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A Typology of Psych Passives

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1. Introduction

The issue of whether Object-Experiencer (ObjExp) verbs have a verbal passive has generated much controversy in the literature on psych verbs. One camp holds that ObjExp verbs lack an external argument and therefore cannot form verbal passives (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Legendre 1989, 1993, Grimshaw 1990, Herschensohn 1992, 1999), while the other camp holds that ObjExp verbs are normal transitives and do form verbal passives (Mulder 1992, Legendre & Akimova 1993, Slabakova 1994, Pesesky 1995, Bouchard 1995, Iwata 1993, 1995, Pytkäinen 2000). Part of the reason for this disagreement is the unfortunate fact that in many languages, passive participles are ambiguous between a verbal and an adjectival form. Thus the evidence bearing on the debate is often indirect, consisting of tests that are supposed to distinguish the two uses. Those tests are themselves not clear-cut, adding to the overall confusion.

In fact, I think there is even a deeper reason for this confusion, namely – both camps are right, in a sense. A careful consideration of the available evidence suggests that there are two types of languages:

(1) *Psych Passives*

Type A Languages: Only eventive (non-stative) ObjExp verbs have verbal passive (English, Dutch, Finnish).

Type B Languages: ObjExp verbs have no verbal passive.
(Italian, French, Hebrew)

In section 2 I discuss type A languages and argue that the only relevant constraint in them is the (universal) ban on passivization of unaccusatives. It turns out that stative ObjExp verbs (like all dative-experiencer verbs) are unaccusative, a generalization that is established and derived in section 3. In section 4 I turn to type B languages, where passive uniformly fails to apply to DPs with inherent case (a parametric property).

The key property of ObjExp verbs, which underlies the split in (1), is the following:

(2) Universally, non-nominative experiencers are oblique (i.e., bear inherent case).

Strictly speaking, (2) entails that there are no bare object experiencers. Hence, what looks like a bare object experiencer must be the object of a null preposition. This proposal expands on the idea of Hermon (1985) and Belletti & Rizzi (1988), that the accusative

case on object experiencers is inherent. The consequences of this simple idea are far-reaching, and go well beyond what those authors had suspected; they extend to a whole range of "psych-effects" across many languages.¹ In this paper I only concentrate on the effects of (2) in the domain of psych passives.

Assume that (2) is true, and that accusative experiencers are introduced by a null preposition, call it \emptyset_P . We may pose the question: What does it take to be a type A language? In other words, what grammatical strategies can be exploited to allow passivization of quirky objects? In principle, there are two possibilities:

(3) *Strategies for Passivization of Quirky Objects*

- a. **P-stranding:** The preposition that governs the object is stranded and reanalysed with the verb.
Pseudopassive: $\{_{TP} [_{DP} \text{Exp}]_i [_{T'} \text{Aux} [_{VP} [_{V'} V_{PASS} + \emptyset_P] [_{DP} t_i]]] \}$
- b. **Pied-Piping:** The preposition that governs the object is carried along to the subject position.
Quirky passive: $\{_{TP} [_{PP} \emptyset_P [_{DP} \text{Exp}]]_i [_{T'} \text{Aux} [_{VP} V_{PASS} [_{PP} t_i]]] \}$

It is important to realize that both options are parametric: (3a) will only be available in languages where [V+P] reanalysis can feed A-movement; essentially, these are languages that license pseudopassives.² (3b) will be only available in languages licensing quirky subjects. Both options will give rise to type B languages, where verbal psych passives are attested.

In fact, I argue that both options exist. English and Dutch are type A languages in virtue of strategy (3a); both languages allow pseudopassives, although in Dutch it is restricted to impersonal passives:

- (4) a. This bed was slept in.
 b. Mary can be relied on.
- (5) a. Daar werd over gepraat.
 'There was talked about'
- b. Daar werd in geslapen.
 'There was slept in'

(J. Schaeffer, p.c.)

The third type A language to be discussed here, Finnish, exemplifies strategy (3b), where inherent case (below, elative) is retained under passive:

- (6) a. Pidän sinu-sta.
 like.1sg you.ELA
 'I like you'

¹ For extensive discussion, see Landau (2001).

² There is nothing "pseudo" about pseudopassives; a better term perhaps is "applied passive", familiar from American Indian and Bantu languages, where an applicative morpheme (in English – the incorporated preposition) "promotes" an oblique argument to a direct object. (3a) recalls, of course, Kayne's (1981) parameter of "P as a structural governor" which accounted for contrasts in P-stranding, ECM and Comp-PRO effects between English and French. It may be a special case of Kayne's parameter, although I think a finer distinction is needed between P-stranding under A- and A-bar movement (which are not co-extensive).

- b. Sinu-sta pidetään.
you.ELA like.PASS
'You are liked'

(L. Pylkkänen, p.c.)

Thus, the hypothesis that accusative experiencers bear inherent case, coupled with the independently known strategies in (3), yield an extremely non-trivial crosslinguistic prediction:

- (7) Verbal passives of non-agentive ObjExp verbs will only be available in languages allowing either pseudopassives or (oblique) quirky passives.

Clearly, (dis)confirmation of this prediction is a matter for much research. Yet the sample of six languages examined below does split nicely into type A and type B languages, in conformity with our prediction. We first discuss type A languages.

2. Type A Languages: No Stative Psych Passives

When one examines the range of possible psych passives in type A languages, a generalization emerges: Only non-stative psych verbs passivize. This is particularly interesting since in the languages to be discussed there is no general constraint against stative verbal passives; it is only stative verbal *psych* passives (of ObjExp verbs) that are excluded. The best solution to this puzzle is the most general solution, namely – these verbs do not passivize because they lack an external argument. Thus, the generalization in (8a) should reduce to the one in (8b):

- (8) a. Universally, stative ObjExp verbs do not passivize.
b. Universally, stative ObjExp verbs are unaccusative.

Sections 2.1-2.3 illustrate (8a) with three languages; section 3 derives (8b) from general principles regulating the lexicon-syntax mapping.

2.1. English

Adopting Belletti & Rizzi's claim that psych passives are always adjectival, Grimshaw (1990) noted the following contrast:

- (9) a. The situation is depressing Mary.
b. *Mary is being depressed by the situation.

(Grimshaw 1990:114, ex. 13)

The progressive aspect in English is a standard test for non-statives. Grimshaw's reasoning was as follows: The verb *depress* is not (or need not be) stative in the active, as it can appear in the progressive. Yet its passive form is stative, and rejects the progressive. We know, independently, that verbal passivization does not change verbs from stative to non-stative or the other way round. Therefore, the passive in (9b) must be adjectival (explaining its stativity).

In response, Pesetsky (1995) observes that ObjExp verbs vary in the extent to which they exhibit stative behavior. Unlike *depress*, which is strongly stative, *fear*, *terrify*, *shock* and *surprise* all admit an eventive reading which is preserved in the passive (10a). Pesetsky further argues that (9a) has a special ("judgmental") non-iterative meaning which (for some reason) is unavailable with passives. This restriction applies to other statives, such as SubjExp psych verbs (10b-d):

- (10) a. Sue was continually being scared by odd noises.
 b. Harry is clearly fearing an outbreak of the flu.
 c. * An outbreak of the flu is clearly being feared by Harry.
 d. An outbreak of the flu is feared by Harry.
 (Pesetsky 1995, ex. 73a, 75e, 76e, 77e)

Moreover, psych passives in the progressive are incompatible with special prepositions, a clear indication of their verbal status (see (30) below). English thus has eventive verbal psych passives.

However, Pesetsky also noted that some ObjExp verbs do not passivize at all (11a,b), and in that respect resemble dative-experiencer verbs that never form pseudopassives (11c-e) (see also Perlmutter & Postal 1984):

- (11) a. * We were escaped by Smith's name.
 b. * Panini was eluded by the correct generalization.
 c. * Mary wasn't appealed to by the play.
 d. * John was mattered to by this.
 e. * Mary was ocured to by the same idea.
 (Pesetsky 1995, ex. 153b, 154b, 155b, 156b, 157b)

It is Pesetsky's suggestion that all these verbs are unaccusative, hence their resistance to passive. Additional evidence for the unaccusativity of *escape* and *elude* comes from the fact that they do not form middles or *-er* nominals (the same is true of *concern*):

- (12) a. * Great ideas clude/escape/concern easily.
 b. * an eluder, *an escaper, *a concernor

Crucially, these are all stative verbs. Avoiding the problematic progressive test, notice that they fail the pseudo-cleft test (cf. the eventive ObjExp verbs in (13b)):

- (13) a. * What that solution did was escape/elude/concern Mary.
 b. What that noise did was scare/surprise/startle Mary.

Thus English supports the correlation stated in (8b) between stativity and unaccusativity in ObjExp verbs.³

2.2. Dutch

As in English, Dutch passive participles are ambiguous between a verbal and an adjectival use. Following den Besten (1989), Pesetsky (1995) argues that psych passives undergo V-raising, a test distinguishing verbs from adjectives in Dutch. V-raising optionally inverts the order of the participle and the auxiliary (adjoining the former to the right of the latter):⁴

³ Pesetsky (1995, fn. 47) mentions a suggestion by R. Mulder that a null preposition introduces the objects of *escape/elude*. This is precisely the present proposal, which extends to *all* accusative experiencers. In the case at hand, though, what blocks passivization is not the null preposition but the lack of external argument.

⁴ The Dutch data are taken from den Besten (1989) and R. Mulder (p.c. to Pesetsky). Pesetsky mentions another test – compatibility with the auxiliary *worden* – yet judgments on that seem less stable.

- (14) a. dat hij gelachen heeft.
that he laughed has
'that he has laughed'
- b. dat hij heeft gelachen.
- (15) a. dat Jan de hele dag druk bezig is.
that John the whole day very busy is
'that John is very busy the whole day'
- b. * dat Jan de hele dag druk is bezig.

(Pesetsky 1995, ex. 84, 88)

Verb raising, not surprisingly, can only apply to verbs. Thus, it can apply to the verbal participle in (14b) but not to the adjective in (15b). Psych passives can undergo V-raising, confirming their verbal status:

- (16) a. dat ik door het college geboeid werd.
that I by the classes fascinated became.
'that I got fascinated by the classes'
- b. dat ik door het college werd geboeid.

(Pesetsky 1995, ex. 100)

Nevertheless, Pesetsky reports that not all psych passives are of equal status; e.g., *irriteeren* 'irritate' and *ergern* 'annoy' yield a question mark in (16). If the present proposal is correct, this marginality is related to stativity: Strongly stative psych verbs should resist verbal passivization since they are unaccusative.

This prediction is confirmed (judgments by J. Schaeffer and A. van Hout, p.c). Consider the behavior of *intrigeren* 'intrigue' (the same judgments are reported for *interesseren* 'interest'):

- (17) a. dat musicals Jan intrigeren.
that musicals John intrigued
'that musicals intrigued John'
- b. dat Jan door musicals geïntrigeerd was / *was geïntrigeerd.
that John by musicals intrigued was / *was intrigued
'that John was intrigued by musicals'

The passive of *intrigeren* cannot undergo V-raising, a clear indication of its adjectival status. Crucially, V-raising is *not* generally excluded with stative verbal passives (unlike the case of the Italian auxiliary *venire* 'come', as Pesetsky 1995 shows); SubjExp passives do raise:

- (18) a. dat Jan musicals haatte.
that John musicals hated
'that John hated musicals'
- b. dat musicals door Jan gehaat was / was gehaat.
that musicals by John hated become / become hated
'that musicals came to be hated by John'

Thus, stative ObjExp verbs are distinct both from eventive ObjExp verbs and from stative SubjExp verbs. It is only the combination of an experiencer with inherent case *and* stativity which yields an unaccusative verb, resisting passivization.

2.3. Finnish

Pylkkänen (2000) argues that the stative/eventive distinction in ObjExp verbs is morphologically marked in Finnish – in two ways: i) Eventive ObjExp verbs contain an inchoative morpheme lacking from stative verbs; ii) Stative ObjExp verbs mark their object with partitive case (like all atelic verbs), whereas the object of eventive ObjExp verbs is marked accusative:³

- (19) a. Hyttyset inho-ita-vat Mikk-a.
mosquitos.NOM find-disgusting-CAUS-3pl Mikko.PAR
'Mosquitos disgust Mikko'
- b. Presidentti ikävy-sty-tti Jussi-n.
president.NOM boredom-INCH-CAUS.PAST Jussi.ACC
'The president caused Jussi to become bored'
- (Pylkkänen 2000, ex. 1b, 43c)

Pylkkänen shows that those two types of verbs have different selectional properties, a fact which she attributes to the presence of an external argument in the eventive type vs. its absence in the stative type. The argument is fairly theory-internal, however Pylkkänen also shows that the same assumption accounts for a contrast in passivization: Only the eventive type has a passive form (the *with*-phrase in (20b) is an event-modifier; Finnish passive has no *by*-phrase):

- (20) a. *Maija-a inho-te-taan.
Maija.PAR find-disgusting-CAUS-PASS
'Maija is disgusted'
- b. Kaisa pelä-sty-te-ttiin huonoilla uusilla.
Kaisa fright-INCH-CAUS-PASS.PAST with bad news
'Kaisa was frightened with bad news (by somebody)'
- (Pylkkänen 2000, ex. 50a, 52a)

This contrast confirms our generalization regarding type A languages: Passive in ObjExp verbs is only found with eventive verbs, while stative verbs are unaccusative. The Finnish data is even sharper than the English/Dutch data because the aspectual distinctions are morphologically marked, so the relevant judgments need not appeal to subtle semantic intuitions.

3. Deriving the Unaccusativity of Stative ObjExp Verbs

The assumption that stative ObjExp verbs are unaccusative explains why they lack verbal passives. This property seems to be universal, so it is therefore highly desirable to derive it from principles of UG. In this section I outline the steps of this derivation. Although some of these steps are as yet non-derived generalizations, I believe that they are all empirically well-established.

³ Notice that the stative verb in (19a) is causative; the main point of Pylkkänen's paper is to establish the existence of an aspectual class (of psych verbs) that is *both* causative and stative.

Recall that stative ObjExp verbs – whether the experiencer is accusative or dative – select both an experiencer and a target/subject-matter argument:

- (21) a. Global warming preoccupies George.
b. *preoccupy*: <EXP, T/SM>

Let us assume that mapping to the syntax is governed by the following thematic hierarchy:

- (22) Causer >> Experiencer >> T/SM. (Pesetsky 1995, ex. 166)

Normally, only two (adjacent) members of this hierarchy are simultaneously realized; this is the content of Pesetsky's (1995) T/SM restriction. Assume that the eventive interpretation of ObjExp verbs is associated with the causer argument, and vice versa. Conversely, the stative interpretation and the T/SM argument are likewise associated. Thus, stative psych verbs realize experiencer and T/SM, and (22) requires the latter to project lower than the former. If one can show that the experiencer argument must be internal, the hierarchy in (22) would entail that the T/SM argument is internal too.⁶

The problem, then, narrows down to the following question: Why can't the experiencer of a stative ObjExp verb (e.g., *preoccupy*) project externally, like the experiencer of a SubjExp verb (e.g., *fear*)? It is here that we bring in the next universal generalization:

- (23) Inherent case is only assigned to internal arguments.

Again, there might be different views on why (23) should be true, yet there is little doubt that it is. It is well-known that quirky subjects – bearing inherent case in a canonical subject position – are always derived, hence internal arguments (Zaenen, Maling & Thráinsson 1985, Sigurðsson 1989, 1992). Within GB, there was a natural way of deriving (23). As Belletti & Rizzi (1988) pointed out, inherent case is assigned (like a θ -role) under government by V, but V governs only internal arguments (the external one being governed by Infl). Within the minimalist program, where government is discarded, an alternative distinction exists between internal and external arguments: Only the latter are introduced by a functional light v. We may assume that only lexical V can assign inherent case; the only case feature on light v is structural accusative.⁷

The account is complete if we add in the claim in (2), for which ample independent evidence exists:

- (24) Universally, non-nominative experiencers are oblique (i.e., bear inherent case).

From (23) and (24) it follows that in all ObjExp verbs – statives included – the non-nominative experiencer is an internal argument. In the stative ones, the remaining T/SM argument must also be internal, given the hierarchy in (22). Consequently, stative ObjExp verbs have no external argument, Q.E.D.⁸

⁶ See Reinhart (2001a,b) for a possible decompositional account of (22).

⁷ Notice that certain languages have productive dative subjects in various environments (e.g., infinitives in Russian, the evidential mode in Georgian, causatives in Romance). By all tests this is structural dative, hence does not fall under (23).

⁸ A recent attempt to derive the same result is developed in Reinhart (2001a,b), where θ -roles are decomposed into constituent features, [$\pm c$] (cause) and [$\pm m$] (mental-state). Mapping rules operate on features, linking [+c] and [+m] roles to the external argument position. One important difference between the present system and Reinhart's is the relative ranking of internal arguments: (22) dictates that even when both arguments are internal, the experiencer is higher than T/SM. By contrast, Reinhart's system only distinguishes between the external argument and the internal arguments; the latter are unordered. This is

Independently of the passivization facts that are discussed in the next section, there is evidence that stativity and unaccusativity correlate in ObjExp verbs. Campbell and Martin (1989) note that PP extraposition is possible from deep objects and derived subjects, but not from deep subjects:

- (25) a. I showed [three movies t_i] to the students [about the mafia]_i.
 b. [Three movies t_i] appeared [about the mafia]_i.
 c. [Three movies t_i] were shown [about the mafia]_i.
 d. * [Three movies t_i] detailed crimes [about the mafia]_i.
 (Campbell & Martin 1989, ex. 39a,b, 40b,c)

Arguing against Belletti & Rizzi's unaccusative analysis, Campbell & Martin observe that ObjExp verbs, like standard transitives, fail to license PP-extraposition out of the subject:

- (26) a. * [Three movies t_i] upset us [about the mafia]_i.
 b. * [Three movies t_i] interested us [about the mafia]_i.
 (Campbell & Martin 1989, ex. 41)

In fact, it is not clear that (26a,b) have the same status. In Hebrew, the verb *inyen* 'interest' does license PP-extraposition (27a), just like the verb *kasam* 'enchant' (27b), which is a dative-experiencer verb. This unaccusative behavior follows from their stative nature. By contrast, the eventive verb *icben* 'irritate' fails this test (27c):

- (27) a. 3 sratim inyenu oti šel Cassavetes.
 3 movies interested me of Cassavetes
 'Three movies interested me by Cassavetes'
 b. 3 sratim kasmu li šel Cassavetes.
 3 movies enchanted to-me of Cassavetes
 'Three movies enchanted me by Cassavetes'
 c. * 3 sratim icbenu oti šel Cassavetes.
 3 movies irritated me of Cassavetes
 'Three movies irritated me by Cassavetes'

Notice that most ObjExp verbs are ambiguous, to varying degrees, between stative and eventive readings. Empirically, unaccusative behavior is exhibited only by those verbs (like *concern*, *interest*) which are unambiguously stative. We may assume that only the latter verbs lack, in their thematic grid, a causer argument (which is the source of eventive interpretation).

4. Type A Languages: No Verbal Psych Passives

4.1. Italian

Belletti & Rizzi (1988) presented four arguments in favor of the adjectival status of psych passives. The first two arguments were: i) Like adjectives, and unlike verbal passives, psych passives cannot bear a clitic pronoun in reduced relatives; ii) Unlike verbal passives, psych passives are incompatible with the auxiliary *venire* 'come'. However, Pesetsky (1995) showed that argument (i) rests on a problematic choice of clitics, which

particularly problematic because there is considerable evidence – from word order and scope – that the experiencer is higher than T/SM in unaccusative psych verbs, evidence which is used, but not explained, by Reinhart (2001b).

renders the argument uninformative; and argument (ii) diagnoses *stativity*, not adjectivehood.

Ignoring those two arguments, Belletti & Rizzi presented two additional pieces of evidence, which Pesetsky does not discuss. That evidence points quite clearly to the adjectival status of some psych passives in Italian.

First, some ObjExp verbs do not have regular participial forms (28b), and instead have only irregular adjectival forms (28c):

- (28) a. Le sue idee mi stufano/stancano/entusiasmano.
'His ideas tire/excite me'
- b. * Sono stufato/stancato/entusiasmato dalle sue idee. [participial form]
'I am tired/excited by his ideas'
- c. Sono stufo/stanco/entusiasta dalle sue idee. [adjectival form]
'I am tired/excited by his ideas'
- (B&R 1988, ex. 55-56)

Belletti & Rizzi interpret this as a consequence of the Blocking Principle: An irregular form blocks the regular form. But notice that the irregular form is unambiguously adjectival. Therefore, the blocked participial form must also be adjectival, otherwise no competition should arise.⁹ This implies that the verbs in (28) have no verbal passives. Importantly, these are not stative verbs, hence the lack of verbal passives cannot be subsumed under type A of (1).

Second, some psych passives resist the regular *da*-phrase and only occur with special prepositions:

- (29) a. Gianni è interessato a/*da Maria.
'Gianni is interested to/*by Maria'
- b. Gianni è appassionato di/*dalla poesia.
'Gianni is fond of/*by poetry'
- (B&R 1988, fn. 13)

The occurrence of idiosyncratic prepositions is a hallmark of adjectival passives, which are lexically derived. Such prepositions are excluded in contexts that force the choice of a verbal passive, like the progressive aspect:

- (30) a. Bill was enraged by/at totally innocent remarks.
b. Bill was often being enraged by/*at totally innocent remarks.
(Pesetsky 1995, ex. 81)

Granting that *some* Italian ObjExp verbs lacks verbal passives, we would still be on safer grounds if it were possible to show that *no* such verb has a verbal passive; recall that this follows from (7), given that Italian has neither pseudo- nor quirky passives.

Showing that a language lacks a certain feature is much harder than showing that it has it. In principle, the objection is always conceivable that we have not looked hard enough. Still, I think that in this particular case, an argument with this desirable conclusion is available from certain facts about Italian verb morphology.¹⁰

Suppose we find an affix X with the following profile:

⁹ Cf. the English alternation *sunk/sunken* between the verbal and the adjectival participles.

¹⁰ For discussion and data, I am grateful to Lisa Brunetti.

- (31) a. X is a (relatively) productive deverbal affix.
 b. X attaches to verbal passive participles.
 c. In particular, X attaches to SubjExp passive participles.
 d. X does *not* attach to adjectives.
 e. X does *not* attach to ObjExp passive participles.

If X satisfies these conditions, two conclusions follow: (i) X attaches to verbs, regardless of stativity (since SubjExp verbs are stative, and allow it); (ii) ObjExp passives are adjectival. Notice that this test is not vulnerable to Pesetsky's critique, as it explicitly diagnoses verbhood, not eventiveness.

It turns out that the semeliterative prefix *ri-* 're-' fits perfectly the description in (31):

- (32) a. *ri-* attaches to SubjExp passive participles:
riamato 'reloved', *riconsiderato* 'reconsidered', *ridetestato* 'redetested',
revenerato 'reworshipped', *ridimenticato* 'reforgotten'.
 b. *ri-* does not attach to adjectives:
**rifelice* 're-happy', **rifurioso* 're-furious', **ristanco* 're-tired',
**ribello* 're-beautiful', **rimalato* 're-sick'.
 c. *ri-* does not attach to ObjExp passive participles:
**risconcertato* 'restartled', **risorpreso* 'resurprised', **riscioccato*
 'reshocked', **riterrorizzata* 'reterrified', **ridivertito*
 'reamused', **ripreoccupato* 'reworried', **rieccitato* 'rethrilled, reexcited'.

I conclude, then, that Italian has no verbal ObjExp passives, in accordance with (7).

4.2. French

Legendre (1993) presents four arguments in favor of the adjectival status of psych passives. First, they are compatible with the adverbials *si/très*, which modify adjectives; second, they form causatives with *rendre* 'render' like other adjectives; third, they appear as complements of *rester* 'remain', which selects adjectives; and fourth, they are incompatible with *faire* causatives, unlike normal verbal passives. Notice that of the four tests, only the last one shows that psych passives are not verbal. The first three tests merely show that psych passives have an adjectival use, but do not preclude the existence of a verbal use as well. Since French passive participles are morphologically ambiguous, this possibility cannot be discounted.¹¹ However, the fourth test does show what it purports to. Consider the data:

- (33) a. *Ça rendra/*fera Pierre très célèbre.*
 'This will make Peter very famous'
 b. **Ça fera Pierre passionné par les timbres.*
 'This will make Peter crazy about stamps'
 c. *Sa visite à la Nouvelle Orléans a rendu Pierre vraiment passionné par le jazz.*
 'His visit to New Orleans has rendered Peter really crazy about jazz'
 (Legendre 1993, ex. 16, 17a, 18c)

¹¹ The same logical flaw afflicts Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) and Grimshaw's (1990) arguments against verbal ObjExp passives in Italian and English (see Pesetsky 1995 for extensive discussion).

(33a) shows that regular adjectives in French form causatives with *rendre* and not with *faire*. (33b,c) show that the psych passive *passioné* behaves like an adjective in this respect; the ungrammaticality of the *faire*-variant rules out a verbal passive.

Moreover, as in Italian, a general argument can be made on the basis of *re*-prefixation. This prefix attaches to verbs, including SubjExp passives (though some sound awkward), but not to adjectives. ObjExp passives pattern with the latter, resisting *re*- (M.A. Friedemann, p.c.):

- (34) a. *re*- attaches to SubjExp passive participles:
reconsidéré 'reconsidered', ?réaimé 'reloved', ?redétesté 'redetested',
réestimé 'reestimated', ?réoublié 'reforgotten'.
- b. *re*- does not attach to adjectives:
*recontente 're-content', reheureux 're-happy', *reprête 're-ready',
*rebelle 're-beautiful', *resûre 're-sure'.
- c. *re*- does not attach to class II passive participles:
?*réalarmé 'realarmed', ?*resurpris 'resurprised', ?*rechoqué 'reshocked',
?*réeffrayé 'rescared', ?*réamusé 'reamused', ?*réennuyé 'rebored'.

One could speculate that the forms in (34c) are morphologically ruled out. That this is not the case is shown by the following minimal pairs:

- (35) a. Ce film a rechoqué Pierre.
'That movie reshocked Pierre'
- b. * Pierre a été rechoqué par ce film.
'Pierre was reshocked by that movie'
- (36) a. ? La dernière attaque a réeffrayé Pierre.
'The last attack refrightened Pierre'
- b. * Pierre a été réeffrayé par la dernière attaque.
'Pierre was refrightened by the last attack'

(G. Legendre, p.c.)

ObjExp participles are acceptable in the perfect tense (35a)/(36a); it is only their useage as verbal passives that is ruled out (35b)/(36b), indicating that the constraint at work is syntactic rather than morphological. French, like Italian, has no verbal ObjExp passives, in accordance with (7).

4.3. Hebrew

Unlike French and Italian, Hebrew (past and future) passive is a synthetic form, inflected for tense. Hence, it is unambiguously verbal, and no verb/adjective differentiating tests are needed. Running through the class of Hebrew ObjExp verbs, one finds out that passivization breaks them into three categories:

(37) Hebrew Psych Passives

- a. Verbs that have no morphological passive: *hilihiv*/**hulhav* 'excite',
hiršim/**huršam* 'impress', *higiz*/**hurgaz* 'annoy', *ci'er*/**co'ar* 'sadden',
hitmi/**ha'hutma* 'puzzle', *hidhim*/**hudham* 'amaze', *hamam*/**ne'hemam*
'shock', *simeax*/**sumax* 'delight', *ye'eš*/**yoaš* 'despair'.

- b. Verbs that form morphological passive only in the agentive use: *kišef/kušaf* 'enchant', *ina/una* 'torment', *gira/gura* 'stimulate', *hišfid/?hušad* 'scare', *he'eliv/hu'alav* 'insult', *šixnea/suxna* 'convince', *hišpil/hušpal* 'humiliate', *hesit/husat* 'incite'.
- c. Verbs that form morphological non-agentive passive with *me-* 'of, from': *hiftia/hufta* 'surprise', *hitrid/hutrad* 'bother', *hevix/huvax* 'embarrass', *zi'aze'a/zu'aza* 'shock', *hiksim/huksam* 'charm', *hitrif/hutraf* 'drive s.o. mad', *sixrer/suxrar* 'dazzle'.

A great many ObjExp verbs – perhaps more than half – belong to category (37a). It is not entirely clear why so many ObjExp verbs lack passive forms, even on their agentive readings, although various restrictions on passive in Hebrew are known to exist.¹² At any rate, the issue is orthogonal to the present thesis, which makes the right predictions with respect to the other two categories.

Few verbs belong to category (37b): They allow a verbal passive with the regular *al-yedey*-phrase (*by*-phrase), but only under the agentive reading; the non-agentive reading is ruled out either with *al-yedey* or with *me-*:

- (38) a. *ha-bosit/ha-bdixa he'eliva et Gil.*
the-boss/the-joke insulted acc. Gil
'The boss/joke insulted Gil'
- b. *Gil hu'alav al-yedey ha-bosit.*
Gil was-insulted by the-boss
'Gil was insulted by the boss'
- c. * *Gil hu'alav al-yedey/me- ha-bdixa.*
Gil was-insulted by/of the-joke
'Gil was insulted by the joke'

This state of affairs is not surprising: We already know that agentive psych verbs lose all the special psych properties. If lack of verbal passive is a psych property, the only exceptions to it should have agentive readings. Nor do we expect the non-agentive passives to license prepositions other than *al-yedey* (like *me-*); recall that Hebrew passives are unambiguously verbal, and special prepositions only occur with adjectival passives.

In light of this, the behavior of category (37c) is *prima facie* puzzling. Although we expect these verbs to have agentive passive with *al-yedey* (39a), we do not expect them to license non-agentive passive with *me-*; but in fact they do (39b):

- (39) a. *Gil hufta me-/al-yedey ha-orxim.*
Gil was-surprised of/by the-guests
'Gil was surprised at/by the guests'

¹² Doron (1999) argues that Hebrew passive is only compatible with verbs that select an Actor (normally, an agent) as their external arguments. Since psych verbs select a Causer but not an Actor, they cannot passivize. The first claim, however, is false; Hebrew has stative passives with no Actor (see next footnote). Moreover, the psych verbs in categories (37b,c) do allow agentive passives, even though their active forms select a Causer. Hence, the absence of non-agentive psych passives cannot be reduced to a general property of Hebrew passives.

- b. Gil hufta me/*al-yedey ha-xadašot.
 Gil was-surprised of/*by the-news
 'Gil was surprised at/*by the news'

The psych passive in (39b) is a strange hybrid from the point of view of current theories: Its morphology classifies it as a verb, whereas the preposition it takes classifies it as an adjective. How should we analyse it?¹³

Let me first point out that this peculiar behavior is exhibited by a very small number of verbs. In fact, the list in (37c) is pretty much exhaustive. I would like to claim that these verbs, although semantically normal, are morphologically anomalous. Specifically, these are intransitive psych verbs with abnormal passive morphology. That is, the form *hufta* 'surprise (passive)' is really derived by reduction of the external causer of *hifia* 'surprise (active)' (Reinhart's "expletivization", resulting in the promotion of the experiencer to external argument). Normally, such an operation is marked by reflexive or inchoative morphology. In these exceptional verbs, however, the lexical marker is the one normally used to mark *saturation* of the external argument – namely, passive morphology. Let us refer to this phenomenon as "fake-passive".

This hypothesis, although striking at first sight, ties together four peculiar properties of fake-passives. First, the fact already observed, that these verbs take *me*-PP and not *al-yedey*-PP. This is typical of unergative psych verbs in Hebrew (note that the English translations are approximate, as they involve *by*-phrases):

- (40) a. Gil hitrageš me/*al-yedey ha-seret.
 Gil was-moved of/*by the-movie
 'Gil was moved by the movie'
 b. Gil nig'al me/*al-yedey ha-marak.
 Gil was-disgusted of/*by the-soup
 'Gil was disgusted by the soup'

al-yedey introduces a demoted external argument – agent/causer or stative experiencer in class I. By contrast, *me*- introduces an internal argument – the Target/Subject-Matter of Pesetsky (1995). The parallelism between (39b) and (40) supports the idea that fake-passives are in fact unergatives.

Second, unlike the verbs in categories (37a,b) (with very few exceptions), the verbs in category (37c) have no "morphologically normal" unergative variant. In Hebrew, the unergative member in psych alternations often carries reflexive (the *hitpa'el* paradigm) or inchoative (the *nifal* paradigm) morphology. The examples in (40) illustrate these two types. However, the transitive verbs in (37c) have no such counterparts (e.g., *hifia*/**nifal*/**hitpa'el* 'surprise', *hitrid*/**nitrud*/**hitared* 'bother', *hiksim*/**niksam*/**hitkasem* 'charm', etc.). This is readily understood on the assumption that the fake-passives are the unergative counterparts; being morphologically irregular, they block the formation of the regular forms.¹⁴

¹³ Notice that one cannot rule out *al-yedey* in (39b) by assuming that this preposition only occurs in agentive/eventive passives. In fact, stative *non-psych* verbs allow it:

i. ha-bama husteru al-yedey ha-masax.
 the-stage was-hidden by the-screen
 'The stage was hidden by the screen'

¹⁴ There are two exceptions which have both fake-passive and reflexive forms: *zu'aza/hizda* 'aze 'shock' and *suxrar/histaxrer* 'dazzle'. I can only speculate that this is related to the fact that the psych reading of these verbs is parasitic on a physical, non-psych reading. Notice that lack of a reflexive/inchoative variant is a necessary, not a sufficient condition for the formation of a fake-passive; some verbs may lack such a variant simply due to a lexical gap (e.g., *hexli*/**nixla*/**hitxale* 'sicken').

Third, if fake-passives are in fact unergatives, they should fail familiar tests for derived subjects. In Hebrew, subject verb inversion (in the absence of preverbal material) is perfect with passives/unaccusatives, but very marginal with unergatives/transitives. Indeed, fake-passives pattern with the latter and not with the former:

- (41) a. ani xošev še-huzmenu harbe studentim.
I think that-were-invited many students
'I think that many students were invited'
- b. ?? ani xošev še-hitragzu harbe studentim me-ha-švita.
I think that-were-angry many students of-the-strike
'I think that many students were angry at the strike'
- c. ?? ani xošev še-hutredu harbe studentim me-ha-švita.
I think that-were-bothered many students of-the-strike
'I think that many students were bothered with the strike'

Unlike the genuine passive (41a), the psych unergative (41b) (morphologically reflexive) resists inversion. The fake-passive (41c) is similarly marginal with inversion.

Fourth, the idea that the passive forms in (37c) are not real passives explains another peculiarity they exhibit – namely, their occurrence as control predicates *without* active counterparts (42a,b):

- (42) a. Gil hufta/huksam/zu'aza legalot še-ha-arec agula.
Gil was-surprised/enchanted/shocked to-discover that-the-earth round
'Gil was surprised/enchanted/shocked to discover that the earth is round'
- b. * Rina hifia/hiksima/zi'aze'a et Gil legalot še-ha-arec agula.
Rina surprised/enchanted/shocked acc. Gil to-discover that-the-earth round
'Rina surprised/enchanted/shocked Gil to discover that the earth is round'
- c. Gil hitragez/nexrad legalot še-ha-arec agula.
Gil was annoyed/appalled to-discover that-the-earth round
'Gil was annoyed/appalled to discover that the earth is round'

Such active-passive asymmetry is unknown among control verbs;¹⁵ it is readily understood if the verbs in (42a) are unergative psych verbs, on a par with those in (42c), which do not carry passive morphology. Indeed, the English counterparts are clearly adjectival passives, resisting the progressive; compare (43a) and (43b):

- (43) a. John was (*being) surprised/enchanted/shocked to discover
that the earth is round.
- b. John was (being) urged/encouraged/compelled/forced to discover
that the earth is round.

I conclude that there is ample evidence against the existence of verbal passive of ObjExp psych verbs in Hebrew, morphological appearance notwithstanding.¹⁶

¹⁵ But not among ECM verbs:

i. John was wagered/affirmed/announced to have cheated on his wife.

ii. * We wagered/affirmed/announced John to to have cheated on his wife.

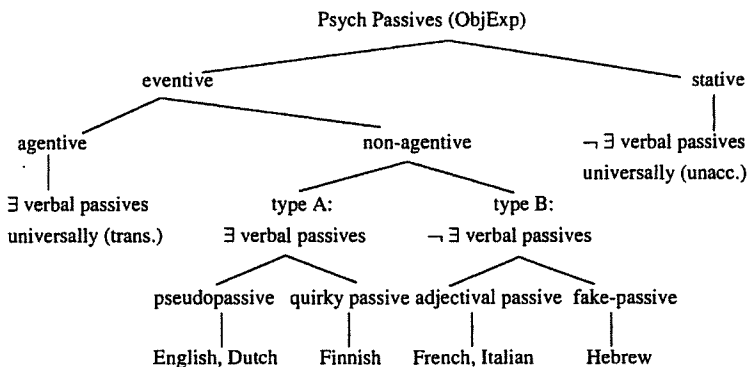
¹⁶ The occurrence of unergative psych-verbs with irregular passive morphology is perhaps less surprising than it first appears. The reverse situation is also attested: The passives of the verbs *kibel* 'accept, receive' and *gila* 'discover' are the morphologically reflexive *hitkabel/hitgala*, not the expected

5. Conclusion

A careful examination of the crosslinguistic picture reveals that the question "Do ObjExp verbs have verbal passives?" receives different answers in different cases. We have identified two relevant factors that are involved – a universal factor and a parametric one. The universal factor is *aspect*: Stative ObjExp verbs universally lack verbal passive forms, and agentive ObjExp verbs universally have them. The parametric factor is the syntax of *inherent case*. In those languages that allow either pseudopassives or quirky passives, verbal passives of ObjExp verbs exist; in those languages where neither strategy is available, verbal passives of ObjExp verbs do not exist. In the latter case, "substitutes" – such as adjectival or "fake" passives – are used instead of the missing forms. The correlation of psych passives with P-stranding/Pied-Piping strongly supports the idea that object experiencers are universally oblique, whether visibly or not.

The emerging crosslinguistic typology is given below. Observe that the association of a particular language with a particular slot in this typology is predictable from independent morphosyntactic properties of the language:

(44) The Psych Passive Typology



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**kubal/*gula*. Of course, this is familiar from Romance, where passive/middle constructions can be formed with *si/se*. Thus, the lexical operations saturation and reduction normally map to passive and reflexive morphology, respectively; however, irregular forms may arise when the mapping is reversed.

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