On the Subject of Infinitives
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1. Evidence for Raising

(1) I believe John to have convinced Bill
(2) I believe that John convinced Bill
(3) I believe Bill to have been convinced by John
(4) I compelled the doctor to examine John
(5) I compelled John to be examined by the doctor
(6) I believe there to be a man in the garden
(7) I believe there to be a man in the garden
(8) *I believe there to be a man in the garden
(9) *I believe advantage to have been taken of John
(10) a. Jack believed Joan to be famous
     b. Joan was believed to be famous by Jack
(11) a. *Jack believed him to be immoral
     b. *Jack believed himself to be immoral
(12) They believed each other to be honest
(13) The FBI proved that few students were spies
(14) The FBI proved few students to be spies
(15) Joan believes he is a genius even more fervently than Bob does
(16) *Joan believes him to be a genius even more fervently than Bob does
(17) *Joan believes him to be a genius even more fervently than Bob does
(18) *Mary believes him to be a genius, and Bob does too
(19) *Bob believes him to be a genius
(20) *Mary believes Bob to be a genius, and he does too
(21) *He believes Bob to be a genius
(22) Joan believes he is a genius even more fervently than Bob’s mother does
(23) *Joan believes him to be a genius even more fervently than Bob’s mother does
(24) *Joan believes him, even more fervently than Bob’s mother does
(25) *The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other’s trials
(26) *The DA accused the defendants during each other’s trials
(27) *The DA proved [that the defendants were guilty] during each other’s trials
(28) *No one saw anything
(29) *Anyone saw nothing
(30) The DA accused none of the defendants during any of the trials
(31) The DA proved [none of the defendants to be guilty] during any of the trials
(32) *The DA proved [that none of the defendants were guilty] during any of the trials
(33) The students solved three problems each
(34) *Three students each solved the problems (i.e., on the reading ‘the problems were solved by three students each’)
(35) *The students proved that three formulas each were theorems (i.e., on the reading ‘each of the students proved that three formulas were theorems’)
(36) *The students proved three formulas each to be theorems
(37) *Jones proved the prisoners guilty with one accusation each
(38) *Jones proved the defendants to be guilty with one accusation each
(39) *Jones prosecuted the defendants with one accusation each
(40) *Jones proved that the defendants were guilty with one accusation each

2. When does Raising Take Place?

(41)

(42) Which book that John read did he like
(43) *He liked every book that John read
(44) *He wanted to know which book about John Mary read
(45) *He wanted to know which book about John Mary read
(46) *He wanted to know which book about John Mary read
(47) John wonders which picture of himself Mary showed to Susan
(48) *John wonders who showed which picture of himself to Susan
(49) ?The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials.

(50) ?The DA accused the defendants during each other's trials.

(51) There arrived a man.

(52) There arrived two knights on each other's horses.

(53) Two knights arrived on each other's horses.

(54) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's trials.

(55) The DA proved [there to have been two men at the scene] during each other's trials.

(56) *The DA proved [there to have been a man at the scene] during each other's trials.

(57) Some politician is likely to address John's constituency.

(58) It is likely that some politician will address John's constituency.

(59) It is unlikely that anyone will address the rally.

(60) Anyone is unlikely to address the rally.

(61) Someone is unlikely to address the rally.

2. Postal's B-Verbs vs. V-Verbs

(62) ?Joan wants him to be successful even more fervently than Bob's mother does.

(63) ??Joan believes him to be a genius even more fervently than Bob's mother does.

(64) ??I wanted [those men to be fired] because of each other's statements.

(65) I believed [those men to be unreliable] because of each other's statements.

(66) ??I wanted [none of the applicants to be hired] after reading any of the reports.

(67) ??I believed [none of the applicants to be qualified] after reading any of the reports.

(68) ??I wanted [them to be fired] for three reasons each.

(69) ??I believed [them to be incompetent] for three reasons each.

(70) *I wanted very much [for those men to be fired] because of each other's statements.

(71) *I wanted very much [for none of the applicants to be hired] after reading any of the reports.

(72) *I wanted very much [for them to be fired] for three reasons each.

4. Raising Questions

If we succeed in eliminating recourse to c-selection as well as phrase structure rules, thus reducing syntactic representations at D-structure to projections of semantic properties of lexical items, it will follow that the complement of any lexical head in a syntactic representation must be s-selected by it, because there is no other way for the position to exist. For example, there cannot be such sentences as (68), where V is a verb that does not s-select an object and there is a pleonastic element...lacking any semantic role...

John [V, V there] (68)

...Similarly, we cannot have "raising to object" to yield (70ii) (with a the trace of Bill) from the D-structure (70i):

i. John [VP-believes a [VP-Bill to be intelligent]]

ii. John [VP-believes Bill [a to be intelligent]]

The verb believe s-selects only a proposition. Therefore, in (70i) the position occupied by a cannot exist at D-structure, because it is not s-selected by believe. [Chomsky (1986, pp.90-91)]

(73) I dislike it that he is so cruel

(74) I didn't expect it for a moment that you would fail

(75) I regret it very much that we could not hire Mosconi

(76) I resent it greatly that you didn't call me

(77) I don't mind it very much that he did that

(78) ??I dislike him to be so cruel

(79) *I didn't expect you to have failed

(80) *I regret them not to have hired Mosconi

(81) *I resent you not to have called me

(82) *I don't mind him to have done that

(83) I believe (??it) that John left

(84) I will prove (??it) that Mary is the culprit

(85) They have found (??it) that there is a prime number greater than 17

(86) I will show (??it) that the Coordinate Structure Constraint is valid

(87) Why is raising obligatory?

(88) How does an object c-command an adjunct?
References

Bresnan, J. (1972) Theory of Complementation in English Syntax, Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT.