'Raising to Object' in Small Clauses and Full Clauses

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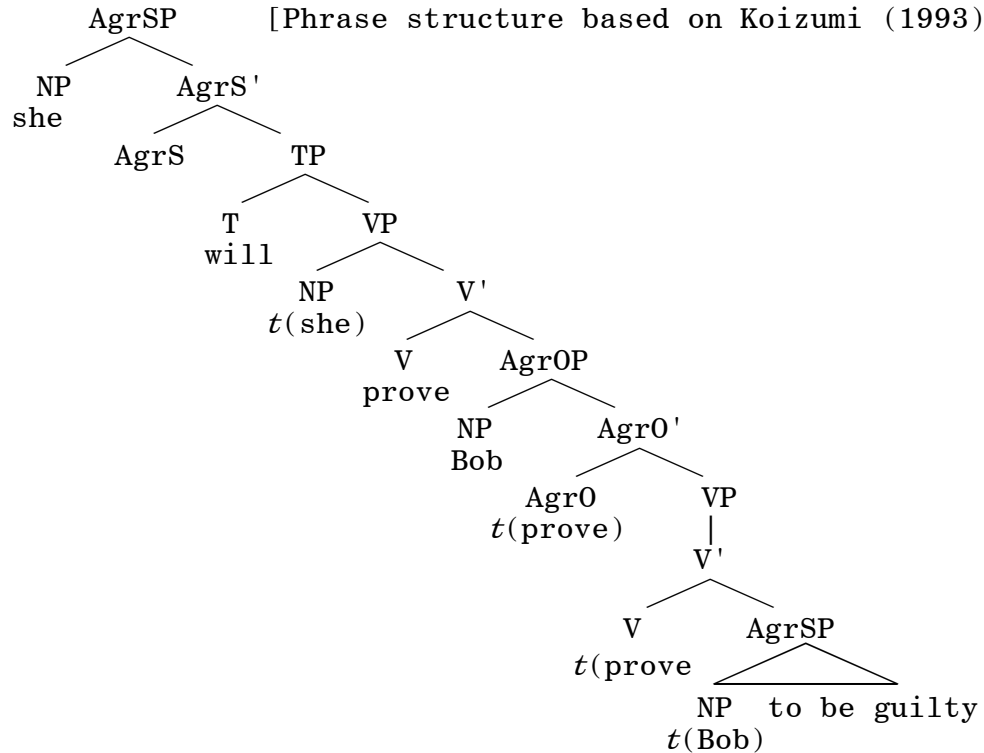
I. Raising in English

(1)   I believe <u>her</u> 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 <u>believe</u> 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)   She will prove Bob to be guilty

(33)
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              AgrSP        [Phrase structure based on Koizumi (1993)]
            /       \
         NP         AgrS'
         she       /     \
              AgrS         TP
                         /    \
                       T        VP
                      will     /   \
                             NP      V'
                            t(she)  /   \
                                  V       AgrOP
                                 prove   /     \
                                      NP         AgrO'
                                      Bob       /     \
                                            AgrO        VP
                                           t(prove)     |
                                                       V'
                                                      /   \
                                                    V       AgrSP
                                                 t(prove   /‾‾‾‾‾\
                                                         NP  to be guilty
                                                        t(Bob)
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(34)   (?)They're trying to make out John to be a liar   Kayne (1985, p.113), Johnson (1991)
(35)   They're trying to make John out to be a liar

(36)   Mary made out that John is a fool
(37)   *Mary made John out (that) is a fool

(38)   They're trying to make John out a liar   Kayne (1985, p.108-109)
(39)   *?They're trying to make out John a liar

(40)   For at least some speakers, raising is optional in the *make out* infinitival construction. But
         it is obligatory for all in the small clause version.

(41)   I believe that someone insulted Arthur   *Someone* "can have a purely complement
         internal scope (henceforth: 'narrow scope') ..." Postal (1974, p.222)
(42)   I believe that there is someone who insulted Arthur

(43)   I believe someone to have insulted Arthur   Only wide scope, according to Postal
(44)   There is someone who I believe insulted Arthur

(45)   But I find narrow scope reasonably accessible in (43). How do infinitives compare with
         small clauses in this regard?
(46)   I believe that someone is guilty

(47)   I believe someone to be guilty   Narrow scope at least marginally possible.
(48)   I believe someone guilty   Wide scope only.

(49)   The FBI proved that few students were spies   Narrow scope possible
(50)   The FBI proved few students to be spies   Wide scope only, according to Postal,
        BUT to me narrow scope seems fairly accessible.

(51)   The FBI proved few/no students to be guilty   Amb. I think (contra Postal)
(52)   The FBI proved few/no students guilty   Wide scope only

(53)   The FBI made out no students to be guilty   Amb. I think
(54)   The FBI made no students out to be guilty   Wide scope only

(55)   John proved two assumptions to be false   Amb.
(56)   John proved two assumptions false   Wide scope only   Stowell (1991, p.201)

(57)   Not many gorillas have learned to tap-dance
(58)   ?*Joe kissed not many models
(59)   Not many Albanians have been interviewed by Sevareid   All from Postal (1974)

(60)   *Not*-initial NPs occur only in (derived) subject position.   Postal (1974, p.95)

(61)   (*)Harry proved not many of those formulas to be theorems
cf.
(62)   Harry proved that not many of those formulas were theorems

(63)   Postal uses (61) to argue for obligatory raising. However, again, to my ear the example
        isn't so bad. The contrast emerges even more clearly in the *make out* infinitival
        construction:

(64)   ?They made out not many articles to have been published
(65)   *They made not many articles out to have been published

(66)   An observation about scope that Zubizarreta (1982) attributes to Chomsky, and that is
        discussed again by Chomsky (1995), provides further evidence for the optionality of
        object shift with ECM subjects:
(67)   a. (it seems that) everyone isn't there yet
        b. everyone seems [t not to be there yet]
(68)   Chomsky (p.327) argues as follows: "Negation can have wide scope over the Q in
        [(67)a]... but not in [(67)b]", concluding that "...reconstruction in the A-chain does not
        take place, so it appears."

(69)   When the word order makes it clear that a universal ECM subject has raised, that subject
        cannot be interpreted inside the scope of negation in the complement clause, as seen in
        (70).   Lasnik (2001)
(70)   The mathematician made every even number out not to be the sum of two primes

(71)   The alternative word order for (70), with <u>every even number</u> unraised, does allow narrow scope for the universal (for at least some speakers):

(72)   The mathematician made out every even number not to be the sum of two primes

(73)   I expected [everyone not to be there yet]   Chomsky (1995)
(74)   I believe everyone not to have arrived yet
(75)   I proved every Mersenne number not to be prime

II. Raising in Korean   [Based on Hong (2002)]

(76)   John-un   Mary-ka/lul   mitep-ta-ko   sangkakha-n-ta.
        John-Nom Mary-Nom/Acc reliable-Dec-Comp think-Pres-Dec
        'John thinks that Mary is reliable.'

(77)   John-un   Mary-*ka/lul   mitep-kye   sangkakha-n-ta.
        John-Nom   Mary-Nom/Acc   reliable-SCmarker   think-Pres-Dec
        'John thinks Mary reliable.'

(78)   Full clause allows nominative or accusative subject (the latter depending on properties of the matrix verb and the complement predicate, all of which I abstract from). Small clause allows only accusative.

(79)   a. kakka-uy haksaengtul-i Mary-ka/lul   toktokhata-ko   mitess-ta
           each-Gen students-Nom Mary-Nom/Acc intelligent-Dec-Comp believe-Pres-Dec
           'Each of the students believe Mary to be intelligent.'
        b. *haksaengtul-i Mary-ka kakkak toktokhata-ko   mitess-ta
            students-Nom   Mary-Nom each   intelligent-Dec-Comp believe-Pres-Dec
        c. haksaengtul-i Mary-lul kakkak toktokhata-ko   mitess-ta
           students-Nom Mary-Acc each   intelligent-Dec-Comp believe-Pres-Dec

(80)   Floated quantifier associated with matrix subject can appear to the right of an accusative complement subject but not a nominative one.

(81)   a. kakka-uy haksaengtul-i Mary-lul toktokha-kye   sangkakh-n-ta
           each-Gen students-Nom Mary-Acc   intelligent-SCmarker consider-Pres-Dec
           'Each of the students consider Mary intelligent.'
        b. haksaengtul-i Mary-lul kakkak   toktokha-kye   sangkakha-n-ta
           students-Nom Mary-Acc each   intelligent-SCmarker consider-Pres-Dec

(82)   a. John$_i$-un   ku$_i$-ka   taytanhata-ko saengkakhanta
           John-Nom he Nom great-Comp   think-Past-Dec
           'John$_i$ thinks/considers that he$_i$ is great.'
        b.*John$_i$-un   ku$_i$-lul taytanhata-ko saengkakhanta
           John-Nom he-Acc great-Comp   think-Past-Dec
           '*John$_i$ thinks/considers him$_i$ to be great.'

(83)   *John$_i$-un   ku$_i$-lul taytanha-key   saengkakhanta
       John-Nom   he-Acc great-SCmarker   think-Past-Dec
      '*John$_i$ thinks/considers him$_i$ great.'

(84)   Suppose the relevant domain for Condition B is the clause, as in classical generative work on anaphora. (See also Lasnik (2002).)

(85)   Then (82) indicates that in ECM contexts, the embedded subject can raise (and be accusative), or remain below (and be nominative).

(86)   (83) indicates that the subject of a small clause must raise.

III. Notes Towards an Analysis

(87)   If Case licensing is constrained by clause boundaries, then raisng would be motivated, as suggested by Postal and Pullum (1988, p.666):

(88)   "... the transclausal boundary Case-marking alternatives to Raising-to-Object analyses violate what would otherwise be a possible restrictive constraint on Case marking."

(89)   In fact, this was already suggested by Postal (1974, pp.52-53), as part of a reply to the Chomsky (1973) rejection of raising (interestingly several years prior to GB Case theory):

(90)   "Case marking triggered by a verb is always internal to the minimal clause containing that verb."

(91)   Korean thus behaves exactly as expected, with one proviso: As argued by Saito (1985) for Japanese, nominative Case is independent of Infl. In fact, there is no head that assigns nominative Case (hence no head that will fail to discharge an uninterpretable feature if nominative isn't assigned). Then, even the subject of a finite clause will be able to raise into an accusative domain.

(92)   In English, Infl **is** responsible for nominative Case, hence raising of the subject of a finite clause is not possible.

(93)   But there must be at least one more difference between Korean and English, since we have seen that for at least some speakers accusative is available to the subject of an infinitive <u>even when it hasn't raised</u>.

(94)   Speculation: English (but not Korean) has a marked rule that passes the accusative Case licensing feature of a verb to the head of its complement (Infl).

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