

## Hyperraising and evidentiality

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### 1. Introduction

Raising-to-subject constructions display cross-linguistic variations. *Hyperraising* (HR, Ura 1994) is disallowed in English.

#### (1) English

- a. The rain<sub>i</sub> **seems** *t<sub>i</sub>* not to stop.
- b. \*The rain<sub>i</sub> **seems** that *t<sub>i</sub>* will not stop.

In Cantonese and Vietnamese, we observe an apparent HR pattern with some attitude verbs.

#### (2) Baseline examples

- a. Ngo **gamgok/tengman** waa coeng jyu m wui ting [Cantonese]  
1SG **feel.like/hear** C CL rain NEG will stop  
'I feel like/hear the rain will not stop.'
- b. Tòi **cảm giác/nghe nói** rằng cơn mưa này sẽ không dừng [Vietnamese]  
1SG **feel.like/hear** C CL rain this will NEG stop  
'I feel like/hear the rain will not stop.'

Importantly, these attitude verbs demonstrate an (optional) alternation in terms of the argument structure. We call these attitude verbs **raising attitude verbs (RAVs)** and the relevant constructions **RAV-constructions**.

#### (3) Apparent HR pattern

- a. Coeng jyu **gamgok/tengman** waa m wui ting [C]  
CL rain **feel.like/hear** C NEG will stop  
(I) feel/hear that the rain will not stop.'
- b. Cơn mưa này **cảm giác/nghe nói** rằng sẽ không dừng [V]  
CL rain this **feel.like/hear** C will NEG stop  
(I) feel/hear that the rain will not stop.'

Such alternation, however, is not observed with other attitude verbs. We call these verbs **non-raising attitude verbs (NRAVs)**.

- (4) a. \*Coeng yu **gamgok-dou/zidou** waa m wui ting [C]  
CL rain **feel-result/know** C NEG will stop  
'(I) felt/know that the rain will not stop.'
- b. \*Con mưa này **cảm-thấy/biết** rằng sẽ không dừng [V]  
CL rain this **feel-result/know** C will NEG stop  
'(I) felt/know that the rain will not stop.'

The availability of such alternation crosscuts the class of attitude verbs.

Raising Attitude Verbs (RAVs)			Non-raising Attitude Verbs (NRAVs)		
Gloss	Cantonese	Vietnamese	Gloss	Cantonese	Vietnamese
'feel like'	<i>gamgok</i>	<i>cảm giác</i>	'feel-result'	<i>gamgok-dou</i>	<i>cảm-thấy</i>
'hear'	<i>tengman/ tenggong</i>	<i>nghe nói</i>	'hear-result'	<i>teng-dou</i>	<i>nghe-được</i>
'guess'	<i>gugai</i>	<i>đoán (là)</i>	'guess-result'	<i>gu-dou</i>	<i>đoán-được</i>
'believe'	<i>soengseon</i>	<i>tin (là)</i>	'think'	<i>jingwai/ gokdak</i>	<i>nghĩ/cho</i>
'suspect'	<i>waaiji</i>	<i>ngghi (là)</i>	'know'	<i>zidou</i>	<i>biết</i>
'seem (lit.: fear)'	<i>paace/taipaa/ paahai</i>	<i>e/sợ</i>	'remember'	<i>geidak</i>	<i>nhớ</i>
'be.sure'	<i>hangding</i>	/			
'talk-prog'	<i>gong-gan</i>	/			
'say-perf'	<i>waa(-zo)</i>	/			

Table 1 – Two classes of attitude verbs in Cantonese and Vietnamese

In this paper, we argue for three claims.

- First, we show that hyper-raising constructions are attested in both Cantonese and Vietnamese.
- Second, the availability of hyper-raising is associated with evidentiality. In particular, we suggest that hyper-raising constructions are only possible for attitude verbs that presumes indirect evidence for their clausal complements.
- Lastly, we propose a phase deactivation account for hyperraising in these languages, following the spirit in Rackowski and Richards (2005), Nunes (2008) and Halpert (2019).

Two implications:

- First, "exceptional" raising behaviors are related to the lexical semantics of predicates. Raising possibilities might not be entirely idiosyncratic (*contra* Polinsky 2013).
- Second, this paper reports another feature (i.e. evidence feature) whose Agree relation with a phase may "unlock" a phase, in addition to selectional features (Rackowski and Richards 2005) and phi-features (Halpert 2019)

Roadmap:

- Section 2 shows that RAV-constructions involve HR.
- Section 3 draws a correlation between indirect evidence and the possibility of HR.
- Section 4 presents our phase deactivation account.
- Section 5 concludes.

## 2. Hyper-raising

Descriptively, the sentences in (3) share the schema in (5).

### (5) RAV-constructions

S RAV [ V (O) ] *where S is thematically associated with V but not RAV*

What we are trying to convince you:

- The subject is in its derived position (not a hanging topic)
- The movement displays A-movement properties (not topic movement)
- The VO-clause is a finite CP (not a reduced clause)

#### 2.1. Movement, not base generation

**Resumptive/coreferent pronouns.** The surface subjects cannot co-index with an embedded pronoun, suggesting they are in a derived position.

- (6) Aaming<sub>i</sub>ne, ngo **gamgok** [ waa keoi<sub>i</sub> m-wui lai ] (Base-generated topic)  
Ming TOP 1SG **feel.like** C 3SG NEG-will come  
'As for Ming, I feel like he will not come.'
- (7) Aaming<sub>i</sub> **gamgok** [ waa (\*keoi<sub>i</sub>) m-wui lai ] (Ban on resumptive pronouns)  
Ming **feel.like** C 3SG NEG-will come  
'(I) feel like Ming will not come.' (cf. <sup>OK</sup>'Ming<sub>i</sub> feels like he<sub>j</sub> will not come')

**Island effects.** The surface subject cannot be thematically associated with an embedded predicate in an island, such as the complex NP island in (9).

- (8) \*Aaming<sub>i</sub> **tenggong** [ waa [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> jiging zau-zo] ge siusik] hai gaa ge ]  
Ming **hear** C already leave-PERF MOD rumor be false SFP  
'(I) hear that the rumor that Ming already left is false.'

**Idiomatic meaning.** Displacement of the subject of a sentential idiom retains the idiomatic reading.

- (9) ni-zek laaihaamou<sub>i</sub> **gamgok** [ waa t<sub>i</sub> soeng sik tinngoju<sub>k</sub> ]  
this-CL toad **feel.like** C want eat swan.meat  
'(I) feel like (s/he) is aiming at the moon.'  
(lit.: '(I) feel like that this toad wants to eat swan meat.')

## 2.2. A-movement, instead of A'-movement

**A subject-object asymmetry.** The movement in (11) privileges subjects over objects (both direct and indirect), an asymmetry attributable to a locality condition for A-movement.

- (10)a. Aaming **gamgok** [ waa  $t_{subj}$  bei-zo houdou syu Aafan ] (subject)  
Ming **feel.like** C give-PERF many book Fan  
b. \*houdou syu **gamgok** [ waa Aaming bei-zo  $t_{DO}$  Aafan ] (direct object)  
many book **feel.like** C Ming give-PERF Fan  
c. \*Aafan **gamgok** [ waa Aaming bei-zo houdou syu  $t_{IO}$  ] (indirect object)  
Fan **feel.like** C Ming give-PERF many book  
(a-c): '(I) feel like Ming gave many books to Fan.'

**New binding possibility.** The surface subject can bind a pronominal variable in the matrix clause after movement, as shown by the contrast in the sentences in (12).

### (11)a. Impossible binding on pronouns

- \*[on  $keoi_i$  caandeige m-tung] ngo **tengman** ...  
accord it origin MOD difference 1SG **hear.say**  
... [ waa mui-lap-zyunsek $_i$  dou jau m-tung gwongzaak]  
C every-CL-diamond all have different luster  
'According to its $_i$  origin, I heard that every piece of diamond $_i$  will have different lusters.'

### b. Possible binding on pronoun

- mui-lap-zyunsek $_i$  [ on  $keoi_i$  caandeige m-tung] **tengman** ...  
every-CL-diamond accord it origin MOD difference **hear.say**  
... [ waa  $t_i$  dou jau m-tung gwongzaak]  
C all have different luster  
(Lit.) 'Every piece of diamond $_i$ , according to its $_i$  origin, (I) heard, will have different lusters.'

## 2.3. The complement clause as a (finite) CP

**C head.** waa (Cantonese, Hwang 2000, Yeung 2006) and là/rằng (Vietnamese, Chappell 2008)

**Embedded topics.** Under standard assumptions, topics are base generated in CP peripheral position (Rizzi 1997).

- (12)a. ngo **gamgok** [<sub>CP</sub> gam-do-ceot-hei [<sub>TP</sub> Aaming zinghaitai-zo ni-ceot-hei]] (transitive)  
I **feel.like** so-many-CL-film Ming only watch-PERF this-cl-film  
'I feel like, among so many films, Ming only watched this one.'  
b. Aaming **gamgok** [<sub>CP</sub> gam-do-ceot-hei [<sub>TP</sub> zinghai tai-zo ni-ceot-hei]] (RAVs)  
Ming **feel.like** so-many-CL-film only watch-PERF this-cl-film  
'(I) feel like, among so many films, Ming only watched this one.'

### 3. Evidentiality and the two classes of attitude verbs

The remaining issue: why there is an asymmetry between the two sets of attitude verbs?

Our suggestion:

- RAVs all come with an evidential requirement in their lexical semantics, which requires the attitude report to be based on *indirect evidence*.
- Such requirement is lacking in NRAVs.

We start with some (near-)minimal pairs in Table 1 (partly repeated below): some RAVs differ from NRAVs in the absence of the verbal suffix *-dou*.

(13) RAVs: *gamgok* ‘feel like’      *tengman* ‘hear’      *gugai* ‘guess’  
 NRAVs: *gamgok-dou* ‘feel-result’      *teng-dou* ‘hear-result’      *gu-dou* ‘guess-result’

Descriptively, *-dou* indicates “accomplishment or successful completion of an action” and it is used to forms verbs of perception (Matthews and Yip 2011:251-2).

(14) *Direct context*: Ming is playing piano now. You hear the sound and say:

- a. ngo { **teng-dou/** #**tengman** } Aaming taan-gan kam (transitive usage)  
1SG **hear-result** **hear.say** Ming play-PROG piano  
'I hear Ming playing piano.'
- b. #Aaming **tengman** taan-gan kam (RAV-constructions)  
Ming **hear.say** play-PROG piano  
'Ming, (I) heard that Ming is playing piano.'

The requirement of indirect evidence also applies to other RAVs.

Raising Attitude Verbs (RAVs)			Non-raising Attitude Verbs (NRAVs)		
Gloss	Verbs	Evidence	Gloss	Verbs	Evidence
‘feel like’	<i>gamgok</i>	inferential	‘feel-result’	<i>gamgok-dou</i>	direct sensory
‘hear’	<i>tengman/tenggong</i>	hearsay	‘hear-result’	<i>teng-dou</i>	direct sensory
‘guess’	<i>gugai</i>	inferential	‘guess-result’	<i>gu-dou</i>	direct sensory
‘believe’	<i>soengseon</i>	inferential	‘think’	<i>jingwai/ gokdak</i>	underspecified
‘suspect’	<i>waaiji</i>	inferential	‘know’	<i>zidou</i>	direct (factive)
‘seem (lit.: fear)’	<i>paace/taipaa/ paahai</i>	inferential	‘remember’	<i>geidak</i>	direct
‘be.sure’	<i>hangding</i>	inferential			
‘talk-prog’	<i>gong-gan</i>	hearsay			
‘say-perf’	<i>waa(-zo)</i>	hearsay			

Table 2 – Two classes of attitude verbs and their evidential component

There is supporting evidence for this distinction. It patterns with epistemic modals in English which display a similar requirement (von Stechow and Gillies 2010).

- (15)[Seeing the pouring rain] (direct evidence)  
 a. It's raining.  
 b. ??It must be raining.
- (16)[Seeing wet rain gears and knowing rain is the only possible cause] (indirect evidence)  
 a. It's raining.  
 b. It must be raining.

The correlation between raising possibility and evidentiality is further supported by evidence in Romanian (Alboiu and Hill 2013, 2016).

- (17)Raising correlates with indirect evidentiality in Romanian (Alboiu and Hill 2013:295-6)
- a. Văd [ că e murdar pe mâini] (direct evidence)  
 see.1 that is dirty on hands  
 'I see his hands are dirty.'
- b. Am auzit [ că Mihai<sub>k</sub> repară<sub>k</sub> casa ] (indirect evidence)  
 have.1SG heard that Mihai fixes house.the  
 'I've heard that Mihai is fixing the house.'
- c. L-am auzit **pe Mihai<sub>k</sub>** [ că repară<sub>k</sub> casa ] (RtO, indirect evidence)  
 him-have.1SGheard DOM Mihai that fixes house.the  
 'I've heard Mihai (claiming that) he's fixing the house.'

#### 4. Towards a proposal

Standard generative theories are too restrictive in that they systematically rule out *any* instance of HR constructions, by virtue of (#1) the ban on Improper Movement (IM, Chomsky 1973, Chomsky 1986), (#2) the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC, Chomsky 2001)

Three families of proposals on HR:

#1	<b>Featural distinction on A/A'-positions</b>
	(a) Spec,CP as A-positions (Obata and Epstein 2011, Fong 2019)
	(b) Hyper-raising as A'-movement with A-movement effects (Alboiu and Hill 2016)
#2	<b>Conditioned deactivation of PIC</b>
	(a) Selective opacity of a domain: (i) Phase unlocking (Halpert 2019)
	(b) Deactivation of phasehood: (i) Defective CP (Nunes 2008); (ii) Exfoliation (Pesetsky 2019)
#3	<b>Parametrization on Multiple Case</b>
	(a) Parametrization on Multiple Agree (Halpert 2019)
	(b) Spec,TP <sub>fin</sub> may not be Case positions (Ura 1994)

Table 3: Different approaches on hyper-raising

Our proposal: along the line of conditioned deactivation of PIC (#2).

- We suggest that PIC can be obviated under certain circumstances.
  - PIC is obviated by an Agree relation between the matrix verb and the entire CP.
  - the requirement of indirect evidence materializes as a syntactic feature [EV].
- The proposal bears a family resemblance to approaches to locality in Rackowski and Richards (2005), Nunes (2008) and Halpert (2019).

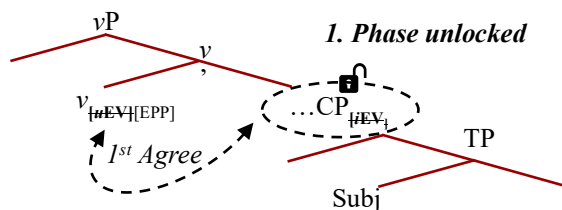
(18) Featural setup

- a. There are two (null) C heads, namely, C and C<sub>[EV]</sub>.
- b. [EV] is an interpretable feature that marks an indirect-evidence-based proposition.
- c. RAVs (≠NRAVs) carry an uninterpretable counterpart [uEV], which agrees with a CP.

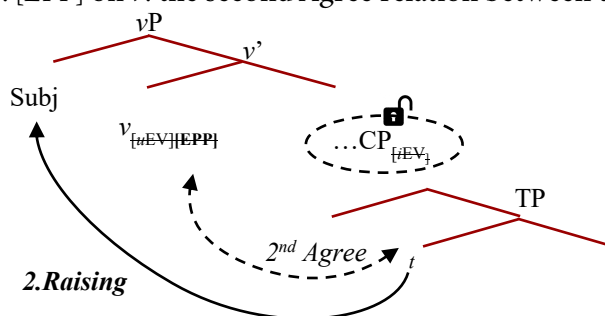
Crucially, it is the Agree relation between RAVs and CP in terms of the proposed evidential feature that enables A-movement from within the finite CP.

(19) Graphic representation of the proposed derivation of RAV-constructions

- a. [EV]: the first Agree relation between the probe *v* and the CP



- b. [EPP] on *v*: the second Agree relation between the probe *v* and the embedded subject



- c. [EPP] on T: the subject is further raised to Spec TP (not shown).

## 5. Concluding remarks

[repeated from above]

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