The Rich Syntax of Grammatical Relations: Raising and Hyperraising in P'urhepecha*

Erik Zyman · UC Santa Cruz
ezyman@ucsc.edu

University of Chicago · April 17, 2018

1 Introduction

A crucial task for syntactic theory: to determine...

(1) a. what syntactic operations are made available by the human capacity for language,
b. what their properties are, and
c. why they have the properties they do.

A striking fact about human languages: their syntax makes extensive use of *displacement*...

...a phenomenon wherein an element X occurs in one position in surface syntax ("position Z") but shows hallmarks of occupying some other position ("position Y") covertly:

(2) $X_Z \ldots X_Y$

On one influential approach to displacement, this is the result of *movement*.

X is in position Y underlyingly (or, in derivational terms, at a derivational stage that does not directly feed pronunciation), but moves to position Z, producing the surface form which is actually observed:

(3) $X_Z \ldots X_Y$

For most of the history of generative grammar, displacement seemed like an anomaly: why should it exist?

A major step forward: Chomsky's (2004) proposal that movement is in fact a subcase of the basic structure-building operation Merge:

*Many thanks indeed to Antonio Reyes Justo, María Bárbara Bartolo López, Elvia Campos Talavera, Araceli de la Cruz Guzmán, Gloria de la Cruz Guzmán, Roque Eligio Hernández, Delfina Florentino López, Juan Gabriel Florentino, Esvelia Guzmán Reyes, María Estela Guzmán Reyes, and Olivia Guzmán Reyes for sharing with me their knowledge of and insights into their language. Many thanks also, for valuable discussion, to Jim McCloskey, Sandy Chung, Jorge Hankamer, Nathaniel Deutsch, Judith Aissen, Beatriz Arias Álvarez, Pranav Anand, Nate Arnett, James Collins, Amy Rose Deal, Bob Freidin, John Gluckman, Jane Grimshaw, Heidi Harley, Stephanie Harves, Lisa Hofmann, Kyle Johnson, Nick Kalivoda, Itamar Kastner, Richie Kayne, Stefan Keine, Tyler Lemon, Travis Major, Ben Mericli, Jason Ostrove, Michelle Sheehan, Ivy Sichel, Adam Singerman, Maziar Toosarvandani, Susi Wurmbrand, Raffaella Zanuttini, the participants in the Fall 2015 Morphology seminar at UCSC, and attendees at NonFinite Subjects (University of Nantes, April 2016), the 12th Annual Graduate Research Symposium at UCSC (April 2016), UCSC's Syntax & Semantics Circle (May 2016), the Workshop on the Languages of Meso-America (UCSC, December 2016), LSA 2017 (Austin, January 2017), and a talk at the University of Florida (February 2017). The usual disclaimers apply. This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship Program under Grant No. DGE-1339067. 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 research was also supported by two Summer Research Fellowships (2014, 2015) from the Institute for Humanities Research at UCSC.

(4) Merge(X, Y) → {X, Y} [1] (cf. Collins 2017)

The two subcases of Merge:

(5) *External Merge* (X does not contain/dominate Y)
Merge(*see*, *her*) = {*see*, *her*}

(6) *Internal Merge* (X does contain/dominate Y)[2]
Merge(*I won't see her*, *her*) = {*her*, *I won't see her*}

(cf. Collins & Stabler 2016:48, Freidin 2016:702, Collins 2017:48, Collins & Groat 2018:1; see also Graf 2018)

The result of (6) will surface as *Her, I won't see*, given a suitable externalization algorithm for ensuring that non-highest copies are (normally) not pronounced.

Chomsky: if movement is simply Internal Merge, it's no longer an anomaly. Indeed, it would be anomalous if it didn't exist, since blocking it would require a stipulation (namely, that X and Y could only be merged if neither contained/dominated the other). (see also Collins 2017)

This is real progress. But questions remain about this particular structure-building operation ("Internal Merge"):

(7) a. Precisely how should it be characterized/formulated?
b. How does it function in the computational process (i.e., in syntactic derivations)?
c. What constraints is it subject to?

A great deal of investigation has converged on the conclusion that derivations are (at least largely) driven by properties ("features") of particular heads—selectional features, ϕ-features, Case features, etc.—and the interactions they enter into. If this is on the right track, then we can ask:

(8) What are the heads and features that drive this *particular* operation (Internal Merge) in the course of a derivation?

Or, for short:

(9) What is the driving force for movement?

Three prominent hypotheses:

(10) a. **Driver = moving element:** A constituent moves to satisfy a feature of its own.
(Chomsky 1995a:201; Bošković 1995, 2002, 2007, 2011, 2018b; Grohmann, Drury, & Castillo 2000; Harwood 2015:528, fn. 8; Holmberg, Sheehan, & van der Wal 2016:11; Goto 2017a, a.o.)

b. **Driver = moving element or higher head:** A constituent moves to satisfy a feature of its own or a feature of the higher head to whose specifier it moves.
(Chomsky 1995a:297, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2008, Lasnik 1995, 2003, McCloskey 2001, McFadden 2003, Bošković 2004 [appendix], Cable 2012, Ostrove 2016a, 2017b, Werthen 2018, a.o.; see also Nunes 2016)

c. **Driver = labeling:** A constituent moves so that every relevant constituent in the structure can receive a label from the syntactic Labeling Algorithm.
(Chomsky 2013, 2015, 2016, Ott 2015, Rizzi 2015, Smith 2015, Bošković 2018a, a.o.)

Can we adjudicate between these?

[1] Whether Merge is in fact more complex than this, incorporating additional suboperations such as labeling/projection, is an important question, but not immediately relevant here. See Merchant 2018:2 for a different definition of Merge formulated to account for facts about selection.

[2] This example abstracts away from the clause-internal phase for ease of exposition. On the issue of how to distinguish copies from repetitions in a Merge-based system, see Chomsky 2013:40-41, 2015, Freidin 2016:702-705, and Collins and Groat 2018.

1.1 Roadmap

- **§2:** Case study: "accusative + complementizer" (ACC-C) in Janitzio P'urhepecha
- **§3:** The accusative DP 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 moving-element- and labeling-driven alternatives
- **§8:** Conclusion

2 "Accusative + complementizer" (ACC-C) in Janitzio P'urhepecha

Today's case study comes from P'urhepecha, an isolate of Mexico spoken mainly in the central-western state of Michoacán—and 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, Friedrich 1970, Wares 1974, Capistrán 2002, Medina Pérez 2006, Villavicencio Zarza 2006, Chamoreau 2007, Mendoza 2007, Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado 2011, 2012, Capistrán Garza 2015, a.o.)

The verb *ueka-* 'want' can select a (finite) subjunctive clause[3] with a nominative subject ((11)). (Nominative is not morphologically realized.)

(11) 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.' [4]

But for some speakers, the embedded subject can apparently surface to the left of the C *eska* 'that', with accusative rather than nominative case:

(12) *"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' ((12)), *uetarincha-* 'need' ((13)), ...

[3] 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.

[4] **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.

(13) 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':

(14) 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.'
[?$_A$, ?$_B$, *$_C$, *$_D$, ✓$_E$][5]

3 The accusative DP is in the matrix clause

Is the accusative DP[6] (DP$_{ACC}$) in the matrix, or at the left edge of the embedded CP?

(15) *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. (Cf. Postal 1974:146-154, Halpert & Zeller 2015:485-486.)

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

The relevant sentences—involving DP$_{ACC}$ ≫ MATRIX ADVERBIAL ≫ CP order—are relatively or even quite acceptable:

(16) (?)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.'

(17) ?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 shows that DP$_{ACC}$ can be in the matrix.[7]

[5]Bracketed diacritics represent judgments from individual speakers. They accompany sentences for which judgments from multiple speakers are available that display variation. All diacritics bearing a subscript B represent judgments from the same speaker, and likewise for the other letters.

[6]The term *DP* is used here for convenience. How much evidence there is for this exact category in Janitzio P'urhepecha would be worth investigating. See Bošković 2008 for arguments that some languages have NPs but not DPs, Bošković and Şener 2014 for arguments to this effect for Turkish specifically, and Bruening 2009 for arguments against the DP Hypothesis in general.

[7]The opposite order (MATRIX ADVERBIAL ≫ DP$_{ACC}$ ≫ *eska...*) is also possible: the judgments given for (16-17) 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 (16-17) show that DP$_{ACC}$ *can* be in the matrix.

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:

(18) 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

(19) *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:

(20) 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:

(21) 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.'

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

(22) *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:

(23) *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 ___$_k$].

(24) *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:

(25) 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

(26) *Predictions*

a. **Hyperraising hypothesis:** ACC-C should obey islands. (Cf. Bruening 2002, §3.1.4.)

b. **Prolepsis hypothesis:** ACC-C should be island-insensitive.

N.B. Prolepsis in English is island-insensitive:

(27) 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:

(28) 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:

(29) a. *No ACC-C*

Mite-sï-∅-ka=ni **eska** iamindu-eecha kurandi-j-∅-ka=sï [$_{adjunct}$ enga jorhentperi
know-PFV-PRS-IND1=1sS that all-PL listen-HAB-PRS-SJV=pS SUB teacher
uanda-na-∅-ka].
talk-DUR-PRS-SJV]
'I know that everyone listens when the teacher's talking.'

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

?Mite-sï-∅-ka=ni iamindu-eecha-ni$_i$ **eska** ____$_i$ kurandi-j-∅-ka=sï [$_{adjunct}$ enga
know-PFV-PRS-IND1=1sS all-PL-ACC$_i$ that ____$_i$ listen-HAB-PRS-SJV=pS SUB
jorhentperi uanda-na-∅-ka].
teacher talk-DUR-PRS-SJV]
'I know that everyone listens when the teacher's talking.'

c. *ACC-C: DP_{ACC} cannot correspond to a DP inside the adjunct CP*

*Mite-sï-∅-ka=ni jorhentperi-ni$_k$ **eska** iamindu-eecha kurandi-j-∅-ka=sï [$_{adjunct}$
know-PFV-PRS-IND1=1sS teacher-ACC$_k$ that all-PL listen-HAB-PRS-SJV=pS
enga ____$_k$ uanda-na-∅-ka].
SUB ____$_k$ talk-DUR-PRS-SJV]
int. ≈'I know about the teacher$_k$ that everyone listens when (s)he's$_k$ talking.'

5 ACC-C is hyperraising, not finite object control

One more possibility: could ACC-C be finite object control ((30))?

(30) … 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 V

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:

(31) [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.)

(32) [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.)

(33) [Context: There's a guy who's kind of a pain, and who makes everyone's life difficult.][8]

?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

(34) *Predictions*

a. **Hyperraising hypothesis:** We *may* expect a negative DP_{ACC} to be able to take scope within the embedded CP it raises 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 English object control obligatorily outscopes the matrix V:

(35) 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].'

[8] There is a question as to why (31-33) 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 (31-33) 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 (31-33) 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:

(36) [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...][9]

a. *With strong*[10] *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].'

(37) *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 2002, Tanaka 2002, Halpert & Zeller 2015, Fong 2017a,b, 2018, Deal 2017, a.o.).[11]

[9] Negative objects surface preverbally in Janitzio P'urhepecha.

[10] In (36a), 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 (36b), 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 (36) was run with both strong and weak verbal morphology (on which see Wares 1974:99, §3.4).

[11] On hyperraising more generally, see Martins and Nunes 2010, Carstens and Diercks 2013, Halpert 2016, 2018, Fong 2017b, 2018, Petersen and Terzi to appear, and refs. therein, a.m.o.

6 Analysis

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

Janitzio P'urhepecha clause structure:[12]

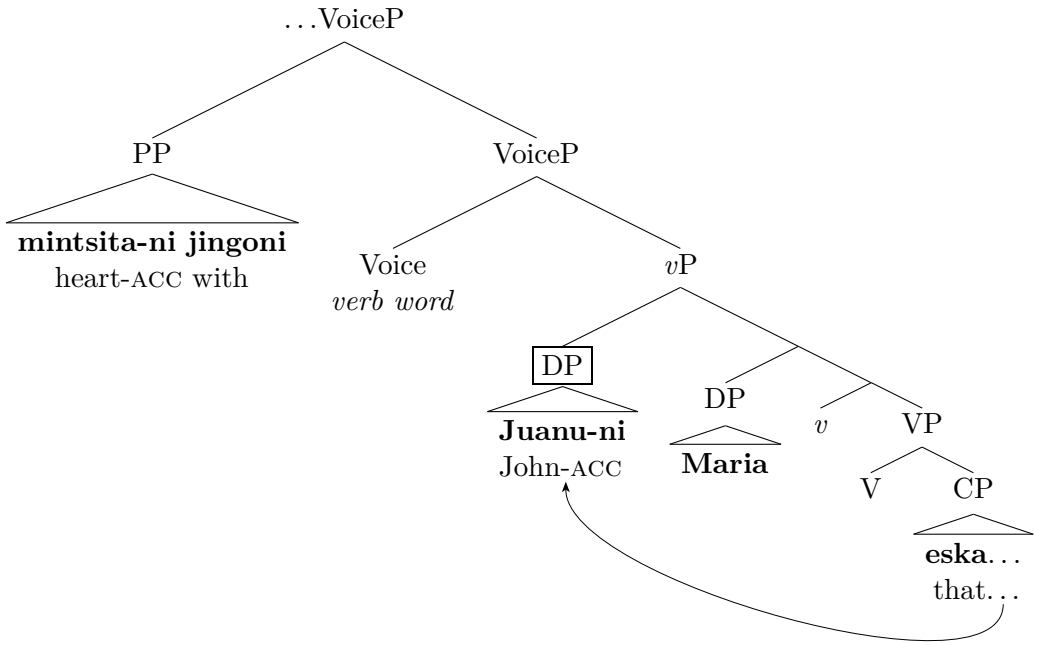
(38) … [PolP … [MoodP … [TP … [AspP … [VoiceP (AdvP$_{manner}$) [VoiceP … [*v*P DP$_{SUBJ}$ … [VP …]]]]]]]]

Consider (39):

(39) ?Mentku isï **mintsita-ni jingoni** ueka-sïn-∅-di Juanu-ni **Maria** eska jaruatpe-a-∅-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 (38), the structure of (39) must be:

(40)



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

In (40), the matrix subject (*Maria*) is externally merged with a projection of *v*, and then the hyperraising DP is internally merged.

[12] Slightly revised from Zyman 2017, §3. That paper argues for everything in (38), including the analysis of manner adverbials as VoiceP-adjuncts—except that it posits only a VoiceP but no separate *v*P. The data given here, however, require positing both. To the extent that the analysis is successful, it supports the view that VoiceP and *v*P are separate in Janitzio P'urhepecha.

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.

For other analyses of clause structure that are broadly compatible with this one, see Gribanova 2013 (for Russian); Tucker 2013 (for Maltese); Legate 2014 (for Acehnese); Hamilton 2015 (for Mi'gmaq); Kalivoda 2015 (for Teotitlán del Valle Zapotec); Baclawski 2017 (for Eastern Cham); Bruening 2017 (for Passamaquoddy-Maliseet); Desai 2017a,b (for Gujarati); McCloskey 2017 (for Irish); Ostrove 2016b, 2017a,b (for San Martín Peras Mixtec); Adler, Foley, Pizarro-Guevara, Sasaki, and Toosarvandani 2018 (for Santiago Laxopa Zapotec); Kalivoda and Zyman 2018 (for Latin); Ostrove 2018 (for Irish); Clem submitted (for Amahuaca); Ostrove submitted (for Scottish Gaelic); Danckaert to appear (for Latin); Haugen to appear (for Classical Nahuatl), a.m.o.

But if External and Internal Merge are really the same operation (Merge, Chomsky 2004, Collins 2017, a.o.), 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:[13]

(41) (?)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?

This section shows (by means of a binding diagnostic used for Zulu in Halpert and Zeller 2015:486-7) that it functions as an A-position.

Consider the following:

(42) *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
lit. '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 (42) is hyperraised, the result is unacceptable on the relevant (coreferential) reading:

(43) *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 (43) is not that pronouns can't be hyperraised: they can. If (43) is altered minimally by replacing the name in the fronted PP with a pronoun, it becomes relatively acceptable:

(44) ?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.'

[13] This provides an argument against both Merge over Move (Chomsky 1995, 2000) and Move over Merge (Shima 2000, Larson 2015) (see Freidin 2016:700-702 for discussion). 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 (Richards 1997) can optionally occur in this case.

The contrast between (43) and (44) suggests strongly that the problem with (43) is a Condition C violation.

When the embedded pronominal subject raises to [Spec,vP], it c-commands the fronted PP in the embedded CP.

This is unproblematic in (44). But in (43), it has the consequence that the pronoun c-commands the name, in violation of Condition C.

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

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

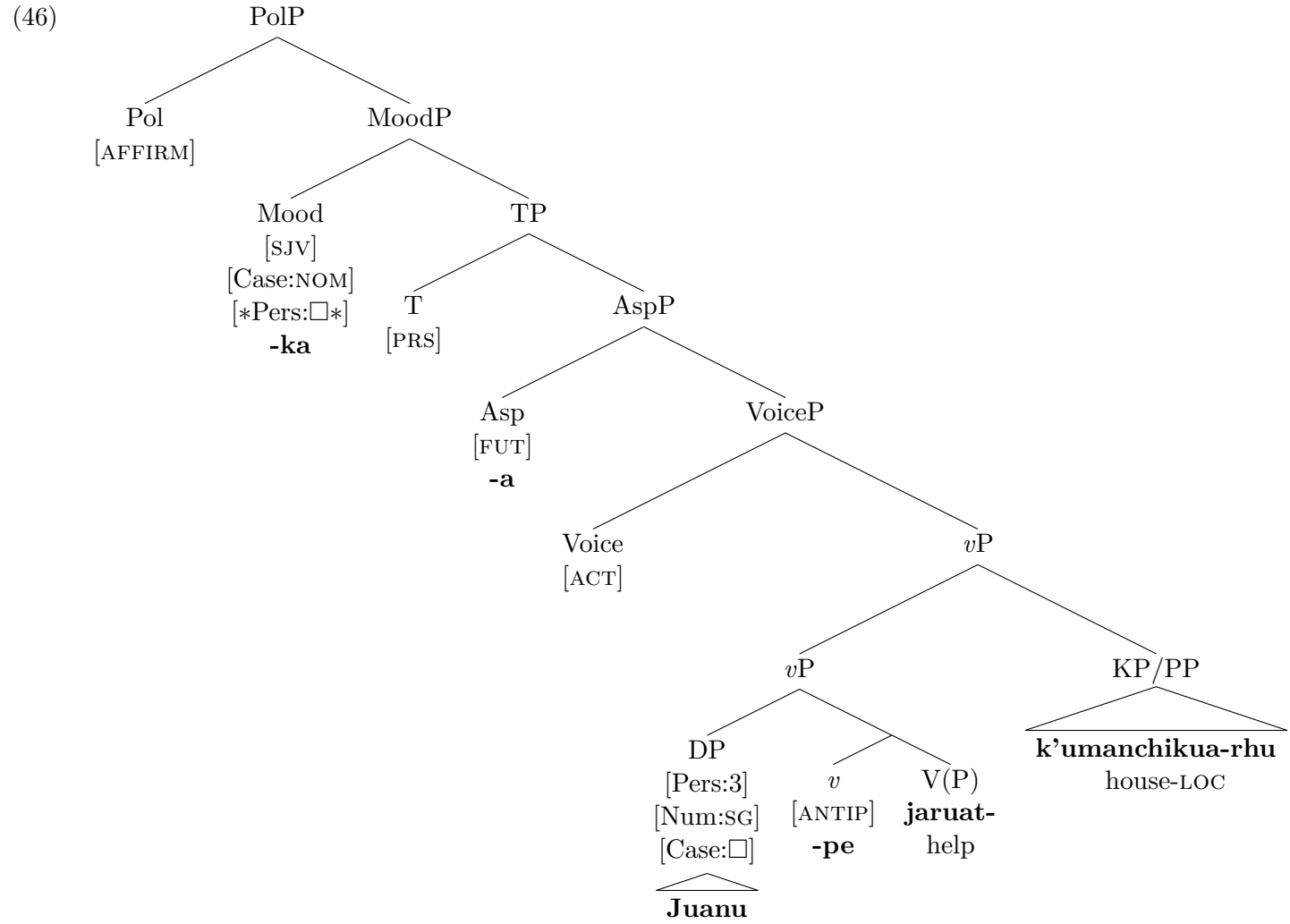
6.3 Analysis

Let's lay out the analysis by deriving (41), repeated here:

(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.' (= (41))

First, the core of the embedded CP is built:[14]

(46)

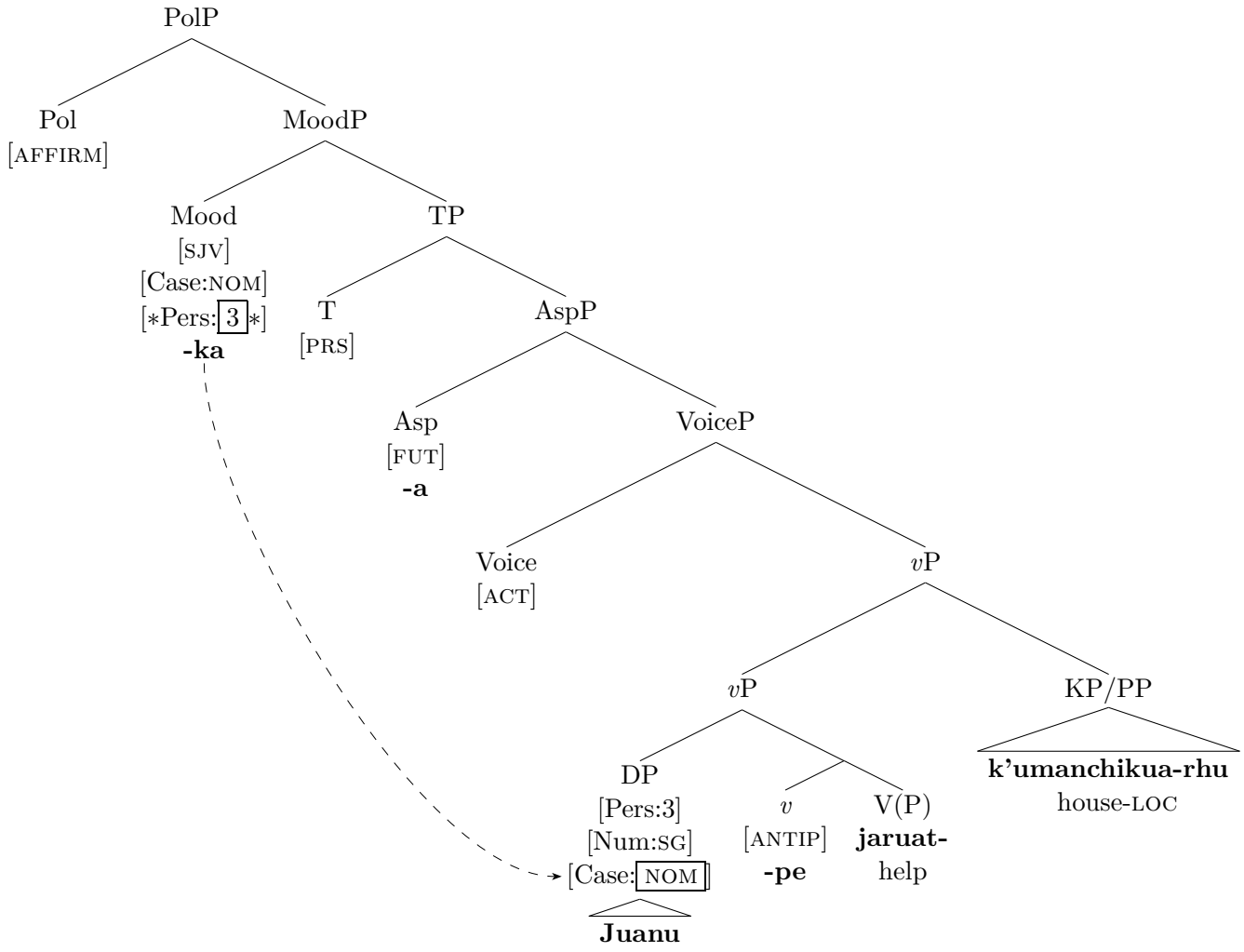


[14]For convenience, the discussion here abstracts away from the derivational effects of the clause-internal phase, if there is one (e.g., *v*P or VoiceP; see Fox 1999, Legate 2003, Harwood 2015, van Urk 2015, van Urk & Richards 2015, Ingason & Wood 2017, a.o.; see Freidin 2016:693-694 for discussion). Also, the antipassive suffix *-pe* in *jaruat-pe-* 'help-ANTIP' is tentatively analyzed here as a *v*. None of this should affect the analysis.

Following Heck and Müller 2007, the following feature notation is used here: **1)** Probe feature: [∗F∗]. **2)** Unvalued feature: [F:□]. **3)** Unvalued feature that probes for a value: [∗F:□∗]. Departing from their notation, an EPP subfeature is represented with a superscript: $[\ldots]^{\text{EPP}}$.

The subjunctive Mood head *-ka* bears an unvalued Person probe.[15] It probes for a goal bearing a valued Person feature, finds [$_{DP}$ *Juanu*], copies its value for [Pers] (3) onto itself, and values the unvalued Case feature of [$_{DP}$ *Juanu*] nominative:

(47)



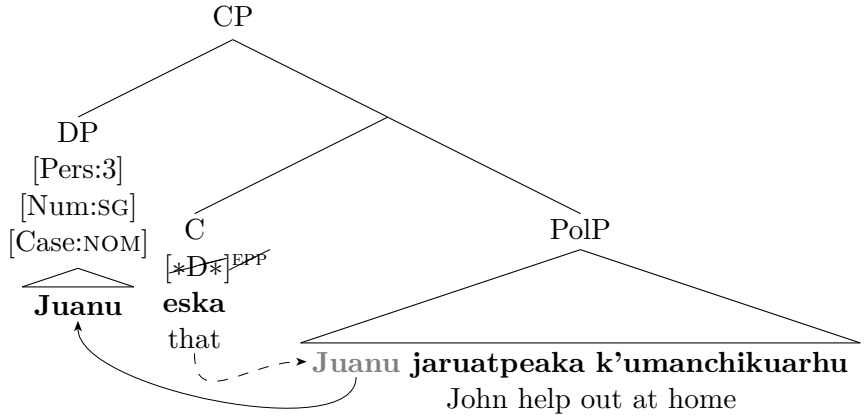
Merged in next is the C *eska* 'that', which can optionally bear a feature [∗D∗]^{EPP}.[16]

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

[15] 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/). It is assumed here 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).

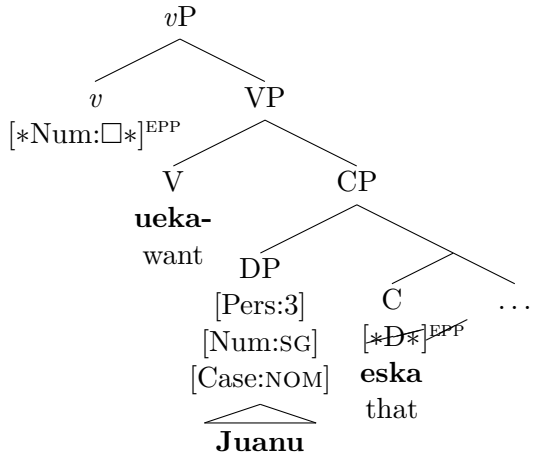
[16] For various perspectives on the notion "EPP," see Grohmann, Drury, and Castillo 2000; Goodall 2001; Bošković 2002, 2004 [appendix]; McFadden 2003; Epstein, Pires, and Seely 2005; Landau 2007; Bailey 2010; Cable 2012; Chomsky 2013, 2015, 2016; Goto 2017b; Bošković and Messick to appear; refs. therein; and the refs. in fn. 19.

(48)



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:

(49)



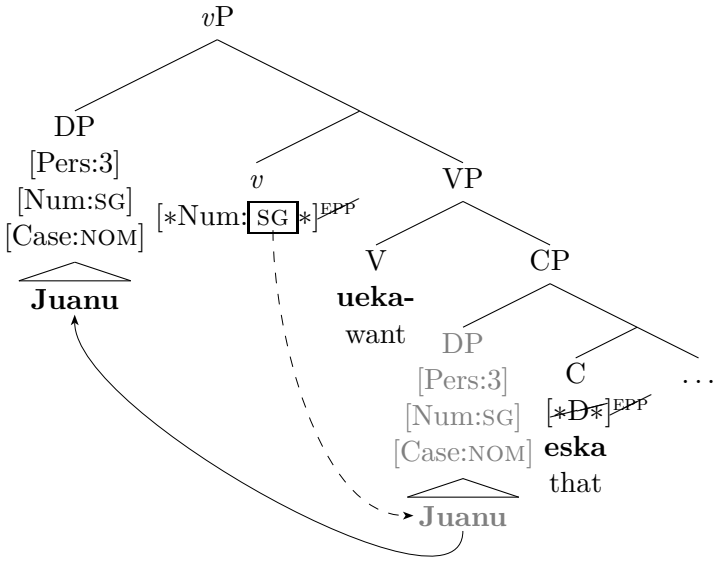
The hyperraising v selects the V *ueka-* 'want' (or *uetarincha-* 'need' or *mite-* 'know').

This v also bears an unvalued Number probe with an EPP subfeature. The Number probe probes for an element that can value it, finds [$_{\text{DP}}$ *Juanu*], and copies its value for [Num] (SG) onto itself.

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

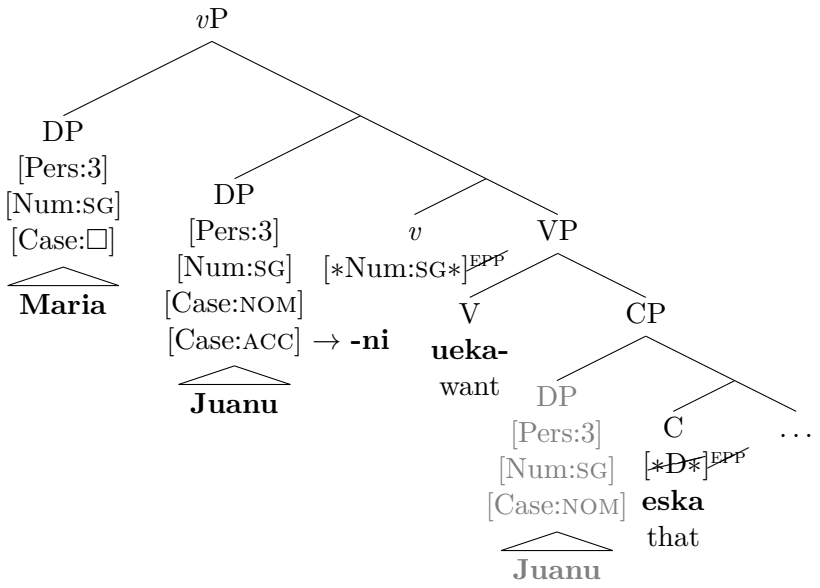
(50)



(The question of how the hyperraised DP ends up accusative is set aside here, since our main goal is to understand the precise mechanics of the movements.[17])

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

(51)



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:

(52) (?)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.' (= (41))

[17]Three possibilities, schematically described: 1) case stacking, 2) case overwriting, 3) dependent case assignment (without DP *relicensing*) (see Marantz 1991, Baker 2015, and especially Fong 2017b). (If the last hypothesis is correct, and the DP is assigned dependent accusative when it's in the embedded [Spec,CP] and the matrix subject is in [Spec,*v*P], then this will constitute counterevidence to Poole's 2016a proposal that dependent case assignment is regulated by the Williams Cycle.)

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:

(53) a. the C *eska* 'that' to bear $[*D*]^{EPP}$, and
b. $[*Num:\square*]$ on (at least the hyperraising) v to bear an EPP subfeature.

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

I.e., 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 (Borer 1984, Chomsky 1995, Baker 2008:353, Knochenhauer 2016). '

7 Against moving-element- and labeling-driven alternatives

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

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

Above, each of the two movement steps was analyzed as driven by a featural requirement of the higher head moved to.

But there are two salient alternatives. Rather than being higher-head-driven, these movement steps could be **moving-element-driven** or **labeling-driven**.

Can we adjudicate between these possibilities?

7.1 Alternative analysis A: (Case-based) moving-element-driven movement

Supposing that hyperraising to object is driven by a feature of the raising DP, a natural possibility is that the DP raises to get Case.

It receives accusative Case in the matrix (plausibly from v), and surfaces bearing the accusative case morpheme *-ni*.

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:

(55) [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.'

(See also Halpert 2016:187 and Deal 2017:9-10 for arguments that hyperraising is not Case-driven in Zulu or Nez Perce either.)

7.2 Alternative analysis B: Non-Case-based moving-element-driven movement

But the moving-element-driven 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,vP], 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 moving-element-driven analysis, but still implementable.)

Advantage: No need for any counterpart of the optional $[*\text{D}*]^{\text{EPP}}$ feature on C that was posited in the higher-head-driven 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 ($\rightarrow$ crash). The DP then moves to a matrix [Spec,vP], from which position it c-commands v and can thus value its [uv] under Agree.

But there are two major problems with this:

(56) a. The embedded subject DP already c-commands a v in its base position (the embedded [Spec,vP]), 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 (cf. McFadden 2003:144-145).

7.3 Alternative analysis C: Labeling-driven movement

A third possibility: hyperraising to object is driven (indirectly) by the Labeling Algorithm (Chomsky 2013, 2015, 2016, a.o.).

Descriptively speaking, hyperraising to object is optional.

Therefore, it's unlikely that it occurs to solve a labeling problem arising in the embedded CP—e.g., to allow labeling of a (problematically symmetrical) {XP, YP} structure with no feature sharing.

Instead, let's try to adapt to the hyperraising case Chomsky's (2015) analysis of subject-raising to [Spec,TP] in English.

Chomsky proposes that in English, but not in Italian, T is too "weak" to label its projections (henceforth simply *weak*), and must therefore be reinforced by raising the most prominent DP to [Spec,TP] (using the term *Spec* only for convenience).

When this happens, the features shared by the DP and T (ϕ-features) can label the traditional "TP" $\langle\phi,\phi\rangle$.[18]

[18] But see Richards 2017:3, fn. 6, for a conceptual argument against this conclusion.

Returning to hyperraising to object, we could posit that the hyperraising $v_{[*\text{Num}:\square *]}$ comes in two versions in the lexicon, one strong and one weak.

When the weak one is chosen, the matrix "vP" will be successfully labeled only if a DP (which also bears a [Num] feature) raises to a matrix [Spec,vP]. When the embedded subject DP raises to a matrix [Spec,vP], it and v share a feature—[Num]—so the "vP" can be labeled ⟨Num,Num⟩.

Problems:

(57) a. The assumption that the hyperraising v (which is silent) comes in two versions, one of which is too weak to label its projections, is stipulative.

Chomsky's (2015) proposal that T is weak in English but strong in Italian ties this putative difference to the traditional notion of richness of agreement (Rizzi 1982).

Whether this will prove tenable is an open question, but at least the analysis ties the putative labeling-strength difference to something observable; this is not possible in the Janitzio P'urhepecha case.

b. Chomsky (2015) proposes that V is really a categoryless root R (cf. Marantz 1997), and although R is weak, R-to-v raising produces an R-v complex which is strong.

If this is so, then it can't be claimed that a certain v in Janitzio P'urhepecha is weak, because R raises to v in this language (v-to-Voice raising carries R along in (39-41)).

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

(58) a. The subject (DP_{SUBJ}) can stay in situ, in [Spec,vP] ((39), (41)). This yields an {XP, YP} structure. Hence, "vP" should be unlabelable, unless v and DP_{SUBJ} share a feature, which there's no evidence for (cf. Chomsky 2013:44, fn. 35; Chomsky 2016, fn. 4).

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

But an {XP, YP} structure is also created when DP_{SUBJ} moves to [Spec,VoiceP], [Spec,AspP], [Spec,TP], or [Spec,PolP], and in these cases there's no overt agreement (Zyman 2017, §4.1; cf. Cable 2012 on Dholuo[19]).

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

[19] On the syntax of subject positions crosslinguistically, see Koopman and Sportiche 1991; Bobaljik and Jonas 1996; McCloskey 1997, 2017; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998; Zubizarreta 1998, ch. 3; Goodall 2001; Kiss 2002; Svenonius 2002; Cardinaletti 2004; Cable 2012; Rizzi 2015; Poole 2016b; Fong 2017a, 2018; Danckaert to appear; and refs. therein, a.m.o.

8 Conclusion

8.1 Extensions

This talk has argued that many speakers of Janitzio P'urhepecha allow *hyperraising to object* (cf. Bruening 2002, Tanaka 2002, Halpert & Zeller 2015, Deal 2017, Fong 2018, 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 type of derivational path after all.

  The analysis of Janitzio P'urhepecha hyperraising to object developed above is 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, is untenable.

  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, Fong 2017b, 2018)—looks much more promising.

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

8.2 Returning to the driving force for movement

The analysis also sheds light on the question of the **driving force for movement**.

On this analysis, hyperraising to object in Janitzio P'urhepecha involves two steps of movement, each driven exclusively by a featural requirement of the head moved to.

I.e., both movement steps are purely higher-head-driven: they do not featurally benefit the moving DP at all.

Alternative moving-element-driven and labeling-driven analyses of the phenomenon face serious problems.

The phenomenon, then, provides an argument that the driving force for movement is most correctly understood as follows: movement may be driven either by a feature of the moving element or, as here, by a feature of the higher head moved to (Lasnik 1995, 2003, a.o.).

8.3 Generalizing from Internal to External Merge

A more general conclusion that emerges: if indeed Internal Merge is feature-driven in this way, and Internal and External Merge are just two subcases of a single operation Merge (Chomsky 2004, Collins 2017, a.o.), then we expect External Merge to be feature-driven as well,

leading us to a theory of syntax on which perhaps all syntactic operations are triggered by features of lexical items,

which are therefore the drivers and regulators of syntactic derivation,

contra Free Merge approaches (Boeckx 2010; Ott 2010; Chomsky 2013, 2015, 2016; Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2017).
(See Stockwell 2016, §3.2.1, and Bošković and Messick to appear for relevant discussion.)

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 ((59a)).[20]

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 ((59b)).

(59) 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.'

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

(60) 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.' [21]

(61) [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 (cf. Bošković 2011), 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). 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 $\text{T}_{[\text{FIN}]}$ is ϕ-incomplete and can't assign its subject Case.

- Brazilian Portuguese $\text{T}_{[\text{FIN}]}$ 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 $\text{T}_{[\text{FIN}]}$ in a clause that doesn't support independent temporal reference (as diagnosed by time adverbials) is ϕ-incomplete and hence not a Case assigner.

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

[21] In (60-61), 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 ((55)), 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 ((21))?

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