

## RAISING CONSTRUCTIONS IN HAITIAN CREOLE\*

This paper examines the raising constructions of Haitian Creole both from a descriptive and from a theoretical point of view. Descriptively, the constructions involve a local relation between the non-thematic subject position of a verbal predicate and the thematic subject position of an embedded tensed sentence, which is occupied by an overt pronominal copy in place of the expected trace and manifests the thematic dependency characteristic of well-understood forms of raising. The theoretical interest of these constructions concerns the theory of A-chains and predication. Despite the fact that Haitian Creole raising appears to manifest resumptive pronouns in A-chains, I argue that a revision of the standard A-chain theory is not warranted. Haitian Creole raising constructions manifest both NP movement and predication in the sense of Williams (1980, 1986). I provide evidence supporting the existence of clausal predicates, small clauses, and A-chains conceived in terms of NP movement.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the framework of Government and Binding theory (Chomsky (1981)), sentences like (1) are taken to exemplify 'raising' constructions and are analyzed as instances of NP movement to an A position. Under this view, the structure of (1a) is as in (2):

- (1)a. John seems to have left.  
 b. John appears to be intelligent.
- (2) John seems [<sub>s</sub> t to have left]

In (2), NP *John* has moved from the embedded to the matrix subject position leaving behind a trace which is an anaphor subject to principle

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A of the Binding theory. This analysis is meant to account for three basic properties of such constructions: 1) the fact that there is a thematic dependency between the subject of *seems* and the embedded predicate, 2) the fact that the subject of *seem* can be an expletive and 3) the fact that the relation between the raised subject and the embedded predicate is strictly local.

The Haitian Creole constructions given in (3) and (4) are similar to the raising constructions in (1). As shown in (3a), the verb *sanble* can take a clausal complement and does not require an overt subject. In HC, empty subjects are possible only with predicates which lack an external theta-role. As required by the Extended Projection Principle (Chomsky (1981)), and as argued explicitly by Vinet (1989), non-theta-marked subject positions contain empty expletives. (3a) is thus comparable to its English translation and has the structure given in (3b):

- (3)a.    *sanble Jan pati*  
           *It seems that John left.*
- b.    *pro sanble [<sub>s</sub> Jan pati]*

Consider now (4a), which illustrates the Haitian counterpart of (1). Notably, the 'raising' constructions of HC differ from the constructions in (1) in requiring the presence of a pronominal copy in what seems, at first sight, to be the place of the trace of the raised subject. As the ungrammaticality of (4d) to (4f) shows, this pronominal copy is obligatory:

- (4)a.    *Jan sanble li pati.*  
           *John seems he leaves.*
- b.    *Jan sanble li entelijan*  
           *John seems he intelligent.*
- c.    *Jan sanble li nan danger*  
           *John seems he in danger.*
- d.    \**Jan sanble pati*  
           *John seems leave.*
- e.    \**Jan sanble entelijan*  
           *John seems intelligent.*

- (4)f. \*Jan sanble nan danger  
*John seems in danger*<sup>1</sup>

The aim of this paper is twofold. I will first provide a careful description of the constructions in (4), which I will henceforth refer to as 'pronominal-raising' (PR), and argue that they indeed manifest properties which are commonly assumed to be characteristic of standard 'raising' constructions. I will then provide an account of PR within the framework of the Government and Binding theory of Chomsky (1981) and the theory of predication of Williams (1980, 1986).

The theoretical problem raised by the phenomenon of pronominal-raising can be characterized as follows: in order to account for the thematic dependency which exists between the surface subject of *sanble* and the pronominal copy in the embedded sentence, one would naturally assume that PR has the same structure as the English raising constructions. If so, the pronominal copy must be taken to be the resumptive pronoun of an A-chain. Although known to occur with A' movement, resumptive pronouns have, so far, never been claimed to be possible with A-chains. The question arises then, whether the existence of pronominal-raising motivates fundamental changes in the current theory of A-chains or whether an alternative analysis, requiring little or no modification, can be given. This paper will defend the second possibility and argue that Williams's theory of predication correctly accounts for the properties of the PR constructions.

In contrast to the LGB theory of A-chains, Williams (1986) claims that A-chains are never the result of movement. In his view, NPs are simply base generated in their S-structure positions and receive their theta-role through predication, a relation which is subject to a locality constraint which he subsumes under general constraints on theta-role assignment. The analysis I propose for HC raising in the second part of this paper will involve both predication and NP-movement. I will show that some data of HC do not seem to be amenable to a pure predication analysis. Consequently, this paper will also provide some support for the existence of A-chains conceived of in terms of movement.

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<sup>1</sup> The main informants consulted for this paper were Josiane Hurdicourt-Barnes and Marie-Denise Bellocq. The interviews were conducted in French and in English and the bulk of the data was elicited within the framework of a seminar on Haitian Creole organized by Ken Hale at MIT. Both Marie-Denise and Josiane are natives of Port-au-Prince. At the time of the interviews, Josiane was a schoolteacher in Cambridge in a program whose purpose is to bring children of freshly arrived Haitian immigrants up to the level of American schooling in their own native language. Several other speakers contributed their judgments, which sometimes concurred and sometimes differed. Relevant differences will be mentioned in the footnotes.

## 2. THE DATA

2.1. *The Distribution of the Pronominal Copy*

Let us begin with a closer look at the data. One question which arises immediately with regard to PR constructions is whether the complement of *sanble* in examples of the type (4) is tensed or untensed. In HC, as in most Creole languages, the verb is not overtly inflected for tense. Consequently, the finite or infinitival nature of these sentential complements is not immediately apparent. There are however two phenomena which suggest that, in contrast to their English counterparts, the sentential complements of *sanble* in the PR constructions are tensed.

First, like many other Creole languages, HC has a complex tense-modal-aspect system which features several types of markers. Lefebvre and Koopman (1982) have argued that the perfective marker *te* is the Haitian manifestation of the past tense. As shown in (5), this marker can occur in the sentential complements of *sanble* after PR has taken place:

- (5)a. Jan sanble li **te** renmen Mari  
*John seems he past love Mary.*  
 John seems to have loved Mary.

In contrast, the perfective marker *te* cannot appear in the untensed complements of causative predicates or volitional predicates, as shown in (6):

- (6)a. \*mwen te fe l' **te** li liv la  
*I made him past read the book,*
- b. \*li vle l **te** vini  
*I want him past to come (Sterlin (1988))*

Second, as noted by Koopman (1982), the extraction of a subject out of a tensed clause always requires the presence of *ki* in the complementizer position immediately adjacent to the subject trace. When an object or any other element of the sentence is extracted, *ki* is impossible. This is illustrated by the paradigm in (7):<sup>2</sup>

- (7)a. Kimoun ou kwe **ki** pati?

<sup>2</sup> The distribution of *ki* in HC interrogatives parallels that of the well known *que/qui* effect in French (Pesetsky (1982)). For a recent analysis of this alternation and its significance for the theory of *wh*-movement see Deprez (1989) and (1991).

- (7)b. \*Kimoun ou kwe pati?  
*Who do you believe left?*
- c. Kimoun ou kwe li we?
- d. \*Kimoun ou kwe **ki** li we?  
*Who do you believe he saw?*
- e. Ki kote ou kwe li pati?
- f. \*Ki kote ou kwe **ki** li pati?  
*Where do you believe he went?*

As shown in (8), the presence of *ki* is obligatory when a subject is extracted from the embedded complement of *sanble*:

- (8)a. Kimoun ki sanble **ki** pati?
- b. \*Kimoun sanble pati?  
*Who does it seem left?*

By contrast again, causative predicates and volitional predicates neither require nor permit *ki* when the subject of their untensed sentential complement is extracted:

- (9)a. Kimoun ou fe li liv la  
*Who did you make read the book?*
- b. \*Kimoun ou fe **ki** li liv la  
*Who do you make read the book?*
- c. \*Se kimoun Jan vle **ki** vini (Sterlin (1988))  
*Who does John want to come?*

The possible presence of the past tense marker *te* in (6) and the necessary presence of the question marker *ki* in (8) indicate that the sentential

complement of *sanble* is tensed. This, in turn, suggests that the obligatory presence of a pronominal copy in HC PR constructions is due to the finite status of the embedded clause.<sup>3</sup> This hypothesis is supported by additional distributional facts. HC has another pronominal predicate, the verb *rete* (to remain), which differs from *sanble* in that the presence of the pronominal copy appears to be optional. Compare (10b) to (10c):

- (10)a. rete pou Jan vini  
*It remains for John to come.*
- b. Jan rete pou li vini  
*John remains to come.*
- c. Jan rete pou vini  
*John remains to come.*

The distribution of the pronominal copy is not random however. As (11)

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<sup>3</sup> Raising out of tensed sentences has been shown to exist in Modern Greek, Mojave, Basque and Romanian (Rivero (1986), Philippaki-Warbuton (1987)). Illustrative examples are given in (i) for Greek:

- (i)a. Phainetai oti/lpos ta paidia douleuoun  
*It seems-3sg that the children work-3 pl*
- b. Ta paidia phainountai oti/pos e douleuoun  
*The children seem-3pl that e work-3-pl*  
The children seem to work  
(Rivero (1986))

Rivero (1986) analyzes these constructions as instances of raising across a tensed sentential barrier. She argues that in the languages in question, various types of feature agreement mechanisms render S' transparent to NP-movement. Note, however, that all these languages share the common feature of being pro-drop. Plausibly then, the empty category in the subject of the embedded complement is pro and not a trace. If so, the raising constructions in these languages are parallel to the HC PR constructions we are concerned with. Although an analysis of the raising constructions of these languages is beyond the scope of the present paper, it is interesting to note that in a language like French, which manifests complementizer agreement with subject extractions (i.e. *que/qui*) but is not pro-drop, raising out of tensed sentences is not possible. This suggests that the pro-drop nature of languages which manifest raising in tensed sentences is relevant.

shows, its presence is obligatory when the complement of *rete* contains the marker *te*:<sup>4</sup>

- (11)a. Jan te rete pou li te vini  
*John past remain for he past come*  
 John still had to come.
- b. \*Jan te rete pou te vini  
*John past remain for past come*

Since *te* is a marker of tense, (11) strongly supports the hypothesis that

<sup>4</sup> Pronominal Raising is not limited to the 'sanble' and 'rete' predicates. It is also possible with adjectival predicates such as shown in (i) and with modals as shown in (iii):

- (i)a. li difisil pou Jan travay  
 b. Jan difisil pou li travay  
 c. Jan difisil pou travay  
*It is difficult for John to work.*

PR constructions with adjectival predicates appear to have properties similar to those of the PR constructions under *rete*. Like them, they involve the prepositional and/or modal complementizer 'pou' (Cf. Sterlin (1988) for an analysis of this element) and, as shown by the grammaticality of (ic), their pronominal copy is optional. Furthermore, in these constructions, as in the PR constructions under *rete* the raised subject NP can be thematically linked to an object position in the complement sentence:

- (ii)a. liv la difisil pou li  
*This book is difficult to read.*
- b. liv la difisil pou Mari li  
*This book is difficult for Mary to read.*

See the appendix for an analysis of the constructions with *rete* which could be extended to (i) and (ii).

Modal constructions are other contexts which manifest PR:

- (iii) Jan te dwe pou li te pati  
*John past need for him past leave*  
 John had to leave.

There seem, however, to be a number of ill-understood differences between the modal constructions and other instances of PR. In particular, although arguably modals do not assign a theta-role to their subjects, they do not license an expletive subject:

- (iv) \*(li) dwe pou Jan pati

Furthermore, sentences such as (v), where *te* occurs on both sides of *dwe*, are acceptable without a pronominal copy and without *pou*.

- (v) Jean te dwe te vini

We thus leave the analysis of the latter construction for further research. See in particular Sterlin (1988) for an analysis of modal constructions in terms of raising.

the pronominal copy is a consequence of the finiteness of the clause. Its apparent optionality in (10c) suggests that the verb *rete* can subcategorize either for a tensed or for an untensed complement. This is confirmed by subject extraction facts. As shown in (12), the presence of *ki*, although possible, is not required for subject extraction out of the complement of *rete*, showing again that this complement can be untensed:

- (12) Kimoun ki rete pou vini  
*Who remains to come?*

I conclude that the following generalization obtains:

- (13) Pronominal-raising occurs with predicates which assign no external theta-role and take tensed sentential complements.

HC appears, additionally, to license raising out of small clauses headed by adjectival predicates. Such constructions are illustrated in (14):

- (14)a. Mari rete pove  
 [Mari rete [t pove]]  
 Mary remains poor.
- b. Jan rete sot  
 [Jan rete [t sot]]  
 John remains stupid.

As I have shown above (cf. (10a)), the predicate *rete* does not assign an external theta-role. It is thus clear that in examples such as (14), the subject NP of *rete* is not its external argument. As shown in (15) below, however, *rete* can assign an internal theta-role to an NP which may either remain in its D-structure post-verbal position or be raised to the subject position:

- (15)a. Rete youn neg nan kay la  
*There remain three poor man in this house.*
- b. Youn neg rete nan kay la  
*Three poor man remain in this house.*
- c. Rete sinkant goud  
*There remain fifty dollars.*
- d. Sinkant goud te rete  
*Fifty dollars remained.*



Sentences such as (15a) where the NP remains in its D-structure position suggests that *rete* is a predicate which can assign Case to a post-verbal NP. Interestingly, however, when an NP is in a predication relation with an adjectival predicate, as in the examples (14) above, it cannot remain in postverbal position:

- (16)a. \**rete Mari pove*  
*There remains Mary poor.*
- b. \**rete Jan sot*  
*There remains John stupid.*

The ungrammaticality of (16) appears at first to undermine an analysis of (14) in terms of raising out of adjectival small clauses. But consideration of some further properties of the predicate *rete* provides in fact strong support for this hypothesis. As shown in (17), constructions with post-verbal internal arguments are subject to the well-known definiteness effect (Belletti (1988), among others). Thus, internal arguments of *rete* may remain in postverbal positions only if they are indefinite:

- (17)a. \**rete Jan nan kay la*  
*There remains John in the house.*
- b. *Jan rete nan kay la*  
*John remains in the house.*
- c. \**rete Mari nan danger*  
*There remains Mary in danger.*
- d. *Mari rete nan danger*  
*Mary remains in danger.*

According to Belletti (1988), the definiteness effect follows in part from Case theoretic considerations. She argues that predicates which do not assign an external theta-role may assign inherent partitive Case to their D-structure object. Following in essence a proposal by Chomsky (1986), she further argues that, in contrast to structural Case, inherent Case can be assigned by predicates only to arguments which they directly theta-mark. Note that Belletti's analysis makes a clear prediction for the structures under consideration. If, as I maintain, examples in (14) have a D-structure such as (18), the NP in such structures is theta-marked by the predicate of the small clause and not by the predicate *rete*:

- (18) *rete* [<sub>sc</sub> NP *pove*]

Since in (18) there is no direct thematic relation between *rete* and the small clause subject, inherent partitive Case cannot be assigned to the NP. This predicts that in constructions with adjectival predicates, even indefinite NPs will not be able to remain in their D-structure position. As shown in (19), this prediction is borne out:

- (19)a. \*Rete youn neg pove  
*There remains a man poor.*
- b. \*Rete two neg sot  
*There remain three man stupid.*

Examples such as (19) contrast sharply with those in (15), where the post-verbal NP is an argument of *rete* and can be assigned inherent partitive Case. Note that the contrast between (19) and (15), which follows elegantly from the proposed small clause and raising analysis, would remain unexplained if examples such as (14) were assumed to involve instead secondary predication on an argument of *rete*. The ungrammaticality of the examples in (19) thus provide support for the small clause and raising analysis of (14).

It is interesting to note then, that raising in such cases does not require a pronominal copy. As shown by (20), the pronominal copy is, in fact, excluded.

- (20)a. \*Mari rete li pove  
*Mary remains poor.*
- b. \*Jan rete li sot  
*John remains stupid.*

The ungrammaticality of (20) demonstrates that the presence of the pronominal copy is not a necessary feature of HC raising. Recall, however, that as shown in (4) above and in (21) below, the constructions with *sanble* require a pronominal copy even when the embedded predicate is not verbal:

- (21)a. Jan sanble \*(li) pove  
*John seems poor.*
- b. Jan sanble \*(li) sot  
*John seems stupid.*

The minimal contrast between (20) and (21) receives a simple explanation

once a characteristic feature of HC copular sentences is taken into account. As illustrated in (22), HC copular sentences have no overt copula:<sup>5</sup>

- (22)a. Jan pove  
*Jan is poor.*
- b. Jan nan danger  
*Jan is in danger.*

This does not mean, of course, that they are untensed. Assuming, as is natural, that the copular sentences in (22) and the embedded complements of (21) contain a non-phonologically realized copula, they can be analyzed as tensed clauses in the morphologically unmarked present. Support for this assumption comes from the fact that, as shown in (23), the perfective marker *te* can occur both in the copular sentences of (22) and in the complements of (21):

- (23)a. Jan te pove  
*John was poor.*
- b. Jan te sanble li te nan danger  
*John seemed he was n danger.*
- c. Jan te sanble li te sot  
*John seems he was stupid.*

The obligatory presence of the pronominal copy in (21) can be easily explained if it is assumed that the predicate *sanble*, in contrast to *rete*, subcategorizes always for a tensed sentential complement. The existence of a third PR predicate *genle* which is close in meaning to *sanble* but differs from it in allowing raising both with tensed and untensed complements provides confirmation for this assumption. (24a) is an instance of raising out of an untensed adjectival small clause while (24b) involves PR with a tensed copular sentence. As expected, the pronominal copy is obligatory when the complement is overtly tensed as in (24c):

- (24)a. Jak genle damou (De Graff (1991))  
*Jak appears in love.*
- b. Jak genle li (te) damou  
*John appears to be in love.*

<sup>5</sup> See Déprez and Vinet (1991) for a study of Haitian copular constructions.

- (24)c. \*Jak genle te damou  
*Jak appears to be in love.*

We have seen that HC appears to have two different types of 'raising' constructions: the first, illustrated in (14) and (24a), is comparable to standard raising out of a small clause as in (25):

- (25) John seems sick

It occurs from an untensed complement and leaves no pronominal copy. The second, illustrated in (4), (23) and (24b), involves a tensed sentence and a pronominal copy. Since as shown by (14) raising can occur without a pronominal copy in HC, the obvious question to ask is whether the constructions in (4) do involve 'raising,' or whether they involve a different syntactic process.

## 2.2. Against Left Dislocation

A plausible alternative to a raising analysis would be to regard the PR constructions in (4) as cases of left dislocation. Under this view, the structure of (4) would be as in (26), where *pro* is an empty expletive subject of *sanble*, and where the matrix NP is in a position adjoined to S:

- (26) Jan [<sub>s</sub> pro sanble [<sub>s</sub> li renmen Mari]]  
*John, it seems that he likes Mary.*

In this section, I will argue against a dislocation analysis and will show that the HC PR constructions do indeed have semantic and syntactic properties which parallel those of more standard cases of raising.

As indicated by (27) below, HC allows left dislocation of a subject and requires a pronominal copy in these constructions:

- (27)a. Jan, li fou  
*John, he is crazy.*  
 b. \*Jan, fou

There are however, a number of arguments which weigh against a left dislocation analysis for the PR constructions in (4).

First, as opposed to left dislocation cases, constructions with *sanble* and *rete* involve no phonological pause after the matrix NP.

Second, as is often the case in various languages, dislocated pronouns in HC differ from subject pronouns in their morphological realization. This is shown in (28).

- (28)a. li-mem, li fou  
*him, he is crazy*
- b. \*li, li fou
- c. \*li-mem fou

But as shown in (29), pronouns in the PR constructions are morphologically identical to subject pronouns, not to dislocated pronouns:

- (29)a. li sanble li pa kontan  
*he seems he not happy*  
 He seems not to be happy.
- b. li rete pou li vini  
*he remains for him to come*  
 He still has to come.<sup>6</sup>

Third, as shown in (30) left dislocation can involve an embedded object position:

- (30)a. Jan, mwen kwe Mari renmen li  
*John, I believe Mary likes him*
- b. li-mem, mwen kwe Mari renmen li  
*him, I believe that Mary likes him*

In contrast, PR constructions with *sanble* in which the higher NP is coreferential with the embedded object position are ungrammatical:

- (31)a. \*Jan sanble Mari renmen li  
*John seems Mary to like him.*

<sup>6</sup> A 'sanble' construction with a dislocated pronoun is also possible:

- (i) Li-mem, sanble li renmen Mari

We do not consider (i) to be a PR construction however, but a construction which manifests dislocation of the subject of the embedded sentence. The structure is thus as in (ii), where 'pro' is the expletive subject of the main clause:

- (ii) [Li-mem<sub>i</sub> [pro sanble li<sub>i</sub> renmen Mari]]

Evidence for this view comes from the fact that in (iii), the dislocated pronoun can refer either to the subject or the object of the embedded sentence. In contrast, the pronoun in the PR constructions can never refer to the object (see (31) below).

- (iii) li-mem<sub>ij</sub> sanble li<sub>i</sub> renmen li<sub>j</sub>  
*As for him, it seems that he likes him.*

- (31)b. \*Liv la sanble Mari achte li  
*this book seems Mary bought it*

PR constructions with *rete* however, differ from those with *sanble* in this respect. As shown in (32), an object can be involved:

- (32) Jan rete pou Mari renmen li  
*John remains Mary loves him*

It remains for John that Mary loves him.

This is an important difference between the two constructions to which I will return in the appendix.

Fourth, it has been noted that in many languages bare quantifiers cannot be dislocated (Cinque (1986)). This generalization also applies to Haitian Creole, as (33) shows:

- (33)a. \*Peson, yo pa la  
*Nobody, they are not there.*
- b. \*Aryen, li pa te kase  
*Nothing, it was broken.*
- c. \*Tout moun, yo pati  
*Everybody, they left.*

In contrast again, bare quantifiers can occur in the PR constructions with *sanble* and *rete*:

- (34)a. Peson pa sanble yo pale franse  
*Nobody seems they speak French.*
- b. Aryen pa sanble li kase  
*Nothing seems to be broken.*
- d. Tout moun sanble yo rive bone jodi a  
*Everybody seems to have arrive early today, (Sterlin (1988))<sup>7</sup>*

<sup>7</sup> Sterlin (1988) reports that the pronominal copy, although possible, is not necessary in this case. This judgment differs from that of our own informants, who required a pronominal copy in all the cases with *sanble*. Notably, however, (34d) and other such examples given by Sterlin do not have the particle *te* in the complement. It is possible then, that in contrast to the dialect spoken by our informants, *sanble* in her dialect may subcategorize for both a tensed and an untensed complement.

- (34)c. Peson pa rete pou yo vini  
*Nobody remains to come.*

(34) clearly shows that the matrix NP position in the PR constructions is not a dislocated position but rather, as I am claiming, the subject position of the matrix predicate.

This hypothesis is confirmed by extraction facts. As shown in (35), extraction of the matrix NP requires the presence of *ki*. Recall that the presence of *ki* is strictly restricted to subject extraction. Its necessity is thus a clear diagnostic for extraction out of a subject position and supports the view that the position of the matrix NP is not a dislocated one.

- (35)a. Kimoun **ki** sanble li pati  
 b. \*Kimoun sanble li pati  
*Who seems to have left?*  
 c. Kimoun **ki** rete pou pati  
 d. \*Kimoun rete pou pati  
*Who still has to leave?*

All the tests reviewed above suggest that the matrix NP occurs not in an adjoined or dislocated position but in the subject position of the matrix predicate. This constitutes strong evidence against a left dislocation analysis and for raising. Note that, even though *rete* and *sanble* differ as to whether or not they allow PR with an object, they are similar with respect to the bare quantifiers facts and subject extraction. This suggests that *rete* still involves some kind of ‘raising’ and not left-dislocation.

### 2.2.1. Thematic Properties of the PR Constructions

I have given evidence against an analysis of the PR constructions in (4) as left dislocation and evidence for the matrix NP occurring in a subject position. I now turn to evidence suggesting that PR, like more standard cases of raising, involves a strictly local relation and a thematic dependency between the matrix subject and the embedded predicate.

Observe first that, as noted by Massam (1989), sentences such as (36) in which the subject *John* may be unseen or even unknown to the speaker are acceptable:

- (36) Jan sanble li pa isit  
*John seems not to be here.*

It therefore seems implausible that in such sentences, *John* receives its theta-role from the predicate *sanble*.

Postal (1974) argued that the hallmark characteristic of raising constructions is that they “are understood in such a way that the main clause subject NP and the infinitival complement represent jointly a single semantic ‘clause’” (p. 33). The preservation of idiomatic meaning is standardly considered to be a good test of this semantic unity. Consider (37), a HC idiomatic expression which includes in its scope the external argument of the verb. As (38) shows, the idiomatic meaning is preserved in the PR constructions:

- (37) Lakay fe nwa  
 Lit: *the house makes black*  
 We have money troubles.
- (38) Lakay sanble li fe nwa  
*It seems we have money troubles.*

Thus PR, like more standard cases of raising appears to preserve the interpretation of idiomatic expressions.<sup>8</sup>

The occurrence in the matrix subject position of a subject which is required by the predicate of the complement is another standard test for raising. Overt expletives, although sometimes possible, are rarely obligatory in HC. There are, however, some ‘weather constructions’ in which they are strongly preferred. These overt expletives also show up in the raising sentences.

- (39)a. I’ ap fe lanej  
*it is making snow*  
 It is snowing.

<sup>8</sup> This judgment, although quite clear for our informants, does not obtain for other speakers (M. De Graff p.c.). Note that if idiomatic interpretation were not preserved, this would not undermine our analysis of the PR constructions. Indeed, it is possible that the idiomatic interpretation of an expression must be transmitted to the syntactic level directly from the lexicon. Possibly, sentential predication does not always preserve the idiomatic reading of an expression. Consider for instance the difference between (i) and (ii):

- (i) the cat seems to be out of the bag  
 (ii) the cat seems as if it’s out of the bag

For some speakers, only the first sentence preserves idiomatic reading. The second in our view, may involve both predication and raising and in this be rather similar to the Haitian PR constructions. Here too, however, speakers judgments differ. While Lappin (1984) reports that the idiomatic reading is not preserved in such constructions, the reading is available for other speakers.



(39)b. \*ap fe lanej

(40)a. li sanble l'ap fe lanej  
*it seems it is making snow*

b. \*li sanble ap fe lanej  
*it seems that is making snow*<sup>9</sup>

Adjectives followed by sentential complements also require an overt expletive subject. Again this expletive shows up in raising cases with a pronominal copy:

(41)a. \*enposib pou Jan vini  
*impossible for John to come*

b. li emposib pou Jan vini  
*It is impossible for John to come.*

(42)a. li sanble li enposib pou Jan vini  
*It seems it impossible for John to come.*

b. \*li sanble enposib pou Jan vini  
*It seems impossible for John to come.*<sup>10</sup>

As (42b) shows, the pronominal copy of the expletive is necessary.

Further support for a raising analysis comes from the fact that in HC, an NP can undergo successive raising:

(43)a. sanble rete pou Jan vini  
*it seems to remain for John to come*

<sup>9</sup> It might be argued that the ungrammaticality of (40b) is simply due to the absence of an overt expletive in the embedded sentence. Note, however, that to our informants (40b) seemed worse than (39b). Given that the occurrence of an overt expletive is possible with *sanble* in non-raising constructions (*li sanble Jan pati* 'it seems that John has left'), (40b) could have the structure in (i), where *pro* is the empty expletive subject of the weather predicate:

(i) [s li sanble [s pro ap fe lanej]]

The fact that this example is worse than (39b) suggests, however, that it may rather be an example of raising of the expletive without leaving a pronominal copy, hence explaining its ungrammaticality.

<sup>10</sup> See also Vinet (1989), where similar observations on the obligatory character of expletives with weather and adjectival predicates are reported.

- (43)b. sanble Jan rete pou vini  
*it seems John remains to come*
- c. Jan sanble li rete pou vini  
*John seems to remain to come*  
 John seems to still have to come.
- d. Jan sanble li rete pou li vini  
*John seems to still have to come.*

Furthermore, as shown in (44), a derived subject can also undergo raising:

- (44)a. Jan ekri let la  
*John wrote the letter.*
- b. let la te ekri  
*The letter was written.*
- c. let la te sanble li te ekri  
*The letter seems to have been written.*<sup>11</sup>

However, cases of so called Super-raising, where a subject is separated from its thematic predicate by an intermediate non-thematic subject position, are excluded:

- (45)a. \*Jan sanble rete pou vini  
*John seems it remains for to come.*

<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that HC appears to have no clear counterpart to the standard English passive. As shown by Massam (1989), however, Haitian Creole permits a variety of transitivity alternations featuring derived subjects. One such example is given in (i):

- (i)a. Jan ap refize tab la  
*John ASP refuse table Det*  
 John will refuse the table.
- b. Tab la ap refize  
*The table will be refused.*

Massam proposes that the lack of passive can be attributed to the conjoined lack of overt copula and of (passive) morphology (see also Ritter (1991) for an analysis based on the lack of agreement morphology in HC). In other words, there seems to be no obvious way in HC to signal the internalization of the external (animate) argument of a transitive predicate. Verbs which do take a clear inanimate object (such as *manje* 'eat', *li* 'read', *achte* 'buy' etc.) can take part in the type of transitivity alternation illustrated by (ii) above. Thus as argued independently both by Massam and Ritter, the apparent lack of passive does not entail the lack of NP movement in HC.

- (45)b. \*Jan sanble rete pou li vini  
*John seems it remains for to come.*

(45a) and (45b) could arguably be excluded because of the lack of pronominal copy in the complement of *sanble*. Note however, that this would not rule out a derivation in which the NP *Jan* has been raised directly from the complement of *rete* to the matrix subject position. This derivation is illustrated in (46a) and (46b) respectively, where *pro* is the empty expletive subject of *rete*:

- (46)a. Jan<sub>i</sub> sanble [pro rete [t<sub>i</sub> pou vini]]  
 b. Jan<sub>i</sub> sanble [pro rete [pou li<sub>i</sub> vini]]

That (43d) must involve a pronominal copy of the NP *Jan* and not an overt expletive in the subject position of *rete* is shown by (47):

- (47)a. \*mwèn sanble li reté pou mwèn vini  
 b. mwèn sanble mwèn rete pou mwèn vini  
*I seem it remains for I to come.*

In (47a), the intermediate pronoun *li* is clearly an expletive and not the pronominal copy required in the PR constructions. The clear ungrammaticality of this sentence shows that the relation between the raised NP and its theta-marking predicate is subject to locality conditions similar to more traditional cases of raising.

In sum, we have seen that the PR constructions of Haitian Creole manifest both thematic and syntactic properties which are standardly considered to be typical of raising constructions. In the rest of the paper, I will propose an analysis of these constructions which is compatible with the fundamental assumptions of the GB framework.

### 3. A PREDICATION ANALYSIS

Within the GB framework, raising, being a case of NP movement, is assumed to have the following properties:

- 1) It is movement from a theta-position to a non-theta-position
- 2) It is movement from a Caseless position to a Case marked position<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The well known exceptions to this generalization are cases of passive infinitive such as (i), which presumably involve the movement of PRO to a Caseless position:

(i) John tried [ PRO<sub>i</sub> to be hired t<sub>j</sub>]

Treatment of these cases in the literature vary with the formulation of Case theory (see for instance Chomsky (1986)) and are not directly relevant to our present concern.

- 3) The trace of NP movement is an anaphor subject to binding principle A.

So far, the only property which I have shown to obtain in the HC PR constructions is property 1). As discussed in the above section, the theta-role of the matrix NP in the *sanble* constructions is that of the subject of the embedded predicate. If it were assumed that the PR constructions involved a direct movement from the embedded to the matrix subject position, properties 2) and 3) would be clearly violated. As I have shown above, the complement of *sanble* is tensed. Consequently, the NP would have to be assumed to move from a Case marked position, namely, the subject position of the embedded clause, which is assigned nominative Case. This would violate property 2). Moreover, the obligatory presence of the pronominal copy is a clear violation of 3). Any analysis positing the existence of a chain between the matrix subject position and the embedded subject position would require a number of changes to the theory of A-chains which do not seem to be otherwise warranted.

To avoid these problems and to provide an account of the thematic properties of the *sanble* constructions, I will propose an analysis which is in part inspired by Massam's (1985) crosslinguistic study of raising constructions. Massam (1985) explores cases of raising in various languages of the world. Apart from the standard raising structure, she distinguishes essentially two other types of raising.

The first type of raising, instantiated in Niuean (an ergative VSO language) involves either one or two consecutive movements. First, an argument of the embedded predicate raises to a position adjoined to the embedded clause, which Massam terms SPEC<sub>2</sub>. This argument may then either remain in this SPEC<sub>2</sub> position, if the matrix predicate which governs it is a structural case assigner as in (48), or move further to the matrix subject position, if the verb does not assign Case as in (49). (48) represents the order of constituents after the subject of the embedded sentence, delimited by the subjunctive complementizer *ke*, has raised to the SPEC<sub>2</sub> position:

- (48) To nakai toka e au [e *pusi*] [ke kait e ika]  
*Fut not let Erg I Abs cat subj eat Abs fish*

I did not let the cat eat the fish.

(49) illustrates further movement from SPEC<sub>2</sub> to the matrix subject position. Since Niuean is a VSO language, movement to subject position in

this case is string vacuous; it is, however, manifest in the Case borne by the NP. (49a) gives the order before raising and (49b) the order after raising:

(49)a. Kua kamata [ke hala he tama e akau]  
*perf begin subj cut Erg child Abs tree*

b. Kua kamata e tama [ke hala e akau]  
*perf begin Abs child [subj cut Abs tree]*

The child begun to cut the tree.

Schematically, Massam's proposal yields the structure in (50). The element in SPEC<sub>2</sub> position is crosslinguistically either base generated in place or moved to that position.<sup>13</sup>

(50) [NP<sub>*i*</sub> . . . V<sub>-case</sub> [SPEC<sub>2</sub> t<sub>*i*</sub> [. . . t<sub>*i*</sub> . . . ]]]

The second type of raising, instantiated in Kipsigas, is analogous to *Tough Movement* in English. Massam proposes that this type of raising involves the movement of an empty operator, as schematically represented in (51):

(51) D-structure                      S-structure  
 Np . . . [[. . . ec]]      NP<sub>*j*</sub> . . . [Op<sub>*j*</sub> [. . . t<sub>*j*</sub>]]

In what follows, I will suggest that the pronominal-raising constructions of Haitian Creole instantiate the two types of raising distinguished by Massam. Her first type corresponds to HC pronominal-raising with the predicate *sanble*; her second type, to pronominal-raising in the *rete* constructions. Leaving aside the latter constructions, I will concentrate essentially on the first type of raising. A brief analysis of the second type will be sketched in the appendix.

Turning to PR constructions with *sanble*, I propose that the D-structure of sentences such as (4) is as in (52):

<sup>13</sup> Unlike the HC PR constructions with *sanble*, Niuean raising can involve both the subject position and the object position of the embedded sentence. In examples which involve objects, however, the object is apparently interpreted as a derived subject, despite the absence of overt passive morphology. There are two basic differences between these two languages which may be independently responsible for this distinction: Niuean is an ergative language and its underlying order is VSO. In SVO languages, object movement over a subject can never lead to an A-chain unless the subject has itself been demoted. Subject demotion may take different forms in Niuean, due to ergativity or to the VSO basic order.

(52) [sanble [<sub>SPEC<sub>2</sub></sub> Jan [<sub>s</sub> li renmen Mari]]]

I assume that in (52), *Jan* is base-generated in Massam's SPEC<sub>2</sub> position. This position is, in my view, a base-generated specifier similar to the position of the subject of a small clause. The central idea of the proposal is that the D-structure of the complement of *sanble* is similar to that of a small clause, the subject of which is the NP *Jan* and the predicate of which is a tensed clause.

(53) [sanble [<sub>SC</sub> Jan [<sub>PRED</sub> li renmen Mari]]]

I follow Chomsky (1986) in assuming that the Specifier of a small clause is an A-position to which a theta-role is assigned by predication. Given (53), the surface structure of the *sanble* constructions can now be derived straightforwardly. Since *sanble* is not a Case assigning verb, the NP *Jan* in the subject position of the small clause will have to raise to the subject position of *sanble* to satisfy the Case filter. The resulting structure is given in (54):

(54) [Jan<sub>i</sub> sanble [<sub>SC</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PRED</sub> li renmen Mari]]]

In the remainder of this paper, I will show that this analysis accounts correctly for the properties of the *sanble* constructions which I have described earlier. But before turning to this task, the mechanism by which a sentence can become the predicate of a small clause must be clarified.

The idea that clauses can function as predicates is an old one and was first incorporated into the generative model in Williams (1980). He argues that this is possible if they have a structure such as (55a) or (55b):

- (55)a. [<sub>S'</sub> PRO VP]  
 b. [<sub>S'</sub> (PRO/WH) S]

An example of a sentence meeting (55a) is given in (56):

(56) a man [PRO to fix the sink]

In Williams's terminology, PRO in (55a) is a predicate variable, that is, an open position in S which turns the sentence into a one place predicate. An example of (55b) is given in (57):

(57) this book<sub>i</sub> is easy [PRO/WH<sub>i</sub> [<sub>S</sub> PRO to read t<sub>i</sub>]]

In (55b) and (57), PRO/WH is an empty operator. Recent work such as Stowell (1985) and Browning (1987) has argued that empty operators in structures such as (57) are in fact instances of small pro, i.e. a pure pronominal empty category. The exact nature of the operator is not di-

rectly relevant to our present discussion. What matters rather is that there are essentially two different ways for sentences to be predicates.

Assuming Williams's analysis to be correct, the essence of my proposal for the PR constructions in (53) is that the clausal predicate of the small clause under *sanble* is of the type (55a); I suggest that the overt pronominal copy of the PR constructions functions as the predicate variable which transforms the embedded clause into a valid one-place predicate. This predicate then assigns its external theta-role to the NP subject of the small clause. As in the structure (55a), the predication relation between the clausal predicate and the subject of the small clause in the PR constructions requires no movement. There is thus no A-chain between the subject position of the clausal predicate and the subject of the small clause, but the theta-role assigned to the small clause subject is identical to the one assigned to the predicate variable; it is the theta-role of the embedded predicate.

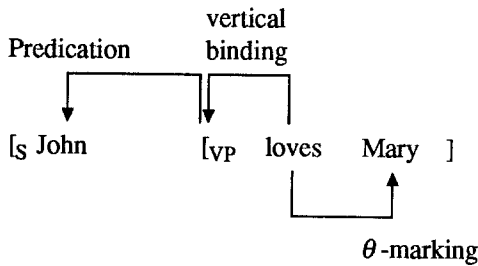
HC also instantiates predication structures of the type (55b). This second type of predication occurs in the PR constructions under *rete* and, possibly, in other cases mentioned in footnote 4. An analysis of this latter type of PR constructions is sketched in the appendix.

Williams (1980) proposes that the relation of predication is subject to a locality condition of mutual c-command. In more recent work (Williams (1986)), he further generalizes and reinforces this locality condition, incorporating it into a general theory of thematic relations. In his view, all thematic relations are subject to the strict locality condition given in (58), where 'phrase' is understood as referring to maximal projections:

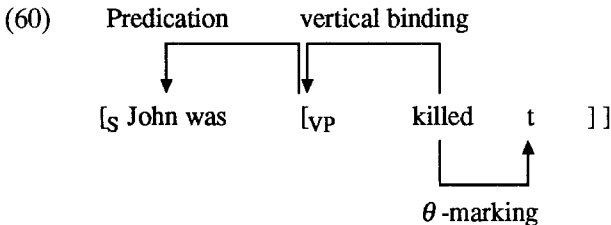
- (58) *Thematic Role Assignment Configuration: (TRAC)*  
 No phrase can intervene between a theta-assigner and a theta-assignee.  
 (Williams (1986))

Williams (1986) proposes to distinguish three forms of theta-assignment: 1) that of a head to its complement; 2) vertical binding; and 3) predication. The first type of theta-assignment is equivalent to the standard notion. Vertical binding is a kind of lambda abstraction by which an unassigned external theta role is transmitted to the immediate maximal projection of the theta-assigning head. Predication is a relation by which a maximal projection assigns a theta role inherited by vertical binding to its sister. These concepts are illustrated in (59):

(59) John loves Mary



Note that for each type of theta-assignment, the TRAC is respected. To put it simply the consequence of the TRAC is that theta-marking must be of a complement, vertical binding must involve the immediately dominating maximal projection and predication holds between a maximal projection and its sister. Williams further distinguishes theta-assignment from theta-satisfaction. In his view, an NP trace can be assigned a theta-role but it cannot **satisfy** the theta-requirement. Thus, in passive constructions, the internal theta-role of the predicate is assigned to the trace. But since this NP trace cannot satisfy a theta-role, the unsatisfied theta-role will be reassigned to the VP by vertical binding and eventually to the surface subject by predication. This is illustrated in (60):



Let us now return to the pronominal-raising constructions in HC. Before examining the consequences of Williams's thematic theory for it, I will discuss the status of the pronominal copy.

In contrast to English pronouns which cannot corefer with a c-commanding NP in a local domain, Haitian pronouns can act ambiguously as pronouns or as anaphors. Thus, in examples such as (61), the pronominal form *li* can be interpreted either as coreferential with the c-commanding subject or be free in reference:

(61) Jak<sub>j</sub> we li<sub>j/i</sub> nan glas la  
*Jack saw him/himself in the mirror*

To account for this property, Dechaine and Manfredi (1988) have analysed Haitian pronouns as lexical items which are underspecified with respect



to their mode of reference.<sup>14</sup> That is, in contrast, for example, to English pronouns and anaphors whose lexical property is to determine the reference of the theta-role they bear (Williams (1987)), Haitian pronouns are elements which need neither be free or nor bound. One possible way of expressing this property is to assume that HC pronouns are neither [+anaphoric] or [+pronominal] but are underspecified with respect to these features. As a further consequence of their lexical underspecification, I propose that Haitian pronouns may fail to satisfy the theta-requirement. In Williams's (1986) terms, this means that the theta-role which is assigned to a HC pronoun can be reassigned to the maximal projection which contains it under vertical binding. Note that this assumption, which will be shown to have important consequences for the PR constructions of HC, creates no particular problem for simple sentences such as (62):

- (62) Jan renmen li  
*John loves him/her/it/himself*

If the pronoun satisfies the internal theta-role assigned to it by the predicate *renmen*, thematic relations will be established as in (59) above. If, on the other hand, the pronoun fails to satisfy it, this theta-role will be reassigned to the VP under vertical binding. The VP, however, is already vertically bound by the external theta-role of the predicate. It will then have two theta-roles to assign under predication and only one argument to which these theta-roles can be assigned, a situation which clearly violates the theta-criterion, defined by Williams (1986) as in (63):

- (63) The Theta Criterion
1. Every NP in a sentence must be assigned a theta-role, where a theta-role is an element in the argument structure of a verb
  2. No NP can be assigned more than one theta-role by a given predicate
  3. Every theta-role must be assigned to some NP

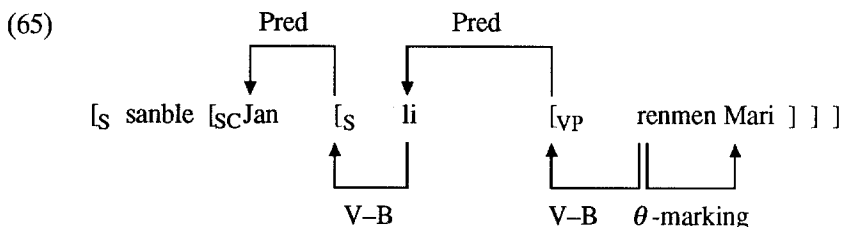
<sup>14</sup> Dechaine and Manfredi propose in fact that Haitian pronouns are [-referential]. This somewhat unfortunate choice of terminology may lead to some confusion. In particular, it is important to note that this [-referential] feature does not mean that HC pronouns are expletives. Expletive elements such as *it* and *there* in English are [+pronominal] and neither need nor can pick up a referential index, since they do not bear a theta-role. It seems therefore more appropriate to assume that Haitian pronouns are lexically underspecified with respect to their mode of reference. See Dechaine and Manfredi for a precise discussion of the properties of HC pronouns and a general discussion of Binding theory in Haitian Creole.

## 4. A theta-role can be assigned to at most one NP

Similarly, if a pronoun in subject position in examples such as (64) fails to satisfy the external theta-role of the predicate, then condition 3. of (63) is violated and the sentence is excluded:

- (64) Li renmen Mari  
*He loves Mary.*

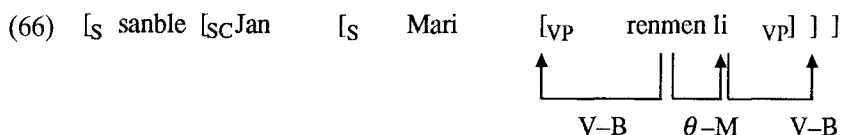
It is now time to consider the consequences of these assumptions for the PR constructions of HC. I have proposed above that the underlying syntactic structure of the PR constructions with *sanble* involves a small clause with a clausal predicate. In this structure, thematic relations will operate as in (65):



In (65), the pronominal subject of the embedded clause is assigned the external theta-role of the embedded predicate *renmen* under predication. If the pronoun satisfies the theta-requirement, the NP *Jan* will fail to be assigned a theta-role and the structure will be excluded by the theta-criterion. If, on the other hand, the pronoun fails to satisfy the theta-requirement, the external theta-role which it receives will be reassigned to the sentential projection under vertical binding. It can then further be assigned to the NP *Jan* under predication and the theta-criterion as well as the TRAC can be satisfied. The structure is thus well formed. As discussed above, satisfaction of the Case filter will require movement of the NP *Jan* to the matrix subject position, deriving the surface structure of the PR constructions. Note that the proposed analysis accounts straightforwardly for the thematic properties of the PR constructions since the theta-role borne by the surface subject is the external theta-role of the embedded predicate. Furthermore, both the thematic and the syntactic

properties of the PR constructions are accounted for in terms of general principles of thematic theory and Case theory.<sup>15</sup>

Consider now a structure in which the pronominal copy occurs in an object position. We have seen in (31) above that such a structure is strictly ungrammatical in HC. This ungrammaticality is in fact predicted under the proposed analysis. Consider the structure in (66):



Assume, just as in (65) above, that the object pronoun fails to satisfy the theta-requirement. If so, the internal theta-role assigned to the pronoun will be reassigned to the embedded VP under vertical-binding. Since the external theta-role of the V must also be assigned to the VP under vertical binding, the VP will have two theta-roles to assign to a single argument. This violates the theta-criterion and (66) is therefore excluded. Note furthermore that direct assignment of the object theta-role by the VP to the NP *Jan* in the subject position of the small clause is excluded by the TRAC, since the maximal projection of the sentential predicate intervenes between the theta-assigner and its assignee, i.e. between the VP and the NP *Jan*.

Let us now turn to the cases of Super-raising mentioned in (45) and (46) above and repeated as (67) for convenience:

<sup>15</sup> I have so far left open the question of the categorial status of the small clause I posit, mainly because nothing crucial in the proposed analysis relies on it. The present state of research on small clauses offers a wealth of possibilities and it is beyond the scope of the present paper to provide justification for the choice of one structure over another. For Chomsky (1981) small clauses are maximal projections of their predicates and their subjects are adjoined to them. For Stowell, small clauses are also maximal projections of their predicates, but subjects are in their specifier positions. More recently, Kayne (1989) has suggested that small clauses are headed by a functional projection AGR. For concreteness, I will adopt this later proposal and suggest that the small clause of the PR constructions is in fact a functional projection headed by an (abstract) agreeing or modal complementizer. Under this view, the structure of PR with *sanble* is as in (i), where SC = CP headed by AGR:

(i) sanble [<sub>CP</sub> Jan Agr [<sub>IP</sub> li pati]]

Although due to space limitations I cannot provide justifications for this proposal, I refer the reader to Guasti (1988) and Déprez (1989) for an analysis of French pseudo-relatives in these terms and to Déprez (1989), (1991) for the proposal that the specifier of an agreeing complementizer is an A position.

- (67) \**mwen sanble li rete pou mwen vini.*  
*I seem it remains for me to come.*

Given our assumptions so far, (67) can have two possible D-structures, namely (68a) and (68b):

- (68)a. *sanble* [<sub>SC</sub> *mwen* [<sub>S1</sub> *li rete* [<sub>S2</sub> *pou mwen vini*]]]  
 b. *sanble* [<sub>S1</sub> *li rete* [<sub>SC</sub> *mwen* [<sub>S2</sub> *pou mwen vini*]]]

(68a) will be ruled out by the TRAC. Indeed several maximal projections intervene between the S2 complement of *rete* and *mwen* in the Spec of the SC. In other words, theta-role assignment under predication is blocked because the NP *mwen* is not a sister to the clausal predicate. (68b), on the other hand, will be excluded either by the Case filter, since the pronoun *mwen* in the Spec of the SC cannot be assigned Case or, if *mwen* raises to the matrix clause subject position, by standard locality restrictions on movement which forbid A-movement over a clause and another subject.<sup>16</sup>

In sum, the proposed structure and the predication theory of Williams (1986) allows us to account for the thematic as well as for the syntactic properties of the Haitian constructions with *sanble* described in section 2. One theoretical question, however, remains to be considered, namely the availability of NP movement. I turn to this question in the next section.

### 3.1. Arguments for NP Movement

Since Williams's (1983, 1986) theory of predication attempts to eliminate NP movement, A-chains and small clauses, the idea that the first step of HC raising involves predication while the last step involves movement may seem superfluous or even contradictory. There are, however, I believe, both empirical and theoretical arguments which suggest that a mixed theory, involving predication and movement, is on the right track. I will discuss each in turn.

Williams (1983) has proposed that sentences such as (69) do not involve small clauses and NP movement, but an NP generated at D-structure in the subject position of *seems* which receives its theta-role under predication:

- (69) John seems intelligent.

<sup>16</sup> Either or both of two very general principles can be invoked: Binding theory or the ECP. The choice between these two general principles is orthogonal to our present discussion. Whatever the theoretical choice, the locality conditions on movement will have to be similar.

His main argument against the existence of a trace in such structures relies on the differential scope properties of (70a) and (70b):

- (70)a. Someone seems to be intelligent.  
 b. Someone seems intelligent.

In (70a), the quantifier can have narrow scope with respect to *seems*. Thus (70a) can have the logical form (71a), interpreted as (71b):

- (71)a. [seems [ $\exists x$  [x intelligent]]]  
 b. There seems to be someone intelligent

(70b), however, does not allow a narrow scope reading. Williams proposes that this contrast is directly related to the presence of an NP trace in (70a) versus its absence in (70b). In (70a), the trace serves as the variable bound by the quantifier under quantifier raising, or quantifier lowering:

- (72)a. someone<sub>i</sub> seems [<sub>i</sub> to be sick] → quantifier Lowering  
 b. x seems [someone [<sub>i</sub> to be sick]]

In (70b), however, the absence of a trace prevents the lowered reading since there is no variable for the quantifier to bind.

If this analysis is correct, scope properties constitute a test for NP movement. In this regard, I will now discuss some scope properties of Haitian negative quantifiers which appear to provide empirical evidence for NP movement in the HC PR constructions. Observe first that, as shown by the contrast in (73), negative quantifiers in Haitian Creole are syntactically dependent on the presence of the negative marker *pa*:

- (73)a. Peson pa vini  
*Nobody came*  
 b. \*Peson vini  
*Nobody came*

Similarly to the negative marker *ne* of French (Kayne (1983)), the negation *pa* in Haitian Creole appears to be an overt scope marker of a negative quantifier. As illustrated in (74), it must occur within the same clause as the negative quantifier:

- (74)a. \*Peson kwe yo pa vini  
*Nobody believes that he did not come.*  
 b. peson pa kwe yo pa vini  
*Nobody believes that he did not come*

(74) shows that the domain of the negation (a precise characterization of

which is beyond the scope of the present paper) is essentially limited to a clause. Thus (74a) is ungrammatical because the negation is too far away from the quantifier *peson*. Interestingly, however, it appears that this locality restriction may be relaxed in contexts of PR. Consider by contrast examples such as (75):

- (75)a. *Peson sanble yo pa vini*  
*Nobody seems to have come.*
- b. *Peson sanble yo pa rete a peson*  
*Nobody seems to have to take it from no one.*

In (75), although *peson* seems to be superficially outside the domain of negation, the sentence is acceptable.<sup>17</sup> Our analysis provides an elegant account of this phenomenon. Suppose that the requirement on *peson* can be satisfied either at D-structure or at S-structure. Given the proposed structure for (75), i.e., (76), the quantifier *peson* is in the domain of the negation at D-structure, and can satisfy its requirement at this level:

- (76) [sanble [<sub>SC</sub> peson [yo pa vini]]]

Subsequent movement will take *peson* out of the domain of negation, but the sentence remains acceptable, since the requirement was satisfied earlier in the derivation. On this view, (75) lends support to an analysis of PR under *sanble* which involves movement as well as predication. An approach based solely on predication would generate the subject directly in its S-structure position. Consequently, the occurrence of *peson* outside the scope domain of the negation as in (75) would remain unexplained. The restrictions on the distribution of the quantifier *peson* thus provide empirical evidence for a mixed theory involving movement as well as predication.

Further theoretical considerations point to the same conclusion. Under a pure predication analysis, the structure of pronominal-raising constructions would be as in (77), with the subject of *sanble* directly generated in place:

- (77) [<sub>S</sub> Jan [<sub>VP1</sub> sanble [<sub>S</sub> li [<sub>VP2</sub> pati]]]]

If in such a structure, the external theta-role is assumed to be directly assigned to the NP *Jan* by the embedded VP2 under predication, the TRAC is clearly violated; both S and VP1 intervene between the theta-assigner VP2 and the theta-assignee *Jan*. This remains true if the external

<sup>17</sup> The acceptability of (75a–b) can vary. For all speakers consulted, however, there is a clear contrast between sentences with raising as in (75), and sentences which simply involve two coreferential subjects, as in (74). The latter are completely impossible.

theta-role of VP2 were first assigned to the pronoun and then transmitted to the S by vertical binding, since VP1 still intervenes between the clausal predicate and the NP *Jan*.<sup>18</sup>

In short, if the matrix subject were directly generated in place, the PR constructions of HC would instantiate non-local theta-role assignment. But if the locality condition on predication (the TRAC) were abandoned so as to licence such non-local theta-role assignment, instances of Super-raising such as (78) (= (67) above) would incorrectly be permitted:

- (78)a. \*Mwen sanble li rete pou mwen vini  
 b. [<sub>S</sub> Mwen [<sub>VP</sub> sanble [<sub>S</sub> li [<sub>VP</sub> rete [<sub>S</sub> pou mwen vini]]]]]

Indeed, if predication were allowed to obtain across an S and a VP projection, as it would have to be to allow (77), there would be no reason why it should not also obtain across two Ss and two VPs, each headed by predicates which do not themselves assign external theta-roles. The utter ungrammaticality of examples such as (78) leaves us no choice but to assume that the TRAC must be maintained, as is only natural, since there

<sup>18</sup> If theta-role transmission under vertical binding between S and VP1 is permitted in (77), the TRAC will not be violated. But this move essentially provides the theory with the power of non-local theta-role assignment, thereby defeating the purpose of the TRAC. Consider a classical example of Super-raising in English:

- (i) [<sub>S1</sub> John [<sub>VP1</sub> seems [<sub>S2</sub> it is [<sub>VP2</sub> likely [<sub>S3</sub> t to [<sub>VP3</sub> leave]]]]]]]

In (i), the external theta-role of *leave*, after vertically binding VP3, is assigned under predication to the NP trace *t*, which cannot satisfy it, and then further transmitted to S3 under vertical binding. Note that if it could be further transmitted from S3 to VP2 nothing would prevent recursive transmission under vertical binding to the remaining intervening projections, S2 and VP1. If so, the theta-role could ultimately be assigned to the NP *John* under predication by VP1 and (i) would be wrongly predicted to be grammatical. Recursive theta-role transmission can be prevented only if we assume that the maximal projection of a verbal (or adjectival) predicate (VP2 in (i) or VP1 in (77)) cannot inherit a theta-role under vertical binding from a complement which is itself a predicate, whether sentential or any other type. In other words, vertical binding must be constrained so as not to apply directly from a predicative maximal projection to another predicative maximal projection. As shown by (i), this constraint must apply even if the inheriting predicate is not itself an external theta-role assigner.

One interesting consequence of this constraint is that even cases of raising such as (ii) must be assumed to involve NP movement:

- (ii) John seems sick.

Under all theories, the AP headed by *sick* is the maximal projection of a predicate. Since the AP is non-local to the NP *John*, direct theta-role assignment under predication is excluded by the TRAC. The only possibility would be to allow transmission of the theta-role from the AP to the VP projection of *seem* through vertical binding. But as I have just shown, this mechanism, if adopted, will wrongly permit cases of Super-raising. If on the other hand, *John* is base generated as the subject of *sick* in D-structure, then local predication is possible and no problems arise. The conclusion that examples such as (ii) require movement defeats, in turn, Williams central argument against the existence of small clauses.

are, apart from the constructions under study, many reasons to generally assume strict locality for theta-role assignment.

If the TRAC is maintained, (77) is, of course, not a possible structure. As discussed above, the TRAC can only be satisfied if the NP subject of PR HC constructions is generated in a position which is a sister to the sentential predicate, that is, if it is generated in a position which is not separated from it by *any* maximal projection. As far as I can see, this condition can be met only under the proposed small clause structure.

In sum, Williams's (1986) locality restriction on theta-role assignment and predication appears to entail a small clause structure such as the one I have proposed for the HC PR constructions. Since the small clause structure presupposes the existence of NP movement, this suggests that both predication and NP movement play a part in syntactic theory and that at least in their present state, neither theory can be reduced to the other. As discussed above, direct NP movement from the subject position of the embedded complement in the PR constructions would violate Case theory, binding theory and general constraints on movement.<sup>19</sup> Simple predication, on the other hand, violates necessary constraints on theta-theory. As we have seen, the combination of both predication and movement provides an account of the PR constructions which requires no fundamental changes in the current formulation of either theory.

### 3.2. *Clausal Predicates in Other Languages*

Constructions involving a small clause with a sentential predicate have been argued to occur in other languages and, in particular, in a language related to HC, namely French (Taraldsen (1982), Haik (1986)). Before concluding the paper, I will briefly discuss them. It is interesting to note that although superficially quite different from the PR constructions of HC, the French constructions illustrated in (79) manifest strikingly similar properties:

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<sup>19</sup> Note, in particular, that if it were assumed that NP movement may proceed from a Case position there would be no obvious way to exclude sentences such as (i) in English:

- (i) \*John seems t left this afternoon

NP raising from an infinitival construction shows that the predicate *seem* can subcategorize for IP complements. Consequently, apart from a stipulation, there are no reasons to assume that in (i) the complement of *seems* must be a CP. The ungrammaticality of (i) thus shows that NP movement cannot proceed from a structurally Case marked position to a structurally Case marked position. In other words, the Case filter cannot be doubly and redundantly satisfied, a conclusion which is expected if, as proposed by Chomsky (1989), principles of economy govern UG.



- (79)a. J'ai vu Marie qui sortait du cinéma  
*I saw Mary going out of the movie theatre.*
- b. J'ai entendu Pierre qui jouait du violon  
*I heard Peter playing the violin.*
- c. Pierre a sa soeur qui est malade  
*Peter has his sister who is sick.*
- d. Jean est là qui travaille comme un fou  
*John is here who is working like a mad man.*
- e. Avec Marie qui arrive toujours en retard, on ne peut jamais terminer tôt.  
*With Mary who always comes late, one can never finish early.*

Because of the superficial resemblance that these constructions bear to relative clauses, they have been called 'pseudo-relatives' in the literature. A number of properties clearly distinguish pseudo-relatives from both restrictive and non-restrictive relatives. Interestingly, these properties are properties which the pseudo-relative constructions of French share with the PR constructions with *sanble* in HC.

First, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (80), pseudo-relatives are characterized by a clear subject/object asymmetry. Although they are possible with a subject, they can never involve an object:

- (80)a. \*J'ai vu Marie que Pierre embrassait  
*I saw Mary that Peter kissed.*
- b. \*J'ai entendu Paul que Marie faisait chanter  
*I heard Paul that Mary made sing.*
- c. \*Paul a sa soeur que Pierre déteste  
*Paul has his sister that Peter detests.*
- d. \*Jean est là que ton ami insulte.  
*John is here that your friend insults.*
- e. \*Avec Marie que Jean insulte, on n'avance pas  
*With Mary that John insults, one cannot make progress.*

The ungrammaticality of (80) clearly distinguishes pseudo-relatives from relative clauses and provides a first parallel with the PR constructions with *sanble*.

Second, as shown in (81), the NP involved in some of these constructions can undergo movement, either by cliticization or by passivization:

- (81)a. Je l'ai vue qui sortait du cinéma  
*I saw her leaving the theater.*
- b. Marie a été vue qui embrassait Jean  
*Mary was seen kissing John.*

This is clearly impossible with either restrictive or non-restrictive relative clauses:

- (82)a. \*Marie, Pierre l'a rencontrée que Paul embrassait  
*(Mary), Peter met her that Paul was kissing.*
- b. \*Marie a été invitée que Pierre deteste  
*Mary was invited that Peter detests.*

As we have seen, movement is possible and even necessary in the HC pronominal-raising constructions. Thus (81) provides a second parallel between the PR constructions and the French pseudo-relatives. To account for the interesting properties of pseudo-relatives, Taraldsen and Haïk have independently analyzed them as small clauses involving a sentential predicates. Under this view, the sentence (79a) is assigned the structure in (83) and the passivized sentence (81b) has the structure in (84):

(83) Jean a vu [<sub>SC</sub> Marie [<sub>PRED</sub> qui sortait du cinéma]]

(84) [Marie<sub>i</sub> a été vue [<sub>SC</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PRED</sub> qui sortait du cinéma]]]

The parallel between the structure in (84) and the one I have proposed for the HC constructions with *sanble* is obvious. It thus comes as no surprise that the pseudo-relatives of French and the HC raising constructions exhibit a similar restriction with respect to the object positions.

Finally, consider again some of the examples in (79). While it could be argued that in (79a) and (79b), the matrix predicate assigns a theta-role to the NP, this is much less plausible for (79c and d) whose only verbs are *avoir* and *être*, and quite impossible for (79e), which contains no predicate apart from the sentential predicate. (79e) is an absolutive construction, a regular environment for small clauses in French.<sup>20</sup> In this

<sup>20</sup> An example of adjectival small clauses is given in (i).

- (i) Avec Marie malade, on n'a pas pu venir  
*With Mary sick, we could not come.*

See Ruwet (1982) for an analysis of these constructions in French.

context, nothing but the sentential predicate can assign a theta-role to the NP *Marie*. Thus unless it is assumed, as I maintain, that tensed sentences can assign theta-roles under predication, sentences such as (79e) would be excluded by the theta-criterion.

In sum, French pseudo-relative constructions provide strong evidence that tensed sentences can, in certain cases, act as main predicates.<sup>21</sup> The account of the Haitian Creole PR constructions developed here crucially relies on this assumption. It may further prove useful to an account of some English constructions such as, for instance, the ones in (85):<sup>22</sup>

- (85)a. This book is to read  
 b. This book is for you to read

In these constructions, as in the pseudo-relatives mentioned above, it is quite implausible that *be* assigns any theta-role to the surface subject. If, as suggested by Couquaux (1981), copular constructions involve raising out of a small clause, (85) may be analyzed along the lines proposed for Haitian and French, and have a structure such as (86):

<sup>21</sup> See Haïk (1991) for a recent analysis of these constructions which draws similar conclusions.

<sup>22</sup> Another English construction which may be amenable to a similar type of analysis is the problematic construction in (i):

- (i) John seems as if he is going to die.

Although superficially quite similar to the PR constructions with *sanble* in Haitian Creole, the *seems as if* construction, analyzed in Lappin (1984) appears, nevertheless, to differ from it in a number of respects. In particular, as shown in (ii), the relation between the subject of *seems* and the pronoun of the embedded clause is not limited to the subject position (Williams p.c.):

- (ii)a. John seems as if everyone likes him.  
 b. John seems as if his mother died.  
 c. John seems as if his mother hit him.  
 d. John seems as if his temper is getting the best of him again.

In this respect, the *seems as if* construction is more similar to the *rete* constructions discussed in the appendix.

Lappin (1984) analyzes constructions such (i) as instances of pure predication. In essence, he proposes to weaken the theta-criterion to permit the assignment of a given theta-role to two arguments. In his view, both *John* and the pronoun *he*, subject of the embedded sentence, share a single external theta-role assigned by the embedded predicate. Apart from the problems which a non-local theory of predication creates with respect to Super-raising (cf. the discussion in section 3.2), Lappin's proposal to weaken the theta-criterion appears to be rather problematic. If two arguments could share a single theta-role, we would incorrectly expect sentences such as (iii), where *John* and the pronoun share a single theta-role, to be possible.

- (iii) \*Mary met John (to) him

(86) [this book<sub>i</sub> is [t<sub>i</sub> [Op<sub>i</sub> [PRO to read t<sub>i</sub>]]]]

The properties of pseudo-relatives and of the construction in (85) suggest that the proposal that clauses can act as main predicates, argued for here in the context of an analysis of the HC PR constructions, has potentially desirable consequences in more well known languages.

#### 4. CONCLUSION


In this paper, I have discussed the syntactic and thematic properties of the HC pronominal-raising constructions. I have proposed an analysis which combines NP movement and predication in the sense of Williams (1986) and which crucially relies on the idea that clauses can be predicates which, in certain cases, assign a theta-role to an NP under predication. I have shown that under the proposed analysis, the properties of the pronominal-raising constructions with *sanble* follow from general principles of thematic theory and movement theory. Given this view, no changes need to be made to the standard theory of A-chains.

#### APPENDIX

I will briefly consider here the second case of HC PR constructions, namely PR with the predicate *rete*.<sup>23</sup> Recall that as shown in (32), the surface subject of the predicate *rete* can be thematically related either to the subject or to the object of the embedded clause. This contrasts with the PR constructions with *sanble*, where only the subject can undergo PR. As discussed in section 3, the general mechanisms of theta-theory proposed by Williams (1986) have as a consequence that only the external theta-role of a predicate can be reassigned to a sentence under vertical binding. Assignment of an internal theta-role necessarily violates either the theta-criterion or the TRAC. How then can the apparent 'object raising' with the *rete* predicate be accounted for? One possibility is to analyze PR under *rete* as the second case of sentential predication discussed by Williams (1980), namely a case which involves an empty operator. Under this view, the structure of (87) will be as in (88):

(87) Jan rete pou li vini

<sup>23</sup> For a detailed description and a somewhat different analysis of the *rete* constructions, see Lumsden (1990).

- (88)
- Predication  
  
 Jan<sub>i</sub> rete      t    [ Op<sub>i</sub> pou [li/t<sub>i</sub> vini] ] ]

In (88), it is the presence of the empty operator which transforms the embedded clause into a predicate. Predication occurs between the empty operator and  $t_i$ , the trace of the raised NP. As opposed to a case of predication with a predicate variable which is limited to subjects by the TRAC, empty operators can be related either to subjects or to objects, since they bind a variable which receives its own theta-role. A sentence of the type of (89) will have the structure (90):

- (89)    Jan rete pou Mari renmen li  
           *John remain for Mary to like him.*
- (90)    Jan<sub>i</sub> rete [t<sub>i</sub> [Op<sub>i</sub> pou [Mari renmen li<sub>i</sub>]]]

The appearance of raising of an object is then created by the relation of the empty operator to the embedded object position. In our view, (89) is somewhat parallel to cases of 'tough' movement in English illustrated in (91) which have been analyzed by Chomsky (1981) as structures with empty operators:<sup>24</sup>

- (91)    This book is difficult (for us) to read  
           This book<sub>i</sub> is difficult [op<sub>i</sub> [for us to read t<sub>i</sub>]]

Note that PR under *rete* appears to differ from PR under *sanble* in another respect. While it is quite clear that the verb *sanble* assigns no theta-role to the raised NP, this may not be the case in the *rete* PR constructions. As we have seen, *rete* is a predicate which does not assign an external theta-role but which may assign an internal theta-role to an object NP. Under this view, *rete* is an unaccusative predicate with an internal object which takes a secondary predicate; the apparent raising of this object is comparable to the movement of an internal argument to subject position in unaccusative constructions. As it turns out, the *rete* predicate is quite similar to its French equivalent, i.e. the verb *rester* 'to remain', which is a known unaccusative predicate. Thus PR under *rete* quite resembles the French transitive alternations in (92):

<sup>24</sup> See also Stowell (1985), Massam (1985) and Browning (1987) for more recent analyses of these and other empty operator constructions.

- (92)a. Il reste beaucoup de choses à faire  
*There remain many things to do.*
- b. Beaucoup de choses restent à faire  
*Many things remain to do.*

I suggest that the structure of (92b) is as in (93), where  $t_i$  is the trace of the internal argument of the unaccusative predicate *rester* and  $S'$  is a secondary predicate modifying this internal argument.

- (93) [Beaucoup de choses<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> restent  $t_i$  [<sub>S'</sub> Op<sub>i</sub> à [PRO faire  $t'_i$ ]]]

The main difference between constructions with *rester* in French and constructions with *rete* in Haitian Creole seems to be that while the HC predicate *rete* allows a dative complement to raise to subject position, this is not possible in French. Consider the paradigms in (94) and (95):

- (94) French
- a. Il me reste beaucoup de choses à faire  
*There remains for me many things to do.*
- b. Beaucoup de choses me restent à faire  
*Many things remain for me to do.*
- c. \*Je reste à faire beaucoup de choses  
*I remain to do many things.*  
I still have many things to do.
- (95) Haitian Creole
- a. Rete ampil begay pou mwen fe (yo)<sup>25</sup>  
*There remains for me to do many things.*

<sup>25</sup> In contrast to constructions with adjectival predicates such as (14) discussed in section 1, NPs may remain in D-structure post-verbal position when they are related to sentential predicates. This suggests that in sentences such as (95a) no small clause structure is involved so that the sentential predicates which involve an object are secondary predicates of theta-marked NPs. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that in similarity to the sentences in (15) above, structures like (95a) are subject to the definiteness effect:

- (i)a. \*rete let la pou mwen ekri  
*There remain the letter for me to write*
- b. rete youn let pou mwen ekri  
*There remain a letter for me to write*
- c. let la rete pou mwen ekri  
*The letter remains for me to write*

Note, however, that this is not the case for the dative argument of *rete*. As shown in (96)

- (95)b. Ampil begay rete pou mwen fe (yo)  
*Many things remain for me to do.*
- c. Rete pou Jan pou (li) fe ampil bagay  
*There remains for John to do many things.*
- d. Jan rete pou (li) fe ampil bagay  
*John remains (for him) to do many things*  
 John still has many things to do.

I suggest that this interesting contrast is related to the different status of datives case in HC and in French. In a nutshell, dative complements in HC seem to be similar to those of English in that they can receive structural Case (see Kayne 1984). In French, on the other hand, dative Case appears to be strictly a lexical Case, as suggested by the necessary presence of the preposition *à*. Thus while both HC datives and English datives can participate in transitivity alternations, French datives cannot. Support for this assumption comes from the fact noted by Lumsden (1990), that the dative preposition *pou* may be omitted in constructions such as (95c):

- (96) Rete Jan pou li ale Ayiti  
*It remains for John that he goes to Haiti*  
 John still has to go to Haiti.

In (96), the predicate *rete* assigns structural Case to the post-verbal NP *Jan*. Such cases, then, arguably display overtly the small clause structure I have posited.

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below, a definite dative NP may occur in post-verbal position. If, as I suggest, dative case in Haitian is a structural case, then in examples such as (96), we can assume that it is assigned to the subject of a small clause, the structure of which is akin to the one proposed by Kayne (1984) for English double object constructions.

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