



1. Introduction

Cross-linguistic variation of raising-to-subject constructions

- English: bans subjects raising from finite clauses/ CPs
- (1) a. **The rain_i seems t_i not to stop.** b. ***The rain_i seems that t_i will not stop.**
- Cantonese & Vietnamese:
- (2) a. *Coeng-jyu*: $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } \textit{gamgok/tengman} \\ \text{(ii) } \textit{*gamgok-dou/*zidou} \end{array} \right] \textit{waa t}_i \textit{m wui ting}$ [C]
 CL-rain $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } \textit{feel.like/hear} \\ \text{(ii) } \textit{feel-RESULT/know} \end{array} \right] \textit{C NEG will stop}$
- b. *Con-mua nay*: $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } \textit{cảm giác/nghe nói} \\ \text{(ii) } \textit{*cảm-thấy/*biết} \end{array} \right] \textit{ràng t}_i \textit{sẽ không dừng}$ [V]
 CL-rain this $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{(i) } \textit{feel.like/hear} \\ \text{(ii) } \textit{feel-RESULT/know} \end{array} \right] \textit{C will NEG stop}$
 (Lit.) 'The rain, (I) feel like/hear/*feel/*know, will not stop.'

Research Questions:

- Is the apparent raising pattern a genuine one (i.e. hyper-raising, HR)? (S2)
- What differentiates the two classes of attitude verbs? (S3)
- Why is hyper-raising possible and how is it derived syntactically? (S4)

(i) Raising Attitude Verbs (RAVs)

gamgok [C], *cảm giác* [V] 'feel like'
tengman [C], *nghe nói* [V] 'hear'
soengseon [C], *tin là* [V] 'believe'
waaiji [C], *nghi là* [V] 'suspect'
gugai [C], *đoán là* [V] 'guess'
gong-gan [C] 'talk-PROG'
waa-zo [C] 'say-PERF'

(ii) Non-raising Attitude Verbs (NRAVs)

zidou [C], *biết* [V] 'know',
geidak [C], *nhớ* [V] 'remember',
jingwai/gokdak [C],
ngĩ/cho [V] 'think'
gamgok-dou [C], *cảm-thấy* [V] 'feel-RESULT',
teng-dou [C], *nghe-được* [V] 'hear-RESULT'
gu-dou [C], *đoán-được* [V] 'guess-RESULT'

3. An evidential component

Evidentiality in attitude reports

- Compatibility with direct evidence: *RAVs vs. ^{OK}NRAVs
- (9) Scenario: It is 10°C. Aaming went out without wearing a coat. Shivering, he said:
 a. *ngo gamgok-dou/gokdak/zidou ceotmin hou dung*
 1SG feel-result think know outside very cold 'I feel/ think/ know it is cold outside.'
 b. *#ceotmin gamgok/tengman hou dung*
 outside feel.like/hear very cold 'The outside, (I) feel like/ hear, is cold.'
- (i) RAVs: specified for indirect evidence
 e.g. inferential *gamgok*; hearsay *tengman* (cf. hearsay evidential marker *wo5*, Tang 2015)
- (ii) NRAVs: not a unified class
 e.g. *gamgok-dou* with direct evidence; unspecified *gokdak*; factive *zidou*

RAVs are similar to epistemic modals

- Epistemic *must* involves indirect inference/ deduction instead of direct observation (von Stechow & Gillies 2010) → also similar to evidence markers of indirect evidence

2. Hyper-raising

Embedded clauses as CP

- Complementizers (*waa* for Cantonese, *là/rằng* for Vietnamese)
- Topic constructions
- (3) a. *ngo gamgok* [_{CP} *gam-do-ceot-hei*] [_{TP} *Aaming zinghai tai-zo ni-ceot-hei*]
 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* [_{CP} *gam-do-ceot-hei*] [_{TP} *zinghai tai-zo ni-ceot-hei*]
 Ming feel.like so-many-CL-film only watch-PERF this-CL-film
 'Ming, (I) feel, among so many films, only watched this one.'

Movement, not base generation

- Idioms preservation
- (4) *ni-zek laaihaamou, gamgok* [_{CP} *t_i soeng sik tinngojuk*]
 this-CL toad feel.like want eat swan.meat
 '(I) feel like that (s/he) is aiming at the moon.' /
 Lit.: '(I) feel like that this toad wants to eat swan meat.'
- Non-idioms with synonyms:
- (5) *#ni-zek gaapgwaai, gamgok* [_{CP} *t_i soeng sik tinngojuk*]
 this-CL toad feel.like want eat swan.meat
 '(I) feel like that this toad wants to eat swan meat.'



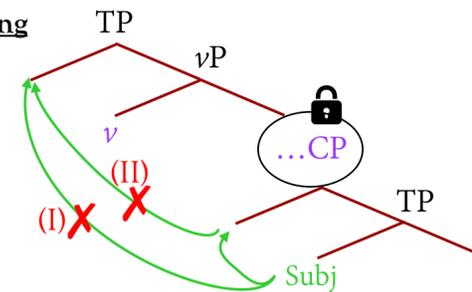
A-movement, instead of A'-movement

- Landing site: subject (A-position), not topic (A'-position)
- (6) a. [*houdo jan* (*ne) *wui lai*] (subject/ *topic)
 many person TOP will come 'Many people will come.'
 b. [*houdo jan* (*ne) *gamgok* [*t_i wui lai*]] (subject/ *topic)
 many person TOP feel.like will come 'Many people, (I) feel like, will come.'
- Subject-object asymmetry (vs. object-topicalization is possible)
- (7) a. *go-toifung*_{subj} *gamgok* [_{CP} [*t_{subj}* *ceoilam-zo houdo syu*] (subject)
 CL-hurricane feel.like blow.down-PFV many tree
 '(I) feel like that the hurricane blew down many trees.'
 b. **houdo syu*_{obj} *gamgok* [_{CP} [*go-toifung* *ceoilam-zo t_{obj}*] (*object)
 many tree feel.like CL-hurricane blow.down-PFV
 'Many trees, (I) feel like, the hurricane blew down.'
- A-movement creates binding possibilities
- (8) a. *[*on keoi caandei ge m-tung*] *tengman* ...
 accord it origin MOD difference hear.say
 ... [_{CP} [*mui-lap-zyunsek*] *dou jau m-tung gwongzaak*]
 every-CL-diamond all have different luster
 'According to its origin, (I) heard, every piece of diamond_i will have different lusters.'
 b. [_{CP} [*mui-lap-zyunsek*] [*on keoi caandei ge m-tung*] *tengman* ...
 every-CL-diamond accord it origin MOD difference hear.say
 ... [_{CP} [*t_i dou jau m-tung gwongzaak*]]
 all have different luster
 'Every piece of diamond_i, according to its origin, (I) heard, will have different lusters.'

4. Phase unlocking

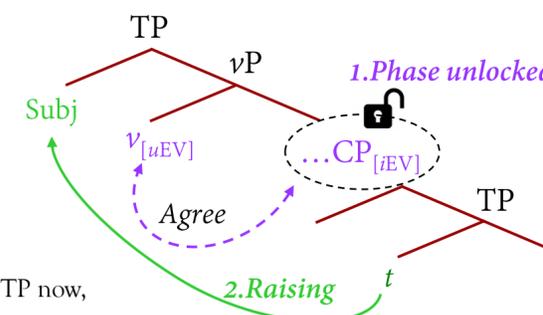
Theoretical challenges imposed by hyper-raising

- (I) Phase theory/ PIC:
 Embedded subjects on Spec,TP are inaccessible to the higher phase
- (II) Improper Movement:
 Embedded subjects cannot move to matrix Spec,TP (A-position) through Spec,CP (A'-position)



Phase unlocking (Rackowski & Richards 2005, Halpert 2019)

- Relax (I) by agreeing with the phase
- Featural setup:
 a. Two (null) C heads: C_[iEV] vs. C
 C_[iEV] denotes evidence-based proposition
 b. RAVs have [uEV], but not NRAVs
- Step 1:
 An RAV c-selects and agrees with a CP phase with [iEV], unlocking the phase
- Step 2:
 The embedded subject is accessible to matrix TP now, and raises to its Spec to satisfy T's [EPP]



5. Alternative analyses

Relax (I) by Exfoliation (Pesetsky 2019)

- PIC is voided by removing phase head C
- Problem: Hyper-raising with overt C heads in (2)

Relax (II) by assuming C_[A] (Fong 2019)

- C carries A-features, rendering Proper Movement
- Problem: Subjects do not stop at embedded Spec,CP
 * [... RAV [Subj [C ...]]] in Cantonese & Vietnamese

6. Conclusion

The role of lexical semantics in raising

- HR as syntactic reflex of indirect evidence in C&V
- Raising possibilities among verbs are not entirely idiosyncratic (contra. Polinsky 2013)

Phase unlocking by an Agree relation

- Explains the selectivity of PIC