

review control; binding argument

[defending myself] will be difficult  
[To defend myself] will be difficult  
[While drawing myself], I broke a pencil

null subjects clearly possible in non-finite contexts. Now, how about:

I tried to draw myself

(NB there is another approach! weaken theta-criterion to allow raising from one theta-position to another. Next problem set will be partly about this)

type of infinitive #3: restructuring.

Restructuring is going to be useful in allowing us to pinpoint exactly what's assigning Case to the object. Right now we assume that it's the V that takes the object as its complement (and, as we've noticed, ECM is a problem for that, since the higher verb is assigning Case to the subject of the lower clause, not to its complement, in a sentence like:

I believe [Mary to be smart]

What we're going to see is that this is wrong; it's actually *v* that assigns Case to the object, not V.

The argument goes like this. There are these infinitives, so-called 'restructuring infinitives', which act like they're not full clauses; they're transparent for things like clitic placement and auxiliary selection in Italian, for example:

*Clitic climbing* (Italian)

(1) a. Piero pensa [che Maria **ti** parla di parapsicologia]  
Piero thinks that Maria to.you talks about parapsychology

b. \* Piero **ti** pensa [che Maria parla di parapsicologia]

- clitics attach to the verb of their clause

(2) a. Piero verrà [a parlarti di parapsicologia]  
Piero will.come to speak-to.you about parapsychology

b. Piero **ti** verrà [a parlare di parapsicologia]

- *verrà* is a 'restructuring verb'; its infinitival complement doesn't have to be treated as a clause by the clitic.

- c. Piero deciderà [ di parlatti di parapsicologia]  
Piero will.decide to speak-to.you about parapsychology
- d. \* Piero ti deciderà [di parlare di parapsicologia]
- and here's a non-restructuring verb; this isn't just a fact about Italian infinitives.

*Auxiliary selection (Italian)*

(3) a. Mario ha voluto un costoso regalo di Natale.  
Mario has wanted an expensive present of Christmas

b. \* Mario è voluto un costoso regalo di Natale.  
is

(4) a. Mario è tornato a casa.  
Mario is returned to home

b. \* Mario ha tornato a casa.  
has

(5) a. Mario ha voluto tornare a casa.  
Mario has wanted return to home

b. Mario è voluto tornare a casa.

- restructuring; the auxiliary can have its form determined by either *voluto* or *tornare*.

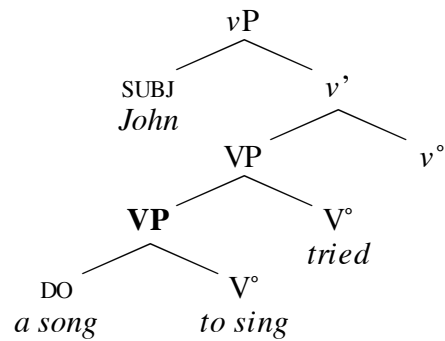
(6) a. Mario ha promesso di tornare a casa.  
Mario has promised to return to home

b.\* Mario è promesso di tornare a casa.

- non-restructuring; *promesso* determines the form of the auxiliary.

(11) **Wurmbrand's proposal:**

Restructuring Infinitives lack (almost?) all functional structure:



The crucial evidence will come from German. German restructuring infinitives allow ‘Long Passives’:

- (9) weil **die Traktoren** zu reparieren versucht wurden  
 because the tractors to repair tried were  
 ‘...because somebody tried to repair the tractors’

The English translation I’ve given here involves active verbs, but a more literal translation would be something like ‘because the tractors were tried to repair’. That is, in German, the higher verb, *versuchen* ‘try’, is passive, while the lower verb, *reparieren* ‘repair’, is active.

Interestingly, this leads to the object of *repair* turning into a subject; it’s in nominative Case, controls agreement on the verb, etc. So apparently the passivization of *try* deprives *the tractors* of Case, forcing that DP to move into Spec TP.

From our traditional standpoint, this is very weird. The verb that assigns Case to *the tractors*, we thought, is *repair*. Why does passivizing *try* have any effect on *the tractors* at all?

proposal: this is evidence that we were wrong to think that it was the verb that assigned Case to the object. Rather, it’s *v*, something higher than the verb. And what’s special about restructuring infinitives is that they lack a *v*, along with everything else; it’s the *v* c-commanding the higher verb that’s doing the Case-assigning. That’s why it’s this verb that you have to passivize if you want the object to end up in subject position.

So, here’s evidence that restructuring infinitives lack a *vP*. First, note that in non-restructuring infinitives, we can use binding to give us direct evidence for a PRO subject in the embedded clause:

- (23) a. Es wurde beschlossen [PRO sich **den** Fisch mit Streifen vorzustellen]  
 it was decided PRO SELF the-ACC fish with stripes to-imagine  
 ‘It was decided [PRO to imagine what the fish would look like with stripes]’  
 b. Es war notwendig [PRO sich **einen** Wagen zu kaufen]

it was necessary PRO SELF a-ACC car to buy  
 ‘It was necessary [PRO to buy oneself a car]’

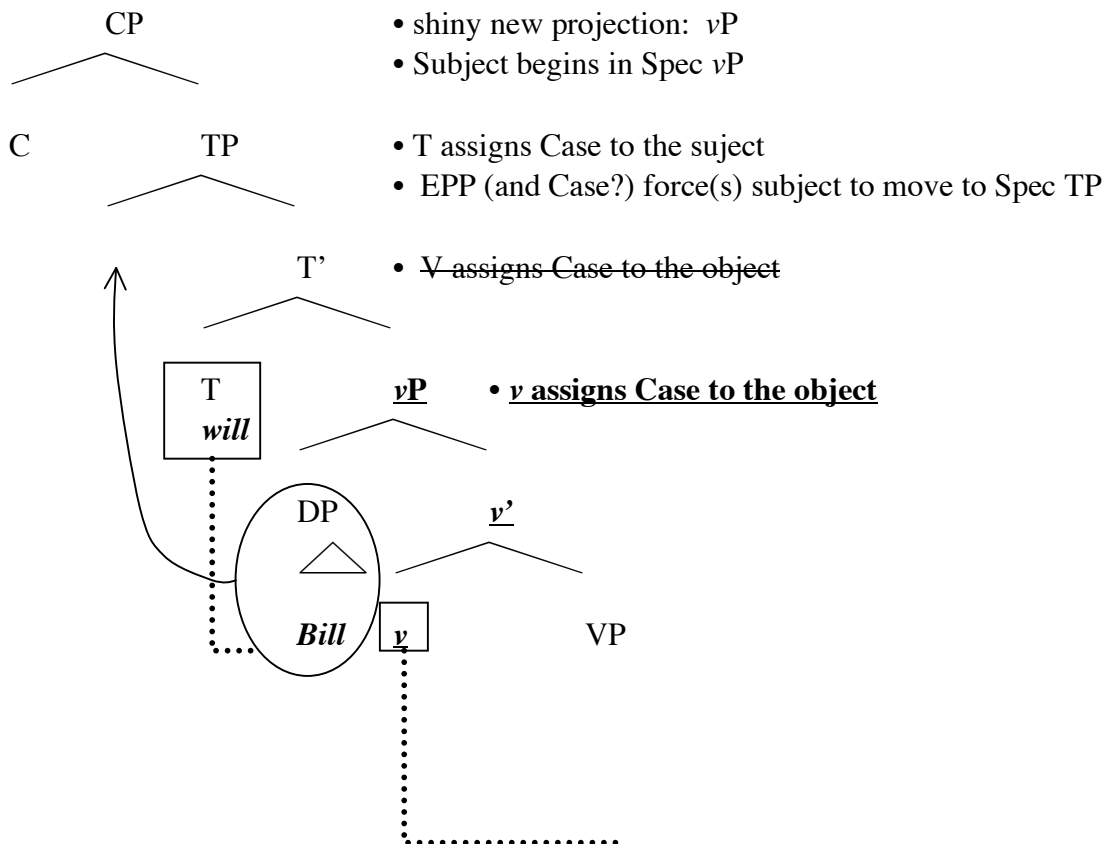
There must be a PRO as the subject of the embedded clause, since *sich* needs to be bound by something. By the same test, we can convince ourselves that restructuring infinitives lack a PRO in this position:

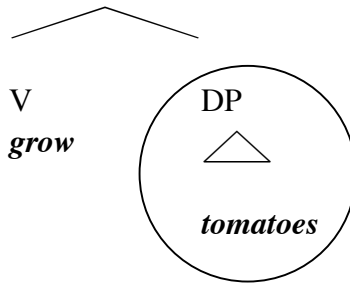
- (24) a. \*weil sich der Fisch vorzustellen versucht wurde  
 since SELF the-NOM fish to-imagine tried was
- b. weil (\*sich) der Turm zu bauen versucht wurde  
 since SELF the-NOM tower to build tried was

In other words, there’s no subject of *vorstellen* ‘imagine’ or *bauen* ‘build’ in (24), which is why the anaphor isn’t bound and the sentences are bad. Providing these verbs with a subject is normally the job of vP—that’s where the subject of a transitive verb is generated now, in Spec vP.

So what we’re seeing is that lacking subjects (as the binding facts in (24) show) goes along with lacking the ability to license accusative Case (as the behavior of long passives shows; what gets passivized is not the lower, subjectless verb, the one that takes the object as its complement, but the higher verb). We’ve decided that subject-licensing is done by *v*; the restructuring infinitives seem to be telling us that Case-licensing is done by *v* as well.

**The best of all possible worlds**





So, Case-assigning heads (tensed T, *v* with a specifier) assign Case to DPs that they c-command, via an operation called **Agree**. Agree then sometimes triggers movement.

But, arguably, sometimes not:

There is a unicorn in the garden.  
 There are unicorns in the garden.

Here the verb seems to be Agreeing with the DP *a unicorn/unicorns*, showing number agreement with that DP. But that DP hasn't moved to Spec TP. Apparently when T Agrees with a DP, that DP can move to Spec TP, but you can also use an expletive to satisfy EPP instead, like *there*.

Before, I was denying that you could do this, on the basis of examples like:

[That Syntax is lucrative] is obvious  
 it is obvious [that Syntax is lucrative]  
 [my beard] is obvious  
 \*it is obvious [my beard]

The last one is bad, I was suggesting, because *my beard* fails to raise to Spec TP, which is where it has to get Case. But we need some other story, now that we've faced up to the existence of the expletive *there*; apparently a DP can get Case just by being in an Agree relation with T.

What we'll do, then, is capitalize on another difference between *it* and *there*; *it* is a pronoun, and *there* is something like an adverb. So *it*, being a DP, needs a Case of its own, while *there* doesn't. That means that *it* can coexist peacefully with CPs, which don't themselves need Case, but can't cooccur with DPs, since *it* and *my beard* both need Case and there's only one to go around in that last example. *There*, on the other hand, doesn't need Case, so you can use it with DPs.