

This paper identifies two types of control in Mandarin adjunct clauses, distinguished by the interpretation of the null subject PRO. In (1), PRO in the rationale *yibian*-clause is interpreted as being controlled by the closest c-commanding DP argument, *chuan* 'the boat', yielding Obligatory Control (OC). In (2), PRO refers to an unspecified individual who uses the boat to detect underwater creatures, giving rise to Non-Obligatory Control (NOC).

- (1) Chuán<sub>i</sub> yǐjīng chén dào hǎidǐ, [yǐbiàn PRO<sub>i</sub> xíngchéng hǎidǐ jiāo-tǐ].  
 boat already sink arrive seabed in.order form underwater reef  
 'The ship has sunk to the seabed in order to form an underwater reef.'
- (2) Chuán<sub>i</sub> yǐjīng chén dào hǎidǐ, [yǐbiàn PRO<sub>arb</sub> lìyòng tā<sub>i</sub> zhēncè hǎidǐ shēngwù].  
 boat already sink arrive seabed in.order use it detect underwater creature  
 'The ship has sunk to the seabed in order to use it to detect underwater creatures.'

The apparent availability of both OC and NOC in (1) and (2) is unexpected under approaches that assume OC and NOC are in complementary distribution (McFadden and Sundaresan 2018; Brodahl et al. 2025) and instead seems to support analyzes that allow free alternation within a single adjunct type (Green 2019; Landau 2021). We argue, however, that Mandarin does not allow free alternation of OC and NOC within a single adjunct type. Specifically, the OC interpretation in (1) does not involve true OC but rather instantiates NOC, with the local controller favored by discourse-pragmatic considerations. This is illustrated in (3), where the higher DP *Zhangsan* is structurally available but cannot plausibly control PRO, since he cannot form an underwater reef. As a result, only the local DP, *the boat*, is a viable controller—a choice enforced pragmatically rather than syntactically.

- (3) Zhāngsān<sub>i</sub> shuō [chuán<sub>i</sub> yǐjīng chén dào hǎidǐ, [yǐbiàn PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> xíngchéng hǎidǐ jiāo-tǐ.]]  
 Zhangsan say boat already sink arrive seabed in.order form underwater reef  
 'Zhangsan said that the ship has sunk to the seabed in order to form an underwater reef.'

We further argue that true OC in Mandarin is restricted to a particular class of adjuncts, including *lai*-purpose clauses. In (4-a), *Zhangsan* is a semantically plausible controller of PRO, but because *Zhangsan* does not c-command into the adjunct, the sentence is ungrammatical. This contrasts with rationale *yibian*-clauses, as in (4-b), where PRO may be controlled by a non-c-commanding antecedent, and its reference is resolved pragmatically.

- (4) a. \*[Zhāngsān<sub>i</sub> de chuán] chén-le [lái PRO<sub>i</sub> shēnqǐng bǎoxiǎn péicháng].  
 Zhangsan MOD boat sink-PRF to apply insurance compensation  
 'Zhangsan's boat sank to apply for insurance compensation.'
- b. [Zhāngsān<sub>i</sub> de chuán] chén-le [yibian PRO<sub>i</sub> shēnqǐng bǎoxiǎn péicháng].  
 Zhangsan MOD boat sink-PRF in.order apply insurance compensation  
 'Zhangsan's boat sank in order to apply for insurance compensation.'

Building on Agree-based theories of control, we propose that in OC configurations, PRO is derived via Agree with the closest c-commanding matrix DP. In NOC configurations, PRO instead agrees with a silent, discourse-linked operator *pro* in the left periphery of the adjunct, and its reference is resolved discourse-pragmatically. This work will further extend the analysis to other types of adjuncts in Mandarin. Overall, the study provides a systematic empirical and theoretical investigation of adjunct control in Mandarin, a domain that has received comparatively little attention in the control literature.

**References.** Brodahl et al. (2025). Adjuncts in control theory: a scope-based approach. *J Comp German Linguistics* 28, 8. Green. (2019). "A-movement theory of adjunct control". In *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 4.1. Landau. (2021). *A selectional theory of adjunct control*. MIT Press. McFadden, T. and S. Sundaresan (2018). "Reducing *pro* and *PRO* to a single source". *The Linguistic Review* 35.3, pp. 463–518.