

CONTROL IN BASQUE*

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This paper explores the phenomenon of Control in Basque. The goal is to see to what extent the existing theories explain the data involved and make further inquiry into some exotic aspects of the phenomenon. Linguistic research in Basque is of special interest for its genetically isolated character, and in this respect I will show that unlike GB, by taking a Minimalist approach we succeed in explaining more than the basic facts about control in Basque.

I will assume that there is a distinction between Obligatory Control (henceforth OC) and NOC structures (NOC) as in Government and Binding Theory. In OC structures the gap in the infinitival clause is necessarily coreferential to an argument in the main clause. On the other hand, in NOC structures the gap in the lower clause can be, but need not necessarily be coreferential to any argument in the matrix clause. Thus, the distinction between OC and NOC structures is merely a distinction in terms of the coreferential relationships that can be established between the gaps and the controller arguments. In fact, in GB, such gaps were uniformly identified as PRO. In other words, the distinct coreferential restriction in the two types of constructions did not follow from a distinction of the nature of the gaps of such structures. However, Williams (1980) already argued for a distinction between OC and NOC structures on the basis of several interpretive phenomena, which suggests that there is indeed a difference between gaps and the two relevant structures that trigger both the interpretative differences and the possible coreferential relationships.

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Minimalism urges to account for the phenomena in simpler and more elegant ways. Only the levels that are virtually conceptually necessary are considered, those that are compatible with the idea that language interfaces with sound and meaning (PF and LF). Some of the principles that constrain derivations apply at the interface levels and others in the derivation with the consequence that the principles that applied at D-structure and S-structure are now reformulated in terms of conditions on the well-formedness in the interfaces. Certain locality principles of a “least effort” flavor seem to apply to the derivations, such as Shortest Move. Other conditions apply to representations at the interface: the Principle of Full Interpretation.

The advantage of taking a Minimalist approach to Control is that there is room for considering controlled gaps as different elements or as a result of a difference in the two structures. This follows from the fact that the environments in which such gaps appear are distinct and the way the principles that need to be obeyed are also going to be distinct in each case.

There have been several ways of addressing Control in the literature. In most of them there was a distinction between OC and NOC structures. The definition that I will assume for controlled gaps will be the following: controlled gaps are gaps that appear in infinitival constructions, have independent theta roles and are coreferential with an overt or covert element outside the infinitival clause. By assuming this definition, I am including several structures that have not been analyzed as control phenomena in the Basque literature, such as Pseudocontrol structures (Ortiz de Urbina 89)¹. Therefore, my task will consist in determining the nature of gaps in infinitival clauses that get their referential indices externally.

The paper is organized in the following way. Section 1 presents the paradigm of the data in Basque. Section 2 summarizes the different theories about control. First, I will present the GB explanation together with a discussion about the difficulties that we come across

¹ Given the definition of Controlled gaps above, there is not obvious reason not to include the so-called Pseudocontrol structures as part of the data to be analyzed within control.

by adapting the GB analysis to Basque. In section 2.2. I will briefly present the details of three main Minimalist approaches to Control: Hornstein (99), Martin (96) and Manzini & Roussou (98). Section 3 deals with the way each of three Minimalist theories fits for the Basque data. The content is divided in two sections. The so-called “good news” shows how the basic facts about control are explained in Minimalist terms. The section of the “bad news” shows the areas in which each Minimalist proposal fails to account and the difficulties they encounter. Section 4 focuses on the especially interesting data of Switch Reference, and provides some thoughts on how these data could be approached within the general framework used for the phenomenon of control.

1. Basque Control- Data and Generalizations

Basque is a genetically isolated language spoken in the western parts of the Pyrenees between France and Spain. It qualifies as agglutinative rather than inflectional, it is morphologically ergative but syntactically accusative. Its rich agreement system allows for a relatively free order among the arguments, but the neutral word order seems to be SOV. It also exhibits systematic pro-drop of the three main arguments.

Since control phenomena seem to be specific phenomena found in infinitival constructions, let us concentrate on Basque infinitival structures. There are two types of tenseless complements in Basque: TZE Nominalizations and Participial Constructions. Adding the nominalizing suffix TZE to the verbal base forms the former. For instance consider (1).

(1) Bizi ‘to live’ → Bizitze ‘the living’

These nominals can occur with any case endings such as Ergative, Absolutive, Dative, Ablative and so forth. Equally, clausal infinitivals sometimes bear case marking, whose choice will depend on the function of the infinitival in the matrix clause. For instance in (2) the infinitival clause is marked with Ergative case.

- (2) [Semeak atzerrian ibil-tze]-AK kezkatzen du ama.
 Son-pl-A abroad-Loc walk-Nom-Det-E worry aux mother-A
 ‘It worries her mother that her sons are abroad’
 (Ortiz de Urbina (89)).

The other type of tenseless clauses are the Participial Constructions. Among these types of constructions, there are some that allow the infinitival clause to bear case (3) and others that do not (4-5):

- (3) Ni_i [aitak/Ø_{i/k} semea lepoan eramana]-AK poztu nau
 I-A father-E/Ø son-A shoulder-Loc carry-E gladden aux
 ‘I’m glad of carrying/somebody having carried the son on his shoulder’

- (4) Guk_i ez dakigu [Ø_i/*Jon nora joan].
 We-E Neg know Ø/*John where go
 ‘We do not know (*Jon) where to go’

- (5) Peruk_i [*bera/*John/Ø_i etxera joan] nahi du.
 Peru-E *he/*John/Ø home go want aux
 ‘Peru wants to go home’

So far, the situation is the following: in TZE Nominalization constructions infinitival clauses bear case and we find alternation between NP and controlled gaps in the subject position. In Participial constructions, only those cases in which the infinitival clause is case marked allow alternating NP and gaps. So, there seems to be a direct correlation between the infinitival clause bearing case and the licensing of NPs in subject position of infinitival clauses.

Ortiz de Urbina (89) argues that this is an instance of Percolation to INFL. AGR is expanded regardless of the particular value +/- tense allowing for ‘inflected’ tenseless clauses. This Tenseless AGR is licensed as a case assigner when governed by a

morphological case ending or postposition.² Yet the picture for TZE Nominalizations is not that simple. Consider (6-8):

(6) Jon_i [* Maria/Ø_i soldadutza egite]-TIK libratu da.
 John-A *Mary/Ø military do-Nom-ABL freed aux
 ‘John is exempt from doing the military service’

(7) John_i [*Maria/Ø_i hori egite]-RA ausartu da.
 John-A *Mary/Ø that do-ALL dare aux.
 ‘John has dared to do that’

(8) Jonek Mariari_i [*Pepe/Ø_i hori egite]-N lagundu dio.
 John-E Mary-D [*Pepe/Ø that do]LOC help aux
 ‘John has help Mary to do that’

Instances (6), (7) and (8) show that it is not always the case that the fact that the nonfinite clause bears case licenses the appearance of a subject NP in the infinitival clause. We have to be more precise as in (9):

(9) Licensing of lexical NPs in subject position of infinitival clauses: Only the three structural cases on the infinitival (Ergative, Absolutive and Dative) license NPs in subject position of infinitival clauses in Basque.

To sum up, here are the main generalizations:

These are the two kinds of Infinitival Constructions and their shapes:

- TZE Nominalizations [.....V]+TZE+ Case (structural/non str)
- Participial Constructions [.....V]-----+Case (structural/NO case)

Generalization: Regardless of the type of the infinitival clause:

- (a) Infinitival clause +Structural Case: DP_i....[GAP_{i/k}/DP.....]
- (b) Infinitival clause + No case/case other than struct. DP_i...[GAP_i.....]

² See Raposo (87) for a similar proposals for European Portuguese and Reuland (83) for English.

An interesting aspect arises from this paradigm: there is a correlation between infinitival clauses bearing Structural case and the licensing of DPs in subject position of such clauses (Percolation, Ortiz de Urbina 1989).

Infinitival clause with STRUCTURAL case → DPs licensed in their subject position.

Controlled objects

One interesting aspect about Control in Basque is that there seem to be gaps (Direct Object and Indirect Object) that are controlled, as in (10):

- (10) Niri_i gustatuko litzidake [norbaitek Ø_i/hari laguntze]-A.
 I-D like to me-subj somebody-E Ø-D/he-D help-Nom-Def-A
 ‘I would like that/if somebody helped me/to him’

These gaps can alternate with other DPs, but interestingly enough, when there is a gap there is a requirement that the gap be coreferential to an element in the matrix clause.

Apparent Switch Reference

There are two particularly interesting verbs in Basque in the sense that they both allow Nominalized infinitivals and participial constructions, but they show very different restrictions in terms of the coreferential relationships that can be established. Consider sentences 11-12:

- (11) Nik_i [e_i/*_k/John]oate]-A nahi dut.
 I-E go-Nom-Def-A want 3A-1E
 ‘I want him/her/you/they/John to go’

- (12) Nik_i [e_i/*_k/*John]joan] nahi dut.
 I-E go want 3A-1E
 ‘I want to go’

Sentence (11) looks very much like an instance of switch reference. The subject in the infinitival clause cannot be coreferential to any element in the matrix clause.

By assuming this general picture, we could make a further generalization or parallelism between OC and NOC structures: OC structures only allow for GAPS that are strictly coreferential to arguments in the main clause. Instead NOC structure typically allow for more freedom in terms of the referential relationships involved. In the following section I will show that, from a Minimalist point of view, the fact that DPs are licensed in the subject position of some infinitival clauses is a logical consequence of the structures they appear in, namely NOC structures.

In short, OC and NOC structures typically show the following shape in Basque:

OC: DP_i.....[GAP_i.....]

NOC: DP_i.....[GAP_{i/k}/DP....]

2. Approaches to Control

2.1 The GB Approach.

In this section I will show that GB does not distinguish between the nature of the gaps appearing in OC and NOC structures. In contrast, in later sections we will see how in a Minimalist approach OC gaps are involved in more transparent domains, and gaps in NOC structures appear in more opaque domains whose elements need to be licensed internally to the infinitival clause. Consider the GB approach first:

In Government and Binding Theory the existence of an element in the subject position of infinitival clauses (PRO) was forced by some D-structure requirements: Projection Principle (PP), Extended Projection Principle (EPP) and the Theta Criterion. It was argued that there was a non-overt NP that was syntactically active. This element, PRO, appeared in two kinds of structures: First, in structures in which PRO necessarily was bound by a NP in the main clause. In these cases PRO displayed anaphoric properties. Second, PRO also occurred in structures in which it was not necessarily bound by an

overt c-commanding NP from the main clause: it could either be controlled or otherwise PRO had an arbitrary reading. These two cases are illustrated in (13) and (14):

(13) John_i hopes [PRO_i to win]

(14) John_i hopes that [PRO_{i/arb} winning will be fun]

By considering these distributional facts about PRO, it was argued that its feature composition was [+Anaphor,+Pronominal]. The distributional properties of PRO were derived from the Binding theory, parallel to the rest of overt and phonetically null NPs, such as anaphors, pronouns, R-expressions, NP-traces, pro and wh-traces. Since PRO only occurred in non governed positions (PRO Theorem), it was argued that it had no Domain for the application of the Binding Theory. In other words, it had no Governing Category. This was the only way to account for the contradictory requirements of being [+A,+P]. The antecedent of PRO was determined by the Control module at LF. The fact that PRO was not governed justified its absence of phonetic content, because it was not case marked.

Control in GB and Basque

Assuming the GB approach to Control given above, if we try to adapt this analysis to Basque subject gaps in infinitival clauses, we find that there are too many difficulties for doing so. It should be kept in mind that the research on controlled gaps in Basque involves more complicated data than in English in several respects.

First, in many occasions we find alternating NPs and gaps in subject position of infinitival clauses. Consider one instance:

(15) Nik_i [PRO_{i/k} /anaia neskekin ibiltze]-ARI ondo deritsot.
 I-E Ø/Brother-A girls-with go out-D well consider-I
 ‘ I think that my brother/going out with girls is OK’

In (15) the gap in the embedded clause does not necessarily need to be controlled by an element in the main clause. If this empty category were considered PRO, we would not be able to explain the fact that it alternates with lexical DPs. PRO appears in

complementary distribution with lexical DPs, since they appear in non case marked positions. Of course, the question for any syntactic theory would be to explain how this subject position in the infinitival clause gets case. Let us adopt Ortiz de Urbina (89) and assume that there is a Percolation process as presented in the previous section. The subject position of infinitivals seems to be a case marked position. Thus, PRO should not be licensed here. As a consequence, the interpretative facts through binding Theory would not work for Basque. By virtue of its being governed, we will assume that this empty category indeed has a Governing category. Therefore, if we accept the fact that this empty category has hybrid characteristics of Anaphors and Pronominals at the same time, it would not be able to satisfy the contradictory requirements of Principle A and B of Binding Theory.

Second, another interesting property that we find in such Basque structures is the fact that there seem to be controlled gaps that do not appear in subject position of infinitivals, but rather in direct object and even indirect object positions. If they were simple small pro-s in GB, we would not expect them to be controlled. (16) shows that these controlled gaps are not restricted to subject of infinitival clauses only:

- (16) Niri_i gustatuko litzidake [norbaitek Ø_i /hari laguntze]-A.
 I-D like to me-Subj somebody-E Ø-D/he-D help-Nom-Def-A
 ‘I would like that/if somebody helped me/to him’

Again, the fact that we can have a lexically realized and controlled indirect object DP shows that this position must be a case marked position. If this gap were identified as PRO, we would have many difficulties in explaining the alternation between NP/PRO.

The only way out in a Government and Binding approach would be to say that case is inherent in Basque. This assumption posits many problems in explaining other phenomena in Basque, such as causative constructions and Binding facts. I will not enter into a detailed discussion, but notice that even if it were so, we would still have to explain why we have alternation between DP/PRO in some cases and not in others.

On the whole, it seems that the Case/Binding Theory approach does not explain the licensing conditions and the distributive properties of controlled gaps in Basque.

2.2. Three Minimalist Proposals

In this section I present basics of the three Minimalist proposals. One interesting aspect is that the three of them argue that there is a distinction between the structures in OC and NOC constructions and more importantly between the gaps that appear in them. The first proposal is Hornstein's (97, 99) theory of OC as Movement. The idea is that OC is a result of movement of the copy in the infinitival clause to the main clause for case and theta role checking purposes. In turn, NOC structures will be defined as default, as a result of movement not having taken place. Gaps in NOC structures are small pro-s. The second proposal is the one by Martin (96). He views OC as structures involving PRO elements. For him PRO is a Romance-like clitic that undergoes clitic climbing in OC structures. NOC structures involve a further FP layer on top of TP, where elements are licensed internally to the FP.

The third proposal, by Manzini&Roussou (98), argues that there is no A-movement. Arguments are generated in surface positions and control is defined in terms of closest attractors. In OC structures, the matrix DP attracts both the matrix and embedded predicates and in NOC structures the closest attractor is an Operator C.

2.2.1. Hornstein (99): OC as raising

As Hornstein notes, the only reason for treating Obligatory control and Non Obligatory Control gaps as being the same empty category was the fact that their distributional properties could be explained in a straightforward manner by doing so. In some environments it is like an anaphor, in others, like a pronoun. It had no case because it appeared in non-governed positions. All these facts were explained by saying that the only way to satisfy the contradictory requirements of Principle A and B was by assuming that it had no Governing category because it had no Governor. This was indeed a clever way (and probably the only way) to make things work in GB.

However, the intuition that OC had a locality flavor in contrast to NOC was already noted in the early linguistic literature as well as the anaphoric nature of the former in contrast to the pronominal for the latter. In the MP framework, Hornstein raises William's (1980) observation that gaps in OC structures display opposite effects compared to gaps in NOC structures with respect to certain tests (basically requirements on the controller/controlled: the controller must be overt, c-commanding and local to the bindee gap, they cannot have split antecedents, etc). Thus, it is argued that the step of considering the gap in OC and NOC structures as the very same element subject to the same interpretive and distributional requirements was not a right move. Rather, they should be considered as distinct phenomena. Specifically, Hornstein argues that OC structures can be better accounted for in the Minimalist spirit by assuming that such gaps are the consequence of a copy that moved from the relevant position to the controller position. This move can be done by assuming that chains can have more than one theta role, and that theta roles are features, not configurational as in Hale&Keyser (93). On the contrary, NOC gaps are the result of the element not having been able to move. They are similar to the small pro-s found in various Romance languages. The anaphoric status of OC gaps and the pronominal status of NOC gaps is therefore explained. Anaphoric relations are licensed in local environments, and pronominal relations in long distance environments.

If this is the right move, we indeed have to recheck the gaps that appear in control structures and determine whether those gaps are more anaphoric or pronominal like, hence a result of movement or not. Apart from the fact that we get rid of the control module, an extremely interesting aspect of this departure from GB is the simplification and at the same time accuracy obtained in the identification of empty categories in languages other than English. For a language like Basque this is more than welcome in the sense that controlled gaps no longer need to be considered as PRO, but that there is the possibility of their being pros. Also, in a language like Basque we find empty categories all around. Specifically, if the identification procedure proposed by Hornstein is right we would have a very powerful tool to identify where movement of a copy has taken place and where not, resulting in a small pro in the latter and dispensing with the empty category PRO and the control module altogether.

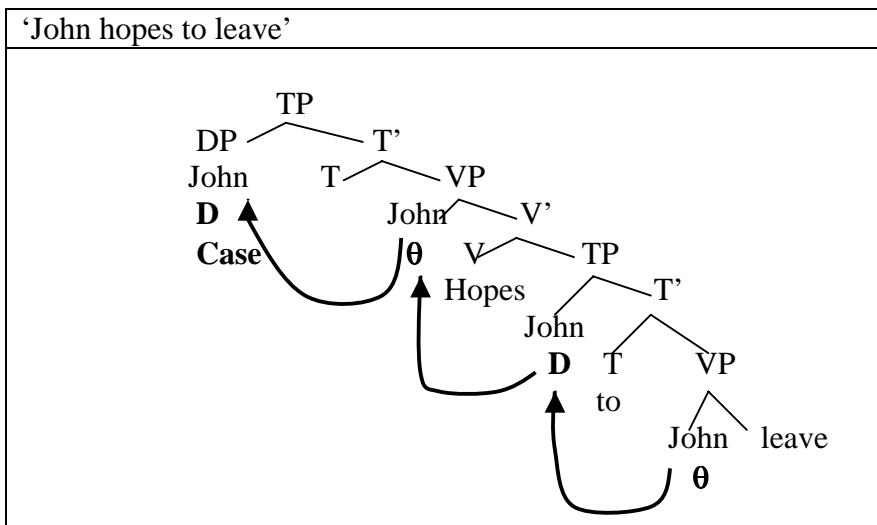
To summarize, consider the following charts that shows schematically Hornstein's approach to Control:

Basics

HORNSTEIN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Theta Roles are Features - Infinitival [Spec, TP] checks no Case - Chains can have more than one Theta Role

OC

HORNSTEIN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Result of a copy having raised to the controller position - Movement is driven for Case checking purposes. - OC structures are anaphoric



The relevant aspect in the OC structure above is that the lower copy (John), after having checked its theta and D features in the lower clause, moves to the upper clause to check the Case and D features. This is possible because the lower IP is not an island. One interesting prediction is that if movement takes place in OC structures, no split antecedents are allowed in such structures. We will see later that this is the case.

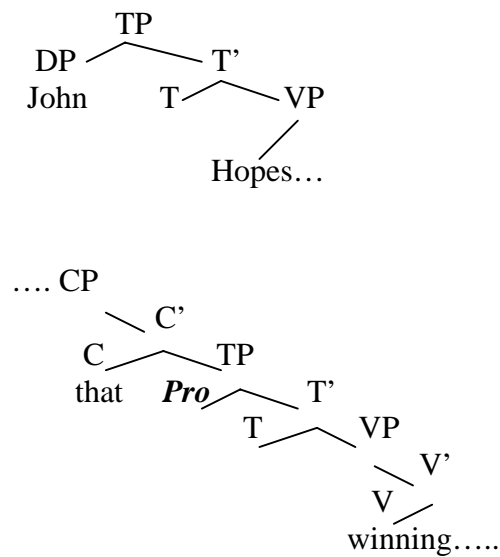
NOC

HORNSTEIN

- NOC gaps are anaphoric
- They are the result of the copy not having been able to move.
- It is more costly that move.
- Empty subject is pro

NOC

'John hopes that winning will be fun'



In NOC structures, the lower infinitival clause is an island and movement out of this CP is prohibited. The empty element remaining in such structures is a small pro. It will be licensed in the way pro-drop languages license it. Apparently it is a case position too.

2.2.2.Martin (96) :OC as Clitic Climbing

Martin's approach to control is based on the idea that there is a real entity PRO that checks null case in the specifier position of infinitival clauses (see charts below). He also assumes a Hale&Keyser approach to theta theory by assuming that theta roles are configurational.

For him, OC structures involve PRO clitic very similar to the reflexive SE attested in various Romance languages.

After arguing that the distribution of PRO follows from Case, he brings up the observation by Stowell (1982) that Control Structures, unlike raising, have a T in the infinitival that can be disjoint with respect to the matrix event time. From this observation he assumes that Control structures contain a temporal operator that is implicated in the checking of Null case. (Parallel to Nominative case in finite clauses). He argues that all control structures involve a [-finite, +Tense] head, and Null case checking takes place in all Control structures. The generalization is that 'to', 'for' and '0_{for}' (the latter as proposed by Ormazabal 95) would check Null case, extending Null case checking to all infinitival control structures.

Martin proposes that the difference between OC and NOC structures is a matter of selection. Infinitivals in OC structures have a TP layer. NOC structures have an FP layer on top of the TP.

Considering OC structures first, he argues that there is a PRO clitic involved that is very similar to the SE clitic that appears in Romance languages. He argues that PRO undergoes clitic climbing to the matrix T at LF. The reason for this climbing is that at LF non R-marked arguments are not interpreted. R-marking involves checking of Phi-features of person and number. In other words, in order for an element to be R-marked this element has to check phi-features. PRO does not check features other than Case in the lower clause, because it lacks Person and Number features, parallel to SE. [+T, -Finite] heads check Null case but no Person and number features and they are Defective in this sense. This is supported by the fact that most languages do not exhibit Agreement between PRO and infinitival heads. Thus, PRO climbs to the matrix T at LF. However, it is still not R-marked, but instead of producing a crash at LF, the two relevant chains collapse into one super chain, since the feature bags of the controller and that of PRO are non-distinct, The strict anaphoricity is derived from this collapse.

The similarity between PRO and SE is justified in two respects: first, its weak morphological nature, and second, the climbing of clitics in general across heads. The reason why we do not find control with sentences involving ‘IF’ Complementizer is because clitic climbing across heads is banned, parallel to Romance clitic climbing across IF.

The complementary distribution between DPs and PRO in OC structures is explained in terms of feature Mismatch: DP has Case, number and person features, but the [+T-Finite] head has only Case features. The difference between Finite T and infinitival T is that the latter only checks case, and the former checks Case features necessarily together with person and number features.

NOC structures involve an FP layer on top of TP. F involves some pragmatic notion of Point of view (Uriagereka 95), and F is able to R-mark the empty subject within the infinitival clause. F licenses DPs with Null Case, because F is assumed to be specified for person and number features. Consider the charts below:

Basics

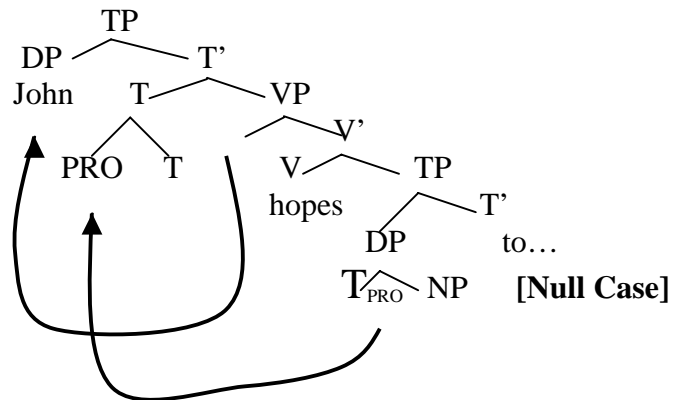
MARTIN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Theta Roles are configurational - PRO exists in OC structures - [Spec, TP] checks Null Case - All arguments need to be R-marked at LF - R-marking involves phi-feature checking

OC

MARTIN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PRO is a clitic - Infinitival T checks only Case, but no phi-features. - PRO undergoes clitic climbing - The Feature bag of PRO and that of the matrix DP are non-distinct: as a result the two chains collapse

OC

'John hopes to leave'



To summarize, OC structures have a TP layer, whose head marks PRO with Null case. T is unable to R-mark arguments, but instead of crashing, the clitic climbs up to the matrix T and adjoins to it. PRO is still not R-marked, but, since the FF bag of PRO and that of the controller are non distinct, a collapse takes place between the two relevant chains: $\langle DP, t \rangle$ and $\langle PRO, t \rangle$, producing a super chain: $\langle DP, t, PRO, t \rangle$.

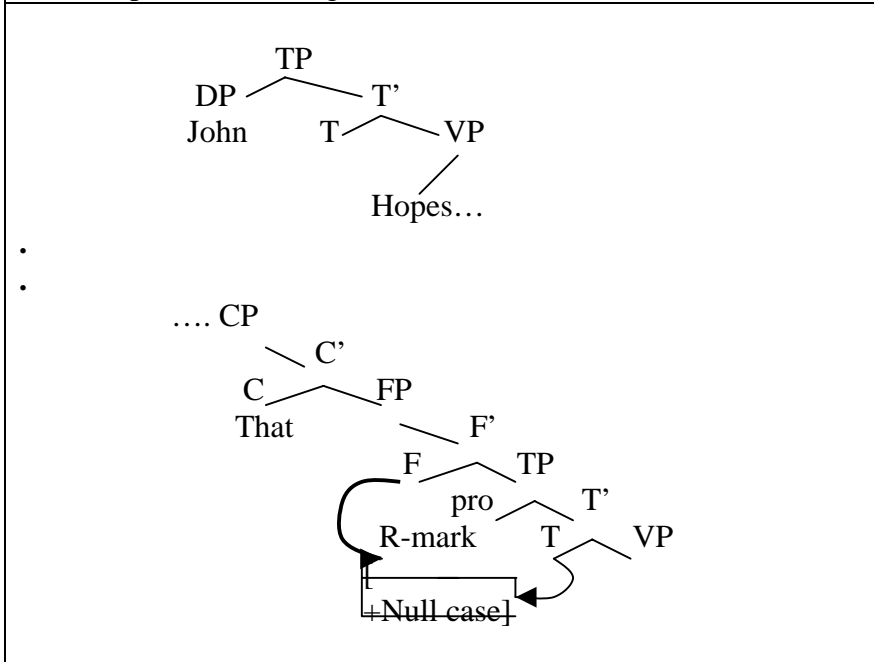
NOC

MARTIN

- FP projection on top of TP
- F involves some pragmatic notion of Point of view.
- F R-marks arguments within the infinitival clause
- Empty subject is pro

NOC

'John hopes that winning will be fun'



NOC structures select for a FP projection on top of TP. The head F is able to R-mark the elements within the infinitival clause. No climbing takes place, and the controlled subject is identified as pro.

2.2.3. Manzini & Roussou: No A-movement

Manzini and Roussou (98) assume a configurational theory to theta roles, and they argue that theta roles and arguments do not match at Merge, allowing for the possibility that arguments be generated in surface positions. Arguments relate to theta roles by Move-F (move Feature).

They argue against a theory of A-movement involving Copy and Move operations from three points of view. First, there is no A-reconstruction. Second, at PF, A-movement does not block phonological processes. Third, conceptual reasons: in long distance Raising across sentence boundaries, Case and D are not independent and can be unified. They conclude that in A-movement contexts there is no evidence that Copy and Merge

operations are involved (Move). For all these reasons, they adopt an Attract F approach instead of a Movement approach.

They also assume that there is a distinction between OC and NOC structures, and the difference is based on the idea of closer Attractors (MLC in scopal terms), more specifically, on the interaction between potential attractors. Scopal Last Resort and MLC state that an element attracts all and only the F-s that are in its scope. This requires that every DP be matched with all and only the predicates in the immediate scope and that every theta role and every predicate be associated with one DP (but a DP can be associated with more than one theta role or predicate).

They adopt Kayne's Connectedness Condition to make Minimal Link Condition applicable through strong islands. For them, all F are interpretable (Case is subsumed under D because it is checked at merge).

Since they adopt a configurational theory of theta Roles, there is no need for theta roles to be specified, so that the relations are directly defined between arguments and Predicates (preserving the lexical integrity).

Another interesting aspect is that they assume Case to be subsumed under D, since they assume that Case has no semantic import. The lexicalization of a feature is understood to apply only once for each item, thus prohibiting attraction from case to case positions.

In OC structures, only the matrix predicate has a D feature that needs to be lexicalized, the predicate in the infinitival clause does not have a D feature. The DP in the main clause is the closest (and only) attractor for all the predicates in the clause.

(17) John tried [to leave]
 D

'John' lexicalizes the D feature of 'tried' and attracts the predicates in its scope, namely 'tried' and 'leave'.

Since Case has no semantic import, and it was subsumed under D, the prohibition against movements from Case to Case positions are ruled out by the prohibition against the same DP lexicalizing more than one Feature D. There is a prohibition against a lexical item lexicalizing the same feature more than once.

In NOC structures involving Arbitrary interpretations, the closest attractor is operator C.

(18) John thinks that [OP_c it is hard [to work.]

(19) John thinks that [it is hard [for Mary [to work]]

In (18) embedded C attracts the predicate work. The OP attracts an argument that can be specific or generic. If specific, it is anaphoric to a DP (John), if not, it gets a generic interpretation.

In (19) ‘Mary’ is a closer attractor to the embedded predicate than operator C.

In short, there is no A-movement, and the only difference between OC and NOC structures is the fact that the closest attractors differ in each case. In OC, the closest (and only) attractor is the DP in the main clause. In NOC structures, it can be either C or a DP in cases where it is closer to the predicate than the C.

Here are the charts that represent OC and NOC structures together with the basic postulates for Manzini & Roussou:

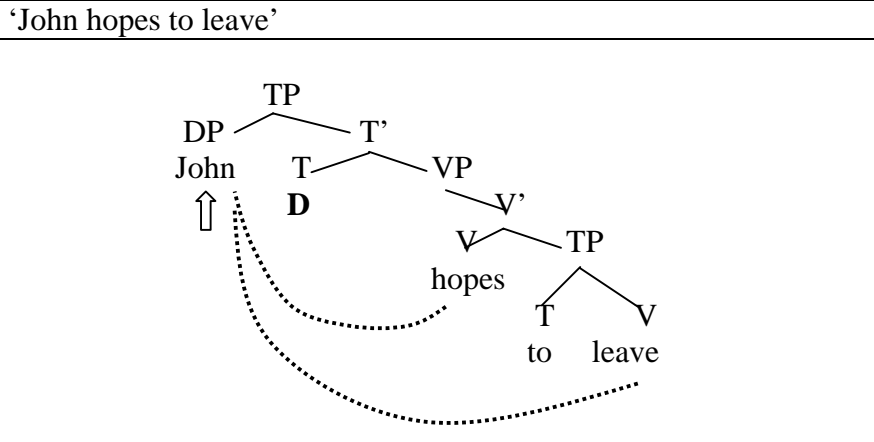
Basics

MANZINI&ROUSSOU
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is no A-movement - Arguments are generated in surface positions - Theta roles are configurational - Case is subsumed under D - Control is designed in terms of the closest attractors

OC

MANZINI&ROUSSOU
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The closest attractor is the DP in the Main clause - DP attracts both the main and the infinitival predicate - DP also attracts the relevant theta roles.

OC



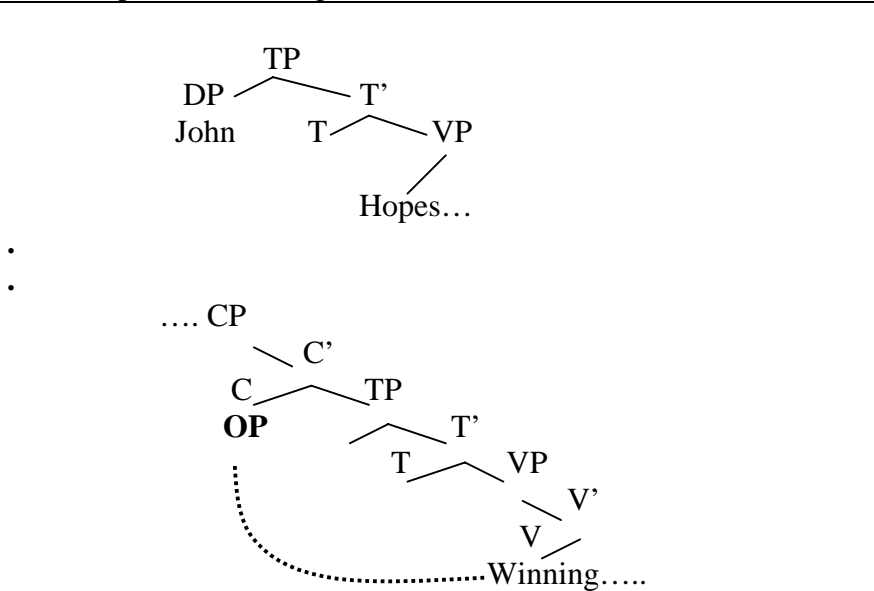
NOC

MANZINI&ROUSSOU

- Closest attractor is C operator or DP when overt.

NOC

'John hopes that winning will be fun'



3 Basque and the three Minimalist proposals

In this section I will analyze how each of the three Minimalist proposals explains the facts about the OC and NOC data presented for Basque in Section 1. The material has been divided into a section concerning the aspects of Basque Control that are accounted for (“Good news”) and one showing the aspects that were not accounted for by the Minimalist theories (“Bad news”). The main conclusion drawn in the end of this section

will be that Minimalist approaches do account for the core cases of Control in Basque. Recall that the structures of the two relevant types of control are:

OC: DP_i.....[GAP_i.....]

NOC: DP_i.....[GAP_{i/k}/DP....]

3.1. The Good News

3.1.1 Hornstein (99) and Basque Control

By Assuming Hornstein (98) we would predict certain interesting facts about gaps in Basque:

First, the tests for the identification of OC and NOC structures would predict whether movement of a copy has been allowed or not. In English, movement was banned when the structure where the gap appeared in constituted an island of some kind. This is basically the only factor entering into consideration.

Second, the motivation for movement was for purposes of case checking. In GB the reason why PRO occurred only in subject of infinitivals was because this was a caseless position. Recall that PRO had no case, but by EPP, PP and theta criterion they had a theta role. Translating this into Hornstein, the copy that is merged in this position needs to move to get case after having checked the theta role of the infinitival verb. For Basque, those gaps that are determined as being part of an OC structure will involve movement, presumably a movement licensed by greedy purposes of checking case.

Third, in NOC structures, where no movement took place, gaps were identified as small pros, the empty category attested in various Romance languages. Basque exhibits systematic pro-drop, and it would not be surprising to find them also in control structures.

Some controlled gaps

I will first take an instance of a subject gap that is controlled in an infinitival clause and I will apply the tests for the identification of this empty category. Discussion will follow whether there is some plausibility on the predictions that were made earlier.

Consider an infinitival clause formed by TZE Nominalization like (20):

- (20) Nik_i [anaia/Ø_{i/k} kartetan ibiltze]-ARI ondo deritsot
I-E brother-A/Ø cards play-Nom-Def-D OK I-think
'I think it is OK to play cards/ that my brother plays cards'

In (20) there is a gap in the subject position of the infinitival clause. This gap may be controlled. In GB it would get a theta role at D-Structure from the verb 'play' and presumably it would get no case from the weak infinitival Tense. No matter whether it is sufficiently local to be an OC structure or not (NOC) this gap would be identified as PRO with anaphoric and pronominal features at the same time. By assuming Hornstein's approach as in section 2. Let us apply the tests that serve to identify the gap as anaphoric and a result of movement or pronominal.

One of the tests states that OC gaps need to have an overt antecedent in the main clause. This test cannot be a conclusive test for Basque: we find systematic pro drop in subject and object positions. In other words, controllers can be non-lexical. Consider (21), parallel in meaning to (20).

- (21) [anaia kartetan ibiltze]-ARI ondo deritsot
brother-A cards play-Nom-D well I-consider
'I think that it is OK to play cards/that my brother plays cards'

If we found an instance where the controller must necessarily be lexically realized in contrast to an instance like (21) we would be able to conclude that the structure in (20) is an instance of OC. This is not the case in Basque, so this test can not be useful.

The test that will provide us with clearer evidence is that of split antecedents. If a gap allows to have split antecedents, this will mean that this element cannot have moved to two different positions. Therefore, movement cannot have taken place. We would be facing an instance of NOC and a pro gap for Hornstein. Consider (22).

- (22) Nik_i Peperi_k [Ø_{i+k} kartetan batera jolaste]-ARI ondo deristsodala esan diot
 I-E Pepe-D cards together play-Nom-Det-D OK think-Cp say 3A- 3D-1E
 ‘I said to Pepe that I think that it is OK that we play cards together.’

(22) shows that the gap in the infinitival clause allows split antecedents, so movement cannot have taken place to two different positions. It is an instance of NOC. The gap is thus identified as a small pro. The fact that we find a small pro in this position in Basque should not be surprising in principle. Basque exhibits systematic pro-drop with the main three arguments in the auxiliary. However, the licensing conditions of this empty pronominal element are not met in the types of structures we are dealing with, namely infinitival clauses. Typically, it is the rich AGR in the verb that recovers the phi feature content. In Basque there is no auxiliary in infinitival clauses; the verb stands by its own, so pro should not be licensed in these structures. We could take a different approach, that of Jaeggli and Safir (89) and say that it is not the richness of the inflectional paradigm but rather their morphological uniformity that explains the facts about pro. Pro tends to occur in with very rich Agreement or no Agreement at all, but not in languages with partial agreement paradigms. If we considered the fact that in infinitival clauses we find AGR elsewhere but in nonfinite clauses, then following Jaeggli and Safir we would have to conclude that Basque is not a language in which pro occurs. We would have to conclude that pro is not licensed in Basque. This is in fact an undesirable conclusion according to the extensive literature that corroborates the existence of small pro in Basque. It is also an undesirable conclusion for the result that the test about split antecedents above has given us.

There is a way out to save this empty category from having its small pro status wiped out, though. If we prove that movement out of a certain domain in which the gap appears is prohibited for a certain reason, then we would be able to conclude that this gap is indeed a null pronominal element in Basque, even if no auxiliary showing rich agreement morphology is present. One interesting aspect of infinitival clauses in Basque is that they are not only marked for case on some occasions, but also with the Determiner marker –A (for some the definite marker) when the case is structural (Ergative, Absolutive and

Dative). Some recent work in this respect (Zabala 96) show that the structure of these infinitivals is a DP and that the Determiner –A is the head of this DP phrase. The relevant issue here is that these DPs do not allow extraction of elements out of them. In other words, they constitute an island of some sort. Consider (23):

(23) *Nork [___ kartetan jolaste]-ari ondo deritsot nik?
 Who-E cards play-Nom-Det-D agree I-E?

‘* Who do I agree to the fact that play cards?’

(24) [Kartetan nork jokatze]-ARI deitsot nik ondo?
 Cards who-E play-Nom-Det-D agree-I I-E well?

‘* Who do I agree to the fact that play cards?’

(23) shows that the wh-element could not have moved from the subject position because it crosses some kind of island, specifically the DP. The crucial fact shown by the pair (23)-(24) is that this wh can get a place inside the DP by pied piping, but that it cannot move out of this domain. To summarize, the status of the subject position of the infinitival clause as a small pro can still be maintained if movement out of the infinitival clause is banned. This infinitival clause turns out to be a case marked DP and extraction out of the DP seems to be prohibited in Basque. Therefore, no copy could have been moved to the main clause.

To summarize, so far I have shown that a controlled gap in a subject position of an infinitival clause in a sentence like (20) turns out to be a small pro. The test for split antecedents and the fact that the infinitival constitutes a DP island support these facts.

Greed and Movement.

In this section I will be dealing with the fact that in some instances we find alternating DPs and gaps in the relevant position.

So far I have not developed the idea that some subjects in infinitival clauses allow alternation between lexical DPs and pro-s. Recall sentence (20), repeated here as (25):

- (25) Nik_i [anaia/∅_{i/k} kartetan ibiltze]-ARI ondo deritsot
 I-E brother-A/∅ cards play-D OK I-think
 ‘I think it is OK to play cards/ that my brother plays cards’

The test of the split antecedents gave us the result that the empty category can have split antecedents, therefore no movement can have taken place and the empty category is a pro.

The reason why movement cannot have taken place was that the domain in which the empty category is in constitutes an island of some kind. This is plausible as I have discussed in the previous section, since DPs in Basque do not allow extraction of elements.

In order to postulate any kind of movement in Minimalist terms we would have to find a motivation for it. Elements move in order to check a feature in themselves, or otherwise to check a feature in a certain position that needs to be checked. If we argued that in (25) no movement took place it would be nice to find a reason that not only banned the movement itself (it is an island), but also that such a movement would not be motivated for any particular reason. In our case, sentence (25), it seems that the subject position of the infinitival clause is a case position. We can assume that the null element that has been identified as pro gets case somehow in this position. Therefore, by greed no movement is going to be allowed unless there is some self-interest that renders it. At this point it is clear which is the problem. How do subjects in Infinitival clauses get case? In the literature (Ortiz de Urbina 89) it has been argued that there is a Percolation process (as stated in section 1) where the initial clause’s ability to get case is somehow percolated to the subject position of the infinitival clause.

The explanation by percolation does not seem to be that implausible: It seems to be the case that there is a direct correlation between nonfinite clauses bearing structural case and the licensing of lexical NPs in their subject positions. The other type of infinitival clauses that we find in Basque (Participial Structures) confirms this.

- (26) Ni_i [aitak/∅_{i/k} semea lepoan eramán]-AK pozten nau.
 I-A father-E/∅ son-A back-on carry-E joys me
 ‘I am glad that father has taken the son on his back’

- (27) Guk_i ez dakigu [*gu/*Pepe/Ø_i nora joan]
 We-E neg know-we *we/Pepe/Ø where to go
 ‘We do not know where to go’

In (26) the whole infinitival clause is case marked, and a lexical NP is licensed in the subject position of that clause. Because it is a case position, any element in that position will not need to move further to get case. On the contrary in (27), the clause does not bear case (at least not structural), so no lexical NP is allowed in the relevant position. One prediction for cases like (27) is the following: since the subject position of the infinitival clause is not a case marked position, movement out of it should be motivated by greedy reasons. The infinitival clause would not constitute an island because it is not a DP. Also, we should not be able to have split antecedents. These predictions are born out, by (28) and (29):

- (28) Nork ez daki [nora joan]?
 Who-E Neg know-3 where go
 ‘Who does not know where to go?’

- (29) *Nik_iMarari_k [Ø_{i+k} batera joateko] esan nion
 I-E Mary-D Ø together go-Nom-to say aux
 ‘I told Mary to go together’

The conclusion is that movement out of the infinitival clause has been possible. The lower clause is not case marked, and therefore, the inner subject position is not a position where NP copies can get case. Thus, the gap is not a pronominal but an anaphoric gap, a product of the movement of a copy (Maria) from the infinitival clause to the main clause.

Extension of the data.

Let us consider some other cases: Infinitival Nominalizations with the clause case marked by a non structural case (some case other than Ergative, Absolutive and Dative):

- (30) Pepe_i [* Maria/∅_{i/*k} soldautza egite]-TIK libratu da.
Pepe-A *Mary/∅ military-A do-Nom–Abl freed is
'Pepe has been exempt from doing the military service'

Only when infinitival clauses bear structural case do they bear the Det marker –A, hence a DP structure. If we were to be systematic with the data that I have presented so far, the prediction would be the following: since those infinitival clauses do not constitute a DP island, movement out of them should be possible. Also, the subject position of the infinitival should not be a case position, therefore no NP should be alternating with pro. All this is born out by (31). If movement out of the infinitival is possible we would be dealing with an OC structure where movement of a copy has taken place for case checking purposes. Therefore, we would predict that the gap left by movement would not admit any split antecedents. (31) shows that the analysis so far is right.

- (31) * Pepek_i Mariari_k [∅_{i+k} soldadutza batera egite]-TIK libratzeko esan dio.
Pepe-E Mary-D military service-A together do-Abl free-Nom-to say
' *Pepe has told Mary to free themselves from doing the military service together'

To summarize, so far I have dealt with two types of infinitival clauses: TZE nominalizations and Participial constructions. In both cases, it seems that whether the infinitival clause gets structural case or not is a crucial fact for determining if the subject of the lower clause is a cased position or not, hence to determine whether we are dealing with an instance of movement or not. The fact that the infinitival clause gets structural case or not is also crucial for determining whether the infinitivals constitute an island for movement or not.

This is a very relevant part in the analysis given so far. Indeed (32) and (33) confirm the predictions:

(32) Nor_i libratu da [Ø_i soldadutza egite]-tik?
 Who-A freed has military service do-Nom-All?
 ‘Who is exempt from doing the military service?’

(33) Nork_i deritso ondo [Ø_k kartetan jokatzte]-ari?
 Who-E considers OK cards play-Nom-D ?
 ‘Who considers that playing card is OK?’

(33’) [Nork kartetan jokatzeari] deritso ondo?
 Who cards play –Nom-D consider OK?
 ‘Who considers OK to play cards?’

In (32) we expect that movement out of the subject position of the infinitival clause took place. Indeed, the *wh*- element and the gap in the infinitival clause turn out to be coreferential. No other coreferential relations can be established. On the other hand, in (33) we expect that movement out of the infinitival be prohibited. The *wh* element seems to have moved from the main clause rather than from the embedded infinitival, because those elements do not exhibit coreference. Notice that the only way to question the element inside the clause is by pied piping the whole infinitival clause to the front, in which case we would be considering (33’), an instance of *wh* in situ. The same predictions should work for the participial constructions: the structures in which the gap has been identified as pronominal should not allow extraction out of the infinitival, as in (34). (34’) shows the pied piping strategy in order to get the desired reading. In contrast, in (35) presumably movement has taken place and coreferentiality is maintained. Moreover, pied piping is prohibited in these cases (35’):

(34) *Nork poztu nau ni [___ semea lepoan eramán]-AK?
 Who-E gladden aux me son back-on carry-E
 ‘The fact that who carried the son on the back has gladdened me?’

(34') [Nork semea lepoan eramam]-AK poztu nau?
Who-E son-A back-Loc carry-E gladden me?
'The fact the who carried the son on the back has gladdened me?'

(35) Nork_i ez daki [Ø_i zer egin]?
Who-E Neg know what-A do
'Who does not know what to do?'

(35') * [Nork zer egin] ez daki?
Who-E what-A do Neg know-3?
'Who does not know what to do?'

In this section I have shown that the Minimalist approach to control as stated Hornstein (98) explains the facts about Basque control in infinitival clauses, namely, TZE Nominalizations and Participial structures.

To sum up, by assuming Hornstein's approach the predictions are born out for the basic cases of OC and NOC.

OC structures:

- Allow extraction (they are not islands)
- Movement is driven for Case checking purposes. No Percolation takes place, since either there is no Case on the infinitival clause or the case is not structural. In both cases there is no element percolating the ability to mark the subject position as case marked position.
- These structures do not allow for split antecedents: the element could not have moved to two different positions.

NOC structures:

- They are islands. They do not allow extraction of elements.
- There is no need for movement either: The subject position of the infinitival clause is a case marked position (by Percolation). Thus, DPs are licensed in such positions.
- These structures allow for split antecedents. This shows that movement could not have taken place to two different positions.

3.1.2. Martin and Basque

The predictions that Hornstein and Martin make for the core cases of control in Basque are basically the same. The main differences lay in the mechanism involved: existence of Null Case, versus no Null case, Clitic climbing versus Raising of a copy, and in NOC no raising versus no clitic climbing.

It is hard to see whether there is evidence for or against Null Case in Basque. The differences between the two theories reside in the mechanism involved in explaining the facts for both types of control structures, namely OC and NOC.

Assuming Martin the prediction would be that the cases that constitute OC structures involve a PRO clitic that climbs up to the matrix T and adjoins to it. On the other hand NOC structures include an FP layer which involves a point of view marker that makes the infinitival clause more paratactic in a relevant sense, where elements are licensed internal to this FP.

Let us look at how Martin would explain the facts in Basque: Martin would argue that in Basque, in cases where the infinitival clause is not marked with a structural case (OC) clitic climbing takes place. What makes clitic climbing possible in his analysis is that fact that PRO is a clitic like element that climbs in a parallel way to Romance clitic SE:

(36) Quiero comerlo
 Want-I eat-clitic (it)
 ‘I want to eat it’

(37) Lo quiero comer
 Clitic-it want-I eat
 ‘I want to eat it’

The reason for climbing of the clitic is that Null Case is unable to R-mark PRO, since the T in infinitival clauses is a defective T. In other words, T only has Case features but no person and number features, and in order to R-mark an element, person and number features need to be checked. PRO climbs to the matrix T, but it is still non R-marked. Instead of provoking a crash at LF (because we have a not R-marked element at LF), the two relevant chains collapse. In Basque, we could argue that the same happens. PRO would be a clitic that climbs up to the matrix clause and the two relevant chains collapse because the two feature bags (that of PRO and the controller) are non distinct. Hence we derive the strict anaphoricity in OC structures.

There is one interesting aspect about the idea of clitic climbing. Clitic climbing has often been associated to agreement in Romance, as in these Spanish examples:

(37) Quiero comer los pasteles ahora
 Want-I eat det-pl cakes now
 ‘I want to eat the cakes now’

(38) Los quiero comer ahora.
 Clitic-pl want-I eat now
 ‘I want to eat them now’

In (39) the clitic climbs to the matrix clause and carries with it the number agreement of the object inside the infinitival clause.

Something along these lines occurs in some Basque OC structures: Basque shows that in OC structures the matrix verb can agree (and sometimes must) with elements within the infinitival clause. The interesting fact is that, in NOC structures there is no such agreement between the main verb and elements within the infinitival clause (41):

(40) Nik Mariari liburu asko eman nahi dizkiot
 I-E Mary-D book many give want 3A.pl-3D-1E
 ‘I want to give many books to Mary’

(41) * Nik_i Mariari [Ø_kliburu asko emate]-A nahi dizkiot
 I-E Mary-D book many give-Nom-A want 3A-pl-3D-1E
 ‘I want somebody to give many books to Mary’

This would indeed suggest that analyzing OC as clitic climbing is plausible. Martin would argue that climbing of PRO pied pipes the relevant agreement markers that are available in the language. Basque shows agreement of the three main arguments in the auxiliary, and therefore, it allows for the climbing of the three relevant argument markers.

For NOC structures, non finite tensed T also marks PRO with Null case. This implies that this empty subject will not be R-marked by T, because it is defective. However, Martin assumes that in NOC structures there is a FP layer on top of TP that is licensing the empty elements within the infinitival at LF. The head F, which involves some pragmatic notion of Point of view R-marks the empty element. Since it is not a clitic like element, instead of being PRO Martin considers it as pro.

For Basque, we would also argue that Non finite Tensed clauses check Null case. The fact that there is no clitic climbing in these cases follows from the fact that there is an F head that R-marks the empty elements within the Domain of the infinitival clause.

Another issue needs to be discussed: DPs are possible in subject position of NOC structures, both in English and Basque. For Basque, I argued that this is a percolation process along the lines of Ortiz de Urbina (89). The structural case marking percolates to the subject position. We could wonder how these DPs are licensed in English. One option would be to say that for 0_{for} is case marking the whole clause and a similar percolation process applies to English, allowing for case marked infinitival clauses. Another option would be to say that it is only for/ 0_{for} that is case marking the DP in the subject position. However, there is one asymmetry that needs to be considered. In English, only the ACC

case marking is possible in this position, which suggests that ‘for’ is the case assignor for the DP. Instead, in Basque, the DP can take any of the shapes Ergative or Absolutive, depending on the lower predicate. If we assume that DPs are marked with case features from the lexicon and check the cases through the derivation, we would have to assume that these cases are licensed within the regular positions in the infinitival clause. In other words, it seems that infinitival clauses in NOC structures bear a rich enough structure to license the regular case markings within the infinitival clause.

So far, the distinction between OC and NOC structures both in Hornstein and Martin seems to be that OC structures involve a more transparent structure in the infinitival, whereas NOC structures involve a more paratactic domain in which elements get case marked and R-marked within its domain. For both theories the element controlled within the infinitival clause of NOC structures is a small pro. For Hornstein, by default, or as a consequence of the copy not having been able to move. For Martin, as the consequence of F being able to R mark pro within their domain. The data in Basque work pretty convincingly for Hornstein. For Martin, it also works, but from my viewpoint, it is still to be determined whether this F feature postulated for NOC structures is justified on independent grounds. I will argue later that indeed the F feature might play a role for the cases of Switch reference that were presented in Section 1.

In short, both Hornstein and Martin explain the basic facts about control in Basque.

3.1.3 Manzini&Roussou

The basic distinction between OC and NOC in Basque Control can also be accounted for by adopting the Manzini&Roussou approach. In OC structures, the DP is able to attract the two predicates, the predicate in the main clause and the one in the infinitival clause, together with the relevant theta roles. Recall that OC structures in Basque are infinitival clauses without any structural case marking or no marking at all. For these cases, M&R would assume that the Domain for the attraction of predicates and theta roles in Basque is extended across the infinitival clause that is not structurally case marked. In other words,

the Domain for the attraction of predicates by the DP in the matrix clause is extended to the lower clause because there is no other DP making the scope limit for attraction. There is one nice consequence to be drawn from this perspective: recall that in OC structures the predicate in the main clause displays agreement with elements within the infinitival clause, such as plural objects. From this perspective this is expected if it is predicates that are being attracted. The DPs would attract the bare verb together with the agreement markings in the auxiliary in Basque. Consider the following representation for an OC sentence:

- (42) Nik [Mariari liburu asko eman] nahi dizkiot
 I-E Mary-D book many give want 3A.pl-3D-1E
 ‘I gave many books to Mary’

In (42) the DP ‘nik’ is attracting the two predicates together with the auxiliary (dizkiot). For NOC structures, they would have to argue that there is a C operator that is attracting the predicates of the Infinitival clause, which can be specific (anaphoric to an argument in the main clause) or not (arbitrary reading). In the NOC structures with an overt subject they would argue that it is this DP that is attracting the predicates and the theta role of the infinitival predicate.

Consider (43):

- (43) Nik_i [anaia/Ø_{i/k} kartetan ibiltze]-ARI ondo deritsot
 I-E brother-A/Ø cards play-D OK I-think
 ‘I think it is OK to play cards/ that my brother plays cards’

In (43) the DP (‘nik’) is not able to attract the lower predicates. ‘Nik’ will only attract the predicate in the main clause. The reason that it cannot attract lower than the matrix predicate is because presumably there is either a C operator that is attracting the lower predicate (in the cases where the subject of the infinitival is empty) or because the

subject of the infinitival clause is overtly realized as DP, as ‘anaia’ in the above example. In the latter case the subject DP will be the attractor for the lower predicate.

So far, the generalization seems to cover the basic data: in OC structures the controller DP is the attractor, in NOC it is the C operator or an overt DP that attracts the lower predicate.

3.2. The bad news: Some problematic aspects

This section discusses the problems that each theory encounters in explaining some facts about control in Basque. We will conclude that the Object Control and Switch Reference data posit severe problems for the three Minimalist theories that have been presented in the paper.

3.2.1. Controlled Objects

Consider an instance of Controlled Objects:

- (44) Niri_i gustatuko litzidake [norbaitek Ø_i /hari laguntze]-A.
 I-D like to me-Subj somebody-E Ø-D/he-D help-Nom-Det-A
 ‘I would like that/if somebody helped me/to him’

The subject position in the infinitival clause is a Case marked position for the two reasons that should be familiar by now: first, alternating DP and gaps are allowed in that position. Second, the infinitival clause is marked by a structural case that Percolates the ability to assign case to the subject position within it. Hence, both for Hornstein and Martin we would conclude that the empty subject is a small pro and the structure this pro appears in is a NOC structure. However, in such theories nothing forces this pro to be coreferential to an argument in the matrix clause. For Hornstein, there was no requirement in NOC structures for the gap to be obligatorily coreferential to an element in the matrix clause, so there seem to be cases where coreferentiality is a requirement in NOC structures in Basque. This aspect is hard to accommodate in Hornstein’s analysis.

For Martin, they would also be small pro-s and instances of NOC. He would also have problems to account for the obligatory coreference of the gaps with the controller. Recall that in NOC structures F head R-marks pro. An additional problem arises here for Martin: It is not that clear why we would need this R-marking in these cases, since objects seem to be case marked anyway, and structural case marking provides R-marking the arguments for free.

Manzini and Roussou would proceed in the following way: The D feature of the matrix predicate is lexicalized by the DP ‘niri’, which presumably attracts the main predicate together with its theta role. The scope of application of Attract is restricted to the next DP. The next DP is the subject of the infinitival clause (‘norbaitek’), which must be present in controlled object sentences. This implies that the Domain of Attraction of the matrix DP is restricted to the matrix clause and it will only attract the matrix predicate. This also implies that the attractor of the lower predicate will always be the subject of the infinitival clause. Here is the problem: since the subject of the infinitival clause is the closest attractor in all cases, the DP in the matrix clause can not be the attractor of the lower predicate, and hence the Obligatory Coreferentiality cannot be derived. Consider the following schema for clarification:



However there is a further problem: when the Dative in the infinitival clause is overtly realized it becomes the attractor of the lower predicate, hence leaving the subject (norbaitek) without a theta role and predicate to associate with:



This is a general problem that SOV word order languages exhibit. The only way out for Manzini and Roussou would be to say that the overt DP in the infinitival does not count

for some reason as the closest attractor and that it is C the attractor in the infinitival clause.

3.2.2. Switch Reference

Consider (45) and (46), the pair showing the Switch Reference effect:

(45) Nik_i [Ø_{*i/k}/John joate]-A nahi dut.
I-E go-Nom-det-A want 3A-1E
'I want him/her/you/they/John to go'

(46) Nik_i [Ø_{i/*k}/*John joan] nahi dut.
I-E go want 3A-1E
'I want to go'

Sentence (45) looks very much like an instance of Switch Reference. The subject in the infinitival clause cannot be coreferential to any element in the matrix clause.

For Hornstein the predictions would be the following: in (45) movement should be prohibited out of the infinitival DP, because it is an island. Also, alternation should be available in the subject position of the lower clause, since it is a case position. Therefore, no movement was either allowed or motivated. If we extract the subject position, we should not be able to get obligatory coreference, as in (47), and we should get the opposite effect for (46), as in (48):

(47) Nork_i nahi du [Ø_k joate]-A?
Who-E want aux Ø go-Nom-Det-A
'Who wants that somebody goes?'

(48) Nork_i nahi du [Ø_i joan]?
Who-E want aux Ø go
'Who wants to go?'

Still, we are not really explaining the fact that disjointness is not only a possibility but also a requirement on examples such as (39). Recall that NOC structures allowed for the pro to be or not to be coreferential to an element present or absent in the main clause, but there was no case in which disjointness was a requirement.

In fact it turns out that those NOC structures are not islands for extracting elements such as subjects:

- (49) Zer nahi dut nik [Mariak ____ eroste]-A?
What-A want aux I [Mary-E buy-Nom-Det-A]
'What do I want for Mary to buy?'
- (50) Nor nahi dut nik [____ etxera etortze]-A
Who want aux I-E home come-Nom-Det-A?
'Who do I want that comes home?'

Thus, the island facts cannot explain the disjoint reference cases, at least not in a straightforward way.

The same argument applied for Martin: for him sentence (45) would also be an instance of NOC, and hence no clitic climbing takes place. However, it is not clear why disjointness in reference is forced in these situations. Those gaps would be pro, but in principle they would also be able to be coreferential to an argument in the main clause.

The system proposed by Manzinni and Roussou would not predict the facts either. They are cases of NOC, and as such the C operator would be the attractor. This does not impose any limitations as for the referential nature of the elements within the infinitival clause. They could either be coreferential to an element in the main clause or not. However, in the cases of Switch Reference there is a disjointness requirement, which in their system remains unexplained.

In short, none of the Three Minimalist approaches to Control have any straightforward solution to the problem posited by sentences like (45).

3.2.3. Aspectual Predicates: start, continue, finish

There is a small and welldefined set of data that do not fit the analysis given in Hornstein. Certain infinitival TZE Nominalizations are marked for Dative case, they also take the Det, and hence constitute a DP. We would predict that they are NOC structures involving some sort of Island. However, they do not exhibit alternating NP and gaps in their subject positions. Consider (51):

- (51) Jonek_i [Ø_i neskekin iblitze]-ARI ekin/utzi/eutsi dio
John-E girls-with go out-Nom-Det-D start/give up/keep on aux
‘John has started/given up/kept on going out with girls’

The test of the split antecedents (by Hornstein) has not given me any convincing results, neither to the informants that I have consulted with. The puzzle is the following: if the infinitival clause is case marked and this fact licenses the appearance of lexical NPs in the relevant position, why is it the case that we do not find them here? Instead we find the opposite effect: we exclusively find obligatory coreference and no alternation. For the moment I have no answer to this puzzle, but notice that the only cases that we find this is with the cases in (51), namely with a class of verbs that are highly aspectual.

3.2.4 Chomsky (98)

In his recent paper, Chomsky discusses several sentences to show that infinitival clauses involving Control behave like Phases. Here, I will consider the following particular example:

- (52) It was decided (by the prisoners_i) [PRO_i to be executed at dawn]

Example (52) can easily be paraphrased as (53):

- (53) The prisoners_i decided [PRO_i to be executed at dawn]

The interesting example is (52), where PRO is controlled by an implicit argument, namely, [by the prisoners]. This is an instance of OC, hence a result of a copy having moved to the main clause. A copy implies that it has the same PF as other copies that may appear within the clause. Let us assume that [the prisoners] starts as the theme of the predicate ‘execute’ without the Oblique marking (by). However, the controller shows in a different phrasal shape, namely as a PP [by the prisoners]. It is not clear how Hornstein would explain this fact here. In fact, for Hornstein, case is a property of the landing site. If so, it is unexplained how [The prisoners] moved to the main clause and materialized as [by the prisoners].

There is something along these lines taking place in Basque, but in a more general way: DPs do not take structural case when they appear with further elements like Adjectives in a phrase. Instead, it is the Phrasal Category that gets marked with Case. Consider (54):

- (54) [Neska polit]ak amari ogia eman dio
 Girl beautiful-Det-E mother-D bread give aux
 ‘The beautiful girl has given bread to her mother’

If Case is assumed to be a feature checked by DPs we would have a problem explaining these basic facts about Basque: instead of Heads it is Phrases that check Case. If we assume OC to have taken place by raising of a copy we would have a similar problem as in the English example in (53). The upper copy would not c-command the lower one because it is generated under another phrasal node and it moves to a position that does not c-command the lower position.

3.3. About the three Minimalist proposals and Basque

Consider the following chart that summarizes the facts about Basque Control that are explained and the ones that are not by the three Minimalist proposals:

	OC	NOC		CONTR.OBJ		SWITCH REF
		GAP	DP	Pro	NP _{i=e_i}	
HORNSTEIN	✓	✓	✓	✓	⊗	⊗
MARTIN	✓	✓	⊗	✓	⊗	⊗
M&ROUSSOU	✓	✓	✓	⊗	⊗	⊗

From the discussion in the previous section the following conclusions can be drawn. First, unlike GB, the three Minimalist proposals account for the basic data on OC and NOC structures in a quite straightforward manner. Second, unlike in GB, the nature of the elements involved in OC and NOC structures is different for one reason: it seems that infinitival clauses in OC structures are more ‘transparent’ than in NOC structures. They allow raising of a copy, clitic climbing and attraction of Features and predicates. Instead, in NOC structures the lower infinitival clauses form a more independent or paratactic Domain where elements are licensed within that Domain. For Hornstein, they were islands; for Martin, there was an FP layer on top of TP and for M&R there was an operator that was functioning as attractor and therefore limiting the domain of attraction to the lower clause.

Third, the basic intuition about the nature of OC and NOC structures allows for an approximation to more data beyond the traditionally called Control structures, such as Pseudocontrol structures.

Fourth, I have argued that the most exotic and interesting phenomena could not be explained by neither of the three theories in a straightforward manner.

4. SWITCH REFERENCE

Let us present the relevant data displaying Switch reference effects once more:

(55) Nik_i [Ø_{*i/k}/John joate]-A nahi dut.
 I-E go-Nom-det-A want 3A-E
 ‘I want him/her/you/they/John to go’

(56) Nik_i [Ø_{i/*k}/*Johnjoan] nahi dut.
 I-E go want 3A-1E
 ‘I want to go’

The conclusion I have drawn in the last section is that none of the three Minimalist proposals account for the fact that in (55) the gap need to be necessarily disjoint in reference to any element in the matrix clause. In other words, the gap must obligatorily be disjoint in reference. We can also conclude that all the three approaches need an extra

mechanism to accommodate the data. Notice first that the disjointness requirement is not exclusively a property of the gap but of the position it occupies. This can be concluded from the fact that overt DPs such as pronouns are also allowed in such positions with the requirement that they be disjoint in reference to matrix arguments.

One interesting aspect of these infinitival complements of the predicate ‘want’ is that in subjunctive complements with the same predicates the very same restrictions hold in terms of the coreferential restrictions that can be established. Consider (56):

- (56) Jonek_i [Ø_{*i/k}*hura joan dadin] nahi du
 John-E go aux-Subj want aux
 ‘John wants somebody else to go’

Let us consider why this could be. It has often been argued that there are three types of predicates in terms of the complements that they take:

1. Those predicates that solely take Infinitival complements: E.g. ‘start’ *I started to cry*
2. Those that take Complements in the indicative form: e.g. ‘think’ *I think that this is nice*
3. Those that take subjunctive complements: ‘want’ *I want you to go*

Interestingly enough, the type of predicate that display the Switch reference effect is of the third class: it predominantly takes subjunctive complements. From this perspective, and taking into account that the Switch Reference cases and Subjunctive complements show the same restrictions on referential relationships, it is plausible to conclude that sentence (55) is the infinitival version of the subjunctive sentence. Crosslinguistically subjunctive clauses also display this Obviation effect, as the following Spanish shows:

- (57) Juan_i quiere que Ø_k venga
 Juan wants that Ø comes
 ‘Juan wants him/her/it to come’

What is it that is forcing Obviation in the relevant case? Intuitively two elements are disjoint in reference when they occur in the same ‘Domain’, as in (58):


(58) John_i hit him_k

The same intuition applies to the Switch Reference and Subjunctive instances: for this, we need to extend the lower Domain up so that we get arguments within the same 'Domain'. There are two logical ways of doing so:

A) *The traditional Binding Theory*

Kempchinsky (86) considers the obviation effects that arise with volitional predicates in certain romance languages. On common aspect of these type of predicates is that there is always an abstract Operator in the COMP of the lower clause. This abstract Operator needs to be identified at LF. In languages like Spanish the subjunctive is realized in the Inflection, so this lower Infl raises to COMP in order to identify this Operator.

(59) [Juan_k INFL quiere [INFL_i [que pro_w e_i venga]]]



As a result of this movement the binding Domain of the lower subject is extended to the matrix clause because of two reasons: first because its governor (INFL) moved to COMP and second because INFL ends up coindexed with the matrix predicate which subcategorized it. In other words, the governing category of the subject is determined by the minimal CFC in the theta roles of the matrix predicate are saturated.

From a Minimalist viewpoint several problems come to mind with respect to this approach: the notion Government, which is so crucial in order to derive the Binding facts is undesired and the Binding Theory itself is also being revisited.

B) *A Case Theory approach:*

This approach is more Minimalist in a sense. Consider Uriagereka (88)'s approach to Local Obviation and Case: the phenomenon of obviation is partly an emergent property: it arises from various interactions. It involves two structural relations (c-command and locality) and at least one Interpretive Relation. For the later, obviation is the result of marking for distinctness the various FF (feature) bags within a Checking Domain set.

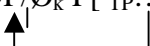
In other words, because arguments in the same checking Domain are in fact non-distinct that they must be marked with case. Case features, in these terms, are understood as relational. Accusative and Nominative are not features but values of a particular sort of feature that are determined relationally through matching.

Following this line of reasoning, for the Switch reference cases in Basque and in Subjunctives in Spanish we would have to conclude that, since the two subject positions *must* obviate with respect to each other, they should be marked with different case markings when they are realized with DPs. However, it seems that the Switch reference effects are independent from case markings in the cases we are considering. For instance, it is perfectly usual to find examples like (60), where the two relevant DPs (matrix and embedded subjects) are marked without the same Case, namely Ergative.

- (60) Nik [zuk etxea garbitze]-A nahi dut
 I-E you-E house-Det-A clean-Nom det-A want aux
 ‘I want you to clean the house’

C) *An extension of Martin (96)*. Consider the following possibility next: Martin’s notion of FP involving some pragmatic notion of point of view might have an extension to these cases. It would not be implausible to assume that there is an FP layer in these Switch reference instances, since they appear to have the same shape as NOC structures: the infinitival clause is case marked structurally, and moreover alternating gap/DPs are allowed in the relevant subject position. The intuition is that the subject of the infinitival clause is somehow in two Domains at the same time. It is the subject of the infinitival clause and the object of the main predicate in the sense that it is an intensional or aspectual argument of the matrix predicate. Assume then that for a certain reason the subject in the lower Domain is raised to the Specifier position of the FP projection. In this sense, it is not implausible to assume that it is in the two Domains at the same time.

Consider (61) thus as the relevant structure for Switch reference cases:

- (61) [DP_i.....[FP DP/Ø_k F[TP.....]]
- 

This proposal too faces problems: what is the reason for which the subject raises to the Specifier of FP? Motivations for movement are necessary from a Minimalist point of view and it is not clear what would be the reason here. However, notice that, non trivially, these structures, contrary to what we would expect from NOC structures, they are not actually islands, and this might be suggesting that this approach is not totally on the wrong track. Consider (62-63):

- (62) Nork nahi du Mariak [Ø ogia jate]-A?
 Who-E want aux Mary-E bread eat-Nom-Det-A
 ‘Who wants Mary to eat bread?’
- (63) Nor nahi dut nik [Ø joate]-A?
 Who-A want aux I-E go-Nom-A?
 ‘Who do I want to go?’

D) Finally consider the outline of a different approach to Switch Reference in progress.

For details see *Hornstein & San Martin, (in progress)*:

Obviation effects are not so uncommon crosslinguistically. Consider for instance (64-65), which Chomsky (86) explained in terms of Avoid Pronoun Principle:

- (64) [Ø_i being late] killed John_i
 (65) [his_k being late] killed John_t

The same effects as in Basque appear in sentences (64-65). In (65) the pronoun/gap must not be bound to *John*.

However, it is not clear what is licensing the Accusative case in the pronoun. It could be the case that some Percolation process is taking place in sentence (65) parallel to Basque and European Portuguese giving rise to Inflected infinitive constructions.

If we viewed these two instances as competing derivations (assuming that we have arrays that are morphologically not formed), and if we assumed along the lines of Hornstein that movement in Control is cheaper than inserting pronominals by default, then it would follow that inserting a pronoun violates the ‘Move first’ principle and

obviation would arise in such cases. In other words, not having moved where you could implies Obviation.

An interesting fact about the sentences where obviation effects arise is that they are case marked complements and indeed case seems to be doing some job in the obviation effects. In his work on Switch Reference, Finer (84) concludes his thesis with the following words:

“ There are a number of intriguing questions of SR that need explaining. There is the apparently non-accidental homophony of Same subject (SS) /and different subject (DS) with Case markers.....there is a strong resemblance , if not identity between SS and the morpheme which marks subjects.....’ And a last observation: ‘It appears as if languages as familiar as English display Switch Reference effects....At present I have no idea what A’Binding and Avoid pronoun Principle might have in common.’

5. Conclusion.

In this generalized paper I looked at the control data in Basque, sorted out the generalizations, presented the different theories that exist about control and adapted each of them to Basque in order to see to what extent each of them explained the facts. It turned out that with the exception of the standard GB theory, the three Minimalist approaches explained the basic facts about Control in Basque. It is in the mechanism of deriving the OC and NOC structures that they differ. One interesting aspect that Basque control offers is the Switch Reference phenomena. In the last section I proposed that these cases are the parallel cases to verbs that take subjunctive complements in that the subject of the subordinate clause must be disjoint from the subject of the main clause. These verbs in Basque may equally take subjunctive or infinitival complements. As predicted it turned out that the infinitival version of such predicates required disjointness in Reference. I proposed several ways in which these cases could be explained.

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