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The Linguistics of Desire

WANT vs HOPE vs WISH

WANT vs HOPE

We will start with WANT vs HOPE. Later on we will add WISH to the mix. In the course of the discussion, please think about the behavior of these verbs in your own language.

Before we go to the syntactic properties of WANT and HOPE, let's remember some basic differences in their meanings that we saw last time.

Both express a desire but...

-WANT can do Bolivia, HOPE cannot:

- 1a. I live in Bolivia because I want to (live in Bolivia)
- b. #*I live in Bolivia because I hope to (live in Bolivia)

2 Why do you live in Bolivia?

- a. Because I want to
- b. #*Because I hope to

3a. I have what I want to have

- b. #*I have what I hope to have

WANT can do endless weekends, HOPE cannot:

- 4a. I want this weekend to last forever
- b. #I hope that this weekend will last forever

We saw that in Heim's and others' work the use of WANT presupposes uncertainty of the attitude holder. But we also saw the Bolivia and the endless weekends issues.

The one that really requires uncertainty, seems to be HOPE.

In fact, HOPE seems to be much more about belief in feasibility than one might intuitively expect.

5. I used to hope that I would be able to graduate in 3 years ...
...but now there is no hope for that anymore

What does (5) mean? That I do not want to graduate in 3 years anymore?
No! That it is not feasible anymore.

Schlenker 2005:

x hopes that p

Presupposes that x has a desire that p be the case

Asserts that x takes p to be plausible

6.A: Jean espère toujours que Marie va venir.

Jean hopes still that Marie will come

B: Non, il pense désormais qu'il y a très peu de chances pour cela.

No, he thinks now that there are very few chances for that

7. A: Jean veut toujours que Marie vienne.

Jean wants still that Marie come-subj

B: ??Non, il pense désormais qu'il y a très peu de chances pour cela

No, he thinks now that there are very few chances for this

So one difference between HOPE and WANT is how they interact with doxastic worlds.

And possibly how their presupposed and asserted contents divide.

Further Intuitive difference: HOPE is less “action-oriented”. To hope is to want the world to develop a certain way without you making it happen (possibly because you can't).

At Starbucks counter:

- 8a. I want to drink/have/buy a grande capuccino
- b. #I hope to drink/have/buy a grande capuccino
 - (but to a loan officer: I hope to get a loan of 50K)

- 9a. I am running every day because I want to lose weight
- b. I am running every day because I hope to lose weight

- 10a. He wants to graduate early so he is studying very hard
- b. He hopes to graduate early so he is studying very hard

The truth is that we do not quite understand the complete range of semantic differences between WANT and HOPE.

The ideal: we find the semantic differences and we find the syntactic differences.

We map the syntactic differences to the semantic differences, hopefully in a causal way.

We are nowhere near there yet!

This course is mostly about about the semantics of desire predicates.
Let's look at syntactic differences briefly.

The differences between HOPE and WANT mostly show up in their complementation properties, on which we will spend most of today's class.

There is one difference (in English) that does not fall under the rubric of complementation, at least straightforwardly:

In English, HOPE can take the progressive (is it non-stative??), but WANT cannot:

- 11a. I hope/am hoping that it will rain tomorrow
- b. I want/*am wanting to leave tomorrow

However, English WANT can take the perfect of the progressive:

- 12. I have been wanting to talk to you

There are other verbs that are perfect tantum:

- 13a. I have been to Thailand
- b. *I am/was to Thailand

Differences in Complementation

WANT can take an NP complement. HOPE cannot:

14. I want a cake

15a. *I hope a cake/ a good outcome of the election

One obvious way to capture this is to say that WANT can assign Case, and HOPE cannot.

Note that in English (and other Ls), the addition of a preposition makes it good, presumably because of the availability of Case:

16. I am hoping for a good outcome of the election

We have not found a language where HOPE assigns Case/
can take an NP complement. This may be a universal.

(If you know of a counterexample, please tell us!)

Why would such a universal hold?

No clue!

However, it is not a universal that WANT always takes NPs/assigns Case. We have found a small number of languages where WANT cannot take an NP complement. One of these is Norwegian:

17a. *Jeg vil en kjeks.

I want a cookie

b. Jeg vil ha en kjeks.

I want have a cookie

c. Jeg vil at han skal vinne løpet

I want that he will win the race

Fun but unexplained fact:

A generalization:

Verbs that take CP complements but not NP complements, do take NPs when these NPs refer to propositions.

(von Fintel and Iatridou 2017 ms: “The curious case of propositions”)

18a. I hope that he will resign

- b.*I hope a good outcome of the elections
- c.*I hope a cake

Now consider the following pseudocleft:

19. [What I hope] is that he will resign

- The NP *what* appears as the object of *hope*.
- The bracketed constituent should in itself be syntactically wellformed.
- But given the status of (18b,c), what justifies the wellformedness of *what I hope*.

So is (19) fine, as we just saw:

19. [What I hope] is that he will resign

But (20) is bad!

20. *[What I hope] is a cake/a good outcome of the elections

The contrast between (19) and (20) is a function of the NP versus CP choice of the pivot.

Possible hypothesis:

NPs that stand for propositions have the same relationship with Case as CPs which stand for propositions do.

- CPs do not need Case (Stowell's Case Resistance Principle).
- CPs can refer to propositions.
- NPs that refer to propositions do not need Case.

Maybe this means that it is propositions (rather than CPs) that do not need Case, regardless of what syntactic category is being used to express propositions.

But this also means that the Case algorithm first needs to “know” whether an NP refers to an individual or a proposition before applying.

This is incompatible with any Case theory we know of!
(though remember the s-selection versus c-selection debate)

But let us show you that there is more meat to our generalization.

21. A: I hope that he will resign

B: I hope the same thing

B': I hope it/that too

Frank Staniszewski (pc) found an ECM case:

22. I'm sure many parents hoped this to be true.
23. ??I'm sure many parents hoped this to make their kids happy.

FS: maybe the copula?

Maybe not. Note that *this* in (22) refers to a proposition, whereas *this* in (23) does not. The copula in (23) is not the issue. Note:

24. *I'm sure many parents hoped this to be on the exam

Our generalization holds for other verbs as well:

25a. She asked what time it is

b. She asked the time

26a. She wondered what time it is

b. *She wondered the time

27a. What I wonder is when he will fix the car

b. *What I wonder is the time

28. A: I wonder when he will fix the car

B: I wonder that too

C': I wonder the same thing

Greek:

HOPE does not take NP:

29. *Elpizo mia niki / ena yaourti
hope.1sg a victory

30. To elpizo
it hope.1sg
'I hope so'

31. A: I hope it will remain tomorrow

B: To elpizo ke ego
it hope.1sg and I
'I hope it too'

• or a demonstrative:

B': aflo elpizo ke ego
this hope.1sg and I
'I hope this too'

Recall Norwegian:

32a. *Jeg vil en kjeks.

I want a cookie

b. Jeg vil ha en kjeks.

I want have a cookie

Just as in English, the pseudocleft is fine, but only if it refers to a proposition:

33. *[Det han vil] er en kjeks

that he wants is a cookie

34. [Det han vil] er at statsministeren skal gå av

That he wants is that the prime minister will go off

And with pronominals/demonstratives when they refer to a proposition:

35. A: Jeg vil at statsministeren skal gå av

I want that prime minister will go off

'I want the prime minister to resign'

B: Jeg vil det og

I want this too

- And the determiner in B can never refer to an individual.
- Similar facts hold for Norwegian *hope*.
- And Turkish...

A next step would be to look at NPs that refer to propositions in environments other than objects of verbs, but we leave that for some other time.

For now, we take to have established, but not explained, the following generalization:

Verbs that take CP complements but not NP complements, do take NPs when these NPs refer to propositions.

Differences in clausal complementation

Differences in finite clausal complementation:

English WANT does not take finite complements:

1. *She wants that he wins the race

But in other languages, WANT does take finite complements, which can be either subjunctive or indicative. Frequently (always?) a requirement for a finite complement is that the attitude holder and the embedded subject be distinct:

2. Marie_m veut qu'elle_{k/*m} ait un parapluie rouge

M. Want.3.sg that she have an umbrella red

‘Marie want her to have a red umbrella’

NOT ‘Marie want to have a red umbrella’

We are going to look at the subjunctive vs indicative later but a few quick notes:

Some languages don't have a subjunctive.

Italian, French, Spanish, German all have a subjunctive vs indicative distinction.

In Italian, French, Spanish, WANT selects for subjunctive.

In Italian and Spanish, HOPE selects for subjunctive. French HOPE selects for indicative.

German uses indicative under both WANT and HOPE.

We will look more into mood tomorrow.

Differences in Infinitival complementation below WANT and HOPE.

- Types of infinitive-taking verbs
- Size of the infinitival complement.

Let's start with a foundational text on (English) infinitival complementation.

David Pesetsky 1992

Zero Syntax II

The *Believe*-class

- 1 a. Mary believed [Bill to have read the book]. + ECM
b. Bill was believed [t to have read the book]. + NP-trace
c. *Bill believed [PRO to have read the book]. - PRO

figure, find, hold, imagine, judge, know, reckon, suppose, suspect, understand

The *wager*-class:

- 2 a. *Sue wagered [Bill to have won the race]. - ECM
b. Bill was wagered [t to have won the race]. + NP-trace
c. *Bill wagered [PRO to have won the race]. - PRO

shout, sight, yell; assert, avow, claim, conjecture, declare, decree, disclose, grant, guarantee, intimate, maintain, note, observe, posit, recollect, said, state, stipulate, verify

The want-class:

- 3
- a. Mary wanted [Bill to to read the book] + ECM
 - b. *Bill was wanted [t to to read the book]. - NP-trace
 - c. Bill wanted [PRO to read the book]. + PRO

desire, need, wish

The demand-class:

- 4.
- a. *Mary demanded [Bill to read the book]. - ECM
 - b. *Bill was demanded [t to read the book]. - NP-trace
 - c. Bill demanded [PRO to read the book]. + PRO

ask, choose, consent, contrive, decide, demand, endeavor, HOPE, intend, mean, need, offer, petition, plan, prepare, promise, propose, refuse, request, resolve, seek, strive, struggle, swear, undertake, vow

Recall the *demand*-paradigm:

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 5 a. *Mary demanded [Bill to read the book]. | — ECM |
| b. *Bill was demanded [t to read the book]. | — NP-trace |
| c. Bill demanded [PRO to read the book]. | + PRO |

HOPE has no ECM (since it has no C to begin with):

6. *I hope Bill to be the winner

takes PRO:

7. She hopes to read a book

And indeed, it cannot be passivized (i.e. it is –NP trace)

8. *Bill was hoped to read a book.

BUT!!

Compare

8. *Bill was hoped to read a book.

To cases where the embedded predicate is stative:

- 9a. Bill was hoped to be the winner
- b. One of the linguists was hoped to be a syntactician
- c. At least three students were hoped to be healthy

This is not an option for other members of the *demand*-class:

10.*Bill was demanded/ struggled/consented to be the winner

Though maybe *plan* behaves like HOPE:

11. Bill was planned to be the winner

So it seems that unlike other *demand*-verbs, passivization from under HOPE is fine, as long as the infinitive is stative.

Or maybe has the subinterval property in general?

12. Bill was hoped to be singing when the queen walks in

The property of not being an ECM verb, yet permit passivization is a property of the *wager* class.

And HOPE has another property of the *wager*-class:

Rescuing via A-bar movement:

13. The candidate who I had hoped to be the winner is standing over there

Other *demand*-verbs don't do this:

- 14a, *The candidate who I had demanded to be the winner is standing over there
b. *The candidate who I had struggled to be the winner is standing over there

(And look at *plan*:

15. The candidate who I had planned to be the winner is standing over there)

So so far, HOPE (and maybe *plan*) clearly has some *wager* properties. However, HOPE (and *plan*) permits PRO in the infinitive, which is not a *wager* characteristic:

- 16a. *I wager to get there on time
- b. I hope to get there on time

So HOPE (and *plan*) lives somewhere between *wager* and *demand*:

	+PRO	passivization	A-bar rescues	ECM
<i>wager</i>	-	+	+	-
hope	+	+	+	-
demand	+	-	-	-

So English HOPE is not in any of the Pesetsky '92 classes.

A question to consider is whether it is a coincidence that English PLAN has similar syntactic properties to English PLAN.

If HOPE contains PLAN in some sense, the consistency may be meaningful:

PLAN takes no endless weekends and no Bolivia.

An important aside: one theory for A-bar rescues will not help HOPE:

Kayne (Zero Syntax, Moulton and others):

movement through SPEC/CP gets the mover sufficiently close to the Case-assigning embedding verb.

But cannot work in the case of HOPE, as HOPE is not, at least not obviously, a Case assigner.

Bonus Mystery relating to *want*-class:

- 3a. I believe Sue to be the best
- b. Sue is believed to be the best

- 4a. I want Sue to read the book
- b. *Sue is wanted to read the book

(Bresnan PhD 153ff, Pesetsky 1992)

Chomsky and Lasnik have a null *for*. Pesetsky: but *want NP to VP* behaves like other ECM verbs, not like verbs taking *for*.

There is no good explanation for this yet.

WANT and HOPE also differ in another aspect of their infinitival complementation.

In many languages, WANT is a restructuring verb. HOPE is not.

So what is restructuring?

- Sometimes, two clauses (one of which is infinitival) behave as one on a number of tests. Whether this is possible or not depends (of course on the language and) the embedding verb.
- Clitics

1a. Gianni detestava veder -lo.

Gianni it hated see.

‘Gianni hated to see it.’

b. *Gianni lo detestava vedere.

Gianni it hated see.

Intended: ‘Gianni hated to see it.’

But with the right verb:

2a. Gianni cominciava a veder[-]lo.

Gianni was.beginning to see-it

‘Gianni was beginning to see it.’

b. Gianni lo cominciava a vedere.

Gianni it was.beginning to see

‘Gianni was beginning to see it.’

Long Passive:

2a. weil der Wagen₁ [t₁ zu reparieren] versucht wurde

because the car to repair tried was

'because the car was tried to repair'

≈ 'because they tried to repair the car'

b. *weil der Wagen₁ [t₁ zu reparieren] behauptet wurde

because the car to repair claimed was

Intended: 'because the car was claimed to repair'

But the class of restructuring verbs is not the same crosslinguistically.

Table 1: (Non-)restructuring verbs, adapted from Wurmbrand (2001: 342)

Predicates	German	Dutch	Italian	Spanish	Japanese
MODAL	+	+	+	+	+
ASPECTUAL	+	+	+	+	+
MOTION	+	+	+	+	+
<i>want</i>	+	+	+	+	+
<i>try</i>	+	+	±	±	±
<i>manage/succeed</i>	+	+	±	±	+
<i>promise, threaten</i>	+	-	-	-	-
<i>allow, permit</i>	+	-	-	±	-
<i>decide, choose</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>plan</i>	-	-	-	-	-
PROPOSITIONAL	-	-	-	-	-
FACTIVE	-	-	-	-	-

Copied and pasted from Grano “Restructuring at the Syntax-Semantics Interface”

WANT just about always restructures (if the L has restructuring).

HOPE never seems to.

Frequent point of debate:

- what triggers restructuring? Parameter(s) involved?
- what is the size of the restructured predicate?
- Is restructuring optional or obligatory?
- is there more than one type of restructuring?

Functional restructuring

Grano (following Cinque):

“Restructuring configurations are ...monoclausal, the “embedded verb” actually constituting the main predicate in the structure and the “matrix verb” actually occupying a functional position in the extended projection of that main predicate....

.... regularity in the set of restructuring verbs is a consequence of the universality of the projections in the inflectional layer of the clause.

....

the observed variation is not actually idiosyncratic but rather is systematic in the sense that it reflects different degrees of semantic bleaching. ”

p.33

“Semantically, restructuring verbs all have meanings that signal their functional status. ” p.7

[historically, restructuring is the result of bleaching of lexical verbs into functional items]

Susi Wurmbrand

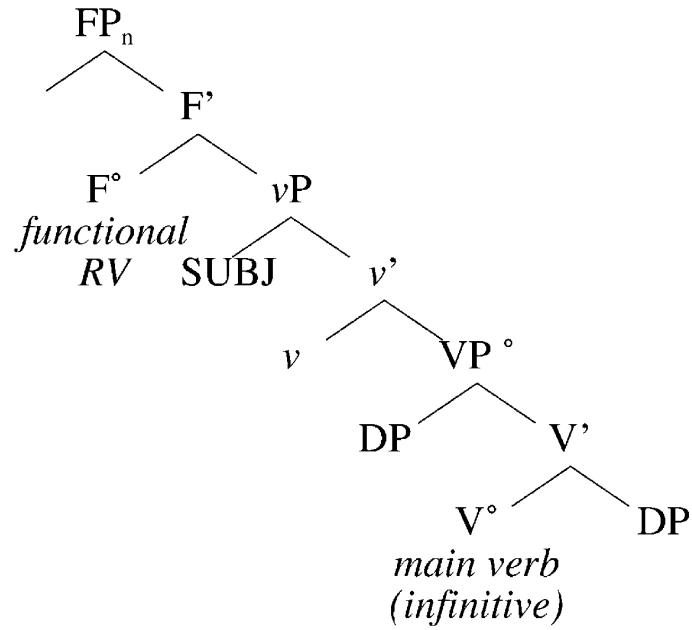
Two types of restructuring—Lexical vs.
functional

Lingua 2004

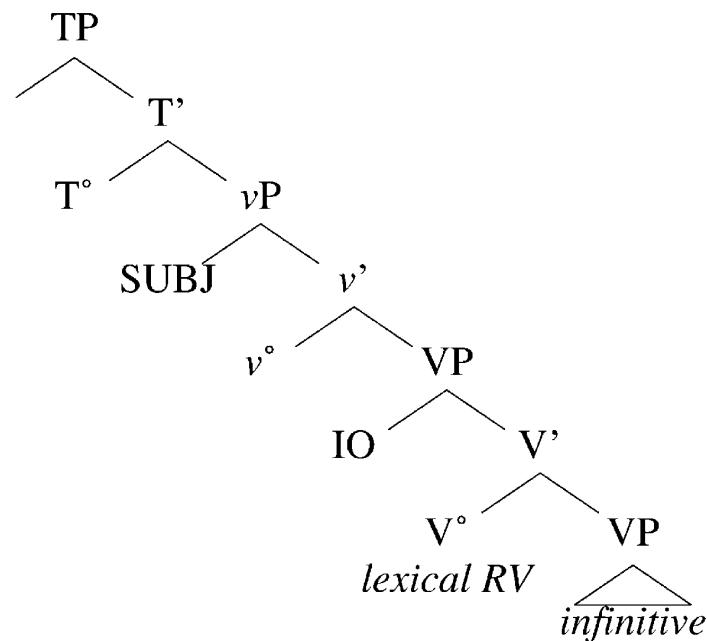
Wurmbrand 2004: There are (at least) two types

1.

(a) Functional restructuring



(b) Lexical restructuring



So what makes a verb functional as opposed to lexical?

Cinque 2001:

Functional verbs:

- don't assign theta-roles
- strict ordering and co-occurrence restrictions (though not Grano)
- only one type of complementation

Lexical verbs:

- theta roles
- not subject to syntactic ordering or co-occurrence restrictions
- optional complementation

WRT theta roles:

Cinque:

- a. restructuring constructions are Raising predicates (i.e. they lack external argument)
- b. There cannot be internal arguments selected by the restructuring verb

SW: Wrt (a): only verbs with an external argument can be passivized.
Passivization is possible in restructuring, which means that an external argument is present:

- 2.
- dass der Lastwagen und der Traktor zu reparieren versucht wurden*
that the-NOM truck and the-NOM tractor to repair tried were
'that they tried to repair the truck and the tractor'

SW: but not all restructuring verbs passivize. For example, modals (which are unaccusative), don't:

3. a. * *Der Wagen wurde (zu) reparieren gekonnt/können*
 The car-NOM was (to) repair can-PART/INF
 'They were able to repair the car'
 b. * *Der Wagen wurde (zu) reparieren gemußt/müssen*
 The car-NOM was (to) repair must-PART/INF
 'They had to repair the car'

SW: Modals and raising verbs are functional verbs but other restructuring verbs are lexical and can take an external argument and are not Raising predicates. More tests confirm this:

4.

Weather-*it* subjects

- a. *Es* *dürfte* *morgen* *schneien* Epistemic
 It might tomorrow snow
- ‘It might snow tomorrow’
- b. *Es* *scheint* *zu schneien* Raising
 It seems to snow
- ‘It seems to be snowing’
- c. *Es* *muß* *morgen* *schneien* Root
 It must tomorrow snow
- ‘It must snow tomorrow [otherwise the race will have to be cancelled]’
- d. * *Es* *versuchte* *zu schneien* Lexical restructuring
 It tried to snow
- e. * *Es* *plante* *zu schneien* Non-restructuring
 It planned to snow

5.

Inanimate arguments, raising

- a. *Der Kuchen dürfte gegessen worden sein* Epistemic
 The cake might eaten AUX_{PASS} be
 ‘The cake might have been eaten’
- b. *Der Kuchen scheint gegessen worden zu sein* Raising
 The cake seems eaten AUX_{PASS} to be
 ‘The cake seems to have been eaten’
- c. *Der Kuchen muß gegessen werden* Root
 The cake must eaten AUX_{PASS}
 ‘The cake must be eaten’
- d. * *Der Kuchen versuchte gegessen zu werden* Lexical restructuring
 The cake tried eaten to AUX_{PASS}
 ‘The cake tried to be eaten’
- e. * *Der Kuchen plante gegessen zu werden* Non-restructuring
 The cake planned eaten to AUX_{PASS}
 ‘The cake planned to be eaten’

Table 1
Thematic properties

	Raising predicates	Modals	Lexical restructuring verbs	Non-restructuring verbs
Weather- <i>it</i>	OK	OK	*	*
Inanimate subjects	OK	OK	*	*
Subject raising	OK	OK	*	*
Matrix passive	*	*	OK	OK

Wrt earlier (b) (=restructuring verbs cannot include internal arguments selected by the restructuring verb):

SW: there is restructuring in the presence of internal (dative) arguments:

6.

Dative arguments in restructuring contexts

- a. *Dem Kind wurden nur Kekse zu essen erlaubt*
the child-DAT were only cookies to eat allowed
'They only allowed the child to eat cookies'
- b. *Der Roman wurde ihm zu lesen empfohlen*
the novel-NOM was him to read recommended
'They recommended to him to read the novel'
- c. *weil mir der Brief auf Anhieb zu entziffern gelungen ist*
since me-dat the letter-nom straightaway to decipher managed is
'since I managed straightaway to decipher the letter'

WRT strict ordering and co-occurrence restrictions:

7.

Cinque's functional hierarchy

MoodP_{speech act} > MoodP_{evaluative} > MoodP_{evidential} > ModP_{epistemic} > TP(Past) >
TP(Future) > MoodP_{irrealis} > ModP_{alethic} > AspP_{habitual} > AspP_{repetitive(I)} >
AspP_{frequentative(I)} > ModP_{volitional} > AspP_{celerative(I)} > TP(Anterior) >
AspP_{terminative} > AspP_{continuative} > AspP_{retrospective} > AspP_{proximative} > AspP_{durative}
> AspP_{generic/progressive} > AspP_{prospective} > ModP_{obligation} > ModP_{permission/ability} >
AspP_{Compleutive} > VoiceP > AspP_{celerative(II)} > AspP_{repetitive(II)} > AspP_{frequentative(II)}

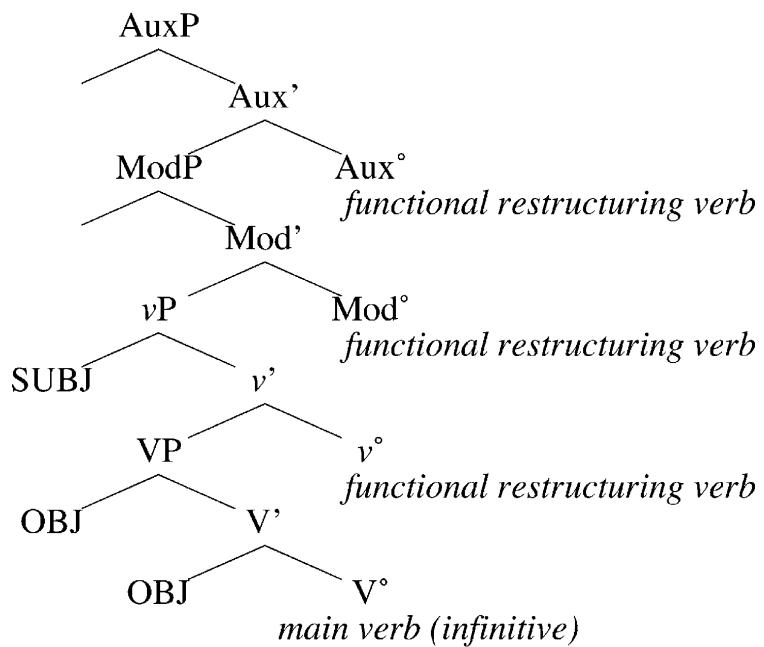
Cinque: the order of verbs is fixed, and moreover, it is fixed regardless of whether certain restructuring tests apply or not:

8. a. *Suole provarle a fare da solo*
He-uses to-try-them_{CL} to do by self
'He uses to try to do them by himself'
- b. * *Prova a solerle fare da solo*
He-tries to use-them_{CL} to-do by self
'He tries to use to do them by himself'
9. a. *Suole provare a farle da solo*
He-uses to-try to do-them_{CL} by self
'He uses to try to do them by himself'
- b. * *Prova a soler farle da solo*
He-tries to use to-do-them_{CL} by self
'He tries to use to do them by himself'

SW: Cinque is (more or less) right wrt modals

AUX: epistemic heads, Mod: deontic modals

Functional restructuring



But not wrt lexical restructuring verbs. No strict order there:

10. a. *dass den Mann dem Fritz keiner wagte zu erlauben anzurufen*
that the man-ACC the Fritz-DAT nobody-NOM dared to allow to-call
'that nobody dared to allow Fritz to call the man' (Sabel, 1994: 292)
- b. *dass er die Tür zu öffnen zu versuchen wagte [...]*
that he the door to open to try dared
'that he dared to try to open the door' (Haider, 1993: 249)
- c. *dass er zu rauchen aufzuhören begonnen hat*
that he to smoke stop begun has
'that he began to stop smoking' (Haider, 1993: 245)
- d. *Hans befahl der Maria die Augen aufzumachen zu versuchen*
John ordered the Mary-DAT the eyes open-to-make to try
'John ordered Mary to try to open the eyes'
- e. *Hans versuchte der Maria die Augen aufzumachen zu befehlen*
John tried the Mary-DAT the eyes open-to-make to order
'John tried to order Mary to open the eyes'
- f. *Hans vergaß der Maria schwimmen zu lernen zu empfehlen*
John forgot the Mary-DAT swim to learn to recommend
'John forgot to recommend to Mary to learn swimming'
- g. *Hans empfahl der Maria nicht zu atmen zu vergessen*
John recommended the Mary-DAT not to breath to forget
'John recommend to Mary not to forget to breathe'

WRT complementation:

SW: functional restructuring is obligatory; lexical restructuring is optional.
(so again, there is not one type of restructuring)

-German lexical vs. functional restructuring

Cinque: restructuring is obligatory; restructuring properties/tests are optional

SW: but there are also non-restructuring properties! And these are impossible with functional restructuring verbs but possible with the lexical restructuring ones.

So what are some non-restructuring properties?

Relative clause pied-piping!

11. Relative clause pied piping of non-restructuring infinitives

- a. ...*der Roman* [*den schon gelesen zu haben*]_{INF} *der Hans bedauerte*
...the novel [that already read to have]_{INF} the John-NOM regretted
...‘the novel that John regretted having read already’
- b. ...*der Roman* [*den zu lesen*]_{INF} *der Hans plante*
...the novel [that to read]_{INF} the John-NOM planned
...‘the novel that John planned to read’

Relative Clause pied-piping is impossible with the functional restructuring verbs:

- 12 a. * ...*der Roman* [*den lesen*]_{INF} *nur der Hans* *muß*
...the novel [that read]_{INF} only the John-NOM must
...‘the novel that only John must read’
- b. * ...*der Roman* [*den zu lesen*]_{INF} *nur der Hans* *schien*
...the novel [that to read]_{INF} only the John-NOM seemed
...‘the novel that only John seemed to be reading’

But possible with lexical restructuring verbs:

13

- a. ...*der Roman* [*den zu lesen*]_{INF} *nur der Hans* *vergaß*
...the novel [that to read]_{INF} only the John-NOM forgot
...‘the novel that John forgot to read’
- b. ...*der Roman* [*den ihr zu geben*] *der Hans schon oft* *versucht hatte*
...the novel [that her to give] the John already often tried had
...‘the novel that John had tried to give to her already several times’

Crucially though, relative clause pied-piping is not possible WITH restructuring properties (which is why it is a non-restructuring property):

- 13 c. **...der Roman [der ihr zu geben] schon oft versucht wurde*
 ...the novel [that-NOM her to give] already often tried was
 ...‘the novel that somebody had tried to give to her already several times’
- d. **...der Mann [dem zu geben] nur ein Roman versucht wurde*
 ...the man [that to give] only a novel-NOM tried was
 ...‘the man that they (imp.) tried to give only a novel’

SW p. 1006:

“...(potential) restructuring verbs can combine with either a restructuring infinitive (which then allows restructuring properties but prohibits non-restructuring properties such as relative clause pied piping), or a full clause non-restructuring infinitive which prohibits restructuring properties but allows non-restructuring properties such as relative clause pied piping.

Functional restructuring constructions, on the other hand, are obligatorily mono-clausal configurations (due to the rigid ordering of functional heads in a clause) and hence do not involve any optionality in complementation (i.e., functional verbs cannot combine with clausal complements and hence never allow non-restructuring properties). “

-An indication of optionality of restructuring in Italian

Cinque's prediction: only one adverb of each type per sentence, since restructuring is monoclausal.

SW: if restructuring wasn't optional, both (14a), where there is no clitic climbing, and (14b), where there is, should have been bad::

14. a. * *Maria lo vorrebbe già aver già lasciato*
Mary him-CL would-want already have already left
'Mary would already want to have already left him'
- b. *Maria vorrebbe già averlo già lasciato*
Mary would-want already have-him-CL already left
'Mary would already want to have already left him'

So restructuring IS optional, and b is biclausal.

Lack of obligatory restructuring properties with lexical restructuring

Scrambling of object to main clause is a sign of restructuring (scrambling only in monoclausal environments):

15. a. *dass Hans den Traktor versucht hat [t_{SCR} zu reparieren]* Restructuring
that John the tractor-acc tried has [t_{SCR} to repair]
'that John (has) tried to repair the tractor'
- b. *dass Hans versucht hat [den Traktor zu reparieren]* (Non-)Restructuring
that John tried has [the tractor-acc to repair]
'that John (has) tried to repair the tractor'

a: restructuring +scrambling; b: no scrambling

SW: Long Passive is obligatory in Restructuring (because the lower verb does not have its Case layer). This means that scrambling should be out when there is no LP.

This is borne out:

- 16 a. *dass der Traktor [zu reparieren] versucht wurde* Restructuring
that the tractor-nom [to repair] tried was
'that they tried to repair the tractor'
- b. *dass versucht wurde [den Traktor zu reparieren]* Non-restructuring
that tried was [the tractor-acc to repair]
'that they tried to repair the tractor'
- c. * *dass den Traktor versucht wurde [t_{SCR} zu reparieren]* Non-restructuring
that the tractor-acc tried was [t_{SCR} to repair]
'that they tried to repair the tractor'

a: restructuring + long passive

b: no restructuring, no scrambling

c: no restructuring + scrambling → *

But for Cinque, restructuring is obligatory, and restructuring properties are optional, so LP and scrambling should be independent. But they are not.

Extraposition

infinitives combining with functional restructuring verbs cannot be extraposed, but infinitives combining with lexical restructuring verbs can:

- 17.
- a. * *weil der Hans schien [den Wagen repariert zu haben]_{INF}*
since the John-NOM seemed [the car-ACC repaired to have]_{INF}
'since John seemed to have repaired the car'
 - b. * *weil der Hans muß [den Wagen reparieren]_{INF}*
since the John-NOM must [the car-ACC repair]_{INF}
'since John must repair the car'
 - c. *weil der Hans versuchte [den Wagen zu reparieren]_{INF}*
since the John-NOM tried [the car-ACC to repair]_{INF}
'since John tried to repair the car'

So there are two types of restructuring.

And finally: in functional restructuring verbs, the subject can scope over or under the restructuring verb. In lexical restructuring verbs, the subject can scope only over the verb.

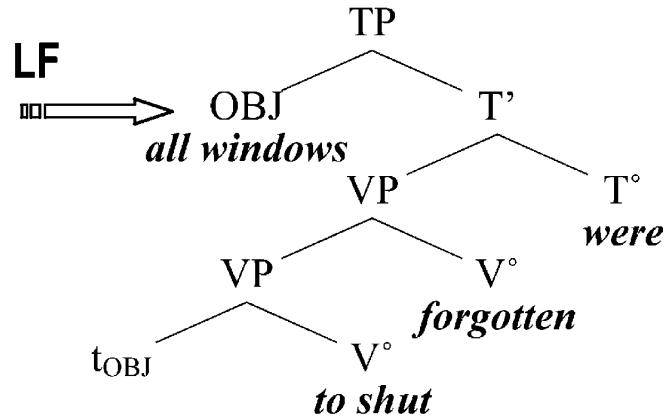
Functional Restructuring:

- 18
- a. *weil vor der Habilitation ein Buch publiziert werden muss*
since before tenure a book-NOM published become must
'It is necessary to publish one book before tenure'
'There is one book which has to be published before tenure'
 - b. *weil zwei neue Mitarbeiter eingestellt werden müssen*
since two new employees hired become must
'It is necessary to hire two new employees'
'There are two new employees which have to be hired'
 - c. *weil zwei Angestellte entlassen werden müssen*
since two employees laid-off become must
'It is necessary to fire two employees'
'There are two employees which have to be fired'

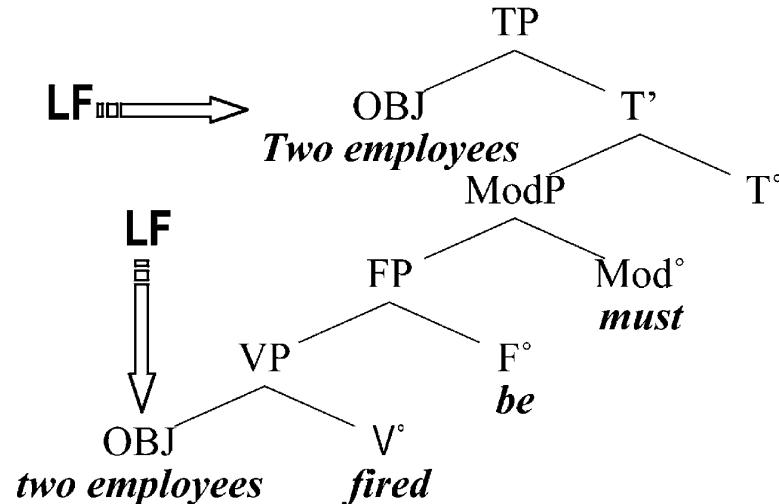
Lexical restructuring:

19. a. *John forgot to close all the windows*
 b. *weil alle Fenster zu schließen vergessen wurden*
 since all windows(-NOM) to close forgotten were
 ‘since they forgot to close all windows’ $\forall \gg \text{forget}; *\text{forget} \gg \forall$

20. (a) Lexical restructuring (b) Functional restructuring



No R in Amvt?



How does this work?

SW summarizing from Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2003, Wurmbrand 2003:

“...complements of lexical verbs (but not functional verbs) are separate locality domains (phases) and that reconstruction can only occur within one phase. Since the infinitive in [(20a)] is the complement of a lexical verb (*forget*), it constitutes an independent phase, and hence reconstruction of the object is impossible. In [(20b)], on the other hand, the infinitive does not form a phase independent of the matrix predicate since it is not selected by a lexical verb but by a functional head (the modal) and hence reconstruction below the modal is possible.” p. 1011

Wurmbrand concludes:

- There is functional and lexical restructuring.
- Functional restructuring is obligatory; lexical restructuring is optional
- Functional restructuring is more common crosslinguistically. If a language has one type of restructuring it will have the functional type.

Susi Wurmbrand
2015

Restructuring Crosslinguistically

- Ls can be classified wrt whether they permit Long Object Movement (LOM, remember the Long Passive), clitic climbing (CC), and scrambling (SCR). They are also classified wrt their complements are [-TNS], [+FUT], CPs.
- Below is the crosslinguistic picture. How can we explain it?

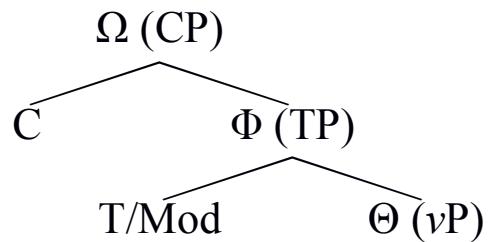
#	Languages	LOM	CC, SCR		
			-TNS	FUT	CP
0	Norwegian, other Mainland Scandinavian?	✓	*	*	*
	Brazilian Portuguese, English, French	*	*	*	*
1	European Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, Takibakha Bunun, ?Acehnese	✓	✓	*	*
	Romanian ^{SE}	*	✓	*	*
2	Chamorro, German, Isbukun Bunun, Kannada, Mayrinax Atayal; Japanese ^{LDS}	✓	✓	✓	*
	Czech ^{SE} , Dutch, Mandarin, Polish, Tagalog; Korean ^{LDS} , Serbo-Croatian ^{SE, LDS} , Slovenian ^{SE, LDS}	*	✓	✓	*

We will need three ingredients:

- freezing effect of certain movements (the “criterion” ones)
- variable locations of these movements
- a clausal architecture that cuts a clause into three domains.

Let's start with the last one:

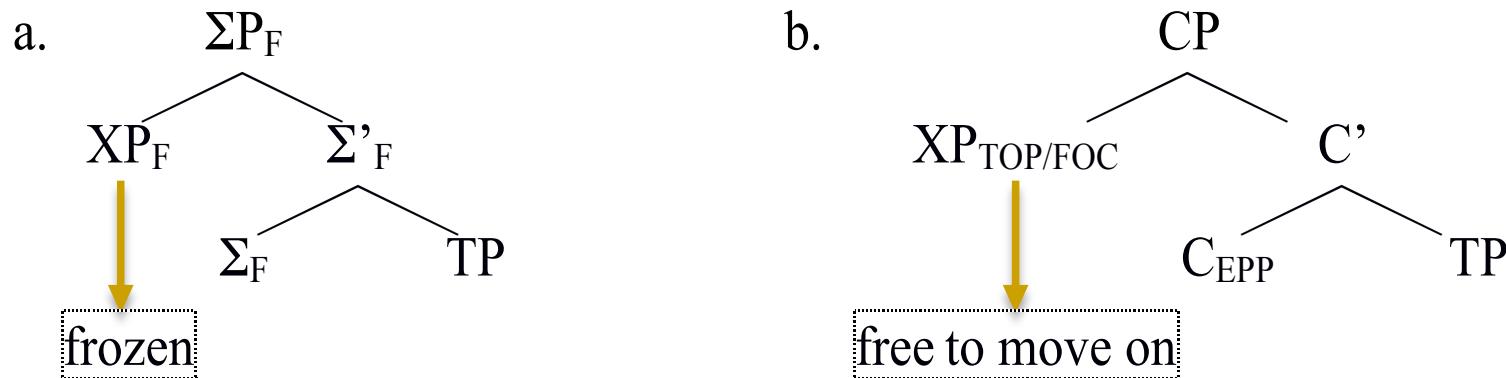
Clausal domains



Θ and Φ are A-domains.
Ω is the A'bar domain.
Each domain consists of several projections. Each domain is present or absent in toto. That is, either all its projections are present or all are absent (SW's “all or nothing”)
So if restructuring happens, there are two possible sizes: Φ and Θ.

Wrt “-freezing effect of certain movements”:

Certain “feature licensing relationships” trap an element where it is licensed. For example, CC and SCR need to go to and stay in specific positions (ΣP) which contains the relevant features. On the other hand, TOPIC, FOCUS, LDS are triggered by EPP, not a specialized feature. Hence these movements can move through multiple CPs but movements to an ΣP (the first one) always stops there.

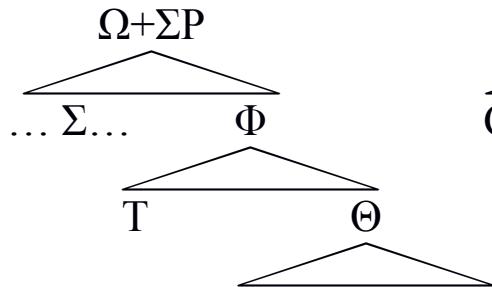


The reason for the freezing in (a) is XP_F is not the highest element containing F, ΣP is.

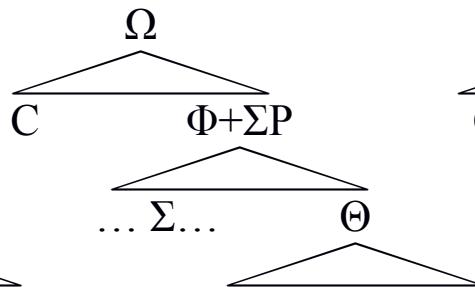
Wrt “-variable locations of these movements”:

Crosslinguistically, placement of ΣP differs:

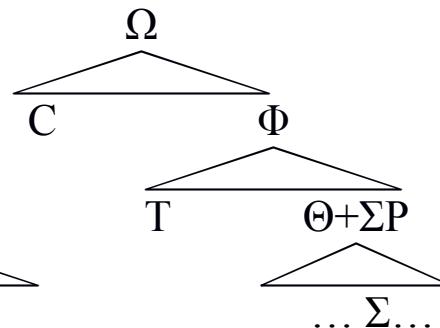
a. Type 2



b. Type 1



c. Type 0



(Also, ΣP can appear in more than one domain in a language. Italian: ΣP in Φ and Θ)

We can explain why CP blocks CC/SCR: if CP is present, so will ΣP (no matter what Language Type). So CC/SCR will always be caught by the CP-internal ΣP .

Type 0 L: size restructuring makes no difference because ΣP is very low: CC/SCR are not possible no matter what:

1. *... [$_{\Sigma P}$ *pro_{Clitic/SCR}-XPs* [*try* [$\Theta + \Sigma P$ $t_{Cl/SCR}$]]] — Type 0

In 1,2 size restructuring makes a difference: keeping just Θ permits CC/SCR, as ΣP is absent:

2. ... [$_{\Sigma P}$ *pro_{Clitic/SCR}-XPs* [*try* [Θ $t_{Cl/SCR}$]]] — Types 1,2

But only [-TNS] verbs can do this (*try*). Verbs that select [FUT] cannot omit Φ :

3. *... [$_{\Sigma P}$ *pro_{Clitic/SCR}-XPs* [*decide* [Θ $t_{Cl/SCR}$]]] *Recoverability

Predicates that select [FUT] and therefore need Φ , will allow CC/SCR depending on where ΣP is:

If ΣP is in Ω , size restructuring will permit CC/SCR; this is a Type 2 L:

4. ... [$_{\Sigma P}$ pro_{Clitic}/SCR -XPs [*decide* [Φ $t_{Cl/SCR}$]]] Type 2

If ΣP is in Φ , CC/SCR will be blocked; this is a Type 1 L:

5. *... [$_{\Sigma P}$ pro_{Clitic}/SCR -XPs [*decide* [$\Phi+\Sigma P$ $t_{Cl/SCR}$]]] Type 1

That is, the difference between Type 1 and Type 2 is where ΣP is:

ΣP in Φ : Type 1

ΣP in Ω : Type 2

Some Evidence I: Embedded negation

Cardinaletti and Shlonsky: in Italian, embedded negation blocks restructuring.

Two tests for restructuring: CC and “Auxiliary Switch”.

(Auxiliary Switch: lower verb determines auxiliary choice)

CC and negation: CC up to negation:

6

- a. Lo vorrei poter leggere
it I.would.want can read
'I would like to be able to read it.'
- b. Vorrei non dover mai far-lo
I.would.want not must ever do-it
'I would want not to have to ever do it.'
- c. Vorrei non dover-lo mai far
I.would.want not must-it ever do
'I would want not to have to ever do it.'
- d. *Lo vorrei non dover mai fare
it I.would.want not must ever do
'I would want not to have to ever do it.'
- e. {*CL} [NRI NEG {✓ CL} [RI {✓ CL}]]

C&S: negation blocks restructuring because presence of negation entails presence of full CP.

SW: no. presence of negation entails presence of Φ , not of whole CP.

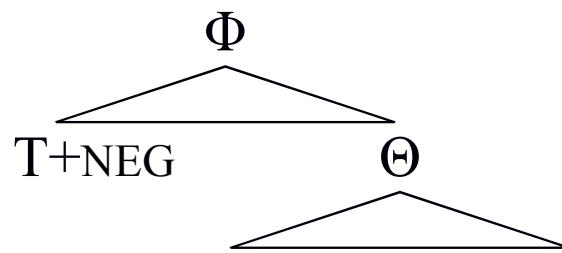
In a Type 1 L, where ΣP is in Φ , presence of Φ entails presence of ΣP , so movement out of the infinitive is blocked. So no CC/SCR.

However, in a Type 2 L, where ΣP is in Ω , presence of Φ does not entail presence of ΣP , so movement out of the infinitive is OK. So CC/SCR is OK.

This is what happens in Polish, a Type 2 language:

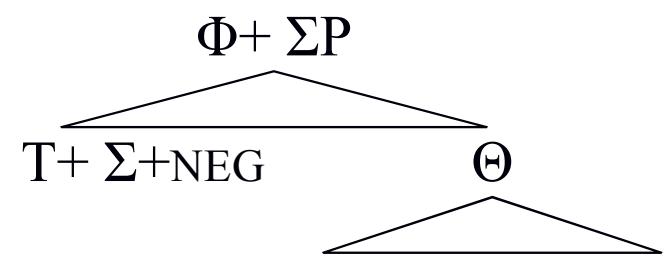
- a. Ktoś tej sukienki nakazał nie ubierać Markowi Polish
 someone.NOM this dress.GEN ordered not put.on Mark.DAT
 ‘Someone ordered Mark not to put on this dress.’ [Sabel 2001: 168, (54)]
- b. Ojciec żadnej sukienki kazał nie ubierać Markowi
 Father no.GEN dress.GEN told not wear.INF Mark.DAT
 ‘The father told Mark to not put on any dress.’ [M. Dadan, p.c.]
- c. Ojciec niczego kazał jej nie jeść
 Father.NOM n-thing ordered her not to.eat
 ‘Father ordered her not to eat anything.’ [M. Dadan, p.c.]
- d. Ojciec jej kazał nie ubierać Markowi
 Father.NOM it.GEN ordered not put.on Mark.DAT
 ‘Father told Mark not to put it on.’ [M. Dadan, p.c.]

a. Type 2



Polish

b. Type 1



Italian

-Auxiliary Switch: not possible with negation:

- 8 a. Avrei / Sarei voluto_{have} andare_{be} a Roma Italian
I.would.have / would.be wanted go to Rome
'I would have wanted to go to Rome.' [SW] [C&S 2004: 536f, (36a,b)]
- b. Avrei voluto [Φ non andare da nessuna parte]
I.would.have wanted [Φ not go to any where]
'I would have wanted not to go anywhere.' [C&S 2004: 527, (16a)]
- c. *Sarei voluta [*Φ non andare da nessuna parte]
I.would.be wanted [*Φ not go to any where]
'I would have wanted not to go anywhere.' [C&S 2004: 527, (16b)]

The optionality in (a) is due to *Want* being ambiguous between a lexical verb (triggering *have*), or a functional head in Φ , in which case the lower verb determines the choice of auxiliary.

SW: Auxiliary determined by the verb in local Θ domain.

“Embedded sentential negation in [(9)] is then impossible since NEG is part of the Φ domain but a functional restructuring verb cannot embed another Φ domain but must combine with a Θ domain. “ p.10

9 $\begin{bmatrix} \Phi & \text{AUX}.be & \text{MOD} \\ *[\Phi & \text{AUX}.be & \text{MOD} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \Theta & \text{V}.go_{\text{be}} \\ [\Phi & \text{NEG T } \text{V}.go_{\text{be}} \end{bmatrix}]]$ *2 Φ domains

Some evidence II: Parasitic gaps

The Ω domain is A-bar domain, while Φ is an A –domain. So movement to ΣP is A-bar movement in Type 2, but not in Type 1. So CC/SCR in a Type 2 language can license PGs, but not in a Type 1 L:

Type 2:

- 10 a. dass ihn der Arzt [ohne pg anzuschauen] untersucht hat German
that him the.NOM doctor [without pg at.to.look] examined has
'that the doctor examined him without looking (at him)'
- b. dat ik deze boeken [zonder pg in te kijken] aan Jan doorverkoop Dutch
that I these books [without pg in to look] to Jan on.sell
'that I sold these books without looking into (them)' [Sportiche 1996: 263, (69)]
- c. dat ik ze [zonder pg in te kijken] aan Jan doorverkoop
that I them [without pg in to look] to Jan on.sell
'that I sold these books without looking into (them)' [B. Moskal, p.c.]

Type 1:

10

- d. *Glieli dobbiamo far mettere t nello scaffale Italian
them.him we.must make put t on.the shelf
invece di lasciare pg sul tavolo
instead of leaving pg on.the table
'we must make him put them on the shelf instead of leaving (them) on the table'
[Chomsky 1982: 65, (89b); Sportiche 1996: 256, (60b)]
- e. *Juan lo quitó sin leer Spanish
Juan it.CL removed without reading
'Juan put it away without reading.' [J. Villa-García, p.c.]
- f. *Juan lo quiso quitar sin leer
Juan it.CL wanted remove without reading
'Juan wanted to put it away without reading.' [J. Villa-García, p.c.]

In Type 0 languages, ΣP is in Θ . This means that there is no CC/SCR whether there is restructuring or not. But this does not mean that we should conclude that there is no size restructuring in a Type 0 language. This can be detected in other ways:

In Brazilian Portuguese, NPIs in some infinitives can be licensed only by infinitive-internal negation, while in other infinitives they can be licensed by clause-external negation:

- 11a. *A Lina (não) decidiu sair nunca (mais) Brazilian Portuguese
the Lina (not) decided leave.INF never (more)
'Lina decided/didn't decide never to leave.' [Modesto 2013: 14, (16a,b)]
- b. A Lina decidiu não sair nunca (mais)
the Lina decided not leave.INF never (more)
'Lina decided never to leave.' [Modesto 2013: 14, (16c)]

11

- c. A Lina não tenta ajudar nunca à sua mãe
the Lina not tries help.INF never to her mother
'Lina never tries to help her mother.' [Modesto 2013: 14, (17a)]
- d. A Lina não começa a estudar nunca
the Lina not start PREP study.INF never
'Lina never starts to study.' [Modesto 2013: 14, (17b)]

12

[Φ NEG *try/*decide* [Θ NPI]]

Decide cannot take Θ as complement because it selects [FUT], which is in Φ.

So infinitive-internal NEG (which is in Φ) is the NPI-licensor.

Try can take Θ, and so it is the infinitive-external negation that is the licensor.

Richard Larson, Marcel den
Dikken and
Peter Ludlow

Intensional Transitive Verbs and Abstract Clausal Complementation

Intensionality tests for clausal complementation:

Substitution of co-referring terms does not necessarily preserve truth:

- 1a. Max imagined [CP that [DP Boris Karloff] was approaching]
- b. Max imagined [CP that [DP Bill Pratt] was approaching]

Non-denoting objects do not necessarily yield false sentences:

- c. Max imagined [CP that [DP a unicorn] was approaching]

With nominal complements, we don't in general find these effects.

Substitution of co-referring terms does preserve truth:

- 2a. Max met [DP Boris Karloff].
- b. Max met [DP Bill Pratt].

Non-denoting objects yield false sentences:

- c. Max met [DP a unicorn].

However, there is a class of verbs whose DP objects do display intensionality properties.

Substitution of co-referring terms does not necessarily preserve truth:

- 3a. Max imagined/wanted/needed/looked-for [DP Boris Karloff].
- b. Max imagined/wanted/needed/looked-for [DP Bill Pratt].

Non-denoting objects does not necessarily yield false sentences:

- c. Max imagined/wanted/needed/ looked-for [DP a unicorn].

This is the class of **intensional transitive verbs**. ITVs

LDL will defend the (pre-existing) position that we are basically dealing with clausal complementation:

4a. Max wanted/imagined/needed/ looked-for [DP Boris Karloff].

=

b. Max wanted/imagined/needed/ looked-for [CP...[DP Boris Karloff]...].

Please make sure you check the paper for prior references of the ideas LDL defend. I will not be reproducing all these in the slides.

Arguments that we are dealing with clausal complementation with ITVs:

A. Selectional Restrictions

ITVs all take clausal complements as well.

Moreover, the selectional properties of certain ITV's match exactly those of HAVE:

- 5 a. I want { a cold
 a sister
 freedom
 a driveway
 #sentencehood

- b. I have { a cold
 a sister
 freedom
 a driveway
 #sentencehood

6. I want to HAVE a cold etc

B. Binding Effects

- 6 a. I had { *my cooperation.
 { your/his/their/Ed's cooperation.
- b. You have { *your sympathy.
 { my/his/their/Ed's sympathy.
- c. Ed_i had { *his_i help.
 { his_j/my/her/their help.
- 7 a. I want { *my cooperation.
 { your/his/their/Ed's cooperation.
- b. You want *your sympathy.
- c. Ed_i wants { *his_i help.
 { his_j/my/her/their help.
8. Ed_i wants [PRO_i TO HAVE *his_i help]

This is different with non-ITVs:

9.

I { mentioned
boasted about
described
played up
regretted } my/your/his/their/Ed's { cooperation
help
sympathy

C. Adverbial Modification

ITVs show adverbial ambiguities one expects with clausal complementation:

- 10 a. Max will need to have a bicycle tomorrow. (ambiguous)
- b. Max will need a bicycle tomorrow. (ambiguous)

- 11 a. [Max will need [PRO to have a bicycle tomorrow]]
- b. [Max will need [PRO to have a bicycle] tomorrow]

Unlike non-ITVs:

12. Max will ride/repair a bicycle tomorrow. (unambiguous)

13

- a. A week ago Bill wanted your car yesterday
- b. #A week ago Bill painted your car yesterday

D. Ellipsis

- 14 A: Do you want another sausage?
B: I can't [VP Ø]. I'm on a diet.
15. A: Do you want to have another sausage?
B: I can't have another sausage. I'm on a diet.)
 ^ ^
16. A: Do you want a beer?
B: I shouldn't [VP Ø], but I will [VP Ø] just this one time.
17. A: Do you want to have a beer?
B: I shouldn't have a beer, but I will have a beer just this one time.)

18. a. Jonathan wants to have more toys than Benjamin.
b. Jonathan wants more toys than Benjamin.

Both (18a,b) can be interpreted as (19a or b):

- 19 a. Jonathan wants to have more toys than Benjamin wants to have.
b. Jonathan wants to have more toys than Benjamin has.

E. Propositional anaphora

- 20a. Joe wants a horse, but his mother won't allow *it*.
b. Joe wants some horses, but his mother won't allow *it/*them*.
c. Joe wants a wife, but his mother won't allow *it/*her*.
21. Joe wants [PRO to have a horse], but his mother won't allow *it*.
(cf. Joe wants to have a horse, but his mother won't allow *Joe to have a horse*.)

But what exactly is the concealed complement of ITVs?

Some syntax:

-The Raising to Object analysis of ECM:

- 22 a. Max [VP believes [_{AgrsP} him to be patient]].
b. Max [_{AgroP} him believes [VP him [_{AgrsP} him to be patient]]]

- R-to-O is extended to *for*-complementation:

23. a. Max [VP prefers [CP for [_{AgrsP} him to be patient]]]
b. Max [VP **prefers-for** [CP for [_{AgrsP} him to be patient]]]
c. Max [_{AgroP} him **prefers-for** [VP him [CP for [_{AgrsP} him to be patient]]]]

And to covert *for*-incorporation:

24.

- a. Max wants him to be patient.
- b. Max [VP wants [CP FOR [AgrsP him to be patient]]]
- c. Max [AgroP him wants-FOR [VP him [CP FOR [AgrsP him to be patient]]]]

But saying it is all R-to-O raises an issue:

- 25.
- a. He was believed to be patient.
 - b. *He was preferred (for) to be patient.

How to get around this so as to be able to maintain the account? They make certain assumptions.

Answer: - there is Light NOM, assigned by T-inf

- overt items can carry two Cases (one of them Light NOM)
- all cases on a nominal must be checked by the same item
- C and T count as the same item, others not

Extended Case-checker

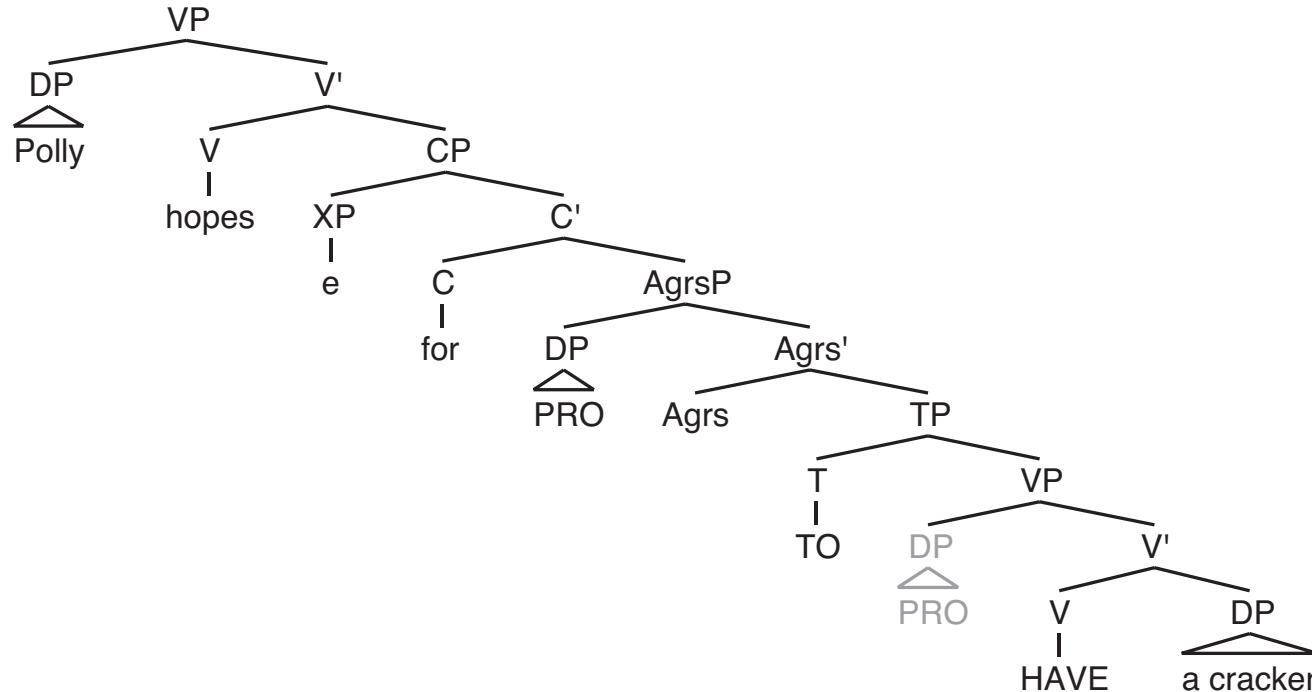
26. Max [AgroP him prefers-for [VP him [CP for [AgrsP him to be patient]]]]
ACC ✓ LIGHT NOM ✓

27. He T be preferred-FOR [AgrsP he to be patient]
NOM ✓ LIGHT NOM ✓

-Restructuring à la Baker:

28. a. Mario vuole [CP [PRO [VP leggere **lo**]]]
b. Mario vuole [CP [VP leggere **lo**] [PRO leggere lo]]
c. Mario vuole-leggere [CP [VP leggere **lo**] [PRO leggere lo]]
d. Mario **lo**-vuole-leggere [CP [VP leggere lo] [PRO leggere lo]]

29.

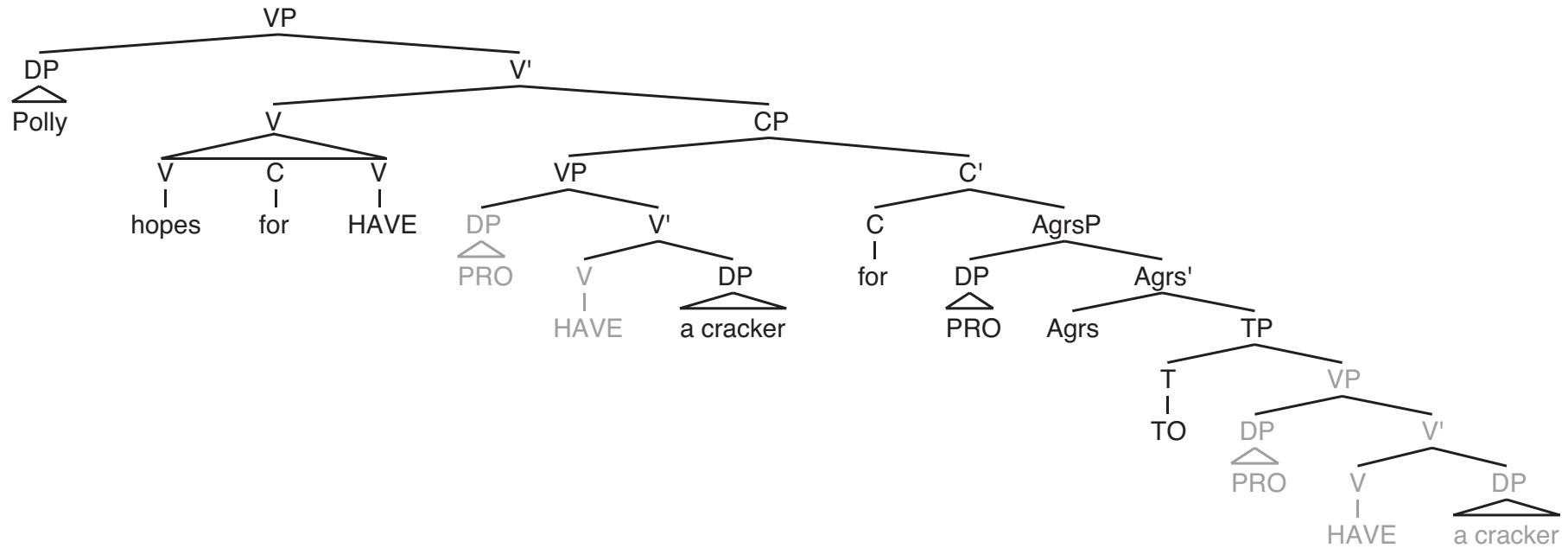


Further assumptions: Covert HAVE has no Case feature (only interpretable features), which means it has no AgrP above it. So *cracker* has no Case.

Moreover, *for* can't check its Case feature.

After Restructuring:

30.



The DP *a cracker* gets Case from [_Vhopes-for-HAVE]

Consequences of this restructuring:

- intensionality (given the clausal complementation)
- selection and Binding as expected
- adverbial ambiguity
- ellipsis and propositional anaphora

[but do we really need R for these, other than for *for* verbs? So far no. But later yes]