

Overt Subjects in Infinitival Control and Raising Complements

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Two widely held beliefs:

(1) “No overt subjects in infinitival complements”

Infinitival complements of subject control verbs and subject-to-subject raising verbs do not have overt nominative subjects.

(2) “No overt controllees”

In control constructions the controllee DP is not an overt pronoun.

What would these facts, if they are indeed facts, follow from?

Re: “No overt subjects....”

- Copy theory, possibly also control-as-movement (Chomsky 2000, Hornstein 1999). Spell-out of lower copies possible, but why doesn't it happen routinely?
- Stipulate strict subject-EPP: clauses must have an overt DP subject.
- Abstract Case severed from morphological case (MacFadden 2004 and many others). What remains of the Case filter? Agreement, grounding, valued T feature needed (Kratzer 2006, Sigurðsson 2007, Pesetsky and Torrego 2006).
- Apparent assumption: infinitival T not good enough; long distance agreement not good enough.

Re: “No overt controllees”

- In part follows from above, or from infinitive=VP (Babby & Franks 1998, Wurmbrand 2003), or from control as a *de se* relation and PRO as a *de se* anaphor (Chierchia 1989).
- But control subsumes subjunctives (Landau 2004): Why no overt controlled pronouns?

Descriptive claims in this talk:

	overt nominative subjects in infinitival raising complements			overt nominative subjects in infinitival control complements		
	yes	possibly	no	yes	possibly	no
Hungarian	*			*		
Italian	*			*		
Spanish	*				*	
Br.Portuguese	*				*	
Romanian	*				*	
M.Hebrew	*				*	
Russian	*					*
Finnish		*				*
English			*			*
French			*			*
German			*			*
Dutch			*			*

What explains the cross-linguistic variation?

Possible correlations with (i) nominative as the default case, (ii) overtly or covertly inflected infinitives, (iii) clause union, (iv) pro-drop, ... do not work (cf. German, Hungarian, Italian, Russian, B. Portuguese).

Fact: The nominative subjects of infinitival raising/control complements in the languages investigated agree with a superordinate finite verb in person and number.

(3) Hypothesis re: **long-distance agreement**

An infinitival complement may have an overt nominative subject if the relevant features of a superordinate finite inflection are transmitted to that subject (say in the manner of long-distance Agree). The cross-linguistic variation in the availability of overt infinitival subjects has to do with variation in feature transmission.

- (4) a. (...) Raising- V_{finite} [$DP_{nom,\Theta}$ $V_{infinitive}$...
- b. * DP_{nom} Raising- V_{finite} [$DP_{nom,\Theta}$ $V_{infinitive}$...
- c. * $DP_{nom,\Theta}$ Control- V_{finite} [$DP_{nom,\Theta}$ $V_{infinitive}$...

(5) Hypothesis re: **the multi-agreement parameter and raising vs. control complements**

Similarly to cross-linguistic variation in negative concord, languages vary as to whether a single finite inflection may share features with more than one nominative DP.

- (6) a. (...) Raising- V_{finite} [$DP_{nom,\Theta}$ $V_{infinitive}$... (=4a)
- b. DP_{nom} Raising- V_{finite} [$DP_{nom,\Theta}$ $V_{infinitive}$...
- c. $DP_{nom,\Theta}$ Control- V_{finite} [$DP_{nom,\Theta}$ $V_{infinitive}$...

(7) Hypothesis re: **absence of any overt infinitival subjects**

If a language has no multi-agreement but it has nominative expletives (overt or covert) in all the relevant finite clauses, the subject of the infinitival complement cannot be overt.

(8) Hypothesis re: **the position of the infinitival verb**

If the position of the infinitival verb is too low, the features of the matrix inflection are not transmitted to the infinitival subject.

If (8) is correct, adding it to (7) produces a more nuanced picture than (7) alone.

Some of the things that I have always wanted to know about syntax and maybe this is the time to ask:

What is the connection between the overtiness of nominative DPs and agreement and/or tense?

How does the position of the infinitival verb correspond to the position of infinitival inflection, and at what stage of their movement may +/- finite Infl transmit features to the subject?

Argument to be presented with reference to Italian and Russian, with critical help from Hungarian where necessary.

Ingredients:

- HI versus LO readings of the subject
- The structural position of the subject
constituent order and intonation
condition C, raising vs. control
- A potential confound: pronominal doubles
D+NP *we linguists*
- Exclusive *de se* interpretation
- Agreement with the finite verb

RAISING

	Before 2006	In 2006	Scenario A: HI true, LO false
Eva	no good roles	no good roles	
Clara	some good roles	some good roles	
Maria	no good roles	some good roles	

	Before 2006	In 2006	Scenario B: HI false, LO true
Eva	some good roles	no good roles	
Clara	some good roles	no good roles	
Maria	some good roles	some good roles	

- (9) Solo lei / solo Maria ha iniziato a ricevere buoni incarichi.
only she / only Maria began.3sg prep receive-inf good roles
Scenario A (HI): 'Only she/only Maria began to get good roles'
- (10) Ha iniziato a ricevere buoni incarichi solo lei / solo Maria. (OK Ho ... solo io)
began.3sg prep receive-inf good roles only she / only Maria
Scenario B (LO): 'It began to be the case that only she/only Maria got good roles'
- (11) Ha iniziato solo lei a ricevere buoni incarichi.
began.3sg only she prep receive-inf good roles
? Scenario B (LO): 'It began to be the case that only she/only Maria got good roles'
- (12) Ha iniziato solo Maria a ricevere buoni incarichi.
began.3sg only Maria prep receive-inf good roles
Scenario A (HI): 'Only Mary began to get good roles'

Hungarian

csak + DP 'only DP', same for nem + DP 'not DP'

- (13) <Csak én> kaptam <*csak én> jó szerepet. (mono-clausal)
only I get-past-1sg only I good roles-acc
'Only I got good roles'

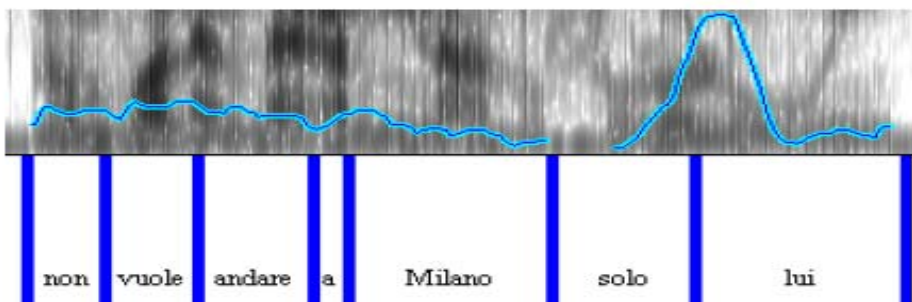
- (14) Csak én kezdtem el [jó szerepeket kapni]
 only I began-1sg prt good roles get-inf
 HI: 'I am the only one who began to get good roles'
 * LO: 'It began to be the case that only I got good roles'
- (15) Elkezdtem [csak én kapni jó szerepeket]
 began-1sg only I get-inf good roles
 * HI: 'I am the only one began to get good roles'
 LO: 'It began to be the case that only I got good roles'

The position of csak én in (15) can only be analyzed as the focus position of the infinitival clause. There is no reason to take csak én to be anything else but the infinitival subject.

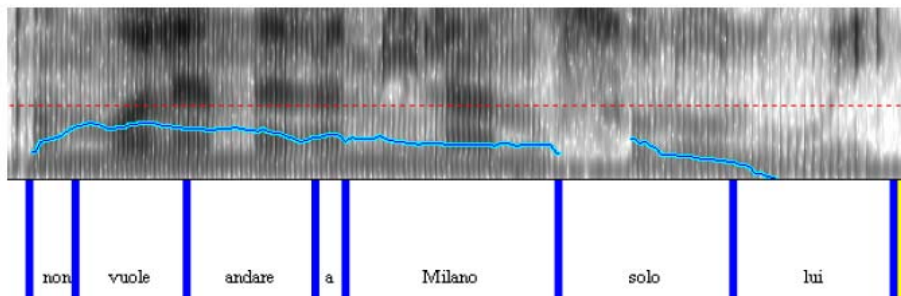
CONTROL

Compare: Mary wants to be tall, and I want to be tall too. (HI reading)
 This tree is tall, and I want to be tall too. (LO reading)
 'I want it to be the case that I too am tall'

- (16) Solo lui non vuole andare a Milano.
 only he not want.3sg go.inf to Milano
 HI 'Only he doesn't want to go to Milano'
- (17) Non vuole andare a Milano solo lui.
 [a] HI: 'Not only he wants to go to Milano'
 [b] LO: 'He doesn't want it to be the case that only he goes to Milano'

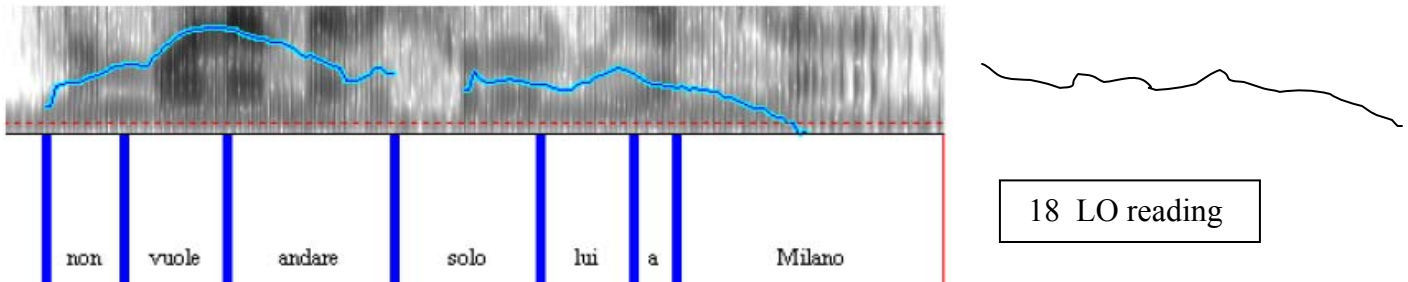


17a HI reading



17b LO reading

- (18) Non vuole andare solo lui a Milano.
 LO: 'He doesn't want it to be the case that only he goes to Milano'
 HI: *only possible with a pause before a Milano*



- (19) *Non vuole solo lui andare a Milano.
 (20) Odia lavorare solo lui.
 [a] HI: 'Only he hates to work.'
 [b] LO: 'He hates it that only he works'

Non-restructuring verbs (*odiare* 'hate', *utál* 'hate', *el-kezd* 'prt-begin', etc.) exhibit overt nominatives in the complement just like potentially restructuring verbs.

- **Structural position of solo lui**

In (17a, HI), solo lui is focused in the final position of the matrix clause

In (17b, LO), solo lui is focused in the final position of the complement clause

In (18), solo lui can only be focused in the complement clause b/c it is followed by a Milano

- **Pronominal vs. lexical DP**

- (21) Non vuole andare a Milano solo Gianni.
 [a] HI: 'Not only Gianni wants to go to Milano'
 [b] * LO: 'He_i doesn't want it to be the case that only Gianni_i goes to Milano'
- (22) * Non vuole andare solo Gianni a Milano.
 * LO: 'He_i doesn't want it to be the case that only Gianni_i goes to Milano'
- (23) Odia lavorare solo Gianni.
 [a] HI: 'Only Gianni hates to work.'
 [b] * LO: 'He_i hates it that only Gianni_i works'

A lexical nominative DP is possible in raising, but not in control: Condition C.
 Together with constituent order, this diagnoses the clausal affiliation of the nominative DP on the LO reading: the complement clause.

• **Nominative DP in control complements: Subject or emphatic pronoun (pronominal double)?**

Hungarian: Personal pronouns *never* serve as doubles in mono-clausal exx:

- (24) Kati maga is / az is / * ő is éjszaka dolgozik.
 Kate herself too / that too she too at.night works
 'Kate (herself) also works at night'
- (25) Kati mindig csak maga / * csak az / * csak ő dolgozik éjszaka.
 Kate always only herself only that only she works at.night
 'Kate always works at night by herself'

Italian: Personal pronouns can serve as doubles in mono-clausal exx:

- (26) Gianni ha lavorato solo lui / anche lui.
 Gianni have.3sg worked only he / also he
 'Only/Also Gianni worked'

Distinguishing pronominal doubles and nominatives in control complements:

- (27) Vorremmo [andare solo noi linguisti a Milano]. ("we linguists")
 LO: 'We would like it to be the case that only we linguists go to Milan'
- (28) Vorremmo [andare a Milano solo noi linguisti].
 LO: 'We would like it to be the case that only we linguists go to Milan'
- (29) Context: We philosophers are the only people who work!
- (30) a. Guarda che abbiamo lavorato anche noi linguisti!
 look that have.1pl worked also we linguists
 b. Guarda che noi, abbiamo lavorato anche noi!
 look that we, have.1pl worked also we
 c. * Guarda che noi, abbiamo lavorato anche noi linguisti!
 look that we, have.1pl worked also we linguists
 'Look. We linguists have worked too'

It is possible that one analysis of the LO readings of (17), (18), (20) is [i]:

[i] control-V [PRO V-inf solo lui]

pronominal double of PRO

but (27)-(28) can only be analyzed as [ii],

[ii] control-V [t V-inf solo noi linguisti]

focused subject of complement

and so the others must be at least structurally ambiguous:

Another contrast that may be turned into a useful diagnostic:

- (31) Context: The teacher worked, and... (ogni-QP)
 Ogni ragazzo vuole lavorare anche lui.
 LO: 'Every boy wants it to be the case that he too works'
- (32) Context: The teacher worked, and...
 * Ogni ragazzo ha lavorato anche lui.

• *De se* pronouns and control, cf. (2)

In subject_i attitude-verb [complement... pronominal_i...], the pronominal is interpreted **de se** if the subject of the attitude verb is aware that the complement proposition is about him/her(self). It is **de re** if coreference/binding obtains but self-awareness does not.

Control complements are always read **de se**; PRO is a **de se** anaphor (Chierchia 1989).

- (33) The amnesiac hero wanted PRO to get a medal. (only **de se**)
 (34) The amnesiac hero_i wanted only him_i to get a medal. (**de re** or **de se**)

Hungarian:

Non-obviative controlled subjunctives are possible when (i) the complement subject is not agentive, and/or (ii) it is focused or modified by 'only' or 'also'.

In all these cases the matrix subject cannot bear full responsibility for the complement event. (after Farkas 1992)

Subjunctives, non-obligatory control (only co-indexed case considered):

- (35) * A hős_i nem akarta, hogy pro_i harcoljon. (obviation)
 the hero not wanted.3sg that he fight-subj-3sg
- (36) A hős_i nem akarta, hogy pro_i meghaljon. (no obviation)
 the hero not wanted.3sg that he die-subj-3sg
de re or *de se*
- (37) Az amnéziás hős_i nem akarta, hogy csak ő_i kapjon érdemrendet. (no obviation)
 the amnesiac hero not wanted.3sg that only he get-subj-3sg medal-acc
 'The amnesiac hero did not want that only he get a medal'
de re or *de se*

Infinitive, obligatory control:

- (38) A(z amnéziás) hős_i nem akart csak ő_i kapni érdemrendet.
 the amnesiac hero not wanted.3sg only he get-inf medal-acc
 'The (amnesiac) hero did not want it to be the case that only he gets a medal'
 only *de se*

Márta Abrusán's (p.c.) Observation About *De Se* Pronouns

The overt pronoun in the subject position of infinitival control complements is interpreted exclusively *de se* -- just like PRO.

Consequently, it is probably the semantics of control, and not the semantics of PRO that forces the *de se* reading.

A big question left for further research...

- **No matching finite agreement, no nominative subject in complement**

Hungarian (same for Italian where relevant data can be checked)

- (39) Utálok [csak én dolgozni]. vs. ***Utál [csak én dolgozni].
 hate-1sg only I work-inf
 LO: 'I hate it that only I work'

Subjects of infinitival complements of Hungarian impersonal predicates (default 3sg agreement) are in the dative (Tóth 2000). The infinitive is optionally inflected.

- (40) Fontos volt / Illik
 important was.3sg be.proper-3sg
- a. ... délre elkészülni / elkészülnöm.
 by.noon be.ready-inf be.ready-inf-1sg
 'to be ready / for me to be ready by noon'
- b. ... nekem is délre elkészülni / elkészülnöm.
 dative.1sg too by.noon be.ready-inf be.ready-inf-1sg
 'for me too to be ready by noon'
- c. ... az ebédnek délre elkészülni / elkészülnie.
 the lunch.dative by.noon be.ready-inf be.ready-inf-3sg
 'for the lunch to be ready by noon'

Dative vs. nominative on infinitival subject does not correlate with Exhaustive vs. Partial control, or with subset relation between controller and controllee, unlike in Russian secondary predicates (Landau 2007).

Object control does not exhibit overt infinitival subjects in either nominative or dative:

- (41) * Kényszerítettek (engem) [én is dolgozni] / [nekem is dolgozni].
 forced.3pl I.acc I too work-inf dative.1sg too work-inf
 'They forced me to work too'

Agreement can be long-distance:

- (42) Nem fogok akarni elkezdni [én is rossz jegyeket kapni].
 'I will not want to begin [to get bad grades too]'

One finite verb – multiple subjects in control constructions:

- (43) **János** nem akart [megpróbálni [csak **ő** menni busszal]]
 John not wanted.3sg try.inf only he go.inf bus.with
 'John didn't want to try to be the only one who takes the bus'
- (44) **Senki** nem akart [csak **ő** menni busszal]
 nobody not wanted.1sg only he/she go.inf bus.with
 'Nobody wanted to be the only one who takes the bus'
- (45) Nem akarok [én is megpróbálni [csak **én** menni busszal]]
 not want.1sg I too try.inf only I go.inf bus.with
 'I don't want to be another person who tries to be the only one who takes the bus'

The status of multiple overt subjects in raising constructions is not clear to me:

- (46) ? János elkezdett [csak ő kapni szerepeket].
 John began.3sg only he get.inf roles-acc
 'It began to be the case that only John got roles'

• **Nominative subjects in raising complements only: Russian**

Raising

- (47) Tol'ko on/Gordon stal/perestal prixodit' domoj pjanim.
 only he/Gordon began/stopped go-inf home drunk
 HI: 'Only he/Gordon began/stopped going home drunk'
- (48) Stal/perestal prixodit' domoj pjanim tol'ko on/Gordon.
 began/stopped go-inf home drunk only he/Gordon
 HI: 'Only he/Gordon began/stopped going home drunk'
 LO: 'It began/stopped being the case that only he/Gordon goes home drunk'
- (49) Stal/perestal prixodit' domoj tol'ko on/Gordon pjanim.
 began/stopped go-inf home only he/Gordon drunk
 LO: 'It began/stopped being the case that only he/Gordon goes home drunk'

Control

- (50) ?? On skazal, chto ne xochet idti tol'ko on peshkom.
 He said that not want-3sg go-inf only he on.foot
 LO: 'He said that he didn't want it to be the case that only he goes on foot'
- (51) * On skazal, chto nenavidet idti tol'ko on peshkom.
 He said that hate-3sg go-inf only he on.foot
 LO: 'He said that he hated it to be the case that only he goes on foot'

Even raising constructions do not seem to allow multiple overt subjects per one finite verb:

- (52) *On/Gordon stal/perestal xodit' tol'ko on peshkom.
 'In his/Gordon's case it began/stopped to be the case that only he goes on foot'

No pronominal doubles (in the same sense as Italian, Spanish):

- (53) * Gordon rabotaet tol'ko on.
 Gordon works only he

Relatively high infinitival verb:

- (54) Ne xochetsja videt' chasto cheloveka, kotoryj...
 not want-refl-3sg see.inf often man-acc which
 'It doesn't not feel like often seeing the man who...'

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