

# Spanish double passives and related structures\*

Ignacio Bosque

ibosque@filol.ucm.es

*Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Spain)*

Ángel J. Gallego

angel.gallego@uab.cat

*Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain)*

ABSTRACT. This paper studies the properties of a previously unnoticed passive construction found in some varieties of present day Spanish. Such construction, which we refer to as *double passive* (following NGRALE 2009), contains two adjacent passive complexes (*Ese producto fue empezado a ser usado como conservante*, Eng. That product was started to being used as a preservative), but only one of them is interpretable as a *bona fide* passive. We discuss the properties of this structure, suggesting that the passive (i.e., participial) morphology of the aspectual predicate (i.e., *fue empezado*) is uninterpretable, and obtained through a mechanism of agreement at a distance (Chomsky's 2000, 2001 Agree).

KEY-WORDS. Agreement, auxiliaries, doubling, passive, Romance, uninterpretable features.

## 1. Introduction

It is a well-known observation that Romance languages allow for pronominal clitics to co-occur with full argumental DPs in their argumental position in so-called *clitic doubling*. In the examples below, the clitics *lo* (Eng. him) and *le* (Eng. to her) are associated to the DPs *el libro* (Eng. the book) and *la actriz* (Eng. the actress), the doubles.

---

\* This research has been partially supported by grants from the Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia-FEDER (HUM2006-13295-C02-02), Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación (FFI2010-20634), Generalitat de Catalunya (2009SGR-1079), and Universidad Complutense (UCM-930590). This work was presented at the seminar of the *Centre de Lingüística Teòrica* (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 18th February 2011), whose audience we thank for valuable discussion and questions. Special thanks to Luis Sáez for comments on a previous version of this paper. Usual disclaimers apply.

- (1) a. *Lo leímos el libro.* (Spanish)  
 CL-him read-1.PL the book  
 We read the book
- b. *Le envié flores a la actriz.* (Spanish)  
 CL-to.her sent-1.SG flowers to the actress  
 I sent flowers to the actress

The question that data like these raise dwells on the nature of clitics, which may (and have) be(en) analyzed in different ways. In earlier accounts, such as Jaeggli's (1986), clitics were treated as the real arguments of the verb, doubles being regarded as adjuncts that needed to be Case licensed by mechanisms other than government (typically, the insertion of a preposition; see Kayne 1975). Previous and current approaches to doubling differ from each other when it comes to determining whether the clitics *lo* and *le* in (1) are base generated in a functional layer of the clause (as the spell-out of an agreement head; see Jaeggli 1982, 1986b, Sportiche 1993, Suñer 1988, and Zubizarreta 1999), or else moved from an argumental position (see Kayne 1975, 1991, Ormazabal & Romero 2010, and Rizzi 1986), where they form a complex constituent with the direct and indirect objects (as argued by Belletti 2005, Cecchetto 2000, Torrego 1985 and Uriagereka 1995).

We are aware that doubling and reduplication are different phenomena, as Alexiadou (2010) has emphasized recently<sup>1</sup>. It is worth remembering that doubling is a property of functional, rather than lexical, categories, that is, a property of the categories involved in agreement processes. Doubling of lexical categories is thus expected to be unavailable, presumably as a consequence of these categories being  $\varphi$ -feature-free, and thus unable to participate in agreement dependencies<sup>2</sup>. This suggests that syntactic approaches to doubling must be considered under a general, formal theory

<sup>1</sup> That is, adjectival reduplication—a resource for intensification and iteration in many languages, as Moravcsik (1978), Alexiadou (2010) and many others have pointed out—is not to be confused with doubling. Good candidates for reduplication are also Uriagereka's (2008) cases involving finite state loops with an emphatic import, as in *Estoy muy muy muy cansada* (Eng. I am very tired). See also Roca & Suñer (1997) for related discussion.

<sup>2</sup> This is particularly clear in approaches where lexical categories have the form in (i), where  $\alpha$  stands for a light functional head (in the sense of Marantz 2001, 2007).

(i) [ $\alpha$   $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ ] where  $\alpha$  = a, v, n

of syntactic agreement, which in recent years has become a hotly debated topic (see Boeckx 2008, 2009, Caha 2009, Adger et al. 2008, Pesetsky & Torrego 2004, Roberts 2010, and references therein)<sup>3</sup>.

The literature on doubling has been largely devoted to the study of clitics, even though other cases of syntactic duplication, involving elements such as possessives, complementizers, or comparative particles, have been acknowledged (see Barbiers 2010, Barbiers et al. 2010, Lekakou 2010, and references therein). In this paper we would like to explore a previously unnoticed doubling construction that is exhibited in some non-formal varieties of Spanish, which we, following NGRALE (2009: § 41.2n), refer to as *double passive*. This structure is shown in (2b):

- (2) a. La ermita fue construida en el siglo XIV. SINGLE PASSIVE (Spanish)  
the church be-3.SG built in the century XIV  
The church was built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century
- b. La ermita fue empezada a ser construida en el siglo XIV.  
DOUBLE PASSIVE (Spanish)  
the church be-3.SG started to be built in the century XIV  
The church was started to be built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Unlike the single passive example in (2a), (2b) involves a cluster of two verbal complexes: the basic passive periphrasis, headed by a lexical verb (*ser construida*, Eng. be built), and the doubling passive periphrasis, headed by a tensed form of *ser* plus an aspectual verb (*fue empezada*, Eng. was started). A salient (and rather intriguing) property of Spanish double passives concerns the expletive nature of some of its components. In particular, whereas the high auxiliary (*fue*) and the low past participle (*construida*) make a semantic contribution in terms of temporal and passive (participial) information respectively, the low auxiliary (*ser*) and the high past participle

---

<sup>3</sup> Although we take doubling processes to be specific cases of agreement, some well-known configurations of agreement should not be included in the same list, regardless of the fact that grammaticalization processes convert lexical pieces into grammatical morphemes. Consequently, doubling structures do not strictly include the *ne... pas* double negation in French, negative concord in Romance, subject-verb agreement, or personal pronouns as possible substitutes for wh- traces in resumptive structures, among many other configurations.

(*empezada*) do not, being mere agreeing (i.e., redundant) forms. If this is so, an immediate question that emerges is why the basic passive is doubled, given that only one of its instances is interpreted. Notice that single passives display a similar division of labor between the auxiliary and the past participle (the former encodes inflectional information, whereas the latter provides passive voice), but it is nonetheless odd that the two forms sandwiched in between of double passives fail to display the interpretation that they usually do.

Also relevant is the fact that the double passive in (2b) is interpretively equivalent to the much more standard variant in (3), where only the lexical verb bears passive morphology. That is, double passives are interpreted as single passives in Spanish or English: *Fue empezada a ser construida* means 'It was started to be built', and it is equivalent to the standard Spanish variant *Empezó a ser construida*.

- (3) La ermita empezó a ser construida en el siglo XIV. (Spanish)  
 the church began-3.SG to be built in the century XIV  
 The church started to be built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Things get more complex the moment we consider a second variant, the one in (4), also attested (and more frequently so than the double passive; see NGRALE 2009: 3044 and ff.) in present day Spanish. In this single passive, the reading is, yet again, analogous to that in (2b) and (3). This is interesting too, for the lexical verb in (4) is in its active form, while the auxiliary is passivized.

- (4) La ermita fue empezada a construir en el siglo XIV. (Spanish)  
 the church be-3.SG begun to build in the century XIV  
 The church started to be built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Discussion is organized as follows: section 2 introduces different patterns of auxiliary doubling. In section 3, we discuss the properties of the auxiliaries that are involved in double passives. Section 4 focuses on passive doubling in Spanish, for which we propose an analysis according to which redundant passive morphology is a consequence of multiple

*Long Distance Agree* (in the sense of Bhatt 2005, Boeckx 2004, 2009, Chomsky 2001, and López 2007); we further discuss the restrictions that this construction is subject to, and its apparently restricted cross-linguistic presence. In section 5 we turn our attention to passive infinitivals, which play a crucial role in a series of constructions where a passive reading is available without any morphological support. Section 6 summarizes the main conclusions.

## 2. Remarks on auxiliary doubling

As noted in the previous section, the literature on doubling has, by and far, focused on clitics and the dependencies they establish with functional heads. Interestingly enough, other doubling structures inside the VP have been reported, even though they have not received much attention. This is the case of auxiliaries, which can also be doubled under certain circumstances in some languages.

To begin with, it is worth remembering that both HAVE and BE can be doubled in auxiliary structures. The double perfect in literary French, named *passé surcomposé* by French traditional grammar, is a straightforward case of HAVE doubling. This combination corresponds to the pattern «HAVE-inflected + HAVE-participle», as can be seen in (5):

- (5) a. Quand il a eu fini le travail. (French)  
when he have-3.SG had finished the work  
When he finished the job
- b. Après que j'ai eu parlé. (French)  
after that I-have-1.SG had spoken  
When I had spoken

As glosses indicate, the auxiliary *avoir* (Eng. have) appears both as a finite form and a participle. Although some exceptions exist, most instances of French HAVE doubling structures appear in temporal subordinate clauses, more specifically in *quand* (Eng. when) clauses, or in sentential complements of *après* (Eng. after), *dès* (Eng. since), *aussitôt* (Eng. as soon as), *une fois* (Eng. once), *à peine* (Eng. just), and similar expressions (see Carruthers 1994, 1998, Apothéeloz 2010, and Paesani 2001). These contexts basically coincide

with those licensing so-called *pretérito anterior* (e.g., *hube cantado*, Eng. I sang) in present day literary Spanish (NGRALE 2009: § 23.16i-k):

- (6) a. Apenas hube terminado de leer la carta, escribí la respuesta. (Spanish)  
 just had-3.SG finished of read-INF the letter wrote-1.SG the answer  
 As soon as I finished reading the letter, I wrote the answer
- b. \*Hube terminado de leer la carta y escribí la respuesta. (Spanish)  
 had-1.SG finished of read-INF the letter and wrote-1.SG the answer  
 I finished reading the letter and I wrote the answer

The data above suggest that the morphological inflection of the *pretérito anterior* (the past form *hube*) plays a role in Spanish similar to that of the doubled *avoir* in French. In particular, both units come close to be a morphological mark that embodies the retrospective information lexically induced by a temporal P or wh- operator: *when*, *after*, etc.<sup>4 5</sup>.

An alternative pattern of HAVE doubling is found in some Germanic languages, where the *have* tokens are not adjacent. The example below, taken from Barbiers et al. (2010), illustrates this variant.

- (7) Ik heb de fiets twee keer gestolen gehad. (Brabatisch Dutch)  
 I have-1.SG the bike two times stolen had  
 I have stolen the bike twice

<sup>4</sup> Some simple infinitive / perfect infinitive alternations in English and other languages (see (i) and (ii) below) seem to fit in the same general pattern, indicating that (sometimes covert) past morphology is licensed in non-finite clauses (see Bosque & Torrego 1995 for discussion).

(i) Después de {verlo / haberlo visto}. (Spanish)

after of see-CL-it have-CL-it seen

After seeing it / having seen it

(ii) Por {romper el cristal / haber roto el cristal} le castigó. (Spanish)

for break-INF the glass have-INF broken the glass CL-him punished-3.SG

He punished him for breaking the glass / having broken the glass

Bosque & Torrego (2005) account for this variability by taking HABER to involve two layers: a temporal and a perfective one, as indicated in (iii). Crucially, as these authors argue, Spanish infinitivals license the perfective shell of a covert HABER.

(iii) [<sub>TP</sub> T<sub>[PAST]</sub> [<sub>PerfectP</sub> Perfect]] = HABER

<sup>5</sup> Poletto (2009) also reports cases of HAVE doubling in some Northern Italian dialects, as shown in (i):

(i) Co go bio magnà. (Northern Italian)

when have-1.SG had eaten

When I had finished eating

The main difference between (5) and (7) does not only stand on the characteristic OV order of Germanic auxiliary system, but also on the (apparently) unmarked nature of *have* doubling in (5). As expected, BE + HAVE, instead of HAVE + HAVE (i.e., HAVE doubling), is obtained with unaccusatives and other BE-taking predicates, as in the following example of the French *passé surcomposée*:

- (8) Dès que je me suis eu assis. (French)  
since that I CL-to.me be-1.SG had seated  
As soon as I was seated

Just like HAVE doubling, BE doubling is reported in some Northern Italian dialects by Poletto (2009) for passives and unaccusative structures. Surprisingly, it is also attested for passives in some variants of substandard present-day Spanish - although rarely found outside journals - :<sup>6</sup>

- (9) a. El internacional 'bleu', que insultó a su técnico en el descanso del. . .  
the international bleu that insulted-3.SG to his coach in the half-time of-the  
. . . partido entre México y Francia, fue sido expulsado de la concentración  
game between Mexico and France was-3.SG been expelled of the concentration  
[from *Marca* 6.21.2010]

The bleu international player, who insulted his coach in the half-time of the game between Mexico and France, was been expelled from the group

- b. Más de 30 personas fueron sido detenidas en diferentes actos  
more of thirty people were-3.PL been arrested in different acts  
de desobediencia civil  
of disobedience civil [from *Las Américas* 12.12.2010]

More than thirty people were been arrested in different acts of civil disobedience

- c. Asimismo, las medidas de protección [...] tampoco fueron aplicadas  
likewise the measures of protection neither were-3.PL applied

---

<sup>6</sup> It is worth noting that in the examples (9b) and (9c) the second instance of *be* is inflected as default (masculine, singular). We take this to indicate that the «BE + BE» cluster behaves as a unit that does not provide a specifier position in between for the relevant DP to move into. This would be enough to explain the lack of agreement, under a theory like Kayne's (1993). We return to this issue in section 6.

por el Estado y otros tres miembros de la familia *fueron sido* asesinados.  
by the Government and other three members of the family were-3.PL been  
murdered [from ABC 10.8.2010]  
Likewise, the protection measures were not implemented by the  
Government either, and three more family members were murdered

Since native speakers tend to reject these constructions when they are exposed to them, this pattern might simply be the syntactic result of an afterthought, more specifically the result of crossing or mixing the periphrastic passive pattern (*fueron asesinados*, Eng. were murdered) and the present perfect passive structure (*han sido asesinados*, Eng. have been murdered). Even if so, the fact that almost 25.000 hits are obtained in a Google search for the pattern *fue sido* (Eng. was been) does not seem to be irrelevant. In fact, it suggests a tendency for some speakers to choose BE doubling in passives to overtly mark both the past and the passive auxiliary. For those speakers, these two pieces of morphological information are not differentiated enough in the verbal form *fue*.

As expected, BE doubling is not contiguous in the Germanic languages that allow for it either, as in the South-eastern Dutch dialects reported by Barbiers et al. (2010):

- (10) Ik ben twee keer gevallen geweest. (South-eastern Dutch)  
I am-1.SG two times fallen been  
I have fallen twice

The syntactic structure we want to analyze in this paper presents some similarities with the ones above, but also differs from them in non-trivial respects. This construction, which we will refer to as *double passive*, displays two concatenated instances of the «BE + past participle» passive pattern within the same VP. A sample of Spanish double passives can be seen in (11):

- (11) a. Su comportamiento fue dejado de ser visto como una amenaza.  
his behavior was-3.SG stopped of be-INF seen like a threat  
His behavior was left being seen as a threat  
b. A partir de entonces, el producto fue empezado a ser utilizado como  
conservante.



- since of then the product was-3.SG started to be-INF used as preservative  
Since then, the product was started to be used as a preservative
- c. Aunque el nuevo edificio todavía no ha sido terminado de ser . . .  
although the new building yet not have-3.SG been finished of be-INF  
. . . construido, el ayuntamiento ya está dándole uso.  
built the city-hall already is-3.SG giving-CL-to.it use  
Although the new building has not been finished being built yet, the  
City Hall is using it

These structures are accepted by most native speakers, but also reported as inelegant or stylistically marked. Somewhat surprisingly, double passives are not mentioned in Spanish grammars, with the exception of NGRALE (2009: § 41.2n), which reports their use in some journals and recommends not to use them. Furthermore, as noted above, the most remarkable aspect of double passives concerns their interpretation: the passive morphology is only interpreted in the downstairs (lexical) participle, not the upstairs one. As expected, much more common than double passives are the standard variants in (12), which display passive morphology only in the lexical predicate, as in the languages which lack double passives.

- (12) a. Su comportamiento dejó de ser visto como una amenaza.  
his behavior stopped-3.SG of be-INF seen like a threat  
His behavior stopped being seen as a threat
- b. A partir de entonces, el producto empezó a ser utilizado como conservante.  
since of then the product started-3.SG to be-INF used as preservative  
Since then, the product started being used as a preservative
- c. Aunque el nuevo edificio todavía no ha terminado de ser . . .  
although the new building yet not have-3.SG finished of be-INF  
. . . construido, el ayuntamiento ya está dándole uso.  
built the city-hall already is-3.SG giving-CL-to.it use  
Although the new building has not finished being built yet, the City  
Hall is using it

Similar structures (involving a double verbal complex) have been reported in the literature for English and Turkish (see Kornfilt 1996, Wurmbrand 2001,

2004, 2007, 2010, and references therein). Interestingly, double passives are also possible in English (thanks to Ian Roberts for informing us of this).

- (13) a. The university was begun to be surrounded by the police.  
b. The university was begun to surround by the police.

As Roberts points out, this construction is often treated under the heading of “restructuring”, since only (a subset of) restructuring-type verbs allow it. Also importantly—as we will see in section 4—, the lower verb can be an infinitive maintaining its passive interpretation. Therefore, English allows both (13a) and (13b) (and so does Spanish, as we discuss below).

To recap so far, Spanish double passives feature a complex and interesting instance of auxiliary doubling: they are not built by simply doubling an auxiliary verb (whether in an adjacent or a non-adjacent configuration), but the whole «BE + past participle» cluster. In the following section we propose an analysis for this structure that will account for both its morphological and interpretive intricacies.

### 3. The distribution of passivized auxiliaries

Before presenting our analysis of double passives, we should step back a little bit and lay out our assumptions with respect to single passives, which we will couch in terms of Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) Probe-Goal framework. As is well known, the most remarkable property of passive sentences concerns participial morphology, which absorbs accusative Case and demotes the external argument (see Baker et al. 1988, Jaeggli 1986a, and references therein). Consequently, the internal argument is promoted to the subject position, or remains in situ (in pro drop languages):

- (14) a. Fueron escritos (por Galdós) los *Episodios nacionales*. (Spanish)  
be-3.PL written by Galdós the episodes national  
The *Episodios nacionales* were written by Galdós  
b. Los *Episodios nacionales* fueron escritos (por Galdós). (Spanish)  
the episodes national be-3.PL written by Galdós  
The *Episodios nacionales* were written by Galdós

In Chomsky's (2000, 2001) approach to Case, it is assumed that some functional categories are drawn from the lexicon with a set of person and number features (so-called  $\varphi$ -features). Since these features are uninterpretable (they make no contribution at the semantic interface), they enter the syntax unvalued, behaving as a 'Probe' looking for a 'Goal' (an active, Case-less, DP in the c-command domain of the Probe). In this system, passives are taken to involve a  $\varphi$ -defective  $v$ , which lacks some feature (typically, person), and thus fails to assign structural Case after agreement.<sup>7</sup> To see this, consider the step by step derivation of (15) in (16):<sup>8</sup>

(15) Borges was never awarded the Nobel prize.

- (16) a. [<sub>VP</sub> v-ed<sub>[number: ]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> award [<sub>AppIP</sub> Borges Appl [the Nobel prize]]]]  
 Match ( $v$ , *Borges*)
- b. [<sub>VP</sub> v-ed<sub>[number:SG]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> award [<sub>AppIP</sub> Borges Appl [the Nobel prize]]]]  
 Agree ( $v$ , *Borges*) → Valuation of  $v$ 's  $\varphi$ -features
- c. [<sub>VP</sub> v-ed<sub>[number:SG]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> award [<sub>AppIP</sub> Borges Appl [the Nobel prize]]]]  
 Agree ( $v$ , *Borges*) → Deletion of  $v$ 's  $\varphi$ -features
- d. [<sub>TP</sub> T<sub>[number: ]</sub> [<sub>person: ]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> v-ed [<sub>VP</sub> award [<sub>AppIP</sub> Borges Appl [the Nobel prize]]]]  
 Match ( $T$ , *Borges*)
- e. [<sub>TP</sub> T<sub>[number:PL]</sub> [<sub>person:3</sub>] [<sub>VP</sub> v-ed [<sub>VP</sub> award [<sub>AppIP</sub> Borges Appl [the Nobel prize]]]]  
 Agree ( $T$ , *Borges*) → Valuation of  $T$ 's  $\varphi$ -features
- f. [<sub>TP</sub> Borges<sub>[Case:NOM]</sub> T<sub>[number:PL]</sub> [<sub>person:3</sub>] [<sub>VP</sub> v-ed [<sub>VP</sub> award . . . ]]]  
 Agree ( $T$ , *Borges*) → Case assignment to *Borges*

<sup>7</sup> Chomsky (2001) thus departs from his 1995 analysis, where passives and unaccusatives were just VPs. For the purposes of this paper, we assume that Chomsky's (1995) "v" and Kratzer's (1996) "voice" are different labels for the same abstract category introducing the external argument and assigning Case to the internal argument.

<sup>8</sup> Note that we are here assuming that the external argument is an adjunct of sorts in passives (but see Lasnik 1988). For an alternative approach, where the external argument is projected in [Spec, vP], as in (i), see Collins (2005).

(i) [<sub>vP</sub> by [<sub>VP</sub> DP<sub>AGENT</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>THEME</sub>]]]

Following Anagnostopoulou (2003), Boeckx (2008), Cuervo (2003), Pyllänen (2008), and others, we assume that dative arguments are introduced by an applicative (prepositional-like) head that is below  $v$  and above the direct object.

As can be seen, the Probe-Goal process can be conceived of as divided into three basic steps: *Match* of features (as in (16a) and (16d)), *Valuation* plus *Deletion* (as in (16b,c) and (16e,f)), and finally *Case assignment* proper (as in (16f)). The key step is of course (16c), where *v* fails to assign Case due to its  $\varphi$ -defective status: the internal argument (in the case at hand, the indirect object *Borges*) must therefore wait until T is introduced into the derivation. Being  $\varphi$ -complete, T assigns nominative unproblematically.

A well-known fact about passives is that one or several auxiliaries can precede the lexical verb, giving rise to *verbal complexes / periphrases*. In Romance languages, the auxiliary verb incorporates tense and mood features, whereas the lexical verb is inflected as a past participle, bearing gender and number features (see Picallo 1990 and Cinque 1999, 2006, among others).<sup>9</sup> Following a trend that goes back to Ross (1969), we analyze auxiliary and modal verbs as *bona fide* verbs, being inserted heads of vP shells (see Barbiers 2006, Biberauer & Roberts 2007, Wurmbrand 2001, 2004, 2007).

$$(17) [_{vP} V_{\text{AUXILIARY/MODAL}} [_{vP} v [_{vP} V DP ] ] ]$$

Auxiliaries and modals participating in verbal complexes allow for compound tenses (e.g., *No he podido salir*, Eng. I have not been able to get out) and may be clustered with other auxiliaries / modals (*Tienes que poder distinguir cada sonido*, Eng. You must be able to distinguish each sound), as long as some syntactic and semantic restrictions are met (see Cinque 1999, 2006, Olbertz 2001 and Laca 2002).

---

<sup>9</sup> The syntactic and morphological behavior of modals is subject to parametric variation, as already pointed out by Roberts (1985). So, as (i) and (ii) show, unlike Romance modals, English modals cannot cluster or be inflected:

(i) \*John must can talk to the janitor

(ii) \*Mary musts talk to the janitor

These asymmetries are unexpected, since English modals are similar to Romance verbs in several respects (see Emonds 1978, Lasnik 2003). Given that these issues are orthogonal to our discussion, we put them aside.

Interestingly enough, verbal complexes reject passive modals, which are only possible in the main (lexical) predicate:<sup>10</sup>

- (18) a. \*El problema no fue       podido       solucionar a tiempo. (Spanish)  
          the problem not be-3.SG could-PPART solve-INF on time  
          The problem was not   could solve       on time
- b. El problema no pudo ser       solucionado a tiempo.       (Spanish)  
          the problem not could-3.SG be-INF solved-PPART on time  
          The problem could not be solved on time

As expected, double passives are also ungrammatical if the auxiliary verb is a modal:<sup>11</sup>

- (19) \*El problema no fue       podido       ser solucionado a tiempo. (Spanish)  
          the problem not be-3.SG could-PPART be-INF solved-PPART on time  
          The problem was not could be solved on time

We believe that the grammatical basis of the irregularity of this pattern is syntactic, rather than semantic. At first glance, the contrast seems to hinge on the fact that *poder* (Eng. can) has no transitive variant, unlike aspectual auxiliaries. That is, modal auxiliaries reject passives (as (18) shows), but aspectual auxiliaries allow for double passives, and for their single counterparts too (as shown in (4)). As a matter of fact, double passives are only possible with

---

<sup>10</sup> The modal *tener que* (Eng. have to) can occasionally be passivized, especially in literary texts. The example below is taken from a book published in the Internet:

- (i) Ya durante el mes de abril anterior, Strany fue tenido que . . .  
    already during the month of April previous Strany be-3.SG had that  
    . . . sustituir por el maestro en teología (Spanish)  
    replace by the teacher on theology  
    Already during last April, Strany had to be replaced by the theology teacher

<sup>11</sup> Some examples of double (participial) passives with modals are occasionally attested in texts in the Internet, but also rejected by most native speakers. The following examples have been found through Google.

- (i) ??El fragmento no fue podido ser identificado por ningún experto (Spanish)  
    the fragment not be-3.SG could-PPART be identified-PPART by no expert  
    The fragment was not could be identified by any expert
- (ii) ??Fue tenido que ser operado varias veces (Spanish)  
    be-3.SG had-PPART that be operated-PPART several times  
    He had to be operated several times
- (iii) ??La manera en que fue querido ser jugado (Spanish)  
    the way in that be-3.SG wanted-PPART be played-PPART  
    The way in which it was wanted to be played

so-called “phase auxiliaries”, that is, aspectual auxiliary verbs which denote one of the phases of an event: *empezar* (Eng. start), *terminar* (Eng. finish), *dejar* (Eng. stop), and the like. The relevant syntactic property that these predicates share, as we just noted, appears to be transitivity: as the examples in (20) indicate, unlike modal auxiliaries, phase aspectual auxiliaries can all be used in a transitive fashion (see Amadas 2002):<sup>12 13</sup>

- (20) a. Los estudiantes empezaron un libro. (Spanish)  
 the students started-3.PL a book  
 The students started a book
- b. Ayer terminé el artículo. (Spanish)  
 yesterday finished-1.SG the paper  
 I finished the paper yesterday
- c. María dejó su trabajo. (Spanish)  
 María left-1.SG her job  
 María quit her job

From this one could conclude that, since there is no internal argument, and no accusative Case to absorb, the anomaly of *fue podido* (Eng. was could) is akin to that of *fue llegado* (Eng. was arrived), and other passives of unaccusative verbs.

But transitivity cannot be a sufficient condition, since *continuar* and

<sup>12</sup> As has been noted in the literature (see Larson 2002, Larson et al. 1997, and references therein), these aspectual predicates are interpretively related to a verb which appears to be retrieved syncategorematically (in the sense discussed in Bosque 1999). So, *terminar* is a transitive verb in *María terminó el libro* (Eng. María finished the book). The most common interpretation of this sentence is *María finished {reading/writing} the book*, but other readings are possible for pragmatic reasons (*María finished {editing/illustrating} the book*).

<sup>13</sup> Bobaljik & Wumbrand (2005) report some cases of passives in verbs of will or intention, which are closely related to some modals. Consider (i), whose literal meaning is ‘since the tractor was tried to repair’:

(i) . . . weil der Traktor zu reparieren versucht wurde. (German)  
 since the-NOM tractor to repair-INF tried be-3.SG  
 Since they tried to repair the tractor

The interesting thing to note about (i) is that passive morphology is spelled out in the auxiliary, although it is interpreted in the lexical verb. This structure has become widespread in present day Spanish *se* passives, although it is generally censured by prescriptive grammars (see NGRALE 2009: § 28.3). A strong contrast is then to be highlighted between (ii) and (iii):

(ii) Las máquinas se intentaron reparar a toda velocidad. (Spanish)  
 the machines SE tried-3.PL repair-INF at all speed  
 The machines were tried to repair quickly

(iii) \*Las máquinas fueron intentadas reparar a toda velocidad. (Spanish)  
 the machines be-3.PL tried-FEM.PL repair-INF at all speed  
 The machines were tried to repair quickly

*seguir* (two auxiliary verbs which allow for transitive uses as main verbs) reject double passives when introducing gerund complements. The relevant counterexamples are offered in (21):<sup>14</sup>

- (21) a. \*Fue continuado                    siendo despreciado.                    (Spanish)  
    be-3.SG keep-PPART be-GER despised  
    He/It kept on being despised
- b. \*Las novelas fueron seguidas siendo escritas por Montalbán. (Spanish)  
    the novels be-3.PL followed be-ING written by Montalbán  
    The novels were kept being written by Montalbán

Though problematic at first, the data in (21) are nonetheless interesting, for they point to what we take to be the key factor in allowing double passives: the infinitive vs. gerund distinction in verb clusters (so-called “periphrases”). In particular, we want to argue that, for double passives to be licensed, the key syntactic requirement is that the modal can subcategorize for an infinitival (preceded by a preposition), not a gerund. Informally, we could encode this descriptive constraint as in (22):

- (22) a. [ <sub>VP</sub> V<sub>MODAL AUXILIARY</sub> [ <sub>XP</sub> V<sub>INFINITIVE</sub> ] ] → \*DOUBLE PASSIVE  
          b. [ <sub>VP</sub> V<sub>PHASE AUXILIARY</sub> [ <sub>XP</sub> V<sub>GERUND</sub> ] ] → \*DOUBLE PASSIVE  
          c. [ <sub>VP</sub> V<sub>PHASE AUXILIARY</sub> [ <sub>XP</sub> P V<sub>INFINITIVE</sub> ] ] → DOUBLE PASSIVE

The constraints in (22) predict several facts: (i) that modal auxiliaries do not license double passives (see (18) and (19)); (ii) that aspectual auxiliaries will license double passives if, on the one hand, they are phasal; and, on the other hand, if they subcategorize for an infinitival preceded by a preposition. Notice that (22b) correctly predicts that verbs like *continuar* (Eng. continue) and *seguir*

---

<sup>14</sup> To some speakers, *llegar* (Eng. arrive) can also participate in double passives. To our ear, these sentences are degraded.

(i) ??El proyecto fue llegado a ser ejecutado.                    (Spanish)  
          the project be-3.SG arrived to be executed  
          The project came to be executed

We suspect that those accepting (i) interpret *llegar* in a non-lexical way, that is, as auxiliary (in fact, aspectual) predicate. This use of *llegar* is present in (2):

(i) Juan llegó a enfrentarse a sus mejores amigos.                    (Spanish)  
          Juan arrived-3.SG to face to his best friends  
          Juan even confronted his best friends

(Eng. keep) fail to license double passives, as the following data indicate.

- (23) a. La crisis continúa afectando las bolsas. (Spanish)  
the crisis continue-3.SG affecting the stock-markets  
The crisis still affects the stock markets
- b. \*Las bolsas son continuadas siendo afectadas por la crisis. (Spanish)  
the stock-markets be-3.SG continued being affected by the crisis  
The stock markets are continued being affected by the crisis

Likewise, (22c) predicts that verbs of the type of *empezar* (Eng. start), *terminar* (Eng. finish), and *dejar* (Eng. stop), will license double passives, as they actually do.

- (24) a. Los mercados empiezan a recuperar la confianza. (Spanish)  
the stock-markets start-3.PL to recover the confidence  
The stock markets start to recover the confidence
- b. La confianza fue empezada a ser recuperada por los mercados. (Spanish)  
the confidence be-3.SG started to be recovered by the stock-markets  
The confidence was started to be recovered by the markets

What this is telling us, in short, is that the transitive use of phase auxiliaries alone is a necessary but insufficient licensing condition for double passives: the auxiliary must also subcategorize for an infinitival.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> This asymmetry between infinitivals and gerunds is intriguing, given that the combination of a preposition plus an infinitival (P+INF), which is what we have with the auxiliaries that license double passives, can be replaced by a gerund in many contexts:

- (i) *Sigo* (\*de) cantando / *Voy* \*(a) cantar. (Spanish)  
keep-1.SG of singing go-1.SG to sing  
I keep on singing / I am going to sing
- (ii) *Empecé* (\*a) leyendo / *Empecé* \*(a) leer. (Spanish)  
started-1.SG to reading started-1.SG to read  
I started reading / I started to read

[from Gallego & Hernanz 2010:9]

These distributional facts might make sense if gerunds incorporate a preposition and therefore are analytic versions of infinitives, as has sometimes been suggested in the literature (see Gallego & Hernanz 2010, and references therein). Whether the possibility that verbs selecting for an infinitival have a more transitive nature than those selecting for a gerund can explain the double passive data is something that we cannot investigate here, and leave for further research.



Let us go back to modal auxiliaries. As noted above (see (18) and (19)), these systematically reject double passives. Apparently (and somewhat surprisingly), *se* passives seem to differ from participial passives in this respect: as the data in (25) reveal, modal verbs appear to license *se* passives.

- (25) a. Los problemas no se pudieron solucionar a tiempo. (Spanish)  
the problems not SE could-3.PL solve-INF on time  
The problems could not be solved on time
- b. Los problemas no pudieron solucionarse a tiempo. (Spanish)  
the problems not could-3.PL solve-INF.SE on time  
The problems could not be solved on time

On a closer look, however, these sentences pose no problem to our previous observation, since the presence of *se* preceding the auxiliary in (25a) is the result of clitic climbing from (25b). Since *se* has climbed from the lexical VP, it does not passivize the upstairs modal. More interestingly, the very fact that double *se* passives are impossible (regardless of the auxiliary verb they are constructed with) suggests that the double passive structure is crucially linked to the morphosyntactic properties of participial inflection:

- (26) a. \*Los problemas no se pudieron solucionarse a tiempo. (Spanish)  
the problems not SE could-3.PL solve-INF.SE on time  
The problems could not be solved on time
- b. \*Sus actitudes se dejaron de verse como una amenaza. (Spanish)  
their attitudes SE stopped-3.PL of see-INF.SE like a threat  
Their attitudes were stopped being seen as a threat

This said, it is worth pointing out that *mixed double passives* are possible if the *se* passive corresponds to the lower, lexical verb, and the participial passive appears in the auxiliary verb, not the other way around. This restriction on the order of passives is entirely expected, and it follows from the impossibility of auxiliaries to become passive via *se* insertion:

- (27) a. Este trastorno fue empezado a incluirse en los protocolos. . .  
this disorder be-3.SG started to include-INF.SE in the protocols

. . . clínicos hace relativamente poco. (Spanish)  
 clinical ago relatively little  
 This disorder was started to be included into the clinical protocols  
 relatively recently  
 [from *La Prensa* (Panamá) 5.28.2009, taken from NGRALE 2009: 3044].

- b. \*Este trastorno se empezó a ser incluido en los protocolos . . .  
 this disorder SE started-3.SG to be included in the protocols  
 . . . clínicos hace relativamente poco. (Spanish)  
 clinical ago relatively little  
 This disorder was started to be included into the clinical protocols  
 relatively recently

Given everything we have said so far, it is also expected that double passives be restricted to auxiliary verbs, just like single passives. In other words, double passives cannot be obtained by passivizing two lexical verbs (*intentar* – Eng. try, and *invite* – Eng. invite), as shown below:

- (28) a. El chico intentó ser invitado. (Spanish)  
 the boy tried-3.SG be invited  
 The boy tried to be invited  
 b. \*El chico fue intentado ser invitado. (Spanish)  
 the boy be-3.SG tried be invited  
 The boy was tried to be invited

In section 2 we saw that double passives are in competition with two variants. In one of them, passive morphology appears in the main verb alone. For convenience, we reproduce this variant here as (29):

- (29) a. Su comportamiento dejó de ser visto como una amenaza.  
 his behavior stopped-3.SG of be-INF seen like a threat  
 His behavior stopped being seen as a threat  
 b. A partir de entonces, el producto empezó a ser utilizado como  
 conservante.  
 since of then the product started-3.SG to be-INF used as preservative  
 Since then, the product started being used as a preservative

- c. Aunque el nuevo edificio todavía no ha terminado de ser . . .  
although the new building yet not have-3.SG finished of be-INF  
. . . construido, el ayuntamiento ya está dándole uso.  
built the city-hall already is-3.SG giving-CL-to.it use  
Although the new building has not finished being built yet, the City  
Hall is using it

Apart from (29), double passives have a second variant, a flipside of the first one. In this variant, the «BE + past participle» cluster appears only in the auxiliary verb. As the double passive pattern, this structure is somehow marked stylistically. It is also rejected by prescriptive grammars, but in a somehow milder way, in comparison to the overt double passive pattern. For reasons that we fail to understand, the frequency of this variant is much higher in Old Spanish (see NGRALE 2009: 3044 and ff.):

- (30) a. El procedimiento se hizo obsoleto y fue dejado de utilizar. (Spanish)  
the procedure SE made obsolete and was stopped of use  
The procedure became obsolete and was not used anymore
- b. El libro fue terminado de imprimir el domingo de Resurrección del año 1689. (Spanish)  
the book was-3.SG finished of print the Sunday of resurrection of-the year 1689  
The book was finished being printed on the Resurrection Sunday of the year 1689
- c. La ermita había sido empezada a construir a finales del siglo XIV.  
(Spanish)  
the church had-3.SG been started to build to end of-the century XIV  
The church had been started to be build towards the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century

As before, there is a strong preference to passivize the lexical verb, rather than the auxiliary. Therefore, the following sentences are preferred to those in (30) in all dialects:

- (31) a. El procedimiento se hizo obsoleto y dejó de ser utilizado. (Spanish)  
the procedure SE made-3.SG obsolete and stopped-3.SG of be used

The procedure became obsolete and was not used anymore

- b. El libro terminó de ser impreso el domingo de Resurrección del año 1689. (Spanish)

the book finished-3.SG of be printed the Sunday of resurrection of-the year 1689

The book was finished being printed on the Resurrection Sunday of the year 1689

- c. La ermita había empezado a ser construida a finales del siglo XIV. (Spanish)

the church had-3.SG started to be built to end of-the century XIV

The church had been started to be build towards the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century

In the remainder of this paper we will investigate the properties of these structures. Section 4 will be dedicated to discuss the different variants of double passives in more detail. In section 5 we focus on the second variant (that in (30)), which we will relate to another well-known—but largely neglected in the literature on Spanish—construction, *tough movement* (see Chomsky 1973, 1981, Režac 2006, Hartman 2009, Obata 2010).

#### 4. A syntactic analysis of double passives

In the previous section we saw that Spanish has three syntactic variants of some verbal complexes containing passives structures. As far as we can tell, there are no semantic differences among them, but only some sociolinguistic differences relative to style, register, or level of formality:

- (32) a. *TYPE A: Passive only in the lexical verb* (see (12))

El misil acabó de ser armado ayer. (Spanish)

the missile finished-3.SG of be assembled yesterday

The missile finished being assembled yesterday

- b. *TYPE B: Passive only in the auxiliary verb* (see (4) and (30))

El misil fue acabado de armar ayer. (Spanish)

the missile be-3.SG finished of assembled yesterday

The missile was finished assembling yesterday

- c. *TYPE C: Passive in both the auxiliary and the main verb* (see (11))

El misil fue acabado de ser armado ayer. (Spanish)  
the missile be-3.SG finished of be assembled yesterday  
The missile was finished being assembled yesterday

It is not surprising that languages that do not allow for patterns B and C admit A, for A is the most transparent version of the meaning conveyed by each of these structures. In type B, passive morphology is on the auxiliary, but is interpreted in the lexical verb.<sup>16</sup> In type C, passive morphology is both on the auxiliary and the lexical verb, but, again, it is only interpreted in the latter. Double passives are, thus, remarkably different from non-periphrastic structures with two consecutive passives, one in the main clause and the other in the sentential complement. In the example (33), for instance, passive morphology is interpretable on both *condenado* (Eng. sentenced) and *expatriado* (Eng. exile):

(33) Fue condenado a ser expatriado. (Spanish)  
be-3.SG sentenced to be exiled  
He was sentenced to be exiled

Since only one of the two passives contained in type C is interpreted, one expects agentive *by* phrases to modify the true passive, rather than the false (or uninterpretable) counterpart. The expectation is borne out: since these PPs are not doubled, they are only compatible with the true (interpretable) passive.

(34) a. El libro terminó de ser impreso (por esta casa editorial) el domingo. . .  
the book finished-3.SG of be printed by this house publishing the Sunday  
. . . de Resurrección del año 1689. [TYPE A] (Spanish)  
of resurrection of-the year 1689

---

<sup>16</sup> This variant can also be found without auxiliary doubling. Therefore, the example (i) could perfectly be found below a picture in a book:

- (i) Monasterio de San Benito, empezado a construir en el siglo XIII. (Spanish)  
monastery of San Benito started to build in the century XIII  
Monastery of San Benito, started to build in the 13<sup>th</sup> century  
This predicts that the same behavior should be found for type C. As (ii) shows, this is correct:  
(ii) Una vez empezados a ser readmitidos en sus empleos, los trabajadores . . . (Spanish)  
one time started to be readmitted in their jobs the workers  
Once they were readmitted in their positions, the workers...

The book finished being printed by this publishing house on the Resurrection day of the year 1689

- b. El libro fue terminado (\*por esta casa editorial) de imprimir. . .  
the book be-3.SG finished by this house publishing of print  
. . . el domingo de Resurrección del año 1689. [TYPE B] (Spanish)  
the Sunday of resurrection of-the year 1689

The book finished by this publishing house being printed on the Resurrection day of the year 1689

- c. El libro fue terminado de ser impreso (por esta casa editorial). . .  
the book was-3.SG finished of be printed by this house publishing  
. . . el domingo de Resurrección del año 1689. [TYPE C] (Spanish)  
the Sunday of resurrection of-the year 1689

The book finished being printed by this publishing house on the Resurrection day of the year 1789



A second diagnostic in order to disentangle interpretable and non-interpretable passives in our doubling structures is the position of the subject. As is well-known, passive sentences license postverbal subjects in pro-drop languages:

- (35) Pronto será terminado el nuevo edificio. (Spanish)  
soon be-3.FUT.SG finished the new building  
The new building will be finished soon


These subjects are expected to immediately follow true passive VPs, rather than their false counterparts. They are, thus, expected to be rejected after passivized auxiliaries. This expectation is borne out too. The grammatical sentence (12c) contrasts with (36):

- (36) Aunque todavía no ha sido terminado (\*el nuevo edificio) . . .  
although yet not have-3.SG been finished the new building  
. . . de construir, el ayuntamiento ya está dándole uso. (Spanish)  
of build the city hall already be-3.SG giving-CL-to.it use  
Although the new building has not been finished building, the City Hall is already using it

In this section we will argue that types B and C, in which passive morphology appears where it is not interpreted, are obtained through agreement processes. More specifically, we will adopt a *Long Distance Agree* (LDA) based analysis, following Bhatt (2005), Boeckx (2004, 2009) and Chomsky (2001).<sup>17</sup> The key aspect of an LDA approach is that agreement between a Probe and a Goal can take place ‘at a distance’, without the Goal having to move to the ‘specifier’ position of the Probe. Moreover, there can be more than one Goal in the c-command domain of the Probe, giving rise to a *Multiple Agree* dependency (Hiraiwa 2001, López 2007, and others). Consider both scenarios in (37):

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(37) a. Probe<sub>φ</sub> . . . Goal<sub>φ</sub></p>                    | <p>a'. Llegaron los invitados. (Spanish)<br/>             arrived-3.PL the guests<br/>             The guests arrived</p>                                    |
| <p>b. Probe<sub>φ</sub> . . . Goal<sub>φ</sub> . . . Goal<sub>φ</sub></p>  | <p>b'. Fueron entrevistados sus amigos. (Spanish)<br/>             be-3.PL interviewed-MASC.PL her friends<br/>             Her friends were interviewed</p> |

The scenario that is involved in double passives is (37b). Consider type C with this complex (or multiple) pattern in mind. As noted above, the most salient aspect of double passives is the presence of both tense and voice features in the auxiliary verb. Let us therefore assume that (38) obtains by the end of the derivation of the lexical vP. As can be seen, the internal argument *ese producto* (Eng. that product) has moved from its base position, given that accusative Case is unavailable.

- (38) [<sub>TP</sub> fue empezado [ a [<sub>VP</sub> ese producto<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> v ser [<sub>v</sub> v<sub>[number:SG]</sub> -do [<sub>VP</sub> utiliza- t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]]
- 

Now, as for the next vP shell, the one containing the false passive, we submit that the would-be passive complex, *fue empezado* (Eng. was started), is to be analyzed as a regular tensed form. In more precise terms, we assume

<sup>17</sup> Our analysis of double passives could be pushed to analyze clitic climbing as an instance of LDA. As far as we can tell, this would be compatible with Roberts' (2010) approach to cliticization.

that the auxiliary spells out the tense component—the ‘T’ head—, while the participle does the aspectual component—the ‘v’ (‘Asp’, if preferred) head—. It is important to notice that we treat the passive (participial) morphology of the aspectual verb as a feature embedded within the v category (indicated as a subscript), and not a projection in and of itself. We do this in order to indicate its uninterpretable status.<sup>18</sup>

(39) [<sub>TP</sub> T<sub>[number: ][person: ]}</sub> fue [<sub>vP</sub> v<sub>[number: ][gender: ][aspect: ]}</sub> empezado . . . vP . . . ]

Given that the  $\varphi$ -features of the passive auxiliary are unvalued, they act as Probes (in Chomsky’s 2000, 2001 sense), matching those of the internal argument, with which they establish a complex (multiple) Agree dependency, as depicted in (40). Note that it is the T head that contains a full set of  $\varphi$ -features, assigning nominative Case to the internal argument, which can raise (in English) or remain *in situ* (in Romance).

(40) [<sub>TP</sub> T<sub>[number: ][person: ]}</sub> fue [<sub>vP</sub> v<sub>[number: ][gender: ][aspect: ]}</sub> empezado [ a [<sub>vP</sub> ese producto . . . ] ] ]

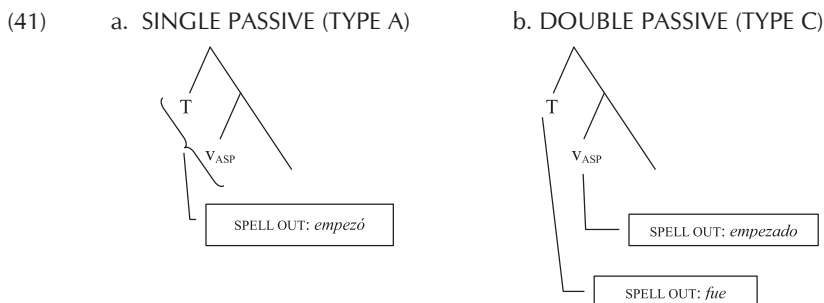
A key point of our analysis concerns the status of the inflected copulative verb, which we take to be the spell-out of the tense specification of the aspectual predicate, rather than a true copulative verb. Therefore, this instance of *be* does not select for a participial vP, strictly speaking, as it does in true passives: what we have, instead, is a fake *be* (the unmarked spell-out of T), and an aspectual verb that agrees with the downstairs, true, past participle.

Such a scenario departs in non-trivial respects from what we have in type A, where the aspectual verb is not passivized. Nonetheless, we would like to claim that the syntactic information provided by both structures is

<sup>18</sup> In many ways, we are thus treating participial morphology in false passives like  $\varphi$ -features in verbs. We are aware that this does not entail that all features must be so regarded: interpretable features can also be encoded as subscripts. Our analysis does entail, however, that uninterpretable features cannot give rise to full fledged syntactic projections, for reasons of legibility at the semantic interface, as discussed in Chomsky (1995).



identical in an abstract perspective. In fact, we take the periphrasis in type C and the simple form in type A to display the same syntax, but different morphology: as (41) shows, the only difference between type A and type C has to do with the fact that the latter spells out the tense component of *empezó* (Eng. started) as an independent morpheme, *fue* (Eng. was).<sup>19</sup>



Depriving a category of its lexical content, as we do with *fue* in (41b), might seem a dubious step. It is worth mentioning that cleft sentences somehow represent the opposite situation: the tense features of the copulative verb are uninterpretable. This explains why the two sentences in (42) are synonymous.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> It could be argued that the passive complex is interpreted as a fake complex tense by the speakers. If this were correct, (i) would be interpreted as (ii):

(i) El edificio fue empezado a ser construido. (Spanish)  
 the building be-3.SG started to be built

The building was started to be built

(ii) El edificio ha empezado a ser construido. (Spanish)  
 the building have-3.SG started to be built

The building has started to be built

Although such a parallelism is appealing, and is partly true, we believe that the examples in (i) and (ii) should not be collapsed. Granted, both *fue* and *ha* are the spell-out of T, but the past participial morphology in *empezado* is redundant in (i)—a by product of LDA, if our analysis is on the right track—, unlike in (ii). It is also relevant that agreement properties differ, since only the cluster in (i) displays full agreement with the DP subject:

(iii) Los edificios fueron empezados a ser construidos. (Spanish)  
 the buildings be-3.PL started-MASC.PL to be built-MASC.PL

The buildings were started to be built

(iv) Los edificios han empezado(\*s) a ser construidos. (Spanish)  
 the buildings have-3.PL started-MASC.SG(\*PL) to be built-MASC.PL

The building have started to be built

<sup>20</sup> For a more comprehensive study of connectivity effects in cleft sentences, we refer the reader to Heycock & Kroch (1999), Higgins (1973) and references therein. For Spanish, see the discussion in NGRALE (2009: § 40.11).

- (42) a. En esta casa fue donde vivió. (Spanish)  
 in this house be-3.SG where lived  
 It is in this house where s/he lived
- b. En esta casa es donde vivió.  
 in this house be-3.SG where lived-3.SG  
 It is in this house where s/he lived

The past features of the tensed verb *fue* in (42a) are copied from those of the verb within the free relative (i.e., *vivió*, Eng. lived), but they lack a semantic interpretation. The syntactic process giving rise to double passives comes very close to be the mirror image of what we get in (42a), since the lexical base of *fue* (that is, *ser* Eng. be) is not interpreted in (38), whereas its inflectional features are.

The aspectual participle *empezado* (Eng. started) in turn differs from a regular past participle of regular passives in that it does not involve Case absorption nor external argument demotion, as we have already shown. Being interpreted as a root, this verb selects an infinitival clause, headed by the prepositional complementizer *a* (Eng. to). There is, all in all, a striking similarity in the way in which tense features are copied (but not interpreted) in (42), and the way that passive features are copied (but not interpreted) in double passives in (38).

Before going ahead, we would like to consider, and reject, another possible way to approach the facts viewed so far. In particular, it could be argued that double passives are obtained via movement, rather than through LDA. Since we discard this option altogether, we should say why. Under a movement based derivation, (32c) should be analyzed as indicated in (43):

- (43) a. [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> acab- [ de [<sub>VP</sub> ser [<sub>VP</sub> -(a)do [<sub>VP</sub> arm- el misil ]]]]]]  
 ↑  
 b. [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> acab- [ de [<sub>VP</sub> ser [<sub>VP</sub> arm-(a)do [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>arm</sub> el misil ]]]]]]  
 ↑  
 c. [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> acab-ado [ de [<sub>VP</sub> ser [<sub>VP</sub> arm-(a)do [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>arm</sub> el misil ]]]]]]  
 ↑  
 d. [<sub>TP</sub> T fue [<sub>VP</sub> acab-ado [ de [<sub>VP</sub> ser [<sub>VP</sub> arm-(a)do [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>arm</sub> el misil ]]]]]]

The step in (43a) is straightforward, so we will not comment on it. The crucial steps in the derivation just sketched are the movements of the participial affix *-ado* and the copulative verb, depicted in (43b) and (43c). In the case of the participial affix, the movement is rather suspect, for at least three reasons. Firstly, it involves excorporation from the lexical v-V cluster, and furthermore violates familiar locality constraints (Travis' 1984 *Head Movement Constraint*), a problem that also concerns the copulative verb. Secondly, notice that it is hard to find a morphological trigger for movement in this scenario—there is no feature that T could plausibly have requiring checking with both the past participle affix and the copulative verb (unlike standard V-to-T movement)—. Finally, what truly makes the derivation in (43) highly unlikely is the fact that both copies of the affixes undergoing movement are spelled-out. To be sure, there are some well-known situations where different copies of a chain are pronounced (involving clitics, *wh*-words, and others; see Nunes 2004), but double passives do not match with any of those cases, as far as we can tell. For all these reasons, we believe that a movement approach to double passives can be safely dismissed.<sup>21</sup>

So far, nothing has been said about the type B variant. We would like to put forward an analysis for this pattern in the next section.

## 5. Covert passives

Let us start by going back to double passive type B in (32c), which we reproduce here as (44) for convenience:

- (44) El misil fue acabado de armar ayer. (Spanish)  
the missile be-3.SG finished of assemble yesterday  
The missile was finished assembling yesterday

---

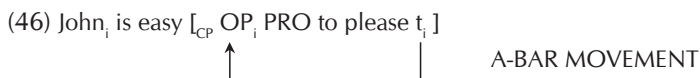
<sup>21</sup> Notice that a movement analysis would also have to face the problem of accounting for the semantic effects: movement of the participial affix or the copulative verb involves no topic or focus like interpretation. In this respect, both standard V-to-T movement and double passives differ in non-trivial respects from verb topicalization, as analyzed by Vicente (2007).

Like type C, type B contains passive morphology that is not interpreted, but, in addition, it also contains a non-passive form (the embedded infinitival) that is interpreted as if it bore passive morphology. This is, thus, as we noted, the less transparent variant of all the ones in (32). The question is why. The idea that we want to put forward here is that type B must be regarded as a reduction of type C, the main difference being that the lexical verb of the former contains a covert passive. In plain English: the lexical verb is an infinitival morphologically, but a past participle syntactically. If this is correct, then one expects for the internal argument of the infinitival to move to a Case checking position:

- (45) [<sub>TP</sub> Ese producto<sub>i</sub> T fue [<sub>VP</sub> empezado [ a [<sub>VP</sub> utilizar t<sub>i</sub> ]]]] (Spanish)  
 that product be-3.SG started to use  
 That product started to be used

As (45) shows, we take it that the lexical verb (the infinitival *utilizar*, Eng. use) projects an external-argument-less and  $\varphi$ -defective (meaning 'passive') vP, unable to assign accusative Case. This explains why the internal argument receives nominative Case after agreeing with matrix T. Notice that this is an assumption we have to make, for otherwise the uninterpretable passive morphology on the aspectual auxiliary, *fue empezado* (Eng. was started), would remain unaccounted for. If (45) is correct, then the passive morphology on *empezar* (Eng. start) is retrieved or copied from (the covertly passive) *utilizar* (Eng. use), via LDA.

Covert passives have not received much attention in Spanish theoretical syntax, in spite of the fact that they are present in several structures, most notably in so-called *tough movement* sentences. This structure has been typically analyzed as involving A-bar movement of a null operator (see Browning 1987, Contreras 1993, Chomsky 1982, 1986). The gist of Chomsky's (1982, 1986) approach was that the object of the infinitival, the null operator OP, A-bar moves to the [Spec, CP], being coindexed with the subject *John*. Notice that, from this perspective, the infinitive is not passive, which is consistent with the fact that the null operator undergoes A-bar - not A - movement.



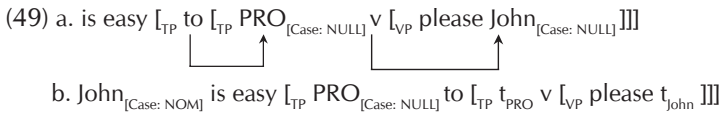
The idea that Spanish *tough* movement constructions receive passive interpretation and alternate with full passive constructions was early pointed out by Montalbetti & Saito (1983), but it was not developed, as far as we know, so that some variant of Contreras A-bar analysis of these structures was generally assumed for Spanish in the GB framework. Departing from Chomsky's influential null operator analysis, different authors (see Epstein 1989, Brody 1993, and Hornstein 2001, among others) have explored the possibility that (46) be derived through A movement of *John* from the object position of *please* to the matrix subject position. Seen this way, *tough* constructions are not too different from *raising* configurations:

- (47) a. John<sub>i</sub> is easy [<sub>TP</sub> to please t<sub>i</sub> ]      TOUGH-MOVEMENT (A MOVEMENT)  
 b. John<sub>i</sub> seems [<sub>TP</sub> to be t<sub>i</sub> happy]      RAISING-TO-SUBJECT (A MOVEMENT)

The possibility of collapsing *tough movement* and *raising* was ruled out in the GB literature due to the assumption that it involved so-called *improper movement*: an instance of movement from an A-bar position into an A-position. To get around this potential problem, we assume that *tough movement* does not involve A-bar movement (as argued by Epstein 1989, Brody 1993, Hornstein 2001, and, more recently, Obata 2010). As Obata (2010:94 and ff.) argues, the reason to reject A-bar movement for *tough movement* is simply that *tough* predicates do not select for CPs, which are necessary for the null operator to move. This explains the ungrammatical status of (48):

- (48) a. \*John is easy [<sub>CP</sub> that Bill pleases ]  
 b. \*It is easy [<sub>CP</sub> that Bill pleases John]

Obata (2010:109) argues that *tough*-like predicates select for a TP that contains a variety of T that assigns null Case to the subject (a big PRO).<sup>22</sup> Importantly, this author takes the embedded *v* to assign null Case to the object too, as depicted in (49):<sup>23</sup>



Consequently, as Obata (2010) points out, “Case [on *John*] is revised, stacked, or multiply assigned” in a derivation like (49). Although we will adopt Obata’s (2010) idea that *tough movement* should be regarded as a case of A movement, we depart from her and assume, following ideas by Bosque (1999: § 4.3.4.2), that the embedded verb is  $\varphi$ -defective (i.e., passive).<sup>24</sup> As Bosque (1999) argues, the passive nature of these infinitivals is plausibly induced by the modal nature of the matrix adjective, which aligns these constructions with derived adjectives with *-ble*: *creíble* (Eng. credible), *admirable* (Eng. admirable), *temible* (Eng. fearful), and so on. Putting to the side the specific implementation of this idea, we would like to emphasize that such a line of analysis explains in a straightforward fashion: (i) why these infinitivals accept agentive *by*-complements (as in (50a)), (ii) why they may alternate with participial passives and *se* passives (as in (50b,c)), and (iii) why they can only be formed with transitive verbs (as in (50d)):

<sup>22</sup> Obata (2010) argues that this T lacks  $\varphi$ -features, but contains a Case feature, responsible for null Case assignment. In this respect, Obata (2010) dispenses with Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) assumption that PRO is licensed only if T is selected by C.

<sup>23</sup> Obata (2010) proposes that verbs like *wash*, *dress*, and *shave* assign null Case to their objects, which can either be either null empty categories (PRO) or anaphors.

(i) John washed (himself).

(ii) John shaved (himself).

(iii) John dressed (himself).

See Martin (1996:187 and ff) and Lasnik (1995, 1996) for discussion.

<sup>24</sup> Some of the proposals that consider *tough movement* as a subclass of A movement (e.g., Hornstein 2001) also assume that A movement can target a theta-position. We will not make this assumption, adopting a configurational approach to argument structure (à la Hale & Keyser 1993). Notice, in any event, that such a situation does not arise in *tough movement*, since the DP raises to a non-theta position: [Spec, TP]. It does, however, in parasitic gaps, if analyzed as in (ii) (see Nunes 2004).

(i) [<sub>TP</sub> That book<sub>i</sub> was hard [<sub>TP</sub> to read t<sub>i</sub> ]]] Movement into a Case position

(ii) [<sub>CP</sub> Which book<sub>i</sub> did you buy t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> without reading t<sub>i</sub> ]]]? Movement into a theta position

Although there are interesting similarities between some of the infinitival constructions we are considering here and parasitic gaps, we put this aside due to space constraints. See Nissenbaum (2000) for an operator movement based account of parasitic gaps.

- (50) a. Un recurso penal imposible de rechazar por cualquier jurado. (Spanish)  
a appeal penal impossible of refuse by any jury  
A penal appeal impossible to refuse by any jury
- b. Una obra digna de {ver / ser vista}. (Spanish)  
a play worth of see be seen  
A play worth {seeing / being seen}
- c. Los datos están todavía pendientes de {confirmar / confirmarse}. (Spanish)  
the data be-3.PL yet pending of confirm confirm-SE  
The data must still be confirmed
- d. Eso es difícil de {contar / entender / \*llegar / \*ir / \*crecer}. (Spanish)  
that be-3.SG hard of tell understand arrive go grow  
That is hard to {tell / understand / arrive / go / grow}

We are aware that the interpretation of these structures as covert passives cannot be extended to the dialects which allow for infinitivals with accusative clitic complements in tough movement structures, as those in (51):

- (51) Eso es muy difícil de solucionarlo. (Spanish)  
that be-3.SG very hard of solve-CL-it  
That is very hard to solve it

However, notice that the customary A-bar movement analysis does not seem to cover those variants either, unless the clitic is presented as a substitute for the wh-trace (see Contreras 1992, 1993, and Fernández-Soriano 1995). Perhaps the A-bar analysis is appropriate for this construction (currently restricted to substandard Spanish dialects), rather than for the standard *tough movement* structure with null complement infinitives.

Interestingly, there are other candidates to be analyzed as covert passives in present-day Spanish (see NGRALE 2009:§26.6, Bosque 1999:§4.3.4, Hernanz 1999:§36.3.3.3, and references therein). They are listed below:

- (52) a. «Ser de + transitive infinitive» construction  
*ser de agradecer* (Eng. Be to be thanked), *ser de desear* (Eng. Be to be wished), *ser de esperar* (Eng. Be to be expected), *ser de extrañar* (Eng. Be surprising), etc.

- b. «*Estar por + transitive infinitive*» construction  
*estar por ver* (Eng. Remain to be seen), *estar por conocer(se)* (Eng. Remain to be known), *estar por confirmar(se)* (Eng. Remain to be confirmed).
- c. «*Para + transitive infinitive*» construction  
*Eso no es bueno para comer* (Eng. That is not good to eat), *La comida ya está lista para servir* (Eng. The food is ready to serve), etc.
- d. «*Sin + transitive infinitive*» construction  
*El problema seguía sin solucionar* (Eng. The problem was still unsolved), etc.
- e. *Transitive infinitival complements of “hacer” and “dejar” with reflexive clitics*  
*Me dejé invitar por ella* (Eng. I let myself be invited by her), *Te hiciste capturar adrede* (Eng. You let yourself be captured on purpose), *El Valencia se dejó empatar en el último minuto* (Eng. Valencia let the other team draw in the last minute), etc.

If this parallelism is tenable, all the structures in (52) pattern with *tough movement* in having an infinitival clause whose verb is covertly passive. It remains to be explained why most of them also display a modal reading (see Bhatt 1999), which appears to be associated with the type of preposition that introduces the infinitival (as Hernanz 1999 already observed):

- (53) a. Hay un libro sin leer. (Spanish)  
 there-be-3.SG a book without read  
 There is a book to read
- b. Tengo la cama por hacer. (Spanish)  
 have-1.SG the bed for make  
 I have to make the bed

Since this paper is not devoted to *tough movement* constructions, we leave the investigation of these data for future research, once the relation of these phenomena to type B structure has been established. We, thus, conclude that type B structure displays an overt but uninterpretable passive in the auxiliary, and also a covert but interpretable passive in the lexical predicate.



## 6. Conclusions and further perspectives

In this paper we have studied a Spanish construction, largely restricted to aspectual auxiliaries, in which the two components of passive clusters (the copulative verb and the passive participle) are doubled. Following NGRALE (2009), we have dubbed this structure *double passive*:

(54) La ermita fue empezada a ser construida en el siglo XIV.

DOUBLE PASSIVE (Spanish)

the church be-3.SG started to be built in the century XIV

The church was started to be built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century

As we have argued, a remarkable aspect of double passives is that passive morphology is interpreted in the lexical predicate, rather than in the auxiliary, even though both manifest voice morphology. We have argued for an LDA based approach (along the lines of Boeckx 2004, 2008, 2009, Chomsky 2000, 2001, and López 2007) to account for the basic facts, since this analysis does not require for the appropriate goals (the passive morphology and copulative verb) to be moved to the specifier position of the Probe to check the relevant features. In this respect, the perspective we have embraced assumes that the passive morphology is not interpreted in the upper predicate, since aspectual auxiliaries in double passives spell out just tense, rather than voice, features.

We have also shown that double passives come close to single passives in which passive morphology is spelled out in the lexical verb alone (our type A). Double passives present a variant in which the uninterpretable passive morphology appears in the aspectual auxiliary alone (our type B). Type A (a single passive in the lower clause) is the simplest, and most natural, case, which explains why it is most widely attested. Type B in turn is in fact a covert double passive construction, related to so-called *tough movement* structures, and it is less productive than type A. Quite significantly, double passives (type C) correspond by and far to the most marked case, a fact we would like to attribute to general economy principles ruling the amount of information that can be spelled out (see Chomsky 1981, 1993, 1995): given that double passives manifest the same information in two different positions with no interpretive gain, it is not unexpected for them to be dispreferred by

speakers (putting aside journals and literary writings).<sup>25</sup>

At the outset of this paper we pointed out that double passives are not the unmarked option in Spanish (the data reported in NGRALE 2009 reveals that this variant mostly appears in press texts and other non-formal registers). Since the main feature of this construction is the fact that the passive morphology in the aspectual predicate is actually redundant, it begs the interesting question whether or not this property holds for other Romance languages. Surprisingly enough, Spanish appears to be the only Romance language that licenses double passives, as the following data show:<sup>26 27</sup>

- (55) a. Fue empezado a ser considerado como un amuleto. (Spanish)  
 be-3.SG started to be considered as an amulet  
 It was started to be considered as an amulet
- b. \*Va ser començat a ser considerat com un amulet (Catalan)  
 aux-3.SG be started to be considered as an amulet  
 It was started to be considered as an amulet
- c. \*Fu iniziato ad essere considerato come un amuleto. (Italian)  
 be-3.SG started to be considered as an amulet  
 It was started to be considered as an amulet
- d. \*Il a été commencé à être considéré comme une amulette. (French)  
 it have-3.SG been started to be considered as an amulet  
 It was started to be considered as an amulet
- e. \*Foi comezado a ser considerado coma un amuleto. (Galician)  
 be-3.SG started to be considered as an amulet  
 It was started to be considered as an amulet

<sup>25</sup> Within the Nanosyntax framework (Caha 2009, Starke 2002, and related work) this would be similar to principles favoring the spell-out of as many nodes as possible in every application of Phrasal Spell-Out.

<sup>26</sup> We thank Anna Bartra, João Costa, Roberta D'Alessandro, Maia Duguine, and Juan Uriagereka for judgments.

<sup>27</sup> Interestingly, at least the Catalan and French data seem to considerably improve if the main auxiliary verb is expressed in a non analytic fashion. The synthetic form of past tense has almost disappeared in present day Catalan, but speakers agree that (ii) is better than (i)

(i) \*Va ser deixat de ser considerat com un enemic. (Catalan)

aux-3.SG be stopped of be considered as an enemy  
 He stopped being regarded as an enemy

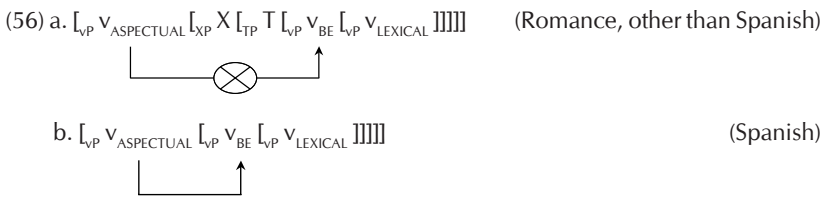
(ii) ??Fou deixat de ser considerat com un enemic. (Catalan)

be-3.SG stopped of be considered as an enemy  
 He stopped being considered as an enemy

This may indicate that tense inflection should be spelled out in the *be* auxiliary, and not the auxiliary deployed to generate past tenses in Catalan. We leave this asymmetry for future research.

- f. \*Foi começado a ser considerado como um amuleto. E. Portuguese)  
 be-3.SG started to be considered as an amulet  
 It was started to be considered as an amulet

To be sure, it could be the case that double passives are ruled out in Romance languages due to the conspiracy of different (and completely independent) factors. Be it as it may, we would like to suggest that a unitary answer to the striking contrast between (55a) and (55b,c,d,e,f) can be entertained. The gist of the hypothesis we would like to sketch out is that the passive complexes have become more independent (hence, less lexicalized) in other Romance languages. We take this to mean that the different components of the two «BE + P.PARTICIPLE» clusters plausibly belong to different syntactic domains (different ‘phases’). Syntactically, this means that the aspectual auxiliary will not be able to agree with the lexical «BE + P.PARTICIPLE» complex in Romance languages other than Spanish due to locality constraints. Let us tentatively formalize such a scenario as follows, assuming that there is ‘less structure’ in the case of Spanish double passives between each of the «BE + P.PARTICIPLE» complexes.



The intuition behind the structure in (56a), or any notational variant, is that there is a syntactic boundary between the aspectual auxiliary and the lexical verb that prevents the former to engage in a syntactic dependency of the Agree type with the latter: being buried within a domain that has already been closed off (spelled-out), the lexical verb cannot be a Goal for the auxiliary Probe. Although we cannot investigate the consequences of this analysis here, we suggest that there are empirical grounds to support it. In particular, if properly parametrized, we believe that (56) could be related to phenomena like agreeing participles, which, as is well-known (see Kayne

1989), are possible in languages like Italian, French, and Catalan, but not Spanish.

- (57) a. Combien de tables as-tu repeintes? (French)  
 how-many of tables have-2.SG-you repainted- FEM.PL  
 How many tables did you repaint?
- b. Jean les a repeintes. (French)  
 Jean CL-them have-3.SG repainted-FEM.PL  
 Jean has repainted them
- (58) a. Paolo le ha viste (le ragazze) (Italian)  
 Paolo CL-her have-3.SG seen-FEM.PL the girls  
 Paolo has seen them
- b. Le ragazze que Paolo ha {visto / \*viste} (Italian)  
 the girls that Paolo have-3.SG seen-MASC.3.SG/FEM.3.PL  
 The girls that Paolo has seen
- (59) a. En Pau l'ha trencada, la clau. (Catalan)  
 the Pau CL-FEM.SG-have-3.SG broken the key  
 Pau has broken it, the key
- b. Quina clau ha {trencat / \*trencada}, en Pau? (Catalan)  
 which key have-3.SG broken-MASC.3.SG/FEM.3.SG the Pau  
 Which key has Pau broken?
- (60) a. Pablo la ha {\*rota / roto}, la llave. (Spanish)  
 Pablo CL-FEM.SG have-3.SG broken-FEM.SG/MASC.SG the key  
 Pablo has broken it, the key
- b. Qué llave ha {\*rota / roto}, Pablo? (Spanish)  
 which key have-3.SG broken-FEM.3.SG/MASC.3.SG Pablo  
 Which key has Pablo broken?

The asymmetry between (57), (58), and (59) on one hand, and (60) on the other was related, in Kayne's (1989) analysis, to the availability of an escape hatch to which clitics or wh-words could move. Under (56a), this escape hatch is provided by the additional XP layer.

Although this hypothesis opens a promising line of research, much remains to be done in order to test the validity of (56) with respect to double passives and, especially so, its connection to phenomena like participial agreement. We leave this for future research.

#### REFERENCES

- Adger, S; Bejar, S.; Harbour, D. (Eds.). 2008. *Phi theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alexiadou, A. 2010. Reduplication and doubling contrasted: implications for the structure of the DP and the AP. *Linguística. Revista de Estudos Linguísticos da Universidade do Porto*. 5: 9-25.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. 2003. *The Syntax of ditransitives. Evidence from clitics*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Amadas, L. 2002. Tres arguments a favor de la naturalesa lèxica dels verbs aspectuals seguits d'una oració no finita. *Llengua & Literatura*. **13**: 113-164.
- Apothéloz, D. 2010. Le passé surcomposé et la valeur de parfait existentiel. *French Language Studies*. **20**: 105-126.
- Bhatt, R. 1999. *Covert modality in non-finite Contexts*. PhD. dissertation, UPenn.
- Bhatt, R. 2005. Long-distance agreement in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23: 757-807.
- Baker, M.; K. Johnson; Roberts, I. 1989. Passive arguments raised. *Linguistic Inquiry*. **20**: 219-251.
- Barbiers, S. 2006. The syntax of modal auxiliaries. In: Everaert, M.; Van Riemsdijk, H. (Eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*. Malden: Blackwell, 1-22.
- Barbiers, S. 2010. Generalized syntactic doubling. Talk given at the Workshop on *Linguistic variation in the minimalist framework*. Casa de Convalescència, Barcelona, January 14-15.
- Barbiers, S. et al. 2010. Meso-comparative syntax of perfect doubling. Talk given at the *4th European Dialect Syntax Meeting*, San Sebastián.
- Belletti, A. 2005. Extended doubling and the VP periphery. *Probus*. **17**: 1-35.
- Biberauer, T.; Roberts, I. 2007. Subjects, tense and verb-movement in Germanic and Romance. Ms., University of Cambridge.
- Bobaljik, J.; Wurmbrand, S. 2005. The domain of agreement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. **23**: 809-865.

- Boeckx, C. 2004. Long distance agreement in Hindi: some theoretical implications. *Studia Linguistica*. **58**: 1-14.
- Boeckx, C. 2008. *Aspects of the syntax of agreement*. London: Routledge.
- Boeckx, C. 2009. On long distance agree. *Iberia*. 1: 1-32.
- Bosque, I. 1999: El sintagma adjetival. Modificadores y complementos del adjetivo. Adjetivo y participio. In: Bosque, I.; Demonte, V. (Dirs.): *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 217-310.
- Bosque, I.; Torrego, E. 1995. On Spanish *HABER* and Tense. *Langues et Grammaire 1*, University of Paris 8, 13-29.
- Brody, M. 1993. Theta theory and arguments. *Linguistic Inquiry*. **24**: 1-23
- Browning, M. 1987. *Null operator constructions*. PhD dissertation, MIT.
- Caha, P. 2009. *The nanosyntax of Case*. PhD dissertation, University of Trømsø.
- Carruthers, J. 1994. The passé surcomposé régional: towards a definition of its function in contemporary spoken French. *Journal of French Language Studies*. **4**: 171-190.
- Carruthers, J. 1998. Surcomposé general et surcomposé régional: deux formes distinctes? In: Ruffino, G. (Dir.), *Atti del XXI Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica e Filologia Romanza, Vol. 2*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 143-154.
- Cecchetto, C. 2000. Doubling structures and reconstruction. *Probus*. **12**: 93-126.
- Chomsky, N. 1973. Conditions on transformations. In: Anderson, S.A.; Kiparsky, P. (Eds.), *A festschrift for Morris Halle*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 232-285.
- Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. 1982. *Some concepts and consequences of the theory of government and binding*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. Categories and transformations. In *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 219-394.
- Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In: Martin, R. et al. (Eds.) *Step by step. Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 89-155.
- Chomsky, N. 2001. Derivation by phase. In: Kenstowicz, M. (Ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1-52.
- Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads. A cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, G. 2006. *Restructuring and functional heads. The cartography of syntactic structures (vol. 4)*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Collins, C. 2005. A smuggling approach to the passive in English. *Syntax*. 8: 81-120.
- Contreras, H. 1992. On resumptive pronouns. In: Campos, H.; Martínez Gil, F. (Eds.), *Current studies in Spanish linguistics*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 143-165.
- Contreras, H. 1993. On null operator structures. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. **11**: 1-30.
- Cuervo, M. C. 2003. *Datives at large*. PhD dissertation, MIT.
- Emonds, J. 1978. The verbal complex V-V' in French. *Linguistic Inquiry*. 9: 151-175.
- Epstein, S. D. 1989. On the derivation and representation of English 'Tough' constructions. Talk given at University of California - Los Angeles.
- Fernández Soriano, O. 1995. Pronombres reasuntivos y doblado de clíticos. In: Goenaga, P. (Ed.), *De Grammatica Generativa*. San Sebastián: Publicaciones de la Universidad del País Vasco, 109-128.
- Gallego, A.; Hernanz, M.Ll. 2010. Tipos de tiempo defectivo. Talk given at the *IX Congreso General de Lingüística General*, Universidad de Valladolid (Valladolid), 21-23 June 2010.
- Hale, K.; Keyser, S. 1993. On the argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations. In: Hale, K; Keyser, S. (Eds.), *The view from building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 53-109.
- Hartman, J. 2009. Intervention in *tough* constructions. In *Proceedings of NELS 39*.
- Hernanz, M. Ll. 1999. El infinitivo. In: Bosque, I; Demonte, V. (Eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa, 2197-2356.
- Heycock, C.; Kroch, A. 1999. Pseudocleft connectedness: Implications for the LF interface level. *Linguistic Inquiry*. **30**: 365-397.
- Hiraiwa, K. 2001. Multiple Agree and the defective intervention constraint. In *MITWPL #40*. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.
- Higgins, F. R. 1973. *The Pseudo-cleft construction in English*. Garland: New York.
- Hornstein, N. 2001. *Move! A minimalist theory of construal*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jaeggli, O. 1982. *Topics in Romance Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Jaeggli, O. 1986a. Passive. *Linguistic Inquiry*. 17: 587-622.
- Jaeggli, O. 1986b. Three issues in the theory of clitics: Case, doubled NPs, and extraction. In: Borer, H. (Ed.), *The syntax of pronominal clitics (Syntax & Semantics 19)*. Orlando, Academic Press, 15-42.
- Kayne, R. 1975. *French Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kayne, R. 1989. Facets of romance past participle agreement. In: Benincà, P. (Ed.), *Dialect*

- Variation on the Theory of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Foris, 85-104.
- Kayne, R. 1993. Toward a modular theory of auxiliary selection. *Studia Linguistica*. **47**: 3-31.
- Kayne, R. 2005. *Movement and Silence*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kornfilt, J. 1996. NP-Movement and “restructuring”. In: Freidin, R. (ed.), *Current Issues in Comparative Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 121-147.
- Kratzer, A. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In *Phrase structure and the lexicon*. Rooryck, J.; Zaring, L. (Eds.). Dordrecht: Kluwer, 109-137.
- Laca, B. 2002. Spanish ‘aspectual’ periphrases: ordering constraints and the distinction between situation and viewpoint aspect. In: Gutiérrez-Rexach, J. (Ed.), *From words to discourse*. Elsevier: New York/Amsterdam, 61-93.
- Larson, R. 2002. The grammar of intensionality. In: Preyer, G.; Peter, G. (Eds.), *Logical Form and Language*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Larson, R.; Den Dikken, M.; Ludlow, P. 1997. Intensional transitive verbs and abstract clausal complementation. Ms., Stony Brook /Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.
- Lasnik, H. 1988. Subjects and the  $\theta$ -Criterion. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. **6**: 1-17.
- Lasnik, H. 1995. Case and expletives revisited. *Linguistic Inquiry*. **26**: 615-633.
- Lasnik, H. 1996. Case and expletives: Notes toward a parametric account. In: Freidin, R. (Ed.), *Current Issues in Comparative Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 162-189.
- Lasnik, H. 2003. *Minimalist investigations in linguistic theory*. London: Routledge.
- Lekakou, M. 2010. Perfect doubling. Ms., HO The Egg School in Constanta 2010.
- López, L. 2007. *Locality and the architecture of syntactic dependencies*. New York: Palgrave.
- Marantz, A. 2001. Words. Ms., MIT.
- Marantz, A. 2007. Phases and words. In: Choe, S. H. (Ed.), *Phases in the theory of grammar*. Seoul: Dong In, 191-220.
- Martin, R. 1996. *A minimalist theory of PRO and control*. PhD. dissertation, UConn.
- Montalbetti, M.; Saito, M. 1983. On certain (tough) differences between Spanish and English. In: Sells, P.; Jones, C. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Thirteenth annual meeting of the North East Linguistics Conference*. Amherst: Mass./ GLSA publications. 191-198.
- Moravcsik, E. 1978. Reduplicative constructions. In: Greenberg, J. (Ed.), *Universals in Human Language*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 297-334.
- NGRALE 2009. Real Academia Española and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española. *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa, two vols.
- Nunes, J. 2004. *Linearization of chains and sideward movement*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Obata, M. 2010. *Root, successive-cyclic and feature-splitting internal merge: Implications for feature-inheritance and transfer*. PhD. dissertation. University of Michigan.



- Olbertz, H. 2001. El orden de los constituyentes en la combinación de perífrasis verbales en español. *Revista Española de Lingüística*. **31**: 431-453.
- Ormazabal, J.; Romero, J. 2010. Object clitics and agreement. Ms., UPV/HiTT – UE/HiTT.
- Paesani, K. 2001. *The syntax and semantics of the passé surcomposé in modern French*. PhD dissertation, Indiana University.
- Pesetsky, D.; Torrego, E. 2004. Tense, Case, and the nature of syntactic categories. In: Guéron, J.; Lecarme, J. (Eds.), *The syntax of time*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 495-537.
- Picallo, C. 1990. Modal verbs in Catalan. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. **8**: 285-312.
- Pylkkänen, L. 2008. *Introducing Arguments*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Poletto, C. 2009. Double auxiliaries, anteriority and terminativity. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*. **12**: 31-48.
- Režac, M. 2006. On tough movement. In: Boeckx, E. (Ed.), *Minimalist essays*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 288-325.
- Rizzi, L. 1986. On the status of subject clitics in Romance. In: Jaeggli, O.; Silva Corvalan, C. (Eds.), *Studies in Romance Linguistics*. Dordrecht: Foris, 391-419.
- Roberts, I. 1985. Agreement parameters and the development of English modal auxiliaries. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. **3**: 21-58.
- Roberts, I. 2010. *Agreement and head movement: Clitics, incorporation and defective goals*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Roca, F; Suñer, A. 1997. Reduplicación y tipos de cuantificación en español. *Estudi General* 17/18: 83-119.
- Ross, J. 1969. Auxiliaries as main verbs. In: Todd, W. (Ed.), *Studies in philosophical linguistics* (Series 1). Evanston, Il: Great Expectations Press, 77-102.
- Sportiche, D. 1993. Clitic constructions. Ms., University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles (California).
- Starke, M. 2002. The day syntax ate morphology. Class taught at the EGG summer school, Novi Sad.
- Suñer, M. 1988. The Role of agreement in clitic-doubled constructions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. **2**: 391-434.
- Torrego, E. 1985. Pronouns and determiners: A DP Analysis of Spanish nominals. Ms., UMass Boston.
- Torrego, E. 1996. Experiencers and raising verbs. In: Freidin, R. (ed.), *Current issues in comparative grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 101-120.
- Torrego, E. 2002. Arguments for a derivational approach to syntactic relations based on clitics. In: Epstein, S.; Seely, D. (Eds.), *Derivation and explanation in the minimalist*

- program*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 249-268.
- Travis, L. 1984. *Parameters and effects of word order variation*. PhD. dissertation, MIT.
- Uriagereka, J. 1995. Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry*. **26**: 79-123.
- Uriagereka, J. 2008. *Syntactic anchors. On semantic structuring*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vicente, L. 2007. *The syntax of heads and phrases. A study of verb (phrase) fronting*. PhD Dissertation, Universiteit Leiden.
- Wurmbbrand, S. 2001. Modal verbs must be raising verbs. In: Bird, S. et al. (eds.). *Proceedings of the 18th West coast conference on formal linguistics (WCCFL18)*, Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 599-612.
- Wurmbbrand, S. 2004. Two types of restructuring – Lexical vs. functional. *Lingua*. **114**: 991-1014.
- Wurmbbrand, S. 2007. How complex are complex predicates. *Syntax*. **10**: 243-288.
- Wurmbbrand, S. 2010. Parasitic morphology in Germanic: Consequences for the theory of feature checking. HO, U.Conn.
- Zubizarreta, M. L. 1999. The cl(itic) projection in questions. *Catalan WPL* **7**: 253-277.