Restructuring as the regulator of clause size

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1. Traditional restructuring

- Clitic climbing, scrambling (see Wurmbrand 2014b, c, 2015c for data and analysis)

(1) a. *Piero ti verrà a parlare di parapsicologia
   Piero to.you will.come to speak about parapsychology
   ‘Piero will come to speak to you about parapsychology.’ [Rizzi 1982:1, (1a,b)]

b. Piero ti deciderà di parlare di parapsicologia
   Piero to.you will.decide to speak about parapsychology
   ‘Piero will come to speak to you about parapsychology.’ [Rizzi 1982:1, (1c,d)]

2. Three classes of embedded complements (Wurmbrand 2014d, Todorović 2015b)

(2) a. Leo tried/began/managed/forgot to eat a frog (*tomorrow).
   non-/semi-intensional

b. Leo decided/planned/proposed to eat a frog (tomorrow).
   irreals, future

c. Leo claimed to be eating a frog (*tomorrow), when...
   attitude, speech

(3) a. John believes/claims that Mary *eats/✓ is eating a frog right now.
   b. John believes Mary to *eat/✓ be eating right now.
   c. John claims to *eat/✓ be eating right now.

(4) a. Jovan je pokušao da čita / pročita knjigu. BCS
   ‘Jovan tried to read the (entire) book.’

   ‘Jovan decided to read the (entire) book.’

   ‘Jovan claimed to be reading the book.’ (imperfective)

Cypriot Greek (Christopoulos, p.c.)

(5) a. eprospaθisen na lisi to provlima.
   try.PVF.PST.3SG NA solve.PVF.PRES.3SG the problem
   ‘He tried to solve the problem.’

b. apofasisen na lisi to provlima.
   decide.PVF.PST.3SG NA solve.PVF.PRES.3SG the problem
   ‘He decided to solve the problem.’

c. ??isxiristiken / nomizi na elisen to provlima.
   claim.PVF.PST.3SG / think.IMPVF.PRES.3SG NA solve.PVF.PST.3SG the problem
   Intended: ‘He claimed to have solved/thinks that he solved the problem.’

d. isxirizete oti lii / ??lisi to provlima
   claim.IMPVF.PRES.3SG that solve.IMPVF.PRES.3SG / ??solve.PVF.PRES.3SG the problem
   (, me to na to aynoi )
   with the NA it ignore.IMPVF.PRES.3SG )
   ‘He claims to be solving the problem (by ignoring it).’
3. Some evidence for a three-way split

3.1 Polish infinitival complementizers ([Dadan, p.c.])

(6) a. Verbs requiring the complementizer żeby in the infinitival complement: ➞ *CC/*SCR (focus mov’t may be possible)

b. Verbs that take infinitives in which the complementizer żeby is optional: ➞ CC/SCR only if complementizer is not present (focus movement may be possible)

c. Verbs that take infinitives that cannot have the complementizer żeby: ➞ ✓ CC/SCR

(7) a. Jan nalegał żeby pieniądze / je zostawić
   John insisted so.that money / them leave.INF
   ‘John insisted on leaving the money/them.’ [M. Dadan, p.c.]

b. *Jan pieniądze / je nalegał żeby zostawić
   John money / them insisted so.that leave.INF
   ‘John insisted on leaving the money/them.’

(8) a. Jan {książkę} zdolał (*żeby) przeczytać {książkę}
   John {book} managed (*so.that) read.INF {book}
   ‘John managed to read a/the book.’

b. Jan {já} zdolał (*żeby) {já} przeczytać
   John {it} managed (*so.that) {it} read.INF
   ‘John managed to read it.’

(9) a. Jan {książkę} / {já} postanowił {já} przeczytać {książkę}
   John {book} / {it} decided {it} read.INF {book}
   ‘John decided to read a/the book/it.’

b. Jan postanowił żeby {já} przeczytać {książkę}
   John decided so.that {it} read.INF {book}
   ‘John decided to read a/the book/it.’

c. *Jan {książkę} / {já} postanowił żeby przeczytać
   John {book} / {it} decided so.that read.INF
   ‘John decided to read a/the book/it.’
Clausal nominalizations:

- want, hear, see, be.happy, be.shy, envy, know, remember, regret, wait, allow, recommend, promise, decide, others.
- Participles plus Case marking (plus optional possessive marking and reflexive marking if applicable); Temporal elements possible (potential, future, perfect, habitual, others)
- Overt GEN subjects possible (when not coreferent; co-reference/control requires reflexive marking on the nominalization), no long object movement
- ECM also possible (ACC subject); NOM subjects impossible; no indexical shift (see below)

(12) a. \textit{lena liza-də [ūšo nəgo kənʃətə zdi-x-ija-n’] zūbšo-gö}
\textit{Lena Liza-DAT [more one sweet eat-POT-ACC-3] allow-PRT1}
‘Lena allowed Liza to eat one more sweet.’

b. \textit{badma [mini stul smdšl-h-ija] xar-a}
\textit{Badma [1SG.GEN chair break-PFCT-ACC] see-PRT1}
‘Badma saw my breaking the chair.’

c. \textit{bi hurguli-də badm-in jabə-dəg-ija-n’ hana-nə-b}
\textit{1SG school-DAT Badma-GEN go-HAB-ACC-3 remember-PRS-1SG}
‘I remember how Badma used to go to school.’

d. \textit{bi *sajona / sajon-in / sajon-ija du: du:la-žə be-x-ija šagən-a-b}
\textit{1SG *Sajana.NOM / S-GEN / S-ACC song sing-CONV1 be-POT-ACC hear-PRT1-1SG}
‘I heard that/how Sajana sang a song.’
(13) a. *sajənə xəbləkə ədə-xə-jə hənə-nə
Sajana apple eat-POT-ACC.REFL think-PRS
‘Sajana wants to eat an apple.’

b. sajənə xəbləkə ədə-xə-xə-n’ hənə-nə
Sajana apple eat-POT-ACC-3 think-PRS
Intended: ‘Sajana wants to eat an apple.’

**CP with complementizer gəzə**

- believe, see, hear, be.surprised, know, forget, say, think, be.sorry, be.frightened, wait, endure, boast, ask, promise, decide, others.
- Overt subjects possible, no long object movement
- Subjects occur either with NOM or ACC; only NOM agrees; only NOM undergoes indexical shift

**Shifted indexicals** (indexical which refer to a non-actual context)

- New empirical domain for restructuring: shifted indexicals as a diagnostic for CP and the lack thereof (in languages that allow shifting).
- Similar evidence as in Uyghur for a monster operator in CP (not part of the attitude verb): NOM subjects obligatorily shift, ACC subjects do not shift.

I Sajana.NOM / Sajana-ACC song sing-CONV1 be-PRT1 COMP hear-PRT1-1SG
‘I heard that Sajana sang a song.’

b. sajənə (bi) tərgə əmdəl-ə-b gəzə məd-ə
Sajana (1SG.NOM) cart break-PRT1-1SG COMP know-PRT1
‘Sajana, found out that she; broke the cart.’ (For example, she was drunk and didn’t remember it).

c. sajənə naməjə tərgə əmdəl-ə(*-b) gəzə məd-ə
Sajana 1SG.ACC cart break-PRT1(*-1SG) COMP know-PRT1
‘Sajana found out that I (= the speaker) broke the cart.’

- Nominalization: no indexical shift
- CP: obligatory indexical shift (speaker 1st person; addressee 2nd person)
- CP and nominalization equally available (for many verbs; promise both a speech and irrealis verb)

(15) a. abə-n’ xəbən-d-ə xətə ošə-x-ə əlgə-jə əlg-ə
city-3 boy-DAT-REFL city go-POT-ACC.REFL word-ACC.REFL give-PRT1
‘The father promised the son that he (=the father) will go to the city.’

b. abə-n’ xəbən-d-ə xətə ošə-xə-b gəzə əlgə-jə əlg-ə
‘The father promised the son that he (=the father) will go to the city.’

*‘The father promised the son that he (= the son) will go to the city.’

b. abə-n’ xəbən-d-ə xətə ošə-xə-b gəzə əlgə-jə əlg-ə
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‘The father promised the son that he (=the father) will go to the city.’

*‘The father promised the son that he (= the father) will go to the city.’
Nominalization & optionality

- Restructuring is obligatory in the *try* class
- Constraint: *project minimum!
- *Be.shy* (decide) class: *Project minimum* yields a TP
- Restriction: V cannot combine with TP in Buryat (perhaps more generally an XP with interpretable tense; Pesetsky and Torrego 2006; Wurmbrand 2014a for a similar approach to embedded root contexts).
- TP cannot combine with V; TP either merges with C (yielding a CP configuration) or a nominalizer (exact distribution of different verbs not clear yet)

Aymara, Quechua (preliminary; Martínez Vera, p.c.)

- May also allow shifted indexicals; currently I don’t have enough data and information to be certain, but the distribution is again suggestive

(16) a. *Gabriel*-qa libru-*ta* (*paqarin) ʔawincha-y-*ta* mun-a-*rha*. Quechua
   ‘Gabriel tried to read a book (*tomorrow).’
   Gabriel-TOP book-ACC (*tomorrow) read-INF-ACC want-PST-3S

   b. *Gabriel*-qa libru-*ta* (paqarin) ʔawincha-saq *ni-*n. Quechua
   ‘Gabriel decided to read a book (tomorrow).’
   Gabriel-TOP book-ACC (tomorrow) read-1S.FUT say-3S
   Lit. ‘Gabriel says/said: “I will read a book (tomorrow)”.’

   c. *Gabriel*-qa libru-*ta* (kunanpacha) ʔawincha-ша-ni *ni-*n. Quechua
   ‘Gabriel claims to be reading a book (right now).’
   Gabriel-TOP book-ACC right.now read-PROG-1S say-3S

(17) a. *Juwanu* libru (*arumanthi) ulla-nacha--*na*. Aymara
   ‘John tried to read a book (*tomorrow).’
   John.NOM book.ACC (*tomorrow) read-DES-PST-3S

   b. *Juwanu* libru (*arumanthi) liyiña muna--*na*. Aymara
   ‘John tried to read a book (*tomorrow).’
   John.NOM book.ACC (*tomorrow) read-INF want-PST-3S

   c. *Juwan* libru (arumanthi) ulla-ja sa--*na-*wa. Aymara
   ‘John decided to read a book (tomorrow).’
   Lit. ‘John said: “I will read a book (tomorrow)”.’
   John.NOM book.ACC (tomorrow) read-1S.FUT say-PST-3S-EVI

   d. *Juwanu* libru ulla-sk-*tha* s-i-*wa. Aymara
   ‘John claims to be reading a book.’
   John.NOM book.ACC read-PROG-1S say-3S-EVI

3.3  BSC finite restructuring (Todorović and Wurmbrand 2015, 2016)


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<th></th>
<th>claim</th>
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<td>Clitic climbing</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Free</td>
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<td>Overt subject in <em>da</em> complement possible</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Long passive (with INF)</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Adverb/da</em> ordering</td>
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<td>{da} ADV {da}</td>
<td>{?-*da} ADV {da}</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
4. Embedded subjects

4.1 Binding

- Voice restructuring: binding changes (Shimamura and Wurmbrand 2014, Wurmbrand 2015a, Wurmbrand and Shimamura To appear)

4.2 Overt subjects

- BCS, Buryat: do not allow overt subjects in try-complements

4.2.1 Overt subject: see below for the data

[Shimamura and Wurmbrand 2014: 207, (7b)]
Both languages allow long passive—i.e., there is evidence for voice restructuring. 

try-complements involve sharing of the subject (similar to voice restructuring; Wurmbrand 2014b, 2015a, Wurmbrand and Shimamura To appear)

(22) a. **Ti glasači su se probali obmanuti.**

Those voters.MASC.NOM are SE tried.PL.MASC trick.INF

‘They tried to trick those voters’

b. ?*Te melodije su se odušivale (od)svirati.

Those melodies.FEM.NOM are SE decided.PL.FEM.PFV / PL.FEM.IMPFV play.INF

‘They decided to play these melodies.’ / ‘They were deciding to play those melodies.’

4.3 Acl, ECM

• Finite complements are possible with perception verbs (in addition to Acl)

(23) a. **Leo hat den Prinzen einen Frosch essen (ge)sehen**

Leo has the.ACC prince a frog eat see(n)

‘Leo saw the prince eat a frog.’

b. **Leo hat gesehen wie / dass der Prinz einen Frosch gegessen hat**

Leo has seen how / that the.NOM prince a frog eaten has

‘Leo saw that/how the prince ate a frog.’

Buryat ECM

• See Bondarenko 2016

• Source of ACC is matrix predicate (e.g., embedded ACC subjects are impossible with matrix passive)

• ACC subject originates in the embedded clause (idioms, embedded reflexives which require a clause-mate binder, no additional overt pronominal subjects, PBC violations)

• ACC subjects optionally move to the matrix clause:

  ACC » {matrix adverb} » GEN/NOM » {*matrix adverb}

  embedded subject can become subject of matrix verb (when passive)

  ACC, but not GEN/NOM can scramble

  ACC, but not GEN/NOM can be modified by a possessive anaphor bound by matrix subject

  ACC NPI must be licensed by matrix NEG; GEN/NOM by embedded NEG

• ACC can remain in embedded clause: constituency tests (pro-form, conjunction), adverbs:

  embedded adverb » ACC/GEN/NOM

(24) a. **badmə üsəqoldər xən-i-ʃə tərgə ʃmdəl-ə ɡəzə xar-a-güj** CP

Badma yesterday who-ACC-PTCL cart break-PRT1 COMP see-PRT1-NEG

‘Badma didn’t see anyone break the cart yesterday.’ ✔ embedded modification

b. **badmə üsəqoldər xən-i-ʃə tərgə ʃmdəl-h-ıʃə xar-a-güj** Nominalization

Badma yesterday who-ACC-PTCL cart break-PFCT-ACC see-PRT1-NEG

‘Badma didn’t see anyone break the cart yesterday.’ ✔ embedded modification

(25) a. **badmə üsəqoldər ərin-gö ʃam-ı́-ʃə zurə ɡəzə mədə-nə CP**

Badma yesterday POSS.SELF-REFLwife-ACC picture paint-PRT1 COMP know-PRS

‘Badma, knows that his, wife painted a picture yesterday.’ ✔ embedded modification

b. **badmə üsəqoldər ərin-gö ʃam-ı́-ʃə zurə h-ıʃə-n mədə-nə NOM**

Badma yesterday POSS.SELF-REFLwife-ACC picture paint-PFCT-ACC-3 know-PRS

‘Badma, knows that his, wife painted a picture yesterday.’ ✔ embedded modification

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1 Handout available by e-mail (or via link in references): t.i.bond@yandex.ru
4.4 Optionality

(26) a. ??Leo tried that he would win.
   b. Leo decided that he would leave.
   c. Leo claimed that he left/will leave.

(27) a. ?? apologized that he solved the problem.
   b. apologized that he solved the problem.
   c. claimed to have solved/thinks that he solved the problem.

(28) a. apologized that he solved the problem.
   b. decided to solve the problem.
   c. claimed to have solved/thinks that he solved the problem.

5. Appendix

5.1 English QR (Wurmband 2015b, 2016)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English:</th>
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<th>( \exists )</th>
<th>(QR)</th>
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<td>Impossible</td>
<td>Possible</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finite clauses</td>
<td>Fox 2000, Johnson 2000, Cecchetto 2004, a.o.</td>
<td>Footnotes</td>
<td>ACD</td>
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<tr>
<td>Restructuring infinitives</td>
<td>— (??)</td>
<td>Everyone (??)</td>
<td>Harder than simple predicates</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of complement</th>
<th>finite</th>
<th>non-restructuring</th>
<th>tenseless</th>
<th>simple predicate</th>
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<tr>
<td>embedded structure</td>
<td>CP</td>
<td>CP or TP</td>
<td>vP</td>
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<tr>
<td>Difficulty of QR</td>
<td>← hardest</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
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</table>
5.2 Double Passive in Norwegian and English

- Lødrup 2014: 370: “Voice agreeing long passives can have an air of informal or even substandard language, and they are sometimes frowned upon by informants. However, examples abound in web texts, and they can be found in typical written genres, even in documents from the government.”

(29) a. Slike ting forsøkes ofte å gjøre
   such things try.PRES.PASS often to.do.INF
   ‘One often tries to do such things.’
   [Lødrup 2014: 371, (13)]

b. Slike ting forsøkes ofte å gjøres
   such things try.PRES.PASS often to.do.INF.PASS
   ‘One often tries to do such things.’
   [Ibid: 371, (13)]

- English: frequent in corpora; but unclear speaker judgments; some speakers describe such examples as ‘overdone formal speech’ (the same impression has been reported for Brazilian Portuguese, R. Lacerda, p.c.)

(30) a. And how much fuel is proposed to be produced?  [June 2, 2008, NPR; J. Merchant, p.c.]

b. That’s how our politics has been taught to be played.
   [speech 4/17/08 by Obama; J. Merchant, p.c.)]

c. Snapshots will be tried to be updated on reboot/shutdown
   [http://manpages.ubuntu.com/manpages/hardy/man7/casper.7.html]

d. Chapter 2 will be begun to be written sometime this weekend...
   [https://www.facebook.com/pagesHeroes-Jason-Storme-books/359571210721163]

e. The budget for next year will be begun to be prepared next month by the finance committee.
   [http://quake.stanford.edu/~todd/pacrccnotes/cn0002]

f. and Jerusalem will be begun to be rebuilt
   [via Google books]

g. another House of the Lord will be begun to be erected
   [via Google books]

(31) Corpus examples, and considered fully grammatical (L. Kalin, p.c.)

a. The rail line is planned to be completed in two phases by 2015.

b. The Vista coal deposit is planned to be developed through open pit methods

c. The employee parking areas that are planned to be established on land south of the Stadium...

- ECM is impossible with those verbs (cf. Pesetsky 1992’s Agent-ECM Correlation), but if the object continues to move to matrix subject position, Case is taken care of (similar to wager-verbs)

- If there is first a step to matrix vP (‘raising to object’), these cases can be treated as personal passive

- Visser’s generalization: see next week

5.3 Brazilian Portuguese (Lacerda, p.c.)

(32) João {*me} tentou {✓ me} ver
    Joao {*me} tried {✓ me} see.INF
    ‘João tried to see me.’
    [Cyrino 2010: 9, (38)]

(33) a. *A Lina não afirmou [ter casado nunca].
    the Lina not claimed [have.INF married never]
    ‘Lina didn’t claim to have never married.’
    [OK if nunca is in matrix: Lina never claimed to have married.]

    b. A Lina afirmou não ter casado nunca.
    the Lina claimed not have.INF married never
    ‘Lina claimed to have never married.’
c. *A Lina (não) decidiu sair nunca (mais)
   the Lina (not) decided leave.INF never (more)
   ‘Lina decided/didn’t decide never to leave.’ [Modesto 2013: 14, (16a,b), R. Lacerda, p.c.]

d. A Lina decidiu não sair nunca (mais)
   the Lina decided not leave.INF never (more)
   ‘Lina decided never to leave.’ [Modesto 2013: 14, (16c), R. Lacerda, p.c.]

e. 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), R. Lacerda, p.c.]

f. A Lina não começa a estudar nunca
   the Lina not start study.INF never
   ‘Lina never starts to study.’ [Modesto 2013: 14, (17b)]

5.4 Tense (value) selection

- decide: future required in finite and non-finite complements (English, BCS); coercion may be possible (reclassify matrix verb, e.g., as pretend)

(34) a. Leo decided to sleep in the garage tomorrow.
   Leo decided that he would sleep in the garage tomorrow. ✓ FUTURE

   b. *Leo decided to have slept in the garage.
   *Leo decided that he slept in the garage.

   c. *Leo decided to be eating a frog right then.
   *Leo decided that he is eating a frog right now.

(35) a. *Jovan je rešio da je spavao u garazi. *PERFECT/PAST
   Jovan AUX.3.SG decided DA AUX.3.SG slept.3.SG.MASC in garage
   ‘Jovan decided to have slept in the garage.’

   b. Jovan je rešio da spava / spavati u garazi.
   Jovan AUX.3.SG decided DA sleep.3.SG.PRES.IMPVF / sleep.INF.IMPVF in garage
   ‘Jovan decided to sleep in the garage.’ ✓ FUTURE
   *Jovan decided to be sleeping in garage right then.’ ✓ SIMULTANEOUS

- claim/believe: no specific tense value required (neither in finite nor non-finite complements)
- Restriction against ‘silent’ future: WOLL-licensing (NOW\textsubscript{AH} cannot license it; needs PRES/PAST tense or irrealis C or V; Todorović 2015a, Todorović and Wurmbrand 2015, 2016)

(36) a. *Leo claimed to be eating a frog tomorrow.
   ✓ FUTURE
   Leo believes/claims that he will eat a frog tomorrow.

   b. Leo believes/claims that Mary slept well yesterday.
   ✓ PAST
   Leo believes Mary/claims to have slept well yesterday.

   c. Leo believes Mary/claims to be sleeping right now.
   ✓ SIMULTANEOUS
   Leo believes Mary/claims that Mary is sleeping right now.

   Jovan believes/claims DA will next year build.INF.PFV house
   ‘Jovan believes/claims that he will build a house next year.’
6. References

Citko, Barbara. 2012. Control and obviation: A view from Polish. Talk given at the 5th Conference on Syntax, Phonology and Language Analysis (SinFonIJA 5), Vienna, Austria.
Modesto, Marcello. 2013. Inflected infinitives and restructuring in Brazilian Portuguese. Ms., Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil.


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