Deconstructing Language Structure and Meaning

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Studies on Syntax, Semantics and Phonology

Edited by

Mihaela Tănase-Dogaru, Alina Tigău
and Mihaela Zamfirescu

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CHAPTER ONE

ISSUES IN NON-FINITE COMPLEMENTATION: CONTROL

JUTTA M. HARTMANN

This paper argues for an analysis of control that integrates (lexical-) semantic and syntactic aspects. It shows that such an integration is necessary for cases as anti-subject control in German and the polysemous Dutch verb *zeggen*. Anti-subject-control is argued to require a lexical-semantic basis for an anti-control configuration, which correlates with a syntactic configuration that blocks structural control. For the Dutch verb *zeggen* which is polysemous when combined with infinitival complements, it is shown in a more detailed case study that the different readings correlate with different syntactic properties. A tentative analysis is provided, which takes these readings to be the result of a combination of a general verb SAY with different complement types.

Keywords: control, polysemy, infinitives, Dutch, German

1. Introduction

Languages vary in how they express propositional arguments in a broad sense (events, propositions, situations). In English, e.g., we find nominal or nominalized arguments (1), gerunds (2), infinitives of various types (3)-(5) as well as finite clauses (7).

(1) a. Stella cannot afford to believe [the fact that Blanche could be right]. (BNC, HUB 386)

b. Nigel enjoyed [her admiration of his writing]. (BNC, AC3 1162)

(2) a. I resented [his constant questioning of my motives].
[nominal]
b. I resented [his constantly questioning my motives].
[verbal]
(Huddleston 2002b, 1189)

(3) a. Liz hoped [to convince them]. [control]
b. Liz seemed [to convince them]. [raising]
(Huddleston 2002b, 1194)

(4) a. They arranged [for the performance to begin at six].
b. They intended [(for) the performance to begin at six].
(Huddleston 2002b, 1178)

(5) They expected [the performance to begin at six].
[for excluded]
(Huddleston 2002b, 1178)

(6) a. We felt [the house shake]. (Lamprecht 1977, 253)
b. I won't have [him criticize my work].
(Lamprecht 1977, 254)
c. They helped [me move the furniture].
(Huddleston 2002b, 1174)

(7) a. He says [(that) they are in Paris].
(Huddleston 2002a, 951)
b. We insist [that she be kept informed].
(Huddleston 2002a, 993)

In this paper, I will focus on a specific aspect of some of these types of clausal embedding, namely referential dependencies between an argument of the main clause and the subject of the embedded complement clause. With infinitival clauses of the type in (3a) these dependencies have been discussed as control. My aim here is to consider central aspects of control by including referential dependencies across different types of propositional arguments in order to be able to distinguish the (lexical)-semantic aspects of control from the syntactic aspects of control, both of which restrict control. This implies that control results from the interaction of the lexical-semantic properties of the verb and the structural configuration. The main idea here is that in order to understand the **semantic input**, we need to look into referential dependencies in different realizations of propositional

arguments, not only infinitival complements. When investigating the **structural import** of control on the other hand, we need to consider cases in which the semantic restrictions of the verb are minimal. And if we do so across different languages, we will be able to differentiate the general mechanisms from the language specific properties of the syntactic realization of propositional arguments from other mechanisms. While this is a broader idea to follow, I will investigate the structural and (lexico-) semantic properties of control in two domains: (i) I report on the (lexico-) semantic properties of a small set of control verbs in German, and then, (ii) analyse the case of Dutch *zeggen*, where structural properties interact with meaning.

2. Background on control

In the literature on control, a major distinction has been made between those cases, in which the subject of an embedded infinitival clause needs to be co-referent with an argument of the matrix clause (obligatory control = OC) as in (8) and those examples in which this is not the case (non-obligatory control), see (9):

(8) Obligatory control

a. She$_i$ tried PRO$_i$ to be casual. (BNC, A08 2443)
b. And he$_i$'s promised PRO$_i$ to show us around. (BNC, A6B 1265)
c. we persuaded him$_j$ PRO$_j$ to contact the [. . .] owners. (BNC, ACM 999)
d. I asked him$_j$ PRO$_j$ to explain his pricing policy. (BNC, A14 730)

(9) Non-obligatory control

a. Clearly, [PRO confessing my crime] was not something they anticipated.
b. I never understood why it is bad for health [PRO to stuff oneself with marshmallows].
c. [After PRO pitching the tents], darkness fell quickly. (Landau 2013, 232)

While there is some disagreement as to the precise distinction, most researchers agree that these cases need to be kept apart in one way or another, as they have different properties, see Landau (2013) for a useful set of criteria to keep them apart. By and large, we find OC in complement clauses while NOC generally occurs in adjuncts and subjects. In the following, I will concentrate on the canonical cases of OC and put aside

both NOC as well as non-canonical cases in general, see Mucha et al. (in prep) for discussion of non-canonical cases.

There have been a range of proposals on how to account for the obligatory referential dependencies with respect to (i) the distinction between obligatory control and non-obligatory control, (ii) the regulations of controller choice and the possibilities of controller interpretation (e.g. exhaustive vs. partial control). Various researchers have made proposals that the underlying mechanism of control can be reduced to other mechanisms in grammar, such as – here I follow the grouping in Landau (2013) – Predication (see Williams 1980, Lebeaux 1984, Chierchia 1984), Binding (see Manzini 1983, Sag & Pollard 1991, Bouchard 1984, Koster 1984, Williams 1992, Manzini & Roussou 2000, for LFG see Bresnan 1982), A-movement (among others see Hornstein 1999, Polinsky & Potsdam 2002, Boeckx & Hornstein 2004, Manzini & Roussou 2000) or Agree (see among others Landau 2000 et seq.).

Besides the lively debate about the underlying syntactic mechanism of control, there is a range of approaches that suggest that the major ingredient in control and controller choice lies in the semantics of the verbs (see e.g., Köpcke & Panther 1993, 2002, Jackendoff & Culicover 2003, Culicover & Jackendoff 2005). This seems true on first sight for a number of control verbs which predominantly occur with infinitival complements, however, one major distinction that is rarely made and emphasized as relevant is that many verbs that restrict controller choice with infinitival clauses do not require the same referential dependency in clauses with overt subjects (finite, or overt subjects in infinitivals). This is true for example of the verbs *want* and *hope* in English, see (10) and (11).

(10) a. John wanted PRO to leave.
b. John wanted for Mary to leave.

(11) a. I hate to go and leave you in this state. (BNC, A0L 2382)
b. She hates that I have to fight against her countrymen. (BNC, CMP 1085)

Stiebels (2007, 2010) makes such a distinction of inherent vs. structural control, where **inherent control** requires co-reference of a specific argument of the matrix verb with the subject of the embedded constituent in all contexts, i.e., with subjects of non-finite (covert) and finite clauses (overt) and with subjects in nominalizations (overt or covert). The contrast is illustrated in (12) vs. (13) for German. **Structural control** on the other hand only requires co-reference with non-finite complements; with finite clauses, the reference of the embedded subject is free.

(12) Inherent Control: *ermutigen* 'encourage'

a. Maria$_i$ ermutigt ihren Sohn$_j$ [_$_{j/*i/*k}$ am Rennen
Maria encourages her.ACC son at-the race
teilzunehmen].
part-to-take
'Maria encourages her son to take part in the race.'

b. ?Maria$_i$ ermutigt ihren Sohn$_j$ (dazu) [dass er$_{j/*k}$
Maria encourages her.ACC son thereof that he
am Rennen teilnimmt].
at. DEF race part-takes

c. Maria$_i$ ermutigt ihren Sohn$_j$ [zur _$_{j/*i/*k}$ Teilnahme
Maria encourages her.ACC son to.DEF participation
am Rennen].
at.DEF race

(Stiebels 2010, 392, my gloss)

(13) Structural Control

a. Maria$_i$ hofft [_$_{i/*j}$ beim Rennen zu siegen].
Maria hopes at.DEF.DAT race to win

b. Maria$_i$ hofft, [dass sie$_{i/j}$/Peter beim Rennen siegt].
Maria hopes that she/P. at.DEF.DAT race wins

c. Maria$_i$ hofft auf ihren$_{i/j}$/Peters Sieg.
Maria hopes on her.ACC/P.s victory

(Stiebels 2010, 392, my gloss)

Taking this distinction seriously, we need to distinguish between those cases in which control is guided by the semantic properties of the selecting verb possibly interacting with the semantic properties of the complement, and those cases in which control is induced by the structure. In order to understand the syntactic input and structure of control, we therefore need to consider those verbs that do not give rise to inherent control. In turn, if we want to understand the semantic input, we need to provide a formal account of what exactly the semantic co-reference requirement is, and whether or not this is a lexical semantic property of the verb. In some cases, it might be difficult to keep the two apart.

With this much background, I want to look at two case-studies, one in which the semantic properties are decisive, anti-control in German, and another case where structural properties are more prominent, namely with the Dutch verb *zeggen*.

3. Lexical-semantic properties: Anti-Control in German

Wöllstein (2015), Brandt et al. (2016), Rapp et al. (2017), Brandt & Bildhauer (2019) analysed the selectional properties of a range of different control verbs and isolated a new class which they labeled anti-subject control verbs. These are verbs such as *missbilligen* ('to disapprove'), *würdigen* ('to appreciate') or *anordnen* ('to order/mandate'). The properties of these verbs are that (i) they occur with infinitival clauses only rarely, but when they do, (ii) they do not give rise to subject control even though the subject is the only available controller, and (iii) they only construe incoherently, which can be analysed as selection of a CP that blocks control. An example is given in (14).[1]

(14) Maxi ordnet an, $PRO_{*i/j}$ die Zigaretten zurückzubringen.
Max order.3P.SG.PRS PRO DEF cigarette back.to.bring.INF
"Max orders (so.) to bring back the cigarettes."

In Hartmann & Mucha (2019), we take up this work and show that this anti-subject control property not only holds when these verbs combine with infinitival clauses: co-reference is also restricted with finite complements (and nominalizations):

(15) Maxi ordnet an, dass $er*_{i/j}$ die Zigaretten zurückbringt.
Max order.3P.SG.PRS that he DEF cigarettes back.bring.3P.SG.PRS
"Max mandates that he bring back the cigarettes."

We take this to mean that anti-subject control is an inherent property of these verbs, which we formulate as a restriction of co-reference with the agent argument of the embedded verb (see Hartmann and Mucha 2019 for details). This semantic property is reflected in the structural properties: anti-subject control verbs are only compatible with CPs that are structurally large enough to block a syntactic mechanism of control, i.e. they either select finite clauses or construe necessarily incoherently.

4. Case study: Dutch *zeggen*

4.1 Introduction

Dutch *zeggen* 'say' falls in the class of verbs of communication (also termed as 'illocutionary verbs,' 'speech act verbs' or 'verbs of saying,' see Proost 2006). These are verbs that report a speech act and can be classified according to the original speech act, more specifically, the speakers' attitude to the propositional content of the utterance reported. A directive verb of communication such as *order* describes a speech act in which the speaker wants the hearer to bring about the situation that is described in the original utterance. A commissive verb such as *allow* expresses that the speaker gives the hearer permission to bring about the situation that is described in the original utterance. A promissive verb such as *promise* describes that the speaker committed themselves to bringing about the situation that is described in the original utterance. A reportative verb provides the information that the speaker stated the proposition of the original utterance (possibly in a specific manner).

Zeggen can appear with both finite and infinitival clauses. When it occurs with infinitival clauses, *zeggen* is polysemous and can appear with a reportative reading and a directive reading illustrated in (17).[2]

(16) a. Ze zei dat iedereen haar haatte
she said that everyone her hated
'She said that everyone hated her.'
(LASSY groot, wik_part0601::1324135-12-7)

b. Ze zei dat ze naar Salem moest komen
She said that she to Salem must.PAST come
'She said that she had to come to Salem.
(LASSY groot, wik_part0599::1318425-38-3)

(17) a. Hij zei liberaal te zijn. REPORTATIVE
He said liberal to be
'He said that he is liberal.'
(LASSY groot, wik_part0291::442480-10-3)

b. Die zegt hem contact op te nehmen
DEM.F.SG says him contact up to take
met de fotografe. DIRECTIVE
with the photographer
'She told him to contact the photographer.'
(LASSY groot, wik_part0133::125018-15-7)

When the clause is finite, there is neither a requirement of co-reference nor a restriction of co-reference, see (16). Thus, this means that the verb *zeggen* does not encode control properties in its lexical entry. The investigation of the syntactic properties of this verb in combination with the infinitive is interesting as from a semantic-pragmatic perspective the directive reading seems to require control by the addressee on first sight, whereas no such restriction is expected with the reportative reading. In the following I show that the two readings correlate with a number of syntactic differences, which will lead to an analysis where the syntactic properties are decisive for the polysemy with this verb.

4.2 Syntactic aspects of *zeggen*

Zeggen in the reportative reading in Dutch can occur with both finite and non-finite complements, see (18).

(18) a. In het artikel zegt hi_j echter geen communist
In DEF article says he really no communist
te zijn,
to be
(LASSY Groot, wik_part0346::570808-9-2)

b. In een interview zei hi_j dat hi_j nog steeds
in an interview said he that he still always
iedere dag gitaar speelde,
every day guitar played
(LASSY Groot, wik_part0627::1400856-2-10))

When an infinitival clause is selected this is a semi-transparent *te*-infinitival clause; *om*-infinitivals are excluded (very clearly in the reportative reading, see below for details with respect to the directive reading). Semi-transparent infinitivals allow for arguments in the embedded clause to occur in the middlefield as in (19a), where the argument *een sterke affiniteit* . . . of the verb occurs in the middle field, while there is no verb cluster formation that gives rise to the IPP (infinitiv-pro-participium) effect, see (19b):[3]

(19) a. die persoonlijk een sterke affiniteit met het
REL personally a strong affinity
with ..... his
land ..... zegt te voelen.
country ..... says tofeel
'who says to feel a strong affinity with his country'
(LASSY Groot, wik_part0105::85536-43-2)

b. dat hij dit heeft {gezegd/*zeggen} te voelen

Control with *zeggen* is subject to a strict licensing condition with the reportative reading, i.e., it requires an overt controller in the matrix clause. This can be seen with passive formation. In the reportative reading it is impossible to passivize *zeggen* as in (20a) (Broekhuis & Corver 2015). This licensing restriction is less strict in the directive reading, see (20b), which is possible with passive formation (see van Haaften 1991, 78) (the contrast is made clear here as the content of the embedded clause in (20a) is rather incompatible with a directive reading). With a directive reading, the addressee can remain implicit.

(20) a. *Er is Kees door Piet gezegd [PRO niet gelukkig te
EXPL is K. by Piet said PRO not happy to
zijn met die oplossing]
be with the solution

b. ?Er is ons (door moeder) gezegd [PRO vroeg thuis
EXPL is us by mother said PRO early home
te komen]
to come

(van Haaften 1991: 78)

From a semantic-pragmatic perspective the restriction observed in (20a) vs. (20b) is difficult to handle: why should a demoted or absent argument be a viable antecedent for PRO in the directive reading but not in the reportative reading? Additionally, this cannot be a difference between subject (reportative) and object control (directive), as subject control verbs like *beloven* 'promise' also allow for the impersonal passive in Dutch, see (21).

(21) Er werd ons$_j$ beloofd [(om) PRO$_{arb}$ de auto te
there was us promised COMP PRO the car to
repareren].
repair (Broekhuis & Corver 2015: 800)

I conclude from this restriction on reportative *zeggen* that the syntactic environment has an influence on the interpretation of PRO. As a working hypothesis, I would like to suggest that the two different readings of *zeggen* are not the result of two different lexical entries, but that the meaning of *zeggen* interacts with the structure (see below for more details). In order to establish the properties of the two readings, I probe into their control properties in the following sections.[4]

4.3 Predicative vs. logophoric control

4.3.1 Overview

Landau (2015) distinguishes between two types of control, namely predicative vs. logophoric control, the two classes that were considered as partial control (=PC) vs. exhaustive control (=EC) (see Landau 2000, 2015, Pearson 2012, 2016 for more discussion); the two different types differ with respect to the properties given in table 1 taken from Landau (2015, 65).

	Predicative control	Logophoric control
Inflected Complement	yes	no
[-human] PRO	yes	no
Implicit control	no	yes
Control shift	no	yes
Partial control	no	yes
Split control	no	yes

Table 1: Summary of empirical contrast between two types of control (Landau 2015: 65)

As Dutch does not have inflected vs. non-inflected infinitives, I put this criterion aside and turn to the other criteria in turn.

4.3.2 [-human] PRO

The criterion of [-human] cannot be tested easily independently of control, as the core meaning of *zeggen* in both readings prefers [+human] antecedents. This is certainly true for the crucial case of the directive reading disallowing [-human] antecedents for PRO, since the addressee for the directive reading, i.e., the antecedent has to be an entity that is able to bring about the proposition described in the embedded clause. For the reportative reading a [-human] antecedent seems to be possible as the following example shows:[5] The following example supports the idea that the reportative reading allows for a [-human] antecedent, in contrast to the directive reading.

(22) De overeenkomst$_i$ zegt [PRO$_i$ te eindigen op het moment dat de werkzaamheden naar het oordeel van opdrachtgever zijn voltooid.]
The contract says PRO to end at the moment that the work according.to the judgment of customer are fulfilled
'The contract says that it ends as soon as the work is considered done by the customer'

Note that this kind of non-human antecedent falls in the class of sources, which can frequently replace human antecedents with a metaphorical shift. The crucial point though is that this metaphorical shift is not available for PRO in the embedded clause. No such cases seem possible with the directive reading.

4.3.3 Implicit control

As observed previously, the reportative reading does not allow for implicit control, see (23a), while the directive reading does, see van Haaften (1991), illustrated in (23b).

(23) a. *Er is Piet gezegd [PRO Niet gelukkig te zijn met
EXPL is Peter said PRO not happy to be with
die oplossing]
the solution
Literally: It was told to Peter not to be happy with the solution'
(van Haaften 1991, 78, my gloss and translation)

b. En moeder heeft nog zo gezegd [PRO op te passen
and mother has PRT PRT said PRO up to pass
voor mannen met een baard]
for men with a beard
'And Mom has said that we should watch out for men with a beard'
(van Haaften 1991, 79, my gloss and translation)

Additionally, a PP argument cannot be the controller in the reportative reading, while the directive reading is less marked:

(24) a. *Er is Kees door Piet gezegd [PRO niet
EXPL is K. by Piet said pro not
gelukkig te zijn met die oplossing]
happy to be with the solution

b. ?Er is ons door moeder gezegd [PRO vroeg thuis
EXPL is us by mother said PRO early home
te komen]
to come
(van Haaften 1991, 78)

This is confirmed by my native speaker informants: they do not accept the reportative reading with an implicit argument (the dropped *by*-phrase of

the passive) as in (25); the addressee argument is retained in the impersonal passive form.

(25) De kinderen wordt gezegd [PRO het woonhuis te hebben
The children was said PRO the house to have
verkocht]
sold
'Literally: The kids were told to have sold the house.'

Thus, implicit control is possible with the directive reading, but not with the reportative reading.

4.3.4 Control shift

The data for control shift on a descriptive level for the two readings needs to take into consideration the conceptual-semantic structure of the two readings, as well as the question whether or not control shift requires a "trigger" in the embedded infinitive. First, in the directive reading, there is a strong preference for control by the addressee, whereas nothing in the reportative situation requires such a restriction. As expected, the directive reading shows a strong preference for control by the addressee and control shift seems hardly possible see (26), even with a trigger in the embedded clause. Thus, *zeggen* in its directive reading seems to fall in the class of the so-called "verbs of influence" (term by Rooryck 2000) or implicative causative verbs (term by Landau 2015: 4), so control shift is not possible with the directive reading.

(26) *De studenten$_j$ zeiden de directeur$_i$ [PRO$_j$ de activiteiten
DEF students said DEF director PRO DEF activities
te mogen continueren
to be.allowed continue
'Intended: The students told the director that they want to be allowed to continue their activities.'

This contrasts with the availability of control shift with *verzoeken* 'ask', a verb which should be rather similar in its semantic structrue, see (27).

(27) De studenten$_j$ verzochten de directeur$_i$ [PRO$_j$ de
DEF students continue asked DEF director PRO t DEF
activiteiten te mogen continueren.
activities to be.allowed
'The students asked the director to be allowed to continue their activities.'

For the reportative reading judgments for the availability of both subject and object vary. Most speakers only allow for the subject reading, see (28), but a few speakers also accept both readings.

(28) Maria$_i$ zei haar vriendin$_j$ [PRO$_{i/\%j}$ zwanger te zijn].
Mary said her friend.FEM PRO pregnant to be
'Mary told her friend to be pregnant'

Note that it is striking that speakers require subject control, even though nothing in the reportative meaning forces such a reading.

4.3.5 Partial control

The directive reading certainly allows for partial control readings in the following contexts. The reportative reading is judged more marked but probably marginally possible by my native speaker informants.

(29) Directive: Jan$_i$ and Piet$_j$ are school children. After class they get into a fight. The teacher, Ms Harris, tries to settle the dispute and talks to the boys individually. She tells them how to interact in future.

a. Zij zegt Piet$_j$ [PRO$_{j+i}$ in toekomst naar elkaar te luisteren].
She says P. PRO in future after each.other to listen
'She tells Piet that they should listen to each other in future.'

b. Zij zegt Jan$_i$ [PRO$_{i+j}$ in toekomst met elkaar te praten].
She says Jan PRO in future with each.other to talk
'She tells Jan that they should talk to each other in future.'

(30) Reportative Context: Jan$_i$ and Piet$_j$ are school children. After class they get into a fight. The teacher, Ms Harris, tries to settle the dispute and talks to the boys individually. She asks them individually about what they think the problem was.

(31)

a. ?Piet$_j$ zei [PRO$_{j+i}$ niet naar elkaar geluisterd te hebben.]
P said PRO not after each.other listened to have
'Peter said that they did not listen to each other.'

b. ?Jan$_i$ zei [PRO$_{i+j}$ niet met elkaar gepraat te hebben.]
Jan said PRO not with each.other talked to have
'Jan said that they had not talked to each other.'

There is an additional issue as to what extent partial control is possible in transparent constructions with reportative *zeggen* as in (31). My informants report that the partial control reading forced by *elkaar* is rather impossible to get. Note though that it is not clear to what extent this is a cumulative effect of a marked word order and the partial control reading or whether partial control is not possible in general with the third construction, a topic which I leave to future research here, as it requires an in-depth experimental study independently of the verb *zeggen*.

(32) a. *Zij vertelde dat Piet naar elkaar zei
she told that P. after each.other said
geluisterd te hebben.
listen to have
'She told (me) that Piet said to have listened to each other.'

b. ??Zij vertelde dat Piet zei naar elkaar geluisterd te hebben.

4.3.6 Intermediate Summary

The preceding discussion has shown that the distribution of the different readings does not pattern along the lines of the two types of control as proposed in Landau (2015):

	Pred	Logoph.	Reportative	Directive
[-human] PRO	yes	no	yes	no
Implicit control	no	yes	no	yes
Control shift	no	yes	yes	hardly possible
Partial control	no	yes	marginally yes	yes

Table 2: Comparison of reportative / directive reading with predicative / logophoric control

However, on closer inspection, there is enough reason to suggest that the directive reading belongs to the class of logophoric control, whereas the reportative reading belongs to the class of predicative control.

So, let me consider the directive reading first, which patterns with logophoric control, with the exception of unavailability of control shift. This might actually not be so surprising, if, as will be discussed below in Section 4.4, the directive meaning is indeed not inherent in the meaning of the verb *zeggen*, but depends on the presence of a directive addressee and a future-oriented infinitive. The interpretation of PRO in this infinitive is in principle flexible, but the directive reading is closely linked to the addressee being

the agent of the embedded clause.

Turning to the reportative reading, the strongest argument for considering it a case of predicative control is the fact that it does not allow for implicit control. On the other hand, the marginal availability of partial control as an option in the reportative reading is not compatible with a strict view. As reported above, intuitions are rather tricky here and worth more in-depth discussion. To what extent speakers accommodate the intended reading in context that supports this reading exclusively can only be investigated with an experimental study along the lines of Pitteroff et al. (2017), which I leave to future research for the time being.[6]

The second possible argument against predicative control, is the availability of control shift. Note though that control shift is dependent on the overt presence of the respective argument, so that possibly both structures are available for the verb *zeggen*, see below.

4.4 Control and clausal embedding: a tentative proposal

Summarizing the discussion so far, we have seen the following:

- the directive reading correlates with the appearance of an opaque *om-te*-infinitive;
- the reportative reading correlates with a transparent *te*-infinitive;
- the directive reading shows most of the hallmark of logophoric control;
- the reportative reading shows the main hallmarks of predicative control;

Both readings use the same verb, so we need to figure out whether or not we should assume two different meanings of the verb with a different argument structure or whether there is a common core meaning of the verb which can combine with different arguments to give rise to the different readings.

In the following I sketch a proposal that allows for a shared meaning of *zeggen* to combine with different constituents. The core idea is that the directive reading needs to select an infinitival complement that marks a directive speech act giving rise to a fully projected CP, while the reportative reading selects for a smaller constituent, a TP, presumably because it can rely on the reportative reading to be a default that is not required to be marked in the infinitival complement.

4.4.1 Basic assumptions

In this section, I spell out the background for my analysis. First, in infinitival complement clauses in Dutch the subject argument is unpronounced. I take this element to be UPRO (see McFadden & Sundaresan 2016, 2018), i.e., a pronominal form whose referential properties depend on the syntactic environment it occurs in. In combination with the analysis of control in Landau (2015) we can get the following patterns of control in Dutch: UPRO can either be directly bound/agreed with by an argument in the matrix clause under c-command, when the complement clause does not introduce a C-layer that blocks direct agreement (this corresponds to Landau's 2015 predicative control). For the cases discussed here, I assume that this C-layer is just absent with transparent infinitives, though it is conceivable that the C-layer is just not of the type that blocks direct agree relations.

Second, I assume that UPRO can also be bound/agreed with indirectly via the C-layer (some kind of logophoric center) which in turn gets its referential properties from an argument in the matrix clause (this is the logophoric control in Landau's approach). In Dutch, the C-layer can be made overt by the use of the complementizer *om*.[7]

Besides these basic assumptions about Control, I follow Grimshaw (2015, 2017) in that the communication verbs include a light verb SAY which adds the two syntactic frames given in (32) where the second is compatible with [-human] subjects.

(33) a. SAY1 {Agent/i Linguistic-Material/j Goal/k}
b. SAY2 {Location/i Linguistic-Material/j}

The two schemas in (32a) and (32b) additionally differ with respect to the availability of a goal argument, which is possible (though not obligatory) in (32a), but absent with SAY2.

Additionally, the schema for SAY1 is assumed to be quite broad in Grimshaw (2017) in the sense that say-verbs report speech events in general, but the type of speech event is encoded in the 'linguistic material'-argument; some verbs restrict the type of speech act–*ask* only selects questioning speech acts–others are free of such restrictions–for example *mutter* can occur with both *wh*- and *that*-clauses.

Grimshaw (2015, 2017) does not discuss directive speech acts. Nevertheless, her proposal can be expanded quite naturally to include these cases by extending the range of force types that the 'linguistic material'-argument can encode including D-Force (directive force), the third option besides A-force (assertive force) and Q-force (questioning force).

(34) a. He said to me 'Leave!'.
b. 'Leave!', he said.

As the directive reading requires an agent and a goal (addressee) argument, this is only possible with the first frame of the light verb in (32a).

Additionally, we need to add that D-force complements can in principle be infinitival and indeed seem to be generally so in Dutch; as force is usually considered a C-related projection we expect D-force infinitivals to have C-properties. In Dutch, this is the overt C-element *om*.

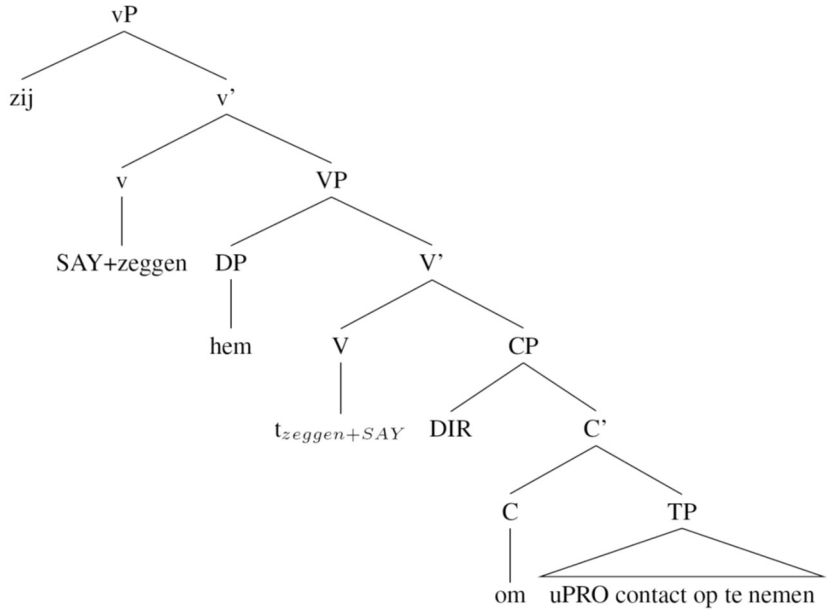
Turning now to the second scheme, Grimshaw (2015) assumes that the hall-mark for the SAY2 scheme is that the matrix argument is inanimate providing the location/source of the information reported in the linguistic complement, see (34). Additionally, no addressee argument is possible with this frame.

(35) The poster said that the park was closed. (Grimshaw 2015, 86)

4.4.2 The directive reading

With this much as background, we can now propose an analysis for directive *zeggen*. For the directive reading, the crucial ingredient in the analysis proposed here is that it arises if the complement is a full-fledged CP, which specifies the directive speech act as just discussed above. As the directive reading relies on a full-fledged CP, and as the nature of direction is addressee-oriented, it gives rise to logophoric control with the addressee as the obligatory antecedent. The full structure is given in (35).[8]

(36) Zij zegt hem UPRO contact op te nemen



4.4.3 The reportative reading

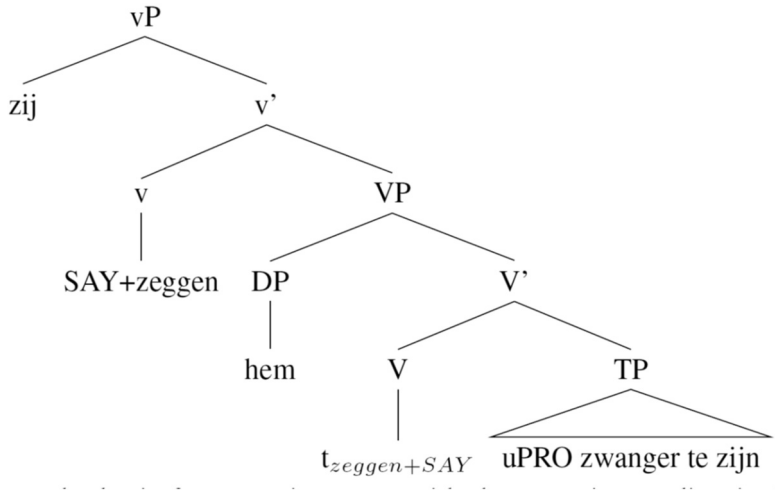
Within the reportative reading, I think that we need to distinguish at least the two different patterns introduced by Grimshaw, see (32a) and (32b). Most reportative cases seem to be cases of SAY1 with an optional addressee argument. Additionally, we find the SAY2 pattern with [-human] subjects and lacking an addressee argument, see the examples in (23) above. In these cases, the subject is the location of the information.[9]

We often find SAY1 with finite clauses for *zeggen* in Dutch, see (16) above, but we also find *zeggen*+INF with an additional argument, even though these are not frequent with *zeggen*, see (36).[10]

(37) De vader Hildebrand zegt zijn zoon nooit een verwant
DEF father Hildebrand says his son never a relative
te hebben gehad, […]
to have had
'Father Hildebrand told his son that he never has had a relative.'
(Lassy groot: wik_part0069::42257-17-4)

However, these declarative infinitivals do not project a full CP, see (37), but are interpreted as declaratives as default.[11]

(38) Zij zegt hem UPRO zwanger te zijn



The basis for assuming a TP with the reportative reading is the fact that implicit control is not possible. Consider first, the ungrammaticality of the passive form in (38):[12]

(39) *Er wordt gezegd [PRO niet gelukkig te zijn met
EXPL AUX said [PRO not happy to be with
die oplossing]
the solution]

The ungrammaticality is a result of the TP structure: a passive form of the reportative reading of the verb *zeggen* results in a raising configuration, PRO is required to move to the subject position where UPRO is not licensed as silent pronominal; it can only appear as an overt pronoun, as in (39).

(40) Hij wordt gezegd [PRO niet gelukkig te zijn met die oplossing]
He AUX said [not happy to be with the solution]

As *zeggen* does not select a CP complement, UPRO cannot receive a logophoric or pronominal interpretation via co-reference with an implicit argument. As a result, we get a configuration of obligatory structural control

which is not required/forced by the verb, but merely by the structural configuration. This is a case that any analysis that reduces control exclusively to verb semantics cannot handle.

4.5 Summary

Summarizing the discussion on Dutch *zeggen*, I have proposed that directive *zeggen* selects for a directive CP complement, i.e. the directive meaning is a result of the combinatorics in the structure, whereas reportative *zeggen* occurs with a TP only. Furthermore, I suggested that reportative *zeggen* combines with SAY1 or SAY2, in the latter case giving rise to non-human antecedents.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that both lexical-semantic and structural properties interact in giving rise to control or anti-control. I have briefly presented evidence for a lexical-semantic analysis of control concerning anti-subject-control verbs in German. For the polysemous Dutch verb *zeggen*, I have argued that the polysemy is a result of a combination of a general light verb SAY1 with either a directive CP (which can host *om*) or a reduced TP which gives rise to obligatory control even though the verb meaning does not require such a co-reference restriction.

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Notes

[1] Note that these cannot be cases of implicit control as *anordnen* cannot select for an addressee argument.

(i) *Max$_i$ ordnet Paul an, die Zigaretten zurückzubringen.
Max order.3SG.PRS Paul PRT the cigarettes back.to.bring.INF
Intended: "Max orders Paul to bring back the cigarettes."

[2] There might be an additional promissive reading which is not easy to distinguish from the reportative in some cases

[3] Broekhuis et al. 1995 analyses these semi-transparent *te*-infinitives as extraposition plus scrambling versus verb cluster formation; whether or not this is the correct analysis is not central to my concern here. The important point, as will be made clear below is that transparent *te*-infinitives are not fully clausal, i.e. they do not contain a C-layer, despite being extraposed. Transparent infinitives have also been discussed under the label Third Construction, German *Dritte Konstruktion*, see den Besten et al. (1988), Beek (2008) for discussion on Dutch and Wöllstein-Leisten (2001), Wurmbrand (2001) for discussion on German.

[4] Due to lack of space, I do not discuss whether or not non-obligatory control might be a relevant category in line with the discussion in Landau (2020). According to the criteria established in Landau (2013) (arbitrary control, long-distance control, discourse control, non-c-commanding control), both readings fall in the category of obligatory control. Note that most of my informants report that the translation of *Dad said to be quiet* is impossible in Dutch in a configuration where the person that Dad addresses is not the referent of the embedded clause, in contrast to what has been reported for English by Landau (2020).

[5] A [-human] antecedent might be established in the context of *wh* infinitives (see Landau 2015, 67), but *wh*-infinitives are marginal in Dutch to begin with (Zwart 2011)

[6] There is an additional related issue of whether or not the reportative reading with *zeggen* can be considered a propositional attitude verb. It certainly need not be as the availability of a [-human] antecedent as discussed in 4.3.2 shows.

[7] Note that UPRO can have pronominal properties resulting in non-obligatory control. I put this aside, see McFadden & Sundaresan (2018) for details.

[8] I abstract away here from the derivation of Dutch OV and extraposed infinitival clauses. Following Zwart (1997), I assume that extraposed clauses are base-generated to the right. They might also be base-generated to the left and extraposed to the right, see Hoekstra (1983).

[9] It is not obvious to me, why a [+human] subject might not be reported as the source of the information, resulting in an ambiguity of SAY1 and SAY2 when there is no adressee argument. Such an analysis would be compatible with SAY2 being some evidential projection in the clausal spine along the lines of Cinque (2006).

[10] In a corpus study on communicative verbs in Dutch, (see Hartmann 2018) I only found one such case out of 160 relevant cases with the reportative reading.

[11] This complement can in principle be also a C-related projection that is small