Landau, Idan 2007. Movement-Resistant Aspects of Control. In *New Horizons in the Analysis of Control and Raising*. **William D. Davies and Stanley Dubinsky (eds.), 293–325. Dordrecht: Springer.**

Landau: OC is formed by an abstract Agree relation mediated by functional heads.

Locality

Locality constraints in MTC: the strictly configurational character of the MLC makes it look like an accident that the same semantic verb classes violate the MDP cross-linguistically.

Hornstein (2003): object control verbs: subject control ok when object missing:

(1) *$John_i$ asked/begged/got* PRO_i *to leave.*

But:
(2) *$Mary_i$ said/shouted* PRO_{*i} *to leave.*

MLC explanation(?): pro vs. null object not represented syntactically. No independent evidence. Controller choice should be contingent on lexical and contextual factors.

(4) $John_1$ asked *X for* [*X's permission to him_1* PRO_1 *to leave*].
→ *X* controls external arg of *permission*, *John* the internal arg.

(5) $Mary_1$ said *to X* [*her_1 instruction to X_{*1}* PRO_{*1} to leave].
→ *Mary* controls external arg of *instruction*, no co-indexation with internal arg (Cond B).

MTC: alternative: lexical control exists along with syntactic control → weakens the theory. Landau: "This position indicates a willingness to sacrifice well-known facts on the altar of 'restrictiveness'."

Further problem: null pronouns are visible to condition A, they can bind anaphors (Rizzi 1986)

(6)   a. *We all heard the amazing story about [Bill and Kevin]$_1$.*
       John said to $them_1$ at each $other's_1$ parties to take off their clothes.

       b. *We all heard the amazing story about [Bill and Kevin]$_1$.*
       **John said to pro_1 at each $other's_1$ parties to take off their clothes.*

Binding/control asymmetry: 'An anaphor cannot be lexicalized if its antecedent is not' (Boeckx and Hornstein 2004:439).' Disconfirmed in NOC:

(7)   a. [PRO *praising oneself/myself] wouldn't be polite.*

       b. *John was furious.* [PRO *to get himself a new CD-player like the one stolen]* *would cost a fortune.*

→ *pro* controller in implicit control: does not block control shift when it should, it does not bind reflexives when it could.

Acquisition data:

(i) late acquisition of *promise*-type constructions: not necessarily markedness (passive, parasitic gaps also acquired late);

(ii) systematic delay in the acquisition of OC into adjuncts as well (cannot be the same mechanism as OC into complements then?);

(iii) age 3: *tell/remind* with incorrect subject control, progression from more to fewer MDP-violations.

Split control

banned in OC in Hornstein (1999, 2003), problem for the Agree-based analysis as well, but still exists:

(8)   a. *John proposed to Mary to help each other.*

b. *Ich habe ihm angeboten einander zu helfen.*
I have him offered each-other to help
'I offered him to help each other'.

Partial control (F = matrix T/v)

(9)   a.   The chair$_1$ preferred [PRO$_{1+}$ to gather in the conference room].
      b.   [$_{CP}$ DP .. F .. [$_{CP}$ [T-Agr+C^0$_T$] [$_{TP}$ PRO [$_{I'}$ t$_{T-Agr}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_{PRO}$ ...]]]]]

Agree$_2$ Agree$_3$ Move   Agree$_1$

Agree$_3$: a PC infinitive is tensed, headed by C with an uninterpretable Tense feature. Embedded T-Agr raises to check off this feature, ends up in an edge position → visible to matrix operations → the link generating OC can be established.

Sematic plurality: Landau (2000): similarly to lexical nouns, PRO can be inherently specified for either value (not contextually acquire it as in Landau (1999), no Inclusiveness or copying capacity for Agree-type of problem). Non-standard Agree: assignment, not checking (Hornstein 2003). Matching, valuation, deletion. Does valuation violate Inclusiveness?

PRO in PC: sematically plural, syntactically singular.

(10)   a. *The committee gathered before the vote.*
        b. **The committee consulted each other before the vote.*(in AmE)

(11)   a. *The chair preferred to gather before the vote.*
        b. **The chair preferred to consult each other before the vote.* (in AmE)

Reciprocal phrase licensed by syntactic plurality in AmE, semantic plurality in BrE (variation also found cross-linguistically). Specific requirements should always be established first!

(12)   a. **John wants/decided to be similar/sing alike/be mutually supporting.*
        b. **John is similar/sings alike/is mutually supporting with Bill.*

Hornstein: no comitatives allowed. Landau: in AmE syntactic plurality needed: *This couple is/are similar* vs. *John and Mary are similar*
Comitative paraphrase not necessary: *The chair decided to disperse until next week.*

Minimality in 9b: an attracting head first Agrees with a close target, then with a remote one.

Hornstein: the *Agree* relations in 9b do not guarantee control, Agree has to be symmetric. Landau: Agree is asymmetric, but its output (agreement) is symmetric.

Null case: Hornstein: Landau's theory not consistent with the theory of null case. Should it be? Landau: several reasons to reject it. PRO is case-marked (cf. languages with subject-oriented case concord in control infinitives).

Gerund and tense: Hornstein: gerundive complements tolerate PC: no tense (Stowel 1982), no CP. Landau: some gerunds can be tensed: *Yesterday, John preferred leaving tomorrow.* Gerunds as CPs? Lack of interrogative gerunds can be handled on the featural, and not on the categorial level (*for*-infinitives are never interrogative either; *from* as a negative complementizer after *remain/prevent*?).

T-to-C: Hornstein: movement may overgenerate to EC-complements (strict tense-dependency). Landau: yes, but harmless. C can be [-Tense] or tenseless (direct selectional relation bw matrix verb and embedded T), no movement needed.

Meaning postulate for PC (the subject of the non-finite complement may refer to the controller or a group containg a controller and some contextually specified others): Landau: why is the presence (not the absence) of embedded tense relevant, why no PC in raising? Too unrestricted. Hornstein: meaning postulates can only be imposed on arguments → no PC in adjuncts. Landau: Agree sets adjunc control apart from complement control, lack of PC in tensed temporal adjuncts explained. Right-adjoined adjuncts are predicates: they can support PC no more than secondary predicates (OC also explained):

(20)   a. *John called Mary before meeting in the restaurant.*
        b. *John called Mary together/while together/as a team/extremely polarized.*

Non-obligatory control
Rationale clauses, left-adjoined temporal adjuncts: NOC, logophoric nature. Hornstein: why does OC hold whenever it can? Landau: some economy metric: "Try to establish control syntactically (by Agree/Move) before you resort to pragmatics (logophoric/pronominal coreference)."

Case percolation
Landau: contrast between raising and control constructions: inherent (quirky) case shows up on matrix subject in raising, not in control → one chain in raising, two in control.

Hornstein: Chilean Spanish: quirky dative may show up on controller.
(22)   a.   *Marta le quiere gustar a Juan.*
                Marta CL.DAT wants to-please to Juan
                'Marta wants for Juan to like her' (Marta wants to be liked by Juan).

b.   *A Juan le quiere gustar Marta.*
        to Juan CL.DAT wants to-please Marta
        'Juan wants to like Marta'

Very restricted (*querer* 'want', *tratar* 'try'), non-iterative (OC-dependencies can be chained):
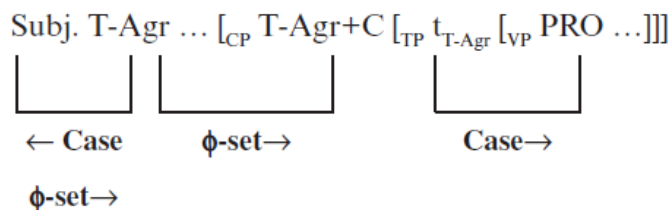
(25)   **A Marta le quieren tratar de gustar los gatos.*
        to Marta CL.DAT wanted to-try of to-please the cats
        'Marta wants to try to like cats'.

Alternatives offered by Landau:
        (i) *querer* as a modal (semantic import from lexical entailments, not θ-role assignment). Raising analysis, only one modal/sentence.
        (ii) *querer* as a standard subject control verb. How is the Case feature of PRO valued?
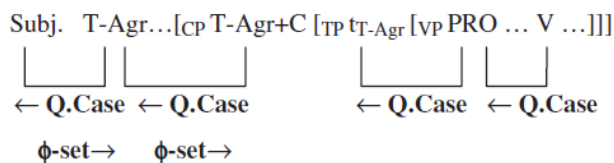
T-Agr with valued case feature Agreeing with PRO (or lexical predicate in case of quirky case

(28)   *Case Independence*

Subj. T-Agr … [$_{CP}$ T-Agr+C [$_{TP}$ t$_{T\text{-Agr}}$ [$_{VP}$ PRO …]]]

← Case   φ-set→   Case→

φ-set→

Chilean Spanish: case feature of the matrix functional head can optionally be unvalued, the value of PRO's case feature percolates to the controller via matrix T-Agr. Icelandic: fintie T-Agr obligatorily bears a valued nominative case feature (functional head as the locus for this difference makes it a natural parameter).

(29)   *Case Percolation*

Subj.   T-Agr…[$_{CP}$ T-Agr+C [$_{TP}$ t$_{T\text{-Agr}}$ [$_{VP}$ PRO … V …]]]

← Q.Case ← Q.Case   ← Q.Case ← Q.Case

φ-set→   φ-set→

Prediction of another possibility: case of embedded T-Agr unvalued, PRO inherits case from controller, a case of case transmission: Latin (also attested in Icelandic). This prediction lost under the MTC account(?).

Backward control

Under the MTC it is "nothing but covert movement of the 'controller' DP to its matrix *thematic* position; if OC is A-movement and A-movement can be covert, then backward control is an inevitable possibility."
BC: Farrel (1995), Polinsky and Potsdam (2002).

Farrell (1995): Brazilian Portuguese causatives with *fazer/mandar*: ECM syntax, object control semantics: no passive, causee cannot be a clause or an expletive, with *mandar* has to be animate. No matrix object position realized. Any syntactic approach to control is misguided.

(31)   a.   *A mulher fez o nenê dormir.*
            'The woman made the baby sleep'.
       b.   *Eu mandei o sapateiro concertar esse sapato.*
            'I had the cobbler fix these shoes'.

Overt causee in embedded subject position: can be a nominative pronoun, can follow the embedded verb.

(33)   *A professora mandou/fez   eu   apagar o quadro.*
       the teacher had/ made   I.NOM erase the board.
       'The teacher had/made me erase the board'.

Landau: the causee can be realized as an object clitic on the main verb. Why no passive?

(34)   *O professor   os   fez estudar mais.*
       The professor CL-3.MASC.PL   made study more
       'The professor made them study more'.

(35)   a.   **O nenê foi feito dormir.*
            (The baby was made sleep)

       b.   *Os alunos foram forçados a estudarem mais.*
            'The students were forced to study more'.

Farrell/Hornstein: the causee does not occupy a matrix object position. Landau: matrix passivization should be possible (with ACC withdrawn (?), raising to the matrix subject position, potentially picking up a θ-role on its way. Evidence not conclusive.

Polinsky and Potsdam: a more persuasive case for BC from Tsez.

(37) Δ_1 [kid-ba$_1$ ziya   b-išra]   y-oq-si.
II.ABS   girl.II-ERG   cow.III.ABS   III-feed.INF   II-begin-PAST.EVID
'The girl began to feed the cow'.

Problems:
(i)   rarity (only two verbs in Tsez, at most five in other languages). Aspectuals like *begin, continue*, can be raising, too. Matrix V-to-T satisfies EPP (a stipulated lexical feature of the verbs in question);
(ii)   Case of matrix DP: to explain the agreement facts, absolutive case has to be allowed inmmatrix clause. To explain OC, it has to be excluded: "the actual analysis P&P end up with […] deprives the control verb *-oqa* 'begin' of its case assigning capacity. The lack of absolutive case in the matrix clause is in fact crucial: It explains the very effect of OC. If an independent DP were merged as the external argument of *–oqa*, its case feature would remain unchecked." Two distinct cases by the same DP: no explanation for why a second DP cannot be merged in the matrix clause. The effect of OC hangs on a problematic technical assumption.

Finite control
More common than assumed. BP: embedded topic drop contingent on the presence of a coreferent matrix topic? (Modesto 2008) Even if OC PRO, no evidence for the alleged lack of case.

(39) *Greek* (Philippaki-Warburton and Catsimali 1999)
    a. Anangasan tin Eleni   [PRO   na milisi   afti i idhja].
       forced.3PL the Eleni.ACC PRO.NOM PRT speak.3sg she herself.NOM
       'They forced Helen to speak herself'.

    Hungarian (J. Horvath, personal communication)
    b. János   bíztatta   Marit   [hogy PRO   maga/   *magát
       John.NOM urged.3sg.DEF Mary.ACC that   PRO.NOM herself.NOM/*ACC
       beszéljen   az orvossal].
       talk.SUBJ.3sg the doctor-with
       'John urged Mary to talk to the doctor herself'.

PRO-gate
Hornstein: an A-movement analysis of control is an elegant account of the PRO-gate effect: "a PRO subject in a gerundive subject clause allows a pronoun to be Ā-bound even to the left of a variable (the *wh*-trace), in contrast to a lexical subject in the same position, which gives rise to the familiar WCO violation." Reason: A-movement circumvents WCO (i.e. a pronoun bound by an A-trace will not violate WCO: *Who$_i$ seemed to his$_i$ wife t$_i$ to be clever?*), PRO in subject gerunds displays OC. Landau: if this is so, the PRO-gate is explained.

(40) a. Who$_1$ did [PRO$_1$ kissing his$_1$ mother] upset t$_1$?

    b. *Who$_1$ did [Mary's/his$_1$/him$_1$ kissing his$_1$ mother] upset t$_1$?

PRO in gerunds does not fall under OC:

H: *Shaving himself impressed Mary.*   L: *Shaving myself impressed Mary.*
→ no local antecedent required.

H: **John$_1$ said that* PRO$_{1+2}$ *shavinf themselves upset everyone.*
L: *That* [PRO$_{1+2}$ *covering themselves with mud*] *disturbed Spiro$_1$ amused Dick$_2$.*
The Hornstein sentence also improves when preceded by *John told Bill that…*
→ split control is not blocked, but subject gerunds are subject to logophoricity constraints.

L: *Flirting around amused only Bill.* → strict reading possible.

H: *PRO$_i$ *shaving himself made Mary believe John$_i$*
      *PRO$_i$ *shaving himself upset John's$_i$ mother*
→ antecedent must be the most prominent DP, cannot be buried inside another DP.

L: *Mary* is a potential logophoric antecedent, control by *John* ruled out.

(49)   [PRO$_1$ *storming out of the room that way after losing the game] convinced everyone that John$_1$ is very immature.*

(50)   a. *John$_1$ finally got what he wanted. PRO$_1$ shaving himself made Mary believe him$_1$.*
       b. *John$_1$ knew that [PRO$_1$ shaving himself] made Mary believe him$_1$.*
→ what matters is not locality but logophoricity.

Sideward movement: look-ahead problem, a local DP can be skipped if it is an expletive:

(51)   a. *[PRO$_1$ getting himself a new pair of trekking shoes] made it look like John$_1$ was about to leave on a journey.*
       b. **[PRO$_1$ getting himself a new pair of trekking shoes] made Mary realize John$_1$ was about to leave on a journey.*

(52) a. *PRO$_1$ finishing his work on time is important to John's$_1$ development/*friends.*

→ logophoric extensions of the possessor ok, potential controller individual-referring nouns are not. Sideward movement analysis?!

→ ***on every single criterion PRO in subject gerunds displays NOC***

H: Sideward movement blocked in islands: NOC + WCO expected not supported either:

(53) *The fact that* PRO$_1$ *losing his$_1$ life is a distinct possibility frightens every soldier$_1$.*
→ PRO-gate effects found even in gerunds inside islands.

PRO-gate also in environments of arbitrary control:

(54) a. PRO$_{arb}$ *calling him$_1$ an idiot would upset any/?every professor$_1$.*

Hornstein's NOC PRO is pro, predicted to trigger WCO violations.

Wh-infinitives
L: OC misclassified as NOC based on the islandhood of *wh*-complements.

(55)   a. *John wondered what to do.*
       b. *?What did John say how to cook?*

L: *wh*-complements show OC: partial control (sloppy reading, no long-distance control etc.)
Boeckx and H (2004): very weak islands blocking *wh*-movement (Relativized Minimality), unclear whether they should block A-movement.

Agree-based account: Agree targets the C head (accessible to the higher phase), *wh*-phrase in spec immaterial, the dependency is between φ-features.

Control across passive
(58)   a. **John was hoped to leave.*
       b. *John was persuaded to leave.*
       c. *John was expected to leave.*

B&H: *hope* does not passivize (with a non-expletive).
L: *No* subject control verb may promote the embedded subject to the matrix subject position via passivization – not even verbs that *do* passivize their DP objects (Visser's Generalization):
(61)   a. *The decision was regretted/hated.*
            b. *They regretted/hated to have passed the decision.*
            c. **They were regretted/hated to have passed the decision.*

Passive ECM obscures this in English:
(62)   b. *John was decided to be our representative.*
→ tense restrictions of ECM attested.
(63)   b. *John was decided to apologize to Mary tomorrow.*

Sidewards movement from complements
Overgeneration problem:
(64) **John's₁ friends prefer [t₁ to behave himself].*

B&H: (i): *John* is a predicate in a small clause, cannot be an argument of *behave himself;*
          (ii): possessive DPs are adjuncts, movement to adjoined positions is blocked.

(65)   a. **John's₁ examination of the patient convinced Mary [t₁ to applaud himself].*
            b. **John's₁ examining the patient convinced Mary [t₁ to applaud himself].*

Novel raising-control contrasts (Postal 2004)
1. *be the matter/wrong with*: subject position antipronominal
(66) a. *Something₁ is the matter with my transmission, but that sort of thing/*it₁ is not the matter with his.*
b. **He said something₁ was wrong with her values, and it₁ was wrong with them.*

Ok inside raising, not in control. PRO a null pronominal, raised DP a silent copy.

(67)   a. *Lots of things seem to be the matter with your transmission.*
            b. *Such a thing is bound to be wrong with someone's liver.*
(68)   a. ** Lots of things can be the matter with your transmission without being the matter with mine.*
            b. **That can be detectable without being wrong with your liver.*

2. Antecedence relations between certain DPs and their metonyms: no uniform behaviour:
(69)   *I am parked on 26ᵗʰ Street./Microsoft went up.*
(70)   *John claimed that he was parked on 26ᵗʰ Street/*Microsoft claimed that it would go up.*

Same contrast in raising vs. control:
(71)   *John plans to be parked on 26ᵗʰ Street/*Microsoft plans to go up.*
(72)   *John seems to be parked on 26ᵗʰ Street/Microsoft seems to go up*

→ null subject of control complement more like a pronoun than a copy. Metonimous shift has been shown to be restricted for pronouns and reflexives: **Microsoft believes itself to have gone up.*