

***I DON'T WANT CARMELO READING THIS TWICE:
NONFINITE SYNTACTIC ALTERNATION GOVERNED BY WANT
IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH¹***

JAVIER PÉREZ GUERRA
University of Vigo

ABSTRACT. *The verb want selects at least two types of complementation patterns when it is followed by a nominal constituent, as illustrated in want Carmelo to read this and want Carmelo reading this. In the light of data retrieved from several corpora of Present-day English, this paper explores the syntactic, dialectal, textual and semantic characteristics of both structures in the very recent history of the language. As regards the syntax of the constructions, an analysis based on the notion of extended transitivity is here suggested in an attempt to integrate the syntactic features of the patterns within a single syntactic schema.*

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on syntactic variation between two structures of complementation of the verb *want*, illustrated in (1) and (2):

- (1) I don't want Carmelo to read this paper again. [*want* NP *to-V*]
- (2) I don't want Carmelo reading this paper again. [*want* NP *V-ing*]²

1. The research reported has been funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science, grant number HUM2005-02351/FILO, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged. This investigation is couched in a larger project on the degree of variation experienced by the English language in its recent history as far as the syntactic complexity of clausal constituents is concerned.

2. The [*want* NP *to-V*] and [*want* NP *V-ing*] patterns correspond to Huddleston et al.'s (2002: 1231) *want*₂ or to their class 2Biii, in which either a *to*-infinitival or a, in their terminology, gerund-participial form is complex, that is, preceded by a noun phrase.

In both patterns, *want* is followed by a nominal or pronominal constituent (*Carmelo*) and either a *to*-infinitive or an *ing* clause of which the nominal element is capable of functioning as subject, at least on semantic grounds. That there must hold an external argumentative syntactic dependency between the nonfinite clause and the noun phrase occurring after *want* implies that examples like (3) will not be included in the [*want* NP *to*-V] pattern since *chance* is the governing head of the infinitive clause *to observe him with Magda* within the noun phrase *a chance to observe him with Magda*, and not its subject.

(3) (...) because she wanted a chance to observe him with Magda (LOB K10)

As regards the [*want* NP V-*ing*] construction, the condition on the type of syntactic dependency between the nominal element and the *ing* clause leads to the rejection of the following examples from the pattern. These examples illustrate, respectively, an *ing* clause which is not syntactically linked either to *want* or to the nominal constituent following *want* (example (4)), a nominal *ing* form (examples (5) and (6)), an *ing* form premodifying a noun (example (7)) and an *ing* form postmodifying the nominal constituent acting as the object of *want* (in (8)).³

(4) and he straightway sent message to the king <,> saying that he accepted the whole <,> principle of string <,> and indeed <,> wanted some <,> giving his reasons for so doing <,> (DCPSE:DL-I02/LLC:S-11-03 #0121:2:A)

(5) Call this person if you want this booking immediately <,> (DCPSE:DI-B59/ICE-GB:S1A-074 #0339:6:A)

(6) they want long-range fighting here (DCPSE:DL-F03/LLC:S-10-03 #0292:1:A)

(7) she she wants the sleeping bag (DCPSE:DL-B25/LLC:S-02-13 #0664:1:A)

(8) whenever they wanted the sound of a body falling to the ground with a thump <,> we used to drop <,> Marie (DCPSE:DL-I02/LLC:S-11-03 #0310:5:A)

3. Only the [*want* NP V-*ing*] examples which have a [*want* NP *to*-V] counterpart are relevant to the purposes of this paper. In consequence, the instances of so-called 'passive' *ing* construction, like (i) below, will fall beyond the scope of this investigation:

(i) Yeah, they're completely empty so they might Yeah I want the carpets putting in before we get anything else in. (BNC KB7).

By contrast, middle-passives such as (ii) will be included in our survey since they have a corresponding [*want* NP *to*-V] version:

(ii) We don't want the arena closing up afore we're out of it, Lads (BNC CJJ).

In this paper I will, on the one hand, review the literature on nonfinite complementation depending on verbs such as *want* in an attempt to find evidence for the existence of factors which account for variation between the [*want* NP V-*ing*] and the [*want* NP *to*-V] constructions, and, on the other hand, on the basis of personal corpus-driven research, I will suggest an analysis of patterns which takes into account both the structural factors and the findings offered by my data. To that end, I will refer to syntactic, structural, semantic, dialectal and text-type variables, both synchronic and diachronic, which may play a role in the distribution of the two patterns. As pointed out by Mair (2003: 342),

any attempt to account for complement choice after verbs (...) *on structural and semantic grounds alone* will remain incomplete (...). What is needed (...) is a variationist account (...) integrating synchronic regional and stylistic variation, on the one hand, and ongoing diachronic change, on the other. [Mair's italics].

Section 2 deals with the syntax of the constructions and pays special attention to the syntactic status of the noun phrase occurring between *want* and the nonfinite constituent in the constructions under analysis. Section 3 investigates the semantic, dialectal, textual and historical characteristics of the two patterns and offers the results of personal corpus work. Finally, section 4 puts forward some concluding remarks.

2. THE SYNTAX OF THE [*WANT* NP NONFINITE-CLAUSE] CONSTRUCTION

The literature has paid extensive attention to the [*want* NP *to*-V] construction. By contrast, the [*want* NP V-*ing*] construction, which is statistically infrequent, has been devoted mere in-passing comments or very brief analyses. In this section I will focus, first, on the status of the intermediate noun phrases occurring in the [*want* NP *to*-V] patterns (section 2.1) and, second, on the syntax of [*want* NP V-*ing*] (section 2.2). In section 2.3 I suggest a possible analysis of the construction [*want* NP nonfinite-clause].

2.1. THE SYNTAX OF THE INFINITIVE CONSTRUCTION

The twofold status of the intermediate noun phrase in the [*want* NP *to*-V] construction as either the subject of the infinitive clause or the object of *want* has been discussed extensively in the literature. Such a fuzzy nature of the noun phrase justifies the label of (1) as a 'raising' construction, that is, as an illustration either of the subject of a subordinate clause which becomes the object of the main clause (subject-to-object raising) or of the object of a main clause which ends up

by fulfilling the function of subject of a nonfinite subordinate clause (object-to-subject raising).

The issue of the status of the nominal constituent as either subject or object has received explanation in Langacker's Cognitive Grammar but assuming that, for example, in (1), *Carmelo* is both the landmark of *want* and the trajector of *read* (Langacker 2000: 347), as shown in Figure 1, from Langacker (2000: 344, his Figure 11.6):

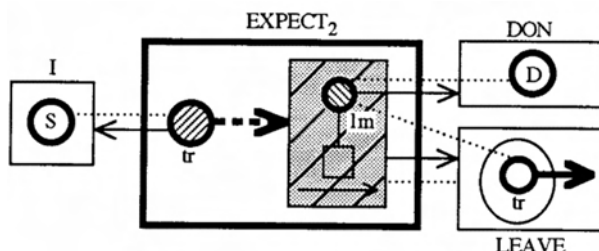
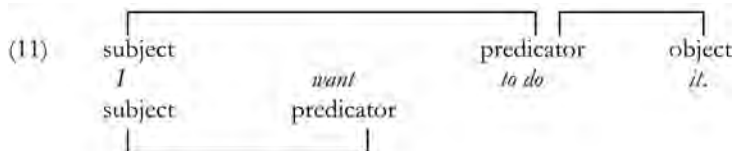


Figure 1. Langacker's analysis of the [*want* NP nonfinite-verb] construction.

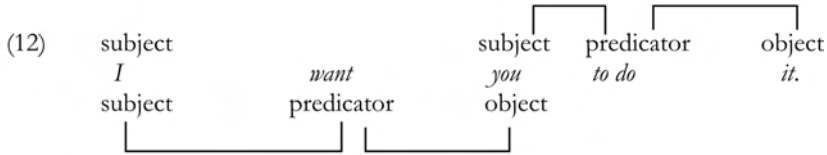
Langacker maintains that the conceptual basis of (9) and (10) below is unique, both structures being connected by his concept of 'transparency'. In his words, "any element which could occur as the subject of a complement clause can also function as the raising verb's object in the main clause" (Langacker 2000: 319).

- (9) I expect Don to leave.
- (10) I expect that Don will leave.

From a different perspective, Matthews (1981: 185-186) emphasises the twofold analysis of the nominal constituents in sentences such as those with *want* and maintains that these are examples of 'catenative fused constructions'. In his words, "a single element [author: the noun phrase] is a complement of both a controlling and a dependent predicator" (185); "'catenative' would (...) refer to the fusion of a dependent verbal construction with that of either the transitive or the intransitive" (186), as shown in (11):



The adaptation of (11) to the infinitive construction with an intervening noun phrase could be (12) below, in which the dependent verbal construction would be *you to do it* and the main transitive one would be *I want you*:



In section 2.1.1 I will offer arguments in favour of the analysis of the (fully-fledged or pronominal) noun phrase as the object of matrix *want*. Section 2.1.2 is devoted to the alternative option, namely the analysis of the noun phrase as the subject of the subordinate infinitive clause.

2.1.1. *Generation of the intermediate nominal as a matrix object*

The analysis of the intermediate nominal constituent as an object of *want* has been given support by the following facts:

- (i) The nominal constituent has oblique case:⁴

(13) I don't want him to read this paper again.

(14) I don't want him/his/he reading this paper again.

As pointed out by Quirk et al. (1985: 1186), “a subject pronoun in the objective case can often be replaced, in formal style, by a possessive pronoun” in the *ing* pattern. Non-genitive case-marking of the *ing* construction is a signal of informal style (Huddleston et al. 2002: 1190).

- (ii) That the intermediate nominal constituent can be a reflexive proform controlled by the main subject in examples similar to (1) would constitute an argument in favour of its analysis as the object of *want* (the same argument will be used to support the subject analysis below).⁵

(15) Zelda believes herself to be virtuous. [from Langacker 2000: 319]

4. See Fanego (2004a) for the historical development of verbal *ing* forms from nominals and, in consequence, for the acceptance of morphological case other than the genitive before the *ing* verb.

5. Examples of *want* preceding a reflexive proform coreferring with the subject of *want* are unlikely in the language (see Mair 1990: 117 for examples):

- (i) ?Carmelo doesn't want himself to embark on a new project.

(iii) Given that no elements can be interpolated between a verb and its object unless saliency is intended, the fact that *Carmelo* in (1) has to be placed immediately after *want* would underline its status as an object:

- (16) *I want very strongly Carmelo to read this paper again. [versus, for example, *I believe very strongly that Carmelo will never read this paper again*; adapted from Postal (1974: 134)]

Huddleston et al. (2002: 1180) mention that the distribution of specifically adjuncts in the constructions under analysis constitutes a further argument in favour of the status of the nominal constituent as the object of *want*. In their words, “[i]n general, adjuncts cannot occur between a verb and an NP object, but they are permitted between a verb and a clausal complement”. Example (17) shows that adjuncts are not allowed between verbs and non-clausal objects, whereas (18) and (19) demonstrate that the adverbials *all along* and *at once* are acceptable before, respectively, an object *that*-clause and an object nonfinite clause.

- (17) *We want all along an improvement. [adapted from Huddleston et al. (2002: 1180, example (27i))]
 (18) We expected all along that things would improved. [adapted from Huddleston et al. (2002: 1180, example (27ii))]
 (19) He arranged at once for the performance to be postponed.

Since (17) is ungrammatical, Huddleston et al. conclude that *an improvement to be postponed* is not a clausal object and thus *an improvement* alone is eligible as the object of *want* in (20):

- (20) *We want all along an improvement to be postponed.

That additional material can be inserted between *Carmelo* and the nonfinite verb, as in our corpus example in (21) or in the made-up one in (22), leads González García (1999) to the rejection of a strong dependency link between *Carmelo* and *read* in, for example, (1). In his words, “the insertion of [...] material can be said to destroy the putative structural integrity of the complement clause [...]. The insertion of the [...] material contributes to resolve the structural indeterminacy of the [...] structure” (59).

- (21) After the war, Penny had wanted Keith at least to visit her home with her. (Brown N23).

(22) I don't want Carmelo, if I am able to make the decision, to read this paper again. [versus, for example, **Jane believes that Bob, if I am not mistaken, is Hungarian*; adapted from Postal (1974: 146)].

(iv) The way in which constituents analogous to the *want* examples behave in passive sentences has led to the reinforcement of the analysis of the intermediate noun phrase as the object of *want* (see Andersson 1985: Part 1; González García 1999: 46; Huddleston et al. 2002: 1179, among others; a similar argument will be used to defend the subject analysis below).

(23) a. Everybody believed Bill to have kissed Mary.
b. Bill was believed to have kissed Mary.

In this respect, Huddleston et al. (2002: 1179-1180), who mention the resistance of *want* about adopting passive morphology⁶ (see example (25) below, the passive version of (24), versus (26), which is perfectly grammatical), disregard passivisation as a necessary proof for objecthood and maintain that *Carmelo* is the object of *want* in (1) above. In their words, "there is no other relevant difference between *want* and *expect*, and given that passivisation doesn't provide a necessary condition for objects, we shall not wish to assign different structures" (1179).

(24) They wanted the performance to begin at six. [Huddleston et al.'s (2002: 1179) example (25i)].

(25) *The performance was wanted to begin at six. [Huddleston et al.'s (2002: 1179) example (25ii)].

(26) The performance was expected to begin at six.

Huddleston et al. (2002: 1180) thus claim that the ungrammaticality of (25) is due to a property of the verb *want*, not to the structure of the active clause (in (24)).

(v) The existence of parallel patterns controlled by *want* with and without depending nonfinite clauses has been used as an argument in favour of the object behaviour of the intermediate noun phrase:

(27) a. I want a new computer.
b. I want a new computer to be placed in my office.

6. Our corpora contain few examples with passive *want*, in which the interpretation of *want* is associated either with job recruiting, as in (i) or (ii), or with police calls, as in (iii):

(i) Speakers from England were not wanted any longer. (Brown G66).

(ii) When a specialist was wanted anywhere the application came to me. (LOB G23).

(iii) (...), whose husband, August, is wanted by the police (...) on a similar charge. (LOB A24).

In fact, Bolinger (1974: 70-71; reported by González García 1999) claims that the construction in (27b) is possible if and only if (27a) is acceptable. In his words, “the conceptual verb is forced to be compatible with two complements at the same time. So a sentence like ‘Do you admit the facts to be true?’ is normal because ‘Do you admit the facts?’ and ‘Do you admit the truth of the facts?’ harmonize” (70-71). However, the application of such a hypothesis to, for example, (1) is not in keeping with the unacceptability of (28):

(28) *?I want Carmelo.⁷

(vi) Examples such as (29) below, regarded as “unlikely” by Matthews (1981: 182)⁸ or “rare” by Mair (1990: 120), in which only the infinitive and its dependents are fronted to sentence-initial position by the operation of topicalisation, could reinforce the non-monoclausal analysis of *John* and *to help me*:

(29) To help me I want John.

7. The status of the nominal constituent as either an argument or a non-argument of the matrix verb has led Huddleston et al. (2002: 1201-1202) to distinguish two types of [V NP *to*-V] constructions, namely those with ordinary objects, such as (i), in which *Liz* is an argument of *persuade*, and those with raised objects, as in (ii), where *Liz* cannot be said to be an argument of *intend*. In Huddleston et al.’s words, in (ii) “[w]ith *intend*[...] we have three complements but only two arguments: *Liz* is a raised object” (1201).

- (i) Pat persuaded Liz to interview both candidates.
- (ii) Pat intended Liz to interview both candidates.

Providing that examples such as (28) in the main text are hardly acceptable, it goes without saying that the *want* construction fits in the pattern in (ii), that is, the one in which the nominal constituent following *want* is a raised object. The arguments in (iii) to (vi), offered by Huddleston et al., demonstrate resemblance between *want* and *intend*:

- (iii) relation with passive infinitivals:
 - a. Pat persuaded both candidates to be interviewed by Liz. [meaning different from (i)].
 - b. Pat [intended / wanted] both candidates to be interviewed by Liz. [meaning identical to (ii)].
- (iv) selection restrictions:
 - a. *Liz persuaded the spotlight to intimidate Pat.
 - b. Liz [intended / wanted] the spotlight to intimidate Pat.
- (v) dummies:
 - a. Pat [intended / wanted / *persuaded] there to be one student on the board.
 - b. Pat [intended / wanted / *persuaded] it to be easy to obtain a pass grade.
- (vi) simple/complex choice:
 - a. *Liz persuaded to leave.
 - b. Liz [intended / wanted] to leave.

8. Matthews (1981: 182) maintains that examples such as (29) are “unlikely” not because the infinitive plus its object (*to help me*) and the nominal constituent following *want* do not belong to the same clause but because the infinitive (*to help*) and its object (*me*) are “two constituents and not one” (184). Matthews’ analysis of (29) would be: [I [want] [John] [to help] [me]] (183).

2.1.2. *Generation of the intermediate nominal as a subordinate object*

The existence of arguments in favour of the (base-)generation of the nominal constituent as the subject of the nonfinite clause has led scholars such as Chomsky (1965: 22-23) to maintain that *Carmelo* in (1) or (2) is both the subject of *read* and the object of *want* and to sustain that a (subject-to-object) raising 'transformation' operates in these constructions. Among the arguments which give support to the subject status of the noun phrase (at least, in an initial stage of the derivation) are the following:

(i) The nominal constituent can control a reflexive proform in the nonfinite clauses, which seems to indicate that the noun phrase and the nonfinite predicate constitute a monoclausal constituent:

(30) Liz wants John_i to shave himself_i before the ball.⁹

(ii) Passivisation in sentences containing idiom chunks can prove that the noun phrase originates within the nonfinite clause.

(31) We all want tabs to be kept on all the radicals.

Tabs, the object of the idiom *keep tabs on* in the active, has to be regarded as part of the nonfinite clause and fulfils the function of subject of the passive version.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1193) observe that passivisation cannot be applied to, among others, the *want* examples, as shown in (32) below – I pointed out above that the morphological passivisation of *want* is practically impossible. As a consequence, Mair (1990: 98) concludes that *this to happen* in (32) is not divisible and, accordingly, *this* has to be analysed as the subject of *to happen*:

(32) a. He can't want this to happen. [Mair's example (17a)].

b.* This can't be wanted to happen. [Mair's example (17b)].

9. Langacker (2000: 319) provides the example in (15) in the main text, repeated below for convenience, as evidential, on the one hand, of the monoclausal status of the raising construction, with which I agree, and, on the other, of the status of the intermediate nominal constituent as subject of the nonfinite clause. To my knowledge, the example is not felicitous since it illustrates precisely that *Zelda* and *herself* are constituents of one 'umbrella' clause, which implies that *herself* has to be analysed as the object of *believes*. By contrast, my example (30) in the main text shows that the nominal constituent under research is the subject of the nonfinite clause.

(15) Zelda believes herself to be virtuous.

However, Mair recognises that the active-passive relation is often skewed in some contexts and favours the use of semantic facts as criteria for the distinction between subject and object noun phrases controlled by or depending on, for example, *want* – as he points out, (33) is ungrammatical and this cannot lend support to the claim that *to ask a question* is not a constituent:

(33) *To ask a question was wanted.

In Mair's words, there are matrix verbs such as *want* "which either do not passivise at all or only do so exceptionally, in very narrowly defined contexts" (113).

(iii) Examples similar to the [*want* NP *to-V*] and the [*want* NP *V-ing*] constructions, such as (34) and (35) below, in which *it* can only be described as the dummy subject of the subordinate nonfinite clause, show that the subject status of the intermediate noun phrase is in the driving seat:

(34) I expect it to rain this afternoon. [adapted from Langacker (2000: 324)].

(35) I heard it raining. [from Langacker (2000: 322)].¹⁰

In this vein, Mair (1990: 119) provides an example with *want* in which the intermediate constituent is expletive *there*. According to Mair, this example clearly demonstrates the analysis of the nominal constituent as the raised subject of the infinitive clause.¹¹

(36) I don't want there to be any trouble.

(iv) From a semantic point of view, *want* is, in most of the examples, a monotransitive verb which thus subcategorises for an object, which would favour the analysis of the material following *want* as a monoclausal constituent fulfilling the function of object of *want*. In this respect, Mair (1990: 119) points out that *want* can (rarely) be complex-transitive, as in *I want my coffee hot*, which thus would put into question the uniqueness of the analysis of the elements following it – Mair recognises that he has found no examples of either ditransitive (similar

10. Andersson (1985) regards (35) as a participial construction, whereas the pattern with *want* is considered monotransitive ('B-verbs' in his terminology).

11. In the corpora investigated I have found very few examples with expletive elements occurring after *want*:

(i) "I do not want there to be any feeling of jealousy between the two towns in this". (LOB A43)

to, for example, [*ask* NP *to*-V]) or complex-transitive ([*consider this to be* x]) *want* in the corpus.¹²

(v) The nominal constituent plus the infinitive clause can be replaced with a proform, which highlights their monoclausal status and, in consequence, the analysis of the former as the subject of the nonfinite clause:

- (37) a. I don't want her to miss the train.
b. I don't want it.

(vi) Huddleston et al. (2002: 1180, footnote 6), who analyse the nominal constituent following *want* as the object of the matrix predication, mention that “[i]n the catenative construction *want* takes *for* only when the catenative complement is preceded by an adjunct”. The example which they give is (38) below:

- (38) They had wanted all along for the performance to begin at six.

As they see it, the occurrence of *for* before the nominal constituent warrants its subject status only in the examples with *for*.

(vii) The cleaving test also sheds light on the syntactic status of the nominal constituent following *want*, at least when the former is preceded by *for*. In Huddleston et al.'s (2002: 1180) words, “[w]hile a *for*-infinitival can occur as complement in pseudo-cleft (...) constructions [,] the sequence NP + infinitival VP cannot”. Example (39) shows that *you to be happy* can be the focus (or subject-predicative complement) of a pseudo-cleft sentence only when it is governed by *for*:

- (39) a. I want you to be happy.
b. *All I want is you to be happy. [Huddleston et al.'s (2002: 1180) example (29iia)].
c. All I want is for you to be happy. [Huddleston et al.'s (2002: 1180) example (29iib)].

12. The only examples of complex-transitive *want* in the corpora analysed are quoted here (i) to (iii):
(i) [(...) and want him even if it means] you want him – dead. (Bown P09).
(ii) What I'm saying is that I wanted her dead. (FLOB G52).
(iii) And he did not want her hurt (LOB P16).

In view of this fact, Huddleston et al. conclude that the structure with *for* is different from the one without the complementiser. As already pointed out, when *for* occurs, the ensuing nominal constituent is analysed as the subject of the subordinate verb; by contrast, in the examples without *for* Huddleston et al. claim that the noun phrase following *want* is the matrix object.

(viii) Huddleston et al. (2002: 1189-1190) maintain that (case-) marking the noun phrase in the *ing* construction as genitive resembles the role of *for* in the examples with *to*-infinitives since both the genitive case and *for* trigger the analysis of the *ing* constituent as a clause and, in consequence, the subject status of the noun phrase. These authors claim that “the preference for the non-genitive in informal style can be seen as regularising the clausal construction” (1190); put differently, the selection of nominative or accusative nominal segments in informal language suggests that the noun phrases are closer to the unmarked subjects of infinitives, with accusative case, or of finite verbs, which are nominative.

2.2. THE SYNTAX OF THE *ING* CONSTRUCTION

Table 1 summarises the already-mentioned arguments in favour of the object/subject status of the noun phrase in the [*want* NP *to*-V]. I have added a column which indicates whether the arguments holding for the infinitive construction also apply to [*want* NP V-*ing*] or not.

Table 1 shows that most of the arguments which have been adduced in the literature for the analysis of the noun phrase as a matrix subject or a subordinate object in the infinitive construction also apply to the *ing* one. Whereas the syntactic factors in [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [9] and [11] do not merit further speculation, several comments are however in order here with respect to the remaining ones. First, as far as factor [1] is concerned, as already pointed out in the introduction to this section, [*want* NP V-*ing*] admits not only nominative and accusative but also genitive pronouns. Genitive case-marking underlines the monoclausal analysis of the noun phrase and the *ing* verb, that is, its subject status. Second, the cleaving test produces better results with *ing* clauses, as shown in (40) (versus (39b), repeated here for convenience):

(40) *?All I want is Zeda being happy.

(39) b. *All I want is you to be happy.

		[want NP to-V] (matrix) object status	(subordinate) subject status	[want NP V-ing]
[1]	case marking: also oblique case	oblique marking typical of objects.	oblique marking as in nonfinite clauses	✓(also genitive)
[2]	reflexivisation	<i>Zeda believes herself to be virtuous</i> , so <i>Zeda</i> and <i>herself</i> belong to the same clause	<i>Zeda wants John to shave himself</i> , so <i>John</i> and <i>himself</i> belong to the same clause	✓
[3]	want + * _ + NP + clause	verb and its object can not be separated		✓
[4]	want + NP + _ + clause	lack of structural integrity of 'NP clause'		✓
[5]	passivisation	analogy with <i>believe</i> : <i>Zeda was believed to have kissed John</i>	unacceptability with <i>want</i> : * <i>The performance was wanted to begin at six</i>	✓
[6]	want + NP	noun phrase as the object	- *? <i>I want Zeda</i> (in <i>I want Zeda to leave</i>) - nonfinite clause as a categorial alternative to noun phrase	✓
[7]	expletives		only subjects	✓
[8]	cleaving	the construction with <i>for</i> is different	<i>All I want is for you to be happy</i>	✓
[9]	idioms		<i>We all want tabs to be kept on all radicals</i>	✓
[10]	<i>for</i> -insertion	the construction with <i>for</i> is different	<i>for</i> as subject marker	n.a.
[11]	pronominalisation	<i>I don't want it</i> (= <i>I don't want Zeda to leave</i>)		✓

Table 1. *Syntactic status of the noun phrase.*

That (40) is more easily acceptable than (39b) indicates that the monoclausal status of the nominal constituent *Zeda* and the *ing* clause *being happy* is in the driving seat. Finally, the insertion of *for* before the nominal constituent is not possible in the [want NP V-ing] construction, as shown in (41):

(41) *I don't want for Carmelo reading this paper again.

I will discard the argument in [10] from the list of syntactic factors which have consequences for the analysis of [want NP to-V] and [want NP V-ing] since, as suggested by those who back up the analysis of the nominal constituent as the object, I contend that the examples with *for* belong to a different structure.

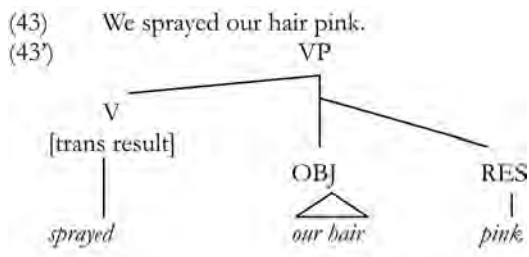
2.3. AN ANALYSIS OF THE [WANT NP NONFINITE-CLAUSE] CONSTRUCTION

In the previous sections I put forward arguments in favour of the syntactic status of the nominal phrase occurring after *want* in the constructions under analysis as either object of matrix *want* or subject of the subordinate infinitive or *ing* clause. Such syntactic factors, summarised in Table 1, could not decide on one analysis over the other since there were strong arguments in favour of the subject nature (the acceptability of expletives and the behaviour of idioms) and the object status (distribution of other constituents, e.g. adjuncts) of the noun phrase – other syntactic factors were not decisive at all.

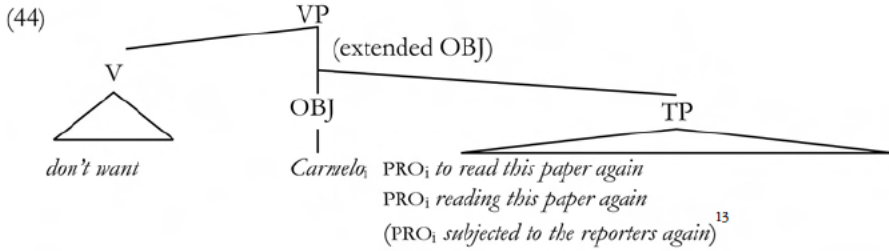
Pérez-Guerra (2003: 277), which deals with the analysis of secondary predicates such as resultatives and depictives, suggests the scale of transitivity in (42):

- (42) intransitive > monotransitive with no overt objects > monotransitive resultative with an overt fake or lexical ‘object complement within VP’ > complex-transitive with an object and an independent object predicative

On the basis of such a hypothesis, the predicates of sentences including resultatives, such as (43), would occupy the third level of transitivity and would be analysed as in (43’) below:



Providing, first, that *want* is reticent about admitting complex-transitive subcategorisation (see section 2.1.2 above) even though a few examples of this type were found in the corpora; second, that the noun phrase after *want* and before the nonfinite constituent has a twofold status since there are arguments in favour of monoclausality with either the matrix or the subordinate predicates; and, third, that the nonfinite clause seems to instance an extension of the monotransitive pattern, I shall suggest here that the nonfinite clause, be it an infinitive or an *ing* clause, occupies the third stage in the transitivity scale in (42) and must accordingly be analysed as an ‘object complement within VP’, thus implying ‘extended monotransitivity’. In basic categorial terms, the analysis would be as follows:



First, such an analysis of the nonfinite clause as a(n extended) complement justifies the unacceptability of examples such as (28), repeated here for convenience, with only a noun-phrase object.

(28) *?I want Carmelo.

Second, the analysis is in keeping with the vast majority of the arguments summarised in Table 1 (case marking, reflexivisation, distribution of adjuncts, passivisation, cleaving, idioms and pronominalisation of the object) since it includes the insertion of a PRO category in the nonfinite complement clause, governed by the coreferring nominal constituent. Third, expletives deserve specific treatment since, among other factors, they cannot act as complements of *want*, do not tolerate reflexivisation, are reticent about preceding adjuncts and cannot occur in pseudo-clefts. The facts just mentioned are illustrated in, respectively, (45) to (49):

(45) *I want it_{expletive}.

(46) *Liz wants it_{expletive} to support itself.

(47) *?I don't want there at least to be any trouble.

(48a) *All I want is (for) there to be any trouble.

(49b) *All I want is there being any trouble.

13. I shall leave for further research the incorporation of [want NP V-ed] clauses, such as (i) and (ii), from the corpora consulted, to the class of expanded monotransitive constructions:

(i) I believe we all want no child denied admission to a school (Brown J48).

(ii) (...) he didn't want them subjected to the reporters again (Brown K12).

That the *ed* clauses in, for example, (i) and (ii) cannot be analysed as postmodifiers of the intervening noun phrase is demonstrated, respectively, by the unacceptability of the interpretation in (ii') and by the impossibility for a pronominal constituent, such as *them* in (ii), to be postmodified restrictively by an *ed* clause.

(ii') I believe we all want no child who is denied admission to a school.

Even though the (rare) examples with expletives are left for further discussion, their analysis might fit the second stage in the transitivity scale in (42) above, that is, in the class of prototypical monotransitive subcategorisation.

3. OTHER SEMANTIC AND STRUCTURAL FACTORS

In this section I discuss other non-syntactic factors which are cited in the literature as significant in the explanation of variation between the infinitive and the *ing* forms in *want*-predicates. In the description of the behaviour of the constructions under investigation according to the variables just mentioned, I will refer to statistical findings from my data on the following corpora:

- The Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English, for use with digital computers (LOB), representing written British English in 1961.
- The Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB), for written British English in the early 1990s.
- The Diachronic Corpus of Present-day Spoken English (DCPSE), including ICE-GB (early 1990s) and the London-Lund Corpus (from late 1960s to early 1980s).
- The British National Corpus (BNC), for spoken and written British English from 1980s to 1993.
- A Standard Corpus of Present-Day Edited American English, for use with Digital Computers (Brown), a collection of American English published in 1961.
- The Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English (Frown), for American English written in the early 1990s.
- TIME Magazine corpus, for American English from 1923 to the present.

This section is organised as follows. Section 3.1 is devoted to the semantics of the constructions. In section 3.2 I investigate the productivity of the patterns according to the force of the sentence. Section 3.3 tackles the connection between the spread of each of the alternative structures and the polarity of the sentences in which they occur. Finally, section 3.4 offers the results of dialectal, textual and historical variables.

3.1. SEMANTIC ACCOUNT

This section is devoted to the exploration of the semantic contrast between [*want* NP *to*-V] and [*want* NP V-*ing*] when both constructions are possible with

the same (basic) interpretation. To give an example, since I shall focus on variation between constructions which are semantically, that is, truth-conditionally, equivalent, out of the four interpretations which, according to Quirk et al. (1974: 880) are associated with (50), only the interpretation in (50a) will fall within the scope of the present investigation since this is the one that also corresponds to (51) – (50b) is an example of a nonfinite purpose clause whose covert subject corefers with *the girl*; (50c) is another example of a purpose clause whose subject corefers with the subject of the matrix clause, that is, *he*; and (50d) is an example of a postmodifying infinitive clause, already discussed in Section 1.

- (50) He wants a girl to finish the cleaning.
- a. 'He wants that a girl will finish the cleaning'.
 - b. 'He wants a girl in order that she will finish the cleaning'.
 - c. 'He wants a girl in order that he can finish the cleaning'.
 - d. 'He wants a girl who will finish the cleaning'.
- (51) He wants a girl finishing the cleaning.

That there exists an aspectual or modal difference between the infinitive and the *ing* constructions has been pointed out in the literature from Palmer (1974: 195) onwards (see, for example, Quirk et al. 1985: 1191, 1195), whereas scholars such as Andersson (1985) have objected to that claim and have claimed that the two patterns are semantically equivalent. Recent studies on this instance of variation have focused on the semantic differences between such constructions.

In a recent paper, Wherry and Granath (2006) maintain that (1) and (2) above are two distinct surface structures which portray a semantic difference: whereas the basic meaning of the *ing* form in (2) is 'process' (with variants such as vividness, immediacy, on-goingness, non-futurity or experienced activity),¹⁴ the *to* form is associated with futurity and conceptual remoteness (see González García 1999: Section 5.3 for the semantics of the *to*-infinitive raising

14. Wherry and Granath (2006) claim that on-goingness and vividness are compatible since they maintain that the main discourse function of the *ing* construction is to make the narrative more vivid by presenting an event as taking place over time. In this respect, they offer example (i) as an illustration of such a function:

(i) The help desk informed me that they had decided to "keep it quiet" because they did not want too many people travelling to the Reading Festival. (*The Guardian*, 1998).

To my knowledge, [*want* NP V-*ing*] is used in example (i) simply as an alternative to [*want* NP *to*-V], with no significant semantic differences. In this vein, as agreed by my native informants, the meaning of (i) with the [*want* NP V-*ing*] construction does not imply that the organisation wants to avoid people's *constant* travelling to the Festival.

construction; see Fanego 2004b: section 5 for an overview of different semantic explanations of *to* and *ing* construction couched in functional and cognitive frameworks as well as for constructive criticism of such proposals).¹⁵ Such a semantic difference is somehow in keeping with, for example, Quirk et al.'s (1985: 1191 and, similarly, 1195) claim that “[a]s a rule, the infinitive gives a sense of mere ‘potentiality’ for action, (...) while the participle [author: the *ing* form] gives a sense of the actual ‘performance’ of the action itself” (see Mair 1990: 85-86 for the application of Quirk et al.'s claim to subject infinitive clauses).¹⁶ According to Biber et al. (1999: 757), the difference between the infinitive and the *ing* clauses lies on the more “hypothetical or potential” meaning of the latter construction with respect to the former. In their view, for verbs that can control both infinitive and *ing* clauses, such as *want*, these semantic factors are responsible for the choice.

3.2. FORCE

Whereas there does not seem to hold any connection between (illocutionary) force and the spread of the [*want* NP *to*-V] construction, in their (2006) paper, Wherrity and Granath maintain that the [*want* NP V-*ing*] pattern occurs commonly in imperative, proclamatory and exhortative sentences. Examples (44) to (46) (Wherrity and Granath's examples (8), (12) and (16)), on the one hand, illustrate respectively such uses and, on the other, evince the preference of the *ing* construction for negative polarity (see section 3.3 in this respect).

15. The telic interpretation of the infinite construction would agree with the directional origin of *to*, which by Late Old English or Early Middle English lost its adverb or prepositional meaning 'towards' and grammaticalised as an infinitive marker (see, in this respect, Fischer 1992: 317ff, Traugott 1992: 241ff or Fanego 2004b: 27). From a different perspective, Smith and Escobedo (2001: 561) claim that the insertion of *to* in the [V NP *to*-V] construction iconically separates the times of the matrix and the subordinate clause (versus the *ing* construction, in which no lexical material detaches both clauses). Wierzbicka (1988: 165) notes that the future orientation, related to the purposive interpretation of *to* adverbial clauses, “should be regarded as part of the semantic invariant of all *to* complement constructions”.

By contrast, the ‘in-process’ meaning conveyed by the *ing* construction would derive from the actional interpretation which the Old English suffix *-an*, from which *-ing* descends, added to verbs in order to form abstract nouns (see Fanego 2004b: 27).

16. The fuzziness of the aspectual interpretation associated with the *ing* construction can be exemplified by resorting to Huddleston et al. (2002: 1232) when they say that the “gerund-participial with *want* generally has a progressive interpretation but in non-affirmative contexts it can be non-progressive”. To give some examples, *standing* is claimed to have progressive meaning in (ia), on a parallel with (ib), whereas *bringing* in (ii) would be non-progressive:

- (i) a. I want them standing when the Minister enters.
- b. I want them to be standing when the Minister enters.
- (ii) I don't want you bringing the dog with you.

- (44) “You haven’t shaved again: you look a right mess. I don’t want you coming to see me like that”. (*The Guardian*, 1996).
- (45) “I’ve only been here eight months and I am just trying to get out. I don’t want my son growing up around here”. (*The Guardian*, 2000).
- (46) In Pensacola, he was welcomed at a rally of nearly 10,000 supporters by the blue grass musician Ricky Skaggs, who told the crowd: “We don’t want Hollywood deciding who our next president is”. (*The Guardian*, 2004).

Out of the 148 examples of the [*want* NP V-*ing*] pattern in my corpus data, 113 occur in declarative sentences and 6 are registered in interrogative sentences. Since the ascription of a given example to the semantic types recognised by Wherrity and Granath is not straightforward, I cannot corroborate Wherrity and Granath’s findings for the [*want* NP V-*ing*] construction and cannot conclude that the illocutionary force of the sentence plays a role in the distribution of this pattern.

3.3. GRAMMATICAL POLARITY

The studies on the connection between polarity and the type of nonfinite clausal complementation governed by *want* of which I am aware have focused on the [*want* NP V-*ing*] pattern since the [*want* NP to-V] is, in this respect, unmarked and is found extensively in both affirmative and negative sentences.

In a corpus of two million words of British and American English, Andersson (1985) found one single example of [*want* NP V-*ing*] (Andersson’s ‘PrP’ construction) in a sentence without negation. On the other hand, Wherrity and Granath (2006) report that the vast majority of the [*want* NP V-*ing*] examples occur in negative sentences.¹⁷ In their corpus, which consists of approximately 255 million words from British newspapers dated 1993-2004 (*The Times* 1993, and *The Guardian* and *The Observer* 1996-2004), 83.13 percent of the *ing* examples (700 out of 842 examples) are registered in sentences with negative polarity; 5.46 percent (46 examples) are retrieved from interrogative sentences and 11.4 percent (96 examples) occur in affirmative clauses. Such percentages seem to reveal that the variable which plays the most significant role in the distribution of the [*want* NP V-*ing*] construction in the press genre from 1993 to 2004 is ‘± interrogative

17. Fanego (2004b: 46) describes the historical evolution of *ing* clauses and mentions that “the earliest English verbs to govern gerundive object clauses were [...] negative implicatives”. Such a historical semantic constraint on the type of governing verb may somehow underlie the statistical preference for the *ing* construction to co-occur with negative *want* forms.

polarity', which is extremely significant ($p = 0.0001$); in other words, the frequency of the *ing* construction in interrogative sentences progressively deviates from the frequencies of the same pattern in affirmative and negative sentences, the differences observed in the latter polarity alternatives not being so significant.

Wherrity and Granath (2006), which is focused on the diachronic productivity of the [*want* NP V-*ing*] construction, is useful as far as the factor of grammatical polarity is concerned since it provides information about the distribution of the *ing* complementation variant in affirmative, negative and interrogative sentences. Whereas Wherrity and Granath's data will be discussed in detail in section 3.4, let us now concentrate on the degree of variation illustrated by their 700 examples of negative sentences versus 96 of affirmative sentences out of 842 examples. The chi-square results ($p = 0.0001$) underline the significance of such a differences.

My corpus data corroborate the previous findings. Of the 148 examples of [*want* NP V-*ing*], 40 are found in affirmative sentences and 102 in negative sentences. These figures demonstrate that the construction with the *ing* verbal form is particularly productive in negative sentences, which is statistically significant according to the chi-square tests ($p < 0.0001$).

3.4. DIALECTAL, TEXTUAL AND DIACHRONIC VARIATION

Want is a common verb in English. According to Biber et al. (1999 : 711-713), its frequency is approximately 525 per one million words – my data underline such an outstanding ratio since I have found 87,804 occurrences of verbal *want* in, for example, the 97,626,093 words of the BNC, which corresponds to a normalised frequency of the item under investigation of 899.39 per one million words. Such relative productivity of *want* meets proper explanation if one ponders on its semantics. As Biber et al. point out when they want to justify the higher proportion of *want* in their dialogue samples (more than 700 examples per million words versus approximately 400 in the news and somewhat higher than 100 in academic prose), “it is topically relevant for participants to express their own personal desires (*I want* X) or less commonly the personal desires of others (*she/he/they want(s)* X)” (Biber et al. 1999: 711). In this section I shall, first, report the frequencies of the *want* constructions under analysis which are cited in the relevant literature and, second, will offer the results of my investigation.

In his pioneering study on verbal complementation, Andersson (1985) investigates the patterns in which *want* occurs in a corpus of two million words of British and American English. The summary of his results is given in Table 2:

pattern	text type	dialect	examples	n.f. (/million w)
<i>to</i> -infinitive	imaginative	British	142	134
		American	92	
	informative	British	19	
		American	15	
			268	
<i>ing</i>	imaginative	British	5	8
		American	10	
	informative	British	–	
		American	1	
			16	

Table 2. *Want complementation (adapted from Andersson's 1985: 109, Table 8).*

Several remarks seem in order here in the light of the data in Table 2. First, *want* is followed by an infinitive clause in 134 examples per one million words,¹⁸ whereas the normalised frequency (n.f.) for the examples in which *want* governs an *ing* form is only 8 examples per million words.¹⁹ This signifies that the *to*-infinitive clauses constitute the preferred complementation alternative selected by *want*, at least when there is an intervening noun phrase between *want* and the nonfinite clause. Second, the distribution of the data per text type might imply that more examples are found in the fictional texts (117 examples of the infinitive pattern per one million words occur in the fiction subcorpus and only 17 in the informative samples; almost all the examples of the *ing* constructions have been found in the imaginative texts). However, such a difference (contra Andersson 1985) has not proved to be statistically significant ($p = 0.7024$).²⁰ Third, more examples of *want* followed by nonfinite complementation

18. Mair (1990: 111) finds 366 examples of the [V NP *to*-V] construction in the Survey of English Usage corpus, 80-90 percent of the sentences with *want* being included in this pattern, a percentage which is in line with, for example Andersson (1985), already discussed – other verbs which are found in the [V NP *to*-V] pattern in Mair's (1990) study are: *allow*, *enable*, *expect* and *get* (41-50 percent); *like* (31-40 percent); *cause* and *require* (11-20 percent); and *have*, *order*, *wish*, etc. (with frequencies lower than 10 percent). The specific proportions of [V NP *to*-V] in the spoken and written subcorpora are, respectively, 393.25 (175 occurrences in 445,000 words) and 483.54 (191 in 395,000 words) per one million words. Unfortunately, Mair does not provide the specific frequencies for the *want* examples.

19. Aarts and Aarts (1995) undertake a corpus-based analysis of the patterns [*want* NP *to*-V] and [*want* NP V-*ing*], which leads to the following frequencies: 96 examples of [*want* NP *to*-V] and 5 occurrences of the [*want* NP V-*ing*] construction in a corpus of post-1985 printed English (TOSCA) which comprises approximately one million words.

20. The number of examples which I have attested in my corpus data is so small per text type that no statistical significance test can be applied to my figures.

have been retrieved from the British subcorpus (83 occurrences per one million words versus 59 in the collection of American English). Unfortunately, since Andersson does not provide the overall frequency for *want* in his corpus, one cannot investigate whether this remark is justified simply by the wider occurrence of *want* in British English or whether this indicates that clausal complementation after *want* is more popular in British English. In this vein, the preference for *want* controlling a *to*-infinitive form, as already mentioned, is also corroborated when one takes into account the dialectal distribution of the construction (97.57 and 90.67 percent of the examples include the infinitive form in, respectively, British and American English). Even though the proportion of constructions including the *ing* form is apparently greater in American English (3.03 percent of the examples in which *want* controls a nonfinite clause belong to the *ing* type in the British texts, and the percentage for American English is 9.32), the chi-square results demonstrate that such a difference is not statistically significant ($p = 0.1283$). My data corroborate the same conclusion since the distribution of *ing* versus *to*-infinitive complementation in LOB-FLOB versus Brown-Frown is not significant either (LOB-FLOB: 9 and 168 instances of, respectively, [V NP *V-ing*] and [V NP *to-V*] versus Brown-Frown: 7 and 183 examples, respectively; $p = 0.6886$).

In their study on *want* complementation after 1993, Wherrity and Granath (2006: Table 1) registered 842 examples of the *ing* construction in their corpus of approximately 255 million words, that is, with a normalised frequency of 3.3 examples per million words. Apart from the raw percentage itself, which unfortunately is not contrasted with the frequency of the [*want* NP *to-V*] alternative, Wherrity and Granath's paper is certainly illuminating because it attests the apparent progressive increase of the *ing* construction from 1993 onwards.²¹ In Figure 2 I offer Wherrity and Granath's (2006) results on the basis of normalised frequencies per 1 million words – the figures used by Wherrity and Granath are not normalised and, in consequence, their findings may be slightly distorted. The chi-square test does not however support the visual output in Figure 2 and reveals that the diachronic difference is not statistically significant ($p = 0.7176$).²²

21. Such an increase of the *ing* construction in the very recent history of the language, reported by Wherrity and Granath (2006) would not be at odds with Aarts and Aarts's figure (5 occurrences) since the latter is based on a corpus with textual material previous to Wherrity and Granath's study.

22. The negative results of the statistical test imply that the productivity of the pattern with the *ing* form is not a by-product of dialectal variation but the consequence of Mair and Leech's (2006: 329) finding that gerundial complement clauses are on the increase.

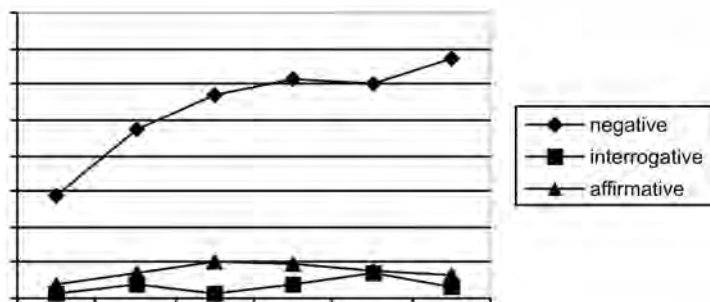


Figure 2. Wherrity and Granath's (2006) frequencies for the [want NP V-ing] construction after normalisation.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has tackled the analysis of the major nonfinite complementation patterns governed by *want* in Present-day English. Special attention has been paid to the [want NP V-ing] construction, whose ratio of occurrence is very low in English (approximately 6 percent of the examples in which *want* is followed by a nonfinite constituent in Andersson (1985), 4.95 percent in Aarts and Aarts (1995), 3.3 instances per million words in Wherrity and Granath (2006) and 148 examples in my corpus data from seven large corpora). As a consequence of the low proportion of [want NP V-ing], *want* is not even included in Biber et al.'s (1999) top-ten list of verbs controlling *ing* clauses.

The existence of strong arguments in favour of the status of the nominal constituent after *want* as object of the matrix clause and subject of the nonfinite predicate has led to the analysis of such a nominal element as the object of *want*, followed by an extended complement materialised by a nonfinite clause (or Tense Phrase) whose subject is a PRO category coreferring with the matrix subject.

Both the analysis of the semantics of the two patterns of complementation in those examples in which the constructions can be interchanged and the productivity of both structures according to variables such as force, text-type idiosyncrasy, dialectal distribution and diachronic evolution have shown that the differences between [want NP to-V] and [want NP V-ing] are not statistically significant in contemporary English. In consequence, Smith and Escobedo's (2001: 561) claim that "to vs. -ing complements are semantically motivated and not arbitrary" has not been corroborated as regards the nonfinite complementation of *want*. By contrast, I have supported the view that polarity plays a significant role in the selection of [want NP V-ing] since most of the *ing* complements occur in negative sentences.

REFERENCES

- Aarts, J. and F. Aarts. 1995. "Find and want. A corpus-based study in verb complementation". *The Verb in Contemporary English. Theory and Description*. Eds. B. Aarts and Ch. F. Meyer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 159-182.
- Andersson, E. 1985. *On Verb Complementation in Written English*. Lund: CWK Gleerup.
- Bolinger, D. 1974. "Concept and percept: two infinitive constructions and their vicissitudes". *World Papers in Phonetics: Festschrift for Dr Onisbi Kijer*. Tokyo: The Phonetic Society of Japan. 65-91.
- Biber, D., S. Johansson, G. Leech, S. Conrad and E. Finegan. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Longman.
- Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Fanego, T. 2004a. "On reanalysis and actualization in syntactic change: the rise and development of English verbal gerunds." *Diachronica* 21: 5-55.
- Fanego, T. 2004b. "Is Cognitive Grammar a usage-based model? Towards a realistic account of English sentential complements." *Miscelánea* 29: 23-58.
- Fischer, O. 1992. "Syntax". *The Cambridge History of the English Language. Vol. II: 1066-1476*. Ed. N. Blake. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 207-408.
- González García, F. 1999. "Interfacing syntax and semantics via object raising: some old disputes and news perspectives". *The Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Eds. L. González Romero and B. Rodríguez Arrizabalaga. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva. 45-83.
- Huddleston, R., G. K. Pullum et al. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Langacker, R. W. 2000. *Grammar and Conceptualization*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Mair, Ch. 1990. *Infinitival Complement Clauses in English. A Study of Syntax in Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mair, Ch. 2003. "Gerundial complements after *begin* and *start*: grammatical and sociolinguistic factors, and how they work against each other". *Determinants of Grammatical Variation in English*. Eds. G. Rohdenburg and B. Mondorf. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 329-345.
- Mair, Ch. and G. Leech. 2006. "Current changes in English syntax". *The Handbook of English Linguistics*. Eds. B. Aarts and A. McMahon. Oxford: Blackwell. 318-342.
- Matthews, P. H. 1981. *Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, F. R. 1974. *The English Verb*. London: Longman.

- Pérez-Guerra, J. 2003. "Revisiting English secondary predicates: can the window be opened wider?". *Studia Linguistica* 57(3): 259-286.
- Postal, P. M. 1974. *On Raising: One Rule of English Grammar and its Theoretical Implications*. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.
- Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech and J. Svartvik. 1974. *A University Grammar of English*. London: Longman.
- Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech and J. Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Smith, M. B. and J. Escobedo. 2001. "The semantics of *to*-infinitival vs. *-ing* verb complement constructions in English". *The Proceedings from the Main Session of the Chicago Linguistic Society's Thirty-seventh Meeting*. Eds. M. Andronis, Ch. Ball, H. Helston and S. Neuvel. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society. 549-563.
- Traugott, E. C. 1992. "Syntax". *The Cambridge History of the English Language. Vol I: The Beginnings to 1066*. Ed. R. M. Hogg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 168-289.
- Wherry, M. and S. Granath. 2006. "Pressing *-ing* into service: *I don't want you comin' 'round here any more*". Paper delivered at ICAME 27, Helsinki, May.
- Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

