

Remarks and Replies

A Note on “Restructuring” and Quantifier Climbing in French

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Although Modern French was originally taken to lack the “restructuring” phenomenon altogether, four different “restructuring” effects have more recently been claimed to exist in the language: *en* and *y* climbing, quantifier climbing, adverb climbing, and long movement in ‘easy-to-please’ constructions. Evidence discussed in this article shows that only *en* and *y* climbing and long movement in ‘easy-to-please’ constructions are bona fide instances of “restructuring” in French.

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1 “Restructuring” Effects in French

The fact that Modern French (as opposed to Italian) has no systematic clitic climbing (1a), long object preposing in *se* constructions (1b), or auxiliary change (1c) was initially taken to suggest that it lacks “restructuring” altogether (see, e.g., Kayne 1978:fn. 7, 1980:39–40, 1981:fn. 5, Rochette 1988:sec. 2.3).¹

- (1) a. *Jean *le* voudrait manger.
Jean it would-like eat
‘Jean would like to eat it.’
- b. **Ces maisons* se doivent détruire.
these houses SE must destroy
‘These houses have to be destroyed.’
- c. *Je *suis* voulu partir.
I am wanted leave
‘I wanted to leave.’

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¹ This conclusion was rendered even more plausible by the observation that such transparency effects were all attested in French before the seventeenth century (Kayne 1978:162).

It was soon realized, however, that some transparency effects exist in Modern French that point to the existence of ‘restructuring’ in this language too.² So, for example, *tous* ‘all’, *tout* ‘everything’, *rien* ‘nothing’ (and other quantifiers) are known (since Kayne 1975) to extract out of the infinitival complement—and, for many, out of the subjunctive complement (if any)—of certain verbs (*vouloir* ‘want’, *oser* ‘dare’, *devoir* ‘have to’, *pouvoir* ‘be able to’, *falloir* ‘be necessary’, etc.; see (2)), but not of others (*avouer* ‘confess’, *certifier* ‘certify’, *jurer* ‘swear’, *croire* ‘believe’, *dire* ‘say’, etc.; see (3)).

(2) *Quantifier climbing*

- a. Marie a *tous* voulu les lire.
 Marie has all wanted them read
 ‘Marie wanted to read them all.’
- b. Elle n’aurait *rien* osé dire.
 she NEG would-have nothing dared say
 ‘She would have dared to say nothing.’
- c. Tu vas *tout* devoir apprendre.
 you are-going everything have learn
 ‘You will have to learn everything.’
- d. Vous n’avez *rien* pu dire.
 you NEG have nothing been-able say
 ‘You were able to say nothing.’
- e. ?Il n’a *rien* fallu que je fasse.
 it NEG have nothing been-necessary that I do
 ‘It was necessary that I do nothing.’
- (3) a. *Elle va *tout* avouer mépriser.
 she is-going everything confess scorn
 ‘She will confess scorning everything.’
- b. *Elle a *tous* certifié les connaître.
 she has all certified them know
 ‘She certified knowing them all.’
- c. *Jean a *tous* juré les avoir lus.
 Jean has all sworn them have read
 ‘Jean swore to have read them all.’
- d. *Je crois *tout* qu’elle leur a enlevé.
 I think everything that she from-them has taken-away
 ‘I think that she took away everything from them.’

² This is not surprising if ‘restructuring’ is a universal phenomenon dependent on the functional makeup of the clause (Cinque 2001), with languages differing only in the way they overtly manifest it (in ways that remain largely to be worked out). Here I will not consider how best to account for the difference in ‘restructuring’ effects found between Modern French and Italian (or between Old/Middle French and Modern French).

- e. *Je dis *tous* qu'ils sont partis.
 I say all that they are left
 'I say that they have all left.'

Pollock (1978:103) characterized the verbs that allow such extraction as verbs that enter a "close semantic connection" with their complement, and subsequent work explicitly suggested that they correspond to the "restructuring" verbs that allow for clitic climbing and other transparency effects in Italian and other Romance languages.³

A second "restructuring" effect noted by Pollock (1978:fn. 18) (see also Kayne 1975:chap. 2, fn. 7) is "the survival of an Italian-like structure" with *en* and *y* (see (4a–b)), "which are only felt slightly more literary than [(5a–b)]".⁴

³ See Taraldsen 1981:271ff., 1983:sec. 4.2, Haik 1985:sec. 1.7.3, Watanabe 1993, Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe 1994, Bonneau and Zushi 1994, Zushi 1995, De Cat 2000, Nicolis, to appear.

⁴ This property of *en* and *y* appears to go together with their ability to occur separated from the verb (see (i) and (ii)). DP clitics do not have this ability (see (iii)), although Bonneau and Zushi (1994:fn. 1) report a case where *le* 'him' separated from the verb by *bien* 'well' is not entirely excluded (??*Elle veut le bien voir* (lit. she wants him well see) 'She wants to see him well').

- (i) a. N'*en* presque rien dire ...
 NEG of-it almost nothing say
 'To say almost nothing about it ...'
 (Kayne 1991:fn. 18)
- b. *En* (fort) bien parler ...
 of-it (strong) well speak
 'To speak very well about it ...'
 (Kayne 1991:fn. 18)
- c. N'*en* pas parler ...
 NEG of-it not speak
 'Not to speak about it ...'
 (Kayne 1991:fn. 19, Sportiche 1996:fn. 22)
- d. ?N'*y* plus *en* trouver serait surprenant.
 NEG no-longer of-it find would-be surprising
 'To no longer find some there would be surprising.'
 (Kayne 1991:fn. 44)
- (ii) a. ?J'aimerais mieux n'*y* point accéder.
 I would prefer NEG to-there at-all accede
 'I would rather not accede to it at all.'
 (Taraldsen 1983:308)
- b. ?Elle a décidé de n'*en* plus parler.
 she has decided to NEG of-it no-longer speak
 'She decided to no longer speak about it.'
 (Taraldsen 1983:308)
- (iii) a. *J'aimerais mieux ne *les* point voir.
 I would prefer NEG them at-all see
 'I would rather not see them at all.'
 (Taraldsen 1983:308)
- b. *Elle a décidé de ne *lui* plus adresser la parole.
 she has decided to NEG to-him no-longer speak
 'She decided to no longer speak to him.'
 (Taraldsen 1983:308)

- (4) *En and y climbing*
- a. *J'en voudrais voir beaucoup.*
I of-them would-like see many
'I would like to see many of them.'
- b. *J'y voudrais aller.*
I there would-like go
'I would like to go there.'
- (5) a. *Je voudrais en voir beaucoup.*
b. *Je voudrais y aller.*

En and *y* climbing indeed appears possible (in noncolloquial styles) with verbs like *vouloir*, *devoir*, *pouvoir*, *falloir*, *oser*, *finir* 'finish', *terminer de* 'finish', and so on, which correspond to "restructuring" verbs in Italian, and impossible with verbs like *avouer*, *dire*, *croire*, *certifier*, *admettre* 'admit', *déclarer* 'declare', and so on, which correspond to non-"restructuring" verbs in Italian. Compare (4) with (6).⁵

⁵ It is also possible with *faillir* 'to almost . . .', *venir de* 'to have just . . .', *être en train de* 'to be -ing', to which no "restructuring" verbs correspond in Italian, but which are nonetheless arguably "functional," corresponding to the so-called prospective, retrospective, and progressive aspects, respectively (see Cinque 1999, 2001).

En and *y* climbing actually appears to be more restricted, for some speakers, than long movement in 'easy-to-please' constructions. A reviewer finds a contrast between (8a–b) below and (i)–(ii), judging the latter to be ungrammatical.

- (i) a. **Il en a commencé à lire trois.*
he of-them has started to read three
'He started to read three of them.'
- b. **Il y a commencé à penser.*
he of-it has started to think
'He started to think of it.'
- (ii) a. **Il en a su où classer trois.*
he of-them has known where classify three
'He knew where to classify three of them.'
- b. **Il y a su quand penser.*
he of-it has known when think
'He knew when to think of it.'

This state of affairs finds an analogue in Italian, where transparencies involving non-3rd person DPs (climbing of *ne*, *ci*, etc.) are also possible with fewer "restructuring" verbs than cases involving 3rd person DPs (climbing of *lo*, long object preposing in *si* and 'easy-to-please' constructions). See Cinque 2001:fn. 27 and (iii)–(vi).

- (iii) a. *Lo scordò di fare anche lui.*
it (he) forgot to do also he
'He too forgot to do it.'
- b. *Certe cose non si scordano mai di fare.*
certain things not si forget never to do
'One never forgets to do certain things.'
- c. *?Questo è facilissimo da scordare di fare.*
this is most-easy to forget to do
'This is very easy to forget to do.'
- (iv) a. **Ne scordò di parlare.*
about-it (he) forgot to talk
'He forgot to talk about it.'

- (6) a. *Il *en* a dit avoir vu trois.
 he of-them has said have seen three
 'He said he saw three of them.'
- b. *Il *y* a dit d'être resté.
 he there has said to be remained
 'He said he remained there.'
- c. *Il *en* a cru aimer beaucoup.
 he of-them has thought love many
 'He thought he loved many of them.'
- d. *Il *y* a cru avoir dormi.
 he there has thought have slept
 'He thought he had slept there.'

A third "restructuring" effect was noted by Kayne (1989:sec. 12). Modern French 'easy-to-please' constructions, like Italian (and unlike English) ones, are normally limited to one infinitive.

- (7) a. Ce genre de livre serait difficile à lire.
 this kind of book would-be hard to read
- b. *Ce genre de livre est facile à promettre de lire.
 this kind of book is easy to promise to read
- c. *Ce genre de livre serait difficile à convaincre Jean à lire.
 this kind of book would-be hard to convince Jean to read

"[W]hen the gap is two infinitives distant, the higher infinitive must be of the class that allows clitic climbing [in Italian]" (Kayne 1989:250).⁶

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- b. **Ci* scordò di andare.
 there (he) forgot to go
 'He forgot to go there.'
- (v) a. Non *lo* so dove mettere.
 not it (I) know where put
 'I don't know where to put it.'
- b. *Certe cose* non si sanno mai dove mettere.
 certain things not si know never where put
 'One never knows where to put certain things.'
- c. ?*Questo* non è facile da saper dove mettere.
 this not is easy to know where put
 'This is not easy to know where to put.'
- (vi) a. *Non *ne* sa dove parlare.
 not about-it know where talk
 'He doesn't know where to talk about it.'
- b. *Non *ci* sa come andare.
 not there knows how go
 'He doesn't know how to go there.'

Whatever principle derives this difference will also account, it seems, for the difference between (8) and (i)–(ii) noted by the reviewer. Thus, (ii) provides no evidence against the monoclausal nature of (8b) (for which see Cinque 2001:sec. 3.3).

⁶ Kayne suggests that this restriction may be due to the (covert) movement of a null pronominal clitic (as opposed to the null operator of the corresponding English construction).

(8) *Long movement in 'easy-to-please' constructions*

- a. ?(Pour moi), ce livre serait impossible à commencer à lire aujourd'hui.
 for me this book would-be impossible to begin to read today
- b. ?Ce genre d'article est difficile à savoir où classer.
 this kind of article is hard to know where to-file

A fourth transparency effect that has been claimed (Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe 1994:200) to be possible in Modern French only with "restructuring" verbs is the climbing of adverbs originally observed by Kayne (1975:chap. 1, fn. 29).⁷

(9) *Adverb climbing*

- a. (?)Vous avez *mal* dû raccrocher.
 you have badly must hang-up
 'You must have hung up badly.'
- b. Il aurait *mieux* voulu se comporter.
 he would-have better liked himself behave
 'He would have liked to behave better.'
- c. Il faut *très bien* que tu te comportes.
 it is-necessary very well that you yourself behave
 'It is necessary that you behave very well.'
- d. ??Marie a *soigneusement* fini de ranger sa chambre.
 Marie has carefully finished to tidy her room
 'Marie finished tidying up her room carefully.'

- (10) a. *Il a *mal* avoué s'être comporté.
 he has badly confessed himself be behaved
 'He confessed to having behaved badly.'
- b. *Il a *mal* dit avoir mangé.
 he has badly said have eaten
 'He said he ate badly.'
- c. *Il a *très bien* assuré de se comporter.
 he has very well guaranteed to himself behave
 'He guaranteed he would behave very well.'
- d. *Marie a *très bien* prétendu avoir travaillé.
 Marie has very well claimed have worked
 'Marie claimed to have worked very well.'

⁷ The adverbs involved include manner adverbs and other lower adverbs like *ne plus* 'no longer', *jamais* 'never', and *toujours* 'always', though exactly which adverbs participate in this construction remains to be investigated.

Closer scrutiny, however, shows the matter to be more complex, as the four transparency effects just illustrated do not pattern alike. Quantifier climbing and adverb climbing appear to behave differently from *en* and *y* climbing and long movement in ‘easy-to-please’ constructions. We may begin to see this by examining a special instance of quantifier climbing (returning later to adverb climbing).⁸

2 A Special Instance of Quantifier Climbing

As Kayne (1975:sec. 1.11) noted, many (though not all)⁹ French speakers allow a quantifier to climb across the finite (subjunctive) *que* complement of verbs like *falloir* and *vouloir* (also see Kayne 1981).

- (11) a. %Il faut *tous* que Jean les lise.
it is-necessary all that Jean them read
‘It is necessary that Jean read them all.’
- b. %Je veux *tout* que tu leur enlèves.
I want everything that you from-them take-away
‘I want that you take away everything from them.’
- c. %Il faut *tout* que je leur enlève.
it is-necessary everything that I from-them take-away
‘It is necessary that I take away everything from them.’
- d. %Il ne faut *rien* que tu fasses.
it NEG is-necessary nothing that you do
‘It is necessary that you do nothing.’
- e. %Il faut *beaucoup* que tu lises de livres.
it is-necessary many that you read of books
‘It is necessary that you read many books.’

⁸ Modern French actually displays another “restructuring” effect: “long passive” (Grevisse 1993:1124–1125, Rochette 1988:245, fn. 23, Cinque 2001:fn. 47, 2002), which is possible only with “restructuring” predicates.

- (i) a. une boîte qui n’était pas tout à fait finie d’installer
a box that NEG was not completely finished to install
‘a box that was not completely finished being installed’
- b. Le château n’était pas achevé de meubler.
the castle NEG was not finished to furnish
‘The castle was not finished being furnished.’

I leave this effect aside here, as it is found only with a subset of “restructuring” verbs, as in Spanish, Japanese, and Italian (see Aissen and Perlmutter 1983, Nishigauchi 1993, Cinque 2002; and see the last-mentioned work, as well as Taraldsen 2002, for a possible account of such a restriction in Romance versus Germanic).

⁹ De Cat (2000:fn. 37) indeed reports that none of her 11 informants accepted quantifier climbing out of subjunctive complements.

It would be surprising if such instances of quantifier climbing were a function of “restructuring,” as no “restructuring” effect is found in such contexts in Italian.¹⁰ It is thus interesting that independent evidence exists for concluding that (11) is not a genuine case of “restructuring.”¹¹

First, two of the transparency effects examined above (*en* and *y* climbing and long movement in ‘easy-to-please’ constructions) are excluded in that context (which makes them *bona fide* manifestations of “restructuring”).

- (12) a. *J’y veux que tu ailles.
 I there want that you go
 ‘I want you to go there.’
 (Pollock 1978:fn. 18, (x))
- b. *J’en veux que tu manges.
 I of-it want that you eat
 ‘I want you to eat some of it.’
 (Pollock 1978:fn. 18, (xi))

- (13) *Ce genre de livre est difficile à vouloir qu’un enfant lise.
 this kind of book is difficult to want that a child read

Second, speakers who accept (11) can also raise the quantifier out of the complement of clearly non-“restructuring” verbs (see (14a) and (14b), provided by Marie Christine Jamet and Pierre Pica, respectively).

- (14) a. Il n’a rien exigé que tu fasses.
 he NEG has nothing demanded that you do
 ‘He has demanded that you do nothing.’
- b. Ils auraient tout cru que je mangerais.
 they would-have everything thought that I would-eat
 ‘They would have thought that I would eat everything.’

Third, even speakers (like Jean-Yves Pollock) who allow quantifier climbing with fewer predicates (thus not accepting, say, (14b)) still allow it from at least some non-“restructuring” verbs (see (15a) and (15b)) and distinguish between extraction from an infinitive (possible), extraction from

¹⁰ In the analysis of “restructuring” proposed in Cinque 2001, (11) is unexpected for two reasons: (a) because quantifier climbing spans two clauses, and (b) because it applies (at least with *vouloir*) across an embedded subject distinct from the matrix subject (a non-“restructuring” configuration). Cases such as (11) appear to be different from the Salentino and Serbo-Croatian cases discussed by Terzi (1992, 1996): first, because the apparent finite form of the verb in the latter languages, but not in French, is a surrogate form of the infinitive (which is either nonexistent or highly restricted in use); and, second, because the embedded subject in the latter languages not only must be identical to the matrix subject, but also must be unpronounced (see Cinque 2001:sec. 3.3, for a “monoclausal” analysis of such cases in Salentino and Serbo-Croatian).

¹¹ Bonneau and Zushi (1994) and Déprez (1997) also conjecture that (11) should perhaps receive a separate treatment.

a subjunctive clause (possible to marginal), and extraction from an indicative clause (always impossible).¹²

- (15) a. Je lui ai *tous* promis de les lire.
I him have all promised to them read
'I promised him to read them all.'
(Pollock 1978:fn. 15)
- b. ??Je dis *tous* qu'ils partent.
I say all that they leave
'I say they all ought to leave (SUBJ).'
- (Pollock 1978:102)
- c. *Je dis *tous* qu'ils sont partis.
I say all that they are left
'I say that they have all left (IND).'
- (Pollock 1978:103)

¹² This recalls quantifier (phrase) movement in Icelandic as described by Svenonius (2000) (see also Kayne 1998: 141 and references cited there). According to Svenonius's description:

• All speakers allow a quantifier to cross an infinitival/participial clause boundary (complement of certain verbs) (pp. 266–267).

- (i) a. Þorgerður mun *lítið* borða.
Þorgerð will little eat
'Þorgerð will eat little.'
- b. Eyþór getur *ekkert* gert.
Eyþór can nothing done
'Eyþór can't do anything.'
- c. Hann mun *mikið* hafa viljað lesa.
he will much have wanted read
'He has wanted to read much.'
- d. Hann hefur *margar* bækur lofað að lesa.
he has many books promised to read
'He has promised to read many books.'

• Some speakers allow a quantifier to cross a subjunctive clause boundary (complement of certain verbs) (p. 267).

- (ii) %Hún hafði *margt* viljað að hann gæti keypt.
she had many wanted that he could.SUBJ bought
'She had wanted him to be able to buy many.'

• No speakers allow a quantifier to cross an indicative clause boundary (pp. 267–268).

- (iii) *Hún hefur lengi *margt* vitað að hann getur keypt.
she has long many known that he can bought
'She has long known that he could buy many.'

A further resemblance between the two languages is that quantifier (as opposed to *wh*-) movement cannot extract a subject from a subjunctive clause.

- (iv) a. *Hún hafði *marga* stelpur viljað að kæmu í veisluna.
she had many girls wanted that came in the-party
'She had wanted many girls to come to the party.'
(Svenonius 2000:270)
- b. *Je veux *tout* que/qui leur soit enlevé.
I want everything that from-them be taken-away
'I want everything to be taken away from them.'
(Kayne 1981:sec. 4.2.1)

I conclude that quantifier climbing out of subjunctive clauses should be treated differently from other transparency effects such as *en* and *y* climbing, long movement in ‘easy-to-please’ constructions (and long passive): namely, as an \bar{A} -operator movement (not dependent on ‘restructuring’).¹³ In particular, I would like to analyze it in ways reminiscent of Kayne’s (1998) analysis of the ambiguity of sentences like (16).¹⁴

(16) I will force you to marry no one.

Kayne argues that the ambiguity in relative scope between *force* and *no one* in (16) is best captured through two different overt (rather than covert) leftward movements of the negative quantifier *no one*. One moves *no one* to the embedded Spec,NegP, which is in the scope of *force* (yielding the interpretation ‘I will force (on) you that there is no *x* such that you marry *x*’; see (17)); the other moves *no one* to the matrix Spec,NegP, which takes *force* in its scope (yielding the interpretation ‘There is no *x* such that I will force you to marry *x*’; see (18)).¹⁵

(17) I will force you to marry no one → (neg phrase preposing)
 I will force you to no one marry *t* → (VP-preposing)
 I will force you to [marry *t*] no one

(18) I will force you to marry no one → (neg phrase preposing)
 I will no one force you to marry *t* → (VP-preposing)
 I will [force you to marry *t*] no one

(11) involves an analogous overt movement of *tous*, *tout*, *rien*, *beaucoup* to the matrix sentence (in addition to their possible movement within the embedded one). The similarity between the two cases is supported by two facts. The first, noted by Sportiche (1996:232, 1998:316), is that quantifiers extracted from subjunctive *que* clauses ‘‘have matrix scope, not embedded scope.’’ Sportiche shows this with the minimal pair in (19). (In (19a), but not (19b), *tous* necessarily takes scope over the embedded negation—as the paraphrases illustrate—and, I take it, over *falloir*.)

(19) a. Il aurait *tous* fallu que tu ne les aies pas vus.
 it would-have all been-necessary that you NEG them have not seen
 ‘It would have been necessary that you see none of them.’
 b. Il aurait fallu que tu ne les aies pas *tous* vus.
 it would-have been-necessary that you NEG them have not all seen
 ‘It would have been necessary that you not see all of them.’

The second fact supporting the similarity is that (as noted in Kayne 1978:fn. 9) quantifier climbing shows the same grammaticality pattern as *personne* (the analogue of *no one*). Just as overt extrac-

¹³ See Sportiche 1988, where it is suggested that L-*tous* is overt Quantifier Raising (QR).

¹⁴ That cases such as (i) might be similar to (16) is also suggested by Kayne (1998:141).

(i) Il n’a *rien* fallu que je fasse.
 it NEG has nothing been-necessary that I do
 ‘It was necessary that I do nothing.’

¹⁵ I abstract away here from the further raising of Neg⁰ to the abstract head W introduced later in Kayne 1998.

tion of *tous*, *tout*, *rien* (and other quantifiers) out of (selected) infinitives is accepted by all speakers, and out of subjunctive *que* clauses by only some (see (20)), so all speakers accept (21a), but only some (the same that accept (20b–c)) accept (21b–c).¹⁶

- (20) a. Je veux *tout* voir.
I want everything see
'I want to see everything.'
- b. %Je veux *tout* que tu leur enlèves.
I want everything that you from-them take-away
'I want you to take away everything from them.'
- c. %Je n' exige *rien* que tu fasses.
I NEG demand nothing that you do
'I demand that you do nothing.'
- (21) a. Je ne veux voir personne.
I NEG want see nobody
'I do not want to see anybody.'
(Kayne 1978:fn. 9)
- b. %Je ne veux que tu voies personne.
I NEG want that you see nobody
'I want you to see nobody.'
(Kayne 1978:fn. 9)
- c. %Je n'exige qu'elle voie personne.
I NEG demand that she see nobody
'I demand that she see nobody.'
(Kayne 1980:37)

Although the parallelism between (20) and (21) is enhanced in Kayne's (1998) overt movement analysis of *personne*,¹⁷ the extraction of *tous*, *tout*, *rien* (and other quantifiers) still differs from

¹⁶ Jean-Yves Pollock tells me that to his ear (20a) and the like are ambiguous in terms of scope. *Tout* may have narrow or wide scope with respect to *veux*. This suggests (a) that *tout* is merged below *veux* (in which case it has narrow scope) and (b) that it may move to a position to the left of *veux* (in which case it has wide scope), with *veux* subsequently moving past it on its way to T (a movement that is known not to alter scope relations). Expectedly (if past participles remain lower), he finds a definite preference for *tout* to take wide scope in (ia) and narrow scope in (ib).

- (i) a. J'ai tout voulu revoir.
I have everything wanted see-again
'I wanted to see everything again.'
- b. J'ai voulu tout revoir.
I have wanted everything see-again
'I wanted to see everything again.'

¹⁷ See, for example, the derivation that (21b) receives.

- (i) je ne veux que tu voies personne → (neg phrase preposing)
je *personne* ne veux que tu voies t → (VP-preposing)
je [ne veux que tu voies t] *personne* (%)

that of *personne* in not triggering (in his analysis) further movement of the remnant VP—whence the OV order. I take this difference between negative phrases like *personne* and quantifiers like *tous*, *tout*, and *rien* (which is especially acute in the contrast between *personne* and *rien*) to stem from the different positions they (come to) occupy. While (after Kayne 1998) we may take nonspecialized negative phrases to target Spec,NegP, there is evidence that *tous*, *tout*, *rien*, and so on, target (or, rather, are merged in) distinct specialized Spec positions, interspersed among various classes of adverbs (see Cinque 1999:8, 119; and, for a finer-grained analysis, Vecchiato 1999).¹⁸

More technically (in Kayne's framework), the difference could reduce to the ability of Neg⁰, but not the heads of the projections containing *tous*, *tout*, *rien*, *trop*, *beaucoup*, and so on, to raise to W, thus attracting the remnant VP to Spec,WP, though the reason for such a difference remains to be understood. An alternative would be to restrict the possibility of head raising (to W) to heads that attract an XP to their own Spec (Neg⁰), and to assume that *tous*, *tout*, *rien*, *trop*, *beaucoup*, and so on, are directly merged in the Spec of distinct functional projections, rather than being attracted there, even when they bind a variable. This seems to account for the fact that in sentence-internal position they can be either bare or modified/coordinated/focused, but in sentence-final position they *must* be modified/coordinated/focused. In a direct merger analysis of their sentence-internal position, that could be a consequence of VP-movement around them, motivated by their focus status (see Cinque 1999:sec. 1.4). Also note that, under the direct merger analysis, Relativized Minimality issues inherent in such putative multiple attraction cases as (22) do not even arise.¹⁹

¹⁸ On the basis of their partial relative order (and of other considerations), Vecchiato (1999) arrives at the following (sub)hierarchy: . . . > *guère* > *trop* > *rien* > *complètement* > *tout* > *beaucoup/peu* > *bien* > . . .

¹⁹ Contrasts with respect to quantification at a distance like (ia–b) (vs. (iia–b) and (iia–b)), which show that *beaucoup* can be interpreted only ‘in situ.’ and not in the ‘reconstructed’ position (Obenauer 1984/85), may be taken as further evidence for direct merger (vs. movement) of *beaucoup* (and similar quantifiers) (see Kayne 1975:29ff., but also 2002: sec. 2).

- (i) a. Il a beaucoup rencontré de collègues.
he has many met of colleagues
'He met many colleagues.'
- b. *Il a beaucoup apprécié de collègues.
he has many appreciated of colleagues
'He appreciated many colleagues.'
- (ii) a. Combien a-t-il rencontré de collègues?
how-many has he met of colleagues
'How many colleagues did he meet?'
- b. Combien a-t-il apprécié de collègues?
how-many has he appreciated of colleagues
'How many colleagues did he appreciate?'
- (iii) a. Il a rencontré beaucoup de collègues.
he has met many of colleagues
'He met many colleagues.'
- b. Il a apprécié beaucoup de collègues.
he has appreciated many of colleagues
'He appreciated many colleagues.'

- (22) Ils ont tous tout bien compris.
 they have all everything well understood
 ‘They all have understood everything well.’

Also note that (long) movement of *personne* appears possible in the same contexts that allow long extraction of *tous*, *tout*, *rien* (infinitives and subjunctives; see (21)) and impossible in contexts that do not (indicatives; see (23)).

- (23) a. *Je n’ai dit qu’il a vu personne.
 I NEG have said that he has seen nobody
 ‘I did not say that he saw anybody.’
 b. *Il n’a avoué qu’il a aidé personne.
 he NEG has confessed that he has helped nobody
 ‘He did not confess that he helped anybody.’

3 Adverb Climbing

As opposed to *en* and *y* climbing and long movement in ‘easy-to-please’ constructions, which are impossible out of subjunctive complements (recall (12) and (13)), adverb climbing is apparently possible in that context (at least for speakers, like Pierre Pica, Jean-Yves Pollock, and one of the reviewers, who accept extraction of *tous*, *tout*, and *rien* out of the same contexts). See (24a–c).²⁰

- (24) a. Elle aurait mieux voulu que tu te comportes.
 she would-have better liked that you yourself behave
 ‘She would have liked that you behave better.’
 b. Il faut très bien que tu te comportes.
 it is-necessary very well that you yourself behave
 ‘It is necessary that you behave very well.’
 c. Il aurait mieux fallu que tu te comportes.
 it would-have better been-necessary that you yourself behave
 ‘It would have been necessary that you behave better.’

4 “Restructuring” and Non-“Restructuring” Configurations in French

We have seen that subjunctive *que* clauses discriminate between *en* and *y* climbing and long movement in ‘easy-to-please’ constructions, on one hand, and quantifier climbing and adverb

²⁰ Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe (1994:205) claim that adverb climbing is not allowed out of subjunctives, but they cite no source, nor do they give any examples. It is of course to be expected that just as some speakers reject (11) (see footnote 9), so some will reject (24). Whether the order in (24) depends on scope (as seems to be the case with *tous*, *tout*, *rien*) is much less clear.

climbing, on the other. Only the latter are possible in that context. We also concluded that only the former are bona fide “restructuring” phenomena, as “restructuring” is never found, in Italian, across subjunctive (*che*) clauses.

Given this, we might expect there to be other contexts allowing quantifier climbing and adverb climbing while excluding *en* and *y* climbing and long movement in ‘easy-to-please’ constructions, and indeed such contexts exist. In each case we have independent evidence from Italian that the context in question is non-“restructuring.” For example, the infinitival complements of (25), which allow quantifier climbing out of them, are non-“restructuring,” to judge from the Italian cases in (26).

- (25) a. Je lui ai tous promis de les lire.
I him have all promised to them read
‘I promised him to read them all.’
(Pollock 1978:fn. 15)
- b. Elle a tous envie de les lire.
she has all desire to them read
‘She feels like reading them all.’
(Kayne 1975:26, fn. 28)
- c. (?)Tu n’as rien le droit de dire.
you NEG have nothing the right to say
‘You have the right to say nothing.’
(Kayne 1975:26, fn. 28)
- d. Il a tous été obligé de les lire.
he has all been obliged to them read
‘He has been obliged to read them all.’
(Pollock 1978:99)
- (26) a. *Non te lo avrà mica promesso di leggere.
not you it will-have not promised to read
‘(He) will not have promised you to read it.’
- b. *L’ho voglia di leggere.
it have desire to read
‘(I) feel like reading it.’
- c. *Tu non l’hai il diritto di dire.
you not it have the right to say
‘You do not have the right to say it.’
- d. *Li è stati/o obbligati/o a leggere.
them is been obliged to read
‘(He) has been obliged to read them.’

Significantly, the same contexts also allow adverb climbing (see (27)), but crucially neither *en* and *y* climbing (see (28)) nor long movement in ‘easy-to-please’ constructions (see (29)).

- (27) a. Il a *mieux* promis de se comporter.
 he has better promised to himself behave
 'He promised to behave better.'
- b. Elle a *très bien* envie de se comporter.
 she has very well desire to herself behave
 'She feels like behaving very well.'
- c. Tu as *mal* le droit de te comporter.
 you have badly the right to yourself behave
 'You have the right to behave badly.'
- d. Il a *mieux* été obligé de travailler.
 he has better been obliged to work
 'He has been obliged to work better.'²¹
- (28) a. *Il *en* a promis de lire trois.
 he of-them has promised to read three
 'He promised to read three of them.'
- a.' *Il *y* a promis d'aller.
 he there has promised to go
 'He promised to go there.'
- b. *Elle *en* a envie de posséder beaucoup.
 she of-them has desire to own many
 'She feels like owning many of them.'
- b.' *Elle *n'y* a envie de rester.
 she NEG there has desire to remain
 'She does not feel like remaining there.'
- c. *Tu *n'en* as pas le droit de posséder beaucoup.
 you NEG of-them have not the right to own many
 'You do not have the right to own many of them.'
- c.' *Tu *n'y* as pas le droit d'entrer.
 you NEG there have not the right to enter
 'You do not have the right to enter there.'
- d. *Il *en* a été obligé de lire beaucoup.
 he of-them has been obliged to read many
 'He was obliged to read many of them.'
- d.' *Il *y* a été obligé d'aller.
 he there has been obliged to go
 'He was obliged to go there.'

²¹ Adverb climbing in this context is apparently less good with other embedded verbs (Jean-Yves Pollock, Marie Christine Jamet, personal communications).

- (i) *Il a *mieux* été obligé de se comporter.
 he has better been obliged to himself behave
 'He has been obliged to behave better.'

- (29) a. *Ce genre de livre est facile à promettre de lire.
 this kind of book is easy to promise to read
 (Kayne 1989:251)
- b. *Ce genre de livre est facile d'avoir envie d'écrire.
 this kind of book is easy to have desire to write
 'This kind of book is easy to feel like writing.'
- c. *Cette richesse n'est pas facile d'avoir le droit de posséder.
 this wealth NEG is not easy to have the right to own
 'This wealth isn't easy to have the right to own.'
- d. *Ce livre est difficile d'être obligé de savoir par coeur.
 this book is difficult to be obliged to know by heart

I conclude that quantifier climbing and adverb climbing (as opposed to *en* and *y* climbing and long movement in 'easy-to-please' constructions) do not depend on "restructuring." Their acceptability seems rather to depend on an *irrealis* context (infinitive or subjunctive vs. indicative), although the precise nature of this context (also at work, apparently, in the Icelandic case mentioned in footnote 12) remains to be investigated.²²

²² See Haspelmath 1989:298–299, where *irrealis* complements are characterized as those that the speaker presents as not realized, or for which there is no guarantee that they will be realized.

Concerning quantifier climbing and adverb climbing, I have found two contexts where apparently they do not pattern alike (see (i) and (ii)), but I will not explore this dissociation further here. (I point out a similar context in footnote 24.)

- (i) a. J'ai *tous* été ravi de les voir.
 I have all been enthusiastic to them see
 'I was enthusiastic about seeing them all.'
- b. *Il a *très bien* été ravi de se comporter.
 he has very well been enthusiastic to himself behave
 'He was enthusiastic about behaving very well.'
- (ii) a. Je n'ai *rien* promis que je ferais.
 I NEG have nothing promised that I would-do
 'I promised that I would do nothing.'
- b. *J'ai *mieux* promis que je travaillerais.
 I have better promised that I would-work
 'I promised that I would work better.'

As expected (given their non-"restructuring" nature, to judge from Italian), these contexts also exclude *en* and *y* climbing and long movement in 'easy-to-please' constructions.

- (iii) a. *J'*en* ai été ravi d'acheter beaucoup.
 I of-them have been enthusiastic to buy many
 'I was enthusiastic about buying many of them.'
- a'. *J'*y* ai été ravi d'aller.
 I there have been enthusiastic to go
 'I was enthusiastic about going there.'
- b. *Ce livre est difficile d'être ravi d'avoir lu.
 this book is difficult to be enthusiastic to have read
 'This book is difficult to be enthusiastic about having read.'
- (iv) a. *J'*en* ai promis que je ferais beaucoup.
 I of-them have promised that I would-do many
 'I promised that I would do many of them.'

5 The Apparent Sensitivity of Quantifier Climbing and Adverb Climbing to “Restructuring”

The conclusion that quantifier climbing and adverb climbing do not depend on “restructuring” (as shown by their application out of subjunctive and infinitive contexts that otherwise preclude bona fide “restructuring” phenomena such as *en* and *y* climbing and long movement in ‘easy-to-please’ constructions) at first sight appears to miss a simple account of the differences between (2) and (3), and between (9) and (10), which indeed seemed to involve a contrast between “restructuring” and non-“restructuring” verbs. But this is illusory. If quantifier climbing and adverb climbing are restricted (to irrealis contexts) only when they apply across a clause boundary, being unrestricted in simple clauses, and if “restructuring” configurations are monoclausal (see Cinque 2001), the grammaticality of (2) and (9) is unsurprising. The ungrammaticality of (3) and (10) must then derive from the fact that such contexts neither are “restructuring” contexts nor belong to the restricted class of irrealis contexts that allow quantifier climbing and adverb climbing to extract from a complement clause.

The contrast between (30a) and (30b), noted by Pollock (1978:98), appears perhaps amenable to the same account.²³

- (30) a. ?Elle a tous semblé les avoir lus.
 she has all seemed them have read
 ‘She seemed to have read them all.’
 b. *Elle *m’a* tous semblé les avoir lus.
 she to-me has all seemed them have read
 ‘She seemed to me to have read them all.’

As Pollock observes, the presence of the dative argument of *sembler* blocks the climbing of *tous*, and other quantifiers. This in itself is rather curious, as in other contexts a dative argument of

-
- a'. *J’y ai promis que je travaillerais.
 I there have promised that I would-work
 ‘I promised that I would work there.’
 b. *Ce livre est facile à promettre que je lirais aux enfants.
 this book is easy to promise that I would-read to-the kids

Another context where quantifier climbing and adverb climbing do not pattern alike is (v), pointed out by a reviewer (this, to judge from Italian, is also a non-“restructuring” context; see Cinque 2001:sec. 3.3).

- (v) a. *Il a *bien* su quand se comporter.
 he has well known when himself behave
 ‘He knew when to behave well.’
 b. Il a *tous* su quand les lire.
 he has all known when them read
 ‘He knew when to read them all.’

For the same reviewer, (27), with adverb climbing, is also slightly worse than (25), with quantifier climbing (thus echoing the contrasts in (i), (ii), and (v)). But for this reviewer the contrast with (28) remains quite sharp.

²³ One reviewer does not find a contrast between (30a) and (30b) (instead finding both marginally possible). The same reviewer also assigns the same status to (3a–c), which might suggest that for this reviewer the conditions under which quantifier climbing takes place are somewhat more liberal than Pollock’s.

the matrix verb does not block quantifier climbing (see, e.g., (25a): *Je lui ai tous promis de les lire* ‘I promised him to read them all’; Pollock 1978:fn. 15).

The contrast in (30), I submit, is due to the combination of the following factors: *sembler* ‘seem’ is a ‘restructuring’ verb (as *sembrare* is for many Italian speakers; see Cinque 2001:fn. 27)—but, crucially, only when the verb has no internal arguments (as the evidence presented in Cinque 2001:sec. 4.1 for Italian suggests). This implies that only (30a) is a monoclausal configuration (whence the unrestricted application of quantifier climbing). The ungrammaticality of (30b) derives, instead, from the fact that it is neither ‘restructuring’ (owing to the presence of the dative argument) nor, plausibly, irrealis—a conclusion supported by the impossibility of extracting a quantifier from the finite counterpart of (30b) (and (30a), for that matter, even in the absence of a dative argument).²⁴

- (31) a. *Il me semble tous qu’elle les a lus.
 it to-me seems all that she them has read
 ‘It seems to me that she read them all.’
 b. *Il semble tous qu’elle les a lus.
 it seems all that she them has read
 ‘It seems that she read them all.’

Another contrast, noted by Bonneau and Zushi (1994:30ff.), also appears reducible to the same account.²⁵

- (32) a. Combien est-ce que Jean a (à) tous voulu leur donner de vélos?
 how-many is it that Jean has (to) all wanted to-them give of bicycles
 ‘How many bicycles did Jean want to give to all of them?’
 b. *Combien est-ce que Jean a (à) tous voulu que tu leur donnes de
 how-many is it that Jean has (to) all wanted that you to-them give of
 vélos?
 bicycles
 ‘How many bicycles did Jean want you to give to all of them?’

²⁴ However, Jean-Yves Pollock (personal communication) finds no comparable contrast with adverb climbing in the same context.

- (i) a. Il a très bien semblé s’être comporté.
 he has very well seemed himself be behaved
 ‘He seemed to have behaved very well.’
 b. Il m’a très bien semblé s’être comporté.
 he to-me has very well seemed himself be behaved
 ‘He seemed to me to have behaved very well.’

²⁵ (32b) has in fact been slightly modified following a reviewer’s suggestion, to make the pair more minimal. The reviewer points out that the significance of the contrast between (32a) and (32b) may be somewhat diminished by the fact that the climbing of dative *tous* out of subjunctive clauses is already a bit marginal.

- (i) ??Il a tous voulu que tu leur présentes des filles.
 he has all wanted that you to-them introduce some girls
 ‘He wanted you to introduce some girls to all of them.’

Quantifier climbing, in interaction with the fronting of *combien*, gives rise to a violation in (32b), but not in (32a). (32a) can in principle be a ‘restructuring’ configuration, but not (32b), given the presence of the subjunctive complement. I suggest that a Relativized Minimality violation arises only in the non-‘restructuring’ configuration (32b) because it alone involves genuine extraction from a CP (the ‘restructuring’ configuration being instead ‘monoclausal’; Cinque 2001). As both the extraction of the quantifier and that of *combien* apply successive cyclically (Rizzi 1990, Cinque 1990), they come to compete for one and the same C ‘escape hatch.’ If this is so, we must conclude that the sensitivity of quantifier climbing and adverb climbing to ‘restructuring’ is only apparent.

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