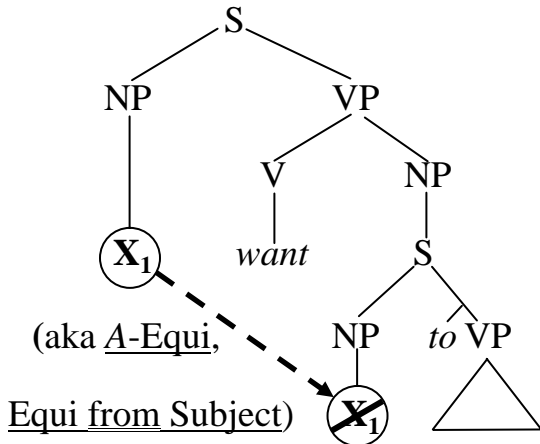


Equi-NP-Deletion vs Subject Raising

(Subject or Object Infinitive Complements only)

2-Place Equi (e.g. *want, try, eager*)

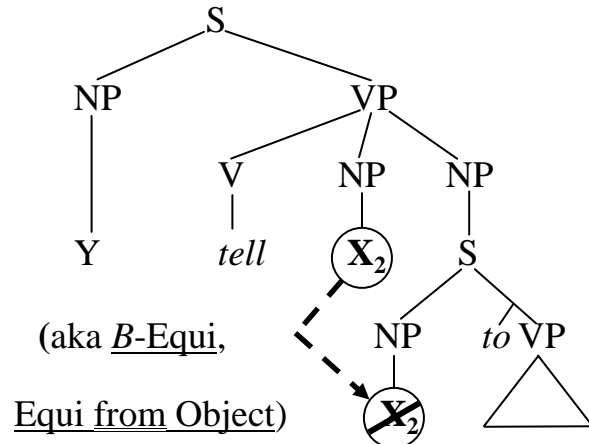
Upstairs **Subject** coreferential to
Downstairs Subject (deleted)



X₁ wants to VP

3-Place Equi (e.g. *tell, order, make*)

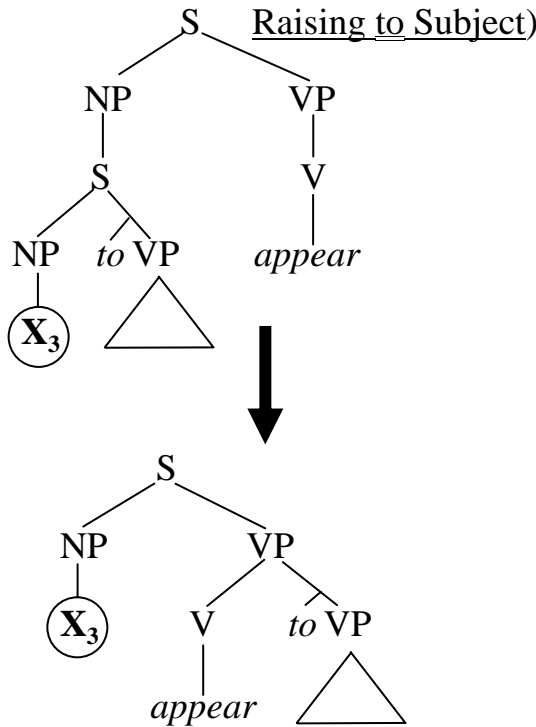
Upstairs (Indirect) **Object** coreferential to
Downstairs Subject (deleted)



Y told X₂ to VP

1-Place Raising (e.g. *seem, appear*)

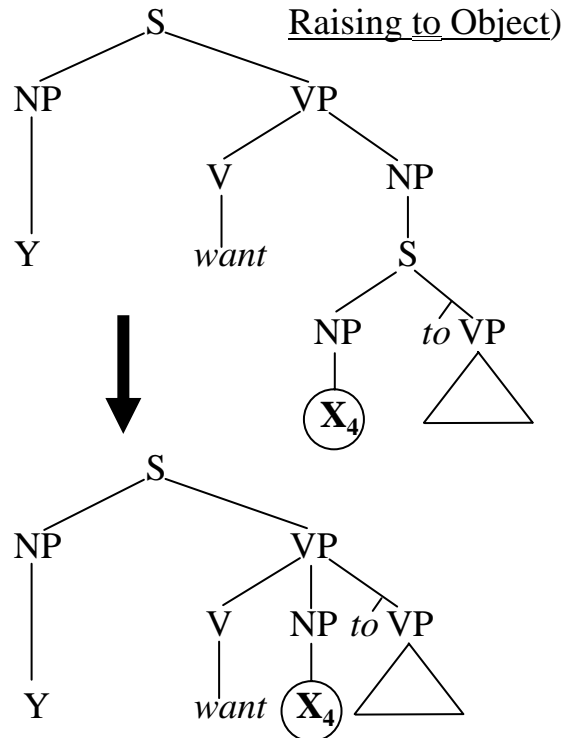
Downstairs Subject Raised to become
Upstairs **Subject** (aka A-Raising,
Raising to Subject)



X₃ appears to VP

2-Place Raising (e.g. *want, believe, consider*)

Downstairs Subject Raised to become
Upstairs **Object** (aka B-Raising,
Raising to Object)



Y wants X₄ to VP

Tests for Equi-NP-Deletion vs Subject Raising

Dummies (*it, there*)

*There seems/*wants to be a party tonight.*

*There is likely/*afraid to be a party tonight.*

*I expect/*advise it to rain tomorrow.*

*I expect/*advise there to be a party.*

*It's likely/*afraid to rain tomorrow.*

*It seems/*wants to be raining out.*

Idiom chunks

*The cat seems/is likely/*wants/*is afraid to be out of the bag.*

*Advantage seems/*wants to have been taken of Mary.*

*The shit is likely/*afraid to hit the fan soon.*

Metonymy

Max is heavy. Max seems to be heavy.

(Max = Max's body)

Max is Jewish. Max seems to be Jewish.

(Max ≠ Max's body)

Chomsky seems to be published in Massachusetts.

(Chomsky = Chomsky's writings)

Chomsky wants to be published in Massachusetts.

(Chomsky ≠ Chomsky's writings)

Canberra contains a large central plaza.

(Canberra = the city of Canberra)

Canberra refuses to compromise.

(Canberra = the capital of Australia)

*Canberra seems/*wants to contain a large central plaza.*

All-detachment

All of the men seem to be running.

All of the men want to get elected.

The men all seem to be running.

The men all want to get elected.

The men seem to all be running.

**The men want to all get elected.*

Passive equivalence

Bill is likely to call Mary.

=

Mary is likely to be called by Bill.

Bill is afraid to call Mary.

≠

Mary is afraid to be called by Bill.

I expect Bill to call Mary.

=

I expect Mary to be called by Bill.

I advised Bill to call Mary

≠

I advised Mary to be called by Bill.

Assignment:

For each of the following predicates, determine (and give evidence for) how many places it has, and whether it takes Raising or Equi.

afraid, appear, arrange, believe, care, cause,

consider, eager, fail, force, happen, likely,

make, manage, order, refuse, seem, start,

teach, tell, tend, try, turn out, urge, want

NB: Restrict your inquiries to those senses of the verbs that take infinitive complements.

Answers to Equi vs Raising Problem

Afraid 2-place with A-Equi

I'm afraid to go.

**There's afraid to be a party tonight.*

Albert's afraid to be examined by the doctor

≠ *The doctor's afraid to examine Albert.*

[This type of predicate (Psych-Movement adjectival predicate with Experiencer subject) tends to govern Equi from the experiencer, and to refer to some emotional state experienced with respect to the proposition in the infinitive complement. Sometimes, as in *seem*, *appear*, the experiencer is not the subject, but an optional oblique *to*-phrase, as with *There appears to me to be a unicorn in the garden*. This variant governs 1-place Raising instead of 2-place Equi, but leads to the same surface construction.]

Appear 1-place with A-Raising (virtually synonymous with *seem*, q.v.)

There appears to be a unicorn in the garden.

The cat appears to be out of the bag.

All the men appear to want to win.

The men all appear to want to win.

= *The men appear to all want to win.*

Arrange 2-place with A-Equi (volitional remote causation)

Josh arranged ___ to leave early

Josh arranged for Helena to leave early.

Josh arranged Helena's leaving early.

*Josh arranged that his wife leave(*s) early.*

Malcolm arranged for there to be a party last night.

**There (was) arranged to be a party last night.*

Equi from **Josh**

No Equi, no Raising

Gerund, no Equi, no Raising

Untensed *that*-clause.

No Equi. Raising?

Definitely not Raising.

Believe 2-place with B-Raising (mental predicate, experiencer subject, propositional object)

Bill believes Frank to be a genius.

Bill believes there to be a party tonight.

We believe the women to have beaten the men.

= *We believe the men to have been beaten by the women.*

[NB: *believe* may also Passivize on the next cycle up, producing a rule sandwich:

= *The men are believed to have been beaten by the women]*

Care 2-place with A-Equi – infinitive

I don't care ___ to mow the lawn.

**There doesn't care to be a party tonight.*

Jude doesn't care to be examined by the doctor.

≠ *The doctor doesn't care to examine Jude.*

2-place with A-Equi – gerund; uses *for* as transitivizing preposition

I don't care for ___ mowing the lawn.

Jude doesn't care for being examined by the doctor.

≠ *The doctor doesn't care for examining Jude.*

Answers to Equi vs Raising Problem

Cause 2-place with B-Raising

She caused it to rain.

The verdict caused there to be a riot.

The recall caused the shit to hit the fan.

(NB: Raising is from object complement only; note control in subject gerund complement:

— *Scratching himself/*myself in public caused Bill to get arrested.*)

Consider 2-place with B-Raising (may passivize after B-Raising)

Everyone considers Frank (to be) attractive.

= *Frank is considered (to be) attractive (by everyone).*

*She considers it *(to be) raining.*

Mr. Simpson considered the shit to have hit the fan.

Eager 2-place with A-Equi (Psych-Movement adjectival predicate with experiencer subject)

Bill is eager to examine Fran.

≠ *Fran is eager to be examined by Bill.*

**There is eager to be a party.*

**It is eager to be a long way to Schenectady.*

Fail 1-place with A-Raising (aspectual predicate: epistemic negative completive)

There fails to be any good reason for that.

It failed to rain last month.

The shit never fails to hit the fan.

Bill failed to kiss Mary.

%=*Mary failed to be kissed by Bill.*

Happen 1-place with A-Raising (aspectual predicate: epistemic completive)

There happens to be a unicorn in the garden.

It happens to be snowing.

Marie happened to see Raj.

= *Raj happened to be seen by Marie.*

Likely 1-place with A-Raising (epistemic modal: cf *possible, probable, unlikely*)

Bill is likely to see Mike.

= *Mike is likely to be seen by Bill.*

There is likely to be a riot.

It's likely to snow tomorrow.

Make 3-place with B-Equi (no *to* on infinitive; active equivalent of *cause* w/ volitional subj)

Mary made John admit Theresa.

≠ *Mary made Theresa be admitted by John.*

or 2-place with B-Raising for epistemic causative sense:

?**He made there be a party.*

He made it rain.

Force 3-place with B-Equi

Mary forced John to admit Theresa.

≠ **Mary forced Theresa to be admitted by John.*

%*By talking like that, he virtually forced there to be a riot.*

Answers to Equi vs Raising Problem

Manage 2-place with A-Equi – aspectual predicate: volitional completive

**There managed to be a riot.*

Bill finally managed to examine Fran.

≠ *Fran finally managed to be examined by Bill.*

Order 3-place with B-Equi

Bill ordered Frank to be examined by Mary.

≠ *Bill ordered Mary to examine Bill.*

**Bill ordered there to be a riot.*

**Bill ordered the shit to hit the fan.*

Refuse 2-place with A-Equi

Bill refused to examine Fran.

≠ *Fran refused to be examined by Bill.*

Seem 1-place with obligatory A-Raising (if complement is infinitive)

Bill seems to have examined Frank.

= *Frank seems to have been examined by Bill.*

There seems to be a party tonight.

It seems to be snowing tonight. (NB: this is the Ambient *it* of *snowing*, not Extraposition *it*)

or with obligatory Extraposition (if complement is *that*-clause)

It seems that Bill examined Frank.

It seems that there's a party tonight.

It seems that it's snowing tonight. (NB: note the two *its*; one ambient, one Extraposition)

[*seem* and *appear* have implicit first-person experiencer;

i.e., *it seems* means *it seems to me*. Other experiencers

can be expressed with *to*-phrases, but refer to speaker's

perception of others' experience.

Bill seemed to Mary to be nervous. (reporting Mary's statement of her own experience)]

Start 1-place with A-Raising, infinitive or gerund – aspectual predicate: epistemic inceptive.

There started to be/being smoke in the hallway.

The shit started to hit/hitting the fan.

The acid started to eat up the linoleum.

= *The linoleum started to get eaten up by the acid.*

Bill started to faint.

or 2-place with A-Equi, infinitive or gerund – aspectual predicate: volitional inceptive.

Bill started to read the report, even though he didn't intend to finish.

[With separate references to the inception and to the event, both referring to the same agent; volitional predicates (fr. L *volo*, *volere*, 'want') work like **Want** (*vide infra*).]

Teach 3-place with B-Equi

**Bill taught there to be a riot.*

Bill taught Harry to be flattered by John.

≠ *Bill taught John to flatter Harry.*

Tell 3-place with B-Equi (speech act verb with addressed object, similar to *order*)

**I told there to be a party.*

Bill told Fran to examine Marie.

≠ *Bill told Marie to be examined by V.*

Answers to Equi vs Raising Problem

Tend 1-place with A-Raising

When I give a party, there tend(s) to be too many people standing around in corners.

John tends to be shocked by bad news.

= *Bad news tends to shock John.*

The queen tends to annoy the king.

?= *The king tends to be annoyed by the queen.*

[What kind of argument could you make if these last two are synonymous, and what would it show if these aren't synonymous? What if different people had different impressions?]

Try 2-place with obligatory A-Equi, with both infinitive

Bill tried ___to open the door.

**Bill tried (for) Mike to open the door.*

**There tried to be a party.*

**It tried to be a long way to Tipperary.*

and gerund complements

Bill tried __ opening the door.

**Bill tried Mike('s) opening the door.*

**There tried being a party.*

**It tried being a long way to Tipperary.*

Bill tried to be/being examined by the doctor.

≠ *The doctor tried to examine/examining Bill.*

[NB: *Try* is subject to the Equi-Subject Constraint – its subject and the subject of its complement **must** be coreferential. Note also the difference between the meanings of the infinitive and gerund complements.]

Turn out 1-place with A-Raising (aspectual: epistemic eventual complete)

Bill turned out to be late.

There turned out to be a unicorn in the garden.

It turned out to be very hot when they got there.

Bill turned out to have examined Mary.

= *Mary turned out to have been examined by Bill.*

Urge 3-place with B-Equi

**I urged there to be a riot.*

Bill urged Harry to be examined by the doctor.

≠ *Bill urged the doctor to examine Harry.*

Want 2-place with A-Equi (when subjects are coreferential)

Bill wants ___to leave.

Bill wants to be examined by the doctor.

≠ *The doctor wants to examine Bill.*

or 2 place with B-Raising (when subjects are **not** coreferential)

Bill wants Max to leave.

Bill wants it to rain/there to be a party.

Bill wants Max to be examined by the doctor.

= *Bill wants the doctor to examine Max.*

[NB: *want* does not passivize Raised objects:

**Max is wanted to leave by Bill.]*