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The syntax of *liketa*

A case of restructuring in Appalachian English

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Abstract In this article I provide a syntactic analysis for the non-standard *liketa* and its uncontracted counterpart *liked to* in Appalachian English. I argue that both forms are verbal and are related via restructuring, following similar analyses of *wanna* contraction. However, *liketa* is different from *wanna* in that it places unique aspectual restrictions on its complements. Specifically, it requires that the verb appearing immediately to the right be marked with past participle morphology for felicitous interpretation. A comparison of *liketa* and *liked to* reveals that both are verbal and *liketa* has many hallmark properties of restructuring predicates. In fact, it shares many properties with *wanna* contraction, an example of restructuring in English. I analyze *liketa* in the spirit of Wurmbrand (2001) who provides a mono-clausal approach to restructuring. I consider dialect variation among grammars which allow slightly different syntactic constraints on the usage of *liketa*. Finally, I sketch out an alternative biclausal restructuring account in order to compare the consequences of two prominent theories of restructuring verbs.

Keywords Appalachian English · Syntax · Morphosyntax · Variation · Restructuring

1 Introduction

In this paper, I provide a syntactic analysis of the understudied form *liketa* in Appalachian English as spoken in eastern Kentucky. Data in this paper stem from the author's native speaker intuitions. These intuitions were checked against the intuitions of five informants from the small communities of Chloe Creek and Jonancy[1] in

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[1]The author of this work is from Jonancy.

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Pike County, Kentucky as well as the community of McRoberts in Letcher County, Kentucky.

In Appalachian English, the lexical item *liketa* pronounced [lɑktə] is often used to describe events which 'came close to happening but which did not happen' (Wolfram and Christian 1976: 91).

(1) a. John has **liketa** punched Bill.

     b. John had **liketa** punched Bill before you arrived.

(2) a. John has **almost** punched Bill.

     b. John had **almost** punched Bill before you arrived.

Example (1) shows that *liketa* is compatible with both the past and present tense marked auxiliary *have*. In these examples the meanings of *almost* and *liketa* are the same. Further, the meanings of (1) and (2) are identical in the case of achievement verbs like *punch*. However *liketa* only has a subset of the possible meanings attributed to *almost* when modifying accomplishment verbs[2] (Johnson 2013; Wolfram and Christian 1976). Modulo tense, they share the meaning in (3)

(3) *John came close to punching Bill before you arrived, but he did not punch Bill before you arrived.*

Liketa in Appalachian English has an uncontracted counterpart. Consider the contracted form below with the non-contracted form in (4b).

(4) a. John had **liketa** punched Bill before you arrived.

     b. John had **liked to** have punched Bill before you arrived.

For clarity, the meaning is the same for both forms. I take the phonetic difference between *liketa* and *liked to* in normally paced speech to be one of vowel reduction commonly found with contractions. The [u] in [lɑktu] in the non-contracted form corresponds to [ə] in the contraction [lɑktə]. I make this distinction only to clarify what the difference between these two forms sounds like for non-dialect speakers.

In the non-contracted *liked to* form, the auxiliary *have* and past participle morphology on the verb are required.

(5) a. John had liked to **have punched** Bill before you arrived.

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[2]For example, when *build* is modified by *almost* as in '*John almost built a chair,*' there are 3 possible interpretations (Rapp and von Stechow 1999). There is (i) a counterfactual interpretation where the agent almost initiates an action which causes a change of state, (ii) a scalar interpretation where the agent initiates an action which almost causes a change of state, and (iii) a resultative interpretation where an agent initiates an action which causes something to almost change states. *Liketa* does not license a *resultative* interpretation shown in (1c).

(1) John liketa built a chair

     a. CF: John almost initiated an action which caused building of a chair to happen.

     b. SC: John initiated an action which almost caused building of a chair to happen.

     c. # RS: John initiated an action which caused building of a chair to almost happen.

In this way, *liketa* has only a subset of the three reported interpretations that *almost* has.

    b.   * John had liked to **punch** Bill before you arrived.

    c.   * John had liked to **punched** Bill before you arrived.

Example (5a) shows *liked to* is acceptable with an infinitival complement containing auxiliary *have*. Example (5b) shows that *liked to* accepts a bare form in its complement. (5c) shows that participle morphology is not licensed under *liked to* without a corresponding overt auxiliary *have*. Finally, comparing these facts, I conclude that only infinitival complements containing auxiliary *have* are licensed under *liked to*.

    With contracted *liketa* however, the embedded auxiliary is banned but the participle is required. Example (6a) shows that *liketa* is acceptable with only past participle morphology on the embedded verb. Example (6b) shows that past participle morphology on the embedded verb is required and yet the overt auxiliary in (6c) is banned.

(6)   a.   John had liketa **punched** Bill before you arrived.

       b.   * John had liketa **punch** Bill before you arrived.

       c.   * John had liketa **have punched** Bill before you arrived.

Thus the difference between the two forms is that auxiliary *have* is not licit under contracted *liketa*, even though the participle morphology is required on the embedded verb. Specifically, I argue that the verb directly embedded under *liketa* bears morphology associated with the English past participle. Evidence supporting this claim is discussed below in Sect. 3. However, briefly consider the following evidence that simple past verb forms are insufficient under *liketa*.

(7)   a.   John had liketa **been** slapped.

       b.   * John had liketa **was** slapped.

       c.   * John had liketa **be** slapped.

    The failure to take a complement headed by overt *have* is unique to *liketa*. Notice that no such restriction holds for *wanna* or *gonna* contraction; assuming they are contracted forms of *want to* and *going to*.

(8)   a.   I wanna have eaten before they arrive.

       b.   * I wanna eaten before they arrive.

       c.   I'm gonna have eaten before they arrive.

       d.   * I'm gonna eaten before they arrive.

    In summary, *liketa* in Appalachian English is similar in meaning to *almost*. Within the dialect it exhibits morphosyntactic variation. It can appear as the contracted *liketa* or the non-contracted *liked to*. *Liked to* selects for an infinitive participle form of the verb and *liketa* appears to select only for a participle form of the verb. However, contracted *liketa* requires participle morphology on the embedded verb but does not allow an overt embedded auxiliary *have*. This fact is unique to *liketa* as other infinitival contractions do not seem to exhibit this restriction.

    I argue that we can capture the syntactic relationship between *liketa* and *liked to* in a way that accounts for the ban on auxiliary *have* in the contracted form. More specifically, I will argue that both the contracted and non-contracted forms are verbal and that the relationship between them, including the ban on embedded auxiliary *have*,

is best captured in terms of restructuring or clause union. Such an analysis informs the syntax of infinitival contractions such as *wanna, gonna, hafta* as well as the morphosyntax of auxiliary selection in embedded clauses. My analysis will account for the allowance of auxiliary *have* under *wanna* contraction as well as variation in *liketa* between grammars. I will then compare analyses of *liketa* in Appalachian English in two different theories of restructuring. I argue that the mono-clausal approach found in Wurmbrand (2001) is superior to a bi-clausal head movement approach found in Roberts (1997).

This paper is structured as follows. In Sect. 2, I will briefly review previous observations about *liketa*. Then, I will provide a syntactic analysis of the form in Sect. 3 showing that *liketa* is verbal. Section 4 concerns *liketa*'s complement clauses and introduces the notion of restructuring verbs and their complements. In Sect. 5, I argue that some instances of infinitival contraction are instances of restructuring. The analysis of *liketa* is in Sect. 6 along with a discussion of alternate varieties of *liketa*, and a comparison of restructuring mechanisms. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2 Previous work on *liketa*

In this section, I discuss the observations that have been made about *liketa* beginning with Walt Wolfram and Donna Christian's observations from Appalachian English in nearby West Virginia. Then I will move outward to observations about *liketa* in African American Vernacular English of New York from Labov, and Feagin's observations from Alabama English. Lastly, I present some observations taken from various written language corpora.

2.1 Adverbial accounts of *liketa*

Wolfram and Christian (1976) discuss *liketa* as it occurred in Mercer and Monroe counties in southwestern West Virginia. The data consists of 33 tokens of *liketa* in at least 42 hours of conversation from 52 sociolinguistic interviews.[3]

(9) (Wolfram and Christian 1976)
  a. And I knew what I'd done and boy it liketa scared me to death.
  b. That thing looked exactly like a real mouse and I liketa went through the roof.
  c. When we got there, we liketa never got waited on.
  d. I liketa never went to sleep that night.

Wolfram and Christian (1976: 92) note that "a past form" of the verb is required on the verb that follows *liketa*. They are not specific about whether those past forms are simple past or past participles. They also note that *liketa* itself does not bear tense, and there are no cases of *liketa* appearing in questions or embedded clauses. Finally,

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[3]The primary corpus contained 36 interviews of at least 60 minutes in length, while the remainder were 16 interviews of at least 30 minutes in length which were of lesser quality (Wolfram and Christian 1976: 10–12).

they observe that the only negative element that occurs under the scope of *liketa* is *never*, as shown in examples (9c) and (9d).

Recall the introductory claim that *liketa*, at least in eastern Kentucky, requires the past participle morphology on the embedded verb. I would point out that this claim is not at odds with the data from West Virginia which contains what appear to be simple past forms of irregular verbs following *liketa*. As one reviewer points out, many varieties of AppE exhibit alternate past irregular verb forms. The reviewer notes that *went* is listed as the past participle form of the verb *go* in Appalachian English of eastern Tennessee (Montgomery and Hall 2004). Similarly, Wolfram and Christian (1976: 80–84) note that many verbs like *get*, *go*, and *know* commonly exhibit alternate forms in past and participle contexts. For example, they may be found directly under auxiliary *have* marked with only simple past morphology in the AppE of southern West Virginia. The same is true for AppE in eastern Kentucky.

Following observations from Labov (1972) made about *liketa* in African American Vernacular English of New York City, Wolfram and Christian adopt the idea that *liketa* must be an adverb because it does not show tense marking in (10a) or undergo subject/aux inversion in (10b).

(10) a. * John had liketa-ed punched Bill before you arrived.
      b. * Liketa John had punched Bill before you arrived?

Here I will summarize the claims from the adverbial accounts of *liketa*. The negative time adverbial *never* is the only negation allowed under *liketa*. The verb under *liketa* must be marked for past and there are no observed instances of *liketa* appearing in questions or embedded contexts. Labov and Wolfram and Christian argue that *liketa* also does not show overt tense marking or invert in questions, ruling it out as an auxiliary verb form. Keep in mind that in Sect. 3, I argue that *liketa* is verbal, must be marked for the past participle, and does in fact occur in yes/no questions.

2.2 The contraction described

Feagin (1979) describes the distribution of *liketa* in her corpus[4] of the Southern English of Anniston, Alabama. She argues that *liketa* is derived either from the transitive verb *liken* meaning '*to see, mention, or show as like or similar*' or from the adjective *like*. While Feagin refers to *liketa* as a quasi-modal, she argues that *liketa* is related to or derived from *like to have V-ed*. She argues that the verb to the right of *liketa* is a participle form when it appears with auxiliary *have* but that the verb may appear in simple past form in cases where auxiliary *have* is missing. To be clear, if a verb to the right of *liketa* appears with simple past morphology then Feagin speculates that *liketa* has undergone some type of grammatical change from selecting a participle to selecting a preterite form. Like Wolfram and Christian she in effect only goes so far as to say that some past morphology is required on the embedded verb and that *liketa* does not occur in questions or commands.

She notes fluctuation in the appearance of auxiliary *have* in the embedded clause. An auxiliary *have* either appeared in the data in its full form in (11a), a contracted form as in (11b), or deleted as in (11c).

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[4]The corpus that Feagin created consisted of 85 recorded interviews ranging from 0.5 to 2.5 hours.

(11)   a. She liketa **have** died!   (Diane B. W15:38.II.120)

         b. An' that just liketa**'ve** killed him.   (Virginia L. U60)

         c. She liketa killed me! She was so mad!   (Diane B. W15:38.II.120)

Out of 70 tokens, *liketa* occurred with *not* once (12a) and with *never* three times (12b–12d). Note that, the bare *like* forms in (12c–12d) are still reportedly interpretable as approximatives.

(12)   a. They liketa **not** got any food or anything to 'em. (Sam C. W70:34.I.236)

         b. They liketa **never** git them needles up!   (Myrtice J. W62)

         c. And I like **never** to have found her   (Frances B. U59)

         d. You like **never** got material to fix it.   (Ella B. W:37.I.361)

Ultimately, the presence of full *have* in the complement of *liketa* in Alabama English should only be taken as evidence of different trajectories of grammaticalization in two different dialects. I will revisit this issue after I present my analysis. However, for the moment we must keep the following in mind. The dialect spoken in Anniston, Alabama and the dialect spoken in eastern Kentucky are not the same dialect even if they happen to share cognate lexical items. There is no evidence to suggest these dialects, or individual lexical items within them should behave identically.

2.3 *Liketa* has a history with auxiliary *have*

There is a long historical record of the usage of *liketa*-related forms in various British and American English corpora (see Kytö and Romaine 2005). Kytö and Romaine find that non-contracted constructions like *have/had liked to + V*, appear as early as the mid-fifteenth century in conditional *if* clauses.

(13)   (Kytö and Romaine 2005)

         ...Cathedrall Churche was sette afire, and began to brenne, and **yf hit hadde had his course** $\boxed{\text{lyke to have sette a fyre}}$ **and brende the cheif and grete parte of the citee** (1447, Helsinki ME4, John Shillingford, Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, p. 87).

         '...Cathedral church was set afire and began to burn, and **if it had had its course,** $\boxed{\text{would have come close to setting a fire}}$ and burning the chief and great part of the city'.

Kytö and Romaine suggest that *liketa* has roots in adjectival *like*, with a meaning of imminent likelihood or probability. In their extensive corpora study, virtually all instances of *liketa* (contracted or not) exhibit counterfactual meaning when they appear as *have/had liked to + V*. Beyond this, the majority of constructions involving past tense auxiliary *have* also exhibit a *have* auxiliary in the infinitival clause to the right of *liketa*. There is however a related form *be like to + V* which features a high *be* auxiliary instead of the familiar *have* auxiliary. Interestingly, these *be* forms tend not to be counterfactual. They are usually only assigned an interpretation of high probability.

Thus, Kytö and Romaine show that the counterfactual interpretation (*came close to X, but didn't X*) is strongly associated with past participle morphology and the *have* auxiliary in both clauses. I show that this historical correlation between the counterfactual interpretation, auxiliary *have*, and its associated participle morphology remains robust in modern Appalachian English. For example, if we remove the past participle morphology from the embedded verb, then *liketa* is unacceptable on a counterfactual interpretation (contracted or not). Instead, it is only marginally acceptable and can only be interpreted with the common enjoyment or desire interpretation as in *I like bourbon* or *I like to drink bourbon*.

(14)   a.   ? They have liked to throw people out (in the past).

     b.   ? They have liketa throw people out (in the past).

         "They have enjoyed throwing people out (in the past)."

        # *"They almost threw people out (in the past)."*

Thus in (14a) and (14b) the only possible interpretation for either form is the common transitive '*enjoy*' meaning of *like*.

Previous observations about *liketa* in AppE, Alabama English, and African American Vernacular English of New York City, may be summarized as follows. What little research there is suggests that *liketa* is non-verbal, based on the fact that it is not marked for tense. In terms of negation, it allows adverbial *never* in its complement in AppE and in addition to this, *liketa* in Alabama English exhibits one token of *not*. It does not undergo subject auxiliary inversion in yes/no questions and there are no previously observed instances of *liketa* being embedded or appearing in commands or questions.[5] Finally, *liketa* appearing with auxiliary *have* and so-called past morphology is always accompanied by counterfactual interpretations of completed eventualities. It should be noted that any lack of data in these studies is most likely the result of the sociolinguistic interview process and might even be expected given the rather small number of tokens of *liketa* in each corpus.

In what follows, I will argue that *liketa* is a verb which selects for smaller than TP clauses. Thus, we will revisit *liketa*'s interaction with negation, its lack of ability to undergo subject auxiliary inversion, and its unique interactions with auxiliary *have* and the assignment of what I argue is past participle morphology in *liketa*'s complement. I will have nothing more to say about *liketa*'s observed lack of appearance in commands or embedded contexts.

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[5]According to my and other native speaker judgments *liketa* may appear in an embedded clause.

    (1)   John told me that Bill *liketa* died.

This seems to have no bearing on the current analysis. Rather, I would speculate that it is also at least possible in the grammar of Wolfram and Christian's AppE speakers but simply has a low frequency of occurrence.

3 *Liketa* in the AppE of eastern Kentucky is verbal: Arguments against adverbial accounts

In this section, I will establish the syntactic category of the lexical item *liketa* and determine the relationship between *liketa*, *liked to*, and their respective complement clauses. I will provide evidence that the forms in question are verbal rather than adverbial.

Adverbs are generally less restricted in their distribution in sentences than verbs are.

(15)   a.   John *almost* died.
       b.   John died *almost*.[6]
       c.   John liketa died.
       d.   * John died *liketa*.

Example (15b) shows that *almost* may appear post-verbally, while (15d) shows that *liketa* may not.

Adverbs are licit as answers to questions, *liketa* is not.

(16)   a.   Q: Did you finish your work? A: *almost.*
       b.   * Q: Did you finish your work? A: *liketa.*

Even though *liketa* and *liked to* are constrained in the types of aspectual auxiliaries and participle morphology that may appear on either side of them, we can still learn about their syntactic categories by looking at their distributions in a hierarchy of projections. In what follows, I show that neither *liketa* or *liked to* pattern with the adverb *almost*. First, notice in (17a) that *liked to* may appear between two auxiliary *haves*.

(17)   a.   John had *liked to* have finished his work.
       b.   * John had *almost* have finished his work.

This is indicative of a bi-clausal structure in which the *liked* of *liked to* occupies the position of the matrix verb and *to* is the head of a TP complement. Example (17b) shows that this position in the sentence is unavailable to the adverb *almost*.

Second, since *liketa* does not license the overt embedded auxiliary, comparison with *almost* reveals a superficially similar distribution.

(18)   a. John had *liketa* (*have) finished his work.
       b. John had *almost* (*have) finished his work.

However, we see in (19) that *liketa* selects for a particular participle form of the embedded verb, while *almost* does not.

(19)   a.   John *liketa* finished his work.
       b.   * John *liketa* finishes his work.

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[6]A reviewer notes that post-VP *almost* might not be a common usage. It is perfectly acceptable for the author and many other (both AppE and more standard) American English speakers. The reviewer also points out that many adverbs' distributions are more fixed. While this is true, the point of the data here, is to show that *liketa* and its closest semantic relative do not have the same syntactic distribution.

    c.   John *almost* finished his work.

    d.   John *almost* finishes his work.

Specifically, *liketa* selects for the past participle on the verb which appears to its right. This is explicitly visible only when the verb to the right of *liketa* is passivized and requires auxiliary *be*. Auxiliary *be* may only ever appear in the past participle form and never in the simple past. Recall this fact from (7) repeated below.

(20)   a.   John *liketa* **been** killed.

       b.   * John *liketa* **was** killed.

This fact is extremely important given that this variety of AppE exhibits variation in simple past and past participle verb forms such that virtually all irregular verbs, except auxiliary *be*, exhibit some type of variation. For example, almost all standard past participle *-en* verb forms may follow an auxiliary *have* in AppE marked either for simple past as in '*John had broke the vase before...*' or even an unmarked form '*John had eat the bread before...*'. Under the common assumption that *been* is the past participle form of auxiliary *be*, this is one of the strongest, albeit rare, pieces of evidence that *liketa* complements involve a head that assigns the past participle in the dialect under discussion.

    This data is not consistent with an adverbial analysis for *liketa*, because adverbs like *almost* do not commonly select particular tense or aspectual forms of verbs. Moreover, time adverbials that are constrained to certain tense and aspectual contexts do not block subject verb agreement.

(21)   a. He always finishes his work.

       b. He never finishes his work.

       c. He now finishes his work.

This means that if *liketa* were an adverb, we would have to account for the fact that *liketa* resists appearing with all but participle morphology in its complement.

    The facts leave open the possibility that *liketa* is itself an aspectual auxiliary like *be* or *have*,[7] but this is unlikely because all standard lone finite aspectual auxiliaries in English undergo T to C movement in yes/no questions. *Liketa* does-not.

(22)   a.   Is John eating?

       b.   Has John eaten?

       c.   * Liketa John eaten?

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[7]As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, there may be a connection between *liketa* in AppE and other non-standard aspectual constructions like aspectual *done* (see Green 1993; Feagin 1979). As I understand the phenomenon in African American Vernacular English, Alabama English, and Appalachian English, there is nothing which precludes *done* from being analyzed in much the same way as I will analyze *liketa*; as a restructuring predicate in the spirit of Wurmbrand (2001). The details would of course have to be worked out, but consider the following state of affairs. According to Green, aspectual *done* is base generated in an AspP which appears below AuxP and above VP in the clausal architecture of the phrase. Aspectual predicates appearing in this exact position are identified as a sub-type of restructuring predicates by Wurmbrand. I leave an attempt at a fully detailed synthesis of these facts to further research.

In fact, *liketa* can only appear in yes/no questions which are formed with the auxiliary *have*.

(23) a.   Had you *liketa* finished your work?
      b.   * Did you *liketa* finished your work?

We can capture this fact by assuming that, in accordance with the historical findings from Kytö and Romaine (2005), *liketa* always occurs with a matrix auxiliary *have* and is optionally pronounced.

(24) John (has/had) *liketa* finished your work.

I leave discussion of optionally null *have* until Sect. 6.1 where I discuss the position of *liketa* within the larger clause. Nevertheless, I assume that an auxiliary *have* is always present in the syntax above *liketa*.

   These facts taken together suggest that *liketa* is verbal even though it appears in distributions similar to *almost*. As I will argue later in this paper, analyzing *liketa* as a verb accounts for a broader set of facts in which it is shown to be virtually identical to *wanna*, the contraction of *want to*.

   Thus *liketa* is verbal and not adverbial. It cannot appear in multiple locations like many adverbs and it is not a felicitous response to a yes/no question. Further, *liked to* appears in a verbal position between two auxiliary *have* heads and even though *liketa* does not, its unique selectional properties set it apart from adverbs and aspectual auxiliaries.

4 The embedded clause

Having established that *liketa* and *liked to* are both basically verbal, we can turn our attention to the embedded clause. I argue that even though they appear to be related by some mechanism of contraction, they select different embedded complements. If they selected the same complements then the alternation between the contracted and non-contracted form might be a purely phonological one. However, as I point out below, there are syntactic differences between the complements associated with the *liketa* and *liked to* forms. Any differences in the syntactic behavior of the complements should be accounted for syntactically. Thus, whatever conditions led to the creation of these two forms, I assume that they are separate lexical items with differing selectional restrictions and consequent syntactic effects.

   I assume following Feagin (1979), that *liketa* is the contracted form of *liked to* and this is parallel to the contraction of *wanna* from *want to*. Since *wanna* has been shown to have features associated with clausal restructuring or clause union (Postal and Pullum 1982; Roberts 1997; Goodall 2006), it is likely that *liketa* will have those properties as well. Thus identifying *liketa* as a restructuring predicate is a starting point for analyzing any differences in the complement clauses of *liketa* and *liked to* forms and providing a principled account of the relationship between them.

   Embedded clauses are traditionally thought of as consisting of CP/TP. However, there is reason to think that this is not always the case based on evidence from a

certain class of verbs. The term restructuring describes instances of clausal embedding in which either the embedded or matrix clause[8] behave as if they are smaller than usually thought. These smaller than usual clauses are often referred to as having undergone *clause union* or *clause reduction*. More specifically, Wurmbrand (2001) argues that restructuring predicates across languages ban complementizers associated with (CP), sentential negation associated with (TP), and tend to describe bare events.

Consider the well known case of auxiliary switch in Italian as mentioned in Roberts (1997) and observed by Rizzi (1982) and Burzio (1986). Keep in mind that the transitive verb *voluto* requires the auxiliary *avere* as in (25a). The unaccusative verb *venire* requires the auxiliary *essere*. However, in (25b) we see that when *voluto* takes *venire* as an infinitival complement either auxiliary is allowed. These examples are taken from Roberts (1997: 433)

(25)   a.   Piero ha/*è voluto questo libro.
            Piero has/is wanted this   book.

       b.   Piero ha/è voluto venire   con noi.
            Piero has/is wanted to-come with us.

The crucial idea is that there is some property of the complement that renders the clause boundary transparent. Note that when the verb *voluto* appears without an infinitival clause, it cannot select for the auxiliary *essere* in (25a). However, when *voluto* appears above *venire* in (25b) the auxiliaries are allowed to 'switch' and either auxiliary is allowed. The requirement that *voluto* take the auxiliary *avere* seems to be circumvented by the fact that *voluto* has selected a complement that contains an unaccusative verb that requires the auxiliary *essere*. In this sense, the matrix clause containing *voluto* may share the selectional properties of its complement clause. It seems that the selectional requirement on auxiliaries of the embedded clause is realized in the matrix clause.

Now consider restructuring in English as exemplified by *wanna* contraction (Postal and Pullum 1982; Roberts 1997; Goodall 2006). In the uncontracted form shown in (26), wh-movement is licit from either the subject or the object argument position of the embedded clause. However, with *wanna* in (27) this is not possible. Wh-movement is not licit from the external argument position of the embedded clause.

(26)   a.   Who$_i$ do you want to dance with t$_i$

       b.   Who$_i$ do you want t$_i$ to dance

(27)   a.   Who$_i$ do you wanna dance with t$_i$

       b.   * Who$_i$ do you wanna t$_i$ dance

The analyses contained in Postal and Pullum (1982), Roberts (1997) and Goodall (2006) treat this alternation as if the external argument position is unavailable in *wanna* contraction.

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[8]Johnson (2014) argues that there are smaller than usual matrix clauses as exemplified by non-finite usages of *how come* as in "How come them to leave."

Thus, in both the case of Italian auxiliary switch and the case of *wanna* contraction in English, it appears as though their respective complement clauses are behaving as if they are smaller than previously thought or have been unified via some syntactic operation or mechanism.

In this article, I analyze *liketa* as a restructuring verb. In line with analyses of *wanna* contraction, the presence or absence of properties associated with CP or TP are what determine a complement's status as a restructuring clause. Complements with properties demonstrably associated with CP and TP are considered non-restructuring complements. Complements which do not exhibit properties associated with CP and TP are candidates for restructuring effects. Here, I present evidence that *liketa* differs from *liked to* in the presence of T. Specifically, *liketa* does not license infinitival-*to* or sentential negation from the embedded clause.

Liked to requires infinitival-*to* while *liketa* does not allow it. This is important because in most standard theories, infinitival-*to* in English is associated with T. The absence of infinitival-*to* is indicative of an absent T.[9]

(28)   ***liked to***

    a.   They had liked **to** have froze to death last night.

    b.   * They had liked have froze to death last night.

(29)   ***liketa***

    a.   * They had liketa **to** froze to death last night.

    b.   They had liketa froze to death last night.

Further, restructuring predicates in VP fronting and ellipsis contexts should be unacceptable because T in such instances must be overt.[10] Example (30) shows that this is exactly what we find with *liketa* contraction and VP fronting cases.

(30)   a.   They swore they had liketa died and died they'd liked to have.

    b.   * They swore they had liketa died and died they'd liketa.

    c.   Mary had liked to have slapped John and Sue had liked to too.

    d.   * Mary had liked to have slapped John and Sue had liketa too.

    e.   Mary had liketa slapped John and Sue had liked to too.

---

[9]A reviewer points out that the fact that infinitival-*to* is missing is also compatible with a view that the tense of the clause is finite, specifically past. I would like to point out that while that may be true in some cases, it is not necessarily true in all cases. Consider the following data with *wanna*.

    (1)   a.   I wanna (*to) leave.

        b.   I wanna leave (tomorrow/*yesterday).

This example shows that infinitival-*to* is not possible in *wanna* constructions and that past interpretations are not possible. Further, we will see later that sentential negation which is associated with T is also not allowed in *liketa* complements.

[10]This test was originally noted by Pullum (1997) in reference to the Roberts (1997) analysis of *wanna* contraction which is discussed in a later section.

The example in (30a) is acceptable because the second conjunct is a non-restructuring complement and an embedded T is present in the form of infinitival-*to*. Thus it complies with the overt T requirement of VP fronting. However, *liketa* in (30b) is unacceptable in the second conjunct because it is a restructuring verb and T is not present. The same logic may be applied to the VP ellipsis cases shown in (30c) and (30d). Finally, example (30e) shows that facts shown in the immediately preceding examples (30c–30d) are not due to a constraint against conjoining *liketa* and *liked to*. This is further support for the idea that contracted *liketa* and uncontracted *liked to* differ in terms of what complements they take.

Liked to licenses sentential negation with *not*, *liketa* does not. Considering the common assumption that sentential negation with *not* is parasitic on the presence of T (Zanuttini 1996), this also indicates that T is absent in the structure of contracted *liketa*. The uncontracted *liked to* allows sentential negation from its complement. Keep the meaning of *liked to* in mind. Without the negation associated with *not*, *liked to* has the following meaning.

(31)   *It came close to thawing out in time for dinner but it did not thaw out in time for supper.*

The addition of negation in the case of *liked to* changes the truth value of the entire proposition.

(32)   *It came close to **not** thawing out in time for dinner but it **did** thaw out in time for supper.*

Finally, the position of negation with respect to infinitival-*to* has no effect on the interpretation of negation.

(33)   ***liked to***

       a.   It had liked to have not thawed out in time for supper.

       b.   It had liked to not have thawed out in time for supper.

       It is not the case that, it came close to thawing out in time for supper but it did not thaw out in time for supper.

Sentential negation like this is not possible with contracted *liketa* and in fact negation with *not*, as shown in (34a), is only marginally acceptable. What is pertinent to the discussion here is that unlike *liked to*, sentential negation interpretations of *not* are semantically infelicitous (as indicated by #) embedded under *liketa*. This is shown in (34b).

(34)   ***liketa***

       a.   ? It had liketa not thawed out in time for supper.

   b.   # *It is not the case that, it had liketa thawed out in time for supper.*

You may recall that Feagin observed an instance of negation to the right of contracted *liketa* yet I have just claimed that it is only marginally acceptable in AppE. Beyond this, one reviewer points out that there are other observations of *liketa* occurring with negation. According to the Yale Grammatical Diversity Project website page on *liketa* (Ruffing and McCoy 2015), it may also appear under *liketa* as *didn't*.

(35) a. They *liketa* **not** got any food or anything to 'em.   (Feagin 1979)

   b. I *liketa* did**n't** make it!   (Ruffing and McCoy 2015)

I speculate that instances of negation found in these varieties are indicative of microvariation in the selectional restrictions on *liketa*'s complement. The differing availability of configurations involving negation between dialects reflect different pathways of grammaticalization[11] in the sense of Roberts and Roussou (2003). However, as far as I can tell *liketa* in AppE of eastern Kentucky selects complements that do not allow negation. I believe the question to ask in those other dialects is not about negation but whether *liketa* in those dialects is actually a verb. It may in fact be an adverb, an aspectual auxiliary, or a non-restructuring verb all of which may occur in different configurations with respect to negation. I will return to observations about variation in *liketa* complements after the current analysis.

   Minimally, this data shows a difference in properties associated with T in the embedded clauses of *liketa* and *liked to*. I argue that *liked to* is non-restructuring and is maximally headed by TP, while the complements of *liketa* either do not have a tense phrase or have a tense phrase that has different properties with respect to negation and insertion of infinitival-*to*.

   Considering that *liketa* and *liked to* in AppE are both raising predicates because they license expletive subjects as in *It had liketa rained* and *It had liked to have rained*, I argue that the structure of *liked to* is uncontroversial and minimally involves a TP. It is a non-restructuring verb and it selects a standard TP infinitive complement. I will assume it has the following structure.

(36)

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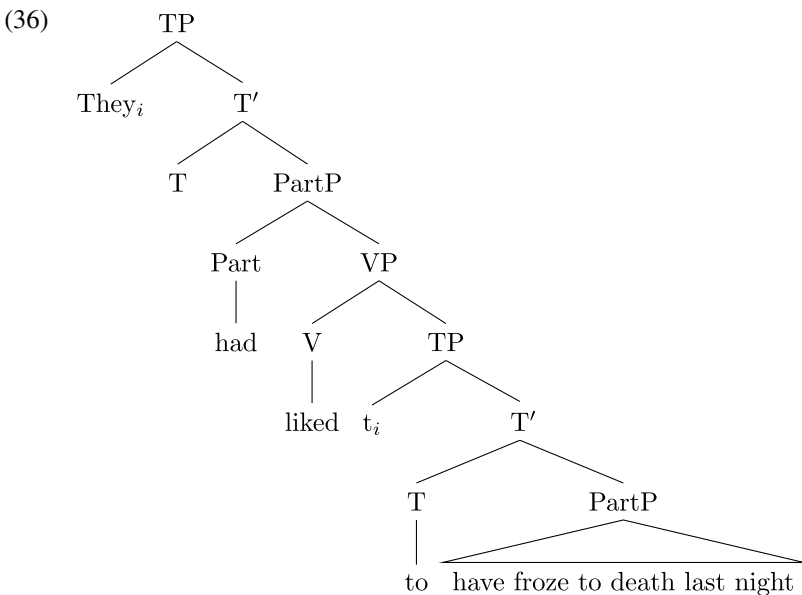
[11]Roberts and Roussou (2003: 2) argue that grammaticalization is, in effect, parameter setting that results from the reanalysis of either functional or lexical material.

In this section, I gave a bare sketch of the theory of restructuring that I will use to analyze contracted *liketa*. I assumed that restructuring verbs select for complements smaller than TP. Then I argued that only contracted *liketa* has restructuring properties; the uncontracted *liked to* form is a not a restructuring verb and can be set aside. These facts taken in conjunction with the observation that infinitival contractions superficially seem to involve a type of union across clause boundaries, suggest that a logical starting point for investigation is comparison with *wanna* contraction. The differences in *liketa* and *liked to* clauses are not simply superficial, contracted *liketa* does not license infinitival-*to* or sentential negation from inside the embedded complement. Thus, *liketa* seems to be a restructuring counterpart to *liked to*. In the next section, I present more evidence for the argument that some infinitival contractions may be thought of as restructuring predicates.

5 Contractions and restructuring complements

Goodall (1991, 2006) argues that infinitival contractions[12] like *wanna* are restructuring predicates; a notion that he attributes to Frantz (1977) and Postal and Pullum (1982). Goodall establishes several parallels between the restructuring process known as clitic climbing in Romance languages and *wanna* contraction.

(37)   (Goodall 2006: 691)
    a.   The host of contraction is modal or aspectual in nature.
    b.   The infinitival must be a complement of the host of the contraction.
    c.   The subject of the matrix and embedded clauses must be co-referential.

(38)   (Goodall 1991: 240–241)
    a.   The host of the contraction must be a syntactic verb.
    b.   Infinitival contraction is not possible with conjoined verbs.
    c.   Infinitival contraction is not possible with conjoined complements.

Liketa and *wanna* fit the semantic class of verbs that exhibit restructuring effects across languages. Consider the list of 'core' restructuring verbs and their corresponding semantic classes, adapted here from (Wurmbrand 2001: 7).

(39)

Verb type	Example verbs
modal	must may can want
motion	come go return
aspectual	begin continue finish
causative	let make

Goodall (2006: 691) goes on to note that plenty of verbal contractions which are arguably contractions of V + *to* are all either aspectual or modal in terms of their semantics. Consider his list below.

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[12]Following Goodall, I will continue to use the term contraction here because a majority of the literature refers to the difference between 'want to' and 'wanna' as *wanna contraction*. I don't intend to make any claims about how elements come to be *contracted*.

(40)

Verb	Contracted form	Example
go	gonna	I'm gonna dance.
used	useta	I useta swim here.
have	hafta	I hafta eat something.
got	gotta	I gotta drink a beer.
supposed	suposta	I'm suposta meet her today.

In the remainder of this section, I compare Goodall's observations about restructuring *wanna* with *liketa*. I should mention that Goodall's work actually compares *wanna* contraction to clitic-climbing in Romance. I only consider *liketa* as compared to *wanna* for reasons of clarity and space. Transitively though, *liketa* will behave like clitic-climbing if it behaves like *wanna* contraction. The following examples are adapted from Goodall (1991: 243–248) and all examples involving *liketa* receive the relevant counterfactual interpretation.

For *wanna* and *liketa*, contraction is not possible if the infinitive is not a complement of the verb. This rules out a purely phonological explanation. If the contraction were only phonological, we would expect it to be possible regardless of syntactic context.

(41)   ***wanna***

    a.   Even if I want, to eat them would not be a very good idea.

    b.   * Even if I wanna, eat them would not be a very good idea.

Notice that *wanna* contraction in (41) is not possible with adjunct clauses. Similarly (42) shows that *liketa* contraction is also only possible when the infinitive is a complement to the verb.

(42)   ***liketa***

    a.   Even if I had liked to (have), to have drank all the whiskey in town would have been a bad thing.

    b.   * Even if I had *liketa*, drank all the whiskey in town would have been a bad thing.

Example (43) shows that extraction of the external argument of the complement under *wanna* contraction is not possible, presumably because this position must be co-indexed with the external argument of the matrix clause. As shown in (43b), wh-extraction from this site is an example of a strong-crossover effect.[13]

(43)   ***wanna***

    a.   Who$_i$ do you wanna kill t$_i$?

    b.   * Who$_i$ do you$_i$ wanna t$_i$ kill Bill?

A similar fact holds for *liketa* in (44). Extraction from the external argument position under *liketa* is also not possible. This is to be expected given my previous claim that *liketa* behaves like a raising verb.

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[13]Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for clarifying this point.

(44) **liketa**

    a.   Who$_i$ had you liketa killed t$_i$?

    b.   * Who$_i$ had you$_i$ liketa t$_i$ killed Bill?

It is worth noting that while *wanna* and *liketa* pattern together in disallowing the extraction of the external argument of their complement clauses, their respective uncontracted counterparts do not pattern together.

(45)   a.   Who$_i$ do you want t$_i$ to kill Bill?

        b.   * Who$_i$ had you liked t$_i$ to have killed Bill?

Importantly, this difference is to be expected if (as I assume) uncontracted *liked to* is a raising verb and *want* is not. The difference shown in (45) is orthogonal to the comparison of *wanna* and *liketa*. It does however tell us that the data in (43) and (44) are not useful for revealing the restructuring status of uncontracted *liked to*. Because of this, the only positive evidence for the restructuring status of *liketa* is the sentential negation facts set out in Sect. 4.

As shown in examples (46) and (47), *liketa* and *wanna* are unacceptable when conjoined with another verb. The explanation of this fact is found in the differing selectional properties of the verbs. *Need* selects a non-finite clause which includes infinitival-*to* but *wanna* only selects for a bare infinitive. The selectional properties of neither verb can be satisfied via conjunction.

(46) **wanna**

    a.   I need and want to do it.

    b.   * I need and wanna do it.

Again, the facts are virtually identical for *liketa* contraction.

(47) **liketa**

    a.   I had needed and had liked to have heard those things.

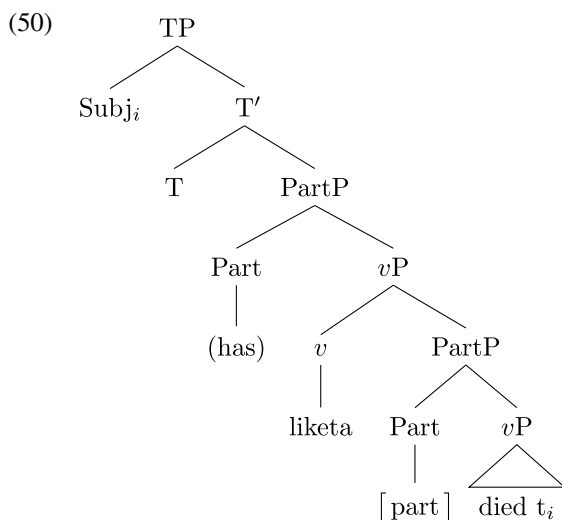   b.   * I had needed and had *liketa* heard those things.

Goodall notes that conjoined complements are also unacceptable in cases of *wanna* contraction. The same is true of *liketa* contraction.

(48) **wanna**

    a.   I want to buy and cook it.

    b. ?? I wanna buy and cook it.

(49) **liketa**

    a.   I had liked to have danced and to have sung.

    b.   * I had *liketa* danced and to have sung.

Recall that *liketa* fits the more superficial mold of well behaved restructuring verbs. It is a raising verb with both intensional properties and aspectual constraints. More conclusively however, *liketa* shares syntactic restrictions and properties with *wanna*. Those properties and restrictions parallel the more well known restructuring phenomenon of clitic climbing. The non-contracted *liked to* form does not share those parallels.

6 Mono-clausal restructuring

I will use Wurmbrand (2001) and the diagnostics contained there to analyze *liketa* under the mono-clausal approach to restructuring. Given *liketa*'s similarities to *wanna* contraction and its general list of properties, the contracted form is best analyzed as a restructuring verb. In this section, I will use Wurmbrand's mono-clausal approach to the classification of restructuring verbs in order to provide an analysis of *liketa*. Once the primary analysis is in place, I will return to the issue of variation in *liketa* complements. Finally, I briefly sketch an alternative bi-clausal restructuring analysis for *liketa* and compare the two theories. In what follows, I will argue for the following structure for contracted *liketa*.

(50)

```
                    TP
              ╱          ╲
        Subj_i            T'
                      ╱        ╲
                    T           PartP
                            ╱          ╲
                         Part            vP
                          │          ╱      ╲
                        (has)       v        PartP
                                    │       ╱      ╲
                                 liketa   Part       vP
                                          │        ╱    ╲
                                       [ part ]  died t_i
```

Specifically, I will provide further evidence in accordance with Wurmbrand (2001) that *liketa* is a restructuring verb generated in v. Then, in accordance with the mono-clausal approach I will argue that *liketa* selects for complements that are smaller than TP, namely they are maximally headed by the auxiliary phrase which I will refer to as PartP. Next, I will derive the ban on the auxiliary *have*. In the last bit of analysis, I will address dialectal variation in *liketa* and compare the current restructuring approach to a bi-clausal head-movement approach.

6.1 *Liketa* is a restructuring verb generated in *v*

Recall from Sect. 3 that *liketa* is verbal and not adverbial. It cannot appear in multiple locations and it is not a felicitous response to a yes/no question. Many adverbs have both of those properties. Further, *liked to* appears in a verbal position between two auxiliary *have* heads and even though *liketa* cannot, its unique selectional properties set it apart from adverbs and aspectual auxiliaries.

Aside from the parallels that I have drawn from Goodall's observations, *liketa* contractions exhibit many other properties that we associate with verbs that select for

smaller than TP complements. Complements of restructuring verbs do not allow sentential negation associated with T, they never license complementizers, and though they might allow aspectual marking on their verbs, they never show overt tense marking.

According to the mono-clausal approach to restructuring presented in Wurmbrand (2001), restructuring verbs that do not undergo matrix passivization make up a specific class. Wurmbrand argues that this is explained if they are in competition with the passive, thus in v.

(51) Perception verbs:

    a.   Mary saw John leave the party.

    b.   * John **was seen** leave the party.

    c.   Teun heard Kaatje sing a song.

    d.   * Kaatje **was heard** sing a song.

(52) Causatives:

    a.   Mary had John wash the dishes.

    b.   * John **was had** wash the dishes.

(53) Aspectual come/go:

    a.   *pro* come eat lunch with us!

    b.   * Lunch **is come** eat with us!

Examples (51)–(53) show restructuring verbs in English that do not undergo matrix passivization. Wurmbrand (2001: 215) terms verbs like these *semi-functional restructuring predicates*. This means that they tend to show a mixture of properties commonly associated with verbs and auxiliaries. Assuming this, let us first locate *liketa* itself in the matrix clause. *Liketa* does not undergo matrix passivization.

(54)   a.   * The whiskey **was** liketa finished.

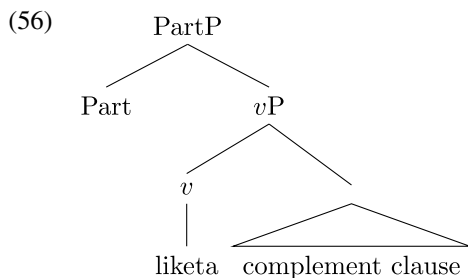   b.   * The whiskey had **been** liketa finished.

Liketa patterns with those restructuring verbs in (51) which is consistent with it being semi-functional and not a true restructuring predicate in terms of matrix passivization. However, a reviewer points out that if uncontracted *liked to* and contracted *liketa* are both raising verbs, then neither is predicted to undergo matrix passivization. In fact, *liked to* also does not allow matrix passivization.

(55)   * The whiskey had been liked to have drunk.

Thus the unacceptability of matrix passivization in *liketa* sentences cannot be solely attributed to it originating in little v and so the matrix passivization diagnostic used in Wurmbrand (2001) is not decisive in this case. The question as to whether *liketa* is V, solely in v, or is inserted as an auxiliary head remains open. I will return the question of whether *liketa* is a v or V after showing that *liketa* is not an aspectual auxiliary.

The question of whether or not *liketa* is an auxiliary can be answered by once again looking at its distribution relative to auxiliary heads. We know from Kytö and

Romaine (2005) that *liketa* is historically found preceded by the auxiliary *have*. This is still the case in Appalachian English today although the overtness of the matrix auxiliary seems to be optional. Common assumptions about the hierarchy of projections lead us to the conclusion that *liketa* is as low as v. This is illustrated in (56).

(56)

```
        PartP
       /     \
   Part       vP
            /    \
          v       \
          |       /\
       liketa  complement clause
```

Supporting evidence comes from the fact that *liketa* occurs below modal auxiliaries.

(57)   John **might have** liketa drunk the whiskey by the time we arrived.

In fact, it seems that auxiliary *have* is always structurally present and optionally phonologically expressed. There are four pieces of evidence which support this hypothesis. First, auxiliary *have* may always optionally appear to the left of *liketa*. Second, question formation is possible only with auxiliary *have*.

(58)   a.   Had$_i$ John t$_i$ liketa drunk the whiskey?
       b.   * Did$_i$ John t$_i$ liketa drunk the whiskey?

This is in turn supported by the fact that auxiliary *have* also appears in emphatic contexts where other verbs would take *do*.

(59)   a.   Speaker1: There ain't no way you liketa froze last night.
       b.   Speaker2: I'm telling you. I HAD/*DID too liketa froze last night.

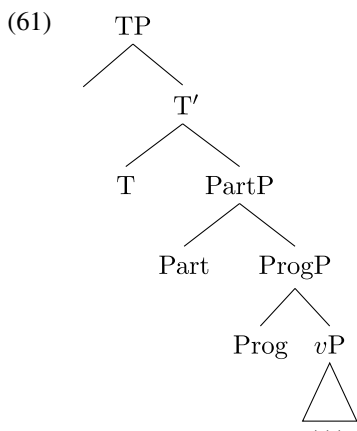Similarly, when negative *not* or *n't* is used in the clause above *liketa*, it forces *have* and not *do*-support.

(60)   a.   We haven't liketa lost a game since we got the new coach.
       b.   We have not liketa lost a game since we got the new coach.
       c.   * We don't liketa lost a game since we got the new coach.
       d.   * We did not liketa lost a game since we got here.

Thus, *have* seems to appear as a type of have-support analogous to do-support. I speculate that *have* is required and *do*-support is disallowed in these contexts because *have* is favorable for counterfactual contexts.[14] A reviewer points out that the

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[14]There is a connection documented in the literature between past/participle morphology and counterfactuality or irrealis mood (Steele 1975; Givón 1994; Iatridou 2000; Palmer 2001; Matthewson 2006). Though this connection is beyond the scope of the current work, it would seem that the requirements of *liketa* are another instance in which we can see that either the auxiliary head or the participle morphology it assigns is associated with a counterfactual interpretation.

ban on *do* in y/n question formation might be due to the fact that *do* requires a bare form of the verb. If this is right, then the y/n question data could be viewed as support for the idea that *liketa* always requires selection by a higher auxiliary *have*. These selectional requirements would block do-support in y/n question formation. I take these four facts as evidence for the presence of an auxiliary *have* in the auxiliary space located above contracted *liketa*.

In a fully articulated English clause the only other auxiliary head that might be a viable candidate for housing *liketa* is ProgP which assigns progressive morphology. For reference, I assume the basic functional structure in (61) for Standard English and AppE clauses.

(61)

```
        TP
       /  \
          T'
         /  \
        T   PartP
           /    \
        Part   ProgP
              /    \
           Prog    vP
                   /\
                  /  \
                 ……
```

Crucially, *liketa* never occurs with progressive aspect. Example (62) illustrates this fact for both matrix and embedded clauses.

(62)   a.   * John had been liketa drunk my whiskey.

b.   * John had liketa been drinking my whiskey.[15]

Given the basic clause structure in (61) and the fact that *liketa* may never appear with the progressive aspect in (62), the evidence again indicates that *liketa* is located in v.

If *liketa* were an auxiliary then we might expect it to undergo auxiliary inversion in yes/no questions. Again, this is not the case. *Liketa* doesn't undergo aux-inversion. But as one anonymous reviewer points out, only finite auxiliaries raise to C in subject auxiliary inversion. Thus it follows that, if *liketa* occurs below auxiliary *have* as I have suggested, then we should not expect it to invert. Rather, the highest tense bearing auxiliary in the T/Aspect domain would be expected to undergo inversion. This, I assume, is exactly what has occurred when we see *have* appearing in C in yes/no questions with *liketa*. Thus, the subject/auxiliary inversion fact alone cannot be taken as evidence that *liketa* is not an auxiliary. A more refined view is required.

I would argue that the fact that only finite auxiliaries undergo inversion supports the view that *liketa* is housed just below the auxiliary domain. Many auxiliaries may

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[15]This example is both unacceptable and semantically infelicitous. This does not fall out from the analysis presented here but I believe it has to do with semantic constraints on approximatives in general. I leave this issue to further research.

appear in both tensed and non-tensed contexts in a main clauses. Again, consider progressive *be* and auxiliary *have*. If they happen to be the highest auxiliary in a clause, then it is commonly assumed that they end up in T and are viable targets for subject-auxiliary inversion. However, they may also appear embedded under other auxiliaries and we assume that they will not undergo subject-auxiliary inversion. If *liketa* were an auxiliary like progressive *be*, or auxiliary *have*, then it is odd in at least two ways. First, it only appears below *have*. Second, unlike *be* and *have* auxiliaries it is never a possible candidate for inversion by virtue of always occurring below auxiliary *have*; a situation that sounds more verbal than auxiliary-like. In sum, I argue that the finite/non-finite distinction in subject auxiliary inversion reveals more evidence which separates *liketa* from aspectual auxiliaries.

Keeping in mind that the passivization facts, while not conclusive, are consistent with semi-functional restructuring predicate status, it still seems that *liketa* could be base generated as high as v and yet below PartP, as in (56). Following Wurmbrand (2001: 25, 215–223) on semi-functional restructuring predicates, I assume that *liketa* is an unaccusative predicate housed in v.

The theoretical considerations that lead me to locate *liketa* in v and not V are as follows. Like lexical verbs, *liketa* does not undergo subject auxiliary inversion and yet like an auxiliary it also does not assign a theta role. Moreover, the argument structure which is present in *liketa* sentences stems from the embedded verb.[16] Then there are the clausal hierarchy facts which show that it occurs below other aspectual auxiliaries in the architecture of the clause. In addition to this, the fact that *liketa* patterns with *wanna* as a restructuring predicate suggests that it does not select a CP/TP clause like other main verbs in V (a fact which sets it apart from uncontracted *like to*). So all traditional reasons for the categorization of something as a verb either do not hold or are not required. Still, there is precedent for one high verbal category, unaccusative v, which satisfies all of the descriptive facts surrounding *liketa*. As an unaccusative v, *liketa* would not license external arguments of its own, assign a theta role, or introduce its own argument structure.[17] An unaccusative v *liketa* could also be selected for by a higher *have* auxiliary and would not be predicted to undergo subject auxiliary inversion.

In this section, I have argued that *liketa* is a restructuring verb generated in v based on independent grammatical properties shared by both Standard and Appalachian English, in the spirit of Wurmbrand (2001).

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[16]While it is true that the argument structure in *liked to* sentences is also dependent on its complement because it is a raising verb, the possibility of embedding sentential negation in such structures hints at the presence and selection of a TP complement. TPs are commonly thought to be selected for by V directly or by C.

[17]A reviewer asks why *liketa* is in v, since many theories assume that v's sole function is accusative case and theta role assignment associated with external arguments. The reviewer also notes that the ban on auxiliary *have* under *liketa* would be accounted for if we assume that *liketa* is instead housed in a low aspectual projection above v. First, there is precedent in the literature for assuming an unaccusative v. I assume that v is roughly *voiceP* argued for in Kratzer (1996). Kratzer argues that *voiceP* may be essentially *unaccusative* and still carry tense and aspectual information (Kratzer 1996: 123–124). More importantly, while putting *liketa* in a higher aspectual projection might more easily account for the ban on *have* in its compliment, it would not account for the fact that *liketa* and *wanna* behave similarly with respect to restructuring diagnostics and differ with respect to the presence or absence of auxiliary *have*; a fact which I deal with in Sect. 6.3.

6.2 Complements of *liketa* are headed by PartP

As argued in previous sections, the morphology that appears on the verb in *liketa*'s complement is the past participle. So, I contend that clauses embedded under *liketa* are headed by auxiliary phrases which license that morphology. Further evidence that PartP heads the embedded predicate is shown in passivized *liketa* complements. The example below in (63a) shows the participle form of passive auxiliary *be* under *liketa* and above the embedded verb. In example (63b) we see that the past participle morphology on *be* is required. Lastly, example (63c) shows that the *be* of the infinitival passive is also unacceptable.

(63)   a.   John had liketa **been** slapped.

       b.   * John had liketa **was** slapped.

       c.   * John had liketa **be** slapped.

The acceptable case shows that the *be* head of PassiveP may only appear as *been*, the commonly assumed past participle form of the passive auxiliary *be*. It is the PassiveP head *been* which is responsible for marking the verb below it for the passive participle. One could argue that this is simply showing that a high auxiliary *have* is required in all cases to mark the auxiliary *be* for past participle morphology in its own clause. If this were the case then it is not clear why removing auxiliary *had* does not result in the acceptability of a *be* passives in (64b) and (64c).

(64)   a.   John liketa **been** slapped.

       b.   * John liketa **was** slapped.

       c.   * John liketa **be** slapped.

However, given that I assume AppE allows null *have* to the left of *liketa*, this point needs further clarification. If the structure is truly mono-clausal, it might not be implausible for the T or null *have* to the left of *liketa* to be licensing the morphology on the right of *liketa*. I argue that this situation is ruled out if *liketa* is verbal. In short, only *liketa* will enter into an agreement relationship with auxiliaries to its left. Later, I will argue that *wanna* does not. The details of this and a comparison with *wanna* are below.

   In sum, I argued that *liketa* complements lack a tense phrase and are maximally headed by a past participle phrase which we see the effects of even though it is banned as a stand-alone lexical item.

6.3 Deriving the ban on the embedded auxiliary *have*

Reconsider the data from the introduction. It illustrates the ban on overt auxiliary *have* in the complement of *liketa* clauses; an interesting and unexpected fact given the acceptability of an overt auxiliary *have* in the uncontracted form.

(65) a.   * John had liketa **have** punched Joe, by the time...

    b.   John had liketa punched Joe, by the time...

The ban on embedded *have* under *liketa* is explainable under current assumptions only if we adopt a particular view of auxiliary licensing. Specifically, I propose that auxiliary insertion is the result of agreement with a higher auxiliary head. Under this account, the auxiliary head is still responsible for licensing aspectual morphology on lower heads but its own realization as a lexical auxiliary is dependent on the presence of and agreement with a higher T/Aux head. Thus, under the approach and assumptions presented in this section, the ban is predicted as there is no evidence for T in the embedded clause. In this sense, *liketa* completes a paradigm found with other restructuring verbs where morphology may be licensed in the embedded clause though the corresponding auxiliaries for that morphology need not be overt.
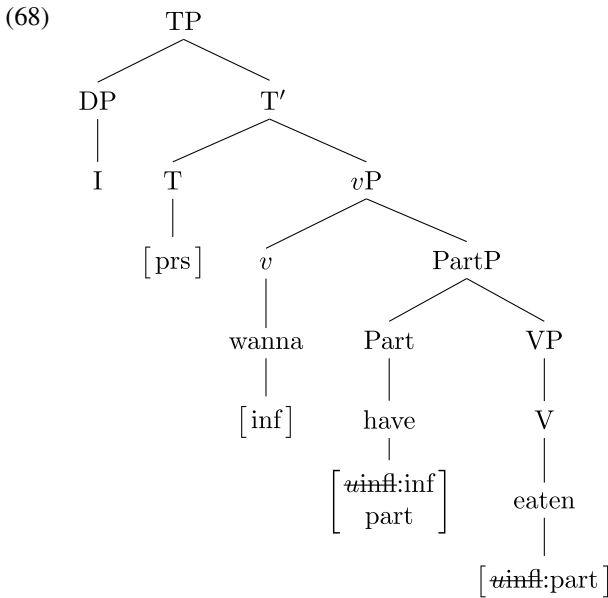
(66) a. Mary had John drink**ing** whiskey.   progressive

    b. Mary saw John drink**ing** whiskey.

    c. John had the dishes wash**ed**.   passive

    d. John saw the dishes wash**ed**.

    e. John liketa di**ed**.   past participle

The examples in (66a) and (66b) show that progressive morphology is licensed in the complement of causative *have* and perception complements without progressive *be*. Likewise, the complements in (66c) and (66d) exhibit passive morphology in the absence of passive *be*. Finally, *liketa* in (66e) completes the paradigm by licensing past participle morphology in the absence of auxiliary *have*.

    However, not all restructuring verbs exhibit the same restrictions on auxiliary licensing. Notice that in the following sentence, contracted *wanna* does seem to somehow license an embedded auxiliary. This is surprising given the fact that there is no more evidence for an embedded T head under *wanna* contraction than under *liketa*.

(67)   I wanna have eaten before you arrive.

In order to maintain our assumptions about mono-clausal restructuring, the ban on auxiliary *have* under *liketa*, and the view of auxiliary licensing presented here, we are forced to say that auxiliary *have* in (67) is licensed by a higher interpretable inflection feature. In example (68) below, I propose that it is licensed by an infinitive inflectional feature on *wanna* itself.

(68)

```
            TP
          /    \
        DP      T′
        |      /   \
        I     T      vP
              |     /   \
           [prs]   v     PartP
                   |    /     \
                 wanna Part    VP
                   |    |      |
                [inf] have     V
                        |      |
                  [uinfl:inf   eaten
                    part]       |
                            [uinfl:part]
```

The agreement relations in (68) are as follows. The uninterpretable inflection feature on the verb *eat* is satisfied by the past participle feature of the auxiliary head. The uninterpretable inflection feature of the past participle head is only satisfiable by the interpretable inflection feature on *wanna*. This is a plausible state of affairs because *wanna* never exhibits agreement and is incompatible with morphology assigning heads. Note that as we have seen *liketa* does not share all of these restrictions.

(69) a. * I wanna-**ed** eat.   past

      b. * I **had** wanna eat.   past participle

      c. * I **am** wanna eat.   progressive

      d. * I **was** wanna eat.   passive

   e. * **He** wanna eat.   3.sg

This is not just a semantic restriction because *wanna* is compatible with those contexts if agreement is handled elsewhere or the heads also assign infinitival inflectional morphology to lower heads commensurate with *wanna*'s bare form.

(70) a. **Did** I wanna eat?   past

      b. **Does** he wanna eat?   3.sg

      c. He **will** wanna eat.   future

      d. He **might** wanna eat.   modal

Finally, auxiliary *have* under *liketa* is not licensed because of locality conditions on Agree and intervention effects (Chomsky 2001), where intervention is formalized in (71).
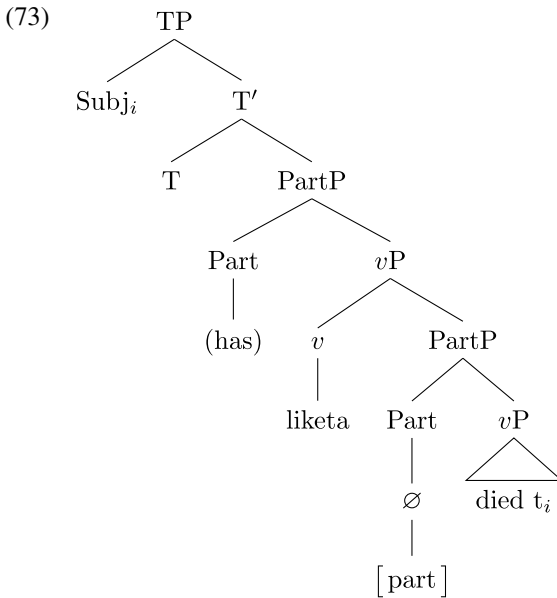
(71) If probe P matches inactive K that is closer to P than matching M, this bars agree (P,M).

This is demonstrated in the following structure where the uninterpretable inflection feature on the lower auxiliary is barred from receiving interpretable inflection from a higher tense or auxiliary head because *liketa* in this case is an intervener.

(72)
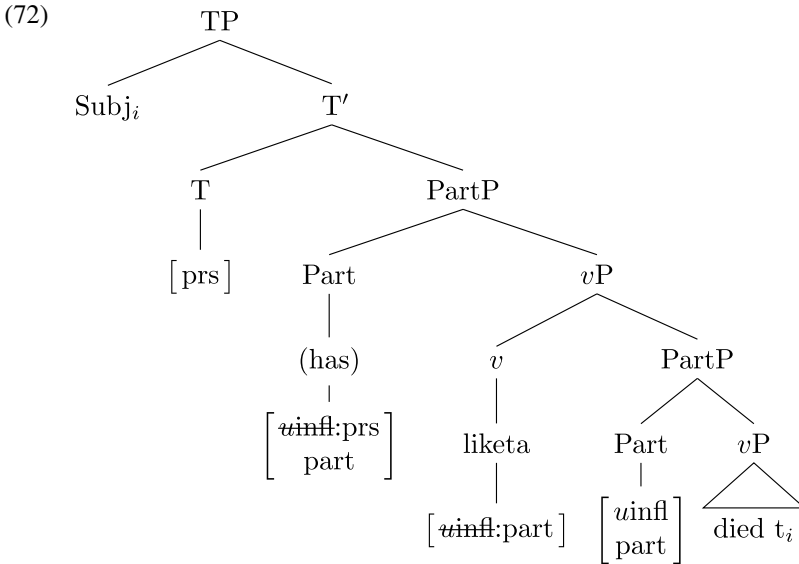
Let's begin with the derivation of the lower auxiliary head and the verb *died*. I follow common assumptions and assume that *die* has head moved to v. Though these steps are not shown in the tree, at this point the verb *die* would still have its own uninterpretable inflectional feature to be satisfied. Next, we merge the lower auxiliary head Part, which contains an interpretable past participle feature that satisfies the uninterpretable inflectional feature on *die* resulting in the participle form *died*. I assume features become inactive after valuation, thus the past participle feature on the lower auxiliary head is not able to satisfy the uninterpretable inflectional features of any other head in the derivation.

The crucial point for the discussion about example (72) is the point of merger of the higher auxiliary or past participle head. After the auxiliary head merges to the vP headed by *liketa*, the uninterpretable past participle feature on *liketa* will establish an agree relation with the higher participle head and be valued for past participle. Again, the past participle features of this higher auxiliary and *liketa* are rendered inactive for further operations. Thus the lower past participle head is left with no interpretable inflection. Then we only have to assume that a default morphological rule for uninflected auxiliary heads inserts a null auxiliary form on the lower Part head. This leaves us with the proposed structure in (50) repeated as (73) below.

(73)

TP
- Subj$_i$
- T′
  - T
  - PartP
    - Part
      - (has)
    - vP
      - v
        - liketa
      - PartP
        - Part
          - ∅
          - [part]
        - vP
          - died t$_i$

Deriving the ban on the auxiliary *have* under *liketa* while also accounting for the presence of that auxiliary with *wanna* contraction requires a particular view of auxiliary licensing. Specifically, I made the claim that auxiliaries are only inserted if they agree with some higher T/Aux head which assigns morphology. This is especially important if we want to maintain what I consider the rather economical assumptions about clause structure made in Wurmbrand's mono-clausal approach to restructuring. The difference between *wanna* and *liketa* clauses can then be explained in terms of intervention effects on auxiliary licensing. I now turn to explaining some of the variation that is found in *liketa* for other grammars.

6.4 Other varieties of *liketa*

This analysis presents one grammar of *liketa* that happens to be accessible to the author and informants in eastern Kentucky. It is important to keep in mind that ultimately, it is one grammar of *liketa* among many. In this spirit, I will briefly outline just how data generated by other grammars of *liketa* can be accounted for while maintaining the current analysis.

Recall the following data from Feagin and from the Yale Grammatical Diversity Project website:

(74) (Feagin 1979)
   a. She liketa **have** died! (Diane B. W15:38.II.120)
   b. An' that just liketa**'ve** killed him. (Virginia L. U60)
   c. They liketa **not** got any food or anything to 'em. (Sam C. W70:34.I.236)

(75) Yale Grammatical Diversity Website
   a. I liketa did**n't** make it! (Ruffing and McCoy 2015)

Under the current account, *liketa* in these varieties must receive a slightly different analysis. Though there are several possibilities that we might consider, all are dependent on our assumptions about the syntactic category of *liketa* in each variety. Assume the data in (74) represents one grammar and the data in (75) represents another. For either grammar, it is possible that *liketa* has been grammaticalized as either an adverb, an auxiliary, a restructuring verb with a syntax akin to *wanna*, or a non-restructuring verb. I do not assume that either grammar is identical to the grammar of *liketa* in AppE. I examine the data from these alternate grammars to determine the syntactic category of *liketa* in these dialects in accordance with the analysis here. This will reveal a sketch of plausible options for each grammar and outline a particular set of predictions and questions for future research.

Under the analysis of auxiliary insertion presented here, the Alabama English data in (74) indicates that auxiliary *have* insertion is being licensed via agreement with some higher T/Auxiliary head. This is compatible with analyses which identify *liketa* as either an adverb, an auxiliary, as something akin to *wanna* in the previous section, or as a non-restructuring verb (listed as -rstrct in the example below). *Liketa* in these cases, would not constitute an intervener. That is, it would not contribute the necessary configuration of features to prevent auxiliary insertion. For simplicity, I am assuming that the contraction of auxiliary *have* would be subsumed by an analysis which accounts for the full auxiliary. Consider the data below where feature agreement is shown abstractly via co-indexation:

(76) a. She $[_T$ tns$_{[i]}$ $[_A$ liketa $[_{Part}$ have$_{[i]}$ $[_V$ died]   adverb

b. She $[_T$ tns$_{[i]}$ $[_{Aux}$ liketa$_{[i,j]}$ $[_{Part}$ have$_{[j]}$ $[_V$ died]   auxiliary

c. She $[_T$ tns$_{[i]}$ $[_v$ liketa $[_{Part}$ have$_{[i]}$ $[_V$ died]   akin to *wanna*

d. She $[_T$ tns$_{[i]}$ $[_V$ liketa$_{[i]}$ $[_{CP/TP}$ infl$_{[j]}$ $[_{Part}$ have$_{[j]}$ $[_V$ died]   -rstrct

Example (76a) explicitly shows how adverbial *liketa* would have virtually nothing to do with feature agreement between the auxiliary and verbal heads; this is similar to the behavior of *almost*. Although, if *liketa* is an adverb in such grammars, it is not clear why auxiliary *have* appears in bare form with the pronoun *she* which requires the present *has* or simple past *had*. Example (76b) shows how an aspectual auxiliary version of *liketa* might simultaneously agree with T for tense and with auxiliary *have* below it for an unmarked form. Example (76c) depicts *liketa* being akin to *wanna* as analyzed in the preceding section. By hypothesis, *liketa* would not carry agreement features and would not interrupt feature valuation between T and auxiliary *have*. However, the *liketa* as *wanna* hypothesis predicts no restrictions on aspectual auxiliaries below it. This means there should not be a restriction on the morphology of the verb below *liketa*. Feagin observed otherwise. Lastly, (76d) illustrates *liketa* as a non-restructuring verb similar to the uncontracted *liked to* form. This analysis would require evidence of an embedded TP minimally, and a subsequent explanation for the lack of complementizers and/or infinitival-*to*. Given the limited data at hand, I must tentatively forward the aspectual auxiliary analysis for *liketa* in Alabama English.

A final question about the Alabama English data revolves around the interpretation of *not* in (74c). I simply do not know how speakers of Alabama English interpret *not* there. I only know that for speakers like myself, such examples are only marginally acceptable and the meaning, though unclear, can not be one of sentential negation.

If it is interpretable for Alabama English speakers as sentential negation then, we kill the non-restructuring hypothesis because *not* is parasitic on overt T and the only candidate element in the sentence is *liketa*. This would confirm the aspectual auxiliary hypothesis assuming *liketa* is in a T or Auxiliary head. On the other hand, *not* in (74c) as constituent negation is unrevealing.

Given that one of the core assumptions made about restructuring verbs in this paper is that they select for smaller than TP complements, the account of auxiliary insertion proposed here precludes an AppE style restructuring account for *liketa* in Alabama English. However, if we examine Alabama English *liketa* using the same framework of diagnostics and assumptions about clausal architecture, it is analyzable as an aspectual auxiliary which occurs in a single clause above auxiliary *have* but below T. Of course it remains to be seen how well *liketa* in Alabama English patterns with other aspectual auxiliaries in terms of the wider list of properties that make up the class. I leave this question to further research.

Similar reasoning may be brought to bear on the Yale Grammatical Diversity Project data involving *didn't*, repeated below.

(77)   I liketa did**n't** make it!   (Ruffing and McCoy 2015)

If *didn't* is interpretable as sentential negation, then this variety of *liketa* is plausibly an adverb in a single clause adjoined in or above T. If it were an aspectual auxiliary it would have to be merged rather high. This would require that this particular *liketa* is located above T, unlike other aspectual auxiliaries. Further, it cannot be analyzed as being akin to *wanna* if *didn't* here is sentential negation because it is banned in restructuring complements. Finally, we might analyze it as being a non-restructuring verb like the uncontracted *liked to* form. However, then we have to explain why *liketa* in this case is able to select only past as opposed to past participle morphology. It only seems plausible given the limited amount of data that this *liketa* is an adverb.

Liketa in AppE of eastern Kentucky is analyzable as a restructuring verb similar but not identical to *wanna*. Though the two differ minimally, they both exhibit restructuring properties. That is they both appear to be verbal elements which select for smaller than TP clauses. I have also argued that *liketa* is generated in v. Further, *liketa* selects smaller than TP complements maximally headed by an auxiliary PartP which assigns participle morphology to the embedded verb or passive auxiliary. These assumptions force a particular view of participle assignment and auxiliary insertion. Recall that, *liketa* allows the past participle to be assigned to verbs beneath it even though the associated auxiliary head is banned from appearing. These assumptions taken together require a slightly different analysis of *wanna* which does license auxiliary insertion beneath it; what I termed 'exceptional' auxiliary licensing. Without further analysis, I can only speculate that *wanna* is perhaps in a different stage of grammaticalization, up and leftward into the English auxiliary system. Such a view is in accordance with minimalist views of grammaticalization (see Roberts and Roussou 2003). Finally, I described how variation observed in previous studies of *liketa* in other dialects may be folded into the current analysis but again, further research is necessary. In the remainder of this section, I compare a different approach to restructuring to the account assumed so far.

6.5 Mono-clausal vs. bi-clausal approaches

Wurmbrand (2001: 9–10) notes that although the mono-clausal approach does not require any external mechanism of restructuring such as head-movement, it complicates the general typology of possible clauses selected for by various restructuring verbs. Here, I add to the discussion by providing an alternate analysis of the same facts for comparison of the assumptions and consequences involved in each theory of restructuring.

Roberts (1997) argues for a bi-clausal head-movement driven account of *wanna* contraction in English. The data is repeated in (78).

(78)   a. They **want to** leave.
       b. They **wanna** leave.

In the next few paragraphs, I will discuss the relevant pieces of Roberts' analysis of *wanna* contraction. I will then show that such an account is directly extendable to *liketa*. I will also discuss the repercussions that Roberts' account has for an explanation of the ban on the embedded auxiliary *have* in contracted *liketa* forms. A proper treatment of all facets and properties of *wanna* is beyond the scope of this work, see (Pullum 1997; Roberts 1997; Goodall 2006) for an overview of the issues.

Roberts (1997: 453–454) accounts for the lack of an independent infinitival-*to* in these contractions directly. He argues that *wanna* is a separate lexical item which is subcategorized to select for a bare T which precludes overt realization of infinitival-*to*. He also suggests that verbs like *wanna* contain a phonological affix (-*a* in this case) which is a morphologically attached feature that triggers restructuring. The movement itself is driven by another assumption that verbs like *wanna* have no thematic structure of their own and so must raise the T below them via head movement (Roberts 1997: 430, 453). Thus the embedded T head moves to the matrix verb.
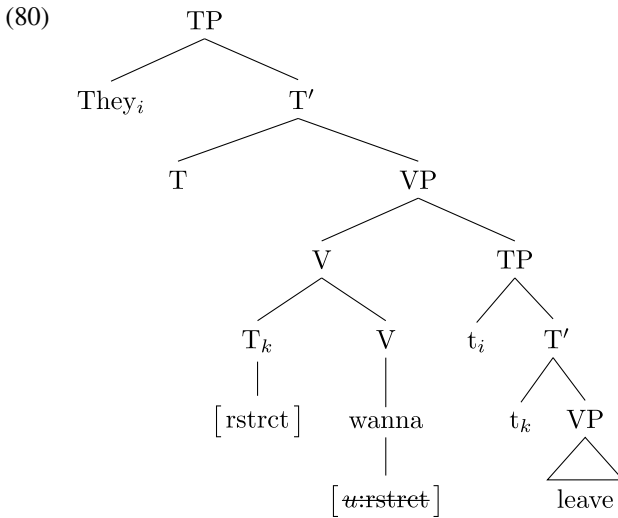
Beginning with merge of matrix V, *wanna* is added.[18]

(79)
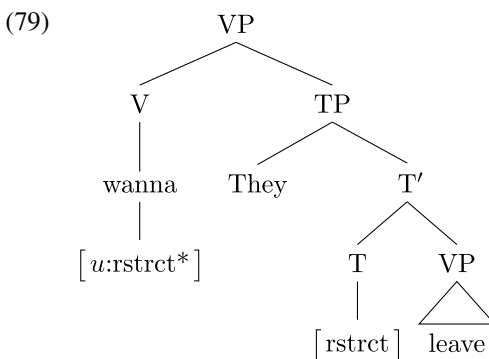
Notice that the embedded non-finite T has an interpretable restructuring feature and is phonologically null. Also note that *wanna* has been merged and comes from the lexicon with a strong uninterpretable restructuring feature.

---

[18]I assume *wanna* is a V here so I don't color Roberts' analysis with my own assumptions.

As shown in (80), this will trigger movement of the embedded T to matrix V by requiring feature checking in a local spec-head relationship.

(80)

```
                      TP
            ┌──────────┴──────────┐
         They_i                   T′
                         ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                         T                   VP
                                    ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                    V                   TP
                              ┌─────┴─────┐        ┌─────┴─────┐
                            T_k           V       t_i          T′
                             │            │              ┌──────┴──────┐
                         [ rstrct ]     wanna           t_k            VP
                                          │                            △
                                     [ u:rstrct ]                     leave
```

This strong feature is a brute force instantiation of Roberts' claim that restructuring verbs like *wanna* lack argument structure and must be satisfied by other syntactic objects like T.
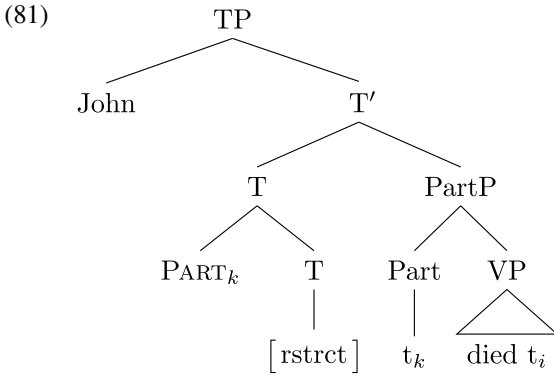
6.5.1 *A bi-clausal head-movement analysis of* liketa

We can extend Roberts' analysis to *liketa* with minimal modifications. Just as Roberts operationalized the descriptive fact that *wanna* selects a bare infinitive by positing a restructuring feature on the *-a* suffix on *wanna*, we can make a similar move. First, *liketa* selects a bare past participle infinitive. That is, an infinitival complement where both the T and Part heads are precluded from allowing the realization of infinitival-*to* or auxiliary *have*. Second, the verb in the bare past participle complement must be overtly marked with participle morphology. The bare infinitive requirement and the participle morphology requirement can be operationalized as Roberts' restructuring feature and an additional past participle feature on *liketa*. The ban on the auxiliary *have* will then fall out analogously to the ban on infinitival-*to* if both of these features are strong and uninterpretable.

It will not do to have a strong uninterpretable restructuring feature which triggers movement and a weak uninterpretable past participle feature which is valued by agreement in a non-local fashion. This strong/weak feature configuration would predict that an embedded auxiliary *have* is available when in fact it is not.
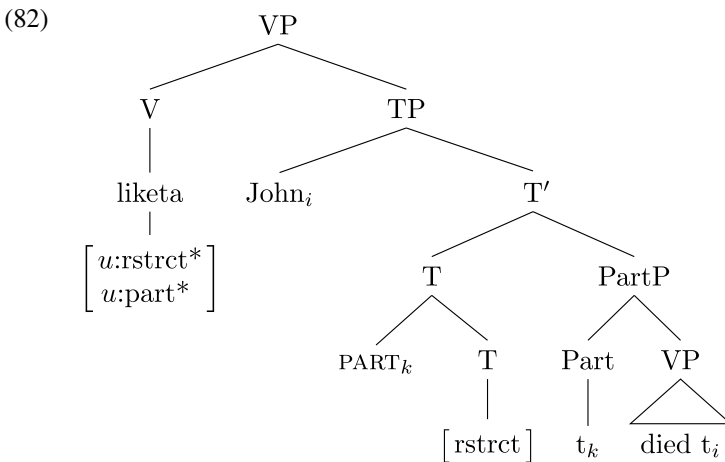
If we also assume that satisfaction of strong features must take place as soon as possible then the quickest way to achieve this is to move both goals at once. Thus, any T selected by *liketa* must have both features. The idea is that, the uninterpretable restructuring feature on *liketa* will trigger head movement as soon as its probe values its features against its interpretable counterpart. At this point the strong uninterpretable past participle features must be satisfied as well. Consider the derivation of the em-

bedded clause in *John liketa died* where Part has already undergone head movement and adjoined to T.

(81)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP} \\
\diagdown \\
\text{John} \quad \text{T}'
\end{array}
$$

TP
 ├─ John
 └─ T′
     ├─ T
     │   ├─ PART$_k$
     │   └─ T
     │   └─ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{rstrct} \end{bmatrix}$
     └─ PartP
         ├─ Part
         │   └─ t_k
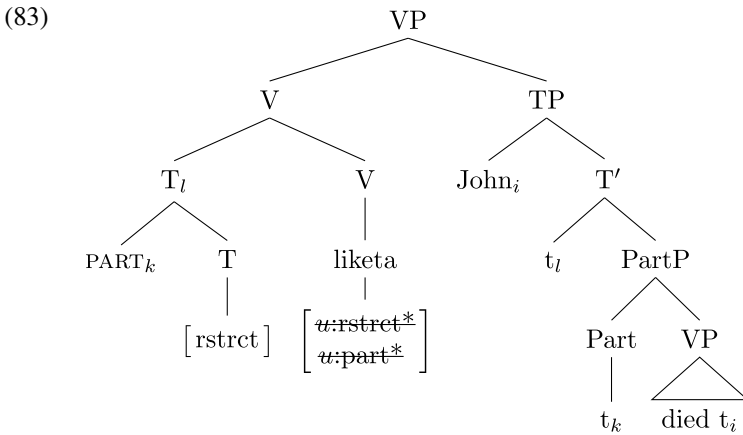   └─ VP
             └─ died t_i

This partial derivation shows the head movement of the past participle head to embedded T where the past participle and restructuring feature will be simultaneously visible to the probe from matrix V in order for the derivation to converge. While it is hard to motivate the movement of Part to T in this case, I would stipulate that it moves to the restructuring T in the same way that lone auxiliaries seem to move to T in matrix clauses.

Next in (82), *liketa* is added. Notice that it contains strong uninterpretable features which are required to be satisfied via a local relationship in the next operation lest they crash the derivation. Having undergone a previous head movement, all necessary features on non-finite T are in a position to be checked.

(82)

VP
 ├─ V
 │   └─ liketa
 │   └─ $\begin{bmatrix} u\text{:rstrct}^* \\ u\text{:part}^* \end{bmatrix}$
 └─ TP
     ├─ John$_i$
     └─ T′
         ├─ T
         │   ├─ PART$_k$
         │   └─ T
         │   └─ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{rstrct} \end{bmatrix}$
         └─ PartP
             ├─ Part
             │   └─ t_k
             └─ VP
                 └─ died t_i

The strong uninterpretable features on the verb will probe down the tree and be satisfied simultaneously by T. This is shown in (83).

(83)

```
                              VP
                 ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                 V                         TP
          ┌──────┴──────┐           ┌───────┴───────┐
         T_l            V         John_i           T′
      ┌───┴───┐         │                    ┌──────┴──────┐
   PART_k     T       liketa                t_l          PartP
              │         │                            ┌─────┴─────┐
          [rstrct]  [u:rstrct*            Part        VP
                     u:part*]              │           △
                                          t_k       died t_i
```

liketa: $\begin{bmatrix} \text{u:rstrct*} \\ \text{u:part*} \end{bmatrix}$

This is how *liketa* may be analyzed as having an almost identical derivation to *wanna* contraction assuming a head movement style analysis of restructuring. The final derivation shows how we might simultaneously get the required past participle morphology on the embedded verb, ban the insertion of the auxiliary *have*, and account for the fact that T seems to be non-existent in restructuring *liketa* complements. The past participle morphology appears on the embedded verb because there was a participle head there to assign it. The presence of infinitival-*to* and the auxiliary *have* are banned only if we assume that *liketa* is specified for a strong uninterpretable past participle feature as well as a restructuring feature to trigger movement. It also shows why *wanna* contraction does not bar auxiliary *have* in (84a). This is reflected by the fact that, the past participle head is not 'rolled up' with T via a previous head movement operation because *wanna* is not required to select a past participle infinitive complement and does therefore not have a strong uninterpretable past participle feature. Example (84b) shows that *wanna* does not select for a past participle infinitive. If it did, we would expect the appearance of participle morphology on the verb in the absence of the overt auxiliary in (84b) to be acceptable.

(84)   a.   I wanna **have** eat**en** before you arrive.
       b.   * I wanna eat**en** before you arrived.

The bi-clausal account requires that *liketa* have somewhat special features that make it possible for the verb to 'trigger' restructuring via head-movement. Further, the idiosyncratic aspectual requirements of *liketa* must also be built directly into the restructuring verb as well. This in turn requires either some further instance of head movement of Part to T in the embedded clause or some other combination of assumptions which put features of the past participle on T while simultaneously preventing auxiliary insertion. On the other hand, the mono-clausal approach only requires c-selectional features and not special restructuring features. The special aspectual requirements of *liketa* then fall out of those c-selectional requirements. The ban on the inserted auxiliary falls out of the assumption that insertion is only licensed by an agreement relationship from a higher T/Aux head which assigns morphology. A fact which independently explains the behavior of other restructuring verbs whose complements exhibit verbal morphology in the absence of an overt auxiliary. Finally,

the comparison with *wanna* contractions suggests that restructuring verbs may come in various stages of grammaticalization which means that they may bear certain verbal inflection features to varying degrees. Thus assuming a mono-clausal approach with respect to other restructuring contractions might be one way to further illuminate their individual agreement properties and relations to other elements in the structure.

7 Conclusion

In this article, I have argued that *liketa* in the Appalachian English of eastern Kentucky, is best analyzed as a verb. Further, identification of *liketa* as a restructuring verb allows for an analysis which helps to explain the properties of both the restructuring and non-restructuring forms of the verb, much like previous restructuring analyses of *wanna* contraction. The particular properties that *liketa* and *wanna* contraction share and do not share make a comparison of the two forms interesting for theories of restructuring. By providing an analysis of *liketa* in two different theories of restructuring, we compare the relative strengths and weaknesses of each theory. The bi-clausal head movement analysis of *liketa* is able to capture the phenomena but does not allow us to make any predictions about why the ban on the auxiliary should exist, at least not in any interesting way. On the other hand the analysis of *liketa* in terms of mono-clausal restructuring suggests that auxiliary insertion in embedded clauses of restructuring verbs proceeds in a certain way. Namely, auxiliary heads license morphology below them, while auxiliary insertion is the result of agreement with a higher morphology-assigning auxiliary head. This in turn makes predictions for other restructuring verbs in English which also have peculiar aspectual requirements associated with their embedded clauses.

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