

## Event structure based passives

- movement of the result state of a structurally complex event to a discourse-related position at the edge of the vP is the fundamental characteristics of passive constructions
- passivisation as an operation on the event structure, a predication on the result state of the event
- a semantic requirement, some kind of topicalization, singles out the result state (resP in Ramchand 2005) and assigns it a feature that will determine its movement to a discourse-related projection the edge of the vP phase (~ Belletti's 2000 low focal projection)

## NP movement approaches

external argument still present in verbal passives (Jaeggli 1986; Roberts 1987; Baker et al. 1989; Belletti 2002; Collins 2005; a.o.):

- strong Crossover effects
  - availability of subject-oriented modifiers
  - availability of subject-controlled infinitival clauses
  - binding, depictives, purpose-clauses
- (1) a. *Such privileges should be kept to oneself.*  
 b. *Damaging testimony is always given about oneself in secret trials.*  
 c. *\*They were killed by themselves.*  
 d. *The book was written drunk.*  
 e. *The book was written to collect the money.*  
 f. *The book was written on purpose.*

passive participle morphology is external argument

- Baker et al. (1989)
- -en passive participle morpheme is a clitic base-generated in I'
  - this clitic is lowered down in the further derivation to adjoin to the verbal stem to "absorb" the case assignment capacity of the verb

### Problems:

- Arbitrary differentiation of past and passive participle
- How does NP in *by*-phrase receive its theta role?
- Not in conformity with the UTAH (Baker 1988)

## Collins' (2005) Smuggling approach

- external theta role is assigned in Spec vP in line with UTAH
- ACC is checked by the *by*-phrase in Voice' directly above vP
- 'Smuggling' of the VP over the vP makes the internal argument the closest to Spec TP allowing for its 'promotion' to subjecthood without any violation of locality.
- participle phrase moves to the left of the *by*-phrase dragging along the internal argument

Evidence for XP-movement analysis against head movement analysis:

- (2) a. *The coach summed up the argument.*  
*The coach summed the argument up.*  
 b. *The argument was summed up by the coach.*  
*\*The argument was summed by the coach up.*
- (3) a. *John was spoken to by Mary.*  
 b. *\*John was by Mary spoken to.*

### Problems:

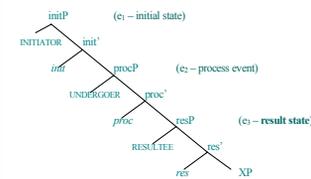
- What is the status of smuggling in the theory?
- If smuggling is movement, what is the trigger for this movement?
- What are the limits of smuggling and look-ahead computations?
- Why can't smuggling be used to avoid other potential interveners (e.g. in A'-movement)?
- In *There was a man killed*, passivisation applies independently from movement of the internal argument to the subject position.

## The Proposal

- passivisation involves promotion of the result state of the event
- resP (Ramchand 2005a) moves to a position above init(iator)P (vP in other approaches)
- this position is independently needed to form a basis for the event time that subsequently serves as the internal argument of Asp<sup>o</sup> (in the sense of Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000)
- In passives the event time falls within the result state subevent
- the particular projection that resP moves to has two properties:
  - the discourse-related part chooses the element that needs to be singled out
  - the quantificational part makes it readable.
- main job of this feature:
  - single out an element of the atemporal event structure (resP)
  - enrich its semantics by introducing temporality
  - making it available to temporal domain (and ultimately discourse domain) of the clause

## Decomposing the event

The syntax / semantics of the first phase (Ramchand 2005a)



(4) *throw the dead rat out*

- a.  $[_{resP} (I) \text{ throw-init } [_{procP} (U) t_V \text{ } [_{R} \text{ res-out } [_{resP} \text{ the rat } [_{DP} t_{DP} ]]]]]]$   
 b.  $[_{resP} (I) \text{ throw-init } [_{procP} (U) t_V \text{ } [_{resP} \text{ the rat res } [_{DP} t_{DP} ]]]]]]$

## Resultativity in Passives

the whole resP moves in passive constructions:

- (5) a. *The table was wiped clean by John.* (from Postal 2001)  
 ?? *The table was wiped by John clean.*  
 b. *The metal was hammered flat by John.*  
 ?? *The metal was hammered by John flat.*

VPs without resP cannot form passives, despite transitivity:

- (6) a. *This laptop weighed two kilos.*  
 \* *Two kilos were weighed (by this laptop).*  
 b. *This chair cost 50 euro.*  
 \* *50 euro were costed (by this chair).*

## Passives of atelic predicates (an apparent problem)

some psych-verbs, although states (and thus atelic), derive passives:

- (7) a. *The news worried / surprised / excited Max.*  
 b. *Max was worried / surprised / excited (by the news).*

two kinds of psych-verbs (Belletti & Rizzi 1988):

worry (preoccupare), appeal (piacere)

appeal-type does not passivise:

- (8) a. *The solution appeals to me / escapes me.*  
 b. *\*I am appealed / escaped (by the solution).*

•worry-verbs: allow reading where a state having come into existence is predicated over the internal argument - passive formation involves promoting this kind of derived result state  
 •appeal-verbs: cannot involve such a secondary predication (*\*I got into an escaping state*) and as a result cannot form passives.

•similar with other transitive states:

- (9) a. *Mary loved Max.*  
 b. *Max was loved (by Mary).*

## Floating quantifiers

long-lasting problem (at least since Sportiche 1988) – floating Qs are banned from the postverbal position in passives, but not in actives:

- (7) a. *John gave both the boys a good talking to.*  
*John gave the boys both a good talking to.*  
 b. *The boys were both given a good talking to.*  
 \* *The boys were given both a good talking to.*

➢ solved under our approach:

floating Q moves together with resP (1st movement) & is stranded there, while internal argument moves to Spec TP (2nd movement)

## Existential there-constructions

Why does the internal argument in existential *there*-constructions have to appear in preverbal position and why is the postverbal position ungrammatical?

- (10) a. *There was a man killed.*  
 b. *\*There was killed a man.*

➢ regular passives involve 2 independent operations:  
 - movement of resP to form a basis for the event time  
 - movement of a DP to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP

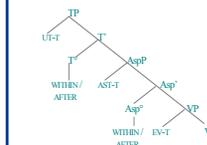
In *there*-constructions, second movement does not take place (expletive is inserted to satisfy EPP).

However, the first movement of resP still takes place in passive sentences since it is completely independent from the DP-movement to Spec TP.

## Building up the composition

The position that the participle in passive constructions moves to is independently needed to form a basis for the event time, which subsequently serves as the internal argument of Asp<sup>o</sup>

The syntax of Tense and Aspect Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000)



\*crucial phase boundary between vP and the temporal phrase structural domain requires the establishment of a relation between the extended event topology which makes no direct reference to times, and the actual time variable which is only introduced at Asp<sup>o</sup> (Ramchand 2004:333) = Krifka's (1998) temporal trace function

necessary ingredients (first approach):

- extra projection as syntactic reflex of Krifka's (1998) temporal trace function to provide an event time
- additional landing site for the part of the event structure that the event time is related to (~ low focus projection proposed in Belletti 2000)
- Aspect and Tense heads with an argument structure and the relevant arguments utterance time, assertion time, event time (Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000)
- the idea that events are complex and consist of atemporal subevents (Ramchand 2004, 2005a,b)

## Language impairment

Grillo (2003) proposes an account of the deficitarian comprehension patterns in aphasia in terms of Minimality effects induced by underspecification of part of the morphosyntactic features array associated with syntactic structures.

Combining the present analysis with that of Grillo allows to give a unified account of several comprehension deficit in agrammatical aphasia:

- Actives vs. Passives
- Subject Relatives vs. Object Relatives
- Unaccusatives vs. Passives (Pfiango, 2000)
- Adjectival Passives vs. Passives
- Verb Movement vs. XP Movement
- SVO vs. OSV-OVS actives in Hebrew (Friedmann & Shapiro, 2003)
- Object Control vs. Subject Control (Caplan & Hildebrandt, 1988)
- Who Questions vs. Which-x Questions (Avrutin & Hickok, 1992; Avrutin, 2000)

The hypothesis allows also a preliminary account of children selective difficulties with passive constructions