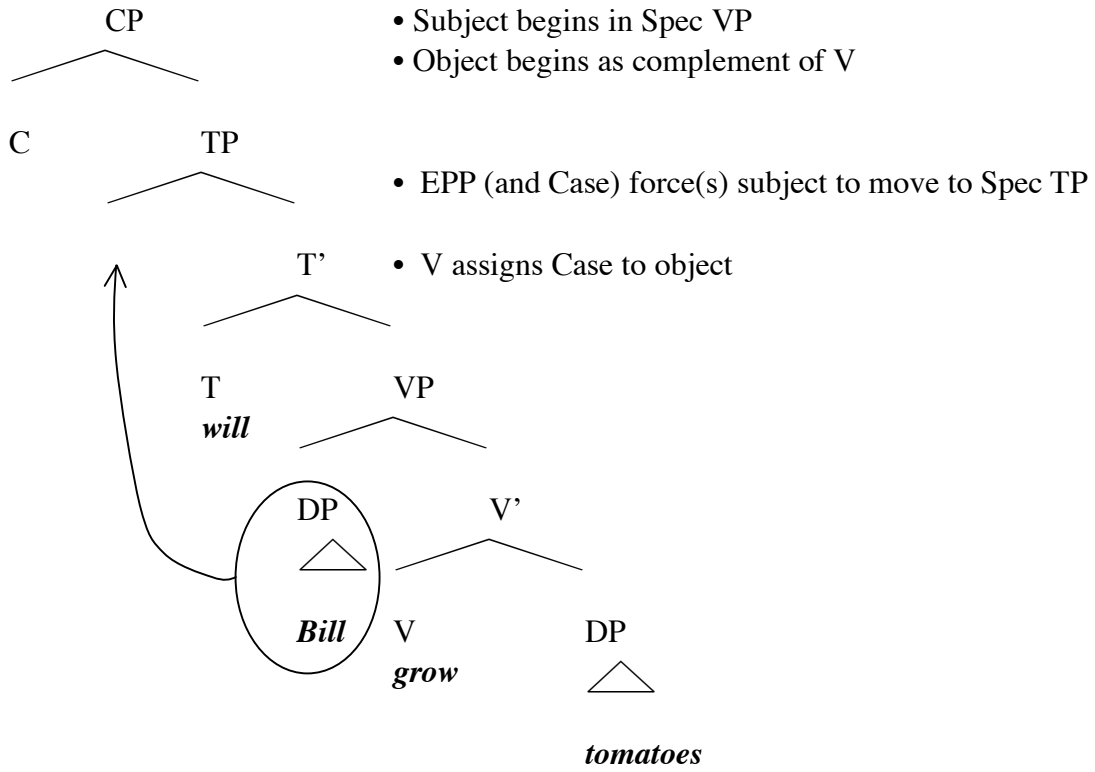
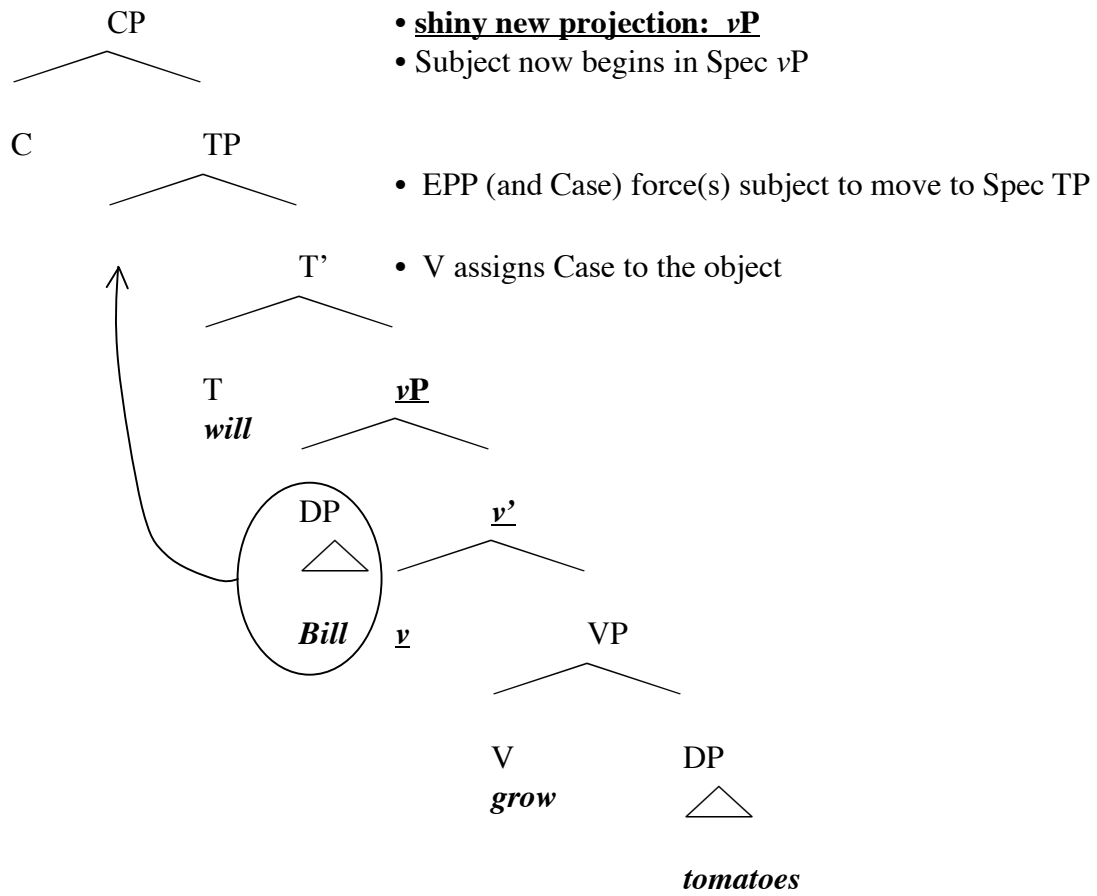


# vP

## A possible world



A better possible world



This is where we are now. But things are about to get even better...

...in particular, it's going to turn out that  $v$ , not V, assigns Case to the object.

## Restructuring infinitives

Some kinds of infinitives act non-clausal by various tests:

### *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]
- (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]
- c. Piero deciderà [di parlarti di parapsicologia]  
Piero will.decide to speak-to.you about parapsychology
- d. \* Piero **ti** deciderà [di parlare di parapsicologia]

### *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.
- (6) a. Mario **ha** promesso di tornare a casa.  
Mario has promised to return to home
- b.\* Mario **è** promesso di tornare a casa.

*Scrambling* (German)

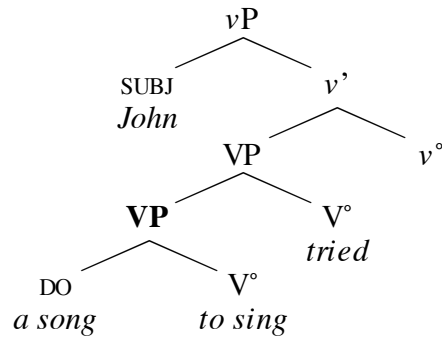
- (7) weil der Hans **den Zaun** versucht hat [zu streichen]  
because the Hans the fence tried has to paint  
'...because Hans has tried to paint the fence'
- (8) \* weil der Hans **den Zaun** plante [zu streichen]  
because the Hans the fence planned to paint  
'...because Hans planned to paint the fence'

*"Long Passive"* (German)

- (9) weil **die Traktoren** zu reparieren versucht wurden  
because the tractors to repair tried were  
'...because somebody tried to repair the tractors'
- (10) \* weil **die Traktoren** zu reparieren geplant wurden  
because the tractors to repair planned were

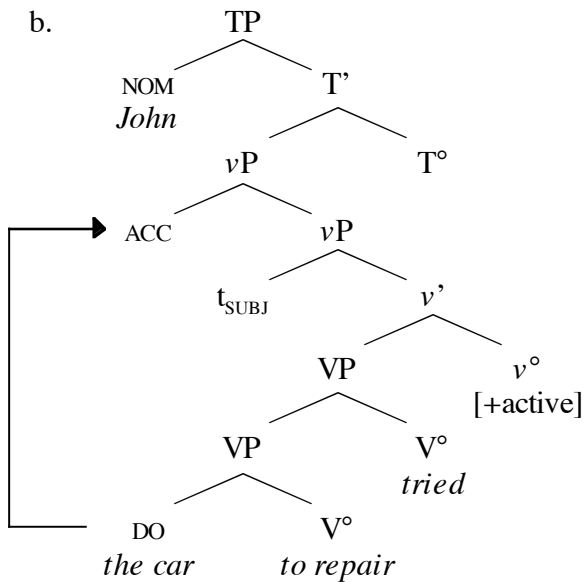
(11) **Wurmbrand's proposal:**

Restructuring Infinitives lack (almost?) all functional structure:



(12) **ACC assignment in a RI**

- a. weil Hans den Wagen zu reparieren versuchte  
 since John [the car]-ACC to repair tried  
 'since John tried to repair the car'



(13) **"Long Passive"**

- a. weil [der Lastwagen und der Traktor] zu reparieren versucht wurden/\*wurde  
 since [the truck and the tractor]-NOM to repair tried were/\*was  
 'since somebody tried to repair the truck and the tractor'
- b. \*weil [der Lastwagen und der Traktor] zu reparieren geplant wurden/wurde  
 since [the truck and the tractor]-NOM to repair planned were/was



**"Long Unaccusative Advancement"**

(16) *gelingen* 'manage'

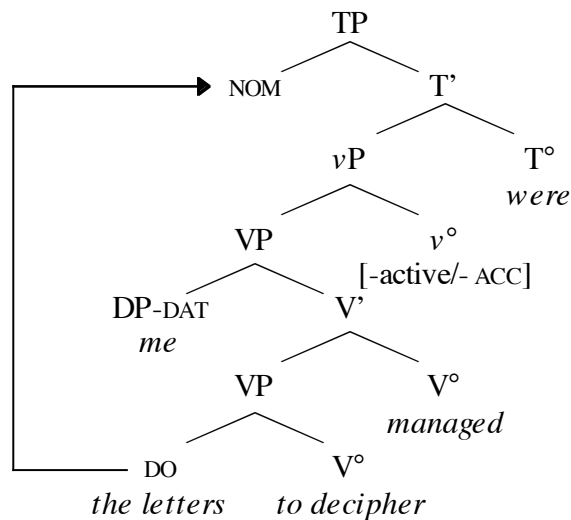
weil	?(es)	ihm	gelingen	ist/*hat	[zu flüchten]
since	?(it)	him-DAT	managed	is/*has	[to escape]
'since he managed to escape'					

(17) **Case conversion with *gelingen* 'manage'**

a. ?weil mir [der Brief]<sub>i</sub> auf Anhieb t<sub>i</sub> zu entziffern gelungen ist  
 since me-DAT [*the letter*]-NOM straightaway t to decipher managed is  
 'since I managed straightaway to decipher the letter'

b. ?weil mir [die Briefe]<sub>i</sub> auf Anhieb t<sub>i</sub> zu entziffern gelungen sind  
 since me-DAT [*the letters*]-NOM straightaway t to decipher managed are  
 'since I managed to decipher the letters'

(18) **Unaccusative RI**



→ Restructuring Infinitives lack their own vP:

it's the status of the higher verb that determines whether Case is assigned to the object. If the higher verb doesn't have an Agent (passive, unaccusative), the object gets Nominative.

(19) **Adverbial modification of embedded tense**

- a. Hans beschloß [Maria in zwei Monaten in Wien zu besuchen]  
'John decided to visit Mary in two months in Vienna'
- b. #Hans versuchte [Maria in zwei Monaten in Wien zu besuchen]  
#'John tried to visit Mary in two months in Vienna'

(20) **Marked tense reading correlates with long passive**

- a. weil der Wagen gestern über die Grenze zu schmuggeln versucht wurde  
since *the car-NOM* yesterday across the border to smuggle tried was  
'since somebody tried yesterday to smuggle the car across the border'
- b. #weil den Wagen morgen über die Grenze zu schmuggeln versucht wurde  
since *the car-ACC* tomorrow across the border to smuggle tried was  
#'since somebody tried to smuggle the car across the border tomorrow'
- c. \*weil der Wagen morgen über die Grenze zu schmuggeln versucht wurde  
since *the car-NOM* tomorrow across the border to smuggle tried was  
#'since somebody tried to smuggle the car across the border tomorrow'

→ *Restructuring Infinitives lack their own TP:*

if you do something to force different Tense interpretations upstairs and downstairs, the infinitive becomes non-restructuring. (19b) is odd, but (20c) is actually ungrammatical.

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## Negation

### (21) Passive & Negation

- a. weil vergessen wurde [den Wagen **nicht** zu waschen] embedded ACC,  
since forgotten was [the car-ACC not to wash] matrix passive: **NRI**  
'since somebody forgot not to wash the car' embedded NEG  
\*'since somebody didn't forget to wash the car' \*matrix NEG
- b. weil [den Wagen nicht zu waschen] vergessen wurde embedded ACC,  
since [the car-ACC not to wash] forgotten was matrix passive: **NRI**  
'since somebody forgot not to wash the car' embedded NEG  
\*'since somebody didn't forget to wash the car' \*matrix NEG
- c. weil der Wagen **nicht** zu waschen vergessen wurde long passive:  
since [the car]-NOM not to wash forgotten was **RI**  
'since somebody forgot not to wash the car' \*embedded NEG  
'since somebody didn't forget to wash the car' matrix NEG
- d. weil ihnen der Turm **nicht** zu zerstören gelungen ist long passive:  
since them-DAT [the tower]-NOM not to destroy managed is **RI**  
'since they managed to not destroy the tower' \*embedded NEG  
'since they didn't manage to destroy the tower' matrix NEG

→ Restructuring Infinitives lack their own NegP:

if the infinitive is Restructuring (21c-d), then negation can't be interpreted in the embedded clause.

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## Binding

### (22) **Passive agents may not bind *sich* ‘SELF’:**

- a. Frederik hat sich ein Haus gekauft  
Frederic has SELF a house bought  
‘Frederic bought himself a house’
- b. Ein Haus wurde (\*sich) gekauft  
a house was SELF bought  
‘A house was bought (\*oneself)’

### (23) **Ergo, non-restructuring infinitives must have PRO subjects to act as binders:**

- 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]’

[lack of ‘long passive’ → non-restructuring]

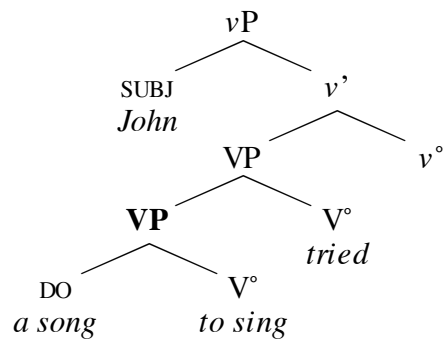
### (24) **...and restructuring infinitives must therefore lack PRO!**

- 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

[‘long passive’ → restructuring]

→ *Restructuring Infinitives lack subjects!*

**conclusion:** restructuring infinitives are bare VPs; don't have TP, NegP, or vP.



**conclusion, part 2:** Case is not assigned by verbs!

### **Burzio's Generalization**

If a verb's subject position is non-thematic, the verb will not assign accusative Case.

(passives, unaccusatives vs. transitives, unergatives)

→ maybe the same head that licenses the subject assigns Case to the object.

