

## A Movement Approach to Subject Control Constructions

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### 1. Introduction

- |     |  |   |             |                 |   |
|-----|--|---|-------------|-----------------|---|
| (1) | a. John <sub>1</sub> asked Bill <sub>2</sub> PRO <sub>2</sub> to shave himself <sub>2</sub> .<br>b. John <sub>1</sub> promised Bill <sub>2</sub> PRO <sub>1</sub> to shave himself <sub>1</sub> .<br>c. PRO <sub>arb</sub> To shave oneself his important. | Object Control<br>Subject Control<br>Non-Obligatory Control | }<br>}<br>} | PRO<br>Movement | Chomsky and Lasnik (1993)<br>Hornstein (1999) |
|-----|--|---|-------------|-----------------|---|
- (2) a. John<sub>1</sub> asked Mary<sub>2</sub> PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> to be allowed to shave himself.  
 b. John<sub>1</sub> promised Mary<sub>2</sub> PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> to be allowed to shave himself.
- (Manzini, 1983: 423)
- (3) a. \*Bill<sub>2</sub> was promised (by Mary<sub>1</sub>) PRO<sub>1/2</sub> to leave.  
 b. Mary<sub>1</sub> was never promised PRO<sub>1</sub> to be allowed to leave.
- (Landau, 2000: 170, 186)
- (4) a. Subject control constructions are formed by movement.  
 b. Move is preferred over Merge.  
 c.  $\theta$ -roles are formal features and are therefore capable of driving movement.

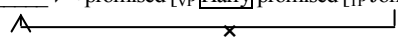
### 2. Previous Researches

#### 2.1. Control Theory

- (5) Construal Chomsky (1980)  
 In [Sub...V Obj [<sub>S</sub> Comp [<sub>S</sub> .PRO...]]],  
 a. if V = [+SC] (i.e. [+Subject Control]), Subject is controller,  
 b. if Comp = null and there is no controller, PRO (co)refers freely;
- (6) a. John<sub>1</sub> asked Bill<sub>2</sub> PRO<sub>1</sub> to be allowed to shave himself<sub>1</sub>.  
 b. John<sub>1</sub> promised Bill<sub>2</sub> PRO<sub>2</sub> to be allowed to shave himself<sub>2</sub>.
- (= (2))
- (7) Null Case Theory  
 PRO must be assigned null Case from infinitival element or the head of *Ing* of gerundive nominals.
- (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1993)
- (8) a. Only PRO bears null Case.  
 b. [...] only non-finite T<sup>0</sup>s can check/assign it.  
 c. A null case marked PRO fails to block contraction.
- (9) 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
- (Homstein, 2001: 34-35)

#### 2.2. Movement Approach to Control Constructions

- (10) a.  $\theta$ -roles are features on verbs  
 b. Greed is enlightened self interest  
 c. A D/NP "receives" a  $\theta$ -role by checking a  $\theta$ -feature of a verbal/predicative phrase that it merge with  
 d. There is no upper bound on the number of  $\theta$ -roles a chain can have
- (*ibid.*: 37)
- (11) a. John<sub>1</sub> persuaded Harry<sub>2</sub> PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> to leave.  
 b. [<sub>TP2</sub> T [<sub>VP3</sub> John v\*+persuaded [<sub>VP2</sub> Harry persuaded [<sub>TP1</sub> Harry to [<sub>VP1</sub> Harry leave]]]]] Violation of Economy

- c. \* $[_{TP2} T [_{VP3} \_\_\_\_ v^{*+} persuaded [_{VP2} \boxed{\text{Harry}} persuaded [_{TP1} \text{John to } [_{VP1} \text{John leave}]]]]]]]$  MLC Violation  
 (12) Violating economy is permitted as the derivation which honors economy does not converge. (Hornstein, 2001: 45)
- (13) Minimal Link Condition (MLC)  
 Let P be a probe. Then the goal G is the closest feature that can enter into an agreement relation with P. (Collins, 2002: 57)
- (14) a. John promised Harry PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> to leave.  
 b.  $[_{TP} T [_{VP} \_\_\_\_\_\_ v^{*+} promised [_{VP} \boxed{\text{Harry}} promised [_{TP} \text{John to } [_{VP} \text{John leave}]]]]]]]$  MLC Violation  

- (15) a. \*John was promised to leave.  
 b.  $[_{TP} \text{John T } [_{PASSP} \text{was } [_{VP} v^{+} promised [_{VP} \text{John promised } [_{TP} \text{John to } [_{VP} \text{John leave}]]]]]]]]]$

### 3. Proposals

- (16) Other *promise*-like verbs such as *vow* and *commit* would be analogous to those one find with the raising constructions [...] in allowing movement across the indirect object [in English]. [...] *promise* is similar to these other control verbs in having an indirect object in overt syntax and this preposition becomes null (perhaps by incorporating into verb) in the course of derivation. (Hornstein, 2001: 34)
- (17) a. Jean a promis à Marie de partir.<sup>1</sup>  
*Jean has promised to Marie DE to-leave*  
 'Jean promised Marie to leave.'  
 b. Ég lofaði honum að vera góður.<sup>2</sup>  
*I promised him(DAT) Comp be good.*  
 'I promised him to be good.'
- (18) That dog seems to no boy to like any of his toys.  
 It is still unclear how *John* can move across the indirect object without violating the MLC.
- (19) The vP-Spec of the verb *promise* is a non- $\theta$ -position.
- (20) a. There promises to be trouble at the concert.  
 b. It promises to be a beautiful day. (William and Stanley, 2004: 10)
- (21) Move is selected over Merge. (Shima, 2000: 376)
- (22) a. \*John<sub>2</sub> is asked [how likely  $t_2$  to win]<sub>1</sub> it is  $t_1$ .  
 b.  $[_{TP} \text{it T } [_{VP} \text{is } [_{\text{how likely John to win}}]]]$  b'.  $[_{TP} \text{John}_2 \text{ T } [_{VP} \text{is } [_{\text{how likely } t_2 \text{ to win}}]]]$   
 c.  $[_{TP} \text{John T is asked } [_{CP} [_{\text{how likely John to win}}]_1 \text{ C } [_{TP} \text{it is } t_1]]]$  c'  $[_{TP} \text{it T is asked } [_{CP} [_{\text{how likely } t_2 \text{ to win}}]_1 \text{ C } [_{TP} \text{John is } t_1]]]$
- (23) Equidistance (Chomsky)
- (24) [C]ontrol shift involves a change from an OC (obligatory control) to a non-OC structure. (Hornstein, 2001: 36)
- (25) Obligatory Control (OC)  
 a. \*It was expected PRO to shave himself.  
 b. \*John's campaign expects PRO to shave himself.  
 c. John expects PRO to win and Bill does too. (= Bill win.)  
 d. \*John<sub>1</sub> told Mary<sub>2</sub> PRO to leave together/each other.
- (26) Non-Obligatory Control (NOC)  
 a. It was believed that PRO shaving was important.  
 b. Clinton's campaign believes that PRO keeping his sex life under control is necessary for electoral success.  
 c. John thinks that PRO getting his résumé in order is crucial and Bill does too.  
 d. John<sub>1</sub> told Mary<sub>2</sub> that PRO<sub>1+2</sub> leaving together/each other was important to Bill.

<sup>1</sup> Kayne (1981) argues that *de* in French is complementizer and that control verbs do not subcategorize TP but CP. I assume that subject of infinitival moves to CP-Spec based on Pesetsky and Torrego's (2000) T-to-C movement analysis, and that it can move to VP-Spec in the matrix clause without violating the Phase Impenetrability Condition. I omit the CP in embedded clause in the derivation below for expository purpose. See Hornstein (2000) for another approach to this issue.

<sup>2</sup> This example is cited from Anderson (1990: 263).

	OC	NOC
a. PRO requires an antecedent	yes	no
b. An antecedent must c-command of PRO	yes	no
c. strict reading	impossible	ok
d. split antecedent	impossible	ok

## (28) Control Shift

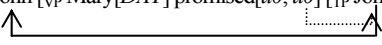

- John was asked/begged PRO to be allowed to leave early.
- John's mother asked/begged Mary to be allowed to shave himself before dinner.
- John petitioned/begged/asked Mary PRO to be allowed to leave early and Frank did too. (OK with John's leaving early)
- John asked/begged Mary PRO to be allowed to shave each other.

(Hornstein, 2003: 36)

- (29) a. NOC PRO [...] is simply 'pro' ...  
 b. [...] it is licensed *at a cost* in the Spec IP of non-finite CP complements.

(Hornstein, 2001: 58)


## 4. Preference of Move over Merge

- (30) a. John promised Mary to leave.  
 b.  $[_{VP} \text{ Mary}[DAT] \text{ promised}[\#\theta, u\theta] [_{TP} \text{ John to leave}]]^3$   
 c.  $[_{VP} \text{ John } [_{VP} \text{ Mary}[DAT] \text{ promised}[\#\theta, \#\theta] [_{TP} \text{ John to leave}]]]$   
  
 d.  $[_{TP} T[\#\theta] [_{VP} v^+ \text{ promised } [_{VP} \text{ John}[NOM] [_{VP} \text{ Mary}[DAT] \text{ promised}[\#\theta, \#\theta] [_{TP} \text{ John to leave}]]]]]$   


## (31) N = {was, promised, to, John, leave}

- \*John was promised to leave.
- $[_{VP} \text{ promised}[u\theta, u\theta] [_{TP} \text{ John to leave}]]$
- $[_{VP} \text{ John promised}[\#\theta, u\theta] [_{TP} \text{ John to leave}]]$
- $[_{TP} T[u\theta] [_{VP} v^+ \text{ promised } [_{VP} \text{ John}[DAT] [_{VP} \text{ John promised}[\#\theta, u\theta] [_{TP} \text{ John to leave}]]]]]$

## (32) N = {was, promised, John, pro, to, be, allowed, to, leave}

- John was promised to be allowed to leave.
- $[_{VP} \text{ pro}[DAT] \text{ promised}[\#\theta, u\theta] [_{TP} \text{ pro to be allowed to leave}]]$  **Move of pro over Merge of John**
- $[_{VP} \text{ John } [_{VP} \text{ pro } [DAT] \text{ promised}[\#\theta, \#\theta] [_{TP} \text{ pro to be allowed to leave}]]]$
- $[_{TP} T[\#\theta] [_{VP} v^+ \text{ promised } [_{VP} \text{ John}[NOM] [_{VP} \text{ pro}[DAT] \text{ promised}[\#\theta, \#\theta] [_{TP} \text{ pro to be allowed to leave}]]]]]$   


- (33) [...] pro is found in governed positions: it alternates with overt pronouns which will alternate with overt pronouns which will have to occur in governed positions since they must be assigned case.

## (34) Giacomo ha detto che pro ha telefonato.

*Giacomo has said that (he) has telephoned*

(Haegeman, 1991: 415)

- (35) Move over Merge is permitted to avoid the crash of the derivation.

## 5. DP Inactivity Parameter

- (36) a. John seems to Mary to have talent.  
 b. \*Jean semble à Marie avoir du talent.  
*Jean seems to Marie to-have of-the talent.*

- (37) [Spec, TP] can be filled only by a DP with structural Case [in English]. [The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (34b)] might be accounted for by assuming that [this condition] is a parameter: in French [Spec, TP] can be filled by a DP without structural Case.

<sup>3</sup> I assume that V is an inherent Case assigner. See Chomsky (1995, 2000) for licensing conditions on inherently Case-marked DP and the possibility of inherent Case assignment from V.

	John seems to Mary to ~	John gave Mary a book.	John danced null DP himself tired
English, German, Icelandic	ok	ok	ok
French, Spanish, Italian	impossible	impossible	impossible

## (39) DP Inactivity Parameter

Inactivity of inherently Case-marked DP in agreement with structural Case-assigning head (T or v) is parametrically determined.

	Inherently Case-marked DP
English, Icelandic, German	inactive
French, Spanish, Italian	active

## (40) \*Jean semble à Marie avoir du talent. (= (33))

- a.  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \text{à Marie}] \text{semble} [_{TP} \text{Jean T} [_{VP} \text{avoir du talent}]]]$   
 b.  $[_{TP} \text{T} [_{i\varphi}] [_{VP} \text{v}+\text{semble} [_{VP} [_{PP} \text{à Marie}] \text{semble} [_{TP} \text{Jean T} [_{VP} \text{Jean avoir du talent}]]]]]]]$
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## (41) Jean a promis à Marie de partir. (= (17a))

- a.  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \text{à Marie}] \text{promis} [_{TP} \text{Jean T} [_{VP} \text{Jean partir}]]]$   
 b.  $[_{VP} \text{Jean} [_{VP} [_{PP} \text{à Marie}] \text{promis} [_{TP} \text{Jean T} [_{VP} \text{Jean partir}]]]]]$   
 c.  $[_{TP} \text{T} [_{i\varphi}] [_{VP} \text{v}+\text{promis} [_{VP} \text{Jean} [_{VP} [_{PP} \text{à Marie}] \text{promis} [_{TP} \text{Jean T} [_{VP} \text{Jean partir}]]]]]]]]]$
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- (42) a. Raising to object is not obligatory operation. [Contra Chomsky (2005)]  
 b.  $\theta$ -roles are formal features and are therefore capable of driving movement.<sup>4</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

- (43) a. Subject control constructions are formed by movement.  
 b.  $\theta$ -roles are formal features and are therefore capable of driving movement.  
 c. Move is preferred over Merge.

(44) *Pro* to shave oneself is important.

(45) Why control shift should involve the change from OC to NOC?

- a.  $[_{TP3} \text{T} [_{VP5} \text{_____} \text{v}^*+\text{asked} [_{VP4} \text{Mary}] \text{asked} [_{TP2} \text{John} \text{ pro to } [_{\text{PASSP}} \text{be} [_{VP3} \text{v}+\text{allowed} [_{VP2} \text{John allowed} [_{TP1} \text{John to } [_{VP1} \text{John leave}]]]]]]]]]]]$
- 
- b.  $^*[_{TP1} \text{T} [_{VP3} \text{John} \text{v}^*+\text{persuaded} [_{VP2} \text{Harry}] \text{persuaded} [_{TP1} \text{John to } [_{VP1} \text{John leave}]]]]]$
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<sup>4</sup> Bošković and Takahashi (1998) reach the same conclusion on the independent ground.

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