Raising out of Finite Domains: The View from P'urhepecha*

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1 Introduction

A well-known fact about *raising* in English and other familiar languages is that it can proceed out of an infinitival clause, but not out of a finite clause:

(1) *Raising to subject*
   a. **She**$_i$ seems [$_{\text{INF}}$ ___$_i$ to collect beetles for fun].
   b. ***She**$_k$ seems [$_{\text{FIN}}$ ___$_k$ collects beetles for fun].

(2) *Raising to object*
   a. I believed **him**$_i$ incorrectly [$_{\text{INF}}$ ___$_i$ to be dangerous].
   b. *I believed **him/he**$_k$ incorrectly [$_{\text{FIN}}$ ___$_k$ was dangerous].

Classical syntactic theory was designed to ensure this result (see Halpert 2016:2 and refs. there).

But as empirical work has progressed, it has become clear that a number of languages in fact make use of derivations along the lines of (1b) and (2b).
(Martins & Nunes 2010, Carstens & Diercks 2013, Halpert & Zeller 2015, Halpert 2016, Deal 2016, Petersen & Terzi to appear, and refs. therein, a.m.o.; see also Bruening 2001)

On traditional views of the A/Ā-distinction, this is unexpected: finite clauses should allow Ā-movement out of them, but not A-movement.

Those traditional views are being revisited and challenged (Chomsky 2008, Safir 2015, van Urk 2015, a.o.), and the phenomenon of raising out of finite clauses gives us all the more reason to.

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Today, I will:

- argue that the Mexican language *Janitzio P'urhepecha* permits *hyperraising to object*.
- develop an analysis of the phenomenon that is explicit about what syntactic mechanisms permit hyperraising in this language.
- consider the broader theoretical implications of the phenomenon.

1.1 Roadmap

- **§2:** The phenomenon: "accusative + complementizer" (ACC-C) in Janitzio P'urhepecha
- **§3:** The accusative nominal is in the matrix clause
- **§4:** ACC-C is hyperraising, not prolepsis
- **§5:** ACC-C is hyperraising, not finite object control
- **§6:** Analysis
- **§7:** Against Greed- and Labeling-based alternatives
- **§8:** Conclusion and broader implications

2 The phenomenon: "accusative + complementizer" in Janitzio P'urhepecha

Today's data come from P'urhepecha, an isolate of Mexico spoken mainly in the central-western state of Michoacán—specifically, from *Janitzio P'urhepecha*, the variety spoken on the island of Janitzio on Lake Pátzcuaro.

P'urhepecha is an exclusively suffixing, agglutinating, head- and dependent-marking language with relatively flexible constituent order.
(Foster 1969, Wares 1974, Capistrán 2002, Medina Pérez 2006, Villavicencio Zarza 2006, Chamoreau 2007, Mendoza 2007, Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado 2011, 2012, Capistrán Garza 2015, a.o.)

In Janitzio P'urhepecha, the verb *ueka-* 'want' can select a (finite) subjunctive clause[1] with a nominative subject ((3)). (Nominative is morphologically unmarked.)[2]

(3) Ueka-sïn-∅-di=sï **eska** Xumo u-a-∅-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 for some speakers, the embedded subject can apparently surface to the left of the C(omplementizer) *eska* 'that', with accusative rather than nominative case:

[1] In Janitzio P'urhepecha, the subjunctive mood is used in many or most types of embedded clauses, and may therefore be essentially a marker of subordination.

[2] **Abbreviations:** ACC = accusative, ACT = active, AFFIRM = affirmative, ANTIP = antipassive, COND = conditional, COP = copula, DIST = distal (demonstrative), DUR = durative, FUT = future, GEN = genitive, HAB = habitual, IND = indicative, INT = interrogative/clarificational mood, int. = intended reading, LOC = locative, M = marked (as opposed to degraded), MED = medial (demonstrative), PASS = passive, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, pO = plural object agreement, PRS = present, pS = plural subject clitic, RESID = residential case, RESP = respectful, semilit. = semiliteral translation, SG = singular, SJV = subjunctive, SUB = subordinator, 1/2/3 = first/second/third person, 1sS = first-person singular subject clitic.

(4) *"Accusative + complementizer" (ACC-C)*

Ueka-sïn-∅-di=sï Xumu-ni **eska** u-a-∅-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.'

ACC-C is possible only with certain matrix verbs: *ueka-* 'want' ((4)), *uetarincha-* 'need' ((5)), ...

(5) a. *'Need' without ACC-C*

Uetarincha-sïn-∅-ga=ni **eska** Elena k'uanatsinta-a-∅-ka Xanichu-o.
need-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that Elena return-FUT-PRS-SJV Janitzio-RESID
'I need Elena to return to Janitzio.'

b. *'Need' with ACC-C*

Uetarincha-sïn-∅-ga=ni Elena-ni **eska** k'uanatsinta-a-∅-ka Xanichu-o.
need-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS Elena-ACC that return-FUT-PRS-SJV Janitzio-RESID
'I need Elena to return to Janitzio.'

...and, for some speakers, *mite-* 'know':

(6) a. *'Know' without ACC-C*

Mite-sï-∅-ka=ni **eska** Ikinari Xanich-uo anapu-e-∅-∅-ka.
know-PFV-PRS-IND1=1sS that Ikinari Janitzio-RESID from-COP-PFV-PRS-SJV
'I know that Ikinari's from Janitzio.'

b. *'Know' with ACC-C*

%Mite-sï-∅-ka=ni Ikinari-ni **eska** Xanich-uo anapu-e-∅-∅-ka.
know-PFV-PRS-IND1=1sS Ikinari-ACC that Janitzio-RESID from-COP-PFV-PRS-SJV
semilit. 'I know Ikinari to be from Janitzio.'
[?$_A$, ?$_B$, *$_C$, *$_D$, ✓$_E$][3]

3 The accusative nominal is in the matrix clause

Is the accusative D(eterminer) P(hrase) (DP_{ACC}) in the matrix, or at the left edge of the embedded clause?

(7) *Predictions about the relative order of DP_{ACC} and matrix adverbials*

a. **Matrix hypothesis:** DP_{ACC} may be able to precede a matrix adverbial that in turn precedes the embedded CP.

b. **Embedded hypothesis:** DP_{ACC} should not be able to precede such a matrix adverbial.

The relevant sentences—involving $DP_{ACC} \gg$ MATRIX ADVERBIAL $\gg$ CP order—are relatively or even quite acceptable:

(8) (?)Emilia ueka-sïn-∅-di Xumo-ni **mintsita-ni jingoni** eska jaruata-a-∅-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.'

[3]Bracketed diacritics represent acceptability judgments from individual speakers; they accompany sentences for which I have judgments from multiple speakers that display variation. All diacritics bearing a subscript B represent judgments from the same speaker, and likewise for the other letters.

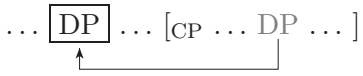
(9) ?Axuni ueka-sïn-∅-di [Ana-ni] **alma-ni jingoni** eska pire-a-∅-ka pauani.
Axuni want-HAB-PRS-IND3 Anna-ACC soul-ACC with that sing-FUT-PRS-SJV tomorrow
'Axuni wants Anna with all his soul to sing tomorrow.'

This is strong evidence that DP_{ACC} can be in the matrix.[4]

4 ACC-C is hyperraising, not prolepsis

Now that we know DP_{ACC} is in the matrix, a crucial question is how it gets there. Two possibilities:

(10) a. **Hyperraising hypothesis:** The DP raises from within the embedded CP.



b. **Prolepsis hypothesis:** The DP is base-generated in the matrix and anaphorically linked to a *pro* in embedded subject position.

... DP$_i$ ... [CP ... *pro*$_i$ ...]

We now turn to three strands of evidence that show that the DP raises from within the embedded CP.

4.1 Escape-hatch blocking

(11) *Predictions*

a. **Hyperraising hypothesis:** In raising into the matrix, the embedded subject DP should pass through the embedded [Spec,CP]. Subsequently, it may well be impossible to extract *another* phrase from the embedded CP.

b. **Prolepsis hypothesis:** ACC-C should not interfere with extraction from the embedded CP.

N.B. Prolepsis in English is compatible with extraction from the embedded CP:

(12) What$_i$ does Mike know (for sure) about **Katie**$_k$ [CP that **she**$_k$ wants to do ___$_i$]?

ACC-C does display the escape-hatch blocking effect. It is incompatible with (further) extraction from the embedded CP:

(13) a. *No ACC-C; extraction from the embedded CP is licit*

¿Ambe$_i$ uetarincha-sïn-∅-gi=sï [CP **eska** [Emilia] pia-a-∅-ka ___$_i$]?
what$_i$ need-HAB-PRS-INT=pS [CP that Emily buy-FUT-PRS-SJV ___$_i$]
'What do they need Emily to buy?'

b. *ACC-C; no (additional) extraction from the embedded CP*

Uetarincha-sïn-∅-di=sï [Emilia-ni] [CP **eska** pia-a-∅-ka itsukua].
need-HAB-PRS-IND3=pS Emily-ACC [CP that buy-FUT-PRS-SJV milk]
'They need Emily to buy milk.'

[4]The opposite order (MATRIX ADVERBIAL ≫ DP_{ACC} ≫ *eska*...) is also possible: the judgments given for (8-9) remain unchanged if the boxed DP_{ACC} is placed to the immediate right of the boldfaced matrix adverbial. What is important here, though, is that (8-9) show that DP_{ACC} *can* be in the matrix.

c. *ACC-C blocks extraction from the embedded CP*

?? ¿Ambe$_k$ uetarincha-sïn-∅-gi=sï [Emilia-ni] [$_{CP}$ **eska** pia-a-∅-ka ___$_k$]?
what$_k$ need-HAB-PRS-INT=pS Emily-ACC [$_{CP}$ that buy-FUT-PRS-SJV ___$_k$]
int. 'What do they need Emily to buy?'

4.2 Intervention effects

(14) *Predictions*

a. **Hyperraising hypothesis:** ACC-C should perhaps be expected to show intervention effects, with DP_{ACC} corresponding to the subject of the embedded CP and never to any lower argument.

b. **Prolepsis hypothesis:** ACC-C should not show intervention effects. DP_{ACC} should be able to correspond to DPs within the embedded CP other than the highest subject.

N.B. In English, A-movement displays intervention effects, but prolepsis does not:

(15) *Intervention effects in English raising to subject*

a. The Doberman$_i$ seems [___$_i$ to have chased the principal].

b. *The principal$_k$ seems [the Doberman$_i$ to have chased ___$_k$].

(16) *No intervention effects in English prolepsis*

a. Wayne said about **the Doberman**$_i$ [that **it**$_i$ had chased the principal].

b. Wayne said about **the Doberman**$_i$ [that the principal had chased **it**$_i$].

ACC-C in Janitzio P'urhepecha does show intervention effects:

(17) a. *ACC-C: DP_{ACC} can correspond to the highest DP in the embedded CP*

Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni [Elena-ni]$_i$ [$_{CP}$ **eska** ___$_i$ jananari-a-∅-ka Berta-ni].
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS Elena-ACC$_i$ [$_{CP}$ that ___$_i$ respect-FUT-PRS-SJV Bertha-ACC]
'I want Elena to respect Bertha.'
[✓$_A$, ✓$_I$, ✓$_J$]

b. *ACC-C: DP_{ACC} cannot correspond to a lower DP in the embedded CP*

*Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni [Berta-ni]$_k$ [$_{CP}$ **eska** Elena jananari-a-∅-ka ___$_k$].
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS Bertha-ACC$_k$ [$_{CP}$ that Elena respect-FUT-PRS-SJV ___$_k$]
semilit. '*I want Bertha$_i$ for Elena to respect ∅$_i$.'
int. 'I want Elena to respect Bertha.'

4.3 Island effects

(18) *Predictions*

a. **Hyperraising hypothesis:** ACC-C should obey islands. (Cf. Bruening 2001, §3.1.4.)

b. **Prolepsis hypothesis:** ACC-C should not obey islands.

N.B. Prolepsis in English does not obey islands:

(19) a. *Prolepsis across the boundary of a relative clause island*
We want of **this hypothesis**$_i$ that the predictions [$_{RC}$ **it**$_i$ makes] be empirically testable.

b. *Prolepsis across the boundary of an adjunct island*
I know about **Olivia**$_k$ that people tend to freak out [$_{adjunct}$ when **she**$_k$ starts yodeling].

ACC-C does obey islands. It can't cross a relative clause island:

(20) a. *No ACC-C*

Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni **eska** k'uanatsenta-a-∅-ka [uariti enga minariku-∅-∅-ka]
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that return-FUT-PRS-SJV woman$_{RESP}$ SUB meet-PFV-PRS-SJV
[juramuti-ni].
president-ACC
'I want the woman who knows the president to return.'

b. *ACC-C: DP$_{ACC}$ can correspond to the highest DP in the embedded CP*

Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni [uariti-ni enga minariku-∅-∅-ka juramuti-ni]$_i$ **eska**
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS woman$_{RESP}$-ACC SUB meet-PFV-PRS-SJV president-ACC that
k'uanatsenta-a-∅-ka ___$_i$.
return-FUT-PRS-SJV ___$_i$
'I want the woman who knows the president to return.'

c. *ACC-C: DP$_{ACC}$ cannot correspond to a DP inside the relative clause*

*Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni [juramuti-ni]$_k$ **eska** k'uanatsenta-a-∅-ka uariti [$_{RC}$ enga
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS president-ACC$_k$ that return-FUT-PRS-SJV woman$_{RESP}$ [$_{RC}$ SUB
minariku-∅-∅-ka ___$_k$].
meet-PFV-PRS-SJV ___$_k$]
semilit. '*I want the president$_k$ for the woman who knows ∅$_k$ to return.'
int. 'I want the woman who knows the president to return.'

Nor can ACC-C cross an adjunct island:

(21) a. *No ACC-C*

Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni **eska** [iamindu-eecha] kurandi-a-∅-ka=sï [$_{adjunct}$ enga jorhentperi
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that all-PL listen-FUT-PRS-SJV=pS SUB teacher
uanda-na-∅-ka].
talk-DUR-PRS-SJV]
'I want everyone to listen when the teacher's talking.'

b. *ACC-C: DP$_{ACC}$ can correspond to the highest DP in the embedded CP*

%Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni [iamindu-eecha-ni]$_i$ **eska** ___$_i$ kurandi-a-∅-ka=sï [$_{adjunct}$ enga
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS all-PL-ACC$_i$ that ___$_i$ listen-FUT-PRS-SJV=pS SUB
jorhentperi uanda-na-∅-ka].
teacher talk-DUR-PRS-SJV]
'I want everyone to listen when the teacher's talking.'
[?$_A$, *$_B$, ?$_F$, *$_G$]

c. *ACC-C: DP$_{ACC}$ cannot correspond to a DP inside the temporal adjunct clause*

*Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni [jorhentperi-ni]$_k$ **eska** iamindu-eecha kurandi-a-∅-ka=sï [$_{adjunct}$ enga
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS teacher-ACC$_k$ that all-PL listen-FUT-PRS-SJV=pS SUB
___$_k$ uanda-na-∅-ka].
___$_k$ talk-DUR-PRS-SJV]
semilit. '*I want the teacher$_k$ for everyone to listen when ∅$_k$ is talking.'
int. 'I want everyone to listen when the teacher's talking.'

5 ACC-C is hyperraising, not finite object control

One more possibility to consider: could ACC-C be finite object control ((22))?

(22) … V $\boxed{\text{DP}}_i$ … [$_{\text{CP}}$ … PRO_i …]

Two arguments that it's not:

5.1 DP_{ACC} is not an argument of the matrix verb

ACC-C is relatively acceptable in certain sentences in which DP_{ACC} could not be reasonably analyzed as a thematic argument of the matrix V(erb):

(23) [Context: Near my house there's another, old house that blocks my view, and no one lives there.]
?Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni inde-ni k'umanchikua-ni **eska** xembanta-na-a-∅-ka.
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that$_{\text{MED}}$-ACC house-ACC that destroy-PASS-FUT-PRS-SJV
'I want that house to be destroyed.' (I don't want the house.)

(24) [Context: In the park there's an old abandoned car that I think is really ugly.]
?Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni ima-ni parikutarakua-ni **eska** pinande-a-∅-ka.
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that$_{\text{DIST}}$-ACC car-ACC that disappear-FUT-PRS-SJV
'I want that car to disappear.' (I don't want the car.)

(25) [Context: There's a guy who's kind of a pain, and who makes everyone's life difficult.][5]
?Ueka-pirin-∅-ga=ni inde-ni tumbi-ni **eska** motsenta-a-∅-ka materu ereta-rhu.
want-COND-PRS-IND1=1sS that$_{\text{MED}}$-ACC young.man-ACC that move-FUT-PRS-SJV another town-LOC
'I'd like for that young man to move to another town.' (I wouldn't like/want the young man.)

5.2 A negative DP_{ACC} can reconstruct into the embedded clause for scope

(26) *Predictions*
a. **Hyperraising hypothesis:** We *may* expect a negative DP_{ACC} to be able to take scope within the embedded CP it raised from, and hence within the scope of the matrix V.
b. **Finite object control hypothesis:** A negative DP_{ACC} is base-generated in the matrix, and should therefore be forced to take matrix scope.

N.B. A negative object in an English object control structure obligatorily outscopes the matrix V:

(27) Unfortunately, Sophie persuaded **no one**$_i$ [$_{\text{XP}}$ PRO_i 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*: *'S. brought it about by persuasion that [there was no one who went to the show].'

[5] There is a question as to why (23-25) are merely reasonably acceptable and not perfect. One possibility is that, in each of them, the Accusative Nominal + CP string has an alternate parse as a relativization structure (e.g., 'that house that will be destroyed'). The likely existence of this parse does not threaten the argument from (23-25) that ACC-C is not control, because the sentences would be infelicitous on the relativization parse in the contexts given, and therefore a hyperraising parse is needed to explain why they are reasonably acceptable. But although (23-25) should be infelicitous on their relativization parse in the contexts provided, it could be that the existence of this parse adds a layer of complexity to the task of judging them, and it is this that resulted in their being judged less than fully acceptable.

In ACC-C, a negative DP_{ACC} apparently can take scope within the embedded CP:

(28) [Context: 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...][6]

a. *With strong*[7] *verbal morphology*
(?) None-ni uetarincha-sïn-∅-ga=ni **eska** uandana-a-∅-ka.
no.one-ACC need-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that talk-FUT-PRS-SJV
'I need [no one to talk].'

b. *With weak verbal morphology*
? None-ni uetarincha-j-∅-ki=ni **eska** uandana-a-∅-ka.
no.one-ACC need-HAB-PRS-INT=1sS that talk-FUT-PRS-SJV
'I need [no one to talk].'

(29) *With strong verbal morphology*
[Context: A teacher has taken the kids in her class to visit a handicrafts workshop, and wants all of them to be careful. She says...]
None-ni ueeka-sïn-∅-ga=ni **eska** kaka-ua-∅-ka kukuchi-cha-ni.
no.one-ACC want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS that break-FUT-PRS-SJV jug-PL-ACC
'I want [no one to break the jugs].'

5.3 Interim conclusion

Evidence from extraction blocking, intervention effects, and island effects favors a hyperraising analysis of ACC-C over a prolepsis analysis.

Evidence from θ-relations (semantic roles) and scope reconstruction favors a hyperraising analysis over a finite object control analysis.

ACC-C will therefore be referred to from now on as *hyperraising to object* (cf. Bruening 2001, Halpert & Zeller 2015, Deal 2016, a.o.).[8]

[6] Negative objects are preverbal in Janitzio P'urhepecha.

[7] In (28a), the verbal suffixes are in their strong forms: the habitual aspect morpheme surfaces as *-sïn* and the first-person indicative mood morpheme as *-ga* (underlyingly /-ka/). In (28b), the verbal suffixes are weak: habitual aspect surfaces as *-j*, and the mood morpheme surfaces as *-ki*, which normally expones interrogative/"clarificational" mood. The strong forms are used in ordinary declarative main clauses, and the weak forms are used in negative clauses containing the polarity particle *ambu* 'not' (among other environments). Clauses with (preposed) negative objects intuitively display characteristics of both of these clause types—hence why the test in (28) was run with both strong and weak verbal morphology (on which see Wares 1974:99, §3.4).

[8] On hyperraising more generally, see Martins and Nunes 2010, Carstens and Diercks 2013, Halpert 2016, Petersen and Terzi to appear, and references therein, a.m.o.

6 Analysis

6.1 Preliminary A: Hyperraising to object targets a specifier of *v*P

Janitzio P'urhepecha clause structure:[9]

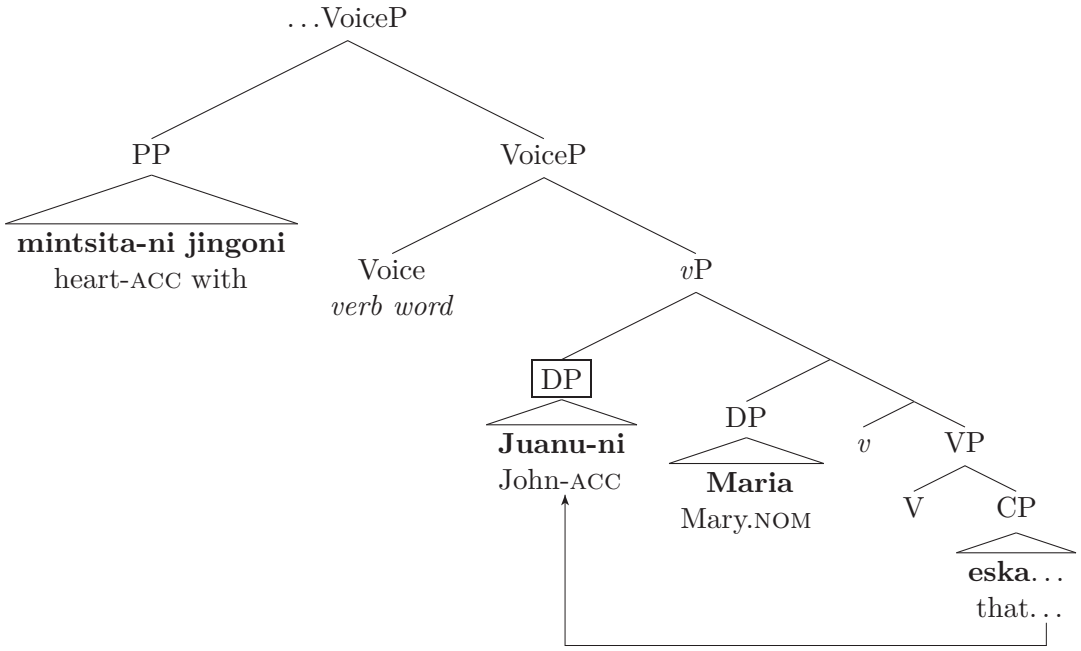
(30) … [PolP … [MoodP … [TP … [AspP … [VoiceP (AdvP$_{manner}$) [VoiceP … [*v*P DP$_{SUBJ}$ … [VP …]]]]]]]]

Consider (31):

(31) ?Mentku isï **mintsita-ni jingoni** ueka-sïn-Ø-di Juanu-ni **Maria** eska jaruatpe-a-Ø-ka
always thus heart-ACC with want-HAB-PRS-IND3 John-ACC Mary that help-FUT-PRS-SJV
k'umanchikua-rhu.
house-LOC
'Mary always wants John with all her heart to help out at home.'

Given the clause structure in (30), the structure of (31) must be:

(32)



—i.e., hyperraising to object targets a specifier position of *v*P.

In (32), the matrix subject (*Maria*) was externally merged with a projection of *v*, and then the hyperraising DP was internally merged.

But if External and Internal Merge are really the same operation (Merge—Chomsky 2004), then, all else equal, it should alternatively be possible to internally merge the hyperraising DP and then externally merge the matrix subject, yielding the order MATRIX SUBJECT ≫ DP$_{ACC}$. This is correct:[10]

[9] This is slightly revised from Zyman 2016 (MS, §3). Set aside here is the left periphery. On the left periphery in Lake Pátzcuaro P'urhepecha (of which Janitzio P'urhepecha is a variety), see Capistrán 2002.

[10] This provides an argument against both Merge over Move (Chomsky 1995, 2000) and Move over Merge (Shima 2000, Larson 2015). Alternatively, as pointed out by Maziar Toosarvandani (p.c.), it could in principle be that the External and Internal Merge steps are rigidly ordered, but tucking-in can optionally occur in this case.

(33) (?)Mentku isï mintsita-ni jingoni ueka-sïn-∅-di **Maria** Juanu-ni eska jaruatpe-a-∅-ka
always thus heart-ACC with want-HAB-PRS-IND3 Mary John-ACC that help-FUT-PRS-SJV
k'umanchikua-rhu.
house-LOC
'Mary always wants John with all her heart to help out at home.'

6.2 Preliminary B: Hyperraising to object targets an A-position

Does the [Spec,*v*P] position targeted by hyperraising to object function as an A- or as an Ā-position?

Here, I show (by means of a binding diagnostic used for Zulu by Halpert and Zeller 2015:486-7) that it functions as an A-position.

Consider the following:

(34) *Baseline: no hyperraising to object*
Ueka-pirin-∅-ga=ni eska [**Xumu-eri**$_i$ k'uinchikua jimbo] **ima**$_i$ intsïmpe-pirin-∅-ga
want-COND-PRS-IND1=1sS that [Xumo-GEN$_i$ party in] 3$_i$ serve-COND-PRS-SJV
ujtsïkukate-echa-ni.
pastry-PL-ACC
'I'd like it if at Xumo's$_i$ party he$_i$ served pastries.'

The embedded CP contains a fronted PP that contains an R-expression (the name *Xumu*). This name can corefer with the embedded subject (*ima* 'he').

If the embedded pronominal subject in (34) is hyperraised, the result is unacceptable on the relevant (coreferential) reading:

(35) *Ueka-pirin-∅-ga=ni **ima-ni**$_i$ eska [**Xumu-eri**$_i$ k'uinchikua jimbo] intsïmpe-pirin-∅-ga
want-COND-PRS-IND1=1sS 3-ACC$_i$ that [Xumo-GEN$_i$ party in] serve-COND-PRS-SJV
ujtsïkukate-echa-ni.
pastry-PL-ACC
int. '*I'd like him$_i$ to, at Xumo's$_i$ party, serve pastries.'

The problem with (35) is not that pronouns can't be hyperraised: they can. If (35) is altered minimally by replacing the name in the fronted PP with a pronoun, it becomes relatively acceptable:

(36) ?Ueka-pirin-∅-ga=ni **ima-ni**$_i$ eska [**im-eri**$_i$ k'uinchikua jimbo] intsïmpe-pirin-∅-ga
want-COND-PRS-IND1=1sS 3-ACC$_i$ that [3-GEN$_i$ party in] serve-COND-PRS-SJV
ujtsïkukate-echa-ni.
pastry-PL-ACC
semilit. 'I'd like him$_i$ to, at his$_i$ party, serve pastries.'

The clear contrast between (35) and (36) suggests strongly that the problem with (35) is a Condition C violation.

When the embedded pronominal subject has raised to [Spec,*v*P], it c-commands the fronted PP in the embedded CP.

This is unproblematic in (36). But in (35), it has the consequence that the pronoun c-commands the name, in violation of Condition C.

That is, hyperraising to object can create new binding relations, which is a hallmark of A-movement as against Ā-movement.

Therefore, the raising to [Spec,*v*P] involved in hyperraising to object is A-movement—i.e., the position it targets functions as an A-position.

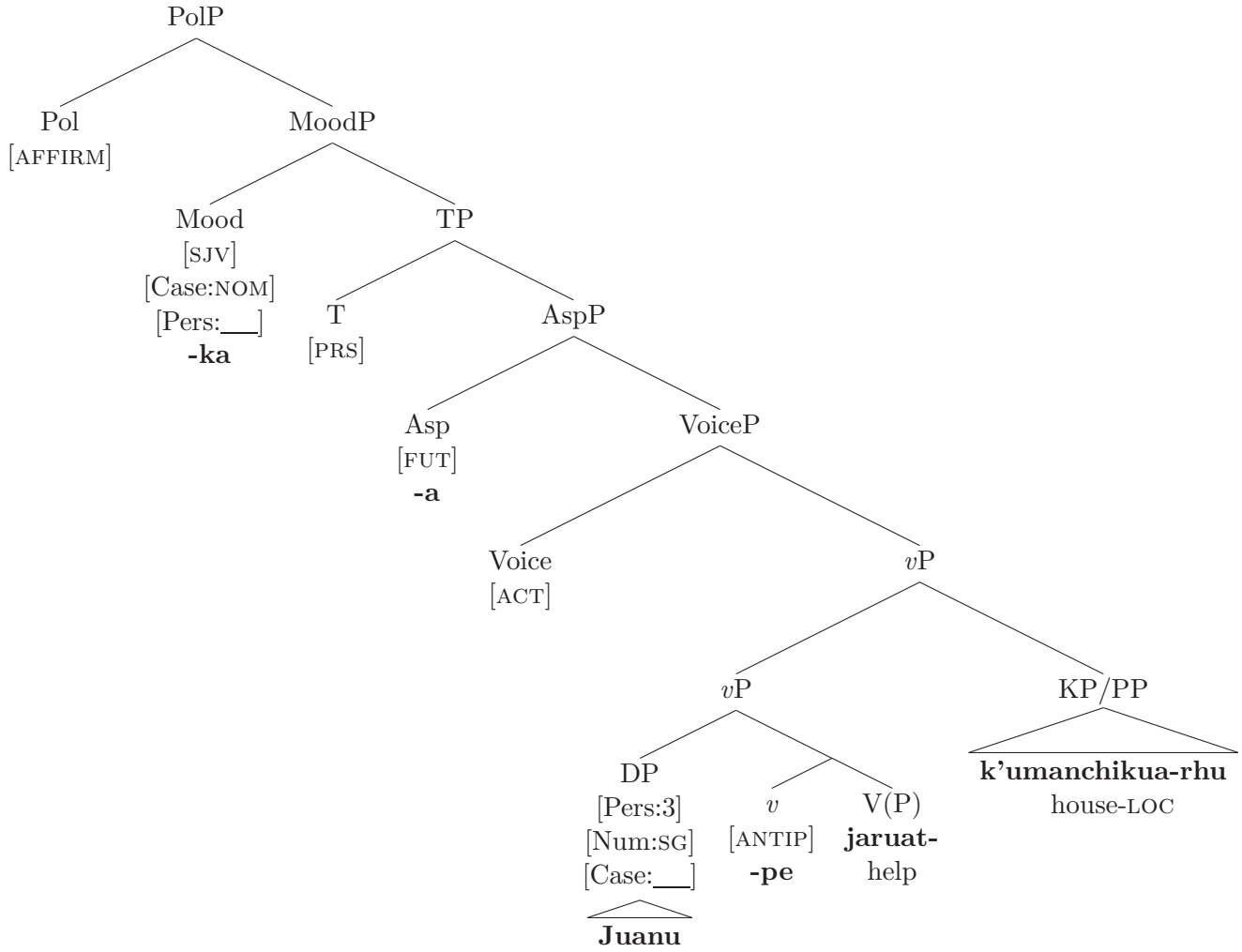
6.3 Analysis

Let's lay out the analysis by deriving (33), repeated here:

(37) (?)Mentku isï mintsita-ni jingoni ueka-sïn-∅-di **Maria** Juanu-ni eska jaruatpe-a-∅-ka
always thus heart-ACC with want-HAB-PRS-IND3 Mary John-ACC that help-FUT-PRS-SJV
k'umanchikua-rhu.
house-LOC
'Mary always wants John with all her heart to help out at home.' (= (33))

First, the core of the embedded CP is built:[11]

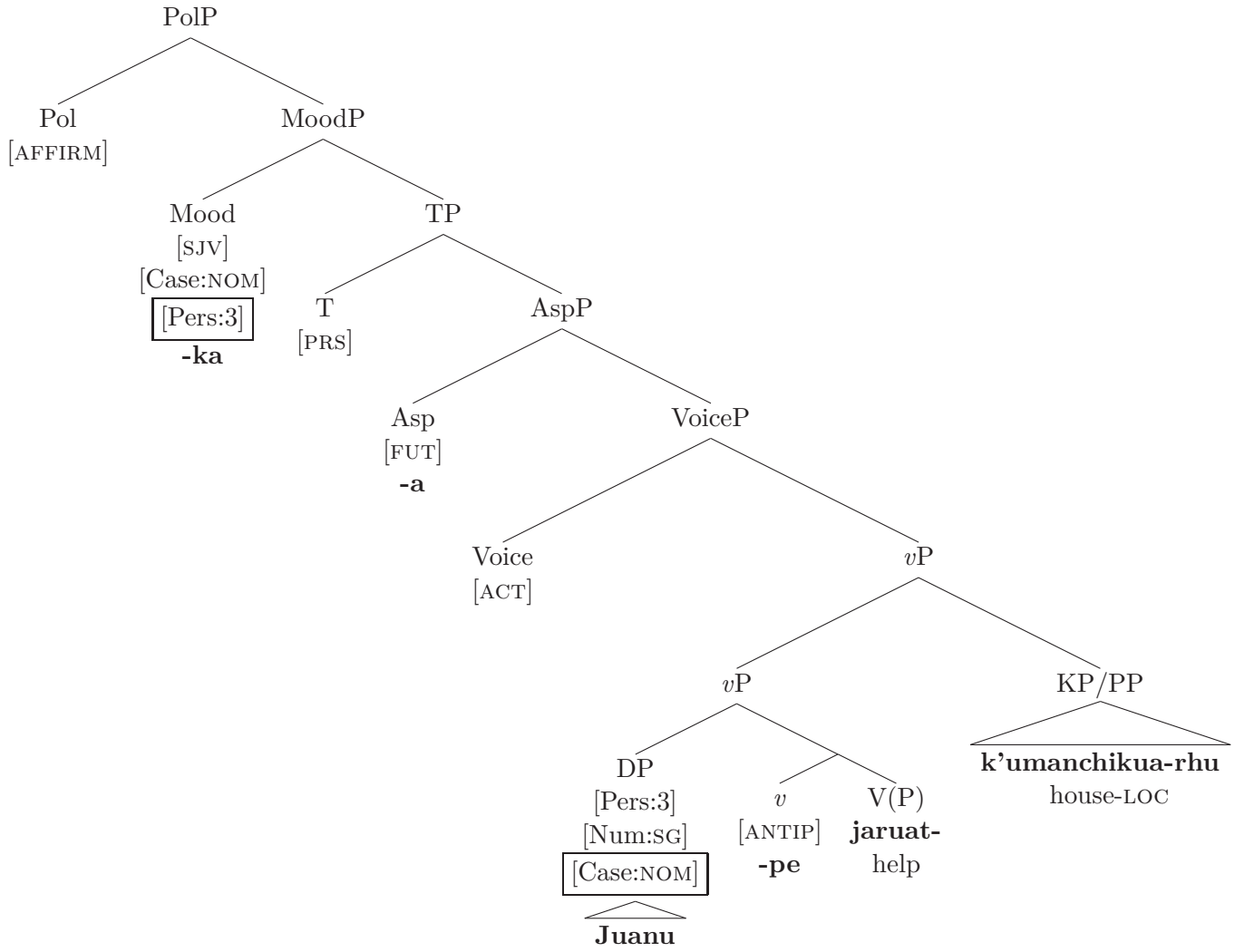
(38)



[11] For convenience, I abstract away from the derivational effects of the clause-internal phase, if there is one (e.g., *v*P or VoiceP). Also, I tentatively analyze the antipassive suffix *-pe* in *jaruat-pe-* 'help-ANTIP' as a *v*. None of this should affect the analysis.

The subjunctive Mood head *-ka* has an unvalued Person feature.[12] It probes for a goal bearing a valued Person feature, finds [$_{DP}$ *Juanu*], copies its [Pers:3] feature onto itself, and values the unvalued Case feature of [$_{DP}$ *Juanu*] nominative:

(39)



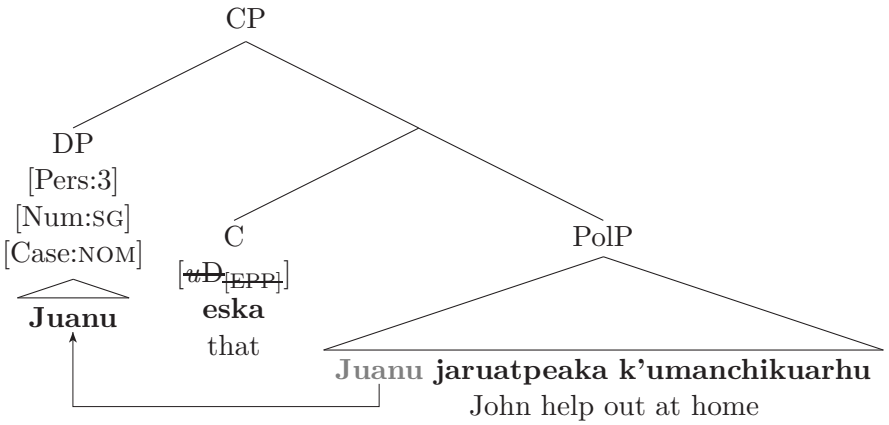
Merged in next is the C *eska* 'that', which I claim can optionally bear a feature [*u*D$_{[EPP]}$].[13]

In hyperraising to object, the version of *eska* bearing [*u*D$_{[EPP]}$] is chosen. It probes for a goal of category D, finds [$_{DP}$ *Juanu*], and forces it to internally merge with its own highest projection ("$\bar{C}$") to satisfy its EPP subfeature:

[12] The basis for this assumption is the fact that the *indicative* Mood suffix is a portmanteau that also expones the person of the subject: *-ka* (1/2) ∼ *-ti* (3) (→ *-ga*, *-di* immediately after /n/). I assume for concreteness that the indicative Mood head not only agrees with the subject in person but also assigns it nominative Case, and that the subjunctive Mood head behaves identically—even though it does not agree with the subject overtly, but rather always surfaces as *-ka*(/*-ga*). The derivation uses simplified person features such as [Pers:3] for convenience (see Bobaljik 2012:210-212 for relevant discussion).

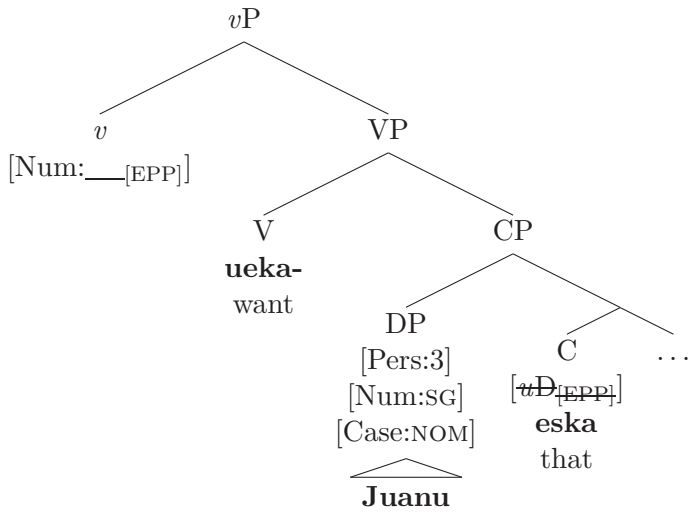
[13] For various perspectives on the notion "EPP," see Grohmann, Drury, and Castillo 2000; Bošković 2002; Epstein, Pires, and Seely 2005; Landau 2007; Cable 2012; Chomsky 2013, 2015; and the references in fn. 15 below.

(40)



Since CP is a phase, *eska* is a phase head, so its complement (PolP) is spelled out. The highest copy of *Juanu* is on the phase edge, and hence still accessible. The derivation continues, yielding the following:

(41)



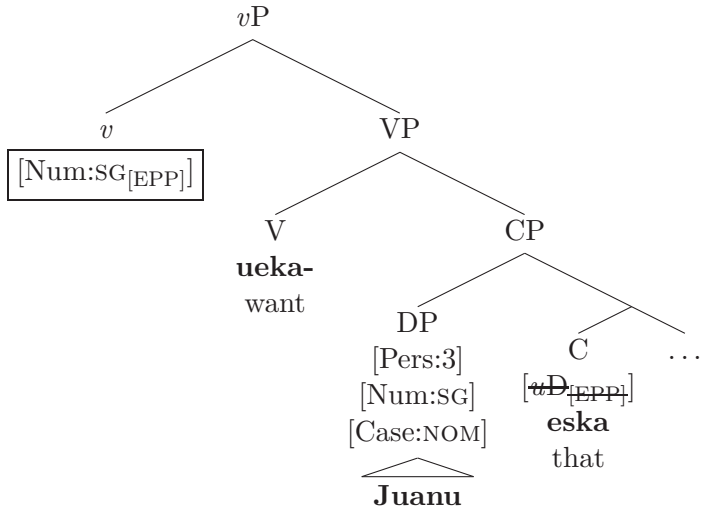
The hyperraising *v* selects the V *ueka-* 'want' (or *uetarincha-* 'need' or *mite-* 'know').

This *v* also bears an unvalued Number feature with an EPP subfeature. *v* probes for an element that can value this feature, finds [$_{DP}$ *Juanu*], and uses the latter's [Num:SG] feature to value its own Number feature singular.

I.e., *v* is an "object agreement" probe. The agreement can be exponed overtly (by the suffix *-a*) when the agreed-with DP is plural, just as in ordinary transitive clauses (Appendix A).

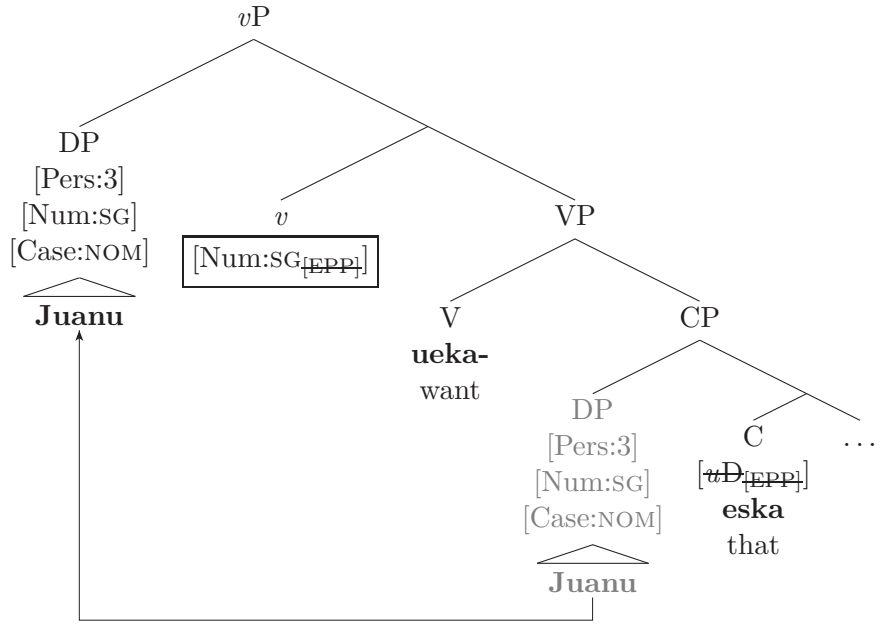
The structure is then as follows:

(42)



The Agree goal is internally merged with the projection of v to satisfy the Number feature's EPP subfeature:

(43)



(How the hyperraised DP ends up accusative, I won't try to determine today.[14])

Merged in next is the matrix subject (*Maria*):

[14]Some possibilities:

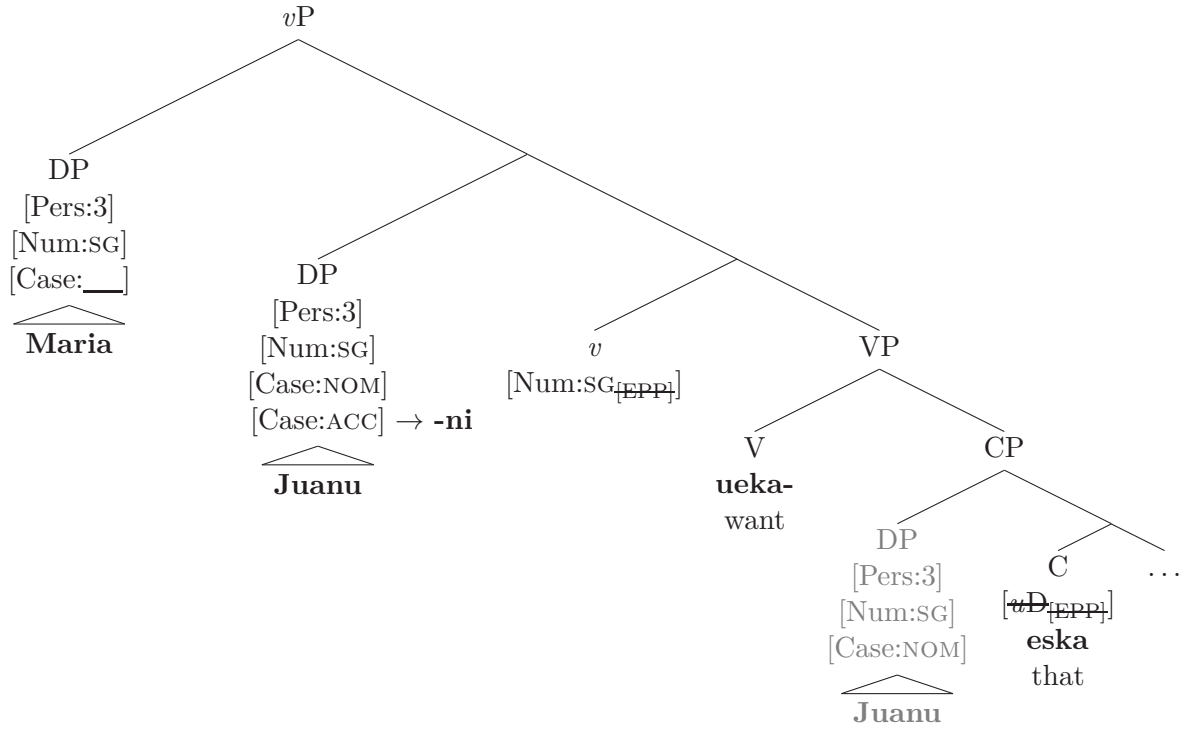
(1) a. Case stacking: The hyperraising v bears a feature [Case:ACC], which is somehow copied onto the DP as part of the Agree operation.

b. Case overwriting: The hyperraising v bears a feature [Case:ACC], which somehow overwrites the DP's [Case:NOM] feature as part of the Agree operation.

c. Dependent case assignment: The DP isn't Case-*licensed* again; rather, it surfaces with (dependent) accusative because it is locally c-commanded by the matrix subject (cf. Marantz 1991, Baker 2015, a.o.). (If this is right, and the DP is assigned dependent accusative when it's in the embedded [Spec,CP] and the matrix subject is in [Spec,vP], then this will constitute counterevidence to Poole's 2016a proposal that dependent case assignment is regulated by the Williams Cycle.)

Case stacking and case overwriting would be difficult to distinguish empirically here, since nominative is not overt in P'urhepecha.

(44)



The matrix *v*P merges with matrix Voice, forming a VoiceP, to which the manner PP *mintsitani jingoni* 'with all her heart' is left-adjoined. The matrix subject *Maria* values the Person feature of the matrix indicative Mood head, and is assigned nominative in return. These and other operations complete the derivation of the sentence:

(45) (?)Mentku isï **mintsita-ni jingoni** ueka-sïn-∅-di **Maria** Juanu-ni eska jaruatpe-a-∅-ka
always thus heart-ACC with want-HAB-PRS-IND3 Mary John-ACC that help-FUT-PRS-SJV
k'umanchikua-rhu.
house-LOC
'Mary always wants John with all her heart to help out at home.' (= (33))

6.4 Crosslinguistic variation

On this analysis, what's special about Janitzio P'urhepecha that permits hyperraising to object in this language is that it allows [*u*D] on the C *eska*, and the unvalued Number feature on (at least the hyperraising) *v*, to bear an EPP subfeature.

In languages like English, by contrast, no C bears [*u*D$_{[EPP]}$], so hyperraising cannot get off the ground.

That is, the difference between hyperraising and nonhyperraising languages resides in the properties of individual lexical items. The analysis is thus compatible with the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (cf. Baker 2008:353).

7 Against Greed- and Labeling-based alternatives

Consider again how a hyperraising-to-object sentence in Janitzio P'urhepecha is derived on this analysis:

(46) $[_{vP}\ \boxed{\text{DP}_i}\ v_{[\text{Num:VAL}_{\text{[EPP]}}]}\ [_{VP}\ \text{V}\ [_{CP}\ \boxed{\text{DP}_i}\ \text{C}_{[\text{}_{\text{[EPP]}}]}\ \ldots\ [_{vP}\ \boxed{\text{DP}_i}\ \ldots\ ]]]]$

Above, each of the two movement steps was analyzed as **altruistic**—i.e., driven by a featural requirement of the target (the head moved to).

But there would seem to be at least two salient alternatives. Rather than being altruistic, these movement steps could be **greedy** or **labeling-driven**.

Let's lay out the three hypotheses more explicitly:

(47) a. **Greed:** A constituent moves to satisfy a feature (a grammatical requirement) of its own.
(Chomsky 1995:201, Grohmann, Drury, & Castillo 2000; Bošković 1995, 2002, 2007; Harwood 2015:528, fn. 8; Holmberg, Sheehan, & van der Wal 2016:11, a.o.)

b. **Enlightened Self-Interest:** A constituent moves to satisfy a feature of its own or of the position it moves to.
(Lasnik 1995, 2003, Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, 2008, McCloskey 2001, Bošković 2004 [appendix], Cable 2012, Ostrove 2016, 2017, a.o.; see also Nunes 2016)

c. **Labeling:** A constituent moves so that every relevant constituent in the structure can receive a label from the syntactic Labeling Algorithm.
(Chomsky 2013, 2015, Ott 2015, Rizzi 2015, Smith 2015, Bošković to appear, a.o.)

Can we adjudicate between these three possibilities?

7.1 Alternative analysis A: Greedy movement

Possibility: The hyperraising DP raises to satisfy featural requirements not of its targets but of its own.

7.1.1 Driving force = Case?

One natural hypothesis is that the DP moves to get Case.

But the DP's need for Case can't be why it moves into the matrix, because nominative Case is available in the embedded finite CP…

…as shown by the fact that DP_{ACC} can be linked to a *nominative* floating quantifier in the embedded CP:

(48) [Context: There are three dogs, named Alonzo, Paco, and Puki (= Lion). I want the three of them to play, so that they get enough exercise. I say…]

Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni	Alonsu-ni, Paku-ni ka Puki-ni	**eska**=sï iamindu-eecha
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS	Alonzo-ACC, Paco-ACC and Lion-ACC	that=pS all-PL(NOM)

ch'ana-a-∅-ka.
play-FUT-PRS-SJV
'I want Alonzo, Paco, and Puki to all play.'

7.1.2 Driving force = [*uv*]?

So the Greed analysis could be revised as follows.

In Bošković's (2007) system, not only does every probe bear an unvalued feature, but also every element bearing an unvalued feature acts as a probe. If an element with an unvalued feature can't value it under Agree from where it is, it'll move to a c-commanding position and try to value it under Agree from there.

Since a hyperraising DP ends up in [Spec,*v*P], we could posit that a D in Janitzio P'urhepecha (and hence the DP it heads) can optionally bear a feature [*uv*], which drives the movement. (This is conceptually less appealing than the Case-based Greed analysis, but still implementable.)

Advantage: No need for any counterpart of the optional [$u\mathrm{D}_{[\mathrm{EPP}]}$] on C that was posited in the altruistic analysis:

An embedded subject DP bearing [*uv*] moves to [Spec,CP], the phase edge position: if it doesn't, it'll be spelled out with its [*uv*] unvalued (→ crash). The DP then moves to a matrix [Spec,*v*P], from which position it c-commands *v* and can thus value its [*uv*] under Agree.

But there are two major problems with this:

(49) a. The embedded subject DP already c-commands a *v* in its base position (the embedded [Spec,*v*P]), and hence would not have to move at all to satisfy a hypothetical [*uv*].

b. Suppose that could be dealt with somehow. Still, if a D(P) could optionally bear [*uv*], [*uv*] could show up on the embedded object and not the embedded subject, in which case the object would hyperraise into the matrix. I.e., hyperraising to object would be wrongly predicted not to display intervention effects.

7.2 Alternative analysis B: Labeling-driven movement

Possibility: Hyperraising to object is driven (indirectly) by the Labeling Algorithm of Chomsky (2013, 2015).

Hyperraising to object is (descriptively speaking) optional. Therefore, we would presumably have to say that the hyperraising $v_{[\mathrm{Num:\_\_}]}$ comes in two flavors, one of which is too weak to label its maximal projection...

...and that, when the weak one is chosen, successful labeling of the traditional *v*P will be possible only if a DP (also bearing [Num]) raises to "[Spec,*v*P]."

When the embedded subject DP raises to "[Spec,*v*P]," it and its sister ("$\bar{v}$") share a feature—[Num]—so the "*v*P" can be labeled ⟨Num,Num⟩.

Problems:

(50) a. The assumption that the hyperraising *v* (which is silent) comes in two flavors, one of which is too weak to label its projections, is strange...

b. ...especially since V (or the root, "R") raises to *v* in Janitzio P'urhepecha, and, by hypothesis, the R-*v* complex can label, unlike R alone (Chomsky 2015:12).

But these problems for the Labeling analysis are minor compared to those posed by Janitzio P'urhepecha subjects independently of hyperraising:

(51) a. The subject can stay in situ, in [Spec,*v*P] ((31), (33)). This yields an XP-YP structure. Hence, "*v*P" should be unlabelable, unless *v* and the subject DP share a feature, which there's no evidence for.

b. If the subject DP can move to [Spec,MoodP], the resulting XP-YP structure is unproblematic: Mood agrees with the subject in person, so "MoodP" can be labeled ⟨Pers,Pers⟩.

But an XP-YP structure is also created when the subject moves to [Spec,VoiceP], [Spec,AspP], [Spec,TP], or [Spec,PolP], and in these cases there's no overt agreement (Zyman 2016, MS, §§4.1, 7.2; cf. Cable 2012 on Dholuo[15]).

The relevant maximal projections (VoiceP, AspP, TP, and PolP) could be rendered labelable by positing covert agreement, but this would arguably make the Labeling analysis unfalsifiable.

8 Conclusion and broader implications

Today, I've argued that many speakers of Janitzio P'urhepecha allow *hyperraising to object* (cf. Bruening 2001, Halpert & Zeller 2015, Deal 2016, a.o.).

- This is another instance of a phenomenon (**hyperraising**) that's being discovered in more and more languages, indicating that syntactic theory should not exclude this possibility after all.

  I've developed an analysis of hyperraising to object in Janitzio P'urhepecha that's compatible with current theoretical commitments regarding syntactic elements and operations and the ways in which languages can differ.

- The analysis contributes to narrowing down the space of possibilities for understanding **A/Ā-effects**.

  A view on which [Spec,CP] is invariably an Ā-position, and an element that moves there cannot enter into further A-relations, will not work.

  By contrast, a **featural** analysis of A/Ā-effects—on which A/Ā-effects are consequences of the features on particular functional heads (van Urk 2015)—looks much more promising.

  If a language allows [*u*D$_{[\text{EPP}]}$] to appear not only on functional heads in the inflectional layer of the clause (cf. Rizzi 1997:281) but also on a finite C (and nothing in the current theory rules this out), then we should expect it to allow A-raising out of finite CPs.

- Finally, the analysis also sheds light on the question of the **driving force for movement**.

  I've argued that hyperraising to object in Janitzio P'urhepecha involves two steps of movement, each driven exclusively by a requirement of the head moved to (i.e., both movement steps are *altruistic*).

  Alternative Greed- and Labeling-based analyses of the phenomenon face serious problems.

  The phenomenon, then, provides an argument that the driving force for movement is most correctly understood in terms of **Enlightened Self-Interest** (Lasnik 1995, 2003, a.o.): movement may be driven either by a requirement of the moving element or, as here, by a requirement of the head moved to.

[15] On the syntax of subject positions crosslinguistically, see Koopman and Sportiche 1991, Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, Goodall 2001, Kiss 2002, Svenonius 2002, Cardinaletti 2004, Rizzi 2015, Poole 2016b, McCloskey 2017, and references therein.

9 Appendix A: Object agreement and its interaction with hyperraising to object

P'urhepecha has object agreement: when an object is plural, it can trigger the appearance of the suffix *-a* in the verbal complex ((52a)).[16]

This is optional. At least for the consultant who supplied these judgments, not realizing the *-a* overtly produces an output which is also acceptable, though marked by comparison ((52b)).

(52) a. Uitsindekua exe-a-sï-∅-ka=ni Xumu-ni ka Axuni-ni.
yesterday see-pO-PFV-PRS-IND1=1sS Xumo-ACC and Axuni-ACC
'Yesterday I saw Xumo and Axuni.'

b. [M]Uitsindekua exe-sï-∅-ka=ni Xumu-ni ka Axuni-ni.
yesterday see-PFV-PRS-IND1=1sS Xumo-ACC and Axuni-ACC
'Yesterday I saw Xumo and Axuni.'

Exactly the same pattern obtains in hyperraising to object, with the appearance of *-a* triggered by the raised embedded subject ($\boxed{\text{DP}_{\text{ACC}}}$):

(53) Ueka-a-sïn-∅-ga=ni Maria-ni ka Klara-ni **mintsita-ni jingoni** eska
want-pO-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS Maria-ACC and Clara-ACC heart-ACC with that
pire-a-∅-ka=sï.
sing-FUT-PRS-SJV=pS
'I want Maria and Clara with all my heart to sing.' [17]

(54) [M]Ueka-sïn-∅-ga=ni Maria-ni ka Klara-ni **mintsita-ni jingoni** eska pire-a-∅-ka=sï.
want-HAB-PRS-IND1=1sS Maria-ACC and Clara-ACC heart-ACC with that sing-FUT-PRS-SJV=pS
'I want Maria and Clara with all my heart to sing.'

10 Appendix B: Comparison with (a few) other analyses of hyperraising

Carstens and Diercks (2013) on Lubukusu and Lusaamia: N moves to D (as suggested by DP-internal constituent order). As a result, DP inherits N's Gender (Noun Class) feature, which is lexically valued but uninterpretable, and hence infinitely reusable in A-relations, permitting hyperraising.

- May be right for those languages (though there's a question as to how exactly DP inherits N's Gender feature, and why hyperraising isn't possible in, say, Spanish). But can't extend to P'urhepecha, which lacks grammatical gender.

Martins and Nunes (2010), Petersen and Terzi (to appear), a.o., on Brazilian Portuguese and (P&T) Greek: "Hyperraising" occurs when the embedded $T_{[\text{FIN}]}$ is ϕ-incomplete and can't assign its subject Case.

- Brazilian Portuguese $T_{[\text{FIN}]}$ can optionally be ϕ-incomplete; this is claimed to be due to the "weakening" over time of the language's subject agreement paradigms. For Greek, P&T propose that $T_{[\text{FIN}]}$ in a clause that doesn't support independent temporal reference (as diagnosed by time adverbials) is ϕ-incomplete and hence not a Case assigner.

[16] In Janitzio P'urhepecha, *-a* seems to immediately follow the root, preceding even derivational suffixes.

[17] In (53-54), DP_{ACC} precedes the matrix adverbial *mintsitani jingoni* 'with all my heart'. The judgments remain unchanged when DP_{ACC} immediately follows this matrix adverbial instead.

- May be on the right track for those languages, but not promising for Janitzio P'urhepecha. In this language, a DP hyperraised to object can be linked to a nominative floating quantifier in the embedded CP ((48)), suggesting strongly that nominative Case is available in that CP.

Halpert (2016) on Zulu (hyperraising to subject): T agrees with the embedded finite CP in ϕ-features. A finite CP can't satisfy T's EPP feature in Zulu, so T probes into the CP, agrees with its DP subject, and raises it to [Spec,TP] to satisfy its EPP feature. (T can probe into the featural intervener [CP] because it has agreed with it.)

- If a CP in Janitzio P'urhepecha lacks ϕ-features and hence isn't an intervener, then the hyperraising v should be able to probe into it and agree with the embedded subject DP directly, if Halpert's long-term program of reducing phases to featural Relativized Minimality (cf. Rizzi 1990; see also Bhatia, Kusmer, & Vostrikova 2016, Poole 2016b) proves successful. A problem, though: why, on this view, does hyperraising to object in Janitzio P'urhepecha block *wh*-movement out of the embedded CP ((13))?

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