

ARTICLE

# Passive with control and raising in mainland Scandinavian

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## Abstract

This article gives an overview of the use of non-local passives in mainland Scandinavian, i.e. passives where the subject of the first verb is a thematic argument of a second verb. Three factors are important: whether V1 is a control verb or a raising passive, whether V2 is a passive participle or an infinitive and whether the passive is morphological or periphrastic. Danish and Norwegian allow passive control verbs such as *forsøge* ‘try’ with passive participles whereas this pattern is only found with semi-control verbs like *begära* ‘request’ in Swedish. In Swedish there is an alternative strategy for strict control verbs, viz. active control verb plus passive infinitive. All three languages allow both passive infinitival complements and passive participles with raising passives such as *påstås* ‘is claimed’. These passive constructions need to be distinguished from so called *long* passives and *double* passives where a passive feature on either V1 or V2 can spread to the adjacent verb.

**Keywords** complex passive; control; Danish; double passive; long passive; Norwegian; raising; reportive passive; Swedish

## 1. Introduction

Passive normally involves the reordering of the arguments of a single predicate but in some languages there are non-local passive constructions which involve more than one predicate. By a non-local passive I understand constructions where the subject of a passive verb, V1, is an argument of another verb, V2, in an embedded VP, as shown in (1).

(1) SUBJ V1<sub>PASS</sub> [VP V2]

Different kinds of non-local passives have been studied in various languages. In Danish and Norwegian, there is a construction, known in the literature as *complex passive*, where V2 is a passive participle (see e.g. Engh, 1984; Hellan, 1984; Christensen, 1986; Ørsnes, 2006). This construction, was previously thought not

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to be found in Swedish but a closer look reveals that Swedish instead uses a construction where V2 is a passive infinitive. In all three languages we find a productive construction where V1 is a verb of communication. Ørnsnes (2013) refers to this as *reportive passive*; I will use the term *raising passive*. German, Italian and French use a construction known as *long passive* where V2 is an infinitive, either active or passive. (see Wurmbbrand, 2001; Cinque, 2006; Hobæk Haff & Lødrup, 2016). Lødrup (2014) argues that long passive is also found in Norwegian. The primary aim of this article is to investigate how these non-local passive constructions are used in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish in the light of recent studies by Julien & Lødrup (2013) and Lødrup (2014).

Three factors turn out to be important: whether V1 is a control verb or a raising passive, whether V2 is a passive participle or an infinitive and whether the passive V1 and/or V2 is morphological, formed by adding -s to the verb, or a periphrastic construction with copula and participle.<sup>1</sup> Although a number of analyses of non-local passives have appeared, the interaction between these factors has not been sufficiently studied. In this article data from previous articles are complemented with searches in morphologically annotated corpora. The searches give some indications of relative frequency which turns out to be especially relevant for the development of certain constructions.

Section 2 is devoted to passives with control verbs. It is shown that we need to distinguish strict control verbs like *försöka* ‘try’ from semi-control verbs like *önska* ‘wish’. Danish and Norwegian allow complex passives with passive participles with both strict and semi-control verbs whereas Swedish only allows the latter type. In Section 3 I discuss cases where a passive V1 behaves as a subject-to-subject raising verb. This construction is common in all three languages. In Section 4 I show that Swedish has developed an alternative to the complex passive with strict control verbs: active control verbs with passive infinitives. In this Section I also trace the historical development to the middle of the 19th century. Section 5 looks briefly at so called *double passives* (Julien & Lødrup 2013) where the passive feature on V2 spreads onto V1. In Section 6 I look closer at the *voice agreeing long passives* with infinitives in Norwegian (Lødrup 2014), which are similar to long passives in German, and try to explain why their Swedish counterparts differ. Section 7 brings together the interaction between verb type, the form of the complement and the choice of passive form. Although there is considerable variation in the data, both within and across the languages, it is possible to discern certain patterns which I summarize in a table.

## 2. Control passive with participle

### 2.1 Strict control

In the 1980’s several researchers started to investigate the so called *complex passive* in Norwegian (see e.g. Engh, 1984; Hellan, 1984; Christensen, 1986).

- (2) Derfor **ble** bilen **forsøkt** **reparert**. (No.)  
*therefore became car.DEF tried repaired*  
 ‘Therefore there was an attempt to repair the car.’

In (2) the object *bilen* ‘the car’ of the embedded V2 passive participle *repareret* ‘repaired’ has been promoted to subject of the passive V1 *ble forsøkt* ‘was tried’ and is realized in the subject position (Spec,IP).<sup>2</sup> There is no agent and the interpretation can be conveyed by a *there*-construction in English.

It was noted at the time that the Swedish version of (2) is clearly ungrammatical, both with the morphological *s*-passive and with the periphrastic *bli*-passive.

- (3) a. \*Bilen **försöktes reparerad.** (Sw.)  
*car.DEF try.PRT.PAS repaired*  
 b. \*Bilen **blev försökt reparerad.**  
*car.DEF became tried repaired*

It was concluded that Swedish lacks complex passives, despite the fact that Engh (1984), 18 mentions the example in (4) which looks very much like a complex passive; the subject *målet* ‘the case’ corresponds to the object of the embedded participle *avgjort* ‘decided’.

- (4) Målet **önskas avgjort** innan fredag. (Sw.)  
*case.DEF wish.PRS.PAS decided before Friday*  
 ‘It is desirable that the case be decided before Friday.’

There have since been a number of studies on complex passive in Norwegian (see e.g. Christensen 1991; Engh 1994; Hellan 2001), and at least one on Danish (Ørsnes 2006). Since the term complex passive is also used for other constructions, I will refer to this type as *control verb with passive participle*, abbreviated **CoPP**. A schematic structure is shown in (5).

- (5) **CoPP: SUBJ V1<sub>PAS</sub> [VPV2<sub>PCP</sub>]**

CoPP is, if not common, at least not unusual in present-day Danish and Norwegian.<sup>3</sup> Both the morphological passive and the periphrastic passive can be used as shown in the following examples.

- (6) a. Det meste **forsøkes privatisert.** (No. NoWaC)  
*the most try.PRS.PASS privatized.PCP.NEUT*  
 ‘People try to privatize most things.’  
 b. Lastebilen **blir nå forsøkt repareret** inne i  
*truck.CN.DEF becomes now now attempted.PCP.NEUT repaired.PCP.NEUT inside in*  
*tunnel.DEF* (No. politilogg.no)  
 ‘An attempt is now made to repair the car in the tunnel.’
- (7) a. Garantien **bortfalder, hvis produktet forsøges repareret**  
*warranty.DEF expires if product.DEF try.PRS.PASS repaired.PCP.NEUT*  
 uden forudgående aftale. (Da. www)  
*without previous agreement*  
 ‘The warranty is void if there is an attempt to repair the product without previous agreement.’

- b. Kampen **bliver forsøgt genoptaget** klokken 11  
*match.CN.DEF becomes attempted.PCP.NEUT resumed.PCP.NEUT clock 11*  
 mandag formiddag. (Da. politiken.dk)  
*Monday AM*  
 ‘There will be an attempt to resume the match at 11 o’clock on Monday.’

The participle has the form that is used in the periphrastic passive in the language. I refer to this form as the passive participle and distinguish it from the invariant perfect participle or *supine* that is used in the perfect tense (Larsson 2009).<sup>4</sup> In Danish and *bokmål* Norwegian<sup>5</sup> there is no agreement and the neuter singular form is used with all subjects. In the *nynorsk* variety, abbreviated *NNo.*, the participle, in principle, agrees in number and gender with the subject (as in Swedish).<sup>6</sup> See the second participle in (8).

- (8) Igår **vart** ein hjullastar **forsøkt stolen** i Jølster.  
*yesterday became a.MASC loader try.PCP stolen.PCP.MASC in Jølster*  
 (NNo. [www.nrk.no](http://www.nrk.no))  
 ‘Yesterday there was an attempt to steal a front end loader in Jølster.’

The number of first verbs that are used in CoPP is rather small. The most common ones are listed in (9).<sup>7</sup>

- (9) Danish: *agte* ‘intend’, *forbyde* ‘forbid’, *forsøge* ‘try’, *pålægge* ‘force’  
 Norwegian: *anbefale* ‘recommend’, *forsøke* ‘try’, *prøve* ‘try’, *søke* ‘seek’

The verbs are typical subject or object control verbs; in the active they take an infinitival complement and the matrix subject or object and the understood subject of the infinitival clause are coreferential. They do not take finite complements and the predicate in the infinitival clause must be controllable (Zaenen 1993). These properties are illustrated in (10).

- (10) a. Vi<sub>1</sub> forsøker [PRO<sub>1</sub> å reparere bilen.] (No.)  
*we try to repair car.DEF*  
 ‘We try to repair the car.’  
 b. \*Vi forsøker [<sub>CP</sub> at de reparerer bilen.]  
*we try that they repair car.DEF*  
 c. \*Vi forsøker å omkomme.  
*we try to perish*

In the passive, these verbs may combine with passive participles, see (6) and (7), and the matrix subject is understood as the internal argument of the participle. Supine forms (perfect participles of active verbs) are impossible and infinitival complements are dispreferred.

- (11) a. \*Peter **forsøges** læst bogen. (Da. Ørsnes 2006, 394)  
*Peter try.PRS.PAS read.SUP book.DEF*  
 b. ??/\*bilen **forsøges** at **blive repareret**. (Da. Ørsnes 2006, 393)  
*car.DEF try.PRS.PAS to become repaired.PCP*

CoPP is typically found with passive participles of transitive verbs; the participle can be predicated of the internal argument.

- (12) en repareret bil (Da.)  
 a repaired car

CoPP is not found with unaccusative V2 although such verbs can be predicated of the subject. This presumably follows from the fact that they are not controllable, see (10c).

- (13) a. \*Peter forsøges omkommet. (Da. Ørsnes 2006, 394)  
*Peter tries.PAS perished.PCP*  
 b. en omkommet mand  
 a perished man

CoPP is also not found with unergative verbs like *cykle* ‘to bike’. It seems plausible that this follows from the argument structure since participles of unergative verbs cannot be predicated of their argument, see (14).<sup>8</sup>

- (14) a. \*Peter forsøges cyklet. (Da.)  
*Peter tries.PAS cycled.PCP*  
 b. \*en cyklet mand  
 a cycled man

Examples of object control verbs used with CoPP are shown in (15) and (16). Note that neither of the controllers is expressed. In the nynorsk variety, the passive participles may show agreement with the matrix subject although this is no longer common, as noted above.

- (15) a. Boken **ble anbefalt oversatt.** (No.)  
*book.DEF became recommended.PCP translated.PCP*  
 Christensen 1986)  
 ‘It was recommended that the book be translated.’  
 b. Slike bøker **vart forbodne utgjevne.** (NNo.)  
*such books became forbidden.PCP.PL published.PCP.PL*  
 Christensen 1991, 72)  
 ‘It was forbidden (for someone) to publish such books.’

- (16) Nye afgifter **forbydes indført.** (Da. Ørsnes 2006)  
*new fees forbid.PAS introduced.PCP*  
 ‘Someone forbids someone to introduce new fees.’

Already Engh (1984) noted that CoPP is blocked by prepositions.

- (17) a. Vi advarer mot å holde møtet. (No. Engh 1984)  
*we warn against to hold meeting.DEF*  
 ‘We warn against holding the meeting.’  
 b. \*Møtet **ble advart (mot) holdt.**  
*meeting.DEF became warned against held*

- (18) a. Der sates på at gennemføre konkurrencen. (Da. Ørsnes 2006)  
*there intend.PAS on to complete contest.DEF*  
 ‘The intention is to complete the contest.’
- b. \*Konkurrencen sates på gennemført.  
*contest.DEF intend.PAS on completed.PCP*

Data like this have been used by e.g. Holmberg (2002) as evidence that the passive and the participle are reanalyzed as a complex predicate.<sup>9</sup> Ørsnes (2006) argues against this analysis and points out that a complex predicate typically has a single external argument whereas the suppressed agents of the control verb and the participle need not be coreferential. Example (2) can be understood to convey that someone tries to arrange for the car to be repaired by someone else.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore complex predicate formation is not possible when the second verb has independent tense (Wurmbrand 2001, 79ff.) but the two verbs in CoPP may have different reference times.

- (19) Patienten forsøges nu opereret i morgen. (Da. Ørsnes 2006, 396)  
*patient.DEF tries now operated.PCP in morning*  
 ‘Someone is now trying to have the patient operated on tomorrow.’
- (20) Bilen bes flyttet før midnatt. (No. Lødrup 2014, 388)  
*car.DEF ask.PRES.PAS moved.PCP before midnight*  
 ‘We request that the car be moved before midnight.’

Another indication that CoPP does not involve complex predicate formation is the existence of examples like (21) where two participles are conjoined.<sup>11</sup>

- (21) Både bruk og ikke-bruk av varianter blir forsøkt foreslått og  
*both use and non-use of variants become tried.PCP suggested.PCP and*  
**forklart.** (No.)  
*explained.PCP*  
 ‘There is an attempt to suggest and explain both when variants are used and when they are not used.’

In the English translations I have followed Ørsnes (2006) and tried to convey the meaning by using a paraphrase which introduces an event of trying, recommending, forbidding etc. Overt agent phrases are possible but are seldom present. In many ways, sentences with CoPP resemble impersonal passives, i.e. passives where no argument is promoted to subject, and it is not surprising that CoPP is also found in impersonal passives.

- (22) a. Der forsøges arbejdet. (Da. Ørsnes 2006, 399)  
 EXPL *try.PAS worked.PCP*  
 ‘There is an attempt to work.’
- b. Det ble forsøkt syklet på vannet. (No. Faarlund et al. 1997, 852)  
 EXPL *became tried.PCP cycled.PCP on lake.DEF*  
 ‘There was an attempt to cycle on the lake.’
- c. Det ble forsøkt klaget til politiet. (No. Christensen 1991)  
 EXPL *became tried.PCP complained.PCP to police.DEF*  
 ‘There was an attempt to complain to the police.’

CoPP is also found in presentational sentences in Danish and Norwegian, provided that the pivot (the subject associate) is indefinite (Ørsnes 2006, 394).

- (23) a. Der **forsøges reparert** mindst tre biler om dagen. (Da.)  
 EXPL try.PAS repaired.PCP at least three cars in day.DEF  
 ‘They try to repair at least three cars in a day.’
- b. Det **ble forsøkt innhentet** flere opplysninger. (No. Faarlund  
 EXPL became tried.PCP collected.PCP more information  
 et al. 1997, 852)  
 ‘An attempt was made to collect more information.’

Note that unergative verbs may be used in impersonal passives, see (22), but not in presentational sentences.

- (24) a. \*Der **forsøges arbejdet** en mand. (Da.)  
 EXPL try.PRS.PAS worked a man
- b. \*Det **ble forsøkt syklet** en mann. (No.)  
 EXPL became tried cycled a man

The difference possibly has to do with whether the argument of the passive participle is expressed or not. CoPP with participles of unergative verb are unavailable when the argument is expressed, as in (14) and (24), but possible when the argument is suppressed, as in (22).<sup>12</sup>

As mentioned above, corresponding examples of CoPP in Swedish are blatantly ungrammatical with both passive types, see (3). The same holds for object control verbs as shown in (25).<sup>13</sup>

- (25) a. \*Boken **rekommenderades översatt**. (Sw.)  
 book.DEF recommend.PRET.PAS translated
- b. \*Nya avgifter **förbjuds införda**.  
 new fees forbid.PRS.PAS introduced

## 2.2 Semi-control

However with certain verbs that can be used as control verbs, the participle version is possible in Swedish as well. We have already seen an example with the verb *önska* ‘wish’ in (4), repeated here in (26). Another verb that is commonly used in the passive with a passive participle is *begära* ‘request’.<sup>14</sup>

- (26) Målet **önskas avgjort** innan fredag. (Sw.)  
 case.DEF wish.PRS.PAS decided before Friday  
 ‘It is desirable that the case be decided before Friday.’
- (27) a. Mannen **begärdes häktad** samma dag. (Sw. GP10)  
 man.DEF request.PRET.PAS arrested.PCP same day  
 ‘It was requested that the man be arrested the same day.’

- b. Uppgifter lagrade i sökmotorn kan **begäras** **bortplockade**.  
*information.PL stored in browser.DEF can request.PAS removed.PCP.PL*  
 (Sw. DN18)  
 ‘You may request that information stored in the search interface be removed.’

Unlike the strict control verbs discussed in Section 2.1, these verbs can, in the active, be construed with a finite complement.

- (28) *Polisen begärde att mannen skulle häktas.*  
*police.DEF requested that man.DEF should arrest.INF.PAS*  
 ‘The police requested that the man be arrested.’

When used with an infinitive, the understood subject must be controllable. Regular transitive verbs are infelicitous unless they are preceded by a verb like *få* ‘get’, see (29). This induces a control shift similar to examples with *promise*.<sup>15</sup> The infinitival complement can also be expressed as a *bli*-passive, as in (30).

- (29) a. \**Polisen begärde att häkta mannen.* (Sw.)  
*police.DEF requested to arrest man.DEF*  
 b. *Polisen begärde att få häkta mannen.*  
*police.DEF requested to get arrest man.DEF*  
 ‘The police requested to be allowed to arrest the man.’
- (30) *Mannen begär att (få) bli frikänd.* (Sw.)  
*man.DEF requests to (get) become acquitted*  
 ‘The man asks to be acquitted.’

When these verbs are used in the passive, only participles of agentive transitive verbs can be used, as in (27). Unaccusative or unergative participles are not possible.

- (31) a. \**Mannen **begärs** **omkommen**.* (Sw.)  
*man.DEF request.PRES.PAS perished.PCP*  
 b. \**Mannen **begärs** **arbetad**.*  
*man.DEF request.PRES.PAS worked.PCP*

In formal genres the active verb *begära* can take an overt object followed by a participle. It thus resembles an ECM-verb (Postal 1974), but note that it cannot combine with an infinitive.

- (32) a. *Polisen begärde mannen häktad.* (Sw.)  
*police.DEF requested man.DEF arrested.PCP*  
 ‘The police requested that the man be arrested.’  
 b. \**Polisen begärde mannen häktas /bli häktad.*  
*police.DEF requested man.DEF arrested.PAS.INF become.INF arrested.PCP*

The corresponding verbs in Danish and Norwegian also allow both a CoPP construction and an object plus participle, at least in formal genres, whereas infinitival small clauses are not used.<sup>16</sup>

- (33) a. Han vil **blive** **begæret** **udleveret** til Norge. (Da. BT91)  
*he will become requested.PCP extradited.PCP to Norway*  
 ‘There will be a request to have him extradited to Norway.’
- b. Dansk politi måtte derfor vente med at begære Olofsson arresteret.  
*Danish police must therefore wait with to request Olofsson arrested.PCP*  
 (Da. JyllP-98)  
 ‘Therefore the Danish police has to wait before they request that Olofsson be arrested.’
- c. \*Dansk politi måtte derfor vente med at begære Olofsson at  
*Danish police must therefore wait with to request Olofsson to*  
*blive arresteret.*  
*become arrested*
- (34) a. Mannen **ble** **begjært** **fengslet**. (No. Faarlund et al. (1997), 850)  
*man.DEF became request.PCP imprisoned.PCP*  
 ‘Someone has requested that the man be put in prison.’
- b. Alternativet er å begjære dem fengslet. (No. NoWaC)  
*alternative.DEF is to request them imprisoned.PCP*  
 ‘The alternative is to request that they be put in prison.’
- c. \*Alternativet er å begjære dem å bli fengslet.  
*alternative.DEF is to request them to become imprisoned.PCP*

Given that the examples with overt object plus participle are grammatical, the CoPP in (27), (33a) and (34a) can be analyzed as passivized ECM-constructions. For Swedish this seems to be a plausible analysis which brings out the fact that only verbs that can be construed with a participial small clause allow CoPP. Note that strict control verbs need to be distinguished from semi-control verbs in Danish and Norwegian as well as the former don’t allow overt objects.

- (35) \*Peter forsøger bilen repareret. (Da. Ørnesnes 2006, 389)  
*Peter tries car.DEF repaired.PCP*  
 Intended: ‘Peter is trying to repair the car.’
- (36) \*Peter forsøker bilen reparert. (No.)  
*Peter tries car.DEF repaired.PCP*

This presumably follows from the fact that strict control verbs only take infinitival complements with a controlled understood subject (PRO). Consequently there is no overt argument that can be raised to object.

Previous studies of CoPP in Danish and Norwegian have not observed the need to distinguish between strict control and semi-control verbs, but this turns out to be important when we bring Swedish into the picture. The fact that semi-control verbs with overt objects cannot be used with infinitival complements in any of the languages becomes relevant when it comes to distinguishing CoPP from non-local passives with raising passives.

### 3. Raising passives

At first glance the example in (37) looks like a CoPP but closer inspection reveals that it is not.

- (37) En journalist **påstås** **mördad** in Gaza. (Sw. GP07)  
*a journalist claim.PAS murdered.PCP in Gaza*  
 ‘It is claimed that a journalist has been murdered in Gaza.’

The verb *påstå* ‘claim’ is not a control verb. In the active it takes a finite complement, not an infinitive; the understood subject in (38b) cannot be identified since it is not controlled.

- (38) a. Man påstår att en journalist har försvunnit. (Sw.)  
*one claims that a journalist has disappeared*  
 ‘One claims that a journalist has disappeared.’  
 b. \*Man påstår (att) försvinna.  
*one claims to disappear*  
 Intended ‘People claim that they will disappear.’

In the passive this verb takes either a passive participle, as in (37), or an infinitive, active or passive, as in (39).

- (39) a. En journalist **påstås** ha försvunnit. (Sw.)  
*a journalist claim.PAS have disappeared*  
 ‘A journalist is claimed to have disappeared.’  
 b. En journalist **påstås** ha **blivit mördad**.  
*a journalist claim.PAS have become murdered*  
 ‘A journalist is claimed to have been murdered.’

The subject of the passive verb *påstås* is interpreted as the understood subject of the infinitive *ha* ‘have’. The construction thus resembles examples with a lexical subject-to-subject raising verb such as *verka* ‘seem’ in (40).

- (40) En journalist verkar ha försvunnit. (Sw.)  
*a journalist seems have disappeared*  
 ‘A journalist seems to have disappeared.’

Because of this similarity I refer to them as *raising passives*, short for verbs that in the passive resemble subject-to-subject raising verbs.<sup>17</sup> In the Latin grammar tradition, the term used for this construction was *Nominativus cum infinitivo* (NCI) (Noël & Coleman 2009), to be distinguished from *Accusativus cum infinitivo* (ACI), see below.

Raising passives are formed with verbs of communication and cognition. Ørsnes (2013) dubs them *reportive passive* since they typically “attribute a proposition to a (generally) unknown external source” (2013, 321). Raising passives are quite common in the Scandinavian languages and are found with around 50 verbs in Swedish (Lyngfelt 2011) and Danish (Ørsnes 2013). Faarlund et al. (1997, 1028) list

eleven verbs that can be used as raising passives, mainly in written *bokmål*.<sup>18</sup> Examples of verbs that often used as raising passives are given in (41), in their Swedish version.

- (41) *anse* ‘assume’, *anta* ‘assume’, *föreslå* ‘suggest’, *förmoda* ‘assume’, *påstå* ‘claim’, *rapportera* ‘report’, *säga* ‘say’, *tro* ‘believe’, *tycka* ‘think’, *vänta* ‘expect’

I first discuss raising passives with infinitives since they are better studied and then, in Section 3.2, raising passives with participles, as in (37).

### 3.1 Raising passive with infinitive

Schematically raising passives with infinitive have the following structure.

- (42) SUBJ V1<sub>PASS</sub> [VP V2<sub>INF</sub>]

As shown above, these verbs take a finite subordinate clause in the active, see (38a). The entire subordinate clause can be realized as the subject of the passive verb, as in (43a), although this is uncommon. The extraposed version in (43b) is somewhat more common, but the version where the subject has been raised out of an infinitival clause is most common, as in (39b), repeated here in (43c) (Lyngfelt 2011).<sup>19</sup>

- (43) a. Att en journalist har blivit mördad **påstås** på nyheterna. (Sw.)  
*that a journalist has become murdered claim.PAS on news.DEF*  
 ‘That a journalist has been murdered is claimed in the news.’
- b. Det **påstås** att en journalist har blivit mördad  
*it fear.PAS that a journalist has become murdered*  
 ‘It is claimed that a journalist has been murdered.’
- c. En journalist **påstås** ha **blivit mördad**.  
*a journalist claim.PAS have become murdered*  
 ‘A journalist is claimed to have been murdered.’

Like other raising verbs, raising passives do not assign a thematic role to the subject. If the embedded verb takes an expletive subject, so does the raising passive, and idiom chunks can appear as subjects.

- (44) a. Det **sägs** regna mycket i Bergen. (Sw.)  
*EXPL say.PAS rain.INF a lot in Bergen.*  
 ‘It is said to rain a lot in Bergen.’
- b. Måttet **påstås** vara rågat.  
*measure.DEF claim.PAS be filled*  
 ‘They claim to have had enough.’ [idiom]

These two tests can serve as diagnostics for distinguishing raising passives from passives with control verbs which are clearly ungrammatical with expletives and idiom chunks (Lødrup 2014, 372f.).

- (45) a. \*Det **försöks** regna mycket i Bergen. (Sw.)  
 EXPL try.PAS rain.INF a lot in Bergen.  
 b. \*Måttet **försöks** vara rågat.  
 measure.DEF try.PAS be filled

Swedish examples of raising passives are typically construed with a bare infinitive without infinitive marker, as shown in the examples above.<sup>20</sup>

In Danish raising passives, the overt infinitive marker *at* is used, see (46).

- (46) Motoren **forventes** at yde cirka 165 HK. (Da. KorpusDK)  
 motor.DEF expect.PASS to achieve around 165 HP  
 'The motor is expected to achieve approximately 165 HP.'

According to Faarlund et al. (1997), the infinitive marker *å* is used with Norwegian raising passives, see (47a), but there is actually variation and examples without *å* are also found, see (47b) and (47c).<sup>21</sup>

- (47) a. Det nye året **ventes** ikke å bli fredeligere. (No.)  
 the new year.DEF wait.PASS not to become more peaceful  
 Faarlund et al. 1997, 1027  
 'The new year is not expected to be more peaceful.'  
 b. EDB **ventes** levere solide overskudd. (No. NoWaC)  
 EDB wait.PASS deliver solid surplus  
 'EDB is expected to deliver a solid surplus.'  
 c. Det er vanskelig å skille mellom de produkter som virkelig  
 EXPL is difficult to distinguish between those products that really  
 er naturlige og de som bare **påstås** være det. (No. NoWaC)  
 are natural and those that only claim.PASS be it  
 'It is difficult to distinguish between products that really are natural and those that are only claimed to be natural.'

In all three languages, only *s*-passives are used productively; the *bli*-passive is seldom used with raising passives.

- (48) \*Motoren **bliver forventet** at yde 165 HK. (Da.)  
 motor.DEF becomes expect.PCP to achieve around 165 HP  
 (49) \*Det nye året **blir** ikke **ventet** å bli fredeligere. (No.)  
 the new year.DEF becomes not expected.PCP to become more peaceful  
 (50) \*En journalist **blir påstådd** ha försvunnit. (Sw.)  
 a journalist becomes claimed.PCP have disappeared

Most of the raising passives in (41) can only be used as subject-to-subject raising verbs and cannot be construed with overt objects in the active.

- (51) a. \*De forventer ham at komme. (Da. Ørsnes 2013, 328)  
*they expect him to come*  
 b. \*De siger ham at komme.  
*they say him to come*
- (52) a. \*Vi påstod dem ha forsvunnit. (Sw.)  
*we claimed them have disappeared*  
 b. \*Vi säger det regna ofta i Bergen.  
*we say it rain often in Bergen*

In this respect the raising passives behave like *say* in contemporary English which can be construed with an infinitival clause in the passive but does not admit an overt object, see Los (2009), 119f. and Noël & Colleman (2009).

- (53) a. He **was said** to have disappeared with the money.  
 b. \*They said him to have disappeared with the money.

However, a few raising passives can be used in the active with an object plus an infinitival complement, i.e. the construction known as accusative with infinitive (ACI) or exceptional case marking (ECM), see e.g. Postal (1974) and Lødrup (2008).

- (54) a. Han **ansågs** vara komplett galen. (Sw. Lyngfelt 2011)  
*he consider.PAS be completely crazy*  
 'He was considered completely crazy.'  
 b. Många ansåg honom vara komplett galen.  
*many considered him be completely crazy*  
 'Many considered him to be completely crazy.'
- (55) a. Dette **anses** å være en fordel. (No. Lødrup 2008)  
*this consider.PAS to be an advantage*  
 'This is considered to be an advantage.'  
 b. Internett-brukerne anser dette å være en fordel.  
*internet-users.DEF consider this to be an advantage*  
 'The internet users consider this to be an advantage.'

The corresponding Danish verb is construed with an object and a prepositional complement.

- (56) a. Han **anses** for at være en forræder.  
*he consider.PAS for to be a traitor.*  
 b. Man anser ham for at være en forræder. (Ørsnes 2013, 328)  
*one considers him for to be a traitor*  
 'People consider him to be a traitor.'

Given that the verb *anse* can be used in the active with an overt object, the passive versions can be analyzed as subject to object raising followed by regular passive. However, the majority of raising passives are not ECM-verbs and do not take overt

objects in the active.<sup>22</sup> For this reason I follow Lyngfelt (2011) and Ørsnes (2013) and analyze most of the raising passives as instances of subject-to-subject raising, not as passivized ECM constructions. Note furthermore that when the exceptional verb *anse* is used with an overt object, the infinitival V2 is practically always a copula verb. The other raising passive verbs are used with a variety of V2 verbs as shown in the examples.

### 3.2 Raising passive with participle

What has seldom been made explicit in the literature is that passive raising verbs also can be used with passive participles, abbreviated **RaPP**, with the following structure.

(57) **RaPP:** SUBJ V1<sub>PASS</sub> [VP V2<sub>PCP</sub>]

This structure is identical to the one given for CoPP in (5) and this may have led some researchers to include such examples among CoPP (complex passives), (see e.g. Engh 1994; Faarlund et al. 1997; Hellan 2001). Others distinguish them from CoPP, see e.g. Christensen (1991, 47) and Ørsnes (2006, 389).

All the verbs listed in (41) can be used with passive participles, with varying frequency. The Swedish example in (37) is repeated here as (58), followed by Danish and Norwegian examples.<sup>23</sup>

(58) En journalist **påstås mördad** in Gaza. (Sw. GP07)  
*a journalist claim.PAS murdered.PCP.SG.CN in Gaza*  
 'It is claimed that a journalist has been murdered in Gaza.'

(59) Forslagene **forventes vedtaget.** (Da.)  
*proposals.DEF expect.PAS adopt.PCP.SG.NEUT*  
 'The proposals are expected to be adopted.'

(60) Arbeidene **ventes avsluttet** innen 8. august. (No. Faarlund  
*works.DEF expect.PAS finished.PCP.SG.NEUT before 8 August*  
 et al. 1997, 850)  
 'The works are expected to be finished before August 8.'

Recall that in the active, these verbs take a finite complement without imposing any constraints on the type of subject or verb. In the raising passive construction only transitive verbs and unaccusative intransitive verbs are possible, as noted by Engh (1994) who gives the pair of examples in (61).

(61) a. Norsk kaptein **antas druknet.** (No. Engh, 1994, 104)  
*Norwegian captain assume.PAS drowned.PCP*  
 'It is assumed that a Norwegian captain has drowned.'

b. \*Gro **antas ledd.**  
*Gro assume.PAS laughed.PCP*  
 Intended: 'It is assumed that Gro has laughed.'

Just as with control verbs, this restriction presumably follows from the argument structure of the participle; participles of unergative verbs cannot be predicated of the single argument, see (14), (Hellan 2001; Platzack 2010).

- (62) a. en druknet kaptein (No.)  
       a drowned captain  
       b. \*en ledd dame  
       a laughed lady

Most verbs that can be used in the RaPP construction do not take overt objects plus participle in the active.<sup>24</sup>

- (63) \*De siger forslaget vedtaget. (Da.)  
       they say proposal.DEF adopted.PCP  
       (64) \*Vi venter arbeidene avsluttet innen 8. august (No.)  
       we expect works.DEF finished.PCP before 8 August  
       (65) \*Vi påstod journalisten mördad. (Sw.)  
       we claimed journalist.DEF murdered.PCP

The exceptional verb *anse*, which can be used with an overt object plus infinitive in all three languages as discussed in Section 3.1, can also be used with object plus participle. In the majority of the cases, the object is a reflexive pronoun, as in (66) (Lyngfelt 2011).

- (66) Hon anser sig mobbad, motarbetad och diskriminerad. (Sw. BM07)  
       she considers REFL bullied.PCP, opposed.PCP and discriminated.PCP  
       ‘She considers herself being bullied, opposed and discriminated.’

A few examples with non-reflexive objects were found in the corpus searches. In (67) *det* is an anticipating expletive for the extraposed infinitival clause.

- (67) Man kanske ansett det uteslutet att använda rött. (Sw. BM07)  
       one maybe considered it excluded.PCP to use red  
       ‘Maybe people had considered it impossible to use red.’

### 3.3 Summary

Raising passives are used in all three languages. They differ from both strict and semi-control verbs in that they can take expletive subjects and raised idiom chunks. The main criterion is whether V1 can be used as a control verb or not. None of the verbs in (41) can take an infinitival complement in the active whereas they often do in the passive.

Semantically raising and control passives differ in perspective; raising passives typically report on a state of affairs, a proposition, whereas control and semi-control verbs express a relation to a future state of affairs.<sup>25</sup> There are a few verbs which can

do both and which take both sentential and infinitival complements. One such verb is *frygte, frykte, frukta* 'fear'. In all three languages this verb can in the active be used with both complement types, with sentential complements being more frequent. See the Norwegian examples in (68).

- (68) a. Forskerne frykter at en hel generasjon mobilbrukere kan rammes av tidlig aldring i hjernen. (No. NoWaC)  
 'The researchers fear that a whole generation mobile phone users may be hit by early aging of the brain.'
- b. Godt over halvparten svarer at de ikke frykter å bli rammet av arbeidsledighet etter endt skolegang. (No. NoWaC)  
 'Well over half reply that they don't fear being hit by unemployment after finishing school.'

This verb can also be used as a raising passive in all three languages and in Danish and Norwegian it is found with passive participles.

- (69) a. Flere tonn bunkersolje **fryktes** å ha lekket ut. (No. NoWaC)  
*several tons crude oil fear.PAS to have leaked out*  
 'It is feared that several tons of crude oil have leaked.'
- b. Sju fiskere **fryktes omkommet**. (No. NoWaC)  
*seven fishermen fear.PAS perished.PCP*  
 'It is feared that seven fishermen have perished.'
- c. \*Sju fiskere **blir fryktet omkommet**.  
*seven fishermen become fear.PCP perished.PCP*

Given that the verb is frequently used in the *s*-passive as a raising passive, it seems plausible that the example in (69b) should be analyzed as a RaPP construction and not as a CoPP with an unaccusative verb, as has sometimes been assumed (Eng 1994). The fact that the *bli*-passive is not possible, (69c), further supports the RaPP analysis, compare (49).<sup>26</sup> We can thus maintain our generalization in Section 2 that CoPP is only found with controllable transitive verbs. Raising passives do not impose any selection on the type of verb in the complement.

#### 4. The Swedish strategy

Let us return to the strict control passives in Danish and Norwegian and consider what message they convey. The Danish example in (7b) is repeated here as (70).

- (70) Kampen **bliver forsøgt genoptaget** klokken 11 mandag formiddag.  
*match.DEF becomes attempted.PCP resumed.PCP clock.DEF 11 Monday AM*  
 (Da. politiken.dk)  
 'There will be an attempt to resume the match at 11 o'clock on Monday.'

The message is that there are plans to try to resume the match at a later time. We have seen that this cannot be expressed with a CoPP construction in Swedish, see (3) and (25), but the same message can be conveyed by an active strict control verb followed by a passive infinitive. I refer to this construction as CoPI.

(71) CoPI: SUBJ V1<sub>ACT</sub> [VP V2<sub>INF.PASS</sub>]

I start by looking at this construction in modern Swedish and show in Section 4.2 that it is not a raising construction. I end by tracing its historical origin in Section 4.3.

#### 4.1 Present-day Swedish

Examples like (72a) are occasionally found in Swedish texts.<sup>27</sup>

- (72) a. Nu ska lasten **försöka bärgas**. (Sw. GP04)  
*now shall cargo.DEF try salvage.INF.PAS*  
 ‘There will now be an attempt to salvage the cargo.’
- b. \*Lasten ska försöka **bli bärgad**.  
*cargo.DEF shall try become salvaged.PCP*
- c. \*Lasten ska försöka **bärgad**.  
*cargo.DEF shall try salvaged.PCP*

Note that neither the version with *bli*-passive in (72b) nor the bare passive participle in (72c) is grammatical. Many of the hits are from unedited informal blog texts.

- (73) a. Den bär tydliga spår av att ha **försökt strimlas** i en  
*it carries clear marks of to have tried shred.INF.PAS in a*  
 dokumentförstörare. (Sw. BM10)  
*document destroyer*  
 ‘It shows clear marks of someone having tried to put it through a document shredder.’
- b. något som **försökt hemlighållas**. (Sw. BM06)  
*something that tried keep secret.INF.PAS*  
 ‘something that people have tried to keep secret.’
- c. Livet ska **försöka levas** på ett så lyckligt vis som  
*life.DEF shall try live.INF.PAS on a such happy manner as*  
 möjligt. (Sw. BM14)  
*possible*  
 ‘One should try to live as happily as possible.’

But the construction is also found in edited newspaper texts from both Sweden and Finland.

- (74) a. Det innebar också att de svartas kultur och identitet förringades  
*it meant also that the black.GEN culture and identity diminished.PAS*  
 och **försökte suddas ut**. (Sw. GP03)  
*and tried erase.INF.PAS PART*  
 ‘This also meant that there was an attempt to diminish and erase the culture and the identity of the black people.’
- b. Hans uttalanden har sedan **försökt mildras** av andra i den  
*his statements have then tried soften.PAS.INF of others in the*  
 holländska regeringen. (Sw. GP04)  
*Dutch government.DEF*  
 ‘There has been an attempt by others to mitigate his statements in the Dutch government.’

- c. ... föreskrifter om att offer för trafikolyckor i första hand  
*instructions about that victims for traffic accidents in first hand*  
 skall **försöka stabiliseras** på plats. (FSw. Hufv.bl.98)  
*shall try stabilize.PAS.INF on place*  
 'instructions that one should primarily try to stabilize victims of traffic accidents on the site'

The construction can also be found in legal texts which presumably have been carefully worded. This suggests that it has become part of standard language, although rather infrequently used.

- (75) ... att anta att penningtvätt [...] har ägt rum eller har  
*to assume that money laundering has owned room or has*  
**försökt genomföras** [...]. (Sw. SFS 2010)  
*tried carry out.PAS.INF*  
 '... to assume that money laundering has taken place or that there has been an attempt to do so ...'

The construction is most common with *försöka* but occasional examples are found with the verbs *söka* 'seek' and *våga* 'dare'.<sup>28</sup>

- (76) a. Problem av detta slag måste alltid aktivt **söka lösas**. (Sw. GP07)  
*problems of this kind must always actively seek solve.PAS.INF*  
 'One should always seek to solve problems of this kind actively.'  
 b. ett önskemål om att samförstånd skall **söka nås** med  
*a wish about that agreement shall seek reach.PAS.INF with*  
 markägare. (FSw. Syd-Öst12)  
*land owners*  
 'a wish that one should seek to arrive at an agreement with land owners'
- (77) a. Det är en blandning av sanningar som inte **vågar luftas** i nyktert  
*it is a mixture of truths that not dare air.PAS.INF in sober*  
 tillstånd. (Sw. BM07)  
*state*  
 'It is a mixture of truths that nobody dares express when sober.'  
 b. Fredrik Reinfeldt har varit tydlig med att ett parti måste ständigt  
*Fredrik Reinfeldt has been clear with that a party must constantly*  
 förnyas och politiken måste **våga omprövas**. (Sw. BM09)  
*renew.PAS.INF and politic.DEF must dare reevaluate.PAS.INF*  
 'Fredrik Reinfeldt has been very clear that a party has to be constantly renewed and that one must dare reevaluate the politics.'

CoPI in Swedish seems to be restricted to a few strict control verbs and there are no indications that the construction is spreading to semantically similar verbs. It has not been attested with the verbs *orka* 'have enough energy to' or *slippa* 'avoid, not have to', and the constructed examples in (78) do not seem acceptable.

- (78) a. \*Lasten **orkar** inte **lossas** nu. (Sw.)  
*load.DEF has the energy unload.PAS.INF now*  
 Intended: 'Nobody has the energy to unload the cargo now.'

- b. \*Lasten **slipper lossas.**  
*load.DEF not has to unload.PAS.INF*  
 Intended: 'The cargo doesn't have to be unloaded.'

The construction has not been found with object control verbs, like *rekommendera*, or with semi-control verbs like *begära* 'request'.

- (79) a. \*Boken ska **rekommendera översättas.** (Sw.)  
*book.DEF shall recommend translate.INF.PAS*  
 b. \*Mannen ska **begära häktas.**  
*man.DEF shall request arrest.INF.PAS*

As shown by the paraphrases, the interpretations of the examples in (73)–(77) resemble the interpretations given for the CoPP examples in Danish and Norwegian. A further indication that the CoPI construction is functionally equivalent to the Danish and Norwegian CoPP is that it can be used in presentational sentences, see (80), and impersonal passives, see (81) (slightly adapted from a blog example).

- (80) a. Det ska **försöka byggas** elbilar /\*elbilarna i Trollhättan. (Sw.)  
*EXPL shall try build.INF.PAS cars/ cars.DEF in Trollhättan.*  
 'There will be an attempt to build electric cars in Trollhättan.'  
 b. och på något vis ska det **försöka klämmas** in lite annat  
*and on some way shall EXPL try squeeze.INF.PAS PART little other*  
*också* (Sw. BM07)  
*also*  
 'and somehow there will be an attempt to squeeze in some other stuff too'

- (81) Det **försökte tjoas** på läktaren. (Sw.)  
*EXPL tried cheer.PAS.INF on stand.DEF*  
 'There were attempts to cheer in the stands.'

#### 4.1.1 Animacy

All the examples of the CoPI construction in Swedish given so far have inanimate subjects or the expletive *det*. This presumably blocks the ordinary control interpretation as inanimate referents cannot be agents of *försöka*.<sup>29</sup> But animate subjects are possible if the context makes it clear that someone else is responsible for making the attempt.

- (82) Ytterligare två medarbetare ska **försöka rekryteras** till IT-avdelningen. (Sw.)  
*another two employees shall try recruit.PAS.INF to IT department.DEF*  
 'There will be an attempt to recruit two more employees to the IT department.'

There is an interesting interaction with the choice of passive form. In a regular control construction with a passive infinitival complement, the *bli*-passive is strongly preferred in Swedish, see Engdahl (2006, 32) from where the examples in (83) are taken (see also (30)).

- (83) a. Representanten försökte **bli omvald.** (Sw.)  
*representative.DEF tried become reelected.PCP*  
 ‘The representative tried to be reelected.’
- b. ??Representanten försökte **väljas om.**  
*representative.DEF tried reelect.INF.PASS PART*

As mentioned above in Section 2, control verbs presuppose that the subject has some control over the situation. In (83a), the subject is understood to have acted in a way so that s/he would be reelected, whereas this interpretation is not available for (83b). The use of *s*-passives in the CoPI construction thus contributes to the interpretation that someone else is responsible for bringing about the event.

In Danish and Norwegian as well, most of the attested examples of CoPP have inanimate subjects, but animate subjects are possible.<sup>30</sup>

- (84) Personer som har uttrykt sin motstand mot rasisme [...] (No. NoWaC)  
*people that have expressed REFL.POSS resistance against racism*  
 har **blitt forsøkt stanset.**  
*have become tried.PCP stopped.PCP*  
 ‘There has been an attempt to stop people who have expressed being against racism.’
- (85) Han **blev forsøgt arresteret.** (Da. KorpusDK)  
*he became tried.PCP arrested.PCP*  
 ‘There was an attempt to arrest him.’

One further observation can be made here. In the CoPI examples, the control verbs are often modified by temporal or modal auxiliaries, see e.g. (82). With an unmodified verb, the example is somewhat less acceptable.

- (86) ?Ytterligere två medarbetare **försöker rekryteras** till IT-avdelningen.  
*another two employees try recruit.PAS.INF to IT department.DEF*  
 ‘There is an attempt to recruit two more employees to the IT department.’

The auxiliaries *ska* ‘shall’ and *måste* ‘must’ are common in CoPI examples. It may be that these auxiliaries add an indirectness that helps block the regular control assignment.

#### 4.2 Has ‘försöka’ become a raising verb in Swedish?

The syntactic frame in (71) resembles that of a lexical raising verb like *verka* ‘seem’.

- (87) Lasten verkar lossas nu. (Sw.)  
*load.DEF seem unload.PAS.INF now*  
 ‘The cargo seems to be unloaded now.’

One hypothesis that comes to mind is that *försöka*, *söka* and *våga* have developed into auxiliary-like raising verbs in present-day Swedish, similar to aspectual auxiliaries like *börja* ‘begin’, *sluta* ‘end’ and *fortsätta* ‘continue’. In present-day Swedish these verbs allow raised subjects.

- (88) Lasten började lossas följande dag. (Sw.)  
*load.DEF began unload.PAS.INF following day*  
 ‘The cargo began to be unloaded the following day.’

Bylin (2013) has studied what she calls the auxiliation process of these verbs in the history of Swedish.<sup>31</sup> The oldest examples with *börja* ‘begin’ have animate subjects, (89a), but quite early the verb starts to be used with inanimate subjects, as in (89b). Expletive subjects, (89c), turn up around 1750 and around the same time Bylin finds the first examples with a passive infinitive, (89d).<sup>32</sup>

- (89) a. Och alla började då gråta. (Sw. about 1400)  
*and all began then cry*  
 ‘And then everybody began to cry.’
- b. Kitteln började koka över. (Sw. 1430)  
*kettle.DEF began boil over*  
 ‘The kettle began to boil over.’
- c. det började at molna (Sw. 1753)  
*EXPL began to cloud over*  
 ‘It began to cloud over.’
- d. när skepp med däck började byggas (Sw. 1757)  
*when ships with deck began build.PAS.INF*  
 ‘when ships with decks began to be built’

However, *försöka* does not undergo this development, as Bylin shows. It does not accept an inanimate subject with an active infinitive, nor can it be used with a weather expletive.

- (90) a. \*Kitteln försökte koka över. (Sw.)  
*kettle.DEF tried boil over*
- b. \*Lasten ska försöka anlända.  
*cargo.DEF shall try arrive*
- c. \*Det försökte regna i går.  
*it tried rain yesterday*

Holmberg (2002), 122 cites the presentational example in (91) as evidence that *försöka* has undergone restructuring to a raising verb which can take an expletive subject.

- (91) Det försökte komma en massa studenter. (Sw.)  
*EXPL tried come a bunch students*  
 ‘There were a lot of students who tried to come.’

However *försöka* still requires the pivot (subject associate) to be animate which means it is still a control verb, as noted by Wiklund (2005, 45) who contrasts (91) with (92).<sup>33</sup>

- (92) \*Det försökte komma in vatten i källaren. (Sw.)  
*EXPL tried come in water in basement.DEF*

Wiklund also points out that *försöka* cannot be used with an idiom, unlike true raising verbs.

- (93) a. Måttet verkade vara rågat. (Sw.)  
*measure.DEF seemed be full*  
 ‘They seemed to have had enough.’ [idiom]
- b. \*Måttet försökte vara rågat.  
*measure.DEF tried be full*

I conclude that the control verbs we find in the CoPI construction in Swedish are indeed control verbs and have not turned into raising verbs. In Norwegian and Danish, the CoPI construction is rare and most examples are judged to be ungrammatical. As expected the CoPP version is preferred.<sup>34</sup>

- (94) a. \*Slike ting **forsøker** ofte å **gjøres**. (No. Lødrup 2014, 371)  
*such things try often to do.INF.PAS*
- b. Slike ting **blir** ofte **forsøkt** **gjort**.  
*such things become often tried.PCP done.PCP*  
 ‘One often tries to do such things.’
- (95) a. \*Disse ting **forsøger** ofte at **gøres**. (Da.)  
*such things try often to do.INF.PAS*
- b. Disse ting **bliver** ofte **forsøgt** **gjort**.  
*these things become often tried.PCP done.PCP*  
 ‘One often tries to do these things.’

### 4.3 Historical development

Engh (1994) includes a survey of the emergence of non-local passive constructions in Norwegian.<sup>35</sup> He traces the first appearances of strict control verbs with passive participles to the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. The first verbs to be used are *søke* ‘seek’, attested in 1761, and *forsøke* ‘try’ from 1837 (Engh 1994, 302 fn 15).<sup>36</sup>

- (96) (...) forinden samme hos ham maate **søges** **betalt** (...) (No. 1761)  
*before same with him must seek.PAS paid.PCP.*  
 ‘before there had to be an attempt have the same paid for him’
- (97) Arbeidet skal **forsøges** **bortliciteret** eller **bortaccorderet** (No. 1837)  
*work.DEF shall try.PAS away-given.PCP or outsourced.PCP*  
 ‘There will be an attempt to have the work given away or outsourced.’

During the 19th century the CoPP construction became noticeably more frequent. Engh (1994, 283) attributes this to the growth of newspapers and in particular to the increased use of advertisements.

Corpus searches for corresponding *s*-passive forms of *söka* and *försöka* followed by a passive participle in the Swedish historical corpora in *Korp* (1,35 G) yielded no

examples but there were a few examples with *bli*-passive, both from the newspaper *Aftonbladet*.<sup>37</sup>

- (98) En förklaring i afseende derpå har väl **blifvit lämnad** och en  
*an explanation in respect thereon has PRT become left.PCP and a*  
 vederläggning deraf **försökt intagen** uti ett bihang ... (Aftonbladet 1834)  
*refutation thereof tried.PCP entered.PCP in a supplement*  
 ‘An explanation for this has been provided and there has been an attempt to have  
 a refutation of this printed in a supplement.’
- (99) Exemplet från Norge der under kort på hvarandra följande  
*exempl. DEF from Norway where during short on each other following*  
 tidsperioder denna frihet **blifvit försökt öfvergifven** ... (Aftonbladet 1859)  
*time periods this freedom become tried.PCP abandoned.PCP*  
 ‘The example from Norway where within a short period of time there had been  
 an attempt to abandon this freedom ...’

There were no examples from later periods, nor from other genres. I take this as an indication that CoPP did not become established in Swedish at the time when it increased rapidly in Norwegian. However, in the historical corpora I found around 30 examples of the CoPI construction with active *söka*, *försöka* or *våga*, followed by a passive infinitive.<sup>38</sup>

- (100) Säkra underrättelser **söka erhållas** om fiendens ställning  
*reliable informations seek obtain. INF. PAS about enemy. DEF. GEN position*  
 (P&I 1807)  
 ‘An attempt is made to get reliable information about the enemy’s position.’
- (101) Den allmänna uppmärksamhet som under riksdagen **försökte** att  
*the general attention that during parliament. DEF tried to*  
**fästas** vid Ständernes beslut ... (Aftonbladet 1836)  
*draw. INF. PAS on party. DEF. GEN decision*  
 ‘An attempt is made to draw people’s attention to the decision made by the parties  
 in the parliament.’
- (102) Ett beslag på åtskilliga waror, som **försökt insmuglas** bland  
*a seizure on several goods that tried smuggle. INF. PAS among*  
 Preussiske Ministerns effekter, (Jönköpingsbladet 1850)  
*Preussian minister. DEF. GEN belongings*  
 ‘A seizure of merchandise that someone had tried to smuggle in among the  
 Prussian minister’s luggage’
- (103) ... fortsatte den att stiga ännu hastigare, utan att någon gas **vågade**  
*continued it to rise even faster without that any gas dared*  
**utsläppas** (Post & Inrikes 1851)  
*let out. INF. PAS*  
 ‘it (the balloon) continued to rise even faster without anybody daring to let  
 out any gas’

The following example is one of only a few with an overt agent phrase:

- (104) En falsk 5 riksdalerssedel [...] har af en nu arresterad bonddräng  
*a false 5 daler bill has by a now arrested farmhand*  
**försökt utpräglas.** (Jönköpingsbladet 1866)  
*tried circulate.INF.PAS*  
 ‘A farmhand, now arrested, has tried to use a false 5 daler bill.’

We noticed above that most of the modern examples of CoPI have an inanimate subject, i.e. a subject that cannot be interpreted as the agent of the control verb. The same is true for most of the examples from the 19th century with a few exceptions. In (105) the subject is *alla* ‘everybody’.

- (105) Däråf följer dock icke att alla, huller om buller, må **försöka**  
*thereof follows however not att all helter skelter must try*  
**tvingas** att gifta sig. (Kalmar 1908)  
*force.INF.PAS to marry REFL*  
 ‘But it doesn’t follow that we must attempt to force everyone to get married  
 helter skelter.’

However, the meaning is clear: someone else must not try to force everybody to get married in a rush. Similarly in (106), it is someone else who tries to win over the military on their side.

- (106) Militären **söker vinnas** genom eftergifter. (Kalmar 1905)  
*military.DEF tries win.INF.PAS through concessions*  
 ‘Someone tries to win over the military through concessions.’

It is maybe not surprising that the CoPI construction started to spread during the 19th century when several other control verbs began to be used as raising verbs, allowing an underlying object of a passive infinitive to raise to become subject. We have seen this development with aspectual verbs like *börja* ‘begin’ in (89d). Even more common is this pattern with *hinna* ‘have time to’ (about 12 000 hits in the historical corpus, 1,3 G).

- (107) Jag måste djupt beklaga att stridigheterna mellan Holland och  
*I must deeply regret that fighting.DEF.PL between Holland and*  
 Belgien ännu icke **hunnit biläggas** (Sw. Aftonbladet 1834)  
*Belgium still not had time settle.INF.PAS*  
 ‘I deeply regret that there has not yet been time to stop the fighting between  
 Holland and Belgium.’

But recall that the CoPI verbs have not developed into raising verbs, see Section 4.2.

#### 4.4 Summary

The CoPI construction in Swedish seems to correspond quite closely to the CoPP construction in Danish and Norwegian. Nevertheless the CoPI construction has not



is in the passive, as in (110). If V2 is not passive, then only active forms of *behöva* are possible.<sup>40</sup>

- (112) a. Uppgifterna behöver vara klara i morgon. (Sw.)  
*information.PL.DEF need be ready.PL tomorrow*  
 ‘The information needs to be ready tomorrow.’  
 b. \*Uppgifterna **behövs** vara klara i morgon.  
*information.PL.DEF need.PAS be ready.PL tomorrow*

Unlike the raising passive in (111), double passives only involve one passive predicate, as Julien & Lødrup (2013) point out. Only the main verb, V2, is passivized and the passive feature has spread from V2 to V1.<sup>41</sup>

Julien & Lødrup (2013) also note that double passives are only found with inanimate subjects and constructed examples with animate subjects are judged to be strange.

- (113) a. Håret **trengs** ikke å **vaskes** hver eneste dag. (No. Julien &  
*hair.DEF needs.PAS not to wash.PAS every single day*  
 Lødrup 2013, 236)  
 ‘The hair need not be washed every single day.’  
 b. ?Ola **trengs** ikke å **vaskes** hver eneste dag.  
*Ola needs.PAS not to wash.PAS every single day*  
 Intended: ‘Ola need not be washed every single day.’

They suggest that this may be a consequence of the preference for inanimate subjects with *s*-passive, see Engdahl (2006) and Laanemets (2012).

Double passive is also found with temporal and aspectual auxiliaries in all three languages, see Julien & Lødrup (2013) for frequencies. In Swedish V2 is practically always an *s*-passive, but in Norwegian V2 can also be a *bli*-passive.

- (114) Hans musikk vil likevel **fortsettes** å **bli spilt** over hele  
*his music will still continue.PAS to become played.PCP over whole*  
 verden. (No. Julien & Lødrup 2013, 234)  
*world*  
 ‘Still, his music will continue to be played over the whole world.’

Double passives are mainly found in informal, unedited texts. The example in (115) was part of a recorded message. The future auxiliary *komma* has a doubled *s*-form which is otherwise not used.

- (115) %Ditt samtal kan **kommas** att **spelas in**. (Sw. telephone 2021)  
*your call can come.PAS to play.PAS in*  
 ‘Your call may be recorded.’

Normative grammars frown on double passives but they seem to have been in use for a long time, as Julien & Lødrup (2013) note. The earliest examples are from the 15th and 16th centuries and the construction becomes rather common during

the 19th century. Given that the passive form of V1 is dependent on V2 being passive, it seems likely that the passive feature spreads from V2 to V1.<sup>42</sup>

## 6. Long passives

In Section 2.1 we looked at passive control verbs like *forsøkes* with passive participles, CoPP. But passive control verbs can also be used with a passive infinitive, as in the Norwegian examples in (116) from Lødrup (2014, 368).

- (116) a. Klimaproblemene må **forsøkes** å **løses**. (No.)  
*climate.problems.DEF must try.PAS to solve.INF.PAS*  
 ‘One must try to solve the climate problems.’
- b. at vaskemaskinen må **huskes** å **slås** på (No.)  
*that washing.machine.DEF must remember.PAS to turn.INF.PAS on*  
 ‘that you should remember to turn the washing machine on’

Lødrup (2014) takes the examples in (116) to be instances of *long passive* in which two verbs are reanalyzed as one complex predicate and the internal argument of V2 is promoted to subject of V1, see Wurmbrand (2001). Other terms for this phenomenon is *long-distance passives* (Bader & Schmid 2009) and *long object movement* (Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2022). Long passives with infinitival V2 are found in several European languages, including German and French (Wurmbrand 2001; Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017; Hobæk Haff & Lødrup 2016), as well as in many Austronesian languages (Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2022). In the European languages, the matrix verb, V1, is always passive and the embedded verb, V2, is an infinitive. In German this infinitive is active, see (117), in French, it can be either active or passive, see (118). In all cases the subject corresponds to the internal argument of the embedded infinitive.

- (117) dass der Traktor zu **reparieren** **versucht** **wurde**  
*that the.NOM tractor to repair.INF.ACT tried.PCP became*  
 (Ge. Wurmbrand 2001, 19)  
 ‘that they tried to repair the tractor’
- (118) a. Mon article n’est pas **fini** de **rédiger**. (Fr. Hobæk Haff &  
*my article NEG is not finished.PCP to edit.INF.ACT*  
 Lødrup 2016, 154)  
 ‘They haven’t finished editing my article.’
- b. Mon article n’est pas **fini** **d’être** **rédigé**.  
*my article NEG is not finished.PCP to be edited.PCP*

Long passives differ from double passives in that it is V1 that must be passive. In double passives it is the other way round; V2 must be passive. Double passives in Scandinavian are mainly found with temporal and modal auxiliaries whereas long passives can be used with both aspectual and control verbs, see the overview for German in Wurmbrand (2001, 327).

Using corpora and native speaker intuitions, Lødrup shows that in Norwegian, long passive is found with several different control verbs, including verbs that cannot be used in CoPP. For example the verb *huske* ‘remember’ can be used in long passives but not in CoPP, compare (116b) and (119).

- (119) \*Forsøket            **huskes**            **utført**            i Bergen.            (No.)  
*experiment.DEF remember.PAS conducted.PCP in Bergen*

As shown by the German and French examples above, the passive feature can be realized on both V1 and V2 or just on V1 in long passives. Lødrup shows that this applies to Norwegian long passives as well. In addition to examples like (116), there are parallel examples where V2 is active, as in (120).

- (120) en slik situasjon bør            **forsøkes**            å **gjøre** noe            med (No.)  
*a such situation ought.to try.INF.PAS to do.INF something with*  
 Lødrup 2014, 373)  
 ‘One should try to do something about this kind of situation.’

Lødrup (2014) takes this as evidence that the examples in (116) arise through voice agreement, optional spreading of the passive feature from V1 to V2. Part of his evidence for this analysis comes from the existence of similar feature spreading with active verbs, as in (121a). Here V1 is a supine, an active perfect participle, and this feature has spread to the embedded V2; the expected form would be an infinitive.

- (121) a. Har som regel **klart**            å **vært** venner med exer.            (No.)  
*have as rule managed.SUP to be.SUP friends with exes*  
 Lødrup 2014, 383)  
 ‘(I) have usually managed to be friends with ex partners.’  
 b. Har som regel **klart**            å **være** venner med exer.  
*have as rule managed.PCP to be.INF friends with exes*

In the around 100 examples of long passives that Lødrup (2014) found, V1 is most often an *s*-passive, but *bli*-passives are possible. V2 is most often also an *s*-passive. He notes that examples with long passive vary in acceptability, both within and across speakers. Nevertheless they have been used at least since the 19th century, see (122) from the Norwegian newspaper *Morgenbladet* in 1843, supplied by Helge Lødrup.

- (122) Omstændigheder, der naturligviis ved Embedets            Besættelse ikke  
*circumstances that of course by position.DEF.GEN filling not*  
 kunne **undlades**            at **tages**            i Betragtning            (No.)  
*can avoid.INF.PAS to take.INF.PAS in consideration*  
 ‘circumstances that it is of course not possible to avoid considering when the position is filled’

Examples that resemble the Norwegian examples in (116) can be found in Danish and Swedish as well. In Danish the construction is found with *huskes* ‘be remembered’ and *ønskes* ‘be desired’.

- (123) a. Det skal bare **huskes** at **gøres** med måde. (Da.  
*it should just remember.PAS.INF to do.PAS.INF with moderation*  
 Lødrup 2014, 378)  
 ‘One should just remember to do it with moderation.’
- b. i modsætning til det billede, som ellers **ønskes** at **blive**  
*in contrast to the picture that otherwise wish.PAS to become*  
**sendt** ud i medierne, (Da. folkettinget.dk 2002)  
*sent.PCP out in media.DEF*  
 ‘in contrast with the picture that one otherwise wishes to be sent out to the  
 media’
- c. Vi har flere af dem, hvis der **ønskes** at **købes** flere  
*we have several of them if EXPL wish.PAS. to buy.INF.PAS several*  
 styk. (Da. dba.dk)  
*pieces*  
 ‘We have more of them if there is a wish to buy more than one.’

Especially the type in (123c) is common on the internet. No examples with *forsøges* plus a passive infinitive were found in KorpusDK and Ørsnes (2006) finds the constructed example in (11), repeated here as (125), with an infinitival *bli*-passive unacceptable.

- (124) ??/\*bilen **forsøges** at **blive** **repareret**. (Da. Ørsnes 2006, 393)  
*car.DEF try.PAS to become repaired.PCP*

Searches in the Swedish *Korp* (2.1 gigabyte) yielded around 70 examples, mainly from blog texts and Twitter.

- (125) a. The Streisand Effect – när något på webben får stor spridning  
*the Streisand effect – when something on webDEF gets big spreading*  
 för att det **försöks tystas** **ner**. (Sw. Twitter11)  
*because that it try.PAS silence.PAS.INF down*  
 ‘The Streisand effect – when something on the web spreads a lot because  
 people try to silence it.’
- b. vissa saker **glöms bort** att **skrivs ut**. (Sw. BM11)  
*certain things forget.PAS PART to print.INF.PAS out*  
 ‘one forgets to print out some things’

Just as in Norwegian, such examples have been used in Swedish for a long time. In the historical corpus, there are examples from newspapers starting from the 19th century.

- (126) a. Att saken **försökts hållas** hemlig ... (Sw. Kalmar 1883)  
*that thing.DEF tried.SUP.PAS keep.INF.PAS secret*  
 ‘That they have tried to keep the matter secret ...’
- b. Uttrycket “väsentlig nedsättning af arbetsförmågan” har **försökts**  
*expression.DEF considerable reduction of work ability.DEF has tried.SUP.PAS*  
 att **tolkas** på mer än ett sätt. (Sw. Kalmar 1918)  
*to interpret.INF.PAS on more than one way*  
 ‘There have been attempts to interpret the expression “considerable reduction of  
 the ability to work” in more than one way.’

But there are also some differences compared to the Norwegian data. First, V2 in the infinitival clause is always an *s*-passive; no examples with periphrastic passives have been found. Second, there are hardly any examples with active V2, apart from examples like (127) which are standard in advertisements.

- (127) Lägenhet **önskas** hyra. (Sw.)  
*apartment wish.PAS rent*  
 ‘Apartment wanted for rent.’

The Swedish version of the Norwegian example in (120) is clearly degraded and searches in *Korp* give few hits.<sup>43</sup>

- (128) ?\*en sådan situation bör **försökas göra** något med. (Sw.)  
*a such situation ought try.PAS do something with*  
 Intended: ‘One should try to do something about this kind of situation.’

The pattern with passive *försöka* followed by an active infinitival clause is only found with extraposed infinitival complements in Swedish, see (129a). Note the overt infinitive marker which is obligatory in extraposition.<sup>44</sup> The non-extraposed version in (129b) is possible but hardly used.

- (129) a. Det har **försökts** att ta DNA-prov på benrester från  
 EXPL has tried.SUP.PAS to take DNA samples on bone remains from  
 pestlik. (Sw. BM10)  
*pest corpses*  
 ‘There have been attempts to take DNA tests on remains from pest corpses.’  
 b. Att ta DNA-prov har **försökts**.  
*to take DNA samples has tried.SUP.PAS*  
 ‘Taking DNA tests has been tried.’

In Norwegian, an extraposed infinitival clause can be passive, see (130) from Lødrup (2014, 369).

- (130) Det skal **tillates** å **gjøres** opptak av overlevende. (No.)  
 EXPL shall allow.PAS to do.PAS recordings of survivors  
 ‘It will be allowed to produce recordings of survivors.’

This is not possible in Swedish, see (131). Only the version with active V2 is possible, as in (129a).<sup>45</sup>

- (131) \*Det har **försökts** att **tas** DNA-prov. (Sw.)  
 EXPL has tried.SUP.PAS to take.INF.PAS DNA samples

Both these differences follow if we assume that the spreading goes from V1 to V2 in Norwegian, as Lødrup (2014) assumes, but from V2 to V1 in Swedish.<sup>46</sup> Since passive *forsøkes* can be used in the CoPP construction in Norwegian, it is conceivable that it can also be used with an infinitive with spreading of the passive feature to the infinitival V2. This raises the question whether the Swedish examples in (125) should be analyzed as long passives, as Lødrup (2014) does. An alternative presents

itself which makes use of the fact that Swedish has the CoPI construction where an active control verb is followed by a passive infinitive. Since this resembles the precondition for double passives, see (110), the Swedish examples could arise through the same kind of feature spreading from V2 to V1 that we find in double passives. Given that both the CoPI construction in (132a), and the double passive in (132b) are used, then (132c) could arise through an extension of the feature spreading in double passive to CoPI verbs.

- (132) a. Saken skulle **försöka hållas** hemlig (Sw. CoPI)  
*thing.DEF should try keep.INF.PAS secret*  
 ‘This thing should be kept secret.’
- b. Saken **behövs hållas** hemlig. (Sw. double)  
*thing.DEF need.PAS keep.INF.PAS secret*  
 ‘This needs to be kept secret.’
- c. Saken har **försökts hållas** hemlig. (Sw. double)  
*thing.DEF has tried.SUP.PAS keep.INF.PAS secret*  
 ‘One has tried to keep this thing secret.’

An additional indication that there is a kind of double passive spreading in CoPI constructions comes from the fact that we find this also in impersonal passives, cf. (81).

- (133) a. Nu ska det **försöka städas** här hemma. (Sw. CoPI)  
*now shall EXPL try clean.INF.PAS here home*
- b. Nu ska det **försökas städas** här hemma. (Sw. BM11, double)  
*now shall EXPL try.INF.PAS clean.INF.PAS here home*  
 ‘There will now be an attempt to clean the house.’

However, it is not clear that all apparent long passives in Swedish arise as double passives of CoPI constructions. There are several long passive examples with the verb *glömma* ‘forget’, see (125b), but the CoPI version sounds unacceptable, both with and without the particle *bort*.

- (134) \*Vissa saker **glömmes (bort)** att skrivas ut. (Sw.)  
*certain things forget PART to print.INF.PAS out*  
 Intended: ‘One forgets to print out certain things.’

There was one CoPI version without particle in *Korp* which actually sounds better. This illustrates that there is a lot of subtle variation, partly due to choice of tense, as well as considerable context sensitivity.

- (135) Svenska skidfans blir tokiga för att en astmamedicin [...] har  
*Swedish ski-fans become crazy because an asthma medicin has*  
**glömt** att registreras av förbundet. (Sw. Twitter)  
*forgotten to register.INF.PAS by association.DEF*  
 ‘Swedish ski supporters go crazy because the association has forgotten to register an asthma medicine.’

Since Swedish differs from Norwegian in that V2 is always passive in these examples, it seems that Lødrup's analysis, based on optional voice agreement, is not applicable. In the Swedish data that I have looked at so far, it seems that the passive feature can spread from V2 to V1, as in double passives, also in CoPI constructions. The data come mainly from informal written media and there is considerable variation. Informants that I have consulted are often uncertain whether they could use a particular sentence themselves. More research is clearly needed.<sup>47</sup>

## 7. Concluding remarks

In this article I have described several non-local passive constructions involving more than one verb which are used, with varying frequency, in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish and which can be difficult to tease apart. At least the following distinctions need to be made. First, passive with control verbs needs to be distinguished from sentences where the first verb is a raising passive, i.e. a passive of a reporting verb. The latter type is found not only in the Scandinavian languages but is well known from e.g. Latin and English. Unlike these languages, however, most raising passives in Scandinavian cannot be derived via subject-to-object raising. Second, we need to distinguish strict control verbs like *försöka* 'try', which don't alternate with finite complements and which never allow overt objects, from semi-control verbs, like *begära* 'request', which also take finite complements and which, to some extent, can be used with overt objects. Whereas Danish and Norwegian use complex passives with participles with both kinds of control verbs, this is only possible with semi-control verbs in Swedish. Third, the form of the complement matters. Complex passive is only found with passive participles (CoPP) whereas raising passives can be used with both passive participles (RaPP) and infinitives. Fourth, regarding the choice of passive form in V1, CoPP can be used with both morphological and periphrastic passive in Danish and Norwegian. In raising passives, double passives and long passives, the morphological *s*-passive is clearly dominant although examples with the periphrastic *bli*-passive can be found in Norwegian. In Table 1 I summarize how the different verb types can be used with participial and infinitival complements.

Starting from the leftmost column, we see that in Danish and Norwegian, strict control verbs, which in the active are only used with infinitival complements, can in the passive be used with passive participles (the CoPP construction) whereas this is not possible in Swedish, see Section 2.1. Instead Swedish uses the CoPI construction with an active V1 followed by a passive infinitival V2, see Section 4. In all three languages, semi-control verbs, which are used with both finite and infinitival complements, can be used with passive participles, but not with passive infinitives. This is discussed in Section 2.2. The last row shows that raising passives, i.e. passive forms of reporting verbs such as *påstå* 'claim' which take sentential complements, can be used with both passive participles and passive infinitives, as shown in Section 3. The column ECM shows that strict control verbs cannot be used with overt objects. Semi-control verbs can take objects but only with passive participles, see 2.2. As for raising passives, most of the verbs do not allow overt objects but there are some verbs that do, see (54b).

**Table 1.** Overview of verb types and constructions in non-local passives in Danish and Norwegian and Swedish

Construction \ Verb type		PassPcp	PassInf	ECM	Double passive	Long passive
Strict control	Da/No	+	-	-	-	+
	Sw	-	+	-	+	-
Semi-control	Da/No	+	-	(+)	?	+
	Sw	+	-	(+)	?	?
Reporting	all	+	+	(-)	-	?

In addition to the CoPP, CoPI and RaPP constructions, passive forms of auxiliaries and control verbs can also be used with passive infinitives, see Sections 5 and 6. The two rightmost columns, Double passive and Long passive, indicate two ways of analyzing such examples, see (110) and (116), repeated here as (136) and (137).

(136) Det här **behövs undersökas** närmare. (Sw.)  
*this need.PAS investigate.PAS closer*  
 ‘This needs to be investigated more closely.’

(137) Klimaproblemene må **forsøkes** å **løses**. (No.)  
*climate.problems.DEF must try.PAS to solve.INF.PAS*  
 ‘One must try to solve the climate problems ...’

In a double passive, as in (136), the passive feature spreads from V2 to V1 (Julien & Lødrup 2013). In a long passive, as in (137), the passive feature spreads from V1 to V2 by optional voice agreement, (Lødrup 2014). The differences between Norwegian and Swedish discussed in Section 6 suggest that the Swedish examples with strict control verbs arise through an extension of the double passive spreading from V2 to V1, indicated by a plus in the Double passive column and a minus in the Long passive column. For Danish and Norwegian, it is the other way around according to Lødrup (2014); Lødrup (*in prep.*). For semi-control verbs there is considerable variation in the data and more research on these types is needed, as indicated by the question marks in these columns. It is also not clear if raising passives of reporting verbs should be subsumed under long passives. Lødrup (2014, 373) mentions that some Norwegian examples are ambiguous between a raising passive analysis and a voice agreeing long passive analysis. In Swedish these examples must be analyzed as raising passives. Finally, it is not clear that Danish behaves exactly like Norwegian with respect to double passives and long passives, as suggested in the table. There is clearly a need for investigating more Danish data.

In this article I have concentrated on describing the variation found among the mainland Scandinavian languages. It would be desirable to look at the emerging patterns in a wider cross-linguistic perspective and to relate my verb classification to other proposals in the literature as well as to the discussion of complex predicate formation. Hopefully my attempt at systematizing the Scandinavian data will prove to be useful to other researchers.

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## Notes

1. The languages differ regarding which passive form is most frequent. In Danish and Norwegian, the periphrastic passive is more common whereas the morphological passive is the unmarked form in Swedish. In addition the choice of passive form is affected by tense, mood and animacy, (see e.g. Heltoft 1994; Enger 2001; Engdahl 2006; Laanemets 2012).
2. In most of the following examples, the subject has moved to a Spec position in the C-domain in order to satisfy the verb second requirement (see e.g. Holmberg 2020). It can be shown that the initial phrase is indeed a subject, for instance by inserting an adverb as in (2).
3. With roughly equal frequency in Norwegian (500 hits with *forsøkes* and 400 hits with *blir forsøkt* in NoWaC (700 million words). In Danish *forsøges* is ten times more common (approx. 100 hits in KorpusDK (56 million words) compared to *bliver forsøgt* (13 hits). The preference for *s*-passive is worth noting since *bli*-passive is in general more common in Danish (Laanemets 2012).
4. Some Swedish verbs have distinct forms for the neuter singular passive participle and the supine. For the verb *skriva* ‘write’, the passive participle is *skrivet* whereas the supine is *skrivit*. Note that in some recent studies of Danish, the term supine is also used for the non-agreeing passive participle (Hansen & Heltoft 2011; Nielsen 2017).
5. The form of Norwegian that is influenced by Danish. The abbreviation *No.* is here used for bokmål.
6. I write ‘in principle’ since this type of agreement is seldom upheld systematically in written nynorsk, which Jan Terje Faarlund and Helge Lødrup have pointed out to me. Helge also provided the example in (8).
7. Engh (1994, 85) also mentions *akte* ‘intend’, *oppgi* ‘abstain’, *plikte* ‘be obliged to’, *rekke* ‘have time to’ and *tilstrebe* ‘strive’ in Norwegian.
8. According to Platzack (2009; 2010) passive participles can only be predicated of the complement of the Root, typically Theme arguments. Assuming that the single argument of an unergative verb is merged in the specifier of the Root, it follows that both CoPP and predication are impossible. Note that the participle of the controllable verb *cykle* can be predicated of an internal Path argument as in (i) (B. Ørsnes personal communication 2019).

- (i) Distancen    **forsøges**    **cyklet**    på to timer.    (Da.)  
*distance.DEF try.PRS.PAS cycled.PCP on two hours*  
 ‘One intends to cycle the distance in two hours.’

9. See also the detailed discussion in Christensen (1991).
10. However, external argument sharing is not assumed to be necessary in a complex predicate (see the list of restructuring predicates in Wurmbrand 2001, 342f.). It suffices if *one* argument is shared by V1 and V2, as in the object control examples (15) and (16). The understood subjects of the two predicates are distinct but the internal argument of V1 is identical to the external argument of V2.
11. This example appeared in a review for an academic appointment, January 2021.
12. Ørsnes (2006) makes a similar proposal in the LFG framework.
13. (25) is marginally acceptable on the reading ‘we recommend the translated version of the book’. See Engh (1994) for a detailed discussion of how to distinguish CoPP from attributive uses of passive participles.
14. The Swedish searches were done using the search engine *Korp* (Borin et al. 2012) and the default corpus selection for present-day Swedish, 2.1 G words. The selection contains texts from newspapers, novels, social media as well as legal texts. See the list of abbreviations under Sources in the References. In order to avoid

returning hits with frequent deponent forms like *finnas* ‘exist’ and *hoppas* ‘hope’, I used the search string in (i) for *s*-passive.

- (i) [lemma not contains “.\*s” & msd = “VB.\*SFO”]

15. Compare *The children were promised to be allowed to stay up late*. In most of the around 700 hits in *Korp* (2.1G), the infinitival clause is headed by *få* ‘get’. *Önska* is used both with and without *få*. There are also differences between Norwegian and Swedish concerning the form of the complements of *få*, see Taraldsen (2010).

16. In Danish *begære* and *ønske* can be used both with finite complements and small participial clauses. In Norwegian, *begjære* with a small clause is much less frequent than the CoPP version; (around six in the 700 million word corpus NoWaC, compared with over a hundred for CoPP). It is not used with a finite complement. *Ønske* is used with a finite complement but hardly with a small clause.

17. The term *raising passive* should not be understood as ‘passive raising verbs’. As one reviewer pointed out, raising verbs cannot be passivized since they are unaccusative.

- (i) \*John was seemed to work.

18. The Scandinavian reference grammars use the following terms: *subjektslyfting* ‘subject raising’ (Faarlund et al. 1997, 1027f.), *subjekt med infinitiv* ‘subject with infinitive’ (Teleman et al. 1999, 1:227) and *subjekt med nominal infinitiv* ‘subject with nominal infinitive’ (Hansen & Heltoft 2011, 1432). Ørsnes (2013) discusses the claim made by Boye (2002) that some of the raising passives in Danish are not really regular passives but grammaticalized evidentiality markers (see also Noël & Coleman (2009)). Ørsnes argues convincingly that they behave as full passive verbs when it comes to syntactic tests like Neg raising and tag question formation. Raising passives are found in English, see (53), but not in German (Ørsnes 2013, 329) or modern Dutch, although they have been used in earlier stages (Noël & Coleman 2009).

19. Some examples may look like raising passives but are in actual fact passivized object control verbs. See (i), from Lyngfelt (2011, 215).

- (i) Sköterskor ska **tillåtas** skriva ut vissa mediciner. (Sw.)  
*nurses shall allow.PASS write out certain medicines*  
 ‘Nurses will be allowed to prescribe certain medicines.’

20. The future oriented verbs *planera* ‘plan’ and *tänka* ‘intend’ are an exception in that they are only used with an overt infinitive marker.

- (i) En bro **planeras** att **byggas** över Lärjeån. (Sw. Korp)  
*a bridge plan.PAS to build.PAS over Lärje-river.DEF*  
 ‘They are planning to build a new bridge over the Lärje river.’
- (ii) Statyerna **var tänkta** att stå i Leninparken. (Sw. Korp)  
*statues.DEF were thought to stand in Lenin-park.DEF*  
 ‘The statues were intended to stand in the Lenin park.’

21. I thank Marit Julien for pointing this out to me.

22. Besides *anse* only *förklara* ‘declare’ and *rapportera* ‘report’ are used with overt objects in the Swedish corpus *Korp*. For Norwegian Lødrup (2008), 162 mentions *forvente* ‘expect’ in addition to *anse*. In all three languages some of the verbs in (41) can be used with an overt object in the active, provided that the object has been relativized or topicalized, presumably an instance of the *Derived Object Constraint* (Postal 1974), or is a reflexive pronoun. See Teleman et al. (1999, Vol. 3, 576) and the discussions in Lødrup (2008), Lyngfelt (2011), Ørsnes (2013) and Ramhöj (2016).

23. In Danish and Norwegian, RaPP examples are used in many genres. In Swedish RaPP examples are mainly found in newspaper headlines where they alternate with infinitival periphrastic passives, as in (i).

- (i) En journalist **påstås ha blivit mördad.** (Sw.)  
*a journalist claim.PAS have.INF become murdered.PCP*  
 ‘It is claimed that a journalist has been murdered.’

24. The Danish verb *forvente* ‘expect’ is an exception to this.

- (i) Man forventer forslaget vedtaget. (Da. Ørnsnes 2006, 389)  
*one expects proposal.DEF adopted.PCP*  
 ‘Everyone is expecting the proposal to be adopted.’

The corresponding verbs in Norwegian and Swedish are not used with overt objects.

25. One reviewer pointed out that there are similarities with the complementation hierarchy proposed in Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2022), intended to reflect the degree of integration of the complement. Complements of raising predicates are Propositions with independent tense, complements of semi-control verbs are Situations, interpreted as irrealis, and complements of strict control verbs (including implicatives) are Events (properties). However, not all strict control verbs can be used in the CoPP and CoPI constructions.

26. The RaPP version has not been attested with *frukta* in Swedish, but can be used with the semantically similar verb *befara* ‘fear’. This shows that there are lexical idiosyncrasies, as also indicated in notes 23 and 24.

- (i) Några fiskare befaras omkomna. (Sw.)  
*some fishermen fear.PAS perished.PCP.PL*  
 ‘It is feared that some fishermen have perished.’

27. Searches for active forms of *försöka* followed by a passive infinitive yielded about 300 hits in the 2.1 G default selection of present-day Swedish texts in *Korp*.

28. *Språkriktighetsboken*, a guide to correct language, advises against using *våga* ‘dare’ with a passive infinitive, which is a sure sign that it is being used in that way (Svenska språknämnden 2007, 278ff.). The more common verbs *försöka* and *söka* are not discussed.

29. Bader & Schmid (2009) finds experimental support that inanimate subjects make long passives easier to process in German.

30. Thanks to Helge Lødrup for bringing (84) to my attention.

31. Bylin (2013) in addition investigates the development of the verbs *bruka* ‘use to’, *hota* ‘threaten’ and *tendera* ‘tend’ using tests from Teleman et al. (1999, Vol. 2, 508ff.).

32. The examples are here rendered in modern Swedish spelling. See Bylin (2013, 141ff.) for the original examples and sources.

33. Even if the presentational example in (91) is acceptable, it is hardly used. A search in *Korp* (2.1 G) gave no hits. Ørnsnes (2006, 391) notes that a presentational sentence is possible in Danish with *forsøge* but not with the other strict control verbs *agte* ‘intend’ and *pålægge* ‘force’.

34. There were no hits with active *forsøke*, *forsøge* and passive infinitive in NoWAC or KorpusDK. Lødrup (2014), 388, note 8 cites one example with active *prøve* ‘try’ followed by a passive infinitive, which presumably is a CoPI construction.

- (i) Aktivitetene må prøve å gjøres så billige som mulig. (No.)  
*activities.DEF must try to make.INF.PAS as cheap as possible*  
 ‘One must try to make activities as cheap as possible.’

35. Engh investigated more than 400 possible first verbs (V1) in texts from 1200 to 1975, grouping the verbs according to semantic and syntactic features.

36. The earliest example in Engh’s survey is the object control verb *påby* ‘order’ used with the stative copula (p. 302).

- (i) De usedvanlige schatter bel.a ware epter Hr Oluff Paszbergs befal. paabudet  
*the unusual taxes be.SUBJ after Mr Oluff Paszberg.GEN command ordered.PCP*  
**indfordret** (No. 1643)  
*collected.PCP*  
 ‘Concerning the extraordinary taxes that Mr Oluff Paszberg ordered should be collected . . .’

I thank Jan Engh for help with the translation.

37. Jan Engh (e-mail 2021) suggests that (99) may be influenced by a Norwegian source.

38. The oldest example I have found so far is from a political pamphlet from 1784 by J.H.Kjellgren.

- (i) Men at lika orimliga tvister ännu **våga yppas** under den uplystaste  
*but that as unreasonable disputes still dare reveal*.INF.PAS *under the most enlightened*  
 Regering (Sw. 1784)  
*government*  
 'But that such unreasonable disputes still dare be revealed under the most enlightened government ...'

39. See Sells (2004, 191ff.) Similar developments are found with English *need*, Dutch *hoeven* and German *brauchen*.

40. In Danish informal genres, *behøves* can be used without a passive main verb, see Hansen & Heltoft (2011, 779) from where (i) is taken.

- (i) **behøves** jeg vaske hænder? (Da.)  
*need.PAS I wash hands*  
 'Do I need to wash my hands?'

This is not common in Norwegian but the *s*-forms *behøves* and *trenges* are also used with a DP argument in which case the verbs have the meaning 'be needed, be necessary' without any passive connotation, as Julien & Lødrup (2013) point out. The same applies to *behövs* in Swedish.

- (ii) a. Det **behövs** regn. (Sw.)  
 EXPL *need.PAS rain*  
 'Rain is needed.'  
 b. \*Det **behövs** regna.  
 EXPL *need.PAS rain.INF*

The *s*-form is listed as a separate lexeme in historical dictionaries. SAOB, the historical dictionary of the Swedish Academy, dates the emergence of this use to the 15th century. See Lødrup (in prep.) for further discussion of *behøve* and *trengje* 'need' in Norwegian.

41. Sometimes the passive feature only shows up on V1 as in (i). Julien & Lødrup (2013) call this type *opp-ned-passiv* 'upside down passive'.

- (i) Denne bloggen skal **kunnes** lese av alle. (No. Julien & Lødrup 2013, 224)  
*this blog.DEF shall can.PAS read by all*  
 'It should be possible for everybody to read this blog.'  
 (ii) Denne bloggen skal kunne **leses** av alle.  
*this blog.DEF shall can read.PAS by all*

In (i) the passive is realized on the modal *kunne*, instead of the main verb, as would be expected, see (ii). Upside-down passives are less common than double passives but can be found in informal texts in all three languages. Julien & Lødrup (2013) suggest that they are a further development of double passives.

42. Julien & Lødrup (2013, 231ff.) suggest that the suffix *-s* may have developed into a marker for raising verbs and show that it is occasionally added to lexical raising verbs such as *virke*, *verke* 'seem' in both Norwegian and Swedish.

- (i) Bihuleplagene **virkes** å bli bedre (...)  
*sinus pains.DEF seem.PASS to become better* (No. Julien & Lødrup 2013, 232)  
 'The sinus pains seem to improve'  
 (ii) En sak **verkas** vara säker (...)  
*one thing seem.PASS be certain* (Sw. Julien & Lødrup 2013, 232)  
 'One thing seems to be certain'

43. The only example in *Korp* with an active V2 that sounds acceptable to me is shown in (i).

- (i) Jag kände mig inte ett dugg bekväm med de resultat som försöktes få fram av  
*I felt REFL not a drop comfortable with the results that tried.PAS get forth by*  
 forskare, professorer och jag vet inte allt. (Sw. BM14)  
*researchers professors and I know not all*  
 'I didn't feel at all comfortable with the results that researchers, professors and what not tried to  
 bring forth.'

44. This pattern is quite common in Norwegian as well. A search for *forsøkes å* in NoWaC yielded around 70 examples, about half with extraposition and active V2 and half with passive V2.

45. Note that when the expletive *det* is in subject position (Spec,IP) it may be left out in extraposition contexts, as discussed in Engdahl (2012).

- (i) I arbetet med Cass-Swe [...], har (det) tidigare försökts att sammanfoga efterställda  
*in work.DEF with Cass-Swe has (EXPL) earlier tried.PAS to combine postponed*  
 attribut till nominalfraser (Sw. Korp Academic prose)  
*modifiers to noun phrases*  
 'In the work on Swe-Cass, an attempt was made earlier to combine postponed modifiers into noun  
 phrases.'

That (i) involves extraposition can be shown by a test first proposed in Falk (1993, 102); extraposed clauses cannot be topicalized.

- (ii) Att sammanfoga efterställda attribut har (\*det) tidigare försökts.  
*to combine postponed modifiers has (EXPL) earlier tried.PAS*

Expletive subjects can be left out in Norwegian as well in similar circumstances (Engdahl 2012, 130). This means that some of Lødrup's examples with active V2 could be analyzed as involving extraposition in which case the initial DP is not a subject in a long passive but has been topicalized from the infinitival clause. The example in (120) would then be analyzed as in (iii).

- (iii) en slik situasjon bør (det) forsøkes å gjøre noe med  
*a such situation ought (EXPL) try.INF.PAS to do.INF something with*  
 'One should try to do something about this kind of situation.'

46. On feature copying in Swedish, see Wiklund (2007) and Lundquist (2016). Sells (2004) provides an analysis in Lexical-Functional grammar.

47. Corpus searches indicate that the CoPI construction with active V1 is about three times as common as the construction with passive V1 as in (125) in contemporary Swedish.

## Sources

Danish: *KorpusDK* (2007), 56 mill. words [<https://ordnet.dk/ordnet>]

Norwegian: *Leksikografisk bokmålskorpus*, 100 mill. words [<https://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa2/bokmal>]

*NoWAC*, 700 mill words [[https://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa2/nowac\\_1\\_1](https://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa2/nowac_1_1)]

Swedish: *Korp*, 2.1 G (default selection from 1960 until present), [<https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/>]

*Historiska*, 1.3 G, historical texts from 1200 to 1900.

## Abbreviations

BM	Bloggmix
BT	Berlingske Tidende
DN	Dagens Nyheter
FSw	Fenno-Swedish
GP	Göteborgs-Posten
Hufv.bl	Hufvudstadsbladet newspaper from Finland
JyllP	Jyllands-Posten
Kalmar	Kalmar newspaper from south east Sweden

NNo	the nynorsk variety
P&I	Post och Inrikes official news channel
SFS	Svensk författningssamling Swedish legal code
Syd-Öst	Syd-Österbotten newspaper from Finland

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