

November 2023

## Long(er) Object Movement in Turkish

Duygu Göksu  
*University of Massachusetts Amherst*

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### Recommended Citation

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<https://doi.org/10.7275/35955062> [https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations\\_2/2888](https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_2/2888)

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**LONG(ER) OBJECT MOVEMENT  
IN TURKISH**

A Dissertation Presented

by

DUYGU GÖKSU

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 2023

Linguistics

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# LONG(ER) OBJECT MOVEMENT IN TURKISH

A Dissertation Presented

by

DUYGU GÖKSU

Approved as to style and content by:

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Faruk Akkuş, Co-chair

---

Kyle Johnson, Co-chair

---

Rajesh Bhatt, Member

---

Luiz Amaral, Member

---

Joe Pater, Department Chair  
Linguistics

## DEDICATION

*Aileme.*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I am truly indebted to my advisors Faruk Akkuş and Kyle Johnson. They both have been incredibly generous with their time. I could not have done this without their commitment to being such great advisors, or without our weekly meetings that almost never finished on time. I am incredibly lucky that Faruk joined UMass faculty just as I started working on my dissertation. He gives the most helpful and detailed feedback, without being overwhelming, and I think he knows the whole literature on syntax and Turkish. Kyle never gave up on me although I constantly confused him with my way of explaining things. I am very thankful for his patience and support. His dedication to being a good advisor even when the whole world was on fire during the summer of 2020 was truly inspiring.

I cannot thank Rajesh Bhatt enough for encouraging me to work on this topic in my first year. He has a gift of putting students at ease, such that they can tell him even the craziest ideas they have on a topic. This makes meetings with him very chill and fun. I am very thankful that that is how this journey began, with my independent study with Rajesh in my first year. I also had a chance to meet his wonderful family when I first arrived at UMass. He hosted me and my husband Ben when we first arrived, and I cannot express my gratitude for his generosity.

Luiz Amaral asked many interesting questions during my defense and, at the party after, made me realize how much Turkish and Brazilian cultures share. I thank him for his very helpful feedback, and his enthusiasm for Turkish language and culture.

I had the privilege of working with Brian Dillon and Shota Momma on my second general paper. I am very thankful to them for their constant support and guidance

during a very challenging academic year for all of us in lock down. It took me almost forever to find the right context cues for my second experiment. They never stopped encouraging me and believing that I can do it.

Alice Harris was the chair (the person on your side) of my committees for both my general papers. She is an incredible person and I am very grateful that I had her in my committees as the person on my side. When I felt like I was failing, she helped me see that I was not. I am very thankful to her.

I learned a lot and benefited from the department culture thanks to the rest of the faculty at UMass as well: Ana Arregui, Michael Becker, Maria Biezma, Seth Cable, Lyn Frazier, Lisa Green, Vincent Homer, Gaja Jarosz, John Kingston, Angelika Kratzer, Magda Oiry, Barbara Partee, Joe Pater, Tom Roeper, Margaret Speas, Ellen Woolford, and Kristine Yu.

I would like to also thank Camelia Bleotu, Chris Davis, Tom Ernst, Anna Giskes, Dave Kush, Khrystyna Kunets, Süheyda Sarıkaya, and Satoshi Tomioka for the inspiring and fun conversations during their time at UMass.

As an international student, I had a lot of help from the administrative staff: Tom Maxfield, Michelle McBride, and Narda Wakoluk. Thank you!

My fellow graduate students at UMass had a big part in making the last five years as great as it was: Carolyn Anderson, Caroline Andrews, Mariam Asatryan, Özge Bakay, Sakshi Bhatia, Thuy Bui, Mariana Calderón, Leah Chapman, Yi-Shih Helen Chen, Peyton Deal, Alessa Farinella, Alex Göbel, Christopher Hammerly, Ivy Hauser, Angelica Hill, Kaden Holladay, Shay Hucklebridge, Cerys Hughes, Coral Hughto, Jyoti Iyer, Rodica-Rudmilla Ivan, Kimberly Johnson, Polina Kasyanova, Mari Kugemoto, Petr Kusliy, Leland Kusmer, Suet-Ying Lam, Seung Suk Josh Lee, Erika Mayer, Zahra Mirrazi, Yosho Miyata, Max Nelson, Eva Neu, Ali Nirheche, Satoru Ozaki, Deniz Özyıldız, Breanna Pratley, Brandon Prickett, Jia Ren, Yixiao Song, Katia Vostrikova, Ayana Whitmal, and Rong Yin.

I will never forget the bi-weekly dinners with my cohort: Maggie Baird (and Chris), Bethany Dickerson (and Brienne), Anissa Neal, Alex Nyman, and Jonathan Pesetksy. Anissa was the best office-mate and maid of honor I could hope for. She called me the strongest person she ever met in her toast at my wedding. Coming from the strongest person that *I* ever met, that meant a lot. Seoyoung Kim belonged to my cohort in my mind the minute I met her. Anissa, Seoyoung, and I had many virtual study sessions and mental health walks during the pandemic that helped immensely.

I also had a chance to hang out, party, and complain about the food in the area with Jed Pizarro-Guevara and Mayaan Keshev, who were doing their postdocs at UMass. Thank you, Jed, for telling me that I got this and bringing us all that delicious food.

Now moving on to people whom I met across the ocean, in the Old World:

I would like to express my gratitude to my MA thesis advisor Balkız Öztürk-Başaran, and committee members Elena Guerzoni and Martina Gračanin-Yüksek. Thanks to their and Sumru Özsoy's support I came to UMass for my PhD. Special thanks to Martina Gračanin-Yüksek for introducing me to syntax.

I had two teachers in my life that remembered my birthday every year: Elena Guerzoni and Ceyda Arslan-Kechriotis. I am thankful to them for being such wonderful teachers and friends.

I was very lucky with my first-grade teacher, Feride Çam, who nurtured my love for school, which was seeded in me by my grandmothers. Neither of them could go to school for more than a year because of their gender and because they lived in the village. I am thankful to them for sharing their memories of going to school secretly and getting in trouble for this “mischief” later. They truly inspired me to go as far as I could, and I hope they can see from where they are now that I kept my promise.

This dissertation would not have been if it were not for the following Turkish speakers letting me bug them with endless questions with weird contexts: Faruk



Akkuş, Özge Bakay, Ömer Eren, Emine Göksu, Furkan Göksu, Zekai Göksu, Nazlı Özdemir, Deniz Özyıldız, and Hande Sevgi. Thank you all very much!

It was so nice to already have a friend, Deniz, when I first came here. It was wonderful when a year later Hande moved to Cambridge, and then Özge came to UMass. They both made New England feel as close to home as was ever possible. Knowing Utku Türk was in DC made the East Coast even better.

Ömer Eren was always there, although he was miles away, thanks to the voice recording functionality of a well-known messaging application. Likewise, Melis Günekan and Münevver Erdem were at the other end of a video call whenever I needed a close friend. Joe Alpar's concerts and conversations were always inspiring and fun. Rafael Medeiros' artwork was hanging on my desk all these years, and it indeed gave me *força*. I have such fun memories with Assem Amirzhanova, Feyza Filiz-Gürbüz, and Müge Gedik in İstanbul that they kept me going in the hardest times.

Whenever I had a chance, I went back home. Whenever I went back home, my friends from childhood, Kübra Aytulun, Gamze Biçer, and Sedanur Şafak, met me with open arms and hearts.

My Aunt Bediriye and Cousin Nazlı could talk to me for hours on the phone about anything that happened that week and I needed that sometimes.

Kemal Meriçli, Stella Smetanka, and Roberta Zolkoski cheered me on all the way until the end. They were very excited for me undertaking this adventure, and it gave me hope. I thank them for being there for me when my parents could not.

Every time I went home, it was always great to be with my mom, dad, and brother and very difficult to say good-bye. I thank them for their love and support. I miss them every day. I wish I did not give them so many good-byes.

My dear husband, Benjamin Meriçli, was with me all along. He was with me when I wrote my Master's thesis, and applied to graduate school in the US. I could not have done any of this without him, and I would not want to. Without his help,

this work would be full of very confusing and long sentences. I cannot express my gratitude for his support. Sometimes I cannot believe he first moved to İstanbul to settle and live there with me, and then left İstanbul and came to this small town with me, because he believed in me.

# ABSTRACT

## LONG(ER) OBJECT MOVEMENT IN TURKISH

SEPTEMBER 2023

DUYGU GÖKSU

B.A., MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

M.A., BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY

Ph.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Faruk Akkuş and Professor Kyle Johnson

This dissertation focuses on long object movement (LOM), which is a type of A-movement from the embedded object position inside an infinitive to the matrix subject position. In the literature, LOM is usually equated with restructuring. The dissertation demonstrates that LOM is not a uniform phenomenon in Turkish. Verbs that allow LOM fall into two types and exhibit distinct behaviors, with only one type counting as restructuring.

The infinitival complements of one class of LOM verbs show dependency on the matrix domain for structural case-checking of an embedded object. These verbs are analyzed as restructuring LOM verbs selecting a reduced-size infinitival complement and an accusative case-lacking special Voice head for this complement. The infinitives selected by the other class of LOM verbs do not show such case dependency. These verbs are analyzed as non-restructuring LOM verbs that allow LOM across a CP-sized

infinitival complement (i.e., hyperraising). I adopt an approach in which specifiers are not intrinsically A- or  $\bar{A}$ -positions (van Urk, 2015), and a CP-specifier can be an A-position (i.a. Takeuchi, 2010; Fong, 2019; Wurmbrand, 2019).

In a Turkish LOM configuration, the embedded verb must be in passive voice in addition to the matrix verb. Also, the distance in LOM can be even longer, across two infinitival embeddings. The passive voice of the embedded infinitive and the possibility of LOM through multiple infinitival clause boundaries are two of the many interesting properties of LOM in Turkish, which contrast with, for example, German.

I propose that LOM configurations are bi-clausal and that LOM verbs are lexical categories in Turkish (cf. Cinque, 2006). In addition, both kinds of infinitival complements are larger than VPs, and the embedding and embedded verbs do not form a verb cluster (cf. Keine and Bhatt, 2016). The embedded Voice head does not receive voice and implicit agent features from the embedding Voice head (cf. Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017). LOM in Turkish is successive cyclic A-movement, which is blocked if the embedded verb is in active voice with a PRO subject (Rizzi, 1990). This is why the embedded verb must be in passive voice in Turkish LOM configurations.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on long object movement (LOM) configurations in Turkish. LOM is a type of A-movement that involves an embedded object inside an infinitival complement moving to the main clause subject position. The passive configuration involving LOM is called the ‘long passive’. In the active-voiced configuration given in (1a), the embedded accusative object *çocuklar* ‘children’ surfaces inside the infinitive, preceded by the embedded adjunct *iki saat içinde* ‘within two hours’. In the long passive configuration in (1b), both verbs are passivized. The DP *çocuklar* ‘children’ undergoes LOM and surfaces as the nominative matrix subject, preceding the matrix by-phrase *polis tarafından* ‘by the police’ and agreeing with matrix T.<sup>1</sup>

(1) a. ACTIVE

Polis [(iki saat içinde) çocuk-lar-ı kurtar-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
police-NOM (two hour within) child-PL-ACC save-INF-DAT try-PST  
‘The police tried to save the children (within two hours).’

b. LONG PASSIVE

Çocuk-lar<sub>i</sub> (polis tarafından) [(iki saat içinde) t<sub>i</sub>  
child-PL.NOM (police by) (two hour within)  
kurtar-\*(1l)-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı-(lar).  
save-(PASS)-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST-(3PL)

Lit. ‘The children were tried to be saved (by the police) (within two hours).’

---

<sup>1</sup>Third person plural subject agreement is optional in Turkish.



Cross-linguistically, the matrix verb in a long passive configuration is passivized, while the infinitive can appear in the same form in the active and the long passive configurations. Interestingly, in Turkish, the embedded verb in a long passive configuration needs to be in passive voice as well. This contrasts, for example, with long passives in German, where the infinitival verb in the long passive appears in the same form in the active and long passive configurations. This is shown in (2a-b), with the infinitive *zu reparieren* ‘to repair’. The object *den Traktor* ‘the tractor’ is in accusative case in the active configuration in (2a), while it appears in its nominative form, *der Traktor*, as the matrix subject in the long passive configuration in (2b).

(2) a. ACTIVE

Gestern hat Fritz den Traktor zu reparieren versucht.  
 yesterday has Fritz.NOM the tractor.ACC to repair tried  
 ‘Yesterday Fritz tried to repair the tractor.’

b. LONG PASSIVE

Gestern wurde der Traktor zu reparieren versucht.  
 yesterday was the tractor.NOM to repair tried  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday the tractor was tried to repair.’

(Adapted from Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1446)

Another interesting fact about Turkish is that the distance of LOM can even be longer, across two infinitival embeddings. In such configurations, both infinitival verbs need to be in passive voice. The contrast between the active configuration in (3a) and the long passive in (3b) illustrates this point. Another verb that allows LOM, *karar ver-* ‘decide’, embeds the infinitive formed with *çalış-* ‘try’ in (3a-b). The infinitive that *çalış-* ‘try’ embeds and the embedded object that undergoes LOM are the same as in (1a-b). Along with the matrix verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’, the infinitival verbs *çalış-* ‘try’ and *kurtar-* ‘save’ need to be in passive form in (3b).

(3) a. ACTIVE

Polis [ [(iki saat içinde) çocuk-lar-ı kurtar-ma-ya] çalış-ma-ya]  
police.NOM (two hour within) child-PL-ACC save-INF-DAT try-INF-DAT  
karar ver-di.  
decide-PST  
Lit. ‘The police decided to try to save the children (within two hours).’

b. LONG PASSIVE

Çocuk-lar<sub>i</sub> (polis tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub> [(iki saat içinde) t<sub>i</sub>  
kid-PL.NOM (police by) (two hour within)  
kurtar-\*(ıl)-ma-ya] çalış-\*(ıl)-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di-(ler).  
save-(PASS)-INF-DAT try-(PASS)-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST-(3PL)  
Lit. ‘The children were decided to be tried to be saved (within two hours)  
(by the police).’

The grammaticality of these configurations in Turkish as opposed to other languages (e.g., German) plays a crucial role in my analysis of LOM as successive cyclic A-movement, which I present in Chapter 4.

In the literature, the term ‘restructuring’ is equated with LOM.<sup>2</sup> The matrix verbs in LOM configurations are called ‘restructuring verbs’ and the infinitives that they select are named ‘restructuring infinitives’.<sup>3</sup> In bi-clausal approaches, this label describes some sort of reduced clause structure for an infinitive that lacks structural case for an embedded object. This reduced-size and case-dependent (i.e., restruc-

---

<sup>2</sup>In addition to LOM, infinitival constructions that are transparent for clitic climbing, negation, and long distance agreement for an object are among the configurations considered restructuring (see i.a. Rizzi, 1978; Aissen and Perlmutter, 1983; Wurmbrand, 2001; Chung, 2004; Bhatt, 2005; Bobaljik and Wurmbrand, 2005; Cinque, 2006; Keine and Bhatt, 2016; Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017; Homer and Bhatt, 2020; Paul et al., 2021).

<sup>3</sup>To my knowledge, this terminology originates in the proposal by Rizzi (1978) for an optional ‘restructuring’ process that changes a bi-clausal structure into a mono-clausal structure by forming a complex verb from the matrix and embedded verbs.

turing) infinitive is also transparent for an embedded object to move to the matrix domain for case-checking via LOM. This study contributes to the discussion of LOM and restructuring by showing that LOM is possible without restructuring in Turkish. That is, in addition to restructuring infinitives that have a reduced clause structure and lack accusative case for an object, an infinitive that is not reduced in size and does not lack accusative case for an embedded object also allows an embedded object to undergo LOM in Turkish.

In the next section, I introduce the classification of LOM verbs into restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs. I also present a group of verbs that take infinitival complements, but do not allow LOM. This sets the stage for presenting the goal of the dissertation. In Section 1.2, I provide an overview of the dissertation. Each subsection focuses on one of the main chapters.

## 1.1 Setting the Stage

There are several verbs that allow LOM in Turkish, not all of them can be described as restructuring. The LOM verbs fall into two classes. With one class of matrix verbs that allow LOM, the infinitival complement shows dependency on the matrix verb for accusative case assignment to an embedded object. I analyze these verbs as restructuring verbs that select reduced-size restructuring infinitives. In my analysis, these verbs also select an accusative case-lacking special Voice head for their infinitival complements. With the other class of matrix verbs that allow LOM, the infinitival complement shows no such dependency. I analyze this class of verbs and their infinitival complements as non-restructuring. I propose that these infinitives are CPs with regular Voice heads and that LOM from these infinitives is hyperraising. I call the first class of verbs ‘restructuring LOM verbs’, and I refer to the second class as ‘non-restructuring LOM verbs’. While *çalış-* ‘try’ is among the restructuring LOM verbs, *karar ver-* ‘decide’ is one of the non-restructuring LOM verbs. In my examples,

I use *çalış-* ‘try’ and *karar ver-* ‘decide’ to represent their classes. The two classes of verbs are given below.

- (4) a. Restructuring LOM verbs: *başla-* ‘start’, *çalış-* ‘try’, *çabala-* ‘make an effort’, *devam et-* ‘continue’, *kalkış-* ‘attempt’, and *uğraş-* ‘strive’
- b. Non-restructuring LOM verbs: *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’

The motivation for analyzing LOM verbs as two different classes taking complements of differing clause sizes comes from three diagnostics that differentiate them. Non-restructuring LOM verbs form grammatical local passive configurations, allow two different temporal adverbs to modify the embedded and matrix verbs, and permit partial control of an embedded PRO subject. None of these is available with restructuring LOM verbs. I illustrate the local passive contrast here, while the other two contrasts are illustrated in Chapter 3. These are summarized in Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1.** Restructuring vs. non-restructuring LOM verbs

Diagnostics	Restructuring LOM verbs	Non-restructuring LOM verbs
local passive (no case-dependency)	✗	✓
temporal adverb mismatch	✗	✓
partial control	✗	✓

When both the matrix and embedded verbs are in active voice, an embedded object can get accusative case with both classes of LOM verbs. On the other hand, when the matrix verb is passivized and the embedded verb remains in active voice, a contrast emerges. The resulting configuration is called the ‘local passive’, and it is not grammatical with restructuring LOM verbs. This shows that the infinitive is case-dependent on the matrix domain (i.e., restructuring).

In the active configuration in (5a), both the embedded verb *boya-* ‘paint’ and the matrix verb *çalış-* ‘try’ are in active voice. In this configuration, the embedded object *bu eski araba* ‘this old car’ is assigned accusative case. In contrast, the accusative

case becomes unavailable when the matrix verb is passivized in (5b) even though the embedded verb remains in active voice. This shows that the infinitive is dependent on the matrix domain for structural accusative case assignment to an embedded object.<sup>4</sup>

(5) a. ACTIVE

Tamirci-ler [bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya] çalış-tı-(lar).  
 mechanic-PL.NOM this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT try-PST-(PL)  
 ‘The mechanics tried to paint this old car.’

b. LOCAL PASSIVE

\*Dün (tamirciler tarafından) [bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya]  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT  
 çalış-ıl-dı.  
 try-PASS-PST  
 ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was tried to paint this old car.’

This contrast is missing with non-restructuring LOM verbs. Both the active-voice and the local passive configurations are grammatical with non-restructuring LOM verbs. The availability of accusative case for the embedded object regardless of the voice of the matrix verb shows that the infinitive is not dependent on the matrix domain for accusative case assignment to an embedded object (i.e., not restructuring). This is shown in (6a-b) with *karar ver-* ‘decide’ as the matrix verb.

(6) a. ACTIVE

Tamirci-ler [bu eski araba-yı] boya-ma-ya karar ver-di-(ler).  
 mechanic-PL.NOM this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT decide-PST-(PL)  
 ‘The mechanics decided to paint this old car.’

---

<sup>4</sup>If the embedded object is changed to a lexical case-marked or bare object, the sentence in (5b) becomes grammatical. This indicates that the voice mismatch is not the cause of ungrammaticality here.

b. LOCAL PASSIVE

Dün (tamirciler tarafından) [bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya]  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-il-di.  
 decide-PASS-PST  
 ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was decided to paint this old car.’

In the dissertation, I also discuss a class of verbs that take infinitival complements, but do not allow LOM.<sup>5</sup> The local passive is grammatical with these verbs. This indicates they select non-restructuring infinitival complements. As they select non-restructuring infinitives and they do not allow LOM, I refer to them as ‘non-restructuring non-LOM verbs’. *Niyet et-* ‘intend’ is among this class of verbs.<sup>6</sup> In (7a-c), *niyet et-* ‘intend’ illustrates which configurations are available with non-restructuring non-LOM verbs. In (7a), both the matrix and embedded verbs are in active voice and accusative case is available for the embedded object. In (7b), the matrix verb is passivized and the resulting local passive is grammatical, showing that the infinitive is not case-dependent on the matrix domain (i.e., non-restructuring). Finally in (7c), both verbs are passivized and the resulting long passive configuration is ungrammatical, showing that *niyet et-* ‘intend’ is not an LOM verb.

(7) a. ACTIVE

Tamirci-ler [bu eski araba-yı] boya-ma-ya niyet et-ti-(ler).  
 mechanic-PL.NOM this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT intend-PST-(PL)  
 ‘The mechanics intended to paint this old car.’

---

<sup>5</sup>The discussion on this class of verbs comes in Chapter 4, where I present my proposal.

<sup>6</sup>Some other non-restructuring non-LOM verbs are: *alış-* ‘get used to’, *cesaret et-* ‘dare’, *cüret et-* ‘dare’, *çekin-* ‘abstain’, *kaçın-* ‘avoid’, *kork-* ‘be afraid’, *pişmanlık duy-* ‘regret’, *sakın-* ‘beware’, *tenezzül et-* ‘condescend’, and *zahmet et-* ‘bother’.

b. LOCAL PASSIVE

Dün (tamirciler tarafından) [bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya]  
yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT  
niyet ed-il-di.  
intend-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday it was intended to paint this old car (by the mechanics).’

c. LONG PASSIVE

\*Dün bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> (tamirciler tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub>  
yesterday this old car.NOM (mechanics by)  
boya-n-ma-ya] niyet ed-il-di.  
paint-PASS-INF-DAT intend-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday this old car was intended to be painted (by the mechanics).’

Overall, the classification of these three groups of verbs is based on the type of infinitival complement they select and whether they allow LOM. Restructuring LOM verbs (e.g., *çalış-* ‘try’) select restructuring infinitives and allow LOM. Non-restructuring LOM verbs (e.g., *karar ver-* ‘decide’) select non-restructuring infinitives and allow LOM. Finally, non-restructuring non-LOM verbs (e.g., *niyet et-* ‘intend’) select non-restructuring infinitives and do not allow LOM. This is summarized in Table 1.2 below.

The goal of the dissertation is to derive the distribution given in Table 1.2 as well as the following two facts about LOM configurations in Turkish. First, the embedded infinitival verb needs to be in passive voice in LOM configurations. Second, LOM is possible across multiple infinitival clauses.

I present an overview of each chapter in the next section, in order to explain how the dissertation achieves this goal.

**Table 1.2.** Classification of (non-)restructuring (non-)LOM verbs

Verb Class	Infinitival Complement	Local Passive	Long Passive (LOM)
Restructuring LOM (e.g., <i>çalış-</i> ‘try’)	restructuring	✗	✓
Non-restructuring LOM (e.g., <i>karar ver-</i> ‘decide’)	non-restructuring	✓	✓
Non-restructuring non-LOM (e.g., <i>niyet et-</i> ‘intend’)	non-restructuring	✓	✗

## 1.2 Overview of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, I provide a background on three recent approaches to LOM as restructuring and show that it is not possible to simply adopt any of them to account for the nature of Turkish LOM. In Chapter 3, I present more data that motivate the classification of LOM verbs as restructuring versus non-restructuring LOM verbs. In Chapter 4, I present my proposal. Chapter 5 concludes and lays out future directions. I provide an overview for Chapters 2, 3, and 4 here.

### 1.2.1 Chapter 2

In Chapter 2, I present three theories on restructuring that equate LOM with restructuring. The first one is the mono-clausal analysis in Cinque (2006) based on Italian data. Cinque proposes that restructuring verbs are functional heads that occupy fixed positions in the clausal functional hierarchy put forward in Cinque (1999). This approach contrasts with the other two approaches that I present, which propose that restructuring verbs are lexical verbs. The mono-clausal proposal in Cinque (2006) is based on the following observations for Italian LOM and Clitic Climbing (CC). Firstly, adverbs that occur only once in a simple clause cannot occur twice in a restructuring configuration. Secondly, restructuring verbs appear in a rigid order when they co-occur in a sentence. Thirdly, only a subset of restructuring verbs can



be passivized and form a long passive structure, and in these structures there is only one passive verb. Lastly, negation is also restricted: not all restructuring verbs can be negated or embed negated verbs. Cinque attributes all of these properties to the higher verb in the configuration being a functional head. In the second half of the chapter I present LOM data that shows these restrictions do not hold in Turkish. As such, Turkish LOM verbs cannot be analyzed as functional heads.

The second theory that I present is the verb-cluster formation analysis in Keine and Bhatt (2016) that is proposed for a subset of long passive configurations in German. In this system, restructuring infinitives in LOM configurations are reduced in size; they are VPs without a *v*, and hence they lack accusative case for an embedded object and a PRO subject. When the matrix and embedded verbs are adjacent in a long passive configuration, they end up in the same spell-out domain. This triggers the embedded verb to undergo head movement and form a complex verb with the matrix verb via cluster formation. In such configurations the embedded verbal domain is inaccessible for quantifier DPs taking lower scope, licensing an NPI, negation, the de dicto interpretation of a DP, and adverbial modification. In the second part of the chapter I present long passive data that shows these restrictions do not hold in Turkish. As such, the infinitives in Turkish LOM configurations cannot be analyzed as VPs, and the embedded and matrix LOM verbs do not form a cluster when they are in situ and adjacent.

The third theory that I present is the deficient  $\text{Voice}_R$  analysis in Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) that is based on data from multiple languages including German, Chamorro, and other Austronesian languages. The aim of this theory is to derive the fact that a restructuring infinitive bears voice morphology in some languages while in others it appears in a default form. A special Voice head called ‘ $\text{Voice}_R$ ’ is proposed to exist in the lexicon of only those languages that allow LOM configurations.  $\text{Voice}_R$  is a defective Voice head that is c(ategory)-selected by the matrix verb for its infini-

tival complement.  $\text{Voice}_R$  receives its features for voice and implicit agent from the embedding Voice head. In the second half of the chapter, I present data from Turkish testing the predictions of this approach. I conclude that adopting this theory would not account for the whole picture that Turkish LOM verbs present.

After providing a brief summary of each study in the first section of the chapter, I present data on LOM configurations in Turkish in the second section. The section is further organized into subsections that focus on the following: adverbial modification, embedded negation, co-occurrence of multiple restructuring verbs, voice morphology on the embedded verb, size of the infinitive, *de re* and *de dicto* interpretations of the moved object, and implicit control relation between the matrix and embedded implicit agents. I compare the predictions of each theory to what is possible in Turkish. In my examples, I include data from both restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs in Turkish since these theories equate LOM and restructuring. Section 2.3 provides a chapter summary.

### 1.2.2 Chapter 3

In Chapter 3, I start by introducing the classification of LOM verbs into two types: restructuring LOM verbs and non-restructuring LOM verbs. I propose this classification based on the local passive contrast that shows one class of LOM verbs select infinitives that are case-dependent on the matrix domain (i.e., restructuring), while the other class selects infinitives that are not case-dependent (i.e., non-restructuring).

In Section 3.2, I present data on both classes of LOM verbs used in active-voice configurations, and show that both classes are obligatory control verbs. I use diagnostics related to VP ellipsis, long-distance control, arbitrary control, and c-command relations. While non-restructuring LOM verbs allow partial control, restructuring LOM verbs do not. Also, non-restructuring LOM verbs allow temporal mismatch between two separate adverbs modifying the matrix and embedded verbs, whereas restructur-

ing LOM verbs do not. These contrasts further support analyzing restructuring LOM verbs as taking reduced-size infinitival complements and non-restructuring LOM verbs as taking CP-size infinitival complements.

In Section 3.3, I compare restructuring and non-restructuring LOM verbs in long passive configurations. I go over the properties of long passive configurations that I illustrated in the second half of Chapter 2, pointing out where the two classes differ. In Section 3.4., I illustrate some selectional differences among LOM verbs in configurations other than long passives. Section 3.5 is the chapter summary.

### **1.2.3 Chapter 4**

In Chapter 4, I present my proposal in the first three subsections divided as follows. In Section 4.1, I focus on deriving the case-dependent nature of the restructuring infinitives that restructuring LOM verbs select. That is, I present the part of the proposal that derives the ungrammaticality of the local passive with restructuring LOM verbs, as opposed to its grammaticality with non-restructuring LOM verbs and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs. The contrast is tied to the selectional requirements of a restructuring LOM verb for a reduced-size complement and, within this complement, for a special accusative case-lacking Voice head. Whether the embedded Voice head is active or passive, it lacks an accusative case feature. This results in the ungrammaticality of the local passive with a restructuring LOM verb. I assume VoicePs and CPs are phases (Chomsky, 2001), and I classify restructuring LOM verbs as non-attitude verbs taking infinitival complements without a C head (following Landau, 2015). As there is no embedded CP domain, the embedded Voice head is accessible to the embedding restructuring LOM verb for *c*-selection. This obeys the Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC1) (Chomsky, 2000), given below.

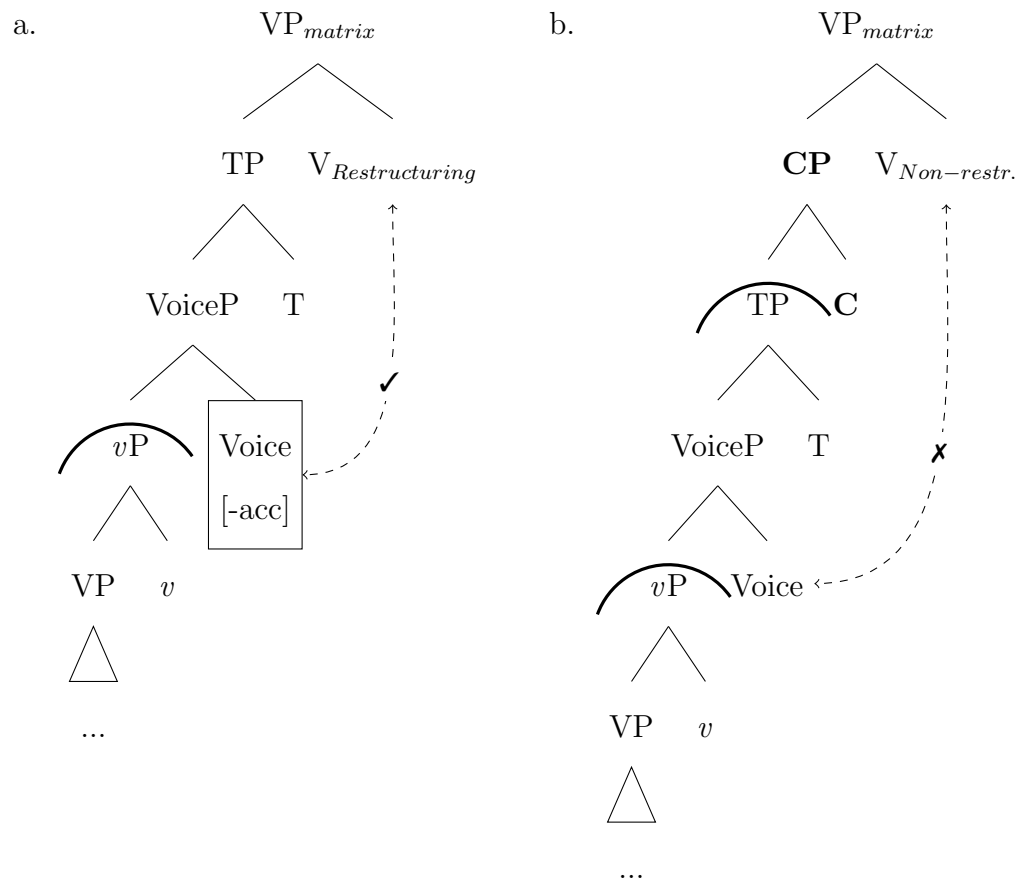
(8) Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC1):

In phase  $\alpha$  with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside  $\alpha$ , only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

(Chomsky, 2000: 108)

In contrast, the infinitival complements of non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs include a CP domain. This makes the embedded Voice head inaccessible to the embedding verb. As a result, there is no special Voice head selection and their infinitival complements have a regular Voice head. When the embedded Voice head is an active Voice head, accusative case is available for an embedded object. The two configurations are given below.

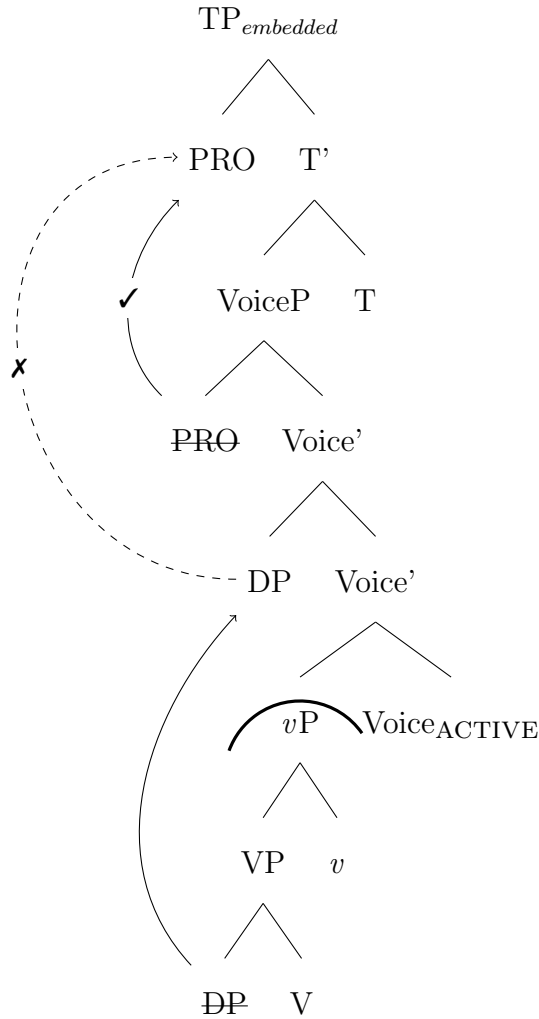
(9) Special Voice head selection (a) vs. no special Voice head selection (b):



When the embedded Voice head is a special Voice head lacking an accusative case feature, an active embedding Voice head can share its accusative case feature with it. This operation also obeys PIC1 (Chomsky, 2000). In that configuration, the embedded object receives accusative case locally, inside the embedded restructuring infinitive.

In Section 4.2, I present the part of the proposal that derives the passive voice requirement for infinitival verbs in LOM configurations. I first show that LOM does not happen in one fell swoop, using scope facts. I propose that a DP undergoing LOM uses the embedded subject position (i.e., Spec-TP) as an intermediate landing site. I assume an active Voice head introduces an external argument in its specifier (Kratzer, 1996). In the infinitival complement, this argument is PRO, which acts as an intervener and blocks the embedded DP from moving to Spec-TP by being the closer goal to T. I assume PRO bears *phi*-features (Sigurðsson, 1991; Landau, 2003; Šereikaitė, 2020). This is a Relativized Minimality effect (Rizzi, 1990) and it accounts for the requirement for a passive-voiced embedded verb in LOM configurations. I assume that when the embedded verb is in passive voice, the external argument is not projected and the implicit agent is interpreted existentially in the absence of a by-phrase (Bruening, 2013; Legate, 2014; Legate et al., 2020; Akkuş, 2021). As opposed to PRO, the implicit agent does not block the DP undergoing LOM to move to embedded Spec-TP. The intervention by PRO is illustrated below.

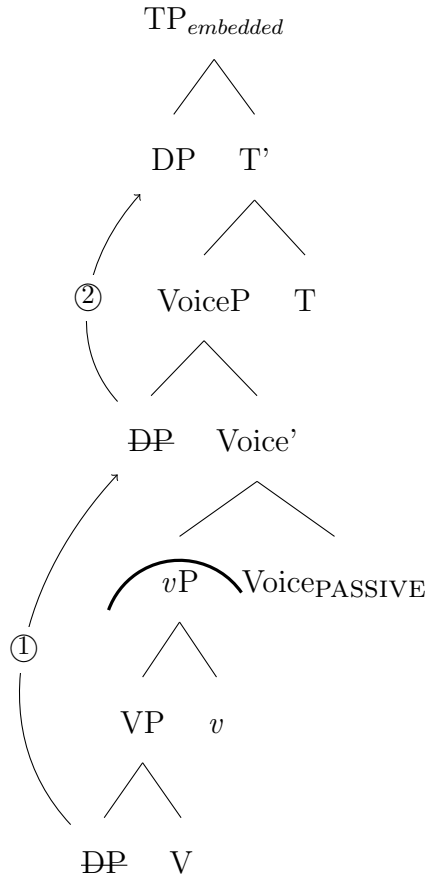
(10) PRO moves to embedded Spec-TP, blocking movement of the object:



In contrast to (10), when the embedded Voice is a passive Voice head, the embedded DP first moves to the specifier of embedded VoiceP.<sup>7</sup> Then, it moves to embedded Spec-TP. This is illustrated below.

<sup>7</sup>I assume passive Voice has an escape hatch, following Legate (2003) and Deal (2009).

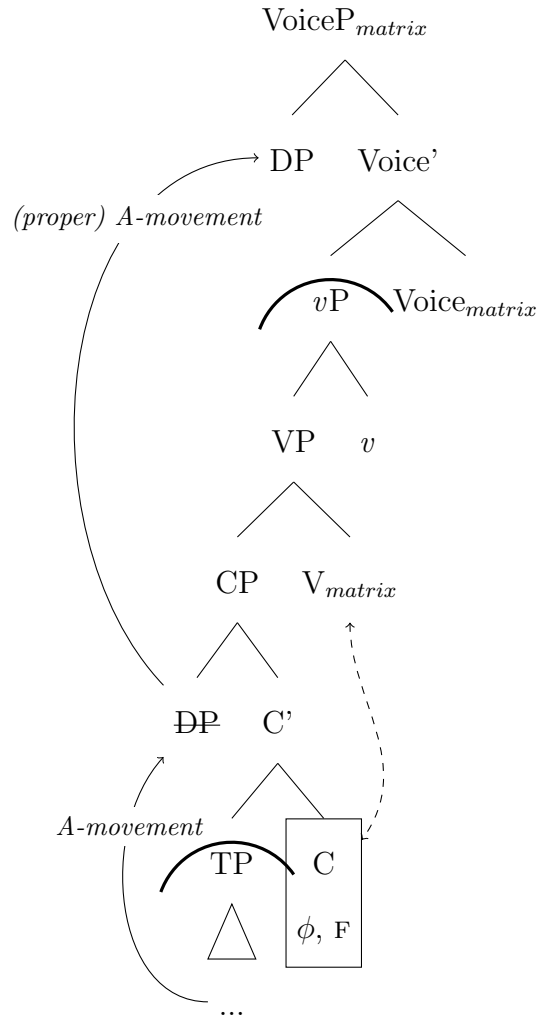
- (11) If there is no PRO, the embedded object can move to embedded Spec-TP:



Finally, Section 4.3 focuses on deriving the LOM contrast between non-restructuring LOM verbs (e.g., *karar ver-* ‘decide’) and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs (e.g., *niyet et-* ‘intend’). Although both are CP complements, infinitives embedded by the former allow A-movement out of them, while infinitives embedded by the latter do not. I assume that the specifier of a CP is not intrinsically an  $\bar{A}$ -position: it can be an A-position as well. This has been proposed for Japanese (Takeuchi, 2010), Dinka (van Urk, 2015), and Mongolian (Fong, 2019). I also present ECM and hyperraising examples from Turkish supporting this analysis. In my analysis, non-restructuring LOM verbs embed a CP with a mixed A/ $\bar{A}$ -position specifier by selecting a C head with *phi*-features (in addition to *F*-features related to  $\bar{A}$ -movement). In contrast, non-restructuring non-LOM verbs select a C head without *phi*-features for their CP complements. As such, with non-restructuring non-LOM verbs, any movement to

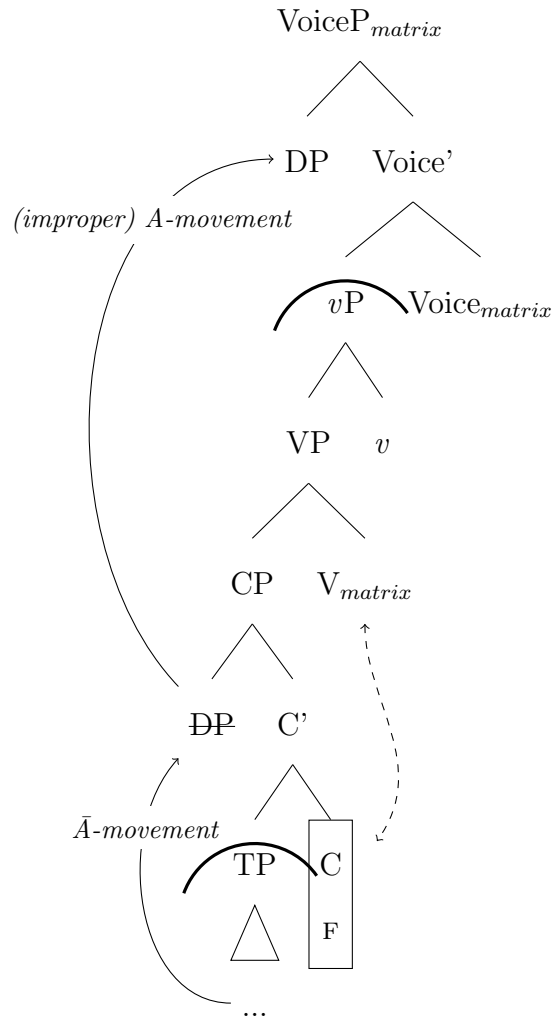
embedded Spec-CP is  $\bar{A}$ -movement. Thus, the A-movement that follows this  $\bar{A}$ -movement step in LOM results in improper A-movement. This is not the case with non-restructuring LOM. Both configurations are given below.

- (12) Proper A-movement from the embedded CP edge with non-restructuring LOM verbs:





- (13) Improper A-movement from the embedded CP edge with non-restructuring non-LOM verbs:



The rest of Chapter 4 is organized as follows. In Section 4.4, I present data on grammatical configurations with LOM verbs that do not involve LOM. The possible voice mismatches between the matrix and embedded verbs support the analysis that the infinitives in LOM configurations are not voice-dependent on the matrix domain. In Section 4.5, I present data on ungrammatical configurations with LOM verbs. In the first subsection, the embedded verbs are active-voiced while the embedding LOM verbs are passive-voiced. In these ungrammatical configurations, an embedded DP cannot undergo A-movement to the matrix subject position from the subject position of an embedded transitive verb or from the object position of an embedded

unaccusative verb. The system I propose does not predict these configurations to be ungrammatical since there is no PRO argument in the configuration. I leave this issue for future research. In the second subsection, the embedding LOM verb is in active voice and the embedded infinitival verb has to be in active voice unless it is a passive transitive verb with a PRO (theme) subject. I show that this restriction does not hold for configurations with nominalized infinitival complements, and propose a hypothesis that captures this contrast. In Section 4.6, I introduce data with multiple infinitival embeddings and illustrate how the availability of accusative case or LOM for an embedded object is as predicted by the proposal. These configurations support the analysis I propose. In Section 4.7, I briefly discuss the middle construction and the possibility of having a middle-like structure in the embedded domain of an LOM configuration. In Section 4.8, I summarize the implicit control relations observed with restructuring and non-restructuring LOM verbs. While the matrix and embedded implicit agents obligatorily co-refer in LOM configurations formed with restructuring LOM verbs, they can receive independent reference with non-restructuring LOM verbs. This is surprising given the data that I present, which show that the implicit agent of a restructuring infinitive gets disjoint reference when there is an embedded PRO (theme) subject in the configuration. I leave this puzzle for future work. Section 4.9 is the chapter summary.

## CHAPTER 2

# BACKGROUND ON LONG OBJECT MOVEMENT (LOM) AND RESTRUCTURING

In this chapter, I focus on three recent theories of LOM as restructuring and their predictions for long passives in Turkish. I begin by providing a brief summary of each approach in Section 2.1. The first theory I present is the mono-clausal analysis of restructuring constructions proposed by Cinque (2006), based on Italian data. This analysis is built on the hierarchy of functional heads put forward in Cinque (1999). The second theory is the verb cluster formation analysis proposed by Keine and Bhatt (2016) for German. This approach builds on the observation that the embedding restructuring verb and the embedded infinitival verb seem to form a compact unit in a subset of long passive structures. The infinitives in long passives are restructuring infinitives that lack a *v* (i.e., they are VPs) and a PRO subject. The third theory is a proposal by Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) in which the embedded Voice head of a restructuring infinitive is a special, deficient head:  $\text{Voice}_R$ . This deficient head  $\text{Voice}_R$  receives its voice and other features from the Voice head associated with the embedding restructuring verb.

In Section 2.2, I present long passive data in Turkish to show where the predictions of these theories fall short. Since LOM is equated with restructuring in these theories, the long passive data that I present include both classes of LOM verbs.<sup>1</sup> The data covers the following topics: possibilities of adverbial modification and negation of the

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<sup>1</sup>These studies appear to equate LOM and restructuring since they do not propose or mention another way of deriving LOM besides a mechanism of restructuring.

embedded verb, the co-occurrence of multiple restructuring verbs, the voice morphology on the embedded verb, the size of the embedded infinitive, de re and de dicto interpretations of the embedded object, and the implicit control relation between the two agents. Then, in Section 2.3, I summarize and conclude.

## 2.1 Theories of Restructuring

### 2.1.1 Restructuring as a Mono-Clausal Configuration

Cinque (1999) puts forward a universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections. The analysis claims that this hierarchy is reflected in the ordering of adverbs and affixes across languages, with each projection corresponding semantically to a functional head. A fragment of this fine-grained model is given in (14).

- (14) MoodP<sub>speech.act</sub> > MoodP<sub>evaluative</sub> > MoodP<sub>evidential</sub> > ModP<sub>epistemic</sub> > TP<sub>(past)</sub>  
 > TP<sub>(future)</sub> > MoodP<sub>irrealis</sub> > ModP<sub>alethic</sub> > AspP<sub>habitual</sub> > AspP<sub>repetitive(I)</sub>  
 > AspP<sub>frequentative(I)</sub> > ModP<sub>volitional</sub> > AspP<sub>celerative(I)</sub> > TP<sub>(anterior)</sub> >  
 AspP<sub>terminative</sub> > AspP<sub>continuative</sub> > AspP<sub>retrospective</sub> > AspP<sub>proximative</sub> >  
 AspP<sub>durative</sub> > AspP<sub>generic/progressive</sub> > AspP<sub>prospective</sub> > ModP<sub>obligation</sub> >  
 ModP<sub>permission/ability</sub> > AspP<sub>completive</sub> > VoiceP > AspP<sub>celerative(II)</sub> >  
 AspP<sub>repetitive(II)</sub> > AspP<sub>frequentative(II)</sub>

(Cinque, 2006: 12)

Cinque (2006) focuses on the syntax of restructuring configurations that involve clitic climbing and long object movement (‘long NP-movement’ in Cinque’s terminology) and proposes that the syntax of restructuring verbs in Italian also supports this model.<sup>2</sup> In this system, restructuring verbs correspond to functional heads in the hierarchy of clausal projections. Hence, restructuring configurations are not bi-clausal, as in (15a), but mono-clausal, as in (15b). In the bi-clausal representation

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<sup>2</sup>Cinque (2006) also makes changes on the model according to restructuring data.

in (15a), there is an embedded CP and the restructuring verb is inserted as a lexical verb. In the mono-clausal representation in (15b), there is no embedded CP and the restructuring verb is a functional head.

- (15) a. [CP ...[FP ...[VP  $V_{restructuring}$  [CP ...[FP ...[FP ...[VP V] ] ] ] ] ] ] ]  
 b. [CP ...[FP ...[FP  $V_{restructuring}$  [FP ...[VP V] ] ] ] ] ]

(Cinque, 2006: 12)

Cinque (2006) presents the following observations for Italian as evidence for the mono-clausal analysis of restructuring configurations. First, adverbs that occur only once in a simple clause cannot occur twice in a restructuring configuration. This is shown for *volere* ‘want’ in (16a-b) in a *si*-passive structure. In (16a), the embedded object *esperienze come queste* ‘experiences like these’, is in situ, while it has undergone long object movement in (16b), indicating a restructuring configuration. The two instances of the adverb *sempre* ‘always’ can modify the embedding and the embedded verbs separately in (16a), but not in (16b). Cinque (2006) argues this contrast is expected if the non-restructuring variant in (16a) is bi-clausal, while the restructuring variant in (16b) is mono-clausal.<sup>3</sup>

- (16) a. Si vorrebbe sempre aver sempre esperienze come queste.  
 one would.want always have always experiences like these  
 ‘One would always want to always have experiences like these.’  
 b. \*Esperienze come queste si vorrebbero sempre aver sempre.  
 experiences like these one would.want always have always  
 Int. ‘Experiences like these, one would always want to always have.’

(Cinque, 2006: 17, glosses added)

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<sup>3</sup>The verb *volere* ‘want’ has a lexical usage in addition to its restructuring, functional usage. This is not the case for all restructuring verbs. The verb *sembrare* ‘seem’ and motion verbs also have lexical usages, but Cinque (2006) uses only *volere* ‘want’ for the adverbial modification test.

Secondly, restructuring verbs appear in a rigid order when they co-occur in a sentence in Italian. For example, *volere* ‘want’ and *tendere* ‘tend’ are both restructuring verbs that allow clitic climbing. However, their ordering in the hierarchy is fixed: the former can be preceded and be embedded by the latter, but the opposite is not possible. This is shown in (17a-b), suggesting the fixed order  $\text{Asp}_{\text{predispositional}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{volitional}}$  between the two restructuring verbs.

- (17) a. Lo    tenderebbe a voler fare sempre lui.  
           he/it would.tend to want do   always he  
           Lit.‘He would tend to want to always do it he himself.’
- b. \*Lo   vorrebbe    tendere a fare sempre lui.  
           he/it would.want tend    to do   always he  
           Lit.‘He would want to tend to always do it he himself.’

(Cinque, 2006: 18, glosses added)

Cinque (2006) claims contrasts like this follow from the rigid order in the functional projection of clauses. Each restructuring verb has a designated slot as a functional head. It follows that a given restructuring verb can only embed a restructuring verb that occupies a position below it in the hierarchy.

The same logic applies to the account provided for long passives in Italian. Only a subset of restructuring verbs can be passivized and form a long passive structure. According to Cinque (2006) this is because the positions of these verbs are lower than the Voice head in the hierarchy. In this system, passivization raises a verb to the Voice head (either overtly or covertly) to pick up the passive morphology. Thus, among the class of restructuring verbs, only those below the Voice head, can be passivized. These are *finire* ‘finish’, *iniziare* ‘start’, *cominciare* ‘begin’, and motion verbs *mandare* ‘send’ and *passare* ‘pass’, as shown in (18a-d).

- (18) a. La casa fu finita di costruire il mese scorso.  
 the house was finished to build the month last  
 Lit. ‘The house was finished building the last month.’
- b. Quelle casa furono {iniziate / ?cominciate} a costruire negli anni  
 those houses were started / begun to build in years  
 ’20.  
 ’20s  
 Lit. ‘Those houses were started to build in the ’20s.’
- c. Sarete passati a prendere piú tardi.  
 you.will.be passed to fetch later  
 Lit. ‘You will be passed to fetch later.’
- d. Furono mandati a prendere a casa.  
 they.were sent to fetch at home  
 Lit. ‘They were sent to fetch at home.’

(Cinque, 2006: 68, glosses added)

To account for these facts, Cinque (2006) updates the model proposed in Cinque (1999) by adding  $\text{Asp}_{\text{completive}(II)}$  (for *finire*),  $\text{Asp}_{\text{inceptive}(II)}$  (for *iniziare/cominciare*) and the Andative head (for *mandare* and *passare*) below the Voice head, as in (19), in addition to  $\text{Asp}_{\text{inceptive}(I)}$  and  $\text{Asp}_{\text{completive}(I)}$  (among others) above the Voice head.

- (19) ...  $\text{Asp}_{\text{inceptive}(I)}$  > ...  $\text{Asp}_{\text{completive}(I)}$  > ... Voice > ...  $\text{Asp}_{\text{inceptive}(II)}$  >  
 ... Andative >  $\text{Asp}_{\text{completive}(II)}$

This addition enables the model to account for the passivization of the restructuring verbs in (18a-d), as well as covering the next observation. Among the group of restructuring verbs that can be passivized, *finire* ‘finish’, *iniziare* ‘start’, and *cominciare* ‘begin’ can be in active voice themselves and embed a passivized verb, while *passare* ‘pass’ and *mandare* ‘send’ cannot. This is shown in (20a-d). In (20a), the

restructuring verb is *finire* ‘finish’, while in (20b) it is *iniziare* ‘start’ or *cominciare* ‘begin’. While the restructuring verbs are in active voice, the embedded verbs *concedere* ‘grant’ and *infliggere* ‘inflict’ are in passive voice. Likewise, in (20c-d), the restructuring verbs *passare* ‘pass’ and *mandare* ‘send’ are in active voice, while the embedded verb *presente* ‘introduce’, same in both, is in passive voice. This configuration is grammatical with the restructuring verbs *finire* ‘finish’, *iniziare* ‘start’ and *cominciare* ‘begin’ in (20a-b), but it is ungrammatical with *passare* ‘pass’ and *mandare* ‘send’ in (20c-d).

- (20) a. Gli finirono di essere concessi prestiti.  
to.him finished to be granted loans  
Lit.‘To-him finished to be granted loans.’
- b. Gli {cominciarono / ?iniziarono} ad esser inflitte delle punizioni.  
to.him began / started to be inflicted by punishments  
Lit.‘To-him began to be inflicted punishments.’
- c. \*Gli passó ad esser presentato uno straniero.’  
to.him passed to be introduced a foreigner  
Lit.‘To-him passed to be introduced a foreigner.’
- d. \*Gli mandarono ad esser presentato uno straniero.  
to.him they.sent to be introduced a foreigner  
Lit.‘To-him they sent to be introduced a foreigner.’

(Cinque, 2006: 72, glosses added)

The system derives this contrast as follows. For a restructuring verb to be passivized, it needs to be inserted at a functional head position below the Voice head. For a restructuring verb to embed a passivized verb, by contrast, it needs to be inserted at a functional head position above the Voice head. This enables the embedded verb to raise to the Voice head, instead of the restructuring verb. There are  $\text{Asp}_{\text{completive}(I)}$



and  $Asp_{inceptive(I)}$  heads above the Voice head; these are the positions that *finire* ‘finish’ and *iniziare* ‘start’ or *cominciare* ‘begin’ occupy respectively when they are in active voice, embedding a passive verb like in (20a-b). The absence of another Andative head above the Voice head (in addition to the one below it) is the cause of ungrammaticality in (20c-d). The verbs *passare* ‘pass’ and *mandare* ‘send’ would occupy this position in active voice, embedding a passive verb.

Cinque also presents data on the group of restructuring verbs that cannot passivize. These verbs correspond to functional heads above the Voice head. As expected, they cannot passivize, but they can embed a passive verb. This is shown for two of these verbs, *volere* ‘want’ and *provare* ‘try’ in (21a-d), inserted at  $Mod_{volitional}$  and  $Asp_{conative}$ , respectively.<sup>4</sup>

- (21) a. \*Mi é stato voluto dare (a Gianni).  
to.me it was wanted give (by Gianni)  
Lit. ‘It was wanted to give to me (by Gianni).’
- b. \*Fu provato ad aggiustare (a Gianni).  
it.was tried to mend (by Gianni)  
Lit. ‘It was tried to mend (by Gianni).’
- c. Gianni gli voleva essere presentato.  
Gianni to.him wanted be introduced  
Lit. ‘Gianni to-him wanted to be introduced.’
- d. Gli provó ad esser presentato.  
to.him he.tried to be introduced  
Lit. ‘To-him (he) tried to be introduced.’

(Cinque, 2006: 66,71, glosses added)

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<sup>4</sup>The hierarchy of clausal functional projections proposed in Cinque (1999) does not include  $Asp_{conative}$ . In Cinque (2006) the model is updated to include this head as well. It is somewhere above the Voice head and below  $Mod_{volitional}$ , determined based on ordering restrictions with other Aspectual and Modal heads. The exact position is not important for the current discussion.

Overall, the position of a restructuring verb in the hierarchy of clausal functional projections determines whether it can be in passive voice or embed a passive verb. If there are two possible slots for the same verb, one below and one above the Voice head, it can either be passive and embed an active verb, or be active and embed a passive verb. Crucially, it is never the case that a restructuring verb is both itself passive and embeds a passive verb in the same structure. This is not possible since there is only one Voice head in the mono-clausal structure of restructuring configurations. I come back to this point, among others, when I present Turkish data in Section 2.2.

### 2.1.2 Restructuring as Verb Cluster Formation

Keine and Bhatt (2016) present an analysis of long passives in German based on the following observation: the embedded and the matrix verbs seem to form a compact unit when both of them are in situ and adjacent to each other. Then, the embedded domain is inaccessible for quantifier DPs, NPIs, negation, de dicto interpretation of a DP, and adverbial modification. Examples of the German long passive illustrating the last two conditions are given below. The auxiliary *wurden* ‘were’ in (22a) reflects the plurality of the DP *zwei gute Studenten* ‘two good students’ and the DP *dieser Knopf* ‘this button’ in (22b) is in nominative case. These indicate the configurations are long passives (i.e., restructuring). The DP *zwei gute Studenten* ‘two good students’ can only refer to two specific good students, being interpreted de re in (22a), whereas the adverb *fünfmal* ‘five times’ can only modify the matrix verb *vergessen* ‘forget’ in (22b).

- (22) a. Gestern wurden zwei gute Studenten zu finden versucht.  
 yesterday were two good students.NOM to find tried  
 ‘Yesterday it was tried to find two good students.’

[de re]

- b. Gestern wurde dieser Knopf fünfmal zu drücken vergessen.  
 yesterday was this button.NOM five.times to press forgotten  
 ‘Yesterday it was forgotten to press the button five times.’

[5 times(forget), \*5 times(press)]

(Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1458, 1460)

Both examples show that the embedded verbal domain is inaccessible. This effect is missing in the local passive (i.e., non-restructuring) counterparts of (22a-b), given in (23a-b). In (23a), the matrix auxiliary *wurde* ‘was’ does not reflect the plurality of the DP *zwei gute Studenten* ‘two good students’. In (23b), the DP *diesen Knopf* ‘this button’ is in accusative case. These indicate the structures are local passive (i.e., non-restructuring). In (23a), the de dicto interpretation for the DP *zwei gute Studenten* ‘two good students’ (i.e., any two good students) is available in addition to the de re interpretation (i.e., two specific people who are good students). The adverb *fünfmal* ‘five times’ in (23b) can only modify the embedded verb.

- (23) a. Gestern wurde zwei gute Studenten zu finden versucht.  
 yesterday was two good students.ACC to find tried  
 ‘Yesterday it was tried to find two good students.’

[de re/ de dicto]

- b. Gestern wurde diesen Knopf fünfmal zu drücken vergessen.  
 yesterday was this button.ACC five.times to press forgotten  
 ‘Yesterday it was forgotten to press the button five times.’

[\*5 times(forget), 5 times(press)]

(Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1458, 1460)

Both examples show that the embedded verbal domain is accessible. Similar to local passives, the compactness of the two verbs and inaccessibility of the embedded

verbal domain vanish when the embedded infinitive undergoes movement via topicalization, disrupting the adjacency of the two verbs. This is shown with a quantifier DP in (24a-b). In the long passive structure with the infinitival complement in situ in (24a), the dative DP *nur einem einziegen Studenten* ‘only (to) a single student’ takes only wide scope above the main verb. In other words, the sentence means that there is a single student to whom they forgot to introduce Fritz. This shifts to only embedded scope when the embedded infinitive undergoes remnant topicalization in (24b), a structure acceptable for only some speakers.

- (24) a. Erst gestern wieder wurde der Fritz nur einem einziegen  
 just yesterday again was the Fritz.NOM only a single  
 Studenten vorzustellen vergessen.  
 student.DAT to.introduce forgotten  
 ‘Just yesterday it was forgotten to introduce Fritz to only one student.’  
 [\*forget > only; only > forget]
- b. %[Nur einem einziegen Studenten t<sub>2</sub> vorzustellen]<sub>1</sub> wurde der  
 only a single student.DAT to.introduce was the  
 Fritz<sub>2</sub> erst gestern wieder t<sub>1</sub> vergessen.  
 Fritz.NOM just yesterday again forgotten.  
 ‘Just yesterday it was forgotten to introduce Fritz to only one student.’  
 [forget > only; \*only > forget]
- (Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1479)

Although movement of the embedded infinitive is possible, when the two verbs remain in situ, negation or a clausal phrase cannot surface in between them. Another contrast between long passives with the embedded infinitive in situ and it being moved via topicalization is observed in adverbial modification. The adverb *mit einem Spezialwerkzeug* ‘with a special tool’ can only modify the matrix verb when the infini-

tive is in situ, as in (25a), while it can modify the embedded verb when the infinitive is moved via topicalization, as in (25b).

- (25) a. #Erst gestern wieder wurde der Traktor mit einem  
just yesterday again was the tractor.NOM with a  
Spezialwerkzeug zu reparieren vergessen.  
special.tool to repair forgotten  
‘Just yesterday it was forgotten to repair the tractor with a special tool.’  
[#with a special tool (forget)]
- b. %[Mit einem Spezialwerkzeug t<sub>2</sub> zu reparieren]<sub>1</sub> wurde der Traktor<sub>2</sub>  
with a special.tool to repair was the tractor.NOM  
erst gestern wieder t<sub>1</sub> vergessen.  
just yesterday again forgotten  
‘Just yesterday it was forgotten to repair the tractor with a special tool.’  
[with a special tool (repair)]
- (Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1480)

In (25a), the infinitive is in situ, and the embedded verbal domain is inaccessible for adverbial modification. This effect is missing in (25b) where the embedded infinitive moves via topicalization. Similar contrasts are noted for NPI licensing and de dicto interpretation of embedded material. These are available in long passives when the embedded infinitive is moved via topicalization.

Based on these facts, Keine and Bhatt (2016) propose the following. The embedded infinitival complement in a long passive structure is a VP, lacking the little *v* layer for structural accusative case that is present in the embedded infinitive in a local passive structure. When the matrix and embedded verbs are adjacent in their in situ positions in a long passive configuration, they end up in the same spell-out domain as the complement of matrix *v*. Keine and Bhatt (2016) argue that this violates

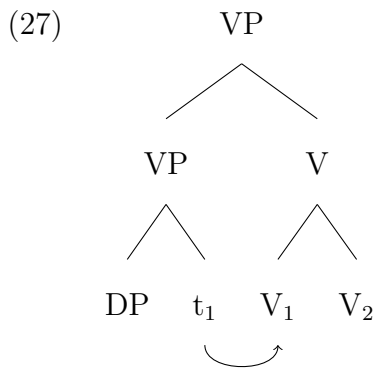
the distinctness requirement on syntactic structures (Richards, 2010), and propose a condition on head uniqueness, given below.

(26) **CONDITION ON HEAD UNIQUENESS**

No Spell-Out domain may contain more than one maximal head of the same type.

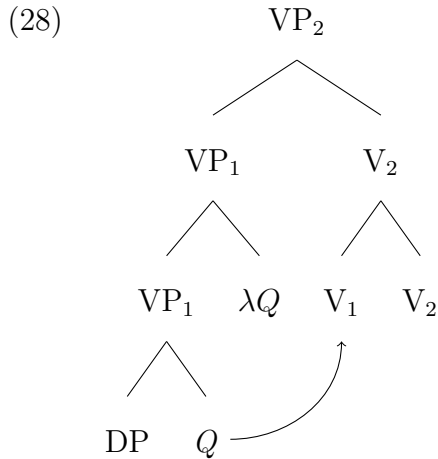
(Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1476)

In order not to violate (26), the embedded verb undergoes head movement and forms a cluster with the embedding verb via incorporation when the two occupy the same spell-out domain, as shown in (27).



(Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1465)

To semantically interpret the head movement of  $V_1$ , the lambda operator is placed into a position c-commanding the variable. This position is below the complex verb that is formed via verb cluster formation. This has the semantic effect that the complex verb is interpreted at the base position of  $V_1$ , as shown in (28).



(Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1466)

Semantic interpretation of the complex verb in the base position of the embedded verb (i.e., the position of the variable  $Q$ ) derives the inaccessibility of the embedded verbal domain for quantifier DPs, NPI licensing, negation, de dicto interpretation of an embedded DP, and adverbial modification. The denotation of the verb cluster is interpreted via Function Composition. The denotation of the complex verb formed with *vergessen* ‘forget’ and *zu drücken* ‘to press’, for example, is given in (29).<sup>5</sup>

$$(29) \quad \llbracket V \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{vergessen} \rrbracket \circ \llbracket \text{zu drücken} \rrbracket = \\ \lambda x \lambda e [\text{FORGET}(e) \wedge \text{THEME}(e) = \lambda e' [\text{PRESS}(e') \wedge \text{THEME}(e') = x]]$$

To summarize, a complex verb is formed only when the matrix and embedded verbs are in the same spell-out domain. The only environment in which they are in the same spell-out domain is if the infinitival complement is a VP (i.e., a restructuring infinitive) and it is in situ. This structure constitutes a subset of long passives. It is possible to topicalize the embedded infinitive as well. In such a configuration, the embedded and matrix verbs are not in the same spell-out domain since they are not

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<sup>5</sup>The individual denotations of the verbs are given as follows:

- i.  $\llbracket \text{vergessen} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle st \rangle} \lambda e_{\langle s \rangle} [\text{FORGET}(e) \wedge \text{THEME}(e) = P]$
- ii.  $\llbracket \text{zu drücken} \rrbracket = \lambda x_{\langle e \rangle} \lambda e_{\langle s \rangle} [\text{PRESS}(e) \wedge \text{THEME}(e) = x]$

adjacent. Then, there is no cluster formation. The embedded infinitive is a *vP* (i.e., a non-restructuring infinitive) in local passives. Hence, again the matrix and embedded verbs are not in the same spell-out domain, not resulting in any cluster formation.

The effects of cluster formation are observed in the inaccessibility of the embedded verbal domain for quantifier DPs, NPI licensing, negation, *de dicto* interpretation of a DP, and adverbial modification. These effects are present only in long passives in which the embedded infinitive is *in situ*, and thus the matrix and embedded verbs are adjacent, forming a cluster. These effects are absent in long passives in which the embedded infinitive is topicalized and in local passives. In those two configurations, the embedded and the matrix verbs are not in the same spell-out domain, not resulting in any cluster formation.

In Section 2.2, I come back to the predictions of this model when I present Turkish data on long passives. The effects observed in German long passives seem to be missing in Turkish whether the matrix and embedded verbs are adjacent or not. Also, in Keine and Bhatt's (2016) system, the infinitive in a long passive has a reduced-size; it is a VP. The data that I present show that infinitives in long passives in Turkish, even the ones I analyze as restructuring, are larger than VPs.

### 2.1.3 Restructuring as Deficient Voice

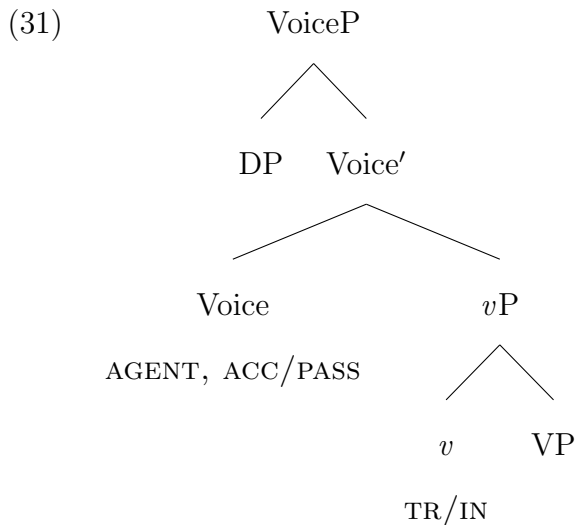
Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) present data from languages that exhibit voice morphology on the embedded verb in a restructuring configuration, in addition to those like German that have a fixed form for the infinitive. An example for the first kind is given in (30a-b) from Chamorro (Chung, 2004). The prefix *ma-* on the embedded verb in (30a) marks the verb as nonplural (NPL), realis (RL), intransitive (IN), and passive (PASS), while *mu-* in (30b) marks the embedded verb as transitive (TR) and infinitival (INF).



- (30) a. Pära tafan-ma-chägi ma-nafanätuk ni lalahi siha.  
 FUT 1PL.IR.IN-PASS-try NPL.RL.IN.PASS-hide OBL men PL  
 Lit. ‘We will be tried to be hidden by the men.
- b. \*Pära tafan-ma-chägi mu-nafanätuk ni lalahi siha.  
 FUT 1PL.IR.IN-PASS-try INF.TR-hide OBL men PL  
 Lit. ‘We will be tried to hide by the men.

(Chung, 2004: 204)

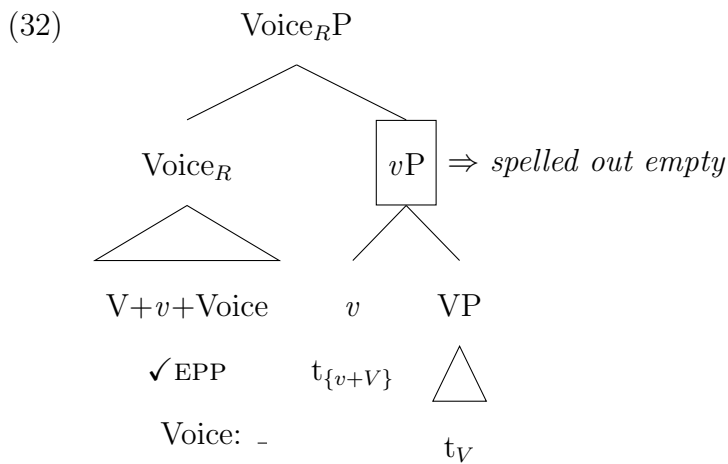
The proposal in Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) aims to capture the pattern in languages like Chamorro as well as German. Adopting a split Voice domain, the analysis assumes that Voice introduces the agent argument and assigns accusative case or it encodes passive, while the verbalizer *v* marks transitivity. This is illustrated in a simplified fashion in (31) below.



In addition to the split voice domain, a reverse Agree mechanism (Wurmbrand, 2014) based on feature valuation for feature sharing (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007) is adopted. Most importantly, the Voice head of a restructuring infinitive is a special, deficient head:  $\text{Voice}_R$ . It does not introduce an agent argument and lacks accusative case and voice features.  $\text{Voice}_R$  gets valued for its voice and other features by the Voice head associated with the embedding verb, which results in direct voice matching

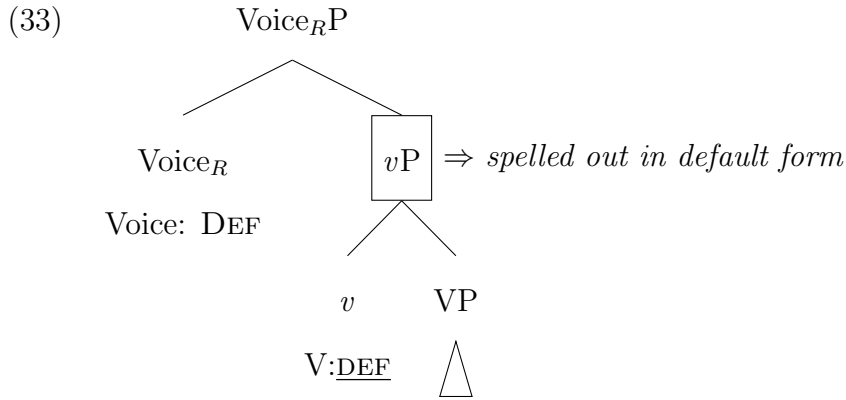
between the two verbs. VoiceP constitutes a phase domain, which makes the little  $v$ P below it a spell-out domain. The difference in the form of the infinitive across languages comes from different timings of spelling out the little  $v$ P in the derivation.

In voice matching languages like Chamorro,  $\text{Voice}_R$  has an EPP feature that causes the  $V$ - $v$  complex to incorporate into  $\text{Voice}_R$ . This delays the spell-out of the embedded verb until the next spell-out domain since the embedded  $v$ P gets spelled out empty. This is shown in (32).



In the next spell-out domain, the  $\text{Voice}_R$  is valued as passive for its voice feature by the embedding  $\text{Voice}$  head and the embedded Verb is spelled out in its passive voice form.

In default voice languages like German, on the other hand,  $\text{Voice}_R$  is inserted with a default voice feature instead of EPP. This default voice feature values the little  $v$  below it with default voice instead of triggering movement. This prevents delaying the spell-out of the  $v$ P, and hence the spell-out of the verb. In this configuration, when the embedded  $v$ P is spelled out, the verb gets spelled out in its default form in the same spell-out domain, as shown in (33).



In the next spell-out domain, the *Voice<sub>R</sub>* gets valued as passive for its voice feature by the embedding Voice head. However, this does not change the default form of the embedded verb as it is already spelled out in the first cycle.

In both derivations, the embedded *vP* is spelled out in the first cycle before the embedding Voice head values the embedded *Voice<sub>R</sub>* as passive. The difference between a voice matching language and a default voice language is that the spell-out in the first cycle involves the embedded verb only in default voice languages. This is derived according to what feature *Voice<sub>R</sub>* bears. In a voice matching language like Chamorro, *Voice<sub>R</sub>* has an EPP feature that triggers V-to-*v*-to-Voice incorporation, which vacates the VP and *vP* when *vP* is spelled-out. In default voice languages like German, on the other hand, *Voice<sub>R</sub>* has a default voice feature that blocks this incorporation. As a result, the spell-out of the *vP* involves the lexical verb.

A language might also exhibit both strategies. For example, both forms of restructuring are available in Norwegian (Lødrup, 2014). It is an ‘optional incorporation language.’ Both the default voice strategy, as in (34a), and the voice matching strategy, as in (34b), are attested. The infinitive is in default form in (34a) and in passive form in (34b).

- (34) a. Slike ting forsøkes ofte gjøre.  
 such things try.PRES.PASS often do.INF  
 ‘One often tries to do such things.’

(Lødrup, 2014: 371)

- b. Slike ting forsøkes ofte å gjøres  
 such things try.PRES.PASS often to do.INF.PASS  
 ‘One often tries to do such things.’

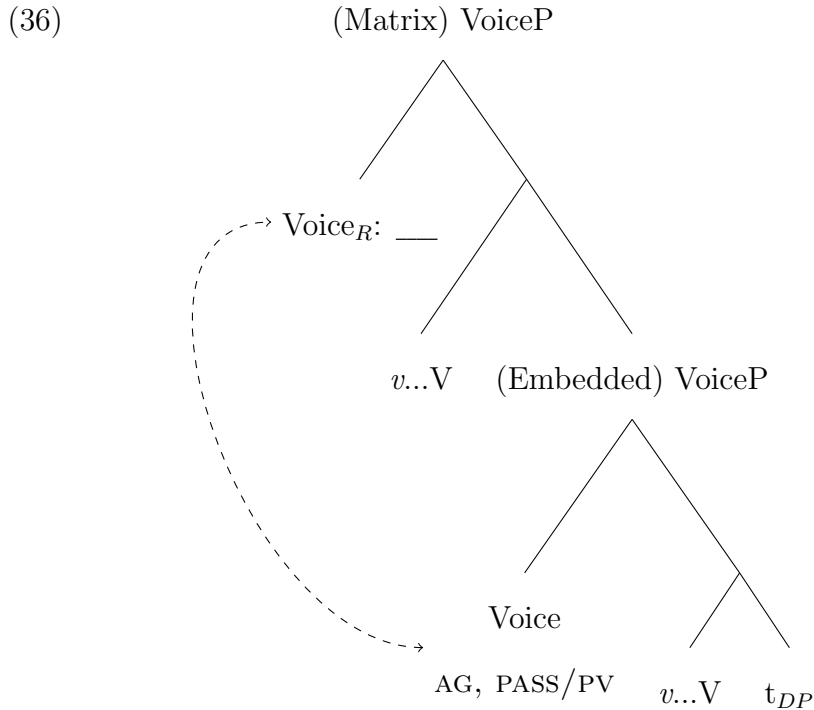
(Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017: 21)

Paul et al. (2021) propose that reverse voice restructuring is also possible. The result of such configurations is Crossed Control, observed for example in Indonesian, Malay and related Austronesian languages. An example of this in Indonesian is given below.

- (35) Tujuh anggota komplotan berhasil di-ringkus polisi.  
 seven member gang succeed PASS-catch police  
 i. ‘Seven members of the gang succeeded in being caught by the police.’  
 ii. ‘The police succeeded in catching seven members of the gang.’

(Sneddon, 1996: 271)

The sentence in (35), which is ambiguous between the two readings shown, involves LOM of the embedded object *tujuh anggota komplotan* ‘seven member gang’ to the matrix subject position. Of interest here is the second reading, which exhibits crossed control. The DP *polisi* ‘police’ appears in the embedded clause, but controls the agent of both the matrix and embedded predicates. Paul et al. (2021) propose that in these constructions the matrix Voice head is the deficient one (i.e., Voice<sub>R</sub>). The embedded Voice head has the agent and voice features, which are shared with the matrix Voice<sub>R</sub>, as sketched in (36).



This analysis is built on the one proposed in Berger (2019), according to which only the agent feature is shared in reverse voice restructuring. In this system, both the voice and the agent features are shared.

Accordingly, reverse voice restructuring is always voice matching, never default voice. This is because the default voice morphology on the matrix verb would be possible only if the matrix VP were spelled out before the matrix VoiceP. However, the spell-out of the matrix VP would also spell out the embedded Voice. As a result, the features of the embedded Voice would not be accessible to the matrix Voice. Thus, the system predicts default voice to be unavailable in reverse voice restructuring. The matrix Voice always matches the embedded Voice in voice feature (in addition to the agent feature). However, this is reflected on the matrix predicate only if it can take overt voice morphology. For example, *coba* ‘try’ is a verb in Indonesian that can take overt voice morphology, and it matches the embedded one, as shown in (37).

- (37) Dia di-coba di-bunuh (oleh) teman-nya.  
 3.SG PASS-try PASS-kill by friend-3.SG  
 ‘His friend(s) tried to kill him.’

(Arka, 2012: 29)

To sum up, in this system a restructuring infinitive has a deficient Voice head: *Voice<sub>R</sub>*. Also, a restructuring infinitive is reduced in size; it is not a full CP. There could be other functional layers above VoiceP (Wurmbrand and Shimamura 2017, fn.1), although usually restructuring in LOM with Tense Modality Aspect domain is very difficult (Wurmbrand, p.c.). In determining what strategy a given language uses for restructuring, Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) look at only long passive (i.e., LOM) data. This ensures that the infinitive in the configuration is a restructuring infinitive since usually restructuring verbs can also select a non-restructuring infinitive. However, there are LOM verbs in Turkish that always select a case-dependent restructuring infinitive. The infinitival complements of these verbs do not depend on the matrix Voice for their voice or implicit agent features. I come back to these points in the next section when I present data on Turkish long passives.

## 2.2 Long Passives in Turkish

In this section I present Turkish long passive (i.e., LOM) data testing the predictions of each theory presented in the previous section. I focus on the following environments: possibilities of adverbial modification and negation of the embedded verb, the co-occurrence of multiple restructuring verbs, the voice morphology on the embedded verb, the size of the embedded infinitive, *de re* and *de dicto* interpretations of the embedded object DP, and the implicit control relation between the two agents. Each subsection focuses on one environment.

### 2.2.1 Adverbial Modification

For Italian, Cinque (2006) claims that an adverb that cannot be used twice in a simple mono-clausal sentence, cannot be used twice in a restructuring configuration either. This is illustrated with the adverb *sempre* ‘always’ and the restructuring verb *volere* ‘want’, in (16b) repeated here in (38).

- (38) \*Esperienze come queste si vorrebbero sempre aver sempre.  
experiences like these one would.want always have always  
Int. ‘Experiences like these, one would always want to always have.’

(Cinque, 2006: 17, glosses added)

In Turkish long passives, in contrast, an adverb that cannot be used twice in a simple mono-clausal sentence, can be used twice. For example, the adverb *her zaman* ‘always’ can occur only once in a simple mono-clausal sentence, as in (39).

- (39) Her zaman biz böyle güzel yemekler (\*her zaman) ye-r-iz.  
always we.NOM like.this nice meals (always) eat-AOR-1PL  
‘We always eat nice meals like this (\*always).’

In a long passive structure, however, *her zaman* ‘always’ can be used twice. As shown in (40), separate instances of *her zaman* ‘always’ modifies the embedded verb *ye-* ‘eat’ and the embedding restructuring verb *iste-* ‘want’.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Instead of using *her zaman* ‘always’ twice, using a synonymous adverb such as *sürekli* ‘all the time’ and *her zaman* ‘always’ together improves the acceptability of (40).

- (40) Context: A low-income family goes to a nice restaurant and they have a really nice dinner. This is for a special occasion and it is not something they can afford doing all the time. However, they always wish that they could eat nice food not just on special occasions but all the time.

Her zaman böyle güzel yemekler<sub>i</sub> [her zaman t<sub>i</sub> ye-n-mek]  
 always like.this nice meals.NOM always eat-PASS-INF  
 iste-n-ir.  
 want-PASS-AOR

Lit. ‘Nice meals like this are always wanted to be always eaten.’

[always (want), always (eat)]

Similarly, a manner adverb such as ‘*hızlıca*’ *quickly* can appear only once in a simple mono-clausal sentence, as shown in (41).

- (41) Öğrenciler hızlıca bedava pizza-yı (\*hızlıca) ye-di-ler.  
 students.NOM quickly free pizza-ACC (quickly) eat-PST-3PL  
 ‘The students quickly ate the free pizza (\*quickly).’

In a long passive structure, in contrast, *hızlıca* ‘quickly’ can be used twice. As shown in (42), separate instances of *hızlıca* ‘quickly’ modifies the embedded verb *ye-* ‘eat’ and the embedding restructuring verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Similar to (40), instead of using *hızlıca* ‘quickly’ twice, using a synonymous adverb such as *çabucak* ‘in no time’ and *hızlıca* ‘quickly’ together improves the acceptability of (42).



- (42) Context: A group of students order some pizza for a party. When the order is delivered, they realize there is one extra pizza. Discussing very briefly whether to return the free pizza, they quickly make a decision. Fearing the pizza-guy might come back to take it, they decide they should eat it quickly.

Hızlıca bedava pizza<sub>i</sub> [hızlıca t<sub>i</sub> ye-n-me-ye] karar ver-il-di.  
 quickly free pizza.NOM quickly eat-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Quickly the free pizza was decided to be eaten quickly.’

[quickly (decide), quickly (eat)]

These data are not predicted to be grammatical by Cinque’s (2006) mono-clausal, functional restructuring system. The adverbs *her zaman* ‘always’ and *hızlıca* ‘quickly’ can occur only once in the mono-clausal sentences in (39) and (41). However, using them twice in the LOM configurations in (40) and (42) does not result in ungrammaticality. This suggests that the restructuring long passive configurations are not mono-clausal in Turkish.

Although they propose a bi-clausal, not a mono-clausal system, Keine and Bhatt (2016) make a similar prediction about adverbial modification. They do not use the same adverb twice, but they show that an adverb such as *fünfmal* ‘five times’ can only modify the matrix verb in German long passives when the two verbs are in situ, forming a cluster. This is given in (22b) before and repeated in (43) here.

- (43) Gestern wurde dieser Knopf fünfmal zu drücken vergessen.  
 yesterday was this button.NOM five.times to press forgotten  
 ‘Yesterday it was forgotten to press the button five times.’

[5 times(forget), \*5 times(press)]

(Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1460)

The embedded verb becomes accessible for adverbial modification if the infinitive moves via topicalization. The contrast is illustrated with the adverb *mit einem Spezialwerkzeug* ‘with a special tool’, given in (25) before and repeated in (44) here.

- (44) a. #Erst gestern wieder wurde der Traktor mit einem  
just yesterday again was the tractor.NOM with a  
Spezialwerkzeug zu reparieren vergessen.  
special.tool to repair forgotten  
‘Just yesterday it was forgotten to repair the tractor with a special tool.’  
[#with a special tool (forget)]
- b. %[Mit einem Spezialwerkzeug t<sub>2</sub> zu reparieren]<sub>1</sub> wurde der Traktor<sub>2</sub>  
with a special.tool to repair was the tractor.NOM  
erst gestern wieder t<sub>1</sub> vergessen.  
just yesterday again forgotten  
‘Just yesterday it was forgotten to repair the tractor with a special tool.’  
[with a special tool (repair)]
- (Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1480)

This effect is again not observed in long passives in Turkish. Even when the infinitive is in situ, the embedded verb can be modified separately from the embedding verb. The adverb *beş kere* ‘five times’ can modify either verb when it surfaces preceding both verbs and following the subject, as in (45a-b).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>The sentences in (45a) and (45b) are string-wise the same. In between the subject and the embedded verb, the adverb might surface inside the infinitive or in the matrix clause. Because its surface position is ambiguous, both readings are possible. The square brackets indicate the domain of the embedded infinitive. Placing the adverb right before the the matrix verb would make the matrix reading unambiguous.

- (45) a. Context: There is an old car that needs painting. Because the car is very old, for the paint to look nice, it needs to be applied five times. The mechanic attempted painting the car in this fashion once but something came up and the paint job was cancelled.

Bu araba<sub>i</sub> [beş kere t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 this car.NOM five time paint-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This car was tried to be painted five times.’

[5 times(paint)]

- b. Context: There is an old car that needs painting. The mechanic attempted painting the car on five separate occasions. Each time something came up and the paint job was cancelled.

Bu araba<sub>i</sub> beş kere [t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 this car.NOM five time paint-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This car was tried to be painted five times.’

[5 times(try)]

It is also possible to use two separate adverbs to modify each verb. As shown in (46a-b), *iki kere* ‘twice’ can modify the embedded verb while *üç kere* ‘three times’ modifies the embedding verb.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Similar to (40) and (42), instead of using *kere* ‘time’ twice, using a synonymous word such as *kez* ‘time’ and *kere* ‘time’ together improves the acceptability of (46). Also, moving the adverb *üç kere* ‘three times’ immediately before the matrix verb makes the sentence sound more natural, but this would disrupt the adjacency of the matrix and embedded verbs. Adjacency of the two verbs is a necessary condition for cluster formation in Keine and Bhatt (2016), so the adverb should not be placed there while showing that there is no cluster formation in Turkish long passives.

- (46) Context: There is an old car that needs painting. Because the car is very old, for the paint to look nice, it needs to be applied twice. The mechanic attempted painting the car in this fashion on three separate occasions. Each time something came up and the paint job was cancelled.

Üç kere bu araba<sub>i</sub> [iki kere t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 three time this car.NOM two time paint-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Three times, this car was tried to be painted twice.’

[3 times(try), twice(paint)]

Lastly, the adverb *özel bir aletle* ‘with a special tool’ can modify the embedded verb on its own as well. This is shown in (47) with the in-situ embedded verb *boya-* ‘paint’, and the embedding verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’.

- (47) Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> özel bir aletle t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-ma-ya karar ver-il-di.  
 this old car.NOM special a tool.with paint-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘This old car was decided to be painted with a special tool.’

[with a special tool(paint ), #with a special tool(decide)]

The sentence in (47) would be acceptable with *çalış-* ‘try’ as the embedding verb as well. The embedding verb is *karar ver-* ‘decide’ since the result would be semantically odd if *özel bir aletle* ‘with a special tool’ modified *karar ver-* ‘decide’ as opposed to *çalış-* ‘try’. Since the embedded verb is accessible for adverbial modification, the sentence is not odd. Overall, the adverbial modification restrictions shown for German long passives in which the infinitive is in situ do not hold in long passives in Turkish.

Lastly, Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) do not present any adverbial modification data but the embedded infinitives in long passives might involve other functional layers above the VoiceP headed by Voice<sub>R</sub>.<sup>10</sup> The infinitive is not a full CP and it

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<sup>10</sup>This is stated in footnote 1 in the paper.

having elements of the Tense Modality Aspect domain is not very likely (Wurmbrand, p.c.), but this possibility is not crossed out all together. Hence, the prediction would be that it is possible for restructuring infinitives to host an adverb that would target a layer higher than VoiceP, but it is not very likely.

In Turkish, with a non-restructuring LOM verb, the embedding and the embedded verbs can be modified by different time adverbs. As shown in (48), the embedded verb can be modified by a future-oriented adverb such as *gelecek haftasonu* ‘next weekend’.<sup>11</sup>

- (48) Context: There was a meeting in the car repair shop today. In the meeting, the schedule for the next couple of weeks was discussed. Among the decisions made were when to paint which car.

Bugün bu araba<sub>i</sub> [gelecek haftasonu t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-ma-ya]  
 today this car.NOM next weekend paint-PASS-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-il-di.  
 decide-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Today this car was decided to be painted next weekend.’

[next weekend(paint), today(decide)]

Overall, the possibility and kind of adverbial modification available in long passives in Turkish is surprising for all three theories on LOM as restructuring presented in this chapter. This is summarized in Table 2.1 below.

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<sup>11</sup>Two different time adverbs are not possible with *çalış-* ‘try’ and the verbs in the same group, which is not surprising for Wurmbrand and Shimamura’s (2017) analysis.

**Table 2.1.** Predictions for adverbial modification vs. Turkish data

<b>Theory</b>	<b>Prediction</b>	<b>Turkish</b>
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006)	the same adverb cannot be used twice	possible
Cluster formation analysis (Keine and Bhatt, 2016)	the embedded verb cannot be modified separately unless topicalized	possible
Deficient VoiceR analysis (Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017)	two different time adverbs are not likely to co-occur	possible

### 2.2.2 Embedded Negation

Cinque (2006) shows that negation and clitic climbing (i.e., restructuring) can co-occur only with some restructuring verbs in Italian. The contrast between different restructuring verbs, in allowing negation and clitic climbing at the same time, is shown in (49a-d). While the combination of negation and clitic climbing is not possible with the restructuring verbs *smettere* ‘stop’ in (49a) and *volere* ‘want’ in (49b), it is possible with *sembrare* ‘seem’ in (49c) and *dovrebbe* ‘should’ in (49d).

- (49) a. \*Gianni lo smise di non mangiare (piú).  
           Gianni it stopped to not eat (more)  
           Lit. ‘Gianni it stopped not eating (any longer).’
- b. \*Gianni li vuole non vedere.  
           Gianni them he.wants not see  
           Lit. ‘Gianni them wants not to see.’
- c. Lo sembra non apprezzare affatto.  
           it he.seems not appreciate at.all  
           Lit. ‘(He) it seems not to appreciate at all.’
- d. Per stare meglio, la dovresti non rivedere piú.  
           to feel better her you.should not see more  
           Lit. ‘To feel better, her (you) should not see any longer.’

(Cinque, 2006: 43, glosses added)

Based on the mono-clausal analysis of restructuring configurations, Cinque (2006) attributes this contrast to the position of the restructuring verb with respect to the canonical position of negation in Italian. That is, the canonical position of sentential negation in Italian is Mood<sub>evidential</sub>, and the group of restructuring verbs that allow negation (to follow them) are higher on the clausal projection of functional heads. On the other hand, the group of restructuring verbs that do not allow negation (to follow them) are lower than this functional projection.

Keine and Bhatt (2016) present a different restriction on embedded negation. They show that in German long passives, negation cannot surface in between the two verbs, as in (50a) but it can precede both verbs, as in (50b).

- (50) a. Gestern wurde der Traktor zu reparieren (\*nicht) versucht.  
yesterday was the tractor.NOM to repair (\*not) tried  
‘Yesterday it was (\*not) tried to repair the tractor.’
- b. 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’

(Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1449, 1461)

The configuration in (50a) is ungrammatical because the two verbs form a cluster when they stay in situ and end up in the same spell-out domain, making it impossible for *nicht* ‘not’ to surface in between them. As in (50b), *nicht* ‘not’ can precede the embedded verb. However, it ends up negating the cluster that the two verbs form, not the embedded verb alone. Keine and Bhatt (2016) claim that the embedded verb is inaccessible for negation, just like it is for adverbial modification, because a cluster is formed. In contrast, negation can surface in between the two verbs in the local

passive, where no cluster formation takes place. Likewise, negating the embedded verb alone is possible in the local passive.<sup>12</sup>

Lastly, Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) do not provide data on negation or state a prediction. However, Wurmbrand (2001) presents negation data on German long passives, similar to (50), given in (51).

- (51) weil der Kuchen nicht zu essen versucht wurde  
since the cake.NOM not to eat tried was  
'since they didn't try to eat the cake'

(Wurmbrand, 2001: 118)

In (51) again, *nicht* 'not' preceding the embedded infinitive ends up negating the matrix verb. Wurmbrand (2001) attributes this to the reduced size of the embedded infinitive. Since it is a VP, it lacks a Tense layer that would license negation. The Tense layer is not openly argued to be absent in restructuring infinitives in the analysis of Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017). However, presence of a projection of the Tense Modality Aspect domain usually makes voice restructuring very difficult (Wurmbrand, p.c.). Thus, I conclude that the Deficient Voice<sub>R</sub> analysis would predict embedded negation to be possible, but not very likely.

In contrast to these predictions, embedded negation is available in long passives in Turkish. The embedded verb can be negated on its own, regardless of which LOM verb is embedding it. This is shown with a restructuring LOM verb in (52a) and two non-restructuring LOM verbs in (52b-c), where the embedded verb bears the negation morpheme -MA and the result is embedded negation.

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<sup>12</sup>Data on negation with a topicalized infinitive is not provided in Keine and Bhatt (2016).



- (52) a. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 this old car.NOM sell-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was tried not to be sold.’  
 [not sell, \*not try]
- b. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 this old car.NOM sell-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was decided not to be sold.’  
 [not sell, \*not decide]
- c. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-mak] iste-n-di.  
 this old car.NOM sell-PASS-NEG-INF want-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was wanted not to be sold.’  
 [not sell, \*not want]

Unlike in Italian, embedded negation is possible with all of the LOM verbs in Turkish.<sup>13</sup> In contrast to German, negation that looks like it is in the embedded infinitive does not end up negating the matrix verb; it is the embedded verb that is negated.

Not surprisingly, the embedding LOM verb can be negated as well. When both verbs are negated, the result is double negation, as in (53).

- (53) a. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-ma-dı.  
 this old car.NOM sell-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT try-PASS-NEG-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was not tried not to be sold.’  
 [not sell, not try]

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<sup>13</sup>As introduced in Chapter 1, the other LOM verbs are: *başla-* ‘start’, *çabala-* ‘make an effort’, *devam et-* ‘continue’, *kalkış-* ‘attempt’, and *uğraş-* ‘strive’. Embedded negation is possible with all of them when they form a long passive.

- b. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ma-ya] karar ver-il-me-di.  
 this old car.NOM sell-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT decide-PASS-NEG-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was not decided not to be sold.’  
 [not sell, not decide]
- c. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-mak] iste-n-me-di.  
 this old car.NOM sell-PASS-NEG-INF want-PASS-NEG-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was not wanted not to be sold.’  
 [not sell, not want]

In addition, either verb when negated can license an NPI in its domain. For example, *asla* ‘ever’ is an NPI that requires clause-mate negation in Turkish. This is shown with a simple mono-clausal sentence in (54).

- (54) Bu eski araba asla sat-ıl-\*(ma)-yacak.  
 this old car.NOM ever sell-PASS-NEG-FUT  
 ‘This old car will \*(not) ever be sold.’

In long passives, *asla* ‘ever’ modifies the verb that bears negation, and thus can license *asla* ‘ever’. This is shown in (55a-c) for embedded negation.

- (55) a. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [asla t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 this old car.NOM ever sell-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was tried not to be sold ever.’  
 [not ever sell, \*ever try]
- b. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [asla t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 this old car.NOM ever sell-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was decided not to be sold ever.’  
 [not ever sell, \*ever decide]

- c. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [asla t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-mak] iste-n-di.  
 this old car.NOM ever sell-PASS-NEG-INF want-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was wanted not to be sold ever.’  
 [not ever sell, \*ever want]

Likewise, when the embedding verb is negated, *asla* ‘ever’ modifies the embedding verb, not the embedded one. This is illustrated in (56a-c).

- (56) a. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> asla [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-ma-di.  
 this old car.NOM ever sell-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-NEG-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was not ever tried not to be sold.’  
 [\*ever sell, not ever try]
- b. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> asla [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] karar ver-il-me-di.  
 this old car.NOM ever sell-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-NEG-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was not ever decided to be sold.’  
 [\*ever sell, not ever decide]
- c. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> asla [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-mak] iste-n-me-di.  
 this old car.NOM ever sell-PASS-INF want-PASS-NEG-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was not ever wanted to be sold.’  
 [\*ever sell, not ever want]

Overall, the embedded and embedding verbs can be negated independently of each other in long passives in Turkish. Unlike in Italian or German, there is no restriction on embedded negation. This is surprising especially for Cinque (2006) and Keine and Bhatt (2016). The following table summarizes the predictions of the three theories and Turkish data.

**Table 2.2.** Predictions for embedded negation vs. Turkish data

Theory	Prediction	Turkish
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006)	possible with restr. verbs higher than negation	possible with all
Cluster formation analysis (Keine and Bhatt, 2016)	not possible	possible
Deficient VoiceR analysis (Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017)	not likely but possible	possible

### 2.2.3 Co-Occurrence of Multiple Restructuring Verbs

In Italian, restructuring verbs cannot co-occur freely. Cinque (2006) illustrates that there is a rigid order between restructuring verbs when they occur in the same sentence. For example, when the restructuring verbs *volere* ‘want’ and *tendere* ‘tend’ are in the same sentence, *tendere* ‘tend’ can precede and embed *volere* ‘want’, but not vice versa. This is given in (17) and repeated here in (57a-b).

- (57) a. Lo tenderebbe a voler fare sempre lui.  
           he/it would.tend to want do always he  
           Lit.‘He would tend to want to always do it he himself.’
- b. \*Lo vorrebbe tendere a fare sempre lui.  
           he/it would.want tend to do always he  
           Lit.‘He would want to tend to always do it he himself.’

(Cinque, 2006: 18, glosses added)

Cinque (2006) claims this contrast is due to the fixed ordering between the clausal functional projections. At  $Asp_{predispositional}$ , *tendere* ‘tend’ is inserted as a functional head, and *volere* ‘want’ occupies  $Mod_{volitional}$ . In the hierarchy of clausal functional projections, the ordering between these verbs is  $Asp_{predispositional} > Mod_{volitional}$ . Thus, *tendere* ‘tend’ can precede and embed *volere* ‘want’, but not vice versa. Cinque (2006) presents similar contrasts between some other restructuring verbs and concludes that restructuring verbs appear in a rigid order because they are functional heads in the hierarchy of clausal functional projections.

Neither Keine and Bhatt (2016) nor Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) presents data on configurations with multiple restructuring verbs. Bhatt (p.c.) states cluster formation could in principle apply more than once and Keine and Bhatt (2016) would not predict long passives with multiple restructuring verbs to be ungrammatical. Wurmbrand (2004) shows there is no ordering restrictions between restructuring verbs in German in non-restructuring contexts. However, it is mentioned in a footnote that long passives (i.e., LOM) with multiple restructuring verbs are not grammatical in German.<sup>14</sup> This is shown in (58a-b), for *versuchen* ‘try’ and *beginnen* ‘begin’; regardless of which one embeds the other, the long passive structure is ungrammatical.

- (58) a. \*Der Turm            wurde zu reparieren zu beginnen versucht.  
           the tower.NOM was    to repair        to begin        tried  
           Int. ‘They tried to begin to repair the tower.’
- b. \*Der Turm            wurde zu reparieren zu versuchen begonnen.  
           the tower.NOM was    to repair        to try            begun  
           Int. ‘They began to try to repair the tower.’

(Wurmbrand, 2004: 1003)

Wurmbrand (2004) suggests the ungrammaticality of (58a-b) might be because the embedded object *der Turm* ‘the tower’ undergoes LOM across multiple phases. Accordingly, restructuring infinitives are phases (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand, 2003; Wurmbrand, 2003) and it is harder for the object in a long passive to skip more than one of them.

Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) analyze long passives in German in addition to other languages. Given the ungrammaticality of (58a-b), it is plausible to deduce

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<sup>14</sup>If Keine and Bhatt (2016) predicts applying cluster formation more than once to be possible, there needs to be a mechanism in place to block this in German.

that Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) would probably predict long passives with multiple restructuring verbs to be ungrammatical.<sup>15</sup>

As for Turkish, long passives can involve multiple restructuring LOM or non-restructuring LOM verbs, with no restriction on their ordering. This is shown in (59a-f) with the restructuring LOM verbs *çalış-* ‘try’ and *başla-* ‘start’, and the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’.

- (59) a. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] karar ver-il-me-ye]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-INF-DAT  
*çalış-ıl-dı(-lar)*.  
 try-PASS-PST(-3PL)  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were tried to be decided to be sold.’  
 [try > decide]
- b. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-ma-ya]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-INF-DAT  
*karar ver-il-di(-ler)*.  
 decide-PASS-PST(-3PL)  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were decided to be tried to be sold.’  
 [decide > try]
- c. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] başla-n-ma-ya]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT start-PASS-INF-DAT  
*çalış-ıl-dı(-lar)*.  
 try-PASS-PST(-3PL)  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were tried to be started to be sold.’  
 [try > start]

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<sup>15</sup>Alternatively, they would need to come up with a German-specific reason why long passives with multiple restructuring verbs are not well-formed.

- d. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-ma-ya]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-INF-DAT  
 başla-n-dı(-lar).  
 start-PASS-PST(-3PL)  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were started to be tried to be sold.’  
 [start > try]
- e. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] başla-n-ma-ya]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT start-PASS-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-il-di(-ler).  
 decide-PASS-PST(-3PL)  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were decided to be started to be painted.’  
 [decide > start]
- f. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] karar ver-il-me-ye]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-INF-DAT  
 başla-n-dı(-lar).  
 start-PASS-PST(-3PL)  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were started to be decided to be sold.’  
 [start > decide]

The pattern in (59a-f) is especially surprising for Cinque (2006) since unlike in Italian, there is no restriction on the ordering of the restructuring LOM verbs *başla-* ‘start’, *çalış-* ‘try’, and the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’. It is less surprising for Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) since they do not make a clear prediction on multiple embeddings in long passives. Keine and Bhatt (2016) could derive these structures (Bhatt, p.c.). This is summarized in the table below.

**Table 2.3.** Predictions for co-occurrence of restructuring verbs vs. Turkish data

Theory	Prediction	Turkish
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006)	multiple restructuring verbs co-occur with a rigid order	no rigid order
Cluster formation analysis (Keine and Bhatt, 2016)	long passive is possible with multiple restructuring verbs	possible
Deficient VoiceR analysis (Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017)	long passive is probably not possible with multiple restr. verbs	possible

#### 2.2.4 Embedded Voice Morphology

Cinque (2006) shows that only a subset of restructuring verbs can be passive and form a long passive structure in Italian. These are *finire* ‘finish’, *iniziare* ‘start’, *cominciare* ‘begin’, and motion verbs *mandare* ‘send’ and *passare* ‘pass’, given in (18a-d) and repeated here in (60a-d).

- (60) a. La casa fu finita di costruire il mese scorso.  
the house was finished to build the month last  
Lit. ‘The house was finished building the last month.’
- b. Quelle casa furono {iniziate / ?cominciate} a costruire negli anni  
those houses were started / begun to build in years  
’20.  
’20s  
Lit. ‘Those houses were started to build in the ’20s.’
- c. Sarete passati a prendere piú tardi.  
you.will.be passed to fetch later  
Lit. ‘You will be passed to fetch later.’
- d. Furono mandati a prendere a casa.  
they.were sent to fetch at home  
Lit. ‘They were sent to fetch at home.’

(Cinque, 2006: 68, glosses added)



In (60a-d), the restructuring verbs are in passive voice while the embedded verbs are not, and the embedded objects undergo long object movement ('long NP-movement' in Cinque's terminology). Among these verbs, *finire* 'finish', *iniziare* 'start', and *cominciare* 'begin' can embed a passive verb as well.<sup>16</sup> When they embed a passive verb, they cannot be in passive voice themselves. Also, there is clitic climbing but no long object movement. Thus, the resulting configurations are restructuring configurations, but not long passives. This is shown in (20a-b) and repeated here in (61a-b).

- (61) a. Gli      finirono di essere concessi prestiti.  
           to.him finished to be      granted loans  
           Lit. 'To-him finished to be granted loans.'
- b. Gli      {cominciarono / ?iniziarono} ad esser inflitte delle punizioni.  
           to.him began              / started      to be    inflicted by    punishments  
           Lit. 'To-him began to be inflicted punishments.'

(Cinque, 2006: 72, glosses added)

In Cinque's (2006) account, there is only one Voice head in restructuring configurations since they are mono-clausal. Also, passivization is raising of a (lexical or functional) verb to the Voice head. As a result, only one verb can be passive in restructuring configurations. In long passives, it is the restructuring verb that is in passive voice, not the embedded verb.

Keine and Bhatt (2016) follow Wurmbrand (2001) and assume that restructuring infinitives have a reduced size: VP. Hence, there is no Voice head in a restructuring infinitive. The system works well for German long passives in which there is no voice morphology on the embedded infinitive, given in (22), repeated here in (62).

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<sup>16</sup>In such configurations, *finire* 'finish' occupies the  $\text{Asp}_{\text{completive}(I)}$  projection, while *iniziare* 'start' and *cominciare* 'begin' occupy the  $\text{Asp}_{\text{inceptive}(I)}$  projection above the Voice head.

- (62) Gestern wurden zwei gute Studenten zu finden versucht.  
 yesterday were two good students.NOM to find tried  
 ‘Yesterday it was tried to find two good students.’

(Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1458)

This system does not predict the embedded verb to be marked with passive voice morphology in a long passive configuration since the infinitive lacks the VoiceP layer.

Lastly, Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) propose that restructuring verbs select a special Voice head for their complements. This Voice head is called  $Voice_R$  and it is deficient in its voice and implicit agent features. It receives these features from the Voice head of the embedding verb. There are two types of languages that allow long passives: voice matching and default voice. The embedded verb is in passive voice in voice matching languages, with the passive feature coming from the Voice head of the matrix verb. As a voice matching language, the embedded verb needs to be in passive voice in Chamorro, as shown in (30) before and repeated here in (63).

- (63) a. Pära tafan-ma-chägi ma-nafanätuk ni lalahi siha.  
 FUT 1PL.IR.IN-PASS-try NPL.RL.IN.PASS-hide OBL men PL  
 Lit. ‘We will be tried to be hidden by the men.’  
 b. \*Pära tafan-ma-chägi mu-nafanätuk ni lalahi siha.  
 FUT 1PL.IR.IN-PASS-try INF.TR-hide OBL men PL  
 Lit. ‘We will be tried to hide by the men.’

(Chung, 2004: 204)

Differently from both Cinque (2006) and Keine and Bhatt (2016), this system allows for the embedded verb to be in passive (or default) voice in long passives. However, the passive voice of the embedded verb is dependent on the passive voice feature of the matrix verb. Since the embedded Voice head is deficient, it receives its voice feature from the matrix Voice head.

As for Turkish, the embedded infinitival verb in a long passive structure has to appear in the passive form, as shown in (64).

(64) LONG PASSIVE

Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> boya-\*(n)-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 this old car.NOM paint-(PASS)-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was tried to be painted.’

If the embedded verb is not passive like in (64), the long passive structure is not grammatical. Based on this data point, it seems Cinque (2006) and Keine and Bhatt (2016) fail to capture Turkish long passive data while Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) succeeds. However, there is a further prediction that Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) makes and it does not hold in Turkish. In Wurmbrand and Shimamura’s (2017) account, Turkish falls under the voice matching language category. Thus, restructuring infinitives are predicted to match the voice of the restructuring verb embedding them. To test this prediction we can look at the infinitival complements of restructuring LOM verbs.

Restructuring LOM verbs are those verbs that always select a restructuring infinitive as a complement. They never select a non-restructuring infinitive. As I introduced in Chapter 1, the restructuring status of a restructuring verb is determined based on the unavailability of local passive with an accusative embedded object with them. Unlike in long passives, in local passives the infinitive is not restructuring. Hence, structural case for an object is available. Restructuring LOM verbs are those verbs with which local passive with an accusative object is ungrammatical. It shows that they always select a restructuring infinitive. Otherwise, local passive with an accusative object would be grammatical with them. One of the restructuring LOM verbs in Turkish is *çalış-* ‘try’. As shown in (65), local passive with an accusative object is not grammatical with this verb.

(65) LOCAL PASSIVE

\*Dün [bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
yesterday this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, it was tried to paint this old car.’

The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (65) shows that *çalış-* ‘try’ cannot select a non-restructuring infinitive as its complement. If it could select one, the local passive in (65) would be grammatical since structural accusative case would be available. Then, *çalış-* ‘try’ always selects a restructuring infinitive that lacks structural accusative case for an object. If restructuring infinitives depend on the embedding Voice head for their voice feature, the complement of *çalış-* ‘try’ should always match in voice with it. There are two configurations where this prediction does not hold. Firstly, when *çalış-* ‘try’ is passive, the embedded infinitival verb can be in active voice when the embedded object is an oblique or a bare object. This is shown in (66a-b).<sup>17</sup>

- (66) a. Dün [bu eski araba-ya bak-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
yesterday this old car-DAT look-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, it was tried to look at this old car.’
- b. Dün [kitap oku-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
yesterday book read-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, it was tried to do book-reading.’

In this configuration, the embedded verbs are in active voice independently of the passive voice of the embedding verb. Also, the infinitival complement of *çalış-* ‘try’ can be in passive voice when *çalış-* ‘try’ itself is in active voice, as in (67).

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<sup>17</sup>Some speakers find these examples marked.

- (67) Patron [(işçiler tarafından) sev-il-me-ye] çalış-tı.  
 boss.NOM (workers by) like-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
 ‘The boss tried to be liked (by the workers).’

Here, the embedded passive cannot be coming from the embedding Voice head since the embedding verb is in active voice. Then, the infinitive in (67) also shows that restructuring infinitives in Turkish are not deficient in their voice feature.

The data in (66-67) show that the passive voice of the embedded restructuring infinitive in long passives does not come from the Voice head of the embedding restructuring verb either. This is in contrast to the prediction of the deficient Voice<sub>R</sub> analysis in Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017).

To sum up, embedded passive voice in long Passives in Turkish is problematic for both Cinque (2006) and Keine and Bhatt (2016). Neither theory predicts passive voice morphology on the embedded verb in a long passive configuration. While Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017)’s analysis predicts a possible embedded passive voice morphology, its independence of matrix Voice is problematic. The embedded passive voice is not, as their account requires, dependent on the passive voice of the embedding restructuring verb in Turkish. The predictions of the theories of restructuring and what Turkish data shows is summarized in Table 2.4 below.

**Table 2.4.** Predictions for embedded voice vs. Turkish data

<b>Theory</b>	<b>Prediction</b>	<b>Turkish</b>
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006)	not passive	passive
Cluster formation analysis (Keine and Bhatt, 2016)		
Deficient Voice <sub>R</sub> analysis (Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017)	dependent on embedding Voice	not dependent

### 2.2.5 Infinitive Size

In Cinque’s (2006) mono-clausal system, the restructuring verbs are functional projections that are inserted at the corresponding clausal functional hierarchy. The embedded verb is inserted as a lexical verb, and there can be other functional projections between the embedded verb and the (functional) restructuring verb above it. This is shown in (15) and repeated here in (68).

$$(68) \quad [CP \dots [FP \dots [FP V_{restructuring} [FP \dots [VP V] ] ] ] ] ]$$

(Cinque, 2006: 12)

The ‘FP...’ between the restructuring verb and the VP indicates that other functional layers can come in between the restructuring verb and its complement. Hence, the complement of the restructuring verb does not have a fixed size, although what these FPs can be are limited. While the size is not fixed, the infinitive is smaller than a CP since the construction is mono-clausal. On the other hand, both Keine and Bhatt (2016), and Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) propose a bi-clausal structure for restructuring configurations. Thus, these theories make predictions for the size of the infinitival complement of a restructuring verb. Keine and Bhatt (2016) partly adopt Wurmbrand’s (2001) analysis and assume that the embedded infinitive in a restructuring configuration is a VP, as in (69).

$$(69) \quad [CP \dots [VP V_{restructuring} [VP V] ] ] ]$$

Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) depict restructuring infinitives in long passives as VoicePs with a deficient Voice head:  $Voice_R$ . Further functional projections on top of the  $Voice_R$  are possible (Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017). The infinitive is not a full CP, but what additional functional layers are possible above Voice is left open. Wurmbrand (p.c.) states voice restructuring with Tense Modality Aspect domain in the embedded infinitive is very difficult. Thus, there is no clear clause size proposal for the embedded infinitive. I leave it as an XP, like in (70).

(70) [CP ...[VP  $V_{restructuring}$  [XP [VoiceP Voice<sub>R</sub> [vP  $v$  [VP V ] ] ] ] ] ] ]

As shown before, the embedded infinitive in Turkish long passives has overt passive voice morphology, and the embedded verb can be negated, as in (71).

(71) Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 this old car.NOM sell-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was tried not to be sold.’

[not sell, \*not try]

I take the passive voice -IL and the negation morpheme -MA to indicate that the embedded infinitive includes VoiceP and NegationP layers. Another functional layer that is possible is the modality for ability. This is shown in (72).

(72) Context: There is a movie about vampires. The protagonist is a vampire hunter whose task is to exterminate all the old and strong vampires. They attempt this towards the end of the movie.

Filmin sonuna doğru çok güçlü ve yaşlı vampir-ler<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub>  
 movie end towards very strong and old vampire-PL.NOM  
 öldür-ül-ebil-me-ye] çalış-ıl-ıyor(-lar).  
 kill-PASS-MOD-INF-DAT try-PASS-PRES(-3PL)

Lit. ‘Towards the end of the movie, very strong and old vampires are tried to be able to be killed.’

In (72), the morpheme -EBIL on the embedded verb marks the ability modality. I take this to indicate that the embedded infinitive involves a Modality layer that hosts this morpheme. Depending on the LOM verb, the embedded infinitive can also have

aspectual morphology.<sup>18</sup> This is shown in (73), with the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’.

(73) Context: There was a meeting last week. During this meeting, submission deadlines for certain projects were discussed.

Geçen hafta bu proje<sub>i</sub> [yıl sonundan önce t<sub>i</sub> teslim ed-il-miş  
 last week this project.NOM year end before submit-PASS-PERF  
 ol-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 be-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Last week, this project was decided to have been submitted before the end of the year.’

[last week (decide), before the end of the year (submit)]

In (73), the embedded verb is marked with the morpheme *-MIŞ* for perfective aspect and the auxiliary *ol-* ‘be’ hosts the infinitival *-MA* and the dative case marker *-YA*. The adjunct *yıl sonundan önce* ‘before the end of the year’ modifies the embedded verb *teslim et-* ‘deliver’. The aspectual morphology on the embedded verb suggests the embedded infinitive has an aspectual projection.

Overall, the embedded infinitive in a long passive needs to be marked with passive voice, and can bear morphology for negation, ability modal and perfective aspect in Turkish. These show its size can be bigger than VP or VoiceP, involving the relevant functional projections from the Tense Modality Aspect domain that would host negation, ability modality, and perfective aspect morphemes. The predictions of theories of restructuring introduced in this chapter and what Turkish data show is summarized in the table below.

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<sup>18</sup>There is speaker variation for the acceptability of aspectual morphology on the embedded verb when the embedding LOM verb is a restructuring LOM verb (e.g., *çalış-* ‘try’). Most speakers do not find it acceptable. I do not provide an account for this contrast.



**Table 2.5.** Predictions for the size of the infinitive vs. Turkish data

<b>Theory</b>	<b>Prediction</b>	<b>Turkish</b>
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006)	not a separate clause; no fixed size	larger than VoiceP; can involve negation, ability modality, and perfective aspect
Cluster formation analysis (Keine and Bhatt, 2016)	VP	
Deficient VoiceR analysis (Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017)	not a full CP, likely lacks TMA	

### 2.2.6 De Re and De Dicto Interpretations

For Italian, Cinque (2006) does not present any data on the availability of de re and/or de dicto interpretations for a DP object in a long passive configuration. There is no clear prediction on the topic either. Keine and Bhatt (2016), on the other hand, show that the de dicto reading for a DP object is missing in a German long passive when the infinitive is in situ; only the de re reading is available. The DP *zwei gute Studenten* ‘two good students’ in (74) can only be interpreted as de re with commitment to the existence of two good students in the real world. As such, under the de re reading there exists two good students and these particular students are being looked for.

- (74) Gestern wurden zwei gute Studenten zu finden versucht.  
yesterday were two good students.NOM to find tried  
‘Yesterday it was tried to find two good students.’

[de re]

(Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1458)

Under the missing de dicto interpretation, the DP does not refer to two specific good students. The existence of two good students is only implied in someone’s doxastic alternatives. In other words, someone tries to find two good students regardless of whether there are two good students in the real world. The unavailability of the de dicto reading is presented as another piece of evidence for cluster formation in long

passives with an in situ infinitive. Since a complex verb is formed, the DP cannot take scope under the embedding verb *versuchen* ‘try’. Keine and Bhatt (2016) note that the effect is missing if the infinitive is moved via topicalization or if the structure is the local passive (i.e., non-restructuring). In both environments, there is no cluster formation. They present data only on the latter, given here in (75). The de dicto interpretation for the DP *zwei gute Studenten* is available in addition to the de re interpretation.

(75) Gestern wurde zwei gute Studenten zu finden versucht.

yesterday was two good students.ACC to find tried

‘Yesterday it was tried to find two good students.’

[de re/ de dicto]

(Keine and Bhatt, 2016: 1458)

Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) do not present any data on the availability of de re and/or de dicto interpretations for a DP in a long passive configuration. Since German is among the languages they account for in their analysis, they would probably predict a lack of de dicto reading if the infinitive is in situ.<sup>19</sup>

As for Turkish long passives, an embedded DP can be interpreted both as de re and de dicto. For example, the DP *kasabadaki en uzun bina* ‘the tallest building in town’ that has undergone LOM in (76) can be interpreted both de re and de dicto. Under the de re reading, there is a building in the actual world such that it is the tallest building in town and the students are trying to find it. The DP refers to a specific building in town and the students are trying to find it. The DP refers to a specific building such as the library. Under the de dicto reading, there is no commitment in the actual world for the existence of a building such that it is the tallest one in town.

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<sup>19</sup>Alternatively, the system would allow it, but there would be a German specific reason for the lack of the de dicto reading.

For example, the town can have a building code which bans buildings of different heights and all the buildings are of the same height.

- (76) (Öğrenciler tarafından) kasabadaki en uzun bina<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub>  
 (students by) in.town most tall building.NOM  
 bul-un-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 find-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit.‘(By the students) the tallest building in town was tried to be found.’  
 [de re/ de dicto]

Given that the infinitive is in situ, the availability of the de dicto reading is surprising for Keine and Bhatt’s (2016) cluster formation analysis. It seems there is no cluster formation even when the infinitive is in situ in long passives in Turkish. Potentially, the difference in lacking the de dicto reading between German and Turkish long passives is also surprising for Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017). Their analysis would need to account for both patterns. This is summarized in the table below.

**Table 2.6.** Predictions for de dicto and de re interpretations vs. Turkish data

Theory	Prediction	Turkish
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006)	no prediction	both de dicto
Cluster formation analysis (Keine and Bhatt, 2016)	no de dicto reading if the infinitive is in situ	and de re
Deficient VoiceR analysis (Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017)	probably no de dicto reading	are available

### 2.2.7 Implicit Control

The matrix and embedded implicit agents in restructuring configurations are generally understood to be the same. The theories on restructuring presented in this chapter all state that this is an exhaustive control relation. That is, there is strict

co-referentiality between the two implicit agents. Each approach has a different way of deriving this implicit control relation.

In Cinque's (2006) system, restructuring verbs are functional projections, with no external argument of their own. The only external argument in a restructuring configuration is that of the embedded verb. Strict co-referentiality between the two understood agents is derived similarly to raising constructions.

In Keine and Bhatt's (2016) system, the embedded infinitive is a VP without a PRO subject. The only external argument in the configuration belongs to the embedding restructuring verb. Hence, the only possible relation between the two understood agents is again strict co-referentiality.

Lastly, in Wurmbrand and Shimamura's (2017) system, the embedded *Voice<sub>R</sub>* lacks its agent information and receives it from the Voice head associated with the embedding restructuring verb. The proposal involves an index and *phi*-feature sharing mechanism for the implicit agent. This mechanism only predicts one-to-one matching between the two implicit agents as well.

In Turkish, the implicit agents in a long passive construction can have co-reference or they can have independent reference. This depends on the LOM verb. The LOM verbs that allow independent reference in a long passive configuration are the non-restructuring LOM verbs *karar ver-* 'decide' and *iste-* 'want'. This is shown in (77) for *karar ver-* 'decide'.

- (77) a. Independent reference context: There is a committee who organizes sports events for the charity in town. They had to cancel last year’s running race due to rain. They decided this year’s race is not getting cancelled. Tickets are sold to those who would like to run. Anyone with a ticket can participate. The committee members themselves did not buy tickets.

(Ag<sub>j</sub>) bu yılki yarış<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> koş-ul-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 this year’s race.NOM run-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘This year’s race was decided to be run.’

- b. Co-reference context: There is a committee who organizes sports events for the charity in town. They had to cancel last year’s running race due to rain. They decided this year’s race is not getting cancelled. Tickets are sold to those who would like to run. Anyone with a ticket can participate. The committee members decided to buy tickets for themselves.

(Ag<sub>j</sub>) bu yılki yarış<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> koş-ul-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 this year’s race.NOM run-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘This year’s race was decided to be run.’

Similarly, the matrix and embedded implicit agents can receive co-reference or independent reference when the embedding verb is *iste-* ‘want’, as shown in (78).

- (78) a. Independent reference context: The residents of an apartment building had a meeting. In this meeting, they expressed their wish to change the color of the building to blue. A professional painter, who is not a resident, will be hired to paint the building blue.

(Ag<sub>j</sub>) bu bina<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>k</sub>) mavi-ye t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-mak]  
 this building.NOM blue-DAT paint-PASS-INF

iste-n-iyor.

want-PASS-PRES

Lit. ‘This building is wanted to be painted blue.’

- b. Co-reference context: The residents of an apartment building had a meeting. In this meeting, they expressed their wish to change the color of the building to blue. Their budget is low so they cannot hire a professional painter for the job. They will do it themselves.

(Ag<sub>j</sub>) bu bina<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j</sub>) mavi-ye t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-mak]  
 this building.NOM blue-DAT paint-PASS-INF

iste-n-iyor.

want-PASS-PRES

Lit. ‘This building is wanted to be painted blue.’

When the matrix agent is overtly expressed in a by-phrase, the embedded implicit agent can still have independent reference in addition to co-reference, as in (79a-b). In (79a), people in the committee are those who decide the race to be run, but the runners can be a separate group of people. Similarly, in (79b), residents of the apartment building want the building to be painted, but those who paint the building can be different people.

- (79) a. (Komite<sub>j</sub> tarafından) bu yılki yarış<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j/k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub>  
 committee by this year's race.NOM  
 koş-ul-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 run-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. '(By the committee) this year's race was decided to be run.'
- b. (Apartman sakinleri<sub>j</sub> tarafından) bu bina<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j/k</sub>) mavi-ye  
 building residents by this building.NOM blue-DAT  
 t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-mak] iste-n-iyor.  
 paint-PASS-INF want-PASS-PRES  
 Lit. '(By the residents) this building is wanted to be painted blue.'

Crucially, when *karar ver-* 'decided' and *iste-* 'want' are in active voice and their infinitival complements are also in active voice (i.e., not in a long passive structure), independent reference between the embedded and matrix overt agent arguments is not possible. As shown in (80a-b), the embedded PRO subject can only be co-referential with the matrix subject.<sup>20</sup>

- (80) a. Komite<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 committee.NOM this year's race-ACC run-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 'The committee decided to run this year's race.'
- b. Apartman sakinleri<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> bina-yı mavi-ye  
 apartment.building residentsNOM building-ACC blue-DAT  
 boya-mak] istiyor.  
 paint-INF want.PRES  
 Lit. 'The residents want to paint the building blue.'

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<sup>20</sup>In Chapter 3, I show that these are Obligatory Control (OC) configurations using OC diagnostics.

The restriction in (80a-b) show that *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’ are control verbs. Independent reference for the two agents somehow becomes available in long passives.

On the other hand, with *çalış-* ‘try’ and other restructuring LOM verbs, the embedded implicit agent can only get co-reference with the matrix implicit agent in an LOM configuration. This is shown in (81), where those who run and those who try cannot refer to separate people.

- (81) (Ag<sub>j</sub>) bu yılki yarış<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j/\*k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> koş-ul-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
           this year’s race.NOM                      run-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
           Lit. ‘This year’s race was tried to be run.’

This group of LOM verbs, as I mentioned before in Chapter 1, are restructuring LOM verbs that select case-dependent restructuring infinitives. Since local passive is ungrammatical with them, we know that they never select a non-restructuring infinitive. Hence, we can look at the relationship between the matrix and embedded implicit agents in infinitival configurations with these verbs besides LOM.

Next, I present two configurations in which the implicit agent of the embedded restructuring infinitive receives disjoint reference from the matrix (implicit) agent. In the first example, given in (82), both the matrix verb *çalış-* ‘try’ and the embedded verb *yen-* ‘beat’ are in passive voice. The embedded PRO subject is the theme argument of the embedded passive-voiced transitive verb. While the matrix agent and the embedded PRO (theme) subject are co-referential, the embedded implicit agent receives disjoint reference. The embedded implicit agent is expressed in the optional by-phrase *karşı takım tarafından* ‘by the opposite team’.



- (82) Son maçta Ag<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> (Ag<sub>\*i/k</sub>) / (karşı takım<sub>\*i/k</sub> tarafından)  
 last game.LOC (opposite team by)  
 yen-il-me-me-ye] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 defeat-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 ‘At the last game, it was tried not to be defeated (by the opposite team).’

In the second configuration, given in (83), the matrix verb is in active voice while the embedded verb is in passive voice. Again, the embedded PRO subject is the theme argument of the embedded passive-voiced transitive verb *sev-* ‘like’. While the matrix subject *patron* ‘boss’ and the embedded PRO (theme) subject are co-referential, the embedded implicit agent gets disjoint reference. Again, the embedded implicit agent is expressed in the optional by-phrase *işçiler tarafından* ‘by the workers’.

- (83) Patron<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub> / (işçiler<sub>\*i/j</sub> tarafından) sev-il-me-ye] çalış-tı.  
 boss.NOM (workers by) like-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
 ‘The boss tried to be liked (by the workers).’

Overall, both classes of LOM verbs in Turkish allow the embedded implicit agent to receive independent or disjoint reference from the matrix agent. This is surprising for the theories of restructuring since they only predict an exhaustive control relation between the two implicit agents.<sup>21</sup>

This is summarized in the table below.

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<sup>21</sup>I discuss the topic of implicit control in further detail in Section 4.8.

**Table 2.7.** Predictions for the implicit control relation vs. Turkish data

<b>Theory</b>	<b>Prediction</b>	<b>Turkish</b>
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006)	strict	not strict
Cluster formation analysis (Keine and Bhatt, 2016)	co-reference	co-reference
Deficient VoiceR analysis (Wurmbrand et al., 2017)		

## 2.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on three theories of restructuring: the mono-clausal analysis in Cinque (2006), verb cluster analysis in Keine and Bhatt (2016), and deficient Voice<sub>R</sub> analysis in Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017). First, I summarized the proposal of each theory in Section 2.1. Then, the predictions of each theory were compared with each other and put to test with Turkish data in Section 2.2. I mostly introduced data on long passives (i.e., LOM), but I also presented data on other restructuring configurations with the restructuring LOM verbs (e.g., *çalış-* ‘try’) that only select restructuring infinitives. I provided data on the following environments: possibilities of adverbial modification and negation of the embedded verb, the co-occurrence of multiple restructuring verbs, the voice morphology on the embedded verb, the size of the embedded infinitive, de re and de dicto interpretations of the embedded object DP, and the implicit control relation between the two agents. Overall, I showed that these theories fall short in accounting for the properties of LOM configurations in Turkish. These are summarized in the table below. The table is organized as follows. The column on the left introduces an environment in the first line and the names of the theories in the second line. This is repeated for each environment. The column on the right presents a description of what is possible in Turkish in a given environment in the first line next to the name of the environment. The second line summarizes what each theory predicts. This is again repeated for each environment.

**Table 2.8.** Properties of Turkish long passives vs. predictions of theories

<b>Environments &amp; Theories</b>	<b>Long Passives in Turkish &amp; Predictions of Theories</b>
Adverbial modification of the embedded verb alone	TR: possible (might also be a separate time adverb with some verbs)
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006) Cluster formation analysis (K&B, 2016) Deficient VoiceR analysis (W&S, 2017)	- the same adverb cannot be used twice - the embedded verb cannot be modified separately unless the infinitive is topicalized - two different time adverbs are not likely to co-occur
Negation of the embedded verb alone	TR: possible and licenses NPI
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006) Cluster formation analysis (K&B, 2016) Deficient VoiceR analysis (W&S, 2017)	- possible with restructuring verbs higher than negation - not possible - not likely but possible
Co-occurrence of multiple restructuring verbs	TR: possible (with no ordering restriction)
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006) Cluster formation analysis (K&B, 2016) Deficient VoiceR analysis (W&S, 2017)	- multiple restructuring verbs co-occur with a rigid order - possible - probably not
Voice of the embedded verb	TR: passive (independently of the embedding Voice)
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006) Cluster formation analysis (K&B, 2016) Deficient VoiceR analysis (W&S, 2017)	- not passive - if passive, it's dependent on the embedding Voice
Size of the infinitive	TR: bigger than VP/VoiceP, might involve Negation, Modality, and Aspect (with some verbs)
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006) Cluster formation analysis (K&B, 2016) Deficient VoiceR analysis (W&S, 2017)	- not a separate clause; no fixed size but smaller than a full CP - VP; lacks little <i>v</i> (and accusative case) - not a full CP; likely lacks TMA domain
De re / De dicto interpretation of an embedded DP object	TR: both are available
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006) Cluster formation analysis (K&B, 2016) Deficient VoiceR analysis (W&S, 2017)	- no prediction - only de re is available unless the infinitive is topicalized - likely only de re
Relation between the implicit agents	TR: not strict co-reference (for LOM, only with some verbs)
Mono-clausal analysis (Cinque, 2006) Cluster formation analysis (K&B, 2016) Deficient VoiceR analysis (W&S, 2017)	- only co-reference

## CHAPTER 3

### TWO CLASSES OF LOM VERBS

In this chapter, I show that LOM verbs in Turkish can be divided into two classes: restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs.<sup>1</sup> Restructuring LOM verbs select restructuring infinitives that lack structural accusative case for an embedded object. Hence, the local passive configuration is ungrammatical with them. Non-restructuring LOM verbs, on the other hand, select non-restructuring infinitives that are not case-dependent on the matrix domain. Thus, they can form a local passive structure with an embedded accusative object. In Section 3.1, I present data on the local passive structure in Turkish and show how it serves to classify LOM verbs as restructuring LOM versus non-restructuring LOM verbs.

In Section 3.2, I present data on LOM verbs used in active voice, taking an active-voiced infinitival complement. These are Obligatory Control configurations according to a battery of diagnostics related to VP ellipsis, long-distance control, arbitrary control, and c-command relations. I further group LOM verbs into partial control versus exhaustive control verbs, a grouping that aligns with the non-restructuring LOM versus restructuring LOM classes. Non-restructuring LOM verbs allow partial control, while restructuring LOM verbs only allow exhaustive control.

Although restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs in Turkish behave similarly in most of the long passive environments discussed in the previous chapter, there are some important differences. While both types of LOM verbs allow an adverb to modify the embedded verb separately from the embedding verb, this adverb

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<sup>1</sup>I introduced this classification also earlier in the introduction chapter.

cannot be a temporal adverb with restructuring LOM verbs. Likewise, the embedded verb can host a modality marker with all LOM verbs, but an aspectual marker is not possible with restructuring LOM verbs for most speakers. Independent reference for the embedded implicit agent is also not possible in long passives with restructuring LOM verbs. Restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs behave similarly in terms of allowing negation on the embedded verb, free co-occurrence with other LOM verbs, requiring passive voice marking on the embedded verb, and the availability of both the *de re* and *de dicto* interpretations of the subject DP. In Section 3.3, I present data for these long passive contexts. The first subsection presents data in which all LOM verbs behave similarly, while the second subsection focuses on contexts where the restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verb classes differ.

In Section 3.4, I present data on the selectional properties of LOM verbs. I show that non-restructuring LOM verbs can take nominalized complements with an independent embedded subject, and can also select a regular DP complement. Restructuring LOM verbs cannot take nominalized complements with an independent subject, and only some of them can take a regular DP complement. Section 3.5 summarizes the similarities and differences between restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs presented in this chapter, and organizes them in a table.

### 3.1 Classification of LOM Verbs in Turkish

As introduced before in Chapters 1 and 2, the following verbs can form a long passive structure in Turkish, classified as LOM verbs: *başla-* ‘start’, *çalış-* ‘try’, *çabala-* ‘make an effort’, *devam et-* ‘continue’, *iste-* ‘want’, *kalkış-* ‘attempt’, *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *uğraş-* ‘strive’. The embedded infinitive is marked with dative case with all of

them, except for *iste-* ‘want’. When embedded by *iste-* ‘want’, the infinitive is not case-marked. This is shown in (84a-b).

(84) LONG PASSIVE

a. DATIVE INFINITIVE

Dün (tamirciler tarafından) bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub>  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car.NOM  
 boya-n-ma-ya] {başla-/ çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/  
 paint-PASS-INF-DAT start-/ try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/  
 kalkış-/ karar ver-/ uğraş}-ıl-dı.  
 attempt-/ decide-/ strive-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) this old car was {started/ made an effort/ continued/ attempted/ decided/ strived} to be painted.’

b. BARE INFINITIVE

Dün (tamirciler tarafından) bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-mak]  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car.NOM paint-PASS-INF  
 iste-n-di.  
 want-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) this old car was wanted to be painted.’

In (84a-b), the matrix agent can be expressed in a by-phrase and the embedded object *bu eski araba* ‘this old car’ undergoes long object movement for case. Among the LOM verbs that assign dative case to their infinitival complements, *karar ver-* ‘decide’ behaves the same way as *iste-* ‘want’ in many respects. The most crucial one is selecting a non-restructuring infinitive, forming a local passive structure.

In a local passive structure, structural accusative case is available for an embedded object DP since the infinitive is non-restructuring. Also, the embedded verb is in active voice, not passive. The matrix agent can again be expressed using a by-phrase.

The well-formedness of this configuration with *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’ is shown in (85a-b).<sup>2</sup>

(85) LOCAL PASSIVE WITH NON-RESTRUCTURING LOM VERBS

- a. Dün (tamirciler tarafından) [bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya]  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-il-di.  
 decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was decided to paint this old car.’
- b. Dün (tamirciler tarafından) [bu eski araba-yı boya-mak]  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-ACC paint-INF  
 iste-n-di.  
 want-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was wanted to paint this old car.’

The same construction is ungrammatical with restructuring LOM verbs. This is shown in (86).

(86) LOCAL PASSIVE WITH RESTRUCTURING LOM VERBS

- \*Dün (tamirciler tarafından) [bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya] {başla-/  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT start-/  
 çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-ıl-dı.  
 try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/ strive-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was {started/ tried/ made an effort/  
 continued/ attempted/ strived} to paint this old car.’

The ungrammaticality of the local passive construction in (86) shows that the infinitive these verbs select is always a restructuring one. If they could select a non-

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<sup>2</sup>The local passive examples in (85-86) are simplified by omitting the embedded PRO subject.

restructuring infinitive, local passive would be grammatical, as accusative case would be available for the embedded object. Thus, when these LOM verbs are in passive voice and there is an embedded object that needs structural case, the long passive is the only grammatical structure available. This makes them *restructuring* LOM verbs. In contrast, *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’ are *non-restructuring* LOM verbs. This distinction is summarized in the table below.

**Table 3.1.** Classification of LOM verbs in Turkish

Verb Type	Verbs	Structure	Infinitive
Restructuring LOM Verbs	<i>başla-</i> ‘start’ <i>çalış-</i> ‘try’ <i>çabala-</i> ‘make an effort’ <i>devam et-</i> ‘continue’ <i>kalkış-</i> ‘attempt’ <i>uğraş-</i> ‘strive’	only long passive	restructuring
Non-Restructuring LOM Verbs	<i>iste-</i> ‘want’ <i>karar ver-</i> ‘decide’	both long and local passive	non-restructuring

### 3.2 LOM Verbs as Obligatory Control Verbs

In this section, I propose that LOM verbs are Obligatory Control (OC) verbs. That is, the embedded silent subject is PRO, not *pro*, when the infinitival complement is active-voiced. I use the diagnostics presented in Landau (2013), where OC is defined as in (87). In (87a), the term *co-dependent* refers to one or more co-arguments that participate in the same event. For example, a main clause subject X is a co-dependent of an infinitival complement S. An OC relation can be exhaustive or partial, as stated in (87b), depending on the control verb.



(87) *The OC signature*

In a control construction [ ...X<sub>i</sub>...[<sub>S</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub>...]...], where X controls the PRO subject of the clause S:

- a. The controller(s) X must be (a) co-dependent(s) of S.
- b. PRO (or part of it) must be interpreted as a bound variable.

(Landau, 2013: 29)

According to this definition, the following are not possible in OC configurations: arbitrary control, long-distance control, non c-commanding control, and strict readings under VP-ellipsis. These all involve a controller that is not a co-dependent of the infinitive – i.e., not participating in the same matrix event.

The English data in (88a-d) exemplify such configurations. In (88a), PRO cannot be controlled by an arbitrary person or group of people that are not participants in the matrix event. *Mary* is the controller of PRO, as a participant in the matrix event. In (88b), PRO cannot be controlled by *Mary*, as *Mary* is a co-dependent of the that-clause, but not of the embedded infinitive. *John* is a co-dependent of the infinitive and controller of PRO. In (88c), *Mary* cannot control PRO, since it cannot c-command PRO from within the possessive DP *Mary's colleagues*. *Mary's colleagues*, but not *Mary*, is a co-dependent of the embedded infinitive and the controller of PRO. The VP-ellipsis in (88d) yields only a sloppy reading, since PRO is interpreted as a bound variable. *Sue* is the controller of PRO in the elided VP, not *Mary*.

- (88)
- a. Mary<sub>i</sub> hates [PRO<sub>i/\*arb</sub> to nominate herself/\*oneself].
  - b. Mary<sub>i</sub> realized that John<sub>j</sub> hated [PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> to nominate himself/\*herself].
  - c. Mary's<sub>i</sub> colleagues<sub>j</sub> hated [PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> to nominate themselves/\*herself].
  - d. Mary<sub>i</sub> expected [PRO<sub>i</sub> to attend the ceremony], and Sue<sub>j</sub> did too expect  
[PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> to attend the ceremony]

(Adapted from Landau, 2013: 29,30)

When these diagnostics are applied to LOM verbs in Turkish, the results indicate that they are OC verbs that take infinitival complements with a PRO subject. I apply each of the four above tests to two non-restructuring LOM verbs, *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’, and two restructuring LOM verbs, *çalış-* ‘try’ and *başla-* ‘start’. I begin in (89) by providing some background on the manifestation of arbitrary control with Turkish reflexives and reciprocals. Then, examples (90-91) adapt the arbitrary control diagnostic for Turkish LOM verbs; example (92) adapts the long-distance control diagnostic; example (93) adapts the non c-commanding control diagnostic; and example (94) adapts the VP-ellipsis diagnostic.

I first show that the embedded PRO subject in the infinitival complement of LOM verbs cannot have an arbitrary controller; rather, PRO is controlled by the matrix nominative subject. The PRO subject of a subject infinitive can have an arbitrary controller. This is shown in (89a-b) with the existential predicate *var*. The reflexive *kendi* in (89a) and the reciprocal *birbir(ler)i* ‘each other(s)’ in (89b) are well formed with  $PRO_{arb}$ .<sup>3</sup>

- (89) a. [ $PRO_{arb}$  sürekli kendine kız-mak] bizim millet-in  
 constantly self.DAT be.angry-INF.NOM our society-GEN  
 hamur-un-da var.  
 mold-POSS.3SG-LOC exist  
 Lit. ‘Constantly being angry at oneself is in our people’s nature.’

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<sup>3</sup>The reflexive *kendi* can also be bound by a logophoric center (Kornfilt, 1997, 2001). On the other hand, the reciprocal *birbir(ler)i* cannot (Legate et al., 2020; Akkuş, 2021; Paparounas and Akkuş, 2023). I use both the reflexive and the reciprocal in arbitrary control examples. This ensures that PRO is the binder.



- d. Biz<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub>/<sub>\*arb</sub> {kendimizi / \*kendini} aday göster-me-ye]  
 we.NOM self.1PL.ACC / \*self.ACC nominate-INF-DAT  
 başla-dı-k.  
 start-PST-3PL  
 ‘We started to nominate ourselves.’

The reflexive *kendi* is replaced with the reciprocal *birbir(ler)i* in (91a-d). Again, arbitrary control of the embedded PRO is not possible. The matrix subject *biz* ‘we’ is the controller, and the reciprocal can only be the first person plural *birbirimiz*.

- (91) a. Biz<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub>/<sub>\*arb</sub> {birbirimizi / \*birbir(ler)ini}  
 we.NOM each.other.1PL.ACC / \*each.other.(PL).3.ACC  
 aday göster-me-ye] karar ver-di-k.  
 nominate-INF-DAT decide-PST-3PL  
 ‘We decided to nominate each other.’
- b. Biz<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub>/<sub>\*arb</sub> {birbirimizi / \*birbir(ler)ini}  
 we.NOM each.other.1PL.ACC / \*each.other.(PL).3.ACC  
 aday göster-mek] iste-di-k.  
 nominate-INF-DAT want-PST-3PL  
 ‘We wanted to nominate each other.’
- c. Biz<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub>/<sub>\*arb</sub> {birbirimizi / \*birbir(ler)ini}  
 we.NOM each.other.1PL.ACC / \*each.other.(PL).3.ACC  
 aday göster-me-ye] çalış-tı-k.  
 nominate-INF-DAT try-PST-3PL  
 ‘We tried to nominate each other.’

- d. Biz<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*arb</sub> {birbirimizi / \*birbir(ler)ini}]  
 we.NOM each.other.1PL.ACC / \*each.other.(PL).3.ACC  
 aday göster-me-ye] başla-dı-k.  
 nominate-INF-DAT start-PST-3PL  
 ‘We started to nominate each other.’

Second, LOM verbs in Turkish do not permit long-distance control of the embedded PRO subject, either. When PRO has two potential antecedents, the co-argument of the LOM verb is the controller of PRO. This is shown in (92a-d), where the LOM verbs are the predicates of nominalized clauses embedded by the matrix predicate *söyle-* ‘say’. The matrix subject *Ayla* cannot control the embedded PRO subject; the genitive case-marked embedded subject *Ali* is the local antecedent and controller of PRO, as the co-dependent of the embedded infinitive.

- (92) a. Ayla<sub>i</sub> [Ali<sub>j</sub>-nin [PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-ma-ya]  
 Ayla.NOM Ali-GEN this year’s race-ACC run-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-diğ-in-i] söyle-di.  
 decide-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC say-PST.3SG  
 ‘Ayla said that Ali decided (for himself/\*Ayla) to run this year’s race.’
- b. Ayla<sub>i</sub> [Ali<sub>j</sub>-nin [PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-mak]  
 Ayla.NOM Ali-GEN this year’s race-ACC run-INF  
 iste-diğ-in-i] söyle-di.  
 want-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC say-PST.3SG  
 ‘Ayla said that Ali wanted (for himself/\*Ayla) to run this year’s race.’
- c. Ayla<sub>i</sub> [Ali<sub>j</sub>-nin [PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-ma-ya]  
 Ayla.NOM Ali-GEN this year’s race-ACC run-INF-DAT  
 çalış-tığ-in-i] söyle-di.  
 try-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC say-PST.3SG  
 ‘Ayla said that Ali tried (for himself/\*Ayla) to run this year’s race.’

- d. Ayla<sub>i</sub> [Ali<sub>j</sub>-nin [PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> bu yılki yarış-1 koş-ma-ya]  
 Ayla.NOM Ali-GEN this year's race-ACC run-INF-DAT  
 başla-dıĝ-ın-1] söyle-di.  
 start-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC say-PST.3SG  
 'Ayla said that Ali started (for himself/\*Ayla) to run this year's race.'

Likewise, a non c-commanding antecedent cannot control the embedded PRO subject. In (93a-d), *Ali* appears in the possessive phrase *Ali'nin kardeşi* 'Ali's sibling', and does not c-command the embedded PRO subject, while the full possessive DP does. Hence, the embedded PRO is not controlled by *Ali*, but by *Ali'nin kardeşi* 'Ali's sibling'.

- (93) a. Ali<sub>i</sub>-nin kardeş<sub>j</sub>-i [PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> bu yılki yarış-1  
 Ali-GEN sibling-POSS.3SG.NOM this year's race-ACC  
 koş-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 run-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 'Ali's sibling decided to run this year's race.'
- b. Ali<sub>i</sub>-nin kardeş<sub>j</sub>-i [PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> bu yılki yarış-1 koş-mak]  
 Ali-GEN sibling-POSS.3SG.NOM this year's race-ACC run-INF  
 iste-di.  
 want-PST  
 'Ali's sibling wanted to run this year's race.'
- c. Ali<sub>i</sub>-nin kardeş<sub>j</sub>-i [PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> bu yılki yarış-1  
 Ali-GEN sibling-POSS.3SG.NOM this year's race-ACC  
 koş-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
 run-INF-DAT try-PST  
 'Ali's sibling tried to run this year's race.'

- d. Ali<sub>i</sub>-nin kardeş<sub>j</sub>-i [PRO<sub>\*i/j</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı  
 Ali-GEN sibling-POSS.3SG.NOM this year's race-ACC  
 koş-ma-ya] başla-dı.  
 run-INF-DAT start-PST  
 'Ali's sibling started to run this year's race.'

Lastly, VP ellipsis results only in a sloppy reading. This indicates that the embedded subject is PRO, interpreted as a bound variable. As shown in (94a-d), the PRO subject of the infinitive inside the elided VP is controlled by the subject of the elided VP *Ayla*. Under a strict reading, the embedded subject in the elided VP would be a *pro* referring to the matrix subject of the preceding clause *Ali*, but it is not available.

- (94) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-ma-ya] karar ver-di,  
 Ali.NOM this year's race-ACC run-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 Ayla<sub>j</sub> da [PRO<sub>j/\*i</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 Ayla.NOM too  
 'Ali decided to run this year's race, Ayla too (decided for herself/\*Ali to run this year's race).'
- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-mak] iste-di,  
 Ali.NOM this year's race-ACC run-INF want-PST  
 Ayla<sub>j</sub> da [PRO<sub>j/\*i</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-mak] iste-di.  
 Ayla.NOM too  
 'Ali wanted to run this year's race, Ayla too (wanted for herself/\*Ali to run this year's race).'

- c. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-ma-ya] çalış-tı,  
 Ali.NOM this year's race-ACC run-INF-DAT try-PST  
 Ayla<sub>j</sub> da [PRO<sub>j/\*i</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
 Ayla.NOM too  
 'Ali tried to run this year's race, Ayla too (tried herself/\*Ali to run this year's race).'
- d. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-ma-ya] başla-dı,  
 Ali.NOM this year's race-ACC run-INF-DAT start-PST  
 Ayla<sub>j</sub> da [PRO<sub>j/\*i</sub> bu yılki yarış-ı koş-ma-ya] başla-dı.  
 Ayla.NOM too  
 'Ali started to run this year's race, Ayla too (started herself/\*Ali to run this year's race).'

Overall, these diagnostics indicate that LOM verbs in Turkish are OC verbs that take an infinitival complement with a PRO subject. As stated in the OC signature in (87), 'PRO *or part of it* must be interpreted as a bound variable' (Landau, 2013). That is, the OC relation can be exhaustive, with a one-to-one identity match between the controller and PRO, or it can be partial, where PRO includes other participants in addition to the controller. OC predicates are in turn divided into two groups: predicates that force an identity match are Exhaustive Control (EC) predicates, while predicates that allow a partial match are Partial Control (PC) predicates (Landau, 2000).

Collective infinitival verbs and singular controllers can be used to test whether the embedding control predicate is a PC or an EC predicate. Since a collective verb requires a semantically plural subject, the configuration is grammatical only with a PC predicate. For example, *manage* is an EC predicate, while *prefer* is a PC predicate in English. This is shown in (95a-b), where the embedded verb is the collective predicate *gather*. In (95a), PC is not available, while in (95b) it is.



- (95) We thought that...
- a. \*John managed [PRO<sub>i+</sub> to gather at 6].
  - b. The chair preferred [PRO<sub>i+</sub> to gather at 6].

(Landau, 2013: 157)

When the same test is applied to LOM verbs, the following classification emerges. The non-restructuring LOM verbs *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’ are PC predicates, while the restructuring LOM verbs *başla-* ‘start’, *çalış-* ‘try’, *çabala-* ‘make an effort’, *devam et-* ‘continue’, *kalkış-* ‘attempt’, and *uğraş-* ‘strive’ are EC predicates. I first show the availability of partial control with non-restructuring LOM verbs. In (96a-b), the embedded verb is *toplan-* ‘gather’, while the matrix subject, which is the controller of the embedded PRO, is *Ali*. The embedding predicate is *karar ver-* ‘decide’ in (96a) and *iste-* ‘want’ in (96b), and both are grammatical.

- (96) In order to talk about the election results...
- a. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i+</sub> kafe-de toplan-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM café-LOC gather-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided to gather at the café.’
  - b. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i+</sub> kafe-de toplan-mak] iste-di.  
 Ali.NOM café-LOC gather-INF want-PST  
 ‘Ali wanted to gather at the café.’

With restructuring LOM verbs, on the other hand, partial control is not available. Since the embedded verb denotes a collective event (i.e., gathering), but the embedding verbs do not allow partial control, the result is ungrammatical. This is shown in (97).

- (97) \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i+</sub> kafe-de toplan-ma-ya] {başla-/ çalış-/  
 Ali.NOM café-LOC gather-INF-DAT start-/ try-/  
 çabala-/ devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-tı.  
 make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/ strive-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/ attempted/ strived} to  
 gather at the café.’

This shows that restructuring LOM verbs are EC predicates. The embedded PRO subject and controller main clause subject are required to match one-to-one. When the embedded predicate is changed to a verb that is not a collective verb, the sentence becomes grammatical. This is shown in (98) with the embedded predicate *dinlen-* ‘rest’.

- (98) Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> kafe-de dinlen-me-ye] {başla-/ çalış-/ çabala-/  
 Ali.NOM café-LOC rest-INF-DAT start-/ try-/ make.an.effort-/  
 devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-tı.  
 continue-/ attempt-/ strive-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/ attempted/ strived} to  
 rest at the café.’

Landau (2000) presents another contrast between PC and EC predicates: PC complements are semantically tensed, but EC complements are not. Semantic tense refers to the lack of simultaneity between the embedded and matrix events. This is tested using conflicting time adverbs such as *yesterday*, *now*, and *tomorrow*. This contrast is also observed between the restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs in Turkish. Conflicting temporal adverbs can modify the embedded and embedding predicates separately when the embedding predicate is a non-restructuring LOM verb. In (99a), the embedding verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’ is modified by *dün* ‘yesterday’, and in (99b), the embedding verb *iste-* ‘want’ is modified by *şimdi* ‘now’. Both

non-restructuring LOM verbs are PC predicates, and in both examples the embedded verb *dinlen-* ‘rest’ is modified by *yarın* ‘tomorrow’.

- (99) a. Dün      Ali<sub>i</sub>      [PRO<sub>i</sub> yarın      ev-de      dinlen-me-ye]  
yesterday Ali.NOM              tomorrow home-LOC rest-INF-DAT  
karar ver-di.  
decide-PST  
‘Ali decided yesterday to rest at home tomorrow.’
- b. Şimdi Ali<sub>i</sub>      [PRO<sub>i</sub> yarın      ev-de      dinlen-mek] istiyor.  
now Ali.NOM              tomorrow home-LOC rest-INF      want-PST  
‘Ali wants now to rest at home tomorrow.’

In contrast, conflicting temporal adverbs cannot modify the embedded and matrix predicates separately when the matrix predicate is a restructuring LOM verb. This is shown in (100).<sup>5</sup>

- (100) \*Dün      Ali<sub>i</sub>      [PRO<sub>i</sub> yarın      ev-de      dinlen-me-ye] {başla-/  
yesterday Ali.NOM              tomorrow home-LOC rest-INF-DAT    start-/  
çalış-/ çabala-/              devam et-/ kalkış-/      uğraş}-tı.  
try-/    make.an.effort-/    continue-/    attempt-/    strive-PST  
Lit. ‘Ali {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/ attempted/ strived}  
yesterday to rest at home tomorrow.’

Based on contrasts such as those illustrated in (99) and (100), Landau (2015) proposes a new classification to capture the correlation between being a PC verb and having semantic tense: the complements of attitude predicates are tensed and allow PC, while the complements of non-attitude predicates are not tensed and force

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<sup>5</sup>This temporal adverb contrast is also observed in long passive contexts. I present more examples in Section 3.3.2, which focuses specifically on differences between restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs in long passive configurations.

EC. According to this classification, non-restructuring LOM verbs are attitude verbs, while restructuring LOM verbs are not. I adopt this classification in my proposal, in Chapter 4.

### 3.3 LOM Verbs in Long Passives

In this section, I go back to the properties of long passives discussed in Chapter 2. I illustrate which properties are shared by restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs, and which ones are not. There are six environments in which the two classes of LOM verbs behave similarly, while in three environments they behave differently. Similarities are presented in the first subsection, while the differences are presented in the second subsection.

#### 3.3.1 Restructuring LOM vs. Non-Restructuring LOM: Similarities

There are six long passive environments in which all LOM verbs behave similarly. The first of these configurations is where an adverb modifies the embedded verb separately from the embedding verb. This was shown in (46) with the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’ and the adverbs *iki kere* ‘twice’ and *üç kere* ‘three times’, repeated below in (101). The embedded verb *boya-* ‘paint’ is modified by *iki kere* ‘twice’, while the embedding verb *çalış-* ‘try’ is modified by *üç kere* ‘three times’.

(101) Context: There is an old car that needs painting. Because the car is very old, for the paint to look nice, it needs to be applied twice. The mechanic attempted to paint the car in this fashion on three separate occasions. Each time something came up and the paint job was cancelled.

Üç kere bu araba<sub>i</sub> [iki kere t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 three time this car.NOM two time paint-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Three times, this car was tried to be painted twice.’

[3 times(try), twice(paint)]

The configuration is grammatical with other LOM verbs as well. The second similarity between all LOM verbs is allowing negation on the embedded verb in a long passive structure. The grammaticality of embedded negation was illustrated with licensing of the NPI *asla* ‘ever’ that requires clause-mate negation. This was shown in (55a-c) with three LOM verbs: the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’, and the non-restructuring LOM verbs *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’. The examples are repeated below in (102a-c), where *asla* ‘ever’ is licensed by the negated embedded verb *sat-* ‘sell’.

- (102) a. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [asla t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-di.  
 this old car.NOM ever sell-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was tried not to be sold ever.’  
 [not ever sell, \*ever try]
- b. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [asla t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 this old car.NOM ever sell-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was decided not to be sold ever.’  
 [not ever sell, \*ever decide]
- c. Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [asla t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-mak] iste-n-di.  
 this old car.NOM ever sell-PASS-NEG-INF want-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was wanted not to be sold ever.’  
 [not ever sell, \*ever want]

If any of the other LOM verbs replaces the embedding verbs in (102a-c), the result is still grammatical. Thirdly, both restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs can embed any other LOM verb in a long passive structure. That is, there is no ordering restriction between LOM verbs when they co-occur. This was shown in (59a-f) for *çalış-* ‘try’, *karar ver-* ‘decide’, and *başla-* ‘start’. The examples are given in pairs below. In (103a-b), *çalış-* ‘try’ and *karar ver-* ‘decide’ embed one another.

- (103) a. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] karar ver-il-me-ye]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-INF-DAT  
 çalış-ıl-dı.  
 try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were tried to be decided to be sold.’ [try > decide]
- b. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-ma-ya]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-il-di.  
 decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were decided to be tried to be sold.’ [decide > try]

*Çalış-* ‘try’ can also embed *başla-* ‘start’ and be embedded by it, as in (104a-b).

- (104) a. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] başla-n-ma-ya]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT start-PASS-INF-DAT  
 çalış-ıl-dı.  
 try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were tried to be started to be sold.’ [try > start]
- b. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-ma-ya]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-INF-DAT  
 başla-n-dı.  
 start-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were started to be tried to be sold.’ [start > try]

Likewise, *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *başla-* ‘start’ embed each other in (105a-b).

- (105) a. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] başla-n-ma-ya]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT start-PASS-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-il-di.  
 decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were decided to be started to be painted.’  
 [decide > start]
- b. Bu eski araba-lar<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> sat-ıl-ma-ya] karar ver-il-me-ye]  
 this old car-PL.NOM sell-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-INF-DAT  
 başla-n-dı.  
 start-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘These old cars were started to be decided to be sold.’  
 [start > decide]

Similar combinations with the rest of the LOM verbs are also grammatical.<sup>6</sup> The fourth similarity concerns the voice morphology on the embedded verb. A long passive structure formed with any LOM verb is ungrammatical unless the embedded verb is in passive voice. This was illustrated in (64) with *çalış-* ‘try’, repeated below in (106).

- (106) Bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> boya-\*(n)-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 this old car.NOM paint-(PASS)-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This old car was tried to be painted.’

In Section 2.2.4, I have shown that the embedded verb can be in passive voice when the embedding verb is in active voice. The relevant example was given in (67), and it is repeated below. In (107), because *çalış-* ‘try’ is a restructuring LOM verb, the embedded infinitive here be a restructuring infinitive even though the structure is not long passive. The embedded passive voice cannot be coming from the matrix

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<sup>6</sup>The only semantically odd combination is *başla-* ‘start’ and *devam et-* ‘continue’, but they both work well with other verbs.

active voice. This shows that the passive voice for the embedded verb in a long passive configuration is independent from the passive voice of the embedding verb. This holds for all LOM verbs, since they can all replace *çalış-* ‘try’ in both (106) and (107).

- (107) Patron [(işçiler tarafından) sev-il-me-ye] çalış-tı.  
 boss.NOM (workers by) like-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
 ‘The boss tried to be liked (by the workers).’

The next similarity is the availability of a modality marker on the embedded verb. The possibility of an ability modality marker on the embedded verb was shown in (72) with the embedding verb *çalış-* ‘try’. Repeated below in (108), the embedded verb *öldür-* ‘kill’ is marked with the modality morpheme -EBİL.

- (108) Context: There is a movie about vampires. The protagonist is a vampire hunter whose task is to exterminate all the old and strong vampires. They attempt this towards the end of the movie.

Filmin sonuna doğru çok güçlü ve yaşlı vampir-ler<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub>  
 movie end towards very strong and old vampire-PL.NOM  
 öldür-ül-ebil-me-ye] çalış-ıl-ıyor-(lar).  
 kill-PASS-MOD-INF-DAT try-PASS-PRES-(3PL)

Lit. ‘Towards the end of the movie, very strong and old vampires are tried to be able to be killed.’

The sixth and last similarity between restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs is the availability of both the *de re* and *de dicto* interpretations of a subject DP in a long passive. The possibility of both interpretations was shown with *çalış-* ‘try’ as the embedding verb and *kasabadaki en uzun bina* ‘the tallest building in town’ as the DP in (76), repeated below in (109). Under the *de re* reading, there



is a building in the actual world such that it is the tallest building in town and the students are trying to find it. The DP refers to a specific building such as the library. Under the de dicto reading, there is no commitment in the actual world for the existence of a building such that it is the tallest one in town. For example, the town can have a building code which bans buildings of different heights and all the buildings are of the same height.

- (109) (Öğrenciler tarafından) kasabadaki en uzun bina<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub>  
 (students by) in.town most tall building.NOM  
 bul-un-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 find-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit.‘(By the students) the tallest building in town was tried to be found.’
- [de re/ de dicto]

Both readings are available for a DP subject in a long passive with the other LOM verbs as well.

To sum up, there are six long passive environments in which restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs behave similarly. These are summarized in the table below.

**Table 3.2.** Similarities between LOM verbs in long passives

Long Passive Environments	Restructuring LOM Verbs	Non-restructuring LOM Verbs
separate adverbial modification of the embedded verb	✓	✓
negation of the embedded verb alone	✓	✓
co-occurrence of multiple restr. verbs without a rigid order	✓	✓
passive voice of the embedded verb independently from matrix voice	✓	✓
modality marker on the embedded verb	✓	✓
de re and de dicto interpretations of the subject DP	✓	✓

### 3.3.2 Restructuring LOM vs. Non-Restructuring LOM: Differences

There are three main differences between restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs in long passive configurations. The first difference is whether or not different temporal adverbs can modify the embedded and embedding verbs separately. This was shown to be grammatical with *karar ver-* ‘decide’ in (48), repeated below in (110).

- (110) Context: There was a meeting in the car repair shop today. In the meeting, the schedule for the next couple of weeks was discussed. Among the decisions made were when to paint which car.

Bugün bu araba<sub>i</sub> [gelecek haftasonu t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-ma-ya]  
today this car.NOM next weekend paint-PASS-INF-DAT  
karar ver-il-di.  
decide-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Today this car was decided to be painted next weekend.’

[next weekend(paint), today(decide)]

This configuration is also good with the other non-restructuring LOM verb, *iste-* ‘want’, as shown below.

- (111) Bugün bu araba<sub>i</sub> [gelecek haftasonu t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-mak] iste-n-di.  
 today this car.NOM next weekend paint-PASS-INF want-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Today this car was wanted to be painted next weekend.’  
 [next weekend(paint), today(want)]

However, this is not grammatical with any of the restructuring LOM verbs. This is shown in (112) below.

- (112) \*Bugün bu araba<sub>i</sub> [gelecek haftasonu t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-ma-ya] {başla-/  
 today this car.NOM next weekend paint-PASS-INF-DAT start-/  
 çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-ıl-dı.  
 try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/ strive-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, this car was {started/ made an effort/ tried/ continued/  
 attempted/ strived} to be painted.’

The second difference between the two groups of restructuring verbs is the possibility of aspectual morphology on the embedded verb. The perfective aspect marker was shown to be available on the embedded verb when *karar ver-* ‘decide’ is the embedding verb, repeated in (113) here. The embedded predicate *teslim et-* ‘submit’ is marked with the perfective aspect marker -MIŞ.

- (113) Context: There was a meeting last week. During this meeting, submission deadlines for certain projects were discussed.

Geçen hafta bu proje<sub>i</sub> [yıl sonundan önce t<sub>i</sub> teslim ed-il-miş  
 last week this project.NOM year end before submit-PASS-PERF  
 ol-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 be-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Last week, this project was decided to have been submitted before the end of the year.’

[last week (decide), before the end of the year (submit)]

This data point was taken to suggest that the embedded infinitive in an LOM configuration could involve an aspectual layer. Again, this configuration is also grammatical with the other non-restructuring LOM verb, *iste-* ‘want’, as shown in (114).

- (114) Geçen hafta bu proje<sub>i</sub> [yıl sonundan önce t<sub>i</sub> teslim ed-il-miş  
 last week this project.NOM year end before submit-PASS-PERF  
 ol-mak] iste-n-di.  
 be-INF want-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Last week, this project was wanted to have been submitted before the end of the year.’

[last week (want), before the end of the year (submit)]

On the other hand, for most speakers, the embedded verb cannot bear aspectual morphology when embedded by a restructuring LOM verb.<sup>7</sup> This is shown in (115) below.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>I do not propose a solution for this contrast.

<sup>8</sup>Since ‘to start/continue to have done something’ is semantically odd, *başla-* ‘start’ and *devam et-* ‘continue’ are excluded in the example.

- (115) (?)/\*Bu proje<sub>i</sub> [yıl sonundan önce t<sub>i</sub> teslim ed-il-miş ol-ma-ya]  
 this project.NOM year end before submit-PASS-PERF be-INF-DAT  
 {çalış-/ çabala-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-ıl-dı.  
 try-/ make.an.effort-/ attempt-/ strive-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This project was {tried/ made an effort/ attempted/ strived} to have  
 been submitted before the end of the year.’

Lastly, the embedded implied agent can receive independent reference from or co-reference with the matrix implied agent when *karar ver-* ‘decide’ or *iste-* ‘want’ is the embedding verb. This was shown before in (77), repeated below in (116a-b) for *karar ver-* ‘decide’.<sup>9</sup>

- (116) a. Independent reference context: There is a committee who organizes sports events for the charity in town. They had to cancel last year’s running race due to rain. They decided this year’s race is not getting cancelled. Tickets are sold to those who would like to run. Anyone with a ticket can participate. The committee members themselves did not buy tickets.  
 (Ag<sub>j</sub>) bu yılki yarış<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> koş-ul-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 this year’s race.NOM run-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This year’s race was decided to be run.’
- b. Co-reference context: ...The committee members decided to buy tickets for themselves.  
 (Ag<sub>j</sub>) bu yılki yarış<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> koş-ul-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 this year’s race.NOM run-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This year’s race was decided to be run.’

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<sup>9</sup>In these examples, *Ag* is used to represent the implied agent corresponding to each clause.

Likewise, independent and co-reference between the matrix and embedded implicit agents are possible with *iste-* ‘want’, as shown in (78a-b) and repeated in (117a-b).

- (117) a. Independent reference context: The residents of an apartment building had a meeting. In this meeting, they expressed their wish to change the color of the building to blue. A professional painter, who is not a resident, will be hired to paint the building blue.

(Ag<sub>j</sub>) bu bina<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>k</sub>) mavi-ye t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-mak]  
 this building.NOM blue-DAT paint-PASS-INF

iste-n-iyor.

want-PASS-PRES

Lit. ‘This building is wanted to be painted blue.’

- b. Co-reference context: ...Their budget is low so they cannot hire a professional painter for the job. They will do it themselves.

(Ag<sub>j</sub>) bu bina<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j</sub>) mavi-ye t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-mak]  
 this building.NOM blue-DAT paint-PASS-INF

iste-n-iyor.

want-PASS-PRES

Lit. ‘This building is wanted to be painted blue.’

When the matrix agent is overtly expressed in a by-phrase, the embedded agent can still have independent reference in addition to co-reference, as shown in (79a-b), repeated here in (118a-b).

- (118) a. (Komite<sub>j</sub> tarafından) bu yılki yarış<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j/k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub>  
 (committee by) this year’s race.NOM

koş-ul-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.

run-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘(By the committee) this year’s race was decided to be run.’

- b. (Apartman sakinleri<sub>j</sub> tarafından) bu bina<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j/k</sub>) mavi-ye  
 (building residents by) this building.NOM blue-DAT  
 t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-mak] iste-n-iyor.  
 paint-PASS-INF want-PASS-PRES  
 Lit. ‘(By the residents) this building is wanted to be painted blue.’

In contrast, the two agents cannot have independent reference when a restructuring LOM verb is the embedding verb, as shown in (119a-b). In (119a), those who begin/ try/ make an effort/ continue/ attempt /strive to run the race and those who run the race cannot be separate people. Likewise, in (119b), those who begin/ try/ make an effort/ continue/ attempt /strive to paint the building and those who paint the building cannot be different individuals. Hence, co-reference between the implied agents is the only possibility.<sup>10</sup>

- (119) a. (Komite<sub>j</sub> tarafından) bu yılki yarış<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j/\*k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub>  
 (committee by) this year’s race.NOM  
 koş-ul-ma-ya] {başla-/ çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/  
 run-PASS-INF-DAT start-/ try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/  
 kalkış-/ uğraş}-ıl-dı.  
 attempt-/ strive-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘(By the committee) this year’s race was {started/ tried/ made an  
 effort/ continued/ attempted/ strived} to be run.’

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<sup>10</sup>In Section 2.2.7 I provide more data with restructuring LOM verbs that show that the restructuring infinitive they select can have an implicit agent with disjoint reference from the matrix implicit agent. The co-reference restriction surprisingly only holds in the LOM configuration.

- b. (Apartman sakinleri<sub>j</sub> tarafından) bu bina<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>j/\*k</sub>) mavi-ye  
 (building residents by) this building.NOM blue-DAT  
 t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-ma-ya] {başla-/ çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/  
 paint-PASS-INF-DAT start-/ try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/  
 kalkış-/ uğraş}-ıl-di.  
 attempt-/ strive-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘(By the residents) this building was {started/ tried/ made an effort/  
 continued/ attempted/ strived} to be painted blue.’

Using a by-phrase to overtly express the embedded implied agent is not possible with either group of LOM verbs. This is shown in (120a-b) for non-restructuring LOM verbs, and in (120c) for restructuring LOM verbs.

- (120) a. (Ag<sub>j/k</sub>) bu bina<sub>i</sub> [ mavi-ye (\*apartman sakinleri<sub>j</sub> tarafından)  
 this building.NOM blue-DAT (building residents by)  
 t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 paint-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This building was decided to be painted (by the residents) blue.’
- b. (Ag<sub>j/k</sub>) bu bina<sub>i</sub> [ mavi-ye (\*apartman sakinleri<sub>j</sub> tarafından)  
 this building.NOM blue-DAT (building residents by)  
 t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-mak] iste-n-di.  
 paint-PASS-INF want-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This building was wanted to be painted (by the residents) blue.’



- c. (Ag<sub>j</sub>) bu bina<sub>i</sub> [ mavi-ye (\*apartman sakinleri<sub>j</sub> tarafından) t<sub>i</sub>  
 this building.NOM blue-DAT (building residents by)  
 boya-n-ma-ya] {başla-/ çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/  
 paint-PASS-INF-DAT start-/ try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/  
 kalkış-/ uğraş}-ıl-dı.  
 attempt-/ strive-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘This building was {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/ at-  
 tempted/ strived} to be painted (by the residents) blue.’

Turkish does not seem to allow the embedded agents to be expressed overtly. This restriction is also shown in Akkuş (2021) for causative structures. Although the embedded domain seems to be passive according to some passive diagnostics, by-phrases are not allowed.

The differences between long passives formed by restructuring LOM versus non-restructuring LOM verbs are summarized in the table below.

**Table 3.3.** Differences between LOM verbs in long passives

Long Passive Environments	Restructuring LOM Verbs	Non-restructuring LOM Verbs
modification of the two verbs by different temporal adverbs	*	✓
aspectual marker on the embedded verb	*	✓
independent reference between implicit agents	*	✓

### 3.4 Selectional Differences Among LOM Verbs

Apart from infinitival complements, restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs differ in the types of complements they select. I discuss nominalized

infinitival complements, complements formed with the nominalizing suffix -DIK/-  
(Y)ACAĞ, and regular DP complements.<sup>11</sup>

First, the non-restructuring LOM verbs *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’ can embed nominalized infinitival complements, while restructuring LOM verbs cannot. Differently from infinitives in control structures, the nominalized infinitive bears possessive agreement marking that reflects the person and number information of the embedded genitive subject. The availability of these complements for non-restructuring LOM verbs is shown in (121a-b), where the embedded subject *Can* is marked with genitive case, and the embedded predicate *yap-* ‘do’ is marked with third person singular possessive agreement -SIN. The matrix verb is *karar ver-* ‘decide’ in (121a), and *iste-* ‘want’ in (121b).

- (121) a. Ali [Can-in ödev-i yap-ma-sın-a] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM Can-GEN assignment-ACC do-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided that Can do the assignment.’
- b. Ali [Can-in ödev-i yap-ma-sın-ı] iste-di.  
 Ali.NOM Can-GEN assignment-ACC do-INF-POSS.3SG-ACC want-PST  
 ‘Ali wanted Can to do the assignment.’

Since Turkish allows *pro*-drop, it is also possible to leave the embedded subject silent. In that case, *pro* receives disjoint reference from the main clause subject, as in (122).

- (122) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> [*pro*<sub>\*i/j</sub> ödev-i yap-ma-sın-a] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM assignment-ACC do-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided that (s/he) do the assignment.’

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<sup>11</sup>*Karar ver-* ‘decide’ can also take a finite complement clause with the complementizer *diye* ‘that’. I discuss this in Chapter 4.

- b. Ali<sub>i</sub>      [*pro*<sub>\*i/j</sub> ödev-i                  yap-ma-sın-ı]                  iste-di.  
 Ali.NOM                  assignment-ACC do-INF-POSS.3SG-ACC want-PST  
 ‘Ali wanted (him/her) to do the assignment.’

This configuration is not possible with restructuring LOM verbs. As shown in (123), replacing the matrix verb with a restructuring LOM verb results in ungrammaticality.

- (123) \*Ali      [Can-ın      ödev-i                  yap-ma-sın-a]                  {başla-/ çalış-/  
 Ali.NOM      Can-GEN assignment-ACC do-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT start-/ try-/  
 çabala-/                  devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-tı.  
 make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/ strive-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/ attempted/ strived}  
 Can’s doing the assignment.’

The cause of ungrammaticality in (123) cannot be the overt embedded subject. When the embedded subject is changed to *pro*, which could potentially refer to *Ali*, the sentence is still ungrammatical. This is shown in (124).

- (124) \*Ali<sub>i</sub>      [*pro*<sub>i/j</sub> ödev-i                  yap-ma-sın-a]                  {başla-/ çalış-/  
 Ali.NOM                  assignment-ACC do-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT start-/ try-/  
 çabala-/                  devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-tı.  
 make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/ strive}-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/ attempted/ strived}  
 (his/her) doing the assignment.’

This suggests that the contrast stems from allowing a non-control configuration. As I have shown in Section 3.2, restructuring LOM verbs are EC verbs, whereas non-restructuring LOM verbs are PC verbs. As EC verbs, restructuring LOM verbs do not allow a non-control configuration, while as PC verbs non-restructuring LOM verbs allow it.

Another kind of nominalized clause in Turkish is formed with the nominalizer -DİK/-(Y)ACAĞ. Unlike infinitival ones, these nominalized clauses have a temporal specification. While -DİK denotes present/past, -(Y)ACAĞ denotes future. Among all the LOM verbs, *karar ver-* ‘decide’ is the only one that can embed a nominalized -DİK/-(Y)ACAĞ clause. The contrast between *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and the other verbs is shown in (125a-c) below. The meaning of *karar ver-* ‘decide’ changes from ‘make a decision’ to something like ‘come to a conclusion’ in (125a), similar to how the English sense of ‘decide’ changes between complements starting with ‘to’ versus ‘that’.

- (125) a. Ali [Can-ın ödev-i yap-tığ/acağ-ın-a]  
 Ali.NOM Can-GEN assignment-ACC do-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-DAT  
 karar ver-di.  
 decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided that Can {did/ will do} the assignment.’
- b. \*Ali [Can-ın ödev-i yap-tığ/acağ-ın-ı] iste-di.  
 Ali.NOM Can-GEN assignment-ACC do-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC want-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali wanted that Can {did/ will do} the assignment.’
- c. \*Ali [Can-ın ödev-i yap-tığ/acağ-ın-a] {başla-/  
 Ali.NOM Can-GEN assignment-ACC do-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-DAT start-/  
 çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-tı.  
 try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/ strive-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/ attempted/ strived}  
 that Can {did/ will do} the assignment.’

*Karar ver-* ‘decide’ is the only LOM verb that can take this type of nominalized complement clause. This is not a property that aligns cleanly with whether a given LOM verb belongs to the group of restructuring LOM or non-restructuring LOM verbs.

Lastly, LOM verbs also differ in their selection of a regular DP complement. While it is possible for *karar ver-* ‘decide’, *iste-* ‘want’, *başla-* ‘start’, and *devam et-* ‘continue’ to take a DP complement, this is not possible for *çalış-* ‘try’, *çabala-* ‘make an effort’, *kalkış-* ‘attempt’, and *uğraş-* ‘strive’. The contrast is shown in (126a-d) with the DP *bu araba* ‘this car’.

- (126) a. Ali bu araba-ya karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM this car-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided on this car.’
- b. Ali bu araba-yı iste-di.  
 Ali.NOM this car-ACC want-PST  
 ‘Ali wanted this car.’
- c. Ali bu araba-ya {başla-/ devam et}-ti.  
 Ali.NOM this car-DAT start-/ continue-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali {started/ continued} (doing something to) this car.’
- d. \*Ali bu araba-ya {çalış-/ çabala-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-tı.  
 Ali.NOM this car-DAT try-/ make.an.effort-/ attempt-/ strive-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali {tried/ made an effort/ attempted/ strived} (doing something to) this car.’

This is again a property that does not correlate with the restructuring vs. non-restructuring status of a given LOM verb. While both non-restructuring LOM verbs *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’ take the DP *bu araba* ‘this car’ as their complement, some of the restructuring LOM verbs can as well.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>With *başla-* ‘start’ and *devam et-* ‘continue’, there needs to be a contextually salient event in which this DP is the theme object. Hence, (126c) is a bit odd out of the blue, and sounds better with a context such as Ali being in a car shop washing cars one by one. In that case, (126c) means that Ali started/continued washing a particular car. If an adverb such as *üç saatiğine* ‘for three hours’ is added to this sentence, a reading emerges in which the adverb modifies the washing event. There is not a requirement for such a context with *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’. Out of the blue, (126a) means something like ‘Ali chose this car’ and (126b) means ‘Ali wanted to have this car’.

To conclude, I summarize in Table 3.4 the selectional differences between restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs presented in this section.<sup>13</sup>

**Table 3.4.** Selectional properties of LOM verbs

<b>Complements selected</b>	<b>Restructuring LOM Verbs</b>	<b>Non-restructuring LOM Verbs</b>
infinitival nominalizations with a separate subject	*	✓
-DIK/-(Y)ACAK nominalizations with a separate subject	*	%
regular DPs	%	✓

### 3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on the similarities and differences between the two classes of LOM verbs. In Section 3.1, I divided LOM verbs into two groups based on their compatibility with the local passive: restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs. In Section 3.2, I illustrated that LOM verbs are obligatory control verbs that take an infinitival complement with a PRO subject. Furthermore, I showed that restructuring LOM verbs are exhaustive control verbs, while non-restructuring LOM verbs are partial control verbs. In Section 3.3, I presented data showing long passives in environments where both groups of LOM verbs exhibit the same behavior. Section 3.4 laid out long passive data for other environments, where restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs behave differently. Finally, in Section 3.5, I presented data on the types of complements selected by non-restructuring LOM versus restructuring LOM verbs. LOM verbs contrast across and within their groups in terms of the types of complements they select. These are summarized in Table 3.5.

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<sup>13</sup>The percent sign (%) indicates that there is variation within a class of verbs.

**Table 3.5.** Similarities and differences between restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs

<b>Environments</b>	<b>Restructuring LOM Verbs</b>	<b>Non-restr. LOM Verbs</b>
separate adverbial modification of the embedded verb in long passives	✓	✓
negation of the embedded verb in long passives	✓	✓
free co-occurrence of multiple restr. verbs in long passives	✓	✓
independent passive voice of the embedded verb in long passives	✓	✓
modality marker on the embedded verb in long passives	✓	✓
de re and de dicto interpretations of the subject DP in long passives	✓	✓
different temporal adv. modification of the two verbs in long passives and active constructions	*	✓
aspectual marker on the embedded verb in long passives	*	✓
independent reference between implicit agents in long passives	*	✓
partial control of the embedded PRO subject in active constructions	*	✓
nominalized infinitival complements with a separate genitive subject	*	✓
nominalized -DIK/- (Y)ACAk complements with a separate genitive subject	*	%
regular DP complements	%	✓

## CHAPTER 4

### PROPOSAL

In this chapter, I propose a system that derives LOM in Turkish. As shown in Chapter 2, both classes of LOM verbs in Turkish are lexical verbs, not functional heads (cf. Cinque, 2006). As a result, Turkish LOM configurations are bi-clausal rather than mono-clausal as might be the case for English modals like ‘might’. In addition, both the restructuring and the non-restructuring infinitives in LOM configurations are larger than VPs, and the embedding restructuring or non-restructuring LOM verb and the embedded infinitival verb do not combine to form a complex verb when they are adjacent (cf. Keine and Bhatt, 2016). Lastly, the voice and the implicit agent of the infinitival verb is independent from the voice and the (implicit) agent of the embedding restructuring LOM or non-restructuring LOM verb (cf. Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017). The system I propose here captures these facts. It also derives the differences between restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verb classes in Turkish.

As illustrated earlier in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, the main difference between restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs is the type of their infinitival complement. Restructuring LOM verbs select a restructuring infinitive, while non-restructuring LOM verbs select a non-restructuring infinitive. Restructuring infinitives lack structural accusative case for an embedded object, but non-restructuring infinitives do not. Hence, passivizing a non-restructuring LOM verb does not affect the availability of accusative case inside its infinitival complement; there can be an embedded object marked with structural accusative case. Because a non-restructuring





b. WITH A NON-RESTRUCTURING LOM VERB

Dün (tamirciler<sub>i</sub> tarafından) [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-yı boya-mak]  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-ACC paint-INF  
 iste-n-di.  
 want-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was wanted to paint this old car.’

c. WITH RESTRUCTURING LOM VERBS

\*Dün (tamirciler<sub>i</sub> tarafından) [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-yı  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car(-ACC)  
 boya-ma-ya] {başla-/ çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/ kalkış-/  
 paint-INF-DAT start-/ try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/  
 uğraş}-ıl-dı.  
 strive-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was {started/ tried/ made an effort/  
 continued/ attempted/ strived} to paint this old car.’

Based on this contrast, *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’ are classified as non-restructuring LOM verbs while *başla-* ‘start’, *çalış-* ‘try’, *çabala-* ‘make an effort’, *devam et-* ‘continue’, *kalkış-* ‘attempt’, and *uğraş-* ‘strive’ are grouped as restructuring LOM verbs in Chapters 1 and 3. The analysis proposed here aims to derive this contrast.

In LOM configurations, unlike the local passive, the embedded verb must be in passive voice. This requirement holds for both non-restructuring LOM and restructuring LOM verbs. In (128a-c), the embedded object *bu eski araba* ‘this old car’ moves to the main clause subject position via LOM, and surfaces preceding the matrix by-phrase *tamirciler tarafından* ‘by the mechanics’. The embedded verb *boya-* ‘paint’ needs to be marked with the passive voice morpheme -N. This is shown with the non-restructuring LOM verbs *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’ in (128a-b), and

with the restructuring LOM verbs *başla-* ‘start’, *çalış-* ‘try’, *çabala-* ‘make an effort’, *devam et-* ‘continue’, *kalkış-* ‘attempt’, and *uğraş-* ‘strive’ in (128c).

(128) LONG PASSIVE

a. WITH A NON-RESTRUCTURING LOM VERB

Dün bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> (tamirciler tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub>  
 yesterday this old car.NOM (mechanics by)  
 boya-\*(n)-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 paint-(PASS)-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) this old car was decided to be painted.’

b. WITH A NON-RESTRUCTURING LOM VERB

Dün bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> (tamirciler tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub> boya-\*(n)-mak]  
 yesterday this old car.NOM (mechanics by) paint-(PASS)-INF  
 iste-n-di.  
 want-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) this old car was wanted to be painted.’

c. WITH RESTRUCTURING LOM VERBS

Dün bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> (tamirciler tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub>  
 yesterday this old car.NOM (mechanics by)  
 boya-\*(n)-ma-ya] {başla-/ çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/  
 paint-(PASS)-INF-DAT start-/ try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/  
 kalkış-/ uğraş}-il-di.  
 attempt-/ strive-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) this old car was {started/ tried/ made  
 an effort/ continued/ attempted/ strived} to be painted.’

As also discussed in Chapter 2, the passive voice requirement for the embedded verb needs to be derived without making it dependent on the voice of the embedding verb. The analysis presented here seeks to account for this independence.

Another crucial phenomenon that the proposal must derive is the fact that there is a group of subject control verbs that take infinitival complements and they allow local passive but not LOM. They select non-restructuring infinitives that are not case-dependent on the matrix domain and allow a local passive configuration. This is a property they share with non-restructuring LOM verbs. On the other hand, they do not allow LOM, a contrast they have with both restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs. These properties make them non-restructuring non-LOM verbs, different from both of the other two classes. The availability of the local passive and the unavailability of LOM for two of the verbs that belong to this class is shown below. In the local passive structure in (129a) the embedded object *bu eski araba* ‘this old car’ is marked with structural accusative case. In the long passive configuration in (129b), the same object moves to the main clause subject position via LOM. It appears in nominative form, preceding the matrix by-phrase *tamirciler tarafından* ‘by the mechanics’. While the local passive in (129a) is grammatical, the long passive in (129b) is not.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Some other non-restructuring non-LOM verbs are: *alış-* ‘get used to’, *cesaret et-* ‘dare’, *çekin-* ‘abstain’, *kaçın-* ‘avoid’, *kork-* ‘be afraid’, *pişmanlık duy-* ‘regret’, *sakın-* ‘beware’, *tenezzül et-* ‘condescend’, and *zahmet et-* ‘bother’.

(129) NON-RESTRUCTURING NON-LOM VERBS

a. LOCAL PASSIVE

Dün (tamirciler<sub>i</sub> tarafından) [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-yı  
yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-ACC  
boya-ma-ya] {niyet-/ cüret ed}-il-di.  
paint-INF-DAT intend-/ dare-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was {intended/ dared} to paint this old car.’

b. LONG PASSIVE

\*Dün bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> (tamirciler tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub>  
yesterday this old car.NOM (mechanics by)  
boya-n-ma-ya] {niyet-/ cüret ed}-il-di.  
paint-PASS-INF-DAT intend-/ dare-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) this old car was {intended/ dared} to be painted.’

In their lack of transparency for A-movement (i.e., allowing LOM), non-restructuring non-LOM verbs behave differently from both non-restructuring LOM and restructuring LOM verbs. Nonetheless, non-restructuring non-LOM verbs share with non-restructuring LOM verbs the ability to select an infinitive with an accusative case-marked object: the local passive. What emerges is a three-way distinction, which this proposal aims to capture and which is laid out in Table 4.1 below.

**Table 4.1.** Classification of (non-)restructuring (non-)LOM verbs

Verb Class	Infinitival Complement	Local Passive	Long Passive (LOM)
Restructuring LOM (e.g., <i>çalış-</i> ‘try’)	restructuring	✗	✓
Non-restructuring LOM (e.g., <i>karar ver-</i> ‘decide’)	non-restructuring	✓	✓
Non-restructuring non-LOM (e.g., <i>niyet et-</i> ‘intend’)	non-restructuring	✓	✗

The proposal is presented in three different sections divided as follows. Section 4.1 focuses on deriving the local passive’s ungrammaticality with restructuring LOM verbs and grammaticality with non-restructuring LOM verbs and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs. I propose that this is tied to the selectional requirement of a restructuring LOM verb and the size of its infinitival complement. For their infinitival complements, restructuring LOM verbs select a special Voice head. Even when the embedded Voice head is an active Voice head, it lacks an accusative case feature. That is why local passive with an embedded accusative object is ungrammatical with restructuring LOM verbs. I assume VoicePs and CPs are phases (Chomsky, 2001). In that case, the infinitives selected by restructuring LOM verbs lack a CP phase. As discussed in the previous chapter, I classify restructuring LOM verbs as non-attitude subject control verbs that take infinitival complements lacking a C head (following Landau, 2015). As the infinitives lack a CP domain, the embedded Voice head is accessible to the embedding restructuring LOM verb for syntactic selection. This obeys the Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC1) (Chomsky, 2000), given below.

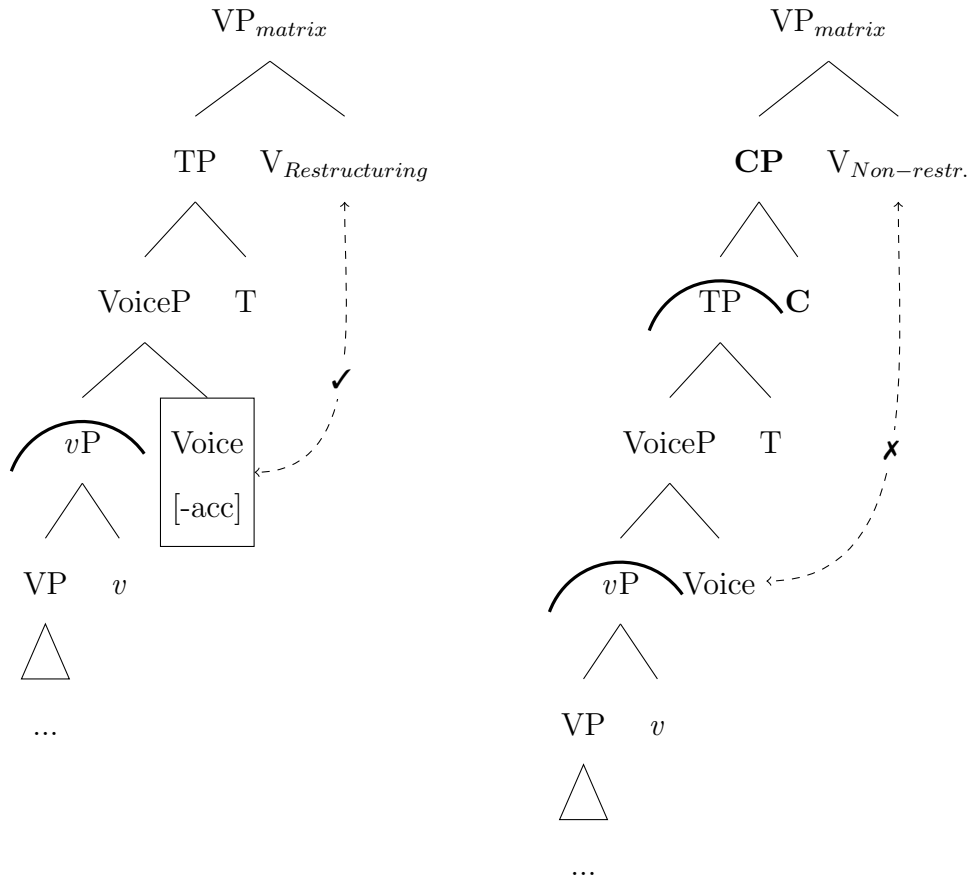
(130) Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC1):

In phase  $\alpha$  with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside  $\alpha$ , only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

(Chomsky, 2000: 108)

Conversely, the infinitival complements of non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs do possess a CP domain. The presence of a CP-phase in the embedded domain makes the embedded Voice head inaccessible to the embedding verb. This derives the grammaticality of local passives with non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs. Unlike with restructuring LOM verbs, there is no special Voice head selection in the case of non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs. Thus, the infinitival complements of non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs have a regular Voice head. When the embedded Voice head is an active Voice head, accusative case is available for an embedded object. The two configurations are given below for comparison.<sup>2</sup>

(131) a. Special Voice head selection:    b. No special Voice head selection:



<sup>2</sup>In the system in Landau (2015), there is also a FinP layer in the infinitival complements of non-attitude verbs. The FinP has a [uD] feature that attracts the PRO in Spec-TP, creating the lambda abstract. I simplify the analysis by skipping this part. FinP is not a phase projection, so it is compatible with the analysis I propose.

In Chapter 3, I have shown that partial control is available with non-restructuring LOM verbs, but not with restructuring LOM verbs. I present data later in Section 4.3 that shows non-restructuring non-LOM verbs also allow partial control. This supports the claim that non-restructuring non-LOM verbs are also attitude verbs that take a CP complement (following Landau, 2015).

In Section 4.2, I derive the passive voice requirement for infinitival verbs in LOM configurations. This portion of the proposal begins by showing that LOM does not happen in one fell swoop. I propose that the embedded subject position (i.e., Spec-TP) is used as the intermediate landing site. If the embedded verb is in active voice, it introduces an external argument in its specifier (Kratzer, 1996). In the infinitival complement, this argument is PRO. I propose that PRO acts as an intervener and blocks the embedded DP from moving to Spec-TP by being the closer goal to T, in which case PRO bears the *phi*-features sought by the T head (Sigurðsson, 1991; Landau, 2003; Šereikaitė, 2020). This is a Relativized Minimality effect (Rizzi, 1990) and it explains the requirement for a passive-voiced embedded verb in LOM configurations. When the embedded verb is in passive voice, there is no PRO in the external argument position. The external argument is not projected; the implicit agent is interpreted existentially in the absence of a *by*-phrase (Bruening, 2013; Legate, 2014; Legate et al., 2020; Akkuş, 2021). Hence, the implicit agent does not block the use of an intermediate landing site in LOM.

The derivation below illustrates the intervention by PRO. In (132), the embedded object leaves the embedded VP domain for case or licensing reasons and moves to a lower specifier of the embedded Voice head, where it gets interpreted as specific (Kelepir, 2001; Öztürk, 2005; Predolac, 2017 a.o.).<sup>3</sup> However, it cannot further move

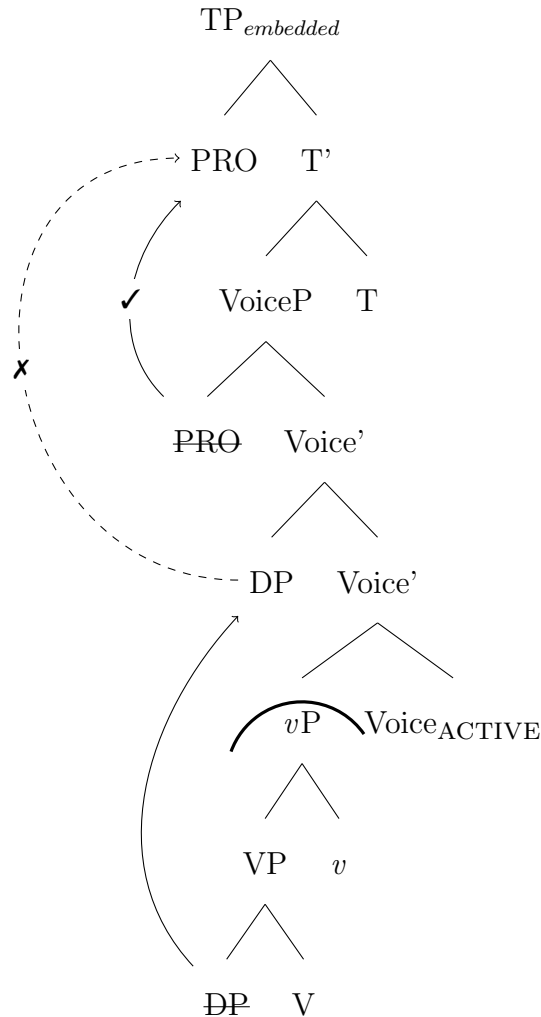
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<sup>3</sup>I follow the studies on Differential Object Marking (DOM) that attribute the specificity of an accusative object to its structural height relative to VP (Diesing, 1992; Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou, 1996; Torrego, 1998; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, 2007; Jenkins, 2021).



to the embedded Spec-TP, over PRO. In the specifier of the embedded VoiceP, PRO is the closer goal to the embedded T, and therefore PRO, not the embedded DP, moves to embedded Spec-TP.

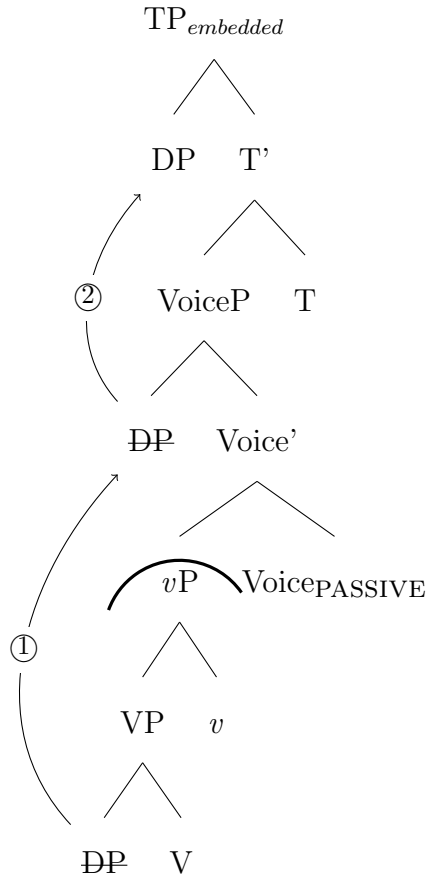
(132) PRO moves to embedded Spec-TP, blocking movement of the object:



In contrast to (132), when the embedded Voice is a passive Voice head, there is no PRO external argument. The embedded DP first leaves its base-merge position and moves to the specifier of embedded VoiceP.<sup>4</sup> From embedded Spec-VoiceP, the embedded object can move to embedded Spec-TP. This is shown in (133).

<sup>4</sup>I assume passive Voice has an escape hatch, following Legate (2003) and Deal (2009).

(133) If there is no PRO, the embedded object can move to embedded Spec-TP:



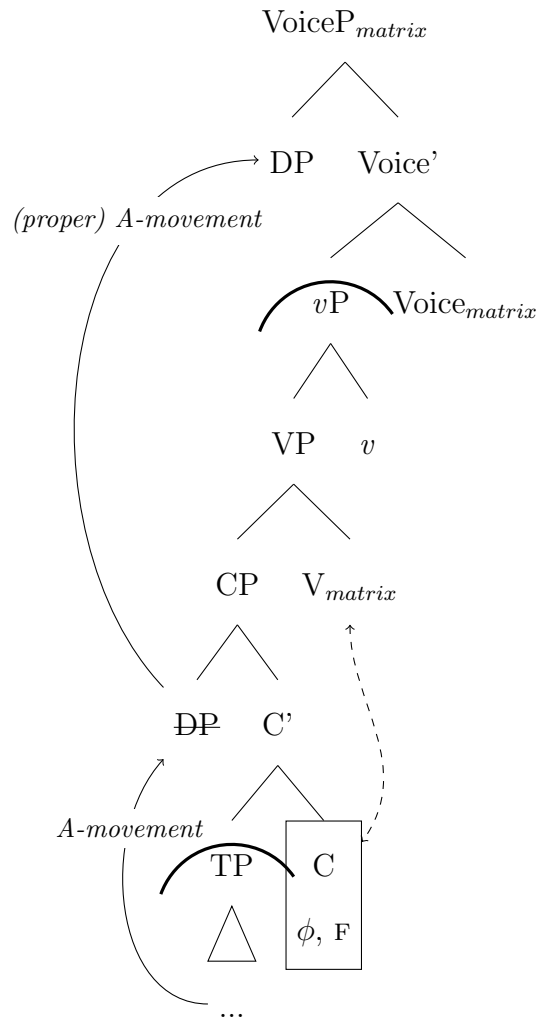
Finally, Section 4.3 focuses on the LOM contrast between non-restructuring LOM verbs (e.g., *karar ver-* ‘decide’) and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs (e.g., *niyet et-* ‘intend’). Although both are CP complements, infinitives embedded by non-restructuring LOM verbs allow A-movement out of them while infinitives embedded by non-restructuring non-LOM verbs do not. I derive this contrast by proposing that the specifier of a CP is not intrinsically an  $\bar{A}$ -position, it can be an A-position as well. This has been proposed for Japanese (Takeuchi, 2010), Dinka (van Urk, 2015) and Mongolian (Fong, 2019), and I present ECM and hyperraising examples from Turkish to support this analysis. I also propose that non-restructuring LOM verbs embed a CP with a mixed A/ $\bar{A}$ -position specifier by selecting a C head with *phi-*

features (in addition to  $F$ -features related to  $\bar{A}$ -movement).<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, non-restructuring non-LOM verbs select a C head without  $\phi$ -features for their CP complements. With non-restructuring non-LOM verbs, any movement to embedded Spec-CP is  $\bar{A}$ -movement. Thus, the A-movement that follows this  $\bar{A}$ -movement step in LOM results in improper A-movement. This is not the case with non-restructuring LOM: both the movement to the embedded Spec-CP and the movement out of that position are instances of A-movement. Both configurations are given below.

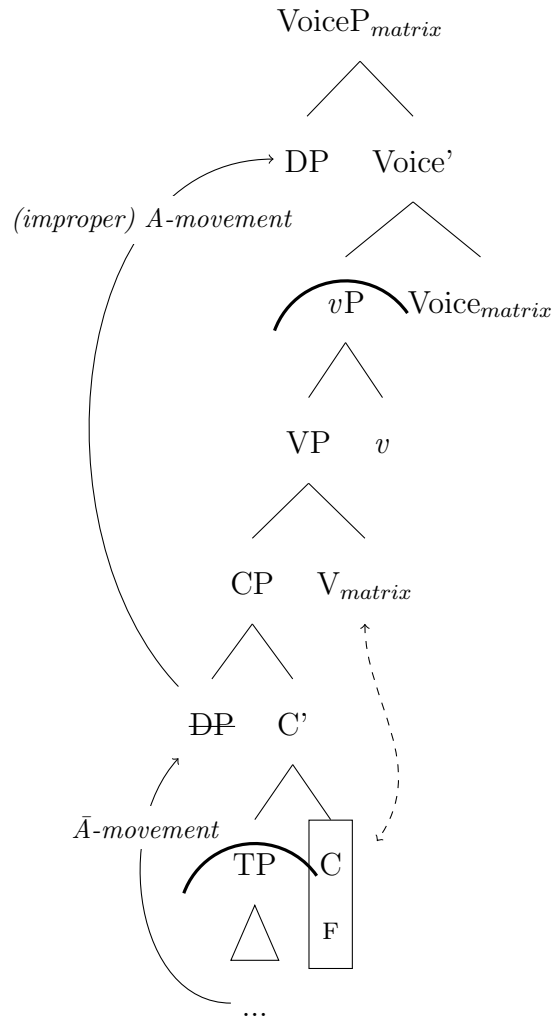
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<sup>5</sup>Note that the null C head bears no morphological reflex of the  $\phi$ -features (or  $F$ -features). The complementizer *gej* in Mongolian also lacks a morphological reflex of its  $\phi$ -features (Fong, 2019).

(134) Proper A-movement from the embedded CP edge with non-restructuring LOM verbs:



- (135) Improper A-movement from the embedded CP edge with non-restructuring non-LOM verbs:



The remaining sections of this chapter are organized as follows. In Section 4.4, I present data on grammatical configurations formed with LOM verbs without an object undergoing LOM. I show that embedded voice is independent of matrix voice in the absence of LOM, which supports the analysis of LOM presented in Sections 4.1-4.3. In Section 4.5, I focus on ungrammatical configurations formed with LOM verbs. The first subsection focuses on configurations with a passive LOM verb and an embedded active verb. In these ungrammatical configurations, a DP cannot undergo A-movement to the matrix subject position from the subject position of an embedded transitive verb or from the object position of an embedded unaccusative

verb. The LOM mechanism I propose predicts these movements to be possible, but they are not. I leave this issue for future research. The second subsection presents ungrammatical configurations with an active LOM verb and a non-active embedded verb. The embedded verb has to be in active voice unless it is a passive transitive verb with a PRO (theme) subject. I propose a hypothesis about non-nominalized infinitives and control to capture this restriction. In Section 4.6, I present LOM and local passive configurations formed with multiple LOM verbs where an LOM verb embeds another LOM verb. Their (un)grammaticality is as predicted, which further supports the proposal. In Section 4.7, I show that the analysis can be extended to the so-called middle construction in Turkish; LOM is indeed possible when the embedded structure is a middle construction. In Section 4.8, I summarize the implicit control relations observed with restructuring and non-restructuring LOM verbs. While the matrix and embedded implicit agents obligatorily co-refer in LOM configurations formed with restructuring LOM verbs, they can receive independent reference with non-restructuring LOM verbs. This is surprising since the implicit agent of a restructuring infinitive gets disjoint reference in the presence of an embedded PRO subject. I leave this puzzle for future work. Section 4.9 summarizes the chapter.

## 4.1 Local Passive and Special Voice Head Selection

In this section, I present my proposal for when accusative case is available for an embedded object and when it is not. This depends on the type and voice of the embedding verb. Embedded objects marked with structural accusative case are grammatical when both the embedded and embedding verbs are in active voice. In such configurations, the embedding verb can be a non-restructuring LOM verb, a non-restructuring non-LOM verb, or a restructuring LOM verb. This is shown in (136a-c), with the embedded object *bu eski araba* ‘this old car’, bearing the accusative case marker -(Y)I. The embedded predicate *boya-* ‘paint’ is in active voice, along with

the matrix verb. In (136a), the matrix verb is the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’. Keeping the other elements of the sentence the same, the matrix verb can be replaced by either *cüret et-* ‘dare’ or *niyet et-* ‘intend’, as in (136b). Both are non-restructuring non-LOM verbs. As shown in (136c), the matrix verb can also be any of the restructuring LOM verbs: *başla-* ‘start’, *çalış-* ‘try’, *çabala-* ‘make an effort’, *devam et-* ‘continue’, *kalkış-* ‘attempt’, and *uğraş-* ‘strive’.

(136) ACTIVE

a. WITH A NON-RESTRUCTURING LOM VERB

Dün tamirciler<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya]  
 yesterday mechanics.NOM this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-di.  
 decide-PST  
 ‘Yesterday, the mechanics decided to paint this old car.’

b. WITH NON-RESTRUCTURING NON-LOM VERBS

Dün tamirciler<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya]  
 yesterday mechanics.NOM this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT  
 {niyet-/ cüret et}-ti.  
 intend-/ dare-PST  
 ‘Yesterday, the mechanics {intended/ dared} to paint this old car.’

c. WITH RESTRUCTURING LOM VERBS

Dün tamirciler<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya]  
 yesterday mechanics.NOM this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT  
 {başla-/ çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-tı.  
 start-/ try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/ strive-PST  
 ‘Yesterday, the mechanics {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/  
 attempted/ strived} to paint this old car.’

When the matrix verbs in (136a-c) are passivized, the resulting configuration is the local passive. Recall that only some matrix verbs can form local passive configurations: non-restructuring LOM verbs and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs. In a local passive configuration, the embedding LOM verb is in passive voice, while the embedded infinitival verb is in active voice, with an embedded object that gets structural accusative case. The grammaticality of the local passive shows that structural accusative case is available inside an embedded infinitive independently from the matrix domain. These infinitives are non-restructuring infinitives, and non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs can select them. Thus, the local passive is grammatical with non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs. For example, in (137a), the matrix verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’ is a non-restructuring LOM verb in passive voice, and the embedded verb *boya-* ‘paint’ is in active voice with an accusative case-marked embedded object *bu eski araba-yı* ‘this old car’. As shown in (137b), the matrix verb can be replaced by either *niyet et-* ‘intend’ or *cüret et-* ‘dare’. Both are non-restructuring non-LOM verbs, and in passive they can embed the same active-voiced infinitival verb and the same embedded accusative object.

(137) LOCAL PASSIVE

a. WITH A NON-RESTRUCTURING LOM VERB

Dün            (tamirciler<sub>i</sub> tarafından) [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-yı  
 yesterday (mechanics by)                                    this old car-ACC  
 boya-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 paint-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was decided to paint this old car.’



b. WITH NON-RESTRUCTURING NON-LOM VERBS

Dün (tamirciler<sub>i</sub> tarafından) [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-yı  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-ACC  
 boya-ma-ya] {niyet-/ cüret ed}-il-di.  
 paint-INF-DAT intend-/ dare-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was {intended/ dared} to paint this old car.’

The local passive is not grammatical with restructuring LOM verbs. This is because these verbs select restructuring infinitives that lack structural accusative case for an embedded object. In (138), the restructuring LOM verbs are in passive voice. As matrix verbs, they embed the active-voiced infinitival *boya-* ‘paint’, which has an accusative case-marked object *bu eski araba-yı* ‘this old car-ACC’. The configuration is ungrammatical.

(138) LOCAL PASSIVE WITH RESTRUCTURING LOM VERBS

\*Dün (tamirciler<sub>i</sub> tarafından) [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya]  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT  
 {başla-/ çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-il-di.  
 start-/ try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/ strive-PASS-PST

Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/ attempted/ strived} to paint this old car.’

Note that the cause of ungrammaticality in (138) cannot be just the voice mismatch between the passive-voiced matrix and the active-voiced embedded verbs. The voice mismatch is allowed if the embedded object is marked with oblique case or it is pseudo-incorporated. This is shown below with *çalış-* ‘try’ as the passive-voiced matrix verb. In (139a) the active-voiced embedded verb is *bak-* ‘look at’ and the

oblique object is *araba-ya* ‘the car-DAT’, while in (139b) the active-voiced embedded verb is *oku-* ‘read’ and the embedded object *kitap* ‘book’ is pseudo-incorporated.

- (139) a. (?)Dün (tamirciler<sub>i</sub> tarafından) [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-ya  
 yesterday (mechanics by) this old car-DAT  
 bak-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 look-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) it was tried to look at this old car.’
- b. (?)Dün (öğrenciler<sub>i</sub> tarafından) [PRO<sub>i</sub> hızlı kitap oku-ma-ya]  
 yesterday (students by) fast book read-INF-DAT  
 çalış-ıl-dı.  
 try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the students) it was tried to do fast book-reading.’

Later in the chapter I present more data on embedded objects like these and provide a more detailed explanation of their case assignment and licensing. The crucial point here is that the contrast between (138) and (139) supports the claim that restructuring LOM verbs like *çalış-* ‘try’ select restructuring infinitives that lack structural accusative case for an embedded object. This sets them apart from non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs.

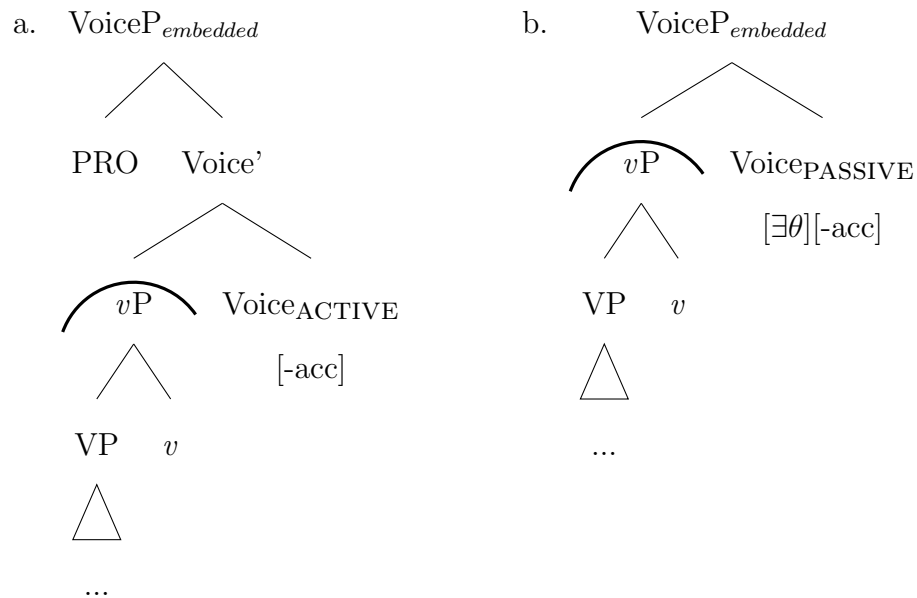
I propose a mechanism to account for this contrast, explaining why the local passive is grammatical with non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs, but ungrammatical with restructuring LOM verbs. Central to this mechanism is a special Voice head, which only restructuring LOM verbs c-select as the Voice head of their infinitival complements.<sup>6</sup> This Voice head is ‘special’ in that it lacks an accusative case feature, but is not deficient otherwise (cf. Wurmbrand and Shima-

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<sup>6</sup>I assume that c-selection can be ‘long distance’ and not limited to sisterhood (Adger, 2010; Cowper, 2010; Pietraszko, 2016; Pappas and Akkuz, 2023).

mura, 2017). The special Voice head can be an active or passive Voice head, since it has its own voice feature. Like a regular Voice head, it introduces an external argument (Kratzer, 1996). This external argument is PRO when the special Voice head is active. When it is passive, the implicit agent is an individual variable on the Voice head, and it is existentially closed in the absence of a by-phrase (Bruening, 2013; Legate, 2014; Legate et al., 2020; Akkuş, 2021). The active and passive embedded Voice heads are shown in (140a-b) below.

(140) Embedded active (a) and passive (b) special Voice heads:<sup>7</sup>



Given the assumption that VoicePs and CPs are phases (Chomsky, 2001), I propose that this special Voice head can be selected by restructuring LOM verbs because their infinitives do not have a CP layer. As shown in Chapter 2, various projections in the Tense Modality Aspect Modality (TMA) domain and possibly a Negation projection can be found above the VoiceP in infinitives selected by restructuring LOM

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<sup>7</sup>The label [-acc] represents the absence of an accusative feature. I am not proposing a feature that is [-acc]. Later, I use [+acc] to represent the presence of an accusative feature.

verbs. Since these are not phases, the head and the specifier of the embedded VoiceP is accessible to the embedding LOM verb. Taking c-selection as a kind of operation, this is in line with the Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC1)(Chomsky, 2000), repeated below.

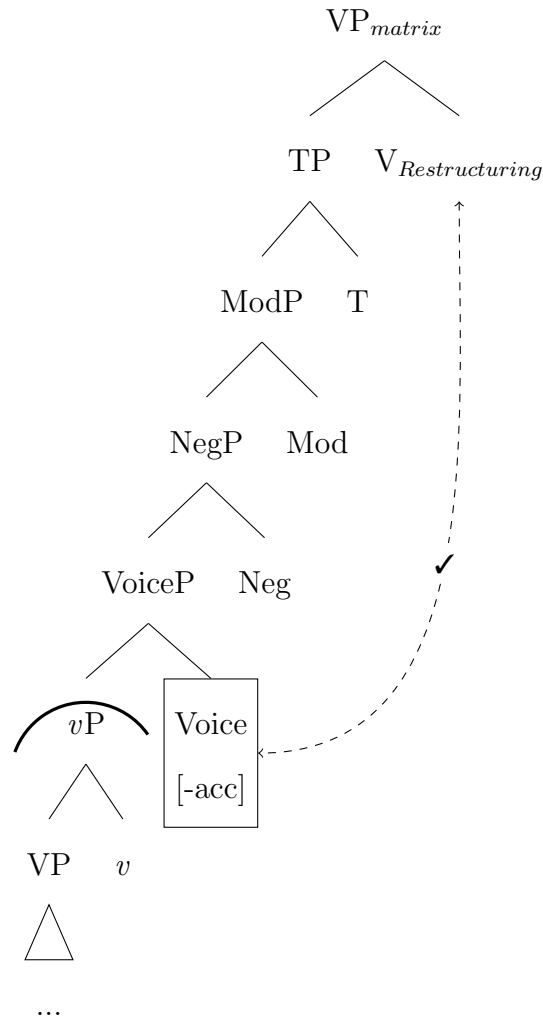
(141) Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC1):

In phase  $\alpha$  with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside  $\alpha$ , only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

(Chomsky, 2000: 108)

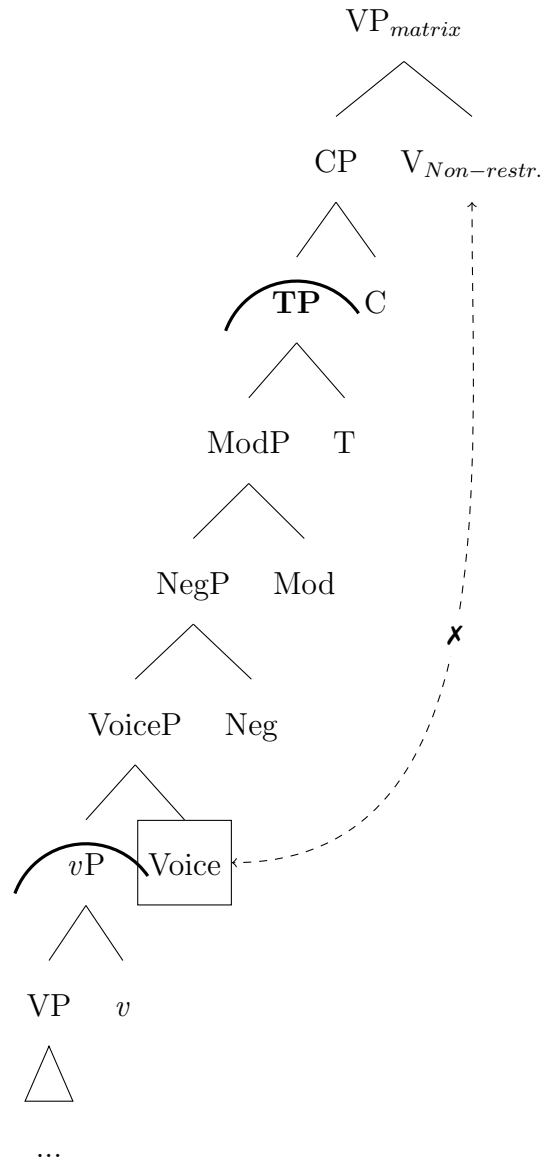
The configuration encountered with special Voice head selection is given in (142), where the embedded Voice head is accessible to the matrix verb.

(142) Special Voice head selection by a restructuring LOM verb:



In contrast to the infinitives selected by restructuring LOM verbs, the infinitival complements of non-restructuring LOM verbs and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs have a CP projection. The CP phase makes the embedded VoiceP inaccessible to the embedding verb, blocking special Voice head selection. This derives the availability of the local passive with these infinitives. Because these verbs cannot select a special Voice head lacking structural accusative case, the embedded Voice head is always a regular Voice head that has an accusative case feature when active. This configuration is illustrated below. The complement of the embedded C head is not accessible to the matrix verb, as shown in (143).

- (143) No special Voice head selection by a non-restructuring LOM or non-restructuring non-LOM verb:



In (142), there is no phase projection between the embedding restructuring LOM verb and the embedded VoiceP, whereas in (143) there is a CP phase. The CP phase in the latter configuration makes the embedded VoiceP domain inaccessible to the embedding non-restructuring LOM or non-restructuring non-LOM verb. As a result, special Voice head selection is not possible. This renders accusative case available when the embedded Voice head is an active Voice head. Whether the embedding

non-restructuring LOM or non-restructuring non-LOM verb is in passive or active voice does not affect the availability of structural accusative case in the embedded domain. When the embedding verb is passivized in the local passive, structural accusative case is available inside the embedded infinitive.

In contrast, the special Voice head selected by an embedding restructuring LOM verb is dependent on the matrix Voice head for an accusative case feature. When the matrix Voice head is a passive Voice head, the matrix domain lacks accusative case as well as the embedded domain. As a result, the local passive is ungrammatical with restructuring LOM verbs. On the other hand, when both the embedding restructuring LOM verb and the embedded verb are in active voice, an accusative case-marked object is grammatical. The relevant example was given in (136c), repeated in (144). The embedded verb *boya-* ‘paint’, and the embedding restructuring LOM verbs are in active voice. The embedded object *bu eski araba* ‘this old car’ is in accusative case.

- (144) Dün tamirciler<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> bu eski araba-yı boya-ma-ya] {başla-/  
 yesterday mechanics.NOM this old car-ACC paint-INF-DAT start-/  
 çalış-/ çabala-/ devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-tı.  
 try-/ make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/ strive-PST  
 ‘Yesterday, the mechanics {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/ at-  
 tempted/ strived} to paint this old car.’

I propose that the embedded Voice head receives the necessary accusative case feature from the embedding Voice head, and assigns accusative case to the object DP locally.<sup>8</sup> The embedded object surfaces in the embedded clause, following an adverb that modifies the embedded verb. This is shown in (145) with the restructuring LOM

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<sup>8</sup>I assume that lexical case on the embedded infinitive is assigned by the matrix V. Thus, the matrix Voice head can have an accusative case feature that is not assigned to an internal argument.

verb *çalış-* ‘try’. The embedded verb *boya* ‘paint’ is modified by *iki saat içinde* ‘within two hours’.

- (145) Dün tamirciler<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> iki saat içinde bu eski araba-yı  
yesterday mechanics.NOM two hour within this old car-ACC  
boya-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
paint-INF-DAT try-PST  
‘Yesterday, the mechanics tried to paint this old car within two hours.’

In Wurmbrand and Shimamura’s (2017) system, presented in Chapter 2, the embedded Voice head of the infinitival complement of all restructuring verbs receives its voice feature and the index and *phi*-features of its implicit agent from the embedding Voice head. This happens before the matrix *vP* is spelled out. That is how the embedded verb gets spelled out in passive form in voice-matching languages. I propose that a similar feature-sharing mechanism is possible between an embedded Voice head and an embedding Voice head, but only for accusative case feature-sharing. This operation obeys PIC1 (Chomsky, 2000) since there is no other phase head between the two Voice heads.<sup>9</sup> The configuration is given in (146). First, the matrix restructuring LOM verb selects a special Voice head that lacks an accusative case feature. Then, the matrix active Voice head shares its accusative case feature with the embedded Special Voice head.<sup>10</sup>

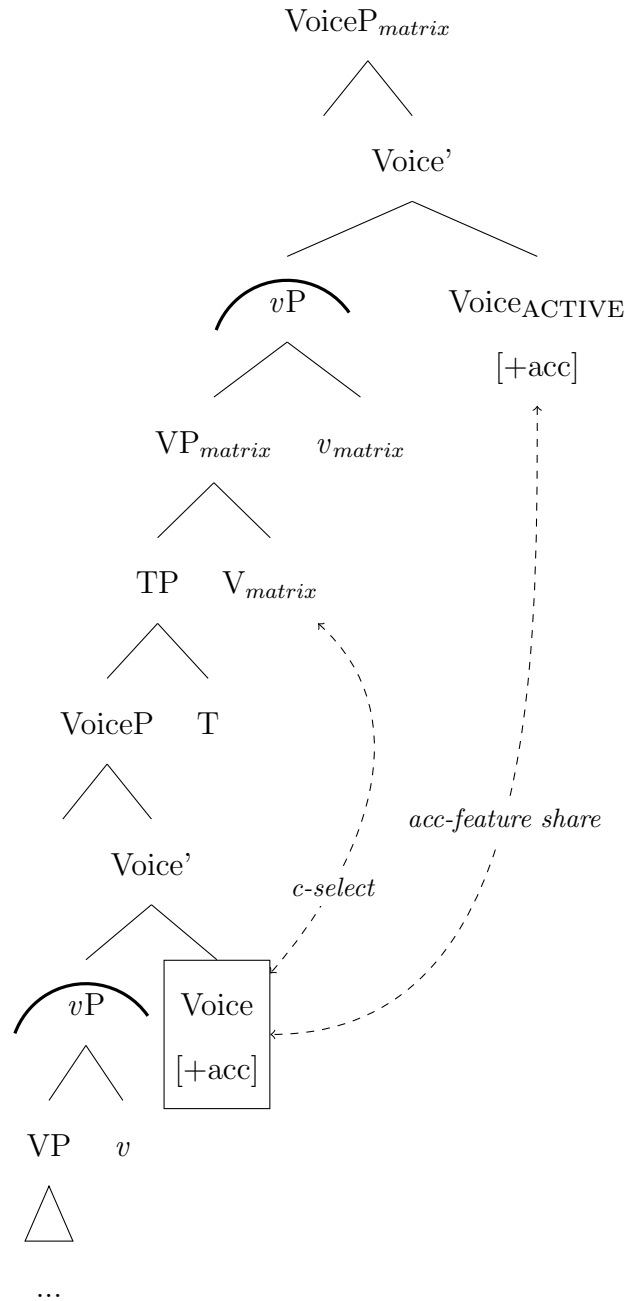
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<sup>9</sup>Alternatively, the matrix Voice head is the direct assigner of accusative case for the embedded object. I choose the feature-sharing mechanism and argue that the embedded Voice head is the assigner in order to keep case-checking more local. The embedded object surfaces inside the embedded infinitive. Also, the embedded Voice needs to be an active Voice head. If embedded Voice is not the assigner, it is not clear why it needs to be an active Voice head.

<sup>10</sup>In (146), the matrix external argument, embedded external argument, and embedded object are excluded for simplicity. I assume that the embedded object moves to a specifier of the embedded VoiceP before the embedded *vP* is spelled out.



(146) Accusative case feature comes from the matrix Voice head:



To summarize, restructuring LOM verbs select a special Voice head for their infinitival complements. Since their infinitival complements lack a CP layer, this selection obeys PIC1 (Chomsky, 2000). When the matrix Voice is active, and thus has an accusative case feature, it can share this feature with the embedded Voice head. This operation obeys PIC1 as well. When the matrix Voice is passive, and thus lacks an

accusative case feature, it cannot share this feature with the embedded special Voice head. As a result, the local passive configuration is not grammatical with restructuring LOM verbs.

Non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs select CP complements. They cannot select a special Voice head for their infinitival complements. Instead, the embedded Voice head of their complements is a regular Voice head. As a result, the local passive is grammatical with non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs.

## 4.2 LOM and Embedded Passive Voice

So far I have presented LOM data where the moved DP is mostly inanimate and singular, such as *bu eski araba* ‘this old car’. These DPs are more easily accepted by all speakers, unlike first or second person pronouns.<sup>11 12</sup> While Turkish has overt subject agreement marking for first and second person singular subjects, third person singular agreement is null. Consequently, in such examples it is not immediately clear that the matrix subject and verb are in agreement. If the subject is a third person plural DP, however, there is (optional) plural agreement marking on the main verb. Also note that plural agreement marking on a predicate in general is more acceptable with plural animate subjects than inanimate ones in Turkish. An LOM example with the plural animate DP *çocuklar* ‘children’ is given in (147), where the DP surfaces in the matrix clause preceding the matrix by-phrase *polis tarafından* ‘by the police’ in

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<sup>11</sup>Göksel (1993) makes a similar observation, noting that there is a great deal of variation in acceptability judgments, even for the same speaker on different occasions. This is attributed to the limited usage of these configurations in everyday language, as opposed to more formal settings such as TV broadcast or newspapers.

<sup>12</sup>Similarly, in German an Anti-Animacy Effect is observed in long passives; speakers find long passives with animate objects undergoing LOM less acceptable than inanimates (Bader and Schmid, 2009).

nominative case, and the embedding LOM verbs bear the plural agreement marker.<sup>13</sup> The embedded verb *kurtar-* ‘save’ is in passive voice, and the passive matrix verb can be the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’ or the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’.

- (147) Çocuk-lar<sub>i</sub> (polis tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub> kurtar-\*(il)-ma-ya]  
 child-PL.NOM (police by) save-(PASS)-INF-DAT  
 {çalış-/karar ver}-il-di-ler.  
 try-/decide-PASS-PST-3PL  
 Lit. ‘The children were {tried/ decided} to be saved (by the police).’

As LOM is A-movement to matrix subject position, it should create a new binder and not yield a Weak Crossover (WCO) effect. Next, I demonstrate that this prediction is borne out. Before tackling bi-clausal LOM, I first show with a mono-clausal active-passive alternation that movement to subject position creates a new binder in Turkish. In the active construction in (148a), the subject is the possessive DP *pro annesi* ‘(their) mother’ with a silent pronoun. This silent pronoun is not c-commanded by the quantifier object *her çocuk* ‘every child’. Hence, a bound variable reading is not obtained, and the silent pronoun gets its reference from the context. In the passive construction in (148b), the embedded quantifier DP object becomes the nominative subject via A-movement and the underlying subject is expressed in the by-phrase *pro annesi tarafından* ‘by (their) mother’. As expected, the bound variable reading is available, and there is no WCO effect.

- (148) a. pro<sub>\*i/k</sub> anne-si her çocuğ<sub>i</sub>-u kurtar-dı.  
 mother-POSS.3SG.NOM every child-ACC save-PST  
 ‘Their<sub>\*i/k</sub> mother saved every child<sub>i</sub>.’

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<sup>13</sup>This example was presented in Chapter 1 with only one matrix verb (i.e., *çalış-* ‘try’) to introduce the configuration in a simpler way.

- b. Her çocuk<sub>i</sub> (pro<sub>i/k</sub> anne-si tarafından) t<sub>i</sub> kurtar-ıl-dı.  
 every child.NOM mother-POSS.3SG by save-PASS-PST  
 ‘Every child<sub>i</sub> was saved (by their<sub>i/k</sub> mother).’

The same contrast is observed between the active-voiced bi-clausal configuration and the passive-voiced LOM configuration. In (149a) the object *her çocuk* ‘every child’ is inside the infinitival complement, marked with accusative case, and both the matrix and embedded verbs are active-voiced. There is a silent pronoun inside the subject possessive DP *pro annesi* ‘(their) mother’, and it is not c-commanded by the quantifier object. Hence, a bound variable reading is not obtained, and the silent pronoun gets its reference from the context. In contrast, in (149b) both the matrix and embedded verbs are passivized, and the embedded quantifier DP object becomes the nominative subject via LOM. The underlying subject is expressed in the by-phrase *pro annesi tarafından* ‘by (their) mother’. As expected, the bound variable reading is available, and there is no WCO effect.

- (149) a. pro<sub>\*i/k</sub> anne-si [her çocuğ<sub>i</sub>-u kurtar-ma-ya] {çalış-/  
 mother-POSS.3SG.NOM every child-ACC save-INF-DAT try-/  
 karar ver}-di.  
 decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Their<sub>\*i/k</sub> mother {tried/ decided} to save every child<sub>i</sub>.’
- b. Her çocuk<sub>i</sub> (pro<sub>i/k</sub> anne-si tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub>  
 every child.NOM mother-POSS.3SG by  
 kurtar-\*(ıl)-ma-ya] {çalış-/karar ver}-il-di.  
 save-(PASS)-INF-DAT try-/decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Every child<sub>i</sub> was {tried/ decided} to be saved (by their<sub>i/k</sub> mother).’

The binding data in (149a-b), in addition to the evidence of plural agreement with the matrix verb in (147), further illustrate that the embedded DP undergoes

A-movement to matrix subject position in LOM configurations. Crucially, in (147) and (149), the embedded verb needs to be in passive voice. The proposal derives this requirement with a two-fold argument. Firstly, LOM proceeds successive-cyclically, not in one fell swoop. Supporting evidence for this comes from multiple scope readings obtained when the embedded verb is negated and the object DP that undergoes LOM is a quantifier DP. This is shown in (150) where the embedded verb *sil-* ‘erase’ is passive and negated, and the moved embedded object is *tek bir çizgi* ‘a single line’.

(150) Context: There is a game that involves drawing a picture on a card. The card already has some lines that can be erased or used in drawing the picture. There are three versions of this game with three different objectives.

Tek bir çizgi<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> sil-in-me-me-ye] {çalış-/karar ver}-il-di.  
 single one line.NOM erase-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT try-/decide-PASS-PST

- i. Lit. ‘A specific line was {tried/decided} not to be erased.’ ( $\exists > \text{try} > \neg$ )
- ii. Lit. ‘It was {tried/decided} to have a line not erased.’ ( $\text{try} > \exists > \neg$ )
- iii. Lit. ‘It was {tried/decided} not to erase any lines.’ ( $\text{try} > \neg > \exists$ )

In the first and most prominent reading given in (i), the objective of the game is to not erase, but keep and use, one particular line on the card while drawing the picture. This reading is where the moved DP takes scope over the main verb. In the second reading given in (ii), the objective is to erase all the lines but keep one of them (any line would do) and use it in drawing the picture. This reading is where the DP takes scope above the negated embedded verb and below the main verb. In the last reading given in (iii), the aim is to use all the lines so none of them can be erased. This is the reading in which the DP takes scope below the negated embedded verb in its base position. Among the three readings, the second reading is the one that indicates an intermediate landing site before moving to the main clause subject position. If LOM happened in one fell swoop, this reading would be missing.

I propose that the intermediate landing position in LOM is the embedded subject position: embedded Spec-TP. In an analysis of LOM configurations by Kornfilt (1996), long passives are referred to as ‘Infinitival Double Passives’ (IDPs) since both verbs are in passive voice. Kornfilt’s analysis has the same intuition that the embedded object first moves to the embedded subject position and then to the matrix subject position. In Kornfilt’s analysis, three verbs are identified as able to form IDPs: *başla-* ‘begin’, *çalış-* ‘try’, and *iste-* ‘want’. Their infinitival complements are analyzed as NPs, and the NP projection above the CP creates a problem in terms of subjacency. As a solution, these three verbs are analyzed to be ‘triggers for NP deletion’. NP-deletion deletes the NP layer on their nominal infinitival complement, deriving the CP-transparency of the infinitival complement.

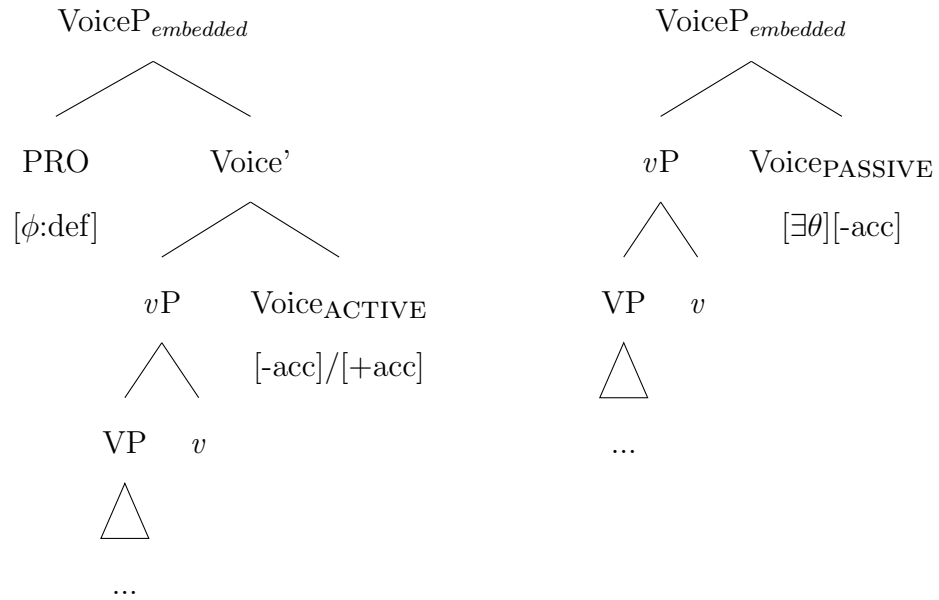
Kornfilt (1996) notes that CP-transparency does not apply when the embedded infinitive is in active voice and there is a PRO subject, since the matrix verb would govern the PRO and this would violate the PRO-theorem. Also, Kornfilt presents the requirement for embedded passive voice only as a way to get rid of accusative case inside the infinitive, so that A-movement to the main clause is triggered. In other words, passivizing the embedded verb is needed to ensure that structural case is not available in the embedded domain. However, recall that infinitival complements of restructuring LOM verbs like *çalış-* ‘try’ lack accusative case even in active voice. That is why the local passive is ungrammatical in the same context. Thus, there needs to be another explanation for the requirement of passive voice for the embedded verb in LOM configurations.

I propose that the embedded subject position as an intermediate landing site cannot be skipped in LOM. The position must be available for the object undergoing LOM. This is possible only if the embedded verb is in passive voice. I assume that the implicit agent of a passive Voice head is an individual variable on the Voice head (Bruening, 2013; Legate, 2014; Legate et al., 2020; Akkuş, 2021). However, an active

Voice head (even the accusative case-lacking kind) introduces an external argument in its specifier. PRO has *phi*-features (Sigurðsson, 1991; Landau, 2003; Šereikaitė, 2020), and this makes it a potential intervener for movement to embedded Spec-TP. The embedded subject position is occupied by PRO when the embedded verb is in active voice.

Derivations for the two Voice heads, both active and passive, are given below. The active embedded Voice in (151a) has a PRO external argument whether or not it is special. When the active Voice head is special, it does not have a structural accusative case feature (shown as [-acc]); when not special, it does have this feature (shown as [+acc]). The passive embedded Voice head in (151b) lacks an accusative case feature, and the agent is not projected in the specifier (shown as  $[\exists\theta]$ ).

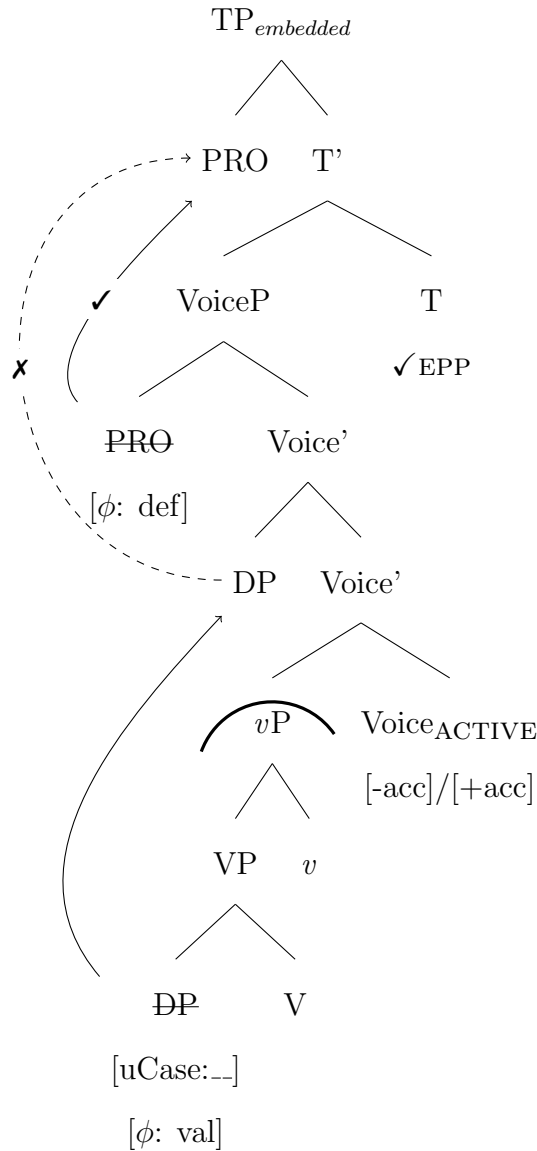
- (151) a. Embedded active Voice head:                      b. Embedded passive Voice head:



When the embedded Voice head is an active Voice head, PRO (with the default *phi*-features) in Spec-VoiceP is a closer goal to the embedded T probe (with the EPP feature) than the embedded object. This is a Relativized Minimality effect (Rizzi,

1990). For the embedded object to be visible to T, PRO needs to be absent in the structure; that is, the embedded Voice should be a passive Voice head. This is illustrated below.<sup>14</sup>

(152) PRO moves to embedded Spec-TP, blocking movement of the object:



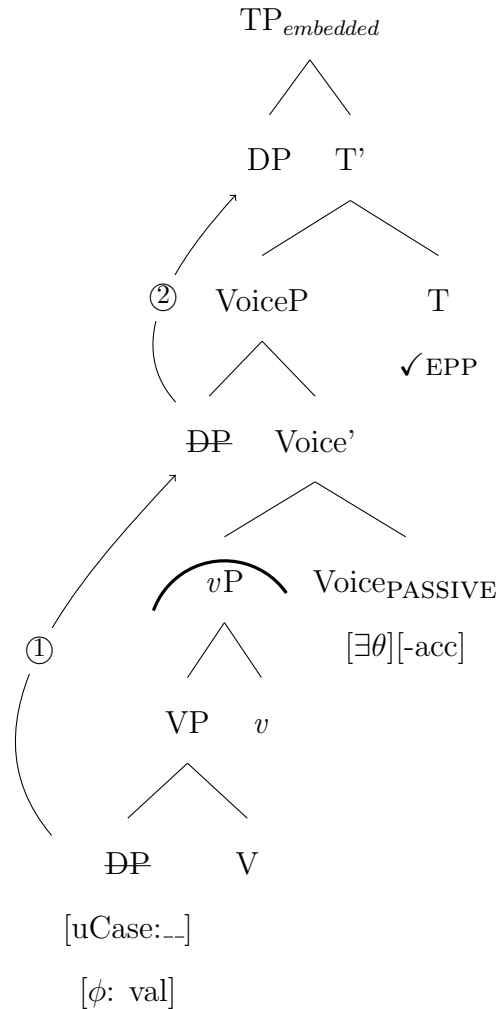
In contrast to (152), when the embedded Voice is a passive Voice head, there is no PRO external argument. The embedded DP first leaves its base-merge position and

<sup>14</sup>The trees are simplified by omitting the other possible functional projections in between the VoiceP and TP.



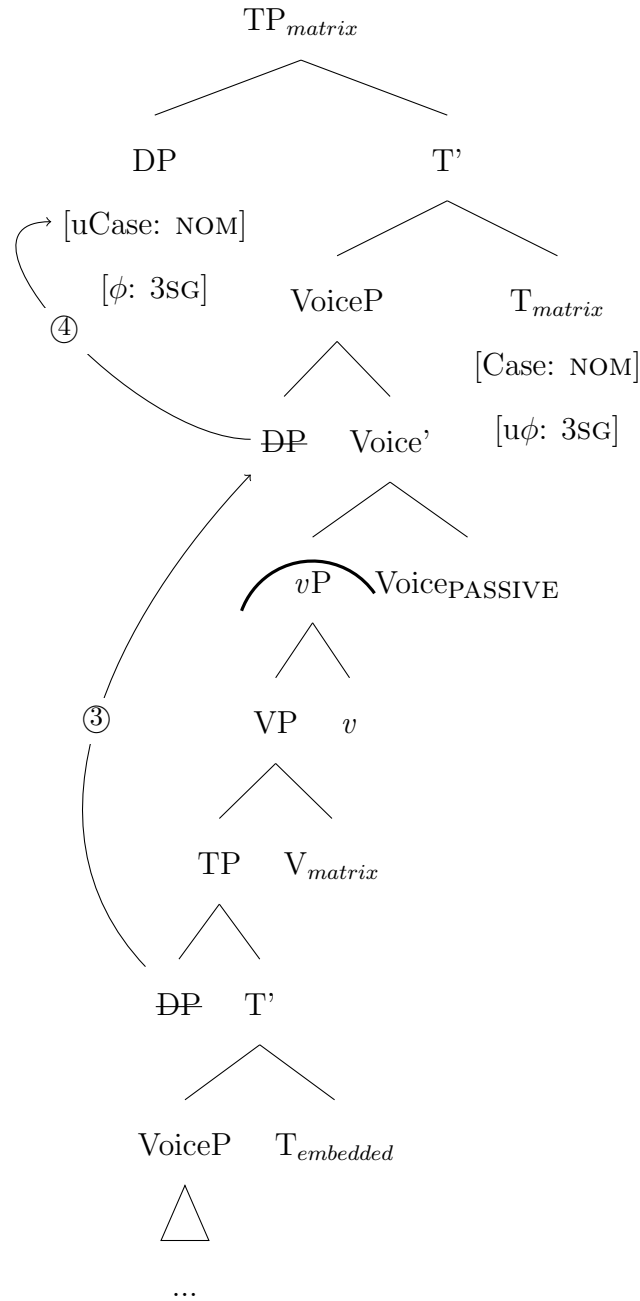
moves to VoiceP; this step is numbered as 1 below in (153). For this step, I assume passive Voice also has an escape hatch, following Legate (2003) and Deal (2009). From embedded Spec-VoiceP, the embedded object can move to embedded Spec-TP. This is shown as step 2 in (153).

(153) If there is no PRO, object moves to embedded Spec-TP:



The next step in the derivation of LOM with a restructuring LOM verb is the A-movement from embedded Spec-TP to the edge of the matrix VoiceP. As matrix VoiceP is a phase, this step ensures the DP object is visible to the matrix T. It is numbered 3 in (154). The final step in the derivation is the movement from the edge of the matrix VoiceP to the matrix clause subject position: Specifier of TP. There the object gets nominative case agreeing with matrix T. This is step number 4 in (154).

(154)



LOM configurations with a non-restructuring LOM verb like *karar ver-* ‘decide’ differ in one way from the structure shown in (154). From the embedded Spec-TP, the object moves first to the embedded Spec-CP since it is an additional phase projection in the structure. Then, the object moves to the matrix subject position successively and gets nominative case, agreeing with matrix T. I provide an account of the transparency of the embedded CP in these configurations in the next section.

### 4.3 CP Edge as an A/ $\bar{A}$ -Position

I proposed in Section 4.1 that non-restructuring LOM verbs and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs select infinitival complements that have a CP phase. This makes the embedded VoiceP domain inaccessible for c-selection of a special Voice head. As the active Voice head is a regular Voice head that has an accusative case feature, the local passive is grammatical with non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs. On the other hand, restructuring LOM verbs select a CP-less infinitive. Thus, the embedded Voice domain is accessible to the embedding restructuring LOM verb for c-selecting a special Voice head that lacks structural accusative case. This results in the ungrammaticality of the local passive with restructuring LOM verbs.

Another contrast between restructuring LOM verbs versus non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs is partial control. Following Landau's (2015) system, this can be attributed to the size of the infinitival complement as well. As shown in Chapter 3, non-restructuring LOM verbs are partial control verbs, while restructuring LOM verbs are not. The data is repeated below; in (155a-c), the embedded verb *toplan-* 'gather' requires a semantically plural agent. The non-restructuring LOM verbs *karar ver-* 'decide' in (155a) and *iste-* 'want' in (155b) allow partial control of the embedded PRO subject by the matrix subject *Ali*, while *başla-* 'start' and other restructuring LOM verbs in (155c) do not.

(155) Context: In order to talk about the election results...

- a.  $Ali_i$       [ $PRO_{i+}$  kafe-de toplan-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
Ali.NOM              café-LOC gather-INF-DAT decide-PST  
'Ali decided to gather at the café.'
- b.  $Ali_i$       [ $PRO_{i+}$  kafe-de toplan-mak] iste-di.  
Ali.NOM              café-LOC gather-INF want-PST  
'Ali wanted to gather at the café.'

- c. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i+</sub> kafe-de toplan-ma-ya] {başla-/ çalış-/  
 Ali.NOM café-LOC gather-INF-DAT start-/ try-/  
 çabala-/ devam et-/ kalkış-/ uğraş}-tı.  
 make.an.effort-/ continue-/ attempt-/ strive-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali {started/ tried/ made an effort/ continued/ attempted/ strived}  
 to gather at the café.’

Similar to non-restructuring LOM verbs, non-restructuring non-LOM verbs are also partial control verbs. This is shown below with two non-restructuring non-LOM verbs *cüret et-* ‘dare and *niyet et-* ‘intend’.

(156) Context: In order to talk about the election results...

- Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i+</sub> belediye-de toplan-ma-ya] {cüret-/ niyet et}-ti.  
 Ali.NOM city.hall-LOC gather-INF-DAT dare-/ intend-PST  
 ‘Ali {dared/ intended} to gather at the city hall.’

In Landau’s (2015) control theory, partial control verbs are attitude verbs that take CP complements (with a CP projection above FinP), while exhaustive control verbs (i.e., control verbs that do not allow partial control) take FinP complements. Thus, the proposal that non-restructuring LOM and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs take CP-complements is also in line with the availability of partial control. Likewise, the proposal that the infinitival complements of restructuring LOM verbs lack a CP layer is in line with the unavailability of partial control.

In this section, I focus on deriving the following contrast. The CP complements of non-restructuring LOM verbs are transparent for LOM, while those of non-restructuring non-LOM verbs are not. The data on this contrast is repeated below. In (157a-b) LOM of the embedded object *bu eski araba* ‘this old car’ is grammatical with the non-restructuring LOM verbs *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’, but it is

not grammatical with the non-restructuring non-LOM verbs *niyet et-* ‘intend’ and *cüret et-* ‘dare’ in (157c).

(157) LONG PASSIVE

a. WITH A NON-RESTRUCTURING LOM VERB

Dün bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> (tamirciler tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub>  
 yesterday this old car.NOM (mechanics by)  
 boya-n-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 paint-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) this old car was decided to be painted.’

b. WITH A NON-RESTRUCTURING LOM VERB

Dün bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> (tamirciler tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub> boya-n-mak]  
 yesterday this old car.NOM (mechanics by) paint-PASS-INF  
 iste-n-di.  
 want-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) this old car was wanted to be painted.’

c. WITH NON-RESTRUCTURING NON-LOM VERBS

\*Dün bu eski araba<sub>i</sub> (tamirciler tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub>  
 yesterday this old car.NOM (mechanics by)  
 boya-n-ma-ya] {niyet-/ cüret ed}-il-di.  
 paint-PASS-INF-DAT intend-/ dare-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (by the mechanics) this old car was {intended/ dared} to  
 be painted.’

To capture the contrast, I propose the following. As LOM happens successive-cyclically, every step in the derivation should be A-movement. One of these steps is the movement to the edge of the embedded CP. For A-movement following this step to be proper A-movement, this step needs to be A-movement as well. This is

only possible if the edge of the CP has A-position properties, possibly in addition to  $\bar{A}$ -position properties. To capture this, I adopt the approach that the edge of a CP is not intrinsically an  $\bar{A}$ -position, but can be an A-position or a mixed A/ $\bar{A}$ -position depending on what features the C head has. If a C head has *phi*-features, this makes its specifier an A-position (Takeuchi, 2010; Fong, 2019; Wurmbrand, 2019). This is based on the idea that syntactic positions are A or  $\bar{A}$  or mixed A/ $\bar{A}$  positions based on the features that create them (Obata and Epstein, 2011; van Urk, 2015).

A-movement from an embedded CP domain is proposed for Mongolian by Fong (2019). Accordingly, an embedded subject in Mongolian gets accusative case from the matrix *v* at the edge of the embedded CP and can move higher to the matrix clause. This movement exhibits A-movement properties, and it is analyzed as hyperraising. For example, if the embedded accusative subject is a universal quantifier and it surfaces above a matrix nominative subject that involves a possessive pronoun, a bound variable reading obtains, as in (158a). If the accusative subject does not move and surfaces below the matrix nominative subject, this reading is missing, as in (158b).

- (158) a. Okhin бүр(-iig)<sub>i</sub>    öö-iin-kh<sub>i</sub>    n'    eej    [ t<sub>i</sub> ukhaan-tai  
 girl    every(-ACC) self-GEN-EPTH POSS.3 mother [ intelligence-with  
 gej    ] khel-sen.  
 COMP ] say-PST  
 Her<sub>i</sub> mother said that every girl<sub>i</sub> is intelligent.'  
 ('For every girl x, x's mother said that x is intelligent.')
- b. Öö-iin-kh<sub>\*i/k</sub>    n'    eej    [ okhin бүр(-iig)<sub>i</sub>    ukhaan-tai  
 self-GEN-EPTH POSS.3 mother [ girl    every(-ACC) intelligence-with  
 gej    ] khel-sen.  
 COMP ] say-PST  
 'Her/his (e.g. Dorj's) mother said that every girl is intelligent.'

(Fong, 2019: 29)

Fong (2019) proposes that the movement to the edge of the embedded CP is A-movement, triggered by the *phi*-features on the embedded complementizer *gej*. This enables hyperraising from this position to higher into the matrix clause as A-movement, not yielding improper A over  $\bar{A}$ -movement.

In ECM constructions, the subject of the embedded clause can get accusative case in Turkish as well (see i.a. Zidani-Eroğlu, 1997; Moore, 1998; Özsoy, 2001; Aygen, 2003; Şener, 2011; Arslan-Kechriotis, 2016; Predolac, 2017). In these configurations, the embedded clause is not infinitival, as the embedded verb is marked for tense, and there can be an overt complementizer. The complementizer is *diye* ‘that’, and it is optional with some ECM verbs but obligatory with others. This is shown with the matrix verbs *san-* ‘think’ in (159a) and *duy-* ‘hear’ in (159b).

- (159) a. Ali [Ahmet<sub>i</sub>(-i) git-ti] (diye) san-di.  
 Ali.NOM Ahmet(-ACC) go-PST (that) think-PST  
 ‘Ali thought that Ahmet has left.’
- b. Ali [Ahmet<sub>i</sub>(-i) git-ti] \*(diye) duy-du.  
 Ali.NOM Ahmet(-ACC) go-PST \*(that) think-PST  
 ‘Ali heard that Ali has left.’

I adopt Şener’s (2011) analysis of ECM subjects, where he argues they occupy a topic position at the edge of the embedded CP complement. Assuming a split-CP, he argues ECM subjects occupy the specifier of TopicP. In this position, they are assigned accusative case from the matrix predicate.<sup>15 16</sup> This is illustrated with the following contrast. In an ECM construction, when only the embedded verb is passivized, accusative case is still available for the ECM subject. This is shown in

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<sup>15</sup>The higher projections of CP need to be empty as well.

<sup>16</sup>Predolac (2017) claims that the ECM subject moves to the domain of the matrix predicate in the matrix clause to get accusative case. Under such an account, the DP needs to A-move across a CP-boundary as well. This is also in line with what I propose in this section.

(160a-b) with the DP *makarna* ‘pasta’. In (160a), the DP cannot get accusative case as the derived subject of a simple sentence with the passive-voiced predicate *ye-* ‘eat’. However, it can get accusative case when this clause is embedded under the active-voiced ECM verb *duy-* ‘hear’.

- (160) a. Makarna/(-\*y<sub>1</sub>)    ye-n-di.  
           pasta.NOM/(-ACC) eat-PASS-PST  
           ‘The pasta was eaten.’
- b. John            [makarna-y<sub>1</sub> ye-n-di            diye] duy-du.  
           John.NOM pasta-ACC    eat-PASS-PST that hear-PAST  
           ‘John heard that the pasta was eaten.’

(Adapted from Şener, 2011: 3,4)

If the matrix verb in (160) is passivized as well, the accusative case becomes unavailable. This is shown in (161), by passivizing the matrix verb *duy-* ‘hear’.

- (161) [Makarna(\*-y<sub>1</sub>)    ye-n-di            diye] duy-ul-du.  
           pasta.NOM/(-ACC) eat-PASS-PST that hear-PASS-PAST  
           ‘It was heard that the pasta was eaten.’

Şener (2011) shows that ECM subjects cannot be marked with (contrastive or presentational) focus, which is expected if they are topics. This is shown in (162) with a dialog that presents the embedded subject *Sinan* as new information that is marked with (presentational) focus. In the felicitous sentence in (162a), *Sinan* is in nominative case, while in the infelicitous sentence in (162b) it is in accusative case.

- (162) A: Do you know who showed up at Mert’s party?  
        B: I haven’t asked Mert himself about it but...
- a. Pelin            [SINAN            git-ti    diye] duy-muş.  
           Pelin.NOM Sinan.NOM go-PST that hear-EVID.PST  
           ‘Pelin heard that Sinan went (to the party).’



- b. #Pelin [SINAN-I git-ti diye] duy-muş.  
 Pelin.NOM Sinan-ACC go-PST that hear-EVID.PST  
 ‘Pelin heard that Sinan went (to the party).’

(Adapted from Şener, 2011: 4)

In the specifier of embedded CP, ECM subjects get interpreted as topics and are assigned accusative case. This makes the embedded Spec-CP position a mixed A/ $\bar{A}$  position.

Next, I provide binding data to illustrate the A-movement properties of the movement to the embedded Spec-CP. If the ECM subject is a universal quantifier and there is a silent possessive pronoun inside a by-phrase in the same clause, the bound variable reading is available and there is no WCO effect. This is shown in (163).

- (163) Ali [her öğrenci<sub>i</sub>-yi t<sub>i</sub> (pro<sub>i/k</sub> öğretmen-i tarafından) t<sub>i</sub>  
 Ali.NOM every student-ACC teacher-POSS.3SG by  
 bırak-ıl-dı] (diye) san-dı.  
 fail-PASS-PST (that) think-PST  
 ‘Ali thought that every student<sub>i</sub> was failed (by their<sub>i/k</sub> teacher).’  
 (‘For every student x, Ali thought that x was failed by x’s teacher.’)

Here, the lack of a WCO effect could be either because movement to embedded Spec-CP from embedded Spec-TP is A-movement, or it is  $\bar{A}$ -movement but the preceding movement to embedded Spec-TP position already creates a new binder. The next example I present suggests it is the former.

If the ECM subject moves above the nominative matrix subject, this movement exhibits A-movement properties as well. For this step to be proper A-movement, the step from embedded Spec-TP to embedded Spec-CP should be A-movement as well. Similar to Mongolian, if the ECM subject is a universal quantifier, it can bind a silent possessive pronoun inside the matrix nominative subject. In (164a), the ECM

subject *her öğrenci* ‘every student’ surfaces below the matrix nominative subject *pro öğretmen-i* ‘(their) teacher’. Hence, the silent pronoun gets its referent from the context and the bound variable reading is not available. In (164b), on the other hand, the ECM subject surfaces above the nominative subject and binds the silent possessive pronoun. This results in the bound variable reading.

- (164) a.  $\text{pro}_{*i/k}$  öğretmen-i [her öğrenci<sub>*i*</sub>-yi sınav-ı geç-ti  
teacher-POSS.3SG.NOM every student-ACC exam-ACC pass-PST  
(diye)] san-ıyor.  
(that) think-PRES  
‘His/her<sub>*\*i/k*</sub> teacher thinks that every student<sub>*i*</sub> passed the exam.’
- b. [Her öğrenci<sub>*i*</sub>-yi  $\text{pro}_{i/k}$  öğretmen-i [<sub>*t*</sub><sub>*i*</sub> sınav-ı geç-ti  
every student-ACC teacher-POSS.3SG.NOM exam-ACC pass-PST  
(diye)] san-ıyor.  
(that) think-PRES  
‘Their<sub>*i/k*</sub> teacher thinks that every student<sub>*i*</sub> passed the exam.’  
(‘For every student x, x’s teacher thinks that x passed the exam.’)

Importantly, when the moved quantifier DP is not assigned accusative case as an ECM subject, but is a nominative embedded subject, hyperraising is not possible.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>18</sup> In (165a), the quantifier DP is the embedded nominative subject that is scrambled to the left of the matrix nominative subject. The sentence is ungrammatical. It is string-wise ambiguous with the sentence in which the quantifier DP is the matrix subject and the possessive DP with the silent pronoun is the embedded nominative

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<sup>17</sup>The hyperraising subject cannot be in nominative case in Mongolian either (Fong, 2019). Fong explains this contrast as follows. A-movement to embedded Spec-CP and getting accusative case there is what enables A-movement to the matrix clause without violating PIC2 (Chomsky, 2001).

<sup>18</sup>In Turkish, if the embedded subject is in nominative case, it cannot  $\bar{A}$ -scramble to the left of the matrix subject, or to the post-verbal position either.

subject. The bound variable reading is available, but with the nominative subjects switched. This is shown in (165b).

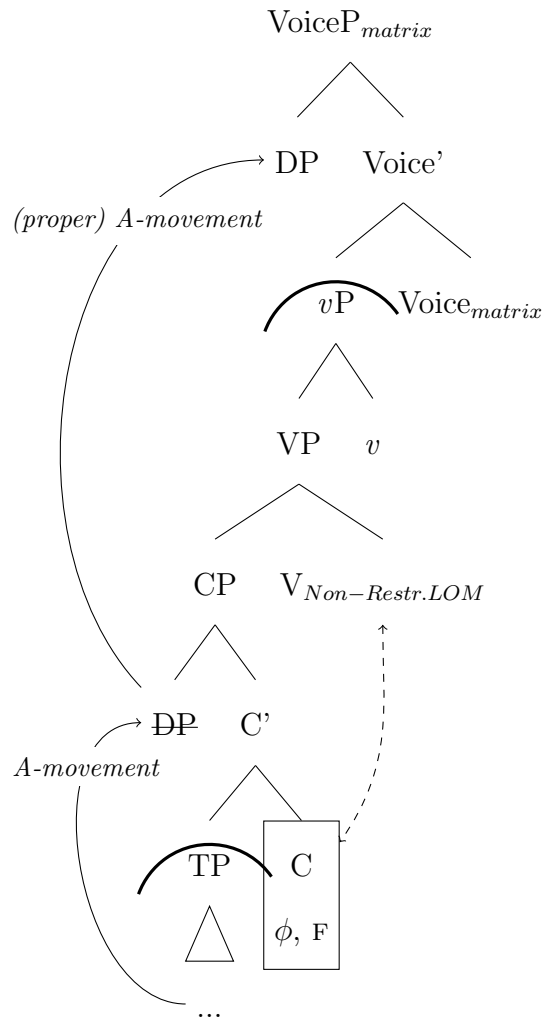
- (165) a. \*[Her öğrenci<sub>i</sub>      pro<sub>i/k</sub> öğretmen-i                      [t<sub>i</sub> sınav-ı      geç-ti  
           every student.NOM            teacher-POSS.3SG.NOM      exam-ACC pass-PST  
           (diye)] san-ıyor.  
           (that) think-PRES  
           NO: ‘For every student x, x’s teacher thinks that x passed the exam.’
- b. [Her öğrenci<sub>i</sub>      [pro<sub>i/k</sub> öğretmen-i                      sınav-ı      geç-ti  
           every student.NOM            teacher-POSS.3SG.NOM exam-ACC pass-PST  
           (diye)] san-ıyor.  
           (that) think-PRES  
           YES: ‘For every student x, x thinks that x’s teacher passed the exam.’

I have presented partial control data earlier in the section that motivate the proposal that non-restructuring LOM verbs and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs are attitude verbs that take CP-sized complements. Having shown elsewhere in the language that CP edges can have A-position properties in addition to  $\bar{A}$ , I propose that the edge of a CP infinitival complement can have mixed A/ $\bar{A}$  properties as well. While the specifier of the CP complement of a non-restructuring LOM verb has mixed A/ $\bar{A}$ -position properties, the specifier of the CP complement of a non-restructuring non-LOM verb is just an  $\bar{A}$ -position. Having an A-position Spec-CP in its infinitival complement makes LOM grammatical with a non-restructuring LOM verb like *karar ver-* ‘decide’. As movement to this specifier is A-movement, the subsequent A-movement to the escape hatch of the matrix VoiceP is proper A-movement. On the other hand, the infinitival complements of non-restructuring non-LOM verbs like *niyet et-* ‘intend’ have a Spec-CP that is an  $\bar{A}$ -position. This means movement to this position is  $\bar{A}$ -movement, and A-movement from this position to the matrix clause

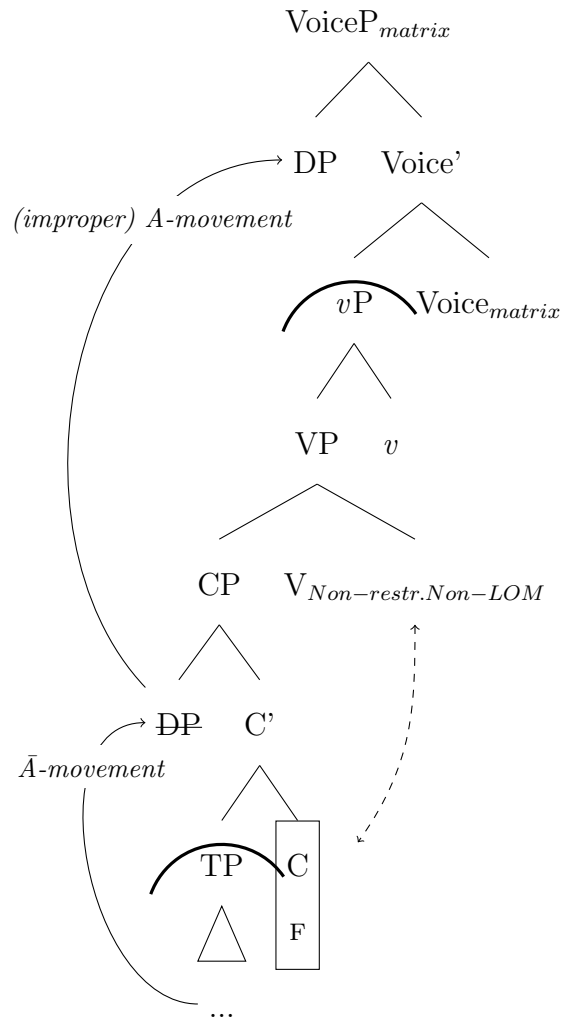
results in improper A over  $\bar{A}$ -movement. This makes LOM ungrammatical with non-restructuring non-LOM verbs.

How do we derive the A/ $\bar{A}$  properties of specifiers of CPs? Both non-restructuring LOM verbs and non-restructuring non-LOM verbs can select the C head of their infinitival complements. Following the proposal in Fong (2019), if this C head has *phi*-features, its edge is an A-position. Non-restructuring LOM verbs select infinitival complements with a C head with *phi*-features (in addition to an *F*-feature that enables  $\bar{A}$ -movement), whereas non-restructuring non-LOM verbs select infinitival complements with a C head with just *F*-features, and no *phi*-features, as illustrated below.

(166) Proper A-movement from the embedded CP edge with non-restructuring LOM verbs:



- (167) Improper A-movement from the embedded CP edge with non-restructuring non-LOM verbs:



One prediction that follows from this proposal is if a non-restructuring LOM verb takes a finite clause complement with the complementizer *diye* ‘that’, the edge of the embedded CP should act as an A-position as well. In contrast, if a non-restructuring non-LOM verb takes a finite clause complement, the edge of the embedded CP should not act as an A-position. Before I conclude this section, I present data with ECM subjects and hyperraising that shows this prediction is borne out.

Among the class of non-restructuring LOM verbs, *karar ver-* ‘decide’, and among the class of non-restructuring non-LOM verbs *niyet et-* ‘intend’ can select a *diye*

complement clause as well. The subject of the embedded clause can be a nominative DP with both matrix verbs, as shown in (168a-b).<sup>19</sup>

- (168) a. Ayla [Ali Almanya-ya gid-ecek diye] karar ver-di.  
 Ayla.NOM Ali.NOM Germany-DAT go-FUT that decide-pst  
 ‘Ayla decided that Ali will go to Germany.’
- b. Ayla [Ali Almanya-ya gid-ecek diye] niyet et-ti.  
 Ayla.NOM Ali.NOM Germany-DAT go-FUT that intend-pst  
 Lit. ‘Ayla intended that Ali will go to Germany.’

In contrast, only with *karar ver-* ‘decide’, the embedded subject can be in accusative case. This is shown in (169a-b). I provide the context in order to introduce the accusative embedded subject so that it is licensed as the topic.

- (169) Context: Ayla is the coordinator for the student exchange program. She is making an initial list of which student is going to which country based on some criteria. Among the students on her list is Ali.
- a. (?)Ayla [Ali-yi Almanya-ya gid-ecek diye] karar ver-di.  
 Ayla.NOM Ali-ACC Germany-DAT go-FUT that decide-pst  
 ‘Ayla decided that Ali will go to Germany.’
- b. \*Ayla [Ali-yi Almanya-ya gid-ecek diye] niyet et-ti.  
 Ayla.NOM Ali-ACC Germany-DAT go-FUT that intend-pst  
 Lit. ‘Ayla intended that Ali will go to Germany.’

Furthermore, if the embedded accusative subject moves to a position in the matrix clause, this movement exhibits A-movement properties. For example, it obviates a WCO effect. This indicates that it is proper A-movement preceded by also an

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<sup>19</sup>One consultant judged *diye* complements with both *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *niyet et-* ‘intend’ as ungrammatical. In this example and the following examples in this section, I report the judgments of speakers who accepted *diye* complements with both *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *niyet et-* ‘intend’. These speakers were the majority.

A-movement step when the DP first moves to the edge of embedded CP. This is shown in (170a-b) with the universal quantifier DP *her öğrenci* ‘every student’ as the accusative embedded subject and *karar ver-* ‘decide’ as the matrix verb. In (170a), *her öğrenci* ‘every student’ surfaces in accusative case at the edge of the embedded clause. This position is below the silent possessive pronoun that is inside the matrix nominative subject *pro öğretmen-i* ‘(their) teacher’. Here, the bound variable reading is not available, and the silent pronoun refers to a contextually salient individual. In (170b), the accusative universal quantifier DP moves to the matrix clause and surfaces preceding the matrix nominative subject, binding the silent pronoun. There is no WCO effect, indicating that the accusative embedded subject moved to this position via proper A-movement.

- (170) a.  $\text{pro}_{*i/k}$  öğretmen-i [her öğrenci<sub>i</sub>-yi sınav-ı geç-ecek  
teacher-POSS.3SG.NOM every student-ACC exam-ACC pass-FUT  
diye] karar ver-di.  
that decide-PST  
‘His/her<sub>\*i/k</sub> teacher decided that every student<sub>i</sub> will pass the exam.’
- b. [Her öğrenci<sub>i</sub>-yi  $\text{pro}_{i/k}$  öğretmen-i [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> sınav-ı geç-ecek  
every student-ACC teacher-POSS.3SG.NOM exam-ACC pass-FUT  
diye] karar ver-di.  
that decide-PST  
‘Their<sub>i/k</sub> teacher decided that every student<sub>i</sub> will pass the exam.’  
(‘For every student x, x’s teacher decided that x will pass the exam.’)

Replacing the matrix verb in (170a-b) with *niyet et-* ‘intend’ results in ungrammaticality, which is not surprising given the unavailability of an embedded accusative subject with *niyet et-* ‘intend’ in (169b). This is shown in (171a-b).



- (171) a. \* $\text{pro}_{i/k}$  öğretmen-i [her öğrenci<sub>i</sub>-yi sınav-ı geç-ecek  
 teacher-POSS.3SG.NOM every student-ACC exam-ACC pass-FUT  
 diye] niyet et-ti.  
 that intend-PST  
 Int. ‘His/her<sub>\*i/k</sub> teacher intended that every student<sub>i</sub> will pass the exam.’
- b. \*[Her öğrenci<sub>i</sub>-yi  $\text{pro}_{i/k}$  öğretmen-i [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> sınav-ı geç-ecek  
 every student-ACC teacher-POSS.3SG.NOM exam-ACC pass-FUT  
 diye] niyet et-ti.  
 that intend-PST  
 Int. ‘Their<sub>i/k</sub> teacher intended that every student<sub>i</sub> will pass the exam.’

To conclude, non-restructuring LOM verbs allow LOM because they select a CP-complement with an A-position specifier, while non-restructuring non-LOM verbs do not allow LOM since they do not select a CP with an A-position specifier.

#### 4.4 Grammatical Configurations with LOM Verbs

In this section, I present data on configurations with LOM verbs that arise without any embedded object needing to undergo LOM. The possible voice combinations between the embedded infinitival verbs and the embedding LOM verbs support the following proposal: the (passive) voice of the embedded verb is not dependent on the (passive) voice of the embedding restructuring or non-restructuring LOM verb in an LOM configuration.<sup>20</sup> Unless the embedded verb is in passive voice, an embedded PRO subject blocks LOM for the embedded object by being the closer goal to embedded T. This makes it look as if the passive voice of the embedded verb is coming

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<sup>20</sup>I present data with both restructuring LOM verbs and non-restructuring LOM verbs to present the whole picture. However, the more crucial data involve the restructuring LOM verbs as I analyze only those verbs as restructuring verbs.

from the passive voice of the embedding LOM verb. In this section I present data that shows that the embedded verb does not need to be in passive voice when there is no object moving via LOM.

The first subsection presents data in which the embedding LOM verb is in passive voice. The second subsection presents data where the embedding LOM verb is in active voice. I use the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’ and the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’ as representatives of their verb classes. While embedding LOM verbs and embedded infinitival verbs can be in the same voice, their voices can also be different. The infinitival verb can be in active voice when the LOM verb is not. The opposite is also possible; the infinitival verb can be in passive voice when the LOM verb is in active voice. These voice mismatches are possible with both restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs. This is expected and can be derived by the system proposed here. Recall that the embedded Voice head in a configuration with a restructuring LOM verb can either be an active or a passive Voice head, both of which lack accusative case. The embedded Voice head in a configuration with a non-restructuring LOM verb is a regular Voice head that is not deficient in any feature. Some voice-mismatch combinations are only grammatical with certain types of embedded verbs. I discuss the ungrammatical combinations in Section 4.5.

#### 4.4.1 With a Passive LOM Verb

For configurations with a passive-voiced LOM verb and an embedded transitive verb with a pseudo-incorporated object, some speakers prefer the embedded verb in passive voice while others prefer it in active voice.<sup>21</sup> The contrast is not as sharp as grammaticality, and I present both as grammatical. In (172a-b), the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’ is in passive voice and the embedded transitive verb is *oku-*

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<sup>21</sup>For some speakers, the acceptability of sentences with the embedded verb in passive voice improves when the embedded adverb is omitted.

‘read’. The object *kitap* ‘book’ does not get structural accusative case; it is a pseudo-incorporated object.<sup>22</sup> It is ambiguous how many books are read; it could be one or multiple. As the object is VP-internal, it precedes the manner adverb *hızlı* ‘fast’. In (172a-b), the matrix underlying subject is an implicit agent ‘(Ag)’ as the matrix verb is in passive voice. In (172a), the embedded underlying subject is also an implicit agent, as the embedded verb is in passive voice. In (172b) the embedded external argument is a PRO that moves to the embedded subject position. Both the embedded implicit agent and the PRO subject are understood to be only co-referential with the matrix implicit agent.

- (172) a. (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [(Ag<sub>i/\*j</sub>) hızlı kitap oku-n-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
fast book read-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Fast book-reading was tried to be done’
- b. (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> PRO hızlı kitap oku-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
fast book read-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘It was tried to do fast book-reading.’

That the embedded verb can be in active voice while the embedding restructuring LOM verb is in passive voice supports the following proposal: the Voice head of a restructuring infinitive can be an active or passive Voice head. That is, the embedded special Voice head does not lack its voice feature; it only lacks an accusative case feature. The same embedded and matrix voice combinations are possible with non-restructuring LOM verbs. These are shown in (173a-b) with the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* decide. The only difference from those in (172) is that the embedded implicit agent can also receive independent reference from the matrix implicit agent, as in (173a).

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<sup>22</sup>Pseudo-incorporated objects in Turkish have been analyzed as being licensed VP-internally either with noun-incorporation into the verb (Aydemir, 2004; Knecht, 1986; Kornfilt, 2003; Mithun, 1984) or with a phrasal status (Arslan-Kechriotis, 2006; Erguvanli, 1984; Öztürk, 2005, 2009). The object gets a non-specific interpretation.

- (173) a. (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [(Ag<sub>i/j</sub>) hızlı kitap oku-n-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
fast book read-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Fast book-reading was decided to be done.’
- b. (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> PRO hızlı kitap oku-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
fast book read-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘It was decided to do fast book-reading.’

Similarly, an embedded transitive verb with an oblique object can also be in either active or passive voice. Speakers who prefer the embedded verb in passive voice find the structure marked in the active voice and vice-versa. In (174a-b), the oblique object follows the duration denoting adjunct *iki saatliğine* ‘for two hours’ and precedes the manner adverb *iyi* ‘well’, both of which modify the embedded verb *bak-* ‘look after’.<sup>23</sup> The embedded agent is implicit in (174a), as the embedded verb is in passive voice, while there is a PRO subject in (174b), as the embedded verb is in active voice. Both the implicit agent and the PRO subject are co-referential with the matrix implicit agent: they cannot get independent reference.

- (174) a. Dün (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [iki saatliğine (Ag<sub>i/\*j</sub>) bebeğ-e iyi  
yesterday two hour.for baby-DAT well  
bak-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
look.after-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, the baby was tried to be looked after well for two hours.’
- b. Dün (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> iki saatliğine PRO bebeğ-e iyi  
yesterday two hour.for baby-DAT well  
bak-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
look.after-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, it was tried to look after the baby well for two hours.’

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<sup>23</sup>I assume that the oblique embedded object gets its lexical case from the embedded verb.

This again shows that the embedded special Voice head selected by the embedding restructuring LOM verb can be an active or a passive Voice head. When the embedding verb is a non-restructuring LOM verb, the embedded verb can still be in either passive or active voice. This is shown in (175a-b). The implicit agent in (175a) can also get independent reference from the matrix implicit agent, while the PRO subject in (175b) cannot.

- (175) a. Dün (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [iki saatliđine (Ag<sub>i/j</sub>) bebeđ-e iyi  
yesterday two hour.for baby-DAT well  
bak-ıl-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
look.after-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, the baby was decided to be looked after well for two hours.’
- b. Dün (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> iki saatliđine PRO bebeđ-e iyi  
yesterday two hour.for baby-DAT well  
bak-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
look.after-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, it was decided to look after the baby well for two hours.’

The dative oblique object can also move leftward to the main clause. In (176a-b) the oblique object surfaces to the left of the adverb *dün* ‘yesterday’, modifying the matrix verb *çalış-* ‘try’. Again, the embedded verb can be in passive or active voice, and the embedded and matrix agents are understood to be co-referential.

- (176) a. Bebeđ-e (Ag<sub>j</sub>) dün [t<sub>i</sub> iki saatliđine (Ag<sub>j/\*k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> iyi  
baby-DAT yesterday two hour.for well  
bak-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-il-di.  
look.after-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, the baby was tried to be looked after well for two hours.’

- b. Bebeğ<sub>i</sub>-e (Ag<sub>j</sub>) dün [t<sub>i</sub> PRO<sub>j/\*k</sub> iki saatliğine PRO t<sub>i</sub> iyi  
 baby-DAT yesterday two hour.for well  
 bak-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 look.after-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, it was tried to look after the baby well for two hours.’

The same is possible with a non-restructuring LOM verb, as shown in (177a-b).

- (177) a. Bebeğ<sub>i</sub>-e (Ag<sub>j</sub>) dün [t<sub>i</sub> iki saatliğine (Ag<sub>j/k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> iyi  
 baby-DAT yesterday two hour.for well  
 bak-ıl-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 look.after-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, the baby was decided to be looked after well for two hours.’
- b. Bebeğ<sub>i</sub>-e (Ag<sub>j</sub>) dün [t<sub>i</sub> PRO<sub>j/\*k</sub> iki saatliğine PRO t<sub>i</sub> iyi  
 baby-DAT yesterday two hour.for well  
 bak-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 look.after-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, it was decided to look after the baby well for two hours.’

Here, the question is whether the oblique object moves to the matrix clause via A- or  $\bar{A}$ -movement. As A-movement creates a new binder, we can answer this question by using binding facts. Before doing this with a complex bi-clausal structure, I first show the baseline contrast in a simple active-passive voice alternation in (178a-b). In the active-voiced construction in (178a), there is a silent pronoun inside the subject possessive phrase *pro annesi* ‘(their) mother’, and the universal quantifier oblique object *her bebeğ-e* ‘every baby-DAT’ cannot bind it. Thus, the silent pronoun receives its referent from the context. In the passive construction in (178b), the underlying subject with the silent pronoun is expressed in a by-phrase, while the oblique object

is moved to an A-position above the by-phrase in the matrix clause. In the passive structure, the dative oblique object can bind the silent possessive pronoun and yield a bound variable reading. This shows that the object moved there via A-movement.

- (178) a. Dün {pro<sub>\*i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub> t<sub>k</sub> {her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> iyi  
 yesterday mother-POSS.3SG every baby-DAT well  
 bak-t<sub>1</sub>.  
 look.after-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, their<sub>\*i/j</sub> mother looked after every baby<sub>i</sub> well.’
- b. Dün {her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> ({pro<sub>i/j</sub> anne-si} tarafından) t<sub>i</sub> iyi  
 yesterday every baby-DAT mother-POSS.3SG by well  
 bak-ıl-d<sub>1</sub>.  
 look.after-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, every baby<sub>i</sub> was looked after well (by their<sub>i/j</sub> mother).’

The same contrast is obtained when an LOM verb is added to the configuration. This is shown below with the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’ used in active voice in (179a) and in passive voice in (179b-c). The embedded verb *bak-* ‘look after’ is in active voice in (179a-b) and in passive voice in (179c). The bound variable reading is absent in (179a) and present in (179b-c), again showing that the object moved to an A-position above the matrix by-phrase.

- (179) a. Dün {pro<sub>\*i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub> [PRO<sub>k</sub> iki saatliğine PRO  
 yesterday mother-POSS.3SG.NOM two hour.for  
 {her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> iyi bak-ma-ya] çalış-t<sub>1</sub>.  
 every baby-DAT well look.after-INF-DAT try-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, (their<sub>\*i/j</sub>) mother tried to look after every baby<sub>i</sub> well for two hours.’

- b. Dün {her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> ({pro<sub>i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub> tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub>  
yesterday every baby-DAT mother-POSS.3SG by  
PRO<sub>k</sub> iki saatliğine PRO t<sub>i</sub> iyi bak-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
two hour.for well look.after-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, for every baby<sub>i</sub> it was tried (by their<sub>i/j</sub> mother) to look  
after (them) well for two hours.’
- c. Dün {her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> ({pro<sub>i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub> tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub> iki  
yesterday every baby-DAT mother-POSS.3SG by two  
saatliğine (Ag<sub>k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> iyi bak-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
hour.for well look.after-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, every baby<sub>i</sub> was tried (by their<sub>i/j</sub> mother) to be looked  
after well for two hours.’

The same contrast is obtained when the matrix verb is the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’. This is shown in (180a-c). Again, the bound variable reading is missing in (180a) and present in (180b-c).<sup>24</sup>

- (180) a. Dün {pro<sub>\*i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub> [PRO<sub>k</sub> iki saatliğine PRO  
yesterday mother-POSS.3SG.NOM two hour.for  
{her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> iyi bak-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
every baby-DAT well look.after-INF-DAT decide-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, (their<sub>\*i/j</sub>) mother decided to look after every baby<sub>i</sub> well  
for two hours.’

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<sup>24</sup>For some speakers, having the embedded verb in active voice in (179b) and (180b) is marked. They prefer the embedded verb in passive voice as in (179c) and (180c).



- b. Dün {her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> ({pro<sub>i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub> tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub>  
yesterday every baby-DAT mother-POSS.3SG by  
PRO<sub>k</sub> iki saatliğine PRO t<sub>i</sub> iyi bak-ma-ya]  
two hour.for well look.after-(PASS)-INF-DAT  
karar ver-il-di.  
decide-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, for every baby<sub>i</sub> it was decided (by their<sub>i/j</sub> mother) to look  
after (them) well for two hours.’
- c. Dün {her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> ({pro<sub>i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub> tarafından) [t<sub>i</sub> iki  
yesterday every baby-DAT mother-POSS.3SG by two  
saatliğine (Ag<sub>k/m</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> iyi bak-il-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
hour.for well look.after-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, every baby<sub>i</sub> was decided (by their<sub>i/j</sub> mother) to be looked  
after well for two hours.’

As the embedded verbs in (179b) and (180b) are in active voice, the oblique object moves to an A-position to the left of an embedded PRO subject. This is similar to ECM subjects hyperraising to the left of the matrix nominative subjects presented in Section 4.3. Both the oblique object and the accusative ECM subject A-move over another subject. Crucially, these instances of A-movement are not case-driven, unlike LOM. In LOM, the embedded object cannot A-move over an embedded PRO subject for case-checking. That is why the embedded verb needs to be in passive voice, and thus not have a PRO subject.

Moving on to the next possible embedded verb type, the embedded verb can also be an intransitive verb. If the embedded verb is an unergative like *koş-* ‘run’, it can be in active or passive voice. Speakers may have a preference for active over passive voice or vice versa, but the contrast is again only marked. This is first shown with *çalış-* ‘try’. In (181a) the embedded verb *koş-* ‘run’ is in passive voice, and the

embedded implicit agent is co-referential with the matrix implicit agent. In (181b), the embedded verb is in active voice, and the PRO subject is co-referential with the matrix implicit agent.

- (181) a. ( $Ag_i$ ) [orman-da ( $Ag_{i/*j}$ ) koş-ul-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
           forest-LOC           run-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
           Lit. ‘It was tried to be run in the forest.’
- b. ( $Ag_i$ ) [ $PRO_{i/*j}$  orman-da  $PRO$  koş-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
                                   forest-LOC           run-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
           Lit. ‘It was tried to run in the forest.’

The same options for embedded voice are possible with *karar ver-* as the matrix verb. In (182a) the embedded implicit agent of the embedded passive predicate can get independent reference from the matrix implicit agent. The PRO subject of the active-voiced embedded predicate in (182b) can only get a co-referential interpretation with the matrix agent.

- (182) a. ( $Ag_i$ ) [orman-da ( $Ag_{i/j}$ ) koş-ul-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
           forest-LOC           run-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
           Lit. ‘It was decided to be run in the forest.’
- b. ( $Ag_i$ ) [ $PRO_{i/*j}$  orman-da  $PRO$  koş-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
                                   forest-LOC           run-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
           Lit. ‘It was decided to run in the forest.’

As there is no embedded object of any kind, the grammaticality of these configurations when the embedded verb is in passive voice shows that the embedded subject position does not need to be filled. The EPP feature on T attracts the closest DP that can move to this position, but the derivation does not crash if there is no DP,

including PRO, that can move there. The specifier of TP can be filled, but does not need to be.<sup>25</sup>

The embedded intransitive verb can be an unaccusative verb such as *düş-* ‘fall’ as well. Differently from other verbs, speakers’ judgments show uniformity in preferring the embedded verb only in active voice. I follow Akkuş (2021) and assume that unaccusatives do not form passives when they are marked with the same morpheme that forms passives; rather, the resulting structure is an impersonal construction. Embedding an impersonal structure under a passive structure is ungrammatical. A covert impersonal pronoun can only be controlled by another covert impersonal pronoun (Akkuş, 2021). Since the matrix verb is in passive voice, it comes with an implicit agent. Speakers prefer this implicit agent to be co-referential with PRO rather than an impersonal pronoun. Thus, speakers only accept the embedded verb in active voice. This is shown in (183a-b) first with *çalış-* ‘try’ as the passive matrix verb. In (183a) the embedded verb *düş-* ‘fall’ is in an impersonal construction with an impersonal pronoun subject (IMP), and the structure is ungrammatical. In the grammatical structure in (183b), the embedded verb is in active voice, with a PRO subject.

- (183) a. \*(Ag<sub>i</sub>) [kaldırım-da IMP<sub>i</sub> düş-ül-me-ye] çalış-ıl-dı.  
             sidewalk-LOC           fall-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
             Lit. ‘It was tried to be fallen on the sidewalk.’
- b. (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> kaldırım-da PRO düş-me-ye] çalış-ıl-dı.  
                     sidewalk-LOC           fall-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
             Lit. ‘It was tried to fall on the sidewalk.’

The same contrast is shown for *karar ver-* ‘decide’ below in (184a-b).

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<sup>25</sup>I follow previous work that proposes Turkish is not an EPP language (Öztürk, 2004, 2005; Şener, 2010; Kamali, 2011). Alternatively, there is a silent expletive. I do not follow this line of analysis here, but this possibility does not change any crucial features in my proposal.

- (184) a. \*(Ag<sub>i</sub>) [kaldırım-da IMP<sub>i</sub> düş-ül-me-ye] karar ver-il-di.  
 sidewalk-LOC fall-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘It was decided to be fallen on the sidewalk.’
- b. (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> kaldırım-da PRØ düş-me-ye] karar ver-il-di.  
 sidewalk-LOC fall-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘It was decided to fall on the sidewalk.’

Lastly, the embedded verb can be a passive-voiced transitive verb with a PRO object. PRO is the internal argument of the embedded verb and becomes the embedded subject. It again receives only co-referential interpretation with the matrix implicit agent. The embedded implicit agent gets disjoint reference from the matrix implicit agent with both classes of LOM verbs. In addition, the embedded implicit agent can be expressed in a by-phrase. This is shown in (185a-b), first with passive *çalış-* ‘try’ as the matrix verb. The embedded passive verb is *yen-* ‘defeat’, which is negated in these examples. While the embedded underlying subject is an implicit agent in (185a), it is expressed in a by-phrase in (185b).

- (185) a. Son maçta (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i</sub> (Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub>) PRØ yen-il-me-me-ye]  
 last game.LOC defeat-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT  
 çalış-ıl-dı.  
 try-PASS-PST  
 ‘At the last game, it was tried not to be defeated.’
- b. Son maçta (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i</sub> (karşı takım<sub>\*i/j</sub> tarafından) PRØ  
 last game.LOC opposite team by  
 yen-il-me-me-ye] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 defeat-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 ‘At the last game, it was tried not to be defeated (by the opposite team).’

The same configuration is possible with *karar ver-* ‘decide’, as in (186a-b).

- (186) a. Son maçta (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i</sub> (Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub>) PRO yen-il-me-me-ye]  
 last game.LOC defeat-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-il-di.  
 decide-PASS-PST  
 ‘At the last game, it was decided not to be defeated.’
- b. Son maçta (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i</sub> (karşı takım<sub>\*i/j</sub> tarafından) PRO  
 last game.LOC opposite team by  
 yen-il-me-me-ye] karar ver-il-di.  
 defeat-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 ‘At the last game, it was decided not to be defeated (by the opposite  
 team).’

Here, the disjoint reference for the embedded implicit agent is of interest especially for the case of restructuring LOM verbs. In all the other configurations, the embedded implicit agent gets only a co-referential interpretation with the matrix implicit agent when the embedding verb is a restructuring LOM verb. Crucially, the analysis predicts the possibility of independent reference as well. The special Voice head that a restructuring LOM verb selects for its infinitival complement does not lack an agent argument or its features (cf. Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017).

To sum up, the data I present in this subsection show the following. Passive-voiced LOM verbs can embed intransitive verbs. They can also embed transitive verbs with a pseudo-incorporated or an oblique object. In these configurations, there is no embedded object that needs structural case. Thus, there is no need for LOM. The embedded verb can be in active voice and have a PRO subject or be in passive voice and have an implicit agent. Speakers may have a preference for the active or the passive form of the embedded verb, but the contrast between the two forms is not as sharp as it is with LOM configurations. In LOM configurations, the embedded verb in active voice is judged to be outright ungrammatical. Here, the contrast is

that the passive form is marked for speakers who prefer the active form, and vice-versa. This optionality, especially with the restructuring LOM verbs, supports the following proposal: the Voice head of a restructuring infinitive can be an active or a passive Voice head. That is, the voice of the embedded verb is not dependent on the voice of the embedding verb. For unaccusative verbs, speakers accept only the active-voiced form. Restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verbs differ only in terms of the availability of independent reference between the matrix and embedded implicit agents. For the most part, independent reference is available only when the embedding verb is a non-restructuring LOM verb.

#### 4.4.2 With an Active LOM Verb

In this subsection, I present data on grammatical configurations with an active-voiced LOM verb. The embedded verb can be in passive voice only if it is a transitive verb, and the internal argument is a PRO that becomes the embedded subject. This is first shown with the matrix verb *çalış-* ‘try’ and the embedded verb *kov-* ‘fire’ in (187a-b). In (187a), the embedded PRO subject is controlled by the main clause subject *Ali*, while the embedded implicit agent gets disjoint reference. The underlying subject of the embedded verb can also be expressed using a by-phrase, as in (187b).

- (187) a.  $Ali_i$          $[PRO_i (Ag_{*i/j}) \text{PRO} \textit{kov-ul-ma-ya}]$          $\textit{\c{c}alıs-tı}$ .  
           Ali.NOM    fire-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
           ‘Ali tried to be fired.’
- b.  $Ali_i$          $[PRO_i (\textit{patron}_{*i/j} \textit{tarafından}) \text{PRO} \textit{kov-ul-ma-ya}]$          $\textit{\c{c}alıs-tı}$ .  
           Ali.NOM            boss        by                                fire-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
           ‘Ali tried to be fired (by the boss).’

In (187a-b), the infinitival complement is certainly a restructuring infinitive since the embedding verb is a restructuring LOM verb. Both the voice mismatch and the disjoint reference for the embedded implicit agent in (187a) support the proposal

that restructuring infinitives do not have a Voice head that lacks all its features (cf. Wurmbrand and Shimamura, 2017). Neither the passive voice nor the implicit agent features of the embedded Voice head in (187a) can come from the embedding Voice head. The Voice head in the embedding domain is an active Voice head introducing an overt DP as the external argument. Not surprisingly, the same is possible with a non-restructuring LOM verb that does not ever select a special Voice head for its infinitival complement, as shown in (188a-b). Likewise, the PRO subject is controlled by the matrix subject, while the embedded implicit agent gets disjoint reference, as in (188a). It is again possible to use a by-phrase to express the underlying subject of the embedded predicate, as in (188b).

- (188) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> (Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub> PRO kov-ul-ma-ya) karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM fire-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided to be fired.’
- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> (patron<sub>\*i/j</sub> tarafindan) PRO kov-ul-ma-ya]  
 Ali.NOM boss by fire-PASS-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-di.  
 decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided to be fired (by the boss).’

If an active-voiced LOM verb embeds an intransitive verb in passive voice, the resulting configuration is not grammatical. The same holds for passive transitive verbs with a pseudo-incorporated or oblique object, which I come back to in the next section. These configurations are grammatical if the embedded verbs are in active voice. This is shown below first for the transitive verb *oku-* ‘read’ with a pseudo-incorporated object. As the object *kitap* ‘book’ stays VP-internal, it precedes the manner adverb *hızlı* ‘fast’. The embedded PRO subject is again in a control relation with the matrix subject *Ali*. This is shown in (189a) with the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’ and in (189b) with the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’.

- (189) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> PRO hızlı kitap oku-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
 Ali.NOM fast book read-INF-DAT try-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali tried to do fast book-reading.’
- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> PRO hızlı kitap oku-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM fast book read-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali decided to do fast book-reading.’

The embedded object can also get accusative case (Enç, 1991; Kelepir, 2001; Öztürk, 2005; von Heusinger and Kornfilt, 2005). This is shown below with *çalış-* ‘try’ as the matrix verb in (190a) and with *karar ver-* ‘decide’ as the matrix verb in (190b). In both configurations, the object gets its accusative case without moving to the matrix clause. It surfaces inside the infinitival clause, following the adjunct *iki saat içinde* ‘within two hours’ that modifies the embedded verb. The object also follows the manner adverb *hızlı* ‘fast’, suggesting it has moved outside the embedded VP-domain (Kelepir, 2001; Öztürk, 2005) where it gets interpreted as specific. The availability of accusative case for an embedded object in (190a) is more surprising than (190b). The embedded Voice head in (190a) lacks a structural accusative case feature, since it is a special Voice head selected by the embedding restructuring LOM verb. This is not the case in (190b), where it is a regular Voice head that has an accusative case feature any time that it has an active voice feature.

- (190) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> hemen [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> iki saat içinde PRO kitab<sub>k-1</sub> hızlı t<sub>k</sub>  
 Ali.NOM immediately two hour within book-ACC fast  
 oku-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
 read-INF-DAT try-PST  
 ‘Ali tried immediately to read the book fast in two hours.’



- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> hemen [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> iki saat içinde PRO kitab<sub>k-1</sub> hızlı  
 Ali.NOM immediately two hour within book-ACC (fast)  
 t<sub>k</sub> oku-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 read-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided immediately to read the book fast in two hours’

As I presented earlier in Section 4.1, I propose the following mechanism for accusative case assignment in configurations like (190a). The embedded special Voice head receives the necessary accusative case feature from the embedding Voice head and assigns accusative case to the object DP locally. This operation obeys PIC1 (Chomsky, 2000) and is available only with restructuring LOM verbs, since only then is there no other phase head between the two Voice heads. With non-restructuring LOM verbs, there is an intervening CP phase. For the embedding Voice head to share an accusative case feature with a Voice head in the embedded domain, both need to be in active voice.

The embedded infinitive can consist of a transitive verb with an oblique object as well. This is shown below with the embedded verb *bak-* ‘look after’ and the oblique object *bebeğ-e* ‘baby-DAT’. In (191a), the matrix verb is *çalış-* ‘try’, while in (191b) it is *karar ver-* ‘decide’. The embedded PRO subject can only be co-referential with the matrix subject *Ali*. Similar to the passive-voiced version given before in (174), the oblique object surfaces following the adjunct of duration *iki saatliğine* ‘for two hours’ for the embedded predicate, and it precedes the manner adverb *iyi* ‘well’.

- (191) a. Dün Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> iki saatliğine PRO bebeğ-e iyi  
 yesterday Ali.NOM two hour.for baby-DAT well  
 bak-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
 look.after-INF-DAT try-PST  
 ‘Yesterday, Ali tried to look after the baby well for two hours.’

- b. Dün        Ali<sub>i</sub>        [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> iki saatliğine PRO bebeğ-e iyi  
 yesterday Ali.NOM            two hour.for            baby-DAT well  
 bak-ma-ya]            karar ver-di.  
 look.after-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Yesterday, Ali decided to look after the baby well for two hours.’

The oblique object can also be scrambled to the matrix domain.<sup>26</sup> In (192a-b), the oblique object precedes the matrix nominative subject *Ali* and the adverb *dün* ‘yesterday’. The main verb is *çalış-* ‘try’ in (192a), and *karar ver-* ‘decide’ in (192b).

- (192) a. Bebeğ<sub>k</sub>-e dün        Ali<sub>i</sub>        [<sub>t<sub>k</sub></sub> PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> iki saatliğine PRO t<sub>k</sub> iyi  
 baby-DAT yesterday Ali.NOM            two hour.for            well  
 bak-ma-ya]            çalış-tı.  
 look.after-INF-DAT try-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, Ali tried to look after the baby well for two hours.’
- b. Bebeğ<sub>k</sub>-e dün        Ali<sub>i</sub>        [<sub>t<sub>k</sub></sub> PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> iki saatliğine PRO t<sub>k</sub> iyi  
 baby-DAT yesterday Ali.NOM            two hour.for            well  
 bak-ma-ya]            karar ver-di.  
 look.after-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 Lit. ‘Yesterday, Ali decided to look after the baby well for two hours.’

We can test whether the object can move to the left of the matrix subject via A-movement using binding. This is shown below with the dative case-marked quantifier DP object *her bebeğ-e* ‘every baby-DAT’ and the possessive DP subject with a silent pronoun *pro annesi* ‘(their) mother’. The oblique object is in situ in (193a), while it surfaces to the left of the matrix possessive DP subject in (193b). The restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’ is used in active voice in both examples. The bound variable

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<sup>26</sup>The leftward scrambled object is interpreted as topic or focus (Özsoy, 2015).

reading is absent in (193a) and present in (193b), showing that the object moves to an A-position above the matrix nominative subject.

- (193) a. Dün {pro<sub>\*i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub> [PRO<sub>k</sub> iki saatliğine PRO $\emptyset$   
yesterday mother-POSS.3SG.NOM two hour.for  
{her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> iyi bak-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
every baby-DAT well look.after-INF-DAT try-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, (their<sub>\*i/j</sub>) mother tried to look after every baby<sub>i</sub> well for two hours.’
- b. Dün {her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> {pro<sub>i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> PRO<sub>k</sub> iki  
yesterday every baby-DAT mother-POSS.3SG two  
saatliğine PRO $\emptyset$  t<sub>i</sub> iyi bak-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
hour.for well look.after-INF-DAT try-PST  
‘Yesterday, for every baby<sub>i</sub> (their<sub>i/j</sub>) mother tried to look after (them) well for two hours.’

The same contrast is obtained when the matrix verb is a non-restructuring LOM verb like *karar ver-* ‘decide’. This is shown in (194a-b). Again, the bound variable reading is absent when the dative quantifier DP object is in situ in (194a) and present when the DP moves in (194b).

- (194) a. Dün {pro<sub>\*i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub> [PRO<sub>k</sub> iki saatliğine PRO $\emptyset$   
yesterday mother-POSS.3SG.NOM two hour.for  
{her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> iyi bak-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
every baby-DAT well look.after-INF-DAT try-PST  
Lit. ‘Yesterday, (their<sub>\*i/j</sub>) mother decided to look after every baby<sub>i</sub> well for two hours.’

- b. Dün            {her bebeğ-e}<sub>i</sub> {pro<sub>i/j</sub> anne-si}<sub>k</sub>            [t<sub>i</sub> PRO<sub>k</sub> iki  
yesterday every baby-DAT            mother-POSS.3SG            two  
saatliğine PRO t<sub>i</sub> iyi bak-ma-ya]            karar ver-di.  
hour.for            well look.after-INF-DAT decide-PST  
‘Yesterday, for every baby<sub>i</sub> (their<sub>i/j</sub>) mother decided to look after (them)  
well for two hours.’

In (193b) and (194b), the oblique object moves to an A-position to the left of both the embedded PRO subject and the matrix nominative subject. As shown in (179b) and (180b) in Section 4.4.1, the oblique object can A-move to the left of an embedded PRO subject. Differently from (193b) and (194b), in (179b) and (180b), the matrix verb was in passive voice, and thus there was no matrix nominative subject. As I noted earlier as well, A-movement of an oblique object to the left of a PRO or a nominative subject is similar to the hyperraising examples with ECM subjects presented in Section 4.3. There, the embedded accusative subject moves to an A-position to the left of the matrix nominative subject. Crucially, all of these examples are different from LOM in that they are not case-driven. In LOM, the embedded object undergoes A-movement to the matrix subject position for nominative case-checking. In LOM, the embedded object cannot A-move to the left of an embedded PRO subject.

Lastly, the embedded verb can be an active-voiced intransitive verb too. This is shown in (195a-b) first with the unergative verb *koş-* ‘run’. Just as before, the matrix subject and the embedded PRO are co-referential.

- (195) a. Ali<sub>i</sub>            [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> orman-da PRO koş-ma-ya]            çalış-tı.  
Ali.NOM            forest-LOC            run-INF-DAT try-PST  
‘Ali tried to run in the forest.’

- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> orman-da PRO koş-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM forest-LOC run-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided to run in the forest.’

The embedded verb can also be an unaccusative verb, as in (196a-b), with the same co-referentiality between the PRO subject and *Ali*.

- (196) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> kaldırım-da PRO düş-me-ye] çalış-tı.  
 Ali.NOM sidewalk-LOC fall-INF-DAT try-PST  
 ‘Ali tried to fall on the sidewalk.’
- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> kaldırım-da PRO düş-me-ye] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM sidewalk-LOC fall-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided to fall on the sidewalk.’

To summarize, the data presented in this subsection show that LOM verbs in active voice can embed any type of active-voiced verb. The embedded verb can also be in passive voice, but only if it is a passive verb with a PRO internal argument. In this configuration, the embedded implicit agent gets disjoint reference from the matrix agent. This supports the proposal that the Voice head of an infinitive selected by a restructuring or non-restructuring LOM verb does not receive its agent information from the matrix Voice head. This is in contrast to the system proposed in Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017), where the Voice head of a restructuring infinitive lacks its agent information and voice feature along with an accusative case feature. I propose a special Voice head that lacks only its structural accusative case feature. This special Voice head is selected by restructuring LOM verbs for their infinitival complements. As shown in this subsection, the active Voice head in the main clause can share its accusative case feature with the embedded active Voice head that is lacking that feature. This is possible because of the lack of an intervening CP phase in the infinitival complements of restructuring LOM verbs. The embedded object gets accusative case without moving to the main clause from the embedded VoiceP.

## 4.5 Ungrammatical Configurations with LOM Verbs

In this section, I present data on ungrammatical configurations formed with LOM verbs. The ungrammaticality of these configurations does not change depending on the type of the LOM verb involved. The first subsection presents data in which the embedding LOM verbs are in passive voice while the embedded verbs are in active-voice. In these ungrammatical configurations, a DP cannot undergo A-movement to the matrix subject position from the subject position of an embedded transitive verb or from the object position of an embedded unaccusative verb. The mechanism I propose for LOM predicts these configurations to be grammatical. I leave this issue for future research. The second subsection presents data in which active-voiced LOM verbs embed passive-voiced or (in the case of unaccusatives) impersonal verbs. These infinitives lack a PRO argument as they are not in active voice: they have an embedded implicit agent or an impersonal pronoun (with unaccusatives). Implicit agents cannot be in a control relation with an overt DP (Legate et al., 2020; Akkuş, 2021). The same holds for impersonal pronouns. I present data that show when the infinitives are nominalized (i.e., marked with possessive agreement), lack of a PRO argument in the embedded clause does not pose a problem. I propose a Turkish-specific requirement that accounts for the ungrammaticality of these configurations: if a verb selects a non-nominalized infinitive and it has a subject argument, then there must be a PRO in the infinitive that is controlled by that subject argument.

### 4.5.1 With a Passive LOM Verb

According to the system I propose, infinitives selected by LOM verbs are transparent for A-movement by a DP that needs structural case-checking as long as there is no embedded PRO subject to act as an intervener. The data that I present in this subsection involves passive matrix verbs and active embedded verbs. In these ungrammatical configurations, a DP cannot undergo A-movement to the matrix subject

position from the subject position of an embedded transitive verb or from the object position of an embedded unaccusative verb. The LOM mechanism I propose predicts these movements to be possible, but they are not. I leave deriving the ungrammaticality of this configuration for future research. The first example that illustrates this involves the external argument of a transitive verb with a pseudo-incorporated object in (197a-b). The passive matrix verb is *çalış-* ‘try’ in (197a), and *karar ver-* ‘decide’ in (197b). With neither LOM verb can the DP *Ali* be the external argument of the embedded verb *oku-* ‘read’, then move to the matrix subject position.<sup>27</sup>

- (197) a. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> hızlı kitap oku-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 Ali.NOM fast book read-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali was tried to do fast book-reading.’
- b. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> hızlı kitap oku-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 Ali.NOM fast book read-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali was decided to do fast book-reading.’

The configuration is also ungrammatical if the moved DP is the external argument of an embedded verb that takes an oblique object. This is shown in (198a-b) by generating the moved DP *Ali* as the external argument of the embedded verb *bak-* ‘look after’, which takes the oblique object *bebeğ-e* ‘baby-DAT’. The passive matrix verb is *çalış-* ‘try’ in (198a), and *karar ver-* ‘decide’ in (198b).

- (198) a. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> bebeğ-e iyi bak-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 Ali.NOM baby-DAT well look.after-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali was tried to look after the baby well.’

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<sup>27</sup>The traces in the examples are simplified; they only reflect the movement from the base position and the embedded subject position. The matrix implicit agents are also not shown.

- b. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> bebeğ-e iyi bak-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 Ali.NOM baby-DAT well look.after-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali was decided to look after the baby well.’

Not having an object in the embedded domain does not change the ungrammaticality of the configuration. Intransitive verbs behave similarly. In (199a-b), *Ali* is the external argument of the embedded unergative verb *koş-* ‘run’, and it cannot move to the matrix subject position from the embedded subject position. The passive matrix verb is *çalış-* ‘try’ in (199a), and *karar ver-* ‘decide’ in (199b).

- (199) a. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> orman-da t<sub>i</sub> koş-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-di.  
 Ali.NOM forest-LOC run-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali was tried to run in the forest.’
- b. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> orman-da t<sub>i</sub> koş-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 Ali.NOM forest-LOC run-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali was decided to run in the forest.’

Lastly, in (200a-b), the unaccusative verb *düş-* ‘fall’ is the embedded verb, and *Ali* is its internal argument. *Ali* cannot move to the matrix subject position. The passive matrix verb is *çalış-* ‘try’ in (200a), and *karar ver-* ‘decide’ in (200b).

- (200) a. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> kaldırım-da t<sub>i</sub> düş-me-ye] çalış-ıl-di.  
 Ali.NOM sidewalk-LOC fall-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali was tried to fall on the sidewalk.’
- b. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> kaldırım-da t<sub>i</sub> düş-me-ye] karar ver-il-di.  
 Ali.NOM sidewalk-LOC fall-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali was decided to fall on the sidewalk.’

To summarize, the data I have presented in this subsection shows that a DP that originates as the external argument of an active transitive verb cannot undergo A-movement from the embedded subject position to the matrix subject position. Like-



wise, A DP that is inserted as the internal argument of an unaccusative verb cannot undergo LOM from the embedded object position to the matrix subject position. In these configurations, the embedded verbs are in active voice and the DP arguments are inserted instead of a PRO argument. The system I propose does not block these configurations. I leave this issue for future research.

#### 4.5.2 With an Active LOM Verb

In Section 4.4.2, I show that any type of active-voiced verb can be embedded by an active-voiced LOM verb. I also show that only a transitive verb with a PRO internal argument can be in passive-voice embedded by an active LOM verb. As noted earlier, other types of embedded verbs cannot be in passive voice embedded under an active-voiced LOM verb. In this subsection, I show that if the infinitival complements are marked with agreement morphology, indicating the complement is a nominalized infinitive, then the ungrammaticality is resolved.<sup>28</sup> I propose the hypothesis given in (201) to account for the ungrammaticality of these configurations. This is a Turkish-specific restriction.

- (201) If a verb selects a non-nominalized infinitive and it has a subject argument, then there must be a PRO in the infinitive that is controlled by that subject argument.

I begin by repeating a grammatical data point involving an active LOM verb and a passive embedded verb. In (202a-b), the active-voiced matrix predicate is the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’, and the embedded predicate is *kov-* ‘fire’ in passive voice with a PRO internal argument. PRO becomes the embedded subject, and it is in a control relation with the matrix subject *Ali*. The implicit agent has

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<sup>28</sup>The nominalized infinitival complements are available with non-restructuring LOM verbs, but not with restructuring LOM verbs.

disjoint reference from the matrix subject and the embedded subject in (202a). In (202b) the underlying subject of the embedded verb is expressed in a by-phrase.

- (202) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> (Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub>) PRO kov-ul-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
 Ali.NOM fire-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
 ‘Ali tried to be fired.’
- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> (patron<sub>\*i/j</sub> tarafından) PRO kov-ul-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
 Ali.NOM boss by fire-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
 ‘Ali tried to be fired (by the boss).’

This configuration is also grammatical with a non-restructuring LOM verb in the matrix predicate position. In (203a-b) The same control relation between the embedded PRO subject and the matrix subject *Ali* holds. In (203a), the embedded implicit agent gets disjoint reference from the matrix subject, and in (203b) the agent of the embedded verb is expressed in a by-phrase.

- (203) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> (Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub>) PRO kov-ul-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM fire-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided to be fired.’
- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> (patron<sub>\*i/j</sub> tarafından) PRO kov-ul-ma-ya]  
 Ali.NOM boss by fire-PASS-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-di.  
 decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided to be fired (by the boss).’

The problem with the rest of the data I present here is that the embedded verb is passivized, but the internal argument is not a PRO. I show this first with a passivized transitive verb that takes a pseudo-incorporated DP object. In (204a), the matrix verb is *çalış-* ‘try’, while in (204a) it is *karar ver-* ‘decide’. In both, the embedded verb is *oku-* ‘read’ in passive voice and it has the pseudo incorporated object *kitap*

‘book’. Whether the embedded implicit agents are understood to be co-referential or independent from the main clause subject *Ali*, the configurations are ungrammatical.

- (204) a. \**Ali<sub>i</sub>* [(*Ag<sub>i/j</sub>*) hızlı kitap oku-n-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
 Ali.NOM fast book read-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali tried fast book-reading to be done.’
- b. \**Ali<sub>i</sub>* [(*Ag<sub>i/j</sub>*) hızlı kitap oku-n-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM fast book read-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali decided fast book-reading to be done.’

The configuration is also ungrammatical when the embedded transitive verb has an oblique object. In (205a-b), the embedded passive transitive verb is *bak* ‘look after’ and its oblique object is *bebeğ-e* ‘baby-DAT’. The structure is ungrammatical with both matrix verbs.

- (205) a. \**Ali<sub>i</sub>* [(*Ag<sub>i/j</sub>*) bebeğ-e iyi bak-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
 Ali.NOM baby-DAT well look.after-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali tried to be looked after the baby well.’
- b. \**Ali<sub>i</sub>* [(*Ag<sub>i/j</sub>*) bebeğ-e iyi bak-ıl-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM baby-DAT well look.after-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali decided to be looked after the baby well.’

Similarly, a passive unergative verb embedded under an active LOM verb is ungrammatical. This is shown in (206a-b) with the unergative verb *koş-* ‘run’.

- (206) a. \**Ali<sub>i</sub>* [(*Ag<sub>i/j</sub>*) orman-da koş-ul-ma-ya] çalış-tı.  
 Ali.NOM forest-LOC run-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali tried to be run in the forest.’
- b. \**Ali<sub>i</sub>* [(*Ag<sub>i/j</sub>*) orman-da koş-ul-ma-ya] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM forest-LOC run-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali decided to be run in the forest.’

Lastly, having an impersonal unaccusative verb as the embedded verb brings an impersonal pronoun (IMP) as the embedded argument, not a PRO argument. Again, whether the main clause overt subject is understood to be co-referential with the embedded subject IMP or not, the configuration is ungrammatical. This is shown in (207a-b) with the unaccusative verb *düş-* ‘fall’ as the embedded verb.

- (207) a. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [kaldırım-da IMP<sub>i/j</sub> düş-ül-me-ye] çalış-tı.  
 Ali.NOM sidewalk-LOC fall-PASS-INF-DAT try-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali tried to be fallen on the sidewalk.’
- b. \*Ali<sub>i</sub> [kaldırım-da IMP<sub>i/j</sub> düş-ül-me-ye] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM sidewalk-LOC fall-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali decided to be fallen on the sidewalk.’

Note that changing *Ali* to the overt impersonal *insan* ‘human’ would not change the ungrammaticality of the configuration; the overt and the covert impersonals do not match in features (Akkuş, 2021).

All of these configurations would be grammatical if the voice of the embedded verb were active. Then, the main clause subject DP would be in a control relation with the embedded PRO subject. These are presented in Section 4.4.2. The sentences with transitive and unergative embedded verbs would also be grammatical if the voice of the LOM verb were passive. Then, the two implicit agents would be co-referential (or independent when the embedding verb is a non-restructuring LOM verb). These are shown in Section 4.4.1.

The data presented in this subsection does not involve an embedded object that needs case. Thus, the cause of ungrammaticality cannot be related to case either. I propose that the cause of ungrammaticality is rather that these are non-nominalized infinitival complements and there is an overt DP subject in the main clause, but there is no PRO argument in the embedded clause to be in a control relation with this subject. In Turkish, thematic subjects of passives are not controlled PRO, since

they are implicit agents that are syntactically not projected (Legate et al., 2020; Akkuş, 2021). In English as well, the implicit agent of a passive can not be controlled or bound (Williams, 1987; Partee, 1989; Bruening, 2013).

Bruening (2013) illustrates this point with the following pair in (208a-b). The sentence in (208a) can only mean ‘John wants Mary to be seen by someone,’ as the implicit agent of the seeing event cannot be controlled by *John*. Likewise, the sentence in (208b) can only mean ‘Every journalist wants the president to be interviewed by someone,’ since the implicit agent cannot be bound by the quantifier DP.

- (208) a. John wants Mary to be seen. (cannot mean ‘John wants to see Mary’)  
b. Every journalist<sub>*i*</sub> wants the president to be interviewed. (cannot mean ‘by him<sub>*i*</sub>’)

(Bruening, 2013: 19)

Bruening (2013) compares the existentially closed implicit agents in (208a-b) to agents expressed in a by-phrase. A pronoun inside a by-phrase can be bound. This is shown in (209a-b) with the pronoun *him*. In (209a), it is bound by *John*, while in (209b), it is bound by the universal quantifier DP.

- (209) a. John<sub>*i*</sub> wants Mary to be seen by him<sub>*i*</sub>.  
b. Every journalist<sub>*i*</sub> wants the president to be interviewed by him<sub>*i*</sub>.

(Bruening, 2013: 20)

The Turkish counterparts of (208) and (209) show the same contrast. Differently from English, the embedded subjects get genitive case and the embedded verbs have a possessive agreement marker.<sup>29</sup> The first pair is given below. The embedded implicit agent cannot be controlled or bound by the main clause subject.

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<sup>29</sup>The embedded verb *interview* is changed to *sorgula-* ‘question’ since the Turkish counterpart of *interview* is a complex verb that would take *başkan* ‘president’ as an oblique object. It would not surface as the genitive embedded subject then.

- (210) a. John<sub>i</sub> [Mary-nin (Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub>) gör-ül-me-sin-i] istiyor.  
 John.NOM Mary-GEN see-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-ACC want.PRES  
 ‘John wants Mary to be seen (by someone).’
- b. Her gazeteci<sub>i</sub> [başkan-ın (Ag)<sub>\*i/j</sub>  
 every journalist.NOM president-GEN  
 sorgula-n-ma-sın-ı] istiyor.  
 question-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-ACC want.PRES  
 ‘Every journalist wants the president to be questioned (by someone).’

When there is a by-phrase with a reflexive pronoun in the embedded clause, the main clause subject can bind it. This is shown below. In (211a), the reflexive is bound by *John*, and in (211b) it is bound by the quantifier DP *her gazeteci* ‘every journalist’.

- (211) a. John<sub>i</sub> [Mary-nin (kendisi<sub>i</sub> tarafından) gör-ül-me-sin-i]  
 John.NOM Mary-GEN self.3SG by see-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-ACC  
 istiyor.  
 want.PRES  
 ‘John wants Mary to be seen (by himself).’
- b. Her gazeteci<sub>i</sub> [başkan-ın (kendisi<sub>i</sub> tarafından)  
 every journalist.NOM president-GEN self.3SG by  
 sorgula-n-ma-sın-ı] istiyor.  
 question-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-ACC want.PRES  
 ‘Every journalist<sub>i</sub> wants the president to be questioned (by themselves<sub>i</sub>).’

The infinitives in (210a-b) and (211a-b) are different from the infinitives in the ungrammatical examples I presented in the first half of this subsection. These infinitives have an embedded genitive subject and the infinitival verb bears possessive agreement. These are infinitival nominalizations.

As shown in Chapter 3, the non-restructuring LOM verbs *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *iste-* ‘want’ can take nominalized infinitival complements with possessive agreement marking and a genitive subject. If the infinitives in the ungrammatical configurations in (204-207) formed with *karar ver-* ‘decide’ are changed to possessive agreement bearing nominalized infinitival complements, they become grammatical.<sup>30</sup> In (212a) the embedded verb is the transitive verb *oku-* ‘read’ with the pseudo-incorporated object *kitap* ‘book’; in (212b) it is the transitive verb *bak-* ‘look after’ with the oblique object *bebeğ-e* ‘baby-DAT’; in (212c) it is the unergative verb *koş-* ‘run’; and in (212d) it is the unaccusative verb *düş-* ‘fall’.

- (212) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub>) hızlı kitap oku-n-ma-sın-a] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM fast book read-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided that fast book-reading be done (by someone).’
- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub>) bebeğ-e iyi bak-ıl-ma-sın-a]  
 Ali.NOM baby-DAT well look.after-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT  
 karar ver-di.  
 decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided that the baby be looked after well (by someone).’
- c. Ali<sub>i</sub> [(Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub>) orman-da koş-ul-ma-sın-a] karar ver-di.  
 Ali.NOM forest-LOC run-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided that the forest be run in (by someone).’
- d. Ali<sub>i</sub> [kaldırım-da IMP<sub>\*i/j</sub> düş-ül-me-sin-e]  
 Ali.NOM sidewalk-LOC fall-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT  
 karar ver-di.  
 decide-PST  
 ‘Ali decided that the sidewalk be fallen on (by someone).’

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<sup>30</sup>See (Legate et al., 2020) where the same contrast is illustrated for *iste-* ‘want’ and *alış-* ‘get used to’.

In (212a-d), there is no overt embedded subject with genitive case marking, but the infinitival complements are marked with possessive agreement. Thus, these are infinitival nominalizations and they are well-formed without a PRO subject. Hence, the Turkish-specific requirement that I propose excludes these nominalized infinitives. The embedded implicit agents in (212a-c) can be changed to an agent expressed in a by-phrase. This by-phrase can be *başka biri tarafından* ‘by someone else’, further illustrating that these are not control configurations. These are given in (213a-c).<sup>31</sup>

- (213) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> [(başka biri<sub>\*i/j</sub> tarafından) hızlı kitap  
 Ali.NOM (else someone by) fast book  
 oku-n-ma-sın-a] karar ver-di.  
 read-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT decide-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali decided fast book-reading to be done (by someone else).’
- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> [(başka biri<sub>\*i/j</sub> tarafından) bebeğ-e iyi  
 Ali.NOM (else someone by) baby-DAT well  
 bak-ıl-ma-sın-a] karar ver-di.  
 look.after-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT decide-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali decided the baby to be looked after well (by someone else).’
- c. Ali<sub>i</sub> [(başka biri<sub>\*i/j</sub> tarafından) orman-da  
 Ali.NOM (else someone by) forest-LOC  
 koş-ul-ma-sın-a] karar ver-di.  
 run-PASS-INF-POSS.3SG-DAT decide-PST  
 Lit. ‘Ali decided to be run in the forest (by someone else).’

To conclude, I propose the hypothesis given in (201), repeated in (214) below, to explain the restriction on the voice of the embedded verb with active-voiced LOM

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<sup>31</sup>Impersonals are not grammatical with a by-phrase (Akkuş, 2021). That is why (212d) is not included here.



verbs in Turkish.

- (214) If a verb selects a non-nominalized infinitive and it has a subject argument, then there must be a PRO in the infinitive that is controlled by that subject argument.

## 4.6 Multiple Infinitival Embeddings

In this section, I present data on the availability of the local passive and LOM with multiple infinitival embeddings. These data points provide supporting evidence for the proposal. I start with LOM and then move on to local passives.<sup>32</sup>

As I shown before in Chapter 2, when both verbs are LOM verbs, an embedded object can undergo LOM through two infinitival clauses as long as both are passive-voiced. This is shown with the DP *hastalar* ‘patients’ below: it originates as the object of *tedavi et-* ‘treat’, but surfaces as the matrix subject. There is a plural agreement marker on the matrix verb, and the DP precedes the adverb *hemen* ‘immediately’ that modifies the matrix verb, indicating that the DP is in the matrix clause. In (215a) the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’ is the matrix verb embedding the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’, and in (215b) it is vice-versa.

- (215) a. (?)*Hasta-lar<sub>i</sub>*    *hemen*    [*t<sub>i</sub>* [*t<sub>i</sub>* *tedavi ed-\*(il)-me-ye*]  
           patient-PL.NOM immediately        treat-(PASS)-INF-DAT  
           *çalış-\*(il)-ma-ya*]    *karar ver-\*(il)-di-ler*.  
           try-(PASS)-INF-DAT decide-(PASS)-PST-3PL  
           Lit. ‘The patients were immediately decided to be tried to be treated.’

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<sup>32</sup>These examples ignore the implicit agents, the PRO arguments, and the co-referential relationship between them in order to keep things simpler. The traces are also reduced in number to keep the representations clear.

- b. (?)Hasta-lar<sub>i</sub> hemen [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> tedavi ed-\*(il)-me-ye]  
 patient-PL.NOM immediately treat-(PASS)-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-\*(il)-me-ye] çalış-\*(il)-dı-lar.  
 decide-(PASS)-INF-DAT try-(PASS)-PST-3PL  
 Lit. ‘The patients were immediately tried to be decided to be treated.’

According to my proposal, *hastalar* ‘patients’ does not move in one fell swoop; rather, it moves successive-cyclically. That is why both infinitives need to be in passive voice. If they were active-voiced, then a PRO subject would block the object. The ordering flexibility between LOM verbs when they embed one another is also predicted. This is illustrated with more verbs in Chapter 2.

According to the mechanism I propose, LOM is predicted to be grammatical across two infinitival domains only if both infinitives are transparent for A-movement. The A-movement transparency of an infinitive is determined by the verb that selects it. In (215a-b) both of the verbs selecting the infinitival complement are LOM verbs. Hence, they select infinitives that are transparent to A-movement, which makes LOM possible. Then, if the lower LOM verb is changed to a non-restructuring non-LOM verb, LOM is predicted to be ungrammatical. As the CP edge of an infinitival complement of a non-restructuring non-LOM verb is not an A-position, A-movement out of its infinitival complement should not be possible. And as LOM proceeds successive-cyclically, this should render LOM ungrammatical. This prediction is borne out, as exemplified in (216). Here, the non-restructuring non-LOM verb *cüret et-* ‘dare’ serves as the intermediate verb embedding the lowest infinitive.

- (216) \*Hasta-lar<sub>i</sub> hemen [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> tedavi ed-il-me-ye] cüret ed-il-me-ye]  
 patient-PL.NOM immediately treat-PASS-INF-DAT dare-PASS-INF-DAT  
 çalış-ıl-dı-lar.  
 try-PASS-PST-3PL  
 Lit. ‘The patients were immediately tried to be dared to be treated.’

Like the lowest infinitive, the intermediate infinitive needs to be transparent for A-movement as well. This prediction is tested in (217) by swapping the positions of *çalış-* ‘try’ and *cüret et-* ‘dare’. As expected, LOM is not allowed, since the non-restructuring non-LOM verb *cüret et-* ‘dare’ is embedding the intermediate infinitive.

- (217) \*Hasta-lar<sub>i</sub>        hemen        [t<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> tedavi ed-il-me-ye] çalış-ıl-ma-ya]  
 patient-PL.NOM immediately        treat-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-INF-DAT  
 cüret ed-il-di-ler.  
 dare-PASS-PST-3PL  
 Lit. ‘The patients were immediately dared to be tried to be treated.’

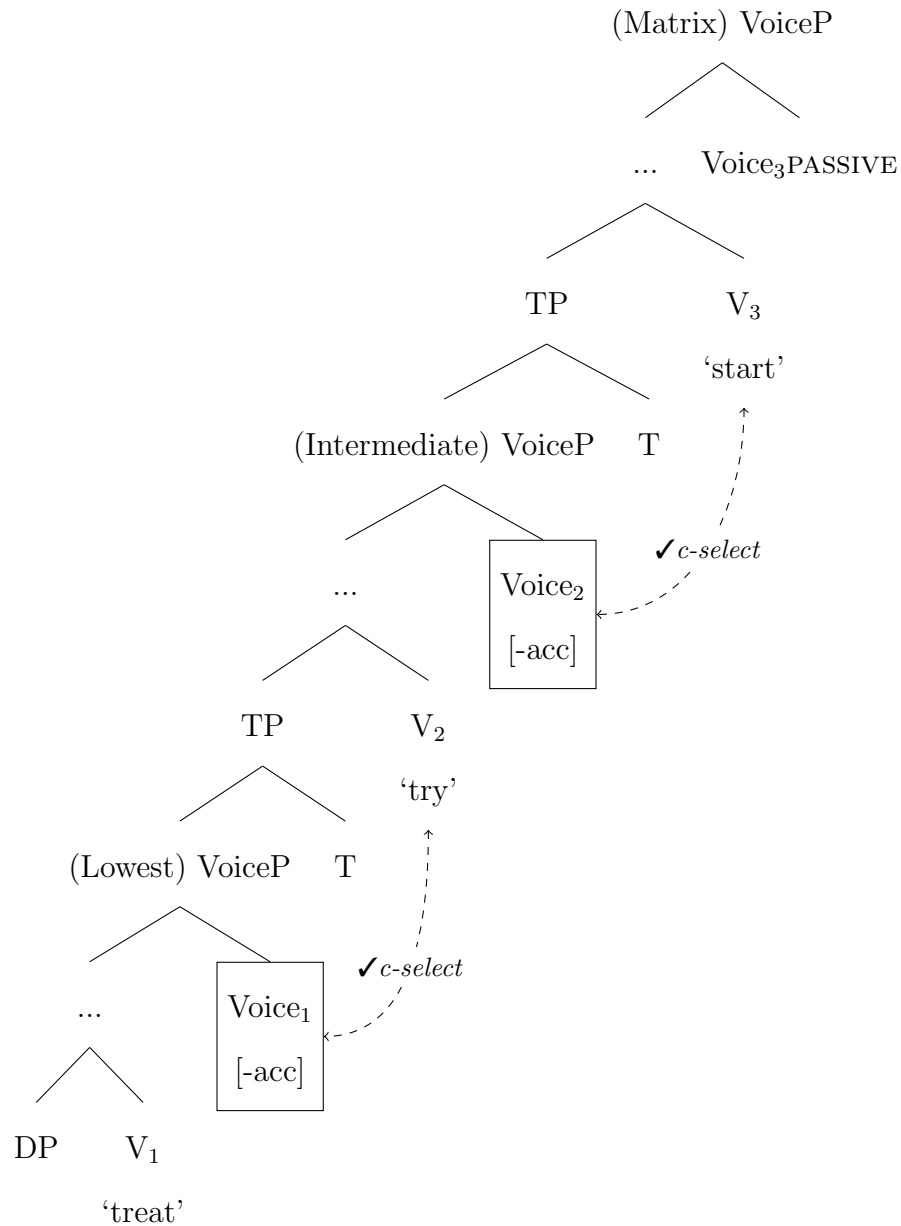
To sum up, the mechanism I propose correctly predicts the behavior of LOM across two infinitives; it does not proceed in one fell swoop. Both infinitives need to be in passive voice so that no PRO argument in either infinitival domain blocks LOM by being the closer goal to the T head. Also, both verbs need to be LOM verbs that select infinitives transparent for A-movement.

Moving onto local passives with an accusative object, recall that such configurations are not grammatical with a restructuring LOM verb such as *çalış-* ‘try’. This is because restructuring LOM verbs select a special Voice head that lacks accusative case for its infinitival complement. When *çalış-* ‘try’ is embedded by another restructuring LOM verb like *başla-* ‘start’, the local passive is predicted to still be ungrammatical. This is shown in (218a-b), where the DP *hastalar* ‘patients’ is the object of the lowest embedded verb *tedavi et-* ‘treat’. Accusative case is not available to the embedded object in (218a), since *çalış-* ‘try’ selects a special Voice head that lacks this feature as the Voice head of its infinitival complement. Similarly, the matrix verb in (218b), *başla-* ‘start’, selects an accusative case-lacking special Voice head for its infinitival complement. Thus, the Voice head associated with the verb *çalış-* ‘try’ does not have an accusative case feature either.

- (218) a. \*Hemen [iki saat içinde hasta-lar-ı tedavi et-me-ye]  
 immediately two hour within patient-PL-ACC treat-INF-DAT  
 çalış-ıl-dı.  
 try-PASS-PST  
 Int. ‘It was immediately tried to treat the patients within two hours.’
- b. \*Hemen [ [iki saat içinde hasta-lar-ı tedavi et-me-ye]  
 immediately two hour within patient-PL-ACC treat-INF-DAT  
 çalış-ma-ya] başla-n-dı.  
 try-INF-DAT start-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘It was immediately started to try to treat the patients within two  
 hours.’

The derivation for (218b) is given in (219). The matrix Voice head is passive, and thus lacks an accusative case feature. The Voice head that *başla-* ‘start’ selects for its restructuring infinitival complement is a special Voice head (*Voice*<sub>2</sub>) that also lacks accusative case. Finally, the Voice head of the lowest restructuring infinitive is selected by *çalış-* ‘try’, also a special Voice head (*Voice*<sub>1</sub>) that lacks accusative case.

(219) Accusative case is unavailable in the lowest infinitive:



The proposal predicts that if the Voice head associated with *çalış-* ‘try’ had an accusative case feature in (218b), this could be shared with the Voice head of the lowest infinitive. Then, accusative case would be available for the object and the sentence would be grammatical. This prediction can be tested by changing the matrix verb to a non-restructuring LOM or a non-restructuring non-LOM verb. As these verbs cannot select a special Voice head for their CP complements, the infinitive

formed by *çalış-* ‘try’ would have a regular Voice head. Then, this Voice head could share its accusative case feature with the lowest Voice head, resulting in a grammatical local passive structure. This prediction is borne out, as shown below.

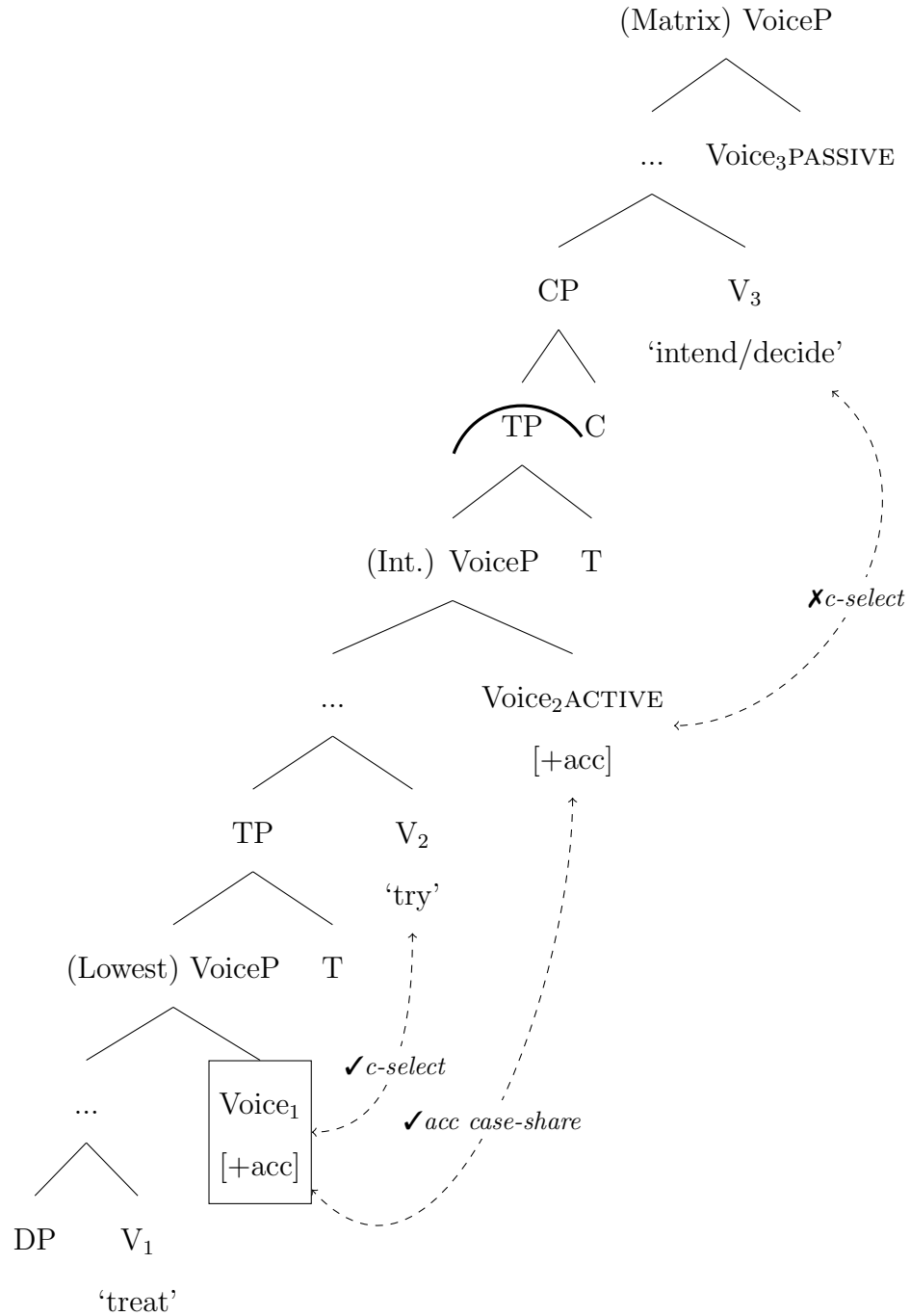
In (220a), the matrix verb is the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’, while in (220b) it is the non-restructuring non-LOM verb *niyet et-* ‘intend’. Neither of them selects an accusative case-lacking Voice head for their infinitival complement. As a result, the Voice head of the infinitive that has *çalış-* ‘try’ as its predicate is a regular Voice head. The object *hastalar* ‘patients’ is assigned accusative case locally; it precedes the adverb *iki saat içinde* ‘within two hours’ that modifies the embedded verb *tedavi et-* ‘treat’ in (220a-b).

- (220) a. (?)Hemen [ [iki saat içinde hasta-lar-ı tedavi et-me-ye]  
 immediately two hour within patient-PL-ACC treat-INF-DAT  
 çalış-ma-ya] karar ver-il-di.  
 try-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘It was immediately decided to try to treat the patients within two  
 hours.’
- b. (?)Hemen [ [iki saat içinde hasta-lar-ı tedavi et-me-ye]  
 immediately two hour within patient-PL-ACC treat-INF-DAT  
 çalış-ma-ya] niyet ed-il-di.  
 try-INF-DAT intend-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘It was immediately intended to try to treat the patients within two  
 hours.’

The derivation for (220a-b) is given in (221). The Voice head of the lowest infinitive (*Voice<sub>1</sub>*) is a special Voice head selected by *çalış-* ‘try’. In contrast, the Voice head associated with *çalış-* ‘try’ (*Voice<sub>2</sub>*) is not a special Voice head since the CP phase above blocks such c-selection by the matrix verbs *karar ver-* ‘decide’ and *niyet et-*

‘intend’. As such *Voice<sub>2</sub>* shares its accusative case feature with *Voice<sub>1</sub>*, changing its [-acc] to [+acc]. This renders the local passive grammatical.

(221) Accusative case is available in the lowest infinitive:



This is similar to what I proposed in Section 4.1 for active-voiced usages of restructuring LOM verbs, as when *çalış-* ‘try’ takes an active-voiced infinitival complement.

In those configurations, accusative case is available for an embedded object. An example for this configuration is given in (222) using the same object DP, with the same adverb modifying the same embedded verb. Here, the embedding Voice head shares its accusative case feature with the embedded special Voice head.

- (222) Doktor        hemen        [iki saat içinde hasta-lar-ı        tedavi et-me-ye]  
 doctor.NOM immediately two hour within patient-PL-ACC treat-INF-DAT  
 çalış-tı.  
 try-PST  
 ‘The doctor immediately tried to treat the patients withing two hours.’

In this section I have shown that the availability of LOM and the local passive in configurations with multiple infinitival embedded clauses is in line with the predictions of the proposal. I do the same for another edge case in the following section.

#### 4.7 The Middle Construction

In this section I show that the LOM analysis I propose can be extended to the middle construction in Turkish. As pointed out by Gündoğdu (2016), there are multiple approaches to the Turkish middle, and studies disagree about whether the construction even exists in the language. On the one hand, Dietrich (2003) provides data on middles in Turkish using an adverb and a verb marked with passive and aorist morphology. The adverb *kolay* ‘easily’ modifies the embedded verb *aç-* ‘open’ in (223a) and *dök-* ‘spill’ in (223b). Both verbs are marked with passive and aorist morphology.

- (223) a. Kapı        kolay aç-ıl-ır.  
 door.NOM easily open-PASS-AOR  
 ‘The door opens easily.’  
 (Lit. ‘The door is opened easily.’)



- b. Su kolay dök-ül-ür.  
 water.NOM easily spill-PASS-AOR  
 ‘The water spills easily.’  
 (Lit. ‘The water is spilled easily.’)

(Adapted from Dietrich, 2003: 14, 15)

These examples at first sight seem very similar to the English middle (Keyser and Roeper, 1984). However, one crucial difference is that, unlike in English, the verb in these Turkish examples is not in active voice; it is marked with passive morphology.

Capritsa et al. (1991) and Göksel (1993), on the other hand, argue that there is no distinct middle construction in Turkish. They claim that the absence of a by-phrase in Turkish passives simply gives rise to a generic reading, since the agent is not specified. What is more, this ‘middle reading’ does not require a specific tense or aspect marker. Some of their examples are given below. In (224a-c), there is no by-phrase, and the implicit agent is left unspecified. The subject is *bu kapı* ‘this door’ and the predicate is *aç-* ‘open’ marked with the passive morpheme *-IL*. In (224a), the verb is marked with the aorist, but instead of *kolay* ‘easily’, the modifier of the verb is the PP *anahtarla* ‘with a key’. In (224b), the verb is marked with present/progressive and the adverb *her gün* ‘every day’ is added. The sentence in (224c) is a question and the verb is marked with the future marker.<sup>33</sup>

- (224) a. Bu kapı anahtar-la aç-ıl-ır.  
 this door.NOM key-INS open-PASS-AOR  
 ‘This door can be opened by a key.’  
 (Lit. ‘This door is opened by a key.’)

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<sup>33</sup>As noted by Gündoğdu (2016, fn.6), the third view on middles in Turkish is that there is only one non-productive middle example in Turkish. It is formed with the verb *sat-* ‘sell’ in active voice, marked with the aorist: *Bu kitap çok satar.* ‘This book sells well.’ (Prof. Balkız Öztürk, pc., as cited in Gündoğdu, 2016)

- b. Bu kapı her gün anahtar-la aç-ıl-ıyor.  
 this door.NOM every day key-INST open-PASS-PRES  
 ‘This door opens every day with a key.’  
 (Lit. ‘This door is opened every day with a key.’)
- c. Bu kapı ne zaman aç-ıl-acak?  
 this door.NOM when open-PASS-FUT  
 ‘When will this door open?’  
 (Lit. ‘When will this door be opened?’)

(Adapted from Göksel, 1993: 308)

What is crucial for the discussion here is that it is grammatical to form LOM configurations involving such constructions, whether they are analyzed as middles or simply as passives with a generic reading. That is, the implicit agent of the embedded verb does not block the embedded object from undergoing LOM. As the embedded verb is in passive voice, the well-formedness of these configurations is predicted by the system I propose. This is shown in (225a-b), with the aorist on the main verb and the adverb *kolay* ‘easily’ modifying the embedded verb in (225a), and with neither in (225b). In both examples, *kapı* ‘the door’ originates as the embedded object and moves to the main clause subject position via LOM. The matrix verb in both examples is the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’.<sup>34</sup>

- (225) a. Kapı<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> kolay t<sub>i</sub> aç-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-ır.  
 door.NOM easily open-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-AOR  
 Lit. ‘The door is tried to be opened easily.’
- b. Kapı<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> ne zaman t<sub>i</sub> aç-ıl-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-acak?  
 door.NOM when open-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-FUT  
 Lit. ‘When will the door be tried to be opened?’

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<sup>34</sup>These sentences are also grammatical with the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’.

Based on the well-formedness of LOM in (225a-b), I conclude that the analysis can be extended to middle(-like) constructions in Turkish.<sup>35</sup> They do not pose a challenge for the proposal presented here.

## 4.8 A Note on Implicit Control

The three theories of LOM as restructuring that are presented in Chapter 2 all predict one-to-one matching between the matrix and embedded implicit agents in a restructuring configuration. In Cinque's (2006) mono-clausal system, restructuring verbs are functional heads, and thus there is only one external argument in the mono-clausal configuration. In contrast, restructuring verbs are lexical categories in Keine and Bhatt's (2016) system, but restructuring infinitives are too small to have an external argument. They are VPs. In Wurmbrand and Shimamura's (2017) system, the lack of an external argument for the restructuring infinitive is encoded in the embedded Voice head itself. The Voice head of a restructuring infinitive lacks its agent information along with voice and accusative case features. The implicit control relation is established via an agreement relation between the two Voice heads, in which the lower Voice head gets valued for the index and *phi*-features of the implicit agent of the higher Voice head.

As for Turkish, the implicit agents of the embedded and embedding verbs in an LOM configuration can have independent reference if the embedding verb is a non-restructuring LOM verb. If the embedding verb is a restructuring LOM verb, the implicit agents only get co-referential interpretation. The data that shows this contrast is repeated below. In (226a), the embedding verb is the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* 'try', and in (226b) it is the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* 'decide'.

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<sup>35</sup>Middle constructions express 'an intrinsic property' of the subject, such as being opened easily (224a) or using a key (224b). Although the examples in (225a-b) are syntactically well-formed, they do not express this 'intrinsic property'.

The embedded verb is *koş-* ‘run’ in passive voice in both examples, and the subject *bu yılki yarış* ‘this year’s race’ originates as the embedded object, and undergoes LOM. The two implicit agents cannot get independent reference in (226a), but they can in (226b).<sup>36</sup>

- (226) a. Bu yılki yarış<sub>i</sub> (Ag<sub>j</sub>) [(Ag<sub>j/\*k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> koş-ul-ma-ya] çalış-ıl-dı.  
 this year’s race.NOM run-PASS-INF-DAT try-PASS-PST  
 ‘This year’s race was tried to be run.’
- b. Bu yılki yarış<sub>i</sub> (Ag<sub>j</sub>) [(Ag<sub>j/k</sub>) t<sub>i</sub> koş-ul-ma-ya]  
 this year’s race.NOM run-PASS-INF-DAT  
 karar ver-il-di.  
 decide-PASS-PST  
 ‘This year’s race was decided to be run.’

This contrast is very surprising both for the theories of restructuring I focus on in the dissertation and the mechanism I propose. What makes this puzzle even more interesting is that the matrix and embedded implicit agents are not always co-referential in configurations formed with restructuring LOM verbs. Recall that local passive is ungrammatical with restructuring LOM verbs, which shows they always select a restructuring infinitive. When a restructuring LOM verb embeds a restructuring infinitive formed with a passive-voiced transitive verb, the internal argument can be a PRO that becomes the embedded subject. In this configuration, PRO gets controlled by the main clause subject (if matrix voice is active) or the implicit agent of the main verb (if matrix voice is passive). Crucially, the embedded implicit agent gets disjoint reference from the matrix implicit agent. Not so surprisingly, the same result is obtained when the embedding verb is a non-restructuring LOM verb. The data with passive embedding verbs are repeated in (227a-b). The embedding verb

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<sup>36</sup>See Section 2.2.7 for more detailed examples.

is the restructuring LOM verb *çalış-* ‘try’ in (227a), and the non-restructuring LOM verb *karar ver-* ‘decide’ in (227b). The internal argument of the passive embedded verb *yen-* ‘defeat’ is the embedded PRO subject that is co-referential with the matrix implicit agent. The embedded implicit agent gets disjoint reference in both examples.

- (227) a. Son maçta (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i</sub> (Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub>) PRO yen-il-me-me-ye]  
 last game.LOC defeat-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT  
*çalış-ıl-di.*  
 try-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘At the last game, it was tried not to be defeated.’
- b. Son maçta (Ag<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>i</sub> (Ag<sub>\*i/j</sub>) PRO yen-il-me-me-ye]  
 last game.LOC defeat-PASS-NEG-INF-DAT  
*karar ver-il-di.*  
 decide-PASS-PST  
 Lit. ‘At the last game, it was decided not to be defeated.’

This is especially surprising for the theories of restructuring that claim restructuring infinitives lack a PRO subject or an implicit agent of their own. As the embedding verb is a restructuring LOM verb in (227a), its infinitival complement is a restructuring infinitive. However, it behaves just like the non-restructuring infinitive in (227b) in not lacking an independent implicit agent.

Apart from theories of restructuring, recent theories of implicit control mostly focus only on deriving the control relation between an embedded PRO subject and a matrix implicit agent (van Urk, 2013; Landau, 2015; Pitteroff and Schäfer, 2019; Wurmbrand, 2021). The patterns of implicit control summarized above are puzzling to these theories as well. Restructuring configurations do not involve only exhaustive control. Hence, theories of implicit control should not set aside the implicit control in restructuring contexts as a separate puzzle that might be solved with a special mechanism. We need more comprehensive analyses that focus also on the co-reference

relation between a matrix and an embedded implicit agent. The ideal theory would capture the distinction between the class of verbs that allow an independent reference between the two implicit agents and the class of verbs that require co-reference. This distinction should arise only in the right context. For Turkish LOM configurations, the context is determined by the existence of PRO in the infinitive. When there is a PRO in the embedded domain, it is only co-referential with the (underlying) subject of the matrix verb, and the embedded implicit agent gets disjoint reference. In the absence of a PRO in the embedded clause, the embedded implicit agent is co-referential with the matrix implicit agent, depending on the type of the embedding LOM verb. I leave figuring out how exactly this mechanism works for future research.

## 4.9 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented a mechanism for deriving LOM in Turkish. Section 4.1 laid out the portion of the proposal that focuses on the ungrammaticality of local passives with restructuring LOM verbs. Section 4.2 provided an account of the passive voice requirement for the embedded verb in LOM configurations. Section 4.3 focused on the contrast between the CP-complements of non-restructuring LOM versus non-restructuring non-LOM verbs in terms of allowing A-movement. Sections 4.4 and 4.5 presented data on structures formed with LOM verbs that are not long passives. The data presented in Section 4.4 are grammatical, while those presented in Section 4.5 are not. The grammaticality of various configurations does not depend on the type of the LOM verb involved. The grammaticality of voice mismatches between the matrix and embedded verbs presented in Section 4.4 support the proposal. The ungrammatical configurations presented in 4.5.1 involve a passive LOM verb and an active embedded verb. In these ungrammatical configurations, DPs cannot undergo A-movement to the matrix subject position from two positions: the subject position of an embedded transitive verb and the object position of an embedded unaccusative verb. The system

I propose does not block these configurations. I leave this for future research. The second subsection presented data on the restriction on the voice of the embedded verb when the matrix LOM verb is in active voice. I proposed a hypothesis to account for the ungrammaticality of these configurations. Section 4.6 illustrated how configurations with multiple infinitival embeddings allow or disallow LOM and the local passive in line with the predictions of the mechanism proposed here. Section 4.7 briefly discussed the middle construction in Turkish and showed that LOM is possible with them as well. Section 4.8 summarized the implicit control relations observed with restructuring LOM versus non-restructuring LOM verbs; when a contrast arises and when they show uniform behavior is an interesting puzzle for the current theories of implicit control. I do not provide a solution for this puzzle.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

This dissertation focused on long object movement (LOM) in Turkish and illustrated that it is interesting for a number of reasons. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of LOM in Turkish, which gives the dissertation its title, is that the distance of the movement can be even longer, across two infinitival embeddings. Another interesting aspect of LOM in Turkish is that the embedded infinitival verb needs to be in passive voice. This holds also for the ‘longer’ LOM configurations. I proposed a successive-cyclic A-movement analysis to capture these properties.

In the literature, LOM is usually equated with restructuring. The main contribution of the dissertation is showing that LOM is possible without restructuring in Turkish. With one group of LOM verbs, the embedded infinitive shows dependency on the matrix domain for structural accusative case checking of an embedded object. I analyzed these as restructuring LOM verbs that select a reduced-size complement and an accusative case-lacking Voice head for this complement. With the other class of LOM verbs, the infinitival complement does not show structural case-dependency on the matrix domain. I classified these verbs as non-restructuring LOM verbs that select a CP complement. I analyzed LOM with non-restructuring LOM verbs as hyperraising.

In Chapter 2, I focused on three recent theories of LOM as restructuring. The first theory I presented was the mono-clausal analysis of restructuring proposed by Cinque (2006), based on Italian data. The second theory was the VP complementation and verb cluster formation analysis proposed by Keine and Bhatt (2016), based on German



data. The third theory was the proposal by Wurmbrand and Shimamura (2017) in which the embedded Voice head of a restructuring infinitive is a special, deficient head: VoiceR. In the second half of the chapter, I presented LOM and restructuring data from Turkish illustrating unexpected properties. The data covers the following topics: adverbial modification and negation of the embedded verb, the co-occurrence of multiple restructuring verbs, the voice morphology on the embedded verb, the size of the embedded infinitive, *de re* and *de dicto* interpretations of the embedded object, and the implicit control relation between the two agents. I concluded we cannot simply adopt any of these theories to explain the complex picture of LOM in Turkish.

In Chapter 3, I focused on the similarities and differences between the two classes of LOM verbs. First, I divided LOM verbs into restructuring LOM and non-restructuring LOM verb classes based on their compatibility with the local passive. The ungrammaticality of the local passive reveals the case-dependency of the infinitival complement. I also showed that LOM verbs are obligatory control verbs that take an infinitival complement with a PRO subject, using obligatory control diagnostics. Furthermore, I presented data that showed restructuring LOM verbs are exhaustive control verbs, while non-restructuring LOM verbs are partial control verbs. Later in the chapter, I illustrated the similarities and differences between long passives formed by the two groups of LOM verbs. Lastly, I compared the selectional requirements of the two types of LOM verbs in other configurations.

In Chapter 4, I presented a restructuring and a hyperraising mechanism for deriving LOM in Turkish. I first presented the restructuring mechanism that derives the ungrammaticality of the local passive with infinitives selected by restructuring LOM verbs. The embedding restructuring LOM verb selects an accusative case-lacking special Voice head for its infinitival complement. This selection obeys PIC1 (Chomsky, 2000) only with restructuring LOM verbs since the infinitive they select is reduced in size (i.e., not a CP). Next, I provided an account of the passive voice requirement

for the embedded verb in LOM configurations. I derived it as a locality condition on movement. Passivizing the embedded verb gets rid of the external argument (i.e., PRO) which otherwise acts as an intervener for LOM, blocking the embedded object from moving to the embedded subject position as an intermediate landing site.

I also presented a new class of verbs that select non-restructuring infinitives and do not allow LOM, called ‘non-restructuring non-LOM’. I proposed a hyperraising mechanism to derive the availability of LOM with non-restructuring LOM verbs and its unavailability with non-restructuring non-LOM verbs. I follow previous work that illustrates the mixed A/ $\bar{A}$  properties of specifiers of CPs (Takeuchi, 2010; van Urk, 2015; Fong, 2019; Wurmbrand, 2019). I propose that LOM is proper A-movement with non-restructuring LOM verbs, since movement to embedded Spec-CP is A-movement. This is not the case with non-restructuring non-LOM verbs.

Later in the chapter, I presented grammatical data on configurations with LOM verbs that are not long passives. The grammaticality of voice mismatches between the matrix and embedded verbs support the proposal that restructuring infinitives are not voice-dependent on the matrix domain. I also presented LOM and local passive data with multiple infinitival embeddings that support the proposal.

Chapter 4 also included data on ungrammatical configurations with LOM verbs. These were presented in separate subsections based on the voice of the embedding LOM verb. When the matrix LOM verb is in active voice, a restriction emerges: the embedded verb can be non-active only if it is a transitive verb with a PRO (theme) subject. The infinitives in these configurations are non-nominalized. That is, they are not marked with possessive agreement. I proposed a hypothesis to account for the ungrammaticality of these configurations: if a verb selects a non-nominalized infinitive and it has a subject argument, then there must be a PRO in the infinitive that is controlled by that subject argument.

The other set of ungrammatical data I presented involved a passive LOM verb and an active embedded verb. In these configurations, a DP cannot A-move to the matrix subject position from two positions: the subject position of an embedded transitive verb and the object position of an embedded unaccusative verb. The system I proposed does not block these configurations. I leave this issue for future research.

I showed that the implicit agents of the embedded and embedding verbs in an LOM configuration can have independent reference if the embedding verb is a non-restructuring LOM verb. If the embedding verb is a restructuring LOM verb, the implicit agents only get co-referential interpretation. This is a very surprising contrast. Interestingly, the matrix and embedded implicit agents are not always co-referential in configurations formed with restructuring LOM verbs. This suggests that a mechanism that deprives the Voice head of a restructuring infinitive of its implicit agent information is not the solution. I leave this puzzle for future studies.

Lastly, the different verb lists that I provided in the dissertation are not exhaustive and are open to speaker variation. These lists and the data I provided in the dissertation reflect the grammar of a group of Turkish speakers who I consulted. Speaker variation in restructuring and LOM configurations is commonly noted for other languages as well. This makes the topic even more interesting!

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