

Case Assignment and Incorporation in Spanish Impersonal Passives

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GOALS

- Describe a poorly studied type of **passive** in Spanish.
- Defend an **incorporation-based approach** to the facts.
- Suggest a Case-displacement parameter to capture the **dialectal asymmetries**.

PASSIVE STRUCTURES IN SPANISH

- (1) a. Algunas postales **fueron enviadas**
 some postcards were sent-f.3PL *Periphrastic passive*
- (2) a. **Se** enviaron algunas postales
 SE sent-3PL some postcards *Passive with SE*
- b. **Se** envió algunas postales
 SE sent-3SG some postcards *Impersonal with SE*
 'Some postcards were sent'

IMPERSONAL PERIPHRASTIC PASSIVES (IPP) - Ordóñez & Treviño (2011)

- With ditransitive verbs (diTR)

- (3) Se *(les) fue permitido practicar su religión
 SE CL.them was permitted-m.3SG to-practice their religion
 'They were permitted to practice their religion'

Structure:

SE + CL-dative + passive + DP-theme + (a DP-goal)

Distribution: All Spanish varieties.

- With transitive verbs (TR)

- (4) Se *(le) fue encarcelado
 SE CL.him was imprisoned-m.3SG
 'He was imprisoned'

Structure:

SE + CL-dative + passive + (a DP-theme)

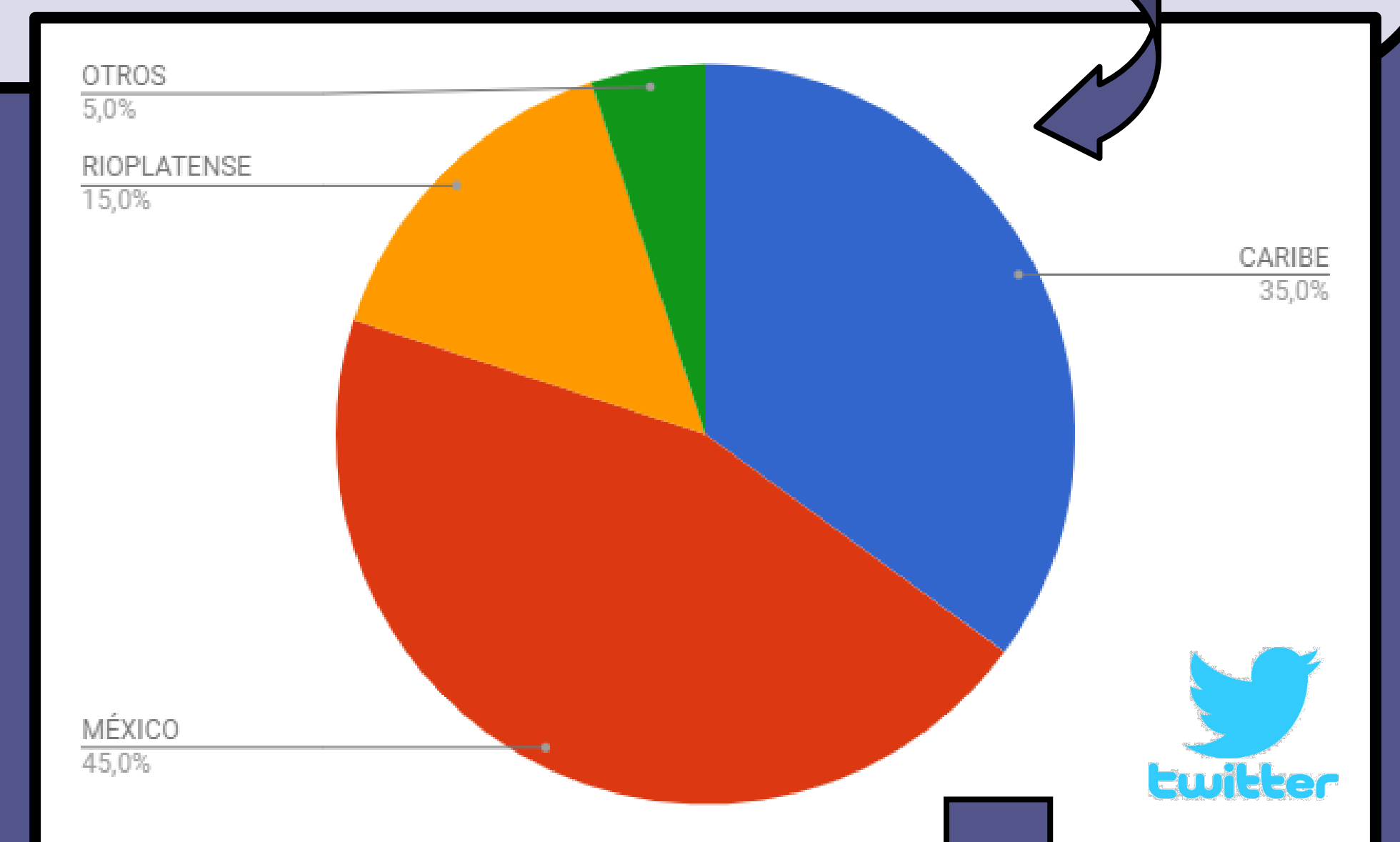
Distribution: Some American Spanish varieties.

A dative clitic must always be present!

AN INCORPORATION-BASED ANALYSIS (Freeze 1992/Kayne 1993):

- (5) a. *Se fue denegada la visa (a Pablo) → ACC cannot be suppressed twice
 SE was denied-f.3SG the visa DOM Pablo (under general Economy Principles)
- b. Se **le** fue denegada la visa (a Pablo) → P is incorporated into BE
 SE CL.him was denied-f.3SG the visa DOM Pablo
- c. Se (le) **ha** denegado la visa (a Pablo) → Periphrastic passive → AUX+P.Part
 SE CL.him has denied-3SG the visa DOM Pablo
 'The visa was denied to Pablo'

[_{VP} [BE + P] [_{VP} SE v [DP_{GOAL} t_P [V DP_{THEME}]]]]



PREDICTIONS

- ✓ IPPs (5b) have the **same interpretation** as SE+Aux+P.Part (5c)
- ✓ **Case assignment:**

	Passive with SE	Impersonal with SE
diTR IPP	DP _{NOM} (theme) a DP _{DAT} (goal)	DP _{PART} (theme) a DP _{DAT} (goal)
TR IPP	a DP _{NOM} (theme)	a DP _{DAT} (theme)

A PARAMETER

TR IPP involve **dativization** of the IA:

Mexican & other American varieties:
 SE always triggers dativization: it only licenses LE(S).

(6) A María, se **le** vio contenta
 'María, she was seen happy'

✓ TR IPP

European Spanish:
 SE does not trigger dativization: it licenses LE (leísmo) or LO under DOM.

(7) A María, se **la** vio contenta
 'María, she was seen happy'

✗ TR IPP

CONCLUSIONS

- IPPs are rescued by a **dative clitic**, which is incorporated (P-incorporation) into BE.
- **P incorporation** dissolves the periphrastic passive, yielding a plain **impersonal/passive sentence** (with SE).
- There are **2 types of IPPs**; they display a different **dialectal pattern**.
- The dialectal cut seems to be related to a **dativization process** that takes place in certain non-European varieties: Mexican, Peruvian and Colombian at least (cf. Ordóñez & Treviño 2016).

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