

The Urdu Active Impersonal

SANA KIDWAI¹, *University of Cambridge*

ABSTRACT

It has been reported in several works that Urdu can optionally preserve accusative case in passives. In this paper, I show that the accusative-preserving passive construction is different from canonical passives, and reanalyse it as an active construction with a silent *pro* subject. I also compare it to similar constructions in Polish, Ukrainian, Icelandic and Viennese German.

1 Introduction

It is commonly reported that Hindi-Urdu can optionally preserve accusative case in passives (1) (Davison 1982, Mohanan 1994, Mahajan 1995, Bhatt 2007, Srishti 2011:Ch5).

- (1) **Vo** / **Us=ko** pakRa gya.
He.NOM / He.OBL=ACC catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
'He was caught.'

This is contrary to the cross-linguistically robust generalisation that accusative case is only found in transitive contexts, that is, in the presence of an external argument (EA). A well-known formulation of this generalisation is Burzio's Generalisation (BG), given below.

- (2) Burzio's Generalisation: Only verbs that assign an external θ -role may assign accusative case.
(Burzio 1986)

From a case assignment perspective, the availability of accusative case in a passive construction is a conundrum for both Agree-based and dependent case theories. Agree-based theories explain BG-type facts by attributing both the external θ -role and accusative case to the same functional head, active Voice (Pylkkänen 2002, Alexiadou et al. 2006, Harley 2009, Legate 2014, Harley 2017). This functional head is missing in passives, and so accusative case is unavailable. For dependent case theories, accusative case is a dependent case assigned to a DP c-commanded by another DP (also active for case assignment) in the TP domain. In other words, accusative case is assigned to the lower argument in the clause when there is a (non-quirky) subject present. In passives, there is no argument c-commanding the promoted object to trigger assignment of dependent accusative case. Thus, accusative case assignment in (1) is problematic for both approaches.

The Hindi-Urdu accusative-preserving construction has received two prominent analyses in the literature. Mahajan (1995) argues that Hindi-Urdu does not have a true passive construction at all: the EA is not demoted, the object is not promoted, and (1), with or without accusative case, is underlyingly active. This allows for accusative case conditioned by differential object marking, as in other active clauses, hence, optional 'preservation' of accusative case. Others, such as Mohanan (1994) and Bhatt (2007), have argued that Hindi-Urdu does have true passives but with optional object promotion. When the object is not promoted, it receives accusative case. Hence, both versions of (1) are passive.

In this paper, I show that Urdu has two constructions: a canonical passive and an active impersonal. Canonical passives have a demoted subject and optional object promotion. (1) with an unmarked surface subject is a canonical passive. On the other hand, active impersonals have underlying active syntax with no object promotion and a silent *pro* in subject position. Accusative case is available in the active impersonal construction, as in other active clauses. (1) with a marked surface subject is therefore an active impersonal. It should be noted that the arguments made in this paper

¹sak83@cam.ac.uk

are only for Urdu and not for Hindi. Although it is common to use the umbrella term ‘Hindi-Urdu’ in the literature, all the judgements I report are from Urdu speakers and do not seem to hold for Hindi (section 7).

The paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I give some background on accusative case assignment and subject properties in Urdu. In section 3, I establish that Urdu complies to BG in non-transitive contexts (unaccusatives and dative predicates). Section 4 shows that there is a true passive construction in Urdu, while section 5 argues that the accusative-preserving construction is not a true passive and is underlyingly active. In section 6, I compare the Urdu active impersonal to similar constructions in other languages to investigate its structure. Section 7 concludes.

2 Background

In this section, I provide background on two aspects of Urdu grammar which are key to this paper. In section 2.1, I summarise the differential object marking conditions on accusative case assignment. In section 2.2, I discuss subject properties which are the main diagnostics used in this paper for identifying the hierarchical position of DPs in the two constructions.

2.1 Accusative case

Accusative case, marked by *-ko*, is found primarily on direct objects in Urdu. Differential object marking (DOM) causes alternation between accusative and nominative case, as shown in (3).

- (3) Omar=ne **seb=ko** / **seb** khaya.
 Omar=ERG apple=ACC / apple.NOM eat.PFV.M.SG
 ‘Omar ate an/the apple.’

DOM in Urdu is conditioned by animacy and definiteness/specificity (Aissen 2003, Butt and King 2004, Mohanan 1994). With respect to animacy, marking is obligatory on humans, and optional on non-human animates and inanimates. This is summarised in Figure 1.



Figure 1: Animacy scale and DOM in Urdu (adapted from Aissen 2003).

Optional marking on non-human DPs is governed by definiteness/specificity. Pronouns and proper names are always marked. Definite DPs and indefinite specific DPs are sometimes marked. Non-specific objects are never marked. Figure 2 provides the definiteness scale for Urdu.



Figure 2: Definiteness scale and DOM in Urdu (adapted from Aissen 2003).

2.2 Subject/Prominence tests

There are three tests generally used to diagnose subjecthood in Urdu: anaphor binding, pronoun obviation and control into participial clauses. The reflexive possessive anaphor, *apna*, can only be bound by subjects. In (4), *apna* is in the direct object and bound by the subject, but never by the indirect object, despite being c-commanded by both.

- (4) Sana_i=ne Omar_j=ko **apni**_{i/*j} kitaab bheji.
 Sana_i=ERG Omar_j=DAT REFL.F.SG.OBL_{i/*j} book.NOM send.PFV.F.SG
 ‘Sana_i sent Omar_j her_i/*his_j own book.’

Conversely, subjects are unable to bind non-reflexive pronouns. In (5), the direct object contains a non-reflexive possessive pronoun which can be bound by the indirect object but not the subject.

- (5) Sana_i=ne Omar_j=ko **us**_{*i/j/k}=ki kitaab bheji.
 Sana_i=ERG Omar_j=DAT 3SG.OBL_{*i/j/k}=GEN.F.SG book.NOM send.PFV.F.SG
 ‘Sana_i sent Omar_j her/his_{*i/j/k} book.’

Lastly, subjects, but not objects, control PRO subjects of embedded participial clauses (6).

- (6) a. Sana_i=ne Omar_j=ko [**PRO**_{i/*j} hansthe hue] maara.
 Sana_i=ERG Omar_j=ACC [PRO_{i/*j} laugh.IPFV happen.PFV.OBL] hit.PFV.M.SG
 Sana_i hit Omar_j while she_i/*he_j was laughing.’
 b. Sana_i=ne Omar_j=ko [**PRO**_{i/*j} kamre=mein jaa kar] maara.
 Sana_i=ERG Omar_j=ACC [PRO_{i/*j} room.OBL=LOC go do] hit.PFV.M.SG
 ‘Sana went to the room and hit Omar.’
 Intended: ‘Sana hit Omar when he went to the room.’

Although these are generally claimed to be ‘subject’ tests, there are two points to consider. Firstly, these properties do not always group together. For instance, dative subjects can bind *apna* (7-a) and control into participial clauses (7-b), but can also bind non-reflexive pronouns (7-c).

- (7) a. Sana_i=ko apna_i bhai pasand he.
 Sana_i=DAT REFL.M.SG_i brother.NOM like be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Sana_i likes her_i own brother.’
 b. Sana_i=ko [PRO_i Cambridge jaa kar] Rami pasand aaya.
 Sana_i=DAT [PRO_i Cambridge.LOC go do] Rami.NOM like come.PFV.M.SG
 ‘Sana_i liked Rami when she_i went to Cambridge.’
 c. Sana_i=ko us_{i/j}=ka bhai pasand he.
 Sana_i=DAT 3SG_{i/j}=GEN.M.SG brother.NOM like be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Sana_i likes her_{i/j} brother.’

Davison (2004) proposes that dative subjects do not originate in the same position as ergative and nominative subjects, but rather originate lower in the structure in VP. This leads us to the second point: these ‘subject’ properties may not be associated with a single structural position.² Instead, I take the tests outlined in this section to be associated with ‘prominent’ DPs (e.g. highest structural argument, highest logical argument or agent) in line with Mohanan (1994), and indicative of *relative positioning* rather than any specific position. This will become clearer as we apply the tests to the passive constructions in sections 4 and 5.

3 Burzio’s Generalisation and Urdu

The accusative-preserving passive construction has led many to claim that Urdu is an exception to BG (Mohanan 1994, Mahajan 1995, Srishti 2011:Ch5): accusative case is not tied to the presence of an EA in this language. In this section, I look at unaccusatives (section 3.1) and dative predicates (section 3.2) to establish that this is at least not the case throughout the language.

²Even ergative and nominative subjects, which seem to pattern together with respect to ‘subject’ properties, show scopal differences, suggesting that they might not be in the same structural position either (Anand and Nevins 2006). One might consider deconstructing subjecthood and subject positions for Urdu in the style of Poole (2016).

3.1 Unaccusatives

Unaccusatives are a classic example of BG. In many languages, such as English, accusative case is not assigned by unaccusative verbs (8).

- (8) **He**/***Him** fell.

Under a raising analysis of unaccusatives, the subject originates as an internal argument (Perlmutter 1978). It is not assigned accusative case in its base position, and instead, raises to subject position where it is assigned nominative case.

In Urdu, too, we see that unaccusative subjects cannot be accusative (9).

- (9) **Vo** / ***Us=ko** gira.
 He.NOM / He.OBL=ACC fell.PFV.M.SG
 ‘He fell.’

However, the unavailability of accusative case in Urdu unaccusatives is not an undisputed fact. Bhatt (2007) argues that unaccusative verbs must be able to assign accusative case in Urdu based on the grammaticality of overt marked DPs in non-finite clauses with unaccusative verbs (10). His logic is that since T is unable to assign case in non-finite clauses, accusative case on the object must come from the unaccusative verb.³

- (10) a. [**PeR(=ko)** kal katna] chahiye tha.
 [Tree(=ACC) yesterday cut.INF] should be.PST.M.SG
 ‘The tree should have been cut yesterday.’
 b. [**Akhbaar(=ko)** waqt=par aana] zaruri he.
 [Newspaper(=ACC) time=LOC come.INF] necessary be.PRS.3SG
 ‘It is necessary for (the) newspaper to come on time.’ (Bhatt 2007:13-14)

Nevertheless, there are reasons to be sceptical of Bhatt’s (2007) argument. First and foremost, if unaccusative verbs can assign accusative case then why are subjects of unaccusatives never accusative outside of non-finite contexts? Secondly, both of Bhatt’s examples (10) have a non-finite clause embedded by auxiliary ‘be’ and a deontic modal interpretation. This is exactly the same environment in which dative case is assigned to the subject (11).

- (11) Sana=ko school jaana he.
 Sana=DAT school.LOC go.INF bePRS.3SG
 ‘Sana has to go to school.’

It is, therefore, possible that the *ko*-marker in (10) is actually dative case rather than accusative, and is assigned through exceptional case marking. As such, I reject Bhatt’s (2007) arguments and assume that unaccusatives in Urdu, as in most other languages, are unable to assign accusative case.

Both Agree-based and dependent case theories link the unavailability of accusative case in unaccusatives to the absence of the EA. Agree-based approaches attribute the unavailability of accusative case to the lack of VoiceP in unaccusatives (Srishti 2011, Alexiadou et al. 2015). Evidence for the absence of VoiceP specifically in Urdu unaccusatives comes from the fact that they cannot be passivized (12). This is in contrast to unergative verbs which can be passivized in Urdu (13).

- (12) ***Gira** gya.
 Fall.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG

³There is also the issue of where nominative case on the object might come from in these examples and in other non-finite contexts (Bhatt 2007, Mahajan 2017). McFadden and Sundaresan (2011) argue that object nominative case is not dependent on finiteness in the same way as subject nominative case.

- (13) Kal naacha gya.
 Yesterday dance.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Yesterday, it was danced.’

Since Voice is also taken to be the functional head responsible for introducing the EA, the absence of accusative case correlates with the absence of the EA in unaccusatives. Conversely, unergatives have VoiceP and subsequently an EA. Accusative case is not assigned as there is no internal argument.⁴ The correlation between accusative case and the presence of an EA is even stronger for dependent case approaches. Accusative case is assigned to the lower of two active DPs in the same domain. Since there is no EA, the conditions for accusative case assignment are not met in unaccusative structures. In unergative structures, there is no internal argument, so again, the conditions for accusative case assignment are not met.

3.2 Dative predicates

Dative case is found on experiencer subjects in Urdu. Direct objects of dative predicates cannot have accusative case, even when they would otherwise be obligatorily marked, for example, human proper names (14).

- (14) Sana=ko Omar(*=ko) yaad-aya.
 Sana=DAT Omar(*=ACC) memory-come.PFV.M.SG
 ‘Sana remembered/missed Omar.’

Subbarao (2012:Ch5) illustrates that dative predicates are unable to assign accusative case through the minimal pair below (15). In (15-a), the main verb, *dekh* ‘see’, is a regular transitive predicate which takes either an ergative or nominative subject, depending on tense/aspect. Exceptional case marking results in the embedded subject receiving accusative case from the main verb, *dekha* ‘saw’. However, when we have a dative predicate, *dekh paRa* ‘see-fell’, as in (15-b), it is unable to assign accusative case to the embedded subject which must be nominative instead.⁵

- (15) a. Surabhi=ne [**Kriti=ko** nachthe hue] dekha.
 Surabhi=ERG [Kriti=ACC dance.IPFV happen.PFV] see.PFV.M.SG
 ‘Surabhi saw Kriti dancing.’
 b. Surabhi=ko [**Kriti(*=ko)** nachthe hue] dikhai paRi.
 Surabhi=DAT [Kriti(*=ACC) dance.IPFV happen.PFV] see.PFV.F.SG fell.PFV.F.SG
 ‘Surabhi saw Kriti dancing.’ (Subbarao 2012:172)

Dative predicates have been analysed as not being properly transitive and having an unaccusative structure with internal arguments only (Belletti and Rizzi 1988, Subbarao 2012:Ch5). For Urdu, this is supported, firstly, by the position of dative subjects. As mentioned earlier, dative subjects originate in a low position within the VP (Davison 2004), in other words, as internal arguments (see section 2.2). Secondly, dative predicates, like unaccusatives, cannot be passivised (16) (Bhatt 2003), showing that they also do not have VoiceP.

- (16) *Omar yaad-aya gya.
 Omar.NOM memory-come.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Omar was remembered/missed.’

For Agree-based approaches to case assignment, the unavailability of accusative case in dative predicates is simply due to the absence of VoiceP (as in unaccusatives). For dependent case approaches, if one takes dative case to be inherent or semantic, then the conditions for accusative

⁴This is not a problem for BG as it only holds one way: accusative case is only found where there is an EA but not the other way round.

⁵See footnote 3 about the availability of object nominative case in non-finite clauses.

case assignment are not met because the experiencer argument is not active for structural case assignment, and does not count for dependent case rules. Conversely, if one takes dative case to be structural and assigned within a PP, then the experiencer DP itself does not c-command the direct object (17), so, once again, the conditions for dependent accusative case assignment are not satisfied.



Thus, the behaviour of unaccusatives and dative predicates in Urdu is in line with Burzio’s Generalisation. In both cases, the EA is absent and accusative case is unavailable. We now turn to passives, the seeming exception to this generalisation.

4 Canonical Passives

Mahajan (1995) proposes that Urdu does not have a true passive construction and instead only has what he calls ACTIVE passives. He argues that the agent in seemingly passive constructions is not demoted, the object is not promoted, and therefore, these constructions have active syntax. The only differences between actives and ACTIVE passives are the case on the agent (ergative/nominative vs. instrumental) and the morphology (active vs. passive). In this section, I show that in the canonical passive (unmarked object), the agent is a low subject and the object can be promoted, although optionally. Therefore, Urdu does have true passives.

4.1 Subject demotion

Urdu passives allow for optional realisation of the agent, although it is preferable to omit it. When overt, the agent carries instrumental case.

- (18) Omar (Sana=**se**) pakRa gya.
 Omar.NOM (Sana=INS) catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar was caught (by Sana).’

The status of the agent/*by*-phrase is much debated. Mahajan (1995) shows that the Urdu *by*-phrase is an argument and not an adjunct (see also Srishti 2011:Ch7; c.f. Bhatia 2016, Bhatt and Embick 2017). Firstly, *by*-phrases behave like arguments with respect to island extraction. Clausal objects can be moved to the right with an expletive element, *yeh* ‘this’, in object position instead (19-a, 20-a). These rightward moved clauses are islands for further extraction. Arguments incur weak island violations when moved out of this island (19-b), while adjuncts incur strong island violations (20-b).⁶

- (19) a. Salma yeh sochthi thi [keh Mohan=**ne** Ram=**ko**
 Salma.NOM this think.IPFV.F.SG be.PST.F.SG [that Mohan=ERG Ram=ACC
 maara].
 hit.PFV.M.SG]

⁶Grammaticality marker ?? indicates that the sentence is not perfect but more acceptable than sentences marked with * for complete ungrammaticality.

- Literally: ‘Salma thinks this that Mohan hit Ram.’
- b. ??**Mohan=ne**₁ Salma yeh sochthi thi [keh t₁ Ram=ko
Mohan=ERG₁ Salma.NOM this think.IPFV.F.SG be.PST.F.SG [that t₁ Ram=ACC
maara].
hit.PFV.M.SG]
Literally: ‘Mohan, Salma thinks this that (he) hit Ram.’
- (20) a. Salma yeh sochthi thi [keh Mohan=ne Ram=ko
Salma.NOM this think.IPFV.F.SG be.PST.F.SG [that Mohan=ERG Ram=ACC
ghar=mein maara].
house=LOC hit.PFV.M.SG]
Literally: ‘Salma thinks this that Mohan hit Ram at home.’//
- b. ***Ghar=mein**₁ Salma yeh sochthi thi [keh Mohan=ne t₁
House=LOC₁ Salma.NOM this think.IPFV.F.SG be.PST.F.SG [that Mohan=ERG t₁
Ram=ko maara].
Ram=ACC hit.PFV.M.SG]
Literally: ‘At home, Salma thinks this that Mohan hit Ram.’
- (Mohan 1994:291-292)

Moving the *by*-phrase out of a passive rightward moved clause causes a weak island violation (21-b), similar to extracting an argument.

- (21) a. Salma yeh sochthi thi [keh Mohan=se Ram
Salma.NOM this think.IPFV.F.SG be.PST.F.SG [that Mohan=INS Ram.NOM
maara gya].
hit.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG]
Literally: ‘Salma thinks this that Ram was hit by Mohan.’
- b. ??**Mohan=se**₁ Salma yeh sochthi thi [keh t₁ Ram
Mohan=INS₁ Salma.NOM this think.IPFV.F.SG be.PST.F.SG [that t₁ Ram.NOM
maara gya].
hit.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG]
Literally: ‘By Mohan, Salma thinks this that Ram was hit.’
- (adapted from Mohan 1994:293)

Secondly, like arguments, the *by*-phrase can bind anaphors (22-a) and control into participial clauses (22-b), but adjuncts cannot (23).⁷

- (22) a. Sana_i=se Omar_j **apne**_{i/j} ghar=mein pakRa gya.
Sana_i=INS Omar_j.NOM REFL.M.SG.OBL_{i/j} house=LOC catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
‘Sana caught Omar in his_i/her_i own house.’
- b. Omar_i Sana_j=se [**PRO**_{i/j} ghar ja kar] pakRa gya.
Omar_i.NOM Sana_j=INS [PRO_{i/j} house.LOC go do] catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
‘Omar_i was caught by Sana_j when he_i/she_j went home.’
- (23) a. [Sana_j=ki wajah] =se Omar_i=ne **apna**_{i/*j} ghar barbaad kar
[Sana_j=GEN cause] =INS Omar_i=ERG REFL.M.SG_{i/*j} house.NOM destroy do
diya.
give.PFV.M.SG
‘Because of Sana_j, Omar_i destroyed his_i/*her_j own house.’
- b. [Sana_j=ki madad] =se Omar_i=ne [**PRO**_{i/*j} ghar ja kar] Hira=ko
[Sana_j=GEN help] =INS Omar_i=ERG [PRO_{i/*j} house.NOM go do] Hira=ACC

⁷Instrumental case on adjuncts should not be confused with instrumental case on the *by*-phrase.

pakRa.
 catch.PFV.M.SG
 ‘With Sana’s_j help, Omar_i caught Hira when he_i/*she_j went home.

Mahajan (1995) uses the argument status of *by*-phrases to claim that they are not demoted. However, if we take an approach to passivisation that involves passives being formed by a different lexical item to actives (i.e. active/passive Voice head), rather than transformation of actives, then ‘demotion’ of the agent translates to projection of the EA in different positions in actives and passives (Baker et al. 1989, Collins 2005). Being an argument does not exclude the possibility of ‘demotion’ in this sense. In fact, *by*-phrases behave exactly like known low subjects. As discussed in section 2.2, dative subjects can bind anaphors and control into participial clauses, but can also bind non-reflexive pronouns, which ergative/nominative subjects cannot do. This is because dative subjects are generated in a lower position than ergative/nominative subjects (Davison 2004). We have seen that *by*-phrases bind anaphors and control into participial clauses (22). They can also bind non-reflexive pronouns (24).

(24) Omar_i Sana_j=se us_{?i/j/k}=ke ghar bheja gya.
 Omar_i.NOM Sana_j=INS 3SG_{?i/j/k}=GEN.M.SG.OBL house.LOC send.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar_i was sent to his/her_{?i/j/k} house by Sana_j.

Therefore, the *by*-phrase is an argument, as Mahajan (1995) shows, but it behaves exactly like a low subject. In other words, it is ‘demoted’. I take the *by*-phrase to be in specifier of passive VoiceP.

4.2 Object promotion

Mahajan (1995) begins with the same observation as I did: objects in passives can retain accusative case. Mahajan interprets this to mean that the same case options are available to objects in passives as in actives, which he then takes to suggest that objects in passives are in the same position as in actives (see also Davison 1982). He applies several syntactic tests to demonstrate this. The crucial problem with Mahajan’s analysis is that he applies the tests only to the version of the passive with marked objects. In this section, I test the version with unmarked objects, that is, the canonical passive. The version with marked objects is tested later in section 5.1.

To begin with, it is incorrect to say that the same case options are available to objects in both actives and passives. We saw earlier that there are some DPs (e.g. proper names) which are obligatorily marked as objects in active clauses (section 2.1). The same DPs are grammatical when unmarked in passive clauses (25), suggesting that they are not in object position in passives.

(25) **Omar** (Sana=se) pakRa gya.
 Omar.NOM (Sana=INS) catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar was caught (by Sana).’

Secondly, bare objects in passives cannot control into object control constructions. The PRO subject of these clauses must be controlled by an object and cannot be controlled by a subject, as shown in (26-a). Object control constructions are ungrammatical in canonical passives as neither the subject (*by*-phrase) nor the unmarked object are able to control PRO (26-b).

(26) a. Ram_i=ne Mohan_j=ko [PRO*_{i/j} ghar jaa-ne] =ko kaha.
 Ram_i=ERG Mohan_j=ACC [PRO*_{i/j} home.LOC go-INF.OBL] =ACC say.PFV.M.SG
 ‘Ram_i told Mohan_j to go home.’
 Intended: ‘Ram told Mohan that he[Ram] was going home.’
 b. *Ram_i=se Mohan_j [PRO*_{i/*j} ghar jaa-ne] =ko kaha
 Ram_i=INS Mohan_j.NOM [PRO*_{i/*j} home.LOC go-INF.OBL] =ACC say.PFV.M.SG

gya.
 PASS.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Mohan was told to go home by Ram.’ (adapted from Mahajan 1995:294-295)

Furthermore, objects in canonical passives can pass prominence tests. They can bind anaphors (27-a) and control into participial clauses (27-b). (Pronoun binding is discussed in section 4.3.) Objects in active clauses do not pass these tests (section 2.2).

- (27) a. Omar_i apne_i ghar=mein pakRa gya.
 Omar_i.NOM REFL.M.SG.OBL_i house=LOC catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar_i was caught in his_i own house.’
 b. Omar_i [PRO_i ghar ja kar] pakRa gya.
 Omar_i.NOM [PRO_i house.LOC go do] catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar_i was caught when he_i went home.’

Together, the above facts tell us that objects in canonical passives are in a higher position than objects in actives. We can go one step further and identify this position as SpecTP by looking at non-finite passive clauses. We must use a DP that is always marked in object position and can only be unmarked when not in object position, for example, human proper names. This is crucial because nominative objects are grammatical in non-finite active clauses in Urdu (Bhatt 2007, Mahajan 2017, McFadden and Sundaresan 2011), and this can act as a confounding variable. (28) shows that such DPs are ungrammatical as bare objects in non-finite passive clauses.

- (28) [Rina=ka / *Rina bazaar=mein dekha jaa-na] sharam=ki
 [Rina=GEN.M.SG / *Rina.NOM market=LOC see.PFV.M.SG PASS-INF] shame=GEN.F.SG
 baat he.
 talk be.PRS.3SG
 ‘For Rina to be seen in the market is a matter of shame.’ (adapted from Bhatt 2007:9)

This indicates that the position of bare objects in passives depends on finite T for licensing. This position is SpecTP.⁸

4.3 Optional object promotion

We have seen that the *by*-phrase can pass prominence tests but that the object in canonical passives can too. If we look at c-command relations, we see that both the object and the *by*-phrase are able to c-command each other. This is shown through anaphor binding below (29).

- (29) a. Omar_i apni_i behen=se pakRa gya.
 Omar_i.NOM REFL.F.SG.OBL_i sister=INS catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar_i was caught by his_i own sister.’
 b. Sana_i=se apna_i bhai pakRa gya.
 Sana_i=INS REFL.M.SG_i brother.NOM catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Her_i own brother was caught by Sana_i.’

It seems that although object promotion is possible in Urdu passives, it is optional. When the object is promoted, it c-commands the *by*-phrase and is able to pass prominence tests as shown in section 4.2. However, when it is not promoted, it no longer passes prominence tests, for example, it can no longer control into participial clauses, as in (30).

⁸Srishti (2011:Ch5) argues that even when the object is promoted in Urdu passives it is not in subject position. See section 4.3 for why there might be differences between ergative/nominative subjects and promoted objects of passives.

- (30) Sana_i=se apna_i bhai_j [PRO_{i/*j} ghar ja kar] pakRa
 Sana_i=INS REFL.M.SG_i brother_j.NOM [PRO_{i/j} house.LOC go do] catch.PFV.M.SG
 gya.
 PASS.M.SG
 ‘Her_i own brother_j was caught by Sana_i when she_i/*he_j went home.’

This is because the promoted object is prominent by virtue of being the highest structural argument. When it is not promoted, it is not prominent and no longer passes the tests. On the other hand, the *by*-phrase always passes prominence tests, regardless of object promotion, because it is prominent by virtue of being the highest logical argument or agent. This is a good case in point that these properties are not associated with a single structural position but rather with different kinds of prominence, and that more than one argument may be prominent in a single sentence.

This optional promotion is similar to the interaction between dative subjects and nominative objects in dative predicate constructions. Dative subjects can bind anaphors in nominative objects, showing that the subject *c*-commands the object (31-a), but when inverted, nominative objects can bind anaphors in dative subjects instead (31-b). This has been explained through optional movement of either argument to SpecTP (Davison 2004), similar to the above proposal for passives (although it remains to be seen whether the *by*-phrase ever moves to SpecTP).

- (31) a. Sana_i=ko apna_i bhai pasand he.
 Sana_i=DAT REFL.M.SG_i brother.NOM like be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Sana_i likes her_i own brother.’
 b. Omar_i sirf apni_i behen=ko pasand he.
 Omar_i.NOM only REFL.F.SG_i sister=DAT like be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Only his_i own sister likes Omar_i.’

Returning to the pronoun obviation test, both nominative objects in dative predicate constructions (32) and bare objects of passives (33) can bind non-reflexive pronouns.

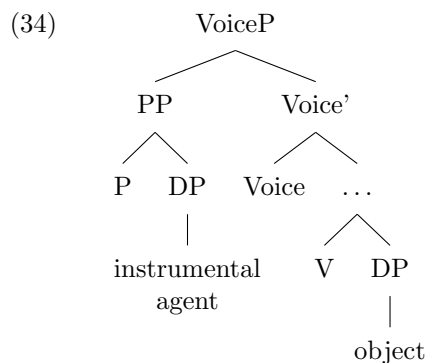
- (32) Omar_i sirf us_i=ki behen=ko pasand he.
 Omar_i.NOM only his_i=GEN.F.SG sister=DAT like be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Only his_{i/j} sister likes Omar_i.’
 (33) Omar_i us_{i/j}=ke ghar=mein pakRa gya.
 Omar_i.NOM 3.SG=GEN_{i/j} house=LOC catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar_i was caught in his_{i/j} house.’

The ability to bind non-reflexive pronouns may have something to do with the low origin of these arguments, similar to dative subjects and *by*-phrases in comparison to ergative/nominative subjects.

What might be the reason for optional promotion in Urdu passives? Although it is well-established in the literature that accusative case is unavailable in passives of many languages (and in Urdu as well, as will be shown in the next section), Urdu also has a ‘low’ nominative case found on objects. I call this a low nominative because it is different from nominative case on subjects; for example, as mentioned earlier, it is grammatical in non-finite clauses while subject nominative is not (McFadden and Sundaresan 2011). If the low nominative case is available in passives, then we can speculate that the optionality of object promotion may have to do with the continued availability of an object case, contrary to passives in other languages. I leave this open for future research.

Regarding case assignment in canonical passives, Agree-based approaches assume that passive Voice is unable to assign accusative case. This is linked to the fact that the EA of passive Voice (the *by*-phrase) is different from the EA of active Voice (Roberts 2019). On the other hand, dependent case approaches argue that there is no DP *c*-commanding the object in canonical passives. This is straightforward when the object is promoted to a position above the *by*-phrase but, as we have seen in Urdu, the object is not always promoted, in which case it *is* *c*-commanded by the *by*-phrase but

still does not receive accusative case. This can be explained in the same way as lack of accusative case with dative subjects (section 3.2): the instrumental agent is either not visible for structural case assignment or is within a PP and does not c-command the (unpromoted) object. This is illustrated in the proposed structure in (34). Therefore, the object receives nominative case regardless of being promoted.



5 Active Impersonals

Optional object promotion in Urdu passives has been previously proposed by Mohanan (1994) and Bhatt (2007). Under their accounts, the object receives accusative case when it is not promoted,⁹ and so the passive with a marked object is also underlyingly passive.¹⁰

- (1) **Vo** / **Us=ko** pakRa gya.
 He.NOM / He.OBL=ACC catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘He was caught.’

In this section, I argue that the accusative-preserving construction above is actually not passive at all and is underlyingly active. First, I will establish that the marked object is never promoted. I then show that no overt subject is possible in this construction, however, a silent syntactic subject is still present, and moreover, this silent subject is a high subject. Therefore, this accusative-preserving construction is underlyingly active.

5.1 No object promotion

I now apply the tests used in section 4.2 to marked objects and show that they are never promoted.

Firstly, marked objects can control into object control constructions (35-c), just like objects in active clauses (35-a) and unlike bare objects in canonical passives (35-b).

⁹Object promotion is different from object shift which is necessary for accusative case assignment in Urdu (Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996, Kalin and Weisser 2019).

¹⁰Marked objects are also possible in passives of double object constructions. The instrumental phrase in (i-b) is not the *by*-phrase (see section 5.2).

- (i) a. Sana=ne Omar=ko Hira=se milaya.
 Sana=ERG Omar=ACC Hira=INS introduce.PFV.M.SG
 ‘Sana introduced Omar to Hira.’
 b. Omar=ko Hira=se milaya gya.
 Omar=ACC Hira=INS introduce.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar was introduced to Hira.’

- (35) a. Ram_i=ne Mohan_j=ko [**PRO***_{i/j} ghar jaa-ne] =ko kaha.
 Ram_i=ERG Mohan_j=ACC [**PRO***_{i/j} home.LOC go-INF.OBL] =ACC say.PFV.M.SG
 ‘Ram_i told Mohan_j to go home.’
 Intended: ‘Ram told Mohan that he [Ram] should go home.’
- b. *Ram_i=se Mohan_j [**PRO***_{i/*j} ghar jaa-ne] =ko kaha
 Ram_i=INS Mohan_j.NOM [**PRO***_{i/*j} home.LOC go-INF.OBL] =ACC say.PFV.M.SG
 gya.
 PASS.M.SG
 Intended: ‘Mohan was told to go home by Ram.’
- c. Mohan_i=ko [**PRO**_i ghar jaa-ne] =ko kaha gya.
 Mohan_i=ACC [**PRO**_i home.LOC go-INF.OBL] =ACC say.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Mohan_i was told to go to his_i house.’
- (adapted from Mahajan 1995:294-295)

Secondly, marked objects are not able to control into participial clauses, suggesting that they are not in a higher position than objects in active clauses (36).

- (36) Sana_i=ko [**PRO***_{i/j} darthe hue] pakRa gya.
 Sana_i=ACC [**PRO***_{i/j} scare.IPFV.OBL happen.PFV.OBL] catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Sana was caught while the catcher was scared.’
 Intended: ‘Sana was caught while she was scared.’

Marked objects are, however, able to bind reflexive anaphors (37). As we will see in the next section, this is because of the properties of the silent subject rather than the prominence of the object.

- (37) Sana_i=ko **apne**_i ghar=mein pakRa gya.
 Sana_i=ACC REFL.M.SG.OBL_i house=LOC catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Sana was caught in her own house.’

Like objects in active clauses, marked objects are also able to bind non-reflexive pronouns. However, this is not indicative of their position as we have seen that unmarked objects are also able to do this (section 4.3).

Finally, marked objects are grammatical in non-finite passive clauses, confirming that they are not dependent on finite T in the same way that bare objects in canonical passives are (38).

- (38) [Rina=ka / ***Rina** / **Rina=ko** bazaar=mein dekha jaa-na]
 [Rina=GEN.M.SG / ***Rina**.NOM / **Rina=ACC** market=LOC see.PFV.M.SG PASS-INF]
 sharam=ki baat he.
 shame=GEN.F.SG talk be.PRS.3SG
 ‘For Rina to be seen in the market is a matter of shame.’

(adapted from Bhatt 2007:9)

As mentioned earlier, Mahajan (1995) tests passive constructions with marked objects only. It is now unsurprising that he reaches the conclusion that objects in passives are never promoted: marked objects do not show any signs of being promoted and seem to be in the same position as objects in active clauses. The only difference is their ability to bind anaphors which objects in active clauses are unable to do. This is explained in the next section.

5.2 Syntactic subject and its properties

Perhaps the most striking fact about the accusative-preserving construction is its inability to have an overt *by*-phrase (39) or indeed any overt subject at all (40).

- (39) Omar=ko (*Sana=se) pakRa gya.
 Omar=ACC (Sana=INS) catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar was caught (*by Sana).
- (40) (*Sana=ne / *Sana) Omar=ko pakRa gya.
 (Sana=ERG / Sana.NOM) Omar=ACC catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 (*Sana) Omar was caught.

The unavailability of the *by*-phrase combined with the total lack of object promotion suggests that this construction is not passive. If passive VoiceP was present, we would expect the overt *by*-phrase to be possible. Moreover, since the high subject position would be empty, we would also expect the marked object to be able to promote just as bare objects in the canonical passive are able to. This leads to the hypothesis that the accusative-preserving construction may be underlyingly active.

Despite the impossibility of an overt subject, there must be a syntactic subject present as control into participial clauses is possible (38, repeated). As shown earlier, the marked object is unable to control PRO, and so the implicit agent (‘the catcher’ below) must control PRO instead.

- (36) Sana_i=ko [PRO*_i/j darthe hue] pakRa gya.
 Sana_i=ACC [PRO*_i/j scare.IPFV.OBL happen.PFV.OBL] catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Sana was caught while the catcher was scared.’
 Intended: ‘Sana was caught while she was scared.’

This is further corroborated by using subject-oriented adverbs. In both examples below, the adverbs are necessarily interpreted as modifying the implicit agent and not the object.

- (41) a. Omar=ko jaan-bojh kar pakRa gya.
 Omar=ACC life-burden do catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar was caught on purpose.’ Intended: ‘Omar got caught on purpose.’
- b. Omar=ko ghalthi=se pakRa gya.
 Omar=ACC mistake=INS catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar was caught by mistake.’ ≠ ‘Omar got caught by mistake.’

Having determined that there is a silent subject present, we must now identify its properties. Firstly, it can have any combination of ϕ -features: it can be masculine/feminine, singular/plural, first/second/third person - the sentence is felicitous regardless of which features the implicit argument has. Secondly, the implicit argument must be [+human]. This is seen in the minimal pair below where the implicit *by*-phrase in the canonical passive (42-a) can be either an agent or a causee, leading to two possible interpretations, whereas the implicit argument in the accusative-preserving construction (42-b) can only be an agent, resulting in a single interpretation.¹¹

- (42) a. Ali zalzale=mein maara gya.
 Ali.NOM earthquake=LOC kill.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Ali was killed during the earthquake / Ali died during the earthquake.’
- b. Ali=ko zalzale=mein maara gya.
 Ali=ACC earthquake=LOC kill.PFV.M.SG .PFV.M.SG
 ‘Ali was killed during the earthquake.’ ≠ ‘Ali died during the earthquake.’

From this type of example, it is unclear whether animacy is enough or whether the agent must be human, but we can see that it must be the latter by manipulating the participial clause in a control construction. The participial clause in (43) forces the implicit agent to be interpreted as non-human, in this case, a dog. The sentence is infelicitous.

¹¹Thanks to an anonymous reviewer from FASAL-11 for providing this example from Peter Hook’s work.

- (43) #Omar_i=ko [**PRO***_i/??_j bhonkthe hue] pakRa gya.
 Omar_i=ACC [PRO*_i/??_j bark.IPFV happen.PFV.OBL] catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar was caught while the catcher was barking.’

We have already seen that this silent subject can control into participial clauses (38, above). However, it cannot bind anaphors (44).

- (44) *Apne bhai=ko pakRa gya.
 REFL.M.SG.OBL brother=ACC catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘His/her own brother was caught.’

Landau (2010) argues that there is a distinction between strong and weak implicit arguments (SIAs vs WIAs). SIAs are able to control PRO and bind anaphors, however, WIAs can control (showing they are syntactically present) but not bind. He proposes that WIAs are missing a D feature which is necessary for anaphor binding. WIAs are still able to trigger Conditions B and C effects which do not require a D feature.

I take the silent subject in the Urdu accusative-preserving construction to be a WIA. It controls but doesn’t bind, as seen above, and it shows Conditions B and C effects, shown below. The following examples are infelicitous in a context where the agent is the same as the object, for example, someone saw themselves in a mirror.

- (45) a. Us=ko dekha gya.
 Us=ACC see.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘He was seen.’ (agent ≠ him)
 b. Omar=ko dekha gya.
 Omar=ACC see.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Omar was seen.’ (agent ≠ Omar)

This also helps narrow down the position of the silent subject. So far we have seen that only ergative/nominative subjects show pronoun obviation, and that any arguments originating in low positions (dative subjects, *by*-phrases, promoted objects) do not. The fact that the silent subject in active impersonals does not bind non-reflexive pronouns suggests that it is a high subject, possibly in the same position as ergative/nominative subjects in active clauses.

We can formulate the features of the silent subject as shown in (46). It must be human and agentive with any combination of ϕ -features. Crucially, it does not have a D feature so it cannot bind anaphors.

- (46) *pro* = [+human, +agent, ϕ]

Returning to the issue of marked objects being able to bind anaphors (39, repeated), we now know that the implicit subject is unable to bind anaphors. The marked object is now the most prominent (structural) argument for anaphor binding. So the marked object binds anaphors not because it is promoted to a prominent subject-type position, but rather because the implicit subject is not prominent enough given its lack of D feature. This gives further credence to the idea that the three ‘subject’ properties do not always group together, and raises interesting questions for prominence in Urdu.

- (37) Sana_i=ko **apne**_i ghar=mein pakRa gya.
 Sana_i=ACC REFL.M.SG.OBL_i house=LOC catch.PFV.M.SG PASS.M.SG
 ‘Sana was caught in her own house.’

Finally, with respect to case assignment, the presence of accusative case in this construction can be straightforwardly explained by Agree-based approaches. The construction is active, and therefore, Voice is able to assign accusative case to the object. However, dependent case approaches

are not able to explain this data as easily. The implicit subject lacks a D-feature and therefore does not count for dependent case assignment. This means that the object is not the lower of two DPs available for case assignment, and so the condition for accusative case assignment is not met.

5.3 Summary

In this section, I have shown that marked objects in Urdu ‘passives’ are not promoted and are in the same position as objects in active clauses. Furthermore, the *by*-phrase is not possible in this construction. Instead, there is a silent *pro* subject which behaves like a high subject, similar to high (ergative/nominative) subjects in active clauses. Together, this provides strong evidence that the accusative-preserving passive construction is not a true passive and is underlyingly active. I call this construction an ‘active impersonal’ (Blevins 2003),¹² in line with similar constructions found in Polish, Icelandic and Viennese German.

6 Structure of Urdu Active Impersonals

Although I have shown that the active impersonal construction does not behave like a true passive and is underlyingly active, it also exhibits some properties that differentiate it from other active clauses, notably the presence of passive morphology and a *pro* subject. In this section, I compare the Urdu active impersonal to similar constructions in other languages to shed light on its structure.

Laszakovits (2017) compares Polish, Ukrainian, Icelandic and Viennese German (henceforth, German) and proposes an analysis of accusative-preserving constructions in the four languages. Table 1 shows her comparison, with the column for Urdu added by me.

Property	Polish	Ukrainian	Icelandic	German	Urdu
(a) Passive morphology	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
(b) No subject possible	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
(c) ACC on IA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
(d) Agentive <i>by</i> -phrase	×	✓	✓	✓	×
(e) Unaccusatives	✓	×	✓	✓	×
(f) Raising verbs	✓	×	?	N/A	?
(g) EA anaphor binding	✓	×	✓	✓	✓
(h) EA interpretation	arbitrary	existential	existential?	generic	?
(i) [α human]	+	±	+	+	+
(j) [α animacy]	+	±	?	+	+

Table 1: Cross-linguistic comparison of accusative-preserving constructions (adapted from Laszakovits 2017).

The first block of properties (a-c) captures the surface properties of the construction: passive morphology, no subject (in the sense of subjects found in active clauses) and accusative case on the internal argument. The third block (h-j) has to do with interpretive properties of the implicit subject. This has been included here for completeness sake but I do not discuss it further. It is the second block (d-g) that is of interest to us as these are the diagnostics for active/passive syntax.

Polish and Ukrainian are straightforward (Maling 1993, Laszakovits 2017). In Polish, the accusative-preserving construction shows all properties of being active. The agentive *by*-phrase (d) is not possible, a property of passives (assuming *by*-phrases attach to passive VoiceP). Conversely, unaccusatives (e) and raising verbs (f) are both allowed, as in regular active clauses. Furthermore,

¹²A crucial aspect of Blevins’ (2003) definition of impersonals is that they can also be formed with intransitive verbs. This does not hold for Urdu (see section 6).

surface structure itself is not unique to passives. The same surface structure is used in (in)abilitative constructions and a similar structure is used for necessity/prohibition readings (Davison 1982, Bhatt 2003, Srishti 2011:Ch5). We can simply add impersonals to the list of constructions that share morphology and surface structure with passives. Reanalysis of passive morphology is also given as an explanation for its presence in active impersonals in Polish (Maling 1993), Icelandic (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, 2015) and Viennese German (Laszakovits 2017). One common property between these languages is that they all allow passives of intransitives. According to Haspelmath (1990), as cited by Laszakovits (2017), “as soon as a language allows passives of intransitives, the difference between passives and impersonals blurs.” This opens the door to reanalysis of passive morphology for usage in impersonal constructions.

Earlier I stated that the arguments made in this paper hold for Urdu alone. Discussion with native speakers at FASAL-11 suggests an active analysis of accusative-preserving passive constructions may not be right for Hindi. For one, the *by*-phrase (*-dwaara* XP) is allowed in the accusative-preserving construction, a property associated with passive syntax. If active impersonals are the result of reanalysis and language change, then this might explain why Hindi and Urdu, with otherwise almost identical syntax, show differences here. This is even more likely when we consider that the judgements reported in this paper are from the Urdu-speaking community based in Karachi, Pakistan, where Urdu is completely isolated from Hindi. This also opens interesting avenues for work on fine-grained parametric variation between Hindi and Urdu which are generally not distinguished from each other in the literature.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to Theresa Biberauer, Ian Roberts, and audiences at University of Cambridge SyntaxLab and FASAL-11.

References

- Aissen, Judith. 2003. Differential Object Marking: Iconicity vs. Economy. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 21(3):435–483.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Florian Schäfer. 2006. The properties of anticausatives crosslinguistically. In M. Frascarelli, ed., *Phases of interpretation*, pages 187–212. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Florian Schafer. 2015. A typology of Voice. In *External Arguments in Transitivity Alternation*, pages 97–143. Oxford, UK: OUP.
- Anand, Pranav and Andrew Nevins. 2006. The Locus of Ergative Case Assignment: Evidence from Scope. In A. Johns, D. Massam, and J. Ndayiragije, eds., *Ergativity - Emerging Issues*, pages 3–26. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Baker, Mark, Kyle Johnson, and Ian Roberts. 1989. Passive Arguments Raised. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20(2):219–251.
- Belletti, Adriana and Luigi Rizzi. 1988. Psych-Verbs and θ -Theory. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6(3):291–352.
- Bhatia, Sakshi. 2016. Causation in Hindi-Urdu: Care for your Instruments and Subjects. In R. Balusu and S. Sundaresan, eds., *Formal Approaches to South Asian Languages 5*, pages 109–122.
- Bhatt, Rajesh. 2003. Topics in the Syntax of Modern Indo-Aryan Languages: Passivisation. Handout from lecture series at MIT.
- Bhatt, Rajesh. 2007. Unaccusativity and Case Licensing. Handout from talk at McGill University.

- Bhatt, Rajesh and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1996. Object Shift and Specificity: Evidence from k-phrases in Hindi. In L. Dobrin, K. Singer, and L. McNair, eds., *Proceedings of CLS 32*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Bhatt, Rajesh and David Embick. 2017. Causative derivations in Hindi-Urdu. *Indian Linguistics* 78(1-2):93–151.
- Blevins, James P. 2003. Passives and Impersonals. *Journal of Linguistics* 39(3):473–520.
- Burzio, Luigi. 1986. *Italian Syntax: A Government-Binding Approach*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Butt, Miriam and Tracy Holloway King. 2004. The Status of Case. In V. Dayal and A. Mahajan, eds., *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages. Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, pages 153–198. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Collins, Chris. 2005. A smuggling approach to the passive in english. *Syntax* 8(2):81–120.
- Davison, Alice. 1982. On the Form and Meaning of Hindi Passive Sentences. *Lingua* 58:149–179.
- Davison, Alice. 2004. Structural Case, Lexical Case and the Verbal Projection. In V. Dayal and A. Mahajan, eds., *Clause structure in South Asian languages*, pages 199–226. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Harley, Heidi. 2009. The morphology of nominalizations and the syntax of vP. In A. Giannakidou and M. Rathert, eds., *Quantification, Definiteness, and Nominalization*, pages 321–343. Oxford: OUP.
- Harley, Heidi. 2017. The "bundling" hypothesis and the disparate functions of little v. In R. D'Alessandro, I. Franco, and Á. Gallego, eds., *The Verbal Domain*, pages 3–28. New York: OUP.
- Kalin, Laura and Philipp Weisser. 2019. Asymmetric DOM in coordination: A problem for movement-based approaches. *Linguistic Inquiry* 50(3):662–676.
- Landau, Idan. 2010. The explicit syntax of implicit arguments. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41(3):357–388.
- Laszakovits, Sabine. 2017. On non-promoting passives and impersonals. Unpublished manuscript.
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2014. *Voice and v: Lessons from Acehnese*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Legate, Julie Anne, Faruk Akkuş, Milena Šerekaitė, and Don Ringe. 2020. On passives of passives. *Language* 96(4):771–818.
- Mahajan, Anoop. 1995. ACTIVE Passives. In R. Aranovich, W. Byrne, S. Preuss, and M. Senturia, eds., *The Proceedings of the Thirteenth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, pages 286–301. Palo Alto, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Mahajan, Anoop. 2017. Accusative and Ergative in Hindi. In J. Coon, D. Massam, and L. D. Travis, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Ergativity*, pages 86–108. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Maling, Joan. 1993. Unpassives of Unaccusatives. Handout from talks at University of California Irvine, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, University of Helsinki, and University of Iceland.
- Maling, Joan and Sigrídur Sigurjónsdóttir. 2002. The 'new impersonal' construction in Icelandic. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 5(1):97–142.
- Maling, Joan and Sigrídur Sigurjónsdóttir. 2015. From passive to active: Stages in the Icelandic New Impersonal. In T. Biberauer and G. Walkden, eds., *Syntax over Time*, pages 36–53. Oxford, UK: OUP.
- McFadden, Thomas and Sandhya Sundaresan. 2011. Nominative case is independent of finiteness and agreement. *Brussels Conference on Generative Linguistics* pages 1–25.
- Mohanan, Tara. 1994. *Argument Structure in Hindi*. Stanford, California: CSLI Publications.
- Perlmutter, David M. 1978. Impersonal Passives and the Unaccusative Hypothesis. In *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, no. 38, pages 157–190.
- Poole, E. 2016. Deconstructing subjecthood. Ms., University of Massachusetts Amherst.
- Pykkänen, Marilina. 2002. *Introducing Arguments*. Phd thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Roberts, Ian. 2019. *Parameter Hierarchies and Universal Grammar - Studies in Rethinking Comparative Syntax IV*. Oxford: OUP.
- Srishti, Richa. 2011. Passives. In *Hindi Verb Classes and Their Argument Structure Alternations*, pages 87–108. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Subbarao, Karumuri. 2012. *South Asian Languages: A Syntactic Typology*. Cambridge, UK: CUP.