

AG 3: Cross-linguistic variation in control phenomena  
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## EVENT CONTROL<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Introduction

#### Background:

- Many languages, including English, German, and Norwegian, employ non-finite clauses (besides finite clauses) as propositional adjuncts, for instance infinitival, participial, and small clause adjuncts. The subject of these adjunct clauses is left unexpressed and must usually be interpreted co-referentially with the subject or object of the matrix clause (subject or object control).
- There is, however, another possible control relation that, to our knowledge, has been overlooked or at best marginalized in the recent control debate, namely event control, cf. (1) and (2):

(1) [Unknown to Mr. Mori,] the other big trading houses were also putting together a consortium. (cf. Kortmann 1991: 73; Kortmann 1995: 207)

#### (2) German

[Als letzten Arbeitsgang] hat Peter den Boden gebohrt.  
as last work.task has Peter the floor waxed  
'As a last step, Peter waxed the floor.'

(cf. Pütz 1988: 199)

- As illustrated in (3) and (4), the adjuncts in (1) and (2) can be paraphrased using a relative clause (cf. (3b)/(4b)) or an independent finite clause (cf. (3a)/(4a)). This reveals two things: (i) the adjuncts in (1) and (2) are clause-like (involving PRO as empty subject); (ii) the subject, which must be expressed overtly in the examples below (as *this*, *which*, *was*, *das*), refers to the event expressed in the main clause.

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- (3) a. The other big trading houses were also putting together a consortium. *This* was unknown to Mr. Mori.  
b. The other big trading houses were also putting together a consortium, *which* was unknown to Mr. Mori.  
c. *this/which* = the other big trading houses were also putting together a consortium

- (4) a. Peter hat den Boden gebohrt. *Das* war der letzte Arbeitsgang.  
*Peter has the<sub>ACC</sub> floor waxed this was the<sub>NOM</sub> last work.task*  
b. Peter hat den Boden gebohrt, *was* der letzte Arbeitsgang war.  
*Peter has the<sub>ACC</sub> floor waxed which the<sub>NOM</sub> last work.task was*  
c. *das/was* = den Boden bohren  
*that/which* = *the<sub>ACC</sub> floor wax<sub>INF</sub>*

- In the literature, this topic seems to have faded out of the debate since the dispute on control into rationale clauses (RC) in the 80s and 90s (cf. Landau 2000, 2013),
  - with one camp arguing for the implicit agent as the controller of PRO in RCs adjoined to a passive or impersonal copula matrix clause (Chomsky 1981; Manzini 1983, 1986; Jaeggli 1986; Roeper 1987; Clark 1990; Higginbotham 1999), cf. (5),
  - and another one arguing for the matrix event as controller of PRO (Williams 1985; Lasnik 1988; Grimshaw 1990; Whelpton 1995), cf. (6).

(5) The boat was sunk [in order to collect the insurance]. (cf. Manzini 1983)

(6) Grass is green [to promote photosynthesis]. (cf. Williams 1974)

- While examples like (5) clearly involve some implicit agent (i.e. somebody who wants to collect the insurance), this is much less clear in (6). At best, it could be argued that it is evolution or God "under whose control is the circumstance 'grass is green'" (Williams 1985: 311); but such a purposeful agent cannot be the underlying subject in examples like (1) or (2) – here, the covert subject can only refer to the event denoted in the matrix clause.
- Hence, we argue that event control must be distinguished from implicit agentive control and is a control type of its own.

#### Aim of our talk:

- On the one hand, we aim to clarify the empirical picture and provide insight into German, Norwegian, and English data involving event control in different kinds of non-finite propositional adjunct clauses.
- Second, we aim to capture these data theoretically by drawing on ideas in Whelpton (1995, 2002), Høyem (2018), and Fischer (2018).

*Our claim in a nutshell:*

We argue that event control is obligatory control (OC) (applying OC diagnostics described by Landau 2013) that is licensed under Agree between PRO and a Davidsonian event argument in the matrix clause, functioning as antecedent. Accordingly, we will refer to the implicit subject of these adjuncts as PRO<sub>e</sub>.

*Outlook:*

- Empirical evidence: what kind of adjuncts can we observe and where do they adjoin?
- Theoretical approach: which type of control do they display and how can this be implemented technically?

## 2. Empirical Evidence

- In this part of our talk, we will take a closer look at different types of adjuncts displaying event control in German, Norwegian, and English.
- We will present syntactic evidence for two different adjunction sites: vP/VP vs. CP
  - scopal facts (negation, co-occurrence, and coordination)
  - syntactic distribution
  - morphological case marking
  - binding
- Our data consist of adverbial adjuncts of the following types:
  - A. “sentence-appositional” nominative DPs (Germ. *Satzappositionen*), cf. (7)-(9)
  - B. adverbial small clauses headed by the particle *als/som/as*, cf. (10)-(12)
  - C. adverbial present and past participle constructions, cf. (13)-(15)
  - D. adverbial infinitives headed by *um* in German and *for* in Norwegian, cf. (16)-(18)

### TYPE A. „Sentence-appositional“ DPs

(7) *German*

Martin will nun doch auswandern, [PRO<sub>e</sub> ein schwerer Entschluss].

*Martin wants now still emigrate a<sub>NOM</sub> difficult decision*

‘Martin wants to emigrate after all, a difficult decision.’

(8) *Norwegian*

Jon fortalte at han hadde sett ville indianer i Amerika, [PRO<sub>e</sub> en  
*Jon told that he had seen wild Indians in America a*  
aldeles utrolig historie].

*completely amazing story*

‘Jon told that he had seen wild Indians in America, a completely amazing story.’

(9) *English*

He went to see her at the hospital, [PRO<sub>e</sub> a bad idea].

(Andrew Weir, p.c.)

### TYPE B. Adverbial small clauses headed by *als/som/as*

(10) *German*

[PRO<sub>e</sub> Als letzten Arbeitsgang] hat Peter den Boden gebohrt.

*as last<sub>ACC</sub> work.task has Peter the<sub>ACC</sub> floor waxed*

‘As the last task, Peter waxed the floor.’

(11) *Norwegian*

[PRO<sub>e</sub> Som kompensasjon] fikk de møte kapteinen på skipet.

*as compensation<sub>INDEF</sub> were.allowed they meet captain<sub>DEF</sub> on ship<sub>DEF</sub>*

‘As a compensation, they got to meet the captain of the ship.’

(12) *English*

The Six agreed to draft a treaty on these lines, but [PRO<sub>e</sub> as a compromise] de Gaulle was asked to accept that the Atlantic alliance with America should be safeguarded and that ‘Community co-operation’ on economic issues in the EEC should continue to be developed. (BNCW F9P 820)

### TYPE C. Adverbial present and past participial constructions

(13) *German*

Die erste Plauderstunde von St. Hildegard findet nicht, [PRO<sub>e</sub> wie irrtümlich  
*the first discussion.session at St. Hildegard takes not as wrongly*  
gemeldet], am heutigen Dienstag statt.  
*reported on today<sub>ACC</sub> Tuesday place.*

‘The first discussion session at St. Hildegard will not, as wrongly reported, take place on Tuesday.’

(14) *Norwegian*

[PRO<sub>e</sub> Passende til anledningen] var begge kledd i svart.

*fitting for occasion<sub>DEF</sub> were both dressed in black*

‘Befitting the occasion, they were both dressed in black.’

(15) *English*

The siren sounded, [PRO<sub>e</sub> indicating that the air raid was over].

(cf. Kortmann 1991: 8; Quirk et. al. 1985: 1122)

### TYPE D. Adverbial infinitives

(16) *German*

Gras ist grün, [PRO<sub>e</sub> um Photosynthese zu fördern].

*grass is green for photosynthesis to promote*

‘Grass is green to promote photosynthesis.’

(17) *Norwegian*  
 Gresset er grønt [PRO<sub>e</sub> for å lokke til seg biene.]  
*grass<sub>DEF</sub> is green for to call to REFL bees<sub>DEF</sub>*  
 ‘Grass is green to lure the bees.’

(18) *English*  
 John<sub>1</sub> introduced Sally to Mary [PRO<sub>e</sub> to give him<sub>1</sub> the chance of meeting Mary’s friend,  
 Rachel]. (cf. Whelpton 2002: 198)

*Syntactic evidence for assuming two different adjunction sites: vP/VP vs. CP*

Based on their behavior concerning scopal relations, morphological case marking, syntactic distribution, and binding, we argue that appositional nominative DPs (type A) are adjoined to CP, whereas the others (type B, C, D) are adjoined to vP/VP.

## 2.1 Scope: negation, co-occurrence, coordination

- **Negation:** These adjuncts take scope over negation and not vice versa:

(19) *German*  
 Pia ist **nicht** schwanger, eine schlimme Nachricht.  
*Pia is not pregnant a<sub>FEM,NOM</sub> bad message*  
 ‘Pia is **not** pregnant, bad news.’ (cf. Schindler 1990: 110)

= It is bad news that it is **not** the case that Pia is pregnant.  
 ≠ It is **not** the case that it is bad news that Pia is pregnant.

(20) *Norwegian*  
 [PRO<sub>e</sub> Som en passende straff for dårlig oppførsel] fikk **ikke** Jon  
*as a suitable punishment for bad behavior got not Jon*  
 lov til å gå på kino med vennene sine.  
*permission for to go to cinema with friends<sub>DEF</sub> his*  
 ‘As a suitable punishment for his bad behavior, Jon was **not** allowed to go to the cinema with his friends.’

= It was a suitable punishment for his bad behavior that Jon was **not** allowed to go to the cinema with his friends.  
 ≠ It was **not** a suitable punishment for his bad behavior that Jon was allowed to go to the cinema with his friends.

- In (13) above, repeated below as (21) for convenience, it seems to be the other way around, with negation taking scope over the adverbial participle construction. In this case, however, it is not sentence negation, but constituent negation.

(21) Die erste Plauderstunde von St. Hildegard findet **nicht**, [PRO<sub>e</sub> wie irrtümlich  
*the first discussion.session at St. Hildegard takes not as wrongly*  
 gemeldet], am heutigen Dienstag statt.  
*reported on today<sub>ACC</sub> Tuesday place.*  
 ‘The first discussion session at St. Hildegard will **not**, as wrongly reported, take place on Tuesday.’

- **Co-occurrence:** The “appositional” (nominative marked) DPs (type A) must be adjoined higher in the clause than the other adjuncts (type B, C, D), presumably to a projection of CP, since they always take scope over the other adjuncts, cf. (22)–(24). The appositional DP (*a nice surprise*) takes scope over an adverbial small clause headed by the particle *als* in (22), over an adverbial participle construction in (23), and over an adverbial infinitival construction headed by *um* (Engl. *for*) in (24):

(22) [[[Als letzten Arbeitsgang] hat Peter den Boden gebohrt], eine nette Überraschung].  
*as last<sub>ACC</sub> work.task has Peter the<sub>ACC</sub> floor waxed a<sub>NOM</sub> nice surprise*  
 ‘As the last task, Peter waxed the floor, a nice surprise.’

= That Peter, as the last task, waxed the floor was a nice surprise.  
 ≠ That it was a nice surprise that Peter waxed the floor was the last task.

(23) [[[Passend zum Thema] hat Peter zu Halloween einen Dracula-Kuchen gebacken],  
*fitting with<sub>DAT</sub> topic has Peter for Halloween a<sub>ACC</sub> Dracula-cake baked*  
 eine nette Überraschung].  
*a<sub>NOM</sub> nice surprise*  
 ‘Befitting the theme, Peter baked a Dracula-cake for Halloween, a nice surprise.’

= That Peter, befitting the theme, baked a Dracula-cake for Halloween was a nice surprise.  
 ≠ That it was a nice surprise that Peter baked a Dracula-cake for Halloween befitted the theme.

(24) [[Die Einwohner wurden in das Nachbardorf evakuiert, [um eine Katastrophe  
*the<sub>NOM</sub> inhabitants were in the<sub>ACC</sub> neighbour.village evacuated for a disaster*  
 zu vermeiden]], nach Angaben der Polizei eine äußerst vernünftige Maßnahme].  
*to avoid after informations the<sub>GEN</sub> police a highly reasonable precaution*  
 ‘The inhabitants were evacuated to the nearest village to prevent a disaster, a most reasonable precaution according to the police.’

= That the inhabitants were evacuated to the nearest village to prevent a disaster was a most reasonable precaution according to the police.  
 ≠ That it was a most reasonable precaution according to the police that the inhabitants were evacuated to the nearest village should prevent a disaster.

- **Coordination:** Another piece of syntactic evidence for different adjunction sites comes from the fact that the participial, infinitival, and small clause adjuncts (type B, C, D) can be coordinated with each other, cf. (25)-(30), whereas appositional nominative DPs (type A) can never be coordinated with the other adjuncts, cf. (31)-(33).

- A participial construction can be coordinated with a small clause headed by the particles *als/som/as*, cf. (25)-(27):

(25) *German*  
 [Passend zum Thema und als eine kleine Überraschung für seine Freunde] hat Peter  
*fitting with theme and as a small surprise for his friends has Peter*  
 zu Halloween einen Dracula-Kuchen gebacken.  
*for Halloween a<sub>ACC</sub> Dracula-cake baked*  
 ‘Befitting the theme and as a small surprise, Peter baked a Dracula-cake for Halloween.’

(26) *Norwegian*  
 [[PRO<sub>e</sub> Passende for anledningen] og [PRO<sub>e</sub> som en morsom overraskelse]] hadde  
*fitting with occasion<sub>DEF</sub> and as a funny surprise had*  
 foreldrene kledd seg ut som spøkelses på barnas Halloween-fest.  
*parents<sub>DEF</sub> dresses REFL out as ghosts at childrens Halloween-party*  
 ‘Appropriate for the occasion and as a funny surprise, the parents dressed up as ghosts at the children’s Halloween party’

(27) *English*  
 [[PRO<sub>e</sub> Befitting the occasion] and [PRO<sub>e</sub> as a small surprise]], Mary baked a Dracula-cake  
 for Halloween.

- The data in (28)-(30) demonstrate that a small clause headed by the particles *als/som/as* can be coordinated with an infinitival adjunct clause (headed by *um* in German, *for* in Norwegian):

(28) *German*  
 [Als Notmaßnahme und um eine Katastrophe zu verhindern] wurden die  
*as emergency.procedure and for a disaster to prevent were the*  
 Einwohner in das Nachbardorf evakuiert.  
*inhabitants in the<sub>ACC</sub> neighbour.village evacuated*  
 ‘As an emergency procedure and to prevent a disaster, the inhabitants were evacuated to the nearest village.’

(29) *Norwegian*  
 [[PRO<sub>e</sub> For å takke for all god hjelp med flyttingen] og [PRO<sub>e</sub> som en  
*for to thank for all good help with moving<sub>DEF</sub> and as a*

*hyggelig overraskelse]] inviterte Jon alle vennene sine på innflyttingsfest.  
 nice surprise invited Jon all friends<sub>DEF</sub> his to in.moving.party*  
 ‘To thank for all the good help when moving and as a nice surprise, Jon invited all his friends to a house warming party’

(30) *English*  
 [[PRO<sub>e</sub> As a friendly turn/favor] and [PRO<sub>e</sub> to give him<sub>i</sub> the opportunity to meet a nice girl]],  
 John<sub>i</sub> was introduced to Mary.

- On the other hand, the data in (31)-(33) reveal that adverbial participle constructions, infinitival clauses, and small clauses headed by the particle *als/som/as* (type B, C, D) cannot be coordinated with an appositional DP (type A), although each adjunct would be fine alone cf. (33a)-(33b).

(31) *German*  
 \*Peter hat – [passend zum Thema und eine nette Überraschung] – zu Halloween  
*Peter has fitting with theme and a<sub>NOM</sub> nice surprise for Halloween*  
 einen Dracula-Kuchen gebacken.  
*a<sub>ACC</sub> Dracula-cake baked*  
 ‘Peter has – appropriate for the theme and a nice surprise – baked a Dracula-cake for Halloween.’

(32) *Norwegian*  
 \*Foreldrene hadde kledd seg ut som spøkelses på barnas Halloween-fest,  
*parents<sub>DEF</sub> had dressed REFL out as ghosts at childrens<sub>DEF</sub> Halloween-party*  
 [[PRO<sub>e</sub> et vanvittig påfunn] og [PRO<sub>e</sub> som en morsom overraskelse]].  
*a crazy idea and as a funny surprise*  
 ‘The parents dressed up as ghosts at the children’s Halloween party, a crazy idea and as a funny surprise.’

(33) *English*  
 \*He went to see her at the hospital, [[PRO<sub>e</sub> a good idea] and [PRO<sub>e</sub> as a nice surprise]].  
 a. He went to see her at the hospital, [PRO<sub>e</sub> a good idea].  
 b. [PRO<sub>e</sub> As a nice surprise], he went to see her at the hospital.

## 2.2 More empirical evidence (German)

### 2.2.1 Syntactic distribution (German)

- Their syntactic distribution indicates that appositional nominative DPs (type A) are CP adjuncts, cf. (34)-(37): They occur sentence-initially, where they are left-adjoined to CP, cf.

(34), and sentence-finally, being right-adjoined to CP, cf. (35). With the characteristic prosodic marking (through comma or dash), they can also appear sentence-internally, presumably adjoined to TP, cf. (36), but they never appear in SpecCP, cf. (37):

- (34) [PRO<sub>e</sub> das Problem beim Start der Serie]: Die vielen Figuren  
*the<sub>NOM</sub> problem at.the beginning the<sub>GEN</sub> series the many characters*  
 wollen zunächst einmal vorgestellt, geographische Verhältnisse geklärt,  
*want first once introduced geographic conditions described*  
 das soziale Umfeld skizziert werden.  
*the social environment sketched be<sub>INF.PASS</sub>*  
 ‘The problem at the beginning of the series: First, the characters must be introduced, and the geographic conditions and the social environment must be described.’  
 (cf. Starke 1994, 42)
- (35) Irgendwer aus den Zuhörerkreisen soll einmal – [PRO<sub>e</sub> eine höchst läppische  
*someone from the audience.circles shall once an<sub>NOM</sub> utmost childish*  
 Demonstration] – Papierkügelchen nach dem Angeklagten geworfen haben  
*protest paper.balls after the accused thrown have*  
 ‘Supposedly, someone in the audience once threw paper balls at the accused, an utmost childish protest.’  
 (cf. Starke, 1994: 41)
- (36) Die evangelischen Stände legten am 19. April dagegen Protest ein, [PRO<sub>e</sub> ein  
*the evangelical societies placed on 19<sup>th</sup> April against.it protest PRT. an<sub>NOM</sub>*  
 Akt, der ihnen den Namen "Protestanten" einbrachte].  
*act that them<sub>DAT</sub> the<sub>ACC</sub> name "protestants" gave*  
 ‘The evangelical societies entered a protest on April the 19<sup>th</sup>, an act giving them the name ‘Protestants’.’  
 (cf. Starke 1994, 40)
- (37) \*Ein schwerer Entschluss will nun Martin doch auswandern.  
 a. Ein schwerer Entschluss: Martin will nun doch auswandern.  
 b. Martin will – ein schwerer Entschluss – nun doch auswandern.  
 c. Martin will nun doch auswandern, ein schwerer Entschluss.
- The other adjunct types (type B, C, D) can appear sentence-finally, cf. (38), and sentence-internally, cf. (39). In sentence-initial position, however, they are always located in SpecCP, cf. (40), but can never be left-adjoined to CP, cf. (41) (cf. Høyem 2019):
- (38) Die Einwohner wurden in das Nachbardorf evakuiert, [PRO<sub>e</sub> um eine  
*the inhabitants were in the neighbor.village evacuated for a*  
 Katastrophe zu verhindern].  
*disaster to prevent*  
 ‘The inhabitants were evacuated to the nearest village to prevent a disaster.’

- (39) Die Einwohner wurden –/, PRO<sub>e</sub> um eine Katastrophe zu verhindern] –/,  
*the inhabitants were for a disaster to prevent*  
 in das Nachbardorf evakuiert.  
*in the neighbor.village evacuated*  
 ‘The inhabitants were – to prevent a disaster – evacuated to the nearest village.’
- (40) [PRO<sub>e</sub> um eine Katastrophe zu verhindern] wurden die Einwohner in das  
*for a disaster to prevent were the inhabitants in the*  
 Nachbardorf evakuiert.  
*neighbor.village evacuated*  
 ‘To prevent a disaster, the inhabitants were evacuated to the nearest village.’
- (41) \*[PRO<sub>e</sub> um eine Katastrophe zu verhindern], die Einwohner wurden in das  
*for a disaster to prevent the inhabitants were in the*  
 Nachbardorf evakuiert.  
*neighbor.village evacuated*  
 ‘To prevent a disaster, the inhabitants were evacuated to the nearest village.’

### 2.2.2 Morphological case marking (German)

- **Default nominative:**  
 According to Czepluch (1996, 332 ff.), German topicalized and absolute nominatives are CP adjuncts, assigned nominative case by default (cf. also Fanselow 1991, 113 f.; Kiss 1994; Reis 1995; Müller 2000, 59 f.). In the same vein, the default nominative case marking of “sentential appositions” could be taken as further evidence for analyzing them as CP adjuncts.
  - **Case shifting in adjunct small clauses headed by ‘als’:**  
 There is a rather puzzling observation regarding morphological case marking in German small clauses headed by the particle *als*. These small clause adjuncts have accusative case marking (Pütz 1988), but are, according to Flaate (2007: 114, 339 f.) sensitive to the matrix clause predicate and shift to nominative case marking when the matrix predicate is either passive or ergative, cf. (42)-(44):
- (42) [Als letzten Arbeitsgang] hat Peter den Boden gebohrt.  
*as last<sub>ACC</sub> work.task has Peter the<sub>ACC</sub> floor waxed*  
 ‘As the last task, Peter waxed the floor.’
- (43) [Als letzter Arbeitsgang] wurde der Boden gebohrt.  
*as last<sub>NOM</sub> work.task was the<sub>NOM</sub> floor waxed*  
 ‘As the last task, the floor was waxed.’

(44) [Als krönender Abschluss] kam auch noch der Nikolaus, der für  
*as crowning<sub>NOM</sub> finish came also additionally the<sub>NOM</sub> Nikolaus who for*  
 jeden Gast ein kleines Geschenk hatte.  
*every<sub>ACC</sub> guest a small present had*  
 'As a crowning finish, even St. Nikolaus came, bringing a small present for every guest.'  
 (cf. Flaate 2007: 114)

- The (morphological) case properties of these small clauses seem to depend on the matrix clause predicate (active, passive, ergative), indicating that these adjuncts are adjoined in the c-command domain of v, i.e. as VP adjuncts.

### 2.2.3 Binding (German)

- A final piece of evidence for different adjunction sites comes from variable binding (cf. Høyem 2019). As you can see in the sentences below, the quantifier phrase *jeder säumige Zahler* (Engl. *every defaulting payer*) seems to be able to bind the pronoun *ihn* (Engl. *him*) when the pronoun is part of an adverbial infinitival clause, cf. (45), a small clause headed by the participle *als*, (46) or a participle construction, cf. (47). When the pronoun is located inside an appositional nominative DP, however, cf. (48) *jeder säumige Zahler* seems unable to bind the pronoun *ihn*:

(45) Jeder säumige Zahler<sub>1</sub> wurde angerufen, um ihn<sub>1</sub> an die fälligen Zahlungen  
*every defaulting payer was phoned for him at the due payments*  
 zu erinnern.  
*to remind*  
 'Every unwilling payer was phoned to remind him of the outstanding payments.'

(46) Jeder säumige Zahler<sub>1</sub> wurde angerufen, als letzter Versuch, ihn<sub>1</sub> an die  
*every defaulting payer was phoned as final attempt him at the*  
 fälligen Zahlungen zu erinnern.  
*due payments to remind*  
 'Every unwilling payer was phoned as a final attempt to remind him of the outstanding payments.'

(47) Jeder säumige Zahler<sub>1</sub> wurde der Reihe nach angerufen, basierend auf der  
*every defaulting payer was the order after phoned based on the*  
 Höhe seiner<sub>1</sub> ausstehenden Zahlungen.  
*height his<sub>GEN</sub> due payments*  
 'Every unwilling payer was phoned, based on the amount of his outstanding payments.'

(48) ??/\* Jeder säumige Zahler<sub>1</sub> wurde wegen ausstehender Zahlungen angerufen,  
*every defaulting payer was because of outstanding payments phoned*  
 ein furchtbares Erlebnis für ihn<sub>1</sub>.  
*a terrible experience for him*  
 'Every unwilling payer was phoned because of outstanding payments, a terrible experience for him.'

*Summing up:*

The German, English, and Norwegian adjuncts described here are non-finite, clause-like (propositional) adjuncts involving a PRO subject that refers to the event expressed in the main clause. These adjuncts (type A, B, C, D) have in common that they are syntactically dependent on the main clause. However, there seems to be robust syntactic evidence for assuming two different adjunction sites, namely that some of these adjuncts are adjoined to vP/VP and others to CP.

### 2.3 Event control = obligatory control

➤ We argue that event control is obligatory control (OC), applying OC diagnostics as described by Landau (2013):

(i) *In OC, the controller is obligatorily an argument of the embedding predicate (local c-commanding controller):*

➤ The controller is an argument of the adjunct's matrix clause, in our case a Davidsonian event argument (e) in the matrix clause; concerning the underlying structural configurations: see below (section 3.3).

*Note:*

Cf. also Whelpton (2002: 207), who argues "that both control and predication in the rationale clause can be viewed as strictly local".

(ii) *In OC, long distance (LD) control and arbitrary control are ruled out:*

*LD control:*

(49) Hans berichtete, dass Peter [PRO<sub>e</sub> als letzten Schritt] den Boden gebohrt  
*Hans reported that Peter as last work.task the floor waxed*  
 habe.  
*have<sub>subjunctive</sub>*  
 'Hans reported that, as a last step, Peter had waxed the floor.'

event<sub>1</sub>: *berichten* ('report') in the matrix clause  
 event<sub>2</sub>: *den Boden bohren* ('wax the floor') in the embedded clause

- a. *letzter Schritt ≠ berichten*: #Hans berichtete als letzten Schritt ...  
*Hans reported as last step*
- b. *letzter Schritt = Boden bohren* ('wax the floor'): ✓

**Conclusion:**

It must be the (local) event in the embedded clause that controls PRO<sub>e</sub> inside the adjunct;  
 i.e. LD control is ruled out.

**Arbitrary control:**

An event cannot be interpreted arbitrarily (unlike DPs, which can have the meaning *one/'man'*).

(iii) In OC, the controller can also be non-human:

- In event control, the controller is an event (= [-human]); hence this requirement is automatically fulfilled.

**Note:**

Another well-known criterion for OC is that OC PRO only allows a sloppy interpretation under ellipsis; however, this does not seem to be applicable to event control.

**Conclusion:**

Event control is OC. In the following, we will therefore explore how event control can be syntactically licensed on a par with standard obligatory control.

**3. Theoretical Approach**

**Starting point:**

Can event control be modeled along the lines of the hybrid theory of control (see Fischer 2018)?

**3.1 Background assumptions**

- The hybrid theory of control is a phase-based theory of control that assumes that OC is licensed under (upward) Agree.
- Phase-based theory of control = derivational control theory that takes the *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC) seriously:

**Basic minimalist assumption:**

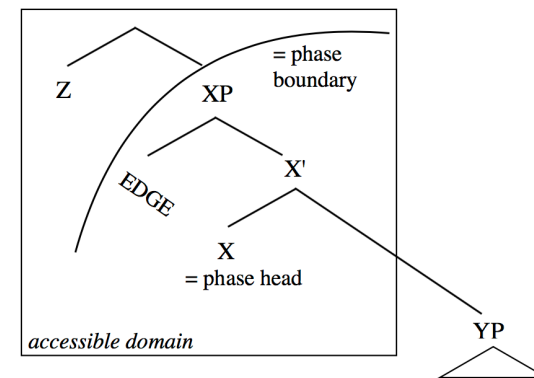
- Syntactic licensing is locally constrained (principle of economy):  
 It must occur within the accessible domain in the course of the syntactic derivation.

(50) *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC):

The domain of a head X of a phase XP is not accessible to operations outside XP; only X and its edge are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky 2000: 108)<sup>3</sup>

(51) CPs and vPs are phases.

(52) *Illustration:*



**3.2 Licensing of standard OC under Agree**

- "standard OC" = OC with a DP as obligatory controller,  
 i.e. subject/object control (and not event control)

**Technical implementation:**

- (i) The controllee is merged in the derivation as an empty argument which is referentially defective.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Note that Chomsky (2001) proposes in addition a second, more liberal version of the PIC. We follow the more restrictive version cited in (50) for conceptual reasons, but this does not have any consequences for our proposal.

<sup>4</sup> This empty argument is not necessarily a control-specific formative but could in principle also surface as *pro* (depending on the licensing configuration); but since we focus on control, we can equate with PRO.

(ii) This is encoded in syntax in terms of the feature specification  $\{D, \beta: \_ \}$ .  
 The  $\beta$ -feature can be viewed as a syntactically reified binding index feature, and that PRO carries an unvalued  $\beta$ -feature indicates that PRO needs to be referentially identified.

(iii) This is achieved under Agree (which involves upward probing, see (53)) with another element bearing a valued  $\beta$ -feature.

(iv) At the C-I interface, Agree involving  $\beta$ -feature checking is interpreted as binding.<sup>5</sup>

(53) *Agree*:<sup>6</sup>

A feature  $[F: \_]$  on  $\alpha$  is valued by a feature  $[F: val]$  on  $\gamma$  iff

- (a)  $\gamma$  c-commands  $\alpha$ ,
- (b)  $\gamma$  is the closest goal, and
- (c)  $\alpha$  is accessible to  $\gamma$ .

*Deriving standard OC:*

- (i) The D-feature allows PRO to be merged into an argument position.
- (ii) From here it probes upwards to find a goal/licensor (see also Baker 2008, Schäfer 2008, Haegeman & Lohndal 2010, Bjorkman 2011, Wurmbrand 2011 et seq., Zeijlstra 2012, Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2014 a.o. as regards upward probing).
- (iii) If PRO cannot be licensed in the current phase, it moves to the phase's edge to remain accessible and thereby retain the possibility to get licensed later in the derivation (in accordance with the PIC).
- (iv) When an element bearing a valued  $\beta$ -feature is merged, PRO finds a goal and can be licensed under Agree; i.e., the  $\beta$ -feature of PRO is valued, which means that PRO is interpreted as being bound by this element (= the controller)

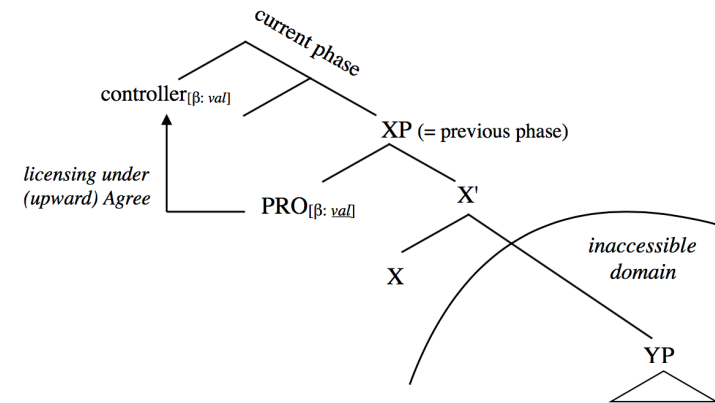
<sup>5</sup> Note that this feature does not really display a specific syntactic property; it just signals whether a DP is referentially identified or not (if yes, the corresponding  $\beta$ -feature is valued, if not, it is unvalued, if an unvalued feature is valued under Agree, this relation is interpreted as a binding relation). For similar assumptions, see also Hicks (2009), who suggests that anaphors enter the derivation with an unvalued VAR-feature that must be valued in the course of the derivation by a valued feature on the antecedent (which is also assumed to be restricted by the PIC). See also Fischer (2004, 2006), where such a  $\beta$ -feature has already been introduced in the context of a derivational analysis of anaphoric/pronominal binding.

<sup>6</sup> This is a version of Wurmbrand's definition of (Reverse) Agree (see Wurmbrand 2011: 3). Following Pesetsky & Torrego (2007), Bošković (2009 et seq.), Wurmbrand (2011) a.o., Agree is thus assumed to be valuation-driven.

*General licensing of OC in a nutshell:*

(54) controller $_{[\beta: val]}$  ... [*previous phase edge* PRO $_{[\beta: \_]}$  ...]

*Illustration:*



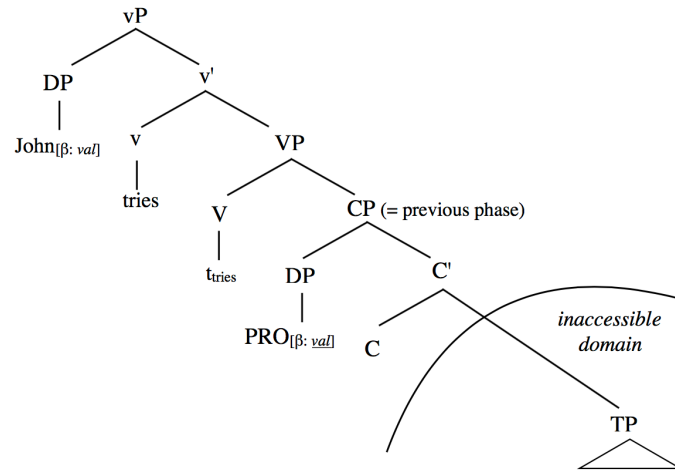
*Example:*

- (55) a. John tries [PRO to win].  
 b. *embedded vP*:  
 $[_{VP} PRO_{[\beta: \_]} win [_{VP} t_{win}]]$   
 c. *embedded TP*:  
 $[_{TP} PRO_{[\beta: \_]} to [_{VP} t_{PRO} win [_{VP} t_{win}]]]$  → *VP becomes inaccessible*  
 d. *embedded CP*:  
 $[_{CP} PRO_{[\beta: \_]} [_{TP} t_{PRO} to [_{VP} t_{PRO} win [_{VP} t_{win}]]]$   
 e. *matrix VP*:  
 $[_{VP} tries [_{CP} PRO_{[\beta: \_]} [_{TP} t_{PRO} to [_{VP} t_{PRO} win [_{VP} t_{win}]]]]$  → *TP<sub>emb.</sub> becomes inaccessible*  
 f. *matrix vP*:  
 $[_{VP} John_{[\beta: val]} tries [_{CP} PRO_{[\beta: val]} [_{TP} t_{PRO} to [_{VP} t_{PRO} win [_{VP} t_{win}]]]]]$   
 → *John bears a valued  $\beta$ -feature and can thus license PRO under Agree*  
 → *OC is established*



Illustration:

(56) Valuation of PRO's previously unvalued  $\beta$ -feature ( $\{\beta: \_ \}$ ) under Agree



### 3.3 Event control

Observations:

- (i) Event control is obligatory control (see section 2.3); hence, we expect it to be licensed in a similar way as standard subject/object control.
- (ii) However, the controller is not a DP in a higher clause; instead, PRO refers to the event described in the matrix clause.

Syntactic implementation:

- (i) Adjuncts selecting an event subject merge an empty argument in their subject position with the feature specification  $\{D, \varepsilon: \_ \}$ . We call this argument  $PRO_e$ .
- (ii) In principle, the  $\varepsilon$ -feature is identical to the  $\beta$ -feature above since selection requirements of the control predicate determine whether PRO needs an event or a DP controller (so there is no independent need to implement this in the feature specification of PRO itself); see also section 3.5.

But for the sake of convenience we use this notation to highlight the fact that  $PRO_e$  is looking for an event argument as a controller.

(iii) That  $PRO_e$  carries an unvalued  $\varepsilon$ -feature thus indicates that PRO needs to be identified by an event argument.

(iv) In order to get licensed syntactically,  $PRO_e$  probes upwards to find a local event argument with which to agree. Technical implementation: event arguments bear a valued  $\varepsilon$ -feature (for details, see comments below).

(v) At the C-I interface, valued  $PRO_e$  is interpreted as referring to the event denoted by its syntactic licenser (= the controller).

Comments:

syntactic aspects:

- > We argue that event control is syntactically licensed, on a par with standard obligatory control.
- > In line with Whelpton (2002), Lohndal (2014)<sup>7</sup> a.o., we assume that event variables are syntactically active, and we suggest that this is encoded in syntax as follows:
- > The Davidsonian event argument that ultimately licenses PRO has its origin in the verb's lexical representation. In syntax, this is encoded in terms of a valued  $\varepsilon$ -feature; i.e. a verb enters the syntactic derivation with a valued  $\varepsilon$ -feature (indicating that it introduces an event). This feature is percolated from the verbal head to the projections of the verb (cf. also Whelpton (2002: 199), who suggests that, in his terminology, "the event index is carried by the projection of the verb").

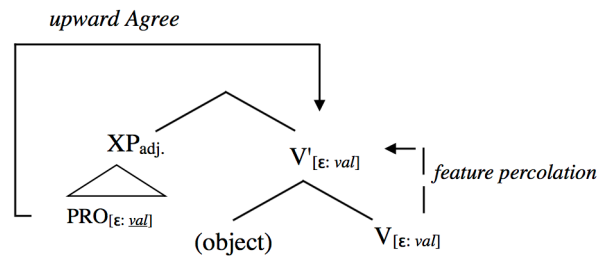
syntax vs. semantics:

- > What happens in syntax is this:  
PRO is referentially defective and the Agree relation between PRO and its controller referentially identifies PRO by stating that in whichever way the controller is interpreted, this is how PRO is interpreted as well. (And in the case of event control, PRO and its controller refer to an event.)
- > Syntax links PRO to its controller (i.e. it determines the latter); semantics determines their interpretation.
- > The  $\varepsilon$ -feature is a syntactic object and has to be distinguished from the semantic event argument. (For instance, Merge of the object does not affect the verb's  $\varepsilon$ -feature, whereas in semantics, the event becomes more complex the bigger the tree gets.)

<sup>7</sup> "[Event variables] are introduced in the syntax." (Lohndal 2014: 133)

Illustration:

(57) Valuation of PRO's previously unvalued  $\epsilon$ -feature ( $[\epsilon: \_]$ ) under Agree



A note on terminology:

Following Bare Phrase Structure, the mother node of the object turns (notationally) into an intermediate projection (V') if another constituent is merged within the same phrase (like an adjunct). So the VP adjunct XP in (57) is *not* meant to be in a specifier position.

### 3.3.1 Licensing of PRO<sub>e</sub> in VP adjuncts

(58) (= (2)) a. [Als letzten Arbeitsgang] hat Peter den Boden gebohntert.  
*as last work.task has Peter the floor waxed*  
 'As a last step, Peter waxed the floor.'

b. *underlying word order:*

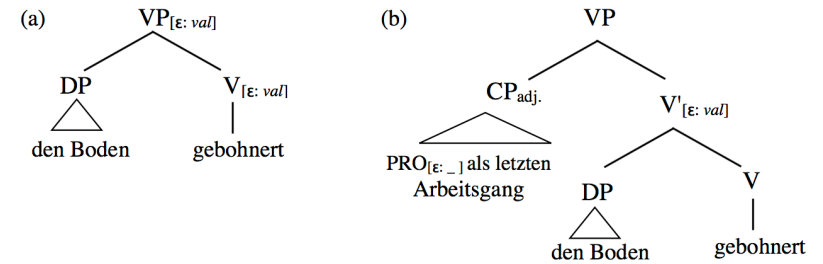
... dass Peter [<sub>VP</sub> [als letzten Arbeitsgang] den Bodengebohntert] hat.  
*that Peter as last work.task the floor waxed has*

(59) (= (4)) a. Peter hat den Boden gebohntert. Das war der letzte Arbeitsgang.  
*Peter has the floor waxed this was the last work.task*  
 'Peter waxed the floor. This was the last task.'

b. *das* ('this') = den Boden bohnen

➤ Note that the subject *Peter* is not part of the event, which is compatible with the view that the adjunct is adjoined at the VP level.

(60) Structure before and after VP adjunction:



Deriving OC:

- The verb (*bohnen*) enters the derivation with a valued  $\epsilon$ -feature which is percolated to the verbal projection, cf. (60-a).
- Recall that, notationally, the VP node from (60-a) turns into a V' node in (60-b) when the tree is extended and CP is adjoined (cf. BPS).
- PRO is in the accessible domain inside the adjunct (i.e. at its edge if the adjunct is a CP, otherwise at the edge of the highest phase inside the adjunct).<sup>8</sup>
- V' is an accessible goal for PRO: PRO and V' are both accessible at this point in the derivation, V' c-commands PRO, and V' bears a matching feature ( $[\epsilon: val]$ ).<sup>9</sup>
- Hence, Agree can be established and the OC relation is derived.
- Semantic interpretation of this event at the C-I interface:  
*den Boden bohnen* ('wax the floor')

Note:

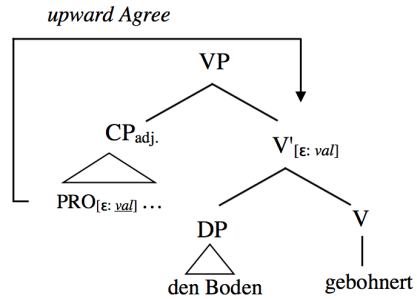
For the sake of clarity, we only represent the valued  $\epsilon$ -feature on the goal in the trees that illustrate control licensing (and ignore other instances of  $[\epsilon: val]$ ).

<sup>8</sup> Depending on what we assume to be the internal structure of the adjunct, parts of it might already have been rendered inaccessible at this point, which is ignored in tree (60). The only thing that counts is that PRO is still accessible.

<sup>9</sup> Note that  $[\epsilon: val]$  can also percolate to VP in (60-b); but VP is not a potential goal for PRO due to lack of c-command.

Illustration:

(61) Licensing of the control relation under Agree:



### 3.3.2 Licensing of PRO<sub>e</sub> in CP adjuncts

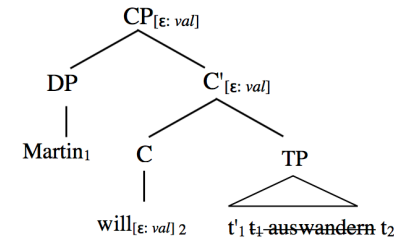
(62) (cf. (7)) Martin will auswandern, [PRO ein schwerer Entschluss].  
*Martin wants emigrate a difficult decision*  
 'Martin wants to emigrate, a difficult decision.'

(63) a. Martin will auswandern. Das war ein schwerer Entschluss.  
*Martin wants emigrate this was a difficult decision*  
 'Martin wants to emigrate. This was a difficult decision.'  
 b. *das = dass Martin auswandern will* ('that Martin wants to emigrate')

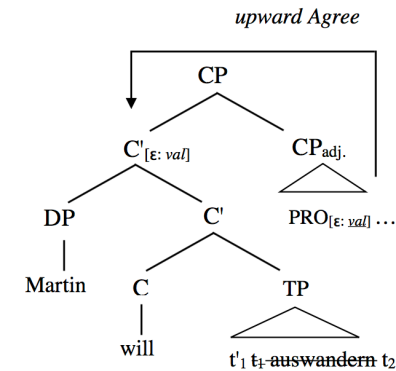
Notes:

- As suggested above, the adjunct in (62) is adjoined to CP.
- In this case, the subject *Martin* is part of the controlling event. That fits with the observation that these CP adjuncts are propositional modifiers.
- In (62), the finite verb *will* ('want') also comes with a valued  $\epsilon$ -feature. Since *will* ('want') moves from T to C, its  $\epsilon$ -feature can ultimately percolate to CP; cf. (64).

(64) Structure before CP adjunction takes place:



(65) Licensing of the control relation under Agree after CP adjunction has taken place:



Deriving OC:

- Recall that, notationally, the CP node from (64) turns into a C' node in (65) when the tree is extended and CP is adjoined (cf. BPS).
- PRO is in the accessible domain inside the adjunct (i.e. at its edge if the adjunct is a CP, otherwise at the edge of the highest phase inside the adjunct).
- C' is an accessible goal for PRO: PRO and C' are both accessible at this point in the derivation, C' c-commands PRO, and C' bears a matching feature ([ $\epsilon$ : val]).
- Hence, Agree can be established and the OC relation is derived.
- Semantic interpretation of this event at the C-I interface:  
*Martin will auswandern* ('Martin wants to emigrate')

### 3.4 Multiple Agree

Note:

In the literature, instances of multiple Agree have often served as a motivation for upward Agree (see, for instance, Hiraiwa 2001, Haegeman & Lohndal 2010, Zeijlstra 2012, Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2014).

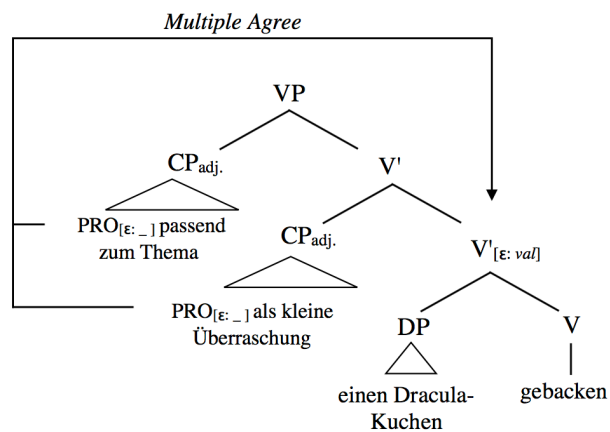
Observation:

In the case of event control, we also find examples which involve several propositional adjuncts that refer to the same event; an analysis based on upward Agree can straightforwardly account for these data.

(66) Ich habe gehört, dass Peter [passend zum Thema] [als kleine Überraschung]  
 I have heard that Peter fitting with topic as little surprise  
 einen Dracula-Kuchen gebacken hat.  
 a Dracula cake baked has  
 'I heard that Peter, befitting the theme, had baked a Dracula cake as a little surprise.'

- adjunct 1: adverbial present participle construction
- adjunct 2: adverbial small clauses headed by the particle *als*
- two VP adjuncts

(67)



Deriving OC:

- Both adjuncts involve PRO bearing an unvalued  $\epsilon$ -feature; they serve as probes.
- Assuming upward Agree as licensing condition, the controller functions as a goal for both instances of PRO; thus, they can both be valued by the same event in the matrix clause:
- Adopting the category-based definition of c-command<sup>10</sup> (cf. Kayne 1994), V' c-commands both instances of PRO (the category V' does not dominate PRO and every category dominating V' (= VP) dominates PRO).
- Thus V' is an accessible goal for PRO: PRO and V' are both accessible at this point in the derivation, V' c-commands PRO, and V' bears a matching feature ( $[\epsilon: val]$ ).
- Hence, (multiple) Agree can be established and the OC relation is derived.
- Semantic interpretation of this event at the C-I interface:  
*einen Dracula-Kuchen backen* ('bake a Dracula cake')

### 3.5 Selection – standard PRO or PRO<sub>ε</sub>?

Comparison to event passives:

- Whether a non-finite adjunct selects an agent or event subject in the active depends on the involved predicates and is reminiscent of the situation in passives, where we also find event passives.
- event passives:  
 "Event passives are verbal passives which involve only a causing event and no agent, where the notion of agent should be interpreted narrowly to involve only individuals capable of volitional action. Put differently, in event passives, no causing individual is assumed to be implicitly present semantically." (Solstad 2009)
- Agentivity-neutral predicates can combine with either an agent subject or an event subject in the active. In passive constructions, the implicit external argument can therefore either be an agent or the event, cf. (68) vs. (69) (see Solstad 2009):

<sup>10</sup> Category-based definition of c-command (Kayne 1994: 16, 18):

X c-commands Y iff X and Y are categories and X excludes Y and every category dominating X dominates Y.

Chomsky (1986: 7, 9):

a. X excludes Y if no segment of X dominates Y.

b. X is dominated by Y only if it is dominated by every segment of Y.

(68) Der Verbrecher wurde von Unbekannten getötet.  
*the criminal was by strangers killed*  
'The criminal was killed by unknown persons.'

(69) Der Verbrecher wurde durch einen Schuss getötet.  
*the criminal was by a shot killed*  
'The criminal was shot dead.'

*Back to control:*

Similarly, OC can involve either PRO<sub>e</sub>, which is controlled by an event, or agentive PRO, which gives rise to subject or object control; cf. (70) vs. (71).

(70) *event control:*

[PRO<sub>e</sub> als letzten Versuch (, ihn umzustimmen)] [schrieb Peter einen Brief an den  
*as last attempt him round.to.bring wrote Peter a letter to the*  
Vermieter]<sub>e</sub>.  
*landlord*

'In a last attempt to make him change his mind, Peter wrote a letter to the landlord.'

*meaning:*

a. Peter schrieb einen Brief an den Vermieter. Das war der letzte Versuch (, ihn  
*Peter wrote a letter to the landlord this was the last attempt him*  
umzustimmen).  
*round.to.bring*

'Peter wrote a letter to the landlord. This was his last attempt to make him change his mind.'

b. *das* = *einen Brief an den Vermieter schreiben* (→ event)  
( 'write a letter to the landlord' )

(71) *subject control:*

[PRO<sub>1</sub> als Arbeitsloser] hatte Peter<sub>1</sub> keine Chance auf die Wohnung.  
*as unemployed had Peter no chance on the apartment*

'Being unemployed, Peter had no chance to get the apartment.'

*meaning:*

a. Da Peter arbeitslos ist, hatte er keine Chance auf die Wohnung.  
*since Peter unemployed is had he no chance on the apartment*  
'Since Peter is unemployed, he had no chance to get the apartment.'

b. external argument of *arbeitslos/Arbeitsloser* ('unemployed') = *Peter* (→ DP)

*Ambiguous adjuncts:*

(72) vs. (73) illustrates moreover that there are also adjuncts which can either select PRO<sub>e</sub> or agentive PRO controlled by an implicit agent (which correlates with the passive data in (68)/(69)).

(72) *event control:*

[Die Einwohner wurden evakuiert,]<sub>e</sub> [um PRO<sub>e</sub> eine Katastrophe zu verhindern].  
*the inhabitants were evacuated for a disaster to prevent*  
'The inhabitants were evacuated to prevent a disaster.'

*meaning:*

a. Die Einwohner wurden evakuiert. Dies verhinderte eine Katastrophe.  
*the inhabitants were evacuated this prevented a disaster*

b. *dies* = *dass die Einwohner evakuiert wurden* (→ event)  
( 'that the inhabitants were evacuated' )

(73) *implicit agentive control:*

Die Einwohner wurden evakuiert, [um PRO<sub>agentive</sub> eine Katastrophe zu verhindern].  
*the inhabitants were evacuated for a disaster to prevent*  
'The inhabitants were evacuated to prevent a disaster.'

*meaning:*

a. → *with realization of implicit agent*

Die Einwohner wurden (von den Verantwortlichen<sub>1</sub>) evakuiert, [PRO<sub>1</sub> um eine  
*the inhabitants were by the responsible evacuated for a*  
Katastrophe zu verhindern].  
*disaster to prevent*

'The responsible persons evacuated the inhabitants to prevent a disaster.'

b. Die Einwohner wurden evakuiert. Die Verantwortlichen verhinderten so eine  
*the inhabitants were evacuated the responsible prevented thus a*  
Katastrophe.  
*disaster*

'The inhabitants were evacuated. In doing so, the responsible persons prevented a disaster.'

c. external argument of *(eine Katastrophe) verhindern* = *die Verantwortlichen* (→ DP)  
( 'to prevent a disaster' ) ( 'the responsible persons' )

#### 4. Conclusion

##### Event control:

- We have argued that event control is a control type of its own:  
It is an obligatory control relation between PRO inside a non-finite propositional adjunct and a Davidsonian event argument in the matrix clause.

##### Non-finite propositional adjuncts:

- Considering data from German, Norwegian, and English, we have looked at adverbial adjuncts of the following types:
  - A. nominative DPs (*Satzappositionen*)
  - B. adverbial small clauses headed by the particle *als*
  - C. adverbial present and past participle constructions
  - D. adverbial infinitives headed by *um*

##### Adjunction sites:

- vP/VP vs. CP adjuncts

Based on their behavior concerning scopal relations, morphological case marking, syntactic distribution, and binding, we concluded that appositional nominative DPs (type A) are adjoined to CP, whereas the others (type B, C, D) are adjoined in the verbal domain (to vP/VP).

##### Theoretical implementation:

- Since event control behaves like standard OC, we argued that it should be syntactically licensed in the same way.
- Following the hybrid theory of control, we argued that the control relation is licensed under upward Agree with PRO<sub>e</sub> as probe and an event in the matrix clause as goal.
- In line with Whelpton (2002), Lohndal (2014) a.o., we assumed that event variables are syntactically active, and we proposed that this is encoded in syntax as follows:  
Verbs come into the derivation with a valued  $\varepsilon$ -feature (which indicates that they introduce an event); this feature percolates from the head to the verb's projections.
- PRO<sub>e</sub>, on the other hand, is equipped with an unvalued  $\varepsilon$ -feature, which signals that PRO needs to refer to an event; however, its concrete interpretation can only be determined if the feature is valued under Agree:  
Agree syntactically links PRO to the controller and thus entails that PRO ultimately has the same interpretation.
- As a result, at the C-I interface, valued PRO<sub>e</sub> is thus interpreted as referring to the same event as its controller.

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