

Revising the distribution of control: Evidence from Spanish

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This study presents novel data from Spanish that challenges the distribution of obligatory control, non-obligatory control (NOC), and no control (NC) assumed by existing minimalist theories of control, which largely assume that nonfinite subject and adjunct clauses show NOC but not NC and that NOC clauses may not host lexical subjects (Boeckx et al. 2010; Landau 2013; McFadden & Sundaresan 2018). In contrast, in Spanish and other languages, what are standardly considered to be NOC clauses clearly do host a lexical subject, as in (1).

- (1) a. *Ella me=dice [ser yo el del problema].*
she.N me.D=says be.INF I.N the of.the problem
'She tells me I'm the one with the problem'
b. *¿Es necesario [ir las dos]?*
is necessary go.INF the two
'Is it necessary for both of us to go?'

Likewise, these NOC clauses in Spanish may also host a null subject that is neither a logophoric center nor human, two fundamental components of the definition of NOC PRO (Landau 2013).

- (2) a. *Ellos creen [Δ^{expl} haber un lugar lleno de oro]...*
they think be.INF a place full of gold
'They think that there is a place full of gold...'
b. *[Δ pertenecer a la lista] puede crear pánico...*
belong.INF to the list can create.INF panic
'Belonging to the list [of sanctuary cities] can create panic...'

On the basis of the data from Spanish and other languages, I propose a new distribution of control and argue that (i) supposedly NOC clauses can host lexical subjects, (ii) NOC PRO is a subtype of *pro*, and (iii) there is a null-overt subject alternation in both finite and nonfinite clauses. Crucially, against Herbeck (2018) and the MTC, I show that this alternation cannot be reduced to Case or pragmatic factors such as focus and switch reference.

References: • Boeckx, C. et al. 2010. *Control as movement*. Cambridge: CUP. • Herbeck, P. 2018. Deriving null, strong and emphatic pronouns in Romance *pro*-drop languages. In P. Patel-Grosz (ed.), *Pronouns in embedded contexts*, 171–212. Berlin: Springer. • Landau, I. 2013. *Control in generative grammar*. Cambridge: CUP. • McFadden, T. & S. Sundaresan. 2018. Reducing *pro* and PRO to a single source. *Linguistic Review* 35(3). 463–518.