

VARIATION IN RAISING AND CONTROL

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In the Principles and Parameters tradition it is common to assume that variation between grammars should be localized to properties of functional heads. Minimalist theories further restrict this variation to the distribution and properties of grammatical features. These types of restrictions are motivated to define in an elegant but descriptively adequate fashion the logical space of grammatical variation. It has been known for some time that there is variation in raising to subject. The set of verbs that allow raising varies between grammars, as does whether raising is obligatory or optional. There is the same kind of variation in raising to object structures. To the extent that this kind of variation involves variation in the theta grid of a lexical item, it poses difficulty for attempts to localize variation to functional projections exclusively. The bulk of this variation concerns whether a given predicate exhibits the standard diagnostics of raising or control (expletive *it*, existential *there* and idiom chunks). This paper will add to this picture a novel finding of variation: the three standard diagnostics for raising correlate in raising to subject structures, but not in at least some raising to object structures. Rather than disturb the picture of syntactic variation that restricts it to functional projections and their features, I will argue that this facet of variation can be modeled by allowing raising to be triggered to distinguish scopal relations (as well as by ϕ feature checking) and by embracing a derivational ambiguity present in the movement theory of obligatory control.