

Long passives of causative and perception verbs in Italian and Spanish A phasal account¹

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1 Introduction

Causative and perception verbs can take an infinitive (or a finite clause) as complement in both Italian and Spanish; perception verbs, on the other hand, can take two more complements:

1. Finite complement (not considered in this talk):

- (1) *Vi / Hice [que Juan bailaba].* (Spanish)
(I)saw (I)made that Juan danced
'I saw that John danced.'

2. Infinitive:

- (2) *Hice / Vi a Juan bailar.*
(I)made (I)saw A Juan dance.INF
'I saw John dancing.'

3. Gerund:

- (3) *Vi a Juan bailando.*
(I)saw A Juan dance.GER
'I saw John dancing.'

4. Pseudo-relatives (PRs)

- (4) *Vi a Juan que bailaba.*
(I)saw A Juan that danced
'I saw John dancing.'

¹ Today's presentation is based on my own research, as well as on joint research with Peter Herbeck (on Spanish) and Michelle Sheehan (on Italian and passives of causative and perception verbs in general). 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. I am responsible for how I have interpreted and represented these judgments, of course.

For **infinitives and gerunds**, there are in principle several possible **analyses**:

a) **Adjunct Small clause** (secondary predication with a PRO in nonfinite clause):

(5) Vi [_{DP} a Juan_i] [_{XP} PRO_i bailar]
(I)saw A Juan dance.INF

- the infinitive/gerund is in adjunct position and reference of PRO is determined by means of predication, similarly to other secondary predicates:

(6) Vi [_{DP} a Juan] [_{AP} contento]
(I)saw A Juan satisfied

b) **Clause Union / restructuring:**

(7) [[Vi bailar] [_{XP} a Juan ~~bailar~~]]
(I)saw dance.INF A Juan dance.INF

- the infinitive moves out of the embedded clause, forming a complex verb and a single case domain
- This is the **standard case for causative verbs** in Italian and Spanish

c) **ECM; *accusativus cum infinitivo***

(8) Vi [_{XP} a Juan bailar]
(I)saw A Juan dance.INF

- accusative Case is assigned ‘exceptionally’ to the subject of the embedded nonfinite verb, i.e. to its external argument (Hernanz 1999, Ciutescu 2018)
- this construction is possible for causative verbs as well in some Spanish varieties only

d) **Subject-to-object raising**

(9) Vi a Juan [_{XP} ~~Juan~~ bailar]
(I)saw A Juan dance.INF

- The embedded subject is moved to the object position of the main clause (cf. Herbeck 2020, a.o.)

Research questions:

What are the properties of these constructions? In how far can they be considered (non-)finite structures?

What can long passivation tell us about the structures of these constructions?

To what extent are Spanish PRs similar to and different from Italian PRs (e.g. Graffi 1980, 2007, Cinque 1992, Guasti 1988, 1992, Rizzi 1992, Casalicchio 2013, 2016, among others)?

Methodology:

Online Acceptability Judgment Task, investigating

- (i) embedded modal verbs and
- (ii) (matrix and embedded) passivization

Follow-up native speaker judgments with respect to different types of phenomena: negation, *wh*-extraction, etc.

Approach:

Phase theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2007, 2008)

Sheehan & Cyrino (2008), Sheehan (2020): PIC2 and locality with nonfinite complements of causative verbs.

Aims of the talk

- ✓ to investigate some properties of pseudo-relatives, infinitives and gerunds with causative and perception verbs in Italian and (mainly) in Spanish, which have not yet received sufficient empirical and theoretical attention in the literature
 - (im-)possibility of passivization
 - (lack of) subject-object asymmetries
- ✓ to present an acceptability judgment task with respect to PRs in Spanish (and their infinitival and gerundive counterparts)
- ✓ to provide a (preliminary) approach to the differences between PRs, infinitives and gerunds in terms of...
 - the ‘size’ of the (embedded) clause
 - the position of the clause (complementation vs. adjunction)
 - phase theory

2 Basic properties of the three constructions as described in the literature

Some preliminary observations on the structure of PRs, in comparison to infinitives and gerunds:

A) Anaphoric tense

- Infinitives: (mainly?) only anaphoric tense
- Gerunds: only anaphoric tense (Casalicchio 2019)
- PRs: anaphoric tense (Campos 1994, Rafel 1999:169) – with some exceptions

- (10)a. **Veo* *a José **trabajar** ayer.*
 see.PRES.1SG A José work.INF yesterday
- b. **Veo* *a José **trabajando** ayer.*
 see.PRES.1SG A José working yesterday
- c. **Veo* *a José **que trabajaba** ayer.*
 see.PRES.1SG A José that worked yesterday

A few corpus examples containing **tense mismatches** can be found; but mostly **partial** ones:

(11) matrix past preterit / embedded past perfect:

Una vez los perseguimos buen rato a los terrucos hasta que los vimos que habían entrado en una casa, se escondieron en una casa. (CORPES XXI, written, Peru)

‘[...] we saw [them] that they had entered into a house [...]’

Even if PRs are inflected, **they do not have fully independent tense!**

➤ no full deictic centre (Bianchi 2003) in the C-domain; no free reference

B) Negation

- Infinitives: no (Hernández 1999)
- Gerunds: no (Fernández Lagunilla 1999, Casalicchio 2019)
- PRs: no (Campos 1994), but possible if semantically plausible (Herbeck 2020, (12)):

(12) a. **Las vi no caminar.* (Hernández 1999: 2247)
them.CL I.saw not walk

b. **Todos vimos a Deco no metiendo un gol.* (Casalicchio 2019: 102)
all we.saw A Deco not making a goal

c. **Vi a Juan que no estaba allí.*
I.saw A Juan that not was.3SG there (Camacho 1994: 215)

(13) *Entonces me puse a correr pa que me vieran que **no me iba a quedar tranquilo***
‘Then I started to run so that they saw that I wouldn’t stay there without doing anything’
(CORPES XXI, written, Chile)

C) Left dislocation within the embedded complement

- Infinitives: ?
- Gerunds: ?
- PRs: no (Camacho 2011)

We asked linguist native speakers of Spanish for their judgements:

(14) *La vi, los libros, leerlos en la biblioteca.* (ok: 2, ?: 3, *: 7)
her I.saw the books read.INF-them in the library

(15) *La vi, los libros, leyéndolos en la biblioteca.* (ok: 1, ?: 4, *: 7)
her I.saw the books read.GER-them in the library

(16) *La vi que, los libros, los leía en la biblioteca.* (ok: 6, ?: 3, *: 3)
her I.saw that the books them.CL she.read in the library

➤ PRs having less structure than full finite clauses, but more structure than infinitives and gerunds

Some issues that need further research:

- will be the topic of talk!

D) Passivization of the matrix perception verb

- Infinitives: marginally when the internal argument is promoted (Di Tullio 1998, Sheehan 2020)
- Gerunds: presumably possible (Di Tullio 1998)
- PRs: presumably impossible (Rafel 2000)

For infinitives, see the following examples (Sheehan 2020):

- (17) a. **Mi hijo fue hecho llorar por su primera maestra.* [μ:1.55,σ:1.06]
 my son was made cry by his first teacher
- 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

This fact is surprising because in **Italian, both infinitives and PRs generally allow passivization** (cf. Cinque 1992).

- (18) *Gianni è stato visto che correva a tutta velocità.* (Cinque 1992: 11)
 Gianni is been seen that run at full speed
 ‘Gianni was seen running very fast.’
- (19) *Gianni è stato visto correre.*
 Gianni is been seen run
 ‘Gianni was seen to run.’

- **in addition: embedded passives and use of modal verbs**

RECAP:

	PRs	Gerunds	Infinitives
negation	ok	*	*
non-anaphoric tense	*?	*	*
left dislocation	?yes	no	no
modal verbs	NA	NA	NA
matrix passivization	no?	yes	no
embedded passivization	NA	NA	NA

Table 1: Information about the properties of PRs, Gerunds and Infinitives in the literature

3 Experiment

We investigate **four phenomena**, which might provide evidence for the type of structure of the embedded clause:

- embedded modal verbs
- embedded passivization
- matrix passivization
- subject-object asymmetries (→ resumptive pronoun strategies)

3.1 Methodology

Before the development of the questionnaire, a corpus study of PRs with matrix accusative clitics has been conducted.

- CORPES XXI (RAE)
- investigation of embedded tense/aspect
- subject-object asymmetries
- embedded verb types

However, given the low frequency of the configuration in the corpus (74 unambiguous cases), an acceptability judgment task has been conducted.

- the sentences of the experiment have partly been selected, departing from data found in the corpus

3.1.1 The questionnaire

Online questionnaire.

1st part: sociolinguistic data (country, age, gender, ...)

2nd part: short training/example

3rd part: acceptability judgement task (Likert scale 1-5)

→ 3 sentences for each topic: one with PR, one with gerund, one with infinitive

Total:

- **21 sentences** on perception constructions (3 for each phenomenon)
- Fillers (22 sentences with various syntactic phenomena)

4th part: Last question to check whether participant speaks a *leísta* variety

3.1.2 Participants

Total number: 82 participants (7 of them were excluded)

Age: 18-75 (mean: 32, median: 30,5)

Gender: 58,5% female, 40,2% male, 1,3% other/I don't want to say it

Country of origin: Spain (59; 14 of them from Catalunya)

Argentina (6)

Mexico (6)

Costa Rica, Cuba, Venezuela (each 2)

Chile, Colombia, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (each 1)

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Modal verbs

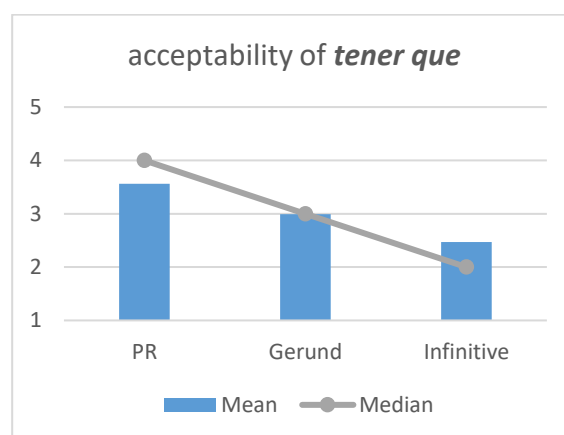
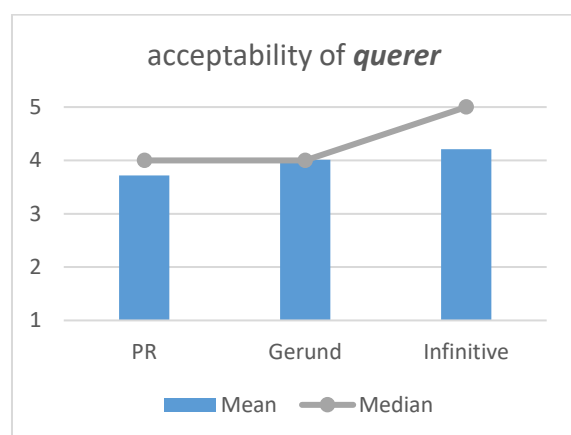
Tested sentences:

- (20) Los vi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{que querían} \\ \text{queriendo} \\ \text{querer} \end{array} \right\}$ ganar a cualquier precio.
 them.CL I.saw WANT win at any price
 ‘I saw that they wanted to win at any price.’

- (21) La vi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{que tenía} \\ \text{teniendo} \\ \text{tener} \end{array} \right\}$ que vomitar
 her.CL I.saw HAVE that throw.up
 ‘I saw that she had to throw up.’

Results:

	PR			Gerund			Infinitive		
	mean	median	SD	mean	median	SD	mean	median	SD
<i>querer</i>	3.72	4	1.27	4.01	4	1.18	4.21	5	1.12
<i>tener que</i>	3.56	4	1.46	2.99	3	1.59	2.47	2	1.36



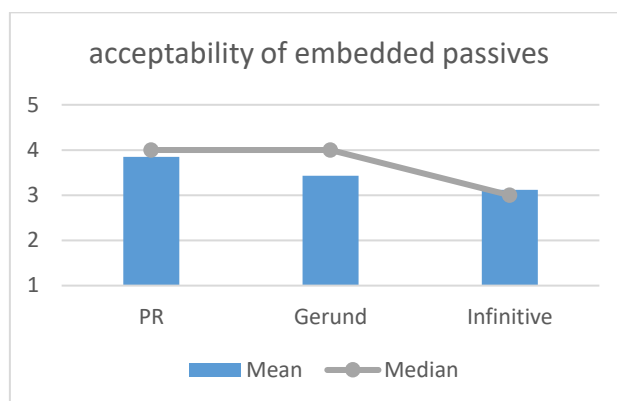
3.2.2 Embedded passive

Tested sentence:

- (22) A María, la vi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{que estaba siendo} \\ \text{siendo} \\ \text{ser} \end{array} \right\}$ forzada.
 A Maria, her.CL I.saw BE forced
 ‘I saw Maria being forced.’

Results:

	PR			Gerund			Infinitive		
	mean	median	SD	mean	median	SD	mean	median	SD
Emb. passive	3.87	4	1,27	3.45	4	1,35	3.16	3	1,39



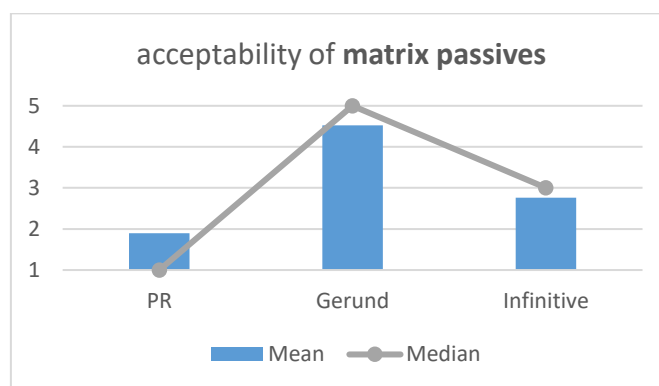
3.2.3 Matrix passive

Tested sentence:

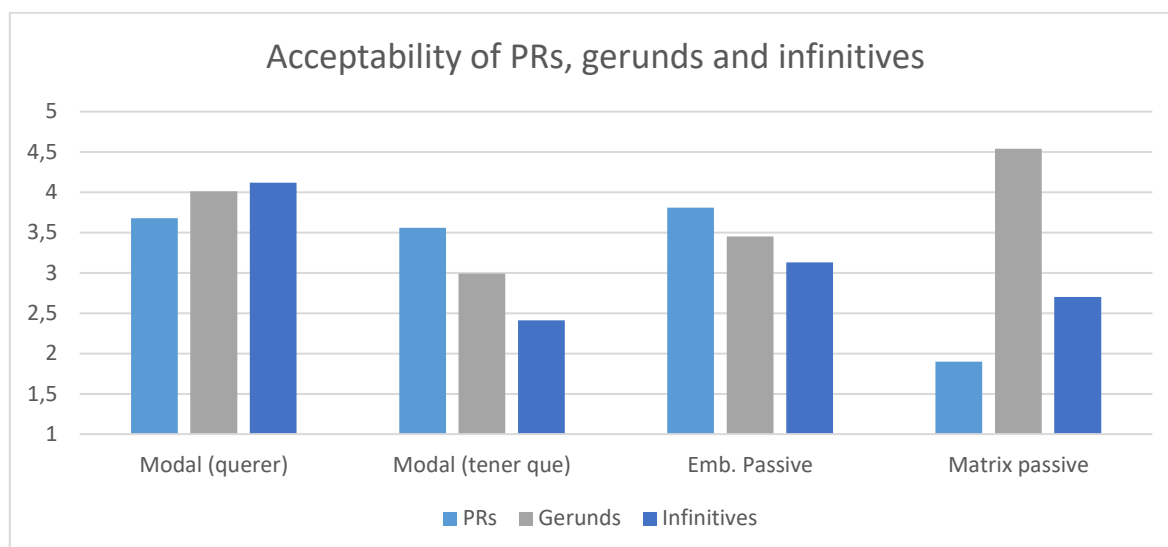
- (23) La actriz fue vista $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{que lloraba} \\ \text{llorando} \\ \text{llorar} \end{array} \right]$ en un restaurante berlinés.
 the actress was seen CRY in a restaurant Berliner
 ‘The actress was seen crying in a restaurant in Berlin.’

Results:

	PR			Gerund			Infinitive		
	mean	median	SD	mean	median	SD	mean	median	SD
Matrix pass.	1.89	1	1,29	4.57	5	0,87	2.77	3	1,55



3.3 Recap & Discussion



- A. Modal verbs:** *querer* is quite acceptable in all constructions;
tener que is more restricted (median: 4 PR; 3 gerund; 2 infinitive)
- B. Embedded passive:** quite acceptable with all constructions (>3)
- C. Matrix passive:** PRs are out (median = 1), gerunds are fully acceptable (median = 5), infinitives in between (median = 3)
 Furthermore, the SD is highest with infinitives → variation

First observations:

- A** → PRs have a TP plus an (at least truncated) CP; are infinitives + gerunds a TP?
- B** → all constructions seem to have a VoiceP (→ embedded passives ok).
- C** → most intricate issue concerning PRs (will be discussed below); gerunds are small clauses (thus ok); speakers' judgements on infinitives vary strongly: for some it is marginal/ungrammatical, for others it is ok.

4 Towards a (preliminary) analysisStarting points:

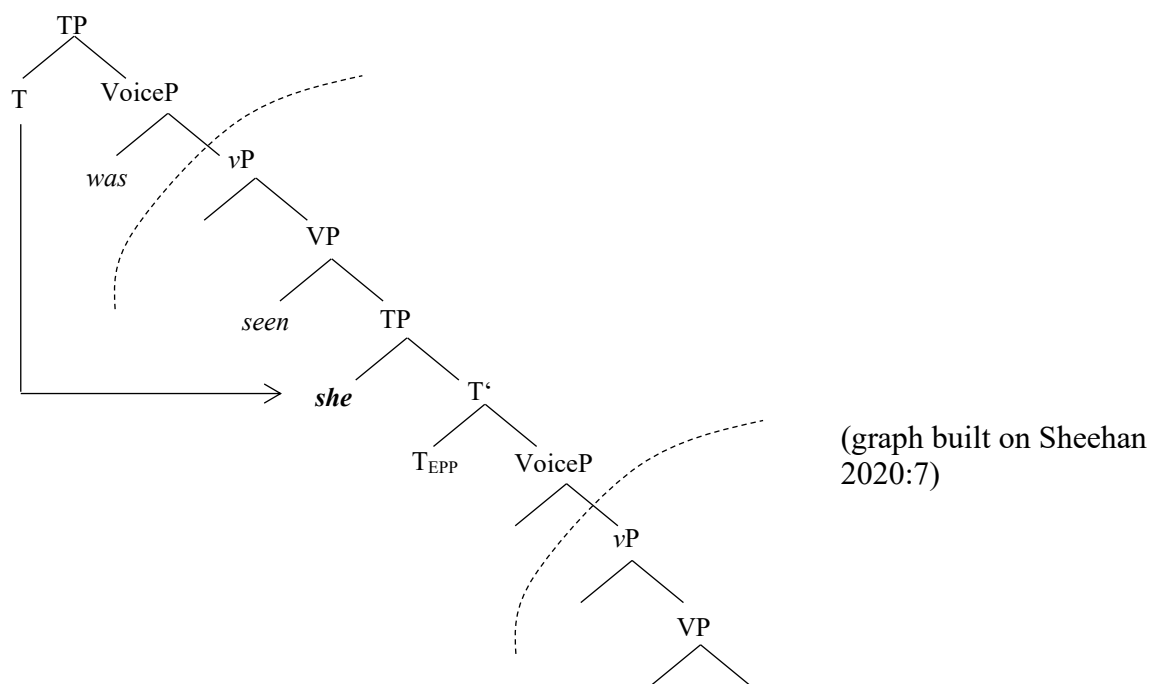
- **Clausal complements can have different 'sizes'** (cf. e.g. Rizzi 1997, Felser 1999, Wurmbrand 2001, Haegeman 2004, Sheehan & Cyrino 2018, among others; Folli & Harley 2007 for causatives)
- **Phase-based theory** (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2007; Sheehan & Cyrino 2018, Sheehan 2020)
- Pseudo-relatives are not 'relatives' (Kayne 1975, Radford 1975, 1977, Graffi 1980, Suñer 1984)

4.1 Theoretic background: Sheehan & Cyrino (2018) and Sheehan (2020)

Sheehan & Cyrino (2018), Sheehan (2020), building on Chomsky’s 2001 PIC2:

Long passives are possible if the embedded infinitive contains a T-projection (with an EPP) while they are blocked if it just projects a (phasal) voiceP (→ bare infinitives):

- (24) a. I made/saw/heard [Kim fall/sing/read the book]
 b. *Kim_i was made/seen/heard [t_i fall/sing/read a book].
 c. She was seen/made [TP **to** have completed the training]. (Sheehan 2020 [adapted])



- prohibition against crossing two phase boundaries (cf. Sheehan 2020; building on Chomsky’s 2001 PIC2)

PIC 2 (Chomsky 2001):

In a configuration [$ZP Z \dots [HP \alpha [H YP]]$], (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)

4.2 Gerunds and infinitives

Preliminary evidence:

Inf /Ger: [_{VoiceP} Voice [_{vP} v [_{VP} V]]] ✓
 Inf /Ger: [_{TP} T [_{VoiceP} Voice [_{vP} v [_{VP} V]]]] ?

- VoiceP: embedded passives possible in gerunds and infinitives
- Evidence with respect to a TP projection less clear

4.2.1 Gerunds

Gerunds clearly allow long passives.

(25)% *La actriz fue vista llorando en un restaurante berlinés.* (mean: 4.53; median: 5)

If gerunds project a VoiceP only, the possibility of long passives is *a priori* unexpected under Sheehan & Cyrino's (2018) approach if gerunds are complements:

- The embedded subject crosses two VoiceP phases

Gerunds do not project a TP:

- Negation impossible
- Follow up questionnaire with 7 linguist informants:

(26) Neg + Ger: (ok: 0; ?: 0, *: 7)

(A mi hermana, normalmente no le gusta la fiesta)

**Pero anoche la vi no parando de bailar.*

but tonight her.CL I.saw not stopping of dance

- Modal verb *tener que* marginally possible (median: 3) – might also be explained in a biclausal analysis (Luján 1980, Ordóñez 2007, Herbeck 2014)

But: Gerunds do have a derivation in terms of an (adjunct) small clause (see Di Tullio 1998):

(27) *Vi a Juan [muy tranquilo] y [sonriendo].*

I.saw A Juan very quiet and smiling

(Di Tullio 1998: 202; Casalicchio 2019:81)

- Apparently 'long' passives are short

(28) [Juan] fue [visto ~~Juan~~] [PRO bailando].

4.2.2 Infinitives

An adjunct SC derivation is not available for infinitives:

(29) **Vi a Juan [muy tranquilo] y [sonreír].*

I.saw A Juan very calm and smile.INF

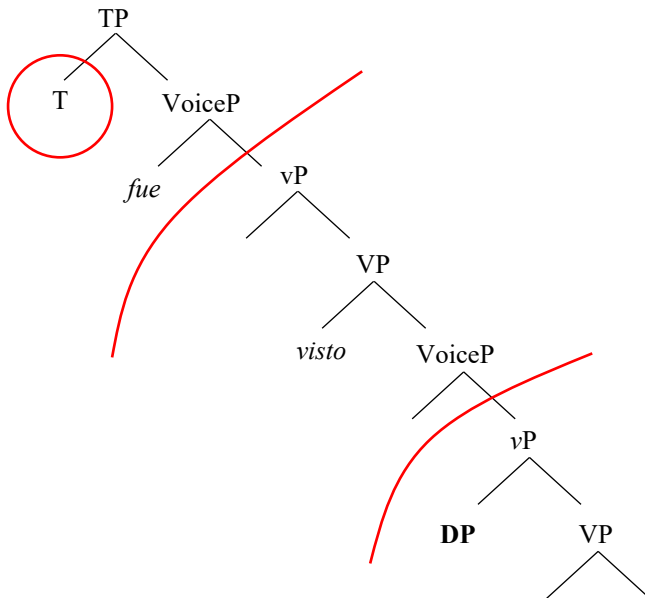
(Di Tullio 1998:202 fn. 8; Casalicchio 2019:84)

Long passives with infinitives are **marginal** → speaker variation

(30) % *La actriz fue vista llorar en un restaurante berlinés.* (mean: 2.76; median: 3)
 the actress was seen cry in a restaurant Berliner

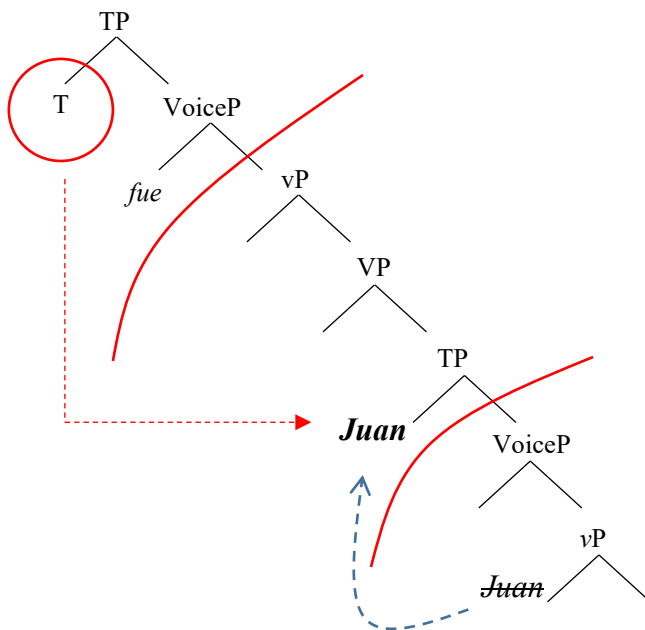
We need to deal with **two types of speakers of Spanish** with respect to **complement infinitives of perception verbs**

1. speakers that do not allow ‘long passives’: **no TP projection; bare VoiceP**



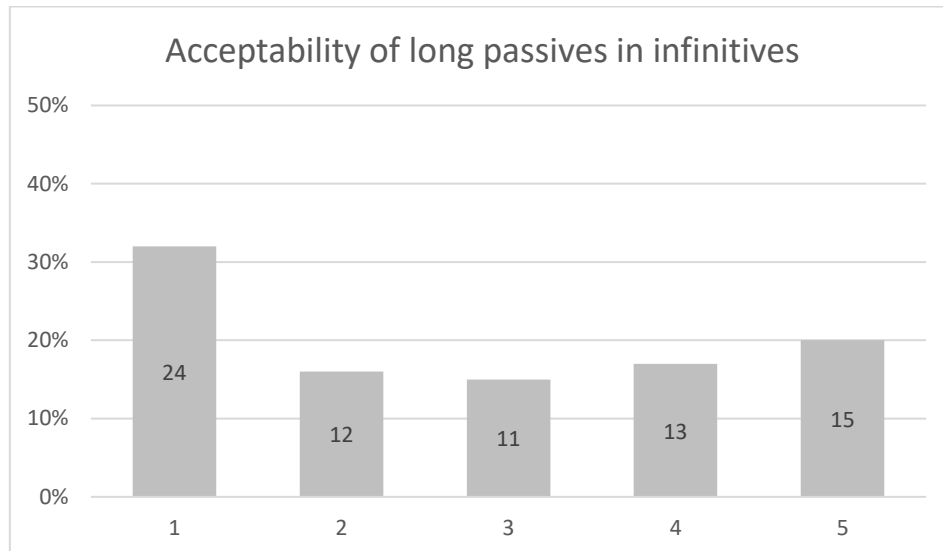
- [nom] Case Agree between matrix T and the embedded DP would violate PIC2
- passivization impossible

2. Speakers that accept long passives → **the infinitive projects a TP**



Evidence:

- Standard Deviation is highest with infinitives (SD = 1,55)
- in fact, several speakers rated the sentences either ungrammatical or grammatical, with fewer speakers assigning intermediate status to the structure

**Further evidence:**

- follow up study with 7 linguist informants: correlation between negation and long passives:

		S2	S5	S6	S1	S3	S7	S4
Negation	(A mi hermana, normalmente no le gusta la fiesta) Pero anoche la vi no parar de bailar.	*	*	?	?	ok	ok	ok
Long passive	La actriz fue vista llorar en un restaurante berlinés.	*	*	*	?	?	?	ok

- **Negation implies a TP**
- **Speakers allowing long passives also accept negation**
- **Accepting negation is a necessary (but not sufficient) condition to accept long passives**

4.2.3 Pseudo-relatives

PRs are **reduced structures**

- no speaker/addressee linking (no free reference) → no SAP (Speas & Tenny 2003)
- no independent tense → no “external logophoric centre” (Bianchi 2003)
- left peripheral fronting restricted to some speakers and no FocP

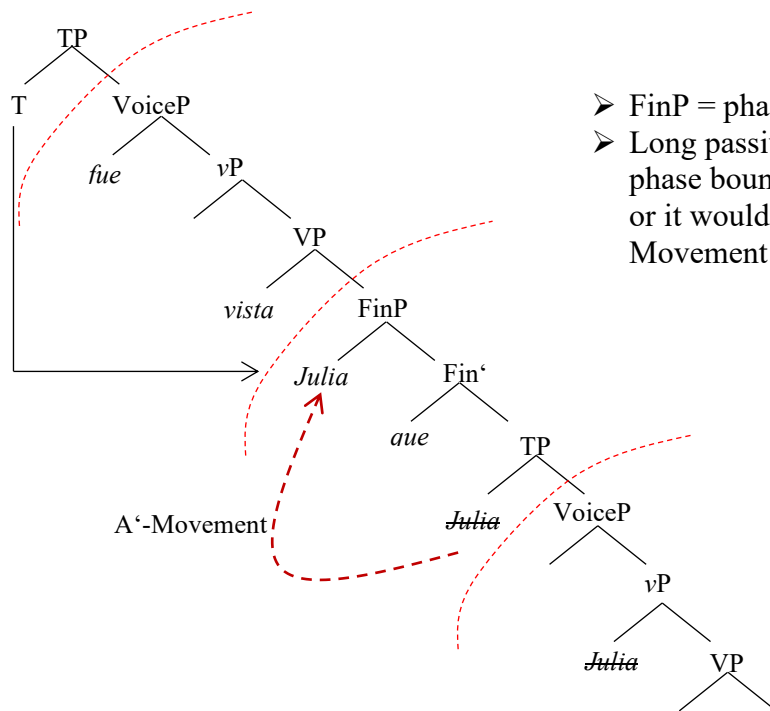
(31) PR: $[_{SAP} SA [_{FocP} \dots [_{FocP} Foc [_{FinP} Fin [TP T [_{VP} V [_{VP} V]]]]]]]]$

- The external logophoric centre is responsible for nominative Case assignment
- The embedded subject is still ‘active’ for movement in PRs (see Herbeck 2020)
- Raising-to-object

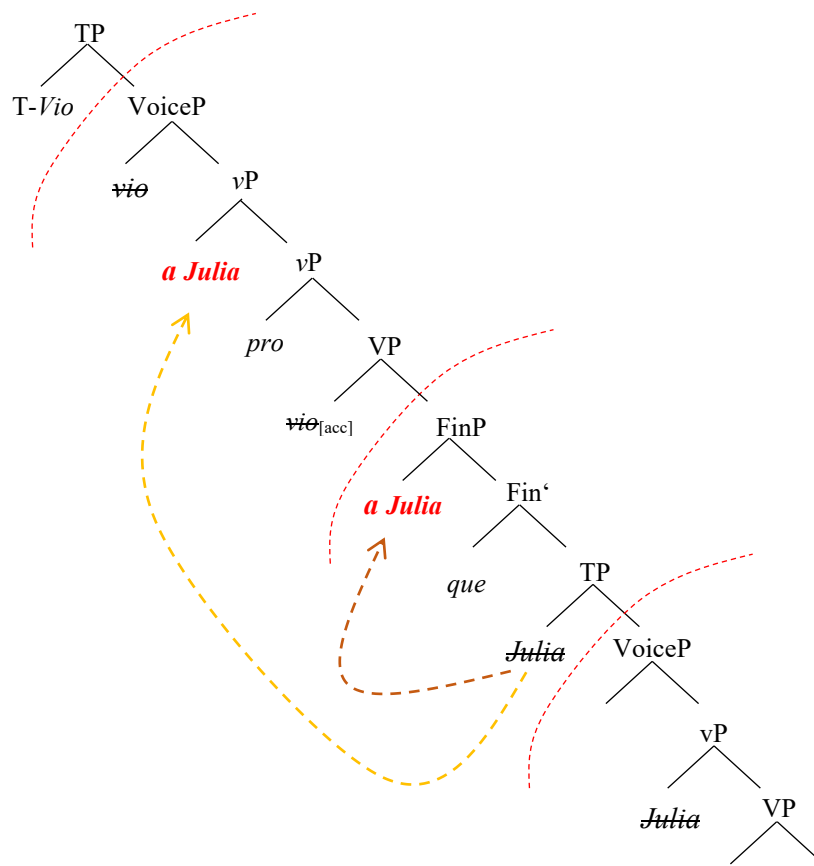
Problem: Why are **long passives impossible with PRs**?

(32) **L actriz fue vista que lloraba en un restaurante berlinés.* (mean: 1.9; median: 1)
 the actress was seen that cried in a restaurant Berliner

Possible solution for impossibility of long passivization:



Finite subject-to-object movement does not violate PIC2:²



Interim summary

Long passives in PRs:

- impossible because two phase boundaries intervene (even if movement to T): matrix VoiceP and embedded FinP
- using escape hatch (Spec,FinP) yields improper movement (A-A'-A)

Long passives out of infinitives:

- impossible because two phase boundaries intervene (matrix and embedded VoiceP)
- no embedded TP 'feeding' further A-movement
- but: a subset of speakers assigns a TP and therefore accept passivization

'Long' passives with gerunds are in fact short

- gerunds have a derivation of **secondary predication**
- the ACC DP can be generated as a matrix object → passivization unproblematic

² **Evidence** for subject-to-object movement can be found in the raising of accusative clitics and in the occurrence of intervening adverbs between the accusative DP and the *que* of the PR (see Herbeck 2020). Furthermore, constituency tests show that the accusative DP can be in the main and in the embedded clause (Rafel 1999).

And causatives:

- in the case of causative verbs, Sheehan (2020) has already shown that long passives are out because their infinitival complements are phasal voicePs
- Exception: internal arguments can be promoted because in this case the causative verbs has a VP as complement (lacking a position for the external argument)

5 What about Italian?

- a. **Italian PRs allow long passivization** (≠ Spanish): see Cinque (1992)
- b. **Italian infinitives also allow it, both with perception verbs** (as a subset of Spanish speakers) **and with causative verbs**
- c. **Italian does not have predicative gerunds** at all!

Italian does not allow gerunds in the complement of perception verbs!

(33) #*Ho visto Paolo cantando.*

(I)have seen Paolo singing

(34) #*L'ho visto cantando.*

him-(I)have seen singing

Italian PRs appear in the context of Spanish gerunds

- Italian PRs, in contrast to Spanish, can resort to a strategy of **secondary predication**

(35) *Ho visto Gianni* [PRO *che correva*] (Casalicchio 2016: 40 [adapt.])

I.have seen Gianni that ran.3SG

- This applied to passivization yields in fact *short* passives! (exactly like Spanish gerunds)

(36) [*Gianni*] *è stato visto* [*Gianni*] [PRO *che correva*].

Gianni is been seen Gianni that ran.3SG

‘Gianni was seen running very fast.’

Evidence: when the DP is clearly inside the PR, passivization is ruled out (like in Spanish):

(37) *Non sopporto* [_{CP} *Paolo che canta*]

not (I)-stand Paolo that sings

‘I can’t stand Paolo singing.’

(38) **Paolo non è sopportato* [~~*Paolo*~~] *che canta.*

Paolo not is stand Paolo that sings

intended: ‘nobody can stand Paolo when he’s singing.’

Spanish	Italian
PR Gerund	PR
Infinitive	Infinitive

In the case of infinitives:

- **Perception verbs** can take an ECM-infinitive. In this case the infinitival clause is an (at least truncated) TP.
- Evidence:
 - a. Negation is possible for all speakers
 - b. Modal verbs and high adverbs can be embedded under *vedere*
 - c. Future reference is possible

(39) *L'ho vista non ubbidire alla mamma.*
 her.ACC-I.have seen not obey to-the mum

(40) a. *L'ho vista dover rinunciare all'università.*
 her.ACC-I.have seen must.INF give.up to-the-university

b. *Questa fiera, l'abbiamo vista sicuramente crescere...* (web)
 this fair it.CL-we.have seen surely grow

(41) *Già ti vedo passare l'esame con 30 e lode domani.*
 already you.CL I.see pass the-exam with 30 and honours tomorrow

(42) *Gino è stato visto bere il vino.*
 Gino is been seen drink the wine

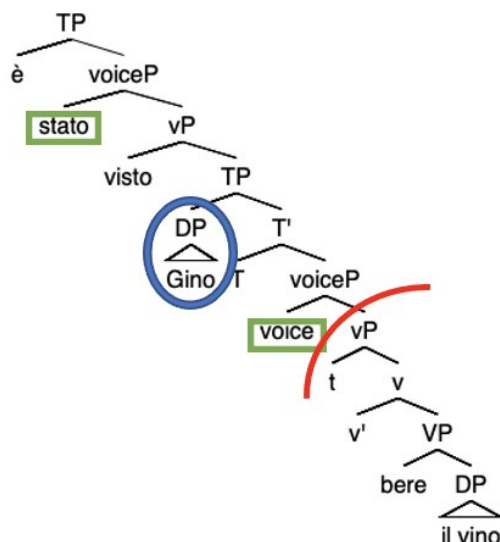


Figure 2: passive of non-agentive ECM complements in Italian

- **Causative verbs:** the infinitive is smaller than a voiceP in Italian. Therefore, it is not a phase.
- Evidence:
 - a. the pronoun *si* (a realization of voice) must be absent (Burzio 1981)
 - b. the infinitive cannot be negated, host modal verbs or high adverbs, nor can it have future reference

(43) *Faccio arrabbiar(*si) Paolo.* (cf. *Paolo si arrabbia*)

I.make anger=SELF Paolo Paolo SELF angers

(44) *Lascio lavar(*si) le mani ai bambini* (cf. *I bambini si lavano le mani*)

I.let wash=SELF the hands to-the children the children SELF wash the hands

(45) *La zuppa è stata fatta preparare.*

the soup is been made prepare

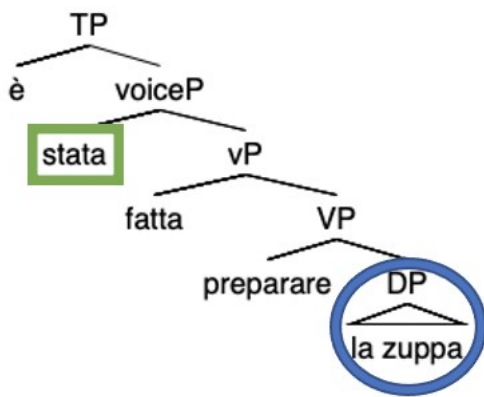


Figure 7: long passives of faire par in Italian

6 Some issues for future research

A) subject-object asymmetries in infinitives and gerunds

- It is known that ‘subject-object asymmetries’ are limited in PRs

(46) *Cuando la vi que le caían lágrimas, le pregunté qué pasaba.*
 when her.CL I.saw that her.CL fell tears her.DAT I.asked what happened
(mean acceptability 3.59)

- However, even in infinitives and gerunds subject-object asymmetries are not obligatory for all speakers:

(47) *Cuando la vi [cayéndole / caerle] lágrimas, le pregunté qué pasaba.*
 when her.CL I.saw FALL=her.DAT tears her.DAT I.asked what happened
(mean acceptability infinitive: 2.73; gerund: 2.56)

- acceptability is fully **unexpected!**

Possible solution:

- related to the fact that infinitives and (absolute) gerunds can have overt subjects in Spanish (cf. Rigau 1995; Hernanz 1999, Herbeck 2015, among many others)

B) subject-object asymmetries in Italian (and French)

- It seems that clitics improve them in certain configurations:

Italian:

- (48) *?Ho visto Giovanni_i che suo_i padre lo picchiava.* (Graffi 1980)
I.have seen Giovanni that his father him.CL beat
'I have seen Giovanni while he was beaten by his father.'
- (49) *Paolo la vide che *(la) stavano rincorrendo.* (Cinque 1992: fn. 4)
Paolo her.CL saw that her.CL they.were chasing
'Paolo saw her being chased.'
- (50) *Ieri in TV ho visto Maria che le davano un premio.*
yesterday in TV I.have seen Maria that her.DAT.CL they.gave a reward
'Yesterday on TV I saw Maria receiving a reward.'

- usually the subject is impersonal; agent defocusing?

French:

- Subject-object asymmetry apparently exists in French (Authier & Reed 2020):

- (51) **J'ai entendu Macron que les Gilets Jaunes huaient.*
I have heard Macron that the Vest Yellows booed

But there may be some cases where it is possible:

- (52) *Voilà ta soeur qu'on porte dans son lit.* (Sandfeld 1909: 119)
voilà your sister that-ON bring to her bed
- (53) *Je l'ai vue qu'on la portait encore en bras.* (French; A. Antoine 1822)
I her-have seen that-ON her brought still in arm

- would have to be tested

C) *wh*-extraction

Literature claims that *wh*-extraction is

- possible out of PRs (Suñer 1984) or only if the matrix ACC element is a clitic (Campos 1994)
- impossible out of gerunds (at least if argumental *wh*-; Di Tullio 1998:204)
- possible out of infinitives only if there is clause union (Di Tullio 1998:216)

Considering **preliminary speaker judgements** (12 linguist informants), the status of *wh*-extraction is not fully clear, but seems to depend on the type of *wh*-element:

(54) PR:

- a. *wh* = ACC-Obj: ¿**Qué libro** la viste que leía? (ok: 1, ?: 4, *: 7)
 b. *wh* = adjunct: ¿**Con qué cuchillo** la viste que cortaba las cebollas? (ok: 5, ?: 4, *: 3)

(55) Infinitives:

- a. *wh* = ACC-Obj: ¿**Qué libro** la viste leer? (ok: 7, ?: 4, *: 1)
 b. *wh* = adjunct: ¿**Con qué cuchillo** la viste cortar las cebollas? (ok: 11, ?: 0, *: 1)

(56) Gerunds:

- a. *wh* = ACC-Obj: ¿**Qué libro** la viste leyendo? (ok: 6, ?: 3, *: 3)
 b. *wh* = adjunct: ¿**Con qué cuchillo** la viste cortando las cebollas? (ok: 11, ?: 0, *: 1)

(translations:

wh = ACC-Obj: ‘What book did you see her read/reading?’

wh = adjunct: ‘With which spoon did you see her cut/cutting the onions?’)

Some ideas:

- PRs have a FinP phase, whose edge is occupied by the accusative subject
 - blocks argument extraction?
- infinitives and gerunds are ‘smaller’ (no FinP phase) → direct A’-movement?

Note: Extraction seems to be fully out in **Italian PRs**:

- (57) **Con cosa_i l’hai visto che tagliava la torta t_i?*
 with what him-have.2SG seen that cut.3SG.IMPF the cake

7 Conclusion

- In **Spanish**, PRs are reduced, phasal complements (→ FinPs)
 - PIC2 predicts impossibility of long passivization, but possibility of finite subject-to-object movement
- Infinitives and gerunds are more reduced (→ voicePs)
 - differences with respect to passivization stem from complement vs. adjunct (i.e., Small Clause) position
 - inter-speaker variation might stem from the optional assignment of a TP structure → Spanish lacks clear *morphological* clues for a voiceP vs. TP structure
- In **Italian**, PRs have an adjunct small clause structure and therefore allow passivation
- Gerunds are not used in these contexts
- Infinitives are either bigger than the phasal voiceP (with perception verbs), or they are smaller (with causatives). Therefore passivation is always possible.

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