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Hyperraising and copy raising are structurally different: experimental evidence from Serbian

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Abstract. This paper documents a hyperraising-to-subject construction in Serbian, previously argued not to be possible in the language. For a subset of Serbian speakers, the raising verb *delovati* 'seem' optionally allows A-movement from the finite complement clause into the matrix clause, resulting in φ-agreement on the matrix verb. A rating experiment with 835 native Serbian speakers, 519 of whom allow hyperraising, found that hyperraising is structurally distinct from copy raising. The experimental results suggest that hyperraising is an A-movement configuration, highly sensitive to movement constraints, such as islands and embedded A-minimality. By contrast, copy raising was found to be generally insensitive to movement constraints, which indicates that it is a non-movement configuration similar to prolepsis. This finding challenges the unified base-generation account of hyperraising and copy raising, which was proposed to eschew the locality issues inherent to the canonical movement-based analyses of hyperraising.

Keywords. experimental syntax; cross-clausal dependencies; hyperraising; copy raising; Serbian

1. Hyperraising: movement vs. base-generation. Hyperraising (Ura 1994) is standardly defined as A-movement from the finite complement clause into the matrix clause. In Brazilian Portuguese (1), embedded subjects optionally raise into the matrix clause, triggering φ-agreement on the matrix verb (1b).

(1) Brazilian Portuguese hyperraising (from Nunes 2008:99)

a. Parece que os meninos fizeram a tarefa.
seem.PRS.3SG that the boys do.PST.3PL the homework
'It seems that the boys did the homework.'

b. {Os meninos}$_i$ parece**m** que $\_i$ fizeram a tarefa.
the boys seem.PRS.3PL that do.PST.3PL the homework
'The boys seem to have done the homework.'

Hyperraising has been the subject of considerable debate in syntactic theory due to its implications for the locality constraints on A-dependencies, namely Case and Agree (see Zyman 2017, 2023; Halpert 2019; Wurmbrand 2019; Lohninger et al. 2022 for recent discussion). The

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construction presents a fundamental challenge to some central components of the standard theory of movement and locality (Zyman 2023).

A-movement out of finite CPs cannot be easily reconciled with the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC; Chomsky 2000). PIC dictates that once a phase is complete, its content is inaccessible to operations in a higher phase, with the exception of the phase head and its edge. To be accessible to the matrix predicate, embedded subjects must first move to the edge of their CP phases—spec-CP position. Given that spec-CP is traditionally considered an $\bar{\text{A}}$-position, movement to spec-CP as an intermediate step in hyperraising results in an improper A-over-$\bar{\text{A}}$-configuration: an embedded subject undergoes $\bar{\text{A}}$-movement such that it subsequently enters into an A-dependency with the matrix predicate.

Another issue surrounding hyperraising concerns the Activity Condition (Chomsky 2001). The embedded subject, the Case value of which has already been determined, enters into a further A-relation with the matrix verb.

Approaches to hyperraising in the syntactic literature fall into two general categories. The dominant approach, the MOVEMENT ANALYSIS, holds that hyperraising involves true A-movement across a finite CP boundary (Tanaka 2002; Carstens 2011; Zyman 2017; Wurmbrand 2019; Halpert & Zeller 2015; Halpert 2019; Fong 2019; Lohninger et al. 2022). Given the incompatibility of cross-clausal A-movement with the standard theory of movement and locality, this strain of work necessitates extensions to the standard theory to accommodate hyperraising. Different versions of the movement approach propose various ancillary mechanisms to explain how raised DPs escape the finite complement clause (see Zyman 2023 for an overview). Existing proposals include defectiveness of the embedded CP (Ferreira 2004, 2009; Nunes 2008), phase deactivation (Halpert 2016, 2019; Lee & Yip 2024), and movement through phase edge (Tanaka 2002; Şener 2011; Fong 2019; Lohninger et al. 2022).

Alternatively, the BASE-GENERATION ANALYSIS holds that in hyperraising, the matrix subject originates in the matrix clause. The elimination of the movement component from hyperraising does away with the locality issues encountered in the standard account. This renders hyperraising structurally similar to copy raising (Rogers 1971; Potsdam & Runner 2001; Landau 2011), a construction where the matrix subject, base-generated in the matrix clause, mandatorily binds its pronominal "copy" in the complement clause (2).[1] The finite complement is usually introduced by a relator preposition such as English *like*.

(2) Richard$_i$ seems like he$_i$ is in trouble.

den Dikken (2017) proposes that both copy raising and, importantly, hyperraising involve a predication relation between a DP base-generated in the matrix clause and a bound variable in the lower clause. This predication relation is mediated by the relator head, which takes the CP containing the bindee as its complement, and the binder as its specifier. The structure is outlined in (3).

(3) $[_{\text{RP}}\ \text{DP}_i\ [\text{RELATOR}\ [_{\text{CP}}\ \text{C}\ [_{\text{TP}}\ \text{pro}_i\ \ldots\ ]]]]$

[1] That copy raising does not involve movement is supported by the observation that the construction is not subject to embedded A-minimality, the requirement that raised matrix DPs must correspond to the topmost argument of the embedded clause (Heycock 1994:290).

The base-generation account along the lines of (3) has been widely adopted for copy raising. Indeed, the prevalent view in the literature has been that copy raising does not feature cross-clausal argument movement (Potsdam & Runner 2001; Asudeh 2002; Landau 2011). However, this type of analysis has not enjoyed similar success in the case of hyperraising, which is still predominantly considered an A-movement configuration (Wurmbrand 2019; Halpert 2019; Lohninger et al. 2022; Zyman 2023).

The unified base-generation account of copy raising and hyperraising makes a clear empirical prediction. If the two constructions involve the same predication mechanism outlined in (3), they should behave identically with respect to movement diagnostics, such as island constraints and embedded A-minimality. In the absence of movement, both copy raising and hyperraising should be insensitive to movement constraints. By contrast, if hyperraising is an A-movement configuration, it should be more sensitive to movement inhibitors than copy raising is.

This paper examines the syntactic properties of hyperraising and copy raising in Serbian. By doing so, the study subjects the unified non-movement account of the two constructions to empirical scrutiny. I demonstrate that Serbian displays both hyperraising and copy raising. Copy raising is available for virtually all Serbian speakers, while hyperraising is accepted by a subset of speakers. The availability of both constructions in a subset of Serbian speakers allows for a direct within-language comparison of hyperraising and copy raising using minimal pairs. To my knowledge, previous studies on cross-clausal dependencies have rarely examined hyperraising and copy raising in a single language, probing speakers' intuitions about both constructions at the same time (notable exceptions being Carstens & Diercks 2013 and Johnson & Diercks to appear). The subset of Serbian speakers who allow both hyperraising and copy raising constitute a perfect test case for the unified base-generation account of the two constructions.

2. Cross-clausal dependencies in Serbian. Lohninger et al. (2022) propose a fine-grained typology of constructions involving mandatory cross-clausal dependencies. The authors classify these constructions into five types and outline diagnostic criteria for distinguishing between the types. At one end the continuum (Type 1) is prolepsis. This construction involves a binding-like dependency between a proleptic object base-generated in the matrix clause, usually introduced by a preposition, and a coreferent in the embedded clause. Prolepsis is available in virtually all embedding contexts with propositional CPs (Salzmann 2017). Hyperraising belongs to Lohninger et al. (2022)'s Type 5 constructions, being the exact opposite of prolepsis. Hyperraising is an A-movement configuration where a subject DP raises from a finite embedded clause into an argument position in the matrix clause, with a highly restricted set of matrix predicates that allow it.

Copy raising, the other construction of interest to the present study, fell outside the scope of Lohninger et al. (2022)'s typological survey. The widely accepted base-generation approach holds that copy raising features a non-movement binding-like dependency akin to prolepsis. The construction should therefore be expected to fall into Lohninger et al. (2022)'s Type 1 constructions and exhibit similar properties to prolepsis.

The syntax of cross-clausal dependencies in Serbian has been largely understudied. Pertinently to this study, Ilić (2015) reports a copy raising construction where the raising verb *delovati* 'seem' takes a matrix subject and a finite complement clause, which obligatorily contains a gap corresponding to the matrix subject. The finite complement is introduced by the relator particle *kao* 'like' (4).

(4) {Ovakve ličnosti}$_i$ deluju kao da su _$_i$ eksperti za komunikaciju.
such individuals seem.PRS.3PL like that be.PRS.3PL experts for communication
'Such personalities seem like they are experts for communication.'

In addition to discussing the copy raising construction in (4), Ilić (2015) provides cursory remarks on the syntactic behavior of raising verbs in Serbian. Seem-type verbs in Serbian invariably take finite complement clauses. Infinitival complements are disallowed (5).

(5) *Ovakve ličnosti deluju biti eksperti za komunikaciju.
such individuals seem.PRS.3PL be.INF experts for communication
'Such personalities seem to be experts for communication.'

Ilić (2015) further argues that subject movement out of finite *da*-complements is impossible. As (5) shows, Serbian raising verbs, including *delovati*, only take finite complement clauses. This effectively implies that subject-to-subject movement is never observed with seem-type verbs in the language. Ilić (2015:70) corroborates this claim by the ungrammaticality of (6). The putative absence of subject movement with Serbian raising verbs falls out from the ban on hyperraising: no argument movement is permitted out of finite clauses.

(6) *Ti deluješ da ne spavaš.
2SG.NOM seem.PRS.2SG that NEG sleep.PRS.2SG
'You seem to not be sleeping.'

Nevertheless, the syntactic behavior of the raising verb *delovati* 'seem' is less clear-cut than Ilić (2015) suggests. I identified cases of what appears to be subject-to-subject hyperraising in the `srWaC 1.2` corpus (Ljubešić & Klubička 2014). The relevant pattern is illustrated in (7). Example (7a) shows the uncontroversial non-raising variant constructed to correspond to its raising counterpart in (7b). Sentence (7b), attested in the corpus, instantiates the raising pattern which Ilić (2015) claims does not exist in Serbian. The fact that (7b) is attested suggests that the acceptability judgments reported by Ilić (2015) may not match the intuitions of the entire speaker population.

(7) a. Deluje da su ovakve ličnosti eksperti za komunikaciju.
seem.PRS.3SG that be.PRS.3PL such individuals experts for communication
'It seems that such individuals are experts for communication.'

b. {Ovakve ličnosti}$_i$ delu**ju** da su _$_i$ eksperti za komunikaciju.
such individuals seem.PRS.$\boxed{\text{3PL}}$ that be.PRS.3PL experts for communication
'Such individuals seem to be experts for communication.'

The Serbian raising alternation in (7) is fully analogous to the Brazilian Portuguese hyperraising pattern in (1). The two constructions share three key properties. First, both involve a raising predicate that takes a finite complement clause. Second, both exhibit an alternation between non-raising variants (1a–7a), with null expletive subjects and default 3SG agreement, and raising variants (1b–7b), in which the matrix verbs agree in φ-features with the hyperraised referential

DPs. Third, in the raising variants, the nominative-marked matrix subject corresponds to a gap in the embedded clause.

Copy raising and hyperraising are minimally distinct in Serbian, as is evident from the fact that (4) and (7b) form a minimal pair. The two constructions both feature a raising matrix predicate that agrees with the matrix subject, and a finite complement clause introduced by the subordinator *da*. The complement clause contains a gap corresponding to the matrix subject. Since Serbian is a pro-drop language, this gap in the lower clause is ambiguous between a trace and a pro. The sole surface difference between the two constructions is the presence (in copy raising) or absence (in hyperraising) of the relator particle *kao* 'like' introducing the complement clause.

Despite this surface similarity, I demonstrate that movement diagnostics such as island constraints and embedded A-minimality clearly distinguish the two constructions. Copy raising (4) is a non-movement configuration, showing virtually no sensitivity to island constraints or A-minimality. By contrast, hyperraising (7b) is an A-movement configuration, highly sensitive to movement constraints.

3. Experiment. I conducted a rating experiment with native Serbian speakers to examine the syntactic properties of hyperraising and copy raising. To date, experimental methods have not been widely used for investigating the syntax of cross-clausal dependencies. The motivation for adopting an experimental approach in this study stems from the discrepancy between claims in the literature and attested corpus data. Ilić (2015) argues that cross-clausal movement as in (7b) is categorically unavailable in Serbian. However, examples of hyperraising are attested in corpus data. This discrepancy suggests that the acceptability of hyperraising may vary across speakers. Preliminary elicitations conducted for this study supported this possibility, since they showed a mixed picture, with cross-speaker variation in acceptability judgments of hyperraising examples. Thus, the experiment had two goals: to determine the extent to which hyperraising is available in Serbian, and for speakers who accept it, to establish its relationship to copy raising.

3.1. EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN. The experiment consisted of 18 stimulus sentences. Of these, 6 (one-third) were target sentences, while the remaining 12 (two-thirds) served as fillers. Target sentences were constructed to fit the 2×3 factorial design. Two factors were manipulated: construction type and position of the tail of dependency in the embedded clause. The experiment compared two constructions: hyperraising and copy raising. For both constructions, stimuli were varied across three conditions: baseline, island-violating, and A-minimality-violating, which corresponded to violations of movement constraints. The baseline sentences involved a subject-to-subject filler-gap dependency, which violated no movement constraints. In the island-violating condition, the tail of the dependency was located in a complex NP island (Ross 1967) in the embedded clause. In the A-minimality-violating condition, the matrix subject corresponded to a coreferent pronoun in the object position of the complement clause.

3.2. PARTICIPANTS. The call for participation was advertised on social media platforms (Facebook and Instagram). There were two requirements for participation: all participants had to be native speakers of Serbian, and above 18 years of age. A total of 835 native Serbian speakers (median age: 37, age range: 18–80, q1=27, q3=48) participated in the experiment. The vast majority of participants (717, 85.87% of the participant cohort) resided in Serbia at the time of participation, whereas the remaining 118 participants (14.13%) had a residence abroad.

3.3. PROCEDURE. The experiment was conducted online in April and May 2024, using the Qualtrics XM platform. The first page of the experimental interface presented a consent form, which had been reviewed and approved by the Harvard University Area Institutional Review Board (IRB). To proceed to the experiment, participants had to read and sign the consent form. Participants were instructed to rate the acceptability of Serbian sentences. The experiment employed a five-point Likert scale ranging from "unacceptable" to "acceptable". All stimulus sentences were presented in isolation, without contextual information. The stimuli were presented in Standard Serbian using the Latin script. The survey employed single presentation (Marty et al. 2020), with one stimulus presented at a time. The order of presentation of the stimuli was uniquely randomized for each participant to preclude order biases. The average completion time for the experiment task was 5 minutes and 58 seconds.

3.4. REPLICATION DATA. All replication data for this study, including glossed versions of the stimuli, experimental data, and analysis scripts, are available at the Harvard Dataverse platform: https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/JHH7MQ.

3.5. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS. Participants' responses were exported from Qualtrics XM as a comma separated values file. Data cleanup and subsequent statistical analysis were performed in the R statistical programming environment (R Core Team 2021). The experimental results were statistically assessed using mixed-effects ordinal regression with the `ordinal` R package (Christensen 2023).

3.6. RESULTS. The overall results of the experiment are presented in Figure 1.

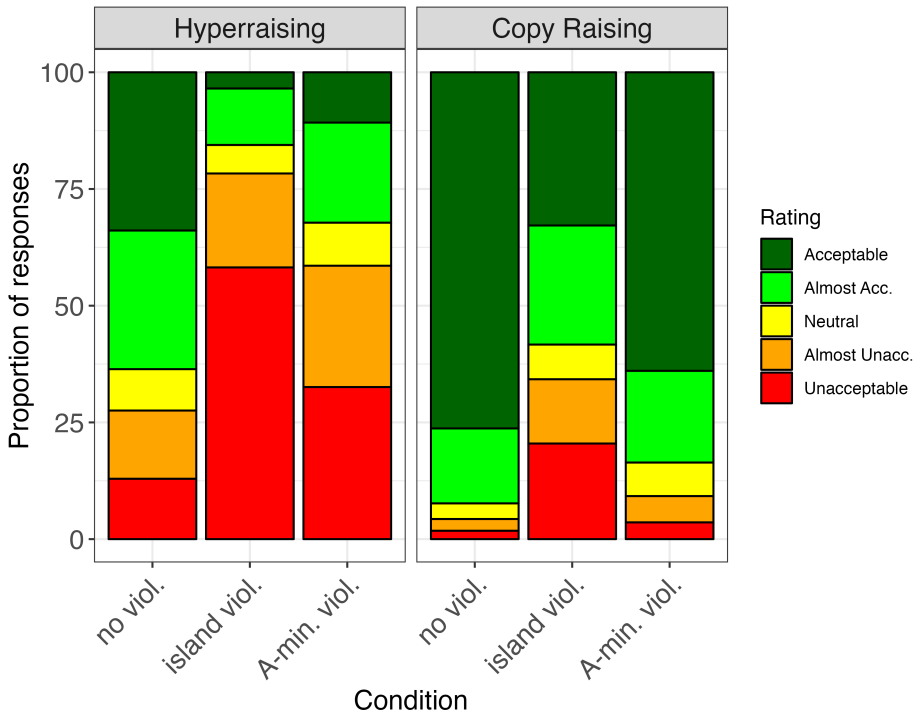

Figure 1. Proportion of grammaticality judgments (vertical axis) by condition (horizontal axis) and construction type (faceting category) for all participants combined.

Evidently, hyperraising is not available for all speakers of Serbian, but more than half of the participant cohort accepts baseline hyperraising. By contrast, copy raising exhibits relatively high acceptability rates across all participants and conditions. This reflects the fact that copy raising is broadly accepted among Serbian speakers, whereas hyperraising is only available in a subset of speakers. The experiment thus identified two groups of participants: **raisers**, i.e. speakers who generally accept hyperraising but reject it in non-baseline conditions (N = 519), and **non-raisers**, who reject hyperraising across the board (N = 316). The subgrouping of participants was based on their ratings of the baseline sentences. A cutoff point of "almost acceptable" was set to determine inclusion. Raisers rated *both* baseline hyperraising and baseline copy raising as "almost acceptable" or higher, indicative of their general acceptance of both constructions. Participants who rated *either* baseline sentence as "neutral" or below were classified as non-raisers. Figure 2 plots the distribution of responses for the raiser and non-raiser groups separately.

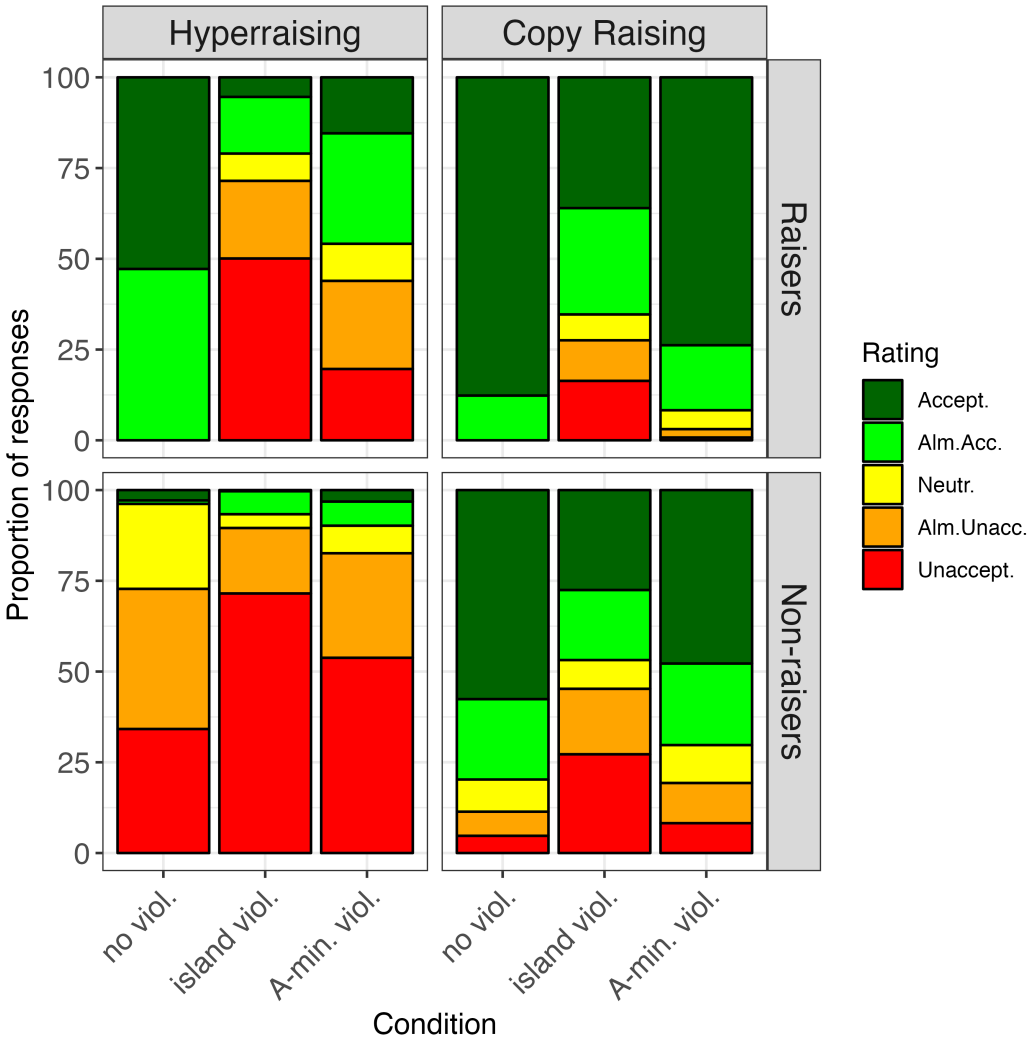

Figure 2. Proportion of grammaticality judgments (vertical axis) by condition (horizontal axis), construction type (faceting category: columns), and participants' raiser status (faceting category: rows).

As Figure 2 shows, the primary source of this split were participants' judgments about hyperraising. An overwhelming majority of participants generally accept copy raising. Raisers and non-raisers display virtually identical response trajectories for copy raising. Both groups generally accept the construction, with an increased penalty for the island-violating sentence.

Thus, one key result of the experiment is confirmatory evidence for hyperraising in Serbian, and for cross-speaker variation regarding the availability of this construction. The second key finding is a structural contrast between hyperraising and copy raising. In speakers who accept both constructions, hyperraising shows a substantially steeper decline in acceptability ratings in non-baseline conditions compared to copy raising. This is evident in Figure 2, where non-baseline hyperraising has a greater proportion of "unacceptable" and "almost unacceptable" responses in the raiser group.

To show this contrast in acceptability decline more directly, I analyzed ΔRating, the degree of change in rating from baseline to non-baseline conditions. ΔRating was calculated by converting participants' raw ratings to a five-point numeric scale ("acceptable" = 5, "unacceptable" = 1) and subtracting each participant's non-baseline ratings from their baseline rating for each construction. For example, if a participant rated baseline hyperraising as "acceptable" [5], island-violating hyperraising as "unacceptable" [1], and A-minimality-violating hyperraising as "almost unacceptable" [2], their ΔRating scores for hyperraising are 4 for the island-violating condition and 3 for the A-minimality-violating condition.

ΔRating values thus range from 4 (a maximal decline from "acceptable" to "unacceptable") to -1 (an increase from "almost acceptable" to "acceptable").[2] A ΔRating of 0 indicates no change in acceptability. Figure 3 plots the distribution of ΔRating values across constructions and conditions for raisers.

Higher ΔRating scores indicate a greater acceptability decline. As Figure 3 shows, hyperraising exhibits higher median ΔRating and a greater concentration of high ΔRating scores compared to copy raising. This is true of both non-baseline conditions, suggesting that, among speakers who accept both constructions, hyperraising is more severely affected by island and A-minimality violations than copy raising.

To statistically assess the experimental results, I fit a mixed-effects ordinal regression model to the data obtained from raisers. The data from non-raisers were excluded from the inferential statistical analysis. This was done because, if a speaker rejects a construction altogether, their judgments are irrelevant for determining the construction's syntactic properties (e.g., island-sensitivity) and its relationship to other constructions. To illustrate: participants who rated the island-violating hyperraising sentence as "unacceptable" may do so for completely different reasons. Participants who rated both baseline and island-violating hyperraising sentences as "unacceptable" clearly rejected the construction across the board. Participants who rated baseline hyperraising as "acceptable" and its island-violating counterpart as "unacceptable" did not reject hyperraising across the board, but rather showed the effect of an island constraint. These responses indicate two different grammars: a non-raiser grammar, where hyperraising is unavailable, and a raiser grammar, where hyperraising is possible but shows island-sensitivity.

The regression analysis was therefore restricted to the raiser group. The dependent vari-

[2] Since the analysis was restricted to raisers, the only possible baseline ratings are "almost acceptable" [4] or "acceptable" [5]. The only scenario in which an increase in a non-baseline condition was possible is therefore when a participant rated a baseline sentence as "almost acceptable" [4] and the corresponding non-baseline sentence as "acceptable" [5].

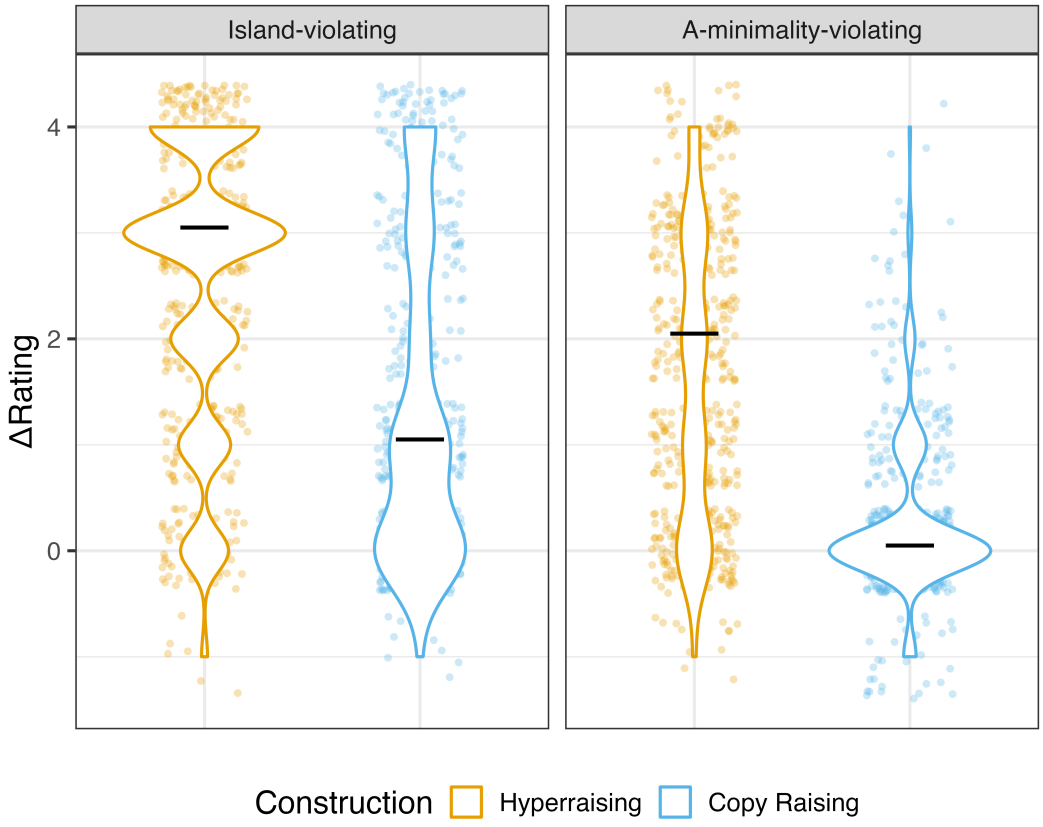

Figure 3. ΔRating (vertical axis), operationalized as the difference between baseline and non-baseline ratings, by construction (outline and point color) and condition (faceting category) for the raiser group. Horizontal black lines indicate median ΔRating scores.

able in the model was rating, a multinomial factor with 5 inherently ordered levels. The model included two fixed predictors: construction (a categorical variable with two levels: copy raising [baseline] and hyperraising) and condition (a categorical variable with three levels: baseline [baseline], island-violating, and A-minimality-violating), along with their interaction. Random intercepts for participants were also included. The interaction effects between construction and condition show the extent of change in acceptability ratings across constructions. As such, these interaction terms were used to assess hyperraising's sensitivity to islands and A-minimality relative to copy raising. The results of the regression model are given in Table 1.

The model found a significant negative main effect of the island-violating condition, which indicates that island violations led to a decline in acceptability ratings. Similarly, a significant negative correlation was found between rating and the A-minimality-violating condition. A significant negative main effect was likewise observed for the hyperraising construction.

Importantly, the model found significant negative interaction effects between hyperraising and the island-violating condition, and between hyperraising and the A-minimality-violating condition. These interactions indicate that island and A-minimality violations have a more detrimental effect on hyperraising than on copy raising. In other words, the acceptability decline for hyperraising in the non-baseline conditions is significantly steeper than that observed for copy

Random effects	*Variance*	*Standard Deviation*		
Participant (N = 519)				
(Intercept)	.85	.92		
Fixed effects	β	*Standard Error*	*Wald z*	*p*
Construction (baseline: Copy raising)				
Hyperraising	−1.86	.17	−11.24	.000 ***
Condition (baseline: Baseline)				
Island-violating	−3.35	.17	−19.36	.000 ***
A-min.-violating	−1.12	.17	−6.46	.000 ***
Construction*Condition interaction				
Island-violating:Hyperraising	−.6	.21	−2.92	.004 **
A-min.-violating:Hyperraising	−1.39	.21	−6.46	.000 ***

Table 1. Mixed-effects ordinal regression (clmm) results. Model formula: `rating ~ construction*condition + (1 | participant)`.

raising, consistent with the pattern depicted in Figure 3.

4. Discussion.

4.1. INTERPRETATION OF EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS. Acceptability judgments obtained in this study demonstrate that some speakers of Serbian allow hyperraising, adding Serbian to the list of hyperraising languages. Further, the experimental findings for speakers who accept both constructions strongly suggest that hyperraising is structurally distinct from copy raising. Specifically, hyperraising was found to be more sensitive to island constraints and embedded A-minimality than copy raising. This was evidenced by the steeper decline in acceptability for hyperraising in both the island-violating and A-minimality-violating conditions. Copy raising was virtually unaffected by embedded A-minimality and showed only limited sensitivity to island violations, the source of which I will discuss in what follows.

4.2. CONFOUNDS. Two potential confounding factors may have impacted the experimental results: processing difficulty and surface similarity between hyperraising and copy raising in Serbian. I demonstrate that, despite these factors ostensibly blurring the distinction between the two constructions, the experimental findings provide clear evidence that hyperraising and copy raising are structurally distinct in Serbian.

4.2.1. PROCESSING DIFFICULTY. Extensive work in psycholinguistics and experimental syntax has shown that many sentence types that involve violations of movement constraints, particularly islands, are difficult to process (Hofmeister & Sag 2010; Sprouse et al. 2012, 2016; Sprouse & Villata 2021, among others). This processing difficulty arises from a range of factors, including memory constraints associated with long-distance filler-gap dependencies, semantic anomalies, and contextualization difficulty (Hofmeister & Sag 2010; Hofmeister et al. 2013). Speakers' rejection of island-violating sentences may therefore reflect extralinguistic cognitive factors rather than the independent contribution of movement constraints, as is conventionally maintained in syntactic theory.

A central challenge in studying island effects has been teasing apart true effect of island violations on sentence acceptability from processing-related penalty that often arises in island-

violating sentences (Hofmeister et al. 2013). The experimental design employed in the present study controlled for the effects of dependency length and processing difficulty on acceptability of island-violating stimuli. The island-violating sentences used in the experiment constituted a minimal pair, in which dependency length was constant across constructions. Given that the island-violating stimuli involved identical long-distance dependencies, it is conceivable that they received an equal amount of processing-related penalty. By keeping dependency length constant across constructions, the experiment controlled for processing difficulty and isolated the effect of construction type (cf. Sprouse et al. 2016).

In the subset of speakers who accept both hyperraising and copy raising, both constructions show an acceptability decline in the island-violating condition relative to the baseline. Despite both constructions being penalized, the magnitude of the decline for island-violating hyperraising was significantly greater than for copy raising. This suggests that while both constructions incur a penalty due to processing difficulty, hyperraising also receives an additional penalty from the independent contribution of an island violation.

In sum, both hyperraising and copy raising show a decline in acceptability in the island-violating condition relative to the baseline. This shared penalty reflects processing difficulty due to long-distance filler-gap dependencies in the island-violating stimuli. Hyperraising incurs a substantially greater penalty in the island-violating condition compared to copy raising. This additional hyperraising-specific penalty reflects true island-sensitivity on top of the processing-related penalty.

4.2.2. SIMILARITY AND CONFUSION EFFECTS. Another factor that may have affected the experimental results is the surface similarity between hyperraising and copy raising. In each condition, the stimulus sentences constituted minimal pairs that differed only by the presence of the relator particle *kao* 'like' in the copy raising sentence. This similarity may have led some participants to confuse the two constructions. Such confusion could have manifested in either direction: overlooking the particle *kao* and treating copy raising as hyperraising, or inserting *kao* into the hyperraising sentence, thereby misidentifying it as copy raising. Mistaking copy raising for hyperraising provides a potential explanation for the non-negligible acceptability decline observed in the island-violating copy raising sentence, where the non-movement account of copy raising expects no acceptability decline. It is conceivable here, of course, that confusion effects may have worked in tandem with the general processing difficulty associated with island-violating sentences, such that the limited decline observed in island-violating copy raising can be attributed to both factors. Confusing hyperraising for copy raising could in turn account for the marginal acceptability of non-baseline hyperraising sentences among some speakers in the raiser group (see Figure 2).

4.3. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS. In Serbian, hyperraising and copy raising are distinct constructions, with different syntactic properties. This distinction has important implications for syntactic theory. In recent work, attempts have been made to reanalyze hyperraising as a non-movement configuration (den Dikken 2017). Much like copy raising, hyperraising would involve a binding-like dependency between a DP base-generated in the matrix clause and an anaphorically linked pronoun or gap in the subordinate clause. A major advantage of the base-generation account is that it eliminates the most problematic ingredient of the canonical account of hyperraising: A-movement across a finite CP boundary, contravening the PIC.

Previous studies have conventionally examined hyperraising and copy raising in isolation,

without direct within-language comparison. Indeed, existing work that builds on a direct, within-language comparison between hyperraising and copy raising is sparse at best, involving only a handful of studies (cf. Carstens & Diercks 2013; Johnson & Diercks to appear). The picture emerging from these studies is far from clear. Whereas Carstens & Diercks (2013) find evidence for a sharp structural contrast between hyperraising and copy raising in Lubukusu and Lusaamia, Johnson & Diercks (to appear) report that in Tiriki, the distinction is much less clear. Finally, existing studies primarily rely on semantic diagnostics for distinguishing movement from base generation, rather than formal syntactic tests.

Against this backdrop, Serbian, where a subset of speakers allows both constructions, offers an ideal environment to directly examine the relationship between hyperraising and copy raising. The present study directly compares the two constructions in the same speaker population, thereby subjecting the unified base-generation approach to empirical scrutiny. In contrast to previous studies, this experiment employed formal, non-semantic movement diagnostics.

The experimental findings indicate that the two constructions pattern differently with respect to movement diagnostics: hyperraising is highly sensitive to island constraints and embedded A-minimality, indicative of movement, whereas copy raising shows little to no such sensitivity. The identification of such a contrast directly challenges the predictions of the base-generation account, which holds that both constructions involve non-movement dependencies.

The contribution of this study to syntactic theory is twofold. First, the experimental data from Serbian robustly support the movement analysis of hyperraising (Carstens 2011; Zyman 2017, 2023; Fong 2019; Halpert & Zeller 2015; Halpert 2019; Wurmbrand 2019; Lohninger et al. 2022) and provide evidence against a unified base-generation account à la den Dikken (2017). Second, the data suggest that copy raising is a non-movement configuration (Potsdam & Runner 2001; Asudeh 2002; Asudeh & Toivonen 2012; Landau 2011; Carstens & Diercks 2013; den Dikken 2017), given the construction's general insensitivity to movement constraints. This positions copy raising in the broader typology of cross-clausal dependencies (Lohninger et al. 2022). Copy raising, I conclude, is structurally similar to prolepsis and likely belongs to Lohninger et al. (2022)'s Type 1 constructions, which include non-movement dependencies.

5. Conclusion. This paper identified a previously undocumented case of hyperraising to subject in Serbian and assessed its implications for syntactic theory. The rating experiment found a clear-cut structural difference between hyperraising and copy raising, in spite of their similarity on the surface. This finding constitutes evidence against the base-generation approach to hyperraising and supports the movement-based account of the construction. Hyperraising truly is what it appears to be superficially, and what most existing formal accounts consider it to be: A-movement from the finite embedded clause into the matrix clause (Ura 1994; Carstens & Diercks 2013; Zyman 2017, 2023; Halpert 2016, 2019; Wurmbrand 2019; Lohninger et al. 2022). In addition, the experimental results add to the cross-linguistic evidence for the non-movement analysis of copy raising. Specifically, they suggest that copy raising involves a binding-like dependency similar to prolepsis (Salzmann 2017).

These findings inform the theory of cross-clausal dependencies in several ways. First, this study adds Serbian to the cohort of languages that allow hyperraising, supplying experimental evidence for a previously unnoticed hyperraising construction. Second, Serbian hyperraising was found to be structurally distinct from copy raising, which challenges the unified base-generation account of the two constructions (den Dikken 2017). Hyperraising is an A-movement configura-

tion, highly sensitive to island constraints and A-minimality effects (Zyman 2017, 2023; Halpert 2019; Wurmbrand 2019; Lohninger et al. 2022). By contrast, copy raising was found to be generally insensitive to movement constraints, which supports the widely accepted non-movement analysis of the construction (Potsdam & Runner 2001; Asudeh 2002; Asudeh & Toivonen 2012; Landau 2011; Carstens & Diercks 2013; den Dikken 2017). Finally, the study situates copy raising in the typology of constructions that involve mandatory cross-clausal dependencies, supplementing Lohninger et al. (2022)'s comprehensive typological survey.

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