

Movement across finite CPs: Object Hyper-Raising in Brazilian Portuguese

Frederico Prado, McMaster University

CLAIM Under Minimalist Program assumptions, A-movement out of embedded finite clauses is unexpected because it violates assumptions about i) phase-hood, ii) locality and ii) the ban on Improper Movement. Yet, A-movement out of a finite CP is attested in several languages.^{1:2:3} Using data from Brazilian Portuguese (BP) on hyper-raising (HR) of objects I argue that extraction out of finite CPs is mediated by two agreement relations established between the matrix HR verb and i) the embedded CP and ii) the CP-internal DP that undergoes HR. In this regard, HR in BP is part of a larger family of extractions that require an agree relation between the matrix verb and an embedded CP^{4:5:6}. In BP, I argue this agree relation is mediated via a discursive (δ) probe^{7:8} carried by verbs attested in hyper-raising constructions.

CORE DATA In Brazilian Portuguese raising out of finite embedded clauses - henceforth hyper-raising (HR) - is attested^{9:10:11:12}, (1). HR is optional, as its absence does not create ungrammaticality, (1a). Furthermore, HR is puzzling for two reasons. One, it is unclear what feature probe could cross a sentential finite clause boundary and trigger movement. Two, movement out of a phase undergoes intermediate movement to the Phase Edge, an A'-position. However, the final landing site of the raised elements in (1) is an A-position¹³. Consequently, the raised elements in (1) undergo A'-movement followed by A-movement, contra the ban on Improper Movement. The pattern, however, is more complex, in that objects can also HR in BP, (1c). Example (1c) raises questions for any feature-driven movement account assuming Attract Closest. If HR obeys Attract Closest the feature probe driving movement would not be able to bypass the embedded subject in (1c), assuming the relevant feature is shared by all argument DPs. Finally, the raised argument triggers verbal agreement in the matrix clause irrespective of whether it is the subject or an object within the embedded clause.

(1) Hyper-raising in BP

- a. Parece [que a Julia tratou mal as meninas]
SEEM.SG that DET.F.SG Julia treat.PST.3SG bad DET.F.PL girls
- b. A Julia_i parece [que t_i tratou mal as meninas]
DEF.F.SG Julia seem.3SG that t treat.PST.3SG bad DET.F.PL girls
- c. As meninas_i parecem [que a Julia tratou mal t_i]
DET.F.PL girls seem.PL that DET.F.SG Julia treat.PST.3SG bad t
- "It seems Julia was rude to the girls."

PROBLEM Existing work on BP argues object HR and subject HR are derived differently. Martins and Nunes (2010) argue subject HR is A-movement while object HR is not HR proper but base generation of a null resumptive pronoun bound by a base-generated matrix DP. However, I show object HR displays properties of A-movement: i) it feeds into A-binding and ii) it is subject to strong islands. I thus argue that subject and object HR may be derived uniformly.

PROPOSAL Building on a family of approaches on locality and extraction domains^{6:9:14}, I argue A-movement out of finite embedded clauses is possible **iff** there is an element in the higher clause that establishes a structural relation with the embedded CP. In BP, I argue A-movement out of finite clauses is possible if matrix v enters into an agree relation with its complement CP. I propose this relation is mediated through discursive (δ) features^{7:8}. I suggest δ features are part of BP's feature inventory by building on studies of subject-topics in the language^{15:16}. Crucially, I argue only impersonal verbs lacking external arguments - such as HR verbs - may carry the δ probe. When impersonal v carries δ , it promotes a lower clausal argument into its (otherwise empty) external argument. HR is thus derived through agreement between matrix v and CP: v probes a lower clausal argument raising it to its local domain (Spec v P) from where it is raised to SpecTP through EPP-driven movement, where it triggers verbal agreement by checking ϕ -features on T.

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