

# AGREEMENT AND FLOTATION IN PARTIAL AND INVERSE PARTIAL CONTROL CONFIGURATIONS

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Traditional classifications of control distinguish two types: obligatory control (OC) and non-obligatory control (NOC). Recently, it has been demonstrated that OC should also be divided into two types: exhaustive and partial control (cf. Landau 2000). This more refined view of OC is taken to be evidence against the movement theory of control (MTC – cf. Hornstein 2001), the argument being that partially controlled PRO does not behave like a trace. In this paper, I contribute to advancing our understanding of control by looking at agreement and flotation in control configurations and developing an analysis for partial control that results from movement plus stranding.

The paper is organized as follows: section 2 discusses cases of past participle agreement in control configurations, showing that exhaustively and partially controlled PRO does not trigger  $\phi$ -feature agreement independently of its controller. In view of this, section 3 evaluates the Movement and the Agree-based theories of control, concluding that partial control cannot be the result of Agree. Section 4 suggests that partial control involves movement plus stranding of an associative null pronoun. In section 5, inverse partial control in Spanish is introduced, and I show that it also fits a movement and stranding analysis. Section 6 is dedicated to the conclusion.

## 2. CONTROL AND AGREEMENT

In Romance, ‘epicene’ DPs like *victim* are invariably feminine ([+Fem], henceforth), though semantically they can refer to either male or female entities. Thus, when an epicene noun is combined with a participial form, the latter triggers feminine gender agreement. This is observed in Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish.

- (1) a. La vittima fu aggredita/\*aggredito dai fascisti (It.)  
the victims-FEM was.3SG attacked-FEM/\*MASC by fascists
- b. La víctima<sub>i</sub> fue atacada<sub>i</sub>/??atacado<sub>i</sub> en la calle (Sp.)  
the victim-FEM was-3SG attacked-FEM/-MASC in the street
- c. A vítima<sub>i</sub> foi atacada<sub>i</sub>/??atacado<sub>i</sub> na rua (Port.)<sup>1</sup>  
the victim-FEM was-3SG attacked-FEM/-MASC in.the street  
‘The victim was attacked by (the) fascists/on the street.’

It is well known that past participle agreement is subject to locality. A DP  $\alpha$  agrees with a past participial form  $\beta$  only if  $\alpha$  is the closest DP that c-commands  $\beta$ . The French data in (2) and (3), for instance, show that a past participle agrees with a direct object only when the latter moves to the left of the former. Researchers have taken this contrast to reveal that a past participle agreement is a spec-head relation. That is, in order to trigger  $\phi$ -feature agreement on a participial form, a DP has to move to/through the specifier of the maximal projection that hosts the past participle (cf. Kayne 2000; Sportiche 1996, 1998)

- (2) a. Jean a peint(\*e) la porte (French)  
 Jean has-3SG painted-(\*FEM) the door  
 'Jean painted the door.'
- b. La porte<sub>i</sub> que Jean a peint(e) t<sub>i</sub>  
 the door that Jean has-3SG painted-(FEM)  
 'The door that Jean painted'
- (3) a. Jean l'a peint(e)  
 Jean it has-3SG painted(FEM)  
 'Jean has painted it.'
- b. Jean [le<sub>i</sub> a [t<sub>i</sub> [peinte ... t<sub>i</sub>]]]

In Chomsky 2001a, although agreement is not a spec-head relation, past participle agreement is taken to be the result of a local Agree relation as shown in (4):

- (4) a. There were believed to have been caught several fish
- b. [<sub>a</sub> caught <sub>oF</sub> [DO several fish ]<sub>oF</sub>]  
└────────── Agree ─────────┘

This locality constraint is, at first sight, violated in sentences like (5), in which the epicene noun is within a different clause than the past participle, yet gender agreement is obligatory. Crucially these sentences were judged in a context in which the DP *the victim* was taken to refer to a male entity.<sup>2</sup>

- (5) a. La vittima<sub>i</sub> ha cercato di essere trasferita<sub>i</sub>/??trasferido<sub>i</sub> (It.)  
 the victim-FEM had-3SG tried of be-INF transferred-FEM/-MASC  
 alla stazione di polizia de College Park  
 to.the station of police of College Park
- b. La víctima intentó ser transferida /??transferido (Sp.)  
 the victim-FEM tried-3SG be-INF transferred-FEM/-MASC
- c. A vítima<sub>i</sub> tentou ser transferida<sub>i</sub>/??transferido<sub>i</sub> (Port.)  
 the victim-FEM tried be-INF transferred-FEM/-MASC  
 para a delegacia de polícia de College Park  
 to the station of police of College Park  
 'The victim<sub>(semantically masc)</sub> tried to be transferred (to the police station at College Park)'