Voice and *v in Spanish: The case of *ser-passive* and *estar* + past participle constructions**

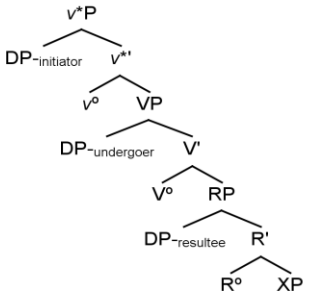
Since Jaeggli (1986) and Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989), passives have been understood as derived from the argument structure of their active counterparts. In these approaches, the (passive) morphology absorbs accusative case and demotes the thematic role of the external argument, which is in turn "transmitted" or "linked" to an adjunct *by*-phrase. Keeping the idea that passivization operates on argument structure, Collins (2005) questions Jaeggli's and Baker et al's view and argues for a structure in which the external argument in active sentences and the *by*-phrase in passive sentences receive a theta role in the same configuration. He proposes a "smuggling analysis" –(1), where *by* is analyzed as the head of Voice and its associated DP stands as the specifier of *v** where a theta role is assigned

Adopting (2) from Ramchand (2005), we argue with Gehrke and Grillo (2009) that passivization is not an operation on argument structure but on event structure based on the examination of the so called "dynamic passive" with *ser* in Spanish –(3a), and the *estar* + past participle combinations –(3b-3d) (Salinas 2000, Jiménez 2004). Although both the periphrastic passive construction and the non-dynamic passive in (3b) are restricted to states, accomplishments and activities, they crucially contrast with respect to the presence of the *by* phrase: (i) periphrastic passives obligatorily require an agentive *by*-phrase with states and activities and only optionally with accomplishments (ii) *estar* + past participle constructions always need modification by a causal *by*-phrase, never by an agentive one (Jiménez & Marín 2000).

In order to correctly characterize the aspectual differences between these two types of passives, we propose to distinguish between Voice, as a source of the external argument, and *v**, as a source of cause (Pylkkänen 2008, Harley 2012 among others). Thus, *by*-phrases in the "non-dynamic passive" can receive a "smuggling analysis" a la Collins with the external argument generated in [Spec, v*P] and the lower VP excluding the initiator of the event displaced to the [Spec, VoiceP]. In contrast, the *by*-phrase in periphrastic *ser*-passives is directly generated in [Spec, VoiceP] and the whole v*P complex including the initiator is promoted to a position higher than Voice, presumably AspP. We argue that this variation derives the different flavors of both types of passives: perfective interpretation for the "non-dynamic *estar*-passive" and imperfective interpretation for the dynamic/eventive *ser*-passive.

(1) $[_{TP}$ [The cake]$_j$ was $[_{VoiceP}$ $[_{PartP}$ baked t_j $]_i$ by $[_{v*P}$ John v*° t_i]]]

(2)



(3) a. La ceremonia fue prohibida por el presidente. (dynamic passive)
the ceremony SER forbidden by the president

b. La ceremonia estuvo prohibida por el presidente. (non-dynamic passive)
the ceremony ESTAR forbidden by the president

c. La casa está destruída (resultative)
the house ESTAR destroyed

d. El bosque está rodeado por las montañas (locative inversion)
the forest ESTAR surrounded by the mountains

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