

Restructuring Bridges

Sjef Barbiers – Leiden University

Novel observations MoodSpeechAct adverbs such as Dutch *eerlijk gezegd* ‘honestly’ have the remarkable property that they can surface within a subordinate clause selected by the bridge verb THINK but take scope over this bridge verb obligatorily (1). English and German have this construction too ((2)-(3)). Other bridge verbs, such as Dutch *willen* ‘want’, show similar behavior, but with ModVolition adverbs, not MoodSpeechAct adverbs (4). Embedded adverbs with obligatory wide scope are only possible with bridge verbs, not with factive verbs (5) [examples (1)-(4) from web searches].

- (1) Ik denk [dat ze **eerlijk gezegd** voor Rooney gaan].
I think that they honestly for Rooney go
‘I **honestly** think they will go for Rooney’ *think > honestly
- (2) I think [that **honestly** they are very talented]. English
honestly > think; *think > honestly
- (3) Ich denke [dass es Männern **ehrlich gesagt** ähnlich ergeht]. German
I think that it men honestly similarly goes
‘I **honestly** think that men fare similarly.’ *think > honestly
- (4) Ik wil [dat je **per se** pumps aandoet die dag].
I want that you per se pumps wear that day
‘I **per se** want you to wear pumps that day.’ *want > per se
- (5) *Ik weet dat ze **eerlijk gezegd** voor Rooney gaan.
I know that they honestly go for Rooney

Conversely, we find adverbs in the matrix middle field that, optionally, take embedded scope (6). Again, only bridge verbs allow this ((7); *pace* de Schepper et al 2014) and the type of bridge verb determines which type of adverb can do this ((8), (9)).

- (6) (Ze hebben gebeld) maar ik denk **ook** [dat ze komen].
(they have called) but I think also that they come
‘They have called but I think they will **also** come.’
- (7) (Ze hebben gebeld) maar ik weet **ook** [dat ze komen]
‘They have called but I **also** know that they will come’
* ‘They have called but I know that they will **also** come’
- (8) Ik denk/wil **helaas** [dat hij niet komt]
I think/want unfortunately that he not comes
‘I think/*want that **unfortunately** he will not come.’
- (9) Ik wil/denk **weer** [dat je van me houdt].
I want/think again that you of me hold
‘I want you to love me **again**.’
*‘I think that you love me **again**.’

Analysis I analyse these two syntax-semantics mismatches (embedded adverbs with obligatory matrix scope and matrix adverbs with optional embedded scope) by extending Cinque’s (2001) analysis of restructuring to bridge verbs with finite complements. For the verb THINK this means that it is generated in the MoodSpeechAct position of the embedded clause and reemerges in (or raises to) the matrix v position. This is illustrated for Dutch in (10). This analysis immediately explains why *eerlijk gezegd* ‘honestly’ must take wide scope. It is generated in a position higher than the base position of *denk* ‘think’ and verb movement across it does not affect relative scope (cf. V2 for a similar property).

