

Long passives of causatives and perception verbs in Italian: implications for phase theory¹

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1 Introduction

Long passives of causative and perception verbs are restricted in various ways in many Germanic (e.g. English, German, Dutch and Danish) and Romance languages (see Higginbotham 1983, Mittwoch 1990, Felser 1999, Kayne 1975 and many others):

English ECM causatives always disallow long passivisation in the absence of *to*.

- (1) a. I **made/saw/heard/let/had/watched** [Peter read the book].
b. *Peter_i was **made/had/let/seen/heard/watched** [t_i read the book]
c. Peter_i was **made/seen/heard/*let/*had/*watched** [t_i to read the book]

Restrictions similar to (1b) are widespread in Romance, with (un)grammaticality sensitive to:

- (i) the **matrix verb**,
(ii) the **complementation** pattern,
(iii) the **base position** of the promoted argument.

For example, in **French**, perception verbs marginally permit long passivization for some speakers, whereas causatives generally do not (Kayne 1975, 2010, but see also below):

- (2) a. ?Elle a été **entendue/*laissé(e)** chanter cette chanson. (French)
she has been heard/. let sing.INF this song (Kayne 1975)
b. *Les étudiants ont été **fait(s)** travailler (par les professeurs). (Kayne 2010)
the students have been made.PL work by the teachers

In **Brazilian Portuguese**, only some causatives permit long passives (Sheehan & Cyrino 2018):

- (3) a. *Os meninos foram **feitos / vistos / ouvidos** comer(em) todo o lanche. (BP)
the boys were made / seen / heard eat all the lunch
b. Os meninos foram **mandados / deixados** comer(*em) todo o lanche.
the boys were made / let eat all the lunch

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In **European Portuguese**, only causative *mandar* ‘have’ allows long passives, and only with internal arguments (Gonçalves 1999, citing Raposo 1981; Hornstein, Martins & Nunes 2010):

- (4) Todos estes palácios foram **mandados** / ***vistos** / ***deixados** construir a arquitectos italianos
all test palaces were had seen let build to architects Italian
Lit. ‘All these palaces were had built by Italian architects.’

In **Spanish**, passives of perception and causative verbs are also restricted in certain ways and subject to interspeaker variation, as discussed below.

Special case of Italian: long passives are more generally acceptable (but with some exceptions) (see Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993, 2017, Cinque 2003, Kayne 2010, but see Folli & Harley 2007):

- (5) a. Gianni è stato **fatto** / **lasciato** / **visto** / **sentito** dormire.
Gianni is been made let seen heard sleep
‘Gianni was made/let/*seen to sleep.’
- b. Gianni è stato **visto** / ***lasciato** / ***guardato** mangiare la mela. [passive of ECM]
Gianni is been seen / let / watched eat.INF the apple
‘Gianni was seen eating the apple.’
- (6) La mela è stata **fatta** / **lasciata** / ***vista** mangiare al bambino (da Maria). [faire-inf]
the apple is been.F made.F let seen eat.INF to.the child by Maria
‘The apple has been made to be eaten by the child (by Maria)’. (Kayne 2010)
- (7) Il palazzo è stato **fatto** / **lasciato** / ***visto** costruire dal duca. [passive of *faire par*]
the palace is been made let seen build by-the duke
‘The palace was made/let/seen to build by the duke.’
- (8) A Poirot è stato **fatto** / **lasciato** / ***visto** credere che Gianni fosse l'assassino.
to Poirot is been made let seen believe that Gianni was the-killer
‘Poirot was made/let/*seen to believe that Gianni were the killer.’

Aim of this talk:

- to **describe** patterns of long passivization in Italian in a broader Romance context;
- to **account** for:
 - why long passives are possible in Italian
 - why there is variation within Italian, and between Italian and other languages;
- to **propose** that:
 - causatives and perception verbs can embed VPs, vPs, VoicePs and TPs;
 - only embedded VoicePs block long passives, because they are phasal;
 - in Italian, all four complement types occur; clause union involves a VP/vP complement and ECM often involves a TP.
 - Only the **complements of agentive perception verbs and (in clause union contexts) *vedere*** are VoicePs.
 - In the other Romance languages, VoicePs predominate except for *faire par* which involves a VP (and so permits long passivisation) and some cases of ECM in Brazilian Portuguese which are TPs.

2 Complements of causative and perception verbs in Italian and other Romance languages

Overall, three types of reduced non-finite complements are available. Descriptively:

1. Clause union (*faire-inf*) the causative and the infinitive behave as a single verbal complex → single case domain (only one argument of the whole complex can bear accusative case). The causee is **accusative or dative**.
2. Clause union (*faire par*): the causee is demoted and occurs in an **optional *by*-phrase**
3. Exceptional Case Marking (ECM): the matrix and the embedded clause form two different case domains. The causee is **always acc**, even where the embedded verb is transitive.

➤ The same verb can occur with multiple different complements in various Romance languages!

2.1 Italian causative verbs

Main verbs: *fare* 'do, make', *lasciare* 'let, allow'

A. *Fare*:

1. *Faire-inf*: the causee (i.e., the subject of the infinitive) occurs:²
 - a. if the infinitive is intransitive: as accusative and postverbal
 - b. if the infinitive is transitive: as dative and postverbal

² See Pineda and Sheehan (2021) on what counts for transitivity in these contexts in different Romance languages.

- (9) a. Maria fa cantare **i bambini** / Maria **li** fa cantare.
Maria makes sing the children Maria them makes sing
- b. Maria fa cantare l'Aida **a Giulia** / Maria **gliela** fa cantare.
Maria makes sing the-Aida to Giulia Maria her-it makes sing

Note that the causee can be null:

- (10) Il generale fa fare la doccia completamente vestiti (Guasti 1993: 128 [adapt.])
the general makes make the shower completely dressed.PL

2. *Faire par*: the causee occurs in an optional *by* phrase:

- (11) Maria fa cantare l'Aida (**da Giulia**).
Maria makes sing the-Aida by Giulia

→ ECM complements are generally ruled out with *fare* (but see Burzio 1978, Santorini & Heycock 1988):

- (12) a. *Maria fa **i bambini** cantare.
Maria makes the children sing
- b. *Maria fa **i bambini** cantarla.
Maria makes the children sing-her
- c. *Maria fa cantarla.
Maria makes sing-her

B. *Lasciare*:

1. *Faire-inf*: as with *fare*

- (13) a. Maria lascia cantare **i bambini** / Maria **li** lascia cantare.
Maria lets sing the children Maria them lets sing
- b. Maria lascia prendere il gioco **al bambino** / Maria **glielo** lascia prendere.
Maria lets take the game to-the child Maria him-it lets take

2. *Faire par*: possible, even though grammatical *faire-par* is not easily found (most examples have the causee coindexed with the subject):

- (14) a. L'hai uccisa [...] col vuoto che hai lasciato colmare **da altri**.
her-you.have killed with-the empty that you.have let fill by others
(ItWac #22472642)

- b. Anna non si lascia convincere **da nessuno**.
Anna not *se* lets convince by nobody
3. ECM: grammatical with clitics, grammatical only in some regional Italian varieties with a full DP (Salvi & Skytte 1995):
- (15) a. Maria **lo** lascia prendere il gioco.
Maria him lets take the game
- b. *Maria lascia **il bambino** prendere il gioco.
Maria lets the child take the game
- c. %Di notte, non lascerei mai **mia figlia** aspettare l'autobus da sola.
of night not I.would.let never my daughter wait the-bus by alone

2.2 Italian perception verbs

Two groups: *vedere* 'see' and *sentire* 'hear, feel'³ vs. *guardare* 'watch', *ascoltare* 'listen to', etc.

A. Non-agentive perception verbs: *Vedere* and *sentire*
→ "Everything goes"

1. *Faire-inf*:

- (16) a. Maria sente cantare **i bambini**. / Maria **li** sente cantare.
Maria hears sing the children Maria them hears sing
- b. Maria sente suonare il piano **a Gianni**. / Maria **glielo** sente suonare.
Maria hears play the piano to Gianni Maria him-it hears play

2. *Faire par*:

- (17) Maria sente suonare il piano **da Gianni**.
Maria hears play the piano by Gianni

3. ECM:

- (18) Maria ha sentito **Anna** suonare il piano / Maria **l'ha** sentita suonarlo.
Maria has heard Anna play the piano Maria her-has heard play-it

Note that the perceiver can also be null in ECMs:

³ The today literary verbs *intendere* and *udire* (both 'hear') also belong to this group.

- (19) a. Ho visto *e* rubare dei libri PRO nascondendoli sotto i vestiti.
I.have seen steal some books hiding-them under the clothes
- b. Non ho mai visto *e* accaparrarsi le merci in quel modo.
not I.have never seen grab the goods in that way
(both examples from Guasti 1993: 123)

→ NB: Subtle (and manyfold) aspectual differences between Clause-union and ECMs (Lepschy 1976): the most important difference is that Clause union complements are perfective, ECMs imperfective:

- (20) a. **Gli** ho sentito suonare il piano **per un'ora**. (Lepschy 1976: 157)
him I.have heard play the piano for an-hour
- b. **Lo** sento suonare il piano **da ore**.
him I.hear play the piano for hours

B. Agentive perception verbs (e.g. *guardare* 'watch')

Only ECM is available (with a potentially null perceiver - (23d)):

- (21) a. Ho guardato **Paolo** cucinare il pollo.
I.have watched Paolo cook the chicken
- b. **Lo** / ***Gli** ho ascoltato suonare il piano.
him him.dat I.have listened.to play the piano
- c. ***Ho** guardato cucinare il pollo **da Paolo**
I.have watched cook the chicken by Paolo
- d. Guardo *e* piovere dal grande balcone. (web)
I.watch rain from-the big balcony

2.3 Other Romance languages

There is widespread variation across Romance languages, as well as general trends:

- **Agentive perception verbs** permit only ECM where they permit reduced complements.
- **Non-agentive perception verbs** tend to permit ECM and clause union, in languages with clause union (with European Portuguese an exception to this).
- **FACERE/LAXARE** verbs permit clause union (except in Brazilian Portuguese).
- **LAXARE/non-agentive perception verbs** often allow both clause union and ECM.

Table 1: Complementation patterns with causative/perception verbs⁴

	FACERE	LAXARE	Non-agentive (‘see’)	Agentive (‘watch’)
Italian	faire par faire-inf	faire par faire-inf clitic ECM/%ECM	faire par faire-inf ECM	guardare ECM
French	faire par faire-inf %clitic ECM	faire par faire-inf ECM	faire par faire-inf ECM	regarder ECM
Catalan	faire par (no by-phrase) faire-inf %clitic ECM	faire par (no by-phrase) faire-inf ECM	faire par (?by-phrase) faire-inf ECM	mirar ECM
Spanish	%faire par faire-inf ECM	%faire par faire-inf ECM	%faire par faire-inf ECM	mirar ECM
Eur. Port.	faire-inf ECM	faire-inf ECM	ECM	olhar *
Braz. Port.	ECM	ECM	ECM	olhar/assistir *

(% indicate that these constructions are possible in some regional varieties/dialects only)

⁴ Most of the information in this table comes from published sources (**Italian**: Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993, 1996, Casalicchio 2013; **French**: Kayne 1975, Abeillé et al. 1997, Achard 1998, Rowlett 2007, Sheehan 2020b; **Catalan**: Villalba 1992, Alsina 1996, 2002, Bastardas 2003, Sheehan & Cyrino 2016, Ciutescu 2018 and Pineda & Sheehan 2020; **Spanish**: Cano Aguilar 1977, Hernanz 1982, Treviño 1993, Torrego 1998, 2010, Tubino-Blanco 2010, 2011, Casalicchio 2013, Sheehan 2020a, c, Casalicchio & Herbeck 2021; **European Portuguese**: Gonçalves 1999, Martins 2018, Sheehan & Cyrino 2016; **Brazilian Portuguese**: Cyrino 2010. We have also filled in gaps by consulting with the native speakers acknowledged above.

3 Long passives in Italian vs. other Romance languages

3.1 The general trend

a. ECM

Passives of ECM constructions are very limited across Romance languages (Sheehan 2020a).

In **Brazilian Portuguese**, long passives are never possible with *fazer* or with verbs of perception, but they are possible with *mandar/deixar* (Sheehan & Cyrino 2018):

- (22) a. *Os meninos foram **feitos** / **vistos** / **ouvidos** comer(em) todo o lanche.(BP)
the boys were made / seen / heard eat all the lunch
b. Os meninos **foram mandados/deixados** comer(*em) todo o lanche.
the boys were made let eat all the lunch

In the other languages (which allow multiple complementation patterns with perception and causative verbs), we can test for passives of ECM by testing **promotion of transitive subjects** in long passives.

In **Eur. Portuguese**, long passivisation is never possible with ECM complements (Hornstein, Martins & Nunes 2010):

- (23) *Eles foram **vistos** / **mandados** / **deixados** comer a sandes.
they were seen had let eat the sandwich
Lit. ‘They were seen/heard/let eat the sandwich.’ (Hornstein, Martins & Nunes 2010)

In **Catalan**, likewise, Alsina (2002), Bastardas (2003) and Ciutescu (2018) report that external arguments can never be promoted in long passives.

Things are more variable in **French** and **Spanish**, but it is only in **Italian** that passives of ECM complements are generally accepted.

The table below summarises the patterns (see Sheehan 2020a for discussion and more examples).

Table 2: Long passives of ECM across Romance

	<i>Fare</i>	Perception verbs
Eur. Portuguese	*	*
Braz. Portuguese	*	*
Spanish	*	%
Catalan	n.a.	*
French	n.a.	%
Italian	n.a.	Y

b. Clause union complements

Long passives of clause union complements are more widely accepted, but in Catalan, Spanish and European Portuguese, only internal arguments can be promoted (objects or subjects of unaccusatives) (Sheehan, 2020a).

In **Catalan**, *fer* ‘make’ allows only clause union complements for most speakers, and only internal arguments can be promoted in long passives:

(24) a. Els conills van ser fets **sortir** del cau.
 the rabbits were be 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.
 the boy has been made work.INF much
 ‘The boy was made to work a lot.’ (Alsina 2002)

c. Aquell pont va ser fet **construer** als millors arquitectes del país.
 that bridge was be made build to.the best architects of.the country

European Portuguese allows both ECM and faire-inf with causative verbs (*mandar*, *fazer*, *deixar*). As noted above though, only causative *mandar* ‘have’ allows long passives, and then only with internal arguments (Gonçalves 1999, citing Raposo 1981):

(25) *Eles foram vistos / mandados / deixados **comer** a sandes.
 they were seen had let eat the sandwich
 Lit. ‘They were seen/heard/let eat the sandwich/go out.’

(Hornstein, Martins & Nunes 2010)

- (26) a. Todos estes palácios foram **mandados construir** a arquitectos italianos.
all these palaces were had build to architects Italian
Lit. 'All these palaces were had built by Italian architects.' (Gonçalves 1999)
- b. *O palácio foi **feito / deixado construir** ao arquitecto pelo duque.
the palace was made let build to.the architect by.the duke
(Raposo 1981)

Spanish *hacer* 'make' allows both clause union and ECM complements but still only internal arguments can ever be promoted in long passives (see survey data in Sheehan 2020a Survey data from items rated on a 5-point Likert scale from two distinct surveys with 40 and 60 respondents, citing Treviño 1993, Cano Aguilar 1977, Torrego 1998, 2010, and Tubino-Blanco 2010, 2011):

- (27) a. %Este edificio fue hecho **construir** por el alcalde. [μ :3.69, σ :1.49]
this building was made build by the mayor
- b. %El mensaje fue hecho **llegar** a 10.000 personas por el gobierno. [μ :3.29, σ :1.52]
the message was made arrive at 10,000 people by the government
- c. *Mi hijo fue hecho **llorar** por su primera maestra. [μ :1.55, σ :1.06]
my son was made cry by his first teacher
- d. *Pedro fue hecho **traer** un regalo por su novia. [μ :1.18, σ :0.69]
Pedro was made bring a gift by his girlfriend

➤ **Again, Italian is an outlier, allowing long passives also with external arguments.**

Table 3: Long passives with clause union across Romance

	Unergative subjects	Unaccusative subjects	Transitive object
Eur. Portuguese <i>mandar</i> ‘have’	*	?	Y
Catalan <i>fer</i> ‘make’	*	Y	Y
Spanish <i>hacer</i> ‘make’	*	Y	Y
Italian (causative verbs)	Y	Y	Y
Italian (perception verbs)	*	*	*
French <i>faire</i> ‘make’	Y (MSG only)	Y (MSG only)	Y (MSG only)

NB: The position of the clitics and the ungrammaticality of *si* shows that passive of perception verbs are out here:

(28)a. Gianni è stato visto pensar**ci**.
Gianni is been seen think-of.it

b. *Gianni **ci** è stato visto pensare.
Gianni of.it is been seen think

(29) Gianni è stato visto *arrabbiare / arrabbiars**i**.
Gianni is been seen get.angry get.angry-SE

(30)a. Anna è stata vista andar**ci**.
Anna is been seen go.there.CL

b. *Anna **ci** è stata vista andare.
Anna there.CL is been seen go

It has long been claimed that **French** causative *faire* always resists long passivisation, possibly because the past participle *fait* does not inflect, unlike Italian *fatto* (Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993, Veland 1998, Kayne 2010).

As Bouvier (2001) shows, masculine singular arguments can be promoted in long passives of causative *faire*, however, where inflection is not at issue:

- (31) a. Ce dernier tatouage a été fait **faire** chez Bang Bang Tattoos
 this last tattoo has been made do at.house.of Big Bang Tattoos
 ‘This last tattoo was done at Big Bang Tattoos.’
- b. Le château médiéval à Fontainebleau a été fait **construire** (par Louis).
 the castle medieval at Fontainebleau has been made build by Louis
 Rowlett (2007: 171)
 ‘The medieval castle at Fontainebleau was ordered to be built by Louis.’

What is not discussed by Bouvier or Rowlett, however, is whether passivisation of masculine singular arguments is limited to internal arguments as in Spanish, Eur. Portuguese and Catalan, or not, as in Italian.

Surprisingly, it seems that French **actually patterns with Italian** in this respect, allowing promotion also of external arguments of unergative verbs:

- (32) a. Le petit garçon a été fait **pleurer** par son professeur. [unerg]
 the little boy has been made cry by his teacher
- b. Le petit garçon a été fait **entrer** dans la classe par son professeur.[unacc]
 the little boy has been made enter in the class by his teacher

So, actually, considering only masculine singular arguments, French is actually more permissive than most other Romance languages when it comes to long passives, except Italian (though this requires careful investigation).

3.2 Long passives in Italian

In most cases, long passives are fine in Italian, but there are exceptions:

- a. Passives of **ECMs**: ok with *vedere*, *sentire*, but generally bad with other perception verbs (exception: *osservare*). NB: only the perceiver can be promoted, not the internal object:⁵
- (33) a. Gianni è stato **visto** mangiare la mela (da Luca).
 Gianni is been seen eat the apple by Luca
 ‘Gianni was seen to eat the apple (by Luca).’
- b. *Maria è stata **guardata** raccogliere funghi
 Maria is been seen pick mushrooms
- c. *La mela_i è stata vista Luca mangiare t_i

⁵ NB: Although *fare* cannot select an ECM, there are some examples of passives which are fine:

- (i) Gli studenti furono fatti leggere il libro.
 the students were made read the book
 ‘The students were made to read the book.’ (Burzio 1977)

the apple is been seen Luca eat

- b. Passives of *faire par*: only grammatical with causative, but not with perception, verbs (contra Salvi & Skytte 1991). Note that *by*-phrases can appear, but they are often ambiguous, since they can refer to the causing agent or to the causee. Furthermore, there is an independent restriction against the co-occurrence of two *by*-phrases:

- (34) a. *Il libro è stato fatto leggere **dagli studenti da Piero**. (Salvi & Skytte 1991: 503)
 the book is been made read by-the students by Piero
- b. Il felino è stato **fatto** visitare **da un veterinario**. (ItWac)
 the feline is been made visit by a veterinary
- c. ...l'omicidio del Pecorelli era stato **fatto** eseguire da loro due. (ItWac)
 the-killing of Pecorelli was been made execute by them two
- d. ...una leadership nonviolenta [...] è stata **lasciata** travolgere dal terrorismo.
 a leadership non-violent [...] is been let overwhelm by-the terrorism
 (ItWac)
- e. *La macchina fu **vista** riparare (da Ugo). (Guasti 1993: 116)
 the car was seen repair by Ugo

In the case of perception verbs, the only interpretation (when available) is that the subject of the passive verb is the perceiver, and not the internal object:

- (35) #La rana è stata vista mangiare dal cane (ok if the frog is eating)
 the frog is been seen eat from-the dog

- c. Passive of *faire inf* is ok with causatives, bad with perception verbs

- (36) a. La mela è stata **fatta / lasciata / *vista** mangiare al bambino (da Maria).
 the apple is been made let seen eat to-the child by Maria
- b. La lettera gli è stata **fatta / lasciata / *vista** leggere ieri (dal direttore).
 the letter him is been made let seen read yesterday by-the director
- c. 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)
- d. Marco è stato fatto *telefonare/*ridere/??piangere/parlare/ lavorare.
 Marco is been made telephone/ laugh/ cry/ speak work/
 Lit. ‘Marco has been made to telephone/laugh/cry/speak/work.’

(Based on Folli & Harley 2007)

e. All'avvocato era stato **lasciato** credere che fossero morti entrambi sul colpo
 to-the-lawyer was been let believe that they.were died both on-the spot
 (ItWac)

(37) a. ***A Ronaldo** è stato visto commettere un fallo.
 to Ronaldo is been seen commit a foul

b. *È stato visto commettere un fallo **da Ronaldo**.
 is been seen commit a foul by Ronaldo

c. *Il piano è stato sentito suonare **a / da Maria**.
 the piano is been heard play to by Maria

4 Our proposed analysis

4.1 The ungrammaticality of long passives and the PIC 2

Sheehan & Cyrino (2018): Causative/perception verbs in Germanic and Romance languages take different sizes of reduced complements (as diagnosed by the distribution of voice/tense/aspect marking):

(38) Reduced complements of causative/perception verbs in English

- | | | | |
|------|---|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| i. | see/hear/watch/listen to (perception verbs) | | [voiceP be [vP VP]] |
| ii. | have/let (agentive causatives verbs) | [ProgP be | [voiceP being [vP VP]]] |
| iii. | make (causative verbs) | [PerfP (have) [ProgP been | [voiceP being [vP VP]]]] |
| iv. | see/hear (inference) | [TP to [PerfP have [ProgP been | [voiceP being [vP VP]]]]] |

Patterns of VP-ellipsis/VP-fronting show that the v-related phase is dynamically **voice/prog** (Aelbrecht and Harwood 2015, Harwood 2013, 2015, Ramchand and Svenonius 2014).

So, crucially, all of the reduced complements in (i)-(iii) are phasal but lacking a T projection.

Adopting Chomsky's 2001 PIC2 and assuming that A-movement cannot use phase edge escape hatches, long passives are blocked from these complements:

- (39) a. Phasal complements lacking T:
 I made/saw/heard [Kim fall/sing/read the book].
 b. *passive of phasal complements lacking T
 *Kim_i was made/seen/heard [t_i fall/sing/read a book].

PIC 2 (Chomsky 2001):

In a configuration [ZP Z ... [HP α [H YP]]], (where H and Z are phase heads)

“The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.” (Chomsky 2001:14)

- prohibition against crossing two phase boundaries (cf. Sheehan & Cyrino 2018; building on Chomsky’s 2001 PIC2)

Sheehan and Cyrino (2018), Sheehan (2020a): In Romance languages, ECM complements are also usually phases, hence they usually block long passivization.

Evidence for this comes from the possibility of embedded voice auxiliaries and se-marking (see Sheehan & Cyrino 2018, Herbeck and Casalicchio 2021).

- (40) *Eles foram vistos / mandados / deixados comer a sandes.
 they were seen had let eat the sandwich
 Lit. ‘They were seen/heard/let eat the sandwich.’ (Hornstein, Martins & Nunes 2010)

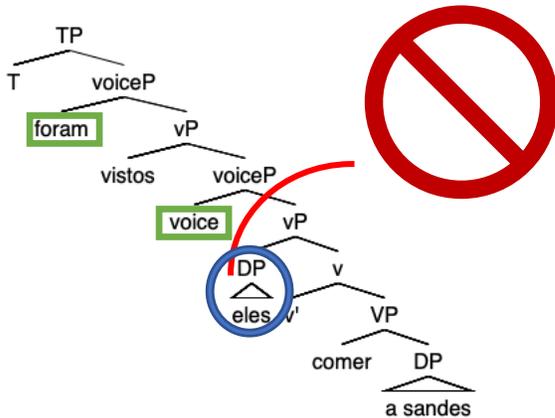


Figure 1: no passives of ECM in European Portuguese

In this structure: the embedded clause is a VoiceP (long passive is ruled out):

- [nom] Case Agree between matrix T and the embedded DP would violate PIC2
- passivization impossible

Table 2: Long passives of ECM across Romance

	<i>Fare</i>	Perception verbs
Eur. Portuguese	*	*
Braz. Portuguese	*	*
Spanish	*	%
Catalan	n.a.	*
French	n.a.	%
Italian	n.a.	Y

See Sheehan (2020a) and Herbeck and Casalicchio (2021) for different explanations for the variable behaviour of Spanish and French.

What about clause union complements? Here, long passivization is possible but limited to internal arguments (objects or subjects of unaccusatives).

Table 3: Long passives with clause union across Romance

	Unergative subjects	Unaccusative subjects	Transitive object
Eur. Portuguese <i>mandar</i> ‘have’	*	?	Y
Catalan <i>fer</i> ‘make’	*	Y	Y
Spanish <i>hacer</i> ‘make’	*	Y	Y
Italian (causative verbs)	Y	Y	Y
Italian (perception verbs)	*	*	*
French <i>faire</i> ‘make’	Y (MSG only)	Y (MSG only)	Y (MSG only)

Our proposal (building on Sheehan 2020a):

Faire par: passives of *faire par* are possible because it can involve the embedding of a non-phasal VP, lacking a projected external argument (see Folli and Harley 2007, Guasti 2017):

- (41) a. %Este edificio fue hecho **construir** por el alcalde. [μ :3.69, σ :1.49]
 this building was made build by the mayor
- b. %El mensaje fue hecho **llegar** a 10.000 personas por el gobierno. [μ :3.29, σ :1.52]
 the message was made arrive at 10,000 people by the government
- c. *Mi hijo fue hecho **llorar** por su primera maestra. [μ :1.55, σ :1.06]
 my son was made cry by his first teacher
- d. *Pedro fue hecho **traer** un regalo por su novia. [μ :1.18, σ :0.69]
 Pedro was made bring a gift by his girlfriend

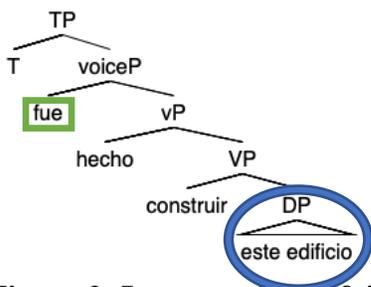


Figure 2: Long passive of faire par (object)

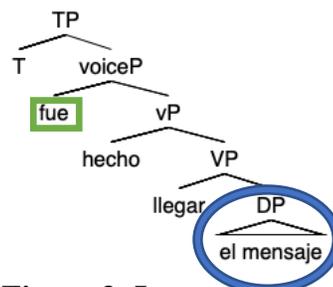


Figure 3: Long passive of faire par (unacc)

External arguments of transitives, where present, are adjuncts (Burzio 1986).

Faire inf: passives of faire inf can involve the embedding of a voiceP. In such cases, internal arguments remain visible for long passivization because of VP fronting (see Kayne 1975, Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980, Zubizarreta 1985, Burzio 1986 and more recently Belletti & Rizzi 2012 and Belletti 2017, Pineda & Sheehan 2020):

- (42) a. Todos estos palácios foram **mandados construir** a arquitectos italianos.
 all these palaces were had build to architects Italian
 Lit. 'All these palaces were had built by Italian architects.'
- b. ?Depois de fazer vários disparates, o João foi mandado **sair** da sala.
 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**.
 after of.the test of jump, the athlete was had run.INF
 Lit. 'After the jumping event, the athlete was had run'. (Gonçalves 1999)

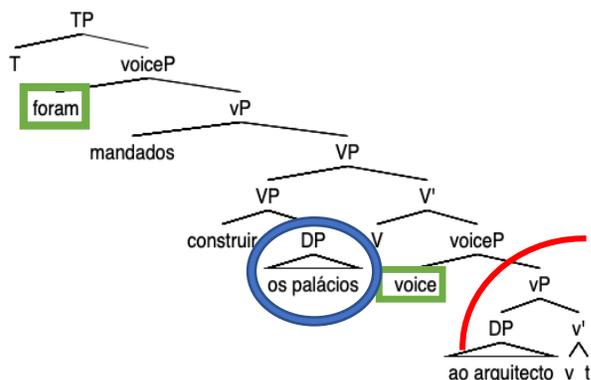


Figure 4: Long passive of faire-inf: object

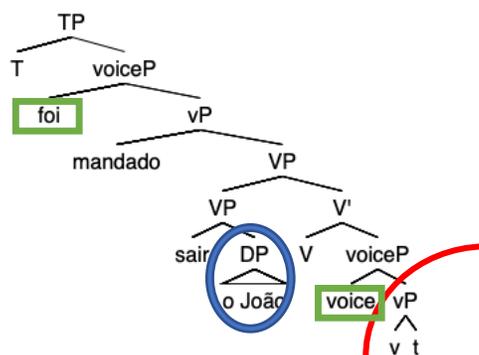


Figure 5: Long passive of faire-inf: unacc

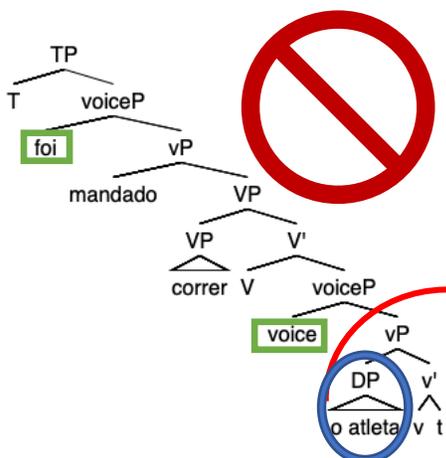


Figure 6: Long passive of faire-inf: unergative

Summary:

- constructions that do not allow 'long passives': no TP projection; bare VoiceP
- constructions that do allow 'long passives': either a TP projection or a bare vP/VP

4.2 Long passives of ECM complements in Italian

→ Recall that:

- a. ECMs are only available with perception verbs
- b. They are passivisable with *vedere* and *sentire*, but they are not with most other verbs

Our proposal:

1. The ECM complements of *vedere* and *sentire* are bigger than a VoiceP (a non-phasal TP) (as Sheehan & Cyrino 2018 propose for certain verbs in Brazilian Portuguese);
2. those of other verbs are VoicePs

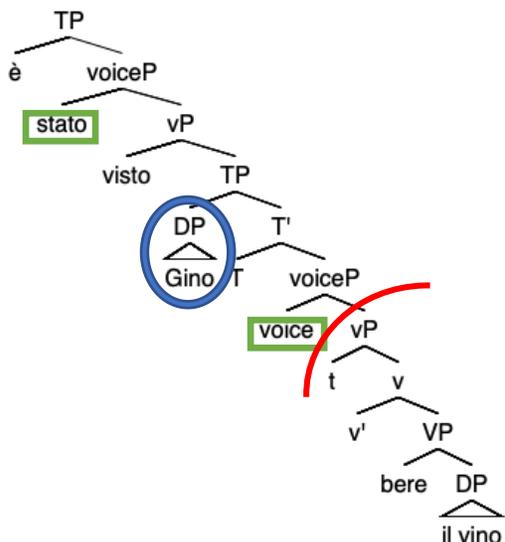


Figure 7: passive of non-agentive ECM complements in Italian

Evidence:

For 1.: only ECM complements of *vedere* and *sentire* allow future reference and the embedding of modals and high adverbs (with a proper context):

- (43) Già ti vedo passare l'esame **domani**.
already you I.see pass the-exam tomorrow
- (44) [Dopo che è rimasta incinta] l'ho {vista / *guardata} **dover** rinunciare
after that is remained pregnant her-I.have seen watched must give.up
all'università.
to-the-university
- (45) [La fiera MIART] l'abbiamo {vista / *guardata} **sicuramente** crescere fino a
the fair MIART it-we.have seen watched surely grow until to
diventare la più grande fiera italiana.
become the most big fair Italian
(both examples adapted from the web)

For 2.: ECM complements of the *guardare* class

- a. do not allow independent temporal reference in their complements;
- b. allow the *-si* (which is assumed to sit in VoiceP)
- c. cannot embed modals or high adverbs (see examples above);

- (46) *Già ti guardo passare l'esame domani.
already you I.watch pass the-exam tomorrow
- (47) a. L'ho guardata vestirsi.
her-I.have watched dress-se

- b. L'ho ascoltato vantarsi per tutta la sera.
 him-I.have listened.to brag-se for all the evening

Prediction: any verb which resists long passives of ECM complements across Romance will pattern with *guardare* in allowing SE, but disallowing independent temporal reference, modals and high adverbs. We still need to investigate this, but...

In **Brazilian Portuguese**, the modal *ter* can appear under *ver* in a finite CP or inflected infinitive CP, but not in instances of ECM. This follows if ECM under *ver* is smaller than TP (as claimed by Sheehan & Cyrino (2018):

- (48) a. Quando os meus tios tiveram um filho,
 when the my uncles had a son
 eu vi **que eles tiveram** de mudar para uma casa maior.
 I saw that they had of move.inf for a house bigger
- b. *Quando os meus tios tiveram um filho,
 when the my uncles had a son
 eu vi eles **ter** de mudar para uma casa maior.
 I saw them have.INF of move.inf for a house bigger

4.3 Long passives of clause union complements in Italian

4.3.1 Faire-inf

→ Recall that:

- a. *Faire par* is available with causative and perception verbs
- b. They are passivisable with **causative** verbs, but not with **perception** verbs
- c. unlike in other Romance languages, **external arguments** can also be promoted.

Our proposal:

1. Faire-inf complements of *fare* and *lasciare* are smaller than a VoiceP (a non-phasal vP);
2. Faire-inf complements of perception verbs are VoicePs (but somehow different from the other Romance languages discussed above).

Evidence:

For 1.:

- a. *-si* cannot occur (with any reading);
- b. clitics cannot attach to the infinitive:

- (49) a. L'hai fatta arrabbiare(*si) di brutto. (cfr. Maria *(si) è arrabbiata)
 her-you.have made get.angry se of bad
- b. Paolo la fa spedire a Giulio / *Paolo fa spedirla a Giulio.
 Paolo her makes send to Giulio Paolo makes send-her to Giulio

For 2.: *-si* can never be dropped:

- (50) Ho visto arrabbiar*(si) Paolo.
I.have seen get.angry *se* Paolo
- (51) a. Ho visto Paolo comprarsi una macchina nuova. (ECM, ok)
I.have seen Paolo buy-*se* a car new
b. Ho visto comprar(*si) una macchina nuova a Paolo. (*faire-inf*, out)
I.have seen buy *se* a car new to Paolo
- (52) a. La mela è stata **fatta** / **lasciata** / ***vista** mangiare al bambino (da Maria).
the apple is been made let seen eat to-the child by Maria
b. La lettera gli è stata **fatta** / **lasciata** / ***vista** leggere ieri (dal direttore).
the letter him is been made let seen read yesterday by-the director
c. 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)

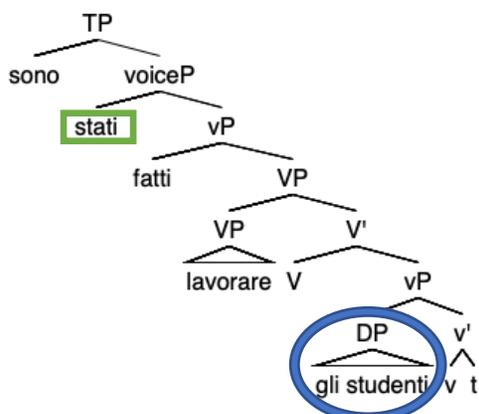


Figure 8: long passives of *faire inf* in Italian

4.3.2 *Faire par*

→ Recall that:

- a. *Faire par* is available with causative and perception verbs
- b. It is passivisable with causative verbs, but not with perception verbs

Our proposal:

1. The complements of *fare* and *lasciare* are smaller than a VoiceP, and even smaller than the *faire-inf*s (which are vPs) → they are non-phasal VPs (as in the other languages)
2. those of perception verbs are VoicePs

Evidence: minimal contrasts between the properties of faire par with *fare* vs. *vedere*:

(53) La ***faccio** / ??**lascio**/ **vedo** venir mangiata dal bambino.
her I.make let see be eaten by-the child

(54) pro_i Ho **visto** riparare la macchina da Ugo_j PRO*_{i/j} per poter partecipare alla corsa.
I.have seen repair the car by Ugo to be.ableparticipate at-therace

(55) pro_i Ho **fatto** riparare la macchina da Ugo_j PRO_{i/*j} per poter partecipare alla corsa.
I.have made repair the car by Ugo to be.ableparticipate at-therace

(56) La mamma **fa** prenderela medicina da Maria / a Maria.
the mum makes take the medicine by Maria to Maria

(57) La mamma **vede** prenderela medicina da Maria / a Maria
the mum sees take the medicine by Maria to Maria

Conclusion: the faire par complement of *vedere* is actually a voiceP in Italian and clause union is triggered by VP fronting (as with the faire-inf in the other languages discussed).

T.b.d.: (i) Why the faire-inf under *vedere* does not allow long passivisation of internal arguments in parallel with European Portuguese. (ii) Why the cause is in a by phrase in the faire par under *vedere*.

5 Conclusions

In this ongoing work, we have:

- **described** patterns of long passivization in Italian in a broader Romance context;
- **accounted** for:
 - why long passives are possible in Italian
 - why there is variation within Italian, and between Italian and other languages;
- **proposed** that:
 - causatives and perception verbs can embed VPs, vPs, VoicePs and TPs;
 - only embedded VoicePs block long passives, because they are phasal;
 - in Italian, all four complement types occur; clause union involves a VP/vP complement and ECM often involves a TP.
 - Only the **complements of agentive perception verbs and (in clause union contexts) *vedere*** are VoicePs.
 - In the other Romance languages, VoicePs predominate except for faire par which involves a VP (and so permits long passivisation) and some cases of ECM in Brazilian Portuguese which are TPs.

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