

Implicit External Arguments in Passives: against syntactic projection

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1. Introduction

Recent discussions of passives pursue **the idea that the implicit external argument (IEA) in (some) passives is syntactically projected** as (or semantically restricted by) a covert nominal element. In particular, Spec, VoiceP/vP is claimed to be filled in (some) passives by

- PRO (e.g. Sternefeld 1995; Collins 2005 a.o.)
- pro (e.g. Maling & Siggurjonsdottir 2002, MacDonald to appear a.o.)
- ϕ P (e.g. Landau 2010, Legate 2012, 2014, with conceptual differences, a.o.).

We critically discuss some arguments involving *partial control* and *secondary depictive predicates* brought forward in particular for the ϕ P-approach.

We formulate a general conceptual skepticism against the above view:¹ If we look at some of the properties that could point to a syntactic projection of the IEA in passives, we see that they do **not pattern the same across languages or across passive constructions within one and the same language:**

	English/Romance canonical passives	German canonical passives	Russian canonical passives	Icelandic canonical passives	Icelandic New Passive	Romance SE-passives	pro/PRO
pass morph	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
by-phrase	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
adj. depictive	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
refl. pronoun	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
struc. ACC	-	-	-	-	+	-	+

If the bold properties in the left column derive from properties of a syntactically realized IEA, we have to assume **6 different realizations of the IEA** (besides pro/PRO). Further, we have to **postulate new empty categories in a construction-specific and language-specific way.**²

As a conceptual alternative, we suggest that **the IEA of passives is only semantically represented** as a variable in the lexical entry of the functional verbal head Voice (Voice_{pass} or Voice below PASS; e.g. Kratzer 1996, Embick 2004, Bruening 2012, Alexiadou et al. 2015).

Consequently, **all diagnostics should show a default behavior**, depending on whether they need only semantic licensing by a variable (+) or syntactic licensing by a NP/DP (-).

¹ As a conceptual argument, Collins (2005) argues that UTAH simply requires the syntactic projection of the IEA. Further, if agents are syntactically merged in the very same position in the active and in the passive, we arrive at the simplest syntax-semantics interface possible. While the latter might be true, it is an empirical question whether the actual interface is the simplest possible or not. See Alexiadou et al. to appear for an alternative view on UTAH.

² Passive morphology will not play a role in this talk. See, however, Pitteroff (2014, 2015a,b) who argues extensively that the presence/absence of passive morphology does not unambiguously identify an active/passive syntax.

Diagnostic mismatches (the shaded fields) must follow from differences between languages (and passives within a language) which are not related to the IEA; they **derive from morpho-syntactic peculiarities of lexical items involved in the particular diagnostic contexts**. For the diagnostics above, we have suggested the following hypotheses in earlier work:

[- adjectival depictive] if adjectives must overtly agree (Pitteroff & Schäfer ms.).

[+ACC] if the language has a particular Voice_{PASS} whose ϕ -features come from the lexicon with default-specification (instead of unvalued as in canonical passives) (Schäfer 2012).

[- by-phrase] because the Romance SE-morpheme is ambiguous between a passive marker and a SE-reflexive pronoun and the derivation of a *by*-phrase would enforce the use as a SE-reflexive (Schäfer 2017, ms.).

[+ refl. pronoun] (never productive but restricted to inherently/naturally reflexive eventualities) if a language allows SE-reflexive pronouns to be formally valued by default agreement (Schäfer 2012).

For reasons of time, we will only illustrate the case of adjectival depictives below, and only mention the other cases in passing.

2. The meaning of short passives

- (1) a. Someone broke the pane. (causative, active)
 b. The pane was broken. (causative, passive)
 c. The pane broke. (anticausative)
- (2) a. $\lambda e\exists x[\text{agent/causer}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{break}(e) \ \& \ \text{patient}(e, \text{the pane})]$ (passive)
 b. $\lambda e[\text{break}(e) \ \& \ \text{patient}(e, \text{the pane})]$ (anticausative)

- **Short passives involve an implicit external argument with existential force (IEA)**. This intuition is confirmed by the truth-conditional entailment relations between (3a), (3b) and (3c) and the *by-itself* test in (4) (cf. Alexiadou et al. 2015; Schäfer & Vivanco 2015; 2016).

- (3) While the anticausative use does not entail the active-transitive or the passive use ...
 a. The pane broke, but it is not true that someone or something broke the pane.
 b. The pane broke, but it is not true that the pane was broken.
- ... the active-transitive and the passive use entail each other:
 c. Someone (or something) broke the pane, #but it is not true that the pane was broken.
 d. The pane was broken, #but it is not true that someone (or something) broke the pane.

- (4) The anticausative but not the passive is compatible with by-itself:
 A: But you didn't take care of the trampoline.
 B: That's not true! **The trampoline blew away by itself.**
 B': That's not true! ??**The trampoline was blown away by itself.**

Q1: What linguistic properties do these implicit external arguments (IEA) have and what does this tell us about their linguistic representation?

Are IEAs of passives just semantic objects or are they syntactically represented?

- Q2: If they are syntactically represented, how do IEAs relate to other covert arguments, for example to the covert pronouns *pro* and *PRO*?
- Q3: Do passives in different languages or morphologically different passives within the same language differ in the syntactic representation of their IEA?

3. Is the IEA of passives syntactically active?

3.1 It is not like *pro*/*PRO*

The IEA of passives differs from well-established covert pronouns (*pro*/*PRO*):

Case-theoretically (*Burzio's Generalization*): *pro*/*PRO* has NOM (Sigurdsson 1991, 2008, Landau 2006) and triggers dependent ACC on the internal argument. The IEA in passives does not enter case-computation so that the internal argument receives primary NOM.

- (5) a. Maria_i plante [*PRO*_i ihn_k/**er*_k (wie ein Profi_i/wie einen Profi_k) zu behandeln.
 Mary planned *PRO*_{NOM} him /he like a_{NOM} *pro* like a_{ACC} *pro* to treat
 'Mary planned to treat him like a professional'.
 b. **Er*_k/**ihn*_k wurde IA_i (wie ein Profi/ wie **einen* Profi) behandelt.
 he/him was like a_{NOM} *pro*_{i/k} like a_{ACC} *pro*_{i/*k} treated
 'He was treated like a professional'

Binding-theoretically: While both trigger disjoint reference effects with internal arguments (Principle B/C), only *pro*/*PRO* can license anaphors in their local domain (Principle A). (Chomsky 1981, 1986; Kratzer 1996; Landau 2010, Schäfer 2012, Kastner & Zu (2014), Spathas et al. 2015, Alexiadou et al. to appear).

- (6) a. **I*_k told him_i [*PRO*_i to describe him_i/ John_i] (* Principle B/C)
 b. *I*_k told him_i [*PRO*_i to describe himself_i] (✓ Principle A)
- (7) a. **A* book was being EA_i sent to him_i/to John_i. (* Principle B/C)
 b. **A* book was being EA_i sent to himself_i/oneself_i. (* Principle A)
 c. **John* was EA_i shown [a picture of himself_i/oneself_i]. (* Principle A)

by-phrases: active clauses involving *pro*/*PRO* subjects do not license *by*-phrases.

Secondary predication (but see below): The claim is that *pro*/*PRO* but not the implicit agent of passives can license depictive secondary predicates (Chomsky 1986, Landau 2010).

- (8) a. It is impossible [*PRO* to visit me together].
 b. They expected [*PRO* to leave the room angry].
 c. It is impossible [for me to be visited (**together*)].
 d. The room was left (**angry*).

3.2 Arguments for syntactic projection of the IEA of passives

3.2.1 Standard Arguments

IEAs famously enter a number of grammatical relations (9-11); these relations were sometimes suggested to be syntactic; if true then the IEA should be a syntactic entity.

- (9) a. The pale was broken by the boy. (by-phrases)
b. *The pale broke by the boy.
- (10) a. The pale was broken with a hammer. (instrumental PPs)
b. *The pale broke with a hammer.
- (11) a. The pale was broken on purpose. (agentive/intentional adverbs)
b. *The pale broke on purpose.

However, these processes are non-indicative of the syntactic properties of this argument as they can be handled on a semantic basis: The semantics of passives (2a) involve an *agentive event to be modified* by an agentive adverb/an instrumental PP or an *agent argument slot to be saturated by the by-phrase* (e.g. Bhatt & Pancheva 2006/to appear, Bruening 2012, see also Williams 2015).

IEAs famously control into rational clauses:

- (12) a. The window was broken [PRO in order to collect the insurance]. (passive)
b. *The window broke [PRO in order to collect the insurance]. (anticausative)

Counterexamples to (12b) have been provided in Williams (1985, 1987); the matrix predicates in (13a, b) involve a non-human theme-argument but arguably no IA at any level of representation. Williams suggests the concept of *event control* for (13a, b) (“what promotes photosynthesis is the circumstance of grass being green”).

- (13) a. Grass is green [PRO to promote photosynthesis].
b. The boat sank [PRO in order to impress the queen and PRO move her to murder her husband by the end of act iii].
c. By the time I got there, the band was going, the place was nice and packed, and the mood was extremely mellow. Even the lights were on [PRO to see the band].

Landau (2000, 2013) argues that control into rational clauses is an instance of *Non-Obligatory Control* which does not involve a syntactic relation between controller and PRO. (He argues against ‘event control’ with (13c)). Williams (2015) provides further argumentation against the idea that the licensing of purpose clauses proves syntactic projection of IEA.

3.2.2 Landau's (2010) argument from *partial control*

Landau (2010) develops a new argument in favor of the syntactic realization of IA, which involves a specific type of obligatory control relation: **partial control (DP_i --- PRO_{i+})**

A: Collective predicates such as *meet* in (14) require a (semantically) plural subject.

(14) The couple / John and Mary / *Bill *met* on top of the Empire State Building.

B: The controller of the PRO-subject of a collective predicate can be singular.

(15) Bill_i planned [PRO_{i+} to meet on top of the Empire State Building].

=> (15) involves Partial control

C: Claim: Partial control must be syntactically implemented.

- If (obligatory) control could be treated as a lexical relation between co-arguments (a controller and a controlled infinitive), the control relation must involve predication of the infinitival complement over the controller (e.g., Williams 1980).

- (14) shows that predication over an atomic subject cannot satisfy collective predicates; predication cannot extend an atomic controller to a plural controllee.

=> Thus, **partial control cannot be treated via predication** (or only via a “brute-force meaning postulate”).

=> **Partial control must be treated in a syntactic way** (Landau's Agree model, for example, develops an account that involves a mediating C⁰-head whose lack of a S(ematic)P(lural) feature allows for a mismatch in semantic number between controller (singular) and PRO (plural); see Landau 2000 et seq. for details).

=> **If implicit arguments can trigger partial control, this proves their syntactic reality.**

Comment: The last point cannot be investigated with passives. While passives allow control into infinitives headed by collective verbs, we cannot make sure that the implicit controller in passives is singular (16a); a singular *by*-phrase (16b) does not help as, arguably, the DP inside the PP is the partial controller, not any singular implicit argument:

(16) a. It was suggested IA_{number?} [PRO_{plural} to gather in the cafeteria].

b. It was suggested (by the policeman_{singular}) [PRO_{plural} to gather in the cafeteria].

D: To show that implicit arguments can, in fact, exert partial control, Landau advances data involving *psych adjectives*:

- Adjectives such as *exciting*, *frustrating* or *embarrassing* select an experiencer argument that obligatorily controls the PRO-subject of an infinitival complement clause. This experiencer can optionally remain implicit (17).

(17) It is amusing (to John_i) [PRO_i to listen to this speech]]. (implicit, obligatory control)

- Landau assumes that when these adjectives are embedded into the frame *find it Adj to* (cf. 18), **the implicit experiencer is obligatorily linked to the subject of *find*** as indicated by the subscript on *IMP*.
- By setting the subject of *find* to singular, **the implicit experiencer is set to singular**, too.

(18) John_i finds it amusing IMP_i [PRO_i to listen to that speech]. (singular antecedent)

- Partial Control by the (singular) implicit argument is possible:

(19) a. Mary_i found it exciting IMP_i [PRO_{i+} to meet on top of the Empire State building].
 b. The chair_i found it frustrating IMP_i [PRO_{i+} to gather without a concrete agenda].
 c. Rachel_i found it embarrassing IMP_i [PRO_{i+} to kiss in public].

=> **Landau concludes that implicit arguments must be syntactically projected.**

- In order to reconcile this conclusion with the negative evidence from section 3.1., Landau (2010) proposes that there are two types of covert pronominal elements:

(20) a. Strong Implicit Argument =_{def} [D, ϕ -set] (= pro/PRO)
 b. Weak Implicit Arguments =_{def} [ϕ -set] (= IA of psych adjectives, passives, ...)

- The presence vs. absence of the D-feature must then be responsible for the above differences concerning case-theory, binding-theory and secondary predication.

Evaluation: Landau's argumentation is flawed in at least two respects.

Problem 1: The argument from psych adjectives cannot be transferred to passives.

- Landau takes it for granted that the argument above involving **psych adjectives** directly extends to the analysis of the implicit external argument of **passives**.
- **But the two differ fundamentally:** While the implicit experiencer in (18/19) is bound by a higher argument, it is well-known that the implicit agent of passives cannot be bound by a c-commanding DP:³

(21) Bill wants Mary to be seen. (Williams 1987)
 a. Bill wants Mary to be seen by somebody
 b. *John wants to see Mary

(22) Every journalist wants Kylie to be interviewed. (Bhatt & Pancheva 2006)
 b. Every journalist wants Kylie to be interviewed by someone.
 c. *Every journalist₁ wants Kylie to be interviewed by him₁.

-> For Landau, the property of the IEA of passives illustrated in (21/22)) is seen just as a challenge to set up the argument involving partial control; thus he switches to psych adjectives.

³ A similar difference holds for the second type of implicit argument used in Landau (2010: 370), the implicit goal of the verb *say*.

-> For us the difference between (18) and (21/22) shows that we are facing two fundamentally different linguistic entities.

-> Thus the argument based on IA of psych adjectives has no impact on the proper analysis of the IEA of passives.

Problem 2: partial control can be derived semantically (i.e. via predication).

The premise in C above is false (that partial control cannot be treated via predication (or only via a “brute-force meaning postulate)).

• **Pearson (2013, 2016) develops a purely semantic analysis of partial control** that refutes all objections raised by Landau (2010):

- She treats control infinitives as properties entering predication with a controller.

- **PC-verbs are attitude verbs** (communication verbs and verbs of mental attitude); these quantify over ‘centered worlds’ (triplets consisting of a world, time and individual variable).

- Attitude domains are evaluated relative to alternative (non-actual) contexts.

- There holds an extension relation between pairs of centered worlds such that

i) the individual variable in the embedded clause can denote a superset of the individual in the matrix clause (-> Partial Control) and

ii) the time specification in the embedded clause can precede, follow or include the time specification in the matrix clause (non-simultaneous time specifications).

- The theory predicts on a lexical-semantic basis which verbs allow partial control (only attitude verbs) and which verbs allow only exhaustive control (non-attitude verbs):

- (23) a. John suggested [PRO to meet in the cafeteria]. (attitude verb -> ✓partial control)
b. *John started [PRO to meet in the cafeteria]. (non-attitude verb -> *partial control)

- The theory predicts that only attitude predicates allow non-simultaneous time specifications in the matrix event and the embedded event:

- (24) a. John suggested *yesterday* [PRO to visit the cafeteria *tomorrow*].
b. *John started *yesterday* [PRO to visit the cafeteria *tomorrow*].

=> **Pearson’s findings effectively void the central antecedent in Landau’s line of argumentation (C above)**, a fact that has been fully acknowledged in Landau (2015).

=> Landau (2015) strongly builds on the insights from Pearson (2013, 2016). While he argues that control with attitude verbs is more than just a relation of predication (it is actually predication over a logophoric variable that is (semantically) bound by the controller), he explicitly (p. 77) calls Pearson’s *extension* operation a viable way to derive partial control semantically. In his framework, this extension operation would apply to the logophoric variable (part of a context tuple) present in the embedded C-domain of attitude verbs.⁴

⁴ A further issue arises from the observation that another way to derive a partial control reading exists: fake PC (Sheehan 2014). This involves an exhaustive control relation between controller and PRO plus an embedded covert comitative-PP. Sheehan (2014) has argued that in Romance (uninflected) infinitival clauses, this is the

On the other hand, **Icelandic (28), Hebrew (29) and Russian (30) disallow adjectival depictives modifying the IEA:**

- (28) *Það var alltaf borðað **nakinn**. (Jónsson 2009)
 there is always eaten **naked.NOM.M.SG**
 ‘People always eat naked’.
- (29) *ha-Sir ha-ze xubar **šikor/sikorim**. (Pitteroff & Schäfer, ms.)
 the-song the-this composed.PASS **drunk.M.SG/M.PL**
 ‘This song was composed high/intoxicated/drunk.’
- (30) *Verojatno, pis'mo bylo napisano **p'janym**. (Pitteroff & Schäfer, ms.)
 arguably the.letter was written **drunk.M.SG.INS**
 ‘The letter was written drunk.’

Landau’s distinction in (20a, b) would suggest that
 - the IEA in English, German, French, Norwegian is a Strong Implicit Argument (PRO)
 - the IEA in Icelandic, Hebrew and Russian is a Weak Implicit Argument (ϕ P).

But this idea makes a number of wrong predictions:

A: English, German, French Norwegian passives should trigger **dependent case** on the internal argument and the IEA should antecede anaphors (**Principle A**).

B: Icelandic, Hebrew and Russian allow prepositional depictives:

- (31) Lagið var samið í drykkju.
 song was composed in drunkenness
 ‘The song was composed drunk.’
- (32) ha-Sir ha-ze xubar be-hai/be-gilufin.
 the-song the-this composed.Pass in-high/in-intoxication
 ‘This song was composed high/intoxicated.’
- (33) Verojatno, pis'mo bylo napisano v pjanom vide.
 arguably the.letter was written in drunk state
 ‘The letter was written drunk.’

It follows that:

- either the IEA in Icelandic, Hebrew and Russian passives is also strong/PRO (leading to the problems mentioned above for case and Principle A).
- or the IEA is weak/a ϕ P, and ϕ P can, in fact, be accessed by secondary predication.

C: Both options cannot explain why adjectival depictives are out.

Observation 1: Icelandic, Hebrew and Russian adjectival depictives overtly agree with their semantic antecedent in gender and number (in Icelandic obligatorily in case, in Russian optionally in case).

Observation 2: There is no specification of these features that makes adjectival depictives possible in passives in (28-30).

- Arguably, (28)-(30) are ungrammatical because the adjectival depictives cannot be valued by the IEA, their intended semantic antecedent.
- Arguably, adjectival depictives are possible in English, German, Dutch, Norwegian and French passives because they do not inflect, i.e. they do not have to be valued by their semantic antecedent.⁶
- If the IEA of passives was PRO or ϕ P, they should be able to value the ϕ -features of adjectival depictives in Icelandic, Hebrew or Russian.

=> IEA are neither PRO nor ϕ P; they are not syntactically represented.

=> Depictives can be predicated over IEA even though these are not syntactically represented.⁷

5. Variation within languages

5.1 The Icelandic New Passive

Besides the canonical passive, a subset of younger Icelandic speakers allows the so-called New Passive/New Impersonal construction in ((34b) (cf. Maling and Siguríonsdóttir 2002, Eyðórsson 2008, Jónsson 2009, Sigurdsson 2011, Schäfer 2012 a.m.o.).

- (34) a. Stúlkan var lamin í klessu.
the.girl-NOM was hit-f.sg.NOM in a.mess (Canonical Passive)
‘The girl was badly beaten.’
- b. Það var lamið stúlkuna í klessu.
EXPL was hit-neut.sg. the.girl-f.sg.ACC in a.mess (New Passive)
‘The girl was badly beaten.’

Main properties of the New Passive:

- Structural accusative case is preserved under passivization.
- Internal arguments (of any case marking) cannot undergo A-movement out of the vP (and, like objects of transitive verbs, show no definiteness effect).

Maling and Siguríonsdóttir (2002) propose that these are impersonal constructions with an *impersonal pro*-subject. But many scholars argued against this view:

- **By-phrases** are degraded in Icelandic passives if there is no movement to Spec,TP. However, to the extent that *by*-phrases are possible with a low object, the canonical passive and the New Passive license them equally (Thrainsson 2007, Jónsson 2009, Sigurdsson 2011, Legate 2014 a.o.).

⁶ In fact, French depictives overtly agree with DPs, but it can be shown that predicative adjectives have a default form.

⁷ This is expected if we combine the semantics of depictives in Pyllkänen (2008) with Bruening’s (2012) theory of passives. According to Pyllkänen, depictives are of type $\langle e, \langle st \rangle \rangle$ and combine via Predicate Modification with constituents of the same type. Kratzerian (1996) active Voice is of type $\langle e, \langle st \rangle \rangle$. While for Kratzer, passive Voice is of type $\langle s, t \rangle$, because it comes with an existentially bound agent variable, for Bruening, Voice in passives is also of type $\langle e, \langle st \rangle \rangle$, and the agent variable is only bound later by a functional head *Pass*. Thus, under this analysis, passive Voice should be compatible with depictives. However, more has to be said about depictives modifying implicit agents of so-called medio-passives; Alexiadou et al. (2015) and Schäfer (2017, ms.) analyze Greek and Romance medio-passive Voice as being of type $\langle e, t \rangle$; it is then unexpected that they allow for depictive modification.

(35) a. ?Það var skoðaður bíll af bifvélavirkjanum. (canonical passive)
 expl was inspected car.nom by car.mechanic.def
 ‘There was a car inspected by the car mechanic.’

(36) a. ?Það var skoðaður bílinn af bifvélavirkjanum. (new passive)
 expl was inspected car.acc by car.mechanic.def
 ‘There was a car inspected by the car mechanic.’ (Legate 2014: 89)

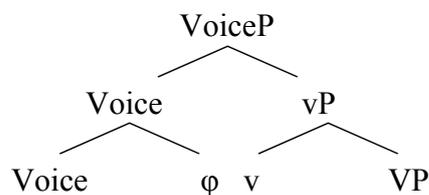
- **Adjectival Depictives** are equally out (under any ϕ -feature and case inflection).

(37) a. *Morgunmatur er alltaf borðaður nakinn (canonical passive)
 breakfast.nom is always eaten naked.ms.sg.nom
 b. *Það er alltaf borðað nakinnð (impersonal passive)
 there is always eaten naked.ms.sg.nom
 c. *Það er alltaf borðað morgunmat nakinnð (new passive)
 there is always eaten breakfast.acc naked.ms.sg.nom (Jónsson 2009: 297)

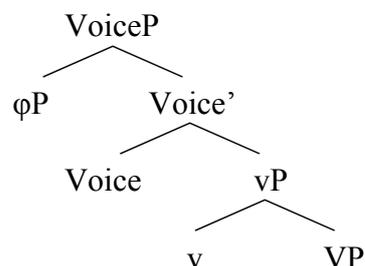
- **Binding of reflexive pronouns by pro** is expected to be fully productive; it is, however, i) restricted to inherently reflexive and naturally reflexive eventualities and ii) these data are equally accepted by speakers that lack the New Passive; they can also be found in German (see Schäfer 2012 for exemplification and discussion).
- It is not worked out why we see **passive morphology** if and only if the impersonal *pro* is merged in the subject position.

Legate (2014) suggests, based on overt morphology in Acehnese passives, that
 - canonical Voice-heads come with ϕ -feature specifications.
 - the New Passive is special in that these ϕ -features project a ϕ P in Spec, VoiceP.

(38) a. Canonical passive (=34a)



b. New Passive (=34b)



- **The ϕ P does not count as a syntactically projected IEA.**
- Since it is smaller than a full DP, **ϕ P is interpretable but non-referential.**
- **ϕ P restricts the thematic subject variable semantically, but does not saturate it.** The subject variable is either saturated by a *by*-phrase or it is existentially bound.
- **ϕ P “counts” as a subject for the purposes of Burzio’s Generalization;** ϕ P triggers dependent accusative on the internal argument and blocks A-movement of the internal argument. Further, ϕ P blocks A-movement via intervention.

Comment: Since Icelandic passives license *by*-phrases with all types of DPs (1st, 2nd, 3rd, sg., pl.), covert ϕ P should come with exactly the same variation.

Evaluation:

- Legate correctly predicts that the canonical passive and the New Passive license *by*-phrases and behave the same w.r.t. Binding Theory.
- Without further ado, her account predicts that **New Passive should license adjectival depictives**; The implicit argument suffices semantically for predication, and ϕ P should value the ϕ -features on the adjective.
- If ϕ P counts for the computation of dependent case, **why doesn't ϕ P count for finite verbal agreement?** In the New Passive, we find default agreement (3rd, sg.), but never plural agreement or 1/2nd person agreement, not even in cases where the *by*-phrase or context makes it clear that the implicit argument is the speaker, hearer or a plurality.
- It remains open **why we see passive morphology in the New Passive**, not active morphology; this does not follow under the accounts of passive morphology in e.g. Embick (2004) or Bruening (2012).

=> Different than in Acehnese passives, **the alleged ϕ -features in (38a, b) can never be verified in the semantics or in the morphology** - they lack independent evidence.

=> In the absence of such evidence, this is a high conceptual price: **In order to derive one unexpected property (ACC on the internal argument in the New Passive) a new empty category (ϕ P) with semantics is postulated, but there is no independent evidence for this empty category besides the ACC that it allows to derive.**

Alternative: The properties of the New Passive derive from purely morpho-syntactic properties of a particular passive morpheme/Voice-head.

This idea can be reconciled with a dependent case approach if ϕ -AGREE does play a role in the computation of dependent case (in Germanic languages; Schäfer 2008, 2012):

- Canonical Voice (active or passive) comes with (uninterpretable) unvalued ϕ -features to be valued by the closest DP ($\text{Voice}_{\{u\phi\}}$).
- A DP that values Voice receives default NOM at PF.
- A DP that does not value Voice receives dependent ACC at PF.
- Voice in the New Passive comes with valued ϕ -features due to a grammaticalization of default agreement ($\text{Voice}_{\{\phi\}}$); the theme then receives dependent ACC.

Motivation:

- Even standard Icelandic (i.e. older speakers) (as well as German) show a passive where unexpected accusative appears, passives of inherently and naturally reflexive verbs (39a, b) (see Schäfer 2012).
- Note that the Icelandic SE-reflexive has a case paradigm with *sig* being the ACC-form. German *sich* can be shown to carry ACC in (39b), too, via case-agreement constructions.
- It is not reasonable that standard Icelandic and German project a ϕ P in Spec,VoiceP if a naturally reflexive verb is passivized but not with other verbs; there must thus be a different route to unexpected ACC in passives. Schäfer (2012) argues that in (39a, b) this is default agreement valuating the agreement chain between $\text{Voice}(u\phi)$ and $\text{SE}(u\phi)$.

(39) a. Það ar baðað sig á laugardögum. (Standard Icelandic)
expl was bathed REFL.ACC on Saturdays
'People took a bath on Saturdays.'

- b. Zuerst wird sich geküsst, später dann geheiratet. (German)
 first becomes REFL.ACC kissed, later then married
 ‘First people kiss each other, then they marry.’

5.2 Romance SE-passives

Romance periphrastic passives license *by*-phrases productively (40), while French and Italian SE-passives reject *by*-phrases (41). (*By*-phrases are heavily restricted in the SE-passives of the remaining Romance languages) (e.g. Heidinger & Schäfer 2008, Schäfer 2017).

- (40) Trois maisons ont été louées (par des touristes) hier. (canonical passive)
 three houses have been rented by some tourists yesterday
 ‘Three houses were rented (by some tourists) yesterday.’

- (41) Trois maisons se sont louées (*par des touristes) hier. (SE-passive)
 three houses SE are rented by some tourists yesterday
 ‘Three houses were rented (by some tourist) yesterday.’

MacDonald (to appear) suggests that *by*-phrases are out in (Spanish) SE-passives, because the IEA is projected as a pro in Spec,VoiceP.

This makes wrong predictions for Burzio’s Generalization and Binding Principle A.⁸ An alternative analysis is developed in Schäfer (2017, ms.). The IEA in short SE-passives is only semantically represented as an existentially bound variable of a Voice_{PASS} and SE acts as an argument expletive in Spec,VoiceP (just as in reflexively marked anticausatives).

If a *by*-phrase would be added, the external argument variable on Voice would not be existentially bound and SE, located in Spec,VoiceP, would have to saturate this variable; SE would now behave as a reflexive pronoun that lacks an antecedent (violation of Principle A).

⁸ MacDonald (to appear) argues that the absence of *by*-phrases in SE-passives correlates with a binding theoretic property in that definite and indefinite theme DPs denoting body parts can be interpreted as being possessed by the implicit argument only in SE-passives but not in periphrastic passives. Thus, only in a) the agents lift their own heads, while b) only receives the unnatural interpretation that the agent lifted someone else’s head.

- (i) a. De las almohadas se alzaron unas cabezas greñudas. (SE-passive)
 from the pillows Pass_{sc} lifted some heads disheveled
 ‘From the pillows, they lifted their disheveled heads.’
 b. La cabeza fue levantada (por Juan). (Canonical passive)
 the head was lifted (by Juan)
 ‘The head was lifted (by Juan).’

The phenomenon raises empirical questions, in particular whether we really face SE-passives or anticausatives. Suffice it to say for our purposes here that the German canonical passive licenses *by*-phrases and allows interpretations of the type in ia).

- (ii) Da wurde (von jedem) mal kurz der Kopf durch die Tür gesteckt, um zu sehen was abgeht.
 there was (by everyone) prt. shortly the head through the door put, in.order to see what off.goes
 ‘Everyone/someone was putting his head through the door to see what is going on.’

6. Conclusions

We revisited some older and some newer arguments in favor of a syntactic realization of IEA in passives and pointed out that they have no decisive force; *by*-phrases, agentive adverbs, instrumental phrases, control into purpose clauses but also partial control can be handled semantically and do not prove that the IEA must be a syntactic entity.

We showed that IEA do in fact license adjectival depictives in English and beyond. However, we argued that this cannot be taken as an argument in favor of syntactic realization of IEA - if an adjectival depictive needs to be valued morpho-syntactically, then the IEA can no longer be modified by the depictive, suggesting that the IEA lacks the relevant syntactic features, i.e. is not syntactically real.

We pointed out many mismatches between different diagnostics taken as an argument in favor of the syntactic realization of the IEA and we argued that these mismatches are conceptually problematic: they force us to postulate many different covert nominals in a language specific and a construction specific way.

	English/Romance canonical passives	German canonical passives	Russian canonical passives	Icelandic canonical passives	Icelandic New Passive	Romance SE- passives	pro/ PRO
pass morph	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
by-phrase	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
adj. depictive	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
refl. pronoun	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
struc. ACC	-	-	-	-	+	-	+

We argued that a pure semantic realization of the IEA is preferable: all diagnostics show a default behavior across languages. If a diagnostic deviates from the default, the explanation should not be searched in properties of the IEA but in properties of the particular morpho-syntactic contexts of the diagnostic in the particular language. We pointed to some case studies along these lines.

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The subject of an adjectival passive must be an argument of the passive predicate, unlike in verbal passives (un- selects an adjective):

a. The bed was unmade. b. Headway was (*un)made. c. John was unknown. d. John was (*un)known to be the murderer. On the classical analysis, adjectival passives are formed in the lexicon while verbal passives are syntactically derived. It invokes a notion of "syntactic predicate" which is found nowhere else, adjunction to X^{TM} , and PRO in [Spec,VP]. Even under his assumptions, [40]/[41] do not argue for an embedded A-trace, since the to-projection could be a predicate without it. But there is much independent evidence against the unaccusative analysis of reflexives. We can settle for a one-way implication: derived subject \bar{A} \uparrow essere. Cognitive Mechanisms & Syntactic Theory: Arguments against Adjuncts in the Lexicon. Julie E. Boland University of Michigan. As a psychologist who studies sentence comprehension and holds a joint appointment in the departments of psychology and linguistics, I have frequent opportunities to observe the interaction, or lack thereof, between the two disciplines. ARGUMENTS VS. ADJUNCTS Most syntactic theories distinguish between arguments and adjuncts in terms of lexical specification. In the sentence, Chris gave Kim some candy on Tuesday in the park, the verb gave is the lexical head of the verb phrase (VP). As such, it specifies three arguments and assigns a thematic role to each: Chris (agent), Kim (recipient) and candy (theme).