AGAINST RESTRUCTURING IN MODERN FRENCH

The nature and cross-linguistic status of restructuring has been and continues to be a vibrant area of linguistic research, with many questions still unresolved. One of these is whether or not Modern French participates in the phenomenon. Cinque (2002) examines in some detail those transparency effects that have been claimed to point to the existence of restructuring in French and concludes that quantifier and adverb climbing depend not on restructuring but rather, on an *irrealis* context (infinitive or subjunctive vs. indicative). This leaves as the only possible evidence for restructuring in French *en* 'of-it' and *y* 'there/in it' climbing (1) and long movement in 'easy-to-please' constructions (2).

 (1) J'*y* voudrais aller. (I there would-like to-go)
 (2) ?(Pour moi), ce livre serait impossible à commencer à lire ___ aujourd'hui.
   (for me) this book would-be impossible to begin to-read today

In this paper we first show that restructuring does not play an active role in explaining the existence of (1) and (2), which leads to the conclusion that Modern French has no transparency effects of the restructuring kind. We then discuss how this conclusion is to be interpreted in light of three major approaches to restructuring (Roberts 1997, Cinque 2004, and Cinque 2001/Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004).

 Concerning (1), sentences of this type are no longer possible in spoken French (except in dialects spoken in Walloonia). More importantly, those found in literary works do not support the contention that clitic climbing is restricted to restructuring verbs (i.e., volitional, modal, aspectual and motion verbs). The example in (3), cited in Grevisse (1988:1050), illustrates an instance of clitic climbing with the non-restructuring verb *croire* 'believe'.

 (3) Les malices que j'*y* croyais lire. (the roguishness that I in-it believed to read)

Similarly, the awkward yet acceptable status of (2) also obtains in sentences where the higher infinitive does not belong to the restructuring class:

 (4) ?Ce genre de demande est impossible à *refuser* d'approuver ___.
   (this type of request is impossible to refuse of to-approve)

Roberts (1997) analyzes restructuring as the incorporation of Vinf+T in the lower clause into the higher restructuring verbal head (VR). This movement is contingent upon prior movement of Vinf to AgrS in the lower clause because skipping AgrS would violate the HMC. Since infinitival verbs overtly raise beyond TP in Italian but not in French (Belletti, 1990) he predicts that French has no restructuring, hence the absence of transparency effects is expected. The cyclical nature of head movement analyses, however, makes it impossible for them to predict the lack of partial climbing in sentences like (5), as shown by Cardinaletti & Shlonsky (2004).

(5)*Sarei voluto poter*ci* andare con Maria. (I-would-be wanted to-be-able-there to-go with M.)

Cinque (2004) explores an entirely different possibility. He argues that restructuring verbs are universally always functional verbs that appear with infinitives in a monoclausal configuration. This entails that French has restructuring, a necessary but not sufficient condition for transparency effects to obtain. We argue, however, that this position is untenable. First, it wrongly predicts that the same restructuring verb type should not appear twice in the same sentence (6). Second, it obliterates the difference between raising and control exhibited by pairs like *devoir* and *falloir* 'must/have to' (7). Third, it forces one to posit null verbal heads in the complement to *vouloir* 'want' and treat (8a) as an instance of clitic climbing, leaving the ungrammatical status of (8b) unaccounted for.

(6) L'artisanat de ce genre, ça doit encore devoir exister. (epistemic combination)
 (the craft of this kind, it must still to-must to-exist)
(7) De par la loi, il doit/*faut y avoir du savon dans les toilettes publiques.
 (as per the law, there must be some soap in the bathrooms public)
(8) a. Jean **la** veut [VP HAVE [DP **e**]] (Jean it wants TO-HAVE)
 b. *Jean **la** veut [VP acheter [DP **e**]] (Jean it wants to buy)

This leaves us with the Cinque (2001)/Cardinaletti & Shlonsky (2004) approach according to which restructuring verbs can be merged either as lexical or functional verbs. We argue that their approach should be parameterized to yield three options: (A) VRs are either lexical or functional; (B) VRs are exclusively lexical; (C) VRs are exclusively functional. Italian falls under (A), Modern French under (B) and English under both (B) (desideratives) and (C) (modal auxiliaries).

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