

Adjunct control by object clitics in Spanish: an argument against control as movement

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1. Introduction

What is the controller of PRO?

- In complement control (a-b) both subject and object control are possible.
- In adjunct control (c), only subject control is possible¹.

- (1) a. **Mary_i** managed PRO_{i/*j} to go to the party. (complement control)
- b. Mary_i forced **John_j** PRO_{*i/j} to go to the party. (complement control)
- c. **Mary_i** saw John_j [before PRO_{i/*j} leaving the party]. (adjunct control)

In approaches to control that rely on notions of c-command (either Agree or predication), this is explained by the lack of c-command between the object and PRO (Landau 2000, 2013, 2015, among others). In movement approaches, it is explained through economy restrictions Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes 2010, among others).²

¹ This generalization refers largely to temporal adjuncts.

² There have been exceptions to this generalization proposed in recent literature (see Janke & Bailey 2017, Landau (to appear)). However, as discussed in Landau (to appear) whether these exceptions are true cases of obligatory control remains questionable.

Patterns in Spanish adjuncts are different with respect to objects that are clitics. While full DP objects cannot control (2a), preverbal clitics can control into an adjunct (2b).

- (2) a. *Besé [**a mi novia**]_i antes de PRO_i ponerse celosa.
 Kissed DOM my girlfriend before of PRO become.INF jealous.FEM
 'I kissed my girlfriend before she got jealous'
- b. **La**_i besé t_i después de PRO_i ponerse celosa.
 Her kissed.1SG after of PRO become.INF-RFL.3S jealous.FEM
 'I kissed her after she got jealous'

→ Question 1: How to account for the lack of object control, but the possibility of clitic control in Spanish?

Subject control is also possible in these adjuncts:

- (3) a. **Yo**_i lo vi_j antes de PRO_j ir-me para España
 I him saw.1SG before of PRO leave.INF-RFL1SG for Spain.
 'I saw him before (my) leaving for Spain.'
- b. Yo **lo**_i vi antes de PRO_i ir-se para España
 I him saw.1SG before of PRO leave.INF-RFL3SG for Spain
 'I saw him before he left for Spain.'

→ Question 2: How to account for the optionality between subject and object control?

Competing theories of Control in minimalism:

- I. Agree/predication- PRO to represent null subject of non-finite clause. No object control because no c-command relation between object and PRO, meaning no Agree (Williams 1992, Gallego 2011, Landau 2013) or no predication (Landau 2015, 2017), and thus no control.
- II. Movement- eliminate the need for PRO, null subject is deleted copy of its antecedent. No object control because of economy restrictions (Hornstein 1999, 2001 and Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes 2010).

→ Question 3: Can both theories of control account for the lack of in-situ object control (2a) but the possibility of control by a clitic in (2b)?

Goals:

1. Adopt Landau (2015) to account for the novel clitic control data. Account for the optionality between subject and clitic control based on the position(s) of the clitic in TP.
2. Show how clitic control cannot be accounted for under Control as Move.

Roadmap:

- Section 2: Background on control (Landau 2015)
- Section 3: Data: when can clitics control
- Section 4: Clitic control following Landau
- Section 5: Clitic control is not movement

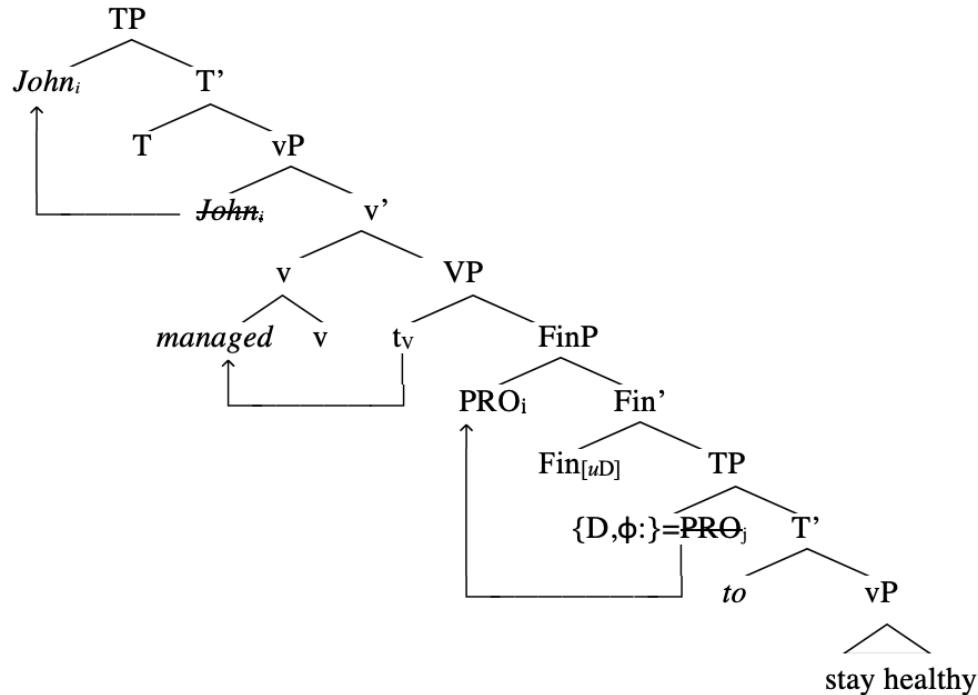
2. Background: Landau (2015)

Landau (2015): Two-tiered theory of control

Control is established via predication and movement.

- A (c-commanding) matrix functional head agrees with PRO. In these structures, a copy of PRO is moved to the Spec, FinP which turns the FinP projection into a predicate.
- Closest c-commanding DP saturates the predicate, becomes controller
- The ϕ -features of PRO are valued at PF by either agreeing directly with the controller DP or by an indirect Agree between the controller DP and Fin. The features on PRO in Spec,FinP are then shared with the lower copy of PRO via feature sharing, following Pesetsky and Torrego (2007).

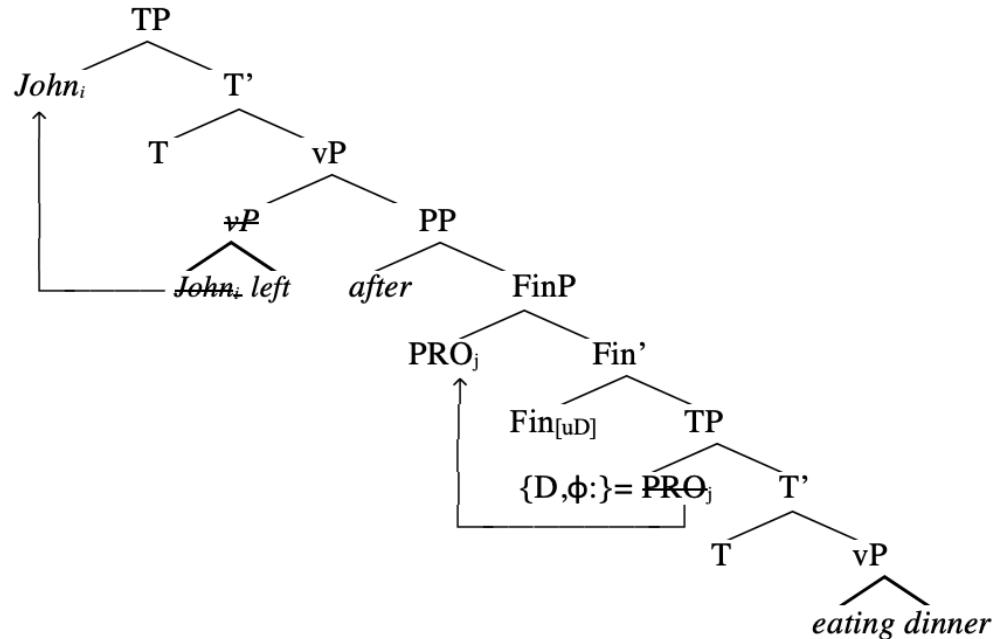
- (4) [John_[3sg.M] managed-v [FinP PRO_[ϕ:3sg.M] Fin [TP PRO_[ϕ:3sg.M] to stay healthy]]]



In object control structures, the object is said to be positioned in a small clause, where it intervenes between the matrix subject and PRO. Closest c-commanding DP is the object, thus it is the controller.

Control into adjuncts- structure based on discussion in Landau (2015, 2017) but see Landau (to appear) for more details.

(5)



→ Why is object control into adjuncts ungrammatical?

While not explicitly discussed, presumably, it is because an internal argument in the matrix would not be able to c-command the adjunct and thus no predication relationship could be attained.

3. Clitic control data

3.1 Examples of grammatical and ungrammatical clitic control.

When can a clitic control? → preverbal 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person clitics.

- (6) a. **Me_i** la envió antes de PRO_i irme para Lima.
 Me it sent before of PRO leave.INF-RFL1SG for Lima
 ‘He sent it to me before I left for Lima.’
- b. ¿Tu novio no **te_i** vio antes de PRO_i irte para la boda?
 Your boyfriend didn’t you see.3SG before of PRO leave.INF-RFL.2S for the wedding
 ‘Your boyfriend didn’t see you before you left for the wedding?’
- c. **La_i** besé después de PRO_i ponerse celosa.
 Her kissed.1SG after of PRO become.INF-RFL.3S jealous.FEM
 ‘I kissed her after she got jealous’

When can an object not control? → in-situ clitics, in-situ full DP cannot control into an adjunct

- (7) a. *Quiero besar-**la_i** antes de PRO_i ponerse celosa.
 Want.1SG kiss.INF-her before of PRO become.INF jealous.FEM
 ‘I want to kiss her before she gets jealous’
- b. *Besé [a **mi novia**]_i antes de PRO_i ponerse celosa.
 Kissed DOM my girlfriend before of PRO become.INF jealous.FEM
 ‘I kissed my girlfriend before she got jealous’

Subject control is also an option in these adjuncts.

- (8) a. **Yo_i** lo vi_j antes de PRO_j ir-me para España
 I him saw.1SG before of PRO leave.INF-RFL1SG for Spain.
 'I saw him before (my) leaving for Spain.'
- b. Yo **lo_i** vi antes de PRO_i ir-se para España
 I him saw.1SG before of PRO leave.INF-RFL3SG for Spain
 'I saw him before he left for Spain.'

This optionality in control structures with clitics also needs to be accounted for (Section 4.2).

→Conclusion: Only moved, clause-mate, pre-verbal clitics are potential object controllers of the subject of non-finite adjuncts in Spanish.

3.2 Clitic position

I assume the clitics are originally merged in the internal argument position before moving into their preverbal position (Kayne 1975, Rizzi 1986, among others).

Following phase theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001) and phase-based approaches to cliticization (Gallego 2016) I assume that the clitic is first moved through the edge of the vP phase, before moving to its final position.

I follow Nevins (2011), Kramer (2014) in saying the clitics are then moved and tucked-in to an inner specifier of T (however, stay tuned for an update to this analysis in Section 4), shown in (9).

- (9) [TP *pro* [TP *lo* comió [_{vP} *lo pro v* [VP comió *lo*]]]

3.3 Clitic control is OC, not NOC

It is important to establish whether or not the clitic control structures display obligatory control (OC), in which the controller is determined and restricted by the syntax, or non-obligatory control (NOC), which can be controlled by a discourse controller, a long-distance controller, or an arbitrary referent.

(10) The OC signature

- In a control construction $\dots X_i \dots [s \text{ PRO}_i \dots] \dots$, where X controls the PRO subject of the clause S :
- The controller(s) of X must be (a) codependent(s) of S .³
 - PRO (or part of it) must be interpreted as a bound variable.

(11) The NOC signature

- In a control construction $\dots [s \text{ PRO}_i \dots] \dots$:
- The controller need not be a grammatical element or a co-dependent of S .
 - PRO need not be interpreted as a bound variable (i.e., it may be a free variable)
 - PRO is [+human].

(Landau 2013)

Adjuncts can display both OC and NOC (Landau 2017, Green 2018, 2019)

³ Landau defines a codependent as: “A ‘dependent’ of S is either an argument or an adjunct of S , thus (a) subsumes both complement OC, where the controller and S are co-arguments and adjunct OC.”

(12) The pool_i was the perfect temperature after PRO_{i/j} being in the hot sun all day. (Green 2018)

→ If these structures display NOC, the potential problems of accounting for clitic control as Predication or Movement are lessened, since in NOC, the referent of PRO is not determined by a strict syntactic dependency. However, this possibility is not tenable. The clitic control structures do display the characteristics of OC structures.

- Arguments against (6) as NOC:

I: The clitic controller in examples like (6) is a co-dependent of S, satisfying that requirement of the OC signature. However, while in NOC the controller is not obligatorily a co-dependent but may be a co-dependent of S, being a co-dependent of S does not rule out (6) being NOC.

II: Non-human antecedents appear to be possible.

(13) a. **La_i** tiré después de PRO_i estar en la mesa por dos semanas.
It threw away after of PRO be.INF on the table for two weeks.
'I threw it away after it was on the table for two weeks.'

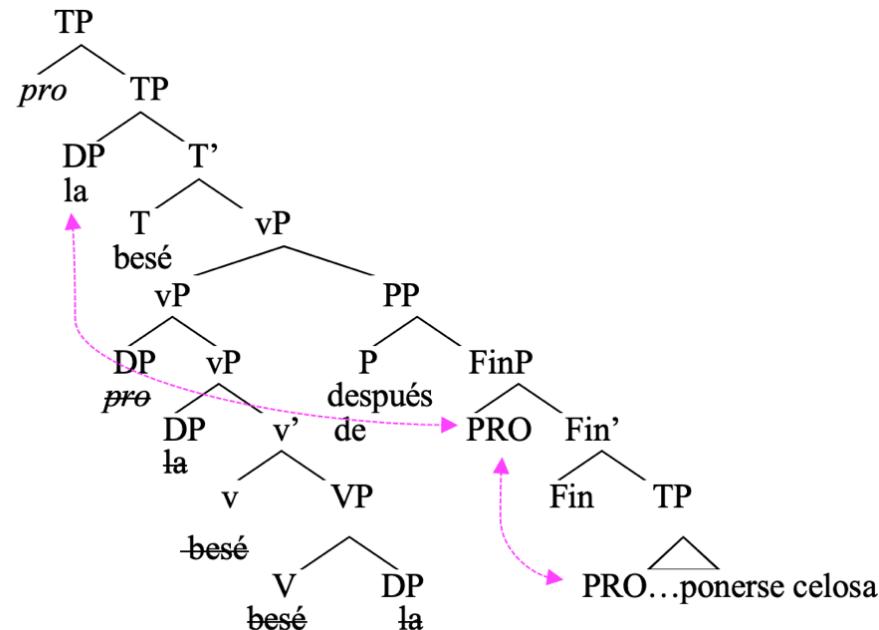
b. **Lo_i** cosechó antes de PRO_i florecer.
It harvested before of PRO flower.INF
'He/She harvested it before it flowered.'

4. Clitic control following Landau (2015)

The problem with object control (in English), lack of c-command, is not observed in clitic control constructions.

Spanish clitics are located in a higher position from which they can c-command, saturate the predicate (PRO). Predication relationship between the clitic and PRO, thus is interpreted as the controller.

(14)



Recall that while clitic control is available, so is subject control.

- (15) a. **Yo_j** lo vi antes de PRO_j ir-me para España
 I him saw.1SG before of PRO leave.INF-RFL1SG for Spain.
 'I saw him before (my) leaving for Spain.'
- b. Yo **lo_i** vi antes de PRO_i ir-se para España
 I him saw.1SG before of PRO leave.INF-RFL3SG for Spain
 'I saw him before he left for Spain.'

I propose that this arises from two different options for clitic movement:

1. Tuck-in to inner specifier of T (following Richards 1997, Nevins 2011)
2. Move to outer specifier of T (Suñer 2003)

Tuck-in results in clitic control (the clitic is closer to PRO than the subject)

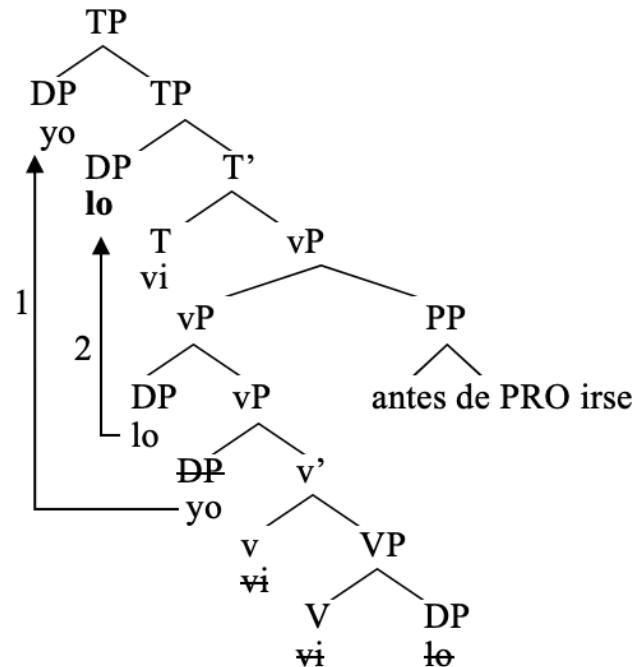
Move to outer spec results in subject control (subject is closer to PRO)⁴

⁴ For reasons of clarity, and in order to focus on the clitic movement, I have represented the structure as below in (17). Note, however, that this derivation as it is shown would appear to result in the wrong word order. I adopt an account of the subject position in Spanish in which overt subjects are found in a higher position than *pro*, along the lines of Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) and Cardinaletti (1997). Specifically, I follow the account of Spanish subjects in Suñer (2003), who makes use of multiple specifier positions and proposes that Spanish overt subjects are in a higher specifier of TP than null subjects, as in (i).

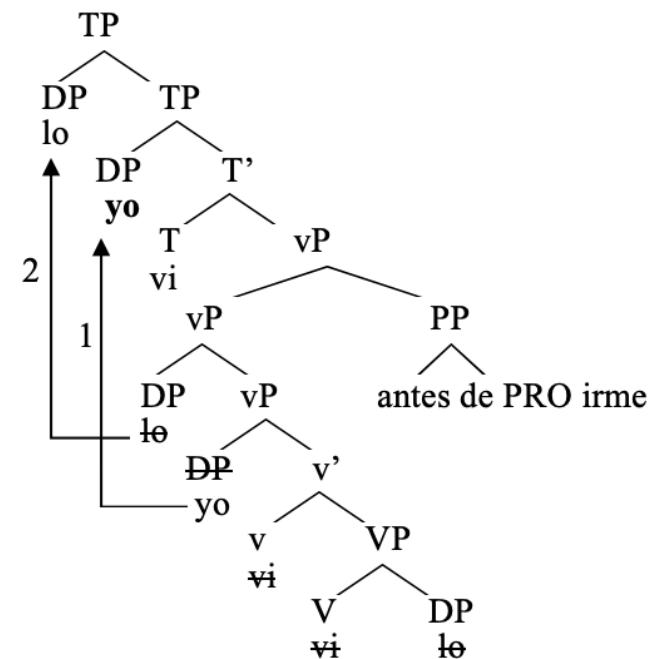
i) [TP yo [TP lo [TP *pro* V...]]]

With this further movement taken into account, the derivation does result in the correct word order.

(16) Clitic control (clitic in inner spec)



(17) Subject control (clitic in outer spec)



This would predict optionality between a clitic and subject would be expected to be found in other structures, outside of the adjunct control examples.

One such situation is observed with reflexive binding, where both the clitic and subject are able to serve as the antecedent to the reflexive pronoun

- (18) a. Le hablé de mí-mismo.
3SG spoke.1SG of REFL.1MASC
'I talked to him about myself.'
- b. Le hablé de sí-mismo.
3SG spoke.1SG of REFL.3MASC
'I talked to him about himself.'
- c. *Hablé a Juan de sí-mismo.
Spoke.1SG to Juan of REFL.2MASC
'I talked to Juan about himself.'

5. Clitic control is not Movement

MTC: Hornstein (1999, 2001) and Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes (2010)

Strives to eliminate PRO as a primitive of the grammar and the subject of the non-finite clause is instead treated as a deleted copy of its “antecedent” (i.e. the copied and moved DP).

- Adjunct control is derived through sideward movement

Sideward movement becomes available when there are no elements in the numeration remaining that can be merged with the matrix verb to receive its external θ-role.

The adjunct subject which cannot check case within the non-finite verb, is thus still active for A-movement. This DP copies, and sideward moves to merge in the external argument position of the matrix verb.

The PP then joins to the VP and the rest of the structure is built up.

- Object control excluded because of principles of economy, Merge over Move.

Controller (matrix object) would have to start in adjunct subject position. Sideward movement, to the matrix object position, from the adjunct is more costly than merging an element from the numeration.

The same argument would predict that clitic control be ungrammatical, too.

- (19) a. *Yo lo vi antes de irse para España.*

b. *Applications of select, merge, and copy*

Num= { Yo₁, T^{Φ₁}, vi₀, lo₀, antes₀, T^{Φ₀}, de₀, irse_o, para_o, España_o }

PP= [antes de lo T^{Φ₋} irse para España]

VP= [vi]

c. **Copy and merger of ‘lo’ and selection and merger of V*

PP= [antes de lo T^{Φ₋} irse para España]

VP= [vi lo]

d. *Selection and merger of ‘Yo’*

PP= [antes de lo T^{Φ₋} irse para España]

VP= [yo lo vi]

e. *Merger of PP and VP*

$[\text{VP} [\text{yo lo vi}] [\text{PP} \text{antes de lo } T^{\Phi^-} \text{ irse para España}]]$

f. *Selection and merger of T^{Φ^+}*

$\text{TP} = [T^{\Phi^+} [\text{VP} [\text{yo lo vi}] [\text{PP} \text{antes de lo } T^{\Phi^-} \text{ irse para España}]]]$

g. *Copying and merger of 'yo'*

$[\text{TP yo } [T^{\Phi^+} [\text{VP} [\text{yo lo vi}] [\text{PP} \text{antes de lo } T^{\Phi^-} \text{ irse para España}]]]]$

h. *Deletion in the phonological component*

$[\text{TP yo } [T^{\Phi^+} [\text{VP} [\text{y} \theta \text{ lo vi}] [\text{PP} \text{antes de lo } T^{\Phi^-} \text{ irse para España}]]]]$

(based on Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes 2010)

In step c, according to the MTC, it would be less costly to merge the DP remaining in the derivation 'yo' rather than sideward moving 'lo' to obtain object control.

In the MTC, clitic control would be collapsed under full DP object control, and the contrast between preverbal clitics being controllers but not in-situ full DPs/clitics is left unaccounted for.

→ The movement theory of control appears to have no way to fully capture the data in (6) without stipulations.

6. Conclusion

Two main goals:

1. Empirical: Sometimes, objects can (obligatorily) control into adjuncts. In Spanish, preverbal, clause-mate object clitics can control into Spanish adjuncts.
2. Theoretical: clitic control data provide support towards theories of control that rely on c-command relationships, like Landau's (2015) theory, rather than the theory of Control as Movement.

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Appendix A: Alternative analysis for optionality

As an alternative analysis for explaining the optionality in clitic vs subject control, one could also follow a version of Multiple Agree, such as Hiraiwa (2000), in which Agree is delayed until the next phase head is merged.

Intervention under this approach is limited to inactive goals at that point of the derivation. Thus, probe α can Agree with both matching goals β and γ , provided that both goals are in α 's c-command domain and both goals are active.

The case of clitic/subject control presents a similar situation, however in this case there are two probes instead of two goals. Assuming the same basic principles of Multiple Agree, whether the clitic is analyzed as moving to an outer specifier or tucking into an inner specifier, it is in the same derivational phase as the subject.

Agree would not happen until the next phase head (C) is merged. Thus, if Agree does not happen immediately upon the merger of the DP probe, and both the clitic and subject c-command PRO, one being in a lower specifier would not count as an intervention. Both would be predicted to be equally available to Agree with PRO.

Appendix B: Accounting for ungrammatical instances of clitic control

Following this analysis, and that of Landau (2015), the ungrammatical clitic control examples can also be accounted for.

- (20) a. *Quiero besar-**la**_i antes de PRO_i ponerse celosa.
Want kiss.INF-her before of PRO become.INF jealous.FEM
'I want to kiss her before she gets jealous'
- b. *Besé [a **mi novia**]_i antes de PRO_i ponerse celosa.
Kissed DOM my girlfriend before of PRO become.INF jealous.FEM
'I kissed my girlfriend before she got jealous'

(20 a,b) are accounted for straightforwardly in Landau's theory. Like the ungrammatical object control examples in English, the in-situ object or clitic are likewise not in a position to c-command PRO in the adjunct.

Note that with unaccusative (21a) and passive (21b) structures, a lower, postverbal argument appears to establish control into an adjunct.

- (21) a. Se hundió **el titanic**_i después de PRO_i chocar contra un iceberg.
SE sank the Titanic after of PRO hit against an iceberg
'The Titanic sank after hitting an iceberg.'
- b. Fue vista **la cantante**_i sin PRO_i saludar a sus fans.
Was seen the singer without PRO greet DOM her fans.
'The singer was seen without greeting her fans.'

I follow Ortega-Santos's (2006) analysis of postverbal subjects and assume that a postverbal subject is the result of a pronunciation of a lower copy, following the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995). This allows the higher copy to agree with T and also serve as the controller of adjunct PRO, by saturating the predicate.

→ Difference between the unaccusative and passive postverbal subjects, which are pronounced lower but have a copy in Spec, TP, and the vP-internal direct objects and postverbal clitics which also remain lower but do not move to or establish agreement with TP.

Final ungrammatical example, clitic-climbing structures:

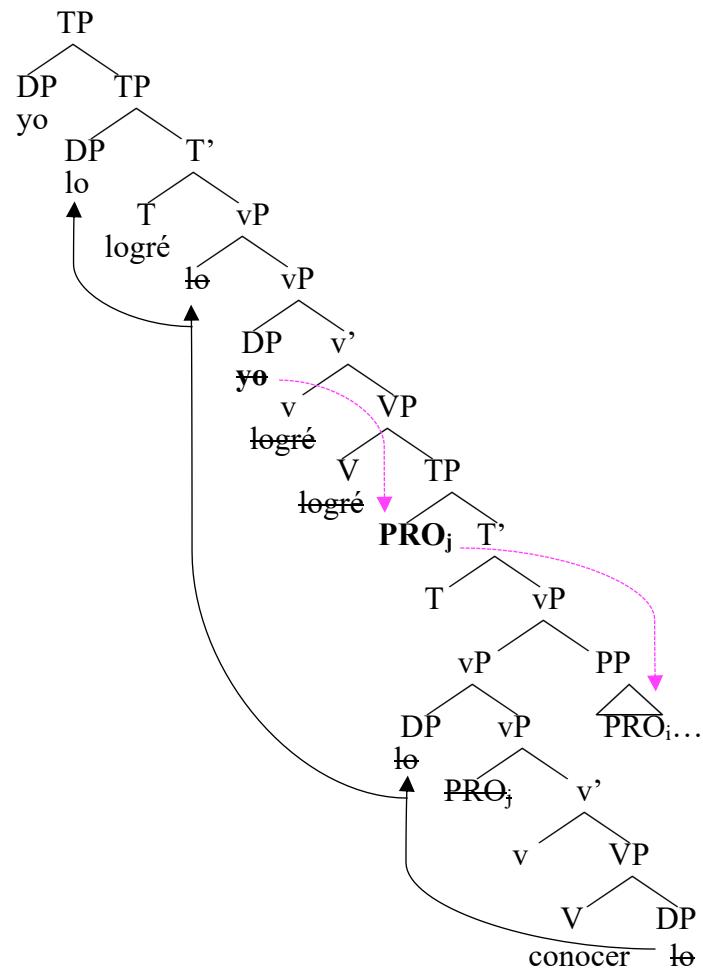
- (20) c. ***Lo_i** logré conocer antes de PRO_i graduarse.
Him managed to meet.INF before of PRO graduate.INF
'I managed to meet him before he graduated.'

The ungrammaticality of (20c) seems to arise due to additional subject control structure found in the matrix clause.

- (22) Lo logré **PRO_i** conocer antes de PRO_i graduarse.

- A difference in the clitic positions in the clitic climbing structure in contrast with the clitic positions with an inflected verb.
In the clitic climbing structure, once the clitic moves to the embedded Spec, vP (the edge of the phase), since the embedded TP is defective, the clitic will not move to TP. Instead, the next phase head/probe is the vP of the matrix clause, the position where the clitic then moves to.

Without the clitic being raised to the embedded TP, the subject of the embedded clause, PRO (controlled by the matrix subject), is the closest c-commanding controller and the only option for controlling the adjunct.



- A question may be raised of why PRO_j in the embedded clause (the complement control structure) also cannot be controlled by the clitic, as in (i).

i.**Yo lo_i logré a PRO_i conocer t_i*

These patterns remain the same with all subject complement control verbs that involve a climbed clitic, regardless of the presence of an adjunct, suggesting that the clitic does not intervene between the subject and PRO.

Moreover, if the object clitic were to be in a position to control embedded PRO_j , there would presumably be a Principle-C type violation, given that the subject and object would refer to the same individual. Therefore, in this complement control structure, PRO in the embedded clause must be controlled by the matrix subject.