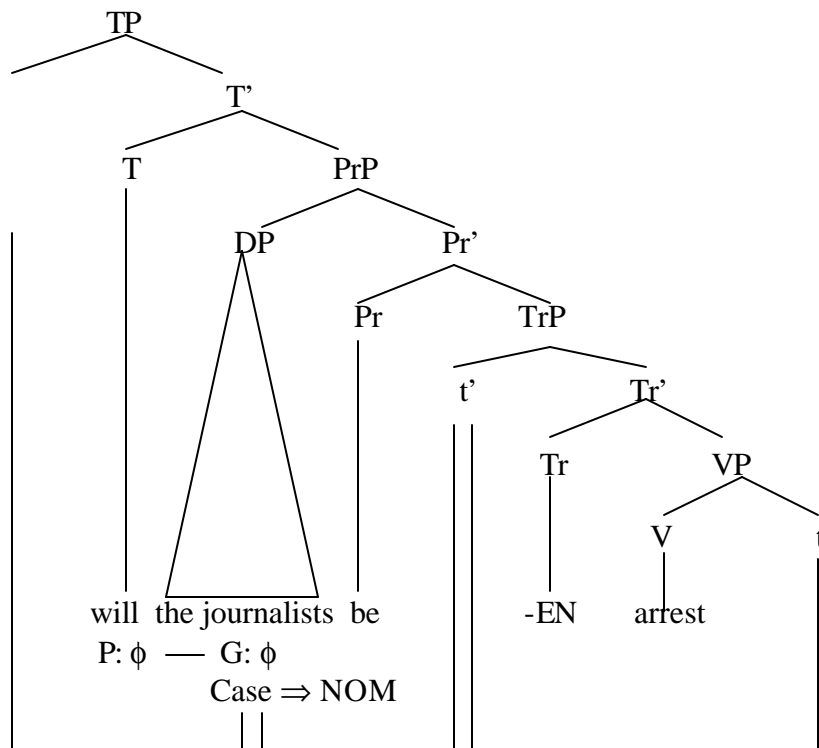
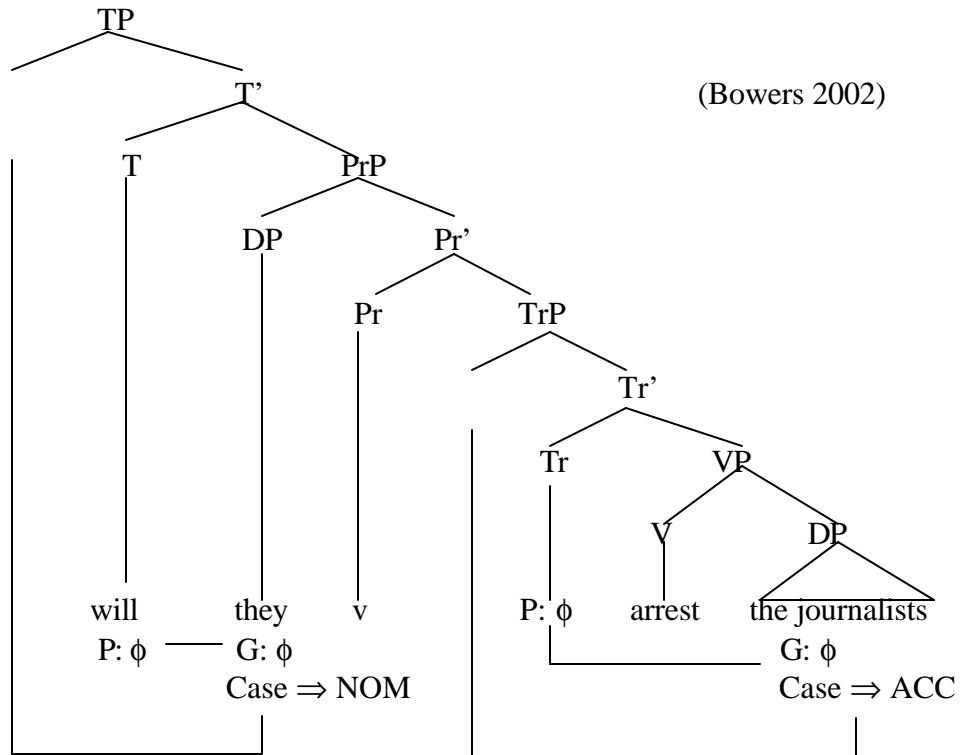


# Participial (Non-)Agreement in Impersonal Passives

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1.



2. Order of participle and object in impersonal passives correlates, both cross-linguistically and within the same language, with presence or absence of agreement (Holmberg 2000, Svenonius 2000):

$V_{Part}$  – Object: \*Agreement (E. Norwegian, W. Norwegian, Danish, Swedish)

Object –  $V_{Part}$ : Agreement (W. Norwegian, Swedish)

- (1) a. Det blei skot-i /\*skot-ne fem ulvar her sist vinter.(W. Norweg.)  
*EXPL became shoot-N.SG shoot-PL five wolves here last winter*  
 ‘Five wolves were shot here last winter.’  
 b. Det blei fem ulvar skot-ne /\*skot-i her sist vinter.  
*EXPL became five wolves shoot-PL shoot-N.SG here last winter*  
 ‘Five wolves were shot here last winter.’

- (2) a. Det ble arrestert tre journalister (E. Norwegian)  
*it became arrested three journalists*  
 b. \*Det ble tre journalister arrestert  
*it became three journalists arrested*

- (3) a. Il a été arrêté trois journalistes (French)  
*it has been arrested three journalists*  
 b. Il y a eu trois journalistes arrêtés  
*it there has had three journalists arrested.PL*  
 c. Trois journalistes sont arrêtés  
*three journalists are arrested.PL*

3. Two apparent counterexamples:  
 (a) Icelandic:  $V_{Part}$  – Object, with Agreement;  
 (b) English: Object –  $V_{Part}$ , without Agreement.

- (4) það voru settir þrjú blaðamenn í varðhald  
*EXPL were put.M.PL.NOM three journalists in custody*

- (5) There were three journalists arrested last night.

Add two further examples: Icelandic ‘New Passive’ (Sigurjónsdóttir and Maling 2001) and Ukrainian impersonal passive (Sobin 1985):

- (6) það var lamið stúlkuna  
*EXPL was.SG hit the girl.ACC*  
 ‘The girl was hit.’

- (7) Cerkv-u bul-o zbudova-n-o v 1640 roc’i  
*church-F.ACC was-N. built-PASS.N in 1640*  
 ‘The church was built in 1640.’

## 4. Assumptions

- A. Participial Tr (-EN) is  $\phi$ -complete with the features Number (#) and Gender (G), T with the features Person (P) and #.
- B. Internal Merge under Agree only takes place if both the uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features of probe and the uninterpretable Case feature of the goal are deleted.
- C. A DP whose uninterpretable Case feature has been valued and deleted is no longer ‘active’, meaning that its interpretable  $\phi$ -features cannot match those of a new probe; conversely, as long the uninterpretable Case feature of a DP remains unvalued, it can continue to function as a goal.
- D. *f-Parameter*:  
A probe may or may not have  $\phi$ -features.
- E. *Case-Parameter*:  
A probe may or may not value the Case feature of a matching goal.
- F. *Split EPP/Agree* (Ura 1996, 2000, Collins 1997, Hiraiwa 2001, Bowers 2002):  
Satisfaction of EPP may be independent of Agree.
- G. *Split EPP/Agree Parameterization* (Hiraiwa 2001):  
Satisfaction of EPP may be contingent on Agree (notated [ $\phi_{EPP}$ ]) or independent of Agree (notated [EPP,  $\phi_{EPP}$ ]).
- H. Rather than a phase-based evaluation of locality, I assume a strictly cyclic/derivational view of locality (Hiraiwa 2001).

## 5. Given these assumptions, there are various possible scenarios:

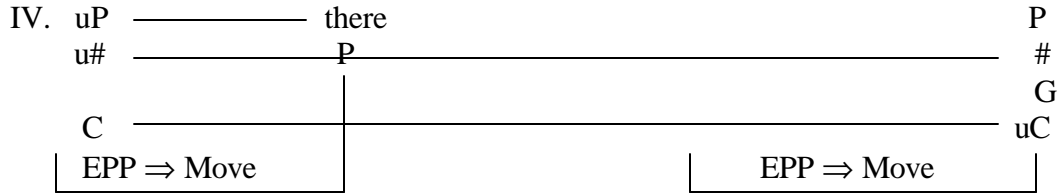
I.	T		EXPL		Pr		Tr [-EN]		D
	uP	_____	P		<i>be, become,</i>				P
	u#	_____	#		<i>get, have, etc.</i>		u# _____		#
			G				uG _____		G
	C	_____	uC				C _____		uC
		$\phi_{EPP} \Rightarrow \text{Move}$					$\phi_{EPP} \Rightarrow \text{Move}$		

II.	uP		P						P
	u#	_____	#						#
			G						G
	C	_____	uC				C _____		uC
		$\phi_{EPP} \Rightarrow \text{Move}$							

III.	uP								P
	u#	_____					u# _____		#
							uG _____		G
pað	C	_____							uC
	or	$EPP \Rightarrow \text{Move}$							



6. Run through the cases, one by one:

- I. The classic case of Move under Agree:  $\phi$ -Parameter and Case-Parameter both set positively; Split EPP/Agree parameter set to  $[\phi_{EPP}]$  for both T and Tr. Uninterpretable #, G features of Tr match those of the object and delete; Case feature of the object is valued ACC and deleted; object moves to [Spec, Tr], resulting in both participial agreement and order Object- $V_{Part}$ . Furthermore, because  $\phi$ -features of object are inaccessible, by C, an EXPL with interpretable P, # features and uninterpretable Case feature must merge with v/Pr. Its features match those in T and it moves to [Spec, T] after deletion of uninterpretable features to satisfy  $\phi_{EPP}$  feature to T. This accounts for Swedish and Norwegian dialects with examples like (1) b. and for French existential sentences like (3) b. with the copular verb *avoir*.
- II. In this case,  $\phi$ -Parameter of Tr is set negatively, but Case-Parameter is set positively. Tr therefore lacks #, G features but can still assign Case, resulting in no participial agreement and no movement. At the same time, by C,  $\phi$ -features of object are not available to probe in T. Therefore, as in I., an EXPL with interpretable P, # features and uninterpretable Case feature must merge with v/Pr and eventually move to [Spec, T]. Accounts for W. Norwegian examples like (1) a., E. Norwegian examples like (2) a., Danish, and French impersonal passives such as as (3) a. It also accounts for 'New Passive' forms of Icelandic like (6) and Ukrainian impersonal passives like (7), in both of which the object shows up with overt ACC case.
- III. The opposite of II:  $\phi$ -Parameter set positively, Case-Parameter set negatively. Hence Tr has uninterpretable #, G features which match those of object and delete, but is unable to assign Case. Object therefore agrees with participle but remains in situ. However, since object still has its inherent  $\phi$ -features, as well as its uninterpretable Case feature, they can form Agree relation with probe in T. (No intervention effect because probe in Tr is  $\phi$ -incomplete.) If EPP is independent of Agree, as in Icelandic, it can be satisfied by merging EXPL *það* with T, so that object is prevented from moving, but agrees with both participle and copula. This accounts for regular impersonal passives in Icelandic such as (4). Alternatively, EPP (or  $\phi_{EPP}$ ) can be satisfied by moving object to [Spec, T], yielding non-impersonal passives in Icelandic and W. Norwegian, as well as regular French passives such as (3) c.

IV. This leaves only English to be explained. Two possibilities: (i) English is just like I., except that Case and Agreement features are phonetically null; (ii) Tr is set negatively for both  $\phi$ -Parameter and Case-Parameter, hence lacks any #, G features and does not assign Case, but has a (necessarily) independent EPP feature. (ii) must be correct because EXPL with full set of features is disallowed in English (Bowers 2002): *there were some fish caught*/\**it was some fish caught*. If Tr were  $\phi$ -complete, then derivation would be exactly as in I, forcing an EXPL with full set of features to be merged in v/Pr, contrary to fact. If, however, Tr has no  $\phi$ -features and doesn't assign Case, then features of T can match those of object. If EXPL with only a P feature (English *there*) merges with v/Pr, then object agrees in # with T, but MLC requires EXPL to satisfy EPP feature of T, resulting in English existentials like (5). If no EXPL, then object forms Agree relation with T and moves to [Spec, T], resulting in standard English passive.

7. Independent evidence in support of independent EPP feature in Tr in English:

(7) On the table will (\*some books) be (\*some books) put some books.

Why does object appear after participle in this case? EPP feature of Tr can be satisfied by merging PP with it, forcing object to remain on right:

(8) [TP [will [PrP] [be [TrP] [put-EN [vP [some books] tv [ on the table]]]]]]

8. Interaction of participial agreement and *wh*-movement:

Swedish:

(9) Hur många böcker blev det skrivet /\*skrivna det året?  
 How many books was EXPL written.N.SG/written.PL that year  
 (Holmberg 2000)

Norwegian:

(10) Kor mange ulvar vart det skot-i /\*skot-ne?  
 How many wolves become EXPL shot-N.SG/shot-PL  
 (Julien 2002)

English:

(11) a. How many books were (??there) put on the table?  
 b. the books that (??there) were put on the table  
 c. How many books are (??there) available?  
 d. How many students are (??there) cutting classes?  
 e. the books that (??there) will be given to the students  
 (Chomsky 2001)

*Moved* object is unavailable for extraction, whereas *in situ* object is. Particularly puzzling from the point of view of a phase-based theory, since DP moved to left edge of TrP should, if anything, be more available than the DP left in VP.

9. Persistent question concerning the derivation of sentences with *wh*-subjects: no inversion, etc. (Chomsky 1986, Rizzi 1996.) Suppose the Q-feature that attracts *wh*-subjects is in T rather than C:

(12) [TP	T	[ <sub>v/PrP</sub> there be	[ <sub>TrP</sub> how many books put	[ <sub>VP</sub> t t <sub>v</sub> on the table]]]]
	uP	P	P	
	u#		#	
	C		uC	
	uQ		Q	
	EPP		uwh	

Because EPP is independent of Agree (and Q-Agree) in English, EXPL *there* and *wh*-phrase *how many books* are in competition to satisfy EPP: nearest available element is *there*, so it merges in [Spec, T], leaving no place for the *wh*-phrase. NB: echo questions are fine, showing that Q-matching per se is not incompatible with EXPL:

(13) There were how many books put on the table?

If Q-feature is in C, on the other hand, then Maximize Matching prevents  $\phi$ -features of *how many books* from being matched with  $\phi$ -features in T, then later on matching its Q-feature with Q-feature in C. On the other hand, nothing prevents a different *wh*-phrase from matching its Q-feature with the Q-feature in C, correctly predicting *on which table where there several books placed?* to be good:

(14) [CP	C	[TP	T	[ <sub>PrP</sub> there were	[TP several books placed	[ <sub>VP</sub> t t <sub>v</sub> on which table]]]]
	uQ	u $\phi$		$\phi$		Q
	EPP	EPP		uC		uwh

Same considerations rule out movement of either agreeing or non-agreeing *wh*-object in Norwegian and Swedish to [Spec, T]: expletive preempts *wh*-phrase in satisfying  $\phi_{EPP}$ . However, if Q is in C, *in situ wh*-object in VP can match its Q-feature and move directly to [Spec, C], bypassing the problem entirely. Maximize Matching is not a problem in this case, because there is no Agree relation between Tr and the object. For agreeing *wh*-object, on the other hand, Maximize Matching again prevents  $\phi$ -Agree with probe in Tr at one stage and Q-Agree with probe in C at a later stage. In effect, then, an object that agrees with a passive participle acts like a subject with respect to *wh*-Movement, whereas a non-agreeing object *in situ* acts like a non-subject.

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