

Analyzing Multiple Advancements to 1

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0. Introduction

The failure of passive rules to iterate and the infrequency with which passive rules apply in combination poses a problem for grammatical analysis. (10) Relational Grammarians have proposed a universal law, the l-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (henceforth, l-AEX), which would have the effect of banning all iteration and combination of passive rules. Evidence from German, Lithuanian, Modern Irish and Classical Arabic indicates that the proposed law is too general, at least as presently formulated. Shall we therefore revise it, but retain its spirit? Perhaps, but it's our contention that any such revised law would be of little or no use.

Several independently motivated aspects of linguistic structure, in particular the intrinsic effects of the passive, the division of constructions into the lexical and the grammatical, and the existence of a multitude of conditioning factors in rules like the passive leave very little --perhaps nothing--which would require explanation via such a law. (11)

The issue is of theoretical interest because the l-AEX is a global constraint on derivations: it forbids any two advancements to 1 within the derivation of the same clause. This sort of constraint couldn't be formulated within existing frameworks in competition with Relational Grammar (henceforth, RG)--including Lexical Functional Grammar, Generalized Phrase Structure, or Government Binding Theory. If the l-AEX were necessary, it would provide prima facie evidence against all of these frameworks.

1. The Proposed Law

Perlmutter and Postal (1977) attempt to account for the noniterability or combinability of passive rules as an instance of a more general phenomenon: the l-AEX. The theory proposed there regards grammatical relations as primitive elements which syntactic theory refers to in the statement of rules. Passive is formulated in this framework as resulting when an object "2" becomes a subject "1" in a transitive clause. Impersonal Passives are then simply the special case where a dummy 2 becomes a 1. Various markings may be associated with the passive, as Perlmutter and Postal (1977:412-13) note. They list the types repeated here as examples (1a)-(1d).

- (1)a. Plain Personal Passives
Solche Sachen werden nicht gesagt
'Such things aren't said'
- b. Reflexive Personal Passives
Solche Sachen sagen sich nicht
'Such things aren't said'
- c. Plain Impersonal Passives
Es wird hier getanzt
'Dancing takes place hier'

- d. Reflexive Impersonal Passives
Es tanzt sich gut hier
'One dances well hier'

Relational Grammar also acknowledges constructions in which indirect objects "3's" or oblique objects "OO's" may become 1's. These rules, together with the passives, are referred to as "Advancements to 1." The l-Advancement Exclusiveness Law disallows more than one advancement to 1 in a given clause. This requires in particular that no more than one of the four types of passives in (1) be represented in a clause.

We shall provide examples of sentences in German, Lithuanian, Irish and Classical Arabic where the l-AEX appears to be violated. Constructions are instantiated in which "Reflexive Personal Passives" are used in personal or in impersonal passives. We shall refer to RG's "Reflexive Impersonal Passives" using their traditional designation, "medio-passive." We then refer to types (1a) and (1c) simply as "personal passives" and "impersonal passives," respectively. So that the constructions below might be seen as parallel to RG's (1b) category, please note that, although we drop the term "reflexive passive," all of the constructions we examine retain a marking that is elsewhere interpreted reflexively. Just as importantly, note that they need not be interpreted reflexively below (if they were understood reflexively, they wouldn't be passives).

2. Multiple Advancements to 1

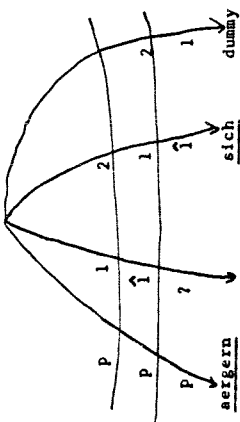
A. German

Medio-passives and impersonal passives do interact in German. Wackernagel (1926:147) cites (2). Note that from sergern 'to annoy' is formed sich sergern 'to get annoyed,' so that the source of the impersonal passive in (2) is unproblematic.

- (2) ...nun wird sich wo anders geärgert
now AUX self where else annoy(prt)
'Now people can get annoyed someplace else'
- Other examples are possible, as in (3) (cf. sich versammeln 'to gather') and (4c) (cf. sich erinnern 'to remember'):

- (3) Jetzt wird sich in anderem Zimmer versammelt
now AUX self in other room gather(prt)
'People should gather now'
- (4) Jetzt wird sich ans Geld erinnert
now AUX self of money remind(prt)
'People should now remember the money'

These are all impersonal passives of medio-passives. In an analysis where the impersonal passive is an advancement to 1, they require two advancements to 1 in the same clause, and are therefore counterexamples to the l-AEX. Something like the two-level stratal diagram in (5) would be required:



(5)

B. Lithuanian

Lithuanian, like German, has medio-passives. But these are not marked by reflexive pronouns, but by the affix -s(i)-, which appears word finally in unprefixed verbs and between prefix and stem in prefixed verbs. Cf. (6):

- (6) skolinti 'to lend (x to y)'
- skolinti-s 'to be lent (x)' (imperfective)
- pa-si-skolinti 'to be lent (x)' (perfective)

In this case we see an advancement to 1 from the position of the notional indirect object, the recipient of the loan. This affix may also mark 2-to-1 advancement.

The Lithuanian passive is formed by combining the present participle in -m- or the past participle in -t- with forms of the auxiliary buti 'to be' in any tense. The participle normally agrees in gender and number with the superficial subject of the passive sentence, if there is any. The passive superficial subject usually corresponds to an accusative object in an active counterpart, but may correspond to a dative object as well. This is clearly advancement to 1 in the sense of 'RC. (7) provides examples of passives.

- (7) jis (yrà) myli-m-as
- be(nom) be(3s) love-pres.pass.-masc.nom.sg.
- 'He is loved'
- ji (yrà) myli-m-a
- she(nom) be(3s) love-pres.pass.-fem.nom.sg.
- 'She is loved'

Impersonal passives are formed from verbs without accusative objects, including intransitives, as in (8):

- (8) (Jonas) isei-t-a is kieno
- Jonas(gen) go-out(past.pass) from courtyard
- 'Someone (Jonas) has gone out of the courtyard'

But they are also formed from transitive verbs with direct objects, which means that some sentences have two passives. (9b) and (9c) are two such

personal/impersonal passives, corresponding to (9a):

- (9) a. Namo ne -pastatė
- house(gen) not-build(past/3sg)
- 'They didn't build a house'
- b. Namas ne -pastaty-t-as
- house(nom) not-build-past.pass.-masc.nom.sg.
- 'The house has not been built'
- c. Namo ne -pastaty-t-a
- house(gen) not-build-past.pass.-neut.
- 'A house has not been built' ('No house has been built')

The 1-AEX should prohibit sentences in which the medio-passive and the passive combine. However, we find examples of medio-passives in both personal and impersonal passives. (10) is the impersonal passive of a medio-passive:

- (10) buvo skolina-ma-si
- be(past) lend-pres.pass.-medio
- 'People were borrowing'

Passives using the past tense form -t-, and those using the prefixed perfective are possible as well. Further examples are much easier to find here than in German because the (reflexive) medio-passive is much more common. Geniušienė (1974) and (1976), Nerbonne (1982), and Timberlake (1982) contain further examples. We provide one further sentence, interesting because it would stand as a counterexample to the 1-AEX even if the analysis of impersonal passives as 2-to-1 advancement were abandoned. From priminti 'remind' we may derive priminti-s 'be reminded (remember)'. (11) is the personal passive of this medio-passive.

- (11) susinkime buvo pri-si-min-t-1 ir seni darbinikai
- meeting(loc) be(3) prfx-medio-remind-pass-pl too old workers(nom)
- 'The old workers were remembered at the meeting as well'(92)

C. Irish

(12) is an example of the construction known in traditional Irish grammars as the "autonomous form":

- (12) Bhualleadh go tobann é
- strike(aut) suddenly him(acc)
- 'He was suddenly struck'

Postal and Perlmutter (ms:48-9) treat this as an impersonal passive, i.e. as a 2-to-1 advancement. Although there is no motivation for this treatment in Irish surface syntax, and in fact Comrie (1977) has analyzed the cognate Welsh construction as a demotion from 1, Perlmutter and Postal's treatment does avoid violation of RC's proposed "Motivated Change Law," according to which a term (noun phrase) may not be demoted except when another term assumes its grammatical role. If this law holds, then

the Irish autonomous form must be analyzed as an advancement to 1. in addition to this form, Irish has a genuine passive as well, as in (13b).

- (13) a. *Bualann sé an gadhair*
strike he(nom) the dog(obj)
'He strikes the dog'
- b. *Tá an gadhair buailte aige*
is the dog(nom) struck at-him
'The dog has been struck by him'
- (14) *Táimid buailte aige*
are(1pl) struck at-him
'We have been struck by him'

The notional object is clearly marked as subject in passives both by verb agreement (a plural is shown in (14)) and by its position immediately after the finite verb. The notional subject is optionally expressed in the passive as the object of the preposition *ag* 'at' or, less frequently, *le* 'with, by means of.'

The passive construction has its own autonomous forms:

- (15) *Táthar buailte*
be(aut) struck
'Some have been struck' (Christian Brothers' Grammar)
- (16) *Táthar briste*
be(aut) broken
'Some have been broken'

In the analysis in which autonomous forms are derived through an advancement to 1, (15) and (16) involve two advancements to 1. The regularity of the autonomous passive formation may be attested to by fact that it is included in the verbal paradigms in the Christian Brothers' Grammar.

D. Classical Arabic

Classical Arabic has two kinds of passives which can interact with each other in the following way. First, basic and derived transitive verbs can form medio-passive constructions, basic verbs by an n- prefix or -ta- infix, and derived verbs by a ta- prefix. The medio-passive will be transitive if the active form is ditransitive. The verb in (17a) is simply transitive, so it forms an intransitive medio-passive as in (17b). (Roman numerals are traditional category labels.)

- (17) a. Active (I) *ʔafala-hum*
drew back(he)-them between hands-his
'He caused them to draw back before him'
- b. Medio-Passive (VII) *inʔafalū*
drew back(they) between hands-his
'They drew back before him'

c. Impersonal Passive *unʔuffila bayna yaday-hi*
drew back(pass/he) between hands-his
'There was a drawing back before him'
(Blachere and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1952:261)

Second, these medio-passive constructions can passivize by the regular ablaut passive (traditionally known as the majhl passive) either impersonally, as in (17c), or, if they happen to take an accusative, personally, as in (18c).

- (18) a. Active (II Causative) *ʕallama-hu t-tibba*
learned(he)-him the-medicine(acc)
'He taught him medicine'
- b. Medio-Passive (V) *taʕallama t-tibba*
learned(he) the-medicine(acc)
'He learned medicine'
- c. Personal Passive *tuʕallima t-tibbu*
learned(pass/he) the medicine(nom)
'Medicine was learned'
(Wright I 38 B,C,rem a)

Especially clearly in the case of the personal passive of a transitive medio-passive (18c), an accusative object has been promoted to subject and then replaced by the promotion of a second accusative to subject position. If the impersonal passives are analyzed as promotions as well, then they also involve two successive accusative-to-nominative advancements.

3. Analyzing Multiple Advancements to 1

We believe that these counterexamples are genuine (although we recognize that this is ultimately a matter of analysis, and not simple observation), and that they demonstrate the need to revise or abandon the 1-AEX. Any possible revision must justify itself by its explanatory power, however. The existence of several independently motivated factors which limit the ability of passive-like rules to iterate or apply in combination suggests that the explanatory power of any revised 1-AEX will be very limited.

A. The Intrinsic Effects of the Passive

One very general constraint on the applicability of passive rules arises from their category-changing nature. Passives remove an accusative object (or occasionally other objects) without supplying a replacement. Once the object has been removed, it can't be removed again. Thus all iteration and a good deal of combined application is impossible. This is true in all theoretical frameworks, including RG. Once a 2 has been advanced to 1, there is no opportunity for subsequent 2-to-1 advancement (unless a subsequent rule were to create a new object, of course). Similarly, in those languages where impersonal passives are formed only from verbs which do not take accusative objects, it is clear that

personal passives of impersonal passives would be unthinkable. Less obviously, impersonal passives ought not to combine with each other in application since they apply to verbs which take subjects to remove the need for subjects. This is also something that only needs to be done once.

The only multiple application of passive-like rules which we would expect to find, given the intrinsic effects of such rules, would be the impersonal passive of personal (medio-)passives, the personal passive of the personal (medio-)passive of a ditransitive verb, etc. These are exactly the sorts of examples adduced above.

B. The Lexical/Grammatical Distinction

Still, we don't find every imaginable combination of rules. For example, although there are numerous instances of syntactic passive rules applying to the outputs of medio-passive rules, the opposite order doesn't occur. (Thus it is clear that examples such as (2) or (18c) are not medio-passives of passives, but rather vice versa. For example, all such examples have well-formed medio-passive sources, and they show the meaning one would expect from the construction derived from medio-passive via passive.)

A well-known strategy for dealing with this sort of asymmetry in rule application is to assign the different rules to different components of the grammar; in this case the lexical and syntactic components suggest themselves. The medio-passives examined above have the traits one associates with the lexicon: they are applied early, and are less regularly produced. The other passives might then be regarded as part of the syntactic component. (This assignment of the rules to different components might be effected in any of several different schemes elaborating the relationship of syntax to the lexicon. In Dowty's (1978) system, we would assign medio-passives to the lexicon and passives to the syntactic component. In Wasow's (1980) system, we might regard medio-passives as minor lexical rules, the other constructions involved being major lexical rules. The strategy is clear.)

Assigning the rules to two different components explains why we find only one order of joint application: the lexical medio-passive applying before the syntactic passive rules. It might also tempt us to reformulate the l-AEX to apply only within components, since this would restrict predicted interaction of rules to at most pairs of rules from the different components. It isn't clear that this prediction holds. The Irish data in (13)-(16) above show the interaction of two very productive syntactic processes, and suggest that it would be best to avoid a l-AEX in the syntactic component. In Classical Arabic we find that some lexical medio-passives, such as (18b), can form lexical passive participles, as in

- (19) al -muta^c allam
- the learned(prt)
- 'the [thing] learned'

Impersonal examples are also possible:

- (20) al -mutahadda^c an-hu
- the talked(prt) about-it
- 'the [thing] talked about'

The reference to direct object using the personal passive verb meaning (19) (or the reference to an oblique object using the impersonal passive verb meaning (20)) amounts to a further lexical advancement to l beyond the medio-passive derivation. To understand these personal and impersonal passives of medio-passive verbs, two lexical advancements to l within the derivation are required.

C. Other Conditioning Factors

To be cautious, perhaps one could retreat to a Revised l-AEX which only allows 2 advancements to l per component, or maybe a maximum of two per clause derivation. Such a restriction, as far as we can tell, wouldn't be counterexampled, but neither would it be required to explain anything. The hitch here is that there are several further factors which independently restrict the interaction of passive-like processes.

For example, auxiliary verbs don't have passive forms in most languages, and this fact can be used to explain why passive auxiliaries don't show passive forms themselves. This restriction would be a sufficient explanation for the failure of iteration in (English) passives. No appeal to a constraint on multiple advancement is required.

As a second sort of example, consider the productive ablaut passive process on verbs in Classical Arabic, which (under one possible analysis) changes doubly transitive verbs to (personally) passive transitive verbs, transitive verbs to (personally) active verbs to impersonal passives.

ACVC- vowel pattern (for the perfect), where all the vowels in A are a, to a UCiC- vowel pattern, where all the vowels in U are u.

- (21) ACVC- --> UCiC-
- (act) (pass)

If the passive has applied, the input category of a verb may allow iteration, but the input vowel pattern will not. There is definitely no iteration of the process, but neither is there any need to block it. Since the ablaut process depends on a change from one vowel pattern to another, the process in effect self-bleeds. The output form cannot serve as an input form. The important point is that no appeal to a l-AEX is required.

In fact, we know of no clear cases where any inflectional process, either ablaut or affix, repeats itself (though we are aware of the importance of the analysis of causative constructions in this question). Inflectional marking seems to be present or absent simpliciter.

D. Conclusion

The data presented here suggest that the l-AEX doesn't hold in its strongest form. This is independent of whether one accepts the RG analysis of impersonal passives as a sort of advancement (cf. (11) and (18c)). We propose that many disparate factors serve to constrain the iteration and

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