

1. Implicit Control and the RVG

implicit control = control by an implicit argument, see (1).

- focus in the recent control debate: mainly on complement control (see (3))
• previous approaches: Revised Visser's Generalization (RVG) seems to hold (see (2)); accounts for the contrasts in (3)

(3a): violates RVG (der Lehrer agrees with T)

(3b): RVG satisfied (due to lexical Case no agreement with T)

Licensing of control according to van Urk (2013):

mediated Agree relation between the implicit argument, T, and PRO

2. Previous Observations

Wurmbrand (2021):

The control relation does not have to be mediated by a functional head in all cases; if a by-phrase is present, control is not mediated by T.

Pitteroff & Schäfer (P&S) (2019):

There are cases of implicit complement control that contradict the RVG, see (4).

Our Focus:

WHAT ABOUT IMPLICIT ADJUNCT CONTROL? (see (5))

(1) controller = implicit agent of the matrix verb

The boat was sunk [PRO to collect the insurance]. (Manzini 1983)

(2) Revised Visser's Generalization (RVG)

OC by an implicit subject is impossible if an overt DP agrees with T. (van Urk 2013: 172)

(3) a. (original object) DP bears structural Case:

*Der Lehrer wurde gebeten, [PRO ihn, kitzeln zu dürfen]. the.nom teacher.nom was begged him tickle to may 'The teacher was begged to be allowed to tickle him.'

b. (indirect) object DP bears lexical Case:

Mir wurde versprochen, [PRO mir [...]] den Link für das Update zu schicken. I.dat was promised I.dat the link for the update to send 'It was promised to me to send me the link for the update.'

(cf. van Urk 2013: 171)

(4) Previous examples that violate the RVG

a. It was decided [PRO to attend the workshop]

'it is a cataphoric pronoun fully specified for phi-features [and] should agree with T' (P&S: 177)

b. Viel Zeit wurde (von Hans) darauf verwandt, [PRO das Problem zu lösen]. much time was (by John) it.on spent the problem to solve 'Much time was spent (by John) on solving the problem.' (P&S: 178)

(5) Implicit adjunct control: contradicts the RVG

a. Das Medikament muss (von Maria) [PRO liegend] eingenommen werden. the medicine must (by Mary) lying consumed be 'The medicine must be consumed while lying down.'

b. Die Einwohner wurden (von den Behörden) evakuiert [PRO um eine Katastrophe zu verhindern]. the inhabitants were (by the authorities) evacuated to a disaster to prevent 'The inhabitants were evacuated (by the authorities) to prevent a disaster.'

3. Our Claims & Observations

CLAIM 1: Implicit adjunct control is OC

OC tests:

Not all standard tests for OC are applicable in the case of implicit argument control for independent reasons (e.g., non-human PRO is ruled out since the controller is typically an implicit agent = human); but we show in (6) that

- (i) the controller must be an argument of the adjunct's matrix clause;
(ii) arbitrary control is ruled out, as inserting a by-phrase shows; see (6b) (cf. also Landau 2000: 177).
(iii) LD control is ruled out (see (6c)/(6d))

> These are all hallmark of OC

Notation: ... for the implicit argument: phi(P) (following Wurmbrand 2021)

Remark: OC is expected independently given a scope-based analysis of adjunct control

Since implicit adjunct control only seems to involve event-modifying vP-adjuncts (see, e.g., the examples in Landau 2000 et seq., Høyem 2015 et seq., Brodahl 2018, Green 2019), OC is expected given the observations on adjunct control in Fischer & Høyem (2022), Brodahl et al. (2022).

OBSERVATION:

If implicit adjunct control is OC, it should be subject to the RVG; however, it is compatible with nominative Case-marked subjects (see (5)), i.e. it violates the RVG.

> Why should implicit adjunct control be different from implicit complement control?

CLAIM 2: It is not!

(i) Licensing takes place in the same way; (ii) the RVG does not hold.

(6) a. Peter wurde erzählt, dass das Medikament phi(P), [PRO, liegend] eingenommen werden muss. Peter was told that the medicine lying consumed be must 'Peter was told that the medicine must be consumed while lying down.'

> generic interpretation (via phi(P))

b. Peter wurde erzählt, dass das Medikament von Maria, phi(P), [PRO, liegend] eingenommen werden muss. Peter was told that the medicine by Mary lying consumed be must 'Peter was told that the medicine must be consumed by Mary while lying down.'

> Maria licenses phi(P), which licenses PRO (≠ arbitrary control)

c. Peter wurde von Hans, phi(P), erzählt, dass das Medikament von Maria, phi(P), [PRO, liegend] eingenommen werden muss. Peter was by John told that the medicine by Mary lying consumed be must 'Peter was told by John that the medicine must be consumed by Mary while lying down.'

> Maria licenses phi(P), which licenses PRO; control by Hans/phi(P), is impossible

d. Peter wurde von Hans, phi(P), erzählt, dass das Medikament phi(P), [PRO, liegend] eingenommen werden muss. Peter was by John told that the medicine phi(P) lying consumed be must 'Peter was told by John that the medicine must be consumed while lying down.'

> control by Hans/phi(P), is still ruled out; PRO obligatorily has the generic interpretation it can only get by phi(P), (≠ LD control)

4. Licensing Implicit Adjunct Control

Background assumptions: (in line with Wurmbrand 2021 a.o.)

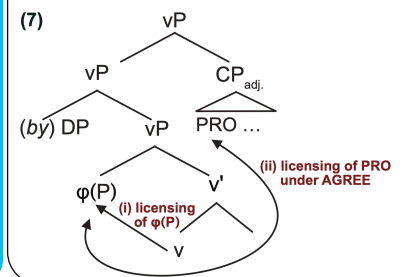
- The implicit argument phi(P) is syntactically encoded as a phi-feature bundle without a D-layer.
• position: specifier of some functional verbal projection (for the sake of simplicity, we will stick to little vP)
• phi(P) is the controller in implicit OC relations, but:
• it must be licensed (= "supplied with a D-property", Wurmbrand 2021: 318) to be able to control

We assume in addition:

- licensing of phi(P) does not proceed via T but via v = the head that is associated with the external theta-role in the active counterpart
• a direct control relationship (without mediation of a functional head) also if the by-phrase is absent

Licensing configuration:

Following Fischer (2018), Fischer & Høyem (2022) and Brodahl et al. (2022), we assume that OC is licensed via upward Agree between PRO and the controller, in this case the implicit argument phi(P); see configuration in (7).



5. Open Questions

• This analysis captures all the grammatical examples above in a unified way; but what about the ungrammatical example in (3a)?

• At the moment, we do not have an alternative account of (3a), but we think that the differences between (3a) and (3b) go beyond the mere issue of Case (after all, the underlying syntactic structure is completely different; cf. also the extraposed examples in (4)).

6. SUMMARY

> In order to fully understand implicit control, we also have to look at implicit adjunct control:

CLAIM 1: Implicit adjunct control involves OC

> BUT: It violates the RVG!

CLAIM 2:

(i) Implicit adjunct and implicit complement control is licensed in the same way.

(ii) The RVG as stated in (2) cannot hold.

> Licensing: v licenses the implicit argument, which licenses PRO under (upward) Agree.

