On Partial Control and Parasitic PC Effects

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This paper deals with the issue of Partial Control (PC), a phenomenon widely discussed in syntactic literature since (Landau 2000). PC constitutes a case of mismatch in semantic number between the controller (singular) and PRO (plural, including the reference set of the controller). We present a number of current proposals concerning the mechanics of PC set against the background of competition between the movement-based and Agree-based theories of control. In final sections we present new data from English and Polish showing Parasitic Partial Control (PPC), where a PC reading within the adjunct infinitive is conditioned by a PC reading in the complement infinitive clause. We believe that it is less problematic for movement-base control to obtain the PPC effect.

Keywords: control, Partial Control, PRO, movement, Agree

1. Introduction

While in the history of generative grammar the distinction between obligatory and non-obligatory control has been high on the agenda for a long time, recently a fresh idea has been thrust into the limelight, posing a real challenge to any theory of control (cf. Landau 2000). It has been proved that the relation between PRO and its controller is not always one of identity, that is, the referent of PRO seems to include the antecedent along with other individuals salient in the context which are, however, syntactically absent. Consequently, this phenomenon has come to be known as partial control (henceforth PC). Originally deemed bizarre, partial control has received scant linguistic attention.[1] However, as Landau (2000: 27) argues: "PC is (…) not an exotic peculiarity but an option widely available, even if not widely instantiated", his work marking a quantum leap in the study of this atypical species of control. The majority of few accounts we have on partial control (cf. Barrie and Pittman 2004, Bondaruk 2004, Dubinsky 2007) generally concur with Landau in his view that partial control is an instance of obligatory control.[2] An example of a partial control construction is provided in (1):

(1) John$_1$ told Mary that he$_1$ wants [PRO$_{1+}$ to meet in the morning].[3]

Here we observe that the matrix subject is subsumed under a larger group of individuals denoting the subject of the embedded clause. Only when the complement contains a collective predicate such as *meet*, can this effect be detectable.[4] The requirements of semantics of collective predicates (their subject must be semantically plural but need not evince syntactic plurality) make us conclude that PRO must necessarily be PRO$_{1+}$, the matrix nominal being incapable of functioning as the sole participant of the meeting.

Partial control is usually juxtaposed with the other type of obligatory control, exhaustive control. As illustrated in (2), in exhaustive control, unlike in partial control, the controller and PRO display the same indices, their referents being identical in number, person and gender:

(2) Susan$_1$ forgot [PRO$_1$ to write a paper]

The following section lays out underlying tenets of three related syntactocentric accounts pertinent to partial control as advanced by Landau (2000, 2004, 2007). Further sections contain a critical evaluation of this account of PC and propose an alternative compatible with the Movement Theory of Control (MTC).

2. Partial control and the Agree Theory of Control (ATC)

We start with Landau's classical proposal of the Agree Theory of Control. Landau (2000) introduces a dichotomous classification of obligatory control into exhaustive control (EC) and partial control (PC). The following non-exhaustive list of control verbs is based on Landau (2000: 38):

(3) a. implicatives: *dare, manage, bother, remember, etc.*
b. aspectual: *begin, start, continue, finish, etc*.
c. modal: *have, need, may, must, etc.*
d. factives: *regret, like, dislike, hate, etc.*
e. propositional: *believe, think, claim, deny, etc.*
f. desideratives: *want, prefer, promise, hope, etc.*
g. interrogatives: *wonder, ask, inquire, contemplate, etc.*

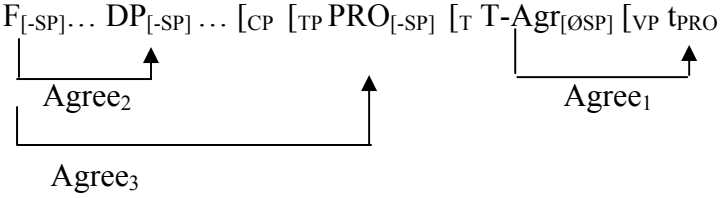
Landau argues that the semantic exigencies of the matrix verb determine availability of partial control; accordingly, only factives, propositional verbs, desideratives and interrogatives are PC verbs, while the EC verbs are instantiated by implicatives, aspectual and modal predicates. A sample of each verb class is provided below:

(4) PC
a. John$_1$ preferred [PRO$_{1+}$ to meet at six].
b. John$_1$ wondered [how PRO$_{1+}$ to meet at six].
c. John$_1$ denied [PRO$_{1+}$ having met at six].
d. John$_1$ regretted [PRO$_{1+}$ having met at six].[5]

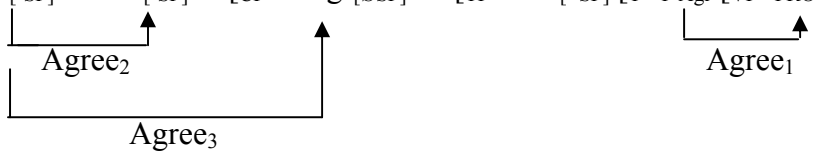
(5) EC
a. * John$_1$ managed [PRO$_{1+}$ to meet at six].
b. * John$_1$ began [PRO$_{1+}$ to meet at six].
c. * John$_1$ should [PRO$_{1+}$ meet at six].

A fundamental assumption of Landau's analysis is that the distinction between the PC and EC effect boils down to a difference between tensed and non-tensed infinitives.[6] Landau submits that only tensed infinitives evince partial control; that is, the tense specification of PC complements is only partially dependent on the matrix clause but not identical. The engineering rationale behind this distinction is that in PC the embedded T moves to C precluding thus Agree from holding between PRO and a higher functional category F (T in the case of subject control and v for object control) that also agrees with the matrix controller.[7] Example (6a) represents the EC and (6b) the PC structures:

(6) a. $[_{CP}\ F_{[-SP]} \ldots\ DP_{[-SP]} \ldots\ [_{CP}\ [_{TP}\ PRO_{[-SP]}\ [_{T}\ T\text{-}Agr_{[\O SP]}\ [_{VP}\ t_{PRO}\ \ldots]]]]]$



b. $[_{CP}\ F_{[-SP]} \ldots\ DP_{[-SP]} \ldots [_{CP}\ T\text{-}Agr_{[\O SP]}+C\ [_{TP}\ PRO_{[+SP]}\ [_{T}\ t_{T\text{-}Agr}\ [_{VP}\ t_{PRO}\ \ldots]]]]]$



Three Agree operations apply in (6a) to match the features of F, DP and PRO. $Agree_1$ holds between PRO and embedded T matching the φ-features of the two elements and simultaneously checking PRO's null Case (Case being a reflex of φ-features on T). $Agree_2$ is established between matrix F (T/v) and a lexical DP and $Agree_3$ obtains between F and PRO. This licenses the EC reading and control understood as an indirect φ-feature sharing between the controller and PRO mediated through F participating in two Agree relations.

In (6b), $Agree_1$, holding between PRO and T-Agr, establishes embedded agreement (followed by raising of PRO to [Spec, TP]) and $Agree_2$, obtaining between F and DP, gives rise to matrix agreement. Since PC complements are tensed, T-Agr must move to C to check C's uninterpretable T-feature, thereby reaching an edge position in which it is visible to matrix operations. Hence, $Agree_3$ holds between F and T-Agr adjoined to C. The key element of this analysis is that PRO in PC is imbued with semantic plurality but, crucially, it partakes of syntactic singularity at the same time. So how is it possible that it co-exists with a semantically singular controller? The unpronounced subject, equipped with an inbred semantic plurality feature [+SP], agrees not with F but with embedded T which is [ØSP] since it does not inherit [-SP] from F ([-SP] and [ØSP] being non-distinct on functional heads). Thus, [ØSP] on T and [+SP] on PRO do not conflict (given that they are not opposite) begetting PC effect.[8]

Thus there are three key technical assumptions that make the PC effect and control as Agree possible within this theory. The first one concerns the life span of checked and valued features, which remain accessible to derivational processes within the same phase. The second one holds that PRO and the matrix functional head F (v or T) must be placed within the same derivational phase to facilitate the checking of identical φ-features on the controller and PRO in EC.[9] The third one is the notion of the locality of checking that blocks the access of the matrix F (v or T) to PRO in the PC context, where T has been raised to T.

Landau (2004) introduces a number of modifications to his calculus of control, though the three key assumptions are still strictly observed. Regarding PRO itself, the conjecture is that it is a phonetically null SE-anaphor (drawing on Reinhart and Reuland 1993). On the whole, obligatory control is still deemed an instance of Agree but, importantly, the licensing of PRO is tuned to the interplay between Agr (φ-features) and T(ense) features both on I^0 and C^0 in the embedded clause and the movement of T to C is abandoned in favour of feature

sharing between these two heads. The assignment of values to these features is conditional upon the following paradigm (after Landau 2004: 839-840):

(7) *Specifying [T] on embedded I^0/C^0*

a. Anaphoric tense → [-T] on I^0/C^0
b. Dependent tense → [+T] on I^0/C^0
c. Independent tense → [+T] on I^0, Ø on C^0

(8) *Specifying [Agr] on embedded I^0/C^0*

a. On I^0 : i) overt agreement → [+Agr]
ii) abstract agreement → [-Agr]
iii) no agreement → Ø
b. On C^0 :i) [+Agr] → [+T]
ii) otherwise → Ø

Accordingly, the feature grids obtained for partial control and exhaustive control are as follows:

(9) PC:
I^0 [+T, -Agr] → [-R]
C^0 [+T, (+Agr)] → [+R]

(10) EC:
I^0 [-T, -Agr] → [-R]
C^0 [-T] → [ØR]

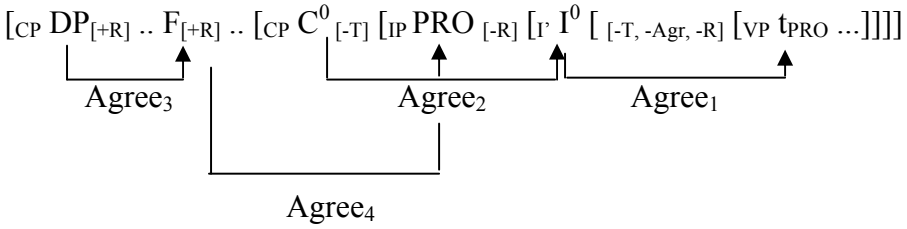
At the heart of the new control module lies the fact that the licensing of PRO is a product of the interaction between the features on I^0 and C^0 and DP-features ([+R] on independently referential DPs and [-R] on anaphoric DPs) with the resultant conjecture:

(11) R-assignment Rule
For $X^0_{[\alpha T, \beta Agr]} \varepsilon \{ I^0, C^0 \ldots \}$:
Ø → [+R]/ $X^0_{[\_]}$ if $\alpha = \beta =$ '+'
Ø → [-R]/elsewhere

In crude terms, the R-rule reads that whenever I^0 or C^0 are equipped with [+T] and [+Agr], then they automatically come to bear [+R]; any other feature grid is coupled with [-R]. Importantly, absence of [T] or [Agr] voids the rule application., i.e., no [R] value is assigned. DP/*pro* are [+R], while PRO, due to its anaphoricity, shows feature [-R].[10,11]

Armed with this set of auxiliary assumptions, let us scan the mechanism of EC and PC control. In the case of EC we deal with a set of four Agree relations:

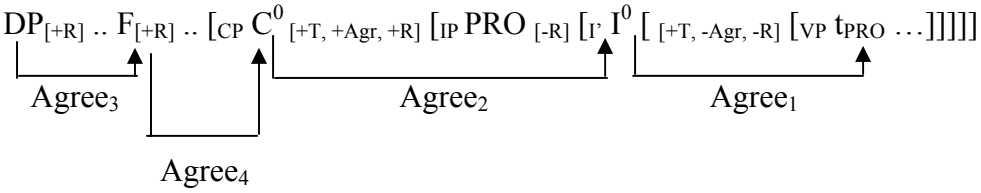
(12) EC



First, I^0 agrees with PRO for φ-features and the [-R] feature, both uninterpretable on I^0 and interpretable on PRO. Next, C^0 and I^0 enter into an Agree relation, where the uninterpretable feature [-T] on C^0 is valued. Within the main clause F (v or T) enters into an Agree relation with the controller DP to value the uninterpretable φ-features ([+Agr]) and [+R] on F. As the structure in (12) is supposed to form one phase, all the valued features are still accessible to the derivation. Thus, F is still active and can probe for [+Agr] features of PRO; consequently, due to the mediation of F, PRO and the controller share the same φ-features and other features such as [Mer], defined in the following paragraph.

In the case of PC, the feature make-up of functional heads is different. Both I^0 and C^0 in the embedded clause are specified for [+T] since the semantics of the selecting head (the matrix verb) requires that its non-finite complement carry dependent tense. With agreement morphologically absent, I^0 possesses [-Agr]. Given that [+Agr] on C^0 is conditional upon [+T], one finds [+Agr] on C^0 in (9), unlike in EC complements where [-T] on C^0 entails lack of [Agr], as presented in (10). All in all, I^0 is assigned [-R], while C^0 comes to bear [+R] on the strength of (9). Example (13) shows the complex mechanism involved in the production of PC readings:

(13) PC



I^0 establishes two Agree relations, with PRO and C^0. [-Agr] takes part in both. In $Agree_1$ [-R] PRO checks the [-R] feature on I^0. $Agree_2$ holds between I^0 and C^0.Crucially, [-Agr] being morphologically unrealized and [+Agr] on C^0 representing abstract [Agr] can match in their values, thus enter an Agree relation. $Agree_3$ obtains between F and DP as a result of which F inherits [+R] from the controller. Finally, to remove its uninterpretable [+R] feature, C^0 establishes a second Agree with F. The [+Agr] feature on C, though checked, is still available within the active phase and must be matched by the [+Agr] feature on F, hence the φ-features of the controller and PRO match. The PC effect itself receives a new guise. It arises since PRO carries, in the place of the semantic plurality feature [+/-SP], the [+Mer](eology) feature (following Sauerland and Elbourne 2002) and the controller is [-Mer]. Landau suggests that C^0 in PC is the only functional head bereft of the [Mer] slot. This may result from the fact that the remaining functional heads (T/v and I^0) directly enter Agree with items inherently specified for [Mer]; hence, they must bear a [Mer] slot. Consequently, the [ØMer] C^0 in the PC configuration needs to mediate in the relation between the [-Mer] controller and [+Mer] PRO, hence neutralizing the difference in values.

A further complication comes in the form of potential PC contexts, where PRO nevertheless shares the same semantic number/mereology value as the controller.[12] For these cases, the derivation looks and runs exactly as in (12) but the embedded C receives the [+T] feature, though the [+Agr] feature is said to be absent. This optionality of the presence of [+Agr] on Infl must be coordinated with the semantics of the embedded predicate.[13]

This theory of PRO, set in a larger frame of various tensed and untensed clausal complements, appears to raise a number of questions. For instance, the R-assignment rule in (9) is quite stipulative and has no independent motivation but to cause the difference between EC and PC. The carefully constructed control module utterly pivots on this stipulation: without it the interplay between DP-features and features on C^0 is lost. As regards the [Mer] feature, this new concept supersedes the [+/-SP] feature idea utilized in Landau (2000). However, the rationale behind this swap is rather obscure and leads to an immediate question: why is [Mer] so selective occurring only on certain functional heads while ignoring C^0?[14] Despite Landau's claims there are Germanic languages where the Complementizer agrees with the subject (West Flemish, Bavarian German), thus a [Mer] slot can be present on C^0.

Thus far, the system is incapable of distinguishing between an EC and PC reading of collective nouns. The problem is that in both cases [+Mer] is present on the controller and PRO, voiding a real contrast in number (PRO in the PC case would have to bear some other feature than [+Mer] as the latter does not suffice to mark a difference in semantic number).[15]

Another problematic issue relates to gerundive complements and specifically to acc-*ing* gerunds:

(14) $Mark_1$ preferred [Mary/her/PRO_1 eating outside].

As widely observed, the subject of the non-finite clause can be either a PRO or a lexical DP. But exactly this property is unaccounted for by the calculus. In (15) below we see a feature grid of the relevant gerundive construction:

(15) I^0 [+T, -Agr] → [-R]
C^0 [+T, (+Agr)] → [+R][16]

Regarding [-R] deletion, it is the task of PRO, for it exhibits [-R]. However, the presence of the lexical subject in the place of PRO greatly complicates the situation given that referential DPs are specified for [+R]. Thus, there is no potential candidate for taking care of [-R] on I^0. The derivation crashes.

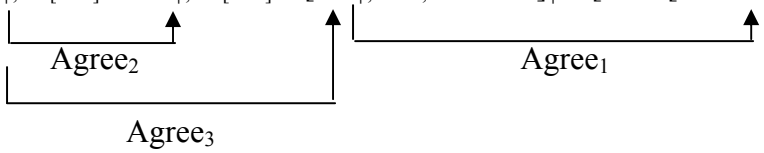
Finally, let us briefly touch upon Landau's (2007) most recent proposal. The suggested analysis builds on Landau (2000, 2004), advancing the claim that obligatory control utilizes two routes: either direct Agree with PRO (PRO-control in EC cases) or Agree mediated by the infinitival Agr-bundle on C (C-control in PC). Landau uses the facts of case transmission in Russian to substantiate the claim that PC entails C-control. If PC is tantamount to C-control and if C-control, in turn, implies case independence (as Landau shows), then case transmission should be forbidden in PC, this type of control sanctioning only case independence. And this is exactly what can be observed in the case of plain subject control in Russian which in EC environments (PRO-control) requires strictly case transmission but when embedded in PC context, forces case independence. But what is the

precise reason behind the availability of C-control in PC? Landau asserts that everything boils down to the presence of [Mer] on C.

(16) Subject PC in Russian: obligatory independent case (Landau 2007:41)

a. Predsedatel' predpočel sobrat'sja vsjem/*vsje v šest'.
Chair.NOM preferred to-gather all.DAT/*NOM at six
'The chair preferred to all gather at six'

b. $[_{CP} .. T_{\varphi, \text{ no [Mer]}} .. DP_{\varphi, \text{ no [Mer]}} .. [_{v} C_{\varphi, \text{ DAT, Mer}} \text{-V-v}]_{\varphi} .. [_{CP} t_{C} [_{TP} PRO_{\varphi, \text{ Mer}} [_{T'} T VP]]]]$



Given that the embedded C is tensed, it is selected by the matrix verb with a φ-set. It also carries [Mer] pointing to its semantic plurality. Interestingly, the valued case feature in Russian infinitives is located not on T but on C. What is also significant is that the Complementizer, being null, must undergo cliticization to the higher verb. Its host, light v, is specified for φ-features which differ from the φ-set of the dominated C (it contains [Mer] which is absent from v).[17] Three Agree operations apply to license PC. Agree_1 holds between C and PRO[18] valuing φ-features and [Mer] on PRO. Agree_2 is established between the matrix T and DP which are semantically singular (no [Mer]). Agree_3 holds between the matrix T and C, the latter being semantically plural ([Mer]). The resulting Agree will focus on φ-features, ignoring [Mer]. Consequently, the PC effect arises as a result of the intervention of C ([Mer]) within the chain of Agree relations between the [Mer]-less controller and a [+Mer]-specified PRO.[19]

All in all, much as Landau's meticulously constructed syntactocentric theories vary in some respects, they all stress one thing: PC is an instance of C-control. Following sections show alternative views of PC.

3. Incorporating Partial Control into the Movement Theory of Control

The definition and analysis of Partial Control within the context of the approach to control based on Agree encountered vehement reaction from the camp of the proponents of the Movement Theory (MTC). These reactions vary from an attempt at downplaying PC as a regular grammatical phenomenon (Bowers 2005), shifting its application to the realm of semantic and pragmatic factors (Hornstein, 2003, Boeckx and Hornstein 2004) or accommodating PC to the Movement Theory at the cost of abandoning the chief postulate of multiple theta role checking (Barrie and Pittman 2004).

3.1 *Denying existence of Partial Control as a syntactic phenomenon*

In this section we present two accounts of Partial Control whose central claim is that PC effects are not produced by syntactic processes but obtained as a result of the application of semantic or pragmatic rules.

3.1.1 *PC effects as metonymy*

Bowers (2005) questions the acceptability judgments provided by Landau, pointing to the positive correlation between partial control readings and the control verb type. Relying on his intuition and supported by an informal survey of other speakers, he finds the sentences below in (16) perfectly legitimate. What is more, fiddling with context, he provides further examples where exhaustive control verbs permit a PC reading:

(16) a. The chair did not want to meet so early, but Mary forced him to.
b. The chair was eager to meet as soon as possible, and in the end, despite opposition, he managed to meet exactly when he wanted to.
c. The rank and file were eager to gather during the strike, but the organizer did not dare to.
d. I prefer to meet on Tuesdays, but for some reason the chair is not able to.

The sentences in (16) are, in his view, indicative of the dubious standing of PC as a regular grammatical phenomenon. Furthermore, raising verbs also seem to license PC readings in more elaborate contexts:[20]

(17) a. This chair seems to meet whenever he feels like it.
b. After considering a number of alternatives, John appears to be convening at the regular time after all.
c. That chair is not likely to meet more than once a week.

All in all, the aforementioned observations are tantamount to the following: partial control is non-existent. This conclusion, as Bowers asserts, is further substantiated by the instances below, where collective predicates co-occur with the syntactically and semantically singular nouns within the same simple clause:

(18) a. This is ridiculous! The chair is meeting every day now.
b. It is weird – this minister gathers on Monday instead of Sunday!
c. This chair meets at the strangest times.
d. Supported by the rank and file, the organizer gathered every single day during the strike.

Bowers's key claim is as follows: the non-existence of partial control is due to its metonymic nature. How does it work in practice? Regarding, for example, the sentences in (18), much as the singular substantives co-occurring with the collective predicates refer to one individual, they in fact naturally represent a larger group of people. In crude terms, the nouns are parts that stand for wholes, a relation typical of synecdoche. In the case of obligatory control verbs, be they either exhaustive control or partial control ones (using Landau's terminology),

Bowers submits that the matrix nominal originates as an embedded subject where it falls under the influence of metonymy (synecdoche). Only then does it move to the matrix to obtain a thematic role from the higher predicate.

The problem with this account is that it conflates metonymy,[21] a phenomenon reflecting world knowledge and partial control, apparently a grammatical fact. Generally, as it is with all concepts of cognitive origin, metonymy rather resists a clear-cut explanation the reason being that, projecting concepts onto other concepts, it is indubitably an instance of imaginative device. And how can one measure imagination which normally will vary from person to person?[22] Consequently, it is almost impossible to state precise boundaries of metonymy.[23] Nonetheless, certain distinctive features of metonymy have been established and it is against these features that we will assess the purported metonymies in Bowers's examples.

The sentences in (18) need not be indicative of metonymy on the grounds that the vehicle, *the chair*, *the minister* and *the organizer*, does not afford mental access to another conceptual entity, the desired target, which is in this case 'the group as a whole'. The nouns, denoting persons, are associated with no larger wholes since they are not natural parts of other entities. Thus, its conceptual frame being substantially poor and containing no available whole, the source bans a shift from 'the person' to the 'group of people as a whole'. What is more, the target meaning of the metonymy in (18) should be foregrounded, while the source content should be backgrounded, if it is, of course, a true instance of metonymy (after Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 38):[24]

(19) a. I have got a new set of wheels.
b. We need a better glove at third base.

However, what we observe is that both conceptual entities are highlighted (assuming, obviously, that (18) is acceptable), i.e., the interpretation we get in, for example, (18b) is that both the minister and some other individuals gather. Furthermore, if examples in (18) are metonymic, then the conceptual shift should be reflected in grammatical form (from Panther and Radden 1999: 10):

(20) a. The first violin has the flue. She cannot practice today.
b. * The first violin has the flue. It is a Stradivarius.[25]

(21) a. This is ridiculous! The chair is meeting every day now. He is so busy that he cannot even pick up his children from school.
b. * This is ridiculous! The chair is meeting every day now. They usually go to Maxim's place.

On the basis of the pronominal facts, we may deduce that metonymy is inoperative here. Regarding (21a), where the pronominal anaphorically refers back to *the chair*, it is a felicitous continuation of the second sentence. This effect clearly points to the fact that the singular pronominal takes the source as its referent (which is singular) and not the target (marked for the plural).

Finally, Bowers's account appears to be a very unattractive one. It fails to explicate the distribution of (obligatory) controlled PRO. Why is partial control conditional upon the

embedded tense rather than some other factors? What is so special about tense that allows it to license partial control? Why is it so that partial control reading is problematic in raising constructions? Clearly, the metonymic account is hard-pressed to address these issues.

3.1.2 *PC effects in semantic representations*

The aim of another attempt at assimilating PC effects to the MTC is to shift them to the semantic component. Hornstein (2003) and Boeckx and Hornstein (2004) point to a number of problems that Landau's (2000) account of PC needs to face up to.

For instance, PC effects show up in control into gerunds, (22a), although gerunds never show any indication of the CP projection and 'tensed' gerunds look exactly the same as 'untensed' gerunds, (22b-c):

(22) a. John prefers meeting at six.
b. John finished drinking the wine.
c. John tried drinking the wine.

The problem for Landau's theory stems from the fact that PC readings are collateral to T-to-C movement, and no evidence for such movement is available in partially controlled gerunds.

Another problematic area concerns Adjunct Control cases. Hornstein (2003) shows that, although AC infinitives can easily have an independent tense specification, (23a), this cannot be a sufficient condition for PC licensing, (23b-c):

(23) a. John saw Mary yesterday (in order) to leave early tomorrow.
b. *John$_1$ saw Mary after/without [PRO$_{1+}$ meeting/gathering at six]
c. *John$_1$ saw Mary early (in order) [PRO$_{1+}$ to meet/gather at Max's at six]

Otherwise Adjunct Control (in subject oriented purpose clauses) shows the hallmarks of Obligatory Control, such the presence of an antecedent, sloppy reading under ellipsis and *de se* interpretation:

(24) a. John$_1$ saw Mary$_2$ [in order PRO$_{1/*2}$ to get a medal]
b. John$_1$ saw Mary in order PRO$_1$ to get a medal and Bill did too
c. Only John saw Mary in order to get a medal.

On top of these problematic issues it can be shown that under certain discourse conditions raising can also allow for a PC reading (Boeckx and Hornstein 2004: 449):

(25) John is a really busy professor. His days are filled with meetings, with students, deans, colleagues, lunch appointments, etc. Can you imagine?! Yesterday John met at 8 a.m., 9 a.m., 10 a.m., noon and 7 p.m. His wife told me, " John seems to be meeting all the time!"

Hornstein and Boeckx conclude that the syntactic derivation as such cannot both follow the guidelines sketched out by Landau and successfully predict all the cases of PC effects. Instead, they propose to deal with the phenomenon of Partial Control through the notion of the Meaning Postulate:

(26) If 'DP Vs [$_{TP}$ to VP]' then 'DP Vs [$_{TP}$ DP and some contextually specified others to VP]'

Obligatory Control is derived via movement of the controller through multiple thematic positions up to the case position in narrow syntax, (27a):

(27) a. John wants [{John} to meet at six]
b. John wants [{John and some contextually specified others} to meet at six]

Derivation-wise, there is no difference between Exhaustive Control and Partial Control, the contrast is due to the application of the postsyntactic Meaning Postulate, sensitive to the lexical semantics of particular embedded verbs, such as *meet*, which require plural subjects. Thus (27a) is the input to the Semantic Postulate that returns (27b). The postulate must apply here, as otherwise narrow syntax on its own could not produce a semantic representation that is compatible with the selection requirements of the embedded verb.

The Postulate is thus a sort of semantic repair mechanism, crafted specifically to cover PC facts within MTC. It can correctly predict empirical results obtained by Landau's theory, for instance the fact that PC can show only in selected complements, but never in adjuncts, see (23b-c) above.[26]

The meaning Postulate also seems ideally suited to cover cases, where the controller is a collective noun itself, while Landau's PC mechanism fails to differentiate between the EC and PC reading of collective nouns:

(28) a. The family$_1$ hopes [PRO$_1$ to gather at three].[27]
b. The family$_1$ hopes [PRO$_{1+}$ to gather at three].

(28a) demonstrates the EC reading of the collective predicate, whereas (28b) the PC reading. Let us scan the operations responsible for the derivation of each sentence, (29a) providing the EC interpretation and (29b) the PC interpretation:

(29) a. [$_{CP}$ F$_{[+SP]}$ … DP$_{[+SP]}$ … [$_{CP}$ T-Agr$_{[+SP]}$+C [$_{TP}$ PRO$_{[+SP]}$ [$_{T}$ t$_{T\text{-}Agr}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_{PRO}$ …]]]]]
b. [$_{CP}$ F$_{[+SP]}$ … DP$_{[+SP]}$ … [$_{CP}$ T-Agr$_{[+SP]}$+C [$_{TP}$ PRO$_{[+SP]}$ [$_{T}$ t$_{T\text{-}Agr}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_{PRO}$ …]]]]]

As observed in (29), the technical execution behind both interpretations is identical. PRO enters the derivation with [+SP]. Agree$_1$ holds between PRO and the embedded T-Agr which is initially [ØSP]. Then PRO moves to [Spec,TP] to check T's EPP feature. Agree$_2$ is established between F (initially being [ØSP]) and DP specified for [+SP]. As a result, F inherits DP's [+SP]. Agree$_3$ holds between F and T-Agr which has just adjoined to C to check C's uninterpretable T-feature. Consequently, T-Agr has to acquire [+SP] as [ØSP] and [+SP] are distinct.

3.2 *Movement and Chain splitting*

The last proposal within the Movement Theory camp comes from Barrie and Pittman (2004) who presume that PC falls within Non-Obligatory Control (and that only verbs that license

PC are true control verbs), while purported OC (i.e., EC) configurations are in fact either ECM or restructuring predicates.[28] In accordance with Hornstein (2000), PRO in PC structures is an NP-trace of the controller but, contra Hornstein, Barrie and Pittman maintain the θ-criterion. Hence in LF they posit a mechanism of chain-splitting which decomposes the chain into two. Only then is the lower chain added [+SP] from pragmatics.

Let us attend to some of the problems this analysis must contend with. First and foremost, the proposal does not seem empirically tenable crosslinguistically. Following Wurmbrand (2003), Barrie and Pittman analyze EC verbs as restructuring predicates taking a bare VP-complement, as exemplified in (30):

(30) Susan [$_{VP}$ managed [$_{VP}$ to ask him out]].

The availability of only a single subject position in the matrix for the two verbs forces a strict identity between the two subjects.[29] The problem with this approach is that restructuring effects need not entail monoclausal structures cross-linguistically, Polish exemplifying such a case. As argued in Bondaruk (2004), the only stricture imposed on the application of restructuring in Polish is a lexically filled C or [Spec, CP]. Consequently, implicative, desiderative, factive, aspectual and modal predicates trigger clause union.[30] However, what is worth pointing out is that the complements to these verbs represent units bigger than a mere VP. That this is true indeed can be confirmed by the following example (after Bondaruk 2004: 133):

(31) Marek woli nie kupować samochodu.
Mark prefers not to-buy car
'Mark prefers not to buy a car.'

Witkoś (1998) deems such infinitival complements TPs given the presence of negation.[31] Consequently, he examines a sentence like (32a)[32] in the way indicated in (32b) (borrowed from Witkoś 1998: 306):

(32) a. Zosia nie chce sprzątać kuchni.
Sophie not wants to-clean kitchen
'Sophie does not want to clean the kitchen'

b. [$_{IP}$ Zosia$_i$ [AgrS^0 +T^0] [$_{AspP}$ nie chce [$_{AuxVP}$ [$_{InfP}$ PRO$_i$ [$_{AspP}$ sprzątać [$_{AgroP}$ [$_{VP}$ kuchni]]]]]]][33,34]

Another gap in the theory relates to the treatment of the *order*-class of verbs not as control verbs but as patterning with ECM verbs. One of the ECM symptoms in this class of verbs is the availability of expletives in non-finite subject positions, which is purportedly incompatible with a control analysis (after Barrie and Pittman 2004: 81):

(33) a. Arsalan ordered there to be more chocolate available at CLA conference.

b. Manami permitted it to be busy at the airport (despite the fact that it would be a fire hazard).

However, in view of the following control examples with expletives qua subjects, Barrie and Pittman's argument loses its strength:

(34) a. Susan may count on there being a lot of guys tonight at the party.
b. John prefers there to work more women in his company.[35]

In example (34) the verb of volition, typically licensing partial control, can be followed by an expletive subject, although it should never take an ECM complement. Additionally, it should be borne in mind that central to the account addition of the feature [SEM PLURAL] in the course of the derivation runs afoul of the fundamental minimalist Principle of Inclusiveness.

3.3 *The eclectic approach*

The last account to be presented within the Movement Theory of Control is postulated by Dubinsky (2007) who makes an endeavor to coalesce both syntactic and semantic mechanisms when deriving PC/EC effects. Adhering to Wurmbrand (2007), Dubinsky discards tense as crucial when distinguishing between PC and EC, the nucleus of his theory being events in place of tense. He posits event autonomy of PC complements (both the matrix clause and a complement denote two different events), whereas EC complements, in conjunction with the matrix clause, constitute a single, complex event:

(35) a. Mark managed to solve the problem. EC
b. Mark persuaded Sara to solve the problem. PC

In (35a), both acts of 'managing' and 'solving' are part of the same complex event with 'managing' immediately and naturally entailing 'solving'. Hence, there is no future aspect in the embedded clause. Regarding (35b), the acts of 'persuading' and 'solving' do not comprise one complex event since solving the problem takes place at some time after the persuasion was implemented. Crucially, the complement clause expresses (relatively) autonomous tense.

Event constituting the cornerstone of his analysis, Dubinsky proposes the following derivations:

(36) a. $[_{TP/EvP}$ John^{EN} $[_{vP}$ John tried $[_{vP}$ John $[_{VP}$ to leave]]]]
b. $[_{TP/EvP}$ John^{ENN} $[_{vP}$ John wants $[_{TP/EvP}$ PRO^{EN} $[_{vP}$ PRO $[_{VP}$ to leave]]]]

The EC construction in (36a) employs movement of *John* from the subject position of the non-finite subject to the matrix thematic subject position. Then the DP moves to [Spec, TP/EvP] to check the event-feature EN in the matrix. The resultant A-chain bears two thematic roles. Importantly, the complement clause does not project TP/EvP since there is no independent event to support. As a result, *John* may move out of the embedded subject, being not assigned an event index which would otherwise block the displacement. As far as PC in (36b) is concerned, an event-denoting phrase precludes the complement subject from moving to the matrix since the latter is assigned an event index in [Spec, EvP]. In this case, the control of PRO is determined by the semantics of the matrix predicate.[36]

The event-based analysis prides itself on a proper delineation of the PC/EC distinction without facing the problems Landau's tense-based calculus must battle against.[37] However,

this proposal masks rather than solves the problem the reason being that every independent event has to be supported by tense. Dubinsky's event is actually tense in disguise.

3.4 *PC effects and tenseless infinitives*

A new problem for an account of PC effects based on T-to-C movement in certain infinitives comes in Wurmbrand (2007), which contends that infinitives are tenseless.[38] Wurmbrand decomposes finite future into two elements: a true tense part, namely present tense (PRES) and the abstract modal *woll* partaking of a quasi-future aspect. The important point is that finite future and infinitival future are different in that the latter lacks a crucial part of the future interpretation, namely the tense part. This difference in temporal composition is spotted in the examples below (Wurmbrand 2007: 3):

(37) a. finite future: [PRES], [*woll*]
Leo decided a week ago that he will go to the party (*yesterday).
b. non-finite future: [ØPRES], [*woll*]
Leo decided a week ago to go to the party yesterday.

Since English PRES is absolute/indexical in nature it follows that finite future must also be absolute (i.e., the embedded time is after the speech time and matrix time), whereas infinitival future, crucially lacking PRES, must be relative (i.e., the embedded event must follow the matrix event but precede the speech time). And these are precisely the interpretations we obtain in (37). Another argument in favor of the presented view comes from *sequence of tense* (SOT) effects. SOT refers to contexts in which a morphologically conspicuous tense is semantically inert. Such a case arises if a tense deletes at LF being in the scope of another tense with the same value. Let us consider more carefully the SOT mechanism and its link with the two types of future:

(38) a. John promised me yesterday that he will tell his mother tomorrow
that they were having their last meal together (when…).
[PAST *promise* [PRES *woll tell* [PAST *meal*

b. John promised me yesterday to tell his mother tomorrow that they were having their last meal together.
[PAST *promise* [$_{\text{Infinitive}}$ Ø *woll tell* [~~PAST~~ *meal*

SOT cannot act in (38a) since temporal minimality must be respected, i.e., the embedded PAST cannot delete being in the scope of a closer tense (PRES) with a different value. Thus, a non-past reading of the most deeply embedded clause is inaccessible. As regards (38b), with infinitive containing no PRES, the embedded PAST may freely delete being in the scope of the matrix equivalent. This results in a non-past reading being available, i.e. the time of the meal is a 'now' relative to John's telling.

But what do the PC and EC structures look like under Wurmbrand's approach? The examples below illustrate this:

(39) a. $[_{vP}$ John$_j$ $[_{VP}$ $[_V$ decided $[_{\textit{woll}P}$ *woll* $[_{vP}$ PRO$_{j+}$ $[_{v'}$ to leave]]]]]] PC
b. $[_{vP}$ John$_j$ $[_{VP}$ $[_V$ tried $[_{vP}$ PRO$_j$ $[_{v'}$ to leave]]]]] EC

Both (39a) and (39b), containing infinitives, lack [PRES], but the tense in the case of desideratives (e.g., *decide*) is irrealis, hence the presence of [*woll*] in (39a). This feature is absent from (39b), for no future aspect is involved.

All in all, Landau's EC/PC distinction, crucially pivoting on tense, is put into doubt considering lack of the projection of TP in infinitives that allow for a non-anaphoric (semi-independent) future. Consequently, once Tense is removed from infinitives, Wurmbrand's analysis appears to place the difference between PC and EC on the projection of *woll*.

This claim, however, is also not without problems. First, the PC class comprises not only irrealis desideratives and interrogatives, but also factives and propositionals whose complements carry realis tense. Granting that the PC/EC distinction is encoded in [+/-*woll*], a uniform characterization of PC is impossible since desideratives and interrogatives will evidently involve [*woll*], whereas factives and propositionals will lack it. What is more, the structure of the latter will have to include some sort of past equivalent of [*woll*] responsible for a quasi-past orientation of an infinitival clause, as the following examples make clear:

(40) a. Today John claims to have kissed Susan last week. Propositional
b. Today John regrets having kissed Susan last week. Factive

Probing even deeper, how to distinguish between the PC verbs above and, for instance, an EC verb *manage* (implicative) which is also realis?

(41) John managed to solve the problem. Implicative

It seems that the internal structure of the complements to these verbs will be identical: no [*woll*], no [PRES], some indicator of past. But then the distinction between PC and EC is lost.[39]

One of the virtues of this analysis is the fact that it is able, unlike Landau's account, to handle control in gerunds. Whereas acc-*ing* gerunds (42a) and poss-*ing* gerunds (42b) are able to license posterior event orientation, gerunds following *try* do not show this ability (42c):

(42) a. Yesterday, Mary preferred writing this paper tomorrow.
b. Yesterday, John worried about Susan's/her leaving for Paris tomorrow.
c. *Yesterday, Mary tried writing this paper tomorrow.

Accordingly, only (42a) and (42b), involving [*woll*], allow PC, while this type of control is banned in (42c), witness (43):

(43) a. Mary preferred meeting at six.
b. John worried about Susan's meeting at six.
c. *Mary tried to meet/meeting at six.

Another advantage concerns control in nominals. Landau, making tense the cornerstone of his analysis, is fairly unsuccessful in handling PC/EC dichotomy in nominals, where no T/v

Probe can access T-in-C in the infinitive. By jettisoning tense, Wurmbrand can less controversially relate the PC nominal to the presence of [*woll*] and the EC nominal to the lack thereof.[40]

3.5 *The Move and Strand Approach*

A technical implementation of Hornstein's (2003) and Boeckx and Hornstein's (2004) concept of the Meaning Postulate in (26) above is proposed in Rodrigues (2007). Her proposal is also derived from a criticism of the PC account given by Landau but related to the proposals in Wurmbrand (2007). She raises two problems for the Agree Theory of Control in the context of Partial Control: the role of semantic features in the agreement between PRO and predicative adjectives and the core division of control verbs into EC and PC types.

Rodrigues considers constructions with a mismatch between the syntactic and semantic gender features of PRO by looking at constructions with epicene nouns in Romance languages. For example the Italian noun *vittima/victim*, is morphologically feminine, though it can be used with reference to a masculine subject. When used in the context of raising and both EC and PC, the semantic feature of masculine gender does not make any morphological difference on the adjectival predicate; it must be feminine, singular or plural, even when the victim is meant to be masculine. In contrast, in an NOC setting the semantic gender feature of PRO shows up and forces masculine agreement:

(44) a. La vittima ha cercato di essere transferita/??tranferido
the victim-FEM had-3sg. tried of be-INF transferred-FEM/MASC
alla stazione di polizia de College Park (It.)
to the station of police of College Park

b. La vittima sembra essere ferita/*ferito (It.)
the victim-FEM seems be-INF injured-FEM/*MASC

c. La vittima quer se encontrar bebada/*bebadas (Brazilian Portuguese)[41]
the victim-FEM wants-3sg SE meet-INF drunk-FEM,sg/FEM/pl
*bebado/*bebados
drunk/MASC,sg./MASC, pl.

d. As vitimas querem (se) encontrar *bebada/bebadas (Brazilian Portuguese)
the victims-FEM wants-3pl. SE meet-INF drunk-FEM,sg/FEM/pl
*bebado/*bebados
drunk/MASC,sg./MASC, pl.

e. La vittima ha detto che essere *portata/portato (It.)
the victim-FEM has-3sg said that be-Inf brought-FEM/MASC
alla stazione di polizia non era una bona idea
to the station of police not was-3sg. a good idea

This set of examples must be considered with a view to Landau's claim that PC PRO carries a semantic feature [+plural]. It appears that in Romance another semantic feature (gender) shows up through morphological agreement only in the NOC context, (44e). The question is why it does not manifest itself in the case of Obligatory Control and raising contexts, (44a-d). In these cases the features of PRO and the NP-trace appear to be identical with respect to gender and number to the features of the controller and the antecedent. That is semantic gender features on PC PRO and its controller appear to be identical, contrary to Landau's

proposal. Additionally, semantic number features of the controller/antecedent seem to be entirely invisible in the derivation.

It must be added that a corresponding effect shows up in Polish, where the system of subject/verb agreement is very rich and prominent. The noun *ofiara/victim*, is morphologically feminine but can be also used for semantically masculine referents; in the context of subject raising and two relevant control types the syntactic/morphological features of the antecedent/controller determine agreement with the predicative adjective:

(45) a. Ofiara zdaje się teraz być przenoszona/*przeniesiony do
victim-FEM seems REFL now to-be transferred-FEM/*MASC to
szpitala miejskiego.
hospital municipal
'The victim now seems to be transferred to the municipal hospital.'

b. Ofiara próbuje zostać przeniesiona/*przeniesiony do szpitala
victim-FEM tries to-become transferred-FEM/*MASC to hospital
miejskiego.
municipal
'The victim tries to be transferred to the municipal hospital.'

c. Ofiary próbują zostać przeniesione/*przeniesieni do szpitala
Victims-nVIR try to-become tranferred-nVIR/*VIR to hospital
miejskiego.[42]
municipal
'The victims try to be transferred to the municipal hospital.'

d. Ofiara chce być przeniesiona/*przeniesiony do szpitala miejskiego.
victim-FEM wants to-be transferred-FEM/*MASC to hospital municipal
'The victim wants to be transferred to the municipal hospital.'

e. Ofiary chcą być przeniesione/*przeniesieni do szpitala miejskiego.
victims-nVIR want to-be transferred-nVIR/*VIR to hospital municipal
'The victims want to be transferred to the municipal hospital.'

f. Ofiara stwierdziła, że bycie *?przeniesioną/przeniesionym do
victim-FEM stated that being transferred-*?FEM/MASC to
szpitala miejskiego to wyrok śmierci.
hospital municipal is death sentence
'The victim stated that being transferred to the municipal hospital is a death sentence.'

Rodrigues also shows that semantic features of pronouns, and for Landau OC PRO is a pronoun, can be manifested in agreement with predicative adjectives, as is the case with the impersonal pronoun *si*:

(46) Se si e belli/belle
if Si is-3sg. beautiful-MASC,pl./beautiful-FEM, pl.
Anche ricchi/ricche
Also rich-MASC,pl./FEM,pl.
'If one is beautiful, one is usually also rich.'

Italian *si* is syntactically singular but semantically plural and this split number property shows on the copular verb and on the predicative adjective in (46). In Polish the impersonal pronoun *się* is syntactically singular, neuter but the semantic gender of its referent shows on the predicative adjective:

(47) Jeśli by się było piękną/pięknym
if would REFL was-NEUT,sg beautiful-FEM,sg./MASC,sg
byłoby się również bogatą/bogatym.
was-NEUT,sg.-would REFL also rich;FEM,sg./MASC,sg
'If one were beautiful one would also be rich.'

Thus semantic gender features of pronouns (both lexical and NOC PRO) can show in agreement with predicative adjectives in Romance languages and in Polish but OC PRO, both of the EC and PC variety, consistently shows the same morphological/syntactic features as its antecedent/controller. Crucially, EC PRO and PC PRO always pattern together. Landau's theory of PC makes no provision for this state of affairs.

Rodrigues also challenges the division of control verbs into two well-defined classes of Exhaustive Control and Partial Control, following in the path of Hornstein (2003), Boeckx and Hornstein (2004) and Bowers (2005). For instance, according to Landau *want* and *desire* select for tensed infinitive complements, while *try* does not. Thus a typical contrast can be expressed by the following pair of examples:

(48) a. * Last week John tried to leave yesterday/tomorrow.
b. Last week John wanted to meet yesterday/tomorrow.

Yet, when *try* is introduced by a modal verb, it can also support a partial control reading, (50b). The modal verb, also listed by Landau as an EC verb can support a PC reading with a plural verb, (49a), though this PC reading is not confirmed by independent tense setting; the tense of the infinitive including *meet* must coincide with the tense of the main clause headed by the modal, (49b).

(49) a. I can't meet tomorrow. My daughter is getting married.
b. *Yesterday I couldn't meet tomorrow. My daughter will be getting married.

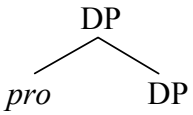
(50) a. *I try to meet tomorrow, but I can't guarantee that I'll be there.
b. I can try to meet tomorrow, but I can't guarantee that I'll be there.

Thus it seems that it is not the type of matrix control verb (EC vs. PC) that determines the possibility of independent tense and PC readings of the infinitive, nor an independent tense setting but rather the modality, (49a).

Here, Rodrigues follows Wurmbrand (2007) and the idea that rather than independent Tense, an infinitive including an eventive predicate has its posterior orientation licensed by a projection of a future oriented modal verb (*woll/will*).

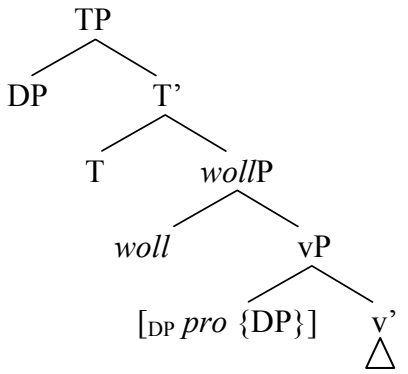
Consequently, according to Rodrigues, Partial Control readings emerge when the controller of PRO has the following underlying structure:

(51)



In the course of the derivation of a control structure, *pro* is left behind by the controller DP moving out of this base adjoined structure into [spec,T] of its own clause and further into a new thematic position in the matrix clause. The function of *pro*, the null associative pronoun is similar to the associative morphemes *-tati* in Japanese and *-men* in Mandarine Chinese.[43] Crucially, Rodrigues proposes that the null associative plural pronoun *pro* can only be licensed in the scope of this modal placed within the infinitive, as witnessed in (52). In the derivation of an example like (53b), the controller is moved out of the embedded VP stranding the associative *pro* in the [spec,v] position. It further moves up to the position of embedded T and its new thematic position and ultimately to the case position in matrix [spec,T].[44]

(52)



(53) a. La vittima quer se encontrar bebada (Brazilian Portuguese)
the victim-FEM wants-3sg SE meet-INF drunk-FEM
'The victim wants to meet drunk.'

b. [$_{TP}$ la vittima T [$_{VP}$ {$_{DP}$ la vittima} quer [$_{TP}$ {$_{DP}$ la vittima} T [$_{wollP}$ *woll* [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{DP}$ *pro* {$_{DP}$ la vittima}] se encontrar] bebada]

The facts pertaining to the agreement between the controller and the secondary adjectival predicate in examples (44) above are dealt with on the basis of the assumption that secondary predicates are predicated of the constituent in [spec,T] and agree with it. This effectively means that the shape of the complex DP in the thematic subject position has no impact on agreement. The Polish examples in (45) show that agreement between the controller and the predicative adjective is also mediated through matrix T; it agrees with the DP-controller that is attracted to it, rather than the entire [$_{DP}$ *pro* [DP]] complex.[45]

This view of Partial Control effects is independent of the control verb type, the tense of the infinitive, and the semantic feature composition of PRO but it is sensitive to the presence of the implicit modal projection within the infinitive clause. It is also compatible with the view of obligatory control based on movement, which turns out to be an asset when dealing with parasitic PC effects, introduced in the following section. There, we will see that the common thread to Landau's theory of PC, the meaning Postulate in (26) and Rodrigues's proposal, namely that Partial Control can only appear in selected infinitives, must be

loosened. And only the latter proposal can be easily extended to Adjunct Control environments.

Additionally, the technical implementation of PC effects within MTC proposed by Rodrigues faces no particular complications explaining the collective plural PC and agreement properties of PRO. The associative *pro* does not limit its reading to 'syntactically singular but semantically plural', as Landau's PC feature calculus does. It only means: 'the controller plus others' and the number of the controller is not constrained in any way. Because Rodrigues's proposal does not entail any particular type of semantic features on PC PRO distinct from EC PRO, no difference in agreement pattern with predicative adjectives is expected, assuming that secondary predicates are predicated of the subject in the [spec, T] position.

4. Parasitic PC effect and theories of Partial Control

It is time to return to the issue of Partial Control in Adjunct Clauses, or rather its specific subspecies that we call Parasitic PC effects. We believe that this is our modest creative contribution to the current discussion of control phenomena.

4.1 *Parasitic PC effects*

As we saw earlier in (23) above, plain Partial Control into adjunct clauses is deemed to be impossible:

(54) a. *John$_1$ saw Mary after/without [PRO$_{1+}$ meeting/gathering at six]
b. *John$_1$ saw Mary early (in order) [PRO$_{1+}$ to meet/gather at Max's at six]

As expected, plain PC in Adjunct Control is impossible in Polish as well:

(55) a. *Piotr$_1$ wyszedł szybko z domu [żeby PRO$_{1+}$ się spotkać w barze]
Piotr left quickly from house so-that REFL meet in bar
b. *Piotr$_1$ zostawił Marię w domu [żeby PRO$_{1+}$ się spotkać w barze]
Piotr left Maria at home so-that REFL meet in bar

This picture seems to change, once AC is coupled with PC in a complement clause. In such cases a parasitic PC reading seems to be available within the adjunct clause:[46]

(56) a. As a leader of an illegal organization Peter wants to meet somewhere...
Yes, Peter wants to meet in the old barn so as not to gather in a public place.
b. Jako nowy przywódca gangu wołomińskiego Piotr zwołał zebranie w jakimś dziwnym miejscu...
Tak, Piotr chce się spotkać w stodole, (po to) żeby nie zbierać się w miejscu publicznym.

(57) a. Susan wants to meet in the pub so as not to meet in the rain.
b. Maria chce się spotkać w barze (po to) żeby nie spotykać się na deszczu.

(58) a. Susan wants to meet today so as not to meet tomorrow.
b. Maria chce się spotkać dziś, (po to) żeby nie spotykać się jutro.

Quite clearly, in (56) *Piotr/Peter* is one of the people who are about to meet in the barn, rather than meeting in a public place. Thus PRO in both the complement clause and the adjunct clause carries the property [+Mer] or '1+' in Landau's terms. Let us call this effect a Parasitic PC Effect (PPCE).

This effect, if real, can have far-reaching consequences for the selection of the appropriate theory of Partial Control; a successful theory should be able to provide for this PC reading.

4.2 *Parasitic PC effects and ATC*

It is rather obvious that Landau's theory of PC effects should feel less comfortable predicting that such a parasitic version of this effect should hold. The adjunct clause in (54a-b), as an island, cannot be accessed by the matrix T Probe. Moreover, Landau (2000, 2003) clearly treats Adjunct Control as a subspecies of Non Obligatory Control, NOC. Many NOC contexts show effects of a mismatch in number between the Long Distance or arbitrary controller and PRO, as evident from the following examples:[47]

(59) a. Mary thought that John said that [PRO helping each other] is crucial.
b. Mary realized that John too considered the possibility of [PRO applying both to the same job].
c. Mary made it clear to John that [PRO to become members of the new club] is no simple matter.

These examples show an effect which is more radical that PC, namely PRO can be both syntactically and semantically plural (cf. 59a). If NOC PRO can have plural syntactic features, genuine PC effects with NOC are hard to detect.

Another typical NOC context, nominal clauses, also exemplifies the PC effect. Nominalizations of EC and PC verbs have the same behavior as their verbal counterparts, examples being presented below after Dubinsky (2007: 5):

(60) a. * John's attempt to meet at noon
b. * John's coercion of Arthur to meet at noon

(61) a. John's desire to meet at noon
b. John's persuasion of Arthur to meet at noon

(62) a. On_1 ciągle chce się [PRO_{1+2} spotykać w pubie]
he constantly wants REFL to-meet in pub
'He constantly wants to meet in the pub.'
b. Ta $jego_1$ ciągła chęć [PRO_{1+2} spotykania się w pubie].
this his constant willingness to-meet REFL in pub
'This constant desire of his to meet in the pub.'

Nominal phrases in (61) host the PC nouns, whereas in (60) the EC nouns do not permit partial control. Since the EC/PC distinction holds for nouns as well as verbs, both grammatical classes require the same analysis. However, Landau would have to assume the identity of the complement structure of nouns with its verbal counterpart and the same PC mechanism for both clauses and nouns, which seems to be fraught with problems for reasons that concern the structure of nominals, which include neither T nor v Probes.[48] If, however, PC readings appear as a result of a semantic process, such as Hornstein's postulate in (26), they can be transferred to deverbal nouns and show in infinitives within nominals, which are treated as NOC cases. [49]

Still though, adjunct clauses are not prone to supporting control with a plural PRO, as evident from (23b) above, repeated below for convenience:

(63) *John$_1$ saw Mary after/without [PRO$_{1+}$ meeting/gathering at six]

The fact that PC does not show in AC is obvious on Landau's account of PC: the PC effect is based on selection and Agree into the complement domain of the relevant probe. Thus PC complements must be selected, and adjuncts are not, and PC readings are unexpected in this context. It is then surprising that Parasitic PC effects should exist.[50]

4.3 *Parasitic PC effects and MTC*

Once the perspective of Movement Theory of Control is adopted, the parasitic PC effect can be better accounted for. Intuitively, the Meaning Postulate in (26) and the concept of sideward movement capture the regularity of parasitic PC effects: if the controller sideward-moves and leaves copies/traces both in the complement and the adjunct, they could show the same interpretive properties.

The more formal technical implementation of the Meaning Postulate devised by Rodrigues, can also incorporate the idea that PC complements must be selected by matrix verbs.

Although Rodrigues (2007) remains silent on the details of the licensing of associative *pro*, apart from proposing that it must remain in the scope of *woll,* we submit that the licensing condition on this type of *pro* is more complex. Namely, that it can only be licensed by a *woll*P selected by the matrix verb,[51] otherwise associative *pro* and PC effects should appear in plain Adjunct Control, where *woll*P can appear and license an event predicate, (64a-b). Despite the presence of *woll*P and an event predicate, Adjunct Control cannot independently support a PC reading (64c-d):[52]

(64) a. John left the room to finish his dinner right now.
b. Piotr wyszedł z pokoju żeby skończyć obiad w tej chwili.
Piotr left from room so-that finish dinner in this moment
'Piotr left the room to finish his dinner right now.'
c. *John left the room to meet in the pub.
d. *Piotr wyszedł, żeby się spotkać w barze.
Piotr left so-that REFL meet in bar

Thus the associative *pro* not only needs to find itself in the scope of *woll*, but the *woll*P must be selected. For instance, in (65) the infinitive licensing the projection of *woll*P is selected by the matrix verb *desire*:

(65) [$_{TP}$ Mary [$_{VP}$ desires [$_{TP}$ {Mary} T-to [$_{woll P}$ *woll* [$_{vP}$ [$_{DP}$ *pro* {Mary}] meet in the lounge]]]]]]

In regular cases this is sufficient, but in the case of parasitic PC much more is required: a sideward movement of the controller from within the adjunct to the complement clause and then up to the matrix clause.[53] Additionally, the parasitic PC mimics the behaviour of the complement in (45) and requires that the controller in the [spec,T] position be interpreted as both syntactically and semantically singular:[54]

(66) a. *? Peter wants to meet in a dark room in order to kiss each other.
b. *? Piotr chce się spotkać w hollu (po to) żeby sobie nawzajem podawać
Piotr wants REFL to-meet in hall (for this) so-that SELF RECIPR to-shake
ręce.
hands
c. Piotr chce się spotkać najpierw w barze żeby później nie być głodnym/
Piotr wants REFL to-meet first in bar so-that later not to-be hungry-INST, SG./
*?głodnymi w dyskotece.
*?PL in disco
'Piotr wants to meet in the bar first so as not to be hungry in the disco later'.

Specifically, example (66c) shows that there must be separate *woll*P in the adjunct clause and a movement of the controller to the embedded [spec,T], stranding the collective *pro* in the scope of *woll*. After all, the predicative adjective agrees with a singular masculine controller.

Consider the derivational details of (67). First, the adjunct clause is formed, with a non-selected *woll*P. Within the adjunct the controller moves up to [spec,T] to satisfy the EPP feature:

(67) [$_{CP}$ $_{C}$ so as [$_{TP}$ [$_{DP}$ Peter]] $_{T}$ not to [$_{woll P}$ *woll* [$_{vP}$ [$_{DP}$ *pro* {Peter}] [$_{VP}$ gather in a public place]]]]

Next, the controller is moved sideward to another object under construction on the derivational workbench and forms another complex DP, (68a). Further, this complex DP is placed in the thematic subject position of the complement infinitive, (68b). From this position it moves to [spec,T] within its own clause and then further to the matrix [spec,v] and finally its surface position, producing the complex representation in (68c):[55]

(68) a. [$_{DP}$ *pro* [$_{DP}$ Peter]]
b. [$_{TP}$ [$_{DP}$ Peter] $_{T}$ to [$_{woll P}$ *woll* [$_{vP}$ [$_{DP}$ *pro* {$_{DP}$ Peter}] v [$_{VP}$[$_{VP}$ meet] [$_{PP}$ in the old barn]]]]]

c. [$_{TP}$[$_{TP}$ [$_{DP}$ Peter] T [$_{vP}$ {$_{DP}$ Peter} v [$_{VP}$ wants [$_{TP}$ {$_{DP}$ Peter} $_{T}$ to [$_{woll P}$ *woll* [$_{vP}$ [$_{DP}$ *pro* {$_{DP}$ Peter}] v [$_{VP}$[$_{VP}$ meet] [$_{PP}$ in the old barn]]]]]]] [$_{CP}$ $_{C}$ so as [$_{TP}$ {$_{DP}$

Peter} $_{T}$ not to [$_{woll\text{P}}$ *woll* [$_{vP}$ [$_{DP}$ *pro* {Peter}] [$_{VP}$ gather in a public place]]]]]]]

It will be noticed that we postulate that the movement of the controller within the adjunct also strands the collective *pro*. This may be the property of an unselected *woll*P that it licenses the interpretation of the associative *pro* only provisionally, on condition that this licensing is confirmed in the selected clause:

(69) The Parasitic PC Postulate:
Unselected *woll*P licenses the associative *pro* on DP only when this licensing is subject to confirmation on the same DP by a selected *woll*P.

Certainly, our postulate in (69) is not a principle of the derivation running in narrow syntax; it smacks of look-ahead and derivational globalizm. Yet, a principle of this type can apply to the complete representation of example (56a) on the LF side of grammar, within the semantic component.

The Postulate in (69) exemplifies a situation well known from the study of syntax, for instance *wh*-movement, (e.g. Kayne 1984, Chomsky 1986, Nunes 1995, 2001). This dependency can best hold over long distance if the foot of the *wh*-chain is placed within a complement domain and it cannot hold if the foot of the chain is placed within an adjunct or subject:

(70) a. Which book did Susan want [$_{complement}$ to file t_{wh}]
b. *Which book did John leave London [$_{adjunct}$ without reading t_{wh}]
c. *Which man does [$_{subject}$ everyone who meets t_{wh}] inspire you

(71) a. Which book did Susan want [to file t_{wh}][without reading t_{wh}]
b. Which man does [everyone who meets t_{wh}] gets to like t_{wh} at once

As the examples in (71) show, a combination of an extraction of one and the same element from within the complement domain and the island gives acceptable results, somehow the illicit movement is 'repaired'. Analogously, an illicit case of stranding of the associative *pro* under an unselected *woll*P is repaired by its further legitimate stranding by the same controller.[56]

From a representational point of view, our proposal can also be taken as an instantiation of Richards' (1999) Principle of Minimal Compliance (PMC). Namely, one licit case of the licensing of the collective *pro* in the scope of a selected *woll*P paves the way for an otherwise illicit licensing of the associative *pro* in the scope of an unselected *woll*P, provided the controller, with which *pro* is pair-merged is identical in both relations.

In the way of conclusion to this section, we believe to have shown two interesting properties of Partial Control. First, the coupling of PC readings in adjunct clauses with PC effects in the complement clause points to the obligatory control (OC) status of Adjunct Control. Second, parasitic PC effects seem to require an analysis in the form of sideward movement of the controller. The Agree Theory of Control finds itself at a disadvantage in this case, as the matrix T or v Probes cannot access PRO within the adjunct.

5. Concluding remarks

Throughout this paper we have highlighted a number of empirical and theoretical problems faced by current accounts of the phenomenon of Partial Control.

In the final part of the paper we made an empirical claim concerning cases of Parasitic Partial Control Effects. It appears that these facts are fairly challenging to the theory of Control based on Agree, which cannot hold of a Goal embedded within an adjunct island, and lend further support to the theory of Control based on movement. These cases also imply that Adjunct Control requires treatment identical to control into complement infinitives, as both can display syntactically singular but semantically plural PRO. Thus movement, especially its sideward variety, needs to be harnessed into the service of control.

If, as claimed in Rodrigues (2007), the licensing of the PC effect is based on the presence of the projection of *woll*P dominated by TP in the structure of the infinitive, the role of C and its feature composition, or T to C movement, is negligible in these cases. This is good news, particularly in view of the fact that the PC effect shows in gerunds, in which otherwise there is no evidence for the CP projection (cf. ex. 22).

On a similar note, Rodrigues shows that Landau's original division of control verbs into two classes, selecting either for tensed or untensed C, is not justified, as either can license a PC PRO with a collective predicate, (48-49).

Likewise, there is no evidence for the fact that PC PRO should have a set of semantic features distinct from those of its controller, as evident in the evidence reviewed by Rodrigues for Romance (cf. ex. 44) and analogous Polish examples, (45). On the opposite, it seems that the set of semantic features of EC PRO and PC PRO is always strictly determined by the controller. NOC PRO, on the contrary, shows semantic features independent from its antecedent, (46).

We have repeatedly stressed the fact that the account of control based on Agree seems to be unable to derive the PC reading of a control construction, where the controller itself is a collective predicate:

(72) The family$_{[+Mer]}$ want [PRO$_{[+Mer(+1)]}$ to meet in the dining room]

The problem is that in Landau's (2004, 2007) theory feature [+Mer] does not distinguish between collective subjects and 'collective subjects plus others'. Such two readings are available for (72); either only the family members meet or family members plus others meet. This second reading is indicated with [+Mer(+1)]. The account proposed here is free from this problem, as the complex DP in (52-53) implies the reading of 'the controller plus others' irrespective of the internal semantics (or [Mer] value) of the controller.

Finally, the account of Obligatory Control proposed here is consistently based on multiple movement into thematic positions and does not suffer from excess ecclecticism, as approaches recognising both movement and Agree as vehicles of control (Barrie and Pittman 2004, Dubinsky 2007)

We must, however, acknowledge the fact that there are still problems which the account of control proposed above cannot fully deal with. We can name at least two. One concerns the availability of PC PRO embedded under factive and interrogative verbs of control. The adoption of the projection of *woll*P, which is linked to irrealis semi-future semantics, imposes a natural limitation on the scope the analysis proposed in Rodrigues (2007). As complements to factive and interrogative verbs of control are not irrealis in nature,

the occurrence of *woll*P and the licensing of the (somewhat forced) PC reading in these contexts is unexpected.

The second remaining problem concerns the EC reading of PRO embedded in potential PC contexts (cf. notes 4, 9 and 14). In fact, the optionality of EC/PC readings of PRO embedded under PC verbs is a considerable problem for any syntactocentric theory of control. The account we opt for provides for the construction of the complex [$_{DP}$ DP [$_{D'}$ controller]] as the external argument of the verb only if the verb requires collective subjects. There is no look-ahead here and the relationship is local. The same locality obtains in Landau's (2000, 2004, 2007) theory, where PRO selected by such a verb must be rigged with the [+SP] or [(+)Mer] features. The so far unavoidable problem of look-ahead consists in the cooccurrence of such subjects with the projection of *woll*P higher up in the structure for us, or feature [-Agr] on C^0 for Landau.

We hope to address these problems in further research.

Notes

[1] As noted In Landau (2000: 61, fn. 25), it was Lawler (1972) who first noticed the phenomenon of partial control. However, the majority of accounts credit Williams (1980) with this discovery.

[2] Wurmbrand (2003: 239) and Barrie and Pittman (2004: 77), however, treat partial control as instantiating non-obligatory control.

[3] The linguistic context in (1) provides the necessary participants of the meeting other than the matrix controller. However, one should bear in mind that when such a context is missing, pragmatics will allow us to set up another one easily.

[4] Other collective predicates include *gather, congregate*, *assemble*, the adverb *together*, etc.

[5] As Landau (2000: 46) himself concedes, PC with propositional predicates and factives is less available than it is with desideratives and interrogatives. One may speculate that tense is at play here; the time of the situation expressed by the complements of both desideratives and interrogatives is temporally subordinated to the central time of orientation in the matrix clause which binds the situation in the post-present sector, while in the case of propositional verbs and factives the controlled clause in the pre-present sector is anterior to the matrix clause (see Declerck 1995). But the question that immediately arises is in what way the realis/irrealis antithesis would affect the accessibility of PC. Obviously, prima facie, Wurmbrand's (2007) proposal seems a boon, anchoring irrealis tense to the presence of [*woll*] and realis tense to the lack thereof. On closer inspection, however, her contention proves untenable, as will be shown in the forthcoming sections. For lack of a probable explanation, we must leave the issue unresolved.

[6] That tense is crucial as regards control is an observation stemming from Stowell (1982). Stowell postulates that only control infinitivals are specified for tense, while ECM and raising infinitivals are devoid of it. This proposal was later adopted and developed in Bošković (1997) and Martin (1996, 2001), among others, but criticized in Hornstein (2003).

[7] Bondaruk (2004, 2006) proposes a variation of Landau's account of PC readings for Polish, which finds showing no independent reflex of T-to-C movement. In the place of head movement, embedded T is bound by the matrix T or v. The problem is that this binding relation is subject to Minimality Effects and is suspiciously similar to Agree.

[8] This analysis of PC leads to the following incorrect expectation: every PRO embedded under a PC verb should license both an EC and a PC reading to the same degree, assuming that both [-SP] and [+SP] on PRO are compatible with [ØSP] on T moved to C. This does not seem to be the case and the [+SP] reading is hard to obtain on (ii) below:

(i) John wants [PRO_1 to write a letter]
(ii) John wants [PRO_{1+} to write a letter]

A correct account of this fact requires a correlation between the semantics of the embedded predicate, selecting for a [+SP] subject, and T to C movement. This issue is also addressed in later versions of the ATC theory.

[9] This obviously raises problems if Chomsky's (1999) strict definition of a phase is followed. In order to address this issue Landau (2000: 69) tailor-makes a proposal that is supposed to deal with cases of Exhaustive Control across and beyond the CP phase:

Modified PIC:
In a structure [...X... [$_{YP}$ ...Z...]], where YP is the only phase boundary between X and Z, Z is accessible to X:
i. only at the head or edge of YP, if Z is uninterpretable;
ii. anywhere in the YP phase, if Z is interpretable.

[10] [+/-R] is interpretable on DPs, including PRO.

[11] Contra Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Landau assumes that PRO (at least in OC milieux) is [-R].

[12] The derivation in (13) forces *only* PC readings.

[13] The explication of this case in Landau (2004) is somewhat unclear but Landau (2007: 43) leaves no doubt that the EC reading of potential PC predicates is obtained through the same set of Agree relations as the genuine EC control: '... this derivation obtains both for obligatory EC complements, whose untensed C head is necessarily φ-less, and for tensed (potentially PC) complements whose PRO subject is nonetheless semantically singular. In the latter case, C is simply selected without a φ-set. Since PRO's feature are externally valued, a [Mer] feature on PRO cannot arise without the controller being also specified for [Mer].'

[14] Sauerland and Elbourne (2002) assert that nouns have two types of features taking as values [singular] and [plural]. One is the traditional Number feature pointing to how many things are being referred to by a nominal predicate. The other is Mereology feature underlying the semantic perception of a given entity. So, for example, *family* is [Mereology: plural] and [Number: singular].

[15] This conundrum has already appeared in Landau (2000) but, as can be seen, Landau 's (2004) alleged improvement on the earlier account does not fare better. For a full exposition of the problem see section 2.1.2.

[16] Both I^0 and C^0 carry [+T] since the embedded clause contains a tense operator as indicated by the possibility of using conflicting temporal modifiers, for example:
(i) Yesterday John preferred leaving tomorrow.

[17] As a result, the host does not block C-control. Were the C φ-identical, the host would preclude the relevant relation, acting as an A-over-A intervener between T and C, which is the case with EC. Here,

cliticized C, devoid of [Mer], is φ-identical with the host. Therefore, v blocks Agree between matrix T and C allowing only PRO-control under Landau's Featural A-over-A:

> Featural A-over-A
> Given [X .. [$_{Y}$ Y_{α} .. Z_{β}] $_{\alpha}$], where X, Y, Z are heads and α, β are feature sets: Y is an intervener for Agree (X, Z) iff β α.

This principle is justified by the behavior of plain subject control in Russian, which in EC contexts forces Nominative case transmission.

[18] Landau assumes that the infinitival CP cannot be a strong phase for a phase status entails valuation of all features. Here, the φ-set on PRO is not valued until PRO enters Agree with a matrix element. Yet, this account also faces an empirical problem in the case of exhaustive readings of PC *wh*-complements. These complements are supposed to be phases in Landau (2007), as no case transmission from matrix F is ever possible into them. But in order to produce the exhaustive reading matrix F must reach PRO for the sharing of φ–features (cf. fn. 9). This is impossible if interrogative CPs are phases.

[19] Landau modifies the tripartite distinction between [+Mer], [-Mer] and no [Mer] from Landau (2004).

[20] Boeckx and Hornstein (2004: 449) also deem partial control licit in raising constructions. This makes them conclude that partial control falls within the purview of semantics.

[21] "Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model" (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 21). However, the conventional 'X stands for Y' relation is still valid.

[22] In other (cognitive) words, how can one put precise boundaries on a cognitive, experiential domain (or idealized cognitive model, see Radden and Kövecses 1999) which lies at the heart of the theory of metonymy?

[23] Furthermore, if metonymy is "one of the most fundamental processes of meaning extension, more basic, perhaps, even than metaphor" (Taylor 1995: 124), it will be not an easy matter to characterize it since one cannot predict with complete certainty which meaning extensions will appear in a given example. We may merely seek preferred patterns of meaning extension. And this, in turn, brings us to another problem, that of "language meaning being dirty " (Pustejovsky, 2001: 51). This state of affairs results in there being no metonymy delineation yet on which cognitive linguists agree in every detail (see also Goossens 1995 for metonymic elusiveness).

[24] The majority of metonymies follow this pattern. However, there are certain exceptions (Panther and Radden 1999: 10):

> (i) My ex-husband is parked on the upper deck. He is taking a bus today. *It has a California license plate.

Here, the metonymic reference point ('my ex-husband') is foregrounded while the conceptual target ('my ex-husband's vehicle') is backgrounded. This state of affairs is the result of the fact that there seems to be a general cognitive principle always favoring the human entity over non-humans irrespective of whether it is the source or the target. In general, however, the conclusion to be drawn is that in true metonymies both reference point and target are always highlighted to different degrees. If one of the two is foregrounded, the other should be backgrounded.

[25] Nunberg (1995: 110) also provides the following example:

(i) This is parked out back.

Suppose a customer hands his key to an attendant at a parking lot and says (i). The linguistic evidence supports the analysis whereby the subject refers not to the key but to the car that the key goes with. For example, the number of the demonstrative is determined by the target, not the source. So even if the customer has a few keys that fit a single car, he/she would say 'This is parked out back', whereas if he/she is holding a single key that fits several cars, he/she would say 'These are parked out back'.

[26] Hornstein (2003) shows that an account of PC readings based on the Meaning Postulate can correctly predict that the PC effect is different from syntactic plurality. Thus the DP in (27b) is supposed to be syntactically and semantically singular, though its equivalent in the embedded infinitive is interpreted as semantically plural but syntactically still singular. If plural anaphors require syntactically plural antecedents, the PC effects is kept apart from regular plural antecedents.

[27] To be more precise, (28a) is an example of PC (*hope* is a PC verb). However, "some tokens of PC show identity between PRO and the controller, just like all tokens of EC do" (Landau 2000: 3).

[28] Barrier and Pittman use strict referential identity between the controller and PRO as the benchmark of OC. Thus they draw the division line between OC and NOC differently from Landau and Hornstein. They admit, though, that all control types can be derived through movement. Wurmbrand (2003) also subsumes PC under non-obligatory control.

[29] The OC effect arises due to an entailment relation inherent in the meaning of the matrix verb which links the infinitival subject to a uniquely pre-determined controller (see Wurmbrand 2003: 249).

[30] That factives display restructuring effects is surprising considering Wurmbrand's (2003) assertion that there are no restructuring verbs among the factive classes. What is more, both desideratives and factives license PC which is also unexpected to Wurmbrand given that restructuring (implying invariably OC) is inextricably linked to the lack of embedded tense, complementizers and a non-finite subject. Consequently, Polish desideratives and factives should trigger only EC. Polish facts are extremely inconvenient to Wurmbrand since they severely undermine her view of PC as an instance of non-obligatory control where the antecedent is determined syntactically and a non-lexical embedded subject is projected as part of the syntactic structure.

[31] To be more precise, the infinitival complement must contain more material than just a VP since, as Witkoś (1998) shows, licensing case, pronominal clitics and negation requires a more complex infinitival structure with all the relevant functional heads.

[32] Example (32a) illustrates a phenomenon of non-local Genitive of Negation, one of the typical characteristics of restructuring in Polish.

[33] Inf. is a notational variant of TP.

[34] Adhering to Bošković's (1996) Minimal Structure Principle, Witkoś asserts that only complements whose C or [Spec, CP] is lexically filled are propositional while those without this property represent TPs.

[35] That these verbs are true control verbs is further corroborated by the availability of PC readings:.

(i) $John_1$ counts [on PRO_{1+} meeting at six].

(ii) $Susan_1$ prefers [PRO_{1+}meeting at six].

Within Barrie and Pittman's framework, the two verbs should be analyzed as representing non-obligatory control.

[36] On the whole, this proposal is similar in spirit to Wurmbrand (2003) where both syntax and semantics play a role in licensing control. However, Wurmbrand holds that PC is determined syntactically while EC involves semantic intervention.

[37] These problems are addressed in the next section.

[38] But see Pesetsky and Torrego (2004) who postulate T-to-C movement in irrealis complement infinitives with PRO.

[39] There is an empirical gap shared by Landau's and Wurmbrand's analyses that has to do with control into adjuncts, which seem to behave as if they included *woll*P.

[40] The problem of control into nominals dissolves if this type of control is taken to be NOC.

[41] The data in (44c-d) and (53), as confirmed by a native speaker of Spanish, are neither from Spanish nor European Portuguese. If it were European Portuguese, then one should use *bebida* instead of *bebada*. As pointed out by our Spanish consultant, the relevant sentences seem to be a mixture of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese more akin to Brazilian Portuguese. In light of this, we change the original claim by Rodrigues whereby the sentences represent both Spanish and Portuguese (although she admits that the term Portuguese refers to European and Brazilian Portuguese).

[42] In the plural, Polish shows two genders: Virile (VIR) for masculine nouns and Non-Virile (nVIR) for feminine and neuter nouns.

[43] Xiao Qiang-men shenme shihou lai? (Chinese)
XiaoQiang-PL what time come
'When are XiaoQiang and the others coming?

[44] As Rodrigues admits, her analysis of PC is inspired by the view of control as movement and stranding proposed in Kayne (2002). He argues that PRO and its controller originate as a single constituent within the non-finite clause and then the lexical DP moves into the matrix subject position, marooning the controllee (the process is similar to clitic doubling). The proposal brings two considerable advantages. Firstly, it astutely circumvents θ-criterion violation given that the A-chain obtained carries only one thematic role. Interestingly, the first θ-role is assigned to a larger constituent comprising both the controller and PRO and only then does the former reaches the matrix where it obtains its first and only thematic role. Secondly, on Kayne's analysis the embedded predicate determines the Case on the larger set (PRO and its controller) and the controller itself acquires its Case from the matrix predicate. This sorts out the problem for such languages as Polish and Icelandic where the Case of PRO need not be identical to the one carried by the controller.

[45] See Bondaruk (2004) and Witkoś (2007a-b) for a discussion of case-agreement between the controller and the predicative adjectives in OC and NOC in Polish.

[46] Polish examples in (b) sentences are translations of the English examples in (a).

[47] These examples come from Landau (2000:49). A few pages later (p. 55) Landau openly admits that PC effects can appear in NOC contexts.

[48] There is some disagreement on the correlation of PC readings in verbal and nominal complements. Hornstein (2003) states that nominals related to EC verbs, which do not allow for PC readings, can support PC complements and provides the following contrast:

(i) *John said that the chair attempted to meet together at six.
(ii) John criticized the chair's attempt to meet together at six.

[49] Hornstein's view of control in nominals has undergone substantial modifications. In Hornstein (2000) control in nominal complements is taken to represent OC. However, Culicover and Jackendoff (2003) show many cases, where nominal control is entirely unpredictable and governed by pragmatic conditions, thus deserving the label of NOC, as in Williams (1980). Hornstein (2003, 2006), Boeckx and Hornstein (2003, 2004) classify control in nominals as NOC.

[50] A possibility open to the ATC approach, would be to treat PPC effects as a case of NOC, where the silent logophoric pronoun *pro* refers to the pragmatically salient controller of the OC PRO or the OC PRO itself and the semantic plurality is somehow licensed pragmatically.

[51] *woll*P in the infinitive can also be licensed by the appearance of a *woll*P in the main clause, as the case of *try* with modals indicates in (50b).

[52] The same point is made in Hornstein (2003) in the context of Landau's claim that tensed infinitives allow for PC. Hornstein shows that although AC infinitives can easily have an independent tense specification, this cannot be the sufficient condition for PC licensing. See examples (54) above for lack of PC in adjuncts and examples below for [+tense] infinitives:

(i) John saw Mary yesterday (in order) to leave early tomorrow.

[53] Exactly as in the analyses of sideward movement in parasitic gap constructions (Nunes 1995, 2001) and relative clauses (Kim 1998, Hornstein 2000).

[54] It must be borne in mind that the adjunct rationale clause introduced by *żeby/so that* in (66c) must not be confused with a complement infinitive introduced by *żeby/so-that* selected by *chcieć/want*. Only the former can be introduced by the PP *po to/for this*:

(i) Piotr chce wyjść z domu (po to) żeby kupić gazetę.
Piotr wants to-leave from home (for this) so-that to-buy paper
'Piotr wants to leave home (in order) to buy a paper.'
(ii) Piotr chce *(po to) żeby kupić gazetę.
'Piotr wants *(for this) so-that to-buy paper

The verb *chcieć/want* in Polish select for bare and CP infinitives; in the former case PRO must be subject controlled, while in the latter PRO must be obviative with respect to the matrix subject. As observed in Bondaruk (2004: 251) the complement introduced by the Complementiser can show a sort of apparent PC effect, that is PRO is weakly obviative and it can denote a group of people of whom the referent of the matrix subject is one:

(iii) Maria$_1$ chciała [żeby PRO$_{2+1}$ się spotkać u niej$_1$ w kuchni]
Maria wanted so-that REFL to-meet at her in kitchen
'Maria wished for a meeting in her kitchen.'

[55] We assume that the purpose clause is adjoined to matrix TP and omit the projection of NegP for convenience.

[56] The PPC effect is not obligatory with PC verbs but only optional:

(i) John wants {John+1}to meet in the pub {John} to watch the match.

John alone may be watching the match during the meeting with his friends in the pub. For this derivation we propose that no complex DP is formed in the adjunct clause but it is created later, after the sideward movement of *John* from the adjunct clause.

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