



Title	Some Observations on (A) symmetries in English Acc-ings
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Citation	OUPEL(Osaka University Papers in English Linguistics). 1999, 4, p. 1-18
Version Type	VoR
URL	<a href="https://doi.org/10.18910/72942">https://doi.org/10.18910/72942</a>
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## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON (A)SYMMETRIES IN ENGLISH ACC-INGS \*

### 1 INTRODUCTION

A group of verbs called *Perception Verbs* in English take as their complements *an Acc-ing* in addition to a bare infinitival clause as is exemplified by (1):

(1) We saw John crossing the street.  
( cf. We saw John cross the street. )

The complement of this type of verb expressed in the form of Acc-ing is considered to be far more complex in its structure than it appears (cf. Akmajian 1977, Declerck 1982, Cinque 1995 among others). There is some structural ambiguity involved in the Acc-ing after perception verbs, though it is difficult to disentangle it at first glance.<sup>1</sup> One way to disambiguate the structures is to apply passivization out of the Acc-ings. Consider the following examples:

(2) a. We saw John crossing the street.  
b. John was seen *t* crossing the street.  
(3) a. I saw there being a riot.  
b. \*There was seen *t* being a riot.  
(4) a. We felt something dangerous approaching.  
b. \*Something dangerous was felt *t* approaching. (Felser 1998)

In some cases, passivization out of Acc-ing is allowed as in (2), and in other cases, it is not allowed as is exemplified in (3) and (4).

In the present paper I will hypothesize that there are two different types of Acc-ing constructions which perception verbs take as their complement: (i) a type with which passivization of the embedded subject is allowed, and (ii) a type with which passivization of the embedded subject is not allowed. Hereafter, for convenience, I will use the terms *Type (I)* and *Type (II)* to indicate these two constructions respectively. As for their structures, I will make a claim that Type (I) has a structure identical with the one found in the so-called *secondary predicate construction*, and Type (II) has a

\* I would like to thank Seisaku Kawakami for offering me the opportunity to write this paper. I would also like to thank Hiroyuki Ura for his invaluable comments and constant encouragement. Special thanks go to Paul Harvey for his editorial assistance and all the people who gave me helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper. I am solely responsible for remaining deficiencies and inadequacies in this work.

<sup>1</sup> In Declerck (1982) for example, three-ways ambiguity is reported; however, I only consider two options in the present paper since the purpose here is to disambiguate the Case-licensing mechanisms of the subject in the complement clause selected by a perception verb.

structure identical with the *Acc-ing gerundive clause*, as is exemplified by (5):<sup>2</sup>

(5) We understand [ John leaving tomorrow ].

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the (a)symmetries found in these types of Acc-ings. More precisely, I will present a new account of the *Case-licensing mechanism* involved in a certain type of Acc-ing, under the assumptions of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1992, 1995).

The organization of the paper is as follows: In section 2, I will clarify some syntactic difference between Type (I) and Type (II) complements of perception verbs: especially, the difference in their Case-licensing mechanisms concerning the subject in each construction. In section 3, I will introduce the follow-up checking mechanism in order to explain the Case-licensing mechanism involved in both Acc-ing gerundive clause and Type (II) complement of perception verbs. The Case-licensing mechanism in Type (I) is theoretically less intriguing for the reason given below. Section 4 is for summary.

## 2 DISAMBIGUATING ACC-INGS AFTER PERCEPTION VERBS

In this section, I attempt to disambiguate the Acc-ing constructions after perception verbs. Let us investigate further and verify the claim that Type (I) and Type (II) are very similar to secondary predicate constructions and Acc-ing gerundive clauses respectively. First, consider the following example:

(6) John was seen *t* crossing the street.

Let us examine whether the claim is plausible that this type has a structure identical with the one found in the so-called secondary predicate construction. The fact above alone is not sufficient to conclude that this is structurally identical to a secondary predicate construction, which is illustrated by (7) below, because we know that passivization out of ECM construction is also allowed as is illustrated by (8).

(7) John was caught *t* stealing the car.  
 (8) John was believed *t* to be a gentleman.

The secondary predicate type of construction as in (7) has the following structure before the passivization:

(9) I caught [ John ] [ PRO stealing the car ].

If we look only the case involving passivization, we cannot tell whether the construction in (6) belongs to the secondary predicate type or to the ECM type. Then, in order to disambiguate the structures, let us consider the extraction of an adjunct in each

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<sup>2</sup> As for discussions concerning Acc-ing clauses in English, see Reuland (1983), Abney (1987), Kayne (1983: Ch2), Rizzi (1990: 34-35) among others. Later in this paper I will return directly to the issue concerning the accusative Case-checking in the Acc-ing clause.

construction. Consider the following examples. Each italicized adverb modifies the embedded verb in each example.

- (10) a. John was caught stealing the car *forcibly*.
- b. \*How was John caught [ stealing the car *t* ]?
- (11) a. John was believed to have finished his presentation *splendidly*.
- b. How was John believed [ to have finished his presentation *t* ]?

Interestingly, the extraction of an adjunct out of the secondary predicate type is precluded in (10b). On the other hand, such extraction is allowed in the case of ECM as is exemplified by (11b). Let us consider the case of the complement after perception verb, to which passivization is applied:

- (12) a. John was seen crossing the street *hastily*.
- b. \*How was John seen [ crossing the street *t* ]?

The facts above lead us to conclude that this kind of complement construction after perception verbs is not an ECM type construction but a secondary predicate type construction, and I assume its structure to be as follows:

- (13) We saw [ John ] [ PRO crossing the street ].

Now, let us examine the case of adjunct extraction from the perception verb complement, which is not applied passivization. In this case, to the contrary, such extraction is possible. This fact indicates that the complement in this instance that does not involve passivization is structurally ambiguous between Type (I) and Type (II).

- (14) How did you see [ John crossing the street *t* ]?

As has become clear, passivization is the very diagnosis to make a distinction between Type (I) and Type (II).

Secondly, let us consider the following cases:

- (15) We saw there being a riot.
- (16) We felt something dangerous approaching.

It is obvious that the examples above do not have structures similar to the secondary predicate type as Type (I) does. For instance, as for (17), the following structure is impossible due to the nature of the expletive *there*. The expletive *there* does not allow control reading.

- (17) \*We saw [ there ] [ PRO being a riot ].

Moreover, (16) is not a case of secondary predicate either. In this instance, *dangerous* is already a secondary predicate; therefore, the following structure is unavailable.

- (18) \*We felt something [ dangerous ] [ PRO approaching ].

Therefore, it is assumed that (15) and (16) allow only the structure of Type (II) that is actually identical with an Acc-ing gerundive clause, which was illustrated by (5) above. Such assumption is verified with the fact that passivization is not allowed with (15) and (16) as follows:

(19) \*There was seen *t* being a riot.  
 (20) \*Something dangerous was felt *t* approaching.

I would like, in the present paper, to propose that Type (II) is identical with an Acc-ing gerundive clause. More precisely, they are supposed to be structurally identical in the respect of the licensing of the embedded subjects. Given the theory of passive formation proposed by Baker, Johnson, and Roberts (1989) (cf. Watanabe (1996) for its minimalist elaboration), the facts observed above suggest that the accusative subject of Type (II) is not licensed directly by the matrix verb. On the other hand, as for Type (I), which is considered to have a structure as in (13), *John* functions in the same way as an ordinary object of the matrix verb and moves to the matrix subject position when the verb is passivized. In the next section, in order to examine the mechanism involved in the licensing of the embedded accusative subjects in Type (II), I will mainly investigate the case of those Acc-ing gerunds which are claimed to have the same structure as Type (II).

### 3 MECHANISM OF FOLLOW-UP CHECKING

In order to clarify the licensing mechanism of the embedded subject in the Type (II) complement of perception verbs, in this section, we investigate carefully what is happening with the Acc-ing gerunds. First, we observe another fact that shows the accusative Case of these Acc-ing is not licensed by the matrix verb. For such purpose, the recent theory of scope (cf. Hornstein (1995), Kitahara (1995)) is imperative and we will first look into the theory on the accusative Case licensing of the embedded subject.

#### 3.1 Case-checking and Its Interaction with Scope

##### 3.1.1 Basic Facts

In a version of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1992, 1995), scopal interpretation is often considered to be related to an A-movement which is required for the licensing of Case (cf. Hornstein (1995), Kitahara (1995)). According to this theory of scope, the difference in scope interpretations therefore indicates the difference in the mechanisms of licensing the relevant Cases. Take the following sentence for example:

(21) *Someone* loves *everyone*. some > every, some < every

The fact that the above sentence exhibits two distinct scope interpretations is explained in the following fashion if we adopt the theory of feature checking (Chomsky 1992, 1995) and the Scope Principle (22) cited from Kitahara (1995).

(22) Scope Principle

A quantifier  $X$  may take scope over a quantifier  $Y$  iff  $X$  c-commands a member of each chain associated with  $Y$  at LF

Given the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (Fukui and Speas 1986, Koopman and Sportiche 1991 among others), *someone* moves from the VP Spec position to the AgrSP Spec position, and *everyone* moves to the AgrOP Spec position. These movements produce the following LF structure:<sup>3</sup>

*Someone1* c-commands both members of C2's A-chain (*everyone2*, *t2*), and *everyone2* c-commands a member of C1's A-chain (*t1*). Thus, the ambiguous scope interpretation in (23) follows from the Scope Principle (22).

Then, let us look into another example which has to do with ECM.

The scope interpretation of this sentence is also ambiguous. (For more detailed discussion on the scope interpretation of ECM, see Hornstein (1995).) We assume, following Lasnik and Saito (1991), Koizumi (1993), and Lasnik (1995), that the accusative Case of the ECM subject is checked overtly in the matrix *AgROP Spec* position. The LF structure of (24) will be as follows:<sup>4</sup>

(25) C1: [+Nom]  
 [ Someone1 [<sub>AgGP</sub> everyone2 [<sub>VP</sub> *t*1 believe [<sub>TP</sub> *t*2 to have been to  
 Building 20 ]]]]  
 C2: [+Acc]

*Someone1* c-commands both members of C2's A-chain (*everyone2, t2*), and *everyone2* c-commands a member of C1's A-chain (*t1*). Thus, given the Scope Principle (22), we can obtain an ambiguous scope interpretation in (24), as required.

Now, in order to explicate where the accusative Case of the subject in the Acc-ing gerund comes from, let us examine the scopal interpretation involved in the Acc-ing clause by applying principle (22) to this construction. If the accusative Case of the embedded subject in Acc-ing is licensed in association with the matrix verb as is the

<sup>3</sup> I ignore the verb movement in this structure.

<sup>4</sup> In this structure, I ignore V-movement. As for the main verb movement in the ECM construction, see Johnson (1991), Koizumi (1993) and Lasnik (1995) among others.

case with ECM, it must show ambiguous scope interpretation. In the next subsection, we will see whether this prediction is borne out or not.

### 3.1.2 Scopal Domain of the Accusative Subject in Acc-ing Gerunds and in Type (II) Acc-ing after Perception Verbs

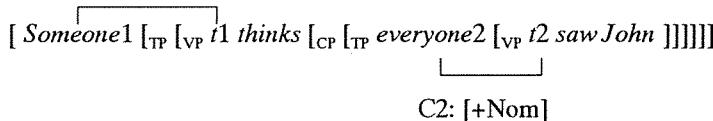
First, let us consider the case of the Acc-ing gerundive clause. It is very interesting to note that, as for the scopal domain of the subject in the Acc-ing clause, we can get only narrow scope interpretation with respect to the matrix subject.

(26) a. *Someone* remembered *everyone* winning.  
 b. *Someone* hated *everyone* being hanged.  
 some > every, \*some < every

At first sight, the accusative subjects of clausal arguments (*everyone*) in both ECM [= (24)] and Acc-ing [= (26)] seem to have their Cases licensed in the same manner as we can see since they are both marked as accusative. So, it is rather surprising to find that it is only the subject of the gerundive Acc-ing clause in (26) that does not have wide reading over the matrix subject, *someone*. This fact is similar to the fact observed in a tensed complement as in (27), whose LF structure is illustrated in (28).

(27) *Someone* thinks *everyone* saw John. some > every, \*some < every

(28) C1: [+Nom]



Given Kitahara's (1995) Scope Principle, the evidence offered by (26) means that the accusative subject of the Acc-ing gerund never moves to a higher position than the base position of the matrix subject (i.e., the Spec of the matrix VP) no matter what kind of structural position it ultimately occupies. This is because, in order to take scope over the matrix subject *someone*, the embedded subject *everyone* must c-command a member of each chain associated with *someone*.

Now let us return to the case of Type (II) complement after perception verbs. Our analysis on Acc-ing gerundive clauses is supposed to be applicable to the case of Type (II), which showed the same behavior in respect of passivization as we examined in section 2. As expected, Type (II) has the same scopal interpretation with the Acc-ing gerundive clause.<sup>5</sup> Consider the following examples:

<sup>5</sup> Interestingly enough, unambiguous scope interpretation is also observed for the infinitival complements after perception verbs (cf. Umehara 1989).

(i) a. Someone saw everyone dance.  
 b. Everyone heard someone sing a song.

In these examples, the matrix subject is said to take only wide scope interpretation.

Notice also that the passivization is impossible for these examples as is illustrated below:

(ii) a. \*Everyone was seen dance.  
 b. \*Someone was heard sing a song.

This is analogous to the fact that the accusative subject of the gerundive clause, which is also resistant to

(29) a. Type (I)&(II) <Ambiguous>:

Someone saw everyone talking about Building 20.

some > every, some < every

b. Type (II):

Everyone felt something dangerous approaching.

every > some, \*every < some

c. Gerundive:

Someone remembered every Republican winning.

some > every, \*some < every

As for the scopal domain of the subject in the construction which is ambiguous between Type (I) & (II), we can get both wide and narrow scope interpretations with respect to the matrix subject [= (29a)]. On the other hand, we can get only narrow scope interpretation as for the subject in the construction disambiguated as Type (II) and Acc-ing gerund [= (29b-c)]. The embedded subject in each construction is marked as accusative. Then, how can we explain this difference in the scopal interpretations? According to the theory of scope under the Minimalist Program, such as Hornstein (1995) and Kitahara (1995), (29) elucidates the difference in the Case-checking of the accusative subjects in the Type (I) vs. the Type (II) and the Acc-ing gerund. Type (II) has only an unambiguous interpretation, i.e., there is no wide interpretation of the accusative subject of Acc-ing in (29b). The embedded subject in this case is licensed in the same way as the accusative subject of the Acc-ing gerund is licensed.

What, then, is a plausible mechanism for the licensing of the accusative subjects in the Acc-ing gerund and in Type (II) complement of perception verbs? With the observations we made so far, we interpret (29) to indicate the following:

(30) The checking of the accusative Case of the subject in Acc-ing gerunds and Type (II) Acc-ings completes within the embedded Acc-ing clause.

In what follows I will try to explicate this mechanism of Case-licensing by focusing on the gerundive Acc-ing clauses in English [= (26, 29c)] with the assumption that the syntactic structure of the Acc-ing clause of Type (II) and the Case-licensing of its accusative subject are the same as the ones concerned with the gerundive Acc-ing clause. In the following subsection, I will point out some problems, both empirical and logical ones, concerning the statement (30), which we have just temporally made as the first step of the argument. In section 3.3, I will make a new proposal about the mechanism of the accusative Case licensing of the subjects in Acc-ing, applying the theory of follow-up checking (cf. Watanabe 1996). Then in section 3.4, it will be argued that the proposal introduced in section 3.3 can solve the problems that are inevitably involved in (30), and it will also be pointed out that the proposal brings some empirical advantages.

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passivization, does not take wide scope over the matrix subject. Although this is very suggestive, I leave the analysis of infinitival complements after perception verbs to future research for a limitation of space.

### 3.2 *Problems*

In this subsection I will point out some empirical and logical problems involved in (30), which is repeated below:

(30) The checking of the accusative Case of the subject in Acc-ing gerunds and Type (II) Acc-ings completes within the embedded Acc-ing clause.

In the first place, there are empirical problems that (30) brings about. Regardless of whether the categorial status of Acc-ing clause is CP or TP,<sup>6</sup> it is predicted, if the checking of accusative Case of subject is completed within Acc-ing as is stated in (30), that the Acc-ing gerund, for example, can occur in any structural position independently of the availability of the accusative Case from the outside of the Acc-ing clause itself. For example, it is predicted: (i) that the Acc-ing clause can occur even if the matrix verb selecting the gerundive clause is passivized; (ii) it can occur after adjectives with the potential to take a clausal argument; and, (iii) it can occur after object control verbs. However, the empirical facts presented below show that it cannot occur in those positions.

First, let us consider the case of passive.

(i) *after passivized verbs*

(31) a. It was remembered [ that he was giving his money to his friend ].  
 b. \*It was remembered [ him giving his money to his friend ].  
 (cf. It was remembered [ PRO giving his money to his friend ].)

If the checking of accusative Case of *him* completes within the Acc-ing clause in (31b) as it does within *that*-clause in (31a), (31b) cannot be precluded by any Case theoretic reason. This is because (31a) and (31b) are alike in that the matrix verb *remember* is passivized and this matrix verb does not have the ability to check accusative Case by itself. Suppose that we interpret (30) to indicate that the licensing of the accusative Case of *him* in (31b) has *no* association with the matrix verb. Then, there should be no Case theoretic problem in (31b), and (31b) would be erroneously predicted to be grammatical. Thus, if (31b) is to be precluded somehow for a Case theoretic reason, it is wrong to interpret (30) to indicate that the licensing of the accusative Case of *him* in (31b) has no association at all with the matrix verb.

Secondly, let us examine the following position, which also seems to be theoretically eligible for the occurrence of the Acc-ing gerund:

(ii) *after adjectives taking a clausal argument*

(32) a. It was wrong [ PRO scolding him ]  
           [ for you to scold him ]  
           [ that you scolded him ]  
 b. \*It was wrong [ you scolding him ]

It seems that no adjectives in English allow an extraposed Acc-ing clause as in (32b)

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<sup>6</sup> At this stage of the argument, the categorial status of Acc-ing construction is not a problem; however, later I will return to this problem and in fact it will be argued that the categorial status of the Acc-ing clause is not CP but TP.

(cf. Quirk et al. 1985). If the checking of the accusative Case of *you* completes within the embedded clause and nothing else happens further, (30) predicts that (32b) is grammatical, contrary to the fact.

The same line of reasoning leads us to another problem. Consider (33):

(iii) *after object control verbs*

(33) a. I persuaded Bill [ PRO to change his mind ]  
 b. I persuaded Bill [ that we were right ]  
 c. \*I persuaded Bill [ us being right ]

If the embedded accusative subject *us* in (33c) is licensed within the embedded clause, there should be no Case theoretic reason to make (33c) ungrammatical.

Added to the above three positions, there is one more position which is eligible for the occurrence of Acc-ing clauses if (30) is assumed. This fourth position is the one after post-verbal adverbs. The relevant example is illustrated by (34):

(iv) *after post-verbal adverbs*

(34) a. I insisted obstinately on [ him being invited to the party ].  
 b. \*I remember clearly [ him giving his money to his friend ].

Similarly to the aforementioned cases, if the checking of accusative Case of *him* completes within the Acc-ing clause, (34b) should be grammatical for the same reason that (34a) is grammatical, but the fact shows that it is not the case.

Now, let us consider what these empirical problems indicate. Seemingly, they stand obstructive to the statement (30). In the present paper, however, we seek to maintain (30) by proposing a new analysis of Acc-ing gerunds which gives a consistent explanation to all the above problems. Reconsider the fact shown by (26), which leads us to conclude (30). It should be noted here that this fact only indicates that there is no *immediate* checking relationship between the accusative Case feature of DP and the matrix verb. The relevant fact is repeated below:

(26) a. *Someone* remembered *everyone* winning.  
 b. *Someone* hated *everyone* being hanged.

some > every, \*some < every

Therefore, it is wrong to interpret (30) as indicating that there is not any kind of checking relationship between the accusative Case feature of the gerundive subject and the matrix verb. The logical possibility which was overlooked in interpreting (30) is that, though the checking of the accusative Case of the subject in the Acc-ing clause is completed within the embedded clause, there is still *some kind of (indirect)* checking relationship between it and the matrix verb. In the following subsection I will examine what this type of checking relationship is, and will make a new proposal about the licensing of the accusative Case of the subject in the Acc-ing clause.

### 3.3 *Proposal*

#### 3.3.1. *Property of the Matrix Predicate*

Returning to the examples examined in section 3.2, we are tempted to conclude that

their ungrammaticality results from the failure of the matrix verb to provide the accusative Case to the subject in the Acc-ing gerund. The relevant examples are repeated here:

- (35) a. \*It was remembered [ him giving his money to his friend ].
- b. \*It was wrong [ you scolding him ]
- c. \*I persuaded Bill [ us being right ]
- d. \*I remember clearly [ him giving his money to his friend ].

It is evident from all these examples that the matrix predicates fail to provide accusative Case. In (35a) the matrix verb is passivized and is not able to have accusative Case at all. As for (35b), the adjectival predicate does not have accusative Case. On the other hand, a control verb such as the one in (35c) has accusative Case; however, it provides its only Case to the matrix object, *Bill*, and it is unable to provide an accusative Case any more. Lastly, (35d) has to do with the well-known adjacency-problem, which is typically exemplified by such sentences as (36) (cf. Stowell 1981). I assume in this paper, following Koizumi (1995), that the ungrammaticality of (36a) comes from the failure of *him* to enter into a proper checking relation with the verb *remember*.<sup>7</sup>

- (36) a. \*I remember clearly him.
- b. I remember him clearly.

This leads us to a contradictory situation: The above facts exemplified by (35) demand that the accusative Case of the matrix verb should be responsible somehow for the occurrence of the Acc-ing gerund; on the other hand, the statement in (30), which was deduced from the fact concerning scopal interpretation, says that the accusative Case of the subject in the Acc-ing clause is not connected directly with the matrix verb. Then, how can we release ourselves from this contradictory situation? In the next subsection, I will give an answer to this question.

### 3.3.2. Theory of Follow-up Checking

Now, following the lead of Watanabe (1993, 1996), I propose to assume the following: Accusative Case feature of the subject in the Acc-ing clause is checked by some element within the embedded clause; however, some kind of feature of this element remains and it needs further checking later in the course of derivation. Unless this second type of checking process is completed, the licensing of the accusative subject of the Acc-ing gerund is not fulfilled. Further, I assume that this remaining feature must be checked properly by the matrix verb that has the potential to check the accusative Case.

More specifically, I am claiming that the following process of feature-checking is involved in the Acc-ing gerund: (i) The accusative subject in the Acc-ing clause, first, moves to the Spec of T in the gerundive clause; (ii) T in the gerundive clause has the ability to check accusative Case, and it checks off the accusative Case of the subject at the Spec of T; (iii) T's checking of accusative Case yields a feature within T and this feature needs follow-up checking; and (iv) T moves out of the Acc-ing clause to

<sup>7</sup> For the limitation of space, I refer the reader to Koizumi (1995), where he extensively shows why the checking of the accusative Case is precluded in this context.

the matrix V to complete the follow-up checking. The crucial point here is that the element which acts as the checker of the follow-up checking is a verb with the potential to check the accusative Case. It is, thus, imperative for us to assume that the Acc-ing clause counts as TP.<sup>8</sup>

Here, a comment on the claim stated in (ii) is in order. According to Watanabe's (1996) theory of follow-up checking, the Case-bearing head X must be adjoined to the immediately higher head Y to carry out the follow-up checking. The inventory of structural Case he proposes is as follows:<sup>9</sup>

- (37)      Nominative Case: A finite T is responsible for Nominative.
- Accusative Case: A verb is responsible for Accusative.
- Null Case: An infinitival T is responsible for Null Case.

Now I propose to add (38) to this inventory:

- (38)      T specified for [-T, +Agr] has an accusative Case feature.<sup>10</sup>

In order to make the argument more concrete, let us consider the acceptable case of (39) and its structure represented in (40):

- (39)      I remember [ him giving his money to his friend ].

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<sup>8</sup> In fact, Ishino (1996, 1998) argues that there are several pieces of empirical evidence that the category of the Acc-ing clause is TP. For the space limitation, I refer the reader to Ishino (1996, 1998).

<sup>9</sup> It is also assumed in Watanabe (1996) that the infinitival T may have the ability to check accusative Case. He demonstrates this in his analysis of the infinitival clause with *for* complementizer as in (i).

(i) a. [CP For [AgrSP him to solve the problem]] is not impossible.  
b. \*[AgrSP Him to solve the problem] is not impossible. (Watanabe 1996: 47-48)

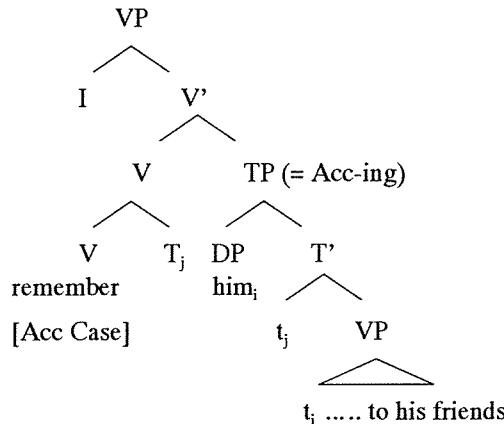
In (ia) infinitival T (= *to*) checks the accusative Case of the subject *him* and the feature yielded within T is properly checked by the complementizer *for*; on the other hand, in (ib), the remaining feature of T after its accusative Case checking in the infinitival clause cannot be checked off due to the absence of the complementizer *for*; as a result, (ib) crashes.

<sup>10</sup> Behind the statement in (34) is the hypothesis concerning the relationships between the combinations of the features possessed by Tense elements and the types of clausal constructions, according to which clause-types can be appropriately classified by means of possible feature combinations.

(i) a. [+T, +Agr]: tensed finite clause  
b. [+T, -Agr]: tensed nonfinite clause  
c. [-T, +Agr]: tenseless finite clause  
d. [-T, -Agr]: tenseless nonfinite clause

For instance, if the tense element in the clause is specified for [+T, +Agr] (= (ia)), it means that the clause is a tensed clause and there is subject-verb agreement. This hypothesis counts as a Minimalist restatement of George and Kornfilt's (1981) classical idea on clause types. In fact, Picallo (1984) and Quicoli (1996), observing non-finite clauses in Romance, provide empirical support to this hypothesis (what they call "I-Parameter"). See Ishino (1996, 1998) for discussion on this hypothesis and its implications in analyzing non-finite clauses, especially, various gerundive constructions, in English.

(40)

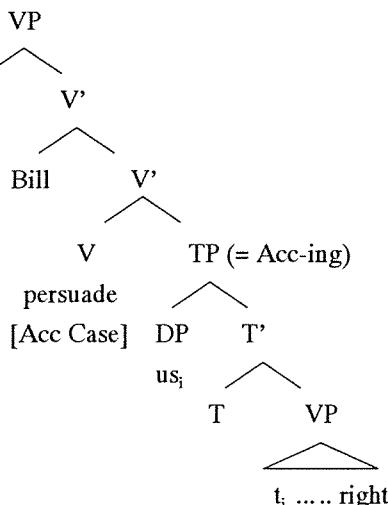


T specified for [-T, +Agr] in the gerundive clause attracts the gerundive subject from its base generated position (i.e. the Spec of the verb in the gerundive clause) to TP-Spec position; as a result, it checks the accusative Case of the gerundive subject. (Presumably, the movement is driven by the EPP feature of T.<sup>11</sup>) T, then, undergoes head-movement for follow-up checking and gets adjoined to the matrix V which is able to check accusative Case.

In contrast, consider the ungrammatical case of (41) and its structure represented in (42):

(41) \*I persuaded Bill [us being right].

(42)



Although the accusative Case of the subject of the Acc-ing clause is properly checked

<sup>11</sup> The involvement of the EPP feature of T in the movement of the gerundive subject to TP-Spec position is evident from the fact that the expletive occurs at the same position. Take (i) for instance:

(i) I remember [ there being a strange man in the garden ].

The EPP feature of T within the gerundive clause is checked off by the expletive *there* (Chomsky 1995).

by T specified for  $[-T, +Agr]$ , the feature yielded in T by this process remains unchecked; for the accusative Case of the matrix verb *persuade* is used in the checking of the accusative Case of its object *Bill*. In this case, the follow-up checking cannot complete and this leads the derivation to crash. This is our analysis of the Acc-ing gerund in English. In the next section I will demonstrate that this analysis satisfactorily overcomes the empirical problems observed in section 3.2 above.

### 3.4. *Explanation*

#### 3.4.1. *Passivization out of Acc-ing*

Before giving an analysis to each problem, let me demonstrate that the issue concerning passivization out of the Acc-ing clause, which we touched on in section 1, is not problematic for our theory.

(43) \*John was remembered [ *t* going to the museum ].

Suppose that the Case of *John* is not licensed in the Spec of T within the Acc-ing clause. It, then, moves to the subject position of the matrix clause in order to have its Case checked. As for the T specified for  $[-T, +Agr]$  within the Acc-ing clause, however, it does not enter into an accusative Case-feature checking relation with any element. Since the accusative Case is a  $[-\text{interpretable}]$  feature, the derivation crashes if T fails to check accusative Case. In (43), T does not check an accusative Case; consequently, the derivation crashes.

#### 3.4.2. *The Problems Resolved*

Let us return to the problems observed in section 3.2. First, the Acc-ing placed after a passivized verb is analyzed as follows:

(i) *after a passivized verb*  
 (44) \*It was remembered [ John going to the museum ].

*John*'s accusative Case is checked by T specified for  $[-T, +Agr]$  within the Acc-ing clause and the derivation is successful up to this point; however, in this case, the matrix verb is passivized and it has no ability to check the accusative Case feature of any element as is generally assumed. Given our proposal that an element that acts as a checker of the follow-up checking is a verb with a potential to check accusative Case, the matrix verb in this case cannot act as a checker of the follow-up checking and the derivation crashes.

Since the present follow-up checking analysis requires the presence of the matrix predicate that has a potential to check accusative Case, the same analysis will apply to the second problem, which involves the adjectives taking a clausal argument.

(ii) *after adjectives which take a clausal argument*  
 (45) \*It was wrong [ you scolding him ].

The adjective *wrong* does not possess the ability to check the accusative Case feature;

therefore, in the present analysis, it cannot act as a checker for the follow-up checking of T specified for [-T, +Agr] which is expected to check the accusative Case feature of the subject in Acc-ing.

Thirdly, the case of object control verbs can be explained analogously.

(iii) *after object control verb*

(46) a. I persuaded Bill [ PRO to change his mind ].  
 b. I persuaded Bill [ that we were right ].  
 c. \*I persuaded Bill [ us being right ].

In this case, the matrix verb, whose accusative Case feature is used for the checking of the accusative Case of the object, *Bill*, cannot act as a checker for the follow-up checking to license the accusative subject of the embedded clause. After T specified for [-T, +Agr] checks the accusative Case of the subject in the Acc-ing clause, its feature will not be properly checked by the matrix verb, whose accusative Case is deprived of by the matrix object.

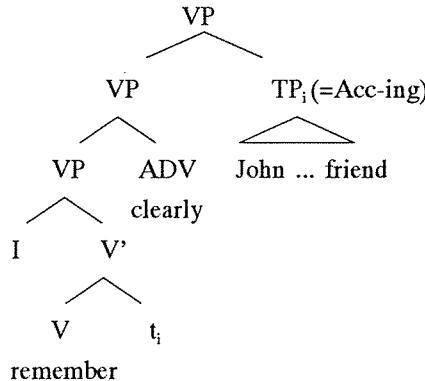
Finally, let us analyze the examples involving post-verbal adverbs. In this case the analysis stands in need of an assumption on the structural position of adverbs.

(iv) *after post-verbal adverb*

(47) \*I remember clearly [ John giving his money to his friend ].

Following the commonly held idea, I assume that adverbs adjoin exclusively to maximal projections (cf. Cinque 1999). Given this assumption, it must be the case that the clause *[John giving his money to his friend]* in (47) is shifted from its original position to a VP-peripheral position. The relevant structure is depicted as in the following:

(48)



The accusative Case of *John* can be checked by T specified for [-T, +Agr] as in other cases; however, the feature of T which needs follow-up checking cannot move to the matrix V *remember* in this configuration owing to the well-known effect of the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984, Baker 1988). Thus, (47) whose underlying structure is represented as in (48) becomes ungrammatical.

### 3.4.3. Some Empirical Advantages

Not only can the new proposal give a consistent account of the above problematic examples (i-iv), but it also has some advantages (v-vii) over the previous studies on Acc-ing. First, consider the occurrence of the Acc-ing clause after nouns or adjectives.

The present analysis enables us to treat these examples in the same way as the cases that we analyzed above through (i) to (iv). If the same follow-up process is involved, the feature that needs follow-up checking fails to be checked in the (b) examples of (49) and (50). This is because nouns and adjectives are not capable of checking accusative Case.

On the other hand, it is well known that the insertion of a certain preposition between nouns (or adjectives) and the Acc-ing clause makes the examples grammatical as in (51).

(51) a. { the chance / the possibility } of [ him winning ]  
b. I am proud of [ him acting so bravely ].

Following the traditional distinction between the categories with respect to the licensing of Case, we consider that the preposition *of*, being [-N] category, has an ability to check accusative Case feature (cf. Kayne (1983) and Ura (1999)) and the follow-up checking is completed in cases such as (51). We now need to change the statement of our proposal slightly to cover these examples. The element that acts as a checker of the follow-up checking is not restricted to a verb with a potential to check accusative Case. The checker can be any element with a potential to check structural accusative Case.

The next advantage comes from the case of dislocation (cf. Rudanko 1996).

(vi) *impossibility of the dislocation*

(52) a. He balked at it, [ PRO extending the deadline ].  
b. \*He balked at it, [ Sue extending the deadline ].  
(53) a. He balked at [ PRO extending the deadline ].  
b. He balked at [ Sue extending the deadline ].  
(54) a. We regret it, [ PRO refusing the invitation ].  
b. \*We regret it, [ John refusing the invitation ].  
(55) a. We regret [ PRO refusing the invitation ].  
b. We regret [ John refusing the invitation ].

In (52b) the accusative Case of the preposition *at* is already checked with *it*. Therefore, the follow-up process is not completed. On the other hand, the follow-up process in (53b) is carried out because *at* can provide the gerundive T with an accusative Case.

The same analysis is applicable to the contrast observed between (54) and (55).

Finally, let us point out that our proposal leads us to the prediction that there exists no raising type predicate taking Acc-ing in English.

(vii) *absence of the raising predicate taking Acc-ing*

(56) a. \*It SEEEMS [ DP V-ing ]  
 b. \*It seems [ him being honest ]

Raising verbs do not possess the ability to check accusative Case feature (Burzio 1984); therefore, it cannot act as a checker for the follow-up checking. It is interesting that raising does not occur in this case. Compare the following examples:

(57) a. \*It seems [ him to be ill ].  
 b. He seems [ *t* to be ill ].  
 (58) a. \*It seems [ him trembling ].  
 b. \*He seems [ *t* trembling ].  
 (cf. He seems [ *t* to be trembling ].)

While raising is possible from *to*-infinitival complements as is shown in (57b), the same operation is impossible from the Acc-ing clauses as is exemplified by (58b). In the case of the Acc-ing clause, T specified for [-T, +Agr] must check the accusative Case of the embedded subject in Acc-ing; hence, the derivation in (58b) crashes. The fact that there is no raising from Acc-ing clauses supports our analysis that T specified for [-T, +Agr] must check the accusative Case of the embedded subject in Acc-ing.

#### 4 SUMMARY

In this paper I have provided a unified account to the issues concerning Acc-ing selected by perception verbs in English as well as the Acc-ing clauses generally called Acc-ing gerunds. In order to disambiguate these constructions, which were pointed out by the previous studies, I proposed a new mechanism for the licensing of the accusative subject in the Acc-ing clause, by following the mechanism of follow-up checking. As for the one type of Acc-ing after perception verbs, which we called Type (II) in the present paper, and the Acc-ing gerunds, their subjects are checked off its accusative Case by T that is specified for [-T, +Agr] within the Acc-ing clause, but the feature yielded within T by this checking process needs follow-up checking. It is argued that the follow-up checker in the case of Acc-ing is an element with a potential to check the accusative Case, which indicates that there is a certain indirect relationship between the matrix predicate and the accusative-marked subject in the Acc-ing. As for the other type of Acc-ing after perception verbs, which we called Type (I) in the present paper, they were treated analogously as the type belonging to the secondary predicates.

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