Visser's Generalization and the c-command condition on Control

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1. Introduction

The major focus of this presentation is Visser's Generalization (Visser 1973), an observation that holds of very similar terminal strings in (1a-b), where the passive transformation is compatible with an Object Control predicate (cf. 2b) but incompatible with a Subject Control one (cf.2a):

(1)   a.   Mark promised Betty [PRO to take out the garbage].
        b.   Mark persuaded Betty [PRO to take out the garbage].
(2)   a.   *Betty was promised to take out the garbage by Mark.
        b.   Betty was persuaded to take out the garbage by Mark.

I will be arguing for an explanation of these facts based on a combination of two processes: Obligatory Control seen as A-movement of the controller from the position of PRO and a view of the passive based on smuggling (cf. Collins 2005a-b). The passive operation involves an intermediate step where Participial Phrase (PartP), including the nominal object and the infinitive, is moved to a position above the thematic subject position in [spec,v]. The raising of PartP above the controller severs a vital c-command relation holding between the controller and PRO:

(3)   In the LF representation of Obligatory Control the controller must c-command its trace in the subject position (PRO).

The structural condition in (3) is not respected in the configuration of VG, while it is observed in the passive of Object Control and related constructions.

2. Visser's Generalization

A generalization, made in Visser (1973), henceforth Visser's Generalization (VG), holds that structures of subject-oriented predication resist the passive transformation:

(4)   a.   He strikes his friends as pompous.
        a'.   *His friends are struck (by him) as pompous.
        b.   The boys made Aunt Mary good little housekeepers.
        b'.   *Aunt Mary was made good little housekeepers (by the boys).
        c.   Max failed her as a husband.
        c'.   *She was failed by him as a husband.

Perhaps the best known application of VG is the incompatibility of Subject Control with the passive:

(5)   a.   He promised me [PRO to keep me informed].
        b.   He offered me [PRO to keep me informed].
        c.   *I was promised to keep me informed.
        d.   * I was offered to keep me informed.

As soon as the same matrix control predicates are used in the context where their control pattern switches to that of Object Control, the passive becomes possible:

(6)   a.   I was promised to be allowed to open my gifts early.
         b.   I was offered to be allowed to open my gifts early.

The verbs of shifting control show this corresponding regularity; when used within the Subject Control scenario, they are incompatible with the passive but allow for the passive in the Object Control reading (cf. 7a, 7c):

(7)   a.   He asked me to open my gifts. (OC)
         b.   He asked me to be allowed to open my gifts for me. (OC shifts to SC)
         c.   I was asked to open my gifts. (OC + passive)
         d.   *I was asked to be allowed to open my gifts for me. (SC + passive)

Van Urk (2011, 2013) observes that VG applies only when the matrix object is promoted to the position of [spec,T]; it does not apply in the (impersonal) passive construction where the object is not promoted to [spec,T]:

(8)   a.   Er   werd mij   beloofd   om   me   op de hoogte te houden.
                 there was me-DAT promise-PAST COMP me-DAT on the height to keep-INF
                 'It was promised to me to keep me informed.'
         b.   Mir wurde versprochen, mir noch heute den Link fur das Update zu schicken.
                 me-DAT was promise-PAST me-DAT still today the link for the update to send-INF
                 'It was promised to me to send me the link for the update today.'

In the context when the promotion of the object to [spec,T] is required, as with Dutch *overtuigen* 'persuade', applying both the passive and the (shifted) Subject Control context is impossible:

(9)   *De leraren₁ warden overuigd om ze₁ te mogen kietelen. (SC + passive + promotion)
         the teachers-NOM be-PAST convinced-PRT COMP them to may-INF tickle-INF
         'The teachers were convinced to be allowed to tickle them.'

Van Urk (2011) formulates the following, descriptively more adequate, version of VG:

(10)   OC by an implicit subject is possible only in the absence of promotion.

The observation is confirmed in Polish; Subject Control and the impersonal passive are compatible, cf. (11b):

(11)   Po odkryciu przesyłki z bombą,
         after discovery-LOC package-GEN with bomb-INST
         'After the discovery of a letter bomb
a.   …wczoraj pro$_{arb,1}$ kazano sekretarce₂ [PRO₂ otwierać wszystkie listy]
         …yesterday tell-IMP secretary-DAT open-INF all letters
         '…yesterday they told the secretary to open all letters.'
b.   wczoraj pro$_{arb,1}$ obiecano sekretarce₂ [PRO₁ otwierać wszystkie listy]
         …yesterday promise-IMP secretary-DAT open-INF all letters

'…yesterday they promised the secretary to open all letters.'

Polish also confirms the regularity in (7); (12c), only has the (underlying) Object Control interpretation, which confirms VG:

(12) a. Szef obiecał sekretarce dwa dni urlopu.
          boss-NOM promised-PAST secretary-DAT two days' leave
          'The boss promised the secretary a two days' leave.'
      b. Sekretarka miała obiecane dwa dni urlopu (przez szefa).
          secretary-NOM have-PAST promised-PRT two days' leave (by boss)
          'The secretary had a two days' leave promised by the boss.'
      c. %Sekretarka$_2$ miała pro$_{Arb,1}$ obiecane t$_2$ [PRO$_2$ otwierać wszystkie listy].
          secretary-NOM have-PAST promised-PRT PRO open-INF all letters
          'It was promised to the secretary to be allowed to open all letters.'

3. The relation between the passive and control

The traditional view of the passive (Chomsky 1981, Baker 1988, Baker, Johnson and Roberts 1989) is based on (13):

(13) a. The passive suffix –en absorbs accusative case.
          The passive suffix –en absorbs the external theta role.
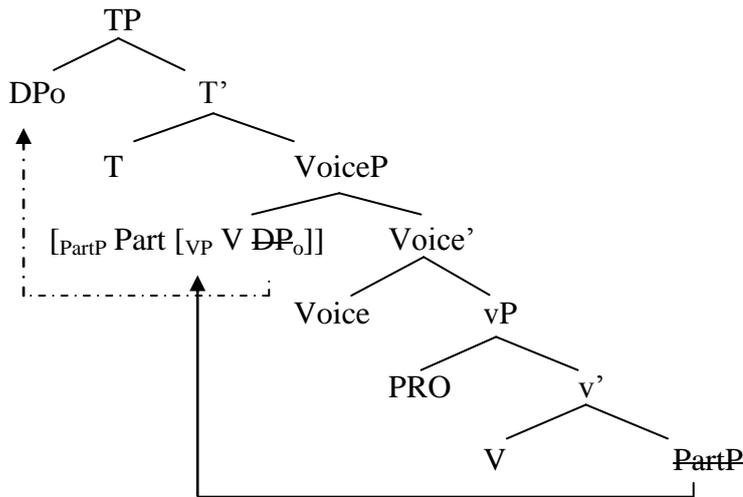   b.
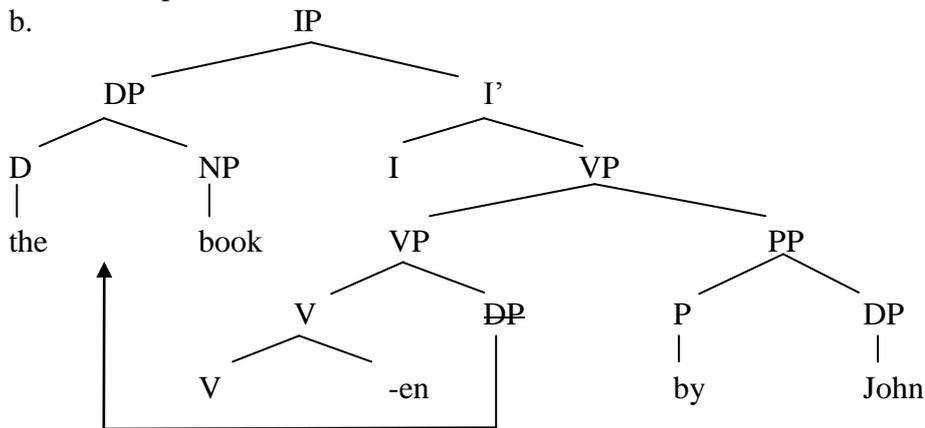
The passive and control seems to have little in common.

4. The passive as smuggling

The smuggling theory of the passive is proposed in Collins (2005a), which develops an approach whose key elements are as follows:

(14) a. the subject of the passive is an empty category (PRO) in the position of [spec,v];
      b. the Preposition *by* lexicalizes the head of VoiceP and values the Null Case on PRO;
      c. the constituent including the passive participle and the object DP ([$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{VP}$ V DPo]]) is moved to the position of [spec,Voice] to avoid the intervention effect from the PRO subject for the movement of the DP object to [spec,T]:
          [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{VP}$ V DPo]] Voice-by [$_{vP}$ PRO v [$_{PartP}$ …t…]]]

(15)

```
                    TP
            ┌───────┴───────┐
          DPo              T'
           ↑        ┌───────┴───────┐
           ┊        T            VoiceP
           ┊        │        ┌──────┴──────┐
     [PartP Part [vP V DP̶o̶]]        Voice'
           ┊              ┌──────┴──────┐
           ┊            Voice          vP
           ┊                      ┌─────┴─────┐
           │                    PRO          v'
           │                            ┌─────┴─────┐
           │                            V         P̶a̶r̶t̶P̶
           └────────────────────────────────────┘
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Let me adopt this view of the passive and combine it with an analysis of control based on A-movement, modeled on Bowers (2008) and Hornstein (2001). Two immediate consequences of this derivation for what is to come:

- the smuggling tactics implies that it is not only the object itself but the entire content of PrtP that is promoted to [spec,Voice], including complements to the NP as well as other complements to V
- any topicalisation/extraposition that places a constituent outside PartP prevents it from being smuggled to [spec,Voice], cf. (16b) and (16d):

(16) a.   The car was [driven to Maine] by John.
      b.   The car was [driven] by John [to Maine].
      c.   The book was [given to Mary] by John.
      d.   The book was [given] by John [to Mary].

5. Combining the passive with control

First, consider the following example of Object Control:

(17) a.   Someone persuaded Mary to leave the party.
      b.   Mary was persuaded to leave the party.
      c. $Mary_2$ was [$_{vP}$ pro_1 persuaded M̶a̶r̶y̶$_2$ [PRO_2 to leave the party]]

(18)
a.   [$_{vP}$ pro_1 [$_{v'}$ v [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{VP}$ persuaded $Mary_2$ [$_{TP}$ PRO/M̶a̶r̶y̶$_2$ to leave the party]]]]]
b.   [$_{VoiceP}$ Voice [$_{vP}$ pro_1 [$_{v'}$ v [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{VP}$ persuaded $Mary_2$ [$_{TP}$ PRO/M̶a̶r̶y̶$_2$ to leave the party]]]]]]
c.   [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{VP}$ persuaded $Mary_2$ [$_{TP}$ PRO/M̶a̶r̶y̶$_2$ to leave the party]]] Voice [$_{vP}$ pro_1 [$_{v'}$ v P̶a̶r̶t̶P̶]]]
d.   [$_{TP}$ $Mary_2$ T-was [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{VP}$ persuaded M̶a̶r̶y̶$_2$ [$_{TP}$ PRO/M̶a̶r̶y̶$_2$ to leave the party]]] Voice [$_{vP}$ pro_1 [$_{v'}$ v P̶a̶r̶t̶P̶]]]]
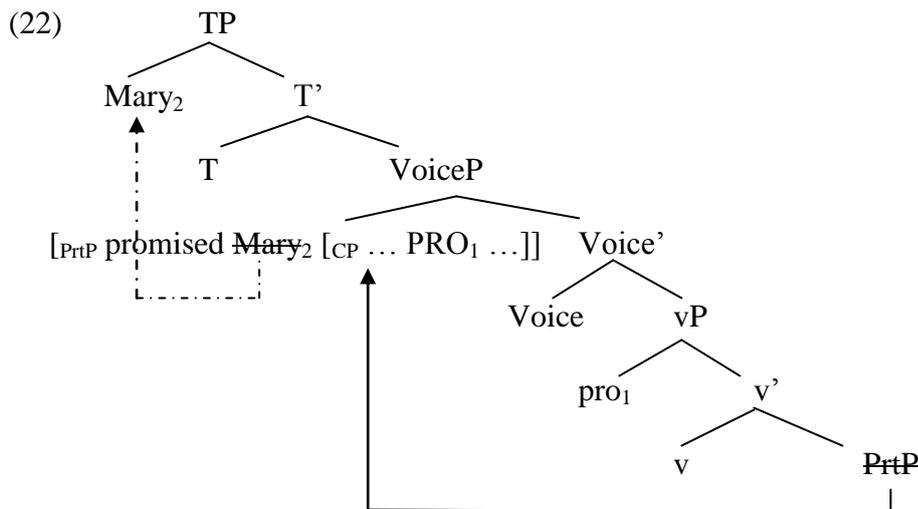
The diagram below illustrates the outline of the resulting representation:

(19)
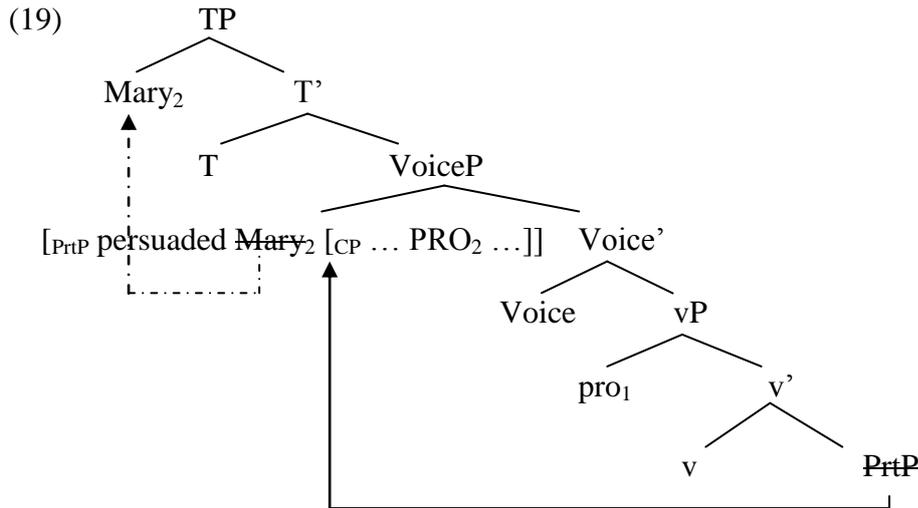
From the top position in its A-chain the object controller c-commands PRO, in line with (3).

Subject Control is different in an important way:

(20) a. Someone promised Mary to leave the party.
      b. *Mary was promised to leave the party.
      c. *Mary$_2$ was [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ promised ~~Mary$_2$~~ [PRO$_1$ to leave the party]]

(21) a. [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{v'}$ v [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{VP}$ promised Mary$_2$ [$_{TP}$ PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to leave the party]]]]]
      b. [$_{VoiceP}$ Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{v'}$ v [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{VP}$ promised Mary$_2$ [$_{TP}$ PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to leave the party]]]]]]
      c. [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{VP}$ promised Mary$_2$ [$_{TP}$ PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to leave the party]]]] Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{v'}$ v ~~PartP~~]]]
      d. [$_{TP}$ Mary$_2$ T-was [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{VP}$ promised ~~Mary$_2$~~ [$_{TP}$ PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to leave the party]]]] Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{v'}$ v ~~PartP~~]]]]

(22)

In (19, OC) the position of PRO is c-commanded by its controller, in (22, SC) pro$_1$ does not c-command its copy/trace marked as PRO, so VG is a violation of postulate (3).

5

6. Some consequences of 'smuggled passives'

A natural expectation, confirmed by the data gathered in van Urk (2011): the reason for VG is the smuggling movement accompanying the promotion of the object to [spec,T]. So in a passive without promotion the VG effect should not appear, (cf. 11).

(23)   a. $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ v $[_{PartP}$ Part $[_{VP}$ promised secretary$_2$ $[_{TP}$ ~~pro$_1$~~/PRO to open all letters]]]]]

        b. $[_{VoiceP}$ Voice $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ v $[_{PartP}$ Part $[_{VP}$ promised secretary$_2$ $[_{TP}$ ~~pro$_1$~~/PRO to open all letters]]]]]]

        c. $[_{TP}$ expl T $[_{VoiceP}$ Voice $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ v $[_{PartP}$ Part $[_{VP}$ promised secretary$_2$ $[_{TP}$ ~~pro$_1$~~/PRO to open all letters]]]]]]]

(24)
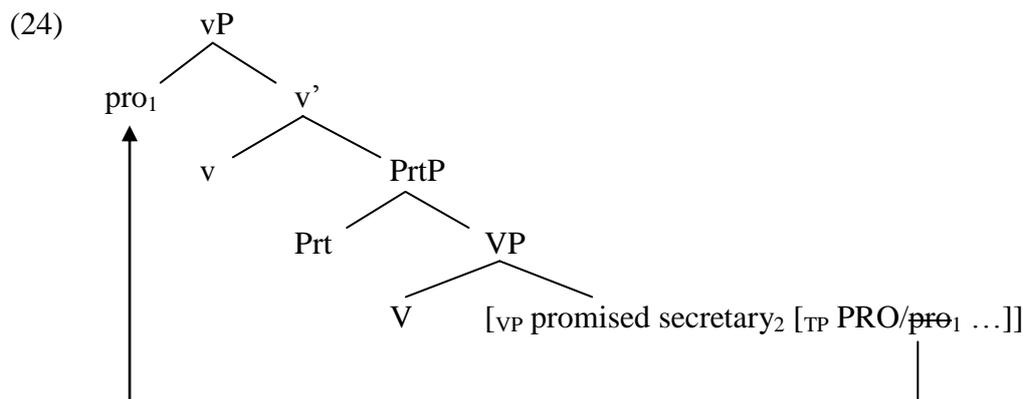
An equivalent analysis is proposed for an impersonal (passive) construction with Object Control:

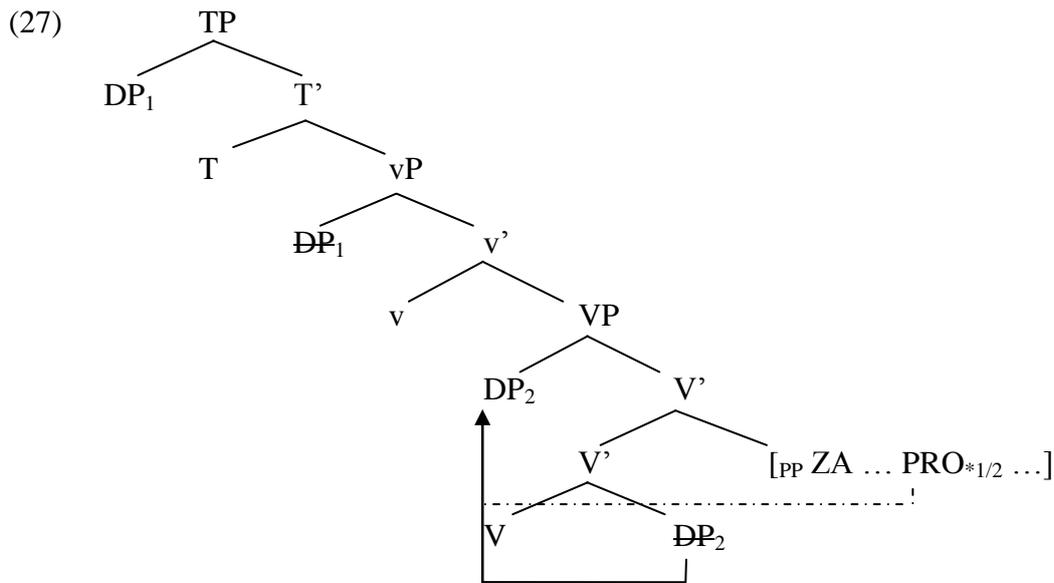(25)   a. $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ v $[_{PartP}$ Part $[_{VP}$ told secretary$_2$ $[_{TP}$ ~~secretary$_2$~~/PRO to leave the party]]]]]

        b. $[_{VoiceP}$ Voice $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ v $[_{PartP}$ Part $[_{VP}$ told secretary$_2$ $[_{TP}$ ~~secretary$_2$~~/PRO to leave the party]]]]]

        c. $[_{TP}$ expl T $[_{VoiceP}$ Voice $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ v $[_{PartP}$ Part $[_{VP}$ told secretary$_2$ $[_{TP}$ ~~secretary$_2$~~/PRO to leave the party]]]]]]
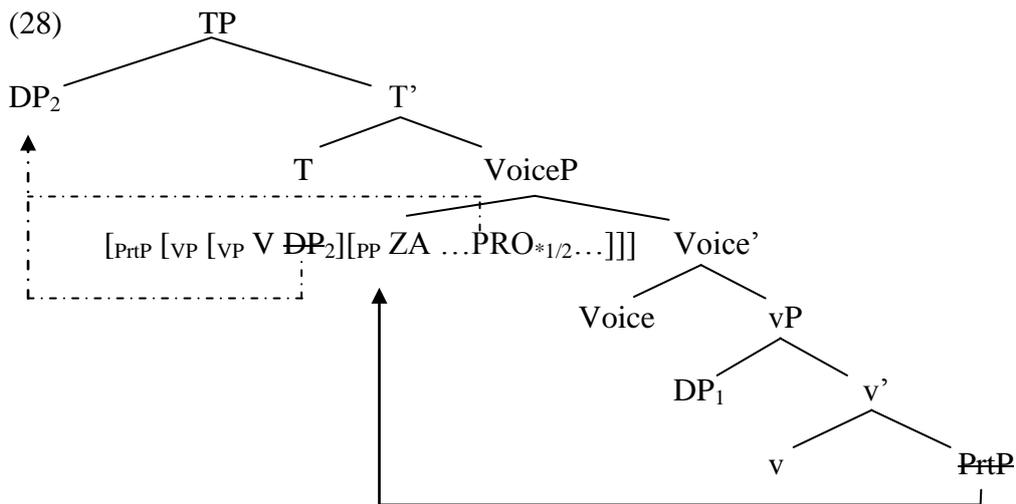
7. More smuggling

Witkoś and Żychliński (2011) show that the smuggling aspect of the passive helps explain MLC issues with certain cases of adjunct control (control pattern with adjunct gerunds is preserved in the passive):

(26)   a.   Szef$_1$ zwolnił swojego najlepszego pracownika$_2$ [za PRO$_{*1/2}$ picie w pracy]

              boss-NOM fire-PAST his best worker-ACC   for   drinking at work

              'The boss fired his best worker for drinking at work.'

        b.   Najlepszy pracownik$_2$ został pro$_1$ zwolniony [za PRO$_{*1/2}$ picie w pracy]

              best worker-NOM   be-PAST fired-PRT for drinking in work

              'The best worker was fired for drinking at work.'

In the passive of Object Control, cf. (27b), PRO remains controlled by the underlying object, although the implicit subject of the passive (pro$_1$) intervenes between the two.
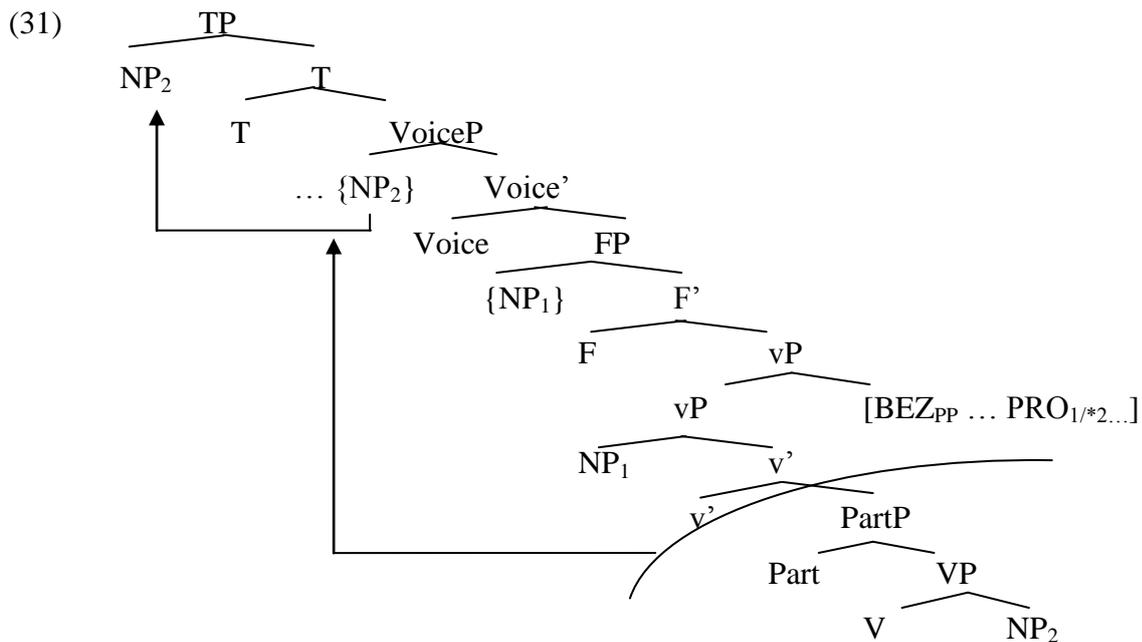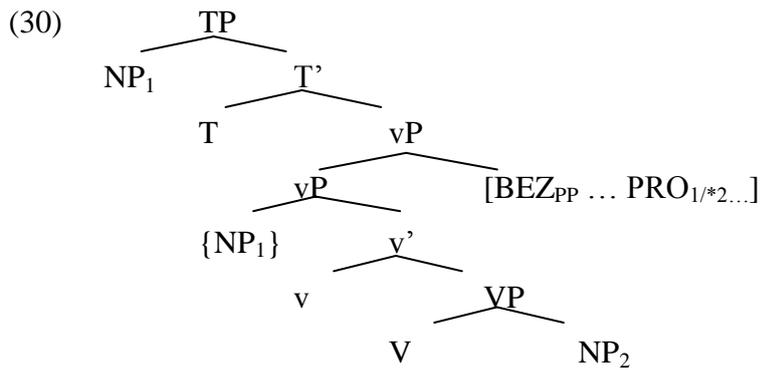
(27)

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                    TP
           ┌─────────┴─────────┐
          DP₁                  T'
                        ┌───────┴───────┐
                        T              vP
                               ┌────────┴────────┐
                              D̶P̶₁              v'
                                       ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                       v                  VP
                                               ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                              DP₂                   V'
                                               ↑            ┌────────┴────────┐
                                               │           V'      [PP ZA … PRO*1/2 …]
                                               │    ┌──────┴──────┐
                                               │    V           D̶P̶₂
                                               └────┘
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In the passive the adjunction site of the PP is the same, but as the [$_{PP}$ gerund] is contained in the PartP, it moves along to [Spec,VoiceP], eliminating the possibility of subject control:

(28)

```
               TP
       ┌────────┴────────┐
      DP₂                T'
       ↑          ┌───────┴───────┐
       │          T             VoiceP
       │   ┌───────────────┴───────┐
       │ [PrtP [vP [vP V D̶P̶₂][PP ZA …PRO*1/2…]]]   Voice'
       │                                    ┌────────┴────────┐
       └──                                Voice              vP
                                                     ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                    DP₁               v'
                                                              ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                              v               P̶r̶t̶P̶
```

A reverse situation holds with Subject controlled gerunds introduced by *bez* 'without'. The PP headed by *bez* is adjoined to vP:

(29) a. Szef₁ zwolnił swego najlepszego pracownika₂ [bez PRO₁/*₂ zawahania]
          boss fired   his   best   worker   without   hesitating
          'The boss fired his best worker without hesitation.'
      b. Najlepszy pracownik₂ został pro₁ zwolniony [bez PRO₁/*₂ zawahania]
          best   worker   was   pro fired   without   zawahania
          'The best worker was fired without hesitation.'

(30)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP} \\
\text{NP}_1 \qquad \text{T'} \\
\text{T} \qquad \text{vP} \\
\text{vP} \qquad [\text{BEZ}_{PP} \dots \text{PRO}_{1/*2\dots}] \\
\{\text{NP}_1\} \qquad \text{v'} \\
\text{v} \qquad \text{VP} \\
\text{V} \qquad \text{NP}_2
\end{array}
$$

(31)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP} \\
\text{NP}_2 \qquad \text{T} \\
\text{T} \qquad \text{VoiceP} \\
\dots \{\text{NP}_2\} \qquad \text{Voice'} \\
\text{Voice} \qquad \text{FP} \\
\{\text{NP}_1\} \qquad \text{F'} \\
\text{F} \qquad \text{vP} \\
\text{vP} \qquad [\text{BEZ}_{PP} \dots \text{PRO}_{1/*2\dots}] \\
\text{NP}_1 \qquad \text{v'} \\
\text{v'} \qquad \text{PartP} \\
\text{Part} \qquad \text{VP} \\
\text{V} \qquad \text{NP}_2
\end{array}
$$

8. Further consequences

The difference between (21-22) and (23b-25) leads to the expectation that PartP movement should not reconstruct, as reconstruction would make the illicit VG configuration in (22) look very similar to the case of the impersonal (passive) construction without promotion in (25).

As shown in Collins (2005a) PartP does not reconstruct and only the top copy in its chain is accessible in LF:

(32) a. ??The magazines were sent to herself by Mary
     b. ??Books were sent to each other by the students.
     c. The magazines were sent to Mary$_1$'s mother by her$_1$ (the idiot$_1$ herself) yesterday.
     d. Money was hidden from Bill$_1$'s son by him$_1$ (the bastard$_1$ himself) yesterday.
     e. Mary was told to meet Betty$_1$'s daughter by her$_1$/the idiot$_1$ on Friday.

A pronoun embedded within PartP does not c-command outside, whereas the Agent does:

(33) a. The book was [given to him$_1$] by John$_1$'s mother.
     b. Testimony was [given about him$_1$] by John$_1$'s mother.
     c. *The book was [given] by him$_1$ to John$_1$'s mother.
     d. *Testimony was [given] by him$_1$ about John$_1$'s mother.

Extraposition out of PartP can target a position above vP or below it:

(34) $[_{VoiceP} \ldots Voice \ldots [_{\alpha P} \ldots \alpha \ldots [_{vP} \ldots v \ldots [_{\beta P} \ldots \beta \ldots [_{PartP} \ldots Part \ldots]]]]]$

(35)   a.   The magazines were sent by Mary to herself.
        b.   Listy zostały wysłane przez Marię do siebie samej.
              letters-NOM be-PAST sent-PRT by Mary to self herself-EMPH
              'The letters were sent by Mary to herself.'

Potential counterexamples may involve (overt) movement of quantifiers (Kayne 1998) to a position outside PartP but above [spec,v] (αP in 34):

(36)   a.   Books were [given] [to no student] by any professor
        b.   Chocolate eggs were [hidden] [from no child] by any adult.

Extraposition of the infinitive/gerund is possible but requires reconstruction:

(37)   a.   He was [$_{PartP}$ convinced [$_{TP}$ PRO/~~he~~ to leave]] by John
        b.   He was [$_{PartP}$ convinced ~~TP~~] by John [$_{CP}$ PRO/~~he~~ to leave]]
        c.   A driver$_2$ was [$_{PartP}$ fired t_2 [$_{PPG}$ for PRO$_2$ drinking on the job] by the boss$_1$
        d.   A driver$_2$ was [$_{PartP}$ fired t_2 ~~PP$_G$~~] by the boss$_1$ [$_{PPG}$ for PRO$_2$ drinking on the job]

Smuggling violates the Freezing Principle of Müller (1998) and Chomsky (2001, 2006) but this principle does not seem inviolable, cf. Starke (2001), Wiland (2010):

(38)   a.   ?Who is it unclear [how many pictures of ~~who~~] he wants to shoot t/
        b.   Who is it unclear [how many portraits of ~~who~~] Amelie drew t?
        c.   ?Jaki   powiedziałeś (że) Paweł [~~jaki~~ samochód]   kupił   swojej żonie t?
              what   (you) say-PST that Paul-NOM car-ACC   buy-PST his wife-DAT
              'What car did you say that Paul bought his wife?'
        d.   ?Jaki Maria [~~jaki~~   samochód]   powiedziała   że   kupiła t?
              what Mary-NOM   car-ACC   say-PST   that (she) buy-PST
              'What car did Mary say that she bought?'

A movement similar to smuggling (a movement of a container feeding subsequent movement of one of its sub-constituents) is also implicated in the discussion of the correlation between anti-reconstruction and Condition A effects in Chomsky (1995):

(39)   a.   John wondered which picture of himself Bill saw.
        b.   John wondered which picture of Tom$_1$ he$_{*1/2}$ liked.
        c.   John self-wondered [which x, x a picture of t_{self}] [Bill saw x]
        d.   John wondered [which x] [he$_{*1/2}$ liked [x a picture of Tom$_1$]]

Assuming the theory of anaphora based on LF cliticization to T (cf. 39c), the restrictor cannot reconstruct here, for it would break up the local chain between self and its thematic position within the picture NP.

9. Control under c-command

Two possible counterexamples (Landau 2000, 2001): control from within a more complex DP (the logophoric extension) and Obligatory Control interpretations with Super-equi constructions.

(40)   It would help [Bill's$_1$ career] [PRO$_1$ to behave himself in public].

A logophoric extension of Bill, where some aspect or result of Bill's actions stands for Bill himself (this construction determined heavily by the semantic type of the head of the containing DP):

(41)   For the purpose of control, a logophoric extension [X's NP] is non-distinct from X; [X's$_1$ NP] → [X's NP]$_1$.

Landau (2000): the experiencer c-commands cause but cause c-commands goal. So the nominal argument of *please* c-commands the infinitive in (42a), while the nominal argument of *help* in (42b) does not:

(42)   a.   [$_{vP}$ John$_1$ v [$_{VP}$ please [$_S$ PRO$_{1/*2}$ to win the quiz]]]
         b.   [$_{vP}$ [$_{vP}$ <[$_S$ PRO$_{1/*2}$ to win the quiz]> v [$_{VP}$ help John$_1$]] [$_S$ PRO$_{*1/2}$ to win the quiz]]
         c.   [$_{IP}$ [$_S$ PRO$_{*1/2}$ to win the quiz] [$_{I'}$ would [$_{vP}$ John$_1$ v [$_{VP}$ please <[$_S$ PRO$_{1/*2}$ to win the quiz]>]]]]
         d.   [$_{IP}$ [$_S$ PRO$_{*1/2}$ to win the quiz] [$_{I'}$ would [$_{vP}$ <[$_S$ PRO$_{1/*2}$ to win the quiz]]]> v [$_{vP}$ help John$_1$]]]]
         e.   [$_{vP}$ John$_1$ [$_{v'}$[$_S$ PRO$_{1/*2}$ to win the quiz] [$_{v'}$ v [$_{VP}$ help ~~John~~$_1$]]]]

Landau (2000: 114, fn.13) provides for a possibility of v-to-T raising; the head v is raised to T in this case and from an adjoined position it c-commands the infinitive and PRO, in line with his theory of control based on Agree. The same effect is achieved by allowing John to perform Object Shift in these cases and to be raised to the outer [spec,v] to c-command the infinitive reconstructed into the lower [spec.v], cf. (42e).

10. Larson (1991) on the VG effect:

Two key assumptions: MDP and lack of an underlying IP subject.

(43)   Minimal Distance Principle (MDP):

         An infinitive complement of a predicate P selects as its controller the minimal c-commanding noun phrase in the functional complex of P.

MDP operates at D-structure:

(44)   a.   John was persuaded to leave.
         b.   [$_{IP}$ _ was [$_{VP}$ _ V$_e$ [$_{VP}$ John persuade [$_\alpha$ to leave]]]]

(45)   a.   *It was tried to leave.
         b.   [$_{IP}$ _ was [$_{VP}$ _ try [$_\alpha$ to leave]]]

(46) a.   *John was promised to leave.
     b.   [$_{IP}$ _ was [$_{VP}$ _ V$_e$ [$_{VP}$ _ [$_{V'}$ [$_{V'}$ promise John][$_\alpha$ to leave]]]]]

No mention of the implicit subject.

11. Sportiche (2010) on the VG effect:

A related analysis is proposed in Sportiche (2010) on the French verb *menacer* 'threaten', used in a subject raising variant (cf. 47a) and the Subject Control variant (cf. 47b). It is also (weakly) prone to control shift:

(47) a.   *Il menace (*Marie) de pleuvoir.*
             he threaten-PRES Marie that rain-INF
             'It threatens (Mary) to rain.
     b.   *Le gauchistes menacent (le parti) de manifester.*
             the gauchistes threaten-PRES (the party) that demonstrate-INF
             'The gauchistes threaten (the party) to demonstrate.'
     c.   *Le marquis a menacé Justine d' être fouetté(e)*
             the marquis has threatened Justine that be-INF whipped
             'The marquis threatens Justine with being whipped.'

The structural representation of the control variant of *menacer* is as follows:

(48)   [$_{VP1}$ DP$_1$ v … [$_{xP2}$ PRO [$_V$ menace] DP$_2$ [$_{INF}$ t$_{PRO}$ Verb…]]]

The Subject Control reading results from the raising of PRO into the c-domain of the subject (DP$_1$), while the marginal Object Control reading results from reconstruction of PRO into the c-domain of the object (DP$_2$). When passivized, *menacer* allows only for the Object Control interpretation, in line with Visser's Generalization, following smuggling, cf. (49b), the object (DP$_2$) is obligatorily moved to the [spec, Part] position to license agreement:

(49) a.   [$_{VP1}$ DP$_1$ v … [$_{PartP}$ DP$_2$ Part [$_{VP2}$ PRO [$_V$ menace] t$_{DP2}$ [$_{INF}$ t$_{PRO}$ Verb…]]]]
     b.   [$_{PartP}$ DP$_2$ Part [$_{VP2}$ PRO [$_V$ menace] t$_{DP2}$[$_{INF}$ t$_{PRO}$ Verb…]]] by [$_{VP1}$ DP$_1$ v
         …t$_{PartP}$]

Sportiche (2010: 336) extends this analysis to other verbs of Subject Control in French: *promettre* 'promise', *demander* 'ask', *prier/supplier* 'beg' which show subject control in the active but only underlying-object control in the passive.

12. Van Urk (2011, 2013) on the VG effect:

Van Urk (2011, 2013) assumes the Agree-based model of control and the view of implicit arguments as intransitive DPs (bundles of φ-features which do not require case licensing). For Subject Control interpretation to be possible, T must act as a probe on the subject and PRO, so in terms of the feature content and feature values, promotion and control cannot have distinct targets:

(50)   OC by an implicit subject is possible only in the absence of promotion.

Relevant scenarios to be considered: Subject Control without object promotion, (51a), illicit Subject Control with promotion, (51b), Object Control with promotion. In all the scenarios the implicit Agent is placed in [spec,v]:

(51)

a. $[_{TP}$ expl $T_{\varphi2}$ … $[_{vP}$ pro$_{\varphi2}$ v…$[_{VP}$ DP$_{ob\varphi1}$ … $[$ PRO$_{\varphi2}$ …$]]]]$

b. $*[_{TP}$ DP$_{ob\varphi1}$ $T_{\varphi2,1,+EPP}$ … $[_{vP}$ DP$_{ob\varphi1}$ $[$pro$_{\varphi2}$ v…$[_{VP}$ <DP$_{ob\varphi1}$> … $[$ PRO$_{\varphi2}$ …$]]]]]$

c. $[_{TP}$ DP$_{ob\varphi1}$ $T_{\varphi1}$ … $[_{vP}$ DP$_{ob\varphi1}$ $[$pro$_{\varphi2}$ v…$[_{VP}$ <DP$_{ob\varphi1}$> … $[$ PRO$_{\varphi1}$ …$]]]]]$

In (51a) an Agree relation for φ-feature valuation holds between T and the implicit subject, which allows for another Agree relation, between T and PRO. In (52b) T agrees with the implicit subject for φ-features, as in (51a), which is a prerequisite to facilitate subject control, but it also accesses φ-features of the object, raised to [spec,v] and further to [spec,T]. Excessive demands are placed on the feature make-up of T, as its φ-probe needs to access both the implicit subject and the object undergoing promotion to [spec,T]. The derivation in (51c) illustrates the licit case of Object Control combined with object promotion in the passive, the object is promoted to the outer [spec,v] position and T accesses it to value its φ-features and satisfy EPP.

- Yet, the configuration in (51c) leads to the question of the locality of the control relation itself (the probing of T for PRO across the implicit Agent), apparently violating MLC, as features of the intervening pro must be visible to T.

Van Urk (2013) proposes a slightly different definition of VG:

(52)   OC by an implicit subject is impossible if an overt DP agrees with T.

Examples in German (and Icelandic) show that even when the underlying object in Nominative is not promoted to the subject position but agrees with T, ungrammaticality ensues:

(53)   *… *weil noch nie ein Lehrer$_1$*   *gebeten wurde ihn$_1$ zu kitzeln*   *dürfen.*
        as   yet never a teacher-NOM   begged was   him to tickle-INF   may-INF
        'as a teacher$_1$ was never begged to be allowed to tickle him$_1$.'

Solution to this problem under the current approach: partial passive with movement of PrtP to [spec, Voice] but no further raising of the underlying object:

(54)
a. $[_{PrtP}$ Prt $[_{VP}$ beg $[_{VP}$ a teacher ~~beg~~ $[_{TP}$ PRO/~~pro~~$_1$ to tickle him$]]]]$
b. $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ $[_{PrtP}$ Prt $[_{VP}$ beg $[_{VP}$ a teacher ~~beg~~ $[_{TP}$ PRO/~~pro~~$_1$ to tickle him$]]]]]$
c. $[_{VoiceP}$ Voice $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ $[_{PrtP}$ Prt $[_{VP}$ beg $[_{VP}$ a teacher ~~beg~~ $[_{TP}$ PRO/~~pro~~$_1$ to tickle him$]]]]]]$
d. $[_{VoiceP}$ $[_{PrtP}$ Prt $[_{VP}$ beg $[_{VP}$ a teacher ~~beg~~ $[_{TP}$ PRO/~~pro~~$_1$ to tickle him$]]]]$ Voice $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ ~~PrtP~~$]]$
e. $[_{TP}$ T $[_{VoiceP}$ $[_{PrtP}$ Prt $[_{VP}$ beg $[_{VP}$ a teacher ~~beg~~ $[_{TP}$ PRO/~~pro~~$_1$ to tickle him$]]]]$ Voice $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ ~~PrtP~~$]]]$

Only the movement to [spec, Voice] paves the way for Agree between T and the underlying object.

A bigger problem for (52), and a counterexample to VG in general, appears in (55):

(55) a.   Mary was asked [how to cross the river]
      b.   Mary$_2$ was pro$_1$ asked ~~Mary$_2$~~ [$_{CP}$ how PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to cross the river]

The smuggling account of VG offers an outline of a solution: clause-internal topicalization of the wh-infinitive to [spec,β] a position below [spec,v] but outside PartP, cf. (34):

(56)
a. [$_{βP}$ β [$_{PrtP}$ Prt [$_{VP}$ ask Mary [$_{CP}$ how PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to cross the river]]]]
b. [$_{βP}$ [$_{CP}$ how PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to cross the river] β [$_{PrtP}$ Prt [$_{VP}$ ask Mary ~~CP~~]]]
c. [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{βP}$ [$_{CP}$ how PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to cross the river] β [$_{PrtP}$ Prt [$_{VP}$ ask Mary ~~CP~~]]]]
d. [$_{VoiceP}$ Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{βP}$ [$_{CP}$ how PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to cross the river] β [$_{PrtP}$ Prt [$_{VP}$ ask Mary] ~~CP~~]]]]
e. [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PrtP}$ Prt [$_{VP}$ ask Mary ~~CP~~]] Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{βP}$ [$_{CP}$ how PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to cross the river] β ~~PrtP~~]]
f. [$_{TP}$ was$_{(T)}$ [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PrtP}$ Prt [$_{VP}$ ask Mary ~~CP~~]] Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{βP}$ [$_{CP}$ how PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to cross the river] β ~~PrtP~~]]
g. [$_{TP}$ Mary was$_{(T)}$ [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PrtP}$ Prt [$_{VP}$ ask ~~Mary~~ ~~CP~~]] Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{βP}$ [$_{CP}$ how PRO/~~pro$_1$~~ to cross the river] β ~~PrtP~~]]

Postulate: wh-infinitives are allowed not to reconstruct to the VP-internal position, cf. (37).

13. Hornstein and Polinsky (2010) on the VG effect:

Hornstein and Polinsky (2010): in the concrete case of SC *promise* the passive is rendered impossible due to conflicting requirements between the formation of the A-chain of the passive and the A-chain of the control-related movement:

(57) a.   Mary was promised a rose garden (by John).
      b.   [$_{TP}$ Mary was [$_{vP}$ ~~Mary~~ [$_{vP}$ pro v [$_{VP}$ ~~Mary~~ [promised a rose garden]]]]]
      c.   *Mary was promised to win (by John).
      d.   [$_{vP}$ promised [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ P$_Ø$ Mary] [$_{V'}$ ~~promised~~ [$_{TP}$ pro to win]]]]
      e.   *[$_{vP}$ pro [$_{vP}$ promised-P$_Ø$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ P$_Ø$ Mary] [$_{V'}$ ~~promised~~ [$_{TP}$ ~~pro~~ to win]]]]]

   - the surface indirect object of *promise* is in fact embedded within a silent PP
   - the passive affecting it must be of a pseudo-passive nature
   - formation of a pseudo-passive involves the incorporation of the silent preposition P$_Ø$ into *promise*.
   - so the surface indirect object now becomes a genuine nominal object of the complex predicate consisting of *promise* and the preposition (53b-c)
   - this incorporation is cyclic and its structural result prevents the movement of *pro* under MLC.
   - what about languages without silent PP?

14. Interim summary:

   - the smuggling option finds common ground between control and the passive

- underscores the role of c-command for control
- the smuggling option is flexible

15. What happens internal to PartP?

Two major ways of deriving Subject Control across an Object (SCaO):

15.1. Silent PP

Hornstein (2001, 2003) and Boeckx and Hornstein (2003, 2004) propose an account based on the presence of a silent preposition in the structure of the VP.

(58) a.   John$_1$ vowed/pledged to Bill$_2$ [PRO$_{1/*2}$ to leave]
       b.   John$_1$ promised [$_{PP}${to}Bill$_2$] [PRO$_{1/*2}$ to leave]
(59) a.   John seemed to them [~~John~~/*~~them~~ to like tea]
       b.   John struck [$_{PP}${to}Bill] [as ~~John~~/*~~Bill~~ dumb]

The outcome of having the PP in (58b) is that P and v do not compete as targets for the DP, as P does not c-command the DP and the movement to [spec,v] is allowed as MLC compatible.
     The silent PP hypothesis is strengthened in Hornstein and Polinsky (2010). The indirect object of *promise* shares quite a few properties with the shifted indirect object of the *give*-class verbs: resistance to Wh-movement, (cf. 60), no Heavy NP Shift, (cf. 61), and no secondary predication, (cf. 62):

(60) a.   ??Who did you give a book?
       b.   ??Who did you promise to leave the party?
       c.   Who did you persuade/force/ask to leave the party?
(61) a.   *You gave a book every man that you met.
       b.   *You promised to leave the party every man that you met.
       c.   You persuaded to leave the party every man that you met.
(62) a.   *John gave Mary$_1$ (undressed$_1$) a book (undersssed$_1$)
       b.   *John$_2$ promised Mary$_1$ (undressed$_1$) PRO$_2$ to go to the party (underssed$_1$)
       c.   John$_2$ persuaded Mary$_1$ (undressed$_1$) PRO$_1$ to go to the party (underssed$_1$)
       d.   *John$_2$ vowed to Mary$_1$ (undressed$_1$) PRO$_2$ to leave the party early (underssed$_1$)

Drawing on Baker (1995, 1997), Hornstein and Polinsky propose to introduce a fine-grained semantic distinction: internal arguments that have sufficient affected/patient characteristics are assigned to nominal object position, while arguments whose interpretation leans towards the source/goal identity are assigned to the prepositional object position:

(63) a.   [$_{VP}$ DP$_o$ [$_{V'}$ V$_{persuade}$ [$_{infinitive}$ PRO…]]]   affected/patient
       b.   [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ DP$_o$] [$_{V'}$ V$_{promise}$ [$_{infinitive}$ PRO…]]]   source/goal

The key mapping postulate in (63) is also applied in the discussion of control shift constructions:

(64) a.   John$_1$ asked Mary$_2$ PRO$_{*1/2}$ to leave the party early.
       b.   John$_1$ asked Mary$_2$ PRO$_{1/*2}$ to be allowed to leave the party early.
(65) a.   ??I wonder who John asked t to be allowed to leave early.
       b.   I wonder who John asked t to leave early.

c.   ??I wonder who John promised t to leave early.

d.   ??I wonder who John gave t a book.

(66) a.   John asked/begged to smoke a cigarette every guard that he met.

    b.   *John asked/begged to be allowed to smoke a cigarette every guard that he met.

15.2. Problems with extending the silent PP approach beyond English

Hornstein and Polinsky's analysis of the *promise*-class verbs in English encounters problems when applied to languages where the source/goal argument is consistently expressed as a bare nominal. Wh-movement and Heavy NP Shift are allowed with both control types:

(67) a.   Komu   Maria   wielokrotnie obiecała   rzucić palenie?
            who-DAT   Mary-NOM   repeatedly   promise-PST quit-INF smoking
            '??Who did Mary repeatedly promise to quit smoking?'

    b.   Komu   Maria   wielokrotnie kazała   rzucić palenie?
            who-DAT   Mary-NOM   repeatedly   tell-PST   quit-INF smoking
            'Who did Mary repeatedly tell to quit smoking?'

(68) a.   Maria   wielokrotnie obiecała   rzucić palenie   czterem
            Mary-NOM   repeatedly   promise-PAST quit-INF smoking   four-DAT
            różnym   osobom.
            different-DAT people-DAT
            'Mary repeatedly promised four different people to quit smoking.'

    b.   Maria   wielokrotnie kazała   rzucić palenie   czterem
            Mary-NOM   repeatedly   tell-PAST   quit-INF smoking   four-DAT
            różnym   osobom.
            different-DAT people-DAT
            'Mary repeatedly told to quit smoking four different people.'

Furthermore, certain PPs allow a nominal embedded within them to c-command outside the PP, cf. Yadroff and Franks (2001):

(69) a.   I spoke [$_{PP}$ to the women$_1$] about each other$_1$.

    c.   [$_{PP}$ U ètogo čeloveka$_1$] vsegda   est'   svoi$_1$ original'nye idei.
            in that person   always   is   <self>'original ideas
            'This man always has his own original ideas.'

An analogous example in the *National Corpus of Polish*:

(70)   Izrael ma bardzo dużą armię oraz broń jądrową i nikt nie będzie im mówił
        Israel has very big army and nuclear weapons and no one not will them say
        co mają robić to tak jakby ktoś kazał [$_{PP}$ dla Chin$_1$] [PRO$_1$ znieść karę
        what (they) have to do it is like somebody told FOR Chinese abolish-INF death
        śmierci w swoim$_1$ kraju].
        penalty in their country
        'Israel has a very big army and nuclear weapons and no one will tell them what to do,
        it is like somebody told the Chinese to abolish death penalty in their own country'.

The classic movement-based approach faces a problem when the Object controller is in PP:

(71)   John$_1$ [$_{vP}$ said [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ to them$_2$] [$_{V'}$ t$_V$ [~~them$_2$~~ to clean the room]]]]

Not all PPs are transparent to c-command from within:

(72)   a.   *John spoke [$_{PP}$ about Bill and Mary$_1$] in each other$_1$'s houses.
         b.   *[$_{PP}$ Okolo ètogo čeloveka$_1$] vsegda est'   svoi$_1$ original'nye idei.
                   around that person   there are always   <self>' original ideas

Yadroff and Franks (2001) propose that Functional Prepositions are represented in syntax as extended projections of their nominal complements (analogous to Grimshaw 1991):

(73)   a.   [$_{FP}$ F$_{[Goal,Dat,+def]}$ [$_{NP}$ women]]
         b.   I spoke [$_{PP}$ to [$_{DP}$ the [$_{NP}$ women$_1$]]] about each other$_1$.
         c.   Ja rasskazyval [$_{NP}$ ženščinam$_1$] drug a druge$_1$.
                   I speak-PRES women-DAT each other-ACC

The verb *prosić* 'ask' is prone to control shift, yet its indirect object is marked for Accusative. The structural nature of this Accusative is confirmed by the fact that it shifts to Genitive under clausal negation, cf. (74b):

(74)
a.   Dzieci$_1$ [$_{vP}$ prosiły [$_{VP}$ trenerkę$_2$ [$_{V'}$ t$_V$ [żeby PRO$_1$ poskakać z wieży]]]
          children-NOM ask-PAST coach-ACC COMP jump-INF from tower
          'The children asked the coach to jump from the tower.'
b.   Dzieci$_1$ [$_{vP}$ nie prosiły [$_{VP}$ trenerki$_2$ [$_{V'}$ t$_V$ [żeby PRO$_1$ poskakać z wieży]]]
          children-NOM not ask-PAST coach-GEN COMP jump-INF from tower
          'The children didn't ask the coach to jump from the tower.'

The Accusative-to-Genitive in (74b) shift proves that the object cannot be placed within any PP. Simply, Accusative prepositional objects are insensitive to sentential negation placement:

(75)   a.   Tomek patrzył na Marię.
                   Tomek-NOM look-PAST at Maria-ACC
                   'Tom looked at Maria.'
         b.   Tomek nie patrzył na Marię/*Marii.
                   Tomek-NOM not look-PAST at Maria-ACC/*GEN
                   'Tom did not look at Maria.'

15.3. Alternative: employ smuggling.

Subject raising across an experiencer in English (Collins 2005b):

(76)   John seems to Mary to be nice.

(77)
a.[$_{IP}$ John [$_{I'}$ to [$_{VP}$ be [$_{AP}$ ~~John~~ nice]]]]
b.[$_{VP}$ John [$_{V'}$ seem [$_{IP}$ ~~John~~ [$_{I'}$ to [$_{VP}$ be [$_{AP}$ ~~John~~ nice]]]]]]
c.[$_{XP}$ X [$_{VP}$ John [$_{V'}$ seem [$_{IP}$ ~~John~~ [$_{I'}$ to [$_{VP}$ be [$_{AP}$ ~~John~~ nice]]]]]]]
d.[$_{XP}$ [$_{IP}$ ~~John~~ [$_{I'}$ to [$_{VP}$ be [$_{AP}$ ~~John~~ nice]]]] [$_{X'}$ X [$_{VP}$ John [$_{V'}$ seem ~~IP~~]]]]

e.[ApplP (to) Mary [Appl' Appl [XP [IP ~~John~~ [I' to [VP be [AP ~~John~~ nice]]]] [X' X [VP John [V' seem ~~IP~~]]]]

f.[vP v [ApplP (to) Mary [Appl' Appl [XP [IP ~~John~~ [I' to [VP be [AP ~~John~~ nice]]]] [X' X [VP John [V' seem ~~IP~~]]]]]]

g.[vP [VP John [V' seem ~~IP~~]] [v' v [ApplP (to) Mary [Appl' Appl [XP [IP ~~John~~ [I' to [VP be [AP ~~John~~ nice]]]] [X' X ~~VP~~]]]]]

h. [TP John T [vP [VP ~~John~~ [V' seem ~~IP~~]] [v' v [ApplP (to) Mary [Appl' Appl [XP [IP ~~John~~ [I' to [VP be [AP ~~John~~ nice]]]] [X' X ~~VP~~]]]]]

As for the steps (77g-h), Collins claims that they are justified by the fact that the infinitive can be extraposed, as evident in the constructions below:

(78)   a.   John seems likely to me [~~likely~~ to be nice]
       b.   How likely is John [~~how likely~~ to be nice]?

Key properties of this derivation include adherence to the Minimal Link Condition (Relativized Minimality) and Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom, Baker's (1988) Universal Theta Assignment Hypothesis and Chomsky's (1995) Extension Principle.
I submit that **Subject Control across an Object can be derived through smuggling in the active mood.** Let me assume that the lexical item in its PF form is spread across a number of syntactic heads (cf. Cinque 1999, Starke 2001, Ramchand 2008) and the internal structure of the Subject Control verb in Polish is composed of the elements in (80a) generating the structure in (79b):

(79)   a. v < Y < Appl < X < V < {*obiecać* 'promise'}
       b. [vP v [YP Y [ApplP Appl [XP X [VP V [CP …]]]]]]

The derivation of (80) below, includes three pivotal steps: (81c) the subject raises to [spec,V] (the step forced by EF/EPP on V), (81d) the infinitive raises to [spec,X] as part of an extraposition operation and (81f-g) the VP is smuggled across the indirect object:

(80)   Piotr   obiecał   jej   zjeść   rybę.
       Peter-NOM   promise-PST   her-DAT   eat-INF fish-ACC
       'Peter promised her to eat the fish.'

(81)
a. [TP Peter eat-INF fish-ACC]
b. [VP promise-PAST [TP Peter eat-INF fish-ACC]]
c. [VP Peter [V' promise-PAST [TP ~~Peter~~ eat-INF fish-ACC]]]
d. [XP [TP ~~Peter~~ eat-INF fish-ACC] [X' X [VP Peter [V' promise-PAST ~~TP~~]]]
e. [ApplP her Appl [XP [TP ~~Peter~~ eat-INF fish-ACC] [X' X [VP Peter [V' promise-PAST ~~TP~~]]]]]
f. [YP Y [ApplP her Appl [XP [TP ~~Peter~~ eat-INF fish-ACC] [X' X [VP Peter [V' promise-PAST ~~TP~~]]]]
g. [YP [VP Peter [V' promise-PAST ~~TP~~]] [Y' Y [ApplP her Appl [XP [TP ~~Peter~~ eat-INF fish-ACC] [X' X ~~VP~~]]]]
h. [vP Peter [v' v [YP [VP ~~Peter~~ [V' promise-PAST ~~TP~~]] [Y' Y [ApplP her Appl [XP [TP ~~Peter~~ eat-INF fish-ACC] [X' X ~~VP~~]]]]]]]
i. [TP Peter [T' T [vP ~~Peter~~ [v' v [YP [VP ~~Peter~~ [V' promise-PAST ~~TP~~]] [Y' Y [ApplP her Appl [XP [TP ~~Peter~~ eat-INF fish-ACC] [X' X ~~VP~~]

How to derive Object Control verb constructions for comparison?

(a) a conservative option: less structure

(82) a. v < Appl < V < {*kazać* 'tell'}
      b. [$_{vP}$ v [$_{ApplP}$ Appl [$_{VP}$ V [$_{CP}$ …]]]]]]

(b) the same as (81) above with one difference: the subject does not raise to [spec, V].

(83) Piotr   kazał   jej   zjeść   rybę.
      Peter-NOM   tell-PST   her-DAT   eat-INF fish-ACC
      'Peter told her to eat fish.'

(84) a.   [$_{TP}$ her eat-INF fish-ACC]
      b.   [$_{VP}$ tell-PAST [$_{TP}$ her eat-INF fish-ACC]]
      c.   [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ her eat-INF fish-ACC] X [$_{VP}$ tell-PAST ~~TP~~]]
      d.   [$_{ApplP}$ her Appl [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~her~~ eat-INF fish-ACC] X [$_{VP}$ tell-PAST ~~TP~~]]]
      e.   [$_{YP}$ [$_{VP}$ tell-PAST ~~TP~~] Y [$_{ApplP}$ her Appl [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~her~~ eat-INF fish-ACC] X ~~VP~~]]]
      f.   [$_{vP}$ Peter v [$_{YP}$ [$_{VP}$ tell-PAST ~~TP~~] Y [$_{ApplP}$ her Appl [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~her~~ eat-INF fish-ACC] X ~~VP~~]]]]

(85) a.   *obiecać* 'promise': v − Y − $_{DP}$ Appl − X − V$_{[+EF/EPP]}$
      b.   *kazać* 'tell': v − Y − $_{DP}$ Appl − X − V

Consequences of smuggling

- no silent PP
- the object of a *promise*-type verb retains its nominal character
- the base order of nominal and infinitival arguments of a *promise*-type verb is the same as the order of arguments with a *persuade*-type verb (contra Bowers 2008)
- strict UTAH: nominal objects of both types of verbs are assigned identical thematic roles (mostly source/goal)
- the indirect nominal object c-commands the infinitive at the early stage of the derivation.

If this picture is adopted the internal structure of key constituents in (18-19) and (21-22) above is more complex:

(86) a.   [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{v'}$ v [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{YP}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ persuaded ~~TP~~]] [$_{Y'}$ Y [$_{ApplP}$ Mary$_2$ Appl [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Mary$_2$~~ to leave the party] [$_{X'}$ X ~~VP~~]]]]]]]]]
      b.   [$_{VoiceP}$ Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{v'}$ v [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{YP}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ persuaded ~~TP~~]] [$_{Y'}$ Y [$_{ApplP}$ Mary$_2$ Appl [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Mary$_2$~~ to leave the party] [$_{X'}$ X ~~VP~~]]]]]]]]]]
      c.   [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{YP}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ persuaded ~~TP~~]] [$_{Y'}$ Y [$_{ApplP}$ Mary$_2$ Appl [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Mary$_2$~~ to leave the party] [$_{X'}$ X ~~VP~~]]]]]] Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{v'}$ v ~~PartP~~]]]]]]]]
      d.   [$_{TP}$ Mary$_2$ T-was [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{YP}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ persuaded ~~TP~~]] [$_{Y'}$ Y [$_{ApplP}$ ~~Mary$_2$~~ Appl [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Mary$_2$~~/PRO$_2$ to leave the party] [$_{X'}$ X ~~VP~~]]]]]] Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{v'}$ v ~~PartP~~]]]]]]]]]]

(87) a.   [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{v'}$ v [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{YP}$ [$_{VP}$ ~~pro$_1$~~ [$_{V'}$ promised ~~TP~~]] [$_{Y'}$ Y [$_{ApplP}$ Mary$_2$ Appl [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~pro$_1$~~/PRO to leave the party] [$_{X'}$ X ~~VP~~]]]]]]]]]
      b.   [$_{VoiceP}$ Voice [$_{vP}$ pro$_1$ [$_{v'}$ v [$_{PartP}$ Part [$_{YP}$ [$_{VP}$ ~~pro$_1$~~ [$_{V'}$ promised ~~TP~~]] [$_{Y'}$ Y [$_{ApplP}$ Mary$_2$ Appl [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~pro$_1$~~ PRO to leave the party] [$_{X'}$ X ~~VP~~]]]]]]]]]]

c. $[_{VoiceP} [_{PartP}$ Part $[_{YP} [_{VP}$ ~~pro$_1$~~ $[_{V'}$ promised ~~TP~~ $]] [_{Y'}$ Y $[_{ApplP}$ Mary$_2$ Appl $[_{XP} [_{TP}$ ~~pro$_1$~~/PRO to leave the party] $[_{X'}$ X ~~VP~~$]]]]]]]]$ Voice $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ $[_{v'}$ v ~~PartP~~ $]]]]]]]]]$

d. $[_{TP}$ Mary$_2$ T-was $[_{VoiceP} [_{PartP}$ Part $[_{YP} [_{VP} [_{V'}$ promised ~~TP~~ $]] [_{Y'}$ Y $[_{ApplP}$ ~~Mary~~ Appl $[_{XP} [_{TP}$ ~~pro$_1$~~/PRO$_1$ to leave the party] $[_{X'}$ X ~~VP~~$]]]]]]]]$ Voice $[_{vP}$ pro$_1$ $[_{v'}$ v ~~PartP~~ $]]]]]]]]]]]$

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