On Raising and Subject Control Constructions

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1.   Introduction

(1)   a.   John₁ asked Bill₂ e_2 to leave.
      b.   John₁ promised Bill₂ e_1 to leave.

(2)   a.   Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), Landau (1999)
           There is a PRO in the subject position of *to*-infinitives and it is Case-marked.
      b.   Hornstein (1999)
           Obligatory control constructions are derived from movement.

(3)   a.   They seemed to all be happy.
      b.   They tried to all leave.

(4)   a.   They seemed all to be happy.
      b.   *They tried all to leave.

(Baltin, 1995: 200)

(5)   a.   Control verbs select a weak CP phase, whose head lacks the person-feature.
      b.   Movement into Spec non-finite TP is not executed in control constructions.
      c.   There is a parameter pertaining to the visibility of inherently Case-marked DP in natural languages.

2.   Previous Researches

2.1. Case-Theoretic Approach   Chomsky and Lasnik (1993)

(6)   PRO Theorem
      PRO is ungoverned.

(Chomsky, 1981: 191)

(7)   John tried [CP [TP PRO to [vP ~~PRO~~ leave]]].
                                    θ

(8) Visibility Condition

A chain is visible for θ-marking if it contains a Case position.

(*ibid.*, 1993: 561)

(9) [PRO] is the sole NP that can bear null Case. [...] the infinitival element (with null agreement) and the head of ING of gerundive nominals check null Case [...].

(Chomsky and Lasnik, 1993: 561)

(10) T selected by C has an *EPP*-feature, which requires that something occupy Spec T.[1]

2.2. Agreement Approach　Landau (1999)

(11) Exhaustive Control (EC): PRO must be identical to the controller.[2]
   a.　The chair$_1$ managed PRO$_1$ to gather the committee at 6.
   b.　*The chair$_1$ managed PRO$_{1+}$ to gather at 6.[3]
   c.　Mary knew that John$_1$ began [PRO$_1$ to work (*together) on the project]

(12) Partial Control (PC): PRO must include the controller.
   a.　The chair$_1$ preferred [PRO$_{1+}$ to gather at 6].
   b.　*The chair$_1$ preferred [PRO$_{1+}$ to gather without him1].
   c.　Mary$_1$ thought that John$_2$ didn't know [where PRO$_{1+2}$ to go together].

(Landau, 1999: 14)

(13) a.　EC verbs are *implicative, aspectual, or modal.* (e.g., *manage, try, begin, need*)
   b.　PC verbs are *factive, propositional, desiderative or interrogative.* (e.g., *prefer, want, eager, ask*)

(*ibid.*: 50)

(14) a.　*Yesterday, John managed to solve the problem tomorrow.
   b.　Yesterday, John wanted to solve the problem tomorrow.

(*ibid.*: 15)

(15) OC (Obligatory Control) is an instantiation of the general operation <u>Agree</u> [...].

(*ibid.*: 79)

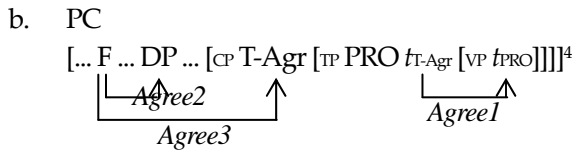(16) a.　EC

[... F ... DP ... [CP [TP PRO T-Agr [VP tPRO]]]]　　　(DP = controller, F = T or *v**)

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    b.   PC

[... F ... DP ... [$_{CP}$ T-Agr [$_{TP}$ PRO $t_{T\text{-}Agr}$ [$_{VP}$ t_{PRO}]]]][4]

$\underset{\text{Agree3}}{\underset{\text{Agree2}}{\qquad}}$ Agree1

(17)   F agrees with PRO in EC, while it agrees with T-Agr in PC.

2.3. Movement Approach   Hornstein (1999)

(18) a.   Only PRO bears null Case.
       b.   [...] only non-finite T^{0}s can check/assign it.
       c.   A null case marked PRO fails to block contraction.

(Hornstein, 1999: 75)

(19) a.   Who do you want [WH-*t* to vanish]
          *Who do you wanna vanish
       b.   John's going [NP-*t* to leave]
          John's gonna leave
       c.   I want [PRO to leave]
          I wanna leave

(*ibid.*: 75-76)

(20) a. θ-roles are features on verbs
       b.   Greed is enlightened self interest
       c.   A D/NP "receives" a θ-role by checking a θ-feature of a verbal/predicative phrase that it merge with
       d.   There is no upper bound on the number of θ-roles a chain can have

(*ibid.*: 78)

(21) a.   I want to leave.
       b.   [$_{TP}$ I T [$_{v^*P}$ I $v[u\theta]$+want [$_{VP}$ want [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ I to [$_{vP}$ I leave]]]]]]]

(22) Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC)
      In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

(Chomsky, 2000: 108)

(23) [...] some operation, say incorporation, can void the CP phase derivationally.

(Hornstein, 2000: 137)

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[4] Landau (1999) argues that C contains some tense information to be checked with the embedded T via movement of T to C.   See Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004) for relevant discussion.

(24) a.　John attempted to leave.
　　 b.　*John was attempted to leave.

(ibid.)

(25) a.　John fervently believes (that) there's a man here.
　　 b.　It's fervently believed ??(that) there's a man here.

(ibid.)

(26)　[...] passives cannot support incorporated C^0s.

(ibid.)

(27)　Asymmetry between a finite CP and a control CP
　　 a.　*Sam, who I know when you said [CP [TP you saw *t*,…
　　 b.　Sam, who I know when to try [CP to see t,…
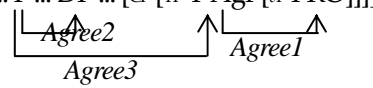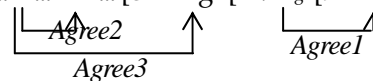
(Frampton, 1990: 69)

2.4. Problem

(28) a.　They seemed all to be happy.　　　　　　　　　　(=(4))
　　 b.　*They tried all to leave.

(29)　[...], the complement of try is untensed.

(Landau, 1999: 95)

(30) a.　*The chair tried [PRO$_{1+}$ to gather in the assembly room]⁵　(cf. (11-12))
　　 b.　*Yesterday John tried to leave tomorrow.　(cf. (14))

(31) a.　They were eager to all leave at once.
　　 b.　*They were eager all to leave at once.　(cf. (28b))

(Baltin, 1995: 224)

(32)　Subject of control clause does not seem to move to Spec non-finite T both in EC and PC.

(33) a.　EC
　　　　　[... F ... DP ... [CP [TP T-Agr [vP PRO]]]]
　　　　　　　　└─Agree2───────↑ └─Agree1─┘
　　　　　　　　└──Agree3──────┘

　　 b.　PC
　　　　　[... F ... DP ... [CP T-Agr [TP *t*T-Agr [vP PRO]]]]
　　　　　　　　└─Agree2─────↑ 　　└─Agree1─┘
　　　　　　　　└──Agree3──┘

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⁵ The examples in (30) are cited from Cornirescu (2004).

(34) F agrees with T-Agr both in EC and PC.   (contra (17))

(35) In a raising construction, movement is from the embedded clause to a matrix non-theta position while in control structures, movement is via matrix theta position.

(Hornstein, 2003: 21)

(36) PRO remains in VP-internal position.

(Baltin, 1995: 200)

(37) Non-finite T in control complements does not have the *EPP*-feature.

(38) Martin (2000)
    a.   finite clause: [+finite, +tense]
    b.   raising infinitivals: [-finite, -tense]
    c.   control infinitivals: [-finite, +tense]

(39) a.   finite clause: [+finite, +tense]
    b.   raising infinitivals: [-finite, -tense]
    c.   control   { EC: [-finite, -tense]
           infinitivals { PC: [-finite, +tense]

(40) a.   These features cannot predict that a floating quantifier is allowed to precede *to*-infinitives in raising constructions but not in EC.   (cf. (28a) vs. (31b))
    b.   These feature cannot predict that both EC and PC do not allow a floating quantifier to precede *to*-infinitives.   (cf. (28b) and (31b))

(41) Dislocation into Spec TP is derived from ϕ-features inherited from C to T (C-T *Agree*-feature).[6]

(42) Not being a phase head, T need have no option for second-Merge by IM (Internal Merge), but rather inherits it from C, and by some kind of feature-spread, this extends to all T's in the phase.

(Chomsky, 2005: 22)

(43) If C-T agrees with the goal DP, the latter [...] can raise as far as SPEC-T, at which point it is inactivated, with all features valued [...].

(*ibid.*: 9)

(44) a.   They seemed all to leave.   (=(4))
       [꜀ₚ C [ₜₚ they T seemed [ₜₚ ~~they~~ all to ~~they~~ leave]]]

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6 See Alboiu (2004), Chomsky (2004, 2005) and Miyagawa (in press) for relevant discussion.

b. *They tried all to leave.
    [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ they tried [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ e all to e leave]]]]

3. Proposals

(45) a. *Sam, who I know when you said [$_{CP}$ you saw t,…   (=(27))
     b. Sam, who I know when to try [$_{CP}$ to see t,…

(46) a. Control clauses do not have the CP projection.
     b. The CP phase in finite clauses is different from the CP phase in non-finite clauses in some way.

(47) a. long-distance scrambling out of a finite clause
         *karera$_1$-o [[otagai$_1$-no   sensei]- ga [Mary- ga t_1 hihansita to] itta] (koto).
          they-ACC each other-GEN teacher-NOM Mary-NOM   criticized that said fact
         "Them, each other's teachers said that Mary criticized."
     b. long-distance scrambling out of a control clause
         ?[karera$_1$-o [John-ga [[otagai$_1$-no   sensei]-ni$_2$ [t_2 t_1 homeru yooni tanonda]]]] (koto).
          they-ACC John-NOM each other-GEN teachers-DAT   praise   to   asked   fact
         "Them, John asked each other's teachers to praise."
     c. clause-internal scrambling
         [karera$_i$-o [John-ga [[otagai$_i$-no   sensei]-ni t_i syookaisita]]] (koto).
          they-ACC John-NOM each other-GEN teachers-DAT introduced   fact
         "Them, John introduced to each other's teachers."

                                                                    (Aoshima, 2001: 44-45)

(48) Control infinitivals not introduced by an overt complementizer must be IPs.

                                                                    (Bošković, 1994: 301)

(49) Control clauses do not have the CP projection in Japanese.[7]

(50) a. long-distance scrambling out of a finite clause
         *Janeza$_1$ je   njegov$_1$ oče rekel, da   se   boji t_1 .
          J-GEN AUX his   father said   COMP REFL fear
         "Janeza, his father said that he fears."

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[7] See Saito (1994) and Aoshima (2001) for relevant discussion.

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b.   long-distance scrambling out of a control clause

Janeza₁ je   njegov₁ oče   sklenil poslati   *t₁* v semenišče.

J-ACC AUX his   father decided send-INF   to theological-seminary

"Janeza, his father decided to send to the theological seminary."

(Marušič, 2003: 2-3)

(51) Slovenian non-finite clauses do not have the CP projection.

(*ibid.*: 1)

(52) *De* and *for* now have in common their status as complementizers, in particular as infinitival complementizers.

(Kayne, 1981: 355)

(53) French

a.   Jean a essayé de   partir.

Jean has tried   Comp leave-INF

"Jean tried to leave."

b.   Jean a   semblé partir.

Jean has seemed leave-INF

"Jean seemed to leave."

(54) Icelandic[8]

a.   Èg bað hann   að   vera góðan/góður.

I   asked him-ACC Comp be-INF good-NOM/ACC

"I asked him to be good."

b.   Jón virðist hafa   farið heim.

Jón seems   have-INF gone home

"Jón seems to have gone home."

(55) Control clauses do have the CP projection in French and Icelandic.

(56) Counter examples to (48):

a.   What he suspected was [CP that Bill saw Monument Valley].

b.   What he wanted was [XP to visit Monument Valley].

c.   [XP To write a novel] and [CP for the world to give it critical acclaim] is John's dream.
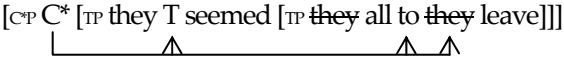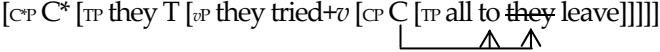
(Koster and May, 1982: 132-133)

(57) Control verbs select a weak CP phase, whose head is φ-incomplete.[9]

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[8] The example in (54a) is cited from Anderson (1990: 263) and the one in (54b) is cited from Anderson (1990: 261).

[9] This proposal is based on Hirai's (2004) argument that there are two types of CP phases.   However, I do not adopt his

(58) a. strong CP phase → C*P
    b. weak CP phase → CP

(59) a. They seemed all to leave.   (=(4))
        [CP C* [TP they T seemed [TP ~~they~~ all to ~~they~~ leave]]]

    b. *They tried all to leave.
        [CP C* [TP they T [*v*P they tried+*v* [CP C [TP all to ~~they~~ leave]]]]]

(60) a. Subject of control clauses is not Case-marked.
    b. Obligatory control constructions are derived from movement.

4. Optional Agreement in Icelandic

(61) a. Èg skipaði hann   að   vera   góður/góðan.
        I   asked   him-ACC Comp be-INF good-NOM/ACC
        "I asked him to be good."
    b. Hana   langar til að   vera   vinsœl/vinsœla.
        She-ACC longs   to Comp be-INF popular-NOM/ACC
        "She longs to be popular."
    c. Èg lofaði honum   að   vera   góður/*góðum/*góðan.
        *I   promised him-DAT Comp be-INF good-NOM/*DAT/*ACC*
        "I promised him to be good."

                                     (Anderson, 1990: 263)

(62) a. PRO is assigned nominative Case in Icelandic.
    b. [... DP (*ACC*) ... [PRO (*NOM*) to [... Adj]]]   (DP = controller)

(63) Some element in EQUI (but not in raising) structure optionally able to assign nominative case to the PRO-subject of the complement.
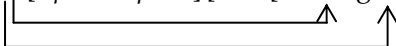
                                       (*ibid.*: 263-264)

(64) [... DP (*ACC*) [TP PRO to[*uφ*] [... Adj]]]

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argument that CP complements of control verbs are also divided into two classes in terms of whether they are selected by realis or irrealis predicate because both of them do not allow floating quantifier to precede *to*-infinitives as discussed in section 2.4. I assume that different grammaticality between CP selected by realis predicate and the one selected by irrealis predicate pertaining to the Heavy DP Shift can be attributed to the different property of their edge feature.
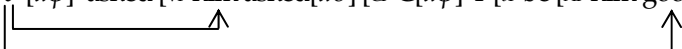
(65) a. Èg skipaði hann(*ACC*) að vera góður (*NOM*).

　　 b. [CP C-T[*uφ(incomplete)*]] [vP be [AP him good]]][10]

(66) a. Hún skipaði hann (*ACC*) að vera góðan (*ACC*).

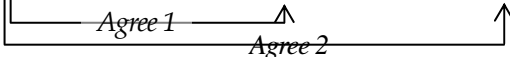　　 b. [VP him asked[*uθ*] [CP C[*uφ*]-T [vP be [AP him good]]]]]

　　 c. [v*P v*[*uφ*]+asked [VP him asked[*uθ*] [CP C[*uφ*]-T [vP be [AP him good]]]]]]

(67) The timing of adjectival agreement, whether before or after movement of DP to receive a *θ*-role, is optional (in Icelandic).

(68) Icelandic adjectival predicates and passive participles agree in case, number and gender.

(Sigurðson 1991: 332)

(69) C head of a weak CP phase lacks the person feature.

(70) a. Èg skipaði hann(*ACC*) að vera góður (*NOM*).

　　 b. [CP C-T[*u-num, u-gen*] be [AP him[*num, gen, per*] good[*num, gen*]]

　　　　 Agree 1

　　　　 Agree 2

5. Movement across a Dative Object

(71) IM (Internal Merge) should be driven only by phase heads.

(Chomsky, 2005: 9)

(72) Transmission of the Agree-feature should be a property of phase-heads in general.　Hence *v** should transmit its Agree-feature to V, and probe of an object with structural Case by *v** should be able to raise it to SPEC-V.

(*ibid.*: 14)

(73) a. *Jean a semblé à Marie avoir　du　talent.[11]
　　　　 Jean has seemed to Marie have-INF of-the talent
　　　　 "John seemed to Mary to have talent."

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[10] Words in this representation and the followings are translated into English for expository purpose.　This change has no crucial influence on the analysis in this presentation.

[11] The example in (73a) is cited from Chomsky (1995: 305).

    b.   Jean a promis à Marie de   partir.
          Jean has promised to Marie Comp leave-INF
          "John promised Mary to leave."

    c.   Jean a   semblé partir.
          Jean has seemed leave-INF
          "Jean seemed to leave."

(74) English Type   Languages that allow movement across a dative object
    a.   Swedish
          Olof har alltid förefallit dem   [vara   intelligent].
          Olof has always seemed   them-DAT be-INF intelligent
          "Olof has always seemed to them to be intelligent."

                                                                           (Holmberg 2001:40)

    b.   Romanian
          Copiii   îi   par Mariei   [a lucra bine].
          Children-the Cl-DAT-3 seem Mary-DAT to work well
          "The children seem to Mary to work well."

                                                               (Rivero and Geber, 2004: 6)

(75) French Type   Languages that does not allow movement across a dative object
    a.   Icelandic
          *Herstarnir   virdast mer   [vera   seinir].
           the-horses-NOM seem   me-DAT be-INF slow
          "The horses seem to me to be slow."

                                                                       (ibid.: 3)

    b.   Italian
          *Gianni sembra a Maria [essere stanco].
          Gianni seems   to Maria be-INF ill
          "Gianni seems to Maria to be ill."

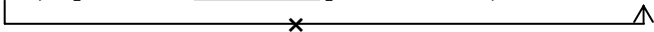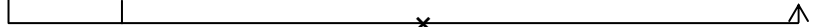   (Boeckx, 2002: 1)

    c.   Spanish
          *Juan   le   parece (a María) [ser   el mejor candidato].
          John-NOM Cl-DAT-3 seems to Mary   be-INF the best   candidate
          "*John seems to Mary to be the best candidate."

                                                                 (Rivero and Geber, 2004: 4)

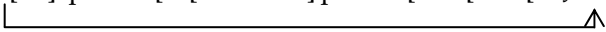(76) Visibility of inherently Case-marked DP from Agree-feature is parametrically determined.

	value
English, Swedish, Romanian	invisible
French, Icelandic, Italian, Spanish	visible

10

(77) a. *Jean semblé à Marie avoir du talent.   (= (73a)

    b. [$_{CP}$ C*[$u\phi$] [$_{TP}$ T[$_{vP}$ v+semblé [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ à Marie] semblé [$_{TP}$ Jean T [$_{vP}$ ~~Jean~~ avoir+v du talent]]]]]]

(78) a. Jean a promis à Marie de partir.[12]   (=(73b))

    b. [$_{vP1}$ v[$u\varphi$]+promis [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ à Marie] ~~promis~~ [$_{CP}$ C[$u\varphi$] [$_{TP}$ to [$_{vP2}$ Jean v+partir]]]]]

    c. [$_{CP}$ C*[$u\varphi$] [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP1}$ v[$u\varphi$]+promis [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ à Marie] ~~promis~~ [$_{CP}$ C[$u\varphi$] [$_{TP}$ to [$_{vP2}$ Jean v+partir]]]]]]]

(79) PPs have a rather rich internal structure, similar to the internal structure of clauses.

<div align="right">(Bošković , 2004b 108)</div>

(80) PP is a phase [...], on a par with the CP.

<div align="right">(*ibid*., 2004a: 730)</div>

(81) Jean a promis à Marie de partir.   (= (73b))

    a. [$_{vP1}$ v[$u\theta$]+promis [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ à Marie] ~~promis~~ [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ to [$_{vP2}$ Jean partir+v]]]]][13]

    b. [$_{vP1}$ Jean v[$u\theta$]+promis [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ à Marie] ~~promis~~ [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ to [$_{vP2}$ ~~Jean~~ v+partir]]]]]

    c. [$_{CP}$ C*[$u\phi$] [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}$ Jean v+promis[$u\theta$] [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ à Marie] ~~promis~~ [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ to [$_{vP}$ Jean v+partir]]]]]]]

(82) a. Icelandic

       Ég lofaði Haraldi   að   raka   hann.

       I promised Harold-DAT Comp shave-INF him.

       "I promised Harold to shave him."

<div align="right">(Thráinsson, 1979: 293)</div>

    b. Italian

       Gianni ha promesso a Mario di partire.

       Gianni has promised to Mario to leave

       "Gianni promised Mario to leave."

<div align="right">(Rizzi, 1982:   )</div>

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[12] I assume that vP1 is a weak phase because its head does not assign accusative Case and that the same can be hold of English subject control constructions. See Hornstein (2001) for the argument that complement of *promise* is not a direct object but an indirect object in English.

[13] One might suppose that dative object blocks agreement between $u\varphi$ of v and *Jean* as the same way in (78b). There are two possibilities for $u\varphi$ of vP1 to be deleted in this example. One of them is to attribute to agreement under Spec-head relation with *Jean* in (81c). This option is not available in (78b) because v does not have θ-feature to drive movement of *Jean*. Hence, the different grammaticality between the two can be accounted for. The other possibility is to attribute to the landing site for movement under agreement with the θ-feature. Suppose that Spec vP of *promise*-type verbs is not a θ-position and that subject of infinitival clause moves to Spec VP to receive a θ-role from the subject control verb. Then, $u\varphi$ of v can be deleted under agreement with the DP in Spec VP. See Ishikawa (2006) for relevant discussion.
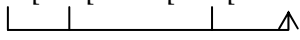
c. Spanish

[pro] Mandó a sus subordinados abrir   fuego.

He ordered to his subordinates   turn-on-INF fire

"He ordered his subordinates to fire."

(83) a. Θ-roles are formal features and are therefore capable of driving movement.[14, 15]

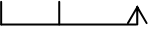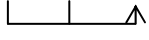b. Obligatory control constructions are derived from movement to receive a θ-role.

6. Conclusion

(84) a. Subject of infinitives in raising constructions moves into the matrix clause via Spec non-finite T under agreement with C-T Agree-feature

b. Subject of infinitives in obligatory control constructions moves into the matrix clause directly under agreement with θ-feature.

c. Timing of adjectival agreement is optional (at least) in Icelandic.

d. The parameter pertaining to determine the visibility of inherently Case-marked DP is involved with the acceptability of raising constructions in natural languages.
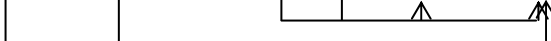
(85) raising constructions

a. $[_{CP} C^* [_{TP} T [_{vP} v+V [_{TP} to [_{v^{(*)}P} DP v^{(*)}]]]]]$

b. $[_{CP} C^* [_{TP} DP T [_{vP} v+V [_{TP} \overline{DP} to [_{v^{(*)}P} \overline{DP} v^{(*)}]]]]]]$

(86) subject control constructions

a. $[_{CP} C [_{TP} to [_{v^{(*)}P} DP v^{(*)}]]]$

b. $[_{CP} C^* [_{TP} T [_{vP} DP v+V [_{CP} C [_{TP} to [_{v^{(*)}P} \overline{DP} v^{(*)}]]]]]]]$

c. $[_{CP} C^* [_{TP} DP T [_{vP} \overline{DP} v+V [_{CP} C [_{TP} to [_{v^{(*)}P} \overline{DP} v^{(*)}]]]]]]]$

(87) a. adjectival agreement in object control constructions

$[_{CP} C^* [_{TP} T [_{v^*P} DP v^*+V [_{VP} DP_1(ACC) \overline{V} [_{CP} C [_{TP} to [_{v^{(*)}P} \overline{DP_1} v^{(*)}+V Adj(NOM/ACC)]]]]]]]]]$

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[14] Bošković and Takahashi (1998) reach the same conclusion on the independent ground.

[15] This claim implies that we need to distinguish features in terms of whether it derives movement or not.   Chomsky's (1995) proposal about the strength of features might be a solution to this issue.   However, this is an undesirable result because it is difficult to define what property of features determines its strength.   Therefore, I consider that the θ-feature, as well as Tense- and Agree-feature might be a property of phase heads and it might be inherited from phase heads to T or V.   I leave this issue for future research.

b. adjectival agreement in subject control constructions

[$_{C'P}$ C* [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}$ DP$_1$ v+V [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ P DP(*DAT*)] ~~V~~ [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ to [$_{v(*)P}$ ~~DP~~$_1$ $v^{(*)}$ Adj (*NOM*)]]]]]]]][16]
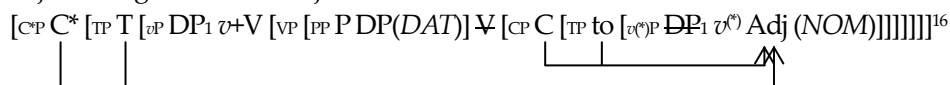
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[16] The fact that adjectives in control infinitives do not show accusative agreement in (61c) implies that defective v lacks the number or gender feature as well as the person feature.

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