On the Complement of the Intensional Transitive *Want*[*]

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1.　　　Introduction

This paper discusses the nature of the complement of the intensional transitive verb *want*. Syntactic approaches to the puzzles that the *want*+DP construction (as in *want a car*) poses have traditionally posited a clausal structure under *want* with a null verb HAVE or GET (Ross 1976, McCawley 1979, Larson *et al*. 1997). A more recent syntactic account of such structures offers a reanalysis in which *want* embeds no verbal element (V or *v*) but rather a small-clause-like structure headed by a null preposition P_{HAVE} (Harley 2004). Assuming a particular analysis of the direct object construction (e.g. Harley 2003), Harley's proposal for the *want*+DP construction thus partly equates the latter with the direct object construction. We will outline the two accounts of *want*+DP, test some predictions that they make, re-evaluate Harley's (2004) motivation for giving up the null-verb account, and conclude that the null-verb account is in fact superior to the null-P_{HAVE} account.

In principle, our paper offers a discussion of two independent issues. First, we offer further support for—and especially in the light of the data discussed in Harley (2004)—some elaboration of the McCawley-(1979)/Ross-(1976) null-verb analysis of intensional transitive verbs such as *want* (and we tie the null HAVE/GET in with other null verbs in the literature). Second, we evaluate a parallel that the Harley-(2003) and Harley-(2004) proposals draw between the direct object construction (and *get*+DP and *have*+DP) on the one hand and *want*+DP on the other, and conclude that the parallel is not justified; we interpret this as an argument against Harley's (2004) null-P_{HAVE} reanalysis of *want*+DP.

While we refer to sentences such as *Joe wants a car* as the '*want*+DP construction', or just '*want*+DP', we will in fact argue that such sentences contain more structure than the label '*want*+DP' suggests, that is, that the complement of *want* is *not* a DP but rather some clausal projection with an embedded VP headed by a null V^0. We thus use '*want*+DP' as an overt-material-based label for this structurally considerably more complex construction.

2.   Null HAVE in the Complement of *want*, *need*, etc.

The interesting property of intensional-transitive-verb (ITV) constructions, such as the *want*+DP construction in (1a), is that although they appear to contain a simple transitive verb, they exhibit several characteristics typical of biclausal structures. For example, the object of an ITV behaves as if it were inside an embedded clause in that it is intensional; it can be read non-specifically, it can be a non-denoting term, etc. (e.g. Karttunen 1976). The *want*+DP construction is actually also known to have a straightforward biclausal paraphrase with *have* or *get*, as in (1b). In addition, *want*+DP behaves in parallel to the biclausal paraphrase with respect to temporal adverbials, the interpretation of clausal anaphora, etc. This led Ross (1976) and McCawley (1979) to propose that (1a) in fact has the structure in (2), with a null HAVE/GET between *want* and the DP; *want*+DP thus gets the same structure as its paraphrase in (1b), with the difference coming from an optional '*have*/*get*-deletion rule'. This rule makes the possession verb from the paraphrase in (1b) unpronounced in the *want*+DP construction.

(1)   a. Mary wants a car.
          b. Mary wants to have/get a car.

(2)   [$_{v}$P Mary$_i$ [$_{VP}$ wants [$_{XP}$ PRO$_i$ [$_{VP}$ TO-HAVE/TO-GET [$_{DP}$ a car]]]]]

We will return to the above-mentioned arguments, as well as some additional arguments supporting this parallel, in section 4. Note that the class of intensional transitive verbs is actually quite large (*want*, *need*, *seek*, *look for*, *owe*, etc.), with several subgroups. We will only talk about *want*-type ITVs (e.g. *want*, *need*).

3.   Harley (2004): HAVE = P$_{HAVE}$

Recently, Harley (2004) suggested that while the account of Ross (1976) and McCawley (1979) is on the right track both in postulating a covert element in the analysis of the *want*+DP construction as well as in regarding that element as HAVE, it needs to be modified with respect to the syntactic category of the covert element; rather than being verbal in any way (either by being a V^0 or by at least including a v^0), as in (2) above, the element is made up of only a null preposition P$_{HAVE}$, which heads a small-clause-like structure, with the 'direct object' of *want a car* really being a complement to the null P$_{HAVE}$. Harley's (2004) structure is in (3). In the remaining part of this section, we first present Harley's motivation for her proposal as well as the bigger picture around P$_{HAVE}$, and then point out a prediction that such an account makes.

(3)   [$_{v}$P Mary$_i$ [$_{VP}$ wants [$_{PP}$ PRO$_i$ [$_{P'}$ P$_{HAVE}$ [$_{DP}$ a car]]]]]

Harley's (2004) paper draws on some points made by Fodor & Lepore (1998) in their rejection of of Pustejovsky's (1995) 'generative lexicon'. Based on parallels such as in (4), Pustejovsky (1995) suggested that the interpretation of the null element under *want* in *want*+DP is not constant but varies depending on the DP complement. If the DP is *a cigarette*, the null element will be interpreted as *to smoke*, if the DP is *a beer*, the null element will be interpreted as *to drink*, etc. (We are simplifying Pustejovsky's account here and interpreting it within a purely syntactic account; see his own book and Harley (2004) for a more precise presentation, as well as Pustejovsky's (1998) reply to Fodor & Lepore's criticism.)

(4)　　a.　　want a cigarette　　→　　want to smoke a cigarette
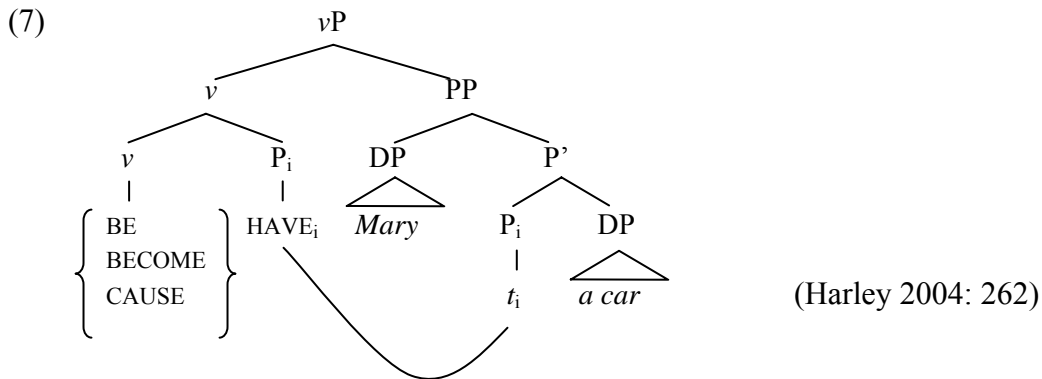　　　　b.　　want a beer　　　　→　　want to drink a beer

Pustejovsky's system is thus built on 'co-composition', whereby the DP complement (the nature of the DP complement) co-determines the interpretation of its selecting head. This is what Fodor & Lepore (1998) object to. They claim that there is no need for co-composition, since *want a cigarette* means exactly *want to have a cigarette*, *want a beer* means exactly *want to have a beer*, etc. Without co-composition, semantic selection remains unidirectional, going from the selecting head to its complement.

　　　　However, Harley (2004) puts forth data such as (5a-b). As (5a) cannot be paraphrased with a construction with an overt *have*, as shown in (5b), Fodor & Lepore's claim is refuted; *want*+DP does not always equal *want-to-have*-DP. An account which posits an unpronounced *have* under *want* in (5a) clearly cannot be correct (at least for these cases), so we need something else.
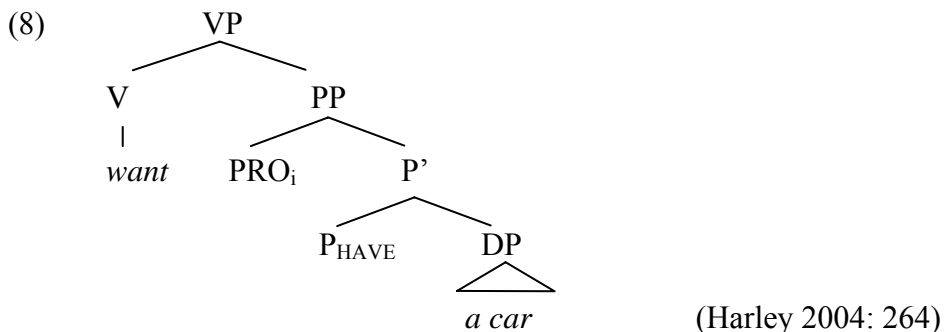
(5)　　a.　John wants a compliment / kiss / pat on the back.
　　　　b. #John wants to have a compliment / kiss / pat on the back.

Now, Harley (1995, 2003) has independently argued that verbs such as *have*, *get* and *give* in the double-object construction should be decomposed into a light verb (v_{BE} in *have*, v_{BECOME} in *get* and v_{CAUSE} in *give*) and a null preposition P_{HAVE}, with the latter incorporating into the light verb to produce the surface realization, (6)-(7). This claim was corroborated for *have*, *get* and *give* by Richards (2001), and a $[v_{CAUSE}P \ [P_{HAVE}P \ [\dots]]]$ structure for the double-object construction (henceforth DOC) was recently also argued for by Beck & Johnson (2004).

(6)　　a. *Mary <u>have</u> a car*　　$[v_{BE}$　　　　+　　　$P_{HAVE}]$
　　　　b. *Mary <u>get</u> a car*　　$[v_{BECOME}$　　+　　　$P_{HAVE}]$
　　　　c. *x <u>give</u> Mary a car*　$[v_{CAUSE}$　　　+　　　$P_{HAVE}]$

(7)

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                    vP
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
          v                   PP
     ┌────┴────┐        ┌──────┴──────┐
     v         Pᵢ       DP            P'
     |         |        /\      ┌─────┴─────┐
   ⎰ BE  ⎱   HAVEᵢ   Mary      Pᵢ         DP
   ⎰ BECOME ⎱                   |          /\
   ⎰ CAUSE  ⎱                   tᵢ       a car
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(Harley 2004: 262)

Unwilling to give up the by and large successful null-HAVE account, Harley (2004) suggests—against the background of this decomposition account of the verbs *have*, *get* and *give*—that even in view of the apparently problematic data in (5) above, we can still save the null-HAVE account and thus avoid co-composition if we posit that *want*+DP does not embed a null verb *have* (or its decomposed version v_{BE}+P_{HAVE}) but only its prepositional part, that is, only the small-clause-like structure headed by P_{HAVE}, as in (8).[1]

(8)

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                VP
          ┌─────┴─────┐
          V           PP
          |      ┌─────┴─────┐
        want    PROᵢ        P'
                       ┌─────┴─────┐
                     P_HAVE        DP
                                   /\
                                 a car
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(Harley 2004: 264)

The way (8) helps Harley explain the contrast from (5) is as follows. The reason for the unacceptability of *#want to have a compliment*, says Harley, lies in the incompatibility between the stativity of the light verb v_{BE} (as part of *have*) and the inherent punctuality of the event nominal *compliment*. A compliment, as it were, does not last in time but is gone as soon as it is received, and so the recipient cannot really duratively 'have' ('possess') a compliment, which rules out (5b). And since the infelicity of (5b) presumably stems from the aspectual clash between v_{BE} and *a compliment*, the structure in (8) correctly predicts, by simply getting rid of the light verb, that there will be no aspectual clash and hence no infelicity in (5a).

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[1] Insisting on Fodor & Lepore's equating *want*+DP exclusively with *want-to-have*-DP and nothing else, Harley does not consider the option of positing a null verb GET *in addition* to a null verb HAVE. In section 5, we will argue exactly for this option (and show that this does not result in co-composition).

In a nutshell, Harley (2004) suggests that despite the data in (5), Fodor & Lepore (1998)—and more generally a null-HAVE account of *want*+DP—can still avoid accepting Pustejovsky's (1995) co-composition, but only at the price of accepting anti-Fodor-&-Lepore (1999) lexical decomposition; what *want* embeds, she proposes, is not a structure with a null verb HAVE but only a small-clause-like PP with a null P$_{HAVE}$.

4.   Parallel Structures for *want*+DP and DOC (*/get*+DP/*have*+DP)?

If we compare now the structure in (8) with the structure in (7)—or with its more straightforward version for *give Mary a car* in (9)—it turns out that *want*+DP on the one hand and the DOC as well as *get*+DP and *have*+DP on the other hand are assigned more or less the same structure; they all contain a verbal/event-introducing element (V/*v*) embedding the small-clause-like P$_{HAVE}$P.

(9)

(Harley 2003: 32)
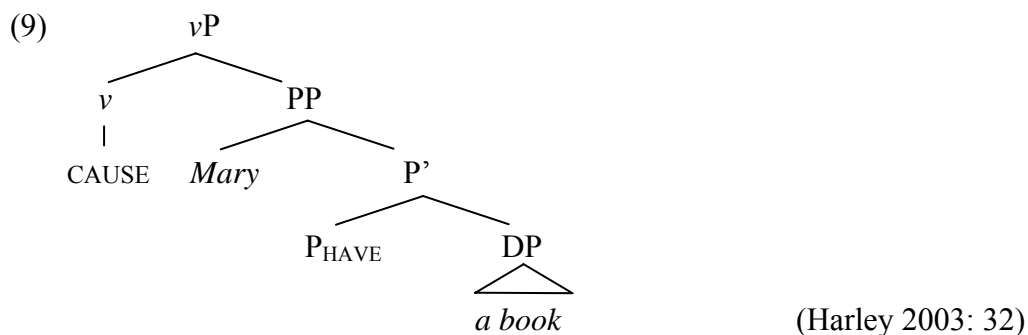
With such parallel structures, of course, we can expect that *want*+DP and the DOC will behave in parallel, and moreover, that even *get*+DP and *have*+DP will behave in parallel. In the following subsections (4.1.-4.5.), we argue that these predictions are not borne out, and also point out some theoretical problems for the null-P$_{HAVE}$ account of *want*+DP.

Before we set out to do this, however, a note is in order. The parallel can be tested purely empirically, by contrasting the behavior of the constructions. However, if the tests refute the parallel, anyone trying to follow up on the empirical tests with an analysis will eventually face the following choice: accept the previous analysis of the A member of the compared pair but not of the B member; accept the previous analysis of the B member but not of the A member; give up the previous analyses of both members of the compared pair. In making this choice, we will assume, without argumentation, the correctness of Harley's (2003) account of the DOC (and/or of *get*+DP and *have*+DP); consequently, if this account turns out to be incorrect, then those parts of our paper that contrast the DOC (and/or *get*+DP and *have*+DP) with *want*+DP are also invalidated to the extent that the null-P$_{HAVE}$ account of *want*+DP could in principle still be correct. Although inevitable, this situation is clearly a methodological drawback. To this effect, we add the following. First, apart from empirical comparison-based arguments, we will also

try to raise some theoretical points which argue against the P$_{HAVE}$ account of *want*+DP if one accepts the *general framework* in which *both* Harley's analyses are executed. Second, we note that a Harley-(2003)-style analysis of the DOC is considerably more widespread (Beck & Johnson 2004, Richards 2001, and under different labels Pylkkänen 2002, Cuervo 2003, Pesetsky 1995, Hoekstra 1988, etc.) than the isolated Harley-(2004) analysis of *want*+DP, so at least in contrasting the validity of the parallel between two analyses, we are assuming correctness for the less disputable member. Third, if Harley's (2003) account of the DOC (and/or of *get*+DP and *have*+DP) turns out to be incorrect, then this would leave *want*+DP as the only construction analyzed with P$_{HAVE}$, with no independent motivation for P$_{HAVE}$'s existence. Now, given that we will show that the data that motivated Harley's (2004) reanalysis can equally well be explained with a null verb instead of a null P$_{HAVE}$ (and without accepting co-composition), this also suggests—at least in combination with the previous two reasons—that assuming correctness for Harley's (2003) account of the DOC (and/or of *get*+DP and *have*+DP) rather than for Harley's (2004) account of *want*+DP is not unreasonable.

4.1.   Temporal Adverb(ial)s

One of the original arguments leading Ross (1976), McCawley (1979), etc., to posit a null verb in the *want*+DP construction had to do with temporal adverbials. They showed that a temporal adverbial in a sentence like (10) is ambiguous with respect to the interpretation of the adverbial, which can situate either the 'wanting' or the 'car-having': either the wanting took place yesterday, or the wanting took place some time before yesterday but it was directed towards having the car yesterday. These authors also pointed out that this ambiguity makes *want*+DP parallel to its paraphrase with an overt *have* in (11), which is ambiguous in the same way, and different from more mundane transitive verbs, such as *paint* in (12), which show no such ambiguity.

(10)   John wanted your car yesterday.
(11)   John wanted to have your car yesterday.
(12)   John painted the car yesterday.

Moreover, *want*+DP actually allows the co-occurrence of two conflicting temporal adverbials, (13), again paralleling sentences with *want* and an overt *have*, (14), and differing from other transitive verbs, such as *paint*, which allow no such adverbial doubling, (15).[2]

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[2] As already mentioned in section 2, there are several types of intensional transitive verbs. One of the differences between them is the availability of double temporal adverbials. While verbs like *want* and *need* allow conflicting adverbials, *look for*, *search*, *worship*, *owe* do not, (i) (cf. Partee 1974, Forbes 2001, Schwarz 2005). Thus only *want*-type ITVs clearly involve two independent events and as such have clear indications of an embedded clause (but cf. Larson *et al.* 1997).
(i)   * A week ago, Bill was looking for your car yesterday.

(13)   Yesterday, John wanted your car tomorrow.
(14)   Yesterday, John wanted to have your car tomorrow.
(15)   * Yesterday, John painted your car tomorrow.

The data in (10) and (13) show that *want*+DP contains two temporally independent events, and (12) and (15) show that superficially parallel structures with ordinary transitive verbs like *paint* only contain one main event. In models that link main events to a specific projection, the presence of two independent events, as in (13), suggest that the structure contains two instances of the same syntactic position. For Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2004), the event-introducing projection is the VP/*v*P, and so (13) suggests that *want*+DP contains two VPs/*v*Ps. Such a model will thus capture the difference between *paint*+DP and *want*+DP in (10) to (15) by positing a null verb in the *want*+DP cases, as originally proposed by Ross and McCawley; each VP/*v*P, that of *want* and that of the null HAVE, then introduces one event and licenses one temporal adverb.

Note that the reasoning underlying Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria's (2004) syntax-to-semantics-mapping model, with a temporally independent event inextricably linked to a VP/*v*P, has also underlied the study of serial verb constructions (Baker & Stewart 1999), S-causatives (Travis 2000), event nominals (Alexiadou 2001), etc. And even more relevantly for a comparison between a null-verb account and a null-P_{HAVE} account, Svenonius (2004) concludes, in a comparison between the Preposition and the Verb, that while both of these categories introduce event arguments, only the event argument of the V is bound by Tense while that of the P can't be; P's can thus encode a subevent, as with some particle verb constructions, but not a main, temporally independent event. Assuming such a syntax-to-semantics-mapping model, then, Harley's (2004) account of *want*+DP, with only a null P_{HAVE} but no V/*v*, predicts that the complement of *want* in *want*+DP should not accept its own temporal adverbial. Since it clearly does, as shown in (13), the account breaks down the intimate link that those models draw between main events and V's/*v*'s; consequently, it would have to explain why apart from this construction, P's do not introduce main events, clearly an unenviable task. Therefore, at least in the general framework that Harley (2003) and Harley (2004) are couched in, a null-verb account of *want*+DP is theoretically preferable to a null-P_{HAVE} account.

In addition to this theoretical consideration, Harley's (2004) account also faces the problem of an unrealized parallel between *want*+DP and the DOC (assuming Harley's (2003) or Beck & Johnson's (2004) account of the DOC) as well as between *want*+DP and *get*+DP/*have*+DP (assuming Harley's (2003) decomposition of *get/have*). Unlike the *want*+DP sentences ((10) above), DOC sentences and *get*+DP/*have*+DP sentences do not show any ambiguity of temporal adverbials, nor do they allow any doubling of temporal adverbials, (16)-(18).[3]

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[3] We use *pass* rather than *give* in the DOC example in (16) since *pass* certainly need not entail the Goal's receiving of the Theme, as shown by *John passed me the ball, but it got intercepted*.

Temporal adverbials are thus both a theoretical and, given some more widely held assumptions about the structure of an independent construction, an empirical problem for the null-P$_{HAVE}$ account of *want*+DP.

(16)   * At 5 John passed me the ball (to the other end of the field) 3 seconds later.
(17)   * Yesterday, I got (myself) new shoes tomorrow.
(18)   * Yesterday, I had new shoes tomorrow.

Note, finally, that the event structure of the DOC as well as of *get*+DP does contain a part that has some independence from the matrix event, that is, it can be modified with a type of durative adverbial which can appear to conflict with the temporal adverbial, (19)-(20). However, these adverbials modify, and thus signal, a result-state subevent (in the sense of Piñón 1999), not a temporally independent/main event. Though the DOC and *get*+DP contain a stative subevent, they contain only one temporally independent, matrix event.

(19)   Yesterday, John gave Mary a book for 3 days.
(20)   Yesterday, John got a book for 3 days.

4.2.   Ellipsis

Another aspect in which the behavior of *want*+DP has been shown to parallel that of its paraphrase with an overt *have* is a type of ellipsis. The paraphrase in (21) is ambiguous between two readings. Larson *et al*. (1997) explain this with the fact that (21) provides two sites for VP-ellipsis, with the elided constituent equaling [$_{VP}$ *want* [$_{IP}$ *to have toys*]] on the reading under a) and only [$_{VP}$ *have toys*] on the reading under b). Interestingly, the same ambiguity shows up with *want*+DP, (22). Larson *et al*. (1997) argue that by positing a null verb (and some concealed clausal structure) under *want* in (22), we get a straightforward explanation for the ambiguity; with the null verb, we have two possible sites for VP-ellipsis, the VP of *want* and the VP of the null verb.[4]

(21)   John wants to have more toys than Ben.
           a. 'John wants to have more toys than Ben wants to have toys'
           b. 'John wants to have more toys than Ben has toys'

(22)   John wants more toys than Ben.
           a. 'John wants to have more toys than Ben wants to have toys'
           b. 'John wants to have more toys than Ben has toys'

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[4] Not everyone agrees that *want* is a lexical verb (V^0) rather than a functional verb (F^0); see Marušič & Žaucer (2005a) for our defense of treating *want* as a lexical verb, and for further references. But note also that the status of *want* does not affect the point being made here.

Now, if the *want*+DP construction is structurally parallel to the DOC and to *get*+DP, we would expect that the ambiguity observed with *want*+DP is going to carry over to the DOC and to *get*+DP. As (23)-(24) show, though, this is not the case, (23); these sentences lack the reading a) from (22) above. (The DOC has the additional reading in (23c); though *want*+DP lacks this reading, this contrast need not show much, as the subject of Harley's (2004) $P_{HAVE}P$ in the *want*+DP construction would presumably be an obligatory-control PRO.)

(23)   John gave himself more toys than Ben.
     a. *'more toys than Ben has/had'
     b. 'more toys than Ben gave himself'
    [c. 'more toys than he gave Ben']

(24)   John got more toys than Ben.
     a. *'more toys than Ben has'
     b. 'more toys than Ben got'

Empirically, then, we see that the *want*+DP construction does not behave on a par with the DOC and *get*+DP. And from a theoretical perspective, note that on the assumption that the DOC and *get*+DP contain a small-clause-like PP (embedded under *v*P), (23)-(24) suggest that such PPs are not a possible site for ellipsis. Therefore, to uphold Harley's (2004) account of *want*+DP, one will have to explain why the very same type of PP *is* a possible site for ellipsis in *want*+DP. We do not see a plausible explanation.

4.3.   Pronoun Antecedent Relation

As observed by McCawley (1979: 89-90), the pronoun *it* in the examples in (25) does not take the object of the preceding clause as the antecedent but rather the entire clause. If the antecedent of the pronoun *it* were the object, then the pronoun should match the antecedent in (25b-c). Notice also that *allow* requires sentential objects, and so *it* indeed needs to be interpreted as a sentential anaphor.

(25)   a. Joe wants **a horse**, but his mother won't allow **it**.
     b. Joe wants **some horses**, but his mother won't allow **it**.
     c. Joe wants **a second wife**, but his mother won't allow **it**.

The antecedent of *it* in (25) is a clause. Since there is only one clause preceding *it*, we would expect sentences like (25c) to be unambiguous, but the interpretation where *it* takes as its complement the entire clause *Joe wants a second wife* is not the only one. In fact it is not even the salient one. The salient reading of (25c) is the one where *it* stands for *Joe TO-HAVE a second wife*. The two readings of (25c) are given in (26). Although one of the two antecedent clauses is partly invisible/

unpronounced, McCawley (1979) concludes that the unpronounced material is nonetheless present in the derivation, but deleted by the '*have/get*-deletion rule'.

(26) Joe wants a second wife, but his mother won't allow it.
     a. ✓ '…but his mother won't allow him to have a second wife.'
     b. ✓ '…but his mother won't allow him to want to have a second wife.'

Regardless of the actual analysis, the complement of *want* can be the antecedent of the sentential anaphor *it*. If the complement is indeed $P_{HAVE}P$, as proposed by Harley (2003), and if the *want*+DP, the DOC, and *get*+DP have parallel structures, we can make the following prediction: the sentential anaphor *it* in examples parallel to (25)—but with a DOC or *get*+DP in the first clause—will have the interpretation parallel to (26a). This is not, however, what we find.

(27) Joe gave Jane some coca leaves even though the law doesn't allow **it**.
     a. ✓ '…the law doesn't allow Joe's giving Jane some coca leaves.'
     b. */✓ '… the law doesn't allow Jane's having some coca leaves.'[5]

(28) Joe got some coca leaves (as a birthday present from his friends) even though the law doesn't allow **it**.
     a. ✓ '…the law doesn't allow Joe's getting some coca leaves.'
     b. * '… the law doesn't allow Joe's having some coca leaves.'

If the complement of *want* were $P_{HAVE}P$, then (26) shows that $P_{HAVE}P$ allows for the interpretation in (26a), where the pronominal is understood as 'him to have a second wife'. But if *get*+DP also contains $P_{HAVE}P$, then it is by no means clear why this reading is not available also in (28).

4.4.   Intensionality

As mentioned above, the *want*+DP construction is intensional, i.e., the DP object is opaque. As we will show now, this is not the case with the DOC and with *have/get*+DP. Intensional constructions are typically picked out with three tests (cf. Larson 2002): non-referring expressions do not yield falsity, indefinites can be read non-specifically, and substitution of co-referring expressions fails to preserve the truth value.

     Non-referring expressions like *unicorn* can be used as the complement of *want* without yielding falsity for the whole sentence, as in (29a). One can certainly truthfully want a unicorn (for Christmas); it might be an unreasonable wish, given that we will never be able to get one, but it is still a possible wish. But unlike with

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[5] There is some disagreement with respect to the availability of the second reading in (27) – but there is nevertheless a clear contrast between (26) and (28). It s also not insignificant that in contrast to (27), there is no disagreement with respect to (26).

want+DP, *unicorn* cannot be used in this way in the DOC and with *have/get*+DP; when used with a nonreferring expression like *unicorn*, such sentences become necessarily false, (29b-c). We cannot truthfully have or get a unicorn, nor can one be sent or given to us.

(29)   a. John wanted a unicorn.   [T or F]
        b. John got/had a unicorn.   [necessarily F]
        c. John sent/gave Mary a unicorn.   [necessarily F]

Indefinites in intensional contexts can be read nonspecifically. As shown in (30a), if John wants a new car, it need not mean that there is a specific new car that he wants, he may simply be tired of his old car breaking down and wants a new car, which will be more reliable. This kind of non-specific reading is not available with *have/get*+DP, (30b), nor in the DOC, (30c). If we are given a new car, then there must be a specific new car which was given to us. The same is true of *have* and *get*. If we got a new car, then there was a specific new car which we got, and if we had a new car, then there must have been a specific new car that we had.

(30)   a. John wanted a new car. $\neq$ $\exists x[\text{new-car}(x) \ \& \ \text{want}(j,x)]$
        b. John got/had a new car. $=$ $\exists x[\text{new-car}(x) \ \& \ \text{had/got}(j,x)]$
        c. John gave Mary a new car. $=$ $\exists x[\text{new-car}(x) \ \& \ \text{gave}(j,x,m)]$

Now, these two properties of *want*+DP may be induced in the DOC or *have/get*+DP if we embed them under a modal, e.g. *may*; the contrasts from (29) and (30) then disappear. However, note that *want*+DP does not only create a weakly intensional context but rather a strongly intensional or hyperintensional one (cf. Kearns 2000). The third test mentioned above, failure to preserve the truth value with co-referring expressions, captures this distinction. As shown in (31a), if we substitute a proper name with a pseudonym in *want*+DP, the truth value is not preserved. If John wants Clark Kent, we cannot conclude that he also wants Superman; he may not know that Clark Kent is Superman, and so he can want one but not the other. But unlike in *want*+DP, changing a proper name for a pseudonym in *have/get*+DP or in the DOC necessarily preserves the truth value, regardless of the modals, (31b-c). If it is true that John may give Mary Clark Kent, then it is also true that he may give her Superman. Intensionality is thus another aspect in which *want*+DP is not parallel to the DOC and *have/get*+DP.

(31)   a.   John wanted Clark Kent.
        =/=>   John wanted Superman.   [one T, one F possible]

        b.   John may have Clark Kent (with him tomorrow).   [both T or
        ==>   John may have Superman (with him tomorrow).   both F only]

        c.   John may give Mary Clark Kent.
        ==>   John may give Mary Superman.   [both T or both F only]

4.5.   IP-adverbs

The complement of *want* in *want*+DP, ≠ ›i.e. the 'having'/'getting', can be modified by some adverbs typically associated to the IP area (cf. Cinque 1999), such as the frequency adverb in (32). This suggests that in *want*+DP, there is at least some IP-level structure under *want*; and in turn, the presence of IP structure under *want* suggests that its complement is made up of something verbal (VP or *v*P), not just of a PP.

(32)   John rarely wanted [a new car a bit more often].
(33)   John rarely wanted [to have/get a new car a bit more often].

And again comparing with the DOC and *get*+DP, we see that no such IP-adverbs are possible with these constructions, showing no evidence of a parallel structure with *want*+DP once more. In (34), *often* can only modify John's givings but not Mary's possessions; a reading such as 'John caused [Mary to have a car more often]' is unavailable. The same goes for *get*+DP in (35), where a reading like 'John came [to have a car more often]' is unavailable.

(34)   John gave Mary a new car a bit more often.
(35)   John got a new car more often.

Again, if one wanted to uphold the Harley's(2004) account, they would have to explain why the extended projection of this PP contains IP stuff of the kind we normally find with V's/*v*'s while the extended projection of other PPs, including the P$_{HAVE}$P in the DOC, does not.

5.   The Co-composition Argument Re-evaluated

We have argued that the parallel that Harley's (2003) and (2004) proposals draw between *want*+DP on the one hand and the DOC and *have/get*+DP on the other does not hold; instead, all 5 tests above have shown *want*+DP as patterning with its biclausal paraphrase with an overt *get/have* under *want*. We now look at Harley's (2004) motivation for her proposal.

Harley's main argument for analyzing the complement of *want* as only a P$_{HAVE}$P comes from the paradigm in (36). She points out that there is a group of abstract event-denoting DPs that are fine under *want*, as well as under *get* and *give*, but not under *have*, (36a-c). These are DPs like *a compliment*, *a pat on the back*, *a complaint*, etc., for all of which it holds that as soon as they are given or received, they cease to exist. Thus, there is a sense in which they cannot be in one's possession, their recipient does not really come to *have* them, hence (36c).

(36)   a.   John got a compliment.
      b.   John wants a compliment.
      c. #John has a compliment.
      d. #John wants to have a compliment.
      e.   John wants to get a compliment.   (Harley 2004: 261)

(36c) is said to be bad because the result of 'receiving a compliment' has no duration and thus cannot combine with v_{BE}, the stative light verb that combines with P_{HAVE} to yield *have*. Not surprisingly, then, a paraphrase of (36b) with an overt *have* is also not available, (36d). Harley (2004) concludes that the null element in the complement of *want* cannot always be the verb *have*, though in view of the by and large successful paraphrasing with *have*, the null element should nonetheless be some HAVE-like element. She reasons that if we are to avoid co-composition, if the interpretation of *want* (or of the null element in the complement of *want*) is to be independent of the DP complement—with the null element nonetheless remaining some sort of HAVE—then the complement of *want* has to be something that has the meaning properties of *have* but lacks the incompatible stativity, i.e., v_{BE}. Such an element is the part that *have* and *get* share, i.e., P_{HAVE}.

The logic of this solution is clear, but the solution is not the only one available. If in some cases the only paraphrase is *have* while in others the only paraphrase is *get,* as (36e) is for (36b), we can simply interpret this as showing that HAVE is not the only null verb and posit a second null verb, GET. In fact, this is perfectly in keeping with Harley's idea that the null element in (36b) is an element of possession but without the stativity. Importantly, notice that there is no co-compositionality problem here. We simply have two null verbs, a null GET and a null HAVE, and use them with various types of DPs. As the two verbs are aspectually different, it is not surprising that GET will select some DPs and HAVE will select others. The aspectual properties of the null HAVE/GET—just like those of the overt *have*/*get*—exert selectional restrictions with respect to the aspectual properties of their complements, in quite ordinary head-complement/top-down selection with no co-composition. GET and *get* select *compliment*, HAVE and *have* do not. With 'non-punctual' DPs, both GET/*get* and HAVE/*have* are possible, (37).[6]

(37)   John wanted (to get/to have) a car.

Note that positing a null GET seems neither unreasonable nor very costly given that *get* is just a change-of-state counterpart of HAVE. In fact, principally in line with our two null verbs, both Ross (1976) and McCawley (1979) proposed that both *have*

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[6] A similar type of selectional restrictions—with aspectual properties of the verb being picky with respect to the aspectual properties of its nominal complement—can be observed in the contrast between *Joe heard a bang* and (on a non-repetitive reading) #*Joe listened to a bang*, and in the spatial prepositional domain between *Joe walked along the river* and (on a non-repetitive reading) #*Joe walked along the spot*, where *along* requires a spatially non-punctual/protracted object.

and *get* can undergo the deletion rule.[7] However, unlike these authors, we claim that *want*+DP is not a case of deletion of the otherwise pronounced *have* or *get*, but rather that HAVE and GET are separate verbs, which simply happen to be phonologically null. We will say more about the nature of these two null verbs—and null verbs in general—in the next section.

(Note that we did not argue against decomposition per se, we only claimed that it does not need to be invoked to get the *want*+DP facts right. As mentioned in 4.1 above, the presence of a result-state subevent in *get*+DP and *give*+DP is indisputable. Actually, the possibility of having both a null HAVE and a null GET seems particularly easy to get to if *have* and *get* indeed decompose into smaller elements, as in Harley (2003, 2004); given that the possessive preposition P_{HAVE} is already null in Harley's analysis, why should the combination of a null P_{HAVE} and the commonly null v_{BE}/v_{BECOME} be obligatorily overt? Positing null versions of both *have* and *get* would then make even more sense.)

6.   The Nature and Theoretical Status of Our Null HAVE/GET

We proposed that the *want*+DP construction contain either a null HAVE or a null GET. With such an analysis, we need neither decomposition nor co-composition. The postulation of the null GET and HAVE does, however, merit a few words on the nature of these null verbs and of phonologically null verbs more generally, which is what we do next.

6.1.   Null HAVE/GET or *have/get*-deletion (Separate Null Verbs or Ellipsis of *have/get*)?

Following van Riemsdijk (2002), we argued in Marušič & Žaucer (2005a, 2005b) that several null verbs cannot simply be unpronounced/elided versions of their overt counterparts, since they are not always interchangeable with their overt counterparts. This is most clearly seen with idioms. Wechsler (2005) notes that *have a blast* and *(not) have a heart*, for example, have the idiomatic interpretations, while #*want a blast* and #(#*not) want a heart* do not (similar cases were already noted by McCawley 1979). The Slovenian examples in (38) show the same: the idiomatic reading present in the paraphrase with the overt verb 'have' is not available in the *want*+DP construction.

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[7] Harley (2004) actually does consider the option of positing a null verb GET, but only if the null verb would then *always* be GET instead of HAVE (which does not work, cf. Harley 2004: 265-266); she does not consider positing a null GET alongside a null HAVE, presumably in an attempt at avoiding co-composition. However, ordinary top-down selection can perfectly well handle such cases with no co-composition, as just explained.

(38) a. Peter me   je   hotel #(met)   za   norca.
     Peter I_ACC AUX   wanted have   for   fool
     'idiomatic: He wanted to take me for a fool.'
   b. Nisem   te   hotel #(met)   poln kufer.
     not-aux you_ACC want   have   full case
     'idiomatic: I didn't want to be sick of you.'

Now, if HAVE was simply an unpronounced/null version of *have*, such mismatches would be unexpected. Similarly, we would not expect this if there was a rule of '*have*-deletion', as proposed by Ross (1976) and McCawley (1979). The validity of this reasoning is supported by the Slovenian facts in (39), which show that the elision of an element indeed does not result in the loss of idiomatic readings. In (39a), gapping does not block an idiomatic reading; the gapped verb in (39a) perfectly normally participates in the deriving the idiomatic interpretation (note that both conjuncts in (39a) contain *have*+DP idioms that have very similar interpretations, with 'have a full dick of x' expressing a stronger degree of irritation than 'have a full suitcase of x'). Similarly, the idiomatic reading is preserved both in the VP/*v*P-ellipsis example in (39b) and the sluicing example in (39c). (39a-c) thus show that PF-ellipsis (including gapping) cannot explain the occurrence of the null HAVE and that examples like (38) indeed provide solid motivation for positing an independent null verb HAVE (the same type of evidence could of course be used to defend an independent null verb GET).

(39) a. Jana   ima   samo poln kufer, Juša pa   že   kar poln kurac.[8]
     Jan_GEN has_3P.SG only full case Juš_GEN PTCL PTCL PTCL full dick
     'Jan only annoys him, while Juš totally pisses him off.'
   b. Jana   ima   res   poln kufer, Juša pa   tudi.
     Jan_GEN has_3P.SG really full suitcase Juš_GEN PTCL also
     'He's really sick of Jan, and of Juš also.'
   c. Čuti,   da ima nekoga   poln kufer, ampak ne ve,   koga.
     feels_3P.SG that has someone_GEN full case   but   not knows who_GEN
     'He feels that he's sick of someone, but he doesn't know of who.'

Just like the null verb HAVE, other null verbs also do not participate in the same idioms as their overt counterparts. Example (40b), from Marušič & Žaucer (2005b), shows this for the Slovenian null verb GO, an instance of which is exemplified in (40a) (and see Marušič & Žaucer 2005b for various types of arguments showing that (40a) is indeed best analyzed with a null verb GO). Note that (38) and (40) without the overt verb are grammatical, but they only have the pragmatically deviant literal readings. (And see Marušič & Žaucer 2005b for data which—in the

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[8] What appear to be the DP complements of *imeti* 'have' are in genitive rather than the usual accusative case because they are actually complements of the quantifying expression 'a full suitcase/dick of'.

same way as the data in (39) for HAVE—support the reasoning surrounding the idiom-based evidence in (40b) by showing that ellipsis in idioms combining an overt 'go' and a directional PP *does* preserve the idiomatic reading.)

(40)   a. Peter ne sme v šolo.
           Peter not may to school
           'Peter should not go to school.'
        b. Šest   mescev teme   ti   ne sme #(iti) na jetra.
           six   months darkness you-DAT not may   go   to liver
           'Six months of darkness should not get on your nerves.'

Based on this and other arguments, and following similar reasoning in van Riemsdijk (2002), we concluded in Marušič & Žaucer (2005a,b) that null verbs like the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE and GO are not deletions of their overt counterparts—in the case at hand *have/get*—but rather constitute separate lexical items that happen to have no phonological content. Therefore, although HAVE/GET are semantically nearly synonymous with the overt *have/get*, we do *not* predict that they will always be interchangeable. In particular, unlike an ellipsis/deletion account, our account has no problems with discrepancies between *want*+DP and *want-to-have/get*+DP at the level of idioms; at the same time, though, the overwhelmingly successful paraphrasing of *want*+DP with *want-to-have/get*+DP is also not surprising.

6.2.   Constraining Null Verbs

We have argued that we need to posit a null verb—in fact two null verbs—to explain the behavior of the *want*+DP construction, and that the verbs in question are separate lexical items (with a semantic but no phonological specification) rather than deletions of *have* and *get*. In effect, we argued that verbs can be lexically specified as phonologically null. Now, on the whole, null verbs nevertheless seem to be more of an exception to the norm, and it is certainly not the case that any verb can be null, and in any kind of environment. Therefore, we may want to somehow constrain null verbs, restrict their number and their occurrence. The question now is how to do this. Van Riemsdijk (2002) suggests that null verbs need some structural licensing. But if null verbs are ordinary lexical items that simply have no phonological exponence, then structural licensing does not seem necessary. Regular verbs do not need it, so why should null verbs? Remember that null verbs are deficient only on the PF side, and the syntax simply should not know or care what their phonology looks like.

    Additionally, if null verbs did need some sort of structural licensing, then we would expect this licensing to be uniform for all null verbs (or else we are bringing structural requirements into the lexicon). However, if we take a look at the null verbs proposed in the literature, we quickly see that this is simply not the case. Van Riemsdijk (2002) proposed that certain Germanic constructions where a modal appears to select for a directional PP in fact contain a null verb GO. According to

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van Riemsdijk, this null GO is licensed by a c-commanding modal head. Marušič & Žaucer (2005b) showed that a comparable construction with a null GO exists also in Slovenian, as in (40a) above or (41a). Now, if a c-commanding modal licensed GO in (41a), then we would expect the same setting to license HAVE and GET as well. But as shown in (41b), HAVE and GET are not possible under (possibility/necessity) modals, although they *are* possible in the same kind of construction under the verb *want*.

(41)   a. Janez je že   dovolj pijan, zato mora domov.
             Janez is already enough drunk so   must home
             'Janez is already drunk enough, so he must go home.'
       b. Peter je bolan, zato mora *(dobiti/imeti) nekaj zdravil.
             Peter is sick   so   must   have/get   some medications
             'Peter is sick, so he must get/have some medications.'
       c. Peter je bolan, zato hoče (dobiti/imeti) nekaj zdravil.
              Peter is sick   so wants have/get   some medications
              'Peter is sick, he wants some medications.'

Larson *et al*. (1997) argue that null Vs get licensed via (abstract) incorporation into the matrix verb (**want** *a unicorn*) or complementizer (*look **for** a unicorn*). This kind of approach might be generalizable to all null verbs, but it is at the same time unobservable (how can we tell whether in *want a unicorn*, the null verb HAVE has incorporated into *want* or not?), as such presumably untestable and unfalsifiable, and therefore methodologically problematic.

      Earlier we asked the question why there should be structural licensing at all. If null verbs are in the lexicon, they should be regular building blocks for the syntax, not something inferior to overt verbs. But at the same time, since they are null, we do need some sort of indication that they are present in a sentence. Structural licensing could do the job, but we have rejected this option. The problem of null verbs basically seems to boil down to the problem of learnability. How is a child supposed to figure out that there is a verb where he cannot hear any? In a slightly different sense, the same goes for an adult listener. They both need some clue which suggests that there is something null there. Null verbs have to be 'visible', i.e., recoverable. But this visibility condition need not be structural, at least not in the strict sense; in Marušič & Žaucer (2005a,b), we called an element that 'signals' the presence of a null verb a flag (a term we borrowed from van Riemsdijk (2002)). Informally speaking, a flag is simply a signal that tells us that there is something hidden there. Since these flags do not amount to some strict 'structural licensing', they need not be the same for all null verbs; on the contrary, since there are several null verbs, we would not expect them to have the same flag, or else they would be indistinguishable from one another. The flag (or perhaps one of the flags) signaling the presence of HAVE is a DP complement to the attitude-report verb *want*. Flags are thus construction/null-verb–specific, and it should be possible for them, at least in principle, to be to an extent

language-specific. The obvious questions that arise now are where such flags are stored, how they are related to the lexical word, and whether they are part of the lexicon. We do not have an answer to these challenges yet; we will simply assume here that flags are something we can learn and add to a specific lexical item in the lexicon (perhaps in a similar way as *the bucket* has to be somehow lexically associated with *kick* in order to yield, in the right syntactic environment, the idiomatic reading of *kick the bucket*).

Null verbs also appear to be constrained in their number, the literature documents no more than a few. We would thus not want to say that just any semantics can be associated with a null verb (of course, any phonologically contentful verb can be elided, but this is another case). At present, it seems reasonable to restrict null verbs to the expression of some sort of semantic (or cognitive) primitives. Taking a look at the null verbs that have been proposed so far, we mostly find verbs that fit in this class, such as a null motion verb GO (van Riemsdijk 2002, Marušič & Žaucer 2005b), a null *want*-like verb of desiring (Marušič & Žaucer 2005a), and a null GIVE (Larson *et al*. 1997, cf. also Marušič & Žaucer 2005a); furthermore, Larson *et al*. (1997) speculate about a null FIND and a null BE, neither of which should be too surprising. On the other hand, Inkelas (1993) proposed over 10 null verbs in Nimboran, some of which do not, at first sight, seem to fit in with semantic primitives. We do not have anything to say about that, except that a closer look at Nimboran might reveal a smaller and more basic set of concepts, and that the non-primitive concepts are all expressed by some sort of particle verbs (an overt particle and a null verb) rather than simply by a null verb, and so the null verb in such particle-verb combinations may be a verb which on its own denotes a more primitive concept than the concept expressed by the combination may suggest. Further, McShane (2000) gives examples with unpronounced verbs SAY and HIT in Russian and some other Slavic languages, which might not seem to express very primitive concepts. We discuss some of these issues in more detail in Marušič & Žaucer (2005a,b).

7.   Conclusion

We have shown that based on a number of tests (temporal adverbs, sentential anaphora, ellipsis, intensionality, IP/frequency adverbs), Harley's parallel between the DOC, *have/get*+DP, and *want*+DP is not justified. Apart from the unrealized parallel, the ellipsis facts from section 4.2 suggest that *want* takes a clausal complement with a VP that can act as an antecedent for the elided constituent. The possibility to have double temporal adverbials in *want*+DP from section 4.1 shows that the complement contains more than just a PP, since a PP alone should not be able to introduce independent events; we need an event-introducing projection, i.e. a VP/*v*P. Similarly, the possibility of having a frequency adverb modifying the 'having'/'getting' suggests that there is some IP structure dominating the HAVE element, so the structure should include a V/*v*.

Further, we have shown that Harley's (2004) data does *not* force us to accept her conclusion. We do not have to adopt the decomposition of *have*, *get* and *give* with a light verb and P_{HAVE} in order to get the facts in section 5 right, that is, those facts can be explained without the postulation of P_{HAVE}. Instead, we agreed with Ross (1976) and McCawley (1979) in that *want*+DP contains either a null HAVE or a null GET, but we broke with their account in suggesting that the null verbs are not deletions of the otherwise overt *have/get* but rather separate lexical items, which saves us from making the unrealized prediction of a perfect match between *want*+DP and *want-to-have/get*+DP.

8.   Problems and Unresolved Issues

8.1.   Conjunction

One thing that has been pointed out as a problem for the clausal analysis of *want*+DP is the claim that a DP complement to *want* cannot be coordinated with a clausal complement, while the clausal analysis with a null verb predicts that such a coordination will be possible. Schwarz (2005) gives the two examples in (42) and the reported judgments.

(42)   a. John needed *(to have) a beer and to sleep.
          b. John needed to sleep and *(to have) a beer.   (Schwarz 2005)

This claim, however, does not seem to be entirely true. A Google search for strings such as "wanted a beer and to" returns a number of hits, and native English drinkers readily confirm their acceptability. A few Google examples are given in (43). In view of (43), (42a) can hardly be unacceptable, and our speakers confirm this. The deviance of (42b), however, remains puzzling, and we have no explanation for it.

(43)   a. The father, who wanted a beer and to read the sports page, waved him
             away.
          b. I just wanted a couple of drinks and to relax in a small inconspicuous
             corner of the bar after a day of teaching.
          c. He needed a beer and to let off some steam.

But while the deviance of (42b) may be problematic for a clausal/null-verb analysis of *want*+DP, the acceptability of examples like (43) could be a problem for non-clausal accounts. That is, since it is typically assumed that the two parts of a coordination are of the same syntactic category, we can use (43) as further evidence that the complement of *want* cannot be just a PP. That is, if *a beer* is inside a PP, then *to read* should also be a PP or inside of one; this does not seem very reasonable, and indeed, *to read* quite obviously cannot be coordinated with plain PPs.

An even more common type of coordination of an apparent DP and a non-finite clause is in (44) (again Google examples). Sentences like these are frequent on the Internet, and were also readily confirmed by our native speakers.[9]

(44)   a. All one wants is a beer and to watch a ballgame.
        b. All you need is a beer and to sit and watch a match.
        c. … by which time all they'll want is a drink and to party.
        d. What I want is a drink and to start dancing.

8.2.   Passive

Another previously noticed problem for the clausal analysis is related to the fact that although *want*+DP participates in the passive transformation, as shown in (45a), *want-to-have/get*+DP does not, (45b-c).

(45)   a. A tequila was wanted/needed (by Mary).
        b. *A tequila was wanted/needed to be had (by Mary).
        c. *A tequila was wanted/needed to be got(ten).

Larson *et al*. (1997) do give an explanation, but their story will not work for us (since we have not, for lack of evidence, subscribed to their incorporation of the null verb).[10] We have nothing to say about this at this point, except that the restriction might have to do with the fact that *have* (and to a lesser extent also *get*) as the main verb of possession does not have a very clear passive form. Note also that the equivalent of (45) with the long passive is not so clearly out in Slovenian, (46), especially with the so-called *se*-passive in (46).

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[9] We have also found a number of examples of a DP coordinated with a clausal element inside the complement of other intensional transitive verbs, e.g. *look for*, (i-ii), *seek*, (iii), *promise*, (iv).
(i)   … just looking for some fun and to meet new people.
(ii)   And if you're looking for money and to see if I drive a, Porsche/BMW you're looking at the wrong man.
(iii)   The churches seek money and to evangelize everywhere just like advertisements …
(iv)   He promised him money and to deliver up both himself and the city.
On the one hand these examples might be used as arguments for a clausal analysis of all ITVs (following Larson *et al*. 1997 and Larson 2002). But on the other hand they might show that the coordination test cannot be used to argue for a clausal status of the apparent DP complement. This might prove to be the right conclusion in light of examples like (v), where a DP is coordinated with a CP. Just to add on more speculation, (v) might show that CP complements to verbs of information transfer are actually embedded inside of a DP (Kawamura 2006).
(v)   I told him a joke and that he should stop drinking.
[10] Note, though, that our rejection of their proposed incorporation of the null verb was methodological and based only on specific instantiations of the construction, such as *Joe wanted a car*, but we have no theoretical reason to reject it if evidence can be found in its support. In this sense, we also leave open the option of accepting it in certain environments and not in others.

(46)　　a. ?? Na　srečolovu　se　je　hotela　dobit　　　　tekila.
　　　　　　　on　lottery　　　refl　aux　　wanted gotten　tequila
　　　　　　　'Someone wanted to get tequilla on the lottery.'
　　　　b. ? Na　srečolovu　se　je　rabla　dobit　tekila.
　　　　　　　on　lottery　　　refl aux　needed　to-get tequila
　　　　　　　'Someone needed to get tequilla on the lottery.'

We also acknowledge that as far as we can see, (45) presents no problem for Harley (2004). In her account, the structure of (45a) is considerably different from that of (45b-c), so no parallel is expected in the first place; also, with *want* embedding a small-clause-like PP, the availability of the passive is not unexpected. Similarly, these examples are unproblematic for lexicalist approaches to *want*+DP, such as Dowty (1979) and Wechsler (2005), which hold that one of the meanings of *want* lexically contains a possessive relation, but the latter is not represented syntactically but only in the lexical semantics of *want*. We do not really have much to say about these accounts (see Wechsler 2005 for interesting discussion). As mentioned above, a syntax-to-semantics-mapping model does not allow us to introduce semantic material such as events non-syntactically; also, we are not sure how, for example, the ellipsis data can be handled non-syntactically.

8.3.　　Adjectivalization of *want*+HAVE?

Another puzzling fact comes from the adjectives formed from *want*. If things are to remain parallel to verbs, then one might want to say that a clausal analysis predicts that the adjective *(un)wanted* should somehow also comprise two verbs internal to the adjective, i.e. the verb *want* and a verb HAVE/GET. The syntactic null-verb approach will clearly have to posit quite an elaborate structure for these adjectivalizations (quite possibly involving incorporation of the null verb).

(47)　　a. unwanted effects / guests
　　　　b. unneeded services

We leave these cases for future research, and also acknowledge that the lexicalist approach can handle their derivation with no problems (e.g. with a simple V^0-to-A^0 conversion). But we also note that in these adjectivalizations, the independent event of 'having' seems to disappear; if this is indeed the case, this probably presents a problem for syntactic as well as lexicalist accounts. On the latter, if the independent event of 'having' in *want*+DP comes from within the lexical entry of the verb *want*, then the same should presumably be true after conversion of this verb to an adjective.

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