

**On Certain Proper Binding Condition Effects**

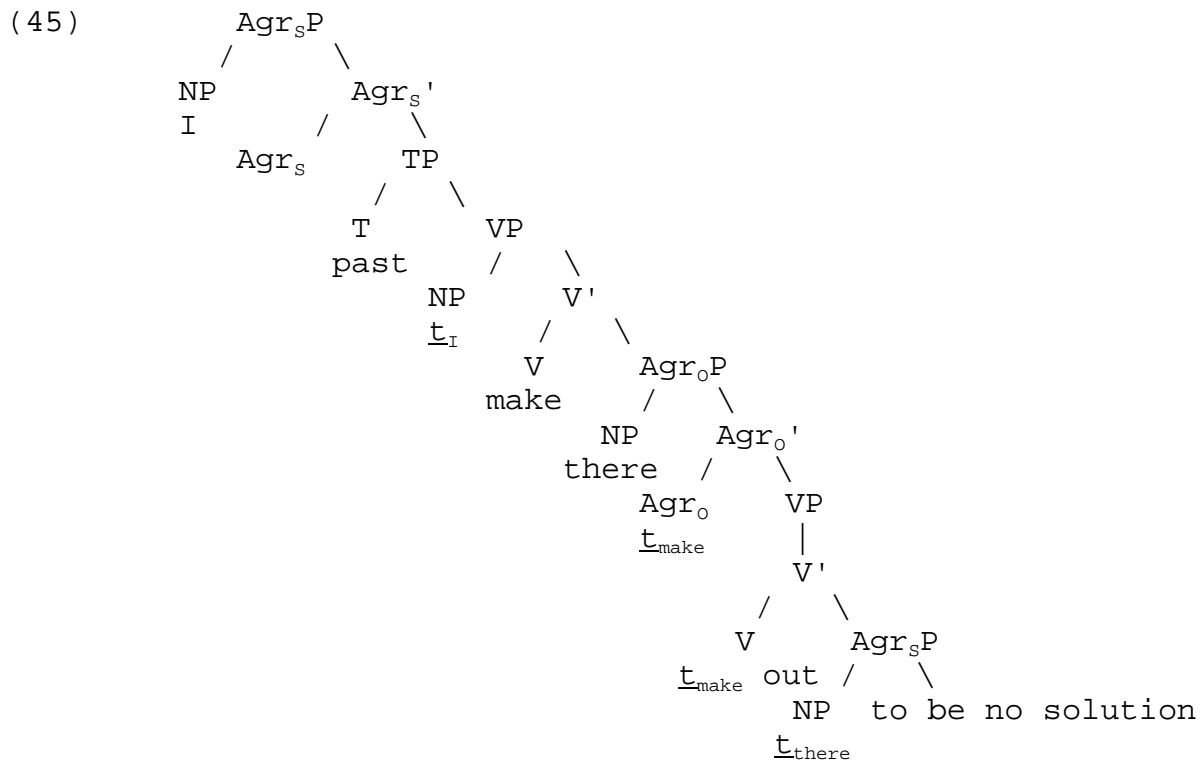
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- (1) John is likely to win
- (2) How likely to win is John
  
- (3) There is likely to be a riot
- (4) \*How likely to be a riot is there Lasnik and Saito (1992), following Kroch and Joshi (1985)
  
- (5) John is likely [t to win]
- (6) John is likely [PRO to win]
- (7) [How likely [t to win]] is John <Out by PBC Fiengo (1977)>
- (8) [How likely [PRO to win]] is John
  
- (9) There is likely [t to be a riot]
- (10) \*There is likely [PRO to be a riot] <PRO must be controlled by an argument Chomsky (1981), Safir (1985)>
- (11) \*[How likely [t to be a riot]] is there <Out by PBC>
  
- (12) A problem with this account: It posits a structural ambiguity for (1) but there is no obvious corresponding semantic ambiguity. Huang (1993), Abels (2002). Further, the status of the PBC is now uncertain (especially given the numerous arguments for remnant movement).
  
- (13) \*How likely to be a man outside is there
- (14) "a man" must replace "there" in LF (as in Chomsky (1986), but this movement is illicit here, being sideways. Barss (1986)
  
- (15) Expletive replacement per se cannot be correct, as shown by Chomsky (1991), den Dikken (1995), Lasnik and Saito (1991), Lasnik (1995a):
  
- (16)a Many linguistics students aren't here ≠  
b There aren't many linguistics students here  
Chomsky (1991)
  
- (17)a Some applicants<sub>i</sub> seem to each other<sub>i</sub> [t to be eligible for the job]  
b \*There seem to each other<sub>i</sub> [t to be some applicatns eligible for the job] den Dikken (1995)





- (38) They're trying to make John out to be a liar
- (39) ...make [NP<sub>j</sub> [e]<sub>i</sub>] out [[NP<sub>j</sub> e] [to VP]<sub>i</sub>] (multiple extraposition) Kayne (1985)
- (40) (\*)They're trying to make there out to be no solution to this problem
- (41) What kind of thing is [NP<sub>j</sub> e]? It can't be NP-trace, because it is not c-commanded by NP<sub>j</sub>. So it must be PRO. This allows NP<sub>j</sub> to be John, as in (38), but not there, as in (40), since there can't control PRO:
- (42) \*There were reptiles before being mammals [p.115]
- (43) I made there out to be a unicorn in the garden  
Johnson (1991)
- (44) (✓)They made there out to be no solution to this problem



- (46) I've believed John for a long time now to be a liar
- (47) \*I've believed there for a long time now to be no solution to the problem
- (48) ...believed [NP<sub>j</sub> [e]<sub>i</sub>] for a long time [[NP<sub>j</sub> e] [to VP]<sub>i</sub>]
- (49) A Kayne (1985) style account: [NP<sub>j</sub> e] cannot be NP-trace, since not c-commanded by its antecedent (i.e., a PBC violation). It can be PRO, but not if its antecedent is there.

- (50) Our alternative statement of the distinction:  
 (51) The PBC doesn't exist, so there is no difficulty in generating (46).  
 (52) There has no agreement features, so the Agr it is specifier of must attract the phi-features of the associate. But in (47), by hypothesis, that associate, as part of the extraposed constituent, is outside the c-command domain of the relevant Agr.  
 (53) ??What have you believed John for a long time now to have said  
 (54) ?\*How have you believed John for a long time now to have solved the problem

COMPARE:

- (55) What did you make John out to have said  
 (56) ?How did you make John out to have solved the problem  
 (57) \*I've believed for a long time now John to be a liar  
 (58) Since there has been extraposition of IP, the features of John cannot be attracted by Agr<sub>0</sub> and or believe.

### Appendix

- (59) Outside is a man  
 (60) ??Outside is likely to be a man  
 (61) \*How likely to be a man is outside  
 (62) \*[How likely [ to be a man]] is outside  
 (63) But (61) displays Subject-Aux Inversion (SAI), a process long known to be incompatible with Locative Inversion:  
 (64) \*Is outside a man  
 (65) \*I wonder how likely to be a man outside is  
 (66) \*I wonder [[how likely [ to be a man]] outside is]]  
 (67) If a locative phrase has no agreement features, we can use the same account as for (4).  
 (68) Outside are men  
 (69) BUT the analogue of (33) is still bad, even when we control for the impossibility of SAI:  
 (70)a \*How likely is outside to be a man  
       b \*I wonder how likely outside is to be a man  
 (71) These facts indicate that the fronted locative, unlike the pleonastic there, is not in subject position. The facts are consistent with an account like that of Bresnan (1994) where the locative is actually a subject, but one that is necessarily topicalized.

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