

# Implicit control and the features of PIMPs

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## 1 Introduction

- New generalisation: Iff a type of passive can be construed as an impersonal passive with unergative verbs, then it also allows implicit control.
  - Passives are split into two types: **Type A**, which allows impersonal construals and implicit control, and **Type B**, which does not.
- (1) **Dutch [NL]:** ✓ impersonal construal, ✓ implicit control
  - a. *Er werd gedanst.*  
there was danced  
'People/someone danced.' [after Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (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.' [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (35b)]
- (2) **English [EN]:** ✗ impersonal construal, ✗ implicit control
  - a. \**There/it was danced.* [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (71b)]
  - b. \**It was tried to understand the analysis.* [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (17a)]

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

Table 1. The distribution of implicit control (simplified)

- Proposal: The split is due to two intertwined factors:
  - The presence of an available source of  $\phi$ -features for T (Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019).
  - The featural makeup of the **passive implicit argument (PIMP)** in different types of passive (building on the passive typology proposed in Legate 2014).
- In some contexts, these two factors have to come together: the source of  $\phi$ -features for T has to be the PIMP itself (van Urk 2013, Wurmbrand 2021).

## 2 The empirical landscape

- *Visser's generalisation* (Visser 1963; after Bresnan 1982): no implicit control with subject control verbs.
- *Revised Visser's generalisation* (van Urk 2013): **agreement** approach (see section 4.3) → implicit control is impossible if an overt DP agrees with T (in order to control, PIMP has to agree with T).
- Landau (2015): control is established differently with attitude and nonattitude verbs.
  - attitude verbs (*decide, promise, believe, ...*): allow partial control, tensed complements.
  - nonattitude verbs (*try, forget, begin, ...*): exhaustive control, tenseless ('anaphoric') complements.
  - **verb type** approach → attitude verbs allow implicit control, nonattitude verbs do not.
- Pitteroff & Schäfer (2019): **verb type** approach → If a language allows impersonal passives of unergative verbs, then it also allows implicit control with nonattitude verbs (*try, forget, begin, ...*).
  - English, French, Hebrew, Russian vs. Dutch, German, Icelandic, Norwegian

(3) **English-like**: ✗ impersonal construal, ✗ nonattitude implicit control

- a. \**There/it was danced.* [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (71b)]  
 b. \**It was tried to understand the analysis.* [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (17a)]

(4) **Dutch-like**: ✓ impersonal construal, ✓ nonattitude implicit control

- a. *Er werd gedanst.*  
 there was danced  
 'People/someone danced.' [after Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (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.' [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (35b)]

- P&S: implicit control with attitude verbs (*decide, plan, promise, ...*) is possible across the board: no connection to the availability of impersonal construals.

(5) **English-like, Dutch-like**: ✓ attitude implicit control

- a. *It was decided to leave the country immediately.* [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (79a)]  
 b. *Er werd besloten (om) het land te verlaten.*  
 there was decided (for) the country to leave  
 'It was decided to leave the country.' [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (36d)]

	Dutch-like (~ Type A) GE, NL, IC, NW	English-like (~ Type B) EN, FR, HE, RU
Impersonal passives of unergative verbs	✓	✗
Implicit control with nonattitude verbs	✓	✗
Implicit control with attitude verbs		✓

Table 2. Pitteroff & Schäfer's (2019) generalisation

- P&S: If a **language** allows impersonal passives of unergative verbs, then it also allows implicit control with **nonattitude** verbs. → in need of a two-way refinement.
  1. Granularity: languages → **types of passive**
  2. Generality: implicit control with nonattitude verbs → **in general**

**Revised/2G generalisation:** If a type of passive can be construed as an impersonal passive with unergative verbs, then it also allows implicit control.

## 2.1 Granularity: Types of passive

- There are languages with more than one passive.
  - Croatian: two passives (Belaj 2004, Belaj & Tanacković Faletar 2017), which show the two-way split.<sup>1</sup>
- (6) **Croatian canonical passive:** ✗ impersonal construal, ✗ nonattitude implicit control
- a. \**Plesano je cijelu noć.*  
danced AUX whole night  
int.: ‘People/someone danced the whole night long.’
  - b. \**Jučer je pokušano riješiti tu tešku zagonetku.*  
yesterday AUX tried solve.INF that difficult riddle  
int.: ‘People/someone tried to solve that difficult riddle yesterday.’
- (7) **Croatian se-passive:** ✓ impersonal construal, ✓ nonattitude implicit control
- a. *Plesalo se cijelu noć.*  
danced SE whole night  
‘People danced the whole night.’
  - b. *Jučer se pokušalo riješiti tu tešku zagonetku.*  
yesterday SE tried solve that difficult riddle  
‘People/someone tried to solve that difficult riddle yesterday.’
- Romanian: two types of passive, which show the two-way split (Giurgea & Cofas 2021).
    - Note: the control configuration is only possible with the *se* passive if *se* is replicated in the embedded clause (Giurgea & Cofas 2021: 88).
- (8) **Romanian canonical passive:** ✗ impersonal construal, ✗ nonattitude implicit control
- a. \**Ieri a fost dansat.*  
yesterday has been danced  
int. ‘People danced yesterday.’
  - b. \**A fost început a ține seama de nevoile tuturor.*  
has been begun to take account.the of needs.the all.GEN  
int. ‘They began to take into account everybody’s needs.’
- (9) **Romanian se-passive:** ✓ impersonal construal, ✓ nonattitude implicit control
- a. *Ieri s-a dansat.*  
yesterday SE-has danced  
‘People danced yesterday.’ [Giurgea & Cofas 2021: (11)]
  - b. *S-a început a se ține seama de nevoile tuturor.*  
SE-has begun to SE take account.the of needs.the all.GEN  
‘They began to take into account everybody’s needs.’ [Giurgea & Cofas 2021: (14b)]
- Conclusion (Granularity): The generalisation holds of **types of passive**, rather than languages.

<sup>1</sup>Birtić (2007) shows that impersonal passives of some intransitive verbs are marginally possible for some Croatian speakers, especially if combined with a place adverbial. In an informal pilot study I conducted, two out of eleven participants indeed judged (6a) as marginally acceptable. As expected, they also systematically judged the implicit control sentences such as (6b) better than the average judgement of the majority of the participants, who disallow examples such as (6a).

## 2.2 Generality: Implicit control in general

- Pitteroff & Schäfer (2019): implicit control with attitude verbs is always possible.
- This is only apparent: evident from the difference in the possibility of *Wh*-extraction.
- **Type A** passives, which can be construed as impersonal passives and allow nonattitude implicit control, allow *Wh*-extraction in the context of attitude implicit control.

(10) **Dutch**: ✓ *Wh*-extraction (Context for b.: asking after an official administration meeting.)

- Er werd besloten dat huis te renoveren.*  
there was decided that house to renovate  
'People/someone decided to renovate that house.'
- Wat werd er besloten te renoveren?*  
what was there decided to renovate  
'What did people decide to renovate?'

[Gert-Jan Schoenmakers, p.c.]

(11) **German**: ✓ *Wh*-extraction

- Es wurde beschlossen, Käse zu essen.*  
it was decided cheese to eat  
'People decided to eat cheese.'
- Was wurde beschlossen zu essen?*  
what was decided to eat  
'What did people decide to eat?'

(12) **Croatian se-passive**: ✓ *Wh*-extraction

- Odlučilo se pozvati Juditu i Marina.*  
decided SE invite.INF Judita.ACC and Marin.ACC  
'People decided to invite Judith and Marin.'
- Koga se na kraju odlučilo pozvati?*  
who.ACC SE on end decided invite.INF  
'Who did people decide to invite in the end?'

(13) **Romanian se-passive**: ✓ *Wh*-extraction

- S-a decis a se respecta dispozițiile.*  
SE-has decided to se obey instructions  
'People decided to obey the instructions.'
- Ce dispoziții s-a decis a se respecta?*  
which instructions SE-has decided to obey  
'Which instructions did people decide to obey?'

- **Type B** passives, which cannot be construed as impersonal passives and do not allow nonattitude implicit control, do not allow *Wh*-extraction in the context of attitude implicit control, either.

(14) **English**: ✗ *Wh*-extraction<sup>2</sup>

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

[Jonathan David Bobaljik, p.c.]

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<sup>2</sup>Even though there seems to be speaker variation, a preliminary Google search supports the generalisation, yielding 178 hits for 'it was decided to' and 3 for 'what was it decided to'.

(15) **Croatian canonical passive**: ✗ *Wh*-extraction<sup>3</sup>

- a. *Odlučeno je pozvati Juditu i Marina.*  
 decided AUX invite.INF Judita.ACC and Marin.ACC  
 ‘It was decided to invite Judith and Marin.’
- b. *??Koga je na kraju odlučeno pozvati?*  
 who.ACC AUX on end decided invite.INF  
 ‘Who did one decide to invite in the end?’

- The embedded structure is an island for *Wh*-extraction in **Type B** passives → it cannot be a real complement clause.
  - Attitude implicit control with these types of passive is only apparent.
- The Romanian canonical passive shows an even more restricted pattern: it is “severely restricted with clausal themes” (Giurgea & Cotfas 2021: 87, (10)).

(16) **Romanian canonical passive**: ✗ attitude implicit control

- a. { *S-a decis / ?? A fost decis* } *ca spectacolul să înceapă la șase.*  
 SE-has decided / ?? has been decided that show.the SBJV begin.3SG at six  
 ‘It was decided that the show should begin at 6 o’clock.’ [Giurgea & Cotfas 2021, (10b)]
- b. *\*A fost decis a ține seama de nevoile tuturor.*  
 has been decided to take account.the of needs.the all.GEN  
 int. ‘They decided to take into account everybody’s needs.’

- **Conclusion (Generality)**: The ability of a type of passive to be construed as an impersonal passive has ramifications not only for the availability of implicit control with nonattitude verbs (as in P&S), but for implicit control **in general**, including attitude verbs.

	Type A GE, NL, CR-SE, RO-SE	Type B EN, CR	Type B' RO
Impersonal passives of unergative verbs	✓	✗	✗
Implicit control (nonattitudes)	✓	✗	✗
Implicit control (attitudes)	✓	apparent	✗
<i>Wh</i> -extraction (attitudes)	✓	✗	N/A

Table 3. The distribution of implicit control (the full picture)

**Revised/2G generalisation:** Iff a type of passive can be construed as an impersonal passive with unergative verbs, then it also allows implicit control.

### 3 A typology of passive

- The split can be derived from a typology of passives (combining the ‘Cline of passives’ proposed by Legate 2014 with insights from more recent work).
- A crucial point of variation: the featural makeup of passive implicit arguments (PIMPs) and the degree to which they are represented in the syntax:

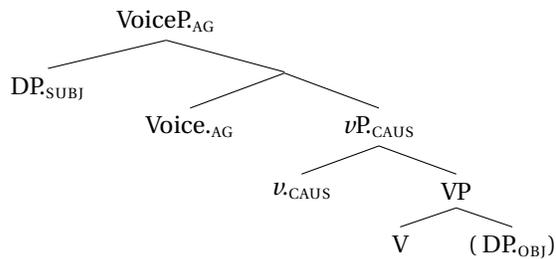
<sup>3</sup>The judgements for Croatian were replicated in the informal pilot study. As expected, the two participants who marginally allow impersonal construals with the canonical passive find examples like (15b) more acceptable than the majority.

- a) A variable or  $\phi$ -feature set on the Voice head which gets existentially closed (Bruening 2013, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017, Legate et al. 2020, Wurmbrand et al. 2021. i.a.);
  - b) An argument (of varying sizes) in Spec,VoiceP (e.g., Legate 2014, Michelioudakis 2021).
- This has repercussions for PIMP's ability to control in different contexts (sometimes linked to its ability to agree with T; cf. van Urk 2013, Wurmbrand 2021).

### 3.1 Some preliminaries

- Decomposed Voice domain:
  - Causativity is contributed by **little  $\nu$**  (or an equivalent head; see, e.g., Marantz 1997, Schäfer 2008).
  - The external argument is introduced by **Voice** (or an equivalent head), which may come in different flavours (Kratzer 1996, Pykkänen 2002, Embick 2004, Legate 2014, among many others; but see Wood & Marantz 2017 for a radically underspecified approach).

(17)

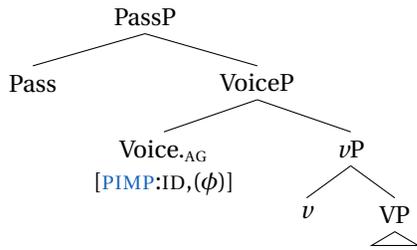


- **Passive(-like) configurations** also involve a Voice layer, and differ (among other things) with respect to the way the passive implicit argument (PIMP) is introduced (Bruening 2013, Legate 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017, Legate et al. 2020, Akkuş 2021, Šerekaitė 2021, Wurmbrand et al. 2021; see Legate 2021 for a typology of non-canonical passive configurations).
- Note: ongoing debate about the nature and the syntactic representation of PIMPs.
  - Entirely absent, and only interpreted by means of existential closure (Bruening 2013, Kastner & Zu 2014, Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019, Reed 2020).
  - Represented in the syntax to varying degrees and in various guises: as features on the Voice head, as a passive morpheme, projected in Spec,VoiceP, etc. (Baker et al. 1989, Landau 2010, van Urk 2013, Legate 2014, Wurmbrand 2015, Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017, Michelioudakis 2021).
  - PIMPs have been shown to be syntactically active (secondary predicate licensing, control, visible for Condition B and C; see Kastner & Zu 2014 for a variety of tests; licensing accusative case, Legate 2014) → it seems questionable to assume that they are entirely absent from the syntactic component (Bhatt & Pancheva 2017, Landau 2010).

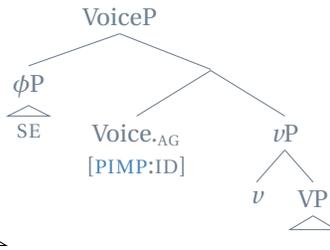
### 3.2 Passives and their PIMPs

- Legate (2014): PIMP is realised differently depending on the type of passive.
  - Compatibility with a *by*-phrase, availability of accusative case, ... → three basic configurations.
  - Modifying her typology slightly due to insights from Schäfer (2008), Bruening (2013), Alexiadou et al. (2015), Legate et al. (2020), i.a.
  - Assumption: PIMPs consist minimally of a **numerical index feature (ID)**, which functions as an individual variable (see Kratzer 2009, Pietraszko 2021) and gets existentially closed (i.a., Bruening 2013).

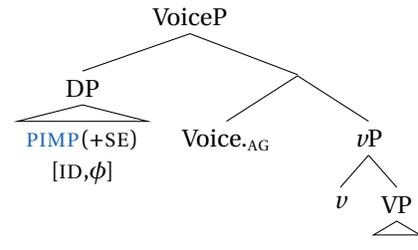
(18) (i) Canonical passive  
 CR, EN [ID]; NL, GE [ID,  $\phi$ ]



(ii) Impersonal passive  
 CR-SE (nominative)



(iii) Impersonal  
 CR-SE (accusative)



(i) Canonical passive: passive morphology due to the Pass head (Bruening 2013, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Pietraszko & Wurmbrand 2021, Wurmbrand et al. 2021), no accusative (Burzio's generalisation), obligatory agreement between the underlying object and the auxiliary (+ participle), no accusative.

- (19) a. *Zadatci su riješeni u sedam minuta.*  
 task.NOM.PL AUX.3PL solved.PTCP. PASS.MASC.PL in seven minutes  
 'The tasks have been solved in seven minutes.' [Croatian canonical passive]
- b. *Die Fälle wurden gelöst.*  
 the.NOM.PL case.PL AUX.PL solved  
 'The cases were solved.' [German]

(iii) Impersonal: no passive morphology, accusative case, default agreement (arguably with the DP containing PIMP and the clitic *se*).

- (20) *Zadatke se riješilo u sedam minuta.*  
 tasks.ACC SE solve.PTCP. ACT.DEF in seven minutes  
 'The tasks have been solved in seven minutes.' [Croatian impersonal]

(ii) Impersonal passive: no passive morphology (~ iii), no accusative, agreement with the object (~ i).  
 → see Appendix.

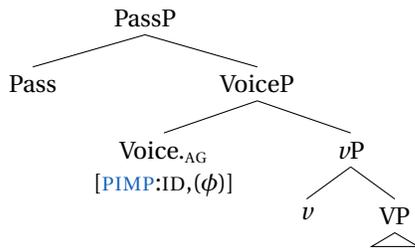
- (21) *Zadatci su se riješili u sedam minuta.*  
 task.NOM.PL AUX.3PL SE solve.PTCP. ACT.MASC.PL in seven minutes  
 'The tasks have been solved in seven minutes.' [Croatian se-passive]

## 4 Back to implicit control

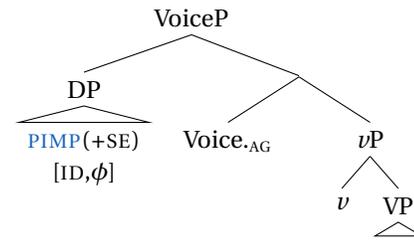
**Revised/2G generalisation:** Iff a type of passive can be construed as an impersonal passive with unergative verbs, then it also allows implicit control.

- Different featural makeups and syntactic positions of PIMPs lead to their diverging behaviour in the context of impersonal construals and implicit control.
  - The presence (Type A) or absence (Type B) of  $\phi$ -features on PIMP plays an important role.
  - This goes hand in hand with PIMP's ability to enter into agreement relations with the functional heads in the clausal spine, which, in turn, has ramifications for its ability to control (van Urk 2013, Wurmbrand 2021): possible in Type A, but not in Type B passives.

(22) Canonical passive: CR, EN [ID]; NL, GE [ID,  $\phi$ ]



Impersonal: CR-SE (accusative)



- Apparent implicit control with attitude verbs in **Type B** passives arises via a placeholder pronoun strategy (Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019) coupled with pragmatic principles (cf. Reed 2020).

#### 4.1 Deriving the generalisation

- The availability of implicit control depends on the ability of the type of passive in question to be construed as an impersonal.

(23) Impersonal construal, implicit control: ✓ **Type A** vs. ✗ **Type B**

a. [NL] *Er werd gedanst.*  
there was danced

[EN] \**There/it was danced.* [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (48a) vs. (71b)]

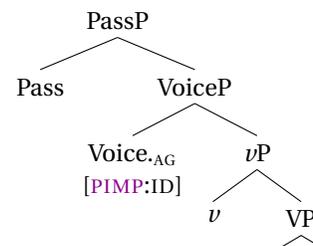
b. [NL] *Er werd geprobeerd (om) de analyse te begrijpen.*  
there was tried (for) the analysis to understand

[EN] \**It was tried to understand the analysis.* [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (35b) vs. (17a)]

- Pitteroff & Schäfer (2019): both configurations are possible only if there is a source of  $\phi$ -features for matrix T.
  - Availability (A) vs. unavailability (B) of a  $\phi$ -complete expletive or a rule of default T-valuation.
  - Language-specific properties → unable to capture the Croatian and Romanian data.
- Proposal: linking the contrast to the different types of PIMP, in particular to their featural makeup.
  - A single language may have different implicit arguments (Akkuş 2021).

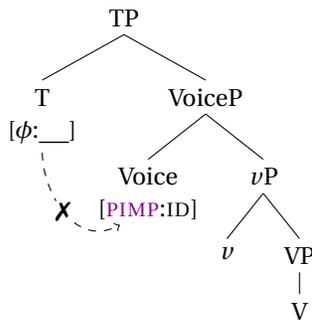
#### Type B

- English, Croatian, and Romanian canonical passive.
- Regular passive configuration: passive morphology, no accusative case, obligatory agreement with the underlying object.
  - PIMP projected as an index feature [ID] on Voice.

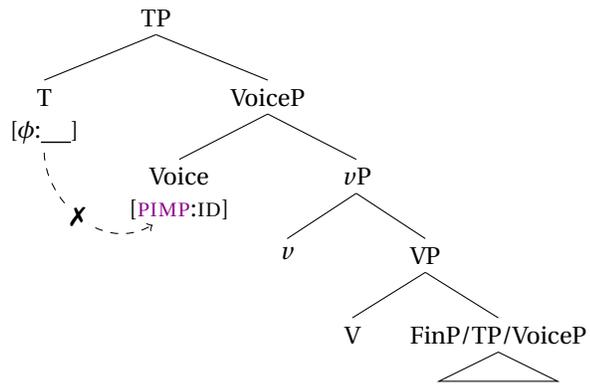


- Impersonal construals: PIMP has no  $\phi$ -features, and there is no other DP available → T's  $\phi$ -features cannot be valued.
- The same problem arises in an implicit control context: the only difference between the two is the lower portion of the clause.
  - Note: the exact size of the complement is irrelevant to the main point; it may be reduced (as in Wurmbrand 2001, 2002, Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2019; see also Wurmbrand et al. 2020 for Croatian in particular) or include layers of the operator domain (Landau 2000, 2015, Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019).

(24) a. ✗ impersonal passive

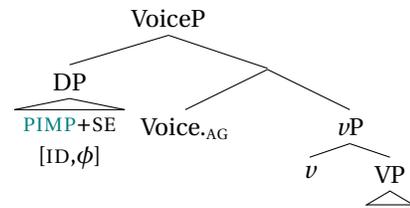


b. ✗ implicit control

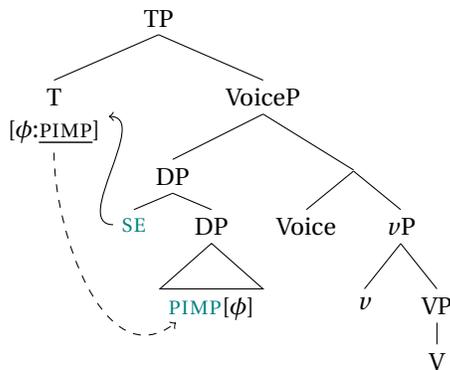


### Type A: Croatian *se*-impersonal

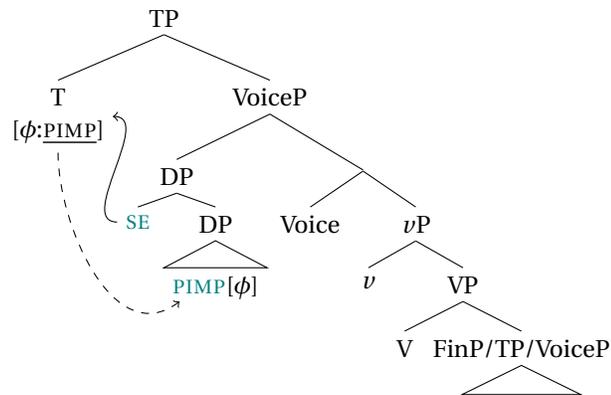
- No passive morphology, accusative case, default agreement.
  - PIMP and *se* together build a DP (see, e.g., Torrego 1995, Uriagereka 1995), merged into Spec,VoiceP.
  - Actually an active configuration (cf. Legate et al. 2020, Akkuš 2021, Šerekaitė 2021).
- Both in an impersonal passive configuration and in implicit control, T agrees with the PIMP+*se* DP.



(25) a. ✓ impersonal passive



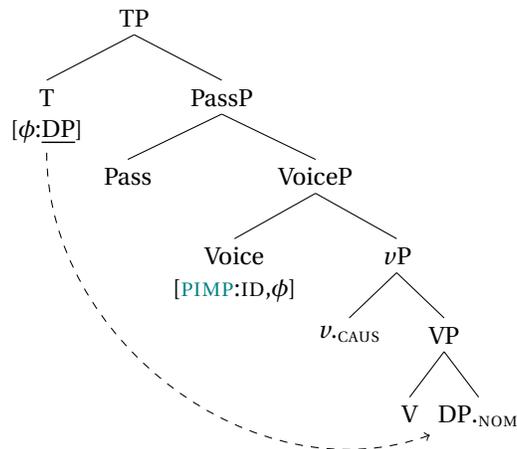
b. ✓ implicit control



### How about the Dutch and the German passive?

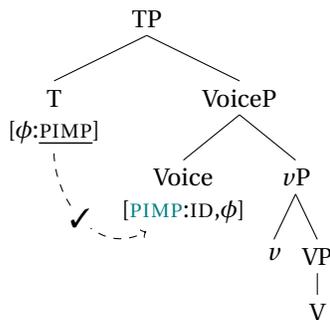
- Between the Croatian canonical passive and the *se* configurations (see Legate 2021 on a continuum of passive configurations):
  - Like the Croatian canonical passive, there is passive morphology, obligatory agreement between the underlying object and T, and no accusative (but see Laszakovits 2017).
    - PassP and no Spec,VoiceP (Alexiadou et al. 2015).
  - Like the Croatian *se*-impersonal, both impersonal construals and implicit control are possible.
    - PIMP is able to agree with T.
- Proposal: the configuration involves a Pass projection responsible for passive morphology and PIMP is merged as a feature bundle (ID,φ) on the Voice head (see Schäfer 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015 for a very similar approach).

- (26) *Der Fall wurde gelöst.*  
 the.NOM case was solved  
 'The case was solved.'

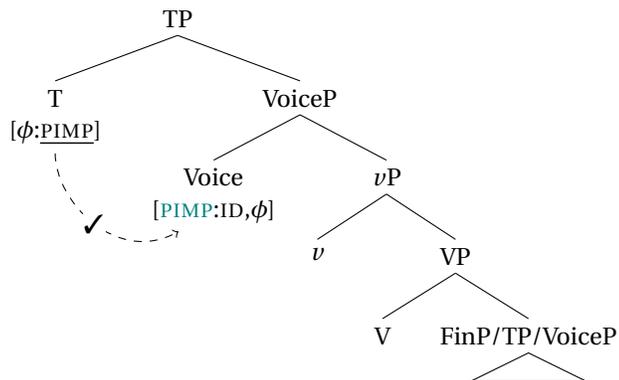


- Assumption: DPs are more suitable goals for T than PIMP.
  - More possibilities for implementing this: e.g., in addition to  $\phi$ -features, T also looks for a D-feature (N.B.:  $\neq$  EPP), or PIMPs are less specified than DPs  $\phi$ -feature-wise.
- T agrees with PIMP only if no (other) DP is present in the structure.
  - This is the case in the context of an impersonal passive construal with unergative verbs and in (some cases of) implicit control (see [van Urk 2013](#), [Wurmbrand 2021](#)).
  - A possible implementation: [Deal's \(2015\)](#) interaction and satisfaction framework, building on [Pre-minger \(2009, 2014\)](#): interaction is obligatory, satisfaction is not.
  - Alternatively: Best Match ([Coon & Bale 2014](#)).

- (27) a. ✓ impersonal passive



- b. ✓ implicit control



- In a nutshell: 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  $\phi$  features and is a viable goal for T  $\rightarrow$  T can receive  $\phi$ -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  $\phi$  features  $\rightarrow$  in order for the derivation to converge, a(nother) DP needs to be present in the structure.
- Support for such an analysis comes from Voice Restructuring.

## 4.2 Voice Restructuring/Long Passive

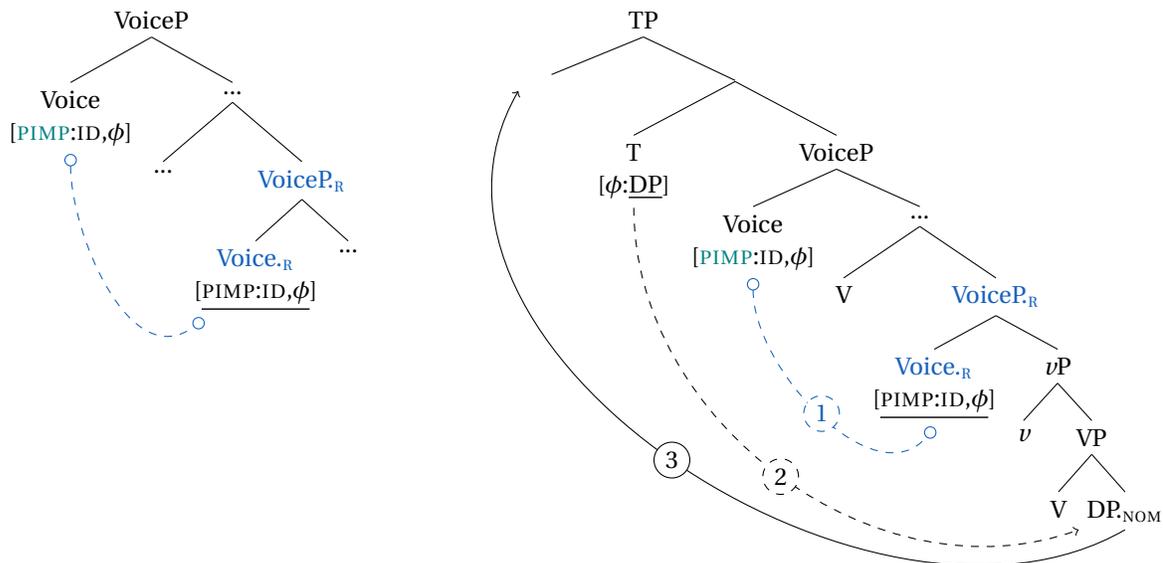
- Implicit control(-like) complementation configurations where the embedded object gets promoted to matrix subject (Wurmbrand 2015, Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017).

(28) 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; Wurmbrand 2001: (29a)]
- b. *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’ [Long Passive; Wurmbrand 2001: (6b)]

- Embedded underspecified **Voice<sub>R</sub>** head, triggering a syntactic Voice-Voice dependency (29), which results in a semantic argument sharing relation (Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017, Pietraszko 2021, Pietraszko & Wurmbrand 2021; see Baker 2008 for bi-directional Agree).
- Followed by agreement between matrix T and the embedded object and Long object promotion (LOP; also known as Long Passive).
  - The reduced size of the complement makes the embedded object DP available to T → T may interact with PIMP, but it agrees with the DP object.

(29)



- Also possible in the **Croatian se-passive** (but speaker variation; possibly due to the morphological syncretism with the reflexive), *not* possible in the **Romanian se-configuration** (Giurgea & Cotfas 2021).
- **Dutch (30)**: ungrammatical according to the literature (e.g., Broekhuis 1992), but the view has been challenged (Tavenier 2020) → experimental work in progress with G.T. Schoenmakers.
  - If Dutch in fact does not allow Voice Restructuring, this might be due to the fact that it does not have **Voice<sub>R</sub>** → the complement is too big.

(30) ??/% *De computers werden geprobeerd te repareren.*

the computers were tried to repair  
 lit. ‘The computers were tried to repair.’

[Dutch; G.T. Schoenmakers]

- Not possible in **Type B** passives: English, Croatian canonical passive.

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

- Possibly a one-way generalisation: if a type of passive allows Voice Restructuring/LOP, then it also allows implicit control → VR as a sufficient (but not a necessary) condition for implicit control.
- Explained if Voice<sub>R</sub> needs  $\phi$ -features (Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017) and PIMPs differ in whether they include  $\phi$ -features.
  - a) **Type B**: PIMP as an ID feature → ✗ VR (missing  $\phi$ -features).
  - b) **Type A**: PIMP as ID and  $\phi$  features → ✓ VR (German, Croatian *se*-passive, ?Dutch), unless...
    - PIMP is a DP in Spec,VoiceP and intervenes (Croatian *se*-impersonal, ?Romanian *se*) or
    - the language has no Voice<sub>R</sub> (?Dutch, ?Romanian *se*).

	Type A		Type B
	CR-SE <sub>IMP</sub> , ?RO-SE	GE, ?NL, CR-SE <sub>PASS</sub>	EN, CR, RO
Impersonal construal with unergatives		✓	✗
Implicit control		✓	✗
Voice Restructuring	✗	✓	✗
PIMP	DP in Spec,VoiceP	[ID, $\phi$ ] on Voice	[ID] on Voice

Table 4. Voice Restructuring and implicit control

### 4.3 Control and the placeholder strategy

- The 2G generalisation is due to the difference in the featural makeup of PIMPs across different types of passive: whether or not they contain  $\phi$ -features → **Type A**: yes vs. **Type B**: no.
  - Availability of implicit control depends on whether T can agree with PIMP → matrix clause.
- How about the control relation itself?
- Implicit control with attitude verbs: apparently possible with both types of passive.

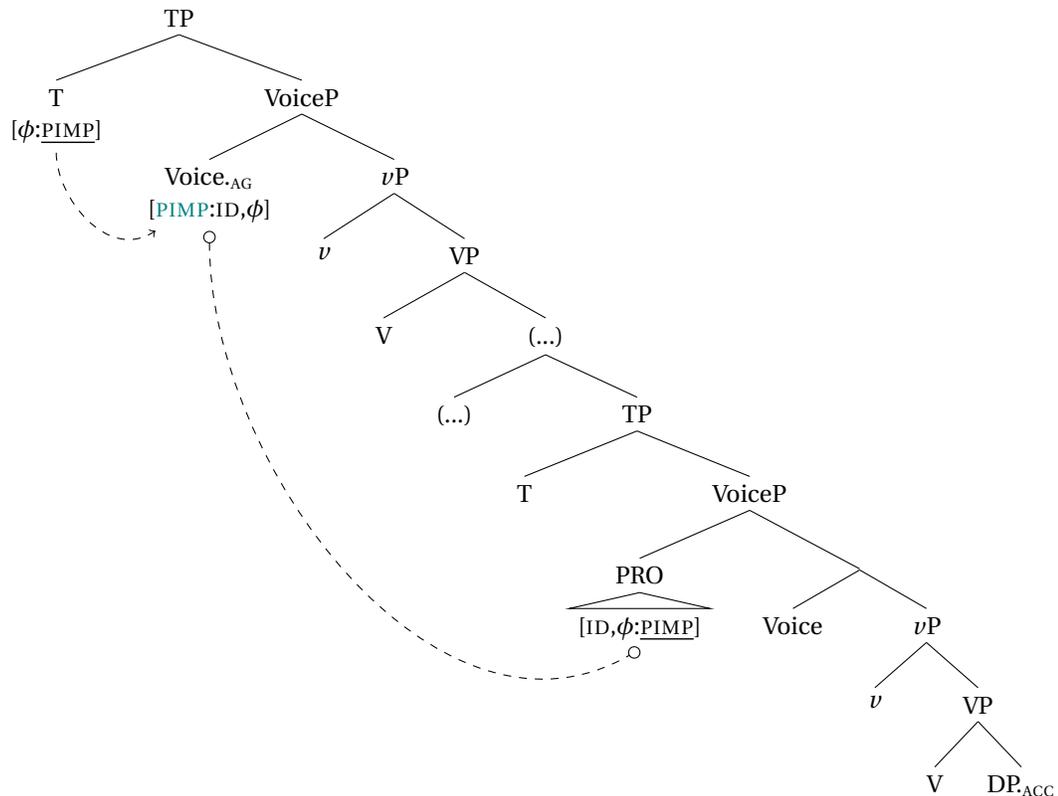
(32) [NL] *Er werd besloten (om) het land te verlaten.*  
 there was decided (for) the country to leave  
 ‘It was decided to leave the country.’ [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (36d)]  
 [EN] *It was decided to leave the country immediately.* [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (79a)]

- *Wh*-extraction: only with **Type A** passives → only such passives involve real syntactic control.

#### Type A

- In the Croatian *se*-impersonal, the *se*-DP is the controller (much like in an active control configuration).
- The interesting case is the Dutch and German passive (as well as the Croatian *se*-passive).
- The probe on T searches its agreement domain.
  - If there is no goal more suitable than PIMP (e.g., a DP), T agrees with PIMP (Deal 2015, building on Preminger 2009, 2014: interaction is obligatory, satisfaction is not; or Coon & Bale 2014: Best Match).

(33)



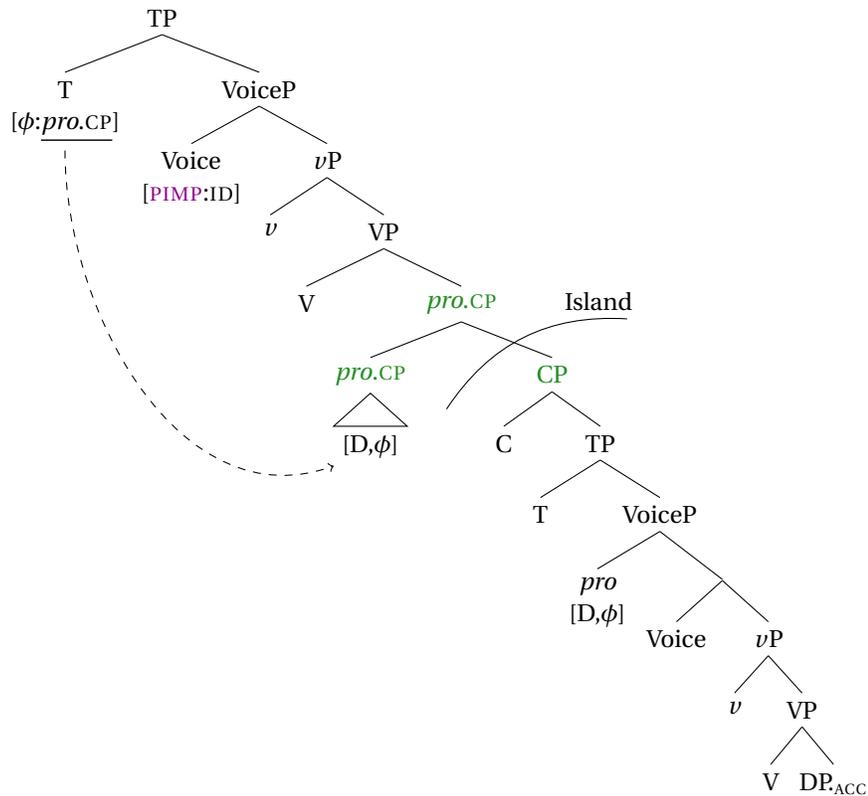
- PIMP can control PRO iff it agrees with T (van Urk 2013, Wurmbrand 2021).
  - May be connected to the absence of a D-feature on PIMP and the ability of T to provide a similar feature (anchoring to the context; see Wurmbrand 2021).
- Evidence: implicit control is blocked in the presence of an intervening DP argument (known as Revised Visser’s generalisation, van Urk 2013).

- (34) a. *Er werd PIMP<sub>i</sub> besloten PRO<sub>i</sub> dat huis te renoveren.*  
there was PIMP<sub>i</sub> decided PRO<sub>i</sub> that house to renovate  
Lit. ‘It was decided to renovate that house.’ [G.T. Schoenmakers, p.c.]
- b. \**De leraren<sub>j</sub> werden PIMP<sub>i</sub> overtuigd om PRO<sub>i</sub> ze<sub>j</sub> te mogen kietelen.*  
the teachers<sub>j</sub> were PIMP<sub>i</sub> convinced for PRO<sub>i</sub> them<sub>j</sub> to may tickle  
lit. ‘The teachers were convinced to be allowed to tickle them.’ [van Urk 2013: (10a)]

### Type B

- No impersonal construals, no implicit control: due to the absence of a source of  $\phi$ -features for T.
  - Apparent implicit control possible in attitude contexts.
- Pitteroff & Schäfer (2019): such languages make use of a placeholder pronoun strategy.
  - A placeholder *pro* is merged as complement to V and associated with a clause.
  - Importantly, *pro* is a viable source of  $\phi$ -features for T.
- Implicit in the proposal: this strategy gives rise to a non-complementation configuration.
  - *Wh*-extraction is impossible because the apparent complement clause is in fact an island (cf. Koster 1978 for subject clauses as “satellites”).

(35)



- A control-like relation is established pragmatically (Reed 2020).
- Not available in (at least) Romanian (Giurgea & Cotfas 2021).

#### Some implications of the placeholder strategy

- This strategy is in principle also available in Type A languages (Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019).
  - German: no sentence-internal expletives, but *es* possible as a clausal associate.

(36) a. *Oft wurde (\*es) telephoniert.*  
often was (\*it) telephoned  
'One telephoned often.'

[Haider 2010: 37]

b. *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)]

- Crucially, once *es* is used, *Wh*-extraction becomes impossible (see also Haider 2010:75).
  - The embedded clause behaves like an island → not a complement.

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

[regular control]

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

[placeholder strategy]

- Pitteroff & Schäfer (2019): placeholder pronouns can only be associated with clauses denoting propositions (type  $\langle s, t \rangle$ ).
    - In control contexts, attitude verbs take proposition-denoting complements ( $\langle s, t \rangle$ ), and nonattitude verbs take property-denoting ones ( $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$ ; see Landau 2015) → the strategy is only available in implicit control configurations with attitude verbs.
    - Combining a nonattitude verb with a finite clause (always  $\langle s, t \rangle$ ) makes the strategy available.
- (38) *It was forgotten that everything relevant had already been said.* [Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019: (94)]
- The English verb *forget* becomes factive when combined with a finite complement: not the same as the (implicative) *forget* with an infinitival clause.
- (39) a. *I forgot to turn on the oven.* [implicative]  
 b. *I forgot that I had turned on the oven.* [factive]
- Argument in favour of the Implicational Complementation Hierarchy (ICH; Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2019) and the three complement classes *Events*, *Situations*, and *Propositions*.
    - In its implicative meaning, *forget* takes an *Event* complement ( $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$ ); in its factive meaning, a *Proposition* complement ( $\langle s, t \rangle$ ) → but both readings belong to the nonattitude class.
    - The ICH allows for a uniform treatment of the different classes: the placeholder strategy is only available with *Situation* and *Proposition* complements.

## 5 Conclusion and outlook

**2G generalisation** (revising Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019): Iff a type of passive can be construed as an impersonal passive with unergative verbs, then it also allows implicit control.

- The generalisation yields the split in Table 5 (including Voice Restructuring).
- The attested split follows from two interconnected factors:
  - The presence of a source of  $\phi$ -features for T in a configuration (Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019).
  - The **featural makeup of PIMP** in the different types of passive (and its consequent ability to agree with T; van Urk 2013, Wurmbrand 2021).
- In attitude contexts, apparent implicit control may be established via a placeholder pronoun strategy (Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019) coupled with pragmatic principles (Reed 2020).
  - This leads to a **non-complementation configuration**: the apparent complement clause is in fact an island which makes *Wh*-extraction impossible (even in **Type A** passives).

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

Table 5. Implicit control: The full picture

- It remains to be tested if all **Type B** passives investigated by Pitteroff & Schäfer (2019) (French, Russian, and Hebrew) behave like English and the Croatian canonical passive in not allowing *Wh*-extraction ...
  - If (some of) these languages allow *Wh*-extraction, then they would build a separate class, which strictly conforms to P&S's generalisation (attitude implicit control possible despite the absence of impersonal passives and nonattitude implicit control).
- ... and also if all **Type A** passives (Icelandic, Norwegian) allow *Wh*-extraction.

On a more general note...

- Passives—as well as their PIMPs—come in different forms and sizes (in line with, i.a., Legate 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Legate et al. 2020).
  - PIMPs are indeed represented in the syntax (i.a., Bhatt & Pancheva 2017, Landau 2010, Michelioudakis 2021; pace Bruening 2013, Pitteroff & Schäfer 2019), but their nature and locus varies from passive to passive (possible even within a language: Croatian; see Akkuş 2021).
- Support for the Implicational Complementation Hierarchy and the trifurcation of complements into *Events*, *Situations*, and *Propositions* (Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2019).

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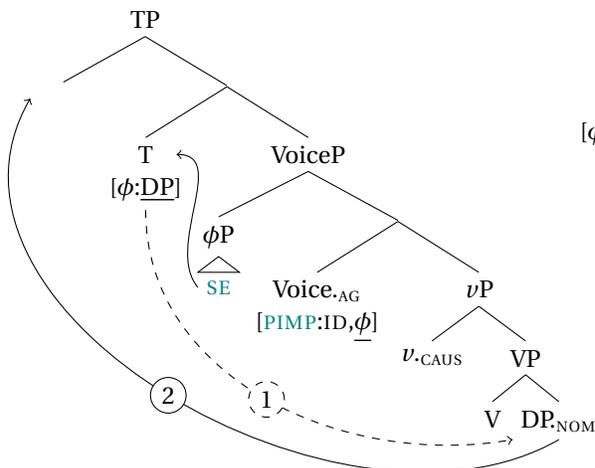
## 6 Appendix: The Croatian *se*-configurations

- **Type A** → two underlying structures:

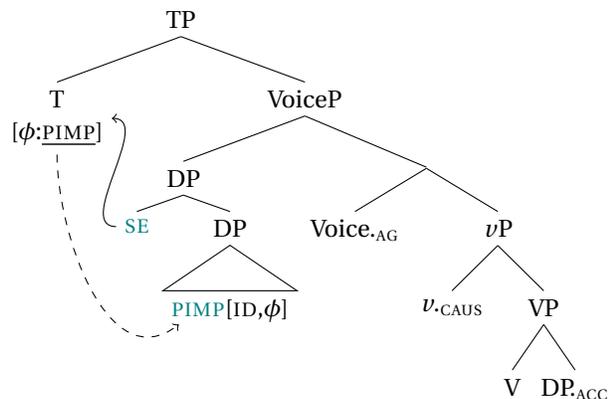
- se*-passive (40a)**: no passive morphology, nominative, agreement with the object.
  - Option 1: PIMP is merged as [ID,  $\phi$ ] on the Voice head and *se* is a morphological reflex of the Voice head lacking a specifier (see Embick’s 2004 ‘u-syncretism’) → canonical passive without PassP.
  - Option 2: PIMP is merged as [ID] on Voice, and gets associated with  $\phi$ -features originating on the *se*  $\phi$ P in Spec, VoiceP.
- se*-impersonal (40b)**: no passive morphology, accusative, default agreement.
  - PIMP and *se* build a DP (see, e.g., Torrego 1995, Uriagereka 1995), merged into Spec, VoiceP → active-like configuration (cf. Legate et al. 2020, Akkuş 2021, Šerekaitė 2021).

- (40) a. *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.’
- b. *Zadatke se riješilo u sedam minuta.*  
 tasks.ACC SE solve.PTCP.ACT.DEF in seven minutes

- (41) a. ***se*-passive**



- b. ***se*-impersonal**



- Clitics: ambiguous between a head and a phrase (Chomsky 1995, Marelj & Reuland 2013).
  - *se*: base-generated in Spec,VoiceP as a phrase (either alone or with PIMP), and cliticizes onto T as a head (cf. Marelj & Reuland 2013; see also Schäfer 2008, ch. 7, and Alexiadou et al. 2015, ch. 4 for a similar proposal for marked anticausatives).
- Nominative vs. accusative pattern follows from Burzio’s Generalisation and can be implemented either as Case assignment by the Voice head or by means of a dependent case algorithm (Marantz 1991, Bobaljik 2008, Preminger 2014; see Schäfer 2008 for an implementation where the  $\phi$ P as in the *se*-passive does not count as a competitor).
- It is the *se*-passive configuration which allows Voice Restructuring (in the *se*-impersonal, the PIMP DP intervenes).

(42) *Taj stari traktor se više puta pokušao popraviti.*  
 that old tractor SE more times tried.PTCP.ACT.MASC repair.INF  
 ‘They tried to repair that old tractor several times.’

