

4. Control phenomena in Polish

0. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is twofold: to provide a typology of control in Polish, and to analyse control phenomena in this language. The chapter starts with an examination of two issues which play an important role in the subsequent analysis, namely the status of *żeby* ‘so that’, a common introducer of non-finite complements in Polish, and the nature of the subject found in non-finite *żeby*-complements. Section 2 is devoted to a study of various control types in Polish. Besides the traditionally distinguished types such as OC and NOC, a new division into EC and PC is postulated. Various contexts where particular control classes occur are scrutinised. Section 3 focuses on predication facts in Polish, as they cast light on whether PRO in this language is Case marked or not. Finally, in section 4 an analysis of various control patterns in Polish is attempted using the model proposed for English by Landau (2000). It is argued that certain modifications within Landau’s approach are necessary in order to capture the control facts peculiar to Polish.

1.0. Preliminary observations

Before embarking on the task of determining the mechanisms of control in Polish, let us first examine two issues that have been left unexamined in Chapter III. The issues in question concern the proper treatment of *żeby* ‘so that’, and the nature of the subject of non-finite *żeby*-clauses. These problems will be investigated in sections 1.1 and 1.2, respectively.

1.1. *Excursus on żeby ‘so that’*

It has been noted in Chapter III that Polish non-finite clauses can be commonly introduced by *żeby* ‘so that’. In addition to this, *żeby* ‘so that’ can also introduce finite subjunctive clauses. (1a) illustrates a non-finite *żeby* complement, while (1b) instantiates a finite one:

(1)

- a. Marek nalegał, żeby pójść z nim do kina.
Mark insisted so-that to-go with him to cinema
'Mark insisted on going with him to the cinema.'
- b. Marek nalegał, żeby Marta poszła z nim do kina.
Mark insisted so-that Martha go-PRTC with him to cinema
'Mark insisted on Martha's going with him to the cinema.'

Indicative complement clauses, on the other hand, are commonly introduced by the C *że* 'that', as in (2):

(2)

- Marek powiedział, że Marta poszła z nim do kina.
Mark said that Martha went with him to cinema
'Mark said that Martha went with him to the cinema.'

The particle *by* often functions as a conditional auxiliary, as shown in (3), where it either attaches to the verb, as in (3a), or stands alone, as in (3b). In both (3a) and (3b) the verb appears in its active past participle form (cf. Bąk (1977:253)).¹

(3)

- a. Marek wyjechałby za granicę.
Mark go-PRTC-BY for abroad
'Mark would go abroad.'
- b. Marek by wyjechał za granicę.
Mark BY go-PRTC for abroad
'Mark would go abroad.'

The verb forms in (3a) and (3b) are traditionally called subjunctive (cf. footnote 1 and Bąk (1977:253)). Although called subjunctive, these forms are typically used in indicative complements with the C *że* 'that', as in (4a) and (4b), not in subjunctive clauses (cf. (4d) and (4e)), which are introduced by *żeby* 'so that', as in (4c):

¹ Bąk (1977:253-4) notes that active past participle forms are commonly used as past tense forms, but can also take part in constructing the periphrastic future tense, e.g. *będzie jechał* 'will go' and subjunctive forms, e.g. *wyjechałby* 'would go'.

(4)

a. Marek wie, że odwiedziłbyś go.²
 Mark knows that visit-PRTC-BY-2SG him
 'Mark knows that you would visit him.'

b. Marek wie, że byś go odwiedził.³
 Mark knows that BY-2SG him visit-PRTC
 'Mark knows that you would visit him.'

c. Marek chce, żebyś odwiedził go.
 Mark wants so-that-2SG visit-PRTC him
 'Mark wants you to visit him.'

d.*Marek chce, że odwiedziłbyś go.
 Mark wants that visit-PRTC-2SG him
 'Mark wants you to visit him.'

e.*Marek chce, że byś go odwiedził.
 Mark wants that BY-2SG him visit-PRTC
 'Mark wants you to visit him.'

(4d) and (4e), in which *by* either attaches to the verb or stands alone are ungrammatical and thus clearly contrast with (4a) and (4b), which are perfectly grammatical with the identical verb forms. Since conditional forms are disallowed in subjunctive complements, it seems to be unjustified to call them subjunctive, as traditional grammars do.

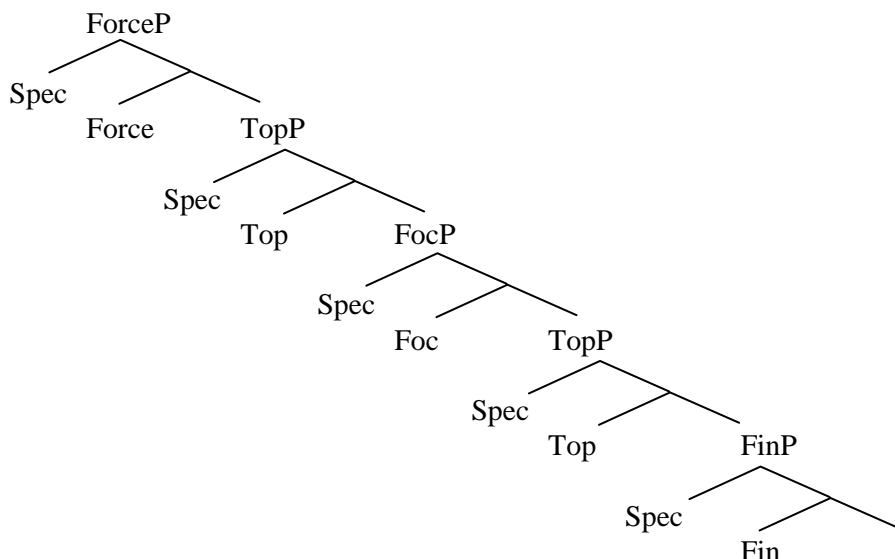
In traditional grammars (cf. Klemensiewicz (1976), Bąk (1977), Grochowski *et al.* (1984), Grzegorzczkowska (1996) and Nagórko (1996)), *żeby* is typically classified as a conjunction. Within early generative analyses, *żeby* is regarded as a C (cf. Lewandowska (1976), Fisiak *et al.* (1978) and Zabrocki (1981)). Later generative analyses, such as Willim (1989) Tajsner (1989) and Witkoś (1998), continue to treat *żeby* as a C. Although *żeby* is generally regarded as a complex complementiser, consisting of the indicative C *że* (cf. (2)) and the element *by* (cf. (3)), there is no consensus as to where *by* originates. Some linguists regard *by* as

² In (4a) *by* is followed by the person and number ending, namely *-ś*, corresponding to the second person singular.

³ (4b) and (4c) are only apparently similar, but in fact they differ in that in the complement of the former the word *byś* 'BY-2SG' is stressed, whereas in latter the stress falls on the first syllable of *żebyś* 'so-that-2SG'.

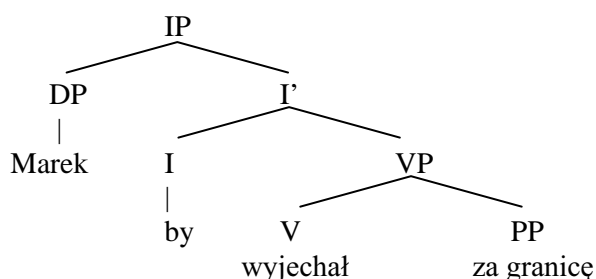
a mood marker generated in I which attaches onto *że* by means of incorporation, yielding *żeby*. This stand is taken by Fisiak *et al.* (1978) and Borsley and Rivero (1994). Likewise, Borsley (1999), working within HPSG, treats *żeby* as derived from the conditional auxiliary *by* with *że* prefixed onto it. On the other hand, some other linguists, like Szczegielniak (1999), argue that *by* is located in Finiteness (henceforth, Fin), within the more articulated CP structure postulated by Rizzi (1997) and schematised in (5) below. Szczegielniak further argues that *że* occupies the head position of Force in (5).

(5)

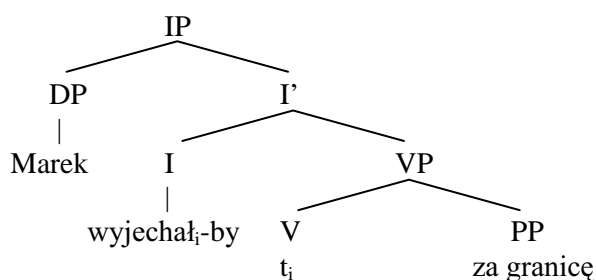


The question that we want to address in this section is whether it is justified to claim that *żeby* results from the incorporation of the conditional *by* into the C *że*, as argued for by Fisiak *et al.* (1978) and Borsley and Rivero (1994), or whether *żeby* requires an alternative treatment along the lines suggested by Szczegielniak (1999). We will start our discussion by presenting Borsley and Rivero's (1994) analysis. Borsley and Rivero (1994) claim that *by* always occupies the I position and that the verb optionally incorporates into it in cases like (3), as schematised in (6):

(6) a. unincorporated pattern



b. incorporated pattern



In complement clauses with *żeby*, such as (1), Borsley and Rivero have to assume that *by* incorporates into the C *że* obligatorily, as the sentences in (7), where *by* incorporates into the verb but not into the C, are unacceptable.

(7)

- a. *Marek nalegał, że Ewa poszłaby z nim do kina.⁴
 Mark insisted that Eve go-PRTC-BY with him to cinema
 'Mark insisted on Eve's going with him to the cinema.'
- b. *Marek nalegał, że pójśćby z nim do kina.
 Mark insisted that go-BY with him to cinema
 'Mark insisted on going with him to the cinema.'

⁴ (7a) is equally unacceptable if *by* stands on its own without incorporating into anything, as in (i) below:

- (i) *Marek nalegał, że Ewa by poszła z nim do kina.
 Mark insisted that Eve BY go-PRTC with him to cinema
 'Mark insisted on Eve's going with him to the cinema.'

While the ungrammaticality of (7b) may be explained by referring to the fact that *by* does not attach to infinitives, but on past participles (cf. (3a)), no comparable explanation can be provided for (7a), where *by* is associated with the past participial verb form. Borsley and Rivero (1994) propose that in cases like (1) the verb does not incorporate into the conditional auxiliary *by* due to the fact that the conditional earlier moves to C. This movement results from the requirement for *by* and C to be adjacent; such adjacency would be destroyed by verb incorporation, as the verb would intervene between the two. They suggest that *by* is raised to the indicative complementiser *że* 'that' to satisfy the selectional requirements of the matrix verb, which demands a subjunctive complement, not an indicative one. Although it seems that Borsley and Rivero (1994) are generally right in claiming that *by* cannot incorporate into the verb in cases like (7), there exist infrequent minimal pairs like:

(8)

- a. Powiedział, żebyś to zrobił.
 he-said that-BY-2SG it do-PRTC
 'He said that you should do it.'
- b. Powiedział, że zrobiłbyś to.⁵
 he-said that do-PRTC-BY-2SG it
 'He said that you would do it.'

Examples like (8a) and (8b) do not contradict Borsley and Rivero's analysis, as the verb *powiedzieć* 'say' subcategorises for both subjunctive complements, as in (8a), and indicative ones, as in (8b). Borsley and Rivero's analysis correctly predicts that verb incorporation is possible only in the latter case.

Nonetheless, sentences (8a) and (8b) pose a different problem for the incorporation analysis. It follows from their account that the sentences with the incorporated conditional auxiliary and the ones without it should be fully equivalent in meaning (cf. (3a) and (3b)). This, however, is not the case in sentences like (8a) and (8b), where the former expresses a request, whereas the latter refers to a hypothetical action. The meaning difference between (8a) and (8b) indicates, contra Borsley and Rivero (1994), that *żeby* is not a mere combination of *że* and

⁵ Sentence (8b) is also acceptable if *by* does not attach to the verb, but stands alone, as in (i) below:

- (i) Powiedział, że byś to zrobił.
 he-said that BY-2SG it do-PRTC
 'He said that you would do it.'

by but an element with its own meaning, distinct from the one resulting from combining its two supposed composite parts.

Another set of sentences is given in (9) below:

(9)

- a. Nie sądzę, *żebyś* to zrobił.
not I-think so-that-2SG it do-PRTC
'I don't think you would do it.'
- b. Nie sądzę, że zrobiłbyś to.
not I-think that do-PRTC-BY-2SG it
'I don't think that you would do it.'
- c. Nie sądzę, że to byś zrobił.
not I-think that it BY-2SG do-PRTC
'I don't think that you would do it.'

All the above-mentioned sentences have the same conditional meaning, no matter whether *by* attaches to the C, as in (9a), to the past participle, as in (9b), or stands alone as in (9c). In this respect they differ from sentences (8a) and (8b), where only the latter has the conditional meaning, while the former represents a subjunctive structure. The contrast between the sentences in (8) and (9) supports the claim that, in addition to the inseparable *żeby* 'so that' found in cases like (8a), there exist sentences like (9a), in which *żeby* is a combination of the C *że* and the conditional *by*. Since these two kinds of *żeby* 'so that' are both syntactically and semantically distinct (cf. (4), (8) and (9)), they should be subject to a different analysis.⁶

Cs other than the subjunctive *żeby* 'so that' followed by *by* do allow its incorporation into the verb, as can be seen in (10):

(10)

- a. Marek zastanawiał się, czy bym nie poszedł do domu.
Mark wondered REFL if BY-1SG not go-PRTC to home
'Mark wondered if I wouldn't go home.'
- b. Marek zastanawiał się, czy nie poszedłbym do domu.
Mark wondered REFL if not go-PRTC-BY-1SG to home
'Mark wondered if I wouldn't go home.'

⁶ In what follows we attempt only an analysis of the subjunctive *żeby* 'so that' without addressing the issue of how the conditional *żeby* 'so that' should be analysed.

As sentences in (10) show, *by* may follow the interrogative C *czy* ‘if/whether’ (cf. (10a)) or may incorporate into the verb (cf. (10b)). If *żeby* in subjunctive clauses like (8a) were really a complex item consisting of the C and the conditional auxiliary, one would expect it to behave on a par with other Cs, such as *czy* ‘if/whether’. Under Borsley and Rivero’s analysis if one wanted to explain why *by* must incorporate into *że* in subjunctive clauses but not into *czy*, one would probably have to say that the selection requirements of the verb *zastanawiać się* ‘wonder’ are satisfied by *czy* alone and hence the incorporation of *by* is not obligatory. The conditional complementiser *jeśli* ‘if’ is similar to *czy* ‘if/whether’ in that it may occur either with or without the incorporated *by*. This is illustrated in (11):

(11)

- a. Jeślibym miał dużo czasu, czytałbym książki.
if-BY-1SG had a-lot-of time read-PRTC-BY-1SG books
‘If I had a lot of time, I would read books.’
- b. Jeśli miałbym dużo czasu, czytałbym książki.
if have-PRTC-BY-1SG a-lot-of time read-PRTC-BY-1SG books
‘If I had a lot of time, I would read books.’

Borsley and Rivero (1994:420) account for cases with incorporation like (11a) by saying that the C *jeśli* ‘if’, just like *że* ‘that’ in (7), is inert and the properties of the clausal operator are activated by raising the conditional auxiliary *by* to it. If one wanted to follow Borsley and Rivero’s analysis, one would have to stipulate that in some cases *jeśli* may be inert and hence trigger the incorporation of the conditional auxiliary, as in (11a), or it may be active and hence not require incorporation, as in (11b). What remains unclear in this kind of reasoning is why *jeśli* must be active in (11a) and inert in (11b), whereas *że* in the subjunctive *żeby* must always be inert.

Another argument against treating the subjunctive *żeby* as resulting from incorporation of the conditional *by* into the C *że*, relates to the fact that the subjunctive *żeby* can be replaced by the element *by*, as in (12):

(12)

- a. Marek chce, byś poszedł do domu.
Mark wants BY-2SG go-PRTC to home
‘Mark wants you to go home.’
- b.*Marek chce poszedłbyś do domu.
Mark wants go-PRTC-BY-2SG to home
‘Mark wants you to go home.’

In the above example no incorporation of the auxiliary *by* into the verb is possible (cf. (12b)) and only the sentence without incorporation is licit (cf. (12a)). Within Borsley and Rivero's (1994) analysis, one would have to claim that sentences like (12a) contain an empty C to which the conditional auxiliary must be adjacent. It is not clear again why *by* must be adjacent to an empty C in (12a) but not to the overt C in sentences like (10b) and (11b). It seems that *by* in cases like (12a) occupies the C position, since no other C can occur in such sentences, as supported by (13), where *żeby* cannot co-occur with *by*:

(13)

- *Marek chce, żeby byś poszedł do domu.
 Mark wants so-that BY-2SG go-PRTC to home
 'Mark wants you to go home.'

The impossibility of having *żeby* and *by* in the same clause points towards the conclusion that these two items compete for the same sentence position, i.e. C, and hence are mutually exclusive.

There are other problems connected with the incorporation analysis as proposed by Borsley and Rivero (1994) and schematised in (6). Witkoś (1998) notes that there is no evidence that the verb in Polish raises as high as I (or T, in Witkoś's terms), which is a necessary prerequisite underlying Borsley and Rivero's approach. He argues that V-movement in Polish is to Asp, the head of AspP, which is projected below TP. Thus, Witkoś's analysis casts serious doubts on Borsley and Rivero's incorporation analysis even in simple conditional cases like (3a) and (3b).⁷

Although the treatment of the subjunctive *żeby* as a complex element resulting from the incorporation of the conditional auxiliary *by* into *że* seems to be attractive at first glance, the problems connected with it cannot be resolved without resorting to stipulations. For this reason we conclude, following Szczegielniak (1999), that the subjunctive *żeby* is a C with a complex structure, where *że* occupies Force and *by* is located in Finiteness (cf. (5)). *By* cliticises onto *że* and consequently, they function as a single phonological unit. What needs to be

⁷ For detailed criticism of Borsley and Rivero's (1994) analysis, as well as arguments against V-movement to T in Polish, cf. Witkoś (1998, chapters 1 and 2). For the treatment of *by* as a Mod, the head of ModP, cf. Dornisch (1997) and Szczegielniak (1997). The last two analyses are not directly relevant to the discussion carried out here, as they do not address the status of *żeby*, but concentrate on *by* in conditional clauses.

added is that *by* in Fin can be a marker of both finiteness and non-finiteness, as evidenced by the comparison of the finite (1b) with the non-finite (1a).

1.2. The nature of the subject of non-finite *żeby*-clauses

In the previous section it has been demonstrated that the C *żeby* may introduce both finite and non-finite sentences (cf. (1a) and (1b)). Finite *żeby*-clauses have either overt subjects like (1b) or the covert *pro* subject like (14) below:

(14)

Marek nalegał, *żeby pro* poszła z nim do kina.
 Mark insisted so-that she-go-PRTC with him to cinema
 'Mark insisted on her going with him to the cinema.'

Non-finite *żeby*-clauses contain PRO in the subject position. This fact is supported by the case patterns exhibited by adjectival predicates. Non-finite clauses with arbitrary PRO require instrumental adjectival predicates, as in (15):

(15)

- a. Trzeba PRO_{arb} być mądrym / *mądry.
 one-should be wise-INSTR/ *wise-NOM
 'One should be wise.'
- b. PRO_{arb} Bycie mądrym / *mądry jest trudne.
 being wise-INSTR/ *wise-NOM is difficult
 'Being wise is difficult.'

Instrumental adjectival predicates can also be found in *żeby*-clauses like the one in (16):

(16)

Marek chciał, *żeby* być mądrym / *mądry.
 Mark wanted so-that to-be wise-INSTR/ *wise-NOM
 'Mark wanted for somebody to be wise.'

The same case marking found in (15) and (16) indicates that the two clause types contain the same subject, namely PRO_{arb}, which is responsible for the instrumen-

tal case borne by the predicate.⁸ The subject of *żeby*-complements such as (16) cannot be *pro* on account of the fact that *pro* co-occurs with nominative adjectival predicates, but not with instrumental ones. This is illustrated in (17):

(17)

- a. *pro* Jest mądry /*mądrym.
 he-is wise-NOM/*wise-INSTR
 ‘He is wise.’
- b. Maria chciała, żeby *pro* był mądry /*mądrym.
 Mary wanted so-that he-be-PRTC wise-NOM /*wise-INSTR
 ‘Mary wanted him to be wise.’

As regards the PRO subject in non-finite clauses, it co-occurs with nominative adjectival predicates in cases of subject control, as in (18):

(18)

- Marek₁ chciał [PRO₁ być mądry /*mądrym].
 Marek wanted to-be wise-NOM/*wise-INSTR
 ‘Mark wanted to be wise.’

In instances of object control PRO appears only with instrumental adjectival predicates, as shown in (19):

(19)

- Maria₁ kazała Markowi₂ [PRO₂ być mądrym /*mądry].
 Mary told Mark to-be wise-INSTR /*wise-NOM
 ‘Mary told Mark to be wise’.

Exactly the same case pattern as the one found in (18) and (19) can be encountered in the *żeby*-complements under scrutiny. (20) is grammatical with a nominative predicative adjective, while (21) allows only an adjective in instrumental case.

⁸ How exactly PRO participates in Case checking in sentences such as (15)-(16) and in (20)-(21) will be discussed in section 4.1.5. In section 2.1 we argue that the arbitrariness of PRO in sentences like (16) results from the fact that PRO must be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject.

(20)

Marek marzył, żeby być najlepszy /*?najlepszym w czytaniu.⁹
Mark dreamt so-that to-be best- NOM/*?best- INSTR at reading
'Mark dreamt to be the best at reading.'

(21)

Marek nakazał mi, żeby nie być lepszą /*lepszą od
Mark told me so-that not to-be better-INSTR /*better-NOM than
niego w czytaniu.
him at reading
'Mark told me not to be better than him at reading.'

In (20) the understood subject of the *żeby*-complement is the matrix subject, whereas in (21) the matrix object assumes this role. The analogous restrictions on subject choice and on case marking of adjectival predicates in (18) and (20) on the one hand, and in (19) and (21) on the other, clearly indicate that these sentences have the same subject, namely PRO.

To sum up, the case facts presented in this section strongly argue for treating the subject of non-finite *żeby*-clauses as PRO.

2.0. Control types in Polish

In this section an attempt is made to distinguish various control types in Polish and to specify the contexts in which they are attested. Section 2.1 is devoted to presenting various control patterns found in Polish non-finite complements with and without an overt C. Section 2.2 focuses on establishing the distinction between OC and NOC, while section 2.3 examines the distinctive properties of EC and PC.

2.1. Control patterns in Polish non-finite complements

Before embarking on the task of providing an actual typology of control in Polish, let us first turn to the issue of control in non-finite complements with and without *żeby* 'so that', as it will turn out to be crucial for our account. In fact 9 classes of verbs taking non-finite complements can be distinguished depending on the following three criteria: 1) whether they require subject or object control,

⁹ Some native speakers find instrumental predicative adjectives marginally possible in sentences like (20).

2) whether they allow *żeby*-complements to alternate with C-less non-finite complements, and 3) whether they allow anaphoric or non-anaphoric PRO.¹⁰ The similarities and differences between these classes of verbs are captured in Table 1 below.¹¹

Table 1

Verb Class	Control Type	Anaphoric PRO with <i>żeby</i>	Anaphoric PRO without <i>żeby</i>	Non-anaphoric PRO
1. <i>chcieć</i> 'want'	Subject Control	No	Yes	with <i>żeby</i>
2. <i>marzyć</i> 'dream'	Subject Control	Yes	No	No
3. <i>planować</i> 'plan'	Subject Control	Yes	Yes	No
4. <i>bać się</i> 'fear'	Subject Control	Yes	Yes	with <i>żeby</i>
5. <i>modlić się</i> 'pray'	Subject Control	Yes	No	with <i>żeby</i>
6. <i>mieć nadzieję</i> 'hope'	Subject Control	No	Yes	No
7. <i>prosić</i> 'ask'	Object Control	Yes	No	No
8. <i>radzić</i> 'advise'	Object Control	Yes	Yes	No
9. <i>dać</i> 'let'	Object Control	No	Yes	No

The above classification requires a word of comment. The first class comprises volitional verbs, such as *chcieć* 'want', *woleć* 'prefer', the desiderative predicates *pragnąć* 'desire' and *zdecydować* 'decide', and the factive verbs *lubić* 'like', *nie znosić* 'can't stand', etc. What is typical of them is that they take anaphoric PRO only in C-less complements, whereas in *żeby*-complements they allow only non-

¹⁰ The term non-anaphoric PRO is used to denote PRO disjoint in reference from the matrix subject, whereas anaphoric PRO denotes PRO co-referential with the matrix subject or object. Anaphoric PRO, as we shall see in section 2.2, is synonymous with OC PRO.

¹¹ Only some members of the particular classes from Table 1 are mentioned and therefore the classification provided is not meant to be exhaustive.

anaphoric PRO. These two control patterns are illustrated in (22) with a volitional predicate and with a factive predicate in (23):

(22)

- a. Marek₁ wolał [PRO₁ dostać nagrodę].
Mark preferred to-get prize
'Mark preferred to get a prize.'
- b. Marek₁ wolał, żeby [PRO_{*1/2} dać mu₁ nagrodę].
Mark preferred so-that to-give him prize
'Mark preferred to be given a prize.'

(23)

- a. Ewa₁ lubi [PRO₁ się chwalić].
Eve likes REFL to-boast
'Eve likes boasting.'
- b. Ewa₁ lubi, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} ją₁ chwalić].
Eve likes so-that her to-praise
'Eve likes being praised.'

Class 2 comprises just the desiderative predicate *marzyć* 'dream', which can take only *żeby*-complements and then exhibits only anaphoric PRO, as the contrast between (24a) and (24b) makes clear:

(24)

- a. Marek₁ marzył, [żeby PRO₁ wezwać lekarza].
Mark dreamt so-that to-call doctor
'Mark dreamt of calling a doctor.'
- b. Marek₁ marzył, [żeby PRO_{*1/*2} wezwać mu₁ lekarza].
Mark dreamt so-that to-call him a doctor
'Mark₁ dreamt of somebody calling him₁ a doctor.'

Class 3 includes the desiderative verbs *planować* 'plan' and *myśleć* 'intend', as well as the implicative *ośmielić się* 'dare'. These verbs require anaphoric PRO, no matter whether they take a complement with or without *żeby*, as can be seen in (25):

(25)

- a. Marek₁ planował, [(żeby) PRO₁ wezwać lekarza].
 Mark planned so-that to-call doctor
 'Mark planned to call a doctor.'
- b. Marek₁ planował, [żeby PRO_{*1/*2} wezwać mu₁ lekarza].
 Mark planned so-that to-call him doctor
 'Mark₁ planned for somebody to call him₁ a doctor.'

Class 4 contains verbs like *bać się* 'fear' and *obawiać się* 'to be afraid'. These verbs resemble Class 3 predicates in that they allow anaphoric PRO in complements with and without *żeby*, but, unlike Class 3, they also admit non-anaphoric PRO in *żeby*-complements, as demonstrated in (26):¹²

(26)

- a. Marek₁ obawiał się, [żeby PRO_{1/*2} nie spóźnić się na pociąg].
 Mark was-afraid REFL so-that not to-be-late REFL for train
 'Mark was afraid that he would miss the train.'
- b. Marek₁ obawiał się [PRO₁ spóźnić się na pociąg].
 Mark was-afraid REFL to-be-late REFL for train
 'Mark was afraid to miss the train.'
- c. Marek₁ obawiał się, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} mu₁ nie robić krzywdy].
 Mark was-afraid REFL so-that him not to-do harm
 'Mark₁ was afraid that somebody would do him₁ harm.'

Class 5 contains just the verb *modlić się* 'pray', which always takes a complement introduced by *żeby* with either anaphoric or non-anaphoric PRO. These two cases are illustrated in (27a) and (27b), respectively:

¹² An interesting observation is that both *bać się* 'fear' and *obawiać się* 'to be afraid' subcategorise only for a negative when followed by *żeby* (cf. (26a) and (26c)). When used without *żeby*, however, they allow both positive and negative complements, cf. (26b) with (i) below:

- (i) Marek₁ obawiał się [PRO₁ nie przyjść na czas].
 Mark was-afraid REFL not to-come on time
 'Mark was afraid not to come on time.'

We have no explanation for the correlation between *żeby* and negation in the case of these predicates.

(27)

- a. Marek₁ modlił się, [*(żeby) PRO₁ znaleźć pracę].
Mark prayed REFL so-that to-find job
'Mark prayed that he would find a job.'
- b. Marek₁ modlił się, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} być dla niego₁ dobrym].
Mark prayed REFL so-that to-be for him good
'Mark₁ prayed that somebody would be good to him₁.'

The final class of subject control predicates, i.e. Class 6, includes, along with desideratives like *mieć nadzieję* 'hope' and *zamierzać* 'intend', implicatives such as *zdołać* 'manage' and factives like *być przykro* 'be sorry'. These predicates allow only a C-less non-finite complement with anaphoric PRO, as can be seen in (28):

(28)

- a. Marek₁ ma nadzieję, [*(żeby) PRO₁ znaleźć pracę].
Mark has hope so-that to-find job
'Mark hopes to find a job.'
- b. Marek₁ ma nadzieję [PRO_{*1/*2} znaleźć mu₁ pracę].
Mark has hope to-find him job
'*Mark₁ hopes to find him₁ a job.'

As for object control verbs, Class 7 covers predicates such as *prosić* 'ask', *żądać* 'demand', *błagać* 'beg', *przypominać* 'remind', etc. They always take a *żeby*-complement with anaphoric PRO, as shown in (29):

(29)

- Marek₁ prosił mnie₂ [*(żeby) PRO₂ zamknąć drzwi].
Mark asked me so-that to-shut door
'Mark asked me to shut the door.'

Class 8 comprises object control predicates such as *radzić* 'advise', *polecić* 'recommend', *kazać* 'order', *pozwolić* 'allow', *uczyć* 'teach', etc. These verbs require anaphoric PRO both in C-less and in *żeby*-complements, as can be seen in (30):¹³

¹³ *Żeby*-complements with Class 8 predicates sound most natural when PRO is controlled by an implicit argument, cf. (32b).

(30)

Marek₁ poradził Ewie₂, [(żeby) PRO₂ kupić ten samochód].
 Mark advised Eve so-that to-buy this car
 'Mark advised Eve to buy this car.'

Finally, Class 9 contains only one predicate *dać* 'let', which requires a C-less complement with anaphoric PRO, as shown in (31):

(31)

Marek₁ dał mi₂ [(**żeby*) PRO₂ poprowadzić swój samochód].
 Mark let me so-that to-drive his car
 'Mark let me drive his car.'

It might seem that Classes 7 and 8 sometimes allow non-anaphoric PRO in cases like (32) and (33):

(32)

- a. Przepisy nie pozwalają [PRO palić w kinie].
 regulations not allow smoking in cinema
 'Regulations do not allow smoking in the cinema.'
- b. Marek₁ nie pozwalał [żeby PRO_{*1/2} mu₁ robić krzywdę].
 Mark not allowed so-that him to-do harm
 'Mark₁ did not allow anybody to do him₁ harm.'

(33)

Marek₁ błagał [żeby PRO_{*1/2} mu₁ pomóc].
 Mark begged so-that him to-help
 'Mark₁ begged somebody to help him₁.'

However, sentences (32) and (33) only apparently instantiate NOC PRO, but in fact they exemplify control by an implicit argument and hence represent OC (for arguments that implicit control is a species of OC cf. section 4.2.2.).¹⁴

¹⁴ However, sentence (33) allows the interpretation, according to which the person who is begged is distinct from the one providing help. More generally, the controller of PRO in (33) may be distinct from the implicit argument of the verb *błagać* 'beg', and then this sentence exhibits NOC PRO.

Two predicates do not seem to fit the classification in Table 1, namely *postulować* ‘plead’ and *nalegać* ‘insist’. Since they do not take a nominal object, as shown in (34), they do not qualify as object control verbs.

(34)

- a. Marek₁ nalegał (*na Ewę₂), [żeby PRO_{*1/*2} zamknąć drzwi].¹⁵
 Mark insisted on Eve so-that to-shut door
 ‘Mark insisted on Eve’s shutting the door.’
- b. Marek₁ postulował (*do posłów₂) [żeby PRO_{*1/*2} zmienić rząd].
 Mark pled to MP’s so-that to-change government
 ‘Mark pled with the MP’s to change the government.’

The above sentences show that the verbs in question do not qualify as subject control verbs, either, as they never take *żeby*-complements with anaphoric PRO. However, they can be used with a *żeby*-complement with non-anaphoric PRO. This is exemplified in (35):

(35)

- a. Marek₁ nalegał, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} mu₁ pomóc].
 Mark insisted so-that him to-help
 ‘Mark₁ insisted on somebody helping him₁.’
- b. Marek₁ postulował, [*(żeby) PRO_{*1/2} zamknąć drzwi].
 Mark pled so-that to-shut door
 ‘Mark pled for somebody to shut the door.’

The classification of verbs in Table 1 allows us to make the following observations: 1) the meaning of the verb does not play any role in determining its control type, since, for instance, *pragnąć* ‘desire’, when used with *żeby*, allows non-anaphoric PRO only, whereas its near synonym *marzyć* ‘dream’, under the same circumstances, tolerates only OC PRO (cf. footnote 10); 2) the occurrence of non-anaphoric PRO seems to be dependent on the presence of *żeby*, though the presence of *żeby* alone does not guarantee a non-anaphoric interpretation for

¹⁵ The verb *nalegać* ‘insist’ can be used with a nominal object, as in (i), but never can it be found with a nominal object and a non-finite *żeby*-complement, as in (34a).

(i) Na próżno nalegałem na nią.
 in vain I-insisted on her
 ‘I insisted on her in vain.’

PRO; 3) the appearance of anaphoric vs. non-anaphoric PRO cannot be derived in any obvious way from the subcategorisation properties of individual predicates, as some predicates subcategorising for *żeby* can co-occur with both anaphoric and non-anaphoric PRO (cf. Classes 4 and 5); and 4) object control predicates never give rise to non-anaphoric PRO (the only exception being implicit control in (32) and (33), cf. footnote 14).

The overview of control patterns presented in Table 1 allows us to conclude that at least some *żeby*-clauses are not opaque in that they allow anaphoric PRO (cf., for instance, sentences (24a), (25a), (26a) and (27a)). What we would like to suggest is that in fact all *żeby*-clauses are transparent for anaphoric interpretation of PRO and wherever this interpretation is unavailable some intervening factors are at play. Anaphoric PRO is regularly resisted by Class 1 verbs with *żeby*-complements (cf. examples (22b) and (23b)), and by the two exceptional predicates *postulować* 'plead' and *nalegać* 'insist' (cf. examples (35)). Class 4 and Class 5 verbs under some circumstances resist anaphoric PRO in *żeby*-complements (cf. examples (26c) and (27b)).

The intervening factor that blocks anaphoric PRO with Class 4 and 5 predicates seems to relate to the Binding Theory. If PRO were anaphoric in (26c) and (27b) (repeated below for convenience), then it would bind the co-referential pronoun *mu* 'him' and hence a violation of Condition B would ensue.

(26)

- c. Marek₁ obawiał się, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} mu₁ nie robić krzywdy].
 Mark was-afraid REFL so-that him not to-do harm
 'Mark was afraid that somebody would do him harm.'

(27)

- b. Marek₁ modlił się, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} być dla niego₁ dobrym].
 Mark prayed REFL so-that to-be for him good
 'Mark₁ prayed that somebody would be good to him₁.'

(26c) and (27b) are grammatical only if PRO is not anaphoric or if the pronoun is not co-indexed with the matrix subject. However, if no conflicting BT requirements appear with these classes of predicates, the anaphoric interpretation of PRO is the only admissible one, as demonstrated in (36):

(36)

- a. Marek₁ obawiał się, [żeby PRO₁ nie robić innym krzywdy].
 Mark was-afraid REFL so-that not to-do others harm
 'Mark was afraid not to do others harm.'

- b. Marek₁ modlił się, [żeby PRO₁ być dobrym dla innych].
 Mark prayed REFL so-that to-be good for others
 ‘Mark prayed to be good to others.’

Examples (36a) and (36b) exhibit a regular OC pattern found with predicates such as *obawiać się* ‘to be afraid’ and *modlić się* ‘pray’ (cf. (26a, b) and (27a)), while (26c) and (27b) are exceptional in that they give rise to NOC PRO as a way to avoid a potential BT violation.

Class 1 predicates differ from those of Class 4 and 5. Although Condition B, as used to account for the lack of anaphoric PRO in (26c) and (27b), can explain the impossibility of anaphoric PRO in (22b) and (23b), it does not explain the whole complexity of the phenomenon. It is typical of Class 1 predicates never to allow anaphoric PRO in *żeby*-complements, no matter whether they have a pronoun co-referential with the matrix subject or not. A comparison of (22b) (repeated for convenience) with (37) below makes this point clear:

(22)

- b. Marek₁ wolał, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} dać mu₁ nagrodę].
 Mark preferred so-that to-give him prize
 ‘Mark preferred to be given a prize.’

(37)

- Marek₁ wolał, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} dać innym nagrodę].
 Mark preferred so-that to-give others prize
 ‘Mark preferred for somebody to give others a prize.’

Thus, it seems that some factor other than Condition B has to be invoked to block anaphoric PRO with Class 1 verbs.

We would like to suggest that the ban on anaphoric PRO in *żeby*-complements to Class 1 verbs is reminiscent of the phenomenon of obviation, and we would like to account for both in the same way.¹⁶ The term obviation is used to denote the fact that the subject of subjunctive clauses in many languages, e.g. French (cf. Tsoulas (1996) and Farkas (1992)), Italian (cf. Johnson (1985)), Spanish (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin (2001)) and Russian (cf. Avrutin and Babyonyshev (1994)), must be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject. Obviation can also be attested in Polish subjunctives, as in (38a), which regularly contrasts

¹⁶ The same analysis will also be proposed for the exceptional predicates *postulować* ‘plead’ and *nalegać* ‘insist’.

with its indicative equivalent in (38b) as far as the co-reference possibilities of the embedded subject are concerned.

(38)

Subjunctive - Obviation

- a.*Marek₁ planuje, żeby (on₁) wyjechał za granicę.
 Mark plans so-that he would-go for abroad
 'Mark plans for himself to go abroad.'

Indicative – Lack of Obviation

- b. Marek₁ planuje, że (on₁) wyjedzie za granicę.
 Mark plans that he will-go for abroad
 'Mark plans that he will go abroad.'

Obviation affects pronominal subjects of subjunctive clauses, but never does it force disjointness of the object pronoun of the embedded clause from the matrix subject, e.g.:

(39)

- Marek₁ zaplanował, żeby Ewa pomogła mu₁ napisać wypracowanie.
 Mark planned so-that Eve would-help him to-write essay
 'Mark planned for Eve to help him to write an essay.'

Furthermore, obviation does not affect pronominal subjects of subjunctive sentences if they refer to the matrix object, not to the subject, for instance:

(40)

- Marek₁ kazał Ewie₂, żeby (ona₂) poszła do domu.
 Mark told Eve so-that she would-go to home
 'Mark told Eve that she should go home.'

The properties of obviation just mentioned closely resemble the situation found in non-finite *żeby*-complements of Class 1 verbs. Their subject must obligatorily be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject, in the same way that the pronominal subject of finite subjunctives must be. Just like in finite subjunctive clauses (cf. (39)), the pronominal object in non-finite *żeby*-complements of Class 1 verbs may be co-referential with the matrix subject (cf. (22b) and (23b)). The fact that no disjointness occurs in cases of object control is reminiscent of the fact that pronominal subjects in subjunctive complements referring to the matrix

object are not obviative (cf. (40) with (29) and (30)). It is also worth noting that cross-linguistically obviation is commonly found with volitional verbs (cf. the references cited above), and Class 1 comprises mainly verbs of this kind. All these arguments strongly argue that Class 1 verbs, in spite of taking non-finite subjunctive clauses as their complements, are subject to the same obviation effect as finite subjunctive complements. The exact way in which obviation interacts with control in the case of Class 1 verbs will be discussed in section 4.1.2.

2.2. *Obligatory and non-obligatory control in Polish*

Two sets of criteria for distinguishing OC from NOC have been mentioned so far. One was put forward by Hornstein (1999, 2001) and is quoted in Chapter I, section 2.2.1. The other has been posited by Landau (2000) and is presented in Chapter II, section 2.1. It will be the purpose of this section to see how these two sets of criteria relate to Polish data. It seems that Polish OC displays all the properties postulated for OC in English by Hornstein, which is confirmed by (41):

(41)

- a. Marek₁ chciał [znaleźć PRO_{1/*2} swoje_{1/*2} rzeczy].
Mark wanted to-find self's things
'Mark wanted to find his things.'
- b. Maria₁ powiedziała, że Marek₂ chce [PRO_{*1/2} znaleźć swoje_{*1/2} rzeczy].
Mary said that Mark wants to-find his things
'Mary said that Mark wants to find his things.'
- c. Koledzy₁ Marka₂ chcieli [PRO_{1/*2} znaleźć swoje_{1/*2} rzeczy].
colleagues Mark's wanted to-find their things
'Mark's colleagues wanted to find their things.'
- d. Marek₁ chce [PRO₁ znaleźć swoje rzeczy] i Maria też.
Mark wants to-find his things and Mary too
'Mark wants to find his things and Mary does too.'
- e.*Marek₁ kazał Marii₂ [PRO₁₊₂ napisać razem wypracowanie].
Marek told Mary to-write together essay
'Mark told Mary to write an essay together.'
- f. Nieszczęśnik₁ spodziewa się [PRO₁ dostać medal].
unfortunate expects REFL to-get medal
'The unfortunate expects to get a medal.'

- g. [Tylko Marek]₁ chce [PRO₁ przedstawić ten referat publicznie].
 only Mark wants to-present this paper in-public
 ‘Only Mark wants to present this paper in public.’

The tests in (41) demonstrate that Polish OC PRO requires an obligatory antecedent (cf. (41a)), which must be local (cf. (41b)), c-commanding (cf. (41c)) and non-split (cf. (41e)). Moreover, OC has only a sloppy reading under VP-Ellipsis (cf. (41d)), only a *de se* interpretation (cf. (41f)), and in (41g) PRO can have *tylko Marek* ‘only Mark’ as its antecedent and hence can be paraphrased as: Only Mark wants himself to present this paper in public.

Just like in English, NOC in Polish shows properties regularly contrasting with the ones listed for OC in (41). In order to support this claim let us look at the data in (42):¹⁷

(42)

- a. Ewa uważa, że [wczesne PRO wstawanie] jest denerwujące.¹⁸
 Eve thinks that early getting-up is annoying
 ‘Eve thinks that getting up early is annoying.’
- b. Marek₁ myśli, że ludzie uważają, że [PRO₁ dbanie o swoje interesy] jest dla niego ważne.
 Mark thinks that people consider that taking-care of his business is for him important
 ‘Mark thinks that people consider that taking care of his business is important for him.’
- c. Koledzy Marka₁ uważają, że [PRO₁ dbanie o swoje sprawy] jest dla niego ważne.
 colleagues Mark’s think that taking-care of his business is for him important
 ‘Mark’s colleagues think that taking care of his business is important for him.’

¹⁷ The data in (42) illustrate NOC on the basis of gerundive clauses. The same observations carry over to infinitival clauses, which are much less frequent in subject position (cf. Chapter III, section 1.0).

¹⁸ In addition to the arbitrary reading, sentence (42a) also allows the reading that may be paraphrased as: Eve thinks that her getting up early is annoying.

- d. Marek sądzi, że [wczesne PRO wstawanie] jest denerwujące i Maria też.
 Mark thinks that early getting-up is annoying and Mary too
 'Mark thinks that getting up early is annoying and Mary does too.'
- e. Marek₁ przekonał Marię₂, że [PRO₁₊₂ mycie się nawzajem] będzie
 Mark convinced Mary that washing each other will-be
 przyjemne.
 pleasant
 'Mark convinced Mary that washing each other would be pleasant.'
- f. Nieszczęśnik wierzy, że [PRO dostanie medalu] jest ważne.
 unfortunate believes that getting medal is important
 'The unfortunate believes that getting a medal is important.'
- g. Tylko Marek pamięta, że [PRO przedstawianie tego referatu] było
 only Mark remembers that presenting this paper was
 stresujące.
 stressful
 'Only Mark remembers that presenting this paper was stressful.'

NOC PRO does not need to have a controller (cf. (42a)) and if it has one, the controller may be non-local (cf. (42b)), non-c-commanding (cf. (42c)), or split (cf. (42e)). It may have a strict reading under VP Ellipsis, i.e. (42d) can mean that Mary thinks that Mark's getting up early is annoying. It may have a *de re* reading, that is, (42f) can mean that the unfortunate believes that somebody else getting a medal is important. Finally, (42g) can be paraphrased as: Only Mark₁ remembers that his_{1/2} presenting this paper was stressful.

So far it has been demonstrated how Polish OC and NOC can be distinguished from each other on the basis of Hornstein's tests. Let us now turn to Landau's (2000) criteria. His diagnostics, as has already been noted in Chapter II, section 2.1, are less numerous and comprise the following:

(43)

- a. Arbitrary Control is impossible in OC, possible in NOC.
- b. Long-distance control is impossible in OC, possible in NOC.
- c. Strict reading of PRO is impossible in OC, possible in NOC.
- d. *De re* reading of PRO is impossible in OC (only *de se*), possible in NOC.

First of all, c-command by an antecedent (cf. (41c)) is not necessary for OC to arise either in Polish or in English. Example (44) makes this point clear:

(44)

[PRO_{1/*arb} Posiadanie zamożnych rodziców] pomogło jej_i w zrobieniu
 having wealthy parents helped her in making
 szybkiej kariery.
 quick career
 'Having wealthy parents has helped her in making a quick career.'

In (44) only OC is possible in spite of the fact that the controller does not c-command PRO, which strongly argues against including c-command among the OC tests, as Hornstein (1999, 2001) does.

Moreover, the ban on split antecedents is not a distinctive property of OC either in Polish or in English. There exist sentences like (45) below, which, though representing OC, allow control by a split antecedent:

(45)

Marek₁ obiecał synowi₂ [PRO₁₊₂ pograć razem w piłkę].
 Mark promised son to-play together in ball
 'Mark promised his son to play ball together.'

Since *obieczać* 'promise' is typically an OC verb and since it allows, in some of its uses, control by a split antecedent, the conclusion may be drawn that split control is not an exclusive property of NOC.

It has been argued that it is only natural to abandon the c-command and split antecedent tests for distinguishing OC from NOC. As a consequence, we are left with Landau's criteria for OC and NOC as stated in (43).¹⁹ Thus, in accordance with Landau's criteria all the sentences in (41), and also (44) and (45), represent OC, whereas all the sentences in (42) are instances of NOC.

2.2.1. OC and NOC in non-finite *żeby*-complements

So far it has been demonstrated how OC and NOC operate in Polish non-finite clauses without an overt C. It may be interesting to see whether non-finite *żeby*-clauses pattern in the same way. It seems that *żeby*-complements allow OC. That this is indeed the case can be seen in (46) below:

¹⁹ Zabrocki (1981), following Postal (1970), makes a distinction between obligatory and optional control in Polish on the basis of the respective absence vs. presence of an overt subject at S-structure. Since Polish control structures can never host an overt subject, Zabrocki concludes that all control in Polish is obligatory.

(46)

- a. Marek₁ marzył, [żeby PRO_{1/*arb} wyjechać za granicę].
Mark dreamt so-that to-go for abroad
'Mark dreamt of going abroad.'
- b. Marek₁ twierdzi, że łatwo jest marzyć, [żeby PRO_{*1} wyjechać
Mark claims that easy is to-dream so-that to-go
za granicę].
for abroad
'Mark claims that it is easy to dream of going abroad.'
- c. Marek₁ marzył, [żeby PRO₁ wyjechać za granicę] i Maria też.
Mark dreamt so-that to-go for abroad and Mary too
'Mark dreamt of going abroad and Mary did too.'
- d. Nieszczęśnik₁ marzy, [żeby PRO₁ dostać medal].
unfortunate dreams so-that to-get medal
'The unfortunate dreams of getting a medal.'

(46a) shows that PRO in *żeby*-complements cannot have arbitrary interpretation. (46b) demonstrates that long-distance control is impossible for PRO in such contexts. (46c) shows that PRO in *żeby*-complements can have a sloppy reading only. (46d) illustrates the fact that only a *de se* reading is available for PRO in such cases. In other words, PRO in (46) shows all the typical diagnostics of OC PRO stated in (43).

OC is characteristic for *żeby*-complements to subject control verbs from Classes 2-5 and object control verbs from Classes 7-8 from Table 1 in section 2.1. Class 1 verbs are different, and so are the exceptional verbs *postulować* 'plead' and *nalegać* 'insist'.²⁰ Since they contain PRO disjoint in reference from the matrix subject, they seem to exhibit properties typical of NOC, as is made clear by (47):

(47)

- a. Marek₁ chce /nalega, [żeby PRO_{*1/arb} mu₁ pomagać].
Mark wants /insists so-that him to-help
'Mark wants to be helped/insists on being helped.'

²⁰ The problem does not arise for Class 6 and 9 predicates, as they never take *żeby*-complements (cf. (28a) and (31)).

- b. Marek₁ twierdzi, że jego rodzice₂ chcą/nalegają, [żeby PRO_{1/*2}
Mark claims that his parents want/insist so-that
dbać o siebie₁].
to-care of himself
'Mark claims that his parents want him to take care /insist on his
taking care of himself.'
- c. Marek₁ chce /nalega, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} mu₁ pomagać] i Maria też.
Mark wants/insists so-that him to-help and Mary too
'Mark wants to be helped/insists on being helped and Mary does too.'
- d. Nieszczęśnik₁ chce /nalega, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} dać mu₁ medal].
unfortunate wants/insists so-that to-give him medal
'The unfortunate wants to be given/insists on being given a medal.'

The sentences in (47) suggest that PRO in *żeby*-complements to Class 1 verbs and the verbs *postulować* 'plead' and *nalegać* 'insist' behaves like NOC PRO, since it can have an arbitrary interpretation (cf. (47a)), it allows long-distance control (cf. (47b)), it can have a strict reading under VP Ellipsis (cf. (47c)), and a *de re* interpretation (cf. (47d)). What we would like to suggest is that the behaviour of PRO in *żeby*-complements to Class 1 predicates and the exceptional predicates analogous to NOC PRO results from the disjointness requirement on PRO. Since PRO in such complements must be interpreted as distinct from the matrix subject, the arbitrary interpretation in (47a), the possibility of a strict reading in (47c), and the *de re* interpretation in (47d) follow. The disjointness requirement also explains the availability of long distance control in (47b). As has been noted in section 2.1, Class 1 predicates show obviation-like effects. Similar effects arise with the exceptional predicates, as shown in (48):

(48)

- a. Marek₁ nalegał, [żeby on_{*1/2} poszedł do domu].
Mark insisted so-that he would-go to home
'Mark insisted on his going home.'
- b. Marek₁ nalegał, [żeby Piotr mu₁ pomógł].
Mark insisted so-that Peter him would-help
'Mark₁ insisted on Peter's helping him₁.'

(48a) demonstrates that the subject of the subjunctive finite *żeby*-complement of *nalegać* ‘insist’ is obviative, whereas the object is not, as shown in (48b). What is typical of obviation is that it affects a subjunctive clause immediately adjacent to an indicative one, as in (38a) and (48a), but it can never affect a more deeply embedded subjunctive sentence, as can be seen in (49) below:

(49)

Marek₁ twierdzi, że jego rodzice chcą/nalegają, [żeby (on₁) dbał
 Mark claims that his parents want/insist so-that he would-
 o siebie₁].
 care of himself
 ‘Mark claims that his parents want him to take care/insist on his taking
 care of himself.’

A situation analogous to that in (49) can be observed in (47b): PRO in a more deeply embedded *żeby*-complement can only refer to the matrix subject. Thus, it has been demonstrated that the PRO found in *żeby*-complements to Class 1 verbs and to *postulować* ‘plead’ and *nalegać* ‘insist’ represents NOC PRO, which follows from the requirement that PRO in such cases be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject.²¹

One more remark needs to be made. Zabrocki (1981:69) provides the following generalisation governing the choice of either OC or NOC in *żeby*-complements: “With those Polish verbs which allow for an infinitive without *żeby* alternative, only the arbitrary reading is allowed when *żeby* occurs (...). With verbs which take only *żeby* complements, the rule applies optionally” (cf. footnote 19). This generalisation, however, is problematic on empirical grounds. As mentioned in section 2.1, there exist verbs like *planować* ‘plan’, which can take a complement with or without *żeby*. Both these uses require OC, as shown in (50):

(50)

Marek₁ planował, [(żeby) PRO_{1/*arb} wyjechać za granicę].
 Mark planned so-that to-go for abroad
 ‘Mark planned to go abroad.’

²¹ The presence of NOC PRO in complements of Class 1 verbs and *postulować* ‘plead’ and *nalegać* ‘insist’, contradicts the claim made by Landau (2000) that all non-finite complements in English, and presumably universally, contain OC PRO (cf. Chapter II, section 2.1). This issue will be returned to in section 4.2.1.

Thus, the type of control found in *żeby*-complements cannot be related to the subcategorisation properties of the verb, as Zabrocki suggests (cf. also section 2.1).

2.2.2. Interrogative complements

To complete the control patterns found in Polish non-finite complements, let us examine a little more closely one predicate type, namely interrogatives, and their possibilities of control. Consider (51) below:

- (51)
- | | | | | |
|-------|--|--------------|------------------------|-----------|
| Marek | zastanawiał się, | [jak PRO się | zachować wobec | gości na |
| Mark | wondered | REFL how | REFL to-behave towards | guests at |
| | przyjęciu]. | | | |
| | party | | | |
| | 'Mark wondered how to behave towards the guests at the party.' | | | |

The question is whether PRO in cases like (51) represents OC PRO or should rather be regarded as NOC PRO. In order to answer this question, let us analyse sentence (52) below.

- (52)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|--|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| *Marek ₁ | zastanawiał się, | [jak PRO ₁ się | zachować wobec | niego ₁ na |
| Mark | wondered | REFL how | REFL to-behave towards | him at |
| | przyjęciu]. | | | |
| | party | | | |
| | '*Mark ₁ wondered how to behave towards him ₁ at the party.' | | | |

Sentence (52) is ungrammatical on account of the fact that PRO, controlled by the matrix subject, binds the co-referential pronoun. If PRO in (52) were arbitrary (hence NOC PRO), then the ungrammaticality of (52) would be mysterious. Consequently, we conclude that that PRO in cases like (51) is obligatorily controlled.

Other interrogative complements behave on a par with (51), as evidenced by (53) below, which behaves in a way analogous to (51) with respect to Condition B, as can be seen in (54).

(53)

Marek zastanawiał się, [komu PRO się przedstawić].
 Mark wondered REFL whom REFL to-introduce
 'Mark wondered who to introduce himself to.'

(54)

*Marek₁ zastanawiał się, [komu PRO₁ go₁ przedstawić].²²
 Mark wondered REFL whom him to-introduce
 '*Mark₁ wondered who to introduce him₁ to.'

Sentence (54), like (52), is ungrammatical due to the fact that the reference of PRO includes the reference of its controller and hence PRO binds the co-indexed pronoun in violation of Condition B. Thus, the ungrammaticality of sentences like (52) and (54) strongly argues for treating interrogative complements as members of the class of OC.

Thus, it seems that interrogative complements both in English and in Polish instantiate OC, not NOC, contrary to what is commonly believed.²³

²² That the ungrammaticality of (54) follows from Condition B of the BT is supported by the following data:

- (i) Marek₁ zastanawiał się, [komu PRO₁ przedstawić swoją₁ narzeczoną].
 Mark wondered REFL who to-introduce self's fiancée
 'Mark wondered who to introduce his fiancée to.'

The anaphor *swoją* 'self's' is bound by PRO in (i) and hence no violation of Principle A ensues.

²³ Ohlander (1986) makes a distinction between question-oriented interrogative complements, as in (i), and answer-oriented ones, as in (ii):

- (i) John wondered/asked [who had done it].
 (ii) John knew/told her [who had done it].

The former can easily be converted into questions, whereas no such conversion is possible for the latter. Both these types of interrogative complements in Polish exhibit OC, as shown in (iiia) and (iiib), which illustrate a question-oriented and an answer-oriented interrogative complement, respectively:

- (iii) a. Marek₁ nie wiedział, [jak/czy PRO₁ mu_{*1/2} pomóc].
 Mark not knew how/if him to-help
 'Mark₁ didn't know how/whether to help him_{*1/2}.'
 b. Marek₁ wiedział, [jak PRO₁ mu_{*1/2} pomóc].
 Mark knew how him to-help
 'Mark₁ knew how to help him_{*1/2}.'

2.2.3. Purpose clauses and participial clauses

Żeby-clauses can be used as purpose clauses and then two possibilities of control arise, i.e. OC or NOC, as illustrated in (55) and (56), respectively:

(55)

Marek₁ poszedł, [żeby PRO₁ kupić mleko].²⁴
 Mark went so-that to-buy milk
 'Mark went to buy milk.'

(56)

Marek₁ zrobił to, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} go₁ podziwiać].²⁵
 Mark did it so-that him to-admire
 'Mark did it to be admired.'

NOC in (56) is triggered by Condition B of the BT, as (57) below makes clear:

(57)

Marek₁ zrobił to, [żeby PRO_{1/*2} podziwiać innych].
 Mark did it so-that to-admire others
 'Mark did it to admire others.'

Participial adjunct clauses, such as (58) below, always require OC:

(58)

[PRO₁ Siedząc na ławce], pro₁ czytał gazetę.
 sitting on bench he-read newspaper
 'He was reading a newspaper while sitting on a bench.'

²⁴ The purpose clause in (55) can be used without the C as in (i) below, and then only OC is possible:

(i) Marek₁ poszedł [PRO₁ kupić mleko].
 Mark went to-buy milk
 'Mark went to buy milk.'

²⁵ Implicit control is also possible in purpose clauses such as (i)

(i) Wódkę pro₁ stawia, [żeby PRO_{*1} szefowi nic nie mówić].
 vodka he-buys so-that boss nothing not to-tell
 'He buys vodka in order for somebody not to tell the boss anything.'

(Comrie and Corbett (1993:739))

In (i) it is the implicit dative argument of *stawiać* 'buy' that controls PRO.

The fact that control in (58) is obligatory is supported by the impossibility of long distance control, as shown in (59):

(59)

Marek₁ powiedział, że Maria₂ czytała gazetę [PRO_{*1/2} siedząc na ławce].
 Mark said that Mary read newspaper sitting on bench
 ‘Mark said that Mary was reading a newspaper while sitting on a bench.’

What is more, in a way analogous to English, Polish non-finite adjuncts typically display subject control, as shown in (60), where PRO can be controlled only by the subject, not by the object of the matrix clause:

(60)

Marek₁ rozmawiał z Maria₂ [PRO_{1/*2} siedząc w fotelu].²⁶
 Mark talked to Mary sitting in armchair
 ‘Mark was talking to Mary while sitting in an armchair.’

Object control in such structures is highly marked. One such infrequent case is provided in (61):

(61)

Marek₁ napisał, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} do niego₁ przyjechać].
 Mark wrote so-that to him to-come
 ‘Mark wrote to someone to come to him.’

In (61) the implicit object of the verb *napisał* ‘wrote’ acts as the controller of PRO.

2.2.4. OC vs. NOC – a summary

Summing up, it has been argued that non-finite C-less complements in Polish display only OC. Even the most notorious cases like interrogative complements represent OC, not NOC. *Żeby*-complements to Class 1 predicates and exceptio-

²⁶ Sentences like (i) below do not contradict this claim, as it is the object controlled PRO, but not the object itself, that acts as the controller for the PRO in the adjunct clause:

(i) Marek₁ kazał Marii₂ [PRO₂ czytać [PRO₂ siedząc w fotelu]].
 Mark told Mary to-read sitting in armchair
 ‘Mark told Mary to read while sitting in an armchair.’

nal predicates such as *postulować* 'plead' and *nalegać* 'insist' are different in that they allow only NOC, which results from the disjointness requirement on PRO. Other non-finite *żeby*-complements instantiate OC, and NOC appears in them only as a result of the interaction of Condition B. As for non-finite adjuncts, participial clauses are characterised by OC only. Purpose clauses, while commonly exhibiting OC, can give rise to NOC under the influence of Condition B.

2.3. Exhaustive and partial control

Landau (2000) argues that within the class of OC there exist two subclasses, i.e. EC and PC (cf. Chapter II, section 2.2). According to Landau, for EC to obtain, PRO must be identical with its controller, whereas in the case of PC, PRO must include the controller. Both categories of OC control can be encountered in Polish. The contrast between them is illustrated in (62) and (63), where the former exemplifies EC, while the latter instantiates PC:

(62)

- a. *Marek₁ zdołał [się PRO₁₊ spotkać o 3-ej].
 Mark managed REFL to-meet at 3
 'Mark managed to meet at 3.'
- b. [Marek i Ewa]₁ zdołali [się PRO₁ spotkać o 3-ej].
 Mark and Eve managed REFL to-meet at 3
 'Mark and Eve managed to meet at 3.'

(63)

Marek₁ chciał [PRO₁₊ się spotkać o 3-ej].²⁷
 Mark wanted REFL to-meet at 3
 'Mark wanted to meet at 3.'

²⁷ Sentences with PC sound better when placed in an appropriate context, for instance, (63) sounds natural in the following setting:

- (i) Maria zaproponowała Markowi spotkanie o 6-ej, ale on₁ chciał [PRO₁₊ spotkać się o 3-ej].
 Mary suggested Mark meeting at 6 but he wanted to meet REFL at 3

'Mary suggested to Mark meeting at 6, but he wanted to meet at 3.'

In (i) PC PRO may be controlled by *Mark* and *Mary* or by *Mark*, *Mary* and some other individuals salient in the context.

(62a) is ungrammatical, as there is a clash between the collective predicate, such as *spotkać się* ‘meet’, requiring a plural subject and PRO controlled by the singular DP *Marek* ‘Mark’. No such clash is attested in the grammatical (62b), where *spotkać się* ‘meet’ is accompanied by PRO controlled by the plural DP *Marek i Ewa* ‘Mark and Eve’. In (63), on the other hand, the collective verb *spotkać się* ‘meet’ appears with the singular DP *Marek* ‘Mark’, just like in (62a). This time, however, no ungrammaticality arises, as PRO is not exhaustively controlled by *Marek* ‘Mark’, but refers to *Marek* ‘Mark’ as well as some other individuals salient in the context. That the reference of PRO in (63) does indeed contain *Marek* ‘Mark’ is clear from the binding facts illustrated in (64) below:

(64)

- **Marek*₁ chciał [*PRO*₁₊ *się* *spotkać* o 3-ej bez *niego*₁].
 Mark wanted REFL to-meet at 3 without him
 ‘*Mark₁ wanted to meet at 3 without him₁.’

PRO in (64) is co-indexed with *Marek* ‘Mark’ and binds the co-referential pronoun *niego* ‘him’, thus violating Principle B and making the sentence unacceptable.

Just like in English, EC and PC in Polish occur with specific types of predicates, that is, EC appears with modals, implicatives and aspectuals, while PC is limited to factive, desiderative, propositional and interrogative verbs.²⁸ Some relevant examples of impossible PC are given in (65), whereas the corresponding instances of grammatical PC are grouped in (66):²⁹

(65)

- a. **Marek*₁ musi/zapomniał [*PRO*₁ *się* *spotkać* o 3-ej].
 Mark must/forgot REFL meet at 3
 ‘*Mark must meet /forgot to meet at 3.’³⁰

²⁸ Lists of these types of predicates are presented in Chapter III, section 2.1.3.

²⁹ One PC test involves the use of collective predicates, as shown in (65) and (66). Another test used by Landau (2000) and similar in spirit involves the use of the adverbial *together*, which is licensed in the context of a plural antecedent. This test works in Polish with the corresponding adverbial *razem* ‘together’ in a way analogous to the collective verb *spotkać się* ‘meet’ used in the text. Its actual application is illustrated in (72a) and (72b).

³⁰ It seems that under appropriate discourse conditions such as (i), modals can give rise to PC.

- (i) Nie to nie. Jak nie chcesz *się* *spotykać*, to nie musisz.
 no it no if not you-want REFL to-meet it not you-must
 ‘Well, okay. If you don’t want to meet, you don’t have to.’

- b. *Marek₁ skończył [PRO₁ się spotykać o 3-ej].
 Mark finished REFL to-meet at 3
 ‘*Mark finished meeting at 3.’

(66)

- a. Marek₁ lubi /woli [PRO₁₊ spotykać się o 3-ej].
 Mark likes/prefers to-meet REFL at 3
 ‘Mark likes meeting/prefers to meet at 3.’
- b. Marek₁ myślał, [żeby PRO₁₊ spotkać się o 3-ej].
 Mark thought so-that to-meet REFL at 3
 ‘Mark thought of meeting at 3.’
- c. Marek₁ zastanawiał się, [PRO₁₊ kiedy się spotkać].
 Mark wondered REFL when REFL to-meet
 ‘Mark wondered when they would meet.’

Another point concerning the EC/PC distinction relates to tense. Landau (2000:56) notes that at least in English PC-complements are tensed, while EC-ones are untensed. Exactly the same correlation is noticeable in Polish. As noted in Chapter III, section 2.1.6, complements to modals, aspectuals and implicatives lack independent tense specification, while complements to desiderative, factive, propositional and interrogative verbs can have independent tense specification. The former group corresponds to EC-complements and the latter to PC-complements (cf. (65) and (66)).

The above sentence sounds better, however, when the collective verb *spotykać* ‘meet’ follows the desiderative *chcieć* ‘want’, as in (i), and becomes only marginal when the collective verb follows the modal, as in (ii):

- (ii) *?Nie to nie. Jak nie chcesz, to nie musisz się spotykać.
 no it no if not you-want it not you-must REFL meet
 ‘Well, okay. If you don’t want to, you don’t have to meet.’

A similar situation arises with implicative predicates like *udać się* ‘succeed/manage’, as in (iii) and (iv):

- (iii) Nawet jak bardzo będziesz chciał się spotkać, to ci się nie uda.
 even if very you-would want REFL to-meet it you REFL not manage
 ‘Even if you very much want to meet, you won’t manage to do so.’
- (iv) *?Nawet jak bardzo będziesz chciał, to ci się nie uda spotkać.
 even if very you-would want it you REFL not manage meet
 ‘Even if you very much want to, you won’t manage to meet.’

We have no explanation why this kind of contrast in grammaticality should arise.

Landau (2000) emphasises that the occurrence of PC is related to semantic plurality, that is, it is attested with semantically plural predicates, such as *meet*, *gather* or *together*, but is blocked with syntactically plural expressions.³¹ The same observation carries over to Polish, as confirmed by the following data:

(67)

- a.*Marek₁ powiedział Marii₂, że *pro*₁ woli [PRO₁₊₂₊ spotkać się ze
Mark told Mary that prefers to-meet REFL with
sobą nawzajem o 3-ej].
each other at 3
'*Mark told Mary that he prefers to meet each other at 3.'
- b.*Marek₁ wiedział, że Maria₂ chciała [PRO₁₊₂₊ zostać studentami tej
Mark knew that Mary wanted to-become students this
uczelni].
university
'*Mark knew that Mary wanted to become students of this university.'

Sentences (67a) and (67b) are illegitimate because plural anaphors, such as *sobą nawzajem* 'each other' in (67a), and plural predicate nominals, like *studentami tej uczelni* 'students of this university' in (67b), lack a syntactically plural clause-mate antecedent. PC PRO does not qualify for this role, as it is only semantically, but not syntactically, plural. The sentences in (67) become grammatical only if PRO is controlled by a plural DP, e.g.:

(68)

- [Marek i Maria]₁ wolą [PRO₁ spotkać się ze sobą nawzajem o 3-ej].
Mark and Mary prefer to-meet REFL with each other at 3
'Mark and Mary prefer to meet each other at 3.'

³¹ Landau (2000:53) notes that one type of OC, i.e. split control, does not block syntactically plural expressions within its complements. As evidence he provides examples such as (i):

(i) John proposed to Mary [PRO to meet each other at 6].

The same situation can be observed in Polish, as can be seen in (ii):

(ii) Marek₁ zaproponował Marii₂ [PRO₁₊₂ zrobienie sobie nawzajem śniadania].
Mark suggested Mary making each other breakfast
'Mark suggested to Mary making breakfast for each other.'

This difference between split control and other types of OC makes Landau conclude that PC is to be kept apart from both OC, NOC and split control. He notes that PC arises only when the matrix clause contains a single controller which is in the singular.

(68) is grammatical since PRO is syntactically plural on account of the fact that it is controlled by the plural antecedent.

Having examined PC in C-less complements, let us now look into the possibility of PC in *żeby*-complements. First of all, it seems that PC is possible in *żeby*-complements to Class 2-5 verbs, as evidenced by the data in (69):

(69)

- a. Marek₁ planuje, [żeby PRO₁₊ spotkać się o 6-ej].
 Mark plans so-that to-meet REFL at 6
 'Mark plans to meet at 6.'
- b. *Marek₁ planuje, [żeby PRO₁₊ spotkać się bez niego₁].
 Mark plans so-that to-meet REFL without him
 '*Mark₁ plans to meet without him₁.'

The ungrammaticality of (69b) follows from Condition B of the BT and therefore strongly supports the claim that PRO contains the matrix subject in its reference. For this reason sentences like (69a) are instances of PC. A different situation arises with *żeby*-complements to Class 1 predicates. They seem to apparently allow PC, as illustrated in (70):

(70)

- Marek chce, [żeby PRO się spotkać o 6-ej].
 Mark wants so-that REFL to-meet at 6
 'Mark wants for somebody to meet at 6.'

However, this time the reference of PRO does not include the reference of the matrix subject, as the binding facts in (71) make clear:

(71)

- Marek₁ chce, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} się spotkać bez niego₁].
 Mark wants so-that REFL to-meet without him
 'Mark wants for somebody to meet without him.'

If PRO in (71) included the matrix subject in its reference, the grammaticality status of (71) would be the same as that of (69b). Since the reference of PRO in (71) is not co-extensive with the reference of the matrix subject, the complement in question does not exemplify PC. Since it is legitimate to use the collective predicate *spotkać się* 'meet' in *żeby*-complements like (71), the conclusion may

be drawn that PRO which is disjoint in reference can be semantically plural. This derives the apparent PC effect found in *żeby*-complements to Class 1 verbs.³²

What is more, obligatory object control structures can also give rise to PC, no matter whether they are C-less or display the C *żeby* ‘so that’. The former case is illustrated in (72a), the latter in (72b):

(72)

- a. Marek₁ poradził Marii₂ [razem PRO₁₊₂₊ ubiegać się o grant].
Mark advised Mary together to-apply REFL for grant
‘Mark advised Mary to apply for a grant together.’
- b. Marek₁ zaproponował Marii₂ [żeby razem PRO₁₊₂₊ ubiegać się o grant].
Mark suggested Mary so-that together to-apply REFL for grant
‘Mark suggested to Mary applying for a grant together.’

In the above examples PRO may either be controlled by *Mark* and *Mary* or by *Mark*, *Mary* and some other individuals salient in the context. In both cases the result obtained is PC.

Finally, the relation between PC and Restructuring in Polish requires a word of comment. Landau (2000:79) argues that PC and Restructuring are incompatible with each other in languages such as German, Italian and Spanish. This, however, is not the case in Polish. As argued in Chapter III, section 2.1.3, all verbs taking non-finite C-less complements trigger Restructuring in Polish, among them also desiderative and factive verbs, which allow PC (cf. example (66a)).³³ Thus, it seems that Landau’s claim about the mutual exclusiveness of

³² A similar situation arises for the exceptional predicates *postulować* ‘plead’ and *nalegać* ‘insist’. Like Class 1 predicates they can co-occur with collective predicates, as in (i), although the PRO subject of their *żeby*-complements must always be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject. We conclude that in cases like (i) *żeby*-complements host semantically plural PRO.

(i) Marek₁ nalegał, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} się spotkać bez niego₁].
Mark insisted so-that REFL to-meet without him
‘Mark insisted on meeting without him.’

³³ Propositional and interrogative predicates, which also allow PC, do not undergo Restructuring, as they require a complement introduced by an overt C or [Spec, CP] (cf. Chapter III, section 2.1.3).

PC and Restructuring is disconfirmed by the Polish data.³⁴ It seems that also Wurmbrand's (2001) generalisation that the availability of PC is linked to the presence of CP and PRO is not valid for Polish. Implicative verbs, though taking a complement with PRO in Polish (see Chapter III, section 2.1.6, example (82b)), disallow PC, cf. (65a). Consequently, it seems that no relation whatsoever holds between PC and Restructuring in Polish.

3.0. PRO and adjectival predicates in Polish

Before analysing various control types in Polish, it is worth investigating the behaviour of predicative adjectives in relation to PRO, as it will shed light on the analysis of PRO, especially on whether it is justified to claim that PRO bears null Case in Polish.³⁵

Predicative adjectives, in a way analogous to attributive ones, always agree with the noun they modify in person, number and gender. As regards case, in non-finite clauses these adjectives can be marked either for nominative or instrumental.³⁶ Let us mention the contexts in which these two case markings occur.

As for nominative predicative adjectives, they are constrained to subject control cases, such as (73) (cf. also (18) in section 1.2):

(73)

Marek₁ pragnął [PRO₁ być najlepszy w czytaniu].³⁷
 Mark desired to-be best-NOM at reading
 'Mark desired to be the best at reading.'

³⁴ Landau (2000) treats complements to Restructuring verbs as bare VPs. Since in his analysis the presence of PC crucially depends on the presence of T with anaphoric Agr, the lack of T in Restructuring contexts correlates with the lack of PC.

³⁵ Secondary predication found in cases like (i) below is not analysed here, as it shows some important differences in comparison with predicative adjectives (for details cf. Kardela (1985:55-63) and Franks (1995:276-281)).

(i) Marek₁ chce [PRO₁ iść sam do kina].
 Mark wants to-go alone-NOM to cinema
 'Mark wants to go to the cinema alone.'

³⁶ Other parts of speech can also function as predicates, but we focus on adjectives only, because they are most revealing as regards the supposed Case marking of PRO.

³⁷ If the subject controller appears in a case other than nominative, the predicative adjective is marked for instrumental, not nominative, as in (i):

(i) Jest mu₁ źle [PRO₁ być starym].
 is him-DAT bad to-be old-INSTR
 'It is bad for him to be old.'

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(74)

Marek₁ marzył [żeby PRO₁ być najlepszy w czytaniu].
 Mark dreamed so-that to-be best-NOM at reading
 ‘Mark dreamed of being the best at reading.’

Subject controlled adjuncts also exhibit the same case marking, e.g.:

(75)

Marek₁ dużo ćwiczył [by PRO₁ być najlepszy w czytaniu].
 Mark a-lot practised so-that to-be best-NOM at reading
 ‘Mark practised a lot to be the best at reading.’

In addition to being marked for nominative, adjectival predicates can also bear instrumental case.³⁸ This situation arises in object control, as in (76), long distance control, as in (77), in cases of disjoint reference, as in (78), and in arbitrary control, as in (79):

³⁸ In this respect they resemble predicative DPs, which can bear only instrumental in Polish, no matter what control structure they are used in. This is illustrated in (i):

- (i) a. Marek₁ chciał [PRO₁ być dobrym uczniem]. subject control
Mark wanted to-be good pupil-INSTR
'Mark wanted to be a good pupil.'
b. Rodzice₁ kazali Markowi₂ [PRO₂ być dobrym uczniem]. object control
parents told Mark to-be good pupil-INSTR
'His parents told Mark to be a good pupil.'

In contexts that do not involve control, predicative DPs also typically occur in the instrumental, as shown in (ii), except for some stylistically marked structures, such as (iii), and sentences with *to* as subject, such as (iv):

- (ii) Marek jest dobrym uczniem /*dobry uczeń.
Mark is good pupil-INSTR /*good pupil-NOM
'Mark is a good pupil.'
- (iii) Ale ja jestem dureń /*durniem!
but I am fool-NOM /*fool-INSTR
'What a fool I am!'
- (iv) To jest dobry uczeń /*dobrym uczniem.
this is good pupil-NOM /*good pupil-INSTR
'This is a good pupil.'

(76)

Marek₁ kazał Marii₂ [PRO₂ być bardziej pewną siebie
 Mark told Mary-DAT to-be more self-confident-INSTR
 /*pewna siebie].
 /*self-confident-NOM
 'Mark told Mary to be more self-confident.'

(77)

Marek₁ twierdzi, że ważne jest [PRO_{1/arb} być pewnym siebie
 Mark claims that important is to-be self-confident-INSTR
 /*pewny siebie].³⁹
 /*self-confident-NOM
 'Mark claims that it is important to be self-confident.'

(78)

Marek₁ chciał, [żeby PRO_{*1/2} być dobrym /*dobry dla niego₁].
 Mark wanted so-that to-be good-INSTR/*good-NOM for him
 'Mark wanted somebody to be good for him.'

(79)

Ważne jest [PRO_{arb} być pewnym siebie /*pewny siebie].
 important is to-be self-confident-INSTR /*self-confident-NOM
 'It is important to be self-confident.'

Similarly, purpose clauses allowing arbitrary control display instrumental predicative adjectives, as can be seen in (80) below:

³⁹ In gerundive clauses, no matter what control type they represent, the predicative adjective must always be marked for instrumental, as can be seen in (i), which exemplifies subject control and in (ii), which is an instance of object control:

- (i) Marek₁ boi się [PRO₁ bycia w to zamieszonym /*zamieszonym].
 Mark fears REFL being in it involved-INSTR/*involved-NOM
 'Mark fears being involved in it.'
- (ii) Marek₁ zabronił Piotrowi₂ [PRO₂ bycia w to zamieszonym /*zamieszonym].
 Mark forbade Peter being in it involved-INSTR/*involved-NOM
 'Mark forbade Peter to be involved in it.'

(80)

Marek₁ zachowywał się tak, [żeby PRO_{*1/arb} być dobrym
Mark behaved REFL so so-that to-be good-INSTR
/*dobry dla niego₁].
/*good-NOM for him
'Mark behaved in this way so that somebody might be good for him.'

Likewise, participial clauses require a predicative adjective in the instrumental, as confirmed by (81):

(81)

[PRO₁ Będąc najlepszym/*najlepszy w czytaniu], Marek₁ nie musiał
being best-INSTR /*best-NOM at reading Mark not have-to
dużo ćwiczyć.
a-lot practise
'Being the best at reading, Mark didn't have to practise a lot.'

To sum up, predicative adjectives agree for nominative case with the nominative subject in subject control constructions, while all other control structures exhibit a predicative adjective in the instrumental. In the latter, no case agreement holds between the controller (if there is one) and the adjective, as confirmed, for instance, by (76), where the controller *Marii* 'Mary' is dative and the adjective is marked for instrumental. Thus, it seems that predicative adjective case marking is sensitive to the type of control. The issue of the exact relationship between the two will be addressed in section 4.1.5.

4.0. Control phenomena in Polish – an analysis

The aim of this section is to analyse the various control types in Polish described in section 2 with the aid of the model offered by Landau (2000). This approach has proved to be adequate for English (cf. Chapter II), and therefore it seems promising to try and apply it to control phenomena in another language. First, in section 4.1, Polish OC with its two types, i.e. EC and PC, is analysed in order to discover the mechanism licensing the occurrence of PRO. In addition to this, the issue of Case marking of PRO is considered in the light of the predication facts discussed in section 3.0. Section 4.2 considers various contexts where OC and NOC obtain and examines the relation between NOC and logophoricity. The chapter ends with the question of the interpretation of PRO in various control environments.

4.1. EC and PC in Polish non-finite complements

As observed in section 2, Polish C-less and *żeby* non-finite complements show OC, with the exception of *żeby*-complements to Class 1 predicates and to the verbs *postulować* 'plead' and *nalegać* 'insist'. C-less complements and the majority of *żeby*-complements allow PC. In section 2.3, it has been noted that EC in Polish occurs in complements (only C-less) to modals, aspectuals and implicatives, whereas PC is found in complements (both C-less and with the C *żeby* 'so that') to desiderative, factive, propositional and interrogative complements. The major concern of this section is to discover the mechanisms responsible for EC and PC in various types of non-finite complements.

4.1.1. Analysis of EC and PC based on T-to-C movement

To recall, Landau (2000) derives the difference between EC and PC in English by appealing to the assumptions listed in (82) below (assumptions (60) from Chapter II, repeated for convenience) and to T-to-C movement, which applies in tensed clauses where C bears an uninterpretable T feature.

(82)

- a. DP's, including PRO, enter the derivation with valued ϕ -features.
- b. Functional heads enter the derivation with unvalued ϕ -features.
- c. Semantic plurality (SP): +/- on DPs, +/- ϕ on functional heads.
- d. Matching: ϕ (i.e. no SP) and [-SP] are non-distinct on functional heads.
- e. PRO and infinitival Agr are anaphoric.
- f. PRO, being anaphoric, cannot value unvalued functional heads.

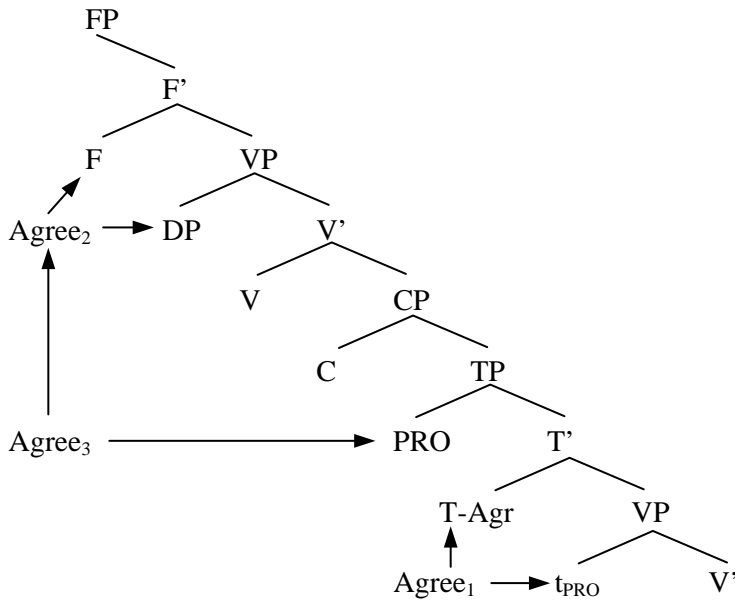
(Landau (2000:31))

Infinitival Agr is not treated as a separate functional projection, but as a part of the T head, marked as T-Agr. Since PRO and Agr are anaphoric (cf. (82e)), they function as possible Goals for the operation Agree. In the case of EC, Agree targets anaphoric PRO, which inherits all the features from its controller. T-to-C movement does not apply, as EC-complements are untensed and hence do not contain an uninterpretable T feature. In the case of PC, Agr is anaphoric. Since PC-complements are tensed, they trigger the movement of T incorporating anaphoric Agr to C, where Agr becomes a possible target for Agree. PC arises if

[ϕ SP] Agr co-occurs with [+SP] PRO and is targeted by the matrix Probe which is marked as [-SP].

Let us first check how Landau's analysis can be adapted to Polish EC and PC in C-less complements. These complements have to be treated as CPs, under the assumption that T-to-C movement is operative in some of them.⁴⁰ The derivation proceeds as schematised in (83):

(83) Exhaustive Control



In (83), F is a functional category that can correspond to either T or v depending on whether the matrix subject or the matrix object controls PRO. No T-to-C movement operates in EC structures, as EC-complements are untensed. Three Agree relations hold in (83): Agree₁ obtains between PRO and T-Agr, which yields the match in their ϕ -features, Agree₂ holds between F and the DP controller of PRO, producing a match in ϕ -features of these two categories and finally, Agree₃ affects F and PRO, which is responsible for PRO's inheriting the ϕ -features of its controller. Thus, it is the last Agree operation which derives the EC effect. Since Polish C-less complements are CPs, Agree₃ crosses a phase boundary and therefore a violation of the PIC ensues. To avoid this violation, a

⁴⁰ This claim contradicts the analysis of Restructuring presented in Chapter III and will be challenged in section 4.1.2.

modification of the PIC, along the lines suggested by Landau (cf. (62) in Chapter II, section 3.1 and repeated in (84) for convenience) is required, i.e.:

(84)

Modified PIC

In a structure [...X...[_{YP}...Z...]], where YP is the only phase boundary between X and Z, Z is accessible to X:

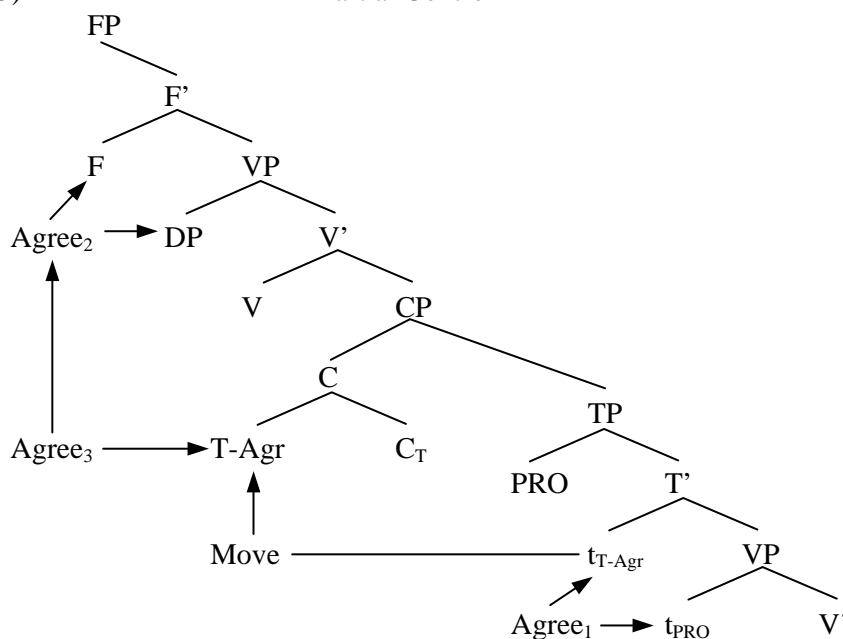
- 1) Only at the head or edge of YP, if Z is uninterpretable.
- 2) Anywhere in the YP phase, if Z is interpretable.

In accordance with the modified PIC, PRO, which has interpretable features, is accessible to Agree from the matrix Probe even though it does not appear at the edge of the lower CP-phase.

The mechanism responsible for PC in Polish is similar to that deriving EC, the difference being the Goal of Agree₃, which this time is not PRO itself, but rather anaphoric Agr in T. The schematic structure of a PC configuration is represented in (85):

(85)

Partial Control



The operations Agree₁ and Agree₂ apply in a way analogous to that described for EC in (83). This time, however, T-to-C movement takes place, since PC-complements are tensed and hence contain an uninterpretable T feature. Having moved to C, anaphoric Agr appears at the edge of the phase, where it can be targeted by Agree₃ without causing the PIC violation. In PC, PRO itself is not anaphoric, it is T-Agr which is anaphoric. This opens up the possibility for a [+SP] PRO to co-occur with a [-SP] controller, as the two do not undergo Agree with each other. This is the mechanism underlying PC effects. Its detailed application is schematised in (86) below:

(86)

PC Configuration

[Agree₁ T-Agr_φ, PRO₊], [Agree₂ F-, DP-], [Agree₃ F-, T-Agr_φ]

In (86) [+SP] PRO and [φSP] T-Agr, which undergo Agree₁, do not yield mismatch, as they do not have opposing feature values. Other Agree operations are also fully legitimate. Agree₂ determines that F and DP share the feature [-SP], while in Agree₃ [-SP] on F and [φSP] on T-Agr are non-distinct as they appear on functional heads (cf. (82d)). Thus, by appealing to T-to-C movement along with assumptions (82d) and (82e), we have accounted for PC effects.

It seems that Landau's (2000) analysis can be applied to the EC and PC found in Polish C-less complements without any modifications, provided that all these complements are regarded as CPs. Although the CP status of C-less complements may be subject to dispute, the complements introduced by the C *żeby* are certainly CPs. As noted in section 2.3, these complements give rise to EC and PC, in the same way as C-less complements do. However, this time a problem arises: if *żeby* appears in C, there is no position to which T-Agr can move in tensed clauses to derive PC effects.⁴¹ This might indicate that T-to-C movement is not the right mechanism to account for PC in Polish. Although this statement may turn out to be ultimately true, we would like to pursue an analysis of PC based on T-to-C movement in complements introduced by *żeby* as well.⁴² What we could suggest is that *żeby* in PC-complements like (87a) below in fact originates in T, from where it moves to C in tensed clauses to satisfy C's

⁴¹ This, however, is problematic only if head-movement involves substitution, not adjunction.

⁴² We will defend the claim that T-to-C movement is not responsible for PC effects in Polish in section 4.1.2.

uninterpretable T-feature.⁴³ If this line of reasoning is adopted, then (87a) would have the representation in (87b):

(87)

- a. Marek_i marzy, [żeby PRO₁₊ się spotkać o 6-ej].⁴⁴
 Mark dreams so-that REFL to-meet at 6
 'Mark dreams of meeting at 6.'
- b. Marek marzy, [_{CP}[_T żeby]_j [_{TP}PRO t_j spotkać się o 6-ej]].

After T-Agr has moved to C in (87b), the T element *żeby*, incorporating anaphoric Agr, appears closer to the Probe, i.e. the matrix T, than PRO and therefore can be targeted by Agree, in a way analogous to (85). This makes the PC effect possible also in *żeby*-complements.

The analysis just sketched for Polish *żeby*-complements is similar in spirit to that offered by Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) for English *that*-clauses. Pesetsky and Torrego argue that *that* does not actually represent a C, but originates in T, from where it moves to C in order to check C's uninterpretable T feature. According to them, sentences like (88a) have the derivation schematised in (88b):

(88)

- a. Mary expects that Sue will buy the book.
 b. Mary expects [_{CP} [_T that]_j + [C, $\bar{u}T$] [_{TP} Sue will_j buy the book]]⁴⁵
 (Pesetsky and Torrego (2001:373))

In (88b), the uninterpretable T feature of C is checked and deleted by means of the movement of *that* from T to C. The moved element *that* is co-indexed with another T element *will*. Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) explain the 'double' presence of T in (88b) in the following way: T-to-C movement in cases like (88b) produces chains in which both the original and the new position are pronounced. They conclude that T-to-C movement, which is normally realised as a movement of an auxiliary, may also be realised as *that* doubling a tensed verb in sentences like (88a).

⁴³ If we adopt this approach to *żeby*, we will have to revise our earlier observations concerning its status made in section 1.1.

⁴⁴ The complement of *marzyć* 'dream' is tensed and hence triggers PC. Example (i) below shows that the complement of *marzyć* 'dream' is indeed tensed.

(i) Marek marzył wczoraj, żeby jutro się spotkać.
 Mark dreamt yesterday so-that tomorrow REFL to-meet
 'Mark dreamt yesterday of meeting tomorrow.'

⁴⁵ $\bar{u}T$ stands for the deleted uninterpretable T feature.

The analysis of Polish non-finite *żeby*-complements like (87a) presented in (87b) is attractive, as it is consonant with Pesetsky and Torrego's (2001) ideas concerning English, and preserves the basic insight of Landau's account of PC in English. A consequence of this analysis is that in untensed clauses such as (89a), *żeby* does not undergo T-to-C movement and hence appears in T, as schematised in (89b):

(89)

- a. Marek_i ośmielił się [żeby PRO_i powiedzieć prawdę].⁴⁶
 Mark dared REFL so-that to-tell the-truth
 'Mark dared to tell the truth.'
- b. Marek ośmielił się [_{CP} [_{TP} PRO [_Tżeby] powiedzieć prawdę]].

Since T-Agr in (89b) is more distant from the matrix Probe than PRO, it is PRO which is targeted by Agree, which, in consequence, yields the EC effect. Thus, the same mechanisms operate in *żeby*-complements as in C-less complements: T-to-C movement in tensed clauses giving rise to PC effects and no T-to-C movement in untensed ones excluding the possibility of PC.

What still needs to be accounted for is the disjointness effect found with *żeby*-complements to Class 1 verbs and to the verbs *postulować* 'plead' and *nalegać* 'insist', noted in section 2.1. This problem will be addressed in section 4.1.3.

4.1.2. An analysis of EC and PC without T-to-C movement

The basic problem with the analysis of PC and EC in Polish based on T-to-C movement is that there is no independent motivation for this movement in the language. A comparison of the English example (90a) with the Polish (90b) makes this point clear:

⁴⁶ The fact that the non-finite clause in (89a) is untensed is supported by the following data:

- (i) *Marek_i ośmielił się wczoraj, [żeby PRO_i powiedzieć prawdę jutro].
 Mark dared REFL yesterday so-that to-tell the-truth tomorrow
 '*Mark dared yesterday to tell the truth tomorrow.'

Since the complement of *ośmielić się* 'dare' is untensed, it disallows PC, as evidenced by (ii):

- (ii) *Marek_i ośmielił się, [żeby PRO_{i+} się spotkać o 6-ej].
 Mark dared REFL so-that REFL to-meet at 6
 '*Mark dared to meet at 6.'

(90)

- a. Should Mary go to school?
- b. Czy Maria powinna iść do szkoły?
if Mary should go to school
'Should Mary go to school?'

In (90a) the T element *should* undergoes head movement to C, deriving a typical *yes-no* question in English. In the Polish example (90b), on the other hand, no comparable movement takes place, as the C position is already filled by *czy* 'if/whether'.⁴⁷

Additionally, the claim that *żeby* 'so that' is a T element may be questioned, as it does not encode any tense properties as do other items occupying the T node, but conveys only mood information. The assumption made by Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) that Tense may sometimes be spelt out in two positions, i.e. in T and in C, needs also to be invoked in relation to *żeby*, which introduces finite subjunctives. It is unclear, however, why sometimes both copies of T are spelt out, as in (39) (repeated for convenience) and sometimes just the upper one is, as in (87a).

⁴⁷ Tajsner (1989) argues that T-to-C movement, or what he calls Agr (understood as a feature of Infl) to C movement, takes place in Polish subjunctive clauses such as (i):

- (i) Chcę, żebyśmy jechali szybciej. (Tajsner (1989:70))
I-want so-that-2PL drove faster
'I want us to drive faster.'

Tajsner follows Rizzi (1982) in assuming that the empty subject of the embedded clause in cases like (i) is a trace, not PRO or *pro*. Hence (i) has the following representation:

- (ii) Chcę [_S [_C żeby] [_S t¹ INFL¹ jech- szybciej]] (Tajsner (1989:71))

Tajsner treats the suffix *-śmy* as a morphological spell-out of the feature person of Agr features. Thus, the placement of the suffix serves as an indication of the position of Infl. Being a trace, the subject in (ii), must be properly governed to satisfy the Empty Category Principle. The proper government configuration arises only after I (or T) has moved to C, from where it c-commands the subject trace. If no I-to-C movement takes place, I does not properly govern the embedded clause subject and hence ungrammaticality results, as in (iii):

- (iii) *Chcę, żeby jechaliśmy szybciej. (Tajsner (1989:70))
I-want so-that drove-2PL faster
'I want us to drive faster.'

Since Tajsner's analysis crucially relies on treating *pro* as a trace and on the Empty Category Principle as its licensing mechanism, his arguments for T-to-C movement in Polish subjunctive clauses do not seem to undermine the claim made here that T-to-C movement lacks independent motivation in Polish.

(39)

Marek₁ zaplanował, [**żeby** Ewa₂ **pomogła** mu₁ napisać wypracowanie].
 Mark planned so-that Eve would-help him to-write essay
 'Mark planned for Eve to help him to write an essay.'

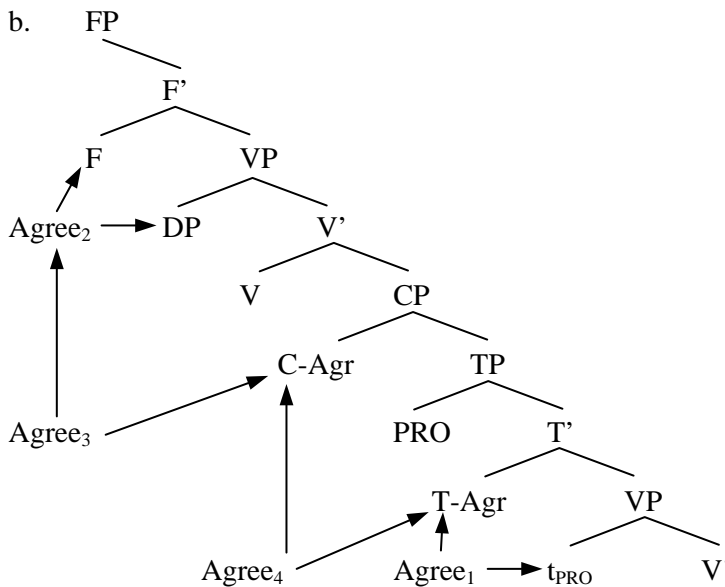
An alternative that we might pursue to derive PC without movement is to suggest, as Landau (2000:64, fn.32) does for English, that C contains inherent Agr features, which trigger Agree between C and T-Agr if T is contentful, i.e. in PC-complements, but not if T is null, i.e. in EC-complements. Under this analysis, PC in Polish tensed *żeby*-complements obtains under the following conditions: Agree₁ and Agree₂ operate in the way presented in (85), there are two additional Agree operations, one between [-SP] F and C to guarantee that they share the same features, especially the feature [-SP], and finally [-SP] C enters into Agree with the lower T-Agr, which is [ϕ SP]. No mismatch results between [-SP] C and [ϕ SP] T-Agr, as [-SP] and [ϕ SP] count as non-distinct on functional heads (cf. (82c)). The derivation of PC structures within this approach is schematised in (91a) below and the corresponding tree is presented in (91b):

(91)

a. PC Configuration

[Agree₁ T-Agr _{ϕ} , PRO₊], [Agree₂ F-, DP-], [Agree₃ F-, C-], [Agree₄ C-, T-Agr _{ϕ}]

b.



The analysis just presented allows us to account for PC-effects in *żeby*-complements without T-to-C movement, by associating C with inherent Agr features. Although C in Polish does not show any overt Agr features, there exist languages like West Flemish and Bavarian in which this is the case. The drawback of this account is that no explanation is provided for why there is a connection between active Agr features in C and tense properties of the complement. Moreover, this analysis fails to capture the connection between the PRO disjoint in reference found with Class 1 predicates and with *nalegać* 'insist' and *postulować* 'plead', and the obviation attested in subjunctive complements in Polish.

The analysis of EC and PC that we would like to advance here is not based on T-to-C movement, a process with no theory-external motivation in Polish, but relies on two distinct mechanisms to license control. One mechanism is Agree, as suggested by Landau for English, which, as we shall argue, is responsible for EC effects in Polish. The other mechanism, which, as we shall see, underlies PC in Polish, relates to the binding of anaphoric Agr by a matrix functional head. Our analysis of EC and PC in Polish is based, in addition to Landau's assumptions in (82), on the three assumptions in (92):

(92)

- a. Anaphoric PRO is licensed via Agree with the matrix T or v, and anaphoric Agr is licensed via binding by the matrix T or v.
- b. Anaphoric Agr inherits its features from its binder.⁴⁸
- c. The binding domain is extended to the matrix clause in tensed clauses, but not in untensed ones.

Just like in Landau's analysis, we regard both PRO and Agr in T as anaphoric elements (cf. assumption (82e)). However, their anaphoricity is treated differently. We suggest that whereas anaphoric PRO is licensed via Agree with the matrix functional head (in a way analogous to anaphoric PRO in English within Landau's model), anaphoric Agr in order to be licensed must be bound by the matrix T-Agr in the case of subject control, or by the matrix v in the case of object control (assumption (92a)).⁴⁹ If anaphoric Agr is bound, it inherits its

⁴⁸ Assumption (92b) is very similar to Borer's (1989) proposal. Borer argues that anaphoric Agr, just like other anaphors, does not have inherent features, but inherits them from its binding antecedent.

⁴⁹ The matrix v can function as a binder for anaphoric Agr, as, just like Agr, it has uninterpretable ϕ -features.

features, including semantic plurality, from its binder (cf. assumption (92b)). We assume further that the binding domain for the embedded T-Agr can be extended to the matrix clause only if the embedded clause is tensed (cf. (92c)). This, as we shall see, will play an important role in explaining why PC effects are attested in tensed complements. The assumption that the binding domain gets extended in tensed clauses gets some support from the fact that anaphors extend their binding domains in Polish in cases like (93):⁵⁰

(93)

Marek₁ poradził Ewie₂ [PRO₂ przeczytać swoją_{1/2} książkę].⁵¹
 Mark advised Eve to-read self's book
 'Mark advised Eve to read his/her book.'

The subject-oriented anaphor *swój* 'self's' in (93) appears within a tensed complement and its binding domain is extended to the matrix clause. We would like to suggest that a similar domain extension underlies the binding of T-Agr in the case of PC in Polish. Since it is binding that underlies PC in our account, not T-to-C movement as in Landau's analysis, we are not forced to treat all non-finite complements in Polish as CPs. This means that we can stick to the proposal made in Chapter III, and regard C-less complements as TPs and complements with an overt C as CP.

We assume that in the case of EC-complements, PRO is anaphoric and therefore it functions as a target for the matrix Probe, i.e. T or v, depending on whether subject or object control is involved. The complete derivation operates in the way outlined in (94a) and (94b):

⁵⁰ This observation has already been made in Chapter III, section 2.1.7. The complement of *poradzić* 'advise' in (93), which is a desiderative predicate, is tensed.

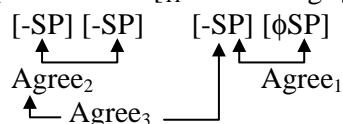
⁵¹ No comparable evidence can be provided for untensed EC-complements, as all object control verbs are PC-predicates. However, some evidence against binding domain extension in EC-complements can be obtained from sentences like (i) (sentence (81b) from Chapter III repeated for convenience):

(i) Udało mu₁ się [PRO₁ położyć tutaj swoje₁ rzeczy].
 managed him-DAT REFL to-put here his things
 'He managed to put his things here.'

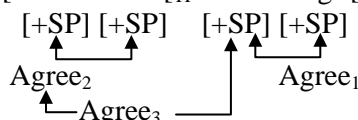
If the binding domain were extended for the anaphor in (i), then the anaphor would be bound by the dative subject. Since dative DPs cannot bind anaphors in Polish (cf. example (80) in Chapter III), binding domain extension cannot be operative in sentences like (i).

(94)

- a. [...F... DP...
- _{[TP PRO T-Agr [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]] EC Configuration}



- b. [...F... DP...
- _{[TP PRO T-Agr [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]] EC Configuration}

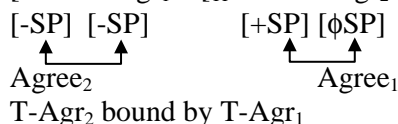


The operation Agree₃ in (94) determines that in EC PRO shares all its features, including semantic plurality, with its controller, hence PC is unavailable. If anaphoric Agr appeared in an EC-complement like (94), it would have to be licensed via binding. Since the complement in (94) is an EC-complement, it is untensed and hence would not allow binding domain extension (cf. assumption (92c)). Anaphoric Agr would remain unbound in the embedded clause in (94), and therefore it cannot be licensed, thus blocking the possibility of PC.⁵²

In the case of PC, Agr in the non-finite complement is anaphoric, and must be bound in order to be licensed (cf. assumption (92a)). Since PC complements are tensed, the binding domain is extended to the matrix clause, in accordance with (92c), with the embedded T-Agr being bound by the matrix T-Agr in the case of subject control, and by the matrix *v* in the case of object control. The PC-effect arises if the embedded T-Agr, which is [φSP], is bound by the matrix T-Agr or *v* with the feature [-SP] and co-occurs with PRO marked [+SP], as in (95a) and (95b).⁵³

(95)

- a. [DP T-Agr
- ₁
- ...
- _{[TP PRO T-Agr₂ [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]] PC Configuration}



⁵² Unlike Borer (1989), we assume that PRO in the embedded clause does not bind Agr. Our proposal is in line with Progovac's (1993a, 1993b) suggestion that an X⁰ anaphor must be bound by an X⁰ element, whereas an XP anaphor requires an XP binder.

⁵³ PRO enters the derivation with the feature [+SP] (cf. (82a)), whereas the matrix T-Agr or *v* inherits its feature [-SP] from the DP with which it undergoes the operation Agree.

- b. [DP₁ v DP₂ [TP PRO T-Agr [VP t_{PRO}...]]] PC Configuration
- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| [-SP] [-SP] | [+SP] [φSP] |
| ↑ ↑ | ↑ ↑ |
| Agree ₂ | Agree ₁ |
- T-Agr bound by v

In the PC configurations in (95) the embedded T-Agr does not inherit [-SP] from the matrix T-Agr or v, as, in accordance with (82c), [φSP] and [-SP] are non-distinct on functional heads. This underlies the PC effect: the occurrence of semantically plural PRO with a semantically singular controller. However, if anaphoric Agr with the feature [φSP] is bound by the matrix T-Agr or v marked as [+SP], then the embedded Agr inherits semantic plurality from its binder. If it co-occurs with [-SP] PRO, then a mismatch arises between the two, blocking the possibility of the ‘downward’ reading for PRO, as in (96a), with the schematic structure in (96b):

(96)

- a. *Parlament₁ chciał [PRO₁ nałożyć krawat].
parliament wanted to-wear tie
‘*The parliament wanted to wear a tie.’
- b. *[DP T-Agr₁...[TP PRO T-Agr₂ [VP t_{PRO}...]]]
- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| [+SP] [+SP] | [-SP] [+SP] |
| ↑ ↑ | ↑ ↑ |
| Agree ₂ | Agree ₁ |
- T-Agr₂ bound by T-Agr₁

The two remaining possibilities arise for the PC configurations in (95a) and (95b) if the embedded T-Agr, which is [φSP], is bound by the matrix T-Agr or v which are either [+SP] or [-SP], and PRO shares the same feature value as the matrix T-Agr or v. These two cases are schematised in (97a) and (97b):

(97)

- a. [DP T-Agr₁/v...[TP PRO T-Agr₂ [VP t_{PRO}...]]]
- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| [-SP] [-SP] | [-SP] [φSP] |
| ↑ ↑ | ↑ ↑ |
| Agree ₂ | Agree ₁ |
- T-Agr₂ bound by T-Agr₁ or v
- b. [DP T-Agr₁/v...[TP PRO T-Agr₂ [VP t_{PRO}...]]]
- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| [+SP] [+SP] | [+SP] [+SP] |
| ↑ ↑ | ↑ ↑ |
| Agree ₂ | Agree ₁ |
- T-Agr₂ bound by T-Agr₁ or v

In (97a) and (97b) PRO matches its controller in semantic plurality. Thus cases like (97), though representing PC, are very much similar to the EC configurations in (94). However, the mechanism involved in the licensing of control in (97) is based on binding, not on Agree, as in (94).

The analysis of PC in Polish just presented shares with Landau's account the basic insight that in PC it is Agr in a non-finite complement that is anaphoric and the anaphoricity of PRO is only 'parasitic' on anaphoric Agr. However, the licensing of anaphoric Agr in our analysis is achieved via binding, whereas Landau suggests that anaphoric T-Agr is targeted by Agree (just like anaphoric PRO in the case of EC) after it has moved to C. The fact that untensed complements allow EC only, whereas tensed complements can give rise to PC, which in Landau's account is linked with the possibility of T-to-C movement, is derived in our analysis from the binding domain extension. This process affects only tensed clauses making it possible for anaphoric Agr to be bound by the matrix T-Agr or *v*, thus deriving the PC effect as indicated in (95).

The analysis of PC in terms of binding of anaphoric Agr by the matrix T-Agr or *v* gets additional support from an examination of control patterns found in *żeby*-complements. As has already been demonstrated, these complements can host anaphoric or non-anaphoric PRO (cf., for instance, (24) with (22b), respectively). We have also suggested that the mechanism involved in the licensing of non-anaphoric PRO in such contexts is similar to that underlying obviation. Let us now see how these observations can be incorporated into our analysis of control in these clauses. In addition to the assumptions already made in (92), we assume the following:

(98)

Some predicates subcategorise non-finite *żeby*-complements with anaphoric Agr, whereas some others subcategorise non-finite *żeby*-complements with pronominal Agr.⁵⁴

In particular, the verbs belonging to Classes 2-5 and 7-8 in Table 1 presented in section 2.1 subcategorise *żeby*-complements with anaphoric Agr, as in (99b), while Class 1 predicates and the exceptional predicates *postulować* 'plead' and *nalegać* 'insist' subcategorise *żeby*-complements with pronominal Agr, as in (99a). This, as we shall see, is responsible for the presence vs. absence of anaphoric interpretation in these complements. Besides, the complements to all

⁵⁴ Manzini (2000) also claims that subjunctive I contains pronominal Agr.

classes of predicates in Table 1 are tensed, hence triggering binding domain extension and giving rise to PC.^{55 56 57}

(99)

- a. Class 1, *postulować* ‘plead’ and *nalegać* ‘insist’

[DP T-Agr₁...[_{CP} żeby [_{TP} PRO T-Agr₂ [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]]]
 pronominal

- b. [DP T-Agr₁/v...[_{CP} żeby [_{TP} PRO T-Agr₂ [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]]] Classes 2-5 and 7-8⁵⁸
 anaphoric

In (99b) T-Agr in the complement clause is anaphoric, and therefore must be bound in the extended domain of the matrix clause. The lower T-Agr is bound by the matrix T-Agr or v, depending on whether subject or object control is involved, and the properties of anaphoric Agr are inherited from its binder. If T-Agr₂, which is [ϕ SP], is bound by [-SP] T-Agr₁ and co-occurs with [+SP] PRO, then T-Agr₂ does not inherit the feature [-SP] from its binder, as the features [-SP] and [ϕ SP] are non-distinct on functional heads. Thus, the PC effect comes into being in a way analogous to (95).

As for the representation in (99a), the lower T-Agr is pronominal. Its binding domain is also extended to the matrix clause. If pronominal Agr is bound in the

⁵⁵ It is commonly assumed in the literature (cf. Anderson (1982), Everaert (1984), Pica (1985), Johnson (1985), etc.) that tense in subjunctive clauses is anaphoric, i.e. dependent on the matrix tense, and this is the reason why the binding domain in such clauses is extended. That is why some languages, for instance, Icelandic, allow anaphor binding across a subjunctive, but not across an indicative.

⁵⁶ Overt anaphors, however, do not extend their binding domains across tensed non-finite *żeby*-complements, as can be seen in (i) below (cf. (93)):

(i) Marek₁ poradził Marii₂, [żeby PRO₂ przeczytać swoje_{*1/2} wypracowanie].
 Mark advised Mary so-that to-read self's essay
 ‘Mark advised Mary to read *his/her essay.’

⁵⁷ The complements of the implicative verb *ośmielić się* ‘dare’ from Class 3, in a way typical of complements of all implicatives, are always untensed (cf. footnote 46). Therefore this predicate resists PC.

⁵⁸ Class 2-5 and 7-8 predicates comprise both subject and object control verbs, and therefore the matrix binder for anaphoric Agr may correspond to T and v, respectively. Class 1 verbs, however, allow only subject control.

extended domain by the matrix T-Agr, then a violation of the Principle B of the BT results, as demonstrated in (100a):⁵⁹

(100)

a. Class 1, *postulować* ‘plead’ and *nalegać* ‘insist’

* [DP_i T-Agr_{1i}...[CP *żeby* [TP PRO_i T-Agr_{2i} [VP t_{PRO}...]]]]
pronominal

In (100a) the embedded T-Agr is bound by the matrix T-Agr and hence the two have the same index. Both T-Agrs are co-indexed with their corresponding subjects, which leads to a situation in which PRO is co-indexed with its controller and hence is anaphoric. Consequently, the lack of anaphoric interpretation of PRO with Class 1 verbs and also with *postulować* ‘plead’ and *nalegać* ‘insist’ can be explained in terms of Condition B of the BT. Pronominal Agr is only licensed if the lower T-Agr and the matrix one are disjoint in reference, as in (100b):

(100)

b. Class 1, *postulować* ‘plead’ and *nalegać* ‘insist’

[DP_i T-Agr_{1i}...[CP *żeby* [TP PRO_j T-Agr_{2j} [VP t_{PRO}...]]]]
pronominal

If the embedded T-Agr is disjoint from the matrix T-Agr, then the matrix subject and PRO, which share the indices with their respective T-Agrs, must also be disjoint in reference. This explains why Class 1 verbs require the subject of the non-finite complement to be non-anaphoric. Although it seems at first glance that this subject is arbitrary, in fact it must be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject, in a way analogous to the pronominal subject in finite subjunctive complements.

The binding domain extension just invoked to account for PRO’s disjointness in *żeby*-complements to Class 1 verbs and to the verbs *postulować* ‘plead’ and

⁵⁹ It is important to note that the binding domain extends only for subject pronouns (cf. Progovac (1993a)), but not for object pronouns, since sentences like (i) are perfectly licit (cf. also (22b) and (23b)):

(i) Marek₁ chce, [*żeby* PRO mu₁ pomagać].
Mark wants so-that him to-help
‘Mark wants to be helped.’

control in cases like (102a) below with finite subjunctive complements such as (102b):

(102)

- a. Marek₁ poradził Marii₂ [żeby PRO₂ kupić ten samochód].
Mark advised Mary so-that to-buy this car
'Mark advised Mary to buy this car.'
- b. Marek₁ poradził Marii₂ [żeby ona₂ kupiła ten samochód].
Mark advised Mary so-that she would-buy this car
'Mark advised Mary to buy this car.'

Although the above sentences appear to be similar as regards the reference of the embedded subjects, their derivation proceeds in two different ways. The derivation of (102a) is analogous to that captured in (99b), since *poradzić* 'advise' is a PC predicate. There is an anaphoric T-Agr in the non-finite complement of (102a), and not pronominal T-Agr as in instances of obviation. Sentences like (102b) are derived in a way similar to that presented in (101b), except that the DP subject in (101b) is filled with the pronoun in (102b), and there is no dative pronoun within the VP. The complete representation of (102b) is sketched in (102c) below:

(102)

- c. [DP_i T-Agr_{1i}...[_{vp} v DP_j [_{CP} żeby [_{TP} pronoun_j T-Agr_{2j} ...]]]]
pronominal

In (102c) the pronominal T-Agr is not bound by the matrix T-Agr, as the two bear different indices, consequently no Condition B violation occurs and the sentence is perfectly legitimate.⁶⁰

Having presented our account of unifying control and obviation in terms of binding, let us now briefly outline an alternative approach to obviation put forward by San Martin (1999). San Martin focuses on Romance languages, noting that obviation arises in infinitival complements to volitional verbs in Spanish and Basque. He analyses control in terms of movement, as first proposed by Hornstein (1999, 2001, 2003) and sketched in Chapter I, section 2.2.1. He follows Hornstein (1999, 2001, 2003) in assuming that OC involves move-

⁶⁰ We must assume that *v* cannot bind the pronominal T-Agr in (102c), unlike in object control, for instance, in (102a) (for a similar account of non-obviative subject pronouns in cases like (102b) in Russian cf. Avrutin and Babyonyshev (1994)).

ment of the copy to the matrix clause; NOC – involves an empty *pro*, as illustrated in (103):

(103)

- a. OC $NP_i \dots I\text{-VP} \dots [\emptyset_i \dots I\text{-VP} \dots]$
- b. NOC $NP_i \dots I\text{-VP} \dots [DP_{i/k} \dots I\text{-VP} \dots]$

San Martin argues that movement is preferred in infinitival clauses where possible and that the lack of movement, as in the case of NOC, is a costly option. He further suggests that obviative structures arise whenever movement does not take place, although it is possible, but instead a pronoun is merged in the subject position of the non-finite clause, violating Move First. This violation is costly and forces the subject pronoun to be obviative, as in (103c).

(103)

- c. Obviation $NP_i \dots I\text{-VP} \dots [DP_k \dots I\text{-VP} \dots]$

San Martin's model predicts that control and obviation occur in the same contexts: the former when movement applies, and the latter when Move First is violated. San Martin's proposal gives rise to all the problems that any account reducing control to movement faces (cf. Chapter I, section 2.2.2). Additionally, it is based on the unorthodox assumption that movement is less costly than Merge. Even disregarding these serious issues, San Martin's analysis of obviation is not free of problems. First of all, his account presupposes that there are no verbs which take obviative complements and disallow OC. However, this prediction is falsified by the verbs *postulować* 'plead' and *nalegać* 'insist', which require obviative complements (cf. sentences (35)) but never trigger OC (cf. sentences (34)). Another problem for San Martin's account is that in Polish OC and obviative complements to volitional and factive verbs are not derived from the same numeration, since the former lack an overt C (cf. (22a) and (23a)), whereas the latter exhibit the C *żeby* 'so that' (cf. (22b) and (23b)). Since obviation in Polish seems to be restricted to subjunctive complements of volitional and factive verbs, it seems that at least in Polish OC and obviation do not occur in the same contexts. Although San Martin's proposal for deriving control and obviation by means of the same mechanism is promising, it cannot be maintained, since, when confronted with the Polish data, it creates problems that cannot be easily resolved.

(104)

- [DP T-Agr₁...[_{CP} żeby-T-Agr₂ [_{TP} PRO t_{T-Agr₂} [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]]]
pronominal

- [DP T-Agr₁/v...[_{CP} žeby-T-Agr₂ [_{TP} PRO t_{T-Agr₂} [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]]]
anaphoric

(105)

- Marek₁ chce, [żeby PRO_{*1} się spotkać bez niego₁].
 Mark wants so-that REFL to-meet without him
 ‘Mark wants for somebody to meet without him.’

In (105) PRO occurs with a collective predicate. No ungrammaticality arises since neither PRO, which is [+SP], nor pronominal T-Agr, which is also [+SP], undergo Agree with the [-SP] matrix subject and hence no mismatch arises.

The analysis of the disjointness of PRO within the T-to-C-movement-based model just outlined, though capable of accounting for the relevant data, does not make an attempt at unifying PRO's disjointness with obviation. The two phenomena, as has already been noted, have a lot in common and therefore any analysis that fails to capture the similarity between them seems to be inferior to the analysis deriving the two from the same mechanisms. Such an analysis, deriving the disjointness of PRO and obviation from binding, has been offered in the previous section without making recourse to T-to-C movement.

*4.1.4. The T-to-C movement-based approach vs. the binding-based approach
– a comparison*

Having presented two alternative analyses of control patterns found in Polish non-finite complements, let us now try to compare their merits. Both of them account for the whole range of control phenomena in Polish, but make use of distinct mechanisms.

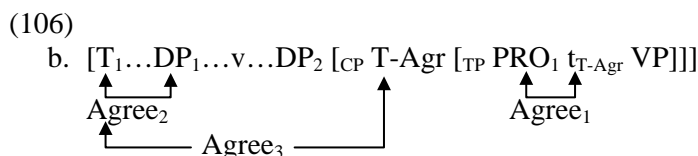
Let us first start with the non-movement approach. It appears that it is more advantageous than the one with movement, as it does not appeal to T-to-C movement, a process without independent motivation in Polish. Instead, it relies on binding, a process independently motivated for Polish as well as for any language with anaphors. Even the binding domain extension in tensed clauses, which seems to be stipulative at first glance, is required for ordinary anaphors, as shown in (93). The account of PC based on binding has also been seen to be necessary to explain the obviation-like effects found with volitional and factive verbs taking *żeby*-complements. Subsuming control and obviation under one mechanism such as binding is also a desirable consequence.⁶¹ However, there exists one case which falls out naturally within the movement-based analysis, but which seems to be problematic for the non-movement one. The case in question relates to subject control with verbs like *obiecać* 'promise', illustrated in (106a) below:

(106)

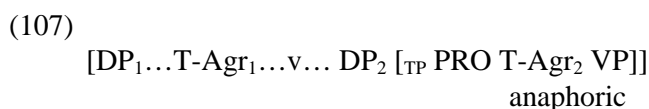
- a. Marek₁ obiecał Marii₂ [PRO_{1/*2} kupić kwiaty].
 Mark promised Mary to-buy flowers
 'Mark promised Mary to buy flowers.'

⁶¹ The fact that control and obviation may be accounted for by the same mechanism has been hinted at by Hale (1992).

Obiecać ‘promise’ is a desiderative predicate and hence allows PC. In the movement-based analysis the required subject control in (106a) can be achieved in the way suggested for English by Landau (2000) (cf. Chapter II, section 3.1) and captured in schematic form in (106b):



$Agree_3$ in (106b) targets $T-Agr$ bypassing two closer Goals, i.e. v and DP_2 , in violation of the MLC. However, this apparently illicit application of $Agree$ is legitimised under the assumption that the PMC is operative in Polish. The PMC guarantees that the MLC can be violated by the second operation once the first one has satisfied it. In (106b) the application of $Agree_2$, which obeys the MLC, makes it possible for $Agree_3$ to look for a more distant Goal such as $T-Agr$, skipping over closer potential Goals. Consequently, by appealing to the PMC, we can derive subject control in cases like (106a) within the movement-based analysis. If one wanted to apply the non-movement approach to sentences like (106a), one would obtain the following schematic representation:



In (107) v is a closer possible binder for the embedded anaphoric Agr than the matrix $T-Agr$. Nonetheless, only the latter, but not the former can bind $T-Agr$. It is not at all clear to us why the more distant binder is favoured in such cases over the closer one. The situation seems to be reminiscent of that found with overt anaphors as in (93), where PRO may be transparent to anaphor binding by the matrix subject. We leave this issue unaccounted for, noting that it is problematic for the non-movement analysis of control. However, it seems that more work on how binding operates in Polish may help us to solve this unexpected problem.^{62 63}

⁶² Alternatively, we may follow Pollard and Sag (1994:287-288) in adopting a semantic approach to control for cases like (106a). Pollard and Sag analyse *promise* as a verb of commitment and since commitments are made by the speaker (committor) not by the addressee (commissee), it is only natural to expect subject control in sentences like

The movement-based analysis of control in Polish, in spite of its making use of T-to-C movement, seems to be advantageous over the non-movement account, as it can easily handle subject control with verbs like *obiecać* ‘promise’, which remain problematic for the non-movement approach. This, however, seems to be its only advantage. Although it is capable of accounting for the anaphoricity vs. the disjointness of PRO in *żeby*-complements in a relatively simple way (cf. section 4.1.3), it treats the disjointness of PRO and obviation as totally unrelated phenomena. The similarities between obviation and disjoint PRO are so striking that it is only natural to expect that they are driven by the same mechanism. The weakness of the movement-based approach lies in its failure to provide a uniform account for the two processes in question.

All in all, it seems that the non-movement analysis is more advantageous than the movement account in that it does not make use of the otherwise unmotivated T-to-C movement, and makes it possible to unify control with obviation. As we have said, more work needs to be done on how binding operates in Polish to be able to account for problematic cases like (106a).

4.1.5. Case marking of PRO

As has been noted in section 3.0, predicative adjectives in Polish normally agree in ϕ -features with the subject of their own clause. As for case, in non-finite clauses adjectival predicates bear either nominative or instrumental. The case marking of the adjective is dependent on the case marking of the controller: if

(106a). However, sentences like (i) pose a problem for Pollard and Sag’s (1994) semantic approach.

- (i) John₁ promised Mary₂ that she₂ would go to the cinema.

Although in (i) *John* is the committor and *Mary* the commisee, the subject pronoun in the embedded clause can be co-referential with *Mary*. This co-reference is totally unexpected under Pollard and Sag’s analysis.

⁶³ Polish anaphors are generally subject oriented, as demonstrated in (i), in which the anaphor can only be bound by the subject *Marek* ‘Mark’, but not by the object *Marii* ‘Mary’.


- (i) Marek₁ dał Marii₂ swoja_{1/*2} książkę.
 Mark gave Mary his/*her book
 ‘Mark has given Mary his book.’

However, one cannot appeal to the subject orientation of Polish anaphors to account for the necessity of subject control in (106a). An account along these lines would make it impossible to ever derive object control in Polish, as it would predict that anaphoric T-Agr should always be bound by the matrix subject (or rather the matrix T-Agr) in the extended domain.

the controller bears nominative, so does the adjectival predicate (cf. footnote 37), whereas in all the remaining control structures the adjectival predicate is marked for instrumental. It seems that the instrumental case marking on the adjective represents the unmarked situation, or, in other words, instrumental on the predicative adjective is the elsewhere case, i.e. it appears wherever a nominative controller is absent. Therefore, instead of using the contrast between nominative vs. instrumental predicates, we will refer to nominative vs. non-nominative adjectival predicates. This terminological difference, as we shall see, will have a role to play in our account of the Case marking of PRO.

In order to account for the case pattern found in control structures with predicative adjectives described in section 3.0, we would like to suggest that PRO bears Case in Polish non-finite clauses. In particular, we propose that PRO has its Case checked by its controller in the case of OC (in a sense to be made precise below). In the case of NOC, on the other hand, PRO gets its Case checked clause-internally, i.e. by the non-finite T with which it co-occurs. Let us discuss the latter case first. In NOC, adjectival predicates are always instrumental (or non-nominative) (cf. examples (77), (79) and (80)). We suggest that in NOC contexts PRO bears null Case, checked via Agree by the infinitival T in the way schematized in (108a) below:⁶⁴

(108)

- a. [...[_{TP} PRO T-Agr [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]]
- 

- b. Ważne jest [PRO_{arb} być pewnym siebie /*pewny siebie].
 important is to-be self-confident-INSTR/*self-confident-NOM
 'It is important to be self-confident.'

There is no way in which PRO in NOC can have nominative Case checked, consequently, no nominative predicative adjective is possible and the non-nominative form is used, as shown in (108b) (example (79) repeated for convenience).

As for OC, the situation is more complicated, as the two types EC and PC have to be considered, as well as subject and object control. Let us begin with control by nominative subjects. In this case the predicative adjective always bears nominative (cf. examples (73) and (74)). Here we propose that PRO has its Case checked outside its own clause, i.e. by the matrix T, which also checks

⁶⁴Przepiórkowski (1999), working within HPSG, argues that PRO is assigned a special Case, which he calls caseless and which is similar to null Case in the MP.

nominative on the controller of PRO. In this case there exist two possible scenarios. In EC PRO is targeted by Agree from the matrix T, as a result of which its ϕ -features match the features of its controller and its Case-feature is checked. Since the matrix T is nominative Case checker, it checks nominative Case on PRO. This is schematised in (109):

(109)

- a. Marek₁ musi [PRO₁ być najlepszy /* najlepszym].
 Mark must be best-NOM /* best-INSTR
 'Mark must be the best.'
- b. [DP T-Agr₁...[_{TP} PRO T-Agr₂ [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]] EC
-
- The diagram illustrates the feature transmission in (109b). It shows a DP T-Agr₁ (containing Mark) and a TP containing PRO T-Agr₂ and a VP (containing t_{PRO}). Arrows indicate the following Agree relations: Agree₁ from DP T-Agr₁ to PRO T-Agr₂; Agree₂ from DP T-Agr₁ to PRO T-Agr₂; and Agree₃ from DP T-Agr₁ to PRO T-Agr₂.

In (109b) it is Agree₃ which guarantees that PRO matches its controller, i.e. the matrix T-Agr, in its ϕ -features and its semantic plurality. It also is responsible for nominative Case on PRO. This account of the Case checking of PRO is in line with the basic tenets of the MP, as Case checking is viewed as a by-product of the ϕ -feature checking. What is different, however, is that Case is checked by the matrix T in spite of there being a closer potential checker, i.e. non-finite T. The nominative Case on the adjectival predicate in cases like (109a) reflects the fact that adjectival predicates generally agree with nominative subjects in Case, as shown in (110):

(110)

- Marek jest najlepszy /*najlepszym.
 Mark is best-NOM /*best-INSTR
 'Mark is the best.'

Another scenario arises with PC. It has been suggested in section 4.1.2 that in PC PRO is not targeted by Agree, as Agr in T is anaphoric, and hence licensed via binding by the matrix T-Agr. In such cases the embedded T-Agr that is bound by the matrix T-Agr inherits not only its ϕ -features and semantic plurality from its binder, but also its nominative Case feature.⁶⁵ As a result, the embedded

⁶⁵ Franks (1995), working within the GB theory, speaks about Case transmission, rather than Case inheritance. He observes that in Polish Case transmission is possible not only with nominative controllers but also with genitive ones, as in (i) from Franks (1995:279):

T-Agr becomes a nominative Case checker and hence checks nominative Case on PRO. This is schematized in (111):

(111)

- a. Marek₁ chce [PRO₁ być najlepszy/*najlepszym].
 Mark wants to-be best-NOM/*best-INSTR
 'Mark wants to be the best.'
- b. [DP T-Agr₁...[_{TP} PRO T-Agr₂ [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]] PC
 $\uparrow \uparrow$ $\uparrow \uparrow$
 Agree₂ Agree₁
 T-Agr₂ bound by T-Agr₁

The nominative Case on the adjectival predicate in (111a), just like in (109a) reflects agreement with the nominative PRO. Case checking operates exactly in the same way in PC-complements introduced by *żeby* 'so that', in which PRO is controlled by the nominative controller (cf. (74)).

As for object control, it involves only PC and the Case checking of PRO operates in a way very similar to that presented for (111) above.⁶⁶ What is different, however, is the fact that this time the adjectival predicate bears non-nominative, as shown in (112):

(112)

- a. Marek poradził Ewie [PRO być najlepszą /*najlepsza].
 Mark advised Eve-DAT to-be best-INSTR/*best-NOM
 'Mark advised Eve to be the best.'

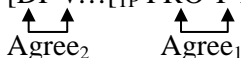
-
- (i) wielu studentów₁ chce [PRO₁ być młodych /*młodymi]
 many students-GEN want to-be young-GEN /*young-INSTR
 'many students want to be young'

We disagree with Franks' grammaticality judgement of (i). For us, sentences like (ii) are perfectly grammatical with the adjective marked for either genitive or instrumental.

- (ii) [wiele kobiet]₁ chce [PRO₁ być młodszymi /młodszych niż jest]
 many women-GEN want to-be younger-INSTR/ younger-GEN than are
 'many women want to be younger than they actually are'

Thus, sentences like (ii) do not entirely behave on a par with examples like (111a), where the nominative DP controls PRO. We do not attempt to analyse sentences like (ii) here (for a HPSG analysis of numerical phrases and predication cf. Przepiórkowski (1999, chapter 5)).

⁶⁶ For proof that all object control predicates exhibit only PC cf. section 2.3.

- b. [DP v..._{TP} PRO T-Agr₂ [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]] PC

 Agree₂ Agree₁
 T-Agr₂ bound by v

In this case PRO is controlled by the matrix v, which is an objective Case checker.⁶⁷ As shown in (112b), PRO is not directly targeted by Agree, but rather non-finite Agr in T is anaphoric and therefore licensed via binding by the matrix v. We suggest that in (112a), and in all object control for that matter, non-finite T-Agr bound by v inherits the objective Case feature from its binder and therefore is capable of checking this feature on PRO. As a result, PRO in object control structures bears objective Case, and since it is not nominative, the only available adjectival predicate form is the non-nominative one. Exactly the same Case pattern is found with the predicate *uczyć* 'teach', which requires an accusative complement, as can be seen in (113):

- (113)
 Marek₁ uczył Piotra₂ [PRO₂ być dobrym /*dobrego
 Mark taught Peter- ACC to-be good-INSTR /*good-ACC
 /*dobry dla innych].
 /*good-NOM for others
 'Mark taught Peter to be good for others.'

The same case on the predicative adjective both in (112a) and in (113) seems to confirm the hypothesis entertained here that instrumental case on the predicative adjective appears whenever no nominative controller for PRO is available, and the case of the object controller is irrelevant for the case borne by the adjectival predicate.⁶⁸ In this respect Polish mimics the behaviour of Russian (cf. Franks

⁶⁷ Dative, just like accusative, is treated here and throughout, as a morphological realization of the abstract Objective Case.

⁶⁸ Normally predicative adjectives agree in Case with the item they are predicated of. This happens also if the element predicated of is in the dative, as can be seen in (i):

- (i) Było mu staremu źle.
 was him-DAT old-DAT bad
 'It was bad to him who was old.'

However, Przepiórkowski (1999) notes that in marked registers (such as, for instance, high or literary style) predicative adjectives may appear in the instrumental, as confirmed by the following examples:

- (ii) Zastałem go pijanego /pijanym. (Przepiórkowski (1999:203))
 I-found him-ACC drunk-ACC/drunken-INSTR
 'I found him drunk.'

and Hornstein (1992) and Franks (1995)) and clearly contrasts with Icelandic, in which, as noted by Sigurdsson (2002), in object control sentences adjectives can either bear the same Case as the object, i.e. accusative or dative, or nomi-native. Likewise, as observed by Franks (1998), in Czech, Slovak and Slovenian PRO bears a Case identical to that of its object controller.

What is worth mentioning at this point is that sentences like (112a) and (113) constitute a problem for the movement approach to control along the lines of Hornstein (1999, 2001, 2003) presented in detail in Chapter I, section 2.2.1. Examples (112a) and (113) are instances of obligatory object control, where the object bears dative or accusative, whereas the predicative adjective is marked for instrumental. If control involved movement, as Hornstein argues, then PRO in non-finite clauses in (112a) and (113) would be just a copy of the object, and therefore should bear dative or accusative case. The dative/accusative case marking on PRO should, in turn, force dative/accusative on the predicative adjective (cf. footnote 68). This case marking, however, is unattested in Polish, as the adjective in both these cases bears instrumental. Consequently, examples like (112a) and (113) strongly argue against the movement approach to PRO and control in Polish.

Kayne (2002) argues for a different implementation of the movement approach to PRO, which, according to him, does not create problems for PRO's Case marking, the way Hornstein's analysis does. Kayne argues that PRO and its controller originate as a single constituent within the non-finite clause and then the controller moves into the subject position within the matrix clause. This proposal is illustrated in (114) below:

(114)

- a. John tried to solve the problem. (Kayne (2002:135))
- b. tried to [John PRO] solve the problem

Sentence (114a) has the schematic representation in (114b), where PRO and its controller together form a constituent, then *John* moves into the theta-position of *try*. *John* does not end up having two theta roles (as in Hornstein's account), as the subject theta-role of *solve* is assigned to the constituent [John PRO]. Kayne observes that on Hornstein's analysis, assimilating control with raising, control structures are expected to be subject to the kind of Case inheritance found with

-
- (iii) Widzę/rodzę /budzę go smutnego/smutnym. (Pisarkowa (1965:21))
 I-see /I-give-birth/I-wake him-ACC sad-ACC /sad-INSTR
 'I see him/give birth to him/wake him up sad.'

raising constructions. This, however, is not confirmed by the data. For instance, in Icelandic, as noted by Thráinsson (1986:252), the raised subject generally carries along its quirky Case, whereas the controller always bears the Case determined by the matrix predicate, not the Case assigned by the embedded predicate.⁶⁹ On Kayne's analysis the Case pattern attested in Icelandic control structures follows, as the embedded predicate determines the Case of [John PRO], not of *John*, which gets its Case from the matrix predicate.

When confronted with Polish data, Kayne's proposal seems to correctly derive the fact that PRO's controller has its Case determined by the matrix predicate. However, it needs to be supplemented with how PRO in Polish gets its Case. One cannot claim, as Kayne (2002) does for Icelandic, that PRO is uniformly Case marked by the embedded predicate, as PRO bears nominative in the case of subject control, while in the case of object control it is marked for instrumental.

Our account of PRO's Case checking just outlined may also appear to be problematic. First of all, it is unclear why in cases like (109a) the Case checking of PRO is not carried out by the non-finite T, as has been suggested for (108b). One would think that non-finite T, being the closer potential checker, should be able to check PRO's Case everywhere. However, we have to claim that in cases like (109a) the embedded T-Agr does not check the Case of PRO. The reason why this might be the case is that the matrix T-Agr in (108b) does not check nominative on a matrix subject and hence cannot target PRO.⁷⁰ Consequently, Case checking by the embedded T-Agr is the only possibility for PRO in (108a) to have its Case checked.

Another problem might be the question of why the matrix Probe can check Case both on the matrix DP and on PRO in sentences like (109a). This is possible due to the fact that the ϕ -features of the Probe, checked against the ϕ -

⁶⁹ Hudson (2003) argues on the basis of the data from Icelandic, Russian and Ancient Greek that instances of subject control in these languages involve what he calls structure sharing and what also underlies the structure of raising constructions. On the other hand, object control in these languages is treated by him as exhibiting the PRO subject in the embedded clause. This way he accounts for the difference in Case marking of predicative adjectives in subject and object control structures in the languages analysed.

⁷⁰ The fact that the matrix T-Agr in cases like (108a) does not check nominative on the matrix subject is supported by the ungrammaticality of (i) below:

(i) *To jest ważne być pewnym siebie.
 it is important to-be self-confident
 'It is important to be self-confident.'

In (i) the word *to* 'it' has unchecked nominative Case, yielding ungrammaticality.

features of the matrix subject, are not erased immediately but remain accessible until the end of the next higher phase, which in this case corresponds to the matrix clause. This explains why the matrix Probe remains active and hence capable of checking PRO's Case along with the Case of the matrix DP.

As for predicative adjectives found in obviative contexts, they are marked for instrumental (cf. (78)), which is unproblematic under the analysis sketched earlier. Obviative complements contain pronominal Agr in T, which must not be bound by the matrix T-Agr, and hence no Case inheritance takes place. Therefore the only possibility for PRO to have its null Case checked is by the embedded T-Agr and for the predicative adjective to appear in the non-nominative.

As pointed out in the previous section, subject control is problematic with the verb *obiecać* 'promise' within the non-movement approach. Likewise, Case marking of PRO in such structures is problematic. Predicative adjectives in sentences like (115) below bear nominative case, which indicates that the embedded T-Agr must have inherited the nominative Case feature from the matrix T-Agr, not from *v*, in spite of the fact that *v* is a closer binder.

(115)

Marek₁ obiecał Ewie₂ [PRO₁ być najlepszy /*najlepszym w czytaniu].
 Mark promised Eve to-be best-NOM/*best-INSTR in reading
 'Mark promised Eve to be the best at reading.'

Once again we have no answer why the more distant binder wins over the closer one in such cases.

To recapitulate, it has been suggested that PRO in Polish is Case marked and its Case marking is governed by Agree. In NOC contexts PRO enters the Agree relation with the embedded T-Agr, then it is marked for null Case and co-occurs with instrumental predicative adjectives (cf. (108b)). In the case of OC by a nominative controller, PRO either has its Case checked directly by the matrix T-Agr together with its ϕ -features and hence bears nominative (cf. (109a)), or the embedded T-Agr, bound by the matrix T-Agr, inherits the nominative Case feature from its binder and thus checks nominative Case on PRO (cf. (111a)). The nominative Case on predicative adjectives found in this type of control reflects agreement in Case with the nominative Case marked PRO. In the case of OC by an object controller PRO has its objective Case checked by the embedded T-Agr, which has inherited this feature from the matrix *v* (cf. (112) and (113)). Since PRO in this case is non-nominative, it can co-occur only with non-nominative adjectival predicates.

4.2. OC vs. NOC in Polish – an analysis

This section addresses two issues regarding the OC vs. NOC distinction in Polish. The first problem, to be examined in section 4.2.1, relates to the licensing of OC and NOC in Super-Equi constructions. The second question, to be investigated in section 4.2.2, concerns the relation between NOC and logophoricity.

4.2.1. Super-Equi constructions in Polish

As noted in Chapter II, section 3.2, English Super-Equi constructions display NOC, except for extraposed non-finite subject clauses with psych-predicates, which exhibit only OC. It seems that the difference between psych- and non-psych-predicates with respect to control found in English, is not attested in Polish. All Polish Super-Equi constructions allow NOC, no matter what predicate type they contain. That this is indeed the case can be seen in (116) below:

(116)

- a. Marek₁ uważa, że Ewę₂ może irytować [PRO_{1/arb} poprawianie
Mark thinks that Eve may irritate correcting
popelnianych przez nią₂ błędów].
made by her mistakes
'Mark thinks that it may irritate Eve to correct mistakes made by her.'
- b. Marek₁ uważa, że wymowę Ewy₂ może poprawić
Mark thinks that pronunciation Eve's may improve
[PRO_{1/arb} poprawianie popelnianych przez nią₂ błędów].
correcting made by her mistakes
'Mark thinks that it may improve Eve's pronunciation to correct mistakes made by her.'
- c. Marek₁ uważa, że [PRO_{1/arb} poprawianie popelnianych przez nią₂
Mark thinks that correcting made by her
błędów] może irytować Ewę₂.
mistakes may irritate Eve
'Mark thinks that correcting mistakes made by her may irritate Eve.'
- d. Marek₁ uważa, że [PRO_{1/arb} poprawianie popelnianych przez nią₂
Mark thinks that correcting made by her
błędów] może poprawić wymowę Ewy₂.
mistakes may improve pronunciation Eve's
'Mark thinks that correcting mistakes made by her may improve Eve's pronunciation.'

Sentences (116) show that NOC in Polish is possible both with psych-predicates (cf. (116a)) and non-psych predicates (cf. (116b)), no matter whether the subject clause is extraposed (cf. (116a) and (116b)) or not (cf. (116c) and (116d)).

Subject infinitival clauses in Polish are different from gerundive subject clauses in that they tend to be restricted to occurring with non-psych predicates. These clauses are typically introduced by *żeby*, often preceded by *to* 'it/this', as in (117), and exhibit NOC, no matter whether the infinitival clause is extraposed (cf. (117b)) or not (cf. (117a)).

(117)

- a. Ewa₁ wie, że [to, żeby PRO_{1/arb} go₂ chwalić] jest ważne dla
 Eve knows that this so-that him to-praise is important for
 Marka₂.
 Mark
 'Eve knows that to be praised is important for Mark.'
- b. Ewa₁ wie, że dla Marka₂ ważne jest [to, żeby PRO_{1/arb} go₂
 Eve knows that for Mark important is this so-that him
 chwalić].
 to-praise
 'Eve knows that it is important for Mark to be praised.'

In order to account for the contrast in the domain of application between OC and NOC in English we have made reference to Landau's (2000) generalisation reproduced in (118) (cf. (72) in Chapter II):

(118)

In a configuration [...DP₁...Pred...[_S PRO₁...].], where DP controls PRO: If, at LF, S occupies a complement/specifier position in the VP-shell of Pred, the DP (or its trace) also occupies a complement/specifier position in the VP-shell.

The above generalisation states that complement clauses allow only OC. Even if PRO is disjoint from the matrix subject only as a result of Condition B of the BT, as in (119a), the clause containing it does not occupy a VP internal position but functions as an adjunct, as can be seen in (119b).

(119)

- a. It helped John₁ [PRO_{arb} to buy him₁ a new computer].
 (Landau (2000:104))
- b.*What_i did it help John₁ [PRO_{arb} to buy him₁ t_i]?

If the non-finite clause in (119a) were a complement, it should be possible to extract material out of it. Since this kind of extraction is impossible (cf. (119b)), we may conclude that this clause is situated outside the VP. However, in the case of Polish generalisation (118) sometimes does not hold even for true complements. This is particularly noticeable in cases where PRO is disjoint in reference from the matrix subject (cf. section 4.1.2) either as a result of Condition B of the BT (cf. (120a) below) or not (cf. (120b)).

(120)

- a. Marek₁ obawiał się [żeby PRO_{*1/2} mu₁ nie robić krzywdy].
 Mark was-afraid REFL so-that him not to-do harm
 'Mark was afraid that somebody would do him harm.'
- b. Marek₁ chciał [żeby PRO_{*1/2} zapomnieć o tym].
 Mark wanted so-that to-forget about it
 'Mark wanted for someone to forget about it.'

The complement status of the bracketed clauses is confirmed by the fact that it is possible to extract material out of them, as shown in (121):

(121)

- a. Czego_i Marek₁ obawiał się [żeby PRO₂ mu₁ nie robić t_i]?
 what Mark was-afraid REFL so-that him not to-do
 'What was Mark₁ afraid that somebody would do to him₁?'
- b. O czym_i Marek₁ chciał [żeby PRO₂ zapomnieć t_i]?
 about what Mark wanted so-that to-forget
 'What did Mark want to forget about?'

Thus, it appears that the generalisation in (118) does not cover cases like (120). Therefore we conclude that this generalisation can be overridden in Polish by the Binding Theory, which is responsible for the disjointness of PRO in (120a), as well as in (120b), if we follow our binding-based analysis of PC presented in section 4.1.2.

Let us turn back to the instances of Super-Equi such as (116) and (117). In order to derive the control patterns found in such cases we will adopt, in addition to the generalisation in (118), Landau's (2000) assumptions stated below (cf. (69)-(71) from Chapter II, repeated for convenience):

(122)

Extraposition

VP-internal clauses must be peripheral at PF.

(123)

Chain Interpretation

Any link in a chain may be the LF-visible link.

(124)

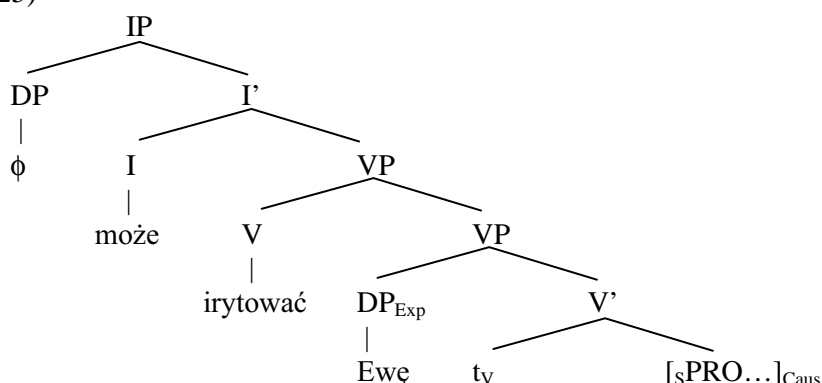
Argument Projection

a. Experiencer is generated above Causer.

b. Causer is generated above Goal/Patient/Theme.

When these assumptions are adopted for data like those in (116), we obtain for (116a) the following schematic representation:⁷¹

(125)

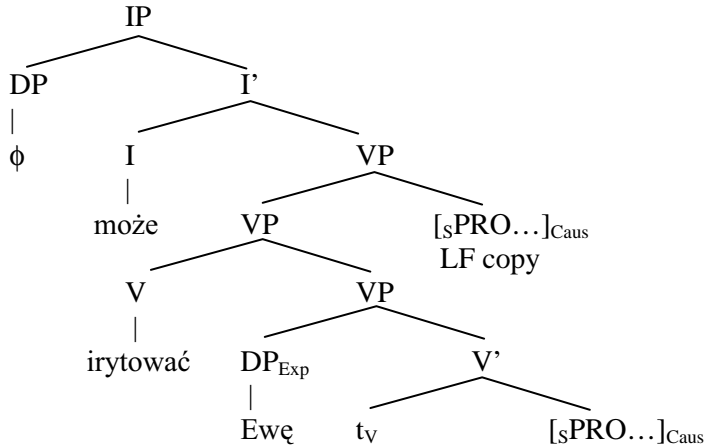


In (125) the subject position, marked ϕ , is left empty; an issue we leave aside here, as it is irrelevant for our discussion. The clause in (125) is VP-peripheral, so, in accordance with (122), it does not undergo Extraposition. Since the clause occupies a VP-internal position, the only possibility of control, predicted by (118), should be OC by the Experiencer DP *Ewę* 'Eve'. However, this prediction is not borne out, as (116a) allows either long-distance control by the matrix

⁷¹ IP and TP are used interchangeably here.

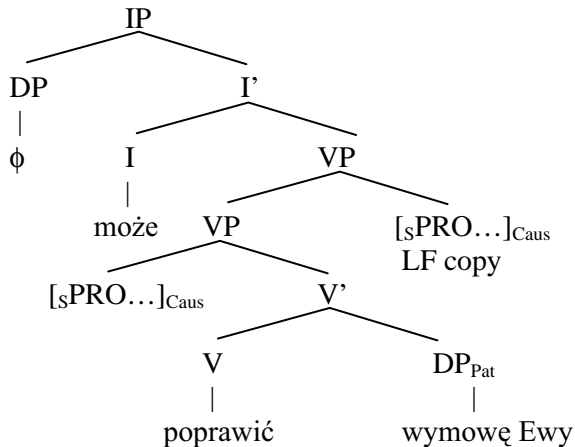
subject or arbitrary control, but never does it exhibit control by the Experiencer DP. What we would like to suggest to account for the control pattern in (116a) is that in such cases the clause, though VP-peripheral, undergoes string-vacuous Extraposition, as in (126), and it is the upper copy that is interpreted at LF.

(126)



Since the upper copy is VP-external, the only possible type of control in this case is NOC. A similar representation can be provided for Super-Equi with non-psych predicates, as in (116b):

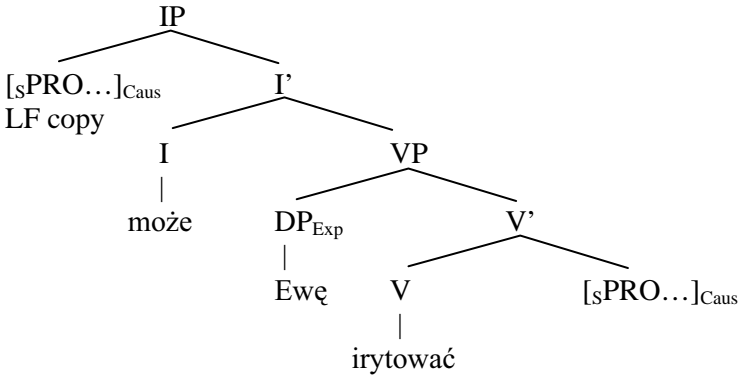
(127)



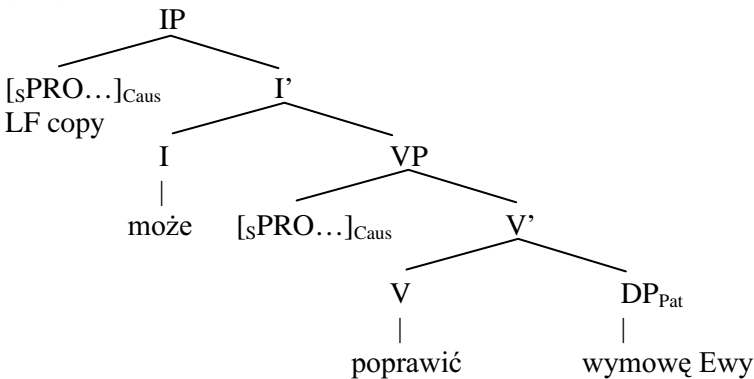
The only difference between (126) and (127) lies in the structural position of the arguments; the Causer is structurally lower than the Experiencer in (126), but higher than the Patient in (127) (cf. (124)). The non-finite clause in (127) undergoes Extraposition and its upper copy is interpreted at LF, which appears outside the VP, and hence, in accordance with (118), NOC results.

The structural representations of (116c) and (116d) are captured in (128) and (129), respectively:

(128)



(129)



In (128) and (129) the non-finite clause always leaves the VP in order to check the EPP-feature of I (or T). Since at LF the clause is outside the VP, it allows, in compliance with (118), only NOC.

Thus, we have managed to account for the Super-Equi data in (116) using Landau's assumptions in (122)-(124), and the only modification that has been necessary relates to Super-Equi structures with psych-predicates. We have suggested that although these clauses appear peripherally within the VP, they nevertheless undergo Extraposition.

In Chapter II, section 3.2, it has been shown that the analysis of Super-Equi in English along the lines suggested by Landau (2000) gets additional support from extraction facts. However, the same kind of support for the analysis just presented is unavailable in Polish. For one thing, gerunds regularly resist extraction from within, no matter whether they are complements or not, as shown in (130a) and (130b) below, where the former contains the gerundive clause in the complement position and the latter in the subject position.

(130)

- a.*Czego₁ Marek₂ zajmuje się [PRO₂ analizowaniem t₁]?
 what Mark is-preoccupied REFL analysing
 'What is Mark preoccupied with analysing?'
 b.*Czego₁ Ewe₂ może irytować [PRO₂ poprawianie t₁]?
 what Eve may irritate correcting
 'What may it irritate Eve to correct?'

Therefore, the extraction facts do not tell us anything about the position occupied by such clauses. Secondly, subject *żeby*-clauses do not act as islands, as they allow extraction from within. Example (131) illustrates this point:

(131)

- Co_i jest ważne dla Ewy₁ [żeby PRO*_{1/arb} u niej₁ poprawiać t_i]?
 what is important for Eve so-that for her to-correct
 '*What is it important for Eve to correct for her?'

The grammaticality of (131) is unexpected, since on the analysis offered here (cf. (128) and (129)) subject *żeby*-clauses are outside the VP and hence should act as islands for extraction. Sentence (131), with extraction out of the subject *żeby*-clause, behaves on a par with cases of extraction out of *żeby*-complements such as (121a) and (121b) above. The same grammaticality status of extraction out of subject clauses and out of complement clauses allows us to conclude that the extraction facts are orthogonal to determining the syntactic position of non-finite clauses in Polish.

As already noted, the generalisation in (118) predicts that OC is restricted to complement clauses, while subject and adjunct clauses necessarily exhibit NOC. However, this prediction may turn out to be problematic in the light of the fact that purpose clauses and participial clauses, typical representatives of adjuncts, commonly allow OC (cf. section 2.2.3). One way of dealing with this problem might be to follow Larson's (1988) proposal for English, and suggest that purpose clauses and participial clauses are in fact complements, not adjuncts. This suggestion, however, is doomed to failure, as these clauses, unlike complement ones, resist extraction from within (cf. Chapter III, section 2.1.5). In fact purpose clauses show an unusual extraction pattern, namely they allow extraction if they are not introduced by *żeby* 'so that', otherwise they do not tolerate any extraction, as demonstrated in (132):

(132)

- a. Co_i Ewa poszła [PRO znaleźć t_i]?
 what Eve went to-find
 'What did Eve go to find?'
- b. * Co_i Ewa poszła, [żeby PRO znaleźć t_i]?
 what Eve went so-that to-find
 'What did Eve go in order to find?'

At this point, there are two ways in which we can proceed: either to give up the generalisation in (118) or to stick to it but come up with an alternative analysis of adjunct control. The generalisation in (118) is valid for the majority of control data, except for adjunct control. Hence it seems that adjunct control needs an alternative analysis, an issue we do not attempt to address here.

4.2.2. NOC PRO and logophoricity in Polish

In Chapter II, NOC PRO in English is analysed as a logophor. The question that we want to address here is whether it is justified to claim that Polish NOC PRO also represents a logophor. There exist some data which appear to cast doubts on this claim. The data in question include the following sentences:

(133)

- a. Ewa₁ omówiła z przyjaciółmi Marka₂ powody [jego₂ zerwania
Eve talked-over with friends Mark's reasons his breaking-off
z nią₁].
with her
'Eve talked over with Mark's friends the reasons for his breaking off with
her.'
- b. Ewa₁ omówiła z przyjaciółmi Marka₂ powody [PRO₂ zerwania
Eve talked-over with friends Mark's reasons breaking-off
z nią₁].
with her
'Eve talked over with Mark's friends the reasons for breaking off with
her.'

The above examples show that PRO can occupy a position that may legitimately be filled with the pronoun. What is more, PRO in (133b) may be controlled by *Marek* 'Mark', which is not the source or target of a communicative/mental report. This argues against treating NOC PRO on a par with logophors.

Another example supporting the same conclusion is given in (134) below:

(134)

- a. Żona Marka₁ uważa, że [jego₁ picie alkoholu] doprowadzi do
wife Mark's thinks that his drinking alcohol would-lead to
rozkładu ich małżeństwa.
ruining their marriage
'Mark's wife thinks that his drinking alcohol would ruin their marriage.'
- b. Żona₂ Marka₁ uważa, że [PRO₁ picie alkoholu] doprowadzi do
wife Mark's thinks that drinking alcohol would-lead to
rozkładu ich małżeństwa.
ruining their marriage
'Mark's wife thinks that drinking alcohol would ruin their marriage.'

Just like in (133b), PRO in (134b) occupies a position typical for pronouns, but not for logophors. Thus, sentences (133) and (134) indicate that NOC PRO is subject to less stringent conditions than logophors, as it does not have to refer to antecedents that act as targets/sources of mental reports. In fact NOC PRO behaves like a pronoun, since for it to be licit it is enough to have an antecedent familiar in the discourse.

The fact that NOC PRO behaves like a pronoun, not like a logophor, may seem questionable in the light of the following data:

(135)

- a. Marek₁ powiedział do Ewy₂, że [to, żeby PRO₂ mu₁ pomagać] jest dla
 Mark said to Eve that it so-that him to-help is for
 niego₁ ważne.
 him important
 'Mark said to Eve that to be helped was important for him.'
- b. *Marek₁ powiedział o Ewie₂, że [to, żeby PRO₂ mu₁ pomagać] jest
 Mark said about Eve that it so-that him to-help is
 dla niego₁ ważne.
 for him important
 '*Mark said about Eve that to be helped was important for him.'

(136)

- a. Marek₁ powiedział do Ewy₂, że ₁[to, żeby ona₂ mu₁ pomogła] jest
 Mark said to Eve that it so-that she him would-help is
 ważne dla niego₁.⁷²
 important for him
 'Mark said to Eve that for her to help him was important for him.'
- b. Marek₁ powiedział o Ewie₂, że [to, żeby ona₂ mu₁ pomogła] jest
 Mark said about Eve that it so-that she him would-help is
 ważne dla niego₁.
 important for him
 'Mark said about Eve that for her to help him was important for him'.

The grammaticality contrast between (135b) and (136b) might indicate that NOC PRO is different from pronouns, since PRO in (135b), unlike the pronoun in (136b), cannot have as an antecedent *Ewa* 'Eve'. Secondly, the contrast in grammaticality between (135a) and (135b) might suggest that NOC PRO does indeed act as a logophor. Only in (135a) does *Ewa* 'Eve' function as the centre of communication, and therefore only in this case can PRO be controlled by it. Thus, it appears that NOC PRO in (135a) is licensed by discourse factors, the

⁷² The bracketed clauses in (136) are finite, unlike the ones in (135). It is impossible to come up with better minimal pairs because non-finite clauses in Polish never host an overt subject.

way logophors are. However, this conclusion is undermined by the following example:

- (137)
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|--|------|
| Marek ₁ | powiedział o | Ewie ₂ , | że [to, żeby PRO ₂ mu ₁ pomagać] | jest |
| Mark | said | about Eve | that it so-that him to-help | is |
| | dla niej ₁ | ważne. | | |
| | for her | important | | |
| | 'Mark said about Eve that to help him was important for her.' | | | |

(137) is grammatical, with PRO controlled by *Ewa* 'Eve', in spite of the fact that *Ewa* 'Eve' is not the centre of communication, in a way analogous to (135b). (137) differs from (135b) in that the former is a statement about Eve (i.e. it is important for her to help him), whereas the latter concerns Mark (i.e. it is important for him to be helped). If we use the verb *powiedzieć* 'say' with the prepositional phrase *o* + DP 'about + DP', we expect the prepositional complement to somehow surface in the discourse, either as in (137), which states something about the prepositional complement or as in (138) below, which states something about the matrix subject, but the prepositional complement still surfaces in the bracketed clause.

- (138)
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|---|------|
| Marek ₁ | powiedział o | Ewie ₂ , | że [to, żeby PRO ₁ jej ₂ pomagać] | jest |
| Mark | said | about Eve | that it so-that her to-help | is |
| | dla niego ₁ | ważne. | | |
| | for him | important | | |
| | 'Mark said about Eve that to help her was important for him.' | | | |

Sentence (135b) is ungrammatical, as, in spite of the requirement to the contrary, it states nothing about the prepositional complement nor does this complement surface within the bracketed *żeby*-clause. In contradistinction to (135b), sentence (138), in which the prepositional complement surfaces within *żeby*-clause, is perfectly acceptable.

Sentence (135a), in which a different preposition follows the verb *powiedzieć* 'say', clearly contrasts with (135b). In this case the verb *powiedzieć* 'say', followed by the preposition *do* 'to', does not require that the prepositional complement surface in the discourse, but rather it demands that the matrix subject appear in the discourse. This is illustrated in (139a):

(139)

- a. *Marek₁ powiedział do Ewy₂, że [to, żeby PRO_{*1} jej₂ pomagać] jest dla
 Mark said to Eve that it so-that her to-help is for
 niej₂ ważne.
 her important
 ‘*Mark said to Eve that to be helped was important for her.’

Sentence (139a) is ungrammatical, as the matrix subject does not surface in the discourse. Thus, (139a) is parallel to (135b). The structure in (139a) becomes grammatical if the matrix subject surfaces either in the bracketed clause, as in (139b), or in the clause with the predicate *ważne* ‘important’, as in (139c).

(139)

- b. Marek₁ powiedział do Ewy₂, że [to, żeby PRO₂ mu₁ pomagać] jest dla
 Mark said to Eve that it so-that him to-help is for
 niej₂ ważne.
 her important
 ‘Mark said to Eve that to help him was important for her.’
- c. Marek₁ powiedział do Ewy₂, że [to, żeby PRO₁/ jej₂ pomagać] jest dla
 Mark said to Eve that it so-that her to-help is for
 niego₁ ważne.
 him important
 ‘Mark said to Eve that for her to be helped was important for him.’

(139b) is analogous to (137) and hence is a statement about the object, whereas (139c) closely resembles (138) and hence states something about the matrix subject. However, in (139b) and in (139c) the matrix subject must surface in the discourse, while in (137) and (138) the prepositional complement must do so. Thus, it seems that *powiedzieć o* ‘say about’ and *powiedzieć do* ‘say to’ impose different discourse prominence restrictions, which are responsible for the grammaticality contrast between (135a) and (135b). Consequently, it seems that discourse prominence has a role to play in determining NOC in Polish and it may be true that in some cases NOC PRO corresponds to a logophor.

Another example worth considering is given in (140) below:

(140)

Marek₁ wszczął rozmowę z Ewą₂, ponieważ trudno było
 Mark started conversation with Eve because difficult was
 [PRO go₁ /ja₂ przekonać, że nie ma racji].
 him /her to-persuade that not has right

‘Mark started a conversation with Eve because it was difficult to persuade him/her that he/she was not right.’

It seems that (140) supports the conclusions reached earlier that NOC PRO in Polish is not a logophor. In this case PRO is controlled by the implicit argument of *trudno* ‘difficult’, and since this argument is implicit, it cannot be discourse prominent. For PRO to be a logophor, its controller should be discourse prominent. However, PRO in (140) does not in fact represent NOC PRO, but rather OC PRO, as evidenced by the fact that it does not allow long-distance control, as in (141):

(141)

- a. Marek₁ wie, że trudno jest (nam₂) [PRO_{2/*1} go₁ przekonać].
 Mark knows that difficult is for-us him to-persuade
 ‘Mark knows that it is difficult for us to persuade him.’
- b. Marek₁ wie, że trudno jest (nam₂) [PRO_{2/*1} przekonać innych].
 Mark knows that difficult is for-us to-persuade others
 ‘Mark knows that it is difficult for us/* him to persuade others.’

Example (141a) shows that the controller of PRO must correspond to the argument of the predicate *trudno* ‘difficult’ and not to the matrix subject. This control possibility, however, seems to follow from Condition B of the BT. Example (141b) demonstrates that the choice of the closer controller is obligatory and is not determined merely by the BT. Consequently, sentences like (140) do not bear on the issue of whether NOC PRO is a logophor or not, as the PRO that they host is an instance of PRO controlled obligatorily by the implicit argument.

To sum up, it has been argued that NOC PRO in Polish behaves in some cases like an empty pronoun, since it may have an antecedent which is neither a source nor a target of a communicative/mental report. On the other hand, there exist cases in which discourse prominence functions as a factor determining the reference of NOC PRO. This makes Polish NOC PRO similar to logophors.

4.3. The interpretation of *PRO* in Polish

In Chapter II, section 3.4 it has been argued that *PRO*'s interpretation in English is not governed by syntax but is semantically/pragmatically determined. Let us now check whether the same conclusion can be drawn in relation to *PRO* in Polish.

Just like in English, in Polish the MDP, repeated for convenience in (142), does not allow us to properly determine controller choice with the verbs *obietcywać* 'promise' and *przysiękać* 'vow', as in (143) below:

(142)

Minimal Distance Principle

An infinitive complement of a predicate P selects as its controller the minimal c-commanding noun phrase in the functional complex of P.

(143)

- a. Marek₁ obiecał Marii₂ [*PRO*_{1/*2} zrobić obiad].
 Mark promised Mary to-cook dinner
 'Mark promised Mary to cook dinner.'
- b. Marek₁ przysiękł Marii₂ [*PRO*_{1/*2} zrobić obiad].
 Mark vowed to-Mary to-cook dinner
 'Mark vowed to Mary to cook dinner.'

Assuming the treble branching VP-structure, the closest DP c-commanding *PRO* in (143a) and (143b) is the object *Marii* 'Mary', not the subject *Marek* 'Mark'. This incorrectly predicts that these sentences should allow object control. Both the predicates in (143) are double object verbs and therefore can be analysed along the lines suggested for English by Larson (1991) (cf. Chapter II, section 3.4, the representation in (94)). However, Larson's approach predicts for Polish, just like for English, that all double object verbs should give rise to subject control. This, however, is not the case, as demonstrated by the predicates *uczyć* 'teach' and *polecić* 'tell/recommend' in (144) below:⁷³

⁷³ The fact that *uczyć* 'teach' and *polecić* 'tell/recommend' are double object verbs is supported by the following data:

- (i) Marek uczył Marię angielskiego.
 Mark taught Mary English
 'Mark taught English to Mary.'

(144)

- a. Marek₁ uczył Marię₂ [PRO₂ śpiewać].
Mark taught Mary to-sing
'Mark taught Mary to sing.'
- b. Marek₁ polecił Marii₂ [PRO₂ zaśpiewać].
Mark told Mary to-sing
'Mark told Mary to sing.'

One could follow Larson and suggest that object control in the above sentences is derived via some sort of semantic construal. However, the necessity of invoking semantic construal to derive object control with double object verbs casts serious doubts on the MDP as determining controller choice. It would be more economical to determine controller choice entirely in semantic terms, and thus eliminate the redundancy that the MDP creates.

Additionally, the MDP cannot account for split control, as in (145):

(145)

- Marek₁ zaproponował Ewie₂, [żeby PRO₁₊₂ razem pograć w szachy].
Mark suggested Eve so-that together to-play in chess
'Mark suggested to Eve playing chess together.'

In the above example, the MDP, stated in (142), predicts that the closer DP, i.e. *Ewa* 'Eve' must control PRO. This, however, is not the case, as both *Marek* 'Mark' and *Ewa* 'Eve' control PRO in (145).

Instances of control shift, though less common than in English, also contradict the claim that the interpretation of PRO is derivable from the MDP. One such case is presented in (146):

(146)

- Uczniowie₁ zaproponowali nauczycielowi₂, [żeby PRO_{1/2} wcześniej skończyć lekcje].
pupils suggested teacher so-that earlier
to-finish lessons
'The pupils suggested to the teacher finishing the lessons earlier.'

-
- (ii) Marek polecił Marii to czasopismo.
Mark recommended Mary this magazine
'Mark recommended this magazine to Mary.'

The above example is ambiguous between an interpretation in which the teacher finishes the lessons earlier (i.e. object control), and one in which the pupils finish the lessons earlier (i.e. subject control). Once again the MDP predicts that only control by the object should be possible.

A slightly different case is illustrated in (147) below, where PRO can be controlled by the matrix subject, the matrix object or both by the matrix subject and object.

(147)

Marek₁ przedyskutował z Marią₂ [PRO_{1/2/1+2} pomalowanie pokoju na
Mark discussed with Mary painting room in
niebiesko].

blue

‘Mark discussed with Mary painting the room blue.’

To sum up, determining controller choice by means of the MDP faces serious problems when confronted with the complements of verbs like *obiecać* ‘promise’ and *przysiękać* ‘vow’. Neither can the MDP derive the interpretation of PRO in the case of split control and control shift. Therefore it seems natural to conclude that controller choice should rather be semantically/pragmatically determined. In other words, the Polish data confirm the conclusion drawn in Chapter II.

5.0. Summary

This chapter aimed at providing a typology of control in Polish and at analysing various types of control in this language. In section 1, arguments have been presented that *żeby* ‘so that’, a common introducer of non-finite clauses, does not result from the incorporation of the auxiliary *by* into the C *że* ‘that’, but rather represents a single C. Furthermore, the evidence has been adduced to support the claim that the subject position of non-finite *żeby*-clauses is filled by PRO, not *pro*. Section 2 has focused on the typology of control. It has been argued that Polish OC and NOC display the same properties as the corresponding control types in English. Likewise, PC and EC in both languages are subject to identical constraints. All the similarities notwithstanding, it has been shown that Polish has a control pattern not attested in English, namely in non-finite complements to volitional and factive predicates and the verbs *nalegać* ‘insist’ and *postulować* ‘plead’ introduced by the C *żeby* ‘so that’, the PRO subject must necessarily be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject. It has

been observed that there exists some parallelism between this kind of PRO and the phenomenon of obviation.

In section 3, various case patterns on predicative adjectives found in various control types have been examined. It has been noted that predicative adjectives bear instrumental case in all control structures, except for subject control, where the predicative adjective like its controller is marked for nominative.

In section 4, two alternative analyses of OC in Polish non-finite complements have been presented. The first one is based on T-to-C movement to derive PC effects, while the other makes no reference to movement whatsoever, but instead relies on binding to account for PC. The movement-based analysis is very similar to Landau's account (2000) proposed for English. The differences between our analysis and that of Landau consist in the following: 1) in Polish tensed *żeby*-complements, *żeby* 'so that' must undergo T-to-C movement, whereas no movement of an overt element takes place in English tensed non-finite complements, and 2) Polish desiderative and factive verbs subcategorise for pronominal, not anaphoric, Agr, which underlies the disjointness effect found in the complements of such verbs, while no such effect can be observed in English and hence no similar subcategorisation requirement is necessary. The non-movement analysis of control in Polish departs more radically from Landau's account. By suggesting that anaphoricity of Agr is licensed via binding, not via Agree, and by assuming that the binding domain can be extended in tensed clauses, this analysis yields the same results as the other one without appealing to T-to-C movement. The same binding mechanism has been shown to derive the disjointness effect, treated in a way analogous to obviation. It has been argued that the non-movement approach, on account of unifying control with obviation, is superior to the movement-based one. It has also been proposed that PRO in Polish is Case marked and its Case is checked via Agree. In the case of NOC, PRO has its null Case checked via Agree with the embedded T-Agr. In the case of OC by the nominative subject, PRO has its nominative Case checked either by the matrix T-Agr (in the case of EC) or by the embedded T-Agr, which has inherited the nominative Case feature from the matrix T-Agr (in the case of PC). In the case of obligatory object control PRO has its objective Case checked by the infinitival T-Agr, which has inherited this Case feature from its binder, namely the matrix *v*. Whenever PRO has null or objective Case, predicative adjectives bear instrumental Case, and whenever PRO bears nominative Case, predicative adjectives show agreement in Case with PRO. Moreover, it has been argued that Landau's analysis of NOC in Super-Equi structures is applicable to Polish equivalent constructions, provided the assumption is made that even apparently VP-peripheral non-finite subject clauses must undergo Extraposition. NOC PRO in Polish has been shown to correspond in some cases to an empty

pronoun, and in some others to a silent logophor. Finally, it has been demonstrated that deriving the interpretation of PRO from the MDP is problematic, as the MDP cannot account for subject control with the verbs like *obiecywać* 'promise' nor can it derive split control and control shift. This has been taken as an indication that the interpretation of PRO should rather be semantically/pragmatically determined.