Steps towards constructing a cross-linguistic dataset for Passive-like constructions

Hilda Koopman
UCLA

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1 Introduction

• "Workshop" concrete ideas on how to construct a dataset for passive-like constructions using the TerraLing platform, and its database schema.

Planning stages.

9:00 – 9:05 PDT General Introduction to Day 2
18.00 – 18.05 CET

9:05 – 9:50 PDT Steps towards developing a Terraling dataset for passive-like constructions
18.05 – 18.50 CET Hilda Koopman

9:50 – 10:20 PDT Passive: the View from by-phrases
18.50 – 19.20 CET Nikos Angelopoulos

10:20 – 10:30 PDT 10 minute break
19.20 – 19.30 CET

10:30 – 11:00 PDT Different Voice heads. A view from long passivization
19.30 – 20.00 CET Guglielmo Cinque

11:00 – 11:30 PDT General discussion
20.00 – 20.30 CET

• Introduce TerraLing database platform and individual datasets: How to approach the problem, and develop (some) content for a cross-linguistic dataset for "Passive-like" constructions.

1.1 Road map

• Why?
The field has no open database for passive-like constructions that can be consulted and serve as the basis for further theoretical investigations, current or future.

• The time is ripe.
  – Passive-like constructions play a central role in the development of formal linguistics. (from the earliest stages of Generative Grammar, spanning different frameworks from Relational Grammar (end of the 70ies) to current Minimalist Approaches).
– Huge amount of accumulated knowledge, language internally and crosslinguistically
– Much expertise in the field!

Accumulated knowledge: result of research by generations of scholars (native speaker), sometimes spanning entire careers.


– Empirical generalizations for individual languages continuously improved over the years, and continue to do so. Diagnostics tools: make (interesting theoretical) questions tractable.
– Building this database: huge undertaking, requires community involvement.

• Main topic today:
  Small steps.
  How to set up the dataset using the TerraLing database schema, and create (some) content.
  Not concentrating on the underlying theoretical questions (these are of there in the background, see appendix C for a list of some of my questions).

1.2 General purpose

• Record existing knowledge
• (enable) exploring or answering current and future theoretical questions on the basis of comparative research.

2 Background

2.1 What we can or cannot build on

• What we can build on:
  – Existing literature (on individual languages)
  – Existing expertise
  – Existing databases? (See Appendix A)
    1. Siewierska (2013)
    2. Atlas for Pidgins and Creole Studies https://apics-online.info

• Typologies?
  Restricted to basic verbal passives (canonical passives).

  2. Kiparsky (2013)
  3. Roberts (2019)

2.1.1 Keenan & Dryer (2007)

• Definition of basic passives: (hk: aka canonical passive, core passive)

  (i) no agent phrase (e.g. by Mary) is present
  (ii) the main verb in its non-passive form is transitive, and
  (iii) the main verb expresses an action, taking agent subjects and patient objects.
G-1: Some languages have no passives.

- Languages may have special impersonal pronouns in active constructions (impersonal "they", "you", *man* (German), *men* (Dutch)); special affixes (Maasai, Greenberg (1959)). These share properties with implicit arguments (in particular passives of intransitives (unergatives), or *si* constructions Cinque (1988). See Roberts (2019) for references and recent discussion.

- Languages may have stative (=adjectival) passives, or middles, which are excluded from the typology. We would like to broaden the typology.

G-2: If a language has any passives it has ones characterized as basic above; moreover, it may have only basic passives.

The distributional claim made in G-2, entails G-2.1 to G-2.3 below:

- G-2.1 If a language has passives with agent phrases then it has them without agent phrases.

- G-2.2 If a language has passives of stative verbs (e.g. *lack*, *have*, etc.) then it has passives of verbs denoting events. Qs: Can we test: *If a language has eventive Pass, then it has stative/adjectival/refl passives?*

- G-2.3 If a language has passives of intransitive verbs then it has passives of transitive verbs. Why?

2.1.2 Roberts (2019)

Parameter hierarchies - Clusters of (macro) parameters. "Properties "yes/no/"

Partial Hierarchy:

```
Does transitive Voice withhold its FF (P_{Pass1})

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N: no passive</th>
<th>Y: is FF withholding generalized to all v (P_{Pass2})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y: passives of unergatives</td>
<td>N: is FF withholding restricted to some trans v (P_{Pass3})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y: agent passives only</td>
<td>N: Does Voice bear an EPP feature (P_{Pass4})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

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1See Dubinsky & Simango (1996) for hierarchical differences.
2Much of the literature treats these as impersonal passives or impersonal constructions. (See Cinque (1988), Legate, Akkus, Sereikaite & Ringel (2020), Roberts (2019) for discussion and references.)
3Joint research with Michelle Sheehan.
Passive parameters Operationalized as 4 properties (Jim Baker and Ian Roberts). (cf. appendix B.2) for the 4 properties. Part of a Longobardi/Guardiano style database of clausal parameters (87 TP/vP parameters in 34 living languages and 5 dead ones).

PV43 (GRP) Grammaticalised Passive.

Does the language grammaticalise a passive construction? (Keenan and Dryer=G1)

"Instructions"

Distinguish true, verbal passives from other constructions (adjectival passives, impersonal) by criteria in Roberts (2019: 420 - 430), summarized as follows:

• Verbal passives exhibit verb-like rather than adjective-like properties
• Implicit external argument has quasi-existence properties, typically with exclusive interpretation
• No accusative-marked internal arguments
• No passives of unaccusatives

2.2 From the perspective of the dataset construction

• Theoretical constructs (parameter hierarchies) should be extractable from the dataset, but should not serve as the basis for constructing the dataset.

• Special formal implementations should not be the basis for constructing the dataset. (Do not code up analyses, but the empirical data on which analyses are based, i.e. code up the results of diagnostic tests).

How to do so:

– Not top down, but bottom up: many small (clusters of) independent properties from which analyses emerge. (Question of granularity).

– Broaden the candidates for passive-like constructions

3 What we know

3.1 The view from English

• Within a single language (say English), there are different ‘passive-like’ constructions that have overlapping distributional and/or formal properties.

• Corresponding to active sentences with transitive verbs

(1) a. The police arrested Mary  
     b. the children read all these books

• There are verbal passives, aka as basic passives or canonical passives

(2) a. Mary was arrested (by the police)  
     b. Mary got arrested (by the police)
In addition, there is a set of passive-like constructions that share some properties with basic passive constructions.

(3)  

a. this book remained (stubbornly) (un)opened  
   Adj Pass: (be) Part
b. This book gets much talked about by the media  
   pseudo-passives
c. This book reads well (*by children)  
   middle
d. This book is easy to read (%by children)  
   tough movement
e. This book is quite read-able (by children)  
   "able" passive
f. A trilogy by Tsitsi Dangarembga  
   by-phrase within noun phrase

• Beyond English, we find further 'passive-like' constructions: (incomplete list)
  
  – impersonal passives
  – passives of intransitive verbs (unergative Vs)
  – reflexive passives
  – causatives embedding passives (It. fare da, Fr: faire par).
  – adversity passives
  – indirect passives
  – subject honorific passives
  – ...

  a Bruening (2014) shows how supporting context that makes a state believable licenses what are clearly syntactic adjectival passives.
  c Cf. Bruening (2013) is important: he shows that by-phrases are always licensed by the presence of Passive Voice/verbal projection.
  d See Ishizuka (2012) for a unified analysis of Japanese -r(a)re passives.
  e See Ishizuka (2012:section 2.5) a.o.

• "candidates" for passive-like constructions share properties ("apply to transitive bases").

• but differ:
  
  – formal properties (A or A’...);
  – interpretative properties (stative, eventive, ...);
  – interpretation(s) of the implicit argument;
  – expressibility of external argument (form of Ps/obliques);
  – control, binding, reconstruction, etc.

• Crosslinguistic —mixture of A- and A’- properties.
  Need for careful testing (Legate (2021)).

  – English "(verbal) passives" involve A movement;
  – but Theme Voice in Malagasy involves A’ movement (Topicalisation) (—though shows A-properties in other respects).

(4)  

Reconstruction for pronominal binding (Pearson (2001:ex57)).

Malagasy

a. Active, VO "Sagent"
   N. amangy ny rai.ny ny mpianatra tsirairay omaly
   Pst. AT.visit Det father.3 Det student each yesterday
   Each student, visited his, father yesterday
b. Theme voice(TT), V.TT.LNK DPagent "S"theme
No.vangi.an ny mpianatra tsirairay; ny rai.ny omaly
Pst.visit.TT.LNK Det student each Det father.3 yesterday
His, father, each student, visited yesterday

(5) Reconstruction for reflexive anaphors (Pearson (2005: 60), citing Racowski and Travis (2000)).

No.vono.in ny lehilahi ny tena.ny
Pst.kill.TT.LNK Det man Det self-3
The man killed himself vs ≈ lit: himself the man killed
English "*himself was killed by the man"

– Mandarin bei DP (long passives): A’-properties (Huang et al. (1999), a.o)(a bit) like tough-
movement in English.
– tough-movement constructions: A’-properties in some languages (English); A-properties in
other languages (clause bound- (Japanese (?Romance? Dutch?))

3.2 How to build up the dataset

• Break down formal properties in (clusters of) small properties (yes/no).
  – List each form/construction for a Language X. (open list, can be added to, if necessary)
  – Formulate (a set of fine grained) properties ("clusters of properties"). Yes/No/NA open list
  – Set property values for each form/construction within a language and across languages.

• TerraLing database schema: two levels.
  
  Level 0 | Level 1
  --- | ---
  "Languages ("parents")" | "Forms" (i.e. children of languages)
  Properties of language | Properties of forms

• Forms: form of passive-like constructions.
• Some languages will have many forms, some will have few forms
• Properties = binary values: Yes/No, N/A (not applicable).
• Properties of Languages (Active voice, see conclusion)
• Properties of Forms?
• Display: as Table of variation (E(nglish)) (see https://terraling.com/groups/13 for pilot dataset).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic table of variation &quot;Types&quot;</th>
<th>AdjPass</th>
<th>VerbalPass</th>
<th>Get Pass</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>EasytoPlease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forms</td>
<td>(be) + Part</td>
<td>be+Part</td>
<td>get Part</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>easytoplease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Properties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Content development

– Properties of Languages?
– Forms and Properties?
– Who develops properties?
  (Property authors: TEAMS - define the property and its values, restrict the task )
Open nature of database: Constructions and Properties can be added over time.

0. Language X
1. Properties of Languages (Active Voice)
– basic word order properties
– pro drop/impersonal pronouns
– (set of) thematic properties
– (set of) clausal complement properties
– case frames (and alignment)
  "argument alternations"
  double object constructions
  possessor raising
  locative promotion
  applicatives
  ...
– impersonal constructions?
– modifiers Cinque (1999)
– obliques/PPs (Schwenker 2005), Anagnostopoulou 2019)

0. List of "Passive-like" forms in Language X
1. Properties of Forms
– distinct act/passive V?
– aspectual properties (stative, eventive, bounded.. )
– predicate types
– implicit argument (properties)
  "quasi"-existential,"quasi"-universal Cinque (1988), Roberts (2019), PRO(arb), pl, pro, PRO, QP ...?
– by-phrase (properties)
– Binding, Control, Reconstruction properties
  ...
– ...

3.4 Concrete questions

• How to capture: G1. Some Languages have no passives. Not all criteria have to hold at the same
time: Keenan & Dryer (2007), Legate (2020), Roberts (2019)). Break this question down into a set of
smaller questions.

  – P1. Is there a clear distinction between active and passive verb forms for core transitive verbs?
    Yes/ No (level of "certainty" must be be indicated with the value (orange below means uncertain/revisit);
    examples and comments can be added).
    → See Table (English-internal)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Types&quot;</th>
<th>AdjPass</th>
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<th>Middle</th>
<th>Easytorelease</th>
<th>-able</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forms</td>
<td>(be)Part1</td>
<td>(be)Part2</td>
<td>get Part</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>easytorelease</td>
<td>-able</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Properties Forms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.Act/Pass Dist on V(s)?</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adding the following properties will yield a more detailed typology from which G1 emerges.

  – Is there "promotion" (A-movement to subject position, does the "object" shows subject properties (agreement)) Yes/ No
  – Can the equivalent of a by-phrase occur? Yes/ No
  – Can the external argument be implicit and interpreted as a "quasi-existential" Yes/ No
A (partial) table of Crosslinguistic variation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>English (be) Part</th>
<th>E.Middle “wash”</th>
<th>Jamaican V.le?</th>
<th>Mandarin</th>
<th>Samoan</th>
<th>Ewe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forms</td>
<td>(be) Part</td>
<td>“wash”</td>
<td>V.le?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Properties Forms↓

1. Act/Pass Dist on V(s)? | Y | N | N | N | N | N |
13. by-phrase? | Y | N | N | N | Y | ? |
20. promotion? | Y | Y | Y | Y | ? | N |

Comments

- A more fine-grained typology.
- G1: A Language with no canonical passive construction (Ewe, Kwa, Niger Congo) is a language that has a NO value for this set of properties.
- On languages that have canonical eventive passives with no change of form between active and passive Vs (see Keenan & Dryer (2007), Roberts (2019), and https://apics-online.info/parameters/90#2/30.3/10.0, Koopman (2012)).
- row 1: bears on the presence of silent elements in the syntax and the "signature" they leave. → (Can) Passive Voice be silent?

3.5 Further development of Properties - Aspectual properties

Different passive-like constructions have distinct aspectual properties:

(Partial) Table for English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Properties Forms↓</td>
<td>2. stative?</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. eventive</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comment: 


Finer aspectual distinctions are in fact necessary.

- Aspectual restrictions may indicate where the "form" is Merged in the clausal hierarchy.
  This is important to set up c-command tests, and on how to interpret the failure of tests.
Malagasy (Keenan & Dryer (2007::17)).

(6) a. Man + tsangana (= manangana) ny lai aho m.active + put.up the tent I.nom I am putting up the tent Active

b. A[tsanga-ko] ny lai "pass"-put.up-LNK.1st the tent The tent is put up by me (hk: the tent I put it up) TT V-(LNK+1st)

c. [Voa] -tsangana ny lai "pass"-put.up the tent The tent is put up bounded perfective- expression agent difficult

d. [Tafa] -tsangana ny lai "pass"-put.up the tent The tent is put up "almost" spontaneous" "by itself"

Ahn (2010), Tsai (2019) on the different readings for Mandarin emphatic ziji, and how this corresponds to the location in the structural hierarchy.

3.6 What types of predicates can Passive Voice combine with?

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Properties</td>
<td>Forms↓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of pred</td>
<td>(simple) transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.agent &gt; theme</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.experiencer &gt; theme</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>?N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.cause &gt; theme</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7 Types of predicates- intransitives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Types&quot; →</th>
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<td>6.cause &gt; theme</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.(simple) unacc</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.(simple) unerg</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Why (simple) unergatives?
  Adding (?low) structure (PathPP) might allow passivization.

(7) they were laughed at, babies are smiled at...
3.8 Double object constructions

(At least) two distinct properties are needed w.r.t. double objects:

- The type of double object construction that can occur in passive-like constructions (Goal Theme vs Ben Theme).

- Questions about promotability. Which object can be promoted? There are known differences between English varieties, as well as known differences crosslinguistically.

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Properties Forms ↓

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of pred double object?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9a. (ag)&gt;goal&gt;theme N Y Y N N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b. (ag)&gt;ben&gt;theme N ?N N N N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Promotability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(agent)&gt;goal/ben&gt;theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15a. goal&gt;theme N Y Y N N</td>
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<tr>
<td>15b. goal&gt;theme N N N N N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16a. Ben&gt;theme N N N N N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16b. Ben&gt;theme N N N N N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.9 Double object constructions - Crosslinguistically E(nglish)1, E(nglish)2,...

- Variation within English varieties: English 1 and English "2".

"Types" → E1 Verb Pass E2 Verb Pass

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>(be) Part</th>
<th>bePart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Properties Forms ↓

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<td>9b. ben&gt;theme Y Y</td>
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Promotability

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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15b. goal&gt;theme N Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16a. ben&gt;theme N ?N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16b. ben&gt;theme N ?N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.10 Double object constructions - Crosslinguistically, adding Dutch...

- Dutch:
  indirect objects ("datives") do not generally undergo promotion, except for some listed verbs.⁴⁵

⁴See Postal (2010).
⁵Technically, these should not go under double objects but under object clausal complements.
⁶See Postal (1986) for various listed cases. Such cases should be approached with Yang (2016) in mind.
(8)  the travelers are requested to get off the train

- Or when embedded under a particular auxiliary verb *Krijgen*: (cf German “recipient passives”)

(9)  *Krijgen* "receive/get" = ’nom accusative’ in the active ("undative" [Broekhuis & Cornips 2012]) Marie has been sent that book

- Adding "Forms" allows capturing such cases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Types&quot; →</th>
<th>E1 Verb Pass</th>
<th>E2 Verb Pass</th>
<th>D wordenPrt</th>
<th>D verzocht te</th>
<th>krijgen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forms →</td>
<td>Part</td>
<td>bePart</td>
<td>worden</td>
<td>verzocht te</td>
<td>krijgen+Part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Properties Forms ↓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9b. ben&gt;theme</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Promotability (agent)&gt;goal&gt;theme</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15a. goal&gt;theme</td>
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<tr>
<td>15b. goal&gt;theme</td>
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<tr>
<td>16a. Ben&gt;theme</td>
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<tr>
<td>16b. Ben&gt;theme</td>
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</tbody>
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4 Summing up

- (First) Steps towards ...
- many "small" properties
- Issue: granularity? (Modularity)
- (built-in) search functions in the database (in development) allow querying the database (e.g genomics).
0. Language X

1. Properties of Languages (Active Voice)
   - basic word order properties
   - pro drop/impersonal pronouns
   - (set of) thematic properties
   - (set of) clausal complement properties
   - case frames (and alignment)
   - double object constructions
   - possessor raising
   - locative promotion
   - "applicatives"
   - impersonal constructions?
   - different modifiers (Cinque (1999))
   - obliques/PPs hierarchies (Schweikert (2005), Angelopoulos (2019))

0. List of "Passive-like" forms in Language X

1. Properties of Forms
   - distinct act/passive V?
   - aspectual properties
     (stative, eventive, generic, bounded...)
   - (subset of basic) predicate types
   - impersonal pronouns
     "quasi"-existential,"quasi"-universal
     Cinque (1988), Roberts (2019), PRO(arb), pl, Pro, PRO, QP...?
   - by-phrase (set of properties and forms)
   - Binding, Control, Reconstruction properties

- Theoretical questions (see appendix C)

- **Community:**
  How can you get involved/help?
  Feedback, Check feasibility, check content...
  Ask for funding (subprojects), to develop new content,
  use the database for teaching purposes, get students involved in doing projects, writing papers...
A Appendix A. Background on existing Databases

• (Existing) Databases
  1. Siewierska (2013)
  2. Atlas for Pidgins and Creole Studies https://apics-online.info

A.1 feature 107a. WALS: Siewierska (2013)
  Classification: a construction has been classified as passive if it displays the following five properties

  1. it contrasts with another construction, the active. sometimes (in ergative languages like Samoan (Polynesian) for example this is hard to tell
  2. the subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overtly expressed;
     short passive (and by-phrase (long) passive)
  3. the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active
  4. the construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active.
     a consequence of demotion, and promotion– we should not adopt.
  5. the construction displays some special morphological marking on the verb.
     excludes silent passive Voice, excludes middles (but see Stroiel (1992, 1992) ).This criterion is not used in APICS)
  6. Atlas for Pidgins and Creole Studies https://apics-online.info/parameters/90#2/30.3/10.0 also marks the presence of more than one passive-like construction.

B Typologies

B.1 Keenan and Dryer

B.2 Passive parameters

By Jim Baker and Ian Roberts: 4 properties as part of a Longobardi-style database of clausal parameters (87 TP/vP parameters in 34 living languages and 5 dead ones).

PV43 (GRP) Grammaticalised Passive.

Does the language grammaticalise a passive construction?

“Instructions”

Distinguish true, verbal passives from other constructions (adjectival passives, impersonal) by criteria in Roberts (2019: 420 - 430), summarised as follows:

• Verbal passives exhibit verb-like rather than adjective-like properties
• Implicit external argument has quasi-existential properties, typically with exclusive interpretation
• No accusative-marked internal arguments
• No passives of unaccusatives
PV44 (GEP) Generalised Passive.

- Impersonal passives (without overt subjects) from intransitive bases
- Distinguish from impersonal constructions more generally (see above): these may also target unaccusative arguments

If a passive construction is grammaticalised, can unergative predicates be passivised?

PV45 (REP) Restricted Passive

Is the passive restricted to agentive contexts?

- No passive of (transitive) non-agentive verbs, e.g. non-agentive psych verbs.

- Decomposition of external theta role (at least): Agent > Experiencer > Cause
- This distinction is also required for case marking properties (Samoan, Polynesian), or active languages.

PV46 (BYP) By-phrase

May passives incorporate an equivalent to the English by-phrase?

- External argument of passives expressed optionally as a PP or with oblique case marking

C Some theoretical questions

- General questions about the nature of Voice and Argument structure.
- The nature of Passive Voice and intervention/demotion in particular
- Questions about forms. "Form cannot be ignored"
  **Hypothesis:** a particular morphosyntactic form represents a unique piece of structure. *cannot have a passive form without minimally having a "passive" voice in the structure.* (interesting)
  Problems: deponent verbs.

- Questions about silence.
  Passive Voice can be silent. Are there special constraints on where elements can be silent? [Kayne (2003), Koopman (2010)].

- Questions about lexical representation: to bundle or not (decomposition)? Each feature projects individually, feature bundling is done in the syntax. Radical decomposition vs feature bundling?

- Questions about interpretation of the implicit argument.
  Can this be derived on how Passive Voice interacts with the structural hierarchy?
  Does the person hierarchy play a role?

- Questions about pseudopassives and PPs. (Traditional analysis in terms of rebracketing, reanalysis makes no sense in the current theoretical landscape.)

- Questions about by-phrases/from-phrases and silent arguments
  Are by-phrases in the same structural position as the implicit argument?
• When diagnostics fail what can we conclude?
• General questions about the theory of A’ vs. A movement.

References


Ishizuka, Tomoko & Hilda Koopman. 2014. On the importance of being silent or pronounced; English –able and Japanese –rare potentials compared. Glow poster.


