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

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**This draft makes the same points as the May 7 one,
but addresses a potential confound (pronominal doubles),
corrects some errors in the Hebrew data, and adds Romanian data.
Further updates may be posted at http://homepages.nyu.edu/~as109/papers.html .**

Comments Greatly Appreciated*

1. Agenda

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

> (1) "No overt subjects in infinitival complements"
>   Infinitival complements of subject control verbs and subject-to-subject raising verbs do not have overt nominative subjects.
> (2) "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 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 (1). 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 a 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 <u>for</u>-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 (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 on free ones, for example) 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 (2), 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 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.

My impression of the state of the art is that the theories I am familiar with do not predict (1) and (2) in a straightforward manner. But neither do these theories seem to tell me exactly where these generalizations are expected to fail.

This paper proposes that there is extensive evidence that the observations in (1) and (2) are descriptively incorrect. The evidence comes from Hungarian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and possibly Turkish, Modern Hebrew, Russian, and Finnish, in contrast to English, German, Dutch, and French. In the latter languages (1) and (2) do seem to hold.

All the data in this paper, unless explicitly noted otherwise, come from my own field work. A subset of the Hungarian data were first published in Szabolcsi 2005.

The primary goal is to present these data as a challenge to current theories, rather than to develop a new theory. It is good news that (1) and (2) are not predicted. But then the challenge is this:

(3) Why do the observations in both (1) and (2) hold in English, German, Dutch, and French, but not in Hungarian, Italian, etc.?

The hope is that the data below will lead to better theories of pronounceability and control, rather than conspiracy theories where both the English-type patterns and the Hungarian-type patterns turn out to be accidental and uninteresting. But I am not sure that the data base is sufficient as of date. The selection of languages I have looked at has been somewhat arbitrary. It had to do with the availability of colleagues willing to sacrifice unusual amounts of time to help with painstaking field work. I am immensely grateful to all of them. 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 share it.

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. Another crucial point is to show that the overt DPs in question are indeed the subjects of infinitival clauses, as opposed to somehow displaced finite subjects. This can be shown with reference to binding data and word order data. The latter is where a Hungarian syntactician is useful. Well-established generalizations about Hungarian word order make it plain that some of the Hungarian examples 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 other 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 analysis has to be left to the experts.

The discussion proceeds as follows. A detailed investigation of Hungarian will introduce the phenomena (Sections 2 through 4). The exposition of data from other languages will be shorter and presupposes that the reader has worked through the Hungarian sections. Section 5 discusses Italian, Mexican Spanish, and Brazilian Portuguese, which seem to possess Hungarian-style overt subjects in infinitival subject control and raising complements. Section 6 discusses Turkish, Modern Hebrew, Romanian, Russian, and Finnish.These latter languages appear to have overt infinitival subjects in raising complements, but with decreasing probability in control complements. 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. It will be pointed out that at least superficially speaking they are not the same thing. Section 8 concludes with some speculations.

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

2.1 Control complements

In sentences like (4) and (5) the operator subjects have unambiguous matrix scope – I will call this the "HI reading":

    (4) I too want to be tall.
    (5) Only I want to be tall.

In contrast to (4), I want to be tall too is ambiguous:

(6) 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'

(7) 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. <u>too</u>, <u>also</u>) 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 <u>I want to be tall too</u> pan out in Hungarian as follows. <u>Is</u> `too' is an unstressed particle and not postposed. It associates with an overt element.

(8)   <u>Én</u>   <u>is</u>   magas szeretnék   lenni.
            I   too   tall   would.like-1sg   be-inf
            HI: `I too want it to be the case that I am tall'

(9)   Szeretnék   <u>én</u>   <u>is</u>   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. <u>DP is</u> `DP too' may be either preverbal or postverbal in mono-clausal examples and so (9) by itself is not diagnostic. In fact, as indicated above, (9) is ambiguous – its HI and LO readings are disambiguated by whether intonation groups <u>én is</u> with <u>magas lenni</u> or not. The reason why <u>DP is</u> 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.

      In contrast, <u>csak DP</u> `only DP' and <u>nem DP</u> `not DP' have a clear diagnostic value. Because <u>only</u> associates with focus, its associate cannot be null, and (10) has no readings parallel to (7):

(10)   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, <u>csak DP</u> and <u>nem DP</u> have a very restricted distribution in mono-clausal examples. In particular, in the absence of negation or pair-focus <u>csak DP</u> can only occur preverbally. The reason is that focus in Hungarian is immediately preverbal. (In

the presence of negation, postverbal <u>csak</u> `only' marks an exceptive, much like Japanese <u>sika</u> and Korean <u>pakkey</u> – an entirely independent construction.)

(11)   * Olvastam   <u>csak   én</u>   egy   könyvet.
              read-past-1sg only   I   a   book-acc
              `Only I read a book'

(12)   <u>Csak   én</u>   olvastam   egy   könyvet.
              only   I   read-past-1sg a   book-acc
              `Only I read a book'

Now the position of <u>csak DP</u> completely disambiguates the infinitival example:

(13)   <u>Csak   én</u>   szeretnék   magas lenni.
              only   I   would.like-1sg   tall   be-inf
              HI: `I am the only one who wants to be tall'

(14)   Szeretnék   <u>csak   én</u>   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, <u>nem DP</u> `not DP'. This may simply never occur postverbally in mono-clausal examples; it is always in focus:

(15)   * Olvastam   <u>nem   én</u>   egy   könyvet.
              read-past-1sg   not   I   a   book-acc
              `Not I read a book'

(16)   <u>Nem   én</u>   olvastam   egy   könyvet.
               not   I   read-past-1sg a   book-acc
               `Not I read a book'

But <u>nem én</u> `not I' may occur between the finite and the infinitival verbs with a LO reading:

(17)   <u>Nem   én</u>   szeretnék   magas lenni.
               not   I   would.like-1sg   tall   be-inf
              HI: `I am not the one who wants to be tall'

(18)   Szeretnék   <u>nem   én</u>   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 (14) and (18) 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:

(19)   Holnap   mindenkivel   <u>csak   én</u>   beszélek.
         tomorrow   everyone-with only   I   talk-1sg
         `Tomorrow everyone will be such that only I talk with him/her'

(20)   Szerettem   volna holnap   mindenkivel   <u>csak   én</u>   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'

Contrastive focus without <u>csak</u> is equally felicitous:

(21)   Szerettem   volna holnap   mindenkivel   <u>én</u>   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'

     We may now conclude that <u>csak én</u> in (14) and <u>nem én</u> in (18) are in the exact same
kind of preverbal operator position in the infinitival clause that they occupy in the finite
clauses of (13) and (17). The same carries over to focused <u>én</u> in (21) and to the relevant
analysis of <u>én is</u> in (9). Thus the bracketing is as follows:

(9)'   Szeretnék   [én is   magas lenni].
(14)'   Szeretnék   [csak én lenni magas].
(18)'   Szeretnék   [nem én lenni magas].
(20')-(21)'   Szerettem volna [holnap mindenkivel (csak) én beszélni].

     Although the long operator sequence in (20)-(21) 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 <u>utál</u> `hate', cross-linguistically not a restructuring verb, and <u>el-felejt</u> `forget'.
<u>El-felejt</u> has a prefix, and prefixal verbs never restructure in Hungarian:

(22)   Utálok   [csak   én   dolgozni].
         hate-1sg   only   I   work-inf
         LO: `I hate it that only I work'

(23)   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)

     Following Szabolcsi 2005, we may summarize the findings so far as follows:

(24)   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 clauses 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 (cf. Perlmutter 1970).

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

(26)   Elkezdtem   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. At least one kind of operator in the matrix subject position tends to support a HI/LO ambiguity in English:

(27)   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, our concern is not 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.

(28)   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'

(29)   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'

(30)   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'

(31)   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'

(32)   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'

We conclude:

(33)   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 overts subjects of the matrix verbs that inserted themselves into those infinitival clauses in some unholy manner. The following observation will eliminate this worry:

(34)   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 so bound, but a referential expressions 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.

(35)   * 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'

(36)   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 unlikely 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 thirdly, this contrast serves as an important diagnostic tool for the present, more modest quest.

2.4 Pronominal doubles? Emphatic/placeholder pronouns and <u>we linguists</u>

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.

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.

(37)   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'

(38)   (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'

(39)   * Péter ő is dolgozott   /   * Péter nem ő dolgozott.
           Peter he too worked   /   Peter not he worked

(40)   * 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.

(41)   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:

(42)   * Péter tegnap az dolgozott   /   * Péter csak az dolgozott.
            Peter yesterday that worked   /   Peter only that worked

Pronominal subjects do not participate in this construction:

(43)   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 (41). But that might 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.

(44)   We linguists and you philosophers should talk more to each other.
(45)   You troops go South and you troops go North!

        Such complemented pronouns do not induce a Condition C violation:

(46)   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:

(47)   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'

(48)   Elkezdtünk   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:

(49)   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 in that it has pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples, this potential confound can be controlled for using complemented personal pronouns.

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 (34) 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 norminative 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 (49). If complemented pronouns occur in control complements but not in emphatics or placeholders, we know that control complements can have overt pronominal subjects.
    These diagnostics 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:

[22]   Utál**ok**   [csak **én**   dolgozni].
        hate-1sg   only I   work-inf
        LO: `I hate it that only I work'

[29]   Nem   fog**ok**   [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'

[32]   Elkezdt**em**   [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:

[22']   ***Utál   [csak **én**   dolgozni].
          hate.3sg   only   I   work-inf

[29']   ***Nem   fog   [csak **én**   dolgozni   éjszaka].
              not   will.3sg   only   I   work-inf   at.night

[32']   ***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, the subjects of infinitival complements of Hungarian predicates that do not carry person-number agreement are in the dative. The subject may be controlled, arbitrary, or a lexical DP. The infinitives themselves are optionally inflected. For example:

(50)   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:

(51)   (*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':

(52)   * 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'

(53)   Kényszerült**em**   [**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:

(54)   Péter a balkonon aludt.   ?? Bement**em** a hálószobába **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 (55) the intervening infinitives akarni `want-inf' and elkezdeni `begin-inf' do not carry inflection, although they could agree with én if they were finite.

(55)   Nem   fog**ok** akarni elkezdeni   [**én** is rossz jegyeket kapni].
        `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 (55) with utálom `hate-1sg subject.definite object' in (56), where the direct object is definite:

(56)   Utál**om** elkezdeni [én is **ezeket a jegyeket** kapni].
        `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:

(57)   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 the 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. .

(58)   **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'

(59)   **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'

(60)   **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'

(61)   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.

(62)   ?* Nem fogok   [**én** is elkezdeni [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'

(63)   ? **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 either recognize their own voices or not. In either case, it may happen that

(64)   John said that only he sounded friendly.   (he=John)

In both cases, 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 (65) with John having the desire but not being aware that it pertains to him himself; (66) on the other hand can be so construed. The detailed demonstration of this involves amnesiac war heroes, and I skip the story.

(65)   John wanted to get a medal.   (only de se)
(66)   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:

(67)   Every guy wanted to get a medal.   (only de se)
(68)   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.

(69)   Miért tanulsz olyan sokat? Nem akar<u>om</u>, hogy <u>pro</u> rossz jegyet kapj<u>ak</u>.
         `Why do you study so hard? I don't want that I get a bad grade'

(70)   Miért tanul olyan sokat? Nem akar<u>ja</u>, hogy <u>pro</u> rossz jegyet kapj<u>on</u>.
         `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 (69)-(70) 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:

(71)   Nem akar<u>ja</u>, hogy <u>ő</u> is rossz jegyet kapj<u>on</u>.
         ` He doesn't want that he too get a bad grade'

(72)   Nem akar<u>ta</u>, hogy csak ő menj<u>en</u> 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.,

(73)   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.:

(74)   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 <u>utál</u> `hate', <u>elfelejt</u> `forget', etc.

(75)   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 (60) differs from that of the run-of-the-mill control construction (76) just in what the focus-sensitive operator attached to the subject contributes.

(76)   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 again one diagnostic to look for when one wishes to ascertain whether another language exhibits the same phenomenon as Hungarian.

The theoretical interpretation of these facts is not clear. 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 suggests that the pronominal examples instatiate control as much as the PRO examples. On the other hand, the paradigmatic cases of control according to Farkas are ones involving full responsibility. Due to the operator that associates with the pronominal subject, the pronoun examples do not involve full responsibility: the matrix subject can only be responsible for his/her own actions. But then neither do the PRO examples with non-agentive verbs, as in <u>I want to get good grades</u>.

5. Italian, Mexican Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, 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 toRaffaella 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 (77), preverbal solo lui takes maximal scope: it scopes over both negation and the attitude verb `want'. In (64), 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 (77), 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).

(77)   Solo lui   non   vuole   andare a Milano.
          only he   not   want.3sg   go.inf to Milano
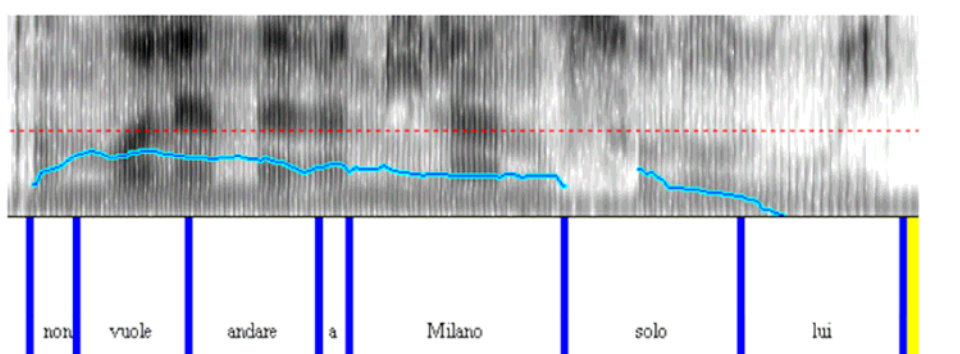   `Only he doesn't want to go to Milano

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

[78a] HI reading

non | vuole | andare | a | Milano | solo | lui
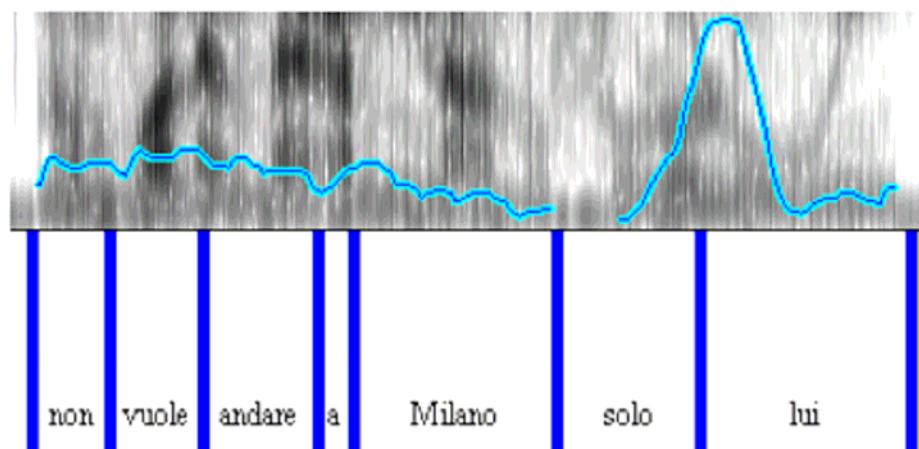
[78b] LO reading

In (79), where <u>solo lui</u> 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. (80) with <u>solo lui</u> between <u>vuole</u> and <u>andare</u> is unacceptable.
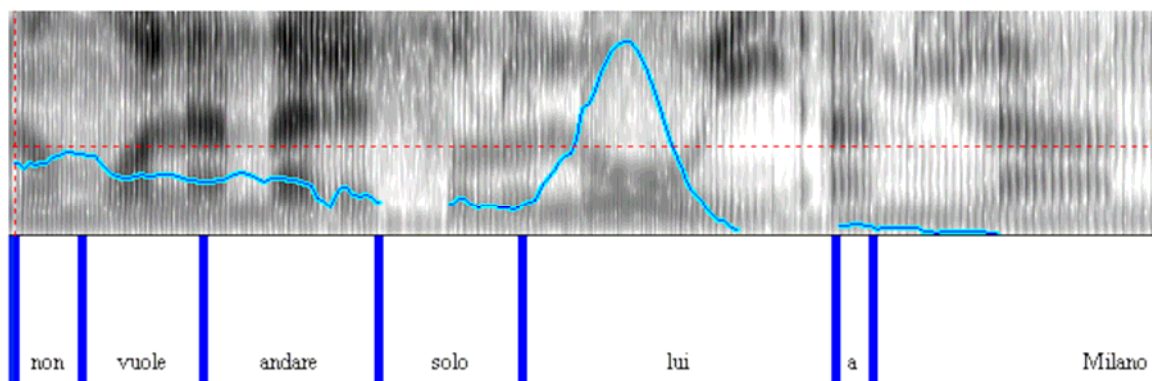
(79)   Non vuole andare <u>solo lui</u> a Milano.
        `LO: He doesn't want it to be the case that only he goes to Milano'

(80)   *Non vuole <u>solo lui</u> andare a Milano.

[79] LO reading
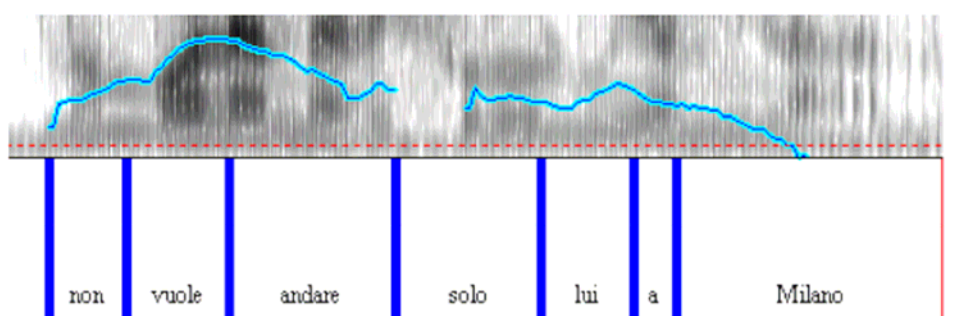
(79) may also have a HI reading with a marked pause before <u>a Milano</u>. In what follows I ignore such pause-induced HI readings.

[79] HI reading with pause before <u>a Milano</u>

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 (78), <u>Non vuole andare a Milano solo lui</u> is simply structurally ambiguous, <u>solo lui</u> 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 <u>solo lui</u> is **not** playing:

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

(79), <u>Non vuole andare solo lui a Milano</u> is unambiguous and has only a LO reading. The LO reading is available, because the infinitival subject can be postverbal within its own clause (82a); the HI reading is absent probably because the matrix subject cannot scramble with infinitival material (82b):

(82)   a. LO: pro non vuole [andare <u>solo lui</u> a Milano]
         b. HI: * non vuole [*PRO* andare <u>solo lui</u> a Milano]

To ascertain that the LO reading of <u>solo lui</u> is due to this phrase being the infinitival subject it is crucial to compare the above sentences with <u>solo Gianni</u> in the place of <u>solo lui</u>. Here only the HI readings are available. As pointed out in Section 2.3, this is what the proposed analysis predicts. <u>Volere</u> 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.

(83)   <u>Solo Gianni</u> non vuole andare a Milano.
         only he not want.3sg go.inf to Milano
         `Only Gianni doesn't want to go to Milano

(84)   Non vuole andare a Milano <u>solo Gianni</u>.
         [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'

(85)   * Non vuole andare <u>solo Gianni</u> a Milano.
         * LO: `He$_i$ doesn't want it to be the case that only Gianni$_i$ goes to Milano'

(86)   *Non vuole <u>solo Gianni</u> andare a Milano.

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

(87)   Odia lavorare solo lui.
         [a] HI: `Only he hates to work.'
         [b] LO: `He hates it that only he works'

(88)   Odia 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 (<u>Gianni stesso</u> `Gianni himself'). On the other hand, Italian has personal pronoun doubles in mono-clausal examples:

(89)   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 prononimal 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 <u>ogni ragazzo</u> `every boy' within one clause but can be controlled by it:

(90)   Context: The teacher worked, and...
               * Ogni ragazzo ha lavorato   anche lui
                 every boy   aux worked   also he
               `for every boy x, x worked too'

(91)   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 (91) the complement clause has a PRO subject that is doubled by <u>anche lui</u>, so it has the same structure as (89). 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. (49)). 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:

(92)   Vorremmo [andare <u>solo noi linguisti</u> a Milano].
            LO: `We would like it to be the case that only we linguists go to Milan'

(93)   Vorremmo [andare a Milano <u>solo noi linguisti</u>].
            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 <u>noi</u> a topic to begin with, but it is possible:

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

Adding <u>linguisti</u> to (94) results in unacceptability, indicating, as in (49), that pronominal doubles do not take noun complements:

(95)   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 <u>noi</u> is removed, <u>noi linguisti</u> becomes possible, since nothing prevents it from being the sole subject:

(96)   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 <u>lavorare anche lui</u> is structurally ambiguous and has one analysis where it contains a PRO subject doubled by <u>anche lui</u>, along the lines of <u>Gianni ha lavorato anche lui</u>. But generalizing from (92)-(93) it also has another analysis where <u>anche lui</u> is the sole subject.

5.1.2 Raising

The pronoun/lexical DP contrast disappears with raising verbs like <u>sembrare</u> and <u>iniziare</u>/<u>cominciare</u> (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 <u>sembrare</u> 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 signing in it or others are signing too (same for Gianni).

(97)   Non sembro   cantare   <u>solo io</u>   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'

(98)   Non sembra   cantare   <u>solo Gianni</u>   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 (97)-(98) are difficult to distinguish from `Not only I seem / Gianni seems to be signing in this tape', although there may be a slight difference: (97)-(98) 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:

(99)   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

(100)   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 <u>solo lei</u> and <u>solo Maria</u> get LO readings in (102):

(101)   <u>solo lei</u> / <u>solo Maria</u> 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'

(102)   Ha iniziato   a ricevere   buoni incarichi   <u>solo lei</u> / <u>solo Maria</u>.
         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'

(103)   Ha iniziato   <u>solo lei</u>   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'

(104)   Ha iniziato   <u>solo Maria</u>   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.

(105)   <u>Solo Gianni</u> vuole andare <u>solo lui</u> a scuola.
         `Only Gianni wants to be the only one who goes to school'

(106)   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'

(107)   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'

(108)   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:

(109)   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'

(110)   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 clearcut 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 pertinent pronominal doubles data 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 the main difference between Italian and Spanish seems to be that more orders are acceptable and are ambiguous in Spanish, something that I will not attempt to account for.

(111) shows that sólo Juan can occur in all 4 positions, but only with a HI reading. (112) shows that the HI reading is similarly available to sólo él, although between quiere and ir it is dispreferred. Cruicially to us, (113) 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.

(111)   <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'

(112)   <Sólo él> no quiere <? sólo él> ir <sólo él> a la escuela <sólo él>.
HI `Only he doesn't want to go to school'

(113)   <* 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:

(114)   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)'

(115)   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:

(116)   Odia jugar (*Pablo) a las cartas.
`He hates (*Pablo) to play cards'

(117)   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 <u>parecer</u> and <u>empezar</u>. 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 <u>parecer</u> 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 signing in it or others are signing too (same for Gianni).

(118)　　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'

(119)　　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 (118)-(119) are difficult to distinguish from `Not only I seem / Juan seems to be signing in this tape', although there may be a slight difference: (118)-(1119) 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:

(120)　　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

(121)　　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 <u>sólo ella</u> and <u>sólo Maria</u> have LO readings in (124) and (126):

(122)　　<u>Sólo ella</u> / <u>sólo Maria</u> 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'

(123)   Empezó <u><sólo ella></u> a obtener <u><* sólo ella></u> papeles buenos <u>< ?sólo ella></u>.
           Scenario A: `Only she began to get good roles'

(124)   Empezó <u><* sólo ella></u> a obtener <u><? sólo ella></u> papeles buenos <u><sólo ella></u>.
           Scenario B: `It began to be the case that only she got good roles'

(125)   Empezó <u><? sólo M></u> a obtener <u><* sólo M></u> papeles buenos <u>< sólo M></u>.
           Scenario A: `Only Maria began to get good roles'

(126)   Empezó <u><sólo M></u> a obtener <u><* sólo M></u> papeles buenos <u><sólo M></u>.
           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:

(127)   Empezó a ir <u>sólo Maria / ella</u> 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 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, (128) is only colloquial; with the matrix subject dropped it is acceptable in the written language as well. (129) is acceptable in the written language.

(128)   (**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'

(129)   **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'

5.2.4 *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.

5.2.5 Summary of the Spanish data

Overall, the Spanish data are consistent with the generalizations reached in Hungarian and Italian, but are in themselves less transparent, due to the larger number of ambiguous sentences. -- For the time being I assume that if Spanish has a counterpart of the Italian mono-clausal pronominal double construction, complemented pronouns can be used to distinguish the placeholders from what I analyze as pronominal subjects in control complements.

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

These two items 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.

(130)   Bem, tenho tentado ser uma boa amiga e vou ao hospital sempre que posso e falo corn a Amy pelo telefone toda hora mas, hoje corn essa neve toda, não sei bem o que fazer ainda,
*n*ão *quero *eu* também acabar doente...*
LO: `I don't want it to be the case that I too get sick'

(131)   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. Overt unstressed pronouns occur 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).

(132)   [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'

          *Não quer o João também escorregar neste chão.

(133)   [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'

          *Nem o João queria só ele tentar falar com o diretor.

(134)   [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'

          * Não quer o João também tentar só ele falar com o diretor.

(135) [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'

* Não quer o João também tentar só ele tirar dinheiro do banco.

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.

(136) 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'

(137) 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

It appears 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 can be used to distinguish the placeholders from what I analyze as pronominal subjects in control complements.

6. Turkish, Modern Hebrew, Romanian, Russian, and Finnish

In these languages overt infinitival subjects are clearly available in complements of raising verbs, but not so clearly, or clearly not, with control verbs. Reversing the order of presentation I give the raising data first so we have a better picture of what we should be looking for in control.

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

Notice that these data 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:

(138)   <u>Sadece Orhan</u> iyi roller   almağa   başladı.
        only Orhan   good roles   take-inf-dat   began.3sg
        HI: `Only Orhan began to get good roles'

(139)   Iyi rolleri   <u>sadece Orhan</u> 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)'

(140)   Iyi rolleri   <u>sadece o / kendisi</u>   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 (141), the negative marker <u>ma</u> occurs on the finite verb `began'; in (142) it occurs on the infinitival verb `take'.

(141)   Iyi rolleri   <u>hiçkimse</u>   almağa   başla<u>ma</u>dı.
        good roles-acc   nobody   take-inf-dat   began-neg-3sg
        HI: `Nobody began to get good roles (nobody's situation improved)'

(142)   Iyi rolleri   <u>hiçkimse</u>   al<u>ma</u>mağa   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)'

6.1.2 Control

Asli 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 Asli Untak. In (143) and (145) 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 (144) and (146) the only-phrase takes the widest scope, which leaves only the HI reading as a possibility.

(143)   Sadece <u>o</u>   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'

(144)   Sadece <u>**o**</u>   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'

(145) Iyi rolleri   sadece <u>o</u>   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

(146) Iyi rolleri   sadece **<u>o</u>**   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 <u>only DP</u> and negation/the attitude verb. But if the pronoun is replaced by a name, only the HI readings remain, just as in the languages of Section 5:

(147) Iyi rolleri   sadece <u>Orhan</u>   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' or

(148) Iyi rolleri   sadece **<u>Orhan</u>**   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 <u>o</u> `he' and <u>Orhan</u> 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 <u>Orhan</u> exhibits what is reminiscent of a standard Condition C effect seems to indicate that when <u>only DP</u> 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 <u>o</u> `he' is replaced by <u>kendisi</u> `self', only the LO readings remain. Some speakers prefer <u>kendisi</u> in LO readings. If `want' is replaced by `hate', the same general correlations obtain, but replacement of <u>o</u> by <u>kendisi</u> becomes obligatory:

(149) Iyi rolleri   <u>sadece kendisi</u> /* <u>o</u> 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:

(150) Iyi rolleri   <u>sadece kendisinin</u>   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:

(151) Iyi   rolleri   <u>sadece onun</u>   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.'

6.1.3 One finite verb – multiple overt subjects

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

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

6.1.4 Summary of the Turkish data

Turkish exhibits LO readings in both raising and control constructions. Although the matrix versus complement position of the nominative DPs is not easy to establish in a strict SOV language, and it may be that we are dealing with a pure scope phenomenon, it appears to me that 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.

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

In Modern Hebrew 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 possibly Holmberg 2005 for different analyses).

6.2.1 Raising

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

(154)   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'

(155)   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'

(156)   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'

(157)   hitxilu   la-avod šam   <u>rak me'at anašim.</u>
         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'

6.2.2 Control

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.)

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

(159)   lo racinu   la-avod   <u>rak anaxnu.</u>
         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'

(160)   lo racinu   la-avod   <u>gam anaxnu.</u>
         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:

(161)   lo racu   la-avod   <u>rak/gam ha-yeladim.</u>
         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.

(162)   ha-talamidim kul-am / gam hem / af hem   šaru.
         the-students   all-they / also they / also they sang.3pl
         `The students all / also sang'

(163)   ha-talamidim šaru   kul-am / gam hem / af hem.
         the-students   sang.3pl   all-they / also they / also they
         `The students all / also sang'

(164)   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:

(165)   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 (158)-(164). 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 (158)-(161) also contain floated pronominal quantifiers, not pronominal subjects.

6.2.4 *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:

(166)   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'

6.2.5 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.

6.2.6 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.

6.3 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.

6.3.1 Raising

(167)   ? 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'

(168)   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'

6.3.2 Control

Here we encounter a similar situation as in Hebrew. LO readings with pronouns exist (169)-(170). But Romanian has pronominal doubles that accompany names and, in contrast to Italian, also quantifiers (171)-(172). Like Hebrew and unlike Italian, Romanian has only <u>noi lingvişti-i</u> `we the linguists' and not *<u>noi lingvişti</u> `we linguists', and this does not discriminate between doubles and real subjects.

(169)   ? 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*)

(170)   ? 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*)

(171)   Ion   a   muncit   doar el / şi el.
       Ion   have.3sg   worked   only he/also he
       `Only Ion worked / Ion worked too'

(172)   Context: The teacher worked, and...
       Fiecare băiat a   muncit   şi el.
       every   boy   aux   worked also he
       `every boy worked too'

(173)   ?Vrem a   merge doar noi lingvişti-i la Milano.
                ?Vrem a   merge la Milano doar noi lingvişti-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 (174) contains multiple subjects or pronominal doubles:

(174)   ? Aş urî   a încerca şi   eu a mă   urca doar eu in 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 (169) 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):

(175)   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'

(176)   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 (177), which has the complementizer ca is definitely ambiguous between *de re* and *de se* readings (like pronominal subjects of Hungarian subjunctives), but (178) without ca is probably only *de se* (like pronominal subjects of infinitives):

(177)   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'

(178)   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 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 infivitival verb, to be discussed in section 8.

6.3 Russian (thanks to Maria Gouskova, Inna Livitz, Stephanie Harves, Igor Yanovich, and Anna Kovtunova for data and discussion)

Whether Russian 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. Like Finnish, Russian has a constraint against verb initial orders when there is an element in the sentence that would be eligible for topicalization.

6.3.1 Raising

Kazhet'sya `seem' does not take infinitival complements. Raising can be illustrated with aspectual verbs, stat' `begin' and perestat' `stop'. My informants were in agreement that the raising examples work fine with both pronominal and lexical subjects in the infinitival clause. Much like in Italian, examples with sentence final only-phrases are ambiguous between the HI and the LO readings, but placing the only-phrase between the infinitival verb and another element of the infinitival clause eliminates the HI reading.

(179)   Tol'ko on/Gordon   stal/perestal   prixodit' domoj pjanim.
         only he/Gordon   began/stopped   go-inf home drunk
         HI: `Only he/Gordon began/stopped going home drunk'

(180)   Stal/perestal   prixodit' domoj pjanim   tol'ko on/Gordon.
         began/stopped   go-inf home drunk   only he/Gordon
         HI: `Only he/Gordon began/stopped going home drunk'
         LO: `It began/stopped being the case that only he/Gordon goes home drunk'

(181)   Stal/perestal   prixodit' domoj   tol'ko on/Gordon   pjanim.
         began/stopped   go-inf home   only he/Gordon   drunk
         LO: `It began/stopped being the case that only he/Gordon goes home drunk'

6.3.2 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 in (182)-(185) are from those informants who were the most favorable to this construction.

(182)   ? (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'

(183)   ? On skazal, chto   ne xochet   idti   <u>tol'ko on</u>   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'

(184)   ? (Ja skazala, chto) ne xochu   idti   <u>tol'ko ja</u>   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'

(185)   ? On skazal, chto ne xochet   idti   <u>tol'ko on</u>   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 <u>(ne)</u> <u>xotit'</u> `(not) want' is replaced by <u>nenavidet'</u> `hate'. To save space, these are not given.

       A full DP cannot replace the pronoun in (182)-(185) on the linked reading, cf. Condition C.

       Given the marginal character of these examples, I did not investigate pronominal doubles.

6.3.3 One finite verb – multiple overt subjects

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

(186)   *__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'

(187)   *__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'

(188)   *__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:

(189)   *__Im__ nravitsya idti __tol'ko oni__ peshkom.
           they-dative please.3sg go-inf only they on.foot
          `It pleases they to be the only ones who go on foot'

6.3.4 Summary of the Russian data

It seems clear that Russian has overt infinitival subjects in raising complements, but their existence in control complements is dubious, based on the data available to me, since none of the informants managed to muster up much enthusiasm for the control examples.

6.4 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.

6.4.1 Raising

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

(190)　<u>Vain hän</u>　　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'

(191)　Hyv-i-ä roole-j-a　　　alkoi　　　saada　<u>vain hän</u>.
　　　　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'

(192)　Vuonna 2006　alkoi　　<u>vain Maria</u>　　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'

6.4.2 Control

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

(193)　　*En　　halunnut　　<u>vain minä</u> / <u>minun</u>　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 <u>yksin</u> `alone'. (196) is judged to be outrageously bad.

(194)　　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'

(195)　　Minä e-n halu-a men-nä koulu-un yksin.
　　　　　`idem'

(196)　　*E-n halu-a men-n koulu-un <u>vain minä</u>.
　　　　　 not-1p want-inf go-inf school-illat only I

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

6.4.3 One finite verb – multiple subjects

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

(197)   En   halunnut   <u>vain minun</u> 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):

(198)   **Mary** ei   halunnut   **<u>vain hänen</u>**   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.'

6.4.4 Summary of the Finnish data

It seems that Finnish has overt nominative subjects in raising complements, but it certainly has none in control complements.

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

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

(199)   Avendo Gianni fatto questo, …
         `Having Gianni done this, …'

(200)   The parents having died, the children were put into an orphanage.

(201)   A szülők meghalván, a   gyerekek árvaházba   kerültek.
         the parents having.died 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 the absolute construction but no nominative subjects in infinitival complements confirms that the two phenomena cannot be quite the same.

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:

(202)   Para [celebrar <u>Rita</u> 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):

(203)   * Odia [jugar <u>Pablo</u> a las cartas].
          `Pro hates to play Pablo cards'

As pointed out in 5.2.1, Torrego's claim that (203) is unacceptable does not contradict my claims about Spanish. <u>Hate</u> 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:

(204)   I want [only him to win].
(205)   * 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)):

(206)   [*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 Bobalijk 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.

(207)   There do not appear to be two major ways of learning prevalent.
(208)   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 perspective, our overt infinitival subjects data are imposters: they do not represent backward/copy control/raising.

7.7 Summary

It appears that we are dealing with a new descriptive phenomenon. Naturally, this does not entail that its analysis cannot borrow pieces from the analyses in the foregoing list.

8. Preliminary speculations regarding (1)

We have observed that languages fall into (at least) three classes as regards whether they allow overt nominative subjects in infinitival complements. Some languages (Hungarian, Italian, Mexican Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, perhaps Turkish) appear to have them in both subject control and subject-to-subject raising complements. Other languages (Finnish, Modern Hebrew, Romanian, probably Russian, and perhaps Turkish) appear to allow them in subject-to-subject raising but not in control complements. Finally, languages like English, German, Dutch, and French do not allow them at all, save for existential constructions.

(Painfully absent from this survey are languages with no overt agreement or tense morphology on verbs. On one hand, I was not equal to the task of doing field work on those. On the other hand, I hope to have shown that we are not talking about an "exotic language phenomenon" that only few theoretical syntacticians can do first-hand research on.)

The challenge is to predict what individual languages will do. As regards the main divide, one simple hypothesis might be this:

(209)   Default Case Hypothesis
Overt nominative subjects in infinitival complements are possible in
languages whose default case is nominative.

What default case is in a given language is determined by various tests (McFadden 2006), one of them being the cleft construction `It is I/me'. Unfortunately, this simple hypothesis will not do. While the default case in Hungarian, Italian, Spanish, etc. is indeed nominative and that in English and French is accusative, at least German is on the wrong side of the divide. All tests show German default case to be nominative, but German has no overt overt nominative infinitival subjects. Also, it would be difficult to see why default nominative would license the pronunciation of subjects in some, but not other non-finite complements in the Hungarian-type languages.

      One property that all the languages in my sample share is that the overt infinitival subjects must exhibit person/number/gender agreement (whichever applies) with the finite verb. This is reminiscent of the GB stipulation that the pronunciation of nominative subjects is licensed by local tense/agreement. Using the minimalist notion of long-distance Agree, we might hypothesize something like (210). The label INFL stands for whatever category is deemed relevant for agreement.

(210)   Nominatives Need Agreement
Nominative subjects are pronounceable when in a local relation with an
appropriate agreeing INFL. Long-distance agreement between finite INFL
and infinitival INFL endows the infinitival INFL with the requisite agreement
features.

Suppose we have an overt nominative subject and a matching finite verb but the sentence is nevertheless ungrammatical (with no other apparent reason). "Nominatives Need Agreement" entails that in such a case either (i) long-distance Agree is blocked by whatever structural condition might block it, and thus the local INFL is not endowed with the requisite agreement features, or (ii) the local INFL is endowed with the requisite agreement features, but it, or its relation to the subject, is not *appropriate*.

      At this point I remain agnostic as to what makes INFL or the relation *appropriate*. However, Hilda Koopman points out to me that a possibly property that separates languages with and without overt infintival subjcts is the position of the infinitival verb. Infinitival verbs are in a structurally low position in English, German, Dutch, and French, i.e. all the languages that have no overt infinitival subjects. In contrast, they are structurally high(er) in Hungarian, Italian, and Turkish, for example – these languages do have overt infinitival subjects. So the position of the verb may determine, or contribute to, the *appropriateness* of the agreeing local infinitival INFL. Let us commit this possibility to memory:

(211)   Koopman's Hunch Re: *Appropriateness*:
A local INFL with a verb in "high" position can make the subject
pronounceable.

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:

(212)	Urăste	a-l	vedea	**des**	doar	el.
	hate.3sg	inf-masc.obj	see	**often**	only	he
	`He hates to be the only one to see it 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.

It remains to be seen if the structural position of the infinitival verb turns out to be a solid precondition for the availability of overt infinitival subjects. I lack the expertise to diagnose the positions of Hebrew, Russian, and Finnish infinitival verbs. And, if (210) and (211) turn out to be correct, the question as to why they hold still remains.

All the languages in my sample are null subject languages to some degree or other, in contrast to English, German, Dutch, and French. But it is doubtful that this is **the** critical property that enables overt infinitival subjects. Although many naturally occurring examples involve null subjects in the finite clause, not all of them do, as we have seen in the subsections entitled "One finite verb -- multiple subjects". Moreover, in Brazilian Portuguese null subjects belong to the written norm, and the spoken language avoids them. But overt infinitival subjects are fine in spoken Brazilian Portuguese.

Another possibility is that the subdivision between Hungarian/Italian-style (raising and control subjects) and Russian/Finnish-style (only raising subjects) languages has to do with differences in their null subjects. Hungarian and Italian require unstressed pronominal subjects to be null and make no 1st/2nd versus 3rd person distinction; for Finnish and Russian, see Holmberg 2005 and Livitz 2006, cited above. But Brazilian Portuguese null subjects pattern more with Finnish and Russian than with Hungarian and Italian, so this property cuts across our classes.

Still, the availability of null subjects may play some role. In Szabolcsi 2006 the following is proposed to supplement the Agreement condition:

(213) The Bottleneck is the Finite Subject
An overt infinitival subject is possible if the finite subject can legitimately be "missing", or if both subjects can be pronounced simultaneously. It is in this respect that languages differ.

The idea is that different factors may play into the distribution of overt infinitival subjects. They should be the easiest in raising complements, because there the finite subject can be "missing" (i) if the language does not need an overt expletive and/or (ii) if predicate inversion, adverb topicalization, or something else takes care of the theta-role-less finite subject position. Then, assuming that the infinitval subject is in an appropriate agreement relation with a local INFL, Bobaljik's (2002) condition can be observed:

(214) Minimize the mismatch between PF and LF.

That is, if the infinitival subject's operator scopes inside the complement clause, as in our LO readings, the subject should be pronounced in the complement clause if at all possible.

What about the more restricted availability of overt infinitival subjects in control complements? According to (213) the crucial factor may be whether a single finite INFL is capable of licensing the pronunciation of more than one subject. Such an ability is necessary irrespective of the availability of null subjects. A null pronoun in a thematic subject position needs to be licensed. If that pronoun bore stress, it would be pronounced; it is accidental, so to speak, that it happens to be unstressed and thus null. Indeed, we find that whenever overt nominative subjects in control complements are possible, one finite verb may co-occur with multiple overt subjects (one in the finite clause and the rest in infinitival ones, or all in infinitival ones). "Whenever" covers languages in general or idiolects in particular. I have not found speakers in whose judgment overt subjects in infinitival control complements are fine when the finite verb has a null subject (215a) but there are no discoursally felicitous examples where that finite subject can be made overt and thus one finite verb licenses more than one overt subject (215b):

(215)   Unattested judgement pattern in control:
          a.   OK <u>null subject</u>   want-<u>agr</u>   [<u>overt pronoun</u> VP-inf]
          b.   there are no discoursally felicitous examples where
                 <u>overt subject</u>   want-<u>agr</u>   [<u>overt pronoun</u> VP-inf]

Therefore it is possible that the reason why Finnish and (some or all varieties of) Russian do not tolerate overt infinitival subjects in control complements is that the finite INFL cannot license the pronunciation of more than one subject. In line with the discussion in 6.2.5, I assume that the same holds for Hebrew (i.e. that apparent examples of multiple subjects involve floated pronominal quantifiers). – A murky issue here is how to count obviation with 3rd person pronouns, and how the whole control issue is related to obviation in subjunctive complements of volitional verbs.

Again, if it turns out to be correct that languages differ as to whether one finite INFL can license more than one overt subject, the question as to why it holds remains open.

Finally, we have seen that whether a language has overt pronominal subjects in control complements is not contingent on it having personal pronoun doubles in mono-clausal examples. Hungarian has the former but not the latter (section 2.4). In languages where such doubles exist, e.g. Italian, Hewbrew, and Romanian, complemented pronouns (<u>we linguists</u>) can be used to distinguish true pronominal subjects in descriptive terms; but the definite construction (<u>we the linguists</u>) is apparently not useful here, even when it is not felt to be appositive.

However, that if in a language the pronunciation of pronominal doubles is governed by the same requirements as that of normal subjects, then they pose the same theoretical challenge, their additional discourse function notwithstanding. In other words, it does not go without saying that all pronominal doubles can be swept off the table.

These speculations have not addressed (2), and the important observation by Márta Abrusán, repeated below, has only been used as a diagnostic tool in this paper.

[75]   Abrusán's Observation About *De Se* Pronouns
         The overt pronoun in the subject position of infinitival control complements
         is interpreted exclusively *de se*.

Exploring the significance of our data for a theory of control and *de se* phenomena is left for further research.

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