

Control of Inflected Infinitives in European Portuguese^{*}

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1. Introduction

European Portuguese (EP) like Mirandese, Galician, Sardinian, Old Leonese and Old Neopolitan has both inflected (I-infinitives) and uninflected infinitives (U-infinitives), something which is rare outside the Romance language family (Scida 2004). The suffixes used to mark person and number with the I-infinitive are identical to those used to express the future subjunctive in EP. With regular verbs, the infinitive is used as a stem in both cases and so the morphological form of the I-infinitive in EP is identical to the future subjunctive. There are a number of high frequency verbs, however, which have a stem change with the future subjunctive but not the I-infinitive, making the two forms distinct (e.g. *ser* ‘to be’, *fazer* ‘to do/make’, *ter* ‘to have’, *ir* ‘to go’, *vir* ‘to come’):

(1) a. U-infinitive: *ser* ‘to be’

b. I-Infinitive: *ser* (1SG), *seres* (2SG), *ser* (3SG), *sermos* (1PL), *serem* (2PL/3PL)

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c. Future subjunctive: *for* (1SG), *fores* (2SG), *for* (3SG), *formos* (1PL), *forem* (2PL/3PL)

The I-infinitive and U-infinitive partially overlap in usage but there are contexts where speakers agree that inflection is banned as well as contexts where it is obligatory. Very generally, unlike Spanish, Catalan and Italian, EP does not permit overt referential subjects to surface with a U-infinitive (cf. Rigau 1995 on Catalan; Torrego 1998 on Spanish, Modesto, this volume on Brazilian Portuguese and Ledgeway 1998 for a pan-Romance perspective):

(2) *Será difícil [eles aprovar a proposta].

be.FUT.3SG difficult they approve.INF the proposal

[EP, Raposo (1987: 86)]

Also unlike Spanish and Catalan, but like Italian, EP lacks ‘personal infinitives’: U-infinitives cannot license referential *pro*, even where its phi-features would be recoverable from the context. Compare (3) with (4) from Spanish:

(3) *Apesar de te sentir mal, a Maria começou a gritar.

despite of SE.2SG= feel.INF bad, the Maria began to shout

‘Despite your not feeling well, Maria started shouting.’ [EP]

(4) Al desmayarte empezaron a chillar

A.the faint.INF=SE.2SG began to shout

‘Upon your fainting, they began to shout.’

[Spanish, Torrego (1998: 212)]

I-infinitives, however, *can* surface with overt/null referential subjects in EP in certain complement domains as well as in subject/adjunct clauses (see Raposo 1987, Madeira 1994, Ambar 1994, Sitaridou 2002, Scida 2004):

- (5) Será difícil [(eles) aprovarem a proposta].
 be.FUT.3SG difficult they approve.INF.3PL the proposal
 'It will be difficult for them to approve the proposal.'

[EP, adapted from Raposo (1987: 86)]

- (6) Eu lamento [terem (os deputados) trabalhado pouco].
 I regret.1SG have.INF.3PL the MPs worked little
 'I believe/regret the MPs to have/having worked very little.'

[EP, adapted from Raposo (1987: 87)]

I-infinitives are also observed in instances of non-obligatory control in EP (Pires 2006):

- (7) Os professores_i disseram aos alunos_j que era preciso [*pro*_{i/j} trabalharem]
 the teachers said.3PL to.the students that was necessary work.INF.3PL
 'The teachers told the students that it was necessary to work.'

I-infinitives are also possible in adjuncts with co-referential subjects, which also look like they might involve control:

- (8) Chegaram cedo [para PRO_i se reunirem antes da entrevista].
 arrived.3PL early for SE.3= meet.INF.3PL before of.the interview
 'They arrived early in order to meet before the interview.'

In this context, though, the null subject of the I-infinitive does not have the properties of Obligatory Control (OC). Firstly, the subject of the I-infinitive can be an overt referential subject:

- (9) O candidato chegou mais tarde [para os entrevistadores se reunirem
the candidate arrived more late for the interviewers SE.3= meet.INF.3PL
antes da entrevista].
before of.the interview

‘The candidate arrived later on so that the interviewers could meet before the interview.’

Secondly, the ‘controller’ need not be local (in the next clause up):

- (10) O Pedro_i queria que eu chegasse mais tarde [para se reunirem
the Pedro wanted.3SG that I arrived.SBJ.1SG more late for SE.3=meet.INF.3PL
antes da entrevista].
before the interview

‘Pedro wanted me to arrive later on so that they could meet before the interview.’

In fact, even where an antecedent is available in the next clause up, it need not control the subject of the I-infinitive if this is pragmatically unlikely or blocked for independent reasons:

- (11) [A chefe do João]_j chegou mais tarde para se reunirem
the boss of.the João arrived more late for SE.3= meet.INF.3PL
sem ela_j antes da entrevista
without her before of.the interview

‘João’s (female) boss arrived later so as for them to meet without her before the interview.’

As such, inflected infinitives in adjunct clauses appear to permit optional co-reference rather than control.

One context in which speakers uniformly reject I-infinitives is in instances of exhaustive local subject control with any kind of matrix predicate (see Landau 2004: 850, Pires 2006: ch4, but see also Gonçalves, Santos and Duarte 2014 for production errors of this kind in EP):

- (12) Preferias/conseguiste chegar(*es) a tempo.
preferred.2SG/managed.2SG arrive.INF(.2SG) at time
‘You would prefer/managed to arrive on time.’

Interestingly, though, although I-infinitives are clearly banned in exhaustive local subject control,

I-infinitives *do* seem to occur in what look like other OC contexts, apparently optionally (see Maurer Júnior 1968, Raposo 1989, Madeira 1994, Sitaridou 2002 on European Portuguese; Modesto 2010, this volume, Rabelo 2010 on Brazilian Portuguese):

- (13) a. Eu obriguei/persuadi os meninos a ler(em) esse livro
I forced/persuaded the kids A read.INF(.3PL) that book
‘I forced/persuaded the kids to read that book.’

[EP, adapted from Raposo (1989: 277)]

- b. Prometemos à Maria comprar(mos)-lhe um presente.

promised.1PL to.the Maria buy.INF(.1PL)=her.DAT a present

'We promised Maria to buy her a present.'

[EP, adapted from Madeira (1994: 181)]

Moreover, as Modesto (2010) notes, for some Brazilian speakers, I-infinitives *are* possible in instances of local subject control in BP where it is *partial*:

(14) O presidente_i preferiu PRO_{i+} se reunirem às 6.

the chair preferred.3SG SE.3= meet.INF.3PL at.the 6

'The chair preferred to gather at 6:00.' [BP, Modesto (2010: 85)]

This is also possible in EP for some speakers and with some restrictions. While speakers almost unanimously reject inflected infinitives even with a partial control reading under restructuring verbs such as *querer* 'to want', around half those speakers surveyed consistently accept inflection in this context under non-restructuring verbs such as *esperar* 'to hope' and *preferir* 'to prefer', which are otherwise reported to disallow inflected infinitival complements:

(15)a. *O Pedro queria reunirem-se mais tarde.

the Pedro wanted meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 more late [*=91% ?=3%✓=9%, n=33]

b. *O Pedro queria-se reunirem mais tarde.

the Pedro wanted=SE.3 meet.INF.3PL more late [*=100% ?=0%✓=0%, n=33]

(16)%O Pedro_i espera [PRO_{i+} reunirem-se mais cedo amanhã]

the Pedro hopes meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 more early tomorrow

'Pedro hopes to meet earlier tomorrow.' [*=35% ?=22%✓=43%, n=37]

The aim of this chapter is to report the findings of a number of online questionnaires investigating the acceptability of inflection in complement control contexts, to show that these examples do indeed involve OC and to provide a theoretical account of the facts which accommodates a number of points of micro-parametric variation. Section 2 describes the distribution of I-infinitives across subject and object control with partial and exhaustive readings. Section 3 argues that controlled I-infinitives instantiate OC of the standard kind. Section 4 discusses the challenges that these facts raise for existing theories of OC. Section 5 provides an alternative analysis of the facts and section 6 concludes and mentions some areas of ongoing research.

2. The distribution of inflection in control contexts

In instances of exhaustive local subject control, survey data confirms the widely reported fact that inflection is very generally not possible for EP speakers. Where a partial control reading is at stake, however, inflection consistently becomes optional for just under half those surveyed:

(17) EP exhaustive local subject control [uninflected 100%; inflected 4%, n=68]¹

Preferíamos receber(***mos**) um salário maior

prefer.1PL receive.INF(.1PL) a salary higher

‘We would prefer to get a higher salary.’

(18) EP partial local subject control [uninflected 83%; inflected 42%, n=24]

O João_i preferia [PRO_i+ reunir(%**em**)-se mais tarde].

¹ The reason that the percentages do not add up to 100 is that many speakers accept both forms in the same contexts. Participants were presented with the two options separately and asked to judge their acceptability in the context of a larger survey. See Sheehan (2014b) for a comparison of the EP facts with Russian.

the João preferred.3SG meet.INF(.3PL)=SE.3 more late
 ‘John would prefer to meet later on.’

A different pattern is observed with verbs like *promise/vow/threaten*, which permit non-local subject control across a matrix object. In instances of exhaustive control, all EP speakers surveyed accepted U-infinitives, whereas again just under half accepted I-infinitives. With partial non-local subject control, the vast majority of speakers accept either I-infinitives or U-infinitives, with some displaying a preference for inflection:

(19) EP exhaustive non-local subject control [uninflected 100% n=37; inflected 47%. n=68]

Prometemos à professora chegar(%mos) a tempo.
 promised to.the teacher arrive.INF(.1PL) at time
 ‘We promised the teacher to arrive on time.’

(20) EP partial non-local subject control [uninflected 70%; inflected 95%, n=37]

O Pedro prometeu à Ana reunir(em)-se em Braga
 the Pedro promised to.the Ana meet.INF(.3PL)=SE.3 in Braga
 ‘Pedro promised Ana to meet in Braga.’

Turning to object control, we see that, with an exhaustive reading, both U-infinitives and I-infinitives are acceptable for the majority of speakers, with some expressing a preference for one or the other form. With a partial control reading, almost all speakers accept I-infinitives but U-infinitives also remain acceptable for the majority of speakers:

(21) EP exhaustive object control [uninflected 70%; inflected 70%, n=44]

O professor persuadiu os alunos a fazer(em) o trabalho.

the teacher persuaded the pupils A do.INF(.3PL) the work

‘The teacher persuaded the pupils to do the work.’

(22)EP partial object control [uninflected 68%; inflected 97%, n=37]

Os professores persuadiram o diretor a reunir(em)-se mais tarde

the teachers persuaded the headteacher A meet.INF(.3PL)=SE.3 more late

‘The teachers persuaded the headteacher to meet later on.’

The patterns are summarised below, where parentheses indicate less widely accepted forms:

Table 1: distribution of inflection in EP obligatory control contexts

Control context	EP
Exhaustive local subject Control	uninflected
Partial local subject Control	(inflected)/ uninflected
Exhaustive non-local subject Control	(inflected)/ uninflected
Partial non-local subject Control	inflected/ (uninflected)
Exhaustive object Control	inflected/ uninflected
Partial object Control	inflected / (uninflected)

What is interesting about these results is that (i) it is only in instances of exhaustive local subject control that all speakers consistently reject I-infinitives and (ii) while inflection often becomes more acceptable with partial control and less acceptable with exhaustive control, it is not the case either that partial control requires inflection or that inflection implies partial control. In the following section we provide evidence that these apparent instances of controlled I-infinitives do indeed involve OC in the formal sense, before discussing the theoretical implications of the patterns in sections 4 and 5.

3. But is this really obligatory control?

Applying the amalgamated diagnostics from Williams 1980, Landau 2000 and Hornstein 1999 to EP suggests that control of I-infinitives is OC, at least for some speakers. In this

section, we consider these diagnostics one by one, with data mainly from native speakers who accept controlled I-infinitives, backed up in some cases by surveys.

(i) No alternation with an overt DP in OC

In his discussion of BP, Modesto (2010), following Williams (1980), uses diagnostic (i), though this has become controversial given that in many languages PRO *does* seem to alternate with an overt DP under some matrix predicates (Landau 2000, Sundaresan & McFadden 2009, Sundaresan 2014, McFadden & Sundaresan 2014).² The diagnostic holds only in one direction, therefore: failure to alternate with an overt referential subject indicates OC but not vice versa. Modesto (2010) shows that this diagnostic holds of controlled inflected infinitives in his dialect of spoken BP (see also Modesto, this volume):

- (23) *O presidente decidiu/preferiu/quis os membros se reunirem
 the chair decided/preferred/wanted.3SG the members SE.3 meet.INF.3PL
 Lit. 'The chair decided/preferred/wanted the members to meet.'

[BP, Modesto 2010: 87]

In EP, matters are complicated by the more general possibility of I-infinitives with referential subjects (discussed above). I-infinitives can surface with referential overt/null subjects as the complements of factive and declarative/epistemic verbs (Raposo 1987). Survey data reveal I-infinitives to be more widely accepted in factive than epistemic contexts, with what appears to be an effect of age: older speakers accepted (24) more readily than younger speakers

² Barbosa (2009) building on Szabolzci (2009), notes that overt pronominal subjects are possible in instances of OC in EP with an uninflected infinitive, where they are focused. We leave this complication to one side here for reasons of space, but note, as she does, that in all cases these pronouns must be co-referential with the controller.

(though the relatively small numbers mean this is not statistically significant and warrants further investigation):

(24) %Acredito [terem os ministros chegado a um acordo].

believe.1S have.INF.3PL the ministers arrived at an agreement

‘I believe the ministers to arrived at an agreement.’ [*=30% ?=38% ✓=32%, n=37]

(25) *pro*_i lamento [*pro*_j teres vindo].

regret.1PL have.INF.2S come

‘I regret your having come.’ [*=14% ?=4% ✓=82%, n=67]

For those speakers who accept I-infinitives in the complements of epistemic/factive predicates, these clauses clearly permit overt/covert referential subjects. Desiderative predicates, however, do not generally permit inflected infinitival complements with referential overt/null subjects (Raposo 1987: 98):

(26) a. *O Manel desejava [os amigos terem levado o livro].

the Manel wished.3SG the friends have.INF.3PL taken the book

b. *O Manel desejava [terem os amigos levado o livro].

the Manel wished.3SG have.INF.3PL the friends taken the book

c. *O Manel desejava [terem levado o livro].

the Manel wished.3SG have.INF.3PL taken the book

Lit. ‘Manel_i wished them_j to have taken the book.’

In partial control contexts, where I-infinitives are permitted under these predicates (for a subset of speakers, as discussed above), overt referential subjects do not seem to be possible:

- (27) %O João preferia/espera { *os meninos } reunirem-se { *os meninos } mais tarde.
 the João preferred/hopes.3SG the boys meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 the boys more late
 ‘João_i preferred/would prefer for the kids to meet later on.’

The same holds of object control, where inflection is more widely accepted:

- (28) *O Pedro convenceu a Maria a os meninos viajarem amanhã.
 the Pedro convinced.3SG the Maria A the boys travel.INF.3PL tomorrow
- (29) *O Pedro convenceu a Maria a viajarem os meninos amanhã.
 the Pedro convinced.3SG the Maria A travel.INF.3PL the boys tomorrow

As such, at least some cases of both subject and object control of an I-infinitive pass this OC diagnostic.

(ii) Obligatory co-reference in OC

Modesto (2010), following Hornstein (1999), Landau (2000) and Williams (1980) further cites (ii) as a diagnostic for OC. This can be revealed in numerous ways not least by the inclusion of a pronoun in the embedded clause co-referential with the matrix subject (Landau 2000). In instances of OC, this triggers ungrammaticality as a violation of Condition B.

- (30) *O presidente_i detestou PRO₂₊ serem entrevistados sem ele_i
 the chair hated.3SG be.INF.3PL interviewed.MPL without him

[BP, Modesto 2010: 92]

The results for this diagnostic in our surveys suggest that we are dealing with multiple EP grammars. In an initial survey of 24 younger speakers, the results closely follow those from BP. Of the 42% of people who fully or marginally accepted (31) nobody fully accepted (32), though 12% reported it to be marginally possible. Despite a certain amount of noise in these results, the clear indication is that obligatory co-reference seems to be required in such contexts for those speakers who accepted (31):

- (31) %O João preferia reunirem-se mais tarde.
 the João preferred.3SG meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 more late
 ‘João_i preferred/would prefer to meet later on.’ [*=58% ?=8% ✓=34%, n=24]
- (32) *O João_i preferia reunirem-se sem ele_i
 the João preferred.3SG meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 without him
 Lit. ‘João_i preferred/would prefer to meet without him_i.’ [*=88%, ?=12%, ✓=0%, n=24]

In a later survey, however, with 68 respondents of different ages, the results are less clear (see also Landau to appear). Firstly fewer people found the baseline example in (33) fully grammatical and only 35% in total found it either marginally or fully acceptable. Secondly, the inclusion of a co-referential pronoun in (34) actually seemed to make the example slightly more acceptable for this larger sample of speakers:

- (33) %O João preferia reunirem-se amanhã.
 the João preferred.3SG meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 tomorrow
 ‘João preferred/would prefer to meet tomorrow.’ [*=65% ?=20% ✓=15%, n=68]
- (34) %O João_i preferia reunirem-se sem ele_i amanhã.
 the João preferred.3SG meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 without him tomorrow
 ‘João_i preferred/would prefer to meet without him_i tomorrow.’

A closer consideration of individual speakers reveals that we seem to have two distinct patterns of grammaticality, here. All those speakers who accept (33) reject or find marginal (34) and vice versa (with only two exceptions). That is to say that speakers who accept (33) do so only on an OC reading. Other speakers, however, reject control of inflected infinitives but marginally permit I-infinitives with referential subjects with the verb *preferir* (as though it patterned with factive/epistemic matrix predicates). This raises the question why speakers who permit I-infinitives with referential subjects under *preferir* would accept (34) but not (33). One possibility is that these speakers have a competition-based obviation effect (Bouchard 1984, Schlenker 2005): I-infinitives are ruled out in (33) precisely because U-infinitives are possible in this context:

- (35) O João preferia reunir-se às 6.
 the João preferred.3SG meet.INF=SE.3 at.the 6
 ‘João preferred/would prefer to meet at 6.’ [*=17% ?=4%, ✓=79%, n=24]

If this is the case, then the presence of ‘sem ele’ in (34) forces a disjoint reference interpretation rendering it grammatical for those speakers who reject (33) because of obviation.

These results therefore indicate the existence of three distinct groups of EP speakers:

- (i) those who consistently reject I-infinitives as complements of *preferir* (25 speakers);
- (ii) those who permit only partial OC of I-infinitives under *preferir* (16 speakers);

- (iii) those who permit only disjoint reference I-infinitives under *preferir* (25 speakers)
(the properties of which still need to be investigated).

Interestingly, though, (36), another test for obligatory co-reference, is more consistently rejected by the same sample of 68 speakers. In (36) the phi-features of the I-infinitive show it to be 2nd/3rd person plural and so incompatible with a 1st person controller. The fact that 88% of those surveyed outright rejected this example suggests that these speakers require obligatory co-reference, something which is not possible in (36):

(36)*Eu	preferia	reunirem-se	mais cedo. [EP]
I	preferred.1SG	meet.INF.3PL/2PL=SE.3/2PL	more early
[*=88%, ?=4%, ✓=7%, n=68]			

Note that 6 of the 8 speakers who accepted or marginally accepted (36) are group (iii) speakers (who allow referential I-infinitives under *preferir*), whereas all group (ii) speakers rejected (36), as expected. While it remains unclear why the other group (iii) speakers do not accept (36), we can nonetheless conclude that, for a subset of speakers, controlled I-infinitives also display this property of OC.

Object control of I-infinitives also seems to require obligatory co-reference for some speakers, though somewhat surprisingly not for all the speakers surveyed:

(37)a. O Pedro	convenceu	a Maria	a viajarem	amanhã.
the Pedro	convinced.3SG	the Maria	A travel.INF.3PL	tomorrow
‘Pedro convinced Maria for them to travel tomorrow.’				
[*=0% ?=0% ✓=100%, n=24]				

- b. %O Pedro convenceu a Maria_i a viajarem amanhã sem ela_i
 the Pedro convinced.3SG the Maria A travel.INF.3PL tomorrow without her
 ‘Pedro convinced Maria for them to travel tomorrow without her.’

[*=38% ?=8% ✓=54%, n=24]

While for 46% of speakers the presence of a pronoun co-referential with the matrix object leads to ungrammaticality or more marginal acceptability, 54% of speakers report no contrast between (37a-b). Again, this requires further investigation, but for around half the speakers at least, object control of an I-infinitive passes this OC diagnostic.

(iii) Long-distance control of PRO is impossible in OC

Another OC diagnostic discussed by both Hornstein (1999) and Landau (2000) is (iii). This can be tested by making the inflection on the I-infinitive incompatible with the potential controller in the next clause up, but compatible with a DP in a higher clause:

- (38)*O Pedro acha que eu preferia reunirem-se mais cedo.
 the Pedro believe.3SG that I preferred meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 more early
 Lit. ‘Pedro believes that I would prefer for them to meet earlier on.’ [EP]

Those speakers who allow only controlled I-infinitives with *preferir* reject (38) but this has not been tested via a survey and it is predicted that some of the group (iii) speakers discussed above may accept comparable examples.

(iv) Strict reading of PRO is impossible in OC

(39) %O João preferia reunirem-se de manhã, e a Maria também
 the João preferred.3SG meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 of morning and the Maria also
 preferia (*mas sem ela).
 preferred.3SG but without her
 ‘João would prefer to meet in the morning and Maria would too (but without her).’

Hornstein (1999) suggest that (v) also holds, though see Landau (2000) for some apparent counterexamples. There is suggestive (though somewhat inconclusive) evidence of a c-command requirement on controlled I-infinitives in EP. Of the 16 speakers who reported a contrast between (40a-b), 75% found (40b) substantially worse than (40a), whereas only 25% reported the opposite judgement. Crucially, the data therefore go in the right direction, though are not as categorical as one would expect, possibly because of the additional confound introduced by the fact of João's boss being female:

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- b. *[A chefe do João]_i_j preferia reunirem-se sem ela_j.
 the boss of.the João preferred.3SG meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 without her
 ‘João’s (female) boss would prefer to meet without her.’

In non-local subject OC and object OC contexts, the same effect holds. In the case of object OC, of the 16 people who reported a contrast between (41a-b), 63% reported (41a) to be substantially better than (41b), whereas only 37% reported the opposite:

- (41)a. %Persuadi [a chefe do João]_i_j a reunirem-se sem ele_i
 persuaded.1SG the boss of.the João A meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 without him
 ‘I persuaded João’s female boss to meet without him.’
- b. *Persuadi [a chefe do João]_i_j a reunirem-se sem ela_j
 persuaded.1SG the boss of.the João A meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 without her
 Lit. ‘I persuaded João’s female boss to meet without her.’

In the case of non-local subject OC, of the 12 people who reported a contrast, 83% found (42a) substantially better than (42b), whereas only 17% reported the opposite judgement:

- (42)a. %[A chefe do João]_i prometeu aos colegas reunirem-se
 the boss of.the João promised.3SG to.the colleagues meet.INF.3PL=SE.3
 sem ele_i.
 without him
 ‘João’s female boss promised his colleagues to meet without him.’
- b. *[A chefe do João]_i_j prometeu aos colegas reunirem-se
 the boss of.the João promised.3SG to.the colleagues meet.INF.3PL=SE

sem ela_j.

without her

Lit. ‘João’s female boss promised his colleagues to meet without her.’

In all kinds of OC, then, there is evidence that the controller must c-command PRO at least for some speakers, though the data are not as uniform as one might expect.

(vi) De se reading

Work with native informants suggests that controlled I-infinitives have only the *de se* reading, a diagnostic for OC according to both Hornstein (1999) and Landau (2000). The following sentence, for example, is deemed felicitous only in the context where an amnesiac is due to be reunited with his wife after an accident and has a preference about where this meeting should take place. It is not compatible with the reading where he holds this belief about the man who he sees in the mirror who he takes to be a total stranger, due to be reunited with his (respective) wife:

(43) %O amnésico preferia reunirem-se no hospital. (*de se* only)

the amnesiac preferred meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 in.the hospital

‘The amnesiac would prefer/preferred to meet in the hospital.’

(vii) Bound variable reading

Finally, consider (vii), which is argued to be an OC diagnostic by both Hornstein (1999) and Landau (2000). Again, work with native informants suggests that here too, the diagnostic rules in favour of OC. Consider the following example:

(44) Só o diretor preferia reunirem-se fora no caso de

only the headmaster preferred.3SG meet.INF.3PL=SE outside in.the case of
um incêndio.

a fire

‘Only the headteacher wanted to meet outside in the event of a fire.’

This example is only felicitous in a situation in which no other teacher would prefer to gather outside with his/her class in the event of a fire, i.e. where all the other teachers think it is too cold for that and would prefer to gather in the school gym over the road instead. It could be the case then that many other teachers would also prefer for the head master and his class to gather outside (because they dislike him) but they would prefer for their own classes to gather inside in the warm. The example is *not* compatible with a reading where the headmaster is the only person who has the preference for him and his class to gather outside, i.e. where all the other teachers are worried about his health and want him and his class to gather in the gym but he gallantly resists.

In sum, although there is some noise in the results, possibly stemming from confounds in the data and/or micro-syntactic variation across speaker populations, there is evidence from all the diagnostics that at least for some speakers controlled I-infinitives instantiate OC. In the following section I discuss the problems that this fact raises for existing theories of OC before providing an alternative account in section 5.

4. Challenges for existing theories of control

Many approaches to OC in both Government and Binding and Minimalism derive the distribution of PRO from Case, with Landau 2000, et seq. a notable exception. According to the PRO Theorem, PRO must be ungoverned, to avoid the inherent contradiction in its

specification as both [+anaphoric, +pronominal] (Chomsky 1981). Under the Movement Theory of Control (MTC), OC PRO is assimilated to A-trace, with the OC relation resulting from movement and being possible only from caseless positions (see Hornstein 1999, Boeckx and Hornstein 2004, 2006, Boeckx, Hornstein and Nunes 2010). In both approaches, the strong prediction is that OC PRO (descriptively speaking) will lack Case.

There has been much discussion of the challenge posed by languages like Russian, Icelandic and Ancient Greek in the literature on Control, as these languages provide evidence that PRO has Case (see Andrews 1971, 1976 and Sigurðsson 2008, Bobaljik & Landau 2009 for recent discussion). The challenge from controlled I-infinitives in Portuguese, which is of the same kind but more serious, has not been much discussed (though see Raposo 1989, Sitaridou 2007 on EP; Modesto 2010, this volume, Rodrigues & Hornstein 2013 on BP). In relation to the MTC, in particular, OC of an I-infinitive fails to look like movement in several crucial respects, as Modesto (2010) also notes. Firstly, PRO does not look like a copy/trace of its controller as the two can differ in number (see above) and even person features, even for those speakers who only permit OC in such contexts. The numerical results for (45b), for example, come from group (ii) speakers who only allow I-infinitives under *preferir* on a control reading:

(45)a. %O João preferia reunirmo-nos mais tarde.

the João preferred.3SG meet.INF.1PL=SE.1PL more late

‘João_i would prefer PRO_{i+speaker} to meet later on.’

b. %Preferias reunirmo-nos mais tarde?

preferred.2SG meet.INF.1PL=SE.1PL more late

‘Would you_i prefer PRO_{i+speaker} to meet later on.’ [*=62%, ?=6%, ✓=32%, n=16]

As Landau (to appear) points out, not all speakers who permit OC with I-infinitives allow such examples, but a minority do. In any case, differences in number between the Controller and ‘PRO’ are equally problematic for the MTC (see Rodrigues 2007 for a possible solution and Sheehan 2012 for some objections to this, which we omit here for reasons of space, see also Landau 2013 and Modesto, this volume).

Moreover, raising is not possible from I-infinitives (Raposo 1989: 297, Quicoli 1996: 59) and the phenomenon of partial A-movement does not exist elsewhere in the language:

- (46) a. *pro*_i parecem [t_i ter razão]
 seem.3PL have.INF reason
 b. EXPL parece [pro terem razão]
 seem.PRES.3SG have.INF.3PL reason
 ‘They seem to be right.’
 c. **pro* parecem [t_i terem razão]
 seem.3PL have.INF.3PL reason

(see Raposo 1989: 297, Quicoli 1996: 59)

- (47) a. *O Pedro parece terem-se reunido
 the Pedro seem.3SG have.INF.3PL=SE.3 met
 b. *O Pedro foi reunido ontem.
 the Pedro was reunited yesterday
 Lit. ‘Pedro was reunited yesterday.’

The EP data thus pose considerable challenges for the MTC.

In a sense, the data support Landau's contention that there are two flavours of OC, but also raise some potential issues for his approach. Simplifying somewhat, Landau (2000, 2004, 2008) claims that partial control is possible because where C mediates the OC relation, PRO can differ from its controller in its mereological (+/-MER) specification, which is distinct, crucially, from its syntactic number specification. Predicates like 'meet', in EP, as in English, require only a *semantically* plural +MER subject:

- (48) O comité / *o Manel reúne-se todos os dias
 the committee /the Manel meets.3SG=SE.3 all the days
 Lit. 'The committee/*Manel meets every day.'

As C is not specified for +/-MER, this fact allows for mismatches, giving rise to partial OC:

- (49) Controller_{-MER}...[C PRO_{+MER}...]

This analysis does not extend straightforwardly to partial OC in EP, however: in such contexts, controlled *pro* appears to differ from its controller in its *syntactic* feature specification (for both number and, for some speakers, person). For some speakers, then, the condition appears to be a semantic one: the controller must be a potential subset of the referent of *pro*. Responding to these facts, Landau (2013) proposes that the person and number features of controlled *pro* are shifted in EP "in accordance with the features of the group obtained by an A[ssociative] M[arker]". But controlled *pro* appears to be syntactically plural and possible with predicates which require a syntactically plural subject, so this cannot be the whole story:

- (50) *O comité é amigos.

the committee is friends
 (51) %Preferia ser*(**mos**) amigos do que sócios
 preferred.1SG be.INF(.1PL) friends of.the than partners
 ‘I’d prefer to be friends than partners.’

The contrast in (50)-(51) shows that partially controlled *pro* is actually syntactically plural and this cannot be attributed to the presence of an associative marker.

The fact that we see clear evidence for two distinct patterns of control in EP is also partially in line with Cinque’s (2006) view of OC. In his terms (see also Grano 2012), exhaustive OC is the result of restructuring whereas cases permitting a partial OC reading involve PRO. It is certainly true that restructuring predicates seem not to permit I-infinitive complements in EP whether or not clitic climbing has actually taken place (see example (15) repeated here):

- (52)a. *O Pedro queria reunirem-se mais tarde.
 the Pedro wanted meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 more late
 b. *O Pedro queria-se reunirem mais tarde.
 the Pedro wanted=SE.3 meet.INF.3PL more late

Moreover, in line with microparametric variation with the equivalent verbs in Italian and Spanish (cf. Cinque 2004: fn 27), 6/32 EP speakers in one survey permitted clitic climbing with *preferir* but not in the presence of an I-infinitive complement. This provides support for Cinque’s contention that there is an incompatibility between restructuring and PRO- (or rather *pro*-) control (more on how this relates to partial control readings below). Crucially,

though, the correlation holds in only one direction. Martins (2000: 184) notes that object OC predicates *never* permit clitic climbing in EP (cf. Spanish, Luján 1978, Suñer 1980):

(53)a. *Aconselhou-mo a comprar [EP, Martins 2000: 184]

advised=me.it A buy.INF

b. *Permitiu-mo comprar

permitted=me.it buy.INF

However, as we have seen above they permit OC of both U-infinitives and I-infinitives, so OC of U-infinitives cannot be reduced to restructuring. Fiéis & Madeira (2012) further show that non-local subject control verbs like *prometer* ‘promise’ do not permit clitic climbing. Interestingly, this appears to be the case whether or not a matrix object is present, according to my informants:

(54)a. Prometeu(-me) fazê-lo.

promised(=me) do.INF=it

b. *Prometeu-mo/o fazer.

promised=me.it/it do.INF

And yet these non-restructuring predicates also permit OC of U-infinitives as well as I-infinitives, as discussed above. In short, while it is true then that restructuring predicates do not permit OC of an I-infinitive in EP, non-restructuring predicates *do* permit OC of a U-infinitive. This is apparently contrary to Cinque’s/Grano’s expectations, or at least not explained by their approach. In addition to restructuring, we appear to have two additional OC mechanisms in EP.

5. Towards an analysis

5.1. The proposal

The data clearly show that there are two distinct kinds of OC in EP: with U-infinitives and I-infinitives (in addition to restructuring). In this section I propose that whereas OC of a U-infinitive results from movement and so does not involve *pro*, OC of an I-infinitive is the result of failed movement and so involves *pro* (see Cinque 2006 and Grano 2012, discussed above, as well as van Urk 2010 for variants of the claim that some but not all OC involves movement).

Let us first consider OC of a U-infinitive. I assume, building on Pylkkänen 2008, that the animate argument of *persuadir* ‘to persuade’ received its theta-role from an Appl(icative) head. Appl, like all thematic heads, bears a $[D:]^{EPP}$ feature which is intended to attract a DP argument to its specifier. In order to make movement from what is presumably a CP complement to spec ApplP possible, we are forced to assume that non-finite CPs which fail to assign nominative Case are non-phasal. Formalising Hornstein’s (1999) MTC in terms of Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) Agree we arrive at the following derivation. First, matrix Appl probes for a DP to value its $[D:]$ feature with a referential index. As such, Appl agrees with DP_i , and its feature is valued as $[D:i]$. As Appl also bears an EPP feature (movement trigger), DP_i is then attracted to spec ApplP to satisfy this feature. The derivation converges as long as DP_i can get Case by some means. As DP_i occupies two theta-positions, it receives two distinct theta-roles (taking theta-roles to be configurationally determined in the spirit of Baker 1988, 1997). This is essentially a notational variant of the MTC as proposed by Hornstein (1999):

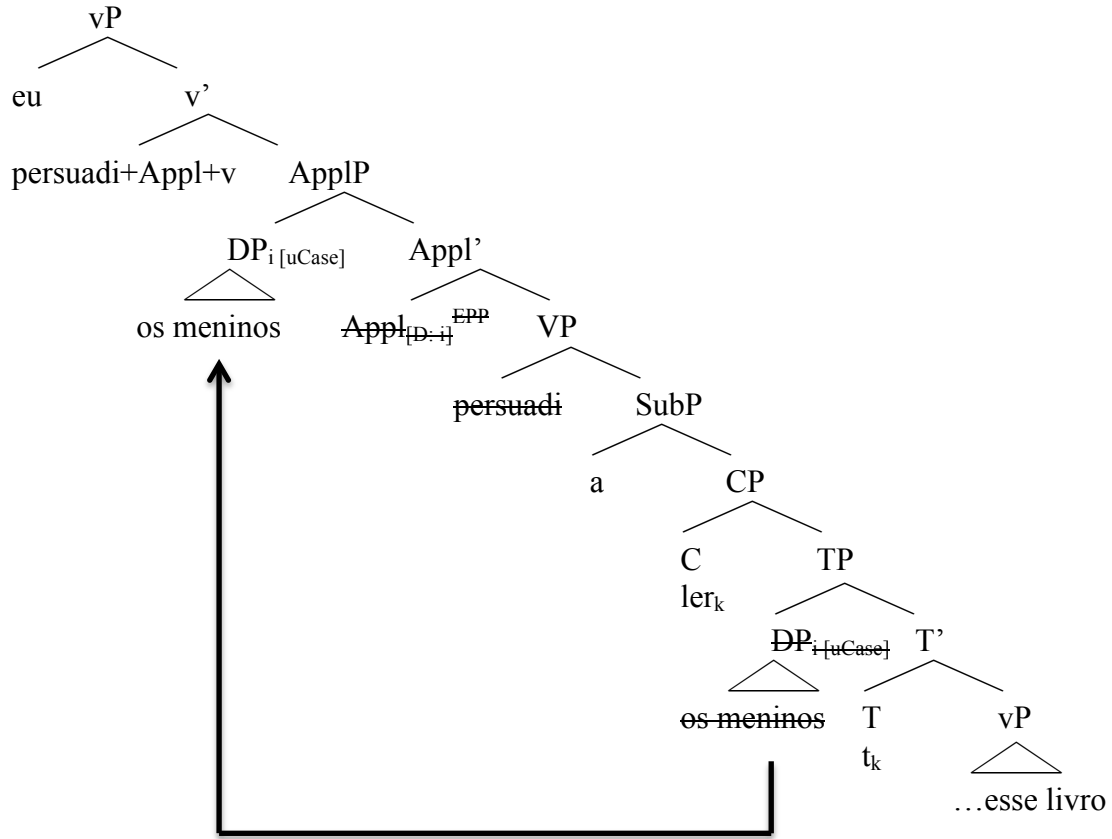
(55) Exhaustive object OC of a U-infinitive = movement, CP lacks phi-features and so is not a phase³

Eu persuadi os meninos_i [a t_i ler esse livro]

I persuaded.1SG the kids A read.INF that book

‘I persuaded the kids to read that book.’

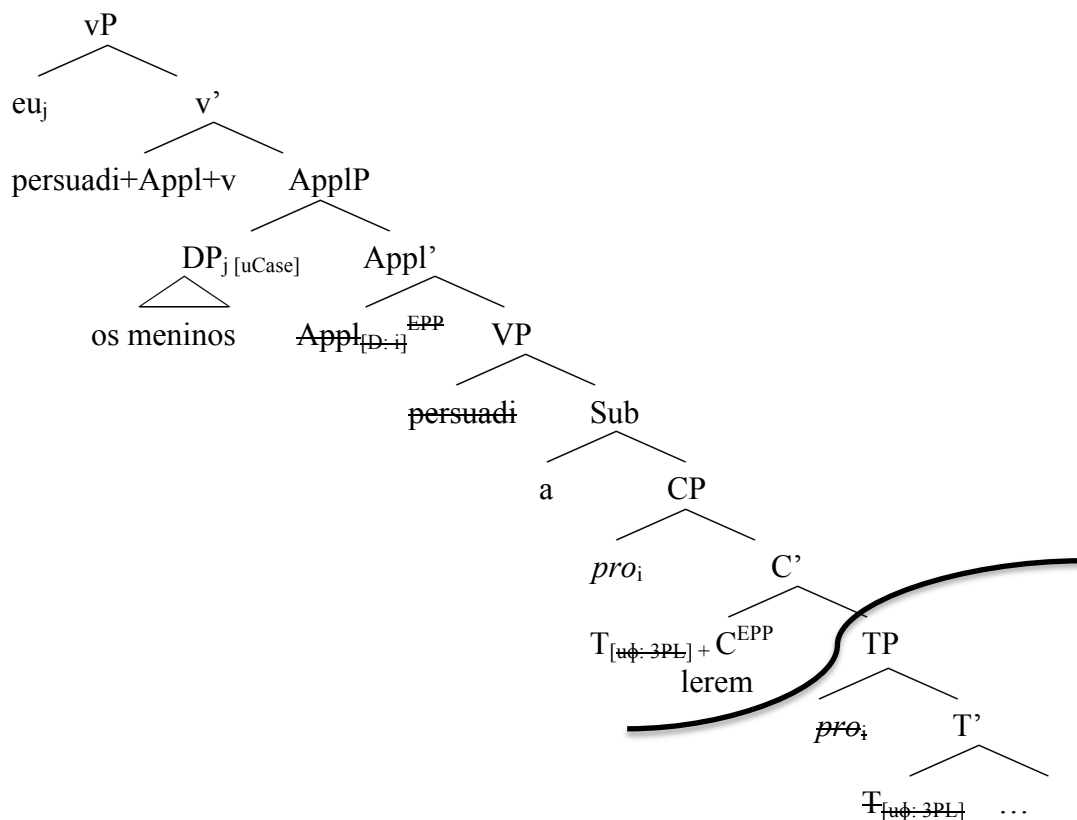
³ A reviewer asks me to clarify the status of A in this structure. It does not behave like either C or P in that it is compatible with enclisis rather than proclisis. If enclisis results from verb movement to C, as Madeira (1994) proposes (as discussed below), then it follows that A cannot occupy the C position. As such, I assume that A has the status of a subordinator above C, akin to the subordinators present in those Scandinavian languages which permit embedded V2 in the presence of an overt ‘complementiser’, unlike German and Dutch (see Andersson 1975)



Now consider a different scenario where a thematic head (Appl) probes for a potential argument and comes across a DP with Case. Assuming that Case domains constitute phases, the only way for this to be possible is for the DP in question to occupy the lower phase edge. While Appl is free to agree with the DP in question, valuing its [D:] feature, the latter cannot raise to Appl's specifier as this would constitute improper movement. As such, a distinct DP must be externally merged with Appl to satisfy its EPP feature. More concretely, consider the derivation of (56). Matrix Appl probes for a DP to value its [D:] feature and agrees with pro_i , resulting in the value [D:i]. pro_i cannot move to spec ApplP due to the ban on improper movement (and it occupies the phase edge, an A-bar position) and so DP_j is externally merged with Appl, meaning that it will receive Appl's theta-role configurationally. As Appl bears a valued thematic feature [D:i], however, by hypothesis, the referential index of the DP that gets Appl's theta-role (j) must be non-distinct from i. The derivation converges as long as DP_j gets Case.

(56) Partial/exhaustive object OC of an I-infinitive = failed movement, CP has phi-features
and so is a phase

Eu persuadi os meninos [a *pro* lerem esse livro]
I persuaded.1SG the kids A read.INF.3PL that book
'I persuaded the kids to read that book.'



As sketched in (56), the partial/exhaustive OC ambiguity arises from the non-distinctness requirement: either $j = i$ (yielding exhaustive OC); or $j \subset i$ (yielding partial OC). Essentially then, partial control results from failed movement, whereby one DP values a thematic head's $[D:]$ feature and another receives its theta-role. The requirement that the reference of these two DPs partly overlap is a means of resolving this conflict. While space restrictions preclude a full discussion of why this should be, consider by way of a parallel, the case of expletives which must be non-distinct in person features from their associate, but can differ in number.

There is independent support for such an approach from the fact that the presence of some other phrase in spec CP blocks OC into an I-infinitive in EP, plausibly because the wh-phrase blocks movement of the embedded subject to the phase edge, or at least interferes with the Agree relation which results in the controlled reading:

- (57) *O Pedro não sabe quando se reunirem.
 the Pedro not knows when SE.3= meet.INF.3PL

This is also true of successive cyclic movement, giving rise to the following minimal pair:

- (58)a. O Pedro prefere reunirem-se na sala
 the Pedro prefer.3SG meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 in.the room
 ‘Pedro prefers to meet in the room.’
 b. *Onde é que o Pedro prefere [_{CP} t_{wh} reunirem-se].
 where is that the Pedro prefers meet.INF.3PL=SE.3

There is also independent evidence that overt subjects in I-infinitive clauses can occupy a very high position, plausibly spec CP. Consider, for example, subject clauses where the most natural pattern is that they precede the verb even in instances of enclisis (Madeira 1994):

- (59)a. Será difícil [eles reunirem-se amanhã].
 be.FUT.3SG difficult them meet.INF.3PL=SE.3 tomorrow
 ‘It will be difficult for them to meet tomorrow.’ [*=9%, ?=12%, ✓=79%, n=68]
 b. %Será difícil [eles se reunirem amanhã].

be.FUT.3SG difficult them SE.3= meet.INF.3PL tomorrow

‘It will be difficult for them to meet tomorrow.’ [*=41%, ?=22%, ✓=37%, n=68]

Famously, where I-infinitives surface as the complements of epistemic predicates, however, overt subjects are only possible in a low post-verbal position (the so-called Aux-to-Comp construction, see Raposo 1987, Rizzi 1982). With factives, matters are a little more complex but the Aux-to-Comp pattern is also possible (Raposo 1987):

(60) Eu penso/lamento [terem (os deputados) trabalhado pouco].

I think/regret.1SG have.INF.3PL the deputies worked little

‘I believe/regret the deputies to have worked very little.’

(EP, adapted from Raposo 1987: 87)

These patterns follow if subjects in spec CP are vulnerable for theta-probing only where their host clause is a complement. Overt/null subjects in spec TP are not exposed to thematic probing, hence where an I-infinitive surfaces as a complement with a referential subject, that subject must occur in a low position. Where an I-infinitive surfaces in a non-complement position, however, a subject in spec CP is not subject to thematic probing, hence legitimate, as in the following schema:

- (61) a. Appl/v_[D:] [C pro_{ref} T...]
 b. *Appl/v_[D:] [pro_{ref} C T ...]
 c. [pro_{ref} C T...] T

The difference between verbs like *pensar/lamentar* on the one hand, and *preferir/esperar/persuadir* on the other is merely that the latter select a ‘V2’ complement, in

which the subject obligatorily occupies spec CP (at least for some speakers). For this reason *preferir/esperar/persuadir* permit only OC for these speakers, as the only kinds of subjects permitted in spec CP are controlled pronouns, which in a consistent null subject language like EP are null in instances of co-reference (but see Barbosa 2009). The pattern observed with *pensar/lamentar* is different. For many speakers, these verbs select only a non-V2 complement, where the subject remains low and hence is referential, though for some speakers (who show no obviation effect) Controlled V2 complements also seem to be possible.

While this analysis captures the existence of the two kinds of OC in EP and provides a unified account of them, there are two things which are yet to be explained by it. First, U-infinitives can apparently have *partial* as well as *exhaustive* readings, contrary to what is predicted if they always involve movement. Second, where local subject OC is concerned inflected infinitives are only possible at all under a partial control reading and even then only for a subset of speakers. In the following two subsections I tie up these remaining loose ends.

5.2. Covert comitatives

As mentioned above, the vast majority of EP speakers fully accept a U-infinitive in instances of partial control, somewhat surprisingly, given what has been proposed above. In instances of local subject control, U-infinitives are actually more widely accepted with a partial control reading than I-infinitives (the data in (18), (20) and (22) are repeated here for ease of reference):

(62) EP partial local subject control [uninflected 83%; inflected 42%, n=24]

O João_i preferia [PRO_i+ reunir(%em)-se mais tarde].

the João preferred.3SG meet.INF(.3PL)=SE.3 more late
 ‘John would prefer to meet later on.’

(63) EP partial non-local subject control [uninflected 70%; inflected 95%, n=37]
 O Pedro prometeu à Ana reunir(em)-se em Braga
 the Pedro promised to.the Ana meet.INF(.3PL)=SE.3 in Braga
 ‘Pedro promised Ana to meet in Braga.’

(64) EP partial object control [uninflected 68%; inflected 97%, n=37]
 Os professores persuadiram o diretor a reunir(em)-se mais tarde
 the teachers persuaded the headteacher A meet.INF(.3PL)=SE.3 more late
 ‘The teachers persuaded the headteacher to meet later on.’

Sheehan (2014a) provides an analysis of this in terms of covert comitatives, following Boeckx, Hornstein & Nunes (2010). The idea is that these examples really involve exhaustive control but that a covert comitative object (*with X*), which functions as the object of the embedded verb, gives rise to an apparent partial control reading, as in the following schematic representation:

(65) The teachers persuaded the headmaster_i A [_{CP} t_i meet.INF *pro*_{comitative} later on]

There is evidence for this approach from the fact that in such contexts, PRO shares all its features with its controller, as evidenced by the morphological form of the pronominal SE clitic. In such cases, the clitic is always singular and can never be plural, contrary to what we saw with partial control of an I-infinitive:

(66)a. Preferias reunir-te mais tarde? [*=9%, ?=13%, ✓=78%, n=32]

prefer.2SG meet.INF=SE.2SG more late

‘Would you prefer to meet later on?’

b. *Preferias reunir-se amanhã ou na sexta?

prefer.2SG meet.INF=SE.2PL/3 tomorrow or on.the Friday

[*=94%, ?=3%, ✓=3%, n=32]

(67)a. Eu preferia reunir-me mais tarde.[*=3%, ?=9%, ✓=88%, n=32]

I preferred.1SG meet.INF=SE.1SG more late

‘I preferred/would prefer to meet later.’

b. *Eu preferia reunir-nos às 3.⁴

I preferred.1SG meet.INF=SE.1PL at.the 3

c. *Eu preferia reunir-se mais tarde.

I preferred.1SG meet.INF=SE.3 more late

As Sheehan (2014a) notes, Spanish, French and Italian also permit partial control readings with uninflected infinitives (though somewhat marginally) (see also Landau 2000). In all four languages, there is a close correspondence between those verbs which can surface with an overt comitative and those permitting partial control with an uninflected infinitive, though the class of comitative verbs varies substantially from language to language. Thus in EP, *beijar-se/ abraçar-se* are not comitative and so disallow an apparent partial control reading with a U-infinitive:

(68)*Há uma semana que o Pedro anda com a Maria

have.3SG a week that the Pedro go.3SG with the Maria

⁴ Ungrammatical under the relevant partial control reading.

e queria beijar-se/abraçar-se (com ela) agora.
 and wanted.3SG kiss.INF=SE.3/embrace.INF=SE.3 (with her) now

Intended ‘Pedro has been seeing Mary for a week and he would like to kiss/cuddle now.’

Where such verbs occur in OC with an I-infinitive, however, they permit partial control for around half those speakers surveyed, indicating that no covert comitative is involved:

(69)%Adoro a Maria mas preferia não nos beijarmos em público.
 Adore.1SG the Maria but preferred.1SG not SE.1PL kiss.INF.1PL in public
 ‘I adore Mary but I’d prefer not to kiss in public.’

More generally, the pattern with uninflected infinitives appears to be that those predicates which can surface with an overt comitative permit apparent partial control readings where uninflected, whereas those that cannot do not.⁵ Once we have factored in the possibility of covert comitatives in EP, we get a clear division between movement-derived OC which gives rise to an exhaustive reading and *pro*-derived OC (failed movement) which is ambiguous between partial/exhaustive readings (see Sheehan 2014a for further discussion of this account).

5.3. Obviation

This leaves us with one remaining problem: the fact that exhaustive local subject control is special. Whilst in all other contexts, both I-infinitives and U-infinitives are possible to some degree, in instances of local subject control inflection is uniformly banned. This is the same

⁵ Other comitative verbs include *reunir-se* ‘to meet’, *envolver-se* ‘to get involved’, and non-comitatives are *beijar-se* ‘to kiss’, *abraçar-se* ‘to hug’ *corresponder-se* ‘to correspond’, *falar-se* ‘to speak’, *escrever-se* ‘to write to each other’ and *perceber-se* ‘to understand each other’.

pattern observed with Romance obviation: exhaustive co-reference with the matrix subject is banned in subjunctive complements of desiderative/factive verbs (but partial co-reference is permitted) (Suñer 1986, Schlenker 2005, Constantini 2005):

- (70)a. *Tu voudras que tu te rases à 7h.
 you.SG want.FUT.2SG that you.SG SE.2S shave.SBJ.2SG at 7am
- b. Tu voudras que vous vous rasez à 7h.
 you.SG want.FUT.2SG that you.PL SE.2PL shave.SBJ.2PL at 7am
- Lit. ‘You will want that you shave at 7am’. [French, Schlenker 2005: 288]

Note also that exhaustive co-reference with a matrix object is possible in subjunctive contexts just as it is with I-infinitives. I-infinitives behave exactly like subjunctive complements in this respect. This is also an area of further micro-parametric variation. A closer look at individual speakers suggests that some also have an obviation effect with non-local subject control hence the fact that I-infinitives were also only accepted by around half those surveyed.

As Schlenker (2005) notes, the fact that partial co-reference is possible in obviation contexts renders Binding Theory-approaches to it problematic (Picallo 1985, Raposo 1985, Tsoulas 1996), as condition B also rules out partial co-reference in other contexts:

- (71) #Tu vous admireras.
 you.SG you.PL admire.FUT.2SG [French, Schlenker 2005: 288]

See Kempchinsky (2009) for an alternative approach that could be adapted to cover I-infinitives. The key aspect of her proposal is that subjunctives are equivalent to embedded imperatives. Just as imperatives have an ‘anyone but the speaker’ requirement, subjunctives have an ‘anyone but the matrix subject’ requirement.

We can thus summarise a number of micro-parameters determining the distribution of inflected infinitives in complement OC in EP:

(72) Micro-parameters of variation

Parameter 1: desiderative predicates do/do not select for C_{ϕ}

Parameter 2: C_{ϕ} does/does not have an EPP requiring subject movement to spec CP

Parameter 3: The C_{ϕ} complements of *promise*-type verbs pattern with subject/object Control in terms of obviation.

Finally recall that while some speakers require the controller of *pro* with an OC I-infinitive to be only non-distinct in reference, the more common pattern seems to be a slightly more stringent requirement for *pro* and its controller to be non-distinct in person features. In order to account for this further micro-parametric difference it is necessary to parameterise the way the [D:] feature on the thematic probe is valued. Where the *pro* goal is 1st or 2nd person, I propose that [D:] is valued as [D:1st] or [D:2nd] respectively rather than via a referential index for the majority of speakers. This accounts for the fact that for these speakers, there is a contrast of the following kind (see also Landau 2013):

- (73) Eu preferia reunir-mo-nos mais tarde.
 I preferred.1SG meet.INF.1PL=SE.1PL more late

- (74) *O João preferia reunir-mo-nos mais tarde. (restricted group)

the João preferred.3SG meet.INF.1PL=SE.1PL more late

‘João_i would prefer for us_{i+speaker+} to meet later on.’

For these speakers the 1PL feature imposes a requirement for the controller to also be 1st person, and likewise where *pro* is 2PL. This gives us one more micro-parameter for the list:

(75)Parameter 4: Where the goal is 1st/2nd person [D:] is valued as 1st/2nd *or* with the referential index of the goal.

6. Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen that I-infinitives are possible in some instances of OC for some speakers. This provides strong evidence that there are two kinds of OC in EP (and more generally). It has been proposed that if the non-finite complement of a control predicate is non-phasal, OC is derived via movement, as an embedded argument is attracted to a second thematic position by a matrix thematic probe. If, however, the non-finite complement of a control predicate is phasal, an embedded pronominal will be visible for theta-probing only if it raises to the phase edge (spec CP). From this position, the pronominal in question can agree with the matrix thematic probe but cannot move to a thematic position, resulting in ambiguous exhaustive/partial control. Complications to this simple picture come from (i) the availability of covert comitatives with U-infinitives, (ii) obviation effects and (iii) substantial micro-parametric variation. The latter concerns (i) which verbs select for an I-infinitive, (ii) the position of the subject in an I-infinitive, (iii) whether non-local subject control patterns with subject or object control in terms of obviation and (iv) whether the thematic probe’s [D:] feature is valued with 1st/2nd person features or merely a referential index. Many issues, of course, remain to be investigated, not least the sociolinguistic status of this variation. Is the

use of I-infinitives an innovation or a conservative feature of the language? How is the use of I-infinitives changing across generations of speakers? What is the status of attested examples of I-infinitives in instances of exhaustive local subject control, discussed by Gonçalves, Santos and Duarte (2014)? I take up these matters in ongoing research.

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