Section 3

The Existence (and Optionality) of Overt Object Shift in English

(302) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene of the crime] during each other's trials
(303) The DA proved [no suspecti to have been at the scene of the crime] during hisi trial
(304) The DA proved [noone to have been at the scene] during any of the trials Lasnik and Saito (1991), following Postal (1974)
(305) *The DA proved [that two men were at the scene of the crime] during each other's trials
(306) *The DA proved [that no suspecti was at the scene of the crime] during hisi trial
(307) *The DA proved [that noone was guilty] during any of the trials

(308) The DA accused two men during each other's trials
(309) The DA discredited no suspecti during hisi trial
(310) The DA cross-examined none of the witnesses during any of the trials

(311) Which book that Johni read did hei like
(312) *Hei liked every book that Johni read
(313) *I don't remember who thinks that hei read which book that Johni likes
(314) Chomsky (1981): S-structure is crucial to at least one of the binding conditions, Condition C.

(315) Barss (1986) draws the same conclusion for Condition A, based on examples like the following:
(316) Johni wonders which picture of himselfi Mary showed to Susan
(317) *Johni wonders who showed which picture of himselfi to Susan

(318) Under the minimalist assumption that there is no level of S-structure, the LF operations QR and wh-movement don't exist or they apply in such a way that binding possibilities don't change.

(319) Lasnik and Saito (1991) and den Dikken (1995) draw the same conclusion about the 'expletive replacement' operation proposed by Chomsky (1986b):
(320) *The DA proved [there to have been two men at the scene of the crime] during each other's trials
(321) *The DA proved [there to have been no suspecti at the scene of the crime] during hisi trial
(322) *The DA proved [there to have been noone at the scene] during any of the trials

(324) She will prove Bob to be guilty

(325)
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Agr}_s P \\
/ \ \\
NP / \ \\
\text{she} / \ \\
\text{Agr}_s \ \\
/ \ \\
T \ \\
\text{will} / \ \\
NP / \ \\
\text{prove} / \ \\
NP / \ \\
\text{Bob} / \ \\
\text{prove} / \ \\
\text{to be guilty} / \ \\
\end{array}
\]

(326) If the adverbials in (302)-(304) are attached in the vicinity of the lower matrix VP, the binding and licensing receive a natural account.

(327) It is now natural to assume that the 'EPP' requirement driving raising to 'subject position' resides in Agr, hence is also responsible for raising to 'object position', under the assumption of Chomsky (1991) that 'Agr_s' and 'Agr_o' are merely mnemonic.

(328) An additional argument for overt raising of an object or an ECM subject; Pseudogapping as VP ellipsis Jayaseelan (1990), with the remnant having raised to Spec of Agr_o, as discussed earlier.

(329) Mary hired John, and Susan will hire Bill
(330) The DA proved Jones (to be) guilty and the Assistant DA will prove Smith (to be) guilty

(331) So object shift is possible. Is it obligatory?
(332) *Joan believes him to be a genius even more fervently than Bob does
(333) Joan believes he is a genius even more fervently than Bob does Postal (1974)

(334) But there are arguments that object shift does not always take place. [Based on Lasnik (1999a), Lasnik (2001c)]

(335) *Who was [a picture of t] selected
(336) Who did you select [a picture of t]
(337) If object and subject both raise overtly, to [Spec, Agr₀] and [Spec, Agr₀] respectively, the CED, or whatever it follows from, cannot distinguish (335) from (336). Branigan (1992)

(338) On the other hand, as already noted in Lasnik (1995b), when the object is a Pseudogapping remnant, extraction from it is seriously degraded:

(339) Bill selected a painting of John, and Susan should select a photograph of Mary

(340) ??*Who will Bill select a painting of, and who will Susan select a photograph of?

(341) The special prosecutor questioned two aides of a senator during each other's trials

(342) ??Which senator did the special prosecutor question two aides of during each other's trials

(343) Which senator did the special prosecutor question two aides of during the president's trial

(344) The mathematician proved few theorems about Mersenne numbers during any of the lectures

(345) ??Which numbers did the mathematician prove few theorems about during any of the lectures

(346) Which numbers did the mathematician prove few theorems about during the conference lectures

(347) These paradigms argue, contra Lasnik (1995b), that when an object has overtly raised it is an island for extraction, and, therefore, since objects are not invariably islands, that such raising is optional.

(348) Mary called up friends of John

(349) ?Mary called friends of John up Johnson (1991)

(350) Who did Mary call up friends of

(351) ??*Who did Mary call friends of up

(352) Mary made John out to be a fool

(353) Mary made out that John is a fool

(354) Mary made out John to be a fool

(355) An observation about scope that Zubizarreta (1982) attributes to Chomsky, and that is discussed again by Chomsky (1995a) provides further evidence for the optionality of object shift with ECM subjects:

(356) a (it seems that) everyone isn't there yet
    b everyone seems [t not to be there yet]

(357) Chomsky (p.327) argues as follows: "Negation can have wide scope over the Q in [(356)a]... but not in [(356)b]", concluding that "...reconstruction in the A-chain does not take place, so it appears."

(358) When the word order makes it clear that a universal ECM subject has raised, that subject cannot be interpreted inside the scope of negation in the complement clause, as seen in (359).

(359) The mathematician made every even number out not to be the sum of two primes
(360) The alternative word order for (359), with every even number unraised, does allow narrow scope for the universal:

(361) The mathematician made out every even number not to be the sum of two primes

(362) I expected [everyone not to be there yet] Chomsky (1995a)
(363) I believe everyone not to have arrived yet
(364) I proved every Mersenne number not to be prime

(365) Everyone is believed not to have arrived yet
(366) Every Mersenne number was proved not to be prime

(367) Someone is likely to solve the problem
(368) It is likely that someone will solve the problem

(369) No large Mersenne number was proven to be prime
(370) (369) cannot accurately be paraphrased by (371).
(371) It was proven that no large Mersenne number is prime

(372) No one is certain to solve the problem
(373) It is certain that no one will solve the problem

(374) The DA made no defense witnesses out to be credible
(375) The DA made out that no defense witnesses were credible
(376) The DA made out no defense witnesses to be credible

(377) The DA proved no defense witnesses to be credible
(378) No defense witnesses were proved to be credible by the DA

(379) Note that if the ECM subject has to be 'high' in order to license some element in the higher clause, then the lower reading for that ECM subject becomes impossible:

(380) The DA proved no defense witnesses to be credible during any of the trials

(381) With optionality of Object Shift now established, we must return to Postal's argument that it is obligatory:

(382) *Joan believes him to be a genius even more fervently than Bob does

(383) It is not uncommon for Object Shift to be obligatory with pronouns in a language even when it is optional with lexical NPs.

(384) Mary made John out to be a fool
(385) Mary made out John to be a fool

(386) Mary made him out to be a fool
(387) *Mary made out him to be a fool

(388) For English, this might follow from the clitic nature of weak object pronouns, as suggested by Oehrle (1976).

(389) The detective brought him in
(390) *The detective brought in him Chomsky (1955)
One way to make the raising optional might be to abandon the idea that Agr₀ is the same item as Agrₛ, assuming, instead, that only the latter obligatorily has an EPP feature.

Some of the discussion in Chomsky (1995a, p.350) hints at an alternative possibility. Chomsky reasons that "If Agr has no strong feature, then PF considerations, at least, give no reason for it to be present at all, and LF considerations do not seem relevant." He thus suggests, in passing, that "Agr exists only when it has strong features."

Along these lines, suppose, then, that the optionality of raising is the optionality of Agr₀.

This leaves us with the question of why Agrₛ is obligatory. This is exactly the question of why the standard EPP holds, still a mystery.