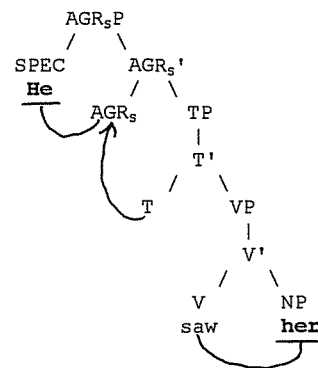


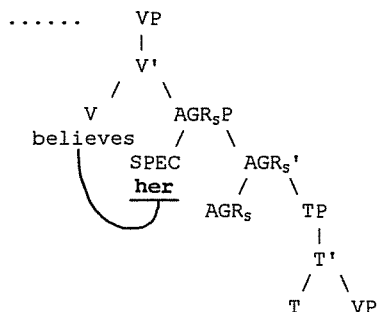


- (32) Chomsky (1980, p.28) in the context of a general theory of abstract case, now dubbed Case, begins to explicitly treat ECM as exceptional: "...in English, as in some other languages, there are certain constructions with lexical subjects for infinitives. A special marked rule is therefore required to accommodate them.  
 We have been taking Case Assignment to be clause-bound in the unmarked case, as seems natural...Suppose that certain verbs are assigned a marked feature, call it F, which permits Case to be assigned across clause boundary. In English, for example, the verb *believe* with infinitival complement will be marked [+F], so that Case will be assigned to the embedded subject NP in...  
 I believe [<sub>S</sub> [<sub>S</sub> NP to be a fool]]"
- (33) Objective Case assignment is regulated by:  
 -NP is objective when governed by V  
 - $\alpha$  is governed by  $\beta$  if  $\alpha$  is c-commanded by  $\beta$  and no major category or major category boundary appears between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ .
- (34) Developing these ideas in more detail, Chomsky (1981) presents a full-blown theory of Case assignment and government at the core of the 'Government-Binding' theory. The fundamental idea, as in (33), is that a maximal projection is a barrier to government.
- (35) Access to the lower subject is via ' $\bar{S}$ -Deletion', a marked rule eliminating the  $\bar{S}$  boundaries (of an infinitive) leaving just the S.
- (36)a I believe [<sub>S</sub> [<sub>S</sub> NP to be a fool]]  $\Rightarrow$   
 b I believe [<sub>S</sub> NP to be a fool]
- (37) What are S and  $\bar{S}$  and how do they fit into a principled theory of phrase structure? Notice that this notation merely masquerades as an instance of  $\bar{X}$ -theory, since S is not an  $X^0$  so cannot be the  $\bar{X}$ -theoretic head of  $\bar{S}$ , and S itself seems to have no head at all.
- (38) For this reason, among several others, Chomsky (1981) proposed that  $\bar{S}$  is really CP, the maximal projection of Complementizer, and S is really IP, the maximal projection of Infl, the tense-agreement inflectional morpheme.
- (39)a I believe [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> NP to be a fool]]  $\Rightarrow$   
 b I believe [<sub>IP</sub> NP to be a fool]
- (40) But now believe doesn't govern NP even after ' $\bar{S}$ -Deletion'.
- (41)a Chomsky (1986) redefines 'government' in such a way that government does obtain in the ECM configuration (with government of IP by V in such cases entailing government of the Specifier of IP).  
 b Further,  $\bar{S}$ -Deletion is crucially eliminated in favor of direct selection of IP by the governing verb (since the extension to government of Specifier of IP by V requires  $\theta$ -marking of IP by V).

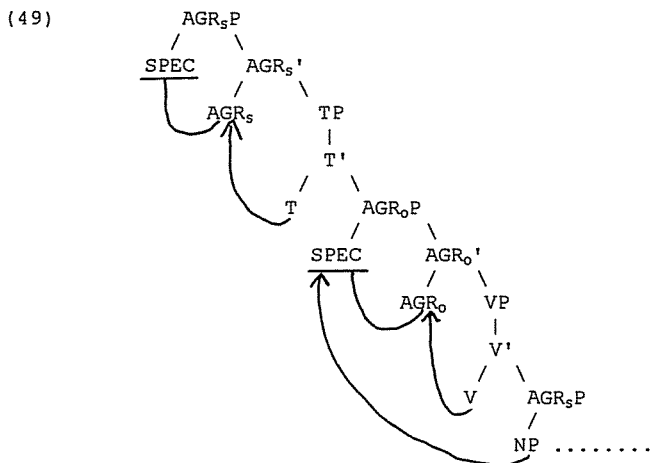
- (42) The phenomenon of ECM is once again relatively easy to characterize (though relying on rather technical details of the definition of 'government'). But how can ECM be blocked?
- (43)a One possibility is 'subcategorization' in the sense of Chomsky (1965). English (epistemic) verbs can take IP complements; Russian ones cannot.  
 b Pesetsky (1982), though, argues on appealing conceptual grounds that subcategorization (which is known to largely be redundant with semantic selection) should, in fact, be reduced to semantic selection. But then, as discussed by Bošković (1996), we cannot arbitrarily assign IP to some clausal complements and CP to others, when there is no semantic difference determined by the V-clause relations.
- (44) At this point, there are really two difficulties:  
 a The quite technical nature of the definition of government needed for the instances of Case assignment at issue;  
 b Once (a) is accepted, the problem of blocking 'exceptional' government in, e.g., Slavic.
- (45) Note that on standard assumptions, structural Case appears to involve **three** distinct structural configurations, which I will represent here in terms of one version of Pollock's (1989) 'split Infl' hypothesis.
- (46) He saw her



(47) He believes her to be intelligent

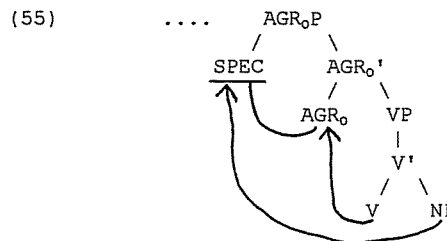


(48) Lasnik and Saito (1991) (based on arguments like those in Postal (1974) that the ECM subject does move into the higher clause) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) (see also Lasnik (1993)) suggest a structural unification of assignment of nominative Case and 'exceptional' accusative Case, in terms of the Chomsky (1991) extension of the split Infl hypothesis. The unification is 'Minimalist' eschewing arbitrary geometric notions like government and instead relying on core  $\bar{X}$ -theoretic relations.



- (50) Note the parallelism between (51) and (52):  
 (51) T raises to AGR<sub>s</sub> and, when T is finite, the combination licenses nominative Case in SPEC of AGR<sub>s</sub>.  
 (52) V raises to AGR<sub>o</sub>, and, when V has the accusative feature, the combination licenses accusative Case in SPEC of AGR<sub>o</sub>.  
 (53) Nominative and exceptional accusative are now both licensed in the same  $\bar{X}$ -theoretic configuration: SPEC-head.

(54) In fact, we should go further. Both in terms of morphology and in terms of syntactic behavior, English exceptional accusative behaves like simple accusative. Thus, the null hypothesis is that they are licensed in the same position, i.e., that even simple accusative is licensed in the SPEC of AGR<sub>o</sub>, as in (55):



(56) Structural Case licensing then is invariably a SPEC-head relation with an AGR head, though, under standard assumptions, for nominative the Case licensing must be overt, while for accusative, it is covert. (But see Koizumi (1993;1995) and Lasnik (1995a;1995b) for arguments that even the latter is overt.)

(57) We are thus rather close to a principled description of ECM, yet (as a consequence?) farther than ever from an account of **lack** of ECM.

(58) There are at least two major types of infinitive constructions in English, the ECM type we have been considering, and the 'control' type with null thematic subject 'PRO':

- (59)a Mary wants [PRO to leave]  
 b Mary persuaded John [PRO to leave]

(60) As Brecht (1974) observes, while Russian lacks the former class of infinitives, it has the latter. (And this seems generally true of Slavic).

(61) Ivan obeščal zakončit' rabotu v srok  
 'Ivan promised to finish the work on time' Brecht (1974)

(62) The class of matrix verbs permitting such complements are "specified in the lexicon as permitting only the future tense in [their] complement." Brecht (1974, p.202)

(63) 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*..." Stowell (1982, p.562)

(64) PRO is licensed by [-finite, +future] Infl; perhaps 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. This is a refinement by Martin (1996) of a proposal by Chomsky and Lasnik (1993).

- (65) 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)
- (66) One statement of Stowell's proposal: Tense must raise to Comp (by LF) so a clause with tense must be a CP. CP is a barrier to A-movement (e.g., to SPEC of AGR<sub>0</sub> in the higher clause).
- (67)a \*John tried [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Mary to buy a car]]  
 b \*Mary was tried [[<sub>t</sub> to buy a car]]
- (68) In English, infinitival complements of epistemic verbs lack tense, hence are (or at least can be) bare IPs. Thus, ECM is possible, and raising to subject position is allowed.
- (69) John is considered [<sub>t</sub> to be smart]
- (70) This result is reminiscent of that sought by McCawley (1970): the unification of raising to subject position with 'raising to object position'.
- (71) Prediction: since ECM is impossible in Slavic infinitivals, raising to subject is also:
- (72) \*Smatram Ivana biti pametan/pametnim  
 (I) consider<sub>1sg</sub> Ivan<sub>acc</sub> to be smart<sub>nom/inst</sub>
- (73) \*Ivan je smatran biti pametan/pametnim  
 'Ivan is considered to be smart' [Serbo-Croatian]
- (74) And since ECM is possible 'into' small clauses, raising out of them is expected to be available:
- (75) Smatram [Ivana pametnim]  
 consider<sub>1sg</sub> Ivan<sub>acc</sub> smart<sub>inst</sub>  
 'I consider Ivan smart'
- (76) Ivan je smatran [<sub>t</sub> pametnim]  
 'Ivan is considered smart' [Serbo-Croatian]
- (77) Ivan smatra sebe pametnim  
 Ivan considers himself smart
- (78) \*Ivan smatra da je sebe pametan  
 Ivan considers that is himself smart
- (79) ??Ivan smatra da je on pametan  
 Ivan<sub>i</sub> considers that is he<sub>i</sub> smart
- (80) \*Ivan smatra njega pametnim  
 Ivan<sub>i</sub> considers him<sub>i</sub> smart
- (81) This difference between English and Slavic follows if all 'full' clauses in Slavic must be CPs, while certain infinitivals in English are IPs. And this, in turn, will follow if Infl in Slavic is invariably tensed, even when it is not finite. (There is no reason to think that small clauses have Infl at all; and, by Stowell's semantic criteria, they have no tense.)
- (82) \*John runs down the street right now
- (83) English lacks present tense. Infl in apparent present

tense sentences is finite (licensing nominative Case on the subject) but non-tensed. [Enç (1991)]

- (84) Ivan bežit po ulice (v dannyj moment) [Russian]  
 Ivan runs down street in given moment  
 'Ivan is running down the street (at this moment)'
- (85) Ivan beži niz ulicu [Serbo-Croatian]  
 Ivan runs(escapes) down street
- (86) Conjecture (following Pesetsky (1992); see also Martin (1996)): what is 'exceptional' about English is that Infl need not be tensed. Slavic Infl represents the unmarked situation in always carrying tense.

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