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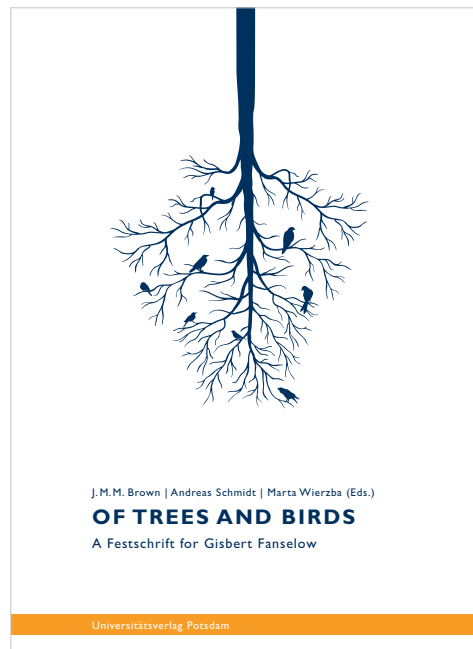
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Can unaccusative verbs undergo passivization in German?¹

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1 Background

It is arguably a standard assumption about German syntax that unaccusative intransitive verbs cannot participate in passivization (see, e.g., Fanselow 1987, Grewendorf 1989, Sternefeld 1995, and Kiss 1995, among many others). In line with this assessment, a ban on unaccusative verbs can be derived under many theories of passivization, beginning at least with Perlmutter & Postal's (1984) *1 Advancement Exclusiveness Law*. In contrast, it has sometimes been claimed that passivization of unaccusatives is a straightforward grammatical option in German; see Primus (2010, 2011a,b) and Kiparsky (2013).² Some relevant examples are listed in (1).

- (1) a. In jedem Krieg wird gestorben.
in every war PASS died
- b. Gewachsen wird nachts.
grown PASS at night

1. A paper written for Gisbert Fanselow should focus on experimental data, surprising correlations, and deep generalizations (perhaps also on fixed numerical scales in behavioural investigations). Since I am unable to come up with any of this, I am at least offering here a study with a narrow empirical focus and some birds (which I picked up on an autumn bike ride).

2. Also cf. Haider (1991) and Eisenberg (1999) for earlier formulations of this view.

- c. In seinen Vorlesungen wird häufig eingeschlafen.
 in his lectures PASS often fall asleep
- d. Hingefallen wird dann auch entsprechend oft.
 fall down PASS then also proportionately often
- e. In fünf Minuten wird ins Bett gegangen.
 in five minutes PASS into the bed gone
- f. Wo angekommen wird, muss abgefahren werden.
 where arrived PASS must left PASS

However, the existence of these data (in corpora, or as grammaticality judgements, either informally or as part of experiments) as such has never been called into question. A widespread view has always been that there is some form of coercion going on according to which the unaccusative verb is reinterpreted as an unergative verb, accompanied by a modification of the original theta-role of the argument affected by passivization (it acquires agentive or related properties). See, e.g., Růžička (1989), Fanselow (1992), and Müller, St. (1999; 2002) for proposals along these lines. Assuming that the nominative argument of an intransitive verb in active environments is a DP merged externally, in Specv, if the verb is unergative, but is a DP merged internally, in VP, if the verb is unaccusative, the following two hypotheses can thus be postulated to account for the data in (1).

- (2) a. *Hypothesis A:*
 Passivization in (1) can affect the DP argument α showing up with nominative case in corresponding active clauses because α has undergone externalization, and either is, or would be, merged as a specifier of v.³

3. This latter issue is somewhat orthogonal to my present concerns: If a lexical approach to passive is adopted (as, e.g., in Chomsky 1981), a demoted external argument DP will never actually show up in Specv; if a syntactic approach is pursued (as, e.g., in Collins 2005 and Mueller 2016), it will be merged in Specv. For the sake of concreteness, I will generally presuppose the latter option, though.

b. *Hypothesis B:*

Passivization in (1) can affect the DP argument α showing up with nominative case in corresponding active clauses even though α is, or would be, merged as a complement of V.

One might initially think that evidence discriminating between the two options should be easy to come by: The literature contains a number of standard syntactic tests for unaccusativity vs. unergativity in German (see Grewendorf 1989, Brandner & Fanselow 1989, and Fanselow 1992). Unfortunately, for the most part the established tests cannot apply since they presuppose the presence of the argument DP that bears nominative; but this DP does not show up (at least not overtly) with passives of intransitive verbs.⁴ Furthermore, there are unaccusative verbs which take two (internal) DP arguments, but these never permit passivization as in (1).⁵

In what follows, I will argue that the available empirical evidence favours hypothesis A: If what looks like an unaccusative verb can undergo passivization, it is reinterpreted as an unergative verb. More specifically, I will discuss two kinds of arguments: first, *direct* arguments suggesting that the (sole) DP argument of a passivized unaccusative verb exhibits properties that are indicative of external arguments merged in Specv, and not properties that are typical for internal arguments merged in VP; and second, *indirect* arguments that shed further doubt on the correctness of hypothesis B.

4. Note also that typical tests indicating the presence of a non-overt argument in passives, such as control into argument and adjunct infinitives, and control into secondary predicates, do not discriminate between external and internal arguments in the case of intransitive verbs.

5. See, e.g., (i).

(i) a. dass dem Fritz der Karl aufgefallen ist
 that the Fritz_{dat} the Karl_{nom} struck is

 b. *dass dem Fritz aufgefallen wurde
 that the Fritz_{dat} struck was

Incidentally, this additional restriction may already look suspicious from the perspective of hypothesis B.

2 Direct arguments

2.1 Resultatives

As noted by Geuder (2002) for German (also cf. Levin & Rappaport 1995 on English), resultative adverbs are object-oriented. In active clauses, they work with unaccusative verbs (3a,b) but typically not with unergative verbs (3c) (unless the latter have an expletive pseudo-object).

- (3) a. Der Graureiher ist zu Tode gestürzt/in den Dreck gefallen.
 the grey heron is to death fallen/in the dirt fallen
- b. Einer der Höckerschwäne ist bis an die Käfigdecke
 one of the mute swans is up to the cage ceiling
 gewachsen.
 grown
- c. Die Mäusebussarde haben *(sich) zu Tode gearbeitet/ins
 the common buzzards have REFL to death worked/to the
 Verderben geschrien.
 perdition screamed

With passivization of unaccusatives, resultative adverbs are clearly worse; see (4a,b). As expected, (4c), with passivization of an unergative verb, is also impossible. This supports hypothesis A over hypothesis B: Under passivization, the sole argument of an unaccusative verb behaves like the sole (external) argument of an unergative verb.

- (4) a. ?*Es wurde (vom Graureiher) zu Tode gestürzt/in den
 it PASS by the grey heron to death fallen/in the
 Dreck gefallen.
 dirt fallen
- b. ?*Bis an die Käfigdecke wurde (von einem der
 up to the ceiling PASS by one of the
 Höckerschwäne) gewachsen.
 mute swans grown

- c. *Es wurde (von den Mäusebussarden) zu Tode
 it PASS by the common buzzards to death
 gearbeitet/ins Verderben geschrien.
 worked/to the perdition screamed

2.2 Telicity

A related observation is that unaccusative verbs in German are typically telic (cf. Primus 2011a); see (5a) vs. (5b).

- (5) a. Der Grünspecht starb innerhalb von drei Tagen.
 the green woodpecker died within three days
 b. ?*Der Grünspecht starb drei Tage lang.
 the green woodpecker died three days for

However, unaccusative verbs invariably lose their telicity under passivization; see (6a,b).

- (6) a. ?*Hier wurde innerhalb von drei Tagen gestorben.
 here PASS within three days died
 b. Hier wurde drei Tage lang gestorben.
 here PASS three days for died

This can plausibly be related to the fact that unergative verbs are typically atelic; see (7a,b), and also the expected behaviour under passivization in (8a,b). On this view, passivization in (6a,b) applies to an external DP-argument (in Spec_{VP}) rather than to an internal one (in the VP), in accordance with hypothesis A (but not with hypothesis B).

- (7) a. ?*Der Grünfink hat in drei Tagen gearbeitet.
 the green finch has in three days worked
 b. Der Grünfink hat drei Tage lang gearbeitet.
 the green finch has three days for worked

- (8) a. ?*Es wurde in drei Tagen gearbeitet.
 it was in three days worked
 b. Es wurde drei Tage lang gearbeitet.
 it was three days for worked

2.3 Agent-oriented adverbs

A reasonably well-established assumption about agent-oriented adverbs (see Roeper 1987, Anagnostopoulou 2003) is that they need a DP in Specv. Such an external argument DP is provided by unergative verbs in both active and passive environments; see (9a,b) and (10a,b).

- (9) a. Die Saatkrähe hat dort absichtlich gekrächt.
 the rook has there deliberately croaked
 b. Dort wurde absichtlich gekrächt.
 there PASS deliberately croaked
- (10) a. Der Graureiher hat heimlich geschlafen.
 the grey heron has secretly slept
 b. Es wurde heimlich geschlafen.
 it PASS secretly slept

Against this background, hypothesis A predicts that with unaccusative predicates, agent-oriented adverbs should be impossible in active environments, and possible in passive environments; hypothesis B predicts ungrammaticality in both cases. As shown by (11a,b) and (12a,b), the former prediction would seem to be borne out.

- (11) a. ?*Die Saatkrähe ist dort absichtlich/extra
 the rook is back then deliberately/specially
 gestorben.
 died
 b. Dort wurde absichtlich/extra gestorben.
 there PASS deliberately/specially died

- (12) a. ?*Der Graureiher ist heimlich eingeschlafen.
 the grey heron is secretly fallen asleep
- b. Es wurde heimlich eingeschlafen.
 it PASS secretly fallen asleep

2.4 Knight move binding

Hole (2012, 2014) argues that so-called *free* (i.e., non-subcategorized) datives of a certain kind (“possessive datives”) cannot in fact be derived via movement out of theme DPs (“possessor raising”, see Gallmann 1992, Müller 1995, Lee-Schoenfeld 2006); but they need to *locally c-command* a variable within the theme DP, giving rise to a configuration that Hole identifies as “knight move binding”. For knight move binding, base positions are relevant. Thus, external arguments in Specv (as in (13a)) cannot license a free dative, not even after scrambling of the dative to a higher position (as in (13b)). Arguments of unaccusative verbs are acceptable, though (see (14a,b)); cf. Grewendorf (1989).

- (13) a. *dass das₁ Junge dem Höckerschwan₁
 that the hatchling_{nom} the mute swan_{dat}
 gelebt/geschlafen hat
 lived/slept has
- b. *dass dem Höckerschwan₁ das₁ Junge
 that the mute swan_{dat} the hatchling_{nom}
 gelebt/geschlafen hat
 lived/slept has
- (14) a. dass dem Höckerschwan₁ das₁ Junge
 that the mute swan_{dat} the hatchling_{nom}
 gestorben/eingeschlafen ist
 died/fallen asleep is

- b. dass das₁ Junge dem Höckerschwan₁
 that the hatchling_{nom} the mute swan_{dat}
 gestorben/ingeschlafen ist
 died/fallen asleep is

As one might expect, in cases of passivization of regular transitive verbs, free datives can effect knight move binding of a nominative DP base-generated in VP; see (15a,b).

- (15) a. dass dem Höckerschwan₁ das₁ Junge
 that the mute swan_{dat} the hatchling_{nom}
 genommen/getötet wurde
 taken/killed pass
- b. dass das₁ Junge dem Höckerschwan₁
 that the hatchling_{nom} the mute swan_{dat}
 genommen/getötet wurde
 taken/killed pass

If passivization of unaccusatives affects an argument in VP (as under hypothesis B), free datives may be expected to persist, as in (14). If, however, passivization of unaccusatives exceptionally involves an argument in Specv (as under hypothesis A), this can never be the case, as in (13). As shown in (16), the latter prediction is the correct one: The free dative is neither licensed in an unergative context (see (16a)), nor can it show up in an unaccusative context (see (16b)).⁶⁷

7. Note that it is unlikely that the ungrammaticality of (16b) is due to a requirement that the free dative needs an *overt* VP-internal DP for knight move binding. As argued in Müller (2011), there is a non-overt VP-internal DP argument in so-called verbless directives (see Jacobs 2006, Wilder 2008), as in (i-a) (where DP₁ can control PRO₁ in a secondary predicate). This non-overt DP argument is sufficient for licensing of the free dative via knight move binding; see (i-b).

- (i) a. [DP₁ Ø] [PRO₁ ungelesen] in den Rucksack (mit dem großen BLV
 unread into the backpack (with the big
 Vogelführer für unterwegs₁)!
 bird guide for outdoors)

- (16) a. *dass dem Höckerschwan₁ – gelebt wurde
 that the mute swan_{dat}
- b. *dass dem Höckerschwan₁ – gestorben wurde
 that the mute swan_{dat}

2.5 Quantificational variability effects

In Alexiadou & Müller (2018) we note that the external argument in passive sentences with unergative verbs (here rendered as DP_{ext}) can be unselectively bound by an adverb of quantification; see (17a). However, there is no such quantificational variability effect (QVE) with unaccusative verbs; see (17b).

- (17) a. Es wurde größtenteils DP_{ext} geschlafen beim
 it was for the most part slept at the
 Vortrag.
 talk
 ‘Most people slept during the talk.’
- b. *Es wurde größtenteils DP_{ext} gestorben im
 it was for the most part died in the
 Krieg/ingeschlafen im Seminar.
 war/fallen asleep in the seminar
 ‘Most people died during the war.’/‘Most people fell asleep in the seminar.’

Assuming that the adverbs of quantification involved here can occupy specifiers of vP, and that binding of the external argument presupposes c-command, the QVE in (17a) is accounted for: DP_{ext} is in a lower Specv position here. According to hypothesis A, DP_{ext} is externalized in (17b). Suppose that externalization involves genuine movement from a VP-internal position to an argument position Specv, with no trace in the

b. Dem Jäger₁ [DP₁ Ø] auf den Teller (mit dem Fasan₁)!
 the hunter onto the plate (with the pheasant)

original position (because the argument, by assumption, is not interpreted there). Then, given Chomsky's (2000) Merge over Move constraint, (17b) is excluded because the (derived) external argument variable is not c-commanded by the adverb. In contrast, hypothesis B has nothing to say about the illformedness of (17b) because the (sole) VP-internal argument variable is in a position where it is c-commanded by the adverb.

2.6 Reduced wh-clauses

Reduced wh-clauses like *wie vermutet* or *wie befürchtet* can modify VPs; but there seems to be an additional restriction that some (nominal) material shows up within VP to make modification by reduced wh-clauses possible. This distinguishes unaccusative (see (18a)) and transitive (see (18c)) from unergative verbs (see (18b)). Passives of unergative verbs are impossible in the relevant context (see (18d)); but it looks as though the same restriction also holds for passives of unaccusatives (see (18e)).

- (18) a. Er ist [_{CP} wie vermutet/befürchtet] (im Zimmer)
 he is as suspected/feared in the room
 eingeschlafen/gestorben.
 fallen asleep/died
- b. Er hat [_{CP} wie vermutet/befürchtet] ?*(im Zimmer)
 he has as suspected/feared in the room
 gearbeitet/gelebt.
 lived/worked
- c. Er hat [_{CP} wie vermutet/befürchtet] ein Buch geschrieben.
 he has as suspected/feared a book written
- d. Es wurde [_{CP} wie vermutet/befürchtet] ?*(im Zimmer)
 it PASS as suspected/feared in the room
 gearbeitet/gelebt.
 worked/lived

- e. Es wurde [_{CP} wie vermutet/befürchtet] ?*(im Zimmer)
 it PASS as suspected/feared in the room
 eingeschlafen/gestorben.
 fallen asleep/died

2.7 VP topicalization across wh-islands

Fanselow (1987) observes that objects can undergo topicalization from wh-islands in German, whereas subjects cannot do this; see (19a) vs. (19b).

- (19) a. Graureiher₁ weiß ich nicht [_{CP} wie man t₁ fängt].
 grey heron_{acc} know I not how one_{nom} catches
 b. *Graureiher₁ weiß ich nicht [_{CP} wie t₁ Fische
 grey herons_{nom} know I not how fish_{acc}
 fangen].
 catch

Remnant vPs (where argument extraction has taken place from vP before it is fronted) can in principle undergo topicalization from wh-islands, like objects (cf. Müller 2014 and references cited there); see (20a) (transitive verb) and (20b) (unaccusative verb). However, such vP fronting leads to reduced acceptability if the fronted vP has an unergative verb, as in (20)(c).

- (20) a. Gelesen weiß ich nicht [_{CP} ob er es hat].
 read know I not whether he it has
 b. ?Gestorben weiß ich nicht [_{CP} ob er ist].
 died know I know whether he is
 c. ?*Gelebt weiß ich nicht [_{CP} ob er hat].
 lived know I not whether he has

In view of (20), the correct generalization might be that vP topicalization across a wh-island (or, possibly, non-clause bound vP topicalization in

general) is ruled out if the lowest non-overtly realized argument in the fronted vP is in Specv. Under this assumption, hypothesis A (also under the specification in section 2.5) predicts that both unergative and unaccusative passives pattern with unergative actives; in contrast, hypothesis B predicts that long-distance vP topicalization should *ceteris paribus* be an option with unaccusatives but not with unergatives. The data in (21a,b) confirm hypothesis A.

- (21) a. ?*Gelebt weiß ich nicht [CP ob (noch) wurde].
 lived know I not whether yet pass
- b. ?*Gestorben weiß ich nicht [CP ob (noch) wurde].
 died know I not whether yet pass

3 Indirect arguments

The following observations do not per se provide evidence for an externalization of the VP-internal argument with passivization of unaccusatives, but they suggest that something extra needs to be done to make passivization of unaccusatives possible; thus, they indirectly support hypothesis A over hypothesis B.

3.1 Empirical findings

Primus (2011a: 85) (also cf. Primus 2011b: 219), while arguing for the existence of a regular grammatical option of passivization of unaccusative verbs in German, reports results of an acceptability judgement test according to which passives of unaccusatives are actually systematically rated worse than passives of unergatives (and in this latter group, there are differences between volitional and non-volitional predicates, with the former being even more preferred). Thus, there is an acceptability cline, and each step qualifies as significant. This would seem to be compatible with the view that passivization of unaccusatives is special in that it requires an additional externalization operation.⁸

8. Primus takes the data to suggest that even passivization of unaccusatives still crosses the grammaticality threshold.

A look at corpus data may also prove instructive. A simple search for strings where a past participle of an intransitive V is left-adjacent to some inflected form of *werd-* (which reliably indicates a passivization environment) in the *Zeit* corpus (1946-2018) contained in *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* reveals massive differences between unergative and unaccusative verbs. As for the former, there are 2102 such co-occurrences of the past participle *gearbeitet* with an inflected form of the auxiliary *werd-* to the right, out of 20894 occurrences of this past participle in the whole corpus, which amounts to a probability of 0.1; for *geschlafen werd-* the probability is 0.025 (53/2085); for *getanzt werd-* it is 0.1 (141/1376, after manual exclusion of transitive uses with cognate objects); and so on. In contrast, the likelihood of passivization is vastly reduced with unaccusative verbs. With *gestorben werd-*, the probability in the corpus is 0.005 (120/22547); *aufgestanden werd-* has a probability of 0.003 (3/897); and *hingefallen werd-* (0.0; 0/123), *ingeschlafen werd-* (0.0; 0/1067), *gewachsen werd-* (0.0; 0/14387) and other such bigrams instantiating passivizations of unaccusative verbs do not show up in the corpus at all. In addition, it can be noted that for *sterben*, which appears to be the only unaccusative verb with a substantial number of passivizations in the corpus, the exact string *gestorben wird* occurs 67 times all in all, but 26 of these occurrences involve coordination with a past participle of an unergative verb, giving rise to a coercion effect; a further ten occurrences directly exhibit an agent-oriented adverb.⁹ Finally, it is worth pointing out that unergative and unaccusative past participles have similar probabilities in active contexts, e.g., when showing up left-adjacent to a perfect auxiliary: Compare, e.g., unergative *gearbeitet hab-* (0.1) and *geschlafen hab-* (0.079) on the one hand with unaccusative *gestorben sei-* (0.084) and *aufgestanden sei-* (0.07) on the other. Of course, one must not

9. Note also that *gegangen werd-*, which at first sight seems to show a comparatively high probability of 0.007 (268/35300) that even exceeds the one for *gestorben werd-* turns out to have a much lower probability on closer inspection: 160 occurrences involve transitive uses with cognate objects like *Weg* ('path') or *Schritt* ('step'), and a further 33 occurrences involve metalinguistic transitive uses where a person shows up as the subject that is interpreted as the internal argument of the verb ('to go someone' ~ 'to fire someone'); the actual probability of a passive string with unaccusative *gegangen werd-* in the corpus is 0.002 (75/35300).

conclude from all this that passivization of unaccusatives does not exist; but the drastic differences in probability in the *Zeit* corpus would seem to support the hypothesis that something extra is required to render legitimate the passivization of unaccusatives.

3.2 Other passive auxiliaries

German has a large number of passive constructions with different kinds of passive auxiliaries (in different stages of grammaticalization), with different kinds of modal flavours, etc.; basically all of these are subject to varying numbers of additional restrictions that go beyond those that hold for the regular, standard verbal passive (see Höhle 1978). Interestingly, it seems that unaccusatives are banned from all of these contexts.

The data in (22)–(25) show for four different passive constructions that passivization of unergatives is possible (sometimes only marginally, sometimes at variance with Höhle’s original claims to the contrary, but always substantiable by google hits, and always in accordance with my own judgements); however, passivization of unaccusatives is impossible throughout (and there are no google hits for the bigrams involved here). The pair of examples in (22a,b) illustrates this for what Höhle (1978) calls *adhortative* ‘gehören’ passive, where the passive auxiliary *gehören* has a modal component of necessity.

- (22) a. ?Jetzt gehört gearbeitet.
 now PASS₂ worked
 ‘Now work needs to be done.’
- b. *Jetzt gehört gestorben.
 now PASS₂ died
 ‘Now one must die.’

The same asymmetry arises with the *adhortative* ‘bleiben’ passive; see (23a,b).

- (23) a. Jetzt bleibt noch zu arbeiten.
 now PASS₃ yet to work
 ‘Now work needs to be done.’

- b. *Jetzt bleibt noch zu sterben.
now PASS₃ yet to die
'Now one must die.'

Next, (24a,b) illustrates that unergatives can participate in the *reflexive* 'lassen' passive whereas unaccusatives cannot do so:

- (24) a. Hier lässt (es) sich arbeiten.
here PASS₄ it refl work
'One can work here.'
- b. ?*Hier lässt (es) sich sterben.
here PASS₄ it refl die
'One can die here.'

Furthermore, the *modal* 'gehen' passive is marginally possible with unergative verbs, but ungrammatical with unaccusative verbs; see (25a,b).

- (25) a. ?Hier geht zu arbeiten.
here PASS₅ to work
'One can work here.'
- b. *Hier geht zu sterben.
here PASS₅ to die
'One can die here.'

And so on. Again, this can be taken to indicate that passivization of unaccusative verbs in German requires some extra effort, like an externalization operation of the internal argument (as postulated under hypothesis A but not under hypothesis B): On this view, passives of unaccusatives are only possible with the most canonical type of passive auxiliary. With other auxiliaries, where evidence is much rarer for speakers to begin with, and where the passive auxiliaries may not yet have fully undergone grammaticalization, this operation cannot take place.

4 Concluding remarks

The two hypotheses in (2a) and (2b) do not exhaust the logical space for analyses of unaccusative passivization in German. E.g., against the background of Legate (2014), Legate (2018) advances what could be called hypothesis C: Passivization of unaccusatives in German involves an impersonal construction; “impersonal constructions”, by assumption, involve an empty category in the subject position that has D- and ϕ -features and requires an animate (or even human) interpretation, and they can in principle license accusative case. However, there are various reasons to call into question hypothesis C: There is never any accusative case licensing in this context; there is no indication of an active construction (the passive morphology is completely regular); and, as noted by Kaufmann (1995: 168), the animacy requirement seems to hold of *all* impersonal passives in German, with unergative as well as with unaccusative verbs; see (26).¹⁰

- (26) Die Tür wurde geschlossen. (ok: by Peter; *: by the wind)
 the door PASS closed

Finally, hypothesis C (in the form adopted by Legate 2018) predicts that *by*-phrases cannot appear with passivized unaccusative verbs. However, as has been presupposed throughout this paper (see (4), and also (i) of the previous footnote), there is little evidence for this claim. Indeed, counter-examples can be found in the literature (see (27a), from Kaufmann 1995); and Legate 2018 provides one herself (see (27b)).

10. Kaufmann further claims that an interpretation as [+human,+animate] is preferred to an interpretation as [-human,+animate]; cf. her examples (i-ab) (vs. (i-c), with a [-animate] interpretation).

- (i) In dieser Region wird viel herumgeflogen.
 in this area PASS a lot flown around

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| a. von Segelfliegern | b. ?von Rauchschwalben | c. *von Zeitungen |
| by glider pilots | by barn swallows | by journals |

There does not seem to be a grammatically relevant difference between (i-a) and (i-b), though; if the context favours a [-human] interpretation (as is the case if, e.g., *Region* ('area') is replaced with *Scheune* ('barn')), speakers' preferences go in the opposite direction.

- (27) a. Von den Kindern mit dem gelben Gürtel wird schon
 by the children with the yellow belt PASS already
 perfekt umgefallen.
 perfectly fallen over
- b. Hier wird nur von Idioten gestolpert.
 here PASS only by idiots tripped

Next to hypotheses A, B, and C, there are of course other hypotheses that one could in principle come up with to account for the phenomenon in (1). However, for the time being, I would like to conclude that the available evidence supports the view that the passivization of an unaccusative verb in German requires the externalization of its internal argument. This externalization is a last resort operation that can only take place if forced by passivization, not in simple active clauses (cf. the illformedness of active clauses like those in (5b), (11a), and (12a)).

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