

# Shared Arguments in Control\*

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This paper discusses licensing constraints imposed on shared arguments in Romanian obligatory control constructions. While in languages like English, the overt argument is constrained to a matrix clause position, in Romanian it may surface in a number of slots, including within the embedded clause. To account for the Romanian facts, I propose a minimalist solution which views theta-relations as featural specifications that require valuation in narrow syntax. Adapting insights in Hornstein (1999), I suggest that valuation of theta roles can proceed in a Probe-Goal relationship, without dislocation, where the shared argument DP merges in the Spec,vP of the embedded clause and enters an Agree operation with various Probes as long as it remains active. The crux of the argument is that DPs are only ‘de-activated’ by temporally deictic Probes. I further show that dislocation of the shared DP argument is pragmatically determined and, consequently, independent of the control phenomenon.

## 0. Introduction

This paper discusses various licensing constraints imposed on shared arguments in Romanian obligatory control constructions and argues for an analysis of obligatory control in this language analogous to that of raising predicates. It proposes that movement out of control is a parametrized option made available by UG and employed by a number of languages where complements to control verbs do not have phasal status (i.e., are TPs rather than CPs<sup>1</sup>). In addition, it provides an account of what seems to be backward versus forward control phenomena in Romanian as an instance of the theme-rheme sentence partitioning which, as such, belongs to the stylistic component and is to be kept distinct from Case or theta-role valuation.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 introduces the reader to the concepts and their formalization in minimalism. Section 2 focuses on the subjunctive nature of complements to obligatory control verbs in Romanian and puts forth the proposal.

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<sup>1</sup> For consistency, I will be using ‘T’ notation throughout the paper, despite the fact that there is variation in some of the cited work with respect to ‘T’ versus ‘I’ notation.

Section 3 argues for a reductionist solution to control as the only formalization capable of doing justice to the data. Section 4 is a discussion of morpho-syntactic properties of control in this language, while Section 5 offers a discussion of how various features are catered to in control derivations with shared arguments. Section 6 provides an analysis of the availability of the various copies based on the information packaging properties available to Romanian. Section 7 is a conclusion.

## 1. Obligatory control and generative grammar

Cross-linguistically, aspectual, implicative, and modal matrix verbs select a sentential complement whose external argument has to be co-referential to the matrix clause subject DP, as exemplified in (1).

- (1) a. Erica<sub>i</sub> just started [PRO<sub>i</sub> to take syntax].  
 b. Philippa<sub>i</sub> tried [PRO<sub>i</sub> to read the new Chomsky].

Given the one-to-one mapping between theta-roles and arguments assumed in the generative grammar of the 80s (see Theta-Criterion of Chomsky 1981), PRO in (1) is construed as both a semantic and a syntactic subject. Specifically, the subject theta-position is filled structurally with some brand of null nominal element ‘PRO’, distinct from any matrix clause DP or trace thereof. In (1), PRO is constrained to an exhaustive identity with a matrix clause controller, where co-indexation is subject to some commanding version of the Minimal Distance Principle of Rosenbaum (1967). The inherent non-overt nature of PRO is linked to its compulsory association with Case-less T domains (i.e., infinitival T) – and, later, null Case (as in Chomsky and Lasnik 1993). The properties of PRO, however, are known to surpass those seen in (1). For example, PRO also surfaces with a partial control interpretation, as in (2a), or an arbitrary interpretation, as in (2b).

- (2) a. Mrs. Dalloway<sub>i</sub> wanted [PRO<sub>i+</sub> to meet at 9] (but it was too early).  
 b. It can be very rewarding [PRO<sub>arb</sub> to do syntax].

PRO then has two arguments working against it: on the one hand, an undesired theory-internal flavour, and on the other hand, an unwelcome oscillatory nature. No wonder it has made linguists uncomfortable.

With the advent of minimalism in the 90s, which sees the collapse of government and the elimination of D-structure and S-structure as separate levels of representation (Chomsky 1995, 1998, 2000 etc.), the availability of PRO in control has been questioned by a number of authors, most notably, Boeckx and Hornstein (2003), Hornstein (1999, 2000), Manzini and Roussou (1998), Martin (1996), and O’Neil (1997). Crucially, these authors also assume that movement out of control is legitimate, which in effect, points toward a synonymous construal of raising and control, theta roles notwithstanding. The reductionist view of control is not only legitimate theoretically but has the added bonus of providing better empirical coverage than the standard view, given that it can also handle backward control languages (see discussion in Polinsky and Potsdam 2002). While not everybody agrees on eliminating PRO (see, especially Landau 1999, 2003) and while

there may be conceptual and empirical reasons to maintain PRO in certain cases and for certain languages, a movement analysis of obligatory control cannot be universally dismissed prior to a careful cross-linguistic investigation. In the next subsection, I briefly discuss various minimalist proposals for obligatory control.

1.1 *Minimalist views on obligatory control*

In minimalism, ungrammaticality reduces to unvalued formal features at the two interface levels (i.e., LF and PF). Consequently, formal features need to be valued against a matching counterpart or the derivation will crash. With respect to obligatory control, there are two major directions pursued: a reductionist and a non-reductionist approach.

Approaches eliminating PRO differ primarily as to whether they assume or do not assume movement, which is in turn linked to whether theta roles are construed as features or not. Perhaps the least controversial reductionist minimalist approach is that put forth by Wurmbrand (1998), who essentially argues that obligatory control presupposes a monoclausal construction, with no PRO. Her analysis is reminiscent of various restructuring analyses that go back all the way to Rizzi (1982) and Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986). In a nutshell, for sentences like (1), labelled ‘semantic control’ in Wurmbrand, the matrix verb selects a VP complement as in (3).

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

The most influential syntactic movement analyses of obligatory control belong to Manzini and Roussou (1998, 2000) and Hornstein (1999, 2001), so I will briefly focus on those. Both of these analyses view theta roles as features which have to be checked (i.e., valued) and crucially, both enable a DP to be associated with more than one theta-role.

Manzini and Roussou propose that theta roles are aspectual features which merge in the verbal domain and which associate with a DP. In their system, DPs can only merge in their Case position and, consequently, can only occur in the inflectional domain. From there a DP will attract as many theta-roles as are in its domain, essentially, all of the theta-roles up to the next DP. Obligatory control is devoid of any PRO, being simply viewed as attraction of two theta-roles instead of one. This is schematically illustrated in (4).

(4) a. [<sub>TP</sub> John T [<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 ]]]

Hornstein’s approach is more conservative in that it assumes DPs to be merged in theta-domains rather than in the inflectional domain. However, it is novel in that it allows for DP-movement into theta-positions on a par with movement into Case positions. In his system, theta-roles are features that check either by initial or by second Merge (i.e., via DP-insertion from the Numeration or via DP-movement from within the syntactic tree,

respectively). In this approach PRO is simply a lower unpronounced copy of a moved DP, as in (5), where the pronounced copy is in bold.<sup>2</sup>

- (5)  $[_{TP} \text{John } T [_{VP} \text{John tried } [_{TP} \text{to } [_{VP} \text{John } v [_{VP} \text{read the new Chomsky}]]]]]$
- 

The major proponent of the non-reductionist approach to control in minimalism is Landau. Landau (1999, 2003) argues that PRO is cross-linguistically present in obligatory control structures and that equating control with raising is a major mistake. His insights rely heavily on an earlier analysis proposed by Borer (1989) which he adapts to minimalism. Essentially, obligatory control is seen as an instantiation of the operation Agree (see Chomsky 2000 et seq.) holding between a matrix Probe and an embedded anaphoric element. This anaphoric element is sensitive to the specific type of control at stake in the derivation. If involved in ‘exhaustive control’, the anaphoric element is PRO; if involved in ‘partial control’, the anaphoric element is Agr of the embedded clause. The split between exhaustive versus partial control depends on whether the selecting matrix predicate obligatorily requires an identical embedded argument, see data in (6), or does so optionally, as in (7b), or even partially, as in (7c).

(6) Exhaustive Control (EC)

- 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)

- a. Gandalf<sub>i</sub> wanted [PRO<sub>i</sub> to succeed]
- b. Gandalf<sub>i</sub> wanted [for Frodo to succeed]
- c. Gandalf<sub>i</sub> wanted [PRO<sub>i+</sub> to meet late at night]

Crucially, for Landau, PRO is present throughout, being ‘active’ for Agree due to its anaphoric nature and ‘inactive’ for movement given that it is Case-marked with null Case.

I now turn my attention to obligatory control constructions in Romanian.

## 2. Obligatory control in Romanian

While in languages like English, the shared argument is constrained to a matrix clause position, in Romanian it may surface in a number of legitimate slots, including in the embedded clause, as shown in (8). However, only one instantiation of the DP subject is permitted.

<sup>2</sup> To simplify, in (5), I disregard properties of the embedded T.

- (8) **(Victor)** încercă **(Victor)** [să cînte **(Victor)**  
 (Victor.NOM) try.3SG (Victor.NOM) [SBJ sing.3SG (Victor.NOM)  
 la trombon **(Victor)]**<sup>3</sup>  
 at trombone (Victor. NOM)  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

Note also, that even if the complement clause in Romanian is a subjunctive (with agreement morphology) rather than an infinitive, obligatory control still holds, as shown in (9).<sup>4</sup>

- (9) a. **Victor** încercă (\* **Mihai**) să cînte **(\*Mihai)**  
 Victor try.3SG (\* Mihai) SBJ sing.3SG (\* Mihai)  
 ‘Victor is trying (\*Mihai) to sing.’
- b. **Victor<sub>i</sub>** încercă **pro<sub>i</sub>/PRO<sub>i</sub>** să cînte  
 Victor try.3SG pro/PRO SBJ sing.3SG  
 ‘Victor is trying to sing.’

Given the availability of agreement morphology present on the subjunctive, the null subject in Romanian obligatory control structures has often been claimed to be an instantiation of ‘pro’ (e.g., Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Farkas 1988, Motapanyane 1995), but some authors maintain it as ‘PRO’ (e.g. Kempchinski 1986, Terzi 1992). In addition to the fact that the subjunctive verb in Romanian shows person ( $\pi$ ) and number (#) agreement with the subject (i.e., synthetic marking on the verb stem as in other Romance languages), subjunctives also require the obligatory presence of a subjunctive particle ‘să’ preceding the verb (i.e., the subjunctive is analytically marked as in other Balkan languages).

The subjunctive particle ‘să’ has generally been argued to be a mood/finite marker within T by a number of authors (e.g. Alboiu 2002, Cornilescu 1997, Isac 2002, Motapanyane 1995, Pîrvulescu 2001, Rivero 1994, Terzi 1992), though Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) suggests ‘să’ is ambiguous between a C and a T element. Given the availability of a distinct subjunctive complementizer in the language, specifically ‘ca’, an unambiguous C element which surfaces to the left of ‘să’, I take ‘să’ to be a genuine T element.

Insofar as the subjunctive complementizer ‘ca’ is concerned, it is obligatory with topicalised material, as in (10a), optional with fronted focus, as in (10b), and subject to idiolectal variation when nothing precedes ‘să’, as in (10c).

<sup>3</sup> The abbreviations used in the Romanian example sentences are: SE: impersonal clitic, AUX: auxiliary, SBJ: subjunctive, INF: infinitive, IND: indicative, CL: pronominal clitic, SG: singular, PL: plural, NOM: Nominative case, ACC: Accusative case, DAT: Dative case, M: masculine, F: feminine. ‘PE’ is a preposition associated with Romanian direct objects that have an <e> type denotation (see Cornilescu 2000b). In addition, *u*FF is used to represent uninterpretable/unvalued formal features and *i*FF stands for interpretable/valued formal features.

<sup>4</sup> These properties are shared with modern Greek (see Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2002).

- (10) a. Trebuie [\*(ca) Mioara<sub>i</sub> să ajungă t<sub>i</sub> repede].  
 must that.SBJ Mioara SBJ arrive.3SG t<sub>i</sub> soon  
 ‘Mioara must arrive soon.’
- b. Vreau [(ca) AZI să pleci (nu mâine)].  
 want.1SG that.SBJ today SBJ leave.2SG (not tomorrow)  
 ‘It is today that I want you to leave (, not tomorrow).’
- c. Vreau [(? ca) să ningă].  
 want.1SG that.SBJ SBJ snow.3SG  
 ‘I want it to snow.’

At least the following questions need to be addressed in connection to these data: (i) Where does the DP subject originate? (ii) Is movement involved? and if so, (iii) What factors determine pronunciation site? (iv) Is there any genuine evidence for PRO?

I first dismiss the various minimalist proposals presented in 1.1.

I then discuss morpho-syntactic properties of subjunctive clauses in Romanian obligatory control constructions and conclude that they have properties typical of non-phasal (i.e. TP) rather than phasal (i.e., CP) domains. Evidence for this is based on the absence of a C complementizer, and a temporally unsaturated, even if phi-complete, T.

I subsequently propose that the Romanian data can be captured via a movement analysis of control reminiscent of raising. Specifically, I adopt an approach which views theta-roles as features that can be valued via Agree on a par with any other unvalued feature. I argue that, despite agreement with the embedded T, the embedded DP subject does not value its Case feature in the subjunctive clause and, consequently, is accessible to matrix clause Agree operations as long as it remains active. I further argue that whether theta-feature and/or Case feature valuation is accompanied by movement depends on the presence or absence of relevant semantico-pragmatic triggers for displacement (e.g., focus, de-rhematization, etc.)

### 3. Why theta feature valuation is the best solution

In this section, I show none of the minimalist analyses presented in 1.1. can do justice to the Romanian empirical data in obligatory control.

First, Wurmbrand’s analysis is easily dismissed as (8) shows evidence for structure beyond VP (i.e., phi-complete T, embedded subject DP, etc.). Furthermore, clitic climbing – a crucial argument for restructuring – while present in certain contexts in Romanian, see (11a), is ruled out in obligatory control contexts, see (11b).

- (11) a. L<sub>i</sub>-a putut [VP(\* î<sub>i</sub>) vedea] ?  
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.3SG could.PART [VP(\* CL.3SG.M.ACC) see]  
 ‘Could s/he see him?’

- b. Nu (\*I<sub>i</sub>)-a încercat [să-I<sub>i</sub> vadă ].  
 not (\*CL.3SG.M.ACC)-AUX.3SG tried [SBJ-CL.3SG.M.ACC see]  
 ‘S/he didn’t try to see him.’

A Manzini and Roussou approach has actually been proposed for Romanian by Dobrovie-Sorin (2001). Essentially, it would work as in (12):

- (12) a. **Victor** încercă să cînte la trombon.  
 Victor try.3SG SBJ 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>]] ]
- 

Leaving aside theory-internal problems with the Manzini and Roussou approach, such as for example, the fact that it is stipulative to assume the DP would be interested in attracting more than one theta-feature to begin with, there are also empirical problems which are more difficult to ignore. Basically, this analysis only works if the unique DP argument is in the main clause preverbal position but becomes problematic once we consider data of the type in (13) where the shared argument is not pronounced in the matrix clause domain but lower.

- (13) a. pro<sub>i</sub> încercă Victor<sub>i</sub> să cînte la trombon.  
 pro<sub>i</sub> try.3SG Victor<sub>i</sub> SBJ sing.3SG 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>]] ]
- 

Crucially, (13) is a Condition C violation. If anything, assuming the expletive is indeed available in the Numeration, we expect it to be incapable of bearing the same index with the subjunctive DP subject, contrary to fact. One possibility is to hypothesize that Romanian is insensitive to Condition C effects. However, example (14) shows that Condition C effects are, nonetheless, operative in this language, which amounts to disqualifying the Manzini and Roussou approach as a correct analysis for Romanian.

- (14) 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.’

I next discuss Landau and leave Hornstein last, given that I ultimately adopt a revised version of Hornstein as the best solution for Romanian.

Landau’s approach assumes PRO across the board in obligatory control contexts. However, by definition, PRO is in complementary distribution with overt DPs, which is

not the case for Romanian obligatory control structures as shown in (8). Clearly, a PRO analysis cannot do justice to the data, so it seems stipulative to adopt it. I would, however, like to point out that Landau's main argument against a Hornstein-type raising analysis for obligatory control in English comes from the availability of partial control with certain matrix verbs in this language, as seen in (7). This is a viable argument that cannot be ignored. However, it is an argument that does not apply to Romanian, which lacks the partial control effects seen with English desideratives.

(15) a. Gandalf<sub>i</sub> wanted [PRO<sub>i+</sub> to leave together].

b. \*Eu vreau           [să plec           împreună]  
I want.1SG       [SBJ leave.1SG together]

c. Eu vreau           [să plecăm       împreună]  
I want.1SG       [SBJ leave.1PL together]

'I want to leave together.'

(15b) shows that a syntactically singular subject cannot license a semantically plural predicate (i.e., a collective predicate) as in English (15a). The subject has to be plural, as in (15c), in which case we are dealing with exhaustive control again and not partial control. In effect then, there is nothing to prevent the raising analysis I am about to propose for Romanian obligatory control structures.

A Hornstein-type analysis would work as in (16), where the subject DP first merges in the Spec,vP of the embedded clause and subsequently moves to its second Merge position in Spec,vP of matrix clause, thus satisfying the external thematic roles of both predicates (i.e.,  $\theta_v^e$  and  $\theta_v^m$ , respectively).

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



Note, however, that (16) only partially accounts for (8), repeated as (17) with the copies relevant for the theta-chain in bold:

(17) *Victor* încercă **Victor** să cînte **Victor**  
Victor try.3SG Victor SBJ sing.3SG Victor

la trombon *Victor*.  
at trombone *Victor*

'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

At this point, it is necessary to mention that all current studies on Romanian (see Alboiu 2002, Cornilescu 2000, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Hill 2002) have argued that the language is VSO in the sense that the lexical verb undergoes obligatory displacement into the T domain, while Case is valued in-situ (i.e., via Agree without dislocation for EPP). Consequently, Spec,TP in this language is an operator domain (e.g. contrastive focus), and preverbal subjects are interpreted as topics or – with the relevant prosody – focus constituents. Crucially then, in (17), 'Victor' in italics is not involved in movement of the

English EPP-type when matrix initial. If anything, the Hornstein account predicts pronunciation of the postverbal copy for VSO language like Romanian, which we see not to be supported by the empirical facts.<sup>5</sup>

Consequently, while I take an approach which views theta-roles as features in need of valuation to be not only correct but the best solution for Romanian, dislocation cannot be a prerequisite – contra Hornstein.<sup>6</sup> Rather, the analysis needs fine-graining to accommodate all of the copy availabilities seen in Romanian. In order to do that, I first discuss various relevant properties of the embedded subjunctive complement in obligatory control structures and then, explain how (17) might work under current Minimalist assumptions.

#### 4. Obligatory control and phases

In this section, I discuss the phrasal status of the subjunctive complement in obligatory control constructions (henceforth, OC subjunctives). I show that these subjunctives are TP domains rather than CP domains, which turns out to be a crucial property in terms of whether the subject DP is licensed by the complement clause or active for Match and Agree operations with relevant heads in the matrix clause.

##### 4.1 OC subjunctives are not phases but TP domains

There are two major properties of these subjunctives that point towards their non-phasal (i.e., TP) status. First, the subjunctive complementizer ‘ca’ has to be absent with obligatory control predicates, see (18), and so do wh-phrases, see (19).<sup>7</sup>

- (18) a. Victor va încerca [(*\*ca* pe Mihai) să-l ajute]  
 Victor will.3SG try [(that. SBJ PE Mihai) SBJ-3SG.M.ACC help]
- b. Victor va încerca [să-l ajute (pe Mihai)].  
 Victor will.3SG try [SBJ-3SG.M.ACC help (PE Mihai)]  
 ‘Victor will try to help Mihai.’
- (19) a. Mihai va începe [(*\*ce*) să cînte]?  
 Mihai will.3SG begin [(what) SBJ sing]
- b. Ce va începe Mihai [să cînte]?  
 what will.3SG begin Mihai [SBJ sing]  
 ‘What will Mihai start singing?’

<sup>5</sup> For now, I will not discuss the lowest copy of the DP subject ‘Victor’ in the embedded subjunctive but will come back to this issue in Section 6.

<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, neither is dislocation a prerequisite in standard raising constructions in this language:

(i) (Mihai) pare [să fie (Mihai) băiat deștept (Mihai)]  
 (Mihai) seem.3SG [SBJ be.3SG (Mihai) boy smart (Mihai)]  
 ‘Mihai seems to be a smart guy.’

<sup>7</sup> Note that Dobrovie-Sorin (2001) also shows ‘ca’ is absent with control verbs.

Importantly, the absence of ‘ca’ in these contexts mirrors constructions with raising predicates (i.e., ‘seem’) discussed in Grosu and Horvath (1987)

- (20) Copiii<sub>i</sub> par [(‘ca în ultima vreme) să stea t<sub>i</sub>  
 kids-the seem.3PL [(that. SBJ in last.the time) SBJ stay.3PL t<sub>i</sub>  
 mult timp la calculator].  
 much time at computer]

‘The kids seem to be spending too much time in front of the computer (lately).’

Second, Rizzi (1982) has a number of syntactic tests that highlight the different status of sentential complements based on whether the matrix predicate is raising or control. The Italian data addressed in that work show that complements of control verbs are CPs, while complements of raising verbs are TPs, on a par with English. Now, if the Romanian complement had CP status, as a phase it would be transferred to the interface levels and no chain formation with matrix Probes could ensue, especially given that a phi-complete T would in principle value Case on the embedded subject DP.

In Romanian, complements to both raising and control verbs pattern alike, neither being able to pass Rizzi’s (1982) movement tests for CP status. For example, (21) shows an attempt at preposing the subjunctive complement, while (22) attempts clefting. Both sentences are ill-formed, regardless of whether a raising or a control predicate is used in the main clause (compare with the different situation in English).

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

- (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.’

Consequently, I conclude that subjunctive complements to obligatory control verbs have TP and not CP status in Romanian. Specifically, Romanian OC subjunctives are ‘semi-finite’, unsaturated propositions, devoid of phasal status.

The crux of this conclusion is that material from within obligatory control subjunctives remains available to matrix clause Agree operations as it has not yet been sent to the interfaces. In the next subsections, I argue that the unsaturated, non-phasal nature of these subjunctives also prevents Nominative Case valuation of the embedded subject DP from within that domain.

#### 4.2 Status of T in the absence of C

If we assume Stowell (1982) to be right in viewing tense domains as C properties, we do not expect OC subjunctives to be temporally deictic given their reduced TP status. In other words, OC subjunctives should not be able to license a tense domain distinct from that of the main clause. This prediction is supported by the empirical data. Consider

(23), where the implicative is seen to trigger an obligatory tense dependency between the OC subjunctive and the main clause.

- (23) a. Am reușit [să plec (\*mîine)].  
 AUX.1SG managed [SBJ leave.1SG tomorrow]  
 ‘I managed to leave (\*tomorrow).’
- b. Am reușit [să plec / \*fi plecat].  
 AUX.1SG managed [SBJ leave.1SG/ \*have left]  
 ‘I managed to leave /\* have left.’

This is all the more interesting given that subjunctive complements which are not involved in obligatory control, and hence have CP rather than TP status, do allow for a distinct tense domain in their subjunctive complement. (24) illustrates this with a desiderative:

- (24) Am vrut [(ca Mihai) să plece mîine].  
 AUX.1SG managed [(that. SBJ Mihai) SBJ leave.3SG tomorrow]  
 ‘I wanted for Mihai to leave tomorrow.’

While the tense dependency of obligatory control subjunctives in Romanian has been discussed elsewhere (see especially Dobrovie-Sorin 2001 and Farkas 1992), its connection to Nominative Case has not been tackled. Crucially, T in obligatory control subjunctives is defective, in that it lacks temporal deixis (i.e., an interpretable tense feature) despite the fact that it has the property of being phi-complete. I take the absence of independent semantic tense in control subjunctives to be synonymous to the failure to value Nominative Case on the embedded subject DP, as discussed in subsection 4.3 below.

#### 4.3 Status of Nominative Case in the absence of C

Chomsky (2001a) assumes Nominative Case to be valued upon agreement with a phi-complete T probe, where – following insights in Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) – phi-complete T is taken to be incumbent on a phi-complete C. 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 earlier generative grammar) value Case is essentially unproblematic. However, for Romanian, this is not an option given that a phi-complete T is *not* synonymous to a temporally deictic T, as shown above in (23). In addition, in some languages (e.g. Spanish, Romanian, West Flemish), uninflected infinitives can license Nominative Case provided they are temporally deictic. For Romanian, this is shown in (25).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For the Romance data, see Ledgeway 1998; for West Flemish, see Haegeman 1985; for more on Romanian, see Motapanyane 1995.

- (25) [<sub>CP</sub> Înainte de a pleca **mama**], vreau să cumpăr un tort.  
 [<sub>CP</sub> before of INF leave mother.NOM], I want to buy a cake  
 ‘Before mother leaves, I want to buy a cake.’

Consequently, Case valuation is best viewed as incumbent on a temporally deictic T rather than on a phi-complete T. This view provides better empirical coverage as it can account not only for languages like English but also for languages like Romanian. A convenient way of formalizing the dependency between Case and temporal deixis, as opposed to Case and phi-completeness, is as in (26), from Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, to appear), which adapts insights from Haerberli (1999), as well as Williams (1994):

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

Note that this approach has the added bonus of providing a systematic correlation among features. If Case is incumbent on an interpretable feature, such as tense, feature valuation would always reduce to an interpretable-uninterpretable pair (*sensu* Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, to appear, Svenonius 2001).

In conclusion, for languages in which a phi-complete T is *not* synonymous to a T saturated by C, agreement with a phi-complete T probe will not suffice to value Case on a DP, and will thus not de-activate the DP from acting as a Goal to higher Probes. The subject of OC subjunctives in Romanian is thus active for Agree operations with matrix Probes.

*4.3.1 Emphatics and the absence of Nominative in OC Subjunctives.* This subsection provides additional empirical support for the previous claim that OC subjunctive T fails to value Nominative Case. The discussion focuses on Romanian emphatics which, as shown in (27), cannot be stranded:

- (27) 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.’

Specifically, subject emphatics need to either dislocate with the subject, as in (27a), or if they remain in-situ, as in (27b), they need to rely on a pronominal subject copy for a host. Given that T only probes once, the pronominal copy in (27b) cannot be argued to value Nominative Case independently of (or in addition to) the subject DP ‘Mihai’. Consequently, I suggest that the pronominal host for the in-situ emphatic is simply a spelled out lower copy of ‘Mihai’.

Let us next consider the behaviour of subject emphatics in embedded OC subjunctives. The data in (28) show the emphatic either together with the DP subject ‘Victor’ (28a) or, together with a pronominal copy of the DP subject (28b).

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

It is reasonable to assume that in (28b) there is a single valuation of Nominative Case, specifically by matrix T, which creates an A-chain with a lower emphatic copy instantiated at PF, on a par with what we argued for (27b). However, this need not be so a priori and pending further evidence, the claim that we are dealing with Nominative valued twice cannot be immediately ruled out.

Fortunately, a look at emphatics more generally seems to provide clear evidence that T cannot value Nominative Case in OC contexts. Compare (29a) with (29b):

- (29) a. **Mihai<sub>i</sub>**        regretă        [că        **el<sub>i</sub>**        nu poate  
 Mihai.NOM    regret.3SG    [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        [să facă        (**\*el<sub>i</sub>**)        pizza  
 Victor.NOM    begin.3SG    [SBJ make.3SG    he.NOM        pizza  
**el<sub>i</sub> însuși<sub>i</sub>** ]  
 he.NOM himself]  
 ‘Victor is beginning to make pizza himself.’

In non-obligatory control contexts, as in (29a) for example, where the complement to the factive main clause verb has CP status, a syntactically independent (though in this case semantically equivalent) subject DP is licensed *in addition* to the emphatic copy. This contrasts with the situation in OC subjunctives, as illustrated by (29b). The difference lies in the fact that in (29a) but not (29b), the embedded T can value Nominative Case. This is a welcome empirical result as it supports the theoretical claims in this paper.

## 5. Catering to features

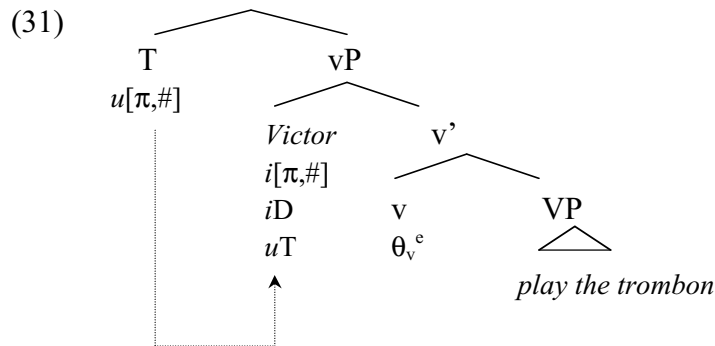
So far, I have argued that OC subjunctives cannot satisfy the Case requirements, construed as  $uT$ , on the embedded DP subject. In addition, I have claimed that this subject DP cannot (and need not) be perceived as an instance of PRO. Instead, I have proposed an analysis which allows for the creation of an A-chain with two theta roles. Essentially, nothing prevents an active DP from entering as many Agree operations as there are Probes probing. In principle, this can go on until the active DP becomes inactive, specifically, until its uninterpretable Case feature is valued by an interpretable counterpart, namely a deictic tense domain. Note that I am not claiming that the creation of a chain is synonymous to movement. In fact, the Romanian data indicates this not to be the case. I take the creation of chains to be synonymous to the instantiation of an Agree operation, with dislocation only triggered by certain special circumstances to be discussed in section 6. First, let us have a look at how the actual A-chain is formed and how the other ‘harmful’ features (in the sense of Pesetsky) are taken care of in constructions with OC subjunctives.

The sample derivation to be discussed is (8) repeated here as (30).

- (30) **(Victor)**      încercă      **(Victor)**      [să cînte      **(Victor)**  
 (Victor.NOM) try.3SG      (Victor.NOM) [SBJ sing.3SG (Victor.NOM)  
 la trombon      **(Victor)**.  
 at trombone      (Victor.NOM)

‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

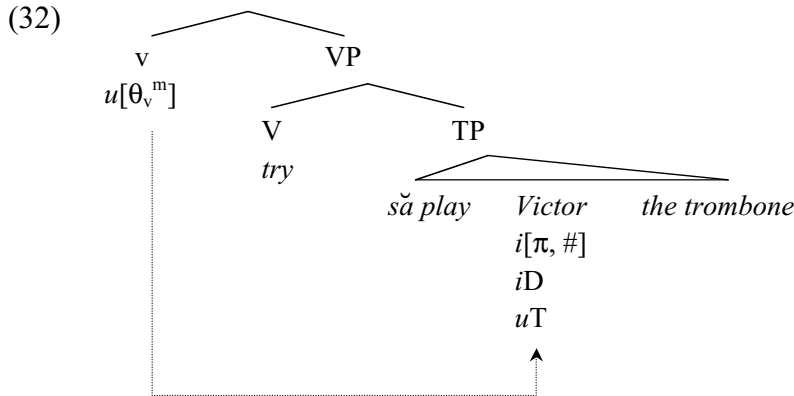
At stage  $\alpha$  in derivation, extract DP ‘Victor’ from the Numeration and merge with  $v$  ‘play the trombone’ to satisfy  $\theta_v^c$  theta-role (i.e., the external theta-role of the embedded predicate). Next insert T which is phi-complete, with the outcome in (31).



Note that in (31), the uninterpretable phi-features in T will probe for a matching Goal and find ‘Victor’, thus establishing Agree, chain-formation and valuation of the phi-set in T. However, given that T is defective (i.e., it is not temporally deictic and so lacks a  $iT$  feature), valuation of Case on ‘Victor’ is not established and the DP remains active and open to further Agree operations.

The derivation proceeds to the next step which is insertion of the inflectional subjunctive clitic ‘să’ and subsequent merge of TP with the matrix clause predicate ‘try’. This new syntactic object is in turn merged with matrix  $v$  which has an unvalued theta-

role to satisfy. Given the absence of another DP in the Numeration, external Merge is not an option and ‘v’ probes internally. The Probe finds ‘Victor’, an active Goal in the relevant search space, which as an inherent D is capable of satisfying the Probe’s harmful feature. This is shown in (32).

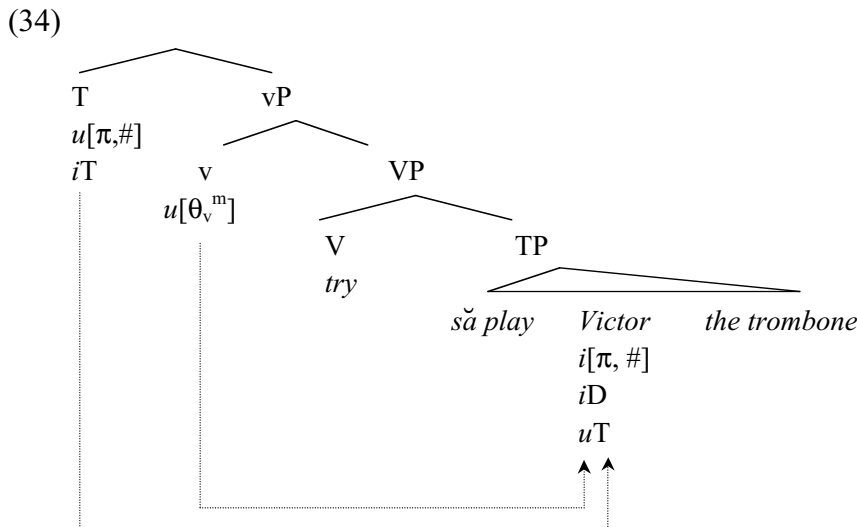


Crucially, valuation of  $u[\theta_v^m]$  via the Agree operation, see (32), is the necessary and sufficient condition for the obligatory control dependency. In principle no dislocation should be required to satisfy the matrix predicates external thematic role. This results in a linear order as in (33).

- (33) Încearcă să cînte **Victor** la trombon.  
 try.3SG SBJ sing.3SG Victor at trombone  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

Sentences like (33) have a ‘backward control’ flavour and, according to Polinsky and Potsdam (2002), are present in a number of languages, such as Tsez, Japanese, Malagasy, Jacaltec. They have always been problematic for the standard theory of control but are quite straightforward under the proposal put forth in this paper.

Next, matrix T merges with vP, as in (34).



The uninterpretable phi-features in T will probe for a matching Goal. Given that Match and Agree is established with the closest active DP in the c-command domain of the Probe, the Goal that meets the required locality conditions turns out to be ‘Victor’. This DP values the matrix unvalued phi-set while simultaneously valuing its own  $uT$ , thus becoming inactive. Feature valuation is now complete and the derivation converges as desired.

## 6. What’s with all the copies?

Having briefly discussed how the various harmful features are catered to, I now address the issue of copy preference. I have argued that obligatory control is satisfied without dislocation, simply by chain formation via the operation Agree. However, we have seen that Romanian allows for several possible PF instantiations of the shared argument in obligatory control contexts. This section discusses these various instantiations and proposes that pronounced copies are dependent on the presence of relevant semantico-pragmatic triggers for displacement (e.g, focus, de-rhematization, etc.).

I have argued in previous work (Alboiu 1999, 2002) that Romanian exploits syntactic structure to encode sentence pragmatics. Specifically, independent of formal feature checking, phrases may dislocate for novel interpretive effects related to the encoding of the theme-rheme partitioning within the sentence. In current theoretical terms, this displacement is formalizable as an OCC feature optionally present in the derivation.<sup>9</sup> For Romanian, this is schematically represented in (35).<sup>10</sup>

(35) (topic XP\*) – (Kontrast XP) – C/T<sub>(OCC)</sub> – [<sub>VP</sub> (OShift) – [<sub>VP</sub> ... V<sub>(OCC)</sub> ...]]

theme
rheme (typical external Merge domain)

While the discussion in this section is by no means exhaustive, a closer look at the various instantiation of DP copies in obligatory control contexts does show that the pronunciation site is intrinsically linked to the encoding of information structure, which in turn explains the apparent ubiquitous behaviour of the shared argument.

In the absence of any OCC feature in the derivation, the shared argument fails to undergo dislocation and is pronounced in-situ, in the Spec,vP of the subjunctive predicate. In this case, the DP is part of the presentational, rhematic focus of the embedded sentence, as illustrated by the dialogue in (36) and the effect is that of ‘backward control’.

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

- a. Ce e gălăgia asta?  
 whatis noise-the this  
 ‘What’s all this noise?’

<sup>9</sup> Where, following (Chomsky 2001b), OCC is a requirement that a phrase must be an occurrence of some probe and must license novel interpretations.

<sup>10</sup> For a more detailed discussion, see Alboiu (to appear).

- b. Încearcă să cînte [<sub>VP</sub> **Victor** t<sub>v+V</sub> la trombon].<sup>11</sup>  
 try.3SG SBJ sing.3SG [<sub>VP</sub> Victor t<sub>v+V</sub> at trombone]  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

The shared argument can also be instantiated as part of the rhematic domain of the matrix clause. In this case, displacement occurs to the matrix Spec,vP, which – under the current approach – would be due to the presence of an OCC feature on the higher v predicate. Such an OCC feature simply spells out the requirement that the shared DP surfaces in an intimate relationship with the matrix v rather than the embedded v. This is shown in (37).

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

- a. Ce se întîmplă?  
 what SE happens  
 ‘What’s going on?’
- b. Încearcă [<sub>VP</sub> **Victor**<sub>i</sub> t<sub>v+V</sub> / OCC [TP să cînte [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>v+V</sub> la trombon].  
 try.3SG [<sub>VP</sub> Victor<sub>i</sub> t<sub>v+V</sub> / OCC [TP SBJ sing.3SG [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>v+V</sub> at trombone]  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

When, the shared argument is the sole new information, rhematic focus in the sentence, it will appear maximally embedded in the subjunctive predicate. In Alboiu (1999, 2002), it is argued that maximal embedding of the subject DP is achieved in-situ, by dislocating (i.e., ‘evacuating for focus’) any additional vP-internal material. Consequently, in (38), the object DP undergoes ‘object shift’ to the left-edge of vP for pragmatic purposes (i.e., de-rhematization), formalized as an optional OCC feature on subjunctive v (see also discussion in Alboiu, to appear).<sup>12</sup>

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

- a. Cine încearcă să cînte la trombon?  
 who try.3SG SBJ sing.3SG at trombone  
 ‘Who is trying to play the trombone?’
- b. (Încearcă [TP să cînte la trombon]<sub>i</sub>) [<sub>VP</sub> **Victor** t<sub>v+V</sub> / OCC [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]].  
 (try.3SG [TP SBJ sing.3SG at trombone]<sub>i</sub>) [<sub>VP</sub> Victor t<sub>v+V</sub> / OCC [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]]  
 ‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

In (39), on the other hand, the shared argument is known to both speaker and hearer and is consequently interpreted as a topic. If visible, it surfaces in the matrix sentence

<sup>11</sup> Recall from Section 3. that the lexical verb always dislocates into the T domain in this language. However, I only show this via traces where relevant for the interpretation of the shared DP argument. Specifically, in (36b), this is indicated for the embedded lexical verb but not for the main clause verb.

<sup>12</sup> Note that other Romance languages also seem to allow for vP-adjoined object raising with specific semantico-pragmatic and syntactic properties: for Catalan, see discussion in Vallduví (1995), for Portuguese, see Costa (1999), and for Spanish, see discussion in Ordóñez (1998). It seems then that the v-related OCC feature is available more consistently within Romance.

preverbal domain, at the left-edge of the theme, outside of the main clause predicate rheme. Given that it is not merged in the topic domain, it is reasonable to assume that dislocation occurs due to an OCC requirement on matrix T.

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

- a. Mihai, ce face Victor?  
Mihai whatdoes.3SG Victor  
'Mihai, what's Victor doing?'
- b. **(Victor)** încercă-T<sub>OCC</sub> să cînte la trombon.  
(Victor) try.3SG-T<sub>OCC</sub> SBJ sing.3SG at trombone  
'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

Last, but not least, the shared argument can be interpreted as contrastively focused.<sup>13</sup> While there seems to be evidence that contrastively focused constituents trigger operator-variable chains in Romanian (see Alboiu 2003, to appear), dislocation is not crucial, the only requirement being heavy prosodic stress. (40) exemplifies how heavy stress – represented by upper case letters – yields contrastively focused readings in all of the previously mentioned slots.

(40) argument-focus (contrastive):

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

<sup>13</sup> Clarification of concepts is required at this point. New information/presentational/rhematic focus is to be kept distinct from contrastive focus discussed so far. The former category of focus covers material that represents information newly introduced in the discourse and is the opposite of given/old information, realized by the theme. Contrastive focus, on the other side, is presupposed information, part of what is given and consequently, part of the thematic domain. The distinct semantico-pragmatic properties are paralleled by distinct syntactic properties, as shown in Table (i).

Table 1. *Contrastive focus versus rhematic focus*

	A-bar chain effects	[Foc] formal feature	Prosodic marking	Affects truth-functional values of S
contrastive focus	+	+	+	+
rhematic focus	-	-	-	-

Languages use various ways of encoding sentence pragmatics (i.e., the theme-rheme distinction). For example, English uses intonation to differentiate different theme-rheme partitions, but preserves a constant syntactic structure. Catalan (Vallduví 1995) and Romanian (Alboiu 2002), on the other hand, exploit syntactic structure to package discourse information.

- b. (VICTOR) încercă (VICTOR) să cînte  
 (VICTOR) try.3SG (VICTOR) SBJ sing.3SG  
 (VICTOR) la trombon (VICTOR).  
 (VICTOR) at trombone (VICTOR)

‘It’s Victor who’s trying to play the trombone (not Mihai).’

In this sense, then, shared arguments in obligatory control structures can be said to be ‘in control’. The PF copy instantiation of the subject DP is not incumbent on morpho-syntactic featural requirements related to obligatory control *per se* but, rather, is dependent on the interpretation requirements of the shared argument itself in conjunction with the thematico-pragmatic domains of the matrix and the embedded clauses.

## 7. Conclusions

In this paper, I have argued for a reductionist analysis of obligatory control phenomena in Romanian akin to that of raising. The minimalist solution proposed relies on the construal of theta-roles as features valued by the operation Agree. Consequently, the assumption is that the semantic relationship between a predicate and its argument need not be satisfied directly from the Numeration but has the option of being satisfied internally, from within the structure accessible to the Probe with the unvalued thematic role. This analysis adapts insights from Hornstein (1999) but differs from that approach in claiming that theta-roles can be satisfied simply by chain formation without any dislocation, specifically, without the requirement to Merge.

The analysis focuses on Romanian, a language in which the shared argument in obligatory control constructions has the ability to surface in a number of slots, both in the matrix and in the embedded clause. The empirical data make the standard analysis of control difficult to maintain for this language, as well, as more generally, for languages which appear to allow for backward control. The proposed analysis, on the other hand, provides better empirical coverage and is in line with current theory.

After having discussed the properties of complement clauses to obligatory control matrix predicates, I concluded that they have distinct properties from their English counterparts. While, in English, complements to control verbs are phi-incomplete CP domains, in Romanian, they are phi-complete (‘reduced’ subjunctives), temporally unsaturated TPs. This non-trivial distinction prevents the shared argument – which is merged in the embedded predicate domain – from becoming inactive until it establishes an Agree operation with matrix T. This is both possible – given the non-phasal status of the embedded subjunctive – and necessary – given the defective nature of the embedded T, or the derivation would crash. This is akin to raising predicates, except that with obligatory control predicates, matrix *v* probes for a Goal to satisfy its external thematic requirements. The embedded subject is the closest active argument in the domain of the matrix *v* Probe and consequently, the one to be ‘shared’ by both the main and the embedded clause predicate.

Lastly, I discuss the issue of copy preference at PF. I provide an account of apparent backward versus forward control phenomena in Romanian as an instance of the theme-rheme sentence partitioning available in this language. Given that pronounced copies are

pragmatically determined, displacement to the specifier of the Probe (i.e., second Merge) is to be kept distinct from Case or theta-role valuation. Crucially, backward control is synonymous to the absence of OCC, an optional feature in the derivation which requires an ‘intimate’ relationship between the Probe and the Goal for novel semantico-pragmatic effects.

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