

# Agreeing to control

---

Iva Kovač | [iva.kovac@univie.ac.at](mailto:iva.kovac@univie.ac.at)

University of Vienna

Budapest, 12 April 2022

# Roadmap

An implicit control generalisation

Long passive

A case study: Long passive in Dutch  
(with Gert-Jan Schoenmakers)

Germanic long-distance scrambling  
(with Susi Wurmbrand)

Conclusion

# **An implicit control generalisation**

---

# The generalisation

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

(building on Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019)

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

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))

## (2) Type B: English (Croatian, Romanian)

a. \**There/it was danced.*

(P&S: (71b))

b. \**It was tried to understand the analysis.*

(P&S: (17a))

	Type A GE, NL, CR-SE, RO-SE	Type B EN, CR, RO
Impersonal construal	✓	✗
Syntactic implicit control	✓	✗

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

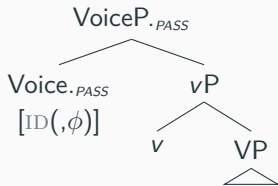
Deriving the split:

- A source of  $\phi$ -**features** for T. (Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019)
- Featural makeup of the **passive implicit argument (PIMP)**.  
 $\rightsquigarrow$  Presence (**Type A**) vs. absence (**Type B**) of  $\phi$ -features.

(cf. Landau 2010, Legate 2014, Bhatt & Pancheva 2017, Akkuş 2021, Michelioudakis 2021)

## Passives: Decomposed Voice domain

- External argument: introduced by Voice. (Kratzer 1996)
- A passive Voice head encoding the implicit agent.
  - ↪ Minimally a numerical index feature (cf. Kratzer 2009), which functions as an individual variable and gets existentially closed.



(cf. Embick 2004, Alexiadou et al. 2006, 2015, Schäfer 2008, Bruening 2013, Legate 2014, Pietraszko 2021)

- Type A:**  $\phi$ -features vs. **Type B:** no  $\phi$ -features.
  - ↪ See Appendix for a typology of passive.

# Impersonal construal

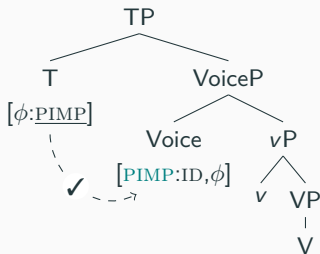
(3) ✓ Type A (NL) vs. ✗ Type B (EN)

a. *Er* *werd* *gedanst*.

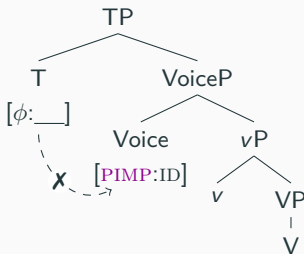
there was danced

b. \**There/it* was danced.

(4) a. ✓ Type A



b. ✗ Type B

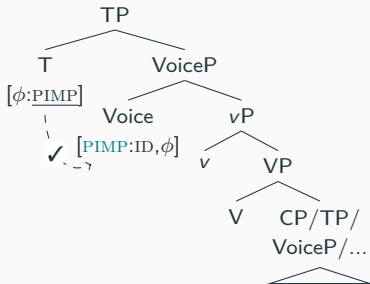


# Implicit control

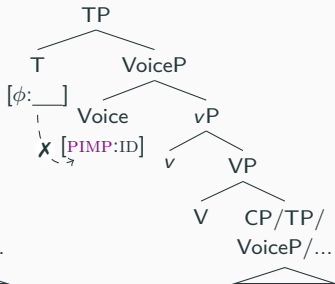
(5) ✓ Type A (NL) vs. ✗ Type B (EN)

- a. *Er werd geprobeerd (om) de analyse te begrijpen.*  
there was tried (for) the analysis to understand
- b. *\*It was tried to understand the analysis.*

(6) a. ✓ Type A



b. ✗ Type B





## Revised Visser's generalisation

- PIMPs can control PRO iff they agree with T. (van Urk 2013, Wurmbrand 2021)

### (7) Dutch

- a. *Er werd geprobeerd (om) de analyse te begrijpen.*  
there was tried (for) the analysis to understand  
'People/someone tried to understand the analysis.'

(Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (35b))

- b. \**De leraren; werden overtuigd om ze; te mogen kietelen.*  
the teachers; were.PL convinced for them; to may tickle  
lit. 'The teachers were convinced to be allowed to tickle them.'

(van Urk 2013: (10a))

	Type A GE, NL, CR-SE, RO-SE	Type B EN, CR, RO
Impersonal construals	✓	✗
Syntactic implicit control	✓	✗
Long passive	✓ / ✗	✗
PIMP	[ID, $\phi$ ]	[ID]

- Presence (Type A) vs. absence (Type B) of  $\phi$ -features on PIMP.
- Long passive: possible only in Type A passives.
- Long-distance scrambling in Dutch and German.  
 ↪ Agreement plays a role in (implicit) control.

## Long passive

---

## Long passive: An illustration

### (8) German

- a. *dass [ den Traktor zu reparieren ] versucht wurde*  
that the tractor.ACC to repair tried was  
'that they/someone tried to repair the tractor'      Implicit control
- b. *dass der Traktor<sub>i</sub> [ t<sub>i</sub> zu reparieren ] versucht wurde*  
that the tractor.NOM t<sub>i</sub> to repair tried was  
lit. 'that the tractor was tried to repair'      Long passive
- c. *dass die Traktoren<sub>i</sub> [ t<sub>i</sub> zu reparieren ] versucht wurden*  
that the tractors t<sub>i</sub> to repair tried were.PL  
lit. 'that the tractors were tried to repair'

(Wurmbrand 2001, Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017)

- Three components:
  - a) Matrix passive
  - b) Control
  - c) Long object promotion (LOP)

## Decomposing long passive

		Matrix passive	Control	LOP	LP	Ex.
PIMP	$[ID, \phi]$	✓	✓	✓	✓	Type A
Voice. <sub>R</sub>	available	N/A	✓	✓	✓	German
Matrix V	Event	✓	✓	✓	✓	<i>try</i>

## Type A vs. Type B passives

- Long passive impossible in Type B, possible in some (but not necessarily all) Type A passives.

### (9) Type B (CR, EN)

- a. \**Taj stari traktor je više puta pokušao popraviti.*  
that old tractor AUX more times try.PTCP.PASS.MASC repair.INF
- b. \**This old tractor was tried to repair several times.*

### (10) Type A (CR-se, NL)

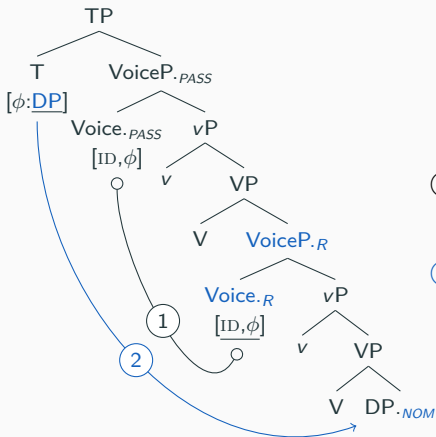
- a. *Ta računala su se pokušala popraviti.*  
those computers AUX.PL SE try.PTCP.ACT.NEUT.PL repair.INF
- b. ??/% *De computers werden geprobeerd te repareren.*  
the computers were tried to repair  
lit. 'The computers were tried to repair.'

(G.T. Schoenmakers, p.c.)

# Long passive as Voice restructuring

- The head of the complement is an underspecified *Voice.R* head.

(Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017; cf. Pietraszko 2021)



- Agree with matrix Voice ( $ID, \phi$ )  $\rightsquigarrow$  semantic argument sharing.
- Agreement between matrix T and the embedded object  $\rightsquigarrow$  LOP.

## Only in Type A passives ...

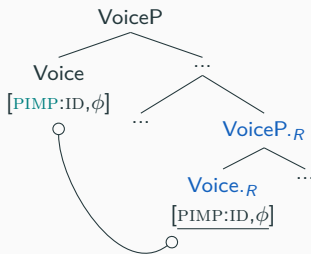
- Long passive: ✗ in Type B, ✓ in some (but not all) Type A passives.
- $\phi$ -features on PIMP: *necessary*, but *not sufficient* for long passive.  
↪ Type B: [ID] vs. Type A: [ID,  $\phi$ ]

- Necessary: Voice.<sub>R</sub> needs  $\phi$ -features.

(Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017)

↪ only Type A passives.

↪ Type B passives: no control.





## ... but not in all Type A passives.

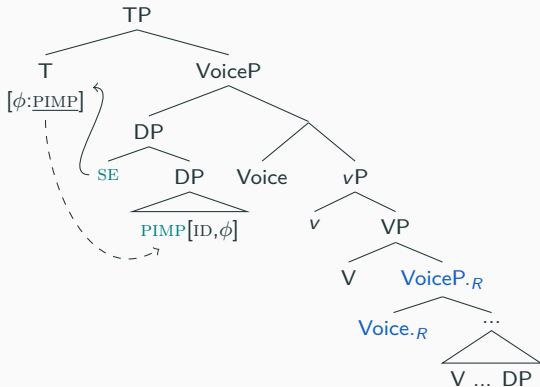
- Not sufficient: long passive can fail for other reasons.

- Croatian *se*-impersonal: PIMP (+ *se*) is a DP.

- T agrees with PIMP: no long object promotion.

- Long passive possible with a *se*-passive.

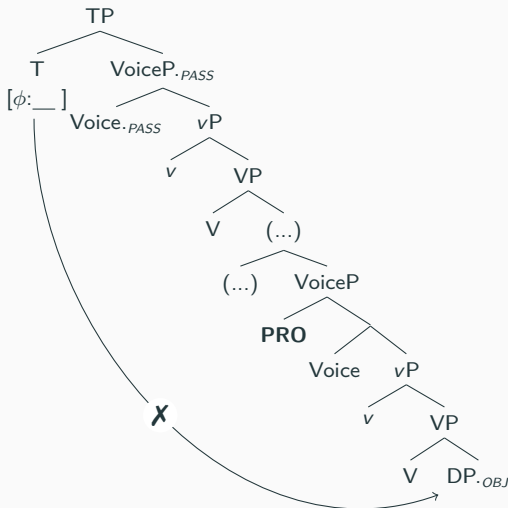
↪ see Appendix.



- Other Type A passives: Icelandic.

- No Voice<sub>R</sub>?
- PRO intervenes (or the object gets case downstairs): no long object promotion.
- Accusatives possible.

(Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2002)



## Types of PIMP & Voice.<sub>R</sub>

		Matrix passive	Control	LOP	LP	Ex.
<b>PIMP</b>	[ID, $\phi$ ]	✓	✓	✓	✓	Type A
	DP	✓	✓	✗	✗	CR-SE
	[ID]	✓	✗	N/A	✗	Type B
<b>Voice.<sub>R</sub></b>	available	N/A	✓	✓	✓	GE, %NL
	unavailable	N/A	N/A	✗	✗	?IC, %NL

# **A case study: Long passive in Dutch**

(with Gert-Jan Schoenmakers)

---

## The distribution

		Matrix passive	Control	LOP	LP	Ex.
<b>PIMP</b>	[ID, $\phi$ ]	✓	✓	✓	✓	Type A

- **Long object promotion:** fails for some speakers and verb classes.  
↪ Availability of Voice.<sub>R</sub>.
- **Control & matrix passive:** impossible with aspectual verbs.  
↪ Unaccusativity.

## Speaker variation: $\text{Voice}_R$

- Common view: no long passive in Dutch. (e.g., Rutten 1991, Broekhuis 1992)
- Numerous naturally occurring examples on the internet.
- Experimental results: marginal but possible + speaker variation.

(Kovač & Schoenmakers 2022)

- Preference for bigger complements (TP, CP) and control via PRO.  
↪  $\text{Voice}_R$  is unavailable for some speakers.

		Matrix passive	Control	LOP	LP	Ex.
<b>PIMP</b>	$[\text{ID}, \phi]$	✓	✓	✓	✓	Type A
<b><math>\text{Voice}_R</math></b>	available	N/A	✓	✓	✓	%Dutch
	unavailable	N/A	N/A	✗	✗	%Dutch

↪ Long passive fails at the level of **long object promotion (LOP)**.

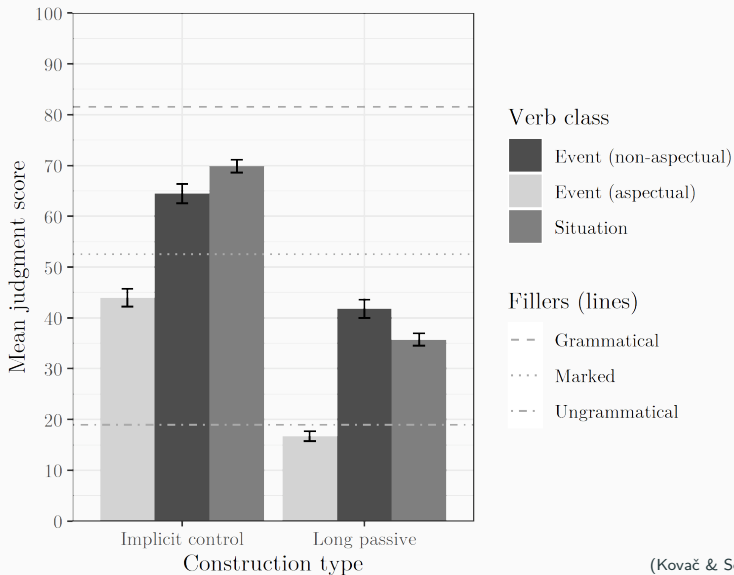
## Verb classes: Events vs. Situations

- Complements of **Event** verbs (*try, forget*): more dependent and more transparent than complements of **Situation** verbs (*decide, promise*).  
→ Temporal dependence, type of control, finiteness, clitic climbing, scrambling, long passive. (Wurmbrand 2001, 2014, Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2019)

- (11) a. *Ze heeft (gisteren) **besloten** dit boek (morgen) mee te brengen.*  
she has (yesterday) decided this book (tomorrow) with to bring  
'She decided (yesterday) to bring this book (tomorrow).'
- b. *Ze is (gisteren) **vergeten** dit boek (\*morgen) mee te brengen.*  
she is (yesterday) forgotten this book (\*tomorrow) with to bring  
'She forgot (yesterday) to bring this book (\*tomorrow).'

- (12) *dass **der Traktor** zu reparieren { *versucht* / *\*beschlossen* } wurde*  
that **the tractor.NOM** to repair tried decided was  
'that they tried/decided to repair the tractor' German (Wurmbrand 2001: (214))

# Verb classes: Experimental results

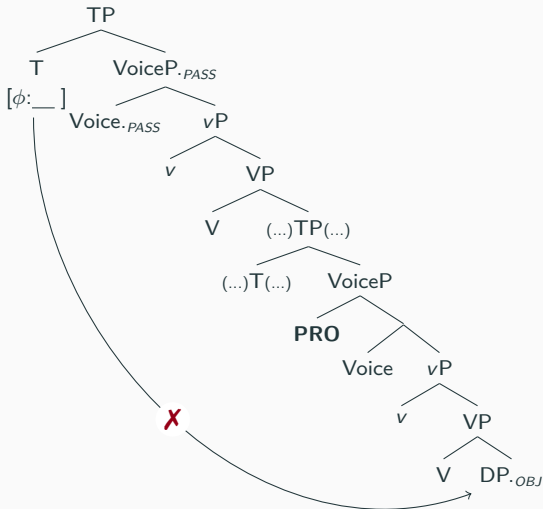


(Kovač & Schoenmakers 2022)



- **Event** verbs: minimally a Voice complement.  
 ↷ Voice.<sub>R</sub> ok.
- **Situation** verbs: require TMA-projections.  
 ↷ Voice.<sub>R</sub> too small.

(Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2019)



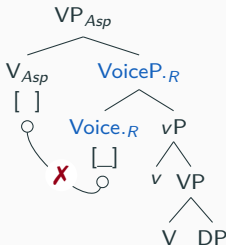
		Matrix passive	Control	LOP	LP	Ex.
Matrix V	Event	✓	✓	✓	✓	<i>try</i>
	Situation	✓	✓	✗	✗	<i>decide</i>

		Matrix passive	Control	LOP	LP	Ex.
<b>PIMP</b>	[ID, $\phi$ ]	✓	✓	✓	✓	Type A
<b>Voice<sub>R</sub></b>	available	N/A	✓	✓	✓	%Dutch
	unavailable	N/A	N/A	✗	✗	%Dutch
<b>Matrix V</b>	Event	✓	✓	✓	✓	<i>try</i>
	Situation	✓	✓	✗	✗	<i>decide</i>

↪ Long passive fails at the level of **long object promotion (LOP)**.

# Dutch aspectual verbs

- *Beginnen* 'begin', *ophouden* 'stop': unaccusatives. (Broekhuis & Corver 2015)
- Incompatible with passive. (Perlmutter & Postal 1984)  
    ↪ Long passive fails at the level of **matrix passive**.
- No VoiceP. (i.a., Pykkänen 2002, Alexiadou et al. 2006, 2015)  
    ↪ Long passive fails at the level of **control**.



## Dutch long passive: The full picture

		Matrix passive	Control	LOP	LP	Ex.
<b>PIMP</b>	[ID, $\phi$ ]	✓	✓	✓	✓	Type A
<b>Voice<sub>R</sub></b>	available	N/A	✓	✓	✓	%Dutch
	unavailable	N/A	N/A	✗	✗	%Dutch
<b>Matrix V class</b>	Event	✓	✓	✓	✓	<i>try</i>
	Situation	✓	✓	✗	✗	<i>decide</i>
	Aspectual	✗	✗	✓	✗	<i>begin</i>

- Control & matrix passive: impossible with aspectual verbs.  
 ~↷ Unaccusativity.
- Long object promotion: fails for some speakers and verb classes.  
 ~↷ Availability of Voice<sub>R</sub>.

## Zooming out: A conspiracy of three factors

		Matrix passive	Control	LOP	LP	Ex.
<b>PIMP</b>	[ID, $\phi$ ]	✓	✓	✓	✓	Type A
	[ID]	✓	✗	N/A	✗	Type B
	DP	✓	✓	✗	✗	CR-SE
<b>Voice<sub>R</sub></b>	available	N/A	✓	✓	✓	GE, %NL
	unavailable	N/A	N/A	✗	✗	?IC, %NL
<b>Matrix V class</b>	Event	✓	✓	✓	✓	<i>try</i>
	Situation	✓	✓	✗	✗	<i>decide</i>
	Aspectual	✗	✗	✓	✗	<i>begin</i> (NL)

- Support for the split between Type A and Type B passives.
- Control builds on a syntactic agreement relation.

# Germanic long-distance scrambling

(with Susi Wurmbrand)

---

## Back to implicit control: Revised Visser's generalisation

- Implicit control is impossible if an overt DP agrees with T. (van Urk 2013)

(13) *Er werd besloten dat huis te renoveren.*  
there was decided that house to renovate  
'It was decided to renovate that house.'

(G.T. Schoenmakers, p.c.)

(14)\**De leraren<sub>i</sub> werden overtuigd om ze<sub>i</sub> te mogen kietelen.*  
*the teachers<sub>i</sub> were.PL convinced for them<sub>i</sub> to may tickle*  
*lit. 'The teachers were convinced to be allowed to tickle them.'*

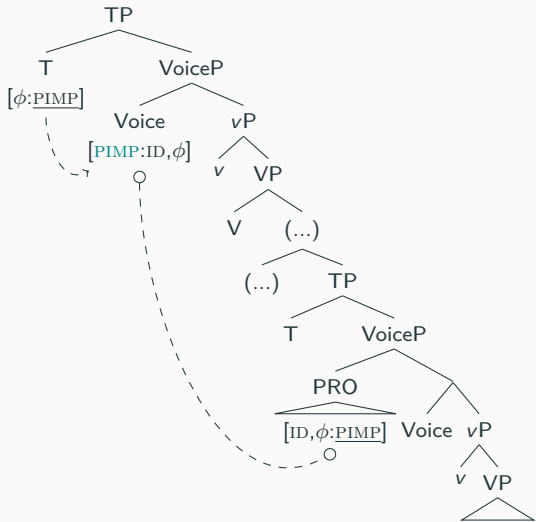
(van Urk 2013: (10a))

(15) *Er werd mij beloofd om me op de hoogte te houden.*  
there was *me.DAT* promised for me on the height to keep  
'It was promised to me to keep me informed.'

(van Urk 2013: (8))

- Nominatives block implicit control, datives do not.

- PIMP can control PRO iff it agrees with T.
- Blocked by agreeing DPs.
- Datives: cross-linguistically invisible for Agree.



- A similar pattern in long-distance scrambling.  
 ~→ Agreement plays a role in (implicit) control.

(van Urk 2013, Wurmbrand 2021)



## Long-distance scrambling

- Extraposition of the complement clause and scrambling of the object.

(Den Besten et al. 1988, Den Besten & Rutten 1989, Rutten 1991)

(16) *dass Hans den Traktor<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> versucht hat [ t<sub>i</sub> zu reparieren ]<sub>j</sub>*  
that Hans the tractor.ACC tried has to repair  
'that Hans tried to repair the tractor'                      German (Wurmbrand 2002: (13a))

(17) *dat Jan dat boek<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> geprobeerd heeft [ t<sub>i</sub> te lezen ]<sub>j</sub>*  
that Jan the book tried has to read  
'that Jan tried to read the book'                      Dutch (Broekhuis 1992: 39)

- Impossible with matrix passive.

(18) German

- a. *dass*  $t_j$  *versucht wurde* [ *den Traktor*     *zu reparieren* ]<sub>*j*</sub>  
 that    tried        was        the tractor.ACC to repair
- b. \**dass*  $t_j$  *den Traktor*<sub>*i*</sub> *versucht wurde* [  $t_i$  *zu reparieren* ]<sub>*j*</sub>  
 that    the tractor.ACC tried        was        to repair  
 'that it was tried to repair the tractor' (Wurmbrand 2002: (12a,14a))

(19) Dutch

- a. *dat* (*er*)      $t_j$  *geprobeerd werd* [ *boeken te lezen* ]<sub>*j*</sub>  
 that (there)    tried            was        books    to read
- b. \**dat* (*er*)     *boeken*<sub>*i*</sub>  $t_j$  *geprobeerd werd* [  $t_i$  *te lezen* ]<sub>*j*</sub>  
 that (there) books        tried            was        to read  
 'that it was tried to read books' (Broekhuis 1992: 39)

## Accusatives vs. datives

### (20) German

- a. \**dass den Danny versucht wurde* [ *anzustellen* ]  
that the.ACC Danny tried was to.hire  
'that it was tried to hire Danny'
- b. *dass dem Danny versucht wurde* [ *eine Versicherung zu verkaufen* ]  
that the.DAT Danny tried was an insurance to sell  
'that it was tried to sell an insurance policy to Danny'

### (21) Dutch

- a. \**dat deze mensen geprobeerd werd* [ *te zien* ]  
that these people.ACC tried was to see  
'that it was tried to see these people'
- b. *dat deze mensen geprobeerd werd* [ *een boek te geven* ]  
that these people.DAT tried was a book to give  
'that it was tried to give a book to these people' (G.T. Schoenmakers, p.c.)

## Revised Visser's generalisation & long-distance scrambling

- Matrix and long-distance scrambled **datives** pattern together.

- (22) a. *Mir* wurde versprochen, mir den Link für das Update zu schicken.  
I.DAT was promised I.DAT the link for the update to send  
'It was promised to me to send me the link for the update.' (cf. van Urk 2013: (9a))
- b. *dass dem* Danny versucht wurde eine Versicherung zu verkaufen  
that the.DAT Danny tried was an insurance to sell  
'that it was tried to sell insurance to Danny'

- Matrix and long-distance scrambled **direct objects** pattern together.

- (23) a. \**Der* Lehrer wurde gebeten, ihn kitzeln zu dürfen.  
the.NOM teacher was begged him tickle to may  
lit. 'The teacher was begged to be allowed to tickle him.' (van Urk 2013: (10b))
- b. \**dass den* Traktor versucht wurde zu reparieren  
that the.ACC tractor tried was to repair  
'that it was tried to repair the tractor' (Wurmbrand 2002: (14a))

## Long passive to the rescue

- A compulsion to be interpreted as a subject.

(cf. Den Besten et al. 1988)

(24) *dass* { \**den* / *der* } *Traktor<sub>i</sub> versucht wurde* [ *t<sub>i</sub> zu reparieren* ]  
that the.ACC the.NOM tractor tried was to repair  
'that it was tried to repair the tractor'

(25) *dat (er) boeken<sub>i</sub> geprobeerd* { \**werd* / ?*worden* } [ *t<sub>i</sub> te lezen* ]  
that there books tried was were.PL to read  
lit. 'that books were tried to read'

(Broekhuis 1992: 39)

- Speakers who do not allow long passive:
  - a) Preference for subject interpretation.
  - b) Long object promotion requires Voice.<sub>R</sub>.

(see Kovač & Schoenmakers 2022)

# Parsing?

- Simple passives tolerate datives, but not accusatives (BG).

(26) a. \**dass mich*    *angestellt wurde*  
that *me.ACC* hired    was  
lit. 'that me was hired'

b. *dass mir*    *eine Versicherung verkauft wurde*  
that *me.DAT* an insurance sold    was  
'that an insurance policy was sold to me'

- Not (linear) parsing: no overt case in Dutch.

(27) a. \**dat deze mensen*    *geprobeerd werd* [ *te zien* ]  
that *these people.ACC* tried    was    to see  
'that it was tried to see these people'

b. *dat deze mensen*    *geprobeerd werd* [ *een boek te geven* ]  
that *these people.DAT* tried    was    a book to give  
'that it was tried to give a book to these people'

(G.T. Schoenmakers, p.c.)

## Towards an account

- PIMP cannot control PRO if it does not agree with T. (van Urk 2013)
- **Nominative** DPs block agreement with PIMP, **dative** ones do not.
- **Accusative** DPs pattern with nominatives  $\rightsquigarrow$  compulsion to agree.

(28) *dass* { \**den* / *der* } *Traktor*<sub>i</sub> *versucht wurde* [ *t*<sub>i</sub> *zu reparieren* ]  
that **the.ACC** **the.NOM** tractor tried was to repair  
'that it was tried to repair the tractor'

- DPs are more suitable goals for T than PIMP.
- **Dative**: inherent case, cross-linguistically invisible for Agree.
- **Accusative**: structural case, visible for Agree.
  - $\rightsquigarrow$  Defective intervener for agreement between T and PIMP.
  - $\rightsquigarrow$  No implicit control (via PRO).

## Conclusion

---



- Two-way generalisation: impersonal construals  $\leftrightarrow$  implicit control.
  - ↳ PIMP: [ID, $\phi$ ] in Type A vs. [ID] in Type B passives.
- **Long passive:** only in Type A, not in Type B passives.
  - ↳ Voice.<sub>R</sub> probes for  $\phi$ -features.
  - ↳ Other factors: availability of Voice.<sub>R</sub>, matrix verb class.
- **Long-distance scrambling:** datives but not accusatives.
  - ↳ PIMP has to agree with T in order to control.
  - ↳ Structurally case-marked DPs: a need to become subjects  $\rightsquigarrow$  implicit control blocked.
  - ↳ Possibly related: anti-animacy effect (see Appendix).
- Support for the presence of PIMPs in the syntax and for agreement as a crucial component of (implicit) control.

# References i

- Akkuş, Faruk. 2021. (Implicit) Argument Introduction, Voice and Causatives. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Florian Schäfer. 2006. The properties of anticausatives cross-linguistically. In *Phases of interpretation*, ed. Mara Frascaelli, 187–211. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Florian Schäfer. 2015. *External arguments in transitivity alternations: A layering approach*, volume 55. Oxford University Press.
- Bader, Markus, and Tanja Schmid. 2009. Minimality in verb-cluster formation. *Lingua* 119:1458–1481.
- Bhatt, Rajesh, and Roumyana Pancheva. 2017. Implicit arguments. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition* 1–35.
- Broekhuis, Hans. 1992. *Chain-government: Issues in Dutch syntax*. ICG Printing: Holland Institute of Generative Linguistics.
- Broekhuis, Hans, and Norbert Corver. 2015. *Syntax of Dutch*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bruening, Benjamin. 2013. By phrases in passives and nominals. *Syntax* 16:1–41.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1997. Restructuring and the order of aspectual and root modal heads. Ms., University of Venice.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2004. 'Restructuring' and functional structure. In *Structures and beyond: The cartography of syntactic structures*, ed. Adriana Belletti, 132–191. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Den Besten, Hans, and Jean Rutten. 1989. On verb raising, extraposition, and free word order in Dutch. In *Sentential complementation and the lexicon: Studies in honour of Wim de Geest*, ed. Dany Jaspers, Yvan Putseys, Wim Klooster, and Pieter Seuren, 241–252. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Den Besten, Hans, Jean Rutten, Tonjes Veenstra, and Joop Veld. 1988. Verb raising, extraposition en de derde constructie. Manuscript.
- Embick, David. 2004. Unaccusative syntax and verbal alternations. In *The unaccusativity puzzle: Explorations of the syntax-lexicon interface*, ed. Artemis Alexiadou, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Martin Everaert, 137–158. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## References ii

- Kovač, Iva, and Gert-Jan Schoenmakers. 2022. An experimental-syntactic take on long passive in Dutch: Unraveling the patterns underlying its (non-)acceptability. Ms.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In *Phrase structure and the lexicon*, ed. Johan Rooryck and Laurie Zaring, 109–137. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 2009. Making a pronoun: Fake indexicals as windows into the properties of pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40:187–237.
- Landau, Idan. 2010. The explicit syntax of implicit arguments. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41:357–388.
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2014. *Voice and v: Lessons from Acehnese*, volume 69. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Legate, Julie Anne, Faruk Akkuş, Milena Šereikaitė, and Don Ringe. 2020. On passives of passives. *Language* 96:771–818.
- Maling, Joan, and Sigrídur Sigurjónsdóttir. 2002. The new impersonal construction in Icelandic. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 5:97–142.
- Michelioudakis, Dimitris. 2021. Rethinking Implicit Agents: Syntax cares but not always. Open Generative Syntax, 287–311. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Perlmutter, David, and Paul Postal. 1984. The 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law. In *Studies in Relational Grammar*, ed. David Perlmutter and Carol Rosen, volume 2, 81–125. The University of Chicago Press.
- Pietraszko, Asia. 2021. Backward Control without A-movement or  $\phi$ -agreement. In *Proceedings of NELS 51*, ed. Alessa Farinella Farinella and Angelica Hill. GLSA.
- Pitteroff, Marcel, and Florian Schäfer. 2019. Implicit control crosslinguistically. *Language* 95:136–184.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2002. Introducing arguments. Thesis, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Reed, Lisa A. 2020. On Single and Two-Tiered Approaches to Control. *Languages* 5:71.
- Rutten, Jean. 1991. Infinitival complements and auxiliaries. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Amsterdam.
- Schäfer, Florian. 2008. *The syntax of (anti-)causatives: External arguments in change-of-state contexts*, volume 126. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.
- van Urk, Coppe. 2013. Visser's Generalization: The syntax of control and the passive. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44:168–178.

## References iii

- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2001. *Infinitives: Restructuring and clause structure*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2002. Syntactic versus semantic control. In *Studies in comparative Germanic syntax: Proceedings from the 15th Workshop on Comparative Germanic Syntax*, ed. Jan-Wouter Zwart and Werner Abraham, volume 53 of *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, 95–129. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2004. Two types of restructuring—Lexical vs. functional. *Lingua* 114:991–1014.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2014. Restructuring across the world. In *Complex visibles out there. Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium 2014: Language use and linguistic structure*, ed. Ludmila Veselovská and Markéta Janebová, Olomouc Modern Language Series, 275–294. Palacký University.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2021. Rethinking Implicit Control. In *Syntactic architecture and its consequences III: Inside syntax*, ed. András Bárány, Theresa Biberauer, Jamie Douglas, and Sten Vikner, Open Generative Syntax, 313–321. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Wurmbrand, Susi, and Magdalena Lohninger. 2019. An implicational universal in complementation: Theoretical insights and empirical progress. In *Propositional Arguments in Cross-Linguistic Research — Theoretical and Empirical Issues*, ed. Jutta M. Hartmann and Angelika Wöllstein. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Wurmbrand, Susi, and Koji Shimamura. 2017. The features of the voice domain: actives, passives, and restructuring. In *The verbal domain*, ed. Roberta D'Alessandro, Irene Franco, and Ángel Gallego, 179–204. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

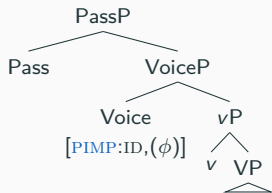
## **Appendix A: Passives**

---

# A typology of passive

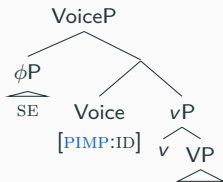
Canonical passive

CR, EN [ID]; NL, GE [ID,  $\phi$ ]



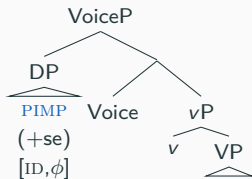
Impersonal passive

CR-SE (nominative)



Impersonal

CR-SE (accusative)



(Legate 2014; see also Alexiadou et al. 2006, 2015, Legate et al. 2020, i.a.)

# The Croatian *se*-configurations

- *se-passive*: no passive morphology, nominative, agreement.

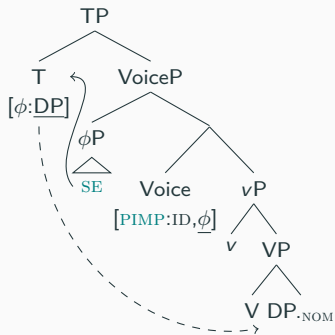
(29) *Zadatci su se riješili u sedam minuta.*  
task.NOM.PL AUX.3PL SE solve.PTCP. ACT.MASC.PL in seven minutes  
'The tasks have been solved in seven minutes.'

- *se-impersonal*: no passive morphology, accusative, default agreement.

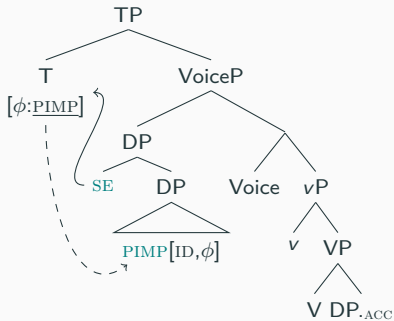
↪ Active-like configuration.

(30) *Zadatke se riješilo u sedam minuta.*  
tasks.ACC SE solve.PTCP. ACT.DEF in seven minutes  
'The tasks have been solved in seven minutes.'

- se-passive



- se-impersonal





## **Appendix B: Implicit control**

---

# Attitude verbs and *Wh*-extraction

- **Type B** passives: apparent implicit control with attitude verbs.

(31) **English (Type B):** ✗ *Wh*-extraction

- a. It was decided to meet the dean.
- b. \*Who was it decided to meet?

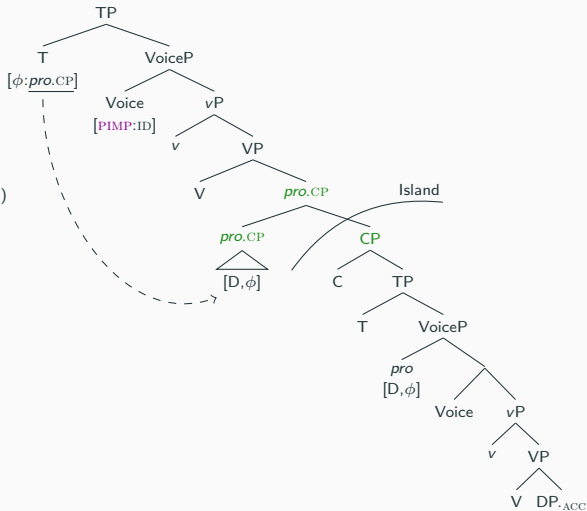
(J.D. Bobaljik, p.c.)

(32) **German (Type A):** ✓ *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 placeholder strategy

- Attitude verbs: **placeholder pronoun**. (Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019)
- The clausal associate is an island for *Wh*-extraction.
- Control is established pragmatically. (Reed 2020)
- Possible in both **Type A** and **Type B** passives.



## Implicit control: The full picture

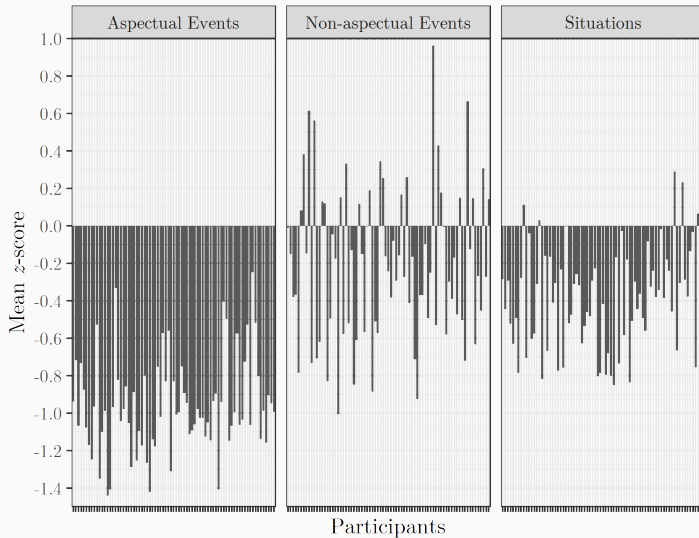
	Type A GE, NL, CR-SE, RO-SE		Type B EN, CR	Type B' RO
Impersonal construals		✓	✗	✗
Implicit control (nonattitude)		✓	✗	✗
Long passive	✓	✗	✗	✗
PIMP	[ID, $\phi$ ]	DP in Spec, VoiceP	[ID]	[ID]
Implicit control (attitude)		✓	apparent	✗
<i>Wh</i> -extraction (attitude)		✓	✗	N/A
Configuration	PRO-control by PIMP (+T)		<i>pro</i> .CP	* <i>pro</i> .CP

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

## **Appendix C: Dutch long passive**

---

# Dutch long passive: Speaker variation



## Dutch Situation verbs

- *Weigeren* 'refuse': Situation verb.

(33) *dat Jan weigert volgende week naar de tandarts te gaan*  
that Jan refuses next week to the dentist to go  
'that Jan refuses to go to the dentist next week'

- Long passive encourages a simultaneous interpretation. (cf. Wurmbrand 2001)

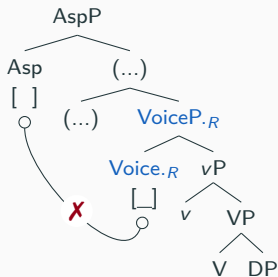
(34) *Hun vragen werd-en door iedereen steeds geweigerd te beantwoorden.*  
*their questions were-PL by everyone constantly refused to answer*  
lit. 'Their questions were constantly refused to answer by everyone.'

(experimental item; Kovač & Schoenmakers 2022)

- Not unacceptable, but lower ratings than Event verbs.

# Aspectual verbs and raising

- At least *beginnen* 'begin': raising verb. (Cinque 1997 et seq.; see also Wurmbrand 2001)
- Possibly a functional head (above Voice): monoclausal configuration, no thematic argument. (see Cinque 2004, Wurmbrand 2004)



↪ Long passive fails at the level of  
matrix passive & control.



## **Appendix D: Invisible dative**

---

## Dative in long object promotion

- Dative: compatible with long passive/unaccusative in German.

(35) *weil mir der Brief; auf Anhieb t; zu entziffern gelungen ist*  
since I.DAT the.NOM letter straightaway to decipher managed is  
'since I managed straightaway to decipher the letter' (Wurmbrand 2001: (13a))

## **Appendix E: Anti-animacy effect**

---

## Long passive & animacy

- Long passive: marked with animate DPs, impossible with participants.

(cf. Bader & Schmid 2009)

(36) German

- a. ??*dass der Schüler zu motivieren versucht wurde*  
that the.NOM student to motivate tried was  
'that someone tried to motivate the student' (after Bader & Schmid 2009: (30b))
- b. \**Du wurdest versucht zu finden.*  
you.NOM were.2SG tried to find  
'Someone tried to find you.'

(A. Ludwig, p.c.)

(37) Croatian

- a. *Ti učenic* *su se pokušali motivirati.*  
*those students.NOM AUX.3PL SE try.PTCP.ACT.PL motivate.INF*

Long passive: ??'Someone tried to motivate those students.'

Reflexive: 'Those students tried to motivate themselves.'

- b. *Ti si se pokušala motivirati.*  
*you.NOM AUX.2SG SE try.PTCP.ACT.FEM.SG motivate.INF*

Long passive: \*'Someone tried to motivate you.'

Reflexive: 'You tried to motivate yourself.'

↪ Animate/participant DPs: enforce agenthood?