ON CONTROL : AN ANALYSIS OF CONTROL PHENOMENA IN
AFRIKAANS AND AN ARGUMENT FOR DISPENSING WITH THE
MINIMAL DISTANCE PRINCIPLE

Cecile le Roux

1.   Introduction

The notion of "control" is used in transformational grammar to account
for the way in which certain sentential structures are interpreted.
The structures concerned are illustrated in (1):

(1)   a.   John $[_{VP}$persuaded Bill $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_{NP}$ e$]$ to leave $]$ $]$

      b.   John $[_{VP}$promised Bill $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_{NP}$ e $]$ to leave $]$ $]$

      c.   I gave him $[_{NP}$a book $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_{COMP}$for$]$ $[_{S}$ $[_{NP}$ e$]$ to read which$]$ $]$ $]$

      d.   I got $[_{NP}$a book $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_{COMP}$for$]$ $[_{S}$ $[_{NP}$ e$]$ to read which$]$ $]$ $]$

      e.   John was $[_{AP}$lucky $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_{NP}$ e$]$ to win $]$ $]$

      f.   John was $[_{AP}$eager $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_{COMP}$for$]$ $[_{S}$ $[_{NP}$ e$]$ to win$]$ $]$ $]$

      g.   It was $[_{AP}$unclear $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_{COMP}^{+ WH}]$ $[_{S}$ $[_{NP}$ e$]$ to do what$]$ $]$ $]$

      h.   I $[_{VP}$asked him $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_{COMP}^{+ WH}]$ $[_{S}$ $[_{NP}$ e$]$ to do what$]$ $]$ $]$

The only possible interpretation of (1)a (according to speakers of
English) is that John persuaded Bill that he, Bill, had to leave . In
(1)b by contrast, the empty subject, $[_{NP}$ e$]$, of the complement is
construed as John, i.e. "John promised Bill that he, John, would leave".
In (1)c $[_{NP}$ e$]$ is understood to refer to him, i.e. "I gave him a book
for him to read". The empty complement subject of (1)d is interpreted
as coreferential with I, the subject of the main clause, i.e. "I got a

book for me to read". In both (1)e and (1)f the complement subject is
understood to be John, i.e. "John was lucky that he, John, won" in (1)e,
and "John was eager for him, John, to win" in (1)f. In (1)g, $[_{NP}$ e$]$
is taken to be arbitrary in reference, i.e. "it was unclear what some
unspecified person(s) was/were to do". The only possible interpretation
of (1)h is that I asked him what I was to do .

To account for the fact that in each of the cases in (1) above $[_{NP}$ e$]$,
the empty complement subject, is interpreted as either coreferential
with an NP in the matrix clause or arbitrary in reference, a rule of
control must assign a proper index to the element $[_{NP}$ e$]$. This index
will be either the index of an NP in the matrix clause, the controller
of $[_{NP}$ e$]$, or the index arb indicating arbitrary reference.

§2 contains a brief summary of what I take to be the current view of the
properties of control and their treatment within the (Revised) Extended
Standard Theory (henceforth: REST). This includes an outline of (i) the
general theory of control as proposed in Chomsky and Lasnik's (1977)
article, "Filters and Control", and in Chomsky's (unpublished) paper,
"On Binding", and (ii) Chomsky's proposals (Chomsky, unpublished) for
the description of control in English. In §3 an analysis of data from
Afrikaans will be presented to show that (i) the general theory of con-
trol outlined in §2 holds for control in Afrikaans and (ii) the spe-
cific rule of control proposed for English by Chomsky extends to Afri-
kaans with only one slight modification. §4 deals more specifically
with a certain redundancy in the general linguistic principles invoked
to restrict the operation of the control rule. In conclusion, §5 will
be devoted to a summary of the findings of this study and an outline of
what I consider to be topics for further research.

2.   The treatment of control within the REST

2.1   Positions subject to control

The rule of control, being a rule of construal whose task it is to asso-
ciate antecedents and anaphors, can apply only to certain anaphoric
elements, viz. base-generated $[_{NP}$ e$]$ = PRO.[1] Chomsky (unpublished:
App-5) holds that "there are exactly two positions in which an anaphor
can be controlled with proper binding, namely, COMP and subject [of an

infinitive complement --- C. le R.⟧ ". Thus, no occurrence of PRO in
a matrix clause can undergo control. The matrix subject position is
excluded from control by a general linguistic condition on anaphora,
viz. the C-command Condition that requires an antecedent to c-command
its anaphor.[2] As the subject NP of a matrix clause can never be
c-commanded by another NP in the sentence, it cannot be an anaphor, as
in (2) below:

(2) $[_S$ $[_{NP}$ e$]$ $[_{VP}$was $[_{AP}$ en $[_{VP}$ $[_V$hit$]$ $[_{NP}$Bill$]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$

In the absence of a c-commanding antecedent, $[_{NP}$ e$]$ in (2) is left un-
indexed and the sentence is starred because a structure which contains
a free variable cannot be logically well-formed.[3]

No NP within a VP, be it the VP of the matrix or of the embedded clause,
can be subject to control. Both these positions are excluded as positions
of control by the Opacity Condition[4] which states that an element in the
domain of the subject of β cannot be related anaphorically to an antece-
dent outside β , where β can be $\overline{S}$ or NP, as in (3):

(3)   it is unclear $[_{\overline{S}}$ who t to visit PRO$]$

In (3) PRO is in the domain of the subject of $\overline{S}$, viz. $\underline{t}$, the trace of
who. By the Opacity Condition PRO is left unindexed. The structure is
therefore starred as a logically ill-formed structure. The sentence
it is unclear who to visit cannot mean "it is unclear who is to visit
some unspecified person".

It remains to be explained why only elements in infinitival complements
are subject to control. This property of control follows from the
Nominative Island Constraint[5] which blocks any anaphoric relation
between an anaphor in a tensed, i.e. finite, clause and an antecedent
outside it, as in (4):

(4)   John asked Bill $[_{\overline{S}}$ who PRO visited t$]$

In (4), with t the trace of who, PRO is the subject of a tensed clause, that is, PRO is assigned nominative case by the principles of case assignment.[6] As PRO has no antecedent within $\bar{S}$, it is a free variable and the structure is starred as logically ill-formed. The sentence John asked Bill who visited cannot mean "John asked Bill who he (John or Bill) visited".

Thus, the general linguistic restrictions on antecedent-anaphor relationships expressed by the C-command Condition, the Opacity Condition and the Nominative Island Constraint, interact to leave us with only two possible positions of control, COMP and the subject of infinitival complements.

2.2   Obligatory control

According to Chomsky and Lasnik (1977:439), "there are two factors that enter into obligatory control. In the first place, certain structures are 'structures of obligatory control', for example, [30] [i.e. our (5) --- C. le R.] , where + WH is the mark for a (direct or indirect) interrogative:

(5)   = [30] $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_{COMP}$what + WH] $[_S$ ___ to VP]] [7)

In the second place certain verbs require that an embedded subject be controlled either by the matrix subject or the matrix object, as determined by properties of the matrix verb".

The first case of obligatory control, viz. "interrogative" structures such as (5), ensures that no infinitival interrogative complement with lexical NP or trace is assigned a well-formed representation in LF. Therefore, the structure (6) can only receive an interpretation if NP_1 is PRO, as is clear from the sentences in (7).

(6)   .... $[_\alpha$ who $[_\beta$ NP_1 to visit NP_2]]

(7)   a.   It is unclear $[_{\overline{S}}$ who $[_{S}$PRO to visit t$]$ $]$

      b.   *It is unclear $[_{\overline{S}}$ who $[_{S}$Bill to visit t$]$ $]$

In the second case of obligatory control, certain verbs are marked [+ Control] in the lexicon.[8]   According to Chomsky (unpublished: 40), "in the unmarked case, verbs that take bare (i.e. null COMP) infinitive complements are verbs of control".

This stipulation follows from the principles of case assignment: i.e. an NP is assigned nominative case when governed by Tense (as in that-complements) and oblique case when governed by P (as in for-complements).[9] A lexical NP that has not been assigned case is ruled out by the filter *N, where N has no case. It follows that the NP of a COMP-less, Tense-less clause, that is a "bare infinitive complement", cannot be assigned case and must therefore be a PRO coindexed with an NP that has been assigned case.[10]   Verbs of obligatory control can, therefore, never take a lexical subject in their complement. This accounts for the facts of (8).

(8)   a.   John promised (persuaded) Bill $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO to visit Jack$]$

      b.   *John promised (persuaded) Bill $[_{\overline{S}}$ Nick to visit Jack$]$

      c.   John tried $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO to visit Jack$]$

      d.   *John tried $[_{\overline{S}}$ Nick to visit Jack$]$

      e.   *John promised (persuaded) Bill $[_{\overline{S}}$ for $[_{S}$Nick to visit Jack$]$ $]$

      f.   ?John tried $[_{\overline{S}}$ for $[_{S}$ Nick to visit Jack$]$ $]$[11]

The sentences (8)b, d, e, and f are ill-formed because (i) promise, persuade and try cannot take for complementizer and hence (ii) the NP Nick cannot be assigned case. It follows that the verbs in question must be verbs of obligatory control.[12]

Apart from verbs of obligatory control, certain afjectives invoke obligatory control as well. In fact, adjectives behave exactly like verbs in that adjectives of control may be defined as those adjectives that are

not Raising adjectives and that do not take for or that complementizers, as illustrated in (9).

(9) a.   John was lucky $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO to win]

b.   *John was lucky $[_{\overline{S}}$ Tom to win]

c.   John is certain $[_{\overline{S}}$ t to win]

d.   *$[_{NP}$ e] is certain $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO to win]

e.   John was eager $[_{\overline{S}}$ for $[_{S}$ Tom to win]]

f.   John was eager $[_{\overline{S}}$ for $[_{S}$ PRO to win]]

g.   John was sorry $[_{\overline{S}}$ that $[_{S}$ Tom won]]

h.   *John was sorry $[_{\overline{S}}$ that $[_{S}$ PRO won]]

It seems, then, that control is obligatory in the case of the adjective lucky, impossible in the case of certain and sorry, and optional (i.e. obligatory where applicable) with eager.

2.3   Other cases of control

Whereas PRO must appear in the subject position of the complements of verbs that take a bare infinitival complement (with the exceptions noted in fn. 12), PRO can optionally appear in structures such as (10).

(10) $[_{\overline{S}}$ $[_{COMP}$ for] $[_{S}$ NP to VP]] [13]

Of these structures Chomsky (unpublished: 40) says: "Only $[+ F]$ [14] verbs take such complements as [85] [i.e. (10) above — C. le R.], though of course [85] appears quite freely in other contexts". The "other contexts" referred to are the complements of nouns and adjectives. Examples of such structures were presented as (1)d and f above and are repeated as (11)a and b below.

(11)   a.   I got $[_{NP}$a book $[_{\overline{S}}[_{COMP}$for$][_{S}[_{NP}$ e$]$ to read which$]]]$

b.   John was $[_{AP}$eager $[_{\overline{S}}[_{COMP}$for$]$ $[_{S}[_{NP}$ e$]$ to win$]]]$

The verb get and the adjective eager do not obligatorily assign control.
The sentences (12)a and b, for instance, are equally acceptable, which
they could not have been, had control been obligatory.

(12)   a.   I got $[_{NP}$a book $[_{\overline{S}}[_{COMP}$for$][_{S}[_{NP}$her$]$ to read which$]]]$

b.   John was $[_{AP}$eager $[_{\overline{S}}[_{COMP}$for$][_{S}[_{NP}$Tom$]$ to win$]]]$ [15)]

In (12)a and b case is assigned by virtue of the presence of the com-
plementizer for and the resulting sentences are perfectly well-formed.

The operative principle, therefore, seems to be the following: certain
structures, verbs and adjectives require that the complement subject
position be controlled, while in all other cases control is obligatory
just in case it is applicable, i.e. if the complement subject position
is not lexically expanded.

2.4   Restrictions on the controller

A controller is an indexed NP properly related to the verb of the matrix
clause, that is, according to Chomsky (unpublished: 43), "NPs that are
'thematically related' to the verb in an appropriate sense". It follows
that the possible controllers are lexical NP, trace (i.e. $[_{NP}$ e$]$ coin-
dexed with a moved category), and PRO (i.e. $[_{NP}$ e$]$ just in case it has
already been assigned an index by a rule of control). In the case of a
matrix verb with the property $[+ SC]$, that is, a verb assigning subject
control, the controller is the subject NP of the matrix clause. In the
case of a matrix verb not specified in this way, the controller is deter-
mined in accordance with certain general principles which will be dis-
cussed in §2.5 below. One general restriction which may be mentioned
here and which concerns the ability of an NP to act as a controller, is
the one formulated as follows by Chomsky (unpublished: App-5): "once a

controller has assigned control it is no longer available as a control-
ler".

2.5   The rule of control

Taking into account the relevant properties of and restrictions on con-
trol noted in the preceding paragraphs, the following environments for
control emerge: (i) structures of obligatory control such as (5),
(ii) structures containing verbs or adjectives of obligatory control,
and (iii) structures such as (10) in which control is obligatory just
in case NP is lexically unexpanded. Collapsing these possibilities,
Chomsky (unpublished: 43) defines the context in which the rule of con-
trol applies as follows:

(13)   ... V ... $[_{\overline{S}}$ COMP $[_{NP}$ e$]$ ... $]$

        where V = $[$- F$]$
        and V and $\overline{S}$ c-command one another

The feature $[$- F$]$ in (13) denotes verbs that cannot assign case across
clause boundaries. Chomsky (unpublished: 44) then formulates the rule
of control for the context (13) as follows:

(14)   = Chomsky's $[$95$]$ "In $[$93$]$ $[$i.e. (13) above --- C. le R.$]$,
            (i) if COMP $\neq$ null and V has no controller, then
                $[_{NP}$ e $]$ is assigned _arb_
            (ii) $[_{NP}$ e $]$ is assigned the index of the nearest
                controller."

To ensure that the appropriate controller is selected by the rule (14),
the following three devices are incorporated in the general theory of
control:

(15)   The feature $[+ SC]$

Verbs that are assigned the feature $[+ SC]$ in the
lexicon obligatorily assign subject control.

(16)   The Minimal Distance Principle (MDP)

A verb with a complement assigns complement control
and a verb lacking a complement assigns subject control.[16)

(17)   The C-Command Principle (henceforth: CCP)[17)

A controller c-commanded by $\overline{S}$ is 'nearer' to $[_{NP}$ e$]$ than
one not c-commanded by $\overline{S}$, and a controller immediately
c-commanded by $\overline{S}$ is nearer to $[_{NP}$ e$]$ than one not imme-
diately c-commanded by $\overline{S}$.

Apart from the general linguistic devices (15), (16), and (17), which
express conditions on the selection of the controller, three other
general constraints are formulated to specify the way in which rules
of control operate. These constraints may be formulated as (18)a-c
below.

(18)   a.   Control applies in the course of a systematic "top-to-
            bottom" indexing procedure for NPs, i.e. an index is
            assigned to an NP only if all NPs c-commanding or domi-
            nating it have been indexed.[18)

       b.   Control rules are index-assigning, not index-changing
            rules; therefore they cannot apply if the NP already
            has an index, as in the case of trace which is assigned
            an index by a movement rule.[19)

       c.   Control rules are obligatory.

2.6   Appraisal

The theory of control sketched in the preceding paragraphs seems to
express the facts of control quite adequately as far as English is
concerned. A point in favour of this theory is that it employs a rule
of control which covers a variety of structures while obeying con-
straints that are independently motivated.[20] The only devices that
seem to be needed exclusively for stating facts about control are
(15)-(17) above, i.e. the feature $[+ SC]$, the MDP, and the CCP.
These general principles are needed to ensure that the appropriate
controller is selected as "nearest controller". I shall merely note,
at this point, that there seems to me to be a surprizingly rich variety
of formal devices engaged in the task of selecting the proper control-
ler. The MDP, in particular, seems to be a suspicious device. On the
one hand, it has to be used in conjunction with the lexical feature
$[+ SC]$ which accounts for the exceptions to the MDP. On the other
hand, it has to be supplemented by the CCP which has the task of
taking care of cases not accounted for by the MDP. In §4, I shall
attempt to show that once the CCP is incorporated in the general theory
of control, the MDP can be dispensed with altogether. The CCP, in
conjunction with the feature $[+ SC]$, can be relied upon to select the
appropriate controller in all cases of control.

Before turning to the problem of the MDP, however, I shall present an
analysis of data from Afrikaans in support of the theory of control
outlined above.

3.   Control in Afrikaans

3.1   Assumptions about Afrikaans

I shall be assuming that the base rules for Afrikaans are in the rele-
vant respects the same as those for English, particularly those expanding
VP, NP and AP.[21] In assuming the same rule for expanding VP as in
English, I shall be assuming that Afrikaans, like English, is a SVO
language. This is a highly controversial assumption, as there is good
reason to believe that Afrikaans is in fact an SOV language. However,
I am keeping to the SVO order merely for the sake of convenience. The

position of the verb does not influence control in any way. If the
verb had been generated in the final position in VP, it would in any
case have been moved to the second position in the matrix clause by
the time the rule of control applied, the only difference being that
it would be dominated by S rather than by VP.   The only effect
this would have had on the context of control as stated in (13),
would have been an amendment of the proviso "where V and $\bar{S}$ c-command
one another".

Furthermore, I am assuming that in Afrikaans, as in English, an (indi-
rect) object NP or PP may appear either to the right or to the left of
the direct object NP. When it appears to the right of the direct
object NP it is always a PP. When it appears to the left of the direct
object NP, it may be an NP or a PP. A well-motivated analysis of VPs
containing more than one object NP or PP would have to provide a satis-
factory answer to two crucial questions, viz. (i) whether an (indirect)
object NP or PP appearing to the left of the direct object NP is
base-generated in this position or moved from a position to the right
of the direct object NP by some kind of Dative Movement rule, and
(ii) whether an (indirect) object NP or PP appearing to the left of
the direct object NP is dominated by V or by VP. The latter question
in particular has important implications for a theory of control
within which the controller is selected on the basis of distance from
$\bar{S}$, where the distance is calculated in terms of c-command. In the
absence of a well-motivated analysis of the verb phrase in Afrikaans,
I am assuming that Chomsky's analysis of VP for English holds for
Afrikaans as well.[22] I am fully aware of the fact, however, that a
satisfactory analysis of VPs containing more than one object NP or PP
is crucial to the argument presented in §4 of this paper.

3.2   Verbs of obligatory control

A first category of verbs obligatorily assigning control are those
verbs that take an NP or PP complement along with a "bare" infinitival
complement, that is, verbs that can never take lexical NP in the com-
plement subject position.[23] This category includes verbs such as
beveel 'order', versoek 'request', (aan)sê 'tell (someone to do some-

thing)', waarsku 'warn', oorreed 'persuade', aanraai 'recommend/
advise', 'n beroep doen op 'appeal to', sover kry 'get (someone to do
something)', herinner 'remind'.

Compare the sentences in (21) and (22).

(21)   a.   Piet oorreed die nar [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om te lag]

            Peter persuades the clown [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO to laugh]

       b.   Sy sê vir my [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om gou te maak]

            she says for me [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO quickly to make (= to hurry)]

       c.   Hy raai (vir) my aan [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om regshulp te kry]

            he advises (for) me [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO legal aid to obtain]

(22)   a.   Hy versoek die mense [$_{\overline{S}}$ vir [$_{S}$ NP om kalm te bly]] [24]

            hy requests the people [$_{\overline{S}}$ for [$_{S}$ NP calm to remain]]

       b.   Die offisier beveel die soldate [$_{\overline{S}}$ vir [$_{S}$ NP om te skiet]]

            the officer orders the soldiers [$_{\overline{S}}$ for [$_{S}$ NP to shoot]].

       c.   Ek waarsku jou [$_{\overline{S}}$ vir [$_{S}$ NP om weg te bly]]

            I warn you [$_{\overline{S}}$ for [$_{S}$ NP away to keep]]

The sentences in (21) meet the structural description (13) of the con-
trol rule (14). As COMP = null in (21)a-c, (14)i does not apply and
(14)ii must apply to assign to PRO the index of the nearest controller.
None of the verbs oorreed, sê, or aanraai is marked [+ SC] in the
lexicon and each is followed by an NP or PP complement. Therefore, by
the MDP, PRO is assigned the index of the NP die nar in (21)a, of the
PP vir my in (21)b and of the PP (vir) my in (21)c. This indexing cor-
rectly predicts the interpretation of PRO by speakers of Afrikaans in
each case. In (21)a PRO is interpreted as referring to die nar; in
(21)b PRO is interpreted as referring to my; and in (21)c PRO is simi-

larly interpreted as referring to my.

None of the sentences in (22) is interpretable with a lexical NP in
subject position in the embedded clause. Thus, (22)a cannot mean "he
requests the people for some people other than they themselves to
remain calm". And (22)b cannot mean "the officer orders the soldiers
for some people other than the soldiers to shoot". Similarly, (22)c
cannot mean "I warn you for someone else to keep away". These facts
can be explained only by assuming the verbs in question to be verbs of
obligatory control and the structures in (22) to be blocked by virtue
of the nonapplication of an obligatory rule.

A second category of verbs obligatorily assigning control are verbs
that may or may not take an NP or PP complement along with a "bare"
infinitival complement. By the MDP, these verbs will assign complement
control, unless there is no complement, in which case they assign sub-
ject control. This category includes verbs such as smeek 'entreat',
dwing 'force/tend', pleit 'plead', verwag 'expect', as in (23)-(26).

(23) a. Die kinders smeek haar $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO om saam te gaan$]$

the children entreat her $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO with to go$]$

b. Die oortreder smeek $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO om vrygelaat te word t$]$

the tresspasser entreats $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO set free to be t$]$

(24) a. Die ouers dwing hul kinders $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO om te eet$]$

the parents force their children $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO to eat$]$

b. Die os dwing al $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO om in die verkeerde rigting te trek$]$

the ox tends all (the time) $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO in the wrong direction
to pull$]$

(25) a. Ek pleit by hom $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO om saam te gaan$]$

I plead with him $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO with to go$]$

b.　　Ek pleit $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO　om saam te gaan $]$

　　　I plead $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO　with to go $]$

(26)　a.　　Hy verwag van die studente $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om hul bes te doen $]$

　　　he expects of the students $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO　their best to do $]$

b.　　Hy verwag $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO　om 'n graad te behaal $]$

　　　he expects $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO　a degree to obtain $]$

Cases (23), (24), and (26) are straightforward. In the (a)-sentences
--- i.e. the sentences containing a complement --- PRO is assigned
the index of the complement NP or PP, by the MDP. Thus, (23)a can
only mean "the children entreat her that she should go with them". And
(24)a can only mean "the parents force their children so as to get the
children to eat". Similarly, (26)a has to mean "he expects that the
students will do their best". These predictions about the possible
interpretations of the sentences in question are correct.

In the (b)-cases --- i.e. the sentences lacking a complement NP or
PP --- PRO is assigned the index of the subject, by the MDP. Once
again the correct predictions as to the interpretation of these sentences
are made. In (23)b the subject of the embedded clause is taken to be
the tresspasser.[25] In (24)b, PRO is interpreted as referring to the ox;
and in (26)b it is he who expects to obtain a degree.

Cases (25)a and b require some discussion. Some speakers of Afrikaans
interpret (25)a in exactly the same way as (25)b. That is, for these
speakers PRO must refer to the subject of the main clause in both cases,
in which case we have two options. We can either regard pleit as a
verb marked $[+ \text{SC}]$ in the lexicon, or we can regard the PP by hom as
a PP not thematically related to the verb, which would account for its
inability to be a controller. As regards the latter possibility, notice
that the passive sounds rather curious:

(27)   ?By hom word gepleit om saam te gaan
         with him is pleaded   with to go

The doubtful acceptability of (27) could be explained by assuming that
the PP by hom is not thematically related to the verb pleit and can
therefore not appear as the subject of a passive.   By contrast, the
(a)-sentences of (23), (24) and (26) have perfectly acceptable passives:

(28)   Sy word deur die kinders gesmeek om saam te gaan[26)]
         she is by the children entreated with to go

(29)   Die kinders word deur hulle ouers gedwing om te eet
         the children are by their parents forced to eat

(30)   Van die studente word verwag om hulle bes te doen
         of the students is expected   their best to do

Therefore, as there seems to be evidence for assuming that the PP by hom
may not be thematically related to the verb, I shall assume this approach
to account for the ambiguity of (25)a. If the feature [+ SC] is
assigned to pleit, it will be impossible to account for the ambiguity in
question.

There is another curious phenomenon involving verbs such as smeek and
pleit. Consider the sentences in (31).

(31)   a.   Ek smeek hom [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om te mag saam gaan]
             I entreat him [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   to may with go]

       b.   Ek pleit by hom [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om te mag saam gaan]
             I plead with him [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   to may with go]

For speakers of Afrikaans, these sentences can be interpreted in only
one way, viz. with PRO taken to refer to I, the subject of the matrix

clause. We are, therefore, once again faced with a dilemma. If we
assume that these verbs are marked $[+ SC]$ in the lexicon, we can
explain the facts of (31), but not the ambiguity of (23)a[27] and (25)a.
If we assume that the relationship between these verbs and an NP or PP
in their complement may be ambiguous --- that is, they can be either
thematically related or thematically unrelated[28] --- we can account
for the ambiguity of (23)a and (25)a, but not for the facts of (31).
Note that the sentences (31)a and (31)b can be paraphrased as (32)a
and b respectively.

(32)   a.   Ek smeek hom $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om my toe te laat om saam te gaan$]$

            I entreat him $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   me   to   allow with to   go $]$

       b.   Ek pleit by hom $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om my toe te laat om saam te gaan$]$

            I plead with him $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   me   to   allow with to   go $]$

In the case of (32)a and b, the theory of control once again makes the
correct predictions: PRO can only be interpreted as referring to hom.
For the moment, then, the least objectionable solution for the problem
with smeek and pleit, seems to be not to assign to them the
feature $[+ SC]$ and to ascribe the difficulties encountered in the
case of (31)a and b to some unclear properties of the om te mag ...
construction.[29]

A third category of verbs obligatorily assigning control are verbs that
never take an NP or PP complement with a "bare" infinitival complement
and therefore, by the MDP, always assign subject control. Such verbs
are neig 'tend', verlang 'wish/want', aandring 'insist', onderneem
'undertake', vergeet 'forget', onthou 'remember', probeer 'try',
verkies 'prefer', besluit 'decide', instem 'consent'.[30]

Consider the following structures:

(33)   a.   Hy neig $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om te streng te wees$]$

            he tends $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO too   strict   to   be $]$

b.   Hy neig NP $\left[\overline{_S}\right.$ PRO om te streng te wees $\left.\right]$

       he tends NP $\left[\overline{_S}\right.$ PRO too strict to be $\left.\right]$

c.   Hy neig $\left[\overline{_S}\right.$ vir $\left[_S\right.$ NP om te streng te wees $\left.\right]\left.\right]$

       he tends $\left[\overline{_S}\right.$ for $\left[_S\right.$ NP   too strict to be $\left.\right]\left.\right]$

(34) a.   Ek dring aan op $\left[\overline{_S}\right.$ PRO om saam te gaan $\left.\right]$

           I insist on $\left[\overline{_S}\right.$ PRO   with to go $\left.\right]$

    b.   Ek dring aan NP op $\left[\overline{_S}\right.$ PRO om saam te gaan $\left.\right]$

           I insist NP on $\left[\overline{_S}\right.$ PRO   with to go $\left.\right]$

    c.   Ek dring aan op $\left[\overline{_S}\right.$ vir $\left[_S\right.$ NP om saam te gaan $\left.\right]\left.\right]$

           I insist on $\left[\overline{_S}\right.$ for $\left[_S\right.$ NP   with to go $\left.\right]\left.\right]$

In (33)a, PRO is. assigned the index of the subject of the matrix clause, by the MDP. In (33)b complement control would have had to apply if a lexical reading of NP could be imagined which would yield an interpretable structure. However, this is impossible. The structure (33)b would probably not even be base-generated, because of the intransitive nature of the verb _neig_. In (33)c no lexical reading of NP gives an acceptable sentence. We may assume, therefore, that control is obligatory.

Note that we are not claiming that verbs such as _verlang_ 'wish/want', _onderneem_ 'undertake', _vergeet_ 'forget', _probeer_ 'try', _verkies_ 'prefer', _besluit_ 'decide' can never take an NP or PP complement. They obviously can in sentences such as Ek het my boek vergeet 'I have forgotten my book' and Hy verkies die rooi hemp 'He prefers the red shirt'. The question, then, is whether these verbs should not be assigned the feature $\left[+\text{ SC}\right]$ to ensure that they assign subject control even if they are followed by an NP or PP complement? The answer is no. I think the aim should be to restrict the category of verbs assigned the feature $\left[+\text{ SC}\right]$ as far as possible, as this feature does not seem to have any explanatory value. Therefore, if there seems to be an inde-

pendent reason why the verbs listed above should assign subject control,
it is not necessary to mark them [+ SC] in the lexicon. The reason
in this case is simply that these verbs cannot appear in constructions
containing both an NP or PP complement and a "bare" infinitival comple-
ment.[31] Thus, subcategorization restrictions on the verbs in question
will prevent them from being inserted in deep structures containing an
NP or PP complement followed by a "bare" infinitival complement.

A fourth category of verbs obligatorily assigning control, comprises
those verbs that can take an NP or PP complement along with a "bare"
infinitival complement, but which, even if they do, assign subject con-
trol. These are the verbs marked [+ SC] in the lexicon to indicate
that they do not obey the MDP. The paradigm case in Afrikaans, as in
English, is <u>belowe</u> 'promise':

(35)   Jan belowe (haar) [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om haar vir ewig lief te hê]

         John promises (her) [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   her for ever to love]

In (35) PRO must be coindexed with <u>Jan</u>, the subject of the matrix clause
to account for the fact that speakers of Afrikaans take the embedded
clause to mean "John will love her for ever".

Consider also the following sentences:

(36)   a.   Hy het (aan my) 'n eed gesweer [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om weg te bly]

           he has (to me) an oath sworn [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO to away stay]

       b.   Ek het (teenoor hom) onderneem [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om my bes te doen]

           I have (towards him) undertaken [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   my best to do]

       c.   Sy het (by haar kêrel) geleer [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om uiesop te maak]

           she has (from her boyfried) learnt [$_{\overline{S}}$ PRO onion soup to make]

(37)   a.   Ons het ooreengekom [̅ₛ PRO   om by die teater te ontmoet]

we have agreed [̅ₛ PRO   at the   theatre   to   meet]

b.   Ek het met hom ooreengekom [̅ₛ PRO om hom daar te ontmoet]

I have with him agreed   [̅ₛ PRO   him there to meet]

c.   Ek het met hom ooreengekom [̅ₛ PRO om my daar te ontmoet]

I have with him agreed [̅ₛ PRO   me   there   to   meet]

Notice, in passing, that in all the sentences of (36), as in (35), the complement NP or PP is optional, whereas in the case of verbs assigning complement control, omission of the complement results in ungrammatical sentences such as *Hy het oorreed om eksamen te skryf 'He has persuaded to write the exams' and *Sy doen 'n beroep om kalm te bly, 'She appeals to remain calm'.

Consider, first, the cases in (36). PRO is, in each case, understood to be coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause. It seems, therefore, that we have to do with verbs assigning subject control. Chomsky (unpublished: 46) has suggested a kind of "test" for [+ SC] verbs: "We can therefore accommodate in a natural way the well-known resistance of verbs of subject control to passivization; there is no subject under passive, hence no way for control to be assigned". As is clear from the sentences in (38), the verbs sweer 'swear', onderneem 'undertake', leer 'learn' do in fact resist passivization.

(38)   a.   *Aan my is (deur hom) 'n eed gesweer om weg te bly.
              to me was (by him) an oath sworn   away to stay.
        b.   *Teenoor hom is (deur my) onderneem om 'n uitvoering te gee.[32)]
              towards him was (by me) undertaken   a performance to give.
        c.   *By haar kêrel is (deur haar) geleer om uiesop te maak.
              from her boyfriend was (by her) learnt onion soup to make.

The fact that speakers of Afrikaans find these sentences unacceptable, while their active counterparts seem to be perfectly acceptable, may be

accounted for, then, by assuming that these verbs assign subject con-
trol. The sentences in (38) are therefore unacceptable because their
verbs lack a subject, my being the subject of is, not of gesweer, etc.
It seems, then, that the feature [+ SC] is needed to account for at
least one phenomenon other than control.

Notice too, that there is a certain similarity in the pragmatic meanings of the
verbs belowe, onderneem, and sweer. They all express an undertaking by
the speaker to be the agent in bringing about certain events. This
fact is formally expressed, for instance, in the proposed "sincerity rule",
which is one of the set of necessary and sufficient rules that have to
be obeyed if the speech act being performed is to count as a promise,
viz. the speaker must intend to do the act to which the proposition
uttered refers.[33] By contrast, the sincerity rule for the act of, e.g.,
requesting, would state that the speaker must want the hearer to do the
act referred to in the proposition uttered. This would perhaps suggest
a way of getting rid of the feature [+ SC] : sentences in which the
embedded subject was coindexed with the complement NP of a verb such as
belowe (i.e. in the absence of the feature [+ SC]) would simply be
blocked by the pragmatic rules defining the pragmatic conditions on the
use of the verb belowe.

Let us turn, briefly, to the sentences in (37). Case (37)a is unpro-
blematic: the verb lacks an NP or PP complement and, by the MDP, sub-
ject control is assigned. But (37)b and c seem baffling. These
sentences are identical as far as the subject and object of the matrix
clause are concerned, and yet subject control is assigned in (b) and
complement control in (c). The only explanation I have to offer is
that the presence of a pronoun in the VP of the embedded clause in some
way influences the control pattern of these sentences. If we assume
that the embedded pronoun hom in (37)b is coindexed with the NP hom in
the matrix clause, then only the remaining NP ek is available as a con-
troller for PRO, and vice versa in (37)c.[34]

3.3   Structures of obligatory control

Consider the following sentences:

(39)   a.   Hulle sal weet $[_{\overline{S}}$ wat $[_S$ PRO om te doen t$]$ $]$

                they will know $[_{\overline{S}}$ what $[_S$ PRO   to do t $]$ $]$

          b.   Die instrukteur vertel hulle $[_{\overline{S}}$ wat $[_S$ PRO om te doen t$]$ $]$

                the instructor tells them $[_{\overline{S}}$ what $[_S$ PRO to do t $]$ $]$

          c.   Ek het by hom geleer $[_{\overline{S}}$ wie $[_S$ PRO om te respekteer t $]$ $]$

                I have from him learnt $[_{\overline{S}}$ whom $[_S$ PRO to respect t$]$ $]$

          d.   Piet vra sy onderwyser $[_{\overline{S}}$ waar $[_S$ PRO om die boek te sit t$]$ $]$

                Peter asks his teacher $[_{\overline{S}}$ where $[_S$ PRO the book to put t$]$ $]$.

The embedded structures in (39) are all of the form (40).

(40) $[_{COMP}$ wh-phrase + WH $]$ $[_S$ PRO to V ... t ... $]$

          where t is the trace of the wh-phrase

Structures such as (40) are so-called structures of obligatory control,
which means that the embedded subject must be PRO for the sentence to
be grammatical. It appears that in Afrikaans too, structures such as
(40) must contain PRO. Compare, for instance, the ungrammatical senten-
ces in (41).

(41)   a.   *Hulle sal weet wat Jan om te doen
                they will know what John to do

          b.   *Die instrukteur vertel hulle wat die soldate om te doen
                the instructor tells them what the soldiers to do

c. *Ek het by hom geleer wie ek om te respekteer
    I have from him learnt whom I to respect

d. *Piet vra sy onderwyser waar die kind om die boek te sit
    Peter asks his teacher where the child the book to put

Thus, lexical NP cannot appear in the embedded subject position of sen-
tences with the structure of (40).

Returning to the sentences in (39), we notice that COMP is filled in
all cases, but as the verb has a controller in each case, PRO is assigned
the index of the nearest controller by rule (14)ii, viz. the subject NP
hulle in (39)a, the complement NP hulle in (39)b, the subject NP ek in
(39)c --- leer being a verb of subject control --- , and the subject
NP Piet in (39)d.[35)]

3.4 Adjective complements

Consider the following structures:

(42) a. Jy is gelukkig $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om te lewe$]$
          you are lucky $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO to be alive$]$

      b. Sy is bang $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om alleen te bly$]$
          she is afraid $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO alone to live $]$

(43) a. Dit is maklik $[_{\overline{S}}$ vir $[_{S}$ PRO om te praat$]$ $]$
          it is easy $[_{\overline{S}}$ for $[_{S}$ PRO to talk $]$ $]$

      b. Dit is moeilik vir my $[_{\overline{S}}$ vir $[_{S}$ PRO om te sê$]$ $]$
          it is difficult for me $[_{\overline{S}}$ for $[_{S}$ PRO to say$]$ $]$

(44) a. Ek is gretig $[_{\overline{S}}$ vir $[_{S}$ PRO om te gaan $]$ $]$
          I am eager $[_{\overline{S}}$ for $[_{S}$ PRO to go $]$ $]$

b.   Ek is gretig $[_{\overline{6}}$ vir $[_{6}$ haar om te gaan$]$ $]$

      I am eager $[_{\overline{6}}$ for $[_{6}$ her   to go$]$ $]$

First, the difference in the structures assigned to (43) and (44)
respectively requires some explanation. In (43)b the sequence vir NP
(= vir my) is part of the VP, while in (44)b it is part of the embed-
ded clause. The reason for this is that, in addition to (43)b, (45) is
also acceptable in Afrikaans:

(45)   Dit is vir my moeilik (om te sê).
        It is for me difficult (to say).

In (45) the sequence vir my has been moved to the left of the adjective
without changing the meaning of the sentence. A similar movement in the
case of (44)b, however, yields an unacceptable string:

(46)   *Ek is vir haar gretig (om te gaan)
        I am for her eager (to go)

It seems, then, that in (44)b, the sequence vir NP must form part of
the embedded clause, while in the case of (43)b it is inconceivable
how the sequence vir NP can be moved from a position in the embedded
clause to a position in the matrix clause as in (45). Note, too, that
(46) would be unacceptable without the embedded clause, which appears
in parentheses, while (45) would not.

Given that the analysis of the sequence vir NP is as proposed in (43)b
and (44)b, application of the control rule (14) to (42)-(44) yields the
desired results. In (42), rule (14)ii applies to coindex PRO and the
subject of the matrix verb, in accordance with the requirements of the
MDP. In (43)a, COMP being nonnull and V lacking a controller, PRO is
assigned the index arb to indicate arbitrary reference. This explains
the intuitive judgment of speakers of Afrikaans that (43)a means "it is
easy for (some unspecified) people to talk". In (43)b COMP ≠ null,

but V has a controller in the form of the PP complement vir my and PRO
is therefore assigned the index of the complement. In (44)a COMP ≠
null, but V has a controller and PRO is therefore coindexed with the
controller, viz. the subject of the matrix clause. In (44)b COMP ≠
null, but the embedded subject NP is lexically expanded so that the
rule of control does not apply.

The only remaining problem is, once more, the analysis of the structures
in (43). The following is also a possible analysis of these structures:

(47)   a.   Dit is maklik $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO om te praat$]$

              it is easy $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO   to talk$]$

        b.   Dit is moeilik vir my $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO om te sê$]$

              it is difficult for me $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO   to say$]$

The analysis (47) even seems to me to be intuitively more adequate than
the one in (43). I cannot conceive of an acceptable sentence in Afri-
kaans of the form dit is ADJ vir NP $[_{\bar{S}}$ vir NP om te V$]$. In other
words, there being no possibility of the embedded subject NP ever being
lexically expanded, there seems to be no reason for assigning a vir
complementizer to the embedded sentence. The reason for assigning vir
complementizer in (43) was that, by so doing, the control rule (14)i
would apply to assign the index arb to PRO in (43)a : that is, in order
for (14)i to apply COMP must be nonnull. If we were to assume null
Comp in structures such as (43)a, the rule (14)i would have to be
changed as follows:

(48)   if V has no controller, then $[_{NP}$ e $]$ is assigned arb

Omission of the stipulation that COMP must be nonnull, does not seem
to me to create any problems. For instance, in cases where COMP ≠
null, the amended rule would still give the correct result:

(49)   Dit is nie duidelik $[_{\overline{S}}$ wat $[_S$ PRO om te doen$]$ $]$ nie

    it is not clear $[_{\overline{S}}$ what $[_S$ PRO   to do $]$ $]$ not

In (49) V lacks a controller and, therefore, even if COMP ≠ null, PRO would be assigned the index árb by (48). Chomsky (unpublished: 46) seems to recognize the possibility that arbitrary control could be assigned even in the absence of a complementizer when he discusses the inability of verbs of subject control to passivize: "Rather, such verbs do not passivize unless arbitrary control is assigned in the complement".[36]

I shall therefore assume the analysis (47) rather than the analysis (43) for sentences such as Dit is moeilik (vir my) om te sê, and I shall assume that (14)i must be replaced by (48) for Afrikaans (and perhaps for English as well).

3.5   *Noun complements*

Consider the following structures:

(49)   a.   Ek soek iemand $[_{\overline{S}}$ wie $[_S$ PRO om die boek voor t te gee$]$ $]$

            I look for someone $[_{\overline{S}}$ whom $[_S$ PRO the book to t to give$]$ $]$

        b.   Dit is 'n man $[_{\overline{S}}$ wie $[_S$ PRO om t dop te hou $]$ $]$

            it is a man $[_{\overline{S}}$ whom $[_S$ PRO t to keep an eye on$]$ $]$

        c.   Bring vir my 'n boek $[_{\overline{S}}$ wat $[_S$ PRO om t te lees$]$ $]$

            bring for me a book $[_{\overline{S}}$ which $[_S$ PRO t to read$]$ $]$

The structures in (49) resemble the structures of obligatory control discussed in §3.3 above. The only difference between these two types of structures is that in the case of the latter -— i.e. structures of obligatory control --- COMP is expanded as + WH to indicate that the

embedded clause is interrogative, while in the type of structure we are
concerned with here --- i.e. noun complements --- COMP is expanded
as - WH to indicate that $\overline{S}$ is a relative clause.

Assuming that the relative pronoun, and therefore the trace of this
pronoun as well, is coindexed with the head noun of the relative clause
in each case,[38] application of the rule of control (14) yields the
desired results. In (49)a iemand is the raised head noun and the only
remaining controller is therefore ek. Coindexing PRO and ek we correctly
predict that the sentence must mean "I am looking for someone to whom I
can give the book". In (49)b the verb lacks a controller --- the NP
'n man is coindexed with the relative wie --- and rule (14)i, refor-
mulated as (48), applies to assign the index arb to PRO. We therefore
correctly account for the interpretation "This is a man whom (some unspe-
cified) person(s) should keep an eye on". In (49)c the only possible
controller is the complement PP vir my --- 'n boek being coindexed
with the relative and there being no overt subject. Coindexing PRO and
vir my, we correctly account for the interpretation "Bring me a book
which I can read".

It appears, then, that the rule of control applies to embedded noun com-
plements without any additional devices being needed.[39]

3.6   The verb vra 'ask'

In English the verb ask is assigned the feature $\begin{bmatrix} + SC \end{bmatrix}$ just in case
it occurs with an indirect question complement.[40] We have not yet
examined the status of its Afrikaans equivalent vra. In Afrikaans, as
in English, a distinction should be made between (at least) three separate
lexical items vra (or three readings of the single lexical item vra):
that is, (i) vra in the sense of "politely ordering or requesting (some-
one to do something)" as in (50)a, (ii) vra in the sense of "politely
demanding (something from someone)" as in (50)b, and (iii) vra in the
true interrogative sense of "inquiring (something from someone)" as in
(50)c.

(50) a.   Jan vra Pieter $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om te lees$]$

            John asks Peter $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO to read$]$

     b.   Jan vra $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om te lees$]$

            John asks $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO to read$]$

     c.   Jan vra Pieter $[_{\overline{S}}$ wat $[_{S}$ PRO om te doen t$]$ $]$

            John asks Peter $[_{\overline{S}}$ what $[_{S}$ PRO to do t$]$ $]$

Note that (50)a is paraphrasable with "politely orders" or "requests" instead of _asks_, while (50)b and c are not. By contrast, (50)b is paraphrasable with "politely demands" while (50)a and c are not, and (50)c is paraphrasable only with "inquires". The similarity in meaning between _vra_ in the sense of (50)a and the verb _versoek_ 'request', which was discussed in §3.2, would suggest that these verbs behaved similarly with regard to control. This prediction is borne out by the pattern of control in (50)a: PRO must be assigned the index of the complement NP _Pieter_ to account for the fact that Afrikaans speakers interpret this sentence as "What John asks Peter is that he, Peter, must read". The verb _vra_ on its first reading, i.e. "politely ordering or requesting", is a normal verb of control which obeys the MDP.

Let us turn now to (50)b. In the absence of another possible controller, PRO is assigned the index of the subject NP _Jan_, which correctly accounts for the interpretation of this sentence by speakers of Afrikaans as "John asks that he, John be allowed to read". The question is whether the verb _vra_ in the sense of "politely demanding" should be assigned the feature $[+ SC]$ to account for the pattern of control in (50)b, or whether the MDP and CCP can be relied upon to select the appropriate controller in all sentences in which _vra_ is used in this sense. Consider, for instance, the sentences in (51).

(51) a.   _Jan vra 'n boek om te lees_

           John asks a book to read

     b.   _Jan vra Pieter 'n boek om te lees_

           John asks Peter a book to read

c. Jan vra 'n boek vir sy vrou om te lees

John asks a book for his wife to read

d. Jan vra Pieter 'n boek vir sy vrou om te lees

John asks Peter a book for his wife to read

The sentences in (51) are all of the form "NP vra (NP) $[_{NP}$ 'n boek $[_{\overline{S}}$ wat vir $[_S$ NP om te lees t$]\,]\,]$ ", that is, $\overline{S}$ is a noun complement. The verb vra is used in the sense of (50)b, i.e. in the sense of "politely demands", throughout. Now, where NP = PRO, viz. in (51)a and b, PRO must be coindexed with the subject Jan --- in violation of the MDP in the case of (51)b --- to account for the fact that speakers of Afrikaans take these sentences to mean "John asks (Peter) a book for him, John, to read". Comparing the behaviour of vra in (51) with the behaviour of other verbs in the same context, we see that vra behaves idiosyncratically.

(52)a. Jan belowe haar $[_{NP}$ 'n huis $[_{\overline{S}}$ wat vir $[_S$ PRO om in t te woon$]\,]\,]$

John promises her $[_{NP}$ a house $[_{\overline{S}}$ which for $[_S$ PRO in t to live$]\,]\,]$

b. Jan $\left\{\begin{array}{ll} \text{koop} & \text{(vir haar)} \\ \text{bring} & \text{(vir haar)} \\ \text{gee} & \text{vir haar} \\ \text{stuur} & \text{vir haar} \end{array}\right\}$ $[_{NP}$ 'n hond $[_{\overline{S}}$ wat vir $[_S$ PRO om mee t te speel$]\,]\,]$

John $\left\{\begin{array}{ll} \text{buys} & \text{(her)} \\ \text{brings} & \text{(her)} \\ \text{gives} & \text{her} \\ \text{sends} & \text{her} \end{array}\right\}$ $[_{NP}$ a dog $[_{\overline{S}}$ which for $[_S$ PRO with t to play$]\,]\,]$

In all the cases of (52) PRO is coindexed with the complement (vir) haar if it is present, and with the subject Jan if there is no complement, in accordance with the MDP.[41)] There is, therefore, a marked contrast between the behavior of the verbs in (52) and the verb vra in similar structures, such as those of (51). It seems then that vra in the sense

of (50)b must be assigned the feature $\left[+\text{ SC}\right]$ to account for the interpretation of sentences such as those of (51).

The structure (50)c is a case of obligatory control. For speakers of Afrikaans (50)c can only mean "John asks Peter what he, John, should do" and not "John asks Peter what he, Peter, should do". PRO must therefore be assigned the index of the subject Jan, even though a complement NP is also present. This violation of the MDP can only be accounted for by assuming that vra in its third, interrogative reading is assigned the feature $\left[+\text{ SC}\right]$ in the lexicon.

To summarize: we have distinguished three different readings of the verb vra. In the sense of "politely order or request", vra is a verb of obligatory control which, like its synonym request, obeys the MDP. In the sense of "politely demand", vra need not assign control, but if it does, it always assigns subject control. In the sense of "inquire", vra is always part of a structure of obligatory control and, once again, assigns subject control. The variations in the pattern of control associated with the verb vra can, therefore, be related to three different meanings of this verb.

Note that a similar kind of analysis could solve the problems with the verbs pleit and smeek as well (cf. §3.2 above). The ambiguous interpretation of Ek pleit by hom om saam te gaan 'I plead with him to go along' could be ascribed to ambiguity in the meaning of pleit. Like vra it could be assumed to have two meanings: "demand" and "request". In the sense of "demand" it would obligatorily assign subject control and in the sense of "request" it would assign complement control. This would also account for the necessity of subject control in sentences such as Ek pleit by hom om te mag saamgaan 'I plead with him to be allowed to go along', pleit being used in the sense of "demand" in these sentences. In sentences such as Ek pleit by hom om my toe te laat om saam te gaan 'I plead with him to allow me to go along', the fact that it is the complement of pleit which must be selected as controller, could be explained by assuming that ek and my are already somehow coindexed and that ek is therefore no longer available as a controller, which leaves the complement NP hom as the only possible controller. [42)

4.   On the status of the MDP

In the discussion up to now, I have assumed that Chomsky (unpublished:
43) is correct in stating "that the basic principle of control is the
'minimal distance principle' of Rosenbaum (1967)". Moreover, we have
seen that in Afrikaans, as in English, the MDP is an adequate device for
selecting the appropriate controller when there are two options, i.e. a
subject as well as a complement NP or PP. We also saw, however, that
as soon as there are three options, i.e. a subject and two complement
NPs or a complement NP and PP, an additional device, the C-command
Principle, is needed for the appropriate controller(s) to be selected.
I shall now attempt to show that the C-command Principle is an adequate
device for selecting the appropriate controller not only in the cases
not covered by the MDP, but also in the cases which do fall under the
MDP. In addition I shall show that cases which do fall under the MDP,
but about which the MDP makes the wrong predictions, can be adequately
treated on the basis of the C-command Principle as well.


4.1   Cases not covered by the MDP

The C-command Principle was formulated by Chomsky[43] to provide for
the proper selection of a controller in cases not covered by the MDP,
viz. those cases where there is more than one possible controller in
the VP, as in (53) below.

(53)   a.   Jan $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{koop}\\\text{bring}\\\text{gee}\\\text{stuur}\\\text{belowe}\end{array}\right\}$ (vir) haar die dog $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO$_2$ vir $[_S$ PRO$_1$ om mee t te speel$]\,]$

John $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{buys}\\\text{brings}\\\text{gives}\\\text{sends}\\\text{promises}\end{array}\right\}$ (for) her the dog $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO$_2$ for $[_S$ PRO$_1$ with t to play$]\,]$

b.   Jan $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{koop}\\ \text{bring}\\ \text{gee}\\ \text{stuur}\\ \text{belowe}\end{array}\right\}$ die hond vir haar $[_{\overline{6}}$ PRO$_2$ vir $[_6$ PRO$_1$ om

mee t te speel$]\,]$

John $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{buys}\\ \text{brings}\\ \text{gives}\\ \text{sends}\\ \text{promises}\end{array}\right\}$ the dog for her $[_{\overline{6}}$ PRO$_2$ for $[_6$ PRO$_1$

with t to play$]\,]$

Note that the sequence <u>vir haar</u> is treated as a PP complement to V
rather than a complementizer-NP sequence in $\overline{S}$. This analysis is corro-
borated (i) by the fact that PRO$_1$ in (53) can be lexically expanded as
in <u>Jan gee vir haar die hond vir haar boetie om mee te speel</u> (= John
gives her the dog for her brother to play with) and (ii) by the fact
that <u>vir haar</u> can be moved to the left of the direct object NP where
it is no longer adjacent to $\overline{S}$.

The structure underlying (53)a may be represented as follows[44]:

(54)

Jan   gee   haar   die hond   PRO$_2$ vir   PRO$_1$ om te speel   met   t
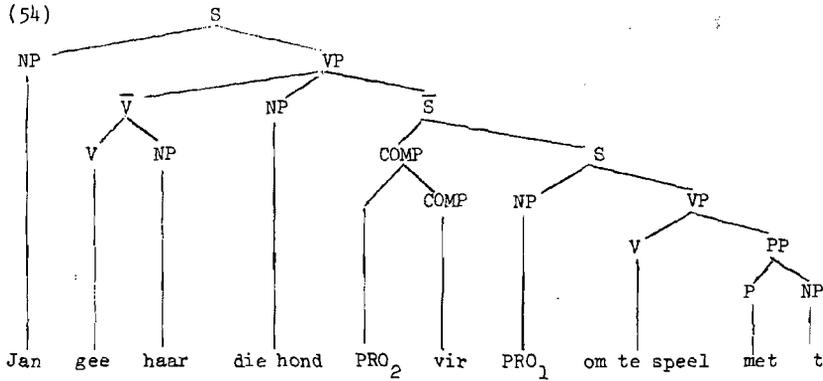
where t is the trace of PRO$_2$.

The structure underlying (53)b may be represented as in (55).

(55)
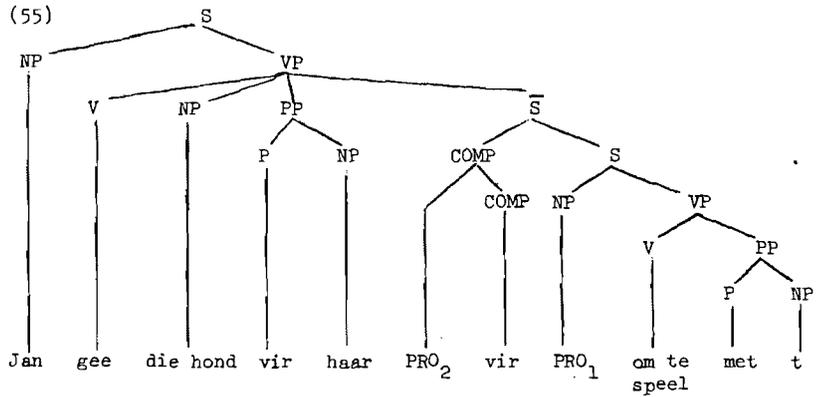
where t = the trace of PRO_2.

In both (54) and (55) the NP(s) (and PP) dominated by VP are c-commanded by $\overline{S}$ while the NP dominated by S is not. Therefore, by the C-command Principle, the controllers dominated by VP are closer to PRO (1 and 2) than the controller dominated by S. Coindexing being a "top-to-bottom" procedure, PRO_2 is the first element for which a controller has to be selected from among the two possibilities in VP. In (54) the NP die hond is immediately c-commanded by $\overline{S}$ while the NP haar, being in $\overline{V}$, is not. In (55), too, the NP die hond is immediately c-commanded by $\overline{S}$, while the NP haar, being part of PP, is not. In both cases, therefore, the NP die hond is selected as "nearest controller" for PRO_2. It follows then, that the remaining NP haar, being c-commanded by $\overline{S}$ --- although not immediately --- and therefore nearer to PRO_1 than the NP Jan, is se-lected as controller of PRO_1. Both (53)a and b mean "John buys, etc. her the dog so that she can play with the dog".

4.2   Cases covered by the MDP

The C-command Principle also extends to the cases normally accounted for by the MDP. Consider, for instance, the following sentences:

(56) a. Piet oorreed die nar om te lag.   (= (21)a above)
          Peter persuades the clown to laugh.

      b. Sy sê vir my om gou te maak.   (= (21)b above)
          she tells for me quickly to make

      c. Hy neig om te streng te wees   (= (33)a above)
          he tends too strict to be

      d. Jan belowe haar om haar vir ewig lief te hê (= (35) above)
          John promises her   her for ever to love

      e. Die instrukteur vertel hulle wat om te doen (= (39)b above)
          the instructor tells them what to do

      f. Hulle sal weet wat om te doen   (= (39)a above)
          they will know what to do

      g. Dit is moeilik vir my om te sê   (= (43)b above)
          it is difficult for me to say

      h. Jan koop vir haar 'n hond om mee te speel (= (52)b above)
          John buys for her a dog   with to play

      i. Jan koop 'n hond om mee te speel   (= (52)b above)
          John buys a dog with to play

Still assuming that everything dominated, directly or indirectly, by
VP is also c-commanded by $\bar{S}$, and therefore nearer to PRO than any element
not dominated by VP, coindexing proceeds as it would have on the basis
of the MDP. In (56)a, the NP die nar is dominated by VP and is there-
fore selected as controller for PRO. In (56)b, the NP my which is indi-
rectly dominated by VP (via PP) is selected as nearest controller. In
(56)c there is no NP under VP, and therefore no NP c-commanded by $\bar{S}$.
The only remaining NP, the subject hy, is now the nearest controller.
In (56)d we have the verb belowe which is a verb that obligatorily
assigns subject control. Neither the C-command Principle nor the MDP
makes the correct prediction in this case, as both would select the NP
dominated by VP, viz. haar, as nearest controller. In (56)e, the NP
hulle which is dominated by VP is correctly selected as nearest con-
troller. In (56)f there is, once again, no NP dominated by VP and,
therefore, no NP c-commanded by $\bar{S}$. The only remaining NP, viz. the sub-

ject <u>hulle</u>, is selected as nearest controller. In (56)g, where we
have an adjective assigning control, the C-command Principle still
holds. The NP <u>my</u> which is indirectly dominated by VP (via PP) is
selected as nearest controller for PRO. In (56)h and i the NP
<u>'n hond</u> is not available as a controller as it is a raised NP. Having
been moved from the object position of the embedded clause by <u>wh-movement</u>,
it is coindexed with its trace. Recall that the rule of control is an
index-assigning not an index-changing rule. Thus, the remaining con-
trollers that may be selected are <u>Jan</u> and <u>haar</u> in (56)h and <u>Jan</u> in
(56)i. In (56)h <u>haar</u> is selected as it is dominated by VP[45] and
therefore c-commanded by $\overline{S}$, and in (56)i <u>Jan</u> is selected as there is
no longer a controller available under VP.

The examples in (56) are representative of all the types of structures
in which control patterns have been assumed to be predictable on the
basis of the MDP. I hope to have shown that the C-command Principle
makes exactly the same predictions as the MDP. The only case in which
the prediction fails, (56)d, is an exception to the MDP too.

4.3   <u>Cases in which the MDP fails</u>

Consider the following structures:

(57)   a.   Jan vra hom 'n boek $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om hom te tart$]$

            John asks him a book $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO him to taunt$]$

       b.   Jan belowe hom 'n tjek $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om hom te paai$]$

            John promises him a cheque $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO him to soothe$]$

       c.   Jan gee hom 'n pil $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om hom te kalmeer$]$

            John gives him a pill $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   him to calm$]$

       d.   Jan speel speletjies $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om die tyd om te kry$]$

            John plays games $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   the time to while away$]$

       e.   Jan koop vir Piet die hond $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om sy suster te beïndruk$]$

            John buys for Peter the dog $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   his sister to impress$]$

In all the cases of (57),[46] the MDP makes the wrong predictions. Even
assuming that coreferential pronouns in a matrix and embedded clause are,
in one way or another, already co-indexed (in all cases but (d)),
each of the structures above still contains a complement NP which would
automatically be selected as controller by the MDP: 'n boek in (57)a,
'n tjek in (57)b, 'n pil in (57)c, speletjies in (57)d, and die hond
in (57)e. This is an undesirable result in all the cases of (57), as
PRO is understood to be coreferential with the matrix subject by speakers
of Afrikaans.

Notice that the sentences in (57) all have a "purposive" reading. For
instance, they can all be paraphrased with met die doel om 'in order to'
instead of om 'to'. They differ in this regard from relatives such as
Jan koop vir haar 'n hond om mee te speel 'John buys her a dog to play
with' (which may be paraphrased as Jan koop vir haar 'n hond waarmee sy
kan speel 'John buys her a dog with which to play') on the one hand,
and sentences such as Jan koop vir haar die hond om mee te speel 'John
buys her the dog to play with', on the other hand. In the latter sen-
tence, the embedded clause is not a relative (I shall therefore call it
a "nonrelative"): it is nog paraphrasable as *Jan koop vir haar die
hond waarmee sy kan speel 'John buys her the dog with which she can
play'. But neither can it be analyzed in exactly the same way as the
"purposives" in (57). For instance, note the following distributional
differences between clear "purposives" (the (a)-sentences) and "non-
relatives" (the (b)-sentences):

(58) a. Jan koop nie vir haar die hond nie om Anna te beïndruk
          John buys not for her the dog (not)   Anna to impress

      b. *Jan koop nie vir haar die hond nie om mee te speel
          John buys not for her the dog (not)   with to play

(59) a. Om Anna te beïndruk, koop Jan vir haar die hond.
          Anna to impress,   buys John for her the dog

      b. *Om mee te speel, koop Jan vir haar die hond.
          with to play,   buys John for her the dog

The distributional data in (58) and (59) seem to indicate that, whereas
the infinitive in the (b)-sentences cannot be separated from the VP,
for instance by negation or fronting, the infinitive in the (a)-sentences
can. I propose, tentatively, that "purposives" such as the sentences in
(57) could be distinguished from "nonrelatives" such as the sentences
in (53) above by the position of $\overline{S}$: whereas $\overline{S}$ must be a constituent
of S in the structure underlying "purposives" such as (57), $\overline{S}$ is a
constituent of VP in "nonrelatives" such as (53), as in (54) and (55)
above.[47] This would entail that the C-command Principle would make
correct predictions about control in sentences such as those of (57).
The subject NP, being immediately c-commanded by $\overline{S}$ will in all cases
be selected as the nearest controller. By contrast, there is no way in
which the MDP can account for the control pattern in sentences such as
those of (57) which contain a verb that is not marked [+ SC] in the
lexicon and that can take one or more NP or PP complement.

4.4   Retrospect

From the discussion above, the following points have emerged:

(i)   The C-command Principle is an essential principle in the gene-
       ral theory of control, since it accounts for phenomena that the.
       MDP admittedly does not cover, viz. sentences in which there
       are more than two possible controllers.

(ii)   The C-command Principle can also account for all the phenomena
       for which the MDP was proposed, viz. sentences in which there
       are one or two possible controllers.

(iii) The C-command Principle can account for a class of phenomena
       which fall within the scope of the MDP, but about which the MDP
       makes the wrong predictions, viz. the class of "purposive" con-
       structions such as (57) above.

This, I think, is sufficient evidence for abandoning the MDP as inadequate
and adopting the C-command Principle as "the basic principle of control".

5. <u>Conclusion</u>

The following points have emerged from this study:

(i)   Data from Afrikaans corroborate the theory of control proposed
       by Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) and worked out in more detail by
       Chomsky (unpublished).

(ii)   The rule of control proposed for English extends to Afrikaans
       and may even be simplified by changing (14)i to (48).

(iii) The feature $\left[+ \text{SC}\right]$ is needed for Afrikaans verbs as well and
       has been shown not to be entirely ad hoc. There seems to be a
       relationship between a need for the feature $\left[+ \text{SC}\right]$ and the
       following properties of sentences in which the verbs for which
       this feature is proposed occur:

       a.   resistance to passivization;
       b.   redundancy of the complement NP or PP; and
       c.   adherence to a pragmatic condition requiring the subject
            of the verb to be the agent in bringing about a certain
            state of affairs.

(iv)   The general theory may be simplified by abandoning the MDP and
       taking the C-command Principle to be the basic principle of con-
       trol. No extension of the C-command Principle is required.

In addition, there are two points requiring further study:

(v)   The interaction between the rule of control and the rule coin-
       dexing coreferential pronouns was merely noted, but the details
       remain to be worked out.

(vi)   Allusion was made in §2.1 to the C-command Condition on
       anaphora which requires an anaphor to be c-commanded by its
       antecedent. In a certain type of structure this condition is
       not met, viz. structures in which there is an antecedent which
       is not directly dominated by VP as in (54) and (55) above.
       The solution to this problem may perhaps be sought in a more
       precise definition of the term "first branching category", but

I have no definite proposals to offer at this stage. What is
clear, though, is that c-command plays an important role in
construal, particularly if the MDP too is replaced by a prin-
ciple based on c-command. This entails, however, that the
position of $\bar{S}$ in the sentence is all-important. The various
positions proposed above --- i.e. final within the VP in the
case of normal verb, adjective and noun complements, but final
within S in the case of "purposive" constructions --- must
therefore be independently motivated for the neat results
obtained on the basis of c-command to be of any value.

Le Roux, 85

NOTES

1. Only PRO, i.e. base-generated $[_{NP}\ e]$, qualifies as an element that can undergo control. Nonbase-generated $[_{NP}\ e]$ = trace, which results from movement of an NP or wh-phrase, is automatically coindexed with the moved category.

2. Chomsky and Lasnik (1977:459) define the notion "c-command" as follows: "We say that α c-commands β if the first branching category dominating α dominates β : in this case, β is in the domain of α ."

3. Cf. Chomsky and Lasnik 1977:432.

4. Chomsky (unpublished: 17) formulates this condition as follows: "If α is in the domain of the subject of β , β minimal, then α cannot be free in β ."

5. Chomsky (unpublished: 17) formulates this condition as follows: "A nominative anaphor in S cannot be free in $\bar{S}$ containing S."

6. Cf. Chomsky unpublished: 33.

7. In Chomsky unpublished: 8 this structure is reformulated as follows: $[_{COMP}\ \text{wh-phrase} + WH][_{S}\ PRO\ to\ V\ ....\ t\ ....]$ (t the trace of the wh-phrase)
   The category of "structures of obligatory control" is thereby extended to include structures containing complements introduced by who, whom, and to whom, as well as all the other interrogative pronouns.

8. This feature may be stipulated or predicted by a redundancy rule, for which cf. Chomsky unpublished : 41.

9. Cf. Chomsky unpublished: 33 for details of the principles of
    case assignment and the filter *N, where N has no case. Note that
    the complementizer for is not assigned the feature $[+ P]$ in all
    cases. For more details, cf. Chomsky unpublished: 40-41.

10. PRO does not contain lexical N and is, therefore, not subject to
    the filter.

11. In my dialect (or, perhaps, idiolect) this sentence is not totally
    unacceptable.

12. Note that there are two classes of verbs that fit the description
    of "verbs taking bare infinitive complements", but which are not
    verbs of control. These are the so-called believe-type verbs that
    have the marked property of being able to assign case across clause
    boundaries and the obligatory Raising verbs such as seem. For
    more details, cf. Chomsky unpublished: 38-42.

13. The occurrence of PRO in structures such as these is merely the
    result of the nonapplication of the optional rule expanding NP.

14. The feature $[+ F]$ is used here to denote the property of assign-
    ing case across clause boundaries. The restriction to $[+ F]$
    verbs follows from the fact that for deletes in VP complements and
    cannot, therefore, assign case --- cf. the reference cited in 9.
    Case has to be assigned by the matrix verb.

15. The presence of the complementizer for must be assumed to cause
    case to be assigned to the complement subject NP in structures such
    as these. According to Chomsky (unpublished: 40-41), for must be
    assigned the feature $[+ P]$ in order for the rules of case assign-
    ment to apply. If it is assigned this feature, it is undeletable
    under the Recoverability Condition. Note, however, that if it is
    assigned $[+ P]$ in structures such as (12)b, it must have this
    feature in structures such as (11)b as well. But, for must be
    deleted in (11)b in order to derive the sentence John was eager
    to win. It may be argued that case need not be assigned to PRO,

therefore <u>for</u> can be assigned $\begin{bmatrix} - & P \end{bmatrix}$, or simply not be assigned
$\begin{bmatrix} + & P \end{bmatrix}$, in structures such as (11)b. I doubt, however, that it
will be possible to present evidence in support of a distinction
between <u>for</u> in structures such as (12)b and <u>for</u> in structures
such as (11)b.

16. Chomsky (unpublished: 43) refines this somewhat cryptic statement
of what he takes to be the "basic principle of control" as follows:
"The notion 'complement' must be properly defined to include direct
objects and the NP of certain prepositional phrases".

17. This is my term for the principle stated by Chomsky (unpublished:
App - 7) to define the term "nearest controller" contained in the
rule (14).

18. Cf. Chomsky unpublished: 44.

19. Cf. Chomsky unpublished: 44.

20. More specifically, the C-command Condition, the Opacity Condition,
the *Nominative Island Constraint*, the principles of Case Assignment
and the filter <u>*N, where N has no case</u>.

21. That is, I shall be assuming the base rules that Chomsky seems to
assume in Chomsky unpublished, because he does not explicitly
state his base rules. Specifically, I shall be assuming that verbs,
nouns and adjectives can take sentential complements.

22. Cf. Chomsky unpublished: App-7 for the relevant analysis of VP.

23. I am assuming that the restrictions on the possible positions of
control noted in §2.1 and the restrictions on the controller noted
in §2.4 carry over to Afrikaans, having found no evidence to the
contrary. Note, in particular, that *in order to be a controller, an
NP or PP must be "thematically related" to the verb.* For instance,
in the sentence <u>Hy beveel haar</u> $\begin{bmatrix} \text{in 'n kwaai stem} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \underline{\text{PRO om gou}} \\ \overline{S} \end{bmatrix}$
<u>te maak</u> $\end{bmatrix}$ ("he orders her $\begin{bmatrix} \text{in an angry voice} \\ PP \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRO to hurry} \\ \overline{S} \end{bmatrix}$ ")

The NP within the PP, viz. 'n kwaai stem, is not thematically
related to the verb and is, predictably, not available as a con-
troller for PRO. No interpretation of this sentence is possible
whereby it is the angry voice that has to hurry.

24. If the subject NP of an embedded infinitival clause is lexical, the
clause must be introduced by the complementizer vir 'for', as such
an NP has to be assigned case. For the principle of case assignment
which is relevant here, cf. fn. 15 above.

25. Note that this is the passive subject, that is the active direct
object, with t the trace of PRO. The exact interpretation of
this sentence, then, is "the tresspasser pleads that some unspeci-
fied person should set him free".

26. Notice, incidentally, that the theory of control holds for passives
as well. For example, underlying the sentence (28), is the follow-
ing structure:

Sy word deur die kinders gesmeek t $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO om saam te gaan$]$

she is by the children entreated t $[_{\bar{S}}$ PRO with to go$]$

Take t to be the trace of sy. By the MDP, PRO is assigned the
index of the NP in the complement of V, viz. t, and t being
coindexed with sy, PRO is controlled by the NP sy through its trace.
Notice, also, that I find (28) less acceptable than (29) and (30),
a fact which will be relevant later on --- cf. §3.6 below.

27. I do not regard (23)a as ambiguous, but some other speakers of
Afrikaans do.

28. I find it difficult to imagine circumstances, though, in which the
NP complement of smeek could be regarded as thematically unrelated
to the verb.

29. This type of construction seems to be quite idiosyncratic. It does
not, for instance, occur in English or French:

(1) a.   *I entreated him to may go

    b.   *Je lui ai demandé de pouvoir aller

         I him have asked to may go

In both these languages, however, the sentences corresponding to
(32)a and b are grammatical:

(2) a.   I entreated him to allow me to go

    b.   Je lui ai demandé de me permettre d' aller

         I him have asked to me allow to go

30.   Notice that this *category* includes the equivalents of <u>want</u> and <u>prefer</u>
in English. It may therefore be appropriate to note at this point
that Afrikaans does not seem to have a marked category of verbs such
as <u>want</u> and <u>prefer</u> in English. In Afrikaans, these verbs are normal
verbs of control.

(1) a.   Ek verlang $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om hom weer te sien$]$

        I want $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   him again to see$]$

    b.   *Ek verlang $[_{\overline{S}}$ vir $[_S$ NP om hom weer te sien$]$ $]$

        I want $[_{\overline{S}}$ for $[_S$ NP   him again to see$]$ $]$

(2) a.   Ek verkies $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO om alleen te gaan$]$

        I prefer $[_{\overline{S}}$ PRO   alone to go $]$

    b.   *Ek verkies $[_{\overline{S}}$ vir $[_S$ NP om alleen te gaan$]$ $]$

        I prefer $[_{\overline{S}}$ for $[_S$ NP   alone to go $]$ $]$

Generalizing, we can assume that Afrikaans does not allow case
assignment across clause boundaries at all, i.e. Afrikaans does not
have the feature $[+ F]$ indicating that a verb can assign case
across clause boundaries. This would predict that in Afrikaans,
<u>believe</u>-type verbs do not have the feature $[+ F]$ either. Although
judgments are insecure and the constructions rare, these predictions
seem to me to be correct. Compare (3)a and b below.

(a) a.   Hy word geag $[_{\overline{S}}$ t (om) oneerlik te wees$]$

        he is believed $[_{\overline{S}}$ t   dishonest to be $]$

   b.   ?*Hulle ag $[_{\overline{S}}$ hom (om) oneerlik te wees $]$

        they believe $[_{\overline{S}}$ him dishonest to be $]$

Most speakers of Afrikaans consider sentences in which om te ag
is used in its active form as unacceptable or doubtful, in which
case it seems that om te ag must be regarded as a normal raising
verb, the raised subject being assigned case by the matrix verb
word (as in (3)a).

31. However, see §3.5:fn. 39   below for a certain type of construc-
tion in which they can take an NP or PP complement and an embedded
infinitive.

32. The active form of this sentence is as acceptable as the sentence
(36)b above:

Ek het teenoor hom onderneem om 'n uitvoering te gee
I have towards him undertaken   a performance to give

I have changed the sentence to get rid of the possessive my 'my'
in (36)b which could influence intuitions.

33. Cf. Searle 1965:238-239.

34. By the principle that "once a controller has assigned control, it
is no longer a controller" --- cf. Chomsky unpublished: App-5.

35. As in English, the verb vra 'ask' assigns subject control in struc-
tures such as these. We have so far deliberately avoided the verb
vra as the problems it creates are discussed in detail in §3.6
below.

36. Cf. also Chomsky unpublished: fn. 31.

37. It may be that (49)b and c require vir complementizer to
account for sentences such as (1) and (2):

(1)   Dit is 'n man vir julle om dop te hou
      it is a man for you   to keep an eye on

(2)   Bring vir my 'n boek vir my dogter om te lees
      bring for me a book for my daughter to read

However, the exact analysis of the COMP position is irrelevant here.

38.   This assumption follows from the raising analysis of relatives which
       Chomsky takes over from Vergnaud --- cf. Chomsky and Lasnik 1977:
       461 fn. 74.

39.   Note that verbs that cannot take a complement NP or PP and a "bare"
       infinitival complement (cf. §3.2:fn. 31 above) can take a complement
       NP which is the head of an infinitival complement, as in
       Ek verkies 'n pop vir my dogter om mee te speel 'I prefer a doll
       for my daughter to play with', and, Ek verkies 'n pop [vir PRO om
       mee te speel] 'I prefer a doll to play with', where PRO must still
       be coindexed with the matrix subject ek, since the complement NP
       'n pop is bound by its trace and therefore not available as a con-
       troller.

40.   Cf. Chomsky unpublished: 43.

41.   Note that even belowe, which is marked [+ SC] in the lexicon, now
       behaves in accordance with the MDP. It seems, therefore, that the
       feature applies only if control is obligatory in the narrow sense,
       i.e. with verbs of obligatory control taking "bare" infinitival com-
       plements or in structures of obligatory control, and not if control
       is "obligatory where applicable", i.e. with vir complementizer.

42.   Cf. the discussion in connection with ooreenkom in §3.2 above.

43.   Cf. Chomsky unpublished: App-7.

44.   For this and the following analysis, cf. Chomsky unpublished: App-7.
       Various other analyses of the VP have been proposed, but I am
       assuming Chomsky's analysis pending further research on the analysis
       of the VP in Afrikaans.

45.   I assume here that the embedded relative clause has been extraposed
       to the final position in the VP, which would have implications for
       Baltin's landing-site theory. He (1978:149) proposes that "extra-
       posed relatives move to a final position past the verb phrase".

46. In (58)b and c the embedded clauses might conceivably be ana-
lyzed as the complements of the NPs tjek and pil respectively,
i.e. 'n tjek $[_{\overline{S}}$ wat $[$t om hom te paai $]\,]$, in which case there
would be no control. Such an analysis is not plausible in the
other cases of (57) however.

47. Cf. Chomsky unpublished: fn. 47 for a similar analysis.

REFERENCES

Baltin, Mark Reuben

  1978   *Toward a theory of movement rules*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation: MIT, Cambridge Mass.

Black, Max (ed.)

  1965   <u>Philosophy in America</u>. Allen Unwin Ltd.

Chomsky, Noam

  Un-   On binding. Mimeographed.
  published

Chomsky, Noam and Howard Lasnik

  1977   "Filters and control" in <u>Linguistic Inquiry</u>, Vol. 8: pp. 425-504.

Searle, J.R.

  1965   "What is a speech act?" in Max Black (ed.): pp. 221-239.

Sinclair, Melinda

  1978   Chomsky se teorie van kerngrammatika. Publikasie van die Studiegroep vir Taalwetenskap, Universiteit van Pretoria.