Stage-level evaluativity is desiderativity

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1 Introduction

- Goal: Explain systematic alternation between evaluative and desiderative predicates in the presence of a modal.

(1) Explicit attitude holder

a. Sandra likes cookies. (evaluative)
b. Sandra would like cookies. (desiderative)
c. Sandra wants cookies. (desiderative)

(2) Implicit attitude holder

a. Cookies are great. (evaluative)
b. Cookies would be great. (desiderative)

- **Evaluative** – conveys an evaluation, e.g. *like*, *hate*
  - In (1a) – Sandra is positively disposed toward cookies
  - In (2a) – The speaker is positively disposed toward cookies
- **Desiderative** – conveys a desire, e.g. *want*, *wish*, *would like*
  - In (1b) – Sandra desires cookies
  - In (2b) – The speaker desires cookies
- **Explicit attitude holder**
  - (1): explicit attitude holder = subject *Sandra*; object of evaluation = direct object *cookies*
  - Predicates include *love, hate, don't care for*
- **Implicit attitude holder**
  - (2): implicit attitude holder = speaker; object of evaluation = subject *cookies*[1]
  - Predicates include *be fabulous, be fantastic, be extraordinary*

(3) Evaluative/desiderative summary 1

predicate:	*like*	*would like*	*want*
1. conveys	evaluation	desire	desire

[1]It seems the attitude holder is whatever individual fills the *source* discourse role (Sells, 1987). In unembedded contexts this is the speaker, but when these propositions are embedded under verbs of saying or thinking the matrix subject fills this role, e.g. *John thinks that cookies are great.*

- **Thesis: Desiderativity results when an evaluative is stage level**
- Along the way:
  - See unexplored evaluative/desiderative contrasts
  - Provide account of evaluative predicates, desiderative predicates, and *would* to explain these contrasts

2 Complement type

- Evaluative predicates can take a range of complements

(4) Nominals:
  a. Sandra likes cookies.
  b. Apples are amazing.[2]

(5) Gerundives:
  a. David enjoys going to the store.
  b. Skydiving is exhilarating.

(6) Infinitival clauses:
  a. Julian hates to say goodbye.
  b. It's fun to ride rollercoasters.

(7) ECM-clauses (Acc+Inf):
  a. Rachel likes Sandra to cook dinner.[3]
  b. *

(8) *For*-clauses:
  a. ?Kelly likes for Pearl Jam to play in Baltimore.
  b. Kelly is enthusiastic for Pearl Jam to play in Baltimore.

(9) *That*-clauses
  a. Lisa likes that you came.
  b. It's great that you came.

- Desideratives take a smaller range of complements

(10) Nominals:
  a. John wants cookies.
  b. John would like cookies.

[2]Some implicit attitude holder constructions allow or even require dummy subjects, cf. *#It's amazing apples*, *#It's exhilarating skydiving*, *?To ride rollercoasters is fun*, *#That you came is great.*

[3]This is only true for certain transitive evaluatives.

(11) Gerundives:

a. # David wants going to the store.
b. # David would like going to the store.[4]

(12) Infinitival clauses:

a. Julian wants to say goodbye.
b. Julian would like to say goodbye.

(13) ECM-clauses (Acc+Inf):

a. Rachel wants Sandra to cook dinner.
b. Rachel would like Sandra to cook dinner.

(14) *For*-clauses:

a. #Kelly wants for Pearl Jam to play in Baltimore.
b. ??Kelly would like for Pearl Jam to play in Baltimore.

(15) *That*-clauses

a. #Lisa wants that you will come.[5]
b. #Lisa would like that you will come.[6]

- In terms of selectional properties, *like* + *would* ≈ *want*

(16) Complements summary 1

predicate	*like*	*would like*	*want*
nominals	yes	yes	yes
gerundives	yes	no	no
infinitival clauses	yes	yes	yes
ECM clauses	yes?	yes	yes
for-clauses	yes?	no?	no
that-clauses	yes	no	no

- Of primary interest: *want* cannot take gerundives[7], (11a), neither can *would like*, (11b)

(17) Evaluative/desiderative summary 2

predicate	*like*	*would like*	*want*
1. conveys	evaluation	desire	desire
2. gerundive	yes	no	no

[4]Here we consider only the desiderative reading. Because the desiderative reading is unsupported, a counterfactual reading is more prominent cf. the continuation *... if he ever tried it.*

[5]cf. ?*Lisa wants for you to come.*

[6]cf. ?*Lisa would like for you to come.*

[7]Gerundives are sometimes felicitous if they act as a label, e.g. *You can pick vacuuming, cleaning the garage, or washing the windows. I want vacuuming.*

- Goal: more uniform semantic treatment of complement types within a given predicate, cf. (16)
- First step: *want* is an intensional transitive verb (ITV) (Zimmermann, 1993; Schwarz, 2008)
- Schwarz (2008) argues that *want*-type ITVs always take a propositional complement

(18) Greta wanted a beer before dinner
  a. There was a time before dinner at which Greta wanted a beer
  b. Greta's desire is to have a beer before dinner

- Other verbs[8], even *look-for*-type ITVs have only a single reading.

(19) Greta drank a beer before dinner.
  a. only: There was a time before dinner at which Greta drank a beer

(20) Greta looked for a beer before dinner.
  a. only: There was a time before dinner at which Greta looked for a beer

- Explanation: covert small-clause in *want*-type ITVs (Schwarz, 2008)

(21) Greta wants a beer.

- Diagnostics in Schwarz (2008):
  - Adverbial modifiers (including *too*, *again*)
  - Quantifier scope
  - Scope of negation
- Adverbials, as in (18), can attach high or low with ITVs

(18a) Greta [wanted [PRO HAVE a beer] before dinner] (high attachment)

(18b) Greta wanted [[PRO HAVE a beer] before dinner] (low attachment)

[8]Perhaps surprisingly, *Greta likes a cookie before dinner* is felicitous and takes the second reading: Greta likes [[HAVE cookies] before dinner]. *Like*, then, also appears to allow covert small HAVE-clauses in the presence of a temporal adverbial, which we will not discuss here, but which we tie to *like*'s lexical stative behavior and the infelicity of lexical statives with temporal adverbials (cf. *Greta knows Dutch after dinner*).

- *Want* and *would like* show the same attachment patterns

(22) a. John wants a beer, and Greta wants one too. (high attachment)
...Greta [[wants PRO HAVE one] too]
b. John has a beer, and Greta wants one too. (low attachment)
...Greta wants [[PRO HAVE one] too]

(23) a. John would like a beer, and Greta would like one too. (high attachment)
b. John has a beer, and Greta would like one too. (low attachment)

- Evaluatives do not have these ambiguities

(24) a. John likes beer, and Greta likes it too. (high attachment)
b. #John has a beer, and Greta likes one too. (*low attachment)

- A unified analysis: *want*-type ITVs select for propositional complements, i.e. do not allow gerundive complements (here we have nothing further to say about EMC-, *for*-, and *that*-clauses) – more on this later

(25) Complements summary 2

predicate	*like*	*would like*	*want*	
nominals	yes	yes	yes	propositional
gerundives	yes	no	no	
infinitival clauses	yes	yes	yes	propositional
ECM clauses	yes?	yes	yes	
for-clauses	yes?	no?	no	
that-clauses	yes	no	no	

(26) Evaluative/desiderative summary 3

predicate	*like*	*would like*	*want*
1. conveys	evaluation	desire	desire
2. gerundive	yes	no	no
3. low attachment	no	yes	yes

3 Desideratives

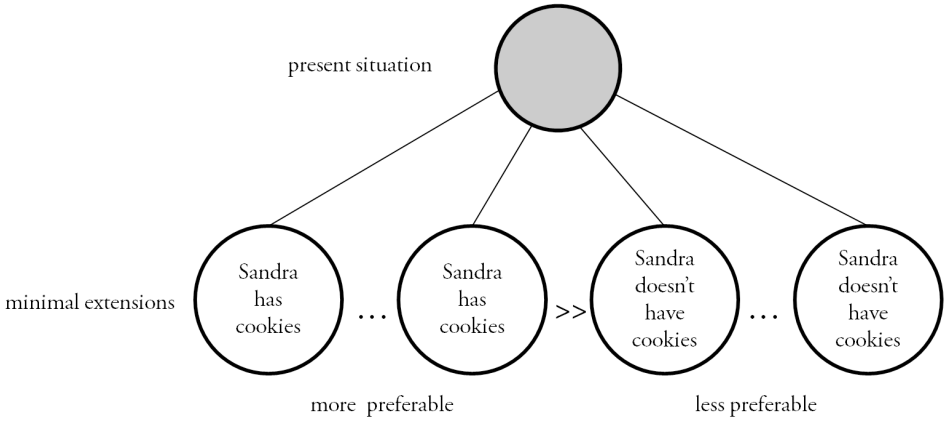
- Here we examine *want*, which we will want *would like* to resemble
- The role of *would* in (1) and (2): provides comparison
- Assumption: *would*-desideratives (e.g. *would like*) ≈ lexical desideratives (e.g. *want* and *wish*)
- i.e. both adhere to the *Strict Preference Condition* (Heim, 1992; Villalta, 2008, et al.)

(27) Strict Preference Condition (SPC): minimal extensions of the present situation (i.e. the situation assumed to hold at the time of utterance) that include the object of evaluation will be, in the view of the attitude holder, strictly preferable to to all contextually available alternatives[9]

(28) Evaluative/desiderative summary 4

predicate	*like*	*would like*	*want*
1. ~~conveys~~ SPC	~~evaluation~~ no	~~desire~~ yes	~~desire~~ yes
2. gerundive	yes	no	no
3. low attachment	no	yes	yes

(29) Sketch of SPC for *Sandra wants/would like cookies*



- The lexical predicate (e.g. *like* in *would like*, *be great* in *would be great*) provides justification for the preference
  - *Cookies would be great* – the speaker's positive disposition toward cookies
  - *A pen would be useful* – the pen's utility
  - *An apology would be fair* – the fairness of an apology to the current situation
- More formally (Villalta, 2008):
- Certain verbs (like *want*) select a degree head $\emptyset_C$ that imposes comparison with alternatives

(30) $[\![\textbf{want}]\!]^g = \lambda d.\lambda p.\lambda x.\lambda w.x$ wants p to a degree d in w

Takes a degree d, a proposition p, and individual x and a world w and impose the restriction that p be mapped to d where d is on a scale of desirability for x in w.

[9] This pertains to positive cases (*like*, *love*, etc.), which are what we focus on here. For negative cases (*hate*, *abhor*, etc.), preferences are reversed.

(31) $[\![\emptyset_C]\!]^g = \lambda P_{\langle d,\langle st,\langle e,\langle st\rangle\rangle\rangle\rangle}.\lambda p.\lambda x.\lambda w.\forall q : q \neq p \;\&\; q \in g(C) :$
$max(\lambda d.P(d)(p)(x)(w)) > max(\lambda d'.P(d')(q)(x)(w))$
Takes a gradable attitude predicate P, and then a proposition p, and individual x, and a world w. For all contextually determined alternative propositions q it states that the degree d to which the x holds P toward p in w is greater than the degree d' to which x holds P toward q.

- Lexical predicate specifies the scale of comparison (e.g. *want* – desirability scale)
- Example:

(32) $[\![\emptyset_C$**-want**$]\!]^g = \lambda p.\lambda x.\lambda w.\forall q : q \neq p \;\&\; q \in g(C)$
$max(\lambda d.desirable(d)(p)(x)(w) > max(\lambda d'.desirable(d')(q)(x)(w)$

(33) $[\![\emptyset_C$**-want PRO HAVE cookies**$]\!]^g = \lambda x.\lambda w.\forall q : q \neq$ PRO HAVE cookies $\&$ $q \in g(C)$
$max(\lambda d.desirable(d)(\text{PRO HAVE cookies})(x)(w) > max(\lambda d'.desirable(d')(q)(x)(w)$

(34) $[\![$**Sandra** $\emptyset_C$**-want PRO HAVE cookies**$]\!]^g = \lambda w.\forall q : q \neq$ PRO HAVE cookies $\&$ $q \in g(C) max(\lambda d.desirable(d)(\text{PRO HAVE cookies})(sandra)(w)$
$> max(\lambda d'.desirable(d')(q)(sandra)(w)$
True iff for all contextually supplied alternative propositions q the degree to which the *Sandra have cookies* is desirable for Sandra in the evaluation world is higher than the degree to which the alternatives are desirable to Sandra in the evaluation world.

- In Section 5 we will show that $[\![$**would like**$]\!] \approx [\![$**want**$]\!]$

4 Generics

- A further alternation in the behavior of evaluatives becomes apparent when we look at nominal objects of evaluation, namely:
- Generically interpreted indefinites are infelicitous objects of evaluation (35a), (36a) but are perfectly fine in the presence of *would* (35b), (36b).

(35) a. # Sandra likes a cookie. (evaluative)
b. Sandra would like a cookie. (desiderative)

(36) a. # A cookie is great. (evaluative)
b. A cookie would be great. (desiderative)

- Generic indefinites are also fine with the lexical desiderative *want*

(37) Sandra wants a cookie

- Infelicity of generic indefinites is a familiar property of habitual sentences (e.g. Carlson, 1980; Krifka et al., 1995; Rimell, 2004).
- Rimell gives an analysis which derives the infelicity through interaction between the scopal properties of the indefinite and a generalization operator over stages of individuals.

(38) Mary drinks beer. (habitual)
$\exists_{\text{sufficient}} y^s.R(y^s, m) \wedge \exists z^s.R(z^s, b) \wedge drink'(z^s, y^s)$
'There are sufficient Mary-stages that drink beer-stages for us to generalize to Mary herself.'

(39) #Mary drinks a beer. (#habitual)
$\exists x^o[beer'(x^o) \wedge \exists_{\text{sufficient}} y^s.R(y^s, m) \wedge \exists z^s.R(z^s, x^o) \wedge drink'(z^s, y^s)]$
'There is a beer such that there are sufficient Mary-stages that drink stages of that beer for us to generalize to Mary herself.'

- The evaluative predicates we are concerned with are statives and so we are not safe in assuming that a similar generalization operation over stages takes place.
- Still there are certain conceptual parallels between habitual and stative generic sentences.
- Most notable for our purposes is that both habitual and stative sentences have something less than universal force ($\exists_{\text{sufficient}}$, not $\forall$).
- Even if John is not positively disposed toward cookies at every moment, it can still be true that John likes cookies.
- Conversely, for the sentence to be true there must be some sufficient number of moments in which John IS so disposed.

John likes cookies $\rightarrow$ John is **sometimes** favorably disposed toward cookies
($\rightarrow \neg$ John is **never** favorably disposed toward cookies)
$\not\rightarrow$ John is **always** favorably disposed toward cookies

(40) John likes cookies.
'There are sufficient John-moments that like cookie-moments for us to generalize to John himself?'

- We take the felicity of generic indefinites in the presence of *would* as evidence that the **desiderative alternants are stage-level (SL) predicates**.

- One upshot of desideratives being stage-level predicates is that when an evaluative (individual-level) predicate is conjoined with a potentially contradictory desiderative (stage-level) predicate like *want*, no contradiction arises (41b).

(41) a. # Sandra likes cookies more than cake, but Sandra likes cake more than cookies. (#IL-IL)
b. Sandra likes cookies more than cake, but Sandra wants cake more than cookies. (IL-SL)
c. Sandra likes cookies more than cake, but Sandra would like cake more than cookies. (IL-SL)
d. # Sandra would like cookies more than cake, but Sandra wants cake more than cookies. (#SL-SL)

- There is a whole range of properties that distinguish the evaluative predicates from their *would*-bearing counterparts:

(42) Evaluative/desiderative summary – final

predicate	*like*	*would like*	*want*
1. SPC	no	yes	yes
2. gerundive	yes	no	no
3. low attachment	no	yes	yes
4. generic indefinite	no	yes	yes
5. contradict *want*	no	yes	yes

- (1.) We take the strict preference condition to be the characteristic meaning of desideratives.
- The availability of (3.) the low attachment point (i.e. a covert HAVE small clause) is tied to a certain class of intensional transitive predicates which include *would*-desideratives.
- The availability of a generic indefinite object (4.) and the contradiction when paired with a lexical desiderative (5.) are tied to the individual-level/stage-level distinction.
- The availability of a gerundive object (2.) is tied to the aktionsart of the predicate.
- Compositionally these properties must all be tied to *would*.
- We propose that the key property of *would* is that it makes an otherwise IL predicate into an SL predicate.
- **Desiderativity is what results when an evaluative is stage level.**

5 Composing a desiderative

- Evaluative predicates presuppose that the attitude holder have experience of the object of evaluation.[10]

  (43) (Sandra has never experienced swimming)
  # Sandra likes swimming.

  (44) (The speaker has never experienced a cookie)
  # Cookies are great.

- The generic, stative meaning arises from an inductive generalization operator *Gen* (=*G* in Carlson, 1980) that does not take sentential scope (Rimell, 2004).

- This operator is in complementary distribution with the modal auxiliary *would*

- *Would* is a future oriented modal, combining it with an evaluation intersects the temporal duration of the required experience/evaluation event with the utterance time parameter, which we take to be an interval starting at speech-time and extending forward (cf. Abusch, 1998).

- Following Condoravdi (2003) among others we assume that *would* is the realizations of an abstract morpheme *woll* under non-present or non-indicative morphology. We take the *would* in our desiderative examples to be the present-subjunctive variant.

- Villalta (2008) argues that in Spanish the subjunctive mood is invovled in comparative meanings, we attribute the SPC to this morphology

- Our ontology includes the following (cf. Condoravdi, 2003):
  - D_v, a domain of eventualities, subevent relation $\sqsubseteq$
  - T, a set of time intervals ordered temporally by a precedence relation $\prec$ and subinterval relation $\subseteq$
  - a function *duration* from D_v into T which takes an eventuality and returns its timespan.

  (45) $[\![\textbf{woll}]\!]^t = \lambda P_{\langle vt\rangle}.\lambda e_v.duration(e) \subseteq [t, +\infty)\ \&\ P(e)$

  (46) $[\![\textbf{SUBJ}]\!]^t = \lambda P_{\langle vt\rangle}\lambda e_v.\forall Q_{\langle vt\rangle} : Q \neq P\ \&\ Q \in Alt : P(e) >_{pref} Q(e)$

- *Alt* is a contextually determined set of alternative event properties. We assume that this minimally includes an event representation of the current speech context.

[10] Thanks to Christine Gunlogson for discussion of this point.

- We treat evaluatives as properties of events that take the object of evaluation as an argument.

  (47) $[\![\textbf{great}]\!]^t = \lambda x_e.\lambda e_v.duration(e) \preceq t$ & x is experienced as great in e

  (48) $[\![\textbf{like}]\!]^t = \lambda x_e.\lambda e_v.duration(e) \preceq t$ & x is experienced positively in e[11]

- Our scopally inert generalization operator:

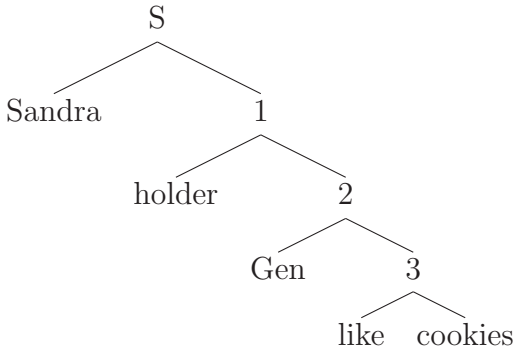
  (49) $[\![\textbf{Gen}]\!] = \lambda P_{\langle vt \rangle}.\lambda e.\exists_{\text{sufficient}} e' : e' \sqsubseteq e$ & $P(e')$.

- Explicit attitude holders are introduced by a VOICE projection (50) which combines with the evaluation through Event Identification (Kratzer, 1996).[12]

  (50) $[\![\textbf{holder}]\!] = \lambda x_e.\lambda e_v.holder(x)(e)$

Composition of an Evaluation

(51) Sandra likes cookies



$[\![\textbf{3}]\!]^t = \lambda e_v.duration(e) \preceq t$ & $expPos(cookies)(e)$

$[\![\textbf{2}]\!]^t = \lambda e.\exists_{\text{sufficient}} e' : e' \sqsubseteq e$ & $duration(e') \preceq t$ & $expPos(cookies)(e')$

$[\![\textbf{1}]\!]^t = \lambda x_e.\lambda e_v.holder(x)(e)$ & $\exists_{\text{sufficient}} e' : e' \sqsubseteq e$ & $duration(e') \preceq t$ & $expPos(cookies)(e')$

$[\![\textbf{S}]\!]^t = \exists e_v.holder(Sandra)(e)$ & $\exists_{\text{sufficient}} e' : e' \sqsubseteq e$ & $duration(e') \preceq t$ & $expPos(cookies)(e')$

The event argument is existentially closed at S yielding a proposition

[11] Ultimately we need to allow both individuals and propositions as objects of evaluation, for simplicity we will restrict our attention to individuals.

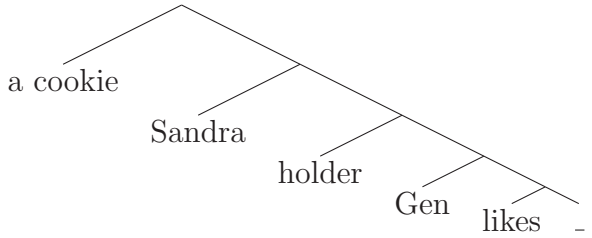
[12] VOICE is also involved in assigning accusative case to the object of evaluation:

(i) He is great.

(ii) I like him.

An evaluative with an indefinite object

(52) # Sandra likes a cookie.

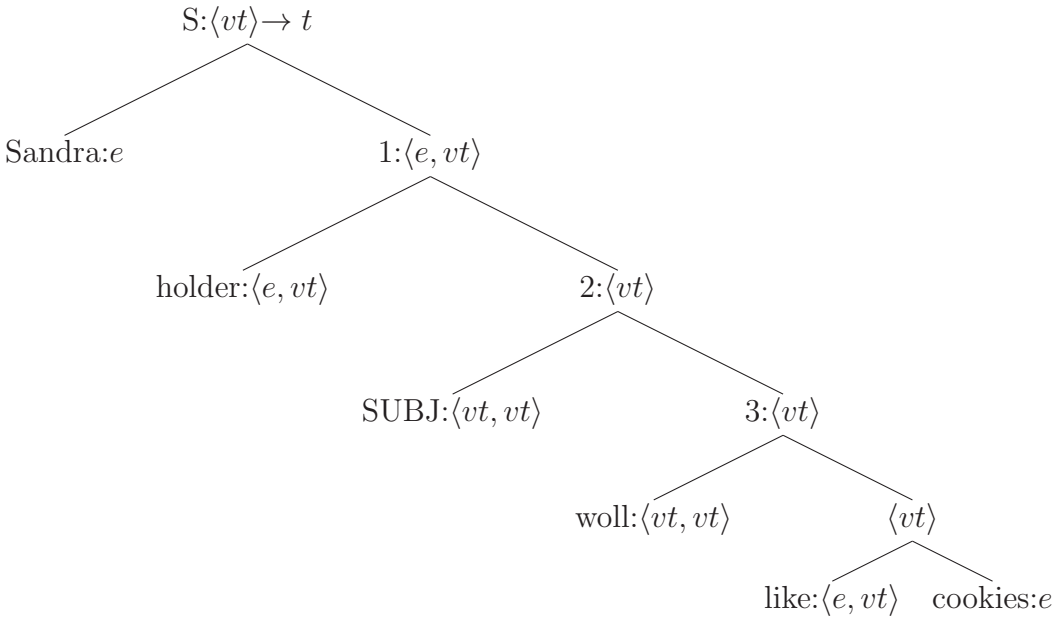


$[\![\textbf{(52)}]\!] = \exists x_e.cookie(x)\exists e_v.holder(Sandra)(e)$ & $\exists_{\text{sufficient}} e' : e' \sqsubseteq e$ & $duration(e') \preceq t$ & $expPos(x)(e')$

There exist sufficient events in which Sandra likes the same cookie. → infelicity of indefinite objects of evaluation

A *would*-desiderative

(53) Sandra would like cookies.



$[\![\textbf{3}]\!]^t = \lambda e_v.duration(e) \subseteq [t, +\infty)$ & $duration(e) \preceq t$ & $expPos(cookies)(e)$

- The two *duration* statements simplify to $duration(e) = t$ → **limit the evaluation to the interval provided by the t parameter**

$[\![\textbf{2}]\!]^t = \lambda e_v.\forall Q_{\langle vt\rangle} : Q \neq [\lambda e'_v.duration(e') = t$ & $expPos(cookies)(e').]$ & $Q \in Alt : [duration(e) = t$ & $expPos(cookies)(e)] >_{pref} Q(e)$

- This favorably contrasts the evaluation with all contextually supplied alternatives, including an event representation of the speech context. → **this provides the SPC**
- A speech context event that contains the element of P (i.e. occurs at t and $expPos(cookies)(e)$) will be undistinguishable from P and there can be no ordering of them, thus the infelicity of (54)

  (54) (Situation: John is eating a cookie)
  John: # A cookie would be fantastic.

- *Want* and *wish* (cf. Iatridou, 2000) are more flexible than these *would*-desideratives in the SPC, suggesting that **the SPC is a necessary property of subjunctive *woll* but not of the lexical desideratives**.

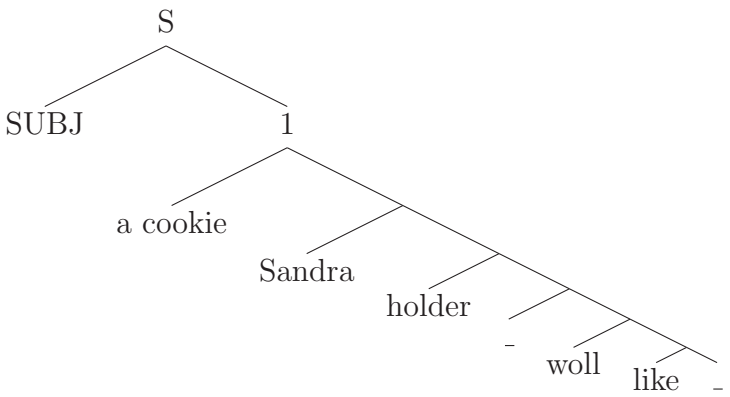
  (55) I live in Bolivia because {I want to/I wish to/*it would be great to} live in Bolivia. (adapted from Iatridou, 2000)

$[\![\mathbf{1}]\!]^t = \lambda x_e.\lambda e_v.holder(x)(e)\ \&\ \forall Q_{\langle vt\rangle} : Q \neq [\lambda e'_v.duration(e') = t\ \&\ expPos(cookies)(e').]\ \&\ Q \in Alt : [duration(e) = t\ \&\ expPos(cookies)(e)] >_{pref} Q(e)$

$[\![\mathbf{S}]\!]^t = \exists e_v.holder(Sandra)(e)\ \&\ \forall Q_{\langle vt\rangle} : Q \neq [\lambda e'_v.duration(e') = t\ \&\ expPos(cookies)(e').]\ \&\ Q \in Alt : [duration(e) = t\ \&\ expPos(cookies)(e)] >_{pref} Q(e)$

***Would*-desiderative with an indefinite object**

(56) Sandra would like a cookie.



- Here the indefinite raises as in the evaluation but **SUBJ, which is quantificational, is assumed to raise as well**

$[\![\mathbf{1}]\!]^t = \exists x_e.\lambda e_v.cookie(x)\ \&\ holder(Sandra)(e)\ \&\ duration(e) = t\ \&\ expPos(x)(e)$

$[\![\mathbf{S}]\!]^t = \lambda e_v.\forall Q_{\langle vt\rangle} Q \neq [\exists x_e.\lambda e'_v.cookie(x)\ \&\ holder(Sandra)(e')\ \&\ duration(e') = t\ \&\ expPos(x)(e')]\ \&\ Q \in Alt.[\exists x_e.cookie(x)\ \&\ holder(Sandra)(e)\ \&\ duration(e) = t\ \&\ expPos(x)(e).] >_{pref} Q(e)$

- The scopal properties of *Gen* and $SUBJ$ are responsible for the availability of a non-specific indefinite reading.

Gerundive objects of evaluation

- We treat gerundives as introducing an ongoing event, their representation includes a specification that the event started before the interval t

(57) $[\![\textbf{swimming}]\!]^t = \lambda e_v.\mathrm{t}\subseteq duration(e)\ \&\ \exists e' : e' \sqsubset e.duration(e') \prec t.swimming(e)$

- Intersecting this time specification with that given by *woll* yeilds a contradiction

(58) $duration(e) = t\ \&\ \exists e' : e' \sqsubset e\ \&\ duration(e') \prec t$

Other future oriented subjunctive modals

(59) Sandra might like a cookie.

(60) A cookie might be nice.

6 Summary

(61) Evaluative/desiderative summary – final

predicate	*like*	*would like*	*want*
1. SPC	no	yes	yes
2. gerundive	yes	no	no
3. low attachment	no	yes	yes
4. generic indefinite	no	yes	yes
5. contradict *want*	no	yes	yes

1. SPC is the characteristic meaning of desideratives, supplied in *would*-desideratives by *would* ($[\![\textbf{SUBJ}]\!]$) (46)
2. The availability of a gerundive object is tied to the aktionsart of the predicate: gerundive + *woll* = CONTRADICTION (58)
3. The availability of the low attachment point (i.e. a covert HAVE small clause) is tied to a certain class of intensional transitive predicates which include *would*-desideratives (23)
4. The availability of a generic indefinite object is tied to SUBJ, which can raise and prevent a specific reading of indefinite (52), (56)
5. The contradiction when paired with *want* can occur when the conjoined predicate is also SL, where *would* makes *like* SL (53)

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