

I propose that in clauses involving DP \bar{A} -movement in Acehnese (and other languages showing the relevant pattern), Inheritance fails to apply. That is, when C contains nominal \bar{A} -features, Infl does not inherit A-features from C, leaving C as the source of nominative case and the locus of the EPP. Let us look at two representative derivations. First, consider a subject-*wh* question.

- (148) Soe yang pajôh ungot?
 who COMP eat fish
 'Who ate the fish?'

C probes down the tree looking for a DP and finds the thematic subject 'who'. Note that it is important that it be looking for a DP, rather than \bar{A} -features; this pattern is limited to DP \bar{A} -elements. This DP agrees with the \bar{A} -features of C and is assigned nominative case by C; then it raises to the specifier of CP. This type of derivation applies whenever the DP with \bar{A} -features is also the grammatical subject—for example, when movement of the thematic object in a passive is involved.

- (149) Peue yang geu-pajôh lé Ibrahim?
 what COMP 3POL-eat by Ibrahim
 'What does Ibrahim eat?'

However, another derivation is possible. Consider a long-distance *wh*-question.

- (150) Soe geu-peugah lé Ibrahim yang tingkue aneuk miet nyan?
 who 3POL-say by Ibrahim COMP carry.in.cloth child small DEM
 'Who did Ibrahim say carried the child?'

C probes down the tree looking for a DP and finds 'who', the subject of the embedded clause that has been raised to the embedded specifier of CP. This DP agrees with C; however, it cannot receive nominative case from C, since it was already assigned nominative case in the embedded clause. Nominative is simply not assigned. (See, for example, Legate 2008 on the empirical necessity of grammatical derivations in which nominative case fails to be assigned, and a discussion of technical means by which such derivations can be achieved.) Note that the matrix clause, then, lacks a grammatical subject. An alternative derivation whereby the matrix clause does have a grammatical subject cannot be created (see (151)), since Infl has no features that allow it to probe for, agree with, and raise a DP.³⁵

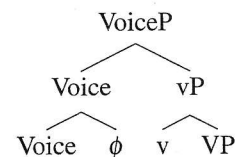
- (151) *Soe Ibrahim geu-peugah yang tingkue aneuk miet nyan?
 who Ibrahim 3POL-say COMP carry.in.cloth child small DEM
 'Who did Ibrahim say carried the child?'

4 A Cline of Passives

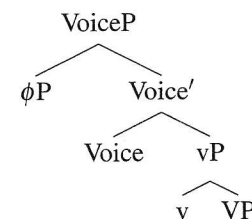
In chapters 2 and 3, I used Acehnese data to analyze two distinct nonactive voices: the passive voice, in which semantically interpretable features that restrict the initiator θ -role appear on Voice, and the object voice, in which a DP bearing the initiator θ -role appears in the specifier of VoiceP but does not raise to become the grammatical subject. In this chapter, I discuss two additional passive-like constructions found in other languages: the grammatical object passive and the impersonal. I argue that the grammatical object passive is similar to the Acehnese passive in that semantically interpretable ϕ -features restrict the initiator θ -role, while differing in that these restrictive ϕ -features appear in the specifier of VoiceP rather than in Voice. (Following Chomsky 1995a, this placement results in their having the categorial status of an XP (as well as an X).) This locates the grammatical object passive as an intermediate step between the passive and the impersonal, in which an impersonal pronominal appears in the specifier of VoiceP. The impersonal adds a D to the ϕ -features, which results in their being referential rather than restrictive.¹ Together, these constitute a cline of passive-like voices, represented schematically in (152).²

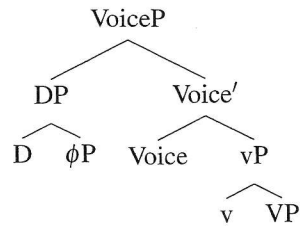
(152)

a. *Canonical passive*



b. *Grammatical object passive*



c. *Impersonal*

I begin the development of this typology with a discussion of Icelandic, before turning to Slavic and Celtic languages. In this chapter, I build on the excellent existing literature establishing the properties of these constructions.

Icelandic exhibits a new construction that has attracted much attention (e.g., Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, Maling 2006, Eythórssón 2008, Jónsson 2009, Sigurðsson 2011, Ingason et al. 2013b).³ It is referred to in the literature as the *new passive* or the *new impersonal*; here, I refer to it as a *grammatical object passive*, and I develop an analysis of what this means.⁴ The interest of the grammatical object passive is that although the verb bears passive morphology, the thematic object remains the grammatical object. Most basically, the thematic object bears accusative case and cannot raise to the grammatical subject position in the specifier of TP. In (153),⁵ we see that for a typical transitive verb like 'beat', the case on the thematic object is accusative in the active voice and changes to nominative in the canonical passive voice; in the grammatical object passive, it remains accusative. The past participle in Icelandic agrees in number and gender with a nominative DP, and otherwise appears in a default form, which is identical to the neuter singular. A consequence of the difference in case on the thematic object between the two constructions is therefore a difference in participle agreement: in the canonical passive, the participle agrees with the nominative thematic object, whereas in the grammatical object passive, the participle appears in a default form. This agreement morphology is glossed in (153b) and (153c), but not in subsequent examples for ease of exposition.

(153) a. *Icelandic active*

Álfurinn lamdi strákin.
elf.NOM.DEF beat.PST boy.ACC.DEF

'The elf beat the boy.'

b. *Icelandic canonical passive*

Strákurinn var laminn.
boy.NOM.DEF was beaten.M.SG.NOM

'The boy was beaten.'

c. *Icelandic grammatical object passive*

Það var lamið strákin.
EXPL was beaten.DFLT boy.ACC.DEF

'The boy was beaten.'

In (153c), in contrast with (153b), notice that the object has not raised to occupy the grammatical subject position between the auxiliary and lexical verb, appearing instead after the lexical verb. In (154) we see that raising the thematic object to the grammatical subject position is ungrammatical in the grammatical object passive, in contrast with the canonical passive. (In these examples, an adverb is used to fill the initial position required by the verb-second nature of the language.)

(154) a. *Icelandic grammatical object passive*

*Stundum var strákin lamið.
sometimes was boy.ACC.DEF beaten

'Sometimes, the boy was beaten.'

b. *Icelandic canonical passive*

Stundum var strákurinn laminn.
sometimes was boy.NOM.DEF beaten

'Sometimes, the boy was beaten.'

Although raising of the thematic object to the grammatical subject position is possible in the canonical passive, it is not required. When the thematic object remains low in the canonical passive, however, it shows the definiteness effect characteristic of expletive constructions (for discussion of the definiteness effect in Icelandic, see Vangsnes 2002 among others). However, the thematic object in the grammatical object passive shows no such effect. The contrast is illustrated in (155). This indicates that the low positioning of the thematic objects in the two constructions has two distinct sources: the thematic object remains low in the grammatical object passive because it is the grammatical object, whereas the thematic object may remain low in the canonical passive because movement to the grammatical subject position may fail to take place in expletive constructions.

(155) a. *Icelandic canonical passive*

Það var laminn strákur(*inn).
EXPL was beaten boy.NOM.(*DEF)

'A/*The boy was beaten.'

b. *Icelandic grammatical object Passive*

Það var lamið strákk(inn).

EXPL was beaten boy.ACC.(DEF)

‘A/The boy was beaten.’

The distinction in grammatical function between the thematic object in the canonical passive and the thematic object in the grammatical object passive is also reflected in finite agreement: the nominative thematic object in the canonical passive triggers grammatical subject agreement, whereas the accusative object in the grammatical object passive does not. On an agreement-based theory of control like that proposed by Landau (2004), this agreement difference may explain a difference in control possibilities. The thematic object in the canonical passive can control into an infinitival adjunct clause, even when the object remains low, but the thematic object in the grammatical object passive cannot (Jónsson 2009).

(156) a. *Icelandic canonical passive*

?Þá voru ráðnir tveir menn án þess að hafa
then were hired two.NOM men.NOM without it to have
næga menntun.
enough education

‘Then, two men were hired without having enough education.’

b. *Icelandic grammatical object passive*

*Þá var ráðið tvo menn án þess að hafa næga
then was hired two.ACC men.ACC without it to have enough
menntun.
education

‘Then, two men were hired without having enough education.’
(Jónsson 2009, 285)

For Landau (2004), control is mediated through a series of agreement operations. On this system, agreement between the thematic object and T will allow the thematic object to control, subsequent to a further agreement between T and the embedded PRO. This agreement applies in the canonical passive, allowing the low object to control, but not in the grammatical object passive, preventing the low object from controlling. See Landau 2004 for details on the mechanics of control under this system.

In that the thematic object remains the grammatical object, the grammatical object passive resembles an active. And indeed, Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir (2002) propose that the new construction is an active impersonal construction with a null thematic subject. However, the construction also exhibits passive properties, in addition to the presence of the verbal morphology. Consider the licensing of ‘by’-phrases, which would be expected to be possible for a passive but not for an active impersonal. The test is complicated by the fact that Icelandic disfavors the presence of ‘by’-phrases even with canonical passives when the thematic object remains low in the tree. However, to the extent that ‘by’-phrases are possible with a low object in the language generally, they are also possible in the grammatical object passive (Jónsson 2009).⁶

(157) a. *Icelandic canonical passive*

?Það var skoðaður bíll af bifvélavirkjanum.
EXPL was inspected car.NOM by car.mechanic.DEF

‘There was a car inspected by the car mechanic.’

b. *Icelandic grammatical object passive*

?Það var skoðað bílinn af bifvélavirkjanum.
EXPL was inspected car.ACC.DEF by car.mechanic.DEF

‘The car was inspected by the car mechanic.’

The ability of an implicit initiator to license depictive secondary predicates in English passives is a matter of some debate (see Roeper 1987, Landau 2010). For Icelandic, Jónsson (2009) reports that the implicit initiator in a canonical passive cannot license a depictive secondary predicate, nor can the implicit initiator in a grammatical object passive, providing an additional manner in which the grammatical object passive patterns with the passive.

(158) a. *Icelandic canonical passive*

*Morgunmatur er alltaf borðaður nakinn.
breakfast.NOM is always eaten naked

‘Breakfast is always eaten naked.’

b. *Icelandic grammatical object passive*

*Það er alltaf borðað morgunmat nakinn.
EXPL is always eaten breakfast.ACC naked

‘Breakfast is always eaten naked.’ (Jónsson 2009, 297)

Thus, the grammatical object passive exhibits behavior intermediate between a passive and an active.

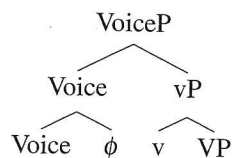
The assignment of accusative case to the thematic object in a passive construction would be expected if Burzio's Generalization were not active in the grammar of those Icelandic speakers who allow the grammatical object passive. However, Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir (2002), Jónsson (2009), and Sigurðsson (2011) demonstrate that for these speakers Burzio's Generalization otherwise holds; (159a) illustrates with an unaccusative verb, while (159b) uses a verb with a dative experiencer subject.

- (159) a. Það eru horfnir peningar. / *Það er horfið peninga.
 EXPL are gone money.NOM EXPL is gone money.ACC
 'Some money has disappeared.' (Sigurðsson 2011, 161)
- b. Mér leiddist hún/*hana.
 me.DAT bored she.NOM/her.ACC
 'I found her boring.' (Sigurðsson 2011, 161)

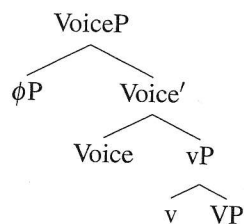
An alternative explanation is required.

I propose an explanation for the mixed properties of the Icelandic impersonal passive that builds on the analysis of Acehnese passives developed in the preceding chapters. While Acehnese places ϕ -features semantically restricting the initiator in the head of VoiceP, Icelandic places these features in the specifier of VoiceP. This placement in Icelandic results in their having the categorial status of an XP (Chomsky 1995a).

(160) *Acehnese passive voice*



(161) *Icelandic grammatical object passive*



This minimal difference has consequences in the grammar. The presence of a nominal element in the specifier of VoiceP in the Icelandic grammatical object

passive is sufficient to allow assignment of accusative case, in apparent satisfaction of Burzio's Generalization. This generalization is reproduced in (162).

(162) *Burzio's Generalization*

All and only the verbs that can assign a θ -role to the subject can assign accusative Case to an object. (Burzio, 1986, 178)

Dating from almost thirty years ago, the generalization does not take into account the type of syntactic structures posited in this book. It is now Voice rather than the verb itself that assigns the external θ -role and accusative case. Since the (canonical) passive Voice introduces the subject initiator θ -role, this head can assign the subject θ -role, contrasting with the Voice related to unaccusative verbs, which truly cannot assign the subject θ -role. Nevertheless, neither Voice assigns accusative case. Instead, the relevant property shared between passives and unaccusatives appears to be that in neither case is a thematic subject merged into the specifier of Voice.⁷

(163) *Burzio's Generalization (revised)*

All and only the Voice heads that

- a. can assign a θ -role to the subject and
 - b. have a subject merged into their specifier
- can assign accusative case to an object.

We have no a priori expectation of how a Voice should behave that can assign a θ -role to the subject and that has a restrictive XP (rather than a saturating DP) merged into its specifier. Empirically, we see from accusative case assignment in the Icelandic grammatical object passive that such an XP "counts" as a subject for the purposes of Burzio's Generalization.

Owing to the presence of ϕ P in the specifier of VoiceP in the Icelandic grammatical object passive, Voice assigns accusative case in this construction, just as Voice assigns accusative case in the active voice. This accounts for the case properties of the thematic object in the grammatical object passive. The thematic object does not raise to the grammatical subject position, both because of its case properties and because of the intervening ϕ P in the specifier of VoiceP. Hence, it patterns as a grammatical object, identically to the thematic object of the active voice.

The Icelandic ϕ P, like the Acehnese ϕ -features on Voice, restricts the thematic subject position, but does not saturate it. This allows for the licensing of 'by'-phrases in the grammatical object passive (to the extent allowed for passives with low objects in the language generally) and accounts for the failure of depictive secondary predicate licensing (see Landau 2010 on the necessity of a full DP for such licensing).⁸

The analysis of the Icelandic grammatical object passive presented here (based on Legate 2011a, Ingason et al. 2012) partially converges with that of Sigurðsson (2011), specifically the claim that the construction has a bundle of ϕ -features in the thematic subject position (Sigurðsson, 2011, 174);⁹ otherwise, the analyses are distinct.¹⁰ For Sigurðsson (2011), the ϕ -features are “expletive”; in the canonical passive these features incorporate into the lexical verb, while in the grammatical object passive they do not. The presence of accusative case on the object in the grammatical object passive but not the canonical passive is a second difference between the two constructions for Sigurðsson (2011), independent of the behavior of the ϕ -features: an agreement operation in the syntax between *v* and the Voice of the canonical passive eliminates the “*” from the *v* (see Chomsky 2000 on transitive *v*P being referred to as “*v**P”), thus preventing the *v* from assigning accusative case; this operation fails to apply in the grammatical object passive.¹¹

The current proposal is also related to that of Landau (2010). Landau proposes for the English canonical passive that the implicit initiator is present as a bundle of ϕ -features in the thematic subject position. I have argued that this structure is appropriate for the grammatical object passive, but that in the canonical passive the ϕ -features are located on Voice, rather than in the specifier of VoiceP. (It should be noted that the passive implicit initiator does not feature prominently in Landau’s article, which focuses more on other implicit arguments, and that Landau does not explicitly argue for the location of the ϕ -feature bundle in passives.)

It is important to recognize that the proposed analysis whereby restrictive ϕ -features appear in the specifier of VoiceP applies not only to an innovative construction in Icelandic, but more generally. Hence, I now turn to related constructions in other languages. To begin, the Icelandic construction patterns with other passives with accusative objects that have long been recognized as problematic, including the Ukrainian participle construction characterized by the verb-final suffix *-no/-to* (historically, the neuter form of the past passive participle) (see, e.g., Sobin 1985, Baker et al. 1989, Billings and Maling 1995, Lavine and Freidin 2002, Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, Lavine 2010, 2013).¹² I argue that the Ukrainian *-no/-to* construction can be explained by means of the same analysis as the Icelandic grammatical object passive; hence, I will refer to the Ukrainian construction as a grammatical object passive. I begin by demonstrating that Ukrainian exhibits the same basic mixture of properties found in the Icelandic grammatical object passive: the object bears accusative case and patterns as an active object, and yet the construction also shows passive characteristics.

The examples in (164) illustrate the case distinction: the thematic object of the Ukrainian canonical passive bears nominative case, whereas the thematic

object of the grammatical object passive bears accusative case. These examples also illustrate that, as in Icelandic, the nominative thematic object in the canonical passive triggers agreement on the lexical verb and on the finite auxiliary, whereas the accusative thematic object in the grammatical object passive does not.

(164) a. *Ukrainian canonical passive*

Cerkva bula zbudovana v 1640 roc'i.
church.F.NOM be.PST.F build.PTCP.F.SG in year

‘The church was built in 1640.’ (Sobin 1985, 654)

b. *Ukrainian grammatical object passive*

Cerkvu bulo zbudovano v 1640 roc'i.
church.F.ACC be.PST.N build.PTCP in year

‘The church was built in 1640.’ (Sobin 1985, 653)

The thematic object in the grammatical object passive patterns with the grammatical object of actives in allowing genitive case in the context of negation.¹³ In contrast, the thematic object in the canonical passive patterns with the grammatical subject of actives in not allowing the genitive.

(165) a. *Ukrainian canonical passive*

Cerkva/*Cerkvy ne bula zbudovana.
church.NOM/church.GEN NEG be.PST.F build.PTCP.F.SG

‘The church was not built.’

b. *Ukrainian grammatical object passive*

Cerkvy ne bulo zbudovano.
church.GEN NEG be.PST.N build.PTCP

‘The church was not built.’ (Sobin 1985, 655)

Furthermore, the thematic object of the canonical passive patterns as a grammatical subject in that it may be controlled PRO under the matrix verb ‘want’, whereas the thematic object of the grammatical object passive may not be controlled PRO, indicating that it is not the grammatical subject.

(166) a. *Ukrainian canonical passive*

Vin xot'iv (buty) poslanyj tudy.
he.NOM wanted to.be send.PTCP.M.SG there

‘He wanted to be sent there.’

b. *Ukrainian grammatical object passive*

*Vin xot'iv (buty) poslano tudy.
he.ACC wanted to.be send.PTCP there

'He wanted to be sent there.' (Sobin 1985, 655)

um, the thematic object in the grammatical object passive in Ukrainian
erns as a grammatical object, identically to the thematic object in the
nmatlcal object passive in Icelandic. It is perhaps surprising, then, that
accusative thematic object in the grammatical object passive construction
' appear discourse-neutrally in initial position in ukrainian. See Lavine
Freidin 2002, where it is claimed that movement to the initial position
iggered solely by the EPP.

urthermore, like the Icelandic grammatical object passive, the Ukrainian
nmatlcal object passive shows characteristics of a passive. The initiator
' be expressed in a 'by'-phrase, which in Ukrainian is an adjunct in the
umental case.

1) *Ukrainian grammatical object passive*

a. Cerkvu bulo zbudovano Lesevym.
church.F.ACC be.PST.N build.PTCP Lesiv.INS

'The church was built by Lesiv.' (Sobin 1985, 658)

b. Tabir bulo zajnjato amerykans'kym vijs'kom.
camp.ACC be.PST.N occupied.PTCP American troops.INS

'The camp was occupied by American troops.' (Lavine 2013, 188)

lavine (2013) demonstrates that the Ukrainian grammatical object passive
struction may not apply to unaccusative predicates; it may only apply to
e with an external initiator or causer.¹⁴

3) *Ukrainian grammatical object passive*

a. Kulju bulo rozirvano cvjaxom.
balloon.ACC be.PST.N pierced.PTCP nail.INS

'The balloon was pierced by a nail.'

b. *Kulju bulo trisnuto.
balloon.ACC be.PST.N burst.PTCP

'The balloon burst.' (Lavine 2013, 192)

ccusative predicates instead must appear with the single argument
ominative case; as expected of an unaccusative, the addition of an
ator/causer adjunct is impossible.

(169) *Ukrainian unaccusative*

Kulja trisnula (*cvjaxom).
balloon.F.NOM burst.F.SG nail.INS

'The balloon burst (*by/through the nail).' (Lavine 2013, 192)

I propose that the Ukrainian grammatical object passive may be explained by
means of the same structure as the Icelandic grammatical object passive: a ϕ P
in the specifier of VoiceP restricts the external argument position and allows for
accusative case assignment in satisfaction of Burzio's Generalization.¹⁵ The
external argument position is optionally linked to an instrumental adjunct and
then existentially closed.

Previous approaches to the Ukrainian data maintain that the construction is
a passive, and they posit various mechanisms to account for the accusative
case on the object. For example, Sobin (1985), largely adopting the framework
developed in Chomsky 1981, proposes that while the passive causes accusative
case absorption in English, it need not in Ukrainian. (Note that one cannot
claim that the passive does not cause accusative case absorption in Ukrainian
tout court, since the language does also exhibit a canonical passive in
which accusative case is lost.) Baker et al. (1989), in the context of the
proposal that the passive morpheme itself is assigned both the external
 θ -role and accusative case, propose that in Ukrainian the passive morpheme
optionally does not need accusative case, because it is incorporated into the
verb. Lavine (2013) proposes that for languages in which *v* (specifically,
causative *v*) heads a projection independent of Voice, *v* may assign case
regardless of the properties of Voice.¹⁶ As this book has shown, this cannot be
crosslinguistically valid, since *v*P and VoiceP are independent in Acehnese and
yet the thematic object in the passive patterns as a grammatical subject rather
than a grammatical object. (See also Harley 2013 on Haiki (Uto-Aztecan).)
The present account posits a structural distinction between canonical passives
and grammatical object passives, whereby only the latter exhibit an XP
in the specifier of VoiceP, and so only the latter allow accusative case
assignment.

The Ukrainian grammatical object passive is standardly contrasted with
a Polish construction that uses a cognate *-no/-to* verbal suffix yet exhibits
sharply divergent properties (see, e.g., Billings and Maling 1995, Franks 1995,
Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, Blevins 2003, Lavine 2005, 2013). This
impersonal construction patterns as an active transitive with an unpronounced
DP saturating the external argument position. (170) illustrates basic examples
of the canonical passive and impersonal in Polish.¹⁷

(170) a. *Polish canonical passive*

Świątynia była zbudowana w 1640 roku.
church.NOM was built.F.SG in year

'The church was built in 1640.'

b. *Polish impersonal*

Świątynię zbudowano w 1640 roku.
church.ACC built.IMPERS in year

'They built the church in 1640.' (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, 102)

As illustrated in (170), the thematic object retains accusative case in the Polish impersonal, as in the Ukrainian grammatical object passive but unlike in the canonical passive in either language. The Polish impersonal and the Ukrainian grammatical object passive diverge, however, when we consider passive properties. The Polish impersonal does not license 'by'-phrases, in contrast with the Polish canonical passive, the Ukrainian canonical passive, and the Ukrainian grammatical object passive.

(171) a. *Polish canonical passive*

Jan był obrabowany przez nich.
Jan.NOM was robbed.3M.SG by them

'Jan was robbed by them.' (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, 103)

b. *Polish impersonal*

Jana obrabowano (*przez nich).
Jan.ACC robbed.IMPERS by them

'They robbed Jan (*by them).' (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, 104)

In addition, depictive secondary predicates in the canonical passive are construed with the thematic object, not the implicit initiator, whereas depictive secondary predicates in the impersonal are construed with the initiator.

(172) a. *Polish canonical passive*

Jan był obrabowany po pijanemu.
Jan.NOM was robbed.3M.SG while drunk

'Jan was robbed while (he was) drunk.' (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, 103)

b. *Polish impersonal*

Jana obrabowano po pijanemu.
Jan.ACC robbed.IMPERS while drunk

'They robbed Jan while (they were) drunk.' (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, 104)

Following Landau's (2010) proposal, this indicates that the initiator in the canonical passive does not have a syntactic presence as a full DP, while the initiator in the impersonal does.

Unsurprisingly, the initiator in the impersonal may control an embedded PRO (see notes 8 and 15 for related discussion of Icelandic and Ukrainian).

(173) *Polish impersonal*

Na wzgórzu zaczęto [PRO budować dom].
on hill begun.IMPERS PRO build.INF house.ACC

'They began to build a house on the hill.' (Lavine 2005, 106)

Thus, the Polish impersonal has a thematic DP subject. The features of this subject, however, are tightly constrained. Lavine (2005, 21) states that it must be "[+sentient/volitional]" and of arbitrary reference. For example, the contrast in (174) illustrates the impossibility of nonhuman subjects, and (175) illustrates that the impersonal initiator may not be bound by a higher R-expression.

(174) *Polish impersonal*

a. *Ociełono / okocono się.
calved.IMPERS cubbed/kittened.IMPERS REFL
'There was given birth to a calf/cub/kitten.'

b. Rodzono dzieci w domu.
born.IMPERS children.ACC in home
'They bore children at home.' (Lavine 2005, 21)

(175) *Polish impersonal*

*Jan_i długo szukał tej książki i *ec*_i wreszcie ją
Jan.NOM long.time searched this book.GEN and finally it.ACC
znaleziono.
found.IMPERS

'Jan searched a long time for this book and finally found it.' (Lavine 2005, 22)

These restrictions are indicative of a special impersonal *pro* that bears these features and triggers the impersonal morphology on the verb. It perhaps also bears plural, given the observation (Lavine 2005, 23) that the impersonal initiator triggers plural agreement on predicate adjectives, in contrast with arbitrary *PRO*, which triggers singular.

(176) a. *Polish impersonal*

Wygładano na szczęśliwych / *szczęśliwego.
looked.IMPERS happy.ACC.M.PL happy.ACC.M.SG

'They looked happy.'

b. *Polish arbitrary PRO*

Jest ważne [PRO być *szczęśliwymi / szczęśliwym].
is important PRO to.be happy.INS.PL happy.INS.SG

'It is important to be happy.' (Lavine 2005, 23)

Franks (1995) and Lavine (2005) posit *PRO* as the null impersonal subject, whereas I am using *pro*, decomposed into a ϕ P and dominating DP; this is due both to the contrast in (176) and to the appearance of the impersonal in matrix finite clauses, not a standard context for *PRO* subjects. There is evidence that this *pro* raises to the grammatical subject position: as Lavine (2005) points out, the neutral word order in the Polish impersonal construction is verb-initial, whereas neutral word order is otherwise SVO; this anomaly can be explained if the unpronounced *pro* subject fills the initial subject position.

(177) *Polish impersonal*

Znaleziono niemowlę w koszu.
found.IMPERS baby.ACC in basket

'They found a baby in a basket.' (neutral word order) (Lavine 2005, 23)

The close relationship between a grammatical object passive and an impersonal is not limited to Slavic languages. Posing a similar analytical issue to verbs suffixed with *-no/-to* in Slavic is the "autonomous" verb form in Celtic (see Blevins 2003; Thorne 1993 on Welsh; Anderson 1982, Hewitt 2002 on Breton; Stenson 1989, Noonan 1994, Nolan 2006, Ó Sé 2006, McCloskey 2007 on Irish). Here, I review the pattern in Breton and Irish, properly synchronically analyzed in both cases as an impersonal, although Irish diachrony and dialects

show evidence of a grammatical object passive. Breton exhibits impersonal forms, of which Hewitt (2002, 17) states, "Rather than the passive, the closest equivalent is with French *on* (English *one*)." The thematic object in the Breton impersonal patterns with the object of the Breton active in bearing partitive *a* 'of' when noncountable and in the scope of negation; these data demonstrate that the construction is not a passive, but they are neutral with respect to the distinction between an impersonal and grammatical object passive.¹⁸

(178) *Breton active*a. *Affirmative*

Dibriñ a ran krampouzh.
eat.INF a I.do pancakes

'I eat pancakes.'

b. *Negative*

Ne= zebran ked a= grampouzh.
ne I.eat not of pancakes

'I do not eat pancakes.' (Hewitt 2002, 19)

(179) *Breton impersonal*a. *Affirmative*

Dibriñ a rer krampouzh.
eat.INF a one.does pancakes

'One eats pancakes.'

b. *Negative*

Ne= zebred ked a= grampouzh.
ne one.eats not of pancakes

'One does not eat pancakes.' (Hewitt 2002, 19)

Disambiguating in favor of the impersonal analysis is the fact that the Breton construction disallows 'by'-phrases (which in Breton are based on the preposition *gant* 'with'), while the canonical passive allows them.¹⁹

(180) a. *Breton canonical passive*

Eul lizher a vez skrivet gant an den.
a letter PRT 3SG.be written with the man

'A letter was written by the man.'

b. *Breton impersonal*

Eul lizher a skrived (*gant an den).

a letter PRT one.wrote with the man

‘(Some)one was writing a letter (*by the man).’ (Anderson 1982, 582)

(181) a. *Breton canonical passive*

Prezeged e[≠]vo dissul gant an Tad Erwan Lagadeg.

preached e will.be⁰ Sunday with the Father Erwan Lagadeg

‘Sunday sermon will be preached by Father Erwan Lagadeg.’

b. *Breton impersonal*

Prezeg a raffer dissul (*gant an Tad Erwan Lagadeg).

preach a one.will.do Sunday with the Father Erwan Lagadeg

‘One/Somebody will preach on Sunday (*by Father Erwan Lagadeg).’ (Hewitt 2002, 17)

Furthermore, the impersonal morphology may appear on unaccusatives, including the auxiliary of a nonverbal predicate.

(182) *Breton impersonal*

Alies e vezer klañv.

lots PRT one.be sick

‘One is often sick.’ (Anderson 1982, 24)

This is possible on an impersonal analysis, whereby the argument of the nonverbal predicate is an impersonal pronoun, which triggers impersonal agreement on the auxiliary ‘be’. This type of example would not be expected on a grammatical object passive analysis, whereby restrictive ϕ -features restrict the external argument of the verb.

Turning to Irish, the autonomous form in Irish is interesting in that its behavior is inconsistent between dialects. Again, in all dialects, the thematic object in the autonomous form remains a grammatical object. Given the VSO word order of the language, three tests have been used to disambiguate the subject and object positions in this construction. First, in the active, the adverb *aríst* ‘again’ may precede the object but not the subject. Second, the nominative and accusative forms of the pronoun differ.²⁰ In both of these properties, the thematic object in the impersonal patterns as a grammatical object rather than a grammatical subject. (183) and (184) illustrate these points.

(183) *Irish active*

a. Bhuail siad Ciarraí aríst.
beat.PST they Kerry again
‘They beat Kerry again.’

b. Bhuail siad aríst iad.
beat.PST they again them
‘They beat them again.’

c. *Bhuail aríst siad iad.
beat.PST again they them
‘They beat them again.’ (Stenson 1989, 384)

(184) *Irish impersonal*

a. Buaileadh aríst iad/*siad.
beat.PST.IMPERS again them/they
‘They were beaten again.’ (Stenson 1989, 384)

b. Cuirfear é/*sé sa reilg áitiúil.
bury.FUT.IMPERS him/he in.the graveyard local
‘He will be buried in the local graveyard.’ (McCloskey 2007, 827)

Third, Pyatt (1995) provides evidence from word order, using the progressive construction, which shows ‘be’ *S V O* order. With the autonomous form, the thematic object remains postverbal, patterning with other grammatical objects.

(185) a. *Irish active progressive*

Tá Dierdre ag bualadh Shéamais.
be.PRS Dierdre beat.PROG Seamus.GEN

‘Dierdre is beating Seamus.’ (Pyatt 1995, 11)

b. *Irish impersonal*

Tathar ag bualadh Shéamais.
be.PRS.IMPERS beat.PROG Seamus.GEN

‘Someone is beating Seamus.’ (Pyatt 1995, 12)

The availability of a ‘by’-phrase in Irish with the autonomous form was for some time the source of some confusion (see the summary in Hewitt 2002), but has been clarified by Ó Sé (2006). Ó Sé thoroughly investigates the recent historical development in use of potential by-phrases with autonomous forms, focusing on three prepositions, *le* ‘with’, *ó* ‘from’, and *ag* ‘at’. He finds that the standard preposition for marking an initiator has been *le*, and

concludes it is “unlikely that agent phrases with *le* survived into the nineteenth century in Munster” but “possible . . . that such phrases remained in limited use in Connacht and Ulster well into the nineteenth century” (Ó Sé 2006, 104). This supports a general pattern of change from an Icelandic/Ukrainian-style grammatical object passive to an impersonal (see the brief comments in McCloskey 2007, 826; see also Pyatt 1995 for the suggestion that the Old Irish autonomous form was used for both passive and an impersonal). Two caveats are in order, though. One is the status of *ó* initiator phrases. Ó Sé (2006) finds that these are still in use today with the autonomous verb form in west Galway, and that in recent history they were also found in Donegal, Co. Clare, and perhaps also Co. Cork. Whether this usage indicates that the grammatical object passive analysis is maintained in Galway is unclear. Ó Sé also cites attested examples from that area, including (186), in which *ó*-phrases are used with active verbs.²¹

- (186) Meas tú bpósann siad ón sagart?
 think.PRS you marry they from priest
 ‘Do you think they marry by (the hand of) the priest?’ (i.e., Do they marry in church?) (Ó Sé 2006, 106)

Ó Sé speculates that the use of *ó*-phrases with active verbs may be correlated with their use with autonomous verbs, but notes that more research is required to substantiate this. If confirmed, this correlation would show the autonomous verbs behaving like active verbs in this respect, rather than like passive verbs, and so would support an impersonal analysis for this dialect as well.

The second caveat concerns initiator phrases based on the preposition *ag*. These are found in the present day with the autonomous form in what Hewitt (2002) calls “modern officialese” and Ó Sé (2006) refers to as “high-register genres.” (187) comes from the 1937 constitution.²²

- (187) Is ag an Uachtarán a ceapfar breithiúin na Cúirte
 COP at the president COMP appoint.FUT.IMPERS judges the court
 Uachtaraí . . .
 supreme
 ‘It is by the President that judges of the Supreme Court will be appointed . . .’ (Ó Sé 2006, 109)

Ó Sé (2006, 110) states that “the proliferation of such agent phrases with *ag* in official documents, and especially in journalism, can only be described as an outright imitation of English syntax.” However, he also notes that we must admit “a high-register refinement which is at only a short remove from the

spoken language.” the high register permitting ‘by’-phrases, while the spoken language does not. On the current analysis, this refinement involves a minor change—the elimination of the DP layer dominating ϕ P; this changes the semantic interpretation from a DP saturating the external argument position (see note 1) to ϕ -features restricting the external argument position. In this way, I account for the close relationship between the constructions. I return to this important point below. The overall picture, then, is that present-day spoken Irish patterns with Breton in not allowing ‘by’-phrases with the autonomous verb. Stenson (1989) provides the examples in (188).²³

- (188) *Irish impersonal*
- a. Buailleadh Ciarraí sa gcluife deireanach.
 beat.PST.IMPERS Kerry in.the game last
 ‘Kerry was beaten in the last game.’ (Stenson 1989, 380)
- b. *Buailleadh Ciarraí ag/le Gaillimh.
 beat.PST.IMPERS Kerry by Galway
 ‘Kerry was beaten by Galway.’ (Stenson 1989, 381)

The initiator in the Irish impersonal also patterns as a thematic DP initiator in that it can control, identically to active initiators (see (189)–(190)), and it can antecede a reciprocal (see (191)).²⁴

- (189) *Irish active*
- a. Chaithfeadh siad [PRO na cosa a nighe in uisce na
 must.COND they the feet PRT wash in water the
 bhfataí].
 potatoes.GEN
 ‘They would have to wash their feet in the potato water.’
- b. D’fhéadfá [PRO tuairisc a chur in Áth Buí.
 can.COND.2SG inquiry PRT put in Athboy
 ‘You could inquire in Athboy.’ (Stenson 1989, 390)

- (190) *Irish impersonal*
- a. Caithfear [PRO a phutóga agus a chuid feola a
 must.FUT.IMPERS his cuts and his share flesh.GEN PRT
 scríobadh den talamh le spúnóga].
 scrape from.the ground with spoons
 ‘They will have to scrape his guts and flesh from the ground with spoons.’

- b. Ní fhéadfaí [PRO feall a dhéanamh air].
 NEG can.COND.IMPERS failure PRT make on.3SG
 ‘One couldn’t let him down.’
- c. Táthar ag iarraidh [PRO airgead a bhailiú].
 be.PRS.IMPERS at try money PRT collect.VN
 ‘They are trying to collect money.’ (Stenson 1989, 390–391)

(191) a. *Irish active*

Chonaic siad a chéile.
 see.PST they each.other

‘They saw each other.’

b. *Irish impersonal*

Táthar a’ strócadh a chéile.
 be.PRS.IMPERS tear.PROG each.other

‘People are tearing each other apart.’ (McCloskey 2007, 830)

I adopt the standard analysis of a DP thematic subject for these impersonal verbs in Irish. McCloskey (2007) provides some discussion of the semantics of this impersonal subject, relating it to arbitrary subject pronouns in other languages, including German *man*, Italian *si*, and Swedish *man*. He notes that like other arbitrary pronouns, the Irish arbitrary pronoun can antecede another arbitrary pronoun, but not a personal pronoun. Thus, in (192a), with two impersonal verbs, those who stopped and those who let out the nets are the same, whereas in (192b), with an impersonal verb and a verb inflected in agreement with a third person plural pro, the subject of saying and the subject of being poor cannot be the same. Two impersonal verbs must be used instead, as in (192c).

- (192) a. Do stadadh agus scaoileadh amach na líonta.
 PST stop.PST.IMPERS and release.PST.IMPERS out the nets
 ‘One stopped and let out the nets.’
- b. *Dúradh go rabhadar bocht.
 say.PST.IMPERS COMP be.PST.3PL poor
 ‘People_j said that they_j were poor.’ (McCloskey 2007, 835)
- c. Dúradh go rabhthas bocht.
 say.PST.IMPERS COMP be.PST.IMPERS poor
 ‘People_j said that they_j were poor.’ (McCloskey 2007, 835)

(This is a refinement to the discussion of (175), where Lavine (2005) interpreted this property as a need for arbitrary reference.) McCloskey observes one interpretive distinction between the impersonal subject of Irish and that of other languages: whereas impersonal pronouns are typically semantically plural and limited to human reference (see above on Polish), the Irish pronoun may also be singular and inanimate.

- (193) a. Siúladh suas go dtí Robert Kennedy. . .
 walk.PST.IMPERS up to
 ‘Somebody walked up to Robert Kennedy . . .’ (McCloskey 2007, 837)
- b. Tháinig lá millteanach gaoithe móire agus
 come.PST day terrible wind.GEN great.GEN and
 rinneadh smionagair den ccholáiste adhmaid.
 make.PST.IMPERS little.pieces of.the college wood.GEN
 ‘There came a day of terrible storms and the wooden college was
 smashed to pieces.’ (McCloskey 2007, 838)

I follow McCloskey’s (2007) analysis whereby the impersonal morphology on the verb is impersonal agreement that licenses the impersonal pro, assimilating the impersonal pro to other instances of agreement-licensed pro in Irish (see McCloskey and Hale 1984, Andrews 1990, Legate 1999, Ackema and Neeleman 2003, McCloskey 2011). This impersonal agreement morphology is distinct from the default morphology that surfaces with independent pronouns in Irish, and distinct from all other person/number combinations, such as the third person plural agreement morphology. Illustrative examples follow.

- (194) a. bhrisfeadh sé
 break.COND he
 ‘he would break X’
- b. bhrisfidís
 break.COND.3PL
 ‘they would break X’
- c. bhrisfí
 break.COND.IMPERS
 ‘they (impersonal) would break X’ (Christian Brothers 1994, 96)

Furthermore, the impersonal morphology in Irish is indeed high, in the position of clausal agreement, rather than being (say) Voice morphology, in that it appears on the auxiliary verb rather than on the lexical verb in analytic constructions.

(195) *Irish impersonal*

Táthar buailte (againn).
 be.PST.IMPERS beaten at.1PL

'They've been beaten (by us).' (Stenson 1989, 393)

This example is also interesting in that it illustrates that the impersonal pronoun can be merged in the thematic object position, as long as it subsequently triggers impersonal grammatical subject agreement. The passive is canonical, with an optional 'by'-phrase, which is not the impersonal pronoun; this pronoun could not be licensed in the 'by'-phrase, since it does not trigger subject agreement there. The thematic object is the impersonal pronoun, which raises to become the grammatical subject and triggers impersonal agreement realized on the verbal auxiliary.

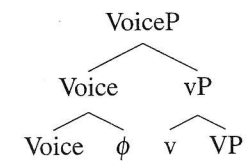
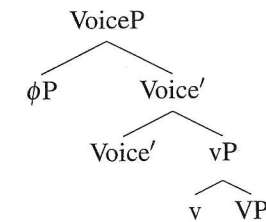
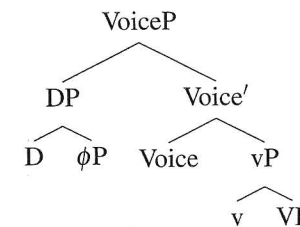
McCloskey remains agnostic about whether the impersonal should be identified with *pro* or *PRO*, pointing out that "it is very unclear what the difference between *pro* and *PRO* might consist of, and the classic treatment of the limited distribution of *PRO* (that it can only occur in un-governed positions) is not available" (2007, 842). While acknowledging the issue, I continue to use *pro* (as decomposed into *D* and ϕ P) as more standard for the grammatical subject of a finite clause.²⁵

Let us step back from the details of each language/dialect for a minute and return to our overall discussion. In several language families, we find a close relationship between a passive and a grammatical object passive, and between a grammatical object passive and an impersonal. Although the three constructions exhibit distinct behaviors, closely related languages/dialects may diverge in their analyses of a superficially similar verbal form, and language change may convert one construction to another. Previous analyses of the grammatical object passive have treated it as a passive in which accusative case is exceptionally licensed. The relationship between the grammatical object passive and the canonical passive is thus maximized, at the expense of the impersonal: this type of analysis fails to explain the close relationship between the grammatical object passive and the impersonal.

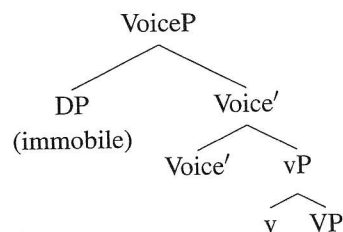
The present analysis places the grammatical object passive squarely between the canonical passive and the impersonal, explaining its relationship to each of them. To review: the canonical passive exhibits restrictive ϕ -features on the passive Voice head; these features restrict the external argument position, and can be morphologically overt in some languages (Acehnese, Chamorro, and Balinese were discussed in chapter 2). The grammatical

object passive places these restrictive ϕ -features in the specifier of VoiceP, rather than the head of VoiceP.²⁶ This allows for both accusative case and 'by'-phrase licensing. The impersonal adds a *D* head to the ϕ -features, making the element in the specifier of VoiceP referential rather than restrictive. Accusative case is again licensed, but now the DP in the specifier of VoiceP saturates the external argument position instead of restricting it, and so 'by'-phrases are not licensed. The construction is now fully active, but with the subject as the impersonal pronoun *pro*, triggering special impersonal agreement. The syntactic structures of the three constructions are repeated in (196).

(196)

a. *Canonical passive*b. *Grammatical object passive*c. *Impersonal*

How does object voice fit into this picture? On the one hand, it patterns with the impersonal and other active constructions in that it exhibits a thematic DP subject in the specifier of VoiceP. The impersonal is distinct among active constructions in that the thematic subject is restricted to impersonal *pro*. The distinctive feature of object voice, on the other hand, is that the thematic subject is immobile, undergoing Spell-Out on the VoiceP phase. Object voice also patterns with passives, in that accusative case is not assigned, and the thematic object raises to become the grammatical subject, as shown in (197).

(197) *Object voice*

Furthermore, within object voice constructions we find a cline of possible thematic subjects. In Indonesian, the object voice initiator is largely limited to pronominals.²⁷

(198) *Indonesian object voice*

- a. Anak itu kami hukum.
child that we ov.punish
'The child was punished by us.'
- b. ??Anak itu bapak hukum.
child that father ov.punish
'The child was punished by Father.' (Cole and Hermon 2005, 62)

Balinese allows pronominals as well as indefinite full DPs.

(199) *Balinese object voice*

- a. Bawi-ne punika tumbas tiang. (high-register)
pig-DEF that ov.buy 1
'I bought the pig.' (Arka 2003, 5)
- b. Ia tomplok motor /*motor-e.
3 ov.hit car car-DEF
'A/*The car hit him.' (Arka 2003, 48)
- c. Ia cotot [lalipi ane sing ma-upas].
3 ov.bite snake COMP NEG ma-poison
'A nonpoisonous snake bit him/her.' (literally 'a snake that does not have poison') (Arka 2003, 88)

And Acehnese allows definite full DPs as well.

(200) *Acehnese object voice*

Aneuk miet nyan akan ureueng inong nyan tingkue.
child small DEM will person female DEM carry.in.cloth

'The woman will carry the child.'

The source of these restrictions may be historical; recall that the construction evolved from an ergative clitic construction (Wolff 1996). Synchronically, the restriction in Indonesian may best be attributed to the syntax-phonology interface, with the operation sketched in (114) that groups the initiator into a phonological constituent with the verb being limited to simple D initiators. The impossibility of definite DPs in Balinese follows a more general crosslinguistic pattern of indefinite low arguments versus definite raised arguments; see Milsark 1974, Reuland and ter Meulen 1987, Diesing 1992, Massam 2001, among many others.

In these constructions, I have found attestations for many but not all of the theoretically possible permutations. In the Acehnese (and Indonesian and Balinese) object voice construction, the theme does not remain a grammatical object; instead, it raises to become the grammatical subject.²⁸ As discussed in chapter 3, the initiator bears (nonquirky) ergative case, and the theme is not assigned accusative case. We may wonder about the possibility of a voice like object voice in that the initiator is assigned (nonquirky) ergative case, but unlike object voice in that the theme is assigned accusative case. On an analysis like that of Guilfoyle et al. (1992), the Malagasy circumstantial topic construction instantiates this option. Thus, in (201) the initiator receives ergative case (syncretic with genitive) and remains within the verb phrase, the theme receives accusative case within the verb phrase, and the instrument raises to receive nominative case from Infl in the clause-final position.

(201) *Malagasy*

Nanapahan'i Sahondra ity hazo ity ny antsy.
PST.CT.cut.GEN Sahondra this tree this DET knife

'Sahondra cut this tree with the knife.' (Paul and Travis 2006, 316)

The status of the final DP in Malagasy (and related languages, notably Tagalog) as a nominative grammatical subject is controversial (see, e.g., Schachter 1976, 1996, Payne 1982, Guilfoyle et al. 1992, Kroeger 1993, Richards 2000, Pearson 2005, Paul and Travis 2006). We cannot resolve this debate here; if this type of

construction does not instantiate a Voice that assigns both (nonquirky) ergative and accusative case, we will need to otherwise fill or explain the apparent typological gap.

More traditional ergative constructions are also relevant. A plausible analysis of ergative case treats it as inherent case assigned by Voice (for related approaches, see Mohanan 1994, Butt 1995, Woolford 1997, 2006, Massam 1998, Legate 2002, 2008, 2012c, Anand and Nevins 2006, Laka 2006, among others). Unlike the object voice initiator, however, this initiator undergoes raising to the grammatical subject position (e.g., Anderson 1976), thus behaving more like so-called “quirky” case. Ergative languages differ in whether they allow Voice to assign accusative case when the subject bears (quirky) ergative case (see, e.g., Woolford 1997; and see Legate 2008 for arguments that this pattern is more prevalent than standardly assumed). We thus find a range of Voice heads crosslinguistically; small differences between them (in, e.g., case-assigning properties and presence/location of restrictive ϕ -features) yield quite distinct constructions.

To conclude, in this chapter I have placed the Acehnese passive voice and object voice within a typology of related constructions. I have demonstrated how minor changes in the syntactic structure among the passive, the grammatical object passive, and the impersonal allow both for the close relationship between these constructions and for their divergent properties. While passives possess restrictive ϕ -features relating to the external argument position in Voice, grammatical object passives place these restrictive features in the specifier of VoiceP. Impersonals add a D-feature, changing the features from restricting to saturating. While impersonals are highly restricted in their possible external argument, being limited to impersonal pro, object voice constructions allow a wider range of external arguments, the permissible DP types varying between languages. While grammatical object passives and impersonals exhibit in-situ accusative-case-marked objects, object voice constructions do not. Instead, the thematic subject bears inherent case, and the thematic object receives nominative as the grammatical subject. Finally, ergative constructions also involve inherent case on the thematic subject, but the thematic subject raises to the grammatical subject position; the thematic object may bear nominative or accusative case, depending on the properties of the Voice in the language.

5 Voice and Causatives

A number of researchers have begun to converge on the notion that VoiceP must be distinguished from vP (see, e.g., Alexiadou et al. 2006, Marantz 2008, Pytkänen 2008, Harley 2009).¹ This chapter provides additional evidence for the independence of Voice from v through Acehnese causative constructions.² The Acehnese case is particularly significant in that it fills an apparent empirical gap: Harley (2009, 335–336) while arguing for the distinction between Voice and v, worries, “Why is there so little morphological attestation of the distinct Voice vs. v⁰ heads crosslinguistically? One doesn’t see both v_{CAUS} and Voice⁰ independently and simultaneously realized in the morphology of verbs.” In Acehnese, we find exactly this situation: causative v and Voice are indeed both independently and simultaneously realized. I begin in section 5.1 by establishing this distribution.

Causative constructions are also interesting for the investigation of voice in that forming the causative of an unergative stem or a transitive stem has been argued to involve embedding of a passive or active verb phrase under the causative head (see, e.g., Kayne 1975, Folli and Harley 2007, Harley 2008, Tubino Blanco 2010). I argue that this type of structure is not possible in Acehnese: the causative head does not embed an initiator-introducing VoiceP. When the causative head is added to a stem normally used as an unergative, the result is instead the causative of an unaccusative, with an initiator and a theme. Causatives of transitive stems in Acehnese do involve an embedded VoiceP; however, this VoiceP does not introduce an initiator, exhibits properties distinct from those of nonembedded VoicePs in the language, and indeed is akin to ApplP (see Ippolito 2000). Section 5.2 therefore focuses on VoiceP in the causatives of unergatives and transitives.