The expletive passive and beyond

A comparative analysis of passives in English and Norwegian

Arild Høie Henriksen

UiA University of Agder

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Preface

There is no doubt that this monograph would not have existed without the guidance and assistance of several people. First and foremost, I am grateful to my excellent supervisor Tor A. Åfarli at NTNU, Trondheim. Tor has not only guided me through my thesis, but he has also always been positive and specific in his feedback, so much so that I always knew what to do when I returned to Kristiansand after supervision. I am also indebted to my co-supervisor Kristine Hasund at UiA. Her corpus background was very helpful, but not only that, she has also been a sharp and critical reader, and as a non-generativist she has also provided me with another perspective on my research.

Since there are few generativists in Kristiansand, my trips to Trondheim for supervision have been inspiring, but so was my research stay at Queen Mary University of London in the autum term of 2018. I had been fortunate enough to have met David Adger at a course in Trondheim, and not only did he assist me in my application to stay at QMUL for a term, he also read through chapter drafts and tutored me and gave me questions and ideas that I have been working on since. At QMUL I attended a course on minimalist syntax with Coppe van Urk, and he also kindly offered tutorials both in his office and through Skype. It was in London that I realised that I was a minimalist, and I am extremely thankful for my stay at QMUL, financed by the University of Agder and the Norwegian Graduate Researcher School in Linguistics and Philology.

A few other generative syntacticans have been involved too, either by reading through parts or the whole of my thesis. The most important one of these is Terje Lohndal, who has been kind enough to answer all e-mails and questions as well as reading through my texts from my first research proposal until the last revision of the full manuscript. His comments have been of inestimable value. I am also grateful to Björn Lundquist, who read through an earlier version of the thesis for my master's class and gave me thorough feedback and important questions. Other linguists that I have had the pleasure of discussing either my topic or parts of my thesis with are María J. Arche, Antonio Fábregas, Weronica Fernando, Gillian Ramchand, Dagmar Haumann and Mila Vulchanova. I am thankful to every one of them for insightful and valuable input. I also thank my friend and fellow PhD student Ynda Jas Law at QMUL, for proofreading my thesis. I take full responsibility for all remaining errors and ask the reader for forgiveness for these.

Several other people also need appreciation for having inspired me. When my younger brother Øyvind started on a PhD before me, I realised that the time had come for me to do the same. And when I started applying for PhD positions, my friend May Horverak encouraged me to pursue a PhD in theoretical linguistics at UiA, and when I got the position, she suggested that I should ask Tor and Kristine to be my supervisors. After I started working at the University of Agder in the autumn of 2014, part-time, and then full-time in 2015-2016, I have also had several useful talks with Erik Mustad, who has been an excellent advisor for life at university and in general. I am also thankful to my friend and fellow PhD student Sigrunn Askland, with whom I have had many a chat about life, liberty and the pursuit of a PhD.

Writing a PhD thesis also requires support from home. My wife Camila and my two young girls, Malene and Elise, have been through a challenging time the last few years. Not only have I worked long evenings and nights, but I have also travelled for supervision, conferences and had a three-month long research stay in London. Their patience has been tested over and again, and I thank Camila for putting up with me and Malene and Elise for accepting that their dad's work has taken a heavy toll on our little family. Hopefully, we can now return to a more normal family life where they can be put first again.

Finally, going further back in time, the supervisor for my English MPhil thesis at the University of Oslo, the late Stig Johanson, has also had a major impact on my choices. He is the one who suggested I should study the passive. But before that, it was the supervisor for my lingustics MA thesis at the University of Newcastle, Geoffrey Poole, who sparked my interest in case theory after he and Noël Burton-Roberts had introduced me to the works of Noam Chomsky, who, when all is said and done, is the giant whose shoulders we all have the privilege of standing on.

Abstract

This thesis argues that passives in English and Norwegian can be explained by a case-theoretic approach inspired by Chomsky (1981, 1995, 2000 and 2001). I argue that the passive morpheme originates in little *v* and blocks little *v*'s case-assigning properties in English but not in Norwegian. Thus the passive feature —[PASS]—forces a postverbal DP to move out of the *v*P phase in English so that the basic passive, although seemingly driven by the EPP, is in reality a result of a combination of the EPP and case theory. Following Bruening (2013), I further argue that the *by*-phrase is an adjunct just like instrumental PPs that can be freely inserted in structures that have external arguments that are free, such as passives and certain nominals. As such, *by*-phrases are blocked from occurring with middles or unaccusatives, and this is the same thing that happens with instrumentals and comitatives.

Although the role of [PASS] has no visible repercussions for the basic passive, it can successfully account for transitive expletive passives in both English and Norwegian. These have semantically empty subjects and include impersonal passives made from intransitive verbs and transitive expletive passives of transitive verbs. Since [PASS] allows little *v*'s accusative case-assigning feature to be retained in passives of Norwegian, it allows the DP associate to stay in situ. Thus Norwegian has expletive passives of the type *Det ble skutt en mann,* literally *'There was shot a man'. In English, on the other hand, this structure is barred because [PASS] cancels out little *v*'s accusative case feature. As a result, the DP associate must move out of the *v*P and to spec,*v*P, the edge of the phase, where it can get nominative case from T. The English equivalent to the Norwegian structure above is therefore *There was a man shot*.

In a theory where unergatives are hidden transitives (following Chomsky 1995 and building on Baker 1988 and Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002), the same explanation can be used to account for impersonal passives, that is, passives of unergatives. If unergatives in reality have an implicit object in need of case, their existence in Norwegian but not in English is as expected. I hypothesise that the hidden object of an unergative is little *pro*, an empty pronoun that is both case-needy and implicit (following Chomsky 1982 and Rizzi 1986). Since [PASS] does not interfere with little *v* in Norwegian, little *pro* is case-marked in postverbal position in Norwegian. Since this implicit object is not phonetically expressed, Norwegian may have impersonal passives of the kind *Det ble konversert* [pro] literally *'There was conversed [*pro*]'. In English, however, neither

overt nor covert DPs can be case-licensed in postverbal position, blocking **There was conversed* [pro]. Further, little *pro* cannot move to spec,*v*P either because it is an empty element that cannot satisfy an [EPP] feature in English. Hence the structure **There was* [pro] *conversed* is also blocked. As a result, impersonal passives are ungrammatical in English.

Finally, in passives of double-object structures (DOCs), where one of the two object DPs must be case-licensed in postverbal position in English (owing to grammatical structures like *John was given a book*), I argue that it is in reality a version of Pesetsky's (1995) affixal null-preposition *G* that has raised from a prepositional-dative construction (PDC) and become attached to the passive verb. With the passive feature blocking little *v*'s ability to case-mark a postverbal DP, it is then the transitive affixal *G* that licenses the DP to stay in postverbal position, allowing for structures like *John was given*[+G] *a book* where *the book* is case-licensed from *G* and not the passive verb *given*.

'I am very content with knowing, if only I could know. That is an august entertainment and would suffice me a great deal. To know a little, would be worth the expense of this world.'

Ralph Waldo Emerson

'Knowledge would be fatal. It is the uncertainty that charms one.
A mist makes things wonderful.'

Oscar Wilde

'Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp. Or what's a heaven for?'

Robert Browning

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List of abbreviations

A-position – Argument position
ACC – Accusative
AGR – Agreement
ApplP – Applicative phrase
AspP – Aspect phrase
AuxP – Auxiliary phrase
BPS – Bare phrase structure
CAUS – Causative
Comp – Complement
CP – Complementiser phrase
DAT – Dative case
DE – Definiteness Effect
DEF – Definite
DM – Distributed Morphology
DOC – Double-object construction
DP – Determiner phrase
D-structure – Deep structure
EA – External argument
ENPC – English Norwegian Parallel Corpus
EPP – Extended Projection Principle
EXPL – Expletive
F – Feminine
FL – Faculty of Language
GB – Government and Binding Theory
I or Infl – Inflectional head
IA – Internal argument
IMP – Implicit argument
IMPL.DP – Implicit argument DP
INFL – Inflection
IP or InflP – Inflection Phrase
LAD – Language Acquisition Device
LGB – Lectures of Government and Binding
M – Masculine
MP – Minimalist Program(me)

NEG – Negative
NOM – Nominative
NPI – Negative Polarity Item
Obj – Object
P&P – Principles and Parameters
PartP – Participle phrase
Pass – Passive head
PASS – Passive morpheme
PAST – Past tense
PDC – Prepositional-dative construction
PERF – Perfective
PF – Phonological Form
PISH – Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis
PL – Plural
PP – Prepositional Phrase
PredP – Predication phrase
PRES – Present tense
PROG – Progressive aspect
REFL – Reflexive
S-structure – Surface structure
Subj – subject
SG – Singular
Spec – Specifier
T – Tense
TP – Tense phrase
UG – Universal Grammar
UTAH – The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis
v – Light verb
*v*P – Light verb phrase
V – Verb
VP – Verb phrase
X or X^0 – Head of the type X
X' – X-bar
XP – Phrase of the category X

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1 Introduction

1.1 The expletive passive

This thesis is about passives in English and Norwegian[1] and particularly the construction that I will refer to as *the expletive passive*. An expletive passive is a construction with an expletive pronoun in subject position followed by passive morphology on the verb phrase.[2] Expletives are empty words like *there* and *det* 'it/there' that carry no semantic content in a sentence but that are still necessary for the syntactic structure of expletive sentences. Expletive passives thus encompasses all passives with a semantically empty subject regardless of the transitivity of the verb. This means that expletive passives also subsume impersonal passives, typically defined narrowly as passives of intransitives (Cabredo-Hofherr 2017).

If the passive verb is formed from an active transitive, there must be a noun phrase (NP) that acts as the logical object in the structure. In the basic passive (Keenan 1985: 247), this NP replaces the subject of the active sentence, but in a transitive expletive passive, this position is blocked by the expletive pronoun. The logical object must therefore either move to a different position or somehow be licensed in situ. (1) below shows that this NP moves to the immediate preverbal position in English and cannot stay in situ, and (2) shows that the NP stays in postverbal position in Norwegian and cannot move to the preverbal position. (Åfarli 1992: 81-82, his (11) and (12), my emphasis):

(1) a. *There was shot a man.
b. There was a man shot.

(2) a. Det vart skote ein mann. [Nynorsk]
'There was shot a man.'
b. *Det vart ein mann skoten. [Nynorsk]
'There was a man shot.'

[1] Norwegian has two written standards, Bokmål and Nynorsk, but the differences between the standards are not important in this thesis. I will refer to both but tag the Nynorsk examples for clarity. As for English, I will mainly refer to Standard British English.
[2] The two main expletives in this thesis are English *there* and Norwegian *det* 'there/it'. I will account for these in 1.4.

(1) shows that *a man*, the logical object[3] of *shot*, must move from its original postverbal position to create a grammatical sentence in English.[4] (2b) shows that this movement is prohibited in Norwegian and (2a) shows that the noun phrase must remain in its position after the verb for the sentence to be grammatical.

When the verb is intransitive and there is no logical object in the structure at all, the construction is productive in Norwegian as illustrated in the impersonal passives in (3) below (Åfarli 1992: 78, his (3) and (4)). As the word-for-word translations into English show, impersonal passives are ungrammatical in English.

(3) a. Det vart sunge [Nynorsk]
'It was sung.'
*It was sung.
b. Det vart gestikulert. [Nynorsk]
'It was gesticulated.'
*It was gesticulated.

The impersonal passive construction in Norwegian is very productive. In (4) below I reproduce one of several examples taken from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus, the corpus used in this thesis:[5]

(4) Det ble ledd og konversert. (HW2)
'There$_{EXPL}$ became laughed and conversed.'
There was laughter and conversation. (HW2T)

English is one of few Germanic languages that does not allow impersonal passives, unlike other Germanic languages like German, Dutch and Danish (Cabredo-Hofherr 2017).

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[3] The logical object is often called the *NP* or *DP associate*, meaning that it is associated with the expletive. In my syntactic analyses I will follow Abney (1989) and use the term DP for noun phrases, but since this is a technical term for noun phrases, I will use the notation NP and DP interchangeably.
[4] I have consulted native speakers of British English on this construction, and the unanimous verdict seems to be that they all feel that a locative adverbial, such as 'in the city', is missing. Although such an addition may make the sentence more natural and acceptable, the construction without it is still grammatical in its own right.
[5] The reference in parentheses is to the text source identified in the corpus, and the second line is my gloss of the Norwegian sentence.

1.2 Research questions

With the above data in mind, an important goal of this thesis is to explain why the English DP associate in expletive passives must move to the position immediately to the left of the main verb while the Norwegian DP associate must stay in its original position. Another important goal is to explain why impersonal passives are grammatical and productive in Norwegian and why they do not occur in English. In my quest to account for these facts, the motivation behind this thesis can be explained by two research questions:

RQ 1. Which factors determine the position of the DP associate in expletive passives?
RQ 2. Why are impersonal passives allowed in Norwegian but barred in English?

In order to answer these questions, however, there are two more research questions that are relevant for an overall theory of the passive. These are:

RQ 3: What is the locus and function of the passive morpheme?
RQ 4. Is the by*-phrase a fundamental property of passives?*

I intend to answer the last two questions in chapter 3 and the two main research questions in chapter 5. In preparing for these chapters, I will devote chapter 2 to a review of previous research on passives and chapter 4 to a corpus collection of expletive passives in English and Norwegian.

1.3 Outline of the chapter

After this short introduction to the expletive passive and presentation of my research questions, I will present expletive passives in English and Norwegian in some detail in 1.4 before I explain the theoretical background for the thesis in 1.5. This explanation will include an introduction to generative syntax and the submodules that are particularly relevant for the passive as well as an introduction to the syntactic toolbox employed in this thesis. In 1.6 I will present the methodology used and in 1.7 the empirical background.1.8 will then introduce the scientific position of the project and 1.9 outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.4 A closer look at expletive passives in English and Norwegian

Svenonius (2002: 5) sums up three types of expletive subjects in English: 'extraposition *it*, weather *it* and impersonal *there*'. Since weather *it* only exists in the active voice, it is automatically excluded from further investigation here. The two expletive pronouns relevant here are therefore extraposition *it* and impersonal *there*. I will briefly present extraposition *it* and explain why I leave this construction out of the thesis before I focus on impersonal *there* after renaming it expletive *there*.

Extraposition *it* is possible as an expletive subject 'when the postverbal argument is a sentence', as seen in (5) below (Chomsky 1981: 125, his (25)):[6]

(5) It was believed (held, reasoned ...) that the conclusion was false.

In other words, this is a construction with extraposition *it* (also sometimes referred to as anticipatory *it*) followed by a subclause. Consequently, *that the conclusion was false* is a clausal direct object to any of the passive VPs *be believed*, *be held* or *be reasoned*. But despite being nominal, the clausal direct object in (5) does not need case and Chomsky thus concludes that '[s]ince there is no NP in VP lacking Case, no movement has to apply' (Chomsky 1981: 125). In order to use the passive voice, then, the subject in the active is deleted and replaced with expletive *it*. *It* now acts as a formal subject, and since there is passive morphology on the verb phrase, the construction is an expletive passive. The same construction with a postverbal CP is also allowed in Norwegian, as the more or less direct translation of (5) above shows in (6) below:

(6) Det ble antatt [$_{CP}$ at konklusjonen var feil].
It was assumed [that conclusion-the was false].
'It was assumed that the conclusion was false.'

Since the focus in this thesis is on how case can explain the position of the DP associate, including its movement to subject position in the basic passive, I will not delve deeper into the details of how a CP associate—as seen in (5) and (6) above—

[6] Chomsky uses the word *sentence* for 'embedded clause' or 'subclause', and the postverbal argument simply means the part that comes after the verb. A sentence, whether embedded or not, is a *complementiser phrase* (CP) in generative theory.

behaves. As a result, extraposition *it* and *det* 'it' will be left out of the discussion that follows on expletive passives and I will direct my attention to expletive *there* and *det* 'there' only.

Expletive *there* is always linked with an associate DP in English, and the DP associate must then in general move to the position immediately to the left of the passive verb, a position I will refer to as the preverbal position throughout the thesis.[7] There are numerous examples of this structure in the syntactic literature, and I present four of them here:

(7) There were several packages placed on the table. (Chomsky 2001: 20)
(8) There were several people killed. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1395)
(9) There were three fish_i caught t_i in the lake. (Rezac 2006: 689)
(10) There was a man killed. (Poole 2011: 173)

Since the logical object in all these structures arguably has moved from an underlying postverbal position,[8] it now resurfaces between the auxiliary and the non-finite verb. This position is the standard position for a DP in expletive passives in English. The preverbal DP in expletive passives is of particular interest to this project since there must be something that forces the DP movement in English but not in Norwegian.[9]

Although a preverbal DP is the norm in expletive passives in English, there are also some examples in the literature of expletive passives with a postverbal DP. The fact that this DP neither moves to preverbal position or to subject position is curious considering the data above. Haegeman (1994: 184) gives the following example:

(11) There were attacked [$_{NP}$ no fewer than three robbers].

[7] In practice, any position in front of the verb, including the subject position, is preverbal, but I will use this narrow definition in the meaning 'immediately preceding the verb'.
[8] The movement is illustrated in the co-indexed DP associate *three fish* and its trace *t* in Rezac's example sentence.
[9] The fact that a DP associate must be indefinite is not related to the passive *per se* and will therefore not be very relevant, although I will briefly mention the Definiteness Effect in chapter 2. See Åfarli (1992: 69-73) for a thorough discussion of it.

Unlike (5) above, (11) has a DP[10] instead of a CP in postverbal position, the base-generated complement position. The postverbal argument must therefore somehow be licensed in situ. Constructions like (11), however, seem to be exceptional structures based on the ungrammaticality of (12), which is (10) before the DP associate has moved:

(12) *There was killed a man.

The two syntactic textbooks Poole (2011) and Carnie (2013) suggest that the phrase structure rules of English should actually allow a DP to be in postverbal position in expletive passives, as in (12). In order to account for why the DP has to move, they refer to both the subject requirement (the EPP)[11] and case theory and assume that passive verbs in English cannot assign case to the postverbal DP. A DP without case violates the case filter, and it must therefore move to a higher position in the structure to be assigned case.

In chapter 5 I will argue that the postverbal DP in (11) is the consequence of a phenomenon called *heavy DP shift*. This means that the postverbal DP in (12) is ruled out because this word order is only possible when the DP associate is particularly heavy, as in (11).

In Norwegian, on the other hand, there must be different mechanisms at play because a Norwegian DP associate in an expletive passive must remain in postverbal position and cannot move to immediate preverbal position, as demonstrated in (13), where (13a) is the word-for-word translation of (12) and (13b) is the word-for-word translation of (10):

(13) a. Det ble drept en mann.
There was killed a man.
'There was a man killed.'
b. *Det ble en mann drept.
There was a man killed.
'There was a man killed.'

[10] Recall that NPs and DPs are notational variants in this thesis.
[11] I will motivate the EPP in chapter 3.

Norwegian also allows impersonal passives of unergatives. Ramchand (2018: 89) points out that the '[p]assive does not occur with unaccusative verbs in Germanic, or with intransitives more generally in English.' She offers the following sentence pair (Ramchand 2018: 91, her (47)):

(14) a. *Was danced.
b. *It was danced./*There was danced.

Like English, Norwegian requires the subject to be overtly expressed, making (a) ungrammatical in both languages, but unlike English, impersonal passives of the kind in (b) are both productive and common in Norwegian, as seen in the Norwegian translation of (14b) below:

(15) Det ble danset.
There was danced.
'There was dancing.'

Ramchand (2018: 91) notes that 'any explanation needs to be English-specific', but a good explanation for the ungrammaticality of impersonal passives in English and the grammaticality of these in other Germanic languages is still a topic of research.

In chapter 5, however, I will offer an analysis of expletive passives that can account for all the data above, both the position and movement of the DP associate in transitive expletive passives and then why Norwegian allows impersonal passives while English does not.

1.5 Theoretical background

This thesis is firmly placed within generative grammar, and more precisely within the framework of Principles and Parameters (P&P). In this section I will give a very brief introduction to the Chomskyan revolution in linguistics before I present P&P and the theoretical tools that are important for the study of passives in this thesis.

1.5.1 The development and focus of generative grammar

The first half of the 20th century was dominated by the structural linguistics inspired by Ferdinand de Saussure's groundbreaking *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916), whose 'influence on twentieth-century linguistics [...] is unsurpassed' (Robins 1967: 224). In the USA, Leonard Bloomfield became the leading figure in structural linguistics with his publication *Language* (1933), and 'his influences were felt over the whole learned world in linguistic studies' (Robins 1967: 238). Saussure and Bloomfield studied languages as abstract systems in the world, what we traditionally call English, French, German and Norwegian. But with Noam Chomsky's *Aspects of the theory of syntax* (1965) the focus of study was changed from these socio-political artefacts, which in generative grammar would be called externalised languages (E-languages)[12], to the internalised languages (I-languages)[13] of the mind.

I-languages are hypothesised to be represented by 'the "language faculty", understood to be a particular component of the human mind' (Chomsky 1986a: 3). Since humans all over the world, with the exception of pathological cases, acquire their first language within the first three to four years of their lives, 'one may think of this faculty as a "language acquisition device" [which] yields a particular language through interaction with presented experience' (Chomsky 1986a: 3). If such an entity exists in the human brain, then it must be both species-specific and universal.

In Chomsky's formal linguistics, which also focuses on syntactic structures, the hypothesis of Universal Grammar (UG) aims to explain how we can acquire languages to begin with. UG proposes that all children are born with a language-acquisition device in their brains which predisposes them to acquire language in the same way that they grow arms, develop eye vision and reach puberty. A biological language module like UG can explain two facts very well: First, that we all acquire our native language within a few years, and second, that most of us struggle to achieve a native-like command of languages that we learn after puberty.

Not only do all humans acquire their first language with ease, we do it with relatively unsystematic input: Sentences are often simple, there is usually little instruction given,

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[12] *E* stands for "external" and "extensional" (Chomsky 1995: 16).
[13] *I* stands for "internal, individual and intensional" (Chomsky 2000: 26).

and there is rarely negative evidence in the form of ungrammatical sentences.[14] Although UG is a hypothesis, it has repercussions for our focus of enquiry: Where non-generativists and functionalists study E-languages and the use of language, generativists and formalists primarily investigate the structure of I-language and how it is acquired.

In other words, generative grammar introduced a move from functional linguistics as a system of description to formal linguistics as a system or model aiming to explain how language can be acquired. Chomsky thus revolutionised the science of linguistics by taking it from being a descriptive study to a science of explanatory power.

1.5.2 Principles and Parameters

The Principles and Parameters (P&P) framework of generative grammar has gone through a great deal of changes from its GB-era in the 80s to the current minimalist approach. At the outset, the P&P model posited that all languages share some universal *principles*, for example that all languages have a phrase structure system, but that they also have individual *parameters*, language-specific differences so that where English and Norwegian for example have prepositions preceding DPs, Japanese and Turkish have postpositions following DPs (Poole 2011: 82).

P&P first took its form as GB theory and was presented in Chomsky's *Lectures on Government and Binding* in 1981. Most of the fundamental research on principles and parameters took place within GB theory, and this is also where we find the central theories of the passive construction. At the same time as GB research flourished, new questions surfaced, and one of the central problems was that the theory seemed unnecessarily complex for a theory aiming to explain how simple it is for children to learn languages.

Thus, in the quest for simplicity and further explanatory power, Chomsky developed the theory in *The Minimalist Program* (1995). The title bears references to linguistics as a research programme, in the spirit of Lakatos (1970), and therefore it represented no major paradigm shift; instead of replacing Government and Binding theory, the Minimalist Programme (MP) tried to take the existing theory as a starting point for

[14] All of these factors are often subsumed under what is called 'the poverty of the stimulus'.

looking at new and fundamental questions of language. The advent of the Minimalist Programme was also a result of a desire to simplify the theory 'within the domain of virtual conceptual necessity' (Chomsky 1995: 169). Despite the heritage from GB theory, MP is critical of conceptual issues in GB theory, such as the levels of S-structure and D-structure and central notions, such as *government*. MP also defines as one of its aims a theory that 'move[s] toward the minimalist design: a theory of language that takes a linguistic expression to be nothing more than a formal object that satisfies the interface conditions in the optimal way' (Chomsky 1995: 171). This means that there are economical principles behind the theory. One example of this is that movement must be as short as possible and happen for a reason. This is often explained by Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990) and Shortest Move: Movement should be as short and local as possible and always to the closest relevant position.

Minimalism is the leading generative framework today, and though it builds on GB and in many ways is a continuation of that theory, it implements some important changes both in its theoretical approach and terminology, significantly changing how we can describe and explain linguistic structure.

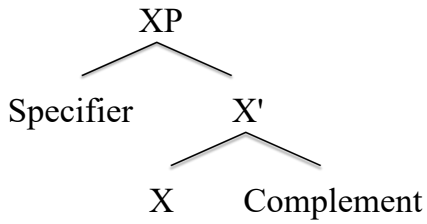
Both GB and minimalism belong to P&P, but the core research on passives took place in the heyday of GB in the 1980s, and thus it is natural to use GB terminology as a starting point when discussing the central hypotheses. In this respect, the most important modules of GB are X-bar theory, θ-theory and case theory. I will give a short introduction to each of these theories below and how they have developed in minimalist theory. I will then outline the derivation of sentences and offer two syntactical derivations to motivate my minimalist approach to syntactic structure.

1.5.3 X-bar theory

X-bar theory was introduced by Chomsky (1970) and phrase structure was argued to be binary in Kayne (1984). X-bar theory is the fundamental syntactical principle of P&P (Faarlund 2005: 71) and is assumed to be universal across all languages. It is a hierarchical model of phrase structure where all phrases share the same structure in that they all have a head and can have a specifier and/or a complement, depending on the head's governing qualities. As such, XP represents lexical categories like verb phrases (VP), adjective phrases (AP), noun phrases (NP) and prepositional phrases (PP), but it can also represent functional projections like light verb phrases (*v*P) and

applicative phrases (ApplP), as well as sentences, which can be either tense phrases (TP), inflectional phrases (IP), or complementiser phrases (CP). The X-bar schema is illustrated in (16):

(16)



In each tree we find the head of the phrase, denoted by X itself (or sometimes X^0). On the same level is its complement, placed to the right in English and Norwegian. The head and the complement form the X-bar (X') together, which means that they are in a particular relation to each other and the head c-commands everything that is in complement position and below.[15] In a VP, then, the verb is the head, and its object, if there is one, is in complement position. In this sense the object belongs to the verb and we call it *the internal argument* and say that it is base-generated in complement position. The X-bar is then linked to the specifier,[16] which lies to the left in English and Norwegian. The specifier is where the subject finds its place, and in the sense that the subject is at a higher level in the hierarchy, it is called *the external argument*. The X-bar and the specifier make up the head's maximal projection, previously notated as X^{max}, now more commonly known as XP.

The beauty of X-bar theory is that all structures have the same basic pattern regardless of the head and that the system is flexible. It is non-directional in that some languages may have the complement before the head, and the specifier after, but, more significantly, it also applies to the clause level and not just the phrase level. Sentences, which in this thesis are analysed as tense phrases (TP), have the verb tense (T) as the head of the whole sentence (Stowell 1981).[17]

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[15] The notion of c-*command*, which is short for *constituent command*, is very central in X-bar theory and plays an important role in this thesis.
[16] Lasnik and Lohndal (2013: 46) point out that in *Barriers*, Chomsky (1986b: 4) claims 'that specifiers are optional whereas the choice of complements is determined by the Projection Principle [which] says that representations at each syntactic level are projected from the lexicon.'
[17] Technically speaking, all sentences are CPs. But since information in the CP layer will not be relevant for this thesis, I will use the TP layer as the top level in my derivations.

X-bar is a model that aims to represent the hierarchical structure of language in our brains. Thus, if X-bar structure is innate, it shows how learning languages can be explained by one abstract and general phrase structure rule instead of a set of complex rules. If we can use the X-bar structure to generate sentences and argue for movements, then it is quite possible that this structure can explain how children can acquire 'within a few years "an immensely complex rule system [...]" at a time when they cannot even learn elementary arithmetic' (Chomsky 2002: 81).

X-bar theory is strictly speaking a theory that belongs to GB theory. In minimalist syntax, it is replaced by Bare Phrase Structure (BPS) (Chomsky 1995) 'where even the existence of bar levels is denied' (Lasnik and Lohndal 2013: 49). However, despite the reduction of bar levels, the X-bar structure remains both robust and restrictive. Thus it remains a convenient notational model that still describes and exemplifies syntactic structure well. In line with most current approaches in minimalist syntax, I therefore continue to use X-bar notation when illustrating the syntactic structure of sentences.

1.5.4 θ-theory

θ-theory (or theta theory) deals with thematic roles, symbolised by the Greek letter *θ*, 'theta'.[18] θ-roles are typically assigned by predicates, for example a verb, so that an intransitive verb—which only has an external argument and no internal arguments and therefore a valency of one—hands out one θ-role, a monotransitive verb hands out two roles, and a ditransitive verb hands out three. In X-bar notation this equals to X, the lexical head, handing out a θ-role to its complement, whereas the specifier gets its θ-role compositionally from X-bar (i.e., the full predicate, following Marantz (1984)).[19]

There is a great variety of θ-roles and no overall consensus in the field, but AGENT and PATIENT are typically referred to as the two proto-roles (Dowty 1991), and some of the other roles that will be relevant here are CAUSER, INITIATOR, GOAL, RECIPIENT and THEME. The latter is sometimes used as a source for the name *thematic roles*. Despite

[18] These are also called *semantic roles*. I have chosen to write them with small capitals for clarity, also keeping in line with some previous work, such as for example Ramchand (2008) and Radford (2009).
[19] Marantz (1984: 24) explains that the '[c]hoice of arguments for a verb can affect the semantic role assigned to the logical subject', so it is natural to assume that the full predicate, i.e., the *v*-bar in X-bar notation, assigns the θ-role to its subject.

the semantic nature of θ-roles, Chomsky (1981) assumes that θ-theory is syntactic, and that what matters is whether a θ-role is handed out or not, and not which type it is.[20]

The most important part of θ-theory is the θ-criterion (Chomsky 1981: 36):[21]

(17) θ-criterion
Each argument bears one and only one θ-role, and each θ-role is assigned to one and only one argument.

Consequently, the verb *give*, which is ditransitive and therefore has a valency of three, hands out an AGENT, a GOAL and a THEME, represented by the subject, an indirect object and the direct object, respectively:[22]

(18) Eve$_{\text{AGENT}}$ gave Adam$_{\text{GOAL}}$ an apple$_{\text{THEME}}$.

If we passivise the sentence, the AGENT *Eve* is deleted[23] and the GOAL *Adam* is moved to subject position. This deletion means that the valency of the passive verb is different from that of the active verb, at least superficially, because the former, namely *was given*, has one less θ-role to give out:

(19) Adam$_{\text{RECIPIENT}}$ was given an apple$_{\text{THEME}}$ (by Eve$_{\text{AGENT}}$).

Although the exact type of θ-roles assigned has been argued to be irrelevant for syntactic theory, the notion of internal or external argument is central; *Eve*, the subject of (18), does not share the same relationship to the verb as its object does (cf. Marantz (1984) and Kratzer (1996)). The subject of an active sentence therefore bears an external θ-role. *Eve* is assigned the AGENT role by the verb in (18) and seemingly by the preposition *by* in (19), although the *by*-phrase is not obligatory in passives and

[20] The standard view is that the type of θ-role assigned belongs to semantics and not syntax.
[21] Recall that expletives are not arguments and should therefore not be assigned θ-roles.
[22] Ramchand (2013: 303) uses the term *argument structure* for 'the distinctions that we find in participant relations' and Corver (2013: 377) uses it for 'the thematic properties associated with a lexical head'.
[23] When the subject is deleted, the verb no longer hands out an external argument. It is still assumed to be present, however, and may surface in a PP in a long passive. In this case it is the preposition that hands out a θ-role to it.

seems to serve as some kind of overt expression of the AGENT. A closer discussion of the *by*-phrase will be presented in section 3.4 of chapter 3.

θ-roles also play a role in the syntactic derivation of sentences through the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (Baker 1988: 46):

(20) The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)
Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure.

The UTAH was Baker's aim at strengthening the notion of D-structure, which at the time was increasingly thought to exist (Baker 1988). But with the loss of D-structure in current minimalist theory, the UTAH still has a role to play for mapping or linking of θ-roles. Ramchand (2013: 274) points out that 'a systematic mapping between structure and meaning is clearly consistent with a number of different proposals about what mapping is.' I will assume that the UTAH is responsible for both the internal θ-role of an unaccusative and a passive verb (some kind of THEME/PATIENT) as well as for the θ-role given to spec,VP (some kind of RECIPIENT/GOAL), and the external θ-role in spec,*v*P (some kind of AGENT/CAUSER). Detailed explanations for these proposals will be offered in chapter 3.

In minimalism, θ-structure continues to play an important role, but Chomsky (1995: 313) writes that 'θ-relatedness is a property of the position of merger and its (very local) configuration', which means that all θ-roles are assigned at the moment they enter the derivation via the operation *merge*. This means that movement of any argument with a θ-role must still happen to a position that is θ-free because the argument brings its θ-role along with it when it moves.

1.5.5 Case theory

Case theory is 'closely interconnected with θ-theory' and deals with the fact that NPs can have the different cases[24] depending on their syntactic function in the sentence. Based on the assumption that all phonologically realised NPs, including pronouns and expletives, need case, Chomsky (1981: 49) proposes that there is a case filter that filters out the NPs without case and he 'assume[s] it to be a filter in the PF-component':

(21) Case filter
*NP if NP has phonetic content and has no Case.

This means that an NP that does not have case does not pass the case filter. The case filter can thus explain the grammaticality of (22a) and rule out sentences like (22b).

(22) a. James was hit <James>.
b. *There/*It was hit James.

In a passive structure the internal argument of a passive cannot stay in situ, as in (22b), and Chomsky reasons that passive verbs cannot assign accusative case. As a result, the NP must move to a position where it can receive case, which is subject position, allowing the basic passive of (22a) to be generated.

In GB theory, where the notion of government was central, a predicate (e.g., a verb like *hit*) that governed an NP argument (e.g., *James*) would also assign case to this argument. Following the theory of abstract case, *James* would be assigned the accusative case. This would only be visible in the personal pronoun system of English, making it the accusative form *him* instead of the nominative form *he*. The relationship between a governor and a governee is that of a head and its complement in the X-bar system. However, this created a challenge for the nominative case on the subject, typically in spec,TP. It was therefore suggested that T could assign nominative case to its specifier in a head-specifier relationship (cf. Baker (2013: 612)).

[24] GB theory makes a distinction between morphological *case*, seen in the morphology of the noun phrase, and abstract *Case*, which cannot be seen in all languages but is presumed to be underlyingly present. In line with contemporary syntactic theory, I will not capitalise the first letter in *case*, but references to GB theory and citations will often have a capital C.

In early minimalism, which discarded with the notion of government, the specifier-head agreement hypothesis (SHAH) was still the standard case assignment method in Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann (2005). One important data set in favour of this hypothesis was precisely expletive structures. Lasnik (1995: 615) offers the following sentence and assumes that the immediate position after *be* in an existential sentence is not a case position.

(23) There is someone here.

This means that expletives in subject position were thought to have case which they then could transmit to the associate NP (Hornstein et al. 2005). In contemporary minimalism, however, with the Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis (PISH) (Koopman and Sportiche 1991), subjects are thought to be base-generated lower than T, in spec,*v*P. It seems to follow from this that case transmission between an expletive (*there*) and its associate (*someone*) is no longer relevant. Another question is whether the expletive *there* needs case at all. I will return to this matter in chapter 5.

With the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001), case is reduced to being a reflex of agreement.[25] With Agree, case is assumed to be checked rather than assigned, so that an NP enters the derivation with its case features already intact and must check these in its position. This means that when T merges, it acts as a *probe* and searches in its c-commanding area for a nominal *goal*. It finds *someone* in (23) and when the features of the probe and the goal match (i.e., agree), case is checked, and no movement is entailed. This means that case assignment no longer needs to be local, but that it can be checked at a distance (cf. Polinsky and Potsdam 2001).

1.5.6 Derivation of sentences

Movement and transformations have been essential to generative theory, and in GB theory the operation *move-α* (move-alpha) allowed anything to be moved anywhere (Chomsky 1981). The other modules, such as binding theory, case theory and θ-theory, would then limit the possibilities, essentially making sure that movement only occurred when necessary. In MP, movement is no longer free and optional, but rather

[25] I abstract away from agreement here as it serves no purpose for my analysis. I return to the issue in chapter 3.

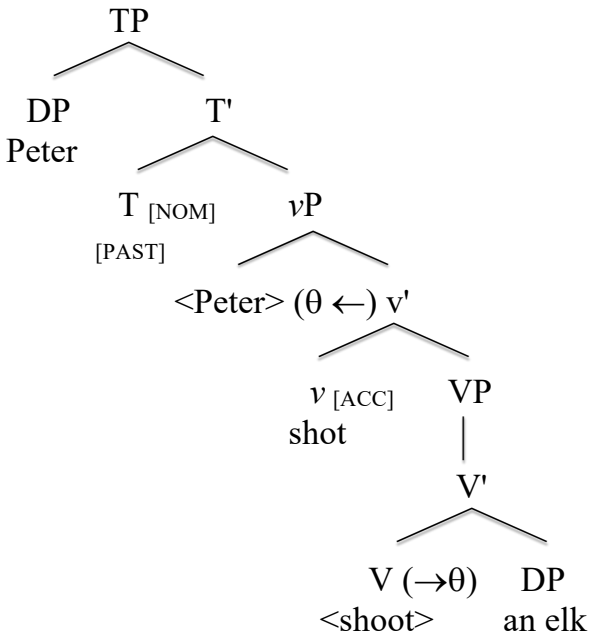
very restricted, so much so that it must happen for a reason. For DPs, this is logical from the case checking system that allows checking at a distance.[26]

In minimalism, the most important element in the syntactic derivation of sentences is arguably *merge*, an operation that combines two syntactic constituents. External merge adds a new constituent to the derivation whereas internal merge moves an element that already has merged. For either of these two operations to take effect, there must be some sort of attraction between the two elements that merge, and in Chomsky's (2000, 2001) theory of Agree, this depends on whether their features match. The syntactic derivation is therefore driven by feature checking; categories have selectional features that must match in order for merge to take place. In my approach, however, the feature matching does not play an important role since I will rather focus on case and the EPP as driving forces for DP movement in the passive.[27]

When all elements have merged and a sentence has been generated, this is typically a CP in X-bar terms (Stowell 1981). The CP can either host a subjunction in C or information about force, topic, focus and finiteness (Poole 2011: 266), at least in Rizzi's (1997) cartographic approach. But in the passives dealt with in this thesis, I omit the CP layer as it does not have any effect on the derivations of passives, and therefore the CP layer is irrelevant. In addition, English is not a V2 language, and I assume that TP is the highest level for subject-initial descriptive main clauses in English (cf. Westergaard, Lohndal and Alexiadou 2019). In the remainder of the thesis, I will therefore omit the CP layer and start from TP. (24) is an active structure used for illustration.

[26] There are various kinds of movements in generative syntax. The movement of DPs (apart form topicalisation) is referred to as A-movement, where A stands for 'Argument' and the position to which a DP can move is thus an A-position.
[27] As a result of this, interpretability of features will also be irrelevant here.

(24) Peter shot an elk.



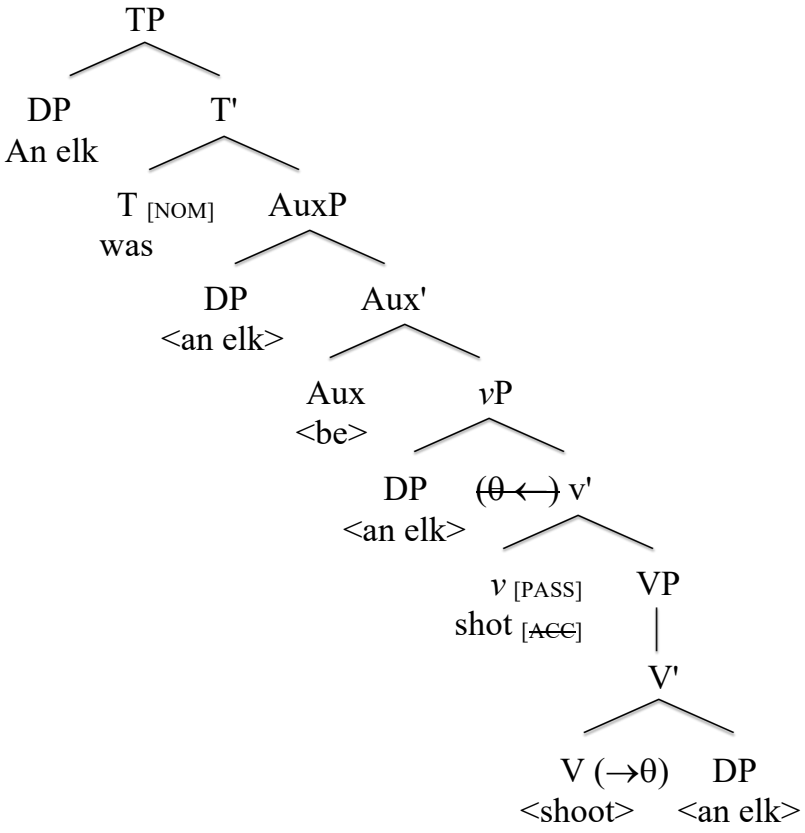
Whenever I draw trees like this, I will usually comment on the derivation and the syntactic processes taking place, trying to account for movements and reasons for these. In (24), the first elements that merge are V and DP. At this point V assigns a θ-role to the DP, which I will assume to be THEME. After this, V obligatorily raises to *v* through internal merge. At this point its case features are activated, since I assume that little *v* is the accusative case assigner. It now assigns accusative case to its first (and in this case, only) c-commanded DP: *an elk.* After this the external argument of *shoot* merges in spec,*v*P and receives the AGENT θ-role from *v*-bar (which constitutes *shoot an elk*). At this point, the functional head T merges with a nominative case feature and the tense feature [PAST]. The case feature is checked on a nominal, the DP *Peter*, and the tense feature is checked on the verb, typically raised to little *v*. The structure is now fine except for an [EPP] feature on the specifier of TP, which means that the sentence lacks a subject. For this reason, *Peter* raises to spec,TP, and the sentence *Peter shot an elk* has been formed.

In general, I will keep the features to a minimum and highlight those that are relevant for my purposes. This means that my trees will have case features like [NOM] and [ACC] and if the sentence is in the passive, it will have the feature [PASS] in little *v*. Since the [EPP] feature is assumed to occur on every specifier, I will leave it out, and I will only include the tense feature on T [PRES] or [PAST], when there is no verb that has raised

there.[28] The word forms will also be given in their final form, so that a V is given as a root form in the infinitive, but once it raises to little *v*, I will use the form given at the end of the derivation, so that in passives this will be the passive participle of the verb. I will also illustrate the assignment of θ-roles and strike it out when a θ-role (or any other feature, typically [ACC]) is suppressed. Features that are irrelevant to my analysis will be left out, which means that there is for example no active feature in active sentences.

An active structure like (24) above serves as a model for the derivation of the passive structure in the standard personal passive given below.

(25) An elk was shot.



This derivation shows how the first θ-role is handed out from the verbal root to the merged DP, and how the head of little *v* loses its accusative case feature and becomes incapable of assigning accusative case to *an elk* in the lowest DP. In an Agree-based

[28] In English only auxiliaries raise to T, but in a V2 language like Norwegian, all finite verbs raise to T.

approach to case, this incapability does not force movement of the DP since it in theory can be case-licensed with nominative case from T. Rather, as Lasnik (2008) points out, it is the [EPP] feature on spec,*v*P that forces this movement.[29] For an argument to move to spec,*v*P, this must also be a θ-free position, and this complies with Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1986), which states that a head that assigns accusative case to its complement also assigns a θ-role to its specifier.

Since *v* is passive and passives are periphrastic in English, the structure is in need of auxiliary support. Thus the AuxP forms above *v*P and generates a projection for the passive auxiliary *be*, and when T merges, it acts as a probe and searches for a DP goal to which it can assign nominative case. It finds *an elk* in spec,*v*P, which therefore is licensed in this position and can stay here until the next specifier—in this case spec,AuxP—requires it to for EPP reasons. The next projection to merge is T, whose tense feature attracts *be* so that it moves there and is realised as *was*, since T also checks the nominative case on the singular DP *an elk*. Finally, because of the EPP requirement on spec,TP, the closest DP must move there, in this case *an elk* in spec,*v*P.

In Chomsky (2000, 2001) 'the derivation of [sentences] proceeds by *phase*' (2001: 11), and phases are taken to be propositions so that a transitive *v*P and a CP are phases, 'but not TP alone or "weak" verbal configurations lacking external arguments (passive, unaccusative)' (Chomsky 2001: 12). According to phase theory, then, after a proposition like *v*P has been formed, it is shipped off 'to the phonological component', and no longer available for further syntactic operations (Chomsky 2001: 12). Phase theory has a role to play for DP movement and I will return to it in chapter 5.

1.6 Methodological considerations

Generative grammar is not just a theory; it is also a method. Chomsky has always emphasised the need for linguistics to be based on the hard sciences, 'Galilean style', and as such, the generative method is the same as the traditional scientific method. Here I will briefly present the object of study in generative grammar in 1.6.1 before I explaining the generative method in more detail, in 1.6.2.

[29] The explanation is more complex than this, but at this point, this derivation is intended as a precursor to the more detailed analyses that follow in chapter 3 and 5.

1.6.1 The object of generative study

As pointed out above, generativists do not study a socio-political cultural artifact such as English or Norwegian; rather, we study an internal language generator inside people's minds, that is, our Faculty of Language (FL) or the Language Acquisition Device (LAD). This faculty or device must thus reside in our physical brains, and hence we are studying biology, a natural science. However, this reductionism is only one half of the picture. We are ultimately studying human behaviour and something that is quintessentially human, namely the ability to acquire and use a human language. As such, we are also studying the mind, a branch of cognitive psychology. In consequence, the old dichotomies between hard and soft sciences is demolished by the focus of enquiry in generative grammar and our study belongs to the natural sciences as much as it belongs to the humanities. The advantage of having a foot in each camp is that we can emulate the hard sciences 'Galilean style' (Chomsky 2002: 98) and create models of the psychological grammar competence of the human mind in the same way that physicists create their models of the world.

1.6.2 The generative method

Chomsky has been met with severe criticism for wanting to study 'an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly' (Chomsky 1965: 3).[30] To understand this better, two suppositions, both framed by Chomsky, are necessary to clarify the theoretical model of generative grammar. First, the 'study of brains, possibly with abstract modelling of some of their properties, might well provide insight' (Chomsky 2000: 28). And second, we must be able to use both abstraction and idealisation because 'in rational inquiry we idealize to selected domains in such a way (we hope) as to permit us to discover crucial features of the world' (Chomsky 2000: 49). In other words, language is so complex that if we take the whole topic into consideration, it borders on the study of everything: history, culture, politics, philosophy, psychology and communication. We must therefore abstract away from the full complexity of language and rather isolate something more specific that we think can provide us with some answers.

[30] This statement has been heavily criticised, but even Dell Hymes—whose focus is on 'communicative competence' and language use—admits that this 'theoretical perspective [...] is relevant' (Hymes 1972: 270).

The greatest challenge with studying the language faculty and I-languages is that we do not have access to either. We are therefore dependent on the E-languages for data, and traditionally this has been done through introspection, the researcher's own judgements on sentences and their grammaticality, and acceptability tests, that is, sentences that are created by the researcher and given to native speakers for grammaticality judgements. Introspection has traditionally been a useful method in generative grammar, but not surprisingly, it has severe shortcomings.[31] First, it is difficult to tap into subconscious knowledge, so the results we are likely to find will be conscious knowledge and thus possibly manipulated and not representative. Second, our constructions will typically be context-free and somewhat artificial. Third, we may be so confused by our own thinking that we lose track of what would be acceptable or not. Introspection is therefore best saved for judging sentences that already exist in a corpus, and perhaps to come up with slight alternations of these and consider whether they would be acceptable.

A better source of information can presumably be found in acceptability tests given to native speakers. These tests try to tap into subconscious knowledge about speakers' first languages and their LAD. There are different ways of doing this, and in a large-scale study by Sprouse, Schütze and Almeida (2013: 224), three of the most common judgement tasks were tested—'magnitude estimation (ME); 7-point Likert scale (LS); and two-alternative forced choice (FC)'. The results were compared with informal acceptability tests and the conclusion was clear: 'the differences between the two methods are relatively small'. There is a variety of factors that may influence the results, and so acceptability tests may not necessarily be a better method than introspection, although the former arguably give more objective judgements.

Although both methods are common in generative research, I have not undertaken any formal acceptability tests, and as a native speaker of Norwegian I can only judge the grammaticality of Norwegian sentences. On occasion, though, I have asked native speakers of both languages for judgements of structures. This has been done in an informal way and only to check the grammaticality or acceptability of questionable structures. Where these judgements are relevant, they are given in the text.

[31] See Schütze (2016) for more details.

1.7 Empirical background

The empirical background for this study is first and foremost sentences used in the syntactic literature. Some of these have been presented above, and more will be presented in chapter 2. But these data are only the first step in my data collection. The second, and bigger source, is a collection of relevant sentences from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus, which is presented in chapter 4. The data found in the corpus will exemplify structures in more detail and also provide a context. The added relevance of the corpus findings will also contribute and help shape an empirically motivated analysis of expletive passives in chapter 5.

1.7.1 The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC)

This is a theoretical study and not a corpus-driven one, but the corpus sentences I have found in the ENPC are valuable on their own. They consolidate the existence of expletive passives in both English and Norwegian and they can be used in further research. The findings in the ENPC are taken from various literature and offer stability and validity beyond a single example outside of a context. As such, the corpus findings back up my initial sentences with more detail and provide me with a better base for investigating passive structures, and they do so with what arguably could be referred to as '(more) objective, quantifiable, and replicable findings as an alternative to, or at least as an addition to, intuitive acceptability judgments' (Gries and Newman 2013: 257).

The corpus I have chosen to use is the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus of the University of Oslo and the University of Bergen. The ENPC is a subpart of the Oslo Multilingual Corpus (OMC) and consists of 100 original texts and 100 translated texts of fiction and non-fiction in each language. Altogether this amounts to 2.6 million words. Since the ENPC is a parallel corpus, it provides me with an excellent opportunity to consider examples of transitive expletive passives in both languages, and also see how they are translated. As for impersonal passives, the corpus includes several examples of this in Norwegian and offers English translations which must necessarily resort to other structures since impersonal passives are barred in English.

Corpora have not traditionally been used much in generative grammar for at least three reasons. First, they may contain performance errors that may occur in speech or

writing but that the author subconsciously knows to be wrong. Second, many grammatical sentences are so strange that they are unlikely to appear in a corpus.[32] And third, ungrammatical sentences—a central focus in generative grammar—are not a natural part of any corpus. In addition to these reasons, it is obvious that if a structure has not been found in a corpus, this does not mean that it must be ungrammatical.

Despite these drawbacks, however, corpora can be very useful. They can provide us with sentences they did not expect to see; they can consist of constructions we thought were impossible; and it can give us a pointer as to how frequent certain constructions are.[33] Finally, although rare and ungrammatical sentences are unlikely to be found, grammatical sentences should abound, and these do after all also play an important role in generative grammar. Corpus findings provide the researcher with empirical data that can form the basis for making hypotheses and understanding more about language.

1.8 The scientific position of the project

This section explains the scope and aim of my study and suggests its relevance to the linguistic community and the outside world.

1.8.1 Scope and aim of the study

In her classic textbook *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory*, Liliane Haegeman is very explicit: 'Work in generative linguistics is [...] by definition comparative' (1994: 18). In this sense I am investigating typological differences—that is, differences between E-languages—despite the fact that my research focus is on I-language. The reason for this is that we have no direct access to I-language, and we must therefore search for evidence indirectly, via E-languages.

Like many other studies in generative syntax, this research is theoretical. It investigates what Chomsky (1995: 34) has called *narrow syntax*: syntactic derivation

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[32] Poole (2011: 4) suggests that some sentences might be less frequent than sentences with errors. He offers the following example:

(i) Mary ate an apple and Sue a pear.

Although this sentence is both strange and artificial, most native speakers will accept it as grammatically correct.

[33] Frequency is not really relevant in generative grammar.

before it is sent off to the phonological component for spell-out. This means that the focus of inquiry is syntax proper, and I do not investigate how an actual sentence is spoken. Neither will I investigate language use or frequency.[34] Rather, I investigate the syntactic structure of the sentence as it is built up in our minds, aiming to understand more about our language faculty and how language is structured in our minds.

It is essential that we acknowledge that 'the goal of theoretical analysis is the model and not the one-to-one reflection of reality' (Héritier 2008: 63). This is particularly true in the sense of the model represented by syntactic trees used to illustrate word order. Generative theory argues for a Universal Grammar based on the hierarchical structure of language as represented by X-bar theory. My aim is to show that the model is a representation that can demonstrate how simple and logical the structure of language must be to explain how we can acquire and master something so complex as language within the first four to five years of our lives.

UG remains a hypothesis only, but based on its explanatory power, I consider it to be the null hypothesis. This means that the burden of evidence is as much on proving UG as falsifiying it.[35] With UG as a starting point, then, I hope to be able to explain more about (first) language acquisition and the syntax of passives in English and Norwegian.

Generative grammar is constantly evolving and includes many frameworks. As GB progressed into MP, various approaches have been taken and minimalism is not easy to define. Some versions are still influenced by GB, and others may favour a cartographic approach. Yet other approaches can be constructivist (influenced by Goldberg 1995 and Construction Grammar) or exoskeletal (e.g., Borer (2005), Åfarli (2007), Ramchand (2008), and Lohndal (2014)). A similar approach to the latter two is the late-insertion framework of Distributed Morphology (DM) as seen in Halle and Marantz (1994) but also for example Embick and Noyer (2001). All these approaches

[34] Neither of these is interesting for generative inquiry, but it is also part of language and studies of language use and frequency can of course offer important insight and data to the generative enterprise. A very recent study of impersonal passives in Scandinavian is Engdahl and Laanemets (2015).
[35] A central criticism of Chomskyan linguistics is the claim that UG is unfalsifiable and hence unscientific (e.g., Seuren (1998: 12) and Lin (2017: 12) and references therein), but in his critique of Universal Grammar, Lin (2017: 14) admits that 'Chomsky and his followers have developed a strong argument that UG is scientific according to the theories of Popper, Kuhn and Lakatos. In this way, they have defused the unfalsifiability argument and the unscientificality argument'.)

have their appeals and benefits. For my purposes, however, the distinction between an endoskeletal approach and an exoskeletal one is not particularly relevant, and many of my assumptions do not differ significantly whether the approach is lexical or constructivist. Having said that, the starting point of my analyses is arguably lexical, but my aim is to provide a derivational theory of passives following Occam's razor, that is, explaining as much of the data as possible with the minimal assumptions necessary.

1.8.2 Relevance of the study

By researching expletive passives in English and Norwegian, this study seeks to give an updated theoretical and empirical overview of the structure of expletive passives in English and Norwegian within generative syntax. I do this by reviewing earlier research before proposing a new and uniform way of explaining expletive passives, at least for English and Norwegian. My research questions form the basis of the study, and I therefore aim to describe and explain fundamental properties of the passive, such as the locus and function of the passive morpheme, as well as to what extent *by*-phrases are a structural part of the passive. And based on these results, I will finally offer a minimalist analysis that explains why a postverbal DP can stay in situ in Norwegian but must move in English, and why Norwegian allows impersonal passives whereas English does not.

Universal Grammar is particular to generative linguistics, but neither the passive nor movement is, as Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulo and Schäfer (2016: 3) explain in an overview article of the passive:

> Indeed, most modern grammatical theories employ (different versions of) leftward movement, and there is robust and extensive cross-linguistic evidence that the subject of the passive is merged as an internal argument of the verb eventually undergoing A-movement to a derived subject position for Case/EPP reasons.

It is therefore my hope that the findings of this research study will be relevant for all linguists, including non-generativists. The comparative perspective is particularly useful and relevant for our understanding of linguistic structure, both of I-languages of the brain as well as E-languages of the world. The data presented and the analyses offered should therefore also be relevant and interesting for language typology in general.

As for the benefits for society as a whole, this research explains the nature of expletive passives in detail and supports the fundamentals of the Principles and Parameters approach—that despite the fact that languages exhibit different structures, they are essentially very close in design. Thus this research gives further support for the theory of UG and the nativist belief of a language acquisition device: Linguistic structure must be innate in order for people to acquire their first language so easily and so quickly despite an 'impoverished and unstructured environment' (Chomsky 1980: 34). In sum, it is my belief that this research may shed some light and glean new insights on the structure of language and how it is acquired, a task that is not only relevant for the humanities, but also for humanity.

1.9 Thesis roadmap

This thesis is divided into six chapters. This introductory chapter has aimed to set the course by defining the topic and presenting sentence structures that will be studied in detail, explaining the methodology, and giving a short introduction to the generative framework. The second chapter summarises some important generative research on the passive by presenting analyses of the passive morpheme, the *by*-phrase and expletive passives. The third chapter then offers my own analysis of the passive morpheme and the *by*-phrase in passives. The fourth chapter presents corpus sentences with expletive passives in English and Norwegian and gives an overview of empirical patterns that provide the basis for further investigation. The fifth chapter then offers a new and detailed minimalist and case-theoretic analysis of the expletive passive building on the theoretical approach from chapter 3 and the empirical data from chapter 4. The sixth chapter concludes.

2 Previous research on the passive in generative theory

2.1 Background and focus

The active-passive alternation has long been central to our understanding of syntax. With the introduction of the Government and Binding theory of generative grammar, Chomsky (1981) claimed that the passive is not a unified 'construction' because there is no rule that can explain all the varieties of the passive. Rather, the variations on the passive are the results of 'highly abstract principles that work together in creating [different] "surface constructions"' (Terje Lohndal, p.c.). Chomsky's analysis, which is referred to as the 'orthodox analysis' by Åfarli (1992), was presented in detail in his *Lectures in Government and Binding* (1981) (henceforth *LGB*). Later, Jaeggli (1986) came up with a different analysis, referred to as the 'new analysis' by Åfarli (1992). Jaeggli's analysis was then further developed by Roberts (1987) and Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989), but also Åfarli (1992), who adapts it to Norwegian. In the minimalist version of P&P, both Collins (2005) and Bruening (2013) reject core principles of both the orthodox and new analyses.[36]

This chapter presents a brief overview of central aspects of all these works. For reasons of scope, this review focuses on three areas that I consider to be the most relevant and interesting for this thesis:

(1) the passive morpheme
(2) the agentive *by*-phrase
(3) expletive passives

More precisely, I will investigate the role of the passive morpheme and its locus, whether verb-internal or verb-external; whether the *by*-phrase is analysed as an adverbial or an argument, and its role in passives; and to what extent the existence of expletive passives in certain languages has any consequences for the overall theory of passives.

[36] The 'new analysis' is of course no longer new, but I will use Åfarli's terms throughout the thesis.

2.2 Chomsky (1981): The 'orthodox analysis' of the passive

It is a central claim in *LGB* that the passive is neither a construction nor a result of particular phrase structure rules, both of which were previously assumed in early generative grammar (see for example Chomsky (1957) and (1965)). Instead passives, which Chomsky (1981: 121) admits 'may be a useful descriptive category' are formed by universal principles of UG and language-specific parameter settings. The two properties that seem to explain the passive are (Chomsky 1981: 124):

(4) a. [NP, S] does not receive a θ-role.
b. [NP, VP] does not receive Case within VP, for some choice of NP in VP.[37]

(4a) has been called *subject dethematisation* because the subject (typically an NP) of a sentence (S) at S-structure does not receive a θ-role as shown by the fact that a θ-marked NP has moved there from its base-generated object position in D-structure. To allow this movement, the subject position must be a θ-free position. (4b) is an instance of case absorption because it means that the passive verb cannot assign abstract case to one of its NP-objects at S-structure.[38] The lack of case on this NP-object then forces it to move to a structural position where it can receive case, effectively making the passive formation case-driven. As such (4a) seems to be a consequence of (4b). The interplay between these two principles means that case theory and θ-theory are crucial to the passive formation.

2.2.1 The passive morpheme in *LGB*

Chomsky claims that 'the passive participle is not a Case assigner' (1981: 122). A consequence of this is that the passive verb, i.e., the passive morphology, may be said to 'absorb' the case originally meant for the object in the active (Chomsky 1981: 124). The reduced transitivity of a passive verb is assumed to be a universal rule in *LGB*, and since the logical object no longer will pass the case filter in complement position,

[37] The expression 'for some choice of NP in VP' opens up for double-object constructions (DOCs) like (i) where in fact one of the NPs (*a book*) may remain in postverbal position and still pass the case filter.
(i) John was given a book.

[38] As seen in the previous footnote, there is reason to think that some postverbal objects are capable of passing the case filter also in passives.

it must move so that the passive version of (5) in English is (6), and cannot be any instance of (7):

(5) We sold a house.
(6) A house was sold (by us).
(7) * It/There/PRO was sold a house.

2.2.2 The *by*-phrase in *LGB*

Passives can be short passives without an agentive *by*-phrase as in (6) above without the added agent in parentheses, or they can be long passives and include one. In long passives, the NP complement is assumed to be assigned the agentive θ-role by the preposition *by* and the whole *by*-phrase is an optional adverbial. The θ-role given to a subject by the active verb or by the preposition to the complement in the *by*-phrase may therefore be similar and perhaps even identical (Chomsky 1981: 103). In short passives, there is a certain felt agentivity whose supposed existence is based on the addition of either a purpose clause or an agent-oriented adverb in a short passive (Chomsky 1981: 143, footnote 60):[39]

(8) a. The price was decreased [to help the poor]
b. The price was decreased [willingly]

(8a) and (8b) are good arguments for the existence of a covert agent in short passives. However, Chomsky (1981: 103) suggests that this implicit agent is arbitrary and warns us not to assume that the felt agentivity entails a suppressed or deleted *by*-phrase.

2.2.3 Expletive passives in *LGB*

Chomsky (1981: 119) refers to Burzio (1981) and presents examples of expletive passives in French with the direct object in 'essentially the base-generated form'. He notes that the corresponding '(quite marginal) English analogue' is possible:

[39] (8a) is from Manzini (1980) as cited by Chomsky (1981: 143). (8b) is from Jackendoff (1972) as cited by Jaeggli (1986: 611), but I include it here because it illustrates the point. The square brackets in (8b) are mine.

(9) There were finished several buildings.

He also offers examples of impersonal passives from Arabic, German and Hebrew, 'languages in which intransitives can be passivized' (1981: 125). These various constructions both within and across languages add to his claim that '[t]he category that is called "passive" may not constitute a natural class' (1981: 120). In fact, expletive passives that are formed with what appears to be an NP in situ, like (9) above, align with double-object constructions in the sense that they are exceptions to (4b): Case absorption of the passive morpheme cannot explain these NPs. Still, the principle in (4b) should apply, but on the surface of things, it is (4a) that is most relevant because of expletive insertion 'in the non-θ-position of the subject' (1981: 125).

The fact that some languages allow passives of intransitives is explained by a parameter defining which types of verbs can passivise in English, namely only those 'that take NP or clausal complements' (Chomsky 1981: 126). Since this is not the case in German, Dutch or Norwegian, Chomsky's view of impersonal passives is consistent with his conclusion that there is no unified passive construction. In sum, the orthodox analysis was based on English passives and explains these well, but it was neither developed for other languages nor meant to capture properties of these.

2.3 Jaeggli (1986): The 'new analysis' of the passive

Jaeggli (1986) introduces an alternative analysis to Chomsky's orthodox passive, and one that in particular can explain expletive passives. The biggest similarity between the two analyses is that both of them reject the existence of a construction-specific rule. But their explanations differ significantly. Chomsky suggests that the passive is case-driven because a passive verb has become intransitive and cannot assign postverbal case. The postverbal NP must then move in order to pass the case filter. Jaeggli, on the other hand, hypothesises that the passive verb retains its transitivity but that the passive morpheme obligatorily absorbs the verb's external θ-role, which means 'that the passive suffix [is] assigned that role' (Jaeggli 1986: 591). This can happen because 'the suffix *-en* [...] is governed by the verb' (Jaeggli 1986: 592). But since Spanish and Italian have both active and passive constructions where 'an NP inside a

VP can be assigned nominative Case' (1986: 594),[40] he stipulates that the passive morpheme also must be capable of absorbing objective (i.e., accusative) case. This stipulation can then explain why postverbal arguments must move in English but not in Spanish or Italian: 'Case absorption can be interpreted as analogous to θ-role absorption [because] the passive suffix *-en* is assigned (and requires the assignment of) objective Case. Once this Case is assigned to the suffix, it cannot be assigned further to an NP in object position' (Jaeggli 1986: 595).

Jaeggli's critique of the orthodox analysis thus proposes a parametric setting for case theory in order to account for other languages than English. Postverbal NPs in Spanish and Italian may receive nominative case in passives so that Chomsky's Case absorption principle ((4b) above) must be revised to say that '[NP, VP] does not receive verbal Case' (Jaeggli 1986: 594).

With his analysis, Jaeggli introduces four crucial amendments to the orthodox analysis of the passive. First, he assumes that active and passive verbs have identical argument structure and therefore the same valency. Second, in order to explain the non-assignment of objective case by a passive verb, he assumes that case absorption is a consequence of θ-role absorption by the passive morpheme. Third, he argues that a postverbal NP in a passive sentence may receive nominative case, as can be seen in Italian and Spanish. And fourth, to account for the existence of impersonal passives, he proposes that the passive morpheme only absorbs case if there is a case to absorb. With passives of intransitives, then, which are possible in some languages, one might assume that 'in some languages the passive suffix does not need to absorb verbal Case'[41] (Jaeggli 1986: 595), but his final hypothesis is that 'intransitive verbs also assign structural Case' (Jaeggli 1986: 598) which is then absorbed by the passive morpheme.

With these radical changes from Chomsky's orthodox analysis, Jaeggli is the creator of the so-called new analysis of the passive. Since this analysis seemed to provide a

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[40] 'In transitive structures, animate specific NPs that are assigned objective Case are always preceded by the marker *a* [but t]his marker is obligatorily absent in passive structures' (Jaeggli (1986: 594, his (19)):

(i) En la fiesta fue presentada (*a) Maria por su padre
at the party was introduced Maria by her father
'At the party Maria was introduced by her father.'

[41] Jaeggli is not as explicit as Roberts (1987) who explains that verbal case essentially means accusative case, and is distinct from nominative case which is assigned by INFL.

better explanation for the implicit agent in passives than the orthodox analysis, Jaeggli's analysis became the dominant analysis of the passive in GB theory. The analysis is also stronger and wider in that it can explain and account for different kinds of passives cross-linguistically. The notion of case absorption is still used in contemporary syntactic literature, but Alexiadou (2017: 4) notes that 'it is controversial whether the case absorption feature is a universal characteristic of the passive, as there are several languages where accusative Case seems to be retained in the passive variant', including Norwegian.

2.3.1 The passive morpheme

That the passive morpheme absorbs the external θ-role is taken to mean that the verbal suffix *-en* must receive this role from its predicate (Jaeggli 1986: 590). This stipulation is empirically motivated from the fact that passives can only be made from verbs that assign external θ-roles, a fact that also applies to impersonal passives (Chomsky 1981: 126; Jaeggli 1986: 593). A pertinent question, however, is how a bound morpheme can be assigned a θ-role. Traditionally, θ-roles are assigned to NPs, but Jaeggli reminds us of the fact that *-en* is syntactically overt, and he suggests that it is governed by the verb. So even though internal θ-roles are typically linked to NPs and PPs, there is nothing that prevents external θ-roles from being assigned to suffixes as long as the Projection Principle is not violated (Jaeggli 1986: 591-592).

Postverbal NPs in grammatical passives in English only occur with ditransitives, as in (10). Here the passive morpheme still absorbs the verbal case and Jaeggli proposes that the in-situ object 'must have inherent Case [...] typically tied to a particular thematic relation' (Jaeggli 1986: 596). Consequently, it is clear that the NP retains its VP-internal object position also in the passive (Jaeggli 1986: 596, his (25)):

(10) John was given a book by Bill.

The grammaticality of (10) questions the assumption that passive participles cannot assign structural case. Therefore, case absorption must mean that structural case is assigned to the passive morpheme, whereas ditransitive passive verbs must be able to assign another structural case to the postverbal object.

A problematic consequence of the postulation that *-en* is an argument and requires another argument is that passive participles are given a dual responsibility: they must be able to both receive and assign case and θ-roles. This assumption is criticised by Åfarli (1992) and will be dealt with in section 2.6.

2.3.2 The *by*-phrase

Jaeggli claims that the passive morpheme transfers its external θ-role to the NP-complement in the *by*-phrase (Jaeggli 1986: 600). On the surface of things, this would be in violation of the θ-criterion because two different realisations cannot carry the same θ-role. However, Jaeggli proposes that this θ-role transmission takes place because the features of the lexical verb and the passive morpheme, which are both under V, 'percolate to the branching node dominating them' (Jaeggli 1986: 600). As such, Jaeggli suggests that the passive morpheme 'optionally subcategorizes for' a *by*-phrase which in turn must be θ-marked by *-en* so that 'if the passive *by*-phrase is present, it must receive a θ-role from the passive suffix' (Jaeggli 1986: 601).

2.3.3 Expletive passives

Jaeggli's discussion of expletive passives primarily deals with impersonal passives, i.e., passives of unergatives. Since unergatives have no objects to assign case to, the passivisation of an unergative verb cannot result in case absorption; there quite simply is no case to be absorbed for the passive morpheme in impersonal passives. Yet, for a unified theory to hold cross-linguistically, he proposes that in those languages where impersonal passives are possible, the passive intransitive verb assigns structural case to the passive morpheme. As a result, the principle of case absorption applies also in these constructions.

But this hypothesis leads to a challenge for the passives of transitives where the object remains in postverbal position. Although Jaeggli does not give examples of transitive expletive passives, he acknowledges the problem if an object remains in situ: a passivised transitive verb must then be able to assign accusative case both to *-en* as well to the postverbal argument in situ. This is problematic and he shows that facts from Scandinavian (dealing with passivisation of ditransitives) and Kinyarwanda 'call into question the assumption that passive participles are never capable of assigning structural Case' (Jaeggli 1986: 597). As a result, he assumes that these passive verbs

may in fact assign 'two structural Cases', one to the passive morpheme and one to the postverbal object (Jaeggli 1986: 597).

2.4 Roberts (1987): The dethematisation of the subject

Roberts (1987) builds on Jaeggli (1986) and takes as his starting point the felt agentivity of short passives, shared by Chomsky and Jaeggli. According to Roberts (1987: 2), 'the structurally "missing" semantic role is semantically "present" [and in the case of passives,] optionally structurally realized as a *by*-phrase'. Regardless of whether the *by*-phrase is present or not, *en* is an argument that incorporates the agent, which must also be structurally represented in syntax, and Roberts calls this argument IMP. He follows Jaeggli in assuming that active and passive verbs have the same argument structure (Roberts 1987: 34), and, like Jaeggli, he also challenges Chomsky's claim about postverbal objects not being assigned case by referring to passives of ditransitives, such as (10) above (*John was given a book*). To account for the fact that the postverbal NP *a book* must pass the case filter, Roberts follows Jaeggli in revising Chomsky's (4b) on case absorption to be about verbal case. In fact, he assumes a general detransitivisation rule to account for passives (Roberts 1987: 24, his (25)):

(11) *En* attaches to a Verb-stem with n Cases to assign and produces a derived Verb with n-1 Cases to assign.

This means that 'passive morphology takes away one of the Case features of a Verb because it is the structurally present "implicit argument" [which] needs Case' (Roberts 1987: 31).

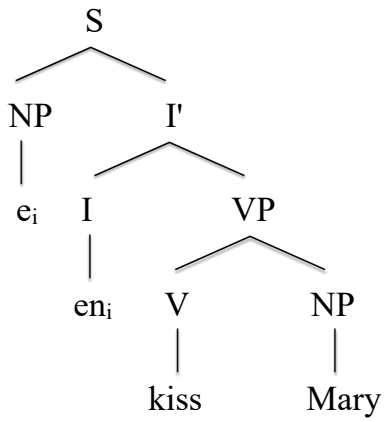
2.4.1 The passive morpheme

Like Jaeggli, Roberts assumes that the passive morpheme (*en* in Roberts) is an implicit argument. The proposal that a bound morpheme like *en* is an argument means that it also 'acts like a clitic, receiving the θ-role assigned to the subject of actives' (Roberts 1987: 32). Roberts defines *en* as a clitic which forms a chain with a θ-marked argument at D-structure, but the clitic is negatively defined; since *en* appears in a range of A-positions where nonclitics are barred from occurring, it stands to reason that *en* must be a clitic.

Roberts's main proposal is to suggest that the passive morpheme is base-generated in INFL with the relevant case feature and proceeds to undergo Affix Hopping[42] onto V in the derivation to S-Structure, just as any other verbal inflection. After the derivation, V assigns accusative case to *en*, effectively preventing a postverbal NP from receiving accusative case and passing the case filter, which in turn forces NP-movement (Roberts 1987: 38). Hence, Roberts claims that the passive morpheme is verb-external and the actual 'implicit' argument (Roberts 1987: 31).[43] This allows *en* to form a clitic chain with the subject so that when *en* is a passive morpheme,[44] it is also a clitic and an argument in need of a θ-role and abstract case (Roberts 1987: 40).

A derivation of *Mary was kissed* (based on Roberts 1985: 69) can be seen below where *e* (an empty category in subject position) and *en* are a clitic chain. When *en* undergoes Affix Hopping to the verb, forming *kiss* + *en*, it must receive case, forcing the NP *Mary* to move to subject position since *kiss* is a monotransitive verb only capable of assigning one case, namely to its passive suffix.

(12) e_i en_i kiss Mary



This explanation also works for the postverbal object *a book* in (10) above: When Affix Hopping takes place, the passive morpheme *en* needs accusative case and is assigned this from the main verb. In (12), the verb *kiss* is monotransitive, and must

[42] Downward movement is generally not possible, but affixes can do this via Affix Hopping, a lexical rule at PF (Chomsky 1981: 55).
[43] 'In the context of this theory of passive the term "implicit argument" is a misnomer, as we consider these arguments to be explicitly structurally represented.' But for notational matters, 'we will refer to the structurally present non-overt logical subjects of passives as IMPs' (Roberts 1987: 69).
[44] Roberts suggests that *en* is one morpheme that can appear as either a passive participle or a past participle. (Roberts 1987: 40).

therefore assign its case to *en*, forcing movement of *Mary*, while in (10) above, the verb *give* is ditransitive and can therefore assign an additional structural case to the postverbal object *a book*.

2.4.2 The *by*-phrase

Based on Jaeggli, Roberts shows that any θ-role can surface as an optional *by*-phrase in a passive, and he suggests that the passive morpheme (*en*) and the *by*-phrase together form a clitic chain where IMP is a variable, locally bound in syntax by *en*, and the *by*-phrase doubles *en* (Roberts 1987: 143). In other words, if the subject is suppressed, it may resurface in a *by*-phrase. Roberts agrees with Chomsky that the optionality of the *by*-phrase means that syntactically it must be an adjunct, but he claims that thematically it seems to be an argument (Roberts 1987: 30). Accordingly, the simplest explanation for the θ-role of the agentive *by*-phrase seems to be that the θ-role given to an active subject is somehow 'reassigned' in passives to an overt *by*-phrase (Roberts 1987: 31).

Roberts questions whether subject position may be the starting point for the *by*-phrase (Roberts 1987: 58). Such a possibility implies that when the *by*-phrase is present, it is a clitic double of the en argument much in the same way that clitic-doubling works in Spanish spoken in Buenos Aires.[45]

(13) Mary_j kiss+en_i t_j by John_i.

This clitic doubling suggests that *en* and the *by*-phrase, which are co-indexed in (13), in fact are the same. The preposition *by* now case-marks the explicit agent, whereas the verb governs the clitic *en* affixed to it and thus assigns case to it. As a result, V is prevented from assigning case to its object *Mary*, which means that it must move for case reasons. (Roberts 1987: 64).

In short passives, where there is no *by*-phrase present, the AGENT is still implied. In these cases *en* is an implicit agent, an IMP, which means that it is an empty category

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[45] Roberts (1987: 59, his (117)) reproduces such an example of clitic-doubling from Jaeggli (1982):

(i) Lo_i vimos a Guille_i.
Him we-saw to G
"We saw G."

that has been assigned the θ-role of the subject (Roberts 1987: 69-70). IMP takes on the θ-role as AGENT alone and clitic-doubling does not need to take place. Roberts sees this as 'an argument in favour of the treatment of IMP as an empty category occupying a structural position' (Roberts 1987: 71). Yet IMP cannot bind because it is an empty category without grammatical features such as those of person, number and gender (Roberts 1987: 161). As a consequence, IMPs can only be arbitrarily interpreted (Roberts 1987: 171), which means that without an agentive *by*-phrase, all we know is that there must have been someone or something responsible for the action, but we cannot and do not know the nature of this AGENT.

2.4.3 Expletive passives

Roberts does not mention transitive expletive passives but points out that English lacks impersonal passives precisely because intransitives are not case assigners. A consequence of this is that they cannot assign accusative case to the case-needy argument *en*. Hence *en* does not pass the case filter and so impersonal passives in English are ungrammatical. However, since it is 'well-known that German and Dutch have impersonal passives', Roberts suggests that 'impersonals are licensed by the ability of *en* to be NOM' (1987: 265). As a consequence, impersonal constructions only occur when the passive participle can be assigned nominative case, and this is then what happens in languages with productive impersonal passives.

For these languages, Roberts follows Belletti (1982) and Jaeggli (1986) who propose that impersonal passives 'are the result of appearance of a clitic in Infl which, like *en*, is linked to the external argument, but, unlike *en*, is able to be NOM' (Roberts 1987: 265). To explain this hypothesis, Roberts (1987: 277) offers an impersonal construction in German which is ungrammatical in English:

(14) a. Es wurde getanzt.
b. *It was danced.

The question here is how the clitic *en*, being an argument, can be case-marked in German and not in English (Roberts 1987: 279). His answer consists of two parts (Roberts 1987: 282):

(15) a. German *en* can be freely Case-marked either NOM or ACC.
b. AGR assigns NOM to *en* via chain-government.

This means that the German passive morpheme can receive nominative case when the subject is expletive (Roberts 1987: 283). Roberts claims that chain-government does not apply to German because *es* 'it' is a simple expletive, and consequently has no need for case. He assumes that *es* 'it' is a place-holder that can only occur in subject position, whereas in other languages, e.g., Scandianavian languages, an expletive subject like *det* 'it' has freer variation and seems to be part of an expletive chain (Roberts 1987: 286-287).

As a result, Roberts parameterises the occurrence of impersonal passives. The German passive morpheme can receive nominative case, whereas in English it can only receive accusative case. Since an intransitive verb does not assign accusative case, there are no impersonal passives in English.

2.5 Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989): The implicit argument in passives

Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989) build on Jaeggli (1986) and Roberts (1987) and aim to 'develop [...] a theory of passive constructions' by assuming that '[t]he passive morpheme (*-en*) is an argument' (Baker et al. 1989: 219), and that 'there is an empty category linked to the argument *-en'* (Baker et al. 1989: 223). This empty category element is called IMP, for the implicit argument, and its presence is offered as 'evidence from binding theory that suggests that implicit arguments of passives are "syntactically active"' (Baker et al. 1989: 219). As such, the introduction of a rationale clause (RatC), i.e., a purpose clause, or a subject-oriented adverb, with the passive in (16a) provides motivation for the implicit argument (as compared with a middle clause in (16b) (Baker et al. 1989: 221, their (7) and (8)).

(16) a. This bureaucrat was bribed [PRO to avoid the draft]/deliberately.
b.*This bureaucrat bribes easily to avoid the draft/deliberately.

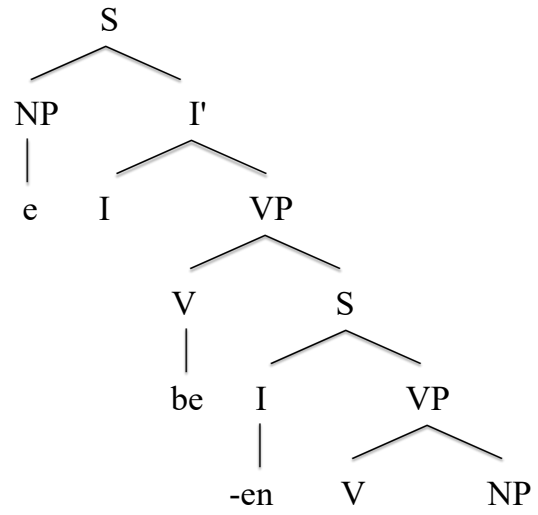
The claim is that the inclusion of a rationale clause or a subject-oriented adverb demonstrates that an argument must not only be semantically implicit, but also syntactically explicit, and they conclude that this syntactic argument is the passive morpheme *-en*.

2.5.1 The passive morpheme

The proposal for the passive morpheme is that '*-en*, the passive argument, is base-generated under Infl' (Baker et al. 1989: 220) and they conclude that 'if *-en* is an argument, then it is an *external* argument' (Baker et al. 1989: 221). This means that '*-en*, like any subject argument, receives a compositional θ-role from VP' (Baker et al. 1989: 221). They also agree with Roberts's (1987) assumption that the passive morpheme is a clitic that forms a chain with an NP and that *-en* consequently syntactically is a clitic, 'but phonologically an affix' (Baker et al. 1989: 223).

In the syntactical derivation, *-en* must move down via Affix Hopping from INFL at D-structure to V at S-structure. But if auxiliary heads have their own projections (Baker et al. 1989: 241) and *be* takes a clausal complement headed by INFL, they end up with the following D-structure representations for passive constructions (Baker et al. 1989: 243, their (73)):

(17)



In this structure *-en* may be base-generated in I (INFL) under the VP headed by an auxiliary instead of in the I outside the VP (Baker et al. 1989: 243). This is a convenient solution to the fact that the passive morpheme needs to be the head of I but at the same time within a VP in order to explain how it can be an argument that attaches to the verb and absorbs its case.

2.5.2 The *by*-phrase

The assumption is that *-en* is a clitic that affixes to the verb, and 'like other clitics, *-en* forms a chain with a full NP' which 'may be overtly realised as a *by*-phrase'. (Baker et al. (1989: 223). This NP is thus the coda of the chain. In short passives, IMP stands on its own and is not syntactically realised, which means that the inclusion of a *by*-phrase in a long passive is an overt realisation of IMP and similar to the clitic-doubling suggested by Jaeggli (1986). Consequently, *by*-phrases are co-indexed with an argument, which means that they are arguments and not adjuncts.

2.5.3 Expletive passives

With the assumption that *-en* is an argument and thus in need of case, passives of intransitive verbs should be impossible. This is indeed true for English; when *-en* has no case to absorb, impersonal passives are ungrammatical. This means that if intransitive 'verbs lack the ability to assign accusative Case, then the passive morpheme will not be Case-marked [and] a θ-Criterion violation would result' (Baker et al. 1989: 235).

They find 'serious problems' with Jaeggli's (1986) proposal that some languages—notably the ones that allow impersonal passives—have intransitive verbs that may assign a structural accusative case to *-en*. (Baker et al. 1989: 235). After discussing how the existence of expletive passives (both of the transitive and intransitive type) can be accounted for, they end up with a revision of the Visibility Condition (Baker et al. 1989: 239, their (63)):

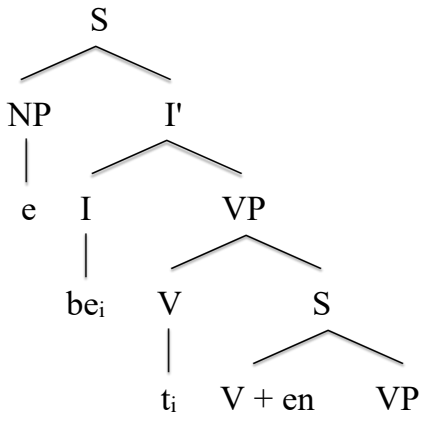
(18) Revised Visibility Condition
In order for an argument to be visible for θ-role assignment at LF, it must either
a. be assigned Case, or
b. have its head morphologically united with an X^0

The stipulation in (b) 'automatically solves the primary challenges of the impersonal passives' because *-en* can now be made visible by being attached to the verb (Baker et

al. 1989: 239).[46] However, the authors admit that their revised Visibility Condition does not give 'the complete account of impersonal passives' cross-linguistically, but they believe that their solution defines 'the limits of what is allowed by Universal Grammar, but observe that individual languages have narrower restrictions' (Baker et al. 1989: 239).

In sum, English can have expletive passives with transitive verbs and the passive morpheme will then absorb accusative case. German (and Norwegian), on the other hand, can have expletive passives with intransitive verbs as well. This is not taken to be because intransitive verbs can assign structural case, as Jaeggli (1986) proposes, but because the extended Visibility Condition does not require the passive morpheme to have case but rather to be morphologically united with the verb at S-Structure (Baker et al. 1989: 239 (74)), as seen in the following derivation of (17) above:

(19)



The passive argument now no longer needs case because it is a morphological suffix united with the verb. Thereby it escapes the case filter but is still visible for θ-marking and can be given the AGENT role of the passive.

2.6 Åfarli (1992): PASS is case-needy in English but not in Norwegian

Åfarli (1992) gives a thorough overview of Norwegian passives based on the new analysis presented by Jaeggli (Åfarli 1992: ix) and introduces the term PASS for the

[46] Although (b) seems like quite a stipulation, its 'conceptual implications [...] are discussed in Baker (1988, sec. 3.4)' (Baker et al. 1988: 239).

passive morpheme. He claims that the Norwegian data support the hypothesis that active and passive verbs basically have the same argument structure (Åfarli 1992: 23). A comparative analysis of English and Norwegian is included, proposing a parametric difference in case theory: PASS needs case in English but does not require it in Norwegian (Åfarli 1992: 79). This parameter setting explains the existence of both kinds of expletive passives[47] in Norwegian because when PASS does not require abstract case, it allows passivisation of intransitives (where no postverbal case is assigned, as in (20)) as well as postverbal arguments (where case in passives can go to the argument instead of to PASS, as in (21)) (Åfarli 1992: 85). In English, on the other hand, PASS must receive case, which means that postverbal arguments are disallowed and impersonal passives are impossible. Illustrative examples from Åfarli (1992: 78) are reproduced below:

(20) a. Det vart sunge. [Nynorsk]
'It was sung.'
b. *It was sung.

(21) a. Det vart sett ein mann. [Nynorsk]
'There was seen a man.'
b. *There was seen a man.

In addition to this difference in periphrastic passive structures, Norwegian also has a morphological passive, the *s*-passive, which also is productive in expletive constructions and works with intransitives, monotransitives and ditransitives. The respective examples are given below, again from Åfarli (1992: 17, his (40d), 20, his (45b) and (45d)):

(22) Det bades.
It bath-s
'It is bathed.'

(23) Det kjøpes en hund.
It buy-s a dog.

[47] Åfarli (1992) uses the term *impersonal passive* broadly to include all expletive passives.

'There is bought a dog.'

(24) Det gis Jon ei fele. [Nynorsk]
It give-s Jon a fiddle
'There is given Jon a fiddle.'

The periphrastic passive is most common, and there are different auxiliaries that can be used: *bli* 'become' is most common, but there are also verbal passives with *være* 'be', although the latter constructions are often ambiguous and may be interpreted adjectivally, just as they can be in English (Åfarli 1992: 12). Since Norwegian has two written language forms, Nynorsk and Bokmål, there is also parametric variation in periphrastic passives where there is agreement in number and gender between the subject and the passive participle in Nynorsk but not in Bokmål (Åfarli 1992: 11). An illustration of this is seen below, where (25) shows agreement but (26) does not.

(25) Ein elg vart skoten. [Nynorsk]
An-$_{M}$ elk was shot-$_{M}$.
'A elk was shot.'

(26) En elg ble skutt.
An-$_{M}$ elk was shot.
'An elk was shot.'

The *s*-passive has a narrower distribution and usually occurs with a modal auxiliary or in the present tense or the infinitive (Åfarli 1992: 15), but it has qualities that are very convenient for a passive analysis. First, its existence provides support for the hypothesis that PASS is an argument since 'the s-morpheme is the remnant of the accusative form of the reflexive pronoun, *sik* "self" in Old Norse' (Åfarli 1992: 14). And second, since the *s*-passive cannot be interpreted adjectivally (Åfarli 1992: 12), it is also convenient for comparison and provides us with a useful method for testing ambiguity between verbal and adjectival passives.

Åfarli's hypothesis is that the passive morpheme, PASS, causes the subject to be dethematised, resulting in a passive formation where either the postverbal NP is moved to subject position or an expletive subject is inserted (Åfarli 1992: 25). By changing the perspective from case absorption to subject dethematisation, Åfarli

concludes that 'the existence of impersonal passives [...] is immediately predicted' (Åfarli 1992: 26).

2.6.1 The passive morpheme

Åfarli assumes that PASS is an abstract morpheme that does not have to be morphologically realised. Since PASS is thought to be an argument of the verb, as the passive morpheme is in the new analysis, it must receive a θ-role, and since the internal θ-role is linked to the base-generated object, this role must be external. Hence, PASS becomes the implicit agent (Åfarli 1992: 29) in short passives.

Åfarli argues that the passive morpheme must be pronominal, contra Jaeggli (1986). This explains its status as an argument and its need for a θ-role. PASS seems to be explicitly represented in *s*-passives, and the etymology of this *s*-morpheme therefore suggests that the historical reflexive nominal expression *sik* 'self' has now become a pronominal bound morpheme attached to the verb. Consequently, there is no longer a need for stipulating that the passive morpheme is an argument. Instead, there is etymological support for the *s*-morpheme to have a nominal feature, from the existence of the *s*-passive in Norwegian. This reasoning aside, Åfarli agrees with Jaeggli (1986) in assuming that PASS is verb-internal and not a clitic base-generated in INFL, as Roberts (1987) and Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989) claim.

Although it may be easy to assume that PASS could be realised as the participle suffix on the main verb, Norwegian also has infinitival passives where PASS is covertly represented and not morphologically realised, as seen in (27) (Åfarli 1992: 34, his (8a)):

(27) Han let barnet slå.[48] [Nynorsk]
He let child-the beat.
'He let the child be beaten.'

Åfarli (1992: 34) explains that '[t]here is no passive morpheme associated with the infinitival passive, and it cannot be distinguished from a corresponding infinitival

[48] This sentence has a clear passive reading but can also be interpreted as an active sentence meaning *He let/allowed the child to beat (someone).* The example is in Nynorsk but also works in Bokmål.

active on formal grounds.' This is good evidence for PASS being an abstract element and not the same as overt passive morphology.

In his account of how and why the external θ-role is assigned to PASS, Åfarli differs from Jaeggli's focus on semantic selection and categorial selection; instead, Åfarli proposes that θ-roles cannot normally be assigned word-internally, a principle that creates a problem for how PASS can be assigned the external θ-role by its adjoining verb (Åfarli 1992: 41). One solution may be to refute PASS, but an alternative is to suggest that PASS is added in syntax instead of in morphology. If this is the case, then 'V+PASS is a morphological object formed in the syntax (by adjunction)' to a head, and this stipulation can then explain θ-role assignment to PASS (Åfarli 1992: 42).

2.6.2 The *by*-phrase

Åfarli (1992: 46) states that '[t]he real problem with agent phrases is that they show properties that suggest that they should be analysed both as arguments of the passive verb and as adverbials.' If the *by*-phrase is an adjunct, as the orthodox analysis suggests, then *by* must assign the same θ-role to all NP complements (Åfarli 1992: 46) making all *by*-phrases agentive. However, Williams (1981) has shown that a *by*-phrase can have other θ-roles such as INSTRUMENTAL, LOCATIVE, THEME, GOAL or SOURCE, and Åfarli (1992: 46-47) reproduces all of these examples in Norwegian. The first three are reproduced below, in respective order:

(28) Jon vart skadd av øksa. [Nynorsk]
Jon became hurt by axe-the.
'Jon was hurt by the axe.'

(29) Huset omgis av gjerdet.
house-the surround-s by fence-the.
'The house is surrounded by the fence.'

(30) Jon tynges av sorgen.
Jon depress-s by grief-the.
'Jon is depressed by the grief.'

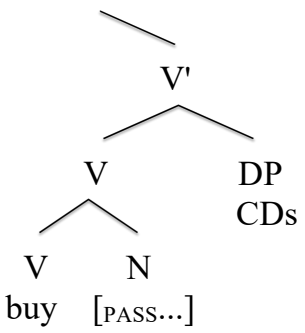
Consequently, an external role that has been suppressed may have had a non-agentive role, which goes against the claim in the orthodox analysis that all *by*-phrases are agents. Based on this, Åfarli dismisses 'the "pure" adverbial analysis of the agent phrase' (Åfarli 1992: 47).

But if the *by*-phrase is an argument, as the new analysis suggests—either by clitic-doubling (Jaeggli 1986), doubling (Baker 1988), or a chain (Roberts 1987)—there is a violation of the θ-criterion: two arguments receive the same θ-role. None of these explanations can account for 'the basic adverbial nature of the agent phrase' (Åfarli 1992: 48). Consequently, '[t]he facts pull the analysis of the agent phrase in two opposite directions', but Åfarli concludes that the pull towards the adverbial analysis is stronger (Åfarli 1992: 50) and he refers to Zubizarreta (1985) who proposes that there must be some 'special interpretative rule' that explains 'the correspondence effects' between the implicit agent and the *by*-phrase (Åfarli 1992: 50).

2.6.3 Expletive passives

As should be clear from the discussion above, Åfarli's PASS hypothesis is built on the fact that Norwegian generates both expletive passives with postverbal objects and impersonal passives. Expletive passive constructions are therefore very productive in Norwegian, and if we look away from the Definiteness Effect (DE) each personal passive has an impersonal variant (Åfarli 1992: 20). English, however, only allows personal passives of transitive verbs. Since PASS is a case-needy element in English, impersonal passives are ungrammatical, as shown in Åfarli (1992: 33) and demonstrated in (31), taken from Åfarli and Eide (2003: 223):

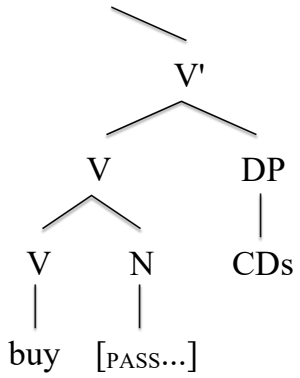
(31) * ... are bought CDs.



The structure shows how PASS attaches to the verb. PASS must receive case in English, but the same applies to the postverbal DP. Since *buy* only has one case to offer, the structure does not allow both case-needy elements to pass the case filter, and the result is that the structure is ungrammatical.

In Norwegian, however, PASS does not require to be case-marked, and the accusative case of *kjøpe* 'buy' can thus be assigned to the postverbal DP *CD-er* 'CDs', opening up for an expletive passive.

(32) ... kjøpes CDer.
... buy-PASS CDs.
With the intended meaning ' ... are bought CDs'.



The proposal of a parametric case-marking of PASS predicts the existence of expletive passives with both transitives and intransitives in Norwegian (Åfarli 1992: 63) and the non-existence of both in English, at least with the same word order. More examples are given below (33 is Åfarli's example; 34 is mine):

(33) a. Det vart sett ein orm. [Nynorsk]
There became seen a snake.
'There was seen a snake.'
b. *There/*It was seen a snake.

(34) a. Det synge-s i dusj-en.
There sing-PASS in shower-DEF.
'People sing in the shower'.
b.*There/*It is being sung in the shower.

(33a) is grammatical in Norwegian because PASS does not need case, which means that the case from the passive verb *sett* 'seen' can be assigned to the postverbal object *ein orm* 'a snake'. The English version in (33b) is in violation of the case filter since both PASS and the postverbal object *a snake* require case. (34a) is acceptable in Norwegian because although *synge* 'sing' is intransitive as an active verb and therefore at best can be intransitive in its passive version, PASS does not need case and the sentence is grammatical. The equivalent in (34b) is not acceptable in English because the passive verb cannot assign case to PASS.

One might question why PASS should need case in English and not Norwegian, and the best answer is that this hypothesis can explain the empirical data: Norwegian allows expletive passives with postverbal objects as well as impersonal passives, whereas English allows neither. But it is important to acknowledge that PASS in itself is still independently motivated by being assigned the implicit agent θ-role.

Åfarli acknowledges that the Visibility Hypothesis leads us to assume that since PASS is an argument, it must have case, and once it has case it is visible, requiring a θ-role. Åfarli follows Baker (1988) in proposing that PF-identification is sufficient for visibility, so the fact that PASS is verb-internal makes it visible and therefore in need of case (Åfarli 1992: 63). In sum, Åfarli concludes that case is the decisive factor in explaining the parametric contrast between English and Norwegian (1992: 83-84).

2.7 The passive in minimalism

Adger's (2003: 242) claim about the passive not having received much attention in minimalist syntax is no longer valid. There is a substantial amount of influential research that has focused on the projections of Voice (Kratzer 1996) and little *v* (Chomsky 1995) and their relation to the passive voice. Among these are Collins (2005), Harley (2013) and Legate (2014), while the discussion of the *by*-phrase has been particularly lucid in Bruening (2013). Common for most minimalist research on the passive is the inclusion of a dedicated passive functional head, either in Voice or some other higher projection like Pass. Summing up passive research since Chomsky (1957), Alexiadou et al. (2016) conclude 'that the most problematic aspect of the passive [...] is the representation of implicit external arguments, *by*-phrases and their relationship.' In the next two sections, therefore, I will summarise two important

minimalist proposals that discuss these questions, one offered by Collins (2005) and the other by Bruening (2013).

2.8 Collins (2005): The *by*-phrase is merged in subject position

Collins (2005) is one of the first coherent proposals for a theory of the passive after the introduction of the Minimalist Programme. In true minimalist spirit, Collins does not consider D-structure, yet θ-theory remains intact and θ-roles are therefore assigned before constituents move. There are central claims in the GB analysis that are irreconcilable with Collins' hypothesis, such as case absorption and θ-absorption, and the possibility that the passive morpheme is an argument is rejected. Collins suggests that the passive in English can best be explained by combining newer theory with some early generative ideas from Chomsky (1957).

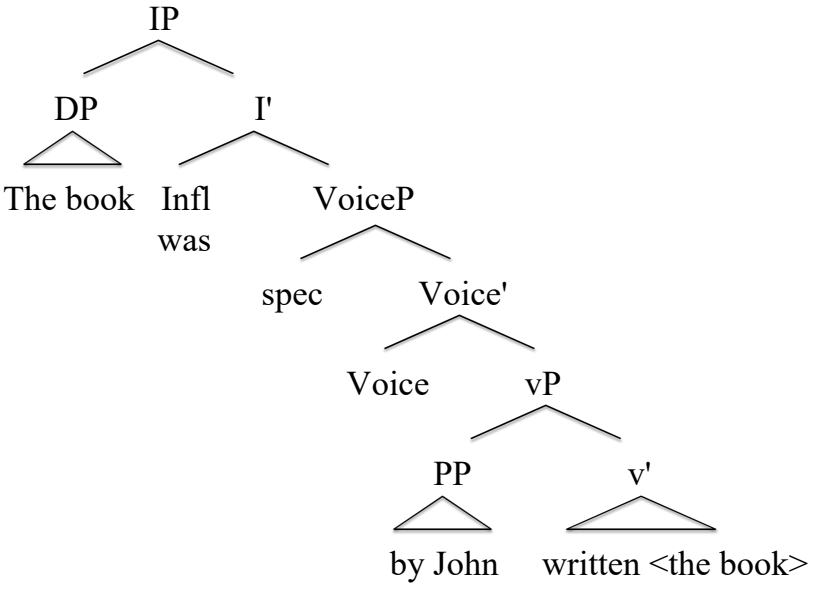
Collins refers to Jaeggli (1986), Lasnik (1988) and Postal (2004) and presents nine example sentences that show how the external θ-role must be the same in both actives and passives because *by* cannot assign its own θ-role. I present three of them here (Collins 2005: 82-83, his (5a-c)):

(35) a. The book was written by John.
b. It was believed by everybody that Mary was a thief.
c. Danger was sensed by John.

The point here is that *John* is the external argument in both (a) and (c), but its θ-role is AGENT in the former and PERCEIVER in the latter. Hence the θ-role must be assigned compositionally based on the whole VP (cf. Marantz 1984). Based on this and the minimalist assumption that θ-roles must be assigned configurationally to specific positions, Collins suggests that the *by*-phrase in a passive sentence is merged into spec,*v*P in the same way that the external argument of an active sentence is. Even though there is no D-structure here, spec,*v*P is effectively the underlying position of the external argument in both actives and passives. But this derivation leads to the following ungrammatical surface order (Collins 2005: 85, his (9a)):[49]

[49] The tree structure is mine based on Collins's explanation.

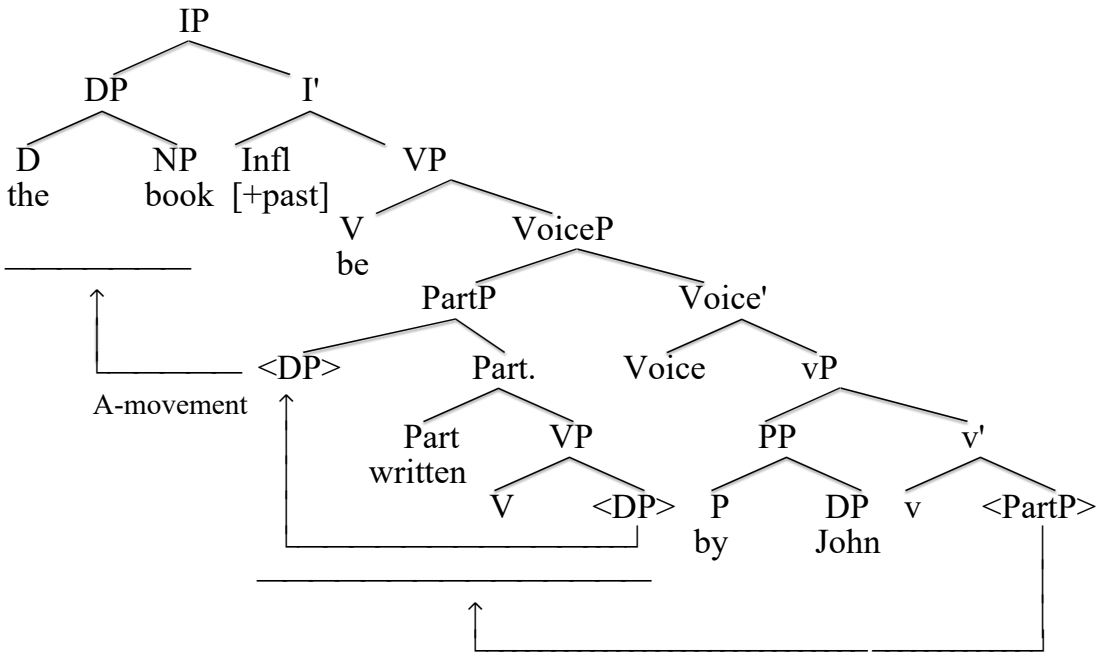
(36) *The book was by John written <the book>.



The ungrammaticality of (36) is caused by the wrong prediction of word order in English: The *by*-phrase precedes the whole VP (under v-bar, not included here) instead of following it. To generate the correct word order, therefore, Collins proposes that the VP must raise past the external argument in spec,*v*P. Since Collins assumes that VoiceP is separate from and higher than *v*P, its specifier is free, making it the perfect landing site for the internal argument. There is one caveat, however: *v*P is a barrier or a phase.[50] This means that this movement is illicit. In order to get around this problem Collins suggests that in a passive, it is VoiceP that is a strong phase and not *v*P, thereby allowing the verb to be move past the *by*-phrase. The result is his so-called smuggling approach to the passive as shown in the following syntactic tree (Collins 2005: 90, his (22)):

[50] *Barrier* was the term used by Chomsky (1986). It is a simplification, but the result is the same as in phase theory: Once *v*P has been generated, only its edge, i.e., its specifier, is accessible for further operations.

(37) The book was written by John <written>.



This means that *-en*, which is the head of PartP,[51] must be smuggled past the external argument—the PP *by John* in spec,vP—and this can only be done if the whole PartP undergoes phrasal movement to spec,VoiceP.[52] This smuggling approach is needed because the *v*P of a transitive verb is a phase that ordinarily should be closed after being generated, disallowing further operations.

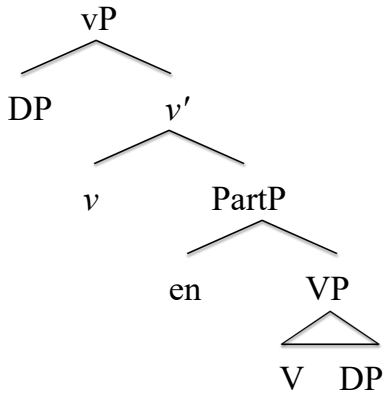
It is precisely the existence of a Voice projection above *v*P that creates the escape hatch for the internal argument to be smuggled past the *by*-phrase and out of the *v*P phase. With the internal argument now higher up in the tree, further DP movement of *the book* from comp,V to spec,PartP and then to spec,IP can proceed as usual without needing further stipulation. The result is then that the grammatical sentence in (37), *The book was written by John,* has been generated with its correct English word order and Collins has provided us with an analysis of the English passive where the external argument is base-generated in the same position as the external argument of active sentences.

[51] PartP is a Participle Phrase, meaning that the participle is the head of its own phrase.
[52] For this to happen, Collins (2005: 90) assumes that 'V does not raise to v in the passive. Rather, V raises to Part, and then PartP raises to Spec,VoiceP.'

2.8.1 The passive morpheme

For Collins, the morphological similarity between the passive participle and the past participle leads him to assume that they are in fact the same and he claims that 'there is no difference at all between the passive participle suffix and the past participle suffix' (Collins 2005: 85). Since it must be evident that *a book* is case-licensed in *John has written a book*, the participle cannot be assumed to change the transitivity of an active verb. Hence, it cannot change the transitivity of a passive verb either. As a result, Collins claims that *-en* does not absorb neither case nor θ-roles. Consequently, the passive participle is no longer an argument in Collins's theory and Jaeggli's new analysis is discarded. Collins suggests that *-en* is the head of a projection called PartP (Participle Phrase). PartP is proposed to lie in the VP shell (between the higher *v*P and the lower VP). The main verb, the V of VP, then raises onto the particle (*-en* of Part) and merges with it, giving the following structure (Collins 2005: 85, his (8)):[53]

(38)



Collins explains why 'the participial suffix *-en* cannot include the feature [+ past]' (2005: 91) and proposes that it must have uninterpretable features that must be checked or licensed by the auxiliary *have* (in the case of actives) or by moving to spec,VoiceP in passives (2005: 90).

2.8.2 The *by*-phrase

Since actives and passives are thought to have the same underlying form, Collins criticises the GB analysis for generating the external argument in two different

[53] Collins's phrase marker is linear so the tree structure is mine. One would assume that the lower V should be raised and adjoined to 'en' under PartP to form 'V + en', but Collins does not illustrate this.

positions for the active and the passive. The theory would be better, he claims, if the external argument is always generated in spec,*v*P, regardless of whether the EA is a DP or a PP.

But Collins admits that the assumption that a PP is in the specifier of *v*P is problematic. Even though the UTAH (Uniformity Theta Assignment Hypothesis) is often assumed to be irrelevant in minimalist theorising[54] (since it is a GB notion that deals with θ-role assignment at D-structure), it is traditionally DPs and not PPs that are generated in spec,*v*P. To avoid proposing that a PP generates as the external argument in spec,*v*P, Collins's solution is to propose that *by* is the head of VoiceP and its DP complement is then in spec,*v*P. As a result, 'the DP is interpreted as the external argument [and] bears the same thematic relationship to v in both the passive and the active' (Collins 2005: 93). This proposal means that case and θ-roles are dissociated in the passive so that the passive verb provides the external argument in spec,*v*P with a θ-role, while *by* provides it with accusative case (Collins 2005: 96).

But if *by* is the head of Voice, it does not take a DP complement but rather a *v*P complement. This means that in a passive, VoiceP merges with the whole *v*P in (38), and since the specifier of *v*P is the external argument, it is c-commanded by the Voice head, which is the preposition *by*. Like any other preposition, *by* checks accusative case on the DP so that the external argument *He* in an active sentence becomes *him* after merging with *by*, the head of VoiceP, resulting in a PP. Consequently, the preposition *by* occupies the head of VoiceP in long passives.

Collins assumes that short passives also involve the raising or smuggling of PartP to spec,VoiceP because the external argument is still underlyingly present in spec,*v*P, effectively barring the object from A-movement to subject position. The difference, however, is that in short passives the head of Voice is null and it is therefore not spelled out. Collins assumes that the implicit agent—IMP in Baker et al. (1989)—is in fact PRO and therefore the null head of Voice checks the case of PRO in the short passive (2005: 104).

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[54] Harley (2011: 447) even suggests that 'it is possible and desirable to do away with the GB theta-theory' in general. But see Baker (1997) for a minimalist version of the UTAH and for example Lohndal (2014) for a discussion.

2.8.3 Expletive passives

Collins (2005) does not discuss any kind of expletive passive. For impersonal passives, this is expected since his smuggling approach is devised for English. Yet, owing to the existence of impersonal passives in other Germanic languages such as German, Dutch and Norwegian, one might be justified in expecting an explanation for why impersonal passives are impossible in English. And if the aim is to give an account of passives in English, then at least a section on transitive expletive passives could have been expected.

2.9 Bruening (2013): The *by*-phrase is not particular to the passive

Bruening (2013) primarily deals with the *by*-phrase and his main objective is to challenge the claim that *by*-phrases are special in the passive. A central argument behind this claim is that *by*-phrases 'can receive θ-roles in passives that they cannot elsewhere'. Basically, unike those of nominals, passive *by*-phrases 'seem to be able to bear any external θ-role, including [RECIPIENT and EXPERIENCER]', as seen below (Bruening 2013: 1, his (1a) and (2a), and (3a) and (4a), respectively).

(39) a. The present was received by my mother-in-law.
b. the receipt of the present (*by my mother-in-law)

(40) a. Harry was feared by John.
b. *the fear of Harry by John.

Despite the impression from these data that the passive must have some 'special syntactic mechanism [that can] transmit the external role of the verb to the *by* phrase', Bruening suggests that 'what bans by phrases from certain nominals' also bans them from 'certain VP-types' such as unaccusatives, and to a certain extent middles.[55] If this is true, then *by*-phrases 'have no properties particular to the passive'. Instead, they pattern with 'two other types of adjuncts—namely, instrumentals and external-argument-oriented comitatives', which are banned from 'the same environments as *by* phrases, and for the same reason' (Bruening 2013: 2-3).

[55] Middles are given a different account since they do not pattern with instrumentals and comitatives despite disallowing *by*-phrases.

In support of his claim, Bruening offers extensive empirical data which shows that neither unaccusatives nor certain nominals (the so-called *sight* nominals) can be used with instrumentals or comitatives.[56] Below are two of Bruening's example triplets in the sentential domain. The sentences in (41) are with instrumental PPs and the ones in (42) with comitative PPs (my emphasis). The (a) examples are in the active, the (b) examples are unaccusatives, and the (c) examples are in the passive:

(41) a. The enemy sank the ship with a torpedo.
b. *The ship sank with a torpedo.
c. The ship was sunk with a torpedo.

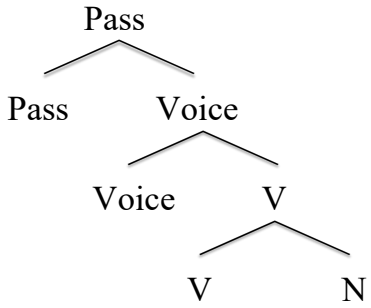
(42) a. The saboteur sank the ship with a henchman.
b. *The ship sank with a henchman.
c. The ship should be sunk with a henchman.

The active versions have overt external arguments (*the enemy* and *the saboteur*) whereas it has long been clear that 'passives involve an implicit argument and unaccusatives do not' (Bhatt and Pancheva 2017:1937).[57] Bruening argues that this is the reason why instrumentals and comitatives are barred; like *by*-phrases, they cannot be included in constructions that do not have external arguments. Hence there is nothing that suggests that the *by*-phrase is particular to the passive. Instead *by*-phrases pattern with instrumentals and comitatives because they all require the presence of an external argument.

Bruening also aims to develop a unified theory of the passive. He assumes that there is no lexical rule involved and that the passive can be defined in syntactic terms, which means that he dispenses with both case and the θ-criterion (Bruening 2013: section 4). All that is necessary is feature selection and the only operation that is relevant for the passive is the suppression of the external argument. Bruening follows Kratzer (1996) in assuming a VoiceP but hypothesises a functional projection—which he calls PassP—higher up to select VoiceP. An illustration is given below (Bruening (2013: 22, based on his (84))):

[56] Like Bruening, I use the shorthand term *comitative* for 'external-argument oriented comitatives'.
[57] However, Bhatt and Pancheva (2017: 1937) also argue that the extent to which 'implicit arguments take part in syntactic processes [and thus] are syntactically real' is still up for debate.

(43)



Although the bar levels play no role for Bruening, the structure in (43) with Pass and Voice is effectively a variant of the VoiceP and *v*P notation used by Collins (2005). A prediction of his analysis is that the auxiliary *be* is optional in the passive so that the passive participle is the only verb form that is needed. This is seen in (44) below which seems to be evidence that 'reduced relatives as identical to verbal passives' (2013: 24, his (88)):

(44) a. Anyone [bitten by a dog] will require a tetanus shot.
b. The person [murdered on Tuesday] was found on Thursday.

2.9.1 The passive morpheme

Bruening asserts that 'passives clearly imply an external argument, even when it is not expressed' (2013: 17), but in his syntactic view of the passive 'θ-roles are not part of the syntax at all' (2013:21) and case is irrelevant (2013:35). This leads to a rejection of the hypothesis of the passive morpheme (*-en*) as an argument that absorbs case and the external θ-role.

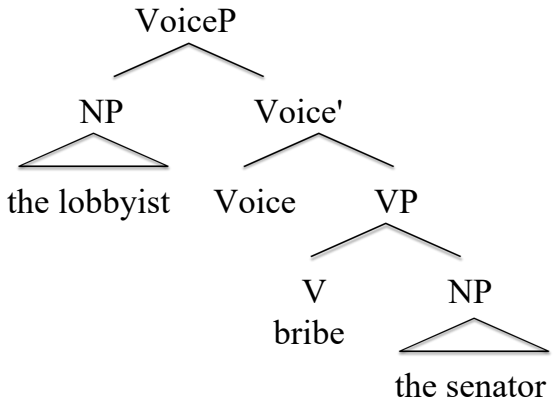
Neither the locus of the passive morpheme nor its function is identified, so rather than talking about a morpheme, Bruening refers to the passive participle in general and assumes that it is given as the spellout of a combination of Pass, Voice and V. Further, it 'appears that V moves at least to Voice in actives but not in passives [and t]he verb's morphological form, then, is determined by Agree (Chomsky 2000)' (Bruening 2013: 23).

2.9.2 The *by*-phrase

Bruening proposes that *by*-phrases should be treated uniformly irrespective of the construction in which they occur, but a *by*-phrase is only allowed in structures that 'include Voice and have the syntax and semantics of an external argument (even when it is not overtly realised)' (Bruening 2013: 19). This rules out unaccusatives and middles, but also actives because no *by*-phrase can appear in clauses where the external argument position is filled: 'Voice's own argument cannot be projected in Spec,Voice when the *by* phrase is present' (Bruening 2013: 28).

The *by*-phrase is therefore a PP designed to fill the external role rather than add it, and when it is included, it serves as 'an alternative realization of the external argument' (2013:5). This means that Bruening follows Chomsky (1981) and Åfarli (1992) in assuming that *by*-phrases 'are always optional' (2013: 19). In sum, when there is no external argument in the structure, there is no Voice projection, and without a VoiceP, no *by*-phrase can be generated. (45) below shows that the external argument is projected in spec,VoiceP in the passive (Bruening 2013: 14, his (64)):[58]

(45)



As seen in the general structure in (43) in section 2.9 above, it is the higher projection PassP that selects Voice as its complement, but Bruening's proposal (2013: 22) is that 'passive is a head (Pass) that selects a projection of Voice that has not yet projected its external argument'. This means that spec,VoiceP is empty when selected by Pass. Since Voice introduces external arguments even when they are not overtly expressed, it means that in the case of short passives, Pass will have to fill the external argument

[58] Bruening's VoiceP is equivalent to *v*P in this thesis.

of Voice. Consequently, without a *by*-phrase, there must still be a VoiceP that opens up for the external argument to fill that position. Structures without external arguments, like unaccusatives, have no Voice projection at all.

Bruening (2013: 15) sums up the empirical evidence for the role of the *by*-phrase thusly: 'first, *by* phrases can bear all the external arguments in nominals that they can in passives. Second, *by* phrases, instrumentals, and comitatives require Voice, meaning that they require the syntactic and/or semantic presence of an external argument'.

2.9.3 Expletive passives

Bruening defines the passive as 'a morphosyntactic operation that prevents the realization of the external argument as an argument', and thus asserts that 'object promotion is irrelevant [...] as shown by impersonal passives' (2013: 35).[59] Since case plays no role in passivisation, 'dative case can be continued to be assigned in the passive', as in Icelandic (2013: 36). As for the postverbal object in a passive, Bruening states that '[i]f the logical object acts in some ways like it is still the object and has not been promoted to subject, that fact is completely irrelevant' (2013: 36).

All kinds of expletive passives can thus easily be accounted for in Bruening's definition of the passive since the passive head selects Voice, and the latter only projects in constructions with external arguments. As a result, verbs that potentially can passivise are precisely those that have an external argument and thus a Voice projection, allowing for passivisation of unergatives (Bruening 2013: 17, fn. 7).[60] In fact, Bruening suggests that even languages that allow impersonal passives of unaccusatives can be accounted for by assuming that Pass takes V instead of Voice (2013: 37).

2.10 Conclusion

The 'orthodox analysis' of the passive posits a 'felt agentivity' as an empty category while the 'new analysis' suggests that the passive morpheme actually is the implicit argument, or, according to Åfarli (1992), an abstract element he calls PASS, which

[59] Bruening uses the term *impersonal passive* broadly to include all expletive passives.
[60] The assumption here is actually that unergatives may be 'pseudopassivized'.

corresponds to *-en*. Whether it is PASS or *-en*, all proponents of the 'new analysis' agree that the passive morpheme is an argument which needs both a θ-role and case. The result is then that the passive morpheme 'absorbs' the accusative case of the verb and the external θ-role of the verb and its argument. The two minimalist articles by Collins (2005) and Bruening (2013) both reject the hypothesis of the passive morpheme as an argument, and consequently, *-en* cannot absorb case or a θ-role. The introduction of a separate functional projection for the passive head (typically Voice or Pass) above little *v* in minimalism also changes the hierarchical structure, allowing new theories to develop.

The orthodox analysis suggests that the *by*-phrase is an adjunct whereas the new analysis suggests that it is an argument in the form of a doubling of the passive argument. Jaeggli compares this argument doubling with clitic-doubling in River Plate Spanish, whereas both Roberts (1987) and Baker et al. (1989) propose that the passive morpheme and the implicit argument are linked in a chain. But based on the θ-criterion, Åfarli (1992) finds it problematic that two arguments should have the same θ-roles and he dismisses both alternatives and sides with Chomsky and the adjunct analysis for the *by*-phrase.

The two minimalist analyses are equally divergent from each other when it comes to the nature of the *by*-phrase. In order to account for the UTAH and the standard assumption that actives and passives have the same underlying order, Collins (2005) proposes that the *by*-phrase must be merged in the same position as the external argument in actives. But since this predicts the wrong word order, with the *by*-phrase preceding the verb and its argument, he suggests 'a smuggling approach' that raises the whole VP above the subject position in spec,*v*P. Bruening (2013), on the other hand, not only claims that '*by* phrases are always optional' (2013: 19), but he also proposes a theory which argues that they 'are not special in the passive' at all (2013: 34). All they require is the projection of an external argument, just like instrumental PPs and comitative PPs.

As for expletive passives, they are fundamental for the new analysis presented in Jaeggli (1986) because they provide important empirical data that leads to a revision of the passive analysis. Roberts (1987) also uses expletive passives to suggest that subject dethematisation is the fundamental property of the passive, and this is followed up by

Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989), while Åfarli (1992) accounts for expletive passives in Norwegian by offering that the passive morpheme (PASS) has parametric properties: In English it must be case-marked but in Norwegian it may be case-marked. Collins (2005) focuses on English, but does not offer any explanation of transitive expletive passives, while Bruening (2013) offers a crosslinguistic typology of passives and supports Roberts's (1987) dethematisation rule by proposing that the only feature that identifies passives is the prevention of the external argument from being realised morphologically (Bruening 2013: 35).

It should be clear, though, that the existence of expletive passives and particularly impersonal passives in certain languages leads to a reformulation of Chomsky's (1981) two core properties of the passive. First, since expletive passives have expletive subjects, it is not object promotion that is the distinctive characteristic of passive formation, but rather subject dethematisation, as clarified in Roberts (1987). Second, since impersonal passives are possible, there seem to be cross-linguistic mechanisms that allow intransitives to be passivised in some languages, notably Norwegian, and not in others, notably English. It is also likely that some minimal difference in the functional heads can explain the word order in expletive passives in English, which has some sort of object shift, as opposed to Norwegian, where the postverbal object remains in situ.

In an overview article reviewing the status of passives, Alexiadou (2017: 7) offers a conclusion and a challenge for our understanding of the passive:[61]

> Thus we can safely conclude that passives, but not anticausatives, contain an implicit external argument. The question that arises is of course how the implicit external argument is represented in (short) passives. While Collins (2005) argues that this is syntactically projected, Bruening (2012) proposes that this is actually not the case.

When it comes to the three focus areas in this chapter, further research can clarify issues dealing with all three: The locus and function of the passive morpheme is still up for debate, as is the role of the *by*-phrase in passives. And expletive passives that may have preverbal or postverbal objects, or even no object at all, can benefit from a more unified explanation. In my quest for a better understanding of the passive phenomenon, then, a thorough discussion of all points will be offered in the analyses

[61] Bruening (2012) is the same article as Bruening (2013) used in this thesis.

that follow. The passive morpheme and the *by*-phrase will be dealt with in chapter 3, while chapter 5 is reserved for a more detailed comparative analysis of passives with a particular focus on expletive passives.

3 An analysis of the passive morpheme and the *by*-phrase

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents my analysis of the passive morpheme and the *by*-phrase and I will offer answers to research questions 3 and 4 (see section 1.2). There are at least two central questions concerning the passive morpheme that are worth investigating. The first is where it is located in the syntactic hierarchy, and the second how it affects syntactic structure. In other words, I will investigate both the locus and the function of the passive morpheme. The central question for the *by*-phrase is what role it plays in the formation of passives and whether it is special to the passive or not, i.e., whether it is an argument or a free adjunct.

In order to offer a coherent analysis, it is important that both the framework is explained and my assumptions are clear. My approach is arguably minimalist since many of its basic tenets build on Chomsky (1995), but it is not mainstream in the sense that many assumptions may be considered controversial in contemporary syntax. I will therefore start this chapter by explaining the theoretical underpinning for my analysis, focusing on little *v*, case theory, movement, and the EPP.

3.1.1 Little *v*'s features and flavours

Little *v* is arguably the most important projection for the verbal domain and passives. What Chomsky (1995) called *v*P, Kratzer (1996) called VoiceP[62], but as minimalism has developed, both projections have later been assumed to be separate. Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) suggests that they can be bundled together as one, at least in some languages, such as English, whereas Legate (2014) refers to them as separate projections, with VoiceP as the higher one, based on Acehnese. Fabregas and Putnam (2020: 116) claim that 'positing a single VoiceP is all we need to account for the intricate facts of passives and middles in Mainland Scandinavian with their different morphophonological manifestations'. In my analysis of passives in English and Norwegian, I will argue that this also holds in English, and VoiceP is therefore superfluous in my analysis. From a minimalist perspective, then, I propose to employ Bobjaljik and Thráinsson's (1998) title and perspective on IP to the Voice-*v* debate:

[62] Chomsky's *v*P was inspired by Larsson's VP shell, whereas Kratzer's VoiceP was motivated by data from Kiswahili and assumed to project in passive clauses.

'Two heads aren't always better than one'. In the following, I intend to prove that the *v*P alone is sufficient for explaining actives and passives in English and Norwegian.

My approach to little *v* is identical to Chomsky (1995): It is a causative element that only occurs in causative structures. This means that I assume that there is no little *v* in unaccusatives. Although this was a central idea in early minimalism, later approaches in the literature (see particularly Legate (2003), but also Folli and Harley (2005)) argue against this claim. The current mainstream view is to assume that there are many flavours of *v*, and that one of these flavours of little *v* therefore may also be present in unaccusatives. While I acknowledge the arguments, here I will only focus on the causative feature of the passive *v* and I will use this in my argument to explain how passives are formed in both English and Norwegian, and also how unaccusatives cannot be passivised precisely because of their lack of a causative *v*. In this respect, I choose to focus on the causative flavour of little *v* only, and I will argue that passivity entails causativity whereas unaccusativity does not.

3.1.2 An Agree-based approach to case

Building on Chomsky (1995) where little *v* is the accusative case assigner in actives,[63] I assume an Agree-based approach to case (Chomsky 2000, 2001). However, agreement as such is neither relevant nor important for my purposes, so I look away from the Activity Condition of Chomsky (2001), which means that I separate between case and agreement and only focus on case.[64] Little *v* is present in both actives and passives, and a central point of my anlysis is the hypothesis that the passive feature of little *v* does not affect its accusative case-assigning properties in Norwegian, whereas in English it does. Whether the structure is active or passive, the case assignment itself takes place through the Probe-Goal mechanisms of Chomsky (2000, 2001). This means that T assigns nominative case to its first c-commanded DP, whereas it is little *v* that is responsible for accusative case assignment on the complement of V. V itself does not assign case, and so I will claim that every V per definition is unaccusative and dependent on little *v* for accusative case-assigning properties.

[63] Although case is usually assumed to be checked through Agree, I follow Baker (2013, 2015) and use the (GB) term case-assignment.
[64] I do not discuss whether case should be separated from agreement, but this is also a possibility which is discussed in Baker (2013) and argued for in Klockmann (2017).

Since both the nominative and the accusative are structural cases, I argue that the accusative case assigned to a DP is in reality assigned to its structural position, requiring a DP to fill that position. If the DP moves from this position, as in the passive, it is its trace that takes on the relevant structural case and the DP is free to be given a new case in its new position. This means that case conflict is not an issue here, and since all the evidence points in favour of DP movement from complement position to specifier position in the basic passive, a DP that has been case-licensed must be free to move. But since it is the structural position that has been assigned case, the DP moves without its case.

3.1.3 EPP and movement

The Extended Projection Principle (EPP) (Chomsky 1982: 10) is in layman's terms the subject requirement, stating that all sentences must have a subject. In some languages this subject may be covert, but it is still assumed to be present in the structure as an element called *pro*. In English and Norwegian, the subject must always be overt, but it can of course be an expletive without semantic content. Heycock (2013: 327, my square brackets) quotes Rothstein (2001) who claims that 'the crucial evidence for the [subject requirement] comes from sentences where the subject argument is pleonastic'. As such the EPP plays a crucial role in this thesis, where DP movement and expletive insertion are at the centre of the research.

In a predicational approach to the EPP (cf. Rothstein (1983) and Chomsky (1986a: 116)), Åfarli and Eide (2003: 207) claim that in order for a DP to be syntactically approved, it must have either a θ-role or case. If predication drives the EPP, then it can be argued that all propositions also have an EPP requirement. This assumption has been extended to what is usually referred to as a generalised EPP, an EPP requirement which applies to all specifiers. It is this approach that I use in the current thesis, which means that I assume that there is an [EPP] feature on every specifier from spec,*v*P and upwards. A DP on the move must abide by Shortest Move and will thus stop by every specifier on its way up to spec,TP or alternatively spec,CP.

Chomsky (1995: 282) notes that 'the EPP is divorced from Case' and this finds support in the minimalist assumption, pointed out by Lasnik (2008: 33), that 'under the Agree thoery of Chomsky (2001)' it is the EPP and not the case filter that drives phrasal movement, such as in passives and unaccusatives. My analysis in this chapter argues

that this is true for Norwegian passives where a postverbal DP can be assigned case. But it is not true for English because the passive feature blocks accusative case-assignment to a postverbal DP. DP raising in English passives is therefore driven by a combination of the EPP and the case filter. This proposal will be presented here but it will be clearer in chapter 5 where I discuss expletive passives.

3.1.4 The structure of my analysis

My analysis is structured as follows: I start by motivating a modified Larsonian VP-shell structure as the *v*P-VP structure proposed in Chomsky (1995) for active structures in 3.2, focusing on the causative feature of *v*. I will consolidate Chomsky's assumption that the VP shell may account not only for ditransitives, but also for monotransitives and unergatives.[65] The causative feature means that the only structures that do not contain *v*P are unaccusatives. 3.3 claims that *v* is also the locus for the passive feature, making *v* a causative head in active structures and a passive causative head in passive structures. I follow this up by example derivations of passives with ditransitives and monotransitives. Although *v* is a functional projection with an abstract passive feature, it may have a morphological realisation as the passive participle (*-en* in English and *-t* in Norwegian). Such a realisation is even clearer in the morphological passive, where the Norwegian passive affix *-s* provides further evidence for the passive morpheme's location since *-s* seems to be base-generated in *v* and attaches to T after *v*-to-T raising.[66] Based on the claim in 3.2.5 that unaccusative structures have no little *v* in them, the last section in 3.3 explains why unaccusatives cannot passivise: With no little *v*, the passive morpheme has no head to attach to. Hence the passive morpheme cannot appear in the syntax, and therefore unaccusatives can only be actives. In 3.4 I discuss the *by*-phrase and argue that it is independent from the passive structure in a sense to be made more specific, basically by supporting the main arguments from Bruening (2013). 3.5 concludes the chapter.

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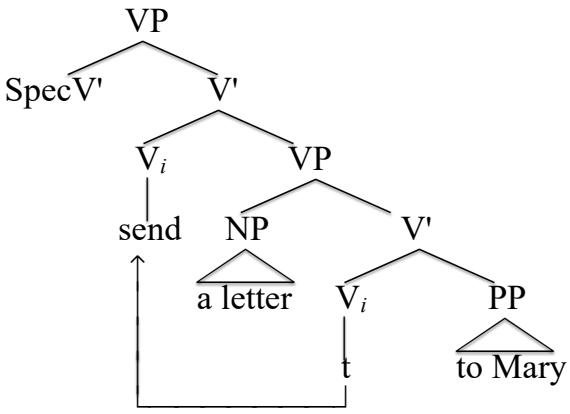
[65] The explanation of unergatives will be crucial for my analysis of impersonal passives in chapter 5.
[66] The issue of *v*-to-T raising of main verbs in Norwegian is challenging because Norwegian is a V2 language. I follow Åfarli and Eide (2003) in assuming that *v* does indeed raise to T in Norwegian and Westergaard, Lohndal and Alexiadou (2019) in assuming that neither the subject nor the verb raise to the CP layer in subject-initial clauses.

3.2 The VP-shell structure

Through various tests on the relationship between two objects in double-object constructions (DOCs), Barrs and Lasnik (1986) demonstrate that a ternary structure cannot account for the internal relationship between the two objects because one object must c-command the other. Following this, Larson (1988: 342) 'adopt[s] a version of Chomsky's (1955/75) proposal' and suggests a VP shell structure with two verb projections that provides a solution for how to account for ditransitives in a binary syntactic structure. In the case of a prepositional-dative construction (PDC) the ditransitive verb starts out in the lower V and takes its GOAL PP complement. Since the THEME, which is the direct object, is higher in the structure, Larson postulates that the verb raises to the higher V, and the end result is then a sentence like *John sent a letter t to Mary*, where *t* indicates the trace of the verb before raising. Larson presents his VP shell structure like this (Larson 1988: 343, his (14)):[67]

(1)



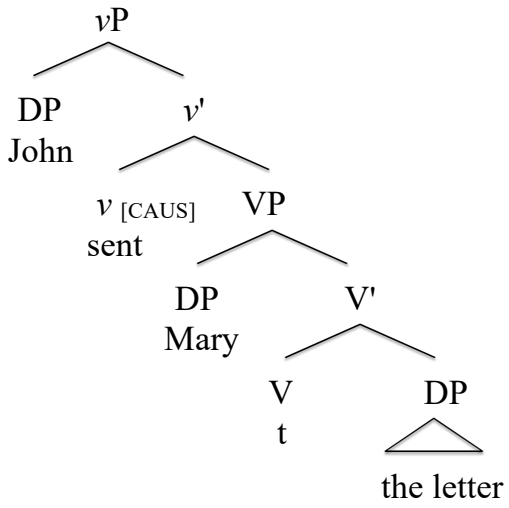
(1) is strictly speaking not a double-object construction; it is a prepositional-dative construction with the PP *to Mary* as an oblique object. But the important idea here is that if the verb can start in the lower V and then raise to the higher V, it can license two arguments in a binary structure, and thus abide by the restrictions laid out by Barss and Lasnik (1986).

[67] Larson assumes that the double-object construction, where the RECIPIENT is higher than and c-commands the THEME, is derived from the prepositional dative construction (PDC) in a passive-like movement. Whether this is accurate or not is not relevant in this chapter, but I will argue for a similar analysis in chapter 5 and show that it has explanatory power for the passivisation of ditransitives.

3.2.1 Little *v* as a causative head in actives

Chomsky (1995: 315) uses Larson's VP-shell structure to suggest a *v*P-VP structure 'where *v* is a light verb to which V overtly raises'. This way, ditransitives like *give* and *send,* which occur in double-object constructions, can be encoded as *make have*,[68] where the causative element *make* is in *v* and *have* is in V, abstractly speaking. The hypothesis is that the main verb raises because '*v* is a light verb requiring a verbal affix' (Chomsky 1995: 321). After *send* and its first internal complement (the THEME argument) merge, the second internal complement (the RECIPIENT argument) is merged in spec,VP and V then raises to *v*. After this verb movement, *v* c-commands both objects and the two objects have the correct order since the higher object c-commands the lower one. For Chomsky, the double-object structure is illustrated in (2) below:[69]

(2) John sent Mary the letter.



For expository purposes, I will take the double-object structure in (2) as the starting point for passivisation of ditransitives here, and I will temporarily assume that the prepositional dative construction in (1) above is a different structure which includes the overt preposition in both actives and passives.

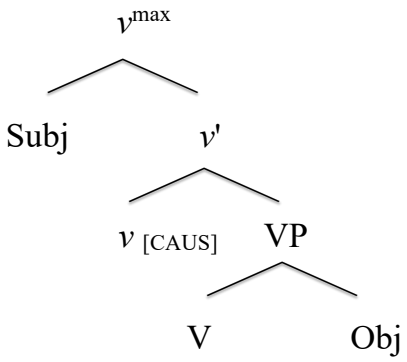
The VP-shell structure in (2) also complies well with both θ-theory and case theory. With respect to θ-roles and Baker's (1988) UTAH, the AGENT merges in spec,*v*P, which is the subject position, the THEME merges in comp,V, which is the direct object

[68] This paraphrase is Harley's (2000, 2002).
[69] This is my example based on explanations and similar trees given in Chomsky (1995).

position, and finally, if there is an indirect object in the structure, a RECIPIENT or a GOAL can merge in spec,VP.[70] Case to the subject in spec,*v*P is then assigned from T and case to the direct object is assigned from little *v*. The odd one out is the indirect object in spec,VP which often is assumed to be assigned configurationally from its position through inherent case 'associated with certain θ-positions' (Woolford 2006: 112).

This *v*P-VP structure has further benefits. Although the Larsonian VP shell was motivated by the quest to explain ditransitives with a binary structure, if the higher projection is a light verb with a causative feature, it means that *v*P should project in all causative structures, regardless of transitivity. Consequently, not only can it explain ditransitive constructions, but it may also be applied for monotransitives and even intransitives. To illustrate, Chomsky offers the following syntactic representation of a monotransitive (Chomsky 1995: 352, his notations):[71]

(3)



Since Baker (1988) and Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002) have shown that unergatives may be thought of as 'concealed accusatives' (Chomsky 1995: 352), such intransitives can be analysed in the same way as (3) simply by assuming that the object in the VP is unoccupied or null.[72] If this is the case, the causative light verb can now be assumed to be represented in all transitives and intransitives with one exception: unaccusatives. The reasoning is straightforward: Unaccusatives are intransitives without external

[70] When there is no indirect object in the structure, spec,VP does not generate.
[71] Note that there is no specifier for VP here. I assume, like Chomsky (1995), that spec,VP only generates when there is an indirect object in the structure.
[72] The hypothesis of unergative verbs with null-objects will be explained in 3.2.4.

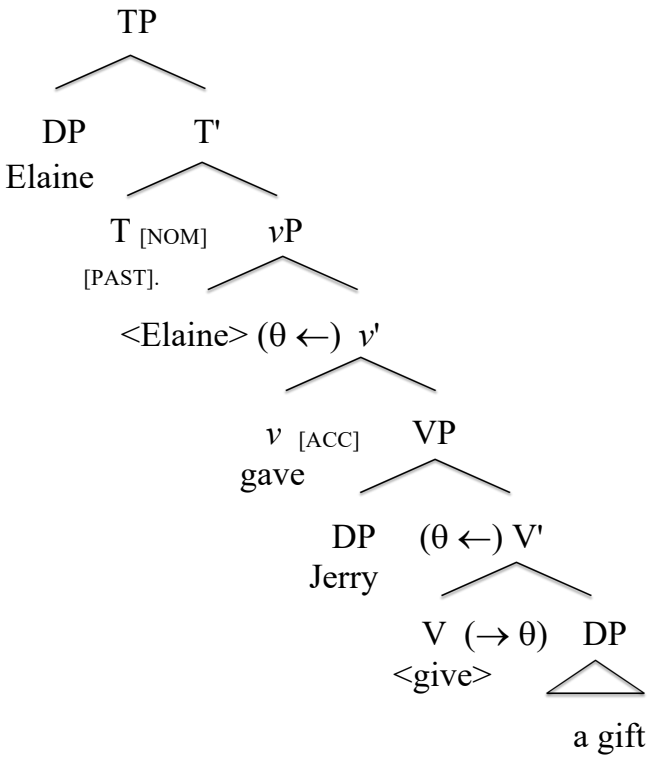
arguments and therefore cannot have an INITIATOR.[73] Their subjects are derived from internal arguments that are base-generated as THEME or PATIENT and moved higher up for case reasons.

In the remainder of this section, I will present sample derivations for ditransitives, monotransitives and unergatives and show that they can all be accounted for in a VP-shell analysis. I will end the section by showing why unaccusatives cannot have any little *v* in their syntactic structure.

3.2.2 Motivation for little *v* in active ditransitives

An active DOC like (4) below can be represented the following way:

(4) Elaine gave Jerry a gift.



The derivation starts with the main verb *give* being merged with its complement *a gift,* assigning its internal θ-role (THEME or PATIENT), but not accusative case. This V-bar then merges with *Jerry,* the second internal argument, which is generated in spec,VP, a

[73] This role is used in e.g., Ramchand (2008) as a replacement for AGENT/CAUSER.

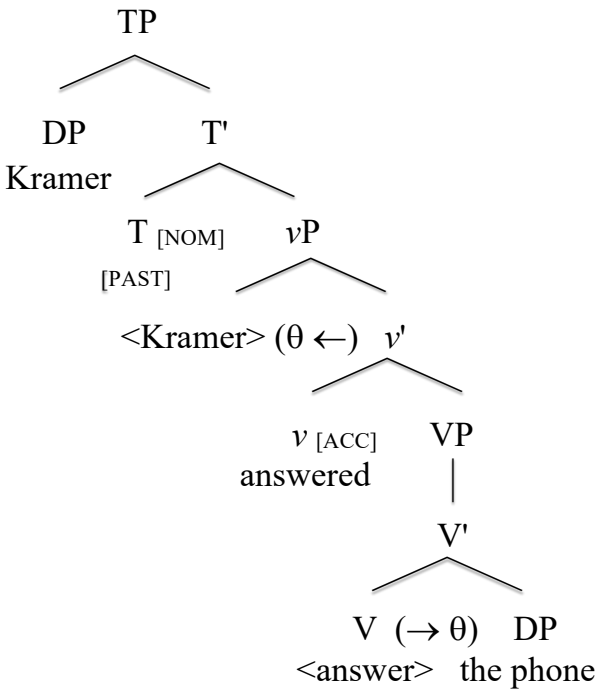
position that in many analyses, including mine, is reserved for the indirect object, typically a RECIPIENT or a GOAL. At this point I assume that it is inherently case-licensed in its position tied to the θ-role. Once the whole VP merges with the causative head in little *v*, V raises to *v* through internal merge, and *Jerry* is assigned the RECIPIENT θ-role compositionally from V+*v*[74] and *v* is also the responsible element for the accusative case on *a gift*. At this point the external argument *Elaine* is generated in spec,*v*P, a position reserved for the AGENT (or CAUSER if it is inanimate) in actives. Since the V+*v* head has not been checked for tense and English does not have *v*-to-T raising, the tense assigning element T must somehow affect little *v*. In GB theory this is generally explained through Affix Hopping but the standard minimalist analysis assumes that feature checking provides the explanation. This means that the feature [PAST] of T must be checked on the verb through probe-goal after they merge. In essence, this means that no downward movement needs to take place. Finally, because of the EPP, *Elaine* must raise from spec,*v*P to spec,TP, filling the surface subject position of the sentence.

3.2.3 Little *v* in active monotransitives

Since the argumentation for *v* is that it should be causative, it can easily be adapted in a monotransitive structure as well, where the only surface difference is that there is no indirect object in spec,VP. Chomsky (1995) assumes that a monotransitive VP has no specifier and therefore a unary structure.

[74] A RECIPIENT will usually be in the indirect object position and as such one might assume that a ditransitive V+*v* assigns abstract dative case to spec,VP. If so, abstract dative case is morphologically realised on nouns and pronouns in German, Icelandic and some Norwegian dialects, but not in English or standard Norwegian.

(5) Kramer answered the phone.



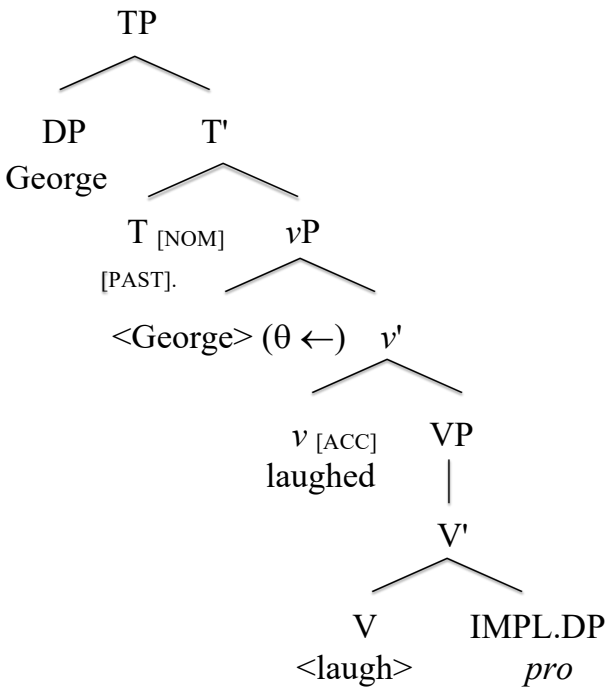
If we assume, as Chomsky (1995) does, that 'the *v*-VP configuration can be taken to express the causative or agentive role of the external argument[, i]t would be natural to extend the same reasoning to transitive verb constructions generally, assigning them a double VP-structure' (1995: 315). In such a scenario, '[t]he external role is a property of the *v*-VP configuration' (Chomsky 1995: 316). Larsons VP shell, which was meant to explain ditransitives, actually becomes the main analysis for simple transitives because the light verb in *v* represents causativity and *v* is the functional head that assigns accusative case to comp,V *the phone.*

3.2.4 Little *v* in active unergatives

According to the unaccusativity hypothesis of Perlmutter (1978), intransitive verbs come in two types: unergatives and unaccusatives. Unergatives are the traditional intransitives without internal arguments. They are assumed to have an external AGENT as their only argument. Since their subjects are base-generated in subject position, there is no complement available in the structure. Following Kratzer (1996) where the external argument is assumed to be 'severed from the head', we may analyse active unergatives as structures with *v*P and argue that *v* is the causative element here too. Although unergatives have no complements, I will follow Baker (1988), Hale and

Keyser (1993, 2002) and Chomsky (1995) in assuming that 'intransitive (unergative) verbs are hidden transitives' (Chomsky 1995: 315), which means that there must be an implicit DP in comp,V. The analysis of unergatives as hidden transitives may thus result in the following example structure, where I use little *pro* as the implicit object:

(6) George laughed.



The assumption that there is an implicit argument in unergatives is well-motivated. Baker (1988) bases this argument on *incorporation*, whereas Hale and Keyser (2002: 47) use the term *conflation* to argue that '[f]or example the verb *laugh* [...] is fundamentally transitive'. In their approach, *laugh* is in reality the nominal head of the complement which 'is inserted into the head, empty or affixal, that governs it, giving rise to a single word' (Hale and Keyser 2002: 47). Both these terms deal with the assumption that many active unergatives seem to be hidden transitives because they can take a true cognate object (e.g., *dance a dance* or *dream a dream*)[75] that can then

[75] Some of these constructions must be modified, as seen in the examples below where (i) and (iii) are ungrammatical:

(i) *He died a death.
(ii) He died a gruesome death.
(iii) *She laughed a laugh.
(iv) She laughed a big laugh.

Hale and Keyser (2002: 70-71) also distinguish between true cognate objects (*dance a dance*) and hyponymous objects (*dance a jig*) but the distinction is not relevant here as long as the object is understood.

be incorporated or conflated into the verbal head. (Hale and Keyser 2002: 48) explain it like this:

> The result of conflation is the single verbal word *laugh* that functions, in sentential syntax, as a standard intransitive verb of the type currently termed "unergative," retaining, however, the canonical transitive characteristic of not projecting a specifier.

Although some unergatives can have either a true cognate object as in the examples above, or a different kind of understood object (e.g., *sing me a song, whistle me a tune*), I maintain that spec,VP is reserved for the indirect object and only generates when there is one in the sentence. On the other hand, comp,VP must always be generated, even in unergatives, where direct objects are unrealised. It is important for my analysis that as long as an active little *v* is in the structure, it is a causative element that assigns accusative case to comp,VP. In unergatives of the type in (6), accusative case must therefore be assigned to the implicit DP, which, despite being covert, is a DP in need of case. Little *pro* meets the requirements since it is both covert and in need of case.

The analysis of little *pro* as the implicit object of unergatives will be further motivated and discussed in chapter 5, section 5.5, where it will prove to have very important consequences for an analysis of impersonal passives.

3.2.5 No little *v* in unaccusatives

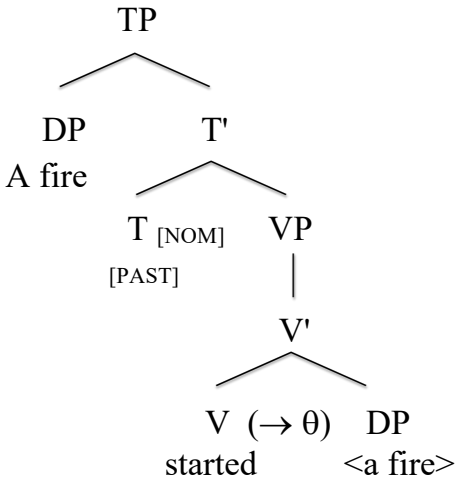
The hypothesis that little *v* is the accusative case assigner means that when there is no accusative case, little *v* cannot project either. The case-assigning property of little *v* is linked to causativity; since *v* is a causative element, it should only project in causative structures. Based on this argumentation, I follow Chomsky (1995) in proposing that *v*P must be absent from unaccusative structures.[76]

This proposal builds on the hypothesis that unaccusatives have no base-generated external argument; rather, their subjects are assumed to generate as internal arguments of the verb.[77] This means that the subject of an unaccusative is really its logical object,

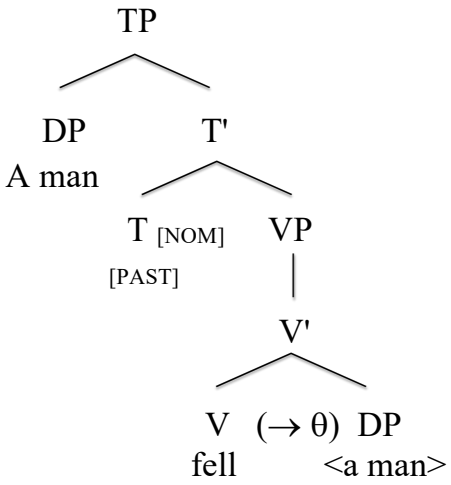
[76] I am aware of extensive literature arguing in favour of little *v* also in unaccusatives.
[77] The unaccusative hypothesis is first argued for in Perlmutter (1978) and adapted to GB theory in Burzio (1986).

merged as a complement to V. The two unaccusative structures below illustrate the derivations of an anticausative (7) and a prototypical unaccusative[78] (8):

(7) A fire started.



(8) A man fell.



The underlying structures for the sentences above are *start a fire* and *fall a man*, but since unaccusative verbs cannot assign accusative case to their complement, the internal argument must either be assigned case from some other head or move. For

[78] There are various types of unaccusative structures. In addition to the standard prototypical unaccusatives themselves, as in (i), there are also anticausatives/inchoatives (ii) and middles (iii). My main concern is the prototypical unaccusatives, but my analysis should in general extend to anticausatives and middles as well.

(i) James came.
(ii) The ice melted.
(iii) My book sells well.

such a movement to occur, unaccusatives cannot have any external argument to begin with, meaning that spec,*v*P must either be free or else little *v* is not generated at all. I assume the latter, which means that TP is the projection above VP. Since T can assign nominative case to a DP past VP, both *a fire* and *a man* are case-licensed with nominative case in situ. As a result, the internal arguments of (7) and (8) raise to spec,TP for EPP reasons and not reasons to do with case. And since V has no little *v* to raise to, T checks the tense on the verb in V, as marked in the trees.

3.3 [PASS] as a feature of little *v* in English and Norwegian

In a theory where *v* is a causative element, it should project in all causative sentences, regardless of whether they are in the active or passive voice. The empirical difference between actives and passives, however, is that the (short) passive clause includes no explicit INITIATOR; rather, the causative element is invisible in syntax and it is therefore proposed that the passive morpheme suppresses the logical subject and hence also its θ-role. A natural conclusion is then that the AGENT is an implicit argument, not visible in syntactic structure but still present because it has an effect on other constituents in the syntax, such as purpose phrases, subject-oriented adverbs and *by*-phrases. In the following, I only discuss the basic passive and the point here is to explain how the passive feature [PASS] in little *v* can account for the object-fronted passive in English and Norwegian.

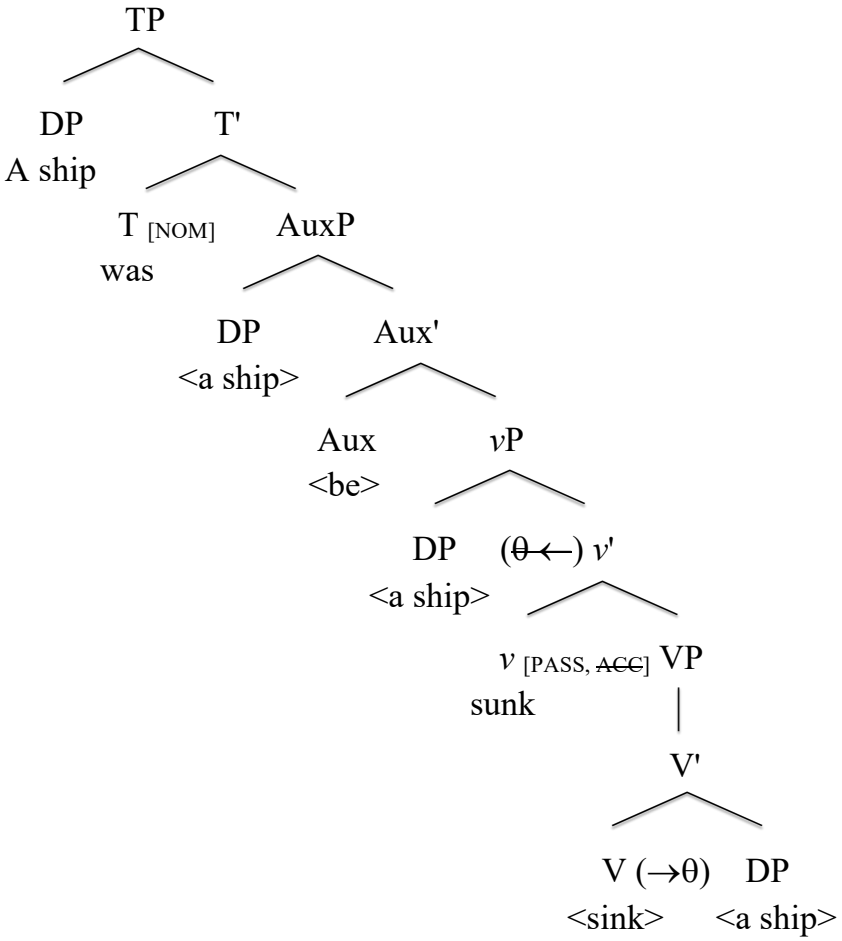
3.3.1 The role of [PASS]

I hypothesise that little *v* is the locus for the [PASS] feature of passives. This entails that there is no need for a separate and higher projection such as Voice or Pass, at least not for English and Norwegian. Little *v* takes on the role of the causative feature and also accommodates the passive feature. The causative feature [CAUS] implies a CAUSER whereas the passive feature suppresses this θ-role.[79] The suppression of this role means that there is an implicit argument that is the INITIATOR[80] of the event, although it is not visible in syntax; in (9) we do not know who or what caused the event, but we understand that the ship did not sink by itself.

[79] Since all actives (except for unaccusatives) and all passives are assumed to have the causative feature [CAUS] in little *v*, I leave this feature out of the tree illustrations.

[80] It can also be an EXPERIENCER as in *James was seen* or an INSTRUMENT as in *The ship was sunk with dynamite*,

(9) A ship was sunk.



After V merges with its DP complement, it raises to *v*, where *sink* becomes the passive *sunk* and the passive feature blocks accusative assignment to *a ship*, which subsequently must move for case reasons. It then moves to spec,*v*P through internal merge because of the EPP feature on spec,*v*P and because passive *v*P is a phase. An AuxP with *be* must now project to save the structure from crashing since passives in English are periphrastic. Also, because of Relativized Minimality and Shortest Move, the DP *a ship* again has to move to spec,AuxP. The auxiliary then moves to T where its tense is checked, making the spell-out *was*. Since this is T, it probes down for a c-commanded DP to assign nominative case to, finds *a ship*, which now is in spec,AuxP, and then the derivation finishes with this DP being raised to spec,TP for EPP reasons.

Having established that little *v* is a causative element [CAUS], I assume that the passive feature [PASS] presupposes [CAUS] and will therefore only be a possibility in causative

structures, that is, structures with *v*P in them. In passive structures, then, [PASS] attaches to little *v,* suppresses the external argument and blocks the assignment of a θ-role to the specifier of little *v*, making spec,*v*P a θ-free position.[81] As a result, the external argument can only be morphologically realised through adjunction.[82]

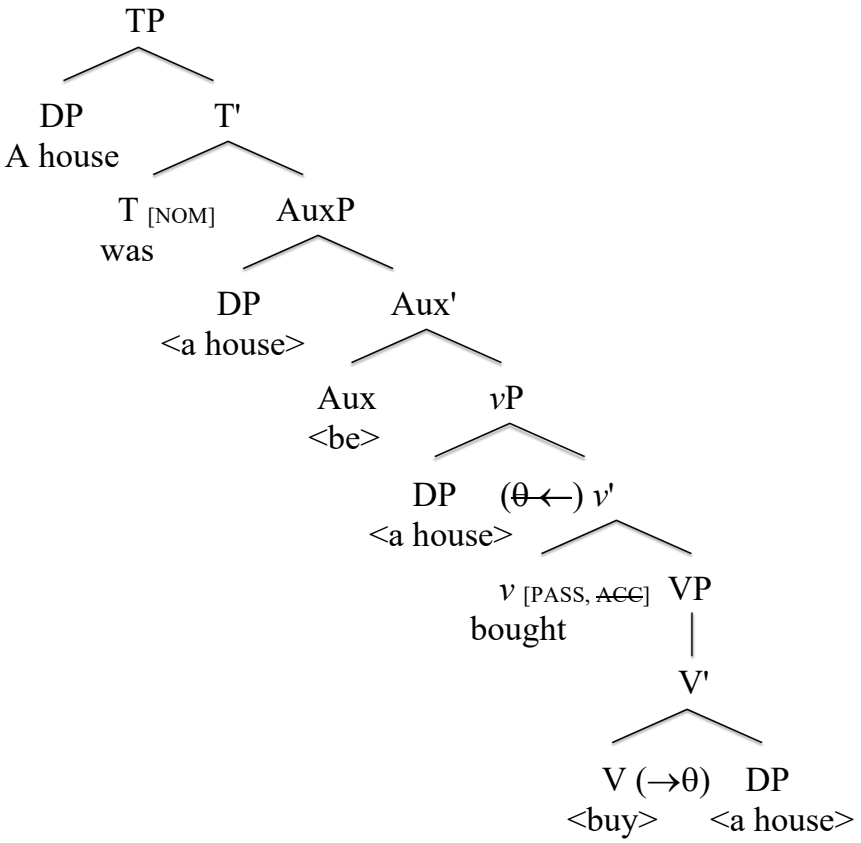
There are both similarities and dissimilarities between passive derivations in English and Norwegian. The rest of 3.3 will illustrate derivations of passives in both languages and attempt to show how a feature in a head—the [PASS] feature in little *v*—can explain how passives are generated. Since the focus is on the passive structure in general, I will illustrate the role of [PASS] in the standard passive, that is, personal passives with object promotion. Since unergatives have no spelled out object, the structures here will be monotransitive and ditransitive. I continue this section with a periphrastic passive derivation in English before I follow up with the two types of Norwegian passives, periphrastic and morphological.

3.3.2 [PASS] in standard passives in English

In a standard object-promoted passive of the active monotransitive sentence *We bought a house*, the AGENT subject is deleted and the THEME object is promoted to subject position, resulting in (10):

[81] Note that a θ-free position is the perfect landing position for an argument that has been θ-marked lower in the structure.
[82] In other words, a CAUSER may surface in a *by*-phrase, but see 3.4 for the details.

(10) A house was bought.



Since *a house* begins as a complement to the verb in both the active and the passive derivation, it is first merged with *buy* to get the VP *buy a house*, where *a house* is assigned its θ-role but no Case. This VP then merges internally with *v* through V-to-*v* raising so that the verb now takes on both a causative and a passive feature. This is somewhat contradictory: The inherent property of little *v*, [CAUS], means that the verb can assign accusative case, whereas when the [PASS] feature is added in the derivation, and valued on *v*+V, it prevents the AGENT from being generated in spec,*v*P and simultaneously, in English, removes the accusative feature of little *v*.

This is a classic instance of Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1986) which says that a verb must have an AGENT in order to assign accusative case. The passive feature also affects the verb's morphology so that it surfaces in a passive form, in this case as the passive participle *bought*. It is thus PASS that is the element that removes the case-assigning properties of *v*, essentially rendering the verb unaccusative. At this stage, then, *v* is filled by a passive verb *bought* and its complement is *a house*, and the former has lost its accusative case feature and the latter is both without and in need of case. Since case can be assigned at a distance, this does not entail that the DP needs to move

and one might perhaps assume that T can assign nominative case past little *v* and down to comp,VP, much in the same way as with unaccusatives above. My analysis does not allow this, however, since the nominative case domain of T goes down to little *v* and not longer. This argument is based on the phase theory as developed by Chomsky (2000, 2001) but with an amendment suggested by Legate (2003): Passive *v*Ps are also phases.[83] This means that once the *v*P has been generated, it is shipped off to the phonological component and prepared for spell-out. Obviously, this cannot happen before the DP is in a case-licensed position. The movement of the DP from comp,VP to spec,*v*P is therefore caused by the combination of a lack of case in comp,VP and an EPP feature on spec,*v*P.

Owing to the fact that passives are periphrastic in English, there must be *be*-insertion[84] in an AuxP which merges with *v*P. Since auxiliaries take verbs instead of arguments, *be* cannot assign nominative case to *a house* in spec,*v*P. However, since case can be assigned at a distance and an auxiliary is not a case assigner, there is no reason for the DP to move higher up before the next case assigner merges, namely T. When T merges, it can now act as a probe and check nominative case on the DP in spec,*v*P, meaning that further movement of *a house* happens for EPP reasons only. T is also capable of checking tense on the auxiliary from a distance, but since there is evidence for obligatory auxiliary raising to T, the locus of tense checking is irrelevant for auxiliaries. It is nevertheless worth pointing out that it is the abstract case feature of T that assigns nominative case to spec,*v*P and not the auxiliary itself in T.

3.3.3 [PASS] in double-object constructions in English

In the passive of a ditransitive,[85] there are in principle two objects that can be fronted, either the indirect object, which is the standard in British English, or the direct object, which is possible in 'some dialects of British English' (Haddican and Holmberg 2018: 1). I will illustrate both derivations below and show that my analysis offers an

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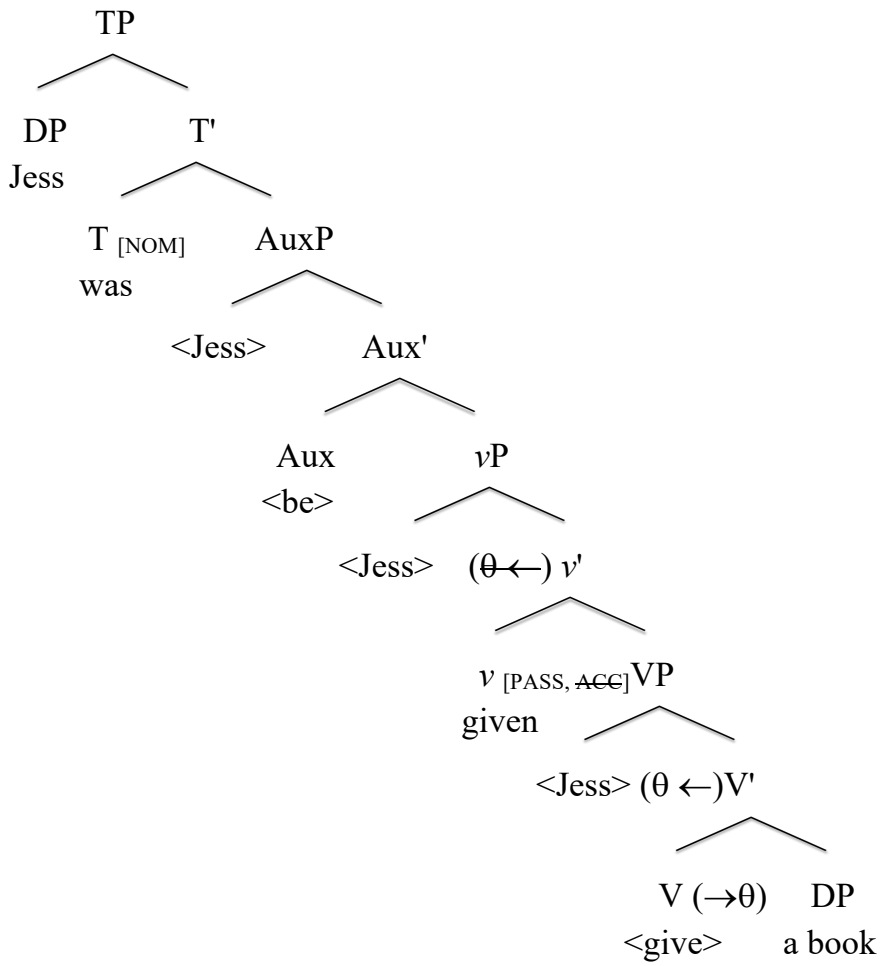
[83] Chomsky (2000, 2001) assumes that only transitive *v*Ps are phases but I follow Legate (2003) in assuming that all *v*Ps are phases.
[84] I follow Bjorkman (2011: 18) in arguing that such *be*-insertion is parallel to *do*-insertion in questions, emphatics and interrogatives in English: '*be* is not directly selected for, but is instead inserted to support inflectional material that was unable to combine with a main verb.'; the passive participle is tenseless and therefore incapable of receiving tense from T and since an auxiliary is the highest category in the verbal domain, *be* is inserted to save the structure, and subsequently raised to T.
[85] As stated earlier, I leave the PDC out of the discussion and focus only on the DOC.

explanation for both derivations, with one important exception, to which I will return.[86]

In standard English, the RECIPIENT is targeted for movement so that when the active sentence *I gave Jess a book* is passivised, it is the indirect object *Jess* that is promoted.

(11) Jess was given a book.



The first merge is *give a book*, creating the V-bar. Since this is a ditransitive structure, *Jess* is merged as the specifier of VP, which is both a θ-position for the RECIPIENT as well as an inherent case position. This means that *Jess* is assigned case from its position. When the whole VP merges with *v*, V raises through internal merge, receives the passive feature and thereby the passive participle from *v*, and the result is the *v*P:

[86] This exception deals with the case assignment on the postverbal DP *a book*.

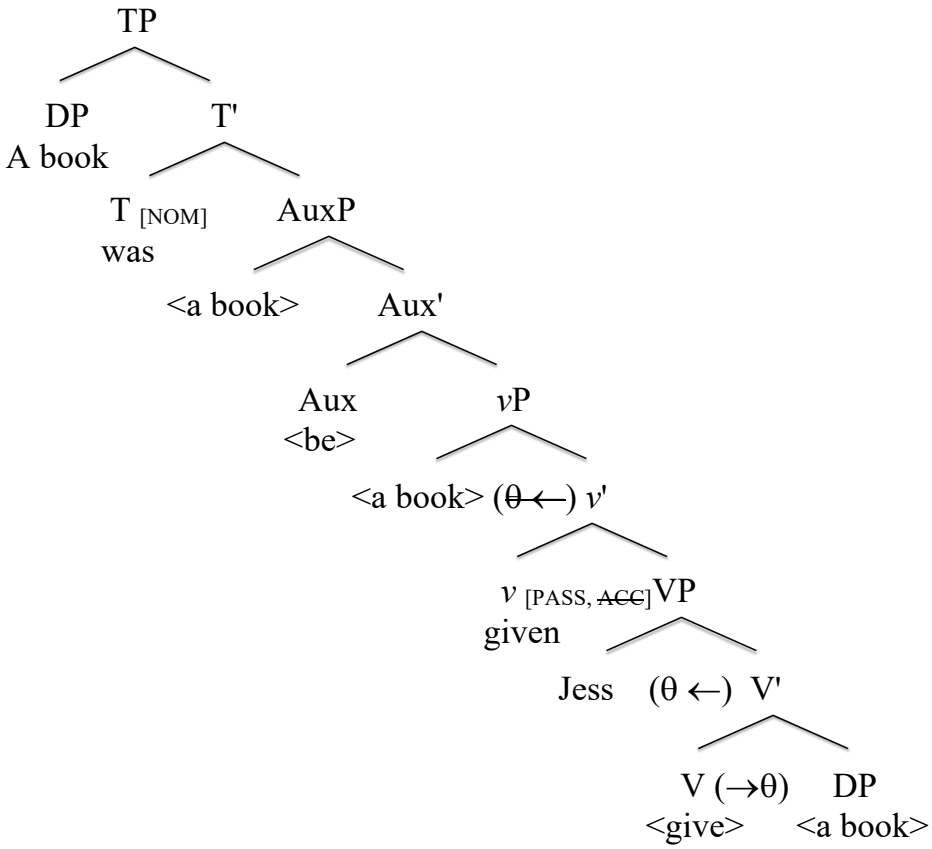
given Jess a book.[87] Since this is a passive structure, little *v* now has the passive feature and cannot assign case to the postverbal argument *a book*. Yet it seems to be licensed in this position. For now, this is a problem for my analysis, but one that I will not discuss at this point for reasons to do with the complexity of the overall analysis. Instead, I will return to this matter in chapter 5.

Although *Jess* is presumed to be case-licensed in situ, spec,*v*P is now available for movement and must be filled because of its EPP feature. On the assumption that the highest argument is targeted for movement, *Jess* will now raise to spec,*v*P through internal merge. At this point there is no finite verb in the structure and since the passive participle *given* is incapable of receiving tense from T, the syntax requires *be*-insertion as a last resort. Thus the AuxP *Jess be given a book* forms whereupon the auxiliary *be* raises to T to check tense resulting in a T-bar structure: *was Jess given a book*. T now searches downward in its domain for Agreement and finds that its first c-commanded DP is *Jess*, to which it assigns nominative case. For EPP reasons, however, *Jess* must move to subject position in spec,TP, with its nominative case satisfied in spec,*v*P and its θ-role assigned in comp,VP. The second DP, *a book*, which remains in situ, is presumably given accusative case, but at this point it is unclear how. I will return to this in chapter 5, section 5.6 and offer a possible solution.

In varieties of British English where the THEME can be fronted, the explanation is similar up to the point where spec,*v*P requires to be filled, but this time it is the direct object in postverbal position that is targeted for movement. This explanation is better in the sense that *a book* will be case-licensed in spec,*v*P via probe-goal from T. But there is another challenge here: raising *a book* past *Jess* seems to violate locality conditions and Shortest Move.

[87] This *v*P can occur in an active: *I have given Jess a book*. This means that both arguments pass the case filter in actives, which is predicted since there is no passive feature blocking accusative case-assignment.

(12) A book was given Jess.

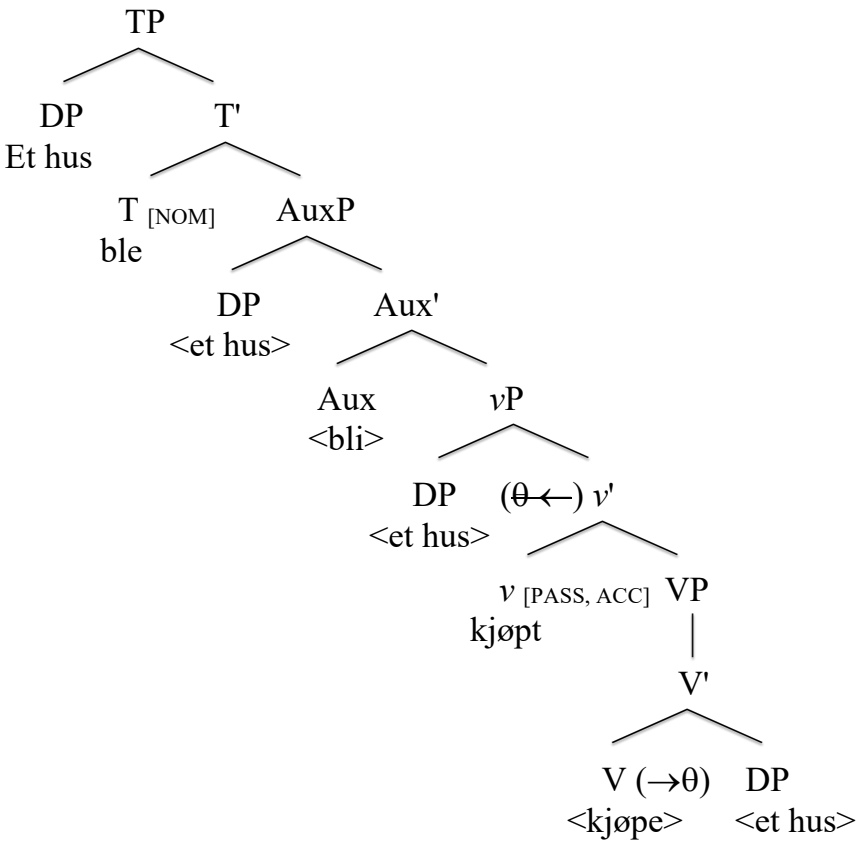


Although it may seem as if the highest DP *Jess* is the only argument that will abide by Shortest Move, Chomsky (1995: 185) suggests that 'two targets of movement are equidistant if they are in the same minimal domain'. The minimal domain here is VP, and as a consequence of the principle of equidistance, any of the two DPs can raise. In (12) *a book* can therefore raise past *Jess* and move to the θ-free position in spec,*v*P without violating Shortest Move or Relativised Minimality.

3.3.4 [PASS] in standard passives in Norwegian

Although the surface structure seems to be the same for Norwegian periphrastic passives as for English periphrastic passives, I hypothesise that the derivations are different. The following examples are direct translations of the English examples in the section above:

(13) Et hus ble kjøpt.
A house was bought.
'A house was bought.'



I assume that upon the first merge of the V *kjøpe* and the DP *huset*, the DP is selected and assigned the θ-role THEME, but not assigned case, just as in English. When the main verb in V raises to *v* to attach to the passive head, it forms the passive participle of the verb, namely *kjøpt* 'bought', but at this point there is a crucial difference between the two languages: Although the verb now is assumed to become unaccusative in English, Norwegian allows postverbal DPs in passives.[88] I therefore hypothesise that *et hus* receives case in situ. I assume that the difference between the two languages is found in the functional head *v*: Passive *v* is detransitivised in English but the transitive property of little *v* is not affected by passivisation in Norwegian. This means that passive verbs in Norwegian may assign accusative case postverbally,

[88] Strictly speaking, this is only allowed in expletive passives when the DP is indefinite. I assume this has to do with the features of *there*, and I will not go in details about the DE. This also seems to result in a breach of Burzio's Generalisation because spec,*v*P is θ-free in passives but passive *v* in Norwegian still seems to assign accusative case. I will briefly comment on this in 5.4.1 but not pursue the topic any further.

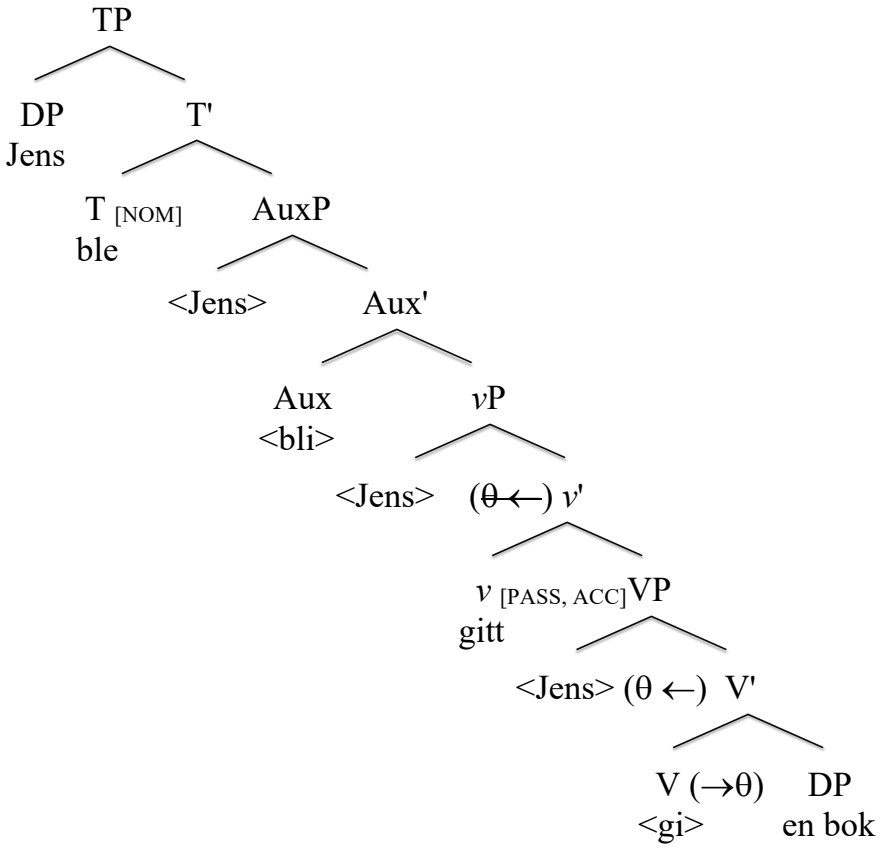
allowing the DP complement to stay in situ[89] for the rest of the derivation unless it has to move for other reasons. The next merge is then the auxiliary *bli*, forming the Aux-bar *bli kjøpt et hus* and eventually the T-bar *ble kjøpt et hus*. Just as in English, this works like the *do*-support in English and the proposed *be*-support for passives in English in order to save the derivation from crashing. I assume that T still assigns nominative case to its first c-commanded DP after the auxiliary *bli* raises to T and gives it a morphological realisation. Since T-bar has an EPP feature, *et hus* must now move again, this time to spec,TP forming the sentence in (13).

3.3.5 [PASS] in double-object passives in Norwegian

The ditransitive in (14) below is similar to the derivation of the corresponding English sentence seen in (11) above (with the Norwegian name *Jens* replacing the English *Jess*):

[89] This hypothesis aligns Norwegian passives with Ukrainian passives and the New Passive in Icelandic, both assumed by Cabredo-Hofherr (2017) to be impersonals instead of passives because the postverbal argument is accusative and not nominative. In other words, I reject the idea that passives cannot have accusative DPs.

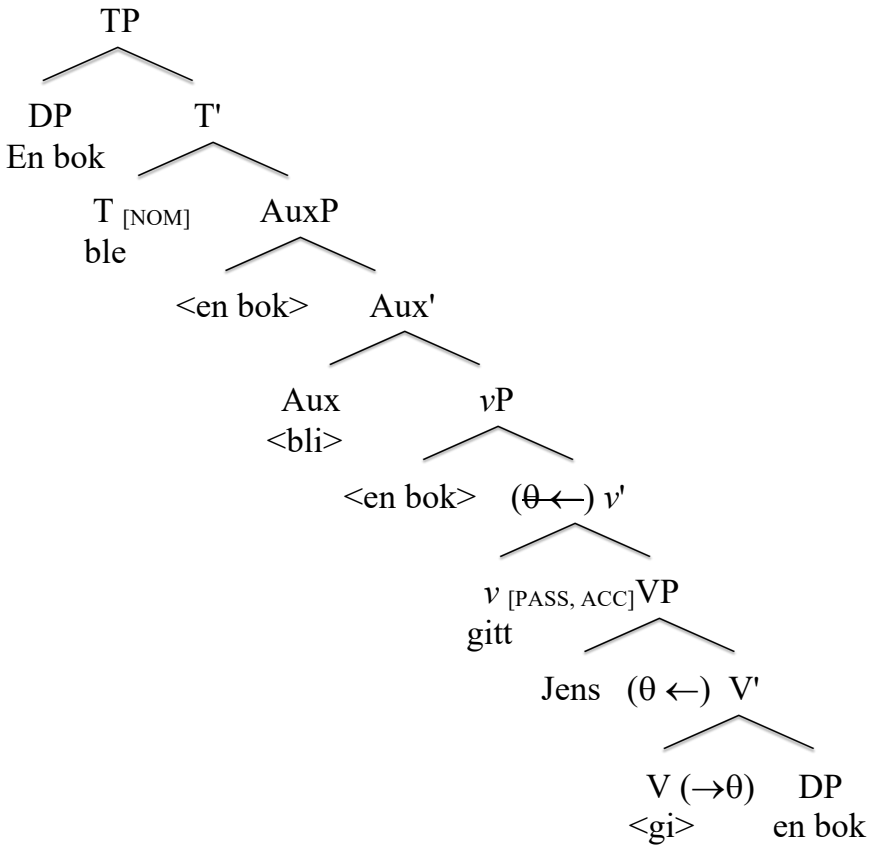
(14) Jens ble gitt en bok.
Jens was given a book.
'Jens was given a book.'



After first merge of V *gi* 'give' and the DP *en bok* 'a book' where the latter receives its θ-role but not case, *Jens* merges as the second internal argument in the specifier of VP. After standard *v*-to-V raising, the *v*-bar is *gitt Jens en bok* 'given Jens a book'. Since PASS does not suppress the case-assigning properties of little *v* in Norwegian, *en bok* 'a book' is case-licensed with accusative case in situ while *Jens* receives its case from its position, as in English. Following this, both *Jens* and *en bok* are licensed in situ and neither needs to raise to spec,*v*P nor spec,AuxP for case reasons. For EPP reasons, however, one of them needs to move, and in (14), spec,vP is filled by *Jens*. The rest of the derivation follows the English one, with the auxiliary *bli* inserted as the head of an AuxP before it obligatorily raises to T, as auxiliaries do in both English and Norwegian. Since each specifier has an EPP feature, *Jens* continues up to spec,TP via spec,AuxP, and (14) is generated as a grammatical structure in Norwegian.

The derivation is almost identical in the THEME passive of (15), where the direct object *en bok* raises to subject position in spec,TP via Shortest Move.

(15) En bok ble gitt Jens.
A book was given Jens.
'A book was given to Jens.'



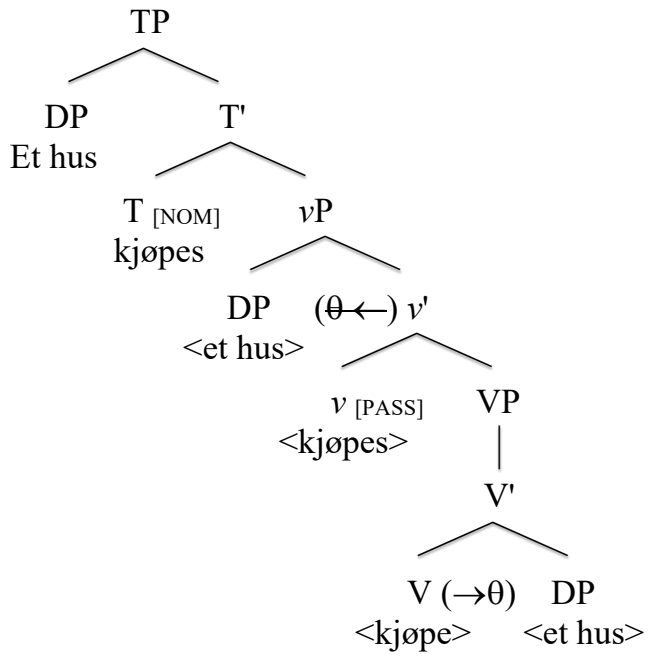
Once again it is precisely the principle of equidistance that allows *en bok* to move past *Jens* and up to spec,*v*P. At the same time, the case-licensing feature of little *v* allows any of the two arguments to stay low, meaning that the case on the non-moved DP will always be assigned from little *v* despite its passive feature.

3.3.6 [PASS] in morphological passives in Norwegian

In addition to the periphrastic passive, Norwegian also has a morphological passive formation without any auxiliary verb. Since Norwegian has *v*-to-T raising of main verbs in subject initial declarative sentences, the passive verb must therefore raise to T. The characteristics of the morphological passive derivation are thus the following: The main verb undergoes V-to-*v* raising and attaches to the passive feature, morphologically realised by an *-s*-affix, in *v*. The verb is now in a passive form that is finite and therefore capable of having its tense checked by T. As in the periphrastic

passive, the passive verb retains its transitivity and can assign accusative case postverbally. Finally, without auxiliary insertion, the passive verb raises to T. A morphological passive based on (13) above is given in (16).[90]

(16) Et hus kjøpes.
A house buy-PASS.
'A house is bought.'



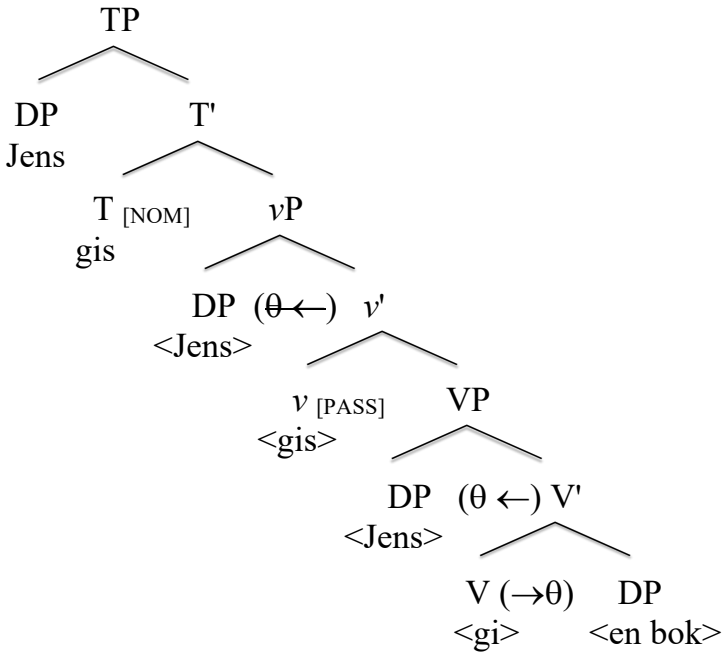
In the underlying structure of (16), *et hus* 'a house' is merged as the internal argument in complement position, meaning that it receives its θ-role from V upon selection, but again no case since V is unaccusative. After the V-bar has formed, there is no indirect object and no spec,VP here. No case is needed at this point, so the V *kjøpe* 'buy' can raise to little *v* and attach to the passive affix to form *kjøpes* 'buy-PASS' while checking the passive and causative feature of *v*. Since [PASS] does not affect Norwegian verbs, the accusative feature [ACC] on *kjøpes* 'buy-PASS' is now activated, and the passive verb can assign case to *et hus* 'a house' in situ. I also propose that an expletive can merge in spec,*v*P in Norwegian. As there is no expletive insertion here, however, there is no

[90] It is possible to derive this sentence in the past simple, but the present simple is more common and easier to illustrate. In either respect, I assume *v*-to-T raising, which means that the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985, 1988) seems to be violated in the past tense where the past tense morpheme *-t-* comes before the passive morpheme *-(e)s*: *kjøp-t-es*. I will not discuss the Mirror Principle here but simply assume that Agree can check tense in *v* via Probe-Goal, opening up for infixing of tense morphemes. An alternative solution is offered in Embick and Noyer (2001), presented in chapter 5.

spec,*v*P and *et hus* 'a house' raises to this θ-free position carrying its θ-role with it, but crucially without case. If this is so, it can check its case features from T at a distance and receive nominative case in spec,*vP*. Finally, with Norwegian being a *v*-to-T raising language, *kjøpes* raises to T, checks its passive feature, and finally the EPP feature on T takes effect and *et hus* moves from spec,*v*P to spec,TP.

The ditransitive equivalent of (14) undergoes the same process in the morphological passive. After V raises to *v* and subsequently to T, the final derivation is given in (17) below:

(17) Jens gis en bok.
Jens give-$_{PASS}$ a book.
'Jens is given a book.'



Since there are two objects here, *Jens* and *en bok* 'a book' both of them can in principle move to subject position and it seems in general the highest DP that moves. But in Norwegian, the lowest DP can also move to subject position, presumably because of the principle of equidistance where both DPs of a VP are equidistant and may raise.

Precisely because the two elements are equidistant, any of the two objects can raise. The periphrastic example in (15) is repeated linearly in (18) below and the

morphological passive is given in (19), whereas (20) demonstrates the construction with the GOAL argument as a prepositional object. All structures are equally acceptable in Norwegian.

(18) En bok blir gitt Jens.
A book is given Jens.
'A book is given to Jens.'

(19) En bok gis Jens.
A book give-PASS Jens.
'A book is given to Jens.'

(20) En bok gis til Jens.
A book give- PASS to Jens
'A book is given to Jens.'

3.3.7 [PASS] is absent in unaccusatives

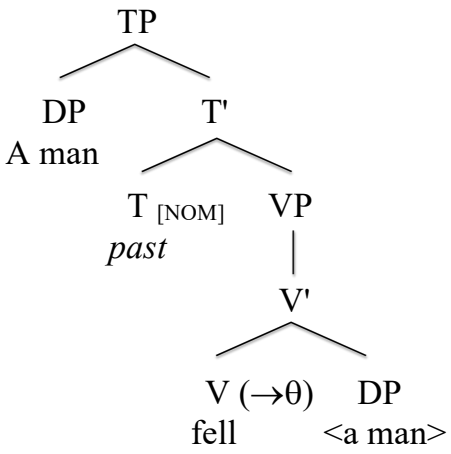
I have now argued that the passive feature [PASS] is linked to little *v*, which is the causative head that projects in both actives and passives but not in unaccusatives. Unaccusatives are anticausatives and cannot have the causative little *v* in their structure. Without a little *v* in the structure, then, there is no functional head for the passive feature to attach to. The lack of *v*P in unaccusatives can then effectively explain why unaccusatives fail to passivise.

(21) *Somebody was emerged.
(22) *En mann ble falt.
'A man was fallen.'
*A man was fallen.

Since *v* is the locus of both causativity and passivity, this explains why there is no implicit argument or CAUSER in unaccusatives, and it also explains why unaccusatives cannot passivise: Causatives must have an INITIATOR and since unaccusatives differ from passives in not being able to license *by*-phrases, subject-oriented adverbials or purpose phrases, there is reason to believe that there is no agentive or causative argument in these structures. And although this lack of external argument, which

typically generates in spec,*v*P, does not necessarily entail that there is no *v*P in unaccusatives, spec,*v*P is the locus for the CAUSER, which is suppressed in passives, but completely non-existent in unaccusatives. Hence, like Bruening (2013), I argue that unaccusatives lack the syntactic structure needed for passivisation, as can be seen from (8) repeated here as (23):

(23) A man fell.



We now have two arguments explaining why unaccusatives cannot passivise, and both are based on the syntactic structure of unaccusatives: First, they have no external argument at all, and second, they do not project a little *v*. And in fact, it seems plausible that these two features are related. The external argument is typically base-generated in spec,*v*P, and causation is linked to the projection of little *v*. As such, the minimalist version of Burzio's Generalization could be that when there is no causation, little *v* is absent from the structure. And without little *v*, there is no specifier available for an external argument. The absence of little *v* in unaccusative structures entails that [PASS] has nothing to attach to, and the result is therefore that unaccusatives cannot passivise.

3.4 The *by*-phrase

The agentive *by*-phrase was considered an adjunct in Chomsky's (1981) *LGB* analysis and has generally but not unanimously been considered a doubling argument of *-en* after Jaeggli (1986). Roberts (1987) and Baker et al. (1989) claim that the *by*-phrase is a clitic double of the argument *-en*, but Åfarli (1992) criticises this hypothesis on the basis of the θ-criterion. More recently, Collins (2005) has argued that if actives and

passives have the same underlying form, all external arguments must be base-generated in the same syntactic position, which he takes to be spec,*v*P in a VoiceP-*v*P structure. This effectively makes the *by*-phrase an argument. Bruening (2013: 3), on the other hand, claims that *by*-phrases are adjuncts that 'have no properties particular to the passive' at all. He demonstrates that *by*-phrases behave similarly to instrumentals and comitatives, neither of which can appear with unaccusatives, sporadic advancements, or *sight* nominals.[91] The only requirement for a *by*-phrase to be generated therefore seems to be that there must be an external argument present, either explicitly or implicitly.

The section on the *by*-phrase is structured as follows. I start by briefly presenting and rejecting two alternatives for how the the *by*-phrase could be analysed. The first of these is Collins's (2005) view of the *by*-phrase as an argument merged in spec,vP, and the second is based on Grimshaw (1990) and Williams (2015), where the *by*-phrase is an optional argument. I then suggest that the best explanation is Bruening's (2013) claim of the *by*-phrase as a free adjunct. In support of this view, I will add a section on the *by*-phrase in nominals before I present some arguments from actives structures in Norwegian. I end my support with Marantz's (1984) two levels of semantic roles which may explain how a *by*-phrase that is assumed to be an adjunct and not an argument can still be analysed as an AGENT.

3.4.1 The *by*-phrase as an argument

If *-en* is in a chain with the *by*-phrase, the clitic doubling of Roberts (1987) and Baker et al. (1989) means that the *by*-phrase is an argument. In short passives where the *by*-phrase is absent, the passive morpheme is then linked to an empty category like IMP which is still implicit in the syntax. Although the nature of an implicit AGENT in passives seems undisputed, I follow Collins (2005) and Bruening (2013) in rejecting the hypothesis of *-en* as an argument. Thus the clitic-doubling approach offers no solution.

Collins's (2005) starting point is rather that actives and passives should have the same underlying structure. In minimalist terms, this means that the AGENT should always be

[91] I focus on the relevance of unaccusatives here and leave the discussion of sporadic advancements out of the equation. I will, however, present the sight nominals in section 3.4.4.)

merged in spec,*v*P. But this hypothesis predicts the wrong word order in English passives, and to solve this problem Collins proposes 'a smuggling approach to passives', which in effect means that he has to stipulate ad-hoc measures where a phrase can 'smuggle' another phrase out of a clause boundary in order to avoid sentences like **The book was by John written* (Collins 2005: 85). Although his approach is based on the strength of the UTAH, it seems at odds with the linking problem if children not only have to acquire syntactic rules but also need to learn how to bend these rules by 'smuggling out' phrases.

3.4.2 The *by*-phrase as an optional argument

Since the *by*-phrase is left out in short passives, an alternative view is to consider it to be an optional argument. Williams (2015: 62) points out that various researchers (among them Williams (1985), Grimshaw (1990) and Jackendoff (1990)) have used the same argumentation for short passives where the *by*-phrase is left out despite having argument-like qualities.[92] In this perspective, the *by*-phrase is an optional argument; it exists in syntax but does not have to be spelled out. Although optional arguments may sound counterintuitive, Williams (2015) argues that there is an explicit argument in (24) below which is implicit in (25) (Williams 2015: 61, his (46) and (47)).

(24) Lee robbed Mo of a necklace.
(25) Lee robbed Mo.

Williams (2015: 61) claims that 'the "Loot argument" [in (25)] is *unsatisfied*' and that the same view can be used for the *by*-phrase that is left out in the short passive. The hypothesis of optional arguments is appealing, but I will leave this this possibility aside and rather assume that the *by*-phrase is a full adjunct that is independent of the passive.

[92] Although optional arguments may sound counterintuitive, Williams (2015) argues well for them. One such argument is typical of transitive verbs which can be used intransitively: 'I ate (the food)'. Another one is Williams's own example 'Lee robbed Mo' where 'the "Loot argument" [...] is *unsatisfied*' (Williams 2015: 61).

3.4.3 The *by*-phrase as an adjunct

On the assumption that all *by*-phrases are adjuncts, we still need to account for the fact that they consistently appear in different types of sentences, and that when they do, they seem to bind purpose phrases. In an attempt to explain this duality, Grimshaw (1990) calls *by*-phrases *argument-adjuncts*. In other words, the *by*-phrase is a special kind of adjunct that has argument qualities. This is indeed very similar to calling them optional arguments, but there is still a clear difference between these two points of view: If *by*-phrases are adjuncts, they should be free to be added to other structures and not just to passives, at least as long as there is an external argument present.

Not only is this possible, but it also seems likely. Bruening hypothesises that a *by*-phrase can only occur in structures with external arguments, either explicitly or implicitly. He draws a parallel to two constructions that behave similarly to *by*-phrases—comitatives and instrumentals—and shows that that the issue of relevance is not passives, but rather constructions without an external argument: *'By* phrases, comitatives, and instrumentals require the (syntactic and/or semantic) presence of an external argument' (2013: 5). Bruening's argument is a strong one for showing that *by*-phrases are not exclusive to the passive. One of these arguments deals with *by*-phrases in nominals, which will be illustrated in the following section.

3.4.4 The *by*-phrase in nominals

That *by*-phrases can be used in nominals is uncontroversial, but it has been argued that they cannot bear the same θ-roles as they can in passives. Bruening (2013: 2) sums up the traditional arguments thusly: 'If the preposition *by* could independently add an agent role, [...] then one would expect that it would be possible to use a *by* phrase to add an agent role to main verbs that do not have them, like unaccusatives [and] middles'. That this is impossible has been shown in chapter 2. Further, Collins (2005: 82) refers to both Jaeggli (1986) and Lasnik (1988) when concluding that 'the preposition *by* does not on its own assign a θ-role'.

Contrary to earlier arguments, Bruening (2013: 7, his (22) and (25), his emphasis) shows through a series of Google searches that nominals can assign RECIPIENT and EXPERIENCER roles:[93]

(26) ... after the date of **receipt of the letter by the GDS** ...
(27) Suspicious trading points to advance **knowledge by big investors** of September 11 attacks.

Bruening (2013: 8) also shows that certain nominals belonging to a group which he refers to as the *sight* class of nominals, 'genuinely do not allow *by* phrases'. The nominals in this group include *sight, fear, sense, respect, smell* and *taste*. After conducting a thorough investigation on why these nominals do not allow *by*-phrases while similar nominals like *perception, experience, detection and olfaction* do, Bruening (2013: 12) concludes that the *sight* nominals do not allow instrumentals or comitatives either. The latter group does. The ungrammaticalities attested by *by*-phrases, instrumentals and comitatives with the *sight* nominals are illustrated below with a few select examples (Bruening's (40a), (48b), (53c), (42a), (50b) and (55b)):[94]

(28) the sight of the damage (*by the investigators)
(29) the sight of the blood (*with a microscope)
(30) the sight of the crime scene (*with one's assistant)
(31) the sense of danger (*by John)
(32) Peter's sense of danger (*with his spider-sense)
(33) Peter's sense of danger (*with Mary Jane)

Since not only *by*-phrases are disallowed with the *sight* nominals, but also instrumentals and comitatives, which clearly are adjuncts, Bruening suggests that all three are adjuncts and that they must be barred for the same reason. His conclusion is clear (Bruening 2013: 14, my emphasis):

> Given that the same adjuncts [...] are also banned from unaccusatives and sporadic advancements, it appears that the same restriction is at work in the sentential domain as in the nominal domain, and **there is nothing special about *by* phrases in the passive**.

[93] Bruening calls this 'holder of knowledge' for the nominal 'knowledge'. I follow Carnie (2013) in using the role of EXPERIENCER here since knowledge arguably is something subjective that we think or believe we possess.
[94] I have moved the asterisk and added parentheses in some of the examples to show that the ungrammaticality deals with the instrumentals and the comitatives, just as they deal with the *by*-phrases in (28) and (31).

By this logic, *by*-phrases are not particular to the passive; rather, they are particular to sentences with external arguments that are hidden or implicit. The passive construction meets this criterion, but so do certain nominals, and there seem to be other factors that can explain how *by*-phrases and some other syntactic elements behave. This is the topic of the next subsection.

3.4.5 Agentive *by*-phrases license purpose phrases

Since *by*-phrases in general are optional, it is easy to conclude that they must be adjuncts in syntax and not part of a verb's obligatory argument structure. But once an optional *by*-phrase has been added in the syntactic structure, it licenses purpose phrases so that there is co-reference between the agentive *by*-phrase and the purpose phrase in (34) below, with the purpose phrase in parentheses. An interesting example pair are the two Norwegian sentences in (34) and (35) below with passive *bli gitt* 'be given' and active *få* 'receive' as verbals, respectively:

(34) Jeg ble gitt denne jakka av faren min (med vilje).
I was given this jacket-DEF by dad-DEF mine (with will)
'I was given this jacket by my dad on purpose.'

The semantics of the sentence can be constructed with a similar active sentence using the active verb *få* 'receive' instead of the passive *bli gitt* 'be given'. If we construct a corresponding active sentence with a purpose phrase as in (35), the derivation crashes since the purpose phrase is bound by the subject, in this case the RECIPIENT.

(35) Jeg fikk denne jakka av faren min (*med vilje).
I got this jacket-DEF by dad-DEF mine (with will)
'I received this jacket from my dad (*on purpose)'.

We cannot receive something on purpose—it can only be given on purpose—and although the giver is explicit in the syntax in the form of a *by*-phrase, the purpose

phrase is impossible in the corresponding active structure with *få* 'receive', shown in (35).[95]

These sentences seem to support the traditional reasoning about *by*-phrases being special in the passive, but it is also possible that the *by*-phrase has nothing to do with the purpose phrases. If the *by*-phrase in the passive is a realisation of a syntactic external argument, then it is the implicit argument that actually binds the purpose phrase. In the active, then, the implicit argument is only semantic and not syntactically encoded. In other words, we know from the predicate itself that there must be a giver, but the giver does not have syntactic import. This argument is strengthened by the fact that the *by*-phrase can be excluded in both (34) and (35) without any differences in grammaticality: The passive remains grammatical whereas the active remains ungrammatical. This is shown below in (36) and (37):

(36) Jeg ble gitt denne jakka med vilje.
I was given this jacket-DEF with will
'I was given this jacket on purpose.'

(37) Jeg fikk denne jakka *med vilje.
I got this jacket- DEF with will
'I received this jacket (*on purpose)'.

As has been shown extensively in the literature and also referred to in chapter 2, the same principle applies to a causative-inchoative sentence pair.[96] (38) is an inchoative or anticausative sentence where we cannot assume any INITIATOR and therefore not a purpose phrase either:

(38) The ball rolled into the goal *on purpose/*deliberately/*by my dad.

Since there is no INITIATOR in (38), there cannot be an agentive *by*-phrase either. The only type of *by*-phrase that works with (38) is *by itself*, a reflexive which has a

[95] Since (35) is acceptable without the purpose clause, it may seem as if Norwegian allows actives with *by*-phrases. This, however, is not necessarily true since the θ-role given to *av faren min* 'from my dad' must be SOURCE and not AGENT. The translation into English with a PP as the SOURCE is also possible in English actives:
(i) I received this jacket from my dad.

[96] Some earlier generative examples are Roeper (1983), Roberts (1987) and Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995).

different form but similar meaning to 'all alone'. Similar phrases can in general be added to unaccusatives, underlining the point that there is no external argument present. The passive equivalent, however, is causative, and therefore has an INITIATOR which can bind a purpose adverbial, making (39) grammatical.

(39) The ball was rolled into the goal on purpose/deliberately/by my dad.

It should be obvious that here is an implicit argument here and that the *by*-phrase therefore patterns with the other adjuncts in that they are all optional, but when included they provide more information to the sentence, which, in general, is what adjunct. When they occur, they can realise an implicit argument and take on its θ-role.

3.4.6 Conceptual and semantic roles

It now seems as if agentive *by*-phrases are not structurally related to the implicit argument in passives. At the same time, an agentive *by*-phrase is related to an implicit argument in a given construction. What remains unclear, though, is whether this relationship is semantic or conceptual. Marantz (1984) argues that an agentive role handed out by the passive verb to the *by*-phrase is a conceptual role. In the bigger schemes of things, we can therefore assume that a sentence like (40) below has many thematic roles at the conceptual level (shown in small capitals above the sentence), whereas each predicate (including the prepositions *at*, *for* and *by*) hands out an internal structural θ-role at the semantic level. As such, the role given to the DP by the preposition *by* will be an internal unidentified θ-role (represented by IA, which stands for 'internal argument') whereas the whole PP will be a conceptual θ-role depending on the larger syntactical meaning. In (40), conceptual roles are given above the sentence and the semantic roles are given below:[97]

(40)

	THEME		LOCATION		AMOUNT		AGENT
	The painting	was bought ___	at the auction		for 10 million pounds		by Mr X.
	EA(IA)		P	IA	P	IA	P IA

[97] The passive predicate *was bought* assigns an internal argument (*the painting*) just like the active *bought*, but after passive movement, the internal argument (IA) ends up as an external argument (EA).

The DP governed by *by* is also possibly but not necessarily an AGENT. This could mean that we may end up with some sort of double-AGENT, following Jaeggli (1986). As Åfarli (1992) points out, assigning the AGENT role both to *-en* and the DP of the *by*-phrase violates the θ-criterion.[98] But with a Marantzian interpretation, this only happens at the surface: The passive verb hands out its AGENT role to the whole PP at a conceptual level, and the preposition hands out its AGENT role to its DP at a semantic level. Although the DP is included in the PP, there should not be any conflict with the θ-criterion since the two levels described here are different levels of semantics.

3.5 Conclusion

I started this chapter by presenting the theoretical framework needed to explain passives in English and Norwegian. In section 3.2, I went against the traditional VoiceP-*v*P dichotomy and argued that only little *v* is needed for explaining passives in both English and Norwegian. I then motivated an analysis of how little *v* assigns accusative case in actives because of its causative feature, and followed up this by arguing that all active clauses except for unaccusatives can be analysed with a *v*P-VP structure. This includes not only ditransitives, for which a Larsonian VP shell first was introduced, but also monotransitives, as argued for by Chomsky (1995). In this view, the main verb in V always raises to little *v*, a light verb, so that the higher verbal projection is *v*P and not VP. Then, in line with Baker (1988), Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002) and Chomsky (1995), and their assumption that unergatives are hidden transitives, I demonstrated how little *v*, despite being the accusative case assigner in actives, can also account for unergatives with their implicit objects. This hypothesis includes *pro* as the implicit DP, a hypothesis which will be elaborated on in chapter 5, and which will prove to have beneficial consequences for the analysis of impersonal passives.

I ended section 3.2 by presenting two interrelated reasons that can explain why unaccusatives cannot passivise: They have no causative element and thus no little *v*, and they have no external argument and thus no implicit argument. Without a *v*P in their structure, unaccusatives have no functional head to which the passive morpheme

[98] In my analysis, *-en* is not an argument and therefore there is no violation of the θ-criterion. Still, I assume that the AGENT role to the *by*-phrase is optional to the same extent that the *by*-phrase is optional.

can attach, and without a specifier available for an external argument, neither explicit nor implicit arguments can be included.

After having demonstrated that my assumptions correctly explain active structures, section 3.3 provided an analysis of the passive feature [PASS] and offered both its location and function in the syntax. I proposed that the passive morpheme is verb-internal and located in little *v* in both English and Norwegian, but its functions have cross-linguistic consequences: The passive feature [PASS] attaches to little *v* and cancels out little *v*'s case-assignment properties in English. This means that DP movement in the basic passive in English is both case-driven and driven by the EPP since the structure detransitivises the verb and bars its first c-commanded DP complement from receiving case in comp,VP. This forces it to move to spec,*v*P, which has an [EPP] feature and is the first available landing site for the moved DP. The only problem remaining is how the postverbal THEME argument in English passives of ditransitives can be case-licensed in situ since my analysis predicts that [PASS] should block this option. I will return to this in chapter 5 and propose a solution.

In Norwegian, on the other hand, [PASS] does not interfere with accusative case assignment and little *v* is free to assign case just as in actives. As a result, the basic passive is driven by the EPP alone. The postverbal DP is thus case-licensed in situ, but moves to spec,*v*P for EPP reasons, where it can be assigned nominative case from T but still keep its internal θ-role. This explanation, along with the principle of equidistance, means that DOCs can easily be passivised regardless of which DP moves and which DP stays low. The biggest challenge for the Norwegian passives may seem to be one of case conflict. I have argued, however, that the nature of structural case is that case is assigned to a position, which then must be filled by a DP or the trace of a DP. As such, a DP can move without bringing its case along with it, and there is thus no case conflict.

Since chapter 3 deals with standard actives and basic passives, it is worth pointing out that whether [PASS] blocks accusative case-assignment or not is not crucial for an explanation of standard personal passives where the postverbal argument moves to subject position via spec,*v*P, but it will be important for the analysis of expletive passives in chapter 5.

Finally, in 3.4 I argued that the *by*-phrase is independent from the passive structure. I based my argument on Bruening's (2013: 5) conclusion: '*by* phrases do not add external argument roles; they *fill* them'. As such they are pure adjuncts whose main characteristic is that they are optional. I have argued that the only requirement for a *by*-phrase to surface is that the structure must have external argument roles, and this requirement is the same that is needed to account for the inclusion of comitative and instrumental PPs. Ultimately, this interpretation leads to the assumption that *by*-phrases have no special or unique relationship to passives. Consequently, a further analysis of the *by*-phrase falls outside the scope of my research here and I will leave the matter aside for the remainder of the thesis.

4 Empirical patterns of the expletive passive in English and Norwegian

4.1 Outline of the chapter

This chapter aims to present expletive passive structures in English and Norwegian and give an overview of such sentences found in the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC). Relevant data will then be used as a basis for an in-depth analysis of expletive passives in chapter 5. Since expletive passives have been defined as either transitive expletive passives or impersonal passives, I will start with a presentation of expletive passives in English with a preverbal or postverbal noun phrase.[99] In 4.3 I do the same for Norwegian, which, at least in theory, has the same options as impersonal passives with no object. 4.4 sums up the possibilities in both languages before 4.5 introduces the corpus and the methodology used. 4.6 then presents English expletive passives, 4.7 Norwegian transitive expletive passives, and 4.8 Norwegian impersonal passives. 4.9 concludes.

Although this chapter is primarily meant to present and not analyse expletive passives, I will give initial commentaries to contextualise the examples. Not all examples will be relevant for an in-depth analysis, but some of the most interesting findings will be repeated and discussed in detail in chapter 5, where I offer my analysis and explanation of the structure of expletive passives in both languages.

4.2 Expletive passives in English

Expletive passives come in many guises, but in English, an expletive passive can only occur on the basis of an active transitive predicate, which means that an active equivalent to the expletive passive must have a direct object and there are therefore no impersonal passives in English. Since passivisation seems to remove the predicate's ability to assign accusative case, its underlying object tends to move out of postverbal position in search of a landing site where it can receive the case it needs. This means that the internal argument in an expletive passive must be preverbal. However, as I will demonstrate below, there are also sentences in the literature with underlying

[99] Recall that I use the term *preverbal* for the position that is immediately to the left of the main verb.

objects that seem to remain in postverbal position. I will deal with preverbal arguments first and then move on to postverbal arguments.

4.2.1 Preverbal argument

In an unpublished paper, Bruening (2011:1) presents some examples of expletive passives in English, all with a preverbal argument. His three first examples are reproduced here, with the underlying objects underlined (my emphasis):

(1) There was a study done in 1979.
(2) There were many topics discussed during the conference.
(3) There was a bridge crossed during the war.

These examples show that the underlying object is preverbal, but after considering examples with multiple auxiliaries, Bruening confirms Milsark's generalisation that 'the noun phrase appears in general immediately to the right of the leftmost occurrence of *be*' (Milsark 1974: 65, as quoted in Bruening 2011: 4). This means that the underlying object may also be in front of the progressive participle *being* as shown below (Bruening 2011: 4, his (18b) and (18d)):

(4) There were many books being sold.
(5) There may have been many books being sold.

It is perhaps worth remarking that all sentences above can be extended with an adjectival relative subclause, implying that the NPs are followed by reduced relative clauses. I have included this extension in square brackets below to construct the following sentences:

(6) There was a study [that was] done in 1979.
(7) There were many topics [that were] discussed during the conference.
(8) There was a bridge [that was] crossed during the war.
(9) There were many books [that were] being sold.
(10) There have been many books [that were] being sold.

Owing to this possibility, it may seem as if (1-3) are actually instances of elliptical adjectival passives,[100] although it is true that verbal passives may too be extended with adjectival relative subclauses.

Fortunately, there are tests that can be performed in order to find out whether a passive is verbal or adjectival. One way is to include an agentive *by*-phrase and another is to include a subject-oriented adverb. We can easily see the addition of an agent such as *by leading scientists* works smoothly with (1) and (2), and even with (3), although we might prefer *by the army* in the latter for semantic reasons. All sentences also work well if we add an adverbial starting with *in order to* at the end of the sentences, implying that although these sentences seem to be adjectival, they can also have a verbal interpretation. Based on these tests, I conclude that the examples above qualify as verbal passives, and I also find support for this interpretation from Harwood (2013) who refers to 'numerous different diagnostics' from Milsark (1974) to Deal (2009), all of which demonstrate that 'English TECs [i.e., transitive expletive constructions] are ambiguous structures' that can have both a verbal and an adjectival reading (Harwood 2013: 190).

4.2.2 Postverbal argument

Radford's (2004: 260) examples of expletive passive structures have an indefinite internal argument in postverbal position:

(11) There was found no evidence of corruption.
(12) There have been reported several cases of syntactophobia.
(13) There has been announced a significant change of policy.

These are all heavy NPs that might be challenging to decode or process in preverbal position. However, they may easily be fronted to subject position in the basic passive without losing any grammaticality or acceptability, so they can hardly be too heavy to

[100] One of the classic ways to test for adjectival passives is by prefixing *un-* in front of the supposed adjective (Siegel (1973); Chomsky (1981); Levin and Rappaport (1986)), because this should be impossible with verbs. This test does not strike me as conclusive here, and we also know from the literature that many passives can be ambiguous, e.g., (i) below which works with prefixing *un-* but can still be a verbal passive in the meaning of (ii) (examples from Swan (2005: 393)):

(i) *My suitcase is packed.*
(ii) *My suitcase has been packed.*

move. The same applies to another example with a postverbal argument provided by Haegeman (1994: 184, her (i) in footnote 14):

(14) There were attacked [$_{NP}$ no fewer than three robbers].

Radford (2004: 262) also points out that (11) can have a so-called discontinuous spellout, so that we may generate (15) as an alternative (my emphasis):

(15) No evidence was found of (any) corruption.

Radford (2004: 262) considers (15) to be 'empirical evidence that passive subjects originate as complements.' If so, there seems to be empirical evidence that *no evidence* moves via preverbal position too, because an expletive passive is also possible with discontinuous spell-out:

(16) There was no evidence found of any corruption.

4.3 Expletive passives in Norwegian

Expletive passives in Norwegian exist both with a postverbal object in transitive structures and without any object at all in intransitive structures. Both types of expletive passives seem to suggest that passivisation in Norwegian actually does not remove the predicate's ability to assign accusative case, unlike in English. In certain structures, however, it may seem as if it is possible to move the internal argument to preverbal position, but I will claim that this is a special construction that does not really reveal anything about expletive passives but rather about other factors related to the NPI *ingen* 'none'. I will deal with these constructions first and then move on to postverbal arguments, before I conclude with impersonal passives (i.e., intransitive expletive passives).

4.3.1 Preverbal argument

In general, objects appear in their unmarked and neutral position after the main verb in all constructions in Norwegian (Faarlund, Lie and Vannebo 1997: 710), and the same applies to objects of transitive expletive passives, as will be shown in 4.3.2. Yet Christensen (1991) argues for preverbal arguments in expletive structures based on the

empirical data presented below. It shows that *ikke noen* 'not anyone' can be replaced by *ingen* 'none' in expletive passives in Norwegian, meaning that the postverbal NP is cliticised to the negative particle *ingen* 'none' and thus ends up in preverbal position also in Norwegian. Christensen's (1991) examples are the following:

(17) Det ble ikke skutt noen dyr.
There were not shot some animals.
'There were not any animals shot.'

(18) Det ble ingen dyr skutt.
There were none animals shot.
'There were no animals shot.'

(19) Det ble ikke lest noen bøker.
There were not read some books.
'There were not some books read.'

(20) Det ble ingen bøker lest.
There were none books read.
'There were no books read.'

That noun phrases starting with 'the negative quantor *ingen*' (i.e., 'none' or 'no') are in a special category opening up for non-canonical syntactic position is also stated in Faarlund et al. (1997: 710, my translation). In fact, they assert that such negative NPs cannot follow any verb, even if it is in the active voice. Their example is reproduced in (21) with the acceptable paraphrase in (22):

(21) *Vi har funnet ingen sti.
We have found no path.
'We have found no path.'

(22) Vi har ikke funnet noen sti.
We have not found any path.
'We have not found any path.'

Faarlund et al. (1997: 712) refer to the middle position of a noun phrase with *ingen* 'none' in (21) as literary or archaic (1997: 712), and by this logic, the same applies to (18) and (20), whose meanings are best conveyed through (17) and (19).

Fabregas and Putnam (2020: 76) also support this and state that 'in Norwegian this word order [where the object precedes the participle] is normally judged as ungrammatical'. They refer to a corpus study by Engdahl (2017), who concludes that this word order only occurs 'when the object contains negation' (Fabregas and Putnam 2020: 76, footnote 18). Based on the fact that a noun phrase with the negator *ingen* 'none' is prohibited from occurring in postverbal position, I dismiss preverbal arguments in expletive passives as an alternative for Norwegian and follow Faarlund et al. (1997) and Engdahl (2017) in proposing that the central element here is not the passive construction but rather the negative polarity item *ingen* 'none'. As a result, I will refrain from any further discussion of preverbal objects in expletive passives in Norwegian.

4.3.2 Postverbal argument

Bruening's expletive passives presented above (at least the non-progressive ones in (6-8)) can easily be translated into Norwegian, but the preverbal arguments in the English versions must then as a rule remain in their base-generated postverbal position. The acceptability judgements are mine:

(23) Det ble gjort en studie i 1979.
There was done a study in 1979.
'There was a study done in 1979'

(24) *Det ble en studie gjort i 1979.
There was a study done in 1979.
'There was a study done in 1979.'

(25) Det ble diskutert mange temaer under konferansen.
There was discussed many topics during the conference.
'There were many topics discussed during the conference.'

(26) *Det ble mange temaer diskutert under konferansen.
There were many topics discussed during the conference.
'There were many topics discussed during the conference.'

(27) Det ble krysset en bru under krigen.
There was crossed a bridge during the war.
'There was a bridge crossed during the war.'

(28) *Det ble en bru krysset under krigen.
There was a bridge crossed during the war.
'There was a bridge crossed during the war.'

Radford's NPs ((11-13) above) are already in postverbal position, so it is no challenge to translate these into Norwegian with an expletive structure, as seen below in the (a) examples. However, they are ungrammatical in preverbal position in Norwegian, as seen in the (b) examples, and awkward or ungrammatical with a discontinuous spell-out, as seen in the (c) examples.[101]

(29) a. Det ble ikke funnet noen bevis på korrupsjon.
There was not found any evidence of corruption.
'There was found no evidence of corruption.'

b. *Det ble ikke noen bevis på korrupsjon funnet.
There was not any evidence of corruption found.
'There was no evidence of corruption found.'

c. ??Det ble ikke noen bevis funnet på korrupsjon.
There was not any evidence found of corruption.
'There was no evidence found of corruption.'

[101] I have just said that I will refrain from further discussion of the NPI *ingen* 'none' and its effect on the sentence structure, but it may be worth pointing out that (29b) and (29c) would be significantly improved with *ingen* 'none', as seen in (i) and (ii), respectively:
(i) Det ble ingen bevis på korrupsjon funnet.
(ii) ?Det ble ingen bevis funnet på korrupsjon.

(30) a. Det har blitt rapportert flere tilfeller av syntaktofobi.
There have been reported several cases of syntactophobia.
'There have been reported several cases of syntactophobia.'

b. *Det har blitt flere tilfeller av syntaktofobi rapportert.
There have been several cases of syntactophobia reported.
'There have been several cases of syntactophobia reported.'

c. ??Det har blitt flere tilfeller rapportert av syntaktofobi.
There have been several cases reported of syntactophobia.
'There have been several cases reported of syntactophobia.'

(31) a. Det har blitt annonsert en vesentlig endring av politikk.
There has been announced a significant change of policy.
'There has been announced a significant change of policy.'

b. *Det har blitt en vesentlig endring av politikk annonsert.
There has been a significant change of policy announced.
'There has been a significant change of policy announced.'

c. *Det har blitt en vesentlig endring annonsert av politikk.
There has been a significant change announced of policy.
'There has been a significant change of policy announced.'

4.3.3 The impersonal passive

The existence of impersonal passives in natural languages also has repercussions for our understanding of the passive transformation; since these passives have no object in their active counterpart, the passive cannot be defined as object-to-subject promotion. Rather, a passive, to the extent that it can be considered a uniform construction, is characterised by subject demotion. This means that the underlying subject has been removed or is non-existent in a passive. But since all clauses in English and Norwegian need a subject,[102] another element must be inserted in this position.

[102] At the surface level, imperatives are exempt from this principle, but it can be argued that these too have an underlying subject: *(You) (must) go to school!*

Consequently, when there is no object in the underlying sentence, the only alternative is to insert an expletive subject. This can happen in Norwegian impersonal passives but is prohibited in English where impersonal passives are ungrammatical.

Except for some manipulated unaccusative structures (cf. chapter 3), impersonal passives are formed with unergatives, whose only argument is external. Examples of unergative verbs in Norwegian are *rope* 'shout'*, synge* 'sing'*,* and *gråte* 'cry':[103]

(32) Det rope-s i gang-en-e.
There shouts-PASS in hall-DEF.PL.
'There is shouting in the halls.'

(33) Det synge-s i dusj-en.
There sings-PASS in shower-DEF.
'Somebody is singing in the shower.'

(34) Det gråte-s mye hver eneste dag.
There cry-PASS much every single day.
'There is a lot of crying every day.'

Since impersonal passives are ungrammatical in English, I have chosen to use active voice and either a personal or an impersonal subject in the English translations.

4.4 Argument positions in expletive passives

There are a few things that seem to be clear from the examples in 4.2 and 4.3: Both English and Norwegian allow transitive expletive passives, and although English seems to have a strong preference for preverbal arguments, postverbal arguments are also allowed in some constructions when the argument is very heavy. Norwegian, on the other hand, has an even clearer preference for postverbal arguments or no arguments at all, but it is possible to allow preverbal arguments in some special constructions, including in expletive passives.

[103] All examples are mine, including gloss and translations.

The table below shows the argument positions for expletive passives in both languages:

Table 1: Argument positions in expletive passives.

	Preverbal argument	Postverbal argument	No argument
English	+	(+)	-
Norwegian	(+)	+	+

Although both languages can have preverbal and postverbal arguments, I will demonstrate in the analysis in chapter 5 that Norwegian in general only allows postverbal arguments and that English in general disallows these. Consequently, the plus marks in parentheses symbolise that these constructions are exceptional.[104] The table and the data also show that only Norwegian can have impersonal passives with no arguments.

4.5 The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC)

The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (henceforth the ENPC) is a tagged bilingual corpus that contains 2,6 million words in English[105] and Norwegian[106] both in original and translated versions. Each original text has been translated into the other language. There are both fiction and non-fiction texts in the corpus, and I have retained this distinction in the search results below, but generally I do not refer to this dichotomy in the discussion of sentences presented from the corpus. Although translation theory is interesting, and the choices made by the translator warrant investigation, I have mainly looked at original texts and only used translations as support for my analyses. By not primarily looking at expletive constructions in translations, I avoid the question of translator bias and the possibility that the structure of the source language has affected the translator's choice of structure in the target languages. Therefore, most of the expletive passives I refer to below have been found in the original section of the corpus, but the translations provided have proved valuable as a guide to whether a

[104] One might ask why exceptional structures should be generated when looking for universal laws, as we do in generative grammar. For this argument, I refer to the Norwegian V2 rule which is thought to be absolute in Norwegian, but which still has certain exceptions, for instance in some dialects. (Hårstad, Lohndal and Mæhlum (2017: 60-61))

[105] Most texts are British or American, but Australian, Canadian and South-African texts are also represented (ENPC: Manual).

[106] All translations are in Bokmål, and only a few of the originals are in Nynorsk (ENPC: Manual).

construction contains an expletive or referential pronoun, and sometimes whether a construction is a verbal or an adjectival passive.

I first searched for expletive passives in the English originals. The search string included an expletive pronoun (*it* or *there*), followed by the auxiliary *be* and the passive participle. This resulted in 267 sentences, 142 from the fiction part of the corpus and 125 from the non-fiction part. But many of these sentences consisted of a referential *it* or a locative *there*. To exclude such occurrences, I narrowed the search by inserting the string for an existential pronoun (EX)[107] followed by any form of *be* plus the past or passive participle (-ED) within the next three words. This only gave 23 results, and not all of these fit the criteria, so I extended the search to include the verb *be* and a passive participle within the five following words and ended up with 66 sentences. The results were now both more accurate and more relevant, but since *it* cannot be used existentially, I also had to double-check the 267 sentences that the first search returned to see if there were any expletive passives with *it* and a subsequent NP.

As a result, I found 53 expletive passives—27 in fiction and 26 in non-fiction—but all of these were either followed up by a subsequent *that*-clause or infinitival clause.[108] Since there are no NPs in these clauses, all of these are excluded from further analysis. Thus, after a careful analysis of the 66 sentences with *there,* a lexeme of *be* and an NP, the relevant number of sentences with the expletive passive pattern in the English originals is 28. 24 of these have a preverbal argument and four have a a postverbal argument. Of these 28, however, eight were analysed as existential constructions and have therefore been excluded from the category: Five sentences had a second passive, two had a definite NP, and one sentence with a postverbal NP had a participle that had a clear adjectival function. This leaves me with 20 expletive passives, of which 10 are constructions with *left*, the past participle of *leave*, which seems ambiguous between an adjectival reading and a verbal reading. l have found it harder to argue for their exclusion from the category of expletive passives, but I ended up analysing all of the 18 constructions above as existentials. Since some of my choices may be discussed, I include my analysis of the first eight exceptions and I also offer three examples of the

[107] *EX* and *-ED* are search abbreviations in the corpus. The same applies to *Vperfp* and *Vinf* below.
[108] Covert *that*-clauses have no morphological realisation of *that*. An example is (i):
(i) ... it was assumed [Ø] my father would become a priest (TH1)

construction with *left*. After arguing that these are all existentials and not expletive passives, the final number of expletive passives found in the ENPC in English is 10.

My search strings for Norwegian also included a possibility of referential *det* since the pronoun can have either existential or referential meaning in Norwegian. Thus, with any lexeme of the verbal passive auxiliary *bli* 'be' and a verb in the perfect participle (Vperfp) within the next three words, the corpus returned 219 sentences in Norwegian originals, 82 in fiction and 137 in non-fiction. Since the tagging of the Norwegian part of the corpus does not include existential pronouns, I was not able to narrow my search any further. My analysis of the 82 sentences in the fiction section returned 58 transitive expletive passives and four impersonal passives. Of the 137 taken from the non-fiction part of the corpus, I found 72 transitive expletive passives and three impersonal passives. All impersonals in the non-fiction part, however, were made up by phrasal or prepositional verbs such as *ble skutt med* 'was shot with'*, ble ringt inn til*, literally 'was rang in for', and *ble ringt ut*, literally 'was rang out'. Owing to the small number of impersonal passives, these are still included in the presentation of examples below.

All the search results above are of periphrastic passives, which means that I had to extend my search in the Norwegian part of the corpus to allow for expletive constructions with the Norwegian *s*-passive. The challenge here is that the corpus is not tagged for *s*-passive, but rather for verbs ending in *-s*, which includes reflexives, reciprocals, inchoatives, and passives. When going through the results from the corpus, I therefore had to pay particular attention to which verb type was used in each sentence to avoid defining all of them as instances of the *s*-passive. Faarlund et al. (1997) defines the *s*-passive as a non-lexicalised verb (as opposed to the other verbs above), and the *s*-morpheme is therefore usually an inflectional suffix added to active verbs. The *s*-passive is also more frequent in infinitives and the present tense, and it rarely occurs in the past tense or with perfective aspect (Faarlund et al. 1997: 513).

In my search for verbs ending in *-s* with verbs tagged in the perfect aspect (Vperfp) and the infinitive (Vinf), the corpus returned 254 example sentences from the Norwegian originals. Of these, 169 were found in non-fiction and 85 in fiction. It was difficult to narrow this search, so I had to analyse them manually to find out which sentences included expletive passives. Many of these are non-passives, and very many have a referential *det* 'it'. Of the 85 sentences found in the fiction part of the corpus, I

have analysed nine as expletive passives—only one of these is an impersonal passive. In the non-fiction part, I found 77 expletive passives, out of which seven have been analysed as impersonal passives. In total I found 85 transitive expletive passives and eight impersonal passives of the morphological kind. In order to narrow my overview in this chapter but still make it representative, I have decided to leave out most pseudopassives unless they were also impersonal passives. I have also only given one example of constructions or verbs that were very frequent in the corpus.

The numbers are given in the table below. For an easier overview, I have separated the two passive forms in Norwegian.

Table 2. Expletive passives in the ENPC

The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus	**Sentences found**	**Transitive expletive passives**	**Impersonal passives**
English periphrastic passive[109]	267	10	0
Norwegian periphrastic passive	219	130	7
Norwegian *s*-passive	254	85	8
Total	**740**	**225**	**15**

4.6 English expletive passives in the ENPC

This section aims to give an exhaustive overview of expletive passives found in the ENPC. To do this, I have decided to include constructions which on the surface seem like expletive passives but that upon closer inspection turn out to be of a different kind. The idea behind this is twofold. First, it shows how constructions that on the surface are similar can actually be very different. At the same time, this demonstrates that collecting data is far from trivial because a syntactic patterns is not evidence for a syntactic construction. Second, and perhaps more importantly, by including this data, I can demonstrate the rationale behind my choices for inclusion and exclusion of contructions, arguing why a certain structure is relevant or not. It is of course possible that some of the arguments can be countered, which would be fruitful for further research into expletive passives. All examples are provided with a comment so that the

[109] The number of transitive expletive passives is 20 if the *left*-constructions are included.

reader will see which constructions have been selected for further analysis in chapter 5.

As shown in table 1 above, expletive passives in English generally occur with a preverbal argument, and the ENPC seems to reflect this in that seven of the 10 expletive passive structures found had preverbal arguments. However, since I originally found 14 structures that looked like expletive passives, I have chosen to include all of these, but they have been divided into two structures. The first seven occur with a preverbal NP only and I present them as expletive passives in 4.6.1. Of the remaining seven, five occur with a preverbal NP followed by a second passive and two have a definite NP. I present all of these in 4.6.2 as existential constructions along with three of the ten *left*-passives. Expletive passives with postverbal arguments are fewer and more controversial. I present them in 4.6.3 and choose to anlayse three of the four as expletive passives, with the last one as an active structure.

4.6.1 Preverbal argument

The first form is the traditional expletive passive with the VP-internal NP in preverbal position. It is also the most frequent construction, here exemplified in seven sentences with the original English in (a), the Norwegian translation in (b) and my gloss of the translation at the bottom.

(35) a. For instance, in Birmingham <u>there was a flat sum assessed</u> for the whole house, to cover rates. (DL2)
b. I Birmingham, for eksempel, <u>der tok de et fast beløp</u> for hele huset samlet, for å dekke avgifter. (DL2T)
In Birmingham, for example, <u>there took they a flat sum</u> for whole house-the together, for to cover expenses

(36) a. my mother and Baby (after school) were both working and <u>there was no rent owed</u> because when we moved to the city my father had bought that house ... (NG1)
b. både mor og Baby hadde arbeid (hun etter skoletid), og <u>vi skyldte ikke husleie</u>, for da vi flyttet hadde far kjøpt huset ... (NG1T)
both mother and Baby had work (she after school time), and <u>we owed not rent</u>, for when we moved had father bought house-the...

These sentences support the preverbal structure of English objects in expletive passives. The Norwegian translations are in active voice, whereas the following two are translated with a personal passive and a topicalised structure, respectively.

(37) a. There were four Daggetts listed. (SG1)
b. Fire personer ved navn Daggett stod oppført. (SG1T)
Four persons by name Daggett stood listed.

(38) a. There was a child's playpen pushed in the corner with piles of colorful rubber toys. (GN1)
b. I en krok sto en lekegrind full av fargerike gummileker. (GN1T)
In a corner stood a playpen full of colourful rubber toys.

The last three examples of the preverbal structure are the following:

(39) a. Next came the ladies of the Court: ladies with frozen smiles and swaying crinolines; their wigs were powdered, their cheeks pocked with beauty spots, and there were black bows tied around their necks. (BC1)
b. Så fulgte hoffdamene: fine damer med frosne smil og folderike krinoliner; de hadde pudrede parykker, skjønnhetspletter på kinnene og sorte bånd rundt halsen. (BC1T)
Next came Court-ladies: fine ladies with frozen smiles and swaying crinolines; they had powdered wigs, beauty spots on cheeks-the and black bows around neck-the.

(40) a. There was no alarm raised. (FF1)
b. Det gikk ikke noen alarm. (FF1T)
There went not any alarm.

(41) a. There were resolutions passed in late 1987 hailing both reports as the way forward for the UN system in particular and for all governments in general. (LTLT1)
b. Mot slutten av 1987 ble det vedtatt resolusjoner som hilste begge rapporter velkommen som veien framover, for FN-systemet spesielt, og for alle regjeringer generelt. (LTLT1T)

Towards end-the of 1987 became there passed resolutions that greeted both reports welcome as road forwards, for UN system especially, and for all governments in general.

(39) is perhaps more natural on an adjectival reading, but I include it in the belief that it might be ambiguous and also work on a verbal reading. (40) and (41) are more natural with a verbal reading. In fact, the temporal adverbial *in late 1987* in (41) makes an adjectival reading doubtful.

4.6.2 Postverbal argument

The postverbal argument construction is limited in English and the ENPC offers only four possible examples in English originals. I include three of them here. The fourth is expletive-like, but I assume it is in reality an existential sentence in the active, so it is presented in 4.7 below.

(42) below is included here on the assumption that *established* is a passive participle form and not an attributive adjective linked to copula *be*.

(42) a. There were three wells, there were established shade trees and slim green cypresses, hedges of rosemary, a giant almond tree. (PM1)
b. Det var tre brønner, store trær som kastet kjærkommen skygge og slanke grønne sypresser, hekker av rosmarin og et veldig mandeltre. (PM1T)
There were three wells, big trees that threw welcome shade and slim green cypresses, hedges of rosemary and a giant almond-tree

I conclude that *were established* is the verbal or at least can be argued to be the verbal. Support for this reading can be found in the constructed sentence in (43) where *establish* is used in the meaning 'set up'.

(43) Shade trees and slim green cypresses had been established by the gardener.

The following two sentences seem to be even clearer instances of verbal passives with heavy postverbal objects:

(44) a. [...] the Contracting Parties shall ensure that there is neither enacted nor maintained in force any measure contrary to the rules contained in this Agreement [...] (AEEA1)
b. [...] skal avtalepartene avholde seg fra å treffe eller opprettholde tiltak som strider mot reglene i denne avtale [...] (AEEA1T)
[...] shall deal-parts refrain self$_{REFL}$ from to meet or uphold measures that conflict against rules-the in this deal [...]

(45) a. [...] eventually there was produced not just a human face, not just a Japanese face, but the visage of a fierce and scowling samurai. (CSA1)
b. [...] I tidens løp ble resultatet ikke bare menneskelignende tegninger og heller ikke bare tegninger som lignet japanske ansikter, men tegninger som hadde en tydelig likhet med en vill og skulende samurai-kriger. (CSA1T)
[...] in time's run was result-the not just humanlike drawings and nor not only drawings that likened Japanese faces, but drawings that had an apparent similarity with a wild and scowling samurai-warrior.

Neither of these two is a straightforward case. Unlike (43) above, they are both negative clauses, with *neither* or *not*, and they are also both coordinated, (44) in the verbal and (45) in the object. Perhaps the most striking fact is that both NPs following the presumed passive predicate are extremely complex and heavy, just like the NP in (43). As a result, I conclude that these three examples are all instances of heavy NP shift and I will offer an analysis of this phenomenon in section 5.4.3.2 of chapter 5.

4.7 English passive-like constructions in the ENPC

Many of the findings in the corpus looked like expletive passives, but upon closer investigation, I have analysed them as non-passives. Their inclusion here is still warranted because it provides an overview as well as an explanation of the definitional criteria used for expletive passives.

One example from the four findings with a postverbal DP is the following:

(46) a. The carpets were thick, and there were framed diplomas on the blue walls. (BO1)
b. Gulvteppene var tykke, og på de blå veggene hang diplomer i glass og ramme. (BO1T)
Carpets-the were thick, and on the blue walls hung diplomas in glass and frame.

This sentence showed up in the search because *framed* looks like a passive participle of the verb *frame*. In the context, however, (46) looks more like an active sentence with an existential construction where *framed* is an attributive adjective to *diplomas*.

The remaining passive-like constructions are divided into three categories and discussed below.

4.7.1 Existential constructions followed by an infinitival passive

The first preverbal construction that is similar to the expletive passive consists of an existential sentence followed by an infinitival passive. I analyse these as existential clauses in the active and hence not expletive passives. The Norwegian translations in general have the same syntactic structure but with an active verb. The search returned five such sentences in the ENPC:

(47) a. and that there were fortunes to be made in photocopying machines. (AB1)
b. og at det var store penger å tjene på fotokopieringsmaskiner. (AB1T)
and that there was big money to make on photocopying-machines.

(48) a. She knew, too, that in communities like this, there were payers and the other kind, and there was nothing to be done about it. (DL2)
b. Dessuten visste hun at i små samfunn som dette var det noen som betalte for seg og andre som ikke gjorde det, og det var ingenting å gjøre med. (DL2T)
Besides knew she that in small communities like this was there somebody who paid for self and others who not did it, and there was nothing to do with.

(49) a. Vine was staring out of the window, pressing his nose against the glass, as if there was something to be seen out there besides darkness and mist and the verges ahead, yellowish and shining and wet-looking in the headlights. (RR1)
b. Vine satt og stirret ut av vinduet, presset nesen mot ruten som om det skulle være annet å se enn mørke og tåke og veikanten forut. Den virket gulaktig, skinnende og våt i bil lyset. (RR1T)
Vine sat and stared out of window-the, pushed nose-the against glass-the as if there should be else to see than dark and mist and road-edge-the in-front. It seemed yellowish, shining and wet in car light.

The Norwegian translations are active in all three examples, but perhaps more interestingly, the internal argument is also in preverbal position, between a finite auxiliary and an infinitival main verb. Clearly, the examples above have a different preverbal structure to those mentioned under 4.6.2. Each example has two instances of *be* and the first is presumably a main verb in an existential sentence whereas the second is the passive auxiliary. As a result, (47-49) will be left out of any further discussion. The same applies to (50) and (51):

(50) a. He told Anna [...] that there were "arrangements to be made" and that he 'd be gone two hours at the most. (JC1)
b. Han sa til Anna [...] at det var "saker og ting som måtte ordnes", og at han kom til å bli borte høyst to timer. (JC1T)
He said to Anna [...] that there were "items and things which must arrange-PASS" and that he came to be away maximum two hours.

The translation in (50b) uses the morphological passive inside the relative clause in Norwegian and therefore stands apart from the active verbs used in the other translations, but this has no impact on the analysis of (50) as an existential construction in the active.

(51) a. He had counted on at least a handful of his more venal cousins turning up, in case there was anything to be had. (BC1)
b. Han hadde trodd at iallfall en håndfull av hans mest korrupte slektninger ville møte opp. (BC1T)

He had thought that at-least a handful of his most corrupt relatives would meet up.

The structure underlined in the original in (51) is left out of the translation entirely, but its structure in English is no different from the other examples above. In sum, I will not discuss further any of the examples above on the judgement that they are in fact existential structures.

4.7.2 Definite NPs

There are also two constructions that seem to be expletive passives with a definite NP. Such a construction should be barred in both expletive passives as well as in existential clauses owing to the Definiteness Effect (DE): The fact that NPs in expletive constructions are indefinite (cf. Milsark 1971). Consequently, *there* in these constructions is probably locative because a clause with a fronted locative *there* has no DE. Since the examples seem incongruent with existential constructions or expletive passives (because of the DE), but also with a locative construction (because of the presumed lack of stress on *there*), they are worth a closer look:

(52) a. Above all there were the clothes sent from all four corners of the earth ... (ABR1)
b. Først og fremst var det klærne som kom fra alle kanter av verden ... (ABR1T)
First and foremost were it clothes-the that came from all corners of world ...

(53) a. If—as always—the children needed to go to the lavatory, the parents trotted them off down to the railway station, where there were the only toilets provided for their kind, although the department store had a cloakroom for the use of other customers. (NG1)
b. Hvis det hendte—og det gjorde det hver gang—at barna måtte på do, travet foreldrene avgårde med dem til jernbanestasjonen som hadde de eneste toalettene for folk som dem, selv om supermarkedet hadde toaletter for andre kunder. (NG1T)
If it happened—and it did that every time—that children-the must on toilet, trotted parents-the away with them to railway station-the that had

the only toilets-the for people like them, although supermarket-the had toilets for other customers.

Both *the* clothes and *the only toilets* can be extended with relative subclauses, as they have been in the Norwegian translations. I consider this interpretation with a reduced relative clause to be more plausible. If this is so, the most natural reading is adjectival and not verbal, and I therefore assume that both (52) and (53) are existential structures, meaning that *be* seems to be the copula and not an auxiliary here. On this analysis, the example sentences are not expletive passives and will therefore not be used for further analysis in chapter 5.

4.7.3 The passive participle *left* - an ambiguous structure

The search for preverbal objects in passive constructions also yielded 10 sentences with *left*, which can be the passive participle of *leave* in English. Although *left* can be a past participle, the Norwegian translations with the adverb *igjen* 'again' are not and cannot be passives since neither *igjen* nor *again* is a participle. As a result, one might argue that the English sentences are expletive passives, whereas the Norwegian translations seem to be existential sentences with *igjen* as an adverb which could loosely be replaced by the adverb *der* 'there'. Here are three examples:

(54) a. Their house was the exact same shape as ours; Liam and Aidan had the same bedroom and they'd no sisters so there was one room left over. (RDO1)
b. Huset deres var akkurat maken til vårt; Liam og Aidan hadde samme soverom og de hadde ingen søstre så det var et rom til overs. (RDO1T)
House theirs was exactly same to ours; Liam and Aidan had same bedroom and they had no sisters so there was one room for over.

(55) a. There was a place left for my new sister. (RDO1)
b. Det var en plass igjen til den nye søstra mi. (RDO1T)
There was a place again to the new sister mine.

(56) a. It licked around the baby's chin and lips, and when there was nothing left, it sought more and sank its fangs into the soft flesh. (GN1)
b. Den rundslikket haken og munnen til barnet, og da det ikke var mer å

hente på den måten, satte den tennene i den bløte huden. (GN1T)
It around-licked chin-the and mouth-the to child, and when there not was more to fetch on that way, sank it teeth-the in the soft flesh-the.

The first example is a phrasal verb in English and third example is translated as an active verb in Norwegian. The reason for considering these to be passives is the fact that they can occur in personal passives of the type in (57) where *left* or *left behind* can mean 'abandoned':[110]

(57) The car was left (behind) by the thieves.

In addition, all sentences above can have active counterparts of the type in (58):

(58) They left a room/a place/nothing behind.

I take these constructed examples to be an argument for the *left*-constructions as possible expletive passives. On the other hand, an adjectival reading is clearly not out of the question, as seen with an expanded relative clause in (55) as seen in (59).

(59) There was a place [that was] left for my new sister.

With Harwood's (2013: 190) conclusion that transitive expletive constructions are ambiguous structures, it is not inconceivable that the most natural reading is one where the *left*-constructions are simple existential constructions, also in English. Whatever the correct analysis may be, there is enough evidence of other preverbal expletive passives in English found with other verbs in the corpus. For this reason, I will not use the *left*-participles as data in support of my analysis in chapter 5.

4.8 Norwegian expletive passives in the ENPC

In this section, I present all the findings from the Norwegian part of the corpus. Although there could in principle exist exceptional expletive passives with preverbal objects (cf. 4.3.1), all Norwegian transitive expletive passives found in the corpus have postverbal arguments. Since expletive passive constructions with postverbal arguments

[110] This is a constructed example made by me and confirmed by two native speakers of British English.

are standard in Norwegian, this is also expected. The corpus contains many examples: 75 with a periphrastic passive and 86 with an *s*-passive. The majority of these are excluded from further scrutiny because they seem not to be expletive passives after all. Many sentences have expletive pronouns followed by subclauses because the main verb is *fortelles* 'tell-PASS' *or sies* 'say-PASS'. Others are various types of non-passives such as reflexives (*undres* 'wonder', *tenkes* 'think') or *s*-forms of uncategorised verbs (*finnes* 'exist', *skyldes* 'owe') (Faarlund et al. 1997: 507-515), while yet others have subjects that are referential and therefore not expletive. In other words, any form without a clear expletive passive is excluded from the data presented here. Below are relevant expletive passives with a subsequent NP, both of the periphrastic type and the morphological type.

4.8.1 Periphrastic passives with postverbal arguments

Owing to the vast number of examples (more than 150), I have selected 13 examples to present here. My selection criteria have been the following: only one example per lexeme is given, phrasal and prepositional verbs are left out, and I have tried to vary between complex and simple structures.

The Norwegian passive is underlined in the original, and the corresponding translation is underlined in the English version. Very often the translations include personal passives with a fronted object, but there are also structures with a simple expletive construction in the active, and other times just paraphrases or omissions. The ten examples below are all translated into English with a standard personal passive.

(60) a. De dro litt i armene på hverandre, det ble sagt noen lave ord. (LSC2)
They tugged little in arms on each-other, there were said some low words.
b. They tugged at each other's arms and some soft words were spoken. (LSC2T)

(61) Det ble oppnevnt en offentlig undersøkelseskommisjon for å vurdere ulykken også. (GS1)
There was commissioned a public search-committee for to assess accident-the also.
b. A commission of public inquiry was set up to study the incident, too.

(GS1T)

(62) a. Det var da det ble innført en avgift på salget av vin til Vatikanet, som en straff for menigheten. (JW1)
It was when there was introduced a tax on sale-the of wine to Vatican-the, as a punishment for congregation-the.
b. It was after that that a tax was imposed on the sale of the wine to the Vatican, as a punishment for the congregation. (JW1T)

(63) a. Det ble tent en lykt. (KAL1)
There was lit a lantern.
b. A lantern was lit. (KAL1T)

(64) a. Det ble inngått et slags stumt kompromiss mellom far og datter. (HW2)
There was agreed a sort mute compromise between father-the and daughter-the.
b. And an unspoken compromise was reached. (HW2T)

(65) a. Ingen hørte noen gang at det ble vekslet ukvemsord mellom Jacob og Ingeborg. (HW2)
Nobody heard any time that there was exchanged bad-words between Jacob and Ingeborg.
b. Abusive language was never heard between Jacob and Ingeborg. (HW2T)

(66) a. Det ble gitt omvisninger i bygget for alle som ville se kantine, bibliotek, arkiv, møterom og egne kontorer. (NFRA1)
There became given tours in building-the for all who wanted see cantina, library, archive, meet-room and own offices.
b. Tours of the building were given to anyone who wanted to see the cafeteria, library, archives, meeting rooms or step into their own future offices. (NFRA1T)

(67) a. Og han måtte også finne seg i at det ble reist en kirke på hans egen gård. (KP1)

And he must also found self in that there became raised a church on his own farm.
b. And he had to accept a church being built on the grounds of his own farm. (KP1T)

(68) a. Det ble lest messer og bedt om Guds velsignelse for fisket. (AOH1)
There became read masses and prayed about God's blessing for fishing-the.
b. Masses and prayers were read for God's blessing of the fish. (AOH1T)

(69) a. Mesteparten av byen brant, det ble utarbeidet en plan for gjenoppbyggingen, og byens sentrale deler er fremdeles preget av denne planen. (JS1)
Most-part of city-the burned, there became out-worked a plan for rebuilding, and city-the-s central parts are still marked by this plan.
b. Most of the town was burnt, but before it was rebuilt a new plan was drawn up and this plan is still evident in the centre of the city today. (JS1T)

All ten examples show that expletive passives are both common and natural in Norwegian. Despite the fact that this thesis does not concern itself with translation theory, it is interesting to note that none of these sentences has been translated with the English expletive passive; rather, all translations use the personal passive. From these ten examples with translations, one may logically deduce that expletive passives are a common and productive structure in Norwegian, while it is rare in English.

The next example has ellipsis in the two passives following the first one, whereas the translation uses a combination of active and passive voice.

(70) a. Sommeren kom og det ble strukket ledninger, montert stikkontakter og malt vegger i Stensberggata. (NFRA1)
Summer came and there became extended wires, mounted power points and painted walls in Stensberggata.
b. As summer came to Stensberggata, the building was wired up, painters were busy, doors and windows were put in place. (NFRA1T)

Finally, there is one sentence that is translated in the active voice only, with the implicit agent as a subject:

(71) a. Det ble fremskaffet en hel hærskare av gode unnskyldninger. (HW2)
There became presented a whole army of good excuses.
b. People offered a multitude of good excuses. (HW2T)

Regardless of the translator's choice, all structures in Norwegian clearly follow the pattern of having the internal argument in postverbal position. In this respect, the data do not offer any new or interesting findings but instead confirm that expletive passives with postverbal objects are very natural and productive in Norwegian.

4.8.2 Morphological passives with postverbal arguments

All *s*-passives can generally be paraphrased as periphrastic passives, as is the case with the 15 corpus sentences below. Again the English translations usually revert to object promotion to subject position in these cases, i.e., the same approach as with the periphrastic passives above. Two sentences, (75) and (84), are translated with existential constructions instead.

(72) a. Denne bindingen kan senere løses opp igjen så det kan bygges nye gjenstander av de samme klossene. (JG1)
This binding can later solve-PASS up again so there can build-PASS new objects of the same blocks.
b. These connections can later be broken again so that new figures can be constructed from the same blocks. (JG1T)

(73) a. Fra nå av kan det ikke ventes flere tegn i denne sak. (JW1)
From now of can there not expect-PASS more signs in this case.
b. From now on no more signs can be expected. (JW1T)

(74) a. Så ga han beskjed om at det skulle serveres kaffe og kaker, og at de ellers ikke skulle forstyrres. (HW2)
Then gave he message about that there should serve-PASS coffee and cakes, and that they otherwise not should disturb- PASS.

b. Then he ordered coffee and cookies to be served and said they were not to be disturbed otherwise. (HW2T)

(75) a. Det kunne ikke gis noe entydig svar på et slikt spørsmål. (GL1)
There could not give-PASS any clear answer to a such question.
b. There was no simple answer to that question. (GL1T)

(76) a. Trer lederen av et folkevalgt organ endelig ut av organet, skal det velges ny leder. (KL1)
Steps leader-the of a people-chosen organ finally out of organ-the, shall there elect-PASS new leader.
b. If the chairman of a popularly elected body retires finally from that body, a new chairman shall be elected. (KL1T)

(77) a. I hver kommune og fylkeskommune skal det ansettes en administrasjonssjef. (KL1)
In every municipality and county municipality shall there hire-PASS an administration-s-boss.
b. In every municipality and county municipality a chief executive shall be appointed. (KL1T)

(78) Det skal føres møtebok over forhandlingene i alle folkevalgte organer. (KL1)
There shall record-PASS minute-book over negotiations-the in all people-elected organs.
b. The minutes of the proceedings of all popularly elected bodies shall be recorded in a minute book. (KL1T)

(79) a. Det skal fastsettes ulike satser for legitimerte og ulegitimerte tap. (KL1)
There shall decide-PASS different rates for legitimised and non-legitimised loss.
b. Different rates shall be laid down for specified and unspecified losses. (KL1T)

(80) a. Derfor måtte det ryddes stadig flere nye garder. (ILOS1)
Therefore must-PAST there clean-PASS frequently more new farms.
b. And more land was cleared for more farms. (ILOS1T)

(81) a. Det kan ikke stilles garanti for økonomiske forpliktelser som er knyttet til utøvelse av næringsvirksomhet. (KL1)
There can not place-PASS guarantee for economic duties that are tied to practice of business activity.
b. A guarantee may not be provided for financial liabilities relating to the exercise of business activity. (KL1T)

(82) a. Også i videregående opplæring kan det gis støtteundervisning i norsk og morsmål. (UD1)
Also in upper-secondary education can there give-PASS support-teaching in Norwegian and mother-tongue.
b. Support teaching in these subjects is also given at upper secondary level. (UD1T)

All these *s*-passives are qualified with a modal auxiliary, a common structure in Norwegian. The examples below, however, are without modals:

(83) a. Det utgis plater og kassetter med samisk musikk. (BAA1)
There publish-PASS records and cassettes with Sami music.
b. Sami music can be found on cassettes and phonograph records. (BAA1T)

(84) a. Tradisjonelt har dette vært brevundervisning, men det tilbys i dag en rekke multi-media program. (UD1)
Traditionally has this been letter-education, but there offer-PASS to day a row multi-media programmes.
b. This used to consist mainly of correspondence courses, but today there are a number of multi-media programmes. (UD1T)

Finally, there are two sentences that differ somewhat in their structure. The first is with a indirect object that is the RECIPIENT followed by an infinitival clause. The

passive verb is also qualified with a modal and the whole sentence is in the optative mood:

(85) a. Måtte det forunnes ham å oppfylle alle de forhåpninger folket har satt til ham, og måtte disse gode følelser aldri gå tapt, for da er jeg sikker på at lille Harald vil få en lett oppgave med tiden. (TG1)
May it grant-PASS him to fulfil all the expectations people have given to him, and may these good feelings never go lost, for then am I sure of that little Harald will get a light task with time-DEF.
b. May it be granted to him to fulfil all the expectations which his people have for him, and may these affectionate feelings never cease, for then I am certain that little Harald will, in time, have an easy task. (TG1T)

Both *det* 'it' in the Norwegian example and *it* in the English translation look like anticipatory subjects, co-indexed with the infinitival clauses, which means that the pronoun in both sentences probably is referential and not an expletive.

The second sentence is more intriguing since it seems to have a better claim at being an expletive passive. There is a caveat, however, because the postverbal NP is arguably definite, something which should be prohibited in both existentials and expletive passives because of the Definiteness Effect, at least in theory:[111]

(86) a. Viser det seg at det blir vesentlig svikt i de budsjetterte inntekter, må det foretas de nødvendige endringer i budsjettet. (KL1)
Show it self-REFL that it becomes significant deficiency in the budgeted incomes, must it/there made-PASS the necessary changes in budget-DEF.
b. If it appears that there will be a significant deficiency in the budgeted revenues, the necessary amendments to the budget must be made. (KL1T)

[111] (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985: 1405) point out that the definiteness restriction can be breached when a definite 'is determined by the absolute superlative'. They provide the following example sentence:
(i) There's the oddest-looking man standing at the front door.

In the Norwegian sentence there is only one marker of definiteness in the NP *de nødvendige endringer* 'the necessary changes', whereas Norwegian definite NPs usually have a double marking with a definite suffix on the noun. The lack of double marking makes the NP more like a kind of indefinite NP, which makes the analysis of this sentence as an expletive passive more plausible.

4.9 Norwegian impersonal passives in the ENPC

Norwegian impersonal passives are both common and frequent, and the findings of the ENPC supports this. Since impersonal passives are impossible in English, the translations are typically given in the active voice, as seen below.

4.9.1 Impersonal *s*-passives

Since impersonal passives are formed with intransitive verbs, there is no morphological object, at least not on the surface. Norwegian allows passivisation with unergative verbs, and the corpus gives various examples of impersonal passives, albeit in a limited number. For this reason, I have included all findings, whether they are pseudopassives, have cognate objects or are special in some other way.

The first example is in fact an exception. The structure looks like an impersonal passive, but I assume that *det* 'it' is referential to *prinsippet* 'the principle' here:

(87) a. Man er enig i prinsippet, men når man går oss inn på klingen, skal det ikke praktiseres akkurat her! (TG1)
One is agreed in principle, but when one goes us in on clinch, shall it not practise-PASS quite here!
b. There is perhaps agreement in principle, but not when it gets down to actual practice. (TG1T)

The next two seem to be expletive constructions where *det* 'there' is empty and non-referential. Both verbs, *improvisere* 'improvise' and *bygge* 'build' can be used transitively, but here they are used intransitively:

(88) a. Til å begynne med måtte det improviseres. (TG1)
To begin with must-PAST there improvise-PASS.

b. At first, they had to improvise. (TG1T)

(89) a. Kirkene i USA blir flittigere brukt som sosiale samlingssteder, selv om vi er kommet godt etter med arbeidskirkene som nå er den vanlige kirketypen når det bygges nytt.[112] (TG1)
Churches in USA become more frequently used as social gathering-places, even if we are come well after with work-churches-the that now are the usual church-type-the when it/there build-PASS new.
b. The churches in the U.S.A. are used more frequently as gathering places for social events, even though we are following after them with our "working churches" (arbeidskirker), which is the usual type of church being built in Norway today. (TG1T)

It is, however, not impossible that *det* 'it/there' in (89) could be referential in the right context; replacing a Norwegian impersonal passive with a personal passive in English makes sense when there is an understood object (*bygge et bygg* 'build a building'), but the context also shows that the building in question is a church. Yet both the atelic form *det bygges*, with an implicit argument, and the telic form *det bygges en kirke* are possible in Norwegian.

The verb *samarbeide* 'cooperate', however, is clearly intransitive:

(90) a. Det samarbeides over grensene om samesendingene. (BAA1)
There co-work-PASS over borders about Sami-programmes.
b. There is extensive Nordic cooperation on radio programs. (BAA1T)

The literal translation 'it is being cooperated' is much more idiomatic as a simple NP: *cooperation*, in an existential construction like (89b). (90) and (91) look like impersonal passives, but (92) could be analysed as a construction with a referential *det* 'it':

(91) a. Der skal det spilles ved te-tid og på formiddagene. (EFH1)

[112] I analyse *nytt* 'new' here as *på nytt* 'anew', and thus as an adverbial-like element, but it may be argued that this is in fact a direct object ('new buildings'). If the latter, it is a transitive expletive passive rather than an impersonal passive.

There shall there play-PASS at tea-time and on mornings.
b. You play there at teatime and in the mornings. (EFH1T)

(92) a. Er organet valgt ved forholdsvalg, skal det suppleres fra den samme gruppe som den uttredende tilhørte. (KL1)
Is organ-the elected by proportional-election, shall it/there supply-PASS from the same group that the retiring belonged.
b. If the body was elected at a proportionally representative election, the vacancy shall be filled from the same group as that to which the retiring member belonged. (KL1T)

(93) a. Vanligvis var et skip ansett som sjødyktig når det ikke måtte øses mer enn tre ganger på to døgn. (KP1)
Usually was a ship seen as seaworthy when it not must-pass bail-PASS more than three times in two days-and-nights.
b. Usually a ship was considered seaworthy when it didn't have to be bailed out more than three times in two days. (KP1T)

It is quite possible, and perhaps natural, to consider *det* 'it' in both (92) and (93) as referential pronouns. In (92) it may refer to *forholdsvalg* 'proportional election' and in (93) it may refer to *et skip* 'a ship' here. This is also the most natural interpretation from the English translation. Still, it is quite acceptable to use this construction as an impersonal passive: *det må ikke øses (vann) av skipet* 'there must not be bailed (water) out of the ship'.

The last example is a clear impersonal passive translated with a gerund. This translation also highlights the nature of *s*-passives: They tend to be used a lot with modals, which means that they often refer to a general situation or possibility. A gerund translates this well since it also may have a generic reference:

(94) a. Hestevandringa viser hvordan hesten kunne brukes som trekk-kraft når det skulle treskes. (AOH1)
Horse-wandering-the shows how horse-the could use-PASS as pull-power when there should thresh-PASS.
b. Threshing took place in one of the barns, and was operated by the structure outside being turned by a horse. (AOH1T)

4.9.2 Impersonal periphrastic passives

The periphrastic passives are not fundamentally different from the *s*-passives, but since the structure still differs, I have chosen to present them here. I found 11 impersonal passives with a periphrastic structure:

(95) a. Fra disse utgangspunkt blir det så forhandlet. (ABJH1)
From these starting-points becomes there so negotiated.
b. From these beginnings come the negotiations. (ABJH1T)

(96) a. I de gamle forskningsrådene ble det ryddet og kastet. (NFRA1)
In the old research-councils was there cleaned and thrown.
b. Accumulated clutter was being cleared away at the old research councils. (NFRA1T)

In both Norwegian and English it is possible to use the intransitive *rydde* 'clean' transitively, *rydde noe* 'clean something', and the same applies to *kaste* 'throw', so this example sentence may seem to have an implicit or an understood object. This is also evident in the translation, where the fronted argument *accumulated clutter* is non-existent in the Norwegian impersonal passive. Yet the constructions are clearly impersonal passives in Norwegian and may be used without any particular item as the perceived object in the clause *Nå skal det ryddes!* which can be translated as 'Time for cleaning!' The same can be said about (97), whose verbs *spise* 'eat' and *drikke* 'drink' both are used intransitively:

(97) a. Det ble spist og drukket. (SH1)
There was eaten and drunk.
b. ... the feasting began with eating and drinking. (SH1T)

(98), however, allows no transitive use of the intransitive verbs *le* 'laugh' or *konversere* 'converse':

(98) a. Det ble ledd og konversert. (HW2)
There was laughed and conversed.
b. There was laughter and conversation. (HW2T)

Since impersonal passives do not exist in English, the translation must take a different form. In this example, the translator has chosen an existential active sentence with English NPs for the Norwegian VPs. The same method is used in (99), where the verb is *snakke* 'talk', a synonym of *konversere* 'converse'. This too can be used impersonally in Norwegian, but the following example includes a preposition so that the predicate is *snakke om* 'talk about':

(99) a. Nå ble det snakket stivt og høytidelig om hvordan tapet skulle fordeles. (MN1)
Now was there spoken stiffly and solemnly about how loss-the should divide-$_{PASS}$.
b. Now there was tense, solemn talk of how the loss was to be divided. (MN1T)

A verb like *skyte* 'shoot' can also be used transitively, but is used below in an impersonal passive in (100a) and translated with an understood object in a personal passive in (100b):

(100) a. [...] en eller annen grep etter et skytevåpen, det ble skutt, men det var fort over. (GS1)
one or other reached after a gun, there was shot, but it was quickly over.
b. [...] someone else would reach for a gun, shots would be fired but it would all be soon over. (GS1T)

As mentioned in the overview of the corpus findings in 4.5, there were three impersonal passives in the Norwegian fiction section, all with phrasal verbs. The first sentence is with *skutt* 'shot', as in (100) above, but the English translation is in the active:

(101) a. Da de kom på land, ble det først skutt med piler fra begge sider. (KP1)
When they came on land, became there first shot with arrows from both sides.
b. When they came ashore, both sides shot with bows and arrows. (KP1T)

The next two are arguably impersonal passives in Norwegian, but it is worth pointing out that the translations into English seem like outliers in that they have the same structure. Since impersonal passives should be barred in English, *it* in (102b) must be referential and mean 'the bell'. The same goes for (103b), taken from the same text:

(102) a. Det var for mange slitne rygger en god klang når det ble ringt inn til mat og kvile. (AOH1)
It was for many tired backs a good gong when it was rung in to food and rest.
b. When it was rung for food and rest it was a welcome sound for many a tired back. (AOH1T)

(103) a. Etter middagskvilen ble det ringt ut. (AOH1)
After dinner-rest became it rung out.
b. But when it was rung again after the break it was known as "that damned gong!" (AOH1T)

The fact that Norwegian *det* 'it' has a neutral gender both as a referential pronoun and as an expletive means that it cannot be referential in Norwegian since *en bjelle* 'a bell' is masculine.

Finally, there is (104), which supports the proposal that a Norwegian impersonal passive is typically best translated into an active sentence, with *the women* as a subject with the semantic role of AGENT:

(104) a. Det ble sydd og strikket og kniplet. (HW2)
There was sewn and knitted and laced.
b. The women sewed and knitted and made lace. (HW2T)

With two possible exceptions—(102) and (103)—all these examples show that impersonal passives in Norwegian abound, but since this construction is barred in English, the translations into English will always need to use a different syntactic structure.

4.10 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to present expletive passives in detail. I started with the characteristics of the two types of expletive passives: transitive and impersonal. I then accounted for the structure of expletive passives by using examples mostly taken from the literature before giving a detailed account of the expletive passives I found in the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus, including structures that were ambiguous or only expletive-like. All corpus sentences have been provided with their original translation. Though these translations are not a topic of this thesis and not not necessarily relevant for the structure in question, they often clarify the meaning of the original.

I have tried to make this chapter an objective overview of expletive passives taken from the ENPC. My comments on the structures are meant as guidance and an attempt at providing a first and basic categorisation of the sentences. In sum, this chapter clearly shows that expletive passive structures in English and Norwegian may benefit from closer analysis. It is my hope that such an analysis can shed some light on passive constructions in both languages and perhaps even clarify the details of constructions that seem to be exceptional. This is one of the purposes of the next chapter. Another hope is that the characteristics of expletive passives and the cross-linguistic differences between English and Norwegian can be explained in generative linguistics with a minimalist approach such as the one presented in chapter 3. With chapter 3 and 4 as background, it is therefore time to move on to the main analysis of this thesis, namely that of expletive passives in English and Norwegian.

5 A minimalist analysis of the expletive passive

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to explain the syntactic differences and similarities of expletive passives in English and Norwegian. I will propose that the differences in the position of the DP associate and its relevant movements can be explained by differences in case licensing and expletive insertion. I will also develop a hypothesis of unergatives as hidden transitives and show that this can account for the fact that Norwegian allows impersonal passives whereas English does not.

To arrive at an explanatory theory of expletive passives, the central aim of this thesis and this chapter in particular, I will ground my theoretical approach in case theory in 5.1.1 and in expletives and the EPP in 5.1.2. I will also add a note on the relevance of phase theory in 5.1.3. After this, 5.1.4 outlines the structure of the rest of the chapter.

5.1.1 Case theory and θ-theory

As outlined in chapter 3, I use an Agree-based approach to case. I will repeat the basic hypotheses here and outline amendments that are crucial for the purposes of analysing expletive passives.

I follow Chomsky (2001: 6) in assuming that T is the nominative case assigner and *v* is the accusative case assigner in actives in both English and Norwegian. They act as probes and T assigns nominative case to the external argument in spec,*v*P, whereas little *v* assigns accusative case to the internal argument in comp,V. This means that both T and *v* have their own case domains, and that T cannot assign case into *v*'s domain. It also means that both T and *v* may assign case non-locally, i.e., at a distance, as long as the appropriate DP goal is within the relevant case domain. Since V is not a case-assigner, little *v* can assign case within the whole *v*-VP domain. In structures that allow a DP, typically a pronominal one, in the indirect object position in spec,VP, I will assume that this position is case-licensed structurally, with some sort of accusative or oblique case.[113]

[113] In section 5.6 I will show that spec,VP can merge both with ditransitives and some monotransitives, and even with certain unaccusatives.

In passives, the passive feature [PASS] is attached to little *v*. In English, [PASS] overrides or disrupts little *v*'s case assignment properties, effectively blocking the internal DP argument to be case-licensed in its original position. Since T cannot assign case into *v*'s domain even when [PASS] blocks case-licensing, this DP must move to a position where it can receive case. The first available position is spec,*v*P, which is θ-free in passives because they lack an external argument. Once the DP has moved there, it is available for nominative case assignment from T, and further movement only happens for EPP reasons. I assume the same explanation for standard personal passives in Norwegian except for the proposal that [PASS] does not interfere with little *v*'s case features in Norwegian. As a result, the DP only needs to move to spec,*v*P for EPP reasons, and not reasons to do with case.[114] Both of these analyses have welcome results for the derivation of expletive passives, which I will elaborate on these in the section below.

As for θ-role assignment, the DP complement is assigned a θ-role from V. In structures with an indirect object in spec,VP, the whole predicate, V-bar, assigns a θ-role to the specifier, typically RECIPIENT or GOAL. In Norwegian passives, *v*-bar does not assign a θ-role to its specifier, despite assigning accusative case to a DP in complement position. Both of these assumptions seem to break with Burzio's Generalisation (1986) which claims that the property of accusative case-assignment to a complement is linked to and dependent on the same head's ability to assign a θ-role to its specifier. I will return to the topic of θ-roles and Burzio's Generalization briefly in 5.4.1.

5.1.2 The EPP and the merge of expletives

Expletive passives have an expletive pronoun in subject position. Since these pronouns are empty and pleonastic, their purpose seems to be that of filling the subject requirement, i.e., the EPP. As outlined in chapter 3, I assume a generalised EPP in the functional hierarchy of the clause so that it accounts not only for spec,TP, but also for every other specifier in the tree hierarchy. When there is no indirect object in spec,VP, the lowest specifier is spec,*v*P. This is where the external argument merges in actives,

[114] The issue of case conflict has been dealt with in chapter 3 where I assume that structural case is given to a position so that a DP on the move does not carry with itself any case form unless its case is inherent.

but it is both empty and θ-free in passives and it should therefore an available landing position for another argument (the internal DP) or non-argument (an expletive).

Chomsky (1995: 362) explores the possibility of expletives being 'merged as subject of a transitive verb construction' but ends up concluding that expletives merge directly in spec,TP. The possibility of a low merge of expletives is further explored by Richards and Biberauer (2005), who base their argument on other Germanic languages such as Icelandic and German and ultimately conclude that expletives should be merged lower, specifically in spec,*v*P. Deal (2009: 286-287) builds on this and focusing on English *there*, she suggests 'a "low-origin" account, where *there* is base-generated in the specifier of the verbalizing head v'. But she modifies this with the following statement: 'Should the associate move out of the vP phase, however, in particular due to (what has been termed) heavy-NP shift, *there* may originate higher in the structure than vP, provided it finds an appropriate phase head in whose (nonthematic) specifier to lodge.'

Building on these arguments and with the relevant case assumptions outlined above, I will presume that spec,*v*P, which is nonthematic in passives, in theory can be filled by an expletive, resulting in an expletive passive. In English, however, this option is blocked by the DP associate which is not case-licensed in situ and therefore must move out of the VP in passives. As a result, *there* must merge higher up in expletive passives in English, and the result is an expletive passive with a preverbal argument. In Norwegian, on the other hand, the DP associate is case-licensed in situ, which means that there is no element that blocks an expletive from being merged in spec,*v*P. When an expletive merges in spec,*v*P in Norwegian passives, the end result is an expletive passive with a postverbal argument.

There is also a second argument for the different merge positions of expletives in Norwegian and English passives. I follow Holmberg (2002) and assume that the Norwegian expletive *det* 'it' is a nominal and therefore a DP in need of case. If it merges in spec,*v*P, it lies inside T's case domain and is therefore an appropriate DP-goal for nominative case from T. Its final movement to spec,TP therefore happens for EPP reasons alone. Expletive *there* in English, on the other hand, is adverbial in nature and cannot act as a DP-goal to T's case-assigning properties. With no other nominal in the structure, spec,*v*P must be filled by a DP to which T can assign a nominative case. In English, the moved DP associate is the perfect match. This analysis explains the

appropriate word order in expletive passives of both languages. Expletive merge in spec,vP in Norwegian is the result of the EPP requirement, whereas DP movement to preverbal position in English is not only motivated solely by the EPP (contra Lasnik 2008: 33), but rather by a combination of case and EPP, in line with Alexiadou et al. (2016).

5.1.3 A note on phase theory

Chomsky (2001) suggests that syntactic derivation take place in phases (for him this means CP and transitive *v*P), so that in order to reduce the computational burden, once a phase has been generated it can be shipped off to spell-out for economical reasons. The phase is therefore no longer available for further operations. However, in order to explain the relevant data, the edge of the phase—its specifier—is still within reach, working in a sense as a link to the rest of the derivation. Once a transitive *v*P has formed, then, it is only its specifier that is available for further movement.

In Chomsky's phase theory (2000, 2001), only transitive *v*Ps are assumed to be phases, which means that passives, at least as they are in English, are not phases and will be available for further operations until a higher phase (CP) has been generated. In Holmberg's (2002) analysis, however, the distinction between strong and weak phases is not relevant, whereas Legate (2003) claims that all vPs are phases, whether transitive or not. I will show here that the role of phases is linked to the case domain of T and *v*P, both in actives and passives. As such I accept phase theory but I side with both Holmberg (2002) and Legate (2003) in assuming no difference between strong and weak phases. In my analysis, then, spec,*v*P has an EPP feature and once it is merged, the vP is shipped off to the phonological component and no longer available to further syntactic operations.

With this as a premise, and my proposal that [PASS] blocks little *v*'s case-assigning properties in English but does not interfere with it in Norwegian, it follows that a passive *v*P is still a (strong) phase, regardless of transitivity. A result of this assumption is that once a *v*P has generated, only its specifier will be available for further syntactic operations and everything else is frozen into place.

5.1.4 The structure of my analysis

Having motivated the role of little *v* and and how it links with the passive feature PASS in chapter 3, the analysis in the present chapter will further develop the theory to explain expletive passives. In order to do this in a step-by-step fashion and with clear and logical explanations, I will once more go through active and passive structures, noting the particular relevance to the theory for expletive passives.[115] With this in mind, 5.2 will thus demonstrate how case theory, θ-theory, and the EPP combine to explain the derivation of active clauses, and 5.3 will do the same for standard passives. In this section, deeper explanations will be revealed for the surface results so that at the end of section 5.3, the analysis of expletive passives in sections 5.4 and 5.5 is foreshadowed.

5.4 is the first of the two main sections and its focus is centred on transitive expletive passives and the first of my two main research questions. It elaborates on earlier analyses and the empirical data from chapter 4 and will provide a detailed account of the nature and movement of the DP associate in expletive passives in English and Norwegian. The second main section is 5.5, whose focus is on impersonal passives, i.e., intransitive expletive passives, and the second of the two main research questions. Here I will offer an explanation for the grammaticality of impersonal passives in Norwegian and their ungrammaticality in English. I end the chapter in 5.6 by returning to an unsolved problem in chapter 3: Double-object structures. Here I will offer a new analysis that can explain the cross-linguistic data, and in particular explain how a DP can remain in postverbal position in an English passive and still pass the case filter. 5.7 concludes the chapter.

5.2 The derivation of active structures

This section explains the derivation of actives with the theories and features that are relevant for my purposes. I start by explaining basic monotransitives, then use this explanation as well as theory from Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002) to argue that the

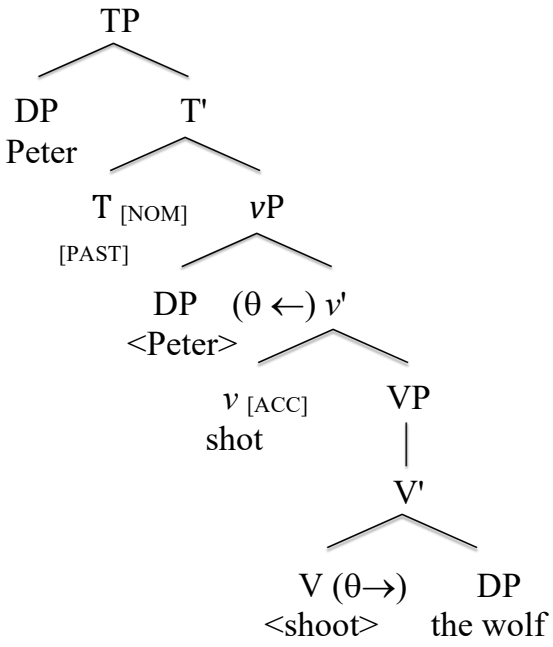
[115] There are at least two very good reasons for going through the analysis of actives and passives again. First, the analyses in chapter 3 deal with the basic passive and aims to explain the structure and the role of [PASS] and its effect on little *v* in general. But [PASS] plays an even more important role in the structure of expletive passives, and its deeper consequences must therefore be further motivated. And second, in order to make each chapter somewhat self-contained, some overlap of both theory and derivations is both necessary and inevitable. Thus, in this chapter, my analysis of expletive passives will be based on the foundations laid in chapter 3 but without taking anything for granted.

same approach can be used for intransitives of the unergative type. I also account for unaccusatives and remind the reader of the lack of little *v* in their structure, which means that they cannot assign accusative case. I end this section by explaining that unaccusatives in both languages can have expletive subjects, which I take as evidence for nominative case-assignment from T to the complement of V when there is no intervening *v*P.[116]

5.2.1 Monotransitives

Active monotransitives have virtually the same structure in English and Norwegian.[117] As such they can be argued to follow the same syntactic procedure, as can be seen in (1) and (2) below.

(1) Peter shot the wolf.



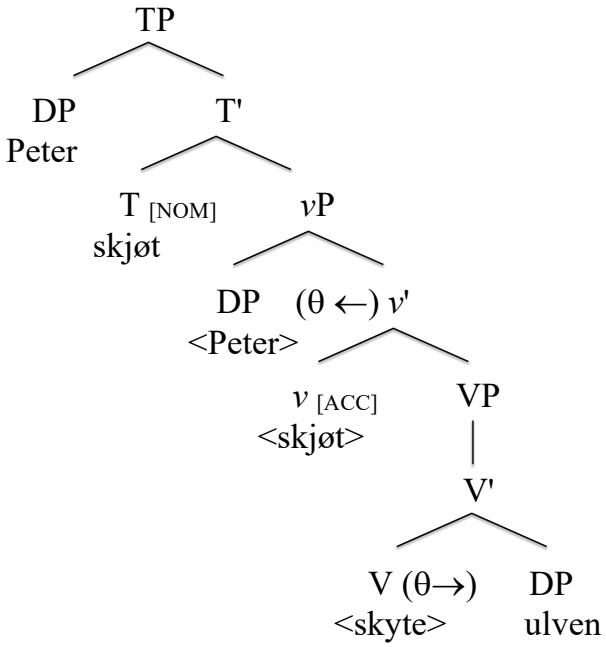
The analysis shows that the verb in V merges with its DP complement before it obligatorily raises to little *v*, which is the light verb and the accusative case assigner. The θ-role of the internal argument is assigned by V but it is little *v* that now assigns accusative case through probe-goal, licensing the DP *the wolf* to stay in situ. Since

[116] Expletives are generally possible with Norwegian unaccusatives but only with some unaccusatives in English.
[117] The only difference is that Norwegian is a V2 language and therefore has *v*-to-T raising.

little *v* is a case assigner, it also provides a θ-role to its specifier,[118] merging the external argument in spec,*v*P. When T merges, its role as nominative case assigner means that it searches down its c-commanding domain for a caseless DP. It finds *Peter* in spec,*v*P and assigns nominative case to this DP. T has an EPP feature which means that there must be a subject in spec,TP. Although *Peter* both has both its θ-role and case, it can move to spec,TP, a θ-free and case-free position in need of a subject.

The same explanation goes for the corresponding sentence in Norwegian. Apart from *v*-to-T raising of the finite verb, the direct translation of (1) has the same structure:

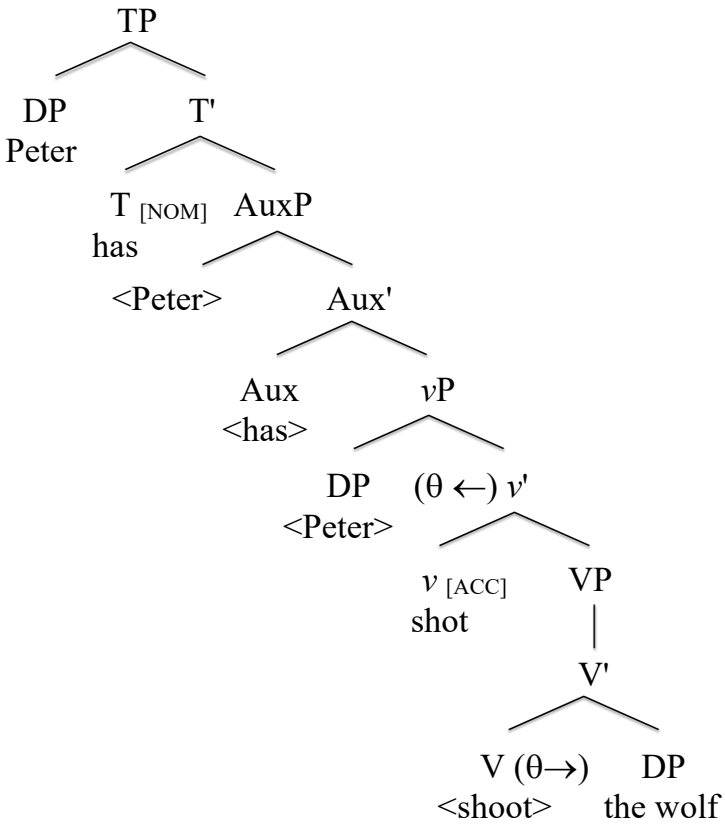
(2) Peter skjøt ulven.
Peter shot wolf-DEF
'Peter shot the wolf.'



The structure in (2) serves as a precursor to the structure of a morphological passive in Norwegian. (3) and (4) do the same for the structure of a periphrastic passive, which is available in both English and Norwegian:

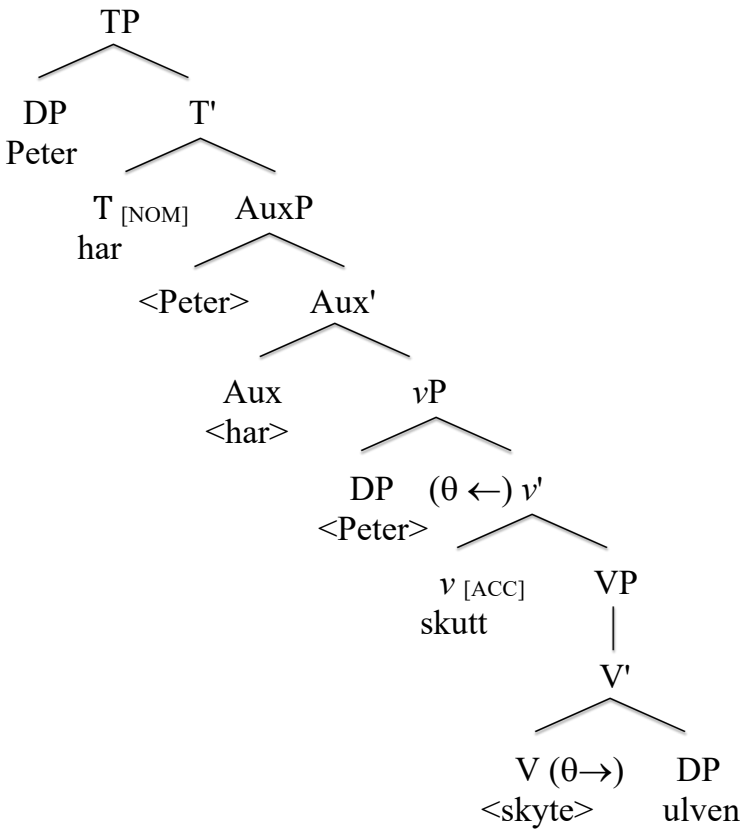
[118] This is Burzio's Generalization, which will be further discussed in 5.4.

(3) Peter has shot the wolf.



The derivation proceeds in the same way as with (1) and (2) up to the point where *v*P has been shipped off as a phase and the past participle in little *v* is no longer is available for further operations. An AuxP must therefore project to save the structure from crashing. With an auxiliary head in Aux, T can check its tense, and since the edge of *v*P is still available following phase theory, T can also assign nominative case to *Peter* in spec,*v*P. Its final landing position in spec,TP is a result of the EPP feature on each specifier, and its intermediate stop in spec,AuxP is a consequence of Shortest Move. This time the structure is identical for Norwegian because auxiliaries always raise to T. I will therefore not comment any further on (4) below:

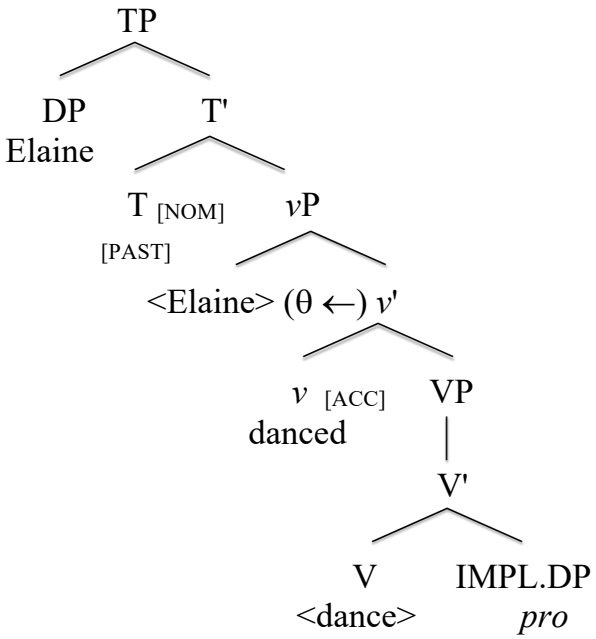
(4) Peter har skutt ulven.
Peter has shot wolf-DEF
'Peter has shot the wolf.'



5.2.2 Unergatives

In 3.2.4 I followed Baker (1988), Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002) and Chomsky (1995) and argued for the hypothesis that unergatives are hidden transitives. This means that unergatives also project a DP as the complement and internal argument of V, and in fact, this DP must be case-licensed, as evidenced from unergatives with cognate or understood objects. Although the complement position exists and is projected, it is not phonologically expressed in unergatives. There is in fact one element in generative theory that is both case-needy and phonologically unexpressed: *pro*. I will therefore use this element here.

(5) Elaine danced.



The derivation shows that the internal argument of the verb *dance* is empty and V has no overt complement to which it can assign a θ-role. This complies with the fact that unergatives have no (morphologically realised) internal argument but only an external argument. Yet, importantly, when V raises to little *v*, the causative element is still relevant and *v* is therefore also an accusative case-assigner. According to the case filter, its case must be assigned to a DP, but this creates a challenge since unergatives have covert DPs. The notation demonstrates this with the name IMPL.DP, which means 'implicit DP'. Following chapter 3, it is this implicit DP that receives the accusative case from *v*, and *pro* meets both of these criteria. The analysis with *pro* as a case-needy complement of unergatives will be essential in explaining passives of unergatives.

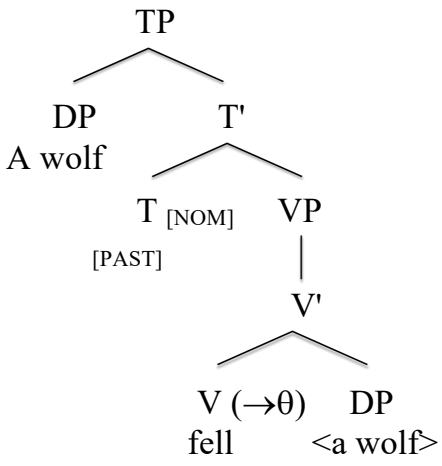
5.2.3 Unaccusatives

In chapter 3 I argue that since unaccusatives are anticausatives and cannot be passivised, there is no little *v* in their structures. With no little *v*, there is nothing for PASS to attach to. Neither is there a case-assigner that can assign accusative case to the internal argument. The lack of little *v* also combines well with the lack of both accusative case on the internal argument (hence the name *unaccusative*) and the lack of an external argument, which prototypically merges in spec,*v*P.

5.2.3.1 θ-roles in unaccusatives

Unaccusatives are actives, but they are very much like passives in that they are base-generated with no external argument. Before I look at the case assignment in unaccusatives, I will first focus on how θ-role assignment takes place in unaccusatives and claim that the procedure is identical in both languages.

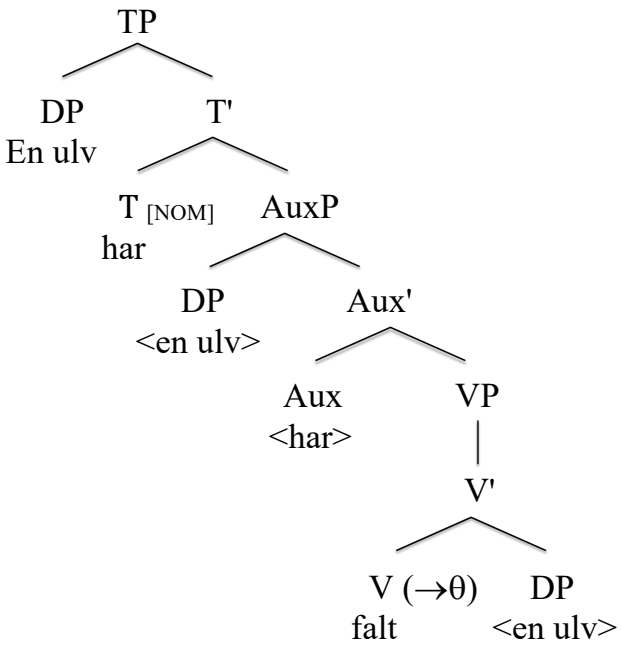
(6) A wolf fell.



V enters the syntactic derivation as the root verb *fall* and merges with its DP complement *the wolf*, to which it assigns a θ-role. In an unaccusative without the vP, the realisation of V as *fell* happens when T checks the tense feature of V at a distance. There is thus no movement of V and it stays in situ. The DP complement, however, moves to spec,TP, a non-thematic position, for EPP reasons.

When there is an auxiliary in the structure, as in the Norwegian (7) below, there is one more projection with a specifier for the internal argument to stop by on its way to spec,TP. With the merge of AuxP, Aux controls the aspect on V before T checks the tense on Aux, raising it since it is an auxiliary.

(7) En ulv har falt
A wolf has fallen.
'A wolf has fallen'

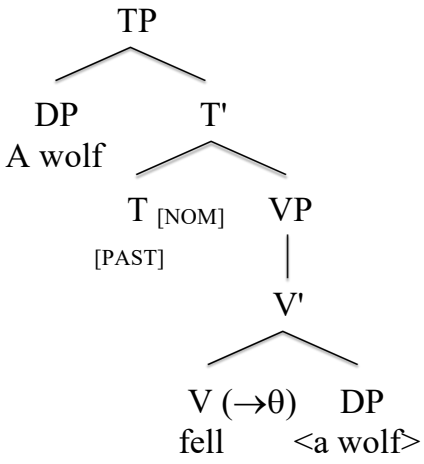


The structure in (7) is identical to the English equivalent, and before we look at the ramifications of case theory, the raising of *en ulv* to spec,TP happens for EPP reasons alone.

5.2.3.2 Case in unaccusatives

The proposal that unaccusatives lack a little *v* in their structure makes perfect sense on the assumption that *v* assigns accusative case and unaccusatives are incapable of doing so, hence their name. Without a little *v*, there is no accusative case assigner, and the internal argument must check its case from another source. (6) above is repeated here as (8):

(8) A wolf fell.



Without a *v*P in the structure, there is no external argument here and there is no case domain for accusative case. After T checks the tense on V in situ, its nominative case domain is therefore its whole c-command domain up until it reaches a phase, such as *v*P. But without a *v*P in unaccusatives, T can assign nominative case to its first (and only) c-commanded DP. At this point, *a wolf* has both a θ-role from V and case from T, and it is thus licensed in-situ and only moves to spec,TP for EPP reasons.

5.2.3.3 Unaccusatives with expletive subjects

There is empirical evidence in favour of the DP complement being licensed in situ in structures like (6-8). In both English and Norwegian, some unaccusatives can have expletive subjects. The structure is more natural and common in Norwegian, but it is also attested in some unaccusatives in English, as seen from the example sentences below and the selection of unaccusative verbs in (14).

(9) There have arisen several complications. (Radford 2009: 249)
(10) There arrived a man (in the garden). (Alexiadou and Schäfer 2010: 101)
(11) There appeared a ship on the horizon. (Levin 1993: 89)
(12) There began/*started a riot. (Milsark 1974 as cited in Burzio 1986: 160)
(13) There followed a rainstorm. (Burzio 1986: 160)

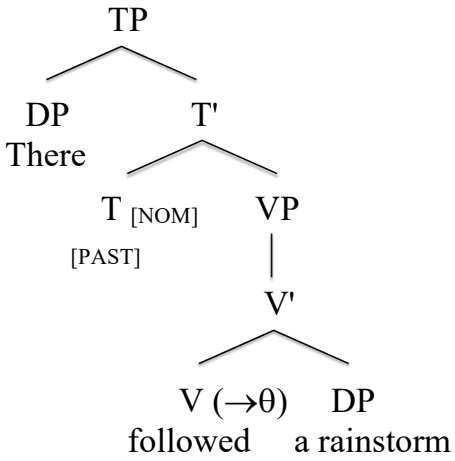
Burzio suggests that '[t]he majority of verbs with which *there* can appear most naturally [...] are indeed verbs that we would independently assume are ergative' (Burzio 1986: 159, his (175)):

(14) arise, emerge, develop, ensue, being, exist, occur, arrive, follow

Levin (1993: 91) points out that the semantics of verbs that work with *there*-insertion 'has led some to propose that the *there*-insertion is an unaccusative diagnostic'. She also quotes Milsark who argues that these verbs are 'basically change-of-state verbs [that] are understood as verbs of existence or appearance' (Levin 1993: 91). Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995: 19) make a distinction between surface unaccusativity and deep unaccusativity, and claim that '[i]n English surface unaccusativity is manifested only in the *there*-insertion construction'. They furthermore suggest that '[t]he constructions that are sensitive to surface unaccusativity are typically restricted to a sublass of the unaccusative verbs: verbs of existence, such as *exist*, *remain*, and *thrive*, and verbs of appearance, such as *appear*, *arise* and *emerge'*.

More recently, Radford (2009: 256) states that 'passive predicates resemble unaccusatives in that [...] they also allow expletive structures [...] in which [an] argument can be postverbal'. The following tree illustrates the structure of (13):

(15) There followed a rainstorm.



In Norwegian, unaccusatives are much more common and frequent with expletive insertion, and the grammaticality of the following constructed sentences should be uncontroversial:

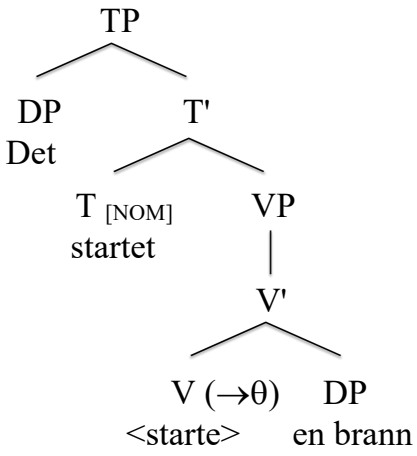
(16) Det falt en bjørn.
There fell a bear.
'A bear fell.'

(17) Det kom ein framand til byen. [Nynorsk]
There came a stranger to town-DEF.
'A stranger came to town.'

(18) Det startet en brann på kjøkkenet.
There started a fire in kitchen-DEF.
'A fire started in the kitchen.'

(18) works well without the locative adverbial and can be represented in (19). The derivation and explanation is the same as in (15):

(19) Det startet en brann.
It started a fire.
'A fire started.'



Frequency and productivity aside, both languages allow at least some unaccusatives with DP complements in situ. This is what the analysis above predicts, and the data are good supporting evidence for a hypothesis where little *v* is absent in unaccusative structures because it is the accusative assigner and also the assigner of the external θ-role. I assume that unaccusatives that do not allow *there*-insertion do so for other reasons (cf. Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995: 19) and that T in theory can scan into the VP domain as long as there is no phase or barrier such as *v*P.

5.3 θ-roles and case in passives

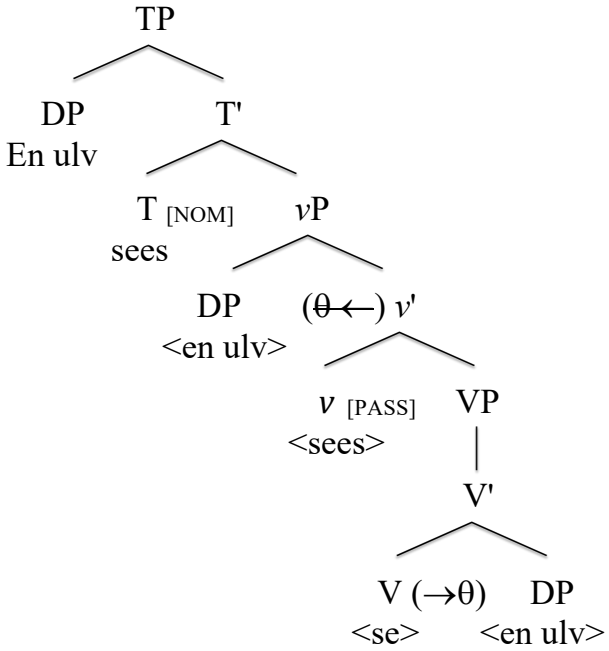
The hypothesis suggested in chapter 3 is that the passive morpheme carries a passive feature [PASS]. This feature can only attach to little *v*, which is present in a causative construction. I have also argued that [PASS] cancels out the accusative case feature of little *v* in English but not in Norwegian. With this as a premise, I will now briefly repeat how monotransitives are passivised in English and Norwegian. It will be shown that if we leave case out of the picture, we can derive basic passives in both languages in the same way.

5.3.1 θ-roles in passives of monotransitives

Apart from case assignment in passives, which will be explained in 5.3.2, passives of monotransitives behave the same way in English and Norwegian. The passive feature [PASS] attaches to little *v* and suppresses or blocks θ-role assignment to spec,*v*P. This dethematisation opens up for the internal argument DP to raise through spec,*v*P, which is now a θ-free position. This can be illustrated in a morphological passive without an auxiliary, as in the Norwegian example below.[119]

[119] The example may sound a little stilted in isolation, but there should be no doubt about the possibility of such a syntactic structure in a given context.

(20) En ulv sees.
A wolf see-PASS.
'A wolf is seen.'

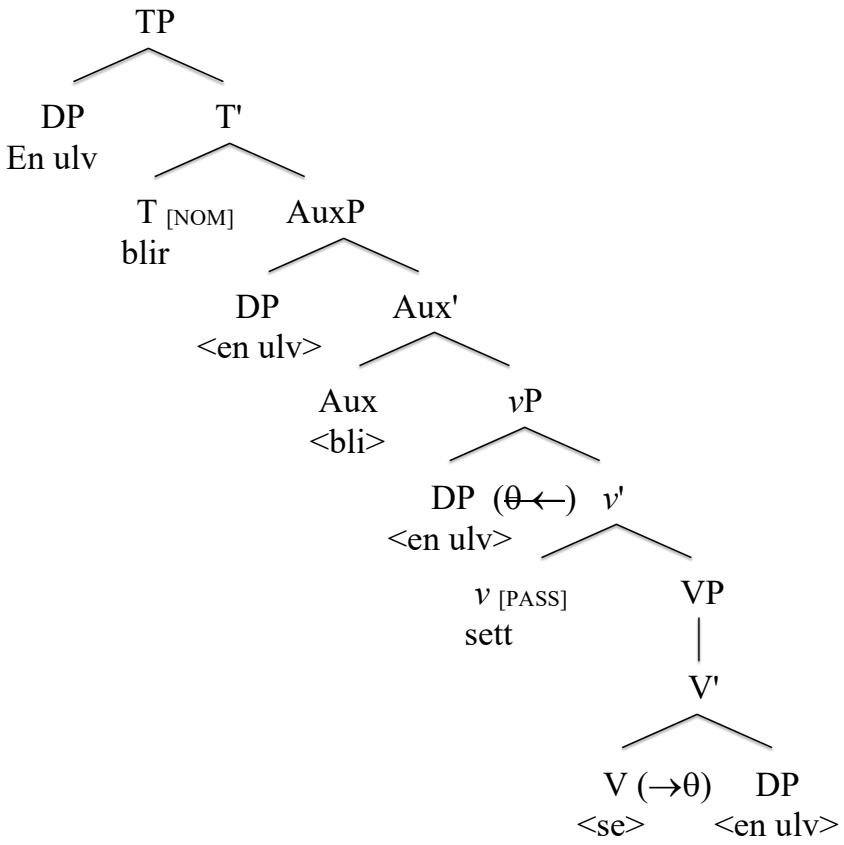


Notice that I abstract away from accusative case assignment at this stage,[120] merely noting where and why the internal argument moves in a passive with object promotion: Each functional specifier has an [EPP] feature and spec,TP must be filled by an overt DP.

Morphological passives do not exist in English, and the translation into English provided above must use the periphrastic passive. The natural step forward is therefore to look at a periphrastic passive construction in both languages, starting with the periphrastic version of (20).

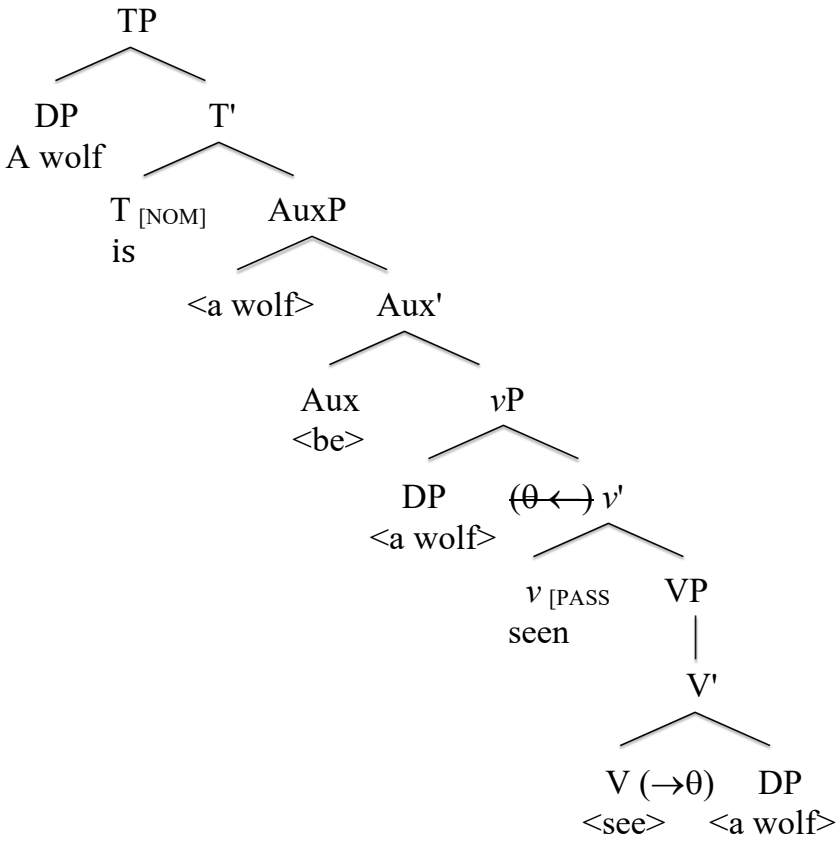
[120] Nominative case is assigned from T the same way in actives and passives of both languages.

(21) En ulv blir sett
A wolf is seen
'A wolf is seen.'



The standard assumption in generative theory is that auxiliaries raise to T for tense, and this is also the case in both English and Norwegian. The internal argument *en ulv* raises first through spec,*v*P and then through spec,AuxP on its way to subject position in spec,TP. The corresponding English sentence has the same structure and follows the same derivational pattern:

(22) A wolf is seen.



These derivations explicitly show that the θ-role assignment is identical in English and Norwegian actives and passives. In passives, the passive feature on little *v* suppresses the θ-role assignment of *v*-bar, making spec,*v*P θ-free and a possible landing position for the DP complement. Consequently, when we disregard accusative case assignment, English and Norwegian passives undergo the same procedures and can be explained in the same way.

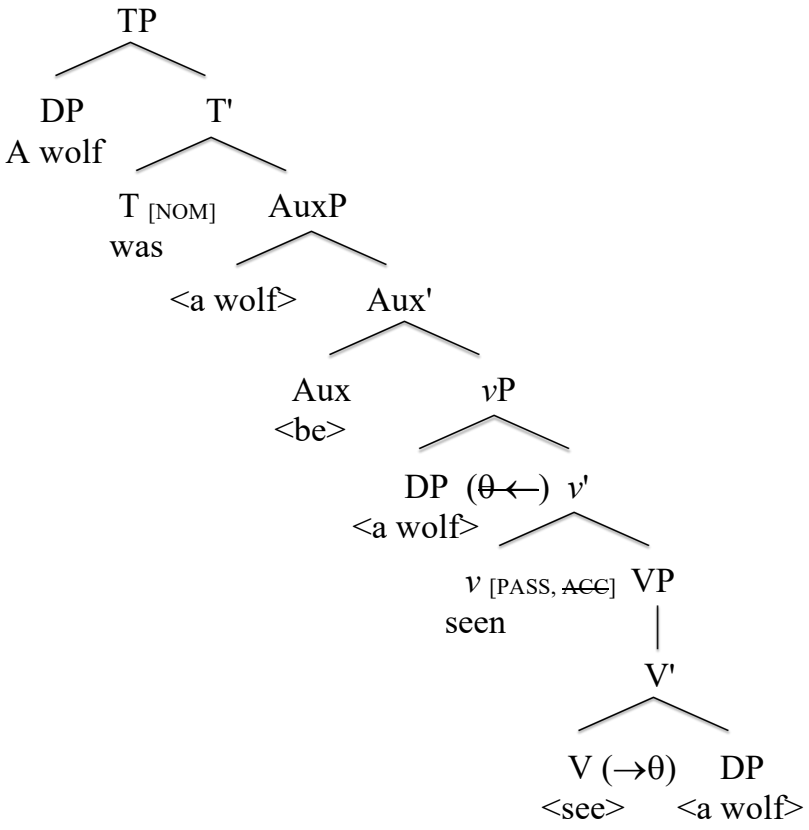
5.3.2 Case in passives of monotransitives

Although the end result of a standard personal passive with object promotion is the same in English and Norwegian, as seen in (21) and (22) above, the widespread existence of expletive passives of the postverbal type in Norwegian suggests that the mechanisms are different, particularly with respect to case. Expletive passives will be the topic of the next section, where I will show why and how the structure of expletive passives varies between English and Norwegian. But a first step will be to argue for the case assignment differences based on the qualities of the passive morpheme and its effect on the causative feature of little *v*, as demonstrated in chapter 3.

(21) and (22) serve as illustrations and the only difference now is that when [PASS] attaches to little *v* in the Norwegian sentence in (21) above, it has no effect on the accusative feature, meaning that the internal argument is licensed in postverbal position and is not required to move for case reasons. The movement of the DP associate *en ulv* to spec,TP is thus a result of the EPP feature; the sentence needs a subject, and with no expletive in the structure, the internal argument is the only noun phrase available.

In th English version the postverbal argument has to move because [PASS] suppresses the [ACC] feature on little *v*. Since *v* blocks T from assigning case into its domain, the DP must move to spec,*v*P for case reasons as illustrated in (23) below, the past simple version of (22) above:

(23) A wolf was seen.



But this is not the whole picture. Spec,*v*P is also a position that needs to be filled because of its [EPP] feature. This means that there are two options: either a non-argument like an expletive must merge here, or an argument that already has its θ-role.

As a consequence, I propose that the DP complement in the English sentence (23) must move to spec,*v*P for reasons to do with an interplay between case and the EPP; it cannot get case from *v* but at the same time it is outside the case domain of T. Since it does not and cannot pass the case filter in situ, it is forced to move. Spec,*v*P is the perfect landing site because not only does it have an [EPP] feature, it is also dethematised in passives, meaning that it becomes an ideal landing position for *a wolf*. Here the moved DP is within T's case domain and can be assigned nominative case from T through the probe-goal system of Agree. The periphrastic nature of English passives means that an AuxP must project, with *be* as the head. Since there is no expletive in the structure, the DP *a wolf* must raise to spec,TP in successive cyclic motion owing to Shortest Move and the [EPP] feature on specifiers.

5.4 Transitive expletive passives

The presentation so far has been leading up to my two main research questions from section 1.2, and this section will adress the first of these:

1. Which factors are relevant for the position of the DP associate in expletive passives?

The answer will be based on the analysis of little *v* and PASS in chapter 3, the empirical data in chapter 4, and the theoretical background presented in this chapter. I will start by explaning how postverbal objects may be licensed in situ in Norwegian and why their movement to spec,*v*P is blocked. Then I will explain why the opposite is the case in English, first by accounting for why the DP associate is blocked in situ and then why it has to move to spec,*v*P, before I suggest an explanation for the apparent breach of the case filter with long and heavy DPs in postverbal position.

5.4.1 Postverbal arguments in Norwegian

In Standard Norwegian, only postverbal arguments are possible. There were several examples of this structure in the corpus, and three of these are repeated below. The construction is natural with both the periphrastic passive (24) and (25) and the morphological passive (26):

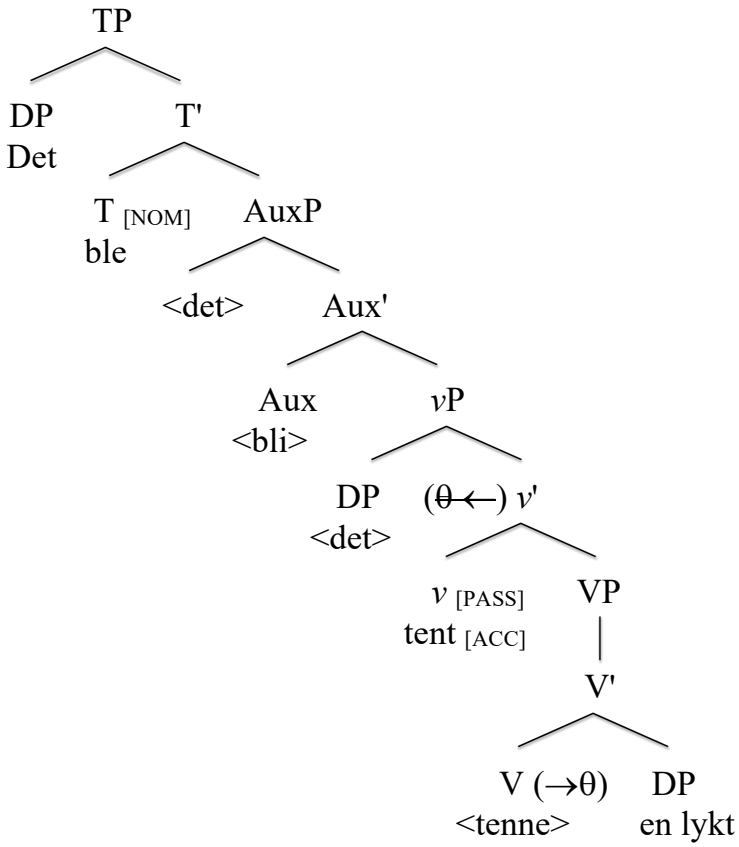
(24) a. Det ble tent en lykt. (KAL1)
There was lit a lantern.
b. A lantern was lit. (KAL1T)

(25) a. Det ble lest messer ... (AOH1)
There became read masses ...
b. Masses and prayers were read ... (AOH1T)

(26) a. Det utgis plater og kassetter med samisk musikk. (BAA1)
It publish-PASS records and cassettes with Sami music.
b. Sami music can be found on cassettes and phonograph records.

The pattern of all of these is naturally the same, but for reasons of exposition, I will explain the derivation of the full sentence in (24), here repeated with the tree structure in (27).

(27) Det ble tent en lykt.
It was lit a lantern.
'A lantern was lit.'



The phrase marker in (27) can be explained by the following syntactic operations: V assigns a θ-role to its DP complement before raising to little *v*. Since this is a passive sentence, [PASS] is a feature of little *v* which dethematises the external argument, making spec,*v*P θ-free. Since [PASS] does not affect the [ACC] feature of little *v* in Norwegian, little *v* can assign accusative case to the DP complement *en lykt* 'a lantern' in its postverbal position.[121]

[121] It should be noted that there is no morphological evidence that the postverbal DP is in the accusative. Such a stipulation, however, is fairly reasonable on the judgement that an accusative pronoun would be significantly less ungrammatical than a nominative pronoun in this position. A politically incorrect example from a culture with arranged weddings would demonstrate that accusative case is the natural case for the postverbal argument in passives of ditransitives in Norwegian (from Tor A. Åfarli, p.c.):

(i) a. Raj ble gitt bruden.
Raj was given bride-the.
'Raj was given the bride.'
b. Raj ble gitt henne/*hun.

Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1986) suggests that in order for *v* to assign case, it must also assign a θ-role to its specifier. But since I assume that the internal argument may move to spec,*v*P in the basic passive (cf. chapter 3) both in English and Norwegian, I retain the standard assumption that spec,*v*P must be θ-free in passives. In other words, my hypothesis contradicts Burzio's Generalisation, at least superficially. The EPP feature of little *v* still requires the merge of a syntactic element in spec,*v*P, and since this element must be a non-argument, I assume that this is where the Norwegian expletive *det* 'it/there' merges. If this is the case, the expletive effectively blocks the DP associate from moving to spec,*v*P, a result which can account for the fact that Norwegian does not have preverbal arguments in expletive passives.

Despite having both case and a θ-role, *en lykt* can raise to spec,*v*P for [EPP] reasons, but it is precisely the possibility of a passive little *v* to assign accusative case to a DP complement that allows for an expletive to merge in spec,*v*P. A low merger of expletives in Norwegian can thus explain the empirical data. Introducing an expletive in spec,*v*P is also an economical principle because it inserts the expletive in the first available specifier. Since the expletive is an empty pronoun, it does not have a θ-role, and therefore meets the θ-free status of spec,*v*P in passives, but since it is a DP, it needs case, and T can probe down to the edge of the *v*P and assign it nominative case there. After this, the expletive is the highest element that can meet the EPP requirement. Thus it moves up observing Shortest Move until it ends up in the final subject position, spec,TP. The expletive passive in (27) is now generated without breaching the case filter or the θ-criterion.

5.4.2 Preverbal arguments in English

English generates expletive passives with transitive verbs where the DP associate generally is in the immediate preverbal position. Although clearly base-generated in postverbal position, the internal argument must therefore move to the position to the left of the passive verb, which is spec,*v*P. Below are two examples taken from the ENPC (see chapter 4) and reproduced here. The preverbal internal argument is underlined:

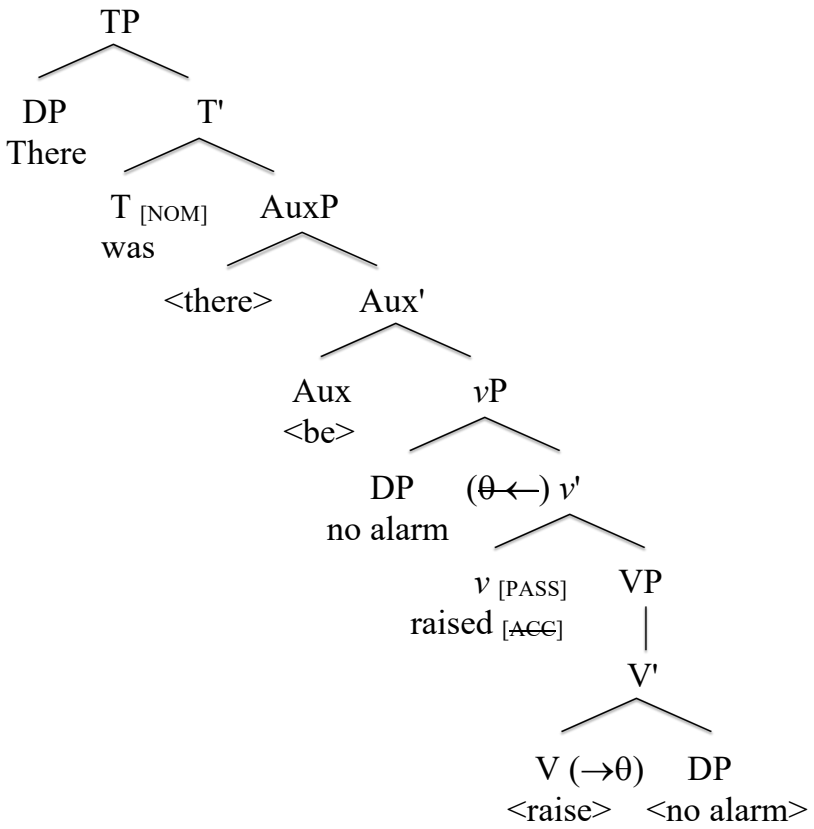
Raj was given her/*she.
'She was given to Raj.'

(28) There was no alarm raised. (FF1)

(29) There were resolutions passed in late 1987 [...] (LTLT1)

I offer the following syntactic derivation and explanation of (28):

(30) There was no alarm raised.



After V and DP merge and V assigns a θ-role to the DP, V raises to *v*, whose [PASS] feature cancels out [ACC]. Belonging to the accusative domain of *v*, but with no case assigner in the domain, the DP *no alarm* must now raise to the first vacant and θ-free A-position with an [EPP] feature. Since the dethematising consequence of [PASS] has also cancelled out *v*'s (in the notation *v*-bar's) θ-role assignment to its specifier, the first available A-position is spec,*v*P, to which *no alarm* raises. It is now in the nominative case domain of T and may receive nominative case through probe-goal.

Since this is a periphrastic passive, however, an AuxP must project allowing the passive auxiliary *be* to merge into the structure. Its specifier has an [EPP] feature, and can now in theory be filled by external or internal merge by expletive insertion or DP

movement, respectively. Since *no alarm* now has a θ-role (from first merge) and is in the nominative case domain of T, external merge takes precedence and *there* merges in spec,AuxP. After this, T merges, attracting the auxiliary to raise and be tensed. Finally, the [EPP] feature of spec,TP attracts the highest specifier, namely *there* in spec,AuxP.

I propose that the reason English allows this kind of preverbal argument is precisely that a DP in spec,*v*P carries with it its θ-role and can receive nominative case from T in this position. There are two explanations for this. First, it has moved out of *v*'s case domain, and second, it has moved to the edge of the *v*P phase, meaning that it is still accessible to further syntactic operations after *v*P has been shipped off to spell-out.

Further movement therefore only happens for EPP reasons, but since the expletive can meet the EPP requirement in spec,AuxP, it is the highest element available for raising to spec,TP. A consequence of this is that the DP associate stays low in spec,*v*P after having moved out of the *v*P phase for case reasons. The explanation for the preverbal argument in English is thus the same as for the general non-occurrence of postverbal arguments: the passive feature [PASS] blocks little *v*'s accusative-assigning properties in English. The function of [PASS] is thus to force DP movement to spec,*v*P.

5.4.3 Postverbal arguments in English

Postverbal arguments in expletive passives in English are structurally barred, but there are certain exceptions. In this section I will first explain why they are barred in 5.4.3.1 before I suggest an explanation for some exceptional postverbal structures in 5.4.3.2.

5.4.3.1 The ungrammaticality of postverbal arguments in English

Expletive passives in English do not generally occur with postverbal arguments, so much so that I will maintain that these structures are ungrammatical. (31) is a direct word-for-word translation of the Norwegian in (27) above, and it is unquestionably ungrammatical:

(31) *There was lit a lantern.

I argue that there is only one reason for the ungrammaticality of (31): The DP associate lacks case and does not pass the Case filter in situ. Despite the assumption

that there is a *v*P in English passives as well, [PASS] blocks the accusative case property of little *v* and the internal argument *a lantern* can therefore not receive accusative case. Further, since the DP is also inside the *v*P, which is both a phase and the case domain for *v*, T cannot assign nominative case to it. As a result, *a lantern* must move to spec,*v*P, a θ-free position that is within the case domain of T. Unless this happens, the derivation crashes and (31) is ungrammatical.

5.4.3.2 Exceptional postverbal arguments in English

With the assumption that a postverbal DP in English does not pass the Case filter, I will need to account for the fact that in some situations a postverbal DP, particularly one that is long or heavy, seems to be licensed in this position. Below are two examples from the syntactic literature and the two found in the ENPC (the latter with the relevant structure underlined):

(32) There was found no evidence of corruption. (Radford 2009: 256)

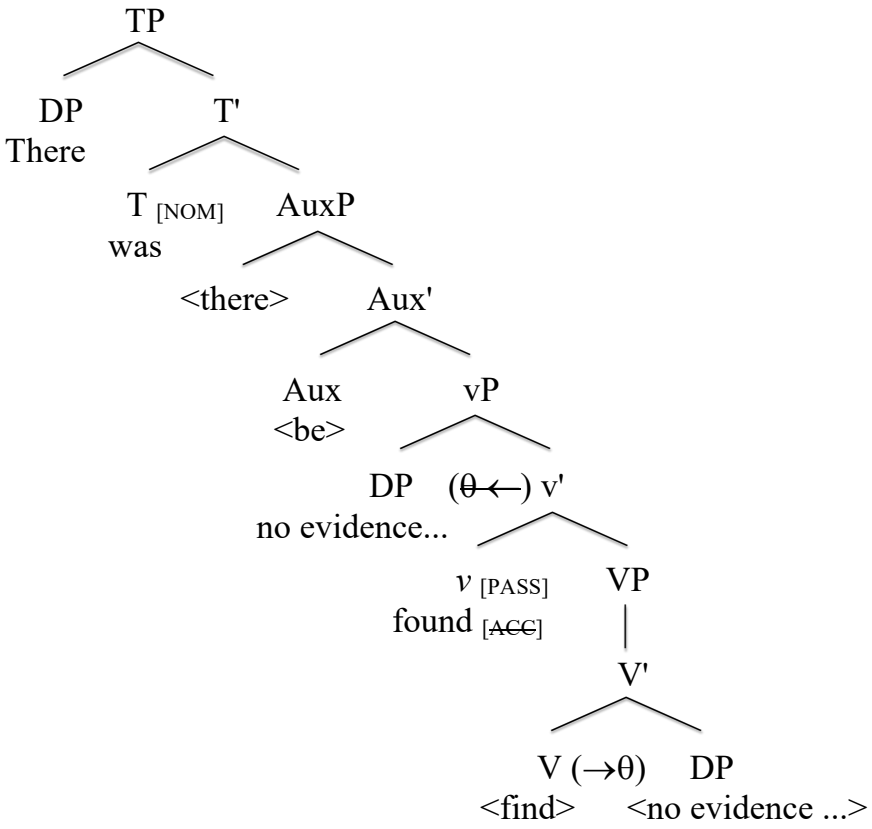
(33) There have been reported several cases of syntactophobia. (Radford 2009: 256)

(34) There were three wells, <u>there were established shade trees and slim green cypresses, hedges of rosemary, a giant almond tree</u>. (PM1)

(35) [...] eventually <u>there was produced not just a human face, not just a Japanese face, but the visage of a fierce and scowling samurai</u>. (CSA1)

At the outset, such cases seem to have two possible solutions. The first alternative is that heavy postverbal DPs never move to begin with. They are too heavy and they must therefore be accepted as grammatical structures for reasons to do with heaviness. As convenient as this may sound, it faces both a theoretical and an empirical challenge. The theoretical challenge is that a postverbal DP is still a DP and should therefore not be exempt from the case filter. The empirical challenge is that the relative heaviness of the DP in for example (32) is not enough to bar it from occurring preverbally. As such (36) is a grammatical alternative to (32), this time with the standard preverbal structure as outlined in 5.4.2:

(36) There was no evidence of corruption found.

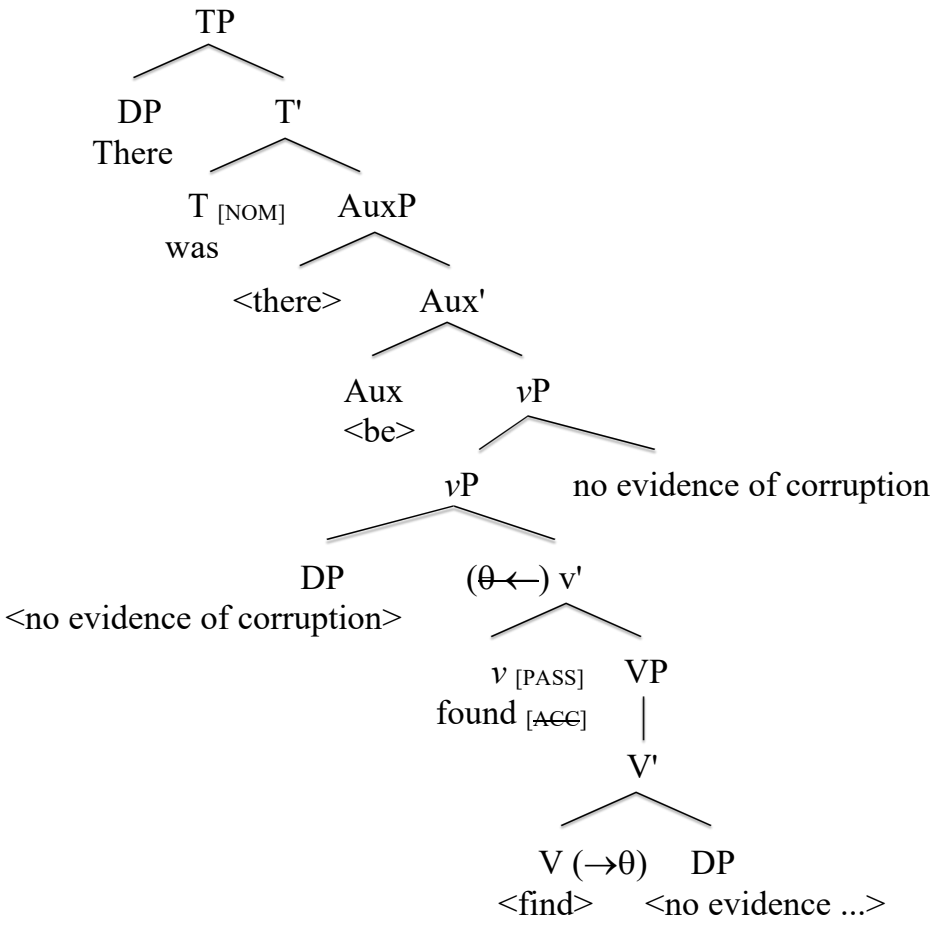


With (36) as a possible alternative to the linear order in (32), the second and better alternative is therefore to assume that heavy DPs first undergo movement to spec,*v*P, where they can be case-licensed, but due to postsyntactic processes, heavy DPs may be shifted back to a postverbal position before spell-out. Pesetsky (1995: 249) presents five examples of this and explains that '[i]f a DP argument of V is focused or otherwise "heavy," it may be pronounced farther to the right in VP than is normal [...]. This is the phenomenon called *heavy NP shift*'. I include three of his examples here where the underscore is the normal position for the DP and the extraposed DP is marked in square brackets (Pesetsky 1995: 250, his (610a), (d) and (e)):

(37) We gave ____ to John on Friday [a brand-new toy].
(38) Harry put ____ on this table [the new Ming vase he'd bought].
(39) Mary offended _____ by neglecting to smile [her favorite uncle from Sweden].

I follow Pesetsky (1995: 250) who notes that '[t]he most standard possible analysis of this phenomenon assumes that this is rightward adjunction to VP'.[122] A syntactic derivation of (32) may thus have the intermediate derivation of (36) and afterwards end up with the original linear order through right-adjunction of the heavy DP to *v*P. I illustrate this in (40):

(40) There was found no evidence of corruption.



The internal argument *no evidence of corruption* starts by being merged with V *find*, but after V-to-*v* and the loss of accusative case, it cannot be case-licensed in situ and must move to spec,*v*P, following the standard movement for EPP and case reasons. In this position, it is case-licensed through the nominative case from T through probe-goal. As a consequence, further movement does not happen for case reasons, but the heavier the DP is, the more likely it is to be extraposed by being adjoined to *v*P. The result of this derivation is that the DP seems to be back in its original position once the

[122] Pesetsky's VP is equivalent to *v*P in my analysis.

sentence is sent off to PF for spell-out.[123] At PF, then, the DP shifts to a rightward position, and I presume that this happens through adjunction to *v*P.

Local dislocation is also promoted in Embick and Noyer (2001: 556) who explain that 'it has [...] been recognized that syntactic movement cannot be responsible for certain movement operations'. In fact, they suggest that 'linear ordering is not a property of syntactic representations but is imposed at PF in virtue of the requirement that speech be instantiated in time' (Embick and Noyer 2001: 562). As such DP movement of this kind seems to occur after narrow syntax, the focus in this thesis. In addition, since heavy postverbal DPs are exceptional structures that are neither frequent nor particular to passives, I leave further investigation of these aside for future research. [124]

5.5. Impersonal passives

I now turn to the second of the two main research questions:

2. Why does Norwegian allow impersonal passives while English does not?

Impersonal passives are extremely productive and natural in Norwegian. I repeat three examples from the ENPC here: (41) and (42) below are periphrastic while (43) is morphological. I have underlined the passive participles in the original (a) and in my gloss, and the relevant translation from the corpus (b):

(41) a. Det ble spist og drukket. (SH1)
There was eaten and drunk.
b. ... the feasting began with eating and drinking. (SH1T)

(42) a. Det ble ledd og konversert. (HW2)
There was laughed and conversed.
b. There was laughter and conversation. (HW2T)

[123] For details, see Embick and Noyer (2001). Their approach builds on Marantz (1984) and is adapted to DM, but it is also a common explanation in minimalism.
[124] Chomsky (1995: 334-335) suggests that 'ordering is part of the phonological component' and that 'rightward extraposition is free in English'.

(43) a. Det samarbeides over grensene om samesendingene. (BAA1)
There co-work-PASS over borders about Sami-programmes.
b. There is extensive Nordic cooperation on radio programs. (BAA1T)

Since unergatives have no internal arguments, the basic passive through object promotion is impossible. A passive from an unergative must therefore be a subjectless passive, i.e., an impersonal passive. As the corpus sentences in (a) above show, this is a grammatical structure in Norwegian. But the English translations in the (b) sentences are all translated with active structures and the passive verbs in Norwegian are replaced by nominals in English. Regardless of the translation, impersonal passives are ungrammatical in English, and therefore not generated. In explaining these cross-linguistic differences, I will reinforce the hypothesis that unergatives are hidden transitives by suggesting that the implicit object of an unergative is little *pro*, a covert pronominal in need of case.[125]

Little *pro* has a deep-rooted history in generative linguistics, dating back at least to Chomsky (1982). Poole (2011: 263) points out that there are some antecedents in Chomsky (1981) where *pro* (then assumed to be big *PRO*) was suggested to be 'the unexpressed subject in null-subject languages'. Although little *pro* generally is argued to be a nominative pronoun (e.g., Åfarli and Eide 2003: 363) in morphologically rich languages, such as Italian and Spanish, Poole (2011: 260) writes that Epstein (1984) has presented 'some very interesting evidence to suggest that English *does* have *pro*, just not in subject position.' But Epstein (1984) also suggests that English *pro* is caseless, whereas Rizzi (1986: 524) shows that little *pro* requires case, at least for Italian. The standard assumption in contemporary syntax is summed up in Poole (2011: 262, his emphasis), who concludes that 'we would expect not only that *pro can* bear Case, but that it *must*, in line with other overt pronominals', at least in null-subject languages. This is also confirmed by Carnie (2013: 450), who adds that 'English doesn't have *pro'*.

The proposal that *pro* can be the implicit object of unergatives thus offers a new perspective that will be fruitful for my analysis. Since I maintain that *pro* requires case, also in object position, the same explanation that is used for transitive expletive

[125] The idea of using *pro* or a *pro*-like element for the implicit object was suggested to me by Tor A Åfarli (p.c.).

passives can be used for impersonal passives: a passive little *v* cannot assign case to *pro* in English, but it can in Norwegian. The reason why subject *pro* does not exist in English or Norwegian is then not a result of case theory. Rather, subject *pro* only exists in null-subject languages, and thus it cannot meet an EPP requirement on a specifier in English or Norwegian. In conclusion, the hypothesis of unergatives as hidden transitives with a case-needy *pro* as the implicit object can explain the existence of impersonal passives in Norwegian, and their non-existence in English.

5.5.1 Norwegian impersonal passives

The impersonal passive in (41) above has two intransitive verbs and can thus serve as the inspiration for two example sentences in Norwegian, both of which can be motivated by a structure retaining a postverbal DP filled by *pro*. It is worth noting that both *spise* 'eat' and *drikke* 'drink' are verbs with transitive alternatives, as in the (b) examples.

(44) a. Det ble spist *pro*.
There was eaten *pro*.
'There was eating.'
b. Det ble spist mat.
There was eaten food.
'There was food being eaten.'

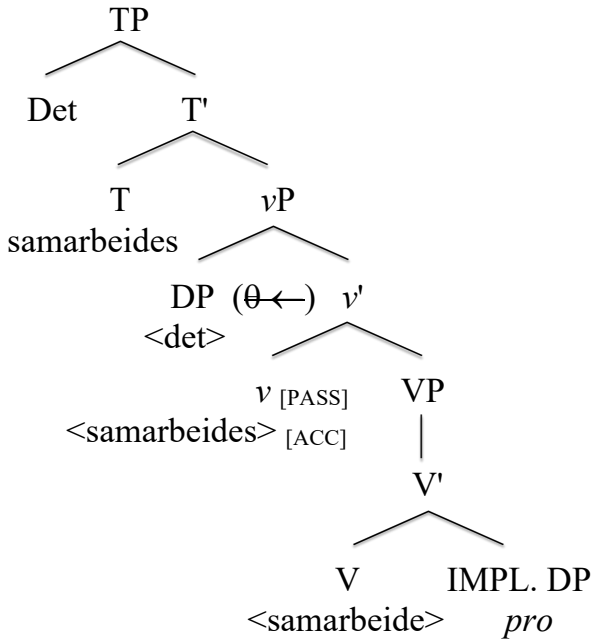
(45) a. Det ble drukket *pro*.
There was drunk *pro*.
'There was drinking.'
b. Det ble drukket te.
There was drunk tea.
'There was drinking of tea.'

The fact that many verbs can have both transitive and intransitive versions seems to offer support for the theory of unergatives having implicit objects. The verbs above thus assign both a θ-role and case to their complement, regardless of whether the DP is explicit or not. The first of two verbs in (42), *le* 'laugh' was described in chapter 3 as a verb with a cognate object, but the second verb, *konversere* 'converse', is harder to identify with an understood object. The same applies to *samarbeide* 'cooperate' in (43).

But these verbs have a stronger claim to be verbalised nouns. In Baker's (1988) theory of incorporation, verbs can be made from nouns that have moved from complement position to V (or perhaps little *v*) and have become verbalised. This seems particularly likely for *konversere* 'converse' in that it can easily be used with a light verb like *ha* 'have' both in English and Norwegian so that *ha en konversasjon* 'have a conversation' can be the starting point before the noun incorporates into the light verb and becomes *konversere* 'converse'. The translation of the passive verbs into nominals in English also seems to offer some support for the hypothesis of unergatives as hidden transitives.

I offer a derivation for any and all impersonal passives below, based on (43), but with a shorter and simpler sentence which is perfectly acceptable with only the expletive pronoun and the verb in the morphological passive, as in (46).

(46) Det samarbeides.
There cooperate-$_{\text{PASS}}$ *pro*.
'Cooperation is taking place.'



Recall that all Vs by definition are unaccusative and incapable of assigning case to their complement. With *pro* as an implicit DP complement in unergatives, this entails that all unergatives are also unaccusatives in this sense, i.e., that they have no case to assign to their DP complement. But as the tree structure shows, they all merge with a

DP complement, but one that is not spelled out morphologically. If this implicit DP is little *pro*, it merges with V in complement position and gets a θ-role from V but no case. After V-to-*v* raising, the raised V (in *v*) can now assign accusative case to *pro*, as little *v* can do in both actives and passives in Norwegian. Since (46) is a passive, then, the passive feature does not impinge on little *v*'s case feature, and *pro* is case-licensed in situ. After this, the derivation can continue with the merge of the expletive *det* 'it' in spec,*v*P. Since this expletive is nominal, it can receive nominative case from T through Agree before moving up to spec,TP for EPP reasons. With *v*-to-T raising of main verbs in Norwegian, the passive verb then finally moves to T where its tense is checked.

Although case-licensed complement DPs typically can raise in passives, Rizzi (1986: 523) concludes that little *pro* 'cannot undergo NP Movement and, more generally, it cannot occur in passive sentences'.[126] Since Norwegian is not a null-subject language, it cannot have an empty DP like *pro* as a subject either. From this it follows that (47) below is ungrammatical for two reasons. First, little *pro* cannot move to spec,*v*P and be passivised, and second, little *pro* cannot fill an EPP requirement in a language that does not allow null subjects.

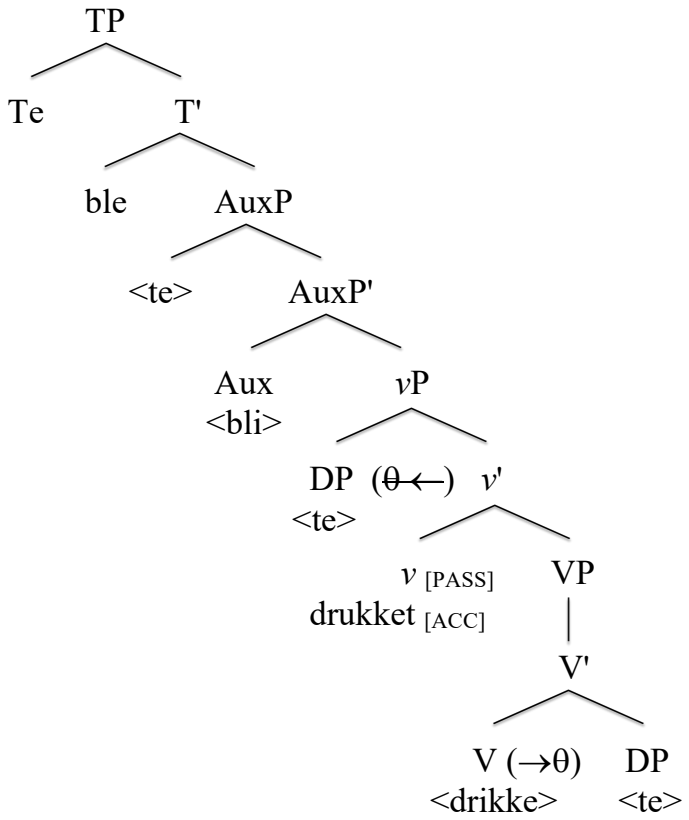
(47) *Samarbeides.
pro Cooperate-PASS <*pro*>
'Cooperation is taking place.'

As a result, (46) and (47) are evidence in favour of the hypothesis that *pro* is the implicit object of an unergative and that it can receive case in situ but not move to spec,*v*P and become the subject.

With an explicit object as in (45b), however, the morphological realisation of the VP complement can be targeted for movement and meet the EPP requirement of spec,*v*P so that the end result is a personal passive, repeated here as (48) and with the relevant tree illustration:

[126] Rizzi's explanation is for the Italian *pro* and does actually have one exception: The Italian impersonal passive with the reflexive element *si* in surface subject position. This, however, is another structure than the morphological passive in Norwegian where the reflexive -s morpheme (which derives from Old Norse *sik* 'self') affixes to the verb. Little *pro* in Norwegian is therefore linked to object position and is as possible in impersonal passives as any other overt object is in transitive expletive passives.

(48) Te ble drukket.
Tea was drunk.
'Tea was drunk.'



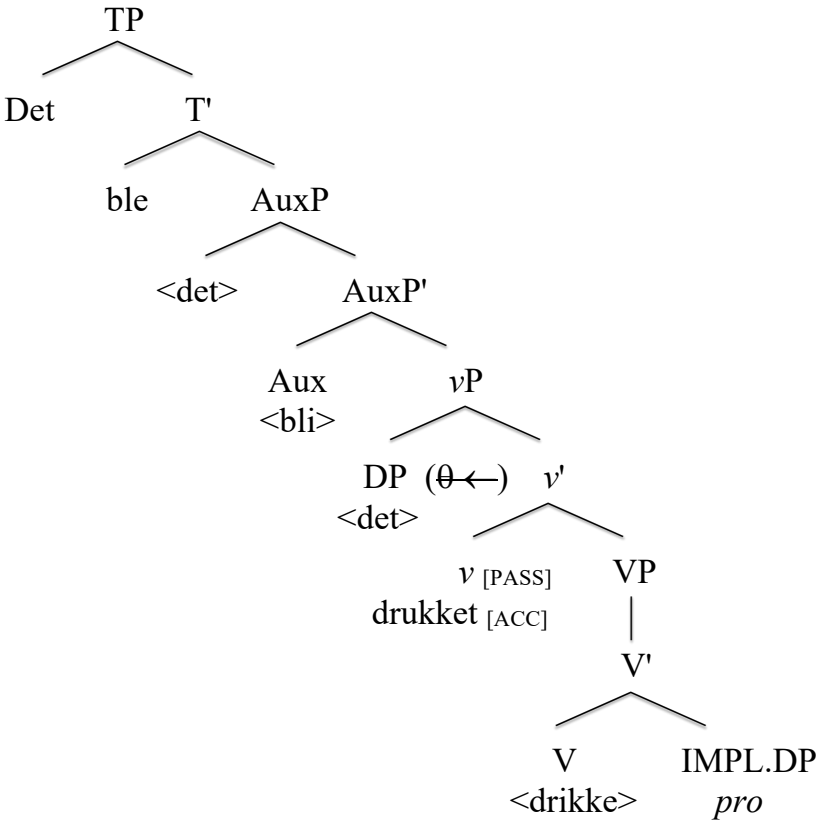
After V raises to *v* and the passive feature allows the verb to case-license *te* 'tea' as the complement of V, this object can raise to spec,*v*P to meet the EPP requirement in its capacity as a phonologically expressed DP. This derivation thus generates the basic passive, but—as demonstrated in section 5.4—with the DP case-licensed in postverbal position, an alternative is that an expletive can merge in spec,*v*P, instead, generating the final structure in (49):

(49) Det ble drukket te.
There was drunk tea.
'Tea was drunk.'

(49) is a transitive expletive structure, but in reality it is similar to an impersonal passive without a phonologically realised object. As such the transitive expletive

passive above is generated in the same way as the impersonal passive in (45a), here repeated as (50):

(50) Det ble drukket *pro*.
There was drunk *pro*.
'There was drinking.'



The only difference between the transitive expletive passive in (49) and the impersonal passive in (50) is that the DP object of the latter is implicit and represented by *pro*. Otherwise, both structures have a DP complement that must be case-licensed in situ, and since [PASS] does not affect little *v*'s case-assignment properties in Norwegian, both constructions are grammatical. From this I conclude that impersonal passives are allowed in Norwegian for the same reason that transitive expletive passives are allowed: a passive *v* can case-license both overt and covert DPs in postverbal position.

5.5.2 No impersonal passives in English

If we now turn to English, the two central premises given above also hold up: All unergatives are hidden transitives and their underlying object is *pro*, a case-needy DP.

Since I have argued in chapter 3 that [PASS] suppresses little *v*'s case features in English, the combination of all three premises can accurately explain why English disallows impersonal passives: a DP in postverbal position, whether overt or covert, does not pass the case filter in English passives. Thus we are led to the conclusion that all the following structures are barred in English:[127]

(51) *There/*It was eaten.
(52) *There/*It was drunk.
(53) *There/*It was laughed.
(54) *There/*It was conversed.
(55) *There/*It was cooperated.

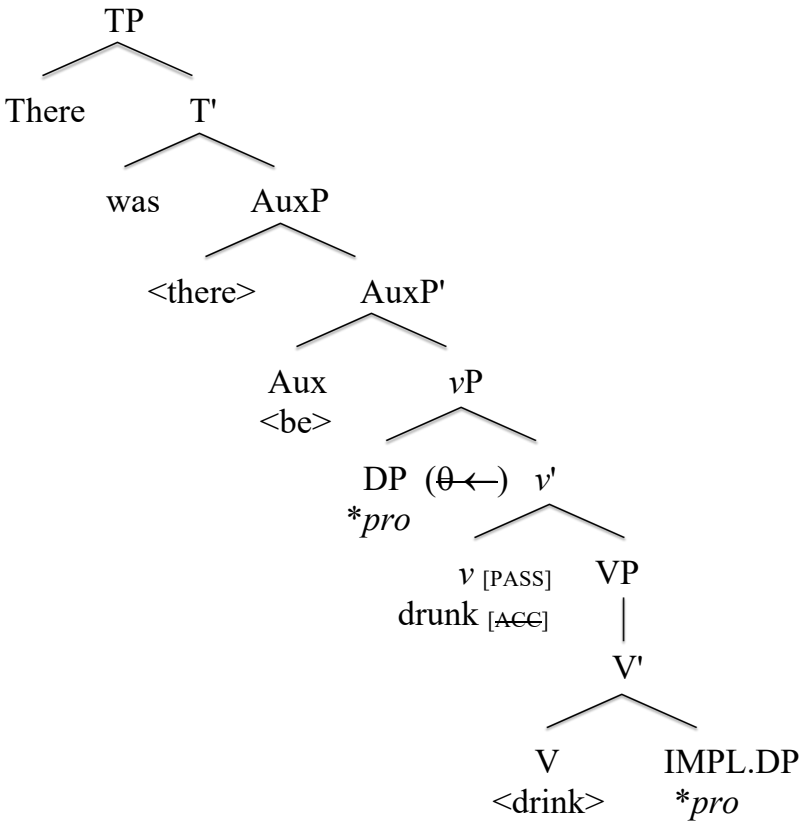
Below I repeat (52) as (56) with the expletive *there* and show that it is ungrammatical even if we were to stipulate that *pro* could serve as an implicit DP associate.[128]

[127] I include structures with expletive *it* here because *there* is barred also by the superficial fact that there is no overt associate DP in these structures. Pronominal *it* is of course a different story as it would work with (48) and (49) as analogues to personal passives.

(i) The food is eaten. = It is eaten
(ii) The tea is drunk. = It is drunk.

[128] This is not a stipulation here. The example merely points out that if a DP associate of an expletive passive in English could be said to be covert, there would be other reasons for the ungrammaticality of (53).

(56) *There was (**pro*) drunk (**pro*).

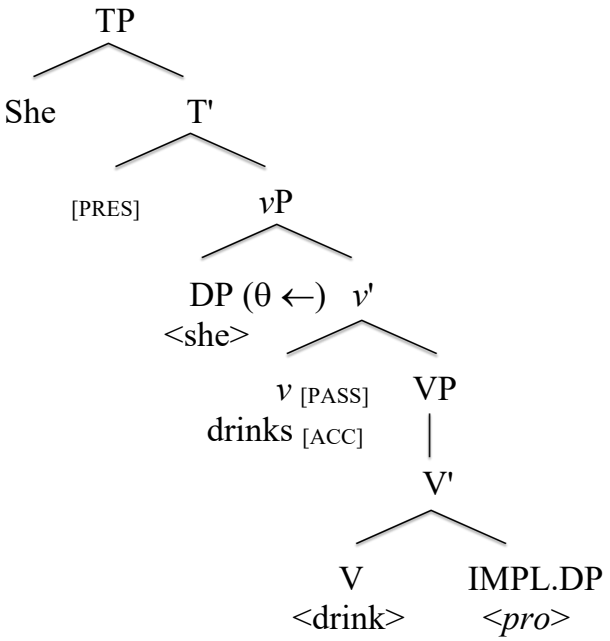


After V merges with its implicit object, it obligatorily raises to little *v* where the passive feature cancels out little *v*'s accusative case feature, essentially blocking *pro* from staying in situ. Since *v*P is a phase, *pro* cannot be assigned case inside the *v*P, and it should therefore move to spec,*v*P to avoid the derivation crashing. If it does, it follows the derivation of the preverbal structure of explicit DP objects in transitive expletive passives. But the theory of *pro* suggests that it is only licensed in its base-generated position and cannot move (cf. Rizzi 1986). And even if it did not need case or could move, it cannot meet an EPP requirement in English because subjects must be pronounced, just as in Norwegian. As such, the derivation in (56) crashes for at least two reasons. First, *pro* is not case-licensed in situ in English passives, and second, it cannot move to spec,*v*P because it can only satisfy an EPP requirement in null-subject languages. Both of these reasons are independent of the impossibility of *pro* as an unexpressed DP associate to *there*.

(57) below shows that a case-licensed *pro* as an object in English actives is fine, and unergatives can thus be argued to have covert objects that must be licensed with accusative case and a θ-role. The hypothesis of *pro* as the implicit object DP in

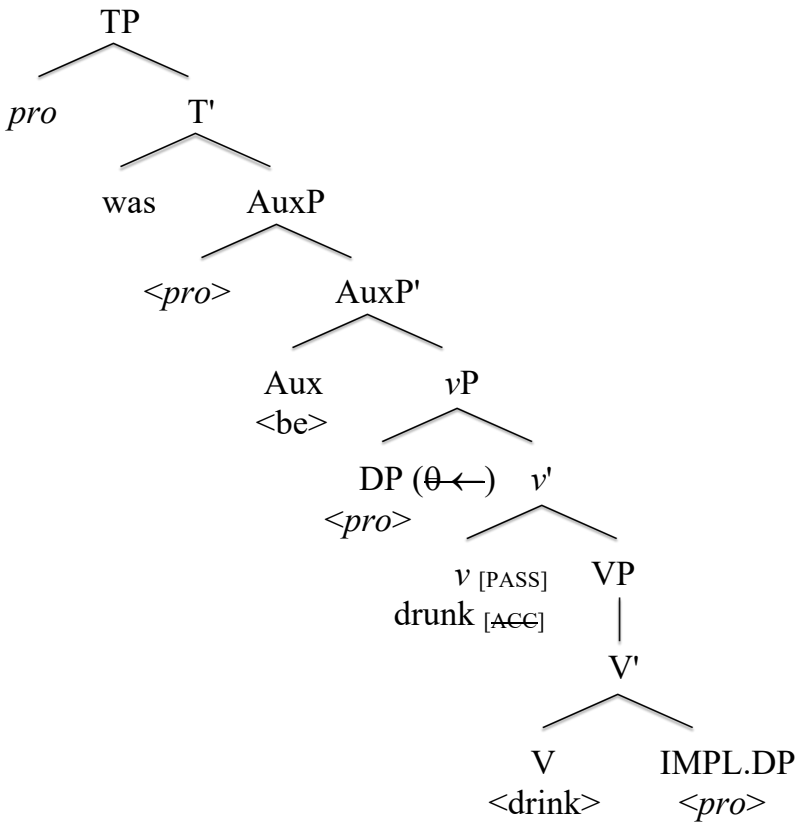
English is therefore justified on the assumption that unergatives are hidden transitives and that *pro* needs to be in a case position.

(57) She drinks *pro*.



In passives, however, *pro* is not case-licensed in postverbal position because [PASS] suppresses little *v*'s case features in English. A consequence of this is that *pro* cannot be licensed in its base-generated position. It follows then that (58) below, with *pro* as a passivised subject, is ungrammatical for the same reasons as above: *pro* can neither be licensed in situ nor meet an EPP requirement in English:

(58) *_pro_ was drunk <_pro_>.
With the intended meaning: 'Something' was drunk.

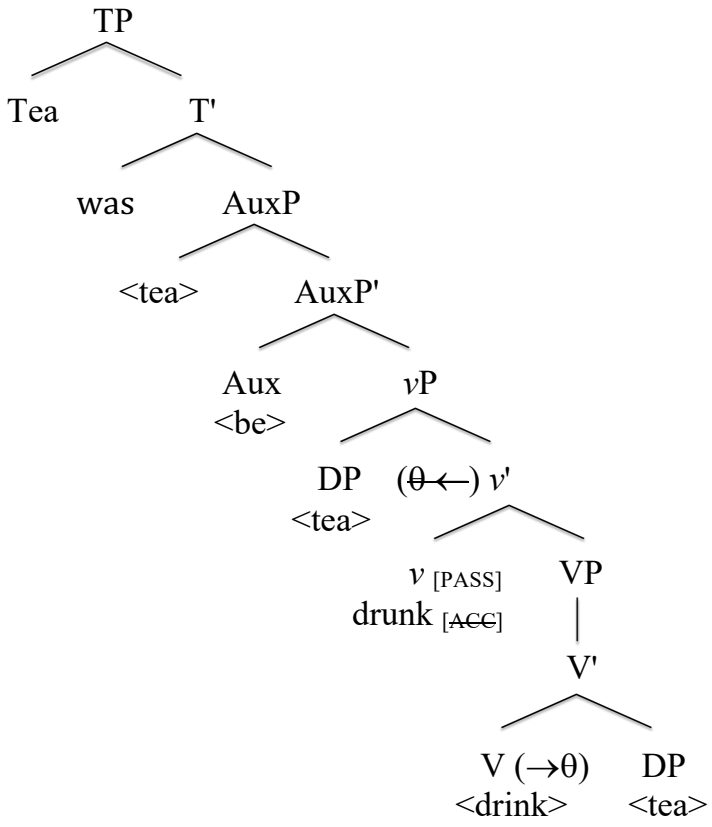


According to Rizzi (1986: 524), the properties of *pro* are clear:

> [A]s far as the *pro* module is concerned, it is irrelevant whether or not the chain of the second occurence of *pro* (including the first occurrence) has Case: licensing and interpretation of *pro*, as viewed here, are strictly local and solely involve the relation with a governing (and Case-marking) head.

The reason why impersonal passives do not exist in English is therefore that unergatives have little *pro* in object position, an implicit DP argument in need of case. Since little *pro* cannot move and satisfy an EPP requirement, and since the passive feature suppresses little *v*'s accusative case feature, it cannot be case-licensed in situ either. The only option for a DP to passivise in English is therefore when the DP is overt. This can be seen in the basic object-fronted passive, as in (59), the English equivalent to the Norwegian (48) above:

(59) Tea was drunk <tea>.



After V raises to *v*, the passive feature overrides the verb's accusative case feature and the complement of V—the THEME object *tea*—must raise to spec,*v*P where it can meet the EPP requirement in its capacity as a phonologically expressed DP. After this, it follows Shortest Move and ends up in the final subject position in spec,TP. Another option is that *tea* (or better *some tea*) moves to spec,*v*P in a transitive expletive passive, as demonstrated in 5.4.

5.6 The double-object construction (DOC)

With the current analysis of expletive passives in English and Norwegian explained, it is time to look at double-object structures in detail. DOCs involve ditransitive verbs which take two objects, typically one direct object and one indirect object, and one of the challenges here is to identify the case assigner for the indirect object in the active and for the non-moved object in the passive. My main objective in this section, however, is to explain a problem that was mentioned in chapter 3 and that I have kept aside until now: the accusative case on the THEME argument in passives.

To provide an analysis for both active and passive DOCs, I will first take a stand on the relation between the PDC and the DOC and outline my structural analysis of DOCs. Citko, Emonds and Whitney (2017) consider three alternatives for the structure of DOCs: 1) VP shell structures, essentially following Larson (1988), but also developed by Pesetsky (1995); 2) small clause structures, following Aoun and Li (1989) and well adapted to minimalist theory by Harley (2002); and 3) applicative structures, building on Baker (1988) and made very explicit in Marantz (1993) and Pylkkänen (2002). In an attempt to explain syntactic structure with as few functional heads as possible, I will combine the first and the third without reverting to an applicative head. I thus follow the intuition and arguments in Baker (1988), Larson (1988), and den Dikken (1995) and presume that the DOC may be derived from the PDC so that, in the words of Ramchand (2013: 300-301)

> [T]he goal argument is generated as the complement of a *to* preposition and then it is a syntactic movement that gets it into a derived, structurally superior specifier position. Under this view, the double object version in fact [is] a kind of applicative where the applicative head for goals is systematically null in English (and many other languages).

In my analysis, this derivation can be performed without postulating an applicative head. Instead, I follow Baker (1988: 288) in assuming 'applicatives are the result of moving the preposition out of a PP and incorporating it into the verb that governs it'. In essence, I combine the preposition incorporation theory of Baker (1988) and Pesetsky's (1995) hypothesis of a null affixal morpheme *G*, but crucially my *G* is linked to the goal argument and not the theme argument, contra Pesetsky. This means that the DP of the PP in the PDC first raises to spec,VP, the position of the indirect object in applicative structures. But since the DP now moves out from its case-assigning P, the stranded P then undergoes an applicative process where it first becomes covert and then raises and attaches to the verb above the GOAL argument, little *v*. In English and Norwegian, the applicative preposition is both null and affixal, which is why it is not expressed and why it attaches to the verb, but through his studies of polysynthetic languages, Baker (1988) shows that some languages have overt applicative incorporation.

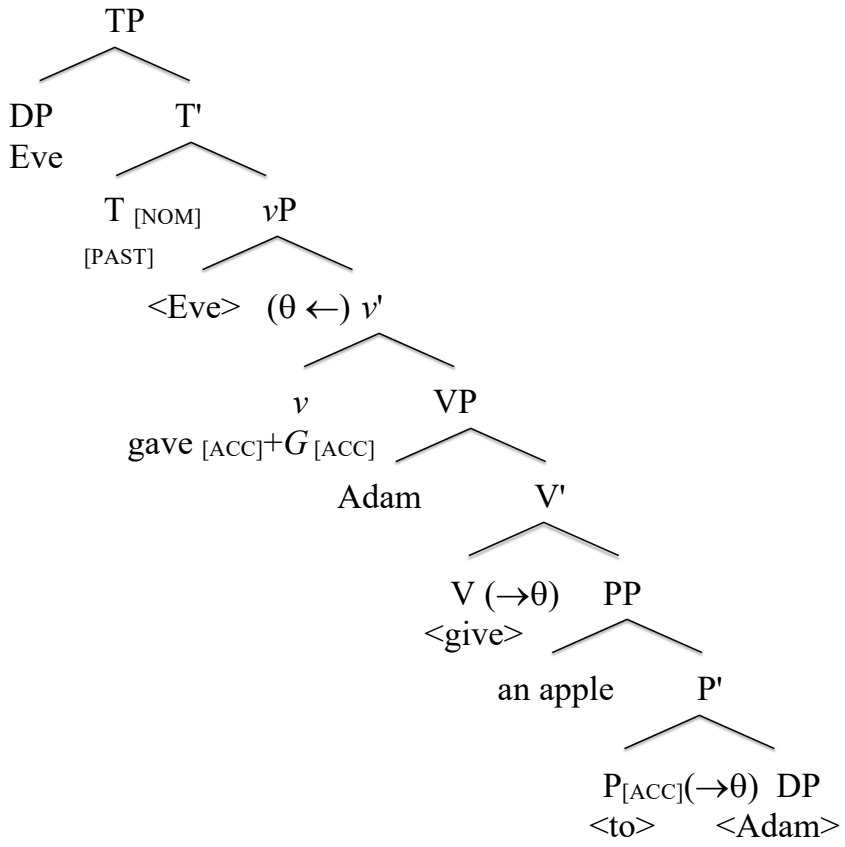
Harley and Miyagawa (2017: 13) sum this process up by saying that there are now 'two different verbs *give*, one that contains the zero morpheme *G* and is associated with the DOC, and the other without this morpheme, and is associated with the Dative construction'. Since the latter is associated with the PDC, I revise Harley and

Miyagawa's proposals for verbs by including the overt preposition in the PDC (2017: 13, their (40)):

(60) *give1* [G [V]]: DOC
give2 [V [+P]]: Dative construction [i.e., PDC]

Following this, the DOC derives from the PDC in the following way:

(61) Eve gave[+*G*] Adam an apple <to Adam>



The first merge is the preposition *to*, which I presume assigns oblique case in English and Norwegian (oblique or accusative) and a θ-role, RECIPIENT, to its complement *Adam.* The THEME internal argument *an apple* then merges as a higher internal argument of the verb *give*, which merges above it and assigns it its THEME θ-role. V is always unaccusative in my analysis, and *an apple* is therefore caseless for now. But V is not a phase and therefore no movement is forced. On the contrary, since this is an applicative construction, the lower DP raises to spec,VP, carrying with it its θ-role, but crucially no longer within the case domain of P. When V obligatorily raises to little v,

then, it needs two cases to allow both DPs to stay in their position. The first case is available through *v* as an [ACC] feature, whereas the second is available upon incorporation of P to V, essentially allowing the applicative structure to take place. A covert P becomes *G*, and since it affixes to the verb, its case no longer is oblique but rather accusative. As a result of this applicative process, little *v* now has two cases it can assign to both DPs in its domain. With both DPs case-licensed in the domain of little *v*, the external argument *Eve*, the AGENT, can merge in spec,*v*P and receive its θ-role from *v*-bar and nominative case from T in the standard way through Agree.

Although the hypothesis that derives the DOC from the PDC can be, and indeed has been, criticised on many points,[129] my analysis has explanatory value in that it can account for the case on the raised indirect object. Case in spec,VP is therefore not inherent in the position, but rather a consequence of the null applicative affixal preposition that raises to and attaches to the verb. Despite the fact that the position spec,VP seems to be linked to a certain θ-role, I hypothesise that the case and θ-role on the DP in spec,VP depends on the type of preposition and the language in question. In English and Norwegian, however, the applicative null preposition assigns accusative case, for morphological reasons. For these languages I will thus assume that spec,VP is a structural case position, licensed through the null affix incorporated into the verb. A structural case analysis for the GOAL argument also accounts for the fact that a moved RECIPIENT object will get nominative case in the passive because it then moves out of *v*'s case domain.

A supporting empirical argument in favour of such an applicative process with preposition incorporation can be seen in the fact that many structures can generate an indirect object in spec,VP when a sentence can be manipulated to include a RECIPIENT or a GOAL. Examples of such manipulation can be seen with monotransitives in the following grammatical structures:[130]

(62) Will you bake her a cake?

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[129] Some counterarguments deal with one or more of the following facts: The two constructions may have meaning differences; some languages and some constructions only allow either the DOC or the PDC; there can be differences in scope, binding and other restrictions. I assume that the differences are semantic and with syntax autonomous, the point here is that the derivations are syntactically legitimate.

[130] The verb *bake* is not really manipulated into this structure since Gropen et al. (1989) (cited in Pesetsky 1995) gives it as an example of a verb type of creation that works with two objects.

(63) ?I asked him to shoot me an elephant.

(64) Read us a book!

The presence of an indirect object in spec,VP is even possible in some unaccusative structures, both in Norwegian and English:

(65) Det hendte meg en ulykke.
It happened me an accident.
'An accident happened to me.'

(66) The news escaped me.

Unaccusatives with indirect objects are rare in English,[131]—the unaccusatives in (65) and (66) are also ditransitive—but the unaccusative verb cannot assign case to its theme complement. If all of these structures are derived from a lower PP—such as *for me* in (62-64) and *med meg* 'to me' in (65) and *from me* in (66), following the derivation in (61)—then the null pronoun attaching to the verb can account for the case on the indirect object, even in an unaccusative.[132] The verb itself is unaccusative, but a lifted affixal null preposition is accusative, and it can thus give case to its first c-commanded DP. Irrespective of the syntactic structure then, if the projection of spec,VP is assigned a particular θ-role, this also complies with the UTAH (Baker 1988).

With this as a background, I will now motivate my analysis for DOCs in active structures, before I return to an explanation of how passive DOCs may be derived and how the postverbal DP can be case-licensed in these structures, both in English and Norwegian. I end with expletive passive DOCs, which demonstrate that both objects may remain low in expletive structures in Norwegian.

5.6.1 Active DOCs

An active double-object structure in English can be exemplified as below:

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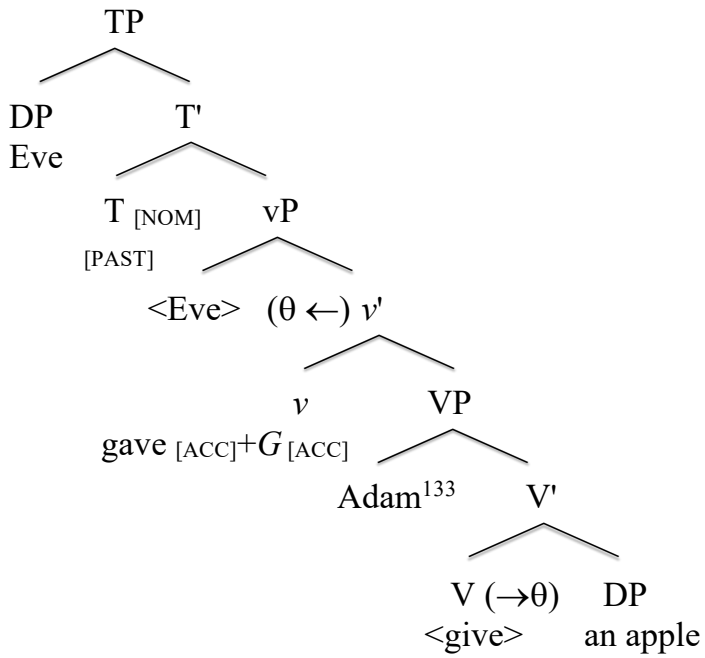
[131] The verbs *get* and *escape* seem like two of very few examples, used by Pesetsky (1995: 124) and Legate (2003), respectively.

[132] This analysis requires a VP shell structure since there are two internal arguments. I suggest that both of these are VP since there is no *v*P in unaccusatives. I offer a possible derivation of (66) in 5.6.2.3.

(67) Eve gave Adam an apple.



The first merge results in the verb *give* assigning a θ-role to the internal argument *an apple*. With the DOC effectively being an applicative structure derived from the PDC, the lower DP of the PP has raised to spec,VP, but through applicative raising, the preposition is no longer morphologically realised and it has raised and affixed to the verb that has raied from V to little *v*. I use Pesetsky's (1995) notation *G* for this. *G* is not expressed, and crucially, it does not necessarily give case to *Adam* in spec,VP. It is incorporated into the light verb and it is therefore now the case that an active verb in little *v* has two cases which it can freely distribute to caseless DPs in its domain.[134] Little *v* can now assign accusative case to both DPs in its domain.

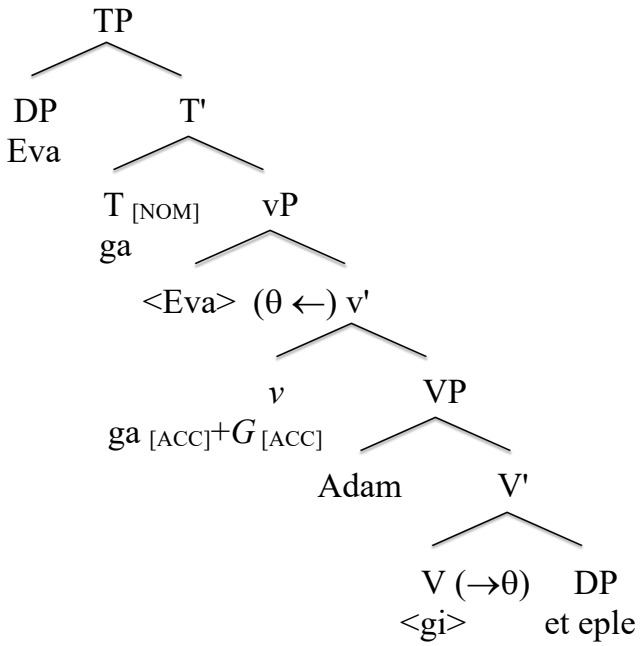
Since this is an active structure, the *v*-bar now assigns a θ-role to the external argument *Eve*, following Burzio's Generalization. The case and tense features of T, [NOM] and [PAST] are then probed downwards to a nominal and verbal element, respectively, meaning that *Eve* is assigned nominative case in spec,*v*P and *gave* is conjugated for past tense. The surface structure is then a result of the [EPP] feature on

[133] Recall that *Adam* has a θ-role from the overt preposition *to*, as derived from (61) above.
[134] At least this is what I assume for English and Norwegian. In languages with inherent case, it seems as if the incorporated preposition must govern the highest object.

T, which requires its specifier to be filled, and therefore raising *Eve* from spec,*v*P to spec,TP following Shortest Move.

Having offered a solution for the case on the DP in spec,VP in various structures of English, I will now show that the Norwegian DOC is identical to the English structure in the active, as seen in the direct translation of (67):

(68) Eva ga Adam et eple.
Eve gave Adam an apple.
'Eve gave Adam an apple.'



Since little *v* is active in both sentences, there is no variation in the case-assignment of the DPs, and the θ-roles are also assigned in the same way, with *Adam* first assigned a θ-role from the overt P *to* in the lower PP not illustrated here.

5.6.2 Passive DOCs

In the derivation of passive DOCs, there are two objects that can be fronted: Either the lower DP complement of V or the higher DP in spec,VP. As for which DP is targeted for movement, Citko et al. (2017: 1391) write that '[s]ymmetric passives, in which either object can passivize, are known to be possible in languages like British English [...], Norwegian, Icelandic, among others'. This indicates that not only Norwegian but

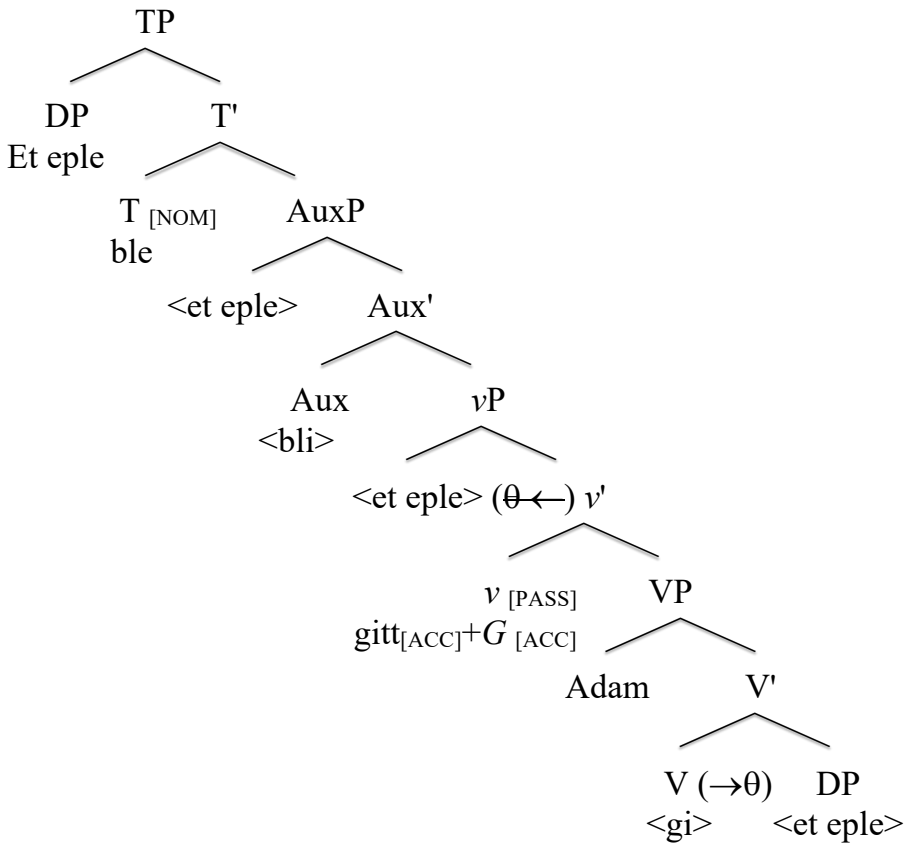
also British English allows any of the two objects to passivise. Asymmetric passives, on the other hand, 'allow recipient arguments but not themes to passivize out of double object constructions', and this includes 'many varieties of English' (Haddican and Holmberg 2018: 91).

Since I here base my analysis here on Standard British English and Standard Norwegian and the assumption by Citko et. al (2017) that both these languages have symmetric passives, I will presume that either object can raise, and I will therefore offer an analysis for English and Norwegian that can explain all the relevant facts. I start with Norwegian.

5.6.2.1 Norwegian

Norwegian is unquestionably a symmetric passive language with full productivity of passivisation of either object. I start with the THEME-fronted passive below, but I will in this derivation also explain that when spec,*v*P merges, any of the two objects can move there owing to the principle of equidistance. Further, with the hypothesis that both objects are case-licensed in the *v*P, an expletive can also merge as its specifier. When the thematic argument raises, the derivation proceeds as follows:

(69) Et eple ble gitt Adam.
An apple was given Adam
'An apple was given (to) Adam.'



V assigns a θ-role to its complement before spec,VP merges with the raised DP from the lower PP and the null preposition *G* affixes to the passive verb after obligatory V-to-*v* raising. Since this is a passive, little *v* is equipped with the passive feature [PASS], which removes the θ-role assignment to its specifier. But Norwegian [PASS] does not interfere with little *v*'s case-assignment properties, and thus little *v* retains its capability of assigning accusative case. Since *G* has also affixed in little *v*, *give* can now assign two cases, one to each of the DPs.

The higher DP *Adam* is thus case-licensed by the verb, which means that its case is a structural accusative case, and the same applies to the lower DP *an apple*. At the formation of *v*-bar, both objects are case-licensed in situ, which means that neither has to move for case reasons. At the same time, spec,*v*P, which has an [EPP] feature, is both empty and θ-free, opening up for either object to move there for EPP reasons.

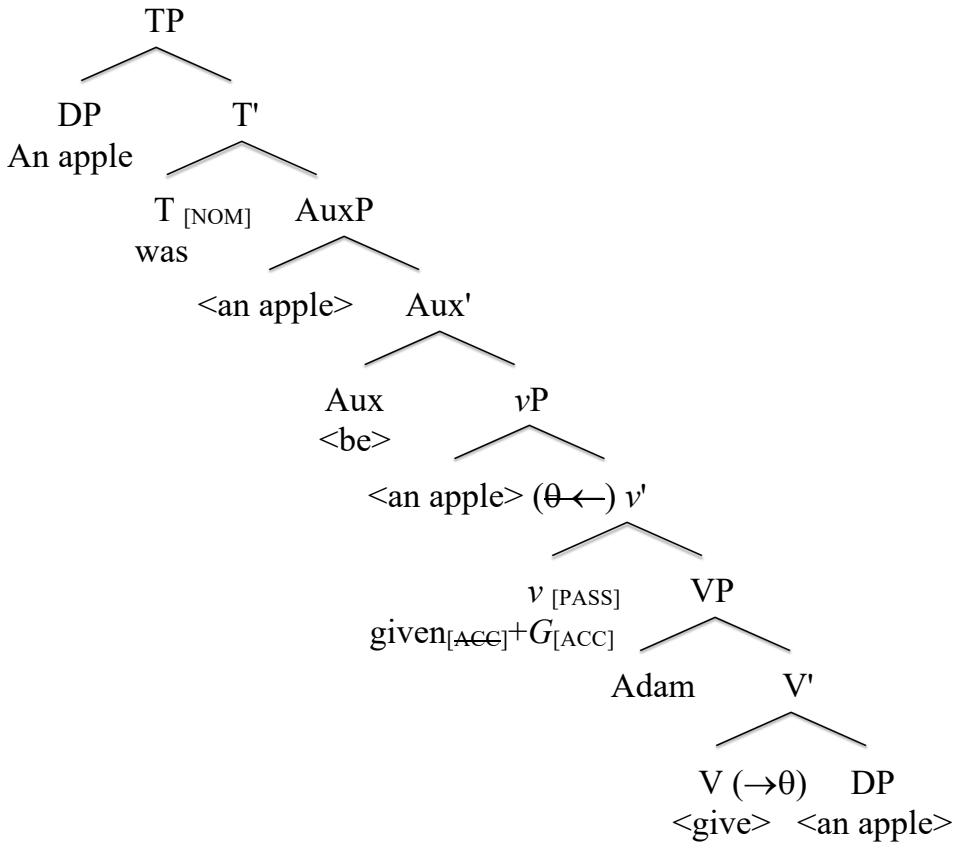
Although Shortest Move may mean that the highest DP is targeted, the principle of equidistance opens up for either of them to be targeted for movement.

In (69), it is the lower object, the THEME argument, that raises to satisfy the [EPP] feature of *v*-bar, but it might as well have been the RECIPIENT argument and I will show a derivation of this below. Whichever argument raises to spec,*v*P gets nominative case from T through downward Agree. In the case of a periphrastic passive, an AuxP generates above *v*P, and *et eple* (or alternatively *Adam*) must move through every specifier on its way to final subject position in spec,TP.

5.6.2.2 English

To the extent that the same structure is acceptable in British English, the analysis is similar but not identical. I offer an explanation below:

(70) An apple was given Adam.

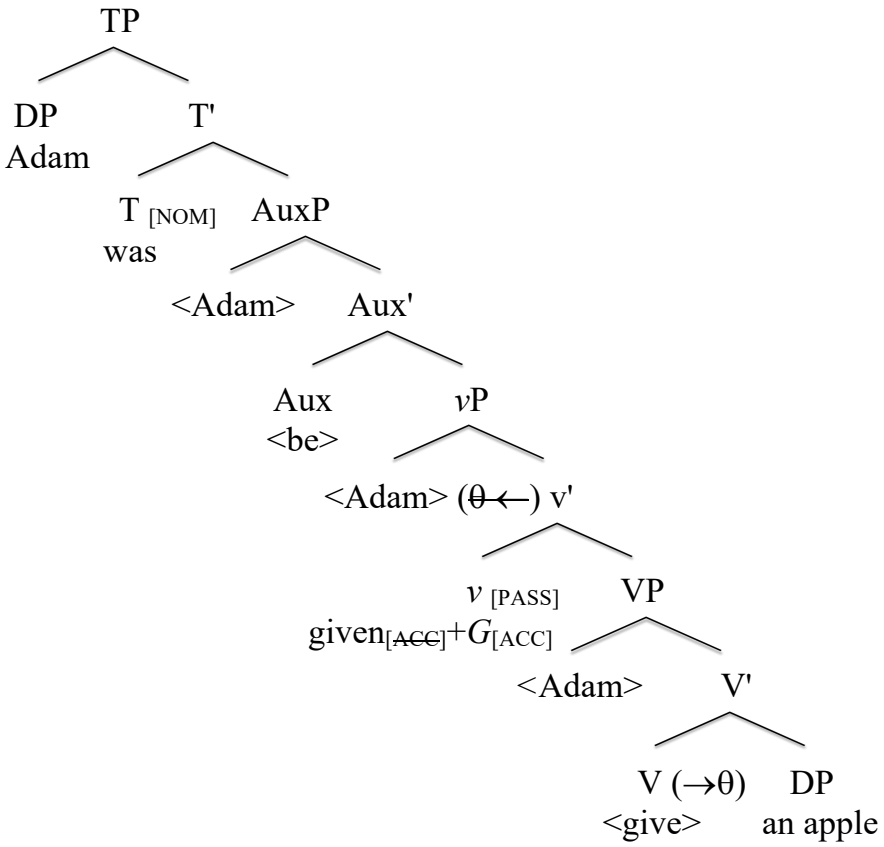


The derivation follows the same pattern as in the Norwegian structure up to the point that the [PASS] feature attaches to little *v*. In English, [PASS] cancels out the accusative

case of *v*. But since the preposition *G* has raised and attached to *v*, its accusative feature is still available. As a result, only one of the two DPs in the *v*P can be case-licensed in situ. Further, since *v*P is a phase and T cannot assign case into *v*P, one of the two objects must move. In this derivation, *an apple* is targeted for movement to the edge of the phase, which means that it lands in spec,*v*P, where it is now within T's case domain and may be assigned nominative case before the EPP of the higher specifiers makes it move up to spec,TP. *Adam* in spec,VP gets its case from the affixal *G*, which is not affected by [PASS]. The biggest problem with this analysis is that it is the lowest DP that moves. I presume that varieties that accept (70) are like any other symmetric language in allowing the principle of equidistance to raise either object.

Varieties that allow (70) will also allow RECIPIENT-fronted passives, and it is in fact this construction that is most natural in passivising a DOC. But RECIPIENT-fronted passives present us with a big challenge: How can we explain that the THEME object remains in situ when this is generally prohibited in expletive passives? Therefore, if the highest DP, i.e., the RECIPIENT, raises, then we must account for the case on the lower DP. According to Haddican and Holmberg (2018), the standard answer in minimalism is that the highest argument intervenes and blocks the lower argument from being targeted for movement, but this must presume that the lowest argument is already case-licensed. In their analysis, which builds on Harley (2002), the lower DP with the THEME role is assigned case from P_{HAVE}. This is also similar to Pesetsky (1995), who proposes that the null preposition *G* is in front of the THEME. My analysis differs from these analyses in that I assume that the case-assigning null preposition is the result of an applicative derivation of the P in front of the GOAL argument in the lower PP. My analysis is given step-by-step below.

(71) Adam was given an apple.



The first merge is *give* and its complement *an apple*, to which the verb assigns a θ-role. At this point, V is unaccusative and thus cannot assign case to its complement, unlike the analyses outlined above (Pesetsky (1995); Harley (2002); and Haddican and Holmberg (2018)). As in the Norwegian examples, the DP *Adam*, θ-marked as a complement of the preposition *to*, has raised above the internal argument *an apple* and is now in spec,VP. V obligatorily raises to *v*, where it in theory should get a case feature to assign to *an apple*. However, in order to explain expletive passives in both English and Norwegian, I have presumed that the passive feature suppresses the accusative feature of little *v*. Normally, this is what forces the THEME argument out of the *v*P phase and into its specifier, but this cannot be the situation here, since a postverbal DP is fine in the passive of a DOC. The structure is saved by the postulation of preposition incorporation because *G* affixes to the light verb but is not affected by [PASS]. Since *G* is covert and only present in DOCs, it seems as if it is the verb that allows one of the two DPs to be case-licensed in position. There is still an [EPP] feature on spec,*v*P, and in this derivation, it is the higher DP, *Adam*, that moves there from spec,VP, carrying with it its θ-role since spec,*v*P is θ-free in passives.

If *v*P is a phase, it now has the following string: *Adam given <Adam> <give> an apple*. Without case on *an apple*, the derivation should crash, but the null affixal *G* solves this problem since it belongs to the verb and allows it to assign one case to a DP. If passive *v*P is no phase, *an apple* could stay in its position until it receives case from a higher functional head. However, this must also be ruled out on the assumption that T's case domain stops at *v*P. In effect, then, the evidence seems to indicate that *v*P is a phase, regardless of transitivity, following Legate (2003). But it is the affixal transitive morpheme *G* that explains the case on the postverbal DP.

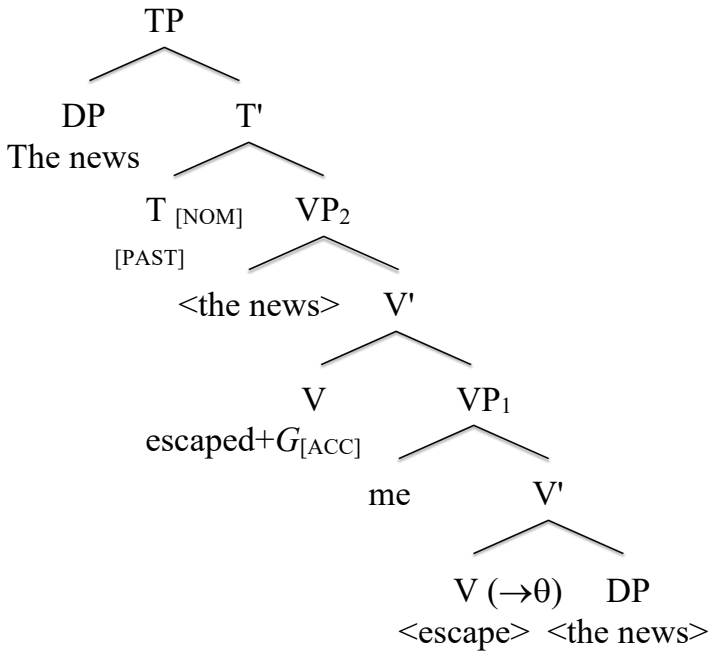
In sum, I retain the hypothesis that all Vs by definition are unaccusative and I retain the idea that little *v* is the accusative case enabler, but I also suggest that although [PASS] cancels out little *v*'s accusative feature in English, it does not tamper with the covert case-assigning prepositional affix *G*.

5.6.2.3 Unaccusatives revisited

With the possibility that spec,VP may be assigned case from *G* affixed to the verb, the lack of little *v* in unaccusatives means that there must be a higher VP to account for the correct word order. This is quite logical inasmuch as there are two internal arguments. I offer the possible structure of a two-argument unaccusative in both English and Norwegian below.[135]

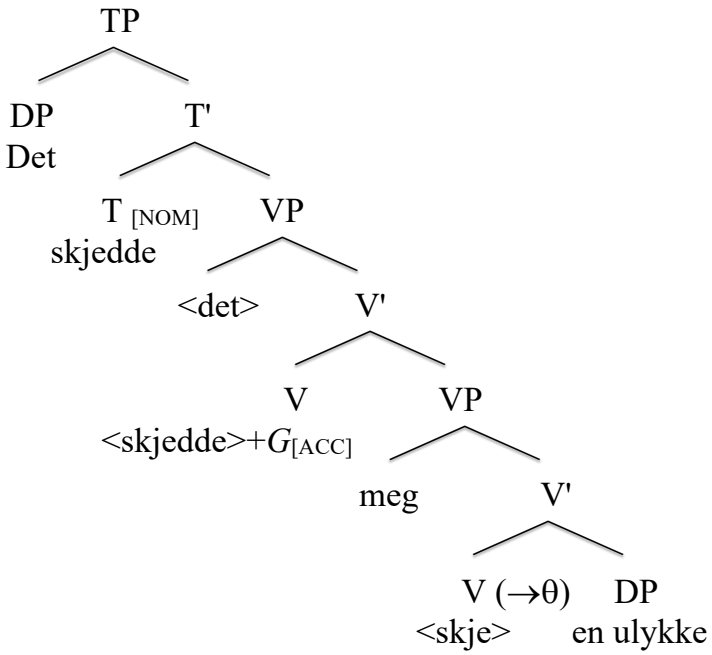
[135] The unaccusative *escape* in the meaning 'forget' is suggested by Pesetsky and taken from Legate (2003). The unaccusative *skje* 'happen' and the unaccusative structure in Norwegian is from Tor A. Åfarli (p.c.).

(72) The news escaped me.



For this sentence to generate, I presume a Larsonian VP shell, but crucially without the agent-inducing and accusative-marking little *v*. V θ-marks its complement, but being unaccusative and without a little *v* to which it can raise, there is no accusative case marker in the structure and V cannot be qualified as an accusative marker. Since *escape* is both unaccusative and dyadic, both its arguments must be internal. I therefore suggest that the second internal argument *me* merges in spec,VP_1 where it gets accusative case from *G* after incorporation to the verb in the higher VP_2.. This structure does not allow *there*-insertion. This, however, is possible with the Norwegian unaccusative *skje* 'happen':

(73) Det skjedde meg en ulykke.
It happened me an accident.
'An accident happened to me.'



The derivation is similar to the English structure, but owing to the productivity of expletive insertion and the proposal that T can assign case all the way down to an eventual *v*P layer missing in unaccusatives, the lowest DP may stay in situ. An expletive then merges in the higher spec,VP since this must be filled because of the EPP.

These structures suggest that an indirect object should get its case from the verbal affix *G* alone and that no little *v* is needed. If this is accurate, then the explanation for the seemingly inherent case in spec,VP is in fact a result of *G*, a null preposition that affixes to the verb and is capable of assigning case. There is, however, one remaining challenge left to explain. Why can the indirect object not raise in the unaccusatives in (72) and (73), that is, why are the structures in (74) and (75) ungrammatical?

(74) *I escaped the news.
With the intende meaning 'The news escaped me.'
(75) *Jeg skjedde en ulykke.
I happened an accident.

With the intended meaning 'To me happened an accident'.

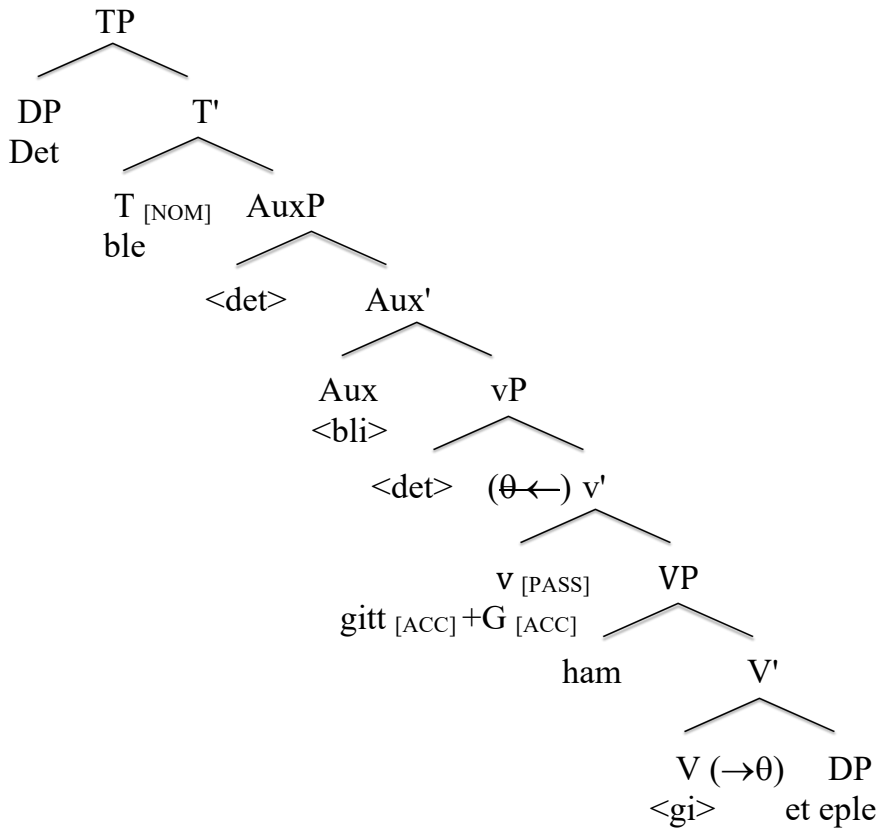
It seems as if the affix *G* is more closely tied to the GOAL argument than in standard ditransitives since the THEME argument by definition cannot be accusative in unaccusatives. There are also semantic restrictions at play; Blake (1994: 77) points out that 'where the first object in a double object construction is a beneficiary (*I made her a cake*), it cannot be advanced to subject', and the indirect objects in (72) and (73) do seem to fit with this description. However, since unaccusatives are active rather than not passive structures, I leave the topic of unaccusatives aside for future research.[136]

5.6.2.4 Expletive passives of DOCs

The proposal that the case features of little *v* are not affected by passivisation in Norwegian is further supported by expletive passives of double-object constructions. (68) above can easily be made into an expletive passive, as seen in (76) below:

[136] It may seem as if the indirect object must be assigned case either from an overt preposition or the covert preposition *G* in these structures. Movement to subject position would then be barred since *G* is affixal.

(76) Det ble gitt ham et eple.
It was given him an apple.
'There was given an apple to him.'



The only difference between this structure and (69) above (where *et eple* 'an apple' moves to subject position) is that the EPP feature of *v*-bar is filled by an expletive. Since passivisation does not affect the case-assigning abilities of little *v*, both internal arguments pass the case filter by remaining in situ from the two accusative cases handed out by the verb-*G* compound. (76) is therefore a perfectly legitimate structure in Norwegian, despite not having been attested in the ENPC.

Based on the theoretical approach outlined here, English should also allow expletive passives of DOCs. For DOCs to be derivable as expletive passives in Standard English, the starting point must be the active in (67), *Eve gave Adam an apple*, but with the recipient *Adam* changed to an indefinite e.g., *a man*. The two DPs may

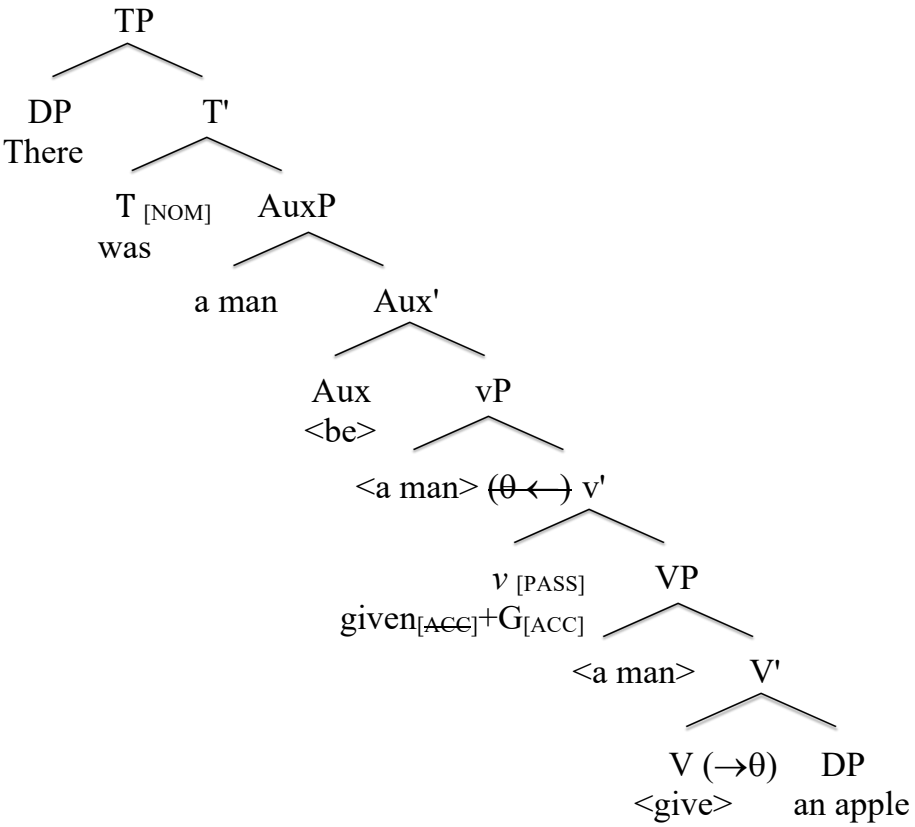
compete for raising, but it seems as if the highest DP, *a man*, is better, so that (77) is more acceptable than (78).[137]

(77) There was a man given an apple.

(78) *There was an apple given a man.

The prediction is only partly borne out: (77) is grammatical, whereas (78) is at best marginal although it would improve with the preposition *to* in front of *a man*. I presume that only (77) is standardly accepted, and I offer an analysis for this structure here.

(79) There was a man given an apple.



For this derivation to converge, the following must happen. After V gives a θ-role to *an apple*, *a man* merges in spec,VP through the applicative process. Then V raises to

[137] (77) has been accepted by three of my informants, while (78) seems ato indicate that the apple receives the man. It is much better with the overt preposition in a PDC:

(i) There was an apple given to a man.

v, the accusative assigner, but since the passive feature is projected, [ACC] is cancelled out. However, *G* has also raised and affixed to the verb which means that one of the two arguments may be case-licensed in the *v*P domain. It seems that there is a preference for the GOAL argument to move whereas the lower DP, *an apple*, is licenced in situ from G. A DP on the move lands in the first available A-position, in this case in spec,*v*P, where it can be case-licensed from T through the probe-goal mechanism of Agree. It can continue to move up to spec,TP for EPP reasons, but with an expletive in the structure, it does not need to and instead only raises to spec,Aux, which also has an [EPP] feature.

This means that the structure for an expletive passive of a double-object structure is essentially the same for a simple-object structure: A DP must move to spec,*v*P for case reasons. Despite not having found a sentence of this structure in the corpus, my hypothesis that an expletive passive of a DOC should be acceptable in Standard English based on the syntactic derivation described above. This has also been confirmed by two of my informants, although I do expect some variety in acceptability judgements here.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has offered a unified analysis of expletive passives of both the transitive and intransitive kind. There are different factors that play a role in expletive passives in English and Norwegian, but my analysis here shows that a combination of case theory and the EPP can account for the basic facts, with a few additional theory-internal assumptions, such as that of the phase and the phase edge.

Section 5.2 gave an overview of the derivations of actives, noticing that if we abstract away from accusative case assignment, monotransitives in English and Norwegian are derived in the same way. But importantly, unergatives can also be explained by the same factors because I assume that they are underlyingly transitive and that their complement position is filled by the empty DP little *pro*. This is supported by the fact that unergatives can occur with an understood object, which, if realised, must be case-licensed and can be passivised. Finally, unaccusatives are also accounted for and the section shows that many unaccusatives allow *there*-insertion, which supports the hypothesis that T can assign case to a postverbal element when there is no little *v* in the structure.

Section 5.3 showed how θ-theory in standard passives leads to the same results in the derivation of English and Norwegian monotransitives. But once case is taken into account, there are deeper explanations behind the derived surface structure because a passivised DP in English moves for case reasons whereas a passivised DP in Norwegian moves for EPP reasons. My analysis that [PASS] suppresses little *v*'s accusative case feature in English but not in Norwegian can thus explain the nature of expletive passives.

Section 5.4 dealt with transitive expletive passives. In Norwegian these are formed with the DP associate case-licensed in its original postverbal position because [PASS] does not interfere with little *v*'s accusative feature. Following Holmberg (2002), I also argue for a low insertion of expletives in Norwegian, which means that an expletive must merge as low as spec,*v*P if it merges at all. It can thus both meet the EPP requirement of spec,*v*P and block the DP associate from moving there in an expletive passive. English, on the other hand, cannot license the DP associate in postverbal position because [PASS] suppresses little *v*'s accusative feature. The DP must therefore move to the immediate preverbal position in spec,*v*P, where it can be licensed nominative case. I argue that the data shows that expletives must merge higher in English, at least in expletive passives, and I partly follow Deal (2009) in assuming that *there* must merge higher up in the structure. Finally, since some heavy DPs can be exceptionally licensed in postverbal position in English, 5.4.3 shows that this extraposition is a result of heavy DP shift, an operation with rightward adjunction that is not limited to passives but also takes place with actives.

Building on the hypothesis that unergatives are hidden transitives and that their object is little *pro*, a case-needy unpronounced DP, section 5.5 offered a new and unified explanation for the existence of impersonal passives in Norwegian and their ungrammaticality in English. In sum, I have argued that impersonal passives exist in Norwegian for the same reason that transitive expletive passives exist with postverbal DPs: the passive morpheme allows little *v* to license a case-needy DP in postverbal position, regardless of whether it is the unpronounced little *pro* or pronounced as a real or understood object. This automatically explains why they are impossible in English: A postverbal DP, whether covert or overt, cannot be case-licensed because of the passive morpheme's case-blocking effect on little *v*. Since Rizzi (1986) has suggested

that *pro* cannot be passivised, and since it cannot meet an EPP requirement in English, it cannot move to preverbal position either, as in transitive expletive passives.

The final section, 5.6, offered an analysis of the passives of DOCs, a longstanding challenge in generative syntax as long as we presume that one head cannot case-mark two DPs. My proposal combines Baker's (1988) theory of preposition incorporation and Pesetsky's (1995) null prepositional affix *G*. The result is that the DOC is derived from the PDC through an applicative process where the lower PP of the PDC raises in two steps. The first step is the DP complement of P, which raises to spec,VP, and the second step is the P, which through this applicative derivation becomes null and affixes to the verb. Like any other preposition in English and Norwegian, *G* is transitive and the verb's transitivity is thus expanded by one. This means that in passives of DOCs, one of the two objects may remain in postverbal position because it is licensed from the verb in a verb+*G* compound.

My analysis is conceptually different from both Pesetsky (1995) and Harley (2002), both of whom assume that the lower V is somehow capable of assigning case to the internal argument. In my analysis, V is always unaccusative, and it is little *v* that assigns case to the THEME argument whereas *G* can assign case to any of the two DPs. But if the verb is intransitive, *G* assigns case to the highest DP, i.e., the GOAL argument, which also has some welcome results for the explanation of dyadic unaccusatives. Unfortunately, I could not explain all the details of unaccusatives, such as the impossibility of fronting a GOAL argument, but since they are active structures, a more thorough discussion of unaccusatives lies outside the scope of this thesis.

Finally, the analysis in this chapter can also account for expletive passives of DOCs. In Norwegian, both objects are case-licensed postverbally from transitive *v* and transitive *G*, whereas in English, the cancellation of little *v*'s transitivity means that only *G* can assign case to one of the DPs. In summary, the nature of expletive passives, both with preverbal and postverbal arguments, as well as expletive passives without internal arguments, i.e., impersonal passives, has therefore been given a unified case-theoretic explanation within minimalist syntax.

6 Conclusion

This thesis offers a new and uniform minimalist analysis of the passive in English and Norwegian with a particular focus on expletive passives. I have shown that passives in both languages can be explained by little *v* only and that if [PASS]—the passive morpheme—merges in little *v*, there is no need for a distinct VoiceP.

At the centre of my analysis lies the interplay between little *v*, the agent-inducing accusative-marker, and the passive morpheme [PASS], which dethematises spec,*v*P and cancels out the accusative property of the English little *v* but not that of the Norwegian little *v*. With the assumption that unergatives are hidden transitives, inspired by Baker (1988), Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002) and Chomsky (1995), I have analysed impersonal passives with an implicit DP by using Chomsky's (1982) little *pro*: a covert nominal element that requires case.

The four research questions have been answered. I present the questions here and offer a short and concise answer to each of them:

RQ 1: Which factors determine the position of the DP associate in expletive passives?
A 1: Little v *can assign case to a postverbal DP in Norwegian, allowing it to stay in situ. In English, this is impossible because the passive morpheme blocks little* v*'s case-licensing feature. An English DP must therefore move to spec,*v*P where it can receive nominative case from T.*

RQ 2: Why are impersonal passives allowed in Norwegian but barred in English?
A 2: With the analysis of unergatives as hidden transitives, any unergative must have an implicit object. I take this to be little pro*. As with an overt DP in postverbal position, little* v *in Norwegian can assign accusative case to* pro*, whereas this is blocked in English by the passive morpheme which cancels out little* v*'s case features. Since* pro *cannot satisfy an EPP requirement in English, it cannot move to spec,*v*P either, and as a result impersonal passives with* pro *as the implicit object are ungrammatical in English.*

RQ 3: What is the locus and function of the passive morpheme?

A 3: The passive morpheme is located in little v. *In English it affects its case-assigning properties but in Norwegian the passive morpheme does not interfere with little* v*'s case features.*

RQ 4: Is the by*-phrase a fundamental property of passives?*
A 4: No. There is reason to believe that the by*-phrase is an adjunct that can optionally be introduced in passives in the same way that it can be added to any other structure that has an external argument position that is not filled by any other element.*

The answers above can now account for the passive morpheme's locus and function and how this affects the DP associate in transitive expletive passives. The same analysis has also offered an explanation to a long-standing question in generative syntax: Why do some languages allow impersonal passives and why are they not possible in English? Although my research questions have been limited to English and Norwegian, the analysis outlined above does seem to offer a unified explanation for facts in similar languages that allow or disallow impersonal passives. Further, my analysis seems to predict that languages that allow impersonal passives should also allow transitive expletive passives.

Case theory does the heavy lifting in this thesis, but it cannot do the job without the EPP and phase theory. The generalised EPP means that ever specifier must be filled and phase theory means that spec,*v*P must be filled by a DP that needs to move out of the *v*P phase. These assumptions have desirable outcomes since a postverbal DP that is not licensed in situ moves to spec,*v*P both for case reasons and EPP reasons. In Norwegian, however, a DP will always be licensed in postverbal position, and such a move thus only happens for EPP reasons. This leads to a low merger of the expletive *det* 'it/there', whose nominal feature also makes it an appropriate DP goal for the T probe. Although the theory may allow an expletive to merge low in English too, this is effectively blocked when a DP needs to move for case reasons.

The analyses here also have more general consequences for minimalist theory. They support the theory of unergatives as hidden transitives, but they also suggest that these structures can be explained with little *pro* as an implicit and case-needy object. Little *pro* needs case and cannot move to satisfy an EPP requirement. And the case-theoretic explanations support a traditional Chomskyan approach to case theory instead of assuming the Dependent Case of Marantz (1991). Owing to the complex features I

have proposed for little *v*, it may be argued that my analysis without VoiceP in reality follows the Voice-*v* bundling hypothesis (cf. Harley 2017). There are also areas that have not been investigated here, such as *tough* constructions, which for example McGury (2018) assumes are passive constructions. I have also not considered the *get* passive, sometimes called a *causative* passive or the *double passive*. Still, my analysis can explain the nature of passives and expletive passives in English and Norwegian well, and I leave it to future research to take the next step by considering constructions that are a natural extension of the ones analysed here.

There are other, broader consequences of this thesis as well. One the one hand, it supports the generative enterprise and the assumption that language has a certain structure in our minds. In this sense, I take it to support the theory of UG. On the other, it also provides linguists with empirical data from passives in both English and Norwegian. These data can support further research on passives in particular and syntactic structure in general, both for linguists interested in E-languages as well as for those of us who are more interested in I-languages. Finally, it is my hope that this research can shed light not only on passives, but on syntactic structures and reasons for movements in general. I also hope that my contributions can take minimalist syntax one small step further towards its aim of explaining linguistics.

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