Exfoliation and Control

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Exfoliation

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Icelandic case transmission and case independence

Conclusion

Exfoliation

Exfoliation

Core idea

- ▶ Recent paper by David Pesetsky on *Exfoliation: towards a derviational theory of clause size*
- ▶ Core idea: all non-finite clauses start as full finite CPs; they can become smaller during the derivation → exfoliation
- ▶ Exfoliation is triggered by movement of the embedded subject to the higher clause, i.e. movement of the subject makes the infinitival clause possible;
- → "Flipped version" of the standard theory whereby verbs select infinitivals, which cannot license overt referential subjects;
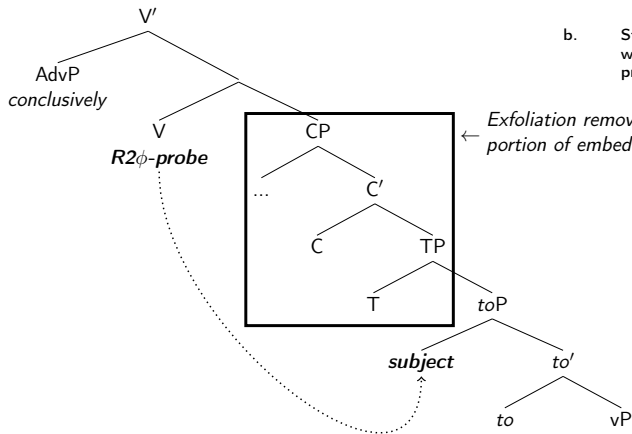
Exfoliation

Definition of Exfoliation

(1) Exfoliation

    a. Structural Description: $\ldots \beta \ldots [_{YP(phase)} \ldots [_{\gamma \ (non-phase)} \ldots \alpha \ldots]]$, where

       (i) YP is the phase that dominates α but not β

       (ii) α occupies the edge of γP, and

       (iii) a movement triggering probe on β has located α as its goal.

    b. Structural Change: Replace YP with γP, which takes the phasal property of its predecessor.

(see Pesetsky 2019, 11)

Illustration: Raising-to-Object (=R2)

(2)   Raising to object

a. $\ldots \beta \ldots [_{YP(phase)} \ldots [[_{\gamma\ (non-phase)} \ldots \alpha \ldots]]$, where
    (i)   YP is the phase that dominates α but not β
    (ii) α occupies the edge of γP, and
    (iii) a movement triggering probe on β has located α as its goal.
b.   Structural Change: Replace YP with γP, which takes the phasal property of its predecessor.

Exfoliation removes this portion of embedded clause

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Exfoliation

Central Evidence
Some verbs only select infinitival complements only when the subject is
A'/A-extracted:

▶ French *believe*-verbs

(3)   a.   l'homme, que je croyais ___ être   arrivé ...
           the.man, that I believed   AUX.INF arrived
           'the man I believed to have arrived'
      b.   *Je croyais cet homme être arrivé
      (Pollock (1985) cited from Pesetsky 2019, 21)

▶ English *wager*-verbs

(4)   a.   *We wagered Mary to be the most likely winner.
      b.   Mary, who we wagered to be the most likely winner ...
      c.   Mary was wagered to be the most likely winner.
      (Pesetsky 2019, 22, original observation in Postal 1974)

Exfoliation

Central Evidence

▶ Double object verbs (Kayne paradigm)

(5)   a.   *I assure you Mary to be the best candidate.
        b.   Mary, who I assure you to be the best candidate. . .
        c.   *Mary was assured you to be the best candidate. . .
       (Kayne (1984) cited from Pesetsky 2019, 22)

Exfoliation and Control

Exfoliation and Control

Control is a configuration, in which we find infinitivals, but movement of the subject is not obvious.

► Obligatory control: an argument of the embedding verb necessarily co-refers with the subject of the embedded clause

(6) a. John hoped PRO to solve the problem.
     b. John tried PRO to solve the problem.

► Non-obligatory control (=NOC): non-local/non-c-commanding antecedents, discourse control, generic interpretation;

(7) Potatoes are tastier [after PRO boiling them] (Landau, 2013, 232)

(8) Amy$_i$ thinks that $\_\_{i/j/i+j/gen}$ dancing with Dan intrigues Tom$_j$. (Jackendoff & Culicover, 2003, 522)

Exfoliation and Control

Pesetsky (2019) (tentatively) proposes that movement is involved both in obligatory (OC) and non-obligatory control (NOC), following the Movement Theory of Control (=MTC) for obligatory control, see Hornstein (1999), Boeckx et al. (2010b) among others;

- ▶ OC1: controllee is moved to the higher clause from toP (MTC1 approach)
- ▶ OC2: controllee is moved via FP (functional projection above CP) to the higher clause (MTC2 approach)
- ▶ NOC: controllee is moved to fP (functional projection that can also host *for* and involves a special semantics), where controllee needs to be unpronounced
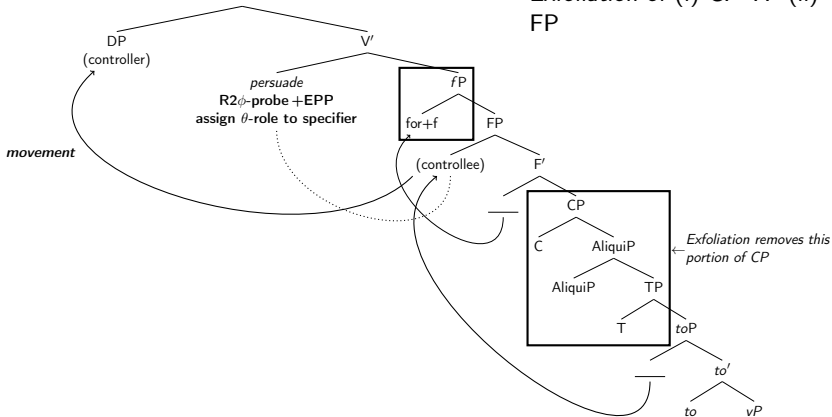
(9)   Pesetsky's MTC 1

- ▶ Movement via toP
- ▶ fP structure not obligatory/possible
- ▶ Exfoliation of CP-TP

Exfoliation removes this portion of embedded clause
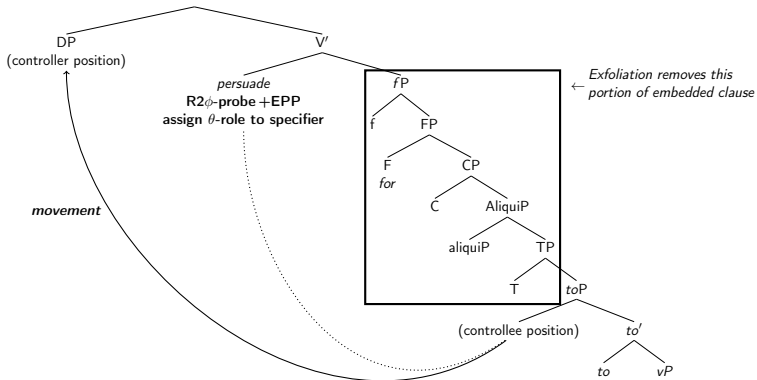
(see Pesetsky 2019, 108)
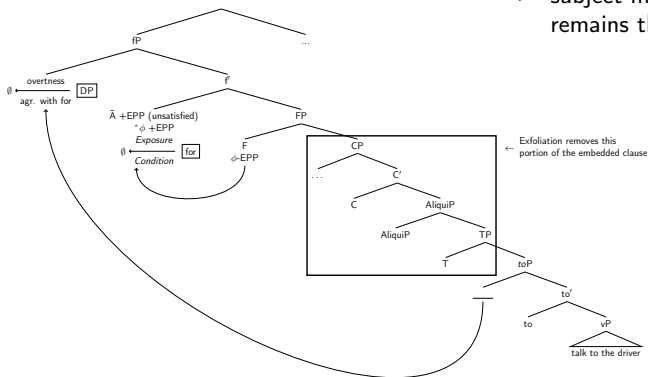
12

(10)   Pesetsky's MTC 2

- ▶ Movement via toP and FP
- ▶ fP structure comes with a specific semantics
- ▶ Exfoliation of (i) CP-TP (ii) FP

(see Pesetsky 2019, 109)

(11) Pesetsky's exfoliation in NOC contexts:
to talk to the driver is illegal

▶ subject moves to Spec,fP and remains there

(see Pesetsky 2019, 106)

Exfoliaton and Control

Against movement in OC

While Pestesky's proposal is certainly in line with many aspects of current analyses of control, the movement analyses of OC has been challenged especially for at least one type of obligatory control cases.

- $\rightarrow$ logophoric control, see Landau (2015), *pro*-control, see Sheehan (2014, 2018)
    - ▶ **partial Control** (Landau, 2000)
    - ▶ independent tense interpretation (Landau, 2000)
    - ▶ obligatory *de se* interpretation, see Chierchia (1989), Pearson (2016), Landau (2015)
    - ▶ [+human] antecedent (Landau, 2013)
    - ▶ availability of **control shift** and implicit control (Landau, 2015)

Exfoliation and Control

Properties of logophoric control

▶ **Partial control** (see Landau 2000, Pitteroff et al. 2017, Pitteroff & Sheehan 2018)
PC is problematic for MTC, as a trace cannot get a different interpretation from its antecedent;

(12)   The chair$_i$ preferred [PRO$_{i+}$ to gather at 6].

▶ independent tense interpretation (Landau, 2000)

(13)   Yesterday, John wanted to solve the problem tomorrow.
        (Landau, 2000, 6)

Exfoliation and Control: Logophoric Control

Properties of logophoric control

- ▶ obligatory *de se* interpretation (see Chierchia 1989, Pearson 2016, Landau 2015):
  (14) is only felicitous in a context in which Mary is aware that she is the one to have found the solution, but infelicitous in a context where she mistakes herself to be someone else.

(14)   Mary claimed to have found the solution.   obligatorily *de se*

- ▶ [+human] antecedent (Landau, 2015)

(15)   a.   *The note specified where to be filed.
        b.   The note specified where it should be filed.
        (Landau, 2015, 66f)

Exfoliation and Control

Properties of logophoric control

▶ Availability of **control shift** in (16) (see Landau 2015);
  Control Shift is problematic for movement theory of control, because it is
  unclear how to makes sure that the embedded subject moves to subject
  or object depending on the properties of the embedded clause (passive,
  modals, non-agentive predicates);

(16)   a.   The coach promised Montana$_i$ [PRO$_i$ to be allowed to play
              in the Super Bowl].
        b.   Bill$_i$ proposed to Mary [PRO$_i$ to join her].
        (Landau, 2015, 68)

Exfoliation and Control

Properties of logophoric control

▶ availability of implicit control in (17)

(17)   Er   werd geweigerd om het verdachte appelsap   op te drinken.
         there was   refused   C   the suspicious apple.juice up to drink
         '(Lit.) There was refused to drink the suspicious apple juice.'
         (Landau, 2015, 70)

Background on Control: Analyses of Control

Duality of OC in recent approaches:

▶ Agree Theory of Control: Landau (2000) and follow-up work

▶ Logophoric vs. predicative control Landau (2015)

▶ Movement-control vs. *pro*-control: Sheehan (2018)

▶ UPro: (McFadden & Sundaresan, 2018): UPRO can be bound in different ways

Earlier approaches (following the overview in Landau 2013):

▶ Predication: Williams (1980), Lebeaux (1984), Chierchia (1984))

▶ Binding: Manzini (1983), Sag & Pollard (1991), Bouchard (1984), Koster (1984), Williams (1992), Manzini & Roussou (2000), for LFG see Bresnan (1982),

▶ A-movement (among others Hornstein 1999, Polinsky & Potsdam 2002, Boeckx & Hornstein 2004, Manzini & Roussou 2000)

Extending Exfoliation

We propose to adjust Pesetsky's proposal such that one type of obligatory control is possible that does not involve movement:

▶ Two types of control

    ▶ movement control: movement control as proposed in Pesetsky; verbs have a R1 (subject control) or R2 (object control) probe that require movement;

    ▶ *pro*-control involving movement to fP/FP; verbs have an R1 or R2 probe that gives rise to agreement;
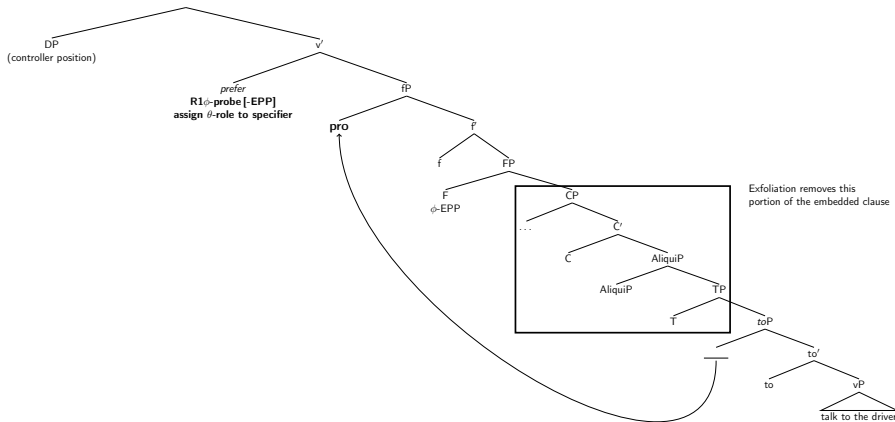
Control 1: Movement Control

(18)   Pesetsky's MTC 2
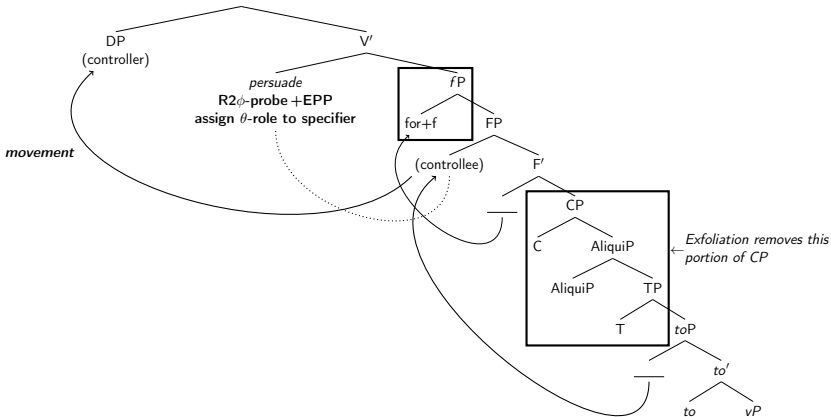
Control 2: pro-Control

(19)   pro-Control: based on Pesetsky's NOC case (see Sheehan 2018, similarly, logophoric control Landau 2015)

Exfoliation and Control

Intermediate Summary

▶ Pesetsky proposes that obligatory control always involves movement of the subject into the matrix clause.

▶ However, one subtype of OC cannot be derived by movement;

▶ We propose that Pesetsky's NOC structure is also possible as complement (similiar to what is proposed by Landau 2015) giving rise to OC.

Icelandic case transmission and case independence

Icelandic case transmission and case independence

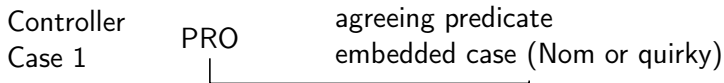### Overview

▶ In OC contexts, under attitude predicates, Icelandic allows both case transmission and case independence (Andrews 1976, Thráinsson 1979):

(20) Case transmission

Controller   PRO   agreeing predicate
Case 1   =Case 1

(21) Case independence

Controller   PRO   agreeing predicate
Case 1   embedded case (Nom or quirky)

Icelandic case transmission and case independence

▶ In object-OC, predicative adjectives, past participles, floating
quantifiers and indefinite pronouns can take NOM (case
independence) or ACC (case transmission). (Andrews 1976,
1990, Thráinsson 1979, 2007, Sigurðsson 1991, 2008, Bobaljik
& Landau 2009, Boeckx & Hornstein 2006, Boeckx et al.
2010a)

(22)   Ég   bað **hanni** [að fara **einn**
       I.NOM asked him.**ACC** to go   alone.M.SG.**NOM**
       /**einan**   þangað].
       /alone.M.SG.**ACC** there
       'I asked him to go there alone.'
       (Thráinsson, 1979, 301)

▶ Sigurðsson (2008, 414) shows that both ACC and NOM are
widely accepted in examples of this kind.

No referential subjects

▶ Overt nominative subjects are not possible in in this context, despite the availability of NOM.

(23) Ég bað   Maríu   að (***hún** /***Ásta**)   fara
      I   asked Maria.ACC to she   /Asta.**NOM** go
      ein   þangað.
      aloneF.SG.NOM there
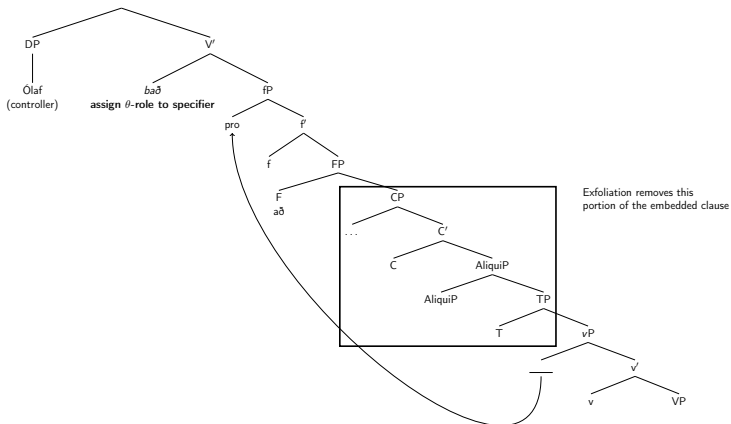   'I asked Maria (for her/Asta) to go there alone.'
      (Thráinsson, 1979, 301)

▶ From an exfoliation perspective: Icelandic non-finite complements start off life as finite clauses and NOM can be retained after exfoliation has taken place.

Our basic proposal

▶ **Case transmission** indicates that control is derived via **movement** (MTC2): the subject of the embedded predicate is a trace that shares the features of the controller.

▶ **Case independence** indicates that control results from *pro*-**control** (co-opting Pesetsky's 2019 approach to NOC): the subject of the non-finite clause is a controlled *pro* in spec fP.

▶ We will consider how this proposal can deal with **(i) partial control, (ii) patterns of case preservation and quirky independence vs. quirky transmission** and **(iii) successive cyclicity**.

Basic proposal I: case transmission

(24)   MTC 2 derivation for Icelandic

Basic proposal II: case independence

(25)   *pro*-Control: case independence

Exfoliation removes this
portion of the embedded clause

Partial control in Icelandic

▶ Younger speakers of Icelandic permit PC readings (Landau (2000)) under attitude predicates (Sheehan, 2018, 148).

(26) *Borgarstjórinn **fékk**   /**byrjaði** að hittast   klukkan
      the.mayor.NOM managed /started   to meet.ST clock
      fimm.
      five.

(27) Borgarstjórinn **vonast** til að heilsast /sættast.
      the.mayor.NOM hopes   for to greet.ST /be.reconciled.ST
      'The mayor hopes to greet one another/make up.'

Partial control in Icelandic

▶ In instances of PC, only case independence (*pro*-control) is
   possible. Case transmission (MTC2) becomes impossible.

(28) Hann bað Ólaf$_i$ [að *pro*NOM hittast **einir**$_{i+}$/
      he   asked Olaf.ACC to   meet.ST alone.**NOM**.M.PL/
      *eina$_{i+}$]
      alone.**ACC**.M.PL
      'He asked Olaf to meet alone.PL.'
      (Sheehan, 2018, 149)

▶ Note that the indefinite pronoun is also morphologically plural,
   unlike the controller.

▶ Partial control requires *pro*-control (see also Landau 2008 on
   Russian and Sheehan 2018 for a discussion of subject control
   which shows the same basic effect)

Taking stock

► In instances of *pro*-**control**, PC (and control shift) are
  possible because *pro* is a controlled pronoun in spec fP with its
  own case and phi-features.

► In instances of **MTC 2**, the embedded subject is a deleted
  copy of the controller so the two must be indentical in
  reference ruling out PC and control shift. NOM is overwritten
  by the matrix clause case.

► Case independence (*pro*-**control**) is (almost) always possible.

► Case transmission (**MTC 2**) is ruled out where movement to a
  thematic position is blocked.

Quirky case phenomena

▶ Many Icelandic predicates assign a quirky (non-structural) case:

(29)   ***Hún**   /*Hana /Henni leiðist
     she.NOM /.ACC   /.DAT is.bored
     'She is bored.' (see Thráinsson 2007, 55)

▶ There are three distinct quirky puzzles associated with Icelandic control (see Bobaljik & Landau (2009) for discussion):

1. No case preservation
2. Quirky independence
3. Quirky transmission

No case preservation

▶ In raising, matrix case is determined 'downstairs'
▶ In subject control, matrix case is determined 'upstairs'
▶ So, quirky DPs can undergo raising, but not MTC 2.

(30) **Mönnunum**/***Mennirnir** virðist báðum [t hafa verið
      men.the.**DAT**/***NOM**   seem both.**DAT** have been
      hjálpað].
      helped.DFT
      'The men seem to have both been helped.'
      (Sigurðsson, 2008, 419) citing Thráinsson 1986:252

(31) **Mennirnir**/***Mönnunum** vonast til [að *pro***DAT** verða
      men.the.**NOM**/***DAT**   hope for to   be
      báðum   hjálpað].
      both.**DAT** helped.DFT
      'The men hope to be both helped.'
      (Sigurðsson, 2008, 419) citing Thráinsson 1986:252

Quirky independence

▶ While participles can only agree for structural cases, predicative adjectives, secondary predicates, floating quantifiers and indefinite pronouns can also inflect for quirky (non-structural) cases.

▶ This allows us to see whether *pro* has quirky case.

▶ Where the embedded predicate is quirky, case transmission is blocked in OC.

(32)   (#) Jón   bað   hann   [að leiðast   ekki
           Jon.NOM asked him.ACC to be.bored not
       einum   /***einan**].
       alone.**DAT** /alone.**ACC**
       'Jon asked him not to be bored alone.'
       (based on Bobaljik & Landau 2009, 116, who build on Boeckx &
       Hornstein 2006, 594)

Quirky transmission

▶ Where the control predicate is quirky, case transmission of quirky DAT/ACC is possible for some speakers, but tranmission of GEN is blocked (see Sigurðsson 2008, 415)

(33) Við sögðum Ólafi   að vera **rólegur** /%**rólegum**
      We told.1PL Olaf.DAT to be   calm.NOM /calm.DAT
      'We told Olaf to be calm.' (Sigurdsson 2008: 415)
      NOM OK 80%; DAT OK/? 67% [Icelandic, n=15]

(34) Ólaf   langaði [að vera **fyrstur**
      Olaf.ACC longed to be /the.first.one.NOM
      /%**fyrstan**].
      /the.first.one.ACC
      'Olaf longed to be the first one.' (Sigurðsson 2008, 415)
      NOM OK 100% ACC OK/? 27%; [Icelandic, n=15]

Quirky puzzles in an exfoliated world

- ▶ Under exfoliation, these three puzzles can be explained by restricting movement into a thematic posiion.

- ▶ DPs with quirky case cannot move into a mismatched thematic position. This explains puzzles (1) and (2): quirky predicates necessitate *pro*-control.

- ▶ The variable availability of quirky transmission suggests that some speakers do, however, permit movement into a thematic position associated with quirky case.

- ▶ Wherever MTC2 fails, *pro*-control is available.

Conclusion and Outlook

Advantages of Exfoliation

▶ Non-finite complements of control verbs in Icelandic can look
   like complete case domains with NOM/quirky case but an
   obligatorily controlled subject position.

▶ Exfoliation provides a natural way to capture this and to model
   the difference between between case transmission (MTC 2)
   and case independence (*pro*-control)

▶ The same is true for the three quirky puzzles - they reduce to
   restrictions on movmement to a thematic position.

Challenges for exfoliation

- ▶ The big one: what ensures that *pro* is null in *pro*-control. Pesetsky's proposal for English does not extend to Icelandic if *að* realises F.
- ▶ How do the two possibilities of *pro*-control and MTC 2 co-exist for the same control verbs?
- ▶ What happens to NOM in instances of MTC2 (and ECM/raising)?

ECM vs. object control

▶ In ECM contexts, case independence is blocked and all inflecting predicates must agree with the surface case of the promoted object (participles get a default form if the DP is quirky).

▶ In a sense, this is as expected if only movement is possible here: there is no possibility of *pro*-control in instances of ECM.

(35)   Ég   tel   Maríu   hafa   verið
       I.NOM believed Maria.ACC to.have been
       tekna   /***tekin**   af lögreglunni.
       taken.F.SG.ACC /*F.SG.NOM by the.police
       'I believed Maria to have been taken by the police.'
       (Thráinsson, 1979, 250)

Successive cyclic ECM

▶ So, the exfoliation approach necessitates that structural cases (unlike quirky cases) can be overwritten where an argument moves in passivisation/ECM/control .

▶ This applies successive cyclically, raising challenges for phase theory.

(36) Ég álit **hana** vera **talda** hafa verið
      I consider her.F.SG.**ACC** be believed.F.SG.**ACC** have been
      ríka
      rich.F.SG.**ACC**
      'I think that she is believed to have been rich.'

(37) **Hún** er **álitin** vera
      she.F.SG.**NOM** is consideredF.SG.**NOM** be
      talin vera **rík**
      believed.F.SG.**NOM** be rich.F.SG.**NOM**
      'People think that she is believed to have been rich.'

Passives under control > case independence

▶ Thráinsson (1979) notes that case transmission into passive complements of control predicates is blocked:

(38) Ég skipaði **Maríu**   að vera **tekin**
      I   ordered Maria.**DAT** to be   taken.F.SG.**NOM**
      /***tekinni** af lögreglunni
      /.**DAT**   by the.police
      'I ordered Maria to be arrested by the police.'(Thráinsson, 1979, 249)

Passives under control > case independence

▶ This is not about past participles vs. secondary predicates (contra Boeckx et al. (2010a)), as secondary predicates in these examples must also be NOM:

(39)   Ég bannaði **Maríu**   að vera **tekin**
       I   forbade Maria.**DAT** to be   taken.F.SG.**NOM**
       föst   af lögreglunni
       fast.F.SG.**NOM** by the.police
       (Thráinsson, 1979, 248)

▶ The implication is that A-movement followed by theta-related movement is blocked for some reason, forcing *pro*-control.

▶ But, as Thráinsson notes, passives here are "not the greatest" (Thráinsson, 1979, 305), some speakers don't accept them at all and some such examples seem to involve control shift.

Control under ECM $>$ case transmission

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- ► Conversely, where a controller receives ECM, case transmission becomes basically obligatory and PC becomes impossible (Landau, 2008, Sheehan, 2018).

(40)   þeir töldu   [Harald   vilja   [fara
         they believed Harald.M.SG.**ACC** want.INF go
         ??einn   /**einan**   þangað]]]
         aloneM.SG.**NOM** /alone.M.SG.**ACC** there
         'They believed Harald to want to go there alone.'
         (Sheehan 2018: 151)

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- ► From an exfoliation perspective, this pattern, like the previous one, suggest that there are restrictions on the interleaving of thematic and non-thematic A-movements.

Thanks a lot for your attention

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