Les sujets des infinitives : PRO lexical vs. nul vs. pro en espagnol

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Infinitival subjects: overt vs. null PRO vs. *pro* in Spanish.

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Abstract

This thesis provides novel insights into control phenomena, based on an exhaustive investigation of the distribution and interpretation of overt and null subject pronouns in obligatory controlled (OC) infinitival complements and adjuncts, as well as null subjects in non-obligatory controlled (NOC) infinitives in Spanish. OC overt pronouns (e.g. *ella (misma)*) are analyzed as the overtly realized counterpart of PRO –so called overt PRO (Szabolcsi 2009; Livitz 2011). Null and overt PRO are shown to pattern differently with respect to standard tests for pronominal interpretation. While null PRO only allows bound-variable construals, overt PRO also allows coreferential construals, but only under the association-with-focus test, not the ellipsis test. Likewise, while null PRO can only be construed *de-se*, overt PRO can also be construed *de-re*, but again only under association-with-focus, not under ellipsis. Based on well-established parallelisms between reflexives and control, a novel approach to control is put forth, extending the presuppositional analysis of SELF-anaphors advocated by Sauerland (2013) and McKillen (2016), motivated to allow for coreferential readings of (ECM) SELF-anaphors. On this proposal, OC involves creation of a binary predicate derived via movement of the controller and the controllee, together with a SAME argument identity presupposition. Interpretative differences between overt and null PRO are tied to the presence/absence of ϕ-features. Turning to the null subjects in NOC infinitival adjuncts, they are shown to be referentially free and to alternate with overt DPs, just like their finite homologue *pro*. Drawing on Duguine (2013), the semantic properties of referentially free null subjects are uniformly derived by eliding the referentially free overt subject they

alternate with.

Résumé

Cette thèse apporte de nouvelles perspectives sur le phénomène du contrôle, basées sur une étude systématique de la distribution et de l'interprétation des pronoms nuls et réalisés dans les propositions infinitives complétives et adjointes dites à contrôle obligatoire (CO), ainsi que des sujets nuls dans les propositions infinitives adjointes à contrôle non obligatoire (CNO) en espagnol. Les pronoms réalisés du CO (e.g. *ella (misma)*) sont analysés comme des homologues lexicaux de PRO –soit PRO réalisé (Szabolcsi 2009 ; Livitz 2011). Les PRO nuls et réalisés se comportent différemment par rapport aux tests standard d'interprétation pronominale. Alors que PRO nul ne permet qu'une interprétation de variable liée, PRO réalisé permet également une interprétation coréférentielle, mais uniquement sous le test d'association avec le focus, et non sous le test de l'ellipse. De même, alors que PRO nul ne peut être interprété que *de-se*, PRO réalisé peut également être interprété *de-re*, mais à nouveau, uniquement sous l'association avec focus, et non sous l'ellipse. Sur la base de parallélismes bien établis entre réflexifs et contrôle, une nouvelle approche du contrôle est ici proposée, adaptant l'analyse présuppositionnelle des anaphores-SELF défendue par Sauerland (2013) et McKillen (2016), dans le but de permettre des lectures coréférentielles des anaphores-SELF dans les constructions d'assignation de cas exceptionnel. Dans cette analyse, le CO implique la création d'un prédicat binaire dérivé via le mouvement du contrôleur et du sujet contrôlé, ainsi qu'une présupposition d'identité d'arguments introduite par SAME. Les différences d'interprétation entre PRO nul et réalisé sont liées à l'absence/ présence des traits-ϕ. Concernant les sujets nuls dans les propositions adjointes

à CNO, ils se révèlent référentiellement libres et alternent avec des DP réalisés, tout comme leur homologue fini *pro*. S'inspirant de Duguine (2013), cette thèse propose que les propriétés sémantiques des sujets nuls référentiellement libres sont uniformément dérivées en élidant les sujets réalisés et référentiellement libres avec lesquels ils alternent.

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Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

There are two very well known and extensively studied strategies available cross-linguistically in order to silence a subject: so-called *control* illustrated in (1) and *pro-drop* illustrated in (2):

(1) He_1 tried [[Ø]$_1$ to open the door].

(2) Juan_1 dijo [que [Ø]$_{1/2}$ llamó].
Juan said that called
'Juan said that he/she called.'

There are many empirical differences between these two phenomena. Primarily, the embedded subject in (1) is obligatorily silent and, corollarily, understood as being identical with the subject of the matrix clause –that is, the reference of the embedded subject is said to be obligatory controlled by that of the matrix subject. In contrast, in (2), the silence of the embedded subject is not obligatory, but optional and, corollarily, the reference of the embedded subject can, but need not, be identical with that of the matrix subject –that is, the silent embedded subject in (2) is referentially free. The embedded subject position in (2) thus allows for either referentially free or overt nominative subjects, as shown in (4). This alternation is impossible in (2) where the embedded subject is obligatory controlled and silent.

The tradition in Generative Grammar is to label the silent null subject in (1) PRO and that in (2) *pro* (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1982).

(3) He$_1$ tried [[Ø]$_1$/*she to open the door].

(4) Juan$_1$ dijo [que [Ø]$_{1/2}$ / él$_{1/2}$ llamó].
Juan said that he called
'Juan said that he/someone else called.'

It should also be said that, unlike pro-drop, obligatory control is to a large extent a semantic property of the matrix verb, as illustrated by the contrasts in English and Spanish in (5) and (6)-(7) respectively. *Promise* and *prometer* in the (a) examples induce an obligatory control relation of the embedded infinitival subject by their matrix *external* argument, *persuade, encourage* and *animar* in the (b) examples induce an obligatory control relation of the embedded infinitival subject by their matrix *indirect internal* argument, while those in (5c) do not select/allow for a controlled complement clause in the first place. In contrast, no such such semantic selection/restriction bears on pro-drop, as long as it is licensed, as illustrated in (7) with Spanish:

(5) a. John$_1$ promised Paul$_2$ [to PRO$_{1/*2}$ leave].

b. John$_1$ persuaded/encouraged Paul$_2$ [PRO$_{*1/2}$ to leave].

c. *Juan thought/believed/knew/imagined [PRO to leave].

(6) a. Juan$_1$ prometió [PRO$_1$ marcharse].
Juan promised leave.INF
'Juan promised to leave.'

b. Juan$_1$ animó a Pedro$_2$ [a PRO$_2$ marcharse].
Juan encouraged to Pedro to leave.INF
'Juan encouraged Pedro to leave.'

(7) Juan$_1$ pensó / creyó / imaginó que [*pro*$_{1/2}$ se había ido de vacaciones].
Juan thought / believed / imagined that CL.3 have gone of vacations
'Juan thought / believed / imagined that he had left for a holiday.'

The control configurations in (1), (3), (5a), (5b) and (6) are known as Obligatory Control (OC) configurations. As is well-known, however, there exists another

variety of control known as Non-Obligatory Control (NOC), which contrasts with OC with respect to a number of distributive and interpretative properties (cf. Baltin, Déchaine, and Wiltschko 2015; Bennis and Hoekstra 1989; Bouchard 1982; Chierchia 1989; Hornstein 1999; Landau 2000, 2013, 2015, 2021; Potsdam and Haddad 2017; Williams 1980 a.o).

On the distributional side, there are two main properties that distinguish NOC from OC: structural and locality requirements. The structural requirement on OC is that PRO be c-commanded by its antecedent. NOC PRO in contrast is not subject to such a requirement. This is illustrated with the contrast between (8a) and (8b), respectively:

(8) a. *John$_1$'s mother expects [PRO$_1$ to shave himself$_1$].

b. John$_1$'s teammates believe that [[PRO$_1$ keeping himself$_1$ under control] is necessary for the team].

The locality requirement on OC is that the antecedent of PRO appear in the clause immediately dominating the clause itself containing PRO (9a). In NOC configurations, in contrast, the antecedent of PRO can appear many clauses higher (9b):

(9) a. *John$_1$ thinks that it was expected [PRO$_1$ to shave himself$_1$].

b. John$_1$ says that Mary thinks that [[PRO$_1$ shaving himself$_1$] is important].

The differences in interpretation between OC and NOC PRO can be seen in the two standard contexts canonically used in the literature to distinguish the Bound Variable (henceforth, BV) vs. coreferential interpretation of pronouns (cf. Grodzinsky and Reinhart 1993; Heim 1998; Reinhart 2006), namely contexts in which PRO is elided as part of a larger elided phrase (typically, a VP), and contexts of association with a focal particle such as *only*.

The examples below –adapted from Hornstein (1999, p. 73)– illustrate how in these contexts, OC PRO can only yield a BV/sloppy reading, while NOC PRO can

also yield a coreferential/strict reading. As shown in (10a), the embedded OC PRO embedded in the elided VP of the second conjunct only allows a BV reading: it can only be interpreted as referring to *Sue* –that is, the matrix subject in the second conjunct–, just as PRO in the first conjunct necessarily refers to *Mary*, the matrix subject in the first conjunct. It does not allow a coreferential reading, since it cannot be construed as referring to Mary, i.e. as having the same reference as the PRO in the first conjunct. The coreferential reading is however available in the NOC construction in (11) (here a gerund in subject position), where the PRO subject inside the elided constituent can have the same reference as the one in the first conjunct.

(10) *Obligatory Control*

a. Mary$_1$ expected [PRO$_1$ to attend the ceremony], and Sue$_2$ did too.

b. Mary$_1$ expected [PRO$_1$ to attend the ceremony] and Sue$_2$ ~~expected~~ [~~PRO~~$_2$ ~~to attend the ceremony~~] too.

(i) ✓Sloppy (BVA):

Sue expected that Sue would attend the ceremony.

(ii) ✗Strict (coreference):

Sue expected that Mary would attend the ceremony.

(11) *Non Obligatory Control*

a. John$_1$ thinks that [[PRO$_1$ getting his website in order] is important] and Bill$_2$ does too.

b. John$_1$ thinks that [[PRO$_1$ getting his website in order] is important] and Bill$_2$ ~~thinks that~~ [[~~PRO~~$_{1/2}$ ~~getting his website in order~~] ~~is important~~] too.

(i) ✓Sloppy (BVA):

Bill$_2$ thinks that his$_2$ getting his website in order is important.

(ii) ✓Strict (coreference):

Bill$_2$ thinks that his$_1$ getting his website in order is important.

The same hold in contexts of association with focus particles (here and henceforth illustrated with particle *only*), where OC PRO unambiguously yields BV/sloppy construals, unlike NOC. Thus while the sentence in (12) can only be understood to mean that no individual other than Peter himself claims being the winner, (13) allows the reading where no individual other than Peter himself claims that Peter is the winner (examples adapted from Fodor (1975, p. 135)):

(12) *Obligatory Control*

Only Peter claimed [PRO to be the winner].

(i) ✓Sloppy (BVA):

No one else claimed that he himself is the winner.

(ii) ✗Strict (coreference):

No one else claimed that Peter is the winner.

(13) *Non Obligatory Control*

Only Churchill$_1$ remembers that [[PRO$_1$ giving the BST speech] was momentous].

(i) ✓Sloppy (BVA):

No one else remembers himself giving the BST speech as a momentous occasion.

(ii) ✓Strict (coreference):

No one else remembers Churchill giving the BST speech as a momentous occasion..

A further correlated difference between the two types of control is that unlike OC PRO (e.g. (3)), repeated in (14a), NOC PRO can alternate with an overt subject, as illustrated in (14b):

(14) a. He$_1$ tried [[Ø]$_1$/*she to open the door].

b. Only Churchill$_1$ remembers that [[PRO$_1$/his$_{1/2}$ giving the BST speech] was momentous].

In sum, OC constructions restrict in an important manner the nature, distribution and interpretation of their subject. In particular, their subject must be null and are obligatorily referentially dependent on a higher DP.

The general wisdom concerning the syntactic contexts that allow for pro-drop is that they involve finiteness and as such allow free alternation with overt subjects. But the case of NOC shows that infinitival contexts also allow null subjects to alternate with overt subjects, under certain particular conditions (e.g. (14b)). OC, in contrast, rules out this option, since it excludes both referentially free null subjects and overt subjects (Chomsky, 1981, 1982; Lasnik and Uriagereka, 1988; Rizzi, 1986; Williams, 1980). In fact, beyond referentially free overt subjects, it should also exclude referentially dependent overt subjects (i.e. a kind of 'overt PRO') and referentially free null subjects (i.e. *pro*).

Thus the set of standard assumptions that are taken to underlie the distribution of subjects in OC infinitival clauses in the literature can be summarized as in (15), adapted from Szabolcsi (2009). (See also Barbosa 2018; Corbalán 2018; Livitz 2011; Mensching 2000; Rigau 1995, and references therein for extensive discussion).

(15) OC infinitival clauses do not allow:

(i) Overt (nominative) subjects.

(ii) Referentially free null subjects (*pro*).

(iii) Overt controlled subjects.[1]

However, as has been reported in recent literature, the predictions of the standard theory in (15) are empirically falsified: overt subjects alternating with OC PRO subjects have been shown to be allowed in many languages (for discussion of Spanish, see Corbalán 2018; Gómez 2017; González 2020; Herbeck 2011, 2015; Hernanz 1982, 1999; Lipski 1994; Mensching 2000; Paz 2013; Perez Tattam 2007; Pérez

[1]We borrow the terminology "overt controlled subject"/"overt PRO" from Szabolcsi (2009) and Livitz (2011) respectively.

Vázquez 2007; RAE-ASALE 2009; Rigau 1995; Schulte 2007; Torrego 1998; Zagona 2002, a.o. See also Szabolcsi (2009) on Hungarian, Italian, European Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian and Modern Hebrew, Sundaresan and McFadden (2009) on Tamil, Borer (1989) on Korean, and Duguine (2013) on Basque).[2]

As illustrated below and already shown by Hernanz, 1982, for instance, infinitival complement clauses allow overt subjects in Spanish:

(16) María$_1$ quiere [ir PRO$_{1/*2}$ / ella$_{1/*2}$ al cine].
María wants go.INF / she to.the movie.theater
'María wants to go herself to the movie theater.'

Importantly, the interpretation of the overt pronominal subject in (17) is not free, but rather very constrained: just like OC PRO, it is referentially dependent on its c-commanding antecedent, as represented by the indexing in the above example.

Apart from Spanish, the existence of referentially dependent overt subject pronouns in infinitives –such as e.g. *ella* in (16)– is attested in languages such as Basque (Duguine, 2013), Brazilian Portuguese (Corbalán, 2018), Catalan (Solà, 1992), Ewe (Satik, 2021), European Portuguese (Barbosa, 2009, 2018), Gã (Allotey, 2021), Hungarian (Livitz, 2011, 2014; Szabolcsi, 2009), Italian (e.g. Burzio 1986; Cardinaletti 1999; Livitz 2011, 2014; Szabolcsi 2009), Korean (Borer, 1989; Park, 2018b), Tamil (Sundaresan, 2010), Wolof (Fong, 2022). It appears from these studies that such pronouns manifest a null PRO-like behaviour, exhibiting certain properties that characterize OC, such as not allowing non-local or non-c-commanding antecedents (17) (Spanish; Gómez, Duguine, and Demirdache (2022)), enforcing BV construals (18) (European Portuguese; see Barbosa (2009)) and only sloppy construals under ellipsis (19) (Hungarian; Livitz (2014)).

[2]See also Duguine (2013) for a critical assessment of the longstanding correlation established in the literature between (non)finiteness and the distribution of overt DPs, and for an alternative proposal based on the syntax of case. As the reader is about to discover, this correlation is indeed problematic for the infinitival clauses discussed in this thesis.

(17) [El hijo de Eduard$_2$]$_1$ prometió hacer él$_{1/*2}$ la cena.
the son of Eduard promised make.INF he the dinner
'Eduard's son promised to prepare himself the dinner.'

(18) Estou certa de que nenhum hóspede optará por fazer ele o pequeno-almoço todos os dias.
am certain of that no guest will-choose by make.INF he the breakfast every the days
'I am certain that no guest will choose to prepare his breakfast himself every day.'

(19) Orsi nem akar csak ő leülni, és Péter se.
Orsi not want.3SG only she sit.INF and Peter neither
'Orsi doesn't want to be the only one to sit down, and neither does Peter.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

Peter doesn't want to be the only one to sit down.

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

Peter doesn't want for Orsi to be the only one to sit down.

These overt pronouns thus appear to be a kind of overt counterpart to OC null PRO. Following Livitz (2011) and Szabolcsi (2009), we henceforth refer to overt pronouns that appear to show OC properties, as "overt PRO" (see also Alonso-Ovalle, Fernández-Solera, et al. 2002; Barbosa 2009, 2018; Herbeck 2011, 2015, 2018; Mensching 2000).[3]

1.2 Towards a new theory of Control

This thesis seeks to contribute novel insights to our understanding of the phenomenon of Control, based on carefully established and exhaustive generalizations, and then to lay the foundations of an altogether new approach to the theory of Control, extending Sauerland's presuppositional approach to SELF-reflexives to so-called overt and null PRO, analyzed here as SAME or MISMO-anaphors.

[3]Barbosa (2009, 2018) further points out that languages with overt PRO seem generally to be pro-drop languages.

A systematic investigation of the distributive and interpretative properties of null and overt subjects sitting in the subject position of both OC and NOC constructions is carried out by exploring two types of infinitival clauses: subject and object control complement clauses, as well as three types of adjunct clauses (*para* 'for', *al* 'at the/when' and *sin* 'without').

A central empirical finding is that OC null and overt PRO do not pattern exactly alike in their interpretive possibilities –contrary to what is suggested by the earlier investigations of overt PRO. In particular, I apply to overt and null PRO the standard tests for pronominal interpretation –namely, the ellipsis and association-with-focus tests– and establish a striking two-way asymmetry. I show that unlike null PRO, overt PRO can be construed under either a BV/sloppy or a coreferential/strict reading. This interpretative ambiguity, however, crucially arises under *only* contexts, but not under elliptical contexts (Chapter 2 and 3).

These findings, stated as the *Overt vs. Covert PRO Paradox*, are surprising on many grounds. First, these two tests are typically assumed to go hand in hand. Moreover, coreference under association with *only* is taken as a diagnostic of NOC (cf.Hornstein 1999; Landau 2000, 2013; Potsdam and Haddad 2017 a.o). What is surprising is that overt PRO exhibits all other diagnostics of OC (dependency on a local and c-commanding antecedent, only sloppy readings under ellipsis). Why do null and overt PRO contrast with respect to this single diagnostic: coreference under association-with-focus?

The generalizations underlying the *Overt vs. Covert PRO Paradox* are strong: I show that they hold in Spanish infinitive *finality* adjunct clauses headed by the preposition *para* and infinitive complement clauses across both subject and object control configurations. In contrast, in other types of adjunct clauses, null and/or overt subjects have very different properties and, in particular, overt and null subjects of infinitives headed by *sin* turn out to have all the hallmark properties of NOC (Chapter 3 and 7). That *para*-finality infinitives pattern with complement clauses

follows on the assumption that they have a very low attachment point within the VP (Chapter 6).

As a first step towards making sense of *Overt vs. Covert PRO Paradox*, is to put forth the *Anaphor Generalizations* (Chapter 4) which appeal to the distinction between syntactic/structural vs. semantic binding requirements, in order to better understand why association-with-focus and ellipsis contexts yield different results for overt vs. null PRO anaphors.

The core of the analysis of Obligatory Control proposed in this thesis is developed in Chapter 6, where I put forth a novel syntactic and semantic derivation for OC in both complement and *para*-finality adjunct clauses. Building on the well-established parallelism between reflexives and control (Bennis and Hoekstra, 1989; Bouchard, 1982; Fodor, 1975; Koster, 1984), in conjunction with Sauerland's (2013) and Lechner's (2012) account of SELF-reflexive subjects in Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) contexts, I put forth an analysis where OC PRO is a SAME-anaphor carrying a presupposition of identity. When SAME combines with overt PRO, it can be pronounced (e.g. *ella* (*-misma*)), but when SAME combines with silent PRO, it must remain silent. SAME-anaphors trigger a presupposition of identity on the two arguments of a complex derived binary predicate, created in the syntax by raising of both the controller and controllee arguments.

I then show how the extension proposed here of Sauerland's (2013) and McKillen's (2016) analyses of SELF-anaphors in ECM configurations to SAME-anaphors in OC configurations automatically derives the availability of coreference/strict readings for overt PRO by means of *Weakened presupposition Projection*, while at the same time elegantly predicting that such readings with overt PRO arise under association-with- *only* contexts, though not under ellipsis. Finally, the contrast between overt vs. null PRO under association-with-focus is imputed to their (lack of) ϕ-feature specification: the former is underlyingly fully specified for ϕ-features, the latter is not. Null PRO, being featureless, cannot be semantically free (cannot indepen-

dently/deictically refer) and thus support coreference.

Turning to the infinitival adjunct clauses headed by the preposition *sin*, which allow referentially free null subjects alternating with overt subjects. Assuming with Hornstein (1999) that a NOC null subject is not PRO, but *pro*, I develop here an analysis that not only explains why overt DPs and *pro* subjects alternate in these constructions, but also correctly predicts that they yield sloppy readings otherwise unavailable with (overt) pronouns.

Following Duguine (2013), I put forth an analysis of NOC in terms of DP-ellipsis, in line with ellipsis approaches to null arguments in *pro*-drop languages (cf. a.o. Duguine (2013, 2014), Oku (1998), Saito (2007), and Takahashi (2014)), where in particular the semantic properties of NOC free null subjects are uniformly derived by eliding the free overt subject they alternate with.

1.3 Roadmap

This thesis comprises 7 chapters in addition to the present introduction, organized as follows:

Chapter 2 provides an exhaustive and systematic characterization of the properties of overt PRO in complement clauses in Spanish. The results of this investigation show that overt PRO displays almost all the hallmark properties of OC, with one exception: under the association-with-focus test (but not the ellipsis test), an interesting NOC-like pattern emerges where overt PRO allows coreferential readings alongside BV readings. We dub this double contrast the *Covert vs. Overt PRO Paradox*.

Chapter 3 moves from the domain of complement clauses to the domain of adjunct clauses. The properties of three different infinitival clauses are discussed, namely those introduced by, respectively, the prepositions *al*, *sin* and *para*. While *al*-infinitives exemplify a well-known pattern of distribution where OC PRO alternates with an overt DP (typical, of say, English gerunds), *sin*-infinitives exemplify

a lesser-known pattern where a NOC null subject alternates with an overt DP (characteristic, on the analysis developed here, of pro-drop configurations). Finally, in *para*-finality adjunct clauses, both null and overt subjects are shown to display OC properties, yet again with one exception: overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allows coreference, but only in contexts of association-with-focus –thus exhibiting the very same paradoxical pattern of interpretation already found with overt vs. null PRO in complement clauses in Chapter 2.

Chapter 4 discusses the *Covert vs. Overt PRO Paradox*, uncovered in both complement and adjunct *para*-finality clauses, and puts forth the *Anaphor Generalizations* that pave the way towards a final resolution of this puzzle in Chapter 6. The proposal, at this stage, is to account for the interpretation of null vs. overt anaphors (including overt PRO and SELF-reflexives) in terms of binding requirements distinguishing syntactic and semantic binding.

Chapter 5 brings into light another core interpretative contrast between null and overt PRO. It shows that unlike null PRO, overt PRO can be construed not only under a *de-se* reading, but also under a *de-re* reading, thus correlating the two interpretative properties characteristic of overt PRO in association-with-focus contexts, as opposed to null PRO: the availability of *de-re* readings of overt PRO. The coreferential reading of overt PRO is argued to arise from its inherent (underlying) specification for ϕ-features, and the unavailability of a coreferential reading for null PRO, in turn, is imputed to its lack of ϕ-features altogether.

Chapter 6 develops a presuppositional approach to control based on two core assumptions. First, OC clauses are semantically derived binary predicates syntactically formed via raising of both the controller and the controllee/PRO. Second, PRO is a analyzed as a SAME-anaphor, triggering an identity presupposition between the two arguments of the derived predicate.

Chapter 7 puts forth an analysis of the NOC properties of null subjects in *sin*-infinitives in terms of DP-ellipsis. The null *pro*/overt DP alternation follows nat-

urally from the assumption that *sin*-infinitives involve and overt DP surfacing in subject position and undergoing ellipsis.

This thesis concludes with Chapter 8, which summarizes the main findings of this dissertation and discusses open questions for future research.

Chapter 2

Null PRO vs. overt PRO in OC complement clauses in Spanish

2.1 Introduction

Previous studies of controlled overt subjects in infinitival complements have shown that their distributional and interpretative properties are similar to those of null PRO (Chapter 1, section 1). This has led to the conclusion that the former is the overtly realized counterpart of the latter (Allotey 2021; Alonso-Ovalle and D'Introno 2000; Barbosa 2009, 2018; Corbalán 2018; Duguine 2013; Herbeck 2015, 2018; Livitz 2011, 2014; Mensching 2000; Satik 2021; Szabolcsi 2009). On this proposal, the prediction is that overt and null PRO in Spanish should always behave alike. This chapter shows, however, that unlike null PRO, overt PRO doesn't always show a full pattern of OC. Seeking to account for this contrast between overt and null PRO will lead us in the following chapters to a radical revision of the derivation of control and of the interpretation of controlled subjects.

The primary goal of this chapter is to provide an exhaustive and systematic characterization of the properties of what we have called 'overt PRO' in Spanish. For instance, I will bring novel empirical evidence from object control configurations, which have been poorly and not systematically discussed in the study of controlled

pronouns.

More precisely, we will (i) explore whether overt PRO patterns the same across (subject and object) control configurations, and (ii) check whether overt and null PRO subjects display the same behavior under the same conditions. With this in mind, I will systematically apply to both null and overt pronominal subjects the set of tests distinguishing OC vs. NOC (cf. Baltin, Déchaine, and Wiltschko 2015; Hornstein 1999; Landau 2000, 2013; Potsdam and Haddad 2017; Williams 1980).

The results from these tests will show one major finding: Overt PRO pattern with null PRO in displaying all the hallmark diagnostics of OC, with a single exception. In particular, overt –but not null PRO– can display both coreferential and bound variable readings under the association-with focus-test, but not under the ellipsis test. In other words, overt PRO displays diagnostic properties of OC in that it is restricted to sloppy readings, but only under one test, under the other, it seems to display NOC properties in also yielding coreferential readings. I will characterize these surprising results and the questions that they raise in as the *Covert vs. Overt PRO Paradox.*[1]

The structure of this chapter is the following. In section 2, I introduce the Spanish data that concern us here and establish the status of the relevant overt pronominals as being the actual subject of their non-finite clause. I then explore the question of their being the overt counterparts of null OC PRO by systematically comparing both via the tests standardly used to distinguish OC from NOC (section 2.2), in subject control configurations first (2.2.2) and then object control configurations (section 2.2.3). Finally, in 2.3, I discuss the resulting asymmetrical pattern of interpretation characterizing null vs. overt PRO, which I dub the *The covert vs. overt PRO Paradox.*[2]

[1]I will argue in chapter 4 and 6 that this apparent exception to OC is illusory and should not be attributed directly to NOC, but to a more general property of overt anaphors.

[2]Elements of this chapter, namely, the generalizations regarding the distribution and interpretation of Overt PRO in subject control configurations in complement clauses leading to the above

2.2 Overt OC PRO in Spanish

In the previous chapter, we have seen that there is a set of characteristics that allow overt pronouns in complement clauses to be characterized as overt PRO subjects. This conclusion is supported by evidence from a great number of languages such as Basque (Duguine, 2013), Brazilian Portuguese (Corbalán, 2018), Catalan (Solà, 1992), Ewe (Satik, 2021), European Portuguese (Barbosa, 2009, 2018), Gã (Allotey, 2021), Hungarian (Livitz, 2011, 2014; Szabolcsi, 2009), Italian (e.g. Burzio 1986; Cardinaletti 1999; Livitz 2011, 2014; Szabolcsi 2009), Korean (Borer, 1989; Park, 2018b), Tamil (Sundaresan, 2010), Wolof (Fong, 2022).

In the following sections, I discuss empirical evidence from Spanish, and perhaps more importantly, I discuss other properties that have been less explored and will serve to better characterize the subjects of these types of clauses. Thus, my main goals are : (i) to establish a detailed and comparative study of the properties of null PRO and overt pronominal subjects, and (ii) to provide novel evidence on the distribution of these pronominals, namely from object control configurations. This will allow us to provide a broader picture of the distribution, as well as the interpretation of these elements in Spanish.

But before going through a close inspection of the properties of both elements, let me briefly present a general overview of the literature on overt pronominal subjects in complement clauses in Spanish.

2.2.1 An overview of overt PRO in Spanish

The study of overt pronouns in infinitival clauses in Spanish is not new, Hernanz (1982) had already observed the existence of controlled overt pronouns in infinitival

paradox, were published in: Gómez, Kryzzya, Duguine, Maia, & Hamida Demirdache. 2022. Interpretive asymmetries between null and overt PRO in complement and adjunct infinitives in (Colombian) Spanish. In O. Matushansky, L. Roussarie, M. Russo, E. Soare, & S. Wauquier (eds.), RLLT 17, Special issue of Isogloss Open Journal of Romance Linguistics 8(2)/5: 1–19.

complement clauses:

(1) María$_1$ quiere [ir ella$_{1/*2}$ sola al cine].
María wants go.INF she alone to.the movie.theater
'María wants to go herself to the movie theater'

As shown by Piera (1987), lexical DPs are not allowed in that position (even if they have the same reference as a higher DP), as the pronoun in the example (1) does.

(2) *Julia quería [telefonear Julia].
Julia wants phone.INF Julia
*'Julia wants to phone Julia.'

(my glossing, Piera (1987, p. 160))

In turn, the pronoun can be accompanied by the suffix *mismo* 'same' (cf. Herbeck (2015, 2018)) in which case it surfaces under the form of an anaphor (see Chapter 6, Section 4.2.2).

(3) Juan$_1$ quería [hacer él (mismo)$_1$ la cena].
Juan wanted do.INF he self the dinner
'Juan wanted to prepare the dinner.'

Scholars have also studied the syntactic environments in which such elements can appear, their interpretation, and their status. For instance, Piera (1987) shows that these pronominals appear in contexts that trigger control by the subject (4), as well as by the object (5):

(4) Julia$_1$ prometió a Marta$_2$ [encargarse ella$_1$ del asunto].
Julia promised to Marta take.care.INF she of.the matter
'Julia promised to Marta that she will deal with the matter.'

(5) Julia$_1$ animó a Marta$_2$ [a encargarse ella$_2$ del asunto].
Julia encouraged to Marta to take.care.INF she of.the matter
'Julia encouraged Marta to deal with the matter.'

(my glossing, Piera (1987, p. 161))

Similarly, Szabolcsi (2009) points out these pronouns can be associated with focus particles in Mexican Spanish:

(6) No quiere [ir sólo él a la escuela].
not wants go.INF only he to the school
'He$_1$ doesn't want it to be the case that only he$_1$ goes to school.'

These overt pronominal subjects can yield bound variable readings. For instance, Herbeck (2015, 2018) shows that they can be bound by negative matrix QPs: [3,4]

(7) Ningún vecino$_1$ promete [hacer él$_1$ (mismo) la cena].
no neighbor promises do.INF he self the dinner
'No neighbor$_1$ promises to prepare the dinner himself$_1$.'

(i) (No x: x neighbor) x promises that x will prepare the dinner.

Another fundamental question concerns the syntactic function of these pronouns. Even though I have until now referred to them as 'subjects', it has been claimed that they are not the genuine subjects of the infinitival clause, but that they are rather doubling elements modifying a null PRO subject (see Piera 1987; San Martin 2004; Suñer 1986b; Szabolcsi 2009; Torrego 1996).

Piera (1987), for instance, based on the assumption that nominative case cannot be assigned in infinitives, concludes that these pronouns, which surface with nominative case-marking, cannot be the actual subject of the clause. He proposes that they are base-generated in a (caseless) A'-position adjoined to the VP and co-indexed with PRO, the real subject of the clause. This accounts not only for the observation that they surface in postverbal position, but also for their anaphoric interpretation, as represented in (8):

(8) María$_1$ quiere [[$_{VP}$ PRO$_1$ telefonear] ella$_1$].

[3]This type of expression has been described as being an inherent quantifier (Haïk 1984). As such, they only allow bound variable construals. They do not allow coreference, since they cannot be used as referential expressions (Rigau 1986).

[4]The same claim has been made by Barbosa (2009, 2018) and Cardinaletti (1999) for European Portuguese and Italian respectively. See also Luján (1999) on Spanish finite contexts and Alonso-Ovalle, Fernández-Solera, et al. (2002) and Gelormini-Lezama et al. (2016) for experimental evidence on (European and non-European) Spanish.

This type of proposal faces however empirical problems. As pointed out by Alonso-Ovalle and D'Introno (2000), infinitival pronouns can in fact surface in preverbal positions:[5]

(9) María$_1$ quiere [ELLA$_{1/*2}$ telefonear].
María wants she phone.INF
'María wants to phone herself.'

In order to account for the grammaticality of (9), an analysis such as Piera's would need to allow for the possibility that the overt pronoun be either right (8) or left adjoined (9) to the VP. But as Alonso-Ovalle and D'Introno point out, left-adjunction to the VP will not suffice since as shown in (10), where *rapidamente* marks the boundaries of the VP, the adjunction site must be external to the VP:

(10) *María quiere telefonear$_1$ [$_{VP}$ rápidamente [ELLA [PRO t$_1$]]

Corbalán (2018), moreover questions the second premise underlying Piera's analysis –namely, that there is no nominative case assignment in infinitives.[6] She argues that these pronouns are actually assigned nominative case inside the infinitival clause. Taking a different route, Barbosa 2009; Livitz 2011, 2014; Szabolcsi 2009) argue that these pronouns are licensed via an Agree relation with the matrix

[5]In their proposal, the preverbal pronoun is marked with a pitch accent, as indicated by capital letters.

[6]Under the traditional Government and Binding (GB) approach (Chomsky 1981, 1982), overt subjects were banned from infinitival control contexts because the lack of inflection prevents them from being assigned nominative case, which leads automatically to a violation of the Case filter (overt NPs must have case). The argument was that only null PRO could occupy the caseless subject position of an infinitival clause. According to the *PRO Theorem*, PRO, being both anaphoric and pronominal, was required to satisfy Principles A and B of the Binding Theory conjointly. The former required PRO to be bound within its governing category, while the latter required it to be free in its governing category. PRO can only satisfy both requirements at the same time if it occurs in ungoverned positions, and thus has no governing category. Both Government and the Case Filter suffered however from theoretical and empirical inadequacies that led to revisions in subsequent approaches (e.g. Chomsky (1995, 2001), Hornstein (1999), and Martin (2001) a.o).

antecedent. And in fact, it has even been argued in the literature on Case that null PRO can also bear case like any subject DP (see Cecchetto and Oniga 2004; Landau 2004; San Martin 2004; Sigurðsson 2008, and the references therein). Beyond the discussion of the status of these pronouns with respect to case-assignment, scholars have associated overtness with focus-related marking in which overt subjects would be a focused variant of PRO (cf. Herbeck 2015, 2018; Livitz 2011, 2014; Paz 2013).

A further argument against the doubling analysis of overt nominative pronouns in Spanish infinitives is given in Gómez, Duguine, and Demirdache (2022), inspired by Barbosa's (2009; 2018) analysis of their counterpart in European Portuguese. Gómez et al. (2022) start by showing that overt pronominals in Spanish cannot double any DP, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the examples in (11) with preverbal derived unaccusative and passive subjects. They contrast with English adjunct anaphors, for instance, which can modify any type of argument DP (12).

(11) a. *La directora vino ella.
the director came she
'The director came.'

b. *La directora fue castigada ella.
the director was punished she
'The director was punished.'

(12) a. The director (herself) came (herself).

b. The director (herself) was punished (herself).

In turn, postverbal (pronominal subjects) are possible:

(13) a. Vino ella.
came she
'She came.'

b. Fue castigada ella.
was punished she
'She was punished.'

The contrast between the ungrammatical (11) and the grammatical (14) is then taken to show that the overt pronominal in (14) is not a doubling element, but a postverbal subject, on a par with (13).

(14) a. La directora quiso [venir ella].
the director wanted come.INF she
'The director wanted to be the one who would come.'

b. La directora quiso [ser castigada ella].
the director wanted be.INF punished she
'The director wanted to be the one who would be punished.'

In sum, the overt nominative pronominal expressions in OC infinitives in Spanish do not display the properties and behavior of doubling elements, but rather appear to be the genuine grammatical subjects of the clause, as also assumed in (Alonso-Ovalle and D'Introno 2000; Barbosa 2018; Cardinaletti 1999; Corbalán 2018; Duguine 2013; Herbeck 2015, 2018; Livitz 2011, 2014; Paz 2013).

This conclusion converges with the results obtained on similar constructions with overt pronominal subjects in non-finite clauses in other languages, such as Basque (Duguine, 2013), Brazilian Portuguese (Corbalán, 2018), Catalan (Solà, 1992), Ewe (Satik, 2021), European Portuguese (Barbosa, 2009, 2018), Gã (Allotey, 2021), Hungarian (Livitz, 2011, 2014; Szabolcsi, 2009), Italian (e.g. Burzio 1986; Cardinaletti 1999; Livitz 2011, 2014; Szabolcsi 2009), Korean (Borer, 1989; Park, 2018b), Tamil (Sundaresan, 2010), Wolof (Fong, 2022). This shows that, rather than being anecdotal, this is a cross-linguistically well-attested phenomenon, which can be highly informative for our understanding of Control phenomena.

2.2.2 OC criteria in subject control

Having briefly introduced the general properties of overt pronouns in controlled complement clauses, we can now turn to the issue of whether these overt pronouns can be fully assimilated to OC null PRO. This section and the next one thus set out to evaluate the 'ovet PRO' hypothesis for Spanish by systematically applying the standard diagnostic tests used for distinguishing OC from NOC PRO introduced in section 1 in Chapter 1, and additionally exploring the behavior of these subjects with respect to other properties of OC that have been discussed in the literature on

Control.

Recall from section 1 above that null PRO as well as overt pronouns are licensed in both subject and object control configurations. In this section, I will focus on subject control, that is, on those configurations in which the embedded (overt or covert) subject corefers with the subject of the matrix clause. I will use the two canonical Spanish subject control verbs *decidir* 'decide' and *prometer* 'promise'.[7]

As mentioned before, I will apply to both null and pronominal subjects the criteria for distinguishing OC vs. NOC. Obviously, null PRO will display all the hallmark properties of OC, confirming what has been previously demonstrated in the literature (see Camacho (2011) and Herbeck (2015)). Concerning the overt pronominal subjects, if they are 'overt PROs', we will expect them to display the very same behavior, that is, they should:

- be c-commanded by their antecedent.
- allow only local controllers (be it the subject, the object, or both).
- accept inanimate antecedents.
- exhibit sloppy (and not strict) readings under ellipsis and under association-with-*only*-focus particles.[8]

[7]Hernanz (1982, p. 115) provides the following list of verbs that induce subject control in infinitival complement clauses: *pretender* 'pretend'; *procurar* 'ensure'; *desear, querer* 'want'; *poder* 'be able'; *confiar* 'trust'; *prepararse* 'get ready'; *atreverse* 'dare'; *prometer* 'promise'; jurar 'swear'. Hernanz (1999) also includes the following verbs: *anhelar* 'year to', *ansiar* 'be eager to'; *decidir* 'decide'; *detestar* 'hate'; *esperar* 'hope'; *lamentar*, *deplorar* 'regret', *necesitar* 'need'; *pretender* 'pretend', *soportar* 'tolerate'; *temer* 'fear'. See also Betancort, Carreiras, and Acuña-Fariña (2006) for experimental evidence on *prometer* 'promise' as a trigger of subject control in Spanish, and Perez Tattam (2007) on the differences between verbs that can and cannot induce control in Spanish.

[8]Unlike English, Spanish does not display VP-ellipsis, or ellipsis of a constituent that excludes the auxiliary/inflection. All our examples of ellipsis thus involve a larger elided constituent, that can be assimilated to TP-ellipsis (See Brucart and MacDonald (2012), Dagnac (2010), and Saab (2010) for discussion on TP-ellipsis in Spanish.

Along the section, I will also introduce other properties of OC that have been discussed in the literature (allowing split antecedents or non-human antecedents), checking again the behavior of overt pronominal subjects against that of null PRO. As we will see, overt pronouns exhibit a near –but, crucially, not quite complete– null OC PRO-like behavior.

2.2.2.1 C-command

In OC constructions, the embedded null subject must be c-commanded by its antecedent in the matrix clause. As illustrated below, the c-commanding matrix DP *El hijo de Eduard* –but not the non-commanding DP *Eduard* embedded within it– is a legitimate antecedent for null PRO subjects (in (15a)) and overt pronominal subjects (in (15ab)).[9]

(15) a. [El hijo de Eduard$_2$]$_1$ prometió hacer [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ la cena.

b. [El hijo de Eduard$_2$]$_1$ prometió hacer él$_{1/*2}$ la cena.
the son of Eduard promised make.INF he the dinner
'Eduard's son promised to prepare himself the dinner.'

2.2.2.2 Local antecedents

Another property of OC null subjects is that they can only establish control relations with local antecedents. Thus, in (16a), the null subject can take as its antecedent the subject *Alba* of the immediately preceding clause, but not *Diana*, the higher one. (16b) shows that overt pronominal subjects display the very same restrictions.

(16) a. Diana$_2$ recuerda [que Alba$_1$ prometió [encargarse [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ de la fiesta]].

b. Diana$_2$ recuerda [que Alba$_1$ prometió [encargarse ella$_{1/*2}$ (misma)
Diana remembers that Alba promised take.charge.INF she SELF
de la fiesta]].
of the party
'Diana remembers that Alba promised to organize herself the party.'

[9] See also Camacho (2011) and Herbeck (2022) for similar results with null PRO in Spanish under this test.

2.2.2.3 Split antecedents

It has been observed that the antecedent of null OC subjects can be a subject, an object, but also the combination of both, as illustrated in the English example in (17) (this combination is indicated by the '+' sign):

(17) Mary$_1$ was glad that John$_2$ had proposed to Bill$_3$ [PRO$_{3+2/*1+2/*1+3}$ to co-operate with each other].

Landau (2013, p. 172)

This construal is known as split control (cf. Landau (2000, 2013)).[10]

As shown by the contrast below, this type of construal is difficult to obtain with OC infinitival clauses in Spanish. Thus, the null subject in (18a) cannot get its referential value from the combination of the reference of both the subject and the object of the matrix clause. Overt pronominal subjects behave the same: they do not allow split antecedents. This is shown in (18b), where the plural *ellos* 'they' is impossible in that position. Only the singular *él* 'he', whose antecedent would be the subject *Juan*, is allowed (18c):[11]

(18) a. Juan$_1$ le$_2$ prometió (a su compañero$_2$) [[Ø]$_{1/*1+2}$ contarle todo a el director].

b. *Juan$_1$ le$_2$ prometió (a su compañero$_2$) [contarle todo ellos$_{1+2}$
Juan CL.3 promised to his partner count.INF.CL.3SG all they
a el director].
to the director

[10] Landau (2013) also points out that split control "is subject to much cross-linguistic and idiolectal variation." For instance, it seems that it is quite productive in Korean:

(1) Chelsu$_1$-ka Hwun$_2$-eykey PRO$_{1+2}$ ilbon umsik-ul mek-ca-ko mal-ha-yess-ta.
Chelswu-NOM Hwun-DAT PRO Japan food-ACC eat-EXH-C tell-do-PST-DC
'Chelswu said to Hwun to eat Japanese food together.'

But it is less productive in e.g. English. The same has been also observed by Livitz (2014) for Brazilian Portuguese and Russian.

[11] Although judgements for these construals have been confirmed by 5 native speakers of Spanish (see also section (2.2.3.4)), there seems to be some speaker variation as reported in Camacho (2011).

'Juan promised his partner to tell the truth to the director.'

c. Juan$_1$ le$_2$ prometió (a su compañero$_2$) [contarle todo él$_1$ a
Juan CL.3 promised to his partner count.INF.CL.3SG all he to
el director].
the director
'Juan promised his partner to tell the truth to the director.'

2.2.2.4 Inanimate antecedents

The examples given so far in this thesis involved human controllers for both null and overt subject pronouns in the infinitival clause. Landau (2013, 2015, 2017), however, argues that null OC subjects can be controlled by inanimate antecedents (e.g *the key* in (19)), constituting thus an additional diagnostic for OC.[12]

(19) This key$_1$ will serve/do [PRO$_1$ to open the door]

Landau (2015, p. 22)

As illustrated in (20), the NP *plantas* 'plants' which is inanimate can be a proper antecedent for the subject of the infinitival clause:[13]

(20) a. Las plantas$_1$ prefieren [deshojarse [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ en otoño y utilizar la energía en otras funciones].

b. Las plantas$_1$ prefieren [deshojarse ellas$_{1/*2}$ en otoño y utilizar
The plants prefer lose.leaves.INF they in autumn and use
la energía en otras funciones].
the energy in other functions
'The plants prefer to lose their leaves during the fall and use the energy in other functions.'

2.2.2.5 Sloppy/strict readings under ellipsis

Recall from Chapter 1, that one of the key tests used for determining pronominal construals (BV anaphora vs. coreference) is the ellipsis test. Null PRO embedded

[12] A position that Landau (2021) abandons, concluding that (the lack of) animacy is not a reliable diagnostic for OC vs NOC.

[13] See also Galán Rodriguez (1999) for discussion of inanimate antecedents with null subjects in Spanish, and Satik (2021) for controlled overt pronominals in Ewe.

in an elided constituent allows BV readings but not coreferential readings. This is illustrated in (21a), which only allows the sloppy reading in (i). As shown in (21b) a pronominal subject in the same configurations displays the very same pattern: In both of the following examples, we see that the embedded subject in the conjunct containing the elided constituent only allows a local c-commanding antecedent – that is, it can only refer to the matrix subject in the second conjunct, here *Carla*. In other words, the controllees in (21a) and (21b) only allow sloppy readings (21i), as expected of OC elements.

In both of the following examples, we see that the embedded subject in the conjunct containing the elided constituent only allows a local c-commanding antecedent –that is, it can only refer to the matrix subject in the second conjunct, here *Carla*. In other words, the controllees in (21a) and (21b) only allow sloppy readings (21i), as expected of OC elements.[14,15]

(21) a. Ana prefiere [comprar [Ø] los disfraces] y Carla también.

b. Ana prefiere [comprar ella los disfraces] y Carla también.
Ana prefers buy.INF she the costumes and Carla also
'Ana prefers to buy herself the costumes and Carla does too.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

Carla prefers she herself to buy the costumes.

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

Carla prefers that Ana buys the costumes.

2.2.2.6 Sloppy/strict readings under association-with- *only*

The results from all the tests discussed until now point to the overt pronominal subjects alternating with OC PRO also displaying OC behavior. Importantly, however, a different result will arise here, when testing for the readings available in contexts

[14]See also Camacho (2011) and Herbeck (2015) for similar results with null PRO in Spanish.

[15]See Brucart and MacDonald (2012), Dagnac (2010), and Saab (2010) for discussion on TP-ellipsis in Spanish.

of association with focus particles.

As shown below, the statement in (22a) with a null PRO subject can only be denied in one way —that is, on its BVA construal—, this result signals yet again obligatory control. Crucially, if we substitute null PRO in (22a) with overt pronoun as in (22b), the resulting statement can now be denied in either of two ways: on its BV construal (22bi) or its coreferential construal (22bii), this however is not expected under obligatory control.

(22) a. Sólo Eduard prometió [Ø] hacer la cena.
only Eduard promised make.INF the dinner
'Only Eduard promised to prepare the dinner.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Daniel also promised to prepare himself the dinner.

Daniel (λy (y also promised that y prepares the dinner)).

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

No, Daniel also promised that Eduard would prepare the dinner

Daniel (λy (y also promised that he would prepare the dinner)).

(he= Eduard)

b. Sólo Eduard prometió hacer él la cena.
only Eduard promised make.INF he the dinner
'Only Eduard promised to prepare himself the dinner.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Daniel also promised to prepare himself the dinner.

Daniel (λy (y also promised that y prepares the dinner)).

(ii) ✓Strict reading (coreference):

No, Daniel also promised that Eduard would prepare the dinner

Daniel (λy (y also promised that he would prepare the dinner)).

(he= Eduard)

2.2.2.7 Interim summary

This section has explored the general properties of overt pronouns in subject control complement clauses in Spanish, comparing them systematically with those of OC PRO in the same configuration.

The results are summarized in Table 2.1.

	Subject control	
	Null PRO	Overt pronoun
Non c-commanding antecedent	No	No
Long-distance antecedent	No	No
Split antecedent	No	No
Inanimate antecedent	Yes	Yes
Sloppy reading under ellipsis	Yes	Yes
Strict reading under ellipsis	No	No
Sloppy reading under association-with-focus	Yes	Yes
Strict reading under association-with-focus	No	Yes

Table 2.1: Null *vs.* overt subjects in subject control configurations.

Two main observations can be made at this point. On the one hand, there is a broad parallelism between controlled overt pronouns and null PRO, which seems to validate the assumption that has been made in the literature whereby the former is basically an overt counterpart of the latter, i.e., an 'overt PRO' (cf. Livitz (2011) and Szabolcsi (2009)). I henceforth use this term to refer to the controlled overt pronouns studied here. However, there is also an unexpected result, showing that unlike null PRO, its overt counterpart doesn't display all the properties of OC. Thus, the availability of a coreferential reading, alongside its BV reading is surprising since under all the previous tests, overt PRO has shown the expected OC pattern of

interpretation.[16,17]

Association-with-focus is thus the only test distinguishing overt PRO from null PRO in subject control, and calling into question the former's OC status.[18]

2.2.3 OC criteria in object control

The main goal of the present chapter is to provide a broad paradigm of the distributive and interpretative properties of overt PRO in infinitival controlled complements, compared to those of null PRO. In the previous section, we studied subject control configurations, showing that they exhibit a distribution which is –mostly– consistent with that of null PRO. However, we also observed an inconsistency which manifests itself in two ways: in the interpretation of overt vs. null PRO subjects on the one hand and in the results obtained with the ellipsis test vs. the association-with-focus

[16]Judgments for the association-with-focus test have been confirmed by 13 native speakers of Spanish: 7 Colombian, 1 Bolivian, 1 Mexican, and 4 speaking Peninsular Spanish.

[17]There is, in fact, another test distinguishing null and overt PRO, which we leave, however, till Chapter 5.3.1 –namely, the availability of *de-se* vs. *de-re* readings. The generalization in the literature is that OC PRO *must* be read *de-se*, while NOC PRO can be read either *de-se* or *de-re*, just like a run of the mill overt pronoun (cf. Chierchia (1989), Hornstein (1999), Landau (2000, 2013), and Pearson (2022)). Note that the issue of how the BV/sloppy vs. coreferential/strict distinction correlates (or not) with the *de-se* vs. *de-re* distinction is tricky. As Pearson (2022) emphasizes, while the availability of a strict reading for a given element α should be treated as evidence that α allows a *de-re* reading, "the reverse does not hold: if α only has a sloppy reading it should not be concluded that it is unambiguously *de-se*." (Pearson (2022, p. 15)). We will see in Chapter 5.3.1 that the interpretations of overt PRO adhere to Pearson's generalizations.

[18]Herbeck (2018) also observes interpretive asymmetries between null and overt PRO in control configurations. He reports, in particular, that PRO can yield distributive (bound variable) as well as collective (coreferential) readings with a weak/cardinal QP controller, whereas with overt PRO, the collective reading is preferred to the distributive reading. He gives the following paradigm to illustrate the contrast (from Herbeck 2018: 183-184). The context for the distributive reading is one in which every neighbor promises to prepare a dinner on a different day of the week, and the context for the collective reading is one where there are four neighbors in the kitchen promising to prepare the dinner together on the same day of the week.

test.

This section seeks to complete the paradigm of the properties of this pronominals by exploring object control, on the basis of the same diagnostic tests. To the best of my knowledge this is first study that systematically tests the properties of overt PRO in object control configurations in Spanish. The results will show that the

(1) Cuatro vecinos prometen PRO hacer la cena.
four neighbors promise.3pl do.INF the dinner
'Four neighbors promise to prepare the dinner.'

i ✓BV: Each of the four boys$_1$ promised that he$_1$ would prepare dinner

ii ✓Coreference: The four boys$_1$ promised that they$_1$ would prepare dinner together

(2) Cuatro vecinos prometen hacer ellos (mismos) la cena.
four neighbors promise.3pl do.IND they SELVES the dinner
'Four neighbors promise to prepare they (themselves) the dinner.'

i ✗/? BV: Each of the four boys$_1$ promised that he$_1$ would prepare dinner

ii ✓Coreference:The four boys$_1$ promised that they$_1$ would prepare dinner together

Note, however, that if we change the direct object *la cena* 'the dinner' in (2) to *piñatas*, as in (3), both the collective reading where the three neighbors meet to buy and bring all the piñatas together to the party, and the distributive reading where each neighbor buys and brings a different piñata to the party are readily available with overt PRO. (4) further illustrates the availability of a distributive reading for overt PRO with an inherently distributive infinitival predicate.

(3) Tres vecinas prometieron traer ellas (mismas) las piñatas. 'Three neighbors promise
three neighbors promise.3pl bring.INF they SELVES the piñatas
to bring they (themselves) the piñatas.'

i ✓BV: Each of the three neighbors$_1$ promised that she$_1$ would bring the piñatas

ii ✓Coreference: Each of the three neighbors$_1$ promised that they$_1$ would bring the piñatas together

(4) Cuatro amigas quieren ser ellas más altas y delgadas.
four friends want.3pl be.INF they more tall and slim
'Four friends wanted (themselves) to be taller and slimmer.'

I will therefore assume that the interpretive contrast alluded to by Herbeck does not characterize null vs. overt PRO, unlike contexts of association-with-focus which yield an interpretative contrast characterizing null vs. overt PRO.

general similarity between overt and null PRO extends to object control configurations, but also that the paradoxical pattern observed in subject control also emerges in object control.

2.2.3.1 Object control configurations

As we established earlier, overt pronouns can be controlled by an object argument of the matrix verb –just as null PRO can. This section discusses this configuration in Spanish, but also in other languages.

As observed by Livitz (2014) subject control configurations are generally more discussed than object control configurations simply because they appear to be more available than the latter. As she notes, there are certain languages (usually partial pro-drop languages) in which the object control option is hard to obtain with null controlled subjects. For instance, in finite control constructions, the embedded clause with a null subject triggers subject control despite being selected by a 'typical' object control verb, as instantiated with *ubedil* 'convince' in Russian (23), *convenceu* 'convince' in Brazilian Portuguese (25), and *vakuutti* 'assure' in Finnish (24).[19] But as shown by Modesto (2011, 2000a) the object control option nonetheless becomes available when the object argument undergoes movement to the left periphery (26):

(23) (Xotja Vasja ničego ne pomnil) Petja$_1$ ubedil ego$_2$, čto [Ø]$_{1/*2}$
Although Vasja nothing NEG remembered, Petja convinced him that
včera ne pil.
yesterday NEG drink
'Although Vasja didn't remember anything, Petja$_1$ convinced him$_2$ that he$_{1/*2}$ didn't drink yesterday.'

(Russian, Livitz 2014:105)

(24) Liisa$_1$ vakuutti Jussille$_2$, että [Ø]$_{*2/1}$ voi tulla valituksi.
Liisa assured Jussi that can come elected
'Liisa$_1$ assured Jussi$_2$ that she$_{*2/1}$ can be elected.'

[19] See Camacho (2011), Herbeck (2015, 2020), Landau (2004), and Suñer (1986b) for further details of finite control.

(Finnish; Livitz 2014:103)

(25) O Pedro$_1$ convenceu a Cilene$_2$ (de) que [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ joga futebol.
The Pedro convinced the Cilene (of) that play soccer
'Pedro convinced Cilene that he plays soccer.'

(26) Quem$_2$ que o Feco$_1$ convenceu t$_2$ que [Ø]$_{*1/2}$ ganhou na loteria?
Who that the Feco convinced that won in.the lottery
'Who did Feco convince that she/he won the lottery?.'

(Brazilian Portuguese; Livitz (2014, p. 102))

Like controlled null subjects in the above languages, controlled pronouns in other languages display an asymmetry between subject vs. object control. For instance, Satik (2021) points out that in Ewe, subject control constructions differ from those involving object control, in that only the former accept the overt controlled pronominal 'yè', as illustrated by the contrast between the subject control construction in (27) and object control in (28), where the controlled subject surfaces in its null form.[20]

(27) Agbe$_1$ do eugble ne Fafa$_2$ be yè$_1$-a fo utsu-a.
Agbe make promise to Fafa COMP ye-POT beat man-DEF
'Agbe$_1$ promised Fafa$_2$ PRO$_1$ to beat the man.'

(28) Agbe$_1$ ble Fafa$_2$ nu be né fo ntsu-a.
Agbe persuaded Fafa thing COMP JUSS beat man-DEF
'Agbe$_1$ persuaded Fafa$_2$ PRO$_{*1/2}$ to beat the man.'

The reverse pattern –where overt pronouns are available in object control configurations only– is also attested, as is the case in Wolof (see Fong 2022). The following examples show how the overt pronoun *mu* is possible when the controller is the matrix object (29) but not when it is the matrix subject (30):

(29) Dimbali-na-a a-b xale mu jàng téere b-i.
help-NA-1SG indef-CM.SG child 3SG.SUBJ read book CM.SG-DEF
'I helped a child read the book.'

[20](See also Livitz (2014) and Szabolcsi (2009) for discussion of potentially similar asymmetries in Hungarian and Italian).

(30) *Maymuna fas-na mu jàng taalif b-i.
Maymuna try-NA.3SG 3SG.SUBJ read poem CM.SG-DEF
'Maymuna wants she to read the poem.'

Nonetheless, such asymmetries are not ubiquitous in all languages allowing controlled pronominal subjects in OC. For instance, Park (2018b) shows that in Korean both subject (31) and object control (32) are possible with controlled pronouns:

(31) Na_1-nun Bill_2-eykey [$\text{PRO}_{1/*2}$/ $\text{nay}_{1/*2}$-ka Mary-lul manna-keyss-ta-ko]
I-TOP Bill-DAT PRO/ I-TOP MaryACC meet-VOL-DECL-COMP
yaksokha-ess-ta.
promised
'I_1 promised Bill_2 $\text{PRO}_{1/*2}$ /$\text{I}_{1/*2}$ to meet Mary.'

(32) Tom-$_1$ Bill_2-eykey [$\text{PRO}_{*1/2}$ /$\text{ku}_{*1/2}$ Mary-lul manna-la-ko] myenglyenghay-ss-ta.
Tom-NOM Bill-DAT PRO /he Mary-ACC meet-IMP-COMP order-PST-DECL
'Tom_1 ordered Bill_2 [$\text{PRO}_{*1/2}$ /$\text{he}_{*1/2}$ to meet Mary].'

The same is observed with European Portuguese, as shown by Barbosa (2018) with the following exemples:

(33) Decidiu_1 ir PRO_1 / ele_1 ao mercado.
decided to go he to.the market
'He decided for it to be the case that he would be the one to.'

(34) Ontem os pais obrigaram as crianças_1 a fazer PRO_1 / elas_1 a cama.
yesterday the parents forced the children to make they the bed
'Yesterday their parents forced the children to make their bed themselves.'

(adapted from Barbosa (2018, ex. 15))

Spanish appears to behaves like Korean and European Portuguese in that controlled pronouns are allowed in alternation with null PRO in both subject and object control configurations, as illustrated in (1) and (4), and repeated for convenience in (35) and (36) (cf. Piera (1987)):[21]

[21] Suñer (1986a) also argues for the existence of finite object control with referentially dependent, either null or overt pronominal subjects. Note that the latter require to be accompanied by *mismo* 'same':

(35) Julia$_1$ prometió a Marta$_2$ [encargarse [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ /ella$_{1/*2}$ del asunto].
Julia promised to Marta take.care.INF she of.the matter
'Julia promised to Marta that she will deal with the matter.'

(36) Julia$_1$ animó a Marta$_2$ [a encargarse [Ø]$_{*1/2}$ /ella$_{*1/2}$ del asunto].
Julia encouraged to Marta to take.care.INF she of.the matter
'Julia encouraged Marta to deal with the matter.'

(Spanish; adapted from Piera (1987))

Note that the object control interpretation in (36) arises in Spanish with verbs like *animar* 'encourage' or *obligar* 'force' (see Hernanz 1982, 1999; RAE-ASALE 2009; Suñer 1986a). In what follows, I compare the distributional and interpretative properties of the pronominal subjects of Spanish infinitival OC constructions with those of null PRO, using the same methodology that I used in the preceding section, mainly based on the tests that tease apart OC from NOC.

The results will confirm that indeed, overt PRO subjects of subject and object control are not different in Spanish.

2.2.3.2 C-command

Like null PRO (37a), its overt counterpart in (37b) must be c-commanded by their antecedent in object control constructions, and do not accept non-c-commanding antecedents such as *Isabel* in (37).

(37) a. Marta$_3$ animó a [la estudiante de Isabel$_2$]$_1$ a escribir [Ø]$_{1/*2/*3}$ el programa.

b. Marta$_3$ animó a [la estudiante de Isabel$_2$]$_1$ a escribir [ella]$_{1/*2/*3}$
Marta encouraged to the student of Isabel to write.INF she
el programa.
the program
'Marta encouraged Isabel's student that she writes the program.'

(i) (Yo) lo$_1$ animé a que él$_{1/*2}$ mismo / [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ examinara los documentos.
I cl encouraged to that he same / examine.SUBJ the documents
'I encouraged him to examine the documents'.

(Spanish; adapted from Suñer (1986a))

2.2.3.3 Local antecedents

Non-local antecedents are not allowed either. As illustrated below, the only possible controller for null PRO in (38a, just like for overt PRO in (38b), is the DP *los estudiantes* 'the students', which is the most local object argument, hosted in the immediately preceding clause.

(38) a. Animaron a la directora$_3$ [a que obligara a los profesores$_2$ [a obligar a los estudiantes$_1$ [a realizar [Ø]$_{1/*2/*3}$ la inscripción]]].

b. Animaron a la directora$_3$ [a que obligara a los profesores$_2$ [a
encouraged to the director to that compel.SUBJ to the teachers to
obligar a los estudiantes$_1$ [a realizar ellos$_{1/*2/*3}$ la inscripción]]].
force.INF to the students to make.INF they the registration.
'the director was encouraged to make teachers to force the students to do the registration.'

2.2.3.4 Split antecedents

A test which is commonly used in the study of object control is the possibility of having split antecedents, where the non-finite subject gets its referential value by combining the reference of the matrix subject and that of the object. Notwithstanding, in Spanish split antecedents seem not to be allowed for either null PRO (39a) or overt PRO (39b) (see also section (2.2.2.3) above). Both can only obtain their reference from a single antecedent (here *Ana*), as in standard object control.

(39) a. Julia$_1$ animó a Ana$_2$ [a [Ø]$_{2/*1+2}$ hablar con el director].

b. *Julia$_1$ animó a Ana$_2$ [a [ella]$_2$/[ellas]$_{1+2}$ hablar con el director].
Julia encouraged to Ana to her/they talk.INF with the director
'Julia encouraged Ana that they talk to the director.'

Camacho (2011) points out that split antecedents should in principle be possible in the presence of modifiers like *juntos* 'together'. But even so, split control appears not to be possible, as illustrated in the following example:[22]

[22]See footnote 11.

(40) *Julia$_1$ animó a Ana$_2$ [a [Ø]$_{1+2}$/ [ellas]$_{1+2}$ hablar juntas con el
Julia encouraged to Ana to they talk.INF together with the
director].
director
'Julia encouraged Ana that they together talk to the director.'

2.2.3.5 Inanimate antecedents

As we saw in section 2.2.3, inanimate antecedents can be proper subject controllers for overt PRO, just like for null PRO. As illustrated below, this is also the case in object control configurations. Hence, both null PRO overt subjects in (41a) and (41b) respectively are referentially dependent on the inanimate antecedent *las plantas* 'the plants', which is the object of the matrix clause.

(41) a. Los fuertes vientos$_1$ obligan a las plantas$_2$ a [Ø]$_{2/*1}$ gastar mayor energía en su recuperación.

b. Los fuertes vientos$_1$ obligan a las plantas$_2$ a gastar ellas$_{2/*1}$ mayor
the strong winds force to the plants to waste.INF they major
energía en su recuperación.
energy in their recuperation
'The strong winds force the plants to spend a lot energy in their recovering.'

2.2.3.6 Sloppy/strict readings under ellipsis

Now, when the subject of the infinitival clause is contained in an elided constituent as in the second conjunct in (42), this can only yield a sloppy reading. This interpretation is illustrated with the spelled-out conjunct in (42i).[23]

[23]These constructions seem to involve *Gapping*, a kind of ellipsis where the verb in the second conjunct is omitted (when its meaning is recoverable from the verb in the first conjunct), leaving behind an argument (piano in (i)) or an adjunct. Characteristically, gapping happens in coordinate structures:

(i) Luis toca el violín el viernes en aquel bar y María ~~toca~~ el piano ~~el viernes en aquel bar~~.
Luis plays the violin the Friday in that bar and María ~~plays~~ the piano ~~the Friday in that bar~~
'Luis plays the violin the Friday in that bar and María the piano'.

(Brucart and MacDonald (2012))

(42) a. Hermilda$_1$ animó a su nieta$_2$ a [Ø]$_{2/*1}$ escribir el poema y David a su hija.

b. Hermilda$_1$ animó a su nieta$_2$ a [ella]$_{2/*1}$ escribir el poema y David a su hija.
Hermilda encouraged to her granddaughter to she write.INF the poem and David to her daughter.
'Hermilda encouraged her granddaughter to write the poem and David her daughter.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

David encouraged her daughter to write the poem she herself.

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

David encouraged her daughter so that Hermilda's granddaughter writes the poem.

2.2.3.7 Sloppy/strict readings under-association-with- *only*

Now, recall that in subject control configurations (section 2.2.2.6), an unexpected asymmetry between null and overt PRO arose under association-with-focus-test. We show below that this asymmetry reappears in object control configurations. Thus, the statement in (43a) with a null PRO can only be denied on its BVA construal (43ai), while the statement with an overt PRO in (43b) can be denied on both its coreferential (43bii), and its BVA construals (43bi).

(43) a. La abuela$_2$ animó sólo a Juliana$_1$ a escribir [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ la tarea.
The grandmother encouraged only to Juliana to write.INF the task
'The grandmother only encouraged Juliana to do the homework.'

There is a debate in the literature about whether or not they should be considered as proper instances of ellipsis. See for example Coppock (2001) as well as recent work by Potter, Frazier, and Yoshida (2017) and Zorzi (2018) for arguments in favor of ellipsis, but see Johnson (1994, 2009) for arguments against it. I don't intend to argue for either view. Instead, I adopt N. Kim et al. (2020)'s terminology and use here the term ellipsis "to refer to any construction like Gapping that involves apparent omission of some part of a sentence."

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Santiago has also been given the order that he himself has to do the homework.

Santiago (λy (y has also been given the order that y has to do the homework)).

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

No, Santiago has also been told that Juliana has to do the homework.

Santiago (λy(y has also been given the order that she has to do the homework)).

(<u>she</u>= <u>Juliana</u>)

b. La abuela$_2$ animó sólo a Juliana$_1$ a [ella]$_{1/*2}$ escribir la
The grandmother encouraged only to Juliana to she write.INF the
tarea.
task
'The grandmother only encouraged Juliana to do the homework.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Santiago has also been told that he has to do the homework.

Santiago (λy (y has also been given the order that y has to do the homework)).

(ii) ✓Strict reading (coreference):

No, Santiago has also been told that Juliana has to do the homework.

Santiago (λy(y has also been given the order that she has to do the homework)).

(<u>she</u>= <u>Juliana</u>)

2.2.3.8 Interim summary

I have shown in section 2.2.3.1 that object control is available for overt PRO, just like for null PRO, in Korean, Spanish and European Portuguese. Note however that

not all languages make this option available. As already illustrated with Russian and Finnish, embedded controlled clauses with null subjects allow subject but not object control even when they are selected by cross-linguistically attested object control verbs like *convince*. By the same token, Ewe, accepts overt pronouns in subject –but not in object– control constructions. The opposite also holds in Wolof, where overt pronouns are accepted in object –but not in subject– control constructions.

I then focused on Spanish, specifically on the distributional and interpretative properties of both null and overt subjects under the OC/NOC tests. The goals were to compare once again the characteristics of these subjects across configurations. The obtained results are summarized in table 2.2.

	Object control	
	Null PRO	Overt pronoun
Non c-commanding antecedent	No	No
Long-distance antecedent	No	No
Split antecedent	No	No
Inanimate controller	Yes	Yes
Sloppy reading under ellipsis	Yes	Yes
Strict reading under ellipsis	No	No
Sloppy reading under association-with-focus	Yes	Yes
Strict reading under association-with-focus	No	Yes

Table 2.2: Null *vs.* overt subjects in object control configurations.

Two comments are in order. First, overt PRO satisfies almost all of the properties of OC: it requires a unique local c-commanding antecedent, it allows inanimate antecedents, and it only allows BV/sloppy interpretations under ellipsis. But second, there is one context in which the results obtained with an overt PRO are different from those of null PRO and which are unexpected coming from an OC subject: in contexts of association with focus, overt PRO subjects appear to allow a coreferen-

tial/strict reading.

2.3 The Covert vs. Overt PRO paradox

The results obtained on subject control and object control in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, respectively, shed light on an interesting, but unexpected contrast. While in both configurations null PRO shows indisputable properties of OC with respect to the syntactic (c-command and locality) and semantic criteria (sloppy readings), the results obtained for pronominal subjects converge in all but one OC property, namely in accepting unexpected strict/coreferential readings in contexts of association-with-focus.

The puzzle is the following. While both null and overt PRO can be sloppily interpreted under the ellipsis and the association-with-focus-test, only overt PRO can have a strict interpreted under the association-with-focus test. The contrasts in the availability of the BV and coreferential readings with null vs. overt PRO are summarized in table 2.3.

		Overt PRO	Null PRO
BV	Ellipsis test	Yes	Yes
	Association-with-focus test	Yes	Yes
Coreference	Ellipsis test	No	No
	Association-with-focus test	Yes	No

Table 2.3: Asymmetrical properties of null *vs.* overt PRO

This double asymmetry regarding the properties of null vs. overt PRO on the one hand, and the ellipsis vs. association-with focus-test, on the other hand, is stated in (44):

(44) **Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox**

(i) Both null and overt PRO only allow BV interpretations under the ellipsis test.

(ii) Overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allows coreferential interpretations under the association-with-focus test.

Why do null PRO and overt PRO pattern differently (yield conflicting results) with respect to the two standard tests for pronominal interpretation? In particular, why does overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allow coreference interpretations, and why so only under the association-with-focus test, but not under the ellipsis test?

As I will argue in chapter 5, the answer to these paradoxes is to be found in the interaction of the binding requirements holding over null vs. overt anaphors.

2.4 A note on Partial Control

In the previous sections, I concentrated on the properties of null and overt PRO regarding OC. In this section, I will turn to the phenomenon of Partial Control (PC) (see Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes (2010), Landau (2000, 2004, 2013, 2015, 2021), Pearson (2013), Sevdali and Sheehan (2021), Sheehan (2014), and Wilkinson (1971) a.o) which has been discussed in the literature as a subtype of OC.

The mechanism of PC consists basically of an embedded null PRO recovering its referential values partly from an antecedent in the matrix clause, together with some other unspecified antecedent(s) recovered from the context (as indicated by the subscript i+). An illustration of this type of configuration is given in example (45):

(45) John$_1$ wants/hopes/plans/decides [PRO$_{1+}$to meet/kiss at 2].

PC readings are enforced mostly with attitude predicates in the matrix clause and collective or reciprocal predicates in the embedded clause. Under these condi-

tions, PRO denotes a group like-entity, being syntactically singular but semantically plural.

The question that concerns us is to know whether or not null and overt PRO in Spanish complement clauses display PC readings. Since PC is a subtype of OC, the prediction is that PC obtains in Spanish with null and overt PRO in the same way OC obtains (as established above).

Under Sheehan's (2014) proposal, PC in romance results from movement and involves exhaustive control (EC) plus a covert comitative object *pro* (replacing a withP phrase). This is represented in (46):[24]

(46) The chair$_1$ hoped [t$_1$ to meet *pro*$_{\text{comitative}}$ at 6].

However, this seems not to apply to Spanish. Consider the following examples:

(47) a. */???Juan$_1$ desea agruparse [Ø]$_{1+}$ este año.

b. *Juan$_1$ desea agruparse ellos$_{1+}$ este año.
Juan wants group.INF they this year
'Juan wants to gather this year.'

The examples slightly improve if we replace *agruparse* 'gather' by *encontrarse* 'meet':

(48) a. Juan$_1$ desea encontrarse [Ø]$_{1/*1+}$ este año.

b. *Juan$_1$ desea encontrarse ellos$_{1+}$ este año.
Juan want meet.INF they this year
'Juan wants to meet this year.'

The ungrammaticality of the example in (47b) and (48b) shows that a plural overt pronoun *ellos* (containing partially the reference of its antecedent) is not allowed. This points out morphological, syntactic, and semantic restrictions on pronominals with these types of verbs. Moreover, Livitz (2011) argues that Hungarian also bans PC readings with overt subjects:

[24]This type of analysis was originally proposed by Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes (2010) for (American) English, and was extended to some Romance languages by Sheehan (2014).

(49) *Nem akarok csak mi / én gyülekezni a folyosón.
not want.1SG only we / I gather.INF the hallway-ON
'I don't want only for us to gather in the hallway.'

Now, the example with the null PRO subject (48a), although grammatical, doesn't express PC either (the only possible reading here is that Juan desires to find himself, not others).[25]

Based on these evidence, we can conclude that PC readings are not available for either null or overt PRO in infinitival controlled complement clauses in Spanish.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on an exhaustive examination of the properties of overt PRO subjects in infinitival complements in Spanish. More specifically, I revisited the general claim that overt and null PRO share the same OC properties.

In particular, I provided evidence from subject control configurations showing that the interpretation of overt PRO can indeed differ from that of null PRO. Additional evidence from object control configurations converged on the same results. Specifically, under the association with focus-test, overt PRO can yield both sloppy and strict readings, which is typical of NOC. Null PRO, instead, is unambiguously interpreted under a sloppy reading. Crucially, this asymmetrical pattern of interpretation doesn't obtain under the ellipsis test, where both null and overt PRO only yield sloppy readings, a typical behavior of OC. This unexpected finding led me to put forth the *Covert vs. overt PRO paradox.*

[25] Sheehan (2014) also discusses other types of verbs like *cartarse* 'to write each other' and provides the following example:

(1) Juan echa de menos a María. Quiere cartear=se ?(con ella).
Juan drop of less to Maria. wants correspond.INF=SE (with her)
'Juan misses Maria. He wants to write.'

However, none of the native speakers I consulted accepted this example with a comitative object *pro*, that is, they all required *con ella* 'with her' to be expressed.

A major consequence of these findings is that they challenge the elementary characterization of overt PRO as a phonologically realized (or focused) variant of null PRO. In effect, the fact that overt PRO has systematically the same behavior regardless of the control configuration indicates that this is not an accidental minor issue.

In the next chapter, I will show that this asymmetrical pattern of interpretation is indeed not exclusive to overt PRO in infinitival complement contexts. Namely, I will show that a similar pattern extends to overt pronouns of *para*-finality infinitival adjunct clauses.

Chapter 3

Null vs. overt subjects in adjunct clauses in Spanish

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we provided a study of the infinitival complement clauses in which PRO alternates with overt PRO subjects. In this chapter we will study other types of constructions, namely the Spanish infinitival adjunct clauses introduced by the prepositions *al*, 'at the/when' *sin* 'without' and *para* 'for'.

These types of clauses have in common with complement clauses the fact that they also accept overt subjects. It has, however, been observed that adjunct clauses seem to be less restrictive with respect to the type of overt subjects they can host. In particular, besides pronouns, they also allow lexical DP subjects (cf. Hernanz (1982, 1999), Pérez Vázquez (2007), Schulte (2007), and Zagona (2002)). This generalization converges with the standard assumptions that control divides up into complement vs. adjunct control (which, as such, are mostly studied independently, see for instance Landau 2013) and, moreover, that NOC (characterized as allowing overt subjects) belongs to the realm of adjunct control. This reasoning would lead us to expect overt PRO subjects to be limited to OC and, thus, to non-finite complements of control verbs. But this is an oversimplification. As already observed by

Pérez Vázquez (2007, p. 219), *para*-finality infinitival clauses can hold what seems to be a "pseudo-controlled pronoun", as illustrated in (1):

(1) Le presté el coche [para él venir a buscarme].
CL.3SG lend the car for he come.INF to search.INF.CL.1SG
'I lend him/her the car to come and pick me up.'

(My glossing, Pérez Vázquez (2007, p. 216))

Adjunct control is also known to be a very complex phenomenon. Green (2018) and Landau (2013, 2021) have, in particular, shown that the typology of adjunct clauses in English is much more complex and varied, across both OC and NOC structures.

The goal of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, we will explore the link between the properties of the infinitival clauses introduced by *al*, *sin* and *para* and the type of subjects that they can host. We carry out a detailed exploration of the overt and null subjects in these adjuncts, establishing that *para*-finality clauses exhibit syntactic and semantic restrictions which correlate with the type of subject they can accept. Secondly, we will investigate the properties of the null subjects of these three types of adjunct clauses via OC/NOC tests. The three main results that will derive from this study are the following: (i) the null subject of *al* and *para*-infinitives displays all the properties of an OC PRO-like subject. (ii) The null subject of *sin*-infinitives systematically displays properties of a NOC/*pro*-like subject. And (iii), the overt pronominal subject of *para*-finality infinitives exhibits most –but not– all the properties of an overt OC PRO subject –crucially, allowing coreferential readings only in contexts of association-with-focus. This will lead us to the conclusion that these *para*-finality infinitives are OC adjuncts. We take generalization (iii) to show that the *Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox* put forth in Chapter 2 is robust, and to be a diagnostic property of OC with overt PRO, for which any suitable approach to control should give an explanation.

The structure of this chapter is the following. In section 3.2 and 3.3, I discuss the general properties of infinitivals headed by *al* and *sin*, respectively. In section 3.4,

I study the infinitival 'finality' clauses introduced by *para*. In section 3.5, I explore the properties of the null subject in these three types of infinitival clauses, as well as of the overt pronoun in *para*-finality clauses, via the same tests already used for complement control in Chapters 1 and 2. Finally, section 3.6 discusses how the results obtained for *para*-finality clauses compare to those of complement clauses in Chapter 2, exploring the consequences for the *Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox*, and for control theory more generally.[1]

3.2 *Al*-infintives

The construction formed by *al* combining with an infinitive clause has attracted the attention of linguists due to its particular syntactic and semantic properties. In what follows, I present three general observations regarding the nature of these clauses.

First, the element *al* that heads these clauses results from the contraction of the preposition *a* 'to' and the (masculine) definite article *el* 'the' (see RAE-ASALE (2009) and Rico (2016) for details).

Second, infinitival *al*-clauses accept overt DP-subjects, despite their lack of verbal inflection, as illustrated in the examples below (cf. Fernández (1999), Gómez (2017), González (2020), Herbeck (2011, 2015, 2021), Hernanz (1982, 1999), Ortega-Santos (2002), Paz (2013), Pérez Vázquez (2007), RAE-ASALE (2009), Rigau (1995), Sundaresan and McFadden (2009), Suñer (1986a), Teomiro-García (2010), and Torrego (1998) a.o):[2]

[1] Elements of this chapter, namely, the generalizations regarding the distribution and interpretation of null and overt PRO in *para*-finality clauses, as well as the distribution and interpretation of null PRO vs. *pro* subjects in (respectively) *al* and *sin* infinitival clauses, were already published in: Kryzzya Gómez, Maia Duguine & Hamida Demirdache. 2023. Overt vs. null subjects in infinitival constructions in Colombian Spanish. In Barbara E. Bullock, Cinzia Russi & Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (eds.), *A half century of Romance linguistics: Selected proceedings of the 50th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*, 131–156. Berlin: Language Science Press.

[2] In section 3.5, we will study the type of null expression these overt subjects alternate with.

(2) Todo el mundo se levantó [al leer el juez el veredicto].
all the world CL.3SG stood.up in.the read.INF the judge the verdict
'Everybody stood up when the judge read the verdict.'

(my glossing, Torrego (1998, p. 207))

(3) [Al salir Paco/él], sonó el teléfono..
in.the go.INF Paco/he rang the telephone
'When Paco/he went out, the telephone rang.'

(my glossing, Suñer (1986a, p. 190))

Finally, it has been observed that non-finite clauses headed by *al* are associated with different interpretations, as illustrated in (4) (cf. Fernández (1999), Hernanz (1999), Paz (2013), Pérez Vázquez (2007), RAE-ASALE (2009), Rico (2016), and Rigau (1995)):

(4) a. *conditional*

[Al enseñar el carné], te dan un bocadillo.
in.the show.INF the card CL.2SG give.3.PL a sandwich
'If you show your card, they give you a sandwich.'

(my glossing, Rico (2016, p. 33))

b. *temporal*

[Al salir del teatro], nos atracaron.
in.the go.INF of.the theater CL.1PL held.up
'When we go out of the theater, we were mugged by (a thief).'

c. *causal*

[Al ser tan alta y desgarbada], los chicos se ríen de ella.
in.the be.INF very tall and ungainly the guys CL.3SG laugh of she
'As she was very tall and thin, the boys laughed at her.'

d. *temporal-causal*

[Al pedir un aumento de sueldo], le despidieron.
in.the request.INF a augmentation of pay CL.3SG fired.3PL
'As/when he requested a salary increment, he got fired.'

(Narbona (1990) quoted from Hernanz (1999))

In what follows, I discuss the different interpretations of *al*-clauses illustrated

in (4). I will present the basic differences between these readings, and in particular, identify the syntactic environments in which particular readings are favored over others.

3.2.1 Conditional interpretation

Pérez Vázquez (2007) observes that *al*-infinitives show a cause-effect relationship with the event of the matrix, when interpreted as a conditional. In such cases, the adjunct clause describes the causative component, and the main clause the effect component. As illustrated in (5), they are compatible with negation and can accept overt subjects.

(5) [Al no afirmarlo (tu)], lo dudoría.
in.the not affirm.INF.CL.3SG. you CL.3SG hesitate.COND
'If you hadn't affirmed, I wouldn't believe it.'

(my glossing, adapted from Pérez Vázquez (2007, p. 209))

3.2.2 Temporal, causal (ambiguous) interpretations

Examples (4b) and (4c) illustrated *al*-infinitives with temporal and causal interpretations, respectively. But there are some contexts in which the temporal and causal readings overlap, as in (4d). According to Rico (2016), this ambiguity arises because there is a contiguity relation between the event expressed by the matrix and that expressed by the adjunct clause. Thus both events depend (temporally or logically) on each other.[3]

As already noted by Rico (2016) and Rigau (1993), these types of adjuncts are compatible with adverbial modifiers (6a), and accept internal arguments (6b) when interpreted under these readings.

(6) a. Al hablar tan fuerte, me tapé los oídos.
in.the talk.INF very loud CL.1SP covered the ears
'As/when he/she spoke very loud, I covered my ears.'

[3]See Rico (2016) Rigau (1993) and references therein for details.

b. Al hablar Jialu de política china, desconecté.
in.the talk.INF Jialu of politics chinese desconnected.1SG
'As/when Jialu talked about Chinese politics, I got disconnected (from the conversation).'

Below, I discuss the syntactic environments that allow us to differentiate between one and the other reading.

On its temporal meaning, this type of clause denotes the time of verification for the event described by the matrix verb (cf. Hálková (2012), Hernanz (1999), and Pérez Vázquez (2007)). Thus, in a sentence like (7), the infinitival clause provides temporal information that serves to anchor the matrix fainting event:

(7) [Al llegar a la estación], se desmayó..
in.the arriveINF to the station, CL.3SG fainted
'When he/she arrived at the station, he/she fainted.'

Note that this sentence can be perfectly paraphrased with *cuando* 'when' selecting a finite clause, as in (8):

(8) Cuando llegó a la estación, se desmayó.
when arrived.3.SG to the station CL.3SG fainted
'When he/she arrived at the station, he/she fainted.'

Correspondingly, this type of clause combines with preverbal temporal particles like *a(l) poco de* 'shortly before' (cf. Hernanz (1999):

(9) [Al poco de llegar tú], se fue ella.
in.the few of arrive.INF you CL.3SG gone she
'Shortly before you arrived, she left.'

(my glossing, Martínez (1994) in Hernanz (1999)))

Similarly, it can also associate with focal adverbs like *exactamente* 'exactly' (10) or *justo* 'just' (11) (cf. RAE-ASALE (2009)):

(10) Me desperté exactamente [al sonar el reloj].
CL.1SP woke.up exactly in.the ring.INF the alarm.clock
'I woke up exactly when the alarm clock rang.'

(11) Me torcí el tobillo justo [al cruzar la calle].
CL.1SP twisted the ankle just in.the cross.INF the street
'I twisted my ankle just when I was crossing the street.'

Conversely, the temporal reading gets blocked when *al*-infinitives associate with stative predicates (12a), root modals (12b), *haber* followed by perfective forms (12c), degree (epistemic) quantifiers (12d), or negation (12e), yielding a causal reading (cf. Fernández (1999), Hálková (2012), Pérez Vázquez (2007), RAE-ASALE (2009), Rico (2016), Rigau (1995), and Zagona (2002)):[4]

(12) a. [Al ser francés Juan], no le pidieron pasaporte.
in.the beINF French Juan not CL.3SG requested.3.PL passport
'As Juan is French, they didn't ask for his passport.'

(my glossing, Zagona (2002, p. 65))

b. [Al poder verlo], se puso muy contento.
in.the can see.INF.CL.3SG CL.3SG stood very happy
'As he/she can see him, (he/she) was very happy.'

(my glossing, Fernández (1999, p. 3187))

c. [Al haber estudiado música], aprecia a un buen operista.
in.the have.INF studied music appreciates.3.SG to a good opera.composer
'As he has studied music, he can appreciate a good opera composer.'

(my glossing, Rico (2016, p. 34))

d. [Al comer demasiadas/tantas ostras], Juan sufrió una indigestion.
in.the eat.INF too.many/very oysters Juan suffered a indigestion
'As Juan ate too many oysters, he suffered from an indigestion.'

(my glossing, Rigau (1995, p. 183))

e. [Al no aparecer el cantante], se suspendió el concierto.
in.the not appear.INF the singer CL.3SG suspended the concert
'As the singer didn't appear, the concert was suspended.'

[4]But see Fernández (1999) and Hálková (2012) who observe that temporal readings are possible with *tener que* 'to have to', as in (i):

(i) ¿Cuándo se sonrojó? Al tener que confesármelo.
when CL.3SG get.red? in.the have.INF that confess.CL.1SG.CL.3SG
'When did he/she blush? When he/she had to confess it to me.'

This sentence is understood to mean that the person blushed at the moment of his/her confession.

In this section, I have presented the general characteristics of *al*-infinitives. I have shown the different readings they can yield, the syntactic environments favoring each of these readings, and their capacity to accept overt DP subjects. In the next section, I will study the infinitival clauses headed by the preposition *sin*. We will see that these two types of infinitival clauses have quite different properties, even though both accept overt subjects.

3.3 *Sin*-infintives

In this section, I deal with the infinitival clauses introduced by the preposition *sin* 'without'. *Sin* is a prepositional element with a negative meaning, indicating the absence of something or of a way of doing something (cf. De Bruyne (1999) and RAE-ASALE (2009)), as illustrated in (13), where the *sin* clause expresses the non-realization of the described event (cf. Pérez Vázquez (2007)).[5]

(13) Saqué el libro [sin mirarlo].
took1.SG the book without look.INF.CL.3SG
'I took out the book without looking at it.'

(my glossing, Zagona (2002, p. 68))

In what follows, I focus on two basic properties of *sin*-infinitives: (i) double negation readings, (ii) allowing overt subjects.

3.3.1 Double negation readings

One of the most important properties that has been ascribed to *sin* is its capacity to yield a double negation reading in interaction with sentential negation. Consider

[5]Note that *sin* can introduce not only infinitival clauses as in (13) above, but also finite ones, as in (i) below (see Zagona (2002)).

(i) Saqué el libro [sin que Juan lo mirara].
took1.SG the book without that Juan CL.3SG look.SUBJ.3.SG
'I took out the book without Juan's looking at it.'

Here I will only focus on the former ones.

the example in (14):

(14) Lo tomé no sin repugnancia.
CL.3SG take1.SG not without repugnance
'I take it not without repugnance.'

(De Bruyne (1999))

(14) shows that *sin* has a negative meaning, since when it combines with sentential negation *no* 'not', it yields a double negation reading, where the two negations cancel each other out, yielding an affirmative statement.(See De Bruyne (1999), Hernanz (1999), and Zagona (2002) for discussion)[6]

3.3.2 Overt subjects

Like *al*-infinitival clauses, *sin*-infinitives also accept overt subjects (see González (2020), Hernanz (1999), Paz (2013), Pérez Vázquez (2007), Schulte (2007), and Torrego (1998)). This is illustrated in the example in (15):

(15) Sin decir nada el professor, los alumnos entiendieron todo.
without tell.INF nothing the teacher the students understood everything
'The students have understood everything without the teacher telling anything.'

(adapted from Pérez Vázquez, 2007, p. 221)

Summing up, *sin* can yield double negation readings, suggesting that it is inherently negative. When combined with an infinitival clause, the latter can be interpreted as an adverbial expression, and can accept overt DP subjects. In the next section, I study the third type of non-finite adjunct clause included in this study,

[6]In this respect, Zagona (2002) notes that *sin* can felicitously combine with propositional negation only if the latter is associated with contrastive stress (i):

(i) ?Sin NO conversar, nos entendimos.
without NOT talking, CL.1PL understand.1.PL
'We get along without NOT talking.'

namely infinitival clauses headed by the preposition *para* 'for' that conveys a so-called *finality* interpretation.

3.4 *Para*-infinitives

As it has been shown in previous literature, infinitival clauses introduced by the preposition *para* 'for' can be associated with different interpretations (see Galán Rodriguez (1999), Hernanz (1999), Pérez Vázquez (2007), and RAE-ASALE (2009)). This can (potentially) be linked to the heterogeneous behavior of the preposition itself (cf. Campos (1999), De Bruyne (1999), and RAE-ASALE (2009)). The preposition *para* can for instance take different types of constituents as complements, including DPs. The most common functions with which it can be associated in such cases are illustrated below:

(16) a. *finality*

prepararse para un examen.
prepare.INF for a exam
'To get prepared for an exam.'

(my glossing, RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 5381))

b. *reception*

Lo compré para ella.
CL.3SG buy.PAST.1SG for she
'I bought it for her.'

c. *location*

voy para mi casa.
go.1SG for my house
'I go home.'

d. *utility*

pastillas para la garganta.
pastilles for the throat
'lozenges to treat a sore throat.'

(my glossing, RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 3581))

e. *professional orientation*

María está estudiando para dentista..
María is study.PROG for dentist
'María is studying to be a dentist.'

(Zagona (2002, p. 38))

When *para* combines with infinitival clauses, it also exhibits a polysemic behavior (Campos (1999), Cano-Aguilar (1999), De Bruyne (1999), Galán Rodriguez (1999), Herbeck (2021, 2022), Hernanz (1999), Pérez Vázquez (2007), and RAE-ASALE (2009)). This is illustrated in (17):

(17) a. *concessive*

[Para ser tan joven], toca muy bien.
For be.INF very young play.3SG very well
'He/she plays really well for someone who is so young.'

b. *consecutive*

Juan tuvo tanto valor (como) [para dejar a su mujer].
Juan had so.much value like for leave to her woman
'It was quite courageous for him to leave his wife.'

c. *ponderative*

[Para haber preparado la obra durante tres meses] el resultado fue
To have prepared the act during three months the result was
más bien mediocre .
more well mediocre
'the result was quite mediocre, considering the three months (they) have spent in preparing this act.'

d. *finality*

Salí [para desperjarme].
go.PAST.1SG for clear.INF.CL.1SG
'I went out to clear my head.'

The finality interpretation illustrated in (17d) is the one I will be focusing on below. Finality clauses express an intention motivating the action described by the main clause (cf. Pérez Vázquez (2007)). Adopting the terminology of Galán Rodriguez (1999), Hernanz (1999), Pérez Vázquez (2007), and Schulte (2007), I

will call non-finite clauses headed by the preposition *para* and with this finality interpretation '*para*-finality clauses'.

In what follows, I will study the general semantic and syntactic properties of *para*-finality clauses.[7]

3.4.1 Prospective temporal interpretation

Characteristically, *para*-finality clauses can only be associated with a prospective temporal interpretation –that is, used to describe situations understood to occur subsequently to the situation denoted by the matrix clause. This why the infinitival verb cannot combine with auxiliaries inducing a retrospective temporal reading (e.g. *haber* in (18)) (cf. Galán Rodriguez (1999), Hernanz (1999), Pérez Vázquez (2007), RAE-ASALE (2009), and Zagona (2002)).

(18) a. Te han escrito [para felicitarte por tu libro].
CL.2SG have written for congratulate.INF.CL.2SG by your book
'You have been written to congratulate you for your book.'

b. *Te han escrito [para *haberte* felicitado por tu libro].
CL.2SG have written for have.INF.CL.2SG congratulated by your book

(Galán Rodriguez (1999, p. 117))

3.4.2 Adjunct clauses or selected complements?

One of the most controversial properties of *para*-finality clauses is perhaps their syntactic status in relation to the matrix predicate. Some authors (Hernanz, 1999; Pérez Vázquez, 2007; Zagona, 2002), consider *para*-finality clauses to be adjunct

[7]Finality *para* can also combine with finite clauses:

(i) Lo convenció para que se incribiera al concurso.
CL.3SGM convinced for that CL.3SG register.SUBJ.PAST.3SG to.the competition
'He was persuaded to enter the contest.'

These types of constructions won't be discussed in this thesis, but see Galán Rodriguez (1999), RAE-ASALE (2009), Suñer (1986a), and Zagona (2002) for discussion.

clauses, i.e., optional elements that are not governed by the main verb. However, as shown by Galán Rodriguez (1999) and RAE-ASALE (2009), there are reasons to believe that they are actually infinitives selected by the matrix predicate.

Evidence for this is given in (19).

(19) a. Este actor no servirá *([para interpretar el papel]).
This actor no serve.FUT for interpret.INF the paper
'This actor is not good to play the role.'

(Galán Rodriguez (1999, p. 117))

b. Me acerqué [para mirar].
CL.31SG closed for see.INF
'I got close to see.'

(my glossing RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 4282))

c. Se fue [para cambiar de aires].
CL.3 gone for change.INF of airs
'He/she left for a change of scenery.'

(my glossing, adapted from RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 5410))

d. Lo animó [para levantar el puntaje].
CL.3M persuaded for up the score
'He was persuaded to get a better score.'

(my glossing, adapted from RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 4282))

The example in (19a) shows that the verb *servir* 'serve' **obligatorily** requires the presence of a clause introduced by *para*-finality. Similarly, *para*-finality is selected by verbs related to movement, like *acercarse* 'to get close' and *irse* 'to leave' in (19b) and (19c), respectively, or *salir* 'to go out' in (17d) above. As shown with the above examples, the verb can take as its argument a complement introduced either by the preposition *para* or by *a* 'to' (e.g. *me acerqué a mirar*, 'I got close to see'). Infinitival clauses introduced by the prepositional complementizer *a* (in Schulte's 2007 terminology) have been analysed as selected complements of the matrix verb (Hernanz (1999)) and, as such, attaching low in the VP. That *a* can alternate with *para* (when it expresses finality) thus provides another argument for treating *para*

finality clauses as selected arguments.[8]

A further piece of evidence comes from the verb *animar* 'encourage' in (19d), which is double object verb, selecting as one of its internal arguments a subordinate clause headed by *a* 'to'. Again, we find that *para* alternates with *a* with this type of verb (e.g. *lo animó a levantar el puntaje*, 'he was persuaded to get a better score') (see also Chapter 2, section 2.3.1).[9]

Another argument in favor of characterizing *para*-finality infinitives as complements comes from the pseudo-cleft focusing strategies, which are different for *para*-finality clauses from standard adjunct clauses (Cabrera, 1999; RAE-ASALE, 2009).

Let us first briefly introduce pseudo-cleft constructions in Spanish. Consider the following examples.

(20) a. A quien yo vi fue a {Marta}.
to who I saw was to Marta
'The one who I saw was Marta.'

(my glossing, Camacho (2006))

b. [A quien$_{wh}$ yo vi t$_{wh}$] fue a Marta.

(Camacho (2006, p. 12))

(21) Lo que me inquieta es {si esto no va a reventar}...
Det.NEUT that me troubles is if this not goes to blow
'What worries me is to know if this is going to blow.'

(my glossing, Gutiérrez-Bravo (2019))

(Descriptively) the pseudo-clefts in (20a) and (21) involve two clauses. The first one is a relative(-like) clause, a kind of free relative headed by the *wh*-pronoun *a quien* 'to whom' in (20a), and by the determiner *lo* in (21). The second is a

[8]Note that non-proximity to the verb has always been used as an argument against analysing *para* clauses as a selected arguments (see Hernanz (1999) and Schulte (2007)).

[9]Cano-Aguilar (1999) claims that *para* can alternate with *a* with verbs requiring a complement clause and a direct object as *inhabilitar*, 'make unable', *capacitar*, 'train', *autorizar*, 'authorize', *convocar*, 'call'.

copular clause headed by the copular verb *fue* 'was' taking as an argument the clefted/focused constituent (focus scope is indicated by brackets, following the convention in Camacho (2006).[10]

Now, pseudo-clefts display a kind of matching requirement whereby the form of the relativized constituent must match with that of the corresponding focused constituent in the copular clause. Importantly, as pointed out by Cabrera (1999) and RAE-ASALE (2009), this requirement only affects constituents that are **selected** by the verb.[11]

Consider the following examples:

(22) a. Vimos *(a) Juan.
saw.1.PL to Juan
'We saw Juan.'

b. *(A) quien vimos fue *(a) Juan.
to who saw.1.PL was to Juan
'Who we saw was Juan.'

(23) a. Insisten *(en) su participación.
insist.PR.IND.3PL in their participation
'They insisted in their participation.'

[10]I do not take any position here on the specific syntax of the pseudo-clefts in (20a) and (21), given the extensive literature on the topic. See Cabrera (1999), Camacho (2006), Gutiérrez-Bravo (2019), and Zubizarreta (1999) a.o. Moreover, the argument I give below (for the syntactic status of *para*-finality vs. *sin* adjunct clauses), will go through, I believe, with whatever syntax we assume.

[11]Cabrera (1999) argues that these matching constructions obey the following principle in Spanish:

(i) *Equivalencia gramatical perfrástica*

Todas las restricciones sintácticas y semánticas que se verifiquen dentro de la oración expandida deben verificarse en la contraída y vice-versa.

We translate (i) as in (ii):

(ii) 'Periphrastic Grammatical Equivalence'

All the syntactic and semantic restrictions required in a complex (cleft) sentence are also required in the simple form of the sentence, and vice-versa.'

b. *(En) lo que insisten es *(en) su participación.
In det.NEUT that insist.PR.IND.3PL is in their participation
'In what they insisted is in their participation.'

(24) a. Juan lo hizo sin esmero.
Juan it.CL.3SG did without care
'Juan did it without care.'

b. Como lo hizo Juan fue sin esmero.
how CL.3SG did Juan was without care
'How it did was without care.'

c. *Sin lo que Juan lo hizo fue sin esmero.
without det.NEUT that Juan ART.3SG did was without care
(my glossing, Cabrera (1999, p. 4276))

The example in (22) shows that the verb *vimos* 'see' takes *a Juan* as its complement, where *a* marks the direct object. As such, and given the matching requirement, *a* is required in each of the two terms of the pseudo-cleft. Similarly, the example in (23a) shows that the verb *insistimos* 'insist' takes as its complement *en su participación* 'in their participation'. In the pseudo-cleft in (23b), the preposition *en* 'in' surfaces introducing both the relativized and the focused constituent.

Now, since matching is a requirement only for selected arguments in pseudo-clefts, it will provide us with a nice and simple diagnostic for the selected argument vs. non-selected adjunct status of our infinitival clauses. Take, in particular, *sin* 'without' clauses. No matching effect is observed with the latter in pseudo-clefts, as the grammaticality of (24) illustrates, since *como* 'how' (24b) in the relative clause appears bare. More importantly, (24c) shows that matching is not allowed with *sin*. The minimal pair in (24b) and (24c) provides us with a straightforward argument that *sin*-clauses do not have the status of selected arguments (cf. RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 4252)).

Turning to *para*-finality clauses, Cabrera (1999) observes that pseudo-clefts involving *para*-finality are crucially subject to the matching requirement between the relativized and focused constituents (90):

(25) *(Para) lo que vinieron fue *(para) recoger el dinero.
for DET.NEUT that came.3PL was for collect.INF the money
'The reason they came was to collect the money.'

(adapted from Cabrera (1999, p. 4276))

The matching effect in (90), and the contrast between (24b) and (24c) vs. (90) provides a straightforward argument that *para*-finality, unlike *sin* clauses, have the status of selected arguments.[12]

3.4.3 Overt pronominal subjects

Alongside these external properties, *para*-finality clauses also exhibit interesting clause-internal properties. As already discussed in sections 3.2 and 3.3, overt subjects are allowed in both *al*-infinitives and *sin*-infinitives clauses. The same observation can be made regarding *para*-finality clauses, but with important provisos, since *para*-finality infinitives impose restrictions on the type of subject they allow.

First, while pronominal subjects are allowed (26), DP subjects are not (27) (see Dauphinais Civitello and Ortiz López 2016; Gómez 2017; Gómez, Duguine, and Demirdache 2022; Hernanz 1982, 1999; Pérez Vázquez 2007; Schulte 2007):[13,14]

[12]This conclusion will play an important role in the analysis I propose for control in chapter 6 (section 8 will be devoted to *para*-finality).

[13]Pérez Vázquez (2007) shows that DP subjects are, in fact, allowed in *para*-infinitive clauses, but strictly depending on the interpretation of the clause. In particular, when *para* is associated with a concessive meaning, it allows referentially free postverbal subjects. Crucially, however, on its finality meaning, only referentially dependent overt pronominal subjects are allowed, as the contrast between (26)-(27) shows. Finally, when they takes a consecutive meaning, *para*-infinitives do not allow any type of overt subject.

[14]Torrego (1998) gives the following piece of data with an overt non-pronominal subject, in what we would classify as a *para*-finality adjunct:

(i) [Para celebrar Rita su cumpleaños], *pro* se fue de viaje al Caribe
in.order celebrate.INF Rita her birthday CL went of trip to.the Caribbean
'In order for Rita to celebrate her birthday, she went on a trip to the Caribbean.'

The possibility of having a referentially free overt DP in a *para*-finality clause is unexpected under Perez Vazquez's typology. However, none of the native speakers I consulted accept this sentence as

(26) Le presté el coche [para él venir a buscarme].
CL.3SG lend the car for he come.INF to search.INF.CL.1SG
'I lend him/her the car to come and pick me up.'

(My glossing, Pérez Vázquez (2007, p. 216))

(27) *Pepe trabaja [para estudiar sus hijos].
Pepe works for study.INF his children
'Pepe works for his children to study.'

(My glossing, Hernanz (1982, p. 413))

Importantly, (27) with an overt (possessed) DP is ungrammatical even if the matrix subject 'controls' the reference of the pronominal possessor, as shown in (28a). (28c)-(28d) confirm that when the infinitival subject surfaces as an overt pronoun, it cannot be interpreted as a regular (referentially free) pronoun, just like null PRO in (28b) .

(28) a. *Pepe$_1$ trabaja [para estudiar sus$_1$ hijos].
Pepe works for study.INF his children
'Pepe works for his children to study.'

b. Pepe$_1$ trabaja [para PRO$_{1/*2}$ estudiar].
Pepe works for he study.INF
'Pepe works to study.'

c. Pepe$_1$ trabaja [para él$_{1/*2}$ estudiar].
Pepe works for he study.INF
'Pepe works to study.'

d. Juan$_1$ se fue [para él$_{1/*2}$ ser feliz].
Juan CL.3 left for he.NOM be.INF happy
'Juan left in order to be happy.'

Note finally the contrast between *para*-finality clauses in (29) and controlled complement clauses in (30). We see that combining the pronoun with *mismo* 'same' (which turns it into an overt anaphor, see chapter 6 for extensive discussion) is dispreferred (although not ungrammatical) in *para*-infinitives, but preferred in controlled complement clauses:

grammatical. It is nonetheless interesting to observe that the subjects of the *para*-adjunct (*Rita*) and of the matrix clause (*pro*) are anaphorically linked in (i), just as would be the case in a control configuration. I leave the exploration of these issues for future research.

(29) María$_1$ se fue para ella$_1$?misma ser feliz.
María CL.3 left for she.NOM same be.INF happy
María left in order to be happy

(30) María prometio traer ella ?(misma) las piñatas.
María promised bring.INF she same the piñatas
'María promised to bring she herself the piñatas.'

A similar pattern is observed when *para* combines with the anaphor *sí* 'self'. RAE-ASALE (2009) and Teomiro-García (2010) conclude that *para* characteristically prefers combining with simple pronominal/reflexive forms over complex ones.

(31) Dispuso para sí$_i$ (mismo) / su$_i$ madre$_j$ trono y poder.
disposed3SG for self same / its mother throne and power
'He/she got for him/ her mother throne and power.'

A final (but probably correlated)[15] feature of the subjects of *para*-finality infinitives to point out is the general observation made in the literature that they they tend to surface in preverbal position (cf. Gómez, Duguine, and Demirdache (2023), Pérez Vázquez (2007), and Schulte (2007)).

3.4.4 Interim summary

This section has presented the basic properties of infinitival clauses headed by the prepositions *al*, *sin*, and *para*. We have seen that *al*-infinitives yield at least three interpretations: conditional, temporal, and causal. Likewise, *para*-infinitives yield different interpretations –e.g. finality, consecutiveness, concession, or ponderation. Finally, we have seen that *sin*-infinitives appear to have an (inherently) negative meaning since they yield double negation readings in combination with propositional negation. Interestingly, these three types of infinitival clauses share one common characteristic, which is the possibility of hosting overt subjects. However,

[15]My hunch is that there is a correlation between these two last properties because some speakers have a systematic pattern: postverbal overt pronouns in controlled complement clauses vs. preverbal overt pronouns in *para*-finality clauses. Thanks to Maria Arche for pointing this out to me. Establishing, however, speaker preferences is beyond the scope of this work.

they differ crucially in that they do not all host the same class of overt subjects. While *para*-finality clauses allow overt (anaphorically dependent) pronominal –but not DP–subjects, the other two can host both (referentially free) pronominal and DP subjects. In the following sections, I further study the distributional and interpretive properties of the overt pronominal subject appearing in *para*-finality clauses, compared to that of the null subject it alternates with. Likewise, I will study the properties of the null subjects alternating with DP subjects in both *al* and *sin* infinitive clauses (though only when these clauses appear in final position, as we shall see).

3.5 OC vs. NOC null and overt PRO subjects

The above discussion has focused on the general properties of the three types of infinitival clauses under investigation here. We have seen that they do not uniformly allow the same type of overt subjects and, in particular, that finality *para*-infinitives only allow pronominal subjects, that, moreover, appear to behave like controlled pronouns. The goal of this section is therefore to apply the diagnostic tests for OC/NOC across the three types of non-finite adjunct clauses, in the same systematic way I did in Chapter 2, and thus determine whether the overt pronominal in *para*-adjuncts qualifies as an overt PRO, in the same way as the overt pronominal in controlled complements clauses did (Chapter 2).

We will see that the null subjects of *para* and *al*-infinitives both exhibit a null PRO-like behavior. Similarly, overt pronouns in *para*-finality infinitives exhibit a near –but not quite fully– null PRO-like behavior. In contrast, the null subject of *sin*-infinitives does not exhibit an OC PRO-like behavior at all. Instead, it behaves like a *pro* null subject.

3.5.1 C-command

OC PRO requires to be c-commanded by its antecedent/controller. Let's apply this test to the overt pronominal subject in *para*-finality clauses, as well as to the null subjects of each of these clause types.

(32) *Para-infinitives*

[El hermano de Juan$_2$]$_1$ se fue [para él$_{1/*2}$ / [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ estar feliz].
the brother of Juan CL.3 left for he.NOM be.INF happy
'Juan's brother left (in order for him) to be happy.'

(33) *Al-infinitives*

[El papá de Juan$_2$]$_1$ sería feliz [al [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ dejar la casa].
the dad of Juan be.COND happy in.the leave.INF the house
'Juan's dad would be happy once he left the house.'

(34) *Sin-infinitives*

La editorial publicó [el libro de María$_2$]$_1$ sin [Ø]$_2$ haber
the publishing.house published the book of María without have.INF
terminado las correcciones.
finished the corrections
'The publishing house published María's book without her finishing the corrections.'

As illustrated in (32), overt and covert subjects of *para*-infinitives pattern exactly the same, in that both are required to be c-commanded by the subject of the matrix clause, in this case, the complex DP *el hermano de Juan*. And neither allow a non-c-commanding antecedent such as *Juan*. The null subject of *al*-infinitives also needs to be c-commanded by its matrix antecedent *el papá de Juan* (33). In contrast, the null subject of *sin*-infinitives displays a different pattern: it does not need to be c-commanded by its antecedent, as show in(34), where the null subject refers to the a non-c-commanding DP *María* (embedded inside the DP *el libro de María*).

In other words, while covert and overt subjects in *para*-infinitives, together with the null subject of *al* infinitives, pattern the same in showing properties of OC, the null subject of *sin*-infinitives shows properties of NOC.

3.5.2 Local antecedents

Recall that OC null subjects do not allow long-distance antecedents.

(35) *Para-infinitives*

[Pedro$_2$ sabe [que Juan$_1$ se fue [para él$_{1/*2}$ / [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ estar feliz]]].
Pedro knows that Juan CL.3 left for he.NOM be.INF happy
'Pedro knows that Juan left (in order for him) to be happy.'

(36) *Al-infinitives*

Juan$_2$ sabe que [Pedro$_1$ vendrá [al [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ terminar los estudios]].
Juan knows that Pedro come.FUT.3SG in.the finish.INF the studies
'Juan knows that Pedro will come once he finishes studying.'

(37) *Sin-infinitives*

Juan$_2$ sabe [que se abrieron las puertas [sin [Ø]$_{2/3}$ dar la
Juan knows that CL.3 opened the doors without give.INF the
autorización]].
permission
'Juan knows that doors were opened without him giving permission.'

The example in (35) shows that long-distance antecedents are not allowed either for an overt or a covert subject in *para*-infinitives: only the DP *Juan* located in the immediate higher clause can be a proper antecedent for the embedded subject. The same pattern can be observed in *al*-infinitives, as shown in (36), where the embedded null subject can only take the local antecedent *Pedro*. In contrast, the null subject of *sin*-infinitives do not display such a restriction, as shown in (37), where the antecedent of the null infinitival subject is located two clauses higher.

Again, the null subject of the *sin*-infinitives seems to differ from both the null and overt subject of *para*-clauses, as well as from the null subject of *al*-clauses, by displaying a behavior associated with NOC.

3.5.3 Sloppy/strict readings under ellipsis

Turning now to the interpretative properties of these subjects, let us check ellipsis contexts. Subjects in OC configurations embedded in an elided constituent can only

yield sloppy readings. Let us observe if this is also the case across the three types of infinitival clauses under ellipsis:

(38) *Para-infinitives*

Juan$_1$ se fue [para él$_{1/*2}$ / [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ estar feliz] y María$_2$ también.
Juan CL.3 left for he.NOM be.INF happy and María also
'Juan left to be happy and María did too.'

a. ✓ Sloppy reading *(BVA)*

María left in order for María to be happy.

b. ✗ Strict reading *(Coreference)*

María left in order for Juan to be happy.

(39) *Al-infinitives*

Juan$_1$ sería feliz [al [Ø]$_1$ dejar la casa] y María$_2$ también.
Juan be.INF happy in.the leave.INF the house and María also
'Juan would be happy when leaving the house and María would too.'

a. ✓Sloppy reading *(BVA)*

María will be happy when María leaves the house.

b. ✗Strict reading *(Coreference)*

María will be happy when Juan leaves the house.

(40) *Sin-infinitives*

María$_1$ dejó de trabajar [sin ella$_1$/ [Ø]$_1$ decir nada] y
María stopped of work.INF without she.NOM say.INF nothing and
Rosa$_2$ también.
Rosa too
'María stopped working without her saying anything and Rosa did too.'

a. ✓ Sloppy reading *(BVA)*

And Rosa also stopped working without Rosa saying anything.

b. ✓Strict reading *(Coreference)*

And Rosa also stopped working without María saying anything.

In (38), the second conjunct –in which a *para*-infinitive is elided as part of a larger constituent– can only be read as 'María left in order for María to be happy'.

This tell us that, under ellipsis, overt and covert subjects in *para*-infinitives allow sloppy, but not strict readings (38a) and (38b). The same is true of the null subject of an *al*-infinitive, since it only accepts a sloppy interpretations in the same configuration (39). In contrast, as shown in (40), the null subject of *sin*-infinitives displays both sloppy (40a) and strict (40b) interpretations under ellipsis.[16]

Once again, we conclude that while the interpretation of overt subjects in *para*-infinitives, as well as that of null subjects in both *para* and *al*-infinitives, point to OC, the interpretation of the null subject in *sin*-infinitives point to NOC.

3.5.4 Sloppy/strict readings under association-with-focus

Now let us see how overt and covert subjects behave under the association-with-focus test, where only BV readings are expected to be possible for OC subjects.

(41) *Para-infinitives: null subject*

Sólo María$_1$ hizo trampa [para [Ø]$_1$ ganar el primer lugar].
only María made trap for win.INF the first place
'Only María cheated in order for herself to win the first place.'

a. ✓*BV*

No, Daniela also cheated in order for herself to win.

Daniela (λy (y also cheated in order for y to win)).

b. ✗ *Coreference*

No, Daniela also cheated in order for María to win.

Daniela (λy (y also cheated in order for her to win)).

(her= María)

[16]The judgments for sloppy/strict readings reported in here are taken from an experimental protocol carried out with 36 native speakers of Spanish and using a Truth Value Judgment task. This protocol showed that both *al*-infinitives, and *para*-infinitives were systematically rejected on a strict reading, but accepted on a sloppy reading. *Sin*-infinitives, in contrast accepted both sloppy and strict readings.

(42) *Para-infinitives: overt subject*

Sólo María$_1$ hizo trampa [para ella$_1$ ganar el primer lugar].
only María made trap for she.NOM win.INF the first place
'Only María cheated in order for herself to win the first place.'

a. ✓*BV*

No, Daniela also cheated in order for herself to win.

Daniela (λy (y also cheated in order for y to win)).

b. ✓*Coreference*

No, Daniela also cheated in order for María to win.

Daniela (λy (y also cheated in order for her to win)).

(her= María)

(43) *Al-infinitives*

Sólo Léa$_1$ se cayó [al [Ø]$_1$ subir al tren].
only Léa CL.3 fell.down in.the board.INF in.the train
'Only Léa fell when she was taking the train.'

a. ✓*BV*

No, Karla also fell when she herself was taking the train.

Karla (λx(x also fell when x was taking the train)).

b. ✗*Coreference*

No, Karla also fell when Léa was taking the train.

Karla (λx(x also fell when she was taking the train)).

(she=Léa).

The statements in (41) and (43) with a null subject can only be denied on their BV construal ((41a) and (43a), respectively). This indicates that the null subject of *para* and *al*-infinitives only allow BV readings, as expected in OC configurations. Interestingly however, the statement in (42), with an overt subject in a *para*-infinitive, can be denied either on its BVA (42a) or coreferential construal (42b). The very same pattern is displayed by the null subject of a *sin*-infinitive, since it also yields the two construals ((44a), (44b)).

(44) *Sin-infinitives*

Sólo María$_1$ dejó de trabajar [sin [Ø]$_1$ firmar la autorización].
only María stopped of work.INF without sign.INF the authorization
'Only María stopped working without her authorizing signature.'

a. ✓*BVA*

No, Daniela also stopped working without her own signed authorization.

Daniela (λx(x stopped working without x's signed authorization)).

b. ✓*Coreference*

No, Daniela also stopped working without María's signed authorization. (In a context where María was the only person that could sign the authorization).

Daniela (λy(y stopped working without her authorization)).

(her=María).

As was the case with the previous tests, null subjects of *para* and *al*-infinitives display the pattern expected under OC, while that of *sin*-clauses show properties of NOC. Now, what is striking with the results obtained here is that the overt pronominal of a *para*-infinitive patterns with the null subject of a *sin*-infinitive (44), rather than with its null counterpart (in a *para*-infinitive, (41)).

3.5.5 Interim summary

Recall that the goal of this section was to ascertain whether or not the null subject of the three clause types under investigation here behaves like null OC PRO, and whether or not the overt pronoun in *para*-infinitives behaves like an overt PRO. The results obtained from applying the diagnostic OC/NOC tests are summarized in table 3.1.

A complex picture emerges from these results. First, these infinitival clauses divide up into three classes. The first class, instantiated by *al*-infinitives, displays

	Null subject			Overt PRO
	Para-infinitives	Al-infinitives	Sin-infinitives	Para-infinitives
Obligatory c-command	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Long-distance antecedents	No	No	Yes	No
Sloppy reading under ellipsis	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strict reading under ellipsis	No	No	Yes	No
Sloppy reading under association with-focus-test	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strict reading under association with-focus-test	No	No	Yes	Yes

Table 3.1: Null and overt subjects in infinitival adjunct clauses.

OC properties with null subjects, while allowing for free overt subjects. The second class, instantiated by *sin*-infinitives, displays the properties of NOC, systematically allowing for referentially free subjects —be they silent or lexical. And the third class, instantiated by *para*-finality infinitives, exhibits the properties of OC fully with null PRO, but not with overt PRO. Regarding *para*-infinitives, an interesting contrast emerges. On the one hand, null PRO displays all the characteristic properties of OC, since it must be locally c-commanded by its antecedent, and it only yields BV readings under the ellipsis and association-with-focus tests. On the other hand, overt PRO displays most, but not all the characteristics of OC. It must be locally c-commanded by its antecedent, and it only yields BV readings under the ellipsis test. Crucially, however, it yields both coreference and BV readings under the association-with-focus-test, patterning this time like a non-obligatorily controlled subject.

3.6 Extending the Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox

This chapter has shown that the distribution and interpretation of subjects across infinitival clauses is not uniform with respect to the following parameters: silence/overtness of the subject, availability of BV/sloppy vs. coreferential/strict construals, locality and c-command.

I have put special attention on *para*-finality clauses, showing that their null –

as well as overt– subjects display the properties of OC. I therefore conclude that *para*-infinitives, host null –as well as overt– PRO subjects. It is true that there is an asymmetry revealed by overt PRO in contexts of association-with-focus, but this result should not really surprise us. We saw in Chapter 2 that this is precisely how null and overt PRO pattern in complement clauses. Table 3.2, which groups together the results from Chapter 2 with those of adjunct clauses, shows this parallelism.

		Null PRO		Overt PRO	
		Para-infinitives	Complements	*Para*-infinitives	Complements
BV	Ellipsis test	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Association with-focus-test	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Coreference	Ellipsis test	No	No	No	No
	Association with-focus-test	No	No	Yes	Yes

Table 3.2: Asymmetrical properties of null vs. overt PRO in *para*-infinitives and complement clauses.

This tables shows us that in both types of infinitival (complements and *para*-finality) clauses, null and overt PRO only yield sloppy readings in contexts of ellipsis and association-with-focus, while overt PRO also yields strict/-coreferential readings, but solely under association with *only*.

The results obtained here thus nicely strengthen our conclusions from Chapter 2, showing that the interpretive asymmetry, observed across all types of OC configurations investigated so far (subject and object control into complements, subject control into *para*-finality clauses), is very robust. We conclude that the Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox put forth in Chapter 2 (and repeated below) raises questions for which any suitable approach to control should provide an explanation.

(45) **Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox**

(i) Both null and overt PRO only allow BV interpretations under the ellipsis test.

(ii) Overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allows coreferential interpretations

under the association-with-focus test.

Why do null PRO and overt PRO pattern differently (yield conflicting results) with respect to the two standard tests for pronominal interpretation? In particular, why does overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allow coreference interpretations, and why so only under the association-with-focus test, but not under the ellipsis test?

We will address these questions over the next chapters.

Chapter 4

Semantically but not syntactically exempt

4.1 Introduction

The study of the distribution and the interpretation of null and overt PRO subjects in complement clauses in Chapter 2 and *para*-finality clauses in Chapter 3 has uncovered a striking parallelism between both types of clauses with respect to the following observations: (i) they clearly characterize as OC constructions with both null and overt subjects, (ii) just like complement clauses (see Chapter 2), *para*-finality adjunct clauses also allow overt PRO subjects (See Chapter 3.1.5). These OC constructions display a double asymmetry: strict/coreferential interpretations are available with overt PRO, but not with null PRO, and this interpretative ambiguity with overt PRO arises under association-with-focus, but not under ellipsis, as stated in the *Overt vs. Covert PRO Paradox*.

The goal of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, I ask whether object control in *para*-finality adjuncts allows for object OC of overt PRO. We devote a new chapter to this question for the following reason. OC in adjunct clauses is less likely to hold to the extent that adjunct clauses adjoin higher than the (goal) object (and, hence, out of the latter's c-command domain), and for this reason are little discussed in

the literature. We have, however, specifically argued that *para*-finality have the status of complements and, as such, adjoin low in the VP. We will see that object control does indeed generalize to *para*-finality clauses and, moreover, that null and overt PRO exhibit the same conflicting pattern of interpretations with respect to our interpretive tests in these configurations.

Secondly, I suggest an explanation for the *Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox*. I show that the asymmetrical patterns described under this paradox follow naturally from what I will call the Anaphor Generalizations stated in (1):

(1) *The Anaphor Generalizations:*

(i) Both null and overt anaphors need to be syntactically bound.

(ii) Overt anaphors *can* be semantically bound, null anaphors *must* be semantically bound.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 4.2 establishes the availability of object control in *para*-finality clauses, and then investigates the interpretative contrast between overt and null PRO in *para*-finality clauses in these configurations. Section 4.3 accounts for the *Overt vs. Covert PRO Paradox* with *The Anaphor Generalizations*.

4.2 Generalizing the paradox across object control

In this section, I will show that object control into *para*-finality clauses is possible, and crucially, that the interpretive asymmetry observed in subject control is also observed in this configuration. This will lead me to conclude that the *Overt vs. Covert PRO Paradox* is a pervasive and systematic feature of OC.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the overt PRO subject of complement infinitives can surface in both subject control (2) and object control configurations (3). This is not unexpected under the assumption that overt PRO is the overtly realized counterpart of PRO.

(2) Julia$_1$ prometió a Marta$_2$ [encargarse ella$_{1/*2}$ del asunto].
Julia promised to Marta take.care.INF she of.the matter
'Julia promised to Marta that she would deal with the matter.'

(3) Julia$_1$ animó a Marta$_2$ [a encargarse ella$_{*1/2}$ del asunto].
Julia encouraged to Marta to take.care.INF she of.the matter
'Julia encouraged Marta to deal with the matter.'

(adapted from Piera (1987, p. 161) [my glossing])

Chapter 3 (Section 3.6) then provided a systematic investigation of the properties of null and overt PRO subjects in *para*-finality clauses. We saw that the syntactic properties of both null and overt PRO –locality and c-command– converge in signaling OC. In turn, we observed an asymmetry in their interpretative properties: while null PRO can only yield sloppy/BV readings under ellipsis, as well as under the scope of focus particles, overt PRO can be ambiguously interpreted under both sloppy/BV and strict/coreference readings under the scope of focus particles, –but not under ellipsis.

The study of *para*-infinitives in Chapter 3 was limited to subject control. This configuration, as we showed, displays the very same properties as subject and object control in complement infinitives, which suggests that it is a genuine complement-like OC infinitive.[1] However, it is relevant to ask how *para*-infinitives pattern with respect to object control, even more so if we want to draw a strong connection with OC complements. With this goal, below, I establish object control into *para*-infinitives as being possible, and I show that null and overt PRO in this configuration behave exactly as in the OC constructions explored in earlier chapters, in displaying the same interpretive asymmetry.

[1]Hernanz (1999) noted that infinitives introduced by *para*-finality cannot be syntactically compared to complement clauses (See footnote (8) in Chapter 3). One of her arguments is that object control is not available with this type of clause, which turns to be incorrect, as will shortly see. Paradoxically, she noted (without providing any test) that subject control is possible with this type of clauses, therefore they are comparable to complements.

4.2.1 Object control into *para*-finality clauses

Object control in *para*- finality clauses is especially relevant given the fact that adjunct clauses are less likely to allow object control since, most of the time, they are assumed to adjoin in higher positions in the structure, from where they will escape c-command and thus control by the object (cf. Bianchi (1997)). But as discussed in Chapter 3, *para*-finality clauses do not pattern with standard, prototypical adjunct clauses, but instead selected like complement clauses.

We saw for instance that they are obligatorily selected by matrix predicates such as *servir* 'serve' (e.g. (4a), and display a matching requirement between the relativized and focused constituents when transformed into a pseudo-cleft (e.g. (4b)) –properties which aligns them with complements rather than with adjuncts:

(4) a. Este actor no servirá *([para interpretar el papel]).
This actor no serve.FUT for interpret.INF the paper
'This actor is not good to play the role.'

b. *(Para) lo que vinieron fue *(para) recoger el dinero.
for DET.NEUT that came.3PL was for collect.INF the money
'The reason they came was to collect the money.'

Now, the following examples shows that *para*-finality clauses indeed pattern with complements in allowing object control, and that furthermore object control is not restricted to null PRO in such cases, but is also possible with overt pronouns.

(5) Lo_1 animó [para $\text{PRO}_{1/*2}$ / $\text{él}_{1/*2}$ levantar el puntaje].
CL.3M encouraged for he raise.INF the score
'She/he encourage him in order to get a better score.'

(my glossing, adapted from RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 4282))

(6) le_1 presté el coche [para $\text{PRO}_{1/*1}$ / $\text{él}_{1/*2}$ venir a buscarme].
CL.3SG lend the car for he come.INF to search.INF.CL.1SG
'I lend him/her the car to came and pick me up.'

(My glossing, adapted from Pérez Vázquez (2007, p. 216))

In these examples, null PRO and the overt pronouns are controlled by the object clitic in the matrix clause. But since object clitics typically surface in positions

higher than object DPs, we might ask ourselves whether we are dealing with true object OC configurations, or whether it is merely that object clitics, unlike object DPs, surface in positions from where they c-command *para*-adjuncts.[2] But as illustrated in (7) and (8), object control is also possible from the base object position:

(7) Daniel$_j$ entrenó a Teo$_i$ [para [Ø]$_{i/*k}$ / él$_{i/*k}$ poder entrar a un buen club de fútbol].
Daniel trained to Teo for / he can.INF enter.INF to a good club of football
'Daniel trained Teo in order for him (Teo) to be accepted in a good football club.'

(8) La profesora$_k$ animó a Daniela$_i$ [para élla$_{i/*k}$ subir el puntaje].
The teacher encouraged to Daniela for she.NOM raise.INF the score
'The teacher encouraged Daniela in order for her (Daniela) to get a better score.'

The availability of object control here further confirms the complement-like status of *para*-finality clauses in that they must attach sufficiently low in the VP to allow for the matrix object to c-command into the *para* infinitive clause).[3]

4.2.2 Null and overt PRO under object control

The question now is to what extent does the parallel between *para*-finality and complement clauses hold across object control configurations. But also, do we find the same asymmetries in the semantic properties of null vs. overt subjects as those we observed in subject control within *para*-finality clauses. To answer these questions, I will use the same methodology as before, applying to both null and overt PRO the diagnostic tests that distinguish OC from NOC.

As we will see, null subjects in object control contexts exhibit a null PRO-like behavior as expected. Overt pronouns, on the other hand, exhibit a near–but not fully–null PRO-like behavior.

[2] VanDyne (2023) for instance argues that clitics in temporal adjuncts are object controllers, while the equivalent structure with an object DP does not allow OC.

[3] Chapter 6.8 will return to the question of the attachment site of *para*-finality clauses.

Let's start with the c-command test. As illustrated in (9), a non-c-commanding DP cannot be a proper antecedent for either null PRO or an overt pronoun in *para*-finality clauses. C-command by the matrix object antecedent *el hermano de Leo* is required for both.

(9) Daniel$_2$ entrenó al [hermano de Leo$_3$]$_1$ [para [Ø]$_{1/*3/*2}$ / él$_{1/*3/*2}$ poder
Daniel trained to.the brother of Leo for / he can.INF
entrar a un buen club de fútbol].
enter.INF to a good club of football
'Daniel trained Leo's brother (in order for him) to be accepted in a good football club.'

Similarly, non-local controllers are ruled out for both null and overt pronouns. As shown in (10), the controllee in the infinitival clause can only refer back to the object argument *Daniel* in the immediately dominating clause:

(10) Ana$_2$ obligó a Pedro$_3$ a que convenciera al coach$_4$ de que
Ana forced to Pedro to that persuade.SUBJ.PAST to.the coach of that
entrenara a Daniel$_1$ para [Ø]$_{1/*2/*3/*4}$ / él$_{1/*2/*3/*4}$ ser el mejor
train.SUBJ.PAST to Daniel for / he be..INF the best
jugador del equipo.
player of.the team
'Ana forced Pedro to persuaded the coach to train Daniel so that he can be the best team player.'

By the same token, split antecedents are ruled out too, be it with null or overt pronouns as illustrated in (11):

(11) *El coach$_2$ entrenó a Carlos$_1$ para [Ø]$_{1+2}$ / ellos$_{1+2}$ (juntos) hablar frente
the coach trained to Carlos for / they (together) talk front
al espejo.
to.the mirror
'The coach trained Carlos in order for them to talk together in front of the mirror.'

Let us turn now to the ellipsis test. As shown in (12), the subject contained in the elided constituent within the second conjunct can only be interpreted under a sloppy/BV reading, as indicated in (12i).

(12) Juan Carlos$_2$ entrenó a Camilo$_1$ para [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ / [él]$_{1/*2}$ pasar el examen
Juan Carlos trained to Camilo for / he pass.INF the exam
y Estela a Tatiana.
and Estela to Tatiana
'Juan Carlos trained Camilo to pass the exam and Estela to Tatiana.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

Estela train Tatiana to pass the exam.

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

Estela train Tatiana so that Camilo passes the exam.

Concerning the association-with-focus-test, recall that across all the control configurations under scrutiny here, a contrast between null PRO and the overt pronoun emerged under this test. To be more specific, while null PRO exhibited unambiguous sloppy/BV interpretations, overt PRO allowed both sloppy/BV and strict/coreferential interpretations. Here too, the results display the same asymmetry, as shown with the paradigm below.

Thus, while the statement in (13) with a null PRO can only be denied on its BVA construal (13i), the statement with an overt pronoun (14) can be denied on its coreferential construal (14i), besides its BVA construal (14ii).

(13) El profesor$_2$ entrenó sólo a Juan$_1$ para [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ ganar el concurso.
the teacher trained only to Juan for win.INF the competition
'The teacher trained only Juan to win the competition.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Daniel (λy (y is also trained in order for y to win the competition)).

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

No, Daniel (λy (y is also trained in order for him to win the competition).

(him= Juan)

(14) El profesor$_2$ entrenó sólo a Juan$_1$ para [él]$_{1/*2}$ ganar el concurso.
The teacher trained only to Juan for he win.INF the competition
'The teacher trained only Juan to win the competition.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Daniel (λy (y is trained in order for y to win the competition)).

(ii) ✓Strict reading (coreference):

No, Daniel (λy (y is also trained in order for him to win the competition).

(him= Juan)

Recall that the same pattern of interpretation was found in subject control configurations (Chapter 2.3.6 and Chapter 3.5.4). We concluded at that time that the availability of strict readings with these overt subject pronouns was surprising in so far as we are dealing with OC. We have now shown that this surprising pattern is systematically found across subject/object control configurations, be it with complement clauses, or now with *para*-finality clauses.

4.2.3 Interim summary

The findings we have obtained here with object control configuration in the *para*-finality clauses nicely confirm our preliminary conclusions with respect to the syntactic and semantic asymmetries between null and overt PRO.

That is, the syntactic properties (c-command and locality) remain stable for both null and overt PRO regardless of the type of clause (complement or *para*-finality) and the type of control (subject or object). The interpretative properties, on the contrary, seem to be sensitive to (i) the phonological form of PRO, since only null PRO must be sloppily interpreted, whereas overt PRO can be both strictly and sloppily interpreted. And (ii) to the type of test, since overt PRO can yield ambiguous interpretations under the scope of focus particles, but not in elliptical contexts. These findings are summarized in table 4.1.

The aforementioned asymmetries are stated as the paradox in (15):

(15) **Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox**

		Null PRO		Overt PRO	
		Para-infinitives	Complements	*Para*-infinitives	Complements
BV	Ellipsis test	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Association with-focus-test	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Coreference	Ellipsis test	No	No	No	No
	Association with-focus-test	No	No	Yes	Yes

Table 4.1: Asymmetrical properties of null vs. overt PRO in *para*-finality and complement clauses across subject and object control configurations.

(i) Both null and overt PRO only allow BV interpretations under the ellipsis test.

(ii) Overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allows coreferential interpretations under the association-with-focus test.

Why do null PRO and overt PRO pattern differently (yield conflicting results) with respect to the two standard tests for pronominal interpretation? In particular, why does overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allow coreference interpretations, and why so only under the association-with-focus test, but not under the ellipsis test?

4.3 The Anaphor Generalizations

I will now argue that the solution to the Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox lies in interaction of the binding requirements holding of null vs. overt anaphors, as stated below.

(16) ***The Anaphor Generalizations:***

(i) Both null and overt anaphors need to be syntactically bound.

(ii) Overt anaphors can be semantically bound, null anaphors *must* be semantically bound.

4.3.1 Syntactic *vs*. semantic binding

The above Anaphor Generalizations appeal to the distinction between syntactic vs. semantic binding, as advocated, for instance, by Büring (2005) and Heim and Kratzer (1998).

(17) Daniel$_1$ says that Mary likes him$_1$

The standard syntactic definition of binding is given in (18). By this definition, the pronoun in (17) is syntactically bound, since it is co-indexed and c-commanded by the subject DP *Daniel*.

(18) *Syntactic Binding*

α syntactically binds β iff:

a. α and β are co-indexed

b. α c-commands β

We must, however, distinguish *syntactic binding* from *semantic binding*, since the anaphoric relation that syntactic binding in (17) expresses can be interpreted as either coreference, or semantic/variable binding.

Semantically, pronouns are assumed to be interpreted as variables denoting individuals of type *e*, that can be free or bound at LF. [4] In the former case, the referential value of the variable is determined by means of an assignment function (*g*).

(19) a. $[\![\text{him}]\!]^g = g(1)$

[4] We do not distinguish at this stage non-reflexive and reflexive pronouns, assuming here that they are semantically identical, being interpreted as individual variables. They are, however, subject to distinct syntactic constraints, as instantiated by the standard Binding Conditions (condition A for anaphors/reflexives, Condition B for pronouns Chomsky (1981)). In Chapter 6.3.3, we assume an alternative approach to reflexives (cf. McKillen (2016), Reinhart and Reuland (1993), and Sauerland (2013)) decomposing them into two components: a pronoun, e.g. *her* combining with SELF, denoting (on Sauerland's implementation) a partial identity function combining with two place predicate without changing its semantic type, but adding the requirement that its arguments be identical.

b. g(1) → Daniel

A free pronoun refers to whichever individual the assignment function maps its index. In (19), the assignment function maps the index 1 on the pronoun to the individual *Daniel*. Since this is the same individual that the subject DP *Daniel* in (17) denotes, the pronoun *him* is interpreted as a free variable coreferring with the DP *Daniel*.

Now syntactic binding in (17) can also be interpreted as expressing bound variable anaphora, in which case its LF derivation will proceed as follows. A λ-binder must be introduced into the derivation. This is achieved via movement: raising of the subject DP from its VP internal position to Spec TP triggers insertion of a λ-binder adjoined to the sister constituent of the raised DP, as shown in (20). The inserted λ-operator thus binds not only the trace of the raised DP, but also any other variable that falls under its scope, bearing the same index (here *him*$_1$), as shown in (20), which is the LF for the bound variable construal of the pronoun.

(20) *Semantic binding*

[$_{\text{TP}}$ Daniel$_1$ λ_1[$_{\text{VP}}$ t$_1$ [says that Mary likes him$_1$]]]

The formal definition of semantic binding is given in (21). By this definition, the pronoun in the LF in (20) is semantically bound since it is variable, it is syntactically bound by a λ-operator, and there is no closer c-commanding λ-operator with which it is co-indexed.

(21) *Semantic Binding*

α semantically binds β if and only if:

a. α is variable binder

b. β is variable

c. α syntactically binds β

d. α does not c-command any other variable binder occurrence which also c-commands and is co-indexed with β

Now, let us go back to go back to the coreferential reading of the pronoun. How do we represent this reading at LF? The corresponding derivation is given in (22). We crucially follow Büring (2005, p. 109) in assuming that with full referring DPs, the index on the raised DP is allowed to be different from the index on λ-binder, as shown in (22).[5]

(22) *Coreference*

$[_{TP}$ Daniel$_2$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [says that Mary likes him$_2$]]]

Note importantly that by the definition of syntactic and semantic binding given in (18) and (21), respectively, the pronoun in (22) is syntactically bound by the subject DP *Daniel* (since it is coindexed and c-commanded by the latter), but not semantically bound (since it is not bound by the λ-binder in (22). That is to say, the pronoun in (22) is a free variable coreferential with the subject DP Daniel.

4.3.2 Applying the Anaphor Generalizations

Having defined the notions of syntactic and semantic binding, we are now in the position of showing how the Anaphor Generalizations operate with null and overt PRO.[6] As stated, (13) requires null anaphoric expressions such as PRO to be both syntactically and semantically bound, while only enforcing syntactic binding for overt anaphors.

[5]A point of clarification concerning the status of indices on full referring DPs (proper names and definites). Heim and Kratzer (1998) assume that all DPs can be indexed in theory, although an index on a full referring DP is semantically vacuous (the latter having a unique meaning relative to a given context/utterance situation). We follow here Büring in assuming that full referring DPs are indexed and, also, in allowing the indices on λ-prefixes to no longer correspond to indices on DPs. As Büring (2005, p. 111) himself explains, this is similar to Heim's (1993) double indexing approach, where DPs bear two indices: an *inner* index corresponding to the referential index on the referring DP, and an *outer* index corresponding to the binding index on the λ-operator.

[6]For simplicity, I will only use subject control configurations to illustrate how the Anaphor Generalizations work.

Consider first the elliptical context from Chapter 2.2.2.6 (with complements) and 3.5.3 (with *para*-finality clauses) repeated in (23) and (24) respectively. Recall that both overt and null PRO allow sloppy, but not strict interpretations under ellipsis:

(23) Ana prefiere comprar [Ø] /ella los disfraces y Carla también.
Ana prefers buy.INF she the costumes and Carla also
'Ana prefers to buy herself the costumes and Carla did too.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

Carla prefers she herself to buy the costumes.

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

Carla prefers that Ana buys the costumes.

(24) Juan se fue [para [Ø]/ él estar feliz] y María también.
Juan CL.3 left for he be.INF happy and María also
'Juan left in order for him to be happy and María did too.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

María left in order (for herself) to be happy.

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

María left in order for Juan to be happy.

The syntactic binding requirement in (13i) straightforwardly accounts for this contrast. As shown in (25), the sloppy reading of the elided infinitival clause satisfies syntactic binding since, be it null or overt, PRO in the second conjunct is bound by its matrix c-commanding subject.

(25) Sloppy reading (ellipsis test).

a. Ana_1 prefiere [comprar ella_1/$[\text{Ø}]_1$ los disfraces] y Carla_2 también prefiere [comprar ella_2/$[\text{Ø}]_2$ los disfraces].

'Ana prefers to buy herself the costumes and Carla also prefers to buy herself the costumes.'

b. Juan$_1$ se fue [para él$_1$/[Ø]$_1$ estar feliz] y María$_2$ también se fue [para ella$_2$/[Ø]$_2$ estar feliz].

'Juan left in order for himself to be happy and María also left in order for herself to be happy.'

In contrast, the strict (coreferential) reading of the elided infinitival clause would necessarily involve a configuration where the overt/null PRO in the second conjunct would have to be bound by its antecedent, the matrix subject in the first conjunct (*Ana*). Since, however, *Ana* is embedded in the first conjunct and, as such, does not c-command into the second conjunct, PRO in the second conjunct is free, as shown in (26). The syntactic binding requirement in (13i) is violated, thus automatically ruling out the intended strict reading.

(26) Unavailable strict reading (ellipsis test).

a. *Ana$_1$ prefiere [comprar ella$_1$/[Ø]$_1$ los disfraces] y Carla$_2$ también prefiere [comprar ella$_1$/[Ø]$_1$ los disfraces].

'Ana prefers to buy herself the costumes and Carla also prefers to buy herself the costumes.'

b. *Juan$_1$ se fue [para él$_1$/[Ø]$_1$ estar feliz] y María$_2$ también se fue [para él$_1$/[Ø]$_1$ estar feliz].

'Juan left in order for himself to be happy and María also left in order for Juan to be happy.

Turning to the paradigms for the association-with-focus test, repeated below as (27) and (28), which showed that the overtness of PRO matters for the licensing of the coreference interpretation. While the BV reading obtains with both null and overt PRO, the coreferential reading only obtains with overt PRO:

(27) *Complement clauses with null PRO*

a. Sólo Eduard prometió [[Ø] hacer la cena].
only Eduard promised make.INF the dinner
'Only Eduard promised to prepare the dinner.'

(i) ✓ Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Daniel also promised to prepare himself the dinner.

$[_{TP}$ Daniel$_1$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [promised PRO$_1$ to prepare the dinner]]]

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

No, Daniel also promised that Eduard would prepare the dinner

$[_{TP}$ Daniel$_2$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [promised PRO$_2$ to prepare the dinner]]]

Para-finality clauses with null PRO

b. Sólo María hizo trampa [para [Ø] ganar el primer lugar].
only María made trap for win.INF the first place
'Only María cheated to win first place.'

(i) ✓ Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Daniela also cheated in order for herself to win.

$[_{TP}$ Daniela$_1$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [cheated in order for PRO$_1$ to win the first place]]]

(ii) ✗ Strict reading (coreference):

No, Daniela also cheated in order for María to win.

$[_{TP}$ Daniela$_2$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [cheated in order for PRO$_2$ to win the first place]]]

(28) *Complement clauses with overt PRO*

a. Sólo Eduard prometió [hacer él la cena].
only Eduard promised make.INF he the dinner
'Only Eduard promised to prepare himself the dinner.'

(i) ✓ Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Daniel also promised to prepare himself the dinner.

$[_{TP}$ Daniel$_1$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [promised that he$_1$ would prepare the dinner]]]

(ii) ✓ Strict reading (coreference):

No, Daniel also promised that Eduard would prepare the dinner

$[_{TP}$ Daniel$_2$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [promised that he$_2$ would prepare the dinner]]]

Para-finality clauses with overt PRO

b. Sólo María hizo trampa [para ella ganar el primer lugar].
only María made trap for she win.INF the first place
'Only María cheated in order for herself to win first place.'

(i) ✓ Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Daniela also cheated in order for herself to win.

$[_{TP}$ Daniela$_1$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [cheated in order for her$_1$ to win the first place]]]

(ii) ✓ Strict reading (coreference):

No, Daniela also cheated in order for María to win.

$[_{TP}$ Daniela$_2$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [cheated in order for her$_2$ to win the first place]]]

Under the association-with-focus test, all the configurations giving rise to the two alternative readings available for overt/null PRO satisfy the syntactic binding condition in (13i). Thus, consider in particular (27aii) or (9bii): in both these configurations, null PRO is co-indexed and c-commanded by *Daniel(a)*, therefore satisfying the syntactic binding requirement on anaphors. The latter is thus not what filters out the coreference reading with null PRO. Rather, (13ii) is the condition that explains why null and overt PRO do not allow identical interpretations in such contexts. Given (13ii), null PRO, unlike its overt counterpart, must be semantically bound, and thus obligatorily interpreted as a BV, be it in complement or adjunct control infinitives. This is not the case in neither (27aii) or (9bii), since the λ-binder and PRO do not share the same index.

That overt PRO, on the other hand, need not be semantically bound, explains why overt PRO in (28a) and (28b), unlike null PRO in (27a) and (9b), allows the coreferential construal where the embedded pronoun in (28aii) and (28bii) is not semantically bound by the λ-binder, in addition to the BV construal.

4.3.3 The Anaphor Generalizations with SELF-anaphors

We now suggest that the pattern of interpretation characterizing overt PRO reflects a more general property of overt anaphors. As illustrated with the paradigm in (29) from Sportiche (2014), a similar pattern characterizes overt SELF-anaphors, which is as expected under the Anaphor Generalizations in (13):

(29) a. Only Peter shaves himself.

b. Seul Pierre se rase.
only Pierre SELF shave
'Only Pierre shaves himself.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

$[_{TP}$ Only Peter$_1$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [shaves himself$_1$]]]

(ii) ✓Strict reading (coreference):

$[_{TP}$ Only Peter$_2$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [shaves himself$_2$]]]

Just as was the case with overt PRO, overt anaphors allow a coreferential reading under the association-with-focus test in (29), as expected since the configuration yielding this reading satisfies the Anaphor Generalizations (13i) (the SELF-anaphor is syntactically bound, and need not be semantically bound).

As it is well known, however, *shave* also has an inherently reflexive (unergative) use. As we can see in (30) and (31), when the verb appears with no overt reflexive marking, the sloppy/BV reading is enforced under the association-with-focus test, just as it is under the ellipsis test:

(30) John shaves and Daniel does too.

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

$[_{TP}$ Daniel$_1$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [shaves himself$_1$]]]

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

$[_{TP}$ Daniel$_2$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t_1 [shaves himself$_2$]]]

(31) Only John shaves.

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

$[_{TP}$ Only John$_1$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t$_1$ [shaves himself$_1$]]]

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

$[_{TP}$ Only John$_2$ $\lambda_1[_{VP}$ t$_1$ [shaves himself$_2$]]]

This sharp contrast between predicates overtly marked as reflexive by a SELF-anaphor vs. predicates inherently (that is, lexically) marked as reflexive fits very nicely with the Anaphor Generalizations in (13). On its unergative, inherently reflexive use, *shave* is marked in the lexicon as having a reflexive meaning (i.e. λx(x shave x)) —that is, as having its two co-arguments semantically bound by the same λ-operator. Since semantic binding is enforced by the lexical meaning of the predicate, it follows that (31) will only allow the sloppy/BV construal. On its transitive reflexive meaning, however, *shave* takes as internal argument an overt SELF-anaphor. Since the latter can but need not be semantically bound, it follows that (29) allows both the sloppy/BV and strict/coreferential construals.[7]

[7]The relevant observation here is the contrast pointed out by Alexiadou and Florian (2014) with comparatives with inherently reflexivized verbs. That is to say, while comparatives with overt SELF-anaphors (e.g. *John washes himself more than George*) allow both the sloppy (e.g.*John washes himself more than George washes himself*) or the strict (e.g. *John washes himself more than George washes John*) reading, comparatives with the corresponding inherently reflexive verb (e.g. *John washes more than George*), only allow the sloppy reading, as expected.

Chapter 5

Strict and *de-re* construals

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, we have shown important differences between null and overt PRO. In particular, overt PRO can be interpreted either as a bound variable or can be coreferential with its NP antecedent. Crucially, these interpretations obtain under the scope of *only* focus particles, but not under ellipsis. These asymmetries are stated as the paradox put forth in (1).

(1) **Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox**

(i) Both null and overt PRO only allow BV interpretations under the ellipsis test.

(ii) Overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allows coreferential interpretations under the association-with-focus test.

Why do null PRO and overt PRO pattern differently (yield conflicting results) with respect to the two standard tests for pronominal interpretation? In particular, why does overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allow coreference interpretations, and why so only under the association-with-focus test, but not under the ellipsis test?

In this chapter, we will uncover a new interpretative asymmetry which expands

the scope of the above paradox. We will show, in particular, that while null PRO can only be construed under a *de-se* reading, overt PRO can be construed not only under a *de-se*, but also a *de-re*, reading. Again, this ambiguity will only arise under association with focus, not under ellipsis. We will argue that these striking interpretative differences between null and overt PRO should be tied to the presence of ϕ-features on the latter.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. Section 2 establishes the availability of *de-re* readings under association with the focus particle *only*, but not ellipsis. Sections 3 asks whether or not association with *only* further impacts other properties, be it of overt or null PRO. A summary of the main points of the aforementioned sections is provided in Section 4. Then section 5 discusses the interaction between ϕ-feature specification and strict/coreferential readings. Finally, section 6 concludes this chapter.

5.2 Overt but not null PRO allows *de-re* readings

In this section, we will go a step further and extend the paradox in (1) beyond the sloppy/strict distinction to another fundamental property that distinguishes null PRO from overt PRO –namely, the availability of *de-re* construals. The interpretative properties of null PRO and overt PRO coincide yet again under ellipsis –in being unambiguously construed *de-se*.

5.2.1 *De-re* construals under the scope of *only*

A fundamental property of control is that OC complement clauses with null PRO subjects are unambiguously interpreted *de-se* (see Chierchia 1989; Heim 2005; Hornstein 1999; Lechner 2019; Pearson 2022; Potsdam and Haddad 2017; Sichel 2010 a.o).

Now what about overt PRO? The generalization in the literature appears to

be that OC overt PRO, just like OC null PRO, can only be construed *de-se* (Allotey (2021), Barbosa (2018), Duguine (2013), Herbeck (2015), Livitz (2014), Park (2018b), Satik (2021), and Szabolcsi (2009)), as illustrated with the paradigm in (2)-(3).

(2) Juan y sus amigos corrieron una maratón, y tres de ellos acabaron casi al mismo tiempo, aunque Juan cruzó primero la línea de llegada. En el periódico local, aparece la foto del ganador, pero el brillo del sol impide saber su verdadera identidad. Juan ve la foto, y sin reconocerse, dice: "Este es el ganador."

'John and his friends ran a marathon and three of them finished almost at the same time, even though John crossed the finishing line first. In the local newspaper, there is a photo of the winner, but the glow of the sun impedes knowing his real identity. John sees the photo, and without recognizing himself, he says: "That's the winner"'

(Camacho (2011, p. 3))[1]

The context in (2) induces a *de-re* reading. Since it is incompatible with the examples in (3a) and (3b), the conclusion is that overt PRO, just like null PRO, can only be read *de-se*.

(3) a. #Juan espera obtener [Ø] una medalla.

b. #Juan espera obtener él una medalla.
Juan hopes obtain.INF he one medal
'Juan hopes to obtain the medal.'

It is indeed true that *él* in (3b) only allows a *de-se* interpretation. However as we shall show, in contexts involving quantification over focus alternatives, the *de-re* reading becomes available. A similar observation is also found in Pearson (2022) concerning logophoric pronouns: she argues that, contrary to the standard view, the latter yield *de-re* readings (illustrated in association with focus contexts) in the

[1]The context comes from Camacho (2011)) and the translation from Herbeck (2015).

Niger-Congo language Ewe.[2] In fact, as we will later see in section 5.2.2, she takes the mere availability of strict/coreferential readings (under association with focus) evidence of itself that logophoric pronouns allow *de-re* construals.

Turning to overt PRO subjects, we know that association with focus contexts licence strict/coreferential readings. Let's now set up a context involving focus alternatives interpretations triggered by the focus sensitive operator *only* and try to see if such contexts licence *de-re* readings. As we will shortly see, this is indeed the case.

Consider the following context:

(4) Dos candidatos para las elecciones deciden tomarse unos buenos vinos y ver los discursos de todos los canditados por television. Como ya estan muy borrachos, ninguno de los dos se reconoce a sí mismo en el programa. Juan, quien es depresivo, piensa "quiero perder", pero impresionado por el discurso de uno de los candidatos que finalmente resulta ser su propio discurso, dice "quiero que ese candidato" gane. Pedro, por su parte, quien también es depresivo, piensa "quiero que Juan gane."

'Two Drunk election candidates are watching campaign speeches on TV, and do not recognize themselves in the broadcast. Juan, who is depressive, thinks "I'll lose", but impressed by the speech that happens to be his own and is sure that "that candidate" will win. Pedro, who is depressive, believes "Juan will win."'

(adapted from Patel-Grosz (2020, p. 7))

The test sentence in (5a) below with a null PRO is unacceptable in the context provided in (4) since it induces a *de-re* reading. Surprisingly, however, if we replace the null PRO in (5a) with an overt PRO as in (5b), it becomes acceptable. This

[2]Moreover, as Pearson herself emphasizes, obtaining *de-re* judgements is a not an easy task since mistaken scenarios are not very common and, in general, they induce a bias in favor of *de-se* over *de-re* readings.

contrast tells us that overt PRO can actually be construed under a *de-re* reading just as its finite counterpart in (5c) can, when its antecedent is associated with *only*.

(5) a. #Sólo Juan quiere [Ø] ganar.
only Juan wants win.INF
'Only Juan wants to win.'

b. Sólo Juan quiere ganar él.

c. Sólo Juan quiere que él gane.
only Juan wants that he wins
'Only Juan wants that he wins.'

The availability of *de-re* readings for overt PRO is surprising in so far as it goes against the general wisdom that OC PRO-like elements only allows *de-se* construals.

The contrast in (5) allows us to extend at least the second clause of the *Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox* (cf. (1)) to *de-re* construals, moreover confirming that the overtness of PRO matters for interpretation, as stated below:

(6) Overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allows coreferential interpretations, as well as *de-re* under the association-with-focus test.

Let's now see whether we also find an asymmetry in the distribution of *de re* construals (vs. *de-se*) under the two tests used for probing pronominal construals –that is, whether clause (i) of the *Overt vs. Covert paradox* also holds of the *de-re* construals: are the latter available or not in ellipsis contexts?

As we have seen many times, in ellipsis contexts, overt PRO can only be construed under a sloppy reading: as illustrated in (7) yet again, strict readings are ruled out with overt PRO.

(7) Juan$_1$ quiere ganar él$_1$ y Pedro también.
Juan wants win.INF he and Pedro also
'Juan wants that he win and Pedro does too'.

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

Pedro wants that he himself wins.

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

Pedro wants that Juan wins.

As noted, however, by Pearson (2022), while the availability of a strict reading can be taken as a diagnostic of the availability of a *de-re* construal, the converse does not: that is, the absence of a strict reading should not be taken as evidence of the absence of a *de-re* construal.[3]

So lets test the availability of *de-re* construal for overt PRO under ellipsis:

(8) Dos candidatos para las elecciones deciden tomarse unos buenos vinos y ver los discursos de todos los canditados por television. Como ya estan muy borrachos, ninguno de los dos se reconoce a sí mismo en el programa. Juan, quien es depresivo, piensa "voy a perder", pero impresionado por el discurso de uno de los candidatos que finalmente resulta ser su propio discurso, dice "quiero que ese candidato" gane. Pedro, por su parte, quien también es depresivo, también piensa "voy a perder" pero al escuchar al candidato que resulta ser él mismo dice "quiero que ese candidato gane."
'Two Drunk election candidates are watching campaign speeches on TV, and do not recognize themselves in the broadcast. Juan, who is depressive, thinks "I'll lose", but impressed by the speech that happens to be his own and is sure that "that candidate" will win. Pedro, who is also depressive, thinks "I'll lose", but when he listened to the candidate that turns to be himself, he says "that candidate" will win.'

(9) a. #Juan$_1$ quiere ganar él$_1$ y Pedro$_2$ también ⟨quiere ganar él$_2$⟩.
Juan wants win.INF he and Pedro also wants win.INF he
'Juan wants that he wins and Pedro wants that that he wins'.

b. Juan$_1$ quiere que él$_{1/2}$ gane y Pedro$_2$ también ⟨quiere que él$_{1/2}$ gane⟩.
Juan wants that he wins and Pedro also wants that he wins

[3]She claims moreover that "In principle then there could be an element α that cannot receive a strict reading, but can be read *de-re* Pearson (2022, p. 17)".

'Juan wants that he wins and Pedro wants that that he wins'.

As shown above, a *de-re* interpretation of overt PRO in the test sentence in (9a) under the context in (8) cannot be verified, although the *de-re* construal is available for its finite counterpart in (9b). Contrary to the association with focus-context, elliptical contexts constrain overt PRO to be read *de-se*.

Once again, the results from ellipsis and association-with-focus do not converge with regard to the interpretation of overt PRO, and we can now fully extend both clauses of the Overt vs covert PRO paradox to the *de-re/de-se* construals:

(10) **Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox (final version)**

(i) Both null and overt PRO only allow BV and *de-se* construals under the ellipsis test.

(ii) Overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allows coreferential and *de-re* construals under the association-with-focus test.

Why do null PRO and overt PRO pattern differently (yield conflicting results) with respect to the two standard tests for pronominal interpretation? In particular, why does overt PRO, unlike null PRO, also allow for coreferential as well as *de-re* construals, and why so only under the association-with-focus test, but not under the ellipsis test?

5.2.2 A parallel with logophoric pronouns in Ewe

The discussion from the previous section has allowed us to correlate two properties distinguishing overt PRO from null PRO: the former allows both *de-re* and coreferential construals, while the latter does not allow either. We now draw a parallel between overt PRO and logophoric pronouns, since as discussed by Pearson (2022), logophoric pronouns in Ewe (in control like-contexts) exhibit a similar pattern of interpretation allowing for both coreferential and *de-re* construals.

As illustrated below, the logophoric pronoun *yè* can yield, not only BV/sloppy, but also a strict/coreferential readings: "A crucial fact about the logophoric pronoun in Ewe that I overlooked in Pearson (2013, 2015) is that it can receive strict readings when the attitude holder is a quantified DP containing only" Pearson (2022, p. 16):

(11) Kofi ko yè xɔse be yè kpɔ ŋɔli.
Kofi only FOC believe that LOG see ghost
'Only Kofi believes that he saw a ghost.'

Under a strict reading, (11) means that Kofi is the only person to believe that Kofi saw a ghost (and would be false if say someone else also believes that Kofie saw a ghost). Under the sloppy reading, (11) means that Kofi is the only person to believe that he himself saw a ghost (and would be false if say someone else also believes that he himself saw a ghost).

The availability of strict/coreferential readings leads Pearson (2022) to conclude that logophoric *yè* should also be construable as *de-re*: "I know of no theory that would predict that a logophor could (i) be unambiguously read *de-se* and (ii) allow strict readings" Pearson (2022, p. 16). She goes on to advances the following generalization:

(12) "If α can receive a strict reading in the scope of an only-DP (or indeed with verb phrase ellipsis), this should be treated as evidence that α allows a de re reading."

Our investigation of overt PRO confirms Pearson's generalization in (12). We have also shown, however, that *de-re* readings for overt PRO are only allowed in association with focus –but not under ellipsis. Now, what about logophoric pronouns? Do they show a similar pattern of contrast between the two relevant tests –that is ellipsis and focus with *only*? We do not have the empirical data to answer this question, since Pearson (2022) provides evidence from association with focus but not from elliptical contexts to conclude that logophoric pronouns always allow *de-re* construals.

Recall from Chapter 4, section 4.3.3 that we offered an account for the Overt vs. Covert PRO paradox in terms of The Anaphor Generalizations:

(13) **The Anaphor Generalizations:**

(i) Both null and overt anaphors need to be syntactically bound.

(ii) Overt anaphors can be semantically bound, null anaphors *must* be semantically bound.

Given their overt nature, we would expect logophoric pronouns to behave like overt PRO. Specifically, we expect that logophoric pronouns require, just like over PRO, to be syntactically but not semantically bound. Recall that our explanation for the unavailability of strict readings under ellipsis is based on a syntactic constraint that requires overt PRO anaphors to be syntactically bound (c-commanded by and co-indexed with their antecedent). Recall that overt PRO cannot satisfy such a requirement in ellipsis contexts under a strict reading, since the antecedent of overt PRO in the second conjunct is itself in the first conjunct, and not the second one where ellipsis applies. Our prediction, would then be that overt logophoric pronouns pattern with overt PRO, in not allowing strict readings.

As shown in Satik (2021), logophoric *yè* in (Anlo dialect of) Ewe only allows *de-se* (14b), as well as only sloppy construals under ellipsis (15):

(14) a. Kofi is a war hero who suffers from amnesia and remembers nothing of his wartime experiences. Suppose this person sees a TV program describing his own exploits, impressed with the courage exhibited by that person, who he does not know is himself. Kofi comes to believe that the hero will win a medal.

b. #Kofi$_1$ emo kpom be yè$_1$-a ho kplu.
Kofi expect see COMP YÈ-POT COP medal
'#Kofi$_1$ expects PRO$_1$ to get a medal.'

(15) *Only sloppy readings under ellipsis*

Kofi$_1$ dzagbagba be yè$_1$-a fle agbale afi Agbe.
Kofi try COMP YÉ-POT buy book before Agbe
'Kofi tried to buy a book before Agbe ~~tried to buy a book~~.'

Although Satik (2021) provides the data from the ellipsis, he does not provide the critical data with association-with-focus. Conversely, Pearson (2022) provides the data from association with focus, but not ellipsis.In other words, we do not have the means to check if our predictions carry over or not to logophoric pronouns. I leave this discussion for future research.

5.3 Testing other properties under association with *only*

We have seen that under the scope of an *only*-DP, strict, as well as *de-re*, readings, are licensed with overt PRO. Let us see if c-command and locality constraints are also relaxed in the presence of the focus particle *only*. As we will shortly see, they are not: null and overt PRO require both to be locally c-commanded by their antecedents regardless of whether the antecedent DP is associated with focus particle.

Evidence for this comes from examples with a complement clauses, (16a) and (16b), and *para*-finality clauses (16c) and (16d). In the former, both null and overt PRO are c-commanded by their antecedents –that is, by the complex DP *El hijo de Eduard* in the subject control configuration (16a), and the complex DP *la estudiante de Isabel* in the object control configuration (16b).

While in the latter (*para*-finality clauses), both subjects are c-commanded by the *el hermano de Juan* and *el hermano de Leo* in the corresponding subject (16c) and object (16d) control configurations.

(16) a. Sólo [el hijo de Eduard$_2$]$_1$ prometió hacer [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ / él$_{1/*2}$ la cena.
only the son of Eduard promised make.INF / he the dinner
'Only Eduard's son promised to prepare himself the dinner.'

b. Marta$_3$ animó sólo a [la estudiante de Isabel$_2$]$_1$ a escribir
Marta encouraged only to the student of Isabel to write.INF

[Ø]$_{1/*2/*3}$ / [ella]$_{1/*2/*3}$ el programa.
/ she the program
'Marta encouraged only Isabel's student that she writes the program.'

c. Sólo [el hermano de Juan$_2$]$_1$ se fue [para [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ / él$_{1/*2}$ estar
only the brother of Juan CL.3 left for / he.NOM be.INF
feliz].
happy
'Only Juan's brother left (in order for him) to be happy.'

d. Daniel$_3$ entrenó sólo al [hermano de Leo$_2$]$_1$ [para [Ø]$_{1/*2/*3}$ / él$_{1/*2/*3}$
Daniel trained only to.the brother of Leo for / he
poder entrar a un buen club de fútbol].
can.INF enter.INF to a good club of football
'Daniel trained only Leo's brother (in order for him) to be accepted in a good football club.'

Likewise, the locality constraints holding between controllee and its controller are not affected when the controller is associated-with- focus. As shown in (17a) and (17c), null and overt PRO subjects can only be bound by the DPs *Alba* and *Juan* (respectively), hosted in the subject position of the immediately dominating clause. Likewise, examples (17b) and (17d) show that null and overt PRO can be only bound by the DPs *los estudiantes* and *Daniel* (respectively), hosted in the object position of the immediately dominating clause.

(17) a. Sólo Diana$_2$ recuerda [que Alba$_1$ prometió [encargarse [Ø]$_{1/*1}$ /
only Diana remembers that Alba promised take.charge.INF /
ella$_{1/*1}$ (misma) de la fiesta]].
she SELF of the party
'Only Diana remembers that Alba promised to organize herself the party.'

b. Animaron a la directora$_3$ a que obligara a los profesores$_2$ a
encouraged to the director to that compel.SUBJ to the teachers to
obligar sólo a los estudiantes$_1$ a realizar [Ø]$_{1/*1/*3}$ / ellos$_{1/*1/*3}$
force.INF only to the students to make.INF / they
la inscripción.
the registration.
'The director was encouraged to compel teachers to force only the students to do the registration.'

c. Sólo Pedro$_2$ sabe [que Juan$_1$ se fue [para él$_{1/*2}$ / [Ø]$_{1/*2}$ estar
Only Pedro knows that Juan CL.3 left for he.NOM / be.INF
feliz]]].
happy
'Only Pedro knows that Juan left (in order for him) to be happy.'

d. Ana$_4$ obligó a Pedro$_3$ a que convenciera al coach$_2$ de que
Juan forced to Pedro to that persuade.SUBJ.PAST to.the coach of that
entrenara sólo a Daniel$_1$ para [Ø]$_{1/*2/*2/*4}$ / él$_{1/*2/*2/*4}$ ser
train.SUBJ.PAST only to Daniel for / he be.INF
el mejor jugador del equipo.
the best player of.the team
'Ana forced Pedro to persuade the coach to train only Daniel so that he can be the best team player.'

Recall that another characteristic of both null and overt PRO is that they can only be construed under sloppy readings in elliptical contexts. So, what if we combine ellipsis with association with focus? Will the embedded (overt) PRO still only yield sloppy readings in a such context? This is indeed the case: strict readings are still not allowed, as illustrated below.[4]

Context: there is a dinner in María and Juan's place:

(18) A. ¿Es verdad que María$_1$ prometió preparar [Ø]$_1$ / ella$_1$ la cena?
is true that María promised prepare.INF / she the dinner
'It is true that María promised to prepare the dinner?

B. No, sólo Juan.
no, only Juan
'No only Juan.'

a. ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

Only Juan promised to prepare the dinner himself.

b. ✗Strict reading (coreference):

Only Juan promised that María would prepare the dinner.

(19) A. ¿Es verdad que animaron a María$_1$ a preparar [Ø]$_1$ / ella$_1$
is true that encouraged.3P.PL to María to prepare.INF / she

[4]We have not used standard ellipsis contexts merely because combining coordinated ellipsis with association with focus is hard (does not always yield a well-formed output: e.g. *John promised to leave and only Mary did too)).

la cena?
the dinner
'It is true that (they) encouraged María to prepare the dinner?

B. No, sólo a Juan$_i$.
no, only to Juan
'No only Juan.'

a. ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

They encouraged Juan to prepare the dinner himself.

b. ✗Strict reading (coreference):

They encouraged Juan so that Juan and María will prepare the dinner.

(20) A. ¿Es verdad que María$_1$ hizo trampa para [Ø]$_1$ / ella$_1$ ganar?
is true that María made tramp for / she win.INF
'It is true that María cheated (in order) for her to win?

B. No, sólo a Juan$_i$.
no, only to Juan
'No only Juan.'

a. ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

Juan cheated in order for himself to win.

b. ✗Strict reading (coreference):

Juan cheated so that María wins.

As shown above, only a sloppy reading is accepted. The sloppy interpretation obtains in subject control (18), as well as in object control (19) configurations, across complement clauses. The same also holds for subject control (20) and object control (21) configurations in *para*-finality clauses below:

(21) A. ¿Es verdad que animaron a María$_1$ para [Ø]$_1$ / ella$_1$ subir
is true that encouraged.3P.PL to María for / she raise.INF
el puntaje?
the score
'It is true is true that (they) encouraged María to raise the score?

B. No, sólo a Juan$_i$.
no, only to Juan
'No only Juan.'

a. ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

   They encouraged Juan to raise the score himself.

b. ✗Strict reading (coreference):

   They encouraged Juan so that María raises the score.

5.4 Interim summary

We have seen that the structural conditions (c-command and locality) governing null and overt PRO subjects are not altered when the controller is associated with focus. These requirements remain unaffected regardless of the type of clause, the type of configuration, and the overtness of PRO, as expected under OC.

We have established, however, that under association with focus, but not ellipsis, a *de-re* reading becomes available for overt PRO, alongside the *de-se* reading characteristic of null PRO. This is not surprising since under association-with-focus, but not under ellipsis, a strict reading also becomes available for overt PRO, alongside the sloppy reading characteristic of null PRO. This parallelism confirms Pearson's claim that the availability of strict readings should be taken as evidence for the availability of *de-re* readings. We have also drawn a parallel between the interpretation of logophoric pronouns and overt PRO: both pattern differently from null PRO in allowing strict and *de-re* construals.

In what follows, I suggest an answer to the question of why null PRO, unlike overt PRO –and for that matter logophoric pronouns– only allows sloppy readings.

5.5 The relevance of overtness

In the literature on controlled pronouns, overt PRO has always been assimilated to OC null PRO, on the basis of their similarities in terms of distribution and interpretation (cf. Allotey (2021), Alonso-Ovalle and D'Introno (2000), Barbosa (2009, 2018), Corbalán (2018), Duguine (2013), Fong (2022), Gómez (2017), Herbeck

(2011, 2015, 2018), Livitz (2011, 2014), Mensching (2000), Park (2018b), Paz (2013), Pérez Vázquez (2007), Satik (2021), Sundaresan (2010), and Szabolcsi (2009). Under these approaches, the difference between OC null PRO vs. OC overt PRO basically boils down to phonology. For instance, in Herbeck 2015, 2018; Livitz 2011, 2014, the latter is spelled out presumably because it carries a focus feature and focus and silence are incompatible.

We have just seen, however, two other fundamental properties that distinguish these two elements: (i) overt PRO, unlike null PRO, can ambiguously be interpreted under either coreferential/strict or BV/sloppy readings, and (ii) overt PRO, unlike null PRO, can ambiguously be interpreted under either *de-se* or *de-re* construals. Taking into account, moreover, that the availability of strict readings correlates with the availability of *de-re* readings, as we have just seen. In this section, we will tie the availability of strict readings to the overtness of PRO and, in particular, to the specification of its ϕ-features.

Our point of departure are the well known paradigms extensively discussed in the literature (e.g. Heim (2008) and references therein) which show that even deictic pronouns allow bound variable readings. Thus consider the pronouns *I* and *my* in (23). The *first person* feature on these pronouns constrain the latter to denote the speaker of the context of speech. The presupposition triggered by this feature is given in (22) where s_c stands for "speaker of context c."

(22) person: $[\![1st]\!]^c = \lambda x_e$: x includes s_c.x

Since, given (22) a first person pronoun cannot be applied to anyone other then s_c, a bound first person singular pronoun should not be able to allow a BV reading. This reading is nonetheless available, as shown by the ambiguity of the construal of anaphora in (23):

(23) Only I did my homework.

a. *Coreference*

No one besides me did my homework.

b. *BV reading*

No one besides me did their own homework.

(24) a. *Coreference*

Only [[$_{DP}$ 1stsg pro$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ did [$_{DP}$ 1stsg pro$_1$]'s homework]]

b. *BV reading*

Only [[$_{DP}$ 1stsg pro$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ did $\emptyset_2$'s homework]]

(adapted from Heim (2005, p. 44)

A prevailing assumption, to account for the availability of BV readings for bound deictic pronouns as illustrated in (23b), is that ϕ-features (person, gender, number) on bound pronouns are not always interpreted. In Heim's (2008, p. 44) own words: "Perhaps the semantics can somehow ignore them, or the syntax operates in such a way that they are not even there at LF." (23), on its BV reading in (23b), would then have the LF in (24b), where the ϕ-features of the possessive pronoun are missing, thus allowing us to compute the right truth conditions for (23) on its BV reading.

Concretely, we follow Heim in adopting the following assumptions to explain how ϕ-features on pronouns can be left uninterpreted. We adopt a syntactic account in terms of ϕ-feature transmission (cf. Kratzer 1998; Schlenker 1999, 2003 a.o.), which results in ϕ-features on bound pronouns being spelled out at PF, while being absent at LF (the idea being that the realization of ϕ-features on pronouns is a morphological/PF requirement[5,6]).

[5]This is so presumably because "we do not see overt pronouns occurring without ϕ-feature", as McKillen (2016, p. 133) points out. But what of silent *pro*? The standard assumption is that *pro* is a silent pronoun that, just like any pronoun, can be base-generated with a full set of ϕ-features (thus allowing for strict/coreferential readings), or left unspecified (thus allowing for a BV reading).

[6] Note, importantly, however, that in Chapter 7, we will adopt Duguine's (2013; 2014) proposal that *pro* is not a theoretical primitive but, rather, derived via ellipsis of an overt pronoun (or full DP). An interesting consequence of our analysis here together with Duguine's proposal is that we can maintain a one-to-one mapping between lacking phonological ϕ-features and lacking semantic

The specific assumption is that pronouns can be base-generated with ϕ-features or featureless. And if they are featureless, they will remain so at LF. How then is the PF/morphological requirement on the spelling out of ϕ-features satisfied? Via the feature transmission rule in (25) that allows ϕ-features on a binder to be copied at LF onto the (featureless) variable it binds.

(25) *Feature Transmission under Variable Binding*

In the derivation of PF, features of a DP may be copied onto variables that it binds.

Heim (2008, p. 48)

Under these assumptions, coreferential and BV readings will be derived as in (26) and (27):

(26) *Coreference derivation*:

a. Base-generated/PF representations:

Only $[_{DP}$ 1stsg pro$_1$] did $[_{DP}$ 1stsg pro$_1$]'s homework]

b. LF:

Only $[_{DP}$ 1stsg pro$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ did $[_{DP}$ 1stsg pro$_1$]'s homework]

(27) *Bound variable derivation*:

a. Base-generated/LF representations

Only $[_{DP}$ 1stsg pro$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ did [Ø pro$_2$]'s homework]

b. PF (feature transmission):

Only $[_{DP}$ 1stsg pro$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ did $[_{DP}$ 1stsg pro$_2$]'s homework]

Coreference is obtained in (26) via a pronoun base-generated with ϕ-features: it will be spelled out as such at PF and interpreted as a (co-)referential pronoun at

ϕ-features. So called null PRO lacks both (see below), while so-called *pro* could be base-generated as a pronoun fully specified for its ϕ-features, and thus reach both PF and LF with with a ϕ-features specifications (semantically active as such at LF). Ellipsis is what ensures that it remains unpronounced. See chapters 6.6 and 7 for discussion.

LF. In turn, the bound variable reading (27) results from the pronoun being base-generated without specified ϕ-features: it will be realized with the features transmitted by its binder af PF, while remaining featureless at LF.

The important consequence of this approach for us here is that, since "only base-generated features (those present prior to transmission) [as in e.g. [(26a)] will be interpreted in the semantics [i.e. (26b)] ... It follows that **all free pronouns must have underlying, hence semantically active**, ϕ**-features**." (Heim (2008, p. 48), [emphasis added]).

With this in mind, let's go back to the interpretative asymmetry between overt vs. null PRO, under association with *only*. We assume that overt PRO, just like any overt pronominal, may be generated with its ϕ-features fully specified, or left unspecified. (28) will therefore have the possible derivations in (29) and (30).

(28) Sólo Eduard$_1$ prometió hacer él$_1$ la cena.
only Eduard promised make.INF he the dinner
'Only Eduard promised to prepare himself the dinner.'

(29) *Coreference derivation*:

a. Base-generated/PF representations:

Only [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg Eduard$_1$] promised to prepare [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg pro$_1$] the dinner]

b. LF:

Only [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg Eduard$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ promised to prepare [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg pro$_1$] the dinner]

(30) *Bound variable derivation*:

a. Base-generated/LF representations

Only [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg Eduard$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ promised to prepare [Ø pro$_2$] the dinner]

b. PF (feature transmission):

Only [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg Eduard$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ promised to prepare [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg pro$_2$] the dinner]

Accordingly, when its ϕ-features are underlyingly fully specified, overt PRO in (29) will be construed as a free variable (since it is not bound by the λ-binder in the LF (29b)) that is coreferential with the matrix subject DP in (29b) (since it bears the same referential index as the latter).[7] In contrast, when its ϕ-features are left unspecified and it is bound by a λ-binder, as in the LF in (30), overt PRO yields a BV construal.

We are now in a position to answer the remaining core issue, why is it that null PRO never allows a coreferential reading? Because, null PRO is a silent, crucially **featureless** pronoun –a standard assumption in the control literature (cf. Landau (2015); a zero/minimal pronoun in the terminology of Heim 2005; Kratzer 1998, 2009). Now, since coreference is a relation between a free pronominal variable and a referring DP which is assigned the same referential index and, crucially, since free pronouns must have their ϕ-features underlyingly present (cf. the quote from Heim (2008) above), null PRO –which is by definition underlyingly featureless– will never be able to support coreference.[8] The only possible derivation for anaphora with null PRO in (31) is therefore (32):

(31) Sólo Eduard$_1$ prometió hacer PRO$_1$ la cena.
only Eduard promised make.INF the dinner
'Only Eduard promised to prepare the dinner.'

(32) Base-generated/**PF/LF** representations

Only [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg Eduard$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ promised to prepare [Ø pro$_2$] the dinner]

5.6 Concluding remarks

The first goal of this chapter was to show that overt PRO can be construed *de-re* under association with focus, but not under ellipsis. Once again, this holds for overt –but not null– PRO, as stated in (10) above.

[7] Recall that semantic binding involves binding by a λ-operator, see definition in (21) of semantic binding, and discussion of coreference vs. semantic binding in 4.3.1.

[8] See footnote (6) above.

These findings have important consequences for the theory of control. In particular, our investigation of overt PRO questions the widely accepted assumptions that OC anaphors must be interpreted under BV readings and *de-se* construals, since overt PRO, as we have carefully established, shows all the (other) diagnostic properties of OC. In the following chapter, I develop an altogether novel approach to control that allows us to explain the coreferential construals of overt PRO, alongside its BV construals.

The second goal of this chapter was to suggest an answer for why null PRO, unlike overt PRO, only allows sloppy readings. Building on Heim's discussion of the role of ϕ-features in the distribution of coreferential vs. BV readings, free pronouns must be underlyingly fully specified for ϕ-features, since **only features that are present in the derivation prior to PF are present and, thus, semantically active at LF.** Now, null PRO is by definition base-generated without ϕ-features (and will moreover remain featureless at PF).[9] As such it cannot be free and thus support coreference. In contrast, overt PRO is, at least on the surface, fully specified for ϕ-features. If it is also base-generated as such, it will support coreference. If however, it is base-generated featureless, it can only support BV readings.

We return to this issue in Chapter 6.7, after having exposed our new approach to control.

[9] See footnote (6).

Chapter 6

Obligatory Control: extending Sauerland's presuppositional analysis

6.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to offer a novel analysis of Obligatory Control, based on Sauerland's (2013) analysis of SELF-anaphors in ECM contexts. In particular, I propose that (i) OC configurations –be it with overt or covert PRO– are to be analyzed as derived binary predicates created in the syntax via movement, and (ii) that OC is encoded semantically by a SAME presupposition triggered by PRO itself.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. Section 6.2 discusses the parallelism between so-called SELF-anaphors and PRO which I will dub PRO SAME-anaphors. Section 6.3 presents Sauerland's (2013) analysis of SELF-anaphor subjects in ECM contexts and explains how it extends Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) *reflexivity theory*. Section 6.4 then extends Sauerland's (2013) ECM analysis to control (with overt) PRO. I discuss the contrast between SELF and PRO-SAME-anaphors in ellipsis contexts in section 6.5, and the contrast between null and overt PRO-SAME-anaphors in section 6.7. Finally, Section 6.8 extends the OC analysis from comple-

ments to *para*-finality clauses.

6.2 Parallelisms between SELF-reflexives and Obligatory Control

Recall from Chapter 4.3.3 that the BV/coreference ambiguity found with overt PRO under association with focus (extensively discussed in the previous chapters) is also found with SELF-reflexives (cf. Ahn and Sportiche (2014), Bruening (2021), Büring (2005), Dahl (1973), McKillen (2016), Sauerland (2013), and Sportiche (2014) a.o). Indeed, the availability of coreferential readings with, in particular, local reflexive anaphors has been a challenge for the standard theory of binding,[1] just as the availability of coreferential readings with overt PRO, established in this thesis, raises a challenge for the theory of control.

This result is, however, not necessarily surprising, since more generally, parallelisms between not only the interpretation, but also the distribution of SELF-reflexives and PRO have been pointed out in the literature for a long time (see Bennis and Hoekstra (1989), Bouchard (1982), Koster (1984), Landau (2004), and Teomiro-García (2010)). Thus, based on these well-established parallelisms between reflexives and control, this chapter puts forth a novel approach to control, by extending the presuppositional analysis of SELF-anaphors advocated by Sauerland (2013), Lechner (2012) and McKillen (2016), motivated to allow for coreferential readings of (ECM) SELF-anaphors.

To this effect, I start by presenting Sauerland's (2013) presuppositional theory which, as we shall see, derives the availability of coreferential readings of SELF-reflexives –alongside their BV readings–, via a presuppositional requirement that

[1] See McKillen (2016) for a detailed discussion of the readings and analyses of reflexives under the association-with-focus test, as well as experimental evidence that reflexives yield BV, as well as coreference, readings under association-with-focus.

the arguments of the predicate be identical (cf. also Bruening (2021) and McKillen (2016) who build on this analysis). As we shall shortly see, Sauerland's objective is to extend Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) analysis of reflexive marked predicates (1) to reflexives which surface in the subject position of ECM infinitives (2):

(1) Mary$_1$ criticized herself$_{1/*2}$.

(2) Mary$_1$ expected herself$_{1/*2}$ to win.

ECM configurations (2) are particularly interesting for our purpose here since the dependent anaphoric element (SELF-reflexive) and its antecedent are not co-arguments of the main predicate. Rather, similarly to PRO and its controller in OC configurations, the dependent anaphoric element sits in the subject position of an infinitival clause, while its antecedent is in the subject position of the immediately dominating clause. Moreover, ECM reflexives, just like OC overt PRO subjects, show the BV/coreference ambiguity under association-with-focus (see Sauerland (2013)):

(3) Only Romney expected himself to win.

a. ✓BVA

Nobody other than Mary expected herself to win.

b. ✓Coreference

Nobody other than Mary expected Mary to win.

Given these parallelisms, it is fair to investigate whether Sauerland's extension of Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) analysis to ECM constructions can in turn be extended to OC configurations, thus offering a potential route to derive the ambiguous readings of overt PRO.

6.3 SELF-anaphors: a presuppositional account

6.3.1 Reflexive-marked predicates

In a nutshell, Sauerland's proposal is that Condition A reduces to a presuppositional requirement that the two arguments of a binary predicate be identical. Before going through the details of this theory, we discuss the point of departure of his proposal which is Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) (henceforth R&R) *reflexivity theory*.

R&R's proposal is to reinterpret Conditions A and B of the Binding Theory, which can be seen as well-formedness conditions governing the distribution of referential indices, to well-formedness conditions governing the mapping between morpho-syntactic and semantic reflexivity, as stated in (4):

(4) a. Condition A: A reflexive-marked predicate is reflexive.

b. Condition B: A reflexive predicate is reflexive-marked.

(5) a. A predicate is reflexive iff two of its arguments are co-indexed.

b. A predicate is reflexive-marked iff it is either lexically reflexive or one of its arguments is a *self* anaphor.

According to these definitions, a SELF-anaphor on the argument grid of a predicate serves to mark the predicate in question as reflexive, as illustrated in (6). Condition A requires that any predicate morpho-syntactically marked as reflexive (as in e.g. (6a)) be semantically interpreted as reflexive: the SELF-anaphor must be co-indexed with another co-argument of the (reflexively-marked) predicate, as is the case in (6b), thus enforcing a reflexive interpretation, as in (6c).

(6) a. John criticized himself.

b. John_1 self-criticized him_1

c. John λx (x criticized x)

(7) *Lexical reflexivity*

a. John shaves.

b. John λx (x shaves x)

Conversely, Condition B requires that the reflexive interpretation of a predicate (6c) (arising if two co-arguments of the predicate are co-indexed (6b)) be licensed by either morpho-syntactic reflexivity (6a), or by lexical/inherent reflexivity (7). Condition B thus filters out the illicit deviation in (8): (8a)/(8b) cannot be assigned the reflexive interpretation in (8c) since the verb is neither inherently reflexive, nor morpho-syntactically marked as reflexive by a SELF-anaphor on its argument grid.

(8) a. John criticized him

b. *John$_1$ criticized him$_1$

c. *John λx (x criticized x)

This proposal nicely captures the distribution and interpretation of anaphors and pronouns in the domain of the co-arguments of the predicate. However, outside the domain of the co-arguments of a predicate, R&R's proposal does not fare with the same elegant simplicity in capturing the distribution of SELF-anaphors vs. pronouns. And, in particular, their proposal requires complex definitions of what counts as a syntactic predicate, in order to account for those instances where the SELF-anaphor and its antecedent are not co-arguments of the same predicate, as is typically the case with anaphors in, say, ECM positions.

This is a challenge that Sauerland (2013), building on Lechner (2012) and Nissenbaum (2000), succeeds in meeting by elegantly extending R&R's analysis to ECM constructions. What follows presents the different ingredients of Sauerland's proposal. Section 6.3.2 shows how Sauerland derives ECM constructions as binary complex predicates. Then, Section 6.3.3 presents the presuppositional account of Condition A, whereby *self* introduces a presuppositional requirement that the two arguments of a binary predicate be identical. Then, Section 6.3.4. introduces the notion of 'weakened presupposition projection', which will suspend the presuppo-

sition introduced by *self* when computing alternatives in contexts of focus, thus explaining the coreferential reading of SELF-anaphors. Finally, putting everything together, Section 6.3.5. shows how Sauerland's proposal derives the BV and coreferential readings of SELF-anaphors in subject position of ECM constructions.

6.3.2 Deriving complex binary predicates

The first step of Sauerland's (2013) proposal consists in the creation of a derived binary 'big' predicate –encompassing both the ECM verb and the immediately subordinated infinitival verb– via successive movement triggering λ-abstraction. Based on Lechner (2012), who crucially builds on Nissenbaum (2000), the idea is that a suitable predicate for an ECM construction with a reflexive subject below be formed via successive movement of (i) the matrix subject of the ECM verb, and (ii) the embedded reflexive subject, tucking-in below the matrix subject. The result of this operation creates a derived predicate visible to the syntax and holding simultaneously off two arguments: the matrix subject and the ECM (reflexive) subject.

This proposal builds on certain assumptions defended by Nissenbaum (2000) concerning how compositional semantic interpretation is syntactically derived. The starting standard assumption is that movement serves to trigger abstraction over an individual variable, creating a derived function from individuals.[2] Below, I go through the sequence of steps necessary to turn the ECM sentence in (2) repeated here in (9) into a derived binary predicate.

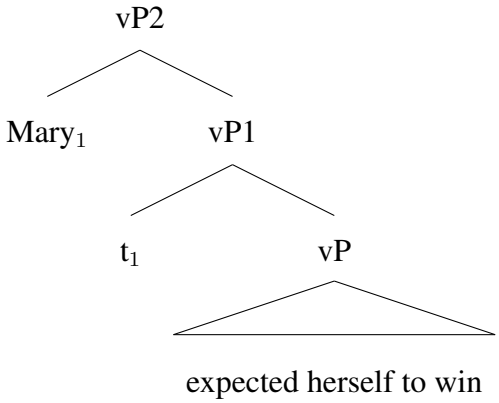
(9) Mary expected herself to win.

As shown below, we have two successive instances of movement; each separate movement introduces its own λ operator, binding the trace created by movement.

i. *Movement of the matrix subject*. This step involves movement of the matrix subject to spec,vP:

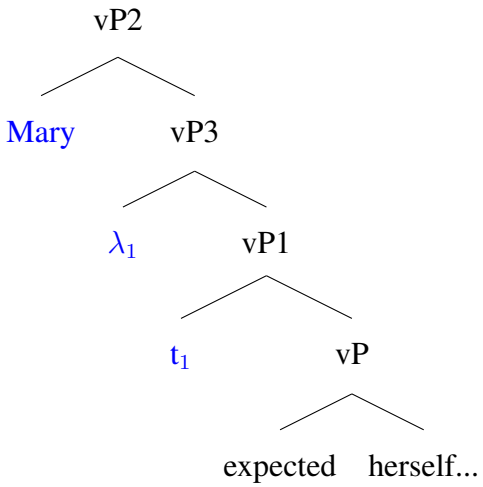
[2]We already saw this assumption at work in Chapter 4.3.1 where we discussed semantic binding and how λ-binders are introduced in the syntax.

(10)



As a result of movement, the ECM construction turns into a derived predicate by means of insertion immediately below the moved constituent of a λ-abstractor, binding the trace left by the matrix subject:

(11)



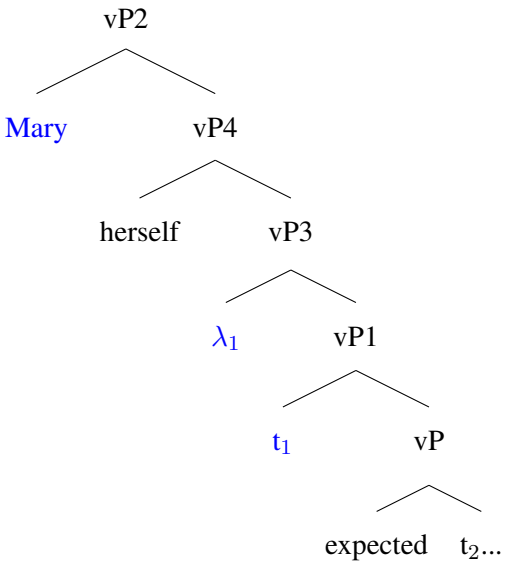
ii. *Movement of the reflexive (embedded) subject.*

The previous movement is followed by a second instance of movement: the embedded reflexive subject *himself*, crucially, **tucks in** between the moved matrix subject *Mary* and its abstractor:[3,4]

[3]See Richards (1997) for syntactic arguments for this type of movement where a moved constituent lands underneath (or *tucks in*, in Richard's terminology) a previously moved constituent.

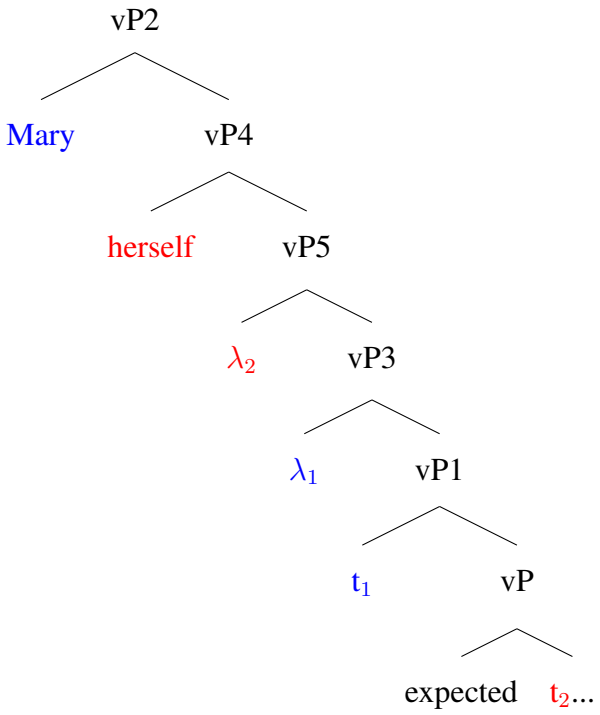
[4]The attentive reader will have notice that neither *Mary* nor *herself* bear an index. This is a simplification because we do not want to presume here, at this stage, whether anaphora between the two is coreference or binding.

(12)



This movement again triggers insertion of a (second) λ-abstractor operator immediately below the newly moved constituent, binding the trace left behind by the embedded subject:

(13)

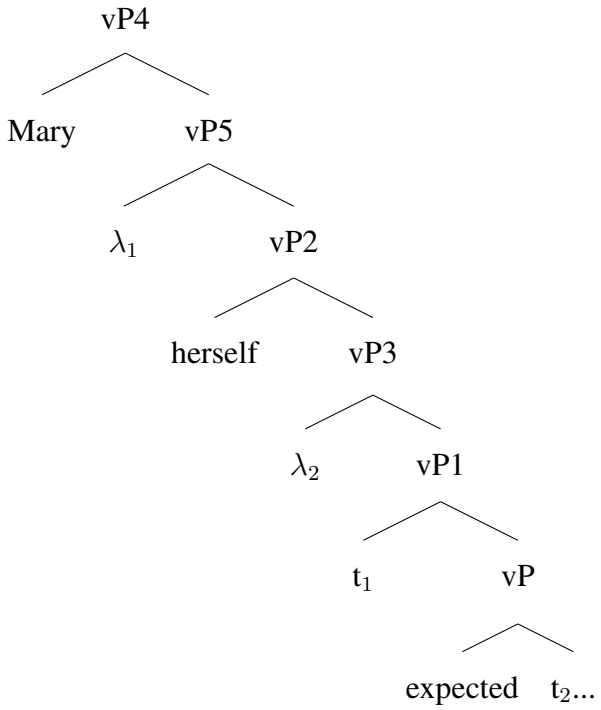


The final outcome of these two successive movements is the creation of a two-place predicate: the derived binary predicate vP5 in (13) above will be true of two

variables, x_1 and x_2, iff x_1 expects x_2 to win.[5]

As Sauerland himself emphasizes, it is crucial that the second instance of movement tucks in the reflexive below the previously moved matrix subject. Had movement proceeded differently, say as in (14), then the resulting derivation would have created a unary predicate, not the binary predicate in (13).[6]

(14)



6.3.3 The SELF presupposition

The second step in Sauerland's analysis, which builds on Lechner (2012) (see also Lechner (2019)), is to reinterpret the semantic import of SELF, which for Reinhart & Reuland (1993) is a reflexivizing operator (see section 6.3.1). In Saulerland's

[5] In Sauerland's original proposal, there was a an additional assumption –namely, that the *self* component also moves to adjoin to the binary predicate. Although this movement is by no means problematic, it is syntactically simpler not to require such an extra step of movement, as noted by McKillen (2016). This is also the line of reasoning adopted here.

[6] To be more precise, and in Sauerland (2013, p. 188) own words: "[vP in (13)] corresponds to a unary function that assigns to an individual another unary function, but this is what semanticists standardly regard as a 'binary' function, and there's an isomorphism between functions of this type and true binary functions."

proposal, SELF no longer combines with a two-place predicate in order to enforce a reflexive interpretation, but rather combines with a two-place predicate (be it a simplex basic transitive predicate, or a binary derived predicate as in the case of ECM), contributing a presupposition of identity on its two co-arguments of the (derived) predicate, as stated in (15).[7]

(15) $[\![\text{self}]\!] = \lambda x_e.\ \lambda P_{e,est}.\ \lambda y_e : x = y.\ P(x)(y)$

McKillen (2016, p. 91)

Given the denotation in (15), SELF is a function that takes an individual *x* and a two-place predicate *P*, and returns a function of type ⟨e,st⟩, which is defined only for those predicates whose argument is identical to *x*.

To see how this proposal applies, consider (16):

(16) a. Mary criticized her-self

b. ✓BVA:

Mary$_1$ λ_2 t_2 criticized her$_2$self

c. ✓Coreference:

Mary$_1$ λ_2 t_2 criticized her$_1$-self

The sentence in (16a) could have either of the LFs in (16b) or (16c). The BV interpretative option in (16b) will necessarily satisfy *self*'s presupposition since the two arguments of the predicate are bound by the same operator, and as such have the same denotation. The coreference option in (16c) also satisfies SELF's presupposition, since both the pronoun and the full subject DP refer to same the individual (the assignment function mapping 1 to the individual Mary). The identity requirement is thus also satisfied. In a nutshell, both BV and coreferential interpretations are allowed since the presupposition of *self* is satisfied in either case.

[7]Note that this is the lexical entry given by McKillen (2016) since, for the reasons given in footnote (5), we are adopting here McKillen's (2016) specific instantiation of Sauerland's (2013) proposal.

Importantly, and as has been extensively discussed in the literature (Grodzinsky and Reinhart (1993), Heim (1998), and Reinhart (2006)), the two readings in (16) cannot be distinguished, because they are truth-conditionally equivalent. Association-with-focus and ellipsis, however, are contexts which can provide evidence for the ambiguity in (16) since in such contexts the two readings are no longer truth-conditionally equivalent. As we shall see directly below, predicting the availability of the strict reading will not be as straightforward once we take into account the semantic import of focus, as will also be the case when we turn to ellipsis contexts (section 6.5).

6.3.4 Deriving the coreferential readings of SELF-anaphors: weakened presupposition projection

Sentences such as (17) below involve focus, mediated by a focus particle, here *only*. Sauerland (2013) adopts Rooth's alternative semantics framework (Rooth 1992b), whereby focus constructions involves the computation of (Focus) Alternatives. Rooth's proposal is that expressions are associated with two semantic values: alongside their ordinary semantic value $[[\phi]]^{o}$, they also have a second semantic value, known as their *focus semantic value* $[[\phi]]^{f}$, consisting of a set of alternatives.

To illustrate this, take for instance the sentence in (17). Its ordinary semantic value is given in (17a). Its focus semantic value, given in (17b), defines a set of alternatives that contrasts with the ordinary semantic value. It is obtained by substituting the NP marked with the F(OCUS) feature –*Mary* in (17)– with a set of individuals.

(17) a. Only MARY_{F} criticizes Sue.

b. $[[(17a)]]^{g,o}$ = that Mary criticizes Sue

c. $[[(17a)]]^{g,f} = \{\text{that x criticizes Sue} : x \in D_e\}$

Consider now the denotation of the focus particle *only*, as given in (18):

(18) $[[\text{only}]]^{g} = \lambda C.\lambda p.\forall q[q \in C \& T(q) \leftrightarrow q = p]$

McKillen (2016, p. 57)

Under this denotation, *only* combines with a proposition *p* and a set of alternatives *C* and returns a truth value (see for instance Partee (2009) and McKillen (2016)). So the combination of *only* with a clause denoting a proposition *p*, will be true iff there is no other proposition *p* in the *p*'s alternative set that is true.

Note that the denotation of *only* depends on the set of alternatives derived from the proposition it combines with (i.e the prejacent). As shown above, the set of alternatives derived from the prejacent of (17a) is the set in (17c). Given the definition of *only* in (18), the denotation of the sentence in (17a) would be as in (19):

(19) $[[(17a)]]^{g,} = \forall q[q \in \{\text{that x criticizes Sue} : x \in D_e\} \& T(q) \leftrightarrow \text{that Mary criticizes Sue}]$

Thus, (17a) would be only true in a context where Mary is the only individual *x* that criticizes Sue, and false otherwise.

We can now go back to the issue of how SELF's presupposition is satisfied in (20), which can be assigned either of LFs in (21) and (22), depending on whether the pronoun is construed as a BV (21), or as coreferential with Mary (22).

Now, this presupposition must be satisfied not only in the ordinary semantic value, but also in the focus semantic value which, crucially, is not the same under the BV construal (21c) and the coreferential construal (22c) of *herself*. More precisely, binding in (21a) of both the trace of the subject and the reflexive yields a set of alternatives with a reflexive interpretation of the predicate –that is, where both its arguments are identical (21c). In contrast, coreference in (22) yields a set of alternatives where the predicate's arguments are not identical –that is the subject argument denotes a set of individuals, while the object argument denotes the individual Mary (22c).

(20) Only MARY_{F} criticizes herself.

(21) *BVA*

a. [MARY$_{1,F}$ λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t_2 criticizes her$_2$-self]]

b. $[\![(21a)]\!]^{g,o}$ = that Mary criticizes Mary.

c. $[\![(21a)]\!]^{g,f}$ = {that x criticizes x : x $\in$ D_e}

(22) *Coreference*

a. [MARY$_{1,F}$ λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t_2 criticizes her$_1$-self]]

b. $[\![(22a)]\!]^{g,o}$ = that Mary criticizes Mary.

c. $[\![(22a)]\!]^{g,f}$ = {that x criticizes Mary : x $\in$ D_e}

A consequence of this difference is that SELF's presupposition will be satisfied in both the ordinary semantic value and the focus semantic value under BVA but not under coreference. Take the BVA interpretation, repeated in (23a). Since the arguments of the predicate both refer to *Mary*– the presupposition of *self* is automatically satisfied in the ordinary semantic value (23b). The presupposition is likewise met in the focus semantic value (23c), since both arguments of the predicate are again identical.

(23) a. [MARY$_{1,F}$ λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t_2 criticizes her$_2$-self]]

b. $[\![(21b)]\!]^{g,o}$ = λw: Mary = Mary. Mary criticizes Mary in w
= that Mary criticizes Mary

c. $[\![(21c)]\!]^{g,f}$ = {λw : x = x.x criticizes x in w : x $\in$ D_e}
= {that x criticizes x : x $\in$ D_e}

The derivation of the BV reading is thus straightforward, but not so for coreference, as we shall now see in detail. The set of alternatives where the reflexive is unbound is represented in (24).

(24) $[\![$[MARY$_{1,F}$ λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t_2 criticizes her$_1$-self]]$]\!]^{g,f}$ =
{λw : x = Mary. x criticizes Mary in w : x $\in$ D_e}

When the reflexive is interpreted as coreferential, the presupposition fails to hold, since the arguments of the predicates are not identical, and coreferential readings are incorrectly predicted to be ruled out.

In order to solve this problem, Sauerland (2013) argues that the presupposition of *self* can fail to be projected in the focused phrase's alternative set. To this effect, Sauerland puts forth the more general proposal that elements that can be taken to be purely presuppositional have the option to be ignored in the set of alternatives. This is captured by the following principle (quoted from McKillen (2016, p. 100)):

(25) *Weakened projection principle*

If the non-focus interpretation of a word ω is purely presuppositional, then it can be satisfied in: $[[\omega]]^{g,o}$ and $[[\omega]]^{g,f}$ or $[[\omega]]^{g,o}$.

The principle in (25) basically tell us that when an element merely adds a presupposition to what is asserted, its content can be optionally ignored in the focused phrase's alternatives set. Since *self* is presuppositional, it can be projected or not in the focused phrase's alternatives set. Given the two options of projection in (25), different sets of alternatives can be generated, and different (bound and coreferential) readings are predicted to be available. Below we illustrate step by step the application of (25).

Let's consider, for instance, the option where the presupposition projects in the focused phrase alternative set. In such a situation, the only way to satisfy the presuppositional requirement is by assuming that the reflexive has a BV interpretation in which, as we already saw with the derivation in (23), argument identity is met in both the ordinary and focus semantic values.

(26) $[\text{MARY}_{1,F}\ \lambda_2\ [_{VP}\ t_2$ criticizes her$_2$-self$]]$

a. $[[(26)]]^{g,o} = \lambda w$: Mary = Mary. Mary criticizes Mary in w

= that Mary criticizes Mary

b. $[[(26)]]^{g,f} = \{\lambda w : x = x.$ x criticizes x in w : $x \in D_e\}$

$= \{$that x criticizes x : $x \in D_e\}$

Turning now to the second option, where the presupposition has the option of not being projected in the focused phrase's alternative set. If the SELF presupposition does not project, as shown with the set of alternatives in (27b) where the presupposition of *self* is absent, then the coreferential reading is predicted to be acceptable:

(27) a. [MARY$_{1,F}$ λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t$_2$ criticizes her$_1$-self]]

b. $[\![(27a)]\!]^{g,f}$

$= \{\lambda w : \cancel{x = Mary}.$ x criticizes Mary in w : x $\in D_e\}$

$= \{$that x criticizes Mary : x $\in D_e\}$

Summarizing, the presupposition of *self* has the option of being projected or not in the set of alternatives. Hence, not only BV readings, but also coreferential readings are available depending on whether the presupposition must be satisfied either in both the ordinary and focus semantic value, or just in the former.

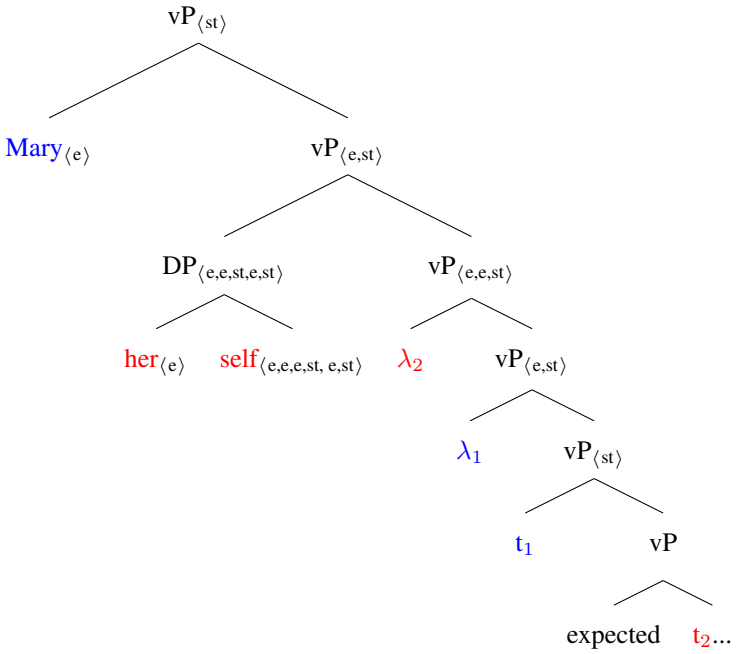
6.3.5 ECM: a presuppositional account

Let us now turn to our ECM case, repeated in (28) below. Recall that (28) was derived via successive movement, first of the matrix subject *Mary*, and second of the embedded ECM reflexive subject tucking in between the DP Mary and its λ-abstractor, as was explained in section 6.3.2.

Recall moreover from section 6.3.3, that we adopted McKillen's (2016) lexical entry for *self*, given in (15) above, according to which *self* denotes a function that takes an individual *x* and a two-place predicate *P*, and returns a function of type $\langle$e,st$\rangle$. Putting all this together, (28) will have the semantic representation in (29):

(28) a. Mary expected herself to win.

(29)



In order for SELF'S presupposition to be satisfied, the two arguments of the derived predicate in (29), *Mary* and *herself*, will have to be identical. Recall, however, from our discussion of (3), repeated as (30), that in association with focus contexts, identity can be interpreted as either BV anaphora or as coreference:

(30) Only Mary expected herself to win.

a. ✓BVA

Nobody other than Mary expected herself to win.

b. ✓Coreference

Nobody other than Mary expected Mary to win.

Now, we expect the weakened presuppositional account of the coreferential reading of SELF-anaphors (presented in section 6.3.4) to generalize to ECM contexts. The assumption then is that, just as was the case with simple transitive predicates (e.g. (27)), since *self* adds nothing but a presupposition, its content can be optionally ignored in the set of alternatives.

If the presupposition is projected, the only reading we obtain is the BV. As shown below, the presuppositional requirement is satisfied in both the ordinary (31b) and the focus semantic value (31c), since both arguments of the predicates

are identical.

(31) a. [MARY$_{1,F}$ λ_4 t_4 [her$_4$-self [λ_3 [λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t_2 expected [$_{TP}$ t_3 to win]]]]]]

b. $[\![(31a)]\!]^{g,o}$ = λw : Mary = Mary. Mary expects Mary to win in w
= that Mary expected Mary to win

c. $[\![(31a)]\!]^{g,f}$ = {λw : x = x.x expected x to win in w : x ∈ D_e}
= {that x expected x to win: x ∈ D_e}

If, on the other hand, the presupposition is not projected in the focus semantic value, as in (32b), the coreferential reading can be generated:

(32) a. [MARY$_{1,F}$ [her$_1$-self [λ_3 [λ_2 [$_{vP}$ t_2 expected [$_{TP}$ t_3 to win]]]]]]

b. $[\![(32)]\!]^{g,f}$
= {λw : ~~x = Mary~~. x expected Mary to win in w : x ∈ D_e}
= {that x expected Mary to win : x ∈ D_e}

In sum, the presuppositional approach of Sauerland (2013) and McKillen (2016) nicely accounts for the BV and coreferential readings of SELF-reflexives in either simplex (transitive) or derived (ECM) predicates.

The next section will now offer a new take on control that extends Sauerland's presuppositional analysis of reflexivity to Obligatory Control, which will allow us to nicely account for the coreferential readings of overt PRO.

6.4 Extending Sauerland's analysis to Obligatory Control

Recall that just like other overt anaphors (e.g. SELF-anaphors), overt PRO can be interpreted under either a BV or a coreferential reading in contexts of association with focus:

(33) Sólo Daniela prometió preparar ella (misma) la cena.
only Daniela promised prepare.INF she same the dinner
'Only Daniela promised to prepare herself the dinner.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Laura also promised to prepare herself the dinner.

(ii) ✓Strict reading (coreference):

No, Ana María also promised that Daniela would prepare the dinner.

The availability of strict readings with overt PRO is clearly problematic for standard approaches to Obligatory Control, which are based on the assumption that OC PRO-like elements are necessarily interpreted as bound variables (cf. Baltin, Déchaine, and Wiltschko 2015; Chierchia 1989; Hornstein 1999; Landau 2000, 2013, 2015, 2021; Potsdam and Haddad 2017 a.o.). To address this challenge, we propose a novel approach to OC that will allow overt PRO under both BV construals and coreferential construals.[8]

As we saw above, Sauerland's (2013) presuppositional analysis has the virtue of accounting for the coreferential readings of SELF-reflexives –be it in local contexts (that is, the domain of the co-arguments of a predicate) or in less local contexts (e.g. embedded subject under an ECM verb). In what follows, I will show that this analysis can be extended to Control constructions and thus account for the coreferential readings of overt PRO.

To implement this analysis, I propose to analyse OC constructions as derived binary predicates in which (null/overt) PRO introduces a SAME identity presupposition. These two ingredients of the analysis are developed in Sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2, respectively. Section 6.4.4 then shows how the derivation of the coreferential reading of overt PRO automatically follows. Section 6.4.5 gives an interim conclusion.

[8] I start by offering an analysis of OC configurations involving overt PRO in order to then generalize the proposal to silent PRO (Section 5).

6.4.1 Control constructions as complex binary predicates

Extending the analysis developed in Sauerland (2013), I propose that, like constructions with ECM SELF-reflexives in Sauerland's analysis, vPs embedding Obligatory Control PRO subjects are binary predicates that are created in the syntax. As such, this analysis will require two successive movements (as was the case with ECM constructions): first of the controller, and second of the controllee, tucking in under the previously moved controller –each separate movement triggering insertion of a λ-operator. This results in the controller and the controllee being the two arguments of a 'big' derived binary predicate.

Thus take for example the sentence in (34) with an overt embedded PRO subject.

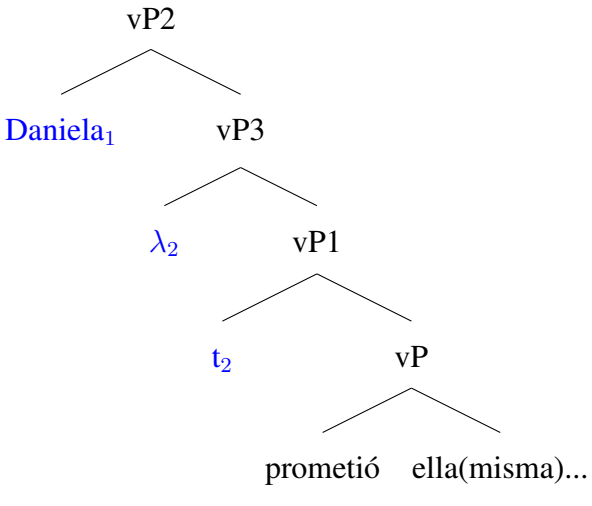
(34) Daniela prometió preparar ella (misma) la cena.
Daniela promised prepare.INF she SAME the dinner
'Daniela promised to prepare herself the dinner.'

What follows shows the sequence of steps necessary to turn the control sentence in (34) into a derived binary predicate.

i. *Movement of the matrix subject.*

The subject of the matrix clause (the controller) moves to spec,vP. As a result, the control construction turns into a derived predicate, by inserting –immediately below the moved constituent– a λ-abstractor which binds the trace left by the matrix subject:

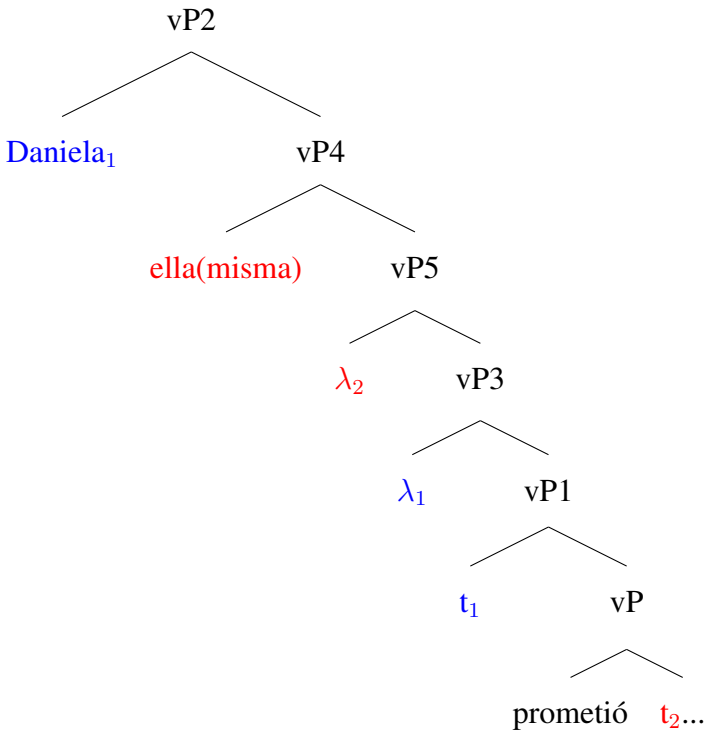
(35)



ii. *Movement of overt PRO*.

The overt PRO subject of the embedded non-finite clause tucks in between the previously moved matrix subject *Daniela* and its corresponding λ-operator. This movement triggers insertion of a (second) λ-abstractor operator immediately below the newly moved constituent, binding the trace left behind by the overt PRO subject:

(36)



The resulting outcome of these two successive movements is the creation of a two-place control predicate: the derived binary predicate *vP5* in (36) above will be true of two variables, x_1 and x_2, iff x_1 promised x_2 to prepare the dinner.[9]

6.4.2 A SAME presupposition of identity on PRO

The next question we tackle is that of why must the arguments of the derived predicate (in e.g. (36)) be identical under OC. In Sauerland's (2013) and McKillen's

[9]At this stage we leave the index on *ella* open, since its value will determine whether we have coreference or bound variable anaphora in (36) and both options are available (see below).

(2016) analyses of SELF-anaphors, this identity requirement was enforced by a presupposition triggered by SELF. Here I argue that an identity requirement also holds in OC constructions with an (overt) PRO such as *él (mismo)* in Spanish. It is enforced by a presupposition triggered by *mismo*, which comes from Latin *metipsimus* and decomposes into-*met*, an emphatic suffix for pronouns, combining with *ipsimus*, which means "the very same". We thus henceforth dub OC pronouns such *él mismo* SAME-anaphors and the presupposition triggered by *mismo* a SAME presupposition, on par with with Sauerlands' SELF presupposition.

Note, importantly, that *mismo*/SAME-anaphors appear in reflexive constructions.[10] In particular, SAME-anaphors occur as complements of prepositions such as *de* 'of' in Spanish and French (or *contra, por, ante* in Spanish; *contre, pour, avec, sur* in French), obligatorily selected by non-inherently reflexive adjectival/verbal predicates on a transitive reading, where they license a reflexive reading of the predicate. This is illustrated in (37) with Spanish and (38) with French. (See Otero (1999), RAE-ASALE (2009), Teomiro-García (2010), and Weingart (2020) for discussion of complex anaphors in Spanish and Jones (1996), Labelle (2008), and Zribi-Hertz (1990, 1996) for French).[11]

(37) Juan$_1$ desconfía de él$_1$ mismo.
Juan mistrust of him same
'Juan is suspicious of himself.'

(38) Jean$_1$ est jaloux de lui$_1$-même.
Jean is jalous of him-same
'Juan is jealous of himself.'

Zribi-Hertz (1990, p. 115)

When they occur as the accusative or dative arguments of semantically transitive and non-inherently reflexive verbs, SAME-anaphors in Spanish must co-occur with

[10] See also Charnavel (2021) for similar observations regarding French *même*.

[11] Spanish *él mismo* and French *lui-même* have similar properties though with important differences (see Jones (1996), Labelle (2008), and Zribi-Hertz (1990, 1996)).

the clitic *se* (39) (cf. Torrego (1995)):[12]

(39) a. Sam$_1$ *(se) critíca a él$_1$ *(mismo).
Sam CL.3 criticises to he same
'Sam criticises himself.'

b. *Sam$_1$ se critíca a él$_1$.
Sam CL.3 criticises to he
'*Sam$_1$ criticises him$_1$.'

Teomiro-García (2010, p. 186)

Note also that if we substitute *él mismo* in (39a) by a bare personal pronoun, the sentence no longer becomes acceptable.[13]

Going back to OC, our proposal is that (overt) PRO is a SAME-anaphor. Recall, however, from the discussion in Chapter 2 and 3, that overt PRO in Spanish is a personal pronoun (e.g. *él*, *ella*) that optionally but not obligatorily surfaces with *mismo/a*. By the logic of our argumentation, whether *mismo/a* is actually realized or not (as in e.g. (40)), overt PRO contributes a presupposition of identity on the two co-arguments of the derived predicate which is created by composing the control verb with the embedded infinitive clause.

(40) Daniela$_1$ prometió preparar ella$_{1/*2}$ (misma) la cena.
Daniela promised prepare.INF she SAME the dinner
'Daniela promised to prepare herself the dinner.'

[12]In contrast to (39), the SAME anaphor is clearly optional with semantically transitive but inherently reflexive predicates:

(i) Juan *(se) afeita (a él mismo).
Juan SE shaves to he same
'Juan shaves himself'

The comparative distribution of 'reflexive' *se* combining with a SAME anaphor across Romance, and the corollary issue of the distribution and status of prepositions with (in-)transitive predicates (e.g. *de* vs. *a* in Spanish vs. French) have been extensively discussed in the literature and are well beyond the scope of this thesis.

[13]Although the judgements for (39) are shared by most speakers of Spanish, there appears to be some speaker variation, reported in Torrego (1995).

The next step is to generalize our proposal for overt PRO (which as we have extensively argued is always OC) to all instances of OC, whether PRO is overt or null. I thus assume that OC uniformly involves a PRO-SAME-anaphor decomposed into two components: overt/null PRO and SAME triggering a presupposition of identity on the two (raised) arguments of a derived predicate (that is, PRO and its controller).[14,15]

What follows discusses more evidence of the parallelism between reflexives and OC, which underlies the extension to control of Sauerland's analysis of reflexive marking proposed here.

6.4.2.1 Parallelisms between PRO and reflexive pronouns

Bennis and Hoekstra (1989), Bouchard (1982), Fodor (1975), and Koster (1984) argue that (null) PRO is a null anaphor/reflexive, on the basis of their similar distributional and interpretative properties. They identify, in particular, the following three criteria: both PRO and reflexives (i) require unique (*i.e.*, non-split) antecedents, (ii) must be locally c-commanded (by their controller in control cases, their antecedent in reflexives cases), and (iii) are limited to BV interpretations.[16]

[14]Recall, however, from the discussion in Chapter 5.5 that the overtness of PRO plays a crucial role in its anaphoric construals, an issue which we will go back to in 6.6 below.

[15]This proposal raises some questions that unfortunately we can only leave open at this stage of our investigation –namely, why must OC PRO be null in languages like English or French, or in certain configurations in languages like Spanish (i.e. *al*-infinitives, see Chapter 3, Section 3.5), and how does case factor into this picture. The standard analysis is that subjects must be null in configurations without case, although this generalization has been called into question (see Cecchetto and Oniga, 2004; Duguine, 2013; Landau, 2004; San Martin, 2004; Sigurðsson, 2008 and the references there). Default nominative case has been proposed to explain the overtness of PRO in Spanish Corbalán (2018), Mensching (2000), and Schütze (1997). This begs the question, however, of why Spanish (and other languages), but neither French nor English, allow for default nominative case on PRO.

[16]Other proposals, among them more recently Landau (2004) and Teomiro-García (2010), have postulated that PRO is a null SE anaphor. It is not clear, however, that this proposal would be (or to what extent it would be) compatible with the approach developed in this thesis, to the extend that it

But as mentioned above (and discussed in Chapter 2), the mere fact that PRO in Spanish can actually be realized as a SAME-anaphor (40), just as in reflexive constructions, provides transparent evidence in favor of our hypothesis that PRO can be assimilated to a reflexive in that it also triggers an identity presupposition (see also (37) and (39a)). And this pattern is actually not limited to Spanish. In languages such as Korean, overt reflexives can surface in the subject position of OC infinitives (see Borer (1989), Madigan (2008), and Park (2018b)):

(41) John$_1$-ka cagi$_1$ ttena-lye-ko nolyek ha-ess-ta.
John-NOM SELF leave-will-COMP try do-PAST
'John tried to leave.'

(my glossing, Borer (1989))

As discussed in Park (2018a), reflexive and pronominal forms are both allowed in OC constructions in Korean (besides null PRO) and, even though they are morphologically different, they are syntactically and semantically equivalent in such positions: "the interpretations of the pronoun and LD *caki* are restricted in a similar way only when they appear in the OC construction, indicating that the OC properties of the overt subjects may be attributed to certain structural properties of OC constructions instead of the inherent properties of the OC subjects" (Park, 2018a, p. 122).

6.4.2.2 A note on the distribution of overt *mismo* in Spanish

The distribution of *mismo* with overt PRO is complex: sometimes preferred, sometimes optional, and sometimes dispreferred. (See earlier discussion of this issue in Chapter 2.2.1 and Chapter 3.4.3).

Herbeck (2015, 2018) suggests that the presence of *mismo* on overt PRO in complement clauses is subject to dialectal variation: while for some speakers it is required, for others it is not. A possible alternative generalization that emerges

builds on Sauerland's extension of the theory of reflexivity outside the of domain of the co-arguments of the predicate.

from comments volunteered by our informants (but which would require quantitative experimental data in order to be validated) is that *mismo* is preferred when overt PRO surfaces post-verbally in complement clauses, as in e.g. (40) repeated as (42), but dispreferred when overt PRO surfaces pre-verbally, as in complement (43) or *para*-finality clauses (44):

(42) Daniela$_1$ prometió preparar ella$_{1/*2}$ misma la cena.
Daniela promised prepare.INF she SAME the dinner
'Daniela promised to prepare herself the dinner.'

(43) María$_1$ quiere ELLA$_{1/*2}$ telefonear.
María wants she phone.INF
'María wants to phone herself'

(My glossing, Alonso-Ovalle and D'Introno (2000))

(44) Le$_1$ presté el coche para él$_{1/*2}$ venir a buscarme.
CL.3SG lend the car for he.NOM come.INF to search.INF.CL.1SG
'I lend him/her the car to came and pick me up.'

(My glossing, Pérez Vázquez (2007, p. 216))

Recall also from Chapter 3.4.3 that *mismo* is likewise optional in certain *reflexive* contexts, such as (45), involving the purely reflexive clitic *si* ('self') combining with the preposition *para*: (see also RAE-ASALE (2009), Teomiro-García (2010), and Weingart (2020)):

(45) Dispuso para sí$_i$ (mismo) / su$_i$ madre$_j$ trono y poder.
disposed3SG for self same / its mother throne and power
'He/she got for him/ her mother throne and power.'

(my glossing, RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 1912))

Explaining the complex distribution of *mismo* with overt PRO is a question we leave open for future research. However, what we can point out is that the relative 'unstability' it displays across syntactic contexts and across speakers goes in the expected direction. Our proposal is that what we are used to call PRO is more precisely a PRO-SAME-anaphor, which triggers a presupposition of identity, just like *self*-reflexives. Crucially, this analysis implies, in the case of Spanish, that this

presupposition will be there irrespective of whether a morpheme such as *mismo/a* 'same' is overtly realized or not (converging in this with Park (2018), cited above). But it allows, however, for speaker variation and preferences.

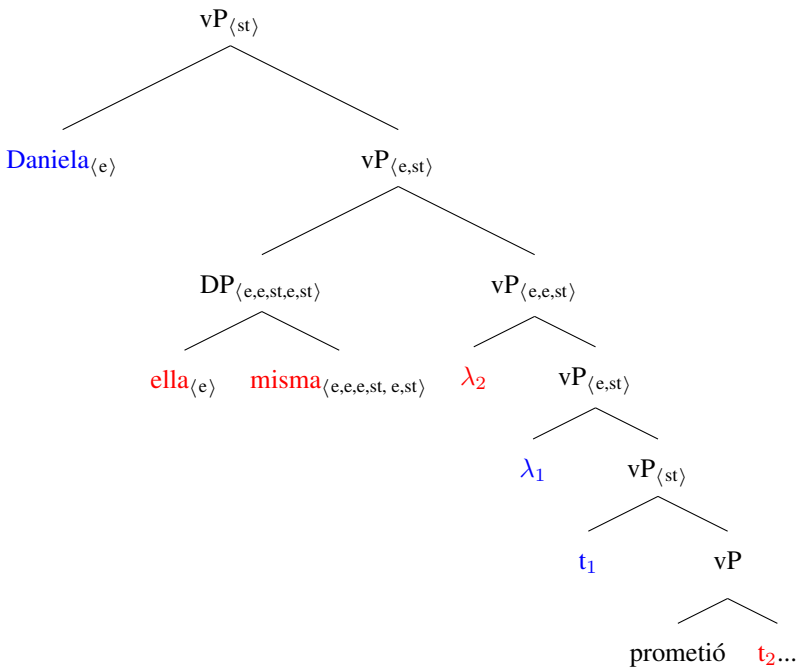
6.4.3 The SAME identity presupposition of PRO

We have argued that SAME triggers a presupposition of identity between PRO and the other raised higher argument of a derived binary predicate, just like SELF does in ECM constructions involving a reflexive embedded subject. By hypothesis SAME is thus always semantically present on PRO-SAME-anaphors, though not always pronounced, and always silent when it combines with silent PRO. The presupposition triggered by SAME is given in (46)

(46) $[\![\text{SAME}]\!] = \lambda x_e.\ \lambda P_{e,est}.\ \lambda y_e : x = y.\ P(x)(y)$

As was the case with SELF in (15), SAME in (46) denotes a function that takes an individual x and a two-place predicate P, and returns a function of type $\langle e,st\rangle$. Putting all this together, (36) above will have the semantic representation in (47):

(47)



6.4.4 Deriving the coreferential readings of overt PRO

The presuppositional approach was designed to account for both the bound and coreferential construals of overt SELF-anaphors. With the extension to control proposed in 6.4.1 and 6.4.2 above, it will now automatically also account for both the bound and coreferential construals of overt SAME-anaphors (overt PRO) in contexts of association with focus, as in (33) repeated here as (48):

(48) a. Sólo Daniela prometió preparar ella (misma) la cena.
only Daniela promised prepare.INF she same the dinner
'Only Daniela promised to prepare herself the dinner.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Laura also promised to prepare herself the dinner.

(ii) ✓Strict reading (coreference):

No, Ana María also promised that Daniela would prepare the dinner

Recall from section 6.3.4 that identity presuppositions must be satisfied in the ordinary semantic value, but not necessarily in the focused semantic value. This follows from the Weakened projection principle in (25) repeated in (49):

(49) *Weakened projection principle*

If the non-focus interpretation of a word ω is purely presuppositional, then it can be satisfied in: $[[\omega]]^{g,o}$ and $[[\omega]]^{g,f}$ or $[[\omega]]^{g,o}$.

Just as was the case with SELF (be it with simple transitive (e.g. (27) or ECM predicates (e.g. (32)), since SAME adds nothing but a presupposition, its content can be optionally ignored in the set of alternatives.

Consider first the derivation of the BV option, where (48a) is assigned the LF in (50a). The presuppositional identity requirement is satisfied not only in the ordinary semantic value since both arguments end up referring to *Daniela*, as shown in (50b), but also in the focus semantic value, since here both arguments are also identical, as shown in (50c).

(50) a. [DANIELA$_{1,F}$ [λ_3 [t_3 [ella$_3$ misma [λ_2 [λ_1 [$_{VP}$ t_1 promised [$_{TP}$ t_2 to prepare the dinner]]]]]]]]]

b. $[[(50a)]]^{g,o}$ = λw : Daniela = Daniela. Daniela promised Daniela to prepare the dinner in w
= Daniela promised Daniela to prepare the dinner

c. $[[(50a)]]^{g,f}$ = {λw : x = x.x promised x to prepare the dinner in w : x ∈ D_e}
= {that x promised x to prepare the dinner: x ∈ D_e}

Then, if the presupposition is not projected in the set of alternatives, the coreferential reading of overt PRO will also be generated, as shown in (51).

(51) a. [DANIELA$_{1,F}$ [ella$_1$ misma [λ_2 [λ_1 [$_{vP}$ t_1 promised [$_{TP}$ t_2 to prepare the dinner]]]]]]

b. $[[(51a)]]^{g,f}$
= {λw : ~~x = Daniela~~. x promised Daniela to prepare the dinner in w : x ∈ D_e}
= {that x promised Daniela to prepare the dinner : x ∈ D_e}

6.4.5 Interim conclusion

The presuppositional approach to control proposed here –according to which overt/null PRO is a PRO SAME-anaphor– nicely explains why overt PRO allows strict –besides sloppy– readings under association with focus, just like reflexives. This proposal raises however three interrelated questions that remain to be answered:

– Why can't overt PRO-SAME anaphors yield strict/coreferential readings under ellipsis, while they can do so under association with focus?

– Conversely, why do *him*-SELF anaphors yield strict/coreferential readings under both ellipsis and association with focus?

– Why can't null PRO-SAME anaphors yield strict/coreferential readings under association with focus, while overt SAME anaphors can?

The two first questions regarding the contrast between SELF and SAME-anaphors under ellipsis will be tackled in section 6.5. We will see that their answer derives naturally and directly from our analysis, without the need for extra assumptions. Section 6.6 then addresses the third question –the solution of which was already given in Chapter 5, Section 6.7, where we argued that (and sought to explain why) the overtness of SAME-anaphors impacts their interpretation–, by integrating this proposal into the presuppositional analysis developed above.

6.5 On overt SAME *vs.* SELF-anaphors: ellipsis contexts

As we have seen, overt SAME and SELF-anaphors display a similar behavior under association with focus: both can be construed under either a BV or a coreferential reading. Crucially, however, SELF and SAME-anaphors do not behave the same under ellipsis. In particular, while SELF-anaphors allow both sloppy/BV and strict/coreferential readings, overt PRO –that is, SAME-anaphors–, only allow sloppy/BV readings under ellipsis. The relevant data is repeated below:

(52) Ana prefiere comprar ella misma los disfraces y Carla también.
Ana prefers buy.INF she SELF the costumes and Carla also
'Ana prefers to buy herself the costumes and Carla does too.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

Carla prefers that Carla buys the costumes.

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

Carla prefers that Ana buys the costumes.

(53) John defended himself and Peter did too.

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

Peter defended Peter.

(ii) ✓Strict reading (coreference):

Peter defended John.

We shall now show that our presuppositional account of OC elegantly predicts exactly the asymmetry that we find –namely, that overt SAME anaphors allow BV construals under ellipsis, but crucially not coreferential readings. The only issue then is why SELF-anaphors allow strict readings under ellipsis. As we shall see however in section 6.5.2, strict readings under ellipsis arise in fact not via ellipsis of the *self*-anaphor (i.e. *himself*) but rather of the corresponding pronoun *him* (Bruening (2021), Büring (2005), Fiengo and May (1994), and McKillen (2016)). In other words, the presumed difference between SELF- and SAME-anaphors under ellipsis is **illusory**: what was taken to be an elided strict anaphor is in fact an elided strict pronoun.

6.5.1 Explaining the unavailability of strict readings for overt PRO SAME-anaphors under ellipsis

As shown above (e.g (52)), overt PRO-SAME anaphors only allow for a sloppy/BV interpretations under ellipsis contexts. This generalization has been confirmed by numerous scholars in the literature on control (see among others Allotey (2021), Herbeck (2015, 2018), Livitz (2011, 2014), Park (2018b), and Satik (2021)).[17]

The goal of this section is to show that while (i) sloppy readings automatically follow on the identity/SAME presuppositional requirement proposed here, (ii) strict readings are also automatically ruled out as an identity presuppositional failure.

Let us start by the first point: the availability of sloppy readings of (52), as represented below in (54):

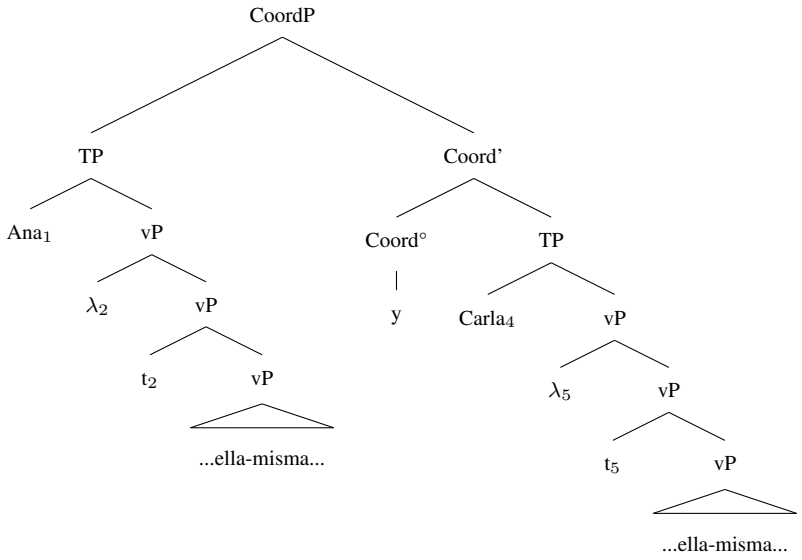
[17]Note, however, that the contrast with association with focus contexts which allows for both BV and coreferential readings has gone unnoticed in the literature to our knowledge.

(54) Ana$_1$ prefiere comprar ella$_1$-misma disfraces y Carla$_3$ también prefiere comprar ella$_3$-misma disfraces.

'Ana prefers to buy herself the costumes and Ana also prefers to buy herself the costumes.'

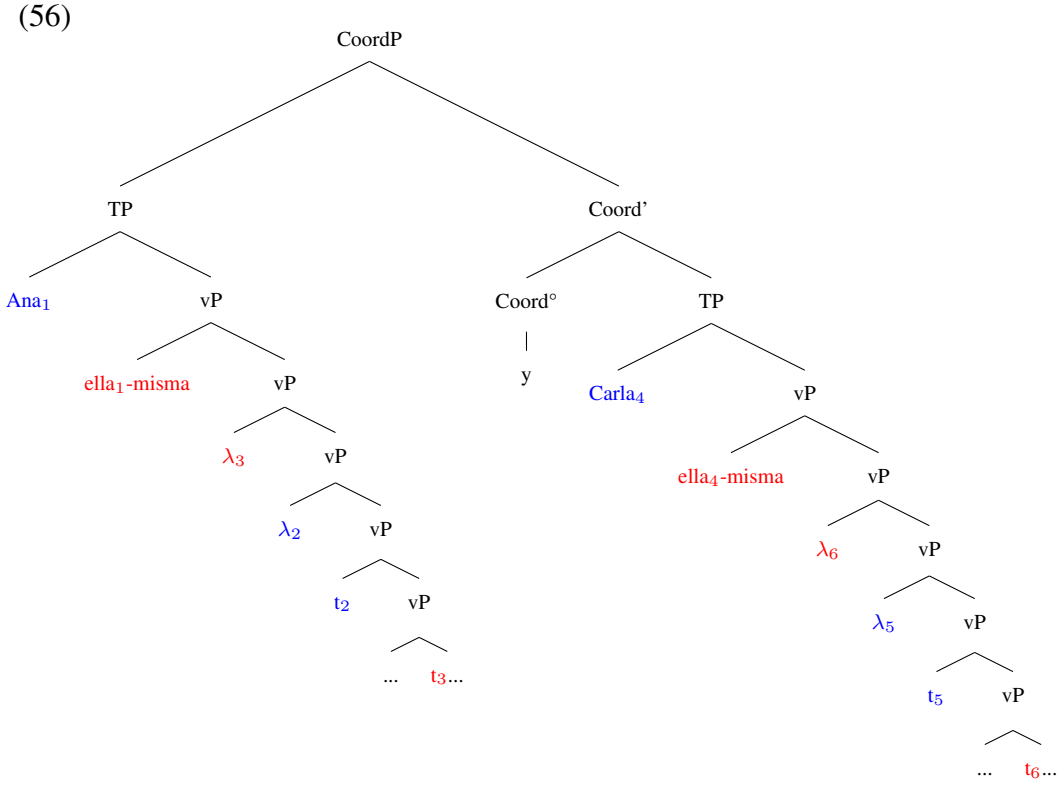
Just as we proceeded in section 6.4.1, each control sentence, inside each of the conjuncts of the coordP, turns into a derived binary predicate. First, the controller argument in each conjunct raises to Spec TP. Each of these movements triggers the insertion of a λ-operator that binds the trace left by controller in the corresponding conjunct:

(55)



Then, the overt PRO-SAME anaphor in each conjunct raises in turn, tucking in between its (respective) controller and inserted λ-operator. Again, this movement triggers the insertion of a second λ-operator in each conjunct, creating then two identical derived binary predicates:

(56)



As shown in (56), the two arguments of the predicate in the second conjunct are identical –that is, the controller and the controllee arguments refer both to the same individual, *Carla*. Likewise, in the first conjunct, the controller and the controllee are also identical, referring here to *Ana*. Since, in each conjunct, the arguments of the binary derived predicate are identical, the SAME presupposition requirement is satisfied in both conjuncts.[18]

Let us turn now to the second generalization, namely the unavailable strict readings of (52).

The underlying content of the elided constituent is represented below:

(57) *Ana$_1$ prefiere ella$_1$-misma comprar disfraces y Carla$_3$ también prefiere

[18]Identity between the respective controller and controllee in each conjunct can be achieved via either BVA or coreference. For simplicity of representation, we have represented identity in each conjunct in (58) as coreference. Representing identity as BVA would require an extra movement of the matrix subject in each conjunct to introduce a semantic binder for the pronoun in its scope (*ella*), as shown below:

(i) [ANA$_{1,F}$ [λ_7 [t$_7$ [ella$_7$ misma [λ_3 [λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t$_2$ promised [$_{TP}$ t$_3$ to prepare the dinner]]]]]]]]

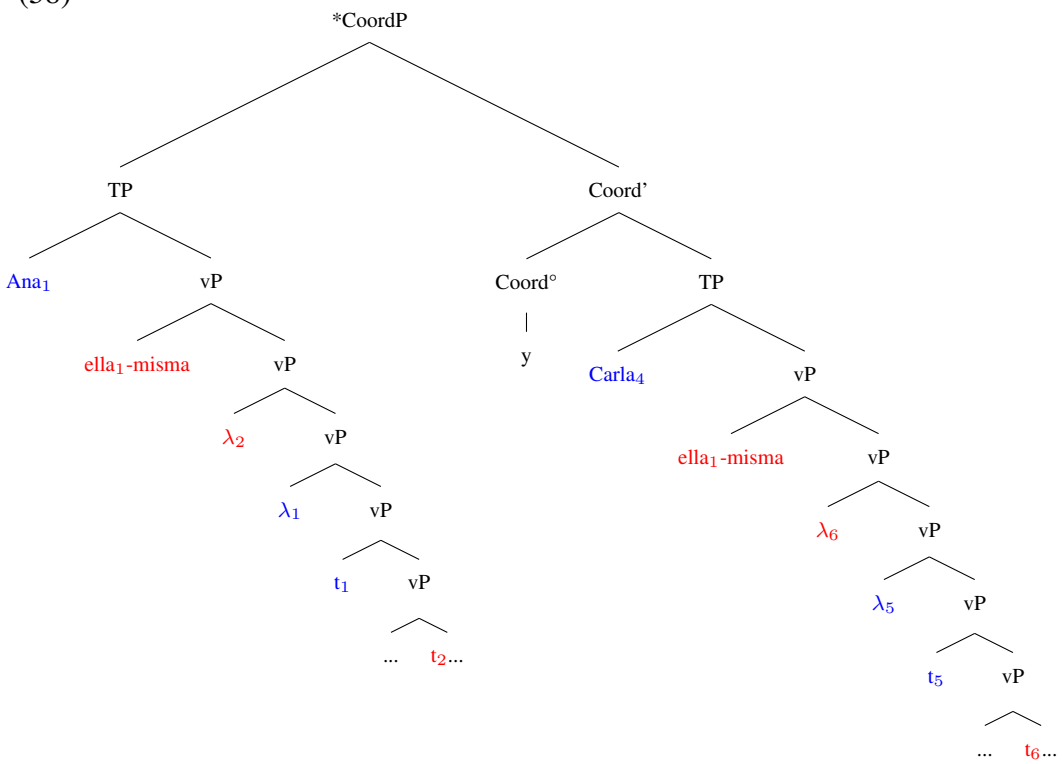
and [CARLA$_{4,F}$ [λ_8 [t$_8$ [ella$_8$ misma [λ_3 [λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t$_2$ promised [$_{TP}$ t$_3$ to prepare the dinner]]]]]]]]

comprar Ana los disfraces.

'Ana prefers to buy herself the costumes and Carla also prefers that Ana buys the costumes.'

The derivation for the (unavailable) strict interpretations of the overt PRO-SAME anaphor in the elided conjunct would proceed exactly as it did for the sloppy reading, except that *ella-misma* in the second conjunct has been assigned the index 1, which maps to Ana. Its syntactic representation is given in (58):

(58)



The strict reading of the overt-SAME anaphor *ella*$_1$*-misma* requires the latter to corefer with the DP *Ana* introduced in the first conjunct. However, under this construal, the presupposition of identity (between the controller *Carla* and the controllee *ella* triggered by SAME in the second conjunct) is not satisfied. That is to say, the strict reading is ruled out in (52) as a presupposition failure.

Note that this analysis derives the ungrammaticality of strict readings with overt PRO-SAME anaphors because the SAME identity presupposition is not satisfied in the ordinary semantic value of the second conjunct where, crucially it must be projected, the option of weakened projection not being available in this case (cf. the

weakened projection principle in 49).

What is surprising then, in fact, is not that strict readings are unavailable with SAME-anaphors under ellipsis, but rather that strict readings are available with SELF-anaphors under ellipsis! However, as we shall now see, this is merely an illusion. On the analysis commonly assumed in the literature, the strict reading arises because the elided conjunct does not contain a coreferential anaphor, but rather the corresponding coreferential pronoun.

6.5.2 Explaining the availability of strict readings for SELF-anaphors under ellipsis

The fact that the elided constituent in (53) repeated in (59) gives rises to a strict reading could be taken to suggest that reflexives do not require to be locally bound by their antecedent in the elided clause, but rather that they can be interpreted as coreferential with the antecedent of another clause.

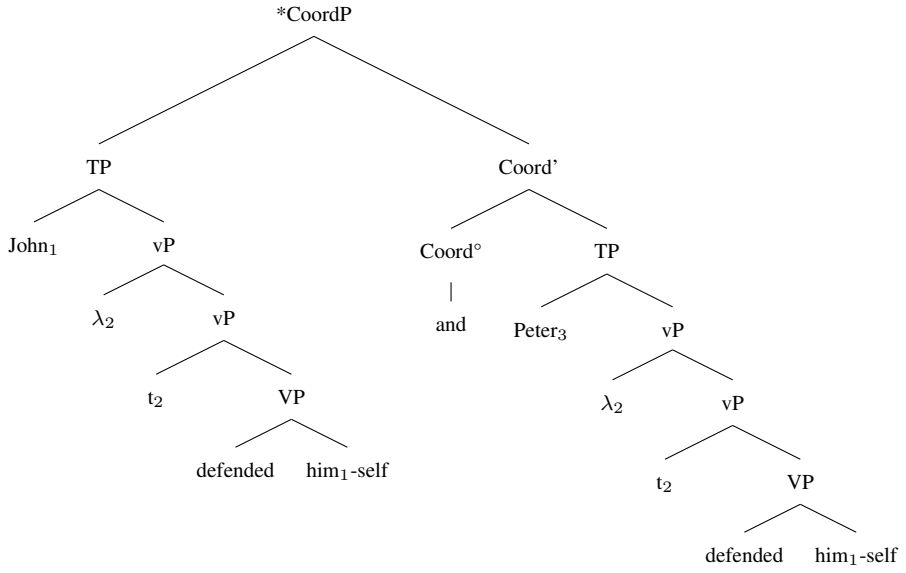
(59) John defended himself and Peter did too.

(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):
Peter defended Peter.

(ii) ✓Strict reading (coreference):
Peter defended John.

Let us consider the derivation of the strict reading on the classical account of ellipsis, where ellipsis arises via syntactic identity –that is by copying the antecedent vP into the ellipsis site at LF:

(60)



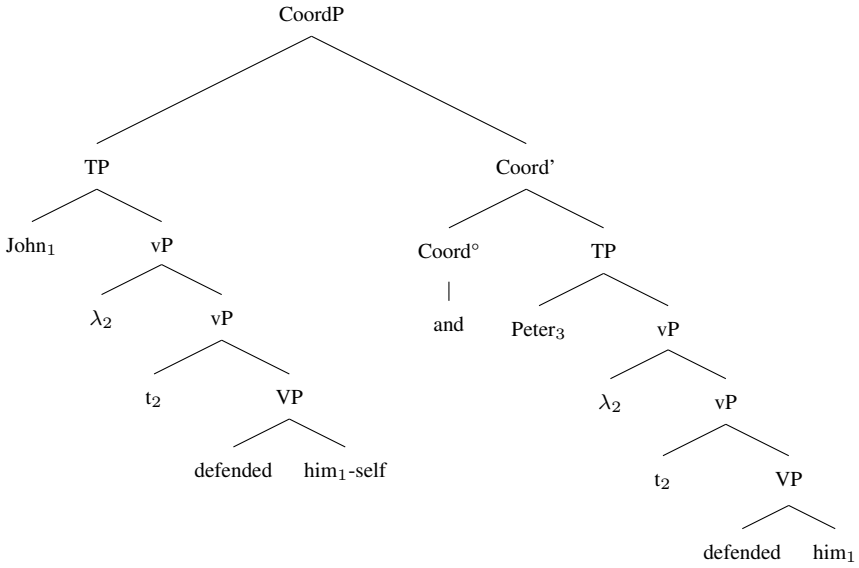
In the above LF, the standard c-command requirement on anaphors imposed by Condition A is not satisfied in the second conjunct, since the *self*-anaphor is free in that conjunct. A possible way out to avoid this violation of Condition A would be to postulate a modification of Condition A so as to allow reflexives to be coreferential with non-local antecedents –that is, not to be subject to syntactic binding. This solution, however, overgenerates, triggering undesirable results since it wrongly predicts that sentences such (61) will be grammatical, as pointed out by McKillen (2016, p. 18):

(61) *John saw that Mary saw himself.

In order to avoid these unsatisfactory results, Bruening (2021), Büring (2005), and McKillen (2016) take the more radical position that there is no SELF-anaphor in fact in the elided conjunct.[19] In other words, strict readings under ellipsis arise not from an underlying SELF-anaphor, but rather by positing a coreferential pronoun in the elided VP, as represented in the following derivation:

[19]See also Fiengo and May (1994) for an alternatively analysis in terms of vehicle change, as well as McKillen (2016) for detailed discussion.

(62)



The reader might then wonder how strict readings satisfy the conditions on ellipsis. Let us see how Büring's (2005) Focus matching analysis resolves this issue (see also McKillen (2016)).

Based on Rooth (1992), Büring adopts an approach whereby ellipsis proceeds under a semantic identity requirement of focus matching. As stated in (63) and (64), there is a requirement enforced on contrast/focus (according to which a phrase α can suitably contrast with another phrase β, if the ordinary semantic value of β is contained in the focus semantic value of α), which must be satisfied in order to license ellipsis:

(63) Contrasting phrases/ Focus matching

Construe a phrase α as contrasting/ focus matching with a phrase β if $[[\beta]]^{g,o} \in [\alpha]]^{g,f}$

(64) A VP can be elided if there is an antecedent constituent β that is focus matched by some constituent α dominating VP.

Büring (2005, p. 133)

To see how this works, consider the example in (65a) under the interpretation in (65b):

(65) a. John saw Peter and Bill did, too.

b. JOHN [$_{VP}$ saw Peter] and BILL [$_{VP}$ ~~saw Peter]~~ too.

As required by the condition in (63), the first conjunct can contrast with the second conjunct in (65b), since the ordinary semantic value of the antecedent clause (given in (66a) below) is an element of the elided clause's focus semantic value (given in (66b)).

(66) a. $[[\text{JOHN}_F\ [_{VP}\ \text{saw Peter}]]]^{g,o}$

= that John saw Peter

b. $[[\text{BILL}_F\ [_{VP}\ \text{saw Peter}]]]^{g,f}$

$= \{\text{that x saw Peter} : x \in D_e\}$

Since the constituent dominating the VP in (66b) has a well-formed contrasting constituent antecedent (i.e (66a)), the VP in (65b) can then be elided.

Let's now turn to the case involving a reflexive in (59), repeated in (67) for convenience:

(67) JOHN defended himself and PETER did too.

The LF for (67) is (68) where the reflexive in the antecedent clause is interpreted as a BV, as represented in (68a). Crucially, the anaphor in the elided clause is not a reflexive, but a pronoun as in (68b):

(68) a. $\text{JOHN}_{1,F}\ \lambda_2\ t_2\ [_{VP}\ \text{defended him}_2\text{-self}]$

b. $\text{PETER}_{3,F}\ \lambda_2\ t_2\ [_{VP}\ \text{defended him}_1]$

The respective denotations of the antecedent and the elided clause are given in (69a) and (69b):

(69) a. $[[(68a)]]^{g,o}$ = that John defended John

b. $[[(68b)]]^{g,f} = \{\text{that x defended John} : x \in D_e\}$

The ordinary semantic value of antecedent clause (69a) is contained in the focus semantic value of the elided clause (69b). Therefore the semantic identity requirement of focus matching is satisfied, and allowing VP-ellipsis.

Summarizing, the semantic approach to ellipsis, which makes it possible for nominal expressions in the antecedent and the elided constituent not to be isomorphic –as long as they satisfy focus matching–, gives a straightforward explanation of how SELF-anaphors allow strict reading in contexts of ellipsis. Crucially, this reading does not derive from a SELF-anaphor properly speaking being elided –a hypothesis that leads to Condition A violation–, but from a pronoun.[20]

6.5.2.1 Obligatory Controlled pronouns (SAME-anaphors) vs. reflexives (SELF-anaphors)

We have established that PRO-SAME-anaphors cannot give rise to strict readings under ellipsis, and that the strict reading of SELF-anaphors is actually an illusion, created by ellipsis of a non-reflexive pronoun. Now, this raises a new question regarding the first case: why couldn't we assume a similar derivation for OC constructions –thus overgenerating, but incorrectly predicting the availability of strict readings under ellipsis. That is, why couldn't we postulate that an overt PRO-SAME anaphor in the second elided conjunct is also a regular (referentially free) pronoun?

The derivation of the strict reading of a reflexive pronoun under ellipsis (as illustrated in (62)) rests on the assumption that reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns alternate freely –be it, in the object position of a transitive verb, or the subject position governed by an ECM verb. Given this alternation, and since we can not see what is contained in an elided VP, we can easily assume that the elided VP contains a freely referring pronoun, rather that an anaphor. Since there is no SELF-reflexive inside the elided VP, there is simply no SELF presupposition to be satisfied, and the freely referring pronoun inside the elided VP can refer to the subject of the antecedent VP, yielding the strict reading.

The same, however, is crucially not true for obligatorily controlled subject positions. Compare OC in (70), on the one hand, with both a reflexive (71) and an

[20]Note that McKillen (2016) discusses genuine reflexive construals under ellipsis where indeed a SELF-anaphor is elided and its strict reading is accounted for in terms of presupposition weakening.

ECM (72) configuration. In the latter two, the reflexive can freely alternate with a pronoun. In contrast, in (70) where the matrix verbs selects a controlled infinitival complement clause, the semantics of OC prohibit the embedded controlled subject from freely referring (70b) and, as such, from alternating with a freely referring pronoun.

(70) a. Daniela$_1$ prometió preparar ella$_1$ (misma)/PRO$_1$ la cena.

b. *Daniela$_1$ prometió preparar ella$_2$/PRO$_2$ la cena.
Daniela promised prepare.INF she/ the dinner
'Daniela promised to prepare the dinner.'

(71) a. Juan$_1$ se$_1$/lo$_2$ vió en su sueños.

b. John$_1$ saw himself$_1$/him$_2$ in his dream.

(72) a. Juan$_1$ se$_1$/ lo$_2$ vió bailar.

b. John$_1$ saw himself$_1$/him$_2$ dancing.

We have argued that the semantics of OC can be captured by positing a SAME-anaphor (that can be covert in e.g. (70a); see the extension to null PRO directly below) triggering a presupposition of identity between the controller and the controllee. Crucially, if the control structure in (70) were to be elided, there is no alternative well-formed structure with a freely referring pronoun (70b) that could be generated, to serve as the input to ellipsis in order to generate the strict reading, unlike in (71) and (72). It goes without saying, that more should be said on the semantics of OC verbs when they select infinitival clauses to explain the unavailability of (70b), instead of merely stipulating that OC verbs selects infinitival complements whose subject is required to be a PRO SAME-anaphor, but this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

This concludes our analysis of OC configurations involving overt PRO SAME-anaphors in complement clauses (for *para*-finality clauses, see Section 6.8) below. We now show how the novel analysis of OC put forth here can be straightforwardly extended to silent PRO SAME-anaphors (section 6.6), while accounting at the same

for why silent PRO only allows BV construals –be it under ellipsis or under association with focus (Section 6.7).

6.6 Extending the presuppositional account to null PRO-SAME anaphors

Until now we have only considered the presuppositional analysis of OC with overt PRO SAME anaphors. We have shown (i) how binary control predicates can be syntactically formed via movement of the controller and the controllee/overt PRO SAME anaphors (section 6.4.1) and (ii) how OC interpretations can be derived by means of an identity presupposition triggered by a SAME-anaphor (section 6.4.4).

In this section, we will show that our proposal automatically extends to OC cases with null PRO-SAME anaphors. I start off with the derivation of binary predicates involving a null PRO-SAME anaphor. Then I show how sloppy/BV are derived on a presuppositional analysis of OC – be it under association with *only*, or ellipsis.

By hypothesis, the control sentence in (73b) will have the representation in (73a) with a null PRO SAME-anaphor:

(73) a. Daniela prometió preparar [PRO-~~SAME~~] la cena.

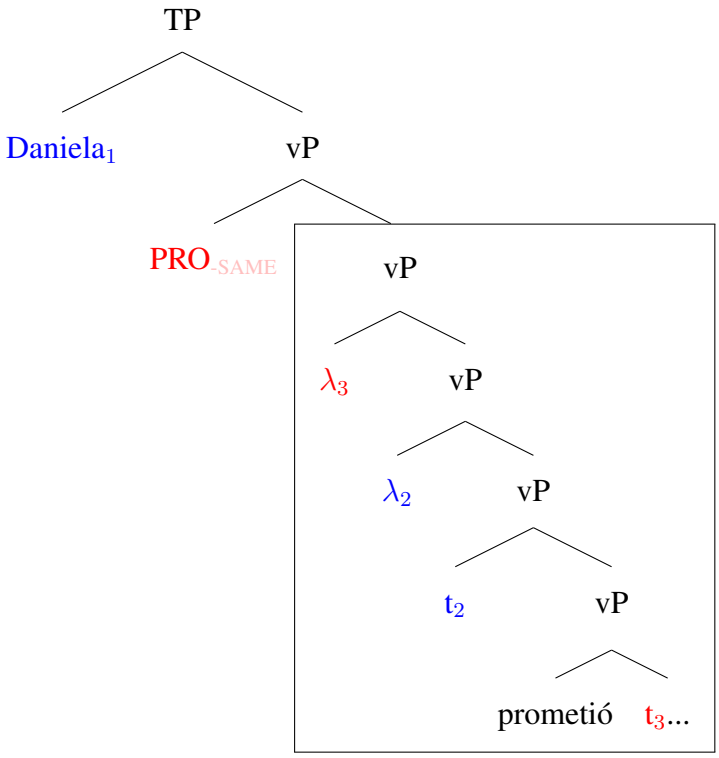
b. Daniela prometió preparar la cena.
Daniela promised prepare.INF the dinner
'Daniela promised to prepare the dinner.'

Following the derivation proposed for OC sentences containing an overt PRO SAME anaphor, control sentence in (73) with null PRO SAME anaphors involves forming a derived predicate.

We start by moving the matrix controlling DP *Daniela* to Spec, TP. This movement triggers insertion of a first λ-abstractor binding the trace left by the DP *Daniela*. Then we proceed to move PRO-SAME tucking it in below its controller, triggering in turn the insertion of a second λ-abstractor, binding the trace of PRO-SAME. The

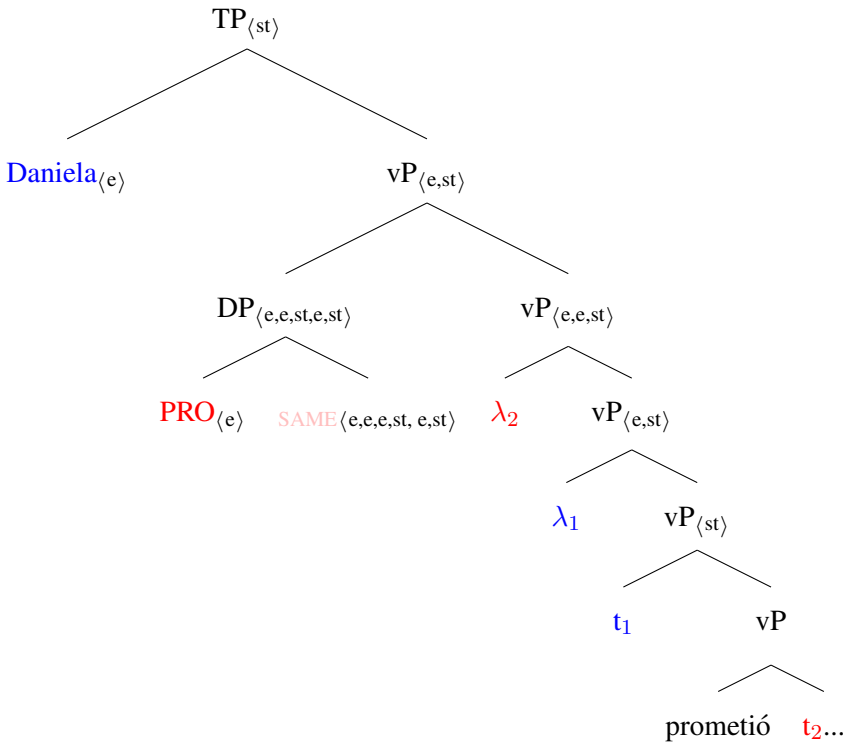
resulting derived binary predicate is represented in (74):

(74)



By hypothesis, on the proposal developed in section 6.4.3, SAME triggers a presupposition of identity between the two raised arguments of the derived predicate, thus accounting for OC construals. The corresponding semantic composition is given in (75). The only difference between the representations in (74)-(75) with null PRO and those in (36)-(47) with overt PRO, is that SAME is always silent when it combines with null PRO.

(75)



Recall from Chapter 2.1, that null PRO-SAME anaphors yield BV readings, be it under association with *only* (76) or ellipsis contexts (78) (just like overt PRO-SAME anaphors in the latter context). The derivations for BV readings with null PRO will proceed exactly as they did with overt PRO (see (50) above). The derivations of the sloppy reading are given in (76) for association-with-focus contexts, and (78) for ellipsis contexts.:

(76) Sólo Eduard prometió [Ø] hacer la cena.
only Eduard promised make.INF the dinner
'Only Eduard promised to prepare the dinner.'

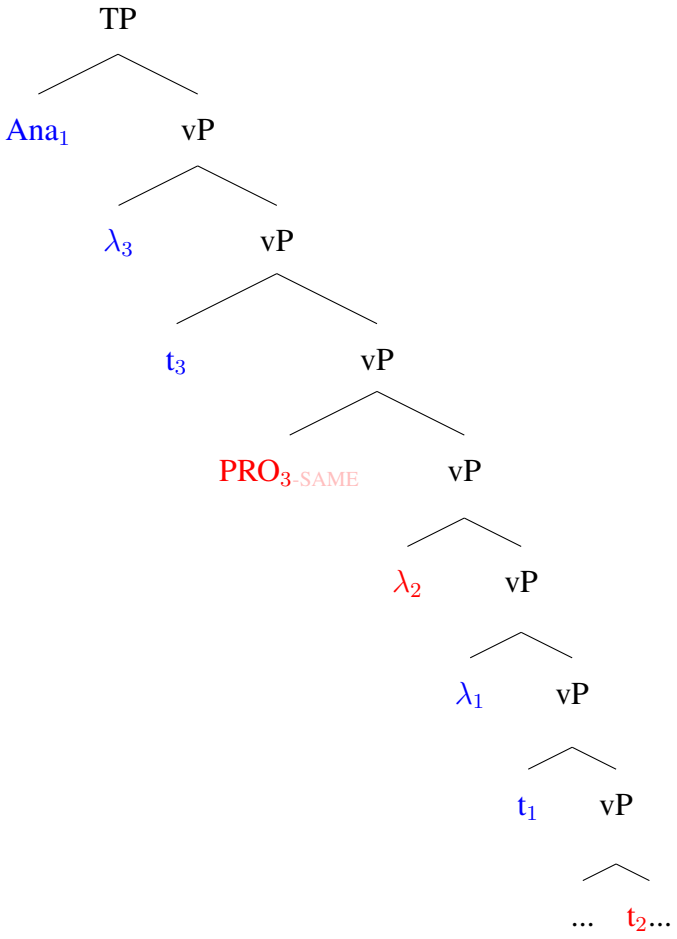
(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

No, Daniel also promised to prepare himself the dinner.

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

No, Daniel also promised that Eduard would prepare the dinner

(77)



(78) Ana prefiere comprar PRO los disfraces y Carla también.
Ana prefers buy.INF the costumes and Carla also
'Ana prefers to buy the costumes and Carla does too.'

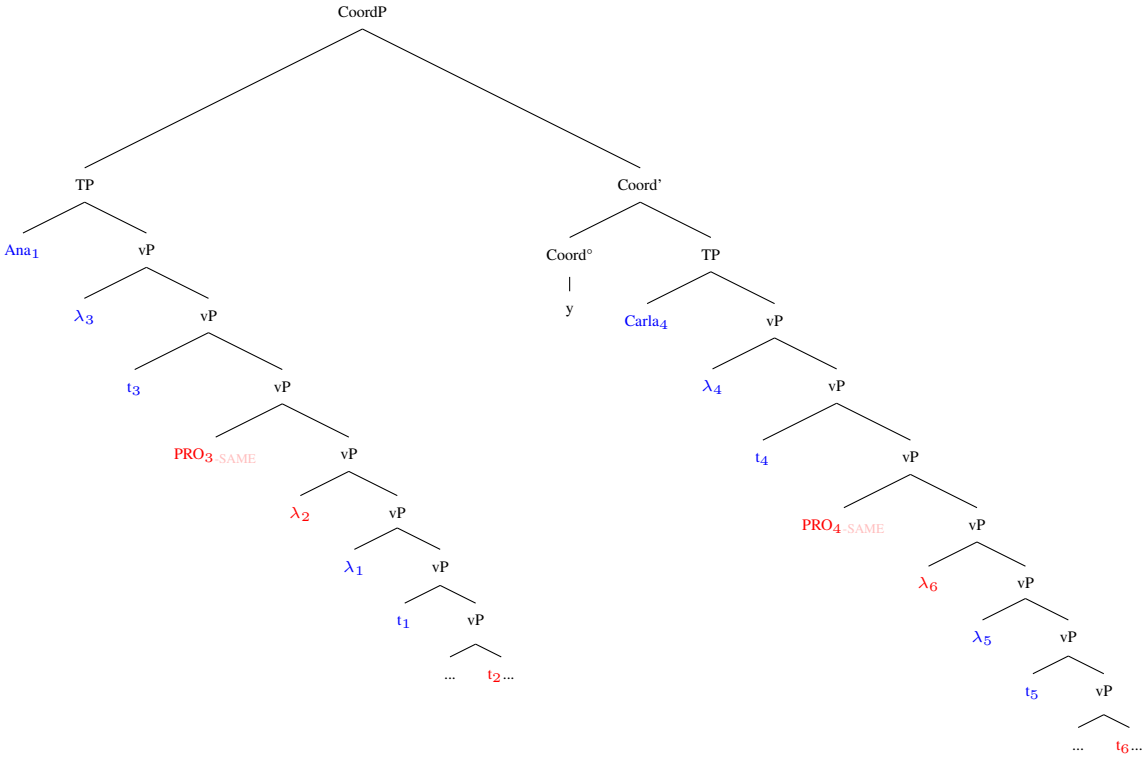
(i) ✓Sloppy reading (BVA):

Carla prefers that Carla buys the costumes.

(ii) ✗Strict reading (coreference):

Carla prefers that Ana buys the costumes.

(79)



Now, as shown in (77) and (79), PRO is always semantically bound by its controller. This automatically rules out a strict reading, be it under ellipsis (78(ii)), or under association with focus (76(ii)). The BV construal in (77) and (79) is achieved via an extra-step of movement –namely, that of the controller, which serves to insert a local-binder in the the representation. Obviously, variable binding of PRO by its controller satisfied the presupposition of identity triggered by SAME.[21]

The remaining question to be answered is why null PRO-SAME anaphors can only be construed as BVs, unlike overt PRO-SAME anaphors, which also allows the option of coreference. A question that we have in fact already answered in Chapter 5.5, and to which we now return directly below.

[21]The attentive reader will recall that strict readings are ruled out under ellipsis – even with overt PRO, for the reasons extensively discussed in 6.5 above.

6.7 On overt PRO *vs.* null PRO-SAME anaphors

In the previous chapter (Chapter 5.6), we tied the interpretative contrast between null PRO and overt PRO to ϕ-feature specification. Building on Heim (2008), we claimed that ϕ-features on overt PRO (just like ϕ-features on a run of the mill overt pronoun) can be either specified or unspecified in the underlying structure, whereas null PRO only have the second option available. These two options were illustrated with the derivations in (29) and (30), from Chapter 5.5, repeated below.

(80) Sólo Eduard$_1$ prometió hacer él$_1$ la cena.
only Eduard promised make.INF he the dinner
'Only Eduard promised to prepare himself the dinner.'

(81) *Coreference derivation*:

a. Base-generated/PF representations:

Only [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg Eduard$_1$] promised to prepare [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg pro$_1$] the dinner]

b. LF:

Only [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg Eduard$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ promised to prepare [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg pro$_1$] the dinner]

(82) *Bound variable derivation*:

a. Base-generated/LF representations

Only [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg Eduard$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ promised to prepare [Ø pro$_2$] the dinner]

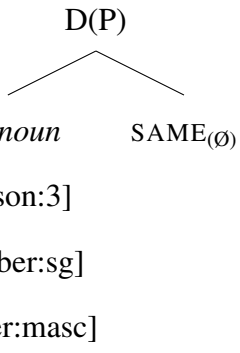
b. PF (feature transmission):

Only [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg Eduard$_1$] λ_2[t$_2$ promised to prepare [$_{DP}$ 3^{d}sg pro$_2$] the dinner]

It this chapter, we put forth a theory of control that sought to extend Sauerland's presuppositional analysis of SELF- reflexive anaphors, to overt/null PRO, re-baptized overt/null SAME-anaphors. The proposal is that SAME anaphors decompose into two components: a pronominal variable and SAME –which triggers an identity presupposition over the arguments of a derived binary control predicate.

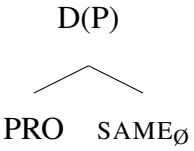
Putting the pieces (from Chapter 5.5 and Chapter 6 above) together, yields the following representation for an overt SAME-anaphor, such as *él* in (80), involving the following two components: a pronoun/variable ranging over individuals and with no lexical content other than a full specification of ϕ-features, and SAME which can be either silent (henceforth $\text{SAME}_{\emptyset}$), or overt. (83) below is the representation associated with *él (mismo)*:

(83)



Null PRO differs from an overt PRO SAME-anaphor in but one crucial respect: it involves a variable without any ϕ-feature specification –by convention represented as PRO. When SAME combines with silent PRO, it must itself be silent, as shown below:

(84)



Chapter 5.5 attributed the interpretative contrast between null vs. overt PRO SAME-anaphors to a more basic property of these elements: the presence vs. absence of ϕ-feature specifications. Our idea was that it is precisely because null PRO is a silent SAME anaphor –and, as such, base-generated without any ϕ-features (cf. Heim 2005; Kratzer 1998, 2009; Landau 2015)– that the only possible construal it can yield is the BV/sloppy reading. In other words, it is because silent SAME-anaphors are featureless –have no ϕ-features presuppositions allowing them to be semantically free, to refer indexically– that they never yield strict/coreferential read-

ings. We derived this insight from the following set of assumptions. We adopted the prevalent view in the literature (cf. Heim 2008; Kratzer 1998; Schlenker 1999, 2003 a.o.) that ϕ-features on bound pronouns behave as if they were semantically inert. On a *PF feature transmission* approach, this is captured by allowing for derivations with a mismatch between PF and LF: pronouns can be base-generated featureless, in which case, they will have no semantically active ϕ-features at LF. Feature transmission at PF allows, however, such semantically inert pronouns to be pronounced with a full set of ϕ-features. The important point is that by the logic of this argumentation, "all free pronouns must have underlying, hence semantically active, features" (Heim 2008, p. 48). And since null PRO is by definition underlyingly featureless ((84) above), then it cannot be free and thus support coreference, since the latter is a relation between a free pronominal variable and a referring DP. In contrast, overt PRO, like any pronoun, can be base-generated with a fully specified feature matrix, or as featureless. If it is generated with a full set of ϕ-features (as in (83)), then it can be a free pronominal variable and, as such, support coreference.

One last remark. The above proposal correlates lack of active semantic features at LF, with lack of phonological features at PF, and there is an obvious counter example to this insight: so-called *pro*, which on a feature Transmission approach is analyzed as a silent pronoun (no feature transmission at PF) that is ambiguous at LF (depending on whether it is base-generated or not with ϕ-feature specifications). But anticipating on Chapter 7 (see also footnote 6, Chapter 5), we can maintain a one-to-one mapping between lacking phonological ϕ-features and lacking semantic ϕ-features, once we adopt Duguine's (2013; 2014) claim that *pro* is not a theoretical primitive but, rather, derived via ellipsis of an overt pronoun (or full DP).

We close this chapter by showing how our proposal nicely extends to the remaining instances of OC with *para*-finality clauses.

6.8 Extending the presuppositional account to *para*-finality clauses

Recall from Chapter 3.6 and Chapter 4.2 that *para*-finality clauses display properties of subject and object OC. Importantly for us, however, null and overt PRO (by extension SAME anaphors) in *para*-infinitives exhibit the same interpretive contrast, already observed with complement clauses. That is while null PRO SAME anaphors are only construed under BV/sloppy readings (be it either under association with *only*, or elliptical contexts), overt PRO-SAME anaphors are construed under strict/coreferential -alongside their BV/sloppy– readings under association with *only*, but not under ellipsis. A summary of these results was already given in Chapter 4.2.3 and is repeated in table 6.1 for convenience:

		Null PRO		Overt PRO	
		Para-infinitives	Complements	Para-infinitives	Complements
BV	Ellipsis test	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Association with-focus-test	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Coreference	Ellipsis test	No	No	No	No
	Association with-focus-test	No	No	Yes	Yes

Table 6.1: Asymmetrical properties of null vs. overt PRO in para-infinitives and complement clauses.

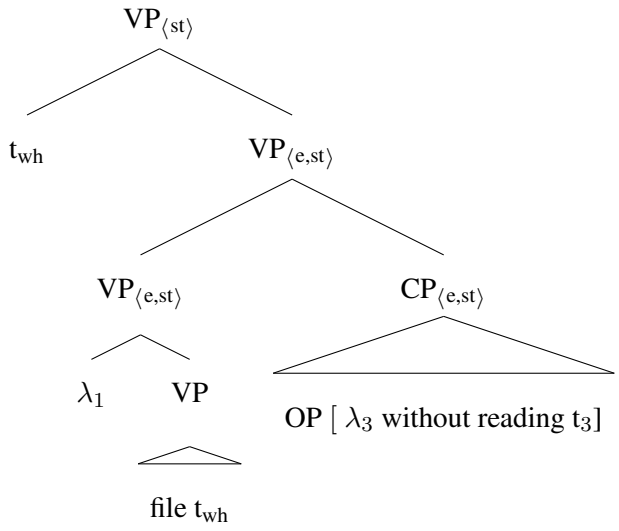
The striking parallelism between complement and *para*-finality clauses, established in this thesis, comes as no surprise, since, for the reasons outlined below, the presuppositional approach to OC developed here automatically extends to OC *para*-finality clauses. In the following lines I will discuss the motivation for this proposal and the way to implement it.

As mentioned in section 6.3.2, complex derived predicates were initially proposed by Nissenbaum (2000) to account for adjunct clauses containing parasitic gaps, as in (85a). The basic insight of this proposal is that derived predicates involve multiple movement dependencies: *wh*-movement in the main clause and null

operator movement in the adjunct clause. These two derived predicates undergo predicate conjunction by Predicated Modification. The resulting complex derived predicate is saturated by the intermediate trace of the wh-movement, as represented in (85b):

(85) a. Which paper did John file t_{wh} [without reading $_{pg}$]?

b.



As we can see in (85b), Nissenbaum's analysis analysis locates the adjunct clause quite low in the structure, at the VP level. This conforms to Landau's (2021) generalization, according to which the level of attachment of an adjunct correlates with its (N)OC properties. Specifically, Landau concludes that adjunct clauses with either Non- or optional Obligatory Control attach to higher VP-external positions, while adjunct clauses with strict OC attach to lower VP-internal positions.

In this context, recall my proposal that *para*-finality clauses, by virtue of their selectional properties, attach to a lower position inside the VP –on **a par with OC complement clauses** (see Chapter 3.4.2). My arguments in a nutshell were the following.

The first piece of evidence comes from Galán Rodriguez's observation that *para*- finality clauses are obligatorily selected by predicates like *servirrr*:

(86) Este actor no servirá *(para interpretar el papel).
This actor no serve.FUT for interpret.INF the paper
'This actor is not good to play the role.'

(Galán Rodriguez (1999, p. 117))

Similarly, just like OC complement, *para*-finality clauses are selected by verbs triggering object control (see also Chapter 4.2 for a detailed discussion of these constructions):

(87) Lo animó para levantar el puntaje
CL.3M persuaded for up the score
'he was persuaded to get a better score.'

(my glossing, adapted from RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 4282))

Additionally, with verbs of movement, complements introduced by the prepositional complementizer *a* (considered the closest element to the verb) can be replaced by clauses headed by *para* (see RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 4282) for (88) and RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 5410) for (89) :

(88) Me acerqué a/para mirar
CL.31SG closed to/for see.INF
'I got close to see.'

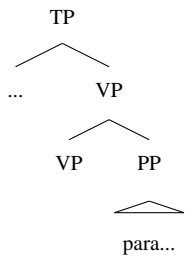
(89) Se fue a/para cambiar de aires
CL.3 gone to/for change.INF of airs
'He/she is gone to change of scenery.'

Finally, like other instances enforcing semantic selection, *para*-finality clauses are subject to the matching requirement between the relativized and focused constituents in pseudo-cleft constructions (see Cabrera (1999, p. 4276)):

(90) Para lo que vinieron fue para recoger el dinero.
for ART.3SG that came.3PL was for collect.INF the money
'The reason they came was to collect the money.'

On the basis of these arguments, I assume the following structure for the embedding of OC *para*-finality clauses:

(91)

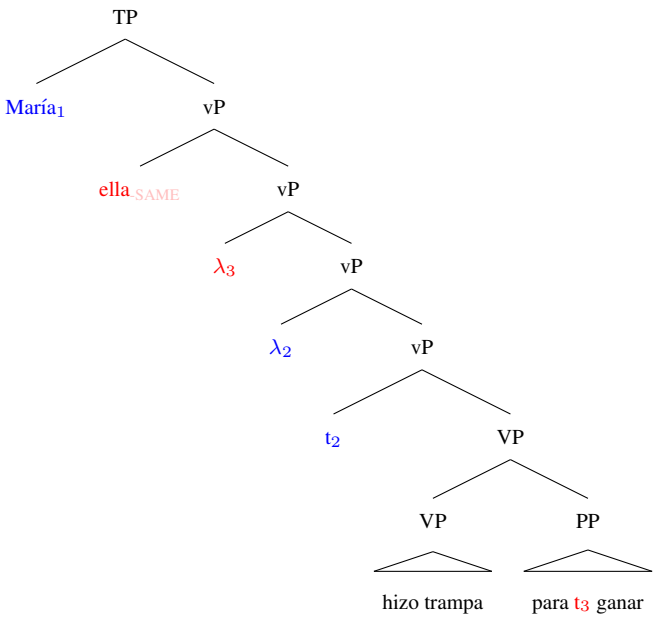


This analysis of *para*-finality infinitives nicely converges with Landau's (2021) generalizations regarding OC adjuncts. In particular, Landau argues that these clauses are not only syntactically, but also semantically comparable to complement clauses associated with OC: "strict OC adjunct "blend into" selected complement clauses in the sense that their semantic contribution is remarkably close to that of such complements. This close similarity is explained if, like complements, these adjunct merge with the internal verbal root and "augment" its score meaning" Landau (2021, p. 13).

The creation of a derived binary predicate with a *para*-finality clause (e.g 92) will then proceed exactly as it did for OC complements in section 6.4.1, as represented below:

(92) María$_1$ hizo trampa [para ella$_1$ ganar].
María made trap for she.NOM win.INF
'María cheated in order for herself to win.'

(93)



This proposal automatically accounts for the interpretative properties of both null and overt PRO-SAME-anaphors in *para*-finality clauses. The derivation of BV/sloppy and strict/coreferential readings for overt PRO-SAME anaphors in *para*-finality clauses will proceed exactly as it did in complement clauses (6.4.4). The restriction to BV/sloppy for both null and overt SAME-anaphors under ellipsis in *para*-clauses will be explained exactly as it was in complement clauses (6.5.1).

Finally, the assumption (motivated in 6.7 above) that featureless pronouns cannot be underlyingly free and, as such, yield strict/coreferential readings, explains why a null PRO-SAME anaphors in a *para*-finality clause only allows for sloppy/BV readings.

Chapter 7

NOC null subjects: an ellipsis account

7.1 Introduction

We have shown in Chapter 3.5 that the null subject of *sin*-infinitives exhibits a uniform pattern of NOC, summarized as follows:

- It does not need to be c-commanded by its antecedent.
- It can have non-local antecedents.
- It yields ambiguous (sloppy/ BV and strict/coreferential) readings under elliptical contexts.
- It yields ambiguous (sloppy/ BV and strict/coreferential) readings under contexts of association with focus.
- It alternates with referentially free overt DPs.

These properties also correspond to those of pronouns –that is, of variables that can be free or bound (and subject to Condition B of Binding Theory). As is well-known, moreover, subject pronouns in so-called *pro-drop* languages, display the

same characteristic properties, differing from overt pronouns in non-*pro*-drop languages in that they be can be phonologically silent, and, as such, have been classically analyzed as pronouns lacking of a phonological matrix (i.e. *pro*), (see a.o. Chomsky 1981, 1982; Rizzi 1986; and section 7.2 which builds, however, on an altogether different analysis of *pro*).

For all these reasons, it is thus logical to postulate that the NOC-like null subjects of *sin*-infinitives are in fact the same type of element as the null subjects of finite clauses (see also Duguine (2013) and Rigau (1995)). Interestingly, this hypothesis converges with the proposal made by Hornstein (1999) whereby NOC null subjects of languages such as English are not PROs, but *pros*.

And more generally, it converges with the approaches developed by authors such Barbosa (2019) that seek to offer a unifying characterization of the properties of null subjects across dimensions such as non-finite vs. finite, as explored here, and beyond, e.g. type of *pro*-drop language (semi, partial, discourse and consistent) (see also e.g. Roberts (2019)).

This chapter brings more evidence –in particular, from null subjects in *sin*-infinitives– in favor of the analysis of NOC PRO as *pro*, exploring a global explanation that not only accounts for their structural properties and why they alternate with overt DPs, but also correctly predicts their sloppy/strict ambiguity.

In particular, I show how an analysis that simply appeals to the semantic identity condition on ellipsis already adopted in Chapter 6 (cf. Büring (2005) and Rooth (1992)), nicely accounts for the strict and sloppy readings of these null subjects –whether the latter are embedded in a larger elided constituent (that is, embedded under TP ellipsis configurations) or not.

Building on Duguine's (2013; 2014) analysis of *pro*-drop in terms of DP-ellipsis, we put forth a novel analysis of these NOC null subjects. On this proposal, DPs surfacing in the subject position of a *sin*-infinitive clause can undergo ellipsis under the right conditions.

The structure of the chapter is the following. Section 7.2 discusses the status of null subjects as elided DPs in *pro*-drop configurations and *sin*-infinitives. Section 7.3 shows how the sloppy/strict construals of null subjects in *sin*-infinitives can be derived from the conditions governing ellipsis, discussing two proposals in turn: Duguine's (2013, 2014) adaption of Fox' (2000) Parallelism condition on ellipsis (7.3.1), and Büring's (2005)/Rooth's (1992) Focus Matching condition (7.3.2). 7.3.3 proposes a natural extension of this approach to DP ellipsis to account for the sloppy/strict ambiguity of null subjects in *sin*-infinitives. Finally, section 7.4 concludes this chapter.

7.2 Null (referentially free) subjects as elided DPs

This section has two interconnected goals. On the one hand, I show that the null subject of *sin*-infinitives can be characterized as so-called *pro*, i.e., the null argument allowed in the subject position of finite clauses in Spanish, a *pro-drop* language. In parallel, the data will lead me to conclude that these null subjects –like the *pro* subjects of finite clauses– are elided pronouns/DPs, rather than empty pronominals.

First, in section 7.2.1, I present two different accounts of *pro*-drop: the argument ellipsis account and the null *pro*nominal account. Then I show, in section 7.2.2, that the NOC null subject of *sin*-infinitives is better characterized under the second account. Finally, section 7.2.3 summarizes the main points.

7.2.1 The argument-ellipsis analysis of Spanish pro-drop

The literature on null arguments has traditionally distinguished *consistent pro-drop* languages like Spanish and Italian, from *radical pro-drop* languages like Japanese (see for instance Barbosa (2019), Biberauer et al. (2009), and Camacho (2013) and references therein). The former type is usually associated with rich agreement morphology, whereas the latter type is associates with the lack of agreement.

As discussed in Duguine (2013, 2014), one of the main arguments in favor of a distinction between these two types of *pro*-drop comes from particular interpretive differences, first observed by Oku (1998). Oku puts forth the following generalization: while null arguments in radical *pro*-drop allow both strict and sloppy readings, null arguments in consistent *pro*-drop only allow strict readings. Oku illustrates this generalization with the following data from Japanese –considered a radical *pro*-drop language– vs. Spanish –a consistent *pro*-drop language–, respectively in (1) and (2):

(1) a. Mary-wa [zibun-no teian-ga saiyo-sare-ru-to] omotteiru.
Mary.TOP self.GEN proposal.NOM accept.PASS.PRES.that think
Lit. 'Mary thinks that self's proposal will be accepted.'

b. John-mo [[e] saiyo-sare-ru-to] omotteiru.
John.also accept.PASS.PRES.that think
Lit. John also thinks that [e] will be accepted.

(i) ✓Strict reading:

'John also thinks that Mary's proposal will be accepted.'

(ii) ✓Sloppy reading:

'John also thinks that his own proposal will be accepted.'

(2) a. María$_1$ cree [que [su$_1$ propuesta]$_2$ sera aceptada].
María believes that her proposal be.FUT.3SG accepted
'Maria believes that her proposal will be accepted.'

b. Juan también cree que [e] será aceptada.
Juan also believes that be.FUT.3SG accepted
Lit. Juan also believes that [e] will be accepted.

(i) ✓Strict reading:

'Juan also believes that María's proposal will be accepted.'

(ii) ✗Sloppy reading:

'Juan also believes that his own proposal will be accepted.'

An important aspect of this contrast is that it has led naturally to very different analyses of the silent embedded subject in Japanese vs. Spanish type languages. Thus, in Spanish, postulating that the null subject is a pronominal expression *pro* –as characterized in e.g. Chomsky (1982) or Rizzi (1986)– explains the unavailability

of the sloppy reading in (2b). The embedded subject pronoun can only refer to an individual already introduced in the discourse context. Therefore, as illustrated in English (3) (adapted from Oku 1998, p. 166), the pronoun *it* in the second conjunct can refer to Mary's proposal, but not to John's proposal.

(3) Mary_1 believes that [her_1 proposal]$_2$ will be accepted and John believes that $\text{it}_{2/*3}$ will be accepted, too.

Turning to Japanese, a pronominal analysis will of course not be possible for null subjects, since they ambiguously allow either the strict reading in (1bi), or the sloppy reading in (1bii) which a pronoun cannot give rise to, as we have just seen with the English example in (3). However, as shown by Oku (1998), the availability of a sloppy reading is exactly what we would expect under an analysis in terms of argument-ellipsis (see also the rich literature on this topic in radical *pro*-drop languages, e.g. Han et al. 2020; S. Kim 1999; Saito 2007; Sakamoto 2017; Takahashi 2014; Tomioka 2003). Assuming that the embedded subject position hosts a complex DP subject (containing a possessive pronoun bound by the matrix subject) that is elided (thus surfacing without a phonological matrix), but interpreted at LF, can indeed account for this reading. This is shown with the example in (4), with the equivalent overt DP (adapted from Oku 1998, p. 178):

(4) a. Mary-wa [[zibun-no ronbun-ga] saiyo-sare-ru-to] omotteiru.
Mary.TOP self.GEN paper.NOM accept.PASS.PRES.that think
Lit. 'Mary thinks that self's paper will be accepted.'

b. John-mo [[zibun-no ronbun-ga] saiyo-sare-ru-to] omotteiru.
John.also self.GEN paper.NOM accept.PASS.PRES.that think
Lit. 'John also thinks that self's paper will be accepted.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading:

'John also thinks that his own paper will be accepted.'

However, as shown by Duguine (2013, 2014), Oku's generalization is incorrect, since null arguments in Spanish do allow for sloppy readings in contexts such as (5):

(5) a. María$_1$ cree [que [su$_1$ jefa]$_2$ le$_1$ exigirá mucho
María believes that POSS boss CL.3SGDAT require.FUT.3SG much
trabajo].
work
'María believes that her boss will require a lot of work from her.'

b. Y Ana$_3$ espera [que [Ø] le$_3$ dejará los fines de semana
and Ana hopes that CL.3SGDAT leave.FUT.3SG the ends of week
libre].
free
'And Ana hopes [Ø] will leave her the weekends free.'

(i) ✓Strict reading:

And Ana hopes that María's boss will leave her the weekends free.

(ii) ✓Sloppy reading:

And Ana hopes that her (own) boss will leave her the weekends free.

(adapted from Duguine (2014, p. 520))

Examples (6)-(7) –which differ minimally from (5)– show that while an overt pronoun *ella* 'her' in the embedded subject position cannot give rise to a sloppy reading, the complex DP *su jefa* 'her boss' can:

(6) ...Y Ana$_3$ espera [que ella$_{1/*4}$ le$_3$ dejará los fines de semana
and Ana hopes that she CL.3SGDAT leave.FUT.3SG the ends of week
libre].
free
'And Ana hopes she will leave her the weekends free.'

(i) ✗Sloppy reading:

And Ana hopes that her (own) boss will leave her the weekends free.

(7) ...Y Ana$_3$ espera [que [su$_3$ jefa]$_4$ le$_3$ dejará los fines de
and Ana hopes that POSS boss CL.3SGDAT leave.FUT.3SG the ends of
semana libre].
week free
'And Ana hopes she will leave her the weekends free.'

(i) ✓Sloppy reading:

And Ana hopes that her (own) boss will leave her the weekends free.

The lack of ambiguity in (6) follows from the fact that the embedded pronoun *ella* has no prior discourse antecedent with which it could corefer that would allow the sloppy interpretation in (5). In contrast, substituting the full R-expression *su jefa* for the silent subject does give rise to the intended sloppy reading. We conclude from the above explicit contrast in (6) vs. (7), that the sloppy reading of the null subject in (5) can be accounted for by postulating an elided DP, but not a null pronominal subject.

Duguine thus proposes that null arguments of consistent *pro*-drop languages such as Spanish be analyzed as elided arguments, in line with the ellipsis approach to radical pro-drop languages.

7.2.2 Extending the ellipsis analysis to *sin*-infinitives

Returning now to the null subject of *sin*-infinitive, we can see that it too can behave as a complex R-expression, displaying a non-pronominal reading. The crucial piece of data is given below. Consider a conversation like (8) where the subject of the *sin*-infinitive in (8B) is null:

(8) A. María$_1$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa]$_2$ decirle$_1$ nada].
María stopped of work.INF without POSS boss say.INF.3SG nothing
'María stopped working without her boss saying anything to her.'

B. Y Ana$_3$ también dejó de trabajar [sin [Ø] decirle$_3$ nada].
and Ana also stopped of work.INF without say.INF.3SG nothing
'And Ana also stopped working without saying anything to her.'

The null subject is ambiguous, in that it can yield two interpretations, and the sentence can thus be interpreted as in (9a) or (9b), respectively. That is, it can refer either to María's boss or to Ana's boss.

(9) a. ✓Strict reading:

And Ana also stopped working without María's boss saying anything to her.

b. ✓Sloppy reading:

And Ana also stopped working without her own boss saying anything to her.

The strict reading in (9a) could in principle be explained if the null subject in (8B) were a covert pronominal expression, corefering with the DP *su jefa* 'her boss' introduced in the previous discourse in (8A). However, since Ana's boss has not been introduced in the prior discourse context, positing a null pronominal expression in (8B) would logically not give rise to the sloppy interpretation in (9b). This is confirmed by (10): substituting an overt pronoun for the silent subject in (8B) can give rise to the strict interpretation in (9a), but not to the sloppy one in (9b):

(10) A. María$_1$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa]$_2$ decirle$_1$ nada].
María stopped of work.INF without POSS boss say.INF.3SG nothing
'María stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.'

B. Y Ana$_3$ también dejó de trabajar [sin ella$_2$ decirle$_3$
and Ana also stopped of work.INF without she.NOM say.INF.3SG
nada].
nothing
'And Ana also stopped working without her saying nothing to her.'

The sloppy reading for the sentence in (8B) can however be accounted for if we postulate that, rather than a pronoun, the null subject is the covert complex R-expression *su jefa* 'her boss'. The DP-ellipsis analysis would make it possible for the possessive pronoun *su* inside the (covert) R-expression to be bound by the higher subject *Ana*, giving rise to the targeted sloppy reading in (9b). The ambiguity of (11), where the null subject has been overtly spelled out as the DP *su jefa*, and which allows both the sloppy reading in (9b) and the strict reading in (9a), corroborates this:

(11) A. María$_1$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa]$_2$ decirle$_2$ nada].
María stopped of work.INF without POSS boss say.INF.3SG nothing
'María stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.'

B. Y Ana$_3$ también dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_3$ jefa]$_4$ decirle$_3$ nada].
and Ana also stopped of work.INF without POSS boss say.INF.3SG nothing
'And Ana also stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.'

That (11B) with an overt R-expression in subject position yields the same sloppy reading as (8B) with a silent subject suggests that, rather than a null pronominal, the null subject of (8B) is a phonologically null complex R-expression embedding the possessive pronoun *su*.

In sum, the availability of sloppy readings for the null subjects of *sin*-infinitives provides a compelling argument for a DP-ellipsis analysis.

7.2.3 Interim summary

The data on the interpretative properties of null subjects discussed in this section has strengthened the hypothesis put forth in section 7.2.1 whereby the null subject of *sin*-infinitives, which displays NOC properties, is actually *pro*; that is, the very same null subject found in finite clauses in *pro-drop* languages. The availability of sloppy readings for null subjects in *sin*-infinitive, just like for null subjects in finite clauses (Duguine (2013, 2014)) has led us to propose that silent subjects in Spanish, be it in *sin*-infinitives or in finite clauses– are not null pronouns, but rather *elided* DPs, as has been proposed for silent subjects in radical *pro*-drop languages such as Japanese.

7.3 Focus matching in argument-ellipsis

This section is devoted to explaining how we can derive the sloppy/strict ambiguity of null subjects from the conditions governing ellipsis. First? I present the DP-ellipsis analysis of the null subjects of *sin*-infinitives put forth in Gómez, Duguine, and Demirdache (2023) (building on Fox (2000) and Duguine (2013, 2014)).

7.3.1 Parallelism conditions on DP-ellipsis

Duguine (2013, 2014) puts forth an account of the conditions under which DP-ellipsis operates that can explain the ambiguities that null (that is, elided, on her proposal) subjects give rise to, allowing for strict and sloppy readings in relevant contexts. In particular, she adapts Fox' (2000) NP-Parallelism Principle as in (12), which is intended to allow NPs/DPs to be elided (as part of a larger elided constituent) under different conditions that yield ambiguous (strict vs. sloppy) interpretations.

The first condition presumes the notion of (same) referential value, the definition of which is given in (13), taken from Büring (2005, p. 132). The second condition requires that there be identical anaphoric dependencies –that is, either binding dependencies or coreference dependencies– holding (between the DP target of ellipsis and its antecedent) in the elided constituent and its antecedent constituent.

(12) **DP-Parallelism** (adapted from Fox (2000, p. 117) NP-Parallelism)
DPs in the elided constituent and their antecedents must either:
   a. have the same referential value (Referential Parallelism), or
   b. be linked by identical dependencies (Structural Parallelism).

(13) Ancillary definition (from Büring (2005, p. 132))
individual *a* is the referential value of NP in sentence S if
   a. NP refers to *a*, or
   b. NP is semantically bound in S to an NP with referential value a

Duguine's 2013 adaptation of Fox in (12) can straightforwardly be extended to explain the strict and sloppy readings of the null subjects of *sin*-infinitives. The relevant piece of data in (8) and its possible interpretations in (9) are repeated in (14)-(15):

(14) A. María$_1$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa]$_2$ decirle$_1$ nada].
María stopped of work.INF without POSS boss say.INF.3SG nothing
'María stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.'

B. Y Ana$_3$ también dejó de trabajar [sin [Ø] decirle$_3$ nada].
and Ana also stopped of work.INF without say.INF.3SG nothing
'And Ana also stopped working without saying nothing to her.'

(15) a. ✓Strict reading:

And Ana also stopped working without María's boss saying nothing to her.

b. ✓Sloppy reading:

And Ana also stopped working without her own boss saying nothing to her.

To derive the strict reading in (15a), the condition on Referential Parallelism must be satisfied. The latter requires the null subject in (14B) to share the same referential value as its discourse antecedent, *su jefa* in (14A). We can achieve this by postulating the representation in (16b) where the pronoun *ella* 'her', corefering with its discourse antecedent *su jefe*, undergoes ellipsis:

(16) a. María$_1$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa]$_2$ decirle$_1$ nada].

b. Y Ana$_3$ también dejó de trabajar [sin ~~ella~~$_2$ decirle$_3$ nada].

On the other hand, to derive the sloppy reading in (15b), the condition on Structural Parallelism must be satisfied. The latter requires identical binding dependencies across both (14A) and (14B). We can achieve this by postulating the derivation in (17b): the complex DP *su jefa* occupying the embedded subject position and containing a possessive pronoun bound by the matrix subject undergoes ellipsis, yielding the surface structure in (14B) under the reading in (15b).

(17) a. María$_1$ [λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t$_2$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_2$ jefa]$_3$ decirle$_2$ nada]]].

b. Y Ana$_4$ también [λ_5 [$_{VP}$ t$_5$ dejó de trabajar [sin [~~su$_5$jefa~~]$_6$ decirle$_5$ nada]].

(17a) an (17b) display identical anaphoric dependencies between the matrix subject, the possessive pronoun and the (dative) clitic, thus satisfying the condition on Structural Parallelism and licensing ellipsis in (17b).

In sum, DP-parallelism in (12), which explains the availability of strict and sloppy interpretations for (i) DPs embedded in elided constituents building on Fox 2000) and (ii) null arguments (cf. Duguine 2013, 2014), can be straightforwardly extended to account for the sloppy/strict interpretations of the null subject of *sin*-infinitives. Crucially, the account presented above only goes through on the assumption that the ellipsis site in (17) contains a complex DP in the embedded subject position and not a simplex pronominal subject. This is an important and welcome result in that it provides novel evidence from null subjects in *adjunct infinitival* clauses for Duguine's claim that *pro* is not a theoretical primitive, bur rather should be derived via DP ellipsis.

7.3.2 Revisiting parallelism: a focus-matching approach

DP-Parallelism (12) presumes a theory of ellipsis that is not the one adopted here (which is based on Büring (2005), itself based on Rooth's (1992) condition on VP-ellipsis, see Chapter 6.5.2). Unlike the latter analyses, (12) assumes for instance, syntactic isomorphism between the elided conjunct and its antecedent. We now show how the Rooth/Büring condition on *Focus Matching* (from Chapter 6.5.2, repeated and adapted for the type of ellipsis that we assimilated to TP-ellipsis in Spanish above, in (18)-(19) –which appeals to a semantic identity (and not syntactic isomorphism) condition on ellipsis– successfully explains the sloppy/strict construals of null subjects in *sin*-infinitives. We will proceed in two steps. First consider sloppy /strict ambiguities arsing with null infinitival subjects embedded in larger elided constituents, and then turn to unembedded subjects.

(18) Contrasting phrases/ Focus matching

Construe a phrase α as contrasting/ focus matching with a phrase β if $[[\beta]]^{g,o} \in [\alpha]]^{g,f}$

(19) A TP can be elided if there is an antecedent constituent β that is focus matched by some constituent α dominating TP.

adapted from Büring (2005, p. 133)

To see how this works, consider the example in (20) under the interpretation in (21):

(20) María dejó de trabajar sin su jefa decirle nada y Ana también.
'María stopped worked without her boss saying nothing to her and Ana too.'

(21) a. *Strict reading*
MARIA$_{F,1}$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa]$_3$ decirle nada].
María stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.

b. Y ANA$_{F,2}$ también ~~dejo de trabajar~~ [~~sin~~ [~~su$_1$~~ ~~jefa~~]$_3$ ~~decirle nada~~].
And Ana also stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.

As required by the condition in (18), the first conjunct can contrast with the second conjunct in (21), since the ordinary semantic value of the antecedent clause (given in (22a)) is an element of the focus semantic value of the second elided clause (given in (22b)).[1]

[1]The same result would obtain were we to assume that what is elided contains a pronoun (e.g [ella$_3$] 'her', instead of [su$_1$ jefa]$_3$ co-referring with [su$_1$ jefa]$_3$ in the first conjunct (that is, with index 3 mapping to María's boss), as shown below.

(1) a. *Strict reading*
MARIA$_{1,F}$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa]$_3$ decirle nada]].
María stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.

b. Y ANA$_{2,F}$ también ~~dejo de trabajar sin~~ [~~ella$_3$~~] ~~decirle nada~~]].
And Ana also stopped working without she saying nothing to her.

(2) a. [[MARIA$_{1,F}$ [stopped working without [her$_1$ boss]$_3$ saying nothing]]]^{g,o}
= that María stopped working without María's boss saying nothing

b. [[ANA$_{2,F}$ [stopped working without she$_3$ saying nothing]]]^{g,f}
= {that x stopped working without María's boss saying nothing : x $\in$ D$_e$}

(22) a. $[[\text{MARIA}_{1,F}$ [dejó de trabajar [sin [su_1 jefa]$_3$ decirle$_1$ nada]]]^{g,o}

= that María stopped working without María's boss saying nothing

b. $[[\text{ANA}_{2,F}$ [sdejó de trabajar [sin [su_1 jefa]$_3$ decirle$_1$ nada]]]^{g,f}

= {that x stopped working without María's boss saying nothing : x $\in$ D_e}

Since the constituent in (22b) has a well-formed contrasting constituent antecedent (i.e (22a)), ellipsis of the second conjunct can apply, leading to a strict reading.

Let us turn now to the sloppy reading in (23). The LFs of the antecedent clause and that of the second clause are given in (24a) and (25a) respectively:

(23) a. *Sloppy reading*

$\text{MARIA}_{1,F}$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su_1 jefa] decirle nada].

MARIA stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.

b. Y $\text{ANA}_{2,F}$ también ~~dejo de trabajar sin~~ [~~su_2~~ ~~jefa~~] ~~decirle nada~~].

And Ana also stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.

(24) a. $[\text{MARIA}_{1,F}$ [λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t_2 [stopped working [without her_2 boss saying nothing]]]]

b. $[[(24a)]]^{g,o}$ = that María stopped working without María's boss saying nothing

(25) a. $[\text{ANA}_{2,F}$ [λ_3 [$_{VP}$ t_3 [stopped working [without her_3 boss saying nothing]]]]

b. $[[(25a)]]^{g,f}$ = {that x stopped working without x's boss saying nothing : x $\in$ D_e}

Parallel binding, as well as ellipsis, are licensed in the familiar way under (18). The ordinary semantic value of the antecedent clause (24b) is contained in the focus semantic value of the elided clause (25b), therefore the semantic identity require-

ment on focus matching is satisfied, and ellipsis of second TP containing the DP *su jefa* 'her boss' can thus apply.

7.3.3 Extending the focus matching approach to non-elliptical contexts

So far we have shown how the approach to ellipsis in terms of focus matching adopted in this thesis accounts for sloppy and strict readings of null subjects of *sin*-infinitives embedded in ellipsis sites –e.g. TP ellipsis, as in (20) above. But as we will see now, it also very straightforwardly extends to the case we are interested in in this chapter, namely, the configuration where the null subject itself, without being embedded in an larger elided constituent, gives rise to the very same sloppy/strict ambiguity. The existence of this ambiguity was uncovered in (8)-(9) (repeated in (26), and taken as evidence in favor of a DP-ellipsis analysis. We then also showed how it was accounted for in terms of the DP parallelism condition (Duguine (2013) and Fox (2000)).

(26) a. María dejó de trabajar sin su jefa decirle nada

b. y Ana también dejó de trabajar sin [e] decirle nada.
'María stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her and Ana stopped working without [e] saying nothing to her too.'

The focus matching approach adopted in Chapter 6 can in fact straightforwardly account for the construals of the null subject in (26b). We merely reformulate the focus matching condition on VP/TP ellipsis as a condition on DP ellipsis, as in (27):

(27) A DP can be elided if there is an antecedent constituent β that is focus matched by some constituent α dominating DP.

The alternation between the strict and sloppy readings will be explained the same way as above.

(28) *Strict reading*

a. MARIA$_{F,1}$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa]$_3$ decirle nada].
María stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.

b. Y ANA$_{F,2}$ también dejó de trabajar [sin [~~su$_1$~~ ~~jefa~~]$_3$ decirle nada].
And Ana also stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.

(29) a. $[[\text{MARIA}_{F,1}$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa]$_3$ decirle nada]]]^{g,o}
= that María stopped working without María's boss saying nothing

b. $[[\text{ANA}_{F,2}$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa]$_3$ decirle$_2$ nada]]]^{g,f}
= {that x stopped working without María's boss saying nothing : x $\in$ D_e}

Given (27), the CP in (28a) dominating the DP [su$_1$ jefa]$_3$ focus-matches the antecedent CP in (28b) since the ordinary semantic value of (28a) is contained in the focus semantic value of (28b). Ellipsis of the DP is thus licensed.

(30) *Sloppy reading*

a. MARIA$_{1,F}$ dejó de trabajar [sin [su$_1$ jefa] decirle nada].
MARIA stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.

b. Y ANA$_{2,F}$ también dejó de trabajar [sin [~~su$_2$~~ ~~jefa~~] decirle nada].
And Ana also stopped working without her boss saying nothing to her.

(31) a. [MARIA$_{1,F}$ [λ_2 [$_{VP}$ t$_2$ [stopped working [without her$_2$ boss saying nothing]]]]

b. [ANA$_{2,F}$ [λ_3 [$_{VP}$ t$_3$ [stopped working [without her$_3$ boss saying nothing]]]]

(32) a. $[[(31a)]]^{g,o}$ = that María stopped working without María's boss saying nothing

b. $[[(31b)]]^{g,f}$ = {that x stopped working without x's boss saying nothing: x $\in$ D_e}

Just as before, binding holds in both the antecedent (31a) and the elided clause (31b). Since focus matching is satisfied (see (32)), ellipsis of the relevant DP applies.

The above discussion shows that focus matching can be directly extended to account for the strict/sloppy ambiguity of the null subjects of infinitives. In this case, it is the (possessive) pronominal within a DP which triggers the ambiguity. This ambiguity is accounted for in the same way regardless of whether only the DP is elided or whether it is elided as part of a larger constituent. Focus matching is thus a powerful tool bringing together the different contexts in which these ambiguities are observed. This is therefore an interesting extension of the general analysis proposed in this dissertation, in so far, as it allows us to avoid having to postulate *ad hoc* conditions such as Fox' (2000)/Duguine's (2013) NP/DP Parallelism.

The question arises, however, of whether the focus matching approach can be extended –beyond accounting for strict/sloppy ambiguities– to accounting for the more general phenomena of *pro-drop* (given the proposal defended here that *pro*-drop should be analyzed as DP ellipsis). Obviously, null subjects in *pro*-drop languages do not require an antecedent embedded in a largely matching structure, as in the example studied here. Quite the opposite in fact: the antecedent's sentence and the elided DPs can be structurally and semantically completely different. In (33), for instance, the null subject does not even share its antecedent's theta-role or grammatical function:

(33) He visto a María. Ella/[e] estaba contenta.
have.1sg seen to María she was happy
'I saw María. She was happy.'

I can see no obvious way in which the focus matching approach as we have adopted it here could explain such cases. I leave this issue which goes far beyond the scope of this thesis open here. It has, nonetheless, important consequences, since we are led to conclude, at this point of the present investigation at least, that although we can dispense with the second condition of DP Parallelism -in (12b) –that is,

Structural parallelism, since its effects now fall out from DP focus matching in (27), we would still have to maintain *Referential* parallelism –that is, the first condition in (12a) together with Büring's ancillary definition in (13), which is what accounts for these more standard cases of *pro*-drop (see Duguine (2014)). Eliminating *Structural* parallelism, however, is in of itself a welcome result since, as Fox (2000) himself acknowledges,[2] DP/NP parallelism conditions on ellipsis are *ad hoc* constraints, that do not follow from the theory of binding and ellipsis (see also Büring (2005, p. 132) who makes the same point).

7.4 Conclusion

The DP-ellipsis analysis of non obligatorily controlled null subjects in *sin*-infinitives elegantly predicts that they allow sloppy readings otherwise unavailable with overt pronouns. It also automatically explains why overt subjects in *sin*-infinitives freely alternate with referentially free null subjects. That is to say, ellipsis presumes this alternation to be possible in the first place: DP-ellipsis targets overt DPs and, as such, can only occur where overt DPs can surface, in the same way that VP-ellipsis can only occur where overt VPs can surface.

[2]Fox (2000, pp. 116–117) explicitly points out the shortcomings of NP-parallelism, elevated to the status of a principle, when it is but a descriptive generalization which "[he] do[es] not know how to derive [...] from a principled theory".

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The main focus of this thesis was to carry out an exhaustive investigation of the interpretation of the subjects of Spanish infinitival clauses with respect to the following parameters:

- Type of control: OC vs. NOC
- Type of control configuration: subject vs. object
- Type of subject: overt vs. covert
- Type of clause: complements vs. adjuncts

The results from this investigation have shown that infinitival clauses Spanish can be classified under three patterns: (i) OC, (ii) NOC, or (iii) a mix of OC-NOC.

Concerning the OC pattern –where null PRO alternates with overt PRO– we have uncovered important differences between these two subjects with respect to their interpretative properties. In particular, we have found that while the former are unambiguously interpreted as BVs, the latter allow for either BV or coreferential construals. This interpretative contrast arises only in contexts of association with focus, but not ellipsis, as systematically attested across subject and object control configurations, in both complement and *para*-finality adjunct clauses. We tackled

the issue of the source of these interpretative asymmetries, contending that they are to be tied to the presence/absence of ϕ-features on overt/null PRO.

Since ambiguous interpretations under association with focus have been also identified with SELF-anaphors, and given the well-established parallels between controlled PRO and SELF-anaphors, we extended Sauerland's (2013), Lechner's (2012), and McKillen's (2016) account of SELF-reflexive subjects in ECM configurations to control configurations.

In particular, we proposed that the semantics of control involves a SAME-anaphor triggering a presupposition of identity between the controller and the controllee arguments of a derived control predicate. Specifically, a binary control predicate is created in the syntax via raising of the controller and controllee arguments. The latter is a SAME-anaphor, decomposing into two components: a pronominal variable and SAME –which triggers an identity presupposition over the arguments of the derived binary control predicate.

Construing PRO as a variable bound by its antecedent automatically satisfies the identity presupposition triggered by SAME. The coreferential construal that overt PRO-SAME anaphors also allow requires, however, weakening of this identity presupposition. This analysis applies not only to OC complements, but also to OC adjunct clauses, which as we have shown are to be characterized as complements in virtue of their selection properties.

In addition to investigating the subject position of OC complements and OC *para*-adjunct clauses, this thesis has also investigated the subject position of two different types of adjunct clauses: *al*-infinitives and *sin*-infinitives. While the former allow a mixed alternation of referentially dependent (OC) null subjects with referentially free overt (NOC) subjects, the latter only allow a systematic alternation of referentially free null and overt (NOC) subjects. Focusing on the latter, and building on Duguine (2013, 2014), we proposed that the properties of referentially free null subject are derived by eliding the referentially free overt subject it alter-

nates with.

Recapitulating, the main contributions of this thesis are as follows:

- Uncovering interpretative asymmetries between overt and null PRO subjects, and imputing the source of these asymmetries to an overt morphological distinction between the latter two: presence vs. absence of ϕ-features.

- Putting forth and developing a presuppositional analysis of control that reconciles coreference of overt PRO with OC.

- Proposing an analysis of NOC that that assimilates NOC to *pro*-drop, but on the assumption that *pro*-drop is to be properly characterized as DP-ellipsis.

- Exhaustively investigating the properties of OC, and integrating *para* -finality clauses into OC by showing that they behave as selected clausal arguments, and, hence, that OC uniformly involves complement clauses.

Although this thesis has also shown that overt PRO subjects can be interpreted under *de-re* readings (in contexts of association with focus), it has said nothing about how this should be integrated into the control account developed here. This issue is left open for future research.

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COLLEGE DOCTORAL PAYS DE LA LOIRE
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Titre : Les sujets des infinitives : PRO lexical vs. nul vs. *pro* en espagnol.

Mots clés : contrôle, prédicats, ellipse, PRO, pronoms.

Résumé : Cette thèse apporte de nouvelles perspectives sur le phénomène du contrôle, basées sur une étude systématique de la distribution et de l'interprétation des pronoms nuls et réalisés dans les propositions infinitives complétives et adjointes dites à contrôle obligatoire (CO), ainsi que des sujets nuls dans les propositions infinitives adjointes à contrôle non obligatoire (CNO) en espagnol. Les pronoms réalisés du CO (*e.g. ella (misma)*) sont analysés comme des homologues lexicaux de PRO --soit PRO réalisé (Szabolcsi 2009 ; Livitz 2011). Les PRO nuls et réalisés se comportent différemment par rapport aux tests standard d'interprétation pronominale. Alors que PRO nul ne permet qu'une interprétation de variable liée, PRO réalisé permet également une interprétation coréférentielle, mais uniquement sous le test d'association avec le focus, et non sous le test de l'ellipse. De même, alors que PRO nul ne peut être interprété que *de-se,* PRO réalisé peut également être interprété *de-re,* mais à nouveau, uniquement sous l'association avec focus, et non sous l'ellipse. Sur la base de parallélismes bien établis entre réflexifs et contrôle, une nouvelle approche du contrôle est ici proposée, adaptant l'analyse présuppositionnelle des anaphores-SELF défendue par Sauerland (2013) et McKillen (2016), dans le but de permettre des lectures coréférentielles des anaphores-SELF dans les constructions d'assignation de cas exceptionnel. Dans cette analyse, le CO implique la création d'un prédicat binaire dérivé via le mouvement du contrôleur et du sujet contrôlé, ainsi qu'une présupposition d'identité d'arguments introduite par l'élément *misma*. Les différences d'interprétation entre PRO nul et réalisé sont liées à l'absence/ présence des traits-phi. Concernant les sujets nuls dans les propositions adjointes à CNO, ils se révèlent référentiellement libres et alternent avec des DP réalisés, tout comme leur homologue fini *pro*. S'inspirant de Duguine (2013), cette thèse propose que les propriétés sémantiques des sujets nuls référentiellement libres sont uniformément dérivées en élidant les sujets réalisés et référentiellement libres avec lesquels ils alternent.

Title : Infinitival subjects: overt vs. null PRO vs. *pro* in Spanish.

Keywords: control, predicate, ellipsis, PRO, pronouns.

Abstract: This thesis provides novel insights into control phenomena, based on an exhaustive investigation of the distribution and interpretation of overt and null subject pronouns in obligatory controlled (OC) infinitival complements and adjuncts, as well as null subjects in non-obligatory controlled (NOC) infinitives in Spanish. OC overt pronouns (*e.g. ella (misma)*) are analyzed as the overtly realized counterpart of PRO –so called overt PRO (Szabolcsi 2009; Livitz 2011). Null and overt PRO are shown to pattern differently with respect to standard tests for pronominal interpretation. While null PRO only allows bound-variable construals, overt PRO also allows coreferential construals, but only under the association-with-focus test, not the ellipsis test. Likewise, while null PRO can only be construed *de-se*, overt PRO can also be construed *de-re*, but again only under association-with-focus, not under ellipsis. Based on well-established parallelisms between reflexives and control, a novel approach to control is put forth, extending the presuppositional analysis of SELF-anaphors advocated by Sauerland (2013) and McKillen (2016), motivated to allow for coreferential readings of (ECM) SELF-anaphors. On this proposal, OC involves creation of a binary predicate derived via movement of the controller and the controllee, together with a SAME (*misma*) argument identity presupposition. Interpretive differences between overt and null PRO are tied to the presence/absence of phi-features. Turning to the null subjects in NOC infinitival adjuncts, they are shown to be referentially free and to alternate with overt DPs, just like their finite homologue *pro*. Drawing on Duguine (2013), the semantic properties of referentially free null subjects are uniformly derived by eliding the referentially free overt subjects they alternate with.