

Agreement and the Icelandic Passive¹

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Abstract

We propose an analysis of the morphology of dative-nominative passives in Icelandic. This account is based on a previous proposal of active predicates which alternate between a dative-nominative and nominative-dative case frame (Wood and Sigurðsson 2014). We show that obligatory agreement with the nominative in the passive is the consequence of the absence of the dative intervention effect which leads to optional agreement in dative-nominative actives. Drawing a parallel to long-distance agreement in Hindi-Urdu, we propose that the morphology in passives is the consequence of a head “covaluing” (Bhatt 2005) features on both the passive participle and the nominative object. We also provide an alternative account based on a *smuggling* analysis of passives in English (Collins 2005). We show that while the smuggling approach might potentially be extended to account for a particular instance of the new passive/new impersonal construction in which there is ostensibly A-movement, there is sufficient evidence to argue against this analysis. *Keywords:* Icelandic, agreement, passive, equidistance, smuggling.

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1 Introduction and Overview of the Data²

This article provides an account of agreement patterns in passive dative-nominative (dat-nom) constructions in Icelandic. Active dat-nom constructions in Icelandic have received a great deal of attention in the literature. Various researchers have discussed issues surrounding case assignment to the nominative object, the thematic properties of this DP, and the agreement patterns found in these sentences (e.g., Sigurðsson 1996; Chomsky 2001; Jónsson 2003; Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2004; McFadden 2004; Thráinsson 2007; Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008; Ussery 2009; Thráinsson, Sigurðsson and Jónsson 2015; Wood 2015). Icelandic verbs obligatorily agree in person and number with nominative subjects, as shown in the active sentences in (1). Likewise, the same pattern holds in the passive sentences in (2). In (2a), the auxiliary patterns like main verbs and agrees in person and number, while the passive participle agrees in case, gender, and number. Since there is no nominative in (2b), the auxiliary shows default (third person singular) agreement and the participle also appears in the default (nominative/accusative neuter singular) form. While agreement with nominative subjects is obligatory, agreement with nominative objects is optional, as illustrated in (3).³ We should emphasize that in (3a), the default form is not agreeing with the singular dative subject, and in (3b), the third person plural form is not agreeing with the plural dative subject. As illustrated in (4), only the default form of the verb is allowed with a first or second person non-nominative subject.⁴ Interestingly, though, agreement is by and large obligatory in passive constructions such as (5). Further, both the auxiliary and the participle must agree with

² The Icelandic examples that are not cited from the literature are based on extensive consultations with native speakers. We use the following abbreviations in the glosses: N (nominative); A (accusative); D (dative); G (genitive); Erg (ergative); masc (masculine); fem (feminine); neut (neuter); sg (singular); pl (plural); dft (default); cl (clitic); inf (infinitive).

³ There is ostensibly not person agreement with nominative objects. As discussed in Section 2, Icelandic disallows agreement with first and second person nominative objects when the agreeing form of the verb is not syncretic with the third person form. The main verbs and auxiliaries in nominative object sentences could just as well be glossed to indicate only number. For consistency, we choose to gloss third person in these examples.

⁴ There is, however, a conound with respect to agreement and dative subjects. Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir (2003) report that, for some Icelandic speakers, agreement with a plural nominative object is more degraded when the dative is singular than when it is plural. Further, Árnadóttir and Sigurðsson (2012) provide examples from the internet in which speakers use verbal forms that agree with dative subjects and

the nominative object. As shown in (6), neither the auxiliary nor the participle can appear in the default form.

- (1) a. Við lásum bókina.
 we(N.pl.) read(1pl.) the-book(A.sg.)
 ‘We read the book.’ (Sigurðsson 1996, EX14a)
- b. Margir prófessorar klæðast/*klæðist dýrum fötum.⁵
 many professors(N.pl.) wear(3pl./*dft.)expensive clothes(D.pl.)
 ‘Many professors wear expensive clothes.’
- (2) a. Peir voru barðir.
 they(N.masc.) were(3pl) hit(N.masc.pl)
 ‘They were hit.’
- b. Þeim var hrint.
 they(D) was(dft) pushed(dft)
 ‘They were pushed.’ (Sigurðsson 2011, EX 1a/b)
- (3) a. Henni líkaði/líkuðu dýrir skór.
 her(D.sg.) liked(dft./3pl.) expensive shoes(N.pl.)
 ‘She liked expensive shoes.’
- b. Mörgum prófessorum líkaði/líkuðu dýrir skór.
 many professors(D.pl.) liked(dft./3pl.)expensive shoes(N.pl.)
 ‘Many professors liked expensive shoes.’

Ussery (2015) reports that one informant (out of ten) appears to show agreement with dative subjects. It is plausible that the effects reported by Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir (2003) are due to a singular dative subject somehow more strongly interfering with agreement with a nominative, but that speakers aren’t actually agreeing with the dative. With respect to the data reported by Árnadóttir and Sigurðsson (2012), they warn that the examples must be considered within the context that they were produced by younger speakers on the internet. Nonetheless, it could be that some Icelandic speakers are moving toward a pattern of agreeing with datives, which is attested in Faroese, and which Ussery (2015) suggests may be responsible for the pattern exhibited by the informant. Jónsson (2009b) provides an account of the Faroese facts and proposes that there is a covert nominative feature on the dative, as evidenced by the fact that some verbs which have historically taken dative subjects now allow both dative and nominative subjects. Given that there is much work to be done before we can confidently say that Icelandic allows agreement with dative subjects, we will proceed under the more well-established pattern that it does not.

⁵ See Maling (2002) for a detailed discussion of verbs that take dative objects in Icelandic.

- (4) a. Okkur vantaði/*vöntuðum bókina.
us(A/D.pl) lacked.dft/*1pl the-book
'We lacked the book.'
- b. Ykkur vantaði/*vöntuðuð bókina.
you(A/D.pl) lacked.dft/*2pl the-book
'You lacked the book.' (Sigurðsson 1996, EX 16/17a)
- (5) a. Öllum lögfræðingunum voru sendir
all the-lawyers(D.pl) were(3pl) sent(N.masc.pl)
samningarnir.
the-contracts(N.masc.pl)
'All the lawyers were sent the contracts.'
- b. Öllum börnunum voru gefnar
all the-children(D.pl) were(3pl) given(N.fem.pl)
kökur.
cookies(N.fem.pl)
'All the children were given cakes.'
- (6) a. *Öllum lögfræðingunum var sendir
all the-lawyers(D.pl) was(dft) sent(N.masc.pl)
samningarnir.
the-contracts(N.masc.pl)
- b. *Öllum lögfræðingunum voru sent
all the-lawyers(D.pl) were(3pl) sent(dft)
samningarnir.
the-contracts(N.masc.pl)

The contrast between examples (3) and (5) is surprising. Zaenan, Maling, Thráinsson (1985) convincingly showed that non-nominative DPs can occupy the subject position in Icelandic—in both actives and passives—and that, in passives, a dative object moves to subject position just as any other object that is passivized does. In the subsequent literature, it has been illustrated repeatedly that these DPs, which are sometimes referred to as quirky case-marked subjects, are indeed subjects (see, for instance, Jónsson 1996/2003, Sigurðsson 2004, Thráinsson 2007, and references therein). Given that the sentences in (3) and (5) are alike in having a dative syntactic subject and

a nominative object, the question is: why do the agreement patterns differ? We propose that the dative intervention effect which leads to optional or degraded agreement in (3) is not present in (5).

The approach argued for in this paper is based on previous accounts of other phenomena. First, we adopt the standard analysis of passives in which the passive morphology absorbs accusative Case and the external theta role (e.g., Jaeggli 1986, Baker, Johnson, and Roberts 1989). We extend Wood and Sigurðsson's (2014) account of active Icelandic predicates which alternate between a dat-nom and a nom-dat case frame. The core of the proposal is that in alternating constructions, both the dative and the nominative are equidistant from c-commanding heads, allowing either DP to move to subject position. As observed by Zaenan, Maling, Thráinsson (1985), and as noted by Wood and Sigurðsson (2014), some ditransitives in Icelandic allow either object to passivize. Constructions such as (5) have a nominative-dative variant, and in this respect they pattern like alternating active constructions. Finally, we show that the morphology in Icelandic passives is parallel to the morphology found in long-distance agreement (LDA) in Hindi-Urdu, in which both the finite verbs in the main clause and the non-finite verb in the embedded clause agree with the embedded object. We extend Bhatt's (2005) idea of "covaluation"—the consequence of an Agree operation in which a probe enters into a relationship with multiple goals—and we argue that in Icelandic passives such as (5), finite T establishes a relationship with both the participle and the nominative object.

The alternative approach, which we will ultimately argue against, is based on Collins's (2005) proposal for passives in English. On this account, the agent is merged in the same structural position in both actives and passives and the theme argument is "smuggled" past the agent. We show that, when coupled with covaluation, this approach can also account for the morphology in Icelandic passives, as it also removes the dative intervention effect. The smuggling analysis is controversial—even when applied only to English—in that it "derives" passives from actives. Further, as we will see in Section 4.3, there are additional complexities surrounding Icelandic passives that might make a smuggling analysis even less tenable. We might, therefore, wonder why one would consider extending this approach to Icelandic.

The answer is that smuggling might lend some insight into the debate surrounding a different kind of Icelandic passive that has

received a great deal of attention in the literature. While sentences such as (5) represent a familiar type of passive, Icelandic also allows constructions such as (7), where the % indicates that the construction is acceptable only to some speakers (following Sigurðsson 2011).⁶

(7) a. %Það var barið þá í gær.
 it was hit.dft them(A.masc.pl) in yesterday
 ‘They were hit yesterday.’ (Sigurðsson 2011, EX 8a)

b. %Það var sýnt þeim bæklinga
 there was.dft shown.dft them(D.pl) brochures(Acc.pl)
 áður en þau fóru.
 before they left
 ‘They were shown brochures before they left.’
 (Jónsson 2009a, EX 41a)

Each sentence in (7) contains a clause-initial expletive, which are widespread in Icelandic (see Thráinsson 2007:246 and references cited therein for a discussion of agreement in expletive constructions in Icelandic and other Scandinavian languages.). Crucially, though, the object is not promoted to subject position and the object bears accusative case in both the transitive variant in (7a) and the ditransitive variant in (7b). There are, however, instances of this kind of passive in which it seems that an object does indeed move to subject position. In the question in (8), the auxiliary inverts with the indirect object, suggesting that the indirect object occupied the subject spot.

(8) %Var þeim ekki einu sinni sýnt
 was(dft) them(D) not even shown(dft)
 íbúðina first?
 the.apartment(A) first
 ‘Were they not even shown the apartment first?’
 (Jónsson 2009a, EX 41b)

The precise nature of constructions such as (7) and (8) is quite controversial and has been much-debated in the literature, as exemplified by the fact that these sentences are sometimes referred to as “new passives” and other times referred to as “new impersonals.”

⁶The expletive það is sometimes glossed as ‘it’ and sometimes glossed as ‘there.’

As the terminology implies, the controversy centers around whether constructions such as (7) are true passives or are actually actives—or something in between an active and a passive. For instance, Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir (2002/2015) and Maling (2006) propose an active analysis in which there is a phonetically silent subject. Other researchers - e.g. Eythórsson 2008, Jónsson 2009a - argue for a passive analysis, and yet others suggest a somewhat intermediate construction (Sigurðsson 2011; Ingason, Legate, and Yang 2013). In his discussion/critique of the active analysis, Jónsson (2009a) suggests that Collins's (2005) proposal might be extended to fill a gap in the active analysis regarding the position of the silent subject. We take this suggestion to heart and show what such an analysis would look like. While we do not take a position on whether the active, passive, or intermediate analysis is on the right track, we show that there is a fatal flaw in applying smuggling to the new passive/new impersonal. Taken together with the questions surrounding whether smuggling can be extended to Icelandic passives in general, we ultimately argue against this approach.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of intervention effects. Section 3 provides an analysis based on Wood and Sigurðsson's (2014) equidistance approach. Section 4 provides an alternative analysis based on Collins's (2005) smuggling approach and extends this proposal to the new passive/new impersonal. Section 5 concludes.

2 Intervention Effects

One of the crucial observations reported in Zaenan, Maling, Thráinsson 1985 is that an object that is dative in the active retains its dative case when passivized, while an object that is accusative in the active becomes nominative under passivization. Case retention has become one of the hallmarks of what has come to be termed “non-structural” case (Woolford 2006, among others). It is the non-structurally case-marked DPs which are argued to pose some problem when they intervene between a probing head and a goal which requires structural case.

The literature is replete with discussions of such intervention effects, both in Icelandic and cross-linguistically. For instance, many languages display some restriction on the person features of direct

and indirect objects in active ditransitive constructions. In the Greek examples in (9)a/b, the indirect object clitics (genitive) are first and second person, respectively, and the direct object clitic (accusative) is third person. Conversely, in the sentences in (9)c/d, the direct object clitics are first and second person, respectively, and these cannot co-occur with an indirect object clitic.

- (9) a. Tha mu to stilune. (Greek)
 fut cl(G.1sg) cl(A.3sg.neut) send(3pl)
 ‘They will send it to me.’
- b. Tha su to stilune.
 fut cl(G.2sg) cl(A.3sg.masc) send(3pl)
 ‘They will send him to you.’
- c. *Tha su me sistisune.
 fut cl(G.2sg) cl(A.1sg) introduce(3pl)
 ‘They will introduce me to you.’
- d. *Tha tu se stilune.
 fut cl(G.masc.3sg) cl(A.2sg) send(3pl)
 ‘They will send you to him.’
 (Bonet 1991:182, Anagnostopoulou 2005, EX 2)

This phenomenon is known as the Person Case Constraint (PCC), and one prominent kind of approach is that the non-structurally case-marked argument intervenes between a structural case-assigning head and a DP which needs structural case. This intervention disrupts the appropriate relationship from holding between the probe and the goal. Parallels have been drawn between the PCC and the Person Restriction in Icelandic, in which agreement with a first or second person nominative direct object is not allowed, as shown in (10).

- (10) a. *Henni höfðum leiðst við.
 her(D.sg.) had(1.pl.) found-boring we(N.pl.)
 ‘She found us boring.’
- b. *Henni höfðuð leiðst þið.
 her(D.sg.) had(2.pl.) found-boring you(N.pl.)
 ‘She found you boring.’
 (Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008, EX 56)

Some researchers propose that, like the PCC, the Person Restriction arises from the fact that the dative intervenes between a probe and its intended goal. (See, for instance Anagnostopoulou 2005.) A distillation of various PCC/Person Restriction proposals is found in Rezac 2007 and Boeckx 2008 and one characterization of these analyses is stated in (11).

- (11) The closer DP γ_1 has “quirky” Case which has the following properties: it is inherent (theta-related) Case that is nevertheless visible to a ϕ -probe and consequently available to A-movement; it values a ϕ -probe’s person feature to 3 regardless of the ϕ -features of the DP it contains, but does not value its number feature. The farther DP, γ_2 , needs structural Case.

(Boeckx 2008, EX ii)

The statement in (11) is a technical formulation of three main ideas. First, since dative case is inherent (or non-structural), it is not assigned by the heads which assign structural case (T, v). However, since datives undergo the same kind of movement as other DPs, they must somehow be visible to the head which motivates that movement. For instance, in Icelandic, dative subjects move to Spec,TP just like nominative subjects do. Second, the consequence of the relationship between T and the dative is that T inherits a third person value, irrespective of the actual person of the dative; first and second person datives transmit a third person value just as third person datives do. The rationale is that since verbs do not agree with datives, the actual person value is not available. Third, T does not inherit any number value from the dative. Since T needs some number value, and since the nominative DP needs its structural case checked, T is forced to establish a relationship with the nominative. However, the third person value that T has inherited from the dative “clashes“ with a first or second person value, rendering constructions with first or second person nominative objects ungrammatical. What’s important is that on these kinds of approaches, there is a distinction between person and number features and that the intervening dative somehow prevents the higher head from establishing a “phi-complete” relationship with its intended goal.⁷

⁷ A reviewer points out that intervention is not the only way to think about PCC effects, and provides Adger and Harbour’s (2007) analysis as an example. Here, it is argued that the conflict arises from whether an Applicative head checks features in a specifier or in a complement position.

In a similar vein, Sigurðsson and Holmberg (2008) also propose that person and number features behave differently and employ this difference to account for optional agreement in constructions such as (3).⁸ In their derivational timing analysis, Person and Number are separate heads, with each being distinct from T. The dative is merged lower than Person and Number, and higher than the nominative, as shown in (12).

- (12) [_{CP}...Topic...Finiteness...[_{TP}Person...Number...T...v...Dat...Nom]]
(Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008, EX 20)

The dative subject moves to a position higher than the Person and Number heads. However, the dative may move before or after the nominative is probed. As shown in (13)a, an intervening dative forces the default form to be realized. However, since the dative does not intervene in (13)b, the Number probe establishes a relationship with the nominative, resulting in verbal agreement (for number).⁹

- ***
- (13) a. Pn Num Dat Nom_[pl] *default*

- b. Dat Pn Num ~~Dat~~ Nom_[pl] *agreement*

This analysis derives the fact that some speakers prefer the agreeing verbal form in active dat-nom constructions, others prefer the default, and others seem to have both forms in free variation. We will return to a discussion of the timing analysis in Section 4.3.

⁸ See also Taraldsen 1995 for a discussion of person and number features and optional agreement in Icelandic.

⁹ We are simplifying the analysis. Part of Sigurðsson and Holmberg's (2008) motivation for making Person and Number be distinct heads is to account for the Person Restriction. There is an additional complexity to the Person Restriction, which is that "agreement" is allowed with a first or second person nominative object as long as the agreeing form is syncretic with the third person form of the same number. This generalization is stated below.

(i) Syncretism Generalization: For most speakers, no Person Restriction arises in Dat-Nom constructions if, for morphological (paradigmatic) reasons, the 'would be' first or second person agreeing form is homophonous with the third person (in the same number). (Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008, EX 55)

Yet another approach to intervention effects is articulated in Preminger 2010/2011 and is stated in the principle in (14).

(14) “You can fail, but you must try.”

Applying Φ agreement to a given structure is obligatory, but if the structure happens to be such that Φ agreement cannot culminate successfully, this is an acceptable outcome.

(Preminger 2010, EX 58)

Preminger (2010) proposes this principle to account for patterns such as those in (15). In the possessor dative constructions in Hebrew, the possessed DP may appear pre or post-verbally. Agreement is obligatory when the DP is pre-verbal, as shown in (15)a. However, lack of agreement is acceptable when the DP is post-verbal, as shown in (16). When there is no dative, agreement is obligatory with the post-verbal subject, illustrated in (17).

(15) SV – Agreement Obligatory

a. ha-cincenet nafI-a le-Dani
 the-jar.fem fell-3sg.fem dat-Dani
 ‘Dani’s jar fell.’

b. *ha-cincenet nafal le-Dani
 the-jar.fem fell-3sg.masc dat-Dani
 ‘Dani’s jar fell.’

(Preminger 2010, EX 1)

(16) VS with dative– Lack of Agreement tolerated

a. nafI-a le-Dani ha-cincenet
 fell-3sg.fem dat-Dani the-jar.fem
 ‘Dani’s jar fell.’

b. ?nafal le-Dani ha-cincenet
 fell-3sg.masc dat-Dani the-jar.fem
 ‘Dani’s jar fell.’

(Preminger 2010, EX 2)

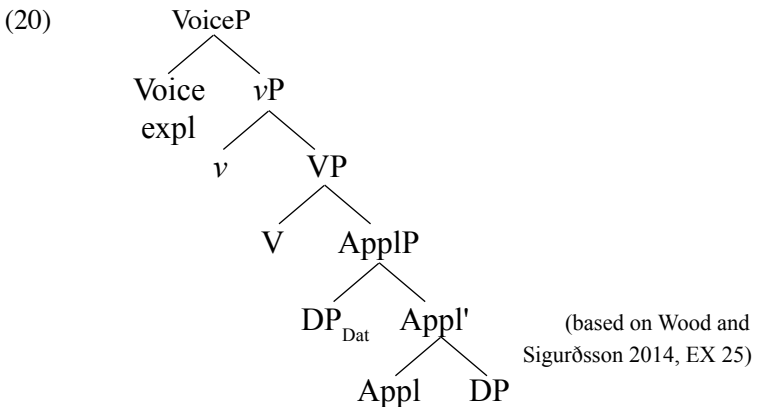
(17) VS without dative– Agreement Obligatory

a. nafI-a ha-cincenet
 fell-3sg.fem the-jar.fem
 ‘The jar fell.’

- (19) a. Mér hafa alltaf nægt tvennir skór.
 me(D.sg) have(3pl) always sufficed two.pairs shoes(N.pl)
- b. Tvennir skór hafa alltaf nægt mér
 two.pairs shoes(N.pl) have(3pl) always sufficed me(D.sg)
 ‘I have always made do with two pairs of shoes.
 (Wood and Sigurðsson 2014, EX 2)

Constructions such as (19) are referred to as symmetric predicates and are discussed in Wood and Sigurðsson (2014), along with asymmetric predicates such as in (3).¹⁰ The latter kind of construction allows only the dative to move to subject position; the sentence in (3) does not have a nom-dat variant. The crux of Wood and Sigurðsson’s (2014) proposal is that, though both symmetric and asymmetric predicates have the same underlying structure—with both the dative and the nominative merged inside of an Applicative Phrase—movement of the applicative head in the symmetric construction renders both DPs equidistant to higher heads.¹¹

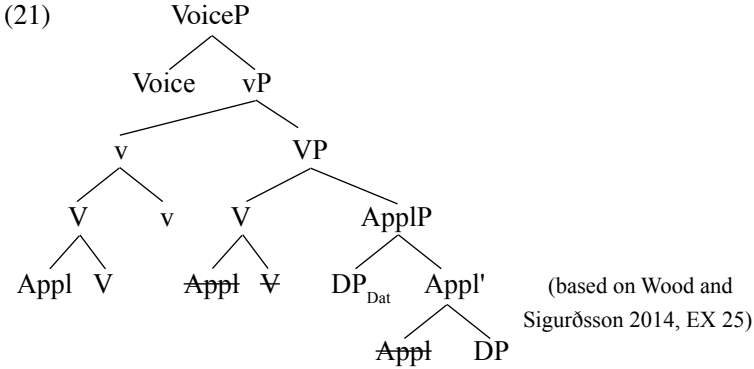
The base structure for both sentences in (19) is shown in (20). This is also the base structure for the asymmetric constructions. The expletive voice head deletes the accusative feature from v^* . As such, the object is realized as nominative.



¹⁰ See also Barðdal, Eythórsson and Dewey (2014) for an account of alternating constructions within the Sign-Based Construction Grammar framework.

¹¹ Equidistance, as a principle, was proposed in Chomsky 1995 and extended in Collins and Thráinsson’s 1996 analysis of object shift in Icelandic.

Wood and Sigurðsson (2014) propose that in symmetric constructions, the applicative head moves to V and the Appl-V complex moves to *v*, as shown in (21). The consequence of moving the applicative head is that the dative and the nominative are equidistant from any c-commanding heads (based on den Dikken 2006, 2007). Wood and Sigurðsson (2014) argue that this equidistance allows for either the dative or the nominative to move to subject position.



By contrast, in asymmetric constructions, the applicative head does not move to V. Wood and Sigurðsson (2014) propose that verbal roots are merged in different structural positions, depending on whether they are symmetric or asymmetric. Symmetric roots attach low and move through Appl in order to attach to V so that they can become verbalized. Asymmetric roots, on the other hand, attach directly to V, which is higher than Appl. There is no motivation for Appl to raise, since the root can be verbalized without this movement. Consequently, the dative is closer to c-commanding heads and is the only argument that can move to subject position. In essence, the dative intervenes between higher heads and the nominative in asymmetric constructions but does not intervene in symmetric constructions.

When passivized, some Icelandic ditransitives pattern like transitive alternating predicates. While active ditransitives always have nominative subjects, a variety of combinations of accusative, dative, and genitive are allowed for the indirect and direct objects (see Zaenan, Maling, Thráinsson 1985; Sigurðsson 1989; and Thráinsson 2007 for detailed discussions of case patterns in Icelandic actives and passives). While some case frames allow only the indirect object to

passivize, verbs which have the nominative-dative-accusative pattern in the active allow for either object to passivize, as shown in (22).¹²

(22) a. Konunginum voru gefnar ambáttir.
 king.the(D) were(3.pl) given(fem.pl) maidservants(N.fem.pl)
 ‘The king was given female slaves.’

b. Ambáttin var gefin konunginum
 maidservant.the(N.fem.sg)was(3.sg)given(fem.sg)king.the(D)
 ‘The maidservant was given (to) the king.’

(Zaenan, Maling, Thráinsson 1985, EX 44)

The important point that we glean from Wood and Sigurðsson (2014) is that the movement of the applicative head has the consequence of making both DPs equally close to *c*-commanding heads. Important for their analysis is that this equidistance allows either DP to move to subject position. Important for our analysis is that the equidistance of both DPs removes the dative intervention effect which leads to optional agreement in dative-nominative actives. In Section 3.3, we will see that this movement also removes the dative intervention effect in passives. First though, we will see the relevance of LDA in Hindi-Urdu for agreement in Icelandic passives.

3.2. Covaluation and Agreement

Hindi-Urdu is a split ergative language and constructions in the perfective aspect (glossed as *pfv* below) have an ergative subject. Nominative and non-specific accusative nouns are unmarked, while ergative nouns are marked with *-ne*. Verbs agree with the highest noun in the clause that is morphologically unmarked for case.¹³ Since ergative nouns are marked with *-ne*, verbs do not agree with ergatives. While the participle and auxiliary agree with the subject in (23)a, the verbs agree with the object in (23)b.¹⁴

¹² Wood and Sigurðsson (2014) also discuss alternating passives such as (22), as well as pragmatic factors which can affect which object passivizes.

¹³ See Bhatt 2005:759 for a description of which features are displayed on which verbs.

¹⁴ We have only indicated case on the ergative. Bhatt (2005) identifies the case on the subject in (23)a as nominative and the case on the objects in both (23)a/b as accusative, though he does not include nominative and accusative in his glosses. Because there is no morphological indication of nominative or accusative in these examples, it is not overtly clear that the object is accusative, as opposed to being nominative/absolutive.

- (23) a. Rahul kitaab parh-taa thaa.
 Rahul(masc.)book(fem.) read(habitual.masc.sg.) be(past.masc.sg.)
 ‘Rahul used to read a/the book.’
- b. Rahul-ne kitaab parh-ii thii.
 Rahul(erg.masc.) book(fem.) read(pfv.fem.) be(past.fem.sg.)
 ‘Rahul had read the book.’ (Bhatt 2005, EX 2)

When there is an infinitival complement and an ergative matrix subject, the matrix verbs optionally agree with the embedded object. In (24a), the verbs agree with the feminine object, ‘branch,’ while in (24b), the verbs are in the default masculine form. As shown in (24c/d), neither the matrix nor the embedded verbs can agree with the object independently.

- (24) a. *LDA: Finite and non-finite verbs agree with the embedded object*
 Shahrukh-ne [tehnii kaat-nii/*naa]
 Shahrukh(Erg) branch(f.) cut(Inf.f./*m.)
 chaah-ii thii.
 want(pfv.f.) be(past.f.sg.)
 ‘Shahrukh had wanted to cut the branch.’
- b. *No LDA: Finite and non-finite verbs are in the default forms*
 Shahrukh-ne [tehnii kaat-naa/*nii]
 Shahrukh(Erg) branch(f.)cut(Inf.m./*f.)
 chaah-aa thaa.
 want(pfv.m.sg.) be(past.m.sg.)
 ‘Shahrukh wanted to cut a/the branch.’
- c. *LDA without infinitival agreement*
 *Shahrukh-ne [tehnii kaat-naa]
 Shahrukh(Erg) branch(f.) cut(Inf.m.)
 chaah-ii thii.
 want(pfv.f.) be(past.f.sg.)
 ‘Shahrukh wanted to cut the branch.’

d. *Infinitival agreement without LDA*

*Shahrukh-ne [tehnii kaat-nii]
 Shahrukh(Erg) branch(f.) cut(Inf.f.)
 chaah-aa thaa.
 want(pf.v.m.sg.) be(past.m.sg.)

‘Shahrukh wanted to cut the branch.’ (Bhatt 2005, EX 6)

Bhatt (2005) proposes that the morphological alternation is due to restructuring. *Want* in Hindi can select for either a full CP complement or a smaller restructuring complement.¹⁵ A full CP blocks a relationship between a probe in the higher clause and a goal in the lower clause. However, when *want* selects for a smaller clause, the agreement probe—T—in the higher clause is able to establish a relationship with the embedded object. Importantly, the probe establishes a relationship with the non-finite inflectional head as well. Using Bhatt’s terminology, the embedded object “covaluates” (Bhatt 2005:769) the unvalued phi-features on both the finite and the non-finite inflectional heads, as schematized in (25). In essence, the matrix T “stops off” at the non-finite T in the course of probing the embedded object. When the embedded object sends its agreement features to the matrix verb, the agreement features also “stop off” at the non-finite T. The morphological consequence is that the verbs in both clauses agree with the embedded object.



It should be noted that covaluation is more in line with Sequential Agree (Nomura 2005) than with Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001/2005). As Multiple Agree is proposed, a probe simultaneously establishes a relationship with multiple goals. However, Sequential Agree is an iterative operation which requires a relationship between a probe and the closest goal and allows for subsequent relationships with other

¹⁵ Earlier work on restructuring (Wurmbrand 2001) proposed that restructuring clauses in German are bare VPs. For Bhatt (2005), though, restructuring clauses in Hindi-Urdu are larger than a bare VP. Bhatt (2005) shows that accusative is available in some restructuring clauses (there is a morphological distinction between nominative and accusative in pronouns), which suggests the presence of a vP. Additionally, a crucial part of Bhatt’s (2005) analysis is that the matrix inflectional head enters into a relationship with the lower inflectional head, and this lower head is higher in the embedded clause than V is. Subsequent work by Wurmbrand (2015) also argues for a voice head in restructuring clauses.

goals. In Bhatt's (2005) discussion of covaluation, he states that T establishes a relationship with the closest goal and if that goal is not able to value the unvalued phi features on T, T continues to probe. The relevance of (25) for Icelandic is that we will argue that finite T covaluates nominative on the object DP and on the passive participle and the object DP covaluates phi-features on the participle and finite T. Recall that the participle agrees with the nominative in case, gender, and number and the auxiliary agrees in person and number.

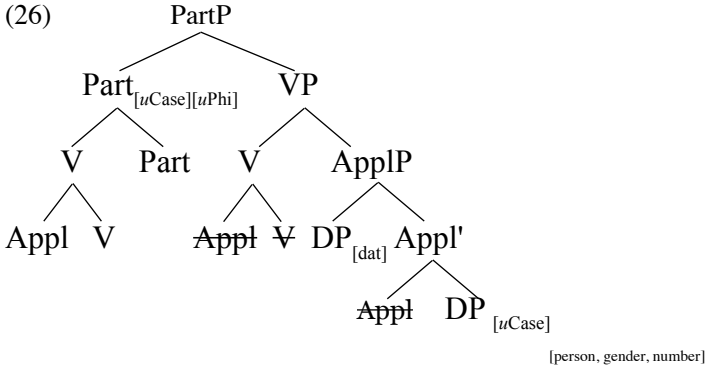
3.3. Analysis of Icelandic Passives

Given the theoretical tools and assumptions outlined above, the analysis of Icelandic passives is fairly straightforward. Our theoretical assumptions and the key components of the analysis are summarized as follows: (1) both DPs are merged inside the Applicative Phrase;¹⁶ (2) the Appl head assigns dative and the second object remains with an unvalued case feature; (3) the participle head is merged with unvalued case and phi-features; (4) finite T covaluates nominative on the DP and the participle; (5) the DP covaluates phi-features on finite T and on the participle. A few notational differences should also be discussed here. While we follow Wood and Sigurðsson (2014), in assuming that the objects which surface as dative and nominative are merged inside ApplP, we make slightly different assumptions about case assignment. We notate the second object as having an unvalued case feature, as this DP's case-phi relationship with T is important on the present analysis. (Wood and Sigurðsson (2014) notate it as just the theme argument, but state that nothing hinges on that label.) We also take the non-structural dative case to be assigned by the *Applicative* head. Finally, we explicitly show the specifier positions of *vP* and *VoiceP*. While these positions are not relevant for the equidistance analysis of passives, these positions are relevant for the smuggling account in the next section.

The initial stages of the derivation are shown in (26). Following Collins 2005—which will be discussed in greater detail in Section 4—we assume that the participle heads a Participle Phrase. Following Wood and Sigurðsson (2014), the Appl head raises to V, thereby

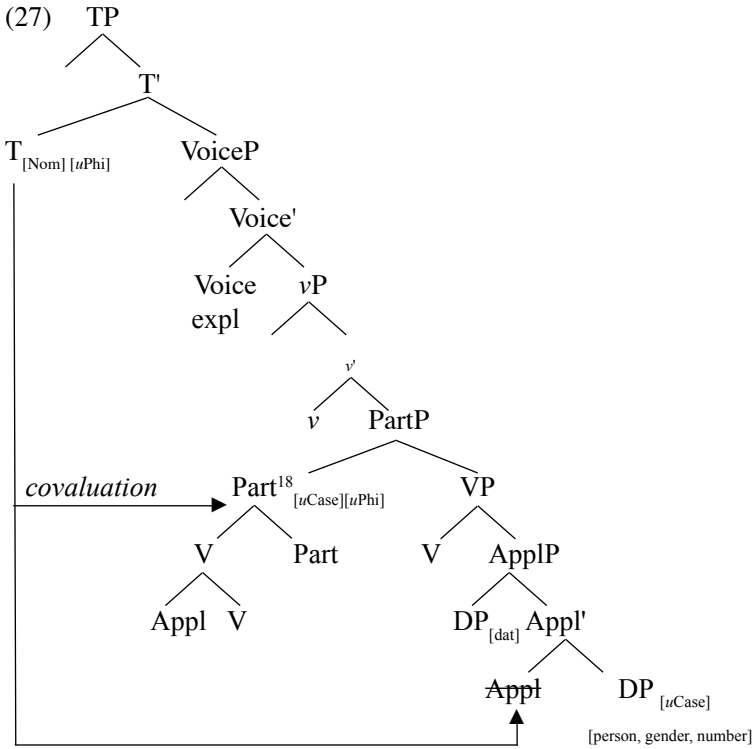
¹⁶ Merging the direct object as the complement to the Appl head and the indirect object in the specifier of ApplP is also in the spirit of Pykkänen (2008), who proposes that ditransitives reflect a relationship between the two objects, and as such, both objects are merged inside of ApplP.

making the two DPs equidistant to any higher head. As on the Wood and Sigurðsson (2014) proposal, this allows for either DP to raise to subject position. (For passives that allow only one object DP to passivize, the Appl head would not move to V, per Wood and Sigurðsson (2014).) Following Collins (2005), V raises to the participle head. Since Appl has already raised to V, the Appl+V complex raises. This Appl+V+Part complex will surface as the passive participle.



The next stage of the derivation is shown in (27). As in Wood and Sigurðsson’s (2014) proposal, the expletive Voice head removes the accusative case assigning property of *v*. The consequence on the present proposal is that T can establish a relationship with the second object.¹⁷

¹⁷ On Wood and Sigurðsson’s (2014) account, nominative case surfaces because no other case is assigned, as opposed to being a consequence of a relationship with T.



As shown in (27), T probes the direct object DP and values nominative case. Since the participle head is in the c-command domain of T and has an unvalued case feature, T covaluates nominative on the participle. The nominative, in turn, values the phi-features on T and covaluates the phi-features on the participle. Crucial to this analysis is that while either the dative or the nominative can raise to Spec,TP, T can only establish a case-phi relationship with the DP that has an unvalued case feature. This proposal is consistent with the fact that has been widely established since Zaenan, Maling, Thráinsson 1985 that movement to subject position and nominative case assignment are not one in the same. We see this separation between movement and case-assignment quite clearly in passives (and actives) in which there is no nominative. Both objects are dative in the active sentence in (28)a and, as such, both DPs are dative in the passive and there is default agreement in (28)b.

¹⁸ We have omitted the specifier position in PartP in order to simplify the tree. On Collins's (2005) proposal, this position serves as an "escape hatch" for the object so that the smuggled object can move to subject position.

- (28) a. Ég skilaði henna peningunum.¹⁹
 I(N) returned(1pl) her(D) the-money(D)
 ‘I returned her the money.’
- b. Henni var skilað peningunum.
 her(D) was(dft) returned(dft) the-money(D)
 ‘She was returned the money.’
 (Zaenan, Maling, Thráinsson 1985, EX 42a/b)

Also important to the analysis above is that the dative remains in Spec,AppIP at the point when T probes and establishes a relationship with the DP that will surface as nominative. This is a departure from Wood and Sigurðsson’s (2014) proposal. On their analysis, the dative moves through Spec,VP on the way to the Spec,TP, thereby making the dative higher than the nominative at this point in the derivation. We suggest that the proposed lack of movement to Spec,VP is independent of the fact that (27) is a passive. Rather, the presence of the participle in the same domain (for our purposes, a domain is a clause) prevents the dative from moving, delivering equidistance and obligatory agreement with the nominative. The examples below in (29) are similar to the examples in (3), except that an aspectual participle has been added.

- (29) a. Öllum lögfræðingunum hafa/*hefur verið sendir
 all the-lawyers(D.pl) have(3pl)/*dft been sent(N.masc.pl)
 samningarnir.
 the-contracts(N.masc.pl)
 ‘All the lawyers have been sent the contracts.’
- b. Öllum börnunum hafa/*hefur verið
 all the-children(D.pl) have(3pl)/*dft been
 gefnar kökur.
 given(N.fem.pl) cookies(N.fem.pl)
 ‘All the children have been given cakes.’

As we see, the aspectual participle ‘have’ obligatorily agrees with the nominative object. (Here, *verið* ‘been’ is in the same form in both examples. It could be that *verið* also participates in the covaluation

¹⁹ This construction only allows the first object DP to passivize. Even if either object could passivize, the agreement facts would be the same.

relation and its spell-out is always the same.) By contrast, aspectual participles that are not in the same domain as the nominative do not agree. In (30), the nominative object is embedded inside of a raising clause and the participle and verb in the main clause are in the default form.

- (30) *Mér var/*voru farið/*farnir að leiðast*
 me.dat was(dft) /*3pl gone (dft)/*3pl to bore(Inf)
*þeir.*²⁰
 they(N.masc.pl)
 ‘I had begun to be bored by them.’

This is what we would expect, given that non-auxiliary matrix verbs do not, by themselves, agree with nominative objects that are in distinct domains. In (31), the matrix verb cannot agree with the nominative object inside of the control clause.

- (31) *Krökkunum líkar/*líka að áskotnast nýir litir.*
 the-kids(D.pl) like(dft.)/*pl. to get(Inf.) new crayons(N.
 pl.)
 ‘The kids like to get new crayons.’

Equidistance is derived in (27) because the presence of the participle prevents the dative from moving to Spec,VP. As such, the nominative is equally close when T probes and we get obligatory agreement. In essence, participles agree with nominatives in their domain.²¹

We should also note that the current analysis makes predictions about agreement in active dat-nom constructions, as does Wood and Sigurðsson’s (2014) proposal. Since the dative intervenes in asymmetric constructions, we would expect that speakers who display intervention effects in these constructions would not show these same effects in symmetric constructions, since the nominative is equally close. Yet, there are speakers who do indeed exhibit intervention effects in both kinds of constructions. Building on Sigurðsson and Holmberg’s (2008) derivational timing proposal (discussed in

²⁰ Thank you to a reviewer for providing this example and for suggesting investigation into the domain restrictions on participle agreement.

²¹ There is an obvious prediction which will require future research to confirm. If there is a preference for participle agreement in general, speakers who allow both the agreeing and default forms of main verbs in dat-nom actives should show a preference for the agreeing form of aspectual participles in parallel constructions.

Section 2), we argue that there is variation in when the applicative head moves to V. For speakers who show intervention effects, this movement will occur after ϕ -probing for agreement. At this point, the dative is higher and the same intervention effects that apply in asymmetric constructions hold.²²

We have illustrated that combining covaluation and the absence of a dative intervention effect delivers the morphology found in Icelandic passives. In the next section, we outline an alternative based on these same principles, but with a fundamentally different assumption about the nature of passive constructions in general.

4. An Alternative: Smuggling

4.1. Collins's (2005) Proposal

While the standard analysis of passives is based on the idea that they are structurally distinct from actives, Collins (2005) revives the idea that passives are derived from their active counterparts, as argued for in Chomsky 1957. The more familiar, principles and parameters-based, analysis is that the passive morphology absorbs both the external theta role that would be assigned to the subject in the active counterpart and the accusative case that would be assigned to the object (e.g., Jaeggli 1986; Baker, Johnson, and Roberts 1989; among others). If there is an overt agent, it is merged in an adjunct *by*-phrase. As such, the semantic subject never occupies the position that agents in active sentences occupy. Collins (2005) takes issue with this latter assumption that has become a tenet of passive analyses, at least for English. Collins (2005) argues that generating the agent in different syntactic positions in actives and passives violates the Uniformity of Theta-Assignment Hypothesis (Baker 1988/1997), which states that arguments that have the same theta role occupy the same structural position. Collins's (2005) goal is to capture this idea while maintaining core assumptions that have been

²² A reviewer also points out that the proposal predicts non-agreement with nominative objects in asymmetric dat-nom passives, if they exist. Indeed, these constructions are not attested. As discussed in Zaenan, Maling, Thráinsson (1985), passives in Icelandic fall into two categories, those which allow either post-verbal DP to passivize and those which allow only the first post-verbal DP to passivize. In order to deliver an asymmetric dat-nom passive, actives with a nom-acc-dat case frame would have to allow only the second post-verbal DP to passivize, and this is not attested.

a long-standing element of syntactic theory, namely that there are not downward movement operations or construction-specific rules. The core elements of Collins's (2005) proposal are that the agent is merged in the specifier of *v*P in both actives and passives and the object is "smuggled" higher than the subject.

The idea that both actives and passives in Icelandic contain the same *v* head is independently argued for in Svenonius 2006. Svenonius's (2006) goal is to account for the retention of dative and the loss of accusative in passives, especially as opposed to the loss of dative (as well as accusative) in middle constructions such as shown in (32)b. (We use 'retention' and 'loss' here in a descriptive, atheoretical way.)

(32) a. Ég týndi úrinu.
I(N) lost the-watch(D)
'I lost the watch.'

b. Úrið týndist.
the.watch.nom lost.middle
'The watch got lost.' (Svenonius 2006, EX 4)

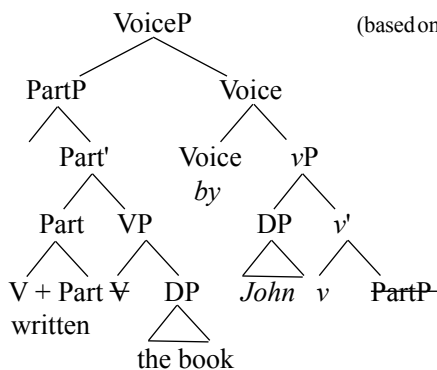
-*St* constructions, such as in (32)b, in Icelandic have a variety of interpretations, including middle, reflexive, reciprocal, passive, and inchoative (see discussion in Thráinsson 2007 and Wood 2014). Even though passives and -*st* constructions can have similar meanings, there are some pertinent differences. While passives imply the existence of an external argument even if there is no *by*-phrase, middles in Icelandic do not imply an external argument and do not allow a *by*-phrase. Even so, Svenonius (2006) argues that case-preserving constructions always involve a *v* head even if there is no expressed (or implied) external argument. As such, Icelandic passives also have a *v* head. There are additional details relating to argument structure discussed in Svenonius (2006) that we do not review here. The relevant point for us is that Svenonius's (2006) proposal provides precedent for the idea that actives and passives are structurally similar in Icelandic, just as Collins (2005) proposes that actives and passives are structurally similar in English.²³

²³ Svenonius (2006) does not discuss agreement morphology, but we would like to note that -*st* forms pattern morphologically like verbs in active dat-nom constructions. Agreement is optional in (i); the intervention effect that applies in active dat-nom constructions also applies here:

There are five primary elements of Collins' (2005) proposal: (1) the semantic object is merged as sister to the verb inside of a Participial Phrase, PartP, which is the complement to *v*; (2) the agent is merged in Spec, *v*P, just as in actives; (3) the semantically empty — and sometimes phonetically null — preposition *by* heads VoiceP, and is selected for by *v*P; (4) PartP moves to the specifier of VoiceP, which positions the semantic object higher than the semantic subject; and (5) the semantic object moves to the syntactic subject position.

Below, we see the stages of the derivation illustrated for Collins's (2005) example (1b), *The book was written by John*. Head movement combines the main verb and the participial affix and *v* is merged as the sister to PartP, just as we saw in the derivations above. The fundamental difference, though, is that instead of VoiceP being headed by a null expletive, VoiceP is headed by the preposition *by* and the agent is merged in Spec, *v*P. Collins (2005) likens *by* to the prepositional complementizer *for* and proposes that *by* assigns case to the subject under *c*-command. (See Collins 2005:107-110 for discussion regarding the fact that the preposition and the agent do not form a constituent.) The crucial component of the analysis is shown in (33), in which PartP moves to Spec, VoiceP and “smuggles” the object past the subject.

(33) (based on Collins 2005, Ex 22/30)



Smuggling is defined in (34) and has the consequence of avoiding a Minimal Link Condition violation by positioning the object as the closest DP to the tense/inflection head.

- (i) Einhverjum þjófum fyrirgafst/fyrirgáfust allir glæpirnir.
 some thieves(D.pl) (were) forgiven(dft/3pl) all the-crimes(N.pl)
 'Some thieves were forgiven all crimes.'

- (34) Smuggling: Z [_{YP} XP] W <[_{VP} XP]> YP smuggles
 XP past W; Z probes XP

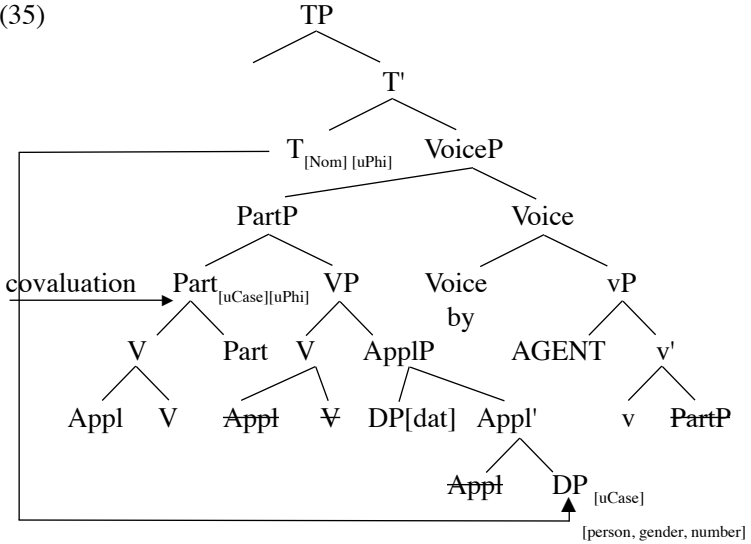
Collins (2005) argues that there is no difference between the passive participle and the past participle, and as such, both head PartP. The only difference for Collins (2005) is that the past participle is licensed by being c-selected by the auxiliary and the passive participle is licensed by moving to Spec, VoiceP (Collins 2005:90). Recall that in Section 3.3, we argued that the passive participle and the aspectual participle also pattern the same way in Icelandic.

While Collins' (2005) proposal successfully accomplishes both merging the agent in the same position as in actives and obtaining the right word order, this analysis is not without controversy. It is in stark contrast to the widely-accepted core of the analysis advanced in Jaeggli 1986 and Baker, Johnson, and Roberts 1989 that passives and actives have fundamentally different structures. Additionally, it is not quite clear what restricts smuggling and overgeneration of illicit structures, as noted by Jónsson (2009a). It is beyond the scope of this paper to address those critiques. However, as we illustrate below, this proposal might be extended to Icelandic with a few adjustments.

4.2. Extension to Icelandic

The structure in (35) reflects the core ideas in both Wood and Sigurðsson 2014 and Collins 2005. Again, both objects are merged inside ApplP, which Collins (2005:105) also takes as the structure for ditransitives. We still must allow for either DP to move to subject position, so the Appl head moves to V. As in the above derivations, the Appl+V complex moves to the Part head. The agent is merged in the specifier of vP, which is the sister to Voice. Voice is headed by the preposition *by* (*af* in Icelandic) and assigns case to the semantic subject. PartP moves to the specifier of VoiceP. This has the consequence of placing both objects higher than the subject. As on the previous proposal, either object can move to the subject position, and this movement is independent of the case-phi relationship that T establishes with the second object.

(35)



In addition to general questions regarding the motivation for and constraints on smuggling, there are also some differences with respect to the *by*-phrase in English and Icelandic that might make the smuggling approach less tenable in the latter.²⁴ First, as discussed in Thráinsson 2007, Eythórsson 2008, Sigurðsson 2011, *by*-phrases are more marked in Icelandic than in English passives. For instance, when they are present, *by*-phrases in Icelandic generally require an agent, as opposed to a causer. We might, therefore, question the motivation for constructing an analysis which centers around the position of the semantic agent when the overt realization of the agent is marked and subject to thematic restrictions. Even when there is no *by*-phrase in English, the two languages still pattern differently. While English allows depictives which modify a null agent, Jónsson (2009a) points out that the comparable Icelandic constructions are ungrammatical.

(36) a. At the commune, breakfast is usually eaten nude.
(Collins 2005, EX 43b)

b. *Morgunmatur er alltaf borðaður nakinn
breakfast is always eaten naked (N.masc.sg.)
(Jónsson 2009a, EX 35a)

²⁴ See Bruening (2013) for a detailed discussion of the properties of *by*-phrases in English.

The masculine singular nominative form in (36)b is the form used to modify arbitrary PRO and Jónsson (2009a) also notes that this example would become worse if the adjective showed morphology to agree with the null subject in this passive sentence. Given the general and the Icelandic-specific issues with generating the agent in Spec.vP and with smuggling, it might seem that extending this approach is for naught. However, in the next section we show that it could possibly be applied to the new passive/new impersonal construction.

4.3. Extension to New Passive/New Impersonal

As illustrated in (7), some Icelandic speakers use a different kind of passive-like construction. The examples are repeated here as (37).

- (37) a. %Það var barið þá í gær.
 it was(dft) hit.dft them(A.masc.pl) in yesterday
 ‘They were hit yesterday.’ (Sigurðsson 2011, EX 8a)
- b. %Það var sýnt þeim bæklinga
 there was.dft shown.dft them.dat brochures(Acc.pl)
 áður en þau fóru.
 before they left
 ‘They were shown brochures before they left.’
 (Jónsson 2009a, EX 41a)

The properties of these constructions have been described and their status has been debated in the literature (see references in Section 1). Descriptively, constructions such as (37) have the following characteristics: no NP movement of the direct object (though we will see below that an indirect object is argued to move); accusative case on the object; and no auxiliary or participle agreement (Sigurðsson 2011:153).

As discussed in Section 1, the controversy surrounding sentences such as in (37) revolves around whether they are active or passive constructions. The active analysis proposed by Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002 (and subsequent work) is based on comparative patterns in Polish and Ukrainian and on a large-scale survey of 1895 Icelandic speakers. On this proposal, a silent subject occupies the subject position. The schematic in (38)a is proposed by Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir (2002), while the schematic in (38)b is presented by

Jónsson (2009a) in order to highlight the position of the expletive on the active analysis.

(38) a. [IP pro [Tense/Agr] [VP V NP]]
 (Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, EX 6b)

b. það var [IP pro [VP barið mig]]
 there was hit me(A)(Jónsson 2009a, EX 11)

Like Eythórsson (2008) and Sigurðsson (2011),²⁵ Jónsson (2009a) argues against the active analysis. In particular, Jónsson (2009a) takes (39) as providing strong evidence against this proposal. The indirect object here is in subject position, as evidenced by the auxiliary inverting with it to form a question. Since the indirect object occupies the subject position, there is ostensibly no position for the null thematic subject.

(39) %Var þeim ekki einu sinni sýnt
 was(dft) them(D) not even shown(dft)
 íbúðina first?
 the.apartment(A) first
 ‘Were they not even shown the apartment first?’
 (Jónsson 2009a, EX 41b)

Jónsson (2009) suggests a modification to the active analysis in which the null subject occupies a lower subject position, such as the position of *einhver* ‘somebody’ in the expletive variant of a ditransitive in (40).

(40) Það hafði einhver sýnt þeim íbúðina
 there had somebody(N)shown(dft) them(D) the.apartment(A)
 (Jónsson 2009a, EX 42)

We should note here that in previous work, Jónsson (1996) argues against the clause-initial position of *það* shown in (38). While there is debate about the position of expletives in Icelandic and cross-linguistically (see Thráinsson 2007:309-340 and references therein),

²⁵ Though Sigurðsson (2011) does not argue for a “fully passive” analysis either. For him, the New Passive is “an unusually active passive.” (p.160)

Jónsson (1996:46-50) provides three arguments for placing the Icelandic expletive in Spec,IP as opposed to a clause-initial position. First, while *það* appears freely in embedded clauses, embedded topicalization is quite restricted. Second, *það* and theta-marked subjects appear to the right of the main clause complementizer *ætti*; topicalized items cannot appear in this position. Third, items can be extracted out of clauses containing *það*, but not out of clauses in which topicalization has occurred. These distributional facts strongly suggest that *það* does not occupy Spec,CP. Given the position of *það* in Spec,IP, (38) would, therefore, have the structure in (41).

- (41) [IP *það* var [pro [VP *barið mig*]]
 there was hit me(A)

Therefore, in (39), *þeim* would occupy the position of *það* in (41) and the silent subject would be in the lower position.

However, Jónsson (2009a) observes that if a null subject occupies the lower subject position in (39), then there would be illegal (Minimal Link-violating) movement of the indirect object over the subject. Jónsson (2009a) goes on to note that Collins's (2005) proposal might be employed to solve this problem, but states that it results in the wrong order. We suggest the derivation in (42) for the sentence in (37b) and this structure does seem to deliver the right order.

- (42) a. [IP_{expl} was [VoiceP [vP_{pro} [PartP shown them brochures]]]]
 b. [IP_{expl} was [VoiceP [PartP_i shown them brochures] [vP_{pro} [t_i]]]]

In (42), the null subject occupies Spec,_vP. This is precisely what Collins argues is the structure of short passives. Collins (2005) proposes that these passives without a *by*-phrase have the same structure as the long passives and also involve PartP movement to Spec, VoiceP (see Collins 2005:101-104 for discussion). Additionally, a structure such as (42) delivers the word order in new passive constructions that have a *by*-phrase, as in (43) and (44).

- (43) #*það* var skoðað bílinn af bifvélavirkjanum.
 it was inspected the-car(A) by the-mechanic
 ‘The car was inspected by the mechanic.’

(Jónsson 2009a, EX 24a)

- (44) a. [IP expl was [VoiceP by [vP the mechanic [PartP inspected the car]]]]
 b. [IP expl was [VoiceP [PartPi inspected the car] by [vP the mechanic [ti]]]]

While *by*-phrases are more marked in the new passive than in the traditional passive, (43) is acceptable to some speakers and (44) can account for this.

This is not to say that there are not problems with this proposal. The arguments against the (fully) active analysis and the predictions it makes are discussed in detail in the references above.²⁶ Likewise, the problems associated with the nature of the *by*-phrase in Icelandic still obtain. Perhaps what is most problematic, though, is that there is another way of thinking about the construction in (39). Árnadóttir and Sigurðsson (2012) propose that this construction is actually a dat-acc passive—and not a new passive/new impersonal. Though marginal for many speakers, both dat-acc active sentences, such as (45)a and dat-acc passive sentences such as (45)b are attested among some younger Icelandic speakers.

- (45) a. Mér líkar bílana.
 me.(D.sg) likes(dft) the-cars(A.pl.)
 ‘I like the cars.’
- b. Mér var gefið bílana
 me.(D.sg) was(dft) given(dft) the-cars(A.m.pl.)
 ‘I was given the cars.’
 (Árnadóttir and Sigurðsson 2012, EX 10c)

In (45)c, we see that the dative has passivized and is in subject position. It is, therefore, plausible that this is precisely what has happened in (39) prior to question inversion. If this is so, then we are dealing with a passive that behaves normally with respect to movement,

²⁶ Sigurðsson (2011), for instance, adopts the arguments against the active analysis presented in Eythórssón 2008 and proposes that accusative surfaces because the * feature that is deleted from v* in traditional passives is not deleted in the new passive. As such, the new passive has some properties of an active construction. In a similar vein, Eythórssón (2008) proposes that the case on the object in passives is a matter of parametric variation with respect to the case-assigning properties of heads that take VP complements. In the new passive, that head would have to be parameterized to assign accusative.

and the problem that the smuggling analysis addresses actually doesn't exist. Given the loss of this potential benefit, coupled with the challenges associated with the smuggling account in general and the smuggling account as applied to standard Icelandic passives, it seems that this approach is not tenable. The equidistance account is the better analysis.

5. Conclusion

This article achieves three primary goals. First, we account for the contrast between active and passive constructions. Crucially, we argue that the intervention effect that arises in the active is not present in the passive, and this is accomplished using either the equidistance approach or the smuggling approach. Second, we account for the morphology of the passive participle by employing the idea of covaluation. Third, we show that the equidistance approach is more suited to Icelandic passives than is the smuggling approach.

An additional complexity remains. It is our understanding that a small set of speakers can use the default forms of the auxiliary and the participle together in the traditional passive. This appears to be quite marked, though, and it is not clear whether these speakers also use the new passive/new impersonal. If these are the same speakers, then it is plausible that there is a bleeding-over effect from one construction to the other. We do not know of speakers, though, who mix the agreeing form of the auxiliary with the default form of the participle or vice versa, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (5) and (6). While the covaluation portion of the present proposal predicts the absence of such mixing, we leave to future research an investigation of whether the absence of agreement in the new passive affects speakers' use of the traditional passive.

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