24.910 Topics in Linguistic Theory: Propositional Attitudes Spring 2009

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### For to Infinitives in Belfast English

**❖** Reading: Alison Henry, *Belfast English and Standard English* (OUP, 1995), Chapters 1 and 4.

#### 1. Summary of the Data

# 1.1. For with <u>lexical</u> subjects – propositional subject / extraposition

[Assumption: "lexical" = full NP, including pronoun ?]

➤ Obligatory with lexical subjects in infinitive clauses

[3a] For John to win would be amazing. [okStd./okBel.]

[3b] \* John to win would be amazing. [\*Std./\*Bel.]

➤ Positioned to the left of the subject:

[16a] For him to pay the mortgage would be just as expensive. [okStd./okBel.]

[16b] \*Him for to pay the mortgage would be just as expensive. [\*Std./\*Bel.]

[17a] It was stupid for them to do that. [okStd./okBel.]

[17b] \*It was stupid them for to do that. [\*Std./\*Bel.]

> There can't be two instances of *for*:

[16c] \* For him for to pay the mortgage would be just as expensive. [Std./Bel.]

[17c] \* It was stupid for them for to do that. [Std./Bel.]

### 1.2. For with <u>lexical</u> subjects – complement of adjective

➤ Positioned to the left of the subject:

[18a] Mary was keen <u>for</u> them to be there. [okStd./okBel.]

[18b] \*Mary was keen them for to be there. [\*Std./\*Bel.]

➤ No double occurrence:

[18c] \* Mary was keen for them for to be there. [Std./Bel.]

# 1.3. For with <u>lexical</u> subjects – complement of want-type verbs

Positioned after embedded subject in complement of *want*:

[20] I wanted Jimmy for to come with me. [\*Std./okBel.]

[21] I don't like the children for to be late. [\*Std./okBel.]

> ... including with expletive constructions:

[25] I want there for to be some peace and quiet sometime. [\*Std./okBel.]

[26] I'd hate there for to be ill-feeling. [\*Std./okBel.]

**Cannot** appear before the subject:

[20] \*I wanted for Jimmy to come with me. [[?]Std./\*Bel.]

➤ Not obligatory (in Standard or Belfast Eng.):

[23] I wanted Jimmy to come with me. [okStd./okBel.]

> Special case: where something comes between the matrix verb and subject:

[19a] I want very much for him to get accepted. [okStd./okBel.]

[19b] \*I want very much him for to get accepted. [\*Std./\*Bel.]

Again, no double *for*:

[19c] \*I want very much for him for to get accepted.

Presumably, then, this means that Belfast Eng. has minimal contrasts like the following (check?):

| [20] *I wanted <u>for</u> Jimmy to come with me.           |     | [ <sup>[?]</sup> Std./*Bel.] |
|--|-----|------------------------------|
| [20'] I wanted <u>very much for</u> Jimmy to come with me. | [?] | $[^{?]}$ Std./ $^{ok}$ Bel.] |
| [19b] *I want very much him for to get accepted.           |     | [*Std./*Bel.]                |
| [19b'] I want him <u>for</u> to get accepted.              | [?] | [*Std./ <sup>ok</sup> Bel.]  |

## 1.4. For with <u>null</u> subject (PRO / raising)

For to widely available in constructions thought to contain PRO:

➤ Propositional subjects:

| [9]  | <u>For</u> to stay here would be just as expensive. | [*Std./okBel.]              |
|------|---|-----------------------------|
| [10] | For to pay the mortgage is difficult.               | [*Std./ <sup>ok</sup> Bel.] |

> Exclamatives:

| [7] | <u>For</u> to let that mongrel into my yard! | [*Std./ <sup>ok</sup> Bel.] |
|-----|--|-----------------------------|
| [8] | For to tell her like that!                   | [*Std./ <sup>ok</sup> Bel.] |

> 'Subject control':

| [1]  | I want <u>for</u> to meet them.         | [*Std./ <sup>ok</sup> Bel.] |
|------|---|-----------------------------|
| [2]  | It is difficult <u>for</u> to see that. | [*Std./okBel.]              |
| [11] | I tried for to get them.                | [*Std./°kBel.]              |

#### Notes:

- In purpose-type clauses as in [1], *for to* occurs in a wide variety of English dialects in a way similar to *in order to* (but Belfast English is different)
- In Standard English: *want* and *difficult* do take *for* complements in other contexts (with lexical subjects), but *try* doesn't.
- Try doesn't allow lexical embedded subjects in Belfast Eng.:
- [12] \* I tried for him to go home.
- ➤ 'Object control' / 'ECM':

| Γ   | 13] | I persuaded John for to go home. | [*Std./okBel. |
|-----|-----|----------------------------------|---------------|
| - 1 | 101 | I persuaded John for to go nome. | Siu./ Dei     |

[14] She convinced them <u>for</u> to give up. [\*Std./<sup>ok</sup>Bel.]

[28a] I believe them for to have done it. [\*Std./okBel.]

Compare to:

[28b] \*I believe for them to have done it.

> But it's not allowed with whether:

[15] \* I don't know whether for to go. [\*Std./\*Bel.]

[Note: This suggests that for is a complementizer in Belfast Eng. for to]

> Raising:

[27a] John seems for to be better. [\*Std./okBel.]

Compare to:

[27b] \*It seems for John to be better. [\*Std./\*Bel.]

## 1.5. With Negation

➤ If for to occurs with not, the order must be for to not:

| [29a] I would prefer them <u>for</u> to not go.  | [*Std./okBel.] |
|--|----------------|
| [29b] *I would prefer them <u>for</u> not to go. | [*Std./*Bel.]  |
| [29c] *I would prefer them not <u>for</u> to go. | [*Std./*Bel.]  |
| [30a] For to not go would be foolish.            | [*Std./okBel.] |
| [30b] *Not <u>for</u> to go would be foolish.    | [*Std./*Bel.]  |
| [30c] * <u>For</u> not to go would be foolish    | [*Std./*Bel.]  |

## 2. Implications

#### 2.1. For is not part of the infinitive marker [For to $\neq$ to]

For is not part of the infinitive marker (T) because:

- For to is There are cases where to is allowed and for to is not:
  - with another *for* complementizer [\*19c]
  - with *whether* [\*15]

#### 2.2. For in for to is not P

For is not a preposition selected for by embedding verbs because:

- For to infinitives occur in isolation [7, 8]
- For to infinitives <u>can</u> co-occur with the preposition for:
  - [48] What I'm longing for is <u>for</u> to have a break.

#### 2.3. Conclusion: For is a C

Conclusion: For must be a complementizer.

Issues this brings up [p. 90]:

- For (in for to) can occur with PRO. [Standard explanations of the restriction against \*for to in standard dialects depend on the assumption that PRO is not case-marked, and for appears to assign case to a lexical subject.]
- Lexical subjects can appear before the C for.
- ➤ Negation has surprising restrictions on its position.
- For appears with verbs that are thought to take IP (not CP) complements.

## 2.4. Analysis

The basic idea: For is a complementizer that cliticizes to the infinitive marker to.

# 3. Henry's suggestions about other for to varieties

#### 3.1. Ottawa Valley English [Carroll 1983]

[and possibly Ozark English, Chomsky 1981]

for only occurs with verbs that standardly select for for. Possibilities:

- > for is a preposition [OR]
- for is only optionally an item that case-marks NPs (and thus is compatible with PRO)

# 3.2. "Weak" for to varieties of Northern Irish English

For only occurs in purpose clauses. Suggestion:

➤ for is an item like in order (as in in order to) — whatever that is. [perhaps for to / in order to are something like complex prepositions?]