

Smuggling in the service of Control or: three cheers for smuggling

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This presentation aims at showing a common core element in the following three (somewhat related) phenomena: **(A) plain object constructions involving Subject Control across an Object**, which are problematic for syntactocentric views of control that expect all syntactic relations to be sensitive to Minimal Link Condition; **(B) Visser's Generalization** (Visser 1973) holding that the passive transformation is compatible with Object Control (cf. 2b) but incompatible with Subject Control (cf. 2a):

(1)

- a. Mark₁ promised Betty₂ [PRO₁ to take out the garbage].
- b. Mark₁ persuaded Betty₂ [PRO₂ to take out the garbage].

(2)

- a. *Betty₂ was promised t₂ PRO₁ to take out the garbage by Mark.
- b. Betty₂ was persuaded t₂ PRO₂ to take out the garbage by Mark.

Interestingly, when the passive does not involve promotion of the object to the subject position (as in German and Dutch, cf. 3 and Polish cf. 4), Subject Control and the (impersonal) passive construction are compatible:

(3)

- a. Er verd mij beloofd om me op de hoogte te houden.
there was me_{DAT} promise_{PAST} Comp me_{DAT} on the height to keep_{INF}
'It was promised to me to keep me informed.'
- b. Mir wurde versprochen, mir noch heute den Link für das Update zu schicken.
me_{DAT} was promise me_{DAT} still today the link for the update to send_{INF}
'It was promised to me to send me the link for the update today.'

(4)

- Po odkryciu przesyłki z bombą,
after discovery_{LOC} package_{GEN} with bomb_{INST}
'After the discovery of a letter bomb
- a. ...wczoraj pro_{arb,1} kazano sekretarce₂ [PRO₂ otwierać wszystkie listy]
...yesterday tell_{IMP} secretary_{DAT} open_{INF} all letters
'...yesterday they told the secretary to open all letters.'
 - b. wczoraj pro_{arb,1} obiecano sekretarce₂ [PRO₁ otwierać wszystkie listy]
...yesterday promise_{IMP} secretary_{DAT} open_{INF} all letters
'...yesterday they promised the secretary to open all letters.'

Finally, **(C) the pattern of control into prepositional gerunds is preserved under the passive in Polish:**

(5)

- a. Szef₁ zwolnił swojego najlepszego pracownika₂ [za PRO_{*1/2} picie w pracy]
boss fired his best worker for drinking at work
'The boss fired his best worker for drinking at work.'
- b. Najlepszy pracownik₂ został pro₁ zwolniony [za PRO_{*1/2} picie w pracy]
best worker was fired for drinking in work
'The best worker was fired for drinking at work.'

All the three phenomena can be explained through an application of the smuggling derivation (Collins 2005a-b).