Argument, Range, or Feature

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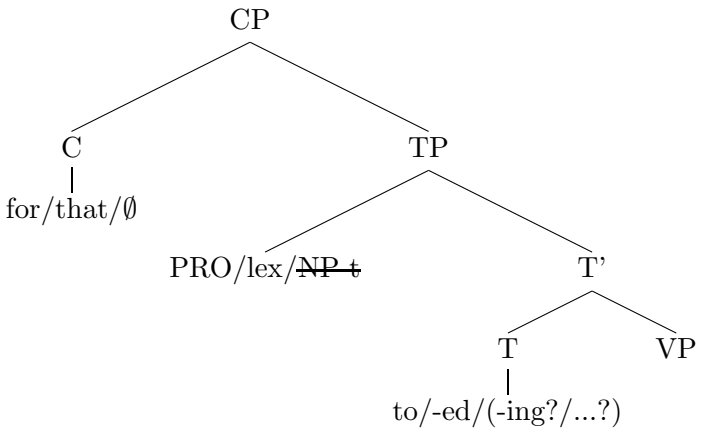
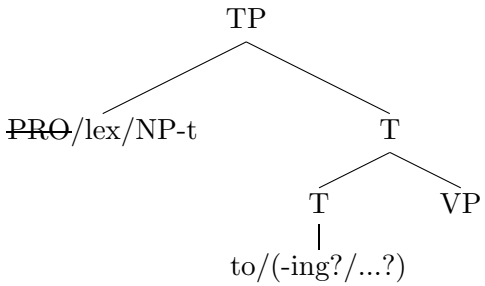
April 30, 2007

1 CP/IP

(1)



(2)



(3) Pesetsky (1991):

	-PRO, +NP-trace	+PRO, -NP-trace
+ECM	believe	want
-ECM	wager	demand

2 XIW

(4) a. that Jack ran

b. $< w, t >$

c. for Jack to run

d. $< i, < w, t >>$[1]

e. to run.

f. $< x, < i, < w, t >>>$

(6) a. $< w, t >$

(a) factives & interrogatives:
They are *not* reducible to $< w, t >$.

(b) sequence-of-tense:
Temporal relativization can and should be reducible to $< w, t >$.

b. $< i, < w, t >>$

(a) for:
Non-factive 'for' appears future oriented: $\leq$?

(b) stativity, passivization: $=, \supseteq$?

c. $< x, < i, < w, t >>>$

(a) raising & control

(b) overt pronouns

i. discourse

ii. choice functions

[1] Abusch (1999), p. 24, actually argues for the following correlation:

(5) (a) VP: $< i, < w, t >>$: tenseless clause

(b) IP: $< w, t >$: tensed clause

(c) CP: $< i, < w, t >>$: complement clause

Given that she designates "Barak is predicted to be in the lead now" as embedding a CP, I do not think we should assume these terms have the implications that they did in the GB framework. Since my types describe the overt appearance of clauses, before their more subtle differences, they also fail to have any direct correlation with that framework.

3 I

(7) *Jill plans to run yesterday.

(8) a. Jack really wants to be on holiday right now.
b. Jill is likely to be running now.
c. Jack demands to be let in now!

(see Stowell (1982), Abusch (1999) for more discussion)

(9) a. $[\![$ want $]\!]=\lambda i\lambda P\lambda x\lambda w$. want(e,w) $\wedge$ ag(e,x) $\wedge$ i(e) $\wedge$ pat(e,w') $\wedge$ P($\lambda e'$. t(e)$\leq$t(e'))(w')
b. $[\![$ Jill to win $]\!]=\lambda i\lambda w$. win(e',w) $\wedge$ ag(e',Jill) $\wedge$ i(e')

(10) a. $[\![$ believe $]\!]=\lambda i\lambda P\lambda x\lambda w$. believe(e,w) $\wedge$ ag(e,x) $\wedge$ i(e) $\wedge$ pat(e,w') $\wedge$ P($\lambda e'$. t(e)=t(e'))(w')
b. $[\![$ Jill to be nice $]\!]=\lambda i\lambda w$. nice(e',w) $\wedge$ ag(e',Jill) $\wedge$ i(e')

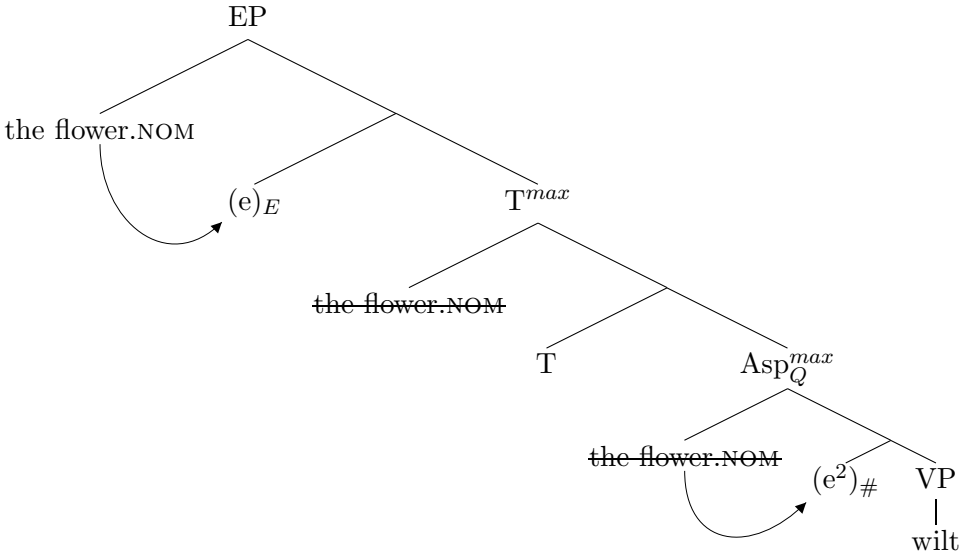
4 Aktionsart

(11) a. $\Box$For some X, r_{ex}(e)$\subseteq$X
b. passive: r_{ex}(e)=r_{in}(e)
c. stative: $r_{in}(e) \supseteq arg_{in}(e)$
d. activity: $r_{in}(e) \subseteq$ open-$arg_{in}(e)$
e. telic: $r_{in}(e) \subseteq$ closed-$arg_{in}(e)$
f. clause selectors that can passivize: $r_{in}(e) = r_{ex}$(e')
g. clause selectors that can't: $r_{in}(e) \supset r_{ex}$(e')

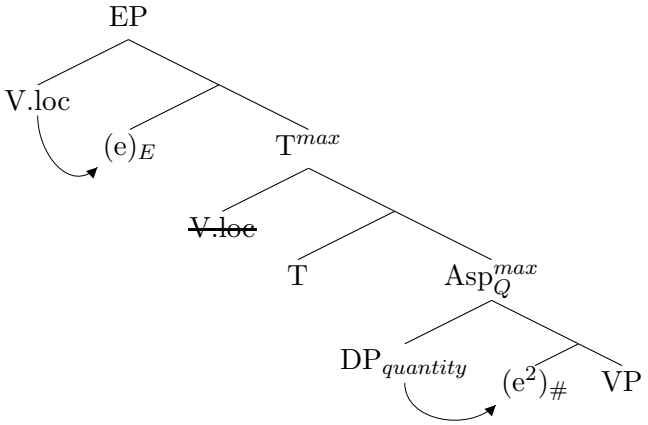
(12) a. Jack ate hamburgers (*in an hour). (atelic)
b. Jack ate a hamburger (in an hour). (telic)
c. Jack likes girls (*in an hour). (atelic)
d. Jack likes a girl (*in an hour). (atelic)

(13) a. Jack is believed to be smart.
b. r_{ex}(e)=$r_{in}(e) = r_{ex}$(e')$\subseteq$X
c. *Jack is wanted to be smart.
d. *r_{ex}(e)=$r_{in}(e) \supset r_{ex}$(e')$\subseteq$X

(14) Borer (2005), p. 84, ch. 3, ex. 15a (slightly modified):
The arrows indicate the range assignments.



(15) Borer (2005), p. 339, ch. 10, ex. 63 (slightly modified):



(16) Borer (2005), p. 339, ch. 10, ex. 18b:
qap'u eclenu kol ha.mayim (bin layla).
froze *chez*.us all the.water (in one-night)

5 That-t and T-to-C

(17) Summarizing:

a. 'for': uD*⇒(acc)

b. 'that': uD*⇒

c. transitive verb: uD⇒(acc)[2]

d. 'do': T

e. 'Qu': uT*⇒[3] , ...?

(19) Pesetsky and Torrego (2004), ex. 21: (Koopman 1983):

a. What a nice book Mary read _!

b. What did Mary read _?

c. Who _ read the book?

d. *Who did _ read the book?/*What a nice person did read the book!

(20) Pesetsky and Torrego (2004), ex. 23: (Perlmutter 1971):

a. What do you think [Mary read _] ?

b. What do you think [that Mary read _] ?

c. Who do you think [_ read the book] ?

d. *Who do you think [that _ read the book] ?

(21) a. What do you want Mary to read _?

b. What do you want for Mary to read _?

c. Who do you want _ to read the book?

d. *Who do you want for _ to read the book?

(22) a. I want to read the book.

b. *I want for to read the book.[4]

[2]Perhaps, really, transmitted from little v. Also notice that given Strength and Case, uD⇒ appears with one, the other, or both. Could neither exist? What about the other direction?

[3]In fact, if we made this feature directionless, then, in embedded contexts, we could let it check against a selecting verb on the left (that is, if we accepted Pesetsky and Torrego's later theories that verbs also bear a kind of T feature), and thus account for the lack of "T-to-C" movement in embedded questions.

(18) (a) Who did Jack see?

(b) I know who Jack saw.

[4]Such sentences are acceptable in Belfast English, and therefore, any theory needs to attribute some slightly different status to the Belfast 'for'. In fact, these x-ec effects are quite language specific.

References

Abusch, Dorit (1999) "On the Temporal Composition of Infinitives," To appear in *The Syntax of Time*, J. Gueron and J. LaCarme (eds), Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004.

Borer, Hagit (2005) *Structuring Sense Volume II: The Normal Course of Events*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

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Pesetsky, David and Torrego, Esther (2004) "The Syntax of Valuation and the Interpretability of Features," To appear in *Clever and Right: a Festschrift for Joe Emonds* (S. Karimi, V. Samiian and W.Wilkins, eds).

Stowell, Tim (1982) "The Tense of Infinitives," *Linguistic Inquiry*, 13, 561–570.