

APPLICATION OF GENERATIVE PROCEDURES FOR SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES INVESTIGATION (ON THE BASIS OF THE EXISTENTIAL *THERE*)

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The article highlights the advantages of generative methods in the investigation of syntactic structures and explains the emergence of expletive there in the sentence structure. The adverb there occurs in the sentence as an expletive topic [Spec, CP] preventing the verb from occupying this position especially in the V2 languages. Due to the development of SVO word order as well as the re-interpretation process it starts to function in the canonical [Spec, T] subject position.

Key words: *expletive, CP projection, TP projection, Probe — Goal agreement, interpreted / uninterpreted features.*

У статті висвітлюються переваги залучення генеративних методів під час дослідження синтаксичних утворень, пояснюється процес породження експлетивного there в структурі речення. Адverbіалія there з'являється у мові в позиції експлетивного топіка [Spec, C] для недопущення вживання в ній дієслова в мовах з V2 вимогою. З переходом мови від SOV до SVO моделі порядку слів в результаті реінтерпретації експлетивний топік починає вживатися в канонічній позиції підмета [Spec, T].

Ключові слова: експлетив, CP проекція, TP проекція, узгодження проба — ціль, інтерпретовані та неінтерпретовані ознаки.

*В статье освещаются преимущества использования генеративных методов во время исследования синтаксических образований, объясняется процесс порождения эксплетивного *there* в структуре предложения. Адвербиалия *there* появляется в языке в позиции эксплетивного топика [Spec, C] для недопущения употребления в нем глагола в языках с V2 требованием. С переходом языка с SOV к SVO модели порядка слов в результате реинтерпретации эксплетивный топик начинает употребляться в канонической позиции подлежащего [Spec, T].*

Ключевые слова: эксплетив, CP проекция, TP проекция, согласование проба — цель, интерпретированные и неинтерпретированные признаки.

For the last two decades of the XXth century the prime postulate of generative grammar was the hypothesis that every sentence has Deep structure which with the help of transformational rules is converted in speech into Surface structure. However, the publication of the Minimalist Program triggered a drastic reframing of the theoretic framework, namely the refusal from basic terms Deep and Surface structures. The latter were replaced by LF and PF respectively [4, 26].

The **object** of our research is the existential *there*. The **subject** of our research is the structural peculiarities of the expletive and the processes that determine its generation and functioning. The main **goal** of the article is to explain the process of expletive emergence in the structure of the sentence with the help of generative procedures.

The language is understood as a cognitive system that accumulates information about sound, meaning and structure. The language generates an expression $\text{Exp} = \langle \text{PF}, \text{LF} \rangle$ that consists of two levels: PF — where Phonetic component provides "instructions" for sensorimotor system about a sound (its categorical features F) and LF which gives "instructions" for system of thought [3, 90–91]. The interaction of language and these two external systems is determined by legibility conditions. The expression is legitimate if at the interface level Exp comprises solely the elements that give instructions to external systems

(sensorimotor and conceptual). All unnecessary elements and derivational steps should be eliminated. The latter are justified only by significant reasons, namely the influence on the sentence interpretation [3, 95].

According to minimalist procedures the Language Faculty consists of two subsystems: 1) the computational system that generates expressions with the help of transformational rules and commands to the system of realization; 2) vocabulary that comprises all lexical information of a language. There are two systems of linguistic expression realization: articulatory-perceptual (which corresponds to Phonetic Form) and conceptual-intentional (which corresponds to Logical Form). The language does not possess optional syntactic processes. The difference between languages lies in the fact that in some languages they occur on the syntactic level (overtly) after Spell-out operation, in others on the interpretational level (covertly) before Spell-out operation. For instance, both English and Chinese allow the basic operation of *wh*-movement in questions. However, English allows this operation overtly and Chinese covertly. This constitutes the deep structure similarity of these languages.

The structure of the English existential sentence, as of any other type of the sentence according to the Minimalist Program splits into functional and lexical projections, each of them having the head, specifier, and complement. The functional projection CP determines the communicative type of the sentence, its mood, and hosts complementizer. The functional projection TP contains a tense marker, and the feature of Extended Projection Principle (EPP) (the grammatical subject position, which is located in [Spec, T]). These features are uninterpreted (nonsemantic, structural), they constitute the core of agreement, case marking and movement operations, have an indirect impact on the interpretation of the expression, and must be checked (agreed and deleted). The verb is generated in the position of the lexical projection VP and moves to the functional projection vP to be verbalized.

The main operations, that constitute the transformational system are Merge, Agree and Move. Move is more complex than its subcomponents Merge and

Agree, or even the combination of the two, it is a "last resort" operation chosen when nothing else is possible [3, 101; 6, 209]. Movement should be motivated and occurs only for feature-checking. For instance, in any predicative structure according to VP-internal subject hypothesis, NP moves to the position of [Spec, TP] to get case and this movement occurs before Spell-out operation. Agree sets up the conditions for case checking and agreement between a language unit and a categorical feature (F) in a limited domain. A new term of distant agreement has been introduced into linguistic science, namely *Probe — Goal* agreement. From a theoretical perspective, Minimalist considerations lead us to the conclusion that we should restrict the distant agreement to the relation of c-command [9, 281]. To say that constituent X c-commands another constituent Y is (informally) to say that X is no lower than Y in the structure (i.e. either X is higher up in the structure than Y, or the two are at the same height). More formally, a constituent X c-commands its sister constituent Y and any constituent Z that is contained within Y [9, 446].

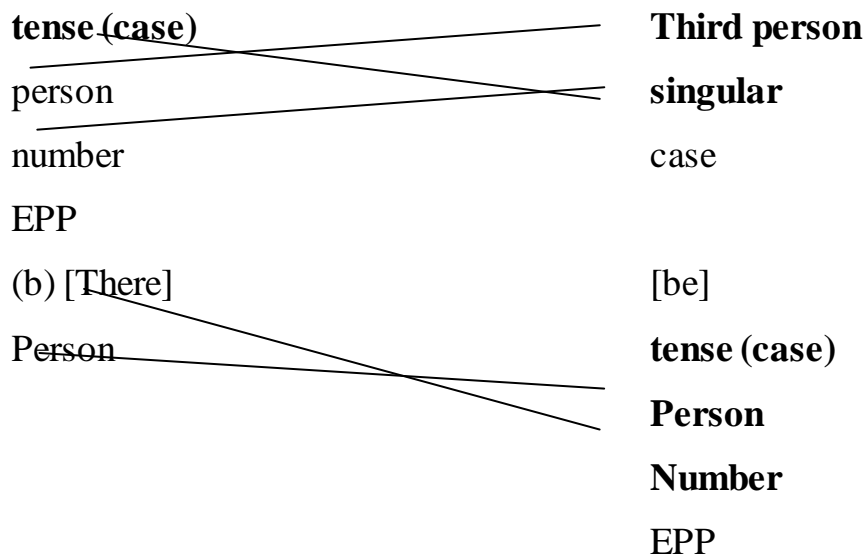
While considering the structure of the English existential sentence the majority of linguists agree that existential *there* is an expletive, which merges into the structure of the sentence in the position of specifier *vP* of unaccusatives to satisfy the EPP feature, according to which this position must be obligatory filled in English [3; 8].

It is well-known that the derivation of a sentence is endocentric [9, 68]. Initially the NP is generated with interpreted (semantic, inherent) features of person and number and an uninterpreted feature of case (which should be checked before Spell-out operation) [1]. Then the verb *be* appears in the structure of the sentence, it has an interpreted feature of tense and uninterpreted features of person and number. Agreement (the deletion of uninterpreted features) occurs on this derivation level. Uninterpreted features of the verb are *the probe* that seeks *the goal* and finds it in interpreted features of NP, and vice versa, NP is *the probe* that seeks *the goal* to be marked with the case (a):

Agree operation in the existential sentence "There is no remedy"

(a) [be]

[remedy]



After agreement with post verbal NP, verb EPP feature is left uninterpreted. The derivation process continues when at some point *there* appears and serves the *goal* to satisfy this *probe* (b). To be *the goal* a constituent must have an uninterpreted feature, in this case the expletive possesses the feature of person. It should be mentioned that the EPP feature can be satisfied with the help of NP movement to the position of [Spec, TP]. This movement is forbidden in the existential sentence because with the NP movement out of the VP scope the former loses the indefinite interpretation.

The ontology of the expletive has been much debated recently. [Spec, TP] position in early Germanic languages of SOV type was the position of *vP* complement movement. The movement is motivated by one of the constituents of this projection (specifier, when the features are checked in NP, or verb, when the features are checked in verb morphology). Feature checking occurs simultaneously with piedpiping operation (like in Modern German) or without it (like in Modern English).

In the development of English T (the probe) used to check its nominal features in the rich verb morphology (goal), the EPP feature was satisfied with the *head piedpiping operation*. As the result of the loss of verb inflections T seeks another goal for nominal features checking. The language is transformed from the language that uses *head piedpiping operation*, to the language which uses *spec*

piedpiping operation because in this case the movement is triggered by NP in [Spec, vP]. The question arises: why does the expletive emerge in the language despite the rich verb morphology. It must have appeared in the position of [Spec, CP] as an adverb to meet V2 requirement on condition of other topicalized element absence. With the time due to the reanalysis expletive *there* starts functioning in [Spec, TP] position [7, 68]. The plausibility of the hypothesis is also contributed to by the fact that vP that contains NP loses its ability to move to the [Spec, TP] because T-feature is not checked in the verb morphology. The expletive merge in the structure of the sentence is regarded as the last resort operation that occurs to check the EPP feature of T [10, 15].

The typological research of Germanic languages shows that the expletive functions in the position of specifier C in Scandinavian languages that have been transformed from the languages with rich inflection system and free word order to the languages with the obligatory usage of the grammatical subject [5, 61]. It was excluded from the structure of the sentence in case of indirect word order and in questions. In Middle High German there appeared the correspondent of English *there* — *es* which functions in the initial position of the sentence to fill [Spec, CP] position. Its emergence and grammaticalization is closely connected with syntactic development of the sentence, namely with V2-rule. The similar situation can be observed in Icelandic. Expletive *það* was used with nature phenomena verbs and in existential sentences (with transitive verbs included) only in the initial position and disappears when this position hosts another element, for example in general questions. In Modern Icelandic which is a symmetric V2 language, the expletive functions as topic in main and embedded clauses. In Danish in which V2-rule does not occur in embedded clauses, the emergence of expletive is explained by the necessity of subject position projection when the external argument of the verb is absent. In this case the expletive functions as the subject.

In the process of its development, due to the reanalysis *there* changes its position. Adverb *there* is duplicated by a locative, its usage becomes abundant, it loses its stress and locative meaning and functions as an expletive topic [Spec, C]

to keep the verb out of the CP projection. With the change of the word order the expletive topic starts to function as the expletive subject. Expletive actualization is obligatory in SOV — SVO change, which leads to the strengthening of role of positional subjects.

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THE ANALYSIS OF *SEEM*-CONSTRUCTIONS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

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The article studies seem-constructions in the history of the English language from the standpoint of generative grammar. It analyzes the main functional and structural characteristics of seem-constructions. The said constructions emerge and are regularly used at the end of Middle English and turn into regular grammatical constructions in Early Modern English. The analyzed constructions are regarded as raising structures involving the movement of the predicate's argument from a lower clause towards the position of the subject in a higher clause.

Key words: *generative grammar, seem-constructions, subject raising structures.*

У статті розглядаються seem-конструкції в історії англійської мови з позицій генеративної граматики. Проаналізовано основні функціональні та структурні особливості seem-конструкцій, які регулярно використовуються наприкінці середньоанглійського періоду, проте остаточно фіксуються в ранньомодерноанглійській мові. З позицій генеративної граматики seem-

конструкції з інфінітивним компонентом є рейзинговими конструкціями, які допускають пересув аргумента присудка з позиції підрядного речення до позиції підмета в головній клаузі.

Ключові слова: генеративна граматики, сеет-конструкції, рейзингові конструкції з підметом.

В статье рассматриваются сеет-конструкции в истории английского языка с позиций генеративной грамматики. Проанализированы основные функциональные и структурные особенности сеет-конструкций, которые регулярно используются в конце среднеанглийского периода, однако окончательно фиксируются в ранненовоанглийском языке. С позиций генеративной грамматики сеет-конструкции с инфинитивным компонентом являются рейзинговыми конструкциями, которые допускают передвижение аргумента сказуемого с позиции придаточного предложения к позиции подлежащего в главной клаузе.

Ключевые слова: генеративная граматики, сеет-конструкции, рейзинговые конструкции с подлежащим.

Generative grammar has had a huge impact on theoretical syntax since 1950s. During the last years the views on theoretical syntax have undergone a number of changes due to the developments in the syntactic theory referred to as the Minimalist Program [7, 8, 9]. The developments in the Minimalist theory have had a large influence on a more classical Government and Binding-type approach to the study of syntactic phenomena. Minimalism leads to re-examination of the concepts standardly assumed in previous works in syntax and to exploration of ways in which Minimalist concepts can be incorporated in a more classical approach [11, 1, 2].

The Minimalist Program is built on the idea that fundamental principles of the knowledge of a language are innate and differences between the grammars of languages can be reduced to parameters and language-specific idiosyncrasies [2,

13]. N. Chomsky suggests that three factors which influence the development of language are: genetic endowment, principles which select languages that are attainable so that language acquisition can take place; external data which has to do with experience that aids the selection of one language or the other; and certain principles that are not specific to the faculty of language such as principles of structural architecture and computational efficiency [5, 6]. An important assumption in the Minimalist Program is that all syntactic parameters are associated with grammatical features of functional categories. Minimalist theories of linguistic variation try to identify which features of which category are responsible for grammatical differences between languages [8].

The *aim* of the paper is to analyze *seem*-constructions from the standpoint of generative grammar in the history of the English language. The *object* of the paper is *seem*-constructions. The *subject* of the paper is functional and structural characteristics of *seem*-constructions in the historical perspective.

The English language allows a number of clause-internal and clause-external syntactic operations which are either impossible or limited in other languages. One of the clause-internal effects is the relatively large degree of freedom in selecting the basic syntactic functions of subject and object which results in a great number of alternations, that is occurrences of a verb with a range of combinations of arguments and adjuncts in various syntactic contexts such as transitivity alternations or the middle construction. Among the clause-external effects are raising constructions, syntactic operations that move arguments across clause boundaries [4, 2].

Raising has been an essential concept in syntactic analysis and linguistic theory since it first appeared in the works of P. Rosenbaum, N. Chomsky and P. Postal. Raising is a syntactic operation that causes certain types of matrix (main clause) verbs to trigger the movement of an NP/DP from the subject position of an embedded clause to the subject position of the main clause [13, 284]. It turns out to be another instance of the more general A-movement operation by which T attracts the closest nominal which it c-commands to move to spec-TP. Words like

seem/appear (when used with an infinitival complement) have the following property: the subject of the *seem/appear*-clause is created by being raised out of a complement clause, and for this reason these verbs are known as raising predicates [14, 138].

Three types of raising are recognized in the linguistic literature and are exemplified below:

- subject-to-subject raising

(1) ***Sue***₁ *seems to t*₁ *be tired*.

- subject-to-object raising

(2) *We believe* ***them***₁ *to t*₁ *retire next week*.

- object-to-subject raising /*tough*-movement

(3) ***He***₁ *is difficult to argue with t*₁.

In (1) and (2) above, the subjects of the subordinate clauses, *Sue* and *they* respectively, are moved to the subject/object position of the higher clauses. In (3), it is the object of the subordinate clause which is realised as subject of the matrix clause [4, 203].

In the case of subject-to-subject raising, there are two possible structural variants with complement clauses that are controlled by a number of verbs and adjectival predicates. D. Biber's findings show that in all registers subject-to-subject raising is used for the great majority of complement clauses that are controlled by *seem* and *appear*, *be likely*, *be unlikely*, *be certain* and *be sure* [3, 732].

In languages like English, the subject is the essential grammatical part in the structure of the sentence, i.e. the T-head is assumed to have the uninterpretable feature, called the EPP-feature. This feature is an implementation of what used to be the Extended Projection Principle, a principle which requires that the subject position of a sentence be filled [16]. But the EPP-feature was not always necessary. For example, in the Old English language the word order was not fixed and grammatical relations were expressed by morphological endings, so the subject was not explicated in the surface structure of the sentence. In the Middle English

language when the word order became fixed and the presence of the subject in the structure of the sentence was necessary, frequent usage of raising structures with raising verbs like *seem*, *happen* is observed. During Middle English the subject became more structural and expressed more semantic roles due to the loss of the morphological endings [12, 28].

The verb *seem* is without a doubt the quintessential raising verb in English, that's why the syntactic properties of *seem* and peculiarities of subject raising constructions with this verb in the history of the English language are analyzed. According to the *English Oxford Dictionary* the verb *seem* is a borrowing from Old Norse but does not appear until Middle English. The earliest example in the *English Oxford Dictionary* dates from ca. 1200. In Old English the verb *þyncan* served the role of *seem*, for example:

(4) *Mæg þæs þonne ofþyncan ðeodne [MS -en] Heaðo-Beardna
and þegna gehwam þara leoda þonne he mid fæmnan on Xett gæð... (Beo
2032–8)*

*Can as then seem lord Heathobards and thegns each those princes when he
with bride on Xoor goes...*

*It can seem to go too far to the lord of the Heathobards, and to each of the
thegns of those princes, when*

he walks on to the Xoor with his bride [19, p.112]...

(5) *þinceð him to lytel þæt he lange heold; (Beo 1740–52)*

seems him too little that he long held;

It seems too little to him, what he has long held [19, 97].

Though in both sentences (4) and (5) the semantics of the verb *þyncan* is close to the raising verb *seem* as it expresses some shades of evidentiality. They are not considered to be raising constructions yet because there is not any formal subject in the structure of these sentences. In Old English the *hit*-pronoun is not frequently used with the impersonal two-place verb *þyncan*. The only case, when the verb *þyncan* occurs with *hit*, is in conjunction with a dative experiencer. The development of the raising verb behavior, for the verbs commonly referred to as

raising verbs, seems to go together with the non-thematic use of the pronoun *hit* in clausal argument constructions [17, 2].

During **Middle English** verbs like *thenchen* (*think*) and *thinchen* (*seem*) transform into *thenchen* and *thinken*, which in Modern English are used as verb *think* [1, 158]. Moreover in Middle English the pseudo-impersonal construction *me thincth* (6) is also used, which later undergoes the process of lexicalization (*methinks*=*it seems to me*) and is still occasionally found in Modern English (7):

(6) ***Me thinketh*** thus, that nouthere ye nor I Oughte half this wo to make skilfully. [18, 107]

(7) ***Methinks*** he is not mistaken.

In the Middle English language the verb *seem* is used as a main verb meaning “*to be suitable, befit, beseem*”. At the end of the Middle English period the frequent usage of constructions with the verb *seem* is observed, for example:

- *seem* as a link verb (56 %):

(8) ***He seemed*** such, his wordes were so wise, Justice he was full often in assize [18, 29].

(9) ***And yet he seemed*** busier than he was [18, 30].

In the sentences (8) and (9) the verb *seem* is used with adjectives *such*, *busier* and adverb *well*. These sentences are examples of the copular use of *seem*.

- *seem* + *that* clause construction (44 %):

(10) ***It semeth*** nat ***that*** love dooth yow longe [18, 30].

(11) ***And if to lese his Ioye he set a myte, Than semeth it that*** Ioye is worth ful lyte [18, 67].

(12) ***It semed*** not she wiste what he mente [18, 131].

Sentence (10), (11) and (12) are examples of unraised constructions *seem* + *that* clause. Thus, there is just the beginning of development of raising constructions in Middle English because during this period the endings are leveled (for example, the infinitive has only ending *-e(n)*), the word order becomes more fixed and particle *to* begins to be widely used with the infinitive [1, 279].

In *Early Modern English* final formation of syntactic structure and semantics of raising constructions takes place. During this period the verb *seem* is used in the following patterns:

- as a link verb (53 %):

(13) *By this marriage All little jealousies, which now seem great, And all great fears, which now import their dangers, Would then be nothing [20, 123].*

- as a parenthetical construction (1 %):

(14) *No, nor thy tailor, rascal, Who is thy grandfather; he made those clothes, Which, as it seems, make thee [20, 390].*

- as an unraised construction (*seem* + *that* clause) (11 %):

(15) *It seems he hath great care to please his wife [20, 239].*

- as a subject raising construction (*seem* + *to* infinitive) (35 %):

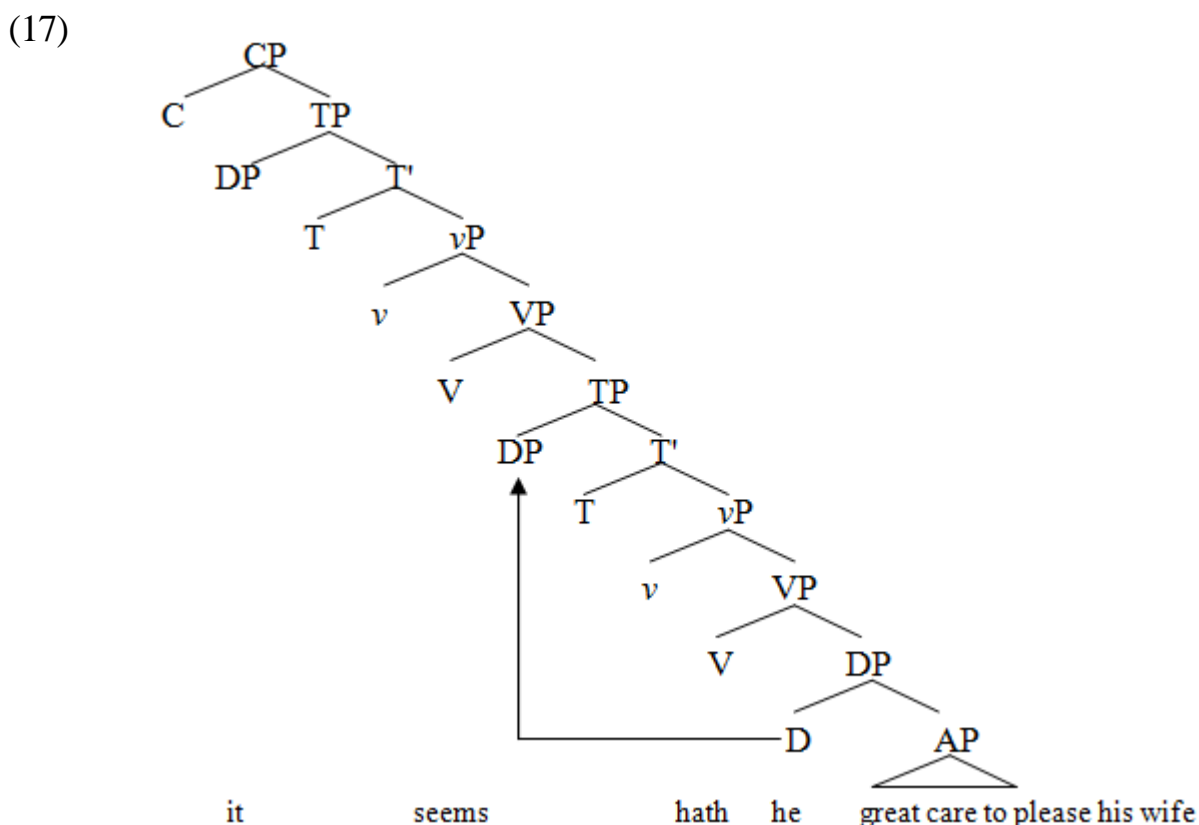
(16) *If I could meet that fancy-monger, I would give him some good counsel, for he seems to have the quotidian of love upon him [20, 210].*

The embedded clause in (15) is a CP. This implies that T has a complete set of grammatical features (ϕ -features and tense); therefore, the embedded subject *he* gets nominative case. Once the case feature of *he* has been valued, *he* becomes frozen in place (it becomes inactive) and can no longer be involved in any syntactic operation [6]. One distinctive feature of raising predicates like *seem* is that they are unaccusative and do not assign an external thematic role. For this reason, it is possible for an expletive, a semantically null element like *it*, to be inserted as the subject of a raising predicate.

In (15) the derived AP merges with *hath* (V) to form the VP *hath great care to please his wife*. The derived VP merges with the light verb *v* in order to derive the *v'*. The function of the light verb is to introduce the subject argument and to link the subject to the (VP) predicate. In the language like English the light verb is a null element — (it lacks phonological features but still has semantic and syntactic

significance in the structure) [2, 23]. The light verb *v* is affixal in nature, it therefore triggers *have* (V) to adjoin it, an operation known as head movement. The *v'* further merges with its so-called *specifier*, the subject DP *he*, to derive the *vP*. The propositional content of a sentence is syntactically represented within the *vP* through the verb (plus light verb) and their arguments (subject, object). In order to be specified for tense, *vP* merges with the tense-head T to derive the T' – *he hath great care to please his wife*. Functional categories like T have grammatical features and these features are highly significant when syntactic relations between elements in the syntactic representation are considered.

The resulting TP is subsequently merged with the verb *seem* to form the VP *seem he hath great care to please his wife*. A finite T has an EPP-feature requiring it to have a subject and one way of satisfying this requirement is to merge expletive *it* with the resulting T-bar [15], to form the TP shown in (17):



When the verb *seems* selects an infinitival complement clause in (16), the structure changes. The thematic subject of the embedded infinitive *he* is now in the

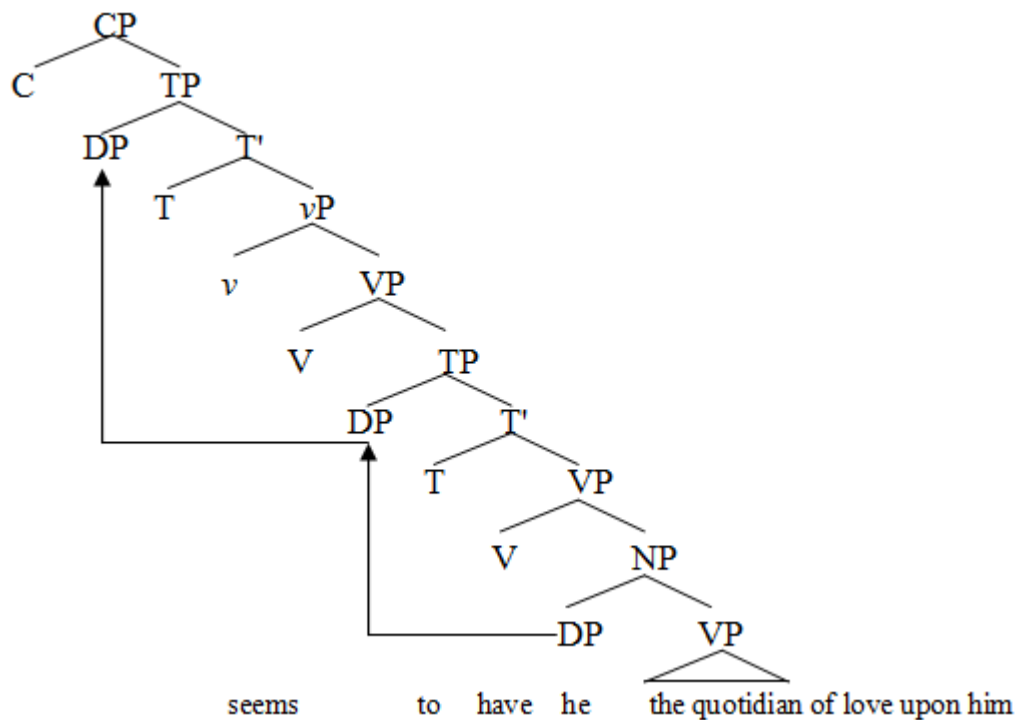
matrix subject position, which means that it has undergone the process of raising, namely movement to [Spec, T] of the matrix clause.

In (16) the derived NP merges with *have* (V) to form the V-bar *have the quotidian of love upon him*. This V-bar then merges with (and assigns the agent θ -role to) its external argument/thematic subject *he*. The resulting VP *he have the quotidian of love upon him* is then merged with the infinitival tense particle *to*, so forming the TP *to he have the quotidian of love upon him*. This in turn merges with the raising verb *seem* to form the VP *seem to he have the quotidian of love upon him*.

Without a C-head from which T can inherit its features, the embedded T lacks tense and agreement features (T is defective). The defective T cannot value the case feature of a DP, the infinitival T-head *to* in is unable to assign nominative case to the embedded subject-DP *he* in [Spec, v]. Without its case feature valued by the embedded defective T, the embedded thematic subject remains active. The derivation now proceeds with TP combining directly with the raising verb *seems* in order to derive the VP, which in turn merges with the affixal null light verb in order to derive the matrix v P. Since *seems* is unaccusative and does not have a full argument structure (there is no external argument in the matrix [Spec, v]), the matrix v P is not a phase. The v P combines with matrix T to form the T'. Since matrix T is finite and has uninterpretable ϕ -features, it acts as a Probe and searches a Goal in its c-command domain.

Matrix T can enter an agreement relation with the embedded subject and assign case to it. The EPP-feature of T subsequently causes the embedded subject to raise to the matrix subject position [2, 23]. The subject DP *he* then merges with the T' to derive the TP. The derived TP finally merges with a null declarative complementiser to form the CP (18):

(18)



Thus, in the Early Modern English language there is a final formation of subject raising constructions with the verb *seem* due to the following factors:

- the subject is explicated in the surface structure of the sentence because of the fixed word order;
- T-head has the EPP-feature requiring the position of the subject to be filled;
- subject raising is only possible with bare infinitival TPs;
- the verb *seem* is unaccusative and doesn't have a full argument structure;
- the verb *seem* is a one-place predicate whose only argument is its infinitival TP complement, to which it assigns an appropriate θ -role — perhaps that of theme argument of *seem*. This means that the VP headed by *seem* has no thematic subject.

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