

## Movement Out of Control is Under Control

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### 0. Focus of talk and Roadmap

- § propose that movement out of control is a parametrized option made available by UG and kept under control by well-defined conditions =>
- available in languages where complements to control verbs lack phasal status (i.e., are TPs rather than CPs), and
  - where partial control effects are unavailable
- § discuss an analysis of O(bligatory) C(ontrol) in Romanian analogous to that of raising predicates (in the spirit of Hornstein but without obligatory displacement)

## P

1. OC and Minimalism: The Hornstein versus Landau debate
2. To raise or not to raise: evidence from Romanian
3. OC and phases and how it matters
4. Conclusions

### 1. OC and Minimalism

- (1)
  - a. John<sub>i</sub> tried/managed [PRO<sub>i</sub> to read the new Chomsky].
  - b. It can be very rewarding [PRO<sub>arb</sub> to do syntax].
  - c. Charles<sub>i</sub> wanted [PRO<sub>i+</sub> to meet at 9] (but it was too early).

GB framework → one-to-one mapping between theta-roles and arguments  
(cf. Theta-Criterion of Chomsky 1981) => PRO is at once a semantic and a syntactic subject

- (2) restrictions on PRO:
    - (i) interpretation → constrained to an exhaustive (1a) or partial (1c) identity in the presence of controller, where coindexation is subject to some c-commanding version of the Minimal Distance Principle of Rosenbaum (1967), and arbitrary otherwise, as in (1b)
    - (ii) distribution → constrained to appear in contexts where T had no Case (and later, null Case - Chomsky/Lasnik 1993)
    - (iii) manifestation → constrained to silence (i.e., never overt), due to (ii)
- PRO - somewhat problematic (theory-internal; umbrella term for disparate phenomena, etc.)

**Interim**

Minimalism in a nutshell:

- ∅ D-Structure and S-structure no longer separate levels of representation
- ∅ no notion of government or Binding Theory module
- ∅ traces are copies
- ∅ ungrammaticality reduces to unchecked/unvalued formal features at the interface levels

Minimalist proposals for obligatory control (OC):

**A. Reductionist approaches (i.e., no PRO)**

**i. No movement**

**Wurmbrand 1998:**

matrix verb selects a VP complement

=> no PRO ('semantic control')

(1) John tried [<sub>VP</sub> to read the new Chomsky]

Note: monoclausal approach akin to Rizzi (1982), Haegeman & van Riemsdijk (1986)

**ii. With movement**

**a. Manzini-Roussou 1998, 2000:**

theta roles:  
→ aspectual features that associate with a DP merged in the inflectional domain

=> no PRO (i.e. OC PRO = theta feature movement)

=> a DP can be associated with more than 1 theta-role

(4) a. [<sub>TP</sub> John I [<sub>VP</sub> tried [<sub>TP</sub> to [<sub>VP</sub> read]]]]

b. [ John<sub>D</sub> [ tried θ<sub>1</sub> [θ<sub>2</sub> read ]]]



**b. Hornstein 1999, 2001:**

theta roles:  
→ features that check by either initial/second Merge (i.e. via DP movement)

=> no PRO (i.e. OC PRO = copies left behind by DP-movement)

=> a DP can be associated with more than 1 theta-role (via a theta-chain)

(5) [<sub>TP</sub> **John** I [<sub>VP</sub> John tried [<sub>TP</sub> to [<sub>VP</sub> John v [<sub>VP</sub> read the new Chomsky]]]]]

ü PRO = DP-trace

**B. Non-reductionist approach (i.e., with PRO)**

**Landau 1999, 2003:**

OC = an instantiation of the operation Agree (cf. Chomsky 2000 et seq.) holding between matrix probe and embedded anaphoric goal (PRO in EC; Agr in PC)

- (6) Exhaustive Control (EC): obligatory identity of arguments
  - a. Tom<sub>i</sub> tried [PRO<sub>i</sub> to understand calculus]
  - b. \* Tom<sub>i</sub> tried [for Mary to understand calculus]
  - c. \* Tom<sub>i</sub> tried [PRO<sub>i+</sub> to meet at 9]
  
- (7) Partial Control (PC): optional or partial control of arguments
  - a. Gandalf<sub>i</sub> wanted [PRO<sub>i</sub> to succeed]
  - b. Gandalf<sub>i</sub> wanted [for Frodo to succeed]
  - b. Gandalf<sub>i</sub> wanted [PRO<sub>i+</sub> to meet late at night]

- ü PRO present throughout:
  - “active” for Agree due to anaphoric nature (cf. Borer 1989)
  - “inactive” for movement as Case-marked (null Case)

- ü PRO is still PRO and NOT DP-trace

**1.1. The Hornstein versus Landau debate**

*Advantages of PRO as DP-trace:*

- conceptual: various, among which “simplifying the grammar” (see Hornstein)
- empirical: in principle, can handle ‘backward’ control languages of the type mentioned in Polinsky and Potsdam (2002), where the overt subject is constrained to the embedded clause:

- (8) Δ<sub>i</sub> [kid-bā<sub>i</sub> ziya b-išr-a] 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.’ (P&P 2002: Tsez example (5), page 248)

Note: Agreement with ergative DPs is impossible => overt subject is embedded

*Problems with PRO as DP-trace (as highlighted in Landau 2003):*

- conceptual:
  - (i) thematic information, which is semantic, is mirrored by a system of formal features accessed through the derivation
    - h Counterargument: phi-feature specifications on DPs, also semantic, is also mirrored by formal features
  
  - (ii) “unlike any other morphological feature, the purported theta-features are clearly relational.” (Landau 2003: 474)
    - h Counterargument: morphological features like Case, are also clearly relational --

(iii) if theta-roles are construed as features, the fact that *Sincerity fears John* doesn't crash but that \**Children fears John* does crash is unexpected

h Counterargument: In *Sincerity fears John*, the theta role, as a categorial (i.e., D) requirement, has been checked, so no crash is expected; the animacy requirement is semantico-pragmatic in nature, hence not a formal feature. Compare \**fears John* which crashes, as expected.

a → empirical: for example, cannot readily account for partial control in English  
 solid counterargument (unless accept additional stipulations; see Barrie & Pittman 2004 who provide a Chain-splitting account for partial control which salvages Hornstein)

## 2. To raise or not to raise: evidence from Romanian

(9) (Victor) încearcă (Victor) să cînte (Victor)  
 (Victor) try.3SG (Victor) SUBJ sing.3SG (Victor)  
 la trombon (Victor).  
 at trombone (Victor)  
 'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

(10) a. **Victor** încearcă (\* **Mihai**) să cînte  
 Victor try.3SG (\* Mihai) SUBJ sing.3SG  
 b. **Victor** încearcă pro/PRO să cînte  
 Victor try.3SG pro/PRO SUBJ sing.3SG  
 'Victor is trying to sing.'

- the shared argument in (9) can appear in the lower or upper clause (but only 1 instantiation permitted)
- embedded complement is a subjunctive, not an infinitive;
- nonetheless, OC still holds, see (10)

⊖ difficult to maintain a standard analysis of control for Romanian

Proposals for OC in Romanian (Alboiu 2004):

- § theta-roles are features that can be valued via Agree on a par w/ other unvalued FF
- § subjunctive complement cannot value NOM in OC (i.e., phi-completeness is insufficient to license Case)
- § pronounced copies are dependent on the presence of relevant semantico-pragmatic triggers for displacement (e.g. focus, de-rhematization, etc.)


### 2.1 Subjunctives in Romanian:

Verb: shows person ( $\pi$ ) and number (#) agreement with the subject  
 (=> synthetic marking on the verb stem as in other Romance languages)

Subjunctive particle 'să': obligatory (precedes the verb)




(13) a. **Victor** încercă să cînte la trombon.  
 Victor try.3SG SUBJ sing.3SG at trombone  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

b. [ Victor<sub>D</sub> [ tried θ<sub>1</sub> [θ<sub>2</sub> the trombone play θ<sub>3</sub>]] ]  


- analysis proposed by Dobrovie-Sorin (2001) for Romanian; however, D-S (2001) does not consider data of the type in (14) where shared argument is pronounced lower than the matrix preverbal position

(14) a. pro<sub>i</sub> încercă să cînte Victor<sub>i</sub> la trombon.  
 pro<sub>i</sub> try.3SG SBJ sing.3SG Victor<sub>i</sub> at trombone  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

b. [ pro<sub>D</sub> [ tried θ<sub>1</sub> Victor<sub>D</sub> [θ<sub>2</sub> the trombone play θ<sub>3</sub>]] ]  


- problems with Manzini/Roussou analysis:

- i. why would DP be interested in attracting more than 1 theta-feature (see 13)?
- ii. Condition C violation (see 14)

=> if expletive is available in the Numeration, expect it to be \*i, contrary to fact

- (15) shows that Condition C effects are, nonetheless, operative in Romanian

(15) pro<sub>i/\*j</sub> știe că pleacă Mihai<sub>j</sub> mîine.  
 pro<sub>i/\*j</sub> know.3SG that leave.3SG Mihai<sub>j</sub> tomorrow.  
 ‘He<sub>i/\*j</sub> knows that Mihai<sub>j</sub> will be leaving tomorrow.’

iii. Landau:

→ anaphoric PRO is problematic for Romanian in view of (9)

→ partial control phenomena - Landau’s most viable argument against a movement analysis of control - is non-extant in Romanian

(16) a. \* Eu vreau [să plec împreună]  
 I want.1SG [SBJ leave.1SG together]  
 b. Eu vreau [să plecăm împreună]  
 I want.1SG [SBJ leave.1PL together]  
 ‘I want to leave together.’

=> the crucial empirical argument against movement out of control is absent in Romanian

ü Hornstein: best solution in principle

(17) [IP is trying [<sub>vP</sub> Victor  $\theta_v^m$  [IP SBJ play [<sub>vP</sub> Victor  $\theta_v^e$  [<sub>vP</sub> the trombone]]]]]

- where (17) shows movement of ‘Victor’ from its initial merge position in Spec,vP of embedded clause to its second Merge position in Spec,vP of matrix clause
  - in embedded Spec,vP, it satisfies  $\theta_v^e$
  - in matrix Spec,vP, it satisfies  $\theta_v^m$

(See Appendix 1 for an illustration of how various features are catered towards)

Note, however, that (17) only partially accounts for (9), repeated as (18) with copies relevant for the theta-chain in bold

(18) *Victor* încercă            **Victor** să        cînte            **Victor**  
 Victor try.3SG            Victor SUBJ    sing.3SG        Victor  
 la trombon    *Victor*.  
 at trombone   *Victor*  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

- ⊘ in (18), the PF instantiation of the shared argument is dependent on the presence of the relevant semantico-pragmatic triggers for displacement (e.g. focus, de-rhematization, etc.), in line with the general information packaging strategies available to Romanian, and NOT on the requirements of ‘control’ (Alboiu 2004)
- ⊘ OC is established in the absence of dislocation (but with chain formation)

(See Appendix 2 for interpretation effects related to each occurrence of copies)

### 3. OC and phases and how it matters

Show that in Romanian OC contexts:

- § embedded clause is not a phase (i.e., not a CP but a TP)
- § embedded T is phi-complete (i.e.,  $\pi$ , # subject-verb agreement)
- § embedded T is unsaturated (lacks temporal deixis)

#### 3.1 Subjunctives in OC are not phases

→ not CPs

##### 3.1.1 Absence of ‘ca’

- recall the availability of a subjunctive complementizer ‘ca’ mentioned in section 2.1.
- ‘ca’ is, however, absent with OC verbs (19) and so are wh-phrases (20):

(19) a. Victor va                    încerca [( \*ca pe Mihai) să-l                    ajute].  
       Victor will.3SG            try    [(that PE Mihai) SBJ-3SG.M.ACC    help]

      b. Victor va                    încerca [să-l                    ajute (pe Mihai)].  
       Victor will3SG            try    [SBJ-3SG.M.ACC            help (PE Mihai)]

‘Victor will try to help Mihai.’

- (20) a. Mihai va începe [(\*)ce) să cânte]?  
 Mihai will3SG begin [(what)SBJ sing]
- b. Ce va începe Mihai [să cânte]?  
 what will3SG begin Mihai [SBJ sing]  
 ‘What will Mihai start singing?’

Note: Grosu/Horvath (1987) argue for the absence of ‘ca’ with raising verbs (i.e. ‘seem’)  
 (Dobrovie-Sorin (2001) also shows ‘ca’ is absent with control verbs)

### 3.1.2 TP or CP?

- Rizzi (1982) has a number of tests that highlight the different status of sentential complements to raising verbs versus those of control verbs:

- => complements of control verbs = CPs
- => complements of raising verbs = IPs (TPs)

- in Romanian, complements of both raising and control verbs pattern alike, neither being able to pass Rizzi’s (1982) tests for CP status

☞ confirmation that these complements are TP’s rather than CP’s

i. preposing/movement:

- (21) \* (Doar) să-l ajute va încerca / părea.  
 (only) SBJ-3SG.M.ACC help will3SG try / seem  
 ‘(Only) to help he’ll try / \*seem.’

ii. clefting:

- (22) \* Să-l ajute e ceea ce va încerca / părea.  
 SBJ-3SG.M.ACC help is what will3SG try / seem  
 ‘To help is what he’ll try / \*seem.’

=> sentential complements of OC verbs lack C (on a par with complements to raising Vs)

→ unsaturated propositions

→ not phases

IMPORTANT: material from within OC subjunctives is available to matrix clause Agree operations as has not been sent to the interfaces

### 3.2 Status of TP (in the absence of C)

- (23) a. Am reușit să plec (\*mîine)  
 AUX.1SG managed SBJ leave.1SG tomorrow  
 ‘I managed to leave (\*tomorrow).’
- b. Am vrut să plece Mihai mîine.  
 AUX.1SG managed SBJ leave.3SG Mihai tomorrow  
 ‘I wanted for Mihai to leave tomorrow.’

=> T in OC (23a):

- unsaturated, no temporal deixis (i.e., lacks an interpretable tense feature)  
[expected under accounts that view tense domains as C properties, e.g. Stowell (1982)]
- phi-complete

(see also Dobrovie-Sorin 2001, Farkas 1992)

### 3.3 Status of NOM Case (in the absence of C)

- Chomsky (2001a) assumes NOM Case is valued upon agreement with a phi-complete T probe; where, following insights in Pesetsky/Torrego (2001), phi-complete T is incumbent on a phi-complete C

Note:

For a language like English, this is a non-issue, as phi-complete T is always saturated by C and consequently, temporally deictic, so continuing to assume that phi-features (the AGR of GB) value Case is unproblematic.

For Romanian, this is not an option given that a phi-complete T is *not* synonymous to a temporally deictic T (see 23a)

=> Case valuation best viewed as in (24) rather than incumbent on a phi-complete T

Haeberli (1999), Pesetsky/Torrego's (2001, to appear), Williams (1994):

(24) Case is an instance of an uninterpretable Tense feature (*uT*) on D

*In sum:*

Romanian subjunctives in OC are:

- § unsaturated propositions, devoid of phasal status (i.e., TP, not CP)
- § have semi-finite, defective T (phi-complete but no temporal deixis)
- § cannot value NOM

=> subject DP is 'active' for Agree operations with matrix Probes

#### 3.3.1 Empirical evidence for absence of NOM in TP Subjunctives

- in Romanian, emphatics cannot be stranded:

- (25) a. **Mihai**      *însuși*      a      făcut    [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>SU</sub> acest desen].  
Mihai.NOM    himself      AUX.3SG      done    [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>SU</sub> this drawing]  
'Mihai himself made this drawing.'
- b. **Mihai**      a      făcut    [<sub>VP</sub> \*(el) *însuși*      acest desen].  
Mihai.NOM    AUX.3SG      done    [<sub>VP</sub> he.NOM himself      this drawing]  
'Mihai made this drawing himself.'

Crucially, the pronominal copy in (25b) cannot be argued to value NOM Case independently of (or in addition to) the subject DP ‘Mihai’ as T only probes once

By the same token, no reason to claim availability of NOM Case in embedded complement in (26)

- (26) a. **Victor**      **însuși**      încercă      [TP să    facă      t<sub>su</sub>      pizza]  
          Victor.NOM    himself      try.3SG      [TP SBJ make.3SG    t<sub>su</sub>      pizza]  
          ‘Victor himself is trying to make pizza.’
- b. Victor<sub>i</sub>      începe      [TP să    facă      **el<sub>i</sub>**      **însuși<sub>i</sub>**      pizza]  
          Victor.NOM    begin.3SG    [TP SBJ make.3SG    he.NOM himself      pizza]  
          ‘Victor is trying to make pizza himself.’

If still in doubt, compare (27a) with (27b):

- (27) a.      **Mihai<sub>i</sub>**      regretă      [CP că      **el<sub>i</sub>**      nu      poate  
          Mihai.NOM    regret.3SG    [CP that.IND    he.NOM      NEG      can  
          veni      **el<sub>i</sub>**      **însuși<sub>i</sub>** ]  
          come.3SG    he.NOM      himself]  
          ‘Mihai regrets that he himself can’t come.’
- b.      **Victor<sub>i</sub>**      începe      [TP să    facă      (\***el<sub>i</sub>**)      pizza  
          Victor.NOM    begin.3SG    [TP SBJ make.3SG    he.NOM      pizza  
          **el<sub>i</sub>**      **însuși<sub>i</sub>**]  
          he.NOM      himself]  
          ‘Victor is beginning to make pizza himself.’

=> Nominative Case valuation is incumbent on the C-T (phase-level) relationship

### 3.4. When is control raising?

#### § control-as-raising: only when embedded complement is a TP

Consider desideratives which may, but need not, be involved in OC :

- (28)      *pro*<sub>i/\*j</sub> vrea      [CP ca    mâine      să      cînte      Mihai<sub>j</sub>  
          *pro*    want.3SG    [CP that tomorrow    SBJ    sing.3SG      Mihai  
          la trombon].  
          at trombone]  
          ‘S/he wants Mihai to play the trombone tomorrow.’

#### § control-as-raising: crucial in accounting for the absence of Cond. C violations

- (29)      *pro*<sub>i</sub> / \* *pro*<sub>j</sub>    vrea      [să      cînte      Mihai<sub>j</sub> la trombon].  
          *pro*<sub>i</sub> / \* *pro*<sub>j</sub>    want.3SG    [SBJ    sing.3SG      Mihai<sub>j</sub> at trombone]

- (i) 'S/he wants Mihai to play the trombone.' OR
- (ii) 'Mihai wants to play the trombone.'

- (29) is ambiguous between a CP and a TP domain (recall optionality of 'ca' with Romanian CP subjunctives), so both readings in (29) are expected

- in the absence of control-as-raising, no explanation for the well-formedness of (29ii)

**§ Interesting (but unsurprising): movement out of control is *not* incumbent on the presence of phi-features on T in the complement clause**

(Alboiu, under review)

→ e.g. Japanese - a backward control L (Polinsky/Potsdam 2002) - lacks overt agreement morphology on embedded T

→ e.g. Persian, on the other hand, shows agreement morphology on the verb in the complement clause, but disallows backward control

- (30) (Ali) say kar-d (Ali) [(ke) (\*Ali) be-r-e].  
 (Ali) try did.3SG (Ali) [(that) (\*Ali) SBJ-go-3SG]  
 'Ali tried to leave.'  
 (cf. Kahnemuyipour p.c.)

Note: for a restructuring analysis of Persian OC, see Ghomeshi (2001); for a PRO analysis of Persian OC, see Darzi (2004)

#### 4. Conclusions

- in Romanian (and backward control Ls), OC is akin to raising (contra Landau)  
 => even if PRO is still available as a syntactic UG primitive, not all languages employ it in obligatory control

- dislocation is not a prerequisite (contra Hornstein), but is only possible if the complement clause is not a phasal domain

- ◻ embedded DP subjects are available to matrix clause probes only if initially merged in unsaturated T domains
- ◻ movement out of control is constrained, so is under control

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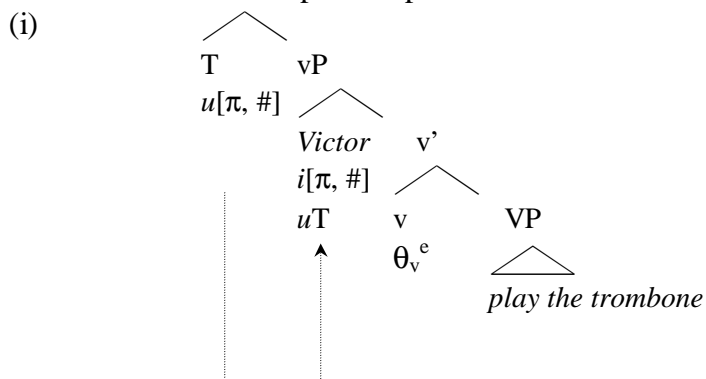
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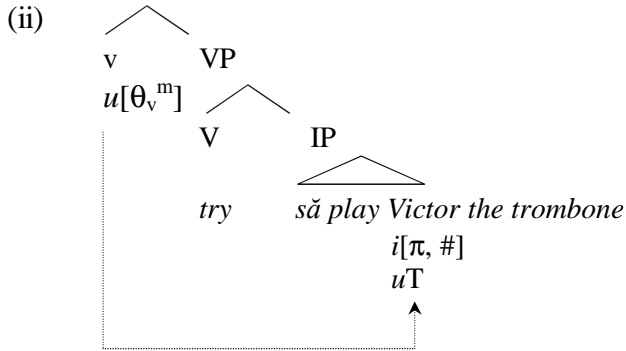
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## Appendix 1: Catering to uninterpretable features

- at stage  $\alpha$  in derivation, extract DP 'Victor' from the Numeration and merge with v 'play the trombone' to satisfy  $\theta_v^e$  theta-role
- next insert I which is phi-complete =>

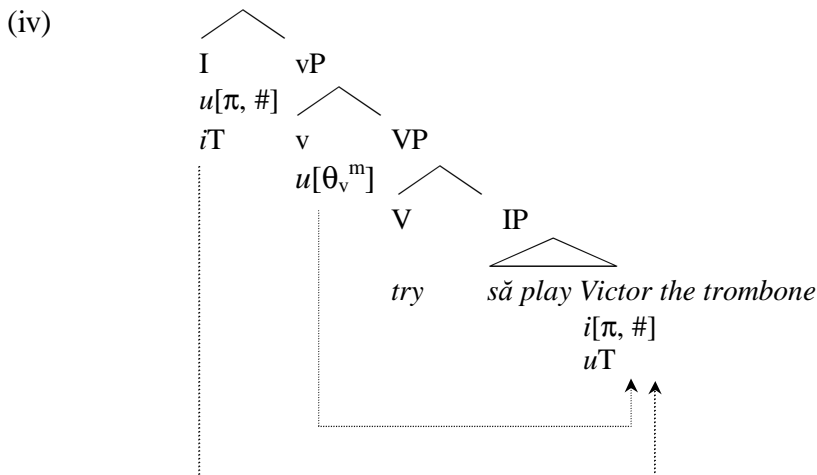


- 'Victor' is active due to unassigned/unvalued Case feature (i.e.,  $uT$ )
- the uninterpretable phi-features in T will probe for a matching Goal and find 'Victor' => Agree established
- the derivation proceeds to the next step which is insertion of inflectional subjunctive clitic 'să'; next, merge TP with 'try' and this new syntactic object with matrix v



- v needs a DP to value its theta-feature; there is nothing available in the Numeration, so unvalued theta-feature probes for a Goal;
- Match established with the first DP in the c-command domain of the Probe (i.e., ‘Victor’); recall that ‘Victor’ is still active due to unvalued Case
- => valuation of  $u[\theta_v^m]$  due to Agree operation

- next matrix T merges with vP
- the uninterpretable phi-features in T will probe for a matching goal which turns out to be ‘Victor’



- ‘Victor’ matches matrix  $u[\pi, \#]$  in phi-features; given that locality conditions are met
- => Agree established

§ this ensures valuation of phi-set on matrix T *and* valuation of  $uT$  on ‘Victor’ as matrix I is temporally deictic

Feature valuation complete => derivation converges as desired

## Appendix 2: OC and information packaging (making sense of the copies)

Alboiu (2002): Romanian exploits syntactic structure to encode sentence pragmatics => various copies encode information structure, see (i)

- (i) (topic XP\*) - (Kontrast XP) - C/I<sub>(OCC)</sub> - [<sub>VP</sub> (OShift) - [<sub>VP</sub> ... V<sub>(OCC)</sub> ...]]  
 theme theme

Pronounced copies are dependent on the presence of relevant semantico-pragmatic triggers for displacement (e.g, focus, de-rhematization, etc)

One way of formalizing this empirical observation is by construing the trigger as an OCC feature optionally present in the derivation

→ OCC = a requirement that a phrase must be an occurrence of some probe and, consequently, license novel interpretations (Chomsky 2001b)

- (ii) embedded sentence-focus (presentational/rhematic):

- a. Ce e gălăgia asta?  
 what is noise-the this  
 ‘What’s all this noise?’
- b. Încearcă să cânte **Victor** la trombon.  
 try.3SG SUBJ sing.3SG Victor at trombone  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

→ no OCC feature present in the derivation => no displacement

- (iii) matrix sentence-focus (presentational/rhematic):

- a. Ce se întâmplă?  
 what SE happens  
 ‘What’s going on?’
- b. Încearcă **Victor** să cânte la trombon.  
 try.3SG Victor SUBJ sing.3SG at trombone  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

→ OCC on matrix v => displacement to Spec,vP when theta-feature valued

- (iv) matrix predicate-focus (presentational/rhematic):

- a. Mihai, ce face Victor?  
 Mihai what does.3SG Victor  
 ‘Mihai, what’s Victor doing?’
- b. **Victor** încearcă să cânte la trombon.  
 Victor try.3SG SUBJ sing.3SG at trombone  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

→ ‘Victor’ = topic

=> OCC on matrix C/I triggers displacement to topic when matrix phi-features valued

(v) argument-focus (presentational/rhematic):

a. Cine încearcă să cînte la trombon?  
who try.3SG SUBJ sing.3SG at trombone  
'Who is trying to play the trombone?'

b. (Încearcă să cînte la trombon) **Victor.**  
try.3SG SUBJ sing.3SG at trombone Victor  
'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

→ 'Victor' = maximally rhematic => OCC on subjunctive v => object shift for de-rhematization purposes ("evacuation for focus" of Alboiu 1999, 2002)

(vi) argument-focus (contrastive):

a. Mihai încearcă să cînte la trombon?  
Mihai try.3SG SUBJ sing.3SG at trombone  
'Is Mihai trying to play the trombone?'

b. (**VICTOR**) încearcă (**VICTOR**) să cînte  
(**VICTOR**) try.3SG (**VICTOR**) SUBJ sing.3SG  
(**VICTOR**) la trombon (**VICTOR**).  
(**VICTOR**) at trombone (**VICTOR**)  
'It's Victor who's trying to play the trombone (not Mihai).'

→ heavy stress yields contrastively focused readings available in all of the previously mentioned slots and subject to the same pragmatics