

Control and Obviation: A View from Polish

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0. Preview

- Three types of control verbs:

- (1) a. Jan *zdolał* (**żeby*) *śpiewać*.¹
Jan managed COMP sing.INF
'Jan managed to sing.'
- b. Jan *marzył* *(*żeby*) *śpiewać*.
Jan dreamed COMP sing.INF
'Jan dreamed to sing.'
- c. Jan *wolał* (*żeby*) *śpiewać*.
Jan preferred COMP sing.INF
'Jan preferred (us/others) to sing.'

- Syntactic differences (transparency/opaqueness with respect to case transmission, genitive of negation, reflexive licensing) (See Appendix for data and references)

- Semantic differences (OC PRO vs. NOC PRO)

- (2) Jan_i *zdolał* PRO_i *pójść* do kina. OC
Jan managed go.INF to cinema
'Jan managed to go to the cinema.'

- (3) a. Jan_i *chciał* PRO_i *pójść* do kina. OC
Jan wanted go.INF to cinema
'John wanted to go to the movies.'

¹ All the Polish examples that do not involve Jan or Piotr (or are not otherwise attributed) are the result of Google searches.

- b. Jan_i *chciał* żeby PRO_j pójść do kina. NOC
 Jan wanted COMP go.INF to cinema
 ‘Jan wanted for us/others to go to the movies.’
- (4) a. Jan_i *krzyczał* żeby PRO_j pójść do kina. NOC
 Jan screamed COMP go.INF to cinema
 ‘Jan screamed for others to go to the movies.’
- b. Jan_i *marzył* żeby PRO_i pójść do kina. OC
 Jan dreamed COMP go.INF to cinema
 ‘Jan dreamed to go to the movies’

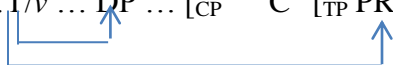
• What this talk is *not* about?

Movement theories of control (Boeckx & Hornstein 2003; Boeckx & Hornstein 2004; Boeckx & Hornstein 2006; Boeckx et al. 2010a; Boeckx et al. 2010b; Hornstein 1999; Hornstein 2001; Hornstein & Polinsky 2010; Witkoś 2008a,b,c, Witkoś 2010, Witkoś et al 2011) versus Agree theories of Control (Bondaruk 2004; Landau 2000; Landau 2003; Landau 2004; Landau 2006; Landau 2008)

- (5) a. John managed to go to the store. *exhaustive control*
 b. John preferred to go to the store. *partial control*

(6) We thought that ...

- a. *John₁ managed [PRO₁₊ to gather at 6].
 b. The chair₁ preferred [PRO₁₊ to gather at 6]. (Landau 2004:833-834)

- (7) a. [CP ... T/v ... DP ... [CP C [TP PRO T VP]]] *PRO control*
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- b. [CP ... T/v ... DP ... [CP C [TP PRO T VP]]] *C control*
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- (8) a. [TP John [_{VP} ~~John~~ managed [TP ~~John~~ to [_{VP} ~~John~~ go to the store]]]]
 b. [TP The chair [_{VP} ~~the chair~~ preferred [TP ~~the chair~~ to [_{VP} ~~the chair~~+*pro* gather at 6]]]]

• What this talk is about?

- Factors that help determine the choice between obligatory control (OC) and nonobligatory control (NOC) across the subjunctive complementizer *żeby*
- Why is OC across the complementizer sometimes possible?

• Link to obviation (see Antonenko 2008, Szucsich 2009, Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997, Szabolcsi 2010, on obviation in Slavic; Kempchinsky 2009, 1986; Farkas 1992; Terzi 1992, Costantini 2005, Schlenker 2005, among many others, on obviation beyond Slavic, and Bondaruk 2004 for the link between the two)

- (9) a. Jan_i chce żeby on_{j/*i}/pro_{j/*i} poszedł do kina.
 John wants COMP went to cinema
 ‘John wants someone else to go to the cinema.’
- b. Jan_i chce PRO_i pójść do kina.
 John wants go.inf to cinema
 ‘John wants to go to the cinema.’
- c. Jan_i chce żeby PRO_{j/*i} pójść do kina.
 John wants COMP go.inf to cinema
 ‘John wants someone else to go to the cinema.’

• The environments in which OC PRO with *żeby* is possible are similar to the environments in which obviation effects are absent or disappear or get weakened.

A. OC across *żeby* possible is PRO controlled by the object (not subject) (cf. Bondaruk 2004)

- (10) Jan_i powiedział Piotrowi_j żeby pro_{j/*i} poszedł do kina.
 Jan told Peter COMP went to cinema
 ‘Jan told Peter to go to the cinema.’

B. Obligatory control with *żeby* is possible when the subject of the complement is not solely responsible for the situation

- (11) Janek_i chce żeby pro_i był już dorosły.
 Johnny wants COMP be.past already adult
 ‘Johnny wants to be an adult already.’ (cf. Szabolcsi 2010)

• Parallels with Control Shift (cf. Uegaki 2011)

- (12) a. John_i promised Mary_j PRO_i to leave.
 b. Grandpa_i promised the children_j PRO_j to be able to stay up for the late show.

• Pragmatic projections are encoded in the syntax (Speas 2004, Tenny 2006, Haegeman and Hill 2010, Sigurðsson 2004, among others)

- (13) a. [CP DP_i [CP żeby [_{ΔP} ‘IMP’_i [TP PRO_j]]]] NOC
 b. [CP DP_i [CP żeby [_{ΔP} ‘IMP’_j [TP PRO_i]]]] OC

‘Originating from Germanic folklore, the imp was a small lesser demon’ (from Wikipedia)

1. Three Types of Polish Control Verbs (cf. Bondaruk 2004, Zabrocki 1981, Dziwirek 1998; Dziwirek 2000, Witkoś 2008a,c Witkoś 2010, Przepiórkowski & Rosen 2005, among others)

A. Verbs that allow only bare infinitive complements

- (14) a. Jan *zdolał* (*żeby) śpiewać.
Jan managed COMP sing.INF
'Jan managed to sing.'
- b. Marek dał mi (*żeby) poprowadzić swój samochód.
Mark let me COMP drive.INF his car
'Mark let me drive his car.'
- (Bondaruk 2004:207)

zdolać 'manage', *mieć zamiar* 'intend', *zacząć* 'start', *musieć* 'must', *dać* 'let'

B. Verbs that require the complementizer *żeby*

- (15) a. Jan *marzył* *(żeby) śpiewać.
Jan dreamed COMP sing.INF
'Jan dreamed to sing.'
- b. Jan *przypomniał* Piotrowi *(żeby) pójść do kina.
Jan reminded Peter COMP go.INF to cinema
'Jan reminded Peter to go to the movies.'

marzyć 'dream', *krzyczeć* 'scream', *modlić się* 'pray', *nalegać* 'insist', *blagać* 'beg'

przypomnieć 'remind', *ostrzegać* 'warn', *poinformować* 'inform', *uprzedzić* 'warn', *przekonać* 'convince', *poprosić* 'ask', *blagać* 'beg', *zmusić* 'force'

C. Verbs with the optional complementizer *żeby*

- (16) a. Jan *chciał* pójść do kina.
Jan wanted go.INF to cinema
'John wanted to go to the movies.'
- b. Jan *chciał* żeby pójść do kina.
Jan wanted COMP go.INF to cinema
'Jan wanted for us/others to go to the movies.'
- (17) a. Jan *kazał* Piotrowi_i PRO_i nie biegać po ulicy.
John told Peter not run.inf on street
'John told Peter not to run on the street.'

- b. Jan *kazał* Piotrowi_i żeby PRO_i nie biegać po ulicy.
 John told Peter COMP not run.inf on street
 ‘John told Peter not to run on the street.’

chcieć ‘want’, *postanowić* ‘decide’, *pragnąć* ‘desire’, *planować* ‘plan’, *zgodzić się* ‘agree’, *lubić* ‘like’, *ośmielić się* ‘dare’, *mieć ochotę* ‘feel like’, *woleć* ‘prefer’, *proponować* ‘propose’

uczyć ‘teach’, *poradzić* ‘advise’, *kazać* ‘order’, *polecić* ‘recommend’, *proponować* ‘propose’

3. Interpretation (OC versus NOC PRO) (Bondaruk 2004, Zabrocki 1981, Witkoś 2008c, Witkoś et al 2011 and the references therein)

A. Verbs that allow only bare infinitive clauses require OC

- (18) a. Jan_i *ma zamiar* PRO_i wyjść na dwór.
 Jan has plan go.inf outside
 ‘John plans to go outside.’
- b. Jan_i *zdołał* PRO_i wyjść na dwór.
 Jan managed go.inf outside
 ‘John managed to go outside.’
- c. Jan_i *zaczął* PRO_i wychodzić na dwór.
 Jan started go.inf outside
 ‘John started to go outside.’
- d. Jan_i *musi* PRO_i wychodzić na dwór.
 Jan must go.inf outside
 ‘John has to go outside.’

B. Verbs that require the complementizer fall into three classes
B1 *Some require OC interpretation:*

- (19) a. Jan *ostrzegł* Piotra_i żeby PRO_i nie biegać po ulicy.
 John warned Peter COMP not run.inf on street
 ‘John warned Peter not to run on the street.’
- b. Jan *poinformował* Piotra_i żeby PRO_i nie biegać po ulicy.
 John informed Peter COMP not run.inf on street
 ‘John informed Peter not to run on the street.’

B2. *Some allow either OC or NOC interpretation:*²

- (20) a. *pro_i modlił się* żeby PRO_j dać mu_i podwyżkę
prayed refl COMP give.inf him raise
'He prayed to be given a raise.'
- b. *modlił się* żeby PRO_i być dobrym mężem
prayed refl COMP be.inf good husband
'He prayed to be a good husband.'
- (21) a. kot_i, który *marzył*, żeby PRO_i być ptakiem
cat who dreamed COMP be.inf bird
'a cat that dreamed to be a bird.'
- b. *pro_i marzył*, żeby PRO_i być znanym i popularnym aktorem
dreamed COMP be famous and popular actor
'He dreamed to be a famous and popular actor.'
- c. Marek₁ *marzył* żeby PRO₂ kupić mu₁ nowe buty.
Mark dreamt COMP to-buy him new shoes
'Mark dreamt of having new shoes bought.' (Witkoś 2008c:34)

'Mark's friends is about to set off on a trip to town where there is a big shoe-shop. Mark, who for some reason cannot join his friends on this trip, utters these words in a dreamy voice: 'Oh, how happy I would be if you, guys, were to buy me w new pair of shoes'.

- (22) a. On_i bardzo *nalegał*, żeby PRO_i się spotkać
he very insisted COMP refl meet
'He insisted to meet a lot.'
- b. On_i *nalegał* żeby PRO_i zerwać
he insisted COMP break.up.inf
'He insisted on breaking up.'
- c. autor_i *nalegał* żeby PRO_{i/j} nazwy własne pozostawić w oryginalnym brzmieniu
author insisted COMP names proper leave.inf in original shape
'The author insisted that proper names be left in the original.'
- d. *pro_i nalegał* żeby PRO_{i/j} zapłacić całą kwotę z góry.
insisted COMP pay.inf whole amount in advance
'He insisted on paying the whole amount in advance.'

² For Bondaruk, *nalegać* 'insist' is an NOC verb and *marzyć* 'dream' is an OC verb.

B3. *Some allow only NOC:*

- (23) a. Miesiąc temu *pro_i krzyczał* żeby PRO_j kupować dolary po 2 złote.
month ago screamed COMP buy.inf dollars for 2 zloty
'A month ago he screamed (for us) to buy dollars for 2 zlotys.'
- b. Ciągłe ktoś_i krzyczał, żeby PRO_j go_i wyciągnąć
all.time someone screamed COMP him pull.out
'All the time someone screamed to be pulled out.'
- (24) a. Poseł Sprawka_i *postulował*, żeby PRO_j wprowadzić progi do liceów.
representative Sprawka postulated COMP introduce quota into high.schools
'Representative Sprawka demanded to introduce quota into high schools.'
- b. Na zebraniu *pro_i postulował*, żeby PRO_j budowę parkingu rozpocząć w tym roku
at meeting postulated COMP building parking.lot start in this year
'At the meeting, he demanded to start building the parking lot already this year.'

C. Verbs with optional *żeby*

C1. *Some get OC interpretation without żeby and NOC interpretation with żeby*

- (25) a. Jan_i *chce* PRO_i mu_{j/*i} czytać.
John wants him read.inf
'John wants to read to him.'
- b. Dziecko_i nie chce *żeby* PRO_j mu_i czytać.
baby not wants COMP him read.inf
'The baby doesn't want to be read to.'
- (26) a. Jak szef_i chce *żeby* PRO_j przyjść w sobotę do pracy...
how boss wants COMP come.inf on Saturday to work
'If the boss wants (others) to come to work on Saturday...'
- b. a ktoś_i chce, *żeby* PRO_j być z nim z litości
and who wants COMP be with him from pity
'and who wants (others) to be with him out of pity.'
- c. Zagraniczny sąsiad_i chciał *żeby* PRO_j być jego tłumaczem, bo musiał coś załatwić
foreign neighbor wanted COMP be.inf his translator because had something done
'A foreign neighbor wanted (someone) to be his translator because he needed to get something done.'
- (27) *pro_i chcę*, żeby PRO_i pójść tam, gdzie zazwyczaj nie chodzimy.
want COMP go.INF there where usually not go
'I want us to go where we don't usually go.'

C2. *Some allow only OC interpretation, irrespective of the presence of the complementizer*

- (28) a. W europejskiej cywilizacji jest znana postać Antygony, odważnej kobiety, która;
in European civilization is known figure Antigone brave woman who
PRO_i *ośmieliła się* pochować zamordowanego przez tyrana brata.
dared refl bury.inf murdered by tyrant brother
'In European cultures, the figure of Antigone, a brave woman who dared to bury a brother slain by a tyrant.'
- b. Tuż przed ślubem jego ukochana_i *ośmieliła się*, żeby PRO_i zdradzić
just before wedding his loved.one dared refl COMP betray.inf
Artura z Edkiem
Arthur with Ed
'Just before the wedding his darling dared to betray Arthur with Ed.'
- (29) a. Jak *nauczyć* kota_i PRO_i korzystać z drapak?
how teach.inf cat use.inf from scratching.post
'How to teach a cat to use a scratching post?'
- b. Jak *nauczyć* psa_i żeby PRO_i szczekać na obcych?
how teach.inf dog COMP bark.inf on foreigners
'How to teach a dog to bark at strange'

C3. *Some allow both OC and NOC interpretation with żeby but only OC one without żeby.*

- (30) a. Marek_i *obawiał się* żeby PRO_i nie zrobić innym krzywdy.
Mark was.afraid COMP not do.inf others harm
'Mark was afraid to harm anyone.' (Bondaruk 2004:209)
- b. Marek_i *obawiał się* żeby PRO_j nie zrobić mu_i krzywdy.
Mark was.afraid COMP not do.inf him harm
'Mark was afraid that someone would be him harm.' (Bondaruk 2004:205)
- (31) a. Kowalski_i *postanowił* PRO_i zrobić żonie niespodziankę
Kowalski decided make wife surprise
'Kowalski decided to surprise his wife.'
- b. król_i *postanowił*, żeby PRO_i udać się w drogę, przygotował się...
king decided COMP embark.inf self on way got.ready. self
'The king decided to get going, he got ready...'
- c. Wobec tego Zeus_i *postanowił*, żeby PRO_j stawać na sądzie bez tego wszystkiego
in.light.of this Zeus decided COMP stand.inf in court without this all
'Therefore Zeus decided that one should appear in court without all of this.'

- (32) a. Ja_i nigdy nie *planowałam*, żeby PRO_i pracować tam całe życie.³
 I never not planned COMP work.inf there whole life
 ‘I never planned to work there my whole life.’
- b. Bóg_i *zaplanował*, żeby PRO_i stworzyć cię jako piękną ... osobę.
 God planned COMP create.inf you as beautiful person
 ‘God planned to create you as a beautiful person.’
- c. Pomysł, że malując tak wielki obraz ktoś_i będzie *planował*, żeby z
 idea that painting so big painting someone will plan COMP from
 drugiej strony PRO_j widzieć tam było psa, wydaje mi się niedorzeczny.
 other side see.inf there was dog seems me refl absurd
 ‘The idea that someone who painted such a big painting planned that one should
 see a dog from the other side, seems absurd.’
- (33) a. Jan₁ zaplanował (to tak) żeby PRO_{*1/2} partiami przywozić towar do jego₁
 John planned (it so) comp in-parts carry goods to his
 sklepu].
 shop
 ‘John planned to carry the goods to his shop piece by piece.’
- b. ?Jan₁ zaplanował (to tak) żeby PRO_{*1/2} partiami przywozić mu₁ cały towar].
 John planned (it so) comp in-parts carry him all goods
 ‘John planned (for us) to bring him all the goods.’ (Witkoś 2008c: 37)

Interim Summary:

- (34) a. Verbs that *allow or require* the complementizer

I. NOC PRO	II. OC PRO	III. Either OC or NOC PRO
krzyczeć ‘scream’ postulować ‘postulate’ chcieć ‘want’ woleć ‘prefer’ pragnąć ‘desire’	ośmielić się ‘dare’ prosić ‘ask’ przypominać ‘remind’ polecieć ‘recommend’ kazać ‘order’ uczyć ‘teach’ ostrzegać ‘warn’ poradzić ‘advise’	modlić się ‘pray’ obawiać się ‘worry’ bać się ‘fear’ nalegać ‘insist’ planować ‘plan’ postanowić ‘decide’ marzyć ‘dream’

³ For Bondaruk, *planować* ‘plan’ is obligatorily an OC verb.

b. Verb Classes (cf. Bondaruk 2004:203)

Verb Class	Control Type	OC PRO with <i>żeby</i>	OC PRO without <i>żeby</i>	NOC PRO
1. <i>chcieć</i> 'want' <i>woleć</i> 'prefer', <i>pragnąć</i> 'desire', <i>lubić</i> 'like', <i>nie znosić</i> 'can't stand'	Subject Control	No	Yes	with <i>żeby</i>
2. <i>marzyć</i> 'dream'	Subject Control	Yes	No	No
3. <i>planować</i> 'plan' <i>myśleć</i> 'think', <i>ośmielić się</i> 'dare'	Subject Control	Yes	Yes	No
4. <i>bać się</i> 'fear' <i>obawiać się</i> 'be afraid'	Subject Control	Yes	Yes	with <i>żeby</i>
5. <i>modlić się</i> 'pray'	Subject Control	Yes	No	with <i>żeby</i>
6. <i>mieć nadzieję</i> 'hope', <i>zamierzać</i> 'intend', <i>zdołać</i> 'manage', <i>być przykro</i> 'be sorry'	Subject Control	No	Yes	No
7. <i>prosić</i> 'ask', <i>żądać</i> 'demand', <i>błagać</i> 'beg', <i>przypominać</i> 'remind'	Object Control	Yes	No	No
8. <i>radzić</i> 'advise' <i>polecić</i> 'recommend', <i>kazać</i> 'order', <i>pozwolić</i> 'allow', <i>uczyć</i> 'teach'	Object Control	Yes	Yes	No
9. <i>dać</i> 'let'	Object Control	No	Yes	No

b. Verb Classes (cf. Witkoś 2008c)

Verb class	Control type	OC PRO with <i>żeby</i>	OC PRO without <i>żeby</i>	NON OC PRO
1. <i>chcieć/want</i>	Subject Control	No	Yes	With <i>żeby</i>
2. <i>bać się/fear</i> , <i>planować/plan</i>	Subject Control	Yes	Yes	With <i>żeby</i>
3. <i>modlić się/pray</i> <i>marzyć/dream</i>	Subject Control	Yes	No	With <i>żeby</i>
4. <i>mieć nadzieję/</i> <i>hope</i>	Subject Control	No	Yes	No
5. <i>prosić/ask</i>	Object Control	Yes	No	No
6. <i>radzić/advise</i>	Object Control	Yes	Yes	No
7. <i>dać/let</i>	Object Control	No	Yes	No

- (35) a. The meaning of the verb does not determine its control type
 b. The occurrence of non-anaphoric PRO is dependent on *żeby*
 c. The presence of *żeby* does not correlate with non-anaphoric PRO
 (Bondaruk 2004:208)

• Bondaruk 2004:209: ‘all *żeby* clauses are transparent for anaphoric interpretation of PRO and wherever this interpretation is unavailable, some intervening factor is at play’

Bondaruk 2004:248: ‘...disjointness of PRO from the matrix subject with volitional and factive verbs of Class 1 and with the exceptional predicates like *postulować* ‘postulate’ and *nalegać* ‘insist’ is derived via the same mechanism that governs obviation in subjunctive finite complements.

- (36) a. Jan_i chce *żeby* on_{j/*i}/pro_{j/*i} poszedł do kina.
 John wants COMP went to cinema
 ‘John wants someone else to go to the cinema.’
 b. Jan_i chce PRO_i pójść do kina.
 John wants go.INF to cinema
 ‘John wants to go to the cinema.’
 c. Jan_i chce *żeby* PRO_{j/*i} pójść do kina.
 John wants COMP go.INF to cinema
 ‘John wants someone else to go to the cinema.’

• Some verbs subcategorize for non-finite complements with pronominal Agr, which gives rise to Principle B violation, hence to obviation.

- (37) [DP_i T-Agr_{1i} ... [CP *żeby* [TP PRO_j T-Agr_{2j} ...]]] (Bondaruk 2004: 247)

• Others subcategorize for non-finite *żeby*-complements with anaphoric Agr:

- (38) [TP DP_i T-Agr_{1i} ... [CP *żeby* [TP PRO_i T-Agr_{2i} ...]]]

• All *żeby* clauses induce obviation. Cases in which OC across the complementizer *żeby* is allowed (or required) are cases in which ‘some intervening factor is at play’. Such cases can be assimilated to cases in which obviation cases are absent to begin with or get weakened.

4. Link to Obviation

• *Exceptions to obviation* (Avrutin and Babyonyshev 1997, Bondaruk 2004, Antonenko 2008, Tomaszewicz 2010, Szabolcsi 2010, among others)

• *no obviation with objects:*

- (39) a. *Jan_i *chciał* żeby *pro*_i poszedł do kina.
 John wanted COMP went to cinema
 ‘John wanted to go to the movies.’
- b. Jan *powiedział* Piotrowi_i żeby *pro*_i dał mu present.
 John told Peter COMP gave him present
 ‘John told Peter to give him a present.’

• *no obviation with dative subjects:*

- (40) Jan_i *chce* żeby było mu_i wesoło.
 Jan wants COMP was him happy
 ‘Jan wants to be happy.’

• *no obviation if the matrix subject is not responsible for the complement situation* (the RESP operator of Farkas 1988, 1992, Szabolcsi 2010, among others)

• *non-agentive complements*

- (41) Nie *chcę*, żeby_i się rozchorowała.
 not want COMP refl get.sick
 ‘I don’t want to get sick.’

(Szabolcsi 2010:9)

• *dependence on the authorities or the co-operation of others*

- (42) *Chcę* żeby_i w końcu wygrała.
 want COMP at last won
 ‘I want to win at last.’

• *mistakes, accidents and other happenings beyond one’s control*

- (43) Nie *chcę* żeby_i sobie przez przypadek skaleczyła palec.
 not want COMP myself by mistake hurt finger
 ‘I don’t want to hurt my finger by mistake.’

• *Parallels with Control Shift* (Uegaki 2011)

- (44) a. John_i promised Mary_j PRO_i to leave.
 b. Grandpa_i promised the children_j PRO_j to be able to stay up for the late show.
- (45) a. John_i asked Mary_j PRO_j to leave.
 b. John_i asked Mary_j PRO_i to be allowed to leave.

5. Back to Control

A. *OC possible if the controller is the matrix object (cf. Bondaruk 2004)*

- (46) a. Jan ostrzegł *Piotra*_i żeby PRO_i nie biegać po ulicy.
John warned Peter COMP not run.inf on street
'John warned Peter not to run on the street.'
- b. Jan ostrzegł *Piotra*_i żeby *pro*_i nie biegał po ulicy.
John warned Peter COMP not run on street
'John warned Peter not to run on the street.'

Others: zmusić 'force', kazać 'order', poinformować 'inform', błagać 'beg', przypominać 'remind', pozwolić 'let/allow', uczyć 'teach' (Bondaruk's Classes VII and VIII)

B. *OC possible if the controller is the underlying object*

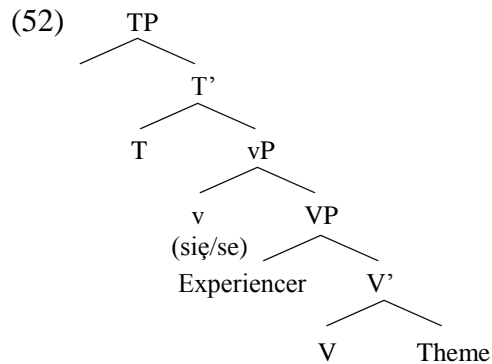
- (47) a. Jan zmusił Piotra_i żeby PRO_i pójść do kina.
Jan forced Piotr COMP go.inf to cinema
'Jan was forced to go to the movies.'
- b. Piotr_i został zmuszony żeby PRO_i pójść do kina.
Piotr was forced COMP go.inf to cinema
'Piotr was forced to go the movies.'
- (48) a. Jan przekonał Piotra_i żeby PRO_i pójść do kina.
Jan convinced Piotr COMP go.inf to cinema
'Jan convinced Piotr to go the movies.'
- b. Piotr_i został przekonany żeby PRO_i pójść do kina.
Piotr was convinced COMP go.inf to cinema
'Piotr was convinced to go to the movies.'
- (49) a. Jan nauczył psa żeby PRO_i nie szczekać na obcych.
Jan taught dog COMP not jump.inf on strangers
'Jan taught the dog not to bark at strangers.'
- b. Pies_i został nauczony żeby PRO_i nie skakać na obcych.
dog was taught COMP not jump.inf on strangers
'The dog was taught not to bark at strangers.'

C. The contribution of the reflexive clitic *się*?

- (50) a. martwić się 'worry'

- b. obawiać się 'be afraid'
 bać się 'fear'
- c. zgodzić się 'agree'
 modlić się 'pray'
 starać się 'try'
- d. zdecydować (się) 'decide'

- (51) a. Jan martwi się egzaminami. (Subj Exp)
 Jan.nom worries refl exams.instr
 'Jan worries about the exams.'
- b. Egzamin-y martwią Jana. (Obj Exp)
 exams.nom worry Jan.acc
 'Exams worry Jan.'



(cf. Gołędzinowska 2004)

- (53) a. *pro*_i martwi się żeby *PRO*_i nakarmić głodujące dzieci i chore
 worries refl COMP feed.inf starving children and sick
 'S/he is worried to feed starving and sick children.'
- b. Każdy idący ulicą *PRO*_i martwi się, żeby w żaden sposób nie przeszkodzić
 every walking street worries refl COMP in any way not disturb.inf
 innym idącym
 others walking
 'Everyone walking along the street is worried not to interrupt other passers-by.'

• Non-alternating psych verbs

- (54) a. Jan bał się egzaminów.
 Jan.nom feared refl exams.gen
 'Jan feared exams.'
- b. *Egzamin-y boją Jana.
 exams.nom fear John.acc

- c. Jan_i *bał się* żeby PRO_i się nie spóźnić na zebranie.
 Jan feared refl COMP refl not be.late to meeting
 ‘Jan feared to be late to the meeting.’

• Others:

- (55) Jan_i modlił się żeby PRO_i wejść na szczyt.
 Jan prayed REFL COMP climb.inf on summit
 ‘Jan prayed to climb the summit.’

- (56) Jan_i starał się żeby PRO_i wejść na szczyt.
 Jan strived REFL COMP climb.inf on summit
 ‘Jan strived to climb the summit.’

- (57) a. Tymczasem Karl_i *zdecydował się* żeby PRO_i wchodzić również na szczyt
 ‘at.that.time Carl decided refl COMP go.inf also to summit
 ‘At the time, Carl decided to also climb the summit.’

- b. pro_i *zdecydował się* żeby PRO_i iść do szpitala
 decided refl COMP go to hospital
 ‘He decided to go to the hospital.’

- (58) a. Projekt został ustalony z konserwatorem zabytków, który pro_i *zdecydował*, żeby
 design was consulted with art historian who decided COMP
 PRO_j odtworzyć wygląd przedwojennej oprawy potoku.
 reconstruct sight prewar surrounding stream
 ‘The design was vetted by the art historian who decided that the prewar
 surroundings of the stream be reconstructed.’

- b. pro_i *sam zdecydował* żeby PRO_j łóżka nie dosuwać on będzie spał sam bo jest
 himself decided comp bed not move he will sleep alone because is
 big
 duży.
 ‘He himself decided that the bed be not moved. He will sleep alone because he is
 a big boy.’

C. OC possible if the matrix subject is not directly responsible for the embedded action (no RESP relationship)

low agentivity

dependence on authorities or the co-operation of others

mistakes, accidents and other happenings beyond one’s control

‘*verb* for it to happen/be the case that...’

- (59) a. Jan_i *marzył* żeby PRO_i pójść do kina.
 Jan dreamed COMP go.inf to cinema
 ‘Jan dreamed to go to the movies.’
- b. Ja_i nigdy nie *planowałam*, żeby PRO_i pracować tam całe życie.
 I never not planned COMP work.inf there whole life
 ‘I never planned to work there my whole life.’
- (60) a. Jan_i *modlił się* żeby PRO_i wejść na szczyt.
 Jan prayed REFL COMP climb.inf on summit
 ‘Jan prayed to climb the summit.’
- b. Jan_i *starał się* żeby PRO_i wejść na szczyt.
 Jan strived REFL COMP climb.inf on summit
 ‘Jan strived to climb the summit.’

5. The Mechanism

- Two mechanisms of control (Landau’s Calculus of Control (Landau 2000, 2004,2008))

- (61) a. [CP ... T/v ... DP ... [CP C [TP PRO T VP]]] *PRO control*
- b. [CP ... T/v ... DP ... [CP C [TP PRO T VP]]] *C control*
-

- Pragmatic features have syntactic reflexes and are encoded in the syntax (Speas 2004, Tenny 2006, Haegeman & Hill 2010, Sigurðsson 2004, among others)

- (62) a. [CP ... Speech features [IP Grammatical features [v_p Event features ...]]]
- b. [CP Force ... Λ_A, Λ_P ... Top ... S_T ... S_L [IP ... Pers ... Num ... M ... T ... [v_P ...]]]

- Obviation due to the features of the Resp/Init/Imp in the specifier of ΔP.

- (63) a. [CP DP_i [CP żeby [ΔP ‘IMP’_i [TP PRO_j]]]]
obviation/NOC PRO
- b. [CP DP_i [CP żeby [ΔP ‘IMP’_j [TP PRO_i]]]]
no obviation/OC PRO possible

Imp = implicit initiator/operator, imperative operator, responsibility operator?

- Kempchinsky 2009: obviation due to the presence of ‘quasi-imperative’ operator

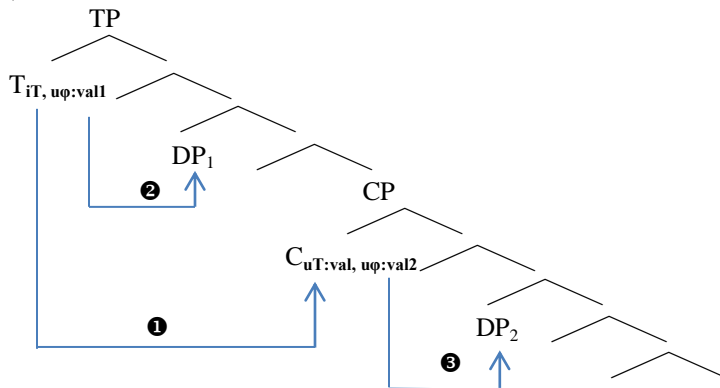
Imperatives: anyone other than the speaker.

Subjunctives: anyone other than the subject.

- Witkoś 2008, Witkoś et al 2011: C can license an operator in its specifier position and this operator licenses the arbitrary reading and binds PRO/pro (see also Manzini and Roussou 2000)

- Subjunctive C has uT feature valued by the matrix T (cf. Antonenko 2008)
- Subjunctive C-T complex is pronominal in nature (cf. Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997)
 - Pronominal C-T has uphi features
 - The value of these uphi features has to be distinct from uphi features of the matrix C-T.

(64)

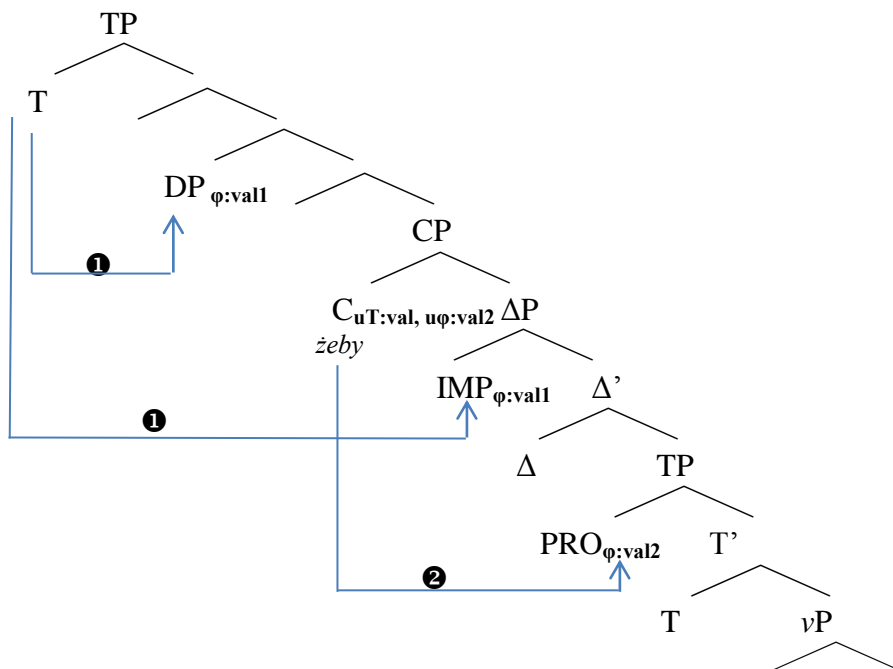


A. obviation/NOC

IMP is identical to the controller; the matrix subject is responsible for/the initiator of the embedded action. Consequently, embedded PRO has to be distinct (and obviation ensues)

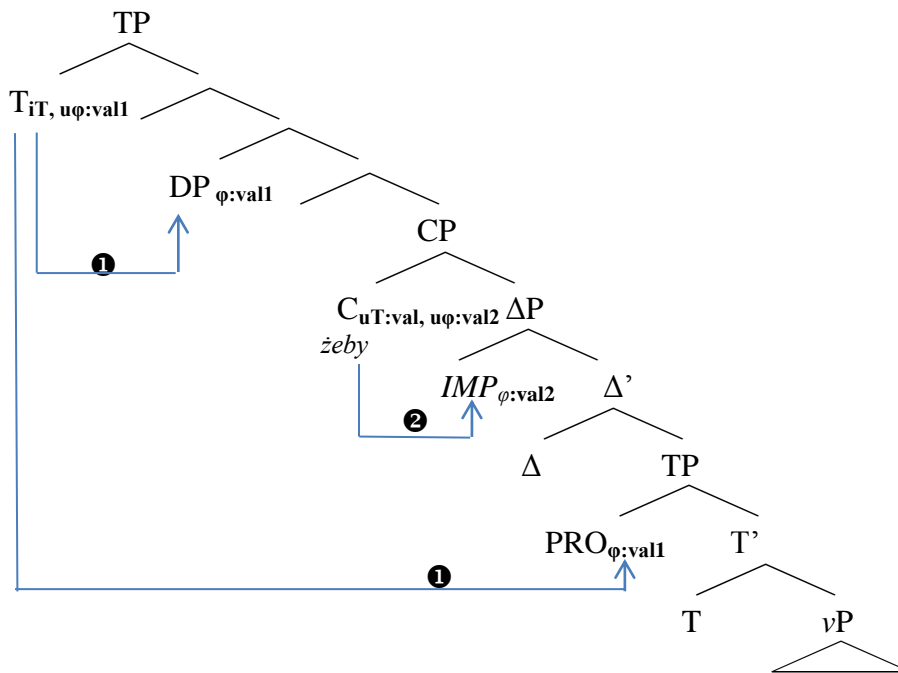
- (65) a. On_i *krzyczał* *żeby* PRO_j pójść do kina.
 he screamed COMP go.inf to cinema
 ‘He screamed (for others) to go to the movies.’

b.



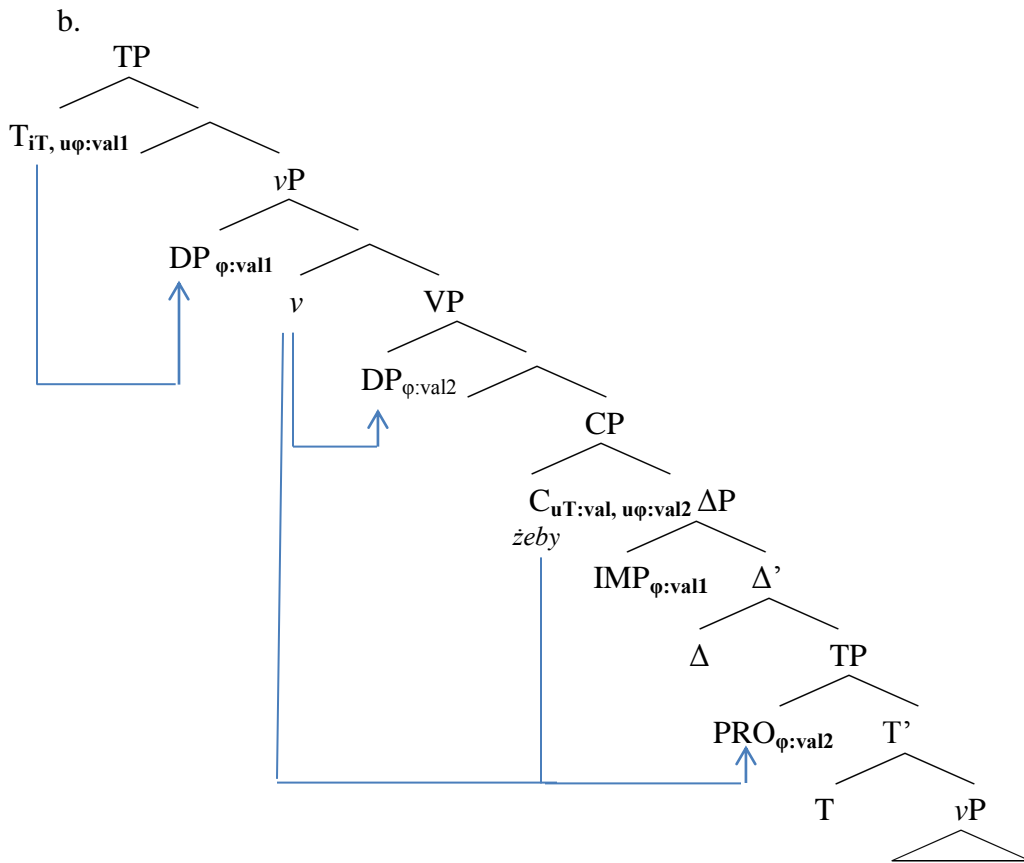
B. no obviation/OC possible

- (66) a. On_i marzył żeby PRO_i pójść do kina.
 he dreamed COMP go.INF to cinema
 ‘He dreamed to go to the cinema.’
 b.



C. OC by with object controllers

- (67) a. Jan kazał Piotrowi_i żeby PRO_i pójść do kina.
 Jan ordered Peter COMP go.inf to cinema
 ‘Jan ordered Peter to go to the movies.’



D. OC/obviation with dative subjects?

• *No obviation with dative subjects* → PRO not dative, if PRO were dative, we would expect no obviation?

(68) a. *Jan_i chciał żeby było mu_{i/j} wesoło samemu.*
 Jan wanted COMP was him.DAT happy alone.DAT
 ‘Jan wanted to be happy.’

b. *Jan_i chciał żeby PRO_{j/*i} przyjść samemu.*
 Jan wanted COMP arrive.inf alone.DAT
 ‘Jan wanted (someone else) to arrive alone.’

(69) a. In OC constructions, whenever the immediate controller of PRO is a subject, and the CP layer is null—PRO inherits the case of its controller.

b. Elsewhere, PRO is dative. (Landau 2008:884, following Comrie 1974)

(70) a. *On zabył kak govorit’ samomu/*sam s načal’nikom.*
 he.NOM forgot how speak.INF himself.DAT/*NOM with boss
 ‘He forgot how to talk himself to the boss.’ (Landau 2008: 893)

- b. Ona poprosila ego [PRO ne ezdit tuda odnomu].
 she.NOM asked him.ACC PRO not to.go there alone.DAT
 ‘She asked him not to go there alone.’
- c. Ivan думаєт что [PRO појти домој одному] важно.
 Ivan.NOM thinks that PRO to.go home alone.DAT important
 ‘Ivan thinks that it is important to go home alone.’ (Landau 2008:883)

5. Summary/Conclusion

- Control verbs in Polish differ with respect to whether they allow/require/resist the presence of the complementizer *żeby*.
- Verbs that allow/require the complementizer *żeby* allow OC PRO.
- The conditions under which this is possible are similar to the conditions in which obviation effects in finite subjunctive clauses disappear.
- The presence of RESP (responsibility operator), which may or may not be distinct from the matrix subject plays a role.

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Appendix: Syntactic Differences

- A.** Case transmission versus case independence (Przepiórkowski 2004, Witkoś 2008a; Witkoś 2010b, Bondaruk 2004 and the references therein).
- (71) a. Marek chciał być mądry/*mądrym.
Marek wanted be.INF wise.NOM/*INSTR
'Mark wanted to be wise.'
- b. Marek chciał, żeby być mądrym/*mądry.
Mark wanted so that be wise.INSTR/*NOM
'Mark wanted for someone to be wise.'
- c. Trzeba być mądrym/*mądry.
one-should be wise.INSTR/*NOM
'One should be wise.'
- (Bondaruk 2004:200-201)
- (72) a. Piotr marzy żeby naprawić radio sam/samemu.
Piotr.NOM dreams so.that PRO repair radio himself.NOM/DAT
'Piotr dreams of repairing the radio himself.'

(NOM: 47%, DAT: 93%)

- b. Piotr marzy żeby wracać z pracy wypoczęty/wypoczętym.
Piotr NOM dreams so-that return from work relaxed.NOM/INSTR
'Piotr dreams about returning from work relaxed.'
(NOM: 76%, INST: 76%)

(Witkoś 2010:195)

- The presence of *żeby* does not block case transmission
- Case transmission possible (but not necessarily required) with subject control predicates
- Predicative adjectives appear in Instrumental (Dative) as a default option (Witkoś 2008a)

B. Gen of Negation (Witkoś 2008b, Błaszczak 2001, Przepiórkowski 2000, Tajsner 1990, among many others).

(73) a. Jan nie chciał pisać listów/*listy.
John not wanted write letters.GEN/ACC
'John didn't want to write letters.'

- b. Jan nie chciał żeby pisać listy/*listów.
John not wanted COMP write letters.ACC/GEN
e 'John didn't want to write letters.'

(74) a. Jan nie marzył żeby pisać listy/*listów.
John not dreamed COMP write letters.GEN/ACC
'John didn't dream to write letters.'

- b. Jan nie krzyczał żeby pisać listy/*listów.
John not screamed COMP write letters.ACC/GEN
'John didn't scream to write letters.'

(75) a. Nie radzę ci kupić tego samochodu/*ten samochód.
not recommend you buy.INF this car.GEN/ACC
'I don't advise you to buy this car.'

- b. Nie radzę ci żebyś kupiła ten samochód/*tego samochodu.
not recommend you COMP buy this car.ACC/GEN
'I don't advise you to buy this car.'

(cf. Przepiórkowski 2000 and the references therein)

(76) Jan nie krzyczał żeby kupić akcje/*akcji.
John not screamed COMP buy stocks.ACC/*GEN
'John didn't scream to buy stocks.'

(77) Jan nie marzył żeby kupić nowy samochód/*nowego samochodu.

John not dreamed COMP buy new car.ACC/GEN
'John didn't dream to buy a new car.'

- Genitive of negation blocked by the complementizer

C. Reflexive Licensing

- (78) a. *Jan_i* chciał sprzedać *swój_i* samochód.
John wanted sell self's car
'John wanted to sell his car.'
- b. **Jan_i* chciał żeby sprzedać *swój_i* samochód.
John wanted COMP sell self's car
'Jan wanted (others) to sell his car.'
- (79) a. *Jan_i* modlił się żeby sprzedać *swój_i* samochód.
John prayed REFL COMP sell self's car
'John prayed to sell his car.'
- b. *Jan_i* marzył żeby sprzedać *swój_i* samochód.
John dreamed COMP sell self's car
'John dreamed to sell his car.'
- c. **Jan_i* krzyczał żeby sprzedać *swój_i* samochód.
John screamed COMP sell refl car
'John screamed for others to sell his car'

- Reflexive binding is not blocked by the complementizer