Raising

(26)  a. The glass was broken \( \text{passive...} \)  
     b. The glass broke \( \text{and unaccusative} \)

(25)  a. I believe [him to be a liar] \( \text{ECM...} \)  
     b. He is believed [to be a liar] \( \text{plus passive} \)

(27)  a. John seems [to be a liar] \( \text{Raising, (unacc version of ECM-plus-passive)} \) 
     b. Mary is likely [to win]

Our friend the resultative

(28)  a. I painted the table [red] 
     b. The table was painted [red] 
     c. The table seems to have been painted [red]

Idioms

(29)  a. John kicked the bucket 
     b. Bill bought the farm 
     c. Susan yawned in Technicolor 
     d. We're visiting the Big Apple 
     e. The cat is out of the bag

The underlined idioms have literal meanings, but also idiomatic meanings (kicked the bucket, bought the farm="died", yawned in Technicolor="vomited", the Big Apple="New York City", the cat is out of the bag="the secret is out").

Interesting condition on idioms; there are VP idioms (like (29a-c)) and NP idioms (like (29d)), and TP idioms (like (29e)), but no (well, sort of no) idioms that are nonconstituent strings:

(30)  a. The armadillo bit John \( \text{(not an idiom)} \) 
     b. A llama spat at Mary \( \text{(also not an idiom)} \) 
     c. Puppies frolicked with Susan \( \text{(still not an idiom...)} \)

And yet, problem!

(31)  a. The cat is out of the bag 
     b. The cat seems to be out of the bag 
     c. The cat seems to be likely to be out of the bag

T is a raising verb: the Internal Subject Hypothesis

(32)  a. \[ \text{Diagram} \]
Idioms
(33) The shit will/might/can/could/has hit the fan

Expletives
(34) a. There arrived six firemen
    b. það hefur einhver borðað epli [Transitive Expletive Construction]
        there has someone eaten an.apple
        'Someone has eaten an apple'

Across-the-board extraction
(35) John [sinned] and [was forgiven]

vP
Where exactly does the (transitive, unergative) subject start out?

What assigns a theta-role to John?

(11) English return (intr.) return (tr.)
    Japanese modoru modosu
    Tagalog bumalik magbalik
    Wampanoag qushkee qushkunum

(12)

(10) a. Tomatoes grow.
    b. John grows tomatoes.
    c. the growth of tomatoes
    d.*John's growth of tomatoes

v:
• can assign a theta-role to its specifier
• absent in (some kinds of) nominals (*John's growth of tomatoes)
  (--> responsible for making the verb a verb?)

notice that the Projection Principle will have to be loosened to make theta-assignment to specifiers possible. we won't bother to do this seriously.

okay, so now we have movement. Let's consider some conditions on movement.

(13) __ was believed [she] to consider __ to be obvious that the world is flat.

    _______ ___
    |   | ___
    x   

either direction of movement would satisfy Case filter, and you'd satisfy EPP by putting an expletive in whichever specifier of TP you didn't occupy via movement. Giving you the options:

(14)  a. She was believed to consider it to be obvious that the world is flat.

   b. * It was believed to consider her to be obvious that the world is flat.

→ no lowering.

And here's another condition on A-movement:

(15)  *she seems to __ [that Sally left].

"Activity Condition": can't raise to a Case position if you already have Case.