

**The Position of the Accusative Subject
in the Accusative-Infinitive Construction**

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- (1) I believe her to have convinced Bill
- (2) I believe that she convinced Bill
- (3) I believe Bill to have been convinced by her
- (4) I compelled the doctor to examine her
- (5) I compelled her 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) In some ('deep') respects, the underlined NP in (1) behaves like the subject of the lower predicate, while in other ('surface') respects, most obviously morphological case, it behaves like the object of the matrix verb.
- (11) The morphological case of the subject of the infinitive in English is an objective case most typically associated with a direct object. And, for English, there is good evidence that the matrix verb, for example believe in (1), is responsible for that objective case. Overwhelmingly, the English Accusative-Infinitive construction occurs only as the complement of an otherwise transitive verb which is independently capable of licensing case on its complement. When an English transitive verb is made passive, it loses that capability:
- (12) I believe him
- (13) *It is believed him
cf. He is believed
- (14) It is believed that she convinced Bill
- (15) The English Accusative-Infinitive construction patterns with (13) rather than with (14):
- (16) *It is believed her to have convinced Bill
- (17) In Latin, on the other hand, either accusative is a default

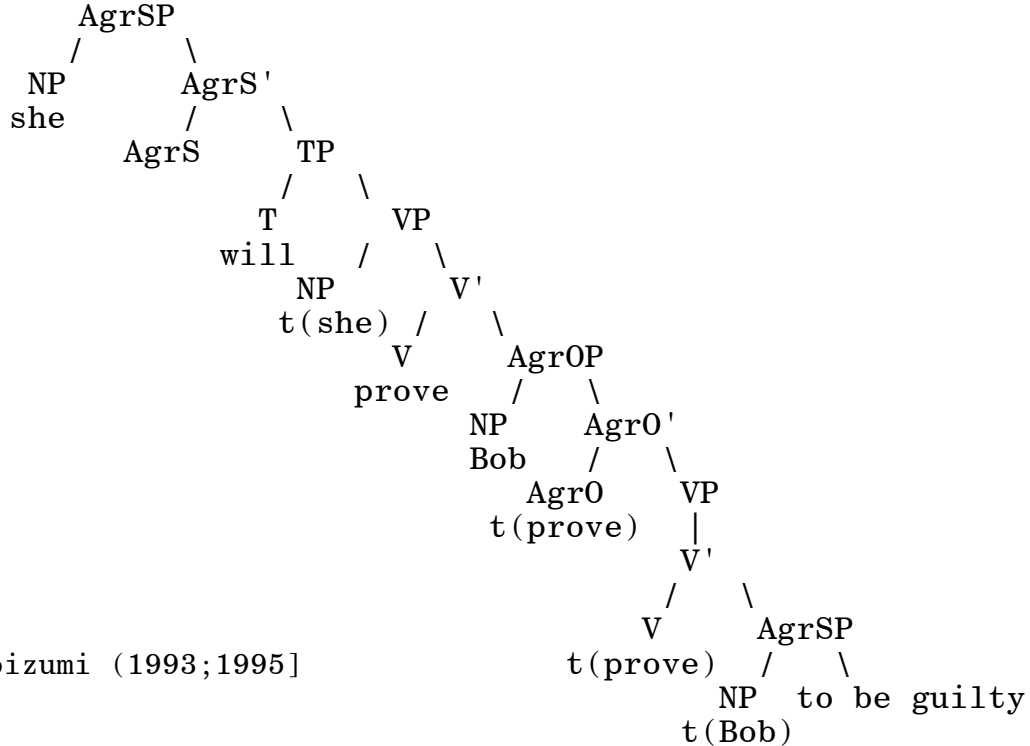
Case, or infinitive licenses accusative Case on its subject (as finiteness licenses nominative). Even the subject of the complement of an adjective or a passive verb can be accusative:

- (18) Certum est Petrum uenisse
certain is Peter-Acc. come Past infinitive
'It is certain that Peter came'
[Rouveret and Vergnaud (1980)]
- (19) Dicitur Petrum uenisse
it-is-said Peter-Acc come Past infinitive
'It is said that Peter came'
- (20) "Three traditional arguments for higher object status" of the accusative subject in English [Postal 1974]:
- (21) a Jack believed Joan to be famous
b Joan was believed to be famous by Jack
- (22) a *Jack_i believed him_i to be immoral
b Jack_i believed himself_i to be immoral
- (23) They believed each other to be honest
- (24) Chomsky (1973): The relations in (21)-(23) don't demand clause-mates. Rather, they just require that the two related elements not be separated by a finite clause boundary (The Tensed Sentence Condition).
- (25) But there are other phenomena [Postal (1974), Lasnik and Saito (1991)] that indicate that the accusative subject is at least as high in the structure as elements of the matrix clause:
- (26) ?The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials
- (27) ?The DA accused the defendants during each other's trials
- (28) ?*The DA proved [that the defendants were guilty] during each other's trials
- (29) ?The DA proved [none of the defendants to be guilty] during any of the trials
- (30) The DA accused none of the defendants during any of the trials
- (31) ?*The DA proved [that none of the defendants were guilty] during any of the trials
- (32) I figured out it was more than 300 miles from here to Tulsa
- (33) I figured it out to be more than 300 miles from here to Tulsa
- (34) Mary made John out to be a fool [Kayne (1985), Johnson (1991)]
- (35) Mary made out that John is a fool
- (36) Note that the kind of word order seen in (34) is completely impossible when the complement clause is finite (and where no

- raising analysis has any motivation):
- (37) *Mary made John out (that) is a fool
- (38) But now note that for many speakers (including Kayne and Johnson) the raising in (34) is optional:
- (39) Mary made out John to be a fool
- (40) Thus, the accusative subject can be in the higher clause or the lower clause.
- (41)a (it seems that) everyone isn't there yet
 b everyone seems [t not to be there yet]
 [Zubizaretta (1982), citing Chomsky]
- (42) A universal quantifier in subject position can be understood in the scope of clausal negation; but not if that quantifier has undergone raising.
- (43) The mathematician made every even number out not to be the sum of two primes
- (44) The mathematician made out every even number not to be the sum of two primes
- (45) I believe everyone not to be there yet
 [Based on Chomsky (1995)]
- (46) Sometimes, the accusative subject can even appear to the left of a matrix adverb [Postal (1974)]:
- (47) ?Somebody found Germany recently to have been justified in the Lusitania sinking
- (48) I can prove Bob easily to have outweighed Martha's goat
- (49) However, this time the raising is evidently obligatory.
- (50) *I can prove easily Bob to have outweighed Martha's goat
- (51) I suggest that although the (acceptable) make out-NP order superficially resembles the (unacceptable) V-adverb-NP order, their structures are distinct. The former represents a basic word order. The latter presumably involves extraposition, with the entire infinitive clause moved out of its base position to a position to the right of the adverb.
- (52) Since Ross (1974), it has been known that extraposed constituents are 'islands'. And Ross (1967) argued that islands inhibit not just movement but also 'feature changing rules'. Thus, accusative Case licensing is expected to be inhibited here, as the licenser, the verb, is outside of the island while the licensee, the subject of the infinitive, is inside.
- (53) ??What problem have you believed John for a long time now to have solved
- (54) ?*How have you believed John for a long time now to have solved the problem

- (55) What did you make John out to have said
 (56) How did the DA make John out to have committed the crime
 (57) She will prove Bob to be guilty

(58)



[Koizumi (1993;1995)]

- (59) Here the matrix subject raises to Specifier position of the highest Agreement projection (AgrS), the ECM subject raises to AgrO, and the verb raises from its base V position to the higher V position (via AgrO, for reasons that will not concern us here). If the adverbials are attached in the vicinity of the lower matrix VP (perhaps right adjoined to that VP), the binding and licensing seen earlier receive a natural account. On this approach, the accusative subject doesn't actually raise to (deep) object position. Rather, it raises to a position that object also (sometimes) raises to.
- (60) Speculation: Raising of accusative subject, as an instance of 'object shift', is driven by an 'EPP' requirement of AgrO (just as 'subject shift' is arguably driven by an EPP requirement of AgrS). The optionality of 'raising to object' (now seen as an instance of object shift) is then seen as the optionality of the AgrO projection.

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