

Hyperraising and Logical Form: evidence from Buryat*

Tanya Bondarenko

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1 Introduction

- **Hyperraising to object** is movement of an argument of an embedded finite clause into the matrix clause.
- Languages differ in whether they allow such movement: cf. (1) and (2).

(1) bair **badm-i:jə**₁ [_{CP} **t**₁ sajan-i:jə zura-xa gə-žə] han-a: *Buryat*
Bair.NOM **Badma-ACC** Sajana-ACC draw-FUT say-ADV think-PST
‘Bair thought that Badma will draw Sajana.’

(2) *Bair thought **Badma**₁ [_{CP} that **t**₁ will draw Sajana]. *English*

- **THE QUESTION:** What determines whether a language allows hyperraising to object?
- **Some existing answers** that I am aware of: *Please tell me others you know of!*
 - features of the complementizer (A/A-bar properties) (Fong 2019, a.o.)
 - (*proposed for hyperraising to subject*): the featural status of clauses together with the nature of the EPP (Halpert 2016, 2019)
- **MY PROPOSAL:**
semantic type of the CP determines whether hyperraising to object is possible out of it.
 - ★ CPs come in two kinds: some, like Buryat CPs, denote properties of events (<vt>-CPs), others, like English CPs, denote properties of individuals (<et>-CPs);
 - ★ only <vt>-CPs can be hyperraised out of: due to the semantics of movement into a θ -position, hyperraising out of <et>-CPs creates a type mismatch.

*I am grateful to Patrick Elliott, Sabine Iatridou and Roger Schwarzschild for their valuable feedback.

- **Outline:**

1. There are cases of hyperraising that involve true raising.
2. The proposal: semantics for movement into a θ -position and issues for $\langle et \rangle$ -CPs
3. Syntactic manifestations of the semantic type: morphology & distribution
4. Some predictions: obligatoriness of *de re* and impossibility of indexical shift
5. Conclusions

2 Hyperraising *can be* raising into a θ -position

- There are reasons to think that hyperraising *can* involve raising: island effects, idiom tests, Proper Binding Condition (Fiengo 1974) violations, agreement that is different from control structures (Deal 2018, Fong 2019, Bondarenko 2017a-b, a.m.o.).¹
- E.g., in Buryat control structures have agreement on the embedded predicate, (3), while structure with hyperraising (= with accusative subjects) cannot have agreement on the embedded verb, (4):

(3) Sajana_i [CP **PRO**_i mori-jə ab-a:-*(**b**) gəʒə] xəl-ə:
 Sajana.NOM horse-ACC buy-PST-(1SG) COMP say-PST
 ‘Sajana_i said that she_{i/*j} bought a horse.’

(4) Sajana_i [CP **namajə**_{Sp} mori-jə ab-a:-(***b**) gəʒə] xəl-ə:
 Sajana.NOM **1.SG.ACC** horse-ACC buy-PST-(1SG) COMP say-PST
 ‘Sajana_i said that I_{Sp/*i} (=the speaker) bought a horse.’

- But it is not easy to establish whether hyperraising involves raising to a θ -position.
- Many properties that accusative subjects have can be explained by obligatory (A) movement to Spec,CP position with optional scrambling (A-bar movement) into the matrix clause (Takeuchi 2010, Bondarenko 2017a, Wurmbrand 2019 a.o.). E.g.:

	Phenomenon	Explanation
(5)	ability to linearly occur in the matrix clause	long-distance scrambling
	ability to be bound by matrix clause arguments	TP as a binding domain

- **The question:** are there any properties that *can only* be explained if we are dealing with raising to a θ -position?

¹My impression is that many languages (including Buryat (Bondarenko 2017b) and Nez Perce (Deal 2018), a.o.) that have hyperraising to object also have a prolepsis strategy with an argument of the matrix clause controlling into a finite embedded clause. As we will see, this is expected under my proposal.

2.1 Passivization

- Accusative subjects can be further promoted into the matrix subject position:

(6) **bi**₁ badma-da t₁ [_{CP} PRO₁/t₁ sajan-i:jə zura-xa-(b) gə-žə]
1SG.NOM B.-DAT S.-ACC draw-FUT-(1SG) say-CONV
 hana-**gd**-a:-**b**
 think-**PASS-PST-1**
 ‘Badma thought that I will draw Sajana.’

- Note that in (6) agreement on the embedded predicate is optional.
- In (Bondarenko 2017b) I argued that this optionality corresponds to two derivations: the one with agreement involves control, the one without agreement involves raising.
- Given that Buryat does not allow long-distance passivization,² (6) suggests that accusative subjects can undergo raising into the object position of the matrix verb.

2.2 Impossibility of reconstruction

- Generally in languages with long-distance scrambling NPIs can get licensed in the embedded clause but then scramble into the matrix clause:

(7) Hindi (Lahiri 2018: 187, ex. 16)
 [ek bhii pikcar]_j, siitaa kahtii hai ki [saritaa-ne t_j nahiiN li]
 one even picture Sita says that Sarita-erg not take
 ‘Sarita says that Sarita didn’t take even a single photograph.’

- However, in Buryat hyperraising if an accusative subject is an NPI, it must be licensed by the matrix negation and cannot be licensed by embedded negation:

(8) a. Badma **xəŋ-i:-šjə** / ***xəŋ-šjə** tərgə əmdəl-ə: gə-žə
 Badma.NOM who-ACC-PTCL / who.NOM-PTCL cart break-PST COMP
 xar-a:-**güj**
 see-PST-NEG
 ‘Badma didn’t see of any individual x that x broke the cart.’
 b. Badma ***xəŋ-i:-šjə** / **xəŋ-šjə** tərgə əmdəl-ə:-**güj**
 Badma.NOM who-ACC-PTCL / who.NOM-PTCL cart break-PST-NEG
 gə-žə xar-a:
 COMP see-PST
 ‘Badma saw that no one broke the cart.’

- This suggests that accusative subjects cannot reconstruct. **Why not?**

²To be more precise, long-distance passivization is limited to restructuring verbs.

- A-movement can usually reconstructs either for binding and scope (like in English), or at least for scope (German, Japanese), A-bar movement reconstructs for both binding and scope (Wurmbrand 2010).
- Thus, whether movement that accusative subjects undergo is an A or an A-bar movement, we should expect them to be able to reconstruct, provided that scope relative to negation is the relevant property for NPI licensing.
- **Idea:**
 - ★ reconstruction is impossible due to raising occurring into a θ -position
 - ★ not interpreting DP at the position where it θ -raised to would amount to not saturating an argument of a function and a non-converging derivation

3 The proposal

ASSUMPTIONS:

- Kratzer’s (2013) approach to semantics of attitude verbs (CPs describe the Content of an event/individual) modified with Elliott’s (2017) equality semantics:

- (9) a. $\llbracket \text{think} \rrbracket^{w,g} = \lambda e \in D_v. \text{think}(e)$
 b. $\llbracket \text{CP}_{vt} \rrbracket^{w,g} = \lambda e \in D_v. \text{CONT}(e) = \text{Badma will draw Sajana}$
 c. $\llbracket \text{CP}_{et} \rrbracket^{w,g} = \lambda x \in D_e. \text{CONT}(x) = \text{Badma will draw Sajana}$

- this implies that $D_v \neq D_e$;
- semantics of $\langle v,t \rangle$ -CPs and $\langle e,t \rangle$ -CPs is identical but for their type.

- neo-Davidsonian representations for all arguments including Theme: all arguments are introduced by designated functional projections (θ_{Th} for Theme).

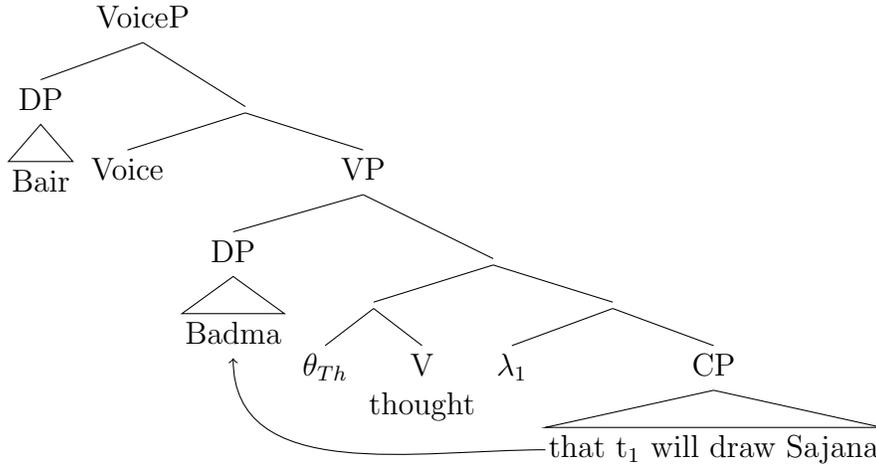
(10) $\llbracket \theta_{Th} \rrbracket^{w,g} = \lambda f_{vt}. \lambda y_e. \lambda e_v. f(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(e)=y.$

PROPOSAL:

- hyperraising to object involves (potentially covert) raising into the object position;
- movement into a θ -position leaves a trace and creates an abstractor, just like other kinds of movement (Heim & Kratzer 1998);
- it is different in that the abstractor is separated from the DP’s landing site by other material (see Deal 2018): it is separated by the verb that has combined with the object-introducing projection in (11).³

³While Buryat is an SOV language, I draw all LFs as right-branching for simplification.

(11) **LF for hyperraising to object**

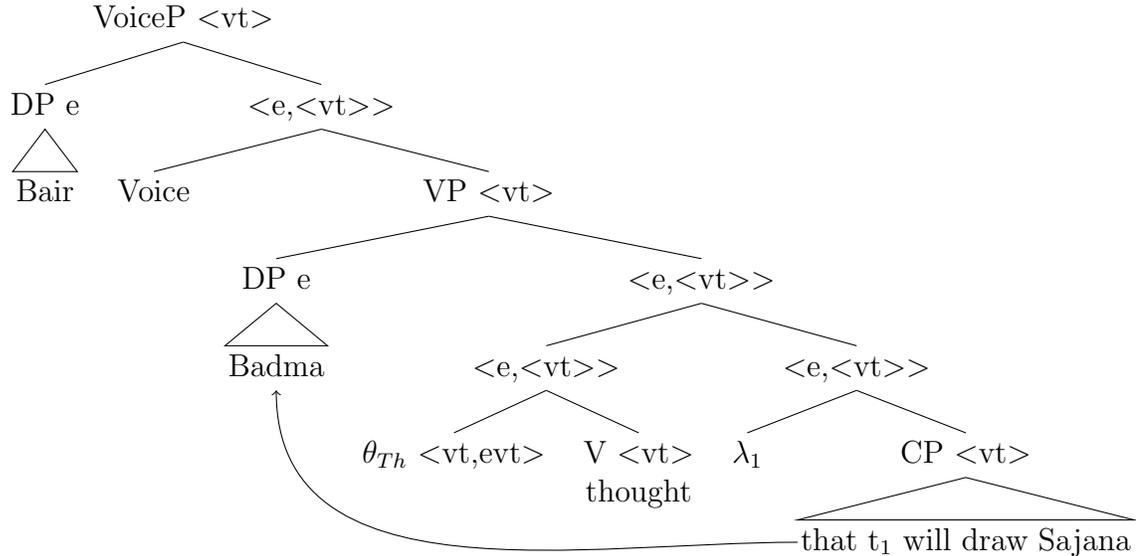


- The type of the CP in (11) determines whether the LF will be interpretable or not: a derivation with a $\langle v, t \rangle$ -CP will converge, a derivation with a $\langle e, t \rangle$ -CP will not.

3.1 Languages with *vt*-type CPs

- In languages with $\langle vt \rangle$ -CPs (Buryat) CPs specify the Content of the eventuality described by the verb.
- Abstraction at the edge of a *vt*-type CP creates a function of the same type as the function created by combining the verb with the object-introducing θ_{Th} – $\langle e, \langle vt \rangle \rangle$:

(12) **Hyperraising to object with a *vt*-type CP**



(13) $\llbracket \lambda_1 CP_{vt} \rrbracket^{w,g} = \lambda x \in D_e. \lambda e \in D_v. \text{CONT}(e) = x \text{ will draw Sajana}$

- This allows to combine the verb and the embedded clause by Generalized Conjunction (Partee & Rooth 1983):

(14) **Generalized Conjunction:**

Pointwise definition of \sqcap (Partee & Rooth 1983: 364)

$X \sqcap Y =$

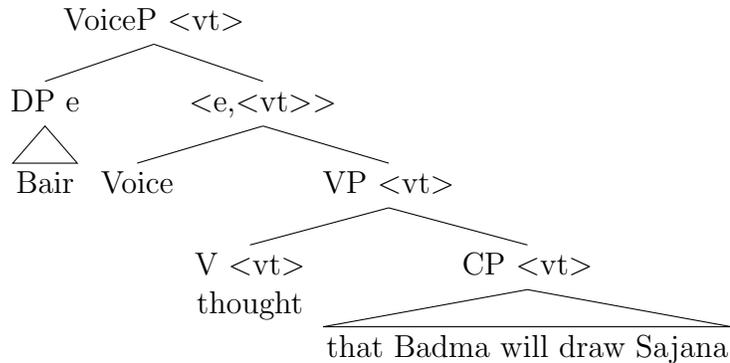
- a. $= X \wedge Y$ if X and Y are truth values
- b. $= \{ \langle z, x \sqcap y \rangle : \langle z, x \rangle \in X \text{ and } \langle z, y \rangle \in Y \}$ if X and Y are functions
(which are represented as sets of ordered pairs)

- The result of that combination is in (15a).
- In the next step the hyperraised argument saturates the individual argument, specifying the Theme of *thinking* (= res argument (Heim 1994)) and the subject of *drawing* at the same time, (15b).
- The subject of the matrix verb is introduced, resulting in (15c)

- (15) a. $\llbracket \theta_{Th} V \lambda_1 CP_{vt} \rrbracket^{w,g} =$
 $\lambda x \in D_e. \lambda e \in D_v. \text{think}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(e)=x \wedge \text{CONT}(e) = x \text{ will draw Sajana}$
- b. $\llbracket VP \rrbracket^{w,g} =$
 $\lambda e_v. \text{think}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(e)=\text{Badma} \ \& \ \text{CONT}(e) = \text{Badma will draw Sajana}$
- c. $\llbracket \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket^{w,g} = \lambda e_v. \text{think}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(e)=\text{Badma} \ \& \ \text{Exp}(e)=\text{Bair} \ \& \ \text{CONT}(e) =$
 $\text{Badma will draw Sajana}$

- **In the absence of hyperraising**, $\langle vt \rangle$ -CPs also combine with the verb by Generalized Conjunction: (16)-(18).

(16) ***vt*-type CPs without hyperraising**



- (17) $\llbracket VP \rrbracket^{w,g} = \lambda e \in D_v. \text{think}(e) \wedge \text{CONT}(e) = \text{Badma will draw Sajana}$

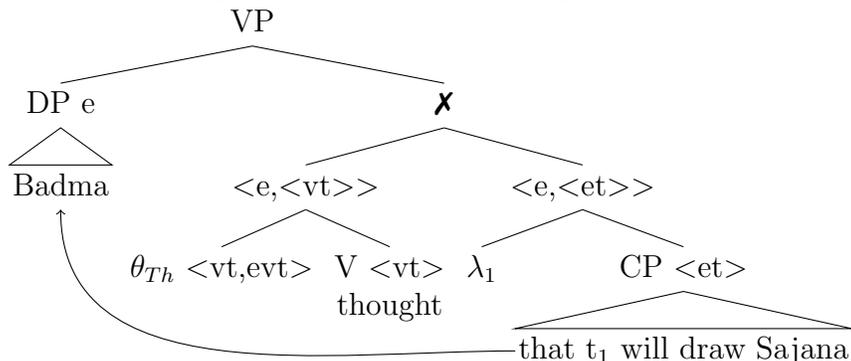
- (18) $\llbracket \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket^{w,g} =$
 $\lambda e \in D_v. \text{think}(e) \wedge \text{Exp}(e)=\text{Bair} \ \& \ \text{CONT}(e) = \text{Badma will draw Sajana}$

- I leave the possibility of the θ_{Th} attaching to the VP and getting saturated by a null pronominal argument open.

3.2 Languages with *et*-type CPs

- In languages with $\langle et \rangle$ -CPs (English), the hyperraising derivation will create a **type mismatch**: creating abstraction at the edge of this CP will make it $\langle e, \langle et \rangle \rangle$, and it will not be able to combine with the $\langle e, \langle vt \rangle \rangle$ -type verb by Generalized Conjunction:

(19) ***Hyperraising to object with a *et*-type CP**



- Thus, $\langle et \rangle$ -CPs can't be hyperraised out of due to uninterpretability.
- **Question:** How do $\langle et \rangle$ -CPs then ever combine with matrix verbs?

COMBINING $\langle ET \rangle$ -CPs

- **Proposal:**

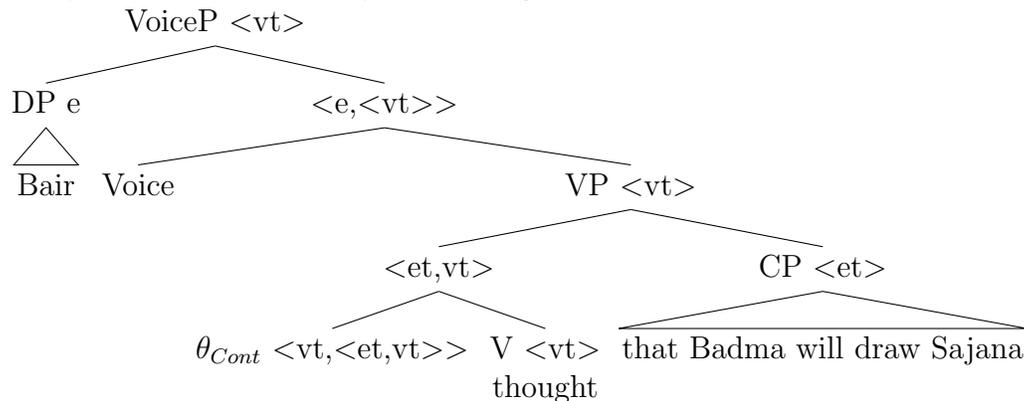
- ★ languages like English combine their CPs with attitude verbs through an argument-introducing functional head θ_{Cont} :

$$(20) \quad [[\theta_{Cont}]^{w,g} = \lambda P_{vt} \cdot \lambda Q_{et} \cdot \lambda e_v. P(e) \wedge \text{CONT}(e) = \iota p [\forall x \in Q[\text{CONT}(x)=p]]]$$

- ★ θ_{Cont} takes a predicate P, a property of individuals $Q = \text{CP}$, and an event, and
- ★ returns true if the predicate is true of e and the content of e is the unique proposition such that it is the Content of all the individuals of which CP is true of.

- LF of a sentence with an *et*-type CP is in (21).

(21) ***et*-type CPs without hyperraising**



- The result of *think* combining with CP through θ_{Cont} is in (22); .

(22) $\llbracket \text{think } \theta_{Cont} \text{ CP} \rrbracket^{w,g} = \lambda e_v. \text{ think}(e) \wedge \text{CONT}(e) = \iota p [\forall x \in \{y: \text{CONT}(y) = \text{Badma will draw Sajana}\} [\text{CONT}(x)=p]]]$.

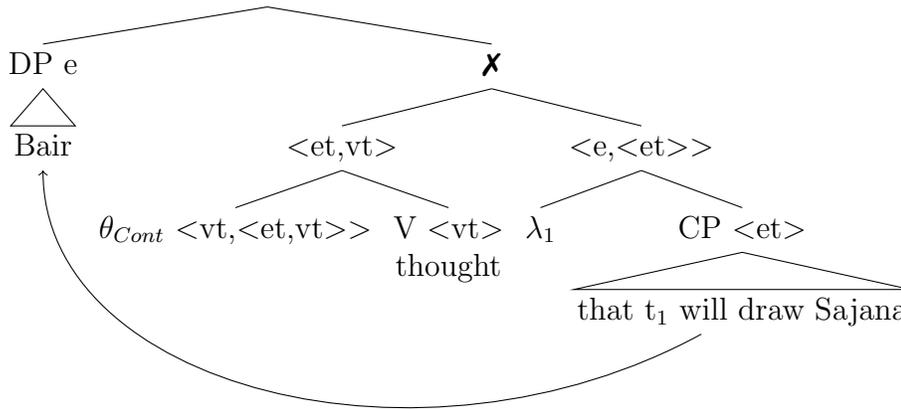
(23) $\llbracket \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket^{w,g} = \lambda e_v. \text{ think}(e) \wedge \text{Exp}(e)=\text{Bair} \wedge \text{CONT}(e) = \iota p [\forall x \in \{y: \text{CONT}(y) = \text{Badma will draw Sajana}\} [\text{CONT}(x)=p]]]$.

- This is equivalent to (24):

(24) $\llbracket \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket^{w,g} = \lambda e_v. \text{ think}(e) \wedge \text{Exp}(e)=\text{Bair} \wedge \text{CONT}(e) = \text{Badma will draw Sajana}$.

- Note that combining CPs via θ_{Cont} does not give rise to availability of hyperraising: abstracting at the edge of CP will still lead to a type mismatch.

(25) **abstracting at the edge of *et*-type CP \rightarrow type mismatch**



SUMMARY:

- A functional head like θ_{Cont} could be in principle available in all languages.
- But only languages that have $\langle vt \rangle$ -CPs have the privilege of being able to combine them with the verb via Generalized Conjunction, which is a necessary requirement for the hyperraising derivation.

4 How to know the type of your CP

- **Question:** can we independently test what semantic type a given CP has?
- **Tentative answer:** yes, the semantic type of a CP can be inferred based on its morphosyntactic properties: morphological form of the complementizer and syntactic distribution of CPs.
- Here's a table based on a very small sample of languages:

Morphology	Syntax	Semantics	Hyperraising	Languages
nominal	nominal-like distribution	<et> type	no	English, Russian
adverbial	adverbial-like distribution	<vt> type	yes	Buryat, Tatar

Table 1: Correlations between the type of CP and its morphosyntax

MORPHOLOGY OF THE COMPLEMENTIZER

- CPs with complementizers that are morphologically based on nominal elements like demonstratives (English ‘that’), relativizers, wh-words (Russian *čto* ‘what’) seem to not be hyperraisable out of.
- CPs with complementizers that look like adverbial forms of verbs like ‘say’ (Buryat’s *gə-ʒə* ‘say-CONV’⁴, Tatar’s *di-p* ‘say-CONV’) seem to be hyperraisable out of.
- For Buryat, the morphology goes hand in hand with proform substitution:
 - Buryat has a root *ti:* ‘do.so’, which produces different proforms by attaching different kinds of morphology.
 - In (26) we see that the CP can be substituted by a proform that consists of the root *ti:* ‘do.so’ + converbial suffix *-ʒə*, and cannot be substituted by adverbial and nominal proforms (pronoun).

(26) Buryat CPs and their proforms

badma sajana bulj-a: gə-**ʒə** han-a:, ojuna
Badma.NOM Sajana.NOM win-PST say-**CNV** think-PST Ojuna.NOM
baha **ti:-ʒə** / *ti:-mə / *tərən-i:jə han-a:
also **do.so-CNV** / do.so-ADJ / that-ACC think-PST

‘Badma thought that Sajana won, Ojuna also thought so.’

- Given that adverbial clauses that are marked by the *-ʒə* suffix are also substituted by *ti:-ʒə*, we can hypothesize that *ti:-ʒə* is a proform for event modifiers.

SYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION

- I do not know of a finite CP that can be hyperraised out of that would be able to occur in the subject position as it is (i.e., without changing the complementizer considerably).⁵

(27) a. *_{[CP} badma tərgə əmdəl-hən gə-ʒə] sajan-i:jə ga:ru:l-a:
Badma.NOM cart break-PFCT say-CNV Sajana-ACC angry-PST

Intended: ‘That Badma broke the cart angered Sajana.’

⁴‘CONV’ stands for ‘converb’: a marking found on adverbial clauses of different kind, on complements of restructuring verbs and on lexical verbs of analytical constructions.

⁵Not all CPs that do not do hyperraising though are able to occur in the subject position: ex., Russian requires an overt demonstrative on top of CPs in subject positions. But one thing to note is that Buryat’s (27a) cannot be saved by adding a demonstrative or other nominal modifier. The form of the complementizer needs to change from having adverbial morphology to having a participial one.

b. That Badma broke the cart angered Sajana.

- Buryat CPs have the same syntactic distribution as adverbs: except for the post-verbal position, they can occur freely in the sentence.⁶

- E.g., both can be in between the subject and the verb or precede the subject:

(28) a. sajana [CP badma jər-ə: gə-žə] hana-na
 Sajana.NOM Badma.NOM come-PST say-CNV think-PRS
 ‘Sajana thinks that Badma came.’

b. [CP badma jər-ə: gə-žə] sajana hana-na
 Badma.NOM come-PST say-CNV Sajana.NOM think-PRS
 ‘Sajana think that Badma came.’

(29) a. žargalma **za:bol** müri:sö:n-də ila-xa
 Zhargalma **certainly** competition-DAT win-FUT
 ‘Zhargalma will certainly win the competition.’

b. **za:bol** rinčin ajaga uga:-xa
certainly Rinchin dishes wash-FUT
 ‘Rinchin will certainly wash the dishes.’

- In languages like English, it seems that the distribution of CPs is different from distribution of adverbs. E.g., cf. (30) and (31).

(30) a. Mary will think that John came.
 b. *Mary will that John came think.
 c. *Mary that John came will think.
 d. */?That John came Mary will think.

(31) a. */? John will win the competition **certainly**.
 b. John will **certainly** win the competition.
 c. John **certainly** will win the competition.
 d. **Certainly** John will win the competition.

- Knyazev (2016) has argued for Russian CPs that they need case, suggesting that they have a nominal-like syntactic behavior too.

Summary:

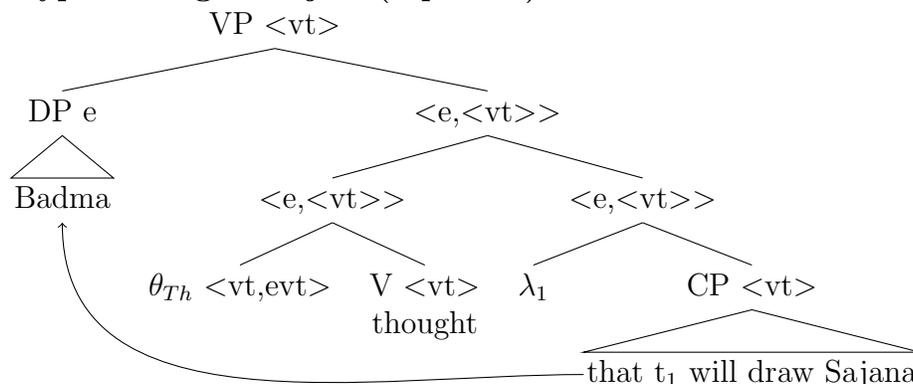
1. **Ideally:** learning the basic facts about CP’s morphosyntax (morphological form, syntactic distribution) should make one be able to infer its semantic type, and, consequently, infer whether it’s OK to hyperraise from this CP or not.
2. **In reality:** we need much more information about morphosyntactic properties of CPs in different languages to make typological generalizations.

⁶There is a difference in acceptability between post-verbal adverbs and post-verbal CPs: while adverbs are completely ungrammatical in the post-verbal position, CPs are acceptable in some circumstances (tentatively: when there are no modals or auxiliaries present). I leave the issue of post-verbal CPs for further research.

5 Some predictions

- Under my proposal hyperraising to object is hyperraising into a θ -position.
- In order for this configuration to be interpreted, **the hyperraised DP needs to be interpreted in its final position**, (32): only this way it will be able to saturate both the Theme of *thinking* and the Agent of *drawing* at the same time.

(32) Hyperraising to object (repeated)



- This automatically predicts the following three properties of hyperraised arguments:
 1. impossibility of reconstruction
 2. obligatoriness of *de re*
 3. unavailability of indexical shifting

5.1 Impossibility of reconstruction

- The ACC subject cannot make the position of the Theme argument of the attitude verb be of a higher type (the derivation will not converge).
- This correctly predicts that a hyperraised NPI argument will not be able to reconstruct to a position below embedded negation:

(33) *Badma xən-i:-šjə tərgə əmdəl-ə:-güj gə-žə xar-a:
 Badma.NOM who-ACC-PTCL cart break-PST-NEG COMP see-PST
 ‘Badma saw that no one broke the cart.’

5.2 Obligatoriness of *de re*

- Deal (2018): hyperraising to object is one of the paths to getting *de re* interpretations.
- Buryat: hyperraised arguments are also obligatorily interpreted *de re*, even if they are linearly preceding some material of the embedded clause.

- ① When the embedded clause requires an interpretation such that part of it is interpreted *de re* and the other part *de dicto* in order not to be a contradiction, the *de re* part is highly preferred to be expressed as an accusative subject:

(34) Context: Badma was walking yesterday and he saw some animals on a mountain. These were goats, but Badma mistook them for sheep.

badma **jama:-nu:d-i:jə** /??**jama:-nu:d** xoni-d / jama:-nu:d bəʃə
 Badma.NOM **goat-PL-ACC** /**goat-PL-NOM** sheep-PL / goat-PL NOT
 gə-žə han-a:
 say-CONV think-PST

‘Badma thought of goats that they were sheep / not goats.’

- ② When there are no individuals of the kind denoted by the accusative subject (magical birds Harudi, white ravens), the sentence is infelicitous:

(35) səsəg xan garudi **fubu:-n** /#**fubu:-jə** oi so:-gu:r ni:d-ə:
 Seseg.NOM HON Garudi **bird-NOM** /**bird-ACC** forest in-INSTR fly-PST
 gə-žə han-a: xarin xan garudi fubu:-n gazar də:rə ügi: gə-žə
 say-CONV think-PST but HON Garudi bird-NOM Earth on NEG say-CONV
 mədə-nə-b
 know-PRS-1SG

‘Seseg thought that bird Garudi flew through the forest, but I know that there is no bird Garudi on the Earth.’

(36) büxi: turla:g-u:d xara gə-žə darima məd-ə:-güi-b
 all raven-PL black say-CONV Darima.NOM know-PST-NEG
 ‘Darima didn’t know that all ravens are black.’

a. **saga:n turla:g** gər-əi xažu:-ga:r ni:də-bə gə-žə tərə
white raven.NOM house-GEN side-INSTR fly-PST2 say-CONV that.NOM
 üsəgəldər han-a:
 yesterday think-PST

‘She thought that a white raven flew by the house yesterday.’

b. #**saga:n turla:g-i:jə** gər-əi xažu:-ga:r ni:də-bə gə-žə
white raven-ACC house-GEN side-INSTR fly-PST2 say-CONV
 tərə üsəgəldər han-a:
 that.NOM yesterday think-PST

‘She thought of a white raven that it flew by the house yesterday.’

- ③ Accusative subjects have to be specific, which creates a funny effect in (37): a man must have been afraid of a particular mosquito. See also informant’s comment about (38).

(37) Context: A man was considering to go outside, and decided not to.

axanad üsəgəldər **batagana** /#**batagan-i:jə** zu:-xa
 elderly.man.NOM yesterday **mosquito.NOM** /**mosquito-ACC** bite-FUT
 gə-žə han-a:
 say-CONV think-PST

‘An elderly man thought that a mosquito will bite him.’

- (38) Context: In the morning I left some cat food near my house. In the evening I saw that the food is gone.

bi üdəfə **mi:sgəi** /**mi:sgəj-ə** ədjə:-jə: ədj-ə: gə-žə
 1SG.NOM evening **cat.NOM** /**cat-ACC** food-ACC.REFL eat-PST say-CONV
 han-a:
 think-PST

‘In the evening I thought that some cat ate the food.’

Comment from the informant about ACC:

In this case (*unlike with NOM – T.*) I suspect some cat in the eating of the food. Maybe I think it was my cat, or have some other concrete cat in mind.

- ★ If the hyperraised subject saturates an argument in the matrix clause, obligatoriness of *de re* is expected.
- ★ **Potential concern:** how to reconcile obligatoriness of *de re* we have seen with the ability of the subject to form an idiom with the embedded predicate:

(39) sajana badm-i:n zürxən /zürx-i:jə am-a:r-a:
 Sajana.NOM Badma-GEN heart.NOM /heart-ACC mouth-INSTR-REFL
 gar-a: gə-žə xar-a:
 go.out-PST say-CONV see-PST

Lit.: ‘Sajana saw, that Badma’s heart went out of the mouth’.

Idiom.: Sajana saw that Badma got greatly frightened.

- What I currently predict this to mean: Sajana saw of Badma’s heart, that Badma got greatly frightened.

5.3 Impossibility of indexical shifting

- While Buryat is a language with a lot of indexical shifting, accusative subjects can never shift:

(40) **Accusative subjects never shift**

a. badma **namajə** sajan-i:jə zura-xa gə-žə han-a:
 Badma.NOM **1SG.ACC** Sajana-ACC draw-FUT say-CONV think-PST

‘Badma_k thought that I_{speaker/*k} will draw Sajana.’

- b. badma bi sajan-i:jə zura-xa-b gə-žə
 Badma.NOM 1SG.NOM Sajana-ACC draw-FUT-1SG say-CONV
 han-a:
 think-PST
 ‘Badma_k thought that he_{k/speaker} will draw Sajana.’

- It is possible to account for these facts by using a monster operator (Shklovsky & Sudo 2014, a.o.) together with the claim that accusative subjects need to move above it.
- If hyperraising is raising to a θ -position, we might not need monsters: when a pronoun saturates a predicate, one of the positions it is inserted in is in the matrix context.
- The only requirement we need is: a pronoun that saturates two argument positions at once cannot refer in them to two different individuals (**Badma_k thought of me_{Speaker} that he_k will draw Sajana*).

SUMMARY: Reconstructing hyperraised arguments in order to get *de dicto*/shifted readings/license an NPI is impossible because they need to saturate the verb’s Theme argument.

6 Some open questions

- ★ **Implication:** ability to be hyperraised out of is not predicted to correlate with finiteness, but is predicted to correlate with syntactic distribution.
- ★ English ECM: could it have the same raising-to-object LF as I propose for Buryat?
- ★ What about hyperraising to subject? The explanation is extendable to hyperraising to subject (I think), but do we want it to be extendable?

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