

Control alternations. On control properties in infinitival goal adjuncts in Baltic

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This article deals with control phenomena in a particular type of infinitival adjuncts in Baltic, viz. in goal adjuncts with transitive verbs of motion. It has already been noted in the literature that, though infinitival adjuncts are often assumed to have implicit subjects controlled by the matrix clause subject, certain subtypes select a matrix clause object as a controller. This is also often the case with goal adjuncts: individual languages may choose either the matrix clause subject or the matrix clause object as a controller. As shown in this article, Lithuanian and Latvian have grammaticalized both types of control, i.e. for most verbs occurring in infinitival goal adjuncts alternative constructions with the two patterns of control (subject and object control) are available. The alternative control patterns correlate with transitivity vs. intransitivity marking on the infinitive in the goal adjunct. The article reflects on the syntactic interpretation of the observed facts, examines the distribution of the two control patterns over lexical classes of verbs occurring in the goal adjuncts, and looks at the implications of the facts for the theory of control.

Keywords: Latvian, Lithuanian, infinitival adjuncts, goal clauses, purpose clauses, control, motion verbs

1. Introduction¹

This article deals with control phenomena in infinitival adjuncts in Baltic. I will argue that in infinitivals expressing goal with transitive verbs of motion, as in *she put the potatoes on [to boil]*, *she took the children to the doctor [to be vaccinated]*, *she took her friend [to be introduced to her parents]*, the Baltic languages have grammaticalized two alternative types of constructions with an implicit subject controlled by the matrix clause subject and

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the matrix clause object respectively. I will also discuss the interpretation of control mechanisms involved, and their implications for the theory of control.

As an example of the kind of constructions I will be dealing with, I will cite two Latvian sentences both containing counterparts of English constructions of the type *put the potatoes on to boil*.

(1) Latvian

Mamm-a uzlika vārīt žagariņ-us un
 mum-NOM.SG put_on.PST.3 boil.INF angel_wings-ACC.PL and
aizrāvās pie televizor-a, bet
 get_carried_away.PST.3 near TV_set-GEN.SG but
eļļa aizdegās.
 oil-NOM.SG catch_fire.PST.3

‘Mum put the angel wings on to boil and got carried away by TV, but the oil caught fire.’²

(2) Latvian

Mamm-a uzlika vārīties kartupeļ-us, kad
 mum-NOM.SG put_on.PST.3 boil.INF.REFL potato-ACC.PL when
pēkšņi sākās apšaud-e.
 suddenly begin.PST.3 firing-NOM.SG

‘Mum put the potatoes on to boil when suddenly the house came under fire.’³

The verb *vārīt* in (1) is transitive and denotes the causation of the process of boiling; the reflexive *vārīties* in (2) is the anticausative counterpart. Note that the non-reflexive *vārīt* is always transitive and may not be used in the sense of the intransitive and reflexive *vārīties*:

(3) Latvian

Es vāru kartupeļ-us.
 1SG.NOM boil.PRS.1SG potato-ACC.PL

‘I am boiling (the) potatoes.’

(4) Latvian

*Kartupeļ-i vārās (*vāra).*
 potato-NOM.PL boil.PRS.3.REFL (boil.PRS.3)

² <http://www.diena.lv/arhivs/trukums-nekave-saldus-ugunsdzeseju-izdomu-11046087>

³ <http://www.tumblr.com/search/laurelaure>

‘The potatoes are boiling.’

The fact that *vārīt* and *vārīties* pose such mutually exclusive requirements on what kind of arguments they can have as grammatical subjects (agent with the former, patient with the latter), leads us to the conclusion that (1) and (2) differ in control properties, i.e. the implicit subject of the infinitive is governed by different main clause arguments. This can be tested by replacing the infinitival purpose adjunct, which has an obligatorily implicit subject, with a finite purpose clause where the subject may surface or be marked by verb agreement:

(5) Latvian

Es uzlieku kartupeļ-us, lai vārās.
 1SG.NOM put_on.PRS.1SG potato-ACC.PL so_that boil.PRS.3.REFL
 ‘I put the potatoes on so that they boil.’

(6) Latvian

**Es uzlieku kartupeļ-us, lai vāru.*
 1SG.NOM put_on.PRS.1SG potato-ACC.PL so_that boil.PRS.3
 Intended meaning: ‘I put the potatoes on so that I may boil [them].’

While (5) is perfectly normal, (6) would require the addition of an object pronoun in the accusative (*lai tos vāru* ‘so that I may boil them’) to be grammatical; but even then the sentence would be odd because after the potatoes have been put on, the boiling proceeds without any intervention of the agent that could be conceived as the purpose of motion. The situation is different from what we observe with intransitive verbs of motion, where the same argument doubles as agent of motion and agent of the process described by the infinitival adjunct:

(7) Latvian

Mamm-a iet uz virtuv-i vārīt kartupeļ-us.
 Mum-NOM go.PRS.3 to kitchen-ACC.SG boil.INF potato-ACC.PL
 ‘Mum is going to the kitchen to boil some potatoes.’

Despite this difference, (1) above is syntactically similar to (7), in that both constructions seem to have the agent of motion, syntactically the matrix clause subject, as controller of the infinitival subject. (2) differs from (1) in having an implicit infinitival subject controlled by the matrix clause object. With this particular verb of motion, and this particular verb

in the infinitival adjunct, a difference in meaning does not seem likely. If there were one, we would be able to show it by using paraphrases like (5) and (6). If (6) were grammatical, it would be truth-conditionally equivalent to (5). But it would also be hard to formulate a non-truth-conditional difference: the difference between *vārīt* and *vārīties* basically consists in the explicit mention of a causer vs. lack of information on a possible causer, but in this case mention of the agent would add nothing to what is already stated in the matrix clause. Further on I will also discuss some cases where a difference in meaning between constructions with transitive and intransitive infinitives is conceivable, but such instances are not numerous.

I conclude, then, that the Latvian constructions illustrated in (1) and (2) differ not so much in meaning as in having different control properties: (1) has subject control whereas (2) has object control. All other things appear to be equal: apparently the same construction, the same verb of motion in the main clause, basically the same verb (though in transitive and intransitive varieties) in the infinitival adjunct, and no demonstrable difference in meaning. Neither syntactic nor lexical properties seem to predetermine the choice of the controller. This is unexpected because the now voluminous literature on control (starting with Rosenbaum 1967, and with Landau 2013 as the most comprehensive overview of the generative literature; no comparable survey is available for the—less voluminous—functionalist literature on the topic) usually involves discussions of instances where lexical differences impose either object or subject control (e.g. an infinitival complement clause subject will be controlled by the subject of *promise* in *John_i promised them \emptyset_i to come* but by the object of *request* in *they requested Ann_i \emptyset_i to stay*); or where the implicit subject of an infinitival adjunct will always be controlled by the same syntactic argument, e.g. the subject, regardless of lexical factors and theta-role differences associated with them (*She_i woke up/opened the door/was brought to England* etc. *\emptyset_i only to discover that...*). Baltic goal infinitivals with transitive motion verbs seem to allow two different types of control represented in alternative constructions with corresponding (in)transitivity marking on the infinitive. Lexical factors seem to have (as we shall see below) a certain influence on the frequency with which one or the other construction is chosen, but basically speakers can, in many cases though not in all, choose between two control constructions not predetermined by lexical or syntactic factors.

In this study I will only be dealing with cases in which subject and object control are clearly opposed, because it is only in such cases that alternative control constructions, with alternative (in)transitivity marking on the infinitive, are observed. Constructions with transitive motion verbs, as other constructions involving verbs which allow two possible controllers, include cases with split control (on this notion, also observed in complements, cf. Stiebels 2007, 5), i.e. agent and theme of the motion predicate may share control of the infinitival subject, as in (8):

(8) Lithuanian

[*Namie vienam nėra nuobodū, tačiau*]

kai į svečius ateina dukr-os ir kur nors
 when for_a_visit come.PRS.3 daughter-NOM.PL and somewhere
nu-si-veda pa-si-vaikščioti, jaučiuosi dar geriau.
 PFX-REFL-lead.PRS.3 PFX-REFL-walk-INF feel.PRS.1SG even better
 ‘[I don’t feel bored when I am alone at home, but] when my
 daughters come to visit [me] and take [me] for a walk some-
 where, I feel even happier.’⁴

The natural interpretation here is that daughters and father go for a walk together (the case of a dog being taken for a walk, illustrated in (32), (33) and (41) below, is of course different). It is possible (but not of our immediate concern here) that this split control correlates with the reflexive marking on the motion verb *nu-si-vesti* ‘take (somebody) along’, which suggests a conjoint motion of two persons sharing a common purpose, thereby minimizing the semantic contrast between agent and theme. In instances like this, where the semantic roles which the motion agent and the motion theme assume in the goal clause are not clearly differentiated, the conditions for the occurrence of a clear-cut distinction between two types of control as shown in (1) and (2) are not fulfilled. In what follows, I will only consider instances where subject and object control are clearly opposed, and the difference is reflected in the transitive or intransitive character of the verb in the infinitival adjunct.

I will compare the situation in Baltic with regard to control with transitive motion verbs with that in a few other languages, and will reflect on the significance of the Baltic facts for the theory of control. The structure of the article is as follows: first I will discuss the different types of

⁴ <http://www.tv3.lt/m/naujiena/399220/asaros-is-tusciu-akiduobiu>

infinitival adjuncts corresponding to what is often broadly referred to as ‘purpose clauses’, and their syntactic properties (section 2). Then I will discuss the alternative types of control mentioned above with regard to the different lexical types of verbs occurring in the infinitival adjuncts (section 3). Next, I will briefly discuss the relative frequency of the two types of control dependent on lexical classes of verbs (section 4). Section 5 discusses some more general principles of control and their application to transitive motion verbs. Section 6 briefly looks into the control properties in similar motion verb constructions in other languages. Section 7 consists of concluding remarks and outlook.

The article does not reflect any particular grammatical framework. The notion of control was, of course, formulated in Generative Grammar, and the whole discussion on control has been framed by this grammatical theory. I have, however, attempted to be informed by different approaches, including functionalist ones.

2. On the syntax of infinitival adjuncts

Infinitivals such as those appearing in (1) and (2) have been known since Huettner (1989) as ‘goal adjuncts’. In her dissertation Huettner considerably refines the terminology associated with infinitival adjuncts. In more general usage (this broader usage is retained in Schmidtke-Bode 2009) the term ‘purpose clause’ will encompass different clause types, such as (9), (10) and (11):

(9) English

He walked out of the room (in order) to show his anger.

(10) *She bought him a newspaper to read in the train.*

(11) *John went to open the door.*

Apart from a general ‘purposive’ meaning, these three types show important mutual differences, first of all syntactic. In sentences like (9), the subordinate clause expresses the motive for a course of action described in the main clause as a whole, and we can speak of syntactic and semantic clause linking. Huettner rechristens such clauses ‘rationale clauses’. The term ‘purpose clause’, once used (and still used by many authors) in a broader sense, is now reserved for constructions expressing the purpose of an entity expressed by an NP; the infinitival clause is, in this case, adnominal:

(12) English

(= 10) *She bought him* [_{NP} *a newspaper* [_{InfP} *to read in the train*]].

The term ‘goal adjunct’ is introduced to refer to infinitival adjuncts with verbs of motion, and also with certain verbs that involve a more abstract idea of motion; they are of the type illustrated in (11). Another term frequently used in the literature to refer to this type is ‘motion-cum-purpose’, apparently first used in Aissen (1984).

Goal clauses are, as Huettner argues, VP-internal, whereas rationale clauses are adjoined at sentence level. In English this can be seen from tests involving pseudo-cleft constructions, cf. (13) and (14) as opposed to (15) and (16). It is obviously easier to prepose an adverbial clause modifier than to extract a goal phrase from the VP:

(13) English

John [_{VP} *went* [_{InfP} *to open the door*]].

(14) **What John did* [_{InfP} *to open the door*] *was go*.

(15) [*John* [_{VP} *closed the window*]] [*in order to keep the cold out*].

(16) *What John did* [(*in order*) *to keep the cold out*] *was close the window*.

If goal infinitivals are VP-internal, and their occurrence is licenced by the use of a verb of motion, then the question arises whether they are not in fact complements (syntactic arguments required by the matrix clause verb) rather than adjuncts (optional modifiers of the verb phrase). There is no straightforward answer to this question, and I will not attempt to provide one, as nothing in what follows hinges on whether the infinitival is an adjunct or a complement. It has become customary to list goal infinitivals together with rationale and purpose adjuncts, whose status as adjuncts does not seem controversial (cf. not only Huettner’s thesis but also, e.g., the overview in Landau 2013, 221–229), and I follow this terminological usage for the sake of commodity without committing myself strongly to the view that we are actually dealing with adjuncts. In fact, it seems that they are rather a borderline case between complements and adjuncts rather than a canonical instance of either of these. The infinitival in *They took the children to be vaccinated* seems intuitively closer to a complement than in *They took the children to the doctor to be vaccinated* as in the latter case a spatial goal is already expressed, and *to be vaccinated* becomes, in functional terms, more similar to a rationale clause. Formally,

however, it is still a goal clause, and we will see in section 6 below that its control properties differ from those of rationale clauses.

The distinction between rationale clauses (clause modifiers), goal clauses (VP modifiers restricted to the class of motion verbs) and purpose clauses (NP modifiers) can be carried over to Baltic, but the internal structure of the Baltic clause types partly differs from that of their English counterparts. The infinitival rationale clauses of English have an exact functional counterpart in Baltic, but Baltic rationale clauses are finite, not infinitival. The verb is in the irrealis; in Lithuanian, it is marked for person, whereas in standard Latvian all person and number forms are identical, but the clause is still finite:⁵

(17) Lithuanian

Keliaujame ne tam, kad pamatytime,
 travel.PRS.1PL NEG for.that.purpose SUB see.IRR.1PL
keliaujame, kad patirtume
 travel.PRS.1PL SUB experience.IRR.1PL
 ‘We travel not in order to see but in order to experience.’⁶

(18) Latvian

To viņ-a saka tikai tāpēc, lai
 that.ACC 3-NOM.SG.F say.PRS.3 only for.that.purpose SUB
mani kaitinātu.
 1SG.ACC tease.IRR
 ‘She says that only (in order) to tease me.’ (M. Zīverts)

Infinitival purpose adjuncts of the English type, in the sense of adjuncts of a noun phrase, exist only in Lithuanian (19), whereas Latvian has replaced them with infinitival relative clauses (20):

(19) Lithuanian

Labai džiaugdavausi, kai girinink-as paskolindavo
 much rejoice.HABPST.1SG when forester-NOM.SG lend.HABPST.3
koki-q nors knyga paskaityti arba bent jau
 some-ACC.SG.F INDEF book-ACC.SG read-INF or at least

⁵ The fact that the irrealis form in *-tu* is always finite, even if the controller is generic, can be seen from the fact that a predicate nominal in a rationale clause is always in the nominative (e.g. *lai būtu vesels* ‘in order to be healthy.NOM’), in contrast to infinitival constructions, where it would have to be in the dative.

⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/avialtpuslapis/posts/287385491374667>

pavartyti.

peruse.INF

‘I used to be very glad when the forester lent [me] some book to read or at least to peruse.’⁷

(20) Latvian

Ļoti gribētu, lai jūs man ieteiktu
 much want.IRR that 2PL.NOM 1SG.DAT recommend.IRR
kād-u lab-u grāmat-u, ko lasīt ...
 some-ACC.SG good-ACC.SG book-ACC.SG REL.ACC read.INF

‘I would very much like you to recommend to me some good book to read...’⁸

Baltic goal clauses are easier to set apart from rationale clauses because of their non-finite character contrasting with the finite character of rationale clauses. Their VP-internal character is less easy to illustrate because the relatively free word order of Baltic makes it easier to extract something from the VP for information-structure purposes. The fronting test does yield some evidence, however: rationale clauses can freely occur sentence-initially (21), whereas infinitival goal adjuncts can also be fronted but only if they act as contrastive topics, as in (22):

(21) Latvian

[Lai potētu pagast-ā dzīvoj-oš-os
 to vaccinate.IRR parish-LOC live-PPRA-ACC.PL.M.DEF
bērn-us] [...] *mediķi dodas gan uz*
 child-ACC.PL medic-NOM.PL go.PRS.3 both to
bērnudārz-u, gan skol-u.
 kindergarten-ACC.SG both school-ACC.SG

‘In order to vaccinate the children living in the parish, the medics visit both kindergartens and schools.’⁹

(22) Latvian

[Satikties ar draug-iem] viņ-š ne-brauca.
 meet.INF with friend-DAT.PL 3-NOM.SG.M NEG-go.PST.3

⁷ <https://sites.google.com/site/andrejusgaidamavicius/>

⁸ http://lauraskaruselis.1w.lv/42-gramatu-klubs_2/

⁹ <http://www.liepajniekiem.lv/zinas/novados/bezmaksas-vakcinacijai-atsaucibadazada-7299>

‘He didn’t go to meet with his friends.’ (lit. ‘To meet with his friends he did not go.’) (constructed example)

Table 1 gives an overview of the clause types that have just been mentioned and will appear further on in this article. For want of a better overarching term we could call them ‘final clauses’, as ‘purpose clause’ now has a narrower scope.

Table 1. Types of final clauses. The shaded areas contain clause types differing structurally from their English counterparts (they are either finite or have been transformed into relative clauses)

	English	Lithuanian	Latvian
Rationale clause (adjoined at clause level)	<i>She said this [in order to tease him]</i>	<i>Ji tai pasakė kad jį paerzintų.</i> 3.NOM.SG.F that say.PST.3 SUB 3.ACC.SG tease.IRR.3	<i>Viņa to teica, lai viņu kaitinātu.</i> 3.NOM.SG.F that say.PST.3 SUB 3.ACC.SG tease.IRR
Goal clause (VP-internal)	<i>She [went to open the door]</i>	<i>Ji nuėjo atidaryti durį¹⁰</i> 3.NOM.SG.F go.PST.3 open.INF door(PL)-GEN	<i>Viņa aizgāja atvērt durvis</i> 3.NOM.SG.F go.PST.3 open.INF door(PL)-ACC
Purpose clause (NP-internal)	<i>She lent him [a book to read]</i>	<i>Ji paskolino jam knygą paskaityti</i> 3.NOM.SG.F lend.PST.3 3.DAT.SG.M book.ACC.SG read.INF	<i>Viņa aizdeva viņam grāmatu, ko lasīt</i> 3.NOM.SG.F lend.PST.3 3.DAT.SG.M book.ACC.SG REL.ACC read.INF

In what follows I will be concerned with goal clauses. A few remarks are in order concerning their internal structure. In (1) the verb is transitive but appears without an object. In this respect the clause is similar to purpose clauses as illustrated in (10) and (19). Purpose clauses, or at least their English variety, can be described as displaying a gap, i.e. an obligatorily empty position coindexed with an antecedent (for this

¹⁰ As can be seen from this example, a characteristic feature of Lithuanian infinitival goal adjuncts is that the object, if present, is usually encoded with the genitive. Cf. Arkadiev (2014) for a recent account of this phenomenon.

analysis, which is not intended to be anything but purely descriptive, cf. Huddleston & Pullum, eds., 2002, 48–49, *passim*):

(23) English

She bought him a book_i to read ____i.

This gap analysis is based on the fact that the position of the object must remain empty and cannot even be occupied by a pronoun coreferential with the head noun, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (24). The overt expression of the object would require the use of a rationale clause (either infinitival or finite) modifying the main clause as a whole, as in (25):

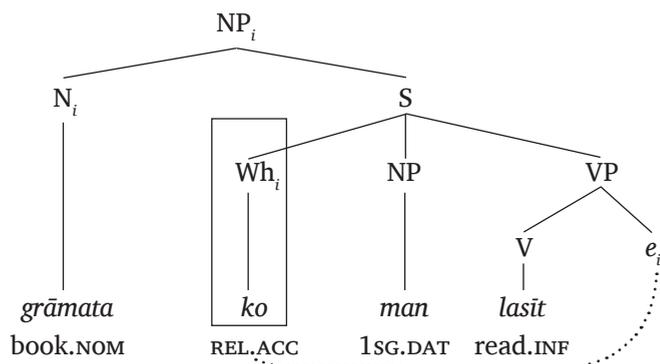
(24) English

**She bought him [a book_i to read it_i].*

(25) *She bought him a book [in order for him to read it / in order that he might read it].*

Infinitival purpose adjuncts are, in this sense, related to relative clauses, which often also contain gaps but are often introduced by a relative pronoun coreferential with the gapped NP. It is not surprising that Latvian infinitival purpose clauses should have been replaced with infinitival relative clauses: this required only the insertion of a relative pronoun (on this process cf. Holvoet 2000). The process is shown in the following diagram, where a full clausal purpose adjunct with a dative subject has been chosen ('a book for me to read'). The rectangle singles out the relative pronoun that was inserted in Latvian but not in Lithuanian:

Figure 1. From infinitival purpose adjunct to infinitival relative clause in Latvian



A gap analysis also seems to be the most obvious way of describing the Baltic infinitival goal adjuncts occurring with transitive motion verbs and containing transitive infinitives:

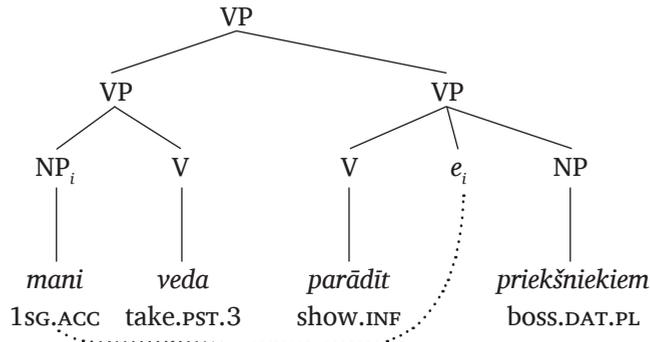
(26) Latvian

Pirm-ajā darb-a dien-ā mani_i veda
 first-LOC.SG.DEF work-GEN day-LOC.SG 1SG.ACC take.PST.3
parādīt —_i *priekšniek-iem.*
 show.INF BOSS-DAT.PL

‘On my first workday they took me to be shown to the bosses.’¹¹

A possible structure for sentences like (26) is shown in the following diagram, which dispenses with the assumption of a phonetically empty but syntactically active PRO subject, so that the goal adjunct takes the shape of a bare VP which has a subject only in semantic structure:

Figure 2. Infinitival goal adjuncts with transitive motion verbs as a gap construction



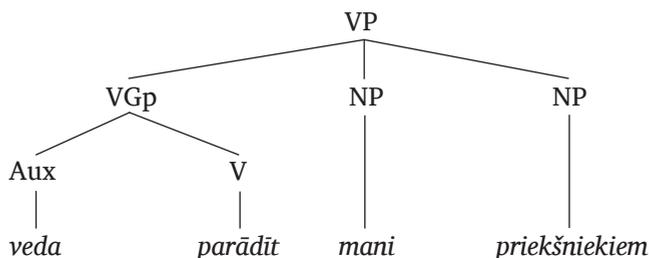
The structure of infinitival goal adjuncts with intransitive infinitives is similar except that there is no gap, and the implicit subject is controlled by the matrix subject.

In addition to this gap analysis, we should also consider another possible account, namely, that the accusative object is governed not by the motion verb but by the infinitive (alternatively, one could say that the transitive verb of motion and the goal infinitive share an object), and that we are dealing with a monoclausal structure in which the motion verb has

¹¹ http://www.tvnet.lv/izklaide/kino/55444-gita_lapsa_par_pirmajiem_solciem_televizija

become a kind of auxiliary. Syntactic structure would then be as in figure 3 (where VGp stands for ‘verbal grouping’); the object *mani* is shared by the two verbs:

Figure 3. Construction with goal infinitival as a putative instance of clausal union



Auxiliarization and clausal union have been invoked earlier in the literature in order to account for atypical patterns of control. For instance, Aissen (1984) suggests auxiliarization in order to explain apparent backward control in Tzotzil:

- (27) Tzotzil (Mayan: Mexico; Aissen 1984, 559, with original glosses)
Ch-ba s-man-o chitom li Xune.
 ICP-go A3-buy pig the Juan
 ‘Juan will go buy pigs.’

Here verbal agreement suggests that *Xune* ‘Juan’ is in the goal clause rather than in the matrix clause. Constructions of this kind are nowadays adduced in support of a raising analysis of control (cf. Polinsky & Potsdam 2002, invoking Hornstein 1999), but auxiliarization is also a valid line of analysis. The development of motion verbs into tense auxiliaries is well known (cf. Hopper & Traugott 2003, 1–4 on *gonna*), but auxiliarization probably occurs already at the motion verb stage, cf. the discussion of ‘purposive auxiliary constructions’ in Schmidtke-Bode 2009, 178–185).

If auxiliarization and clausal union were indeed involved, we could presumably expect two types of evidence betraying it. One could be word order, showing the two verbs to constitute a compound predicative structure, as we observe in syntactic causatives in French, where combinations like *faire marcher*, *faire écrire* behave as closely knit units. Another feature

could be changes in case marking, i.e. the use of case marking patterns not licenced separately either by the verb of motion or by the goal infinitive. There do not seem to be any case marking patterns that would point to clausal union, so only the evidence of word order remains. In this respect the constructions with transitive and intransitive infinitives do not, at first sight, seem to differ. Examples (1) and (2) show constructions where the motion verb and the infinitive are adjacent. One can also find instances with both transitive and intransitive infinitives separated from the motion verb by the object or an adverbial:

(28) Latvian

Sivēn-a gaļ-u sagriež glīt-os gabal-iņ-os,
 piglet-GEN.SG meat-ACC cut.PRS.3 neat-LOC.PL.M piece-DIM-LOC.PL
sacērt kāj-as, uzliek kopā ar aukst-u
 chop.PRS.3 leg-ACC.PL put_on.PRS.3 together with cold-ACC.SG
ūden-i vārīt.
 water-ACC boil-INF

‘One cuts the pork into neat little pieces, chops the pork knuckles, and puts [them] on with cold water to boil.’¹²

(29) Latvian

Nomazgā kartupeļ-us, uzliec kartupeļ-us
 wash.IMP.2SG potato-ACC.PL put_on.IMP.2SG potato-ACC.PL
vārīties ar vis-ām miz-ām.
 boil-INF with all-DAT.PL.F peel-DAT.PL

‘Wash the potatoes and put the potatoes on to boil with their jackets on.’¹³

To the extent that we seem to need the assumption of auxiliarization and clausal union only to explain cases with transitive infinitives, whereas those with intransitive infinitives would be normal bi-clausal control structures, what we would like to see is clear instances of transitive infinitives adjacent to, and thus probably constituting closely knit units with, the transitive motion verbs, both together preferably preceding the accusative, whereas the position of intransitive goal infinitives, which could be viewed as being object-controlled, should be much freer. We would, of course, be astonished to find clear evidence for clausal union in *both*

¹² <http://www.e-pavargramata.lv/lv/receptes/galas-edieni/galerts/>

¹³ <http://receptes.tvnet.lv/receptes/pilditie-kartupeli/>

cases—also in constructions with intransitive goal infinitives: if clausal union were involved in both cases, there would be no syntactic difference at all between the constructions in (1) and (2), (28) and (29)—intransitive and transitive infinitives would be in free variation. This, however, does not seem to be the case: as I will show further on, there are differences in frequency between intransitive and transitive infinitives depending on verb class, and in some instances only one of them is possible.

Further research could, perhaps, show differences in word order pointing to constructions with transitive goal infinitives as monoclausal. One wonders, however, how to interpret the figures if there turned out to be only a preference for adjacent positioning of transitive goal infinitives, without a clear-cut difference. One could perhaps, in that case, speak of a tendency to treat transitive motion verbs and transitive goal infinitives as more closely knit units, which would not be sufficient grounds to posit a rigid distinction between control and auxiliariation constructions. If one is committed, for whatever reason, to the view that only one type of control, viz. object control, can *a priori* be considered possible, one will have to resort to the assumption of clausal union even in the absence of compelling word-order data. Not being committed to this view, I will leave the issue of clausal union for future research.

In the lack of decisive evidence in favour of clausal union, I will assume that pairs of sentences like (1) and (2) contain goal clauses whose implicit subjects can be controlled either by the matrix clause subject or by the matrix clause object, and which also display morphosyntactic differences correlating with this control distinction, viz. marking of transitivity (lack of reflexive marker or addition of a causative suffix) correlating with subject control and marking of intransitivity (reflexive marker or lack of a causative suffix) correlating with object control.

3. Goal adjuncts with alternations in control properties in Baltic

In this section I will examine the types of verbs that appear in the goal adjuncts displaying the alternation that interests us in this article. Variation in the type of motion verb is not taken into account here; I have not been able to detect any differences connected with this. In most of the examples below, transitive motion verbs will basically be represented by the verbs Lithuanian *vesti*, Latvian *vest* ‘lead, bring, take’. In Latvian

this verb has the additional meaning ‘convey’ (by vehicle). Other transitive verbs of motion with which infinitival goal adjuncts occur include Latvian *nest*, Lithuanian *nešti* ‘carry, bring’, Latvian *dzīt*, Lithuanian *varyti* ‘drive’, Latvian *jāt*, Lithuanian *joti* ‘ride (a horse)’ etc. Here I give just a few examples with verbs other than *vesti*, *vest*:

(30) Latvian

ja kād-s zīrg-u bez laika velk ārā no
 if somebody-NOM horse-ACC.SG untimely pull.PRS.3 out from
siltum-a un dzen jūgt vezum-ā
 warmth-GEN.SG and drive.PRS.3 harness-INF cart-LOC.SG
 ‘...if somebody drives a horse out of the warmth before day-
 break to be harnessed to the cart’ (Valentīns Jakobsons)

(31) Lithuanian

Juzuk-as parodė į garuojanči-ą up-ės
 PN-NOM point.PST.3 to steaming-ACC.SG.F river-GEN.SG
brast-ą, prie kuri-os Anupr-as varė girdyti
 ford-ACC.SG at REL-GEN.SG.F PN-NOM drive.PST.3 water-INF
arkli-us
 horse-ACC.PL
 ‘Juzukas pointed to the steaming ford in the river, where Anupras was driving the horses to be watered.’ (Bronius Radzevičius)

Verbs of ‘putting’ show behaviour similar to the verbs of motion *sensu stricto*; they include verbs like Latv. (*no*)*likt*, Lith. *padėti* ‘put’, but also Latv. *atstāt*, Lith. *palikti* ‘leave (a thing in a certain place)’.

Alternations as that between (1) and (2) are not restricted to this type of verb pairs opposing an anticausative verb and its causative counterpart. In (32) the infinitival adjunct contains an activity verb whose implicit subject is controlled by the matrix clause object; (33) has the corresponding formally marked causative in *-ināt* which enables control of the implicit subject by the matrix clause subject:

(32) Latvian

[*Ko jūs domājat par saimniekiem,*]
kuri sav-us suņ-us ved pastaigāties
 REL.NOM.SG.M RPO-ACC.PL dog-ACC.PL take-PRS.3 walk-INF
bez uzpurņ-iem?
 without muzzle-DAT.PL

‘[What do you think of dog-owners] who take their dogs for a walk unmuzzled?’¹⁴

(33) Latvian

Galven-ais varon-is ir izmeklētāj-s
 main-NOM.SG.M.DEF hero-NOM.SG be.PRS.3 investigator-NOM.SG
Franc-is Eberhofer-s, kur-š dzīvo pie tēv-a
 PN-NOM PN-NOM REL-NOM.SG.M live.PRS.3 at father-GEN.SG
un om-es, regulāri ved staidzināt
 and granny-GEN.SG regularly take.PRS.3 walk.CAUS.INF
sav-u sun-i ...
 RPO-ACC.SG dog-ACC.SG

‘The main hero is investigator Franz Eberhofer, who lives with his father and grandmother and regularly takes his dog for a walk...’¹⁵

Similar pairs of constructions exist in Lithuanian. I will illustrate this for *susipažinti* ‘get acquainted’ and *supažindinti* ‘introduce to each other’. The semantic class is, again, different here, as *susipažinti* is a *reflexivum tantum* denoting a situation of social interaction, in terms of aspectual class an achievement or inceptive state predicate, but the corresponding construction with subject-controlled subject has a formally marked causative in *-dinti*:

(34) Lithuanian

Jei tave per antr-q pasimatym-q veda
 if 2SG.ACC during second-ACC.SG date-ACC.SG take.PRS.3
susipažinti su tėv-ais – reikia
 acquaint.INF.REFL with parents-INS[PL] be_necessary.PRS.3
bėgti.
 flee.INF

‘If during the second date she takes you to be introduced to her parents, it’s time to run.’¹⁶

(35) Lithuanian

Kiekvien-q į nam-us užklyd-us-į sveči-q
 every-ACC.SG into home-ACC.PL stray-PPA-ACC.SG.M guest-ACC.SG

¹⁴ <http://valmiera.pilseta24.lv/forums/tema/201>

¹⁵ http://www.zvaigzne.lv/lv/jaunumi/publikacijas/242046-anete_abele_rita_falka_ziemas_kartupelu_knedeli.html

¹⁶ <http://www.moteris.lt/psichologija/nuo-kokiu-moteru-vyrai-bega.d?id=67020050>

dyvni-ai veda supāžindinti su savo
 twins-NOM.PL take.PRS.3 introduce.CAUS.INF with RPO
augintini-ais.
 care-INS.PL

‘The twins take every guest that happens to come along to be introduced to their cares [i.e. their pets].’¹⁷

The same alternation holds in Latvian, with the verbs *iepazīties* ‘get acquainted’ and the causative *iepazīstināt* ‘introduce to each other’. The following examples illustrate this:

(36) Latvian

Pazīstu tād-us cilvēk-us, kas
 know.PRS.1SG such-ACC.PL person-ACC.PL who.NOM
katr-u ved iepazīties ar
 every-ACC.SG take.PRS.3 get_acquainted.INF with
vecāk-iem.

parents-DAT[PL]

‘I know people who take everybody to be introduced to their parents.’¹⁸

(37) Latvian

[*Man rīt ļoti svarīgs pasākums –*
draug-s vedīs iepazīstināt ar sav-u
 friend-NOM.SG take.FUT.3 introduce.INF with RPO-ACC.SG
om-i...

granny-ACC.SG

‘[I’ve got a very important event waiting for me tomorrow—] my friend is taking [me] to be introduced to his granny.’¹⁹

The above examples with ‘introduce/get to know’ stand out among those discussed in this article in that it is possible to assume a difference in meaning between the constructions with transitive and intransitive infinitives here. One could imagine (35) and (37) referring to a situation

¹⁷ <http://www.jurbarkosviesa.lt/Priedai/Trys-kampai/Vasaros-dovanu-kraiteje-ilgai-lauktos-atostogos>

¹⁸ <http://cosmo.lv/forums/topic/104366-vina-tevs-uhhh-d/?sort=ASC&pnr=2>

¹⁹ <http://www.mammamunteti.lv/forum/8302/pirma-cimosanas-pie-draugames/reply/48562/1/sort1/>

where the person taking somebody for a visit to his/her parents, grandmother etc. is also expected to do the introductions, whereas in (34), (36) the person who is taken along is expected to introduce her/himself. While this twofold possibility is perhaps helpful in explaining why alternative constructions are available in the first place, it is doubtful whether this possible meaning difference determines the choice of the construction to be used in every particular instance.

Yet another type of opposition is illustrated in (38) and (39). Here we find the transitive *potēt* ‘vaccinate’ opposed to a reflexive *potēties* which is clearly not anticausative but belongs to what Nedjalkov & Sil’nickij (1969, 41) call the ‘reflexive-causative’ type: here the reflexive verb denotes not an action performed by an agent on his/her own person, but an action the agent has performed on his/her person by some provider of services like a hairdresser, tailor, medical worker etc.²⁰ The usual meaning of *potēties* is ‘have oneself vaccinated’:

(38) Latvian

Tai pat laik-ā, kad bēr-n-u ved
that.LOC.SG same time-LOC.SG when child-ACC.SG take.PRS.3

potēt,

vaccinate.INF

[*potēšanas kabinetā pieprasa tajā pašā dienā izsniegtu ģim[enes] ārsta izziņu, ka bērns ir vesels*].

‘When one takes a child to be vaccinated, [one is asked in the vaccination room for a certificate from the family doctor, issued on the same day, that the child is in good health].’²¹

(39) Latvian

Bieži vien vienkārši mamm-as aizved bēr-n-us
often PCL simply mum-NOM.PL take.PRS.3 child-ACC.PL

potēties,

vaccinate.INF.REFL

[*ja bērnam arī ir iesnas vai klepus, kas arī izraisa komplikācijas*].

²⁰ This covert causative element is also present in the meaning of the corresponding non-reflexive verb: *potēt* in (38) does not mean ‘vaccinate’ but ‘have somebody vaccinated’. This covert causativity is also characteristic of the Slavonic languages, as mentioned in von Waldenfels (2012, 18–19); cf. also Holvoet (2015, 169–171).

²¹ http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/latvija/377368-petis_vai_ercu_pote_vainojama_koma_esosa_zena_stavokli/comments/page/3

‘Often mums simply take their children to be vaccinated [even if the child has a cold or a cough, which also causes complications].’²²

Alternations of this type (with reflexive-causatives) are interesting in that the causative element in (39) appears to be considerably weakened. There is no reason to believe that in the situation depicted in (39) the children are passive undergoers whereas in the case of (38) they consciously take the decision to have themselves vaccinated. It seems more likely that the reflexive causative is coerced into a passive-like interpretation similar to that of the passive infinitive in the English counterpart *to be vaccinated* by the requirements of the construction in which it is used. What seems to be the case is that two alternative control constructions are available; that with subject control is, in a sense, more natural as it is the parents who are in control: they take their children to the doctor and have them vaccinated—in both cases they are agents. But a construction with object control is also available and coerces the verb into a passive-like reading.

Where a reflexive-causative verb is not available, the construction with a passive-like infinitive and an implicit subject controlled by the matrix clause object does not exist. This is the case with Latv. *pārdot*, Lith. *parduoti* ‘sell’, which permits only a subject-controlled construction:

(40) Latvian

Saimniek-i zemen-es audzē jau
farmer-NOM.PL strawberry-ACC.PL grow.PRS.3 already
trīs gad-us un ved pārdot uz tuvāk-ajām
three.ACC year-ACC.PL and take sell.INF to nearest-DAT.PL.F.DEF
pilsēt-ām.
TOWN-DAT.PL

‘The farmers have been growing strawberries for three years now and been taking them for sale to the nearby towns.’²³

(41) Lithuanian

[*Pasiteiravęs, iš kur jį gavo, pareigūnas išgirdo vyriškio atsakymą,*
kad dvirat-is – jo ir kad veda parduoti.
that bicycle-NOM.SG 3.GEN.SG.M and that take.PRS.3 sell.INF

²² <http://www.atceries.lv/lv/diskusijos.zinutes/35307>

²³ <http://www.latgaleslaiks.lv/lv/2001/7/6/4336>

‘[Having enquired where he got it from, the policeman heard the man answer] that the bicycle was his and that he was taking it for sale.’²⁴

Here an alternative construction with *pārdoties*, *parsiduoti* is not available. These forms exist—they have the meanings ‘prostitute oneself’ and ‘side with the enemy for material gain’—but neither can they (for reasons of argument structure) be used as anticausatives, nor do they belong to the type of verbs that derives causative-reflexives. And they cannot be coerced into quasi-passive meaning, as the causative-reflexives can. A construction with a passive infinitive (*took them to be sold at the market*) is also not available in Baltic.

The opposite situation, in which there is only a construction with an implicit subject controlled by the matrix clause object, also occurs, but it seems to be caused mainly by more or less accidental factors such as the lack of the required causative verb. The Latvian construction in (33) has no Lithuanian counterpart as Lithuanian lacks a causative based on *vaikščioti* ‘walk’.

(42) Lithuanian

Šun-ų savinink-ai yra aktyv-esn-i ne
 dog-GEN.PL owner-NOM.PL be.PRS.3 active-COMP-NOM.PL.M NEG
vien todėl, jog veda pasivaikščioti
 only therefore that take.PRS.3 walk-INF
keturkoj-us augintini-us.
 quadruped-ACC.PL.M care-ACC.PL
 ‘Dog-owners are more active not only because they take their quadruped cares for walks.’²⁵

But even if a causative counterpart is available, as is the case in pairs like (1)–(2), where an anticausative is opposed to a transitive base verb, the use of this causative counterpart is not always the most obvious option, as differences in frequency show. I will briefly discuss these in section 4 below.

A final type of opposition one could, in principle, imagine is one in which a goal adjunct with object control contains a transitive verb with

²⁴ http://issuu.com/rinkosaikte/docs/2014_06_05

²⁵ <http://m.lrytas.lt/naujiena.asp?id=13001344191300055417#.VSAeofmUcQ0>

an object of its own, e.g. *seat somebody at a table to write something*. This situation actually occurs and is reflected in (43):

(43) Lithuanian

Prisipažink geriau, kas tave pasodino rašyti
 confess.IMP.2SG better who.NOM 2SG.ACC seat.PST.3 write.INF
tas nesąmon-es, ir kiek tau
 that.ACC.PL.F nonsense-ACC.PL and how.much 2SG.DAT
moka.
 pay.PRS.3
 ‘Better confess who seated you there to write all that nonsense,
 and how much they pay you.’²⁶

In cases like this subject control would entail the use of a causative from a transitive verb (‘cause to write’), which is not normally available: causatives from transitives are rare in Baltic, with the exception of certain groups such as ingestive verbs (for more details cf. Arkadiev & Pakerys 2015 and Nau 2015). In structures like (43) the alternation that will interest us here does therefore not occur.

4. Frequency

It was already mentioned that there are differences with regard to degree of agency of the main clause subject in the situation reflected in the goal adjunct. In the situation of children being taken to be vaccinated the children are passive undergoers, so that the use of reflexive causatives could be viewed as a result of coercion. The situation reflected in (1) and (2) is clearly different: once the potatoes etc. have been put on, no interference from the agent of motion is required. This does not preclude the use of a causative verb, however, and (2) is a **perfectly natural** Latvian sentence. However, the question might be posed whether different degrees of agency could not be associated with a preference for one of the two control constructions. Differences in frequency do seem to point in that direction.

A Google count based on the combinations *uzlikt vārīt/vārīties* ‘put on to boil’, *uzliēk vārīt/vārīties* ‘puts on to boil’ and *uzlika vārīt/vārīties* ‘put. PST

²⁶ <http://www.komentaras.lt/naujienos/n-venckienei-bunant-darbe-l-stankunaite-su-antstole-bande-issivezti-mergaite/comment-page-5?cat=3>

on to boil' yielded a ratio of 29 : 273 in favour of the reflexive form *vārīties*. Though these data are not highly reliable (they would have to be compared with overall frequency data for the verbs involved), the disbalance is clear. That it does not reflect a general disbalance in favour of one of the constructions involved is shown by the data for *iepažīstināt* 'introduce to each other' and *iepažīties* 'get acquainted', be introduced to each other'. A similar Google search taking into account constructions with the infinitive, conditional, and all present and past tense forms of the verb *vest* yielded a ratio of 49 : 22 in favour of the causative *iepažīstināt*. For *potēt* 'vaccinate' and *potēties* 'get vaccinated' the ratio was 52 : 11.

For Lithuanian there is no counterpart to constructions (1) and (2)—the verb *virti* is both transitive and intransitive in Lithuanian. But other constructions may be used to illustrate the point. A perusal of assembly instructions, cooking recipes etc. which could be found through Google search (only infinitives here, as can be expected in texts of this kind) yielded a ratio of 6 : 25 for *padėti džiovinti* 'put away to dry (tr)' as against *padėti džiuūti* 'put away to dry (INTR)', of 1 : 31 for *palikti atšaldyti* 'leave to cool (tr)' as against *palikti atšalti* 'leave to cool (INTR)', and of 1 : 88 for *palikti brinkinti* 'leave (groats etc.) to swell (tr)' as against *palikti brinkti* 'leave to swell (INTR)'. These figures show that in situations like these the transitive (causative) verb is rare, though possible.

As in Latvian, the other groups also show a disbalance, but in the opposite direction. For *vesti skiepyti* 'take to be vaccinated' (lit. 'take to vaccinate', with the transitive infinitive) as against *vesti skiepytis* 'take to be vaccinated (INTR)' the ratio was 70 to 12; for *vežti gydyti* 'take somebody somewhere for treatment' (lit. 'to treat', with the transitive infinitive) as against *vežti gydytis* 'take somebody somewhere to be treated (INTR)' the ratio was 94 : 25 (infinitive and all present, past and future forms).

Presumably the differences shown here are not a coincidence. They seem to reflect the character of the causation that is required in addition to the causation of motion implied by the main verb. If one puts potatoes to boil, or leaves peas to swell, no further interference is required; if one takes one's boyfriend or girlfriend to be introduced to one's parents, one is, in many cases, still expected to do the introductions; and if a child is taken to be vaccinated, it is usually a passive undergoer and the active support of an adult is needed. Note that the figures do not seem to reflect differences in morphological markedness, as sometimes it is the morphologically more complex verb that is more frequent (Latvian reflex-

ive *vārītis* as against non-reflexive *vārīt*) whereas in other instances the morphologically simpler verb is more frequent (Lithuanian non-causative *džiūti* as against causative *džiovinti*).

These rough and preliminary frequency data suggest, therefore, that the greater the degree of interference of the agent required to make the intended action succeed, the greater the likelihood will be that the implicit subject of the infinitive is controlled by the agent.

5. Motion-verb constructions and the mechanisms of control

The control properties of infinitival adjuncts have received a lot of attention, though less than those of non-finite complements. Most attention has gone to determining what controls the implicit subject of the adjunct if there is no obvious syntactic controller (cf. the overview in Landau 2013, 221–229). While for rationale clauses this is the main problem (cf. cases where the expected controller, the matrix subject, is evidently not the actual controller, as in *The ship was sunk in order to collect the insurance*), the other types of infinitival adjuncts pose partly different problems: several of them have implicit subjects controlled by matrix clause objects, a problem that apparently remains unexplored. This problem has been noted for infinitival purpose adjuncts, but also poses itself for goal adjuncts. Landau (2013) writes: “It is almost an axiom of the field that adjunct control is subject-oriented by necessity, but there are some constructions that seem to challenge this claim [...] There is no straightforward configurational account of the control asymmetry [...] Explaining object-controlled adjuncts is still an open problem” (Landau 2013, 31, fn. 20).

While configurational accounts have always predominated in mainstream generative grammar ever since Rosenbaum (1967), outside the mainstream it has been suggested that semantic (thematic) roles are an important factor (Jackendoff 1972); and it has been argued that pragmatic factors could be involved in addition to semantic ones, cf., e.g., Comrie (1984). The emphasis was, of course, mostly on control into complements. More recently the case for semantic control was once more pleaded by Culicover & Jackendoff (2005), this time with due attention to adjunct control as well. These authors, however, also emphasize that control cannot be purely semantic: certain aspects of it must be syntactic, though this does not necessarily mean it must be configurational, that

is, statable exclusively in terms of phrase structure. For instance, rationale clauses have implicit subjects controlled by the subject of the matrix clause, regardless of its thematic role (Culicover & Jackendoff 2005, 425–426); if one’s theory provides for a separate tier of grammatical relations not defined exclusively in configurational terms (as Culicover & Jackendoff’s *Simpler Syntax* has), then one will have a syntactic, but non-configurational rule of control. Such a rule might, in its turn, have semantically determined exceptions; for instance, the implicit subjects of rationale clauses will normally be controlled by the main clause subject, but sometimes by an agent that is not a subject or may even be implicit (cf. *The ship was sunk in order to collect the insurance money*).

With respect to infinitival goal adjuncts in Baltic, the facts adduced above show that control is (partly) sensitive to semantics. This is suggested, for example, by the fact that the choice between the constructions is sensitive to degrees of agency. However, as we have seen, semantics does not wholly determine control: the speaker usually has a choice between two control constructions, and, for all we know, this choice might be at least partly determined by idiolectal preferences (whether this is indeed the case would have to be investigated separately). Still, it seems that semantic differences (that is, the semantic type of the verb in the goal clause) have a certain influence on relative frequencies. We could say that the speaker has a choice between two different syntactic control constructions—subject control and object control. This would basically be accurate, but a purely syntactic account would not be satisfactory, because the presence of a subject in the matrix clause is not required in order for the transitive verb to be used. This can be seen from (44) and (45), where the matrix clause is passivized and the agent is not expressed: in spite of this, both alternative types of control are possible:

(44) Latvian

[*Stāstīja, ka viens vācu virsnieks uz laiku zaudējis prātu*]

un vest-s ārstēt pie vectēv-a [...]

and take.PPP-NOM.SG.M treat.INF to grandfather-GEN.SG

‘[He recounted that one German officer had temporarily lost his wits] and had been taken to his grandfather to undergo treatment.’²⁷

²⁷ http://www.tvnet.lv/izklaide/notikumi/355631-gain_fast_misija_afganistana/comments/page/2

(45) Latvian

[*Desmit gadus pēc kārtas*]

Dmitrij-s tika vest-s ārstēties uz
 PN-NOM AUX.PST.3 take.PPP-NOM.SG.M treat.INF.REFL to
Nacionāl-o rehabilitācij-as centr-u Vaivari.
 national-ACC.SG.DEF rehabilitation-GEN centre-ACC.SG PLN

‘[Ten years at an end] Dmitry had been taken to the national rehabilitation centre Vaivari to undergo treatment.’²⁸

The same holds for Lithuanian. I here illustrate only the type with the agent as controller:

(46) Lithuanian

Pavyzd-ys: ved-am-as skiepyti vaik-as
 example-NOM.SG take-PPRA-NOM.SG.M vaccinate.INF child-NOM.SG
visuomet klausia, ar skaudės.

always ask.PRS.3 if hurt.FUT.3

‘An example: a child taken to be vaccinated always asks whether it is going to hurt.’²⁹

It is natural to expect that object control will shift to subject control when the clause is passivized and the object is promoted to subject. But the original (active) subject should altogether lose its ability to control the subject of the goal adjunct as it is eliminated from syntactic structure. It would therefore appear to be more accurate to say that the two alternative constructions involve control by an agent or by a patient/theme respectively. The mechanism of control obviously depends on the type of infinitival adjunct. Implicit subjects of rationale adjuncts are governed by the agent, those of purpose adjuncts are often governed by explicit or implicit beneficiaries (cf. *a book (for you) to read*). In the case of goal adjuncts with intransitive verbs of motion, the controller will be the agent/theme, whereas in the case of transitive motion verbs agent and theme are disjoined. Both are potential controllers, but semantic factors influence the choice. In some cases the agent doubles as the agent of motion and that of the process that is the goal of motion, which makes it a

²⁸ http://www.sporto.lv/raksts/skaties_smaile

²⁹ <http://www.alfa.lt/straipsnis/49777506/ka-turetu-padaryti-ir-ko-nedaryti-tevai-kad-vaikas-jaustusi-laimingas?p=2>

stronger candidate for controller. If the agent is only the agent of motion, the likelihood of the theme acting as a controller increases.

6. Comparative background

Though the semantic determinants of control are presumably universal, in the motion-verb structures at hand language-specific constructions seem to single out one argument or the other as the controller. Let us consider English first:

(47) English

*After a very early start I arrived at the train station at Saitama and was promptly picked up by Tomio who took me to his home **to be introduced** to his family...*³⁰

In this sentence the subject of *to be introduced* is clearly the narrator, i.e. the matrix clause object. Could it be otherwise? (48) seems to be impossible:

(48) English

He took me to his home **to introduce to his family.*

But there could be specific reasons for which this construction is impossible. For example, it is conceivable that English does not allow a gap construction in this particular instance, and the verb *introduce*, being transitive, requires an object. So let us rather consider (49) instead of (48):

(49) English

*He took me to his home **to introduce me** to his family.*

This is grammatical, but it is far from certain that this sentence contains a goal adjunct as (47) does; we could be dealing with a rationale clause here. Indeed, we can replace *to* with *in order to*, which is characteristic of rationale clauses:

(50) English

*He took me to his home **in order to introduce me** to his family.*

Note that we could not use *in order to* in (47) without altering the meaning:

³⁰ <http://1stgencivc.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=124&t=18754>

(51) English

?*He took me to his home in order to be introduced to his family.*

This would, again, be grammatical but queer in the sense that the person inviting is the one to be introduced to his own family. This interpretation follows from the fact that the implicit subjects of rationale adjuncts are controlled by the main clause subject. In order to avoid this effect we have to insert an overt infinitive subject:

(52) English

He took me to his home in order for me to be introduced to his family.

Only in (47) does a covert subject get a semantic interpretation controlled by the main clause object, which suggests that in (47) we are not dealing with a rationale clause but with something different—a goal clause. We can therefore say that in English the only infinitival adjuncts which we can clearly set apart from rationale adjuncts have object-controlled subjects.

In Polish, a language that uses infinitival goal adjuncts very sparingly (prepositional phrases with nominalizations are preferred here, such as *na szczepienie* ‘for vaccination’, *do gotowania* ‘for boiling’), the relatively rare instances seem to show consistent control by the main clause subject, regardless of whether interference of the agent in the goal situation in addition to the causation of motion is required, as in (53), or not, as in (54):

(53) Polish

Wzięli mnie do weterynarz-a zaszczepić
 take.PST.VIR.PL[3] 1SG.ACC to vet-GEN.SG vaccinate.INF
przeciwko wściekliwości-e.
 against rabies-DAT.SG
 ‘They took me to the vet to be vaccinated against rabies.’³¹

(54) Polish

Sam przebrał się w domow-y
 self.NOM.SG.M change.PST.M.SG[3] REFL in home-NOM.SG.M
strój i postawił gotować mlek-o.
 clothes.ACC and put.PST.M.SG[3] boil[TR].INF milk-ACC

³¹ <http://katzebemol.blogspot.com/2012/06/bemol-przed-wizyta-u-weta.html>

'He himself changed into home clothes and put milk on to boil.'³²

In Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian, the use of the infinitive has been severely limited, but to the extent that infinitives are used to express goal with transitive verbs of motion (which is observed mainly in Croatian), their implicit subjects will be controlled by the matrix clause subject, as in Polish (examples courtesy of Wayles Browne):

(55) Croatian

Stavljam kav-u kuhati.
put.PRS.1SG coffee-ACC.SG boil.INF

(56) Croatian

Stavljam kav-u da se kuha.
put.PRS.1SG coffee-ACC.SG SUB REFL boil.PRS.3SG
'I put coffee on to boil.'

The situation in Baltic is interesting in that instead of selecting one of the competing potential controllers and grammaticalizing the corresponding goal adjunct construction, these languages have grammaticalized two constructions. Also interesting is that this parallel grammaticalization of two competing control constructions is characteristic of both Baltic languages. The question arises whether this could be a broader areal feature. It is apparently not characteristic of Estonian, where, in a construction analogous to (1) and (2), only an intransitive infinitive can be used; the same holds for the counterparts of (34)–(35) and (36)–(36) (Andres Karjus, p.c.):

(57) Estonian

*Ta paneb kartuli-d keema / *keetma.*
3SG.NOM put.PRS.3SG potato-NOM.PL boil[INTR]/boil[TR].INF
'(S)he puts on the potatoes to boil.'

(58) Estonian

Ta toob sõbra
3SG.NOM take.PRS.3SG friend.GEN
*tutvuma / *tutvustama oma vanemate-ga.*
get_acquainted.INF/introduce.INF RPO parents-COM

³² <http://www.filmweb.pl/serial/Ko%C5%9Bci-2005-233995/discussion/Tw%C3%B3rczo%C5%9B%C4%87+w%C5%82asna+-+ods%C5%82ona+2,1263788?page=8>

‘(S)he takes her/his friend to be introduced to her/his parents.’

The situation in Slavonic is not very well known. Polish was mentioned above as a language allowing only control by the matrix clause subject in goal infinitivals, but this does not seem to be a general rule in Slavonic. In Russian, both *postavil varit’* and *postavil varit’sja* are possible, as Peter Arkadiev has pointed out to me. The following examples were found in the Russian National Corpus:

(59) Russian

Vasilij postavil varit’ kartošk-u.
 PN.NOM put.PST.M.SG boil[TR].INF potatoes-ACC.SG
 ‘Vasily put some potatoes on to boil.’

(60) Russian

[*Vernuvšis’ v izbu, rastoropno zatopil peč’*]
i postavil varit’sja kaš-u.
 and put.PST.M.SG boil[INTR].INF groats-ACC.SG
 ‘[Having re-entered the cottage he skilfully lit a fire in the oven]
 and put some groats on to boil.’

It should be investigated, however, whether Russian has grammaticalized constructions with alternative patterns of control to the same extent as Baltic has, and it would also be interesting to get a comprehensive picture of all the Slavonic languages in this respect. When the Slavonic context is better known, it will be possible to say something more definite about the areal context of the phenomenon discussed here.

7. Concluding remarks

Control properties in infinitival goal clauses reflect certain general tendencies of control in adjuncts. Complement control is, almost by definition, not a matter of choice: it is a matter of individual lexical (conceptual) meaning predetermining the selection of the controller. Adjunct control has less to do with individual lexical meaning and is to a higher extent constructional. A constructional view of adjunct control is also taken, e.g., by Guerrero (2013). The choice afforded in Baltic between two different control constructions with transitive motion verbs makes this constructional character still more evident. If the semantic preconditions for two alternative choices of a controller are given—and goal adjuncts

with transitive verbs of motion seem to be an instance of this—languages seem to make individual choices as to which type of control they will grammaticalize; Estonian and Polish, for instance, seem to make opposite choices. Baltic has grammaticalized them both. This entails a regular alternation of transitive and intransitive verbs in the goal adjunct, each type correlated with a different pattern of control, which shows clearly that we are dealing not with an oscillation or borderline case in control but with two competing constructions.

Some further work remains to be done on control constructions with transitive motion verbs. First of all, possible idiolectal and dialectal factors in the choice between constructions with subject and object control should be examined for both Baltic languages. It should also be investigated whether there are differences in meaning between these constructions, or what other factors might influence the choice. Finally, we need to know more about control properties with transitive motion verbs in other languages.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A3 — 3rd person agent agreement marker, ACC — accusative, AUX — auxiliary, CAUS — causative, COM — comitative, COMP — comparative, DAT — dative, DEF — definite, DIM — diminutive, F — feminine, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, HABPST — habitual past, ICP — incomplete aspect, IMP — imperative, INDEF — indefinite, INF — infinitive, INS — instrumental, INTR — intransitive, IRR — irrealis, LOC — locative, M — masculine, NEG — negation, NOM — nominative, PCL — particle, PFX — prefix, PL — plural, PLN — place name, PN — personal name, PPA — past active participle, PPP — past passive participle, PPRA — present passive participle, PRS — present, PST — past, REL — reflexive, REL — relative, RPO — reflexive possessive, SG — singular, SUB — subordinator, TR — transitive, VIR — virile

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