

On the Subject of Infinitives

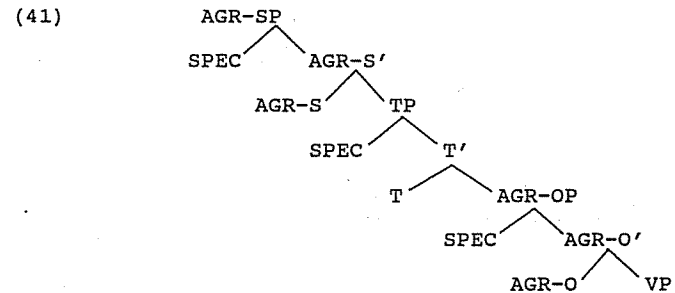
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1. Evidence for Raising

- (1) I believe John to have convinced Bill
  - (2) I believe that John convinced Bill
  - (3) I believe Bill to have been convinced by John
  - (4) I compelled the doctor to examine John
  - (5) I compelled John 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) a. Jack believed Joan to be famous  
b. Joan was believed to be famous by Jack
  - (11) a. \*Jack<sub>i</sub> believed him<sub>i</sub> to be immoral  
b. Jack<sub>i</sub> believed himself<sub>i</sub> to be immoral
  - (12) They believed each other to be honest
- (13) The FBI proved that few students were spies
  - (14) The FBI proved few students to be spies
  - (15) Joan believes he<sub>i</sub> is a genius even more fervently than Bob<sub>i</sub> does
  - (16) \*Joan believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius even more fervently than Bob<sub>i</sub> does
  - (17) \*Joan believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius even more fervently than Bob<sub>i</sub> believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius
  - (18) ?Mary believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius, and Bob<sub>i</sub> does too
  - (19) \*Bob<sub>i</sub> believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius
  - (20) ?Mary believes Bob<sub>i</sub> to be a genius, and he<sub>i</sub> does too
  - (21) \*He<sub>i</sub> believes Bob<sub>i</sub> to be a genius
  - (22) Joan believes he<sub>i</sub> is a genius even more fervently than Bob's<sub>i</sub> mother does
  - (23) ?\*Joan believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius even more fervently than Bob's<sub>i</sub> mother does
  - (24) ?\*Joan believes him<sub>i</sub> even more fervently than Bob's<sub>i</sub> mother does
- (25) ?The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials
  - (26) ?The DA accused the defendants during each other's trials
  - (27) ?\*The DA proved [that the defendants were guilty] during each other's trials
  - (28) No one saw anything
  - (29) \*Anyone saw nothing
  - (30) The DA accused none of the defendants during any of the trials
  - (31) ?The DA proved [none of the defendants to be guilty] during

- any of the trials
- (32) ?\*The DA proved [that none of the defendants were guilty] during any of the trials
  - (33) The students solved three problems each
  - (34) \*Three students each solved the problems (i.e., on the reading 'The problems were solved by three students each')
  - (35) \*The students proved that three formulas each were theorems (i.e., on the reading 'Each of the students proved that three formulas were theorems')
  - (36) ?The students proved three formulas each to be theorems
  - (37) Jones proved the prisoners guilty with one accusation each
  - (38) Jones proved the defendants to be guilty with one accusation each
  - (39) Jones prosecuted the defendants with one accusation each
  - (40) ??Jones proved that the defendants were guilty with one accusation each

2. When does Raising Take Place?



- (42) Which book that John<sub>i</sub> read did he<sub>i</sub> like
- (43) \*He<sub>i</sub> liked every book that John<sub>i</sub> read
- (44) [<sub>IP</sub>Kare-wa [<sub>CP</sub>[<sub>IP</sub>Mary-ga [<sub>NP</sub>John-nituite-no  
he -top -nom -about -gen  
dono hon]-o yonda] ka] siritagatteiru]  
which book-acc read Q want-to-know  
(He wants to know which book about John Mary  
read)
- (45) ?[<sub>IP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub>John-nituite-no dono hon]-o [<sub>IP</sub>kare-wa  
[<sub>CP</sub>[<sub>IP</sub>Mary-ga t<sub>i</sub> yonda] ka] siritagatteiru]]
- (46) [<sub>IP</sub>Kare-wa [<sub>CP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub>John-nituite-no dono hon]-o;  
[<sub>C</sub>[<sub>IP</sub>Mary-ga t<sub>i</sub> yonda] ka]] siritagatteiru]
- (47) John<sub>i</sub> wonders which picture of himself<sub>i</sub> Mary showed to Susan
- (48) \*John<sub>i</sub> wonders who showed which picture of himself<sub>i</sub> to Susan

- (49) ?The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials
- (50) ?The DA accused the defendants during each other's trials
- (51) There arrived a man
- (52) A man arrived t
- (53) There arrived two knights on each other's horses
- (54) two knights arrived t on each other's horses
- (55) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's trials
- (56) \*The DA proved [there to have been two men at the scene] during each other's trials
- (57) Some politician is likely to address John's constituency
- (58) It is likely that some politician will address John's constituency
- (59) It is unlikely that anyone will address the rally
- (60) \*Anyone is unlikely to address the rally
- (61) Someone is unlikely to address the rally

### 3. Postal's B-Verbs vs. W-Verbs

- (62) ?Joan wants him<sub>i</sub> to be successful even more fervently than Bob's<sub>i</sub> mother does
- (63) ??Joan believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius even more fervently than Bob's<sub>i</sub> mother does
- (64) ??\*I wanted [those men to be fired] because of each other's statements
- (65) ?I believed [those men to be unreliable] because of each other's statements
- (66) ??\*I wanted [none of the applicants to be hired] after reading any of the reports
- (67) ??I believed [none of the applicants to be qualified] after reading any of the reports
- (68) ??\*I wanted [them to be fired] for three reasons each
- (69) ??I believed [them to be incompetent] for three reasons each
- (70) ??\*I wanted very much [for those men to be fired] because of each other's statements
- (71) \*I wanted very much [for none of the applicants to be hired] after reading any of the reports
- (72) ??\*I wanted very much [for them to be fired] for three reasons each

### 4. Raising Questions

If we succeed in eliminating recourse to c-selection as well as phrase structure rules, thus reducing syntactic representations at D-structure to projections of semantic

properties of lexical items, it will follow that the complement of any lexical head in a syntactic representation must be s-selected by it, because there is no other way for the position to exist. For example, there cannot be such sentences as (68), where V is a verb that does not s-select an object and there is a pleonastic element...lacking any semantic role...

John [<sub>VP</sub> V there] (68)

...Similarly, we cannot have "raising to object" to yield (70ii) (with e the trace of Bill) from the D-structure (70i):

(70)  
 i John [<sub>VP</sub> believes e [<sub>S</sub> Bill to be intelligent]]  
 ii John [<sub>VP</sub> believes Bill [<sub>S</sub> e to be intelligent]]

The verb believe s-selects only a proposition. Therefore, in (70i) the position occupied by e cannot exist at D-structure, because it is not s-selected by believe. [Chomsky (1986, pp.90-91)]

- (73) I dislike it that he is so cruel
- (74) I didn't suspect it for a moment that you would fail
- (75) I regret it very much that we could not hire Mosconi
- (76) I resent it greatly that you didn't call me
- (77) I don't mind it very much that he did that
- (78) ??I dislike him to be so cruel
- (79) ??\*I didn't suspect you to have failed
- (80) \*I regret them not to have hired Mosconi
- (81) \*I resent you not to have called me
- (82) \*I don't mind him to have done that
- (83) I believe (??it) that John left
- (84) I will prove (?\*it) that Mary is the culprit
- (85) They have found (\*it) that there is a prime number greater than 17
- (86) I will show (\*it) that the Coordinate Structure Constraint is valid
- (87) Why is raising obligatory?
- (88) How does an object c-command an adjunct?

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