On Passive and the Notion Subject

Gert Webelhuth

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In this paper I will deal with some facts which I believe bear
on the question whether there are function-changing syntactic
rules or not. There exist two major claims as to this question.
Defenders of Lexical-Functional Grammar have argued that all
rules that affect or change grammatical functions are lexical
(cf. Bresnan 1982), i.e. there are no transformations and in
particular no movement transformations in that framework. In the
Theory of Government and Binding the explicit claim is made that
there are syntactic as well as lexical rules which can affect the
grammatical function of lexical items. In the syntax rules which
are subsumed under the general rule 'Move α' move lexical material
and thereby create function chains.

The two theories make different predictions as to what the synta-
ctic surface structure of passive sentences look like. In GB the
SS will have a trace as is required by the Projection Principle,
in LFG there will not be a trace in c-structure, since this is
excluded by the principle of direct encoding. These are empirical
claims which should be testable.

In section 1. I will present some data of German passive senten-
ces which shed some light on whether there is an NP-position in

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passive verb phrases or not, which will give evidence for the transitivity or intransitivity[1] of passive participles. Section 2. discusses Raising and section 3. a construction which I call "Modal Movement". The final section gives a conclusion.

1.   I will not give a detailed description of the two competing theories. I am assuming the version of LFG of Bresnan (1982) and the GB-version of Williams (1981). One essential difference between the two approaches is that in LFG grammatical functions like subject or object are considered theoretical primitives which operate, for example, in lexical entries, whereas in GB-theory grammatical functions are secondary entities which for example in Williams (1981) are not allowed to play a role in morphological or lexical rules. The latter theory defines subject as the external argument of a head, i.e. the unique element of the argument set which appears outside the phrasal category of the head.
The issue as I understand it is as follows: the GB-theory is based on the modules of Case-theory and θ-theory but does not make reference to a primitive set of grammatical relations. The impor-tance of this latter set of primitives for the description of grammatical phenomena in natural language in addition to Case-theory and θ-theory is postulated by the lexical-functional theory. This article is an attempt to inquire into the question of how certain constructions in German are to be analyzed and which central theoretical notions should be invoked for a correct description of the facts. We will focus on the question which role (primitive?) grammatical relations play in the

explanation of the German facts and hope to construe an argument
for or against their usage in (universal?) lexical rules and
annotated phrase structure rules.

In the LFG-theory passives are derived from active verbs by
the following rules:

(1) (SUBJ) ---) O / (VON OBJ)

(2) (OBJ) ---) (SUBJ)

This is the formulation in Bresnan (1982,20). Hence the result of
the rules are intransitive verbal passive participles which
permit an agent phrase (this is the von in (1), the equivalent of
the English by). Abstracting away from the passive auxiliary and
the agent phrase for a moment, LFG predicts that (3) and (4) have
the same syntactic encoding:

(3.3) geschlagen

      hit - passive participle

(3.4) plaudern

      talk - intransitive

Both verbs allow a syntactic subject, the auxiliary werden, a
von-phrase (by/about) and both verbs disallow an accusative
object:

(5) weil ein Kind (von den Maennern) geschlagen wird

       bec. a child   by the   men   hit   is

       'because a child is hit (by the men)'

(6) weil ein Kind (von den Maennern) plaudern wird

       bec. a child   about the men talk will

       'because a child will talk (about the men)'

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(in (5) <u>wird</u> is the passive auxiliary, in (6) it is the future auxiliary, but this is irrelevant). LFG predicts that (5) and (6) have more or less the same structure[2], there being no NP-position within the VP and hence no trace in either sentence. Williams' (1981) GB-theory is more restrictive than LFG in that it does not allow lexical rules to refer to grammatical functions. Hence rules like (1) and (2) are excluded in this framework. Rather there are only two ways of changing the argument structure of a lexical item, either by externalizing an argument from the argument set of the item, or by adding a new external argument while internalizing the former external argument. The passive rule in this theory is a rule which vacuously adds an external argument and internalizes the former agent theta-role:

(7) schlagen (<u>A</u>, Pt)

    geschlagen (A, Pt)

(8) plaudern (<u>A</u>, Pt) (the patient-argument is optional)

Since the passive morphology is believed to absorb objective case, the GB-theory predicts that there will be an NP-position in the VP of <u>geschlagen</u> (because of the Projection Principle), which will be empty if no Case can be assigned to it but which can be filled with phononlogical material if the Case-filter is not violated. Hence the GB-theory predicts a representational difference between (5) and (6). Let us now turn to the relevant data.

Let us begin by stating a well-known fact. Although the word order in the VP is quite free, the subject in German is fixed,

it is [NP,S]. Between the COMP-node and the subject only time and

place adjuncts and clitics can occur in the unmarked word order,

but not full NP-or PP-objects:

(9) weil   gestern   der Mann die Frau sah

        bec.   yesterday the man the woman saw
                           nom   acc

(10)   *weil die Frau   der Mann sah

        bec.   the woman the man saw
                    acc   nom

(11)   *weil an eine Geschichte ein Mann dachte

         bec. of some   story   a   man   thought

         'because a man thought of some story'

Hence   the   active   nominative   subject   may   not   follow   other

arguments of the verb, or in other words:

(12)   in the unmarked word order the   subject may   not   appear
        within the VP

This law   appears to be broken under special circumstances to

which we return below.

Let us now turn to passives.

As in English there are two passives in German, one verbal, one

adjectival (cf. Wasow 1977). The difference between these two

passives is expressed by the choice of the passive auxiliary. The

verbal passives use werden whereas the adjectival ones use

sein . We will deal with the verbal passive only, since that

is where the two theories make different predictions[3]. As stated

above, LFG claims that there should not be a structural

difference between (5) and (6) whereas GB predicts such a

difference.

Note the following sentences:

(13) weil von den Maennern ein Kind geschlagen wird

bec. by the men a child hit is

'because a child is hit by the men'

(14)*weil von den Maennern ein Kind plaudern wird

bec. about the men a child talk will

'because a child will talk about the men'

(13), which is a synonymous alternative to (5) breaks our descriptive rule (12) in that the nominative subject of the sentence may be preceded by a PP-object of the verb. But (6) does not have the analogous alternant (14), which suggests that there is a difference between the structures (5) and (6). Given our rule (12), the ungrammaticality of (14) does not come as a surprise — the surprise rather is that (13) is grammatical. Let us try to find out, what the exact position of the nominative in (13) is. To do this we need some marker beacon in German sentences. The adverb gern (gladly) is a verb phrase adverb and may hence not appear before the subject:

(15)*weil gern die Mutter dem Sohn Buecher schenkt

bec. gladly the mother the son books gives
nom dat acc

If gern precedes the dative, the sentence still sounds odd, its normal position being between the indirect and the direct object:

(16) ?? weil die Mutter gern dem Sohn Buecher schenkt
nom dat acc

(17) weil die Mutter dem Sohn gern Buecher schenkt
nom dat acc

Thus we have an ascending acceptability judgement from (15) to

(17). Let us compare those sentences with the respective passive sentences:

(18)* weil gern Buecher dem Sohn geschenkt werden

      bec. gladly   books   the son   given   are
                       nom   dat

(19) ?? weil Buecher gern dem Sohn gegeben werden
           nom   dat

(20) weil Buecher dem Sohn gern gegeben werden
         nom   dat

As we can see, the respective passive sentences behave exactly like the active sentences with respect to the position of the adverb. But we saw above that passive subjects break rule (12). We get the same effect with (18) - (20). The nominative subject is allowed to follow the indirect object. Let us see what happens with the adverb:

(18') ?? weil gern dem Sohn Buecher geschenkt werden
                 dat   nom

(20')   weil dem Sohn gern Buecher geschenkt werden
            dat   nom

Interestingly enough sentence (20') is fully grammatical with the VP-adverb preceding the subject. Therefore this passive sentence patterns exactly with the active sentence (17). From that we can infer that the subject of the auxiliary werden is somewhere next to the direct object position of the VP.

Next diagnostic. The German equivalent to English either-or (entweder-oder) can be used in cases of VP-conjunction only in such a way that the entweder follows the subject of the sentence:

(21) weil Paul entweder singt oder tanzt

      bec. Paul   either   sings or   dances
      nom

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(22)* weil<u>entweder</u> Paul singt oder tanzt
                          nom

In passive sentences the nominative subject may follow the <u>entweder</u>:

(23) weil <u>entweder</u> Buecher gekauft oder Schulden bezahlt werden

      bec.   either   books   bought   or   debts   paid   are
                        nom   nom

Hence only passive but not active subjects may enter VP-conjunction in the same way that direct objects can.

In addition to these three diagnostics just given see (25) for six more diagnostics which all lead to the same result, namely that passive subjects have an entirely different distribution than active subjects. I sum up the differences and compare the result with the distribution of direct objects:

(25)

	<u>Active subjects</u>	<u>Passive subjects</u>	<u>Direct objects</u>
(i)	must be the leftmost argument of the verb in a sentence	does not have to be the leftmost argument of the verb	must not be the leftmost argument of the verb
(ii)	VP-adverbs must not precede it	VP-adverbs may precede it	same as passive subjects
(iii)	the <u>either</u> of <u>either-or</u> must not precede it	the <u>either</u> may precede it	same as passive subjects
(iv)	the <u>not only</u> of <u>not only but also</u> must not precede it	the <u>not only</u> may precede it	same as passive subjects
(v)	the comparative particles <u>lieber</u> and <u>mehr</u> may not precede it	these particles may precede it	same as passive subjects

(vi) must not be con- joined with their verb	may be conjoined with their verb	same as passive subjects
(vii) —	must be next to the verb in <u>Funktions-</u> <u>verbgefuege</u>	same as passive subjects
(viii) —	may be next to the verb in idioms	same as passive subjects
(ix) has nominative case	has nominative case	has accusative case

To sum up: passive subjects behave exactly like active subjects in that they are alway assigned nominative case and agree with the finite verb in number and person. No other element in the sentence has those two properties. But active and passive subjects differ radically as to their distribution in the sentence. As (25 ii - viii) show the passive subjects pattern in all cases with the direct object but not with the active subjects. From these facts we can abstract the following generalization:

<u>Subject-generalization</u>

German passive subjects are like active subjects in that they share the defining properties of carrying nominative case and agreeing with the finite verb in number and person, but passive subjects have the option of appearing within the VP and imitating the distribution of direct objects. Active subjects have neither of these properties.

These facts show that there is a difference between the subject of (3) and the subject of (4). Hence LFG makes the wrong prediction, where the GB-theory predicts a difference, the difference between (7) and (8).

Interestingly enough and most important of all the difference between (7) and (8) is exactly mirrored in the structures we have been investigating: <u>geschlagen</u> (hit) has two argu-

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ments, both of which are internal. There is no external argument. Hence the patient noun phrase is generated in the VP and if it does not get Case, it has to move to a Case-marking position. We saw in (13), (15), (20'), (23) and (24) that it is possible in German to assign nominative case to a passive subject in the VP. Hence the GB-theory predicts that movement is not necessary, precisely the result we have arrived at by investigating the data. But plaudern in (8) has an external argument which may not be generated within the VP and hence (14) and every other similar sentence with an active subject is ungrammatical.

LFG makes a wrong prediction since it will treat sentences like (13) and (14) on a par, since in both cases ein Kind is the subject of both the auxiliary werden and the main verb. Hence both sentences should be grammatical or ungrammatical – which is wrong.

The problems of LFG are rooted in the unified notion of subject which predicts that all subjects will have certain properties in common. LFG-researchers especially try to capture this theorem by annotating their phrase-structure rules with functional terms. The phrase-structure position of a subject is hence derived by stipulation. The German data show that this conception of phrase structure as well as the unified concept of subject is mistaken and should be given up. Word order properties of German do not derive from functional terms like subject or object, but rather from thematic terms, like 'agent, theme, patient' and from categorial terms like 'noun phrase, prepositional phrase'. Passive subjects do not follow the ordering

properties of active subjects, since they are generated within the VP and do not have to give up their position due to lack of Case. For some reason Case as a trigger of NP-movement does not exist in German. For precisely this situation the GB - theory predicts that passive subjects follow the word order properties of direct objects rather than active subjects. The German facts prove this conception of syntactic ordering as superior to a system relying on the stipulation of word order with phrase-structure rules annotated with functional terms.

In the rest of this section I will strengthen the assumption that German does not have NP-movement by an investigation of the word order properties of subject-to-subject movement constructions and a construction which I call 'modal movement'.

II. <u>Raising</u>

If we embed an infinitival passive sentence in the verb phrase of the raising verb <u>scheinen</u> (to seem), then GB predicts that raising does not have to take place if the embedded subject gets Case. We saw above that this is possible. LFG predicts that the subject — like that of an intransitive verb — must command its verb on the surface (this holds for all non-ergative active subjects). (26) shows that this is wrong:

(26) es scheint dem Mann ein Buch gegeben zu werden

        it seems   the man a   book to   be   given
          3-sg   dat   nom 3-sg

       'the man seems to be given a book'

<u>ein Buch</u>, the patient-argument of <u>gegeben</u> does not have to move, since it can be Case-marked in situ. Note that it nevertheless

agrees with the matrix verb in number and person: if we make the nominative plural, then the verb also has to show up in its plural form.

But we have another way to show that the subject of scheinen is in its complement. German expresses the to NP in (27) as a dative:

(27a) It seems to him that he is sick

(28)   Es scheint ihm, dass er krank ist

This indirect object clearly belongs to the matrix verb in (27), (28), since nothing in the subordinate clause selects a dative object. But now note what happens, if we embed an infinitival in the complement position of scheinen:

(29) hier scheint mir ein Schwein geschlachtet zu werden

       here seems   me   a   pig   slaughtered to   be
                    dat nom

(30)

morgen scheint dem Mann die Olympiade zu beginnen

tomorrow seems the man the Olympiad   to begin
          sg   dat   nom sg

(31)

morgen scheinen dem Mann die Olympischen Spiele zu beginnen

tomorrow seem   the man the Olympic   games to begin
          pl   dat   nom pl

Note again that the nominative follows the dative goal object of scheinen, but that it agrees in number and person with scheinen (note expecially the difference between (30) and (31): the nominative and scheinen are both third person singular in (30), but both are third person plural in (31)).

The argument just given is somewhat shaky, since it is not

entirely clear what the relative positions of the goal argument and the nominative NP are. I will therefore give another argument which , if correct, argues for our general assumptions. German has a construction which has been called infinitival pied-piping by van Riemsdijk (1984). In this construction an infintival S' is moved into the COMP of a relative clause. The infinitival S' displays internal WH-movement. (31a) is derived from (31b):

(31a)

das ist die Tuer, [comp[die PRO [e] abzuschliessen]], er [e] vergass
that is the door   which PRO to lock [e]   he [e]   forgot

(32b)

das ist die Tuer, [[comp e] er [PRO die abzuschliessen] vergass]
that is the door   he PRO which to lock   forgot

   Although the whole S' can move into the COMP of the relative clause, this is not necessary. It is always possible for the relative pronoun to move while leaving behind its infinitval sentence. Thus we get both (32c) and 32d):

(32c)

das Buch [[das PRO zu lesen] er [e] vorhat]
the book which PRO to read he [e] intends

(32d)

das Buch [[das] er [PRO [e] zu lesen] vorhat]
the book which he PRO [e] to read   intends

Note now, what happens, if we exchange a raising verb for the control verb 'intend':

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(32e)

* das Buch [[das PRO [e] zu lesen] er [e] scheint]

  the book which PRO [e] to read   he [e] seems

(32f)

  das Buch [[das] er [PRO [e] zu lesen] scheint]

  the book which he   PRO [e] to read   seems

      With the raising verb only the extraction of the relative
pronoun alone is possible. The extraction of the whole sentence
leads to ungrammaticality. This is presumably due to the fact
that there does not exist an S' in this situation at all, given
S'-deletion. But this is a theory-internal argument, since propo-
nents of LFG do not accept this concept anyway. For them the
underlying structures of (32c) and (32e) should have exactly the
same form: er is the subject of the relative clause (it agrees
with the verb of the relative clause) and the verb of the rela-
tive clause takes a V-COMP as its complement. But then there is
no reason whatsoever, why only one of the V-COMPs can pied-piep
into the COMP of the relative clause. In neither case are Bin-
ding-principles or locality constraints violated as can be con-
cluded from the fact that the relative pronoun alone can be
extracted. The difference in grammaticality of (32c) and (32e)
therefore remains unexplained.

      In our framework it is easy to explain why the construction
with the control verb is grammatical but the analogous one with
the raising verb is bad. In the control structure er is the

subject of the higher verb, controlling the lower subject. Hence the _er_ will be left behind when the S' is moved into COMP. In the raising case however the _er_ belongs to the V-COMP itself, since German does not have NP-movement. If only the whole argument complex can be pied-piped into the relative COMP, then the _er_ may not be left behind. Therefore (32e) must be ungrammatical. There is no rule which would derive such a structure. But the _er_ may not be moved along with its verb etc. either, since then it will violate the Case-filter, because it will not be governed by the INFL of the relative clause any more. It therefore follows that the subject of the complement of the raising verb cannot occupy the subject position of the raising verb. For then, sentence (32e) should be as grammatical as (32c) under an LFG-analysis which it isn't.

Result: like passive subjects, subjects of raising verbs show the defining properties of subjects: they bear nominative case and the raising verb agrees with them in number and gender. Distributionally they differ sharply from active subjects, in that they do not have to command the verbs they agree with in the surface string, but only the verbs to whose argument set they belong.

III. _Modal Movement_

Since by now the reader is acquainted with the course of the argument, I will restrict myself to giving simply the data that show that _modal subjects_ pattern with passive subjects and rai-sing subjects in that they also show properties (ix) and (xi) in (25), i.e. the defining properties of subjects, but that they also do not command the verbs they agree with in number and

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person, but rather the verbs they are selected by[4]:

(32) Gestern waren dem Lehrer die Buecher sauber abzugeben

　　　　yesterday was the teacher the books clean to hand in
　　　　　　　　 pl　　 dat　　　 nom pl

　　　'yesterday the books were to be handed in to the teacher'

(33)　　Es　　bleiben　　allein　　die　　Ergebnisse　　der　　naechsten

　　　　it　　remain　　only　　 the　　results　　　　of　　 the next
　　　　　　 3-pl　　　　　　　　　　　nom pl

　　　　Bundestagswahlen abzuwarten

　　　　federal elections to await

　　　　'all that remains to do is to await the results of the
　　　　next federal elections'

IV. Conclusion

In this paper I have examined some constructions from German in
order to determine which grammatical primitives are suitable to
predict their behavior. The main question was whether the two
grammatical sub-theories Case-theory and θ-theory which are consi-
dered necessary both in LFG and GB are sufficient to account for
the facts or whether a third set of grammatical primitives -
grammatical relations - have to be invoked, as assumed in LFG but
not in GB.

The facts discussed seem to show that a description of the
German verbal passive in terms of a universal passive rule con-
taining grammatical relations as in (1) and (2) above in con-
junction with functionally annotated phrase-structure rules is

inadequate.   For purposes of German word order grammatical
functions seem to be irrelevant, whereas an interplay of thematic
notions and notions of abstract Case can easily handle the
facts.5 In this respect functionally annotated phrase-structure
rules are not only superfluous, but create a dilemma. The primi-
tive unified notion SUBJECT in the rules wrongly generalizes from
one type of subject to other types, e.g. from agentive SUBJECTS
to thematic SUBJECTS. To prevent the functionally annotated
phrase-structure rules from this overgeneralization, SUBJECTS
will have to be specified for their thematic value in the
rewriting rules. But this move of course makes the functional
annotation of the phrase-structure rules unnecessary. Other evi-
dence for the relevance of primitive grammatical relations in
grammatical theory will have to be found.

Footnotes

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draft of this paper. Emmon Bach contributed one of the diagnos-
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passive. Thanks to Armin Mester, Angelika Kratzer and Sabine
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ning mistakes.

1. I am using the term transitivity here to mean that there is an
NP-position in the VP, which gets the patient-θ-role. For a
discussion of the meaning of the notion transitive, cf. Williams
(1984).
Although I am dealing only with German in this paper, the same
argument could be made on the basis of Dutch data, cf. the works
by den Besten and Hoekstra in the bibliography.

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2. I picked the verb <u>plaudern</u> because it happens to select the preposition <u>von</u> and therefore it can be substituted for a passive verb in some sentences. There are other such verbs, in particular verbs which have an external thematic subject, cf.

(i)* weil von Nuessen Kinder   leben werden

  bec. of nuts   children live will
         nom

  'because children will live on nuts'

That <u>leben</u> does not have an external agent can be concluded from the fact that it does not passivize:

(ii)* weil nach dem Unfall   von dem Opfer gelebt wurde

  bec. after the accident by the victim lived was

Other examples are <u>hoeren</u> (hear) and <u>traeumen</u> (dream):

(iii)*weil von Einhoernern oft   Kinder   traeumen

  bec. of unicorns   often children dream
          nom

  'because children often dream of unicorns'

<u>traeumen</u> also does not have an impersonal passive:

(iv)* weil von einem Kind von einem Bonbon getraeumt wird

  bec. by   a   child of   a   sweet dreamed   is

3. Contrary to what I am saying in the text it is not clear beyond doubt that German really has only one <u>sein</u> (be)- passive. First of all German has some seven constructions which could be called passive (cf. Hoehle (1978), chapter 2 in a lexicalist framework). As long as they are not run through reliable consti- tuency tests etc. their status is quite unclear. The same holds true for the <u>sein</u>-passive. Hoekstra (1984; 202, 210) for example argues that the Dutch statal passive is not adjectival and his arguments carry over to German.
Contrary to both the standard view that the statal passive is always adjectival and Hoekstra's view that it is always an intermediate category between adjectives and verbs the following German data suggests that the statal passive is simply ambiguous:

(i) weil Peter davon   ueberzeugt ist

  bec. Peter of that convinced is
    nom

(i) has an egressive (i.e. resultative) reading and a purely

statal reading, i.e. the sentence either describes the state resulting from somebody's convincing Peter or simply describes the fact that Peter is convinced of something, maybe without cause, maybe because he was always convinced of it etc.
A similar example would be the following:

(ii) weil Maria informiert ist

    bec. Maria informed   is
          nom

The sentence has two readings. It can either mean that Maria has just been informed about something (e.g. the result of the papal election) by somebody, such that now she is informed about this issue or it can mean that Maria is in general well-informed, maybe because she's reading a lot or is interested in politics etc.
If we now assume that the purely statal reading is adjectival whereas the egressive one is verbal, then the theory of thematic roles presented in Webelhuth (1985a) (which also contains a discussion of psych-verbs, an issue we cannot go into here for lack of space) predicts that the "egressive" subject will be internal, while the "statal" one will be external. To my and several informant's ears the following sentences seem to support this prediction:

(iii) [das Hotel gestrichen] <u>wurde</u> schon gestern

     the hotel painted   was already yesterday

(iv) [das Hotel gestrichen] <u>war</u> schon gestern

     the hotel painted   was already yesterday

(v) [das Hotel gestrichen] <u>wurde</u> in jedem Sommer

    the hotel painted   was in every summer

(vi)* [das Hotel gestrichen] <u>war</u> in jedem Sommer

     the hotel painted   was in every summer

(iv) can only have the egressive reading, since the temporal adjunct is incompatible with the statal reading. (vi) cannot be interpreted at all, since the frequentative temporal adjunct is incompatible with the egressive reading. This leaves the statal reading. But by hypothesis this is only possible, if the subject is external — this means that we have fronted a non-constituent in (vi) and the sentence is ungrammatical. Compare (vi) to the following sentences:

(vii) [das Hotel] war in jedem Sommer gestrichen

     the hotel was in every summer painted

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whose truth conditions would be satisfied in a situation where I have gone on vacation to Italy each summer and although I have never seen anybody paint the hotel I was staying at, the hotel nevertheless was always painted.

Here is another minimal pair:

(viii) (a) Er war gebildet   (b) Er war gebildet

          it was formed   He was learned

gebildet is ambiguous. It can either be the participle of the verb bilden (to form) in which case sentence (a) could mean "it [i.e. the circle;GW] was formed"; or it is the equivalent of the English word learned and the sentence has the meaning "he was/used to be learned". Our theory clearly predicts that only the participle gebildet as in (a) above can be fronted together with its subject, whereas the homophonous form gebildet as used in (b) should not be usable like that. The clear contrast between the following two sentences suggests that this is in fact true:

(ix) [der Kreis gebildet] was schon   nach kurzer Zeit

        the circle formed   was already after a short period

(x)* [der Junge gebildet] war schon in fruehester Kindheit

        the boy   learned   was already in earliest childhood

4. Note that this construction differs somewhat from English Tough-movement. In German one can (tough-) move dative and genitive objects which although appearing before the tough-word do not agree in number and person with the copula:

(i) diesem Mann ist leicht zu helfen

   this   man is easy   to help
          dat

Also the German construction has some modal properties English Tough-movement lacks.
All I am interested in in the main text is to show that if a patient argument becomes the subject of the main clause copula, then it may remain in the subordinate clause. It does not, unlike active subjects, have to command the copula in main clauses!

5. There has been work recently on how to parametrize Case-theory in such a way that the Case-assignment properties for languages like English, French, Italian and German follow, cf. Chomsky (1981) for discussion and references. For German cf. den Besten (1978), (1982). In Webelhuth (1985a; 116) and Webelhuth

(1985b; 3) I propose the following sentence structure for German:

(i)

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                    S
            _____/ _____
          NP               VP
                      ___/ | \___
         ...        INFL         V
```
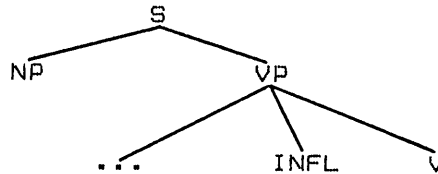
This exlains

> "why in German we find the infinitive marker _zu_
> (to) which I take to be in INFL, to the left of the
> verb. This is the only pure INFL-element that Ger-
> man has, the auxiliaries being pure verbs. This
> will also explain why the negation element _nicht_
> occurs left-adjacent to the verbal complex. As in
> English we take it to be in INFL. This structure
> might also bring some further light into the ques-
> tion what verb raising is triggered by. if the verb
> is raised into INFL, verb raising could be des-
> cribed as a structure-preserving operation."
> Webelhuth (1985a; 144)

Case-assignment to the external argument is compositional, like
external θ-assignment. For other predictions of (i) for German
cf. Webelhuth (1985a)
That NP-movement is not necessary in German follows from this
theory. For this prediction cf. Chomsky (1984; 222 fn. 96):

> "Recall that this [movement into the subject posi-
> tion;G.W.] is not required if the complement re-
> quires no Case -- e.g., if it is a clause rather
> than an NP -- or if the language permits some other
> mode of assigning Case".

Thiersch (1978) already argues that German passive does not
involve movement.

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