The 1AEX can be reduced to selection

Jason Merchant

U Chicago

2015
the Hornucopia

Perlmutter's Generalization

(1) In languages with passives of intransitives (impersonal passives), at most unergative verbs can passivize; unaccusatives have no passive forms.

(2) There is no passive of unaccusatives.

What Larry taught me

Grammatical Relations
Linguistics 256/656

Spring term 1990
Larry Horn

Grammatical Relations: General Bibliography

Annotations:
CCL = book on reserve in Cross Campus Library
R = unbound article on reserve shelf in LingSem (302HGS)
RA = book on reserve shelf in LingSem
RB = article reproduced in black bound vinyl volumes on reserve shelf (volumes labeled I and II)
SIRG 1 = article in Perlmutter, ed. (1983) *Studies in Relational Grammar 1*. U. of Chicago Press. (**RA, CCL**)
SIRG 2 = article in Perlmutter & Rosen, eds. (1984) *Studies in Relational Grammar 2*. U. of Chicago Press.
SOS = article in Zaenen, ed. *Subjects and Other Subjects*. IULC. (**RA**)
SS8 = article in Cole & Sadock, eds. (1977) *Syntax and Semantics 8: Grammatical Relations*. Academic Press. (**CCL**)
S&T = article in Li, ed. (1976) *Subject and Topic*. Academic. (**CCL**)

I. Grammatical relations: Overviews & universals

Andrews, A. (1985) The major functions of the noun phrase. In T. Shopen, ed. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description I: Clause Structure*, 62–154. Cambridge U. Press.
*Jespersen, O. (1924) *The Philosophy of Grammar*, Chapters XI (Subject and Predicate) and XII (Object. Active and Passive) [for traditional view of grammatical relations]. George Allen & Unwin. (**RA**)
Johnson, D. (1974a) On the role of grammatical relations in linguistic theory. *CLS 10*.
_____ (1974b) Toward a Theory of Relationally-Based Grammar. U. of Illinois dissertation.
_____ (1977a) On relational constraints on grammars. (**SS8**)
Johnson, D. & P. Postal (1981) *Arc Pair Grammar*. Princeton U. Press.
*Keenan, E. (1975) Some universals of passive in relational grammar. (**R**)
*_____ (1976) Towards a universal definition of subject. (**S&T, RB**)
(cf. also D. Johnson (1977b), On Keenan's definition of "subject of", *LI* 8: 673–92.)
*Keenan, E. & B. Comrie (1977) Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. *LI* 8: 63–99. (**RB**) [for more of the same, cf.:

II. RG: General papers on theory

*Anderson, S. & S. Chung (1977) On grammatical relations an structure in verb-initial languages. (**SS8, RB**)
Cole, P., et al. (1977) Noun phrase accessibility and island con (**SS8**)
*Comrie, B. (1977) In defense of spontaneous demotion: The im passive. (**SS8, RB**)
Faltz, L. (1978) On indirect objects in universal syntax. *CLS*
Newmeyer, F. (1976) Relational grammar and autonomous sy *CLS 12*.
Perlmutter, D. (1978) Impersonal passives and the unaccusati hypothesis. *BLS 4*. (**RB**)
_____ (1983) Personal vs. impersonal constructions. *NLLT* 1:
*Perlmutter, D. & P. Postal (1977) Towards a universal chara passivization. *BLS 3*. (**RB, SIRG 1**)
_____ (1983) *Some proposed laws of basic clause structure
*The Relational Succession Law. (both reprinted in **SIRG 1**)
_____ (1984) *The 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law; Impersonal passives and some relational laws. (both in **SIR**)
Postal, P. (1974) *On Raising*, excerpt. MIT Press. (**RB**)
_____ (1976) On avoiding reference to subject. *LI* 7: 151–82.
*Rosen, C. (1982) The interface between semantic roles and in grammatical relations. (**SOS**; also 1983, **SIRG 2**)

III. Grammatical Relations in Particular Languages

Aissen, J. (1983) Indirect object advancement in Tzotzil. (**SIR**
Bell, S. (1976) Cebuano Subjects in Two Frameworks. MIT dis
_____ (1983) Advancements and ascensions in Cebuano. (**SIRG**
*Chung, S. (1976a) An object-creating rule in Bahasa Indones 87. (**SIRG 1, RB**)
_____ (1976b) On the subject of two passives in Indonesian. (**S**
Craig, C. (1976) Properties of basic and derived subjects in Jac
Gary, J. (1977) Object formation rules in several Bantu langu Questions and implications for universal grammar. *CLS 13*
Gary, J. & E. Keenan (1977) On collapsing grammatical relati universal grammar. (**SS8, RB**)
Gerdts, D. (1980) Causal to object advancement in Halkomelem
Harris, A. (1976) Grammatical Relations in Modern Georgian. dissertation. (**R**)
(1982) Georgian and the unaccusative hypothesis. *Lan*

What Larry taught me

Lawler, J. (1977) A agrees with B in Achenese: a problem for relational grammar. **(SS8)**
Marlett, S. (1984) Personal and impersonal passives in Seri. **(SIRG 2)**
Özkaragöz, I. (1980) Evidence from Turkish for the unaccusative hypothesis", *BLS 6*.
Perlmutter, D. (1984) Working 1s and inversion in Italian, Japanese, and Quechua. **(SIRG 2, R)**
Perlmutter, D. & A. Zaenen (1984) The indefinite extraposition construction in Dutch and German. **(SIRG 2)**
Postal, P. (1977) Antipassive in French. *NELS 7*. **(RB)**
Radford, A. (1977) *Italian Syntax: Transformational and Relational Grammar*. Cambridge U. Press.
Rosen, C. (1981) The Relational Structure of Reflexive Clauses: Evidence from Italian. Harvard dissertation. [available from me]
Seiter, W. (1978) Subject/direct object raising in Niuean. *BLS 4*. **(RB, SIRG 1)**
Sridhar, S.N. (1976) Dative subjects. *CLS 12*.
_____ (1978) New evidence for spontaneous demotion. *Int. J. of Dravidian Ling*. VIII: 312–22. [both Sridhar papers based on data from Kannada]
Timberlake, A. (1976) Subject properties in the North Russian passive. **(S&T)**
Wachtel, T. (1979) The demotion analysis of initially unaccusative impersonal passives. *CLS 15*.
Williamson, J. (1979) Patient marking in Lakhota. *CLS 15*.

IV. Clause Union; GRs in causative constructions

Aissen, J. (1974) Verb raising. *LI* 5: 325–66. **(RB)**
_____ (1977) The interaction of clause reduction and causative clause union in Spanish. *NELS VII*.
Aissen, J. & D. Perlmutter (1976) Clause reduction in Spanish. *BLS 2*. **(SIRG 1)**
*Cole, P. & S.N. Sridhar (1976) Clause union and relational grammar: Evidence from Hebrew and Kannada. **(RB)** [cf. Sridhar's papers under III]
*Comrie, B. (1976) The syntax of causative constructions. In Shibatani, ed., *Syntax and Semantics 6: The Grammar of Causative Constructions*. Academic Press.
Davies, W. & C. Rosen (1988) Unions as Multi-Predicate Clauses. *Language* 64: 52–88.
*Fauconnier, G. (1983) Generalized union. *Communication and Cognition* 16: 3–37. **(R)**
*Gibson, J. & E. Raposo (1986) Clause union, the stratal uniqueness law.

V. Ergativity

The following anthologies offer useful planks in an ergativé platform:

Plank, F., ed. (1979) *Ergativity*. Academic Press. [Cf. espe Plank's introductory essay and 40 page bibliography.] **(CCL)**
Plank, F., ed. (1985) *Relational Typology*. Mouton. **(CCL)**

And see also the useful ergativity bibliography prepared by Andrew Ga

*Anderson, S. (1976) On the notion of subject in ergative langu
_____ (1977) On mechanisms by which languages become erga ed., *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*. U. of Texas Press
Boas, F. & E. Deloria (1941) *Dakota Grammar*. Memoirs of t Academy of Sciences, no. 23.
Comrie, B. (1973) The ergative: variations on a theme. *Lingu* 239-53.
_____ (1975) The antiergative: Finland's answer to Basque. *CL*
*_____ (1977) Ergativity. In Lehmann, ed., *Syntactic Typolo* Harvester Press. **(RB)**
De Lancey, S. (1981) An interpretation of split ergativity and r patterns. *Language* 57: 626–57.
Dixon, R.M.W. (1972) *The Dyirbal Language of North Quee* Cambridge U. Press. **(RA)**
*_____ (1979) Ergativity. *Language* 55: 59–138.
[cf. *Studies in Ergativity*, edited by Dixon and included in Garrett's Biblio but not
George, L. (1975) Ergativity and relational grammar. *NELS V*.
Harris, A. (1975) Is Georgian ergative? LSA paper. [available from
Jake, J. (1978) Why Dyirbal isn't ergative at all. *Studies in Sciences* 8: 97–110. **(RA)**
Johnson, D. (1974a) On the role of grammatical relations in lin theory. *CLS 10*.
Klimov, G.A. (1974) On the Character of Languages of Active Ty *Linguistics* 131: 11–25.
Merlan, F. (1985) Split intransitivity: functional oppositions in inflection, in J. Nichols & A. Woodbury, eds., *Grammar I Outside the Clause*, 324–62. Cambridge U. Press.
*Sapir, E. (1917) Review of Uhlenbeck, Het Passieve Karaketer Verbum Transitivum of van het Verbum Actionis... *IJAL*
*Trask, R. L. (1979) On the origins of ergativity. In Trask, ed. 385–406.
Van Valin, R. (1977) Ergativity and universality of subjects.
Williamson, J. (1979) Patient marking in Lakhota. *CLS 15*.
Woodbury, A. (1977) Greenlandic Eskimo, ergativity, and rela

What Larry taught me

McCawley, J. (1970) English as a VSO Language. *Language* 46: 286–99. **(RB)**
Pullum, G. (1977) Word order universals and grammatical relations. **(SS8, RB)**
(also various articles in the three Plank anthologies; cf. index in Plank, ed. 1985)

VII. Non–RG approaches to GRs

A) Case grammar and case roles

Fillmore, C. (1968a) The case for case. In Bach & Harms, eds., *Universals in Linguistic Theory*. Holt. **(RA)**
_____ (1968b,c) Lexical entries for verbs; Types of Lexical Information. (both in Ohio State U. Working Papers in Linguistics No. 2, **RA**)
_____ (1977) The case for case reopened. **(SS8)**

B) Thematic relations

Anderson, S. (1971) On the role of deep structure in semantic interpretation, *Foundations of Lg.* 6: 387–96.
Gruber, J. (1965) Studies in Lexical Relations. MIT dissertation.
_____ (1967a) Functions of the Lexicon in Formal Descriptive Grammars. System Development Corp. technical memorandum. **(RA)**
_____ (1967b) Look and see. *Language* 43: 937–47.
Jackendoff, R. (1972) *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*. MIT Press. Chapter 2: Grammatical Relations and Functional Structure. **(RA)**
_____ (1976) Toward an explanatory semantic representation. *LI* 7: 89–150.
*_____ (1987) The status of thematic relations in linguistic theory. *LI* 18: 369–412.
*Wasow, T. (1977) Transformations and the lexicon. In Culicover et al., ed., *Formal Syntax*. Academic Press. **(RA, RB)**
to be read together with:
Anderson, S. (1977) Comments on the paper by Wasow. [in same volume]

C) Lexical-Functional Grammar and allied frameworks

*Bresnan, J. (1978) A Realistic Transformational Grammar. In Halle, et al., eds. *Linguistic Theory and Psychological Reality*. MIT Press. **(RB)**
*_____ (1983) The passive in lexical theory. In Bresnan, et al., eds., *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*. MIT Press. **(CCL, R)**
Dryer, M. (1985) The Role of Thematic Relations in Adjectival Passives. *LI* 16: 320–6.
Emonds, J. (1976) *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax.*

Wasow, T. (1980) Major and minor rules in lexical grammar. In et al., eds., *Lexical Grammar*. Foris. **(RA)**
Zaenen, A. & J. Maling (1983) Passive and oblique case. In Levi eds. (see below)
*Zaenen, A. & J. Maling (1984) Unaccusative, passive, and quir *WCCFL 3*. **(R)**
see also the following anthologies on LFG and lexical semantics, both :
Levin, B., ed. (1985) Lexical Semantics in Review. MIT. **(RA)**
Levin, B., M. Rappaport & A. Zaenen, eds. (1983) *Papers in Le Functional Grammar*. IULC. [available from me]

D) Grammatical relations and θ-roles in REST/GB

[cf. also Jackendoff references under **B**]
Belletti, A. (1988) The Case of Unaccusatives. *LI* 19: 1–34.
Belletti, A. & L. Rizzi (1986) Psych-Verbs and Th-Theory. MIT L Project Working Papers #13. **(RA)**
Burzio, L. (1986) *Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht.
Chomsky, N. (1981) *Lectures on Government and Binding,* Foris. **(RA)**
Fagan, S. (1988) The English Middle. *LI* 19: 181–204.
Hale, K. & J. Keyser (1986) Some Transitivity Alternations in E (MIT Lexicon Project Working Papers #7) and (1987) A View Middle (MIT Lexicon Project Working Papers #10) (both **RA**;
cf. various papers on middles by J. van Oosten, G. Lakoff, C. Fellbaum, C. Condoravdi, et
Hoekstra, T. (1987) *Transitivity: Grammatical Relations in Government -Binding Theory*. Foris. **(RA)**
Keyser, S.J. & T. Roeper (1984) On the middle and ergative con in English. *LI* 15: 381–416.
Williams, E. (1981) Argument structure and morphology. *Ling* 81–114.
_____ (1984) Grammatical relations. *LI* 15: 639–74.

E) Grammatical relations in Categorial/Montague Gramm

Bach, E. (1980) In defense of passive. *Ling. & Phil.* 3: 297–341
Carlson, G. (1984) Thematic roles and their role in semantic interpretation. *Linguistics* 22: 259–79.
Dowty, D. (1979) *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar.*
*_____ (1982a) Grammatical relations and Montague Grammar. Jacobson & Pullum, eds., *The Nature of Syntactic Repre* Reidel. **(CCL, RA)**
_____ (1982b) More on the categorial analysis of grammatical r **(SOS)**

What Larry taught me

4/4/90

Grammatical Relations
Linguistics 256/656

Spring term 1990
Larry Horn

April Readings

PACKET
A B

1. More on thematic relations

Jackendoff, R. (1976) Toward an explanatory semantic representation. *LI* 7: 89–150.

Williams, E. (1981) Argument structure and morphology. *Ling. Review* 1: 81–114.

1.1 *Levin, M. & M. Rappaport (1986) The Formation of Adjectival Passives. *LI* 17: 623–61.

1.2 *Jackendoff, R. (1987) The status of thematic relations in linguistic theory. *LI* 18: 369–412.

1.3 *Belletti, A. & L. Rizzi (1988) Psych-Verbs and θ-Theory. *NLLT* 6:291–352. Also in MIT Lexicon Project Working Papers #13 (1986, **RA**)

2. More on unaccusatives

2.1 *Burzio, L. (1986) *Italian Syntax,* excerpts, pp. 20–31. Dordrecht. (revised version of 1981 MIT dissertation)

2.2 *Zaenen, A. & J. Maling (1984) Unaccusative, passive, and quirky case. *WCCFL 3.* (**R**)

2.3 *Grimshaw, J. (1987) Unaccusatives--an overview. *NELS 17,* 244–57.

Van Valin, R. D., Jr. (1987) The Unaccusative Hypothesis vs. Lexical Semantics. *NELS 17,* 641–61.

Zaenen, A. (1988) Unaccusative verbs in Dutch and the syntax-semantics interface. CSLI report #123, Stanford U.

Belletti, A. (1988) The Case of Unaccusatives. *LI* 19: 1–34.

3. RG strikes back

Perlmutter, D. (1982) Syntactic representation, syntactic levels, and the notion of subject. In Jacobson & Pullum, eds., *The Nature of Syntactic Representation.* Reidel. (**CCL, RA**)

version of 1981 MIT dissertation)

2.2 *Zaenen, A. & J. Maling (1984) Unaccusative, passive, and quirky case. *WCCFL 3.* **(R)**

2.3 *Grimshaw, J. (1987) Unaccusatives--an overview. *NELS 17,* 244-57.

Van Valin, R. D., Jr. (1987) The Unaccusative Hypothesis vs. Lexical Semantics. *NELS 17,* 641-61.

Zaenen, A. (1988) Unaccusative verbs in Dutch and the syntax-semantics interface. CSLI report #123, Stanford U.

Belletti, A. (1988) The Case of Unaccusatives. *LI* 19: 1-34.

3. RG strikes back

Perlmutter, D. (1982) Syntactic representation, syntactic levels, and the notion of subject. In Jacobson & Pullum, eds., *The Nature of Syntactic Representation.* Reidel. **(CCL, RA)**

3.1 *Perlmutter, D. (1984) The inadequacy of some monostratal theories of passivization. **(SIRG 2)**

3.2 *Legendre, G. (1990) Inversion with certain French experiencer verbs. *Language* 65: 752-82.

4. Patient subjects and the English "middle"

4.1 *Lakoff, G. (1977) Linguistic Gestalts, §6.1. *CLS 13,* 248-54.

4.2 *Oosten, J. van (1977) Subjects and Agenthood in English. *CLS 13,* 459-71.

4.3 *Keyser, S. J. & T. Roeper (1984) On the Middle and Ergative Constructions in English. *LI* 15: 381-416.

Fellbaum, C. (1985) Adverbs in Agentless Actives and Passives. *CLS 21, Part 2 (Parasession on Causatives and Agentivity),* 21-31.

4.4 *Fellbaum, C. (1986) On the Middle Construction in English. IULC.

Hale, K. & J. Keyser (1986) Some Transitivity Alternations in English (MIT Lexicon Project Working Paper #7) **RA**

Hale, K. & J. Keyser (1987) A View from the Middle (MIT Lexicon Project Working Paper #10) **RA**

Fellbaum, C. & A. Zribi-Hertz (ms., 1987) The Middle Construction in French and English: A Comparative Study of its Syntax and Semantics.

4.5 *Fagan, S. (1988) The English Middle. *LI* 19: 181-204.

What Larry taught me

1/31/91

Grammatical Relations
Linguistics 256/656
[H6]

Impersonal Passives and Spontaneous Chômage
cf. Keenan (1975), P&P (1977), Comrie (1977)

1. **GERMAN impersonal passives**
   a. **Wir tanzten gestern.**
      we danced-1PL. yesterday.
   b. **Es wurde gestern (von uns) getanzt.**
      it was-3sg. yesterday by us danced
   c. **Gestern wurde (von uns) getanzt.**

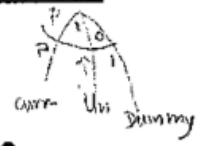
   } 'There was dancing yesterday (by us)'

2. **GERMAN dative passives**
   a. **Der Lehrer half dem Schüler.**
      the teacher[NOM] helped the student-DAT
   b. **Es wurde dem Schüler (vom Lehrer) geholfen.**
      it was-3SG. the student-DAT by-the teacher helped
   c. **Dem Schüler wurde (vom Lehrer) geholfen.**

   } 'The student was helped (by the teacher)'

   Es gefiel dem Kinde der Baum.

3. **LATIN impersonal passives**
   Curritur.
   run-3SG-PASV

   'There was running' [lit., '[it] was run]

4. **LATIN dative passives**

What Larry taught me

7. **FRENCH indefinite (intransitive) extraposition**

Des femmes **sont arrivées** ==> **Il est** **arrivé** **des femmes.**
some women-F.PL are arrived-3F.PL it is arrived-M.SG
='There arrived some women'

a. **On a** **mangé** **des pommes.**
one has eaten-3SG some apples
b. **Des pommes ont été mangé(s).**
were eaten-3PL
c. **Il a été mangé des pommes.**
it has been eaten-3SG

≅ 'Some apples were eaten',
'There were apples eaten'

7'. **Il a été dormi hier soir.**
it has been slept-3SG yest. evening
'There was sleeping [lit., it was slept] last night'

8. **TURKISH dative/comitative passives**

a. **Ahmet kadın-la konuş-tu.**
A.(NOM) woman-with talk-PAST(3SG.)
'Ahmed talked with the woman'

b. **Kadın-la konuş-ul-du.**
woman-with talk-PASV-PAST(3SG.)
'The woman was talked with'

c. **Ben(im)-le konuş-ul-du(-*m).**
I-with -1SG
'I was talked with' [lit., '[it] was talked with me']

9. **MODERN ARABIC oblique passives**

a. **Bahaθa** **'ani l-muwazzafīn.**
he-looked(3SG) for the-employees-OBL

What Larry taught me

The impersonal passive in Dutch and German[1]

Jason R. Merchant
5/6/1991

Linguistics 491b: The Senior Essay
Prof. Laurence Horn
Yale University

"Though this be madness, yet there is method in't" (*Hamlet* II.ii.204)

1 Introduction

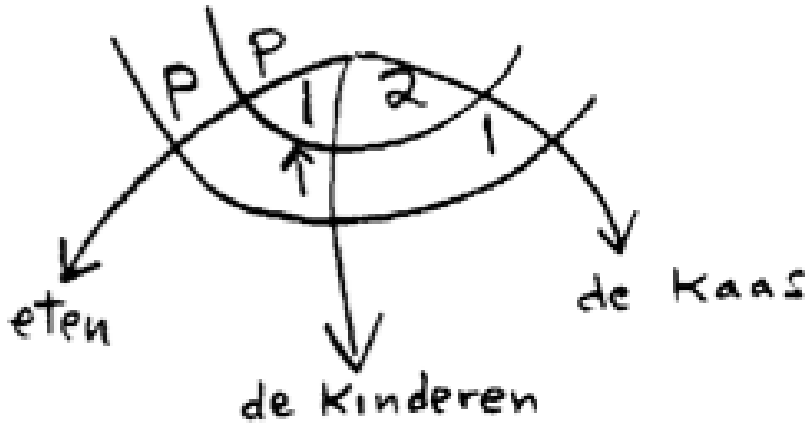
In this paper, I discuss two competing analyses of the impersonal passive construction in Dutch and German within the Relational Grammar framework: the spontaneous demotion analysis proposed in Keenan (1975) and the advancement analysis argued for in Perlmutter (1978). I conclude

Perlmutter 1978

Passives of transitives ('personal passives'):

(3) De kinderen eten de kaas.
the children eat the cheese

(4) De kaas werd door de kinderen gegeten.
the cheese was by the children eaten
'The cheese was eaten by the children.'



Perlmutter 1978

Passives of intransitives ('impersonal passives'):

(5) De kinderen schaatsen op het ijs.
the children skate on the ice

(6) Er werd door de kinderen op het ijs geschaatst.
there was by the children on the ice skated
roughly: 'There was skating on the ice by children.'

(7)

Vorgänger

... *One gate there was only* (Milton) ... The best name would probably be "existential *there*", as it generally indicates (vaguely) the existence of something on which fuller information is to follow... It is not absolutely necessary that the sentence contains [sic] a "subject" though this seems to be the invariable rule in English: in Danish we have such passive construction as *der danses* 'there is dancing', cp. the G. *es* in *es wird getanzt*. (Otto Jespersen *Analytic Syntax* 1937:130, *UChicago Press*)

(7) Die Griechen tanzen → Von den Griechen wurde getanzt / Es wurde (von den Griechen) getanzt.
(*Duden: Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*, 4th edition (1984), p. 177)

Perlmutter 1978

But passives of some intransitives (the *unaccusatives*) fail to be well-formed:

(8) In dit weeshuis groeien de kinderen erg snel.
in this orphanage grow the children very fast
'Children grow very quickly in this orphanage.'

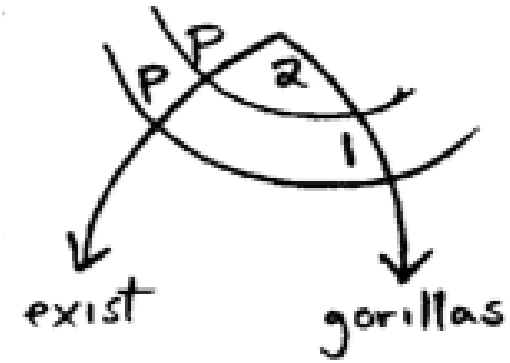
(9) *In dit weeshuis wordt er door de kinderen erg snel
in this orphanage is there by the children very fast
gegroeid.
grown
(Intended: 'There is very quick growing by children in this orphanage.')

Likewise for *ontbinden* 'decompose', *verdampen* 'evaporate', *blijven* 'stay', *duren* 'last', *overleven* 'survive', *gutsen* 'gush', *ontploffen* 'explode', *verflensen* 'wilt', *verdwijnen* 'disappear', *verstikken* 'suffocate', *ontspruiten* 'sprout', *gebeuren* 'happen', *branden* 'burn', *sterven* 'die', *verdrinken* 'drown'

Perlmutter 1978

(10) The **Unaccusativity Hypothesis**:
Certain intransitive clauses have an initial 2 but no initial 1. (Some surface subjects are underlying objects.)

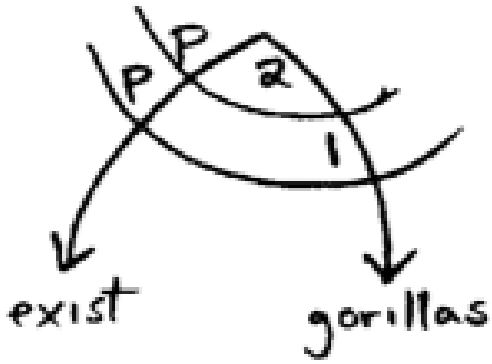
Gorillas exist. =



Perlmutter 1978

(11) The **Unaccusativity Hypothesis**:
Certain intransitive clauses have an initial 2 but no initial 1. (Some surface subjects are underlying objects.)

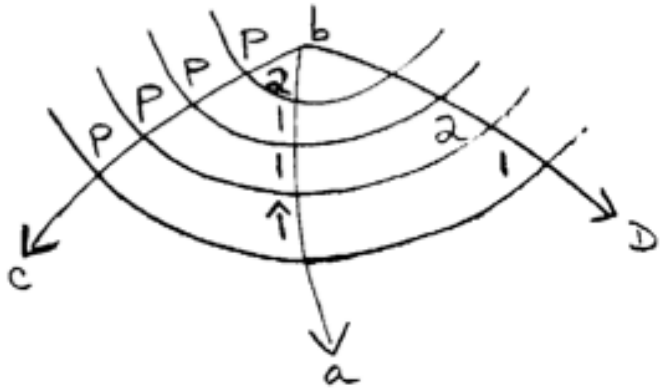
Gorillas exist. =



Dozens of phenomena that diagnose a split in intransitives (Assamese case, Hidatsa agreement, N-incorporation in S.Tiwa, German split phrases, Russian genitive of negation, Russian distributive *po*, Georgian case-marking in II series, Italian *ne*-cliticization, Hebrew/Tzotzil possessor raising, resultatives, Jim's 'crude' test, Hittite clitics....)

Perlmutter 1978

(12) The **1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law** ('1AEX' to its friends): No clause can involve more than one advancement to 1.



Perlmutter 1978

8. Conclusions for the Grammar of Dutch and Universal Grammar

What must be stated in the grammar of Dutch to account for the data on impersonal passives presented here? Under the proposal advanced here, the grammar of Dutch needs only:

(92) a. a statement that impersonal passives of intransitive clauses are possible in Dutch.

b. a rule stating the conditions under which the dummy appears in the surface string.

Perlmutter 1978

The contrasts between grammatical and ungrammatical impersonal passives presented here follow entirely from principles of universal grammar. They are:

(93) a. the universal advancement analysis of impersonal passives imposed by the Motivated Chomage Law

b. the predictability of initial unergative vs. unaccusative strata in accordance with the strong version of the Unaccusative Hypothesis sketched in (17c)

c. the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law

d. the Final 1 Law, the Relational Succession Law, and the Active Dummy Law, which together ensure that every clause with an unaccusative stratum involves an advancement to 1 (cf. fn.5)[10]

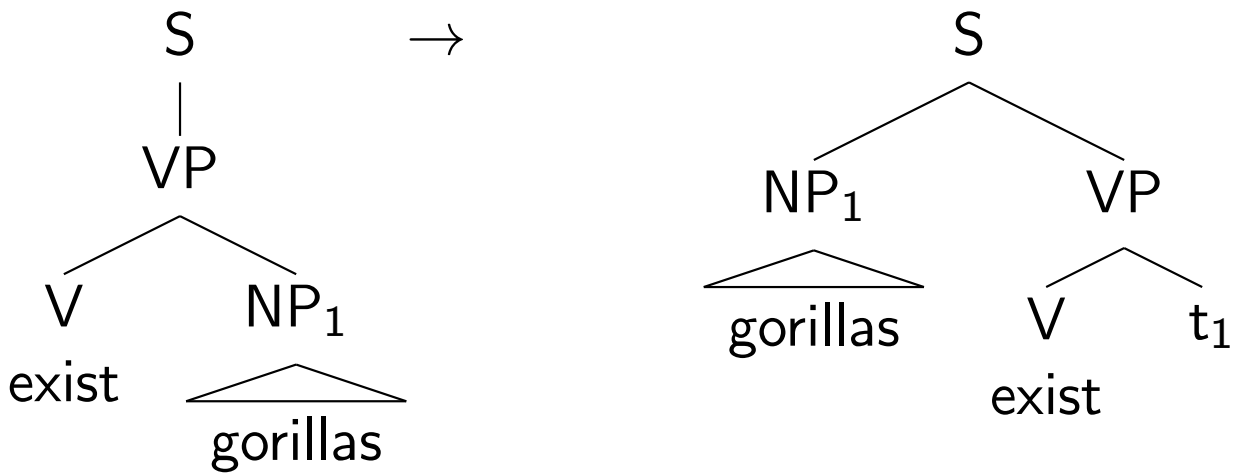
What Larry taught me

8 Conclusion

This paper examined the impersonal passive construction in Dutch and German, and some arguments for and against the advancement analysis originally proposed in Perlmutter (1978).

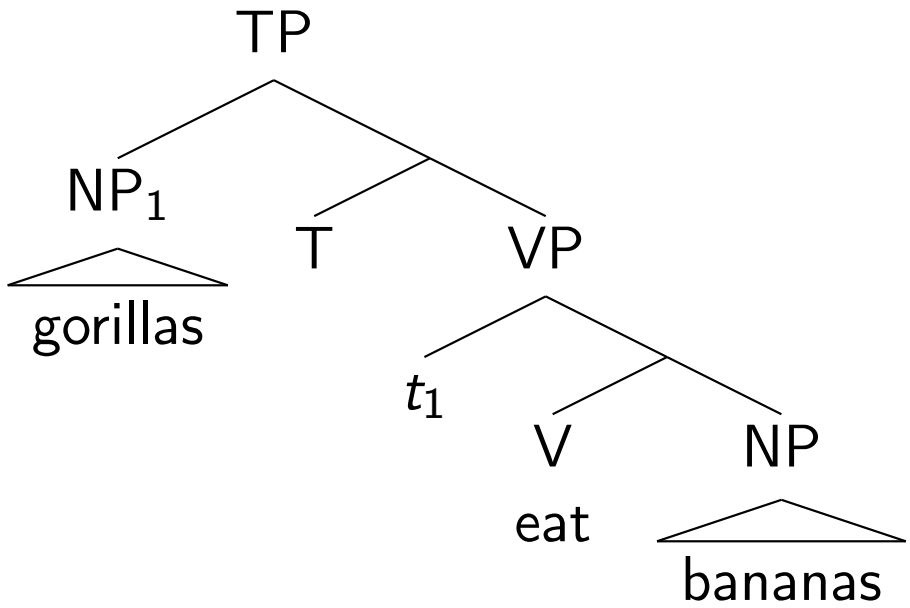
It was shown that the crucial independent motivation for the 1AEX, namely the data from Dutch and German indefinite extraposition, was flawed. Of course, it can be claimed that the 1AEX does find support from the fact that it correctly predicts some of the workings of impersonal passives. On the other hand, the advancement analysis of a dummy inserted as a 2 and advancing to 1 has been claimed to receive support from the 1AEX; but this reasoning is circular. The 1AEX works with the advancement analysis and the P&P's (1977) universal characterization of passive because that was what it was designed to do. Independent motivation for it is weak or non-existent.

Geometric casting of unaccusativity

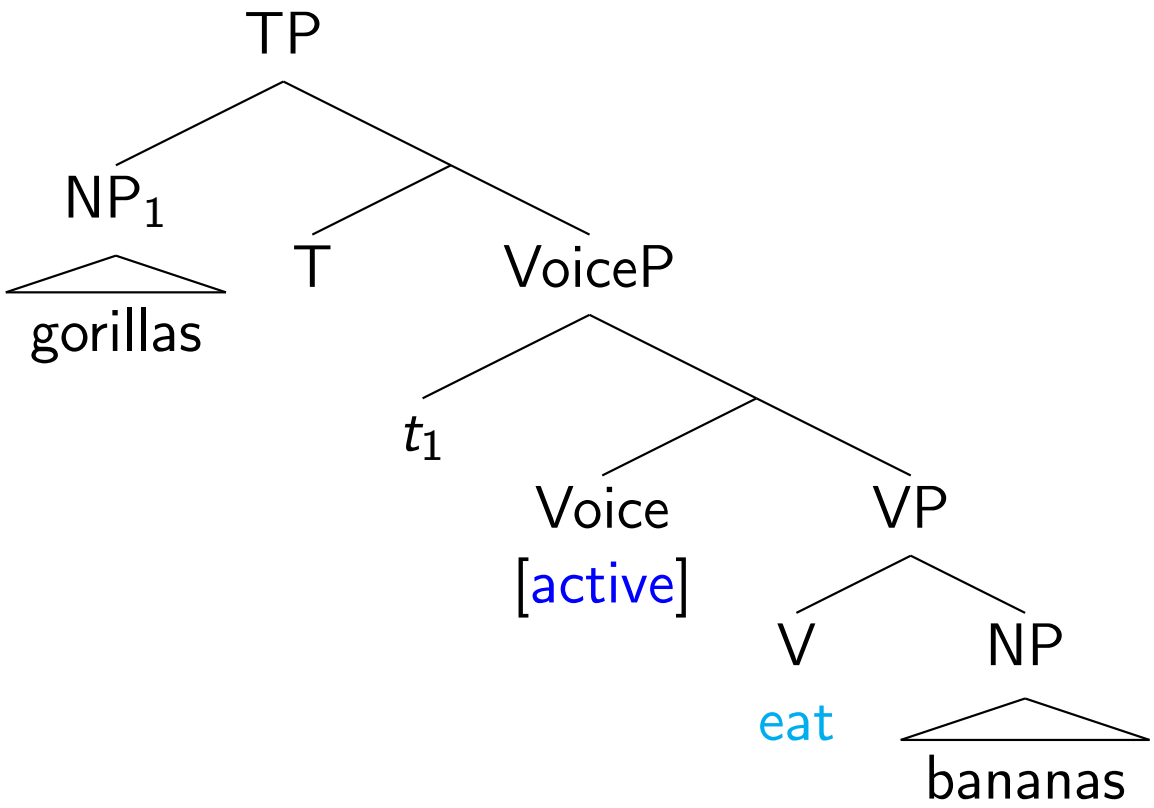


The Internal Subject Hypothesis

Kitagawa, Koopman and Sportiche, Kuroda, Rosen, Speas, Woolford, Zagona, McCloskey, Chomsky, Bobaljik ...

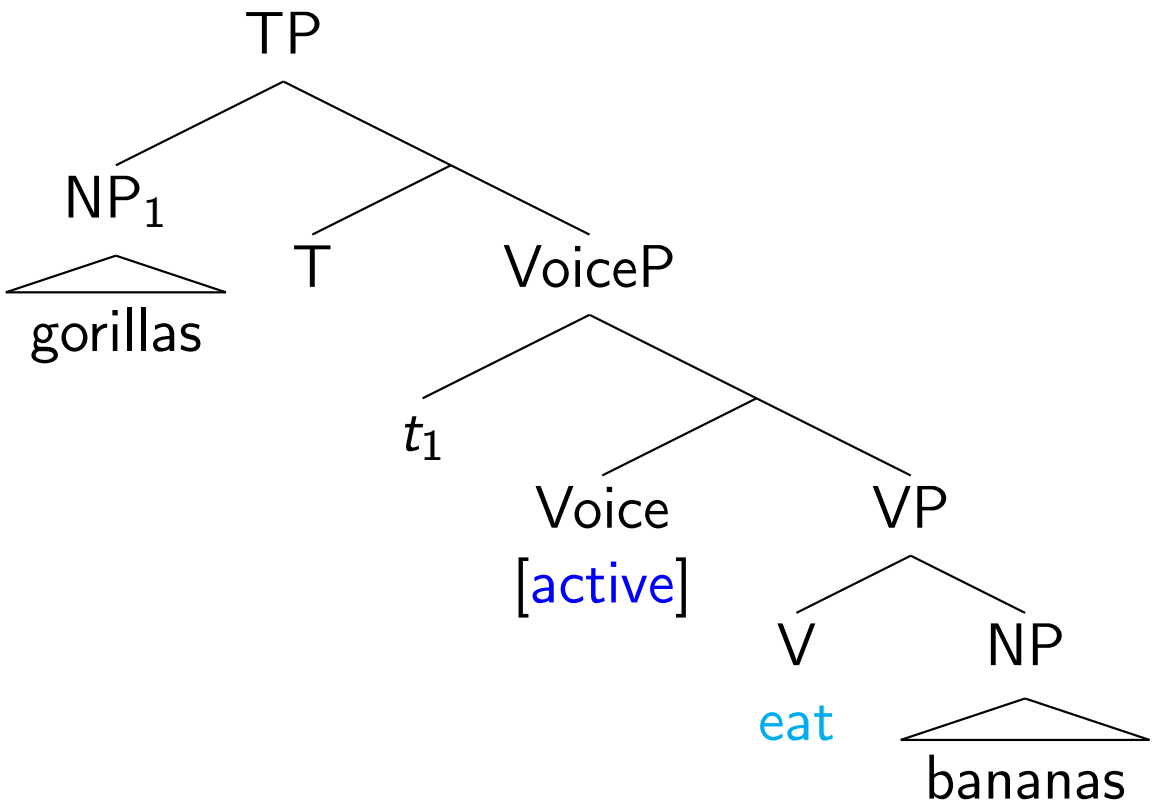


The Internal Subject Hypothesis, Kratzer's version



(13) $[\![Voice_{act}]\!] = \lambda x \lambda e[\text{Agent}(x)(e)]$

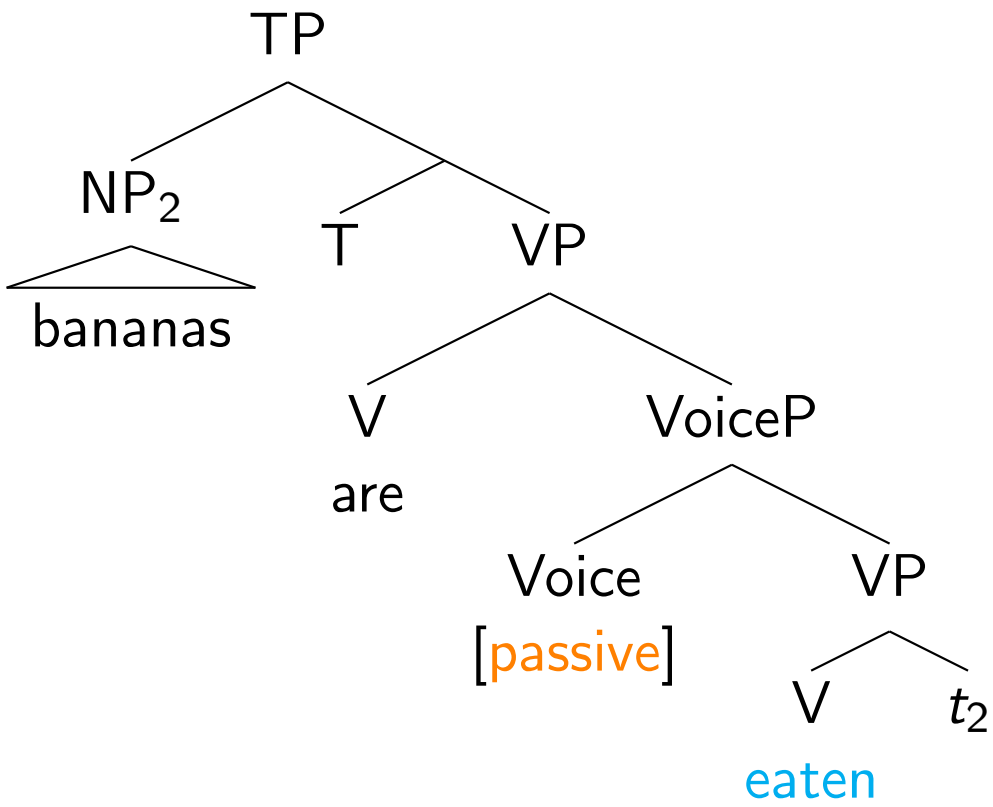
The Internal Subject Hypothesis, Kratzer's version



(14) $[\![Voice_{act}]\!] = \lambda x \lambda e[\text{Agent}(x)(e)]$

Generative semantics + formal semantics = this!

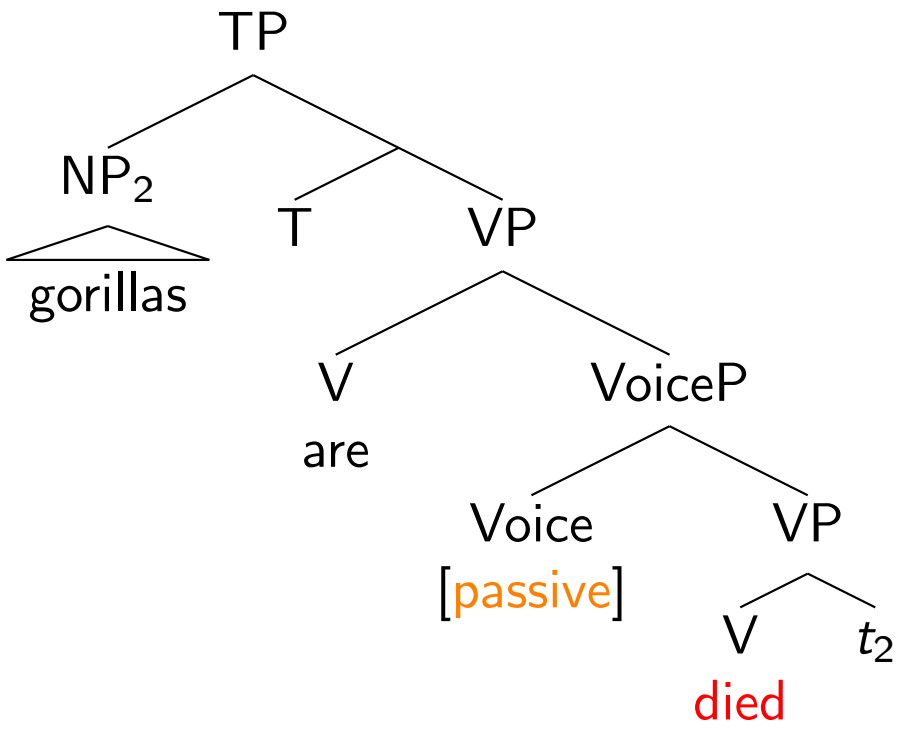
The Internal Subject Hypothesis, Kratzer's version



Kratzer's Voice + Unaccusativity = Uh-oh...

Nothing blocks passives of unaccusatives:

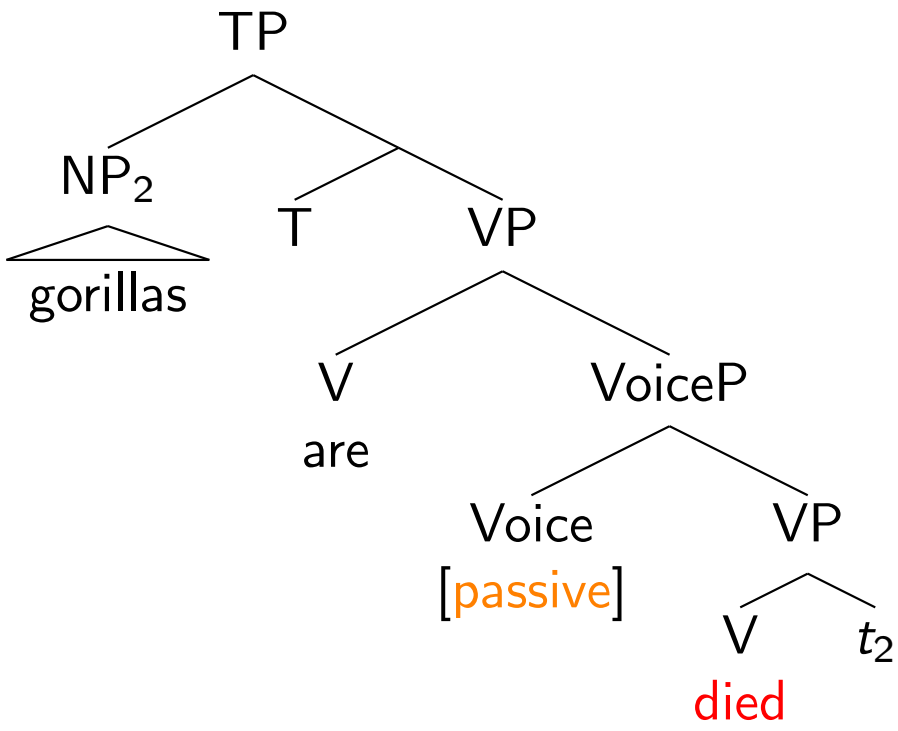
(15) *Gorillas are died.

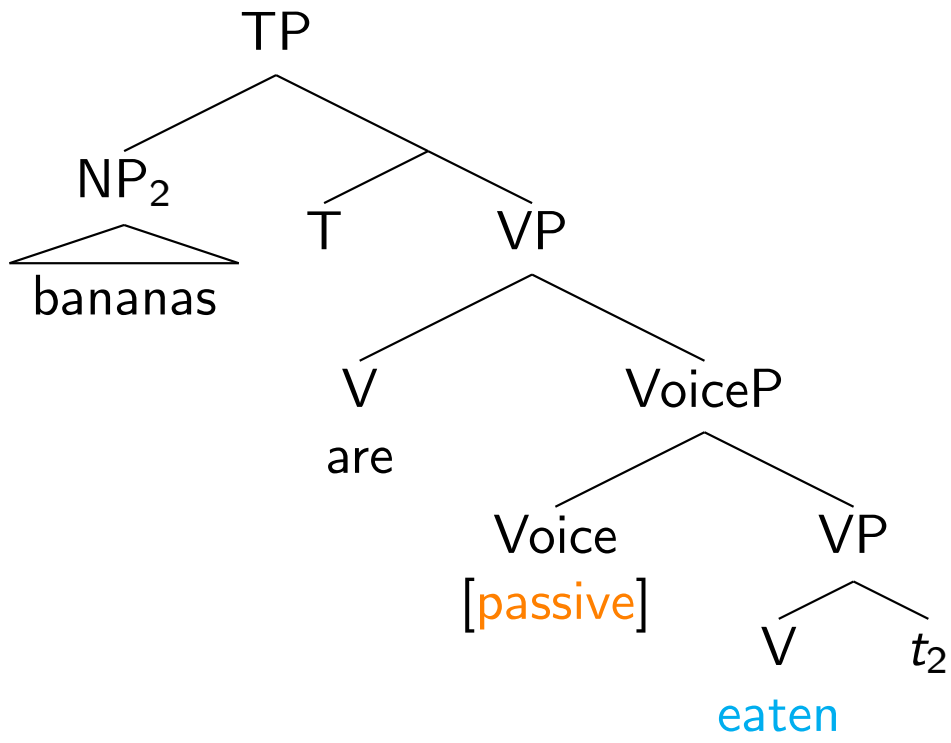


Kratzer's Voice + Unaccusativity = Uh-oh...

Nothing blocks passives of unaccusatives:

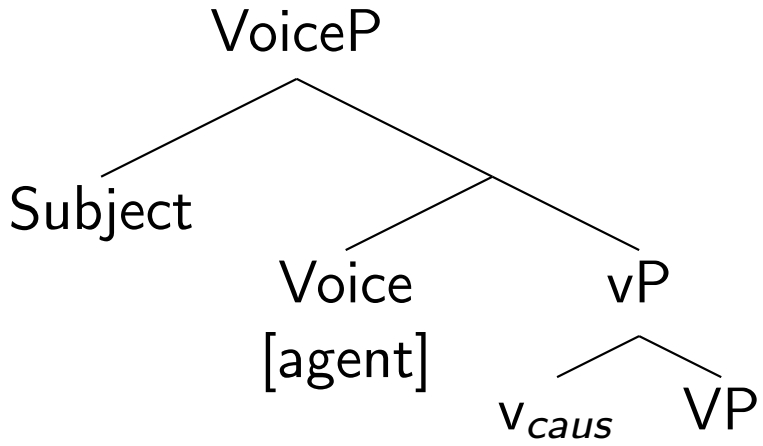
(16) *Gorillas are died.





Recent approaches to the passive and split voice

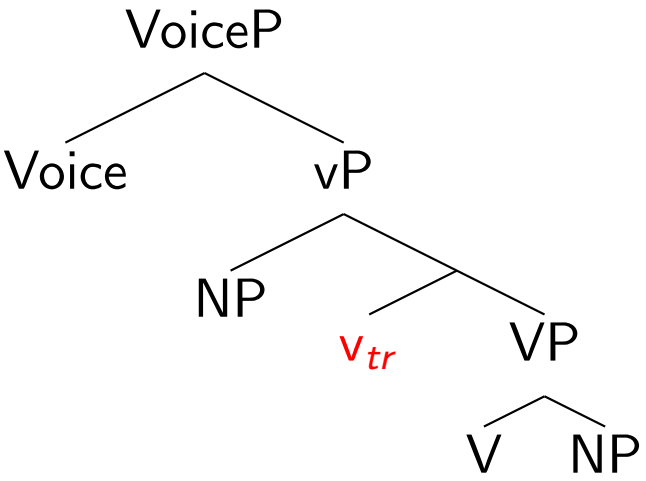
Wurmbrand; Bruening; Legate; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Schäfer; Kallulli; Collins; Embick ...



A proposal

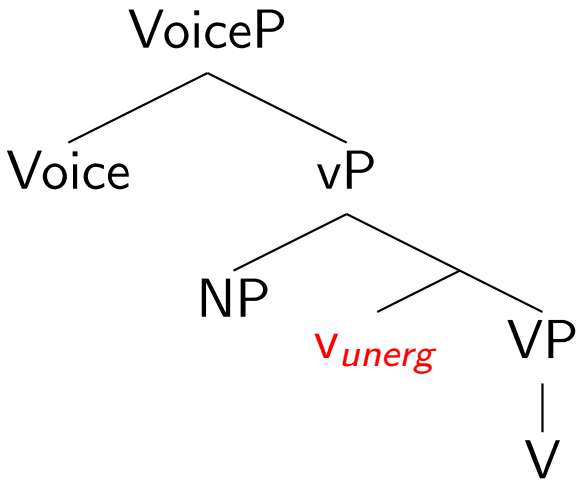
Transitive

Gorillas eat bananas



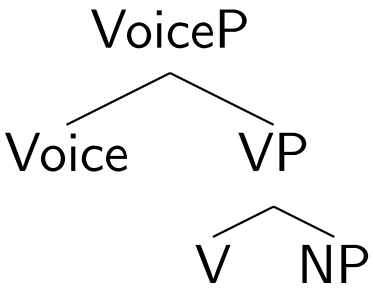
Unergative

Gorillas dance



Unaccusative

Gorillas die



A syntactic argument for separating Voice from VP

In **High/Big Ellipses** (sluicing, fragment answers, gapping, and stripping), elided material and antecedent phrase must match in voice.

(17) Sluicing

a. *Someone murdered Joe, but they don't know who by. <he was murdered>

b. *Joe was murdered, but they don't know who. <murdered him>

A syntactic argument for separating Voice from VP

In **Low/Little Ellipses** (verb phrase ellipsis), elided material and antecedent phrase may mismatch in voice.

(18) Passive antecedent, active ellipsis

a. The system can be used by anyone who wants to. <use it>

b. This information could have been released by Gorbachev, but he chose not to. <release it> (Hardt 1993:37)

c. This problem was to have been looked into, but obviously nobody did. <look into this problem> (Kehler 2002:53)

(19) Active antecedent, passive ellipsis

a. The janitor must remove the trash whenever it is apparent that it should be. <removed>

b. "No-one can hypnotize me."
"Usually the people who are certain they can't be are the easiest to do it to." <hypnotized> (corpus)

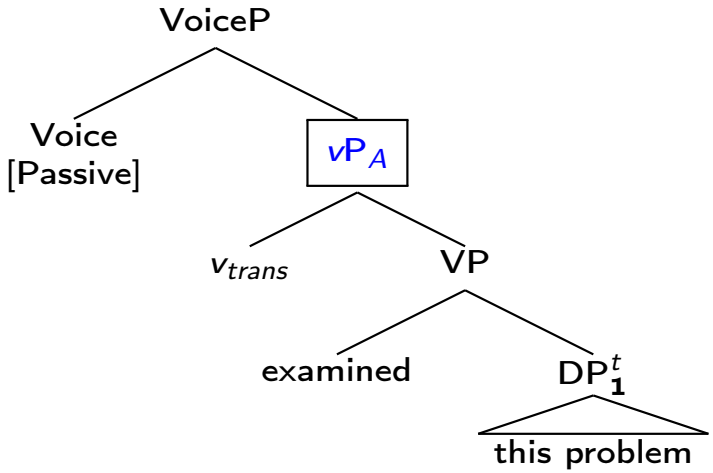
Sag 1976, Hankamer 1976, Dalrymple 1991, Hardt 1993, Fiengo & May 1994, Kehler 2002, Arregui et al 2006, Kim et al. 2010, Merchant 2013

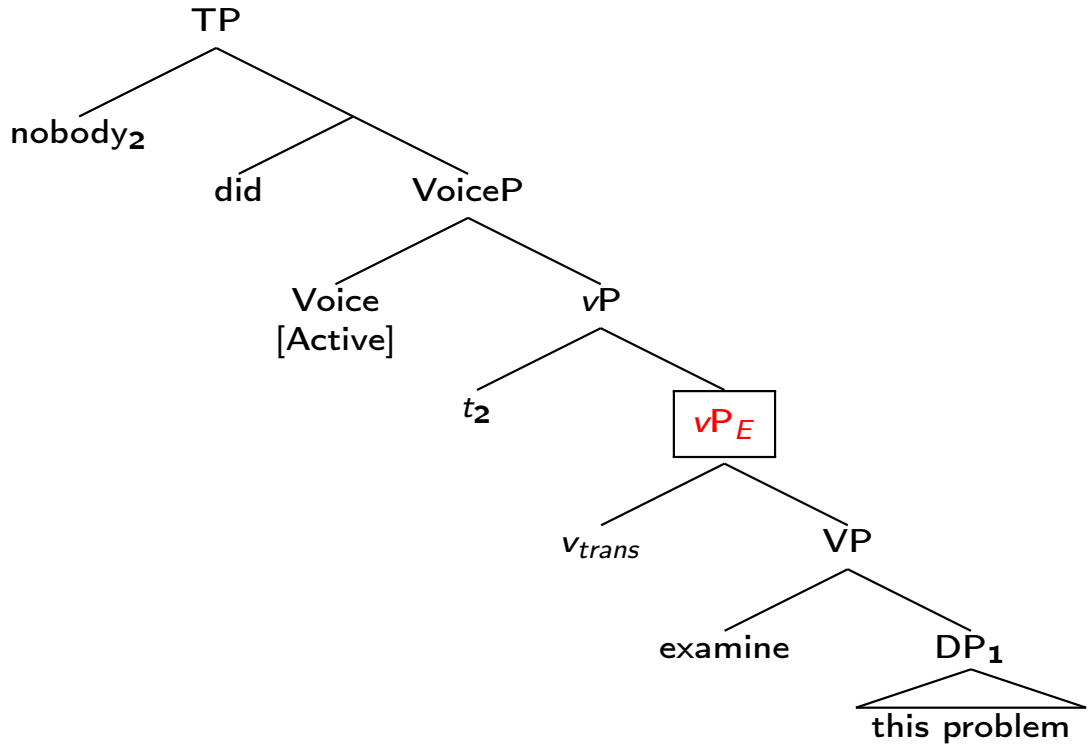
A syntactic argument for separating Voice from VP

VP-ellipsis: Voice mismatch allowed

This problem was to have been examined, but obviously nobody did.

$[_{DP}$ This problem $]_1$ was to have been



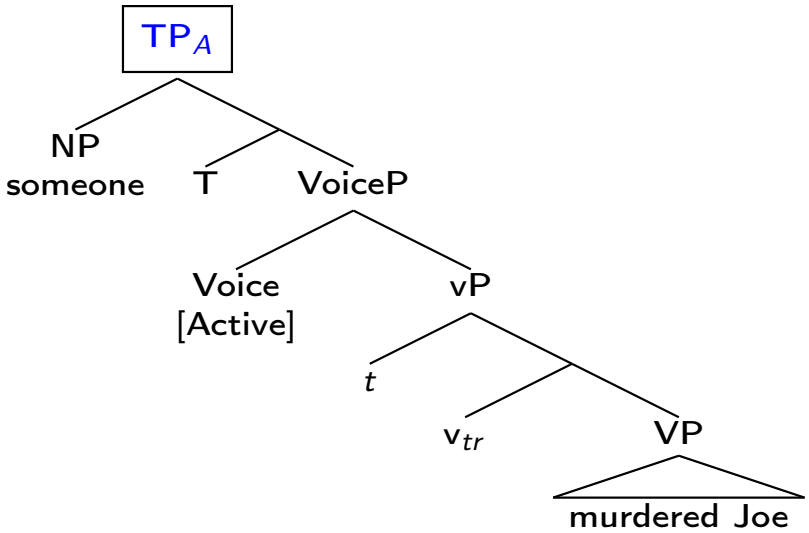


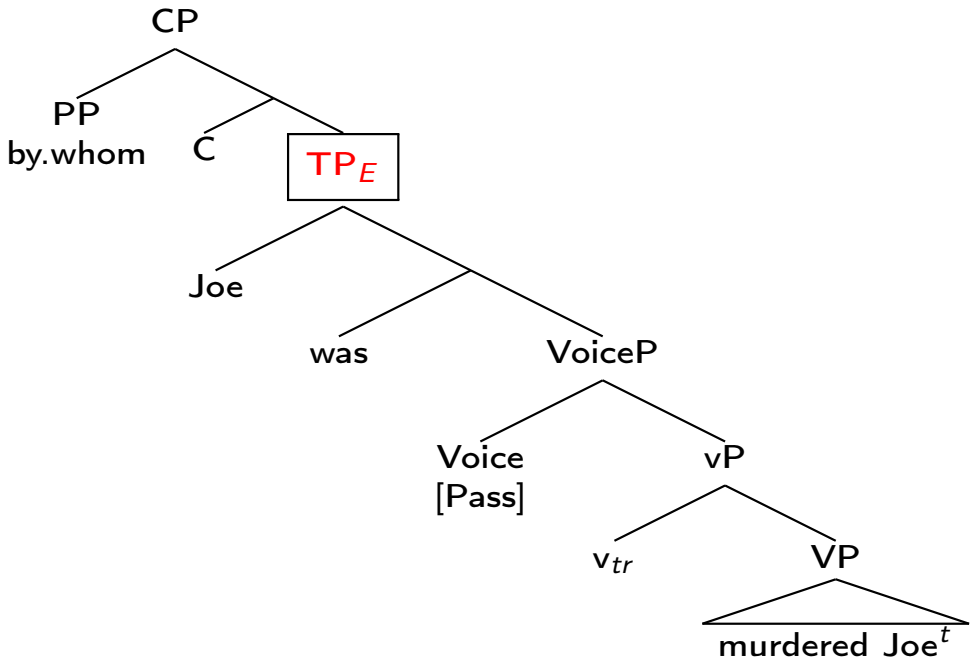
$\boxed{vP_A} = \boxed{vP_E}$

A syntactic argument for separating Voice from VP

Sluicing: Voice match required

*Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know {by whom/who by}.



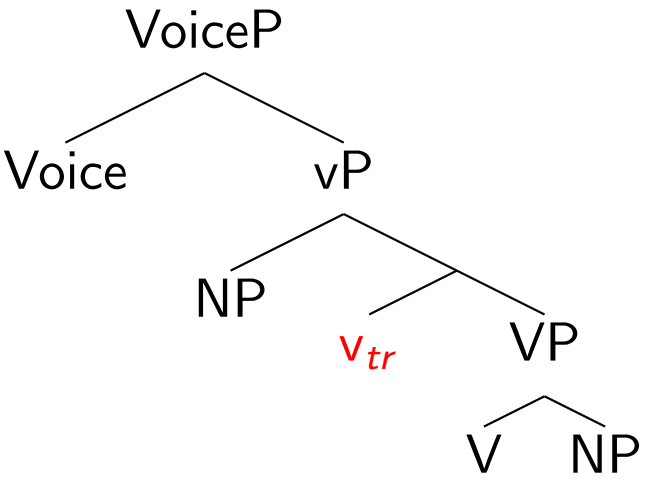


TP$_A$ $\neq$ TP$_E$

A proposal

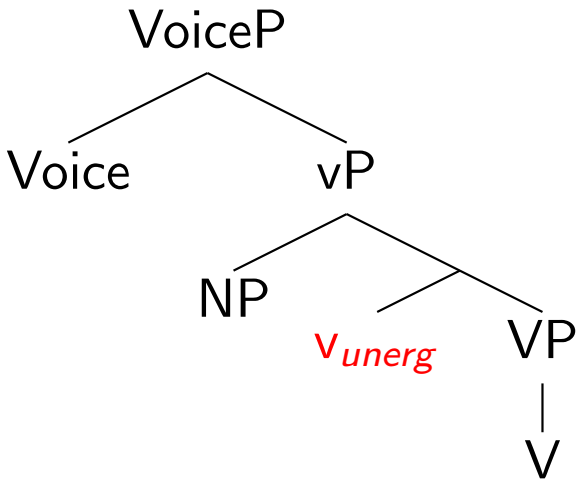
Transitive

Gorillas eat bananas



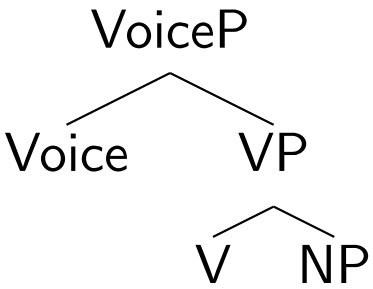
Unergative

Gorillas dance



Unaccusative

Gorillas die



A proposal

Two problems:

1. What's the difference between English (passives of unergatives: no) and German/Dutch (yes)?

A proposal

Two problems:

1. What's the difference between English (passives of unergatives: no) and German/Dutch (yes)?

   Answer: A lexical difference, encoded by selectional features:
   English Voice[pass] selects for v_{tr},
   German/Dutch Voice[pass] for v.

A proposal

Two problems:

1. What's the difference between English (passives of unergatives: no) and German/Dutch (yes)?
   Answer: A lexical difference, encoded by selectional features:
   English Voice[pass] selects for v_{tr},
   German/Dutch Voice[pass] for v.
2. How do we capture Perlmutter's Generalization?

A proposal

Two problems:

1. What's the difference between English (passives of unergatives: no) and German/Dutch (yes)?
   Answer: A lexical difference, encoded by selectional features:
   English Voice[pass] selects for v_{tr},
   German/Dutch Voice[pass] for v.
2. How do we capture Perlmutter's Generalization?
   Answer: Voice[pass] selects for v.
   There is no v_{unacc}, so it can't be selected for.
   Perlmutter's Generalization emerges from the lexicon.

Selection/subcategorization

= a way of ensuring that the right things go together

Selector ... Selectee

(20) We rely {on / *in} him.

(21) #Sincerity may admire the boy. (McCawley)

Selection/subcategorization

= a way of ensuring that the right things go together

Selector ... Selectee

(25) We rely {on / *in} him.

(26) #Sincerity may admire the boy. (McCawley)

(27) *rely*, V, [_ [$_{PP}$ on ...]]

Selection/subcategorization

= a way of ensuring that the right things go together

Selector ... Selectee

(30) We rely {on / *in} him.

(31) #Sincerity may admire the boy. (McCawley)

(32) *rely*, V, [_ [$_{PP}$ on ...]]

(33) *rely* $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [V] \\ \text{infl} & [...] \\ \text{sel} & [on] \end{bmatrix}$ or *rely* $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [V] \\ \text{infl} & [...] \\ \text{sel} & [\text{Pform} : on] \end{bmatrix}$

Selection/subcategorization

= a way of ensuring that the right things go together

Selector ... Selectee

(35) We rely {on / *in} him.

(36) #Sincerity may admire the boy. (McCawley)

(37) *rely*, V, [_ [$_{PP}$ on ...]]

(38) *rely* $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [V] \\ \text{infl} & [...] \\ \text{sel} & [on] \end{bmatrix}$ or *rely* $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [V] \\ \text{infl} & [...] \\ \text{sel} & [\text{Pform} : on] \end{bmatrix}$

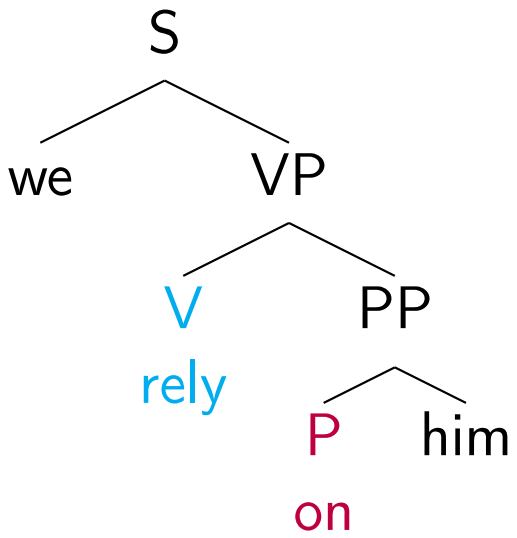
(39) `rely::  =on -`ϕ `V`

Selection/subcategorization

(40) We rely {on / *in} him.

(41) *rely* $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [V] \\ \text{infl} & [\ldots] \\ \text{sel} & [on] \end{bmatrix}$

(42)



Selection/subcategorization

(43) Merge(α, β)
For any syntactic objects α, β, where α bears a nonempty selectional list $\ell = <F_1, ..., F_n>$ of selectional features, and β bears a categorial feature F′ that matches F_1,
call α the head and

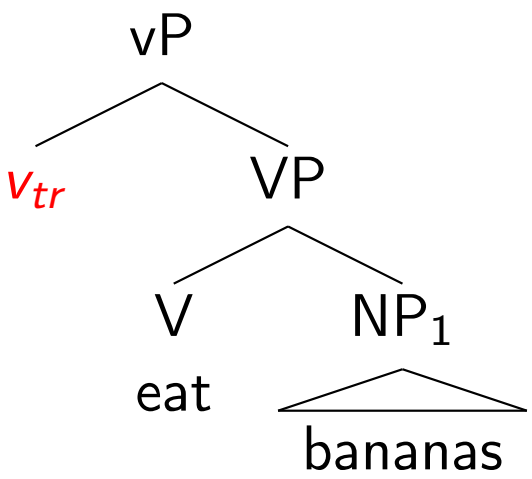
a. let $\alpha = \{ \gamma, \{ \alpha, \beta \} \}$
call γ the projection of α, and

b. if n > 1, let $\ell = <F_2, ..., F_n>$, else let $\ell = \emptyset$, and

c. let $\gamma = \begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [cat(\alpha)] \\ \text{sel} & [\ell] \end{bmatrix}$

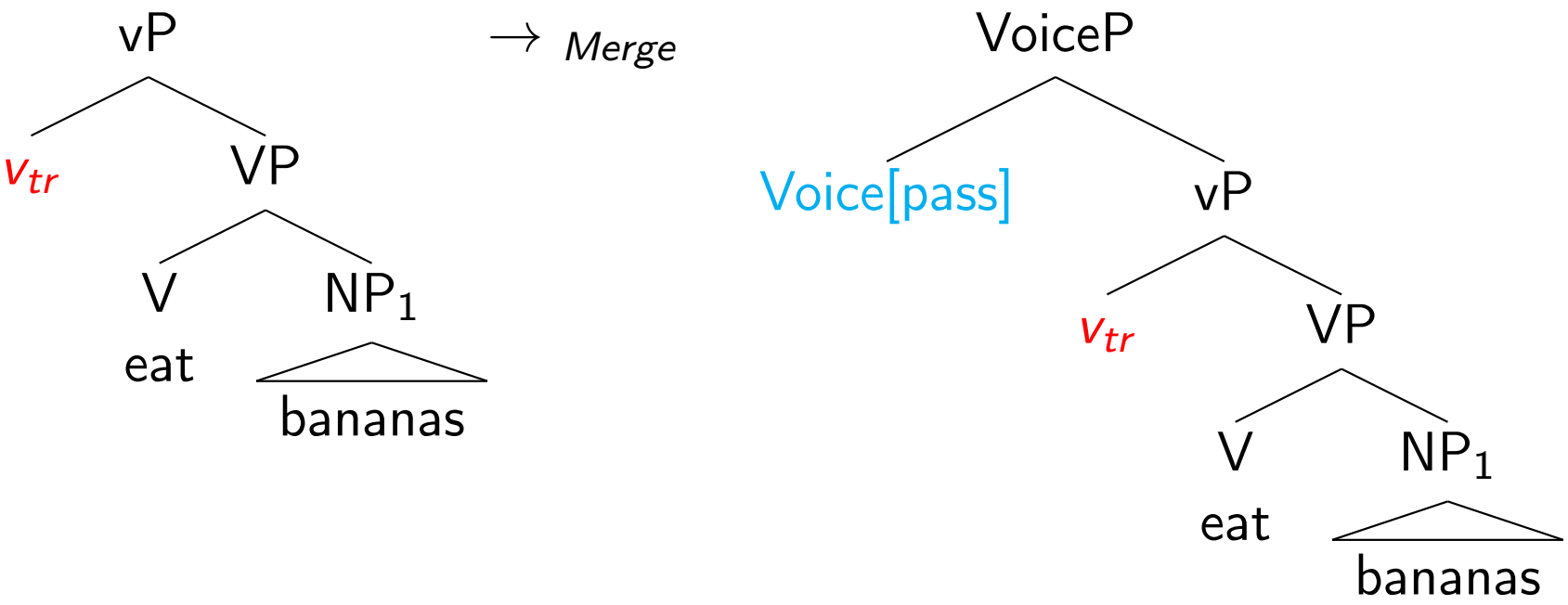
English passive

Voice[pass] $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [Voice_{pass}] \\ \text{sel} & [v_{tr}] \end{bmatrix}$

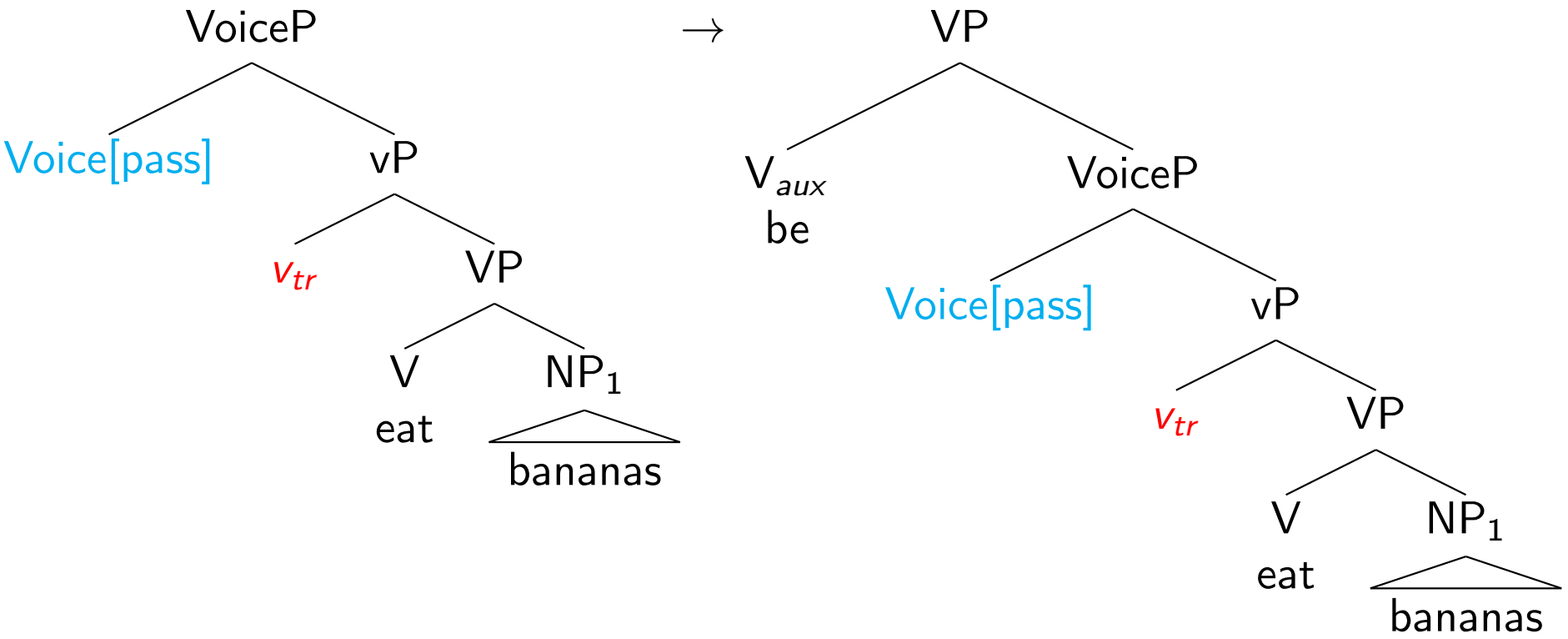


English passive

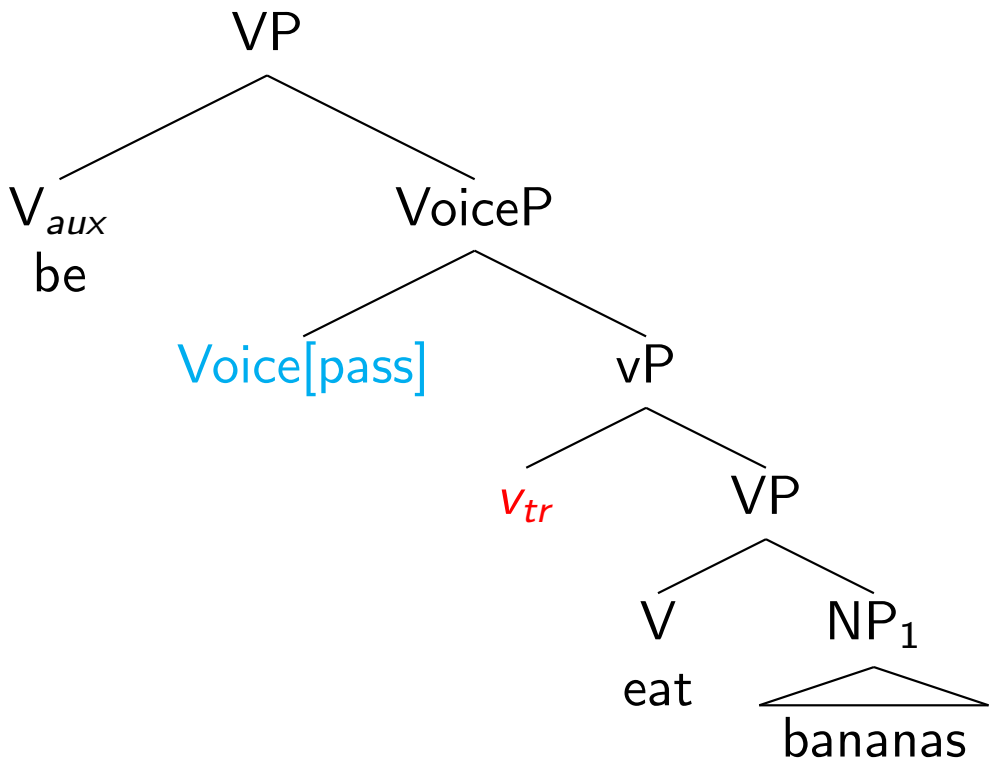
Voice[pass] $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [Voice_{pass}] \\ \text{sel} & [v_{tr}] \end{bmatrix}$



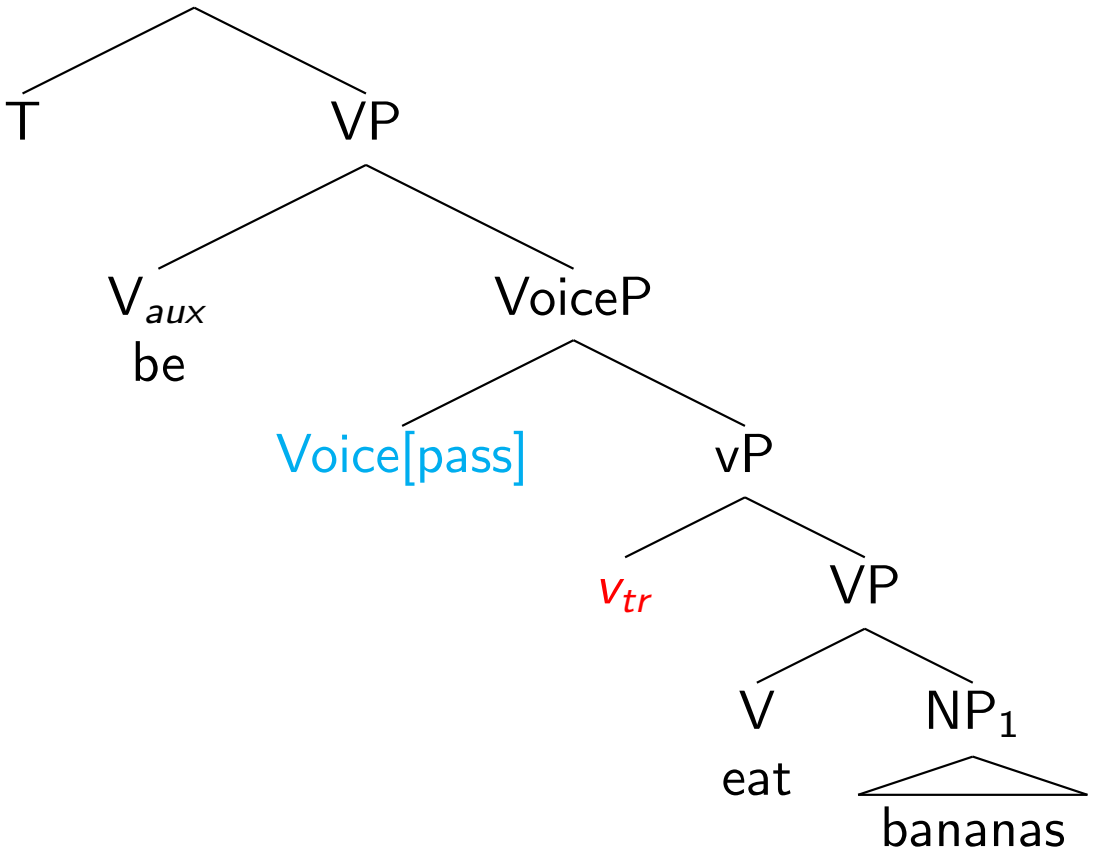
English passive



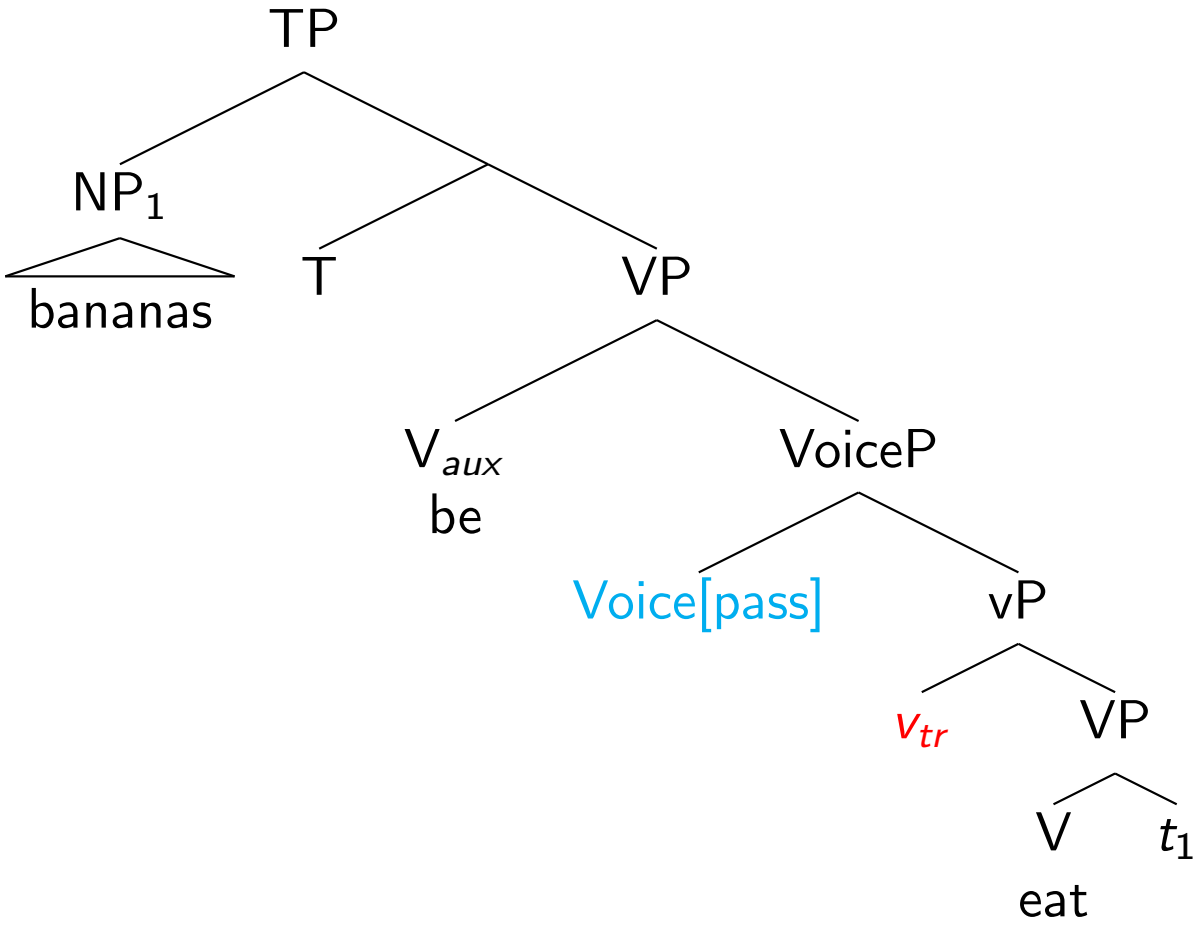
English passive



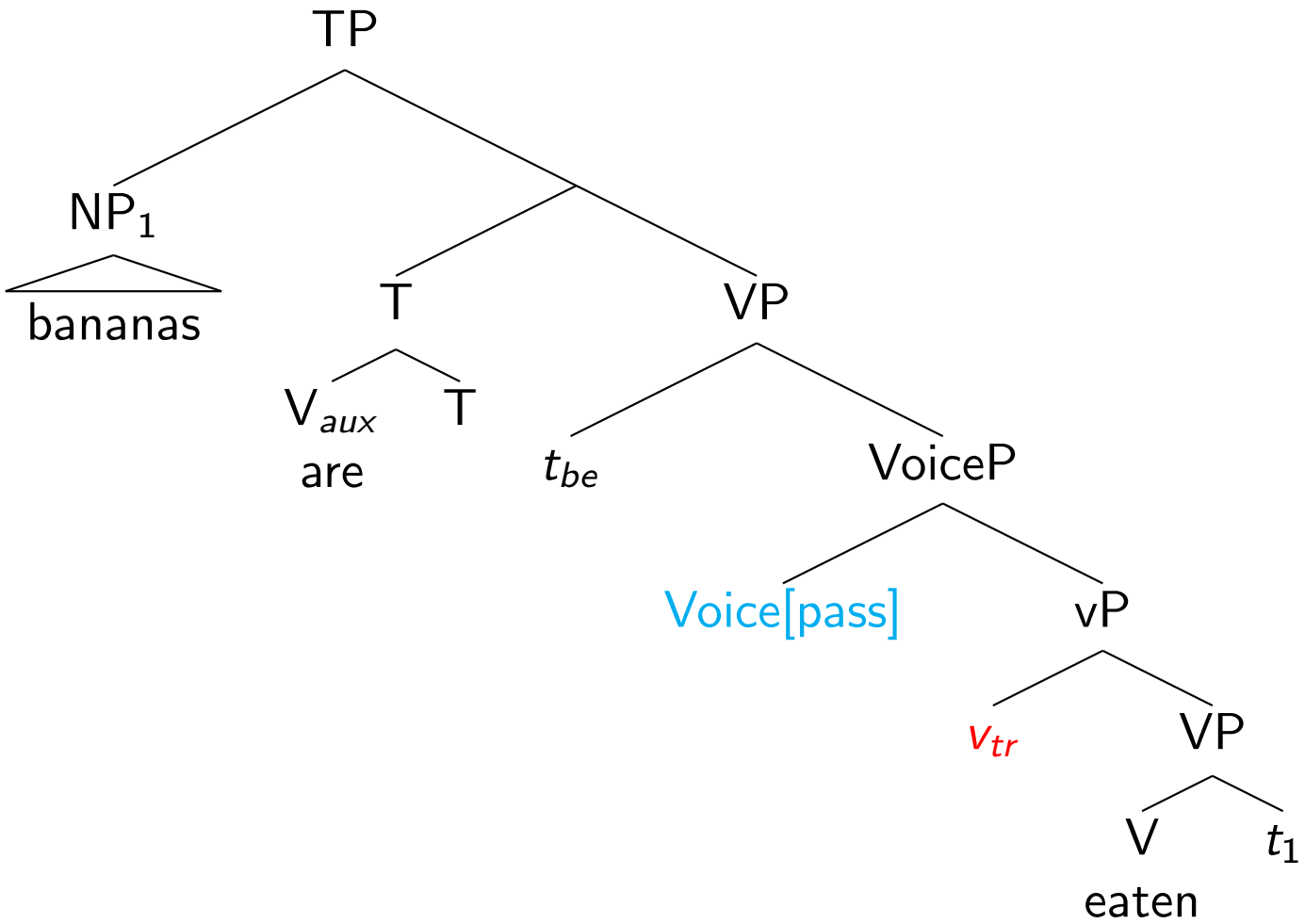
English passive



English passive

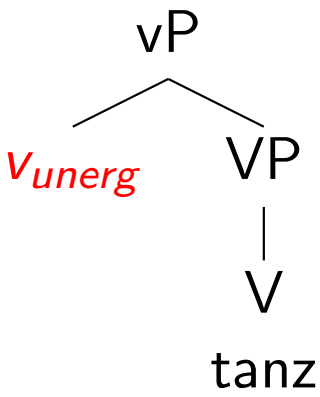


English passive



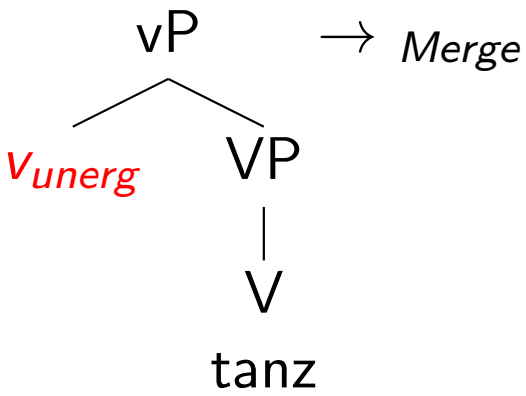
German passive of intransitive (unergative)

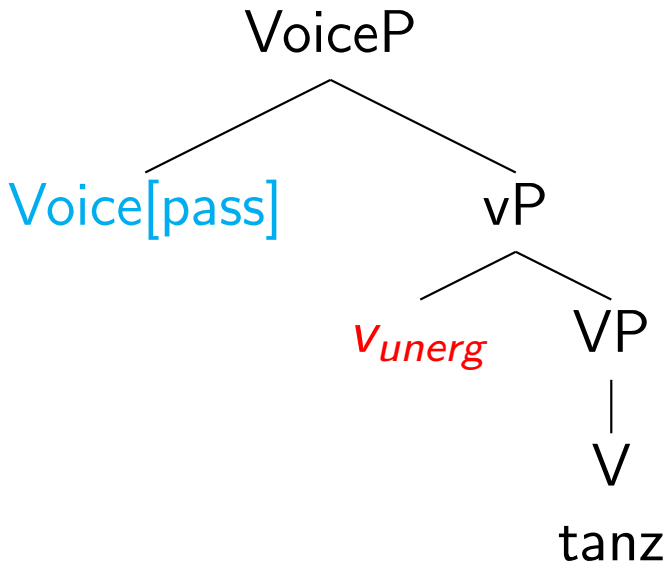
Voice[pass] $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [Voice_{pass}] \\ \text{sel} & [v] \end{bmatrix}$



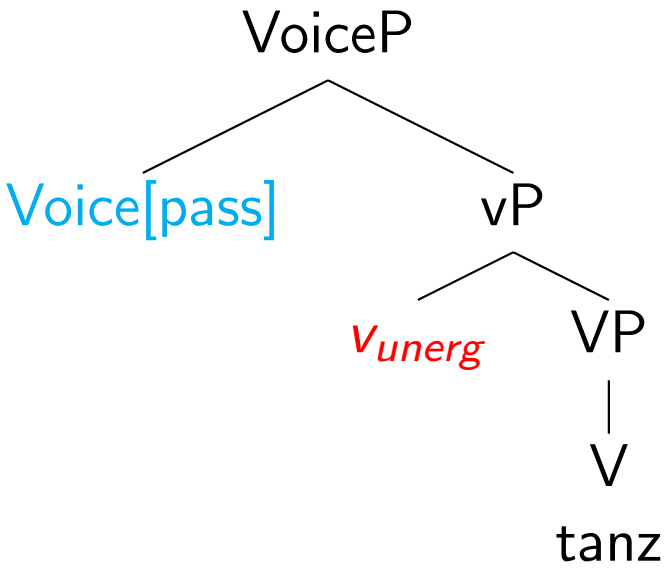
German passive of intransitive (unergative)

Voice[pass] $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [Voice_{pass}] \\ \text{sel} & [v] \end{bmatrix}$

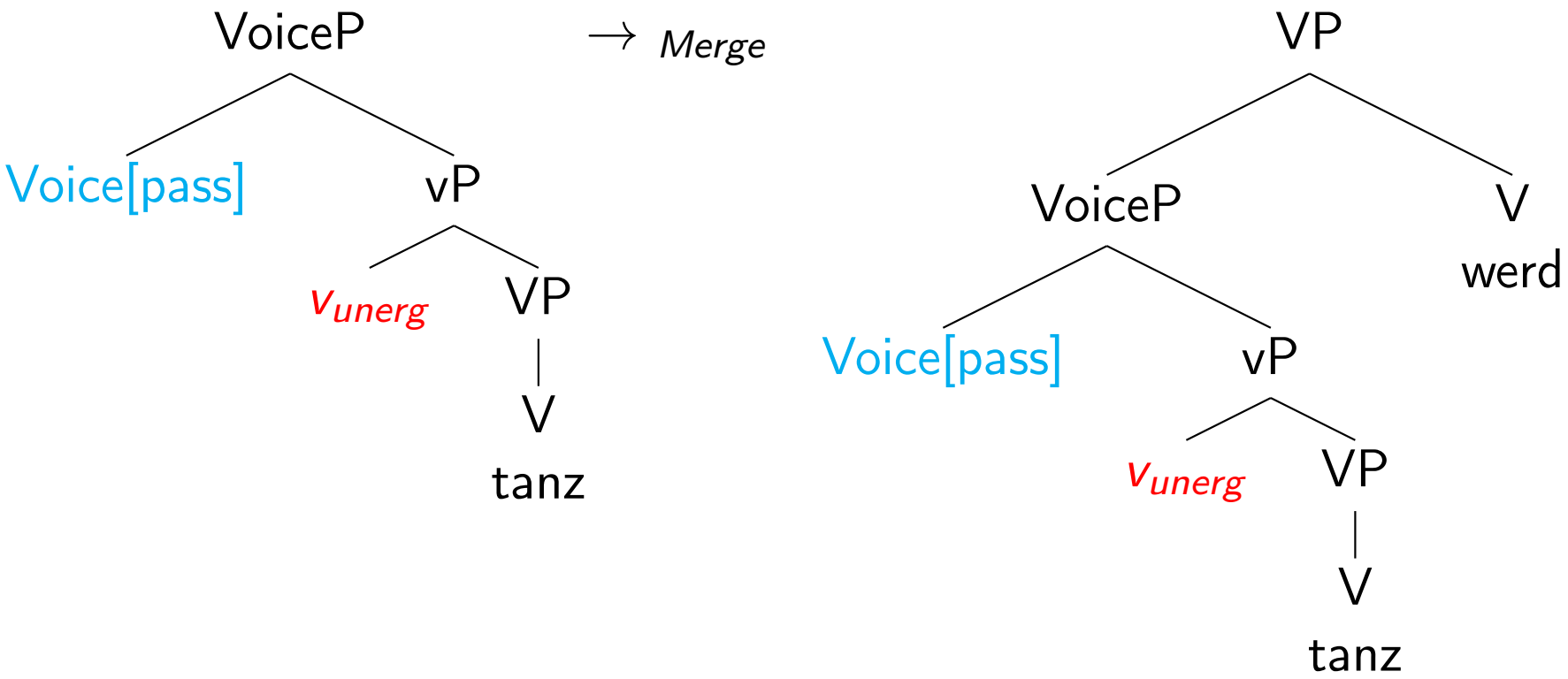




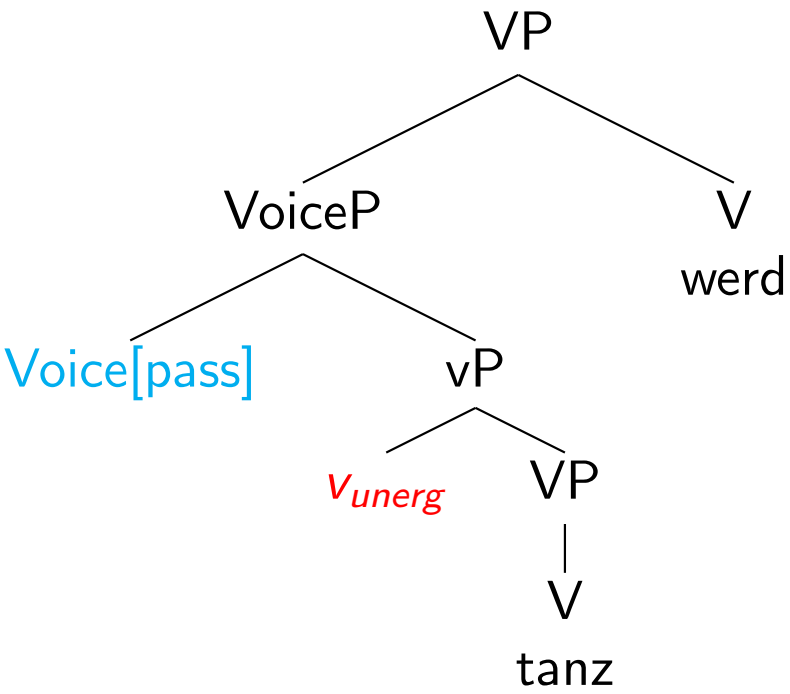
German passive of intransitive (unergative)



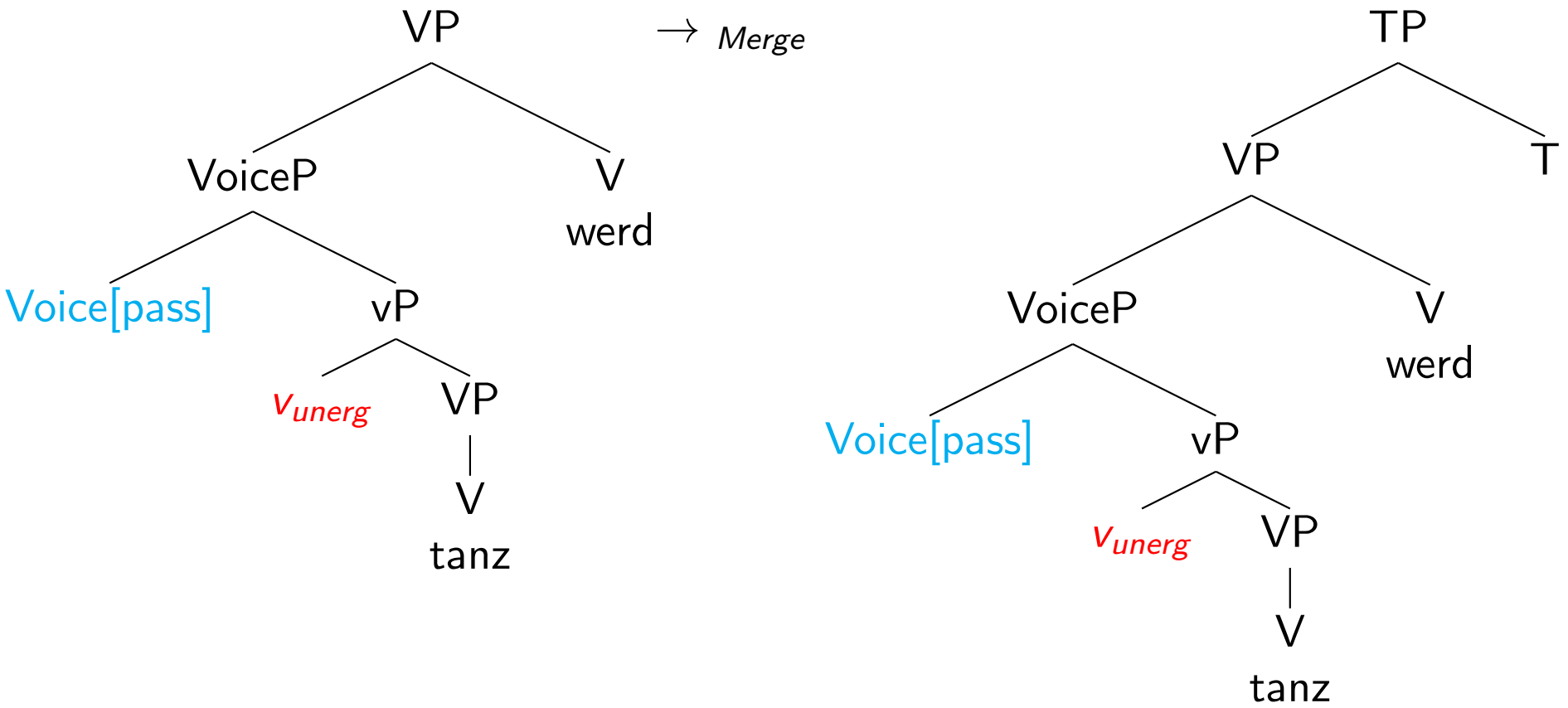
German passive of intransitive (unergative)



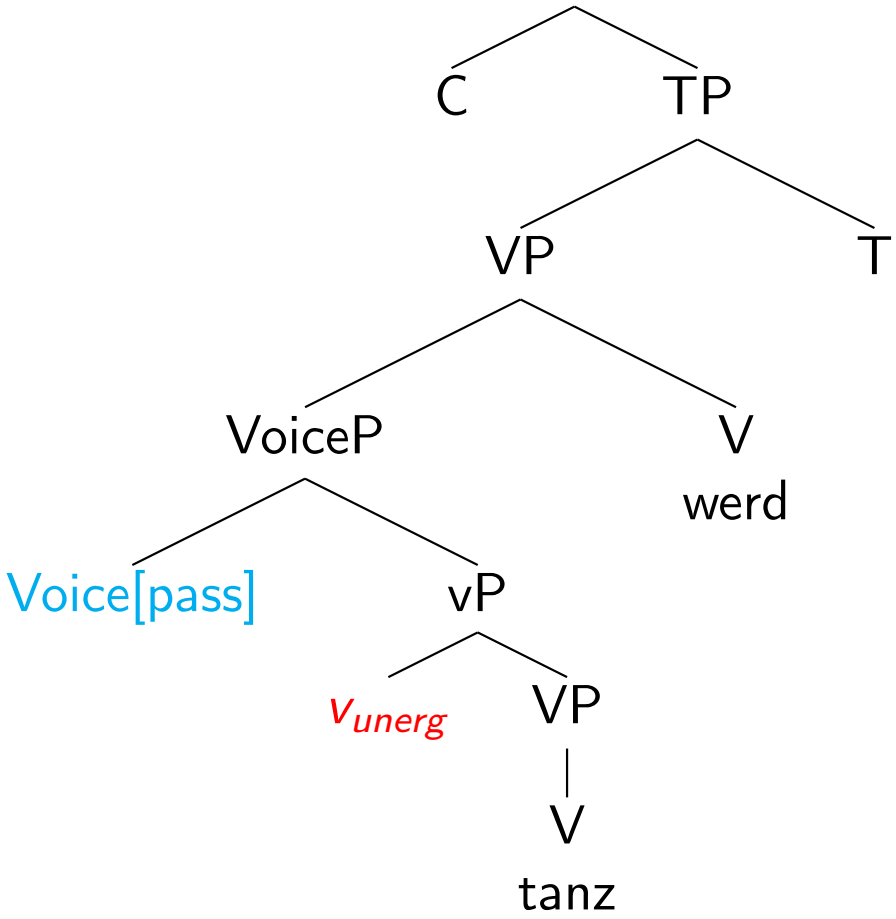
German passive of intransitive (unergative)



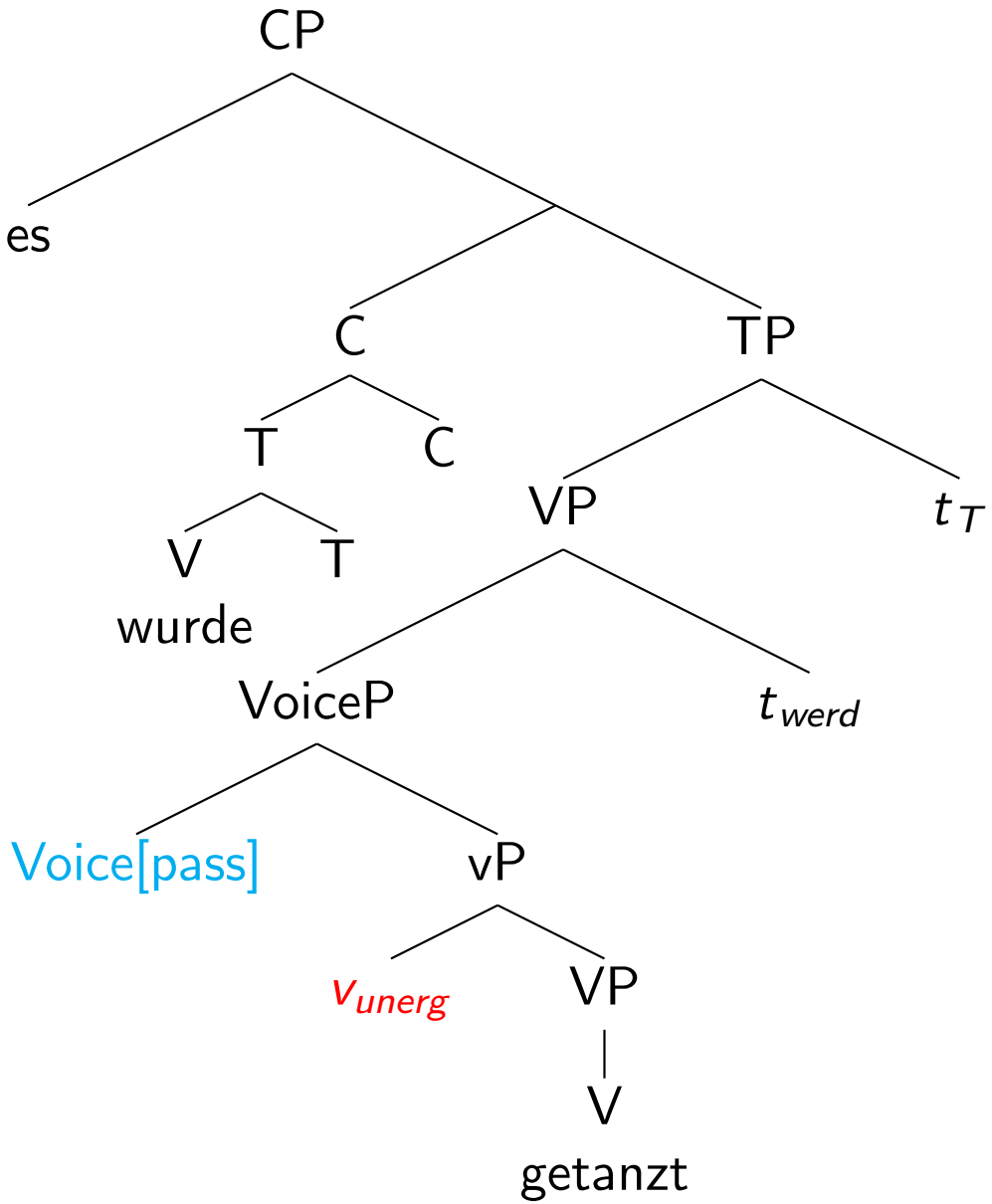
German passive of intransitive (unergative)



German passive of intransitive (unergative)



German passive of intransitive (unergative)



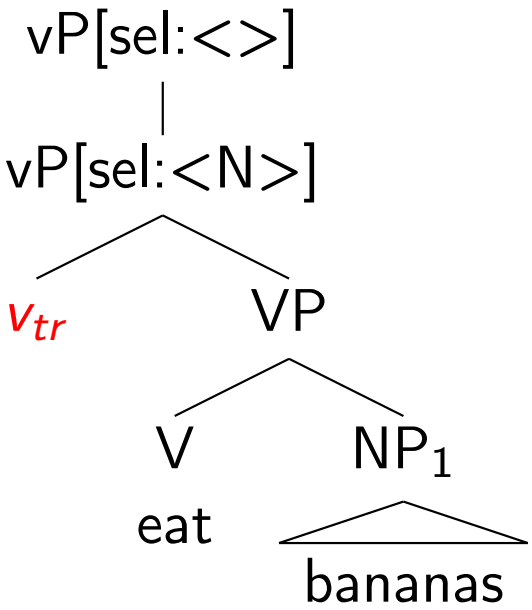
Syntactic type-shifters

Argument 'demotion' or 'suppression' is due to elimination of selection features:

(44) $\textsc{ex}(X[\text{sel:}<F_1, \ldots, F_n>]) = X[\text{sel:}<F_2, \ldots, F_n>]$

Applied to v_{tr}P:

(45)



Cross-linguistic differences

English:

Voice[pass] $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [\mathit{Voice}_{pass}] \\ \text{sel} & [v_{tr}] \end{bmatrix}$

German:

Voice[pass] $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cat} & [\mathit{Voice}_{pass}] \\ \text{sel} & [v] \end{bmatrix}$

The end

Thank you, Larry!

Some definitions

1. A grammar G consists of a pair of a set of lexical elements L and a set of operations O: $G =< L, O >$
2. A derivation on a numeration D_N is a pair: $D_N =< N, < PM_{\mathbf{1}}, \ldots, PM_n >>$, where
   1. N, called the Numeration, is a nonempty set of lexical elements drawn from L and a possibly empty set S of phrase markers PM (each of which is itself the result of a separate convergent or semi-convergent derivation), and
   2. $< PM_{\mathbf{1}}, \ldots, PM_n >$ is an ordered n-tuple of phrase markers PM.
3. A derivation D_N is said to be *convergent* (or to *converge*)[1] iff
   1. PM_n contains no unvalued (:_) features
   2. PM_n contains no strong (*) features
   3. PM_n contains no selectional features
   4. All elements in the Numeration have been Merged
   5. For each adjacent pair of phrase markers $< PM_k, PM_{k+\mathbf{1}} >$ in D_N, there is an operation $\omega \in O$ such that ω applied to PM_k yields $PM_{k+\mathbf{1}}$.
4. A phrase P (including a sentence) is *well-formed* iff there is at least one convergent derivation for P.
5. The Minimalist Program, in essence = $min|O|$ (Minimize the number of operations in O).

[1] A derivation D_N is *semi-convergent* iff it satisfies conditions 2-5 of this definition.

Some definitions: Operations

(46) Adjoin(α, β)
For any syntactic objects α, β, where neither α nor β has any unchecked selectional feature, call α the host, and

a. let α = { γ,{ α, β}}
call γ the label (or projection) and

b. let $\gamma = \alpha$

(47) Agree(X,Y; F) (read: 'X triggers agreement on Y with respect to F' or 'Y agrees with X in F' or 'X controls agreement on target Y for F')
For any syntactic objects X and Y in a phrase marker, where X bears a feature F with value Val(F) and Y bears a matching[2] unvalued[3] inflectional feature F′:__, and either X c-commands Y or Y c-commands X,

a. let Val(F′) = Val(F)

(48) Move$_{head}$(X, Y) (read: 'Y moves to X')
If Y is a head with feature F, X a head with a matching feature F, and X c-commands Y, and F is a strong inflectional feature on either Y or X, then

a. let X = {X, {Y, X}} and

b. let F* = F$^{<*>}$, and

c. let Y = <Y>

(49) Move$_{phrase}$(Y, X) (read: 'Y moves to specXP')
If X is a projection with a feature F, Y a maximal projection with a matching feature F, and X contains Y, and F is strong (marked F*) on X or Y or both, then

a. let X = {X, {Y, X}} and

b. let all occurrences of F* on X, Y = F$^{<*>}$, and

c. let Y = <Y>

[2] A feature F matches a feature F′ iff F=F′.

[3] A feature F is unvalued iff Val(F)=∅.

Pseudopassives vs. *pseudomiddles

(50) This thermostat can't be relied on easily.

(51) a. *This thermostat doesn't rely on easily.

b. *This thermostat doesn't rely easily.

(52) Cf. This thermostat doesn't install easily.

(53) a. These people don't deceive easily.

b. *These people don't lie to easily.

(54) a. Large murals don't paint easily.

b. *Large murals don't work on easily.

Pseudopassives vs. *pseudomiddles

(55) Most kids can't play this minuet on this flute easily.

(56) a. This minuet can't be played on this flute easily (by most kids).

b. This flute can't be played on (by most kids).

c. *This flute can't be played this minuet/anything on (by most kids).

Cf. This candy can't be given the children./*These children can't be given candy to.

(57) a. This minuet doesn't play easily (on most flutes).

b. This flute doesn't play easily. (for me, *by me)

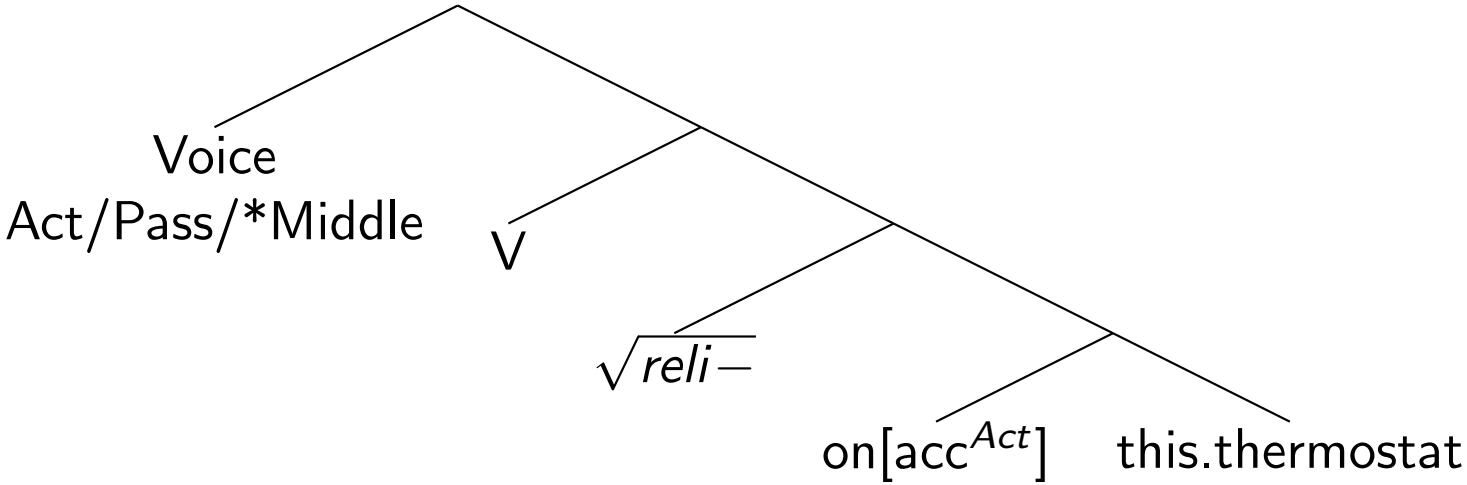
c. *This flute doesn't play on easily.

d. *This flute doesn't play anything on easily.

Postal 2010: 201, Baltin and Postal 1996:134-135fn9; Fagan 1988: 194-195; Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989:45; Huddleston 2002a:308n63; Keyser and Roeper 1984:400; Pollock 1979:126-127n22; Roberts 1987:222

Pseudopassives vs. *pseudomiddles

Conclusion: *on* assigns accusative case (or selects NP[acc]) only when embedded under a local Voice[Act].

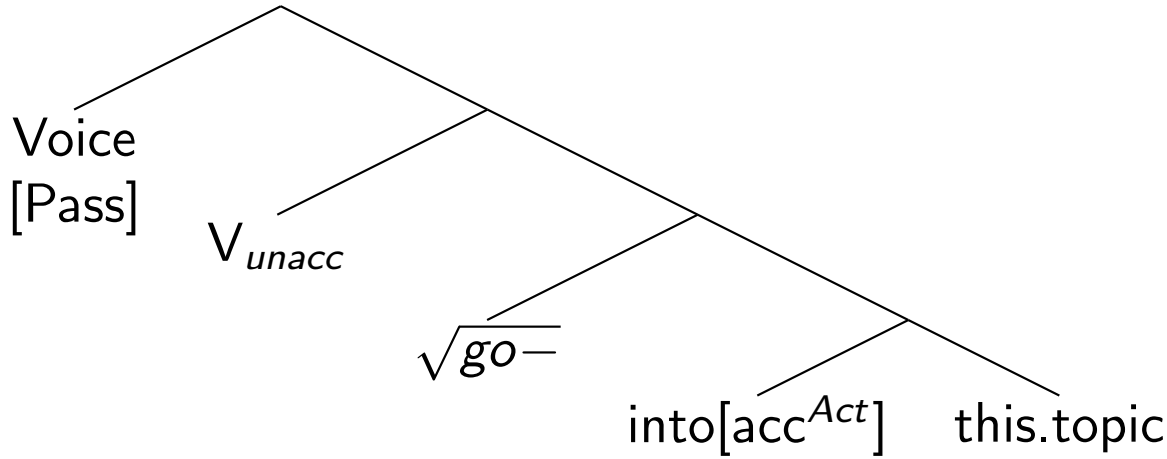


Middle formation is lexical in a way that passive (including pseudopassive) is not.

Pseudopassives vs. *pseudomiddles

(58) This topic should not have been gone into at all.

(59) This topic has been worked on by many linguists.



• It's about Voice (in the traditional sense), not v_{tr} or [acc], or Kratzer's (Legate, Alexiadou, etc.) Voice. A verb doesn't need an external argument, or the ability to assign [acc], to occur in the (pseudo)passive.
(Speculation: such freakish behavior necessarily piggybacks on the resultative participle? What about deponents like *ergazome* 'work' and *kimame* 'sleep'?)

No pseudo *-able* adjectives

(60) a. This paper is unreadable.

b. This show is unwatchable.

(61) a. He's an often relied-on substitute host.

b. He is very reliable (*on).

c. *This show is unlookable at.

Like pseudomiddles:

*dependable (*on), dispensable (*with), laughable (*at)*.

No pseudo *-able* adjectives

(63) a. This paper is unreadable.
b. This show is unwatchable.

(64) a. He's an often relied-on substitute host.
b. He is very reliable (*on).
c. *This show is unlookable at.

Like pseudomiddles:
*dependable (*on), dispensable (*with), laughable (*at)*.
And in compounds:

(65) a. a drug-independent (*from) life; his drug-independence (*from)
b. a drug-dependent (*on) life; his drug-dependence (*from)
c. a time-sensitive (*to) matter; the matter's time-sensitivity (*to)