nominative Case, as usual.

In Janitzio P'urhepecha, [_C eska] 'that' can optionally bear [EPP:D] (cf. Cable 2012). In hyperraising to object, [_C eska]_[EPP:D] is merged and attracts the embedded subject:



Once in [Spec,CP], the embedded subject is close enough to the matrix to enter into further A-relations. The hyperraising v (which selects the relevant Vs) Agrees with the DP in Number (overtly in the plural), assigning it accusative Case in return. This v also bears [EPP:D], which DP_{ACC} moves to [Spec,vP] to satisfy.



Comparison with recent alternatives:

Carstens & Diercks (2013) on Lubukusu, Lusaamia: N moves to D → DP inherits N's lexically valued, uninterpretable Gender (Noun Class) feature, infinitely reusable in A-relations. May be right for those languages, but doesn't extend to P'urhepecha (no gender).

Petersen & Terzi (to appear), a.o., on Br. Portuguese, Greek: Apparent hyperraising occurs when embedded T is φ-incomplete and can't assign its subject Case. Can't be right for Janitzio P'urhepecha, where the embedded finite subject can get (NOM) Case (6)).

Conclusion

In hyperraising to object in Janitzio P'urhepecha, a finite subject is Case-licensed in its clause of origin, but nonetheless—as if it were a nonfinite subject—enters into further A-relations in the matrix (object agreement, accusative Case assignment, movement).

This argues, against the Activity Condition (cf. Nevins 2004), that **Agree can occur even when the goal has no unvalued features**.

It also argues against a strict dichotomy whereby nonfinite subjects, but not finite subjects, can enter into further A-relations. A finite subject can do so if it can get close enough to a suitable matrix A-probe.

Acknowledgments: I am very grateful indeed to Antonio Reyes Jara, María Bárbara Barrios López, Erika Campos Tatavara, Ansel de la Cruz Guzmán, Gloria de la Cruz Guzmán, Roque Eligio Hernández, Dellina Florentino López, Juan Gabriel Florentino, Evelina Guzmán Reyes, María Estela Guzmán Reyes, and Olivia Guzmán Reyes for sharing with me their knowledge of and insights about their language. Many thanks also, for valuable discussion of and feedback on this work, to Jim McCloskey, Jorge Hankamer, Sandy Chung, Nain Annet, James Collins, Amy Rose Deal, Jane Grimshaw, Heidi Harley, Nick Kavalica, Nancy Kramer, Stefan Kehrer, Ben Merchant, Jason Osborne, Ivy Sichel, and the participants in the Fall 2015 Morphology seminar at UCSC. The usual disclaimers apply. This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship Program under Grant No. DGE-1306697. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation. This work was also supported by a Summer Research Fellowship from the Institute for Humanities Research at UCSC.

Selected references: Bruening, B. 2001. "Raising to Object and Proper Movement." Ms., University of Delaware. Cable, S. 2012. "The optionality of movement and EPP in Dholuo." *NLLJ* 30: 651-67. Carstens, V. and M. Diercks. 2013. "Parameterizing Case and Activity: Hyperraising in Bantu." *Proceedings of NELS 40*, 99-118. Chomsky, N. 2000. "Minimalist inquiries: the framework." In *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89-155. Chomsky, N. 2001. "Derivation by Phase." In Ken Hale: A Life in Language, 1-52. Halpert, C. and A. Zeller. 2015. "Right dislocation and raising-to-object in Zulu." *The Linguistic Review* 32.3: 475-513. Neeleman, A. 2004. "Derivations without the Activity Condition." *MITWPL* 49, 287-310. Petersen, C. and A. Terzi. To appear. "Hyperraising and locality: a view from Brazilian Portuguese and Greek." *Proceedings of CLS 50*. Zyman, E. 2016. "Quantifier Float and the Driving Force for Movement: Evidence from Janitzio P'urhepecha." Ms., UCSC. Available online.