Raising, uncased

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Overview In his influential account of hyperraising in Brazilian Portuguese, Nunes (2008, 2019) argues that this phenomenon is mediated by whether a given raising predicate assigns inherent case to its CP complement. Per Nunes, for A-movement out of a CP to be licit, CP itself must be assigned inherent case and thus rendered inactive for A-movement (and ruling it out as an intervener). I challenge this account by providing counterexamples from BP.

Nunes purports to show that **(i)** hyperraising is possible with some predicates (1a), but not others, (1b), and **(ii)** predicates that permit hyperraising *dis*allow CP-raising to subject (1c) while predicates that disallow hyperraising do allow CP-raising (1d).

(1) Nunes' contrast (Nunes 2008)

    a. ^{OK}Os meninos parecem [$_{CP}$ que ~~os~~ ~~meninos~~ estão doentes].
        ^{OK}the boys seem-PL [$_{CP}$ that ~~the~~ ~~boys~~ are sick-PL]
        "The boys seem to be sick."

    b. * Os meninos foram ditos [$_{CP}$ que ~~os~~ ~~meninos~~ estão doentes].
        * the boys be.PAST-PL said-PL [$_{CP}$ that the boys are sick]
        Intended: "The boys were said to be sick."

    c. * [$_{TP}$ [$_{CP}$ Que os meninos estão doentes] parece]].
        * [$_{TP}$ [$_{CP}$ that the boys are sick seems]
        Intended: "It seems that the boys are sick."

    d. ^{OK}[$_{TP}$ [$_{CP}$ Que os meninos estão doentes] foi dito].
        ^{OK}[$_{TP}$ [$_{CP}$ that the boys are sick was said]]
        "That the boys were sick was said."

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

A confound and counterexamples Nunes' contrast is confounded by a factor observed by Halpert (2019): a that CP-raising is only possible where a DP is permitted. A DP is not permitted as the subject of *parece* ('seems') in BP (2), so CP-raising is ruled out on independent grounds, in contrast to *ser certo* ('to be certain')—type predicates as in (3), which are not considered in Nunes (2008, 2019).

(2) *O fato que os meninos estão doentes parece.
    the fact that the boys are likely seems
    Int: "The fact that the boys are sick seems."

(3) O fato que os meninos estão doentes é certo.
    the fact that the boys are sick is certain
    "The fact that the boys are sick is certain."

When we do consider predicates like *ser certo* ('to be certain'), embedded CP can indeed raise to subject (5), and for 8/10 BP speakers consulted, it can also host a hyperraised matrix subject that triggers plural agreement on the verb (6):

(4) $[_{TP}$ É certo $[_{CP}$ que esses lugares existem]].
$[_{TP}$ is certain $[_{CP}$ that these places exist]].
"It is certain that these places exist."

(5) $[_{TP} [_{CP}$ Que esses lugares existem] é certo]].
$[_{TP} [_{CP}$ that these places exist-PL] is certain]]
"That these places exist is certain."

(6) $[_{TP}$ Esses lugares são certos $[_{CP}$ que ~~esses lugares~~ existem]].
$[_{TP}$ these places are certain-PL $[_{CP}$ that ~~these places~~ exist-PL]].
"These places are certain to exist."

Finally, 5/6 consultants confirm an idiomatic reading in (7) for the expression *o bicho vai pegar* (literally "the bug is going to grab", meaning "bad things are going to happen"), which supports this being a true raising structure.

(7) O bicho é certo $[_{CP}$ que ~~o bicho~~ vai pegar].
the bug is certain $[_{CP}$ that ~~the bug~~ goes grab-INF]
Lit. "The bug will certainly grab", equivalent to "Shit is certainly going to hit the fan".

Finally, counterexamples are not limited to *ser certo* ('to be certain') and are attested with other adjectives and with the raising verb *parecer* 'seems' followed by an adjective, as in the following:

(8) As outras 62 conjurações parecem claras que
the.FEM-PL other-FEM-PL 62 conjurations seem-PL clear-FEM-PL that
correspondem a Jesus.
correspond-PL to Jesus.
"It seems clear that the other 62 eamples correspond to Jesus." [attested online]

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

References

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