Long passives of causatives and perception verbs in Italian: implications for phase theory
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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, was made/had/let/seen/heard/watched [t, read the book]
    c. Peter, was made/seen/heard/*let/*had/*watched [t, 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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1 Many thanks to everyone who has helped us with judgements for this work so far. In particular, we would like to thank: Gigi Andriani, Silvio Cruschina, José Cruz da Ângela, Sonia Cyrino, Luís García Fernández, Anabela Gonçalves, Paul Hirschbühler, Marie Labelle, Fernando Martín-Villena, Violeta Martínez Paricio, Manuela Moroni, Andrea Padovan, Anna Pineda, Rodrigo Ranero, Andrés Saab, Joana Teixeira. We are responsible for how we have interpreted and represented these judgments, of course.
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 — *Todos estos palacios fueron* construidos por arquitectos italianos — *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 was made/let/*seen to sleep.'

b. Gianni è stato *visto / *lasciato / *guardato* mangiare la mela. [passive of ECM]
   ‘Gianni was seen eating the apple.’

(6) La mela è stata *fatta / lasciata / *vista* mangiare al bambino (da Maria). [faire-inf]
   ‘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 was made/let/seen to build by the duke.’

(8) A Poirot è stato *fatto / lasciato / *visto* credere che Gianni fosse l'assassino.
   ‘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

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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' 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 perceivee 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.  
him I have heard play the piano for an-hour

b. Lo / *Gli ho ascoltato suonare il piano.  
him him.dat I have listened.to play the piano

B. Agentive perception verbs (e.g guardare ‘watch’)

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

(21) a. Ho guardato Paolo cucinare il pollo.  
I have watched Paolo cook the chicken

b. Lo / *Gli ho ascoltato cucinare il pollo.  
him him.dat I have listened.to cook the chicken by Paolo

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 verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FACERE</th>
<th>LAXARE</th>
<th>Non-agentive ('see')</th>
<th>Agentive ('watch')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italian</strong></td>
<td>faire par faire-inf faire par faire-inf faire par faire-inf</td>
<td>guardare guardare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>faire par faire-inf faire-inf clitic ECM/%ECM faire par faire-inf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>French</strong></td>
<td>faire par faire-inf %clitic ECM faire par faire-inf faire-inf</td>
<td>regarder regarder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>faire par faire-inf faire-inf ECM faire par faire-inf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Catalan</strong></td>
<td>faire par (no by-phrase) faire par (no by-phrase) faire par (?by-phrase)</td>
<td>mirar mirar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>faire par faire-inf faire-inf faire-inf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spanish</strong></td>
<td>%faire par faire-inf faire-inf faire-inf</td>
<td>mirar mirar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%faire par faire-inf faire-inf faire-inf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eur. Port.</strong></td>
<td>faire-inf faire-inf faire-inf</td>
<td>olhar olhar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>faire-inf faire-inf faire-inf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brazilian Portuguese</strong></td>
<td>ECM ECM ECM</td>
<td>olhar/assistir olhar/assistir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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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)


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fare</th>
<th>Perception verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eur. Portuguese</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braz. Portuguese</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalan</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)
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.  
      this building was made build by the mayor

   b. %El mensaje fue hecho llegar a 10.000 personas por el gobierno.  
      the message was made arrive at 10,000 people by the government

   c. *Mi hijo fue hecho llorar por su primera maestra.  
      my son was made cry by his first teacher

   d. *Pedro fue hecho traer un regalo por su novia.  
      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

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

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 pensarci.
     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 / arrabbiarsi.
     Gianni is been seen get.angry get.angry-SE

(30) a. Anna è stata vista andarcì.
     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]

So, actually, considering only masculine singular arguments, French is actually more permissive than most other Romance languages when it comes to long passives, expect 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 perceivee can be promoted, not the internal object:

(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 è stata vista Luca mangiare ti

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 perceivee, 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/lgnore/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 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

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
*Kimi was made/seen/heard [ti 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fare</th>
<th>Perception verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eur. Portuguese</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braz. Portuguese</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalan</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Our proposal (building on Sheehan 2020a):

**Faire par**: passives of faire par are possible because it can involve the embedding of a non-phrasal VP, lacking a projected external argument (see Folli and Harley 2007, Guasti 2017):
(41) a. %Este edificio fue hecho construir por el alcalde.  \[\mu:3.69,\sigma:1.49\]
    this building was made build 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 at 10,000 people by the government

c. *Mi hijo fue hecho llorar por su primera maestra.  \[\mu:1.55,\sigma:1.06\]
    my son was made cry by his first teacher

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

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)
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
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 (da 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)

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 (which are vPs) → they are non-phased 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, Ho visto riparare la macchina da Ugo per poter partecipare alla corsa.
I.have seen repair the car by Ugo to be.ableparticipate at-therace

(55) pro, Ho fatto riparare la macchina da Ugo per poter partecipare alla corsa.
I.have made repair the car by Ugo to be.ableparticipate at-therace

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

(57) La mamma *vede prendere la 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.

References


