Duality of Control in Gerundive Complements of P

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Plotline

- Examine a corner of English grammar that has never been studied in Generative Grammar
- Identify two types of control constructions in that corner
- Map those two types to the dual theory of Landau 2015 ("Two-tiered Theory of Control", TTC) → derive their properties
- Spell out implications for the broader issue of whether control complements denote properties or propositions

Object control P-gerund constructions

(1) a.   They talked Bill into committing a crime.
     b.   They warned Bill against committing a crime.

   ⇨ Fall between the chairs of studies of ditransitive constructions and studies of control.

(2) <u>A special case of P-DP complementation</u>

   P-gerund → P-DP, but PP-DP ↛ P-gerund (Rudanko 1989)

(3) ✓*P-DP, *P-gerund*
     a.   John convinced Bill of the advantages of the project.
     b. * John convinced Bill of taking part in the project.
     c.   The host treated his guest to a glass of port.
     d. *The host treated his guest to drinking a glass of port.

Main empirical claim

(4) (1a) is causative; occurs with *into*, *to*, *out of*, *from*.
     (1b) is not causative; occurs with *against*, *of* and *with*.

The proposal

(5) Essentials of the TTC (Landau 2015)

   a. Control operates through two mechanisms: Predication or logophoric anchoring.
   b. Predicative control: The complement projects up to FinP. PRO moves to [Spec,FinP] and is interpreted as a λ-abstractor. The complement denotes a property (type <e,<s,t>>), directly predicated of the controller.
   c. Logophoric control: The complement projects a CP layer on top of the predicative FinP. C introduces a logophoric center anchored to the speech/thought event of the matrix clause. C also projects one of its individual coordinates as *pro* in its specifier, the "*de se* center". *pro* saturates the predicative FinP, delivering a proposition (type <s,t>).

(6) a. Predicative clause: [$_{FinP}$ PRO$_i$ Fin [$_{TP}$ ~~PRO~~$_i$ …]]
   b. Propositional clause: [$_{CP}$ *pro* C$_{+log}$ [$_{FinP}$ PRO$_i$ Fin [$_{TP}$ ~~PRO~~$_i$ …]]]

(7) Predicative control
   Aspectual, modal and implicative verbs, evaluative adjectives.
   a. They coerced Bill to sign the contract.   *implicative*
      → *Bill signed the contract*

   Logophoric control
   Desiderative, propositional, factive and interrogative verbs.
   b. They urged Bill to sign the contract.   *desiderative*
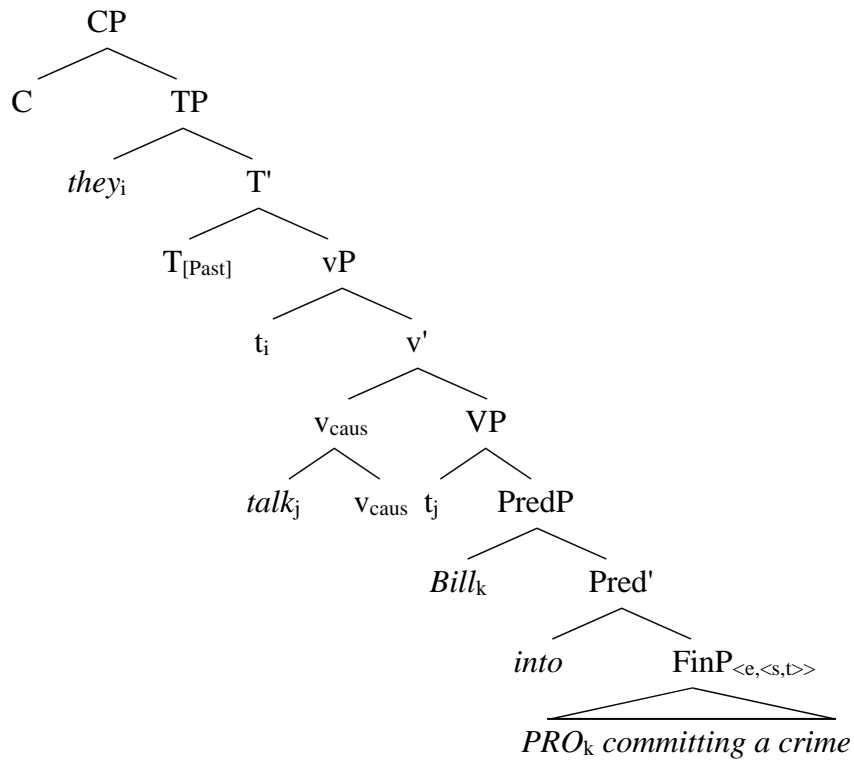   ↛ *Bill signed the contract*

   Note: Exactly the same contrast is observed between (1a)-(1b).
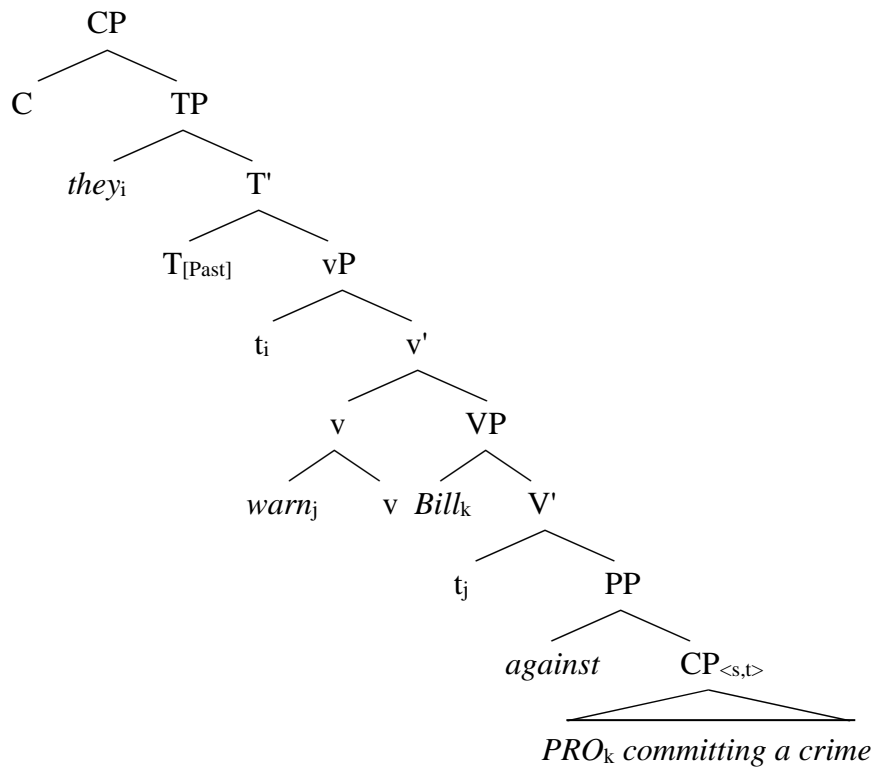
(8) Two types P-gerund constructions

   a. Implicative: *into, out of, to, from*
   b. Nonimplicative: *of, with, against*

   Lexical basis for the distinction: Ps in (a) introduce a bounded scale, Ps in (b) don't. The predication relation in (a) – or its negation – holds at the point of the bound.

(9)   They talked Bill into committing a crime.

```
                    CP
            ┌────────┴────────┐
            C              TP
                    ┌────────┴────────┐
                  theyᵢ             T'
                            ┌────────┴────────┐
                        T[Past]            vP
                                    ┌────────┴────────┐
                                   tᵢ               v'
                                            ┌────────┴────────┐
                                        v_caus             VP
                                      ┌────┴────┐      ┌─────┴─────┐
                                   talkⱼ  v_caus  tⱼ       PredP
                                                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                   Billₖ          Pred'
                                                            ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                          into        FinP⟨e,⟨s,t⟩⟩
                                                                     ╱──────╲
                                                              PROₖ committing a crime
```

The FinP node is labeled $FinP_{\langle e,\langle s,t\rangle\rangle}$ dominating *PROₖ committing a crime*.

(10)   They warned Bill against committing a crime.

```
                    CP
            ┌────────┴────────┐
            C              TP
                    ┌────────┴────────┐
                  theyᵢ             T'
                            ┌────────┴────────┐
                        T[Past]            vP
                                    ┌────────┴────────┐
                                   tᵢ               v'
                                            ┌────────┴────────┐
                                           v                 VP
                                      ┌────┴────┐       ┌─────┴─────┐
                                   warnⱼ    v      Billₖ          V'
                                                            ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                           tⱼ            PP
                                                                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                               against      CP⟨s,t⟩
                                                                            ╱──────╲
                                                                     PROₖ committing a crime
```

The CP node is labeled $CP_{\langle s,t\rangle}$ dominating *PROₖ committing a crime*.

Causative-implicative P-gerund complements

(11) a. They confined the prisoner **to** eating dog food.
  b. His team mates scared him **into** thinking the bus was about to crash.
  c. John talked Sue **out of** accepting a bribe.
  d. John restrained Sue **from** making a long statement.

Positive implicative (a-b): The complement is entailed.
Negative implicative (c-d): The negation of the complement is entailed.

(12) a. V: [__ DP *to* gerund]
  confine, set, command, drive, restrict, limit, constrain…
  b. V: [__ DP *into* gerund]
  talk, laugh, coax, intimidate, force, scare, fool, deceive, trick, coerce…
  c. V: [__ DP *out of* gerund]
  talk, argue, frighten, intimidate, terrify…
  d. V: [__ DP *from* gerund]
  detain, deter, dissuade, inhibit, withhold, check, disturb…

Note: The *from*-gerund construction also occurs with Raising to Object verbs like *prevent, ban, stop*, and *keep* (Postal 1974, Landau 2002, Baltin 2009).

(13) *Into*-gerund construction
  Considerable attention in the descriptive and diachronic literature: Hunston and Francis 2000, Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004, Rudanko 1989, 2005, 2006, 2011, 2012, Wulff, Stefanowitsch and Gries 2007, Kim and Lee 2013, Kim and Davies 2015.
  Main findings: A continual increase in the frequency of the construction over the past 200 years; nuanced lexical differences between the verbs taking it in British vs. American English.

(14) Kim & Davies 2015: Over 20,000 tokens of *into*-gerund from British and American English corpora. It is productive and is found with **hundreds of verbs**, in innovative ways.

  a. I think Burger King is trying to depress me into getting fat.
  b. He'd been cuddled into doing some work experience by a social worker.
  c. You Donald Trumped him into being the most talked about thing in the

game. (Internet)

(15) <u>Evidence for a grammatical causative (I)</u>
The external argument need not be an agent.

a. Love at first sight had coerced him **into** marrying a complete stranger.
b. Depression drove him **to** committing suicide.
c. Just the thought of these grizzly bears intimidated Bill **out of** taking the trail through the woods.
d. The long line-ups and wait times deterred him **from** voting in Monday's municipal election.

(16) <u>Evidence for a grammatical causative (II)</u>
The characteristic scope ambiguity with *almost*, modifying either the result or the causing event.

a. John almost talked Mary into joining him for the trip, but…
b. … he had a change of heart at the last moment and decided   (*high*)
   not to approach her.
c. … she eventually decided to stay home.   (*low*)

a. Michael almost dissuaded Sue from selling her old car, but…
b. … at the last moment he realized it's none of his business, so he shut up.
c. … after their conversation, she gave it another thought and decided to go ahead and sell it.

(17) <u>The causative meaning is constructional (I)</u>
→ It is not inherent in the verb.

a. John coaxed Sue into making a rash statement.
   → *Sue made a rash statement*
b. John coaxed Sue to make a rash statement.
   ↛ *Sue made a rash statement*

(Rudanko 1989:130)

c. # They bribed her into spying on the prince, but she refused to do so.
d. They bribed her to spy on the prince, but she refused to do so.

(Kim & Davies 2015:71)

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(18)   The causative meaning is constructional (II)
→ It is not inherent in the preposition.

    a.   Mary asked/urged him into the room, but he didn't enter the room.

             (Kim & Davies 2015)

    b.   She discouraged/forbade Paul from raising the issue, but nonetheless he did.

(19)   **Conclusion: The implicative sense arises from the presence of PredP in (9).**
When *to/into/out of/from* projects PredP, it conveys an incohative sense (becoming X or becoming not-X) and mediates direct predication between the gerund and the direct object, yielding the implicative entailment.

→ Selection or non-selection for PredP is what distinguishes implicative verbs like *dissuade* from nonimplicative ones like *discourage*.

Nonimplicative P-gerund complements

(20)   a.   Mary accused John **of** stealing the formulae.
         ↛ *John stole the formulae*
    b.   They charged Mandela **with** being a Communist.
         ↛ *Mandela was a Communist*
    d.   They warned my grandma **against** breaking the law.
         ↛ *My grandma broke the law*

Note: *for*-gerunds are adjuncts (Green 2018, 2019, Landau to appear).

(21)   There are far fewer verbs taking this kind of complement and the class is not productive (→ there is no syntactic schema for non-causative verbs).

    a.   V: [__ DP *of* gerund]
         accuse, convict, indict, suspect, envy, warn…
    b.   V: [__ DP *with* gerund]
         charge, entrust, associate, credit, threaten, task, familiarize, reproach, upbraid, burden…
    c.   V: [__ DP *against* gerund]
         advise, caution, warn, counsel, protect, defend, guard, shield, safeguard, insure, secure, immunize, inoculate…

(22) <u>Semantic observations</u>
Some of the verbs (*accuse, convict, suspect, reproach*) select complements that are held as true in the attitude holder's past, thus invoking an epistemic attitude. Others (*warn, entrust, task, advise, caution, counsel*) select complements that represent the attitude holder's normative preferences, thus invoking a deontic attitude. Either way, no direct predication applies between the direct object and the gerund, hence no implicative entailment is generated.

Property vs. propositional gerunds

(23) a. **Controlled complements always denote properties**.
(Thomason 1974, Chierchia 1984, 1990, Dowty 1985,
Percus and Sauerland 2003, von Stechow 2003, Anand 2006, Stephenson 2010, Pearson 2013, 2016, 2018).

b. **Controlled complements always denote propositions.**
(Chomsky 1980b, 1981, Manzini 1983, Bouchard 1984, Koster 1984,
Borer 1989, Sag and Pollard 1991, Wyngaerd 1994, Landau 2000)

c. **Dual theories: Some controlled complements denote properties and some propositions.**
(Williams 1992, Wurmbrand 2002, Grano 2015 Landau 2015, 2017, to appear).

(24) <u>Present predictions of the dual theory</u>

a. Predication can't support "partial readings":
(*John worked as a crew *(member)*)
→ Implicative P-gerund complements should resist partial control, nonimplicative ones should allow it.

b. A clause with a lexical subject is propositional.
→ Implicative P-gerund complements should reject a lexical subject, nonimplicative ones should accept it.

Exhaustive vs. partial control

(25) <u>Landau 2000</u>: Implicative verbs induce exhaustive control (EC) in their complement while attitude verbs allow partial control (PC).

a. * We were happy that John remembered to gather this morning.   *implicative*

b.   We were happy that John planned to gather this morning. *nonimplicative*

Also in gerunds:

c. * We regret that John avoided gathering this morning.   *implicative*

d.   We were happy that John considered gathering this morning.   *nonimplicative*

(26) *PC in implicative P-gerund

a. * They limited the chair **to** gathering during weekends only.

b. * Mary asked us to coerce John **into** working jointly on the project.

c. * John realized it was her mom who talked Mary **out of** reconciling this time.

d. * I think that his sudden flu inhibited our chair **from** meeting together today.

(27) ✓PC in implicative P-gerund

a.   Caruso said police wrongly accused him **of** gathering without a permit.

b.   The court charged her **with** gathering and colluding with the intent to harm the state.

c.   Her government warned her **against** gathering publicly after she complained about their insufficient attempts at security.

Tolerance to lexical subjects

(28) EC predicates, implicative ones included, cannot take complements with lexical subjects Grano (2015).

a. * She forgot (for) him to turn off the heating.

b. * She condescended (for) him to listen to our complaints.

Note: *try/manage* can be coerced to allow this but then they change their meaning.

PC predicates allow lexical subjects in their complements.

c.   George hoped to win / George hoped [for Ray to win]

d.   George claimed to be healthy / George claimed [that Ray was healthy]

(29) <u>*Lexical subject in implicative P-gerund complement</u>
     a.   He fooled Sam **into** [(*him/*his) believing he was fast].

                                                          (Kim & Davies 2015)
     b.   They confined Beth **to** [(*her son'(s)) eating dog food].
     c.   John talked Sue's partner **out of** [(*her) accepting a bribe].
     d.   John restrained Sue **from** [(*her candidate('s)) making a long statement].

Intuitively, what goes wrong here is that the attempted indirect causal chains are not supported by the inherent semantics of the construction: The referent of the direct object itself must come to bear the gerund property. This is a hallmark of direct predication.

(30) <u>✓Lexical subject in nonimplicative P-gerund complement</u>
     a.   He accused me **of** [him being suspended].
     b.   No one would suspect him **of** [anything being wrong].
     c.   He credits us **with** [him playing more solo piano].
     d.   He used to threaten me **with** [him not seeing the kids].
     e.   I'd caution you **against** [anyone taking this too far for now].
     f.   What will guard you **against** [him exploiting everything he can]?

(31) <u>Kim & Davis (2015:59) on (29a)</u>: "The verb also needs to have access to the prepositional object, the gerundive (*ger*) phrase, which is not accessible within the verb's local domain. That is, the c-selection… information of the verb *fool* here thus needs to include the nonlocal VP[*ger*] too, which makes the construction syntactically peculiar".

On the present account, this fact does not require peculiar *non-local c-selection* (for a subjectless gerund), but rather *local selection* (for PredP; the gerund then must be a predicate).

Syntactic consequences of PredP

(32) a.   <u>Object drop</u>: The subject of PredP cannot be dropped; normal direct objects may be dropped (up to lexical idiosyncracy).

     b.   <u>PP-fronting</u>: [P gerund] in implicative constructions is a nonmaximal projection → *cannot* be moved. [P gerund] in nonimplicative constructions is a maximal PP → *can* be moved.

Object drop

(33) <u>"Bach's generalization"</u>: Object control verbs cannot be detransitivized (i.e., undergo object drop); see (a).
<u>However</u>: The effect is lexically governed and largely independent of control, and is not limited to direct objects, see (b-c).

    a.   John convinced *(Mary) to leave.
    b.   John convinced *(Mary) of a certain conclusion.
    c.   The captives implored *(with the king) to spare their lives.

(34) Landau (2015): A restricted version of Bach's generalization is correct. Predication requires an overt saturating argument. Because implicative complements instantiate predicative control:

Implicit objects cannot control into implicative complements.

(35) <u>Important</u>: (34) is a *necessary* condition on object drop in OC, not a sufficient one. Given lexically idiosyncratic c-selection (as seen in (33a-c)), no sufficient condition for object drop can be stated. Furthermore, languages famously differ in their tolerance to object drop (English being fairly resistant in this regard).

    → No implicative P-gerund construction will allow object drop;
some nonimplicative P-gerund constructions will allow object drop.

(36) <u>*Object drop in implicative P-gerund constructions</u>
(See Rudanko 1989:129 for examples with *from*-gerunds).

    a.   John's limited education constrained *(him) **to** working in this low-pay job.
    b.   Bill said that his first wife tricked *(him) **into** selling their house.
    c.   Mary was determined to do it, we really couldn't argue *(her) **out of** trusting her instinct.
    d.   To John's disappointment, the court withheld *(him) **from** confiscating our savings.

<u>Note</u>: Generic/habitual contexts should be avoided due to the general process of generic object drop.

(37) ✓Object drop in nonimplicative *against*-gerund constructions

    a.   Paul$_i$ said nothing would go wrong, but I warned ___$_i$ against [PRO$_i$ putting himself$_i$ in unnecessary danger].

    b.   Those snow shoes were vital. Once I$_i$ slipped, they protected ___$_i$ against [PRO$_i$ spraining my ankle].

    c.   I$_i$ spoke to a consultant at a local service office for new immigrants, and she advised ___$_i$ against [PRO$_i$ getting my new passport now].

    d.   Everything that was considering and deliberate and wise in her$_i$ cautioned ___$_i$ against [PRO$_i$ letting herself get involved in an affair just now when her entire life was in turmoil].

(38) Object drop in nonimplicative *of/with*-gerund constructions - ?
Some natural data:

    a.   He also knocked her$_i$ out by choking her while accusing ___$_i$ of [PRO$_i$ cheating with other men].

    b.   Fort Worth-An Erath county prisoner has filed a federal suit here against Sheriff Jack Perry$_i$, charging ___$_i$ with [PRO$_i$ violating the prisoner's civil rights by refusing to let him out of jail early].

PP-fronting

(39) Like nominal complements of prepositions, gerundive complements can be questioned, stranding the preposition behind.

    a.   What did he talk you into?
           (Answer: Quitting my job)

    b.   What did he accuse you of?
           (Answer: Neglecting my duties)

In spoken English, pied-piping is dispreferred if P-stranding is possible. Nonetheless, it is not ungrammatical. When we compare the two types of P-gerund constructions, a contrast emerges.

    c.   * Into what did he talk you?
    d.   Of what did he accuse you?

The contrast is systematic: Implicative [P gerund] phrases cannot be fronted while nonimplicative ones can. It is most clearly felt in relativization, where prepositions are comfortably pied-piped in principle.

(40) *[P gerund]-fronting in implicative constructions
    a.   * We discussed playing less intensively, **to** which injury setbacks have anyway restricted him.
    b.   * It is believing she is innocent, **into** which she might fool us, that worries me.
    c.   * Let me turn to exercising their legal rights by mail, **out of** which the government tries to bully the voters.
    d.   * We repeat the point about continuing resistance, **from** which arrests of our leaders will not deter us.

(41) ✓[P gerund]-fronting in implicative constructions
    a.   Down the list there is being a terrorist, **of** which I doubt that they suspect you.
    b.   The next issue is disseminating obscene materials to minors, **with** which they intend to charge Mr. Kellman.
    c.   The last section addresses losing your work capacity, **against** which our policy fully protects you.

(42) A straightforward explanation:
The P-gerund constituent in (9) is a nonmaximal, P' projection → immovable
The P-gerund constituent in (10) is a maximal PP projection → movable

Note: This is striking confirmation for the advantages of taking "abstract" syntactic structures seriously. Superficially identical strings do have very different structures.

→ Converging semantic and syntactic evidence for PredP.
[See Chierchia 1985, Bowers 1993, Baker 2003 and den Dikken 2006]

(43) A natural question: Why can't the entire PredP be moved?

    a.   * Us **into** thinking she was innocent, he feared she might fool.
    b.   * The voters **out of** exercising their right, the government tried to bully.

Similarly, no movement of causative PredP with nominal predicates.

   c. * Us **into** a false sense of security, he feared she might fool.
   d. * The voters **out of** their jobs, the government tried to bully.

(44) The overall picture of Small Clause movement is complex. In English, many types of SCs resist movement.

   a. * Him dance outside, I saw earlier.
   b. * Mary absolutely mad, George made.
   c. * Bill out of the office, it was hard to keep.
   d. * Sam for a genius, I took for many years.

But SC complements of *want*-type verbs can be moved (Svenonius 1994:92).

   e.   Dogs in the house, they hate.
   f.   What I really want is that man off my ship.

(45) In Romance languages, SCs with stage-level predicates are moveable but those with individual-level predicates are not (Raposo & Uriagereka 1995).

   a.   Lo   que   noto   es [a Maria   cansada].   *Spanish*
         what that   note.1SG   is to Mary   tired
         'What I perceive is Mary tired.'
   b. * Lo   que   considero   es [a Maria   inteligente].
         what that   consider.1SG is to Mary   intelligent
         ('What I consider is Mary intelligent.')

In Irish, Lithuanian and Korean, most types of SCs can be displaced (Chung and McCloskey 1987, Giparaitė 2010, Ko 2015).

<u>Summing up</u>: We still lack a principled account of the restrictions on PredP displacement (which may or may not coalesce with an account of the restrictions on TP displacement).
→ The ungrammaticality of (43) does not undermine the PredP analysis.

Theoretical implications

(46) *Empirical differences between two classes of P-gerund constructions*

	V-DP-{*to,into, out of,from*}-gerund (causative)	V-DP-{*of,with,against*} -gerund
Semantic type of complement	$<e,<s,t>>$	$<s,t>$
Implicative entailment	+	−
Allows partial control	*	✓
Allows a lexical subject	*	✓
Matrix object drop possible	*	✓/* (mixed)
PP-fronting possible	*	✓

(47) <u>Against uniform property-analyses of OC - (23a)</u>
Why do lines 3-4 in the table pattern together?
<u>TTC</u>: Because predicates resist PC and lexical subjects, and propositions don't.
<u>Uniform property-analyses</u>: It's a coincidence. In Pearson 2016, PC results from specific semantic entailmments of a certain class of verbs; whether or not these verbs may also select propositional complements (with a lexical subject) is not addressed or deemed relevant.
Furthermore, these analyses do not invoke different syntactic structures for the two classes; the differences are solely located in the semantics. Therefore, **the correlation of lines 5-6 is also accidental** for them.

(48) <u>"Abstract" vs. constructional explanation</u>

Most of the work on *into*-gerunds is within corpus linguistics and Construction Grammar, see (13). It is largely descriptive, searching through corpora for more-or-less coherent lexical characteristics of the verbs that take P-gerund complements. The theoretical toolbox of these studies is too limited to uncover significant grammatical generalizations.

First, the *into*-gerund construction was treated in isolation from other P-gerund constructions; **The implicative class as a whole was not recognized.**

Second, the fundamental split between implicative and nonimplicative complements has also gone unnoticed.

Third, viewing complex sentences as unanalyzed "constructions" prevents making generalizations over structural *portions* of these constructions (the necessity of [Spec,PredP], the immovable nonmaximal Pred').

Methodological upshot: Abstractness in theorizing is indispensible in formulating genuine explanations.

Conclusion

- P-gerund complements split to two classes: implicative and nonimplicative
- Control operates in two mechanisms – predication (of a property) or logophoric anchoring (of a proposition) (the TTC, Landau 2015)
- The implicative construction embeds PredP under a causative v.
- Consistent semantic and syntactic consequences follow
- Grammatical "corners" can be very illuminating!

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