

Hidden in Plain Sight: Overt Subjects in Infinitival Control and Raising Complements

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Comments Greatly Appreciated*

1. Introduction

1.1 LO readings

Certain subjects of raising verbs support low (LO) readings in English. (1) and (2) are modelled after May 1985 and Lasnik 1999; (3) and (4) are my own. Recall that Perlmutter (1970) argued for begin having both a control and a raising version. In the LO reading of (4) begin is definitely a raising verb: none of attendees initiated the action of attending.

- (1) A unicorn seems to be grazing in the yard.

HI 'There is a unicorn that seems to be grazing in the yard'

LO 'It seems that some unicorn or other is grazing in the yard'

- (2) A unicorn doesn't seem to be grazing in the yard.

HI 'There is a unicorn that doesn't seem to be grazing in the yard'

*LO 'It doesn't seem that some unicorn or other is grazing in the yard'

- (3) Only a recently hired manager is guaranteed to be promoted.

HI 'There is a recently hired manager such that only (s)he is guaranteed to be promoted'

LO₁ 'The only thing guaranteed is that some recently hired manager or other will be promoted'

*LO₂ 'It is guaranteed that only some recently hired manager or other will be promoted'

- (4) In April fewer people began to attend the meetings.

HI 'There are fewer people who first attended a meeting in April'

LO 'The overall number of people attending meetings in April was lower than in previous months, i.e. it began to be the case that fewer people in total attended the meetings'

Subjects of run-of-the-mill control verbs do not support LO readings. It may not be obvious what an interesting LO reading would be, so let us just give one example with a variety of non-existent LO readings here. The reason why the absence of LO readings with control verbs is remarkable will soon become clear.

- (5) Only a recently hired manager wants to be promoted.

HI 'The only person/manager who wants to be promoted is a recently hired manager'

*LO₁ 'The only thing wanted is that a recently hired manager be promoted'

*LO₂ 'It is wanted that only a recently hired manager be promoted'

*LO₃ 'A recently hired manager wants that only he/she be promoted'

How the LO readings come about is a matter of debate. There have been arguments for syntactic or semantic reconstruction, quantifier lowering, lower copy interpretation followed by PF-raising, and perhaps others (see May 1985, Cresti 1995, Chomsky 1995, 2000, Lasnik 1999, Baltin 1999, Sauerland and Elbourne 2002, Boeckx 2001, among others). Common to all is the observation that in the surface syntax of English the nominative DP occurs in the matrix subject position even though the raising verb scopes above it. That the DP is not in the complement clause is unsurprising, given the more general observation that infinitival clauses in English do not have overt subjects, unless those are rescued by a for complementizer, exceptional case marking, or an absolute construction. In languages like Portuguese infinitival inflection joins the ranks of rescuers.

This paper argues that there are languages where LO readings obtain both in raising and in control constructions with the pertinent nominative DP located inside the infinitival complement. For example, the following sentences unambiguously carry LO readings:

- (6) Ha iniziato a ricevere buoni incarichi solo lei / solo Maria.
 began.3sg prep receive-inf good roles only she / only Maria
 *HI 'Only she/Maria went from not getting good roles to getting good roles'
 LO 'It began to be the case that only she/Maria was getting good roles'
- (7) Non vuole andare solo lui a Milano. no pause before a Milano
 not wants go-inf only he to Milan
 *HI₁ 'Only he doesn't want to go to Milano'
 *HI₂ 'Not only he wants to go to Milano'
 'LO: He doesn't want it to be the case that only he goes to Milano'

If the proposed constituent structure, to be defended below, is correct, it raises interesting questions regarding what makes nominative DPs pronounceable. It will be argued that such a DP need not be rescued by default case or by infinitival inflection in the Portuguese sense.

1.2 Agenda

The following two descriptive observations are widely believed to hold at least of well-studied European languages:

- (8) "No overt subjects in infinitival complements"
 Infinitival complements of subject control verbs and subject-to-subject raising verbs do not have overt nominative subjects.

(9) “No overt controllees”

In control constructions the controllee DP is not an overt pronoun.

What would these facts, if they are indeed facts, follow from?

Given the copy theory of movement/chains (Chomsky 1995, 2000) and the possibility that control is an instance of movement/chain formation (Hornstein 1999, Boeckx & Hornstein 2006), it is in principle possible for overt DPs to occur in the subject positions mentioned in (8). Languages might choose to pronounce all copies, or just some lower copy, in a chain. The fact that this does not routinely happen calls for an explanation. The explanation might involve a rule like “Pronounce the highest copy, unless there is an interface reason to do otherwise” (somewhat in the spirit of Bobaljik 2002). Instead or in addition, it may be that the highest copy needs to be pronounced to supply the finite clause with an overt subject (cf. the EPP), and/or it may be that lower copies are simply unpronounceable. In olden days the Case Filter plus the inability of infinitival inflection to assign abstract Case prevented the subjects of infinitival complements of control and subject-to-subject raising verbs from being pronounced (in the absence of ECM or a *for*-style complementizer). However, the link between abstract Case and morphological case has been severed in recent literature and the usefulness of postulating abstract Case has been called into question (Marantz 1991, McFadden 2004, and many others). What takes the place of Case in licensing the pronunciation of DPs? Pronouns have been argued to require some agreement relation in order to be fully specified (see Kratzer 2006 on bound pronouns, and Sigurðsson 2007 for grounding) and all DPs have been argued to need a valued T feature (Pesetsky and Torrego 2006). The proponents of these theories assume that infinitival clauses do not contain an element that can take care of the subject and, presumably, that long-distance agreement with an element of a finite clause will not be possible or will not be satisfactory.

Turning to (9), the absence of overt pronominal controllees may simply follow from some of the considerations mentioned above. If infinitival subjects are generally not pronounceable, then an infinitival control complement cannot have an overt subject. It must have a PRO or a *pro* subject, or no subject at all, if it is just a VP, see Babby & Franks 1998 and Wurmbrand 2003. But subjunctive clauses routinely have overt subjects, so it is remarkable that Landau’s 2004 calculus of control rests on a generalization starting with, “If S is a complement clause with a null subject *ec*, ...”: Landau’s control complements include both infinitives and subjunctives. There seems to be some, perhaps unspoken assumption about control that results in the controllee always being phonetically null. Semantic assumptions may do part of the work. Chierchia 1989 proposed that control involves a so-called *de se* reading and that PRO is a *de se* anaphor. But the fact that pronouns may also have *de se* readings, and the more recent assumption that control may also involve *pro* instead of PRO indicate that more needs to be said. So perhaps “No overt controllees” results from a conspiracy of the above considerations and more or less independent facts about obviation. See Farkas 1985 for an example of overt controlled pronouns in Romanian.

My impression of the state of the art is that the theories I am familiar with do not predict (8) and (9) in a straightforward manner. But neither do these theories seem to say exactly where these generalizations are expected to fail.

It is known that many languages have overt nominative subjects in infinitival adjuncts; see Torrego 1998, Mensching 2000:

- (10) Todo el mundo se levantó [al leer el juez /yo el veredicto].
 everybody stood up to-the-read the judge / I the verdict
 ‘Everybody stood up when the judge / I read the verdict’

The present paper supplements this with evidence that (8) and (9), which pertain specifically to raising and control complements, are descriptively incorrect.

Unless otherwise indicated, the data in this paper come from my own field work. I am immensely grateful to the colleagues who made themselves available for multiple rounds of questioning. They are thanked by name where the individual languages are discussed. I hasten to add that the interpretation of the data as supporting or not supporting an infinitival subject analysis is invariably mine; my informants may or may not agree with it.

The languages I have investigated fall into three main categories: they either have overt nominatives in both raising and control complements, or at most in raising complements, or in neither. In what follows the term “overt infinitival subject” will be shorthand for “overt nominative subjects of infinitival complements of control and raising verbs”.

	overt nominative subjects in infinitival raising complements			overt nominative subjects in infinitival control complements		
	yes	possibly	no	yes	possibly	no
Hungarian	*			*		
Italian	*			*		
Spanish	*				*	
Br.Portuguese	*				*	
Romanian	*				*	
M.Hebrew	*				*	
Russian		*				*
Finnish		*				*
English			*			*
French			*			*
German			*			*
Dutch			*			*

“Yes” in a column indicates that I am fairly confident that the nominative DP is located inside the complement clause, and that it is, or can be, a subject, as opposed to an emphatic element. “Possibly” in the control case indicates that I have not yet been able to exclude the emphatic analysis; this may be due to my lack of expertise or maybe the given language does not offer clear clues. “Possibly” in the raising case indicates that LO readings have a particular word order configuration but it is not crystal clear yet whether the nominative DP is located in the infinitival complement or in the matrix.

What distinguishes the “yes” languages (that have some overt infinitival subjects) from the “no” languages (that do not have any)? One idea may be that overt infinitival subjects are possible where the default case is nominative. This is immediately falsified by German, where the default case is nominative (McFadden 2006) but overt infinitival subjects are not found. A

second idea may be that the distinctive property of the “yes” languages is that they have visibly or covertly inflected infinitives, cf. Raposo 1987. At least Hungarian indicates that the two phenomena do not pattern together. Hungarian has optional overt inflection in the infinitival complements of impersonal predicates, but the subjects of these are invariably in the dative, not in the nominative (Tóth 2000). Also, Hungarian has no overt nominative subjects in infinitival adjuncts like (10), which Torrego has analyzed as involving *pro*-drop infinitival inflection (although it does in somewhat archaic uninflected participial adjuncts). So it seems that overt subjects in raising/control complements are not generally dependent on the special features of infinitival inflection.

The key observation will be that the nominative DP, although located within the infinitival complement, agrees with some superordinate finite verb in person and number. This suggests (11):

(11) Hypothesis re: **long-distance agreement**

A sufficient condition for nominative subjects in infinitival complements to be overt is if the relevant features of a superordinate finite inflection are transmitted to them (say in the manner of long-distance Agree). The cross-linguistic variation in the availability of overt infinitival subjects has to do with variation in feature transmission.

So the fundamental deficiency in the “no” languages must be that the relevant finite inflectional features are not transmitted to the infinitival subject. Could it be that feature transmission requires some kind of clause union that only the “yes” languages possess? Not likely. On one hand, German and Dutch have certain clause union phenomena but no overt infinitival subjects. More importantly, overt subjects in Hungarian, Italian, Spanish, etc. happily occur in infinitival constructions that do not exhibit any kind of independently recognizable clause union. I conclude that the “transparency” of infinitival clauses is not at issue.

Let us focus on control constructions. They have thematic subjects both in the finite matrix and in the infinitival complement. For all we know, the finite subject must always be a legitimately pronounceable nominative DP. Deictically interpreted null pronominal subjects occur in exactly the same environments as their overt counterparts or as lexical DPs. But then one and the same finite inflection must take care of the finite subject and the infinitival one. This suggests (12):

(12) Hypothesis re: the **multi-agreement parameter**

Similarly to cross-linguistic variation in negative concord, languages vary as to whether a single finite inflection may share features with more than one nominative DP.

Multi-agreement is figured into (13). Which of the three options is realized depends on the needs of expletives and how multi-agreement is constrained.

- (13) a. (...) Raising- $\underline{V_{finite}}$ [$\underline{DP_{nom}}$ $V_{infinitive}$...
 b. $\underline{DP_{nom}}$ Raising- $\underline{V_{finite}}$ [$\underline{DP_{nom}}$ $V_{infinitive}$...
 c. $\underline{DP_{nom}}$ Control- $\underline{V_{finite}}$ [$\underline{DP_{nom}}$ $V_{infinitive}$...

In (13a) the matrix clause has no thematic subject, and the constellation is legitimate if the language does not need a nominative expletive in the subject position but, instead, it may

have a non-nominative topic, or may go without a topic and possibly move the verb into a higher initial position. If one of these circumstances obtains, only the infinitival subject needs to agree with the finite inflection and, if feature transmission is successful, (13a) does not even require multi-agreement.

If the language needs a nominative expletive in the finite subject position, the question is whether multi-agreement requires all the DPs linked to the same inflection to be bound together. If co-binding is required, (13b) is not possible, since an expletive cannot bind, or be co-bound with, a thematic DP. If multi-agreement only requires non-conflicting (unifiable) morphological features on the DPs involved, then (13b) is possible.

Finally, multi-agreement makes (13c) possible, as long as control, which obviously involves binding, does not lead to a Condition C violation. In other words, in (13c) the controller DP may be a null or overt pronoun, or a name, or an operator – but the controllee DP may only be a pronoun, which can be bound from outside its local domain. (A glance at (6)-(7) confirms these predictions.)

This is the basic story that I am going to tell. Although the theoretical options are fairly clear, whether the conditions for (13a) or for (13b) obtain in a language is a difficult matter. For example, it is debated whether some languages that have no overt nominative expletives have phonetically null ones or not. So the analysis of languages like Russian and Finnish, where overt infinitival subjects occur at most in raising constructions is especially delicate; is that LO-scoping nominative DP really inside the infinitival clause? I will make suggestions but will not be able to provide definitive analyses here.

It should be added though that feature transmission may fail for independent reasons. H. Koopman (p.c.) has observed that the main demarcation line may correlate with how high the position of the infinitival verb is. In the clear “no” languages”, French, English, German, and Dutch, infinitival verbs occupy a lower position than either their finite counterparts in the same languages or their infinitival counterparts in Hungarian, Italian, etc. This suggests (14).

(14) **Hypothesis re: the position of the infinitival verb**

If the position of the infinitival verb is too low, the features of the matrix inflection are not transmitted to the infinitival subject.

The combination of (14) with the considerations above would yield a further nuanced picture, which I cannot pursue in this paper.

While the cross-linguistic data are rather insightful, it is obvious that only so much can be gleaned from the data. The analysis has to rest on theoretical considerations. Initially it may not appear difficult to accommodate the new data. After all, no earth-shattering innovations have been called for. The hypotheses above make reference to well-known ingredients of “Case theory” – agreement between the nominative DP and finite inflection, the structural position of heads, etc. Unfortunately, the standard understanding of these ingredients seems rather superficial. (i) Although overt nominatives have been linked to the person/number or the tense features of inflection for many decades, I am not aware of any convincing explanation of why a connection exists between the overtness of nominatives and agreement or, especially, tense. (ii) Likewise, consider the possibility that the infinitival verb indeed plays a role in the transmission of the features of finite inflection to the infinitival subject. Then it makes sense if the mediating infinitival verb has to be in at least as high a position as finite verbs. Notice though that the verb itself is not necessarily implicated in this process; more plausibly infinitival inflection is. But there is no widely agreed upon view on how the position of the infinitival verb corresponds to the position of infinitival inflection. Is infinitival inflection

structurally high in some languages and low in others? Does the verb get attached to it by head movement or phrasal movement? Do they move further together and if yes, why? At what stage of this process can inflection share features with the subject? (iii) Consideration of the multi-agreement pattern (8b) raises interesting questions, given that in the languages I have studied overt infinitival subjects can be 1st and 2nd person pronouns, i.e. have features that expletives definitely lack. Are the features of the two DPs simply unified, in which case such a mismatch should not hurt, or do mismatches have some tangible consequences? Do such facts perhaps provide arguments for or against the postulation of phonetically null expletives? (iv) Questions arise in connection with why controllees are often, though not always, phonetically empty.

Given these gaps in our understanding, rushing to accommodate the new data would threaten to be an advance in mere technology, not in theory. It is not an ambition of this paper to develop a theory of DP pronounceability or control, so I will continue to talk as informally as possible. My goal here is to present the novel data in a convincing manner. The immediate theoretical contribution of this paper should be that it highlights numerous gaps in the theory.

Going beyond the infinitival subject issue this paper will indicate an alternative analysis of the cases where the nominative DP is located in the matrix clause but nevertheless scopes below the modal/aspectual raising verb. This purely scopal, non-reconstructional analysis began to take shape in discussion with L. Nchare about Shupamem and M. Polinsky about Russian; see section 6. But developing it will be the goal of another project.

1.3 The structure of the presentation

The data below hinge on two things. One is careful attention to the truth conditions of certain, sometimes colloquial, sentences. This is where a semanticist is useful as a field worker. We shall see that the nominative DPs we are concerned with always scope inside the infinitival clause; so the *raison d'être* of the whole phenomenon is probably provided by Bobaljik's 2002 suggestion:

- (15) Minimize the mismatch between LF and PF.

The second crucial task is to show that these DPs are indeed the subjects of infinitival clauses, as opposed to somehow displaced finite subjects or emphatic elements. This is where a Hungarian syntactician is useful. Well-established generalizations as well as some new facts about Hungarian make it plain that some of the Hungarian examples definitely involve infinitival subjects. The fact that other Hungarian examples pattern entirely consistently with these, and the fact that examples from Italian, Spanish, etc. seem to pattern consistently with the Hungarian data make it plausible that they exhibit the same phenomena. But, not being an expert in the syntax of these languages, I will not be able to explain why overt infinitival subjects occur in exactly those word order positions where they do, and why some word orders are ambiguous in one language (e.g. Spanish) but not in another (e.g. Italian). Such detailed analyses have to be left to the experts.

The presentation proceeds as follows. A detailed discussion of Hungarian will introduce the phenomena (Sections 2 through 4). The exposition of data from other languages is shorter and presupposes that the reader has worked through the Hungarian sections. Section 5 discusses Italian, which seems to pattern with Hungarian in possessing overt infinitival subjects in both raising and control complements, as well as Mexican Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, Romanian, and Modern Hebrew, which may do so, although the evidence I have is not that clear. Section 6

discusses Russian and Finnish, with some remarks on Shupamem, Northern Norwegian, and Turkish, whose status is even less clear. Section 7 offers a brief descriptive comparison of these constructions with others known from the literature, ranging from absolute constructions to backward control and backward raising, showing that at least superficially speaking they are not the same thing.

2. The gist of the phenomenon in Hungarian, with an eye on English
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2. The gist of the phenomenon in Hungarian, with an eye on English

2.1 Control complements

In sentences like (16)-(17) the operator subjects have unambiguous matrix scope – this our HI reading:

- (16) I too want to be tall.
 (17) Only I want to be tall.

To warm up to Hungarian, notice that in contrast to (16), I want to be tall too is ambiguous:

- (18) Mary wants to be tall.
 I want to be tall too.
 HI: ‘Someone other than me **wants to be tall**, and I want to be tall’
- (19) This tree is tall.
 I want to be tall too.
 LO ‘Someone or something other than me **is tall**, and I want to be tall’

Krifka 1998 observes that postposed additive particles that are stressed (e.g. too, also) may associate with a phonetically null element if it is a contrastive topic in his terms.

We are not concerned with the question of when an operator can associate with a null element; the above examples merely serve as a point of departure for explaining what readings we are going to compare. The HI and the LO readings of I want to be tall too pan out in

Hungarian as follows. Is 'too' is an unstressed particle and not postposed. It associates with an overt element.

- (20) Én is magas szeretnék lenni.
I too tall would.like-1sg be-inf
HI 'I too want it to be the case that I am tall'

- (21) Szeretnék én is magas lenni.
would.like-1sg I too tall be-inf
HI 'I too want it to be the case that I am tall'
LO 'I want it to be the case that I too am tall'

If the operator+subject occurs before the attitude verb 'want, would like', it scopes over it (HI reading). If it occurs after the attitude verb, it scopes or can scope below it (LO reading). Given that Hungarian is known to map scope relations to linear order and intonation, this may seem like a simple instance of the same correspondence. If so, such data tell us nothing about infinitival subjects. DP is 'DP too' may be either preverbal or postverbal in mono-clausal examples and so (15) by itself is not diagnostic. In fact, as indicated above, (21) is ambiguous – its HI and LO readings are disambiguated by whether intonation groups én is with magas lenni or not. The only reason why DP is 'DP too' is mentioned so prominently is that it comes closest to having an English counterpart, and thus it is hoped to help speakers of English grasp the relevant meanings.

Csak DP 'only DP' and nem DP 'not DP' have a clear diagnostic value. Because only associates with focus, its associate cannot be null, and (22) has no readings parallel to (19):

- (22) I want to be only tall. / I want to be tall only.
cannot mean: 'I want to be the only one who is tall'

Due to association with focus, csak DP and nem DP have a very restricted distribution in mono-clausal examples. In particular, in the absence of negation or pair-focus csak DP can only occur preverbally. The reason is that focus in Hungarian is immediately preverbal.¹

- (23) * Olvastam csak én egy könyvet.
read-past-1sg only I a book-acc
'Only I read a book'
- (24) Csak én olvastam egy könyvet.
only I read-past-1sg a book-acc
'Only I read a book'

The position of csak DP completely disambiguates the infinitival example:

- (25) Csak én szeretnék magas lenni.
only I would.like-1sg tall be-inf
HI: 'I am the only one who wants to be tall'
- (26) Szeretnék csak én lenni magas.
would.like-1sg only I be-inf tall
LO: 'I want it to be the case that I am the only one who is tall'

Even sharper is the evidence offered by constituent negation, nem DP 'not DP'. This simply never occurs postverbally in mono-clausal examples; it is always in focus:

- (27) Nem én olvastam egy könyvet.
not I read-past-1sg a book-acc
'Not I read a book (=it is not me who read a book)'
- (28) *Olvastam nem én egy könyvet.
read-past-1sg not I a book-acc
'Not I read a book'

But nem én 'not I' may occur between the finite and the infinitival verbs with a LO reading:

- (29) Nem én szeretnék magas lenni.
not I would.like-1sg tall be-inf
HI: 'I am not the one who wants to be tall'
- (30) Szeretnék nem én lenni magas.
would.like-1sg not I be-inf tall
LO: 'I want it to be the case that I am not the one who is tall'

The fact that (26) and (30) are perfect is easily understood if infinitival clauses exhibit exactly the same preverbal operator positions as finite clauses. This is what Koopman & Szabolcsi (2000: chapter 6) argued, and the descriptive claim has never been contested. Compare, for example, the following. The linear and scopal order of operator phrases in the Hungarian preverbal field is topic (RefP), quantifier (DistP), and focus (with or without csak 'only'):

- (31) Holnap mindenkivel (csak) én beszélek.
tomorrow everyone-with only I talk-1sg
'Tomorrow everyone will be such that it is (only) me who talks with him/her'
- (32) Szerettem volna holnap mindenkivel csak én beszélni.
would.have.liked-1sg tomorrow everyone-with only I talk-inf
'I would have liked it to be the case that tomorrow everyone is such that only I talk with him/her'
- (33) Szerettem volna holnap mindenkivel én beszélni.
would.have.liked-1sg tomorrow everyone-with I talk-inf
'I would have liked it to be the case that tomorrow everyone is such that it is me who talks with him/her'

(32) and (33) make it plain that, in addition to occupying a standard operator position inside the infinitival clause, the nominative DP does not have to be in a left-edge position. It can be preceded by the exact same operators as its finite counterpart.

We may now conclude that csak én in (26) and nem én in (30) are in the exact same kind of preverbal operator position in the infinitival clause that they occupy in the finite clauses of (25) and (29). The same carries over to focused én in (33) and to the relevant LO

reading of én is in (21). Thus the bracketing is as follows:

- (21)' Szeretnék [én is magas lenni].
 (26)' Szeretnék [csak én lenni magas].
 (30)' Szeretnék [nem én lenni magas].
 (32)'-(33)' Szerettem volna [holnap mindenkivel (csak) én beszélni].

Although the long operator sequence in (32)-(33) is not exactly indicative of a reduced complement, the suspicion might arise that these examples involve restructuring of some sort. That is not the case. All Hungarian control verbs participate in the construction at hand. Consider utál 'hate', cross-linguistically not a restructuring verb, and el-felejt 'forget'. El-felejt has a prefix, and prefixal verbs never restructure in Hungarian:

- (34) Utálok [csak én dolgozni].
 hate-1sg only I work-inf
 LO: 'I hate it that only I work'
- (35) Elfelejtettem [én is aláírni a levelet].
 forgot-1sg I too sign-inf the letter-acc
 LO: 'I forgot to bring it about that I too sign the letter' (cf. I forgot to sign it too)

In the spirit of Szabolcsi 2005, we may summarize the findings so far as follows:

- (36) Infinitival complements of subject control verbs in Hungarian can have overt nominative subjects.

These structures are stylistically neutral: fine in both spoken and written Hungarian.

2.2 Raising complements

Not only subject control but also subject-to-subject raising complements exhibit the phenomenon at hand. Szabolcsi 2005 already mentioned some such examples but glossed over the fact that they involve raising, not control. Bartos 2006a and Márta Abrusán (p.c.) drew my attention to their raising character.

Seem-type verbs in Hungarian take small clause or indicative complements, not infinitives. However, at least two relevant raising verbs present themselves. One is the future "auxiliary" fog 'will', a fully inflected verb, and another is the raising version of el-kezd 'begin'. Fog has no selectional restrictions whatsoever, so it is clearly not a control verb. El-kezd has a control version, but the possibility for it to be a raising verb is clear when it has non-agentive complements, although raising-elkezd is not restricted to having non-agentive complements. Compare Perlmutter 1970.

- (37) Elkezdtem betegeskedni.
 began-1sg be.sickly-inf
 'I began to be sick repeatedly'

- (38) Elkezdtém nem kapni jó szerepeket.
 began-1sg not get.inf good roles-acc
 'I began not to get good roles'

Once more, to get a sense of the kind of interpretations we are going to be looking at, let us go back to English. Recap the example from the Introduction, in which an operator in the matrix subject position supports a HI/LO ambiguity in English:

- (39) In April fewer people began to attend the meetings.
 HI 'New people join the meetings from time to time. In April the number of new people was lower than previously. That is, fewer people were such that each attended the meetings for the first time'
 LO 'A certain number of people tend to attend the meetings. In April the overall number of people who attended was lower than the overall number of those who attended previously.'

Again, we are not concerned with which operators support this ambiguity in English and why; the above example only serves to give the English speaking reader a sense of the difference between the HI and the LO readings.

Returning to Hungarian, both fog and elkezd may have an overt subject either in the matrix or in the infinitival clause. The distributional arguments are the same as with control infinitives, so I add the brackets around the infinitival clause right away.

- (40) Csak én nem fogok [dolgozni éjszaka].
 only I not will-1sg work-inf at.night
 HI: 'I am the only one who will not work at night'
- (41) Nem fogok [csak én dolgozni éjszaka].
 not will-1sg only I work-inf at.night
 LO: 'It is not going to be the case that only I work at night'
- (42) Holnap fogok [csak én dolgozni éjszaka].
 tomorrow will-1sg only I work-inf at.night
 LO: 'It will be tomorrow that only I work at night'
- (43) Nem én kezdtem el [éjszaka dolgozni].
 not I began-1sg at.night work.inf
 HI: 'It is not me who began to work at night'
- (44) Elkezdtém [nem én dolgozni éjszaka].
 began-1sg not I work-inf at.night
 LO: 'It began to be the case that it is not me who works at night'

We conclude:

- (45) Infinitival complements of raising verbs in Hungarian can have overt nominative subjects.

2.3 Pronominal versus lexical subjects

Although we have seen that the overt subjects are inside the infinitival complement, it may still be possible that we are really dealing with the overt subjects of the matrix verbs that inserted themselves into those infinitival clauses in some unholy manner. The following observation will eliminate this worry:

- (46) The overt subjects of control complements can only be pronouns. The overt subjects of raising complements can be pronouns or lexical DPs.

This is what one expects if those subjects indeed originate in the complement clause. In the case of control, the infinitival subject is bound by another DP with an independent thematic role (an overt one or dropped *pro*). If the two are not in the same local domain, a pronoun may be so bound, but a referential expression cannot. Thus we do not expect to find lexical DPs in the subject position of the control complement. On the other hand, the infinitival complement of a raising verb is not bound by another DP with an independent thematic role; it may be a pronoun or a lexical DP. This is exactly what we find.

- (47) * Szeretne csak Péter dolgozni éjszaka.
 would.like-3sg only Peter work.inf at.night
 ‘He_i wants it to be the case that only Peter_i works at night’

- (48) Elkezdett csak Péter dolgozni éjszaka.
 began-3sg only Peter work.inf at.night
 ‘It began to be the case that only Peter works at night’

This contrast is multiply important. First, it clinches the Hungarian analysis. Second, it highlights the fact that the theoretical challenge is not just to account for when a lower link in a chain can be spelled out in a pronominal form – we are facing the general question of when a DP can be pronounced. The contrast makes it less likely that the control construction is to be analyzed as a case of backward control, with the lower copy of the chain pronounced. The default prediction of the control-as-movement theory is that the lower copy in a chain can be pronounced as is, without being somehow reduced to a pronoun; but see Boeckx et al. 2007. But thirdly, this contrast serves as an important diagnostic tool for the present, more modest quest.

2.4 Pronominal doubles? Emphatic/placeholder pronouns and we linguists

We have established that the operator-modified pronouns are constituents of the complement clause. But is it certain that they are subjects? The alternative possibility is that they are “pronominal doubles”: emphatic elements, placeholders for topics, or some such. Notice that this only makes a big difference if the pronominal double is adjunct-like in nature. If it sits in the subject position and its pronunciation is governed by the same requirements as that of ordinary subjects, then it poses the same theoretical challenge (see Mensching 2000).

In Hungarian, we need not address this subtler question. Mono-clausal examples become simply ungrammatical if a personal pronoun double of any sort is added. I consider two cases. First, emphatic pronouns. In Hungarian these are reflexives and not personal pronouns, as noted in Szabolcsi 2005.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| (49) | Péter maga is dolgozott | / | Péter nem maga dolgozott. |
| | Peter himself too worked | / | Peter not himself worked |
| | `Peter worked too himself | / | Peter didn't work himself |
| | | | |
| (50) | (Ő) maga is dolgozott | / | (Ő) nem maga dolgozott. |
| | he himself too worked | / | he not himself worked |
| | `He worked too himself | / | He didn't work himself |
| | | | |
| (51) | * Péter ő is dolgozott | / | * Péter nem ő dolgozott. |
| | Peter he too worked | / | Peter not he worked |
| | | | |
| (52) | * Ő ő is dolgozott | / | * Ő nem ő dolgozott. |
| | he he too worked | / | he not he worked |

Second, consider pronominal placeholders for 3rd person left dislocated expressions. In my dialect (which may or may not coincide with the Budapest, or urban, variety) they are distal demonstratives, never personal pronouns. The construction belongs to the spoken language and would not be found in the writing of educated speakers.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|---|------------------------|
| (53) | Péter az dolgozott | / | A fiúk azok dolgoztak. |
| | Peter that worked | | the boys those worked |
| | `Peter worked' | | `The boys worked' |

Such placeholders practically cliticize to the topic and cannot be focused separately:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| (54) | * Péter tegnap az dolgozott | / | * Péter csak az dolgozott. |
| | Peter yesterday that worked | / | Peter only that worked |

Pronominal subjects do not participate in this construction:

- | | | |
|------|------------|-----------------------|
| (55) | a. * Én az | dolgozott/dolgoztam. |
| | I that | worked-3sg/worked-1sg |
| | b. * Ő az | dolgozott. |
| | he that | worked-3sg |

I am aware that there are speakers who use the personal pronoun ő in the place of demonstrative az in (53). But that could be a confound only if they, but not speakers like myself, accepted nominative personal pronouns in infinitival complements and if the infinitival construction were similarly restricted to 3rd person. This is not the case. All the infinitival data reported here are perfect for speakers like myself.

These facts show that the Hungarian control construction discussed above has no possible source in emphatic or placeholder pronouns.

But we can do even better. Postal 1966 observed that personal pronouns in English may take a noun complement. This observation is one of the cornerstones of the hypothesis that such pronouns are determiners.

- | | |
|------|---|
| (56) | We linguists and you philosophers should talk more to each other. |
| (57) | You troops go South and you troops go North. |

Such complemented pronouns do not induce a Condition C violation:

- (58) We know that (only) we linguists can do this.

Our analysis of infinitival complements therefore predicts that the pronouns we analyze as overt subjects can take a noun complement. This is indeed the case. The observation is due to Anikó Lipták, p.c. (via Huba Bartos). The same possibility exists with raising verbs:

- (59) Szeretnénk csak mi nyelvészek kapni magasabb fizetést.
would.like-1pl only we linguists get-inf higher salary-acc
'We would like it to be the case that only we linguists get a higher salary'
- (60) Elkezdünk nem mi nyelvészek ülni az első sorban.
began-1pl not we linguists sit-inf the first row-in
'It began to be the case that not we linguists sit in the first row'

Languages like Italian that have pronominal doubles show the following:

- (61) Pronouns with non-definite noun complements (noi linguisti 'we linguists') do not serve as emphatic or placeholder pronouns.

Therefore, if a language differs from Hungarian in that it has pronominal doubles in monoclausal examples, this potential confound can be controlled for using complemented personal pronouns.

(Philology: Szabolcsi 2005 raised the possibility that the nominatives in Hungarian control complements are emphatic elements. But it was immediately noted that this analysis would only work if one could explain why these expressions are personal, and not reflexive, pronouns. So the assessment of the Hungarian data has not changed. The difference between the 2005 position and the present one is that, with the discovery of the raising data, the subject analysis has gained significant support since 2005.)

2.5 Cross-linguistic diagnostics

I am going to argue that data from various other languages exemplify the phenomenon we have found in Hungarian. But while Hungarian word order makes it plain that some of these subjects are located inside the infinitival clause, other languages may not have comparable word order diagnostics. In those cases the procedure has to be to look for word orders that carry the "LO reading" – in the ideal case, unambiguously, but in reality, often ambiguously. It is important, then, to be able to decide whether the distribution of HI and LO readings in those languages has to do with the infinitival subject issue. I suggest that (46) is a good diagnostic tool. If LO readings with control verbs are available with pronominal subjects but replacing those with lexical subjects makes the same sentences either ungrammatical or acceptable only on the HI reading, then we can be reasonably sure that the LO readings correspond to a pronoun in the infinitival subject position.

Likewise, the fact that Hungarian emphatic and placeholder pronouns are not personal pronouns makes it plain that the nominative personal pronouns occurring in control complements have a different kind of source. If in another language emphatic or placeholder

personal pronouns present a potential confound, it can be controlled for using (61). If complemented pronouns occur in control complements but not in emphatics or placeholders, we know that control complements can have overt pronominal subjects. Unfortunately, as we shall see, many languages lack ‘we linguists’ and have only ‘we the linguists’. The latter, even if it is not an appositive construction, turns out to have a wide distribution and no diagnostic value. This is one of the reasons why the status of several languages is unclear at the moment.

The diagnostics in (46) and (61) are needed only in control constructions; in raising complements the possibility of non-pronominal (lexical) DPs makes things rather uncontroversial.

3. Agreement matters

3.1 Agreement with the finite verb

All the Hungarian infinitival subjects discussed in Section 2 exhibit person-number agreement with the finite verb. To recap, for example:

- [25] Utálok [csak én dolgozni].
 hate-1sg only I work-inf
 LO: ‘I hate it that only I work’
- [32] Nem fogok [csak én dolgozni éjszaka].
 not will-1sg only I work-inf at.night
 LO: ‘It is not going to be the case that only I work at night’
- [35] Elkezdtem [nem én dolgozni éjszaka].
 began-1sg not I work-inf at.night
 LO: ‘It began to be the case that it is not me who works at night’

If the matrix agreement morpheme is removed, effectively turning the inflection into 3sg, which in most verb classes is morphologically unmarked, all these become word salads:

- [25’] ***Utál [csak én dolgozni].
 hate.3sg only I work-inf
- [32’] ***Nem fog [csak én dolgozni éjszaka].
 not will.3sg only I work-inf at.night
- [35’] ***Elkezdett [nem én dolgozni éjszaka].
 began.3sg not I work-inf at.night

When such agreement is not possible, there can be no nominative infinitival subject. Various cases present themselves. As Tóth 2000 observes, infinitival complements of Hungarian predicates that do not carry person-number agreement have exclusively dative subjects. The subject may be controlled, arbitrary, or a lexical DP. The infinitives themselves are optionally inflected. For example:

- (62) Fontos volt / Sikerült
important was / succeeded
- a. ... délre elkészülni / elkészülnöm.
by.noon be.ready-inf be.ready-inf-1sg
'to be ready / for me to be ready by noon'
- b. ... nekem is délre elkészülni / elkészülnöm.
dative.1sg too by.noon be.ready-inf be.ready-inf-1sg
'for me too to be ready by noon'
- c. ... az ebédnek délre elkészülni / elkészülnie.
the lunch.dative by.noon be.ready-inf be.ready-inf-3sg
'for the lunch to be ready by noon'

Likewise there are no overt nominative subjects in free-standing infinitives that function as rude or military imperatives:

- (63) (*Maga is) Távozni!
you too leave-inf
'Leave!'

Infinitival complements of object control verbs have no overt subjects at all. Compare the agreeing unaccusative version of the verb, kényszerül 'be forced':

- (64) * Kényszerítettek (engem) [én is dolgozni] / [nekem is dolgozni]
forced.3pl me I too work-inf dative.1sg too work-inf
'They forced me to work too'
- (65) Kényszerültem [én is dolgozni] / * [nekem is dolgozni]
was.forced.1sg I too work-inf / dative.1sg too work-inf
LO: 'I was forced to work too'

The possibility of overt nominative subjects with controlled purpose adjuncts is dubious. I cannot decide whether they are acceptable:

- (66) Péter a balkonon aludt. ?? Bementem a hálósobába én is aludni.
'Peter was sleeping on the balcony. I went in the bedroom to sleep too'

Hungarian has a narrower range of infinitival complements than English, so not all examples that might come to the reader's mind can be tested.

3.2 Agreement can be long-distance

The finite clause whose verb agrees with the infinitival subject need not be adjacent to that infinitival clause. In (61) the intervening infinitives akarni 'want-inf' and elkezdeni 'begin-inf' do not carry inflection, although they could agree with én if they were finite.

- (67) Nem fogok akarni elkezdni [én is rossz jegyeket kapni].
 not will-1sg want-inf begin-inf I-nom too bad grades-acc get-inf
 'I will not want to begin [to get bad grades too]'

The long-distance character of indiscriminate subject agreement is reminiscent of indiscriminate long-distance object agreement in Hungarian. Hungarian verbs have two conjugations. One is selected when there is a direct object that is, roughly, definite (according to Bartos 1999, if it is a DP, as opposed to a smaller projection) and the other is selected elsewhere. The conjugation of a finite control or raising verb is always determined by the direct object of the lowest infinitival complement. The phenomenon is entirely independent of restructuring. Compare *fogok* 'will-1sg subject' in (67) with *utálom* 'hate-1sg subject.definite object' in (68), where the direct object is definite:

- (68) Utálom elkezdni [én is ezeket a jegyeket kapni].
 hate-1sg.def begin-inf I-nom too these-acc the grades-acc get-inf
 'I hate to begin [to get these grades too]'

In contrast to the infinitival subject, the infinitival direct object itself does not require the presence of such a conjugation. It is perfectly happy in sentences without any definite conjugation:

- (69) Fontos volt [elolvasni a könyvet].
 important was [read-inf the book-acc]
 'It was important to read the book'

So, while both the subject and the object may agree with finite verbs that they are not arguments of, in the former case it is the subject and in the latter case it is the definite-conjugated finite verb that seeks out its distant mate.

3.3 One finite verb -- multiple overt subjects

The examples discussed so far contained only one overt subject, either in the finite or in an infinitival clause. The examples were natural, because Hungarian is an Italian-type null subject language: unstressed subject pronouns are not pronounced. But it is perfectly possible for multiple overt subjects to co-occur with a single agreeing finite verb. This statement revises the judgment in Szabolcsi 2005, where such examples were judged to be marginal. I maintain my judgment of those particular sentences, but I have since realized that it is possible to construct many better examples with multiple subjects. I am grateful to Márta Abrusán and Huba Bartos for discussion.

The sentences below require a contrastive context but when it is available, they are entirely natural and indeed the only way they express the intended propositions. Imagine a situation where a group of people, including János, is faced with a crowded bus: some will certainly have to walk. .

- (70) **János** nem akart [megpróbálni [csak ő menni busszal]]
 John not wanted.3sg try.inf only he go.inf bus.with
 'John didn't want to try to be the only one who takes the bus'

- (71) Én se akarok [csak én menni busszal]
 I-neither want.1sg only I go.inf bus.with
 'Neither do I want to be the only one who takes the bus'
- (72) Senki nem akart [csak ő menni busszal]
 nobody not wanted.1sg only he/she go.inf bus.with
 'Nobody wanted to be the only one who takes the bus'
- (73) Nem akarok [én is megpróbálni [csak én menni busszal]]
 not want.1sg I too try.inf only I go.inf bus.with
 'I don't want to be another person who tries to be the only one who takes the bus'

The status of multiple overt subjects in raising constructions is not clear to me.

- (74) ?* Nem fogok [én is elkezdni [nem én kapni szerepeket]]
 not will.1sg I too begin.inf not I get.inf roles-acc
 'It will not happen to me too that it begins to be the case that it is not me who gets roles'
- (75) ? János elkezdett [csak ő kapni szerepeket].
 John began.3sg only he get.inf roles-acc
 'It began to be the case that only John got roles'

4. *De se* pronouns and control

Overt pronouns are known to have either *de re* or *de se* readings. The coreferential or bound interpretations standardly considered only pay attention to *de re* truth conditions. The *de se* reading arises when the antecedent is the subject of a propositional attitude verb and is aware that the complement proposition pertains to him/herself. The following example, modified from Maier 2006, highlights the *de re*—*de se* distinction. We tape the voices of different individuals, then play the tapes back to them and ask them who sounds friendly. There are two possibilities: they recognize their own voices or not. In either case, it may happen that

- (76) John judged that only he sounded friendly. (he=John)

In either case, the pronoun he refers to John, so the plain *de re* truth conditions do not see any difference. But we may distinguish the special case where John is actually aware that the referent of he is identical to him, i.e. where he expresses an attitude towards himself. This is the *de se* reading.

De se readings are relevant to us because, as Chierchia 1989 observed, infinitival control constructions are always *de se*. There is no way to construe (77) with John having the desire but not being aware that it pertains to him himself; (78) on the other hand can be so construed. The detailed demonstration of this involves amnesiac war heroes, and I skip the story.

- (77) John wanted to get a medal. (only *de se*)
 (78) John wanted only him to get a medal. (*de re* or *de se*)

Both *de re* and *de se* readings occur with quantificational antecedents as well:

- (79) Every guy wanted to get a medal. (only *de se*)
 (80) Every guy wanted only him to get a medal. (*de re* or *de se*)

The standard assumption is that coreferential/bound pronouns are always ambiguous between *de re* and *de se*; only controlled PRO is designated as a *de se* anaphor. This belief is confirmed by the interpretation of subjunctives where they are exempt from obviation, i.e. where they can be bound by the matrix subject.

In Hungarian, subjunctive complements of volitional verbs are exempt from obviation in at least two cases (Farkas 1992, in part quoting Szabolcsi, p.c.). One is where the matrix subject does not bear a responsibility relation to the event in the complement proposition. For Farkas 1992, responsibility is the hallmark of canonical control.

- (81) Miért tanulsz olyan sokat? Nem akarom, hogy pro rossz jegyet kapjak.
 'Why do you study so hard? I don't want that I get a bad grade'
 (82) Miért tanul olyan sokat? Nem akarja, hogy pro rossz jegyet kapjon.
 'Why does he study so hard? He doesn't want that he get a bad grade'

Here the person who gets the grade does not bear full responsibility for what grade he/she gets, since someone else assigns the grade. The subjunctives in (81)-(82) have null subjects, but they could be made overt if they bear stress. If they bear stress, even the non-agentive predicate in the complement is not necessary. I believe the reason is that the responsibility relation is necessarily impaired. One may be fully responsible for whether he/she takes the bus, but not for whether he/she is the only one to do so:

- (83) Nem akarja, hogy ő is rossz jegyet kapjon.
 'He doesn't want that he too get a bad grade'
 (84) Nem akarta, hogy csak ő menjen busszal.
 'He didn't want that only he take the bus'

It is important to observe now that the coreferential/bound non-obviative overt subject of the subjunctive in Hungarian can be interpreted either *de re* or *de se*. E.g.,

- (85) A(z amnéziás) hős nem akarta, hogy csak ő kapjon érdemrendet.
 the amnesiac hero not wanted.3sg that only he get-subj-3sg medal-acc
 'The (amnesiac) hero did not want that only he get a medal'
de re or *de se*

This contrasts sharply with the interpretation of the overt infinitival subject of control complements, as observed by Márta Abrusán, p.c.:

- (86) A(z amnéziás) hős nem akart csak ő kapni érdemrendet.
 the amnesiac hero not wanted.3sg only he get-inf medal-acc
 'The (amnesiac) hero did not want it to be the case that only he gets a medal'
 only *de se*

The same holds for all the other Hungarian control verbs, including *utál* 'hate', *elfelejt* 'forget', etc.

- (87) Abrusán's Observation About *De Se* Pronouns
 The overt pronoun in the subject position of infinitival control complements is interpreted exclusively *de se*.

The interpretation of (80) differs from that of the run-of-the-mill control construction (88) just in what the focus-sensitive operator attached to the subject contributes.

- (88) A(z amnéziás) hős nem akart PRO érdemrendet kapni.
 the amnesiac hero not wanted.3sg medal-acc get-inf
 'The (amnesiac) hero did not want to get a medal'
 only *de se*

Languages differ in what exemptions from obviation they allow in subjunctives, but the *de se* interpretation of overt infinitival control subjects is a diagnostic to look for when one wishes to ascertain whether a language exhibits the same phenomenon as Hungarian.

We have seen that infinitival complements of control verbs in Hungarian are always read *de se*, whether they have a PRO or an overt pronoun subject. This supports the idea that the pronominal examples instantiate control as much as the PRO examples. If so, *de se* interpretation should follow from the semantics of control, not from that of PRO itself. But what aspect of control is pertinent remains to be seen. The canonical cases of control according to Farkas are ones involving full responsibility. Due to the operator that associates with the pronominal subject, our pronoun examples do not involve full responsibility: the matrix subject can only be responsible for his/her own actions. But then PRO examples with non-agentive verbs, as in *I want to get good grades* do not involve full responsibility either.

5. Italian, Mexican Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, Modern Hebrew, and Romanian

With this background I turn to the discussion of data from other languages. I will be assuming that the reader has read the more detailed discussion pertaining to Hungarian.

5.1 Italian (thanks to Raffaella Bernardi and especially Andrea Cattaneo for data and discussion)

5.1.1.1 Control

Italian is a good language to start with, because certain word orders disambiguate the relevant readings. We start with control. Negation is included in the first set of examples just in order to make the truth conditional differences sharper. The overt subject is highlighted by underlining;

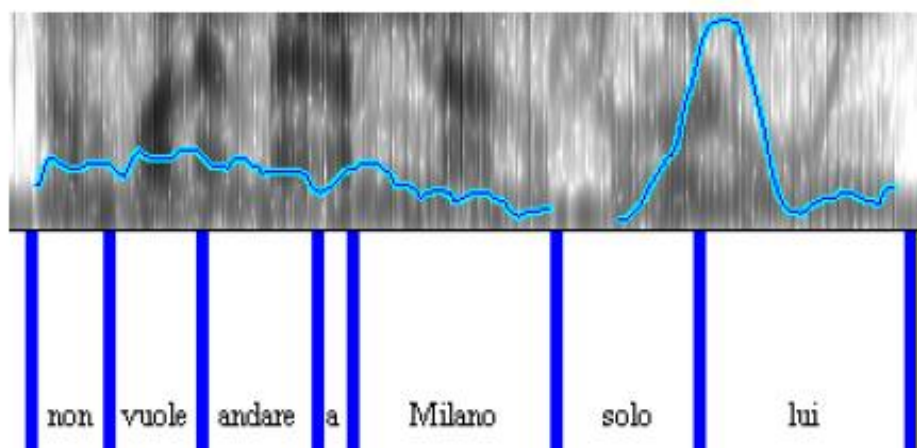
this does not indicate stress.

In (89), preverbal solo lui takes maximal scope: it scopes over both negation and the attitude verb 'want'. In (84), sentence final solo lui is ambiguous. On what I call the HI reading it takes matrix scope, though this is not identical to the one observed in (89), because it remains within the scope of negation. What we are really interested in is the LO reading (under both negation and the attitude verb).

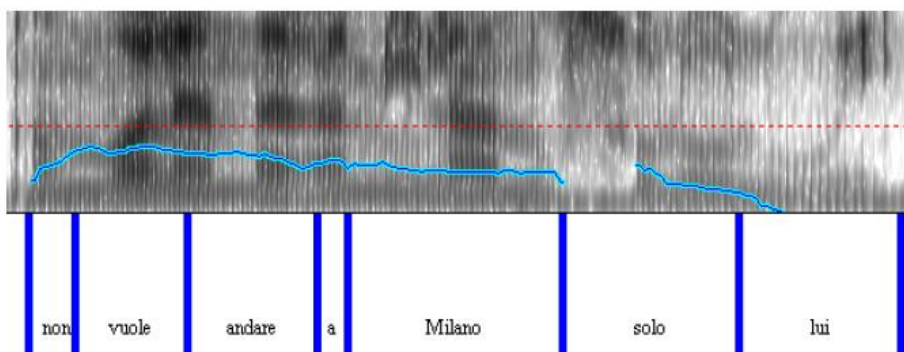
- (89) Solo lui non vuole andare a Milano.
 only he not want.3sg go.inf to Milano
 'Only he doesn't want to go to Milano'
- (90) Non vuole andare a Milano solo lui.
 [a] HI 'Not only he wants to go to Milano'
 [b] LO 'He doesn't want it to be the case that only he goes to Milano'

The string in (90) is disambiguated by intonation. (Note: the break in the pitch contour is due to the sibilant in solo, it is not a pause.)

[90a] HI reading



[90b] LO reading

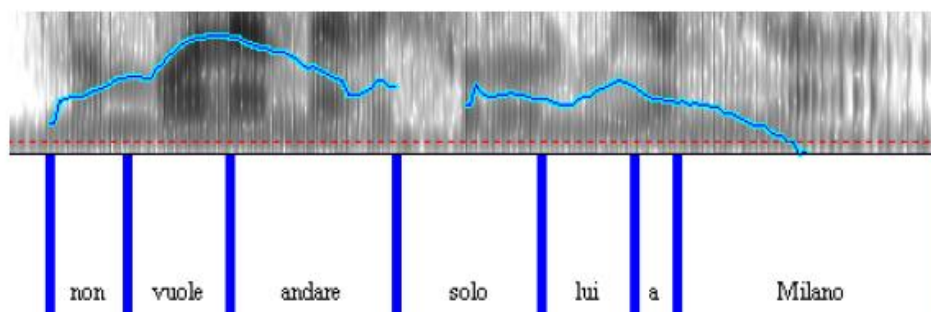


In (91), where solo lui is followed by the PP of the infinitival clause (without being separated from it by a pause), only the LO reading is retained; also observe the pitch contour. (92) with solo lui between vuole and andare is unacceptable.

- (91) Non vuole andare solo lui a Milano.
 `LO: He doesn't want it to be the case that only he goes to Milano'

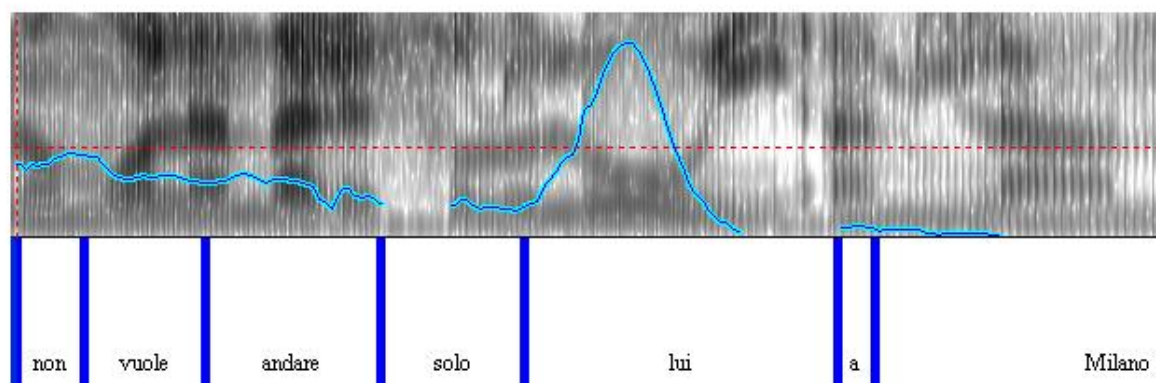
- (92) *Non vuole solo lui andare a Milano.

[91] LO reading



(91) may also have a HI reading with a marked pause before a Milano. In what follows I ignore such pause-induced HI readings.

[91] HI reading with pause before a Milano



Although my proposal is not contingent on having a detailed analysis of word order and scope in Italian, let me add that I assume that the string in (90), Non vuole andare a Milano solo lui is simply structurally ambiguous, solo lui being the clause-final focused subject of either the matrix or the complement clause. Small pro and big PRO are added just to indicate which role solo lui is **not** playing:

- (93) a. HI: non vuole [PRO andare a Milano] solo lui
 b. LO: pro non vuole [andare a Milano solo lui]

(91), Non vuole andare solo lui a Milano is unambiguous and has only a LO reading. The LO reading is available, because the infinitival subject can be postverbal within its own clause (94a); the HI reading is absent probably because the matrix subject cannot scramble with infinitival material (94b):

- (94) a. LO: pro non vuole [andare solo lui a Milano]
 b. HI: * non vuole [*PRO* andare solo lui a Milano]

To ascertain that the LO reading of solo lui is due to this phrase being the infinitival subject it is crucial to compare the above sentences with solo Gianni in the place of solo lui. Here only the HI readings are available. As pointed out in Section 2.3, this is what the proposed analysis predicts. Volere always has a thematic subject, even if it is pro-dropped, and control requires that this subject and the infinitival subject be linked. A pronoun in the infinitival subject position does not violate any binding condition if it is linked to the matrix subject, but a referential DP in the same situation violates Condition C.

- (95) Solo Gianni non vuole andare a Milano.
 only he not want.3sg go.inf to Milano
 `Only Gianni doesn't want to go to Milano
- (96) Non vuole andare a Milano solo Gianni.
 [a] HI: `Not only Gianni wants to go to Milano'
 [b] * LO: `He_i doesn't want it to be the case that only Gianni_i goes to Milano'
- (97) * Non vuole andare solo Gianni a Milano.
 * LO: `He_i doesn't want it to be the case that only Gianni_i goes to Milano'
- (98) *Non vuole solo Gianni andare a Milano.

The pattern illustrated with volere is not contingent on restructuring; just as in Hungarian, it works the same with odiare, not a restructuring verb.

- (99) Odiare lavorare solo lui.
 [a] HI: `Only he hates to work.'
 [b] LO: `He hates it that only he works'
- (100) Odiare lavorare solo Gianni.
 [a] HI: `Only Gianni hates to work.'
 [b] * LO: `He_i hates it that only Gianni_i works'

5.1.1.2 Controlling for pronominal doubles

In Italian, as in Hungarian, emphatic elements are reflexives, not personal pronouns (Gianni stesso `Gianni himself'). Italian has personal pronoun doubles in mono-clausal examples:

- (101) Gianni ha lavorato solo lui / anche lui
 Gianni have.3sg worked only he / also he

This is a potential confound. The task is to find a way to distinguish pronominal doubles from what I analyzed as pronominal subjects in control complements. The argument below will follow the reasoning in section 2.4.

One remarkable fact is that such placeholder pronouns do not associate with the quantifier ogni ragazzo `every boy' within one clause but can be controlled by it:

- (102) Context: The teacher worked, and...
 * Ogni ragazzo ha lavorato anche lui
 every boy aux worked also he
 'for every boy x, x worked too'
- (103) Context: The teacher worked, and...
 Ogni ragazzo vuole lavorare anche lui
 every boy wants work-inf also he
 LO: 'Every boy wants it to be the case that he too works'

But it might be that in (103) the complement clause has a PRO subject that is doubled by anche lui, so it has the same structure as (101). Krifka assumes that PRO can function as a contrastive topic for postposed stressed additive particles to associate with, so perhaps it is possible for PRO to be doubled.

We may now invoke the complemented pronoun test (cf. (61)). In the control construction that I have proposed to analyze as one involving an overt infinitival subject, a noun complement can be perfectly well added to the personal pronoun:

- (104) Vorremmo [andare solo noi linguisti a Milano].
 LO: 'We would like it to be the case that only we linguists go to Milan'
- (105) Vorremmo [andare a Milano solo noi linguisti].
 LO: 'We would like it to be the case that only we linguists go to Milan'

What happens in the mono-clausal construction? We need a bit of context to make the pronoun noi a topic to begin with, but it is possible:

- (106) Context: We philosophers are the only people who work!
 Guarda che noi, abbiamo lavorato anche noi!
 look that we, have.1pl worked also we
 'Look. We, we have worked too'

Adding linguisti to (106) results in unacceptability, indicating, as in (61), that pronominal doubles do not take noun complements:

- (107) Context: We philosophers are the only people who work!
 * Guarda che noi, abbiamo lavorato anche noi linguisti!
 look that we, have.1pl worked also we linguists
 'Look. We, we linguists have worked too'

On the other hand, if the topic noi is removed, noi linguisti becomes possible, since nothing prevents it from being the sole subject:

- (108) Context: We philosophers are the only people who work!
 Guarda che abbiamo lavorato anche noi linguisti!
 look that have.1pl worked also we linguists
 'Look. We linguists have worked too'

To summarize, it is possible that lavorare anche lui is structurally ambiguous and has one analysis where it contains a PRO subject doubled by anche lui, along the lines of Gianni ha lavorato anche lui. But generalizing from (104)-(105) it also has another analysis where anche lui is the sole subject.

Mensching 2000:60-62 raises the possibility that emphatic pronouns are instances of overt PRO. He points out that “the emphatic pronoun behaves exactly like PRO, both for coindexation facts and the construction types where it is allowed... For Romance languages we should assume that the null case is assigned to PRO and to emphatic pronouns by governing T^0 , which will account for the postverbal position.” This proposal would not by itself account for the noi / noi linguisti contrast and would not extend to the raising case.

5.1.2 Raising

The pronoun/lexical DP contrast disappears with raising verbs like sembrare and iniziare / cominciare (different speakers seem to prefer different aspectual verbs). The distribution of possible word orders and readings turns out to be different in raising from that in control. I do not attempt to explain this, just report the judgments. I first provide some sembrare examples but then switch to discussing ones with the aspectual verb, because the truth conditional difference is much sharper there.

We are interested in word orders that only carry the LO readings (without a pause). Imagine that we are listening to a tape trying to determine whether I am the only one singing in it or others are singing too (same for Gianni).

- (109) Non sembro cantare solo io su questo nastro.
 not seem-1sg sing-inf only I in this tape
 `LO: It doesn't seem to be the case that only I am singing in this tape'

- (110) Non sembra cantare solo Gianni su questo nastro.
 not seem-3sg sing-inf only Gianni in this tape
 `LO: It doesn't seem to be the case that only Gianni is singing in this tape'

The readings paraphrased in (109)-(110) are difficult to distinguish from 'Not only I seem / Gianni seems to be singing in this tape', although there may be a slight difference: (109)-(110) do not imply that anyone in particular seems to be also singing.

To bring out the contrast in truth conditions involving 'begin', consider two situations, one where the HI reading is true and the LO one is false, and one where the HI reading is false and the LO one is true:

- (111) Scenario A: HI true, LO false:

	Before 2006	In 2006
Eva	no good roles	no good roles
Clara	some good roles	some good roles
Maria	no good roles	some good roles

- (112) Scenario B: HI false, LO true:

	Before 2006	In 2006
Eva	some good roles	no good roles
Clara	some good roles	no good roles
Maria	some good roles	some good roles

All four sentences below are reported to be unambiguous; most importantly to us, both solo lei and solo Maria get LO readings in (108):

- (113) solo lei / solo Maria ha iniziato a ricevere buoni incarichi.
 only she / only Maria began.3sg prep receive-inf good roles
 Scenario A: 'Only she/only Maria began to get good roles'
- (114) Ha iniziato a ricevere buoni incarichi solo lei / solo Maria.
 began.3sg prep receive-inf good roles only she / only Maria
 Scenario B: 'It began to be the case that only she/only Maria got good roles'
- (115) Ha iniziato solo lei a ricevere buoni incarichi.
 began.3sg only she prep receive-inf good roles
 ? Scenario B: 'It began to be the case that only she/only Maria got good roles'
- (116) Ha iniziato solo Maria a ricevere buoni incarichi.
 began.3sg only Maria prep receive-inf good roles
 Scenario A: 'Only Mary began to get good roles'

5.1.3 One finite verb – multiple overt subjects

As in Hungarian, more than one overt subject may co-occur with a single finite verb in Italian if the appropriate contrastive context is provided.

- (117) Solo Gianni vuole andare solo lui a scuola.
 'Only Gianni wants to be the only one who goes to school'
- (118) Solo Gianni vuole provare anche lui a ricevere regali solo lui.
 'Only Gianni wants to be another person who tries try to be the only one who receives presents'
- (119) Anche lui / Gianni ha cominciato a ricevere regali solo lui.
 [In my family, it began to be the case that only I get presents. The same happened in his/Gianni's family, namely:] 'Also with him/Gianni it began to be the case that only he gets presents'
- (120) Gianni ha cominciato a ricevere regali solo lui.
 'With Gianni it began to be the case that only he gets presents'

5.1.5 *De se* pronouns

Just as in Hungarian, the overt pronominal subjects of control infinitives are exclusively interpreted *de se*, whereas subjects of subjunctives need not be.

Exemption from obviation seems to work somewhat differently in Italian than in Hungarian: a non-agentive infinitival verb does not suffice by itself. Notice that the subjunctive *riceva* exhibits syncretism: the 1sg and 3sg forms coincide:

- (121) Non voglio che riceva brutte note.
 not want-1sg that get-subj-1sg/3sg bad grades
 ‘I don’t want that he receive bad grades’
 * ‘I don’t want that I receive bad grades’

- (122) Non voglio che anch’io riceva brutte note.
 not want-1sg that also I get-subj-1sg bad grades
 ‘I don’t want that also I receive bad grades’

5.1.6 Summary of the Italian data

The preceding subsections have shown that the Hungarian findings are replicated in Italian as follows.

There exist word orders that unambiguously carry what I called the LO reading of the overt subject. In control constructions, the subject in these orders can only be a pronoun, not a lexical DP. In raising constructions, the subject in these cases can be pronominal or lexical. There are other orders that ambiguously carry HI or LO readings; the LO readings of control examples of this sort become unavailable with a lexical DP. The overt pronominal subject on the LO reading is always read *de se*. Multiple overt subjects may co-occur with a single finite verb.

The main difference between Hungarian and Italian is that the position of focused phrases is strictly preverbal in Hungarian, and so surface order makes clear in which clause a focused phrase is located, whereas word order in Italian does not provide such clear-cut clues in and of itself (at least not to a non-specialist).

Unlike Hungarian, Italian has a potential confound in the form of pronominal doubles. We have seen that this can be controlled for using the complemented pronoun test. As of date I do not have comparable disambiguating tools for all the other languages in my sample. It is therefore important to bear in mind the conclusions that Hungarian and Italian establish.

5.2 Mexican Spanish (thanks to Violeta Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado for data and discussion)

5.2.1 Control

It seems that Spanish matrix subjects can scramble with infinitival material to a greater extent than Italian ones, retaining their matrix scope. So more orders are acceptable and are ambiguous in Spanish than in Italian, something that I will not attempt to account for.

(123) shows that sólo Juan can occur in all 4 positions, but only with a HI reading.

(124) shows that the HI reading is similarly available to sólo él, although between quiere and ir it is dispreferred. Crucially to us, (125) shows that sólo él can receive a LO reading in all non-initial positions. In final position the LO reading is dispreferred, although this becomes fine if

the matrix negation is removed.

- (123) <Sólo Juan> no quiere <sólo Juan> ir <sólo Juan> a la escuela <sólo Juan>.
 HI 'Only Juan doesn't want to go to school'
 * LO 'He_i doesn't want it to be the case that only Juan_i goes to school'
- (124) <Sólo él> no quiere <? sólo él> ir <sólo él> a la escuela <sólo él>.
 HI 'Only he doesn't want to go to school'
- (125) <* Sólo él> no quiere <sólo él> ir <sólo él> a la escuela <? sólo él>.
 LO 'He_i doesn't want it to be the case that only he_i goes to school'

The pattern is not contingent on restructuring:

- (126) Odia trabajar sólo Juan.
 (?) HI 'Only he hates to work (others like to work)'
 * LO 'He_i hates it that only Juan_i works (he wants others to work too)'
- (127) Odia trabajar sólo él.
 (?) HI 'Only he hates to work (others like to work)'
 LO 'He_i hates it that only he_i works (he wants others to work too)'

Torrego 1998 explicitly states that complement infinitives, as opposed to adjunct ones, cannot have overt subjects. Her examples, however, contain names without associated operators, and she does not investigate the possibility of a pronoun:

- (128) Odia jugar (*Pablo) a las cartas.
 'He hates (*Pablo) to play cards'
- (129) Para celebrar Rita su cumpleaños, se fue de viaje al Caribe.
 'To celebrate Rita her birthday, she took a trip to the Caribbean'

5.2.2 Raising

The pronoun/lexical DP contrast disappears with raising verbs like parecer and empezar. As in Italian, the distribution of possible word orders and readings turns out to be a bit different in raising than in control, which I do not attempt to explain, just report the judgments. I first provide some parecer examples but then switch to discussing ones with the aspectual verb, because the truth conditional difference is much sharper there.

We are interested in word orders that carry the LO readings. Imagine that we are listening to a tape trying to determine whether I am the only one singing in it or others are singing too (same for Juan).

- (130) No parezco cantar sólo yo en este cassette.
 not seem-1sg sing.inf only I in this tape
 ? 'It doesn't seem to be the case that only I am singing in this tape'

- (131) No parece cantar sólo Juan en este cassette.
 not seem-3sg sing.inf only Juan in this tape
 'It doesn't seem to be the case that only Juan is singing in this tape'

The readings paraphrased in (130)-(131) are difficult to distinguish from 'Not only I seem / Juan seems to be singing in this tape', although there may be a slight difference: (130)-(131) do not imply that anyone in particular seems to be also singing.

To bring out the contrast in truth conditions involving 'begin', consider two situations, one where the HI reading is true and the LO one is false, and one where the HI reading is false and the LO one is true:

- (132) Scenario A: HI true, LO false:
- | | Before 2006 | In 2006 |
|-------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Eva | no good roles | no good roles |
| Clara | some good roles | some good roles |
| Maria | no good roles | some good roles |

- (133) Scenario B: HI false, LO true:
- | | Before 2006 | In 2006 |
|-------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Eva | some good roles | no good roles |
| Clara | some good roles | no good roles |
| Maria | some good roles | some good roles |

Most importantly to us, both sólo ella and sólo Maria have LO readings in (136) and (138):

- (134) Sólo ella / sólo Maria empezó a obtener papeles buenos.
 only she / only Maria began.3sg prep receive-inf roles good
 Scenario A: 'Only she/only Maria began to get good roles'
- (135) Empezó <sólo ella> a obtener <*<sólo ella> papeles buenos <?<sólo ella>.&br/>
 Scenario A: 'Only she began to get good roles'
- (136) Empezó <*<sólo ella> a obtener <?<sólo ella> papeles buenos <sólo ella>.
 Scenario B: 'It began to be the case that only she got good roles'
- (137) Empezó <?<sólo M> a obtener <*<sólo M> papeles buenos <sólo M>.
 Scenario A: 'Only Maria began to get good roles'
- (138) Empezó <sólo M> a obtener <*<sólo M> papeles buenos <sólo M>.
 Scenario B: 'It began to be the case that only Maria got good roles'

More LO readings become available if the infinitival verb is not transitive:

- (139) Empezó a ir sólo Maria / ella a la escuela.
 ? Scenario A: 'Only Maria / she began to go to school'
 Scenario B: 'It began to be the case that only Maria / she went to school'

5.2.3 Pronominal doubles

Like Italian, Spanish has pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples:

- (140) Juan ha trabajado sólo él / también él.

So one would try to use the counterpart of Italian noi linguisti ‘we linguists’ to distinguish true subjects from pronominal doubles in infinitival clauses. Although many hits of nosotros mexicanos and nosotros españoles can be found on Google (phrases that I assume are written by native speakers), I have not found an informant of this variety. My Mexican Spanish informant does not accept nosotros linguistas:

- (141) *Queremos ir sólo nosotros linguistas a Milán.
 (142) Queremos ir sólo nosotros los linguistas a Milán.

As discussed below in detail in connection with Modern Hebrew, the definite ‘we the linguists’ construction does not have the discriminating distribution of ‘we linguists’. It remains to be seen if an alternative, possibly Spanish-specific descriptive diagnostic can be found.

In any case, the existence of (140) indicates that at least one possible analysis of the examples discussed in 5.2.1, e.g. (127), is Odía [PRO trabajar sólo él]. Piera 1987 proposed such an analysis (Pöll 2006).

5.2.4 One finite verb – multiple overt subjects

As in Hungarian and Italian, more than one overt subject may co-occur with a single finite verb in Spanish if the appropriate contrastive context is provided.

With both pronouns overt, (143) is only colloquial; with the matrix subject dropped it is acceptable in the written language as well. (144) is acceptable in the written language.

- (143) (Yo) no quiero resbalarme yo también en este suelo.
 (I) not want-1sg slip-inf-me I too on this floor
 ‘I don’t want it to be the case that I too slip on this floor’
- (144) Tampoco yo quería tratar de hablar sólo yo con el director.
 neither I wanted try-inf prep speak-inf only I with the director
 ‘Neither did I want to try to be the only one to talk to the director’

5.2.5 De se pronouns

As in Hungarian and Italian, overt pronominal subjects of infinitival control complements in Spanish are read exclusively *de se*. This is difficult to compare with subjunctives, because exemption from obviation does not seem available, in contrast to the other two languages.

5.2.6 Summary of the Mexican Spanish data

Overall, the Mexican Spanish data are consistent with the generalizations reached in Hungarian and Italian, but are in themselves less transparent. This is due (i) to the larger number of

ambiguous sentences and (ii) to the existence of pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples, coupled with the fact that (my informant's variety of) Mexican Spanish lacks the 'we linguist' construction that I used in Italian to diagnose pronominal doubles in infinitival complements.

5.3 Brazilian Portuguese (thanks to Cristina Schmitt and Alessandro Boechat for data and discussion)

5.3.1 Control

The two items below come from Google. I thank Michael Taylor for checking the larger context (reproduced in one example only) to make certain that the LO reading is intended.

- (145) Bem, tenho tentado ser uma boa amiga e vou ao hospital sempre que posso e falo com a Amy pelo telefone toda hora mas, hoje com essa neve toda, não sei bem o que fazer ainda,
não quero eu também acabar doente...
 LO: 'I don't want it to be the case that I too get sick'
- (146) Não quero eu também ser falso moralista.
 LO: 'I don't want it to be the case that I too am a false moralist'

5.3.2 One finite verb – multiple subjects in control

Written Brazilian Portuguese requires pro-drop, but overt unstressed pronouns occur and seem to be preferred in the spoken language. Thus the sentences below are very colloquial. The presence of the overt matrix subject is important because it ensures that the eu 'I' following the finite verb belongs to the infinitival clause.

The contrastive contexts and multiple pronouns are quite similar to what one finds in Hungarian. While both Schmitt and Boechat judged them to be fine, some other speakers, possibly of a different dialect, did not tolerate three overt subjects. The examples become unacceptable with a name in the place of the first pronoun in the complement; the sentences are grammatical with o João in initial position.

- (147) [Context: Mary slipped on the wet floor]
Eu não quero eu também escorregar neste chão.
 LO: 'I don't want it to be the case that I too slip on this floor'
- (148) *Não quer o João também escorregar neste chão.
- (149) [Context: Mary tried to be the only one to speak with the director]
Eu não queria eu também tentar só eu falar com o diretor.
 'I didn't want to be another one who tries to be the only one who speaks with the director'
- (150) Não quer o João também tentar só ele falar com o diretor.
- (151) [Context: Mary tried to be the only one who takes money from the bank]
Eu não quero eu também tentar só eu tirar dinheiro do banco.
 LO: 'I don't want to be another one who tries to be the only one who takes

money from the bank’

- (152) Não quer o João também tentar só ele tirar dinheiro do banco.
- (153) [Context: Peter didn't try to be the only one who speaks with the director]
Nem eu queria só eu tentar falar com o diretor.
 ‘Neither did I want to be the only one who tries to speak with the director’
- (154) Nem o João queria só ele tentar falar com o diretor.

As B. Pöll (p.c.) points out to me, a potential confound is that while usually Portuguese does not allow for inflected infinitives in control contexts, this ban is not operative when the (modal) verb and the infinitive are separated. Since in (colloquial) Brazilian Portuguese the inflected infinitive has lost its overt agreement morphemes, but still works as if it were inflected, eu também in Eu não quero eu também escorregar neste chão could be licensed by escorregar thought of as a personal infinitive. – Given these facts it is especially important to recall that Hungarian inflected infinitives present no such confound, because their subjects are invariably in the dative.

5.3.3 Raising

It appears that raising examples with initial ‘only John/he’ are ambiguous, whereas placing the same DPs immediately after the finite verb favors the LO reading, or at least requires a different intonation to produce the HI one.

- (155) Só ele / o João começou a conseguir bons papéis.
 HI: ‘Only he/John began to get good roles’
 LO: ‘It began to be the case that only he/John got good roles’
- (156) Começou só ele / o João a conseguir bons papéis.
 ? HI: ‘Only he/John began to get good roles’
 LO: ‘It began to be the case that only he/John got good roles’

5.3.4 Summary of the Brazilian Portuguese data

The data are consistent with the assumption that BP exhibits overt infinitival subjects in both control and raising complements. -- For the time being I assume that if BP has a mono-clausal pronominal double construction, complemented pronouns or some alternative diagnostic can be used to distinguish the pronominal doubles from what I analyze as pronominal subjects in control complements.

5.4 Romanian (thanks to Oana Savescu, Alex Grosu, and Donka Farkas for data and discussion)

One of the Balkan traits of Romanian is the prevalence of subjunctives. However, my informants judge that infinitives are possible with some matrix verbs. All the data below come from this pool. The base-line judgment is ?, due to the marginality of their infinitival character.

I start the discussion with the more robust raising cases.

5.4.1 Raising

- (157) ? Nu par a cânta doar eu pe caseta asta.
 not seem.1.sg to sing only I on tape this
 LO: 'It doesn't seem to be the case that only I am singing on this tape'
- (158) Nu pare a cânta doar Ion pe caseta asta.
 not seem.3.sg to sing only Ion on tape this
 LO: 'It doesn't seem to be the case that only John is singing on this tape'

5.4.2 Control

LO readings with pronouns exist, but Romanian has pronominal doubles that accompany names and, in contrast to Italian, also quantifiers, see (162). Like Spanish and unlike Italian, Romanian has only noi lingviști-i 'we the linguists' and not *noi lingviști 'we linguists', and this does not discriminate between doubles and real subjects.

- (159) ? Urăste a munci doar el.
 hate.3sg to work only he
 HI: 'Only he hates to work. (with focus on *el*)
 LO: 'He hates it that only he works (with focus on *urăste*)
- (160) ? Urăste a munci doar Ion.
 hate.3sg to work only Ion
 HI: 'Only Ion hates to work. (with focus on *el*)
 * LO: 'He_i hates it that only Ion_i works (with focus on *urăste*)
- (161) Ion a muncit doar el / și el.
 Ion have.3sg worked only he/also he
 'Only Ion worked / Ion worked too'
- (162) Context: The teacher worked, and...
 Fiecare băiat a muncit și el.
 every boy aux worked also he
 'every boy worked too'
- (163) ?Vrem a merge doar noi lingviști-i la Milano.
 ?Vrem a merge la Milano doar noi lingviști-i.
 LO: 'We would like it to be the case that only we the linguists go to Milan'

5.4.3 One finite verb – multiple subjects in control

We do not know whether (164) contains multiple subjects or pronominal doubles:

- (164) ? Aș urî a încerca și eu a mă urca doar eu în autobuz.
 would hate.1sg to try also I to myself get on only I in bus

'I would hate to be another person who tries to be the only one to go by bus'

5.4.4 *De se* pronouns in infinitival and subjunctive control

The controlled pronoun in (159) above only has a *de se* reading. But Romanian has further important data regarding overt controllees. Farkas 1985 observed that controlled subjunctives may have overt pronominal subjects (underlined):

- (165) Ion l_i-a ajutat pe Dan_i să rezolve (el_i) problema.
 Ion him-has helped acc Dan subjunctive solves he problem
 'Ion helped Dan to solve the problem'

- (166) Ion_i încerca să rezolve (el_i) problema.
 Ion tries subjunctive solves he problem
 'Ion tries to solve the problem'

The following free subjunctives also have overt pronominal subjects. Alex Grosu observes that (167), which has the complementizer ca is definitely ambiguous between *de re* and *de se* readings (like pronominal subjects of Hungarian subjunctives), but (168) without ca is probably only *de se* (like pronominal subjects of infinitives):

- (167) Amnezicul nu vrea ca doar el să capete o medalie.
 amnesiac-the not wants that only he subjunctive get a medal
 'The amnesiac doesn't want that only he get a medal'

- (168) Amnezicul nu vrea să capete doar el o medalie.
 amnesiac-the not want subjunctive get only he a medal
 'The amnesiac doesn't want that only he get a medal'

Thus Romanian is a rich source of overt controllees.

5.4.5 The position of the infinitival verb

The structural height of the verb can be diagnosed in various ways. It is standardly assumed that German and Dutch infinitival verbs are in a low position. That French infinitival verbs are in a low position can be seen from the fact that they are preceded by both clitics and adverbs; likewise English infinitival verbs are preceded by adverbs. In contrast, Italian and Spanish infinitival verbs are in a high position, witness the fact that they have enclitics, as opposed to proclitics. Romanian is of interest here, because Romanian infinitival verbs have proclitics but are followed by adverbs:

- (169) Urăste a vedea **des** spectacolul doar el.
 hate.3sg inf see **often** show-the only he
 'He hates to be the only one to see the show often'

In this respect they are like Romanian and French finite verbs. Occurrence in a position preceding the clitics (as in Italian and Spanish) or even preceding all argument positions (as in

Hungarian and probably Turkish) is certainly sufficient, but not necessary.

5.4.6 Summary of the Romanian data

As Hebrew, Romanian appears to have evidence for overt subjects in raising complements only. But the Romanian data are particularly interesting in connection with overt controlled subjects in subjunctives, and also in connection with the position of its infinitival verb.

5.5 Modern Hebrew (thanks to Eytan Zweig, Tali Siloni, and especially Idan Landau and Edit Doron for data and discussion)

1st and 2nd person unstressed pronouns are obligatorily null. 3rd person subjects can be null when they have an antecedent and ideally are contained in a clause with future tense morphology (see Borer 1989, Landau 2004, and Holmberg 2005 for different analyses).

5.5.1 Raising

The LO readings are readily available with quantifiers in final position:

- (170) paxot anašim hetxilu la-avod šam.
 less people started-3pl-masc inf-work there
 HI: 'Less people are such that they started to work there'
 * LO: 'It began to be the case that less people work overall'
- (171) rak me'at anašim hitxilu la-avod šam.
 only few people started-3pl-masc inf-work there
 HI: 'Only few people are such that they started to work there'
 * LO: 'It began to be the case that only few people work overall'
- (172) hitxilu la-avod šam paxot anašim.
 started-3pl-masc inf-work there less people
 ? HI: 'Less people are such that they started to work there'
 LO: 'It began to be the case that less people work overall'
- (173) hitxilu la-avod šam rak me'at anašim.
 started-3pl-masc to-work there only few people
 HI: 'Only few people are such that they started to work there'
 LO: 'It began to be the case that only few people work overall'

5.5.2 Control and pronominal doubles

At first blush Hebrew appears to exhibit overt subjects in control complements as well. Control examples with sentence final pronouns are acceptable on the LO reading. (With initial pronouns the LO reading requires a left dislocation intonation; I ignore this here.)

- (174) rak/gam anaxnu lo racinu la-avod.
 only/also we not wanted-1pl inf-work
 HI: 'Only/also we did not want to work'

- (175) lo racinu la-avod rak anaxnu.
 not wanted-1pl inf-work only we
 * HI: 'Only we didn't want to work'
 LO: 'We did not want it to be the case that only we work'
- (176) lo racinu la-avod gam anaxnu.
 not wanted-1pl inf-work also we
 %HI: 'We too didn't want to work'
 LO: 'We did not want it to be the case that only we work'

Replacing the pronouns with definite descriptions we lose the LO readings entirely. Non-pronominals are awkward in final position, so the sentences are not great to begin with, but the fact that they can at best carry the HI readings is consistent with the assumption that the LO readings would violate Condition C:

- (177) lo racu la-avod rak/gam ha-yeladim.
 not wanted-3pl inf-work only/also the children
 ?HI: 'Only/also the children didn't want to work'
 * LO: 'They_i did not want it to be the case that only/also the children_i work'

The Condition C effect still leaves it open whether the final DPs are subjects or other complement-internal material. I am grateful to Idan Landau for pointing out to me that Hebrew has emphatic pronouns in mono-clausal examples. Doron 1982 observed that these have the same distribution as floated quantifiers. Both belong to formal Hebrew.

- (178) ha-talamidim kul-am / gam hem / af hem šaru.
 the-students all-they / also they / also they sang.3pl
 'The students all / also sang'
- (179) ha-talamidim šaru kul-am / gam hem / af hem.
 the-students sang.3pl all-they / also they / also they
 'The students all / also sang'
- (180) ha-talamidim hayu kul-am / gam hem / af hem šarim b-a-makhela.
 the-students were all-they / also they / also they sing.mascpl in-the-choir
 'The students were all / also singing in the choir'

We encountered a somewhat similar situation in Italian with pronominal doubles. In that case it was possible to show that the overt nominative pronouns in infinitival complements of control verbs are distinct from the pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples: the former, but not the latter, can be complemented pronouns (noi linguisti 'we linguists'). Can a similar conclusion be reached for Hebrew?

Hebrew does not have an exact counterpart of noi linguisti: the closest approximation has a definite article:

- (181) ha-ma'amarim šel-anu ha-balšanim hem kcarim.
 the papers of-us the-linguists they short
 'The papers that we linguists write are short'

It turns out that such a definite DP can be freely added to all the pronouns. In other words, the distinction that could be made in Italian cannot be made in Hebrew; at least not using this device. Therefore we cannot eliminate the possibility that the Hebrew control examples also contain floated pronominal quantifiers, not pronominal subjects.

5.5.3 *De se* pronouns

In the interest of completeness we note that obligatory control and exclusively *de se* readings remain in place with floated pronominal quantifiers:

- (182) xole ha-šixexa mecape lizkot gam hu be-medalya.
 sick the-amnesia expect.masc.sg to-win also he at-medal
 'The amnesiac expects himself too to win a medal'

5.5.4 One finite verb – multiple subjects

The existence of floated pronominal quantifiers presents a confound here too, so this question cannot be properly raised. Furthermore, such pronominal quantifiers can be floated off of direct objects as well as subjects, so their availability is not at all contingent on agreement with a finite verb.

5.5.5 Summary of the Modern Hebrew data

Modern Hebrew appears to have overt infinitival subjects in raising complements. Control complements also contain nominative pronouns with LO readings, but these can be analyzed as pronominal quantifiers floated off of the PRO subject. As of date I have no evidence that the same pronouns have an additional analysis as subjects, although this is not excluded.

6 Russian, Finnish, Shupamem, Northern Norwegian, and Turkish

As far as I can tell, Russian comes closest to exemplifying a language that has overt infinitival subjects in raising but not control complements. Alternatively, the LO readings may be a pure scope phenomenon facilitated by verb raising. A crucial new aspect of this latter analysis would be that the LO reading can obtain with the nominative DP being both located and interpreted in the matrix clause, if the aspectual verb manages to scope over it. The interpretation of such a configuration would be indistinguishable from that of a “reconstructed” reading, since theta-role-wise the nominative DP is associated with the complement verb and scope-wise it is within the scope of the matrix verb.

- (183) $V_{\text{aspectual}} \text{ DP}_{\text{nom}} \text{ t}_V [\text{t}_{\text{DP}} V_{\text{inf}} \dots]$

Finnish, Northern Norwegian, and Shupamem potentially belong to the same type. I

have to be substantiated. As we will see below, verb raising may well be what is going on in Finnish, Shupamem, and Norwegian.

6.1.2 Control

My Russian informants were divided on the control examples. Some of them did not accept them at all. But even those who accepted them found them degraded as compared to the raising examples, and to be lexically more restricted than in the languages of Section 5.

In the examples below, the matrix pronoun is given the best chance to be null, by providing an antecedent or assuming an appropriate dialogue context. The judgments below are from those informants who were the most favorable to this construction.

- (187) ? (Ja skazala, chto) ne xochu idti tol'ko ja peshkom.
 I said-fem that not want-1sg go-inf only I on.foot
 LO: '(I said that) I don't want it to be the case that only I go on foot'
- (188) ? On skazal, chto ne xochet idti tol'ko on peshkom.
 I said-fem that not want-3sg go-inf only he on.foot
 LO: 'He said that he didn't want it to be the case that only he goes on foot'

In contrast to the languages of Section 5, these examples become ungrammatical if (ne) xotit' '(not) want' is replaced by nenavidet' 'hate'. To save space, these are not given.

A full DP cannot replace the pronoun on the linked reading, cf. Condition C.

Russian has no Spanish-style emphatic personal pronouns in mono-clausal examples.

6.1.3 One finite verb – multiple overt subjects

Neither control nor raising constructions seem to allow multiple overt subjects per one finite verb:

- (189) *Ja ne xochu (probovat') xodit' tol'ko ja peshkom.
 'I don't want (to try) for it to be the case that only I go on foot'
- (190) *On ne xochet (probovat') xodit' tol'ko on peshkom.
 'He doesn't want (to try) for it to be the case that only he goes on foot'
- (191) *On/Gordon stal/perestal xodit' tol'ko on peshkom.
 'In his/Gordon's case it began/stopped to be the case that only he goes on foot'

This possibility is out also if the matrix subject (Livitz's Major Subject) is in the dative, but then there is no agreement between the matrix verb and the infinitival subject:

- (192) *Im nravitsya idti tol'ko oni peshkom.
 they-dative please.3sg go-inf only they on.foot
 'It pleases them to be the only ones who go on foot'

6.1.4 The position of the infinitival verb and nominative-less finite clauses

One hypothesis discussed in section 1.1 was that the infinitival verb (or, rather, its inflection) plays a role in transmitting the features of the finite verb to the infinitival subject. Naturally occurring examples show that Russian infinitives pass the adverb test: a time adverb can occur between the infinitival verb and its direct object. For example:

- (193) Ja xochu videt' vseгда tebja / tvoj znachok ulybki.
 I want-1sg see-inf always you / your distinctive smile
 'I want to always see you / your signature smile'
- (194) Ne xochetsja videt' chasto cheloveka, kotoryj...
 not want-refl-3sg see.inf often man-acc which
 'I do not feel like often seeing the man who...'

Another issue addressed in 1.1 was that having overt subjects in raising, but not in control complements occurs if (i) finite clauses with raising verbs do not contain a nominative DP expletive or (ii) they contain one but the language has multi-agreement of the kind that may involve two DPs that do not form a binding chain. Russian has no overt expletives. Whether it is a null subject language is debated. Livitz 2006 argues that Russian conforms to similar generalizations as were proposed in Holmberg 2005 for Finnish. All Russian pronouns are obligatory in most discourse initial contexts but can be null if they have antecedents in the discourse or in a higher clause. Russian has a constraint against verb initial orders when there is an element in the sentence that would be eligible for topicalization. In the absence of an eligible topic V-initial orders are perfect.

- (195) Nastupila osen'.
 came.fem.nom autumn-fem.nom
 'Autumn came'
- (196) (Mne) Kazhetsja, chto vremja tam ostanovilos'.
 I-dat seems that time there stopped
 'It seems (to me) that time stopped there'

These facts indicate that the claim that Russian has overt subjects in infinitival complements of aspectual raising verbs is fully compatible with the hypotheses in 1.1, irrespective of how the details pan out (whether the position of the infinitival verb matters or only the nature of agreement does, and whether verb-initial finite clauses in Russian are best analyzed as having empty expletives or not).

6.3.4 Summary of the Russian data

It is possible that Russian has overt infinitival subjects in raising complements, but their existence in control complements is highly dubious, based on the data available to me, since none of the informants managed to muster up much enthusiasm for the control examples. Alternatively, the non-initial position of nominative DP may result from scrambling (Polinsky 2008) and their LO readings from raising the verb into an extra-high position.

6.2 Finnish (thanks to Matti Miestamo, Arto Anttila, and Paul Kiparsky for data and discussion)

According to Holmberg 2005, Finnish 1st and 2nd person pronouns are optionally null. Null 3rd person pronouns need an antecedent in the discourse or in a higher clause. Finnish has a constraint against verb initial orders when there is an element in the sentence that would be eligible for topicalization. Any nominative element is eligible; non-nominatives have to be, loosely speaking, referential, to be potential topics.

6.2.1 Raising

The LO reading is possible with the nominative subject in non-initial position:

- (197) Vain hän alko-i saa-da hyv-i-ä roole-j-a.
 only s/he begin-pst get-inf good-pl-par role-pl-par
 HI: 'Something happened such that he started to get good roles'
- (198) Hyv-i-ä roole-j-a alkoi saada vain hän.
 good-pl-par role-pl-par begin-pst get-inf only he.
 LO: 'Something happened such that as a result only he was getting good roles'
- (199) Vuonna 2006 alkoi vain Maria saada hyviä rooleja.
 year.ess 2006 begin.pst.3sg only Maria get.inf good.pl.part role.pl.part
 LO: 'In 2006 it began to be the case that only Maria was getting good roles'

Vain hän and vain Maria on the LO readings may be infinitival subjects. Alternatively, they may be matrix subjects and other material, most crucially the aspectual verb, may have moved to a yet higher position, in the manner outlined

6.2.2 Control

No LO reading is possible with an overt infinitival subject pronoun, whether it be in the nominative or in the genitive:

- (200) *En halunnut vain minä / minun mennä bussilla.
 neg.1sg want.pst.ptcp only I.nom /I.gen go.inf bus.adess

Readings truth conditionally similar to the LO ones can only be expressed using the modifier yksin 'alone'. (202) is judged to be outrageously bad.

- (201) Minä e-n halu-a men-nä yksin koulu-un.
 I not-1p want-inf go-inf alone school-illat
 'I don't want to go to school alone'
- Minä e-n halu-a men-nä koulu-un yksin. 'idem'
- (202) *E-n halu-a men-n koulu-un vain minä.
 not-1p want-inf go-inf school-illat only I

Again, there seemed to be no need to investigate pronominal doubles.

6.2.3 One finite verb – multiple subjects

The LO reading is possible with a participial construction whose subject is in the genitive:

- (203) En halunnut vain minun menevän bussilla.
 neg.1sg want.pst.ptcp only I.gen go.ptcp.pres.gen bus.adess
 'I didn't want it to be the case that only I go by bus (whereas others walk)'

However, an overt 3rd person pronominal subject in the participial clause would not be coreferential with the matrix subject (same with a matrix pronoun):

- (204) Mary ei halunnut vain hänen menevän bussilla.
 Mary neg.3sg want.pst.ptcp only (s)he.gen go.ptcp.pres.gen bus.adess
 'Mary didn't want it to be the case that only (s)he (≠ Mary) goes by bus.'

6.2.4 Summary of the Finnish data

Finnish is capable of disambiguating HI and LO readings of raising examples by varying the preverbal versus postverbal/final positions of the nominative DP. As of date I do not have proof that in the orders that express the LO reading that DP is actually inside the infinitival clause. Finnish definitely does not have over subjects in control complements.

6.3 Shupamem (I thank Laziz Nchare for help)

Shupamem is a Grassfield Bantu language spoken in Cameroon. Tense but not person/number agreement is marked. Tantalizingly, Shupamem distinguishes HI and LO readings by word order – but I have not found evidence that in the latter case the subject is located inside the infinitive. This echoes the Finnish results.

- (205) Nduu Maria ka yeshe inget ndaa li?
 only Mary past begin inf.have good roles
 HI: 'Only Mary is such that she began to get good roles'
- (206) A ka yeshe nduu Maria inget ndaa li?
 FOC past begin only Maria inf.have good roles
 LO: 'It began to be the case that only Mary got good roles'

The difficulty stems from the fact that while on the LO reading 'only Maria' follows 'begin', I have found nothing that can be inserted between them that could not come between the verb and the postverbal subject in mono-clausal examples.

On the other hand, the fact that the LO reading is produced by V-focus would support the scopal analysis.

6.4 Regional Northern Norwegian (I am grateful to Kristine Bentzen for help)

S. Wurmbrand (p.c.) drew my attention to the fact that dialectal variation in Norwegian, as discussed in Bentzen 2007 might be relevant for the hypothesis that the phenomenon of overt infinitival subjects is contingent on the relatively high position of the infinitival verb. In ReNN, the finite as well as the infinitival verb may optionally precede any kind of adverb. This seems to hold for both control and ECM infinitives. In both finite and non-finite clauses, although the verb may precede all kinds of adverbs, it strictly has to follow negation.

- (207) Ho prøvde å komme oftere tidsnok på skolen.
 she tried to come often.er in.time on school.the
 'She tried to be in time for school more often' (Bentzen 2007: 125)
- (208) Han Hårek mente å kunne som oftest reparere radioa.
 he Hårek thought to could as often.est fix radios
 'Hårek considered himself usually able to fix radios.' (Bentzen 2007:21)

Unlike in English, LO readings with raising verbs can be expressed using a straightforward infinitival construction. Pronominal subjects would show that the DP is in the nominative. But there does not appear to be any evidence that this DP is inside the infinitival clause:

- (209) I 2006 begynte bare Maria å f å gode roller.
 in 2006 began only Maria to get good roles
 LO 'In 2006 it began to be the case that only Maria got good roles'
- (210) Bare Maria begynte å f å gode roller (i 2006).
 only M began to get good roles (in 2006)
 LO 'In 2006 it began to be the case that only Maria got good roles'

An indication that the 'only'-phrase is in the matrix clause rather than the infinitive is its position when the matrix verb is a complex tense:

- (211) I 2006 vil <bare Maria> begynne <*&u>bare Maria> å f å gode roller.
 in 2006 will <only Maria> begin <only Maria> to get good roles
 LO 'In 2006 it will begin to be the case that only Maria gets good roles'

With respect to dialectal variation, Standard Norwegian and Northern Norwegian (Regional Northern Norwegian, ReNN and Troms Northern Norwegian, TrNN) behave the same way here. Also, there is no effect from the position of the infinitival verb:

- (212) I 2006 begynte bare Maria å <oftere> f å <oftere> gode roller.
 in 2006 began only Maria to {more.often} get {more.often} good roles
 LO 'In 2006 it began to be the case that only Maria got good roles more often'

So it appears as though Norwegian allowed semantic reconstruction of an 'only'-phrase into the infinitival clause, which English does not (indefinites do "reconstruct"):

- (213) Only Mary began to get good roles.
cannot mean: 'It began to be the case that only Mary got good roles'

If the above assessment is correct, Norwegian casts some doubt on the hypothesis that the position of the infinitival verb is the crucial factor determining the availability of overt infinitival subjects. But, as was pointed out in 1.2, it is probably the infinitival inflection, not the verb, that plays a role, and our understanding of how the position of the verb diagnoses the position of inflection is not very good. Recall, however, that the existence of an obligatory (or featurally non-compliant) empty expletive in the subject position of the raising verb may also rule out the overt infinitival subject.

Apart from the puzzling reconstruction possibility, LO readings in Norwegian would be analyzable using verb raising.

6.5 Turkish (thanks to Asli Untak, Murat Kural, and Jaklin Kornfilt for data and discussion)

6.5.1 Raising

These data below come from a different domain than those in Moore 1998. Moore discusses copy-raising out of finite clauses in Turkish. My data involve infinitives.

The LO reading is readily available with pronouns as well as names if the nominative carrying main stress and modified by 'only' occurs preverbally, following the direct object:

- (214) Sadece Orhan iyi roller almağa başladı.
only Orhan good roles take-inf-dat began.3sg
HI: 'Only Orhan began to get good roles'
- (215) İyi rolleri sadece Orhan almağa başladı.
good roles-acc only Orhan take-inf-dat began.3sg
LO: 'It began to be the case that only Orhan was getting good roles (others, if they used to get good roles, stopped getting ones)'
- (216) İyi rolleri sadece o / kendisi almağa başladı.
good roles-acc only he / self take-inf-dat began.3sg
LO: 'It began to be the case that only he was getting good roles (others, if they used to get good roles, stopped getting ones)'

The big question is whether this word order and scope variation corresponds to matrix versus complement position. The DPs in the LO readings are in the nominative, not in the genitive, like subordinate subjects normally are. The view that the DP between the direct object and the infinitival verb may be either inside or outside the complement clause is possibly supported by negative concord data (Murat Kural, p.c.). In (218), the negative marker ma occurs on the finite verb 'began'; in (219) it occurs on the infinitival verb 'take'.

- (217) İyi rolleri hiçkimse almağa başlamadı.
good roles-acc nobody take-inf-dat began-neg-3sg
HI: 'Nobody began to get good roles (nobody's situation improved)'

- (218) İyi rolleri hiçkimse almamağa başladı.
 good roles-acc nobody take-neg-inf-dat began.3sg
 LO: 'It began to be the case that nobody was getting good roles (if some people used to get good roles, they stopped getting ones)'

6.5.2 Control

Aslı Untak (p.c.) observes that the interpretation of control examples depends on stress placement. In the examples below bold face indicates stress, as specified by Aslı Untak. In (220) and (222) either just the matrix negation or both it and the attitude verb scope over the only-phrase, giving rise to a HI and a LO reading respectively. In (221) and (223) the only-phrase takes the widest scope, which leaves only the HI reading as a possibility.

- (219) Sadece o iyi roller al-mak **istemedi.**
 only he good roles take-inf want-neg-past.3sg
 HI: 'He is not the only one who wanted to get good roles'
 LO: 'He doesn't want to be the only one who gets good roles'
- (220) Sadece **o** iyi roller almak istemedi.
 only he good roles take-inf want-neg-past
 HI: 'He is the only one who doesn't want to get good roles'
- (221) İyi rolleri sadece o almak **istemedi.**
 good roles-acc only he take-inf want-neg-past.3sg
 HI: 'He is not the only one who wanted to get good roles.'
 LO: 'He doesn't want to be the only one who gets good roles' or
- (222) İyi rolleri sadece **o** almak istemedi.
 good roles-acc only he take-inf want-neg-past.3sg
 HI: 'He is the only one who doesn't want to get good roles'

These correlations may suggest that we are dealing with a pure scope phenomenon, i.e. the varying relative scopes of only DP and negation/the attitude verb. But if the pronoun is replaced by a name, only the HI readings remain:

- (223) İyi rolleri sadece Orhan almak **istemedi.**
 good roles-acc only Orhan take-inf want-neg-past.3sg
 HI: 'Orhan is not the only one who wanted to get good roles.'
 * LO: 'Orhan doesn't want to be the only one who gets good roles'
- (224) İyi rolleri sadece **Orhan** almak istemedi.
 good roles-acc only Orhan take-inf want-neg-past.3sg
 HI: 'Orhan is the only one who doesn't want to get good roles'

If o 'he' and Orhan were invariably matrix subjects whose associated operators sometimes scope above and sometimes below another operator, then we would expect them to have the same scopal possibilities. The fact that Orhan exhibits what is reminiscent of a standard Condition C effect seems to indicate that when only DP scopes under the attitude verb it is in

fact the infinitival subject. In other words, the scope phenomenon seems to be coupled with a matrix versus complement subject phenomenon.

If o 'he' is replaced by kendisi 'self', only the LO readings remain. Some speakers prefer kendisi in LO readings. If 'want' is replaced by 'hate', the same general correlations obtain, but replacement of o by kendisi becomes obligatory:

- (225) Iyi rolleri sadece kendisi /* o al-mak-tan **nefret etti.**
 good roles-acc only self / he take-inf-abl hate past.3sg
 LO: 'He hated to be the only one to get good roles'

There is a preferable way to express the 'hate' propositions, with a genitive subject:

- (226) Iyi rolleri sadece kendisinin al-ma-sın-dan **nefret etti.**
 good roles-acc only self-gen take-nom-3sg.poss-abl hate-past.3sg
 LO: 'He hated to be the only one to get good roles.'

This genitive subject construction allows a pronoun but only with disjoint reference:

- (227) Iyi rolleri sadece onun almasından **nefret etti.**
 good roles-acc only he-gen take-nom-3sg.poss-abl hate-past.3sg
 LO: 'He_i hated that only he_{*i/j} got good roles.'

6.5.3 One finite verb – multiple overt subjects

Two instances of o are not acceptable, but a combination of o and kendisi is:

- (228) *Sadece o iyi rolleri sadece o almak istemedi
 (229) Sadece o iyi rolleri sadece kendisi almak istemedi.
 LO: 'Only he doesn't want to be the only one who gets the good roles'

6.5.4 Summary of the Turkish data

Turkish exhibits LO readings in both raising and control constructions. The matrix versus complement position of the nominative DPs is not easy to determine in a strict SOV language, and it may be that we are dealing with a pure scope phenomenon. This is why Turkish occurs in section 6. But the fact that lexical DPs are possible in LO readings in raising but, crucially, not in control constructions may indicate that the LO readings involve infinitival subjects. The negative concord data would then lend further support to this analysis. The fact that some speakers judge o, as opposed to kendisi, to be bad in some LO readings requires further thought. As of date I have no data on pronominal doubles.

7 Potentially related constructions

To appreciate the descriptive novelty and thereby the potential challenge of the above data, I briefly review some phenomena from the literature that they may be reminiscent of. This review highlights descriptive differences and is non-committal as regards possible similarities

in theoretical analysis.

7.1 Absolute constructions in adjuncts (AUX-to-COMP)

Italian, English, Hungarian, and many other languages have non-finite adjuncts with overt unmarked case subjects. The Hungarian construction is archaic.

- (230) Avendo Gianni fatto questo, ...
 'Having Gianni done this, ...'
- (231) The parents having died, the children were put in an orphanage.
- (232) a. A szülők meghalván, a gyerekek árvaházba kerültek.
 the parents having.died the children orphanage-into got.3pl
 b.* Meghalván a szülők, a gyerekek árvaházba kerültek.
 having.died the parents, the children orphanage-into got.3pl

Rizzi 1982 proposed that the overt subject is licensed by the occurrence of the participle in the complementizer position. Whatever the correct analysis, these examples involve adjuncts and non-infinitival complements, in contrast to ours. The fact that English has an absolute construction but no nominative subjects in infinitival complements confirms that the phenomena are not quite the same. <More discussion needed.>

7.2 Adverbial adjunct clauses with infinitives and subjects

Torrego 1998 discusses overt subjects in infinitival clauses in Spanish, but stresses that these are adjuncts:

- (233) Para [celebrar Rita su cumpleaños], se fue de viaje al Caribe.
 'In order to celebrate Rita her birthday she went on a trip to the Caribbean'

Torrego states that infinitival clauses in object position do not allow overt subjects. One of her relevant examples is her (8):

- (234) *Odia [jugar Pablo a las cartas].
 'Pro hates to play Pablo cards'

As pointed out in 5.2.1, Torrego's claim that (235) is unacceptable does not contradict my claims about Spanish. Hate being a control verb, its infinitival complement can only have a pronominal subject.

7.3 Subjects of inflected infinitives

Portuguese and Hungarian, among other languages, have inflected infinitives that feature overt subjects. The Hungarian data were discussed in 3.1. Recall that overt subjects of inflected infinitives in Hungarian are in the dative; never in the nominative. Moreover, Italian and Spanish, two languages that replicate the Hungarian control/raising data do not have inflected

infinitives. Again, these phenomena are not the same.

7.4 Exceptional Case Marking

ECM (if not analyzed as subject-to-object raising) is restricted to particular matrix verbs, requires adjacency, and involves accusative case:

- (235) I want [only him to win].
 (236) * I want [at every race only him to win].

These properties are not exhibited by our data.

7.5 Subjunctive complements

Discussed in section 4 and then in several sections on *de se* pronouns.

7.6 “Copy theoretic” data

7.6.1 Backward control and backward raising

Polinsky and Potsdam (2002, 2006) discuss a set of data that might initially seem more similar to ours. This subsection and the ones to follow simply recapitulate P&P’s discussion and point out that our Hungarian, Italian, etc data are descriptively different from their data.

Copy theory makes it possible for the lower link in a “raising chain” to be pronounced. If in addition control is viewed as a special case of raising, as in Hornstein 1999, Boeckx & Hornstein 2006, then PRO is in fact also a lower copy that could be pronounced. P&P examine backward raising and backward control in this spirit.

P&P 2006 discuss cases of backward object control in Brazilian Portuguese and Korean and backward subject control in Tsez. These are similar to our data in that an overt subject is located in the complement clause and exhibits agreement with the finite verb. But the similarities basically end here. (i) In Hungarian, Italian, etc. only subject control verbs participate. (ii) In the languages P&P discuss, the overt controllee in the complement can be a full DP, e.g. a name or a quantifier phrase. Unlike in our control data, it is not restricted to being a pronoun. (iii) P&P’s controllees show signs of matrix activity beyond agreement; they license matrix reflexives and depictives. (iv) In Tsez, there is a division of labor: most subject control verbs take forward control complements; only a small subset participate in backward control. There is no such division of labor in Hungarian, Italian, etc.: overt subjects are possible in all subject control complements.

P&P write that evidence for backward subject raising is scant. They discuss preliminary data from Adighe; the data are similar to Tsez backward subject control without exhibiting selectional restrictions characteristic of control verbs. The quantifier ‘all’ related to the complement subject is capable of taking wider scope than matrix negation, which P&P regard as evidence for the syntactic activity of that subject in the matrix (see their 2006:(19)):

- (237) [*boy*-PL all-ERG-CONJ *letter*-ABS 3SG.ABS-3ERG-write-SUP]
~~boy-PL all-ABS-CONJ 3SG.ABS-happen-NEG~~
 ‘All the boys do not happen to write/be writing a letter’
 (all boys > Neg) or (Neg > all boys)

P&P also mention that numerical indefinites may scope under or above the matrix verb. Given the island-free scope of such indefinites cross-linguistically, the diagnostic value of this may also be questionable. But P&P are correct in looking for matrix scope phenomena if the subject has a copy in the matrix (although see Bobaljik 2002 for a possibly different view). In any case, in Hungarian, Italian, etc. there is no scope evidence for the presence of the overt infinitival subject in the matrix. On the contrary, the operators attached to our overt infinitival subjects scope strictly within the complement clause.

In sum, our data differ from the Adighe and Tsez data discussed by P&P in allowing only pronominal but not full DP subjects in control complements, in not exhibiting a division of labor between control verbs as to employing forward or backward control, and in not having scopal evidence for the presence of a copy of the subject of the raising complement in the matrix clause.

Szabolcsi 2005 pointed out that a backward control analysis of the Hungarian control data is not plausible, due to the descriptive dissimilarities. Bartos (2006a,b) has defended a backward control analysis of the same data, dismissing the descriptive dissimilarities as insignificant, rather than explaining why they obtain.

7.6.2 Copy-control and copy-raising

P&P mention among others Moore's work on Turkish copy-raising, where the copy is a resumptive pronoun. It is to be stressed that Moore 1998 discusses raising out of finite complements, and it seems that many other copy-raising data also involve finite (e.g. subjunctive) complements. The issues that arise there are somewhat different from what we are looking at: finite complements typically have overt subjects.

Copy-control seems less well-attested; P&P's data come from Assamese, SLQ Zapotec, and Tongan. In the first two at least the complement clause contains full DPs, not pronouns; and these are cases involving adjuncts. SLQ Zapotec is more difficult to compare directly, but one should look at it carefully in the future.

7.6.3 P&P's imposters

P&P point out that many languages, English included, have constructions that may, from a bird's eye perspective, look similar to backward control and backward raising, but are crucially different from these.

(238) There do not appear to be two major ways of learning prevalent.

(239) There always appear to be two major ways of learning prevalent.

Citing extensive literature P&P observe that scope interpretation argues against the claim that two major ways of learning has a copy in the matrix clause, i.e. there is no evidence for raising, beyond agreement. They draw similar conclusions for Modern Greek subjunctive complements.

It appears that, from P&P's descriptive perspective, our overt infinitival subjects data are imposters: they do not represent backward/copy control/raising.

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Notes

1. In the presence of negation, postverbal csak ‘only’ marks an exceptive, much like Japanese sika and Korean pakkey – an entirely independent construction.

- (i) Nem olvastam, csak az Ulyssest.
not read-1sg. only the Ulysses
‘I read only Ulysses, i.e. I didn’t read [anything but] Ulysses’

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