What expletives can tell us about Case theory, and vice versa
Howard Lasnik
University of Connecticut

Part I

1. the destruction *(of) Rome
2. I am proud *(of) Mary
3. *It seems [John to be here]
4. *I tried [John to be here]
5. *Who does it seem [it to be here]

6a. The man [(who) [it seems [it is here]]]
b. *The man [(who) [it seems [it to be here]]]

7. WH-trace, though non-lexical, apparently requires Case.

8a. John, I like him
b. John, I like his new book
c. *John's, I like his new book

9. Topics, though lexical, apparently are not assigned Case.

10. A CHAIN is Case-marked if it contains exactly one Case-marked position; a position in a Case-marked CHAIN is visible for 0-marking. K of L p.135

11. I tried [PRO to be here] cf. 4.

12. *It seems [there to be a man here]
13. *I tried [there to be a man here]
14. There* is a man* here
15. There is usually a man here
16. *I heard usually a man (cf. I usually heard a man)
17. Someone is likely [it to be here]
18. There is likely [it to be someone here]

Part II

19. *There is likely [someone to be here]
20. *We consider [there a man in the room] K of L p.92
21. We consider [there to be a man in the room]
22. We consider [there, likely [it, to be a man in the room]]
23. There is no Case transmission. Case assignment is always direct. Be is a Case assigner.
24. A car is not here

25. *I heard not a car
26. is a car here
27. *Heard I a car
28. [[A car] [Tense be,] [usually t, here]}
29. [[A car] [Tense e] [not be here]}
30. [[A car] [Tense will] [not be here]}
31. *A car will be not here
32. *A car will be usually here
33. Will a car be here
34. *Will be a car here
35. *There will be usually a car here cf. 15.
36. I believe [there to be a mechanic here]
37. *I believe [there to be usually a mechanic here]
38. *I believe [there to be not a mechanic here]
39. I believe [there not to be a mechanic here]
40. *I believe [John to be not here]
41. I believe [John not to be here]
42. *There usually arrives a bus (at this time)
43. *There arrives usually a bus (at this time)
44. *There arrived not a bus [?There did not arrive a bus]
45. *A bus arrived not [A bus did not arrive]
46. *Arrived a bus [Did a bus arrive]
47. 'Unaccusatives' are Case assigners too.
48. When INFL is finite, an auxiliary verb (but not a main verb) may raise to it. When INFL is non-finite, neither an auxiliary verb nor a main verb may raise to it.

49a. Do not hit Bill
   b. *Hit not Bill

50a. Do not be stubborn
   b. *Be not stubborn
   c. *Harry does not be stubborn
   d. Harry is not stubborn

51. A verb with a complement assigns Case if and only if it 0-marks its subject. K of L p.135
52. Baletti proposes that Case only holds for structural Case and that the Case assigned by unaccusatives and Be is inherent (in the sense of K of L).

53. There is (a car here) (This sort of 'small clause' analysis would be precluded.)

54. The Case assigned is 'partitive' Case.

55. There is a car / the man here

56. There arrived a man / the man etc.

Part III

57. Why do expletives need Case? 'Traditional' Case filter (one last try): At S-structure, *NP that is lexical and lacks Case.

58. Who do you believe sincerely (t to be the best candidate)

59. *I believe sincerely (t to be the best candidate)

60. I consider Harry a wiseguy (cf. ex. 20)

61. (PRO to be a wiseguy) is fun

62. At LF, all expletives must have been replaced, in conformity with 'Full Interpretation'. The expletive-argument S-structure CHAIN becomes an LF chain.

63. 'Visibility' constrains theta-assignment at both S-structure and LF (roughly in line with the Projection Principle). The S-structure requirement entails that arguments will be Case marked at S-structure. The LF requirement (almost) entails that expletives will be Case marked at S-structure.

64. A man's arrival

65. *There's arrival of a man

66. *Its likelihood that John will win

67. *Our belief of John to be intelligent

68. *Our proof of John to be intelligent

69. If \( \alpha \) is an inherent Case-marker, then \( \alpha \) Case-marks NP if and only if \( \alpha \) theta-marks the chain headed by NP. K of L p. 194

70. *There arrival of a man

71. The arrival of a man

72. To be visible as the target of NP movement, a position must have Case.

73. *Someone seems (there to be [t in the room)

74. *Someone seems (there to have been arrested t)

75. Someone is certain (t to be here)

76. There is certain (t to be someone here)

77. *There is certain (there to be someone here)

Part IV

78. 76. * Someone is certain to be here

79. John is certain to be here

80. *There is certain to be John here

81. *There is John here

82. *There arrived a man

82a. *There arrived a man

b. LF: A man arrived t
   Nominative Partitive

83a. *NP-t cf. 10.
   +Case

84a. *John, is believed [t, is intelligent]

b. *Mary, is believed [Harry to like t]

c. *Mary, is believed [that Harry likes t]

d. *Mary, is believed [that she, likes t]

85a. It strikes John that Mary is clever

b. Mary strikes John as clever

86a. John stikes t that Mary is clever

86a. There is a man here

86b. *There are a man here etc.

87. There, is a man, here

88. Does LF movement eliminate a Condition C violation?

89a. He, respects everyone that John, knows

b. [Everyone that John, knows], he, respects t

90a. There, is a man, here

91a. *There is believed (t is a man, here)

b. LF: A man, is believed [t, is t, here] cf. 82.