

## On Exceptional Case Marking Constructions

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- (1) I believe *her* to have convinced Bill
- (2) In some ('deep') respects, the italicized NP 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.
- (3) I believe that she convinced Bill Rosenbaum (1967)
- (4) I believe Bill to have been convinced by her
- (5) I compelled the doctor to examine her #
- (6) I compelled her to be examined by the doctor
- (7) I believe there to be a man in the garden
- (8) I believe advantage to have been taken of John
- (9) \*I forced there to be a man in the garden
- (10) \*I forced advantage to have been taken of John  
Rosenbaum (1967), Bach (1974)
- (11) 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.
- (12) When an English transitive verb is made passive, it loses that capability:
- (13) I believe him
- (14) \*It is believed him  
cf. He is believed
- (15) It is believed that she convinced Bill
- (16) The English Accusative-Infinitive construction patterns with (14) rather than with (15):
- (17) \*It is believed her to have convinced Bill
- (18) Similarly, adjectives do not license accusative case, nor do they support the Accusative-Infinitive construction:
- (19) \*It is likely her to convince John

- (20) In Latin, an accusative nominal is possible as subject of an infinitive even when the matrix predicate is one that cannot take an accusative complement.
- (21) Certum est Petrum uenisse  
 certain is Peter-Acc. come Past infinitive  
 'It is certain that Peter came' Rouveret and Vergnaud (1980)
- (22) Dicitur Petrum uenisse  
 it-is-said Peter-Acc come Past infinitive  
 'It is said that Peter came'
- (23) Presumably, in Latin either accusative is a default Case, or infinitive licenses accusative Case on its subject (as finiteness licenses nominative).
- (24) The FBI proved that few students were spies
- (25) The FBI proved few students to be spies
- (26) Postal (1974) indicated that *few students* can have wide or narrow scope in (24) while it can have only wide scope in (25), and that this distinction is best described in terms of the hierarchical notion 'command'.
- (27) ?The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials
- (28) ?The DA accused the defendants during each other's trials
- (29) ?\*The DA proved [that the defendants were guilty] during each other's trials
- (30) I figured it out to be more than 300 miles from here to Tulsa  
 Postal (1974)
- (31) I figured out it was more than 300 miles from here to Tulsa
- (32) \*I figured Barbara out to be pregnant  
 cf. I figured out that Barbara was pregnant
- (33) \*I figured that out to be wrong  
 cf. I figured out that that was wrong
- (34) Mary made John out to be a fool
- (35) Mary made out John to be a fool
- (36) With the *make-out-NP* word order, the NP invariably displays 'low' behavior.
- (37)a The lawyer made no witnesses out to be idiots during any of the trials

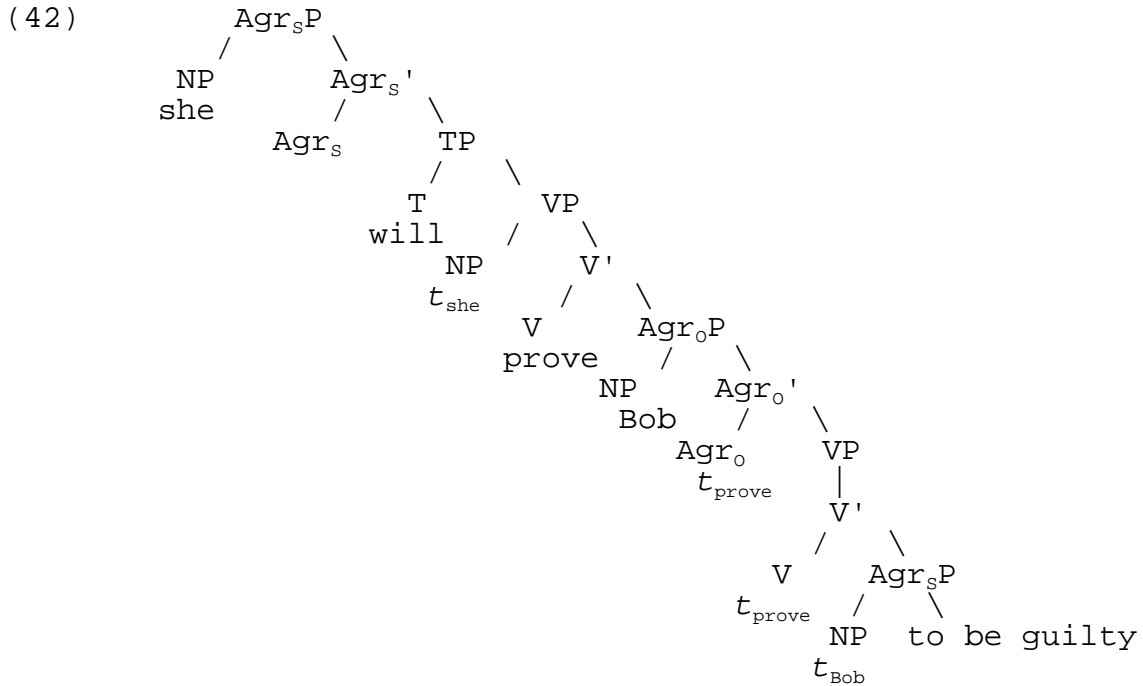
b ?\*The lawyer made out no witnesses to be idiots during any of the trials Lasnik (2001), Lasnik (2002)

(38) Postal and Chomsky were both right: The accusative subject of an infinitive does, sometimes, occur in the higher clause in surface form; but it also, sometimes, remains in the lower clause.

(39) Consequently, both Postal and Chomsky are apparently correct about the licensing of accusative Case. Surely it can take place when the ECM subject bears the close structural relation to the verb that an object would. But it can also take place if there is only a 'weak' clause boundary between the verb and the ECM subject.

(40) The 'split VP' hypothesis of Koizumi (1993) and Koizumi (1995) provides the needed structure for raising.

(41) She will prove Bob to be guilty



(43) If the adverbials are (or can be) 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.

(44) English takes advantage of two different configurations of exceptional Case licensing in infinitives, one where the ECM subject remains in subject position of the lower clause and another where it raises to Spec of Agr<sub>o</sub> in the higher clause.

- (45) The Slavic languages seem not to have either possibility, as noted (though not in exactly these terms) already by Brecht (1974).
- (46) Boris considers Viktor to be acting badly
- (47) \*Boris ščitaet Viktora vesti sebja ploxo [Russian]
- (48) \*Boris smatra Viktora ponašati se loše [Serbo-Croatian]
- (49) What allows a subject of an embedded infinitival to behave like an upstairs object in English? And what disallows it in Slavic?
- (50)a. Ja sčitaju što Ivan umen  
I consider that Ivan-nom smart-nom  
'I consider that Ivan is smart'
- b. \*Ja sčitaju Ivana byt' umnym  
I consider Ivan-acc to be smart-inst  
'I consider Ivan to be smart'
- c. Ja sčitaju Ivana umnym  
I consider Ivan-acc smart-inst  
'I consider Ivan smart' [Russian]
- (51)a. Smatram da je Ivan pametan  
consider-1sg that is Ivan-nom smart-nom  
'I consider that Ivan is smart'
- b. \*Smatram Ivana biti pametan/pametnim  
consider-1sg Ivan-acc to be smart-nom/inst  
'I consider Ivan to be smart'
- c. Smatram [Ivana pametnim]  
consider-1sg Ivan-acc smart-inst  
'I consider Ivan smart' [Serbo-Croatian]
- (52)a. Mary promised [PRO to finish the work]  
b. Mary persuaded John [PRO to finish the work]
- (53) Ivan obeščal zakončit' rabotu v srok  
'Ivan promised to finish the work on time' Brecht (1974)
- (54) Brecht (1974, p.202): The class of Russian verbs permitting such complements are "specified in the lexicon as permitting only the future tense in [their] complement."
- (55) Stowell (1982, p.562) made a parallel claim about control constructions in English. He noted that in such sentences, "the time frame of the infinitival clause is *unrealized* with respect to the tense of the matrix in which it appears. In other words, the tense... is that of a *possible future*..."

- (56) PRO is licensed by [-finite, +future] Infl.
- (57) Perhaps, as argued by Martin (1996), in a refinement of a proposal by Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), this licensing involves a special ('null') Case for PRO. Any Infl that is finite or has tense would then license a Case on its Specifier (nominative in the former instance, 'null' in the latter).
- (58)a. I believe [Mary to be clever]  
 b. \*I believe [PRO to be clever]
- (59) In contrast to control infinitives, ECM infinitives "...do not have a regular internally specified 'unrealized' tense. Instead, the understood tense of these complements with respect to the tense of the matrix is determined largely by the meaning of the governing verb..."  
 Stowell (1982, p.566)
- (60) Tense must raise to Comp (by LF) so a clause with tense (including 'unrealized future tense') must be a CP.
- (61) Infinitival complements of epistemic verbs lack tense, hence are (or at least can be) bare IPs.
- (62) Under the assumption that CP is a barrier (to both A-movement and to government (or feature movement, in the theory of Chomsky (1995))) (60) now gives us the correct consequence that ECM is not possible with the class of verbs taking 'unrealized future' complements:
- (63) \*John tried [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Mary to buy a car]]
- (64) We further make the (correct) prediction that raising to higher subject position is disallowed with these predicates:
- (65) \*Mary was tried [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> t to buy a car]]
- (66) Infinitival complements of epistemic verbs display exactly the reverse set of properties:
- (67) I consider [<sub>IP</sub> John to be smart]  
 (68) John is considered [<sub>IP</sub> t to be smart]
- (69) In Slavic, there are no Slavic ECM infinitivals, and there is also no raising out of infinitivals:
- (70) \*Smatram                    [Ivana            biti            pametan/pametnim]  
       consider-1sg            Ivan-acc        to be            smart-nom/inst

- (71) \*Ivan je smatran [t biti pametan/pametnim]  
 'Ivan is considered to be smart' [Serbo-Croatian]
- (72) Further, ECM is possible into small clauses, and raising out of small clauses is also available:
- (73) Smatram [Ivana pametnim]  
 consider-1sg Ivan-acc smart-inst  
 'I consider Ivan smart'
- (74) Ivan je smatran [ t pametnim]  
 'Ivan is considered smart' [Serbo-Croatian]
- (75) Hypothesis: All 'full' clauses in Slavic must be CPs, while certain infinitivals in English are IPs. This difference will follow, given Stowell's suggestion (60), if Infl in Slavic is invariably tensed. (There is no clear reason to think that small clauses have Infl at all; and, by Stowell's semantic criteria, they have no tense.)
- (76) Japanese displays apparent ECM even into finite clauses, but not past tense ones. Kitagawa (1986):
- (77) kanozyo wa [sono otoko ga/o sagisi da] to sitteiru  
 she TOP that guy-nom/acc swindler PRES Comp know  
 'She knows that the guy is a swindler'
- (78) kanozyo wa [sono otoko ga/o sagisi datta] to sitteiru  
 she TOP that guy-nom/\*acc swindler PAST Comp know  
 'She knows that the guy used to be a swindler'
- (79) Formal past tense *ta* is a true semantic tense, formal present (actually the absence of past) is more like aspect. Michiya Kawai (personal communication)
- (80) Kawai suggests that non-past finite clauses in Japanese are actually tenseless, and this tenseless-ness is responsible for the possibility of ECM.
- (81) Both the past tense example (78) and the non-past tense example (77) have *to*, glossed as a complementizer. So ECM should be impossible in both examples, contrary to fact.
- (82) I speculate, following Fukui (1986), that *to* is not actually a complementizer.
- (83) It is then necessary to posit a null C in (78) (or the true past tense operator would not be able to raise to its required LF position).
- (84) For the licensing of nominative Case in (77), I follow Saito (1985) in assuming that, unlike in English, nominative Case in Japanese is independent of Infl.

- (85) Korean too allows ECM into finite clauses, and again with an asymmetry. ECM seems to be possible when the embedded predicate is stative, but not when it is active. [Lee (1992) argues that the relevant distinction depends on Case licensing properties of the embedded predicate. Stativity significantly overlaps with lack of Case licensing ability.]
- (86)?na-nun John-lul pwule-lul cal an-tako sayngkakhanta  
I-Top John-Acc French-Acc well know-Comp think  
'I think John knows French well.'
- (87)\*na-nun John-lul cikum pwule-lul paywu-ntako sayngkakhanta  
I-Top John-Acc now French-Acc learn-Comp think  
'I think John learns French now'
- (88) As with Japanese, the complementizer would be expected to block ECM entirely. Perhaps Fukui's suggestion can extend to Korean; (86) would then be allowed.
- (89) As for the stative vs. non-stative contrast, it is reasonable to think that non-statives require tense. If so, we are now back in the familiar realm of tense demanding Complementizer, and CP blocking ECM.
- (90) \*I believe him likes Mary
- (91) ?All English finite clauses are necessarily CPs.  
OR
- (92) Every Case licenser must 'discharge' its Case. Fukui and Speas (1986)
- (93) The special nature of nominative Case in Japanese (and Korean?), as a sort of default, would mean that nominative need not be assigned.

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