

Exhaustive control must be raising

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Overview

This talk is about **control**:

- (1) Frodo_{*i*} tried [____{*i*}/_{*j*} to take the ring to Mordor].

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- (1) Frodo_{*i*} **tried** [_{*i*}/_{*j*} to **take** the ring to Mordor].

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A well known split in control constructions:

- Restructuring
- Non-restructuring

Main questions

- 1 What is the relationship between the two subject positions?
- 2 What determines membership in one of the two classes?

Control subjects

Two main lines of analyses:

- Control constructions involve a PRO
- Control constructions involve *raising of the subject*

Third possibility: both strategies are used (Grano 2012, 2015)

Control in Wolof involves only raising

Restructuring vs. non-restructuring

Wurmbrand (2001)

- Restructuring predicates take either VP complements or are functional heads in monoclausal structures.
- Non-restructuring predicates take complements of different sizes (vP to CP), resulting in restructuring being a gradient property

Grano (2012, 2015):

- Restructuring structures are always monoclausal and involve raising
- Non-restructuring predicates take full CP complements and involve PRO

Wolof:

- Typical non-restructuring predicates have some restructuring properties in Wolof

Restructuring is a gradient property, having to do with the size of the infinitival complement

- 1 Control and restructuring
- 2 Exhaustive control as raising
- 3 Control in Wolof
 - Wolof has only EC
 - EC = raising
 - Raising in biclausal structures
 - Ditransitives
- 4 Conclusion
- 5 Appendix: Alternative analysis

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The syntax of control

- How many and what kind of subjects are there?
- How many clauses are there?


The embedded subject

CONSENSUS: there are two subject positions

DISAGREEMENT: what's in the unpronounced position

- a silent PRO, with different properties from *pro* and overt pronouns
- a trace of movement (e.g. Hornstein 1999. et seq.)
- both the movement and the PRO strategy exist (Grano 2012, 2015)

(2) Frodo₁ tried [t₁ to take the ring to Mordor].



A horizontal arrow points from the trace t_1 in the embedded subject position to the subject $Frodo_1$ in the main clause, indicating movement.

(3) Frodo₁ wanted [PRO₁ to take the ring to Mordor].

The embedded subject

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(2) Frodo₁ tried [t₁ to take the ring to Mordor].



(3) Frodo₁ wanted [PRO₁ to take the ring to Mordor].

Exhaustive vs. Partial control

Exhaustive Control (EC)

- the controller exhaustively determines the referent of the controlled position.
- (4) Frodo₁ tried __₁ to take the ring to Mordor (*together).

Partial Control (PC)

- the controlled position is interpreted as a proper superset of the controller
- (5) Frodo₁ promised __₁₍₊₎ to take the ring to Mordor (together).

Restructuring

- Apparent biclausal structures act as transparent domain for processes that are ordinarily clause-bound
- e.g. Clitic Climbing

(6) *Restructuring*

- a. Vorrei [andar*ci* con Maria]
 would.want.1SG [go.*there* with Maria]
 ‘I would want to go there with Maria.’
- b. *Ci* vorrei [andare con Maria].

(7) *Nonrestructuring*

- a. Detesterei [andar*ci* con Maria].
 would.detest.1SG [go.*there* with Maria]
 ‘I would detest to go there with Maria.’
- b. **Ci* detesterei [andare con Maria].

from Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004

Restructuring = EC

- Wurmbrand (1998): EC = restructuring; PC = non-restructuring
- The class of restructuring predicates appears to be fairly stable across many languages

EC	ASPECTUAL	begin, continue, stop, ...
	MODAL	can, may, must, need, ...
	IMPLICATIVE	forget, fail, dare, ...
PC	DESIDERATIVE	want, intend
		refuse, prefer, decide, plan, offer, propose, ...
	FACTIVE	regret, admit, ...
	PROPOSITIONAL	claim, believe, tell, ...

Control in Wolof

Two puzzles

- 1 There is only Exhaustive Control.
- 2 Only monotransitive predicates are involved in control.

Wolof: First puzzle

EC	ASPECTUAL	being, continue, stop, ...
	MODAL	can, may, must, need, ...
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Wolof has only Exhaustive Control

Wolof: Second puzzle

(8) *Monotransitive predicates*

Taamu na=a₁ [__₁ naan ataya suba si].
 prefer C=1SG [drink tea morning the.SG]
 ‘I prefer to drink tea in the morning.’

(9) *Ditransitive predicates*

Tere na=a xale yi₂ [ñu₂ lekk tangal].
 forbid C=1SG child the.PL [3PL eat candy]
 ‘I forbade the children to eat candy.’

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Only monotransitive predicates allow control

Overview

Main claims

- 1 Wolof supports the raising analysis of EC.
- 2 Restructuring with desideratives indicates the reduced size of the infinitive complement.
- 3 Control is not possible with ditransitives because Wolof has no PRO.

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Restructuring puzzles

- 1 Why does restructuring exist?
- 2 Why do only some predicates restructure?

Restructuring complements are very small

Wurmbrand (2001):

Lexical restructuring	INF = VP
Functional restructuring	restructuring verb = functional head
<hr/>	
Reduced non-restructuring	INF = <i>v</i> P or TP
Clausal non-restructuring	INF = CP

Puzzle:

- Why is the class of restructuring predicates stable across language?

EC is raising

Cinque (2004, 2006): the relative order of multiple restructuring verbs is quite rigid

- Restructuring configurations are always monoclausal.
- Restructuring predicates are always functional heads in the inflectional layer.

⇒ **Exhaustive Control/Restructuring always involves raising**

Cinque's cartography

- (10) Mood_{speechact} > Mood_{evaluative} > Mood_{evidential} > Mod_{epistemic} > Tense >
 Mod_{volitional} > Asp_{terminative} > Asp_{continuative} > Asp_{prospective} >
 Asp_{inceptive} > Mod_{obligation} > Mod_{ability} > Asp_{frustrative} > Asp_{success} >
 Mod_{permission} > Asp_{conative} > Asp_{completive}

from Grano 2015, adapted from Cinque

Restructuring

CINQUE'S PREDICTION:

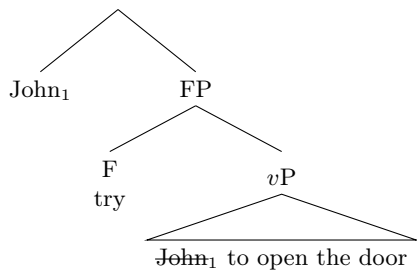
- If a predicate has a meaning that independently resides on a functional head, then it restructures
- This is not the case; heads above Tense tend to not restructure, even though they are plausible candidates (*propositional* and *factive* predicates)

GRANO (2012, 2015)

- EC = monoclausal raising structures
- PC = biclausal structures involving a controlled PRO

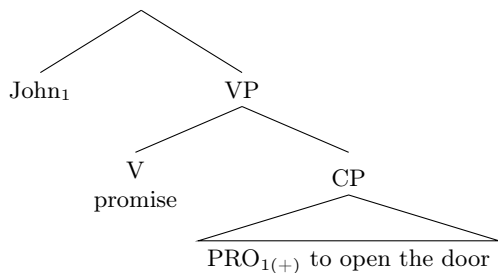
Grano: Exhaustive Control

(11)



Grano: Partial Control

(12)



Raising vs. control

What about the distinction between raising and control?

- expletive subjects
- idiom chunks
- non-synonymy under passivization

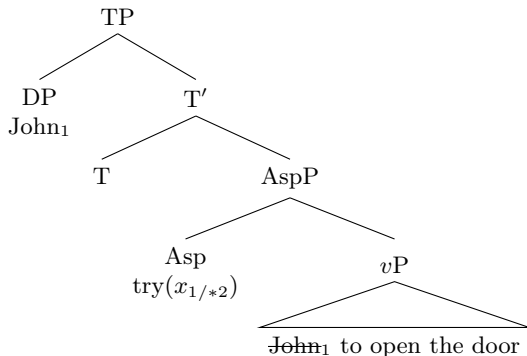
Grano: **EC verbs are *subject-oriented***

- explains the raising/control contrast
- explains why only functional heads below tense restructure

Subject orientation in control

- Restructuring predicates incorporate into their meaning a dependent individual variable
- When the subject raises, it obligatorily binds the variable

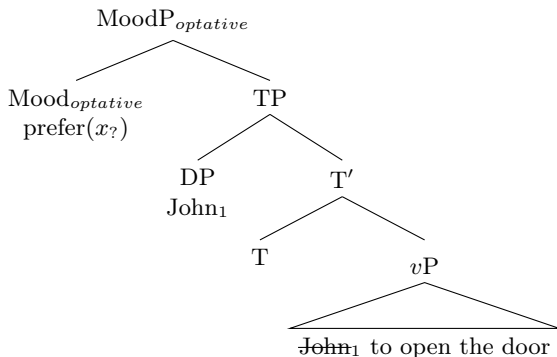
(13)

(14) $\llbracket \text{try}(x) \rrbracket = \lambda p. \text{TRY}(x)(p)$

Restructuring failure

- If the variable cannot be bound, the derivation doesn't converge

(15)



⇒ The biclausal strategy must be used, involving a PRO and resulting in PC

Wolof puzzles

- ① If a predicate is involved in control, it is always only Exhaustive Control.
- ② Desiderative verbs
 - Other languages: Partial Control and no restructuring
 - Wolof: Exhaustive Control and restructuring

Overview

- 1 There is only EC in Wolof.
 - ⇒ Wolof does not have the PRO-strategy.
- 2 EC includes verbs that generally do not restructure.
 - ⇒ Non-finite clauses in Wolof are never CPs
 - ⇒ Raising is possible in biclausal structures as well
- 3 There is no control with ditransitives.
 - ⇒ Raising in ditransitives is not possible; since the PRO-strategy does not exist, these structures are not control.

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Wolof finite clauses

- All Wolof clauses have an overt high head hosting *sentence particles* (Dunigan 1994)
- Elements to its left are in the left periphery → I consider it a C head (Martinović 2015, 2020)

- (16)
- a. Xale yi bëgg **na**=ñu tangal.
 child the.PL like C=3PL candy
'The children like candy.'
- b. Xale yi **da**=ñu bëgg tangal.
 child the.PL do.C=3PL like candy
'The children LIKE candy.'
- c. Lan **la** xale yi bëgg?
 what C child the.PL like
'What do the children like?'

EC/restructuring predicates

- (17) *Modals*
 War na=a [jox xaalis miskin yi].
 must C=1SG [give money poor the.SG]
 ‘I must give money to the poor.’
- (18) *Aspectual verbs*
 Tàmbali na=a [tabax kër].
 begin C=1SG [build house]
 ‘I began building a house.’
- (19) *Implicatives*
 Sàggane na=a [indil xale yi tangal].
 neglect C=1SG [bring child the.PL candy]
 ‘I neglected to bring the children candy.’

Desiderative predicates

- (20) Mbaye fas yeene na= \emptyset [togg ceebujën].
 Mbaye decide C=3SG [cook ceebujen]
'Mbaye decided to cook ceebujen.'
- (21) Taamu na=a [naan ataya suba si].
 prefer C=1SG [drink tea morning the.SG]
'I prefer to drink tea in the morning.'
- (22) Yakaar na=a [dellusi Senegaal léegi].
 hope C=1SG [return Senegal soon]
'I hope to return to Senegal soon.'

Reduced (non)-restructuring

Desiderative control constructions:

- are biclausal (have two lexical verbs)
- involve subject raising
- have complements that are smaller than the CP

No Partial Control

- (23) a. Fanta ak Binta laj na= \tilde{n} u ndimbal \tilde{n} oomi neen.
 Fanta and Binta ask C=3PL assistance together
Fanta and Binta asked for a stipend together.'
- b. *Fanta bëgg na= \emptyset laj ndimbal \tilde{n} oomi neen.
 Fanta want C=3SG ask stipend together
intended: 'Fanta wanted to ask for a stipend together.'
- (24) a. Borom-dëkk ak waa-kaw gi daje na= \tilde{n} u ci juróom benn waxtu.
 chief-village and villagers the meet C=3PL at five one hour
'The village chief and the villagers met at 6 o'clock.'
- b. *Borom-dëkk dogu na= \emptyset daje ci juróom benn waxtu.
 chief-village decide C=3SG meet at five one o'clock
intended: 'The village chief decided to meet at 6 o'clock.'

If PC is a general property of PRO, these structures do not contain PRO

PRO

Landau (2013): arguments for the syntactic presence of PRO

- floating quantifiers, agreement, case concord, expletive constructions, secondary predication, partial control, overt controllees

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Landau (2013): arguments for the syntactic presence of PRO

- floating quantifiers, agreement, case concord, expletive constructions, secondary predication, **partial control**, **overt controllees**

Overt controllees

- Some languages have lexicalized PRO elements; e.g. overt anaphors in Korean:

(25) Inho₁-ka Jwuhi₂-eykey PRO_{1/*2} / **caki**_{1/*2}-ka cip-ey ka-la-ko
 Inho-NOM Jwuhi-DAT self-NOM home-LOC go-IMP-C
 mal-ha-yess-la.
 tell-do-PST-DC
'Inho told Jwuhi to go home.'

example from Landau 2013

Overt controllees in Wolof

- Some control verbs can embed complements with overt non-controlled pronouns
- Control vs. pronoun: sloppy vs. strict reading under ellipsis

(26) Musaa fasyeene na= \emptyset dem teel, jabar-am itam.
 Moussa decide C=3SG leave early, wife-POSS.3SG also
 ‘Moussa decided to leave early, his wife too.’

SLOPPY

(27) Musaa fasyeene na= \emptyset **ma** dem teel, jabar-am itam.
 Moussa decide C=3SG 1SG leave early, wife-POSS.3SG also
 ‘Moussa decided that I leave early, his wife too.’

STRICT

Overt controllees are not PRO

- Strict reading under ellipsis with overt “controlled” pronoun:

(28) Musaa₁ ñaan na=∅ way jur-am mu_{1/2} dem teel, Fanta itam.
 Moussa ask C=3SG parents-POSS.3SG 3SG leave early, Fanta also
‘Moussa asked his parents that he leave early, Fanta too.’

⇒ Overt pronouns are not lexicalized PRO

Structures with overt pronouns do not involve control.

Control in Wolof is only raising

Wolof has no PRO

- ⇒ Partial Control does not exist
- ⇒ Raising (as in Cinque & Grano) is the only path to control

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Restructuring = monoclausality?

Grano: PC predicates do not restructure because they are bi-clausal.

Evidence for the clausal property of complements of PC predicates:

- PC verbs support finite complementation
- PC verbs admit overt embedded subjects

Finite complementation

- PC verbs generally allow both finite and non-finite complementation.
- This is also true for desideratives in Wolof

(29) a. Fas yeene na=a [ni di-na=a bàyyi tox].
 decide C=1SG [that IPFV-C=1SG quit smoke]
'I decided that I will quit smoking.'

b. Fas yeene na=a [bàyyi tox].
 decide C=1SG [quit smoke]
'I decided to quit smoking.'

(30) a. War na=a [bàyyi tox].
 must C=1SG [quit smoke]
'I must quit smoking.'

b. *War na=a [ni di-na=a bàyyi tox].
 must C=1SG [that IPFV-C=1SG quit smoke]

Overt embedded subjects

- (31) a. Magatt tàmbali na= \emptyset [jàng téere bi].
 Magatte begin C=3SG [read book the.SG]
 ‘*Magatte began reading the book.*’
- b. *Magatt tàmbali na= \emptyset [ma jàng téere bi].
 Magatte begin C=3SG [1SG read book the.SG]
 *‘*Magatte began that I read a book.*’
- (32) a. Mbaye taamu na= \emptyset [dem teel].
 Mbaye prefer C=3SG [leave early]
 ‘*Mbaye preferred to leave early.*’
- b. Mbaye taamu na= \emptyset [ma dem teel].
 Mbaye prefer C=3SG [1SG leave early]
 ‘*Mbaye preferred that I leave early.*’

- *taamu* must be a lexical verb \Rightarrow constructions in (30) must be biclausal
- **Puzzle:** clitics climb in all control constructions

Wolof clitics

- Wolof has second-position-like clitics
- They target C in finite clauses

(33) Da=**ma=ko=fa** may xale yi
 do.C=1SG=3SG.OBJ=LOC give child the.DEF
'I gave it to the children there.'

- Clitics never climb out of a CP or over a P/C-like element

(34) a. Da=ma sonn [ci lekk jën].
 do.C=1SG tired [C eat fish]
'I'm tired of eating fish.'

b. Da=ma sonn [ci lekk=**ko**].
 do.C=1SG tired [C eat=3SG.OBJ]
'I'm tired of eating it.'

c. *Da=ma=**ko** sonn [ci lekk].
 do.C=1SG=3SG.OBJ tired [C eat]

Clitic climbing in infinitives

Clitic climbing in typical restructuring constructions:

- (35) *Modals*
 War na=ñu=**leen** [jox xaalis].
 must C=1PL=**3PL.OBJ** [give money]
 ‘We must give them money.’
- (36) *Aspectual verbs*
 Tàmbali na=a=**ko** [tabax].
 begin C=1SG=**3SG.OBJ** [build]
 ‘I began building it.’
- (37) *Implicatives*
 Sàggane na=a=**leen** [indil tangal].
 neglect C=1SG=**3PL.OBJ** [bring candy]
 ‘I neglected to bring them candy.’

Clitics climb with desideratives

- (38) Faatu fas yeene na= \emptyset =(ko) [togg=(ko)].
 Fatou decide C=3SG=3SG.OBJ [cook=3SG.OBJ]
'Fatou decided to cook it.'
- (39) Taamu na=a=(ko) [naan=(ko) suba si].
 prefer C=1SG=3SG.OBJ [drink=3SG.OBJ morning the.SG]
'I prefer to drink it in the morning.'
- (40) Yakaar na=a=(fa) [dellusi=(fa) léegi].
 hope C=1SG=LCL [return=LCL soon]
'I hope to return there soon.'

- Non-finite complements of lexical verbs must be smaller than CP
- The optionality of restructuring suggests that they are different from fully monoclausal structures (i.e. that there is an additional 'boundary' that clitics are sensitive to)

⇒ Wurmbrand (2001): “reduced (non)-restructuring”

Infinitives are never CPs

- Additional argument that infinitives are never CPs: **they cannot contain negation**
- Negation is a verbal affix.

(41) Magatt bëgg-u(1)-∅=∅ jëkkër.
 Magatte want-NEG-C=3SG husband
 ‘Magatte doesn’t want a husband.’

- Torrence (2005, 2012); Martinović (2015, 2019): negation is high in Wolof, above TP

Negation in non-finite clauses

- Wurmbrand (2001): restructuring infinitives prohibit embedded negation, non-restructuring infinitives allow embedded negation

(42) *Restructuring and negation*

weil dem Hans [der Spinat nicht zu essen] erlaubt wurde
 since the HANS.DAT [the spinach.NOM not to eat] allowed was

'since Hans was not allowed to eat the spinach'

**'since Hans was allowed not to eat the spinach'*

(43) *Non-restructuring and negation*

weil dem Hans [den Spinat nicht zu essen] erlaubt wurde
 since the HANS.DAT [the spinach.ACC not to eat] allowed was

%*'since Hans was not allowed to eat the spinach'*

'since Hans was allowed not to eat the spinach'

Negation in Wolof infinitives

- No non-finite clause can contain negation:

(44) *Typical restructuring verb*

*Jéem na=a [lekk-**ul** suukar].

try C=1SG [eat-NEG sugar]

intended: 'I tried to not eat sugar.'

(45) *Desiderative verb*

*Fas yeene na=a [lekk-**ul** suukar].

decide C=1SG [eat-NEG sugar]

intended: 'I decided to not eat sugar.'

(46) *Ditransitive*

*Ñaan na=a=leen [ñu may-**ul** xale yi tangal].

ask C=1SG=3PL.OBJ [3PL give-NEG child the.PL candy]

intended: 'I asked them that they not give the children candy.'

Negation & C

- The presence of negation in Wolof is tied to the presence of C (Njie 1978)
- Non-finite clauses cannot contain negation \Rightarrow Non-finite clauses are smaller than the CP

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Putting it together

Maintaining the Cinque-Grano insights:

- Restructuring involves subject raising, and EC is a natural consequence of that.
- EC/PC split is the result of the subject position: functional heads above T cannot be in monoclausal control constructions

Maintaining Wurmbrand's insights:

- Not all non-restructuring infinitives are CP-sized
- Bi-clausal structures with smaller infinitives may have some restructuring properties

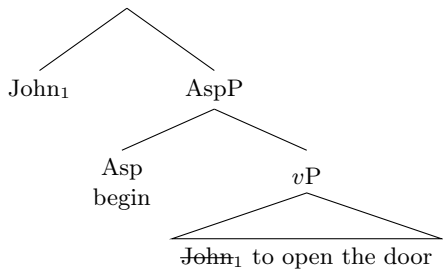
Innovation:

- Subjects can raise in bi-clausal structures as well

Monoclausal control

- Control with functional heads below T can only involve subject raising, as these are regular monoclausal constructions

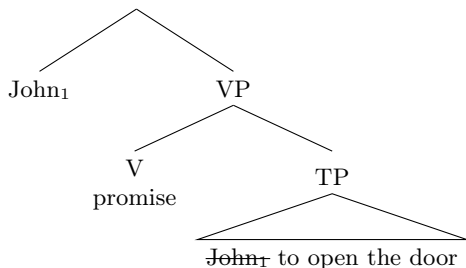
(47)



Biclausal control with raising

- Control with lexical verbs in biclausal structures can also involve subject raising

(48)

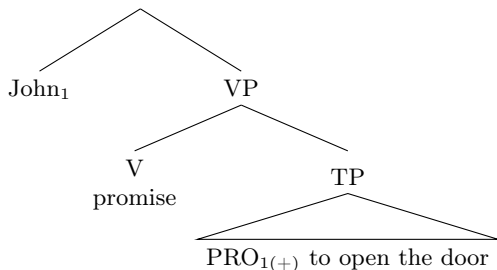


⇒ This accounts for EC with these predicates in Wolof.

Biclausal control with PRO

- If a language has PRO, then biclausal control can exhibit PC effects.

(49)



- Wolof does not have PRO, therefore it does not exhibit PC

Summary

Extending the raising analysis to all control constructions accounts for the **EC property of biclausal control in Wolof**.

Maintaining the **difference between monoclausal and biclausal control** allows us to capture:

- Clitic climbing is obligatory in monoclausal but not in biclausal structures
- Biclausal but not monoclausal structures allow embedded complements with overt subjects

Is raising universal?

Is the raising option in biclausal structures universally available, or is there something special about Wolof?

OPTION 1: YES

- If English had both options, we couldn't tell, because PC is always available.
- However, the PC interpretation isn't forced without a discourse trigger or a collective predicate:

(50) Heather prefers to drink tea in the morning.

⇒ Nothing would go wrong if there was also a derivation involving raising and resulting in EC.

OPTION 2: NO

- It has been argued that raising complements are smaller (TPs).
- Then the raising option might only be available if the infinitival complement is not a CP.

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Ditransitive predicates

- All ditransitive predicates embed complements with overt subjects.

(51) Da=ma yey sama xarit₁ [**mu**_{1,2} dem].
 do.C=1SG convince POSS.1SG friend [3SG leave]
'I convinced my friend that he_{1/2} leave.'

(52) Daf-a=∅₁ ñaan Musaa₂ [**mu**_{1/2/3} dem].
 do-C=3SG ask Moussa [3SG leave]
'He₁ asked Moussa₂ that he_{1/2/3} leave.'

- Those structures do not involve obligatory control (strict reading under ellipsis, no control)

Only monotransitives restructure

- Restructuring verbs are exclusively monotransitive verbs (Kayne 1989b)
 - Cinque (2004): no verb with an object complement (i.e. assigning a thematic role) can be used as a functional verb
- ⇒ If restructuring = EC = raising, the lack of control with ditransitives in Wolof follows straightforwardly

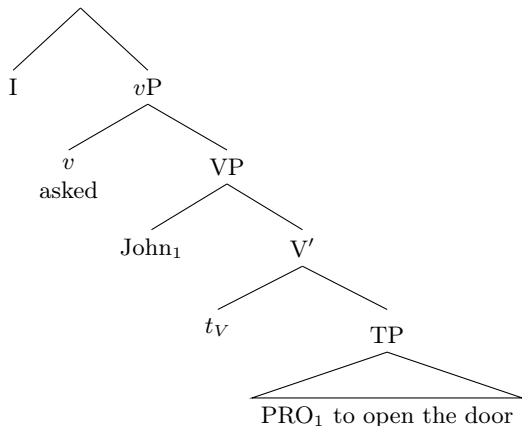
Wolof:

- Raising to subject over an object is excluded via Minimality
- Raising to object does not exist (at least in Wolof, but possibly universally).
- Ditransitives can embed structures with overt subjects, that may be coreferential with the matrix subject, but these structures are not instances of control.

No PRO, no control

- The only other path to control is the PRO strategy, which Wolof does not have.

(53) *



Outline

- 1 Control and restructuring
- 2 Exhaustive control as raising
- 3 Control in Wolof
 - Wolof has only EC
 - EC = raising
 - Raising in biclausal structures
 - Ditransitives
- 4 **Conclusion**
- 5 Appendix: Alternative analysis

Summary

There are two paths to control: subject raising and binding of a PRO.

Wolof only has the raising strategy

- There is no Partial Control
- There is no control with ditransitive predicates

Restructuring is not the property of only monoclausal structures, and therefore might not be synonymous with Exhaustive Control, but superimposed on it.

- Landau (2000): “the restructuring property is ‘superimposed’ on the basic [EC/PC] distinction, sometimes ‘reclassifying’ desiderative verbs under the [EC] category”

What is PRO?

- In older theories (GB), PRO was stipulated to be an idiosyncratic lexical item, with idiosyncratic properties.
- Recent theories of control that retain PRO consider it to be a type of a bound pronoun (e.g. Landau 2001 et seq.; Grano 2012, 2015)
- PRO is often viewed as part of theoretical machinery used to account for the control phenomenon, not a real syntactic object, and as such should be dispensed with (e.g. Hornstein 1999; Culicover and Jackendoff 2006)
- If I am correct, then PRO is a syntactic object – a lexical item that, just like any other, may be absent from some languages.

A picky PRO

Alternatively, if we want to maintain the existence of PRO as a syntactic object in Wolof, we have to say

- It disallows mismatches in semantic number (so no PC)
- It disallows split controllers
- It can't be bound by an object
- It can't be bound by a subject over an intervening object

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Outline

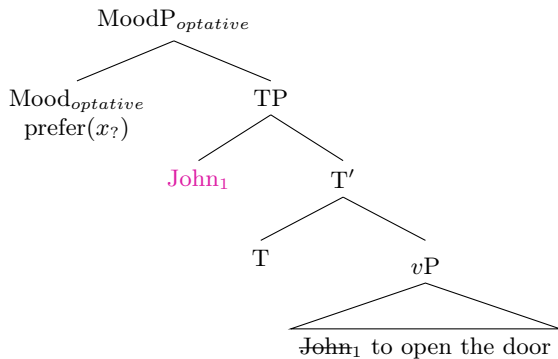
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The position of the subject

- Subject position in Spec,TP is Grano's explanation for why higher functional heads do not restructure: their dependent individual variable cannot be bound.
- **PREDICTION:** If the subject can be higher, higher functional heads could also restructure.

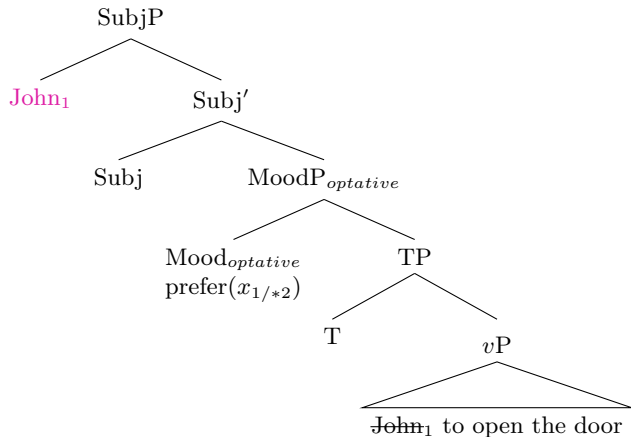
English

(54)



Wolof

(55)



The position of the subject

Martinović (2015, 2019, 2020): Spec,TP is not a subject position in Wolof

- There are constructions which do not contain a position for a non-clitic subject below C.
- The only tense morpheme, past tense *oon*, behaves as a phrase and not a head → it is in Spec,TP.

No subject position below C

(56) a. (Xale yi) da=**ñu** lekk-oon ceeb.
 child the.PL do.C=3PL eat-PST rice
'The children/They ate rice.'

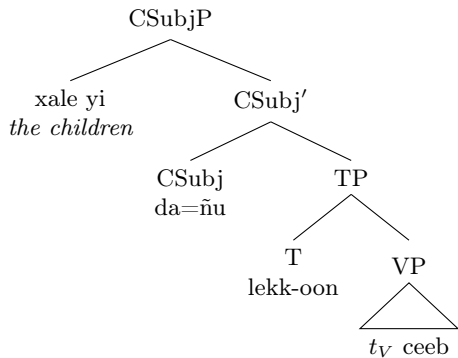
b. *Da **xale yi** lekk-oon ceeb.
 do.C child the.PL eat-PST rice
intended: 'The children ate rice.'

(57) Lan la {**ñu/xale yi**} lekk-oon?
 what C {3PL/child the.PL} eat-PST
'What did the children/they eat?'

- Martinović (2015, 2020): C and Subj are bundled into one head in (45); T is realized independently as a lower head
- Russell (2006); Martinović (2015, 2020): clitics are in a position that is higher than the clause-internal structural subject position (when it exists)

Bundled C+Subj

(58)



Past tense is a phrasal morpheme

- The past tense *oon* can be skipped over by the moving verb:

- (59) a. Lekk-**oon**-na=ñu lekk ceeb.
 eat-PST-C=3PL eat rice
'They ate rice.'
- b. Lekk-ul-∅=ñu **woon** ceeb.
 eat-NEG-C=3PL PST rice
'They didn't eat rice.'

- Martinović (2019): *oon* is not a head but a phrasal morpheme in Spec,TP; it can attach to the verb postsyntactically in a specific configuration

Subject position in Wolof

- Spec,TP is not a subject position in Wolof
- **Proposal:** the subject is contained in Spec,SubjP, in a position above the functional heads that host desiderative verbs.
 - ⇒ explains monoclausal behavior
 - ⇒ explains why desideratives are EC

Wolof

(60)

