Approaches to control phenomena
handout 2

Control as Agree (Landau 1999, 2004) based on CaM

Existence of PRO also taken for granted. Bears regular case; Partial control (11); interpretation mediated via Chomsky's (2000, 2001) Agree operation; OC based on features.

Partial control

(31)   *The chair hoped [PRO to gather/meet at 6/to apply together for the grant]*

Controller and controllee not identical: PRO specified for the sematic feature Mereology (with group nouns being [+Mer]). Tensed infinitives of desiderative verbs license it.

Ok with tensed infinitives like complements of desideratives, does not work with untensed infinitives like complements of implicatives (*managed to*)

Not all the time with desideratives either:
*John hoped/wants [PRO to sing alike/to be mutually supporting]
Hornstein's (2003) selected(! *The chair preferred to leave at 6* – no partial control possible) commitative PP analysis → standard OC construction, partial congtrol interpreted as licensing a null commitative argument.

"[P]artial control came to be part of the empirical basis that any approach to obligatory control must take into consideration."

OC based on features

"[T]he local environment of the embedded subject must provide all the necessary information to determine whether it must, can, or cannot be PRO. In particular, Landau takes the relevant local licensing features to be (semantic) [T(ense)] and (morphological) [Agr(eement).

(39)	**Obligatory control**				**No control**	
	EC-infinitive	*Balkan C-subjunctive*	*Hebrew 3rd-person subjunctive*	*PC-infinitive*	*Balkan F-subjunctive*	*indicative*
I^0	[−T, −Agr]	[−T, +Agr]	[+T, +Agr]	[+T, −Agr]	[+T, +Agr]	[+T, +Agr]
C^0	[−T]	[−T]	[+T, +Agr]	[+T, (+Agr)]	[+T, +Agr]	Ø

Tense properties of I predicted by selecting predicate, selection local: feature on C-head as well.
Landau: OC not a natural class but "the complement subset of the natural class of non-controlled environments" (CaM:24).

Problem: rules out finite control into indicative complements (Brazilian Portuguese, all the diagnostics OK). Tracks but does not explain the distribution and interpretation of PRO.

Agree

DPs specified for independent reference, interpretable on DPs.
[+R]: lexical DPs, pro
[-R]: PRO, anaphors
[-R] on PRO: potential goal for Agreement

R-assignment rule (Landau 2004: 842)

For $X^0_{[\alpha T, \beta Agr]} \in \{I^0, C^0, \ldots\}$:

$\emptyset \to [+R]/X^0_{[\_\_]}$, if $\alpha = \beta = $ '+'

$\emptyset \to [-R]$/elsewhere

R-assignment rule (CiGG = Landau 2013: 67)

a. [+T,+Agr]→[+T,+Agr,+R]

b. [αT,βAgr]→[αT,βAgr,–R] if either α or β is '–'

Sample derivations:

(47)-(48): OC

John managed to fix the car

$$[\text{DP } I_2 \; [\ldots t_{DP} \ldots [\text{CP } C_{[-T]} \; [\text{IP } \text{PRO}_{[-R]} \; I_{1[-T, \, -Agr, \, -R]} \; [t_{PRO} \ldots]]]]]$$

(48)-(49): Partial control

The chair hoped to meet at 6

$$[\text{DP } I_{2[+T, \, +Agr, \, +R]} \; [\ldots t_{DP} \ldots [\text{CP } C_{[+T, \, +Agr, \, +R]} \; [\text{IP } \text{PRO}_{[-R]}$$

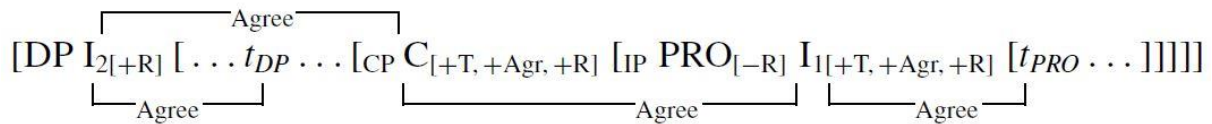$$I_{1[+T, \, -Agr, \, -R]} \; [t_{PRO} \ldots]]]]]$$
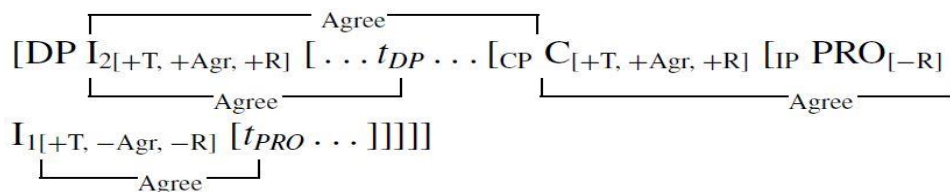
(50)-(51): finite control (Hebrew subjunctive)

Hebrew (Landau 2004)
Gil$_i$ hivtiax [še- *ec$_i$* yitna'heg yafe]
Gil promised that will-behave.3SG.M well
'Gil promised to behave'

$$[\text{DP I}_{2[+R]} [\ldots t_{DP} \ldots [\text{CP C}_{[+T, +Agr, +R]} [\text{IP PRO}_{[-R]} \text{ I}_{1[+T, +Agr, +R]} [t_{PRO} \ldots]]]]]$$

(with Agree relations: DP–C, DP–tDP, C–PRO, I1–tPRO)

(53) Excluding finite control into indicative clauses

$$[\text{DP I}_2 [\ldots t_{DP} \ldots [\text{CP C} [\text{IP I}_{1[+T, +Agr, +R]} [\text{VP PRO}_{[-R]} \ldots]]]]]$$

(with Agree: DP–tDP, and *Agree I1–PRO)
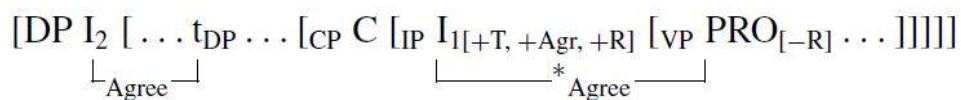
Landau simplified: Ferreira (2000, 2004, 2009)
"the environments where one finds obligatory control involve deficient T-heads, i.e., heads that are temporally deficient, phi-deficient, or both." Brazilian Portuguese: incomplete set of phi-features for finite T (cantar: canto, canta, cantam).

cantar 'to sing': indicative present		
Valuation of T in the syntactic component	Addition of [person] in the morphological component	Surface form of the verb
N:SG	**P:1**; N:SG	*cant<u>o</u>*
N:default	**P:default**; N:default	*canta*
N:PL	**P:default**; <u>N:PL</u>	*cant<u>am</u>*

Obligatory control			**No control**
[T⁻, φ⁻]	**[T⁺, φ⁻]**	**[T⁻, φ⁺]**	**[T⁺, φ⁺]**
untensed uninflected infinitives, etc.	tensed uninflected infinitives, Brazilian Portuguese indicatives, Hebrew 3rd-person subjunctives, etc.	Balkan untensed subjunctives, etc.	English indicatives, Balkan tensed subjunctives, etc.

"[T]ense or _-feature deficiency generally characterizes "porous" domains out of which movement can take place" → a movement theory of control?