Classical syntactic theory was designed to disallow in principle the possibility of raising out of finite clauses ("hyperraising," as in the impossible English *I believed him/incorrectly (that) was dangerous). As empirical work has progressed, however, it has become clear that quite a few languages allow this option (Carstens & Diercks 2013, Halpert & Zeller 2015, Deal 2016, a.m.o.), including the Mexican isolate P’urhepecha as spoken on the island of Janitzio (Lake Pátzcuaro, Michoacán). Here, I explore the Janitzio P’urhepecha facts, develop an analysis of the syntactic mechanisms that permit hyperraising in this language, and consider the broader theoretical implications of the phenomenon.

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