

# Contents

|                                                                                                   |           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>General preface</i>                                                                            | viii      |
| <i>Preface</i>                                                                                    | ix        |
| <i>Abbreviations</i>                                                                              | x         |
| <b>1 Introduction</b>                                                                             | <b>1</b>  |
| 1.1 Overview of the book                                                                          | 2         |
| 1.2 Missing subjects and the scope of the book                                                    | 3         |
| <b>2 Exhaustive control as functional restructuring</b>                                           | <b>5</b>  |
| 2.1 Introduction                                                                                  | 5         |
| 2.2 Exhaustive and partial control                                                                | 5         |
| 2.3 Restructuring                                                                                 | 11        |
| 2.4 The exhaustive control–restructuring correlation                                              | 15        |
| 2.5 The core proposal                                                                             | 16        |
| 2.6 Some independent evidence                                                                     | 17        |
| 2.6.1 Finite complementation                                                                      | 17        |
| 2.6.2 Overt embedded subjects                                                                     | 19        |
| 2.6.3 Subject orientation                                                                         | 20        |
| 2.6.4 Licensing of polarity items                                                                 | 22        |
| 2.7 Refinements and elaborations                                                                  | 25        |
| 2.7.1 The obligatoriness of restructuring                                                         | 25        |
| 2.7.2 Restructuring and English verbal morphosyntax                                               | 31        |
| 2.7.3 The syntax of infinitival marker <i>to</i>                                                  | 32        |
| 2.7.4 Nondiagnostics for restructuring in English                                                 | 35        |
| 2.7.5 The distribution of PRO                                                                     | 37        |
| 2.7.6 The interpretation of PRO                                                                   | 40        |
| 2.8 Outlook                                                                                       | 41        |
| <b>3 The semantics of restructuring: Verb meaning, variable binding, and clausal architecture</b> | <b>43</b> |
| 3.1 Introduction                                                                                  | 43        |
| 3.2 Subject orientation                                                                           | 43        |
| 3.3 Restructuring and variable binding                                                            | 47        |
| 3.3.1 The $\theta$ -criterion and the semantics of movement                                       | 47        |
| 3.3.2 Modals and variable binding                                                                 | 50        |
| 3.3.3 Subject orientation as dependent variable binding                                           | 53        |

|       |                                                            |     |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.3.4 | Formal implementation                                      | 55  |
| 3.3.5 | Independent support: Subject-oriented inflectional affixes | 58  |
| 3.4   | Verb meaning and the availability of restructuring         | 59  |
| 3.4.1 | Restructuring and economy                                  | 60  |
| 3.4.2 | Restructuring and clausal height                           | 60  |
| 3.4.3 | Failed restructuring reflects failed variable binding      | 63  |
| 3.4.4 | Speaker orientation                                        | 66  |
| 3.4.5 | Type shifting and the rise of the dependent variable       | 71  |
| 3.4.6 | The position of the subject: LF vs PF                      | 78  |
| 3.4.7 | A split in the classification of desire predicates         | 80  |
| 3.5   | Conclusion                                                 | 81  |
| 4     | Explaining the mixed properties of <i>want</i>             | 82  |
| 4.1   | Introduction                                               | 82  |
| 4.2   | The puzzle and its solution                                | 82  |
| 4.3   | The semantics of HAVE                                      | 86  |
| 4.4   | Independent evidence for HAVE                              | 93  |
| 4.5   | The distribution of HAVE                                   | 99  |
| 4.6   | Conclusion                                                 | 103 |
| 5     | Control, restructuring, and temporal interpretation        | 104 |
| 5.1   | Introduction                                               | 104 |
| 5.2   | Infinitival tense: Some history                            | 104 |
| 5.3   | Descriptive generalizations                                | 108 |
| 5.3.1 | Simultaneity                                               | 108 |
| 5.3.2 | Posteriority                                               | 109 |
| 5.3.3 | Anteriority                                                | 114 |
| 5.3.4 | Summary                                                    | 115 |
| 5.4   | Analysis                                                   | 116 |
| 5.4.1 | Simultaneity                                               | 116 |
| 5.4.2 | Posteriority                                               | 122 |
| 5.4.3 | Anteriority                                                | 128 |
| 5.5   | Extending the analysis to factive predicates               | 133 |
| 5.6   | Conclusion                                                 | 138 |
| 6     | Control and restructuring in Mandarin Chinese              | 139 |
| 6.1   | Introduction                                               | 139 |
| 6.2   | The distribution and interpretation of embedded subjects   | 140 |
| 6.2.1 | The basic empirical split and the core analysis            | 140 |
| 6.2.2 | Predictions and complications for the <i>renwei</i> -class | 142 |
| 6.2.3 | Predictions and complications for the <i>shefa</i> -class  | 144 |

|                                                                |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 6.3 The distribution of embedded modal and aspectual morphemes | 149 |
| 6.3.1 Setting the scene                                        | 149 |
| 6.3.2 Modality: <i>yao</i> vs <i>hui</i>                       | 152 |
| 6.3.3 Aspect: Verb-final <i>-le</i> and <i>-guo</i>            | 153 |
| 6.3.4 Clause-final <i>le</i>                                   | 160 |
| 6.4 Other diagnostics for monoclausality                       | 168 |
| 6.5 Conclusion                                                 | 172 |
| 7 Control and restructuring in Greek                           | 174 |
| 7.1 Introduction                                               | 174 |
| 7.2 The core facts                                             | 175 |
| 7.2.1 Background on Greek complement clauses                   | 176 |
| 7.2.2 INDEPENDENT TENSE                                        | 178 |
| 7.2.3 ANAPHORIC TENSE                                          | 179 |
| 7.2.4 DEPENDENT TENSE                                          | 181 |
| 7.2.5 Summary                                                  | 185 |
| 7.3 The core proposal                                          | 185 |
| 7.4 Diagnostics for monoclausality                             | 189 |
| 7.4.1 Polarity licensing                                       | 189 |
| 7.4.2 Inverse scope                                            | 193 |
| 7.5 Responding to potential objections                         | 195 |
| 7.5.1 Case matters                                             | 195 |
| 7.5.2 Backward and copy control                                | 196 |
| 7.5.3 Alexiadou et al. (2010) arguments against restructuring  | 198 |
| 7.5.4 Absence of clitic climbing                               | 200 |
| 7.6 Extending the analysis to the DEPENDENT TENSE class        | 202 |
| 7.7 Conclusion                                                 | 209 |
| 8 Conclusion                                                   | 211 |
| <i>References</i>                                              | 215 |
| <i>Author index</i>                                            | 237 |
| <i>Language index</i>                                          | 241 |
| <i>Subject index</i>                                           | 242 |