Pseudo-passives in some varieties of Spanish (?)

Ángel J. GALLEGO

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

V Encuentro Wedisyn - UAM (Madrid)
Introduction

Preposition stranding is ruled out in Spanish

(1)  *Quién contaron todos con? (Spanish)
     who counted all with
     Who did everybody count on?
     [from Campos 1991:741]
Introduction

Pseudopassives are too

(2) *José es contado con por todos (Spanish)  
José be counted with by everybody  
José is counted on by everybody  

[from Campos 1991:741]
Introduction

Pseudopassives are too

(2) *José es [ contado [ con <José> ] por todos ]

↑___________________|
Introduction

Some apparent exceptions to (2)

(3) Finalmente, se castigaron a los culpables (Mexico)
    finally       SE punished-3.pl to the culprits
    Finally, the culprits were punished

(4) Dijo que se hablaron con las autoridades (Rep. Dom.)
    say     that SE talked-3.pl with the authorities
    He said that the authorities were talked to
Introduction

In brief, it seems we have:

a. [ Probe . . . [ p Goal ] ]
   \[ \text{Agreement \%} \]
   \[ (\% = \text{parametrized}) \]

b. *[ Goal [ Probe . . . [ p <Goal> ] ] ] \text{Agr. + movement}
Introduction

- The case in (3) is well-known, and subject to parametric variation (Ordóñez & Treviño 2004 et seq.)

- The case in (4) is not, and raises different questions – if it is indeed robust enough.

- One is: Are there a true residual pseudopassives in Spanish?

- Another is: If so, what is the relevant parameter that licenses them?
Outline

1. SE sentences: basic properties
2. Residual pseudopassives 1
3. Residual pseudopassives 2
4. Conclusions
1. SE Sentences


  (1) *Se vendieron los coches*  
      SE sold-3.pl the cars  
      The cars were sold

  (2) *Se ayudó a los estudiantes*  
      SE helped-3.sg to the students  
      The students were helped
1. SE Sentences

- Mendikoetxea (1999: §26.3.2.2.): there are two passives

  (1) **Se venden botellas** PASSIVE 1 (Spanish)
      SE sell-3.pl bottles
      Bottles were sold

  (2) **Se vende botellas** PASSIVE 2 (Spanish)
      SE sell-3.pl bottles
      Bottles were sold

Note: We are talking about non-DOMed internal arguments
1. SE Sentences

- P2 (non-agreeing passives) can be found in Old Spanish

- Also in non-European Spanish

- “… it is true that it has spread lately, especially in American Spanish, without ever generalizing” (p.1677).

- Factors that seem to license P2:
  i. DP vs. NP
  ii. XP V vs. V XP
  iii. Aspect
  iv. Datives
  v. Locality
1. SE Sentences

i. DP vs. NP

Se necesita aprendices  *?Se necesita los aprendices
SE need-3.sg learners  SE need-3.sg the learners
Learners are needed  Learners are needed

ii. XP V vs. V XP

Aquí se necesita aprendices  *?Aprendices se necesita aquí
here  SE need-3.sg learners  learners  SE need-3.sg here
Learners are needed here  Learners are needed here
1. SE Sentences

iii. Aspect

Se vende libros ¿Se vendió libros
SE sell-3.sg books SE sell-3.sg books
Books were sold Books were sold

iv. Datives

Se les da caramelos a los niños
SE CL give candies to the children
Children are given candies
1. SE Sentences

v. Locality

Se veía a un lado y a otro del camino las mansiones...
SE see to one side and to other of-the track the mansions

Se conoce en la mayoría de los casos los nombres...
SE know in the majority of the cases the names

Se ha empezado a construir las vías férreas para...
SE has started to build the track iron for

Se puede pagar los envíos...
SE can pay the shipments
1. SE Sentences

v. Locality

[ Se AUX / MOD [ INF XP ] ] ☺ Se pueden [ comprar casas ] ]
| ______________↑

[ Se CONTROL [ INF XP ] ] ☺☺ Se [ quieren [ comprar casas ] ]

| __________↑
1. SE Sentences

- RAE- ASALE (2009: §41.12c and ff.)

“The distribution is not perfect [...] it has been observed that Andean, Chilean, and River Plate Spanish feature overlapping more clearly” (p.3094)

(1) En su partido se respeta las libertades . . . (Mexico)
   in his party SE respect the freedoms
   Freedoms are respected in his party

(2) Se atendió once solicitudes . . . (Mexico)
   SE attend eleven applications
   Eleven applications were attended
2. Residual pseudopassives 1

RAE- ASALE (2009): hybrid pattern (with DOM-ed objects)

\[
\text{SE} \quad V \quad a \quad \text{XP}
\]

OLD SPANISH

(1) A estos no se pueden premiar (Quijote)

to these not SE can award
These cannot be awarded

PRESEN-DAY SPANISH

(2) Se premiaron a los mejores jinetes (Salvador Hoy)

SE awarded to the best riders
The best riders were awarded
2. Residual pseudopassives 1

- Before moving on, consider the “impersonal SE” more closely

- The v of this structure should be v* (ACC). However:

  (1) *El arroz, se lo come cada domingo (Spanish)
  The rice, it is eaten every Sunday
  [from Ordóñez 2004:6]

  (2) A un hombre, no se lo juzga sin pruebas (Spanish)
  A man is not judged without evidence
2. Residual pseudopassives 1

- This pattern seems pretty robust. So let’s assume:

  If the IA is DOM-ed, then SE v is v* (ACC)

- This said, there are exceptions:

  (1) Cuando se reproduce lo acontecido, when SE reproduce it happened sin querer se lo deforma without want SE it distorts When one reproduces what has happened, one distorts it involuntarily (Javier Marías, RAE speech)
2. Residual pseudopassives

- RAE-ASALE (2009: §41.12m)

  v* is licensed in following areas: Andes, Chile, and River Plate
2. Residual pseudopassives 1

- RAE-ASALE (2009: §41.12m)

(1) Se planifican los escapes, se los tecnologiza
    SE plan the escapes SE CL technologize

(2) Fracasan solo cuando se las usa mal
    Fail just when SE CL use bad

(3) Se los entiende sin que hayan sido explicados
    SE CL understand without that have been explained

[RAE-ASALE 2009: 3098]
2. Residual pseudopassives 1

- From this, one can plausibly conclude that impersonal sentences with SE are divided into two dialects:

  Dialect A: v is $\varphi$-defective (ACC unavailable)
  Dialect B: v is $\varphi$-complete (ACC available)
2. Residual pseudopassives 1

- As reported by Ordóñez & Treviño (2007), Mexican and Argentinian varieties of Spanish, which belong to dialect B, may show agreement with an internal argument preceded by accusative a (the *hybrid pattern*).
2. Residual pseudopassives 1

- The hybrid pattern is ruled out in European Spanish (Dialect A).

(1) Finalmente, se castigaron a los culpables (Mexico)
    finally SE punished-3.pl to the culprits
    Finally, the culprits were punished

(2) Se evacuaron a más de 120.000 damnificados (Argentina)
    SE evacuated to more of 12.000 damaged
    More than 120.000 damaged people were evacuated
    [from Ordóñez & Treviño 2007:12]
2. Residual pseudopassives 1

- A way to go about this subtle micro-parametric distinction is to take Spanish *a* to vary within the relevant varieties.

- Building on much literature on this topic (cf. Demonte 1978, Torrego 1998, López 2010), we assume that *a* can be the spell-out of a **Case related projection** (plausibly inserted at PF; López 2012) or a **preposition of sorts**.
2. Residual pseudopassives 1

- In other words:

  a. Dialect A: \[
  [vP \mathrm{v} [vP V [\mathrm{PP} a [\mathrm{DP}_{\text{OBLIQUE}}]]] \]
  \]

  b. Dialect B: i. \[
  [vP \mathrm{v} [vP V [\mathrm{KP} a \mathrm{DP}_{\text{ACC}}]]] \]
  \]

  ii. \[
  [... T ... [vP \mathrm{v} [vP V [\mathrm{KP} a \mathrm{DP}_{\text{NOM}}]]] \]
  \]
3. Residual pseudopassives 2

- Yet much more surprisingly (and interestingly), other variants of Spanish dialect A manifest agreement with DPs contained in bona fide PPs.

- The following data are from different on-line sources:

(1) Dijo que se hablaron con las autoridades
    say that SE talked-3.pl with the authorities
    He said that the authorities were talked to
3. Residual pseudopassives 2

(2) En Santiago anoche se informaron de cuatro homicidios
in Santiago last night SE informed-3.pl de cuatro homicidios
of four homicides
Four homicides were reported last night in Santiago

[http://www.periodismoglobal.cl/2006/08/la-democracia-de-la-udi.html]
3. Residual pseudopassives

(3) El comercio online sumó [...] 100 millones de transacciones [...] cuando se llegaron a los 74,3 millones de operaciones

The online trading added 100 million transactions when 74,3 million operations were reached

3. Residual pseudopassives 2

(4) En realidad se dependen de tantos factores que esto provoca una extrema dificultad. Actually, one depends on so many factores that it makes things extremely difficult.

[http://diegotenis9.wordpress.com/]
3. Residual pseudopassives 2

- More cases: CREA

(1) Sólo se disponen de datos de matrículas . . . (El Salvador)
just SE dispose of data of registration
We just have data on registration

(2) Aunque no se disponen de cifras exactas . . . (Costa Rica)
although not SE dispose of numbers exact
Although we don’t have exact numbers
3. Residual pseudopassives 2

- More cases: CREA

(1) Sí se *saben de diversos factores que influyen* . . . (España)
   - yes SE know of diverse factors that influence
   - We do know factors that influence
3. Residual pseudopassives 2

- More cases: Google

(1) Todavía se confían en los milagros (México)
   yet SE trust in the miracles
   They still believe in miracles
   [http://www.sinembargo.mx/30-03-2014/947521]

(2) Cuando se hablan de las supuestas desigualdades (Chile)
   when SE talk of the alleged asymmetries
   When they talk about the alleged asymmetries
   [http://blog.lanacion.cl/2014/03/11/desigualdades-de-genero-en-el-emprendimiento/]
4. Conclusions

- Of course, a more careful study is needed.

- The factors to control for are (at least):
  
  i. Type of verb (non-pronominal, agentive)
  ii. Type of preposition
  iii. Type of post-P NP/DP
  iv. Source (journal, newspaper, forum, CREA, Google, etc.)

- These could just be typos or the result of oral speech.
4. Conclusions

- What I find relevant, in any event, is that the hybrid pattern is not found with adjuncts. So, (1) and (2) are unattested.

(1) Se hablaron en las aulas  
SE talk in the class  
People talk in the class

(2) Se aspiraron al puesto por muchos motivos  
SE aspire to-the position for many reasons  
People aspire to the position for many reasons
4. Conclusions

- This raises several questions, among which the parametric one is particularly pressing: How does agreement take place in such varieties of Spanish?

- At first glance, the dialects allowing this pattern must be able to license a ‘reanalysis’ process whereby T can long-distance agree with the complements of P.

- The possibility of having “SE pseudopassives” also raises the question whether “BE pseudopassives” are possible too. The answer is negative, as I have not been able to find sentences like those in (1) and (2):
4. Conclusions

(1) *Fueron habladas con las autoridades
   be-3.pl talked-3.fem.pl with the authorities
   Authorites were spoken to

(2) *Fueron pensadas en cuatro respuestas
   be-3.pl thought-3.masc.pl in four responses
   Four responses were thought
Thanks