The Interaction of Passive, Causative, and "Restructuring" in Romance

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In what follows, I want to show how the hierarchy of functional projections investigated in Cinque (1999) provides an unforeseen solution to a puzzle of Romance syntax: the selective application of passive to verbs triggering "Restructuring" (or "clause reduction").

1. The puzzle

As Aissen and Perlmutter (1983:390ff) observed, in "clause reduction" contexts the object of the embedded verb should quite generally become the subject of the matrix verb when the latter is passivized. This is indeed the case in Spanish, with such verbs as terminar and acabar ‘finish’ (cf. (1) and (2), their (P32) and (P33)), but is, unexpectedly, not possible with the majority of “clause reduction” triggers (see, for example, (3) and (4), their (P36) and (P37)):

(1) a. Los obreros están terminando de pintar estas paredes.
   ‘The workers are finishing painting these walls.’
   
   b. Estas paredes están siendo terminadas de pintar (por los obreros).
   (Lit.) These walls are being finished to paint (by the workers).

(2) a. Los obreros acabaron de pintar las casas ayer.
   ‘The workers finished painting the houses yesterday.’

   b. Las casas fueron acabadas de pintar (por los obreros) ayer.
   (Lit.) The houses were finished to paint (by the workers) yesterday.

(3) a. Trataron de pintar las paredes ayer.
   ‘They tried to paint the walls yesterday.’
b. *Las paredes fueron tratadas de pintar ayer.
   (Lit.) The walls were tried to paint yesterday.

(4) a. Quieren cortar esta madera
   ‘They want to cut this wood.’

b. *Esta madera es querida cortar
   (Lit.) This wood is wanted to cut.

This is all the more surprising as the embedded object has no difficulty in becoming the matrix subject in the corresponding “se-passives.” See (5):

(5) a. Las paredes se trataron de pintar ayer
   the walls se tried to paint yesterday
   (Lit.) The walls were tried to paint yesterday.

b. Esta madera se quiere cortar
   this wood se wants to cut
   (Lit.) This wood is wanted to cut.

Aissen and Perlmutter (1983:391f) further observe that “[t]he subclass of Clause Union triggers that allow passives like (1b) and (2b) seems to be roughly the class that specifies the end point of an action. We have no explanation for this, which we assume to be a language-particular fact that needs to be stated in the grammar of Spanish. Thus we assume that there are languages in which Passive in Clause Union structures is not limited to a small subclass of Clause Union triggers.”

This limitation to verbs marking the end point of a process (and to few other verb classes, as we shall see) is not a quirk of Spanish syntax, however, but holds in Italian, Portuguese, Catalan, and various northeastern Italian dialects (I conjecture, in fact, throughout Romance). Its general character thus calls for a principled explanation, and I want to suggest that this resides in the position that the Voice head occupies in the hierarchy of functional projections relative to the modal and the different aspectual heads.3

Before getting to that, consider the situation of Italian (and, more briefly, that of other Romance varieties). As shown in (6), indeed very few restructuring verb classes in Italian allow for the “long passive” seen in (1) and (2):3

   (Lit.) It was wanted to give to me (by G.).
   (cf. Gianni me lo ha voluto dare. ‘G. it wanted to give to me.’)

b. *È stata dovuta riscrivere.
   (Lit.) It was had to rewrite.
   (cf. L’ha dovuta riscrivere. ‘He it had to rewrite.’)

c. *Non fu più potuto rivedere.
   (Lit.) It was no longer been able to see again.
   (cf. Non lo potè più rivedere. ‘He it could no longer see.’)
   (Lit.) It was desired to meet by everybody.
   (cf. Tutti lo desideravano conoscere. ‘Everybody him desired to meet.’)

e. *Non era usato dire da nessuno.
   (Lit.) It was not used to say by anybody.
   (cf. Nessuno lo usava dire. ‘Nobody it used to say.’)

f. *Fu cercato/tentato di aggiustare (da Gianni).
   (Lit.) It was tried to mend (by G.).
   (cf. Lo cercò/tentò di aggiustare Gianni. ‘It tried to mend G.’)

g. *Fu provato ad aggiustare (da Gianni).
   (Lit.) It was tried to mend (by G.).
   (cf. Lo provò ad aggiustare Gianni. ‘It tried to mend G.’)

h. *Non era osato fare da nessuno.
   (Lit.) It was not dared to do by anybody.
   (cf. Nessuno lo osava fare. ‘Nobody it dared to do.’)

i. *Non fu saputo tradurre da nessuno.
   (Lit.) It wasn’t known to translate by anybody.
   (cf. Nessuno lo seppe tradurre. ‘Nobody it could translate.’)

l. *Non fu saputo come fare (da nessuno).
   (Lit.) It wasn’t known how to do (by anybody).
   (cf. (?)Non lo sapeva come fare. ‘It he didn’t know how to do.’)

m. *Era teso a fare da tutti
   (Lit.) It was tended to do by everybody.
   (cf. (?)Tutti lo tendevano a fare. ‘Everybody it tended to do.’)

n. *Fu smesso/cessato di vedere.
   (Lit.) It was stopped/quit seeing.
   (cf. Lo smisero/(??)cessarono di vedere. ‘It they stopped/quit seeing.’)

o. *Non fu riuscito a vedere da nessuno.
   (Lit.) It wasn’t managed to see by anybody.
   (cf. Nessuno lo riuscì a vedere. ‘Nobody him managed to see.’)

   (Lit.) It had been buying.
   (cf. Lo stavano comprando. ‘They it were buying.’)

q. *Era stato per comprare.
   (Lit.) It had been about to buy.
   (cf. Lo stavano per comprare. ‘They it were about to buy.’)
r. *Fu ripreso a fare da tutti.
(Lit.) It was resumed to do by everybody.
(cf. Lo ripresero a fare tutti ‘Everybody it resumed to do.’)

s. *Fu finito per accettare da tutti.
(Lit.) It was ended up accepting by everybody.
(cf. Lo finì per accettare ‘He it ended up accepting.’)

t. ??Fu continuato/seguitato a fare nonostante la loro opposizione.
(Lit.) It was continued/kept on doing their opposition notwithstanding.
(cf. Lo continuarono/seguitarono a fare. ‘They continued/kept on doing.’)

u. La casa fu finita di costruire il mese scorso.
(= (116b) of Van Tiel-Di Maio 1978:97)
(Lit.) The house was finished building the last month.
(cf. La finì di costruire il mese scorso ‘He it finished building.’)

v. Quelle case furono iniziato/cominciate a costruire negli anni ’20.
(Lit.) Those houses were started to build in the ’20s.
(cf. Le iniziarono/cominciarono a costruire negli anni ’20. ‘They them started to build in the ’20s.’)

z. Sarete passati a prendere più tardi.4
(Lit.) You (pl.) will be passed to fetch later.
(cf. Vi passeremo a prendere più tardi. ‘We you will pass to fetch later.’)

w. Furono mandati a prendere a casa.5
(Lit.) They were sent to fetch at home.
(cf. Li mandarono a prendere. ‘They them sent to fetch.’)

Comparable data are found in Portuguese. Acabar ‘finish’, começar ‘begin’, and mandar ‘send’ can be passivized in restructuring contexts (see (7a–c)), but neither modals nor other aspectual verbs can (see (8a–d)).6

(7) a. As casas foram acabadas de construir em 1950.
   ‘The houses were finished building in 1950.’

b. ?As casas foram começadas a construir em 1950.
   ‘The houses were begun to build in 1950.’

c. As crianças foram mandadas alcançar à estação.
   ‘The children were sent to fetch at the station.’

(8) a. *As casas foram podidas/devidas/queridas demolir só recentemente.
   ‘The houses were could/should/wanted to pull down only recently.’
b. ??As casas foram continuadas a construir durante essa epoca.
   ‘The houses were continued to build during this period.’

c. *As casas foram tentadas demolir muitas vezes.
   ‘The houses were tried to pull down many times.’

d. *As casas foram finalmente tratadas demolir.
   ‘The houses were finally managed to pull down.’

Similarly, in Catalan, “restructuring” finish and begin verbs can be passivized
(Aquestes parets han estat acabades de pintar pels obrers ‘these walls have been
finished painting by the workers’; Aquestes cases van ser començades a construir
el 1950 ‘these houses were begun to build in 1950’), but neither modals (*Els
documents van ser poguts aprovar ‘the documents were been able to approve’)
nor other aspeccual verbs can (Lluïsa Gràcia, p.c.). 7 Analogous facts hold in Paduan
(Paola Benincà, p.c.) and Venetian (Cecilia Poletto, p.c.).

2. A solution to the puzzle

Why should only finire ‘finish’, iniziare ‘begin’, and (some of) the motion verbs
be passivizable, whereas all other “restructuring” verbs resist passivization? What
do the former verbs have in common which distinguishes them from the latter?

An answer to these questions appears to come from the relative position of the
distinct clausal functional heads in the hierarchy proposed in Cinque (1999), at
least if we accept the idea that the restructuring use of a verb is nothing other than
its generation in the semantically corresponding functional head (rather than in a
lexical VP). 8

Modal functional heads, and the majority of aspeccual functional heads appear
to be higher than the (Active/Passive) Voice head (see Cinque 1999, chapter 4 and
 appendix 2, for a cross-linguistic survey). One instance of complective aspect
(‘terminate a process at its natural ending point’, ‘finish’) is, however, crucially
lower than Voice (see the discussion in Cinque 1999, sec. 4.26, and note 10 below)

If, following current assumptions, we assume that for a verb to be passivized it
must raise to Voice°, either overtly or covertly, to pick up passive morphology
(alternatively, to check the features of its passive morphology), it follows that
only those verbs which are generated lower than Voice° will be passivizable. In
other words, only the lexical verb, head of VP, and restructuring finish verbs,
which can be licensed in the complective aspect head lower than Voice°, will be
able to be passivized. All “functional” verbs licensed in heads higher than Voice°
(such as the modals and the majority of aspeccual verbs in their restructuring use)
will be unable to bear passive morphology, as lowering is excluded. 9

This almost accounts for the pattern in (6). What is left out is the possibility of
passivizing motion verbs and begin verbs. The latter case is particularly problematic
as Inceptive aspect (‘begin doing something’) appears to be higher than (heads
higher than) Voice° in several languages documented in Cinque (1999, appendix
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2): for example, in the Niger-Congo language Kako, in the Eskimo language Aleut, in the Papuan language Tauya, and in the Amerind language Ika.

The position of Inceptive aspect (and that of Conative and of "Success" (or Frustrative) aspects), as well as the position of the functional head corresponding to motion verbs, were not systematically investigated in Cinque (1999).

At least for the case of motion verbs, there is some evidence that the functional head in which their restructuring use is licensed is lower than Voice°.

A number of Australian and African languages possess a verbal affix (rendered as ‘go and . . .’, sometimes called “andative” or “distante”), which signals that "a distance is traversed before the action is done" (Fagerli 1994:35). See also Evans (1995:311), and Dixon (1977:219ff), where these affixes are called "coming/going aspectual affixes." The West African language Fulfulde offers direct evidence that the functional head corresponding to this affix is lower than Voice°. The "distante" suffix in this language is a derivational suffix, closer to the verb stem than the suffix expressing Voice, which is a portemanteau inflectional suffix also marking aspect and polarity distinctions (Fagerli 1994:35):°

(9) Bingel soof-oy-i.
    child wet-DIST-Voice/Aspect/Polarity
    'The child went and urinated.'

Extrapolating from Fulfulde, motion verbs (in their restructuring use) are thus compatible with passivization. This leaves us with begin-type verbs, which also allow passivization (6v) although they shouldn’t, as the available evidence appears to show that Inceptive aspect is higher than Voice.

Here, I would like to follow a suggestion of Paola Benincà’s (p.c.), which seems to offer a principled solution to the problem. She notes that parallel to the pair of Terminative aspect (which marks the termination of an unbounded, or bounded, process at an arbitrary point: 'stop'/‘quit’/‘cease’) and Completive aspect (which marks the termination of a bounded process at its natural end point: ‘finish’), one could posit the existence of two distinct Inceptive aspects: one marking the beginning of an unbounded, or bounded, process at an arbitrary point (e.g., start to shiver or start to sing the aria [from some arbitrary point]); the other marking the beginning of a bounded process at its natural starting point (e.g., begin building the house).

Now, just as Terminative aspect is higher than Voice, and (one type of) Completive aspect is lower than Voice, so one could hypothesize that the former Inceptive aspect is higher, and the latter lower, than Voice. This implies that the begin-type verbs which can be passivized should only be of the bounded/natural-starting-point kind (as only this kind of Inceptive aspect is lower than Voice).

Indeed, there is some evidence bearing out this prediction, and thus supporting Benincà’s conjecture. While passivization of iniziare/cominciare is possible in (6v) or (10a), which constitute bounded processes (with a natural starting point), it becomes impossible if the process is turned into an unbounded one, say, by having a bare plural DP subject, as in (10b):°
(10) a. Furono iniziate/?cominciate a costruire solo due case.  
(Lit.) Were begun to build only two houses.

b. *Furono iniziate/cominciate a costruire case.  
(Lit.) Were started to build houses.

Conversely (given this line of analysis), we expect that all the restructuring verbs which cannot passivize (as they are in heads higher than Voice$^3$) should be able to embed a passive, whereas the restructuring verbs which can passivize (as they are located lower than Voice$^3$) should not be able to embed a passive.

These predictions appear to be largely confirmed, too. The verbs in (6a–s) indeed can embed a passive (see (11a–s)), whereas those in (6t–w) cannot, except for continuare, finire, and iniziare/cominciare, to which I return:

(11) a. Gianni gli voleva essere presentato.  
G. to-him wanted to be introduced

b. Gianni gli doveva essere presentato.  
G. to-him had to be introduced

c. G. non gli poteva esser presentato.  
G. not to-him could be introduced

d. Gianni ne desiderava essere informato.  
G. of-it desired to be informed

e. Non gli solevano essere presentati.  
(they) not to-him used to be introduced

f. ?Gli cercò/tentò di esser presentato.  
to-him (he) tried to be introduced

g. Gli provò ad esser presentato.  
to-him (he) tried to be introduced

h. Non gli osava essere presentato.  
not to-him (she) dared to be introduced

i. Ne sapeva essere affascinato.  
from-it (he) was able to be fascinated

l. Non gli sapeva come essere presentato.  
not to-him (he) knew how to be introduced

m. Ne tendeva ad essere affascinato.  
from-it (she) tended to be fascinated

n. Gli smise di essere indicato come la persona più adatta.  
to-him (he) stopped being indicated as the most suitable person

o. Ne riuscì ad essere informata prima di noi.  
of-it (she) managed to be informed before us
p. Ne stava venendo ottenebrato anche lui.  
from-it was being clouded over even him

q. Gli stava per essere presentata.  
to-him (she) was about to be introduced

r. Vi riprese ad esser ammesso.  
there he resumed to be admitted

s. Gli finiranno per essere concessi tutti i prestiti.  
to-him will end up being granted all the loans

t. Ne continuò/seguitò ad essere affascinato.  
from-it (he) continued/kept on being fascinated

u. Gli finirono di essere concessi prestiti.  
to-him finished to be granted loans

v. Gli cominciarono/?iniziarono ad esser inflitte delle punizioni.  
to-him began to be inflicted punishments

w. *Gli passò ad esser presentato uno straniero.  
to-him passed to be introduced a foreigner

z. *Gli mandarono ad esser presentato uno straniero.  
to-him they sent to be introduced a foreigner

The problem raised by the well-formedness of (11t–v) disappears if we consider the fact that a Continuative, an Inceptive, and a Completive aspect head is also present to the left of Voiceλ (Cinque 1999, chapter 4).λ

3. An extension to causatives

Along similar lines, the fact that causative verbs in Italian can be passivized (cf. *Gli fu fatto leggere (Lit.) To-him it was made read), but cannot embed a passive (*Farò essere invitati tutti (Lit.) I will make to be invited all—see Rizzi 1976:31f; Radford 1977:226; Burzio 1986:280f, among others) can now be seen as a consequence of the fact that the Causative functional head is lower than the Voice head.λ

This is confirmed by the fixed order of causative and passive suffixes (V-CAUS-PASS) in those languages which have, like the Romance languages, Baker’s type 1 causatives (namely, those which change the subject of an embedded transitive verb into an oblique object, rather than a direct object—Baker 1988:162ff).

If so, it is also to be expected that those restructuring verbs which are licensed in heads higher than Voiceλ will, a fortiori, be unable to embed under a causative verb (as this is lower than Voice). This expectation is also fulfilled. See (12) (and Burzio 1981:587):
(12)a. *La feci voler leggere a tutti.
   (Lit.) It (I) made want to read to everybody.
   ‘I made everybody want to read it.’

b. *Lo faranno dover ammettere anche a Gianni.
   (Lit.) It (they) will make have to admit to G. too.
   ‘They will make G. too have to admit it.’

c. *Lo farò poter leggere a tutti.
   (Lit.) It (I) will make be able to read to everybody.
   ‘I will make everybody be able to read it.’

d. *La farà desiderare di incontrare a tutti.
   (Lit.) Her (he) will make desire to meet to everybody.
   ‘He will make everybody desire to meet her.’

e. *Lo faceva sempre usar fare alle sue amiche.
   (Lit.) It (she) made always use to do to her friends.
   ‘She always made her friends use to do it.’

f. *La farò cercare/tentare di incontrare a Gianni.
   (Lit.) Her I will make try to meet to G.
   ‘I will have G. try to meet her.’

g. *La farò provare ad incontrare a Gianni.
   (Lit.) Her I will make try to meet to G.
   ‘I will have G. try to meet her.’

i. *Glielo faremo saper tradurre.
   (Lit.) To-him it (we) will make be able to translate.
   ‘We will have him be able to translate it.’

l. *Glielo farò saper come fare.
   (Lit.) To-him it (I) will make know how to do.
   ‘I will make him know how to do it.’

m. *Lo facevano tendere a fare a tutti.
   (Lit.) It (they) made tend to do to everybody.
   ‘They used to have everybody tend to do it.’

n. *Fallo smettere di importunare anche a Gianni.
   (Lit.) Make him stop pestering to G. too.
   ‘Make G. too stop pestering him.’

o. *La fecero riuscire ad aggiustare anche a Maria.
   (Lit.) It (they) made manage to fix even to M.
   ‘They made even M. manage to fix it.’
   (Lit.) It (we) will make be doing even to G.
   ‘We will have even G. be doing it.’

q. *Glielo feci star per comprare.
   (Lit.) To-him it (I) made be about to buy.
   ‘I had him be about to buy it.’

r. *La fecero riprendere a interpretare a Gianni.
   (Lit.) It (they) made resume to interpret to G.
   ‘They had G. resume interpreting it.’

s. *Lo faranno finire per comprare anche a Gianni.
   (Lit.) It (they) will make end up buying even to G.
   ‘They will have even G. end up buying it.’

t. (12t)?Glielo fece continuare a costruire.  (Burzio 1981:591)
   (Lit.) To-him it (he) made continue building.
   ‘He had him continue building it.’

While (12t) is somewhat intermediate (possibly suggesting the presence of some type of Continuative aspect head below Causative°, and Voice°—see also note 3 here on the marginal possibility of passivizing continuare, noted by Burzio), the embedding under fare of finire/terminare, iniziare/cominciare, and passare/mandare/andare in their restructuring use, are perfectly grammatical (cf. (13)). This suggests that the corresponding functional heads are also lower than Causative°, not just lower than Voice°.15

(13)a. La fecero finire/terminare di costruire a Gianni.
   (Lit.) It (they) made finish/terminate to build to G.
   ‘They had G. finish/terminate building it.’

b. Gliela fecero iniziare/cominciare a costruire.
   (Lit.) To-him it (they) made initiate/begin to build.
   ‘They had him begin to build it.’

c. Gliela fecero passare a prendere alle cinque.
   (Lit.) To-him it (they) made pass to fetch at 5 o’clock.
   ‘They made him pass and fetch it at 5 o’clock.’

d. Ce lo fecero andare a prendere subito.16
   (Lit.) To-us it (they) made go to fetch immediately.
   ‘They made us go and fetch it immediately.’

e. Glielo fecero mandare a prendere subito.
   (Lit.) To-him it (they) made send to fetch immediately.
   ‘They made him send to fetch immediately.’
Conversely, causatives should be possible under the restructuring verbs in (12), but not under those in (13), as the former are higher and the latter lower than the causative head. The first prediction is correct (see (14)). As to the second prediction, it cannot be tested with *finire/terminare* and *iniziare/cominciare*, which can also be licensed in heads higher than Causative⁶; as we have seen, but it can be tested with motion verbs, and it appears confirmed. See (15):

(14)a. Gliela volevo far vedere.
    (Lit.) To-him it (I) wanted to make see.
    ‘I wanted to have him see it.’

b. Gliela dovevo far vedere.
    (Lit.) To-him it (I) had to make see.
    ‘I had to make him see it.’

c. Non gliela potrò far vedere.
    (Lit.) Not to-him it (I) will be able to make see.
    ‘I will not be able to have him see it.’

d. Gliela desideravo far conoscere.
    (Lit.) To-him her I desired to make meet.
    ‘I desired to have him meet her.’

e. Gliela usavano far guidare d’estate.
    (Lit.) To-him it (they) used to make drive in the summer.
    ‘They used to have him drive it in the summer.’

f. Gliela cercarono/tentarono di far guidare.
    (Lit.) To-him it (they) tried to make drive.
    ‘They tried to have him drive it.’

g. Gliela provarono a far guidare.
    (Lit.) To-him it (they) tried to make drive.
    ‘They tried to have him drive it.’

i. Gliela sapremo far tradurre.
    (Lit.) To-him it (we) will be able to make translate.
    ‘We will be able to have him translate it.’

l. Gliela sapremo come far tradurre.
    (Lit.) To-him it (we) will know how to make translate.
    ‘We will know how to have him translate it.’

m. Gliela tenderebbero a far portare sempre.
    (Lit.) To-him it (they) would tend to make carry always.
    ‘They would tend to have him always carry.’
n. Glielo smise di far leggere.
(Lit.) To-him it (he) stopped to make read.
'He stopped to have him read it.'

o. Glielo riuscii a far vedere.
(Lit.) To-him it (I) managed to make see.
'I managed to have him see it.'

p. Gliela stava facendo firmare.
(Lit.) To-him it (he) was making sign.
'He was having him sign it.'

q. Gliela stava per far firmare.
(Lit.) To-him it (he) was about to make sign.
'He was about to make him sign it.'

r. Gliela riprese a far vedere.
(Lit.) To-him it (he) resumed to make see.
'He resumed to make him see it.'

s. Gliela finì per far comprare.
(Lit.) To-him it (he) ended up making buy.
'He ended up making/letting him buy it.'

t. Gliela continuò a far vedere.
(Lit.) To-him it (he) continued to make see.
'He continued to let him see it.'

(15)a. *La sono passata a far firmare a Gianni.
(Cf. Sono passato a farla firmare a G.)
(Lit.) It (I) have passed to make sign to G.
'I have passed and make G. sign it.'

b. *Gli siamo andati a far firmare la lettera.
(Cf. Siamo andati a fargli firmare la lettera.)
(Lit.) To-him (we) went to make sign the letter.
'We went and make him sign the letter.'

c. *Mandaglielo a far prendere.
(Cf. ?Manda a farglielo prendere.)
(Lit.) Send to-him it to make fetch.
'Send to make him fetch it.'

The order of functional heads for which evidence was discussed here is thus the following:¹⁷

(16)  ...Voice° > Perception° > Causative° > Asp_{inceptive(lI)} / (Asp_{continuative(lI)})
> Andative° > Asp_{completive(lI)}
The dots are meant to cover such aspects as Predispositional (‘tend to’), Terminative, Conative, Success/Frustrative (‘(not) manage to’), Continuative(I), Inceptive(I), Completive(I), Progressive, Prospective (‘to be about to’), and others (Cinque 1999), whose relative order remains in part to be determined.18

Notes

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1. Although cast in different frameworks, Rizzi’s (1976, 1978) “Restructuring” hypothesis and Aissen and Perlmutter’s (1976, 1983) “Clause Reduction/Union” hypothesis share the idea that modal, aspectual, and motion verbs in Romance, when followed by a sentential complement, may be affected by a process which turns the biclausal structure into a monoclausal one. For present concerns, I will consider the two hypotheses as identical. Alternative analyses such as Kayne’s (1989), and others mentioned there, are also equivalent, as far as I can see, with respect to the problem addressed here.

2. If correct, the account to be proposed must be valid beyond Romance, to which my discussion here is confined.

3. In Rizzi (1976:31) it is stated that “the output of verb raising but not that of restructuring can undergo the passive transformation” [my translation], cominciare ‘begin’ being a partial exception (cf. his n. 21) in that it can be passivized (marginally) in certain contexts (“Questa chiesa fu cominciata a costruire nel 1525” (Lit.) This church was begun to build in 1525’), though not in others (“Questo articolo sarà cominciato a leggere domani” (Lit.) This article will be begun to read tomorrow’).

Also according to Burzio “matrix passives with restructuring are at best unsystematic” (1981:689) and “impossible with exceptions with restructuring” (1986:382). He suggests that the impossibility of such cases as (6a) is due, in his analysis (pro mi è stato voluto [wp dare t,] [gPRO _]), to the fact that PRO lacks an antecedent; but he says he has “no precise answer” as to why the case with cominciare “differ[s] from the volere case . . . with respect to the possibility of interpreting the embedded subject PRO” (1986:378).

In addition to cominciare ‘begin’, mentioned in Rizzi (1976, n. 21), Burzio takes continuare ‘continue’ to marginally allow passivization (“Il palazzo fu continuato a costruire per ordine del principe” (Lit.) the palace was continued to build at the order of the prince”—1981:591; (a?)L’affitto fu continuato a pagare fino alla fine dell’anno” (Lit.) The rent was continued to pay till the end of the year”—1986:376). I find such cases somewhat harder than those with cominciare.

4. The restructuring use of this verb motion is very restricted. It is only possible (in either the active or passive form) with prendere ‘fetch’, salutare ‘greet’, and perhaps a couple of other verbs. Nonetheless, to the extent that it is possible in the active it appears to be possible in the corresponding “long passive.”

Similar remarks hold for mandare (see (6w)), the causative of andare ‘go’. As to andare itself in its restructuring use, although considered ungrammatical in Burzio (1986:374), it appears (marginally) possible in certain contexts (for some speakers): (a?)I libri saranno andati a prendere entro domani ‘The books will be gone to fetch by
tomorrow’; ?I malati furono andati a prendere a casa ‘(Lit.) The ill were gone to fetch at home’). Also see (13d) and note 16 here.

5. Mandare ‘send’ also enters a “complement object deletion” construction (Fiengo and Lasnik 1974): Mandarono la macchina a riparare ‘(Lit.) they sent the car to fix’. Cliticization or passivization of the object (La mandarono a riparare ‘They it sent to fix’; Fu mandata a riparare ‘It was sent to fix’) yields a word order identical to that formed by “clitic climbing” or “long passive” with the restructuring use of mandare (see (6w), for which no ‘Complement Object Deletion’ interpretation is possible: *Mandarono i bambini a prendere a casa ‘They sent the children to fetch home’).

6. I thank Manuela Ambar, Manuel Gonçalves Simões, and Eduardo Raposo for sharing with me their intuitions, which were remarkably consistent.

7. For Grácia, however, motion verbs are very hard to passivize.

8. This means that only verbs whose meaning closely corresponds to the functional meaning of a certain functional head can have the restructuring option. I refer to Cinque (in preparation) for arguments in favor of this interpretation of “restructuring.”

9. That the cause of the ungrammaticality of (6a–s) is in the passive morphology rather than in the DP-movement component of the construction is confirmed by the fact, noted above, that the corresponding “si-passives” (which involve the DP-movement component of passive, but no passive morphology) are all grammatical.

10. Incidentally, Completive aspect, in Fula/Fulfulde, is also a derivational suffix closer to the verb stem than both the Andative and Voice suffixes. See Fagerli (1994:53). Fula/Fulfulde thus gives evidence for the (partial) relative order of heads shown in (i):

(i) ... Voice° ... >... Andative° ... >... Asp°completive°... (V)

11. Positing an Inceptive aspect for unbounded processes (higher than Voice) distinct from an Inceptive aspect for bounded ones (lower than Voice) may also make sense of the preference for iniziare ‘initiate’ vs. cominciare ‘begin’ in the passivization cases. Although both are possible with either Inceptive aspect, iniziare is slightly more natural for marking the natural starting point of a bounded process (something which has an inizio ‘a proper starting point’). So, for example, while ha cominciato a cantare l’aria ‘he started to sing the aria’ is equally appropriate whether someone started singing the aria from the beginning or from the middle, the preferred interpretation of ha iniziato a cantare l’aria is definitely the former situation.

12. Burzio (1981:611f) also notes the “difficulty” with cases such as Gianni gli andrà ad esser presentato ‘G. to-him will go to be introduced’, for which he has “no precise account.”

13. Finire ‘finish’, in Italian, can apparently also be licensed in the head of Terminative aspect (which signals termination of a process at an arbitrary, rather than at the natural, end point), a usage which is not available to finish in English, as Richard Kayne pointed out to me (p.c.). Cf. Fini di piovere vs. *It finished raining. On the marginal acceptability of finish in the quasi-accomplishment interpretation of activities (?John finished working for the day), see Binnick (1991:176).

14. As Italian, French, and Spanish do not allow causatives to embed passives (Kayne 1975:251ff; Zubizarreta 1985:282: *Pierre a fait être lu(s) ces passages; *Pedro hizo ser leído(s) esos pasajes ‘(Lit.) P. made be read these passages’); which suggests that in these languages, too, the causative head is lower than Voice. However, the fact that (contrary to Italian) their causatives cannot be passivized either (Kayne 1975:244ff; Zubizarreta 1985:268: *La maison a été faite construire; *La casa fue hecha construir ‘(Lit.) the
house was made to build’) remains to be understood. Note that there is no semantic ban on having passive under the scope of a causative verb, as shown by such sentences as *Ho fatto si che fosse invitato* ‘I made it so that he be invited’, or by the *faire-par* construction in Romance (Kayne 1975). The only ban is on the embedded verb bearing passive morphology (ultimately, a consequence, in the present analysis, of the unavailability of lowering). Perception verbs can also enter the causative construction, but, to judge from the contrast in (i), they appear to correspond to a head higher than Causative° as they can embed, but cannot be embedded under, causatives (note that *vedere*, qua lexical verb, can embed under *fare*: *gliel’ho fatta vedere* ‘I made him see it’):

(i) a.  Gliel’ho vista far cadere. ‘I saw him make it fall.’
    b.  *Gliel’ho fatta veder cadere. ‘I made him see it fall.’

The contrast in (ii) suggests that this head is still lower than Voice°:

(ii) a.  Gli fu vista cadere addosso. ‘She was seen to fall on him.’
    b.  *Gliel’ho vista esser presentata. ‘I saw her be introduced to him.’

15. Interestingly, in Aissen’s (1977) investigation of clause reduction under causatives in Spanish all the examples are with *empezar* ‘begin’, except one with *tratar* ‘try’: (i) *Al niño le dejaron tratar de hacer los deberes solo* ‘They let the boy try to do his homework alone’. While the Italian analogue of *empezar*, *cominciare* can also embed under causatives, as seen above, *cercare, tentare, provare* ‘try’ cannot. Should (i) really turn out to be possible in Spanish, an interference could be involved with Exceptional Case Marking (admitted by *dejar* ‘let’), perhaps with *leismo* (as in *Le hice correr* ‘I made him run’).

16. Although, as noted, the passive of *andare* in its restructuring use (*?Furono andati a prendere a casa* ‘they were gone to fetch at home’) is somewhat marginal, and is judged impossible by Burzio, he nonetheless cites as only slightly marginal a sentence like (i); which gives evidence for the location of the corresponding functional head below Causative° and Voice° even in his Italian:

(i)    ?Il libro fu fatto andare a prendere a Giovanni. (Burzio 1981:580)
      “The book was made go to fetch to G.”

17. The evidence for locating the Andative head below the Inceptive(II) and Continuative(II) aspect heads comes from the following contrasts:

(i) a.  Lo comincio ad andare a vedere domani.
    it I begin to go and see tomorrow
    b.  * Lo vado a cominciare a vedere domani.
          it I go and begin to see tomorrow
(ii) a.  Lo continuò ad andare a vedere tutti i giorni.
    it he continued to go and see every day
    b.  * Lo andò a continuare a vedere l’anno scorso.
          it he went and continued to see last year

The well-formedness of both (iia) and (iib) suggests, instead, that the Andative head is higher than the lower Completive aspect head and lower than the higher one:
(iii) a. Lo finisco di andare a leggere domani.
   it I finish to go and read tomorrow
b. Lo vado a finire di leggere domani.
   it I go and finish reading tomorrow

18. Perhaps, grammatical function changing heads such as Causative should not be completely assimilated to "grammatical" functional heads of the mood, modality, tense, and aspect kind. The former, but not the latter, besides operating on the lexical verb's arguments, can apparently freely iterate (cf. (i)), and appear to be able to enter partially different orderings within and across languages. For example, the causative suffix is inside the distantive suffix in Fulfulde (cf. Fagerli 1994:53), which suggests that the Causative head is lower than the Andative head in this language, differently from Italian.

(i) a. Taroo ga Ziroo ni Itiroo o aruk-ase-sase-ta
   T. NOM  Z. DAT  I. ACC  walk-CAUS-CAUS-PAST
   'T. had Z. make I. walk' (Japanese; Shibatani 1976:244)
b. A daay-n-in-i Yero bingel e wuro na
   You fat-CAUS-CAUS-VOICE/ASP/POL. child from town Q
   'Did you make Y. take the child out of town?' (Fulfulde; Fagerli 1994:42)
c. Gliela faremo far riparare
   To-him it (we) will make make fix
   'We will make him have it fixed' (Italian)

References


