WHAT CAN *TEACH* TEACH US ABOUT T?

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INTRODUCTION In Chomsky's (2000) model, features that are unvalued are also uninterpretable and *vice versa*. Chomsky (2007) argues that only phase heads are endowed by uFs. T is not a phase head, so any uFs located on T are and must be inherited from the higher phase head, C: T cannot have any uFs of its own. In this paper I argue against this claim, based on the data from possessive anaphor **(PA)** binding in Croatian obligatory control **(OC)** environments. **BACKGROUND** Obligatory object control **(OOC)** verbs in Croatian usually take subjunctive complements (Stojanović & Marelj, 1998; Bailyn, in press). However, a few verbs, *(na)učiti* 'teach', *pomoći* 'help,' and possibly *nagovoriti* 'persuade,' can also take an infinitival complement. PRO in these environments bears NOM, detectable from the case morphology on a secondary predicate **(SP)**, which is always NOM (1)/(2), regardless of the case of the controller. Examples (3)/(4) show that in non-control environments, SPs agree in case with the argument they are predicated of. **THE PUZZLE** Croatian PA *svoj* 'self's' is subject oriented and can only be bound by a local Nominative **(NOM)**: (5)/(6). Yet, NOM-marked PROs in infinitival complements of OOC verbs cannot bind a PA. The PA in this environment can refer neither to the matrix subject *Vid,* nor to the controller of PRO, *Jan*: (7)/(8). By contrast, controller of PRO in obligatory subject control **(OSC)** environments *can* bind a PA: (9). Case marking on the SP *pijan* 'drunk' indicates that here, too, PRO bears NOM. So, what makes the PRO^{NOM} in (7)/(8) different from the PRO^{NOM} in (9)? **ANALYSIS** Following Landau (2008), I propose that in (9), the case on PRO is transmitted from the matrix subject (controller of PRO), while in (7)/(8) it is assigned by the embedded C. **Landau (2008)** Discussing facts from Russian, Landau shows that PRO in infinitival complements of control verbs may bear either the case of the controller (case transmission) or an independent case (in Russian, Dative), as evidenced by the case on the agreeing SPs. He argues that when case is transmitted, the relevant functional head in the matrix clause (T/v) agrees with the controller DP, and subsequently with PRO, transmitting case: (10). PRO bears independent case (Dat) if the embedded C has φ-features **(φ)** and establishes an Agree relation with PRO, case marking it. The matrix T/v then agrees with the controller DP, and with the embedded C (11). Route in (10) is obligatory in OSC with infinitival complements because the null C, which introduces such complements, obligatorily cliticizes onto the matrix v. In such a configuration, the matrix T cannot agree with C, because the φ on v act as a defective A-over-A intervener. In OOC, the null C cliticizes onto an applicative head (Appl), which Landau assumes introduces the matrix object, not to v. Since Appl does not possess φ, no intervention arises and C remains accessible for Agree with the matrix T. In Russian, OOC allows for both routes of control: the option in (10) is taken if C is not endowed with φ, while the option in (11) is taken when it is (in the latter case, T/v cannot agree with PRO due to locality constraints). **Application to Croatian.** In Croatian, PRO is always NOM. This indicates that in OOC in this language, case transmission is barred (since objects never bear NOM). Assuming that NOM is a reflex of φ-agreement (Chomsky 2000), the NOM in OOC is assigned by the embedded C, which always seems to bear φ (unlike the infinitival T, which never does, indicated by the absence of agreement morphology on the verb). Recalling examples (7)-(9), the generalization emerges that PA binding is sensitive to the *source* of the NOM born by a potential binder. At least in infinitival complements of OC verbs, NOM assigned by C cannot bind a PA. The transmitted NOM, which originates from the matrix T, can. In the infinitival complements of OC verbs, then, the uFs of embedded C are never inherited by the embedded T. If they were, we would observe no contrast between OSC and OOC with infinitival complements. In both, the feature inheritance by T would have to take place before the matrix clause is built (assuming at least a weak version of strict cyclicity). Crucially, in OSC, this would have to happen *before* the null C cliticizes on v, which makes it inaccessible to matrix T. Thus φ on T, inherited from C, would be available for the case-marking of PRO both in OSC and OCC, predicting no contrast between the two w.r.t. PA binding, contrary to fact. **IMPLICATIONS** Possibly, feature inheritance applies only when C is the head of a strong phase, subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition **(PIC)**. Infinitival clauses discussed above are probably weak phases, exempt from the PIC. However, C is needed even here (to bear φ, since T does not, but see Alboiu 2006 for a

different view) and is still a phase head, which interacts with elements in the matrix clause. If feature inheritance does not apply here, then perhaps the null hypothesis should be that it never applies.

1. Vid uči **Jana** voziti auto **pijan** /*pijanog oko kuće.
   Vid teaches Jan.**ACC** to-drive car drunk.**NOM**/*drunk.ACC around house
   'Vid is teaching Jan to drive a car dunk around the house.'

2. Vid pomaže **Janu** voziti auto **pijan** /*pijanom oko kuće.
   Vid helps Jan.**DAT** to-drive car drunk.**NOM**/*drunk.DAT around house
   'Vid is helping Jan drive a car dunk around the house.'

3. **Nenad** je došao **pijan**.
   Nenad.**NOM** Aux come drunk.**NOM**
   'Nenad came drunk.'

4. Nenad je vidio **Teu** **pijanu**.
   Nenad.NOM Aux seen Tea.**ACC** drunk.**ACC**
   'Nenad saw Tea drunk.' (Tea is drunk)

5. a. Ja_i volim $svoj_i$ posao.
   I.NOM love self's job
   'I like my job.'

   b. Vid_i tvrdi da ja_j volim $svoj_{j/*i}$ posao.
   Vid claims that I.NOM love self's job
   'Vid claims that I like my job.'

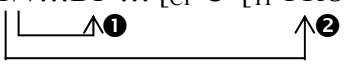
6. *Meni se sviđa svoj posao. (from Bailyn 2007, judgment mine)
   me.DAT refl. please self's job
   'I like my job.'

7. *Vid_i uči $Jana_j$ voziti $svoj_{i/j}$ auto.
   Vid teaches Jan.ACC to-drive self's car
   'Vid_i is teaching Jan_j to drive $his_{i/j}$ car.'

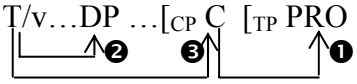
8. *Vid_i pomaže $Janu_j$ voziti $svoj_{i/j}$ auto.
   Vid helps Jan.DAT to-drive self's car
   'Vid_i is helping Jan_j drive $his_{i/j}$ car.'

9. Vid_i želi voziti $svoj_i$ auto pijan oko kuće.
   Vid.NOM wants to-drive self's car drunk.NOM around house
   'Vid wants to drive his car dunk around the house.'

10. $[_{CP}$ …T/v…DP … $[_{CP}$ C $[_{TP}$ PRO $[_{T'}$ T VP]]]] *PRO-control* → case transmission



11. $[_{CP}$ … T/v…DP …$[_{CP}$ C $[_{TP}$ PRO $[_{T'}$ T VP]]]] *C-control* → independent case



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