

**Provisional Programme**

Sat, 23/11/13

9.00-9.30	Dalmi, Gréte: Generic-inclusive null subjects in Hungarian: canonical and dative
9.30-10.00	Biberauer, Theresa/Cognola, Federica: The expletive-impersonal connection: Mòcheno insights into the typology of null-subject languages
10.00-10.30	Sampanis, Konstantinos: Finite complementation: a pro-drop language property?
10.30-11.00	Pause
11.00-11.30	Hack, Franziska Maria: Non-overt subjects in Rhaeto-Romance: language contact or grammar-internal factors?
11.30-12.00	Grillborzer, Christine: Zur Referenz der Null - Eine korpusbasierte Studie der Dativsubjekte in der Geschichte des Russischen

14.00-14.30	Haider, Hubert: Subjects may be missing - for various reasons
14.30-15.00	Hasegawa, Nobuko: Licensing a Null Subject at CP: Evidence from Japanese Main Clause Phenomena
15.00-15.30	Ambar, Manuela: On the typology of Null Subject Languages
15.30-15.45	Pause
15.45-16.15	Volodina, Anna/Weiß, Helmut: Referential Null Subjects in German: Dialects and Diachronic Continuity
16.15-16.45	Snarska, Anna: [group] as a subject? Who would have thought!

Sun, 24/11/13

9.00-9.30	Ganenkov, Dmitry: <i>title to be announced</i>
9.30-10.00	Herbeck, Peter: Some control properties of Spanish finite <i>pro-drop</i> configurations
10.00-10.30	Szécsényi, Krisztina: Non-overt, dative and nominative subjects in Hungarian infinitival clauses
10.30-11.00	Pause
11.00-11.30	Wolfsgruber, Anne: Was there an Impersonal <i>Se</i> -Construction in Old French?
11.30-12.00	Zimmermann, Michael: On the general loss of non-expressed subject pronouns in French

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### Generic-inclusive null subjects in Hungarian: canonical and dative

This paper deals with canonical (nominative) and non-canonical (dative) generic-inclusive null subjects in Hungarian. The generic-inclusive lexical subject *az ember<sub>GEN</sub>* ‘the man<sub>GEN</sub>’ becomes null under strict coreference with a generic-inclusive lexical antecedent; in all other cases the generic-inclusive lexical subject must appear. This isolates Hungarian from the four major types of Null Subject Languages (NSLs) identified by Roberts and Holmberg (2010).

*Az ember<sub>GEN</sub>* ‘the man<sub>GEN</sub>’ is a free lexical item with widest scope interpretation. It serves as an antecedent for reflexives, for depictive adjunct predicates and controls PRO<sub>GEN</sub> in infinitival clauses (Kratzer 2000); *pro<sub>GEN</sub>* requires a lexical antecedent in the preceding clause (see Moltmann 2006, 2010, 2012 for *one* vs. *oneself* in British English). Both the lexical and the null generic-inclusive subject are in the scope of the GEN operator, hosted by SAPP within the C-domain (see D’Alessandro & Alexiadou 2003).

The dative experiencer generic-inclusive null subject (*pro<sub>GEN-DAT</sub>*) of *psych*-impersonal predicates controls the PRO<sub>GEN</sub> subject of the infinitival clause. While PRO<sub>arb</sub> does not require an antecedent and resembles *pro<sub>arb</sub>*, PRO<sub>GEN</sub> shares features with its lexical or null generic-inclusive antecedent.

#### References

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- Kratzer, Angelika. 2000. German impersonal pronouns and logophoricity. Paper presented at the *Generic Pronouns and Logophoricity Conference*. Sao Paolo.
- Moltmann, Friederike. 2006. Generic one, arbitrary PRO, and the first person. *Natural Language Semantics* 14: 257–281.
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- Moltmann, Friederike. 2012. Two kinds of first person-oriented content. *Synthese* 184.2: 157–177.
- Roberts, Ian and Holmberg, Anders. 2010. Introduction. In Biberauer, T., Holmberg, A., Roberts, I. and Sheehan, M., 1–58.

Appendix: Data

- (1) [Ha *az ember*<sub>GEN</sub> isz-ik], *pro*<sub>GEN</sub> /\**ő*<sub>GEN</sub> /\**az ember*  
 if the man drink-PRES3SG (the man) / he the man  
 nem vezet-0.  
 not drive-PRES3SG  
 'If one drinks, one/\*he does not drive.'
- (2) *Az ember*<sub>GEN</sub> nem vizsgál-0 beteg-et<sub>i</sub>, [részegen *PRO*<sub>GEN</sub>].  
 the man.3SG.NOM not examine-PRES3SG patient-ACC drunk-ESS  
 'One does not examine a patient when (one is/\*he is) drunk.'
- (3) [<sub>ForceP</sub>[<sub>SAPP</sub>GEN [<sub>TOPP</sub> *Az ember-nek*<sub>GEN</sub> ... [<sub>FinP</sub> kellemetlen 0, [ha *pro*<sub>GEN</sub> /\**ő*  
 the man-DAT unpleasant COP.PRES3SG if (one) / he  
 kölcsönkér-0]]]]].  
 loan\_ask-PRES3SG  
 'It is unpleasant (for one) if one/\*he borrows money.'
- (4) [<sub>ForceP</sub>[<sub>SAPP</sub>GEN [<sub>TOPP</sub> *Az ember-nek*<sub>GEN</sub> ... [<sub>FinP</sub> kellemetlen 0  
 the man-DAT unpleasant COP.PRES3SG  
 [kölcsönkér-ni-e *PRO*<sub>GEN</sub>]]]]].  
 loan\_ask-INF-3SG (one)  
 'it is unpleasant to borrow money.'
- (5) Mi-t kellene *pro*<sub>arb</sub> [ten-ni *PRO*<sub>arb</sub>]?  
 what.ACC must-COND3SG (people) do-INF (people)  
 'What should be done?/ What should people do?'

**THE EXPLETIVE-IMPERSONAL CONNECTION: MÒCHENO INSIGHTS INTO THE TYPOLOGY OF NULL-SUBJECT LANGUAGES**

Our talk focuses on the distribution of null and overt expletives in Mòcheno (Fersentalerisch), a Germanic variety spoken in Northern Italy (Trentino), and its significance for our understanding of the typology of null-subject languages.

Unlike Standard German (SG), Mòcheno permits expletives in contexts such as those illustrated in (1):

- (1) a. Do mu s net garacht kemmen  
here can EXPL NEG smoked AUX.PASS  
'Smoking is not permitted here/One is not allowed to smoke here'
- b. En de Toscana kimp s de fiorentin bisteka g'essn  
in the Tuscany AUX.PASS EXPL the Florentine steak eat  
'In Tuscany, people eat steak florentine'
- c. Benn s zaloa gòngena milch trunken kimp, steat men schlècht  
if EXPL rotten gone milk drunk AUX.PASS stays man bad  
'If someone drinks sour milk, they feel bad'

Newly collected data show that the rise of clause-internal expletives in Mòcheno can be understood as a process starting from both "ends" of Gast & van der Auwera's (2013) semantic map-based impersonal typology. Aside from providing further evidence of the validity of this newly proposed semantic map, this state of affairs, we argue, facilitates important insights into a range of synchronic and diachronic questions, notably:

- (i) the finer-grained typology of semi- and partial null-subject languages;
- (ii) the nature of the connection between expletives and impersonals; and
- (iii) the nature of the process via which overtly realised expletives which were initially positionally restricted spread to clause-internal environments. This change also took place during the history of English and the Mainland Scandinavian languages and in some varieties of Dutch and Afrikaans (cf. Richards & Biberauer 2005 for overview discussion and references), but the route that it took has never previously been amenable to detailed investigation.

**References**

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- Richards, M. & T. Biberauer (2005). Explainin EXPL. In: M. den Dikken & C. Tortora (eds). *The Function of Function Words and Functional Categories*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 115 – 154.

Finite complementation: a pro-drop language property?

Finite complementation - i.e. the use of a finite construction as a complement of a verb instead of a non-finite one - is the most conspicuous syntactic feature of the languages of the so-called "Balkansprachbund" (cf. Tomić 2006: 413). Although there are several theories concerning the rise of this phenomenon (cf. Joseph 1983: 204ff), these mostly pertain to sociolinguistic or contact linguistic factors and therefore there is no decisive answer about the structural causes that led to the formation of finite complements. In this talk, it is suggested that the *pro-drop* property of the Balkan languages may have played a significant role in the demise of the non-finite complementation. In support of this hypothesis, two facts are taken into consideration: a. all languages that exhibit the phenomenon, even beyond the Balkansprachbund, are *pro-drop* (cf. Sampanis 2011: 206ff) and b. there seems to be a link between the gradual demise both of the pro-drop property (Rodrigues 2002; Roberts 2007: 335ff) and the morphology of the inflected infinitive in Brazilian Portuguese (Br.P.) (Pires 2006: 136ff). If such a link can be established, the Br.P. ongoing changes could be highly suggestive for the Balkansprachbund. Moreover, it will be discussed why and how exactly the *pro-drop* property can trigger the shift from non-finite to finite complementation.

References:

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- PIRES, Acrisio (2006): The minimalist syntax of defective domains: gerunds and infinitives. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
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- SAMPANIS, Konstantinos (2011): A diachronic and typological approach to the Modern Greek subjunctive complementation. (Unpublished doctoral thesis - Department of Linguistics, University of Salzburg).
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### **Non-overt subjects in Rhaeto-Romance: language contact or grammar-internal factors?**

Romance languages can be classified into three categories as far as the use of subject pronouns is concerned: i) languages showing both a strong and a weak series of subject pronouns (e.g. French); ii) languages exhibiting both series, of which the weak one shows gaps in the paradigm (e.g. Northern Italian dialects, Occitan dialects) and iii) languages having only the strong series (e.g. Standard Italian).

The present talk focuses on the status and use of subject pronouns in Rhaeto-Romance varieties addressing three of the topics of this workshop: a) the emergence of non-overt subjects, b) non-overt subjects and language contact and c) the diachronic relation between non-overt subjects and other grammatical phenomena.

The first part of the talk offers a brief overview of the variation as regards the use and status of subject pronouns in Rhaeto-Romance varieties and shows that there is another paradigm of reduced pronouns which does not fit in one of the categories mentioned above.

The second part of the talk discusses *pro*-drop in Rhaeto-Romance and the hypothesis according to which the omission of subject pronouns in these varieties is induced by language contact with Germanic varieties which also allow *pro*-drop under certain conditions (Fuß 2004, Lötscher 1983).

On the basis of diachronic evidence and of the analytical model developed by Alber, Rabanus & Tomaselli (2012) for language contact phenomena I argue in the third part that non-overt subjects in Rhaeto-Romance should not be attributed to language contact but to language-internal grammatical conditions. I also show in what way an underspecified feature geometry approach such as the one developed by Oliviéri (2011) and Heap & Oliviéri (2013) for Northern Occitan dialects can account for *pro*-drop in Rhaeto-Romance.

## Zur Referenz der Null.

### Eine korpusbasierte Studie der Dativsubjekte in der Geschichte des Russischen

Die vorliegende Studie fokussiert die Realisierung (overt vs. covert) der sogenannten Dativsubjekte im Neu- und Altrussischen. In beiden diachronen Varietäten des Russischen steht dem Sprecher zu, in bestimmten Kontexten zwischen der overten Realisierung des Subjekts bzw. seiner Auslassung (Realisierung als **pro**) zu entscheiden. Die Auslassung des Nominativsubjekts im Neurussischen ist elliptisch, während sie im Altrussischen eine default-Lösung war und die overte Realisierung des Nominativsubjekts eine Änderung der Emphase zu Folge hatte. Die Dativsubjekte weisen ein anderes Verhalten auf. Ihre Nicht-realisation hat meist eine Änderung der Referenz zur Folge. Datives **pro** steht für ‚jeder‘, ‚alle‘, und entspricht in seiner Bedeutung am ehesten dem deutschen indefiniten Pronomen ‚man‘ (indefinites **pro**).

Einen Sonderfall stellt im Neurussischen der affirmative Subtyp der modalen Infinitivkonstruktion dar. Die Auslassung des Subjekts hat keine Verallgemeinerung zur Folge (1‘). Sie ist entweder elliptisch oder führt zur Modusänderung.

- (1) *Nam vyxodit‘.* (=, *Nam nado vyxodit‘.*) => **pro**<sub>vsem/ljubomu</sub> *Vyxodit‘.* (≠, (*Vsem*) *nado vyxodit‘.* ‘)  
UNSDAT RAUSGEHEN<sub>INF</sub> (,Wir müssen rausgehen‘) => **pro** RAUSGEHEN<sub>INF</sub> (≠ ‚Man muss rausgehen.‘)

Im Gegensatz dazu ist im Altrussischen die Verwendung des affirmativen Infinitivs mit Auslassung des Subjekts möglich (2).

- (2) *i pristupi Tvrčinŭ . imenemъ Berenъdi . ôvčjuxъ Sŭtopolčъ derža nožъ xotja ouverbŭteti nožъ v oko . i grěši ôka . i pererěz emu lice .*     **i pro bjaše znati ranu tu na lici emu.**  
UND **pro** WAR SEHEN<sub>INF</sub> WUNDE<sub>AKK</sub> DIESE<sub>AKK</sub>

‚Und ein Torčiner, namens Berendi, der Schafhüter Svjatopolks, trat vor und hielt ein Messer. Er wollte das Messer in das Auge einstechen, verfehlte aber das Auge und schnitt ihm das Gesicht durch. Und diese Wunde konnte man sehen.‘ (Povest‘ vremennyx let, 11. Jh.)

Der Verlust seitens Dativsubjekts seiner rein referentiellen Funktion und seine Entwicklung zum Mitträger der modalen Bedeutung sind das Ergebnis des Syntaxwandels des freien Infinitivs von biklausaler zu monoklausaler Konstruktion. Dieser Entwicklungsprozess wird mit anderen sprachinternen Wandelprozessen wie Kopulaschwund und Grammatikalisierung einzelner Modalwörter zu Modalauxiliaren in Zusammenhang gebracht.

FLEISHER, N. 2006. *Russian dative subjects, case, and control*. Ms., UC Berkeley.

GRILLBORZER, CH. 2012. Zur Referenz der Dativ-Nullsubjekte in den alt- und neurussischen Modalkonstruktionen. In: Hansen, B. (Ed): *Diachrone Aspekte slavischer Sprachen*. Sagner.

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JUNG, H. 2011. *The syntax of the be-possessive. Parametric variation and surface diversities*. John Benjamins.

MOORE, J. & PERLMUTTER, D. 2000. What Does It Take to Be a Dative Subject? *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 18, 373–416.

SIGURDSSON, H. Á. 2002. To Be an Oblique Subject: Russian vs. Icelandic. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20, 691–650.

RRuDi - Regensburg Russian Diachronic Corpus: <http://rhssl1.uni-regensburg.de/SlavKo/korpus>

### **Subjects may be missing - for various reasons**

'Null-subject' is a cover term for at least three distinct grammatical settings plus a confounded fourth one that share as one of their characteristics the absence of a *lexical* subject in a tensed clause.

- null *topic* (topic drop of a subject)
- null *clitic* (a.k.a. *pro-drop*)
- *substitute* for a subject expletive (as in 'locative inversion')
- *no structurally mandatory position* for a subject (as in OV languages)

Given the grammatical heterogeneity of the null subject phenomenon, there is neither a need nor a realistic chance for an empirically adequate reduction of this phenomenon to a unique grammatical causality (viz. 'null subject parameter'). However, once the independent grammatical sources are properly recognized, a grammatical model gains higher predictive accuracy and better data-to-grammar fit for a given language.

The focus of the presentation will be on (predictive) correlations between a language type (in terms of the head-position within a phrase) and its compatibility with a particular null subject option.

Licensing a Null Subject at CP: Evidence from Japanese Main Clause Phenomena

Japanese has been considered as a pro-drop language, which is due to its null topic status (which may trigger not only a subject drop but an object drop), not due to inflectional agreement on a predicate, which typically agrees with only a subject. In this paper, I will show, with ample empirical evidence, that Japanese exhibits a rather rich agreement system at the CP level, which triggers only a subject drop (thus, this is not a null topic process), and that a null subject triggered by this agreement at CP is confined to a matrix subject that refers either a speaker or an addressee (not a third person). To account for this fact, I will propose that a CP structure involves the person features of [ $\pm$ S(peaker)] [ $\pm$ A(ddressee)], which agree with the closest argument in its domain, which is necessarily the closest subject. The phenomena to be taken up include: (i) Imperatives, which involves [-S, +A], Volitionals [+S, -A], and Exhortatives [+S, +A], which exhibit predicate morphologies designated to these sentence types; (ii) the 1st person subject drop, which is quite similar to (if not the same as) the 1st person drop in specific registers (e.g., diaries) in English, and (iii) the drop of the 1st person subject with an experiencer role (of predicates of sensual types). This analysis will be compared with the Speech Act/Evidentiality Projection analysis of Speas (2004) and Tenny (2006), claiming that my proposal accounts for a wider range of phenomena in a unified way and extendable to other subject drop, PRO licensing and its control, in particular, i.e., PRO is licensed by the person features of the C head (cf. Borer 1989), which are in turn subject to control from the superordinate clause. (294 words)

## On the typology of Null Subject Languages

The tension between explanatory and descriptive adequacy has been one of the main challenges of linguistic theory, well illustrated in the long debate on non-overt subjects.

In the P&P (Principles and Parameters) model, the NSP was seen as a cluster of properties (null subject, that-trace violation, free inversion, rich inflection) available in given languages (NSL), but not in others (NNSL).

Rizzi (1982) identified two subcases in NSP: a pronoun or a referential null pronoun may be null. More recently Holmberg & Roberts (2010) distinguish four types of NSL: *consistent null-subjects*, *expletive-null subjects*, *partial pro-drop*, *discourse pro-drop* (Huang 1984).

E(uropean) P(ortuguese) has been considered to be a *consistent* NSL. We aim to:

(i) present some empirical findings which don't fit that conclusion – questioning the typology in the literature; though EP exhibits all the NSP properties, a finer analysis of the data reveals things are more sophisticated: a) 3<sup>rd</sup> person null subject requires an antecedent in the structure or in the discourse, as opposed to 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons (speaker-hearer), a property claimed to belong to *partial pro-drop* (Holmberg 1995), an inadequate label for EP; b) null subjects in given embedded contexts don't follow the pattern established for consistent NSL, exhibiting intervention effects of discourse and Tense properties.

(ii) to compare the properties of EP to their equivalents in B(razilian) P(ortuguese), Cape Verdean creole, Bulgarian and Czech, proposing a system having recourse to Discourse to account for the facts described (Modesto 2008 for BP); particular interesting is the controversial issue on referent NS in capeverdean (Baptista 2002, Costa & Pratas 2013); in this connection we will discuss Holmberg's 2010 proposal of a D\_ feature in T (Barbosa 1995), hypothesizing that other Heads are involved in the licensing of NSL.

(iii) to analyze NS in yes-no question-answer pairs, not treated in the literature till the present, as far as we know.

(iv) to show NSL provide good tools for rethinking what a parameter is, claiming that the shift from P&P into the minimalism leads to a more accurate description of NSL (the 'Borer-Chomsky conjecture, Baker 2008, and Kayne's 2005 microparameters).

## **Referential Null Subjects in German: Dialects and Diachronic Continuity**

It is received knowledge that standard German (just like most modern Germanic languages) doesn't allow for referential null subjects, i.e. referential pronominal subjects must be overtly realized. However, non-standard German and German dialects do allow for null subjects in a number of cases. The licensing conditions are different, however. Non-standard German allows for diary drop and topic drop, and some dialects such as Bavarian even allow for pro-drop in second person whenever the subject is c-commanded by an inflected head (see Weiß 2005). The question that we wish to address in this talk is, how this discrepancy could be captured from a diachronic perspective.

It has been recently shown that older stages of German such as Old High German allow for a wide range of null subjects and even pro-drop as argued in Axel (2007). In this talk we will – building upon Axel & Weiß (2010) and Volodina & Weiß (acc.) – trace down the availability of referential (i.e. non-expletive) null subjects in some varieties of German to a diachronic continuity starting from early Old High German, for which we will provide extensive empirical evidence from Early New High German texts.

We will show that in a number of non-high-register texts from the 14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century there are lots of cases of null subjects that can be found either in dialects or even in non-standard contemporary German. In addition we present an analysis which captures the licensing conditions for null subjects at the syntax-pragmatics interface, the two major factors being coordination and topicality.

Axel, Katrin (2007): *Studies on Old High German Syntax: Left Sentence Periphery, Verb Placement and Verb-Second*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia. (= *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today* 112).

Axel, Katrin & Weiß, Helmut (2010): What changed where? A plea for the re-evaluation of dialectal evidence. In: Breitbarth, Anne, Christopher Lucas, Sheila Watts and David Willis (eds.), *Continuity and Change in Grammar*. 13-34.

Volodina, Anna & Helmut Weiß (accepted): Diachronic development of null-subjects in German. In: Verley, Y. and Featherston, S. (eds.) *Linguistic Evidence 2012: Empirical, theoretical and computational perspectives*. Berlin: De Gruyter. (= *Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs*).

Weiß, Helmut (2005): Inflected complementizers in Continental West Germanic dialects, in: *ZDL* 72, 148-166.

## [group] as a subject? Who would have thought!

This paper delves into the nature of the enigmatic phenomenon of Partial Control. More precisely, it concentrates on the category of the non-lexical subject which crops up in a non-finite clause hosting a collective predicate. In such a situation the reference of the subject seems to include not only the matrix antecedent but also other individuals (they are indicated by 1+) salient in context which are, however, syntactically absent. An example of this sort of construction is provided in (1):

- (1) John<sub>1</sub> told Mary<sub>2</sub> that he<sub>1</sub> wants [PRO<sub>1+</sub> to meet in the morning].<sup>1 2</sup>

Consequently, this phenomenon has come to be known in the framework of generative grammar as Partial Control (PC) (Landau 2000). *John*, the controller, only partially controls PRO in the lower clause. Hence, the lack of identical indices on *John* and PRO.

Although PC seems bizarre, Landau (2000: 27) argues that “PC is (...) not an exotic peculiarity but an option widely available, even if not widely instantiated.” The English example represents a quite universal pattern – it is also attested in Polish, Russian, Italian, German, French, to name but a few (for space reasons I will provide the relevant examples in my presentation).

I postulate that PC subject is a universal formative. In my analysis PC springs from the movement of a controller DP, *John* in (1), from the embedded clause, while stranding an associative null pronoun *pro*, which originally adjoined to the DP in the non-finite clause and hence produced a PC-effect (see also Rodrigues 2008):

- (2) [<sub>TP</sub> John [<sub>VP</sub> {John} wants [<sub>TP</sub> {John} to [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> **pro** {John}] meet] [<sub>PP</sub> in the morning]]]]].

The syntactic technical details aside, I argue that in (2) the PC effect is achieved due to the presence of a null pronoun *pro* equipped with a [group] feature, a feature the existence of which has been proposed in (Kratzer 2008). If, as Kratzer posits, there are different types of pronominal features, [group] being one of them, that freely combine with each other, then we cannot exclude the possibility that grammar sanctions the existence of a minimal pronoun which consists of a single feature [group]. This feature is available cross-linguistically. Hence, with a widely held belief that there are many commonalities between nouns and pronouns, I propose that the associative plural markers such as *-ney* in Korean, *-tachi* in Japanese, *-men* in Chinese or *-ék* in Hungarian are spelled out versions of [group] in the nominal domain:

- (3) a. *Yamada-sensei-wa Taroo-tachi-o syokuzi-ni syootai-sita* (Japanese)  
Hamada-teacher-TOP Taro-PL.ACC meal-to invited  
'Professor Yamada invited Taro and those in his group for dinner.'
- b. *Xiao Qiang-men shenme shihou lai?* (Chinese)  
XiaoQiang-PL what time come  
'When are XiaoQiang and the others coming?'
- c. *Inho-ney-ka pelsse ttena-ass-ta.* (Korean)  
Inho-PL.NOM already leave-PST.DC  
'Inho and those associated with him/her already left.'

<sup>1</sup> I use the conventional null pronoun PRO in lieu of the non-lexical subject in the non-finite clause.

<sup>2</sup> The linguistic context in (1) provides the necessary participants of the meeting other than the matrix controller. However, one should bear in mind that when such a context is missing, pragmatics will allow us to set up another one easily, as witnessed in (2).

- d. *Péter-ék együtt érkeztek.* (Hungarian)  
Peter-PL together arrived  
'Peter and his associates arrived together.'

Associative plural markers are fairly widespread cross-linguistically. A recent study found them to be present in 201 languages out of a sample of 238 (Daniel-Moravcsik 2005). The fact that languages lexicalize [group] in the nominal domain obviously lends weight to the existence of the null pro as the postulation of a non-lexical element in a theory is best warranted if and only if there is a lexical incarnation of it. Needless to say, not every language grammaticalizes [group]. Languages will always vary on the surface. However, I argue that at the deep level of structure every language has [group] at its disposal. The feature is sometimes lexicalized, for example in Chinese or Japanese, and sometimes it is not. On the latter scenario PC kicks in.

## References

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*Title missing!*

In this paper, I describe and discuss a control structure found in some dialects of Dargwa (Nakh-Daghestanian). In this construction, both the matrix subject of ‘want’ and the subject of the embedded infinitive may be overtly expressed, as shown in (1) from Khuduts Dargwa.

- (1) dam b-ik:-ul-da du-gina uq’-ij.  
I:DAT want-PRS-1SG I-only (M)go:IPF-INF  
‘I want only me to go (there).’

Generally, the infinitive construction with ‘want’ does not allow different subjects with the matrix and the embedded clauses, (2):

- (2) \*dam b-ik:-ul-da rasul-gina uq’-ij.  
I:DAT want-PRS-1SG Rasul-only (M)go:IPF-INF  
‘I want only Rasul to go (there).’

Nevertheless, different subjects are possible in cases when the matrix subject belongs to the set of referents denoted by the embedded subject, (3).

- (3) dam<sub>i</sub> b-ik:-ul-da nus:a-gina<sub>i+</sub> d-uq’-ij.  
I:DAT want-PRS-1SG we-only 1/2PL-go:IPF-INF  
‘I want only us to go (there).’

In my paper, I focus on such examples and show that this construction has properties of obligatory control (local antecedent, only sloppy interpretation under ellipsis, obligatory *de se* reading). On the other hand, examples like (3) clearly instantiate partial control in the sense of Landau (2000) with the important divergence from standard examples of partial control that the embedded subject may be expressed overtly by pronouns and gender agreement on the embedded verb. So I argue that these examples exemplify *partial obligatory control with overt embedded subject*.

Such examples seem like a serious challenge to all current theories of control and, in particular, to two competing minimalist approaches to control: the Movement Theory of Control (MTC) and the Agree Theory of Control. Although initially presented as an argument against the MTC, I show that partial control turns to be a problem for the ATC too. Such examples prove that a new syntactic approach both to the phenomenon in question and to control in general is needed.

### Some control properties of Spanish finite *pro-drop* configurations

Generative theory distinguishes between two types of null subjects: while in finite *pro-drop*, an empty subject is represented by *pro*, which is Case-marked and alternates with overt pronouns, PRO in control infinitives is obligatorily empty. However, a strict separation between *pro* and PRO collapses in some finite complementation structures in Spanish, where the subject should be formally ‘licensed’ as *pro* by AGR but is *controlled* by an antecedent and is obligatorily empty like PRO in infinitives (→ (1)). (2) shows that these instances of *finite control* (Suñer 1984, Borer 1989, Landau 2004) are conditioned by the selecting verb. Although the subject in (1) cannot be a full DP, it *can* be realized as an emphatic pronoun, as in nonfinite control clauses (→ (3) – (4)). Suñer (1986) further notes that the verbs in (1) block implicit arguments while those in (2) allow them (→ (5)). Suñer’s generalization is that verbs selecting accusative controllers enforce finite control, while the finite complement of verbs selecting dative controllers contains free reference subjects (→ (6)). However, the fact that even *lo*-type verbs allow implicit arguments and free reference of the embedded subject if the matrix tense is non-specific and the subject [-animate] (→ (7)) indicates an interacting semantic factor: only non-implicative events (Landau 2000) allow for free reference subjects in finite *pro-drop* complements – implicative events enforce *finite control* with object control verbs. Although subjects cannot have free reference in *finite control*, they allow overt realization of split antecedents (→ (8)), indicating that this configuration gives rise to a Nonobligatory Control interpretation, even if licensed by an Obligatory Control predicate. This shows that control is not solely licensed by morphosyntactic constraints, but that syntactic factors interact with (lexical) semantics (Jackendoff & Culicover 2003) to yield varying identification strategies. (300 words)

#### Examples:

- (1) Obligué/animé a Paco<sub>i</sub> que (      <sub>i/\*j</sub> / \*María) saliera conmigo.  
(I)-forced/animated Paco that (he<sub>i/\*j</sub>)/\*Maria goes-out-SUBJ with-me  
(Suñer 1984: 266)
- (2) Ordené/Pedí al general<sub>i</sub> que (      <sub>i/j</sub> / las tropas) dejara(n) de disparar.  
(I)-ordered the general that (he<sub>i/j</sub>) / the troops stop-SUBJ firing (*ibid.*: 266)
- (3) Lo<sub>i</sub> animé a que (él mismo<sub>i</sub>/\*Paco) examinara los documentos (él mismo<sub>i</sub>/\*Paco).  
CL animated P that he self Paco examined the documents he self Paco  
(Suñer 1986)
- (4) Julia<sub>i</sub> animó a Marta<sub>j</sub> a encargarse (ella<sub>j</sub>/\*Paco) del asunto.  
Julia animated P Marta P to-be-in-charge she Paco of-the affair (Piera 1987: 161)
- (5) Ella (\*obligó/\*animó/ordenó/pidió) Ø<sub>arb</sub> que viniera más tarde.  
She forced/animated/ordered/asked that come-3sg later (Suñer 1986: 193)
- (6) La obligué/animé/\*ordené/\*pedí que saliera conmigo.  
Her(ACC) forced/animated/ordered/asked that go-out with-me (*ibid.* 193)

- (7) El TSJC obliga Ø<sub>arb</sub> a que la clase sea en castellano si un solo alumno lo ha pedido.  
The TSJC forces P that the class is in Castilian if one single students it has asked  
(Taken from *La Vanguardia* 10/04/2013 (online version www.lavanguardia.com))
- (8) **Lía**<sub>j</sub> animó a **Julían**<sub>i</sub> a que **ellos**<sub>i+j/i+2</sub> escribieran algo juntos. (Suñer 1986: 194)  
Lía animated P Julian P that they write something together

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### Non-overt, dative and nominative subjects in Hungarian infinitival clauses

An ordinary Hungarian infinitival clause has a zero subject, as expected. Certain verbs taking infinitival complements, however, surface with dative subjects which have been argued to be the result of structural case assignment in the infinitival clause (Tóth 2001) and goes together with optional person and number marking appearing on the infinitive coinciding with the person and number marking appearing in possessive constructions.

Szabolcsi (2005, 2007) discusses a third option for an infinitival subject. As attested in sentence (1), a Hungarian infinitival clause can appear with what seems to be a nominative subject related to the infinitive itself.

- (1) Nem akar csak ő menni busszal.  
not want-3SG only he/she-NOM go-INF bus-with  
'He/She doesn't want to be the only one to take the bus.'

This is highly problematic from the perspective of Universal Grammar, since, according to traditional analyses, nominative case can only be assigned by finite inflection, which is not supposed to be present in an infinitival clause.

Szabolcsi (2007) points out an additional property of the construction in question, namely considerable differences in interpretation depending on whether the nominative subject appears in a position preceding the finite verb or the infinitive (2).

- (2) Csak ő nem akar busszal menni.  
only he/she-NOM not want bus-with go-INF  
'It is only him/her who does not want to take the bus.'

Contrary to Szabolcsi (2005, 2007) I claim that the nominative DP is not the subject of the infinitive but originates from the finite clause and the construction is the result of clause union based on Hinterhölzl's (2006) and Szécsényi's (2009) broader construal of restructuring. Based on the fact that the constituents that show the behaviour in question are all constituents that target left-peripheral positions of the clause I argue for an LF-driven analysis.

### **Was there an Impersonal *Se*-Construction in Old French?**

Modern French is typically described as a non-null subject language while old French is said to show certain *pro-drop* characteristics (i.a. there was no need to realize lexical subject pronouns in unmarked contexts). Romance null subject languages like Spanish and Italian have developed the following *se*-constructions over time: reflexive, reciprocal, inherent, ergative, middle, passive and impersonal. Modern French has a more restricted repertoire and lacks the impersonal *se*-construction, which makes *\*Se chante beaucoup ici* ungrammatical. In the literature, this is commonly connected to the assumed non-null subject status of modern French.

However, according to some historical grammars on old French, impersonal *se*-constructions appeared to be possible: *Or se chante (Aucassin et Nicolette)* – this is the only example cited in the consulted grammars. Most of the historical works either characterize it as a passive or an impersonal construction, or they ignore it all along. Further examples with intransitive verbs need to be found in order to verify if old French had an impersonal *se*-construction, hence if *se* was able to absorb abstract (nominative) case. Though, when looking at intransitive *se*-constructions, one notices that most of these verbs were optionally used with and without reflexives at that time. Some of the grammars state that the reflexive indicates a more lively participation of the subject in the action expressed by the verb, but the vast majority keeps again silent.

A literature survey on the representation of the impersonal *se*-construction in historical grammars and a corpus search (using the **BFM**) try to shed new light on this phenomenon tackling the following questions: what is the function of the reflexive in these constructions? Is there a connection with the null-subject status of old French? Is the observed pattern a sign of accelerating typological changes? (297 words)

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*On the general loss of non-expressed subject pronouns in French*

Among the major Romance languages, (Standard) French stands out due to its non-null subject property. Subject pronouns are generally expressed in this language from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century onward (Stier 1896, Fournier 1998, Zimmermann 2012), while before this

time, non-expressed subject pronouns are regularly encountered in root configurations of the type [V<sub>[+finite]</sub> *pro*] in which the finite verb governs the subject position (Adams 1987, Roberts 1993, Vance 1997). The question thus arises why after (at least) nine centuries, non-expressed subject pronouns are all of a sudden no longer generally available in French.

Generative approaches to this issue generally draw on the common assumption that originally, French was a verb second language (Thurneysen 1892, von Wartburg 1941, Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà 1985) in which in root configurations, the finite verb governs the subject position. Given, however, unequivocal empirical evidence against such an assumption (Kaiser 2002, Rinke & Meisel 2009, Zimmermann 2009, Kaiser & Zimmermann 2011), these approaches are far from unproblematic.

Rather than in terms of a parametric change following from *intralinguistic* reasons, this talk will argue that the sudden change in the availability of non-expressed subject pronouns in French is best accounted for in terms of an approach principally based on *extralinguistic* reasons. Specifically, it will be shown that two instructions campaigned for in extremely influential works of contemporary grammarians and critics of contemporary language use – namely the consistent expression of subject pronouns and the general adherence to SVX word order – interacted in such a way that configurations of the type [V<sub>[+finite]</sub> *pro*] were initially abandoned by adults and eventually lost for good.

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