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 zdolał PRO pójść do kina. OC
      Jan managed go.INF to cinema
      ‘Jan managed to go to the cinema.’

  (3) a. Jan chciał PRO pójść do kina.
      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. Jani chciał żeby PROj pójść do kina.  
Jan wanted COMP go.INF to cinema  
‘Jan wanted for us/others to go to the movies.’

(4) a. Jani krzyczał żeby PROj pójść do kina.  
Jan screamed COMP go.INF to cinema  
‘Jan screamed for others to go to the movies.’

b. Jani marzył żeby PROj pójść do kina.  
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. *John managed [PRO₁ to gather at 6].
b. The chair₁ preferred [PRO₁ to gather at 6].  
  (Landau 2004:833-834)

(7) a. \([\text{CP} \ldots \text{T/v} \ldots \text{DP} \ldots [\text{CP} \ C \ [\text{TP} \ \text{PRO} \ T \ \text{VP} ]] ]\)  
  \text{PRO control}

b. \([\text{CP} \ldots \text{T/v} \ldots \text{DP} \ldots [\text{CP} \ C \ [\text{TP} \ \text{PRO} \ T \ \text{VP} ]] ]\)  
  \text{C control}

(8) a. \([\text{TP} \ \text{John} \ [\text{vP} \ \text{John} \ managed \ [\text{TP} \ \text{John} \ to \ [\text{vP} \ \text{John} \ go \ to \ the \ store]]]]\)

b. \([\text{TP} \ \text{The} \ \text{chair} \ [\text{vP} \ \text{the} \ \text{chair} \ preferred \ [\text{TP} \ \text{the} \ \text{chair} \ to \ [\text{vP} \ \text{the} \ \text{chair} \ +pro \ gather \ at \ 6]]]]\)

• What this talk is about?
  - Factors that help determine the choice between obligatory control (OC) and 
nonobligatory control (NOC) across the subjunctive complementizer żęby
  - Why is OC across the complementizer sometimes possible?

(9)  a. Jani chce żeby onj/*i/proj/*i poszedł do kina.  
    John wants COMP went to cinema  
    ‘John wants someone else to go to the cinema.’

    b. Jani chce PROi pójść do kina.  
    John wants go.inf to cinema  
    ‘John wants to go to the cinema.’

    c. Jani chce żeby PROj/*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) Jani powiedział Piotrowi żeby proj/*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) Janeki chce żeby proi był już dorosły.  
    Johny wants COMP be.past already adult  
    ‘Johny wants to be an adult already.’ (cf. Szabolcsi 2010)

• Parallels with Control Shift (cf. Uegaki 2011)

(12) a. Johni promised Maryj PROi to leave.  
    b. Grandpa, promised the childrenj PROj 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)

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

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)


B. Verbs that require the complementizer Ŝeby

(15) a. Jan marzył *(żeby) śpiewać.
Jan dreamed COMP sing INF
‘Jan dreamed to sing.’

b. Jan przypomnieli Piotrowi *(żeby) pojść do kina.
Jan reminded Peter COMP go.INF to cinema
‘Jan reminded Peter to go to the movies.’


C. Verbs with the optional complementizer Ŝeby

(16) a. Jan chciał pojść do kina.
Jan wanted go.INF to cinema
‘John wanted to go to the movies.’

b. Jan chciał żeby pojść do kina.
Jan wanted COMP go.INF to cinema
‘Jan wanted for us/others to go to the movies.’

(17) a. Jan kazał Piotrowi, PRO, nie biegać po ulicy.
John told Peter not run.inf on street
‘John told Peter not to run on the street.’
b. Jan kazal Piotrowi, żeby PRO₁ nie biegać po ulicy.
   John told Peter COMP not run.inf on street
   ‘John told Peter not to run on the street.’


A. Verbs that allow only bare infinitive clauses require OC

(18) a. Jan ma zamiar PRO₁ wyjść na dwór.
   Jan has plan go.inf outside
   ‘John plans to go outside.’

b. Jan zdał PRO₁ wyjść na dwór.
   Jan managed go.inf outside
   ‘John managed to go outside.’

c. Jan zaczął PRO₁ wychodzić na dwór.
   Jan started go.inf outside
   ‘John started to go outside.’

d. Jan musi PRO₁ 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, żeby PRO₁ 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, żeby PRO₁ 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, modlił się, żeby PRO₁ dać mu podwyżkę*
    prayed refl COMP give.inf him raise
    ‘He prayed to be given a raise.’

b. *modlił się, żeby PRO₁ być dobrym mężem*
    prayed refl COMP be.inf good husband
    ‘He prayed to be a good husband.’

(21) a. *kot, który marzył, żeby PRO₁ być ptakiem*
    cat who dreamed COMP be.inf bird
    ‘a cat that dreamed to be a bird.’

b. *pro, marzył, żeby PRO₁ 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 friend 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 new pair of shoes’.

(22) a. *On₁ bardzo nalegał, żeby PRO₁ się spotkać*
    he very insisted COMP refl meet
    ‘He insisted to meet a lot.’

b. *On₁ nalegał żeby PRO₁ zerwać*
    he insisted COMP break.up.inf
    ‘He insisted on breaking up.’

c. *autor₁ nalegał żeby PROᵢⱼ 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. *pro₁ nalegał żeby PROᵢⱼ 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 a NOC verb and *marzyć ‘dream’* is an OC verb.
B3. Some allow only NOC:

(23) a. Miesiąc temu proi krzyczał żeby PROj 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. Ciągle ktoś krzyczał, żeby PROj goi wyciągnąć all.time someone screamed COMP him pull.out ‘All the time someone screamed to be pulled out.’

(24) a. Poseł Sprawka postulował, żeby PROj 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 proi postulował, żeby PROj 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, chce PROi mujczyt czytać. John wants him read.inf ‘John wants to read to him.’

b. Dziecko nie chce żeby PROj mujczyt czytać. baby not wants COMP him read.inf ‘The baby doesn’t want to be read to.’

(26) a. Jak szef chce żeby PROj 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 ktoi chce, żeby PROj 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 chciał żeby PROj 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) proi chce, żeby PROj 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 ośmielić się pochować zamordowanego przez tyrana brata.
   ‘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, ośmielić się, żeby zdradzić Artura z Edkiem.
   ‘Just before the wedding his darling dared to betray Arthur with Ed.’

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

(29) a. Jak nauczyć kota, korzystać z drapaka?
   ‘How to teach a cat to use a scratching post?’

b. Jak nauczyć psa, żeby szczekać na obcych?
   ‘How to teach a dog to bark at strange

(30) a. Marek obawiał się żeby nie zrobić innym krzywdy.
   ‘Mark was afraid not do.inf others harm’ (Bondaruk 2004:209)

b. Marek obawiał się żeby mu zrobić krzywdy.
   ‘Mark was afraid not do.inf him harm’ (Bondaruk 2004:205)

(31) a. Kowalski postanowił zrobić żonie niespodziankę
   ‘Kowalski decided to surprise his wife.’

b. król postanowił, żeby udąć się w drogę, przygotował się…
   ‘The king decided to get going, he got ready…’

c. Wobec tego Zeus, postanowił, żeby stawać na sądzie bez tego wszystkiego in.light.of this Zeus decided stand.inf in court without this all
   ‘Therefore Zeus decided that one should appear in court without all of this.’
(32) a. Ja nigdy nie planowałam, żeby PROi 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 zaplanował, żeby PROi 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 paint someone will plan COMP from
drugiej strony PROi widać 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. Jan zaplanował (to tak) żeby PROi/1/2 partiami przywozić towar do jego sklepu.
John planned (it so) comp in-parts carry goods to his shop
‘John planned to carry the goods to his shop piece by piece.’

b. ?Jan zaplanował (to tak) żeby PROi/1/2 partiami przywozić mu 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. NOC PRO</th>
<th>II. OC PRO</th>
<th>III. Either OC or NOC PRO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>krzyczeć ‘scream’</td>
<td>ośmielić się ‘dare’</td>
<td>modlić się ‘pray’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postulować ‘postulate’</td>
<td></td>
<td>obawiać się ‘worry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chcieć ‘want’</td>
<td>prosić ‘ask’</td>
<td>bać się ‘fear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolę ‘prefer’</td>
<td>przypominać ‘remind’</td>
<td>nalegać ‘insist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pragnąć ‘desire’</td>
<td>polecić ‘recommend’</td>
<td>planować ‘plan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kazać ‘order’</td>
<td>postanowić ‘decide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uczyć ‘teach’</td>
<td>marzyć ‘dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ostrzegać ‘warn’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>poradzić ‘advise’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ For Bondaruk, planować ‘plan’ is obligatorily an OC verb.
### Verb Classes (cf. Bondaruk 2004:203)

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

### Verb Classes (cf. Witkoś 2008c)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb class</th>
<th>Control type</th>
<th>OC PRO with żęby</th>
<th>OC PRO without żęby</th>
<th>NON OC PRO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. chcieć/want</td>
<td>Subject Control</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>With żęby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bać się/fear, planować/plan</td>
<td>Subject Control</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>With żęby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. modlić się/pray marzyć/dream</td>
<td>Subject Control</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>With żęby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. mieć nadzieję/hope</td>
<td>Subject Control</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. prosić/ask</td>
<td>Object Control</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. radzić/advise</td>
<td>Object Control</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. dać/let</td>
<td>Object Control</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(35) a. The meaning of the verb does not determine its control type
b. The occurrence of non-anaphoric PRO is dependent on żęby
c. The presence of żęby does not correlate with non-anaphoric PRO

(Bondaruk 2004:208)

• Bondaruk 2004:209: ‘all żęby 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. Jan₁ chce żęby on₁/pro₁ poszedł do kina.
John wants COMP went to cinema
‘John wants someone else to go to the cinema.’

b. Jan₁ chce PRO₁ pójść do kina.
John wants go.INF to cinema
‘John wants to go to the cinema.’

c. Jan₁ chce żęby PRO₁ 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) [ DP₁ T-Agr₁₁ ... [CP żęby [TP PRO₁ T-Agr₂₁ ...] ] ] ]

(Bondaruk 2004: 247)

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

(38) [TP DP₁ T-Agr₁₁ ... [CP żęby [TP PRO₁ T-Agr₂₁ ...] ] ]

• All żęby clauses induce obviation. Cases in which OC across the complementizer żęby 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


• no obviation with objects:
(39) a. *Jan, chciał żeby pro, poszedł do kina.
       John wanted COMP went to cinema
       ‘John wanted to go to the movies.’

       b. Jan powiedział Piotrowi żeby pro, 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 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 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 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 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 promies Mary to leave.
       b. Grandpa promised the children to be able to stay up for the late show.

(45) a. John asked Mary to leave.
       b. John asked Mary to be allowed to leave.
5. **Back to Control**

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

   John warned Peter COMP not run.inf on street
   ‘John warned Peter not to run on the street.’

   b. Jan ostrzegł Piotra, żeby pro₁ nie biegał po ulicy.
   John warned Peter COMP not run on street
   ‘John warned Peter not to run on the street.’


**B.** _OC possible if the controller is the underlying object_

(47) a. Jan zmusił Piotra, żeby PRO₁ pójść do kina.
   Jan forced Piotr COMP go.inf to cinema
   ‘Jan was forced to go to the movies.’

   b. Piotr₁ został zmuszony żeby PRO₁ pójść do kina.
   Piotr was forced COMP go.inf to cinema
   ‘Piotr was forced to go the movies.’

(48) a. Jan przekonał Piotra, żeby PRO₁ pójść do kina.
   Jan convinced Piotr COMP go.inf to cinema
   ‘Jan convinced Piotr to go the movies.’

   b. Piotr₁ został przekonany żeby PRO₁ 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 PRO₁ nie szczekać na obcych.
   Jan taught dog COMP not jump.inf on strangers
   ‘Jan taught the dog not to bark at strangers.’

   b. Pies₁ został nauczony żeby PRO₁ 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. Egzaminy martwią Jana. (Obj Exp)
   exams.nom worry Jan.acc
   ‘Exams worry Jan.’

(52) $\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP} \\
\text{T'} \\
\text{T} \quad \text{vP} \\
\text{v} \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{(się/se)} \quad \text{Experiencer} \\
\text{V'} \\
\text{V} \quad \text{Theme}
\end{array}$

   (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 idacy ulica PRO$_i$ martwi się, żeby w żaden sposób nie przeszkodzić
   every walking street worries refl COMP in any way not disturb.inf
   innym idacym 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. *Egzaminy boją Jana.
   exams.nom fear John.acc
c. Jan \_bal \_się \_żeby \_PRO\_₁ \_się \_nie \_spóźnić \_na \_zebranie.
   \begin{quote}
   Jan feared refl COMP refl not be.late to meeting
   \end{quote}
   ‘Jan feared to be late to the meeting.’

• Others:

(55) Jan \_modlił \_się \_żeby \_PRO\_₁ \_wejść \_na \_szczyt.
    \begin{quote}
    Jan prayed REFL COMP climb.inf on summit
    \end{quote}
    ‘Jan prayed to climb the summit.’

(56) Jan \_starał \_się \_żeby \_PRO\_₁ \_wejść \_na \_szczyt.
    \begin{quote}
    Jan strived REFL COMP climb.inf on summit
    \end{quote}
    ‘Jan strived to climb the summit.’

(57) a. Tymczasem Karl \_zdecydował \_się \_żeby \_PRO\_₁ \_wchodzić \_również \_na \_szczyt
    \begin{quote}
    at.that.time Carl decided refl COMP go.inf also to summit
    \end{quote}
    ‘At the time, Carl decided to also climb the summit.’

b. pro \_zdecydował \_się \_żeby \_PRO\_₁ \_iść \_do \_szpitala
    \begin{quote}
    decided refl COMP go to hospital
    \end{quote}
    ‘He decided to go to the hospital.’

(58) a. Projekt został \_ustalony \_z \_konserwatorem \_zabytków, \_który \_pro \_zdecydował, \_żeby
    \begin{quote}
    design was consulted with art historian who decided COMP
    rebuild sight prewar surrounding stream
    \end{quote}
    ‘The design was vetted by the art historian who decided that the prewar
    surroundings of the stream be reconstructed.’

b. pro \_sam \_zdecydował \_żeby \_PRO\_₁ \_łóżka \_nie \_dosuwać \_on \_bedzie \_spał \_sam \_bo \_jest \_duży.
    \begin{quote}
    himself decided comp bed not move he will sleep alone because is big
    \end{quote}
    ‘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. Jani marzył żeby PRO pójść do kina.
Jan dreamed to go to the movies.

b. Jani nigdy nie planował, żeby PRO pracować tam całe życie.
'I never not planned to work there my whole life.'

(60) a. Jani modlił się żeby PRO wejść na szczyt.
Jan prayed to climb the summit.

b. Jani strail się żeby PRO wejść na szczyt.
'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/ν … DP … [CP C [TP PRO T VP ] ] ] PRO control

b. [CP … T/ν … 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 [νP Event features … ] ] ]

b. [CP Force … ΛA, ΛP … Top … S T … SL [IP …Pers …Num … M … T … [νP … ]]]

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


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.

\[(64)\]
\[\begin{array}{c}
TP \\
T_{IT, up:val1} \\
DP_1 \\
CP \\
C_{uT:val, up:val2} \\
DP_2 \\
\end{array}\]

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. Oni kryczal żebę 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. Oni marzył żeby PROi 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 żeby PROi 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. Janₐ chciał żeby było muᵢ₯ᵢ samemu.
    Jan wanted COMP was him.DAT happy alone.DAT
    ‘Jan wanted to be happy.’

    b. Janₐ chciał żeby PROᵢ₯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 zabyl 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 asked him not to go there alone.’

c. Ivan dumaet čto [PRO pojti domoj odnomu] važno.
   ‘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 żęby.

- Verbs that allow/require the complementizer żęby 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.

6. **Selected References**

Szabolcsi, Anna. 2010. Ininitatives vs. subjunctives: what do we learn from obviation and from exemptions from obviation?
Witkoś, Jacek. 2010. On the Lack of Case on the Subject of Ininitatives in Polish. Folia Linguistica 44.179-238.

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.’

(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 (Witko 2008a)


(73) a. Jan nie chciał pisać listów/*listy.
    John not wanted COMP 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
    ‘John didn’t want to write letters.’

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.  \textit{Jan}$_i$ chciał sprzedać swój samochód.
John wanted sell self’s car
‘John wanted to sell his car.’

b.  * \textit{Jan}$_i$ chciał żeby sprzedać swój samochód.
John wanted COMP sell self’s car
‘Jan wanted (others) to sell his car.’

(79) a.  \textit{Jan}$_i$ modlił się żeby sprzedać swój samochód.
John prayed REFL COMP sell self’s car
‘John prayed to sell his car.’

b.  \textit{Jan}$_i$ marzył żeby sprzedać swój samochód.
John dreamed COMP sell self’s car
‘John dreamed to sell his car.’

c.  * \textit{Jan}$_i$ krzyczał żeby sprzedać swój samochód.
John screamed COMP sell refl car
‘John screamed for others to sell his car’

• Reflexive binding is not blocked by the complementizer