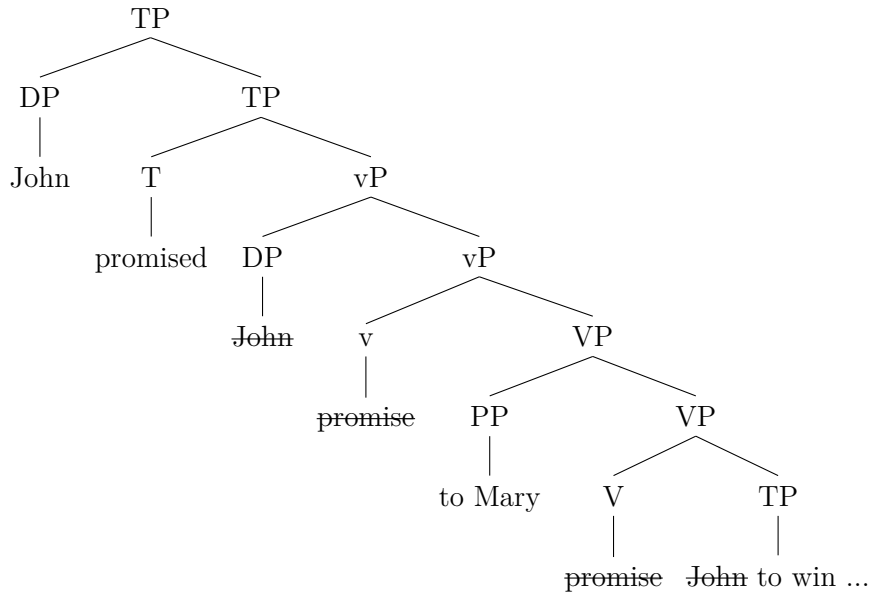


John_i) PRO_j to win.

The solution proposed has a classic “rule-ordering” feel to it. Basically, the idea is that in *promise*-type verbs, the internal argument is not **ACC** anyway, but rather some kind of dative experiencer and thus buried in a PP headed by a null P.



Passivization for such verbs is really some kind of pseudopassive: it’s the object of the preposition that passivizes rather than the entire phrase.

Mary was promised a rose garden (by John)⁵⁶

Hornstein and Polinsky take this to indicate that some kind of incorporation has taken place. Presumably once V adjoins to *v*, *v*-V P is reanalyzed as *v*-V-P, transforming the external argument of the V into a regular DP. This is arguably necessary to allow *Mary* any sort of mobility at all - cf:

A rose garden was promised to Mary

⁵⁶ *To Mary was promised a rose garden* is not strictly ungrammatical, of course - perhaps a bit stilted - but it is focused in a way that the reference sentence is not.