

Absence of syntactic passive in creoles: Evidence from French-based Mauritian Creole

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Abstract

This article examines passive-type constructions in Mauritian Creole, arguing that they are topic, not passive constructions. I claim that their initial argument (the displaced object) occupies the specifier position of a Topic Phrase, not the structural subject position. This proposal is motivated by the fact that nothing at the surface identifies the displaced object as a grammatical subject, except its position relative to an auxiliary or verb. The topic analysis is supported by both semantic restrictions relating to specificity and animacy and syntactic restrictions relating to distribution (word order) and coordination. It is also supported by the fact that these same restrictions do not apply in unaccusatives, a structurally similar type of construction. The important contribution of this article is that passive-type constructions in Mauritian Creole are ‘apparent’ rather ‘real’ passives, with the wider implication being that creoles, like many languages, do not use canonical passives to express passive meaning.

Keywords: Passive, Transitive OV constructions, theme topic, topicalization, unaccusative

Résumé

Cet article examine les constructions de type passif en créole mauricien, en soutenant qu’il s’agit de constructions topicales et non passives. Je soutiens que leur argument initial (l’objet déplacé) occupe la position de spécifieur d’un syntagme du topique (TopP), et non la position de sujet structurel. Cette proposition est motivée par le fait que rien à la surface n’identifie l’objet déplacé comme étant un sujet grammatical, à l’exception de sa position relative à un auxiliaire ou à un verbe. L’analyse du sujet est soutenue par des restrictions sémantiques relatives à la spécificité et à la catégorie animé/inanimé ainsi que par des restrictions syntaxiques relatives à la distribution (ordre des mots) et à la coordination. Elle est également étayée par le fait que ces mêmes restrictions ne s’appliquent pas aux verbes inaccusatifs, un type de construction structurellement similaire. La contribution importante de cet article est que les constructions de type passif en créole mauricien sont des passives « apparentes » plutôt que des passives « réelles », impliquant que les créoles, comme beaucoup de langues, n’utilisent pas les passives canoniques pour exprimer le sens passif.

Mots-clés: Passifs, constructions OV transitives, thème, topicalisation, inaccusatifs

1. INTRODUCTION

In the absence of analogues of European passive markers in creole languages, creole O-(Aux)-V constructions, where V is transitive, can present an interesting analytic dilemma.¹ Although the O (object) is readily interpreted as the complement of the verb, its surface syntactic position is nevertheless far from obvious because theoretically, there are two structural positions that can host it. One is the structural subject position (a core argument position), the other a topic position (a clause-peripheral non-argument position). If the object occupies the former position, then, within the framework of transformational generative grammar (Chomsky 1981, for instance), it is said to have moved there as a result of passivization (an instance of A-movement), whereas if it occupies the latter position, it is said to have moved there via topicalization (an instance of A-bar movement). On the former assumption, the O-(Aux)-V structure is effectively passive, on the latter it is a topic construction. Notwithstanding this potential structural ambiguity, a number of studies (see e.g. Corne 1977, 1981; Winford 1993; LaCharité and Wellington 1999; Veenstra 2004; DeGraff 2007; and Velupillai 2015, among others) have suggested that these constructions are passive, thus challenging the traditional claim that creoles lack passive (see, for instance, Baissac 1880, Valdman 1978, Bickerton 1981, and Holm 1988, among others). This paper, however, explores an alternative to the passive analysis and argues that the displaced theme object is in topic, not subject, position. Such a proposal is of course controversial, but it cannot be dismissed *a priori*, for nothing on the surface suggests that the initial theme argument must be a grammatical subject, except its surface position relative to the auxiliary (tense, mood, aspect markers) and verb. The usual markers of subject (e.g., agreement inflection on auxiliary or verb and case inflection on subject pronoun) have not been retained in creoles, although a few rare occurrences have been noted.² In support of the topic analysis, I examine passive-type (henceforth transitive OV) constructions in French-based Mauritian Creole.³ I argue that there are certain semantic restrictions

¹The following abbreviations are used: ACC (accusative), AspP (Aspectual Phrase), Aux (auxiliary), DEF (definite), DEM (demonstrative), FinP (Finite Phrase), FocP (Focus Phrase), FUT (future), INDF (indefinite), INFL (inflection), IP (Inflectional Phrase), LOC (locative), NEG (negative), NOM (nominative), O (object), PASS (passive), PL (plural), POSS (possessive), PRF (perfect), PROG (progressive), PST (past), RecP (reciprocal), REL (relative), SG (singular), TOP (topic), TopP (Topic Phrase), TP (Tense Phrase), V (verb).

²Examples with weak/nominative form of theme subject pronoun do occur in Mauritian and Seychelles Creole but are limited to a few verbs (e.g., *invite* 'invite', *peye* 'pay' but not *apele* 'call', *apre* 'chase' and so on).

(i)	mo	(ti)	invite	sa	fet	la	(ii)	*to	(ti)	apele	minister
	1SG	PST	invite	DEM	festival	DEF		2SG	PST	call	ministry
	'I was invited to that festival.'						'You were called to the ministry.'				

³Corne (1981) provides an early analysis of such constructions in terms of phrase structure rules. Crucially, he takes passive verbs to be adjectives derived from verbs because they fail to drop their verb-final vowel. However, the loss of this vowel, as argued in Syea (1992), is a structural, not lexical, matter.

on the displaced object to do with specificity (definiteness) and animacy and certain syntactic restrictions to do with distribution (word order) and coordination that can be accounted for relatively straightforwardly if the displaced object is analyzed as a theme topic rather than a nominative subject.

In proposing a topic analysis of transitive OV constructions in Mauritian Creole, this paper suggests that passivization may be an option that creole languages generally tend to avoid when foregrounding the object of a transitive verb, partly because, in the absence of a detransitivizing (passive) morpheme, it often results in structures with processing difficulties, particularly if the object is animate, and partly because other strategies for expressing a passive meaning such as suppressing the subject of active sentences or using verbs of reception like English *get* may have been available in the input (see Keenan and Dryer 2007 for discussion of such strategies). Cases of true passives, including those with a *by*-phrase, are consequently thought to be rare and restricted to acrolectal varieties (i.e., those strongly influenced by their lexifiers) (Bickerton 1981) and, surprisingly, to earlier stages of creoles.⁴ As a consequence, the application of A-movement in creoles may be said to be generally restricted to unaccusative and raising constructions.⁵

The rest of the article is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a brief theoretical background by outlining the analysis of passive and topic constructions in English within the framework of transformational generative grammar (Chomsky 1981, Burzio 1986, Rizzi 1997, among others). Section 3 presents examples of transitive OV constructions from a few creoles and briefly reviews the passive analysis outlined in LaCharité and Wellington (1999) before outlining an alternative topic analysis. Using data from Mauritian Creole, section 4 examines the semantic and syntactic restrictions on the initial theme argument in these constructions and demonstrates that they follow naturally on the hypothesis that this argument is in topic, not subject, position. Section 5 provides further evidence for this analysis based on syntactic restrictions relating to phenomena such as word order restrictions on the fronted object and coordination. Section 6 considers the implication of such an approach to transitive OV constructions for creole grammars, and section 7 concludes the discussion.

2. PASSIVE AND TOPIC CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH

Syntactic (canonical) passives in a language such as English or French surface in two different forms. They are either long, as illustrated by (1a) from English and (2a) from

⁴Baissac (1880: 42) for instance has the following example:

Tout lanouite mo disang té manzé av pinézes
All night 1SG.POSS blood PST eat by bedbugs
'I was bitten by bedbugs all night.'

⁵This traditional view is challenged by the list of creoles reported to have passive constructions by APiCS (Michaelis et al., 2013), but whether all of these are 'real' or 'apparent' passive remains an open question for now.

French, or short, as illustrated by (1b) and (2b) from English and French respectively. The difference lies in whether they use a *by*-phrase or not:

- (1) a. The car was repaired by John.
b. The car was repaired.
- (2) a. La voiture a été réparée par Jean.
‘The car was repaired by John.’
b. La voiture a été réparée.
‘The car was repaired.’

One property of passive constructions is that their surface theme subject is understood as the logical object of the verb. This is clear from the fact that the object position left empty after the object has been displaced cannot be filled by another theme NP. Examples such as (3a) and (3b) are therefore unintelligible or ungrammatical since they violate the principle of Full Interpretation (Chomsky 1986) or the Case Filter (Chomsky 1981).

- (3) a. * The car was repaired the bus (by John)
b. * La voiture a été réparée l’autobus (par Jean)
‘The car was repaired the bus (by John).’

A second property of passive constructions is that their verb is morphologically inflected with a passive participle form *-en/-ed* in English (e.g., *stol-en*, *writt-en*, *repair-ed*, and so on) and *é* in French (e.g., *lav-é* ‘washed’, *répar-é* ‘repaired’, *donn-é* ‘given’, and so on). A third property, related to the second one, is that they have an auxiliary, *be* in English and *être* ‘to be’ in French, that accompanies the passive participle suffix on the verb, thus displaying a periphrastic passive form. In many languages, however, an auxiliary is not used, and the passive form is signalled by morphology alone. In other words, they have what Keenan and Dryer (2007: 7) call “strict morphological passives”. A further property is that they may have an optional agent *by*-phrase. Whenever this agent *by*-phrase is not present, as in short passives, an agent argument is assumed to be implicitly present (Baker et al. 1989), an assumption that is claimed to be supported by the fact that it can control the null subject of a rationale clause as in *The ship was sunk to collect insurance* and it can occur with a subject-oriented adverb such as *deliberately* as in *The ship was deliberately sunk*.

The analysis of passive within the framework of transformational generative grammar (e.g., Chomsky 1981, Burzio 1986, among others) argues that the displaced theme object in examples like (1) and (2) moves from its canonical object position to a base-generated empty subject position. This movement is necessitated by the fact that the passive verb cannot assign a theta role to its subject and an accusative case to its object. Movement of the object thus takes place in accordance with the Case Filter and the Theta Criterion (Chomsky 1981, Burzio 1986, Jaeggli 1986, Baker et al. 1989) as the moved object NP receives nominative case in the derived subject position but no additional theta role.

As for topic constructions in a language like English, they are also derived by movement of a clause-internal constituent but to a non-argument position on the left periphery of the clause, not the structural subject position. The moved constituent is linked to a gap (____) in the comment clause, as illustrated in (4):

- (4) a. These books, I bought ____ for my daughter
 b. Him, we see ____ everyday at school

In an example like (4a), the fronted object NP *these books* is the topic, and it names an individual (person, object, etc.) already present in the universe of discourse (Kiss 2003: 36). The clause *I bought ____ for my daughter* in that sentence is the comment, and it asserts something about the topic *these books*. The topic NP is linked to the gap (the position from which it has moved) inside the comment. In Rizzi's (1997) Cartographic framework, which we adopt here, when a constituent is topicalized, it targets the specifier of a Topic Phrase (TopP), one of several functional projections on the left periphery. Movement in this case is triggered by a feature (e.g., [+Top]) on the head of TopP and it is in this respect similar to other types of A-bar movement (e.g., *wh*-movement), which are also triggered by some feature on the head of some functional projection. Thus, when a *wh*-phrase moves to form a *wh*-question such as *What will you tell them?* it targets the specifier of Focus Phrase (FocP) on the left periphery, and movement is triggered by the [+Foc] feature on its head. The similarity between topic and *wh*-movement is also illustrated among other things by the fact that they both display similar reconstruction effects for Binding Principle C (Chomsky 1981), as shown in the following:

- (5) a. * Mary_i she_i loves ____
 b. * Who_i does she_i love ____ ?

Both these sentences end up violating Binding Principle C when the fronted constituents (R-expressions) are moved back into their original base-generated object position.

With this brief overview of some of the basic properties and derivation of passive and topic constructions in English in mind, let us now turn to consider some examples of transitive OV constructions in creoles. We will, however, focus mainly on such constructions in Mauritian Creole.

3. TRANSITIVE OV CONSTRUCTIONS IN CREOLES

As illustrated below, Mauritian Creole, like other creoles, has sentences which, at the surface, resemble English or French short passives.⁶ The initial argument, just like those in (1b) and (2b), is understood as the semantic object of the verb. Such sentences, as noted earlier, have been identified as passive in several studies (see

⁶See APiCS (Michaelis et al. 2013) for a list of pidgins and creoles which are said to have what have been identified as passive constructions.

Corne 1977, 1981; Winford 1993; LaCharité and Wellington 1999; Veenstra 2004; DeGraff 2007; and Velupillai 2015).⁷

- (6) a. loto la finn met dan garaz
car DEF PRF put in garage
'The car has been put in the garage.' (Mauritian Creole)
- b. to semiz pe kud
2SG.POSS shirt PROG sew
'Your shirt is being sewn.' (Mauritian Creole)
- c. loto-a lavé
car-DEF wash
'The car has been washed' (Guyanese Creole; Damoiseau 2003: 15)
- d. lakou-la/a balyé
court-DEF brush
'The front court has been brushed.'
(Guadeloupe/Martinique Creole; Bernabé 1983: 395)
- e. di fisi kóti kaa
DEF fish cut already
'The fish has already been cut.'
(Saramaccan; McWhorter and Good 2012: 165)
- f. di eg-dem mash
DEF egg-PL mash
'The eggs have been mashed.' (Jamaican Creole; Bailey 1966: 81)
- g. di buk put pan di tebl
DEF book put on DEF table
'The book was put on the table.'
(Jamaican Creole; LaCharité and Wellington 1999: 260)
- h. di leta rait
DEF letter write
'The letter was written.' (Jamaican Creole; LaCharité and Wellington 1999: 260)

A brief examination of such examples reveals that, unlike their English and French counterparts, they do not have an auxiliary (the equivalent of the English auxiliary *be* or French *être* 'to be') nor a passive participle suffix on the verb.⁸

⁷The examples from Mauritian Creole in this paper come from the author, who is a native speaker of this language.

⁸Some French-based creoles display short and long verb forms (e.g., *fe/fet* 'do/make' [Haitian, Martinican, Guadeloupean], *pwan/pwi* 'take' [Martinican, Guadeloupean] and *manz/manze* 'eat' [Mauritian Creole]). DeGraff (2007) suggests that the extra segment reflects a grammatical-function change in syntax, while Syea (1992) argues that in Mauritian Creole, the alternation reflects a structural distinction, with the short form used with complements (e.g., *sant/*sante dusman* 'sing quietly') and the long form with adjuncts (e.g., *sante/*sant tulezur* 'sing everyday').

Additionally, they almost never have a *by*-phrase.⁹ Constructions with a *by*-phrase, like those in (7), are ungrammatical or rare, and usually restricted to acrolectal varieties (see Bernabé 1983).¹⁰

- (7) a. * loto la finn met dan garaz par Zan
 car DEF PRF put in garage by John
 ‘The car has been/was put in the garage by John.’ (Mauritian Creole)
- b. * on lòt mèb ka fèt pa Pyè
 INDF other furniture PRF make by Peter
 ‘Another piece of furniture was made by Peter.’ (Martinican; Bernabé 1983: 386)
- c. * di wòsu fèifi u mi
 DEF house paint by 1SG
 ‘The house was painted by me.’ (Saramaccan; McWhorter and Good 2012: 165)

This being so, the only property of English or French short passives that these creole transitive OV constructions possess is a change in the position of the object NP. It precedes rather than follows the verb (and its auxiliary). This change is what lies behind the assertion that creoles have passive (see Winford 1993, LaCharité and Wellington 1999, and DeGraff 2007, among others), and it provides much of the justification for the passive analysis proposed in LaCharité and Wellington (1999) for OV constructions such as (6f–h) in Jamaican Creole. Nevertheless, in the absence of any other kind of clear indicator that the displaced object is in subject position, the possibility of an alternative topic analysis cannot be ruled out. First, we briefly review LaCharité and Wellington’s (1999) analysis.

3.1 A passive analysis of transitive OV constructions

Working within Chomsky’s (1981) framework, LaCharité and Wellington (1999) argue that constructions like (6f–h) in Jamaican Creole are passive. Their central assumption is that these constructions have a phonologically null, but syntactically active, argumental passive morpheme (the equivalent of English passive *-en*) under INFL. Following previous analyses of passives (see Chomsky 1981, Burzio 1986, Jaeggli 1986, and Baker et al. 1989), they argue that this abstract argument (PASSIVE) ‘absorbs’ the verb’s accusative case and its external theta role. Consequently, the object NP moves into the structural subject position, a case-marked non-theta position, in compliance with the Case Filter (Chomsky and

⁹Papiamentu exceptionally has periphrastic passives while Fanakalo has a passive verbal inflection (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1994).

¹⁰This is so in Mauritian Creole even when the *by*-phrase has an indefinite, phonologically heavy or collective agent NP:

*Loto la ti met dan garaz par enn madam/madam ki ti pe asiz laba la/ konpagni
 Car DEF PST put in garage by a lady/ lady REL PST PROG sit there DEF/company
 ‘The car was put in the garage by a woman/ the woman who was sitting there/the company.’

Lasnik 1977) and the Theta Criterion (Chomsky 1981, Burzio 1986). A sentence like (6g) is therefore represented as in (8):

- (8) [IP [NP_i di buk] [INFL PASS-en] [VP put t_i pan di tebl]]

This account looks theoretically plausible and is consistent with the principle of Uniformity (Chomsky 2001: 2).¹¹ Creoles are after all natural languages, and the difference between them and their lexifiers concerning passive lies in the phonological form of the passive argumental morpheme, covert in creoles and overt in their lexifiers.

Although the analysis of LaCharité and Wellington (1999) seems theoretically well grounded and extendable to similar OV constructions in other creoles, it does nevertheless face some empirical difficulties, particularly when we consider examples similar to (6f–h) in Mauritian Creole. The passive analysis seems particularly problematic when we consider semantic restrictions on the displaced theme object and syntactic restrictions on its position relative to other constituents (e.g., fronted *wh*-phrases and negative adverbial phrases) and its distribution (ability to coordinate with unaccusatives). Such difficulties, as we show, do not arise under the alternative topic analysis. Rather, the semantic properties and syntactic restrictions follow naturally.

3.2 A topic analysis of transitive OV constructions

Following the Cartographic guidelines in Rizzi (1997) and drawing on data mainly from Mauritian Creole, we propose that the displaced theme object in examples like (6 a–b) occupies the specifier of a topic phrase (TopP) and is linked to a topic-gap (trace) in the canonical object position, an instance of topicalization (Ross 1967), as illustrated by (9):

- (9) [TopP OBJ_i TOP [+Top] [FocP [FinP [pro_{imp}] AUX V t_i]]]

The theme object is attracted to the specifier position of TopP by the [+Top] feature on its head. Under this analysis, a structure like (9) is transferred to the interfaces for semantic and phonological interpretation. Importantly, its interpretation at the semantics-discourse interface involves locating some discourse-linked antecedent. Such a search, according to Reinhart (1981), can be construed as an instruction to the hearer to access their mental representation concerning the individual/entity in question, and then add the salient information to the open clause (FinP). A pragmatic ‘aboutness’ relation (Reinhart 1981) then holds between the topic NP and the open clause (the comment).¹² The comment is then ‘about’ the topic phrase as it asserts something about it.

A further assumption concerning the structure in (9) is that the subject position is not empty, as it would be in the case of passive in the underlying structure. Rather, it is filled with an impersonal null pronoun (represented as pro_{imp}) functioning as the external argument of an active transitive verb in the open/comment clause. Finite clauses

¹¹The Uniformity hypothesis essentially says that in the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances.

¹²The topic in (9) may be identified as the ‘Aboutness topic’ of Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007).

with an unexpressed impersonal subject and a transitive verb are common in Mauritian Creole, both as independent and complement clauses, and they have a structure similar to that of the open clause in (9) but with the object remaining in situ, as shown in (10):

- (10) [FinP [*pro_{imp}*] AUX V OBJ]

The following examples illustrate matrix and embedded sentences with unexpressed impersonal subject:

- (11) a. *ti donn bann zanfan la kado*
 PST give PL child DEF present
 ‘Someone/They gave the children presents.’
 b. *ki bis ti pran avan pu al lenor?*
 what bus PST take before for go North
 ‘What bus did they/people (used to) take before to go up North?’
- (12) a. *li ti dir [(ki) ti donn bann zanfan la kado]*
 3SG PST say that PST give PL child DEF present
 ‘S/he said that someone/they gave the children presents.’
 b. *to kone [ki bis (ki) ti pran avan pu al lenor]*
 2SG know which bus that PST take before for go North
 ‘Do you know which bus they/people used to take/took before to go up North?’

The unexpressed subject in such finite sentences is a non-referential/non-specific pronoun like the indefinite pronoun ‘someone’ or the impersonal/arbitrary indefinite third person plural pronoun ‘they’ in English. And, as shown by the glosses in (11b) and (12b), it can also be glossed as an arbitrary indefinite NP, namely ‘people’. In this respect, the unexpressed subject in these sentences is similar in its interpretation to the unexpressed subject of impersonal constructions in other languages (e.g., Spanish (Jaeggli 1986), Italian (Cinque 1988), Irish (McCloskey 2007), Lithuanian (Šereikaite 2017), and so on). It is generally construed as some unspecified individual or collective of individuals whose identity is unknown (Siewierska 2010). Additionally, it can have an existential, or, in Cinque’s (1988) term, quasi-existential force, which can be attributed to the presence of episodic tense or aspect marking, signalling a specific time reference or a quasi-generic force (Cinque 1988), as in (11b) and (12b), usually in a habitual context, which, in these sentences, is established by the presence of the temporal adverb *avan* ‘before’. These are properties that the unexpressed impersonal subject in (11) and (12) shares with impersonal or arbitrary subjects in other languages such as Italian, French, German, Irish, and so on (see McCloskey 2007 and references cited there). Furthermore, since it is restricted to the subject position of finite clauses, it is identifiable with the impersonal subject pronouns in some of the Germanic languages (e.g., *men* in Dutch), which, according to Fenger (2018), are also restricted to a nominative case position, but not with the English impersonal pronoun *one*, which is not restricted in its distribution and has only an inclusive generic reading in contrast to the multiple (existential and generic) reading that the Dutch impersonal *men* has. Given this distributional and interpretational similarity to the impersonal subjects found in some of the Germanic languages (not English), the unexpressed subject in (10) may also be said to share

their structural makeup, which, according to Fenger, is deficient (i.e., lacking a functional layer unlike English *one*), thus lending itself to multiple (i.e., generic and existential) interpretations.

As an impersonal pronoun, the unexpressed subject in examples such as (11) and (12) cannot be anaphorically linked to a referential specific (definite) personal pronoun. Thus, example (13a) is ungrammatical if the unexpressed impersonal subject of the embedded clause is linked to (or bound by) the overt referential personal subject pronoun *zott* ‘they’ in the main clause. Example (13b) is likewise ungrammatical if the unexpressed impersonal subject in the main clause is linked to the overt referential personal subject *zott* ‘they’ in the embedded clause. Thus, neither a backward nor a forward anaphoric relation appears possible between an unexpressed non-referential/impersonal subject pronoun and an overt referential personal pronoun even though they share person and number features:

- (13) a. *zott dir [pu kwi pwason dimen]*
 3PL say FUT cook fish tomorrow
 * ‘They_i say that they_i will cook fish tomorrow.’
- b. *ti dir [zott pu manz diri tanto]*
 PST say 3PL FUT eat rice tonight
 * ‘They_i say they_i will eat rice tonight.’

This restriction follows naturally since the anaphoric relation is between an unexpressed subject pronoun that is impersonal, non-referential, and indefinite and one that is personal, referential, and definite. Such a restriction, as pointed out by McCloskey (2007: 834–5), also seems to hold between impersonal arbitrary and referential subject pronouns in other languages (e.g., Italian, Irish, and German).

Another observation on the unexpressed subject is that it is not only impersonal but also understood as human. Thus, the meaning of a sentence like (14a) is that a person, not an animal (e.g., a cat), left a (dead) mouse by the dog and the meaning of (14b) is that an implicit human agent, not some non-human or inanimate (e.g., a machine), turned the water off:¹³

- (14) a. *finn met enn ti lera kot lisyen la*
 PRF put a small rat by dog DEF
 ‘Someone/They has/have placed a (dead) mouse near the dog.’
- b. *finn ferm dilo*
 PRF shut water
 ‘Someone/They has/have turned the water supply off.’

¹³This is supported by the possibility of an agent (human)-oriented adverb like *par ekspre* ‘deliberately’:

finn ferm dilo par ekspre
 PRF shut water by purpose
 ‘Someone has turned the water supply off on purpose/deliberately.’

Interestingly, an inanimate reading of the unexpressed subject is impossible even when an appropriate context is created to facilitate it. Example (15b), for example, is not felicitous when compared to (15a) since the unexpressed subject cannot be construed as referring to cars, vans, and so on:

- (15) a. ti ena buku trafik lor larut e enn loto ti tuy plizier dimunn
 PST have much traffic on road and a car PST kill several people
 ‘There was a lot of traffic on the road and one car killed several people.’
 b. # ti ena buku trafik lor larut e ti tuy plizier dimunn
 PST have much traffic on road and PST kill several people
 ‘There was a lot of traffic on the road and several people were killed.’

This difference highlights the fact that in such impersonal constructions like (11) and (12), a human animate reading of the unexpressed subject persists even when an inanimate causer is pragmatically available in the preceding context. The unexpressed impersonal subject of the constructions in (11) and (12) is therefore identifiable as a human agent, which is thought to be a general characteristic of impersonal constructions (Blevins 2003, Siewierska 2010, Šereikaite 2017, Legate et al. 2020, among others) – but see McCloskey (2007) for other possibilities in the interpretation of Irish arbitrary subjects.¹⁴

A further observation is that the impersonal agent subject, although unexpressed, is syntactically active, unlike the agent in passive, which is syntactically deleted but semantically present as an implicit argument. Looking back at the structure in (9) and (10), the assumption is that the subject is not syntactically missing but simply unexpressed. Using diagnostic tests for the syntactic presence of a subject in subjectless impersonal constructions (see McCloskey 2007, Legate et al. 2020, among others), we show that an unexpressed impersonal subject is indeed syntactically present in structures like (9) or (10).

One indication of its presence is that an adjunct *by*-phrase, as observed earlier, is impossible. Thus (16a) and (16b) are ungrammatical:

- (16) a. * ti donn bann zanafan la enn kado par zott mama
 PST give PL child DEF a present by 3PLPOSS mother
 ‘Someone/They gave the children a present by their mother.’
 b. * mo tande [ti apel li lopital par enn dokter], me mo pa kone kifer
 1SG hear PST call 3SG hospital by a doctor] but 1SG NEG know why
 ‘I hear someone/they called him/her to the hospital by a doctor, but I don’t know why.’

This restriction follows naturally, it may be suggested, from the assumption that an impersonal unexpressed subject is already present in these examples and has been assigned the verb’s external theta role. The insertion of a *by*-phrase thus results in a violation of the principle of Full Interpretation (Chomsky 1986). Additionally, examples with an agent *by*-phrase, like those in (16), also involve a conflict of

¹⁴According to McCloskey (2007: 837–8), Irish arbitrary null subjects do not have to be plural, human, or animate.

features, as the unexpressed subject is non-referential while the agent in the *by*-phrase is referential. However, since *by*-phrases can also be missing in languages which have passives, its impossibility in examples like (16) can only suggest, rather than confirm, that an unexpressed subject is syntactically present.¹⁵

A stronger argument in support of this claim is the possibility of anaphor binding. The reciprocal *len-e-lot* ‘each other’ in Mauritian Creole, like reciprocals in other languages, requires a plural antecedent, as illustrated by the contrast in (17):

- (17) a. garson la ek tifi la kontan len-e-lot
 boy DEF and girl DEF love RECP
 ‘The boy and the girl love each other.’
 b. *garson la kontan len-e-lot
 boy DEF love RECP
 **‘The boy loves each other.’

Examples like (18) show that a reciprocal is possible in impersonal sentences like (11):

- (18) a. ti dir lor radio [(ki) pu kapav vizit len-e-lot semen prosen]
 PST say on radio that FUT able visit RECP week next
 ‘They said on the radio that people will be able to visit each other as from next week.’
 b. ler mo mama ti tipti [ti invit len-e-lot manze zur lane]
 when 1SG.POSS mother PST little PST invite RECP eat day New.Year
 ‘When my mother was little, people invited each other to eat on New Year’s day.’
 c. zur Zezi ti ne [ti fer fet e ti donn len-e-lot kado]
 day Jesus PST born PST make party and PST give RECP present
 ‘On the day Jesus was born, people had a party and gave each other presents.’

Since reciprocals require binding (Chomsky 1981), we conclude that they are bound by an unexpressed subject pronoun inside the bracketed clause in (18).

The syntactic presence of an impersonal subject in (11) or a structure like (9) or (10) is also suggested by remnant NPs (such as ‘who’, ‘what’, and so on) following sluicing. According to Ross (1967), Merchant (2001), and others, a remnant NP or DP in examples like (19) results from sluicing, an operation whereby everything in a *wh*-interrogative, except the *wh*-phrase, is elided, as illustrated by the strike through notation:

- (19) a. Someone called this morning, but I don’t know who ~~called this morning~~
 b. John hit someone but no one knows who ~~John hit~~

The remnant *wh*-phrase ‘who’ is understood as subject in the indirect question in (19a) and object in the indirect question in (19b). In both cases, the remnant NP is linked to the indefinite, non-specific pronoun ‘someone’ in the first conjunct. Now, as (20) illustrates, sluicing is also possible in Mauritian Creole:

¹⁵Keenan and Dryer (2007: 5–6) lists Latvian, Toba, and Kutenai as languages which have passives but no agent phrase. They also note that although Turkish has passives, its speakers only reluctantly accept agent *by*-phrases.

- (20) a. kikenn finn bat li, zott pa kone kisennla ~~finn bat li~~
 Someone PRF beat 3SG 3PL NEG know who PRF beat 3SG
 ‘Someone hit him, but they don’t know who.’
- b. li ti zwenn kikenn me li pa finn dir nu kisennla
 3SG PST see someone but 3SG NEG PRF tell 1PL who
~~li—ti—zwenn~~
 3SG PST meet
 ‘S/he met someone, but s/he didn’t tell us who.’

Applying sluicing to constructions with impersonal subject, like those in (11), provides further support for the claim that an unexpressed subject is syntactically present in their underlying structure, and not deleted or suppressed as would be the case if they were passive. The remnant *wh*-phrase *kisennla* in (21)–(23) confirms the presence of a syntactic subject.

- (21) Speaker A: ti dir li pintir laport la ver
 PST tell 3SG paint door DEF green
 ‘Someone/They told him to paint the door green.’
- Speaker B: **kisennla** ~~ti—dir li—pintir laport la—ver?~~
 who PST tell 3SG paint door DEF green
 ‘Who told him to paint the door green?’
- (22) Speaker A: kifer Zan ankoler?
 why John angry
 ‘Why is John angry?’
- Speaker B: finn koken so liv; pa kone **kisennla** ~~finn koken so liv~~
 PRF steal 3SG.POSS book NEG know who
 ‘Someone/They has/have stolen his books, but don’t know who stole his books.’
- (23) ti dir zott pa vinn lekol; pa kone **kisennla** ~~ti—dir—zott~~
 PST tell 3PL NEG come school NEG know who PST tell 3PL
~~pa—vinn—lekol~~
 NEG come school
 ‘Someone/They told them not to come to school, don’t know who told them not to.’

Interestingly, in all these examples, a remnant *by*-phrase is impossible. Thus, speaker B cannot use *par kisennla* ‘by who (m)’ instead of *kisennla* ‘who’ in (21). Likewise, replacing the remnant NP in (22) and (23) with a *by*-phrase, as shown in (24), is also impossible:

- (24) a. *finn koken so bisiklet; pa kone par **kisennla**
 PRF steal 3SG.POSS bicycle NEG know by who
 ‘Someone/They has/have stolen his bicycle; don’t know by who.’
- b. *ti dir zott pa vinn lekol; pa kone par **kisennla**
 PST tell 3PL NEG come school NEG know by who
 ‘Someone/They told them not to come to school today; don’t know by who.’

The contrast between (21)–(23) on the one hand and (24) on the other is due to a voice mismatch (Legate et al. 2020). The impossibility of (24 a–b) with a passive remnant

by-phrase suggests that constructions like (11) are active, not passive, and they have a syntactically projected unexpressed indefinite subject, understood as ‘someone’ or ‘they’.

As for the displaced theme object in (9), we argue that it occupies a specifier position on the periphery of the clause and is linked to the gap (trace) in the comment clause. Under a topicalization analysis, we take it to have moved there from its canonical object position. In what follows, we discuss semantic and syntactic restrictions on the displaced theme object and argue that they can be straightforwardly accounted for under a topic analysis.

4. SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC RESTRICTIONS ON THE THEME OBJECT

One observation on transitive OV constructions like (6 a–b) in Mauritian Creole is that they are generally judged grammatical if the initial argument is specific (old information known to the hearer), as shown in (25), and ungrammatical if non-specific (new information unknown to the hearer), as shown in (26) and (27). Specificity is signalled by the postposed definite determiner *la* ‘the’, while non-specificity by the indefinite determiner *enn* ‘a/an’ or null (zero) determiner.¹⁶

- (25) a. *loto la finn met dan garaz*
 car DEF PRF put in garage
 ‘The car has been/was put in the garage.’
- b. *lakaz la ti pe ankor ranze*
 house DEF PST PROG still build
 ‘The house was still being built.’
- (26) a. * *enn loto finn met dan garaz*
 a car PRF put in garage
 ‘A car has been/was put in the garage.’
- b. * *enn lakaz ti pe ankor ranze*
 a house PST PROG still build
 ‘A house was still being built.’
- (27) a. * *bann loto finn met dan garaz*
 PL car PRF put in garage
 ‘Cars have been/ were put in the garage.’
- b. * *bann lakaz ti pe ankor ranze*
 PL house PST PROG still build
 ‘Houses were still being built.’
- c. * *loto finn repare*
 car PRF repair
 ‘A car/Cars has/have been repaired.’

¹⁶Examples with an indefinite theme NP (e.g., *enn loto* ‘a car’ and *loto* ‘car(s)’) are acceptable if the NP gets a specific reading through context, as illustrated by the following:

Enn loto ti repare yer. Sofer la finn vinn pran li?
 a car PST repair yesterday. Driver DEF PRF come take 3SG
 ‘A car was repaired yesterday. Has the driver been to collect it?’

Such a restriction, however, does not apply to the subject of transitive or unergative sentences. It can be either specific or non-specific, as illustrated by (28):

- (28) a. loto la/ enn loto/loto finn kraz so bisiklet
 car DEF/a car/ car PRF crush 3SG.POSS bicycle
 'The car/A car/Cars has/have smashed his bicycle.'
- b. zanafan la/enn zanafan/bann zanafan pe plore
 child DEF/a child/ PL child PROG cry
 'The child/A child/Children is/are crying.'

Nor does it apply to the subject of unaccusatives, since it too can be either specific or non-specific, as illustrated by (29):

- (29) a. zanafan la/ enn zanafan/bann zanafan finn tonbe
 child DEF/a child/ PL child PRF fall
 'The child/A child/Children has/have fallen.'
- b. ver la/ enn ver/ ver finn kase
 glass DEF/a glass/glass PRF break
 'The glass/A glass/Glasses has/have broken.'
- c. bis la/ bann bis/ bis pa pe rule zordi
 bus DEF PL bus /bus NEG PROG run today
 'The bus/Buses/Buses isn't/aren't running today.'

If the initial argument (the theme object) in examples like (25)–(27) were in subject position, as expected under a passive analysis, the contrast between (25) on the one hand and (26)–(27) on the other would be surprising, for, as (28) and (29) make clear, non-specific (indefinite) NPs, including theme ones, are not barred from subject position. By contrast, in a topic analysis, the difference between (25) and (26)–(27) is expected because, as illustrated by the difference between (30a–b) and (30c–d), non-specific (indefinite) NPs, unlike specific NPs, are generally excluded from a topic position (see Kiss 2002, 2003):¹⁷

- (30) a. * enn loto mo kamarad pe lave
 a car 1SG friend PROG wash
 'A car, my friend is washing.'
- b. * bann loto mo kamarad pe lave
 PL car 1SG friend PROG wash
 'Cars, my friend is washing.'
- c. loto la mo kamarad pe lave
 car DEF 1SG friend PROG wash
 'The car, my friend is washing.'

¹⁷Kiss (2003: 37) observes that the following with an indefinite, non-specific topic and the intended meaning '(As for) a lake, (it) was formed' is impossible in Hungarian:

[TopP Egy tó [AspP keletkezett]]
 A lake was formed

- d. bann loto la mo kamarad pe lave
 PL car DEF 1SG friend PROG wash
 ‘The cars, my friend is washing.’

The fact that the displaced theme object in (26), (27) and (30a–b) cannot be non-specific (indefinite) seems to follow directly from a general discourse requirement that topic phrases be specific (in the sense of Enç 1991).¹⁸ That is, they must be discourse-linked to some unique discourse antecedent or, in the words of Aissen (1992: 50), to ‘some identifiable participant in discourse’. What follows naturally from such a requirement are two things: firstly, as pointed out by Prince (1981) and Kiss (2002, 2003), the topic constituent cannot be non-specific and secondly, it cannot be non-referential (e.g., a pleonastic element like ‘there’).¹⁹

A second semantic restriction on the displaced theme object in transitive OV constructions like those in (6a, b) is that it cannot be animate. The following are judged ungrammatical.²⁰

- (31) a. * Zan finn bate
 John PRF beat
 ‘Someone has beaten John.’
 b. * dokter la finn morde
 doctor DEF PRF bite
 ‘Someone bit the doctor.’
 c. * sat la ti apre
 cat DEF PST chase
 ‘Someone chased the cat.’

It is interesting to note that a similar restriction holds on displaced animate theme objects in Caribbean English Creoles transitive OV constructions (see Alleyne 1987, Winford 1993). Compare, for example, (6f–h) above with the examples in (32), also from Jamaican Creole:

- (32) a. ?? di pikni dem kis aredi
 DEF child PL kiss already
 ‘The children have already been kissed.’

Alleyne (1987: 78)

¹⁸According to Enç (1991) an NP is [+specific] if it denotes a subset of a set of referents already present in the domain of discourse.

¹⁹A pleonastic (non-referential) pronoun like ‘there’ cannot be placed in a topic position, cf. *There, I didn’t think would be a fight. (Prince 1981: 251).

²⁰However, this restriction does not apply when the animate theme object is contrastively focused:

- (i) ZAN finn bate (pa Pyer)
 John PRF beat NEG Peter
 ‘John was beaten (not Peter)’
 (ii) SAT LA finn apre (pa lisyen la)
 cat DEF PRF chase not dog DEF
 ‘The cat was chased (not the dog).’

- b. ?? di gyol sen fu di moni
 DEF girl send for DEF money
 ‘The girl was sent for the money.’

Alleyne (1987: 78)

- c. ?? di daag kik out di haus
 DEF dog kick out DEF house
 ‘The dog was kicked out of the house.’

Winford (1993: 122)

Under a passive analysis, the ungrammaticality/marginality of the transitive OV constructions in (31) and (36) is unexpected because specific animate NPs (including proper nouns) are not excluded from the structural subject position. This is clear from transitive constructions like (33), unaccusative constructions like (34), and unergatives constructions like (35):

- (33) a. Zan finn bat enn garson
 John PRF beat a boy
 ‘John has beaten/hit a boy.’
 b. sat la ti apre enn lera
 cat DEF PST chase a rat
 ‘The cat chased a rat.’
 (34) a. Zan finn tonb dan labu
 John PRF fall in mud
 ‘John fell in the mud.’
 b. sat la finn nwaye
 cat DEF PRF drown
 ‘The cat has drowned.’
 (35) a. Zan pu sante
 John FUT sing
 ‘John will sing.’
 b. sat la finn sot lor sez
 cat DEF PRF jump on chair
 ‘The cat jumped on the chair.’

If the fronted theme object in (31) moves from its canonical object position to the structural subject position, as per the analysis of passive in Chomsky (1981), Burzio (1986), and others, it is predicted that, much like the unaccusatives in (34), the OV constructions in (31) should also be grammatical. This prediction is not borne out, as the ungrammaticality of (31) demonstrates.

However, examples like (31) are problematic not only for a passive analysis but also for a topic analysis that posits that the fronted object lies in the periphery of the clause (more specifically, in a topic position), given that animate proper nouns and NPs, being specific, are not barred from such a position. And, indeed, as the examples in (36) show, they are not, particularly when the topic phrase is a hanging topic linked to a resumptive pronoun inside the comment clause.

- (36) a. Zan, finn bat li
 John PRF beat 3SG
 ‘John, someone has beaten him.’

- b. bann zannan la, ti truv zott dan bazaar
 PL child DEF PST see 3PL in market
 'The children, someone saw them in the market.'
- c. lisjen la, ti fek apre li
 dog DEF PST just chase 3SG
 'The dog, someone just chased it away.'
- d. lever la, finn met li dan lerb
 worm DEF PRF put 3SG in grass
 'The worm, someone/they put it on the grass.'

What the contrast between (31) and (36) suggests then is that animate NPs, when topicalized, cannot be gap-linked, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (31), but must instead be rephrased by a resumptive pronoun, as shown in (36).²¹ Why should that be? A possible and plausible answer is that, given the strong association between animacy and agency and the availability of an unexpressed subject, animate fronted objects in OV constructions like (31) tend to be read as the agent of the verb rather than its theme. The relationship between animacy and agency is also invoked by Alleyne (1987) in connection with examples like (32) in Jamaican Creole. Only the presence of a resumptive pronoun coreferential to the fronted object, as shown in (36), or contrastive focus on the topic NP (see also footnote 20), it seems, can ensure that this 'theme as agent' misinterpretation (or processing error) is avoided.

It is interesting to note that a 'theme as agent' reading in such OV transitive constructions persists even when the context discourages it, as in the following:

- (37) a. *ler li ti pe kas nikmus, Zan ti pike
 while 3SG PST PROG break wasp nest John PST sting
 * 'While he was picking a wasp nest, John stung.' (not 'John was stung')
- b. *kan li ti pe apre enn lisjen polisie la ti morde
 when 3SG PST PROG chase a dog policeman DEF PST bite
 * 'When he was chasing a dog, the policeman bit.' (not 'the policeman was bitten')
- c. *ler li ti pe travers grandrut sat la finn tape
 while 3SG PST PROG cross road cat DEF PRF hit
 * 'While it was crossing the road, the cat hit.' (not 'the cat was hit')

What is clear from (37) is that even the availability of a non-human or inanimate causer, either through linguistic coreferencing, as in (37b), or pragmatic anaphora, as in (37a) and (37c), does not stop the topic animate object *polisie la* 'the policeman' from being incorrectly interpreted/processed as agent of the verb *morde* 'bite'. Thus,

²¹The same pattern can be observed in Jamaican Creole, as demonstrated by the following from Durrellman (2005: 113):

- (i) Da bwai deh, mi laik im
 DEF boy LOC 1SG like 3SG
 'As for that boy, I like him.'
- (ii) ??? da bwai deh, mi laik
 DEF boy LOC 1SG like

the reading of the OV construction inside a construction like (37b) is not ‘the policeman was bitten’ or ‘the policeman, someone bit (him/her)’ but rather the incorrect interpretation ‘the policeman bit (someone)’. The facts relating to the impossibility of fronted animate objects in OV constructions like (31) can therefore be captured relatively straightforwardly under a topic analysis.

Turning now to a third restriction on the fronted theme object in transitive OV constructions like (6a–b), it appears that these objects cannot be pronouns either, whether they are animate or inanimate, which is puzzling since personal pronouns are by definition definite (Roberts 2005).²²

- (38) a. * mwa finn kritike
 1SG.ACC PRF criticise
 ‘Me, they have criticized.’
- b. * twa pu met dan prizon
 2SG.ACC FUT put in prison
 ‘You, they will put in prison.’
- c. * zott pu lave plitar
 3PL FUT wash later
 ‘Them, they will wash later.’
- d. * li finn petire
 3SG PRF paint
 ‘It, they have painted.’

Unlike the third person (singular and plural), the first and second person singular in Mauritian Creole display different case forms, depending on their distribution. Thus, they have the nominative form *mo* ‘I’ and *to* ‘you’ for first and second person singular respectively when they appear in the subject position of a finite clause, as shown in (39a–b) and the corresponding first and second person singular accusative form *mwa* ‘me’ and *twa* ‘you’ when they appear as the object of a verb, as shown in (39a–b) or a preposition, as shown in (39c), and as topics, as shown in (39d):

- (39) a. mo ti truv twa lor laplaz
 1SG.NOM PST see 2SG.ACC on beach
 ‘I saw you on the beach.’

²²A pronoun is possible as the first argument in OV constructions like (6a–b) but only with a few verbs in the acrolectal variety. Example (i) is from Corne (1981: 108) and (ii) from APiCSONline (Michaelis et al., 2013) respectively.

- (i) zott in fek peye par zott burzua
 3PL PRF just pay by 3PL.POSS boss
 ‘They just got paid by their boss.’
- (ii) si mo invité én lanivérser ...
 If 1SG invite a birthday
 ‘If I’m invited to a birthday ...’

- b. to ti truv mwa lor laplaz
 2SG.NOM PST see 1SG.ACC on beach
 'You saw me on the beach.'
- c. li le al ar twa
 3SG want go with 2SG.ACC
 'S/he wants to go with you.'
- d. twa lapolis pe rode partu
 2SG.ACC police PROG search everywhere
 'You, the police are looking for you everywhere.'

With the fronted object pronouns displaying accusative (not nominative) form, the examples in (38) are clearly problematic for a passive analysis. Surprisingly, they are also problematic even when these pronouns are in the nominative, as shown in (40). A passive analysis incorrectly predicts that the examples in (40) should be grammatical:

- (40) a. * mo finn kritike
 1SG.NOM PRF criticize
 'I, they have criticized.'
- b. * to pu met dan prizon
 2SG.NOM FUT put in jail
 'You, they will put in prison.'

The nominative form is expected on a pronoun when it appears in the subject position of a finite clause, as shown in (39a–b) above, an unaccusative finite clause, as shown in (41), or unergative finite clause, as shown in (42):

- (41) a. to/*twa pu tonbe si to pa fer atansion
 2SG.NOM/2SG.ACC FUT fall if 2SG.NOM NEG make attention
 'You'll fall if you're not careful.'
- b. mo/*mwa pu nwaye si mo tonb dan larivier
 1SG.NOM/1SG.ACC FUT drown if 1SG.NOM fall in river
 'I will drown if I fall in the river.'
- (42) a. mo/*mwa ti galupe gramatin
 1SG.NOM/1SG.ACC PST run morning
 'I jogged this morning.'
- b. to/*twa ti pe riye divan laglas
 2SG.NOM/2SG.ACC PST PROG laugh in front of mirror
 'You were laughing in front of the mirror.'

Under a topic analysis, the ungrammaticality of the examples in (40) follows directly from the fact that such structures involve conflicting cases: thus, the fronted pronoun has the nominative form (*mo* 'I', *to* 'you') in its derived (topic) position while the gap to which it is linked has the accusative form. It also follows under this analysis that a nominative pronoun, being phonologically weak/unstressed, is naturally excluded from an edge/peripheral (topic) position, which typically hosts phonologically strong/stressed constituents. The ungrammaticality of (38), on the other hand, is unexpected under a topic analysis: the fronted object pronouns have the accusative (phonologically strong) form, which, as is clear from (39d), is the case form expected

on topic pronouns. This is further illustrated by the hanging topics in (43) and the contrastive focused constituents in (44):

- (43) a. mwa, finn kritike mwa
 1SG.ACC PRF criticise 1SG.ACC
 ‘Me, they criticized me.’
- b. twa, pu met twa dan prizon
 2SG.ACC FUT put 2SG in prison
 ‘You, they will put you in prison.’
- (44) a. MWA finn kritike (pa twa)
 1SG.ACC PRF criticise NEG 2SG.ACC
 ‘Me, they have criticized (not you).’
- b. TWA pu met dan prizon (pa li)
 2SG.ACC FUT put in prison NEG 3SG
 ‘You, they will put in prison (not him/her).’

Why, then, are the examples in (38), with a fronted accusative object pronoun, ungrammatical?²³ It is apparent from the difference between (38) on the one hand and (43) and (44) on the other that a fronted object pronoun, unless contrastively focused, cannot be linked to a gap inside the clause. Instead, it must be linked to a resumptive pronoun, as shown in (43). Given that (38a–b) pattern with (31) in that neither allows a fronted animate object (pronoun or NP) to be gap-linked (unless it is contrastively focused), we could account for the ungrammaticality of the former in the same way that we explained the ungrammaticality of the latter: that is, in the absence of a resumptive pronoun inside the comment clause or contrastive focus, a fronted animate object is misinterpreted/misanalysed as the agent of the transitive verb, a possibility enhanced by the availability of an indefinite null subject and a universally strong association between animacy and agency. The ungrammaticality of (38c–d), with a fronted inanimate pronoun remains unexplained under the proposed ‘theme as agent’ misanalysis approach, as the association between animacy and agency cannot be invoked in these cases. One solution is to appeal to the phonological form of the fronted pronouns in these examples. The third person singular pronoun *li* ‘he/she/it’ and the third person plural *zott* ‘they’, as noted earlier, are phonologically weak forms and are therefore naturally excluded from peripheral positions that generally tend to host phonologically strong forms. A topic analysis, unlike a passive analysis, can thus account for the impossibility of fronted object pronouns (nominative and accusative) in transitive OV constructions in Mauritian Creole.

It is interesting to note that such misinterpretation or incorrect processing (i.e., theme as agent), as discussed above, does not occur in the presence of an intervener (e.g., a *wh*-phrase or a clause), as shown in (45):

- (45) a. dokter la kan ti apele?
 doctor DEF when PST call
 ‘The doctor, when did they call?’

²³ A theme object pronoun is also known to be impossible in the subject position of OV constructions in Vincentian Creole (Prescod 2004: 127).

- b. bann lisjen la kifer ti apre?
 PL dog DEF why PST chase
 'The dog, why did they chase?'
- c. zanfan la kisennla ti dir ti bate
 child DEF who PST say PST hit
 'The child, who said, they/someone hit.'

This would suggest that the strong association between animacy and agency that encourages the 'theme as agent' misinterpretation only holds when a gap-linked non-focused animate topic constituent and the unexpressed indefinite subject in the OV construction are adjacent.

In summary, it seems that the displaced theme object in transitive OV constructions in Mauritian Creole cannot be non-specific or animate or pronominal, and this is the case unless reprised by a resumptive pronoun or contrastively focused.

5. FURTHER EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF A TOPIC ANALYSIS OF TRANSITIVE OV CONSTRUCTIONS

In what follows, we discuss some additional evidence that further supports the topic analysis of the transitive OV constructions in Mauritian Creole.

The first piece of evidence comes from the position of the displaced theme object relative to a fronted *wh*-phrase. As illustrated by (46) and (47), whenever a *wh*-phrase is fronted in a transitive OV construction, the displaced object appears to its left, as shown in (46b) and (47b), not to its right, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (46c) and (47c).²⁴

- (46) a. loto la finn met dan garaz
 car DEF PRF put in garage
 'The car they have put in the garage.'
- b. loto la kot finn mete?
 car DEF where PRF put
 'The car where have they put?'
- c. * kot loto la finn mete?
 where car DEF PRF put
 'Where the car have they put?'
- (47) a. loto la pu repare dimen
 car DEF FUT repair tomorrow
 'The car they will repair tomorrow.'

²⁴However, Papen (1978: 419) includes the following:

- (i) kuma lapê prepare (dâ) Moris?
 how rabbit prepare in Mauritius
 'How do people cook rabbit meat in Mauritius?'

If acceptable, this suggests *wh*-phrases can be placed above TopP (perhaps in an Interrogative Phrase; see Rizzi (2001)).

- b. loto la kan pu repare?
 car DEF when FUT repair
 'The car when will they repair?'
- c. * kan loto la pu repare?
 when car DEF FUT repair
 'When the car will they repair?'

Under a passive analysis, we do not expect (46c) and (47c) to be ungrammatical, since the fronted object occupies the subject position and the fronted *wh*-phrase, to its left, occupies the specifier of FocP, as per the template posited in Rizzi (1997). They should therefore be just as grammatical as the unaccusative in (48b), where the object has moved into the subject position:

- (48) a. loto la ti tonb dan larivier
 car DEF PST fall in river
 'The car fell in the river.'
- b. kot loto la ti tonbe?
 where car DEF PST fall
 'Where did the car fall?'

And yet, (46c) and (47c) are ungrammatical, unlike (48b). Under a topic analysis, however, their ungrammaticality is not unexpected. As a topic phrase, the theme object in these examples appears higher than (or to the left of) the *wh*-phrase. This is because topic constituents target the specifier of TopP, while *wh*-phrases target the specifier of FocP, following Cartographic syntax (Rizzi 1997). These sentences are therefore ungrammatical because they either violate Relativised Minimality (Rizzi 1990) or require an additional FocP, an option that violates Cartographic guidelines (Rizzi 1997) where only one FocP is allowed in the periphery of a clause.²⁵ Of course, no such problem arises with the unaccusative (48b) since the theme object appears in subject position and the *wh*-phrase in the specifier of FocP.

A second syntactic restriction that also supports the topic analysis relates to the position of the theme object in relation to a negative adverb of frequency like *zamen* 'never'. As illustrated by (49) and (50), a theme object must be to the left of this type of adverb for a transitive OV construction to be well formed:

- (49) a. zamen finn lav loto la
 never PRF wash car DEF
 'They have never washed the car.'
- b. loto la zamen finn lave
 car DEF never PRF wash
 'They have never washed the car.'

²⁵The ungrammatical sentences in (46c) and (47c) seem to pattern with ungrammatical topic sentences like the following in English:

*Where did this book Mary buy?

- c. ?? zamen loto la finn lave
 never car DEF PRF wash
 'They have never washed the car.'
- (50) a. zamen ti lir sa bann liv la
 never PST read DEM PL book DEF
 'They never read these books.'
- b. sa bann liv la zamen ti lir
 DEM PL book DEF never PST read
 'They never read these books.'
- c. * zamen sa bann liv la ti lir
 never DEM PL book DEF PST read
 'They never read these books.'

If negative adverbs occupy the specifier of FocP (Rizzi 1997), we then expect *zamen* 'never' to precede the NP in subject position as in the transitive, unergative, and unaccusative constructions in (51) where the agent or theme is unambiguously in subject position:

- (51) a. zamen Zan finn manz pwason
 never John PRF eat fish
 'John has never eaten fish.'
- b. zamen ti-bebe ploze
 never baby cry
 'The baby never cries.'
- c. zamen bonom la finn tonbe
 never old-man DEF PRF fall
 'The old man has never fallen down.'

This being so, a passive analysis of transitive OV constructions incorrectly leads us to expect (49c) and (50c) to be well-formed. A topic analysis, in contrast, correctly rules them out because, with the theme object in the specifier of TopP, the negative adverb has moved across it to the specifier of a higher projection, violating locality (Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990)) as illustrated by (49c) and (50c). Alternatively, as was the case with (46c) and (47c), a second FocP is required, which is inconsistent with Cartographic guidelines (Rizzi 1997).

A further restriction that also supports a topic analysis of transitive OV constructions relates to coordination. As illustrated by (52) and (53), it is possible to coordinate two such constructions, with and without an overt subject, as in (52), or two unaccusatives, as in (53), but not a transitive OV construction and an unaccusative, as shown in (54).

- (52) a. bis la finn lave e finn repara
 bus DEF PRF wash and PRF repair
 'The bus, they have washed and repaired.'
- b. bis la mekanisien la finn lave e finn repara
 bus DEF mechanic DEF PRF wash and PRF repair
 'The bus, the mechanic has washed and repaired.'

- (53) a. zanford la finn glise e finn tonbe
 child DEF PRF slip and PRF fall
 'The child slipped and fell.'
- b. bis la finn kase e pa pe rule
 bus DEF PRF break and NEG PROG run
 'The bus is broken and is not running.'
- (54) a. * bis la finn repare e finn ale
 bus DEF PRF repair and PRF go
 'The bus, they have repaired, and it has gone.'
- b. * glason la ti met dan enn ver e pe fonn
 ice DEF PST put in a glass and PROG melt
 'The ice, they put in a glass, and it is melting.'

The ungrammaticality of (54a) and (54b) follows directly from the principle that requires conjuncts to belong to the same category (e.g., PP and PP or TP and TP) (Ross 1967). Under the proposed topic analysis, these constructions involve the coordination of a TopP (the transitive OV construction in the first conjunct) and TP (the unaccusative in the second conjunct), two categorially dissimilar constituents, and are therefore correctly ruled out. Under a passive analysis, in contrast, these constructions involve coordination of two TPs and are therefore incorrectly predicted to be well formed. As expected, the topic analysis also correctly rules out the coordination of a transitive construction (a TP) and an OV construction (a TopP), as illustrated by (55):

- (55) a. * kamion la finn repare e pe sarye kann
 lorry DEF PRF repair and PROG carry cane
 'The lorry, they have repaired, and it is carrying sugar cane.'
- b. * masinn la finn kup gazon e finn netwaye
 machine DEF PRF cut grass and PRF clean
 'The machine has mowed the grass and they have cleaned it.'

The ungrammaticality of constructions such as (54) and (55) therefore provides additional support for the claim that the OV transitive constructions under discussion are topic, not passive, constructions. The topic analysis of OV constructions is therefore syntactically supported not only by facts relating to word order but also by facts relating to coordination.

6. IMPLICATION OF A TOPIC ANALYSIS OF TRANSITIVE OV CONSTRUCTIONS IN MAURITIAN CREOLE

The analysis of transitive OV constructions in Mauritian Creole as topics rather than passives suggests that passivization, an instance of A-movement, is an option that has not been exploited in this language, and possibly in some other creoles too (e.g., West African Pidgin English, Tok Pisin, Bislama, among a few others), while other instances of A-movement (e.g., movement to subject position in unaccusative and raising constructions) appear to have been.²⁶ The proposal that Mauritian Creole

²⁶Raising is possible in Mauritian Creole from AP and NP small clauses:

has topic rather passive constructions can be taken to support the traditional intuitions of many creolists that creoles, like many non-creole languages, lack canonical passives (see Siewierska 2010, Keenan and Dryer 2007). Interestingly, native speakers of creoles generally tend to reject passive structures. McWhorter and Good (2012: 164) note for instance that their Saramaccan consultants translated English-type passives as active sentences with the generic third person plural subject *de* ‘they’, as shown in (56):²⁷

- (56) *di bálima kai bigà de toto ε a bàku*
 DEF ball. player fall because 3PL push 3SG LOC back
 ‘The soccer player fell because they hit in the back.’

(McWhorter and Good 2012: 164)

Likewise, Veenstra (2004: 277) notes that not all speakers of Saramaccan accept sentences with a fronted object as passive unless they were contextualized (i.e., they included aspectual information focusing on the endpoint of an event denoted by the verb). There are also similar caveats from contributors to the chapter on passives in the APiCS databases (Michaelis et al. 2013). Thus, in her contribution to these databases, Escure (2013) notes in connection to Belizean passives that “since only the context provides the correct interpretation (passive or active), it is in fact doubtful that Belizean Creole has a passive construction”. Altogether, it seems that there are some doubts as to whether passive (in which the object appears in subject position) is available in these languages.

Creoles, including Mauritian Creole, thus tend to resort to other well-known strategies for expressing a passive meaning. These include suppressing the logical subject, or using an impersonal subject, or using a verb similar to ‘get’ as in *John got arrested*. All three are used in Mauritian Creole although the last one is limited to just a few verbs like *gany bate* ‘got beaten’, *gany kriye* ‘got shouted at’ but not **gany tuye* ‘got killed’ (see Winford 1993: 142 for similar structures in Caribbean English creoles).

7. CONCLUSION

This article has argued that the displaced theme object in transitive OV constructions in Mauritian Creole occupies a topic position (the specifier of TopP), not the structural subject position. The empirical evidence in support of this analysis comes from semantic and syntactic restrictions that seem to constrain its distribution in these constructions. It is shown, for instance, that it cannot be non-specific or animate. The latter restriction, it is argued, is due to the strong association between

(i) *li paret bet, me li pa bet*
 3SG appear stupid, but 3SG NEG stupid
 ‘S/he appears stupid, but s/he isn’t.’

(ii) *li paret enn bon dimunn*
 3SG appear a good person
 ‘S/he appears to be a nice person.’

²⁷ This is also the case in Martinican Creole (Anne Zribi-Hertz, personal communication, June 27th 2022, at 17:28).

animacy and agency and the availability of a null indefinite arbitrary/impersonal subject. A displaced animate object is misread as the agent or logical subject of an active verb (most commonly the agent), thus resulting in structures that are judged to be ill-formed. Further evidence that the displaced theme object is in topic, not subject, position comes from the fact that it linearly precedes a fronted *wh*-phrase or a negative adverb of frequency, constituents that typically occupy the specifier of FocP. It is also shown that the semantic and syntactic restrictions do not apply in unaccusatives, another type of OV construction, a difference that follows directly from a difference in the distribution of the theme object in these two different types of construction. Finally, the ‘theme as topic’ proposal has interesting implications for the analysis of structurally similar constructions as passive in other creoles. Are they ‘real’ or ‘apparent’ passives? If the latter (i.e., illusionary), then the traditional view that creoles lack passives may retain plausibility.

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