Overt Nominative Subjects in Infinitival Complements Cross-linguistically: Data, Diagnostics, and Preliminary Analyses*

Anna Szabolcsi

1   Introduction
1.1 The plan

The typical habitat of overt nominative subjects is in finite clauses. But infinitival complements and infinitival adjuncts are also known to have overt nominative subjects, e.g. in Italian (Rizzi 1982), European Portuguese (Raposo 1987), and Spanish (Torrego 1998, Mensching 2000). The analyses make crucial reference to the movement of Aux or Infl to Comp, and to overt or covert infinitival inflection.

(1) Questa commissione   ritiene   [aver   loro   sempre   ottemperato   agli   obblighi...].
     this   commission   thinks   have.inf they   always   accomplished   the   requirements
     `This commission thinks they have always accomplished the requirements...'

(2) [Avendo   Mario   accettato   di aiutarci],   potremo   risolvere   il   problema.
     having   Mario   agreed   to help-inf-cl   could-1pl   solve-inf   the   problem
     `Mario having agreed to help us, we could solve the problem'

(3) Era   importante [eles   sairem].
     was   important   they   leave-inf-3pl
     `It was important for them to leave'

(4) Todo el mundo   se levantó   [al   leer   el   juez   /   yo el   veredicto].
     everybody   stood up   to-the read-inf   the   judge /   I   the   verdict
     `Everybody stood up when the judge / I read the verdict'

This working paper is concerned with a novel set of data that appear to be of a different sort, in that they probably do not depend on either rich infinitival inflection or on movement to C. To get an initial sense of the data, consider the following Italian examples. (The idiomatic translations below use finite complements, because these sentences have no literal counterparts in English. Andare is unambiguously infinitive.)

(5) Ogni ragazzo / Gianni odierebbe   [andare solo/anche lui a Milano].
    every boy   / Gianni would-hate-3sg go-inf   only/also   he to Milan
    `Every boy$_i$/Gianni$_i$ would hate it if only/also he$_i$ went to Milan'

(6) Anche io odierei   [andare solo io a   Milano].
    also   I   would-hate-1sg go-inf   only I   to Milan
    `I$_i$ too would hate it if only I$_i$ went to Milan'

In these examples the finite control verb has its own overt subject. In addition, the infinitival complement contains an overt nominative pronoun, modified by the operator `only' or `also'. Given its linear position and the fact that the operator scopes inside the complement, it is fairly clear that lu/io is located inside the infinitival clause. The question is whether lui/io is the subject of that clause. This question is critical, because most varieties of Italian exhibit emphatic "pronominal doubles" in mono-clausal examples:

(7) Gianni è   andato solo lui a Milano.
    Gianni aux-3sg go-part only he to Milan
    `As for Gianni, only he went to Milan'

(8) Sono   andato   solo io a Milano.
    aux-1sg go-part   only I   to Milan
    `Only I went to Milan'

It is possible, then, that lui in (5) and io in (6) are doubles of PRO subjects:

(9) [PRO$_i$ andare solo lui$_i$/io$_i$ a Milano]

This is indeed a possible analysis. But there is evidence that it is not the only possibility. These strings have another analysis where the nominative pronoun is the subject itself; i.e. they are potentially structurally ambiguous.

(10) [andare solo lui/io a Milano]   (no PRO)

As will be shown below, the Italian-internal evidence is two-fold. One, there exist pronoun-containing expressions that do not function as pronominal doubles, but do occur inside infinitival complements with the characteristic linear order and scope properties described for lui/io in (5)-(6). Two, there are speakers of Italian who do not accept pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples like (7)-(8), but fully accept lui/io in control complements like (5)-(6).
     Data from Hungarian corroborate the above and provide further insight into the properties of the construction. First, constituent order and scope in Hungarian make it plain that certain

overt nominatives occur inside the infinitival complement. Second, much like English, Hungarian entirely lacks pronominal doubles of the Italian sort; therefore it eliminates the confound. Third, going further, the infinitival verb in the relevant sentences does not occur in an initial, "Comp-like" position. This indicates that our kind of overt nominative subject is not contingent on "Infl-to-Comp". Fourth, Hungarian has optionally inflected infinitives, but they are never complements of control verbs, and their overt subjects are invariably in the dative, not in the nominative (Tóth 2000). This indicates that overtness of the infinitival subject does not depend on a richly inflected infinitive. Therefore the phenomenon we are concerned with is not identical to the one illustrated in (1) through (4).

This paper proposes that the critical feature of these examples is that the overt infinitival subject agrees with the finite verb in person and number. This seems trivial in the case of control (since the finite subject binds the infinitival one), but it will be argued that raising complements allow for the same kind of overt nominative subjects, and there agreement with the finite raising verb is more surprising, in the absence of DP-movement to the matrix.

Specifically, it will be proposed that these overt infinitival subjects enter into a long-distance Agree relation with a finite inflection. Furthermore the same finite inflection may Agree with more than one subject. Multiple agreement is necessary in the control cases (although not in the raising cases). In these respects the proposal is consonant with Ura (1996), Hiraiwa (2001, 2005) and Chomsky (2008).

The main goal of this paper is to survey cross-linguistic data, some of which make it likely that many languages besides Italian and Hungarian exhibit the kind of overt infinitival subjects exemplified by (5)-(6), and some of which suggest that tantalizingly similar data from other languages may require a different analysis. The languages to be discussed include, besides Italian and Hungarian, Mexican Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Finnish, Modern Hebrew, Turkish, Norwegian, and Shupamem (Grassfield Bantu). Unless otherwise indicated, all the data come from my own field work. Drawing from the literature a brief comparison with backward control/raising and copy control/raising data will be offered in the end.

The rest of this introduction briefly recaps the state of the art in connection with overt nominative subjects and fleshes out a preliminary account of the cross-linguistic variation.

This paper will not attempt either a definitive classification of the languages surveyed or a definitive and unified theoretical account of overt nominatives.

1.2 A bird's eye view of the state of the art

The following descriptive claims are widely believed to hold at least of well-studied European languages:

(11) "No overt subjects in infinitival complements"
Infinitival complements of subject-control verbs and subject-to-subject raising verbs do not have overt nominative subjects.

(12) "No overt controllees"
In control constructions the controllee DP is not an overt pronoun.

What would these facts, if they are indeed facts, follow from?
Given the copy theory of movement/chains (Chomsky 1995, 2000) and the possibility that

control is an instance of movement/chain formation (Hornstein 1999, Boeckx & Hornstein, to app., Bowers, to app.), it is in principle possible for overt DPs to occur in the subject positions mentioned in (11). Languages might choose to pronounce all copies, or just some lower copy. The fact that this does not routinely happen calls for an explanation; the usual assumption is that the highest copy is privileged, possibly subject to Bobaljik's (2002:251) Minimize Mismatch principle: "(To the extent possible) privilege the same copy at PF and LF". Instead or in addition, it may be that the highest copy must be pronounced to supply the finite clause with an overt subject (cf. the EPP), and/or it may be that lower copies are simply unpronounceable. In olden days the Case Filter plus the inability of infinitival inflection to assign abstract Case prevented the subjects of infinitival complements of control and subject-to-subject raising verbs from being pronounced (in the absence of ECM, inflected infinitives, etc.); more recently Null Case was supposed to explain why PRO is covert (Martin 2001). However, the link between abstract Case and morphological case has been severed and the usefulness of postulating abstract Case has been called into question by Marantz (1991), McFadden (2004), and others. What takes the place of Case in licensing the pronunciation of DPs? Pronouns have been argued to require some agreement relation in order to be fully specified (see Kratzer 2006 on bound pronouns, and Sigurdsson 2007 for grounding) and all DPs have been argued to need a valued T feature (Pesetsky and Torrego 2006).

Turning to (12), the absence of overt pronominal controllees may simply follow from some of the considerations above. If infinitival subjects are generally not pronounceable, then an infinitival control complement cannot have an overt subject. It must have a PRO or a *pro* subject, or no subject at all if it is just a VP (Babby & Franks 1998, Wurmbrand 2003). But Landau's (2004) theory of control covers both infinitives and subjunctives, and subjunctive clauses routinely have overt subjects. It is therefore remarkable that Landau's calculus of control takes it for granted that the control complement has a null subject. There seems to be some, perhaps unspoken assumption about control that results in the controllee always being phonetically null. Semantic assumptions may do part of the work. Chierchia (1989) proposed that control involves a so-called *de se* reading and that PRO is a *de se* anaphor. But the fact that overt pronouns also have *de se* readings, and the more recent assumption that control may also involve *pro* instead of PRO indicate that more needs to be said. So perhaps "No overt controllees" could result from a conspiracy of the above considerations and more or less independent facts about obviation. See Farkas (1985) for an example of overt controlled pronouns in Romanian.

My impression of the state of the art is that the theories I am familiar with do not predict (11) and (12) in a straightforward manner. But neither do these theories seem to say exactly where these generalizations are expected to fail. The present paper supplements the known counterexamples with further data that indicate that (11) and (12) are descriptively incorrect.

1.3 A preliminary account of the cross-linguistic variation

Unless otherwise indicated, the data in this paper come from my own field work. I am immensely grateful to the colleagues who made themselves available for multiple rounds of questioning. They are thanked by name where the individual languages are discussed. I hasten to add that the interpretation of the data as supporting or not supporting an infinitival subject analysis is invariably mine; my sources may or may not agree with it.

According to my present understanding, the languages I have investigated fall into three main categories: they either have overt nominatives in both raising and control complements, or

at most in raising complements, or in neither. In what follows the term "overt infinitival subjects" will be shorthand for "overt nominative subjects of infinitival complements of control and raising verbs".

	overt nominative subjects in infinitival **raising** complements			overt nominative subjects in infinitival **control** complements		
	Yes	**Possibly**	**No**	**Yes**	**possibly**	**No**
Hungarian	*			*		
Italian	*			*		
Spanish	*				*	
Br.Portuguese	*				*	
Romanian	*				*	
M.Hebrew	*				*	
Russian		*				*
Finnish		*				*
English			*			*
French			*			*
German			*			*
Dutch			*			*

"Yes" in a column indicates that I am fairly confident that the nominative DP is located inside the complement clause, and that it is, or can be, the subject, as opposed to an emphatic element. "Possibly" in the raising case indicates that the examples have a particular word order and interpretation, but it is not clear yet whether the nominative DP is located in the infinitival complement or in the matrix. "Possibly" in the control case indicates that I have not yet been able to exclude the emphatic pronoun analysis; this may be due to my lack of expertise or, maybe, the given language does not offer clear clues.

What distinguishes the "yes" languages (that have some overt infinitival subjects) from the "no" languages (that do not have any)? One idea may be that overt infinitival subjects are possible where the default case is nominative. This is immediately falsified by German, where the default case is nominative (McFadden 2006) but overt infinitival subjects are not found. A second idea may be that the distinctive property of the "yes" languages is that they have visibly or covertly inflected infinitives, cf. Raposo (1987). At least Hungarian indicates that the two phenomena do not pattern together. Hungarian has optional overt inflection in the infinitival complements of impersonal predicates, but the subjects of these are invariably in the dative, not in the nominative (Tóth 2000). Also, Hungarian has no overt nominative subjects in infinitival adjuncts like (4), which Torrego has analyzed as involving *pro*-drop infinitival inflection (although it does in somewhat archaic uninflected participial adjuncts). So it seems that overt subjects in raising/control complements are not generally dependent on the special features of infinitival inflection. A third idea may be that the "yes" languages are all null subject ones. But colloquial Brazilian Portuguese is not a null subject language, and colloquial Mexican Spanish appears to avoid null subjects as well. Nevertheless, the overt nominative subject judgments are the same in the colloquial varieties.

I propose that the key observation is that the critical nominative DP, although located

within the infinitival complement, agrees with a superordinate finite verb in person and number. This suggests (13):

(13) Hypothesis re: **long-distance agreement**
A sufficient condition for nominative subjects in infinitival complements to be overt is if the relevant features of a superordinate finite inflection are transmitted to them (say in the manner of long-distance Agree). The cross-linguistic variation in the availability of overt infinitival subjects has to do with variation in feature transmission.

The fundamental deficiency in the "no" languages must be that the relevant finite inflectional features are not transmitted to the infinitival subject. Could it be that feature transmission requires some kind of clause union that only the "yes" languages possess? Not likely. On one hand, German and Dutch have certain clause union phenomena but no overt infinitival subjects. More importantly, overt subjects in Hungarian, Italian, Spanish, etc. happily occur in infinitival constructions that do not exhibit any kind of independently recognizable clause union. I conclude that the "transparency" of infinitival clauses is not at issue.

Let us first focus on control constructions. They have thematic subjects both in the finite matrix and in the infinitival complement. For all we know, the finite subject must always be a legitimately nominative DP. Deictically interpreted null pronominal subjects occur in exactly the same environments as their overt counterparts or as lexical DPs. But then one and the same finite inflection must take care of the finite subject and the infinitival one. This suggests (14):

(14) Hypothesis re: the **multi-agreement parameter**
Languages vary as to whether a single finite inflection may share features with more than one nominative DP.

These hypotheses suggest the possibilities laid out in (15), which incorporates multi-agreement. Which of the three options is realized in a language depends on the needs of expletives and how multi-agreement is constrained.

(15) Configurations that might allow overt infinitival subjects:

    a. (...)   Raising-V_{finite} [DP_{nom} $V_{infinitive}$ ...

    b. DP_{nom} Raising-V_{finite} [DP_{nom} $V_{infinitive}$ ...

    c. DP_{nom} Control-V_{finite} [DP_{nom} $V_{infinitive}$ ...

In (15a) the matrix clause has no thematic subject, and the constellation is legitimate if the language does not need a nominative expletive in the subject position but, instead, it may have a non-nominative topic, or may go without a topic and possibly move the verb into a higher initial position. If one of these circumstances obtains, only the infinitival subject needs to agree with the finite inflection and so (15a) does not even require multi-agreement.

If the language needs a nominative expletive in the finite subject position, the question is whether multi-agreement requires all the DPs linked to the same inflection to be bound together. If co-binding is required, (15b) is not possible, since an expletive cannot bind, or be co-bound

with, a thematic DP. If multi-agreement only requires non-conflicting (unifiable) morphological features on the DPs involved, then (15b) is possible.

Finally, multi-agreement makes (15c) possible, as long as control, which obviously involves binding, does not lead to a Condition C violation. In other words, in (15c) the controller DP may be a null or overt pronoun, or a name, or an operator – but the controllee DP may only be a pronoun, which can be bound from outside its local domain.

Although the theoretical options are fairly clear, whether the conditions for (15a) or for (15b) obtain in a language is a difficult matter. For example, it is debated whether some languages that have no overt nominative expletives have phonetically null ones or not. So the analysis of languages like Russian and Finnish, where overt infinitival subjects occur at most in raising constructions is especially delicate; is that LO-scoping nominative DP really inside the infinitival clause? I will make suggestions but will not be able to provide definitive analyses. At the same time, Russian/Finnish-type languages are extremely important. The reasoning above suggests that it is easier for a language to have overt nominative subjects in raising complements (15a) than in control complements (15c). But at least in the sample I have studied only Russian/Finnish-type languages have overt subjects in raising but not in control complements. If they turn out to be misanalyzed (and no other language steps into their place), that would cast doubt upon the approach proposed above. Therefore the data are included, despite the unsettled state of the analysis.

Feature transmission might fail for independent reasons. H. Koopman (p.c.) has observed that the main demarcation line between "yes" and "no" languages may correlate with the position of the infinitival verb. In the clear "no" languages", French, English, German, and Dutch, infinitival verbs occupy a lower position than either their finite counterparts in the same languages or their infinitival counterparts in Hungarian, Italian, etc. This may prevent transmission of the features of the matrix inflection to the infinitival subject. Such considerations could yield a further nuanced picture, but I cannot pursue them in this paper.

2 Developing the diagnostics -- Hungarian

Obtaining the relevant data requires two things. One is careful attention to the truth conditions of certain, sometimes colloquial, sentences. We shall see that the nominative DPs we are concerned with always scope inside the infinitival clause (exhibit what I will call the LO reading). The second crucial task is to show that these DPs are indeed the subjects of infinitival clauses, as opposed to somehow displaced finite subjects or emphatic elements. A detailed discussion of Hungarian will be used for the purpose of developing the diagnostics. Well-established generalizations as well as some new facts about Hungarian make it plain that some of the Hungarian examples definitely involve infinitival subjects. The fact that other Hungarian examples pattern entirely consistently with these, and the fact that examples from Italian, Spanish, etc. seem to pattern consistently with the Hungarian data make it plausible that they represent the same phenomena. But I will not attempt to explain why overt infinitival subjects in Italian, Spanish, etc. occur in exactly those word order positions where they do, and why some word orders are ambiguous in one language but not in another. Such detailed analyses have to be left to the experts.

The structure of this section is as follows. Section 2.1 sets out to familiarize the English

speaking reader with the meanings of the sentences this paper focuses on. 2.2 argues that our nominative DP is located in the infinitival complement, and section 2.3, that it is none other than the subject of that complement. Section 2.4 discusses agreement with the finite verb. Section 2.5 comments on the *de se* interpretation of the subjects of control complements.

The discussion of the other languages will presuppose that the reader is familiar with the detailed analysis of Hungarian, and will be much shorter.

2.1 What do these sentences mean?

The reason why this question is critical is that the nominative DPs under investigation are scope taking operators or are modified by scope taking particles like `too' and `only', and in the sentences where they are claimed to occur inside the infinitival clause they take scope within that clause, carrying what will be called the LO reading. Many of the LO readings are not expressible (without complicated circumscription) unless the language makes overt infinitival subjects available. Other LO readings may be expressible, but not unambiguously. Thus the raison d'être for the overtness of such subjects is to satisfy an interface need and to minimize the mismatch between PF and LF. I propose to interpret this interface need as one that calls for a systematic way to express a particular kind of truth-conditional content, even though in some instances there is an alternative, ambiguous expression available. Roughly the same interpretation is needed to explain why Hungarian generally offers a way to indicate scope relations in surface structure (see e.g. Brody & Szabolcsi 2003), even though some of those truth-conditional contents would be expressible in less transparent ways as well, as in English.

The fact that English, French, German, and Dutch lack overt infinitival subjects of the sort under discussion has the practical consequence that the reader of this paper may find it difficult to form an intuitive grasp of the examples. The goal of this section is to set the stage by giving an informal sense of their meanings. We use English sentences that do not have the same structures as the Hungarian ones but have similar meanings.

First consider raising. Perlmutter (1970) showed that English <u>begin</u> has a raising version. We use the aspectual raising verb <u>begin</u> instead of <u>seem</u>, for two reasons. One is that Hungarian <u>látszik</u> `seem' primarily takes either indicative or small clause complements and does not easily combine with infinitives. Thus using <u>begin</u> lays better groundwork for the rest of the paper. Another reason is that the truth conditional effect of an operator scoping either in the matrix or in the complement is much sharper with the aspectual predicate than with the purely intensional one; we can get two logically independent readings. Consider two scenarios and sentence (18).

(16) *The HI scenario: Total numbers growing, number of first-timers declining*
      In April, 4 actresses got their first good reviews and then continued to get ones.
      In May, another 2 actresses got their first good reviews and then continued to get ones.
      No other changes happened.

(17) *The LO scenario: Total numbers declining, number of first-timers staying the same*
      In April, 10 actresses got good reviews, 4 among them for the first time.
      In May, 8 of the above 10 actresses didn't get good reviews. But another 4 actresses got their first good reviews.
      No other changes happened.

(18) Fewer actresses began to get good reviews in May.
    (a) `Fewer actresses got their first good reviews in May than earlier'
    (b) `It began to be the case in May that fewer actresses overall were getting good reviews than earlier'

(18) is ambiguous. Reading (a) is true in the HI scenario but false in the LO one. It will be labeled the HI reading. Reading (b) is false in the HI scenario and true in the LO one. It will be called the LO reading, and this is the one relevant to us. Crucially, on the LO reading we are not interested in who began to get good reviews but, rather, what kind of overall situation began to obtain.

    Given that neither the predicate <u>get good reviews</u> nor the predicate <u>begin to get good reviews</u> have agentive subjects (i.e. instigators of an action), <u>begin</u> is definitely a raising verb on the (b), LO reading. (It is plausibly also a raising verb on the (a), HI reading of (18). This latter fact is irrelevant to us though.) In English (18) the LO reading appears to be a result of "scope reconstruction" in the presence of A-movement, similarly to the classical example below (May 1985 and many others, though see Lasnik 1999 for arguments against reconstructiom):

(19) A unicorn seems to be approaching.
    HI `There is a particular unicorn that seems to be approaching'
    LO `It seems as though a unicorn is approaching'

In English the availability of the LO reading with <u>begin</u> is facilitated by the presence of a temporal adjunct. In Hungarian the two readings of (18) would be expressed using different constituent orders, and no temporal adjunct is necessary to obtain the LO reading. Moreover, the LO reading is available with all operators, whereas in English the choice is delicate.

(20) <u>Kevesebb színésznő</u> kezdett   el   jó   kritikákat   kapni.
    fewer   actress   began.3sg prt   good reviews.acc   get.inf
    HI `Fewer actresses got their first good reviews'

(21) Elkezdett   <u>kevesebb színésznő</u> kapni   jó   kritikákat.
    prt-began.3sg fewer   actress   get.inf good reviews.acc
    LO `It began to be the case that fewer actresses overall were getting good reviews'

    Next consider control. The particle <u>too</u> associates with different DPs in (22) and (23). The example most relevant to us is (23): here <u>too</u> associates with the PRO subject of <u>be tall</u>. Krifka (1998) argues that postposed stressed additive particles, like English <u>too</u>, may associate even with a phonetically null element if that is a contrastive topic in his sense. The well-known reading in (22) is the HI reading; the more novel one in (23) the LO reading.

(22) Mary wants/hates to be tall. I want/hate to be tall too.
    HI `I too <u>want/hate it to be the case that I am tall</u>'

(23) Mary is tall. I want/hate to be tall too.
    LO `I want/hate it to be the case that I too <u>am tall</u>'

If <u>too</u> attaches to the matrix subject, the <u>want</u>-example is still ambiguous, see (24). But the variant with <u>hate</u> lacks the LO reading; the sequence in (25b) is incoherent.

(24) a. Mary wants to be tall. I too want to be tall.
      HI `I too <u>want it to be the case that I am tall</u>'
   b. Mary is tall. I too want to be tall.
      LO `I want it to be the case that I too <u>am tall</u>'

(25) a. Mary hates to be tall. I too hate to be tall.
      HI `I too <u>hate it that I am tall</u>'
   b. Mary is tall. #I too hate to be tall.
      Intended: LO `I hate it that I too <u>am tall</u>'

In Hungarian the two readings are expressed by different constituent orders, in a manner parallel to (20) and (21).

(26) Én   is   szeretnék / utálok   magas   lenni.
     I   too would-like.1sg / hate.1sg tall   be.inf
     HI `I too want/hate it to be the case that I am tall'

(27) Szeretnék / Utálok   én   is   magas   lenni.
     would-like.1sg / hate.1sg I   too   tall   be.inf
     LO `I want/hate it to be the case that I too am tall'

To summarize, when a nominative DP is associated with a suitable scope-taking operator, English can express LO readings in both control and raising constructions. But these readings come about in specifically scope-related ways, by "scope reconstruction" or in view of the ability of postposed additive particles under stress to associate with PRO. The reader should bear these readings in mind when contemplating the Hungarian examples that carry LO readings, but this paper will not investigate English any further.

This paper focuses on Hungarian examples that unambiguously carry the LO reading, such as (21) and (27). Here the whole nominative DP occurs in a special position. It will be argued that this is the position of the infinitival subject.

2.2 "Our nominative DP" is located inside the infinitival clause

The present section argues that the nominative DP in examples like (21) and (27) is located inside the infinitival clause, and the next section argues that it is the infinitival subject. Until such time as the arguments are completed, the DP under investigation will be neutrally referred to as "our nominative DP".

Recall that in the Hungarian sentences carrying LO readings, our nominative DPs occur in postverbal position. Hungarian is known to map scope relations to linear order and intonation (see Brody and Szabolcsi 2003, among many others), so this may seem like a simple instance of the same correspondence. Indeed, <u>DP is</u> `DP too' may occur either preverbally or postverbally in mono-clausal examples and so (27) by itself is not diagnostic. The main reason why the particle <u>is</u> `too' was used above is that it helped conjure up English counterparts. The placement of <u>csak</u>

DP `only DP' and <u>nem DP</u> `not DP' offers clear evidence that on the LO reading our nominative DP is not simply placed within the scope of the control/raising verb.

Due to the association of <u>csak</u> `only' and <u>nem</u> `not, constituent negation' with focus, <u>csak DP</u> and <u>nem DP</u> have a very restricted distribution in mono-clausal examples: they must occur in the immediately preverbal position. The reason is that Hungarian focus is immediately preverbal.

(28) *Olvastam   <u>csak én</u>   egy   könyvet.
     read-past-1sg only I   a   book-acc

(29) <u>Csak   én</u>   olvastam   egy   könyvet.
     only   I   read-past-1sg a   book-acc
     `Only I read a book'

(30) *Olvastam   <u>nem én</u>   egy   könyvet.
     read-past-1sg not I   a   book-acc

(31) <u>Nem   én</u>   olvastam   egy   könyvet.
     not   I   read-past-1sg a   book-acc
     `It is not me who read a book'

The position of <u>csak DP</u> and <u>nem DP</u> completely disambiguates the infinitival examples:

(32) <u>Csak   én</u>   szeretnék   magas   lenni.
     only   I   would.like-1sg   tall   be-inf
     HI `I am the only one who wants to be tall'

(33) Szeretnék   <u>csak én</u>   lenni   magas.
     would.like-1sg   only I   be-inf   tall
     LO `I want it to be the case that I am the only one who is tall'

(34) <u>Nem én</u>   szeretnék   magas   lenni.
     not I   would.like-1sg   tall   be-inf
     HI: `I am not the one who wants to be tall'

(35) Szeretnék   <u>nem én</u> lenni   magas.
     would.like-1sg   not I be-inf   tall
     LO: `I want it to be the case that I am not the one who is tall'

The puzzle is how <u>csak én</u> and <u>nem én</u> can occur in postverbal position in the LO readings when we have just seen that (28) and (30) are sharply ungrammatical. The fact that (33) and (35) are perfect can only be explained if <u>csak én</u> and <u>nem én</u>, despite being the sole overt nominative DPs in the sentence, are not located in matrix clause but, instead, belong to the complement. If so, then they are not "postverbal" but in fact "preverbal", i.e. their relevant property is that they immediately precede the infinitival verb.

It is well-established that Hungarian finite clauses have a rigid sequence of operator positions in the preverbal field. Koopman & Szabolcsi (2000: Chapter 6) argue that exactly the

same sequence occurs in infinitival clauses that exhibit what they call "the English order", i.e. no superficially noticeable restructuring. This descriptive claim has never been contested. Compare, for example, finite (36) and infinitival (37). The linear and scopal order of operator phrases in the preverbal field is topic (RefP), quantifier (DistP), and focus (with or without csak `only') in both cases.

(36) Holnap   mindenről   (csak) én   beszélek.
     tomorrow   everything-about   only I   talk-1sg
     `Tomorrow everything will be such that it is me who talks about it/only I talk about it'

(37) Szerettem   volna   holnap   mindenről   (csak) én   beszélni.
     would.have.liked-1sg tomorrow   everything-about only   I   talk-inf
     `I would have liked it to be the case that tomorrow everything is such that it is me who talks about it/ only I talk about it'

These orders make it plain that csak én occupies the same focus position in the infinitival clause as in the finite one. There is simply no other way for it to occur where it does. Crucial to us is the fact that constituent order shows our nominative DPs to be located inside the infinitival clause. Thus the bracketing is as follows:

(27') Szeretnék   [én is magas lenni].
(35') Szeretnék   [nem én lenni magas].
(37') Szerettem volna [holnap mindenről (csak) én beszélni].

    Example (37) argues for two further points. First, it shows that our nominative DP does not have to immediately follow either the matrix or the infinitival verb and thus to be governed by it, to use older terminology. An arbitrarily long sequence of operators may separate it from the matrix verb, and the infinitival verb never precedes it. Therefore its overtness cannot be due to "Exceptional Case Marking" or to "Infl-to-Comp" movement.
    A second important point has to do with the absence of clause union (restructuring). The suspicion might have arisen that the phenomenon we are investigating somehow requires clause union. The long operator sequence in (37) already indicates that its infinitival clause is not a reduced complement; Koopman & Szabolcsi (2000: Chapter 6) argue that it is a full CP. Further evidence that clause union is not involved comes from the inventory of matrix verbs. Consider utál `hate', cross-linguistically not a restructuring verb, and el-felejt `forget'. El-felejt has a prefix, and prefixal verbs never restructure in Hungarian. Both verbs take infinitival complements that contain overt nominatives; in fact, all subject control verbs do.

(38) Utálok   csak én dolgozni.
     hate-1sg   only I work-inf
     LO `I hate it that only I work'

(39) Nem felejtettem el   én is   aláírni   a   levelet.
     not forgot-1sg   pfx   I too   sign-inf the   letter-acc
     LO `I didn't forget to bring it about that I too sign the letter' (cf. I remembered to sign it too)

Szabolcsi (2005) discussed the control data above and tentatively concluded that Hungarian has overt subjects in infinitival complements.

As we saw in the preceding section, not only control but also raising complements exhibit the phenomenon at hand. Szabolcsi (2005) mentioned examples with <u>elkezd</u> `begin' and the futurate verb <u>fog</u>, but glossed over the fact that they involve raising, not control. Bartos (2006a) and Márta Abrusán (p.c.) drew attention to their raising character. The arguments from constituent order apply to raising complements exactly as they do to control complements, so I add the brackets around the infinitival clause right away.

(40) <u>Nem én</u>   kezdtem   el   [éjszaka   dolgozni].
not   I   began-1sg   pfx   at.night   work.inf
HI `It is not me who began to work at night'

(41) Elkezdtem [<u>nem én</u>   dolgozni   éjszaka].
began-1sg   not   I   work-inf   at.night
LO `It began to be the case that it is not me who works at night'

(42) <u>Csak én</u>   nem fogok   [dolgozni   éjszaka].
only I   not   will-1sg   work-inf   at.night
HI `I am the only one who will not work at night'

(43) Nem fogok   [<u>csak én</u> dolgozni   éjszaka].
not   will-1sg only I   work-inf   at.night
LO `It is not going to be the case that only I work at night'

(44) Holnap   fogok   [mindenkivel   <u>csak én</u> beszélni].
tomorrow   will-1sg everyone-with   only I   talk-inf
LO `Tomorrow is the day when for everyone x, only I will talk with x'

We conclude that infinitival complements of both subject control verbs and subject-to-subject raising verbs in Hungarian can contain an overt nominative DP.

2.3 "Our nominative DP" is the subject of the infinitival clause
2.3.1 An argument from Binding Theory

We have seen that our nominative DP is located inside the infinitival clause, but does it originate there? One important argument comes from the Binding Theory.

The crucial observation is that the nominative DP inside a control complement can only be a personal pronoun whereas the one inside a raising complement can be a referential DP. This is exactly as expected if the DP originates in the complement clause. In the case of control, our nominative DP is bound by the matrix subject (an overt one or dropped *pro*). If the two are not in the same local domain, a pronoun can be so bound (Condition B), but a referential expression cannot (Condition C). Thus we do not expect to find lexical DPs in the subject position of the control complement. Indeed, (46) is sharply degraded as compared to (45):

(45) Utálna   mindig <u>csak ő</u> kapni   büntetést.
      would-hate.3sg   always only he get.inf   punishment.acc
      `He would hate it if always only he got punished'

(46) *Utálna   mindig <u>csak Péter</u>   kapni   büntetést.
      would-hate.3sg   always only Peter   get.inf   punishment.acc
      intended: `Peter would hate it if always only he got punished'

On the other hand, the infinitival complement of a raising verb is not bound by another DP with an independent thematic role; it is free to be a pronoun or a lexical DP. This is what we find.

(47) Elkezdett   mindig <u>csak Péter</u>   kapni   büntetést.
      began-3sg always only Peter   get.inf   punishment.acc
      `It began to be the case that always only Peter got punished'

      The contrast in (46)-(47) is multiply important. First, it clinches the Hungarian analysis. Second, it serves as an important diagnostic tool for work on other languages. And third, this contrast hints at the proper analysis. It makes it less likely for example that we are dealing with a case of backward control (with or without control-as-raising). The default prediction of the backward control analysis would be that the lower subject can be pronounced as is, without being somehow reduced to a pronoun. This is indeed what the backward control literature finds (Polinsky and Potsdam 2002, Alexiadou et al. 2008; though see Boeckx et al. 2007). Thus the theoretical challenge is not just to account for when a lower link in a chain can be spelled out in a pronominal form – we are facing the general question of when a DP can be pronounced.

2.3.2 A potential confound in cross-linguistic counterparts

The fact that our nominative DP in control complements must be a pronoun opens the way for a potential confound. Perhaps that nominative DP is not the subject, just a "pronominal double" of the real PRO or <u>pro</u> subject? This question arises especially because languages like Italian, Spanish, and Modern Hebrew have such pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples:

(48) <u>Gianni</u> è andato <u>solo lui</u> a Milano.
          `As for Gianni, only he went to Milan'

It turns out that in Hungarian, just like in English, such examples are simply ungrammatical. Let us consider two potential cases; first, emphatic pronouns. In Hungarian emphatics are reflexives (<u>maga</u>) and not personal pronouns (<u>ő</u>), as pointed out in Szabolcsi (2005).

(49) a. Péter maga   is   dolgozott.   b. Péter nem maga   dolgozott.
         Peter himself too   worked   Peter not   himself worked
         `Peter himself worked too'              `Peter didn't work himself'

(50) a. *Péter   ő is   dolgozott.   b. *Péter   nem ő dolgozott.
         Peter   he too   worked   Peter   not   he worked

(51) a. (Ő)   maga   is   dolgozott.   b. (Ő)   nem maga   dolgozott.
        he   himself too   worked   he   not himself worked
        `He himself worked too'                      `He didn't work himself'

(52) a. *Ő   ő   is   dolgozott.   b. *Ő   nem ő   dolgozott.
        he   he   too   worked   he   not   he   worked

Second, consider pronominal placeholders for 3rd person left dislocated expressions. In my dialect (which may or may not coincide with the Budapest, or urban, variety) these placeholders are distal demonstratives, never personal pronouns. (The construction belongs to the spoken language and would not be found in the writing of educated speakers. In this respect it contrasts sharply with our nominative DPs, which do not violate the norm of the literary language.)

(53) a. Péter az   dolgozott.   b. A   fiúk   azok dolgoztak.
        Peter that worked   the boys those worked
        `Peter worked'                       `The boys worked'

To identify such placeholders, it is to be noted that they practically cliticize to the topic and cannot be separated or focused:

(54) a. *Péter   tegnap   az   dolgozott.   b. *Péter   csak az   dolgozott.
         Peter   yesterday   that worked   Peter   only that   worked

Pronominal subjects do not participate in this construction:

(55) a. *Én   az   dolgozott/dolgoztam.
          I   that   worked-3sg/worked-1sg
     b. *Ő   az   dolgozott.
          he   that   worked-3sg

I am aware that there are speakers who use the personal pronoun ő in the place of demonstrative az:

(56) a. Péter ő   dolgozott.   b. A   fiúk   ők   dolgoztak.
        Peter he   worked   the boys they worked
        `Peter worked'                      `The boys worked'

This fact could be a confound if only such speakers, but not speakers like myself, accepted nominative personal pronouns in infinitival complements and if the infinitival construction were similarly restricted to 3rd person. This is not the case. All the infinitival data reported in this paper are perfect for speakers like myself, who do not use (56).

　　These facts show that the Hungarian control construction under discussion has no possible source in emphatic or placeholder pronouns.

2.3.3 Complemented pronouns

But we can do even better. Postal (1966) observed that personal pronouns in English may take a noun complement. This observation is one of the cornerstones of the hypothesis that such pronouns are determiners.

(57) We linguists and you philosophers should talk more to each other.
(58) You troops go South and you troops go North.

Such complemented pronouns do not induce a Principle C violation:

(59) We know that only we linguists can do this.

If Condition C is the only reason why our nominative DP in a control complement must be pronominal, then we predict that the pronouns we analyze as overt subjects can take a noun complement. This is indeed the case. The grammaticality of (60) was observed by Anikó Lipták (Huba Bartos, p.c.). The same possibility exists with raising verbs, as in (61):

(60) Szeretnénk   <u>csak mi   nyelvészek</u> kapni   magasabb fizetést.
        would.like-1pl   only we   linguists   get-inf higher   salary-acc
        `We would like it to be the case that only we linguists get a higher salary'

(61) Elkezdtünk   <u>nem mi   nyelvészek</u> ülni   az   első   sorban.
        began-1pl   not   we   linguists   sit-inf the   first row-in
        `It began to be the case that not we linguists sit in the first row'

And similarly with numerals:

(62) Szeretnénk   <u>csak mi   háman</u>   kapni   magasabb fizetést.
        would.like-1pl   only we   three.sfx   get-inf higher   salary-acc
        `We would like it to be the case that only we three get a higher salary'

(63) Elkezdtünk   <u>nem mi   hárman</u>   ülni   az   első   sorban.
        began-1pl   not   we   three.sfx   sit-inf the   first row-in
        `It began to be the case that not we three sit in the first row'

The cross-linguistic significance of complemented pronouns is that in Italian they do not function as emphatic or placeholder pronouns in mono-clausal examples:

(64) Context: The philosophers say, `Only we philosophers work'. The linguists reply,
    (i) Guarda che <u>noi</u> abbiamo   lavorato sodo anche <u>noi</u>!
          look   that   we   have.1pl   worked hard   also   we
    (ii) *Guarda che <u>noi</u>   abbiamo   lavorato sodo anche <u>noi   linguisti</u>!
          look   that   we   have.1pl   worked hard also   we   linguists

Hence, if <u>noi linguisti</u> occurs inside control complements with the characteristic interpretation

described above, it cannot be the pronominal double of a PRO subject. It must be the infinitival subject itself:

(65)   ∅ Vorremmo   [andare solo <u>noi linguisti</u> a Milano].
           `We_i would like it to be the case that only we linguists_i go to Milan'

Therefore, if a language differs from Hungarian in that it has pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples, this potential confound can be controlled for using complemented personal pronouns. Caveat: not all similar constructions constitute "complemented pronouns" in Postal's sense. Spanish requires a definite article inside the construction: <u>nosotros los linguistas</u> `we the linguists'. Clearly, this construction could not be used to argue that <u>nosotros</u> is a determiner. Relevant to us is the fact that <u>nosotros los linguistas</u> does not have the same distribution as <u>mi nyelvészek</u> and <u>noi linguisti</u>, and unfortunately it cannot be used to eliminate the pronominal double confound the way <u>noi linguisti</u> can.

　　　To conclude, we have argued that our nominative DP is not simply located inside the infinitival complement but it originates there and is the subject of that complement. The critical argument came from the Binding Theory, which predicts the pronoun vs. lexical (referential) DP contrast between control and raising complements. We also noted that the existence of pronominal doubles could be a potential confound for control examples if Hungarian had them in the shape of personal pronouns; but Hungarian does not have personal pronoun doubles. No potential confounding factor is ever present in the raising examples.

2.4 Long-distance agreement with a finite verb and multi-agreement

Section 1.3 proposed that the key property that enables overt infinitival subjects is agreement with the finite verb. This agreement is non-local in that it does not requires a Specifier—Head relation and thus movement; the agreeing DP may stay in situ. The Agree relation in Minimalism has this property. We also argued that at least the control cases furthermore require the same finite verb to Agree with more than one DP: multiple agreement in the sense of Ura (1996) and Hiraiwa (2001, 2005). This section lays out the pertinent Hungarian data.

2.4.1 Subject agreement with a finite verb

All Hungarian infinitival subjects exhibit person-number agreement with the finite verb. To recap, for example:

(66) Utál**ok**   [csak   **én**   dolgozni].
     hate-1sg   only   I   work-inf
     LO: `I hate it that only I work'

(67) Nem fog**ok** [csak   **én**   dolgozni   éjszaka].
     not   will-1sg only   I   work-inf   at.night
     LO: `It is not going to be the case that only I work at night'

(68) Elkezdt**ek** [csak **a fiúk** dolgozni éjszaka].
   began-3pl only   the boys work-inf   at.night
   LO: `It began to be the case that only the boys work at night'

The fact that the pronoun in (66) agrees with the finite control verb is not very surprising; after all, it is controlled by the subject of that verb. Agreement with the matrix verb is more remarkable in the raising examples (67)-(68), since we have no evidence of <u>én</u> and <u>a fiúk</u> ever occurring in the matrix clause.

   If the matrix agreement morpheme is removed, effectively turning the inflection into 3sg, which in most verb classes is morphologically unmarked, all these become a word salad:

(69) ***Utál [csak én   dolgozni].
   hate.3sg   only I   work-inf

(70) ***Nem fog   [csak én   dolgozni   éjszaka].
   not   will.3sg   only I   work-inf   at.night

(71) ***Elkezdett [csak a   fiúk   dolgozni   éjszaka].
   began.3sg   only   the   boys   work-inf   at.night

   When agreement is not possible, there is no nominative infinitival subject. This predicts, correctly, that infinitival complements of object control verbs have no nominative subjects, since the matrix verb is committed to agree with a different argument. Compare object control <u>kényszerít</u> `force' with the agreeing unaccusative version, <u>kényszerül</u> `be forced':

(72) *Kényszerítettek (téged)   [te   is   dolgozni].
   forced.3pl   you,sg.acc   you,sg.nom too work-inf

(73) Kényszerült**él** [**te**   is   dolgozni].
   was.forced.2sg   you,sg too work-inf
   LO `You (sg.) were forced to work too'

As is the case with nominatives in general, the pertinent agreement must be subject- and not object-agreement. So (74), where the verb, exceptionally in the language, agrees not only with the 1sg subject but also with the 2person object, patterns exactly as (72):

(74) *Kényszerítettelek (téged)   [te   is dolgozni].
   forced.3pl+2pers   you,sg.acc you,sg.nom   too work-inf

Agreement has to be "completely matched":

(75) *Kényszerülünk [én/te   is   dolgozni].
   are.forced.1pl   I.nom/you,sg.nom   too work.inf

Likewise there are no overt nominative subjects in free-standing infinitives that function as rude or military imperatives:

(76) (*Maga is)   Távozni!
        you   too   leave-inf
        `Leave!'

The possibility of overt nominative subjects with controlled purpose adjuncts is dubious. I cannot decide whether they are marginally acceptable:

(77) Péter a balkonon aludt.   ?? Bement**em** a hálószobába **én** is aludni.
        `Peter was sleeping on the balcony. I went in the bedroom to sleep too'

     Further supporting evidence is offered by considering "imposters" in the sense of Collins and Postal (2008); roughly, names or definites "acting as" first person pronouns. As the authors observe, imposters do not give rise to Condition C effects in certain circumstances:

(78) I$_i$ think that Daddy$_i$ should get the prize.   [Daddy speaking]
(79) I$_i$ believe that this reporter$_i$ deserves the credit. [the reporter speaking]

(80) shows that Hungarian has imposters:

(80) Father wants to go somewhere alone and child insists on accompanying him.
        Father says:
        Azt hiszem,   hogy csak Apukának kellene menni.
        that-acc believe-1sg that   only Daddy-dat should   go-inf
        `I(=Daddy) think that only Daddy should go'

The question is whether in the control cases, the overt nominative subject in the embedded clause can be an imposter or not. (81a) is good, but (81b) with an imposter, signaled by the 1sg agreement, is incoherent:

(81) a. Jobb   szeretne   csak Apuka menni.
        better   would-like-3sg   only Daddy go-inf
        `Daddy would like to go on his own'
     b.*Jobb   szeretnék   csak Apuka menni.
        better   would-like-1sg   only Daddy go-inf

As a reviewer points out, this conforms to the proposed analysis, showing the importance of matched agreement features.

2.4.2 Inflected infinitives

Hungarian has a narrower range of infinitival complements than English, so not all examples that might come to the reader's mind can be tested. However, there is an important case to consider. Inflected infinitives in Portuguese take nominative subjects (Raposo 1987):

(82) Era   importante [eles   sairem].
     was   important   they   leave-inf-3pl
     `It was important for them to leave'

Hungarian has optionally inflected infinitives. The suspicion might arise that the nominative subjects in Hungarian infinitives are related to phonetically overt or covert infinitival inflection. But this is unlikely. Inflected infinitives in Hungarian occur only as complements of impersonal predicates that do not carry person-number agreement and, as Tóth (2000) discusses in detail, they always have dative subjects:

(83) Fontos   volt /   Sikerült
     important   was /   succeeded
         a. ... délre   elkészülni /   elkészülnöm.
            by.noon be.ready-inf   be.ready-inf-1sg
            `to be ready / for me to be ready by noon'
         b. ... nekem   is délre   elkészülni /   elkészülnöm.
            dative.1sg too by.noon   be.ready-inf   be.ready-inf-1sg
            `for me too to be ready by noon'
         c. ... az ebédnek   délre   elkészülni /   elkészülnie.
            the lunch.dative   by.noon be.ready-inf   be.ready-inf-3sg
            `for the lunch to be ready by noon'

(Example (83b) is ambiguous: the dative DP `for me' could be either the experiencer of the matrix predicate or the subject of the infinitive. In (83c) the dative DP `for the lunch' cannot be an experiencer, only the subject of `to be ready by noon'.)

     Tóth's observations are important, because they show a crucial difference between Hungarian and Portuguese inflected infinitives. Even if inflected infinitives do license overt nominatives in Portuguese and in other languages, infinitival inflection cannot be the universal precondition for the existence of overt nominative subjects in infinitives. This supports the conclusion that the critical factor is agreement with a finite verb.

     When the control or raising verb itself is an inflected infinitive, its own infinitival complement cannot have an overt nominative subject. The presence of a dative DP `for me' would not make a difference:

(84) *Fontos   volt [akarnom   [én   is   jó   jegyeket   kapni]].
     important   was   want.inf.1sg   I.nom   too   good grades.acc get.inf
     intended: `It was important for me to want that I too get good grades'

(85) *Fontos   volt [nem elkezdenem   [én   is   rossz jegyeket   kapni]].
     important   was   not   begin.inf.1sg   I.nom too   bad   grades.acc get.inf
     intended: `It was important for me not to begin to get bad grades too'

This confirms that the verbal agreement be of the kind that normally licenses nominative subjects; we have seen above that agreement on infinitives never do that.

     The finite clause whose verb agrees with the infinitival subject need not be subjacent to that infinitival clause. In (86) the intervening infinitives akarni `want-inf' and elkezdeni `begin-

inf' do not carry inflection, although they could agree with <u>én</u> if they were finite.

(86) Nem fog**ok**   akarni   elkezdeni [**én**   is rossz jegyeket   kapni].
not   will-1sg want-inf begin-inf   I -nom too bad   grades-acc get-inf
`I will not want to begin [to get bad grades too]'

2.4.3 One finite verb, multiple overt subjects

The examples discussed so far contained only one overt subject, either in the finite or in an infinitival clause. The examples were natural, because Hungarian is an Italian-type null subject language: unstressed subject pronouns are not pronounced. But notice that <u>pro</u> subjects occur in the same environments as overt subjects. Therefore not only the overt infinitival subject but also the null finite subject must agree with the finite verb. In other words, our control constructions require multiple agreement. The availability of multiple agreement is the default assumption in Minimalism. Support for this analysis comes from the fact that it is perfectly possible for multiple overt subjects to co-occur with a single agreeing finite verb. The sentences below require a contrastive context, but when it is available, they are entirely natural and indeed the only way the express the intended propositions. Imagine a situation where a group of people, including János, is faced with a crowded bus: some will certainly have to walk.

(87) <u>János</u>   nem akart   [megpróbálni [csak <u>ő</u> menni busszal]]
John   not wanted.3sg try.inf   only he go.inf bus.with
`John didn't want to try to be the only one who takes the bus'

(88) <u>Én</u> se   akarok [csak <u>én</u>   menni busszal]
I-neither want.1sg only I   go.inf bus.with
`Neither do I want to be the only one who takes the bus'

(89) <u>Senki</u>   nem   akart   [csak <u>ő</u>   menni busszal]
nobody not   wanted.3sg   only he/she go.inf bus.with
`Nobody wanted to be the only one who takes the bus'

(90) Nem akarok   [<u>én</u> is   megpróbálni [csak <u>én</u> menni   busszal]]
not   want.1sg   I   too   try.inf   only I go.inf bus.with
`I don't want to be another person who tries to be the only one who takes the bus'

The status of multiple overt subjects in raising constructions is not clear to me:

(91) ?<u>János</u> elkezdett [csak ő kapni   szerepeket.
John   began.3sg only he get.inf   roles-acc]
`It began to be the case that only John got roles'

(92) ?* Nem fogok   [**<u>én</u>** is   elkezdeni [nem **<u>én</u>**   kapni   szerepeket]]
not   will.1sg I   too   begin.inf   not   I   get.inf roles-acc
`It will not happen to me too that it begins to be the case that it is not me who gets roles'

Hungarian does not have overt expletives, and it is generally thought not to have phonetically null ones either. If this is correct then simple raising examples will not necessitate multiple agreement; only the overt infinitival subject wants to agree with the finite verb.

To summarize, this section has shown that overt nominative infinitival subjects in Hungarian are strictly dependent on person-number agreement with the finite verb. This agreement is not only in-situ but it can skip intervening infinitival clauses. It may also involve a single inflection and multiple DPs.

2.5 *De se* pronouns and control

The most commonly recognized interpretations of overt pronouns are the bound, coreferential, and free ones. But there is a finer distinction between *de re* or *de se* readings. The coreferential or bound interpretations only pay attention to *de re* truth conditions. The *de se* reading arises when the antecedent is the subject of a propositional attitude verb and is "aware" that the complement proposition pertains to him/herself. The following example, modified from Maier (2006), highlights the *de re—de se* distinction. We tape the voices of different individuals, play the tapes back to them, and ask them who on the tape sounds friendly. Now consider the following description of what happens:

(93) John judged that only he sounded friendly.   (where he=John)

We are considering the case where <u>he</u> refers to John, i.e. the voice sample John picked out is John's own. But John may or may not recognize that the voice sample is his own. The plain *de re* truth conditions do not care about this distinction. But we may distinguish the special case where John is actually aware that the referent of <u>he</u> is identical to him, i.e. where he expresses an attitude towards himself (his own voice). This is the *de se* reading.

De se readings are relevant to us because, as Chierchia (1989) observed, infinitival control constructions are always *de se*. There is no way to construe (94) with John having the desire but not being aware that it pertains to him himself; (95) on the other hand can be so construed. As the standard demonstration goes, John may be an amnesiac war hero, who is not aware that the meritorious person he nominates for a medal is himself. In this situation (95) can be true but (94) is false.

(94) John wanted to get a medal.   (only *de se*)
(95) John wanted only him to get a medal.   (*de re* or *de se*)

Both *de re* and *de se* readings occur with quantificational antecedents as well:

(96) Every guy wanted to get a medal.   (only *de se*)
(97) Every guy wanted only him to get a medal.   (*de re* or *de se*)

The standard assumption is that coreferential/bound pronouns in propositional attitude contexts are ambiguous between *de re* and *de se*; only controlled PRO is designated as a *de se* anaphor. This view is initially confirmed by the interpretation of those subjunctives that are exempt from obviation, i.e. where they can be bound by the matrix subject.

In Hungarian, subjunctive complements of volitional verbs are exempt from obviation in at

least two cases (Farkas 1992). One is where the matrix subject does not bear a responsibility relation to the event in the complement proposition. For Farkas (1992), responsibility is the hallmark of canonical control.

(98) Miért tanul Péter olyan sokat?
    Nem akar<u>ja</u>,   hogy <u>pro</u> rossz jegyet   kapj<u>on</u>.
    not   want.3sg   that pro   bad   grade-acc   get.subj.3sg
    `Why does Peter study so hard? He doesn't want that he get a bad grade'

The person who gets the grade does not bear full responsibility for what grade he/she gets, since someone else assigns the grade. The subjunctive in (98) has a null subject, but it could be made overt if it bears stress. If such pronouns bear stress, even the non-agentive predicate in the complement is not necessary. I believe the reason is that the responsibility relation is necessarily impaired. One may be fully responsible for whether he/she takes the bus, but not for whether he/she is the only one to do so:

(99)   Nem akar<u>ja</u>, hogy <u>ő</u> is rossz jegyet kapj<u>on</u>.
        `He doesn't want that he too get a bad grade'

(100)   Nem akar<u>ta</u>, hogy csak <u>ő</u> menj<u>en</u> busszal.
        ` He didn't want that only he take the bus'

    It is important to observe now that the coreferential/bound non-obviative overt subject of the subjunctive in Hungarian can be interpreted either *de re* or *de se*. E.g.,

(101)   A(z amnéziás) hős   nem akarta,   hogy csak ő kapjon   érdemrendet.
        the amnesiac hero   not wanted.3sg that only he get-subj-3sg medal-acc
        `The (amnesiac) hero did not want that only he get a medal'
        de re or *de se*

This contrasts sharply with the interpretation of the overt infinitival subject of control complements, as observed by Márta Abrusán, p.c.:

(102)   A(z amnéziás) hős nem akart   csak ő kapni   érdemrendet.
        the amnesiac   hero not   wanted.3sg only he get-inf medal-acc
        `The (amnesiac) hero did not want it to be the case that only he gets a medal'
        only *de se*

The interpretation of (102) differs from that of the run-of-the-mill control construction (103) just in what the operator <u>csak</u> `only' attached to the subject contributes.

(103)   A(z amnéziás) hős nem akart   PRO érdemrendet kapni.
        the amnesiac   hero not   wanted.3sg   medal-acc   get-inf
        `The (amnesiac) hero did not want to get a medal'
        only *de se*

The same observations hold for all the other Hungarian control verbs, including <u>utál</u> `hate`, <u>elfelejt</u> `forget`, etc. So,

> (104) Abrusán's Observation About *De Se* Pronouns
> The overt pronoun in the subject position of infinitival control complements is interpreted exclusively *de se*.

The standard assumption is that the *de se* interpretation of PRO is a matter of the lexical semantics of PRO. What we see, however, is that an obligatorily controlled infinitival subject is always interpreted *de se*, irrespective of whether it is null (PRO) or an overt pronoun. There are two possibilities now. One is that our overt pronouns are simply phonetically realized instances of PRO, the *de se* anaphor. The other is that *de se* interpretation is forced on any pronominal by the semantics of the infinitival control relation. This latter position seems preferable. Descriptively, it fits better with the fact that in other, non-control propositional attitude contexts the overt pronouns are optionally interpreted *de re* or *de se,* and that non-*de se* PRO is perfectly possible in non-controlled contexts (viz., arbitrary PRO). This position also holds out the hope that once the semantics of infinitival control is better explicated, the obligatoriness of the *de se* reading is explained. The lexical *de se* anaphor proposal would simply stipulate that control constructions only accept lexical *de se* anaphors as subjects.

Languages differ in exactly what exemptions from obviation they allow in subjunctives, but the *de se* interpretation of overt infinitival control subjects is a diagnostic to look for when one wishes to ascertain whether a language exhibits the same phenomenon as Hungarian.

3. Other languages that may have overt infinitival subjects in both control and raising: Italian, Mexican Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, Modern Hebrew, Romanian, and Turkish

With this background I turn to the discussion of data from other languages. I will be assuming that the reader has read the more detailed discussion pertaining to Hungarian.

3.1 Italian (thanks to Raffaella Bernardi, Ivano Caponigro, and especially Andrea Cattaneo for data and discussion)
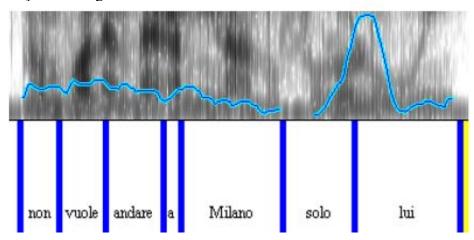## 3.1.1 Control

Italian is a good language to start with, because for many speakers certain word orders disambiguate the relevant readings. We start with control. Negation is included in the first set of examples just in order to make the truth conditional differences sharper. The overt subject is highlighted by underlining; this does not indicate stress.

In (105), preverbal <u>solo lui</u> takes maximal scope: it scopes over both negation and the attitude verb `want`. In (106), sentence final <u>solo lui</u> is ambiguous. On what I call the HI reading it takes matrix scope, though this is not identical to the one observed in (105), because it remains within the scope of negation. What we are really interested in is the LO reading (under both negation and the attitude verb).

(105)   Solo lui non   vuole   andare   a Milano.
         only he   not   want.3sg   go.inf   to Milano
         `Only he doesn't want to go to Milano

(106)   Non vuole andare a Milano solo lui.
         [a] HI `Not only he wants to go to Milano'
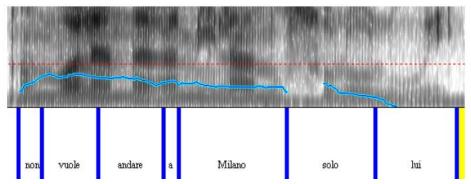   [b] LO `He doesn't want it to be the case that only he goes to Milano'

For many speakers the string in (106) is disambiguated by intonation. (Note: the break in the pitch contour is due to the sibilant in solo, it is not a pause.)

[106a] HI reading

For these speakers the pitch contour in [106b] allows only the LO reading; for others [106b] is ambiguous. It should be stressed that the existence of unambiguously LO-reading sentences is merely descriptively convenient; it is in no way necessary for the proposed analysis to be correct.
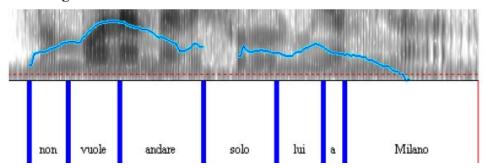
[106b] LO reading

In (107), where solo lui is followed by the PP of the infinitival clause (without being separated from it by a pause), only the LO reading is retained; also observe the pitch contour. (108) with solo lui between vuole and andare is unacceptable.
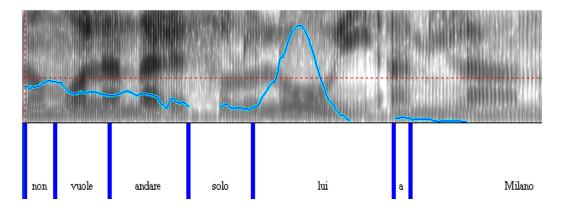
(107)   Non vuole andare <u>solo lui</u> a Milano.
         `LO: He doesn't want it to be the case that only he goes to Milano'

(108)   *Non vuole <u>solo lui</u> andare a Milano.

[107] LO reading

(107) may also have a HI reading with a marked pause before <u>a Milano</u>. In what follows I ignore such pause-induced HI readings.

[107] HI reading with pause before <u>a Milano</u>

Although my proposal is not contingent on having a detailed analysis of word order and scope in Italian, let me add that I assume that the string in (106), <u>Non vuole andare a Milano solo lui</u> is simply structurally ambiguous, <u>solo lui</u> being the clause-final focused subject of either the matrix or the complement clause. Small *pro* and big PRO are added just to indicate which role <u>solo lui</u> is **not** playing:

(109)   a. HI: non vuole [PRO andare a Milano] solo lui
         b. LO: pro non vuole [andare a Milano solo lui]

(107), <u>Non vuole andare solo lui a Milano</u> is unambiguous and has only a LO reading. The LO reading is available, because the infinitival subject can be postverbal within its own clause (110a); the HI reading is absent probably because the matrix subject cannot scramble with infinitival material (110b):

(110)   a. LO: pro non vuole [andare <u>solo lui</u> a Milano]
        b. HI: * non vuole [*PRO* andare <u>solo lui</u> a Milano]

     To ascertain that the LO reading of <u>solo lui</u> is due to this phrase being the infinitival subject it is crucial to compare the above sentences with <u>solo Gianni</u> in the place of <u>solo lui</u>. Here only the HI readings are available. This is what the proposed analysis predicts. <u>Volere</u> always has a thematic subject, even if it is pro-dropped, and control requires that this subject and the infinitival subject be linked. A pronoun in the infinitival subject position does not violate any binding condition if it is linked to the matrix subject, but a referential DP in the same situation violates Condition C.

(111)   <u>Solo Gianni</u>   non vuole   andare a Milano.
        only Gianni   not want.3sg   go.inf   to Milano
        `Only Gianni doesn't want to go to Milano

(112)   Non vuole andare a Milano <u>solo Gianni</u>.
        [a] HI: `Not only Gianni wants to go to Milano'
        [b] *LO: `He$_i$ doesn't want it to be the case that only Gianni$_i$ goes to Milano'

(113)   *Non vuole andare <u>solo Gianni</u> a Milano.
        *LO: `He$_i$ doesn't want it to be the case that only Gianni$_i$ goes to Milano'

(114)   *Non vuole <u>solo Gianni</u> andare a Milano.

     The pattern illustrated with <u>volere</u> is not contingent on restructuring; just as in Hungarian, it works the same with <u>odiare</u>, not a restructuring verb.

(115)   Odia lavorare solo lui.
        [a] HI: `Only he hates to work.'
        [b] LO: `He hates it that only he works'

(116)   Odia lavorare solo Gianni.
        [a] HI: `Only Gianni hates to work.'
        [b] *LO: `He$_i$ hates it that only Gianni$_i$ works'

3.1.2 Controlling for pronominal doubles

In Italian, as in Hungarian, emphatic elements are reflexives, not personal pronouns (<u>Gianni stesso</u> `Gianni himself'). Most varieties of Italian differ from Hungarian, however, in that they also have personal pronoun doubles in mono-clausal examples:

(117)   Gianni   ha   lavorato solo lui /   anche lui.
        Gianni   have.3sg   worked only he /   also he

This is a potential confound. The task is to find a way to distinguish prononimal doubles from

what I analyzed as pronominal subjects in control complements. The argument below will follow the reasoning in section 2.3.2.

One remarkable fact is that such placeholder pronouns do not associate with the quantifier <u>ogni ragazzo</u> `every boy' within one clause but can be controlled by it:

(118)   Context: The teacher worked hard, and...
         *Ogni   ragazzo ha   lavorato sodo anche lui.
          every boy   aux   worked   hard also he
         intended: `for every boy x, x worked too'

(119)   Context: The teacher worked hard, and...
         Ogni ragazzo   vuole   lavorare   sodo anche lui.
         every boy   wants   work-inf   hard also he
         LO: `Every boy wants it to be the case that he too works'

But it might be that in (119) the complement clause has a PRO subject that is doubled by <u>anche lui</u>, i.e. it has the same structure as (117). Krifka assumes that PRO can function as a contrastive topic for postposed stressed additive particles to associate with, so perhaps it is possible for PRO to be doubled.

We may now invoke the complemented pronoun test of 2.3. In the control construction that I have proposed to analyze as one involving an overt infinitival subject, a noun complement can be perfectly well added to the personal pronoun:

(120)   Vorremmo [andare <u>solo noi linguisti</u> a Milano].
         LO: `We would like it to be the case that only we linguists go to Milan'

(121)   Vorremmo [andare a Milano <u>solo noi linguisti</u>].
         LO: `We would like it to be the case that only we linguists go to Milan'

What happens in the mono-clausal construction? We need a bit of context to make the pronoun <u>noi</u> a topic to begin with, but it is possible:

(122)   Context: We philosophers are the only people who work!
         Guarda   che noi, abbiamo   lavorato anche   noi!
         look   that we, have.1pl   worked   also   we
         `Look. We, we have worked too'

Adding <u>linguisti</u> to (122) results in unacceptability, indicating that pronominal doubles do not take noun complements:

(123)   Context: We philosophers are the only people who work!
         *Guarda   che noi, abbiamo   lavorato   anche   noi   linguisti!
         look   that we, have.1pl   worked   also   we   linguists
         `Look. We, we linguists have worked too'

On the other hand, if the topic <u>noi</u> is removed, <u>noi linguisti</u> becomes possible, since nothing

prevents it from being the sole subject:

(124)   Context: We philosophers are the only people who work!
          Guarda che abbiamo   lavorato anche   noi   linguisti!
          look   that have.1pl   worked   also   we   linguists
          `Look. We linguists have worked too'

To summarize, it is possible that <u>lavorare anche lui</u> is structurally ambiguous and has one analysis where it contains a PRO subject doubled by <u>anche lui</u>, along the lines of <u>Gianni ha lavorato anche lui</u>. But it must also have another analysis where <u>anche lui</u> is the sole subject.

Mensching (2000:60-62) raises the possibility that emphatic pronouns are instances of overt PRO. He points out that "the emphatic pronoun behaves exactly like PRO, both for coindexation facts and the construction types where it is allowed... For Romance languages we should assume that the null case is assigned to PRO and to emphatic pronouns by governing T^0, which will account for the postverbal position." This proposal provides support for the analysis here, but we may note that it would not by itself account for the <u>noi / noi linguisti</u> contrast and would not extend to the raising case.

Finally, it turns out that not all varieties of Italian present the pronominal double confound. I. Caponigro (p.c.) informs me that he rejects all such examples. In other words, his Italian is like Hungarian in this respect, which further corroborates that the phenomenon we are concerned with is not contingent on the presence of pronominal doubles in the given language.

3.1.3 Raising

The pronoun/lexical DP contrast disappears with raising verbs like <u>sembrare</u> and <u>iniziare / cominciare</u> (different speakers seem to prefer different aspectual verbs). The distribution of possible word orders and readings turns out to be different in raising from that in control. I do not attempt to explain this, just report the judgments. I first provide some <u>sembrare</u> examples but then switch to discussing ones with the aspectual verb, because the truth conditional difference is much sharper there.

We are interested in word orders that only carry the LO readings (without a pause). Imagine that we are listening to a tape trying to determine whether I am the only one singing in it or others are singing too (same for Gianni).

(125)   Non sembro   cantare <u>solo io</u> su questo   nastro.
          not seem-1sg   sing-inf only I   in this   tape
          LO: `It doesn't seem to be the case that only I am singing in this tape'

(126)   Non sembra   cantare <u>solo Gianni</u> su questo   nastro.
          not seem-3sg   sing-inf only Gianni   in this   tape
          LO: `It doesn't seem to be the case that only Gianni is singing in this tape'

The readings paraphrased in (125)-(126) are difficult to distinguish from `Not only I seem / Gianni seems to be singing in this tape', although there may be a slight difference: (125)-(126) do not imply that anyone in particular seems to be also singing.

To bring out the contrast in truth conditions involving `begin', consider two situations, one

where the HI reading is true and the LO one is false, and one where the HI reading is false and the LO one is true:

    (127)   Scenario A: HI true, LO false:
             Before 2006   In 2006
             Eva   no good roles   no good roles
             Clara some good roles   some good roles
             Mariano good roles   some good roles

    (128)   Scenario B: HI false, LO true:
             Before 2006   In 2006
             Eva   some good roles   no good roles
             Clara some good roles   no good roles
             Mariasome good roles   some good roles

All four sentences below are reported to be unambiguous; most importantly to us, both <u>solo lei</u> and <u>solo Maria</u> get LO readings in (130):

    (129)   <u>Solo lei</u> / <u>solo Maria</u> ha iniziato a   ricevere   buoni   incarichi.
             only she / only Maria   began.3sg prep receive-inf good   roles
             Scenario A: `Only she/only Maria began to get good roles'

    (130)   Ha iniziato a   ricevere   buoni   incarichi<u>solo lei</u> / <u>solo Maria</u>.
             began.3sg   prep receive-inf   good   roles   only she / only Maria
             Scenario B: `It began to be the case that only she/only Maria got good roles'

    (131)   Ha iniziato   <u>solo lei</u>   a   ricevere   buoni   incarichi.
             began.3sg   only she prep receive-inf good   roles
             ?Scenario B: `It began to be the case that only she/only Maria got good roles'

    (132)   Ha iniziato   <u>solo Maria</u> a ricevere   buoni   incarichi.
             began.3sg   only Maria prep receive-inf good   roles
             Scenario A: `Only Mary began to get good roles'

3.1.4 One finite verb – multiple overt subjects

As in Hungarian, more than one overt subject may co-occur with a single finite verb in Italian if the appropriate contrastive context is provided.

    (133)   <u>Solo Gianni</u> vuole andare <u>solo lui</u> a scuola.
             `Only Gianni wants to be the only one who goes to school'

    (134)   <u>Solo Gianni</u> vuole provare <u>anche lui</u> a ricevere regali <u>solo lui.</u>
             `Only Gianni wants to be another person who tries try to be the only one who
             receives presents'

(135)　Anche lui / Gianni ha cominciato a ricevere regali solo lui.
　　　　[In my family, it began to be the case that only I get presents. The same happened in his/Gianni's family, namely:] `Also with him/Gianni it began to be the case that only he gets presents'

(136)　Gianni ha cominciato a ricevere regali solo lui.
　　　　`With Gianni it began to be the case that only he gets presents'

3.1.5 *De se* pronouns

Just as in Hungarian, the overt pronominal subjects of control infinitives are exclusively interpreted *de se*, whereas subjects of subjunctives need not be.

　　Exemption from obviation seems to work somewhat differently in Italian than in Hungarian: a non-agentive infinitival verb does not suffice by itself. Notice that the subjunctive riceva exhibits syncretism: the 1sg and 3sg forms coincide:

(137)　Non　voglio　　che　riceva　　　　　brutte　　note.
　　　　not　want-1sg　that　get-subj-1sg/3sg　bad　　　notes
　　　　`I don't want that he receive bad notes'
　　　　* `I don't want that I receive bad notes'

(138)　Non　voglio　　che　anch'io　riceva　　　　brutte　　note.
　　　　not　want-1sg　that　also I　get-subj-1sg　bad　　　notes
　　　　`I don't want that also I receive bad notes'

3.1.6 Summary of the Italian data

The preceding subsections have shown that the Hungarian findings are replicated in Italian as follows. There exist word orders that unambiguously carry what I called the LO reading of the overt subject. In control constructions, the subject in these orders can only be a pronoun, not a lexical DP. In raising constructions, the subject in these cases can be pronominal or lexical. There are other orders that ambiguously carry HI or LO readings; the LO readings of control examples of this sort become unavailable with a lexical DP. The overt pronominal subject on the LO reading is always read *de se*. Multiple overt subjects may co-occur with a single finite verb.

　　　　The main difference between Hungarian and Italian is that the position of focused phrases is strictly preverbal in Hungarian, and so surface order makes clear in which clause a focused phrase is located, whereas word order in Italian does not provide such clear-cut clues in and of itself (at least not to a non-specialist.

　　　　Unlike Hungarian, Italian has a potential confound in the form of pronominal doubles. We have seen that this can be controlled for using the complemented pronoun test. As of date I do not have comparable disambiguating tools for all the other languages in my sample. It is therefore important to bear in mind the conclusions that Hungarian and Italian establish.

3.2 Mexican Spanish (thanks to Violeta Vázquez-Rojas for data and discussion)
3.2.1 Control

It seems that Spanish matrix subjects can scramble with infinitival material to a greater extent than Italian ones, retaining their matrix scope. So more orders are acceptable and are ambiguous in Spanish than in Italian, something that I will not attempt to account for.

(139) shows that sólo Juan can occur in all 4 positions, but only with a HI reading. (140) shows that the HI reading is similarly available to sólo él, although between quiere and ir it is dispreferred. Crucially to us, (141) shows that sólo él can receive a LO reading in all non-initial positions. In final position the LO reading is dispreferred, although this becomes fine if the matrix negation is removed.

(139)   <Sólo Juan> no quiere <sólo Juan> ir <sólo Juan> a la escuela <sólo Juan>.
        HI `Only Juan doesn't want to go to school'
        *LO `He$_i$ doesn't want it to be the case that only Juan$_i$ goes to school'

(140)   <Sólo él> no quiere <? sólo él> ir <sólo él> a la escuela <sólo él>.
        HI `Only he doesn't want to go to school'

(141)   <* Sólo él> no quiere <sólo él> ir <sólo él> a la escuela <? sólo él>.
        LO `He$_i$ doesn't want it to be the case that only he$_i$ goes to school'

The pattern is not contingent on restructuring:

(142)   Odia   trabajar   sólo Juan.
        (?)HI `Only he hates to work (others like to work)'
        *LO `He$_i$ hates it that only Juan$_i$ works (he wants others to work too)'

(143)   Odia   trabajar   sólo él.
        (?)HI `Only he hates to work (others like to work)'
        LO `He$_i$ hates it that only he$_i$ works (he wants others to work too)'

Torrego (1998) explicitly states that complement infinitives, as opposed to adjunct ones, cannot have overt subjects. Her examples, however, contain names without associated operators, and she does not investigate the possibility of a pronoun:

(144)   Odia jugar (*Pablo) a las cartas.
        `He hates (*Pablo) to play cards'

(145)   Para celebrar Rita su cumpleaňos, se fue de viaje al Caribe.
        `To celebrate Rita her birthday, she took a trip to the Caribbean'

3.2.2 Raising

The pronoun/lexical DP contrast disappears with raising verbs like parecer and empezar. As in

Italian, the distribution of possible word orders and readings turns out to be a bit different in raising than in control, which I do not attempt to explain, just report the judgments. I first provide some <u>parecer</u> examples but then switch to discussing ones with the aspectual verb, because the truth conditional difference is much sharper there.

   We are interested in word orders that carry the LO readings. Imagine that we are listening to a tape trying to determine whether I am the only one singing in it or others are singing too (same for Juan).

(146)   No   parezco   cantar   sólo yo en   este   cassette.
        not seem-1sg   sing.inf   only I in   this   tape
        ? `It doesn't seem to be the case that only I am singing in this tape'

(147)   No   parece   cantar   sólo   Juan en   este   cassette.
        not seem-3sg sing.inf only   Juan in   this   tape
        `It doesn't seem to be the case that only Juan is singing in this tape'

The readings paraphrased in (146)-(147) are difficult to distinguish from `Not only I seem / Juan seems to be singing in this tape', although there may be a slight difference: (146)-(147) do not imply that anyone in particular seems to be also singing.

   To bring out the contrast in truth conditions involving `begin', consider the two situations in (127)-(128): one where the HI reading is true and the LO one is false, and one where the HI reading is false and the LO one is true. Most importantly to us, both <u>sólo ella</u> and <u>sólo Maria</u> have LO readings in (150) and (152):

(148)   <u>Sólo ella</u> / <u>sólo Maria</u>   empezó   a   obtener   papeles buenos.
        only she / only Maria   began.3sg prep receive-inf roles   good
        Scenario A: `Only she/only Maria began to get good roles'

(149)   Empezó <sólo ella> a obtener   <* sólo ella> papeles buenos   < ?sólo ella>.
        Scenario A: `Only she began to get good roles'

(150)   Empezó <* sólo ella> a obtener   <? sólo ella> papeles buenos   <sólo ella>.
        Scenario B: `It began to be the case that only she got good roles'

(151)   Empezó <? sólo M>   a obtener   <* sólo M>   papeles buenos   < sólo M>.
        Scenario A: `Only Maria began to get good roles'

(152)   Empezó <sólo M> a obtener   <* sólo M>   papeles buenos   <sólo M>.
        Scenario B: `It began to be the case that only Maria got good roles'

More LO readings become available if the infinitival verb is not transitive:

(153)   Empezó a ir <u>sólo Maria / ella</u> a la escuela.
        ?Scenario A: `Only Maria / she began to go to school'
        Scenario B: `It began to be the case that only Maria / she went to school'

3.2.3 Pronominal doubles

Like Italian, Spanish has pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples:

(154)   Juan ha trabajado   sólo él /   también él.
        Juan worked   only he   also   he
        `Only Juan worked / Juan also worked'

So one would try to use the counterpart of Italian <u>noi linguisti</u> `we linguists' to distinguish true subjects from pronominal doubles in infinitival clauses. Although many hits of <u>nosotros mexicanos</u> and <u>nosotros españoles</u> can be found on Google (phrases that I assume are written by native speakers), I have not found an informant of this variety. My Mexican Spanish informant does not accept <u>nosotros linguistas</u>:

(155)   *Queremos ir sólo nosotros linguistas a Milán.
(156)   Queremos ir sólo nosotros <u>los</u> linguistas a Milán.

The definite `we the linguists' construction does not have the discriminating distribution of `we linguists'. (See also the discussion of Modern Hebrew below.) It remains to be seen if an alternative, possibly Spanish-specific descriptive diagnostic can be found.
    In any case, the existence of (154) indicates that at least one possible analysis of the examples discussed in 3.2.1 is, e.g. <u>Odia [PRO trabajar sólo él]</u>. Piera (1987) proposed such an analysis (Pöll 2006).

3.2.4 One finite verb – multiple overt subjects

As in Hungarian and Italian, more than one overt subject may co-occur with a single finite verb in Spanish if the appropriate contrastive context is provided.
    With both pronouns overt, (157) is only colloquial; with the matrix subject dropped it is acceptable in the written language as well. (158) is acceptable in the written language.

(157)   (<u>Yo</u>) no   quiero   resbalarme <u>yo   también</u> en   este suelo.
        (I)   not   want-1sg slip-inf-me I   too   on   this floor
        `I don't want it to be the case that I too slip on this floor'

(158)   <u>Tampoco yo</u>   quería   tratar   de   hablar   <u>sólo yo</u>   con el director.
        neither   I   wanted try-inf prep speak-inf only I   with the director
        `Neither did I want to try to be the only one to talk to the director'

3.2.5 *De se* pronouns

As in Hungarian and Italian, overt pronominal subjects of infinitival control complements in Spanish are read exclusively *de se*. This is difficult to compare with subjunctives, because exemption from obviation does not seem available, in contrast to the other two languages.

3.2.6 Summary of the Mexican Spanish data

Overall, the Mexican Spanish data are consistent with the generalizations reached in Hungarian and Italian, but are in themselves less transparent. This is due (i) to the larger number of ambiguous sentences and (ii) to the existence of pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples, coupled with the fact that (my informant's variety of) Mexican Spanish lacks the `we linguist' construction that was used in Italian to diagnose pronominal doubles in infinitival complements.

3.3 Brazilian Portuguese (thanks to Cristina Schmitt and Alessandro Boechat for data and discussion)
3.3.1 Control

The two items below come from Google. I thank Michael Taylor for checking the larger context (reproduced in one example only) to make certain that the LO reading is intended.

(159)   Bem, tenho tentado ser uma boa amiga e vou ao hospital sempre que posso e falo
        corn a Amy pelo telefone toda hora mas, hoje corn essa neve toda, não sei bem o que
        fazer ainda,
        não quero eu também acabar doente...
        LO: `I don't want it to be the case that I too get sick'

(160)   Não quero eu também ser falso moralista.
        LO: `I don't want it to be the case that I too am a false moralist'

3.3.2 One finite verb – multiple subjects in control

Written Brazilian Portuguese requires pro-drop, but overt unstressed pronouns occur and seem to be preferred in the spoken language. Thus the sentences below are very colloquial. The presence of the overt matrix subject is important because it ensures that the eu `I' following the finite verb belongs to the infinitival clause.

    The contrastive contexts and multiple pronouns are quite similar to what one finds in Hungarian. While both Schmitt and Boechat judged them to be fine, some other speakers, possibly of a different dialect, did not tolerate three overt subjects. The examples become unacceptable with a name in the place of the first pronoun in the complement; the sentences are grammatical with o João in initial position.

(161)   [Context: Mary slipped on the wet floor]
        Eu não quero eu também escorregar neste chão.
        LO: `I don't want it to be the case that I too slip on this floor'

(162)   *Não quer o João também escorregar neste chão.

(163)   [Context: Mary tried to be the only one to speak with the director]
        Eu não queria eu também tentar só eu falar com o diretor.
        `I didn't want to be another one who tries to be the only one who speaks with the

director'

(164)   Não quer <u>o João</u> também tentar <u>só ele</u> falar com o diretor.

(165)   [Context: Mary tried to be the only one who takes money from the bank]
         <u>Eu</u> não quero <u>eu também</u> tentar <u>só eu</u> tirar dinheiro do banco.
         LO: `I don't want to be another one who tries to be the only one who takes money
         from the bank'

(166)   Não quer <u>o João</u> também tentar <u>só ele</u> tirar dinheiro do banco.

(167)   [Context: Peter didn't try to be the only one who speaks with the director]
         <u>Nem eu</u> queria <u>só eu</u> tentar falar com o diretor.
         `Neither did I want to be the only one who tries to speak with the director'

(168)   Nem <u>o João</u> queria <u>só ele</u> tentar falar com o diretor.

As B. Pöll (p.c.) points out to me, a potential confound is that while usually Portuguese does not allow for inflected infinitives in control contexts, this ban is not operative when the (modal) verb and the infinitive are separated. Since in (colloquial) Brazilian Portuguese the inflected infinitive has lost its overt agreement morphemes, but still works as if it were inflected, <u>eu também</u> in <u>Eu não quero eu também escorregar neste chão</u> could be licensed by <u>escorregar</u> thought of as a personal infinitive. – Given these facts it is especially important to recall that Hungarian inflected infinitives present no such confound, beacuse their subjects are invariably in the dative.

3.3.3 Raising

It appears that raising examples with initial `only John/he' are ambiguous, whereas placing the same DPs immediately after the finite verb favors the LO reading, or at least requires a different intonation to produce the HI one.

(169)   <u>Só ele / o João</u> começou a conseguir bons papéis.
         HI: `Only he/John began to get good roles'
         LO: `It began to be the case that only he/John got good roles'

(170)   Começou <u>só ele / o João</u> a conseguir bons papéis.
         ?HI: `Only he/John began to get good roles'
         LO: `It began to be the case that only he/John got good roles'

3.3.4 Summary of the Brazilian Portuguese data

The data are consistent with the assumption that BP exhibits overt infinitival subjects in both control and raising complements. -- For the time being I assume that if BP has a mono-clausal pronominal double construction, complemented pronouns or some alternative diagnostic can be used to distinguish the pronominal doubles from what I analyze as pronominal subjects in control complements.

3.4 Romanian (thanks to Oana Savescu, Alex Grosu, and Donka Farkas for data and discussion)

One of the Balkan traits of Romanian is the prevalence of subjunctives. However, my informants judge that infinitives are possible with some matrix verbs. All the data below come from this pool. The base-line judgment is evaluated as "?", due to the marginality of their infinitival character. I start the discussion with the more robust raising cases.

3.4.1 Raising

(171) ?Nu par   a   cânta doar   eu   pe   caseta   asta.
       not seem.1.sg to   sing   only   I   on   tape   this
       LO: 'It doesn't seem to be the case that only I am singing on this tape'

(172) Nu   pare   a   cânta   doar Ion   pe caseta   asta.
       not seem.3.sg to   sing   only Ion   on tape   this
       LO: 'It doesn't seem to be the case that only John is singing on this tape'

3.4.2 Control

LO readings with pronouns exist, but Romanian has pronominal doubles that accompany names and, in contrast to Italian, also quantifiers, see (173). Like Spanish and unlike Italian, Romanian has only <u>noi lingvişti-i</u> `we the linguists' and not *<u>noi  lingvişti</u> `we linguists', and this does not discriminate between doubles and real subjects.

(173) ?Urăşte a munci doar el.
       hate.3sg to work   only he
       HI: 'Only he hates to work. (with focus on <u>el</u>)
       LO: 'He hates it that only he works (with focus on <u>urăşte</u>)

(174) ?Urăşte a munci doar Ion.
       hate.3sg to work   only   Ion
       HI: 'Only Ion hates to work. (with focus on <u>el</u>)
       *LO: 'He$_i$ hates it that only Ion$_i$ works (with focus on <u>urăşte</u>)

(175) Ion a   muncit   doar el / şi el.
       Ion have.3sg   worked   only he/ also he
       `Only Ion worked / Ion worked too'

(176) Context: The teacher worked, and...
       Fiecare băiat a   muncit   şi   el.
       every   boy aux   worked   also he
       `every boy worked too'

(177)   ?Vrem   a   merge   doar   noi   lingvişti-i   la   Milano.
        ?Vrem   a   merge   la   Milano   doar   noi   lingvişti-i.
        LO: `We would like it to be the case that only we the linguists go to Milan'

3.4.3 One finite verb – multiple subjects in control

We cannot be sure whether (178) contains multiple subjects or pronominal doubles:

(178)   ?Aş   urî   a încerca şi   eu a mă   urca   doar eu in autobuz.
        would hate.1sg   to try   also   I   to myself get on only I   in   bus
        `I would hate to be another person who tries to be the only one to go by bus'

3.4.4 *De se* pronouns in infinitival and subjunctive control

The controlled pronoun in (173) above only has a *de se* reading. But Romanian has further important data regarding overt controllees. Farkas (1985) observed that controlled subjunctives may have overt pronominal subjects (underlined):

(179)   Ion   l$_i$-a   ajutat   pe   Dan$_i$ să   rezolve (el$_i$)   problema.
        Ion   him-has helped   acc   Dan subj   solves   he   problem
        `Ion helped Dan to solve the problem'

(180)   Ion$_i$ încerca   să   rezolve (el$_i$)   problema.
        Ion   tries   subj solves   he   problem
        `Ion tries to solve the problem'

The following free subjunctives also have overt pronominal subjects. Alex Grosu (p.c.) observes that (181), which has the complementizer <u>ca</u> is definitely ambiguous between *de re* and *de se* readings (like pronominal subjects of Hungarian subjunctives), but (182) without <u>ca</u> is probably only *de se* (like pronominal subjects of infinitives):

(181)   Amnezicul   nu   vrea   **ca**   doar el   să   capete   o   medalie.
        amnesiac-the not   wants   that   only he   subj get   a   medal
        `The amnesiac doesn't want that only he get a medal'

(182)   Amnezicul   nu   vrea   să   capete   doar el   o   medalie.
        amnesiac-the not   want subj   get   only he   a   medal
        `The amnesiac doesn't want that only he get a medal'

Thus Romanian is a rich source of overt controllees.

3.4.6 Summary of the Romanian data

Romanian appears to have evidence for overt subjects in raising complements only, although the control data are compatible with such an analysis (the relevant LO readings are available). But

the Romanian data are particularly interesting in connection with overt controlled subjects in subjunctives.

3.5 Modern Hebrew (thanks to Eytan Zweig, Tali Siloni, and especially Idan Landau and Edit Doron for data and discussion)

1st and 2nd person unstressed pronouns are obligatorily null. 3rd person subjects can be null when they have an antecedent and ideally are contained in a clause with future tense morphology (see Borer 1989, Landau 2004, and Holmberg 2005 for different analyses).

3.5.1 Raising

The LO readings are readily available with quantifiers in final position:

(183) paxot anašim   hetxilu   la-avod šam.
       less   people   started-3pl-masc inf-work there
       HI: `Less people are such that they started to work there'
       *LO: `It began to be the case that less people work overall'

(184) rak   me'at anašim hitxilu   la-avod šam.
       only few   people   started-3pl-masc inf-work there
       HI: `Only few people are such that they started to work there'
       *LO: `It began to be the case that only few people work overall'

(185) hitxilu   la-avod šam   paxot anašim.
       started-3pl-masc inf-work there   less   people
       ?HI: `Less people are such that they started to work there'
       LO: `It began to be the case that less people work overall'

(186) hitxilu   la-avod šam   rak   me'at anašim.
       started-3pl-masc to-work there   only few   people
       HI: `Only few people are such that they started to work there'
       LO: `It began to be the case that only few people work overall'

3.5.2 Control and pronominal doubles

At first blush Hebrew appears to exhibit overt subjects in control complements as well. Control examples with sentence final pronouns are acceptable on the LO reading. (With initial pronouns the LO reading requires a left dislocation intonation; I ignore this here.)

(187) rak/gam   anaxnu lo   racinu   la-avod.
       only/also   we   not   wanted-1pl   inf-work
       HI: `Only/also we did not want to work'

(188) lo   racinu   la-avod   <u>rak   anaxnu.</u>
       not   wanted-1pl   inf-work   only   we
       *HI: `Only we didn't want to work'
       LO: `We did not want it to be the case that only we work'

(189) lo   racinu   la-avod   <u>gam   anaxnu.</u>
       not   wanted-1pl   inf-work   also   we
       %HI: `We too didn't want to work'
       LO: `We did not want it to be the case that only we work'

Replacing the pronouns with definite descriptions we lose the LO readings entirely. Non-pronominals are awkward in final position, so the sentences are not great to begin with, but the fact that they can at best carry the HI readings is consistent with the assumption that the LO readings would violate Condition C:

(190) lo racu   la-avod   <u>rak/gam   ha-yeladim.</u>
       not wanted-3pl   inf-work   only/also   the.children
       ?HI: `Only/also the children didn't want to work'
       *LO: `They$_i$ did not want it to be the case that only/also the children$_i$ work'

The Condition C effect still leaves it open whether the final DPs are subjects or other complement-internal material. I am grateful to Idan Landau for pointing out to me that Hebrew has emphatic pronouns in mono-clausal examples. Doron (1982) observed that these have the same distribution as floated quantifiers. Both belong to formal Hebrew.

(191) ha-talamidim kul-am /   gam hem / af   hem šaru.
       the-students   all-they / also they / also they sang.3pl
       `The students all / also sang'

(192) ha-talamidim šaru   kul-am / gam hem /   af   hem.
       the-students   sang.3pl   all-they / also they /   also   they
       `The students all / also sang'

(193) ha-talamidim hayu   kul-am / gam hem / af   hem šarim   b-a-makhela.
       the-students   were   all-they /also they / also they sing.mascpl   in-the-choir
       `The students were all / also singing in the choir'

We encountered a similar situation in Italian with pronominal doubles. In that case it was possible to show that the overt nominative pronouns in infinitival complements of control verbs are distinct from the pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples: the former, but not the latter, can be complemented pronouns (<u>noi linguisti</u> `we linguists'). But as was the case with Mexican Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese, Hebrew does not have an exact counterpart of <u>noi linguisti</u>: the closest approximation has a definite article:

(194) ha-ma'amarim šel-anu ha-balšanim   hem kcarim.
       the papers   of-us   the-linguists   they short

`The papers that we linguists write are short'

It turns out that such a definite DP can be freely added to all the pronouns. In other words, the distinction that could be made in Italian cannot be made in Hebrew; at least not using this device. Therefore we cannot eliminate the possibility that the Hebrew control examples also contain floated pronominal quantifiers, not pronominal subjects.

3.5.3 *De se* pronouns

In the interest of completeness we note that obligatory control and exclusively *de se* readings remain in place with floated pronominal quantifiers:

(195)   xole   ha-šixexa   mecape   lizkot   gam   hu   be-medalya.
        sick   the-amnesia   expect.masc.sg   to-win   also   he   at-medal
        `The amnesiac expects himself too to win a medal'

3.5.4 One finite verb – multiple subjects

The existence of floated pronominal quantifiers presents a confound here too, so this question cannot be properly raised. Furthermore, such pronominal quantifiers can be floated off of direct objects as well as subjects, so their availability is not at all contingent on agreement with a finite verb.

3.5.5 Summary of the Modern Hebrew data

Modern Hebrew appears to have overt infinitival subjects in raising complements. Control complements also contain nominative pronouns with LO readings, but these can be analyzed as pronominal quantifiers floated off of the PRO subject. As of date I have no evidence that the same pronouns have an additional analysis as subjects, although this is not excluded.

3.6 Turkish (thanks to Asli Untak, Murat Kural, and Jaklin Kornfilt for data and discussion)
3.6.1 Raising

The LO reading is readily available with pronouns as well as names if the nominative carrying main stress and modified by `only' occurs preverbally, following the direct object:

(196)   <u>Sadece Orhan</u>   iyi   roller   almağa   başladı.
        only   Orhan   good   roles   take-inf-dat   began.3sg
        HI: `Only Orhan began to get good roles'

(197)   Iyi   rolleri   <u>sadece Orhan</u>   almağa   başladı.
        good roles-acc   only   Orhan   take-inf-dat   began.3sg
        LO: `It began to be the case that only Orhan was getting good roles (others, if they used to get good roles, stopped getting ones)'

(198) Iyi   rolleri   <u>sadece o /   kendisi</u> almağa   başladı.
       good roles-acc   only   he / self   take-inf-dat   began.3sg
       LO: `It began to be the case that only he was getting good roles (others, if they used
       to get good roles, stopped getting ones)'

       The big question is whether this word order and scope variation corresponds to matrix
versus complement position. The DPs in the LO readings are in the nominative, not in the
genitive, like subordinate subjects normally are. The view that the DP between the direct object
and the infinitival verb may be either inside or outside the complement clause is possibly
supported by negative concord data (Murat Kural, p.c.). In (199), the negative marker <u>ma</u> occurs
on the finite verb `began'; in (200) it occurs on the infinitival verb `take'.

(199) Iyi   rolleri   <u>hiçkimse</u>   almağa   başla<u>ma</u>dı.
       good roles-acc   nobody   take-inf-dat   began-neg-3sg
       HI: `Nobody began to get good roles (nobody's situation improved)'

(200) Iyi   rolleri   <u>hiçkimse</u>   al<u>ma</u>mağa   başladı.
       good roles-acc   nobody   take-neg-inf-dat began.3sg
       LO: `It began to be the case that nobody was getting good roles (if some people used
       to get good roles, they stopped getting ones)'

(Note that these data come from a different domain than those in Moore (1998). Moore discusses
copy-raising out of finite clauses in Turkish. My data involve infinitives.)

3.6.2 Control

Asli Untak (p.c.) observes that the interpretation of control examples depends on stress
placement. In the examples below bold face indicates stress, as specified by Asli Untak. In (201)
and (203) either just the matrix negation or both it and the attitude verb scope over the `only'-
phrase, giving rise to a HI and a LO reading respectively. In (202) and (204) the `only'-phrase
takes the widest scope, which leaves only the HI reading as a possibility.

(201) Sadece <u>o</u>   iyi   roller   al-mak   **istemedi.**
       only   he   good roles   take-inf   want-neg-past.3sg
       HI: 'He is not the only one who wanted to get good roles'
       LO: `He doesn't want to be the only one who gets good roles'

(202) Sadece <u>**o**</u>   iyi   roller   almak   istemedi.
       only   he   good roles   take-inf   want-neg-past
       HI: `He is the only one who doesn't want to get good roles'

(203) Iyi   rolleri   sadece <u>o</u>   almak   **istemedi.**
       good roles-acc   only   he   take-inf   want-neg-past.3sg
       HI: 'He is not the only one who wanted to get good roles.'
       LO: `He doesn't want to be the only one who gets good roles' or

(204) Iyi   rolleri   sadece **o**   almak   istemedi.
       good roles-acc   only   he   take-inf want-neg-past.3sg
       HI: `He is the only one who doesn't want to get good roles'

        These correlations may suggest that we are dealing with a pure scope phenomenon, i.e. the varying relative scopes of <u>only DP</u> and negation/the attitude verb. But if the pronoun is replaced by a name, only the HI readings remain:

(205) Iyi   rolleri   sadece <u>Orhan</u> almak   **istemedi.**
       good roles-acc   only   Orhan   take-inf   want-neg-past.3sg
       HI: 'Orhan is not the only one who wanted to get good roles.'
       *LO: `Orhan doesn't want to be the only one who gets good roles'

(206) Iyi   rolleri   sadece **Orhan** almak   istemedi.
       good roles-acc   only   Orhan   take-inf   want-neg-past.3sg
       HI: `Orhan is the only one who doesn't want to get good roles'

If <u>o</u> `he' and <u>Orhan</u> were invariably matrix subjects whose associated operators sometimes scope above and sometimes below another operator, then we would expect them to have the same scopal possibilities. The fact that <u>Orhan</u> exhibits what is reminiscent of a standard Condition C effect seems to indicate that when <u>only DP</u> scopes under the attitude verb it is in fact the infinitival subject. In other words, the scope phenomenon seems to be coupled with a matrix versus complement subject phenomenon.
        If <u>o</u> `he' is replaced by <u>kendisi</u> `self', only the LO readings remain. Some speakers prefer <u>kendisi</u> in LO readings. If `want' is replaced by `hate', the same general correlations obtain, but replacement of <u>o</u> by <u>kendisi</u> becomes obligatory:

(207) Iyi   rolleri   <u>sadece kendisi</u> /* <u>o</u>   al-mak-tan   **nefret etti.**
       good roles-acc   only   self /   he   take-inf-abl   hate past.3sg
       LO: `He hated to be the only one to get good roles'

There is a preferable way to express the 'hate' propositions, with a genitive subject:

(208) Iyi   rolleri   <u>sadece kendisinin</u> al-ma-sın-dan   **nefret etti.**
       good roles-acc   only   self-gen   take-nom-3sg.poss-abl   hate-past.3sg
       LO: 'He hated to be the only one to get good roles'

This genitive subject construction allows a pronoun but only with disjoint reference:

(209) Iyi   rolleri   <u>sadece onun</u>   almasından   **nefret etti.**
       good   roles-acc only   he-gen   take-nom-3sg.poss-abl hate-past.3sg
       LO: 'He$_i$ hated that only he$_{*i/j}$ got good roles.'

3.6.3 One finite verb – multiple overt subjects

Two instances of <u>o</u> are not acceptable, but a combination of <u>o</u> and <u>kendisi</u> is:

(210)   *<u>Sadece o</u> iyi rolleri <u>sadece o</u> almak istemedi
(211)   <u>Sadece o</u> iyi rolleri <u>sadece kendisi</u> almak istemedi.
         LO: `Only he doesn't want to be the only one who gets the good roles"

3.6.4 Summary of the Turkish data

Turkish exhibits LO readings in both raising and control constructions. The matrix versus complement position of the nominative DPs is not easy to determine in a strict SOV language, so it may be that we are dealing with a pure scope phenomenon. But the fact that lexical DPs are possible in LO readings in raising but, crucially, not in control constructions may indicate that the LO readings indeed involve infinitival subjects. The negative concord data would then lend further support to this analysis. The fact that some speakers judge <u>o</u>, as opposed to <u>kendisi</u>, to be bad in some LO readings requires further thought. As of date I have no data on pronominal doubles.

3.7 Summary of section 3 and transition to section 4

This section surveyed data from Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, Hebrew, and Turkish. What these languages have in common is that LO readings are available in both raising and control constructions, and in control constructions a Condition C effect occurs with lexical DPs, making pronouns the only option as overt infinitival subjects. These languages differ as to the evidence showing that these pronouns are indeed subjects, as opposed to pronominal doubles of PRO (recall though that Mensching (2000) essentially wants to reduce pronominal doubles to PRO). Given the availability of the <u>noi linguisti</u> `we linguists' construction, Italian offers rather clear evidence that our pronouns can be subjects. Recall also that not all Italian varieties have pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples, and in this respect these varieties are like Hungarian, discussed in section 2: the pronominal-double confound does not exist. The other languages of section 3 only allow the `we the linguist' construction, which is unfortunately not diagnostic. It is to be hoped that future research will find alternative diagnostics, and the currently open analytical questions can be settled.

The languages in section 4 differ from the above in that the LO reading is not expressible in control contexts using potentially complement-internal nominative DPs. The analyses will be far from definitive, in some cases due to limitations on field work. The data are included to promote further research. A more definitive analysis of these languages should shed light on whether it is possible for overt subjects to occur in raising complements only, or only languages that also have overt subjects in control complements have them in raising contexts.

4 Languages with overt infinitival subjects at most in raising complements: Russian, Finnish, Shupamem, and Northern Norwegian

4.1 Russian (thanks to Maria Gouskova, Inna Livitz, Stephanie Harves, Maria Polinsky, Igor Yanovich, and Anna Kovtunova for data and discussion)

4.1.1 Raising

The intensional raising verb <u>kazhet'sja</u> `seem' does not take infinitival complements. The raising case can be illustrated with aspectual verbs, <u>stat'</u> `begin' and <u>perestat'</u> `stop'. My informants were in agreement that the raising examples work fine with both pronominal and lexical subjects in the infinitival clause. Much like in Italian, examples with sentence final `only'-phrases are ambiguous between the HI and the LO readings, but placing the `only'-phrase between the infinitival verb and another element of the infinitival clause eliminates the HI reading. The most likely explanation is that the matrix subject could not occur in that position, i.e. that whatever occurs there is indeed the subject of the infinitival clause.

> (212) <u>Tol'ko on/Gordon</u>   stal/perestal   prixodit' domoj   pjanim.
> only   he/Gordon   began/stopped   go-inf   home   drunk
> HI `Only he/Gordon began/stopped going home drunk'

> (213) Stal/perestal   prixodit' domoj pjanim <u>tol'ko   on/Gordon</u>.
> began/stopped   go-inf   home   drunk   only   he/Gordon
> HI `Only he/Gordon began/stopped going home drunk'
> LO `It began/stopped being the case that only he/Gordon goes home drunk'

> (214) Stal/perestal   prixodit' domoj <u>tol'ko   on/Gordon</u> pjanim.
> began/stopped   go-inf   home   only   he/Gordon drunk
> LO `It began/stopped being the case that only he/Gordon goes home drunk'

The aspectual verb does not simply exhibit default (3sg neuter) agreement. In the examples above <u>stal/perestal</u> is masculine, and it would take the feminine form <u>stala/perestala</u> if the infinitival subject were <u>tol'ko Eva</u> `only Eva'.

As an alternative analysis, Polinsky (2008) has suggested that examples somewhat like (213) and even (214) result from scrambling. On this view `only he/Gordon' would raise into the matrix clause and then scramble rightward, mingling with infinitival material. While I do not doubt that Russian generally allows rightward scrambling, I would find the scrambling analysis of the above examples less likely, because it presupposes that the secondary predicate <u>pjanim</u> `drunk' also scrambles up to the matrix.

But if the scrambling analysis of (213)-(214) is correct, is does not yet explain how the LO readings come about. Polinsky (2008) does not address the question of interpretation. In a section on "Raising Verbs as Quantifiers" Szabolcsi (2009) proposes that raising verbs may undergo scope-extending movement. This analysis assigns a syntactically explicit quantificational analysis to raising verbs, in the spirit of Kusumoto (2005) and Lechner (2007). These authors argue that tenses and modals quantify over the time and the world arguments of verbs in a syntactically explicit manner. Szabolcsi's proposal (originally devised for Shupamem) might complement Polinsky's, if evidence can be obtained that the raising verbs in (213)-(214) have moved to an extra-high position, and if it is explained why verb movement needs to be aided by rightward scrambling in LO readings in Russian.

4.1.2 Control

My Russian informants were divided on the control examples. Some of them did not accept them at all. But even those who accepted them found them degraded as compared to the raising examples, and to be lexically more restricted than in the languages of section 3.

    In the examples below, the matrix pronoun is given the best chance to be null, by providing an antecedent or assuming an appropriate dialogue context. The judgments below are from those informants who were the most favorable to this construction.

(215) ?(Ja skazala, chto) ne   xochu   idti   tol'ko   ja peshkom.
        I   said-fem that   not   want-1sg go-inf only   I on.foot
        LO: `(I said that) I don't want it to be the case that only I go on foot'

(216) ?On skazal,   chto ne   xochet   idti   tol'ko   on   peshkom.
        he said-masc   that not want-3sg go-inf only   he   on.foot
        LO: `He said that he didn't want it to be the case that only he goes on foot'

In contrast to the languages of Section 3, these examples become ungrammatical if (ne) xotit' `(not) want' is replaced by nenavidet' `hate'. To save space, these are not given. A full DP cannot replace the pronoun on the linked reading, cf. Condition C. Russian has no Spanish-style pronominal doubles in mono-clausal examples.

4.1.3 One finite verb – multiple overt subjects

Neither control nor raising constructions seem to allow multiple overt subjects per one finite verb:

(217) *Ja ne   xochu   (probovat') xodit' tol'ko   ja   peshkom.
        `I don't want (to try) for it to be the case that only I go on foot'

(218) *On ne   xochet (probovat') xodit' tol'ko   on   peshkom.
        `He doesn't want (to try) for it to be the case that only he goes on foot'

(219) *On/Gordon stal/perestal xodit' tol'ko   on   peshkom.
        `In his/Gordon's case it began/stopped to be the case that only he goes on foot'

This possibility is out also if the matrix subject (Livitz's 2006 Major Subject) is in the dative, but then there is no agreement between the matrix verb and the infinitival subject:

(220) *Im   nravitsya idti   tol'ko   oni peshkom.
        they-dat   please.3sg go-inf only   they on.foot
        `It pleases they to be the only ones who go on foot'

4.1.4 The position of the infinitival verb and nominative-less finite clauses

One hypothesis discussed in section 1 was that the infinitival verb (or, rather, its inflection) plays a role in transmitting the features of the finite verb to the infinitival subject. Naturally occurring examples show that a time adverb can occur between the infinitival verb and its direct object, indicating a relatively high position of the infinitival verb. For example:

(221) Ja xochu   videt' vsegda tebja / tvoj znachok   ulybki.
        I   want-1sg   see-inf always you /   your distinctive   smile
        `I want to always see you / your signature smile'

(222) Ne   xochetsja   videt'   chasto   cheloveka, kotoryj...
        not   want-refl-3sg see.inf often   man-acc   which
        `I do not feel like often seeing the man who...'

Another issue addressed in the introduction was that having overt subjects in raising, but not in control complements occurs if (i) finite clauses with raising verbs do not contain a nominative DP expletive or (ii) they contain one but the language has multi-agreement of the kind that may involves two DPs that do not form a binding chain. Russian has no overt expletives. Whether it is a null subject language is debated. Livitz (2006) argues that Russian conforms to similar generalizations as were proposed in Holmberg (2005) for Finnish. All Russian pronouns are obligatory in most discourse initial contexts but can be null if they have antecedents in the discourse or in a higher clause. Russian has a constraint against verb initial orders when there is an element in the sentence that would be eligible for topicalization. In the absence of an eligible topic V-initial orders are perfect.

(223) Nastupila   osen'.
        came.fem.nom   autumn-fem.nom
         `Autumn came'

(224) (Mne) kazhetsja, chto vremja   tam   ostanovilos'.
        I-dat   seems   that   time   there stopped
        `It seems (to me) that time stopped there'

These facts indicate that the claim that Russian has overt subjects in infinitival complements of aspectual raising verbs is fully compatible with the hypotheses in the introduction, irrespective of how the details work out (whether the position of the infinitival verb matters or only the nature of agreement does, and whether verb-initial finite clauses in Russian are best analyzed as having empty expletives or not).

4.1.5 Summary of the Russian data

It is possible that Russian has overt infinitival subjects in raising complements, but their existence in control complements is highly dubious, based on the data available to me: none of the informants managed to muster up much enthusiasm for the control examples. Alternatively, the non-initial position of nominative DP may result from the scrambling of the matrix subject (Polinsky 2008). Their LO readings could then be due to the raising verb acquiring scope over that subject (Szabolcsi 2009).

4.2 Finnish (thanks to Matti Miestamo, Arto Anttila, and Paul Kiparsky for data and discussion)

According to Holmberg (2005), Finnish 1st and 2nd person pronouns are optionally null. Null 3rd person pronouns need an antecedent in the discourse or in a higher clause. Finnish has a constraint against verb initial orders when there is an element in the sentence that would be eligible for topicalization. Any nominative element is eligible; non-nominatives have to be, loosely speaking, referential, to be potential topics.

4.2.1 Raising

The LO reading is possible with the nominative subject in non-initial position:

(225) <u>Vain hän</u> alko-i   saa-da   hyv-i-ä   roole-j-a.
       only s/he begin-past get-inf   good-pl-part   role-pl-part
       HI: 'Something happened such that he started to get good roles'

(226) Hyv-i-ä   roole-j-a   alkoi   saada   <u>vain hän</u>.
       good-pl-part role-pl-part   begin-past get-inf only s/he.
       LO: 'Something happened such that as a result only he was getting good roles'

(227) Vuonna 2006   alkoi   <u>vain Maria</u> saada   hyviä   rooleja.
       year.ess 2006   begin.past.3sg only Maria   get.inf good.pl.part   role.pl.part
       LO: `In 2006 it began to be the case that only Maria was getting good roles'

<u>Vain hän</u> `only s/he and <u>vain Maria</u> on the LO readings may be infinitival subjects. Alternatively, they may be matrix subjects and other material, most crucially the aspectual verb, may have moved to a yet higher position, in the manner outlined

4.2.2 Control

No LO reading is possible with an overt infinitival subject pronoun, whether it be in the nominative or in the genitive:

(228) *En   halunnut   <u>vain minä</u> / <u>minun</u> mennä   bussilla.
       neg.1sg want.pst.ptcp only I.nom / I.gen   go.inf   bus.adess

Readings truth conditionally similar to the LO ones can only be expressed using the modifier <u>yksin</u> `alone'. (230) is judged to be outrageously bad.

(229) a. Minä e-n   halu-a   men-nä yksin   koulu-un.
          I   not-1p   want-inf   go-inf alone   school-illat
          `I don't want to go to school alone'
       b. Minä e-n   halu-a   men-nä koulu-un   yksin.
          `idem'

(230)   *E-n   halu-a   men-n   koulu-un   <u>vain minä</u>.
        not-1p   want-inf   go-inf   school-illat only I

There seemed to be no need to investigate pronominal doubles.

4.2.3 One finite verb – multiple subjects

The LO reading is possible with a participial construction whose subject is in the genitive:

(231)   En   halunnut   <u>vain minun</u> menevän   bussilla.
        neg.1sg   want.pst.ptcp   only I.gen   go.ptcp.pres.gen bus.adess
        `I didn't want it to be the case that only I go by bus (whereas others walk)'

However, an overt 3rd person pronominal subject in the participial clause would not be coreferential with the matrix subject (same with a matrix pronoun):

(232)   <u>Mary</u>   ei   halunnut   <u>vain   hänen</u>   menevän   bussilla.
        Mary   neg.3sg   want.pst.ptcp   only   (s)he.gen   go.ptcp.pres.gen bus.adess
        'Mary didn't want it to be the case that only (s)he (≠ Mary) goes by bus.'

4.2.4 Summary of the Finnish data

Finnish is capable of disambiguating HI and LO readings of raising examples by varying the preverbal versus postverbal/final positions of the nominative DP. As of date I do not have proof that in the orders that express the LO reading that DP is actually inside the infinitival clause. Finnish definitely does not have over subjects in control complements.

4.3 Shupamem (thanks to Laziz Nchare for data and discussion)

Shupamem is a Grassfield Bantu language spoken in Cameroon. Tense but not person/number agreement is marked. Tantalizingly, Shupamem distinguishes HI and LO readings by word order – but I have not found evidence that in the latter case the subject is located inside the infinitive.

(233)   <u>Nduu   Maria</u>   ka   yeshe   inget   ndaa liʔ
        only   Mary   past   begin   inf.have good roles
        HI: `Only Mary is such that she began to get good roles'

(234)   A   ka   yeshe   <u>nduu Maria</u>   inget   ndaa liʔ
        FOCUS   past   begin   only Maria   inf.have good roles
        LO: `It began to be the case that only Mary got good roles'

The difficulty stems from the fact that while on the LO reading `only Maria' follows `begin', I have found nothing that can be inserted between them that could not come between the verb and the postverbal subject in mono-clausal examples. On the other hand, the fact that the LO reading

is produced by V-focus would support the scopal analysis in Szabolcsi (2009).

4.4 Regional Northern Norwegian (I am grateful to Kristine Bentzen for help)

S. Wurmbrand (p.c.) drew my attention to the fact that dialectal variation in Norwegian, as discussed in Bentzen (2007) might be relevant for the hypothesis that the phenomenon of overt infinitival subjects is contingent on the relatively high position of the infinitival verb. In ReNN, the finite as well as the infinitival verb may optionally precede any kind of adverb. This seems to hold for both control and ECM infinitives. In both finite and non-finite clauses, although the verb may precede all kinds of adverbs, it strictly has to follow negation.

(235)   Ho   prøvde å komme oftere   tidsnok på   skolen.
        she   tried   to come   often.er in.time on   school.the
        'She tried to be in time for school more often' (Bentzen 2007: 125)

(236)   Han Hårek   mente   å kunne   som oftest   reparere radioa.
        he   Hårek   thought to could   as   often.est   fix   radios
        'Hårek considered himself usually able to fix radios.' (Bentzen 2007:21)

LO readings with raising verbs can be expressed using a straightforward infinitival construction. Pronominal subjects would show that the DP is in the nominative. But there does not appear to be any evidence that this DP is inside the infinitival clause:

(237)   I 2006   begynte bare Maria   å få   gode roller.
        in 2006   began   only Maria   to get   good roles
        LO 'In 2006 it began to be the case that only Maria got good roles'

(238)   Bare Maria   begynte å få   gode roller   (i 2006).
        only Maria   began   to get good roles   (in 2006)
        LO 'In 2006 it began to be the case that only Maria got good roles'

An indication that the `only'-phrase is in the matrix clause rather than the infinitive is its position when the matrix verb is a complex tense:

(239)   I 2006 vil   <bare Maria> begynne   <*bare Maria>   å få   gode roller.
        in 2006 will <only Maria> begin   <only Maria>   to get   good roles
        LO 'In 2006 it will begin to be the case that only Maria gets good roles'

With respect to dialectal variation, Standard Norwegian and Northern Norwegian (Regional Northern Norwegian, ReNN and Tromsoe Northern Norwegian, TrNN) behave the same way here. Also, there is no effect from the position of the infinitival verb:

(240)   I 2006 begynte bare Maria   å <oftere>   få <oftere>   gode roller.
        in 2006 began   only Maria   to {more.often} get {more.often} good roles
        LO 'In 2006 it began to be the case that only Maria got good roles more often'

So it appears as though Norwegian allowed semantic reconstruction of an `only'-phrase into the infinitval clause.

If the above assessment is correct, Norwegian casts some doubt on the hypothesis that the position of the infinitival verb is a crucial factor determining the availability of overt infinitival subjects. But it is probably the infinitival inflection, not the verb, that plays a role, and our understanding of how the position of the verb diagnoses the position of inflection is not very good. Recall, however, that the existence of an obligatory (or featurally non-compliant) empty expletive in the subject position of the raising verb may also rule out the overt infinitival subject.

Apart from the puzzling reconstruction possibility, LO readings in Norwegian would be analyzable using scope-extending verb raising.

5 Potentially related constructions
5.1 Backward control and backward raising

Polinsky and Potsdam (2002, 2006) discuss a set of data that might initially seem more similar to ours. This subsection and the ones to follow simply recapitulate P&P's discussion and point out that our Hungarian, Italian, etc data are descriptively different from their data.

Copy theory makes it possible for the lower link in a "raising chain" to be pronounced. If in addition control is viewed as a special case of raising, as in Hornstein (1999), Boeckx & Hornstein (2006), then PRO is in fact also a lower copy that could be pronounced. P&P examine backward raising and backward control in this spirit.

P&P (2006) discuss cases of backward object control in Brazilian Portuguese and Korean and backward subject control in Tsez. These are similar to our data in that an overt subject is located in the complement clause and exhibits agreement with the finite verb. But the similarities basically end here. (i) In Hungarian, Italian, etc. only subject control verbs participate. (ii) In the languages P&P discuss, the overt controllee in the complement can be a full DP, e.g. a name or a quantifier phrase. Unlike in our control data, it is not restricted to being a pronoun. (iii) P&P's controllees show signs of matrix activity beyond agreement; they license matrix reflexives and depictives. (iv) In Tsez, there is a division of labor: most subject control verbs take forward control complements; only a small subset participate in backward control. There is no such division of labor in Hungarian, Italian, etc.: overt subjects are possible in all subject control complements.

P&P write that evidence for backward subject raising is scant. They discuss preliminary data from Adighe; the data are similar to Tsez backward subject control without exhibiting selectional restrictions characteristic of control verbs. The quantifier `all' related to the complement subject is capable of taking wider scope than matrix negation, which P&P regard as evidence for the syntactic activity of that subject in the matrix (see their 2006:(19)):

(241)   [*boy*-PL all-ERG-CONJ *letter*-ABS 3SG.ABS-3ERG-*write*-SUP]
         ~~boy-PL~~ ~~all-ABS-CONJ~~ 3SG.ABS-*happen*-NEG
         `All the boys do not happen to write/be writing a letter'
         (all boys > Neg)   or   (Neg > all boys)

P&P also mention that numerical indefinites may scope under or above the matrix verb. Given the island-free scope of such indefinites cross-linguistically, the diagnostic value of this may also

be questionable. But P&P are correct in looking for matrix scope phenomena if the subject has a copy in the matrix (although see Bobaljik (2002) for a possibly different view). In any case, in Hungarian, Italian, etc. there is no scope evidence for the presence of the overt infinitival subject in the matrix. On the contrary, the operators attached to our overt infinitival subjects scope strictly within the complement clause.

In sum, our data differ from the Adighe and Tsez data discussed by P&P in allowing only pronominal but not full DP subjects in control complements, in not exhibiting a division of labor between control verbs as to employing forward or backward control, and in not having scopal evidence for the presence of a copy of the subject of the raising complement in the matrix clause.

Szabolcsi (2005 points out that a backward control analysis of the Hungarian control data is not plausible, due to the descriptive dissimilarities. Bartos (2006a,b) proposes a backward control analysis of the same data.

5.2 Copy-control and copy-raising

P&P mention among others Moore's work on Turkish copy-raising, where the copy is a resumptive pronoun. It is to be stressed that Moore 1998 discusses raising out of finite complements, and it seems that many other copy-raising data also involve finite (e.g. subjunctive) complements. The issues that arise there are somewhat different from what we are looking at: finite complements typically have overt subjects.

Copy-control seems less well-attested; P&P's data come from Assamese, SLQ Zapotec, and Tongan. In the first two at least the complement clause contains full DPs, not pronouns; and these are cases involving adjuncts. SLQ Zapotec is more difficult to compare directly, but one should look at it carefully in the future.

5.3 P&P's imposters

P&P point out that many languages, English included, have constructions that may, from a bird's eye perspective, look similar to backward control and backward raising, but are crucially different from these.

(242)   There do not appear to be two major ways of learning prevalent.
(243)   There always appear to be two major ways of learning prevalent.

Citing extensive literature P&P observe that scope interpretation argues against the claim that two major ways of learning has a copy in the matrix clause, i.e. there is no evidence for raising, beyond agreement. They draw similar conclusions for Modern Greek subjunctive complements.

It appears that, from P&P's descriptive perspective, our overt infinitival subjects are imposters: they do not represent backward/copy control/raising. (P&P's use of this term is not to be confused with Collins and Postal's.)

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