



- **Obligatory control constructions** are universally (or overwhelmingly) constrained: even in **syntactically ergative languages**, control is syntactically accusative (Dixon 1994; Deal 2016).
- Most analyses of control appeal to the **structural prominence of the controlled argument** (Landau 2013:108-123, a.o.).
- In **syntactically ergative languages** the surface subject position is occupied by the absolutive theme, but control targets the lower ergative agent ⇒ **challenge for existing analyses**.

West Circassian (Adyghe): Northwest Caucasian, polysynthetic, ergative alignment, radical pro-drop
Data collected by author in Maykop and Khatazhukay, Republic of Adygheya, Russia, unless otherwise indicated.

Syntactic ergativity: ABS c-commands ERG and IO.

Evidence: reciprocal binding.

- Position of cross-reference morphology directly reflects syntactic role of verbal argument.

ERG-IO-ABS frame						ABS-IO frame						
(1)	ABS-		IO-		ERG-		(2)	ABS-		IO-		
	tə-	qə-	p-	f-	jə-	ʃʷaɪ		ʃʷə-	qə-	d-	de-	
	1PL.ABS-	DIR-	2SG.IO-	BEN-	3SG.ERG-	bring.PST		2PL.ABS-	DIR-	1PL.IO-	COM-	
	'S/he brought us to you.'											

- Position of reciprocal marking *ze(re)*- correlates with the position of the bound argument.

ERG-IO-ABS frame: ERG binds IO									
(3)	a.	te	wənexer	Ø-	ABS- IO- ze-	fe-	t-	ERG- §əž'əB	ERG>IO
		we	house.PL.ABS	3ABS-	REC.IO-	BEN-	1PL.ERG-	do.PST	
	b. *	te	wənexer	Ø-	t-	fe-	ERG- ze(re)-	§əž'əB	*IO>ERG
		we	house.PL.ABS	3ABS-	1PL.IO-	BEN-	REC.ERG-	do.PST	
		'We built houses for each other'							

ABS-IO frame: ABS binds IO					
(4)	a.	ABS-	IO-		
		ʂ ^w ə-	qə- ze-	de-	ʂ ^w eʂ't
		2PL.ABS-	DIR- REC.IO-	COM-	dance.FUT
					ABS > IO
	b. *	ze-	qə- ʂ ^w ə-	de-	ʂ ^w eʂ't
		REC.ABS-	DIR- 2PL.IO-	COM-	dance.FUT
					*IO > ABS
		'You(pl) will dance with each other.'			

****Other evidence REC is not voice or de-transitivizing operator** (cf. Labelle 2008; Bruening 2004):

(i) possibility of overt REC pronoun (ii) case marking of antecedent

⇒ reciprocal agreement can be used to diagnose argument asymmetries.

- ABS binds both ERG and IO, regardless of theta-role (Letuchiy 2010; Ershova 2019).

ERG-ABS frame: ABS binds ERG					ABS moves to Spec,TP	
(5) a.	ABS-	ERG-				
	tə-	zere-	ləbʷəβ			
	1PL.ABS-	REC.ERG-	see.PST			
b. *	ze(re)-	t-	ləbʷəβ			
	REC.ABS-	1PL.ERG-	see.PST			
	‘We saw each other.’					

ERG-IO-ABS frame: ABS binds IO					ABS moves to Spec,TP	
(6) a.	ABS-	IO-	ERG-			
	tə-	ze-	f-	jə- š'aβ		
	1PL.ABS-	REC.IO-	BEN- 3SG.ERG-	bring.PST		
b. *	ze-	t-	jə- š'aβ			
	REC.ABS-	1PL.IO-	BEN- 3SG.ERG-	bring.PST		
	‘S/he brought us together (lit. to each other).’					

ERG-ABS frame: ERG is controlled, not ABS				
(7)	a.	čʼelejeɓaʒe-mi [CP PRO_i(ERG) čʼalexe-r(ABS) Ø-ə-ɭəte-n-ew] teacher.OBL boy.PL-ABS 3ABS-3SG.ERG-count-MOD-ADV rjəbeʒʼaɓ 3SG.ERG.begin.PST ‘The teacher began to count the children.’	ERG=PRO	
	b.	*čʼale-xe-mi [CP PRO_i(ABS) čʼelejeɓaʒe-m(ERG) Ø-ə-ɭəte-n-ew] boy-PL-OBL teacher-OBL 3ABS-3SG.ERG-count-MOD-ADV raɓeʒʼaɓ 3PL.ERG.begin.PST lit. ‘The children began for the teacher to count [them].’	*ABS=PRO	

Embedded clause is a CP (Ershova 2019); cf. restructuring (Grano 2015) or raising out of TP (Potsdam & Polinsky 2012): same distributional properties and internal structure as non-control clauses.

+ No true PRO in embedded clause: (i) triggers regular ϕ -agreement; (ii) can be expressed as full DP (possible in non-control clauses too; cf. ‘backward control’; Farrell 1995; Polinsky & Potsdam 2002,a.o.).

Controlled argument is spelled out as DP			
(8)	<i>pro</i> _i (ERG)	[_{CP} sabjəxə- r (ABS) Ø-zezəwə-n-ew]	rakež'aw
	child.PL- ABS	3ABS-REC.IO.hit-MOD-ADV	3PL.ERG.begin.PST
	'The children began to compete with each other.'		

<p align="center">Reciprocal binding in control CP: ABS binds ERG</p>		
<p>(9)[_{CP} <i>pro</i>_i(ABS) <i>rec</i>_i(ERG) Ø-<i>zere-wəç'əž'ə-n-x-ew</i> č'əfxe-m_i raɤež'əɯ 3ABS-REC.ERG-kill-MOD-PL-ADV person.PL-OBL 3PL.ERG.begin.PST</p>		
<p>'People began to kill each other.'</p>		<p>Control CP: ABS > ERG</p>

The puzzle: ABS (i) is not eligible for control and (ii) does not act as an intervener

(10) Controller_{*i*^{res}_j} ... [CP ... DP_j(ABS) ... [_{VP} DP_i(ERG) ...

- Following Landau (2000), control is established via Agree.
- Agree-based control involves agreement in an index (**ID**) feature.
See e.g. Rezac (2004); Grosz (2015); Arregi & Hanink (2018) for ID-agreement in other domains.
- ID-agreement is an implementation of control as binding (Chomsky 1981; Borer 1989; Landau 2015).

Control as ID-agreement via Voice

Syntax of Voice⁰:

- selects for vP
- agrees with highest DP in vP in [ID]
- carries the feature [CTL]

Establishing control:

- C_{CTL} is a relativized ID-probe: [ID_{CTL}:_] See e.g. Bobaljik (2008) on relativized probes.
- ABS doesn't bear [CTL] ⇒ ABS isn't an eligible goal for C_{CTL}.
- C_{CTL} agrees with Voice⁰ in [ID].
- Controller agrees with C_{CTL} in [ID].

Result: feature matching with embedded ERG = **control**.

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 \Rightarrow ABS isn't an eligible goal for C_{CTL} .
 - C_{CTL} agrees with $Voice^0$ in $[ID]$.
 - Controller agrees with C_{CTL} in $[ID]$.
- Result: feature matching with embedded ERG
= **control**.

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GLOSSES

ABSolutive; ADverbial; BENefactive; COMitative; DIREctive; ERGative; FUTure tense; IO-indirect object; LOCative; MODal future; OBLique; PLural; PRS-present tense; PST-past tense; RECiprocal; REFlexive; SG-singular.

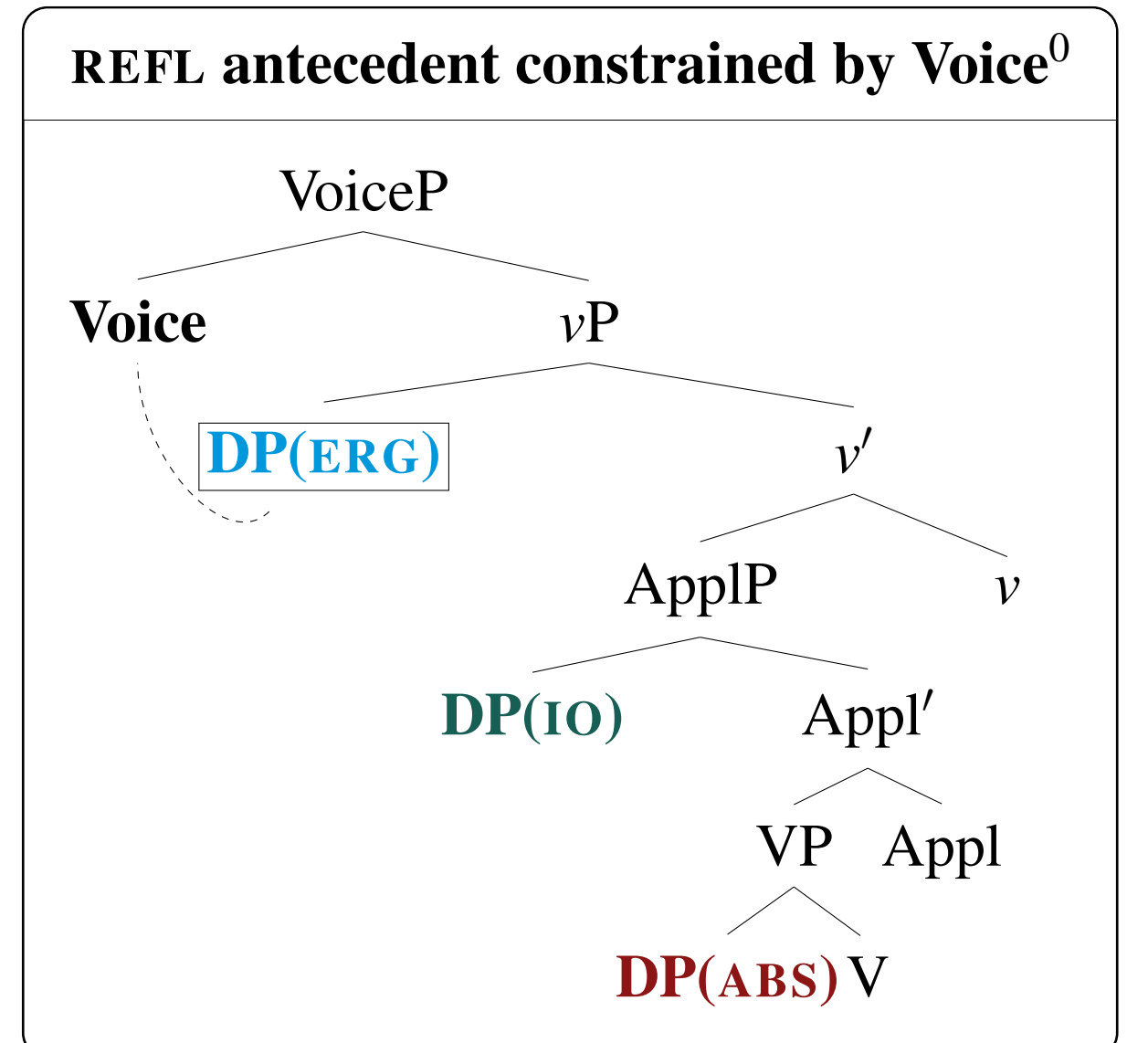
Ershova (2019): WC reflexives are **local subject oriented**, i.e. must be bound by highest DP in *v*P.

⇒ The choice of antecedent for reflexives is **constrained by Voice⁰**.

See e.g. Labelle (2008); Ahn (2015); Bhatia & Poole (2016) on Voice and LSO reflexives.

How it works:

- Voice⁰ agrees with a DP in its c-command domain.
- Per standard locality constraints, only the highest DP is an eligible goal.
- \Rightarrow correctly constrains REFL antecedent to highest DP in vP.



š'əw'əpšen 'forget': IO-ABS frame	REFL: IO binds ABS or ABS binds IO
<p>(11) ABS- IO- sə- p- š'ə- b'wəpša -b' SG.ABS- 2SG.IO- LOC- forget -PST 'You(IO) forgot about me(ABS).'</p> <p>(12) ABS may scramble over IO: [_{AppIP} DP(ABS) DP(IO)]... [_{VP} <i>t</i> ...]</p> <p>⇒ ABS and IO are equidistant to Voice⁰.</p>	<p>(13) a. ABS- IO- zə- s- š'ə- b'wəpšež'əb' REFL.ABS- 1SG.IO- LOC- forget.PST b. sə- z- š'ə- b'wəpšež'əb' 1SG.ABS- REFL.IO- LOC- forget.PST 'I forgot about myself.'</p> <p>(14) Voice [_{VP} ... [_{AppIP} DP(ABS) DP(IO)] ...] ✓_{AGREE} ✓_{AGREE}</p> <p><i>**Cf. REC only allow ABS antecedent.</i></p>

Prediction of Voice-mediated control: both ABS and IO can be controlled → **confirmed**.

šəwəpšen ‘forget’: both IO and ABS can be controlled

(15) a. *pro*_i(ERG) [CP **PRO_i(IO)** [sʲənəbʲzʲəɕʲeɪwəm qəssʲəʃəwexə-r](ABS)
 1SG.POSS.youth.OBL 1SG.IO.happen.PST.PL-ABS
 Ø-s-šʲəwəpšə-n-ew] jeseɾəʒʲe
 3ABS-1SG.IO-LOC-forget-MOD-ADV 1SG.ERG.begin.PRS
 ‘I am starting to forget events from my childhood.’ **IO=PRO**

b. *gʷəšʲəɕʲəhaxe-m*_i(ERG) [CP **PRO_i(ABS)** Ø-s-šʲəwəpšə-n-ew]
 word.long.PL-OBL 3ABS-1SG.IO-LOC-forget-MOD-ADV
 ɾəwəʒʲəw]
 3PL.ERG.begin.PST
 ‘Long words are beginning to be forgotten by me.’ **ABS=PRO**

- Importance of Voice⁰ in two classic subjecthood diagnostics (reflexives and control)
⇒ no single subject position per e.g. McCloskey (1997) and no uniform notion of subjecthood.
- Possible explanation for universal lack of syntactic ergativity in control.

SELECT REFERENCES

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