Hyperraising and copy raising are structurally different:
Against the unified base-generation account

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Hyperraising

> A-movement from a finite embedded clause into the matrix clause (Ura, 1994; Halpert, 2019; Wurmbrand, 2019; Zyman, 2023)

(1)   Parece   que os meninos fizeram a   tarefa.
      seem.PRS.3SG that the boys   did.3PL the homework
      'It seems that the boys did the homework.'

(2)   {Os meninos}$_i$ parece**m**   que __$_i$ fizeram a
       the boys   seem.PRS. 3PL that   did.3PL the
      tarefa.
      homework
      'The boys seem to have done the homework.'

Nunes (2008)

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Theoretical issues

- **Activity**: a case-marked DP should not be able to undergo A-movement into the higher clause
- **Improper movement**: per PIC, for embedded subject to move into the matrix clause, it needs to raise to spec-CP, an Ā-position

Approaches to hyperraising

- MOVEMENT ANALYSIS (prevalent view): A-movement from finite complement to matrix clause (Zyman, 2017, 2023; Halpert, 2019; Lohninger et al., 2022):

- BASE-GENERATION ANALYSIS: matrix subject base-generated in the matrix clause, like in **copy raising** (Den Dikken, 2017):

  (3) $[_{TP}$ DP_i T $[_{VP}$ *seem* $[_{CP}$ *that* $[_{TP}$ pro_i ... $]]]]$

Copy Raising

- matrix subject binds an anaphorically linked pronoun/gap in the complement clause, introduced by relator particle (*like*) (4)

- **no cross-clausal movement**: movement constraints do not apply to copy raising (5)

(4)   Richard$_i$ seems like he$_i$ is in trouble.

(5)   He$_i$ seems like she terrifies him$_i$.

(Rogers, 1971; Heycock, 1994; Potsdam and Runner, 2001; Asudeh, 2002)

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Background

- different predictions about hyperraising–copy raising relationship

- within-language comparison of hyperraising and copy raising sparse at best
  (exceptions: Carstens and Diercks, 2013; Johnson and Diercks to appear)

- Serbian has copy raising (Ilić, 2015)

- some speakers of Serbian allow hyperraising to subject (novel observation)

$\Rightarrow$ ideal test case for evaluating predictions of Den Dikken (2017)'s unified account

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Hyperraising and copy raising in Serbian

(6) Deluje   da   oni   znaju   sve.
      seem.PRS.3SG that 3PL.NOM know.PRS.3PL all
      'It seems that they know everything.'

(7) Oni$_i$ delu**ju**   da   _$_i$ znaju   sve.
      3PL.NOM seem.PRS. |3PL| that   know.PRS.3PL all
      'They seem to know everything.'

(8) Oni$_i$ **deluju**   kao da _$_i$ znaju
      3PL.NOM seem.PRS. |3PL| like that   know.PRS.3PL
      sve.
      all
      'They seem like they know everything.'

Research questions

1. Main: **Are hyperraising and copy raising structurally different?**
   - Is hyperraising an A-movement configuration?

   Movement diagnostics:
   - island-sensitivity
   - embedded A-minimality

2. Secondary: Place of copy raising in the broader typology of cross-clausal dependencies?

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Experiment

- online rating experiment
- participants (N = 835) asked to rate the acceptability of Serbian sentences on a five-point Likert scale
- participation requirements:
  1. minimum age: 18
  2. native Serbian speakers
- **single presentation**: (Marty et al., 2020) stimuli presented one at a time
- order of stimuli **randomized**
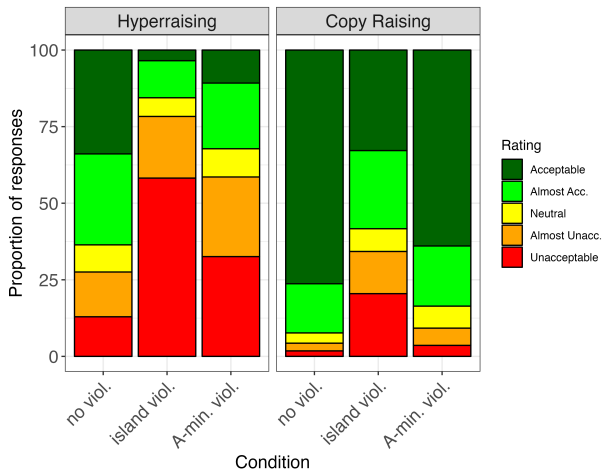- **replication data** available at Harvard Dataverse: https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/JHH7MQ

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Experimental design

18 stimuli overall:

- **6 target sentence**s (1/3):
  2×3 factorial design
  1. **2 constructions**:
     1. copy raising
     2. hyperraising
  2. **3 conditions** ⇔ movement constraints:
     1. Baseline
        (tail of dependency=embedded subject)
     2. Island-violating
        (tail of dependency in a complex NP island)
     3. A-minimality-violating
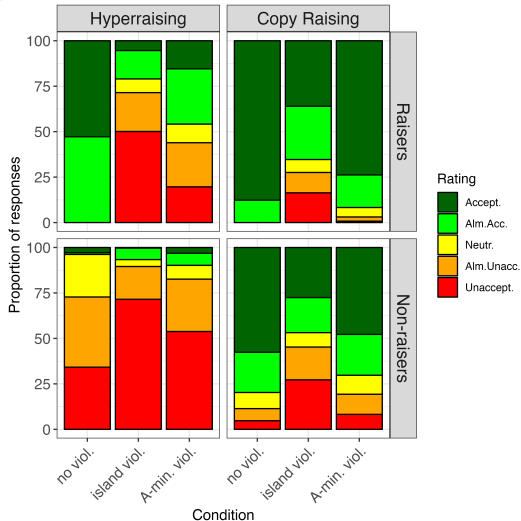   (tail of dependency=embedded object)

- **12 filler sentences** (2/3)

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Result #1: hyperraising available for some speakers

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Syntactic variation in Serbian

- hyperraising acceptable for a subset of speakers
- if a speaker does not accept the construction, they cannot inform us about the construction's syntactic properties
- **Raisers** (N = 519): *both* baseline sentences rated as "almost acceptable" or higher
- **Non-raisers** (N = 316): *at least one* of the baseline sentences rated as "neutral" or lower

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Result #2: for raisers, hyperraising ≠ copy raising

Ordinal regression analysis: raisers

Random effects	Variance	Standard Deviation		
Participant (N = 519)				
(Intercept)	.85	.92		
Fixed effects	β	*Standard Error*	*Wald z*	*p*
Construction (baseline: Copy raising)				
Hyperraising	−1.86	.17	−11.24	.000 ***
Condition (baseline: Baseline)				
Island-violating	−3.35	.17	−19.36	.000 ***
A-min.-violating	−1.12	.17	−6.46	.000 ***
Construction*Condition interaction				
Island-violating:Hyperraising	−.6	.21	−2.92	.004 **
A-min.-violating:Hyperraising	−1.39	.21	−6.46	.000 ***

Table 1. Mixed-effects ordinal regression (clmm) results. Model formula: `rating ~ construction*condition + (1 | participant)`.

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Interpretation of regression results

- negative main effect of hyperraising:
  acceptability decline in hyperraising relative to copy raising
- negative main effects of both non-baseline conditions:
  acceptability decline in island- and A-minimality-violating
  sentences relative to baseline sentences)
- negative interaction effects between hyperraising and both
  non-baseline conditions:
  hyperraising more negatively impacted by island and
  A-minimality violations than copy raising

Confounds

1. PROCESSING DIFFICULTY: both island-violating sentences penalized by speakers
   - island-violating sentences often difficult to process due to long-distance dependencies
   (Hofmeister and Sag, 2010; Hofmeister et al., 2013; Sprouse et al., 2012, 2016; Sprouse and Villata, 2021)
   - island-violating hyperraising more severely penalized than copy raising → island effects on the top of processing penalty

2. CONFUSION DUE TO SURFACE SIMILARITY:
   - penalty for copy raising
   - marginal acceptability of non-baseline hyperraising

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Takeaway

- Result #1: some Serbian speakers allow hyperraising
- Result #2: hyperraising as movement: more sensitive to movement constraints than copy raising
- Result #3: no movement in copy raising: virtually unaffected by A-minimality and marginally affected by island violation (copy raising ≈ prolepsis)

Conclusion

- hyperraising ≠ copy raising
- hyperraising is an A-movement configuration
  (Ura, 1994; Zyman, 2017, 2023; Halpert, 2019; Wurmbrand, 2019;
  Lohninger et al., 2022)
  Lohninger et al., 2022's **Type 5**
- copy raising is a non-movement configuration similar to
  prolepsis
  (Potsdam and Runner, 2001; Asudeh, 2002; Landau, 2011;
  Den Dikken, 2017)
  Lohninger et al., 2022's **Type 1**

> hyperraising really is what most formal accounts hold it
> to be: A-movement across a finite CP boundary

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