The composite probe hierarchy: Towards a scale of prolepsis and hyperraising

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This talk: The empirical domain 𝔄

Complementation configurations in which ...

- a matrix A-element (argument (position), Case assigner, agreement head) is in
- an obligatory dependency (Agree, movement, binding, predication) with another element (operator, argument (position), obligatorily bound pronoun, gap)
- situated in an embedded finite clause.

↪ DPs entering an 𝔄-dependency: DP.𝔄

Domain 𝔄 constructions

- Prolepsis: obligatory dependency between the proleptic DP (DP.𝔄) and an embedded element (pronoun, could be *pro*).

  (1) I believe of Nova that *(she) likes salad.

- Hyperraising [HyR] (to subject [RtS] or object [RtO]): A-movement of a DP originating in the embedded finite clause (DP.𝔄) to the matrix subject or object position.

  (2) *Os meninos* *parecem* [*que* *t* *viajaram* *ontem*].
  the boys seem.3PL [that *t* traveled.3PL yesterday]
  'The boys seem to have traveled yesterday.' Braz. Portuguese
  [Martins and Nunes 2010: 145, (3a)]

Domain 𝔄 constructions

- Long-distance Agree(ment) [LDA]: a matrix functional head obligatorily agrees with or assigns case to a DP (DP.𝔄) originating in the embedded finite clause.

(3) *eni-r* [*už-ā* *magalu* *b-āc'ru-łi*] *b-iy-xo.*
mother-DAT [boy-ERG bread.III.ABS III-eat-PST.PRT-NMLZ] III-know-PRES
'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.' Tsez
[Polinsky and Potsdam 2001: 584, (1b)]

- Case, agreement, A-movement (e.g., Raising-to-Subject/Object) across a finite clause boundary.

Roadmap

- Part 1: Domain 𝔄 and characteristic properties
  - ↪ Four (bundles of) properties
  - ↪ A cline of five configurations
- Part 2: Methodology for distinguishing constructions
- Part 3: Unified account of Domain 𝔄 and its variation
  - ↪ Theoretical implementation: R(elator) Phrase and CP
  - ↪ Fused C & R: Composite probe hierarchy

Characteristic properties

The empirical landscape of 𝔄

	𝔄-configurations	①	②	③	④	⑤
	Known as	Prolepsis	HyR, LDA High Topic	Major Subject Object, RtO	HyR, LDA	HyR
A	Restricted matrix predicates (c-/l-selection)	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
B	Movement of DP.𝔄 within embedded clause	no	no	yes	yes	yes
C	A-Minimality (highest A-DP)	no	no	no	yes	yes
D	Semantic restrictions of DP.𝔄	yes	yes	yes	yes	no

① Buryat, Croatian, English, German, Japanese, Korean, Madurese, Mongolian, Nez Perce, Puyuma, Romanian...
② Brazilian Portuguese, Passamaquoddy
③ Japanese, Korean
④ Romanian, Tsez, Turkish
⑤ Brazilian Portuguese, Buryat, Mongolian, Nez Perce, Zulu, ?Uyghur

Distinction A: Productivity

𝔄-configurations		①	②	③	④	⑤
Known as		Prolepsis	HyR, LDA High Topic	Major Subject Object, RtO	HyR, LDA	HyR
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- Prolepsis ①: very productive cross-linguistically.
  - Possible in any context where a full propositional CP could occur (cf. Salzmann 2017)
- CC𝔄 ②–⑤: the class of verbs that allow ②–⑤ is smaller, both within and across languages, than the class of verbs that allow ①.
  - Tendency: restricted to verbs of knowledge, belief, and perception.
  - Allowed with speech verbs in some languages.

Distinction B: Movement within the embedded clause

𝔄-configurations		①	②	③	④	⑤
Known as		Prolepsis	HyR, LDA High Topic	Major Subject Object, RtO	HyR, LDA	HyR
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B	Movement of DP.𝔄 within embedded clause	no	no	yes	yes	yes

- Base position of DP.𝔄: diagnosed via island-sensitivity and connectivity effects (e.g., case connectivity, idiomatic construals, NPI licensing, binding → see Appendix)

(4) Base positions of the DP.𝔄:

a. V_{matrix} DP.𝔄 $[_{CP}$ ... *pro*(*noun*) ...]] ①
b. V_{matrix} $[_{CP}$ DP.𝔄 C [... *pro*(*noun*) ...]] ②
c. V_{matrix} $[_{CP}$ C [DP.𝔄]] ③–⑤

Distinction C: A-Minimality

𝔄-configurations		①	②	③	④	⑤
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C	A-Minimality (highest A-DP)	no	no	no	yes	yes

(5) CC𝔄 element $[_{CP}$ DP1 [DP2]]

- Restriction on DP.𝔄 to be the highest embedded argument
- Structurally defined: DP.𝔄 does not have to be a subject.
  - It can also be an object relocated via A-movement to a position above the subject.

Distinction D: Semantic restrictions

𝔄-configurations		①	②	③	④	⑤
Known as		Prolepsis	HyR, LDA High Topic	Major Subject Object, RtO	HyR, LDA	HyR
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D	Semantic restrictions of DP.𝔄	yes	yes	yes	yes	no

- Four of the Domain 𝔄 configurations show semantic restrictions.
- The restrictions vary across languages.
  - For example: topic requirements, specificity, evidentiality.

The full picture: Domain 𝔄

𝔄-configurations		①	②	③	④	⑤
Known as		Prolepsis	HyR, LDA High Topic	Major Subject Object, RtO	HyR, LDA	HyR
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① Buryat, Croatian, English, German, Japanese, Korean, Madurese, Mongolian, Nez Perce, Puyuma, Romanian...
② Brazilian Portuguese, Passamaquoddy
③ Japanese, Korean
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⑤ Brazilian Portuguese, Buryat, Mongolian, Nez Perce, Zulu, ?Uyghur

Methodology & Basic structures

The challenge

- Disentangling superficially similar configurations
- Prolepsis and Hyper-ECM may involve the same case-marking.
- *pro* drop vs. Hyperraising (examples from Korean)

(6) a. *Cheli-nun Yenghi-lul* [*t yenglihay-ss-ta-ko*] *mitnun-ta.*
Cheli-TOP Yenghi-ACC [*t* smart-PST-DECL-COMP] believe-DECL
'Cheli believes Yenghi to have been smart.' [Yoon 2007: 616, (1b)]

b. *Cheli-nun Yenghi-lul* [*pro yenglihay-ss-ta-ko*] *mitnun-ta.*
Cheli-TOP Yenghi-ACC [*pro* smart-PST-DECL-COMP] believe-DECL
'Cheli believes of Yenghi that she was smart.' (our paraphrase)

BP: Two configurations

(7) *Os meninos parecem* [*que t viajaram ontem*].
the boys seem.3PL [that *t* traveled.3PL yesterd.]
'The boys seem to have traveled yesterday.'
[Martins and Nunes 2010: 145, (3a)]

(8) *Os meninos parecem* [*que eles viajaram ontem*].
the boys seem.3PL [that they traveled.3PL yesterd.]
'The boys seem to have traveled yesterday.' [Ibid.: 145, (3b)]

↪ A single language may have more than one Doman 𝔄 configuration.

↪ Configurations may appear identical or similar on the surface.

↪ But they can be disentangled via combining properties.

Methodology

	Property	High Topic ②	HyR ⑤
B.	DP.𝔄 can correspond to overt pronoun	yes (7)	no (8)
B.	Embedded movement, locality	no (55), (57)	yes (56), (58)
B.	DP.𝔄 allows idiomatic construals	no (54)	yes (53)
C.	A-Minimality	no (11)	yes (12)
D.	DP.𝔄 requires a topic interpretation	yes (10)	no (9)

- Combine two properties which diagnose different constructions.
- Conclusion: "anything goes" disappears.
- Properties of ② are incompatible with those of ⑤.

Topic interpretation & pronouns

- Either a non-topic DP.𝔄, ⑤, or an overt pronoun ②
- But not both simultaneously
- If the pronoun is used, only topic DP.𝔄s are possible.

(9) *Algum aluno parecia* [*que t ia viajar*].
some student seemed [that *t* went travel]
'It seemed that some student was going to travel.' *②, ⑤
[Martins and Nunes 2010: 150, (14)]

(10) **Algum aluno parecia* [*que ele ia viajar*].
some student seemed [that he went travel]
'It seemed that some student was going to travel.' *②, *⑤
[Martins and Nunes 2010: 150, (14)]

A-Minimality & topic interpretation (& pronoun)

- Either no A-Minimality ②, or non-topic DP.𝔄 ⑤
- But not both simultaneously
- If DP.𝔄 is not a topic, it is undergoes A-movement.

(11) *Esses professores parecem* [*que a Maria gosta deles*].
these teachers seem.3PL [that the Maria likes them]
'It seems that Maria likes these teachers.' ②, *⑤
[Martins and Nunes 2010: 152, (21)]

(12) **Alguém parece* [*que a aluna viu t*].
someone seems [that the student saw *t*]
Int.: 'It seems that the student saw someone.' *②, *⑤
[Kobayashi 2020: 6, (13b)]

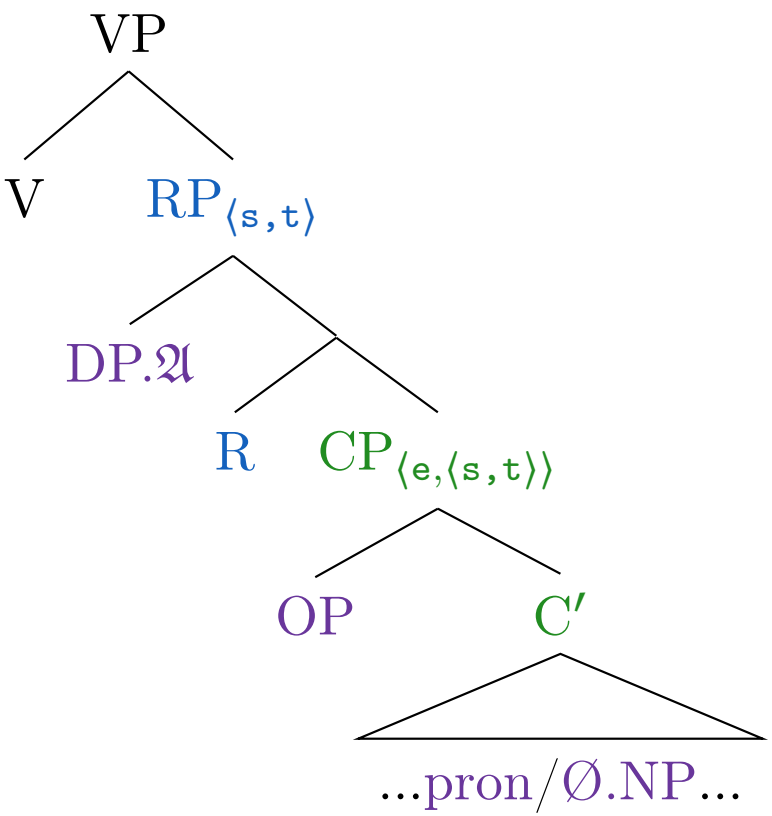
Summary

𝔄-configurations		②	⑤
Known as		High Topic HyR	HyR
B	Movement of DP.𝔄 within embedded clause	no	yes
C	A-Minimality (highest A-DP)	no	yes
D	Semantic restrictions of DP.𝔄	yes	no

- BP: (at least) two constructions.
- They cannot be subsumed under one configuration: mixing and matching of the properties is not possible.
- Reconciles HyR approaches (a. o. Nunes 2008) and Prolepsis-like approaches (den Dikken 2017).

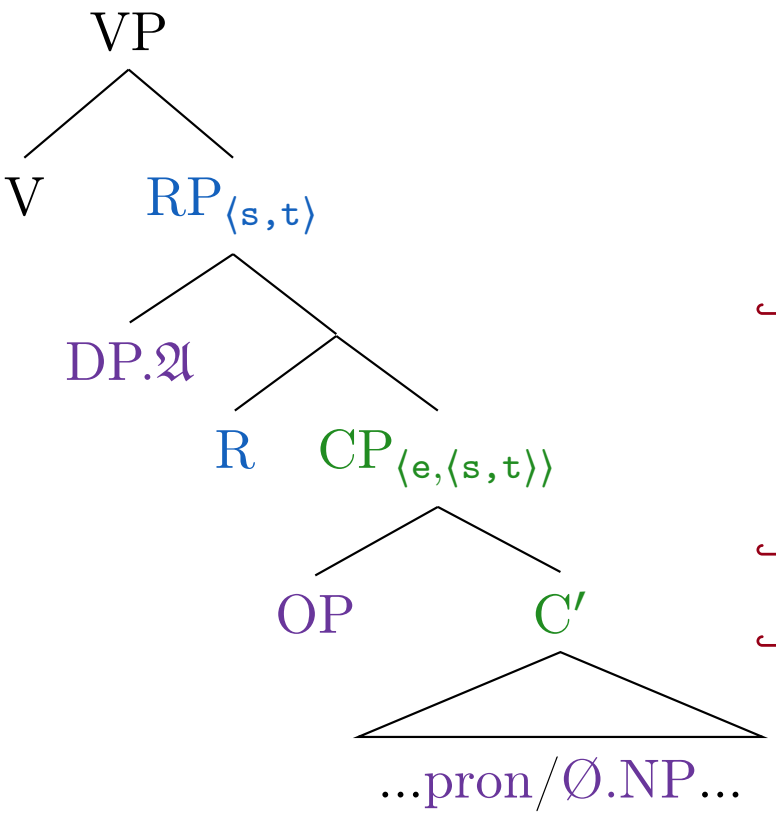
The structure of Domain 𝔄 configurations

The syntax of Prolepsis



- R(elator) P(hrase) (Den Dikken 2006, 2017): R relates Spec,RP (an A-position) and its complement via predication.
- The embedded CP is turned into a predicate by an OP inserted in Spec,CP (Den Dikken 2017, Salzmann 2017).
- DP.𝔄 is base generated in Spec,RP and saturates the CP-prediate—RP is a semantic proposition.
- The OP binds the embedded pronoun (e.g. via binding of a situation pronoun; Elbourne 2005, 2013).

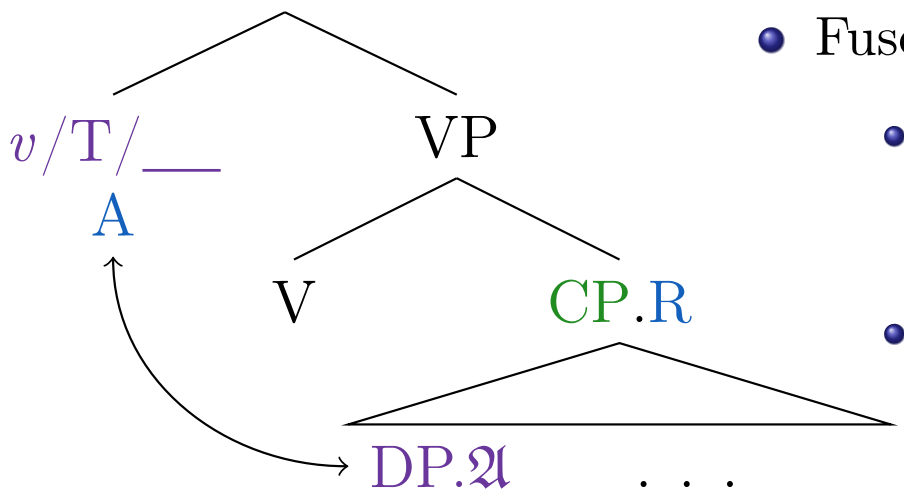
Deriving A - D in Prolepsis



- ↪ A Productivity: Any verb that selects a proposition can combine with either RP or a propositional CP (no OP).
- ↪ B No embedded movement: DP.𝔄 in matrix clause, OP in Spec,CP base generated.
- ↪ C A-Minimality: N/A
- ↪ D Semantic restrictions: via R (cf. Landau 2011)

Cross-clausal A-dependencies [CC𝔄]: ② - ⑤

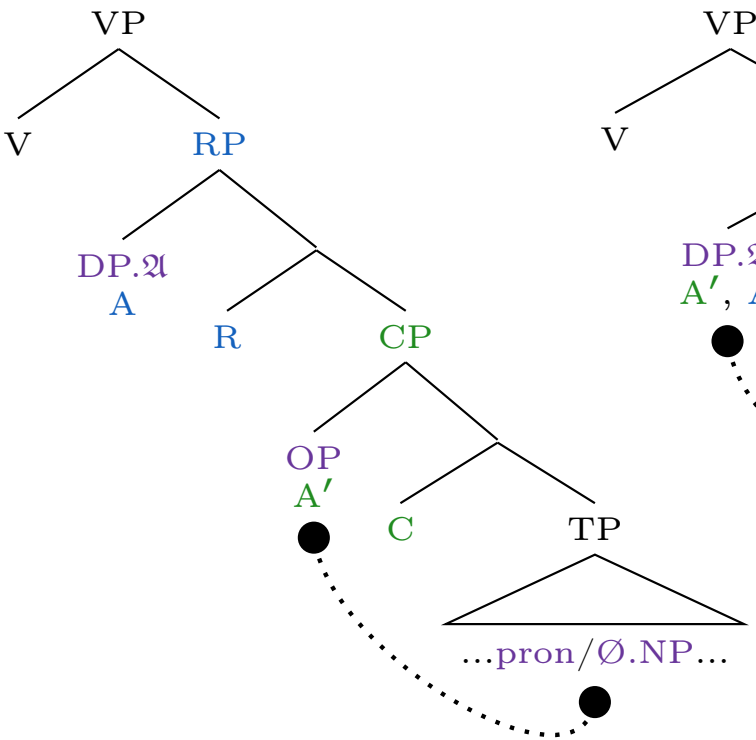
- CC𝔄: DP.𝔄 is base generated in the embedded clause



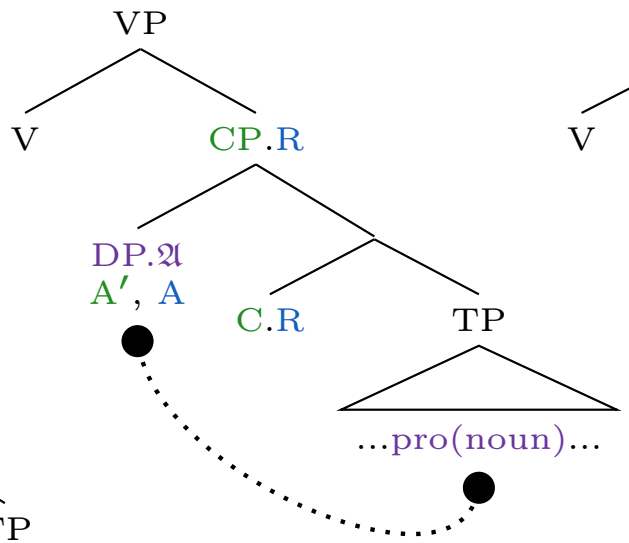
- Fusion of RP (A-properties) and CP (A'-properties)—a bundled CP.R.
- Fused C.R is not available in all languages.
  - English: RP and CP can only occur separately, leading to Prolepsis ①, and disallowing CC𝔄 ②–⑤.
  - CP.R is similar to a (un)bundled IP, bundling tense, agreement (see Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998).
- CP.R is lexically selected—not all verbs can combine with a CP.R complement.

Three syntactic configurations

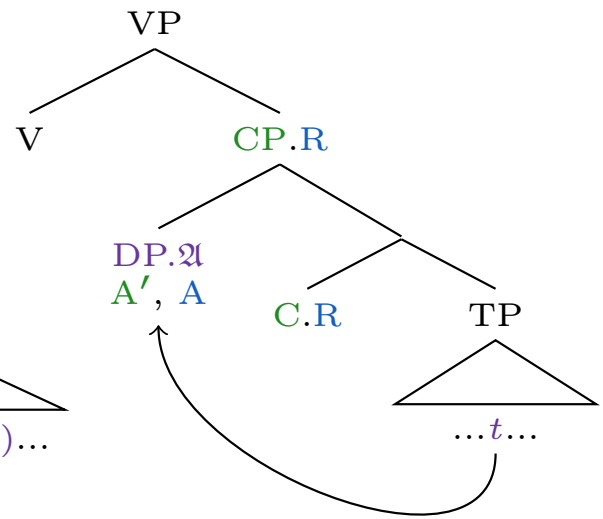
Prolepsis ①



CC𝔄 w/o movement ②



CC𝔄 w/ movement ③–⑤



A: ↪ No selection ① ↪ Selection, fusion ②–⑤

B: ↪ No island-sensitivity ①–② ↪ Island-sensitivity ③–⑤

↪ No connectivity effects ①–② ↪ Connectivity effects ③–⑤

The composite probe hierarchy

Deriving configurations ③-⑤

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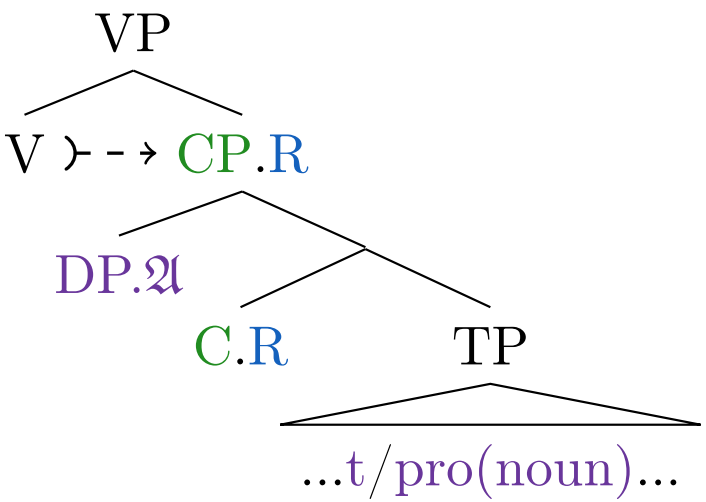
③ × A-Minimality, ✓ Semantic restrictions

④ ✓ A-Minimality, ✓ Semantic restrictions

⑤ ✓ A-Minimality, × Semantic restrictions

CP.R: A mixed A′/A projection



- The combination of C (A′) and R (A) yields a mixed A′/A element, a composite probe in the sense of van Urk (2015):
  - C-part: may impose A′-flavors (topic, Major Subject, others).
  - R-part: establishes a predication relation between the argument in its specifier and its complement, thereby setting up an A-dependency.
- Semantically, C.R combines with a predicate—a complement with an open position.

A composite probe on C.R

- A′/A-distinction is related to features instead of structural positions (van Urk 2015).
  - [A]: [ϕ], [θ], [n], [D],...
  - [A′]: [focus], [topic], [wh],...
- Features can combine, a single head can carry both A′- & A-features and become a composite probe.
  - Aldridge (2004, 2008, 2017), Coon and Bale (2014), Legate (2014), van Urk (2015), Bossi and Diercks (2019), Branan and Erlewine (2020)
- RP [A] and CP [A′] fuse and render a composite probe [A′/A] on C.R.

  → [A] enables the DP.$\mathfrak{A}$ to take part in a matrix $\mathfrak{A}$-dependency.
  → [A′] is responsible for semantic restrictions s.a. topic or focus requirements.

Where does the three-way split come from?

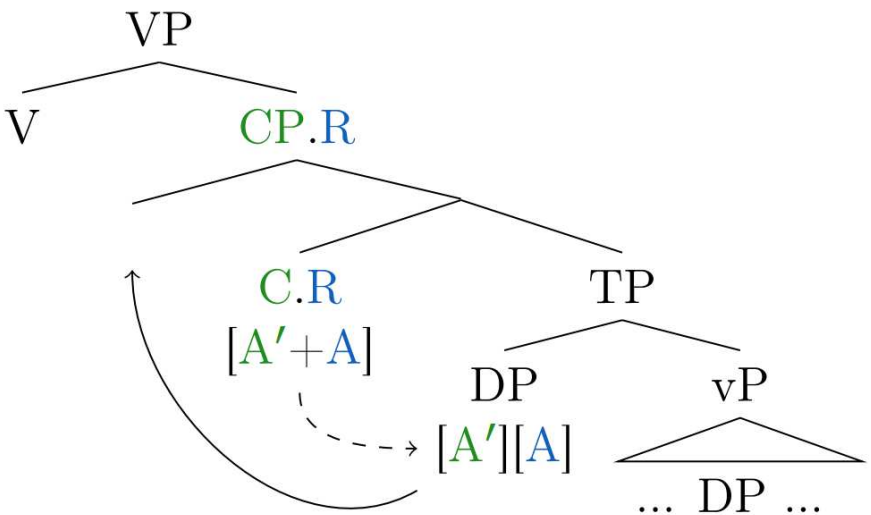
- Composite probes vary in how dependent their parts are from each other in terms of satisfaction (Scott 2021, Deal 2015).
- A hierarchy of dependence arises:

- **Conjunctive** probing/satisfaction [A′+A]
- **Dependent** probing/satisfaction [A′/A]
- **Independent** probing/satisfaction [A′][A]

(13) **The composite probe hierarchy**

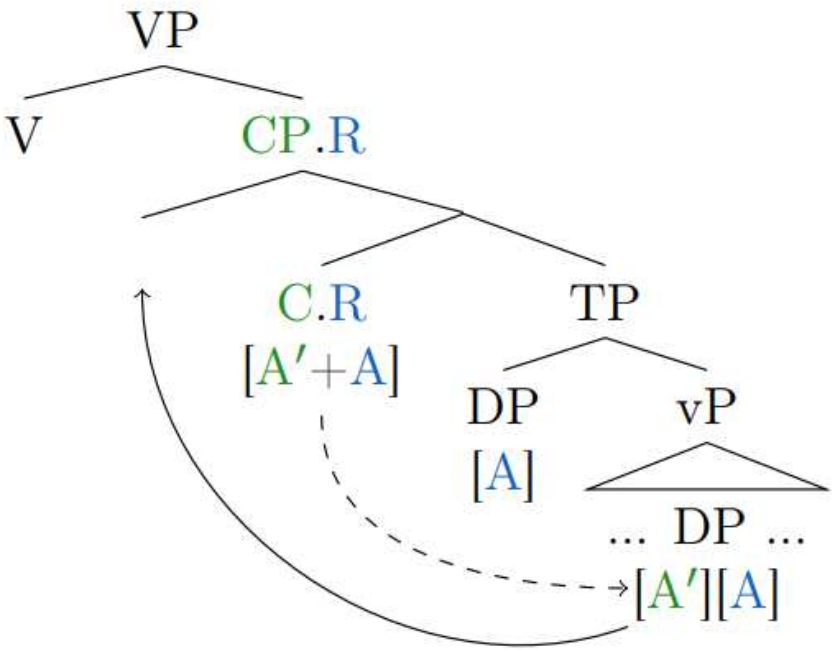
dependent ⇐ [A′+A] — [A′/A] — [A′][A] ⇒ independent

③ - Conjunctive Satisfaction [A′+A]



- A conjunctive probe can target a goal iff it carries both matching features.
- All partly matching goals are ignored.

③ - Conjunctive Satisfaction [A′+A]

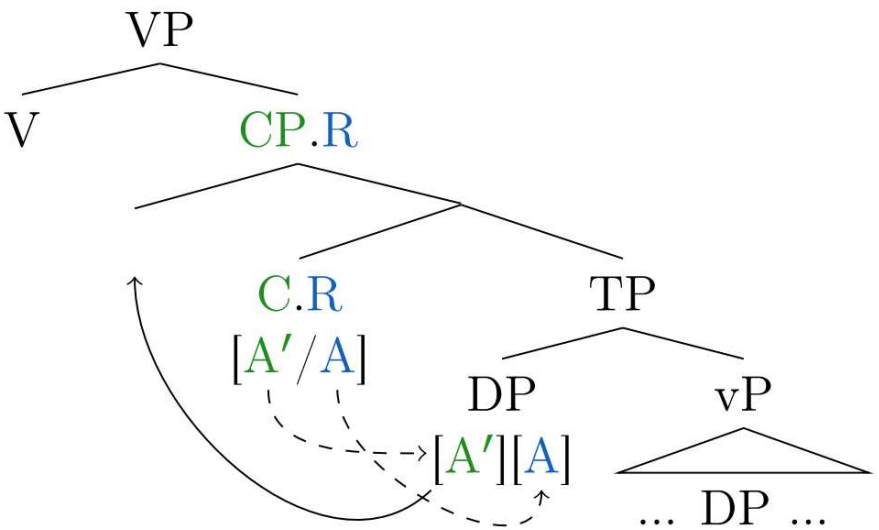


× A-Minimality: a higher DP can be skipped if it does not carry the relevant [A′]-features but only a subset of matching features.

✓ Semantic restrictions: the DP.𝔄 has to carry [A′]-features which are responsible for the semantic restrictions.

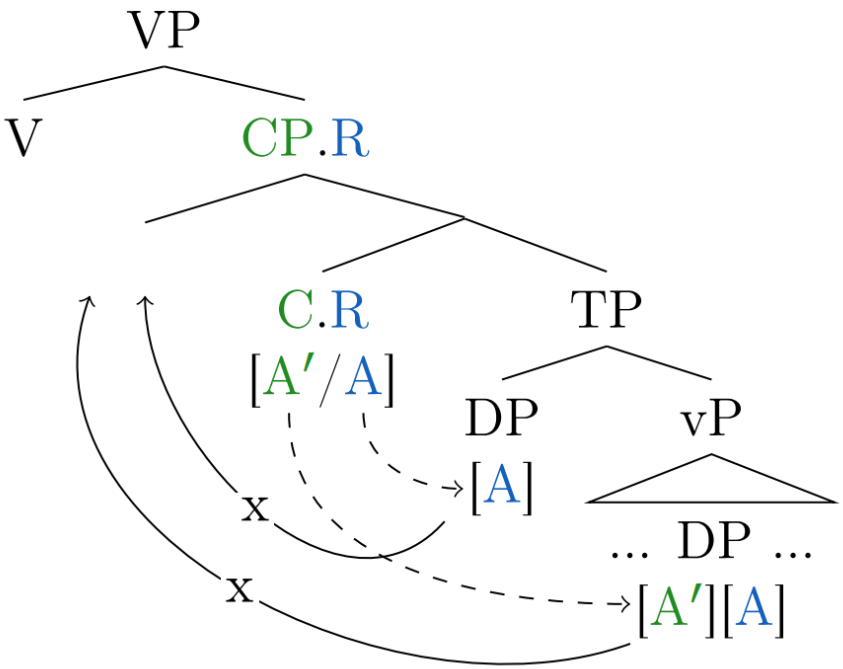
(14) *Na-nun Pwukhansan-ul* [*mwul-i manhi nanta-ko*] *sayngkakhanta.*
I-TOP Mt. Pwukhan-ACC [water-NOM a.lot flow-COMP] think
'I believe that there are a lot of springs flowing from Mt. Pwukhan.'
× A-Minimality Korean MS RtO ③ [Yoon 2007: 618, (4c)]

④ - Dependent satisfaction [A′/A]



- The segments of the composite probe can find goals on their own, but cannot trigger feature satisfaction independently.
  (Coon et al. 2021, Coon and Bale 2014, Branan and Erlewine 2020, Deal 2015, 2017)
- *Feature Gluttony*
  (Coon and Keine 2020):
  a higher-than-required number of partly fitting goals leads to failure of agreement.
- *Contingent probing* (Branan 2021):
  the [A]-probe restricts the searching domain for the [A′]-probe

④ - Dependent satisfaction [A′/A]

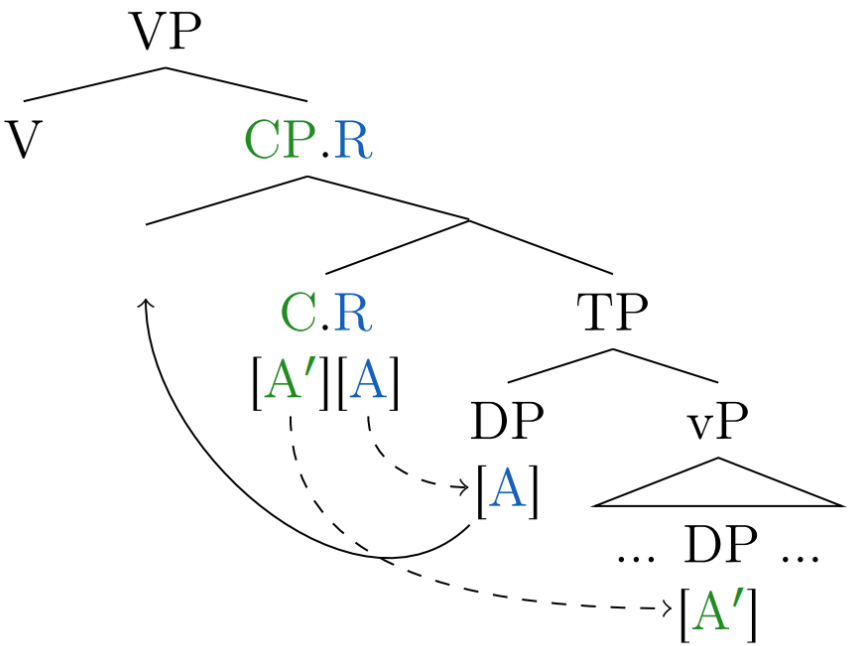


✓ A-Minimality: if there is a closer partly matching DP, it blocks agreement with a lower DP.

✓ Semantic restrictions: in a felicitous agreement configuration, the highest DP carries [A′]-features which are responsible for the semantic restrictions.

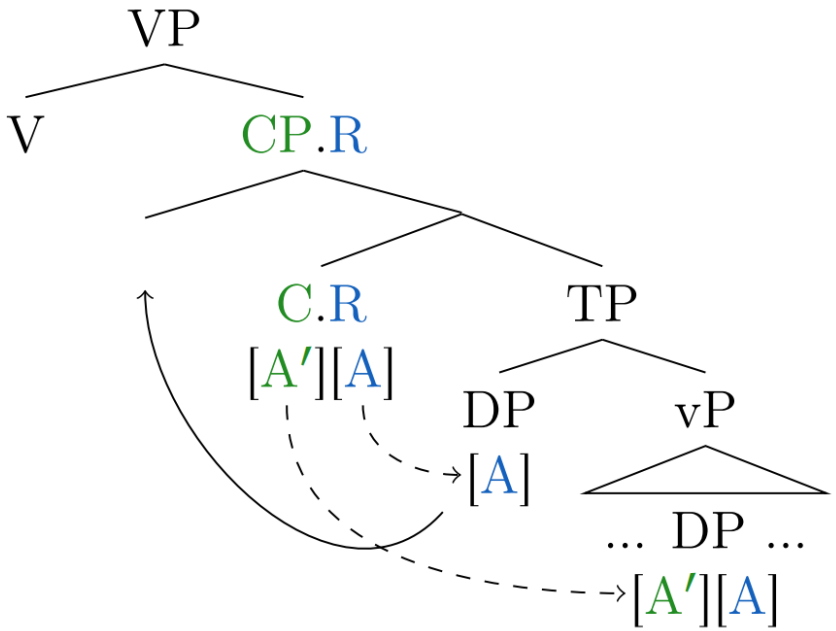
(15) **Am* *auzit-o* *pe* *Mioara* [*c-a* *invitat* *Gelu*].
have.1SG heard-her DOM Mioara [that-has invited Gelu]
Int.: 'I heard from Mioara that Gelu invited her.' (our paraphrase)
✓ A-Minimality Romanian ④ [Alboiu and Hill 2016: 268, (30c)]

⑤ - Independent satisfaction [A′][A]



- The two probes probe independently of each other and are able to establish agreement and trigger movement on their own.
- The two probes can agree with two separate goals (Bossi and Diercks 2019).

⑤ - Independent satisfaction [A′][A]



✓ A-Minimality: The [A]-probe finds the closest DP with [A]-features and attracts it.

× Semantic restrictions: Whether DP.𝔄 carries [A′]-features or not is irrelevant for agreement; the [A′]-probe probes separately.

(16) **bi* *sajən-ar* *badmə* *xar-a* *gɜžə* *mɜdə-gd-ɜ-b*
1SG Sajana-INSTR Badma see-PST COMP know-PASS-PST-1SG
Expected: 'Sajana found out that Badma saw me.'
(Lit.: 'I was known by Sajana that Badma saw (me).')
✓ A-Minimality Buryat ⑤ [Bondarenko 2017a: 12, (44)]

What happens to the A′-probe?

- **Option 1**: it attracts an element on its own.
  - Mongolian: another DP can be topicalized simultaneously to LDA.

(17) *Buuz-iig bol Nara* [*Dorj(-iig) t id-sen gej*] *khel-sen.*
buuz-ACC TOP Nara.NOM [Dorj(-ACC) *t* eat-PST COMP] say-PST
'The buuz, Nara said that Dorj ate.' Mongolian ⑤

[Fong 2019: 28, fn.29, (iib)]

- **Option 2**: it is ignored.
  - Preminger (2009, 2014): probes can fail without a crash of the derivation.
  - If no suitable goal is found: the result is not ungrammaticality but default agreement.
  - For CC𝔄: if one or more of the probes fail the derivation leads to a non-CC𝔄 configuration.
  - CC𝔄 is always optional.

The entire picture

𝔄		①	②	③	④	⑤
A	Restricted matrix predicates (c-/l-selection)	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
	(Apparent) Improper Move/Agree violation	no	yes			
	Complement of V	RP	CP.R			
B	Movement within embedded CP	no	no	yes	yes	yes
	DP.𝔄 base position	Spec,RI	Spec,CP	gap position		
	Island-sensitivity	no		yes		
	Connectivity effects	no		yes		
C	A-Minimality (highest A-DP)	no	no	no	yes	yes
	Conjunctive A′/A probing	N/A		yes	no	
	Separate A′/A probing	N/A		no	yes	
D	Semantic restrictions of DP.𝔄	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
	Dependent A′/A probing	N/A			yes	no

Thank you!

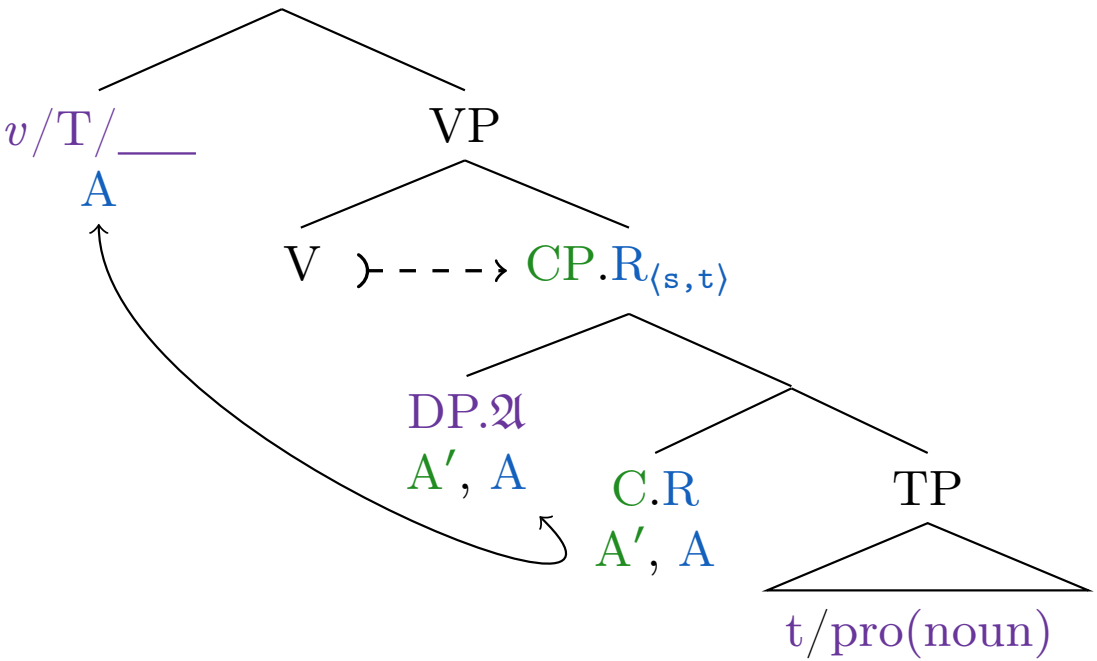
Appendix

Some technical details

- Two ways in which fusion of C and R could take place (which we are currently investigating):
  - C & R fuse into a single head at the lexical level.
  - The composite head is formed derivationally via head-movement.
- What kind of features?
  - May vary across languages; A-feature options: ϕ, θ, and D.
  - Φ-features are good candidates for Brazilian Portuguese since RtS is not possible with a 1.SG pronoun (Nunes 2008: 101, (40a)).
  - Another option: delta-features proposed in Miyagawa (2010).
  - But these may not be sufficient, since Topic and/or Focus A′-features do not suffice to capture all the attested semantic restrictions (see, e.g., the Major Subject restriction in Korean, or the "life-time effect" observed for Japanese in Horn 2008).

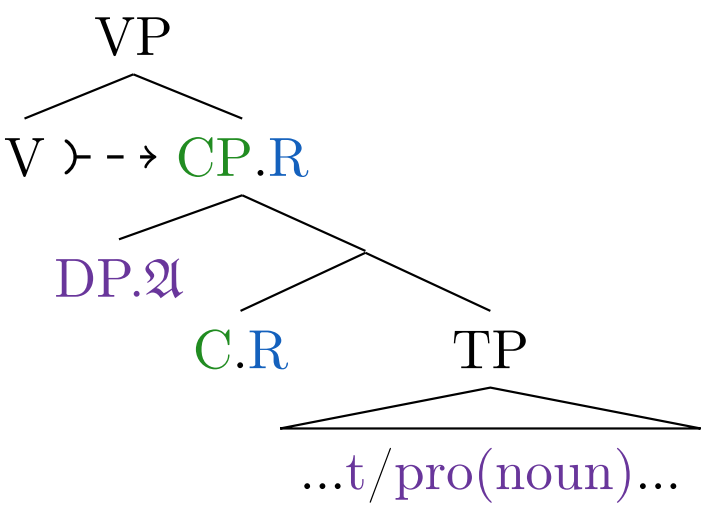
CP.R to the rescue!

*A-after-A′:
An A-dependency involving X cannot follow a pure A′-dependency with X.



- Combined A′/A status of C.R and Spec,CP.R allows A-dependencies across CP.Rs.
- A regular CP is a pure A′ domain, which is subject to the *A-after-A′ constraint.
- CP.R is able to 'rescue' *A-after-A′ violations—the DP.𝔄 position is an eligible target for further A-relations.

CP.R: Not simply an A-domain



- CP.R is not simply an A-projection (or not a phase etc.)
- A-nature arises *only* for the argument that enters the predication relation.
- Any further XPs in Spec,CP.R remain regular A′ elements.
- Wurmbrand 2019: examples from Japanese showing that only the DP.𝔄 appears in an A-position; at the same time, other DPs that move through the embedded CP obligatorily qualify as A′ elements.

CP remains an A′ domain/phase

(18) Japanese ③: CP.R is not transparent for other kinds of A-movement (s.a. long distance A-scrambling)

a?*[Nissan-to *Honda-ni*]$_i$ *otagai$_i$-no* *supai-ga* [*John-o*
[Nissan-and Honda-with]$_i$ each.other$_i$-'s spy- NOM [John-ACC
hoka-no *dono-meekaa-yori* *kuwasii-to*] *omot-teiru.*
other-'s whichever-maker-more.than familiar-COMP] think-PROG
'With Nissan and Honda, each other's spies think of John more familiar than any other manufacturers.' [Tanaka (2004): (8)]

The composite probe hierarchy in a nutshell

Emb. configuration →		DP[A′][A]	DP$_1$[A] DP$_2$[A′][A]	DP$_1$[A] DP$_2$[A′]	no DP
$\mathfrak{A}$ ↓	C.R probe ↓				
③	[A′+A]	CC$\mathfrak{A}$	CC$\mathfrak{A}$ (DP$_2$)	no CC$\mathfrak{A}$	no CC$\mathfrak{A}$
④	[A′/A]	CC$\mathfrak{A}$	no CC$\mathfrak{A}$	no CC$\mathfrak{A}$	no CC$\mathfrak{A}$
⑤	[A′][A]	CC$\mathfrak{A}$	CC$\mathfrak{A}$ (DP$_1$)	CC$\mathfrak{A}$ (DP$_1$)	no CC$\mathfrak{A}$

Productivity in German Prolepsis ①

(19) a. *Ich hab hier einen Link, von dem ich*
I have here a link of which.DAT I
bezweifle/erwarte/befürchte/vermute/behaupte/..., [dass viele den
doubt/expect/am-afraid/suspect/claim.1SG/... [that many DEM.ACC
kennen].
know.3PL]
'I have a link here of which I doubt that many know it.'
[adapted from Salzmann 2017: 5, (8a)]

b. *Es ist bei diesem Video klar, [dass viele es kennen*].
It is about this video clear [that many it know.3PL]
'It is a video of which it is clear that many people know it.'

c. *Ich habe bei diesem Video die starke Vermutung, [dass viele es*
I have.1SG about this video the strong assumption [that many it
kennen].
know.3PL]
'This is a video of which I have a feeling that many people know it.'

Productivity & case-stacking in Japanese RtO ③

(20) a. *Taroo-wa Hanako*(?-ni)-dake-o [(*t*) *eigo-ga*
Taro-TOP Hanako(?-DAT)-only-ACC [(*t*) English-NOM
hanas-e-ru-to] *omot-tei-ru.*
speak-can-PRS-COMP] think-ASP-PRS
'Taro thinks that only Hanako can speak English.' [K. Shimamura, p.c.]

b. *Taroo-wa Hanako*(??-ni)-dake-o [(??*t*) *eigo-ga*
Taro-TOP Hanako(??-DAT)-only-ACC [(??*t*) English-NOM
hanas-e-ru-to] *it-tei-ru.*
speak-can-PRS-COMP] say-ASP-PRS
'Taro says that only Hanako can speak English.' [K. Shimamura, p.c.]

c. *Koji-wa Eri*(*-ni)-dake-o [(**t*) *eigo-ga* *hanas-e-ru-to*]
Koji-TOP Eri(*-DAT)-only-ACC [(**t*) English-NOM speak-can-PRS-COMP]
dantei-si-ta.
conclude/assert-do-ASP-PST
'Koji concluded/asserted that only Eri can speak English.'
[K. Shimamura, p.c.]

Productivity in ③

- ③ Korean:
  - "Verbs that govern SOR [Subject-to-Object-Raising] select embedded clauses construable as expressing a categorical judgment" (Yoon 2007: 630).
  - Used in the literature: *believe*, *think*, *consider/conclude*, *remember*

Productivity in ④

- ④ Romanian:
  - RtO appears with "the entire class of Romanian verbs of knowledge that are compatible with inferential semantics" (Alboiu and Hill 2016: 257)
  - Used in the literature: *find out*, *suspect*, *guess*, *know*; RtS with *seem* (Giurgea, p.c.)
  - Impossible: *happened*, *say*
- ④ Tsez:
  - There are several factors which make it difficult to test verb classes.
  - CP must be in absolutive position.
  - Agreement must be visible on the matrix verb, which is only the case for a subset of vowel-initial verbs which do not have an underlying laryngeal (M. Polinsky, p.c.).
  - Within the class of agreeing verbs, LDA is found with "verbs of perception, cognition and some factive predicates" (M. Polinsky, p.c.).

Example: Romanian RtO ④

- Romanian RtS/RtO-constructions: only possible with verbs of knowledge, perception, evidentials.

(21) *L-am auzit pe Mihai* [*că repară casa*].
him-have.1SG heard DOM Mihai [that fixes house.the]
'I've heard that Mihai is fixing the house.'
[Alboiu and Hill 2016: 256, (1c)]

(22) **L-am spus pe Victor* [*că e fericit*].
him-have.1SG said DOM Victor [that is.3SG happy]
'I said that Victor is happy.' [I. Giurgea, p.c.]

(23) *Am spus despre Victor* [*că e fericit*].
have.1SG said about Victor [that is.3SG happy]
'I said about Victor that he is happy.' [I. Giurgea, p.c.]

Productivity in ⑤

- ⑤ Brazilian Portuguese:
  - Hyperraising "is limited to a subset of unaccusative clause embedding predicates" (Kobayashi 2020: 12).
  - Used in the literature: *seem*, *turn out*, *be on the verge of* (Nunes 2008)
  - Controversial: Hyperraising with speech verbs such as *say* (Nunes 2008, 2010)
- ⑤ Buryat:
  - Used in the literature: *say*, *know*, *decide*, *see*, *hear*
- ⑤ Mongolian:
  - Used in the literature: *say*, *think*, *know* (Von Heusinger et al. 2011, Fong 2019)
- ⑤ Zulu:
  - RtO: found with *want*, *expect*; prohibited with *ask* (Halpert and Zeller 2015)
  - Hyperraising: *seem*, *be necessary* (Halpert 2016)

No island-sensitivity in ① - ②

(24) I believe about Atin that [the story that she captured the thief is untrue]. English ① [Davies (2005): 659, (54b)]

(25) *Esses carros*$_i$ *parecem* [*que* [*as pessoas que compraram pro*$_i$] *se*
these cars$_i$ seem.3PL [that [the people who bought *pro*$_i$] REFL
arrependeram].
repented]
'It seems that people who bought these cars regretted it.'
Braz. Portuguese ② [Martins and Nunes (2010): 155, fn. 11, (ib)]

No island-sensitivity in ①: Puyuma

(26) Puyuma A′ extraction vs. Prolepsis ①

a. *imanay nu=k<in>aladram [na ma-trangis i Isaw
who 2SG.GEN=<PRF.PV>know [LK AV-cry SG.PIVOT Isaw
anu m<in>atray]?
because AV<PRF>die]
'Who is the person that you knew that Isaw cried because (he/she) passed away?'

Puyuma A′ extraction
[Chen 2018: 15, (33)]

b. ma-tiya=ku kan Isaw$_i$ [dra m-uka=yu i Tripul [
AV-dream=1SG.PIVOT SG.ACC Isaw$_i$ [C AV-go=2SG.PIVOT LOC Tripul [
anu kualeng *ec.*(PIVOT)$_i$]].
because AV.sick *ec.*(PIVOT)$_i$]]
'I dreamt that you went to Tripul because Isaw is sick.'

Puyuma ①
[Chen 2018: 14, (32b)]

No island-sensitivity in ②: Passamaquoddy

(27) Passamaquoddy ① and ②

a. *Tihtiyas kosona Sapet '-kosiciy-uku-l wikuwoss-ol eli psi=te*
Tihtiyas or Sapet 3-know.TA-INV-OBV 3.mother-OBV C all=EMPH
wen macehe [*pro kisi-ntu-htit*].
someone leave.3 [*pro* PERF-sing-3PCONJ]
'Her mother knows (about *Tihtiyas or Sapet*) that everyone left after *they* started singing.'
Passamaquoddy ①
[Bruening 2001: 16, (44b)]

b. *N-kosicíy-a-k nikihk-únnu-ki* [*eli Píyel mèc*
1-know-DIR-PROX.PL (1)-parent-1PL-PROX.PL [thus Peter still
álk-o-k [*utapákon t kis-onuhmuwew-a-htí-t-pon*]].
drive.around-TH-3AN [(3)-vehicle *t* past-buy.for-DIR-PROX.PL-3AN-PRET]]
'I know about our parents$_i$ that Peter is still driving the car they$_i$ bought for him.'
Passamaquoddy ②
[LeSourd 2019: 376, (27a)]

Island-sensitivity: ③ - ⑤

(28)?*Mary-nun Yeonghi-lul [[*t* apeci-ka ha-si-nun] *sa.ep*]-i
Mary-TOP Yenghi-ACC [[*t* father do-HON-ADNOM] business]-NOM
manghay-ss-ta-ko *sayngkakha-n-ta.*
go.bankrupt-PAST-DECL-COMP think-PRES-DECL
Int.: 'Mary thinks that as for/it is Yeonghi (that) the business her father was running went bankrupt.' Korean ③ [Lee 2016: 9, (17)]

(29) *Ion o mirosise pe Maria [faptul [că-şi aranja plecarea]].
Ion CL smelled DOM Maria [fact.the [that-REFL arranged departure.the]]
'Ion figured out the fact that Maria was arranging her departure.'
Romanian ④ [Alboiu and Hill 2013: 7, (15c)]

(30) *'Aayat-onm hi-nees-nek-se [$_{CP}$ [ke-kaa mamay'ac
woman-ERG 3.SBJ-O.PL-think-IPFV [$_{CP}$ [when children.NOM
hi-pa-paay-no'], *hi-lloy-no'* *qiiwn*].
3SBJ-S.PL-arrive-FUT], 3.SJB-be.happy-FUT old.man.NOM]
Int.: 'The woman thinks that when the kids arrive, the old man will be happy.' Nez Perce ⑤ [Deal 2017: 5, (12)]

Island-sensitivity in ③: Korean

(31) Korean ① vs. ③

a. *Na-nun Yenghi-lul$_i$* [[*pro$_i$*/kunye-ka *ha-nun*] *il-i*]
I-TOP Yenghi-ACC$_i$ [[*pro$_i$*/she-NOM do-ADNOM] work-NOM]
mopemcek-ila-ko *sayngkakhanta.*
exemplary-COP-COMP think
'I think of Yenghi that the things she does are exemplary.' Korean ①
[Yoon 2007: 619, (5)]

b.?**Mary-nun Yeonghi-lul* [[*t apeci-ka ha-si-nun*] *sa.ep*]-i
Mary-TOP Yenghi-ACC [[*t* father do-HON-ADNOM] business]-NOM
manghay-ss-ta-ko *sayngkakha-n-ta.*
go.bankrupt-PAST-DECL-COMP think-PRES-DECL
Int.: 'Mary thinks that as for/it is Yeonghi (that) the business her father was running went bankrupt.' Korean ③
[Lee 2016: 9, (17)]

Island-sensitivity in ④: Romanian

(32) Romanian ① vs. ④

a. ?*Am auzit despre copii* [(pentru) *că nu vorbesc*$_k$ *unul cu*
have.1SG heard about children [(because) that not talk.3PL one with
altul].
other]
'I heard about the children that/because they do not speak to each other.'
Romanian ①
[Alboiu and Hill 2016: 269, (33b)]

b. **Ion o mirosise pe Maria* [*faptul* [*că-şi*
Ion CL.3SG.F.ACC smelled DOM Maria [fact.the [that-DAT.REFL
aranja plecarea]].
arranged departure.the]]
'Ion figured out the fact that Maria was arranging her departure.'
Romanian ④
[Alboiu and Hill 2013: 7, (15c)]

Island-sensitivity in ⑤: Nez Perce

(33) Nez Perce ① vs. ⑤

a. ?*'Aayat-onm mamay'as-na hi-nees-nek-se* [CP [*ke-kaa pro*
woman-ERG children-ACC 3.SBJ-O.PL-think-IPFV [CP [when *pro*
hi-pa-paay-no'], *hi-lloy-no'* *qiiwn*].
3.SBJ-S.PL-arrive-FUT], 3.SJB-be.happy-FUT old.man.NOM]
'The woman thinks that when the kids arrive, the old man will be happy.'
Lit.: 'The woman thinks the kids that when they arrive, the old man will be happy.'
Nez Perce ①
[Deal 2017: 4, (9)]

b. **'Aayat-onm hi-nees-nek-se* [CP [*ke-kaa mamay'ac*
woman-ERG 3.SBJ-O.PL-think-IPFV [CP [when children.NOM
hi-pa-paay-no'], *hi-lloy-no'* *qiiwn*].
3SBJ-S.PL-arrive-FUT], 3.SJB-be.happy-FUT old.man.NOM]
Int.: 'The woman thinks that when the kids arrive, the old man will be happy.'
Nez Perce ⑤
[Deal 2017: 5, (12)]

Connectivity effects

- Connectivity effects vary language-specifically:
  - Case of DP.𝔄 determined in a position below C
    (Japanese, Nez Perce, Korean, Tsez)
  - *Proper Binding Condition* [PBC] violation
    (Buryat, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Passamaquoddy, Romanian)
  - Idiomatic construals of DP.𝔄 with the lower predicate
    (Brazilian Portuguese, Buryat, Mongolian, Uyghur, Zulu)
  - Binding
    (Buryat, Romanian, Zulu)
  - NPI licensing by embedded negation
    (Brazilian Portuguese, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Uyghur)

Connectivity effects in ③: Korean

(34) Korean ① and ③: Case-stacking and remnant movement

a. *Na-nun yeki-pwuthe-lul$_i$ [t_i nay ttang-ila-ko] mitnunta.*
I-TOP here-from-ACC$_i$ [t_i my land-COP-COMP] believe
'I believe my land begins from here.' [Yoon 2007: 647, (52b)]

b. *[t_i nay ttang-ila-ko]$_j$ yeki-pwuthe-lul$_i$ na-nun t_j mitnunta.*
[t_i my land-COP-COMP]$_j$ here-from-ACC$_i$ I-TOP t_j believe
'I believe my land begins from here.' [Yoon 2007: 647, (52a)]

c. ?[*Ku-uy apeci-ka pwuca-yessta-ko*] *na-nun Cheli-lul kiekhanta.*
[he-GEN father-NOM rich-was-COMP] I-TOP Cheli-ACC remember
'I remember Cheli's father as (being) rich.' [Yoon 2007: 648, fn. 30, (i)]

Connectivity effects in ④: Romanian

(35) Romanian ④: PBC violation; binding

a. *[*Că ne trage plasa*]$_i$ *l-am ghicit* (imediat) *pe*
[that us draws net.the]$_i$ him-have.1SG guessed (immediately) DOM
Radu t_i.
Radu t_i
Int.: 'As for Radu, I figured out (right away) that he was pulling our leg.'
[Alboiu and Hill 2016: 271, (36d)]

b. O_k *aud* [*pe fiecare mamă*]$_k$ *copii*$_i$ *ei*$_{k/j}$ [*că munceşte*
her$_k$ hear.3PL [DOM each mother]$_k$ children her$_{k/j}$ [that works
mult].
hard]
'Her$_k$ children hear each of their$_k$ mothers say she$_k$ is working hard.'
[Alboiu and Hill 2016: 273, (40)]

Connectivity effects in ⑤: Nez Perce

(36) Nez Perce ⑤: Case connectivity

a. *Taamsas-nim hi-nees-nek-se* [*mamay'as-nim poo-payata-six*
Taamsas-ERG 3.SBJ-O.PL-think-IPFV [children-ERG 3/3-help-IPFV.S.PL
Angel-ne].
Angel-ACC]
'Taamsas thinks the children are helping Angel.' [Deal 2017: 5, (11)]

b. *'Aayat-onm hi-nees-nek-se* [*watiisx mamay'ac*
woman-ERG 3.SBJ-O.PL-think-IPFV [1.day.away children.NOM
hi-pa-paay-no'].
3.SBJ-S.PL-arrive-FUT]
'The woman thinks the children will arrive tomorrow.' [Deal 2017: 6, (13)]

c. *'Aayat-onm hi-nees-nek-se* [*watiisx mamay'as-na Angel-nim*
woman-ERG 3.SBJ-O.PL-think-IPFV [1.day.away children-ACC Angel-ERG
hi-naas-wapayata-ya].
3.SBJ-O.PL-help-PERF]
'The woman thinks Angel helped the children yesterday.'
[Deal 2017: 6, (16)]

Connectivity effects in ⑤: Buryat

(37) Buryat ① vs. ⑤: Idiom construal

a. **badm-in zürxən sajən-ar [pro am-ar-a*
Badma-GEN heart.NOM Sajana-INSTR [*pro* mouth-INSTR-REFL
gar-a-b gʒžə] mʒdə-gd-ʒ
go.out-PST1-1SG COMP] know-PASS-PST1
*Idiomatic: 'Sajana saw that Badma got greatly frightened.'
Lit.: 'Badma's heart was known by Sajana that (it) went out of his mouth.' ① [Bondarenko 2017b: 123, (51)]

b. *badm-in zürxən sajən-ar [t am-ar-a gar-a*
Badma-GEN heart.NOM Sajana-INSTR [*t* mouth-INSTR-REFL go.out-PST1
gʒžə] mʒdə-gd-ʒ
COMP] know-PASS-PST1
✓ Idiomatic: 'Sajana saw that Badma got greatly frightened.'
(Lit.: 'Badma's heart was known by Sajana that (it) went out of his mouth.') ⑤ [Bondarenko 2017b: 123, (50)]

Connectivity effects in ⑤: Mongolian

(38) Mongolian Hyperraising ⑤: Idiom construal; NPI licensing

a. *Dorj chang-aar* [*Bat-iin nüd(-iig) oree deer-ee gar-san gej*]
Dorj loud-INSTR [Bat-GEN eye(-ACC) top on-REFL.POSS climb-PST COMP]
khel-sen.
say-PST
'Dorj said loudly that Bat was very surprised.'
(Lit.: 'Dorj said loudly that Bat's eyes climbed on top of themselves.')
[Fong 2019: 4, (11)]

b. *Nara* [*khen(-iig) ch iree-güi gej*] *khel-sen.*
Nara [who(-ACC) CH come.PST-NEG COMP] say-PST
'Nara said that nobody came.' [Fong 2019: 6, (24a)]

Connectivity effects in ⑤: Zulu

(39) Zulu Hyperraising ⑤: Idiom construal; binding

a. *iqhina* *li-bonakala* [*ukuthi li-phum-ile* *embizeni*].
AUG.5steinbok 5S-seems [that 5S-exit-PFV LOC.9pot]
'The secret seems to have come out.' [Halpert 2016: 36, (53b)]

b. *ku-fanele* [*ukuthi* [*ngo-buhlakana* *bukaSipho*$_i$] *pro*$_i$
17S-necessary [that [NGA-AUG.14wisdom 14ASSOC.1Sipho] *pro*$_i$
a-m-siz-e *uThemba*].
1SJC-1O-helpSJC AUG.1Themba]
'It's necessary that out of Sipho$_i$'s wisdom, he$_i$ helps Themba.'
[Halpert 2016: 36, (54a)]

c. **pro*$_i$ *u-fanele* [*ukuthi* [*ngo-buhlakana* *bukaSipho*$_i$] t_i
pro$_i$ 1S-necessary [that [NGA-AUG.14wisdom 14ASSOC.1Sipho] t_i
a-m-siz-e *uThemba*].
1SJC-1O-helpSJC AUG.1Themba]
Int.: 'It's necessary that out of Sipho$_i$'s wisdom, he$_i$ helps Themba.'
[Halpert 2016: 36, (54b)]

No A-Minimality in ① - ③

(40) Sheryl thought about/of Tim that the police would never catch him.
English ① [Davies 2005: 654, (34a)]

(41) *Esses professores parecem* [*que a Maria gosta deles*].
these teachers seem.3PL [that the Maria likes of.them]
'It seems that Maria likes these teachers.' Brazilian Portuguese ②
[Martins and Nunes 2010: 152, (21)]

(42) *Na-nun Pwukhansan-ul* [*mwul-i manhi nanta-ko*]
I-TOP Mt. Pwukhan-ACC [water-NOM a.lot flow-COMP]
sayngkakhanta.
think
'I believe that there are a lot of springs flowing from Mt. Pwukhan.'
Korean MS RtO ③ [Yoon 2007: 618, (4c)]

A-Minimality in ④ - ⑤

(43) *Am auzit-o pe Mioara [c-a invitat Gelu].
have.1SG heard-her DOM Mioara [that-has invited Gelu]
Int.: 'I heard from Mioara that Gelu invited her.' (our paraphrase)
Romanian ④ [Alboiu and Hill 2016: 268, (30c)]

(44) *bi sajən-ar badmə xar-a gɜžə mɜdə-gd-ɜ-b
1SG Sajana-INSTR Badma see-PST COMP know-PASS-PST-1SG
Expected: 'Sajana found out that Badma saw me.'
(Lit.: 'I was known by Sajana that Badma saw (me).') Buryat ⑤
[Bondarenko 2017a: 12, (44)]

A-Minimality is not simply a subject restriction

(45) *Odgerel* [*Dulmaa-d* *shine baishin*(*-g) *baigaa* *gej*] *khel-sen.*
Odgerel [Dulmaa-DAT new house(*-ACC) COP.PRES COMP] say-PST
'Odgerel said that Dulmaa has a new house.' Mongolian (5)
[Fong 2019: 8, (32a)]

(46) *Odgerel* [*shine baishin*(-g) *Dulmaa-d* *t* *baigaa* *gej*] *khel-sen.*
Odgerel [new house(-ACC) Dulmaa-DAT *t* COP.PRES COMP] say-PST
'Odgerel said that Dulmaa has a new house.' Mongolian (5)
[Fong 2019: 8, (32b)]

Semantic restrictions in ① - ④

(47) a. I know of firemen [that they are available]. *only generic*
b. Nova said of a secretary [that she is looking for him]. *only specific*

(48) **Algum aluno parecia* [*que ele ia viajar*].
some student seemed [that he went travel]
'It seemed that some student was going to travel.'
Brazilian Portuguese ② [Martins and Nunes (2010): 150, (14)]

(49) *Ooku-no nihonzin-wa dareka-o* [*rosiago-ga dekiru to*] *omou.*
Many-COP Japanese-TOP someone-ACC [Russian-NOM be.able COMP] think
'Lots of Japanese think that someone specific can speak Russian.'
Japanese ①/③ [Horn 2008: 232, (37b); based on Kitano 1990: 23-24, (74)]

(50) **Am mirosit pe cineva* [*că ne minte*].
have.1 smelled DOM someone [that 1PL.DAT lies]
Int.: 'I/we suspected that someone was lying to us.' Romanian ④
[Alboiu and Hill 2016: 276, (46)]

No semantic restrictions in ⑤

(51) *Algum aluno* *parecia* [*que* *t* *ia* *viajar*].
some student seemed [that *t* went travel]
'It seemed that some student was going to travel.'
Brazilian Portuguese ⑤ [Martins and Nunes (2010): 150, (14)]

BP connectivity: Idiomatic construals

- Idiomatic construals:
  - not possible with topicalization, A′-movement
  - (often) possible with A-movement

(52) *A vaca*, *o João disse* [*que foi pro brejo*].
the cow the João said [that went to.the swamp]
Lit.: 'John said that the cow went to the swamp.'
*Idiomatic: 'John said that things went bad.' [M&N 2010: 146, (6b)]

Idiomatic construals & pronouns

- Either idiomatic interpretation ⑤, or overt pronoun ②
- But not both simultaneously
- If the pronoun is used, only a literal interpretation is possible.

(53) *A vaca parece* [*que t foi pro brejo*].
the cow seems [that *t* went to.the swamp]
Lit.: 'It seems that the cow went to the swamp.' *②, ⑤
Idiomatic: 'It seems that things went bad' *②, ⑤
[Martins and Nunes 2010: 146, (6c)]

(54) *A vaca parece* [*que ela foi pro brejo*].
the cow seems [that it went to-the swamp]
Lit.: 'It seems that the cow went to the swamp.' ②, *⑤
*Idiomatic: 'It seems that things went bad' *②, *⑤
[Martins and Nunes 2010: 150, (13)]

Embedded movement & topic interpretation

- Either no movement (island-insensitive) ②, or non-topic DP.𝔄 ⑤
- But not both simultaneously
- If DP.𝔄 is not a topic, it is moved.

(55) *Esses carros$_i$ parecem* [*que* [*as pessoas que compraram pro$_i$*] *se*
these cars$_i$ seem.3PL [that [the people who bought *pro$_i$*] REFL
arrependeram].
repented]
'It seems that people who bought these cars regretted it.' ②, *⑤
[Martins and Nunes 2010: 155, fn. 11, (ib)]

(56) **Só três carros$_i$ parecem* [*que* [*as pessoas que compraram pro$_i$*] *se*
only three cars$_i$ seem.3PL [that [the people who bought *pro$_i$*] REFL
arrependeram].
repented]
'It seems that people who bought these cars regretted it.' *②, *⑤
[R. Lacerda, p.c.]

Idiomatic construal & islands (& pronouns)

(57) *A vaca parece* [*que* [*o fato de que ela foi pro brejo*] *incomodou*
the cow seems [that [the fact of that it went to.the swamp] disturbed
o Renato].
the Renato]
Only literal.: 'It seems that the fact that the cow went to the swamp disturbed Renato.'
②, *⑤

(58) **A vaca parece* [*que* [*o fato de que t/pro foi pro brejo*]
the cow seems [that [the fact of that *t/pro* went to.the swamp]
incomodou o Renato].
disturbed the Renato]
Idiomatic: 'It seems that the fact that things went bad disturbed Renato.'
Lit.: 'It seems that the fact that the cow went to the swamp disturbed Renato.'
*②, *⑤

[R. Lacerda, p.c.]

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