PIMPs in Control

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The generalisation

Iff a type of passive can be construed as an **impersonal passive with unergative verbs**, then it also allows **implicit control**.

[building on Pitteroff and Schäfer 2019]

(1) English (Croatian, Romanian): Type B

✗ impersonal construal, ✗ implicit control

a. **There/it was danced.* [P&S: (71b)]

b. **It was tried to understand the analysis.* [P&S: (17a)]

(2) Dutch (German, Croatian *se*, Romanian *se*): Type A

✓ impersonal construal, ✓ implicit control

a. *Er werd gedanst.*
there was danced
'People/someone danced.' [after P&S: (48a)]

b. *Er werd geprobeerd (om) de analyse te begrijpen.*
there was tried (for) the analysis to understand
'People/someone tried to understand the analysis.' [P&S: (35b)]

Attitude verbs and *Wh*-extraction

- Even Type B passives seem to allow implicit control with attitude verbs (*decide*, *promise*; Pitteroff and Schäfer 2019).
- This is only apparent: the embedded clause is an island for *Wh*-extraction → not a complement.

(3) English-type (Type B) passives: ✗ *Wh*-extraction

a. It was decided to meet the dean.

b. *Who was it decided to meet? [Jonathan David Bobaljik, p.c.]

(4) German-type (Type A) passives: ✓ *Wh*-extraction

a. *Es wurde beschlossen, Käse zu essen.*
it was decided cheese to eat
'People/someone decided to eat cheese.'

b. *Was wurde beschlossen zu essen?*
what was decided to eat

- The Romanian passive is even more restricted: it cannot take clausal complements (Giurgea and Cotfas 2021).

	Type A GE, NL, CR-SE, RO-SE	Type B EN, CR	Type B′ RO
Impersonal construal	✓	✗	✗
Implicit control (nonattitudes)	✓	✗	✗
Implicit control (attitudes)	✓	apparent	✗
Wh-extraction (attitudes)	✓	✗	N/A

Table 1: The distribution of implicit control

Iff a type of passive can be construed as impersonal passive, then it also allows implicit control.

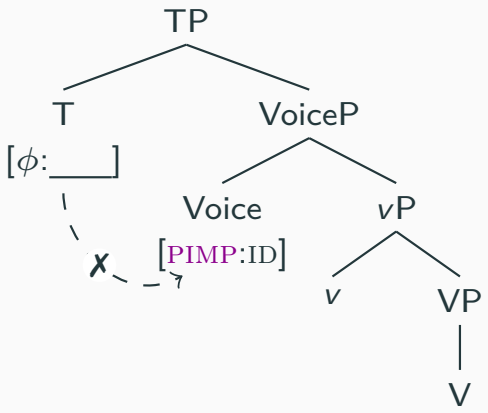
The proposal

- The crucial point of variation: presence (in Type A passives) vs. absence (in Type B passives) of ϕ-**features** on the passive implicit argument (PIMP).
- Apparent implicit control with attitude verbs in English-like constructions: 'placeholder pronoun' strategy (Pitteroff and Schäfer 2019) and pragmatic principles (Reed 2020).

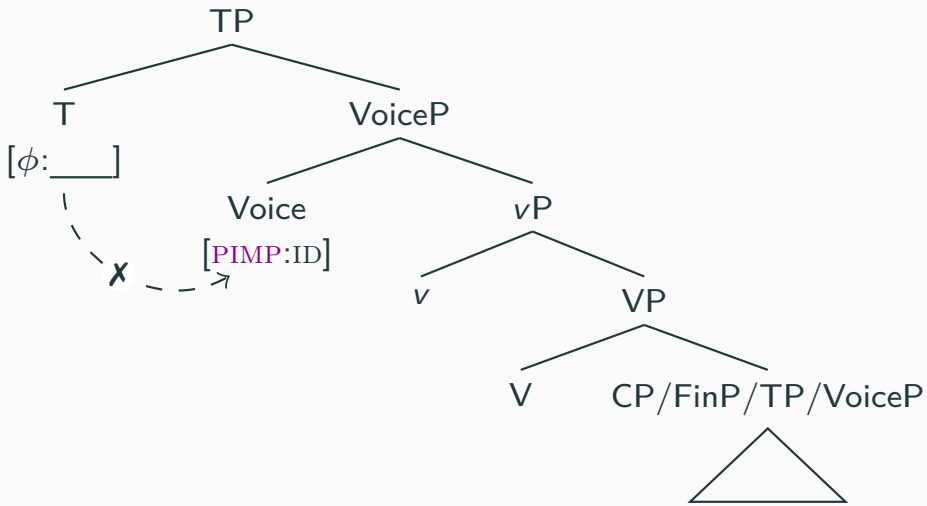
Type B (EN, CR, RO)

- PIMP only has a numerical index feature [ID]: no ϕ-features.
- Both unergative verbs and implicit control: there is no (other) accessible DP $\rightarrow$ T's ϕ-features cannot be valued.

(5) a. ✗ impersonal passive

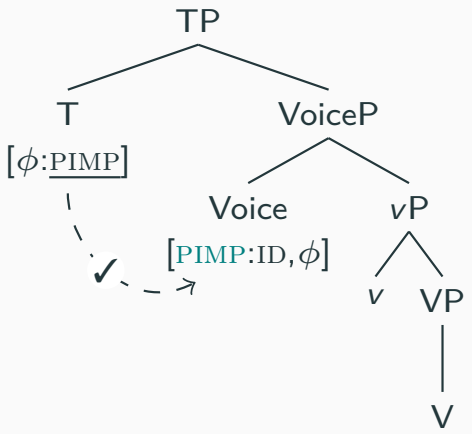


b. ✗ implicit control

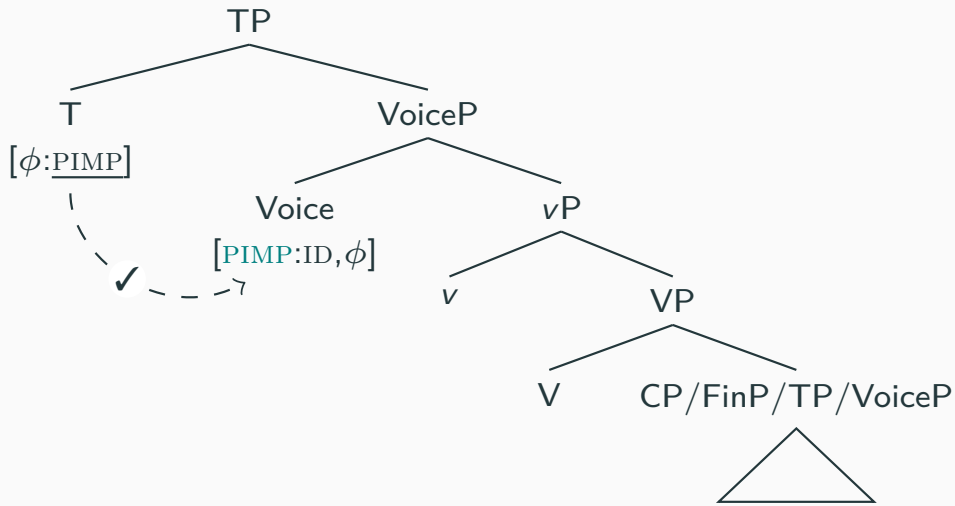


Type A (GE, NL, CR & RO *se*)

(6) a. ✓ impersonal passive



b. ✓ implicit control



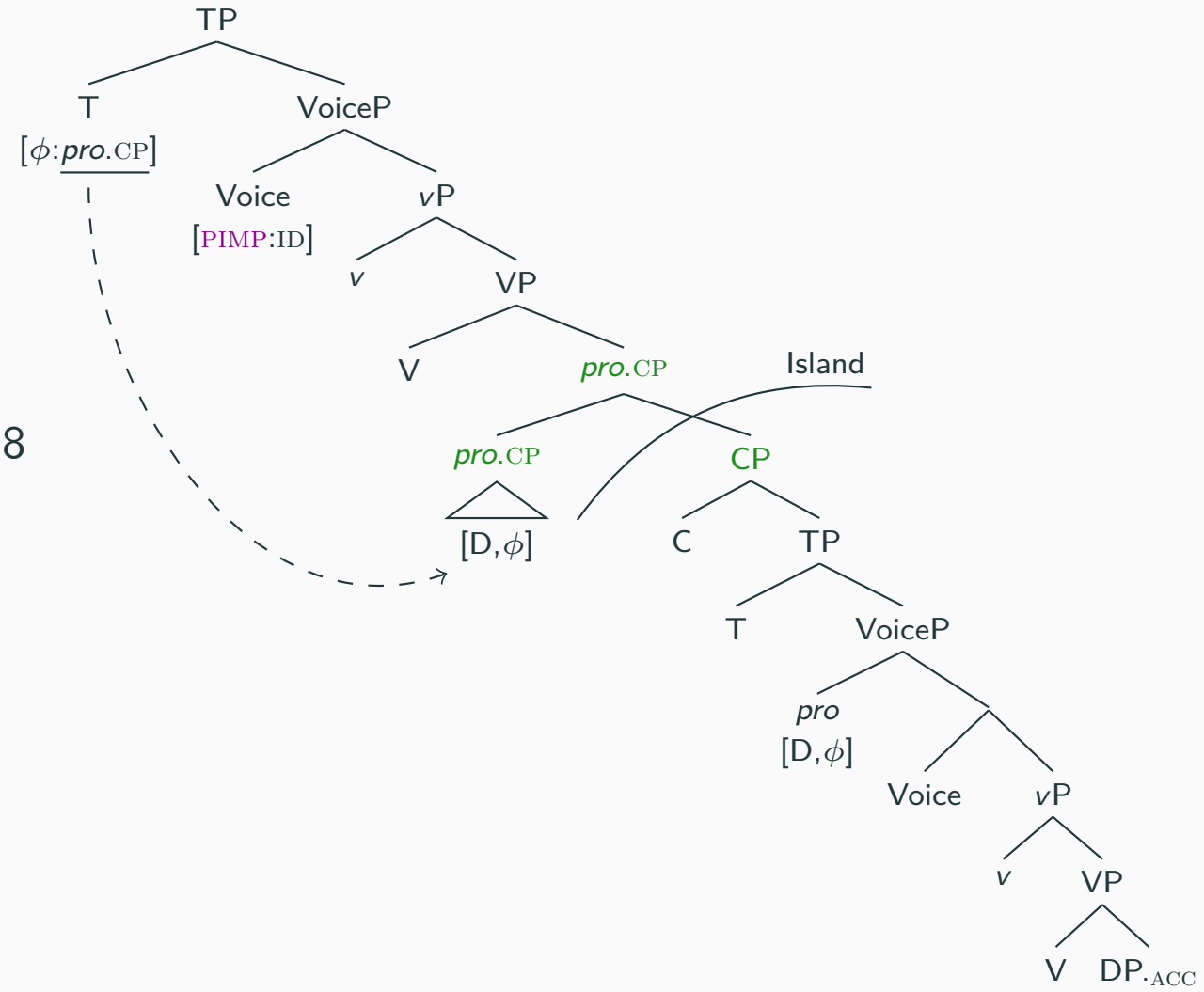
- T agrees with PIMP only if no (other) DP is present in the structure (interaction vs. satisfaction; see Deal 2015, building on Preminger 2009, 2014 or Best Match; see Coon and Bale 2014).
- The T-PIMP relation is also crucial for implicit control → Revised Visser's generalisation (van Urk 2013, Wurmbrand 2021): implicit control blocked in the presence of an intervening DP.

How about apparent implicit control?

- Type B passives: no impersonal construals, no implicit control → due to the absence of a source of ϕ-features for T.
- Attitude contexts: a placeholder *pro* is merged as complement to V and associated with a clause → a source of ϕ-features for T (Pitteroff and Schäfer 2019).
- Only possible with *attitude* complements:
  - Attitude complements denote propositions, and nonattitude ones denote properties (Landau 2015).
  - Placeholder pronouns can only be associated with proposition-denoting complements, incl. finite nonattitude ones (Pitteroff and Schäfer 2019).
  - A more parsimonious generalisation: possible with *Proposition* and *Situation*, but not with *Event* complements (Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2019).

The placeholder strategy

- The apparent complement clause is in fact an island → *Wh*-extraction impossible (cf. Koster 1978 for subject clauses as "satellites").
- A control-like relation is established pragmatically (Reed 2020).



A prediction

- This strategy is in principle also available in Type A languages (Pitteroff and Schäfer 2019).
- German: no sentence-internal expletives → *es* is a placeholder pronoun.
- *Wh*-extraction is blocked.

(7) a. *Mehrmals schon wurde (es) beschlossen, den Roman zu lesen.*
multiple.times already was (it) decided the novel to read
'It has been decided to read the novel already multiple times.'
[after P&S: (89)]

b. *Was wurde (*es) mehrmals schon beschlossen, zu lesen?*
what was (*it) multiple.times already decided to read
'What did people decide to read already multiple times?'

Summary

- The availability of implicit control and of impersonal construals with unergative verbs are connected because they fail/succeed for the very same reason:
  - Neither configuration includes an argument DP (other than PIMP) in the agreement domain of T.
  - Type A: PIMP has ϕ features and is a viable goal for T $\rightarrow$ T can receive ϕ-feature values even in the absence of a(nother) DP in its agreement domain.
  - Type B: PIMP has only an ID feature and cannot provide T with ϕ features $\rightarrow$ in order for the derivation to converge, a(nother) DP needs to be present in the structure.
- Apparent implicit control in Type B passives possible if a placeholder pronoun is used $\rightarrow$ non-complementation configuration, no *Wh*-extraction.
  - Also available with Type A passives, but blocks *Wh*-extraction.

Iff a type of passive can be construed as an **impersonal passive with unergative verbs**, then it also allows **implicit control**.

	Type A GE, NL, CR-SE, RO-SE		Type B EN, CR	Type B′ RO
Impersonal construals	✓		✗	✗
Implicit control (nonattitude)	✓		✗	✗
Voice Restructuring	✓	✗	✗	✗
PIMP	[ID,ϕ]	DP in Spec,VoiceP	[ID]	[ID]
Implicit control (attitude)	✓		apparent	✗
Wh-extraction (attitude)	✓		✗	N/A
Configuration	PRO-control by PIMP (+T)		*pro*.CP	**pro*.CP

Table 2: Implicit control + Voice Restructuring (see below)

Broader picture

- Passives, as well as their PIMPs, come in **different forms and sizes** (i.a., Legate 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Legate et al. 2020).
- **PIMPs** have a place in the **syntactic component** (i.a., Bhatt and Pancheva 2017, Landau 2010, Michelioudakis 2021; pace Bruening 2013, Pitteroff and Schäfer 2019), but their nature and locus varies from passive to passive (variation possible even within a language; see Akkuş 2021 → e.g., Croatian).
- Placeholder strategy: support for Wurmbrand and Lohninger's (2019) **Implicational Complementation Hierarchy** and the division of complements into *Events*, *Situations*, and *Propositions*.
    - Possible with *Proposition* and *Situation*, but not *Event* complements.

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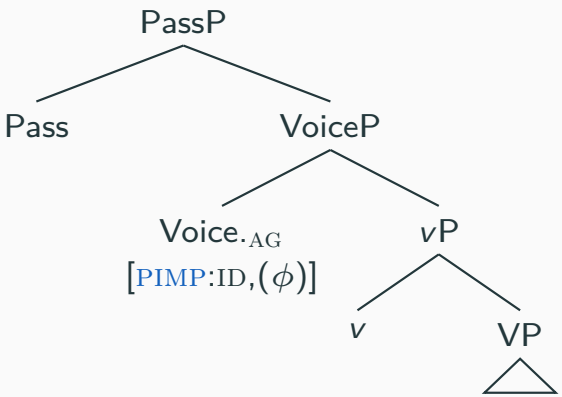
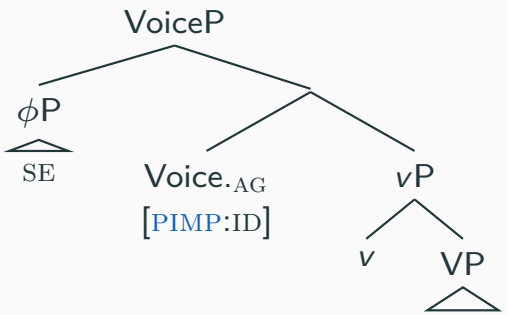
A typology of passive

- Starting point: a typology of passive similar to the one proposed by Legate (2014), modified due to insights from Schäfer (2008), Bruening (2013), Alexiadou et al. (2015), Legate et al. (2020), i.a.

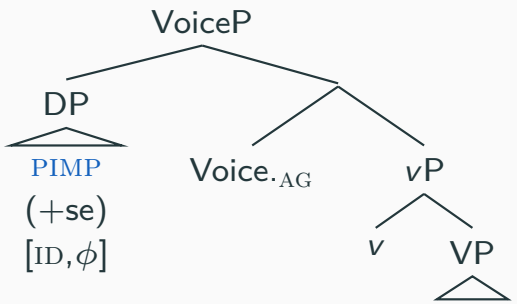
Canonical passive
CR, EN [ID]; NL, GE [ID,ϕ]



Impersonal passive
CR-SE (nominative)



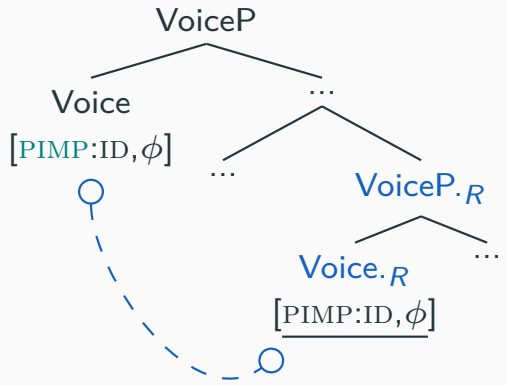
Impersonal
CR-SE (accusative)



Voice Restructuring/Long Passive

(8) *dass die Traktoren zu reparieren versucht wurden*
that the tractors to repair tried were.PL
'that they tried to repair the tractors'
lit. 'that the tractors were tried to repair' [Wurmbrand 2001: (6b)]

- Possibly a one-way generalisation: if a type of passive allows Voice Restructuring/LOP, then it also allows implicit control.



- Explained if Voice.$_R$ needs ϕ-features (Wurmbrand and Shimamura 2017) and PIMPs differ in whether they include ϕ-features.
- Type B: PIMP has [ID] $\rightarrow$ ✗ VR (missing ϕ-features)
- Type A: PIMP has [ID,ϕ] $\rightarrow$ ✓ VR (GE, CR-SE$_{pass}$, ?NL), unless...
  1. PIMP is a DP in Spec,VoiceP and intervenes (CR-SE$_{imp}$, ?RO-SE) or
  2. the language has no Voice.$_R$ (?NL, ?RO-SE).