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## On Certain Troublemakers to Partial Control as Agree

### Abstract

In this short paper, I present some arguments against the view of Partial Control as held within the framework of the Agree Theory of Control (Landau, 2000, 2004, 2007). It is shown that the Agree-centered scenario does not stand up under closer scrutiny. On the whole, the paper does not develop a novel theory of the relevant phenomenon. The purpose of this paper is more modest. It merely points to the existence of PC conundrums. However, by presenting these challenges, it provokes some questions concerning the overall validity of the ATC.

# On Certain Troublemakers to Partial Control as *Agree*

Anna Snarska

## 1 Introduction

To move or agree? That is the question, a question that has sparked off a heated discussion surrounding the nature of the phenomenon of (obligatory) control. Indubitably, the issue has been approached from different minimalist angles (Martin, 1996; Manzini and Roussou, 2000; Wurmbrand, 2003; Janke, 2008, among others), but it is undeniable that the most vigorous debate has raged between the Movement Theory of Control (MTC), as posited in Hornstein (1999, 2000, 2003) and Boeckx and Hornstein (2004, 2006), and the Agree Theory of Control (ATC), developed by Landau (2000, 2003, 2004, 2007). How to choose between the two? It is not an easy matter. Both offer something different. In terms of their methodological value, the MTC seems to fare better as, unlike the ATC, it utilizes solely the theory-external conceptual apparatus. As such, it constitutes an attractive and desirable alternative to Landau's carefully constructed account, which, unfortunately, brings with it a whole additional module of grammar. Considering, on the other hand, the empirical veracity of the proposals, it is my belief that both theories are comparable, each being ailed by its own problems.

This short paper brings to light some inconvenient facts to the ATC. More precisely, it focuses on the phenomenon of Partial Control (PC), which constitutes a challenge to every theory of control. Can the theoretical position taken by the ATC explain this subtype of control? It will be shown that the Agree-centered scenario does not stand up under closer scrutiny. All in all, the aim of the present paper is not to develop a novel theory of the relevant phenomenon. The purpose of this paper is more modest. It merely points to the existence of PC conundrums. However, by presenting these challenges, it provokes some questions concerning the overall validity of the ATC. After all, PC, however inconvenient it is, is a type of control and as such cannot be swept under the rug.

The paper is constructed as follows. First, I briefly lay out the underlying assumptions with regard to PC. Next, I present areas that are problematic to the ATC. Lastly, I conclude with some brief remarks.

## 2 Partial Control: Conceptual Setting

Landau (2000) introduces a dichotomous division of Obligatory Control (OC) into Partial Control (PC) and Exhaustive Control (EC). The EC verbs comprise implicative, aspectual and modal verbs, while the PC verbs are instantiated by factive, propositional, desiderative and interrogative verbs. The contrast between these predicate classes is captured in (1) and (2):

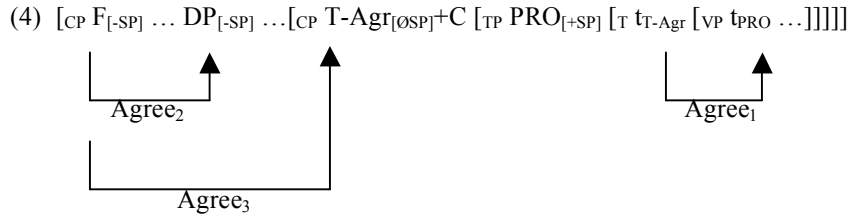
- (1) EC verbs
  - a. \*John<sub>1</sub> dared [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to meet at 6]. (implicative)
  - b. \*John<sub>1</sub> began [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to meet at 6]. (aspectual)
  - c. \*John<sub>1</sub> should [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to meet at 6]. (modal)
  
- (2) PC verbs
  - a. John<sub>1</sub> wants [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to meet at 6]. (desiderative)
  - b. John<sub>1</sub> wondered where [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to meet at 6]. (interrogative)
  - c. John<sub>1</sub> regrets [PRO<sub>1+</sub> meeting at 6]. (factive)
  - d. John<sub>1</sub> denies [PRO<sub>1+</sub> meeting at 6]. (propositional)

A fundamental assumption of Landau's analysis is that the PC/EC antithesis is conditional upon the presence/absence of the embedded tense specification. Only tensed non-finite clauses evince partial control; that is, the tense specification of only PC complements is (relatively) independent of the matrix clause:

- (3) a. Yesterday John hoped to kiss Susan tomorrow.  
 b. \*Yesterday John began to kiss Susan tomorrow.

In (3a), *hope*, a desiderative verb, selects a tensed complement, which is confirmed by the possibility of using conflicting time adjuncts. Aspectual *begin*, on the other hand, selects an untensed complement and hence the incompatibility of temporal modifiers. In view of this, the fact that only matrix predicates in (2), but not in (1), license PC is a natural consequence of the presence of selected tense in the embedded clauses.

The rationale behind the significance of tense when triggering a PC interpretation is the fact that the embedded T moves to C, thus precluding Agree (in the sense of Chomsky 2000) from standing 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.<sup>1</sup> (4) represents the PC structure:



In (4), Agree<sub>1</sub>, holding between PRO and T-Agr, establishes embedded agreement (followed by the raising of PRO to Spec,TP), and Agree<sub>2</sub>—taking hold 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<sub>3</sub> is established 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 the PC effect.<sup>2</sup>

All in all, the technicalities aside, control in the ATC is an instance of an Agree relation and, with Agree being a subpart of Move (Chomsky, 2000), it must be sensitive to islands.<sup>3</sup>

### 3 Conundrums

#### 3.1 Super-Equi<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Bondaruk (2004) proposes a variation of Landau's account of PC readings for Polish with no T-to-C movement, however. 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.

<sup>2</sup>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<sub>1</sub> wants [PRO<sub>1</sub> to write a letter]  
 (ii) John<sub>1</sub> wants [PRO<sub>1+</sub> 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.

<sup>3</sup>Landau (2004, 2007) introduces some refinements to his theory (for example, T-to-C movement is jettisoned in favor of feature sharing between T and C, and the [+/-SP] feature is replaced with the privative [Mer]). All these innovations notwithstanding, the underlying idea is preserved: control instantiates Agree.

As far as the distribution of OC and Non-Obligatory Control (NOC) in the framework of the ATC is concerned, OC obtains when the infinitive and the controller are clausemates, NOC representing the elsewhere case. More formally, the OC/NOC distinction is traced to the position of the infinitive: the VP-internal clauses fall under OC, whereas the extraposed and intraposed clauses represent NOC. What is the rationale behind this claim? Landau argues that the key to the successful delineation of OC and NOC is the proper analysis of Super-Equi constructions, which are presented below (from Bondaruk, 2004, 105):

- (5) a. Eve believed that it would worry Mark [PRO to vote for himself/\*herself].
- b. Eve believed that it would ruin Mark [PRO to vote for himself/herself].
- c. Eve believed that [PRO voting for himself/herself] would worry Mark.
- d. Eve believed that [PRO voting for himself/herself] would ruin Mark.

The difference between *ruin* and *worry* is that only the latter is psychological in nature, while the former lacks this property. The data above show that only local control (OC) is an option in (5a), all the remaining sentences sanctioning long distance control. On the whole, the choice of the controller seems to be tuned to two factors: the intraposed/extraposed position of the non-finite clause and the semantic class of the matrix predicate. Since *Mark* is the Experiencer, it begets an intervention effect in (5a) which involves extraposition. Much as (5c) also contains a psychological predicate, the intervention effect does not appear. Crucially, the sentence involves intraposition. In the case of sentences with non-psychological predicates, long distance control is not vulnerable to the intervention from the Goal/Patient *Mark* both in the extraposition example (5b) and intraposition example (5d). These observations are formalized in the following generalization (Landau, 2000, 96):

- (6) a. In a structure [... X ... [it Aux Pred Y [<sub>S</sub> PRO to VP]]], where Y and S are arguments of Pred:
  - i) If Pred is psychological, Y must control PRO.
  - ii) If Pred is non-psychological, either X or Y may control PRO.
- b. In a structure [... X ... [<sub>S</sub> [<sub>S</sub> PRO to VP] Pred ... Y]], either X or Y may control PRO.

Finally, Landau (2000, 99) puts forward the following proposal:

- (7) The OC Generalization  
In a configuration [... DP<sub>1</sub> ... Pred ... [<sub>S</sub> PRO<sub>1</sub> ...] ...], where DP controls PRO: If, at LF, S occupies a complement/specifier position in the VP-shell of Pred, the DP (or its trace) also occupies a complement/specifier position in that VP-shell.

The generalization in (7) is crucial for distinguishing between OC and NOC since it fixes the domain of OC.<sup>5</sup> If a non-finite clause occupies at LF either the specifier or complement position within VP, control is local; and non-local control is triggered on condition that the non-finite clause finds itself at LF outside the VP-shell i.e., either in a position adjoined to VP (an extraposed one) or in Spec,IP. Put differently, adjuncts and subjects are islands and thus Agree cannot apply to PRO within them, triggering only NOC.<sup>6</sup> Complements, on the other hand, are porous to Agree and therefore license OC.

Conversant with the rationale behind the Super-Equi facts, let us now consider the following paradigm:

- (8) a. Eve<sub>2</sub> believed [<sub>CP</sub> that it would worry Mark<sub>1</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> PRO<sub>1+2+</sub> to gather with no concrete

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<sup>4</sup>Since the account of Super-Equi constructions within the ATC is rather elaborate, this section presupposes the familiarity of the reader with the relevant subject.

<sup>5</sup>Importantly, the choice of the controller falls within the ambit of semantics/pragmatics.

<sup>6</sup>The question arises as to what licenses PRO in NOC contexts. Landau suggests that NOC PRO is a silent logophor licensed by discourse factors.

- agenda]].
- b. *Eve*<sub>2</sub> believed [<sub>CP</sub> that it would ruin *Mark*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> *PRO*<sub>1+/2+</sub> to gather with no concrete agenda]].
  - c. *Eve*<sub>2</sub> believed [<sub>CP</sub> that [*PRO*<sub>1+/2+</sub> gathering with no concrete agenda] would worry *Mark*<sub>1</sub>].
  - d. *Eve*<sub>2</sub> believed [<sub>CP</sub> that [*PRO*<sub>1+/2+</sub> gathering with no concrete agenda] would ruin *Mark*<sub>1</sub>].

The examples above illustrate PC in the Super-Equi environment. Recall from section 2 that PC within the framework of the ATC is perceived as arising from Agree relations. The crucial operation is Agree<sub>3</sub> whereby the matrix functional head enters a relation with the infinitival anaphoric Agr. Consequently, it emerges that PC can be licensed solely in complements; Agree, being a subpart of Move, cannot penetrate islands.

In view of this reasoning, the empirical facts in (8) seem troublesome. Let us start from (8a). According to Landau, this sentence should display only OC (cf. (5a)). In other words, non-local antecedents cannot be licit controllers of PRO. Interestingly enough, however, these expectations are not borne out. *Eve*, a long-distance DP, can (partially) control the non-finite subject.<sup>7</sup> How is it possible if the infinitival clause occupies the complement position in the VP-shell and thus, in compliance with (7), only a local controller should be sanctioned? Furthermore, T, the functional category associated with *Eve*, is incapable of establishing a legitimate relation with the infinitival T-Agr on account of the application of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky, 2000).<sup>8</sup> All in all, the type of control exerted by *Eve* is shrouded in mystery within the ATC: it cannot be OC because T cannot establish Agree with T-Agr. Nor can it be NOC since the infinitival clause occupies the complement position within the VP-shell.

Turning now our attention to (8b), it is also not without problems. As regards PC by *Mark*, it can (relatively) easily be accounted for if it is assumed, as Landau does, that *v* raises to T. Accordingly, *v* is able to establish Agree with T-Agr in the c-commanded non-finite clause. With respect to PC by a non-local DP, it is supposed to be an instance of NOC. Therefore, *PRO*<sub>2+</sub> should be treated as a silent logophor licensed by discourse factors. However, one thing cannot be forgotten at this point. The sentence represents PC and as such it is obligatorily categorized as a subtype of OC. How is it then licensed in (8b), considering that there are two CPs precluding T from setting up Agree with T-Agr? Admittedly, we can argue that it is a true instance of NOC and that *PRO*<sub>2+</sub> is in fact a logophor, but then the overall account of PC is endangered.

Concerning (8c), both PC by *Mark* and *Eve* should instantiate NOC, with the non-finite clause being extraposed. Again, if PC is argued to be OC, how is it licensed in (8c)? The same reasoning carries over to (8d).

On the whole, PC in Super-Equi constructions is fraught with unforeseen problems. Either one has to jettison the account of Super-Equi or refine the theory of PC. In any case, the ATC finds itself in a predicament.<sup>9</sup>

### 3.2 Meet Parasitic PC Effects

Hornstein (2003) shows that, although Adjunct Control (AC) non-finite domains can easily have an independent tense specification, (9a), this cannot be a sufficient condition for PC licensing, (9b–d):

- (9) a. John saw Mary yesterday (in order) to leave early tomorrow.
- b. \**John*<sub>1</sub> saw Mary after/without [*PRO*<sub>1+</sub> meeting/gathering at six].

<sup>7</sup>The judgments in (8) are provided by a group of native speakers of English.

<sup>8</sup>Admittedly, Landau argues that in PC non-finite clauses T moves to C and thus finds itself at the edge of the CP phase, being hence accessible to Agree<sub>3</sub>. However, this step makes only *Mark* a licit controller (via the mediation of *v*, to be more precise). As seen in (8a), there is an extra CP phase separating *Eve* and the associated T from the infinitival T-Agr.

<sup>9</sup>Obviously, it will be interesting to check whether PC in Super-Equi receives an explanation within the framework of the MTC. I leave the issue for future research. However, for an account of PC in the reductionist approach, the reader is already referred to Snarska (2008).

- c. \*John<sub>1</sub> saw Mary early (in order) [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to meet/gather at Max's at six].
- d. \*John<sub>1</sub> left in order [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to meet at six].

Otherwise AC (in subject oriented rationale clauses) shows the hallmarks of OC, such as the presence of an antecedent, sloppy reading under ellipsis and *de se* interpretation:

- (10) a. John<sub>1</sub> saw Mary<sub>2</sub> [in order PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> to get a medal].
- b. John<sub>1</sub> saw Mary in order PRO<sub>1</sub> to get a medal and Bill did too.
- c. Only John saw Mary in order to get a medal.

All in all, the run-of-the-mill PC into adjunct clauses is impossible, as witnessed in (9b–d). Surprisingly, once adjunct control is coupled with PC in a complement clause, PC in the adjunct clause becomes licit, a phenomenon that I call Parasitic PC Effects (PPCE).<sup>10</sup>

- (11) a. Peter<sub>1</sub> wants [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to meet in the old barn] so as/in order not [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to gather in a public place].
- b. Peter<sub>1</sub> wonders where [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to meet] so as/in order not [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to gather in a public place].
- c. Peter<sub>1</sub> denies [PRO<sub>1+</sub> meeting in the old barn] so as/in order not [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to gather in a public place].
- d. Peter<sub>1</sub> regrets [PRO<sub>1+</sub> meeting in the old barn] so as/in order not [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to gather in a public place].

Provided there is the right context, the sentences with four semantically different PC matrix verbs in (11) are licit, which is most surprising in light of the unavailability of run-of-the-mill PC in adjunct clauses, as illustrated in (9b–d). Admittedly, the PC readings in sentences with propositional and factive verbs in (11c) and (11d), respectively, are somewhat harder to achieve, but I link this difficulty to the fact that the adjunct clauses in (11) contain irrealis tense which is more likely to accompany another irrealis tense (as is the case with complement clauses of desiderative and interrogative verbs in (11a) and (11b), respectively) rather than realis tense (present in the complement clauses of propositional and factive verbs). Nonetheless, it is possible to render the scope of adjunct clauses in (11c–d) under *deny* and *regret*.

Needless to say, the ATC faces a problem in (11). What is its source? As mentioned earlier, control seen as Agree is sensitive to islands. If PC is triggered only when the matrix probe (T in the case of (11)) establishes a relation with the embedded goal (T-Agr), how is it possible that PC is licensed in the adjunct clause, which is an impenetrable domain and thus does not sanction Agree with the infinitival T-Agr? Consequently, the unexpected PC reading in the case of PPCE is shrouded in mystery within the ATC.<sup>11</sup>

### 3.3 PRO<sub>1+</sub> Cannot Be Syntactically Singular and Semantically Plural

Rodrigues (2007) considers constructions with a mismatch between the syntactic and semantic  $\phi$ -features (number and gender features, to be more precise) of PRO by looking at constructions with epicene nouns in Romance languages. Her observations pertaining to PC are most revealing, witness (12):

- (12) a. La vittima          fu          aggredita/\*aggredito          dai fascisti.          (Italian)
- The victim.FEM    was.3.sg    attacked-FEM/\*attacked-MASC by fascists
- ‘The victim (semantically male) was attacked by (the) fascists.’

<sup>10</sup>For a more detailed account of the phenomenon, framed within the MTC, see Snarska (2008).

<sup>11</sup>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 where the semantic plurality is somehow licensed pragmatically. But this move would undoubtedly sap the explanatory power of Landau's approach: why is it the case that the null subject in (9b–d) in the adjunct clause participates in obligatory control, whereas the one in (11) is a logophor representing NOC?

- b. A vítima quer se encontrar bêbada/ (Brazilian Portuguese)  
 the victim-FEM.SG wants-3.sg SE meet-INF drunk-FEM.SG/  
 \*bêbadas/\*bêbado/\*bêbados.  
 \*drunk-FEM.PL/\*drunk-MASC.SG/\*drunk-MASC.PL  
 ‘The victim (semantically male) wants to meet (with somebody else) drunk.’
- c. As vítimas querem (se) encontrar \*bêbada/bêbadas  
 the victims-FEM want-3.pl SE meet-INF \*drunk-FEM.SG/drunk-FEM.PL/  
 \*bêbado/\*bêbados.  
 \*drunk-MASC.SG/\*drunk-MASC.PL  
 ‘The victims (semantically male) want to meet drunk.’
- d. La vittima ha detto che essere \*portata/portato (Italian)  
 the victim-FEM has-3.SG said that be-INF \*brought-FEM/brought-MASC  
 alla stazione di polizia non era una buona idea.  
 to.the station of police not was-3.sg a good idea  
 ‘The victim (semantically male) said that being brought to the police station/being transferred  
 to another city is not a good idea.’

The Italian noun *vittima* ‘victim’ is morphologically feminine, though it can be used with reference to a masculine subject. Thus, when such a noun co-occurs with a participial form, the latter will always display morphological (Fem), not semantic (Masc), agreement, as borne out in (12a). Interestingly, the same situation is observed with PC in (12b); the adjectival predicate records feminine and singular agreement. Plural agreement is triggered only if the controller shows syntactic plurality, as in (12c). Bearing in mind that the secondary predicate has to agree in its form with a local subject, the morphology of the adjectival predicate *bêbada* (Fem.SG) indicates that, *pace* Landau (2000), PRO in the non-finite clause cannot possess semantic plurality and syntactic singularity. If it really had this dual number, then a plural semantic number feature would license number agreement on the adjective, as is, for instance, the case with syntactically singular but semantically plural pronominal elements in Romance (and for Landau OC PRO is a pronoun):

- (13) A gente está cansados/cansadas. (European Portuguese)  
 we-SG is-3.sg tired-MASC.PL/tired-FEM.PL  
 ‘We, the girls, are tired.’

Furthermore, in NOC contexts (12d), PRO is able to trigger  $\phi$ -feature agreement on its own; it is not an unattested structure. Yet, PRO in PC environments strongly resists semantic agreement. The reasoning behind this fact seems simple: PC PRO is both semantically and syntactically singular.

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 PC, the syntactic/morphological features of the antecedent/controller determine agreement with the predicative adjective:

- (14) Ofiara chce się spotkać pijana/\*pijane/\*pijany/ (Polish)  
 the victim wants REFL to-meet drunk-FEM.SG/\*drunk-NVIR/\*drunk-MASC.SG/  
 \*pijani.<sup>12</sup>  
 \*drunk-VIR  
 ‘The victim (semantically male) wants to meet (with somebody else) drunk.’

What is more, exactly as in Romance, Polish has a pronoun, for example impersonal *się*, a split number (and gender) property of which shows on the copular verb and on the predicative

<sup>12</sup>In the plural, Polish shows two genders: Virile (VIR) for masculine nouns and Non-Virile (NVIR) for feminine and neuter nouns.



adjective. This pronoun is syntactically singular and neuter, but the semantic gender and number of its referent shows on the predicative adjective:

- (15) Jeśli by się było piękna/pięknym/pięknymi (Polish)  
 if would REFL was-NEUT.SG beautiful-FEM.SG/MASC.SG/NVIR  
 byłoby się również bogatą/bogatym/bogatymi.  
 was-NEUT.SG-would REFL also rich-FEM.SG/MASC.SG/NVIR  
 ‘If one were beautiful one would also be rich.’

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

### 3.4 Collective Nouns: Tricky Cases

Where the controller is a collective noun itself, Landau’s PC mechanism fails to differentiate between an EC and a PC reading:

- (16) a. The family<sub>1</sub> hopes [PRO<sub>1</sub> to gather at three].<sup>13</sup>  
 b. The family<sub>1</sub> hopes [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to gather at three].

(16a) demonstrates the EC reading of the collective predicate whereby members of the family want to meet with each other. (16b), on the other hand, yields the PC interpretation since this time the family, as one (albeit semantically plural) unit, wants to meet with somebody else. Therefore, PRO in the non-finite clause is merely partially controlled by the overt antecedent; the other controller is clearly missing, though semantically present. Let us scan the operations responsible for the derivation of each sentence, (17a) providing the EC interpretation and (17b) the PC interpretation:

- (17) a. [CP F<sub>[+SP]</sub> ... DP<sub>[+SP]</sub> ... [CP T-Agr<sub>[+SP]</sub>+C [TP PRO<sub>[+SP]</sub> [T t<sub>T-Agr</sub> [VP t<sub>PRO</sub> ... ]]]]  
 b. [CP F<sub>[+SP]</sub> ... DP<sub>[+SP]</sub> ... [CP T-Agr<sub>[+SP]</sub>+C [TP PRO<sub>[+SP]</sub> [T t<sub>T-Agr</sub> [VP t<sub>PRO</sub> ... ]]]]

As observed in (17), the technical execution behind both interpretations is identical. PRO enters the derivation with [+SP]. Agree<sub>1</sub> 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<sub>2</sub> is established between F (initially being [ØSP]) and DP specified for [+SP]. As a result, F inherits DP’s [+SP]. Agree<sub>3</sub> 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.

It appears that the meticulous ATC is in a fix; the carefully constructed theory of the interaction of values fails.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>To be more precise, (13a) 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).

<sup>14</sup>Adopting basic tenets of Landau’s theory, Bondaruk (2004) also faces the same problem in Polish EC and PC constructions. In her account, PC relates to the binding of anaphoric Agr by a matrix functional head, in lieu of T-to-C movement.

- (i) Rodzina<sub>1</sub> ma nadzieję [PRO<sub>1</sub> zgrupować się o trzeciej] EC (Polish)  
 (ii) Rodzina<sub>1</sub> ma nadzieję [PRO<sub>1+</sub> zgrupować się o trzeciej] PC  
 Family has hope to-gather REFL at three

And this is their common derivation:

- (iii) [CP F<sub>[ØSP]</sub> ... DP<sub>[+SP]</sub> ... [TP PRO<sub>[+SP]</sub> T-Agr<sub>[ØSP]</sub> ... ]  
 [Agree<sub>1</sub> T-Agr<sub>[ØSP]</sub>, PRO<sub>[+SP]</sub>], [Agree<sub>2</sub> F<sub>[+SP]</sub>, DP<sub>[+SP]</sub>] + binding of the embedded T-Agr by a matrix F (T-Agr inherits [+SP] from the matrix F).

### 3.5 Is T-to-C Really at Work in PC Complements?

A new problem for the account of PC based on T-to-C movement in PC (tensed) infinitives comes in Wurmbrand (2007), which contends that infinitives are tenseless. 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:

- (18) 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 (18). 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:

- (19) 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* [<sub>Infinitive</sub> Ø *woll tell* [~~PAST~~ *meal*

SOT cannot act in (19a) 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 (19b), 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.

All in all, Wurmbrand’s arguments sound compelling and as such they cause trouble to the ATC. After all, PC is inextricably linked to the presence of tense.

The last issue I would like to touch upon is PC in nominal clauses. Nominalizations of EC and PC verbs have the same behavior as their verbal counterparts, examples being presented below after Dubinsky (2007):

- (20) a. \*John’s attempt to meet at noon  
 b. \*John’s coercion of Arthur to meet at noon  
 (21) a. John’s desire to meet at noon  
 b. John’s persuasion of Arthur to meet at noon

The same situation is observed in Polish:

- (22) a. On<sub>1</sub> ciągle chce się [PRO<sub>1+</sub> spotykać w pubie]. (Polish)  
 he constantly wants REFL to-meet in pub  
 ‘He constantly wants to meet in the pub.’

- b. Ta jego<sub>1</sub> ciągła chęć [PRO<sub>1+</sub> spotkania 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 (21) host the PC nouns, whereas in (20) 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.<sup>15</sup>

#### 4 Concluding Remarks

In this short paper, a few arguments against viewing PC as instantiating Agree were presented. Whether they are potent enough to sap the explanatory power of the ATC is a debatable matter. However, it is my belief that these arguments speak for themselves.

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<sup>15</sup>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.

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