

What expletives can tell us about Case theory, and vice versa
Howard Lasnik
University of Connecticut

Part I

1. the destruction *(of) Rome
2. I am proud *(of) Mary
3. *It seems [John to be here]
4. *I tried [John to be here]
5. *Who does it seem [t to be here]
- 6a. The man [(who) [it seems [t is here]]]
- b. *The man [(who) [it seems [t to be here]]]
7. Wh-trace, though non-lexical, apparently requires Case.
- 8a. John, I like him
- b. John, I like his new book
- c. *John's, I like his new book
9. Topics, though lexical, apparently are not assigned Case.
10. A CHAIN is Case-marked if it contains exactly one Case-marked position; a position in a Case-marked CHAIN is visible for θ -marking. K of L p.135
11. I tried [PRO to be here] cf. 4.
12. *It seems [there to be a man here]
13. *I tried [there to be a man here]
14. There' is a man' here
15. There is usually a man here
16. *I heard usually a man (cf. I usually heard a man)
17. Someone is likely [t to be here]
18. There is likely [t to be someone here]

Part II

19. *There is likely [someone to be here]
20. *We consider [there a man in the room] K of L p.92
21. We consider [there to be a man in the room]
22. We consider [there, likely [t, to be a man in the room]]
23. There is no Case transmission. Case assignment is always direct. Be is a Case assigner.
24. A car is not here

25. *I heard not a car
26. Is a car here
27. *Heard I a car
28. [[A car] [Tense be,] [usually t, here]]
29. [[A car] [Tense e] [not be here]]
30. [[A car] [Tense will] [not be here]]
31. *A car will be not here
32. *A car will be usually here
33. Will a car be here
34. *Will be a car here
35. *There will be usually a car here cf. 15.
36. I believe [there to be a mechanic here]
37. *I believe [there to be usually a mechanic here]
38. *I believe [there to be not a mechanic here]
39. I believe [there not to be a mechanic here]
40. *I believe [John to be not here]
41. I believe [John not to be here]
42. ?There usually arrives a bus (at this time)
43. *There arrives usually a bus (at this time)
44. *There arrived not a bus [?There did not arrive a bus]
45. *A bus arrived not [A bus did not arrive]
46. *Arrived a bus [Did a bus arrive]
47. 'Unaccusatives' are Case assigners too.
48. When INFL is finite, an auxiliary verb (but not a main verb) may raise to it. When INFL is non-finite, neither an auxiliary verb nor a main verb may raise to it.
- 49a. Do not hit Bill
- b. *Hit not Bill
- 50a. Do not be stubborn
- b. *Be not stubborn
- c. *Harry does not be stubborn
- d. Harry is not stubborn
51. A verb with a complement assigns Case if and only if it θ -marks its subject. K of L p.138

52. Belletti proposes that 51. only holds for structural Case and that the Case assigned by unaccusatives and be is inherent (in the sense of K of L).

53. There is [a car here] (This sort of 'small clause' analysis would be precluded.)

54. The Case assigned is 'partitive' Case.

55. There is a car /*the car here

56. There arrived a man /*the man etc.

Part III

57. So why do expletives need Case? 'Traditional' Case filter (one last try): At S-structure, *NP that is lexical and lacks Case.

58. Who do you believe sincerely [t to be the best candidate]

59. *I believe sincerely [John to be the best candidate]

60. I consider Harry a wiseguy (cf. ex. 20)

61. [PRO to be a wiseguy] is fun

62. At LF, all expletives must have been replaced, in conformity with 'Full Interpretation'. The expletive-argument S-structure CHAIN becomes an LF chain.

63. 'Visibility' constrains theta-assignment at both S-structure and LF (roughly in line with the Projection Principle). The S-structure requirement entails that arguments will be Case marked at S-structure. The LF requirement (almost) entails that expletives will be Case marked at S-structure.

64. A man's arrival

65. *There's arrival of a man

66. *Its likelihood that John will win

67. *Our belief of John to be intelligent

68. *Our proof of John to be intelligent

69. If α is an inherent Case-marker, then α Case-marks NP if and only if [α] theta-marks the chain headed by NP. K of L p.194

70. *There arrival of a man

71. The arrival of a man

72. To be visible as the target of NP movement, a position must have Case.

73. *Someone seems [there to be [t in the room]

74. *Someone seems [there to have been arrested t]

75. Someone is certain [t to be here]

76. There is certain [t to be someone here]

77. *There is certain [there to be someone here]

Part IV

78. 76. $\neq$ Someone is certain to be here

79. John is certain to be here

80. *There is certain to be John here

81. *There is John here

82a. *There arrived a man

b. LF: A man arrived t
Nominative Partitive

c. LF: A man arrived t
Nominative -Case
Partitive

83. *NP-t cf. 10.
+Case

84a. *John_i is believed [t_i is intelligent]

b. *Mary_i is believed [Harry to like t_i]

c. *Mary_i is believed [that Harry likes t_i]

d. *Mary_i is believed [that she_i likes t_i]

85a. It strikes John that Mary is clever

b. Mary strikes John as clever

c. *John strikes t that Mary is clever

86a. There is a man here

b. *There are a man here
etc.

87. There_i is a man_i here

88. Does LF movement eliminate a Condition C violation?

89a. *He_i respects everyone that John_i knows

b. [Everyone that John_i knows]_i he_i respects t_i

90a. There_i is a man_i here

b. There is a man_i here

91a. *There is believed [t is a man_i here]

b. LF: A man_i is believed [t_i is t_i here] cf. 62.