

Case, Binding, and the Organization of the Grammar

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1. Evidence for Raising

A. 'Boundary strength' phenomena

- (1) I believe John to have convinced Bill
- (2) I believe that John convinced Bill
- (3) I believe Bill to have been convinced by John
- (4) I compelled the doctor to examine John
- (5) I compelled John to be examined by the doctor
- (6) I believe there to be a man in the garden
- (7) I believe advantage to have been taken of John
- (8) \*I forced there to be a man in the garden
- (9) \*I forced advantage to have been taken of John

- (10)a. Jack believed Joan to be famous
- b. Joan was believed to be famous by Jack
- (11)a. \*Jack<sub>i</sub> believed him<sub>i</sub> to be immoral
- b. Jack<sub>i</sub> believed himself<sub>i</sub> to be immoral
- (12) They believed each other to be honest

B. 'Height' phenomena

- (13) The FBI proved that few students were spies
- (14) The FBI proved few students to be spies
- (15) Joan believes he<sub>i</sub> is a genius even more fervently than Bob<sub>i</sub> does
- (16) \*Joan believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius even more fervently than Bob<sub>i</sub> does
- (17) \*Joan believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius even more fervently than Bob<sub>i</sub> believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius
- (18) ?Mary believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius, and Bob<sub>i</sub> does too
- (19) \*Bob<sub>i</sub> believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius
- (20) ?Mary believes Bob<sub>i</sub> to be a genius, and he<sub>i</sub> does too
- (21) \*He<sub>i</sub> believes Bob<sub>i</sub> to be a genius
- (22) Joan believes he<sub>i</sub> is a genius even more fervently than Bob's<sub>i</sub> mother does
- (23) ?\*Joan believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius even more fervently than Bob's<sub>i</sub> mother does
- (24) ?\*Joan believes him<sub>i</sub> even more fervently than Bob's<sub>i</sub> mother does
- (25) ?The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials
- (26) ?The DA accused the defendants during each other's trials
- (27) ?\*The DA proved [that the defendants were guilty] during each other's trials
- (28) No one saw anything

- (29) \*Anyone saw nothing
- (30) The DA accused none of the defendants during any of the trials
- (31) ?The DA proved [none of the defendants to be guilty] during any of the trials
- (32) ?\*The DA proved [that none of the defendants were guilty] during any of the trials
- (33) The students solved three problems each
- (34) \*Three students each solved the problems (i.e., on the reading 'The problems were solved by three students each')
- (35) \*The students proved that three formulas each were theorems (i.e., on the reading 'Each of the students proved that three formulas were theorems')
- (36) ?The students proved three formulas each to be theorems
- (37) Jones proved the prisoners guilty with one accusation each
- (38) Jones proved the defendants to be guilty with one accusation each
- (39) Jones prosecuted the defendants with one accusation each
- (40) ??Jones proved that the defendants were guilty with one accusation each

2. Raising Questions

If we succeed in eliminating recourse to c-selection as well as phrase structure rules, thus reducing syntactic representations at D-structure to projections of semantic properties of lexical items, it will follow that the complement of any lexical head in a syntactic representation must be s-selected by it, because there is no other way for the position to exist. For example, there cannot be such sentences as (68), where V is a verb that does not s-select an object and there is a pleonastic element...lacking any semantic role...

John [<sub>VP</sub> V there] (68)

...Similarly, we cannot have "raising to object" to yield (70ii) (with e the trace of Bill) from the D-structure (70i):

- (70) i John [<sub>VP</sub> believes e [<sub>S</sub> Bill to be intelligent]]
- ii John [<sub>VP</sub> believes Bill [<sub>S</sub> e to be intelligent]]

The verb believe s-selects only a proposition. Therefore, in (70i) the position occupied by e cannot exist at D-structure, because it is not s-selected by believe. [Chomsky (1986, pp.90-91)]

- (41) I dislike it that he is so cruel
- (42) I didn't suspect it for a moment that you would fail
- (43) I regret it very much that we could not hire Mosconi
- (44) I resent it greatly that you didn't call me

(45) I don't mind it very much that he did that

(46) ??I dislike him to be so cruel

(47) ?\*I didn't suspect you to have failed

(48) \*I regret them not to have hired Mosconi

(49) \*I resent you not to have called me

(50) \*I don't mind him to have done that

(51) I believe (??it) that John left

(52) I will prove (?\*it) that Mary is the culprit

(53) They have found (\*it) that there is a prime number greater than 17

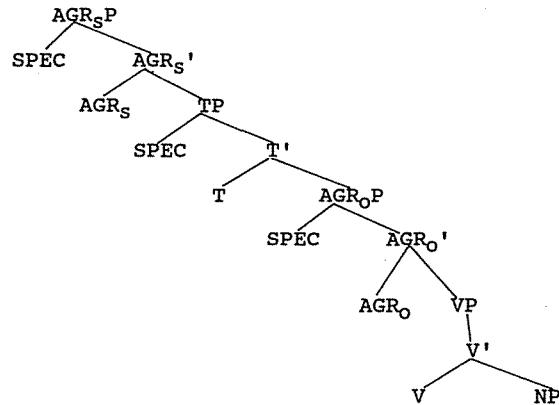
(54) I will show (\*it) that the Coordinate Structure Constraint is valid

### 3. Licensing of Accusative Case via LF SPEC-Head Agreement

(55) Why is raising obligatory?

(56) How does an object c-command an adjunct?

(57)



### 4. Domain Asymmetries in Double Object Constructions

(58) I showed John himself (in the mirror)

(59) \*I showed himself John (in the mirror)

(60) I showed the professors each other's students

(61) \*I showed each other's students the professors

(62) I denied each worker<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> paycheck

(63) \*I denied its<sub>i</sub> owner each<sub>i</sub> paycheck

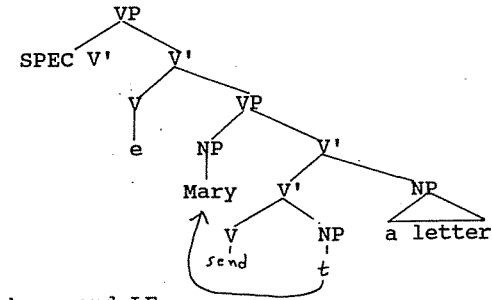
(64) I gave each trainer the other's lion

(65) \*I gave the other's trainer each lion

(66) I gave no one anything

(67) \*I gave anyone nothing

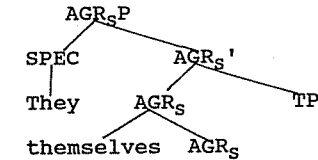
(68)



### 5. Anaphors and LF

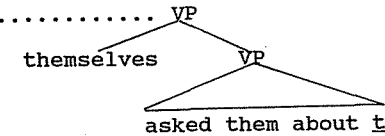
(69) They injured themselves

(70)

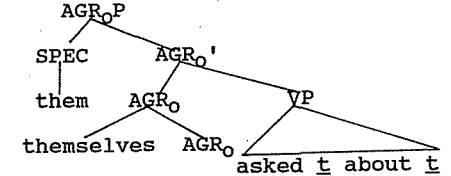


(71) I asked them about themselves

(72)



(73)



### 6. S-Structure Binding Requirements? An Apparent Contradiction

(74) Which book that John<sub>i</sub> read did he<sub>i</sub> like

(75) \*He<sub>i</sub> liked every book that John<sub>i</sub> read

- (76) John<sub>i</sub> wonders which picture of himself<sub>i</sub> Mary showed to Susan
- (77) \*John<sub>i</sub> wonders who showed which picture of himself<sub>i</sub> to Susan
- (78) There arrived a man
- (79) A man arrived t
- (80) There arrived two knights on each other's horses
- (81) two knights arrived t on each other's horses
- (82) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's trials
- (83) \*The DA proved [there to have been two men at the scene] during each other's trials
- (84) Some politician is likely to address John's constituency
- (85) It is likely that some politician will address John's constituency
- (86) It is unlikely that anyone will address the rally
- (87) \*Anyone is unlikely to address the rally
- (88) Someone is unlikely to address the rally

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