

## Controlled by Attitudes

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Based on Bianchi (2003), we propose a theory relating finiteness to world-anchoring in Chinese. The world-anchoring analysis dissociates the projection of tense from finiteness in Chinese, while it argues that the world coordinate in Chinese plays the same role as tense in tensed languages in terms of their anchoring properties – namely, only the finite complement allows the embedded world to be anchored to the external world, and that of the infinitive complement can only be anchored to the internal world. The world-anchoring theory accounts for the strong correlation found between the propositional attitude and finiteness in Chinese (Huang 1982, Li 1990), where it is proposed that the predicate with the representational attitude (the *believe*-type) selects the finite complement, while the predicate with the preferential attitude (the *persuade*-type) selects the infinitive control complement. The selections are explained by the facts that the complement under the representational attitude predicate denotes an information-state proposition that can be evaluated in the external world (by the external speaker), and the complement under the preferential attitude predicate must and can only be evaluated within the internal world/speaker (Farkas 1992; Anand and Hacquard 2013). Formally, we adopt the theory of logophoric control in Landau (2015, 2018), and the internal world anchoring in the control infinitive clause in Chinese is analyzed as a logophoric world anchoring under the attitude predicates, and the *de se* reading of the obligatory controlled PRO is simply a consequence of the person anchoring being parasitic to the world anchoring. Semantically, we argue that the logophoric anchoring is mandated by a performative priority modal in the embedded clause, which in Mandarin is lexically realized as the modal complementizer *yao* ‘must’ or *bie* ‘NEG.IMP’. Following Kaufmann (2012) and Stegovec (2019), the performative priority modal triggers a presupposition that associates the contextual backgrounds to the closest speaker/addressee. Generalizing Stegovec’s theory, we argue that the perspectival PRO that is projected by the modal complementizer in Chinese is the locus of the PRO centered worlds consisting of the participant(s) and the world coordinates. The result is that under the preferential attitude predicate in Chinese, the world and person coordinates of the embedded control clause are logophorically bound by the world and participant(s) of the matrix attitude predicate. The desired *de se* reading of the logophoric controlled PRO also follows naturally from the centered world approach in Lewis (1979), Chierchia (1990, 1992), and Pearson (2013, 2016). The proposed analysis thus strengthens and enriches the two-tiered theory of control proposed in Landau (2015, 2018). Finally, our analysis has provided a novel way of looking at the issue of finiteness in a tenseless language like Chinese, and we have proposed a parametric theory of finiteness based on the elements in the speech event.