

## Contents

---

|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| <i>Preface</i>   | <i>page vii</i> |
| <b>1 Background</b>  | <b>1</b>        |
| 1.1 A historical sketch: the rise and fall of Equi-NP Deletion | 1               |
| 1.2 Raising-control contrasts                                  | 8               |
| 1.2.1 Interpretive contrasts                                   | 11              |
| 1.2.2 Structural contrasts                                     | 18              |
| 1.3 The OC signature   | 28              |
| 1.4 Bogus criteria for OC or NOC                               | 34              |
| 1.5 Configurations of OC and NOC                               | 38              |
| 1.6 Are there nonfinite NOC complements?                       | 43              |
| <b>2 Control theories: a typology</b>                          | <b>47</b>       |
| 2.1 Predication  | 47              |
| 2.2 Binding  | 54              |
| 2.3 Lexical-functional grammar                                 | 58              |
| 2.4 A-movement   | 62              |
| 2.5 Agree  | 65              |
| <b>3 Empirical arguments for PRO</b>                           | <b>69</b>       |
| 3.1 Infinitives are clausal (hence, contain a subject)         | 70              |
| 3.2 Syntactic evidence for PRO                                 | 72              |
| <b>4 Predicting the distribution of PRO</b>                    | <b>79</b>       |
| 4.1 Finiteness ingredients                                     | 80              |
| 4.1.1 The naive years (only nonfinite control)                 | 80              |
| 4.1.2 The crosslinguistic picture: finiteness and control      | 87              |
| 4.1.3 Mood and control   | 98              |
| 4.1.4 Open problems: DP/PRO free alternation                   | 99              |
| 4.2 Case marking and case transmission                         | 103             |
| 4.3 Is PRO necessarily a subject?                              | 108             |
| 4.3.1 Theoretical accounts for the subjecthood of PRO          | 108             |
| 4.3.2 Nonsubject PRO: actor control in Tagalog                 | 111             |
| 4.4 Nullness of PRO  | 115             |
| 4.4.1 Control of pronouns and reflexives                       | 117             |
| 4.4.2 Backward and copy control                                | 119             |
| 4.4.3 Theoretical implications                                 | 121             |

|       |  |     |
|-------|--|-----|
| vi    | Contents   |     |
| 5     | The phenomenology of obligatory control                                  | 124 |
| 5.1   | Controller choice and control shift                                      | 124 |
| 5.1.1 | Theories of controller choice  | 125 |
| 5.1.2 | Control shift  | 136 |
| 5.1.3 | The Minimal Distance Principle   | 149 |
| 5.2   | Partial control  | 155 |
| 5.3   | Split control  | 172 |
| 5.4   | Implicit control   | 175 |
| 5.4.1 | Eliminating Bach's generalization and restating Visser's generalization  | 178 |
| 5.4.2 | The representational status of implicit controllers                      | 183 |
| 5.5   | PRO-gate   | 186 |
| 5.6   | Control in DP  | 201 |
| 5.6.1 | Evidence for a null subject in DPs                                       | 202 |
| 5.6.2 | Control <i>into</i> DP: PRO or <i>pro</i> ?                              | 208 |
| 5.6.3 | Control <i>inside</i> DP   | 213 |
| 6     | Adjunct control  | 221 |
| 6.1   | A quick survey of controlled adjuncts                                    | 221 |
| 6.2   | The mechanism of adjunct OC: predication                                 | 225 |
| 7     | Non-obligatory control   | 230 |
| 7.1   | The NOC signature  | 230 |
| 7.2   | Distance effects and intervention: the failure of structural constraints | 237 |
| 7.3   | Logophoricity in NOC   | 245 |
| 7.4   | Topicality in NOC  | 251 |
| 7.5   | Interaction and competition  | 254 |
| 8     | Conclusion   | 257 |
|       | <i>References</i>  | 259 |
|       | <i>Language index</i>  | 279 |
|       | <i>Name index</i>  | 280 |
|       | <i>Subject index</i>   | 285 |