

The Properties of Negative Non-Finite Complements^{*}

Mark Baltin

Abstract

This paper is about the syntax and semantics of non-finite clausal complementation. By focusing on the properties of a small and comparatively neglected class of non-finite complements in English, this paper will shed light on the larger class of non-finite complements that have been the subject of much discussion, arguing that selection for complement type is semantic in nature rather than syntactic.

Our probe into the nature of non-finite complementation in general will be complements headed by *from*, exemplified in (1):

- (1) a. He refrained from speaking.
b. I dissuaded him from speaking.
c. I prevented him from speaking.

Various diagnostics indicate that *refrain* is a verb of subject-control, so that the subject of *refrain* is understood as controlling the understood subject of the embedded verb, in this case *speaking*; that *dissuade* is a verb of object-control (as is the verb *discourage*); and finally that *prevent* is what is known as an E(xceptional)C(ase)M(arking) verb.

Although these verbs differ among themselves, they have in common the fact that *from* signals a negative entailment of its complement, so that the use of *from* signals that the action or state of affairs denoted by the embedded verb does not occur. Coinciding with this negative entailment, Negative Polarity Items, such as *ever*, are licensed in the *from*-complement:

- (2) a. He refrained from ever speaking.
b. I dissuaded him from ever speaking.
c. I prevented him from ever speaking.

This trifurcation of *from*-complements into subject-control, object-control, and ECM complements mirrors a similar distinction, much more discussed, among infinitives, as exemplified in (3):

^{*} This paper has benefited immeasurably from the insightful comments of Liina Pykkänen, Jeroen van Craenenbroeck, and Idan Landau. As usual, they deserve all of the credit and none of the blame for my use of their insights.

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|-----|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| (3) | He tried to speak. | (Subject Control) |
| (4) | I persuaded him to speak. | (Object Control) |
| (5) | I believed him to have spoken. | (ECM) |

The only extant analysis of *from*-complements of which I am aware, that of Landau (2002), analyzes *from*-complements in English, as well as their Hebrew analogues, as CPs, so that *from* is a complementizer. This allows the analysis of negative non-finite complements in Hebrew and English to receive the same treatment as the more standard infinitives in (3-5).

I will argue, however, that whatever the status of Hebrew negative non-finite complements, English *from*-complements should not be treated as CPs. Rather, following Baltin (1995), where these are discussed, they should be treated as PPs, with *from* being analyzed as a preposition. Moreover, the complement of *from* is a DP, and given that these complements can be controlled, control must be a semantic phenomenon.

The paper is organized as follows. In Section I, I will review what I take to be a standard minimalist treatment of infinitival complementation, that of Boškovic (1995). Section II presents Landau's (2000) analysis of control, as well as his (2002) proposal about the nature of *from*-complements; along the way, I will discuss some semantic properties of all non-finite clausal complements, evaluating standard treatments as to their efficacy in capturing these properties. In Section III, I will present evidence that *from*-complements are PPs, consisting of a preposition that takes a nominal complement. The implications for Landau's theory of control will be discussed. Section IV will focus on the negative force of *from* in this construction, noting that *from*'s negativity is often absent from this morpheme itself, and some speculations will be made as to the source of negative meanings in introducers in Dutch, English, and Hebrew. Section V concludes with an overview and summary.

Before I begin, I must note a gap in the correlation between infinitive and *from*-complements. While the subject of infinitives can undergo A-movement (the so-called "subject-to-subject raising" construction), there is no analogue with *from*-complements. That is, while (6) is acceptable, it lacks a counterpart with *from*-complements, so that (7) does not exist in English:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (6) | John _i seems t _i to have left. |
| (7) | *John _i dissembles t _i from having left. |

This gap will be accounted for in Section III, as part of a more general restriction, noted by Landau, on A-movement out of *from*-complements, supplanted by a novel proposal by me on the definition of A-versus A-bar positions.

1 Selection for Infinitival Complements

The primary extant proposal for infinitival complement selection within Minimalism is that of Boškovic (1997) and Martin (2001). In this approach, the infinitival marker *to* is the locus of selection, being imbued with either the presence or absence of Tense (Stowell 1982 first proposed that infinitives can be tensed). The presence of Tense on the infinitive marker triggers a future¹ interpretation, and licenses null Case on the subject (conventionally called PRO). A [-Tense] infinitival marker does not license Case on the subject, which must then receive Case

¹ or modal interpretation, as conceded by Martin (2001). See Baltin & Barrett (2002) for a detailed criticism of the idea that [+Tense] is either a necessary or sufficient condition for the presence of the relevant interpretation.

from some other source, such as an ECM verb or the infinitival complementizer *for*. A partial exemplification of the paradigm is given in (8):

- (8) a. John tried [PRO [to [+Tense] lock the door].
 b. John believed [[DP Sally] to [-Tense] be polite].
 c. John would prefer [CP for [Sally] to[-Tense] be polite].

It is clear that (8)(a) implies a future interpretation for the infinitive relative to the matrix, so that the locking has to follow the trying, while (8)(b) and (8) (c) are compatible with simultaneity of the state of affairs conveyed in the infinitive relative to the matrix state of affairs (i.e. believing and preferring occurs at the same time as being polite). Raising predicates, such as *seem*, trigger a [-Tense] feature on the heads of their infinitival complements, but do not possess a Case feature either, so that the subject of the infinitival complement must A-move to a Case position in order to have its Case feature checked.

Martin (2001) notes that the feature [+Tense] interacts with the nature of the predicate complement in an interesting way, such that [+Tense] takes eventive predicates, and [-Tense] only occurs with non-eventive predicates (i.e. states). Therefore, the following pattern of data exists:

- (9) a. John tried to lock the door.
 b. *I believed John to lock the door.
 c. I believed John to be polite.

The term eventive, however, is too coarse, in my view; Vendler's (1967) achievement predicates, for example, are surely eventive, and yet cannot occur as control complement predicates:

- (10) *John tried to die.

Rather, the generalization about control complement predicates seems to be that they must denote accomplishments or activities, in Vendler's sense:

- (11) a. John tried to build a house.
 b. John tried to run.

It should be noted that both accomplishments and activities are event types whose subjects are agentive, and in fact are the only two of Vendler's four verbal types that possess this property. Jon Brennan (personal communication) has suggested to me that this property could be captured by selecting for *v*, rather than *T*. I will discuss this proposal below; while interesting, I feel that it will not capture the full range of complement types that occur with the selecting predicates.

2 Landau (2000, 2002)

Landau makes some proposals about control, the way that PRO is assigned a reference, which are relevant in the present context. Additionally, he is the only linguist, to my knowledge,

to analyze *from*-complements in detail (although this type of complement was first discussed in Postal (1974)). Therefore, his proposals will be discussed here, as a yardstick of comparison with my own proposals.

2.1 Landau (2000)

For reasons of space and exposition, I will confine the discussion to obligatory control, in which PRO requires a controller. Landau introduces the distinction between two types of control: exhaustive control and partial control. The former type of control defines the situation in which the controller exhausts the reference of PRO, while the latter type of control is found in situations in which the controller is included in the reference of PRO. Examples of exhaustive control and partial control are (12)(a) and (12)(b), respectively:

- (12) a. John tried PRO to visit Sally.
b. John wanted PRO to meet at six.

Obligatory control is, in Landau's system, an instance of Agree (Chomsky (2000)), with the controller as the probe and the controlee the goal. The probe is a functional head that agrees with what we think of as the controller, and it is this functional head that transmits its ϕ -features to either PRO, in the case of exhaustive control, or an infinitival Agr, in the case of partial control. In the case of subject control, the probe is matrix T, and in the case of object control, the probe is v. If the infinitive is tensed, as in the sense of Stowell (1982), embedded T-agr can move to C, in the case of partial control.²

It is important to see how much reliance on structure there is within the controlled complement in this system. In particular, exhaustive control requires PRO as the goal, while partial control requires T-Agr.

2.2 Landau (2002)

Interestingly, Landau (2002) is a valuable discussion of the properties of *from*-complements in its own right, and additionally is a useful implementation of Landau's ideas on control. The salient points of this analysis are as follows: (i) *from* is a complementizer, and hence its complement is a TP; (ii) *from* has a Neg feature, interpretable on some complements, and interpretable on others. The relevant verbs here are those whose complements are headed by an element with an interpretable Neg feature. Landau discusses these verbs in English and Hebrew. Hebrew examples are given in (13), and the English examples are given in (14):

- (13) a. Ha-biku^vs ha-acum mana me-ha-mexirim laredet. (Landau's (8)a)
the-demand the huge prevented from-the-prices to-fall.
b. Gil nimna/hitnazer/nizhar me-le' a^vsen sigaryot. (Landau's (19)a)
Gil refrained/abstained/was careful from-to-smoke cigarettes.
Gil refrained/abstained from smoking cigarettes.
- (14) a. The huge demand prevented the prices from falling.
b. Gil refrained from smoking cigarettes.

² For details, see Landau (2000), especially p. 8.

- c. I dissuaded/discouraged Gil from smoking cigarettes.

By analyzing *from*-complements as CPs, consisting of Cs with TP complements, we can account for control phenomena within these complements using the theory of control in Landau (2000). The complements of *from* could contain PRO and even Agr (given that they allow partial control, as in (15)):

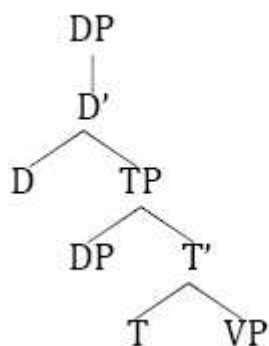
- (15) I dissuaded him from meeting at noon.

Nevertheless, there is at least one distributional difference between Hebrew and English with respect to the complements of *mana* 'prevent' and its English cognate, respectively. Additionally, *from*-complements can be nominal in form in English when the complements are interpreted as control complements. I will defer discussion of the former point, but will immediately address the latter.

3 The DP nature of *from*'s complement

While Landau analyzes English *from* in this construction as a complementizer, note that *from*'s complement looks suspiciously like a gerund, which Abney (1987) gives the following structure:

- (16)



Nevertheless, the structure looks clausal in form. Suspicions are not proof.

More probative are complements of *from* that look more clearly nominal, as in (17):

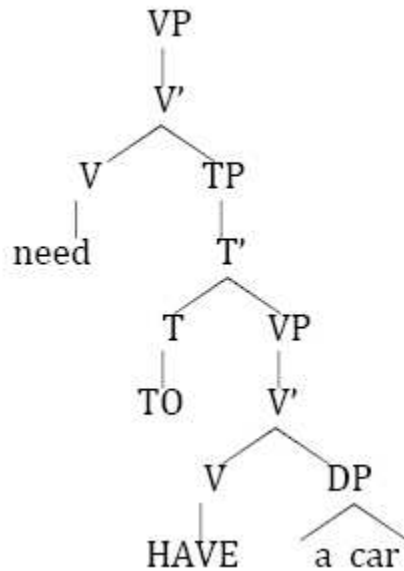
- (17) a. I dissuaded him from that course of action.
 b. What did you dissuade him from___?
 c. I dissuaded him from that___.
 d. What I dissuaded him from was talking to Sally.

(17)(d) requires some comment, being a pseudo-cleft, with the normal post-copular focus. Nevertheless, the *wh*-form is, under all analyses of the pseudo-cleft, generated as the complement of *from*.

We see from (17) that a range of nominals can appear as the overt complement of *from* in this construction³. Unfortunately, the overt nominal's appearance does not clinch the verdict for whether the complement of *from* is a DP. There could be null structure that encases the overt DP, such as a null verb. For instance, Larson, den Dikken, & Ludlow (2006) suggest that the complements of the intensional verbs *want* and *need* are infinitives, with null verbs taking the overt DPs as complements. Hence, the structure of the main VP in (18), for example, would be along the lines of (19)⁴:

(18) John needs a car.

(19)



One of the chief pieces of evidence that they advance for this higher structure is the presence of an adverbial that refers to the embedded state of affairs, as in (20), in which the temporal must modify the having rather than the needing:

(20) John needs a car until six o'clock.

Assuming, as most people do, that temporal adverbials require verbs for licensing, we have *prima facie* evidence for hidden structure in the complement of *need*. Crucially, Pylkkänen (2008) shows that the complement of *begin*, which in her analysis type-shifts from an entity to an event, does not license the adverbial. Compare (21)(a), the type-shifted DP, to (21)(b).

(21) a. #The boy began the book page by page. (Pylkkänen's (8))

³ Although there are certain gaps, as Idan Landau has pointed out to me, in that certain nominals which should be possible as a result of type-shifting (Pylkkänen (2008)) are still impossible, such as (i):

(i) I dissuaded him from the steak. (i.e. eating the steak).

I will address some of these cases presently. Unfortunately, I still do not have an explanation for this one.

⁴ I am omitting irrelevant details for expository reasons. Silent, but syntactically present, elements are capitalized. Also, Larson, den Dikken, & Ludlow prepose the embedded VP into an embedded [Spec, CP]. Again, this is not germane to my concerns.

- b. The boy began reading the book page by page.

Pylkkänen takes the contrast between (20) and (21)(a) to diagnose the contrast between type-shifting in the semantics in the latter case to hidden syntactic structure in the former case. When we apply the lower adverbial test to *from*-complements with only overt nominal material following *from*, we find that the lower adverbial is not permitted:

- (22) a. *I dissuaded him from that course of action quickly.
b. I dissuaded him from pursuing that course of action quickly.

The hidden adverbial test indicates that overt nominals that follow *from* are simply nominals, and nothing else, unlike Larson, den Dikken, & Ludlow's complements of intensional verbs.

Another relevant datum about *from*-complements is that the nominal complement of *from* is impossible when the matrix verb is *prevent*, a fact about *prevent* which sets it aside from the other verbs that take *from*-complements that I have discussed previously:

- (23) I { *prevented } him from that course of action.
{ dissuaded }

The clue to the solution, in my view, comes from Postal's (1974) demonstration that *prevent* is an ECM verb. While I believe that this is true up to a point⁵, the standard diagnostics indicate that the understood subject of *prevent*'s complement is licensed totally within the embedded complement, the nominals that intervene between the other matrix verbs and *from* are object controllers. The contrasts in (23) are a partial indication of this point:

- (24) a. I { prevented } there from being a discussion.
{ *dissuaded }
b. I { prevented } any headway from being made.
{ *dissuaded }

Another way to express the contrast between ECM and object control is to say that the overt nominal, the "understood" subject, of the ECM complement is licensed by predication, while the overt nominal of an object control complement is licensed by theta-marking in the matrix clause as well as controlling the PRO subject of the complement. Therefore, the subject of an ECM complement must originate in the ECM complement itself, in a configuration in which it is licensed by predication. This fact would necessitate that (23), when the main verb is *prevent*, would originate as something like (25):

- (25) I prevented from [[him][that course of action]]

As a predication, of course, (25) makes no sense; it expresses the notion that he is a course of action.^{6,7}

⁵ The qualification comes from my, and Landau's, belief that the understood subject of *prevent*'s complement does not raise into the matrix, unlike more discussed ECM verbs such as *believe*, but rather resides in the Spec of *from*. I will present evidence for this view when discussing scope, and will suggest a reason for the discrepancy between *prevent* and *believe*.

⁶ This contrast between *dissuade* and indicates, contra Williams (1980), that obligatory control does not reduce to predication.

⁷ Idan Landau (personal communication) suggests that the unacceptability of nominal complements of *from* with *prevent* may have nothing to do with predication, and notes that complements of *from* that are clearly predicate nominals are no more acceptable than (23) when the main verb is *prevent*, such as (i) and (ii):

Another argument for the prepositional, obligatorily Case-assigning status of *from* can be made by considering a difference between Hebrew and English with respect to the word order of *from* complements with *prevent* and the Hebrew analogues. In English, the ECM subject precedes *from*, while in Hebrew, the ECM subject (in at least one of the subcategorizations) follows *me*, the Hebrew translation of *from*:

- (26) a. Ha-kaba'im man'u me-ha-es' le'hitpas'et. (Landau's (8)(b))
 the-firemen prevented from-the-fire to-spread
 'The firemen prevented the fire from spreading.'
 b. The firemen prevented the fire from spreading.

We can account for the word order difference if we view Hebrew *me* as a prepositional complementizer, analogous to English *for*. Let us assume that elements that have a Case-checking feature must discharge that feature. Being a complementizer, *for*'s (and *me*'s) complement is a TP, which does not have a Case feature to check, and that this feature can and must be checked once. It therefore can, and must, find another candidate whose Case-feature it can check. The closest candidate is the subject of the TP, whose Case-feature it checks by Agree.

On the other hand, if *from* is a preposition, it can only check the Case-feature of its DP-complement. Because *prevent* s-selects a proposition, and the proposition must have a subject, Case must be assigned to the subject. Because *prevent* also requires *from*, which has its Case-feature to discharge, and takes a DP complement, *from* will check its DP-complement's Case; this will expend *from*'s Case-checking ability, and the ECM subject will have to move close enough to *prevent* in order to receive Case from v.⁸

Hence, the ECM verb *prevent* raises interesting issues. Landau proposes that *prevent* is in fact ambiguous between inducing an ECM configuration and an object-control configuration. I agree with this analysis, but if it is true, it raises the question of why (23) is still ungrammatical even if the object-control configuration is chosen. I take up this issue in the next section.

4 A Syntactic Constraint on Type-Selection

As has been noted earlier, control complements have an additional property; they denote activities and accomplishments, in Vendler's (1967) sense. As has been noted by Ramchand (2007), several authors, such as Grimshaw (1990), have decomposed accomplishments into activities plus states. If this is correct, it is reasonable to find a syntactic node that uniquely denotes activity, and place a selectional feature for that node on the selecting predicate.

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- (i) He is the winner. It is a success.
 (ii) *I prevented him from the winner.
 (iii) *He prevented it from a success.

I suggest that the impossibility of predicate nominals in the complement position of *from* stems from a need for *from* to assign Case to its complement, and it is well-known that predicate nominals receive a different Case from that of normal arguments. This is clear in languages with morphological Case, and the effects can be inferred even in English, in which predicate nominals, rather than referential DPs, occur in adjunct positions

- (iv) He arrived in Boston a tired and dejected man.

However, the nominal complements of *dissuade* in (17) are not predicate nominals, and can therefore bear whatever Case prepositions such as *from* license on their complements.

⁸ Idan Landau has asked what forces the movement, since Case can be checked by Agree, as shown by the pattern in expletive constructions. This is true, but in this case, *from* would intervene, and Agree is subject to Relativized Minimality. Furthermore, I argue later in this paper that *from* is a phase head, and the Phase Impenetrability Condition would prevent *prevent* from checking Case into a lower phase if the material that it is checking is not at the edge of the phase.

It seems plausible to identify *v* as the syntactic correlate of activity, and thus it is tempting to select *v* by *dissuade*, *persuade*, *refrain*, etc. However, there is a functional element in the way for all of these control complements: null *C* (according to Chomsky (1981), at least) in the case of infinitives⁹ and *from* in the case of *from*-complements, in addition to the elements in *T* *to* and *-ing*, respectively. We could solve this problem by restricting type-selection to the types of lexical categories, taking *v* to be a lexical category, and by-pass functional elements.

However, the *from*-complements that are discussed in (17) are nominal in nature, and presumably lack the node that conveys activity. In particular, the interrogative pronoun *what*, by its very nature, presumably lacks any inherent semantic features beyond inanimacy. Therefore, the interpretation of the *from* complements in (17) must be due to coercion.

In sum, we have the following situation: complements without overt subjects, the control complements, can be restricted as to semantic type, whereas complements with overt subjects, the complements of *believe*-type verbs and the complement of *prevent*, are unrestricted as to semantic type. One way of accounting for this distinction would involve invoking Chomsky's (1985) notion of a Complete Functional Complex (CFC), a configuration in which a head would have a subject and at least one complement. We might then take complete functional complexes to be barriers to type-coercion.

It will be noted that this account requires us to ignore PRO as an eligible subject in the calculation of CFCs., a natural effect if we take PRO to arise via deletion. However, I will not pursue this matter here.

5 The Structures That Are Induced by *Prevent*

We must distinguish the structures induced by predicates that select object-control *from*-complements from the structures induced by ECM *from*-complement-taking predicates, just as we must make that distinction for the two analogous classes of infinitivals. The structures induced by object-control predicates are fairly straightforward; they consist of the main verb, the object, and the complement (from-complement or infinitive). The structures that are induced by *prevent* are slightly more complicated. In the next two sub-sections (V.A and V.B), I will defend the view, shared with Landau (2002), that *prevent* induces both an ECM structure as well as an object-control structure, point out some conceptual and empirical problems with the duality of structures, and modify the object-control structure. This solution will have general implications for the view expressed by some authors (Martin (2001), Babyonyshev, Ganger, Pesetsky, & Wexler (2001), among others) that "syntactic homophones" exist (my own view is that to the extent that the view is even coherent, they don't). Section V.C discusses an asymmetry between the ECM structures that *prevent* induces and the structures that surround ECM infinitivals; to preview my conclusions, the subject of *prevent*'s complement will be shown to move only as far as the Spec of *from*, while the subject of an infinitival ECM complement moves farther, into the matrix clause, following Postal (1974) and Lasnik & Saito (1991). I will adopt Landau's explanation for this discrepancy, but will suggest a reason for the discrepancy.

5.1 *Prevent* Structure I – The ECM Structure

In this section, I will defend the view that the subject of ECM *from*-complements is in [Spec, *from*], while the subject of ECM infinitivals is in a higher position, in the matrix clause (perhaps [Spec, AgrO], as posited by Lasnik & Saito (1991)).

⁹ But see Boškovic (1997) for an alternative view, in which the control complements are TPs. The problem in the text re-appears for Boškovic, since the infinitival marker *to* intervenes between the matrix predicate and *v*.

To illustrate this, consider the interpretation of (27):

(27) The entire team didn't leave.

The subject *the entire team* can be interpreted as a universal quantifier, allowing a sort of “distributive” interpretation, and accordingly can either take wide or narrow scope with respect to the negative, so that (27) is ambiguous between two interpretations.

- (28) a. Not every member of the team left. (Wide scope of the negation)
 b. Every member of the team stayed. (Narrow scope of the negation)

Now consider the interpretation of (29), in which the subject of the infinitive is an ECM infinitive:

(29) I believe the entire team not to have left.

(29) is unambiguous, with the negative taking narrow scope. This could be accounted for by positing a syntactic bound on the scope of sentential negation, limiting its effect to the clause in which it resides. Therefore, it can scope over the subject in (27), but if the subject has raised into the matrix when the main verb is of the *believe*-class, the subject is too far from the sentential negative to scope underneath it. This can be seen as an argument for subject-to-object raising.

Now consider the interpretation of (30):

(30) I prevented the entire team from leaving.

Unlike (29), taking *from* to be a negative, we can interpret the subject as taking narrow scope with respect to this negative, so that it is possible to interpret (30) as compatible with a situation in which some members of the team left but the team in its totality remained.

If we take *from* to be a negative¹⁰, we can locate the ECM subject in [Spec, *from*], making it local enough to *from* to take narrow scope with respect to *from*. Contrast (30) with (31):

(31) I dissuaded the entire team from leaving.

When the DP between *dissuade* and *from* is a universal, it can only take wide scope with respect to *from*, a fact which is predicted if the universal is in the matrix clause, while *from* is in the embedded clause. A difference in structures between *prevent*-complements and *dissuade*-complements would predict the scope contrasts that correlate with the two types of embedding predicates. Significantly, the scope contrast seems to disappear with infinitivals, so that object-control verbs and ECM verbs that take infinitival complements are both followed by nominals that scope over sentential negatives in the following infinitives:

(32) I persuaded the entire team not to leave.

¹⁰ This will be revised presently, in which the negative force will be shown not to reside in *from*, but rather a silent *away*, which embeds *from*. The point will remain, however, in that the subject will remain in [Spec, *away*] rather than [Spec, *from*].

- (33) I believed the entire team not to have left.

The post-verbal nominal's obligatory wide scope with respect to the infinitive diagnoses, in my view, the residence of the nominal in the matrix clause, outside of the scope of the negative.

In sum, the scope evidence indicates that ECM subjects of *prevent*'s complements reside in the Spec of the PP complement of *prevent*. However, there is evidence that Landau adduces to indicate that the nominal that follows *prevent*, while interpreted as the subject of the from-complement, can appear in object position as well. I will discuss this evidence next, leaving for V.C the problems that it poses, as well as a solution.

5.2 *Prevent* Structure II- The Object-Control Structure

Postal (1974) noted that expletive subjects of *from*-complements do not passivize, in contrast to expletive subjects of ECM infinitives, so that (34) and (35) contrast:

- (34) *There was prevented from being a riot.
 (35) There was believed to have been a riot.

The DP that follows *prevent* can be passivized under some circumstances, however:

- (36) John was prevented from leaving.

Landau proposes that a DP in [Spec, *from*] cannot passivize into the matrix, as a consequence of [Spec, *from*] being an A-bar position¹¹. Noting that this proposal must deal with acceptable cases of passivization of the post-*prevent* DP in certain instances, such as (36), Landau proposes that the DP in such cases originates as an object of *prevent*. In other words, *prevent* is ambiguous between an object-control structure and an ECM structure, so that (37) can have a bracketing either as (38) or as (39):

- (37) I prevented John from leaving.
 (38) I [VP [V prevented][PP [DP John][P' from leaving]]]
 (39) I [VP [V prevented][DP John][PP from leaving]]]

Given that expletives can never appear as objects, but only as subjects, the expletive could only have originated as the subject of the *from*-complement, subsequently moving into [Spec,*from*]. Since [Spec, *from*] is an A-bar position, it cannot undergo subsequent A-movement from that position.

¹¹ While I agree that [Spec, *from*] is an A-bar position, Landau does not spell out why. Chomsky (2008), assumes, for example, that the A versus A-bar distinction is due to the feature that causes the merge in the relevant position rather than the absolute identity of the position (i.e. [Spec, CP] always being an A-bar position, for example); checking for ϕ -features causes the position to be an A-position and checking for anything else turns the position into an A-bar position. It is difficult to see what would induce the movement to [Spec, *from*] in Landau's system.

Landau provides a number of arguments for the possibility of an object-control structure after *prevent*. For example, controllers of complement PRO are typically animate, and animates passivize after *prevent* more readily than inanimates:

(40) John was prevented from leaving.

(41) ?* The book was prevented from falling.

Another argument can be based on the observation (Jacobson (2000)) that control complements can be omitted, but raising complements cannot be:

(42) a. I tried (i.e. to leave).
b. *I seemed (i.e. to be polite).

It is possible to omit the *from*-complement of *prevent*:

(43) *I prevented him.

We therefore have a structural ambiguity without any attendant semantic ambiguity for *prevent*-type complements. This duality of structure for VPs headed by *prevent* creates some conceptual and empirical problems which will be discussed now, with a proposed solution.

5.3 Problems with the Object-Control Structure for *Prevent* and a Solution

Object-Control infinitives and *from*-complements, as noted, typically denote activities, while the *from*-complement that can occur with *prevent*, even when an unambiguous object-control complement, is unrestricted. (44), for example, denotes a state, and the passive indicates that the structure is an object-control structure:

(44) John was prevented from being sick.

Most work in current minimalism can be viewed as being highly configurational, exemplified by Hale & Keyser's (1993) abandonment of traditional theta-roles in favor of semantic relations being defined by structural positions. In this case, the pervasive nature of the correlation between being an obligatorily controlled complement and denoting an activity militates against marking this correlation on particular embedding predicates. If the interpretation of the *from*-complement as an activity is due to its syntactic category, its generation as a (gerundive) VP should automatically trigger an activity interpretation, rather than the state interpretation in (44).

Furthermore, generating an object-control structure for *prevent* would render inexplicable the impossibility of nominal complements of *from*, seen in the contrast in (22), repeated here as (45):

(45) I { *prevented } him from that course of action.
{ dissuaded }

I accounted for the impossibility for the nominal in the *from*-complement with *prevent* by ascribing it to the incompatibility of the required predicate nominal's interpretation with the

required Case that is licensed by *from*. However, the option of generating the configuration as an object-control configuration should render the configuration indistinguishable from *dissuade*'s immediate environment.

In short, we must continue to distinguish *prevent*'s configuration from object-control configurations even when the post-*prevent* nominal is generated as an object.

One way to continue to reflect the distinction between normal object-control complements and *prevent* object-control complements would be to generate the *from*-complement as a null-operator configuration, so that e.g. the (active) correspondent of (46) (would have the structure in (47):

(46) I prevented John from being sick.

(47) I [VP [prevented][DP John][PP OP_i [P' from [DP [D' [D 0][TP t_i [VP feeling sick]]]

Unlike PRO, null operators continue to be visible in the syntax, possibly due to their generation as silent elements (i.e. with formal and semantic features, but no phonological features) ; Baltin (in preparation) takes deletion, of which PRO would be an instance, to be erasure of phonological and formal features¹². Because the null operator's variable would continue to be represented in the syntax, the gerundive TP would remain as a Complete Functional Complex, rendering it impervious to the activity interpretation.

Furthermore, nominal complements of *from* would continue to be impossible when the embedding verb is *prevent*; the null operator in *prevent*'s object-control configuration, would be generated as the subject of a predication, requiring the post-*from* nominal after null operator movement to be a predicate nominal, a situation that would be incompatible with the Case that *from* would obligatorily license.

In fact, the analysis here makes a striking prediction that seems to be confirmed by judgments from my informants. Given that [Spec, *from*] would be filled in both the ECM configuration and the object-control configuration when the embedding verb is *prevent*, it should block adjunct extraction from the gerundive, in contrast to adjunct extraction from gerundive *from*-complements in garden-variety object-control configurations. The test case is given in (48)¹³:

- (48) a. *How_i did you prevent him [from fixing the car t_i]?
 b. ?? How_i did you dissuade him [from fixing the car t_i]?

In short, taking *prevent*'s post-*from* complement to be a CFC at all levels of representation allows us to continue to distinguish *prevent* from object-control-complement taking verbs.

¹² One problem, of course, would be the licensing of the trace of t_i. It could not delete, since it would be interpreted as a variable that is licensed by the null operator, and hence would need Case. Kayne has noted analogous cases in French and English, as in (i) versus (ii):

- (i) l'homme qui_i je crois [t_i être intelligent]
 (ii) *Je crois Jean être intelligent.
 (iii) John, whom I assure you t_i to be the most intelligent,....
 (iv) *I assure you John to be the most intelligent.

¹³ (48)(b) sounds somewhat marginal to me, I suspect because of the Negative Island Condition under the assumption that *from* (or the intervening silent *away*) has negative force. However, (48) (a) seems worse.

5.4 Why the contrast between *Prevent*-ECM and *Believe*-ECM?

We have noted that the ECM subject of a *prevent*-complement moves a shorter distance than the ECM subject of a *believe*-complement. In the case of *prevent*, the subject of its complement moves to [Spec, *from*], while in the case of *believe*, its complement subject moves into the matrix clause. We must explain this asymmetry in the ultimate landing sites of the two types of ECM subjects.

The ultimate explanation, I believe, lies in Chomsky's (2000) Phase Impenetrability Condition, which divides the units of syntactic computation into phases, and limits syntactic operations from a phase that has just been computed to the phase's head and its specifier. Chomsky takes C to be a phase head, and Landau analyzes *from* as a C; therefore, it is a phase head. I have re-analyzed Landau's views, and have taken *from* to be a P, but I see no barrier to analyzing P as a phase head as well. Therefore, movement to [Spec, *from*] will close off the phase, and, as Landau proposes, subsequent A-movement into the matrix will be a case of improper movement, resulting in a non-uniform chain. The complement of *believe* is simply a TP, not a phase, and therefore it can be crossed without violating the PIC. Hence, the contrast is readily accounted for.

The fact that there are no raising-to-subject predicates that take *from*-complements, noted earlier in connection with (6) and (7), is similarly explained by the PIC, and the classification of [Spec, *from*] as an A-bar position.

6 The Negativity of the *From*-Complement

Although I do not wish to commit to a syntactic etiology for all understood elements, I do believe that evidence can be found for a syntactic origin for at least some. Specifically, the negative force of *from*, I will show, comes from a genuinely unexpressed syntactic element.

Consider (49):

(49) He ran from the house.

The most natural meaning of (49) would take the subject to have originally been in the house, and then exited. However, if we add *away* to the PP, as in (50), we do not see *from* as expressing a source, and take the sentence to express the subject's continually, possibly from the outset of the running, as not even nearing the house.

(50) He ran away from the house.

In this vein, note that the verb *avoid* seems to incorporate the "complex" preposition *away from*, so that the verb *avoid* seems to express the idea of the subject's travel as not approaching the object :

(51) He avoided the house.

In this vein, the verb *escape* is ambiguous: it can express the source notion of *from*, but can also express the notion of *away from*, being nearly synonymous with *avoid*¹⁴. Therefore, (52) is ambiguous:

(52) He escaped the house.

Under one interpretation, the subject was originally in the house; this is the source reading. Under another interpretation, the subject was never in the house, but simply, whether by virtue of his own actions or not, was in a position never to be in the house.

Now, notice that *avoid*, *escape*, and *run away from*, all license negative polarity items in the complement:

- (53) a. He avoided any discussion of his problems.
 b. He escaped any discussion of his problems.
 c. He ran away from any discussion of his problems.

Notice, moreover, that (53)(b) is well-formed only under the reading in which the subject never participated in discussion of his problems—the *away from* reading that is understood in the interpretation of *escape*.

We see, then, that *away from*, rather than *from*, expresses negativity, rather than a simple source reading, and licenses negative polarity items.

When we turn to the main subject of this paper, the *from* that introduces non-finite complements, we see an analogous property in the interpretation. The interpretation of (54) is that the subject persuaded the object not to leave—not that the object ever in fact did leave:

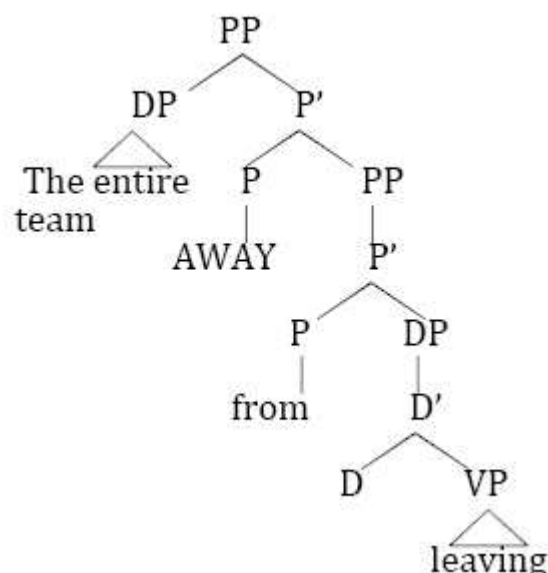
(54) I dissuaded him from leaving.

Interestingly, Landau (2002) posits a feature [+Neg] on the (for him) complementizers *me* and *from*. However, we can see the explanatory limits of this move; this seems overly mechanical, and placing a feature on an element does not explain why this particular feature is placed on this particular element. In particular, the affinity between the *from* with the feature [+Neg], and *away from*, is not expressed, and any similarities are relegated to that of coincidence.

The negative feature on *from* shows itself in scope interactions with quantifiers, as we have seen already in connection with (30) and (31), as well as the fact that *from* can license NPIs, and induces a negative entailment on its complement, seen in (2). However, it seems that the source of the negativity is not *from* itself, because the negativity is absent when *from* simply expresses a source. Rather, the source of the negativity seems to reside in *away*. We could account for this by positing a silent AWAY in the syntax, so that the structure of *the entire team from leaving*, under the interpretation in which *the entire team* takes narrow scope with respect to *away*, would actually be (55):

¹⁴ I say “nearly synonymous” because *avoid* seems to coerce an agentive interpretation on its subject that *escape*, in this sense, does not, as can be seen by comparing (51) and, on the relevant interpretation, (52).

(55)



In short, the negativity of *from* stems not from *from* itself, but rather from a silent element, *away*, that can co-occur with it. Like Ross's (1967) "turtles all the way down", we can ask how to represent the negativity of *away*, but this is a battle to be fought another day.

7 Conclusions and Speculations

I hope to have established the following points about negative non-finite complements in English: (i) they are DPs, and *from* is a preposition; (ii) we require type-shifting mechanisms in order to account for coerced interpretations; (iii) modulo the need for type-shifting, we can account for the duality of structures induced by a complement-taking verb, *prevent*, and the monoguity of interpretation, by altering one of the structures (the null-operator analysis).

Some open questions remain. One of the ones that bothers me is why, if coercion is involved in type-shifting from an entity to an activity in both controlled from-complements and the complement of *begin*, the range of nominals is so much more restricted in the former than in the latter¹⁵. For example, (56) is possible under a coerced interpretation, and yet (57) is not:

(56) He began the book.

(57) *I dissuaded him from the book.

I have no answer for this.

Nevertheless, it seems that the straight-forward answer about these complements, i.e. that they all belong to the same syntactic category in all languages and are all subject to mechanisms that operate rigidly on syntax, is too confining. While a convincing case might be made for Hebrew, and perhaps Dutch, that these complements are all CPs, the preponderance of facts militates against this conclusion for English. If this conclusion is correct, we must ask how a

¹⁵ As Idan Landau (personal communication) has pointed out to me.

child of one of these three (and actually countless other) natural languages navigates the balance between form and meaning in acquiring the relevant properties of the mechanisms that realize negative complement meanings.

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