



# Ling 566

## Nov 14, 2023

Raising, Control

# Overview

- Intro to topic
- Infinitival *to*
- (Subject) raising verbs
- (Subject) control verbs
- Raising/control in TG
- Object raising and object control
- Reading questions

# Where We Are & Where We're Going

- In the last two chapters, we have seen a kind of subject sharing -- that is, cases where one NP served as the SPR for two different verbs.  
Examples?
- Last time: non-referential NPs. Examples?
- Today: the kind of subject sharing we saw with *be* in more detail.
- Then: another kind of subject sharing, using dummy NPs in differentiating the two kinds.

# What Makes This Topic Different

- The phenomena we have looked at so far (agreement, binding, imperatives, passives, existentials, extraposition) are easy to pick out on the basis of their form alone.
- In this chapter, we look at constructions with the general form NP-V-(NP)-*to*-VP. It turns out that they divide into two kinds, differing in both syntactic and semantic properties.

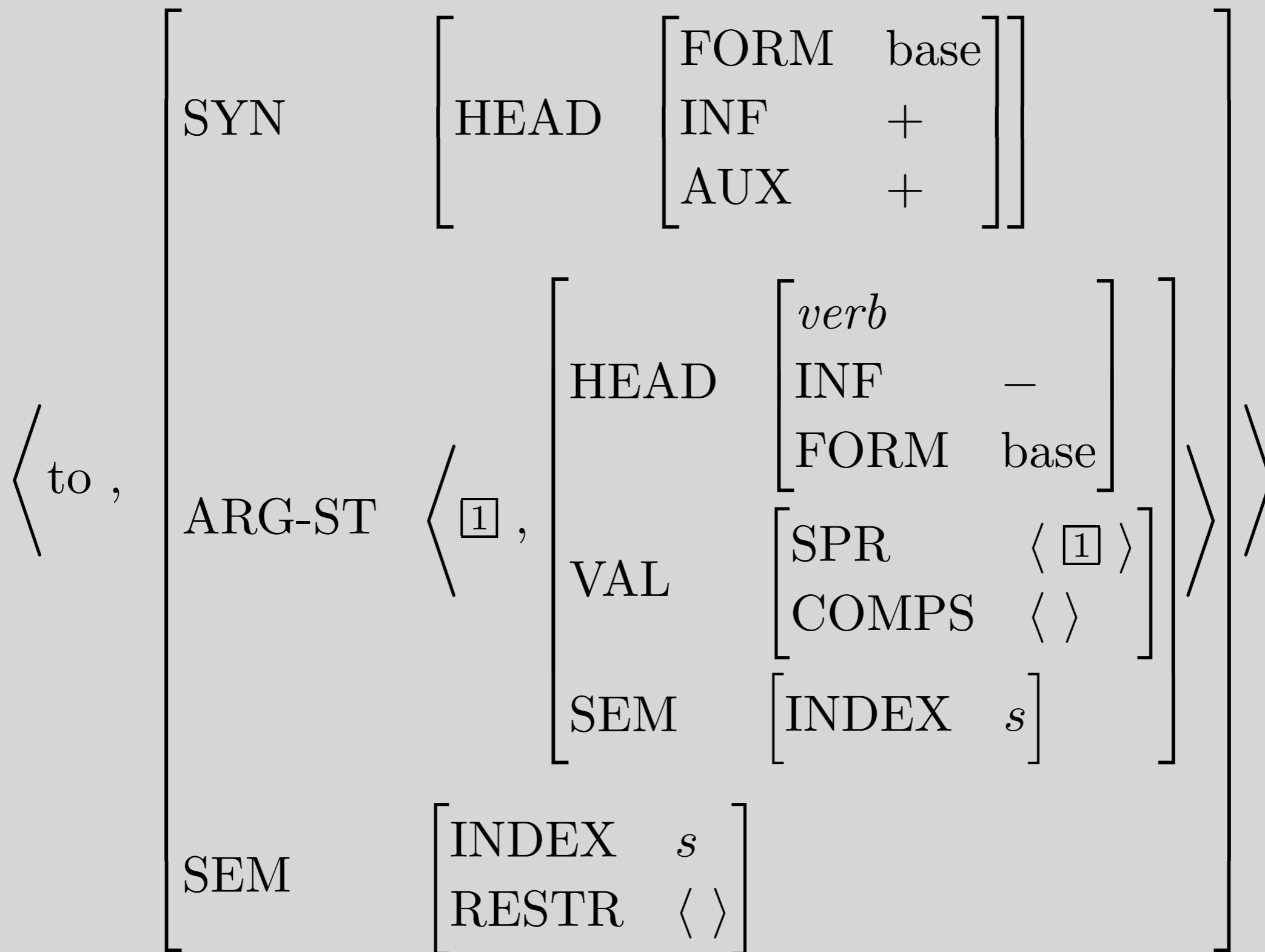
# The Central Idea

- *Pat continues to avoid conflict and Pat tries to avoid conflict*  
both have the form NP-V-*to*-VP
- But *continues* is semantically a one-place predicate, expressing a property of a situation (namely, that it continues to be the case)
- Whereas *tries* is semantically a two-place predicate, expressing a relation between someone who tries and a situation s/he tries to bring about.
- This semantic difference has syntactic effects.

# The Status of Infinitival *to*

- It's not obvious what part of speech to assign to *to*.
- It's not the same as the preposition *to*:  
*Pat aspires to stardom*  
*Pat aspires to be a good actor*  
*\*Pat aspires to stardom and to be a good actor*
- We call it an auxiliary verb, because this will make our analysis of auxiliaries a little simpler.

# The Lexical Entry for Infinitival *to*



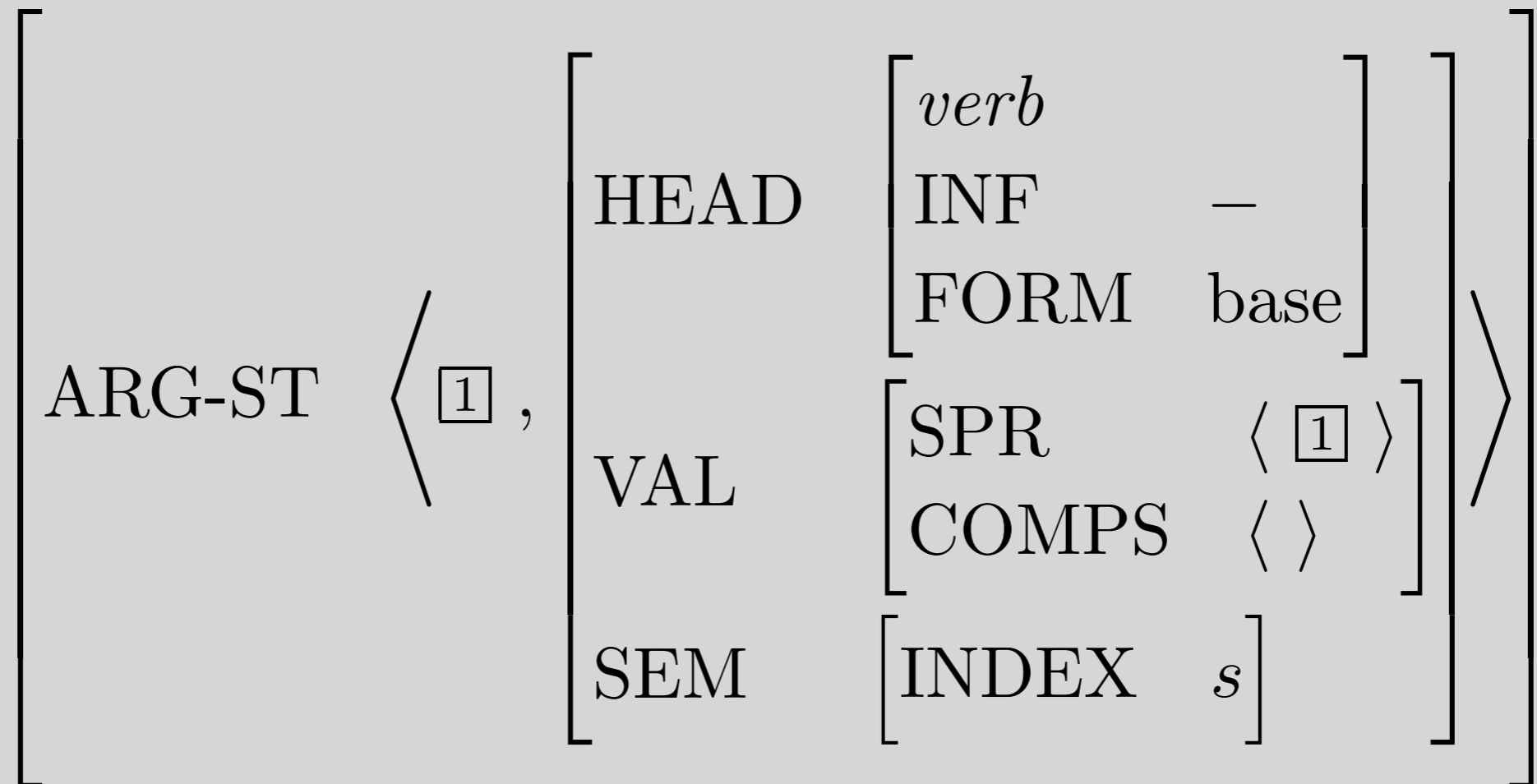
# The Syntax of Infinitival *to*

$$\left[ \text{SYN} \left[ \text{HEAD} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & \text{base} \\ \text{INF} & + \\ \text{AUX} & + \end{array} \right] \right] \right]$$

- This makes it a verb, because AUX is declared on *verb*
- [INF +] uniquely identifies the infinitival *to*
- Verbs select complements with different combinations of FORM and INF values, e.g.
  - complements of *condescend* are [FORM base] and [INF +]
  - complements of *should* are [FORM base] and [INF –]
  - complements of *help* are [FORM base]
- The meaning of [AUX +] becomes clear in Chapter 13.

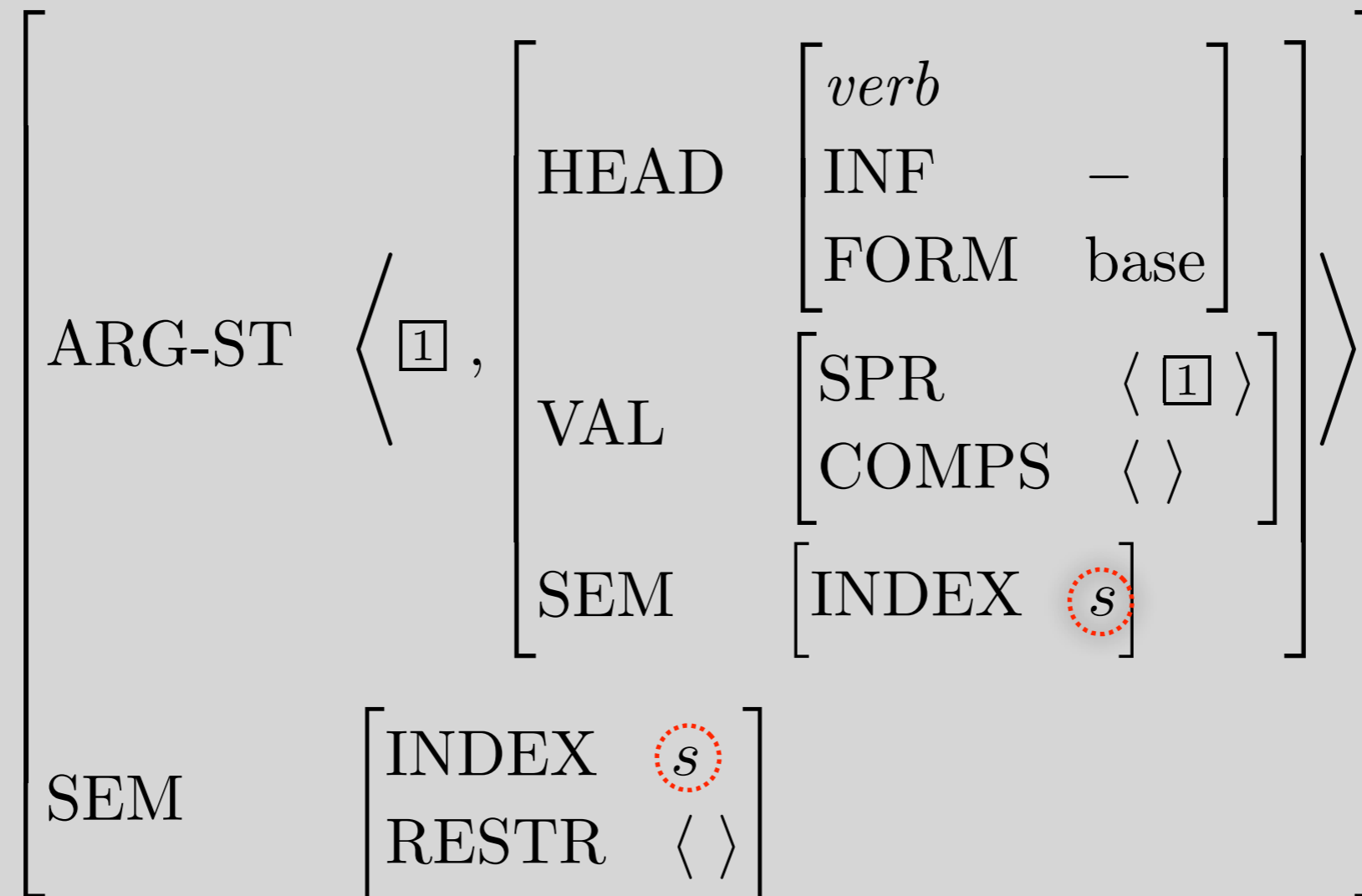


# The Argument Structure



- What kind of constituent is the second argument?
- The tagging of the first argument and the SPR of the second argument is exactly like *be*.

# The Semantics of Infinitival *to*



- The INDEX value is taken from the SEM of the second argument.
- So what is the semantic contribution of *to*?

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📱 Text **EMB** to **22333** once to join



# W 'to' as an auxiliary verb

Unexpected, but  
clever

Dodgy (I'm skeptical)

Don't categories  
mean anything??

None of the above

Total Results: 0

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# Dummies and *continue*

- Some examples:

*There continue to be seats available.*

*It continues to matter that we lost.*

*Advantage continues to be taken of the innocent.*

*\*It continues to be seats available.*

*\*There continues to matter that we lost.*

*\*Advantage continues to be kept of the innocent.*

- Generalization: Non-referential NPs can appear as the subject of *continue* just in case they could be the subject of the complement of *continue*.

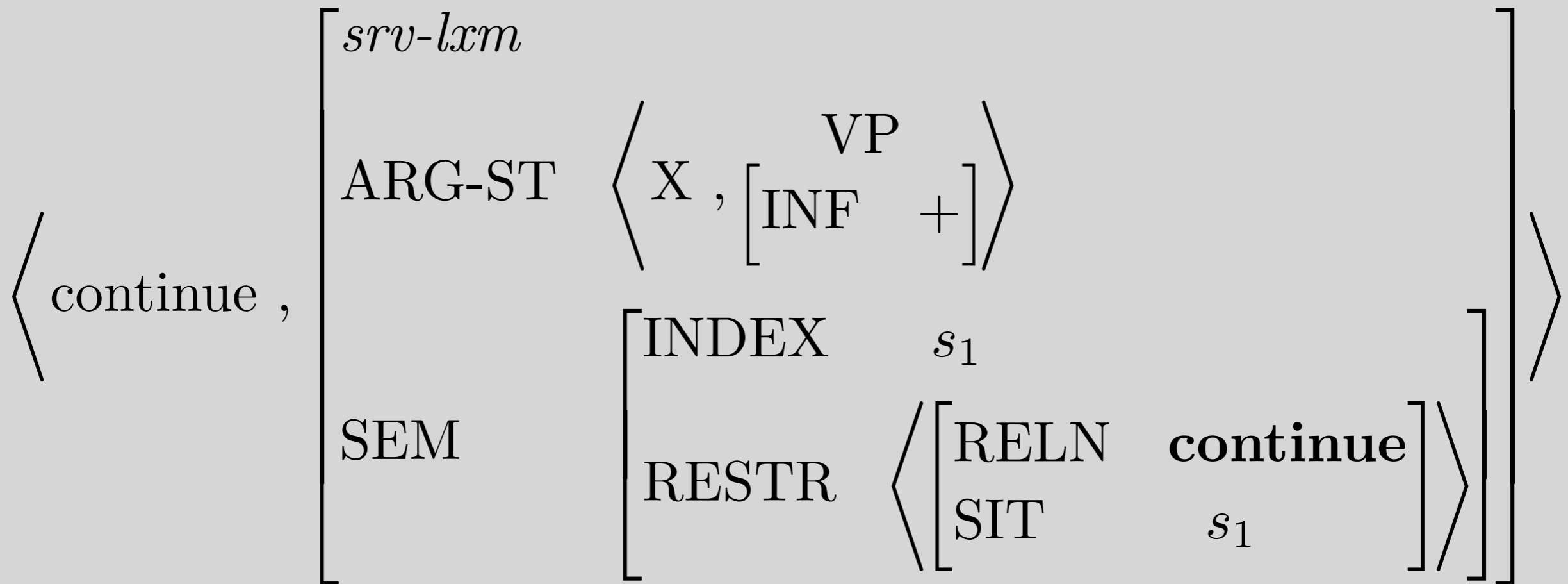
# A New Type, for Verbs like *continue*

*Subject-Raising Verb Lexeme (srv-lxm):*

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \boxed{1}, \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{SPR} & \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{INDEX} & s_2 \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \\ \text{SEM} \left[ \text{RESTR} \left\langle \left[ \text{ARG} \quad s_2 \right] \right\rangle \right] \end{array} \right]$$

- Notes on the ARG-ST constraints
  - The subject sharing is just like for *be* and *to*: the subject of *continue* is also the subject of its complement
  - *continue* imposes no other constraints on its subject
- Note on the SEM constraint
  - The index of the complement must be an argument of the predication introduced by the verb

# The Lexical Entry for *continue*

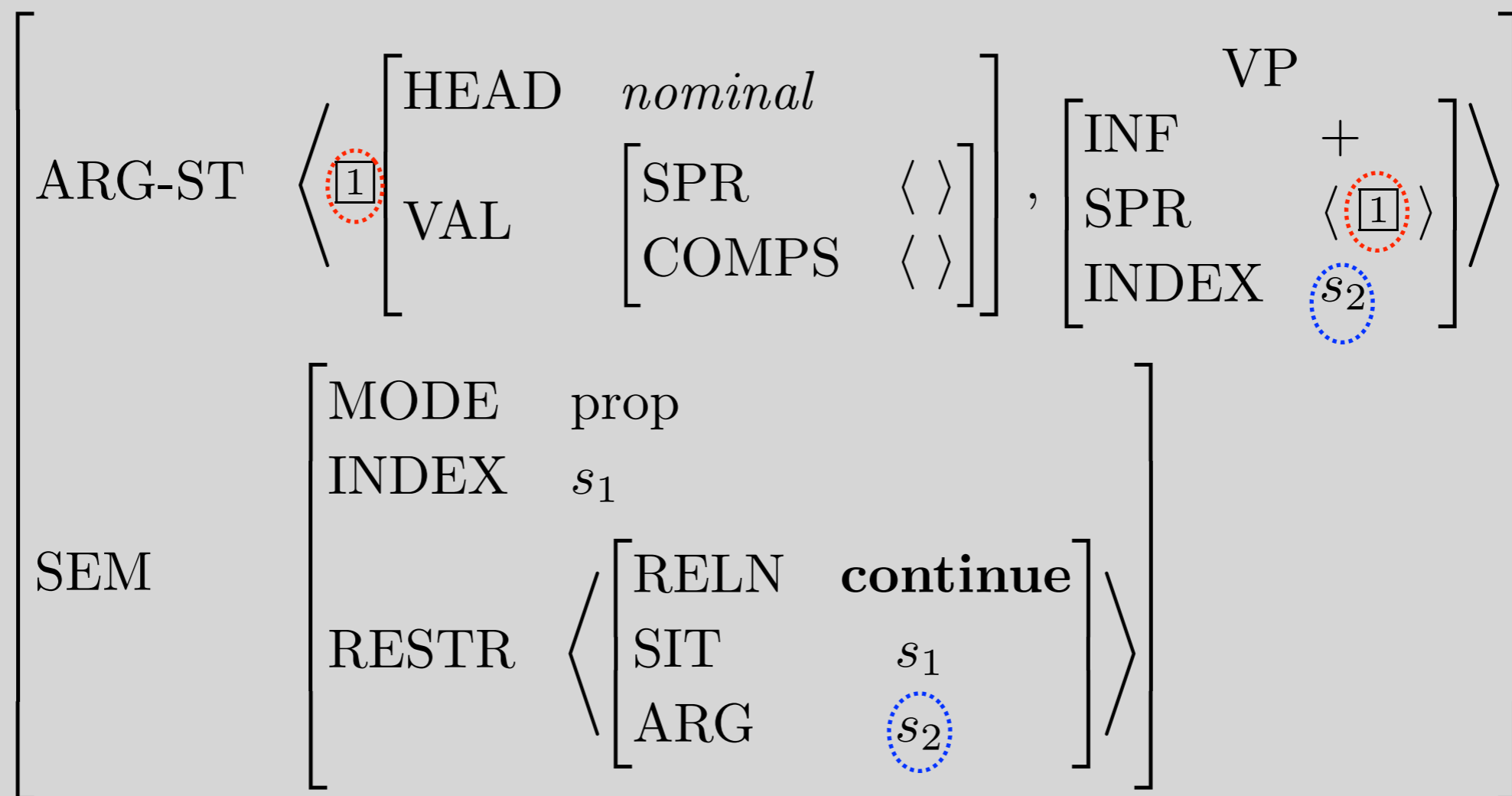


# Entry for *continue*, with Inherited Information

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# Key Property of Subject-Raising Verbs

The subject plays no semantic role in the predication introduced by the SRV itself. Its semantic role (if any) is only in the predication introduced in the complement.





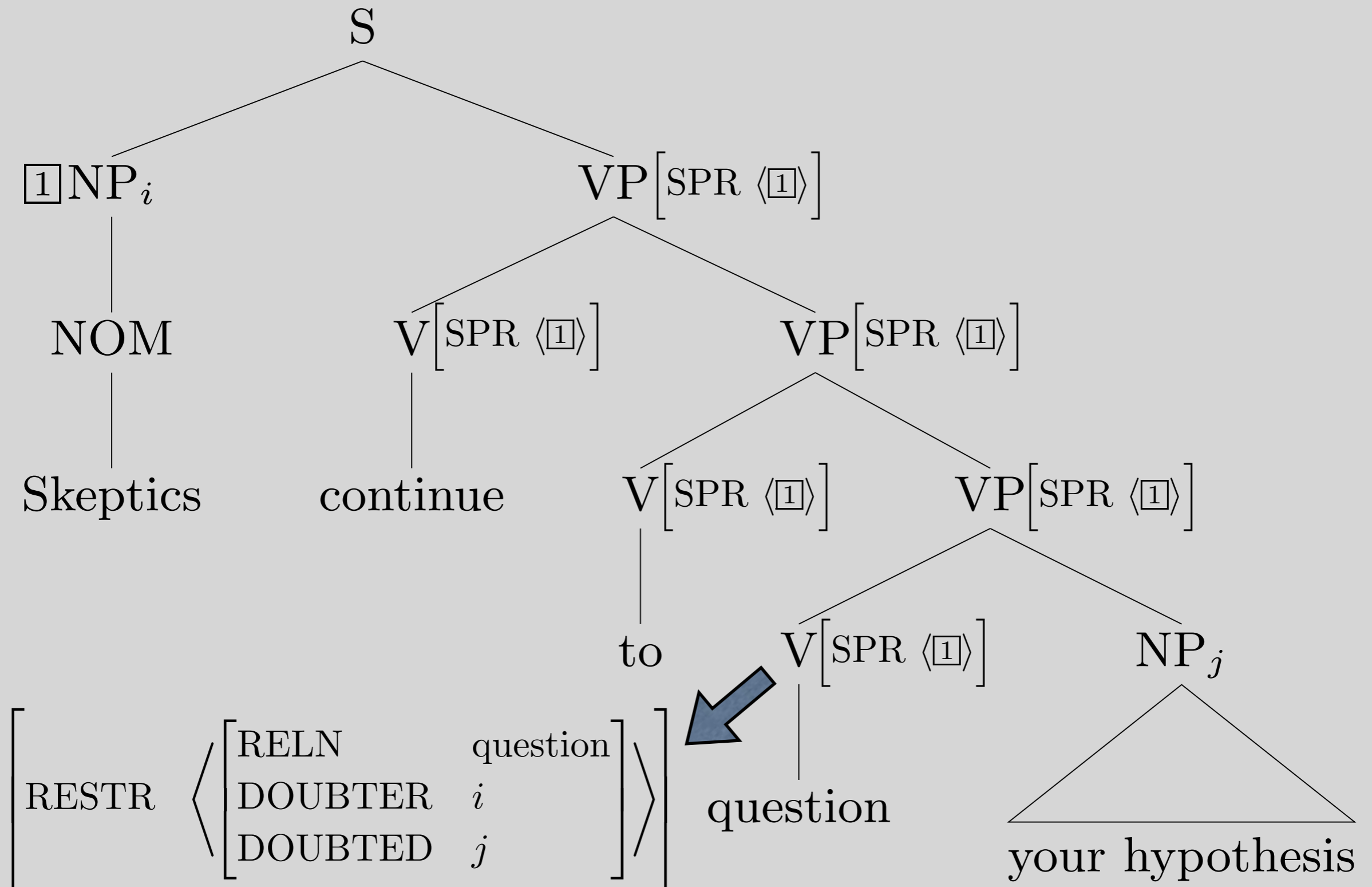
# Hence, constraints on the subjects of SRVs are imposed by their complements

- SRVs take dummy subjects when and only when their complements do.
- SRVs take idiom chunk subjects when and only when their complements do.
- Passivizing the verb in the VP complement of an SRV doesn't change the truth conditions of the whole sentence:

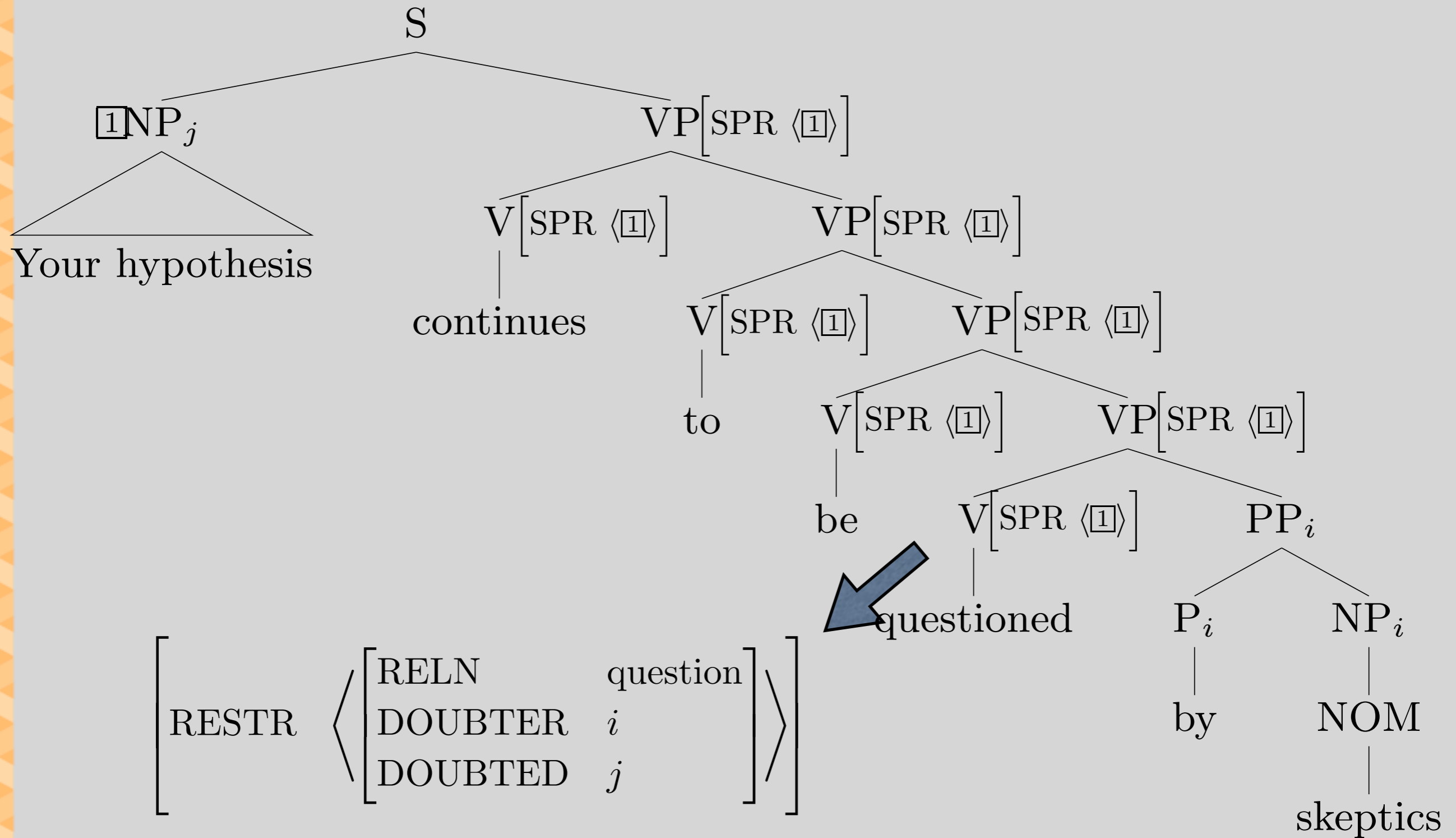
*Skeptics continue to question your hypothesis ~*

*Your hypothesis continues to be questioned by skeptics*

# Continue with active complement



# Continue with passive complement



# Control Verbs

- Control verbs, like *try*, appear in contexts that look just like the contexts for raising verbs:  
*Pat tried to stay calm* looks superficially like  
*Pat continued to stay calm*
- Control verbs also share their subjects with their complements, but in a different way.
- A control verb expresses a relation between the referent of its subject and the situation denoted by its complement.

# Control Verbs Are Not Transparent

- They never take dummies or idiom chunks as subjects.
  - \*There try to be bugs in my program*
  - \*It tries to upset me that the Giants lost*
  - \*Advantage tries to be taken of tourists*
- Passivizing the complement's verb changes the truth conditions.
  - The police tried to arrest disruptive demonstrators ≠*  
*Disruptive demonstrators tried to be arrested by the police*

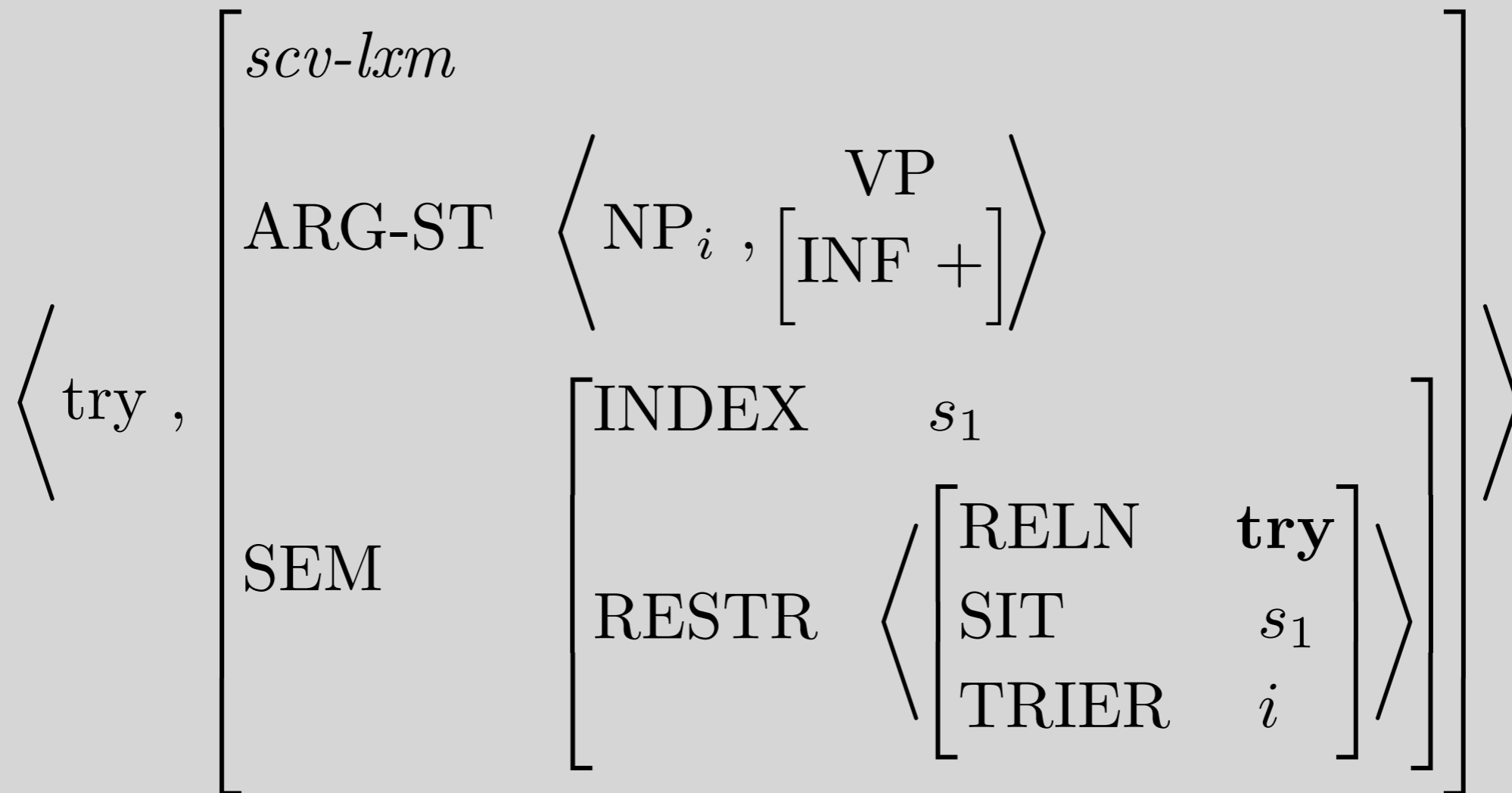
# A New Type

*Subject-Control Verb Lexeme* (scv-lxm):

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{NP}_i, \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{SPR} & \langle \text{NP}_i \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{INDEX} & s_2 \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{SEM} \left[ \text{RESTR} \left\langle \left[ \text{ARG} \quad s_2 \right] \right\rangle \right] \end{array} \right]$$

- This differs from *srv-lxm* in that the first argument and the SPR of the second argument are coindexed, not tagged.
- This means that they only need to share INDEX values, but may differ on other features
- And the first argument -- the subject -- must have an INDEX value, so it cannot be non-referential

# The lexical entry for *try*



Note that the subject ( $\text{NP}_i$ ) plays a semantic role with respect to the verb, namely the “TRIER”

# Entry for *try*, with Inherited Information

<i>scv-lxm</i>	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">SYN</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">HEAD</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>verb</i></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">—</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">INF</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">—</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">AGR</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">[1]</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">VAL</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">SPR</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">&lt;</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">[AGR [1]]</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">&gt;</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	SYN	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">HEAD</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>verb</i></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">—</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">INF</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">—</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">AGR</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">[1]</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">VAL</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">SPR</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">&lt;</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">[AGR [1]]</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">&gt;</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	HEAD	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>verb</i></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">—</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">INF</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">—</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">AGR</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">[1]</td> </tr> </table>	<i>verb</i>	—	INF	—	AGR	[1]	VAL	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">SPR</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">&lt;</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">[AGR [1]]</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">&gt;</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	SPR	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">&lt;</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">[AGR [1]]</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">&gt;</td> </tr> </table>	<	[AGR [1]]	>																								
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## Things to Note:

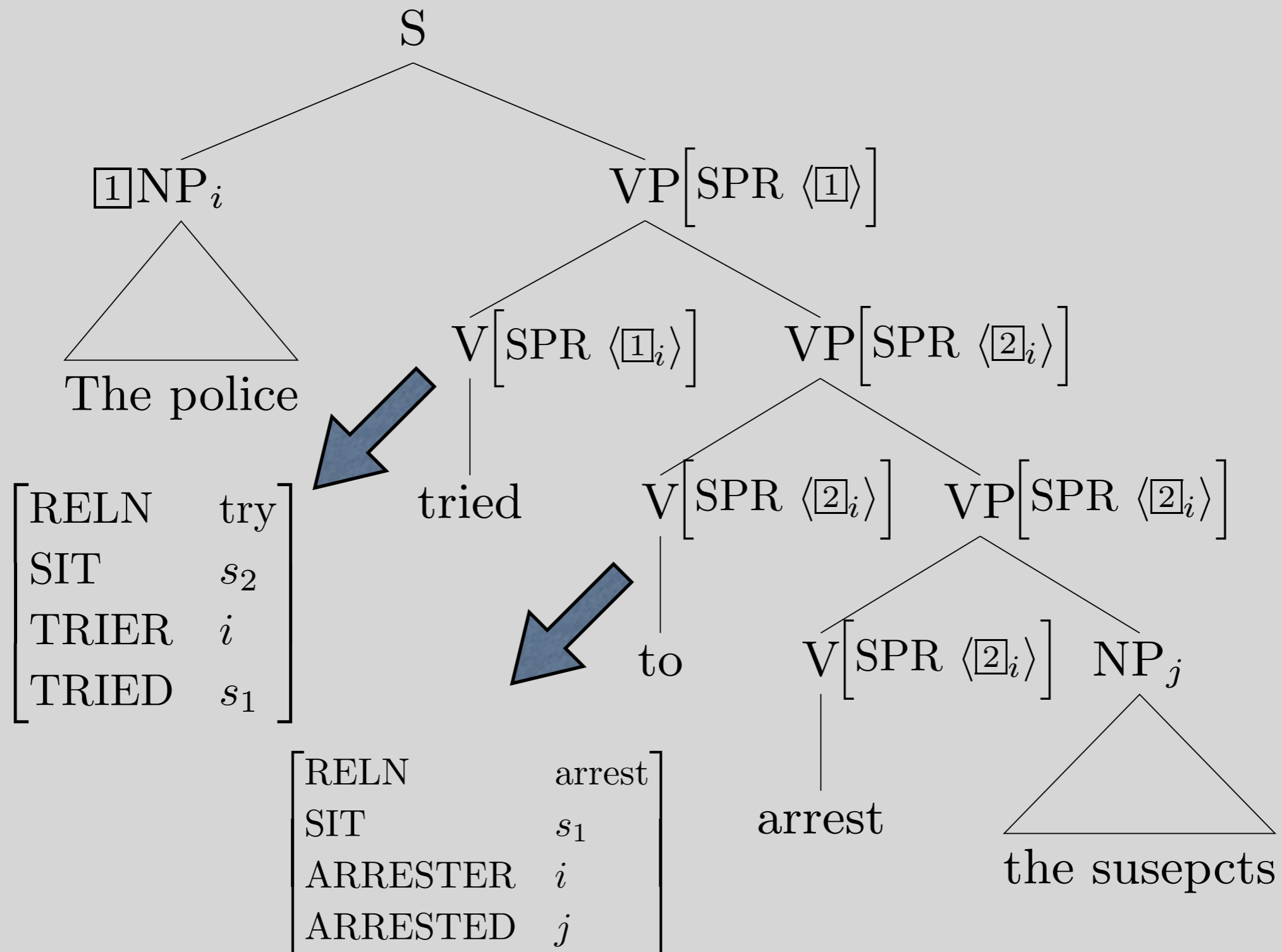
- The first argument has an index
- The first argument is coindexed with the SPR of the second argument
- Both the first and second arguments play semantic roles in the ‘try’ relation
- Very little had to be stipulated in the entry for *try*



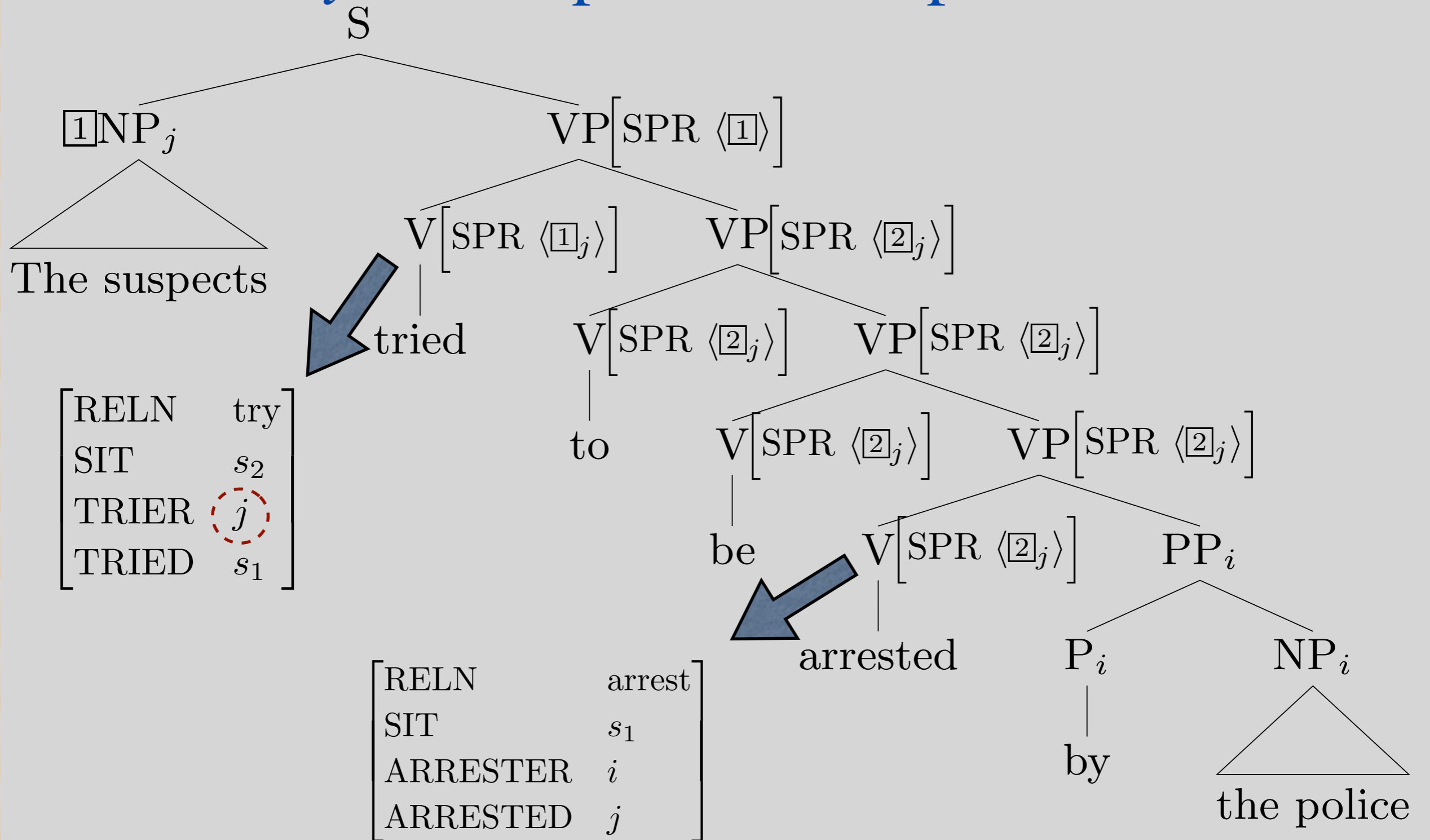
# Questions

- What rules out dummies and idiom chunks as subjects of *try*?
- What accounts for the semantic non-equivalence of pairs like the following?  
*Reporters tried to interview the candidate*  
*The candidate tried to be interviewed by reporters*
- Why does *continue* behave differently in these respects?

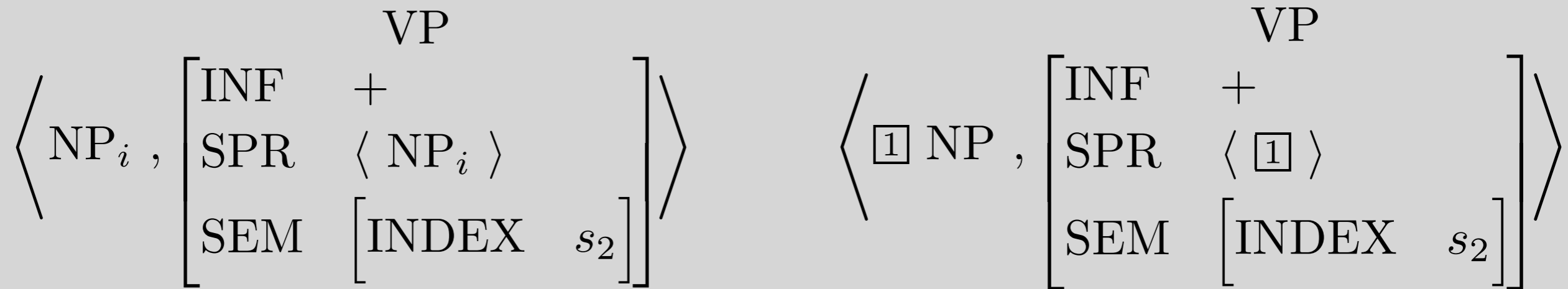
# Try with an active complement



# Try with a passive complement



# The main formal difference between raising and control verbs is in ARG-ST



CONTROL

RAISING

Which is which?

Why?

# Raising & Control in Transformational Grammar

- Raising



- Control

[the dogs]<sub>i</sub> try [NP<sub>i</sub> to bark]

- In early TG, the NP got deleted.
- In more recent TG, it's a silent pronoun.

# We make another raising/control distinction

## *Object-Raising Verb Lexeme (orv-lxm)*

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{NP}, \boxed{1}, \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SPR} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{INDEX} \quad s_2 \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{SEM} \quad \left[ \text{RESTR} \left\langle [\text{ARG} \quad s_2] \right\rangle \right] \end{array} \right]$$

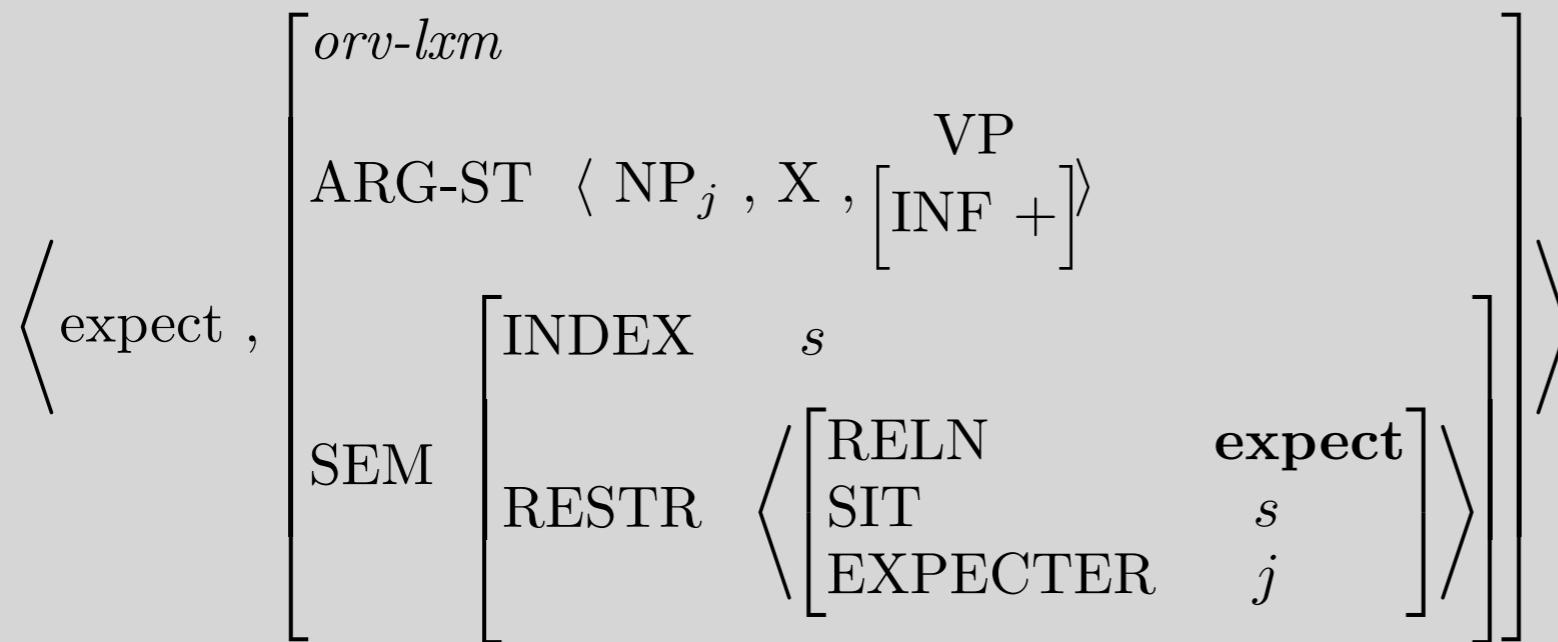
- The formal distinction is again between tagging and coindexing

## *Object-Control Verb Lexeme (ocv-lxm)*

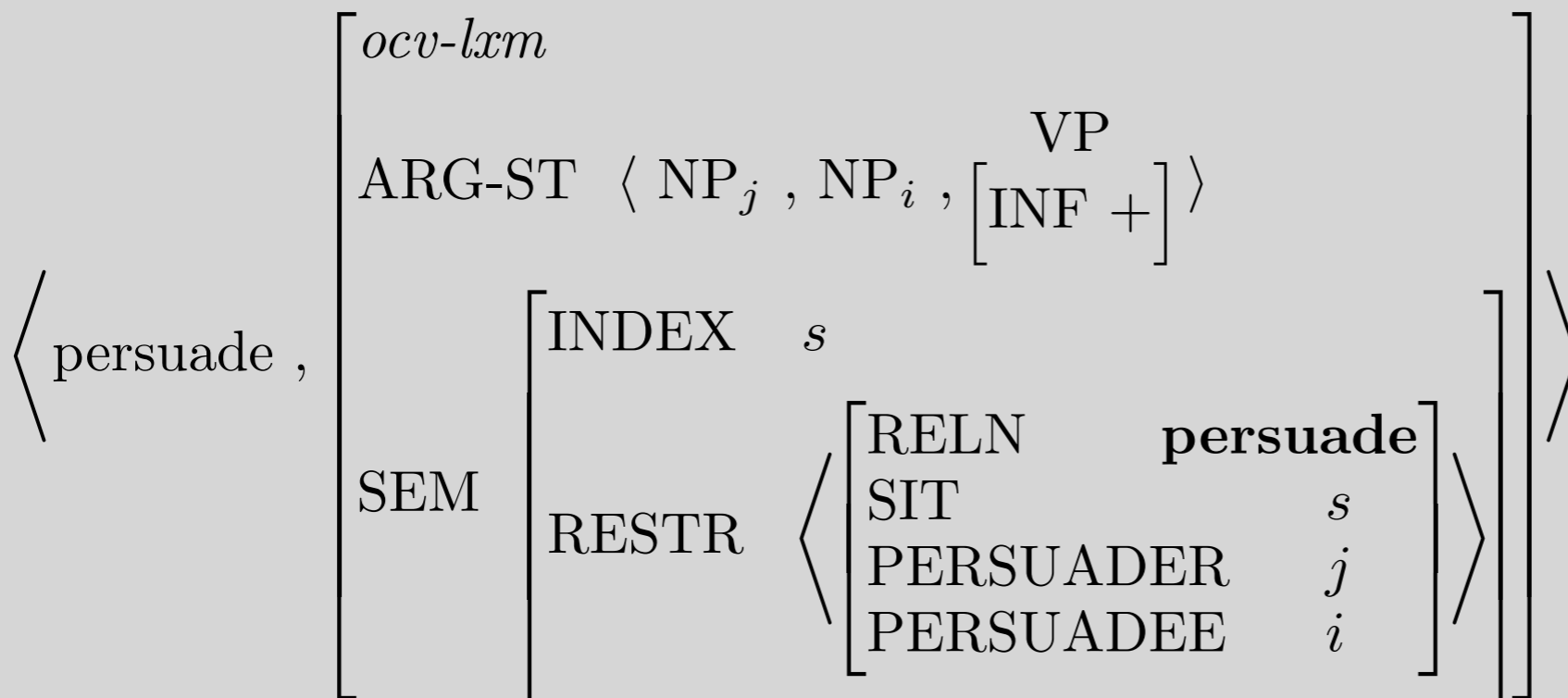
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{NP}, \text{NP}_i, \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SPR} \quad \langle \text{NP}_i \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{INDEX} \quad s_2 \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{SEM} \quad \left[ \text{RESTR} \left\langle [\text{ARG} \quad s_2] \right\rangle \right] \end{array} \right]$$

- This time it's the **second** argument and the SPR of the **third** argument.

# Example *orv-lxm* and *ocv-lxm* Entries



- Note that the ‘persuade’ relation has three arguments, but the ‘expect’ relation has only two



- And the object’s INDEX plays a role in the ‘persuade’ relation, but not in the ‘expect’ relation

# Ch 12 Prob 4

- Construct examples of each of the following four types which show a contrast between *expect* and *persuade*:
    - Ex with dummy *there*
    - Ex with dummy *it*
    - Ex with idiom *chunks*
    - Ex of relevant active/passive pairs
- Breakout rooms!



# Overview

- Intro to topic
- Infinitival *to*
- (Subject) raising verbs
- (Subject) control verbs
- Raising/control in TG
- Object raising and object control
- Reading questions

# RQs: Complementation patterns

- It seems like we have four new lexemes with only one example word for each. Where can we find other examples of words that are generated for *srv-lxm*, *scv-lxm*, *orv-lxm*, and *ocv-lxm*?
- Can raising verbs take non-[INF +] complements, like "The FBI tried finding Lee"?
- Does the second element on the ARG-ST list for *srv-lxm* have to be a VP? If so, why is it not constrained in (13)? If not, then what else could it be?

accept\_v3 := v\_np-pp\_oeq-as\_le &  
accommodate\_v2 := v\_np-pp\_oeq-as\_le &  
accustom\_v1 := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &  
ache\_v2 := v\_vp\_seq\_le &  
acknowledge\_v3 := v\_np-pp\_oeq-as\_le &  
act\_seem\_v1 := v\_ap-pp\_seq\_le &  
adjudge\_v4 := v\_np-prd\_oeq\_le &  
advertise\_v2 := v\_np-pp\_oeq-as\_le &  
advise\_v4 := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &  
advise\_v5 := v\_np-pp\_oeq-as\_le &  
advocate\_v3 := v\_np-pp\_oeq-as\_le &  
afford\_v3 := v\_vp\_seq\_le &  
agree\_v3 := v\_vp\_seq\_le &  
aim\_v2 := v\_vp\_seq\_le &  
allege\_v2 := v\_np-vp\_sor\_le &  
allow\_v1 := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &  
alter\_v2 := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &  
amend\_v2 := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &  
anticipate\_prp\_v1 := v\_vp\_seq-prp\_le &

appeal\_v1 := v\_pp-vp\_oeq\_le &  
appear\_v1 := v\_pp-vp\_ssr\_le &  
appear\_v2 := v\_prd\_ssr-va\_le &  
appear\_v6 := v\_prd\_seq-va\_le &  
apply\_v6 := v\_vp\_seq\_le &  
arrange\_for\_v1 := v\_it-pp-vp\_seq\_le &  
arrange\_with\_v1 := v\_pp-vp\_seq\_le &  
arrange\_with\_v2 := v\_it-pp-vp\_seq\_le &  
arrest\_v2 := v\_vp\_seq-prp\_le &  
ask\_v2 := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &  
ask\_v4 := v\_vp\_seq\_le &  
aspire\_v1 := v\_vp\_seq\_le &  
assay\_v1 := v\_vp\_seq\_le &  
assess\_v2 := v\_np-pp\_oeq-as\_le &  
assess\_v3 := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &  
assign\_v3 := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &  
assume\_v3 := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &  
attempt\_v2 := v\_vp\_seq\_le &  
authorize\_v1 := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &  
authorize\_v1\_br := v\_np-vp\_oeq\_le &

# The full menagerie

---

v_vp_seq_le	B intended to win.
v_vp_seq-from_le	B refrained from smoking.
v_prd_seq_le	B remained doubtful.
v_prd_seq-idm_le	B made sure that C won.
v_prd_seq-va_le	B became impatient   admired.
v_ap_seq_le	B proved competent   ?admired.
v_pp_seq_le	B wanted into the game.
v_pp_seq-e_le	My battery shows as empty.
v_vp_seq-prp_le	B loves playing chess.
v_vp_seq-bse_le	B helped finish the paper.
v_vp_seq-go_le	B will go play chess   *goes play chess.
v_vp_seq-and_le	They try and find it   #tried and found it.
v_vp_seq-and-bse_le	B will try and find it.
v_vp_seq-but_le	B couldn't help but continue.
v_p-vp_seq_le	B turned out to be wrong.

# The full menagerie

---

v_pp-vp_seq_le	B arranged with C to stay.
v_np-vp_oeq_le	B invited C to stay.
v_np-vp_oeq-ntr_le	B got C to stay.
v_np-vp_oeq-bse_le	B helped C win.
v_np-vp_oeq-psv_le	The teacher promised me to be allowed to play outside.
v_np-prd_oeq_le	B proved C wrong.
v_np-ap_oeq_le	B imagined C taller.
v_np-prd_oeq-ntr_le	B wanted C ready.   *C was wanted ready (by B).
v_np-vpsInp_oeq_le	B had C to talk to.
v_np-vp_oeq-from_le	B excused C from playing.
v_p-vp_oeq_le	B geared up C to go.

# The full menagerie

---

v\_vp\_ssr\_le            There failed to be a link.  
v\_vp\_ssr-n3sg\_le We needn't wait here.  
v\_vp\_ssr-n3sg-r\_le    We need only wait here.  
v\_p-vp\_ssr\_le        B has yet to win.  
v\_prd\_ssr-va\_le        It became obvious that Kim arrived.  
v\_vp\_ssr-prp\_le        It finished raining.  
v\_vp\_ssr-nimp\_le There tend to be problems.  
v\_pp-vp\_ssr\_le        It seems to B to be windy.

# The full menagerie

---

v\_np-vp\_aeq-ntr\_le B promised C to stay. | \*C was  
promised by B to stay.

v\_np-vp\_aeq\_le B used C to reach D.

v\_np-vp\_aeq-psv\_le B asked C to be allowed to leave. | #B asked  
C to leave.

v\_np-vp\_aeq-noel\_le B took an hour to finish.

v\_np-vp\_aeq-prp\_le B had trouble sleeping.

# The full menagerie

---

- aj\_pp-vp\_i-it\_le    It is easy for B to win.
- aj\_pp-vp\_i-it-nt\_le    It is urgent for B to win. | \*B is urgent to win.
- aj\_pp-vp\_i-on-it\_le    It is incumbent on B to go.
- aj\_pp-vp\_i-of-it\_le    It is nice of B to go.
- aj\_pp-vp\_i-tgh\_le    This race is tough to win.
- aj\_pp-vp-pp\_i-cmp-it\_le    It is easier to solve this problem than that one
- aj\_vp\_i-it-prp\_le    It is worth reading that book.
- aj\_vp\_i-ssr\_le    There are destined to be unicorns in the garden.
- aj\_vp\_i-wrth\_le    The race is worth running.
- aj\_vp\_i-prty\_le    Paris is pretty to look at.
- aj\_vp\_i-seq-nmd\_le    B is supposed to win.
- aj\_vp\_i-seq-prp\_le    B is done running.



# The full menagerie

---

n_vp_c_le	B has the ability to win.
n_vp_m_le	B has permission to stay.
n_vp_mc_le	B has clearance to stay.
n_vp_c-it_le	It is a pleasure for B to sleep.
n_vp_m-it_le	It is drudgery for B to do that.
n_vpslnp_c_le	B is a pleasure for C to meet.

# RQs: Specifier sharing

- The lexical entry for *to* on p. 362 (4), lists the tag 1 in both the ARG-ST position for *to*'s specifier and as the specifier of its complement. This was the same with *be-lxm* in ch 11. Is this simply saying that *to* is searching for the same specifier as its VP complement? I see that this appears to be the case based on the tree for the FBI continues to visit Lee in (16) on p. 169. Why is this identity necessary? That is, why does "to" need this noted when its VP complement (such as visit Lee) already requires a specifier?

# RQs: *srV* v. *scV*

- As several others have mentioned, my main question is what is the difference between raising and control. Based on the type constraints for *srV-lxm* and *scV-lxm*, it looks like *scV-lxm* could simply be a more specific subtype of *srV-lxm*. *ocV-lxm* also looks like it is just a subtype of *orV-lxm*.
- I am still unclear about the difference between "raising" and "control". And for *subject-raising-lxm*, what motivates the subject to "raise"? And the same question for the *object-raising*.

# RQs: *srV* v. *scV*

- I don't totally understand why the object-*xxx-lxm* and subject-*xxx-lxm*'s need to be different constraints if the only real difference is that there's an extra NP at the front for the object versions. Is there not some way to generalize this by indices or something similar?

# RQs: Types v. rules

- Since orv-lxm and ocv-lxm are so similar, why do we have two separate lexemes instead of creating a d-rule instead?

# RQs: Cross-linguistic

- Is a distinction between raising and control verbs/adjectives a linguistic universal?