

Case and Expletives:
Notes Towards a Parametric Account

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- (1) *It seems [John to be here]
- (2) *Who does it seem [t to be here]
- (3) Who does it seem [t is here]
- (4) The man who it seems [t is here]
- (5) *The man who it seems [t to be here]
- (6) *The man it seems [t to be here]
- (7) *I tried [[John to be here]]
- (8) I tried [[PRO to be here]]
- (9) *It seems [there to be a man here]
- (10) *I tried [there to be a man here]
- (11) A CHAIN is Case-marked if it contains exactly one Case-marked position; a position in a Case-marked CHAIN is visible for θ -marking.
- (12) There' is a man' here
- (13) There is usually a man here
- (14) *I heard usually a car (cf. I usually heard a car)
- (15) There is likely [t to be someone here]
- (16) *There is likely [someone to be here]
- (17) *We consider [there a man in the room]
- (18) We consider [there to be a man in the room]
- (19) I consider [there *(to be) a solution]
- (20) We consider [there_i likely [t_i to be a man in the room]]
- (21) Case is assigned only under government by a Case assigner.
- (22) A car is not here
- (23) *I heard not a car
- (24) John [_{AUX} Tense [_V will]] [_{VP} leave]
- (25) John [_{AUX} Tense [_V do]] [_{VP} leave]
- (26) [[A car] [Tense be_i] [not t_i here]
- (27) Is a car here
- (28) *Heard I a car
- (29) There is usually a man here.
- (30) There [Tense be_i] [usually t_i a man here]
- (31) Will a car be here
- (32) *Will be a car here
- (33) A car will not be here
- (34) *A car will be not here
- (35) [[A car] [Tense will] [not be here]]
- (36) ?*There will be usually a man here
- (37) *I heard usually a car
- (38)a John is not noisy
b John [Tense be_i] [not t_i noisy]
- (39)a *Be not noisy
b [IMP e] [not be noisy] (-> Do not be noisy)
- (40) ?*I believe John to be not here
cf. I believe John is not here
- (41) ?*I believe John to be not singing
cf. I believe John is not singing
- (42) I believe John not to be here
- (43) I believe John not to be singing
- (44) *I believe there to be not a solution
- (45) *I believe there to be usually a solution
- (46) I believe there not to be a solution
- (47) ?I believe there usually to be a solution

- (48) I believe there is not a solution
[Tense be,₁] [not t,₁ a solution]
- (49) I believe there is usually a solution
[Tense be,₁] [usually t,₁ a solution]
- (50) ?There arrived a bus
- (51) ?There usually arrives a bus (at this time)
- (52) *There arrives usually a bus (at this time)
- (53) There is usually a man here
- (54) *There arrived not a bus [?There did not arrive a bus]
- (55) *A bus arrived not [A bus did not arrive]
- (56) *Arrived a bus [Did a bus arrive]
- (57) 'Unaccusatives' and be are Case assigners.
- (58) There arrived a man
- (59) A man₁ arrived t₁
- (60) If C=($\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n$) is a maximal CHAIN, then α_n occupies its unique θ -position and α_1 its unique Case-marked position.
- (61) *There is likely [there to be a man here]
- (62) A man is likely [t to be t here]
- (63) *There is likely [someone to be here]
- (64)a e was arrested John
 b John was arrested t
- (65)a e is likely [John to leave]
 b John is likely [t to leave]
- (66) *There is likely [there to be a man here]
- (67)a There arrived a man
 b *There arrived the man
- (68) A man₁ arrived t₁
- (69)a e arrived the man
 b The man₁ arrived t₁
- (70) *There arrived the man

- (71) È stato messo un libro sul tavolo
 has been put a book on the table
- (72) *È stato messo il libro sul tavolo
 has been put the book on the table
- (73) Ho sempre considerato [_{acc} Gianni intelligente]
 I always have considered Gianni intelligent
- (74) *Sono considerati [alcuni studenti intelligenti]
 are considered some students intelligent
- (75) There is a man in the room
- (76) *There is the man in the room
- (77) There is [_{acc} a man in the room]
- (78)a There are many fish in the lake
 b In which lake are there many fish
- (79)a I discussed many fish in the lake
 b *In which lake did you discuss many fish
- (80)a I want [_{acc} some fish in the lake]
 b In which lake do you want some fish.
- (81) I always have considered [_{acc} John intelligente]
- (82) *There are considered [_{acc} some students intelligent]
- (83) *There has been put a book on the table
- (84)a ja polučal pis'ma
 I received letters (acc. pl.)
 b ja ne polučal pis'ma
 I NEG received letters (acc. pl.)
 c ja ne polučal pisem
 I NEG received letters (gen. pl.)
- (85)a ne pojavilos' studenty
 NEG showed up (pl.) students (masc. nom. pl.)
 b ne pojavilos' studentov
 NEG showed up (neut. sg.) students (masc. gen. pl.)
- (86)a ja ni odnu minuto ne spal
 I not one minute NEG slept
 (fem. acc. sg.)
 b ja ni odnoj minuty ne spal
 I not one minute NEG slept
 (fem. acc. sg.)

- (87) a Jan przeszedł trzy mile
John walked three miles (acc.)
b Jan nie przeszedł trzech mile
John not walked three miles (gen.)
- (88) a Deszcz padał trzy godziny
The rain was falling three hours (acc.)
b Deszcz nie padał trzy godziny
The rain not was falling three hours (acc.)
c *Deszcz nie padał trzech godzin
The rain not was falling three hours (gen.)

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Appendix: On V-Raising

- (1) *John likes not Mary
(2) Jean (n')aime pas Marie
(3) [Aff [V [Aff]]]
(4) John is not noisy
(5) *Be not noisy
(6) Do not be noisy
(7) *I believe there to be not a solution
(8) I believe there is not a solution
(9) ?*I believe John to be not here
(10) I believe John is not here
(11) ?*I believe John to be not singing
(12) I believe John is not singing

(13)	English		French	
	finite	non-finite	finite	non-finite
main verb	*	*	ok	*
aux verb	ok	*	ok	ok

(14)	moderate	weak	weak
	/ \	/ \	/ \
	strong moderate	strong weak	moderate weak

- (15) *I believe there to do not be a solution

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