An Empty Head for Object Control

René Mulder
University of Leiden

AN EMPTY HEAI)R OBJECT CONTROL*

] Mulder

Un f Leiden

293

1. Section one

This paper discusses the structure in (1a) as it pertains to sentences like (1b).

(1) a. $V\ [_{XP}\ NP\ [\phi_{X^\circ}\ CP]]$ [to be modified]
       b.   Mary forced John to take off his clothes.
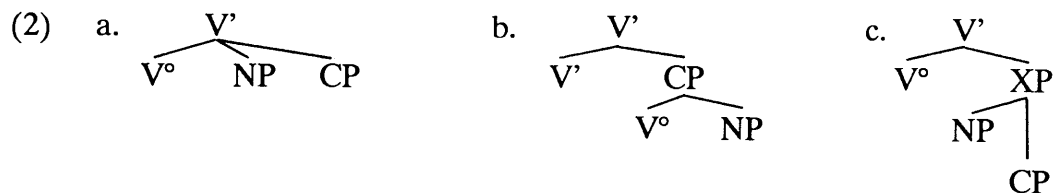
I will address the following questions: How can we prove the presence of ϕ? What is the nature of ϕ? Why is ϕ there at all? What other things follow?

2. How can we prove the presence of ϕ?

2.1. The 'object' is a subject

For a sentence such as (1a), three possible analyses must be considered, putting possible empty predicates aside for the moment:

---

294   RENÉ MULDER

(2)   a.   V'   b.   V'   c.   V'
          V°   NP   CP   V'   CP   V°   XP
                                   V°   NP   NP
                                                                   CP

(2a) has the immediate disadvantage that it is not consistent with Binary Branching (Kayne 1984). In (2b), if the CP is an infinitival complement containing PRO, the NP will not c-command PRO (assuming Reinhart's (1976) version of c-command.

It might perhaps be objected that it is not altogether certain that c-command is a requirement for control relations.[1] However, the claim that the NP c-commands the CP can be reinforced by taking into account the binding configurations as discussed by Barrs and Lasnik (1984). They discuss several binding configurations, applied to double object constructions. The assumption is that for binding to be possible, the antecedent has to c-command the anaforic element. We give an instance of **anaphor binding, bound variable binding**, and **negative polarity binding** in (3).

(3)   a.   I incited the $tyrant_i$ to rebel against $himself_i$.
       b.   They convinced $every_i$ young man of his_i duty to register.
       c.   They will force no participants to pay any fees.

The structure in (2c), which is the one proposed by Kayne (1984), doesn't have these disadvantages. One aspect in which (2c) differs from the other two is the status of the NP; in (2a,b) it's a regular direct object, whereas in (2c) it's a subject. An observation that was made by Hornstein and Weinberg (1986, 1990) may confirm the subject status of the NP. They show that the NP allows Q-float, as in (4a). Q-float is normally not allowed for objects in English, witness (4b).[2]

---

1. The ungrammaticality of (i) shows that an object NP cannot bind PRO if PRO is contained in a constituent that is attached higher up, but still within the same maximal projection as the NP:

(i)   *John hit the boy_i [PRO_i without complaining].

2.   One might try to argue that *all* in (4a) is associated with PRO, rather than with the lexical NP. This would predict (i) to be good, which is false.

(i)   *The men promised Mary all to leave .

On the other hand, If Q-float is a reliable test for subjecthood, we would predict (ii) to be good, which is also false, although some informants indicated a clear (*/?) contrast between (i) and (ii).

(ii)   *John persuaded the boys all that they should leave.

Some speakers note an improvement due to the presence of an overt preposition:

2

(4) a.   I persuaded the boys all to leave.
     b.   *I saw the boys all.

Another argument to the effect that the pertinent NP is a subject rather than an object derives from the domain of superiority effects. It is a common assumption that superiority is induced by subjects (cf. Hornstein and Weinberg 1986, 1990 and Pesetsky 1987 for discussion). Hence, the following contrast is relevant.

(5) a.   *What did you persuade who to buy __ ?
     b.   What did you talk to whom about __?

   If there is a subject, there must be an associated predicate. Kayne proposes that this is the CP. This would entail that the CP somehow Θ-marks the NP. Below, I will argue that this cannot be right.

2.2. The CP is not a predicate

2.2.1. PP-extraposition

As is extensively argued in Hoekstra (1984) and related work, complement SC-predicates may not occur on the right side of the verb in Dutch. Some typical examples are given in (6)-(8):

(6) a.   ... dat   Jan   de   zon   in   zijn   gezicht   heeft.
                 that *Jan* *the* *sun* *in* *his* *face*   *has*
     b. *... dat   Jan   de   zon   heeft   in   zijn   gezicht.
                 that *Jan* *the* *sun* *has*   *in* *his*   *face*
(7) a.   ... dat   Jan   het   boek   in   de   kast   zet.
                 that *Jan* *the* *book* *in* *the* *closet* *puts*
     b. *... dat   Jan   het   boek   zet   in   de   kast.
                 that *Jan* *the* *book* *puts* *in* *the* *closet*
(8) a.   ... dat   Jan   in   de   sloot   is   gesprongen.
                 that *Jan* *in* *the* *ditch* *is* *jumped*
           'John jumped into the ditch.'
     b. *... dat   Jan   is   gesprongen   in   de   sloot.
                 that *Jan* *is* *jumped*   *in* *the* *ditch*

Returning now to control verbs, we notice that in many cases the CP alternates with a PP:

(iii)   a.(?)I persuaded the boys all of that.

         b.(?)What I persuaded the boys all of, was that they should leave.

Since I can offer no explanation for the deviance of (ii), I will leave this matter for future research.

RENÉ MULDER

(9) a.   ... dat   Marie Jan dwingt tot   een   bekentenis/te bekennen.
       that   Marie Jan forces   to   a   confession/to confess

    b.   Marie forces Jan to a confession/to confess.

(10) a.   ... dat   Clyde   Bonnie   aanzet
       that   Clyde   Bonnie   incites
       tot   misdadig gedrag/de   bank   te   beroven.
       to   criminal   behaviour/the bank   to   rob

    b.   Clyde incites Bonnie to criminal behaviour/to rob the bank.

(11) a.   ... dat   Jan   zijn   dochter   overhaalt
       that   Jan   his   daughter   persuades
       tot   dat   standpunt/te   gaan   studeren.
       to   that   point-of-view/to go   study

    b.   Jan persuades his daughter of this point of view/to go to college.

By analogy, if it is assumed that the CP Θ-marks the NP in (9)-(11), the same must hold true for the PP alternants. This would predicts, on the basis of the generalisation Hoekstra makes, that the PP alternant cannot occur on the right side of the verb in embedded sentences in Dutch. As the examples indicate, this is contrary to fact. Therefore, the CP cannot be the predicate of the NP.

2.2.2. Predicative CPs?

There is something peculiar to the idea that a CP can function as a SC-predicate. The Θ-assigning head of the CP is a verb, with at least one Θ-role to assign – though not necessarily an external Θ-role –, but this Θ-role is reserved for PRO. Therefore, the CP as a whole is fully saturated and would be an argument rather than a predicate. One might try to draw a parallel with predicate NPs, as in (12):

(12)   I consider John my best friend.

There are some problems to such an analogy. First of all, we never encounter a CP in a position comparable to the predicate NP (cf. (13a). Furthermore, we would also not like to allow an infinitival to act as a predicate with verbs like *consider*. This would yield a structure like (13b):

(13) a.   *I consider John that he is a fool.

    b.   I believe/consider John [PRO to be my best friend].

Although such a structure might in principle be possible, adopting it would make it very hard to account for the fact that languages such as Dutch and French don't allow ECM-constructions of the English type.

AN EMPTY HEAD FOR OBJECT CONTROL

Let's, for the sake of the discussion, assume for the moment that it is in fact possible for a fully saturated CP to act as a predicate. Even then, it would still not work for the *persuade* cases. A comparison with NPs will make this clear.

When used as a referential expression, a NP like *an intelligent girl* can refer to any individual that is an intelligent girl. When used as a predicate, the NP will attribute to a subject the property of being a member of the set of individuals that may be referred to as `an intelligent girl'.

How would this work for CPs. Rather than an individual object, a CP denotes a proposition. Were we to use a CP like [PRO to go home] as a predicate, we would be attributing to its subject the property of being a member of the set of propositions that can be referred to as `to go home'. With object control constructions, this is clearly not what we want. Thus, even if we were to allow a saturated CP to act as a predicate (which is probably wrong, in the face (13)), it would do us no good.

If the conclusions of this and the prevous section are valid, the embedded NP in object control constructions is a subject, but there is no visible predicate that it is a subject of. There is only one possible conclusion: there is an invisible predicate. I propose that this empty predicate is a particle, taking the NP as its subject and the PP/CP as its complement. Hence the structure in (1).

Although it is of course hard to find evidence for the categorial status of ϕ, I consider relevant the fact that nearly all object control verbs are morphologically complex, to the effect that they consist of a bare verb, combined with a particle or affix. Particularly interesting in this respect are the perifrastic cases. A short (incomplete but representative) list is given in (14). Of these, only the first one is not perifrastic. Thus, with all the other verbs, the particle can be (and must be in V2 sentences) separated from the verb.

(14) | over-tuigen | convince |
|---|---|
| over-halen | persuade |
| aan-zetten | incite |
| aan-raden | recommend |
| op-dragen | instruct |
| toe-staan | permit |

2.3. Showing the presence of ϕ

2.3.1. Kayne's diagnostics

Kayne (1985) discusses particle constructions such as the sentence in (15), adopting a SC-analysis.

(15) John looked the information up.

RENÉ MULDER

Kayne argues that two specific properties of this construction are to be related to the fact that the complement is a SC. The embedded NP is an island for subextraction and the verb cannot be nominalised.

(16)   a.   John looked the information up.
       b.   *This is the matter that John looked the information about [e] up.
       c.   *the looking of the information up

Importantly, Kayne has also shown that it is possible to move the particle to a verb-adjoined position, presumably by incorporation. Doing this will alleviate the ban on subextraction and nominalisation.

(17)   a.   John looked up the information.
       b.   This is the matter that John looked up the information about.
       c.   the looking up of the information

On the basis of the discussion sofar, we would expect Kayne's diagnostics to rule out (18) and (19), but this is not what we find:

(18)   a.   This is the girl that I persuaded a friend of to go out with me.
       b.   ?The persuading of John to leave took us an hour.
(19)   a.   This is the girl that I convinced a friend of that she should go out with me.
       b.   The convincing of John of this point of view was difficult.

This, of course, is just as surprising from the perspective of Kayne's proposal, as it is from that of mine. However, the assumption that the actual SC-predicate is a covert particle rather than a full CP makes it easy to accomodate (18)-(19). We will argue that the empty predicate incorporates into the higher verb, making the structure analogous to (17a) rather than to (16a).

2.3.2. Selectional requirements

One of the arguments for the Small Clause hypothesis, as proposed by Stowell (1981, 1983), was based on selection; according to Stowell, verbs are sensitive to the categorial label of the SC, cf. (20), contrasted with (21) (taken from (Stowell 1983:69/71):

(20)   a.   We consider it unlikely that John will win.
       b.   I expect that man off my ship.
       c.   We all feared John killed by the enemy.
(21)   a.   *I consider John off my ship.
       b.   *I expect that man very stupid.
       c.   *We all feared John unfriendly.

AN EMPTY HEAD FOR OBJECT CONTROL

However, Hornstein and Lightfoot (1987:33) question the validity of this observation. They claim that in fact, (22) are good:

(22) a.   As soon as he sets foot on the gangplank, I'll consider John off my ship.

        b.   I expect that man angry.

        c.   We all feared John drunk.

Also, they point to the complication that would arise in accounting for (23a), when (23b) were to be excluded on grounds of subcategorisation:

(23) a.   I expected that result.

        b.   *I expect him president.

If the SC-hypothesis is not to be abandoned, the conclusion must be that some abstract, plausibly functional projection heads a SC. Whether this should be IP, as suggested by Chomsky (1986), or something else, is immaterial at this point. All that matters here, is that verbs do not strictly subcategorise for the categorial status of a SC-complement.

Turning to object control constructions again, we expect no strict categorial subcategorisation under the analysis that the CP is the predicative part of the SC. Taken at face value, this might appear to be correct, but on closer scrutiny, it is not. In Dutch, the complement of an object control verb is always a PP. Given the implausibility that this selectional requirement is imposed by the verb itself, I claim that it is imposed by the postulated empty predicate, thus lending further support for the hypothesis that there is an empty predicate, which is transitive.

First, a distinction must be made between two types of object control verbs, indirect object control verbs and direct object control verbs. In Dutch, the two classes are easily distinguished: with direct object control, the embedded NP must have Nominative Case if the verb is passivised. With indirect object control, it's at least possible and for some Dutch speakers even obligatory, to have the embedded NP as a dative NP. In that case, there is no agreement between the NP and the verb, suggesting an analysis in terms of impersonal passivisation and dative-topicalisation.

(24) a.   Hij/*hem wordt gedwongen/overgehaald/overtuigd te vertrekken.
            he-acc/him-dat is forced/persuaded/convinced to leave

        b.   Hun wordt aangeraden/verzocht/opgedragen te vertrekken.
            them-dat is advised/requested/instructed to leave

With respect to direct object control, (25) is a representative paradigm.

RENÉ MULDER

(25)	a.	Marie	dwingt	Jan	*(tot)	overspel.			
		Marie	*forces*	*Jan*	*to*	*adultery*			
	b.	Marie	dwingt	Jan	ertoe	dat	hij	overspel	pleegt.
		Marie	*forces*	*Jan*	*there-to*	*that*	*he*	*adultery*	*commits*
	c.	Marie	dwingt	Jan	ertoe	(om)	overspel	te	plegen.
		Marie	*forces*	*Jan*	*there-to*	*(for)*	*adultery*	*to*	*commit*
	d.	*Marie	dwingt	Jan	dat	hij	overspel	pleegt.	
		Marie	*forces*	*Jan*	*that*	*he*	*adultery*	*commits*	
	e.	Marie	dwingt	Jan	(om)	overspel	te	plegen.	
		Marie	*forces*	*Jan*	*(for)*	*adultery*	*to*	*commit*	

(25a) is straightforward. In (25a) and (25b) I take it that *er* is nominal in nature, with the CP coindexed with it. Thus, in (25a-c), the complement can only be a PP. Because of the absence of the preposition, (25d) is ungrammatical.[3] As for the grammaticality of (25e), I will adopt a proposal by Bennis and Hoekstra (1984), who supply ample evidence that infinitival complementisers are prepositional. Consequently, an infinitival CP functions as a prepositional phrase. Given this assumption, the contrast between (25d) and (25e) is readily explained, once it is assumed that there is a strong selectional requirement for PPs in the complement of direct object control verbs. The infinitival CP would then satify this restriction. The question now rises where this selectional requirement stems from. I showed earlier, citing Hornstein and Lightfoot (1987), that categorial selectional restrictions imposed on SCs by matrix verbs are rare at best, so we would not expect to find them here, if the PP is itself the predicate of the SC. If it not the matrix verb that imposes this selectional restriction, there must be some other predicate that does it. Hence the postulated empty predicate ϕ. The fact that ϕ imposes these restrictions also shows that the PP is a complement of ϕ.

This gives us the structure in (26), which is a revision of (1a).

$$(26) \qquad V \; [_{XP} \; NP \; [\phi_{X^\circ} \; [_{PP} \; P \quad \begin{Bmatrix} CP \\ NP \\ IP \end{Bmatrix}]]]$$

3. Not all cases completely bad; I find (i) not unacceptable without *ervan*, though a little bit odd.

(i) Marie overtuigde Jan (ervan) dat ze een magnetron nodig had.
     Marie convinced Jan there-of a microwave oven to need

With other verbs, like *overhalen* (persuade) or *aanzetten* (incite) I find the result less acceptable; the same goes for *dwingen* (force), as indicated in the text. We postulate that in those cases, the combination of *er* and preposition remains empty. English shows the same thing, with the preposition comes out in cleft sentences:

(ii) a. I convinced Mary that it was a good plan.
      b. What I convinced Mary of, was that it was a good plan.

3. Consequences

Having established the structure in (26) for direct object control constructions, we now show that the assumption that there is an empty particle heading the SC has some interesting consequences.

3.1. Verb Raising

Given that the empty particle ϕ intervenes between the matrix verb and the embedded verb, we might expect some effects of ϕ to show up with those phenomena that are contingent on the existence of a verbal chain. Two likely candidates that I will consider here are clitic climbing in Romance *pro*-drop languages and Verb Raising in Dutch. I will start with the latter.

The phenomenon of Verb Raising itself has received a great deal of attention since Evers devoted his (1975) dissertation to it. The initial observation is that in Dutch, infinitival complements never appear on the left side of the verb in embedded clauses.

(27) a. *... dat Jan [de krant lezen] wil
             that *Jan* *the* *newspaper* *read* *wants*
      b. *... dat Jan [de krant te lezen] probeert
             that *Jan* *the* *newspaper* *to* *read* *tries*

Either the entire infinitival complement is on the right side of the verb or the verb itself moves (together with the infinitival marker *te*, if present). The first option is usually called EP (extraposition), moving only the verb is commonly referred to as VR (verb raising). The most salient feature of VR is the socalled IPP-effect (Infinitivus Pro Participio): in the perfect tense, an infinitive shows up where we would expect a participle. VR is illustrated in (28a-c), EP in (2d-e):

————————*Verb Raising*

(28) a. ... dat Jan de krant heeft willen/*gewild lezen.
             that Jan the *newspaper* *has* *want-inf/*-prt* *read*
      b. ... dat Jan zijn haar heeft laten/*gelaten knippen.
             that *Jan* *his* *hair has* *let-inf/*-prt* *cut*
      c. ... dat Jan het heeft proberen (*om) te maken.
             that *Jan* *it* *has* *tried* *for* *to* *repair*

————————*Extraposition*

      d. ... dat Jan heeft geprobeerd (om) het te maken.
             that *Jan* *has* *tried* *for* *it* *to* *repair*
      e. ... dat Jan heeft geweigerd (om) de boete te betalen
             that *Jan* *has* *claimed* *for* *the fine* *to pay.*

RENÉ MULDER

Grosso modo, the distribution of VR and EP is as follows: VR is obligatory for modal verbs and AcI-verbs, i.e. all verbs the complement of which does not have the infinitival marker *te*. Subject raising verbs are not homogenious, and the facts are far from clear. I will set them aside. That leaves the group of control verbs. All control verbs at least allow extraposition. Apart from that, some, but not all, control verbs also allow VR. An example of the latter is the verb *proberen* `try´, exemplified in (28c,d). Finally, for those control verbs that allow the infinitival complementiser *om*, VR is excluded if *om* is present. Relevant to our purposes at this moment is the observation that

(29)   Object control verbs never allow Verb Raising.

Several linguists have argued in the recent literature, that the primary motivation for a verb to move up to a higher verb or to the Tense-node, is to create a configuration that makes it possible for the verb to be licensed by Tense (Evers 1982, Guéron and Hoekstra 1987, Bennis and Hoekstra 1988, etc.). One way of looking at the distribution of VR and EP from this perspective is that those infinitival complements that undergo EP have a Tense feature of their own, and that only if such a tense-feature is missing, VR will apply. The basic distinction between VR and EP amounts, then, to the question of whether the embedded verb must be bound by the matrix verb, to supply it with a Tense feature.

How does this explain the general absence of VR with object control verbs? Guéron and Hoekstra (1987) make a distinction between **lexical verbs** and **auxiliary verbs**, the difference being that lexical verbs assign a Θ-role, whereas auxiliary verbs assign a Tense-index. Assuming that verbs that take infinitival complements are all **in principle** capable of both, we could restate this and say that a control verb can either assign a Θ-role or a Tense-index.[4] The SC that is projected by the empty predicate ϕ functions as an argument, and hence must receive a Θ-role. It follows, then, that the matrix verb is incapable of assigning a Tense-index to the verb, making it necessary for the embedded to always infinitival complement to be headed by a COMP.

There are two exceptions to the generalisation that object control verbs never induce VR, namely the verbs *leren* `teach´ and *helpen* `help´, both taking an indirect object. Within the class of control verbs, these verbs are exceptional in another respect, namely that the infinitival marker *te* may be absent. These two exceptional qualities of *leren* and *helpen* are linked empirically; VR occurs only if *te* is not present.

---

4.   Perhaps, at a higher level of abstraction, the concepts of `theta-role´ and `tense-index´ will turn out to be identical. In that case, the demand that a verb cannot assign both follows in a trivial manner.

(30) a. Marie heeft Jan zijn eigen problemen op leren lossen.
   Marie has Jan his own problems on taught solve
 b. Marie heeft Jan geleerd zijn eigen problemen op te lossen.
   Marie has Jan taught his own problems on to solve

Optimally, the two aspects in which these verbs behave exceptionally are linked. We propose the following approach.

The reason for the empty predicate ϕ is basically a structural one. Binary Branching imposes a SC-structure, but the CP cannot supply the NP with a Θ-role, because the only Θ-role available is consumed by PRO. In its own turn, PRO has to be present because COMP is present. The presence of COMP is motivated by the requirement that the embedded Tense be supplied with an operator.

Now suppose that in some cases, there is no real need for an embedded Tense-node. In that case, we also would have no COMP, no PRO, and hence no ϕ. We would then expect absence of the infinitival marker *te*, which we take to be an instance of Tense, and obligatory Verb Raising, in order to get the lower verb connected to the matrix verb. Typical instantiations of this are causative verbs. I propose that the two exceptional verbs *leren* and *helpen* are also analysed as such, that is, as AcI-verbs. This way, we can account for the fact that VR is allowed only when *te* is absent, as well as for the fact that VR is allowed here at all. Some additional evidence is given below.[5]

First, I would like to point out that there are semantic differences between the variants with *te* and the ones without *te*. These differences were pointed out by Seuren (1986).

Consider (31), adapted from Seuren (1986):

(31) a. Ik heb Karel geholpen failliet te gaan.
   I have Karel helped bankrupt to go
 b. Ik heb Karel failliet helpen gaan.
   I have Karel bankrupt help-INF go

In (31a), Karel wanted to go bankrupt, and I merely assisted him. In (31b) however, Karel does not play an active role. Rather, it means that I

---

5. An obvious difference between control verbs and AcI-verbs is the possibility of passivisation. It is well-known that AcI-complements in Dutch cannot be passivised. Control verbs can, though, even when the embedded NP is dative. The following contrast is as expected, if the a-sentence involves an AcI-structure:

(i) a. Hij werd geholpen (om) het artikel te schrijven.
   He was helped for the article to write
 b. *Hij werd het artikel helpen schrijven.
   He was the article help-INF write

However, passivisation is unavailable in Dutch for all verbs that have obligatory VR, including e.g. modal verbs. Therefore, (i) does not constitute a good argument, although it is of course consistent with the proposed analysis.

RENÉ MULDER

30 4

contributed to Karel's bankruptcy, or, in other words, I made Karel go bankrupt. Seuren gives the representation in (32), and he explicitly notes the analogy with causative *laten* (let), which I take to be correct:

(32)   a.   I helped Karel [Karel went bankrupt]   ——(cf. 31a)——
        b.   I helped [Karel went bankrupt]   ——(cf. 32b)——

One argument Seuren gives involves impersonal arguments, like *het* `it' in *Het regent* `It rains'. On the basis of the structural representation in (32) the contrast in (33) is predicted.

(33)   a.   Dat   heeft   het   helpen   regenen.
              that   *has*   *it*   *help-INF*   *rain*
        b.   *Dat   heeft   het   geholpen   te   regenen.

As for *leren* `teach', a similar contrast in meaning can be detected.

(34)   a.   Marie   heeft   Jan   zijn   eigen   problemen   op   leren   lossen.
              Marie   *has*   *Jan*   *his*   *own*   *problems*   *on*   *taught*   *solve*
        b.   Marie   heeft   Jan   geleerd   zijn   eigen   problemen   op   te   lossen.
              Marie   *has*   *Jan*   *taught*   *his*   *own*   *problems*   *on*   *to solve*

(34a) implies that Marie took an active part in solving Jan's problems, in the sense that she showed him how to do it. In (34b) there is no such implication; rather, it means that Marie tóld Jan that he should solve his own problems. The contrast is perhaps clearer in (35), where the a-sentence is perfectly normal, whereas the b-sentences is very odd.

(35)   a.   Ik   heb   Jan   op zijn   handen   leren   lopen.
              I   *have*   *Jan*   *on his*   *hands*   *teach-INF*   *walk*
        b.   #Ik   heb   Jan   geleerd   op zijn   handen   te   lopen.
              I   *have*   *Jan*   *taught*   *on his*   *hands*   *to*   *walk*

The relationship to causatives is much vaguer than is the case with *helpen*, but present nonetheless.

    A syntactic argument for the AcI-status of these verbs derives from the fact that PRO allows for a split-antecedent. So, we expect that in sentences where PRO is bound by a split antecedent, the alternant with VR is unavailable, since there is no PRO. This is confirmed by the clear contrasts in (36) and (37).

(36)   a.   ?Gorbatsjov   heeft   Bush   geholpen   (om)   elkaar   te vertrouwen.
              Gorbatsjov   *has*   *Bush*   *helped*   *for*   *each other*   *to trust*
        b.   *Gorbatsjov   heeft   Bush   elkaar   helpen   vertrouwen.
              Gorbatsjov   *has*   *Bush*   *each other*   *help-INF*   *trust*

(37) a. ?Jan heeft Marie geleerd beter met elkaar om te gaan.
Jan has Marie taught better with each other round to go
('to handle eachother')

b. *Jan heeft Marie beter met elkaar om leren gaan.
Jan has Marie better with eachother round teach-INF go

To conclude, we noticed that the two exceptions to the overall pattern that object control verbs do not allow VR are exceptional in other ways to. Specifically, when VR applies, the infinitival marker *te* has to be absent. This suggests an analysis in terms of causative AcI verbs rather than control verbs, as already proposed by Seuren. Semantic differences between the two alternants, as well as the possiblity of allowing for a split antecedent is consistent with this.

What at first were counterexamples can be turned around, to actually support the analysis: the motivation for ϕ is structural. It is needed to mediate between the sentential complement and the embedded NP, because PRO consumes the Θ-role that this NP needs. With verbs that apparently can be interpreted as causatives, there is no embedded Tense, hence no COMP, hence no PRO. This gives us an AcI-structure.

3.2. Clitic climbing in Romance

Kayne (1989) remarks that clitic climbing with object control is "conspicuously absent". Above, we noted that in Dutch, VR is absent with object control.[6] Apart from object control, the similarity extents to epistemic and factive verbs, like *believe* or *claim*, which don't allow VR, as discussed above, but which also resist clitic climbing, as discussed by Luján (1980). It seems desirable to give a unified account. On the other hand, some differences must be built in, to account for the differences that nonetheless exist. The most important difference being that clitic climbing seems less restricted. Clitic climbing is sometimes possible in spite of the presence of a complementizer both in Italian and in Spanish.

(38) a. Non ti sapre *che* dire. —[It.]—
b. Lo finisco *di* fare. —[It.]—
c. Lo tengo *que* hacer. —[Sp.]—
d. Se los acabamos *de* ofrecer —[Sp.]—

---

6. A parallel also noticed by Rutten (1991)

306

RENÉ MULDER

For Spanish, something has to be said to allow clitic climbing even with object control under certain circumstances.[7]

Most likely, it is the case that movement of the embedded I into the matrix V is one way to create a configuration that allows clitics to climb, but not the only way. In other words, it is a sufficient, but not a necessary condition. Of the two possible ways of licensing clitic climbing, movement from I to V to I and movement through C, only the first entertains a direct parallel with Dutch VR.

For Kayne, clitics in Italian and Spanish move to the embedded I first, and then the complex Cl+I moves further (via the matrix V) on to the matrix I. in order to exclude clitic climbing in the relevant contexts, it is necessary to exclude the movement to the matrix verb, just like I proposed for Dutch above.

According to Kayne, such movement would bring about a coindexation between the two INFLs, and therefore, by spec-head-agreement, between the matrix subject and the embedded subject. This would yield a unwanted result.

This explanation fails to generalise over those cases that allow subject control while a dative NP is present, like *promise, request* and *tell.*

(39) a. I promised Mary to leave.
      b. I requested Mary to be allowed to leave.
      c. I told Mary to have been promoted.

Despite the fact that coindexation already exists, neither of these allow clitic climbing in Italian, nor do they allow VR in Dutch. Furthermore, as Kayne mentions in a footnote, a problem arises in excluding passives of object control.[8]

It is desirable therefore, to have another way of excluding the movement of the embedded I to the matrix V. The hypothesis that this movement is blocked by an intervening empty particle provides it. To block clitic climbing succesfully, we also need to exclude what other strategies there are, namely movement through COMP. Assuming that the COMP can be reached, one might speculate that the empty particle doesn't L-mark its complement CP.

---

7.   Although Kayne claims that there are only a few cases, it seems to be more productive. It is subject to the restriction that the object clitic of the embedded verb has to be inanimate. Torrego (1990) proposed, to account for these and similar facts, that clitics in Spanish have a more articulate structure than in Italian. We hypothesize that the dative clitic supplies the accusative clitic with an intermediate landing site, which is not available in Italian.
8.   Further comments could be made. For example, the proposal made by Kayne might lead to some problems if the VP-internal subject hypothesis is adopted. The point is that in those languages that presumably allow their subjects to remain inside VP at S-structure, among which Dutch and Italian, movement of I to I would not yield the offensive coindexation. To extend the spec-head-coindexation to VPs would exclude causative constructions.

4. Summary

In this paper, I have argued that the complementstructure of object control verbs contains an empty particle. First, I showed that the `object' NP behaves like a subject, but that the CP cannot possibly be the predicate. From this I concluded that there must be an empty predicate, i.e. a particle.

This empty particle – the particle status being suggested by morphological evidence – imposes selectional restrictions on it's complement, and the assumption that it may incorporate offers an explanation for the deviant behaviour of the object control construction with respect to nominalization and subextraction.

I demonstrated that the fact that object control verbs never allow Verb Raising in Dutch, nor Clitic Climbing in Italian, can be made to follow from the proposed analysis.

References

Barrs A. and H. Lasnik (1984). 'A note on anaphora and double objects'. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17:347-354.

Bennis, H. and T. Hoekstra (1984). 'Gaps and parasitic gaps". *The Linguistic Review* 4:29-87.

_____(1988). *The tense-connection*. Paper presented at GLOW, Budapest.

Chomsky N. (1986). *Barriers*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.

Evers A. (1975). *The transformational cycle in Dutch and German*. Reproduced by the IULC, Bloomington.

_____ (1982). 'Twee functionele principes voor de regel "Verschuif het werkwoord" *Glot* 5: 11-30.

Guéron J. and T. Hoekstra (1987). 'T-chains and the constituent structure of auxiliaries'. In: A. Cardinaletti, G. Cinque & G. Giusti (eds.). *Constituent structure. Papers from the 1987 GLOW conference*. Univ. of Venice, 35-99.

Hoekstra T. (1984). *Transitivity, Grammatical relations in Government-Binding theory*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Hornstein N. and D. Lightfoot (1987). 'Predication and PRO'. *Language* 63: 23-52.

Hornstein N. and A. Weinberg (1986). 'Superiority and generalised binding'. *Proceedings of NELS 16*.

_____ (1990). 'The necessity of LF'. *The Linguistic Review* 129-168.

Kayne R. (1984). *Connectedness and binary branching*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

_____ (1985). 'Principles of particle constructions'. In: J. Guéron, H.-G. Obenauer and J.-Y. Pollock (eds.), *Grammatical representation*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

_____ (1989). 'Null subjects and clitic climbing'. In: O. Jaeggli and K. Safir (eds.), *The null subject parameter*. Dordrecht: Kluwer academic publishers, 239-261.

Luján M. (1980). 'Clitic promotion and mood'. *Language* 381-484.

Pesetsky D. (1987). '*Wh*-in-situ: movement and unselective binding'. In: E. Reuland and A. ter Meulen (eds.), *The representation of (in)definiteness*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.

Reinhart T. (1976). *The syntactic domain of anaphora*. Diss. MIT.

Rutten J. (1991). *Infinitival complements and auxiliaries*. Diss. University of Amsterdam.

Seuren P. (1986). 'Helpen en helpen is twee'. *Glot* 9: 110-117.

Stowell, T. (1981). *Origins of phrase structure*. Diss. MIT.

_____ (1983). 'Subjects across categories'. *The Linguistic Review* 2:285-312.

Department of General Linguistics
State University of Leiden
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
E-mail: RHMULDER@HLERUL5.bitnet

306