

### Syntactic change without a syntactic trigger: (apparent) hyper-raising in Brazilian Portuguese

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Brazilian Portuguese (BP) displays hyper-raising (in the sense of Ura 1994) as illustrated by sentence (1) and apparent hyper-raising (with resumptive pronouns) as illustrated in (2).

- (1) *As crianças parecem que gostam da babá.*  
the children seem-3PL that like-3PL of-the baby-sitter  
'The children seem to like the baby-sitter.'
- (2) *As crianças parecem que elas gostam da babá.*  
the children seem-3PL that they like-3PL of-the baby-sitter  
'The children seem to like the baby-sitter.'

Sentences (1) and (2) are both ungrammatical in contemporary European Portuguese (EP) and are not attested at any stage of the history of EP. This shows that they are the outcome of (presumably recent) syntactic change in BP. Ferreira (2004) proposes that the weakening of verbal morphology in BP led finite T to become an optional Case assigner. If the Case-assigner version of T is selected, it will assign nominative to the DP in its Spec, freezing it for further A-movement. If the non-Case-assigner version of T is selected instead, the DP in its Spec will have to undergo further movement in order to have its Case checked. Ferreira presents two types of evidence to show that constructions such as (1) involve moved subjects, rather than topics. First, the DP in question triggers agreement with the matrix predicate, as shown in (1) above, and second, elements that cannot be topicalized in BP such as weak pronouns or the quantifier *alguém* 'someone' can appear in hyper-raising constructions, as shown in (3) below. Another diagnostic of the second type can be added to Ferreira's diagnostics: idiom chunks cannot be topicalized, but can be hyper-raised, as shown in (4).

- (3)a. *\*Alguém, a babá me disse que chorou.*  
someone the baby-sitter me told that cried  
'The baby-sitter told me that someone cried.'
- b. *Alguém parece que chorou.*  
someone seems that cried – 'Someone seems to have cried.'
- (4)a. *O pau vai comer feio.*  
the stick goes eat ugly – 'There's going to be a big discussion/fight'
- b. *\*O pau, o João disse que vai comer feio.*  
the stick the João said that goes eat ugly – 'João said that is going to be a big fight.'
- c. *O pau parece que vai comer feio.*  
the stick seems that goes eat ugly – 'It seems that there's going to be a big fight'

Sentences like (2) above, displaying apparent hyper-raising, differ from real hyper-raising constructions in that their matrix DP behaves like a topic in certain respects, although not systematically so. On the one hand, apparent hyper-raising structures are incompatible with quantified expressions and idiom chunks, in contrast to true hyper-raising structures but like topic constructions (see (5) & (6) below); also like topic constructions, they are incompatible with clefting (see (7) below). On the other hand, unlike topic constructions, apparent hyper-raising structures manifest Principle C effects with respect to epithets (see (8) below).

- (5) *\*Alguém parece que ele chorou.* – COMPARE (3) ABOVE  
someone seems that he cried – 'Someone seems to have cried.'
- (6) *\*O pau parece que ele vai comer feio.* – COMPARE (4) ABOVE  
the stick seems that he goes eat ugly – 'It seems that there's going to be a big fight'
- (7)a. *Eram as crianças mais novas que pareciam que iam passear.*  
were-3PL the children more young that seemed-3PL that went-3PL go-out
- b. *\*Eram as crianças mais novas que elas pareciam que iam passear.*  
were-3PL the children more young that they seemed-3PL that went-3PL go-out  
'It was the younger children who seemed to be going for a walk.'

