

The derivation of passive alternations

Alejo Alcaraz (UPV/EHU)

1. The restriction.

The IO of the active sentence in (1a) cannot become the NOM SUBJ of the corresponding passive (1b).

- (1)
- a. Juan le envió un paquete a María
Juan 3.SGDAT sent a package to-Mary
"Juan sent Mary a package"
- b. * María fue enviada un paquete
Mary was sent a package
- c. Un paquete le fue enviado a María.
a package 3.SGDAT was sent to-Mary

2. The naughty dialect vs. The well-behaved dialect.

- (2)
- a. Juan (le) prohibió a María leer el libro.
Juan 3.SGDAT forbade to-Mary to.read the book
(✓ Iberian Sp./✓ Peruvian)
- b. [Leer el libro] le fue prohibido a María.
[to.read the book] 3.SGDAT was forbidden to-Mary
(✓ Iberian Sp./✓ Peruvian)
- c. María fue prohibida (de) leer el libro
Mary was forbidden of to.read the book
(× Iberian Sp./✓ Peruvian)

3. Questions.

A) The Peruvian Puzzle.

Why is (1b) ungrammatical in Peruvian, but (2c) is completely grammatical?

B) The dialectal variation.

What is the source of variation between Iberian and Peruvian Spanish?

4. A-verbs vs. B-verbs

4.1. Ellipsis.

On the one hand, A-verbs (*permitir*, *prohibir*, *ordenar*, etc.) select a bare infinitive and co-occur optionally with a dative argument. On the other hand, B-verbs (*forzar a*, *obligar a*, etc.) select an accusative argument and can co-occur optionally with a prepositional infinitival clause. This is confirmed by their different behavior with Null Complement Anaphors (NCAs) in (3).

- (3)
- a. *?A Juan le permitieron [ir al cine]ⁱ, pero a María le impidieron Øⁱ
to-Juan 3.SG.DAT allowed to.go movies, but to-Maria 3.SG.DAT prevented
'They allowed him to go to the movies, but they prevented Mary to'

- b. Juan quiso [fregar los platos]ⁱ, pero a María la forzaron Øⁱ
Juan wanted to.wash the dishes, but to-Maria 3.SG.ACC forced

4.2. Floating Quantifiers.

F-Qs cannot be stranded in the non-finite complements of B-verbs (4). In A-verbs F-Qs cannot only be stranded, but they receive a low interpretation.

- (4) *? Losⁱ incitaron [a comer a todosⁱ la menestra] (B-verbs)
3.SG.ACC incited.they to.eat A everyone the soup
"They incited them all to eat the soup"

- (5) a. Lesⁱ prohibieron [comer a todosⁱ la menestra] (A-verbs)
3.SG.DAT forbade.they to.eat A everyone the soup
"They forbade them all to eat the soup"

FORBID>>EVERYONE

- b. Lesⁱ prohibieron a todosⁱ [comer la menestra]
3.SG.DAT forbade.they A everyone to.eat the soup
"They forbade everyone to eat the soup"

EVERYONE>>FORBID

4.3 Low Negation.

- (6) Los bomberos ordenaron [no salir a nadie del recinto] (A-verbs)
The fireman ordered.they not to.exist A nobody from room
"Firemen ordered that none leaves the room"

- (7) *? Los anfitriones incitaron [a no comer a nadie la menestra] (B-verbs)
The hosts incited.they to not eat A none the soup
'The hosts incited none to eat the soup'

5. Person Restrictions in Long Distance Agreement.

Long Distance Number Agreement in Icelandic (Holmberg & Sigurdsson 2008)

- (8) a. Henni virdast myndirnar vera ljótar.
her.DAT seem.3PL paintings.the.NOM be ugly
'It seems to her that the paintings are ugly.'

- b. Pad virdist/*virdast einhverri konu myndirnar vera ljótar
EXPL seems.3SG/3PL some woman.DAT paintings.the.NOM be ugly

Long Distance Number Agreement in Iberian Spanish

- (9) %A Juan le fueron prohibidos leer dos libros
To-John 3.SG.DAT were.PL forbidden.PL to.read two books

Speakers that allow LDN agreement, strongly reject Long Distance Person Agreement.

- (10) *A Juan le fuimos prohibidos visitar los linguistas.
To-Juan 3.SG.DAT were1.PL forbidden.PL to.visit the linguistics.

For same speakers, (8) become grammatical if the NOM object is A'-movement.

- (11) Estos son los libros_i [que le fueron [t_i [prohibidos [leer t_i]]]
These are the books that 3.SG.DAT werePL forbiddenPL to.read

Following Ormazabal & Romero (2013), I assume that the dative clitic is an agreement marker. Specifically I assume that the spell-out of $v_{\{3^a, +animate, singular\}} > /le/$. I also assume that- light *v* needs to move to Pr (Person) and Num(ber) in order to trigger the agreement mechanism (Sigurdsson and Holmberg 2008).

- (12)
- a. *Le fueron prohibidos a Juan leer dos libros (Dative Intervention)
b. *[Leer dos libros] le fueron prohibidos (InfP-to-Subj movement)
c. Estos dos libros, asegura que le fueron prohibidos leer(*los) (NOM object)

- (13) %A Juan le fueron prohibidos leer dos libros (Long Distance Object Agreement)

- a. Num T Pr. v [_{TP} DP_{DAT} [_{T'} T_{INF} [_{VP} V DP]]]
- b. Num T Pr.+v v [_{TP} DP_{DAT} [_{T'} T_{INF} [_{VP} V DP]]]
- c. DP_{DAT} Num T Pr.+v v [_{TP} DP_{DAT} [_{T'} T_{INF} [_{VP} V DP]]]
- d. DP_{DAT} T+Num T̄ v+Pr v [_{TP} DP_{DAT} [_{T'} T_{INF} [_{VP} V DP]]]

(14) Se-constructions.

- a. Se le ordenaron leer estos libros
b. Se (le) ordenaron (*a Juan) leer estos libros
c. Estos libros, Aurelio dice que se le prohibieron leer(*los).

6. Adjectival passives in Peruvian Spanish.

The derivation

Assumptions:

- light *v* needs to move to Pr (Person) in order to trigger the agreement mechanism (Sigurdsson and Holmberg 2008).

-In Peruvian Spanish, there is a head X blocking v-to-Pr movement. This head X is absent in Iberian Spanish.

- (15) María fue prohibida de leer el libro

- a. Num T Pr X v [_{TP} DP [_{T'} T_{INF} [VP ...
- b. Num T Pr̄ X v [_{TP} DP [_{T'} T_{INF} [VP ...
- c. Num T+Pr Pr̄ X v [_{TP} DP [_{T'} T_{INF} [VP ...

What is the nature of the intervening X head?

- X is an stativizer (Kratzer 1994, 2000; Anagnostopoulou 2006). That is, (39) is not a verbal passive in Peruvian Spanish but an adjectival (phrasal) passive (see Agnastopoulou 2006 for variation in the attachment of this operator in German and Greek).

- (16) * fue prohibida María de leer el libro (Peruvian Spanish)
was forbidden Mary of to.read the book

- (17) Estoy prohibido de hablar sobre el tema (× Iberian Spanish/ ✓ Peruvian Spanish)
"I am forbidden to talk about this"

-> In Iberian Spanish there are periphrastic constructions similar to (15). Obviously, they are Adjectival Passives.

- (18) Los aviones tienen prohibido aterrizar sobre la pista principal.
'Planes are forbidden to take off'

- (19) Mi mujer me tiene prohibidísimo apostar en el hipódromo.
'My wife fobid me to bet at the racetrack'

7. Conclusions.

There is a subset of A-verbs that are able to form Adj. Passives in Peruvian Spanish with the auxiliar verb SER and ESTAR.

This extra option in Peruvian Spanish triggers a sort of an seeming spectacular variation between both dialects (2c), but at the same time its influence in other parts of the grammar is very limited.