

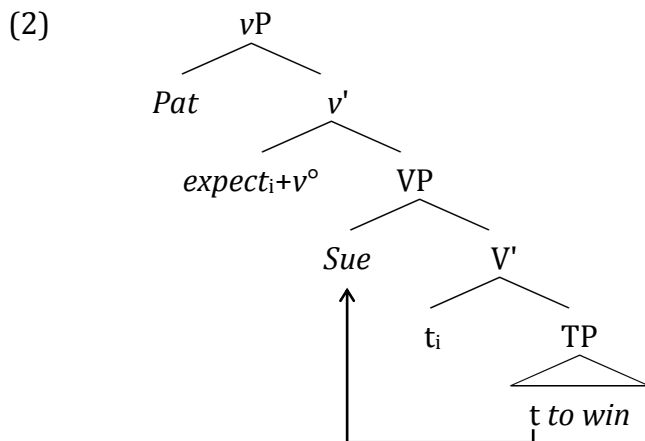
ECM as raising-to-Object

Neven, SRC (02/10/09)

a. Two representations for ECM structures (where ECM = $V_{\text{matrix}} + \text{Obj}_{[\text{ACC}]} \underline{to} VP$)

- (1) a. 'genuine' ECM under Agree(V,Obj): [$VP V [TP \text{Obj } to VP]$]
 b. raising-to-Object (RTO) under Spec-Head: [$VP V_{i+v} [VP \text{Obj}_m t_i [TP (t_m) to VP]]$]¹

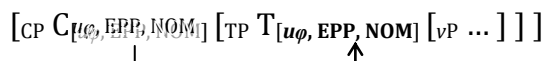
b. Lately, Chomsky (2009:334) seems to have finally adopted Postal's (1974) RTO-analysis: "*I tried for years to resist the evidence for it because it was so senseless, but by now it turns out that there's a principled argument that it has to be that way. [...] [I]t turns out that Sue needs to be up there.*"



c. The phase-theoretical motivation he addresses ("*I can't talk about it now, but it goes into phase theory which minimizes computation and inherence of features [...].*", Chomsky 2009:224) concerns a modification of the system developed in Chomsky's two latest syntax articles (*Approaching UG from below* (2007) & *On phases* (2008)): *feature inheritance* (FI).

d. The current clause structure is $C > T > v > V$, where C and v are *phase heads* (H). H is the locus of all uninterpretable features (basically, $[u\phi]$, [CASE], [EPP]²). Upon merger of H, the (lexical) head below it *inherits* the u Fs from H (i.e. T from C, V from v).

(3) C-T feature inheritance

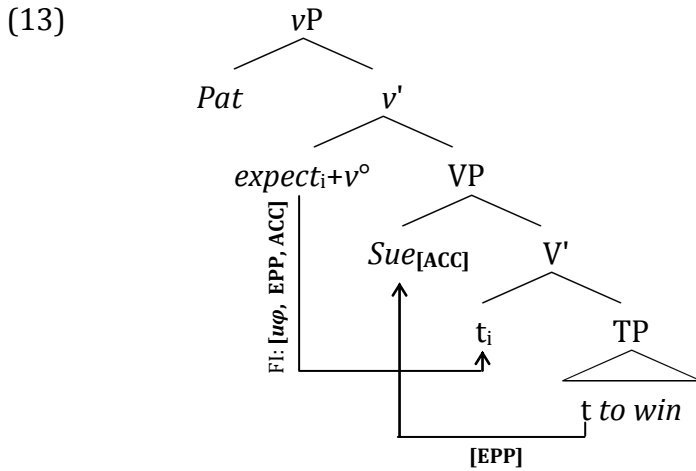


e. Basically, FI is intended to explain the co-occurrence/selectional restriction involved in nonfinite structures: Finite T is selected by C, while nonfinite T may occur unselected by C (ECM, raising; but allegedly not control). Unselected T is deemed *defective* ($T_{\text{def}} = \phi_{\text{def}} = \phi[u\text{NUM}]$; no sub-F $[u\text{PERS}]$, no [CASE], no [EPP]³). This restriction is viewed as resolved by FI (cf. Richards' 2007 squib for more arguments): EPP-Subjects, agreement, [NOM] ('finiteness') are really licensed by C, and only derivatively on T. FI generalised to another H, v :

¹ I.e. raising-to-SpecAgr₀ in e.g. Lasnik & Saito (1991).

² Aka *generalized EPP* (Chomsky 2000), *occurrence feature* (Chomsky 2001), *edge feature* (Chomsky 2008) – ultimately, things driving successive cyclic movement more generally, not only Subject raising.

g. Combining arguments *pro* RTO with FI, then, yields the following maximally explicit derivation:



h: My 4 questions: (i) What's with the $[EPP]$ of T_{def} ? Shouldn't it *not* have one since it's unselected by C? Does this mean that RTO is actually Spec vP -to-SpecVP, without an intermediate pause in SpecTP? (ii) What's with θ -semantics? Provided that movement into θ -positions is ok, is the Obj (*Sue*) assigned a θ -interpretation as Theme/Patient (expectee)? (iii) What's with the intuition that what is expected is Sue's winning – the whole situation –, and not Sue, the individual (cf. the finite paraphrase: *Pat expects [that Sue will win]*)? (iv) What's with UTAH-considerations? Are, in a configuration like (13), both Sue and the TP *direct* Objects? Are both SpecVP *and* ComplVP *direct* Object positions?

i. For an accessible historical and current overview I recommend Davies & Dubinsky's (2004) textbook-style work, where ECM is being discussed on and off (especially in §12).