

# Passives of causatives and perception verbs in Romance: further evidence for phases

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# Outline

1. Restrictions on long passives in English and Brazilian Portuguese - a phase-based analysis (Sheehan & Cyrino 2018)
2. (Apparent) passives of ECM complements in other Romance languages.
3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages.
4. Spanish as a case study - testing implications.
5. Reflexives and SE-passives
6. Conclusions and remaining questions

# 1. Restrictions on long passives in English and Brazilian Portuguese

## Passives of causatives/perception verbs in English (i)

⇒ In English, *bare verbal complements* (BVCs) block passivisation unlike *to infinitives/gerunds* (see Higginbotham 1983, Mittwoch 1990, Felser 1999 and others):

- 1) a. I made/saw/heard/let/had/watched/listened to [Kim fall/sing/read the book]. BVC  
b. \*Kim<sub>i</sub> was made/seen/heard/had/let/watched/listened to [t<sub>i</sub> fall/sing/read a book]. \*passive of BVC
  
- 2) a. Kim<sub>i</sub> was **made**/seen/heard [t<sub>i</sub> **to** fall/run/read a book]. passive non-agentive to-inf  
b. \*Kim was let/had/watched/listened [t<sub>i</sub> to fall/run/read a book]. \*passive agentive to-inf  
c. I \***made**/saw/heard/\*watched/\*listened to [Sam to be an excellent orator]. Inference + stative to-inf
  
- 3) a. I **had**/saw/heard/watched/listened to [Kim falling/running/reading a book]. gerund  
b. Kim<sub>i</sub> was seen/heard/watched/listened to [t<sub>i</sub> falling/running/reading a book]. passive of gerund  
c. \*Kim<sub>i</sub> was **had** [t<sub>i</sub> falling/running/reading a book]. \*passive of have + gerund

**Surprises:** (i) To-infinitives are more widespread in the passive than the active.

(ii) Gerunds allow passivisation only with verbs of perception (and not *have* causatives).

# 1. Restrictions on long passives in English and Brazilian Portuguese

## Passives of causatives/perception verbs in English (ii)

Sheehan & Cyrino (2018): restrictions on long passives are due to Phase Impenetrability.

BVCs are phases that lack T (they are bigger than voice but smaller than TP - evidence from auxiliaries - where voice/prog auxiliaries can be phase heads - see Aelbrecht and Harwood 2015, Harwood 2013, 2015, Ramchand and Svenonius 2014).

- 4) a. I made/had/let/saw/heard [<sub>voiceP</sub> the perpetrators **be** fired].  
b. I made/?had/let/\*saw/\*heard [<sub>progP</sub> the kids **be** reading when the head was due to visit].  
c. I'll make/??have/??let/\*see/\*hear [<sub>perfP</sub> Mary **have** recited the poem by the time you arrive].

see/hear/watch/listen to (perception verbs)			[ <sub>voiceP</sub> <b>voice</b> [ <sub>VP</sub> VP]]
have/let (agentive causatives verbs)		[ <sub>ProgP</sub> <b>prog</b>	[ <sub>voiceP</sub> voice [ <sub>VP</sub> VP]]]
make (causative verbs)	[ <sub>PerfP</sub> perf	[ <sub>ProgP</sub> <b>prog</b>	[ <sub>voiceP</sub> voice [ <sub>VP</sub> VP]]]]
see/hear (inference)	[ <sub>TP</sub> <b>to</b> [ <sub>PerfP</sub> perf	[ <sub>ProgP</sub> <b>prog</b>	[ <sub>voiceP</sub> voice [ <sub>VP</sub> VP]]]]]]

# 1. Restrictions on long passives in English and Brazilian Portuguese

## Passives of causatives/perception verbs in English (iii)

In *to-infs*, all auxiliaries are possible because they are TPs, so all voice/aspect heads can project:

- 5) a. I saw him [TP to **have been** offended/to **be** reading].  
b. He was expected [TP to **have been** invited].  
c. He was seen/made [TP to **have** completed the training before the meeting].

⇒ Long passives are blocked where a complement is a phase lacking T, and permitted where T is present.

More evidence that BVCs are phases that lack T (from VP-fronting).

The bare verbal complements of *make/see* also allow VP-fronting (and this is a phasal diagnostic - Boškovic 2014, Harwood 2015):

- 6) You wanted the kids to **be** punished, so/and...      **voice** + vP > vP fronts  
a. ...[punished] I made/saw them **be**.  
b. \*...[be punished] I made/saw them.

# 1. Restrictions on long passives in English and Brazilian Portuguese

## Passives of causatives/perception verbs in English (iv)

7) Phase Impenetrability Condition 2 (Chomsky 2001)  
 [Given structure [ZP Z ... [HP α [H YP]]], with H and Z the heads of phases]: The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

**Main corollary of PIC2:** T can Agree with material in the complement of a phase head, before transfer of that complement takes place.

In passives/unaccusatives **voice/prog** is still a phase head (see Legate 2003, 2016, building on Fox 1998).

But local A-movement does not need to proceed through the phase edge.

⇒ Our passivisation restriction seems to show that A-movement not only **need not** but **cannot** access phase edge escape hatches (contra Sauerland 2003).

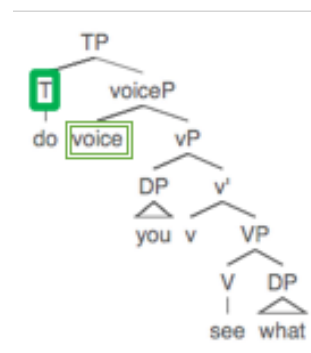


Fig 1. Derivation when T is merged

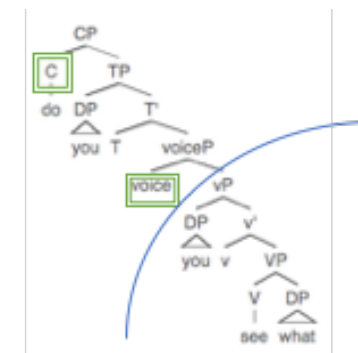


Fig 2. Derivation when C is merged



Fig 3. Local A-movement under PIC2

# 1. Restrictions on long passives in English and Brazilian Portuguese

## Passives of causatives/perception verbs in English (v)

Sheehan & Cyrino's (2018) **Basic proposal**: where the complement of *make/see/hear/have/let* is a phase, by the time matrix T probes, arguments in the BVC are no longer visible.

In essence, A-dependencies across two phase heads are ruled out by PIC2 because A-movement cannot access escape hatches.

### What about *to infinitives* and gerunds? Why are they different?

- To infinitives contain a T projection with an EPP feature.

**Conclusion**: T's EPP features feeds successive cyclic A-movement.

See Pesetsky (2019) for a theory which may be able to capture the active/passive asymmetry in the distribution of *to infinitives*.

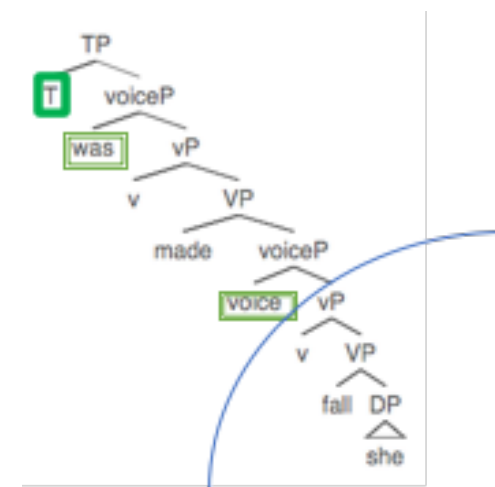


Fig 4. BVPs block long passives

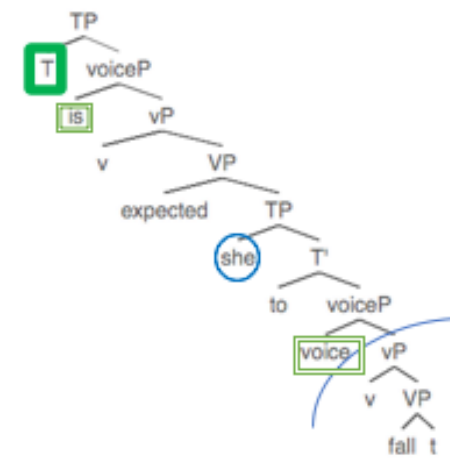


Fig 5. To infinitives feed long passives

# 1. Restrictions on long passives in English and Brazilian Portuguese

## Passives of causatives/perception verbs in English (vi)

### ○ Passives of gerundive complements are an illusion.

There are two possible structures for perception verb + DP + gerund (Declerck 1981, Borgonovo 1996):

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 8) a. I heard [him singing in the shower]    | clausal gerund (event reading)                      |
| b. I heard [him] [PRO singing in the shower] | DP object + secondary predicate (direct perception) |
| c. I had [him crying with laughter]          | clausal gerund (event reading)                      |

Unambiguous clausal gerunds are incompatible with passivisation unlike *to-infinitival* complements (Borgonovo 1996):

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 9) a. *It has been seen raining in the desert.           | (compare: It has been seen to rain in the desert.)             |
| b. *There can be seen being several potential solutions. | (compare: There can be seen to be several possible solutions.) |

Passives + gerunds denote direct perception, unlike their active counterparts, which are ambiguous (Borgonovo 1996):

- |   |
|---|
| 10) a. I saw [Mary doing a puppet show], but I didn't see <i>her</i> , only the puppets were visible. |
| b. Maryi was seen ti [PRO doing a puppet show], #but only the puppets were visible.                   |

**Conclusion:** Only the DP object + secondary predicate can be passivised. There is no passivisation of clausal gerunds. That is why have + clausal gerund cannot be passivised.



# 1. Restrictions on long passives in English and Brazilian Portuguese

## Passives of causatives/perception verbs in Brazilian Portuguese (i)

Unlike European Portuguese, BP lacks *faire-infinitif* and *faire-par* causatives and allows ECM or inflected infinitives with these verbs (Cyrino 2010, 2011; Bonfim and Salles 2016, Sheehan and Cyrino 2016).

- Inflected infinitives allow topicalization at their edge, suggesting they are CPs and thus phasal (blocking long passivisation)

11) Eu fiz, a água, todas as meninas beber\*(em).  
I made the water all the girls drink.INF(.3PL)  
'The water, I made all the girls drink.'

- Sheehan and Cyrino (2018): in Brazilian Portuguese, some uninflected ECM complements allow passivisation:

12) a. \*Os meninos foram feitos/vistos/ouvidos comer(em) todo o lanche.  
the boys were made/seen/heard leave  
b. Os meninos foram **mandados/deixados** comer(\*em) todo o lanche.  
the boys were had let leave(.3PL)  
'The boys were ordered/allowed to leave.'

Our proposal: the uninflected complements in (12b) are TPs, like the English *to infinitives*.

# 1. Restrictions on long passives in English and Brazilian Portuguese

## Passives of causatives/perception verbs in Brazilian Portuguese (ii)

- The same verbs that allow passivisation fail to impose event simultaneity or veridicality on their complement:

13) Ontem o Pedro deixou/mandou/\*fez/ \*viu [ as crianças viajar amanhã].  
Yesterday the Pedro let had made saw the children travel tomorrow  
'Yesterday Pedro let/had the children travel tomorrow.'

14) Eu mandei/\*fiz/ \*vi as crianças estudar o livro mas elas não fizeram isso  
I had/ made/ saw the kids study the book but they not did.3P this  
'I had had/made/saw the kids study the book, #but they didn't do it.'

- With *let*, veridicality entailments are reversed: 'I let her leave' does not entail that she left, but 'I didn't let her leave' entails that she did not leave (Jackendoff 1976: 112). This entailment also fails to hold in BP, the following is perfectly natural (in contrast with European Portuguese):

15) Eu não deixei as crianças viajar mas elas viajaram.  
I neg let the kids travel but they travelled  
'I didn't let the kids travel #but they did.'

- This follows if the veridicality entailment results where a single T head scopes over two events (see Barwise 1981).

- BP also allows all kinds of auxiliaries under these verbs (see Sheehan & Cyrino 2018).

# 1. Restrictions on long passives in English and Brazilian Portuguese

## Interim summary

Sheehan & Cyrino (2018) propose that A-movement cannot access phase-edge escape hatches and so

- Long passives are blocked by PIC2 where the complement of a light verb is phasal but lacks a T-projection.
- Long passives are possible where a T-projection is present with an EPP feature to feed further A-movement.

A further prediction: long passives should be possible where a light verb embeds a complement smaller than a phase.

Brazilian Portuguese only has ECM or CP complements under causative/perception verbs, but other Romance languages have smaller kinds of complements (*faire-infinitive* and *faire-par*) as well as ECM complements.

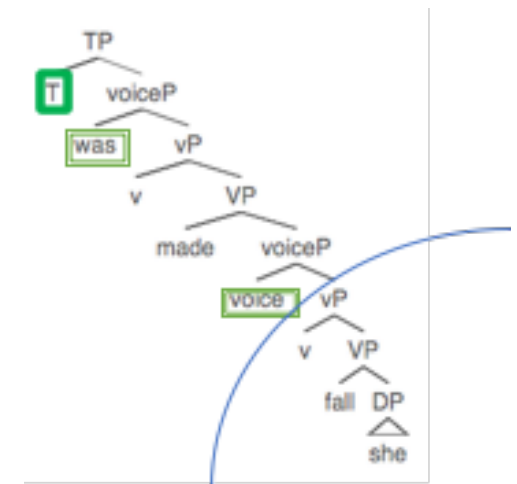


Fig 4. BVPs block long passives

## 2. (Apparent) passives of ECM complements in other Romance languages

### Overview table

■ Romance ECM complements have the following properties (see Guasti 1993, Treviño 1993, Martins 2018, Ciutescu 2013, 2018, Sheehan 2020)

- **Accusative on transitive clitic causees.**
- SV(O) order (raising to object)
- No clause-union (e.g., no clitic climbing of object clitic)
- No PCC effects between causees and objects (unlike in faire-infinitive)
- Voice-marking (se)/auxiliaries possible in the complement
- Coercive semantics (with causatives)
- Negation permitted in embedded clause

	causatives	perception verbs
Brazilian Portuguese	Y (HAVE, LET) * (MAKE)	*
European Portuguese	*	*
Spanish	*	*/%
French	*	%
Italian	*	Y

Table 1. Passives of ECM complements

## 2.(Apparent) passives of ECM complements in other Romance languages

### European Portuguese

European Portuguese allows ECM complements under all causative/perception verbs but disallows passives of ECM complements (Hornstein, Martins & Nunes 2006, 2010).

- 16) \*Eles foram vistos/mandados/deixados comer a sandes.  
they were seen/ had/ let eat.INF the sandwich  
Lit. 'They were seen/heard/let eat the sandwich/go out.' (Hornstein, Martins & Nunes 2010)

Passives are freely possible with gerunds and prepositional infinitives (Hornstein, Martins & Nunes 2006), probably because they have the DP object + secondary predicate structure.

- 17) a. As meninas foram vistas comendo a sandes.  
the girls were seen.F.PL eating the sandwich  
'The girls were seen leaving'.  
  
b. As meninas foram vistas a comer a sandes.  
the girls were seen.F.PL to eat.INF the sandwich  
'The girls were seen leaving'.

**Conclusion:** European Portuguese generally disallows passives of ECM complements.

## 2.(Apparent) passives of ECM complements in other Romance languages

### Spanish

- Santorini & Heycock (1988) report that passives of perception verbs unlike passives of causatives are sometimes accepted with ECM complements (see also Ciutescu 2018):

18) %María fue vista robar el carro.  
María was seen steal.INF the car  
'Maria was seen to steal the car.' (Santorini & Heycock 1988)

But there are virtually no corpus examples of passives of *ver* targeting a transitive subject in the 72 billion-word News on the Web (NOW) section of the Corpus del Español (<https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/now/>):

19) Hoy por la mañana, Paul Manafort fue visto abandonar su casa [...] [Peru]  
today by the morning Paul Manafort was seen abandon his house  
'This morning, Paul Manafort was seen abandoning his house.'

- The vast majority of long passives with *ver* involve unaccusative verbs, and most are with *salir* 'go out' (something we return to later).

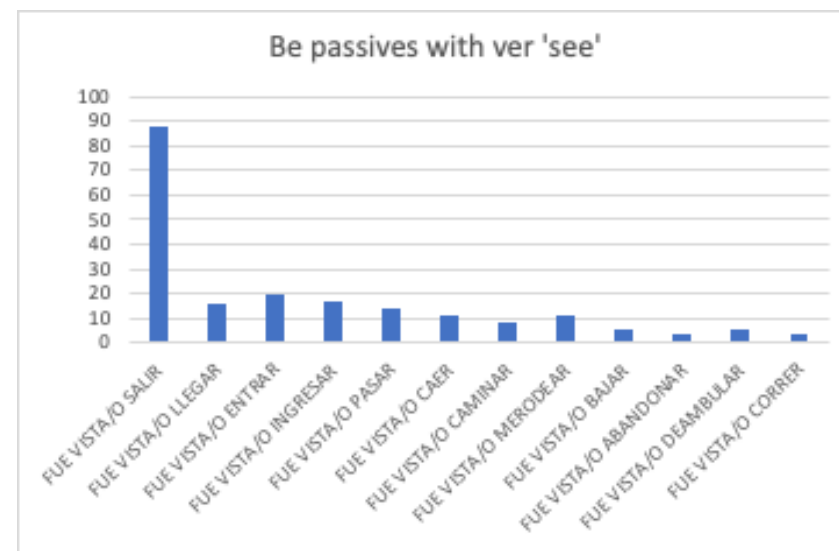


Figure 5. Corpus hits for fue visto/vista + INF

## 2.(Apparent) passives of ECM complements in other Romance languages

### French (i)

- French allows ECM complements under verbs of perception and *laisser* ‘let’ (as well as with *faire* ‘make’ if the causee is a clitic).
- Passives of ECM complements of *laisser* ‘let’ are banned, but passives of perception verbs were permitted historically (Guasti 1993) and some speakers marginally allow them (Kayne 1975):

20) ?Elle a été entendue/\*laissé(e) chanter cette chanson.  
she has been heard/. let sing.INF this song (Kayne 1975)

- Canadian speakers tend to accept these passives more. French speakers prefer passives of *voir* (‘see’) over *entendre* (‘hear’), where they accept them at all. Passives with a present participle or, in Nantes, with *à*, are accepted with both verbs, as in European Portuguese:

21) Elle a été entendue chantant/à chanter cette chanson. [Nantes French]  
she has been heard.F singing /to sing.INF this song  
‘She was heard singing this song.’

## 2.(Apparent) passives of ECM complements in other Romance languages

### French (ii)

- Even where they are accepted, these passives are probably illusory in the same way the English passives of gerunds are:

22) a. J'ai vu Toone faire un spectacle de marionnettes ce matin.

I have seen Toone do.INF a show of puppets this morning

b. Toone a été vu faire un spectacle de marionnettes ce matin.

Toone has been seen do.INF a show of puppets this morning

For those who accept (20b), it can only have the reading whereby Toone was seen, not the event-reading, whereby the show was seen, but he remained hidden.

**Conclusion:** French does not actually permit passives of ECM constructions under perception verbs, apparent examples where they are accepted, involve a non-finite secondary predicate.



## 2.(Apparent) passives of ECM complements in other Romance languages

### Italian (i)

Italian allows passives of the ECM complements of perception verbs more readily, albeit in a somewhat formal register (Guasti 1993, Rizzi 2000), but disallows passives of *lasciare* + ECM complement :

- 23) Gianni è stato visto/\*lasciato mangiare la mela.  
Gianni is been seen/let. eat.INF the apple  
'Gianni was seen eating the apple.'

As Rizzi (2000) notes, the ECM construction with *vedere* 'see' in Italian is close in meaning to the English gerund.

Unlike Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan and French, Italian lacks the possibility of embedding a gerund/present participle under these verbs (Casalicchio & Migliori 2018):

- 24) \*Vedo Maria mangiando.  
See.1SG Maria eating

Once again, we might assume there are two distinct structures for such strings, only one of which involves a clausal complement, with the other a DP object + secondary predicate structure.

## 2.(Apparent) passives of ECM complements in other Romance languages

### Italian (ii)

Once again, it seems like the passive corresponds to a DP object + secondary predicate rather than a clausal complement:

- 25) a. ?Ho visto piovere. [It]  
have.1sg seen rain.INF  
'I saw it rain.'  
b. \*È stato visto piovere  
is been seen rain.INF

Even in the active, the event reading seems to be unavailable in Italian. Rizzi (2000) notes that such examples always involve direct perception of the individual:

- 26) a. Ho visto Nico fare uno spettacolo di marionette.  
have.1sg seen Nico do.INF a show of puppets  
'I saw Nico doing a puppet show.'  
b. Nico è stato visto fare uno spettacolo di marionette.  
Nico is been seen do.INF a show of puppets  
'Nico was seen doing a puppet show.'

It is not clear that Italian really allows passivisation of ECM complements. The wider acceptability of passives here may be due to passives of DP object + secondary predicate structures and the lack of a gerund alternative.

## 2. (Apparent) passives of ECM complements in other Romance languages

### Interim conclusions

- Contrary to what we might expect, Romance ECM complements of perception/causative verbs cannot be passivised.
- Apparent examples probably involve passives of DP objects + secondary predicates and what varies is the availability of infinitives as secondary predicates in this construction.
- This is explained by the analysis in Sheehan & Cyrino (2018) if these complements are phasal but lacking a T projection like BVCs in English and ECM complements of *fazer/ver/ouvir* in Brazilian Portuguese.
- Further work is needed to justify this claim, especially given that they can apparently host clausal negation (Guasti 1993), but their temporal deficiency and ban on high auxiliaries support this view.

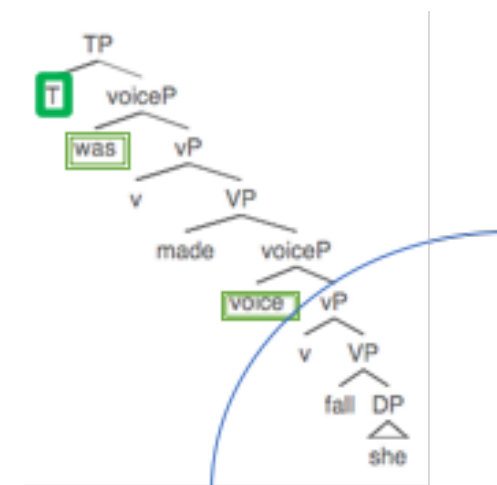


Fig 4. BVPs block long passives

### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages.

#### Overview

Two kinds of clause union complements with these verbs (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986, Alsina 1992, Guasti 1993, 1996, 2017, Gonçalves 1999):

- 27) a. Faire-par (FP)      faire [VP [VP manger le gâteau] [PP par Jean]]  
    b. Faire-infinitive (FI)    faire [VP v [VP manger le gâteau] [DP à Jean]]

■ Properties of VP-selecting causatives (see Pylkkänen 2008, Key 2013, Harley 2017):

- *They are productive;*
- *They lack a voice projection (hence ban voice morphology/passives in complement);*
- *The causee behaves like an optional adjunct;*
- *They have one domain for binding;*
- *Only the matrix subject (causer) behaves like a subject (in terms of adverbial modification).*

■ FP has been argued to be VP-embedding (Folli & Harley 2007, Guasti 2017), whereas FI embeds something larger containing a projected external argument.

### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages.

#### Overview

Prediction of Sheehan & Cyrino's approach: FP should passivise.

This is claimed to hold by Folli & Harley (2007) for Italian, based on their observation that (for some speakers at least) unergative subjects cannot undergo passivisation (see also Tubino Blanco 2010 on Spanish).

They claim that event apparent cases of passivisation of FI may actually be passives of FP.

Across Romance, there is evidence for a connection between the distribution of FP and the possibility of passivisation.

	Unergative subject	Unaccusative subject	Transitive object
French	*	*	*
European Portuguese	*	? (HAVE only)	Y (HAVE only)
Catalan	*	Y	Y
Spanish	*	Y	Y
Italian	%	Y	Y

Table 2. Promotion of arguments in passives of causatives

### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages.

#### Italian (i)

Traditional view is that Italian permits passives of FI and FP, including unergative subjects (see Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993, 2017, Cinque 2003, Kayne 2010)

28) Gli studenti sono stati fatti lavorare (dai professori).  
the students are been.PL made.PL work.INF by.the professors  
'The students have been made to work (by the professors)' (Kayne 2010)

29) La mela è stata fatta mangiare al bambino (da Maria).  
the apple is been.F made.F eat.INF to.the child by Maria  
'The apple has been made to be eaten by the child (by Maria)'. (Kayne 2010)

But Folli & Harley (2007) note that most unergatives do not passivise whereas many unaccusatives do:

30) Marco è stato fatto \*telefonare/\*ridere/??piangere/partire/cadere  
Marco is been made telephone/laugh/cry/leave/fall  
Lit. 'Marco has been made to telephone/laugh/cry/leave/fall.'

### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages.

#### Italian (ii)

Folli & Harley (2007) further argue that apparent passivisation of FI may actually be passives of FP.

When a transitive verb is passivized, the demoted subject in the by phrase must be an agent and cannot be a causer. This restriction is characteristic of the FP construction, not the FI:

- 31) a. È stato fatto rompere il tavolo (a Marco) {da Maria / \*dalla rabbia}  
is been made break.INF the table (to Marco) {by Maria / \*by.the rage}  
'A table was made to break (on Marco) {by Maria / \*by the rage}.' (Folli & Harley 2007: 234)
- b. La rabbia fece rompere il tavolo a/\*da Gianni  
the rage made break.INF the table to/by Gianni  
'Rage made Gianni break the table.' (Burzio 1986: 268)

The dative phrase in the embedded clause, they claim, could be a benefactive rather than a cause (see Vecchiato 2010 for further discussion).

While the status of Italian remains a bit unclear, there is a correlation across Romance languages between the availability of FP and of long passives.

### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages.

#### European Portuguese (i)

Gonçalves (1999: ch6) claims that, with *mandar*, only internal arguments can be promoted:

- 32) a. Todos estes palácios foram mandados **construir** a arquitectos italianos. transitive object  
all these palaces were had build.INF to architects Italian.PL  
Lit. 'All these palaces were had built by Italian architects.'
- b. ?Depois de fazer vários disparates, o João foi mandado **sair** da sala. unaccusative subject  
after of make several stupidities the João was made exit.INF of.the room  
'After he said several stupid things, João was had leave the room.'
- c. \*Depois da prova de salto, o atleta foi mandado **correr**. \*unergative subject  
after of.the test of jump, the athlete was had run.INF  
Lit. 'After the jumping event, the athlete was had run'. (Gonçalves 1999)

In contrast, *fazer* 'make' and *deixar* 'let' cannot be passivised at all, she notes, citing Raposo (1981):

- 33) \*O palácio foi **feito/deixado** construir ao arquitecto pelo duque.  
the palace was made/let build.INF to.the architect by.the duke. (Raposo 1981)



### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages.

#### European Portuguese (ii)

Only *mandar* participates in FP in European Portuguese, (without overt by phrases), hence only *mandar* can passivise:

34) Os meus pais mandaram/\*fizeram/\*deixaram construir uma casa (\*por um arquiteto)  
the my parents had made let build a house by an architect  
'My parents had a house built.' (Sheehan & Cyrino 2016)

This needs further work, but there is suggestive evidence that only FP passivises in European Portuguese, in line with what Folli and Harley (2007) claim for Italian.

**Implication:** only FP can be passivised.

### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages

#### Catalan (i)

Ciutescu (2018), citing Alsina (1996, 2002), claims that only internal argument can be promoted in Catalan long passives:

- 35) a. Els conills van ser fets **sortir** del cau. unaccusative subject  
the rabbits be.PAST.3PL made.PL get.out.INF from.the burrow  
'The rabbits were made to get out of the burrow.' (Alsina 1996)
- b. \*El nen ha estat fet **treballar** molt. unergative subject  
the boy be.PAST.3SG made work.INF much  
'The boy was made to work a lot.' (Alsina 2002)
- c. Aquell pont va ser fet **construir** als millors arquitectes del país. transitive object  
that bridge be.PAST.3SG made build to.the best architects of.the country

Again, long passivisation can only target internal arguments.

### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages

#### Catalan (ii)

While Catalan does not permit an overt *by* phrase in the FP (Villalba 1992, 359, fn 9; 328, fn 17), examples with a suppressed *by* phrase have the diagnostic properties of FP (Sheehan & Cyrino 2016, based on diagnostics from Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993):

36) Els meus pares van fer construir una casa (\*per aquests arquitectes)  
the my parents go.3PL make build a house by these architects

37) a. El professor va fer estudiar en silence.  
the teacher made.PAST study.INF in silence  
'The teacher made them study in silence.'

b. \*Amb el seu sistema de multes, el professor va fer arribar a temps.  
with the his system of fines the teacher made.PAST arrive.INF on time

38) \*La mestra em va fer prendre el pèl. [no non-passivisable idioms]  
the teacher me make.PAST take the hair

**Tentative conclusion:** Catalan allows embedding of VP and so permits passivisation of internal arguments even though it no longer permits overt *by* phrases in FP.

### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages

#### Spanish (i)

There is a lot of variation across Spanish varieties and speakers, but the consensus in the literature is that inasmuch as passives of causatives are possible, only internal arguments can be promoted:

With *hacer* ‘make’ causatives, *be passives* are reported to be possible for some speakers with unaccusatives/transitive FP complements lacking a dative causee (see Treviño 1993, citing Cano Aguilar 1977, Torrego 1998, 2010, and especially Tubino-Blanco 2010, 2011):

- 39) a. %Juan fue hecho venir por Pedro unaccusative subject  
Juan was made come.inf by Pedro  
‘Juan was made to come by Pedro.’ (Treviño 1993: 70)
- b. %Este palacio fue hecho construir por el rey transitive object  
this palace was made build.IN by the king (Torrego 1998: 97)
- c. \*Juan fue hecho correr el maratón unergative subject  
John was made run the marathon (Tubino-Blanco 2011: 230)

But many speakers from all over the Spanish speaking world reject all such examples.

### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages

#### Spanish (ii)

Not all speakers of Spanish accept FP (Sheehan & Cyrino 2016)

40) Mis padres hicieron construir una casa (%por un grupo de arquitectos)  
my parents made build a house by a group of architects

Rioplatense speakers tend to accept overt by phrases and for them, the construction shares the diagnostic properties of FP (no non-passivisable idioms, no inalienable possession etc.).

But many Peninsular speakers accept (40) only without an overt by phrase. For them, the construction does not have the properties of FP (Sheehan & Cyrino 2016).

41) a. \*El pelo me fue tomado por Juan ayer.  
the hair me was taken by Juan yesterday

b. ?La cabecilla hizo tomarme el pelo.  
the leader made take.me the hair  
'The gang had me teased.'

**Prediction:** only those speakers who accept FP should permit passives of causatives.

### 3. Passives of clause-union causatives in Romance languages.

#### Interim summary

Many Romance languages can only promote internal arguments in passives of causative/perception verbs.

**Possible account:** passives are only possible where these verbs embed a non-phasal VP (FP construction), as proposed by Folli and Harley 2007 (but for different reasons).

**Prediction for Spanish speakers:** only those who allow FP will allow passives of causatives.

	Unergative subject	Unaccusative subject	Transitive object
French	*	*	*
European Portuguese	*	? (HAVE only)	Y (HAVE only)
Catalan	*	Y	Y
Spanish	*	Y	Y
Italian	* (except <i>lavorare/parlare</i> )	Y	Y

Table 2. Promotion of arguments in passives of causatives

## 4. Spanish as a case study - testing implications

### Experimental results (i)

Survey data from items rated on a 5-point Likert scale from two distinct surveys with 40 and 60 respondents and examples based on attested corpora examples.

Almost all speakers accept examples like (42) without a by phrase but between 30%-40% rejected minimal pairs with an overt by phrase (where  $\mu$  = mean acceptability, and  $\sigma$  = standard deviation across speakers)

- 42) El alcalde hizo construir muchos condominios (%por compañías privadas).  
the mayor made build.inf many condominiums (by companies private.pl)  
without by phrase: [ $\mu$ :4.79,  $\sigma$ :0.53] with by phrase: [ $\mu$ :3.89,  $\sigma$ :1.33]

The speakers who rejected the overt by phrase in (42) also overwhelmingly rejected long object passives (43), whereas over 50% of those who accepted overt the by phrases in (42) accepted long object passives as in (43):

- 43) a. %Este edificio fue hecho construir por el alcalde. [ $\mu$ :3.69, $\sigma$ :1.49]  
this building was made build.inf by the mayor  
b. %El mensaje fue hecho llegar a 10.000 personas por el gobierno. [ $\mu$ :3.29, $\sigma$ :1.52]  
the message was made arrive to 10,000 people by the government.

## 4. Spanish as a case study - testing implications

### Experimental results (ii)

Not all long object passives were equally acceptable, however, but all are better than passives of external arguments:

44) a. %Este edificio fue hecho construir el año pasado. [ $\mu$ :2.84, $\sigma$ :1.67]

This building was made build.INF the year past  
'This building was had built last year.'

b. %El secreto fue hecho saber por un espía. [ $\mu$ :2.13, $\sigma$ :1.36]

The secret was made know.INF by the spy  
'The secret was made known by the spy.'

45) a. \*Mi hijo fue hecho llorar por su primera maestra. [ $\mu$ :1.55, $\sigma$ :1.06]

my son was made cry.INF by his first teacher

b. \*Pedro fue hecho traer un regalo por su novia. [ $\mu$ :1.18, $\sigma$ :0.69]

Pedro was made bring.INF a present by his girlfriend



## 4. Spanish as a case study - testing implications

### Conclusions about Spanish

The results indicate that there are three distinct types of Spanish speakers across the samples:

- i. Speakers who **accept** FP and **allow** long object passives.
- ii. Speakers who **accept** FP but **disallow** long object passives.
- iii. Speakers who **reject** FP and **disallow** long object passives.

Groups (i) and (iii) are as expected but more must be said to explain group (ii).

Nonetheless, even at an individual level, it appears to be true that (with very few exceptions) only those speakers who accept FP accept long passives of causatives.

## 5. SE-passives

SE-passives differ from SE-impersonals in showing agreement with non-DOM marked 3PL subjects (Campos 1989, Raposo & Uriagereka 1996). Speakers vary with respect to whether they allow DOM-less non-specific animate objects.

Informant work suggests that (i) these are more widely accepted than be passives but (ii) are again only possible with unaccusative/FP complements:

- 47) a. Se=hicieron llegar mensajes al jefe unaccusative subject  
SE=made.3PL arrive.INF messages to.the boss  
Lit. 'Messages were made to get to the boss.'
- b. Se=hicieron construir muchas casas el año pasado. transitive object (FP)  
SE=made.3PL build many houses the year last  
'Many houses were made to be built last year.'
- c. \*Se= (le=) hicieron leer muchos libros a Ana. \*transitive object (FI)  
SE=her.DAT=made.3PL read many books DAT Ana
- d. \*Se hicieron llorar muchos niños en tu fiesta. \*unergative subject  
SE=made cry many kids in your party

## 5. SE-reflexives

Like other Romance languages, Spanish also restricts the availability of reflexivisation under *hacer* in the same way (Bordelois 1974, Baauw and Delfitto 2005, Saab 2015):

- 48)a. \*Juan se hizo comprar un auto. [ECM, transitive subject]  
Juan SE=made buy.INF a car (Saab 2015: 3)
- b. \*Juan se hizo trabajar. [unergative]  
Juan SE=made work.INF (Saab 2015: 3)
- c. \*Juan se (le) hizo besar a María. [FI, object]  
Juan SE (CL.DAT) made kiss.INF to M. (Saab 2015: 45)
- d. Juan se hizo besar por María. [FP, object]  
Juan SE made kiss.INF by M.  
'Juan made María kiss himi.' (Saab 2015: 45)
- e. Juan se hizo desaparecer/caer/morir/\*llegar/\*venir. [unaccusative]  
Juan SE made disappear.INF /fall. INF /die.INF/arrive/come  
(Saab 2015: 48)

This is the same pattern again, as expected is agreement with T is involved and agreement across two phrasal boundaries will be blocked by PIC2.

# Conclusions

- Long passives of causatives and perception verbs are possible but they are highly restricted.
- An analysis in terms of phase impenetrability has some potential to explain cross-linguistic similarities and differences.
- In Romance languages other than Brazilian Portuguese, passivisation is potentially limited to contexts where VP is embedded.
- Problems remain, especially in Italian, as some unergatives can be passivised.
- More survey data is needed to investigate individual grammars.

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