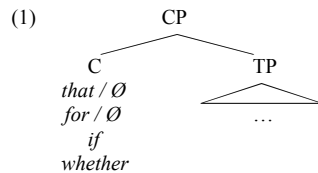


November 23/30, 2004

## CLASSES 21-23: CLAUSAL COMPLEMENTATION AND CP

### COMPLEMENTIZERS AND SELECTION

Clausal complements to propositional predicates are CPs, where C may be filled or not:



Different complementizers go with **different clause types**:

- (2)
- a. *that / Ø*: introduces a finite declarative clause
  - b. *for / Ø*: introduces a non-finite declarative clause
  - c. *if*: introduces a finite interrogative clause
  - d. *whether*: introduces a finite or non-finite interrogative clause

The **selection properties** in (2) already give us a hint: we can express this with **features**:

- (3)
- a. *that / Ø*: [clause-type: DECL, FIN] or simply [DECL, FIN]
  - b. *for / Ø*: [clause-type: DECL, NON-FIN] or simply [DECL, NON-FIN]
  - c. *if*: [clause-type: Q, FIN] or simply [Q, FIN]
  - d. *whether*:
    - i. [clause-type: Q, FIN] or simply [Q, FIN]
    - ii. [clause-type: Q, NON-FIN] or simply [Q, NON-FIN]

(NB: The **finiteness requirement** is not discussed by Adger 2003, but it does make sense.)

For the predicates, we would have the corresponding **uninterpretable c-selectional** feature (which Adger also doesn't discuss in much detail — basically, an extension of his *u*C).

But **C is not always embedded** — matrix questions, for example, have a filled C as well:

- (4)
- a. Has John eaten hamburgers?
  - b. Will John eat hamburgers?
  - c. Does John like hamburgers?

Q: What **triggers T-to-C movement** in these cases? A: The same thing that triggers Aux-to-T (e.g. Aux = copular *v*, passive Pass, progressive Prog, perfective Perf) — a **strong feature**. Let's call this feature the **clause-type feature** on analogy: [**u**clause-type] or [**u**clause-type\*], which have to be **valued** (by C) and then end up as e.g. [**ϕ**] or [**ϕ\***], respectively.

### NON-FINITE CP COMPLEMENTATION

Some non-finite complements play an **important role in English grammar**, so we will concentrate on **control structures**, **raising constructions**, and **Exceptional Case-Marking**.

- (5) **Control: PRO subject in embedded clause controlled by matrix subject**
- a. **John** wants / tries / hopes [ **PRO** to eat hamburgers ].  
(cf. e.g. *John hopes that we will eat hamburgers.*)
  - b. \* **John** wants / tries / hopes [ **Mary** to eat hamburgers ].  
(under the intended reading; we'll return to *John wants him / Mary to ...*)
- (6)
- a. \* **John** wants / tries / hopes [ <**John**> to eat hamburgers ].
  - b. \* **John** wants / tries / hopes [ **John** to eat hamburgers ].
  - c. \* **John** wants / tries / hopes [ **he** to eat hamburgers ].
  - d. \* **John** wants / tries / hopes [ **him** to eat hamburgers ].

In control structures, the finite matrix subject controls (= is coreferent with) the infinitival embedded subject, which is **PRO** (“**big PRO**”), a **base-generated empty category**. Both subjects (*John* and PRO) bear their own, separate **theta-roles**. (Traditionally, PRO doesn't receive case — more recently, **null case licensed by an empty C**[NULL] has been proposed.)

- (7) **Raising: embedded subject moves to matrix subject position**
- a. **John** seems / appears [ <**John**> to eat hamburgers ].  
(cf. e.g. *John seems as if he eats hamburgers.*)
  - b. \* **John** seems / appears [ **Mary** to eat hamburgers ].
- (8)
- a. \* **John** seems / appears [ **PRO** to eat hamburgers ].
  - b. \* **John** seems / appears [ **John** to eat hamburgers ].
  - c. \* **John** seems / appears [ **he** to eat hamburgers ].
  - d. \* **John** seems / appears [ **him** to eat hamburgers ].

Raising predicates (*seem*, *appear*) **don't have an external theta-role** to give. As such, the empty subject position of the infinitival complement is not a base-generated empty category (like PRO), but the trace of movement: **the thematic subject of the infinitival clause moves through the embedded (grammatical) subject position to the matrix subject position**.

- (9) **ECM: embedded subject is exceptionally marked accusative**
- a. John wants / believes [ **Mary / her** to eat hamburgers ].  
(cf. e.g. *John wants that Mary eats hamburgers.*)
  - b. John wants / believes [ **himself** to eat hamburgers ].
  - c. \* John wants / believes [ **she / he / PRO** to eat hamburgers ].  
(under the intended reading; see above for *John wants PRO to ...*)

ECM is called ECM because **the case of the embedded subject is exceptional: accusative**. Here the specifier of infinitival T (*to*) is filled (unlike in the other cases), but it doesn't bear nominative — one of the reasons to assume that only **finite T licenses nominative case**. We say that the **non-finite complementizer for or Ø is responsible** for this: *for / Ø*[ACC]. As a consequence, Adger's original proposal that **DPs carry unvalued case-features** makes a lot more sense now: a **DP receives its case-value by the licensing head** (namely, T / C or *v* / P).