



Main Configurations

- Long Passive/Patient Voice [LP]
Acehnese, Croatian, Czech, Eur. Portuguese, German, Italian, Japanese, Kannada, Norwegian, Serbian, Slovenian, Spanish, Takibakha Bunun, ...
(1) dass **der** Traktor zu reparieren versucht wurde
that **the.NOM** tractor to repair tried PASS.AUX
'that the tractor was tried to repair' (German; Wurmbrand 2001: 19)
- Crossed Control [CC]
Indonesian, Madurese, Sundanese, Swedish
(2) **Dia** di-coba di-bunuh (**oleh teman-nya**).
3SG PASS-try PASS-kill (by friend-3POSS)
'His friend(s) tried to kill him.' (Indonesian; Arka 2012: 29)
- Backward Control [BC]
Greek, Malagasy, Ndebele, Omani Arabic, Romanian, Tsez, Telugu
(3) Ku-zam-e uku-pheka **uZodwa**.
15-try-PST INF-cook 1Zodwa
'Zodwa tried to cook.' (Ndebele; Pietraszko 2021: (2))

Commonalities/Differences

- A control(-like) relation between a matrix and embedded agent, at least one of which is covert
- (4) a. **controller** V_{MATRIX} [**controllee** V_{EMBEDDED}] ~ LP/(FC)
b. **controllee** V_{MATRIX} [**controller** V_{EMBEDDED}] ~ CC/BC
- Long object promotion [LOP] (LP/CC)
- (5) a. DP_{NOM} **controller** V_{MATRIX} [**controllee** V_{EMB} DP_{OBJ}] ~ LP
b. DP_{NOM} **controllee** V_{MATRIX} [**controller** V_{EMB} DP_{OBJ}] ~ CC
- Matching (2)/(6) or non-matching (1)/(3) verb morphology
- (6) Iliskin-un-ku bunbun-a tu baliv-un
want-PV-1SG.ACC banana-that.NOM TU buy-PV
'I wanted to buy the bananas.' (Isbukun Bunun; Wu 2013: (10b))

Main Questions (+ Spoilers)

- How do **argument sharing** and matching verb morphology arise?
- Voice restructuring & bidirectional Agree
- How are the morphological differences derived?
- Featural makeups of Voice and domain of Agree

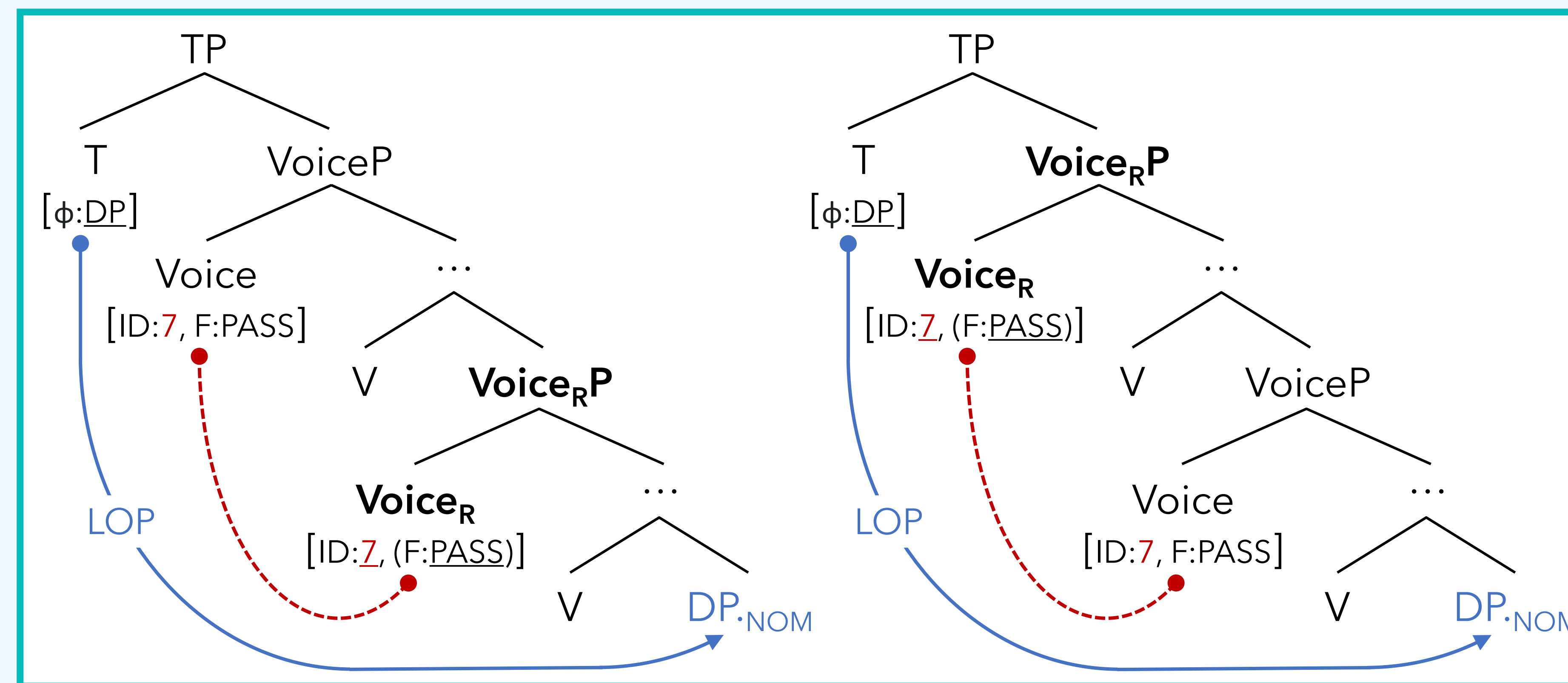
~ A UNIFIED APPROACH ~

Voice Restructuring and Argument Sharing via Agree

Syntactic Derivation

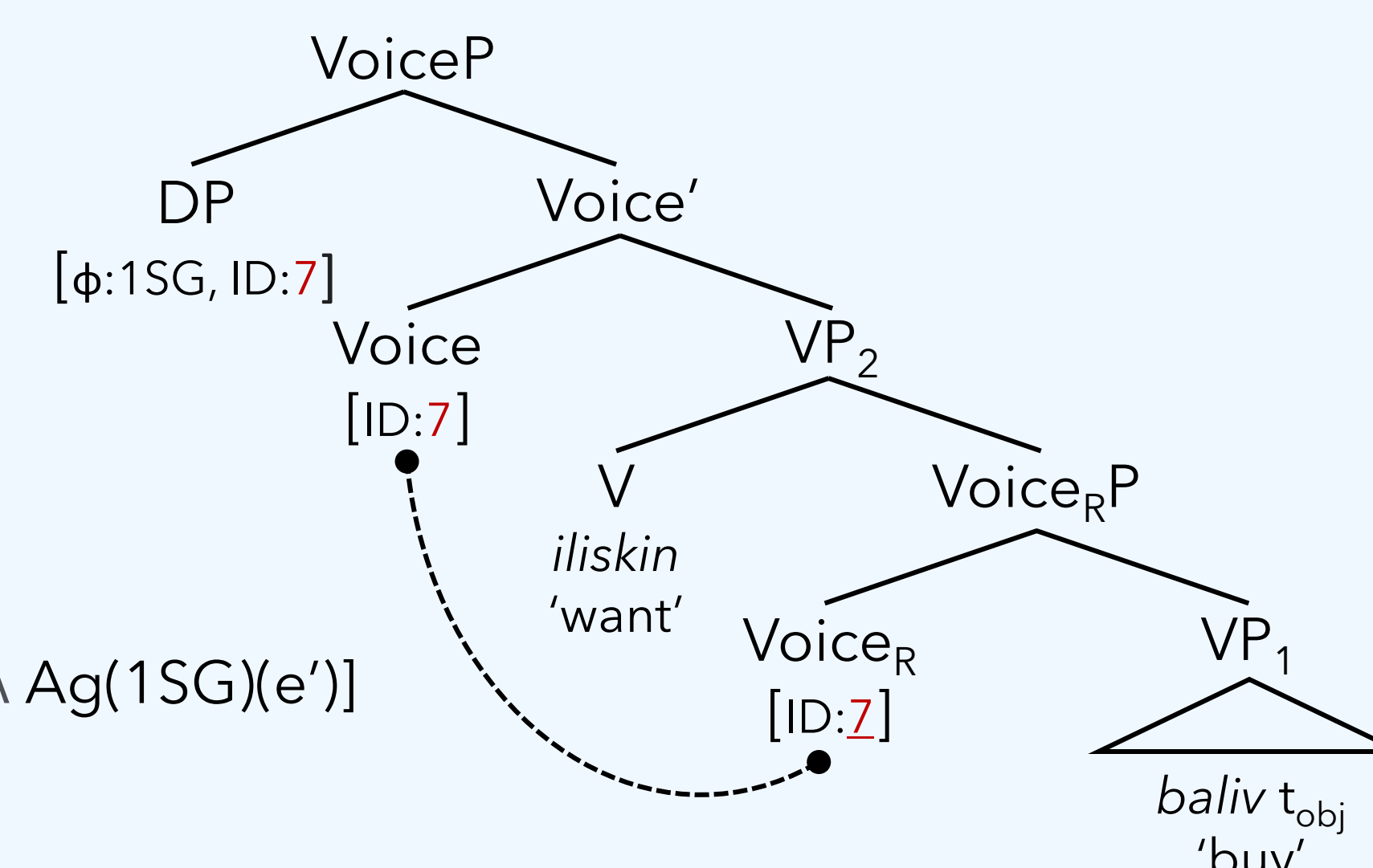
- Features on Voice include:
 - Index [ID]: numerical value
 - Morphological Feature [F]: PASS, PV, PAST, PERF, ...
- Restructuring Voice [Voice_R] enters derivation with unvalued features
- Bidirectional Agree between Voice_R and fully specified Voice:

- (7) a. [_{matrix} Voice: ID, F [_{embedded} Voice_R: ____]] down-VR (LP)
b. [_{matrix} Voice_R: ____ [_{embedded} Voice: ID, F]] up-VR (CC/BC)



Semantic Interpretation

- Denotations of Voice:
 - $\llbracket \text{Voice}_{\text{Act/PV}} [\text{ID}=n] \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda P. \lambda x: g(n) = x. \lambda e. [P(e) \ \& \ \text{Ag}(x)(e)]$ ID ~ presupposition on Agent
 - $\llbracket \text{Voice}_{\text{Pass/R}} [\text{ID}=n] \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda P. \lambda e. [P(e) \ \& \ \text{Ag}(x_n)(e)]$ ID ~ Agent (cf. Pietraszko 2021)
- Partial derivation for LP in (6):
 - $\llbracket \text{VP}_1 \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda e. [\text{buy}(t_{\text{obj}})(e)]$
 - $\llbracket \text{Voice}_R \text{P} \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda e. [\text{buy}(t_{\text{obj}})(e) \ \& \ \text{Ag}(x_7)(e)]$
 - $\llbracket \text{iliskin ('want')} \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda P. \lambda e. [\text{want}(P)(e)]$
 - $\llbracket \text{VP}_2 \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda e'. [\text{want}(\lambda e. [\text{buy}(t_{\text{obj}})(e) \ \& \ \text{Ag}(x_7)(e)])(e')]$
 - $\llbracket \text{Voice}' \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda y: g(y) = 7. \lambda e'. [\text{want}(\lambda e. [\text{buy}(t_{\text{obj}})(e) \ \& \ \text{Ag}(x_7)(e)])(e') \ \& \ \text{Ag}(y)(e')]$
 - $\llbracket \text{VoiceP} \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda e'. [\text{want}(\lambda e. [\text{buy}(t_{\text{obj}})(e) \ \& \ \text{Ag}(x_7)(e)])(e') \ \& \ \text{Ag}(1\text{SG})(e')]$
 - Note: $g(7) = \text{speaker in } c$
- CC/BC: Same semantics, with ID originating in the embedded clause.



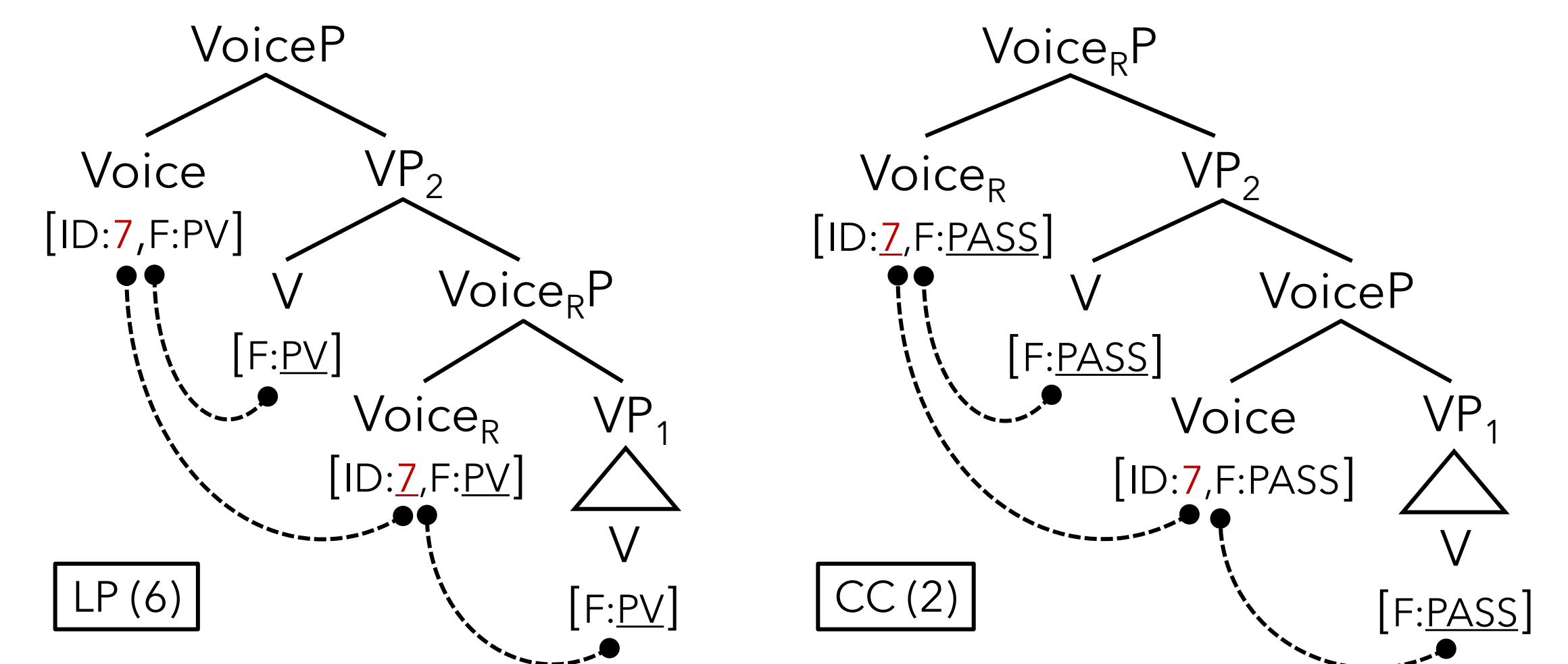
Morphosyntax in Voice Restructuring

- Matching verb morphology: (2), (6)
- Non-matching verb morphology: (1), (3), (8)
- (8) Nu ska **lasten** försöka bärgas.
now shall cargo.DEF try salvage.INF.PASS
'There will now be an attempt to salvage the cargo.'
(Swedish; Engdahl 2022: (72))

Ingredients/Insights

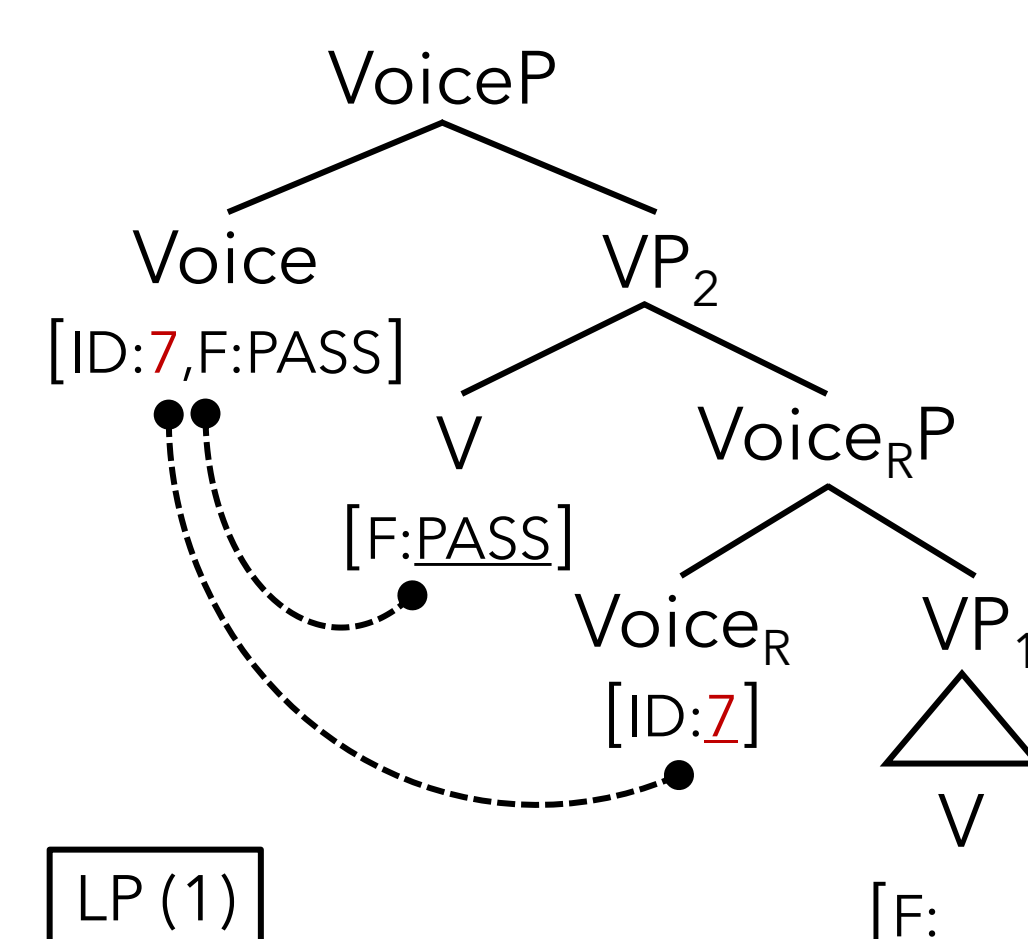
- Featural makeup of heads:
 - Matching: Voice_R [ID: ____, F: ____]
 - Non-matching: Voice_R [ID: ____]
 - V [F: ____]
- Agree:
 - Fallible (Preminger 2014)
 - Probes on Voice can reach the next Voice head.
 - Probes on V are restricted to V's extended projection.

Matching: LP/CC > matching morphology



Non-matching:

LP > default morphology



BC/CC > TMA morphology

