Clitic Climbing and Theta-Roles in Upper Sorbian and Czech

This paper examines the position of the reflexive clitic so/se in active and passive sentences with an infinitive and the phase verb přestač/přestat. It appears that clitic climbing is obligatory for passive sentences, whereas in active structures it can but need not occur. The omission of clitic climbing in passive sentences leads to inappropriate agentic interpretations of the sentence. We sketch three explanations for this: 1. The false agent theta-role of the subject in passive sentences is assigned by a control use of the phase verb přestač/přestat. 2. The false agent theta-role is assigned by the infinitive which is misunderstood as an active transitive one. 3. Both principles cooperate.

1. Introduction

In Upper Sorbian as well as in Czech the morpheme so/se has several different functions. It serves, for instance, as a reflexive pronoun, a reciprocal pronoun, as a lexical part of deponent verbs (see 1ab) and as a syntactical passive marker in personal (see 1cd) and impersonal passive sentences.

1a Młynk so wućomnikam wusměwa. (USo)
miller nom REFCL apprentice dat/pl laugh at3.sg.act
The miller laughs at the apprentices.

1b Otec se věnuje fotbalu. (Cz)
father nom REFLCl dedicate3.sg.act football dat.sg
The father is engaged in football.

1c Kozam so trawa picuje. (USo)
goat dat/pl REFCL grass nom feed3.sg.act
It is grass that is fed to the goats.

1d Studentům se uděluje odměna. (Cz)
students dat/pl REFCL award3.sg.act payment nom
Students are awarded a payment.

According to common assumptions, the position of the morpheme so/se does not depend on its morphological or syntactic properties (see e.g. Fasske 1981:210f, implicitly Uhlířová 1987:82-97). However, when embedding sentences containing so/se, into a sentence with the phase matrix verb přestač/přestat (to stop) there occur important differences in the possible positions of the morpheme so/se.

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The aim of our paper is to present and compare data about these embeddings in Upper Sorbian and Czech, depending on whether the infinitival contains

a) the free verbal morpheme so/se as a lexical part of the verb, which assigns agent theta role to its subject (agentive reflexive verbs, so wusměvač, věnovat se 1ab) or

b) the syntactical passive marker so/se, deriving from an active transitive verb a personal passive one, which assigns patient theta role to its nominative subject (reflexive passive, picowač + so, udělovat + se 1cd).

In both languages there are considerable differences in word order between these cases.

Agentive constructions with neutral information structure:

2a Po pruwowanju přesta młynk so wučomnikam wusměvač.  
(USo) after exam stop3.sg.aor miller nom.sg REFLEX_CL apprentice dat.pl laugh at inf
After the exam the miller stopped laughing at the apprentices.

2b Věnovat se fotbalu přestal otec po válce.  
(Cz) to be engaged inf REFLEX_CL football dat.sg stop3.sg masc father nom.sg masc after war
After the war the father stopped being engaged in football.

The same word order in a passive construction:

2c #Wčera přesta trawa so kozam picowač.  
(USo) yesterday stop3.sg.aor grass nom.sg REFLEX_CL goat dat.pl feed inf
Yesterday the grass stopped being fed to the goats.

2d #Údělovat se studentům přestala odměna po vyúčtování.  
(Cz) award inf REFLEX_CL students dat.pl stop3.sg fem payment nom.sg fem after clearance
After the clearance the payment stopped being awarded to students.

Passive constructions with neutral information structure:

3a Wčera přesta so kozam trawa picowač.  
(USo) yesterday stop3.sg.aor REFLEX_CL goat dat.pl grass nom.sg feed inf
Yesterday the grass stopped being fed to the goats.

3b Po vyúčtování se přestala udělovat studentům odměna.  
(Cz) after clearance REFLEX_CL stop3.sg fem award inf students dat.pl payment nom.sg fem
After the clearance the payment stopped being awarded to students.

The same word order in a passive construction:

3c #?Po pruwowanju přesta so wučomnikam młynk wusměvač.  
(USo) after the exam stop3.sg.aor REFLEX_CL apprentice dat/pl miller nom.sg laugh at inf
(2a) is a grammatical sentence with an unmarked word order for an agentive reflexive infinitival. The same word order with a reflexive passive infinitival (2c) leads to ungrammaticality due to inappropriate theta-marking. (2c) implies that the grass deliberately decided to stop feeding itself to the goats. Intuitively, the grass is conceived of as agent of the whole sentence (2c), that means as agent of both the feeding and stopping feeding. However, there are no clear intuitions about which agentivity is caused by the matrix verb or by the infinitive and which is inferred otherwise.

The same difference can be observed in Czech for (2bd). (2d), though having the same word order as the correct agentive sentence (2b), is ungrammatical because it assigns agentive features to the scholarship. Throughout our paper, the double cross # is used to indicate this kind of semantical incorrectness due to inappropriate agentivity of non-animate participants. On the other hand, (3ab) are grammatical sentences with the unmarked word order for a reflexive passive infinitival. The same word order in a sentence with an agentive reflexive
infinitival leads to a highly marked information structure (3cd). These sentences are acceptable only with an extraordinary corrective focus on the subject mlýnk and otec respectively.

In order to investigate the relevant data in more detail, it is necessary to make some remarks on the position of so/se as a sentential clitic in Upper Sorbian and Czech.

2. The position of so/se in Upper Sorbian and Czech

We assume contra Franks/King (2000:162-186) that in Upper Sorbian there are two default positions of the clitic so as a sentential clitic. On the one hand, so can occur at the second (Wackernagel) position. In this case the finite verb must occur at the last position (4a). There are only few complements that can (but need not) follow after the finite verb, e.g. infinitivals (4b), subordinated finite clauses or comparative complements (4c) (see Fasske 1981: §275).

4a Nadžijomnje so Pětrej jutře wulka překwapjenka poradži. (USo)
4b Nadžijomnje so Pětrej jutře poradži wšitkich překwapič. (USo)
4c Nadžijomnje so Pětrej jutře wjetša překwapjenka poradži hač Janej. (USo)

On the other hand, the finite verb can occur at the second position. In this case, clitic so immediately follows the verb (see 5a), but it must not stand at the end of the whole sentence (5c) (see Fasske 1981: §280). This second option is obligatory if so is part of an analytic predicate. Then – like in German – the verbal frame construction demands that the finite part of the predicate occurs at the second position and the infinite at the last position (5b). Of course, there are exceptions from these two rules, mainly in literary language (see e.g. Fasske 1981: §280), but they are stylistically marked and will be neglected in the following.

5a Pětrej poradži so jutře nadžijomnje wulka překwapjenka. (USo)
5b Pětrej je so wčera wulka překwapjenka poradžila. (USo)
5c *Překwapjenka poradži so. (USo)

Within infinitival embeddings so commonly occurs as a proclitic at the first (overtly realized) position of the infinitival (6a). Proclitic so can occur even at the very beginning of a sentence (see 6b), though the second position in the infinitival is also possible in this case (6c).

6a Pětr spyta stajnje [so wo wšitko sam starač]. (USo)
6b *[So słabšim wusměwać] je njepřistojne. (Cz)
6c [Wusměwać so słabšim] je njepřistojne. (Cz)

In Czech, the position of the verb is not so strictly determined (7a-d). There is only one basic position of clitic se, the Wackernagel position, which, unlike in Upper Sorbian, must be occupied by the clitic even in an infinitival at the first position in the sentence (8abc).

7a Po obědě se dal Martin do práce. (Cz)
7b Po obědě se Martin dal do práce. (Cz)
7c Martin se po obědě do práce nedal. (Cz)
7d *I dal se Martin po obědě do práce. (Cz)
8a *[Vysmívat se słabším] je nedůstojné. (Cz)
8b *[Se vysmívat słabším] je nedůstojné. (Cz)
8c *[Se słabším vysmívat] je nedůstojné. (Cz)

3. More data

3.1. The free morpheme so of agentive reflexive verbs in Upper Sorbian
Among the \(6!\) permutations\(^2\) of the 6 constituents of sentence (2a) there are nine correct sentences with neutral information structure (9a-i). In four of them clitic *so* climbed out of the infinitival and occurs as a sentential clitic in the matrix clause (9a-d), either at the Wackernagel position (9b-d) or at the third position immediately after the finite verb (9a). In five of them clitic *so* occurs as a proclitic within the infinitival construction at the first (overtly realized) position (9e-i).

9a  Po pruwowanju přesta so młynk [wućomnikam wusměwać].
9b  Po pruwowanju so młynk přesta [wućomnikam wusměwać].
9c  Po pruwowanju so młynk wućomnikam přesta [wusměwać].
9d  Po pruwowanju so młynk [wućomnikam wusměwać] přesta.

Furthermore, we determined 94 correct permutations with marked information structure (e.g. 10a-c). In 54 of them *so* occurs as a sentential clitic with clitic climbing, in 40 of them *so* remains within the infinitival construction. Of course, it is hard to determine which permutations are still correct and can be uttered in some context. We do not insist on the concrete number of correct sentences. Instead, what is important here is that in the correct sentences with both unmarked and marked information structure we have a quite balanced proportion between sentences with and without clitic climbing. This proportion is not affected by adding or rejecting some correct permutations.

In Upper Sorbian, clitic climbing is not obligatory for the free morpheme *so* of agentive reflexive deponent verbs.

3.2. The free morpheme *se* of agentive reflexive verbs in Czech

Due to stronger restrictions on the position of clitic *se*, there are only 4 correct sentences with unmarked information structure among the \(6!\) permutations (11a-d). In all of them *se* occurs at the Wackernagel position in the matrix clause and, unlike in Upper Sorbian, there is no correct unmarked sentence without clitic climbing.

11a  Po válce se otec přestal[věnovat fotbalu].
11b  Po válce se přestal otec [věnovat fotbalu].
11c  Otec se po válce přestal [věnovat fotbalu].
11d  Otec se přestal po válce [věnovat fotbalu].

However, among the 138 correct sentences with marked information structure there is a more or less balanced proportion between sentences with and without clitic climbing again. In 77 of them clitic climbing occurs (e.g. 12bc), in 63 of them clitic *se* remains within the infinitival

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\(^2\) Prepositional phrases like *po pruwowanju* and *po válce* are treated as a unit in generating the \(6!\) permutations.
(e.g. 12a). The situation is not the same as in Upper Sorbian: there is not a second default position of se within the infinitival since lack of clitic climbing leads to a strongly marked information structure in Czech.

In Czech, clitic climbing of the free morpheme se of agentive reflexive deponent verbs occurs in all correct sentences with unmarked information structure, but it is not obligatory for sentences with marked information structure.

3.3. The reflexive passive marker so in Upper Sorbian

Among the 6! permutations of (3a) there are seven correct sentences with neutral information structure (13a-g) and 41 correct permutations with marked information structure (e.g. 14a-c). The remaining 672 permutations are incorrect, partly because of inappropriate agentive features of the subject trawa (e.g. 15a-c), but mainly for other unrelated reasons. In all of the 48 correct permutations so occurs in the position of a sentential clitic, either at the Wackernagel position (13c-g, 14a) or at the third position after the finite verb (13ab, 14bc). That the clitic in (13a) in fact climbed out of the infinitival is confirmed by prosodic criteria.

In (13a) so is enclitic, that means that a prosodic break between the preceding přestać and so is entirely impossible. However, if so did not climb out of the infinitival, it should be proclitic to the following word like in (9e-i), where prosodic breaks are possible only before, not after so.

13a Wčera přesta so kozam trawa picować.
13b Kozam přesta so wčera trawa picować.
13c Wčera so kozam přesta trawa picować.
13d Kozam so wčera přesta trawa picować.
13e Wčera so kozam trawa picować přesta.
13f Kozam so wčera trawa picować přesta.
13g Wčera so přesta kozam trawa picować.

14a Wčera so trawa kozam přesta PICować.
14b TRAwa přesta so kozam WČEra picować.
14c KOzam picować přesta so trawa WČEra.

15a #[Trawa wčera přesta [so kozam picować].
15b #/[Picować so KOzam] trawa wčera PŘEsta.
15c # [So KOzam picować] přesta trawa WČEra.

Lack of clitic climbing leads to inappropriate agentivity of the non-animate subject trawa (15a-c). Obviously, there is a connection between clitic climbing and the thematic structure of the sentences under consideration (see section 5.2).

In Upper Sorbian, clitic climbing is obligatory for the reflexive passive marker so.

3.4. The reflexive passive marker se in Czech

The situation is very similar in Czech. Clitic climbing occurs in both the 5 correct unmarked (16a-e) and the 116 correct marked (e.g. 17a-d) permutations of (3b). It is again prosodic criteria that give evidence for clitic climbing in (17cd). In these sentences a prosodic break is possible only after, not before se. Nevertheless, so/se in (13a-g, 16a-e) is not generated within the matrix clause as part of a verb so přestać/přestat se, but within the infinitival, deriving a reflexive passive infinitive from an active transitive one.

In sentences without clitic climbing,

3 If so/se was generated within the matrix clause as part of a verb so přestać/přestat se it could not affect the argument structure of the infinitive picować/udělovat at all. The infinitive therefore would remain an active transitive one assigning agent theta role to its external argument. But since raising is possible only from the position of the external argument for active transitive infinitives and the nominative subject trawa/odměna
like in Upper Sorbian, there appear incorrect agentive and volitional features of the subject odměna (18ab).

16a  Po vyúčtování se studentům přestala udělovat odměna.
16b  Po vyúčtování se přestala studentům udělovat odměna.
16c  Studentům se po vyúčtování přestala udělovat odměna.
16d  Studentům se přestala po vyúčtování udělovat odměna.
16e  Po vyúčtování se přestala udělovat studentům odměna.

17a  Studentům po vyúčtování se odměna PŘEstala udělovat.
17b  Studentům se po vyúčtování odměna udělovat PŘEstala.
17c  Odměna studentům přestala se udělovat PO VYúčtování.
17d  Po vyúčtování přestala se udělovat studentům ODměna.

18a  #Po vyúčtování přestala odměna [udělovat se studentům].
18b  #[Udělovat se studentům] přestala odměna po vyúčtování.

In Czech, clitic climbing is obligatory for the reflexive passive marker *se*.

3.5. Summary of the data
The following table summarizes the results of the previous sections. Again, the concrete numbers are a matter of discussion and are not of importance to see that clitic climbing is obligatory for the reflexive passive marker *so/se*, whereas it is not obligatory for the free morpheme *so/se* of agentive deponent verbs, though in this case, lack of clitic climbing leads to marked information structure in Czech.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>so/se</th>
<th>agentive reflexive verb</th>
<th>reflexive passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uso</td>
<td>Cz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total: 6! = 720</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+clitic climb.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−clitic climb.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moreover, the four sets of correct unmarked word orders (9a-i, 11a-d, 13a-g, 16a-e) are mutually disjoint. Within each language, there is no unmarked word order common to the reflexive passive marker *se/so* and the free morpheme of agentive deponent verbs. In Upper Sorbian the sequence *trawa picować* is a good indicator for this. It occurs in (13a-g), but does not occur in (9a-i) as *młynk wusměwać*. Interestingly, *trawa picować* constitutes a close prosodic unit in (13a-g) in which the infinitive *picować* is completely destressed and which is to be considered in the next section.

4. Topicalization of infinitivals and personal vs. impersonal reflexive passive infinitivals
The observed regularities are confirmed by the possible topicalizations of infinitivals. In both languages there are topicalizations with (10b, 12c) and without (10a, 12a) clitic climbing of the free morpheme *so/se* of agentive deponent verbs. On the contrary, for the reflexive passive marker *so/se*, topicalizations of the infinitival with clitic climbing are ruled out due to inappropriate agentive features (15bc, 18b).

10b  [*Wučomnikam WUsměwać*] přesta so młynk po PRUwowaniu.  (USo)
12c  [*Věnovat fotbalu*] se otec po válce PŘEstal.  (Cz)

obviously is raised in (13a-g, 16a-e), the infinitive would be expected to assign agent theta role to the (trace of) the nominative subject, which clearly is not the case.
Topicalizations with clitic climbing of the reflexive passive marker so/se are not problematic in Upper Sorbian (14c), whereas they are questionable in Czech and depend on the concrete lexical items (19ab).

In both languages the personal reflexive passive construction with nominative subject trawa/odměna instead of accusative trawu/odměnu is strongly preferred in the correct sentences with unmarked information structure (13a-g, 16a-e). Accusative odměnu is prohibited in (16a-e) and trawu seems to be possible only in (13g), not in (13a-f).4 However, when topicalizing the infinitival together with the argument odměn-, the impersonal construction turns obligatory in Czech (20a vs. 20b). In this case the impersonal verb se přestat is used and the infinitive remains a transitive active one. Clitic se is generated within the matrix, and consequently, there is no clitic climbing in (20b, 21b) (see Junghanns 2002:62). On the other hand, in Upper Sorbian, personal (21a) as well as impersonal (21b) topicalization is possible. Even if the impersonal construction (21b) happens to be preferred to the personal (21a), (21a) at the most sounds a bit strange while being perfectly understandable. On the contrary, for the agentive reflexive infinitivals (9a-i, 11a-d), analogous topicalizations of młyn wusměwać or otec věnovat are completely ungrammatical in Upper Sorbian and Czech (22ab).

In the Upper Sorbian personal construction (21a) trawa picować, unlike Czech odměna udělovat is constituting a close prosodic unit, which can be topicalized as a whole. This kind

4 In this point further research is necessary. There may be or have been Upper Sorbian dialects which are allowing accusative trawu also in (13a-f). This topic is not treated in the volume on syntax of the Upper Sorbian dialectological atlas (Fasske 1996).
of prosodic integration or incorporation is typical for indefinite direct objects in Upper Sorbian (23ab) and is preserved when deriving reflexive passive (23cd).

23a  *Młynk hižo hodźiny dolho na zahrodźi trawu syče.  (USo)
miller already hours long on garden grass mow.

23c  ?*Młynk na zahrodźi trawu hižo hodźiny dolho syče.  (USo)

23d  *Na zahrodźi so hižo hodźiny dolho trawa syče.  (USo)
on garden REFL already hours long grass mow.

Grass has been mowing the grass in the garden for hours.

23e  ?*Na zahrodźi so trawa hižo hodźiny dolho syče.  (USo)

It seems that the sequence of traw- and picować in (21a), besides prosodic unity, has gained already further properties of nominal compounds. The case ending of the patient internal argument trawu/trawa loses importance, the semantic relation between both parts (patient) is no longer expressed formally. That trawa in (21a) is not a fullfledged subject due to the strong incorporation or integration with the infinitive can be seen when using perfect tense instead of the simple past tense (aorist), where the gender of the subject is not encoded. For, in the perfect tense explicit congruence of gender in the obligatory verbal frame construction is not possible (24a) and the impersonal construction turns obligatory in Upper Sorbian as well (24b) – as in Czech in the only past tense, the former perfect tense, which still expresses congruence of gender (20ab).

24a  *TRAwa picować je so kozam wčera PŘEstała.  (USo)
24b  TRAwu picować je so kozam wčera PŘEstało.  (USo)

5. Inappropriate agentive features

Agentive interpretations instead of required passive ones arise under two conditions. Firstly, as seen, by lack of clitic climbing (15auc, 18ab). Secondly, though the clitic se/so climbed out of the infinitival, by an inappropriate order of the arguments, where the subject occurs too far on the left (25aud). In this section both cases are discussed separately.

25a  #Trawa přesta so wcěra kozam picować.  (USo)
25b  #Wčera so trawa přesta kozam picować.  (USo)
25c  #Odměna se přestala udělovat studentům po vyúčtování.  (Cz)
25d  #Odměna se po vyúčtování přestala udělovat studentům.  (Cz)

5.1. The order of arguments

In (25a-d) the agentivity is much weaker than in (15auc, 18ab) and occurs only when reading the sentences with neutral information structure. It can be deleted by prosody, e.g. by a focus on trawa/odměna. Moreover, this kind of agentivity is independent of infinitival constructions and occurs in purely finite clauses as well (26a-d). These differences show that the agentivity in (25a-d) is of entirely different type than in (15auc, 18ab).

26a  *Na zahrodźi so hižo hodźiny dolho trawa syče.  (USo)
on garden REFL already hours long grass mow.

Grass has been mowing the grass in the garden for hours.

26b  #Trawa so na zahrodźi hižo hodźiny dolho syče.  (USo)

26c  V sadu se teď češou jablka.  (Cz)
in garden REFL now pick apples
Apples are being picked in the garden now.

The question how the agentive interpretation arises in (25a-d) is connected with the following question. We have seen that every infinitival with the reflexive passive marker so/se demands clitic climbing. But the converse does not hold, since not every climbed so/se is the reflexive passive marker and the free morpheme of agentive reflexive verbs can climb out of the infinitival (e.g. 9a-d, 11a-d). How can then sentences with climbed reflexive passive marker so/se be distinguished from those with climbed free morpheme of agentive reflexive verbs? Both questions can be accounted for by the order of arguments in sentences with unmarked information structure, the so called 'systémové uspořádání věty' (Sgall et al. 1980:62-78)\(^5\). According to this theory, untopicalized arguments of sentences with unmarked information structure must occur in a certain, quite fixed order: agent, time, place, manner, measure, measurement, instrument, way, addressee, source, patient and so on.

For our sentences, the order agent – time – addressee – patient is of importance. In particular, we get the order agent – time – addressee for the agentive sentences and the order time – addressee – patient for the passive sentences. The free constituent time is allowed to interchange the position with agent and addressee respectively. It can be checked easily that all the neutral active (9a-i, 11a-d) and passive (13a-g, 16a-e) sentences fulfill this order. It is this order that is the main distinctive feature between the passive sentences (13a-g, 16a-e) on the one hand and the agentive sentences with clitic climbing (9a-d, 11a-d) on the other hand, which, otherwise, follow the same word order patterns within each language.

Now, if the subject (of a sentence with neutral information structure) occurs too far on the left and not after the addressee it tends to be interpreted as agent, provided such an interpretation is syntactically available. This is what happens in (25a-d). Consequently, clitic so/se is not interpreted as a reflexive passive marker in (25a-d), but as a direct object of the active infinitive.

5.2. Lack of clitic climbing

In (15a-c, 18ab) the strong inappropriate agentive features, caused by lack of clitic climbing, cannot be deleted by prosody. Prima facie, there are three possibilities: the agentive features of the subject in (15a-c, 18ab) can be assigned either by the finite matrix verb, the infinitive or both of them at the same time. In the following these options are discussed in more detail.

5.2.1 Control vs. raising

If the subject in (15a-c, 18ab) gets an agent theta role from the matrix verb, these sentences must be considered as control constructions and přestač/přestat in them as a control verb since only control verbs assign a theta role to their nominative subject. On the other hand, přestač/přestat in the correct reflexive passive sentences (13a-g, 16a-e) do not assign any theta role to the subject and must be therefore raising verbs (Schoorlemmer 1995:28, Junghanns 2003). Obviously, the only theta role of the subject trava/odměna in (13a-g, 16a-e) is patient theta role assigned by the reflexively passivized infinitive. Consequently, a raising verb přestač/přestat has to be distinguished from a control verb přestač/přestat or, if

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\(^5\) Though worked out for Czech this order turns out to be valid for Upper Sorbian as well for the most part.
you want, a raising use and a control use of the same verb. Now, the empirical results of the previous sections can be explained by postulating that

A) clitic climbing of so/se is obligatory for raising constructions, not for control constructions.

Consequently, also the correct agentive reflexive deponent infinitivals (9e-i, 12ab) without clitic climbing must be interpreted as control constructions. Postulate A immediately explains that clitic climbing is obligatory for subjectless reflexive verbs like so dešćować and stmívat se, (27a-d), though for personal agentive reflexive verbs there are analogous topicalizations without clitic climbing (see 10a, 12a). For, every construction in which the subjectlessness of the infinitive carries over to the matrix sentence is a raising construction.

27a [DEŠćować] přesta so hižo DOpoldnja. (USo) to rain stop3.sg.aor REFL-CL already in the morning
It stopped raining already in the morning.
27b *[So dešćować] přesta hižo dopoldnja. (USo)
27c Stmívat rychleji se začalo už před měsicem. (Cz) getting dark faster REFLCL,begin3.sg,neut already before month
It began getting dark faster already a month ago.
27d †Stmívat se rychleji začalo už před měsicem. (Cz)

The distinction between a raising and a control use of the same verb is not very typical. In the literature (Zabrocki 1981:138, Schoorlemmer 1995:28, Junghanns 2003) slavic phase verbs are considered as pure raising verbs – because of sentences of type (13aug, 16aue) among other reasons.

28a Wčera spyta so kózlatkam trawa picować. (USo) yesterday try3.sg.aor REFLCL young goatdat.pl grassnom.sg feedinf
Yesterday one tried to feed grass to the young goats.
28b #Wčera spyta trawa [so kózlatkam picować]. (USo)

However, in Upper Sorbian e.g. also the verb spytáct (try), commonly considered as a typical control verb, can be used as a raising verb with clitic climbing (28a). Again, lack of clitic climbing leads to inappropriate agentive features and to the common control use of spytáct (28b). It is as if the reflexive passive marker so, when climbed out of the infinitival, affects the argument structure of the matrix verb and deagentivizes it, i.e. derives a raising verb from a control one. If we – for theoretical reasons – do not want clitic climbing to affect the argument structure of the matrix verb, we have to distinguish between a raising and a control use of přestać/přestat already in the lexicon.

5.2.2 Uncorrect interpretation of the infinitive
The distinction between a raising and a control use of přestać/přestat is dispensable if the agentivity of the subject in (15auc, 18ab) is assigned by the infinitive and the matrix verb is a raising verb without a thematic role for the subject. Then, to explain the data, one should assume that

B) clitic climbing is obligatory for the syntactical passive marker so/se, but it is not obligatory for the free morpheme of agentive reflexive deponent verbs.

In this case, the agentivity of (15auc, 18ab) is caused by the following mechanism. Due to the lack of clitic climbing, so/se in (15auc, 18ab) cannot be the syntactic passive marker by postulate B. Consequently, the infinitive remains an active transitive one assigning agent theta role to its external argument. But since raising is possible only from the position of the external argument for active transitive infinitives, agent theta role is assigned to the (trace of the) raised subject trawa/odměna of (15a-c, 18ab) by the active infinitive picować/udělovat.
Clitic so/se then, like the corresponding long forms sebje/sebe, must be interpreted as a reflexive pronoun and as a direct object of a transitive infinitive. Indeed, the incorrectness of (15a-c, 18ab) is the very same as in (29ab).

29a  #Trawa wčera přesta [sebje kozam picować].  (USo)
29b  #Po vyúčtování přestala odměnafudělovat sebe studentům].  (Cz)

The advantage of not having to distinguish a raising verb přestač/přestat from a control one is a good reason for preferring the second option with postulate B.

5.2.3. Matrix verb and infinitive cooperating

It remains to have a look at the third possibility that the agentive features in (15a-c, 18ab) are assigned by both the matrix verb and the infinitive, i.e. that postulates A and B hold at the same time. Alternatively, postulates A and B can be connected and strengthened by R. Růžička's principle:

C) "Controlled clauses are incompatible with reflexive passive in Slavic languages […]" (Růžička 1999:134)

Some evidence for the third option is given by personal reflexive non-agentive deponent verbs like so dlić (to be protracted) in Upper Sorbian. So dlić has a nominative external argument but does not assign a volitional agent theta role to it. Nevertheless, so is not the syntactic passive marker in so dlić since there is no transitive dlić (at least synchronically, see Fasske 1981, §260). Lack of clitic climbing leads to inappropriate agentive features of the subject in this case as well (30b), especially when (30b) being read with a slight prosodic break before clitic so. Though these agentive features are much weaker than in (15a-c, 18ab) they cannot be deleted by prosody like in (25a-d).

30a  Po intervenciji direktora přesta so twar šule skônčnje dlić.  (USo)
     after intervention director stop REFL construction school finally be protracted
      After the intervention of the director the construction of the school finally stopped being protracted.
30b  #Po intervenciji direktora přesta twar šule skônčnje so dlić.  (USo)

(30b) is a control construction due to postulate A, and the matrix verb přestač assigns quite weak agentive features to the subject twar šule. Postulate B and the mechanism of the previous section can not be applied to (30b) since so dlić is not a reflexive passive and has no agent theta role in its argument structure at all which could be assigned mistakenly to its subject (PRO). Therefore, the nominative subject in (30b) is assigned only a weak agent theta role by the matrix control verb přestač. On the contrary, in (15a-c, 18ab), strong volitional agentive features of the active infinitive are assigned to the subject PRO by the controlled infinitive due to postulate B or C (see previous section). Thus, the combination of postulates A and B (or C) explains the agentivity in (30b) and its weakness compared to (15a-c, 18ab).

We have sketched some possible explanations for the complex phenomenon of inappropriate agentive features in (15a-c, 18ab). Further research has to show which of them turns out to be the most adequate.

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