OBLIGATORY CONTROL IN IRISH AND POLISH – A REAPPRAISAL

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0. Introduction

Obligatory control (henceforth, OC) has constituted a topic extensively discussed in the literature (cf., for instance, Williams (1980), Landau (2000), Wurmbrand (2001)). Recently the controversy over OC has climaxed in the emergence of two rivaling approaches, deriving it via two distinct mechanisms. The movement theory of control, advocated by Hornstein (1999, 2001, 2003), Boeckx and Hornstein (2004, 2006), among others, derives OC by means of the N(D)P-movement of the alleged controller of PRO without posting PRO as a separate empty category altogether. The latter approach – the calculus of control proposed by Landau (2004, 2008) – maintaining the existence of PRO, obtains OC thanks to the interplay between C and I found in the non-finite clause. The present paper is rooted within the second approach and its main objective consists in providing an analysis of OC in Irish and Polish. The paper starts with a short overview of two subtypes of OC, i.e. exhaustive and partial control. This is followed by a brief outline of Landau's (2004, 2008) model. Afterwards, an attempt is made to analyse Irish and Polish OC within Landau's calculus of control.

1.0. Two subtypes of OC in Irish and Polish

Landau (2000) distinguishes two subtypes of OC called exhaustive control (hence, EC) and partial control (hence, PC). The former obtains when the reference of PRO is identical with that of its controller, while the latter occurs when the reference of PRO covers the reference of its antecedent but is not identical with it. PC holds when the non-finite clause contains a collective predicate like *gather*, *meet*, *together*, etc., which must be predicated of semantically plural entities. In the case of PC it is a semantically plural PRO that the collective predicate is predicated of, as demonstrated by (1) and (2), where the symbol 1+ stands for PC.

(1) Ba   mhaith le   Seán$_1$ [PRO$_{1+}$ cruinniú anseo].[1]
    COP good   with John   to-gather here
    'John would like to gather here.'

(2) Marek$_1$ lubi/woli [PRO$_{1+}$ spotkać się   o 3-ej].
    Mark   likes/prefers   to-meet   REFL at 3
    'Mark likes meeting/prefers to meet at 3.'

In the examples above PRO is controlled by the matrix clause subject as well as by some other individuals salient in the context and consequently, it is semantically plural and does not trigger any number mismatch with the collective predicate present in the non-finite complement. No such mismatch, however, is tolerated in the case of EC, where PRO and its controller always overlap in their reference, as can be seen in (3) and (4).

(3) Caithfidh Seán$_1$ [PRO$_1$ a   dhul anseo /*PRO$_{1+}$ cruinniú anseo].
    must   John   PRT to-go there/   to-gather here
    'John must go there/*gather here.'

(4) Marek$_1$ musi [PRO$_1$ iść do domu/*PRO$_{1+}$ się   spotkać o 3-ej].
    Mark   must   go to home   REFL meet   at 3
    'Mark must go home/*meet at 3.'

Sentences (3) and (4) are grammatical only if no collective predicate appears within the non-finite complement. Since the EC PRO in (3) and (4) is controlled by the singular matrix subject, it cannot act as an entity the collective predicate is predicated of.

Another important difference between EC and PC complements relates to their tense properties. Landau (2000) notes that in English, EC complements are untensed, whereas the PC ones are tensed. This difference surfaces also in Irish and Polish when one considers conflicting time adjuncts placed in the main and in the non-finite clause. Their placement is fully legitimate in PC-complements, but unavailable in EC-complements. Compare the following data:

(5) * Ba   cheart do Sheán$_1$ inniu [PRO$_1$ bualadh le   Máire amárach].   EC
      COP right to John today   to-meet with Mary tomorrow
    '* Today John should meet Mary tomorrow.'

(6) * Wczoraj   Marek zapomniał [PRO$_1$ odwiedzić Marię w przyszłym tygodniu].
      yesterday Mark forgot   to-visit Mary in next   week
    '*Yesterday Mark forgot to visit Mary next week.'

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[1]   The following abbreviations are used throughout the paper: COP – copula, PRT – particle, REFL – reflexive, and VN – verbal noun.

(7) B'fhearr   le   Seán$_1$ inniu [PRO$_{1+}$ cruinniú anseo amárach].   PC
    COP-better with John today   gather-VN here tomorrow
    'John would prefer today to gather here tomorrow.'

(8) Wczoraj Marek wolał [PRO$_{1+}$ spotkać się   w przyszłym tygodniu].
    yesterday Mark preferred   to-meet REFL in next   week
    'Yesterday Mark preferred to meet next week.'

Sentences (5) and (6) show that EC complements both in Irish and in Polish cannot host a time adjunct distinct from the one present in the main clause, which, in turn, implies that EC complements lack independent tense specification and their tense properties are entirely dependent on the tense of the matrix clause. PC complements, on the other hand, as can be seen in (7) and (8), can host a time adjunct distinct from the one found in the main clause and hence do have independent tense. The tense difference between EC and PC complements just described underlies Landau's (2004, 2008) analysis of control in English and will play an important role in our account of EC and PC in Irish and Polish.

1.1. Problematic cases

In the preceding section it has been shown that the two types of OC in Irish and Polish behave in a way similar to their English counterparts. However, some important differences can be found in the two analysed languages that are unattested in English. First of all, as regards Irish, it is common to find OC structures in which instead of a covert PRO subject, there occurs an overt lexical subject. This fact has been frequently noted in the literature (cf. McCloskey (1980), McCloskey and Sells (1988), Bondaruk (2004)) and has constituted a pitfall for every theory of control which assumes a complementary distribution between PRO and overt DPs. To illustrate this property, compare sentences (9) and (10), where the former contains a PRO subject in the non-finite clause, whereas the latter has a lexical subject exactly in the same context.

(9) Ba   mhaith liom   [PRO imeacht].
    COP good with-me   go-VN
    'I would like to go.'

(10) Ba   mhaith liom   [é   a   imeacht].
     COP good with-me   him PRT go-VN
     'I would like him to go.'

An attempt to account for the Irish data given above has been made by Bondaruk (2004), which requires certain modifications of the model offered by Landau (2000). Bondaruk (2008), on the other hand, shows that Landau's (2004) calculus of control faces problems when confronted with the facts in (9) and (10). This paper offers a new insight into the way in which Landau's (2004) theory can be made compatible with the troublesome Irish data in (9) and (10).

As for Polish, it has been observed by Bondaruk (2004) that OC commonly appears in non-finite clauses introduced by the overt C *żeby* 'so that'. However, the picture is complicated by the fact that such clauses, alongside OC, can give rise to NOC, as well. Compare the following sentences:

(11) Marek$_1$ marzył, [żeby PRO$_{1/*arb}$ wyjechać za granicę].　　　　OC
　　　Mark　dreamt　so-that　　　　to-go　　for abroad
　　　'Mark was dreaming of going abroad.'

(12) Marek$_1$ chciał [żeby PRO$_{*1/arb}$ wyjechać za granicę].　　　　NOC
　　　Mark　wanted so-that　　　to-go　　in abroad
　　　'Mark wanted for somebody to go abroad.'

Example (12), in which PRO must be arbitrary clearly contrasts with sentences like (11), where PRO must be obligatorily subject controlled; the contrast emerging in spite of the fact that in both these cases the C is overt. Bondaruk (2004) explains the contrast between OC and NOC in *żeby*-complements by appealing to the phenomenon of obviation within the framework proposed by Landau (2000). In this paper the facts described above will be tackled within a more recent model offered by Landau (2004, 2008).

2. Landau's (2004, 2008) model

Landau (2004), following his earlier work, i .e. Landau (2000), derives control via successive applications of Agree, understood in the sense of Chomsky (2000, 2001). Landau argues that the licensing of PRO is performed by means of an algorithm, or, what he calls, 'calculus of control'. The elements participating in the calculus are I and C, each of which may be associated with the features [+/- T] and [+/- Agr]. The association of the [T] feature is based on the following directive: [2]

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[2]　Landau (2004) uses the symbol I, not T, in order to avoid the confusion which might arise between T and the feature [+/-T]. Landau (2008) makes use of T, not of I.

(13) Specifying [T] on embedded I/C
    a. Anaphoric tense => [-T] on I/C
    b. Dependent tense => [+T] on I/C
    c. Independent tense => [+T] on I, ø on C.   (Landau 2004: 839)

Generally, (13) makes it clear that I and C must match in their Tense specification. The distinction is posited in (13) between dependent and independent tense, where the former is found in complement clauses with selected tense (e.g. irrealis clauses), whereas the latter is typical of the clauses whose tense is free. In addition to these two categories, there exists also anaphoric tense, characteristic of complement clauses lacking independent tense specification and having their tense determined by the matrix clause. Selection takes place between the matrix predicate and its complement. It is local and therefore cannot affect I directly but must be mediated by the intervening C head. Consequently, selected clauses must have a [T] feature in C (unlike unselected ones for which C may be unspecified for tense altogether, cf. (13c)). Since the feature [T] is interpretable on I, but uninterpretable on C, the two must undergo feature checking (or Agree). Landau (2004) emphasises that [T] refers to *semantic* tense and therefore uses terms like *tensed* vs. *untensed* instead of morphosyntactic concepts *tensed* vs. *tenseless*. Under this concept of tense, a clause may be tensed even if it does not carry any tense morphology or untensed even if it has tense morphology (this point will be illustrated later).

    Another feature that may be associated with I and C is [Agr], understood as a bundle of φ-features. The [+/- Agr] specification on I and C is determined in the following way:

(14) Specifying [Agr] on embedded I/C
    a. On I: i) overt agreement => [+Agr]
      ii) abstract agreement => [-Agr]
      iii) no agreement => ø
    b. On C: i) [+Agr] => [+T]
      ii) otherwise => ø.   (Landau 2004: 840)

For the head I three kinds of agreement are distinguished in (14): 1) overt agreement, signaled by agreement morphology, 2) abstract agreement, lacking any morphological realization, and 3) no agreement, obtaining when I is defective, i.e. lacking [Agr] altogether. As far as C is concerned, it normally does not bear any morphological agreement marking. Nonetheless, Landau assumes that C is [+Agr] whenever it is [+T]; if C is either [-T] or unspecified for [T] (i.e. ø), then it bears [-Agr].

The last component of Landau's calculus of control concerns the way I and C 'communicate' with nominal expressions they license. To achieve this, Landau argues that DPs, including PRO, as well as their licensers I and C are equipped with the feature [+/-R]. He assumes, following Reinhart and Reuland (1993), that referentially independent DPs are [+R], while anaphoric DPs and PRO, are [-R]. Both values of [R] are interpretable on nominal expressions. To establish the link between nominals and functional heads like I and C, Landau claims that also the latter can be associated with the [R] feature, whose assignment is regulated in the way stated below:

(15) R-assignment Rule

For $X^0_{[\alpha T, \beta Agr]} \in \{I, C \ldots\}$

$\emptyset \rightarrow [+R]/X^0_{[\_\_]}$, if $\alpha = \beta = +$

$\emptyset \rightarrow [-R]/$elsewhere   (Landau 2004: 842)

The above rule states that both I and C are positively specified for [R] only if they bear features [+T, +Agr]. Any other feature combination (i.e. [-T, +Agr], [+T, -Agr], or [-T, -Agr]) results in the negative specification of [R] on both I and C. The lack of either [T] or [Agr] on I or C makes the rule in (15) inapplicable and thus determines that no [R] value is assigned. The feature [R] on I and on C is uninterpretable.

The licensing of the subject in Landau's system involves checking uninterpretable features of I and C. DPs with the feature [+R] can check the feature [+R] on I/C, whereas PRO with the feature [-R] can only check [-R] on I/C. Since only [+T, +Agr] I/C can bear also [+R] (cf. (15) above), the system predicts that lexical DPs will only be found with so specified I and C. PRO, on the other hand, will be licensed elsewhere, i.e. with I/C equipped with [-T, +Agr], [+T, -Agr] or [-T, -Agr]. As a result, Landau's analysis leads to surprising results, i.e. it predicts that control environments do not form a natural class. This consequence, Landau argues, is desirable as it explains why the distribution of PRO cannot be captured in terms of any direct statement.

3. An analysis OC in Irish and Polish within Landau's model

3.1. An analysis of EC and PC in Irish and Polish
Let us first check how Landau's account can be applied to the regular instances of EC and PC in Irish and Polish such as (16), (17), (18) and (19) below.

(16) B'fhearr   le   Seán$_1$ inniu [PRO$_{1+}$ cruinniú anseo amárach].   PC
      COP-better with John today   gather-VN here tomorrow
      'John would prefer today to gather here tomorrow.'
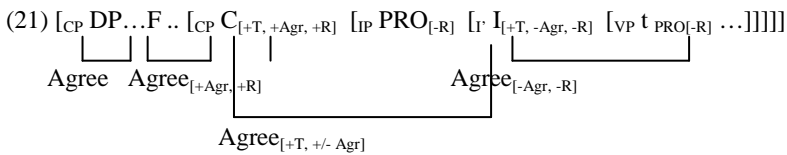
(17) Wczoraj   Marek planował [PRO$_{1+}$ spotkać się   w przyszłym tygodniu].
         yesterday Mark   planned   to-meet REFL in next   week
         'Yesterday Mark planned to meet next week.'

(18) Caithfidh [Seán agus Máire]$_1$ [PRO$_1$ cruinniú   anseo].   EC
         must   John and   Mary   gather-VN here
         'John and Mary must gather here.'

(19) [Marek i   Ewa]$_1$ zdołali   [się PRO$_1$ spotkać o 3-ej].
          Mark   and Eve   managed REFL   to-meet at 3
          'Mark and Eve managed to meet at 3.'

As has been mentioned in section 1.0, the major difference between EC and PC complements lies in the tense specification of the non-finite complement, which is untensed in EC complements and tensed in the PC ones. This distinction underlies the analysis of either control type within Landau's model. Since in EC complements I lacks independent tense specification, in accordance with (13a) it is associated with the feature [-T]. (13a) also determines that the same feature is associated with C. Furthermore, I does not exhibit any overt morphological agreement in EC contexts and hence is specified as [-Agr] (cf. (14) above). C is unspecified for [Agr] as it is [-T] (cf. (14b)). Finally, from (15) it follows that I in the case of EC has the feature [-R] and C is unspecified for R, as it lacks an Agr feature. Equipped with these feature specifications for I and C, we can now derive EC within Landau's system. The schematic derivation of EC in both Irish and Polish is offered in (20) below:

(20) [$_{CP}$ DP.. F .. [$_{CP}$ C$_{[-T]}$ [$_{IP}$ PRO$_{[-R]}$ [$_{I'}$ I$_{[-T, -Agr, -R]}$ [$_{VP}$ t $_{PRO[-R]}$ …]]]]]

Agree   Agree$_{[-Agr]}$

Agree$_{[-T]}$ Agree$_{[-Agr, -R]}$

In (20) F stands for a functional projection involved in a particular type of control and corresponds to T in subject control or to v in object control. Four Agree operations apply in (20). The first one affects PRO and the non-finite I and results in the erasure of the uninterpretable [-R] feature of I. The second Agree, between C and I, leads to checking and eliminating the uninterpretable tense feature of C by the interpretable [-T] feature of I. The third Agree, between F and the matrix DP, the controller of PRO, guarantees the feature match between these two items and finally, the fourth Agree between F and PRO yields φ-feature match between these two items.

As regards PC in Irish and Polish, the non-finite clause has an independent tense specification and consequently, in accordance with (13) I bears the feature [+T]. Since by (13) I and C must match in their tense feature, C in PC contexts is also specified as [+T]. I, in PC-complements like (16) and (17) above, does not show any overt φ-features and hence is marked as [-Agr], whereas C, which is positively specified for tense, by (14b) must be also positively marked for Agr and therefore has a feature [+Agr]. The R-assignment rule in (15) determines that I, which is [+T, -Agr], is [-R], while C with positive values for both T and Agr is [+R]. Consequently, the derivation of PC structures in Irish and Polish proceeds along the following lines:

(21) $[_{CP} DP…F .. [_{CP} C_{[+T, +Agr, +R]} [_{IP} PRO_{[-R]} [_{I'} I_{[+T, -Agr, -R]} [_{VP} t_{PRO[-R]} …]]]]]$

Agree   Agree$_{[+Agr, +R]}$ Agree$_{[-Agr, -R]}$

Agree$_{[+T, +/- Agr]}$

The first Agree in (21), just like in the EC structures schematized in (20), affects PRO and I and results in the elimination of the uninterpretable [-R] feature of I. The Agree operation between C and I might seem problematic since the two items bear opposing values for Agr. Landau (2004) argues that the [+Agr] C can enter Agree with the [-Agr] I, because [+Agr] on C generally corresponds to abstract agreement, and [Agr] on both I and C is semantically uninterpretable and phonologically unrealized. The uninterpretable [+R] feature of C is eliminated via Agree with F, which inherits [+R] as a result of Agree with the DP controller of PRO. Thus, in (21), unlike in (20), it is not PRO itself that is targeted by Agree from the matrix clause, but rather the control of PRO is parasitic on the Agree between C and F.

In order to account for the PC effect found in (16) and (17) and schematized in (21) Landau (2004) makes recourse to another feature, called Mereology. He suggests that collective nouns like *committee* bear [+ Mer], while non-collective nouns are [-Mer]. PRO is PC contexts has a [+Mer] feature, as it can co-occur with collective predicates like *gather* or *meet*. Landau further argues that C optionally lacks a [Mer] slot.[3] Consequently, the control relation mediated by C, attested in the case of PC, is [Mer]-neutral, i.e. there is no matching in the value of [Mer] between

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3   Landau observes that Mereology is a peculiar feature in that it can often be null. He further notes that C is only optionally specified for [Mer] because [Agr] on C never undergoes a primary checking relation with a DP. He hypothesizes that [Mer] is obligatory only on heads that enter primary checking relations with items bearing [Mer] such as DPs.

PRO and its controller. In the case of EC, however, C never mediates the control relation, but instead PRO itself is targeted by Agree from the matrix clause. Consequently, no mismatch in the value of the [Mer] feature is expected in EC complements.

3.2. Free variation of PRO and overt subjects in Irish

It has been noted in section 1.1 that in Irish PRO and lexical subjects can appear in free variation (see (9) and (10)). In Bondaruk (2008) an attempt is made to account for this fact within Landau's model adopted here. The main line of analysis goes as follows: in sentences such as (9) and (10), repeated for convenience below, the non-finite I is marked as [+T] and so is C, the fact that follows from (13) above. [4]

> (9) Ba   mhaith liom   [PRO imeacht].
>   COP good with-me   go-VN
>   'I would like to go.'

> (10) Ba   mhaith liom   [é   a   imeacht].
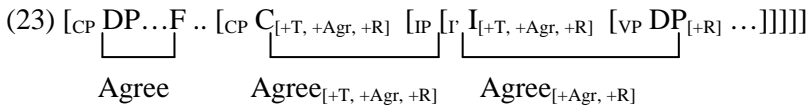>   COP good with-me   him PRT go-VN
>   'I would like him to go.'

However, both in (9) and (10) the non-finite I is [-Agr], as it does not show any overt φ-features. Unlike I, C with the [+T] feature is also positively specified for [Agr], which follows from (14). I and C also differ in their [R] feature marking – I, being [+T, -Agr] is [-R] (cf. (15)), while C with features [+T, +Agr] is [+R]. Bondaruk (2008) notes that the feature specification just provided is typical of PC (cf. (21)), and can only predict the presence of PC PRO in Irish, as in (9), but not the lexical subject, as in (10). The lexical subject is blocked in this case because the [-R] I cannot undergo Agree with the DP equipped with the feature [+R] without giving rise to feature mismatch. As a result, the uninterpretable [-R] feature on I survives at LF and causes the derivation to crash. The representation offered by Bondaruk (2008: 68) for Irish non-finite complements with overt subjects such as (10) is reproduced below.

(22) [$_{CP}$ DP…F .. [$_{CP}$ C$_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}$ [$_{IP}$ [$_{I'}$ I$_{[+T]}$ [$_{VP}$ DP$_{[+R]}$ …]]]]]

Agree   Agree$_{[+T]}$

Agree$_{[+Agr, +R]}$

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[4]   The non-finite complements both with PRO and the overt subject have an independent tense specification, as proved by the possibility of inserting a time adjunct in the non-finite clause differing in its time reference from the one found in the matrix clause (for details cf. Bondaruk 2008: 66).
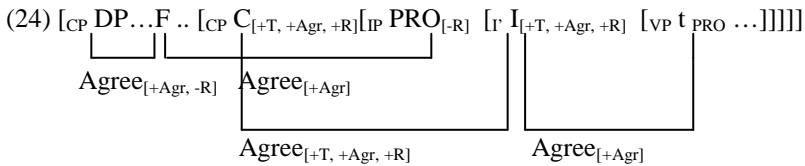
In (22) I bears only [+T] and is unspecified for both Agr and R. The uninterpretable [+R] feature of C is erased via Agree with the [+R] lexical subject. Consequently, no uninterpretable feature exists to trigger the crash at LF. Nonetheless, Bondaruk (2008) finds the representation in (22) problematic since it crucially relies on the assumption that I in cases like (10) is unspecified for Agr; the claim calling for an explanation especially as in neither (9) nor (10) I bears any overt marking of agreement and hence the difference in [Agr] specification in these two cases seems to be dubious.

However, it seems that an alternative representation for cases like (10) is available. We can assume, following Landau (2004: 863, footnote 45), that I in (10) is [+Agr], although the agreement is morphologically opaque. The resulting representation is as in (23) below.

(23) $[_{CP}$ DP…F .. $[_{CP}$ C$_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}$ $[_{IP}$ $[_{I'}$ I$_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}$ $[_{VP}$ DP$_{[+R]}$ …]]]]]

     Agree   Agree$_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}$ Agree$_{[+Agr, +R]}$

The representation provided in (23) is analogous to the one offered by Landau (2004: 844) for Balkan F-subjunctives, which can host an overt subject.[5] In (23) the uninterpretable [+R] feature of I is erased by the DP, while the [+R] feature of C is eliminated by the [+R] I (this is called I-C 'conspiracy' by Landau).

However, if we assume that I is [+Agr] in (10), we must draw the same conclusion concerning the feature specification of I in (9). This calls for the revised representation of (9), which is provided in (24):
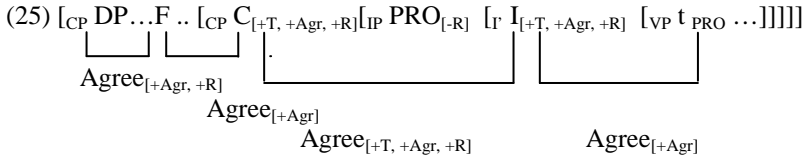
(24) $[_{CP}$ DP…F .. $[_{CP}$ C$_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}$$[_{IP}$ PRO$_{[-R]}$ $[_{I'}$ I$_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}$ $[_{VP}$ t $_{PRO}$ …]]]]]

     Agree$_{[+Agr, -R]}$ Agree$_{[+Agr]}$

         Agree$_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}$ Agree$_{[+Agr]}$

In (24) the [-R] PRO subject appears in the non-finite clause. This representation is once again reminiscent of Landau's (2004: 844) derivation offered for Bulgarian subjunctive clauses. Just like in (23), the [+R] features on I and C cancel each other off. As for the uninterpretable [-R]

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5   The relevant example is given in (i) below:
    (i) Na Ivan$_1$ [majka   mu]$_2$ se nadjava [pro$_{1/2}$ da   se$_{1/2}$ izmie].
      of Ivan   mother his hopes   PRT self wash
     'Ivan's mother hopes to wash herself.' or
     'Ivan's mother hopes that he will wash himself.'
     (Bulgarian data quoted after Landau, who quotes Krapova and Petkov (1999), ex. (4b))

feature of PRO, its presence on PRO, according to Landau, results from its anaphoric character and calls for an antecedent. If F, as in (24), bears [-R] as a result of the Agree operation with the matrix DP, then the [-R] feature of PRO is erased by Agree with the head F. According to Landau (2004), an alternative way of checking the [-R] feature of PRO is available. If F is [+R], then it undergoes Agree with C, not with PRO, and PRO gets its [-R] feature eliminated via co-indexation, not Agree; namely C is co-indexed with PRO via I. The latter situation is shown in (25).

(25) $[_{CP}$ DP…F .. $[_{CP}$ $C_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}[_{IP}$ $PRO_{[-R]}$ $[_{I'}$ $I_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}$ $[_{VP}$ t $_{PRO}$ …]]]]]

$Agree_{[+Agr, +R]}$

$Agree_{[+Agr]}$

$Agree_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}$

$Agree_{[+Agr]}$

To sum up, it seems that Landau's (2004) model can account for the free variation of PRO and lexical subjects in Irish without any problem only if one assumes that I in Irish non-finite clauses, though positively marked for Agr, remains morphologically opaque for this feature specification. This analysis is advantageous over the one advocated in Bondaruk (2008), as it does not rely on any ungrounded assumptions concerning the difference in [Agr] marking between I in non-finite complements with PRO and the ones with a lexical subject. It also shows that Landau's model is fully compatible with the notoriously problematic Irish data.

3.3. OC/NOC in Polish non-finite clauses with *żeby*
In section 1.1, it has been noted that Polish non-finite complements with the overt C *żeby* 'so that' can host either OC or NOC PRO. The relevant data, given in (11) and (12), are repeated for convenience below.

(11) Marek$_1$ marzył, [żeby PRO$_{1/*arb}$ wyjechać za granicę].   OC
     Mark   dreamt   so-that   to-go   for abroad
     'Mark was dreaming of going abroad.'

(12) Marek$_1$ chciał [żeby PRO$_{*1/arb}$ wyjechać za granicę].   NOC
      Mark   wanted so-that   to-go   in abroad
      'Mark wanted for somebody to go abroad.'

In Bondaruk (2004) the data like (12) are analysed in terms of obviation, whereby the subject of the non-finite clause must be obligatorily disjoint in reference from the subject of the main clause. This analysis is additionally supported by the fact that *żeby* clauses in Polish are subjunctive and subjunctive sentences in this language regularly exhibit obviation, as illustrated in (26) and (27).

Subjunctive – Obviation:

(26) Marek$_1$ marzy o   tym, żeby (on$_{*1/2}$) wyjechał za granicę.
    Mark   dreams of this   so-that he   would-go for abroad
    'Mark dreams of someone going abroad.'

Indicative – Lack of Obviation:

(27) Marek$_1$ marzy, że (on$_1$) wyjedzie za granicę.
    Mark   dreams that he   will-go   for abroad
    'Mark dreams that he will go abroad.'

In (27), which contains an indicative complement, the subject of the embedded clause can be co-referential with the matrix clause subject. In (26), on the other hand, in which the embedded clause is subjunctive, the subject of this clause must be obligatorily disjoint in reference from the subject of the main clause.

The account of obviation offered in Bondaruk (2004) is deeply rooted in the Binding Theory and relies on the extension of the binding domain from the main clause to the embedded one. The details of this account will not be mentioned here, as we will not focus on the exact mechanism of obviation, but will rather try to account for the presence vs. absence of OC in cases like (11) and (12) within Landau's (2004, 2008) system.

Although Landau (2004) analyses obviation structures in Romance languages, his account can be extended to Polish. Landau argues that it is C that is responsible for the lack of OC in obviative contexts. He proposes that in instances of obviation C lacks any Agr value and hence any [R] value (cf. (15)). If one wanted to adopt this proposal to Polish, one must assume that the I present in obviative structures is specified as [+Agr], although the agreement marking remains morphologically opaque (cf. a similar suggestion for Irish non-finite complements in section 3.2).[6] Consequently, the schematic representation of structures such as (12) is provided in (28).[7]

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[6]   The difference in feature composition between the I found in obviative and non-obviative structures has been evoked also in Bondaruk (2004), who makes a distinction between anaphoric I (present in non-obviative contexts) and pronominal I (found in cases of obviation).

[7]   The fact that the non-finite complement in (12) is tensed is supported by the following data:

(i)   Marek już   od dawna chciał [żeby PRO w przyszłości wyjechać za granicę].
       Mark already for long   wanted so-that   in future   to-go   in abroad
       'Mark has wanted for a long time for someone to go abroad in the future.'

(28) * $[_{CP}$ DP…F .. $[_{CP}$ C$_{[+T]}$ $[_{IP}$ $[_{I'}$ I$_{[+T, +Agr, +R]}$ $[_{VP}$ PRO$_{[-R]}$ …]]]]]

　　　　Agree　　　　Agree$_{[+T]}$　　　*Agree$_{[+Agr, ?R]}$

In (28) I is positively specified for T, Agr and R, unlike C, which has only a positive value for T and is unspecified for both Agr and R. Since C lacks a value for [R], the Agree operation between C and I cannot erase the uninterpretable [R] feature of I and the canceling off mechanism outlined for Irish in (23) cannot be evoked, opening way for OC PRO. The [-R] PRO cannot erase the [+R] feature of I, either, consequently, the [+R] feature of I survives at LF, which causes the derivation to crash. This account blocks the presence of OC PRO in structures like (12).

What remains to be explained, however, is why OC PRO can be found in seemingly similar sentences like (11). For such cases we would like to suggest that the C *żeby* 'so that' has not only [+T], but also [+Agr] feature (in accordance with (14)) and likewise I has a regular feature specification, i.e. [+T, -Agr, -R]. Consequently, the representation of such structures is analogous to that proposed for PC structures offered in (21) in section 3.1.

To sum up, the lack of OC in structures with obviation in Polish can be accounted for in Landau's system provided one assumes that the C in such sentences is only marked for T and lacks both Agr and R, whereas I is positively marked for T, Agr and R.

4. Conclusion

The paper has aimed at an analysis of OC in Irish and Polish. Within OC two subclasses have been distinguished, such as EC and PC. Two problematic cases have been pointed out, namely the free variation of PRO and lexical subjects in Irish non-finite complements, and the presence of OC and NOC in Polish non-finite complements with the C *żeby* 'so that'. All the cases just mentioned have been analysed within Landau's (2004, 2008) calculus of control. It has been argued that the regular instances of EC and PC can be analysed within Landau's model without any problems. The free variation of PRO and lexical subjects in Irish non-finite clauses has been given a natural account within Landau's framework under the assumption that I in Irish non-finite clauses is [+Agr], though this marking is morphologically opaque. Finally, the lack of OC in obviation structures in Polish squares well with Landau's account if one assumes that C in such structures has just the [+T] feature, while the non-finite I is specified as [+Agr].

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