

The English unpassive

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Plan of talk

- A brief introduction to
 - ‘unpassives’ in English
 - and some ensuing questions
- Presentation of results of an empirical investigation into the pattern (based on authentic usage data extracted from the BNC)
 - Which patterns?
 - Differences and similarities
- Conclusion
 - The constructional repertoire

The English unpassive

- The **pattern** at issue:
 - (1) *The material **is unabridged** and wholly authentic.* (BNC, CLL, 842)
- is a construction (form-function pairing)
- Main **formal characteristics**:
 - The prototypical verb is *be* (*go* and *remain* - mentioned as well)
 - complemented by the past participle of another V prefixed by *–un* (=un-participle)
 - The *un*-participles are considered to be adjectival:
arguments: eg: there is no verbal base of the participle (such as **unabridge* for (1)); the potential use of gradators as modifiers (such as *absolutely*); coordination with genuine adjectives (as in (1))
 - Formal make-up alludes to the passive (be + pp)

The English unpassive

- Main **semantic/functional characteristics**:
 - Instances ascribe a **property/state** to referent of preverbal NP -> attributive ASC; state – resulting from ‘absent event’
- **Labels** available for the pattern
 - Unpassive (eg by Hust 1977: 31, Chomsky 1981: 54f)
 - Adjectival passive (eg by Chomsky 1981: 119; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1440; Gese, Maienborn & Stolterfoht 2011: 102)
 - Stative passive (eg ibid); statal passive (Comrie 1981; Laffut 2006)
- → The pattern at stake is seemingly an adjectival passive
- Question 1: What are the characteristics of such uses: they are certainly adjectival, but are they passives?
- Question 2: How do unpassives relate to other English passive constructions of the form *be* + past participle
 - Do they represent the same pattern?
 - Do they represent different patterns? If so, what are these patterns and what are the relations between them?

The English unpassive

- We shall see what an **analysis of authentic English** usage data reveals:
 - Database selected: BNC
 - The required data were extracted from this corpus using R and some search options provided by the BYU-corpora
 - The R-scripts used draw on a script written by Stefan Gries
- We expect the data to provide information
 - about the **formal side** of the pattern/s
 - about the **meaning(s)/ function(s)** associated with the forms
 - which can then be interpreted wrt the more general questions (pertaining to the **constructional inventory** under consideration)

Methods of data analysis

- The **methods** employed for processing and statistically interpreting the data are taken from the family of **collostruction analysis** developed by Gries and Stefanowitsch (cf. Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003 and 2005, for example).
- In particular, we used the methods of (simple) collexeme analysis, covarying collexeme analysis and multiple distinctive collexeme analysis
- All calculations were done in R using scripts written by Gries
 - Gries, Stefan, 2007, Coll.analysis 3.2a. A program for R for Windows 2.x.

The data

- In the BNC data, we find a considerable number of (finite) verbs in the slot preceding an un-participle (259 types - 11,118 tokens)
- These exhibit huge differences in their token frequencies, from
 - *be*: more than **7300** occurrences *remain*: more than **1200**
 - *go*: more than **500** rank 8 (*come*): less than **100**
 - to rank 30 (*elect*): **14** hits ...
- This suggests that the pattern V + *un*-participle subsumes
 - a number of **verb-specific constructions**: *be* + *un*-participle, *remain* + etc
 - a number of more schematic **verb-group-specific constructions**: change-of-state V, motion V + *un*-participle etc
- My further investigation focuses on their characteristics, eg if their semantics are solely determined by the respective finite verb(s)

The data

- Hints at a verb-specific pattern's semantics may also be expected from the *un-participles* found therein
- In order to detect these semantic specifications, simple collexeme analyses were carried out (for the more frequent verb-specific patterns: *be, remain, go, come, run, seem, continue* + *un-participle*), and some of the patterns were submitted to a covarying collexeme analysis (*go, come, remain* + *un-participle*)
- The results are presented here in a summarized form (complete lists of results (numbers etc) can be consulted – if you wish)

Characteristics of verb-specific constructions

- **Characteristics** indicated by the **collexemes** and the **subject referents**:
- The extracted hits represent instantiations of several ASCs attested in the English language:
 - i. Copular constructions (current copulae) -> instantiated by the:

(2) *The AM9 kit **comes unfinished** , so you can paint or stain it to match your decor.* (CG5)

-> **attributive *un*-participle construction**
 - ii. Copular constructions (resultative copulae) -> ~ by:

(3) *After 15 minutes we came to the comforting realisation that the phone had **come unplugged** from its socket.* (CBC)

-> **(subject-) resultative *un*-participle construction**
 - iii. Intransitive-motion construction -> ~ by:

(4) *Brian Everthorpe **came uninvited** into the room.* (ANY)

-> **depictive *un*-participle construction**

Differences **between** verb-specific constructions

- Unsurprisingly, finite verbs and ASCs are correlated: the 3 ASC distribute differently across the verb-specific patterns

come: has depictive, attributive, resultative uses (related via grammaticalization)

go: depictive and attributive uses (~ grammaticalization)

run: depictive (verbs of motion invite to depictive readings)

be : -> attributive

seem -> attributive

remain: -> attributive

} current COPULAE

continue : -> depictive (+ a tinge of manner (adjunct): *the recession continued unabated*)

[*become*: -> resultative resultative COPULA]

How many patterns?

- Unpassives subsume several constructions at two distinct levels of schematization: **verb-specific level**: (up to) 3 ASCs
 - **attributive construction**: a property is ascribed to the subject referent of expression
 - **(subject-)resultative construction**: a change of state is predicated of the subject referent
 - **depictive construction**: a “predicative attribute” describes a characteristic of the subject-participant of the predicate, rendered as concomitant with the event encoded by the verb
- -> allowing for the abstraction of 3 more schematic templates: **verb-group specific constructions**
 - **stative copula + un-participle** (*be, seem, remain, go, come*)
 - **,change-of-state' copula + un-participle** (*become, get, grow, come*)
 - **motion V + depictive** (*run, go, come*)

Differences between verb-specific constructions

- There is some overlap in the collexemes attracted by the verb-specific constructions; looking at the top 20 of each construction, we find:

Nb of constr	collexeme	verb	verb	verb	verb
4	unchanged	be	remain	run	continue
4	undetected	go	remain	run	continue
4	unchecked	go	come	run	continue
3	unknown	be	remain	seem	
3	unaffected	be	remain	seem	
2	unheard	go	be		
2	unanswered	go	remain		
2	unmoved		remain	seem	
2	untouched		remain	seem	
2	unseen	go	run		
2	unused	go	remain		

Differences between verb-specific constructions

- Most of the collexemes, however, are specific to the individual verb-specific patterns
- They hint at differences between them:
 - Each of the pattern shows more or less strong preferences for the types of events talked about (their non-occurrence or ,absence', that is) <- drawn from the patterns' top 10 distinctive collexemes
- Again: no figures, just the overall results are given here

Differences between verb-specific constructions

- **BE**-collexemes: *eg unveiled*
 - Instances often represent **dynamic passives** (of undoing sth – verbs naming events of disclosure), or they state that sth did not affect people's minds
 - [lower ranks: almost all groups]
- **REMAIN**-collexemes: *eg unsolved*
 - Instances often express that sth was not communicated, **processes were not finished**, changes did not take place, and others (ie -> quite diverse)
- **GO**-collexemes: *eg unnoticed*
 - Instances bemoan the **absence of events of perception, psychological activity and communication** (-> less diversity than in *go un-*participle).

Differences between verb-specific constructions

- **COME**-collexemes: *eg unstuck*
 - Instances mainly report on **undoing an act of combination/attachment** (ie reversative Vs – often used metaphorically)
- **RUN**-collexemes: *eg unmodified*
 - Instances – among other things – report on things that were **not changed**, continued ,the old way‘ (fewer attracted collexemes & quite diverse meanings)
- **SEEM**-collexemes: *eg unconcerned*
 - Instances very prominently report on sth that did **not affect people’s mental states** (all 10 collexemes considered)

Differences between verb-specific constructions

- **CONTINUE**-collexemes: eg *unhindered*
 - Instances often report on events that can take place **without restrictions**
- All instantiations (except those by reversative *un*-participles) are concerned with ascertaining properties that result from the ‚absence‘ of events

Differences between verb-specific constructions

- **Participles of reversative verbs** require some special comment:
 - (prominent in *be un*-participles, also with change-of-state copulae (*come, become, get*))
 - the speaker does not refer to an ‘absent’ event but reports its realization:
 - ... *and more drugs **were uncovered** in follow-up searches ...*
 - ... *and the towel **came untucked** and...*
 - represent **dynamic passives**: an event is reported in its realization from the perspective of the affected participant
 - the focus is NOT (necessarily) on the final state –
 - though this may be the case with *be* in the respective contexts
 - ... *the paintings **were uncovered** when I came in*
 - [they had been uncovered before and were open to inspection]

Differences between verb-specific constructions

- The contribution of **finite verbs** to the description of the constructional meanings can be detected quite straightforwardly:
- Discussing (adjectival) **unpassives**, all those finite verbs do not concern us that induce depictive readings of the *un*-participle only:

(7) *Bnezet **approached** unnoticed*

Subject = agent → active events [excluded from further investigation]

- The focus is on those (finite) verbs having attributive and resultative readings: copulae and copula-like uses of other (motion) verbs, such as: *be, remain, go, come, run, seem, continue*
- They add to the state description specific notions, such as current relevance (*be*), persistence (*remain, continue*) uncertainty (*seem*), counter-expectation (*go*) etc – cannot be spelled out in full here

Unpassives and passives

- Only the attributive and the resultative uses compare with En (,ordinary' or ,central') passives
- They seem to be different in function/meaning in that they do not have eventive readings
 1. The un-participle collexeme denotes a property: *X remains/is untouched* – the event (of touching) did not apply to X, or is not even carried out
 - vs the ,ordinary English (event) passive, referring to an event from the perspective of the affected participant: *The house was built in the 1920s*
 2. The verb is of a copular nature rather than a passive auxiliary: we are concerned with the ascription of a state to the subject referent rather than the description of a patient-undergoing action(-agent) scenario
 - unpassives resemble stative passives where a referent is portrayed as being in a state (which is the result of the event): *The house was destroyed*

Unpassives and agent phrases

- Unpassives as (statal) **passives**: we should find agent phrases
 - Levin: by-phrase only sporadically found in adjectival passives;
 - McIntyre: by-phrase is ok if the referent is responsible for continuing the state expressed by the part = initiator of state
 - Quirk et al: ed-adjectives may occasionally have agent by-phrases
 - Huddleston & Pullum: adj passives with un-prefix allow by-phrases more freely

be	682 (7364)	go	52 (541)
remain	68 (1287)	come	1 (98)
continue	0 (109)	run	1 (31)
seem	27 (111)	become	2 (108)
appear	5 (46)		

- 838 out of 9695 = 8.64% ➔ ambivalent evidence

Unpassives and progressives

- Unpassives as **attributives**: prediction – no progressives
- The data:

be	7 (7364)	go	5 (541)
remain	0 (1287)	come	1 (98)
continue	1 (109)	run	1 (31)
seem	0 (111)	become	1 (108)
appear	0 (46)		

- Σ 16 out of 9695 = 0.165%
- Be -> **dynamic passives** (reversatives); other Vs -> depictive and resultative
- attributive state descriptions** and progressive: 5 (all *go un-V-en* -> **0.05%**)
 go => persistent state: a state depicted as moving through time
 ➔ supportive evidence: unpassives express states

Conclusion

- **Unpassives** do not represent a homogenous category, they comprise the following constructions:
 - [**Depictives** → describe the state of an agent -> subject is agent
=> state ascription]
 - **Attributives** → describe states: subject = carrier of state/
property (of being unaffected by event at stake)
=> state ascription
 - **Resultatives** → describe change of state: subject = experiencer,
undergoer of change -> ending up in ,new' state
=> change-of-state
 - **Passives** → describe an event from the viewpoint of the
patient
=> patient affected by an event

Conclusion

- How do depictive, attributive and resultative uses relate to passives?
- Depictives – are unrelated to passives
- **Attributive unpassives** (aka ‚statal passives‘) share central features with the **copular (SVC) construction**:
 - All instantiations (except the ones containing participles of reversative Vs) are concerned with ascertaining properties
 - The semantic role of the subject phrase is CARRIER (of a property) rather than PATIENT/ AFFECTED
 - They allow for all sorts of copular verbs (*remain, seem, become* etc)
 - do not attract progressives
 - [There is psycholinguistic evidence in favor of the adjectival analysis of these constructions: Gese, Maienborn & Stolterfoht, 2008]

Conclusion

- **Attributive unpassives** share a few features with **passives**:
 - The properties ascribed to the CARRIER result from the ,absence' of events: *the material is unabridged...* (cf. ex (1)) -> an event is alluded to
 - Their thematic structure is superficially analogous to that of passives
 - They may contain agent *by-phrases*
- Their passive feel is enhanced by the existence of formally identical constructions with reversative verbs, which basically and generally may have two readings:
 - (dynamic) passive (with PATIENT subjects) and
 - (statal) attributive or resultative (with CARRIER subjects)

[and only occur with *be*, *become*, *come* and *get*]

Conclusion

- **Resultative unpassives** express change-of-state
 - Change-of-state ,demotes‘ the agent, sth also passives allow for:
 - *Many shipworkers have **become unemployed** ...*
 - > resultative copular constructions also enhance the affiliation of unpassives (and SVC with participial C) with **passives**
 - They have been found to represent **bridging contexts** for the acquisition of the passive in CLA: *sth is done -> sth gets done ->* dynamic passives (Israel et al. 2000)
- Σ unpassives – reflect interrelations between ASCs:
- [depictive] -> attributive - - - - - - - - -> passive
resultative (as mediator?)

States – expressed by unpassives

depictive	attributive	resultative
continue	be	become
go	go	come
come	remain	get
run	continue	grow
stand	seem	
sit	appear	
lie		
grow		

passive

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

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Simple collexeme analyses: the frequent verbs *be*, *remain*, *go*, *come*, *run*, *seem*, *continue*

rank	be	remain	go	come	run	seem	continue
1	unaffected	unchanged	unnoticed	unstuck	unchanged	unperturbed	unabated
2	uncaused	unanswered	unchallenged	unglued	unmodified	unconcerned	unchecked
3	unchanged	unresolved	unpunished	unplugged	unchecked	unaffected	unchanged
4	uncovered	unknown	unheeded	unprepared	unheeded	unimpressed	unhindered
5	unemployed	untouched	unrecognized	undiddled	uncontradicted	uninterested	undisturbed
6	unknown	unconvinced	unreported	untucked	uninvestigated	unmoved	uninterrupted
7	unveiled	unaltered	unanswered	unfastened	unplaced	undecided	unimpeded
8	unloaded	unaffected	undetected	unallowed	unassisted	untouched	undiminished
9	unmarried	unsolved	unremarked	unclouded	unbridled	unconvinced	unilluminated
10	undone	undetected	unrecorded	unheralded	undetected	unjustified	unchallenged

Simple collexeme analyses: the frequent verbs *be*, *remain*, *go*, *come*, *run*, *seem*, *continue*

rank	be	remain	go	come	run	seem	continue
11	unfounded	unmoved	unheard	unbound	unseen	unconnected	unbroken
12	unearthed	undisturbed	unrewarded	undiluted		unprepared	unresolved
13	unprepared	unexplained	unchecked	unhindered		unsurprised	unamended
14	unrelated	undecided	unseen	uninvited		unwarranted	unrelieved
15	unjustified	unpaid	unmentioned	unannounced		unoffended	untainted
16	unimpressed	unsold	unstated	unopened		unknown	unabashed
17	unlocked	undiscovered	unquestioned	unchecked		unquenched	unfilled
18	unhurt	unfulfilled	undiagnosed	unscathed		unsynchronised	unobserved
19	unheard	unused	unused	undone		untalented	undeterred
20	undecided	unproven	unsatisfied	unmarked		undismayed	undetected

Covarying collexeme in the *go un-V-en* construction

words1	words2	coll.strength	words1	words2	coll.strength
untreated	tumour	7.42	unchallenged	statement	3.10
unheeded	warning	6.27	undetected	error	2.98
unanswered	plea	4.80	unaccompanied	staff	2.73
unmet	need	4.37	unactioned	complaint	2.73
unheeded	call	4.25	unbeaten	we	2.73
unreported	case	4.17	unchastened	impudence	2.73
unasked	question	4.16	unclaimed	pence	2.73
unanswered	letter	3.84	uncompensated	loser	2.73
unchecked	rising	3.61	unconfirmed	rumour	2.73
unheard	voice	3.42	unconsidered	objection	2.73

Covarying collexemes in the *remain un-V-en* construction

words1	words2	coll.strength	words1	words2	coll.strength
unanswered	questions	70.91	unconvinced	I	5.64
unresolved	issues	18.56	unsolved	murder	5.64
unmarried	women	17.57	unexpired	years	5.44
unchanged	rates	8.97	unresolved	problems	5.39
unsolved	problems	8.89	unsold	shares	5.39
unstirred	water	8.55	unknown	whereabouts	5.25
unbeaten	team	7.56	undone	chores	5.14
untapped	potential	6.20	unaccounted	bodies	4.92
unfilled	posts	6.01	unaccounted	prisoners	4.92
unpaired	males	5.92	unbroken	silence	4.92

Covarying collexemes in the *come un-V-en* construction

words1	words2	coll.strength	words1	words2	coll.strength
unglued	she	2.90	unheralded	thoughts	1.99
unprepared	they	2.35	unhindered	light	1.99
unalloyed	benefits	1.99	unnoticed	vapour	1.99
unannounced	member	1.99	untucked	towel	1.99
unbound	hair	1.99	unmarked	anything	1.69
unchecked	phone_calls	1.99	unplugged	phone	1.69
undiluted	traits	1.99	uninvited	proper	1.51
undone	bandage	1.99	unclouded	it	1.39
unfastened	buttons	1.99	undiddled	it	1.39
unfinished	kit	1.99	unglued	design	1.39

Distinctive collexemes for *be*, *remain*, *continue*, *seem* + un-V-en (distinctiveness value: ranks 1-10)

Coll_be	Pbin_be	Coll_remain	Pbin_remain	Coll_continue	Pbin_continue	Coll_seem	Pbin_seem
unknown	48,82	unchanged	76,84	unabated	96,95	unperturbed	15,65
unveiled	27,92	unanswered	33,50	unchecked	17,40	unconcerned	10,44
unemployed	22,88	unresolved	29,22	unchanged	6,66	uninterested	5,12
uncovered	21,14	unconvinced	15,70	unhindered	5,28	unimpressed	4,09
unloaded	14,78	untouched	11,44	uninterrupted	3,92	unmoved	3,83
unrelated	12,77	unsolved	11,30	undiminished	3,14	unaffected	3,43
unprecedented	12,45	unfulfilled	8,47	undisturbed	2,93	undecided	2,47
unearthed	10,95	unaltered	7,036	unbroken	1,96	unsurprised	2,29
unexpected	10,19	unexplained	6,66	undeterred	1,96	unoffended	1,96
unlocked	9,44	unexplored	6,26	unheard	1,96	unquenched	1,96

Distinctive collexemes for *come*, *run*, *go* + un-V-en (distinctiveness value: ranks 1-10)

Coll_com e	Pbin_c ome	Coll_run	Pbin_run	Coll_go	Pbin_go	Coll_becom e	Pbin
unstuck	138,82	unmodified	9,67	unnoticed	137,48	unemployed	27,89
unglued	8,05	unchanged	6,92	unchallenged	43,36	unbalanced	15,49
unplugged	2,72	unchecked	5,70	unheeded	36,91	unbounded	5,85
unallowed	2,01	uncontradicted	2,51	unpunished	34,76	unsettled	4,95
undiddled	2,01	unheeded	2,28	unrecognised	26,54	unbuttoned	3,17
unheralded	2,01	uninvestigated	2,21	unreported	21,49	unmoored	1,97
untucked	2,01	unbridled	2,04	unremarked	16,74	unneeded	1,97
unfastened	1,71	unassisted	2,04	undetected	11,25	unstabilised	1,97
uninvited	1,54	unplaced	1,37	unrewarded	9,74	unfixed	1,67
unclouded	1,54			unrecorded	9,04	untenanted	1,50

Distinctive collexemes for *become*, *get*, *grow*, *come* + un-V-en (distinctiveness value: ranks 1-10)

Coll_become	Pbin_become	Coll_get	Pbin_get	Coll_grow	Pbin_grow	Coll_come	Pbin_come
unemployed	27,89	undressed	58,73	unused	5,05	unstuck	138,82
unbalanced	15,49	unbound	1,86	unaccustomed	1,90	unglued	8,05
unbounded	5,85	unborn	1,76			unplugged	2,72
unsettled	4,96	unstuck	1,54			unalloyed	2,01
unbuttoned	3,19	unknown	-1,36			undiddled	2,01
unmoored	1,97					unheralded	2,01
unneeded	1,97					untucked	2,01
unstabilised	1,97					unfastened	1,71
unfixed	1,67					uninvited	1,54
untenanted	1,50					unclouded	1,54

Distinctive collexemes for *be*, *remain*, *continue*, *seem* + un-V-en (distinctiveness value: ranks 1-10 -repelled)

Coll_be	Pbin_b e	Coll_remai n	Pbin_rem ain	Coll_contin ue	Pbin_conti nue	Coll_seem	Pbin_see m
unpunished	-14,7611677	unprecedented	-5,39327496	unaffected	-1,59033002	unchanged	-1,49658954
unresolved	-16,4606597	unnoticed	-5,56894158	unemployed	-2,96445204	unknown	-1,50930026
unabated	-17,0448895	unexpected	-5,63034199	unknown	-4,31455094	unemployed	-2,96445204
undetected	-17,3039283	unrelated	-6,22300957				
unheeded	-17,9057536	unloaded	-6,40080984				
unchallenged	-24,6877926	unfounded	-6,63787687				
unchanged	-27,4832325	unknown	-7,43986425				
unanswered	-37,5278106	uncovered	-10,6087496				
unstuck	-43,1803868	unveiled	-12,0904186				
unnoticed	-78,9566517	unemployed	-23,5552303				

Distinctive collexemes for *come*, *run*, *go* + un-V-en (distinctiveness value: ranks 1-10 repelled)

Coll_com e	Pbin_c ome	Coll_run	Pbin_run	Coll_go	Pbin_go	Coll_becom e	Pbin
unaffected	-1,40316297			unrelated	-2,51324973	unemployed	27,89
unemployed	-2,61556361			unloaded	-2,58505686	unbalanced	15,49
unchanged	-2,64947691			unfounded	-2,68079971	unbounded	5,85
unknown	-3,80676843			unmarried	-3,6860996	unsettled	4,95
				uncovered	-4,28449239	unbuttoned	3,17
				unveiled	-4,88288519	unmoored	1,97
				unaffected	-6,62704754	unneeded	1,97
				unemployed	-11,958057	unstabilised	1,97
				unchanged	-14,9598198	unfixed	1,67
				unknown	-21,4942691	untenanted	1,50