NELS 42:
Proceedings of the Fourty-Second Annual Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society

University of Toronto

Volume One

Edited by
Stefan Keine and Shayne Sloggett

Organizers' Preface

NELS 42 was held at the University of Toronto from Friday, November 11 to Sunday, November 13, 2011. The program included 5 invited plenary talks, 46 oral presentations in two parallel sessions, and 18 posters. There were 145 attendees in total, including presenters. Friday morning's parallel sessions and the subsequent poster session were held in Victoria College and were punctuated after 11:00am by a 21-gun salute from Ontario's official Remembrance Day ceremony in nearby Queen's Park. The remainder of the parallel sessions were held across campus in the Bahen Centre. Sessions were chaired by graduate students in the U of T linguistics program. Plenary lectures were given by Mark Baker, Lisa Matthewson David Pesetsky, Keren Rice, and Martina Wiltschko, addressing the conference theme, "Diversity and universals: the role of typology and linguistic universals in linguistic theory." Two special workshop sessions also addressed this theme, one focusing on typology and the other on the languages of North America. On Friday evening a graduate student mixer was held in the Graduate Students' Union pub; the conference dinner and party took place on Saturday evening at the Bata Shoe Museum.

The organizing committee for NELS 42 consisted entirely of graduate students in linguistics at the University of Toronto. The lead organizers were Alex Motut (Chair), Joanna Chociej, Ailis Cournane, Derek Denis, Monica Irimia, Kenji Oda, and Will Oxford. The committee also included Marisa Brook, Richard Compton, Radu Craioveanu, Safieh Moghaddam, Christopher Spahr, Julia Su, and Kate Wu.

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The organizers were particularly struck by the engagement of the conference participants and plenary lecturers with the conference's theme, which approached issues of universality and diversity in light of recent publications that questioned these universals and their adequacy in accounting for the rich diversity of linguistic phenomena. NELS 42

engaged strongly with these issues, and we hope that the conference has left participants with new questions and also new resolve to continue a principled investigation of these phenomena, and that the reader is similarly inspired by these proceedings.

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Alex Motut (Chair), Derek Denis, Will Oxford
On behalf of the Organizing Committee

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Volume Two

QR And Selection: Covert Evidence For Phasehood[*]

Susi Wurmbrand

University of Connecticut

1.   Introduction

The broad issue within which this paper is set concerns the question of why infinitives and subjunctives, in contrast to finite indicative clauses, are transparent for various properties cross-linguistically (e.g., long distance reflexive binding, Condition B transparency, NPI-licensing, Case licensing, A-movement, control, scope, and others). A common answer is that finite indicatives have a solid CP/TP-domain, which blocks certain dependencies across it, whereas subjunctives and infinitives are tense and/or Case deficient, and this deficiency translates into those clauses having no or 'non-blocking' CP/TP domains. One issue for this approach is that, often, the deficiencies are not motivated (e.g., the tense deficiency in many cases does not correspond to a semantic lack of tense), and hence the main question remains. In this paper, I provide a new approach to transparency, which relates the inactiveness of the top projections of infinitives and subjunctive clauses to an obligatory feature valuation relation which is established between the selecting predicate and the top tense or mood projection of the embedded clause, and which causes domain extension. As a case study, I will look at quantifier raising (QR) in English, and provide a dynamic phase approach, which derives the distribution of QR across clausal complements.

2.   The Domain of QR in English

QR in English poses an odd puzzle: it is possible from control and ECM infinitives and subjunctive clauses, but not from raising constructions, which are often assumed to be the most transparent configurations. (1) illustrates the impossibility of QR across finite indicative clauses (examples from Johnson 2000, Fox 2000).[1]

[1] It is well-known that the distribution of QR shows some yet to be understood speaker variation. In this paper, I follow the standard claims in the literature.

(1)   a.   It's Mary that I told someone you would visit t$_{Mary}$.
       b.   I told someone you would visit everyone.   *∀»∃
       c.   #Someone said that every man is married to Sue.   *∀»∃
       d.   #Someone said that Sue is married to every man.   *∀»∃

Subjunctive clauses, on the other hand, allow QR. The examples in (2) can be interpreted
with the embedded objects taking scope over *request* (Kayne 1981, 1998, Longobardi
1992, Bayer 1996).

(2)   a.   (In all these year/ funnily enough…)
            She has requested that they read not a single linguistics book.
       b.   She has requested that they read only Aspects.

Similarly, QR is possible from control and ECM infinitives (Kennedy 1997, Fox 2000,
Moulton, To appear). Example (3a) (Klima 1964: 285) allows the interpretation where *no
one* takes scope over *force*, and in all other examples in (3), a wide-scope interpretation
of the universal quantifier over the existential one (∀»∃) is possible. The wide ellipsis
interpretation of (3g) is evidence that the embedded object moves to a position higher
than the matrix verb *believe*, hence outside the ECM infinitive.

(3)   a.   I will force you to marry no one.
       b.   A different student tried/wanted to read every book.
       c.   At least one American tourist hopes to visit every European country this year.
       d.   A different student decided to report on every article on the reading list.
       e.   At least one professor believes Mary to have read every book.
       f.   Someone expects Sue to marry every boy.
       g.   John believes the students to know everything Mary does
            [~~believe the students to know~~].

In contrast to the above, QR is impossible from *seem*-type raising infinitives. In all of (4)
(the examples are from Lebeaux 1995:65, Fox 1999:160, and Fox 2000:144), the inter-
pretation ∀»∃ is unavailable (see these works for further examples illustrating the clause-
boundedness of QR in raising constructions).

(4)   a.   Mary seems to two women to be expected to dance with every senator.
       b.   #This soldier seems to someone to be likely to die in every battle.
       c.   #The ball seems to a boy to be under every shell.
            cf. Every shell seems to a (different) boy to be over the ball.

The distribution of QR raises the following main questions: i) Why is there no successive
cyclic QR (vs. other A'-movement)? ii) How can raising infinitives allow A-movement
but not QR? iii) What is the difference between (non-raising) infinitives/subjunctives and
finite indicative clauses? To answer questions i) and ii), I follow Fox (2000) in assuming
that QR is constrained by Scope Economy and locality. To answer question iii), I will
show that selection of control/ECM infinitives and subjunctives is different form selec-
tion of indicative clauses and raising infinitives, and provide a mechanism to relate this
difference to different phasehood properties.

3.   Clause Boundedness: Scope Economy And Locality

Following Fox (2000), I assume that there are two types of QR: Obligatory QR to resolve a type mismatch, and optional QR to extend the scope of a quantifier. Both types of QR are restricted by locality, but only the second type of QR is also subject to Scope Economy (if type-mismatch resolution is considered to be not semantically vacuous, both types of QR would be subject to Scope Economy).

(5)   *Scope Economy*   [Fox 2000: 3]
        Scope-shifting operations (SSOs) cannot be semantically vacuous.

In contrast to Fox, I do not assume a Shortest Move restriction on QR, but assume that QR is phase-bound (see Cecchetto 2003, 2004, Takahashi 2010 for similar approaches). Adopting a cyclic spell-out model (Uriagereka 1999), structure is built incrementally, and completed cycles (phases) are subject to Transfer. Transfer involves (among others) the Spell-Out of the complement of a phase head (Chomsky 2000, 2001). After Spell-Out, a *spelled-out* domain is inaccessible for further syntactic operations (Agree, Move). I will refer to the latter as Accessibility. As a consequence of this model, any form of movement, hence also QR, becomes phase-bound.

(6)
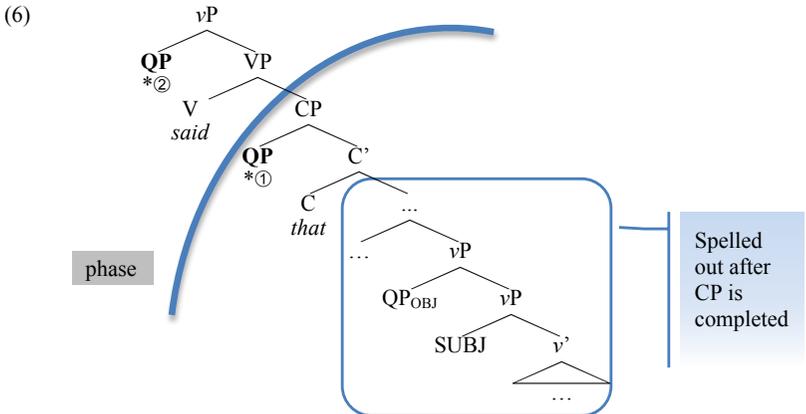
Scope Economy and Accessibility derive the impossibility of QR across finite clauses in a way similar to Fox's 2000 Shortest Move account. This is illustrated in (6). For now, I follow the standard assumption that vP and CP are phases. Movement of an object QP to the edge of vP is possible since this is type-driven movement. Further movement of an object QP is only possible if Scope Economy is obeyed. This is what excludes derivation ① in (6): Movement to Spec,CP is semantically vacuous, hence impossible.[2] Derivation

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[2] Note that I assume that Scope Economy is evaluated locally. If there is, for instance, a modal or negation in the TP domain in (6), movement of a vP-adjoined QP across that element is possible (movement

②, on the other hand, where an object or subject QP from the embedded clause moves in one step to the matrix *v*P is impossible, given Accessibility: the embedded TP is spelled out after the CP phase is completed, hence at the point when the matrix *v*P is built, QPs within the embedded TP are not accessible anymore.

How then is overt successive cyclic movement such as *wh*-movement possible? The crucial difference is that overt movement is driven by the need to satisfy a feature (either on the moving or the moved to element). Feature licensing is not subject to Scope Economy, but rather to Last Resort. For simplicity, I assume the following Last Resort definition (see Wurmbrand 2011a for defining Last Resort as a condition on Merge).

(7)   *Last Resort*

       X undergoes movement iff without the movement, the structure will crash (with
       crash evaluated locally).   Bošković (2007: 610)

Since in a *wh*-movement context, the moving *wh*-element and/or the moved to head (C_{wh}) involve features that need to be licensed, movement through Spec,CP, that is, derivation ① in (6), is compatible with Last Resort and thus possible.

Turning to raising infinitives, I propose that the clause-boundedness of QR follows from exactly the same properties: raising infinitives are phases, and movement to the edge of a raising infinitive violates Scope Economy. The next section provides motivation for these assumptions.

4.   English Raising Infinitives

I assume that the structure of a *seem* raising infinitive is as in (8).

(8)   [$_{TP}$ SUBJ [$_{vP=phase}$ ~~SUBJ~~ [$_{VP=SOD}$ *seem* [$_{AspP=phase}$ ~~SUBJ~~ [$_{vP=SOD}$ ~~SUBJ~~ *infinitive*…]]]]]]

In Wurmbrand (2011b), I argue that raising infinitives do not involve a TP, but that the top projection of the infinitive is an aspect phrase. Evidence comes from the distribution of eventive predicates, which, in contrast to other simultaneous infinitives, are dependent on the tense of the matrix predicate. Furthermore, raising infinitives allow an interpretation, where a relative clause, which modifies the embedded object and involves past tense is interpreted as taking place *after* the time of the infinitive. That is, in a betting context, examples such as (9) can receive an interpretation in which the time of picking teams precedes the first round. I refer to this interpretation as later-than-infinitive interpretation.

(9)   John seemed not to pick any team that lost in the first round.

Following Keshet's (2008) analysis of implicative infinitives, this is derived by moving the embedded object (including the relative clause) above a perfective operator in the in-

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would not be semantically vacuous), but movement must occur immediately after the higher scope bearing element is merged. Thus, QP movement can only target the projection above the scope bearing element. Movement ① in (6) would thus still be excluded, even if there is a scope bearing element in the TP.

finitive. Crucially, the position moved to is within the infinitive (below *seem*), since the object is an NPI licensed by embedded negation. The later-than-infinitive interpretation thus provides evidence for a projection above the embedded *v*P, and the interpretation indicates that this projection involves aspectual information rather than tense.

Syntactic evidence for the projection above *v*P is provided by floating quantifiers and binding. As shown in (10) (the examples are attributed to Danny Fox, cited in Grohmann et al. 2000, Bošković 2002, Pesetsky and Torrego 2007, Castillo et al. 2009, among others), embedded experiencers have to bound by the subject rather than by a higher experiencer (which can bind into the embedded clauses in principle, as for instance in *It seems to every student$_i$ to appear to his$_i$ teacher that…*). If, as illustrated in (11), there is an AspP above the embedded *v*P, and movement of the subject proceeds through the specifier of that projection, it follows that *himself* can and must be bound by the (copy of the) subject, which would be closer than experiencer. If there is no projection above the embedded *v*P or a stop-over is not required, these facts would be puzzling.

(10) a. John$_j$ seems to Mary to appear to himself$_j$ to be happy.
      b. *Mary seems to John$_j$ to appear to himself$_j$ to be happy.

(11) a. [John seems to Mary ___ [$_{AspP}$ ~~John~~ to appear to himself ___ [$_{vP}$ ~~John~~ to be…]]]
      b. *[Mary seems to John [$_{AspP}$ ~~Mary~~ to appear to himself ___ [$_{vP}$ ~~Mary~~ to be …]]]

To motivate movement through the edge of the infinitive I propose that the infinitival AspP constitutes a phase. In contrast to Chomsky (2000, 2001) where only (strong) *v*P and CP (maybe also DP, PP) are phases, I follow a dynamic approach to phasehood. Specifically, I argue that the highest projection of a cyclic domain (whatever its category or size) constitutes a phase. The cyclic domains are specified as follows (see Wurmbrand 2012 for evidence for this view from ellipsis, among others):

(12) a. Aspect domain: theta-domain plus any event structure/Aktionsart dependent aspect (progressive, perfective, imperfective)
      b. T+C-domain: discourse domain, mood, tense, modal domain

Under this approach, no phrase is inherently a phase and the lack of a CP or *v*P does not entail the lack of phase (the proposal is similar to Bobaljik and Wurmbrand's 2005 suggestion that the complement of a lexical verb is an agreement domain, and Bošković's 2010 claim that the highest projection of the nominal domain is as a phase).

Returning to raising infinitives, the dynamic phasehood view now entails that there are two phases in a raising structure, as indicated in (8): a matrix phase (VP or an unaccusative *v*P or AspP) and an embedded phase (the infinitival AspP). In order for the subject to not be trapped in a Spell-Out domain, it has to move successive cyclically through the edge of every phase. Binding as in (10) has provided evidence for movement through the infinitival AspP phase. Evidence for movement through the edge of the matrix phase comes from reconstruction properties, which are unexpected if, as in the standard view, passive and unaccusatives do not project (strong) phases (but see Legate 2003 for the claim that there is a phase boundary even in passives and unaccusatives). The examples

in (13) from Sauerland (2003: 310-311) all allow an interpretation in which the subject is interpreted in the scope of negation (i.e., ¬ » ∃ in d., and ¬ » ∀ in all others). Crucially, under those interpretations, it is still possible for the subject to bind a variable in the matrix experiencer. Thus, under the assumption that there is no movement of negation (see Sauerland 2003 for evidence), the subject must have passed through the positions marked with ✓ . Under the dynamic phasehood view, this is exactly what is predicted (cf. (8)).

(13)   a. Every child$_i$ doesn't ✓ seem to his$_i$ father [_*_ to be smart]
            'It's not the case for every child that it seems to his father to be smart.'
        b. Every participant$_i$ didn't ✓ seem to his$_i$ coach [_*_ to be in bad shape].
        c. All linguists$_i$ didn't ✓ seem to their$_i$ employer [_*_ to work hard].
        d. A boy$_i$ doesn't ✓ seem to his$_i$ father [_*_ to be a loser].
            'No boy seems to his father to be a loser.'

Subject movement in raising infinitives is thus not driven by some EPP property, but rather by locality (see also Bošković 2002). Since the subject needs to value its Case feature, movement does not violate Last Resort, and overt A-movement is possible in raising infinitives. QR, on the other hand, is correctly predicted to be impossible. Movement of a QP from vP to Spec,AspP is excluded by Scope Economy (no new interpretation would be yielded by reversing the scope between QP and perfective aspect).[3] For an embedded QP to take matrix scope, however, movement to Spec,AspP would be necessary, since otherwise the QP is trapped in a Spell-Out domain (recall that vP is spelled out after the infinitival AspP phase is completed). Since successive cyclic movement is not available, QR to the matrix clause is excluded. Thus, the dynamic phase view proposed here unifies the clause-boundedness effects found in English finite indicative clauses and raising infinitives. In the next sections, I return to the remaining question, namely how control/ECM and subjunctive clauses allow QR.

5.   Tense In Infinitives

To account for the transparency of control/ECM and subjunctive clauses, a short detour to the tense properties of infinitives is necessary. In addition to raising infinitives, which, I argue, involve aspect but no tense, there are two types of infinitives in English that differ regarding their tense properties: future irrealis infinitives and simultaneous propositional infinitives. In Wurmbrand (2011b), I show that both types of infinitives can be realized as control and ECM constructions, and I propose that future irrealis infinitives involve an abstract future modal *woll* but not tense, whereas simultaneous propositional infinitives involve a *zero* tense, representing the attitude's holder 'now' (Kratzer 1998, Abusch 2004). The major evidence comes from sequence of tense phenomena (Ogihara 1995a, 1996, 2007, Abusch 1997, Enç 2004) and the distribution of eventive predicates, that is, non-stative, non-generic, episodic predicates (Pesetsky 1992, Bošković 1996,

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[3] The account makes one potential prediction, which I haven't been able to test. If a QP is modified by a relative clause, movement of the QP to Spec,AspP could yield a different interpretation regarding the tense of the relative clause. In this case, the scope potential of the QP may be predicted to change.

1997, Martin 1996, 2001). I will briefly illustrate the latter property. As shown in (14), future infinitives, like finite future contexts, allow eventive predicates, whereas simultaneous propositional infinitives, like present tense contexts, prohibit eventive predicates (see Abusch 2004, Wurmbrand 2011b for several further examples).

(14)	a.	Leo decided/plans to bring the toys tomorrow.	Control
	b.	The printer is expected to work again tomorrow.	ECM
	c.	Leo will leave tomorrow.	Finite future
	d.	Yesterday, John claimed to *leave/✓ be leaving (right then).	Control
	e.	Yesterday, John believed Mary to *leave/✓ be leaving (right then).	ECM
	f.	Leo *sings/✓ is singing right now.	Present

I propose that the distribution of eventive predicates is an effect of aspect. Specifically, I argue that present tense and zero tense are only compatible with imperfective aspect, which, in English, corresponds to the *-ing* form. Perfective aspect (which is not realized morphologically in English), requires that the event time interval is included in the reference time interval, which is not possible in present and zero tense contexts, since the reference time interval (the utterance time or the attitude holder's now) is too short. Future contexts, on the other hand, involve the modal *woll*, which extends the reference time, and hence allows a perfective interpretation—an interpretation where the event time interval is included in the reference time interval. Assuming that propositional infinitives involve a zero tense and future infinitives a future modal *woll* thus allows a unified account of the distribution of eventive predicates based on the interaction of tense and aspect. In the next section, I will show that these temporal components of infinitives also play a crucial role in deriving the non-phasal status of control and ECM infinitives in English.

6. Phase Extension

Comparing English future and propositional infinitives, as well as subjunctives, with finite indicative complements and raising infinitives, the main difference is that the semantic value of the highest projection in the complement is determined by the matrix verb in the former but not in the latter. I refer to this as *value selection*, which is to be distinguished from *complement selection*, which involves selection (and subcategorization, if needed) for the type of complement, but not for a specific feature *value* (such as 'feminine', '3rd person' in case of nominal selection).

As shown in (15), the subjunctive value is selected by the matrix verb as a lexical property of certain verbs.

(15)	a.	I demand that he listen to this.
	b.	*I said that he listen to this.

Similarly, whether an infinitive involves *woll* or zero tense depends on the higher verb. *Decide* infinitives must involve a future interpretation and cannot be interpreted simultaneously, whereas *claim* infinitives have exactly the opposite properties. As with subjunc-

tives, the value of the infinitive depends solely on the matrix verb.

(16)   a.   Mary decided to leave tomorrow/to become/get/#to be pregnant (only if the
            decision is about achieving a future state).
       b.   Mary claimed to be/*become/*get pregnant/*to leave tomorrow.

On the other hand, finite indicative clauses show no value dependency on the matrix verb
(e.g., any tense is possible in a finite complement of *say*), often allow the omission of the
top projection (the complementizer), and may also alternate with nominal complements if
they convey the right semantic type (e.g., proposition, question etc.).

(17)   a.   Leo said (that) he is eating/ate/will eat a cookie.
       b.   Leo said something to Mary.

Lastly, aspect in English raising infinitives is not selected by the higher verb. Rather it is
a combination of the type of embedded predicate (for instance, stative vs. non-stative)
and the higher tense.

(18)   a.   John seems to be sleeping right now.
       b.   John seems to sleep whenever the mailman comes.
       c.   John seems to like bananas.

I propose that the difference in value selection is the crucial factor that determines
whether the top projection of a clausal complement is a phase or not: if the value of the
head of the complement is determined by the selecting verb, then the complement does
not constitute a phase. If no value selection takes place, the top projection of the clausal
domain is a phase, as stated in the dynamic phase approach.[4]
    The last question to address is how the generalization that value-selected clauses are
not phases can be implemented. In Wurmbrand (2011a, To appear), I argue that morpho-
logical selection is the result of spelling out uninterpretable features at PF, the values of
which have been provided via syntactic Agree, specifically the operation of Reverse
Agree in (19)—that is, an operation that involves downward valuation of features.[5] Fol-
lowing Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) and Bošković (2009, To appear), I assume that
Agree is valuation-driven and that interpretability is separated from the notion of valua-
tion (i.e., both interpretable and uninterpretable features can come valued or unvalued). In

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[4] Note that my claim about phasehood of particular clausal complements is not about whether a struc-
ture involves raising, control, or ECM, but rather about the temporal and mood properties of a complement
and how the complement combines with the matrix verb. Thus, the claim that English raising infinitives are
phases does not entail that raising constructions cross-linguistically are phases. In Wurmbrand (2012), I
suggest, for instance, that raising constructions in Greek, Romanian, and Spanish are value selected sub-
junctives or infinitives, and hence do not constitute phases, which allows phase-bound operations to apply
across them.
[5] For similar proposals see: Neeleman and van de Koot (2002), Adger (2003), von Stechow (2003,
2004, 2005, 2009), Baker (2008), Hicks (2009), Haegeman and Lohndal (2010), Zeijlstra (To appear),
Bjorkman (2011), Grønn and von Stechow (2011), Merchant (2011).

this model, morphological selection reduces to value selection. For instance, an auxiliary combines with a VP, and values the head of that VP as a participle (see Wurmbrand 2011a, To appear for details).

(19)   A feature F: __ on α is valued by a feature F: val on β, iff

    i.   β c-commands α AND

    ii. There is no γ (γ distinct from β) with a valued interpretable feature F such that γ commands α and is c-commanded by β. AND

    iii. α is *accessible* to β. [*accessible*: not spelled out]

Reverse Agree has several advantages over downward probing Agree approaches: it eliminates the need for an activation condition, reflex checking, feature sharing; it allows direct Agree relations without (often stipulated) intermediaries; and it provides a uniform syntactic licensing mechanism for a range of syntactic phenomena (e.g., Case licensing, binding, control, multiple Agree(ment) phenomena, ellipsis, and others).

Returning to infinitives and subjunctives, my main proposal is illustrated in (20). I assume that verbs that impose a value selection restriction on their complements are lexically specified with an uninterpretable valued feature encoding the specific value. For instance *decide, expect* are specified for uF: *woll*, whereas *claim, believe* are specified for uF: $\varnothing_T$, and subjunctive taking verbs like *demand* are specified for uF: *subjunctive*. The topmost head of the complement, on the other hand, is underspecified in that it comes unvalued. Crucially, since those heads encode semantic information (tense, mood, modality), these features are still interpretable features. If an interpretable feature is sent to LF without a value, LF could not assign an interpretation, and the structure would not be interpretable. Thus, the only way the structure will converge is if the unvalued features are valued via Agree before LF.[6]

(20)   a.   Future infinitive   b.   Simultaneous infinitive   c.   Subjunctive
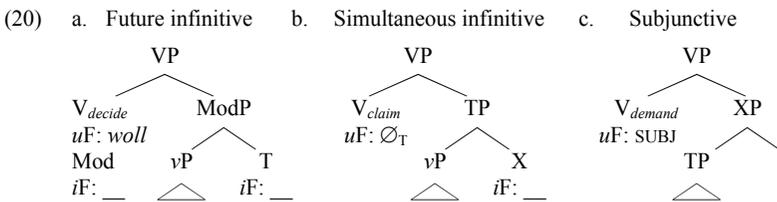
The features as specified above have the effect that a mutual dependency is established between certain verbs and corresponding types of complements. The unvalued features of the top clausal projection need to enter an Agree relation with a higher verb that has an

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[6] A technical question arising for subjunctive complements is how the often noted tense dependency between the selecting verb and the embedded tense is established across a complementizer or subjunctive marker. There are two options: the matrix verb selects/values the subjunctive C/Mood head, which in turn values the embedded T; or the matrix verb establishes a multiple Agree relation with both heads (as suggested in Wurmbrand 2011a, To appear for parasitic participle constructions).

*u*F: val. Similarly, the uninterpretable feature of the selecting verb also becomes dependent on a specific complement, as desired. Following Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), uninterpretable features (whether valued or unvalued) need to be licensed, specifically, they need to be connected to a corresponding interpretable feature (cf. the proposal of the *Thesis of Radical Interpretability*, Brody 1997; but see Wurmbrand 2011a for a refined approach to the licensing of uninterpretable features).

The feature specification proposed allows us to address the question of why complements that are value-selected are not phases. There are two ways to implement this, and I will leave the choice between the two options open here. First, it could be assumed that valuation voids phasehood. Since the unvalued features under consideration are interpretable features, these units would be interpretationally incomplete (before valuation takes place), and hence at the point where the clauses are completed, these units would not qualify as objects that are useable by the semantics. Alternatively, it could be assumed that the heads with the unvalued features undergo head-movement, which causes phase extension (see den Dikken 2007) or phase sliding (see Gallego 2005, 2010, Gallego and Uriagereka 2006).[7]

Lastly, value-selected complements differ from finite indicative clauses as well as infinitival *for* complements: the latter are fully specified and do not involve valuation by the higher verb. I assume that *for* is lexically valued as an irrealis complementizer (see Pesetsky 1992), and matches the *u*F: *woll* of the higher verb via Merge (see Wurmbrand 2011a for the technical implementation of feature matching under Merge). As a consequence of the lack of value selection, these complements are phases and do not involve phase extension. As predicted, QR is impossible from *for*-infinitives (the examples are from Johnson 2000).

(21) a. A different student wanted to read every book.   ∀»∃
      b. A different student wanted for you to read every book.   *∃»∀

7. Conclusion And Outlook

The picture I have proposed in this paper is summarized in the following table. The main

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[7] The latter approach may have the advantage of accounting for the lack of QR across the matrix subject in double object constructions such as *Someone has persuaded Mary to read every book on the reading list*, which according to some speakers cannot involve wide scope of the embedded object QP (e.g., Hornstein 1994, 1995, Neeleman and Truswell 2006). If phase extension/sliding moves the phase of the infinitive to the matrix VP, QR would have to go through Spec,VP first (this step would be in accordance with Scope Economy since it changes the scope relation between the matrix verb and the QP). Under the assumption that double object constructions introduce an additional phase (which could be attributed to a PP or small clause component of a decomposed VP-structure), movement to the edge of that phase would only be possible if a scope bearing element is crossed—that is, when the matrix object is quantificational. According to Neeleman and Truswell (2006), the scope options of an embedded object differ depending on whether the matrix object is a QP or not. In the example above, wide scope of the ∀-QP is impossible, but wide scope (∀»∃) is available in *Mary has persuaded someone to read every book on the reading list*. In the latter, movement from the matrix VP to the edge of the phase introduced by the object is possible, whereas such movement is blocked by Scope Economy in the former. Unfortunately, the data are controversial, and further investigation is necessary to establish the empirical distribution of scope in these constructions.

theoretical ingredients used to derive the distribution are Reverse Agree, Scope Economy (Fox 2000), a semantic-based determination of infinitival structure (Abusch 2004, Wurmbrand 2011b), and a dynamic approach to phasehood.

English	Structure	Highest head	Phase	QR
Future infinitive	*woll*P	unvalued (selected)	no	possible
Propositional infinitive	TP	unvalued (selected)	no	possible
Subjunctive	CP/MoodP	unvalued (selected)	no	possible
Raising infinitive (*seem*)	AspP	valued	yes	impossible
Finite clauses	CP	valued	yes	impossible

Although the distribution of transparency and transparency properties found across languages shows considerable variation, the dependency of infinitives and in particular subjunctives on the selecting verb is central in most accounts of subjunctives. The account here makes crucial use of this dependency by assuming that value selection is essential in 'voiding' the phasehood of certain complements. While I proposed that value selection is a necessary condition for transparency cross-linguistically, it is clearly not a sufficient one, and to determine the degrees of transparency for any given language, the type of operation involved as well as a range of other syntactic properties (e.g., Case, type of embedded subject, presence/location of subjunctive mood heads and complementizers, rigidity restrictions on QR, and others) need to be taken into account.

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