Competition and Obviation from French to Newari*

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1. Introduction: Control, obviation and their (near-)complementarity

In many European languages including both West Romance languages such as French, Italian and Spanish (Ruwet 1991, Costantini 2005, Kempchinsky 2009, among others) as well as East European languages such as Russian, Hungarian and Polish (Antonenko 2008, Szabolcsi 2010, Citko 2012, among others), the subject of a finite embedded clause cannot be bound by the matrix subject when the embedded clause is in the subjunctive (1b), as opposed to the infinitive (1a). This disjoint reference effect is known as obviation.

(1) a. $[_{TP}$ ... Subject$_1$ ... $[_{TP}$ PRO$_1$ T-INF ...]] (infinitive, control)

b. *$[_{TP}$ ... Subject$_1$ ... $[_{TP}$ Subject$_1$ T-SBJV ...]] (subjunctive, obviation)

The control-obviation contrast is illustrated below in both French (2) and Hungarian (3).

(2) a. *On dirait qu'il veut partir*
It seems that.he wants leave.INF

'It seems like he wants to leave.' (Ruwet 1991, 2)

b. *On dirait qu'il veut qu'il parte*
It seems that.he wants that.he leave.SBJV

'It seems that he$_1$ wants him$_{*1/2}$ to leave.' (Ruwet 1991, 2)

*For their helpful feedback I thank Richard Kayne, Stephanie Harves, Idan Landau, Shigeru Miyagawa, Hazel Pearson, Philippe Schlenker, Anna Szabolcsi and the audiences of NELS 46, NYU Syntax Brown Bag and CUNY Syntax Supper. I am also grateful to members of New York Newah Guthi for their help and support.

Christopher Hammerly & Brandon Prickett (eds.): NELS 46, Vol. 3, 329–342.
GLSA Amherst.

(3) a. *Szeretném meglátogatni Marit.*
like.1SG visit.INF Mary.ACC
'I would like to visit Mary.' (Szabolcsi 2010, 3)

b. #*Akarom, hogy meglátogassam Marit.*
want.1SG that visit.SBJV.1SG Mary.ACC
'I want for me to visit Mary.' (Szabolcsi 2010, 3)

In the literature there are generally two ways to approach obviation (see Costantini (2005) for a recent overview). One approach recognizes the apparent complementarity between the conditions that apply to control, and those that apply to obviation. According to this view, bound subjunctive subjects are in competition with, and less preferable than, PRO (Bouchard 1982, Farkas 1992, Schlenker 2005). The second approach, on the other hand, considers obviation as the consequence of Principle B violation (Picallo 1985, Raposo 1986, Suñer 1986, Kempchinsky 1987, Rizzi 1990, Progovac 1993, Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997). Advocates of this view often make additional assumptions about the subjunctive mood such that the binding domain for subjunctives must be extended to the matrix clause.

The Domain Extension approach does not relate the obviation facts to the control facts. Rather, they are derived by separate modules of the grammar and conditioned by separate sets of rules. The Competition account, in contrast, draws an explanatory connection between control and obviation, and does not rely on specific stipulations about subjunctives. Everything else being equal, Occam's razor should follow its usual course. However, as many rightfully point out, it is not always the case that the infinitive and the subjunctive are in complementary distribution. For instance, Szabolcsi (2010) observes that the disjoint reference requirement can be lifted in certain Hungarian subjunctives (4). The collapse of the contrast has been considered by many (Picallo 1985, Suñer 1986, Costantini 2005) as a major problem for the Competition approach.

(4) a. *Nem akarok PRO leugrani*
not want.1SG down.jump.INF
'I don't want to jump down.' (Szabolcsi 2010, 4)

b. *Nem akarom, hogy leugorjak*
not want.1SG that down.jump.SBJV.1SG
'I don't want that I jump down.' (Szabolcsi 2010, 4)

I argue in this article that it is premature to reject the Competition approach or the insights it reflects based on the above examples. First of all, as I will show later, the superficial exceptions, upon closer scrutiny, form a coherent class. This would seem odd if obviation is independent from control. Moreover, it is not immediately clear how the alternative approach would account for examples like (4). The Domain Extension account still

needs to stipulate additional conditions under which subjunctives turn opaque for binding. Specifically this account would have to explain why the binding domain of the subjunctive subject in (4b) is smaller than that in (3b).

The goal of this article is to take a closer look at the control-obviation contrast, and motivate an account for obviation that makes reference to control. More specifically, I show that control and obviation are indeed in complementary distribution and that the environments where the complementarity breaks down is highly predictable. In other words, if we can capture the fine-grained interpretive and distributional distinctions of these two, the counterexamples would support, not refute, an analysis that derive them in a single module. However, unlike the early work referred to, I do not focus only on the infinitive-subjunctive distinction in European languages. Rather, I demonstrate that the so-called conjunct-disjunct constructions in Newari (Tibeto-Burman, SOV order, spoken in Nepal), to be introduced shortly, exhibit the same control-obviation contrast. Therefore, any existing theories on obviation that rely heavily on the idiosyncrasies of subjunctives would not be able to account for the full range of data.

2. The conjunct-disjunct system in Newari

In Newari, verbal suffixes encode both tense and the so-called conjunct-disjunct distinction, first reported in Hale (1980), and later discussed in DeLancey (1992), Hargreaves (2005), Wechsler (2015) and Zu (2015). In main clauses, the so-called conjunct suffix occurs with first person subjects in declarative clauses (5a) and with second person subjects in interrogative clauses (5c). The so-called disjunct suffix occurs elsewhere (5b, 5d).

(5) *Main clauses in Newari (Hale 1980, 95)*

a. *ji ana wan-ā*
I there go-PST.CONJ
'I went there.' (first-person declarative, conjunct)

b. *cha/wa ana wan-a*
you/(s)he there go-PST.DISJ
'You/(S)he went there.' (non-first-person declarative, disjunct)

c. *cha ana wan-ā lā*
you there go-PST.CONJ Q
'Did you go there?' (second-person interrogative, conjunct)

d. *ji/wa ana wan-a lā*
I/(s)he there go-PST.DISJ Q
'Did I/(s)he go there?' (non-second-person interrogative, disjunct)

In complement clauses, the conjunct suffix occurs when the embedded subject and the matrix subject are co-indexed (6a), whereas the disjunct suffix occurs when the subjects of the two adjacent clauses refer to different persons (6b).

(6) *Complement clauses in Newari (DeLancey 1992, 41-42)*

a. *wō: lā na-e dhakā: dhāl-a.*
he.ERG meat eat-FUT.CONJ that say-PST.DISJ
'He$_1$ said that he$_{1/*2}$ will eat meat.' (co-reference, conjunct)

b. *wō: lā na-i dhakā: dhāl-a.*
he.ERG meat eat-FUT.DISJ that say-PST.DISJ
'He$_1$ said that he$_{*1/2}$ will eat meat.' (disjoint reference, disjunct)

In this article I restrict the discussion on Newari conjunct/disjunct marking to embedded clauses, though it should be noted that the facts can be extended to main clauses as well.

Zu (2015) draws a parallel between discourse participants and matrix arguments, and argues that the subject of conjunct verb must, while the subject of disjunct verb must not, be co-indexed with a higher subject/discourse participant, as schematically represented below.

(7) a. ... Speaker/Addressee/Matrix Subject$_1$ ... [$_{TP}$ Subject$_1$ T-CONJ ...]

b. *... Speaker/Addressee/Matrix Subject$_1$ ... [$_{TP}$ Subject$_1$ T-DISJ ...]

In the next two sections I demonstrate that the conjunct-disjunct constructions in Newari exhibit the control-obviation contrast that has been exclusively associated with infinitives and subjunctives in European languages in the literature.

3. Subjects of conjunct verbs are controlled pronouns

Crosslinguistically, controlled PRO is systematically distinguished from other bound pronouns, showing the following properties.

(8) *The signature properties of controlled PRO (Landau 2013, 2015)*

a. In all OC contexts, long-distance control of PRO is impossible.

b. In all OC contexts, non-c-commanding control of PRO is impossible.

c. In all OC contexts, only bound variable reading of PRO is possible.

d. In attitude contexts, PRO must be construed *de se*.[1]

[1]As Landau (2013, 32-34) points out, in non-attitude contexts PRO does not need to be read *de se*. In these contexts the controllers do not even need to have a mental state (e.g., *The key will serve to open the door*). In Newari conjunct marking always occurs in attitude contexts, therefore that distinction is irrelevant.

e. PRO is necessarily the subject.[2]

Although in Newari the subject of conjunct verbs can be overt and always appear in fully tensed clauses,[3] they share with PRO all the properties summarized in (8). To begin with, unlike bound pronouns (9b), both PRO (9a) and the subject of conjunct verb (10a) must find their antecedents in the immediately higher clause. When the conjunct verb is used, its subject must be co-indexed with the subject of the next clause up (10a). The disjunct verb, on the other hand, occurs when the co-indexation is not local (10b).

(9) a. **Mary*$_1$ *realized that John claimed [PRO*$_1$ *to have nominated herself].*

b. *Mary*$_1$ *realized that John claimed that [she*$_1$ *nominated herself].*

(10) a. *thanedara dhāl-a ki [Shyam-a swikareyat-a ki*
policeman.ERG say-PST.DISJ that Shyam-ERG admit-PST.DISJ that
[wa daa kuy-ā]].
s/he money steal-PST.CONJ

'The policeman$_1$ said Shyam$_2$ admitted that he$_{*1/2/*3}$ stole the money.'

b. *thanedara dhāl-a ki [Shyam-a swikareyat-a ki*
policeman.ERG say-PST.DISJ that Shyam-ERG admit-PST.DISJ that
[wa daa kut-a]].
s/he money steal-PST.DISJ

'The policeman$_1$ said Shyam$_2$ admitted that he$_{1/*2/3}$ stole the money.'

Secondly, both PRO (11a) and the subject of conjunct verb (12a) need to be c-commanded by its antecedent. When the conjunct verb is used, its subject must be co-indexed with the matrix subject, rather than with a subpart of that subject (12a). The co-indexation with the latter would trigger disjunct marking instead (12b).

(11) a. **Mary's*$_1$ *colleagues claimed [PRO*$_1$ *to have nominated herself].*

b. *Mary's*$_1$ *colleagues claimed that [she*$_1$ *nominated herself].*

[2]Landau (2013, 111-115) notes that certain Philippine languages may pose a challenge to this constraint, but it is not clear whether these languages have a comparable notion of subjecthood in the first place.

[3]Newari allows pro drop. The subject is always optional as long as its reference is clear in the discourse. In (6) the embedded subject is not overt but can be present. As far as I can see, there are no interpretational differences between overt pronouns and their covert counterparts.

(12) a. *Shyam-ya* *baa-na* *dhāl-a* *ki* *[wõ:* *daa*
Shyam-GEN father-ERG say-PST.DISJ that s/he.ERG money
kuy-ā].
steal-PST.CONJ

'Shyam's$_1$ father$_2$ said that he$_{*1/2/*3}$ stole the money.'

b. *Shyam-ya* *baa-na* *dhāl-a* *ki* *[wõ:* *daa*
Shyam-GEN father-ERG say-PST.DISJ that s/he.ERG money
kut-a].
steal-PST.DISJ

'Shyam's$_1$ father$_2$ said that he$_{1/*2/3}$ stole the money.'

Thirdly, both PRO and the subject of conjunct verb must be interpreted as a bound variable. This leads to the truth-conditional differences in (13a) and (13b). While PRO is limited to the bound variable reading (13a), the pronoun *he* is not (13b). Consider a scenario where Mary also claimed that Peter was the winner, (13b) could be false under one reading but (13a) remains true.

(13) *Potential readings: (i) Peter = only x such that x claimed that x is the winner; and (ii) Peter = only x such that x claimed that Peter is the winner.*

a. *Only Peter$_1$ claimed [PRO$_1$ to be the winner].* (i) ✓, (ii) *

b. *Only Peter$_1$ claimed that [he$_1$ was the winner].* (i) ✓, (ii) ✓

Likewise, when the conjunct verb is used, its subject must be interpreted as a bound variable. Consequently the sentence (14a) is true in the given scenario. On the other hand, the subject of disjunct verb cannot be a bound variable. As a result, the sentence (14b) is false.

(14) *Scenario: during interrogation, Shyam, Ram and Laxmi all admitted that he (Shyam) stole the money.*

a. *Shyam* *jaka* *dhāl-a* *ki* *[wõ:* *daa* *kuy-ā].*
Shyam only say-PST.DISJ that s/he.ERG money steal-PST.CONJ

'Only Shyam$_1$ said that he$_1$ stole the money.' (True)
Shyam = only x such that x said that x stole the money.

b. *Shyam* *jaka* *dhāl-a* *ki* *[wõ:* *daa* *kut-a].*
Shyam only say-PST.DISJ that s/he.ERG money steal-PST.DISJ

'Only Shyam$_1$ said that he$_1$ stole the money.' (False)
Shyam = only x such that x said that Shyam stole the money.

The fact that (14b) is not ambiguous in the same way as (13b) suggests that the conditions that apply to conjunct marking is strictly complementary to the conditions that apply to disjunct marking.

Next, both PRO (in attitude reports) and the subject of conjunct verb must be read *de se*. In any scenario where the attitude holder mistakes the embedded subject as someone other than he himself, PRO cannot be truthfully used (15a).

(15) *Scenario: Peter, who is running for office, is drunk. He is watching an interview of a candidate on TV, not realizing that this candidate is himself. Liking what he hears, he says: "I hope this candidate gets elected."*

a. #*Peter*$_1$ *hopes PRO*$_1$ *to get elected.*

b. *Peter*$_1$ *hopes that he*$_1$ *gets elected.*

Similarly, in the following scenario, since the teacher did not say "I worked very hard," or something to that effect, the use of the conjunct marking is infelicitous (16a).

(16) *Scenario: a teacher saw a giant pile of paper in the corner of his office. He thought his assistant graded them, when in fact he himself was the one who did the grading. He pointed at that pile of paper and told a colleague, "The grader worked very hard."*

a. #*guru dhāl-a ki [wa parisram yan-ā].*
teacher say-PST.DISJ that s/he work.hard do-PST.CONJ

'The teacher$_1$ said that he$_1$ worked hard.'

b. *guru dhāl-a ki [wa parisram yat-a].*
teacher say-PST.DISJ that s/he work.hard do-PST.DISJ

'The teacher$_1$ said that he$_1$ worked hard.'

Again, the conjunct and disjunct markers are in strictly complementary distribution. (16b), unlike (15b), cannot be *de se*.

Finally, in the same way as PRO is limited to the subject position across languages, in Newari the comparable dependency relation only holds between the subject, not the object, of a conjunct verb and a matrix antecedent. In other words, only the interpretation of the subject, not the object (17), determines the choice between conjunct and disjunct marking.

(17) a. **Shyam dhāl-a ki [Laxmi wa-yāta penk-ā].*
Shyam say-PST.DISJ that Laxmi s/he-DAT kick-PST.CONJ

(Int.) 'Shyam$_1$ said that Laxmi kicked him$_{1/2}$.'

b. *Shyam dhāl-a ki [Laxmi wa-yāta penk-ala].*
Shyam say-PST.DISJ that Laxmi s/he-DAT kick-PST.DISJ

'Shyam$_1$ said that Laxmi kicked him$_{1/2}$.'

4. Subjects of disjunct verbs can be exempted from obviation

In the previous section I have established that the subject of conjunct verb patterns with PRO in many important ways. In this section I show that the subject of disjunct verb and the subjunctive subject also behave alike. Not only are they both obviative, they are also exempted from obviation under the same circumstances, as summarized in (18)

(18) *Exemption from obviation happens (Ruwet 1991, Farkas 1992, Szabolcsi 2010)*

a. when the embedded verb denotes a state,

b. when the embedded verb denotes an unintentional action, or

c. when the embedded verb denotes an action that is beyond the subject's control.

Take Hungarian as an example.[4] When the embedded verb denotes a state obviation does not obtain in subjunctives (19b).

(19) a. *Szeretnék egészséges lenni*
like.1SG healthy be.INF

'I would like to be healthy.' (Szabolcsi 2010, 4)

b. *Akarom, hogy egészséges legyek*
want.1SG that healthy be.SBJV.1SG

'I want for me to be healthy.' (Szabolcsi 2010, 4)

In Newari, when the embedded event is a state, the subject of disjunct verb may be co-indexed with the matrix subject. In fact, most state-denoting predicates do not have a conjunct form.

(20) a. *Shyam-a dhāl-a ki [wa-ta ciku:]*
Shyam-ERG say-PST.DISJ that s/he-DAT cold.be.DISJ

'Shyam$_1$ said that he$_{1/2}$ is cold.'

b. *Shyam-a dhāl-a ki [wõ: siu:]*
Shyam-ERG say-PST.DISJ that s/he.ERG know.DISJ

'Shyam$_1$ said that he$_{1/2}$ knew.'

Exemption from obviation also happens when the complement event denotes a mistake, an accident, etc. The bound subjunctive subject in (21b) becomes acceptable when the embedded event is interpreted as an accidental act.

[4] Ruwet (1991) notices that in French bound subjunctive subjects become slightly better in a similar set of environments. However, the judgment in French is not as crisp as it is in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 2010).

(21) a. *Nem akarok, lelöni valakit.*
not want.1SG shoot.INF someone.ACC

'I don't want to shoot someone.' (Szabolcsi 2010, 7)

b. *Nem akarom, hogy lelöjek valakit.*
not want.1SG that shoot.SBJV.1SG someone.ACC

'I don't want for me to shoot someone.' (Szabolcsi 2010, 7)

Similarly, the disjunct constructions are exempted from obviation when the event is not carried out intentionally (22b). What is more, the use of an overt adverb *masika* "accidentally" makes disjunct marking obligatory (22a).

(22) a. **Shyam-a dhāl-a ki [wõ: masika shun nāpalāt-ā]*
Shyam-ERG say-PST.DISJ that s/he.ERG accidentally someone meet-PST.CONJ

(Int.) 'Shyam$_1$ said that he$_1$ accidentally ran into someone.'

b. *Shyam-a dhāl-a ki [wõ: masika shun nāpalāt-a]*
Shyam-ERG say-PST.DISJ that s/he.ERG accidentally someone meet-PST.DISJ

'Shyam$_1$ said that he$_1$ accidentally ran into someone.'

Finally, when the complement denotes an action which its subject has no direct control over, such as "receiving good grades", "getting a good job," etc., the subjunctive subject can be co-indexed with the matrix subject (23b).

(23) a. *Szeretnék jó jegyeket kapni*
like.1SG good grades.ACC receive.INF

'I would like to receive good grades.' (Szabolcsi 2010, 4)

b. *Akarom, hogy jó jegyeket kapjak*
want.1SG that good grades.ACC receive.SBJV.1SG

'I want for me to receive good grades.' (Szabolcsi 2010, 4)

The subject of disjunct verb can be bound in this case as well (24b). The conjunct marking, again, is not preferred.

(24) a. **Shyam-a dhāl-a ki [wa birāmi juy-ā].*
Shyam-ERG say-PST.DISJ that he ill become-PST.CONJ
(Int.) 'Shyam$_1$ said that he$_1$ became ill.'

b. *Shyam-a dhāl-a ki [wa birāmi jul-a].*
Shyam-ERG say-PST.DISJ that he ill become-PST.DISJ
'Shyam$_1$ said that he$_1$ became ill.'

What differs Hungarian from Newari, therefore, is the strictness of complementarity between two competing expressions. In Newari, if the disjunct verb can be used, it must be used. In Hungarian, both the infinitive and subjunctive forms are acceptable in the exemption-from-obviation cases. This is summarized in the following table.

(25) *The strict complementarity between conjunct and disjunct marking*

Complement denotes:	PRO	Subjunctive subjects	Subject of conjunct verb	Subject of disjunct verb
no action	✓	✓	*	✓
unintentional action	✓	✓	*	✓
uncontrollable action	✓	✓	*	✓

5. Non-canonical control: Where the complementarity breaks down

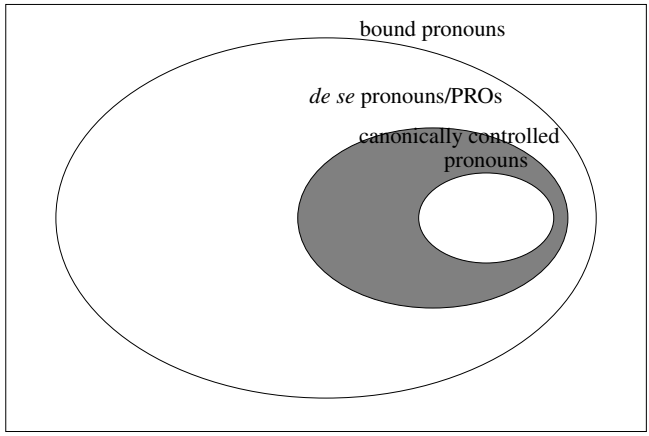
In Newari conjunct and disjunct forms are always in complementary distribution. There is little doubt that they should be derived from a single underlying element. In languages like Hungarian, however, both the infinitives and the subjunctives are available in certain environments, which as I will show shortly, can be well captured by an independently motivated concept—non-canonical control (Farkas 1988, 1992).

According to Farkas (1988), an individual has a relation of responsibility, i.e., the RESP relation, with respect to a certain situation, if that individual brings about that situation. This notion helps distinguish two types of control (Farkas 1992). Canonical control arises when the controller bears the RESP relation with the complement situation. This guarantees that the subject of canonical control is the agent of a free-will, non-accidental action. Non-canonical control arises when there is no RESP relation between the controller and the complement situation.

Given the distinction of canonical and non-canonical control, I propose that the interpretations available to the subject of conjunct verb are a proper subset of those available to PRO, graphically represented below (26). In Newari, canonical control requires conjunct marking and vice versa. The subject of conjunct verb is always a canonically controlled pronoun. The two verb forms are thus in complementary distribution. In Hungarian, canonical control requires infinitives but not the other way round. Infinitives are compatible with both canonically controlled pronouns and non-canonically controlled pronouns, whereas

the subjunctive subjects, when they are bound, must be non-canonically controlled pronouns. The complementarity between infinitives and subjectives breaks down in precisely the environments where non-canonical control obtains, as indicated by the shaded region.

(26) *The implicational relation for different types of bound pronouns*



Newari differs from Hungarian and many other languages in that it grammaticizes canonical control. However, other languages also have ways to distinguish the two types of control. Szabolcsi (2010) points out that in infinitives voluntary and involuntary actions behave quite differently when it comes to the licensing of polarity items. In both English (27) and Hungarian (28) the PPI in the infinitives can scope below the matrix negation when the complement denotes an involuntary action (27b, 28b), but not when the complement event is carried out willingly or intentionally (27a, 28a).

(27) *Canonical vs. non-canonical control in English (Szabolcsi 2004, 417)*

a. I don't want to eat something. (RESP, ??$\neg > [_{CP/IP}\ \exists]$)

b. I don't want to break something. (non-RESP, ✓$\neg > [_{CP/IP}\ \exists]$)

(28) *Canonical vs. non-canonical control in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 2010, 7)*

a. You can trust me with a gun, because ...
*Nem akarok lelöni senkit/*valakit.*
not want.1SG shoot.INF anyone/someone
'I don't want to shoot anyone/*someone.' (RESP, *$\neg > [_{CP/IP}\ \exists]$)

b. Take this gun from me, because ...
*Nem akarok lelöni *senkit/valakit.*
not want.1SG shoot.INF anyone/someone

'I don't want to shoot *anyone/someone.' (non-RESP, ✓¬ > [$_{CP/IP}$ ∃])

This suggests that though canonical and non-canonical control can both appear in infinitives, they involve different structures.

Following Speas & Tenny (2003) and Sundaresan (2014), Zu (2015) proposes a silent pronominal at each clause periphery (*pron*), pertaining to the mental perspective of a matrix attitude-holder (DP1). According to this proposal, the subject of conjunct verb (DP2) is always co-indexed with *pron* (29a), whereas the subject of disjunct verb cannot be bound in the same fashion (29b). For our current purposes, what is important is the relationship between *pron* and DP1. I argue that when *pron* is not co-indexed with the matrix DP, the latter takes an external perspective.

(29) a. [$_{CP1}$ DP1$_1$ *pron*$_1$ [$_{CP2}$ DP2$_1$ ... V-conj] ...]

b. [$_{CP1}$ DP1$_1$ *pron*$_2$ [$_{CP2}$ DP2$_{1*2/3}$ ... V-disj] ...]

In the following scenario, the attitude holder reports an action in just the same way that he would have to do when the action was someone else's.

(30) *Scenario: Shyam was drunk and he broke in his own apartment. He only realized what happened, after he rolled back the security tape the next day. Knowing what he did, Shyam told Laxmi, 'I broke the window.'*

a. #*Shyam-o dhāl-a ki jhya tachhayān-ā*
Shyam-ERG say-PST.DISJ that window break-PST.CONJ

'Shyam$_1$ said that he$_1$ broke the window.'

b. *Shyam-o dhāl-a ki jhya tachhayāt-a*
Shyam-ERG say-PST.DISJ that window break-PST.DISJ

'Shyam$_1$ said that he$_1$ broke the window.'

Note that in this context, the embedded subject in (31b) is still construed *de se*, as the attitude holder Shyam identifies himself as the window-breaker. What is missing here, is Shyam's direct experience of being the window-breaker. This is in line with Higginbotham's (2003) observation that in sentences like *Churchill remembers giving the speech about blood, toil, tears, and sweat*, the PRO subject of the gerundive complement, too, must remember himself not only giving the speech, but also experiencing being the agent of the speech giving event. Pending a full-fledged syntactic account for canonical and non-canonical control, I suggest that it is possible to analyze the latter as the result of the lack of internal perspective, along the same line as disjunct marking in Newari.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, empirically I bring together data on control/obviation in European languages and data on conjunct/disjunct marking in Newari. Theoretically I have defended an approach to obviation that brings control into the equation. My central claim is that the exceptions to the complementarity between control and obviation form a coherent class. That is, they are cases of non-canonical control where the attitude holder does not bear the RESP relation with the complement situation. Control and obviation are thus still better derived in the same module. Finally I call for a finer-grained distinction among *de se* pronouns that makes reference to internal and external perspectives, respectively. The Newari data suggest that there are empirical advantages to derive this distinction in syntax.

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