

The Structure of Implicit Agents in Passives¹

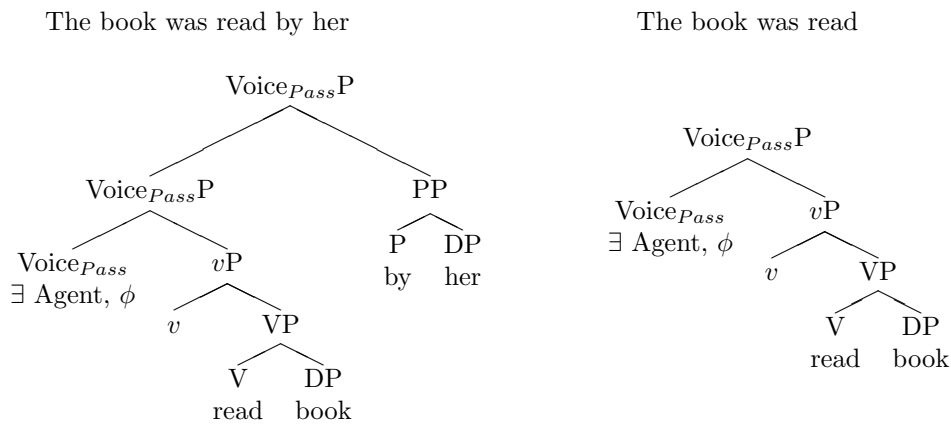
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1 Introduction

Goal: support a analysis of the passive with the following properties:

- the passive contains a syntactic head introducing the external argument (Voice) (e.g. Pylkkänen 1999, Embick 2004, Collins 2005, Landau 2006)
- the agent thereby introduced is existentially closed rather than merged in the specifier of VoiceP (e.g. Pylkkänen 1999, Landau 2006, pace Collins 2005)
- the agent is realized by a bundle of ϕ -features (Landau 2010, pace Collins 2005) on Voice (pace Landau 2010, Collins 2005).
- the *by*-phrase is an adjunct

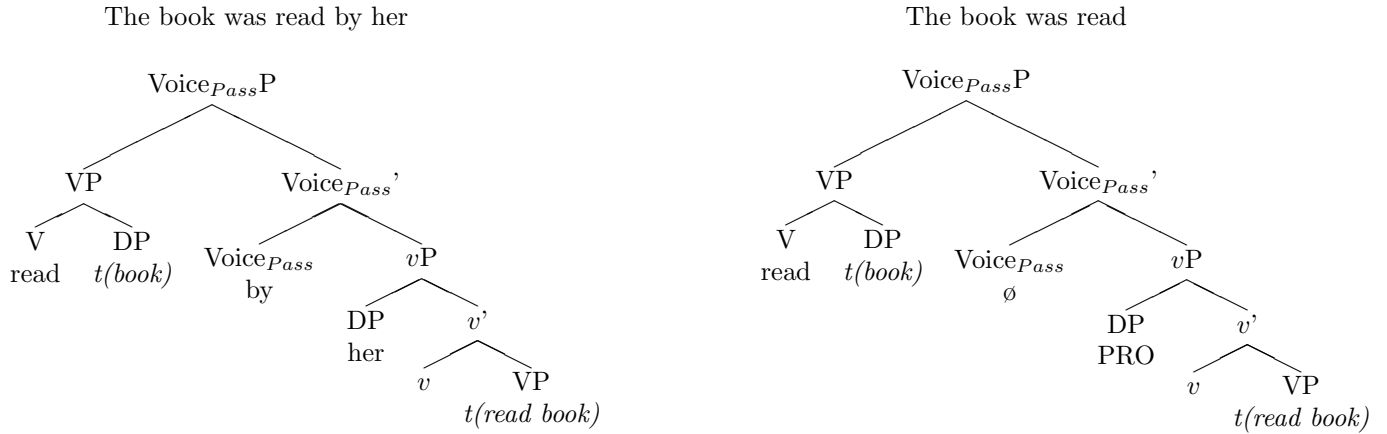
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cf: Collins' (2005) "Smuggling" analysis of the passive:
 -the agent is merged into the external argument position in both actives and passives
 -a verbal projection containing the object raises past the external argument

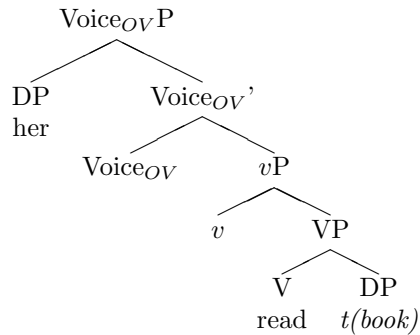
(2) Collins 2005 (simplified)



= tantamount to an Object Voice analysis (see e.g. Guilfoyle et al 1992 and subsequent)

(3) cf: Object Voice²

The book was her read



Outline:

- Position of the Agent: Passive Voice vs Object Voice
- Presence of the Implicit Agent in Passives
- Locality in Object Voice

²This construction has received various labels in the literature, including subjective voice, objective voice, and passive type 2. Since English does not exhibit Object Voice, translation of these clauses is difficult. Speakers/authors may employ an active, active with object topicalization, or passive; none of these are accurate, and nothing should be concluded from the choice of translation strategy.

2 Position of the Agent: Passive Voice vs Object Voice

Malayo-Polynesian languages with both passive voice and object voice; e.g. Acehnese, Indonesian, Balinese, Javanese, (e.g. Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Sneddon 1996; Arka & Manning 1998; Arka 2003, 2007; Cole, Hermon, & Yanti 2008; Legate 2008)

Claim:

- Object Voice: agent shows behaviour of an external argument DP in spec, Voice
- Passive Voice: agent shows behaviour of a PP adjunct

2.1 Wh-Extraction

Background: PPs and adjuncts are directly extractable; but cannot use (pseudo)cleft strategy.

DPs that are not the grammatical subject show restricted/no ability to extract; can use (pseudo)cleft strategy. (e.g. Guilfoyle et al 1992, Cole and Hermon 2005, Cole et al 2008, Aldridge 2008, Legate 2008, Travis 2008)

(4) Indonesian

a. PP/Adjunct Extraction

Di mana Ali memukul Ahmad?
LOC which Ali MENG-hit Ahmad

“Where did Ali hit Ahmad?”

b. Grammatical Subject Extraction

Siapa yang Siti pikir membeli buku di toko buku?
who C Siti think MENG-buy book LOC store book

“Who does Siti think bought a book at the book store?”

c. Non-Grammatical Subject DP Extraction

* Apa yang Siti pikir Tono membeli di toko buku?
what C Siti think Tono MENG-buy LOC store book

“What does Siti think Tono bought at the book store?” (Cole et al 2008:1505)

Passive: Agent is directly extractable; cannot use (pseudo)cleft strategy.

Object Voice: Agent shows no ability to extract.

(5) Acehnese

a. Passive

Lé soe (*nyang) boh drien nyan ji-pajoh?
by whom C fruit durian that 3Fam-eat

“By whom was the durian fruit eaten?”

b. Object Voice

* Soe boh drien nyan pajoh?
who fruit durian that eat

“Who was the durian eaten by?”³

c. cf: Passive Grammatical Subject Extraction

Soe nyang geu-peu-ubat lé dokto?
who C 3Pol-Cause-medicine LE doctor

“Who was treated by the doctor?”

- (6) Indonesian
- a. Passive

Oleh siapa anak itu selalu di-beri-kan makanan sehat?
 by who child that always Pass-give-Appl food healthy
 “By whom is that child always been given healthy food?”
 - b. Passive

* Siapa yang anak itu selalu di-beri-kan makanan sehat (oleh)?
 who C child that always Pass-give-Appl food healthy by
 “By whom is that child always been given healthy food?” (Cole et al 2008:1510)
 - c. Object Voice

* Siapa yang buku ini akan lihat?
 who C book this will see
 “Who will see this book?” (Cole et al 2008:1510)

2.2 Topicalization

Background: DPs may not precede the grammatical subject in Acehnese, PPs can (see Durie 1985⁴).

- (7) Acehnese
- a. * Ibrahim dokto ka geu-peu-ubat
 Ibrahim doctor Perf 3Pol-Caus-medicine
 “The doctor treated Ibrahim”
 - b. Di sinoe aneuk miet meukèn-meukèn.
 at here child small play-play
 “Children play here.”
- (8) Acehnese
- a. Passive

Lé uleue nyan aneuk miet nyan di-kap
 by snake that child small that 3Fam-bite
 “By the snake, that child was bitten”
 - b. Object Voice

* Uleue nyan aneuk miet nyan kap.
 snake that child small that bite
 “By the snake, that child was bitten.”

2.3 Binding

Background: Passive agent as external argument predicts binding of everything in the verb phrase, (i.e. binding to the right and to the left (under reconstruction)) (Collins 2005).

Passive agent as a PP adjunct predicts cascade behaviour (Pesetsky 1995)

Passive: Reflexive object cannot be bound by agent (under reconstruction)

Object Voice: Reflexive object can be bound by agent (under reconstruction)

³This is grammatical on the irrelevant reading “Who did the durian eat?”

⁴Although Durie describes the facts using different theoretical apparatus.

(9) Indonesian

a. Passive

?* Diri-nya di-serah-kan ke polisi oleh Amir.
self-3 PASS-surrender-APPL to police by Amir
“Himself was surrendered to the police by Amir.”

b. Object Voice

Diri-mu mesti kau- serah-kan ke polisi.
self-2 must you- surrender-APPL to police
“You must surrender yourself to the police.”

c. Passive

cf: Saya di-tanyai oleh Amir tentang diri-nya
I PASS-ask by Amir about self-3
“I was asked by Amir about himself.” (Arka & Manning 1998)

Passive: agent does not trigger Condition C effects for verb phrase-internal elements
Object Voice: agent does trigger Condition C effects for verb phrase-internal elements

(10) Acehnese

a. Passive

Ka i-jaga mie aneuk-aneuk_k miet nyan lé awaknyan_k (keu droe).
PERF 3Fam-care.for cat child-child small that by them to self
“The children_k’s cat has been taken care of by them_k (by themselves).”

b. Object Voice

Ka awaknyan_{i/*k} (keu droe) jaga mie aneuk-aneuk_k miet nyan.
PERF 3Fam-care.for cat child-child small that by them to self
“The children_k’s cat has been taken care of by them_{i/*k} (by themselves).”

2.4 Control

Passive: *by*-DP cannot act as a controller into subject clauses
Object Voice: agent can act as a controller into subject clauses

(11) Indonesian

a. Passive

?* [__ men-cari kerja di kota] yang sudah di-coba oleh saya /kamu /mereka /Amir
AV-search job at city REL PERF PASS-try by 1sg /2 /3pl /Amir
“Looking for a job in the city is what has been tried by me/you/them/Amir.”

b. Object Voice

[__ men-cari kerja di kota] yang sudah saya /kamu /mereka coba
AV-search job at city REL PERF 1sg /2 /3pl try
“Looking for a job in the city is what I/you/(s)he has tried.” (Arka & Manning 1998)

2.5 Optionality

Passive: agent is optional, as PP adjunct

Object Voice: agent is obligatory, as external argument in spec, Voice

(12) Acehnese

a. Passive

Aneuk nyan di-kap (lé uleue nyan)
child that 3Fam-bite by snake that
“The child was bitten (by the snake)”

b. Object Voice

Aneuk nyan *(uleue nyan) kap
child that snake that bite
“The child was bitten (by the snake)”

(13) Indonesian

a. Passive

Rumah itu akan di-jual
house that FUT Pass-sell
“The house will be sold”

b. Object Voice

Rumah itu akan *(saya) jual
house that FUT 1sg sell
“The house, I will sell.” (Arka & Manning 1998)

2.6 Position

Passive: The agent appears freely ordered with other PPs.

Object Voice: The agent appears low, obligatorily adjacent to the verb.

(14) Acehnese Passive

a. Sie ji-tagun lé Fatimah keu lôn bak dapu.
meat 3Fam-cook by Fatimah to me at kitchen
“The meat was cooked by Fatimah for me in the kitchen.”

b. Sie ji-tagun keu lôn lé Fatimah bak dapu.
meat 3Fam-cook to me by Fatimah at kitchen
“The meat was cooked for me by Fatimah in the kitchen.”

c. Sie ji-tagun bak dapu keu lôn lé Fatimah.
meat 3Fam-cook at kitchen to me by Fatimah
“The meat was cooked in the kitchen for me by Fatimah.”

(15) Acehnese Object Voice

a. Sie akan Fatimah tagun keu lôn bak dapu.
meat will Fatimah cook to me at kitchen
“Meat will be cooked by Fatimah for me in the kitchen.”

b. *Sie Fatimah akan tagun keu lôn bak dapu.
meat Fatimah will cook to me at kitchen
“Meat will be cooked by Fatimah for me in the kitchen.”

- c. Sie hana Fatimah tagun keu lôn bak dapu.
meat NEG Fatimah cook to me at kitchen
“Meat was not cooked by Fatimah for me in the kitchen.”
- d. *Sie Fatimah hana tagun keu lôn bak dapu.
meat Fatimah NEG cook to me at kitchen
“Meat was not cooked by Fatimah for me in the kitchen.”
- e. Sie teungoh Fatimah tagun keu lôn bak dapu.
meat PROG Fatimah cook to me at kitchen
“Meat is being cooked by Fatimah for me in the kitchen.”
- f. *Sie Fatimah teungoh tagun keu lôn bak dapu.
meat Fatimah will cook to me at kitchen
“Meat is being cooked by Fatimah for me in the kitchen.”

(16) Indonesian Passive

- a. Sate di-masak untuk kami oleh Ima.
satay PASS-cook for us by Ima
“Satay was cooked for us by Ima.” (Kroeger 2004:79)
- b. Baju baru itu di-beli oleh Ayah untuk Joni.
shirt new that PASS-buy by father for Joni
“The new shirt was bought for Joni by Father.” (Arka 2000)

(17) Indonesian Object Voice

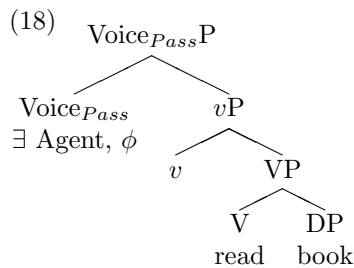
- a. Buku ini tidak akan kami baca.
book this not will we read
“This book will not be read by us”
- b. *Buku kami ini tidak akan baca.
book this we not will read
“This book will not be read by us” (Cole & Hermon 2005:62)
- c. *Buku ini kami tidak akan baca.
book this not we will read
“This book will not be read by us” (Cole & Hermon 2005:63)

Conclusion: The explicit agent in the Passive behaves like a PP adjunct; the agent in the Object Voice behaves as a DP external argument.

Question: What about the implicit agent?

3 Presence of the Implicit Agent

Claim: The agent in the Passive is morphosyntactically present as a bundle of ϕ -features on Voice, independent of the presence/absence of the *by*-DP.



The features of the Passive agent are overtly morphologically realized in Acehnese and Chamorro.⁵

Acehnese Passive agent morphology: person and relative social status.⁶

Chamorro Passive agent morphology: number (and 3rd person).

(19) Acehnese Passive

- a. Lôn geu/*lôn-tingkue lé ureueng inong nyan
 I 3Pol/1sg-carry by person female that
 “I was carried (by the woman)”
- b. Aneuk miet nyan lôn- /meu- /ta- /neu- tingkue lé lôn /tanyoe /kamoe /droeneuh
 child small that 1sg- /1incl- /1excl- /2Pol- carry by me /us(incl) /us(excl) /you
 “The child is carried by me/us/you”

(20) Chamorro Passive

- a. *ma-* 3pl⁷
 Guäha na biahi nai ma-usa ädyu na palabra ni manamku’
 Agr.exist L time C 3Pl.Pass-use that L word Obl old.ones
 “There are times when those words are used by adults” (Chung 1998:38)
- b. *-in-* 3sg
 Man-s<in>angani as Juan todü i bidáda-ña káda dia.
 plIntransSubj-<3Pass>say.to Obl Juan all the WH[obj].do.Prog-Agr each day
 “Juan told them (lit. they were told by Juan) everything he had been doing each day.” (Cooreman 1983:85)

This Passive agent morphology is located in Voice.

In Chamorro are bundled with the Passive voice morpheme:

- (22) a. *ma-* = Passive Voice, 3rd person plural agent
 b. *-in-* = Passive Voice, 3rd person (singular) agent

In Acehnese, are not bundled with Passive voice (also appear in active), but are located in Voice:

- Found below modals, negation, aspect (all free morphemes):

- (23) a. Gopnyan jeuet geu-pajôh boh mamplam
 (s)he may 3Pol-eat CL mango that
 “He may eat the mango.”

⁵On passives in Acehnese, see Legate 2008; on passives in Chamorro, see Topping & Dungca 1973, Cooreman 1987, Chung 1998, 2004.

⁶Due to this morphology, there was an earlier debate regarding status of the passive in Acehnese. Lawler (1977) and Asyik (1987) analysed it as a passive, whereas Durie (1985, 1988) analysed it as a theme-topic construction with an ergative agent. In Legate (2008), I argued that passive is the correct analysis: the theme behaves as a grammatical subject for binding, control, and weak crossover effects, and the *lé*-phrase behaves as a PP (some of these arguments were repeated above).

⁷Cooreman 1987:78,ftn8 states “There is only one case in which most speakers judge that the MA-passive must be used in which the overt oblique Agent is singular. These cases involve an embedded complement clause which is passivized so as to keep the subject of the embedded clause identical to the subject of the main clause.”

- (21) Man- ma’a’ñaõ ham man-ma/*/?in-faisen kuestion as Antonio
 Pl- afraid A.1.pl pl-3PlPass/3Pass-ask question OBL Anthony
 “We are afraid to be asked a question by Anthony”

I leave such examples for future research.

- b. Gopnyan hana geu-poh asée nyan baroe.
(s)he Neg 3Pol-hit dog that yesterday
“He didn’t hit the dog yesterday.”
- c. Gopnyan teungoh geu-plueng jinoo
(s)he Prog 3Pol-run now
“He is running now.”

- Not found on higher modal or aspectual markers:

- (24) a. droeneuh (*neu)- pasti ka *(neu)- pajoh sie
you 2- must Perf 2- eat meat
“You must have eaten meat”
- b. ureueng inong nyan (*geu)- teungoh *(geu)- taguen bu
person female that 3Pol- Prog 3Pol- cook rice
“The woman is cooking rice”

- Found on the head that assigns the external θ -role; e.g. on the causative morpheme not the lexical root (see Ko 2008 on causatives in Acehnese):

- (25) a. Aneuk nyan reubah
child that fall
“The child fell”
- b. Hasan geu-peu-reubah aneuk nyan
Hasan 3Pol-Cause-fall child small
“Hasan caused the child to fall”

- Only found in the presence of Voice that introduces an external argument: with passives, and with active transitives and unergatives, but not with active unaccusatives or experiencer subjects (see Durie 1985, Asyik 1982).

- (26) Transitive
- a. Lôn ka lôn-jok boh mamplam keu ureung inong nyan
I Perf 1sg-give CL mango to person female that
“I already gave the mango to the woman”
- b. Ibrahim geu-jok boh mamplam keu Fatimah
Ibrahim 3Pol-give CL mango to Fatimah
“Ibrahim gave the mango to Fatimah”

- (27) Unergative
- a. Ureueng agam nyan geu-plueng
person male that 3Pol-run
“The man is running”
- b. aneuk miet nyan di-meulangue
child small that 3Fam-swim
“The child swam”

- (28) Unaccusative
- a. Lôn ka (*lôn)-reubah
1sg Perf 1sg-fall
“I fell”
- b. Dokto ka (*geu)-troh
doctor Perf 3Pol-arrive
“The doctor arrived”
- (29) Subject Experiencer Psych⁸
- Ibrahim galak keu Fatimah
Ibrahim like to Fatimah
“Ibrahim likes Fatimah”

- Patterns as voice in related languages (e.g. for Indonesian/Malay dialects see Chung 1976b, Sneddon 1996, Cole, Hermon, Yanti 2008): alternates with zero in Object Voice

- (31) Object Voice \emptyset -
- a. Aneuk miet nyan uleue nyan (*di)-kap
child small that snake that 3Fam-bite
“The snake bit the child”
- b. Aneuk miet nyan akan ureueng inong nyan (*geu)-tingkue
child small that will person female that 3-Pol-carry
“The woman will carry the child”

alternates with zero in successive-cyclic DP A'-movement for active verbs⁹

- (32) a. aneuk miet nyang uleue nyan (*ji)-kap ji-moe
child small C snake that 3Fam-bite 3Fam-cry
“The child the snake bit is crying”
- b. Soe Ibrahim (*geu)-peugah nyang tingkue aneuk miet nyan?
who Ibrahim 3Pol-say C carry child small that
“Who did Ibrahim say carried the child?”

Question: What are these features of the Passive agent on Voice?

Not agreement:

- Agent in *by*-phrase is too deeply embedded and in the wrong structural position to undergo Agree with Voice
- *by*-phrase is optional, prefixes are not¹⁰

⁸Such predicates can also appear with the prefix. This is due to an agentive use of the verb, see Asyik 1982. e.g.:

- (30) Hana lôn-banci keu mie nyan
Neg 1sg-hate at cat that
“I don’t (make an effort to) hate the cat” (Asyik 1982:16)

⁹Also alternates with zero for short distance subject A'-movement, but Asyik 1987 notes that this restriction is eased when the verb is preceded by aspect or a modal.

¹⁰Regarding Acehnese, Lawler (1977:224 fn11) remarks that the *lé*-phrase is not omissible, unlike the English *by*-phrase. Durie (1988:108 fn 8) states “[t]his claim is false, and it is hard to understand L[awler]’s basis for making it. Sentences with the *lé*-phrase ‘deleted’ are not only perfectly acceptable, but are much more numerous in actual discourse than sentences with an overt *lé*-phrase.” Our consultants confirm that the *lé*-phrase can certainly be dropped. However, Lawler’s initial claim is understandable (indeed, several students in our field methods class initially made the same claim): given the lack of a passive morpheme, the passive without a *lé*-phrase can be misinterpreted as an active out of context, and thus rejected by the consultant as ungrammatical (due to agreement/ θ /meaning mismatches).

- (33) a. Acehnese
 Aneuk miet nyan *(di-)kap (lé uleue nyan)
 child small that 3Fam-bite (by dog that)
 “The child was bitten (by the dog)”
- b. Chamorro
 Kao pära infan-k<in>enni’ na tres pära i sho?
 Q Fut 2plIntransSubj-<3Pass>take L three to the show
 “Are the three of you going to be taken to the movies (by him)?” (Chung 1998:37)

- Prefixes are interpretable: provide information about the implicit agent in absence of the PP

- (34) Acehnese
 Aneuk miet nyan meu- /ta- /neu- /tingkue.
 child small that 1incl- /1excl- /2Pol- /carry
 “We (incl) /We (excl) /You carried the child.”

Not pronominal

e.g. Does not bind into the theme.

- (35) Acehnese Passive
 Ka i-jaga mie aneuk-aneuk_k miet nyan lé awaknyan_k (keu droe)
 PERF 3Fam-care.for cat child-child small that by them to self
 “The children_k’s cat has been taken care of by them_k (by themselves)”

- (36) Chamorro Passive
 In-ispaha as Ramon_k i meni-ña *pro*_{i/*k}
 3sgPass-look.for Obl Ramon the baby-Agr
 “Ramon_k looked for her_i/his_{*k} baby.” (Chung 1998:42)

Proposal: In the passive, the morphemes overtly express features of the Passive agent, as Restrictive ϕ

- (37) Restrictive ϕ
- semantically interpretable features
 - does not saturate the argument position
 - does restrict the argument position (see Chung & Ladusaw 2004)

The agent position in the Passive undergoes existential closure (see e.g. Pyllkänen 1999, Landau 2006)

Conclusion: The (implicit) agent in passives is morphosyntactically present as ϕ -features on Voice.

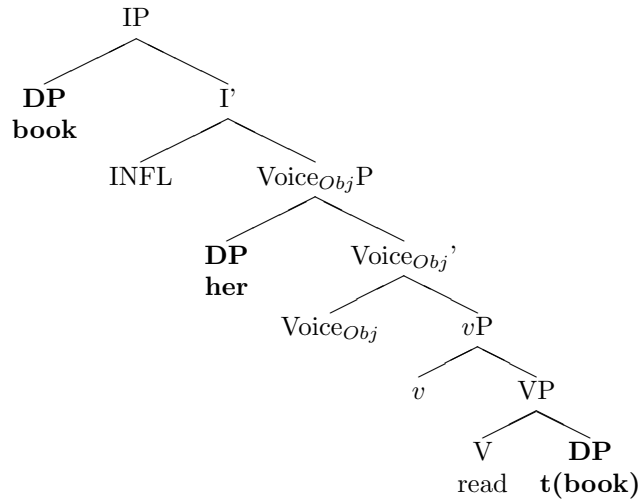
Note: The morphological realization of the features of the agent in the passive is required even in the presence of the *by*-phrase. Thus, the *by*-phrase does not supplant the implicit agent; rather these co-occur.

4 Extension: Locality

Problem: apparent locality violation in the Object Voice.

(38) Object Voice

The book was her read

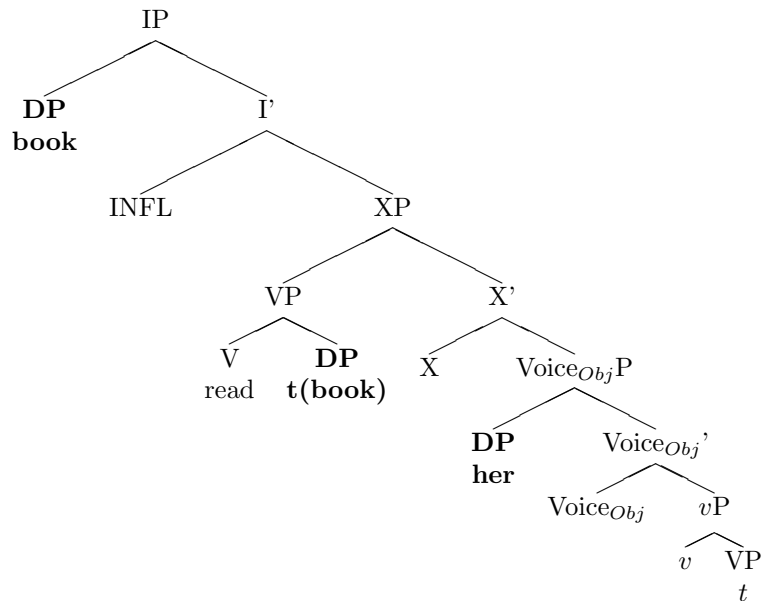


Smuggling Solution? Collins' (2005) proposal (for the same problem in his analysis of the passive): movement of an XP containing the object above the agent. From this position, the object is closest to INFL.

Adopted for Object Voice would yield:

(39) Object Voice

The book was her read



Note: verb and everything in the verb phrase precedes the agent.
 = The correct result for the English *by*-DP.
 = The wrong result for the Object Voice agent.

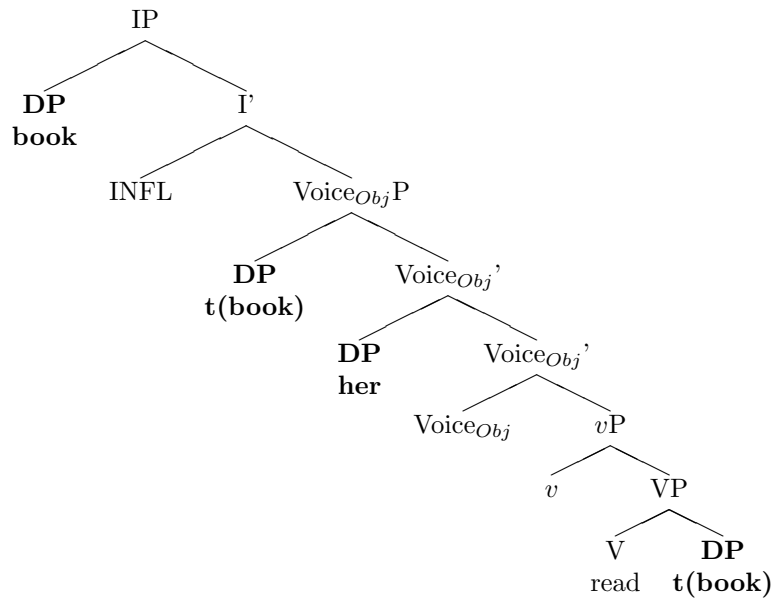
The OV agent obligatorily immediately precedes the verb and material in the VP. (See e.g. Durie 1985, Asyik 1987; Chung 1976, Dardjowidjojo 1978, Sneddon 1996, Guilfoyle et al 1992, Cole & Hermon 2005)

- (40) Acehnese
- a. Fatima akan Ibrahim jok boh mamplam
 Fatima will Ibrahim give fruit mango
 “Fatima will be given mango by Ibrahim”
 - b. *Fatimah akan jok boh mamplam Ibrahim.
 Fatima will give fruit mango Ibrahim.
 “Fatimah will be given a mango by Ibrahim.”

Leapfrogging Solution: Successive-cyclic movement through the edge of Voice (e.g. McGinnis 2001, Aldridge 2008).

- (41) Object Voice

The book was her read



5 Conclusions

- The agent in the Passive (overt or null) does not occupy the external argument position.
- Features of the implicit agent in the Passive are present on Voice and restrict the external argument position, regardless of the presence or absence of the *by*-phrase.
- A leapfrogging account of the apparent locality violation in the Object Voice is preferable to a smuggling account.

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