

## Approaches to control phenomena handout 5

More on Visser's generalization:

Van Urk, Coppe 2013. Visser's Generalization: The syntax of Control and the Passive. *Linguistic Inquiry*. 44(1) 168-178.

### 5 Empirical challenges and solutions (continued)

#### 5.2.1 Relativizing A-movement

Persuade-type verbs: "movement for  $\theta$ -reasons in (20a) provides an escape hatch for 'John' to enter into  $\phi$ -agreement relations later in the derivation." C cannot block  $\theta$ -related movement (either due to the different  $\theta$ -role, or too short movement (one  $\theta$ -role per clause))

- (20) a.  $[_{VP} \text{John}_i \text{ persuaded}_\theta [_{CP} C_\phi [_{TP} t_i \text{ to kiss Mary}]]]$   
 $\uparrow \quad \text{OK} \quad \downarrow$
- b.  $[_{PplCP} -en_\phi [_{VP} \text{John}_i \text{ persuaded}_\theta [_{CP} C [_{TP} t_i \text{ to kiss Mary}]]]]$   
 $\downarrow \text{OK} \downarrow$

Impersonal passives in German:

(24) *German* (Kiss 2005):

- a. \*Der Mann wurde zu tanzen gewünscht  
*The man PASS.AUX.3SG to dance wished*
- b. Es wurde gewünscht zu tanzen  
*It PASS.AUX.3SG wished to dance*

Problem1: the interpretation of (24b): the implicit argument of matrix V controls the external argument of the embedded V.

Problem2: a raising verb can take an impersonal passive as a complement (vs. passivized subject control)

(25) *German* (Kiss 2005):

- a. \*Es wurde gewünscht getanzt zu werden  
*It PASS.AUX.3SG wished danced to PASS.AUX.INF*  
 'Somebody wished to dance'
- b. Es scheint getanzt zu werden  
*It seems danced to PASS.AUX.INF*  
 'It seems that someone is dancing'

Once we have a proper analysis of impersonal passives in German, the Visser's Generalization account can apply here as well.

Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989): passive morpheme a clitic with the external  $\theta$ -role of the predicate, doubled by a *by*-phrase or an empty category: IMP(ersonal). Difference bw German and English in Case licensing possibilities of passive morpheme: English IMP can be licensed by structural ACC, German IMP by structural or inherent case.

(24a):

- (28)  $[_{VP} \text{IMP} [_{V'} -en_\phi [_{VP} \text{wished} [_{CP} C_\phi [_{TP} [\text{the man}]_\phi \text{to dance}]]]]]$   
 $\downarrow \quad \text{*} \quad \downarrow$

Without IMP movement for  $\theta$ -purposes is not blocked, but the overt DP is realized as a *by*-phrase.

(29) German (Kiss 2005):  
 Es wurde von dem Mann gewünscht, zu dem Treffen  
*It PASS.AUX.3SG by the man wished to the meeting*  
 zu kommen  
*to come*  
 ‘The man wished to join the meeting’

(30)  
 [it was [<sub>VP</sub> [the man]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> -en<sub>θ</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> wished [<sub>CP</sub> C<sub>φ</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> to come to the meeting]]]]]]]  
 ↑ OK ↓

(24b)

(31) a. [<sub>VP</sub> -en<sub>θ</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> wished [<sub>CP</sub> C<sub>φ</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> IMP to dance]]]]]  
 b. [<sub>VP</sub> IMP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> -en [<sub>VP</sub> wished [<sub>CP</sub> C<sub>φ</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> to dance]]]]]]]  
 ↑ OK ↓

(25b) under the assumption that inherently case-marked elements are inert for A-movement

(32) a. [<sub>VP</sub> IMP [<sub>v'</sub> -en [<sub>VP</sub> danced]]]  
 b. [<sub>TP</sub> **to**<sub>EPP</sub> be [<sub>VP</sub> IMP [<sub>v'</sub> -en [<sub>VP</sub> danced]]]]]  
 c. [<sub>TP</sub> it to be [<sub>VP</sub> IMP [<sub>v'</sub> -en [<sub>VP</sub> danced]]]]]  
 d. [<sub>TP</sub> **T**<sub>φ</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> seems [<sub>TP</sub> it to be [<sub>VP</sub> IMP [<sub>v'</sub> -en [<sub>VP</sub> danced]]]]]]]  
 e. [<sub>TP</sub> it<sub>i</sub> T<sub>φ</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> seems [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> to be [<sub>VP</sub> IMP [<sub>v'</sub> -en [<sub>VP</sub> danced]]]]]]]

Problems for (25a): expletive cannot be assigned matrix θ-role, IMP with inherent case inert. Inserting another IMP in matrix does not work either, expletive receives no case due to intervening C.

BP hyper-raising and passive in finite control:

(35) [<sub>VP</sub> [the boys] [<sub>v'</sub> *pro* [<sub>v'</sub> -en<sub>φ</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> said [<sub>CP</sub> **that**<sub>φ</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t didn't do the  
 ↑ \* ↓  
 homework]]]]]]]]]

(36) [<sub>TP</sub> [the boys] T<sub>φ</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> seem [<sub>CP</sub> **that**<sub>φ</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t didn't do the homework]]]]]  
 ↑ ↓

Correlation bw movement of embedded subject and mvt of embedded clause: subject can move for φ-agreement only if the clause cannot move (*seem, turn out/end up* vs *say*).

*Say*: embedded C blocks φ-related movement, its projection can move.

*Seem, finish*: what makes embedded C inert? English experiencers in raising do not block mvt (*Mary seems to him to be nice*) Experiencers: inherent case.

BP matrix verbs like (36) assign inherent case to the head of their CP complement → C inert for φ-agreement purposes → hyper-raising allowed  
 English: also inherent Case for that-clause in *seem*-sentences, but obligatory case assignment in finite clause (inherent case necessary but not sufficient)

Evidence for the inherent case claim:

1) in (44) CP is the argument of *obvió*, no inherent case → C active

2) dummy preposition *de* (of) as the realization of inherent case optionally assigned by some impersonal predicates → C active only when *de* is not present (46)-(47), hyper-raising possible with *de*, clause can move when *de* is not present

- (44) *Brazilian Portuguese* (Nunes 2008a):
- a. Parece óbvio que eles viajaram  
*Seems obvious that they traveled*  
'It seems obvious that they traveled'
  - b. Que eles viajaram parece óbvio  
*That they traveled seems obvious*  
'That they traveled seems obvious'
  - c. \*Eles parecem óbvios que viajaram  
*They seem obvious that traveled*  
'It seems obvious that they traveled'
- (46) *Brazilian Portuguese* (Nunes 2008a):
- a. É fácil/difícil (d)esses professores elogiarem os alunos  
*Is easy/difficult of-these teachers praise.3PL the students*  
'It's easy/hard for these teachers to praise the students'
  - b. Esses professores são fáceis/difíceis\*(de) elogiarem os alunos  
*These teachers are easy/difficult of praise.3PL the students*  
'These teachers often/rarely praise the students'
- (47) *Brazilian Portuguese* (Nunes 2008a):
- a. É bem provável/lamentável (\*d)os professores terem elogiado o diretor  
*Is very probable/regrettable of-the teachers have.3PL praised the director*
  - b. \*Os professores são bem prováveis/lamentáveis de terem elogiado o diretor  
*The teachers are very probable/regrettable of have.3PL praised the director*  
'It is very likely/regrettable that the teachers praised the director'

#### Nominals and control

Control from within nominals is allowed in English, but raising into nominals is not (Culicover and Jackendoff 2001): semantics-based approach vs. MTC: implicit arguments in control: semantic/functional argument without NP in phrase structure.

- (51) a. John's attempt to leave  
b. \*John's appearance to leave

Potential arguments against semantics-based approaches: languages where raising and control into nominals coexist – contrast should be universal.

MTC: syntactic configurations involving control nominals and raising nominals can be different (A-movt for  $\phi$  or  $\theta$ )

Finite control into indicative noun-complement clauses in BP

(52) *Brazilian Portuguese* (Nunes 2009b):

- a. A afirmação d[o João]<sub>i</sub> de [que Ø<sub>i</sub> fez o trabalho] é falsa  
*The affirmation of-the João of that did the job is false*  
 ‘João’s statement that he did the job is false’
- b. \*A probabilidade d[o João]<sub>i</sub> de [que Ø<sub>i</sub> tenha feito o trabalho] é alta  
*The probability of-the João of that has.SUBJ done the job is high*  
 \*‘João’s probability that he did the job is high’

Nominals in BP only assign inherent case. No  $\theta$ -role available in (52b).

Null subject is noun complement clause an expletive: *de* optional; null subject referential: *de* obligatory

(56) *Brazilian Portuguese* (Nunes 2009b):

- a. A hipótese do João (de) [que Ø<sub>expl</sub> não existe movimento-*wh* nessa língua] parece estar errada  
*The hypothesis of-the João of that not exists wh-movement in-this language seems be wrong*  
 ‘João’s hypothesis that there doesn’t exist *wh*-movement in this language seems to be wrong’
- b. A afirmação (de) [que Ø<sub>expl</sub> nunca chove aqui é exagerada]  
*The affirmation of that never rains here is exaggerated*  
 ‘The claim that it never rains here is an exaggeration’

(57) *Brazilian Portuguese* (Nunes 2009b):

- a. A hipótese d[o João]<sub>i</sub> (\*de) [que Ø<sub>i</sub> vai ser eleito] é de rir  
*The hypothesis of-the João of that goes be elected is of laugh*  
 ‘João’s hypothesis that he’s going to be elected is laughable’
- b. A afirmação d[o João]<sub>i</sub> (\*de) [que Ø<sub>i</sub> fez o trabalho] é falsa  
*The affirmation of-the João of that did the job is false*  
 ‘João’s statement that he did the job is false’

Presence of *de* obligatory in (58): it signals a difference bw true complementation and predication, cf. (58).

- (58) a. A hipótese é (\*de) que o João tenha feito isso  
*The hypothesis is of that the João has done this*  
 ‘The hypothesis is that João did this’

Complementation: defective T, movement (59); without *de* (60): adjunct, embedded subject cannot move. Sideward movement? Chain reduction problems: copies not in a chain configuration (no c-command), deletion of copies can only operate on chains → linearization problems

- (59) a. *Applications of merge and move:*  
 CP = [that João T<sub>[N]</sub> did this]  
 N = affirmation
- b. *Merger between N and CP + inherent-case assignment:*  
 [affirmation [that João T<sub>[N]</sub> did this]<sub>inherent case</sub>]
- c. *Movement of the embedded subject +  $\theta$ -role assignment:*  
 [João<sub>inherent case</sub> affirmation [that João T<sub>[N]</sub> did this]<sub>inherent case</sub>]  
 ↑  
 └──┘
- d. *Movement of the head noun:<sup>11</sup>*  
 [affirmation [João<sub>inherent case</sub> affirmation [that João T<sub>[N]</sub> did this]<sub>inherent case</sub>]  
 ↑  
 └──┘
- e. *Deletion of copies in the phonological component:*  
 [affirmation [João<sub>inherent case</sub> ~~affirmation~~ [that João T<sub>[N]</sub> did this]<sub>inherent case</sub>]
- f. *Realization of inherent case:*  
 [affirmation [de João] [de that did this]]
- (60) a. *Applications of merge and move:*  
 CP = [that João T<sub>[N]</sub> did this]  
 N = affirmation
- b. *Sideward movement (copy +merge)+  $\theta$ -role assignment:*  
 CP = [that João T<sub>[N]</sub> did this]  
 NP = [João<sub>inherent case</sub> affirmation]
- c. *Adjunction of CP to NP:<sup>12</sup>*  
 [NP [NP João<sub>inherent case</sub> affirmation] [CP that João T<sub>[N]</sub> did this]]
- d. *Movement of the head noun (see footnote 11):*  
 [affirmation [NP [NP João<sub>inherent case</sub> t] [CP that João T<sub>[N]</sub> did this]]]

### Raising into nominals in Hebrew

- (61) *Hebrew* (Sichel 2007):
- a. ha-nisayon Sel rina [le-hagi'a ba-zman]  
*the-attempt of Rina to-arrive on-time*  
 'Rina's attempt to arrive on time'
- b. ha-sikuyim Sel rina [le-hagi'a ba-zman]  
*the-chances of Rina to-arrive on-time*  
 'Rina's chances to arrive on time'

### Evidence for *ha-sikuyim* being a raising noun:

- (62) *Hebrew* (Sichel 2007):
- a. \*[ha-nisayon Sel ha-te'oria lihiyot nexonot] hirgiz otanu  
*the-attempt of the-theory to-be correct annoyed us*
- b. [ha-sikuyim Sel ha-te'oria lihiyot nexona] kluSim le-maday  
*the-chances of the-theory to-be correct.FEM.SG slim quite*  
 'The chances of the theory being correct are pretty slim'
- (63) *Hebrew* (Sichel 2007):
- a. \*[ha-nisayon Se ze likrot [Se-bibi yibaxer]] hifti'a otanu  
*the-attempt of it to-happen that-Bibi will-be-elected surprised us*
- b. [ha-sikuyim Se ze likrot [Se-bibi yibaxer]] tovim  
*the-chances of it to-happen that-Bibi will-be-elected good*  
 'The chances of it happening that Bibi will be elected are good'

(64) Hebrew (Sichel 2007):

- a. \**[ha-nisayon Sel ha-kerax le-hiSaver be-macav ka-ze] hu tipSi*  
*the-attempt of the-ice to-break in-situations like-this is silly*
- b. *[ha-sikuyim Sel ha-kerax le-hiSaver be-macav ka-ze] kluSim*  
*the-chances of the-ice to-break in-situations like-this slim*  
 ‘The chances of the ice breaking in this kind of situation are slim’  
 (idiomatic reading)

MTC account:  $\theta$ -driven movement in (61a),  $\varphi$ -driven mvt in (61b) with no intervening elements with  $\varphi$ -features (no CP). Evidence for the lack of CP: negative concord: negative DPs have to be licensed by clause-mate negation. Same pattern in nominal constructions and ECM (= no CP):

(66) Hebrew (Sichel 2007):

- a. *lo he'emanti [ba-sikuyim/netiya Sel af talmid le-hitkonen]*  
*NEG believed-I-in the-chances/tendency of no student to-prepare*  
 ‘I didn’t believe in the chances/tendency of any student preparing’
- b. \**he'emanti [ba-sikuyim/netiya Sel af talmid lo le-hitkonen]*  
*believed-I-in the-chances/tendency of no student NEG to-prepare*  
 ‘I didn’t believe in the chances/tendency of any student preparing’

(67) Hebrew (Sichel 2007):

- lo zaxarti [af talmid mitkonen]*  
*NEG remembered no student preparing*  
 ‘I didn’t remember any student preparing’

## English

(69) John’s likelihood/probability of winning raising in English?

(70) \*John’s likelihood/probability to win

Of: inherent case rendering the C head inert. Why not available for expletives and idiom chunks?

- (73) a. *•its likelihood of raining/annoying me that Jane is late*  
 b. *•the shit’s likelihood of hitting the fan in these situations*  
 (Sichel 2007)

(74) a. English:

[DP <sup>↑</sup>’s [NP N [CP C<sub>inherent case</sub> [TP DP . . . ]]]]

b. Hebrew:

[NP N [ . . . [TP DP . . . ]]]  
<sup>↑</sup>

The English N (=  $\varphi$ -feature bearer) induces a minimality effect for non-referential elements.

- (75) a. \*What headway do you wonder [how PRO to make *t* on this project]  
 b. ?What project do you wonder [how PRO to make headway on *t*]  
 (Rizzi 1990)

Referential elements: the subcategorizing noun functions as a predicate, not as an argument.

- (76) a. The cat’s being out of the bag was a big problem for the government  
 (idiomatic reading: \*)  
 b. The cat being out of the bag was a big problem for the government  
 (idiomatic reading: OK)

- (77) a. It/\*its seeming that we would get a raise motivated everyone to work harder  
 b. There/\*there’s being someone here was surprising