Passive Permissives: being let and allowed

Thomas Egan    Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences

Abstract

The ‘let NP bare infinitive’ construction differs from other common permissive constructions, such as ‘allow NP to-infinitive’ and ‘permit NP to-infinitive’ in being exceedingly rare in the passive. That is, while somebody may well be ‘allowed to do’ something, they are very seldom ‘let do’ something. Even more seldom are they ‘let to do’ something. This chapter explores possible reasons for the rarity of both of these passive let constructions, which are contrasted with passive allow constructions. It is argued that the difference in distribution between the constructions with the two matrix verbs is related to two factors. The first is a difference in the sorts of force dynamic relations which they typically encode. The second is related to the difference in semantics between the two infinitive forms. The argument is supported by corpus data from both British and American English.

1. Introduction

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1 I would like to thank xx and yy....
The matrix verbs *let* and *allow* are both very common in English. Indeed, when used to report permission in active clauses they are about equally common (Egan 2008: 220). When the matrix verb is in the passive voice the situation is very different, however. While *allow* is again one of the half dozen most common matrix verbs in English, *let* is extremely rare, being represented by only 22 tokens in the whole of the British National Corpus (BNC), as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Tokens of permissive active and passive *allow* and active *let* in the BNC, projected on the basis of a randomly downloaded sample of 1,000 tokens, with the actual total number of tokens of passive *let*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>allow</em> to <em>V</em></th>
<th><em>let</em> to <em>V</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active matrix verb</td>
<td>15,300</td>
<td>14,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passive matrix verb</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the construction in (1) is very common, the construction in (2) very uncommon.

(1) Few towns can boast they do not have a problem with dogs *being allowed to roam* the streets and Darlington is no exception. (BNC K54 6237)

(2) She *shouldn’t be let roam* the hills alone. (BNC G0X 7)
The fact that *let* tends to be avoided in the passive has often been noted. Thomson & Martinet (1986: 23), for instance, note that ‘*let* in the passive is often replaced by another verb’, and Carter and McCarthy (2006: 99) agree that ‘*let* is not normally used in the passive when it means “allow/permit”’. However, there is very little in the literature about why *let* should resist the passive. In this paper I examine both active and passive complement clauses containing *let* and *allow* from the point of view of force dynamics. I show that the almost complete absence of *let* passives is at least in part a consequence of the type of force dynamic relations prototypically encoded by *let*.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 contains an analysis of the force dynamic relations of *let* and *allow* constructions with both positive and negative active matrix verbs in the BNC. Section 3 contains similar data and analysis of constructions with passive matrix verbs. Section 4 discusses data from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), including examples of the passive *let to*-infinitive construction, which is not found in the BNC (apart from in a quotation from *The Origin of Species*). Section 5 considers the development of both passive *let* constructions in the light of the evidence of the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA). Finally, section 6 contains a summary and conclusion.
2. Constructions with active matrix verbs

The data for sections 2 and 3 were taken from the British National Corpus. As there are almost 30,000 tokens of the verb *let* and over 30,000 of *allow* in the BNC, it was impossible within the scope of this study to investigate all tokens. I decided to restrict my investigation to a certain number of randomly chosen utterances containing each matrix verb, and to examine this subset of utterances for tokens containing bare and *to*-infinitive complement clauses. 1,000 randomly selected tokens of *let* and *allow* were downloaded from the corpus and the tokens containing non-finite complements were extracted from the two databases. There were in all 621 tokens of *allow* and 774 of *let* with non-finite complements in the downloaded sample. Both *allow* and *let* are polysemous and both may be used in senses that do not encode permission (or prohibition) as such. It was therefore necessary to weed out from the data tokens which do not encode permission. These include (3) in which *allow* means *admit* or *consider* rather than *permit*. Also excluded were tokens of the two multi-word verbs ‘let x know’ (= ‘inform x’) and ‘let x have’ (= ‘give x’), illustrated in (4) and (5), and first-person plural suggestions, of the sort illustrated in (6).

(3) We can apply the test to the technical and technological subjects, and not only those, but the professional subjects also; and the boundary line will run now on this side, now on that; but the things that it

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2 For a more detailed analysis of the constructions in this section see Egan (2008: 214-237)
divides are different in kind, and only on one side of that line lies what we ought to allow to be education. (BNC A69 383)

(4) And we let her know from the start that we trusted her. (BNC G35 1029)

(5) I will let you have a list of his customers and I want them contacted, in the first instance by telephone. (BNC HWP 1159)

(6) Let’s assume one of your employees drinks too much both at work and at home. (BNC A05 29)

Having removed the non-permissive tokens we are left with 462 tokens of active voice ‘allow x to-infinitive’ and 490 tokens of ‘let infinitive’ that clearly encode permission or its negative counterpart, prohibition. There were also 145 relevant tokens of ‘be allowed to-infinitive’. These will be discussed in section 3. There was not a single token of ‘be let bare infinitive’ among the 1,000 randomly downloaded tokens of let.

In an influential paper on causation, Kemmer and Verhagen characterise permissives as encoding the removal of a barrier preventing what I will term the ‘permittee’ from realising some goal.

A fourth type [of causation], enablement/permission, involves not the exertion of force on an entity to bring about an event that otherwise would not have happened, but the removal by the causer of a conceived barrier that was preventing the causee from carrying out or undergoing
the effected event. *Enablement* refers to the case where the barrier is physical […] and *permission* to the case where the barrier is social or sociopolitical in nature […]; we can thus consider enablement and permission as subvarieties of one type. (Kemmer & Verhagen 1994: 120)

Figure 1 illustrates this type of permission or enablement, wherein the matrix verb subject, the permitter (S1), removes a barrier which was blocking the path of the complement verb subject, the permittee (S2), permitting the latter to continue unimpeded on his or her way.

![Figure 1: Barrier-removal by the permitter (S1) enabling the permittee (S2) to pass.](image-url)
Figure 1, however, illustrates only one of two main forms of permission described by Talmy (1986), who distinguishes between what he calls *onset letting* and *extended letting* as follows: ‘onset letting correlates with the cessation of impingement and extended […] with its nonoccurrence’ (Talmy 1986: 76, see also Talmy 2000: 418). While accepting Talmy’s distinction between these two types of permission, I prefer to use the term *barrier-removal*, based on Kemmer and Verhagen (1994), rather than *onset-letting*. For the concept which Talmy calls *extended letting* I will use the term *non-imposition* (of any barrier). I will also eschew Talmy’s terminology (*agonist* and *antagonist*) for the participants in the act of permission, preferring the more specific terms *permitter* and *permittee*. The form of permission which I term *non-imposition* is illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: *Non-imposition* of barrier by the permitter (S1) enables the permittee (S2) to pass.
Figures 1 and 2 illustrate permission rather than its opposite, prohibition. It is only matrix verbs with positive polarity that encode barrier-removal or non-imposition. Negative polarity matrix verbs encode barrier-retention or imposition. These will be discussed below. Table 2 contains details of the numbers of positive and negative polarity matrix verbs in the downloaded samples.

Table 2: Constructions containing positive and negative polarity active voice matrix verbs *allow* and *let* with horizontal percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matrix verb</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Percentage totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>allow</em></td>
<td>414</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>let</em></td>
<td>372</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All positive polarity tokens were examined with a view to determining whether they encoded barrier-removal or non-imposition. The two types of permission were taken to comprise mutually exclusive categories – either a barrier existed or it did not. Distinguishing between the two sometimes involves a considerable amount of trawling through the co-text in an effort to ascertain the possible prior existence of barriers. In other cases the immediate co-text contains sufficient information to conclude that such a
barrier existed. Possible evidence for the existence of a barrier may include the presence of a temporal adverbial like *later* in (7) or an adjective like *new* in (8).

(7) The US pilots *later* allowed an Iraqi search-and-rescue helicopter to *fly* to the crash site and then return to its base. (BNC CBE 784)

(8) In an attempt to remedy this the SLORC introduced *new* banking laws in July 1990 which *allowed foreign banks to open* branches in Myanmar. (BNC HLD 4402)

We can also make inferences about the prior existence of a barrier on the basis of other sorts of information in the immediate co-text, as in (9), or using our general world knowledge as in (10).

(9) She *allowed herself to feel* all the pain she’d denied herself *for so long*. (BNC HGM 851)

(10) Claudia relaxed her fingers, *letting the pencil drop* to the desk.

(BNC H8J 2708)

In (9) it is the presence of the adverbial ‘for so long’ in the relative clause that allows us to infer the previous self-imposed barrier to the feeling of pain. In (10) our knowledge of the function of taut fingers as a container of
objects allows us to conclude that prior to their being relaxed the fingers constituted a barrier to the pencil’s falling.

Another type of barrier takes the form of a *sine qua non* condition, as in (11) – (12).

(11) If you re recall back in nineteen eight five Tony the Government brought in the transport bill which *let operators compete*. (BNC KM8 236)

(12) The two centre holes *allow a retaining wire to be fitted*. (BNC HH6 1902)

(11) is similar to example (7) in that it contains a temporal adverbial, ‘back in nineteen eight five’. However, the presence of the adverbial is not necessary for us to make the requisite inference. The very fact that it is the bill that is the permitter implies the prior impossibility of competition, in other words the existence of an earlier impediment. Similarly in (12) without the presence of the two centre holes a wire could not have been fitted. Thus the presumed absence of these two holes amounts to a prior barrier.

Examples (7) - (12) all encode situations of *barrier-removal*. To categorise them as such it is sufficient to identify the earlier existence of a barrier, which may either be implicit or explicit. The prior non-existence of a barrier is less easy to stipulate, for obvious reasons. We may sometimes
draw on our world knowledge, as in the case of (13) – (15). Often we must trawl the co-text before we can conclude that no such barrier existed.

(13) With the tension reaching boiling point, it was finally announced that the French officials *had allowed the result to stand* and they had to be applauded for a sporting decision. (BNC A40 42)

(14) Have they all *let their membership lapse*? (BNC HHV 24488)

(15) Race starter Captain Keith Brown was also criticised for *allowing the horses to line up* too close to the start line which led to the tape twice being broken. (BNC K45 1259)

(16) So we *let the blacks come down to us*, we didn’t go looking for them. (BNC FAY 933)

We can infer from (13), without searching the co-text, that the officials in question had the power to alter the result but chose not to exercise this power. In other words (13) is an instance of *non-imposition*. Similarly in (14), by not renewing their subscriptions the members abstained from imposing a barrier to their resigning their membership. Even if our world knowledge does not include an acquaintance with the rules of horse-racing, the fact that the race starter has been subjected to criticism in (15) allows us to infer that he should have imposed a barrier to the horses’ approaching too close to the starting tape. These three tokens do not require any further knowledge of the co-text in order to determine the type of permission
involved. (16) is different in this respect. It is only by acquainting ourselves with the co-text that we can be sure that (16) does not imply a prior prohibition on the descent of ‘the blacks’. In fact (16) merely states that the permitters did not themselves make any effort to seek them out.

Tokens such as (16) may appear at first sight to be ambiguous. However, this sort of ambiguity usually evaporates when one conducts a thorough examination of the co-text. Whenever such an investigation reveals no clue as to the previous existence of a barrier to the realisation of the situation encoded in the complement clause, the token in question is labelled as encoding non-imposition. The question of the presence or absence of a barrier is a black-and-white question. Either such a barrier existed, or it did not. If it existed one may expect it to have been either explicitly mentioned or at least implied by the speaker.

Examples (7) – (16) show that both barrier-removal and non-imposition may be encoded using both allow and let. How often are the two constructions actually used to encode the two sorts of permission? The answer is shown in Table 3 in which we see that while allow is used to encode barrier-removal in almost nine cases out of ten, let favours non-imposition by a margin of almost four to one.

Table 3: Constructions containing positive active voice matrix verbs allow and let encoding barrier-removal or non-imposition with horizontal percentages
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Totals per sample</th>
<th>Percentage totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>barrier-removal</td>
<td>non-imposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allow to-inf.</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let bare inf.</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between the two constructions with respect to encoding barrier-removal or non-imposition is statistically significant (p<0.001). Moreover, there is not as much overlap between the two constructions, especially in the encoding of barrier-removal, as appears at first sight in Table 3. Of 81 tokens of let encoding barrier-removal, as many as 25 contain the predicate go, while among the 365 tokens of allow encoding barrier-removal, on the other hand, just one contains the predicate go and this one does not encode the release sense, which is the most common meaning of ‘let x go’. In addition, of the remaining 56 examples of barrier-removal encoded by let, another 27 contain other motion verbs, such as drop, slide, visit and come. The prototypical sort of barrier in the case of barrier-removal readings of let is thus one prohibiting physical movement.

We turn now to active voice constructions containing negative polarity matrix verbs let and allow, which encode either barrier-retention or barrier-imposition. These two forms of (refusal of) permission are illustrated in Figures 3 and 4.
The criteria for distinguishing between *barrier-retention* and *barrier-imposition* are similar to those used to distinguish between *barrier-removal* and *imposition*. We again find that both types of prohibition may be
encoded by both constructions as exemplified by the tokens of *barrier-retention* in (17) and (18) and *barrier-imposition* in (19) and (20).

(17) It is our interests, rather than those of a degenerate and selfish minority, that the police should protect; and if the law at present *does not allow them to do so* then the law must be changed. (BNC C88 1105)

(18) They *don’t let women drive* cars, let alone fly an aircraft. (BNC BNV 987)

(19) ‘*Don’t let her get away,* Tim!’ he shouted. (BNC B0B 478)

(20) After the feud he *refused to allow Jamila to visit* her parents.

(BNC A6V 790)

Table 4, which may be compared to Table 3, contains details of how often the two constructions are used to encode the two types of prohibition.

Table 4: Constructions containing negated active voice matrix verbs *allow* and *let* encoding *barrier-retention* or *imposition*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Totals per sample</th>
<th>Percentage totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>barrier-retention</td>
<td>imposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allow</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The totals in Table 4 indicate that there is a greater degree of overlap between the two constructions with negated matrix verbs than was the case with positive ones, as shown in Table 3. Nevertheless, the difference between the two constructions with respect to encoding barrier-retention or imposition is still statistically significant (p<0.001), indicating that the two are by no means always interchangeable. Taken together, Tables 3 and 4 provide eloquent testimony to there being a clear difference of meaning between the permissive constructions containing let and allow.

3. Constructions with passive matrix verbs

While active permissive allow and let are both very common, their passive counterparts differ greatly in this respect. Passive allow, as in (1), reproduced here for convenience, resembles active allow in so far as it is one of the half dozen most common (passive) matrix verbs in English. Passive let, on the other hand, as in (2), is extremely rare, being represented by only 19 relevant tokens (of 22 in all) in the whole of the BNC.¹

¹ The irrelevant tokens are the [MAKE REDUNDANT] sense of ‘let go’, which is causative rather than permissive, in so far as the person dismissed, the causee, has no say in the matter.
Few towns can boast they do not have a problem with dogs *being allowed to roam* the streets and Darlington is no exception. (BNC K54 6237)

She *shouldn’t be let roam* the hills alone. (BNC G0X 7)

(1) is an example of *non-imposition*, nothing having been done to stop the dogs from roaming. (2) is an example of *barrier-imposition*, the speaker expressing the opinion that a barrier ought to be implemented to prevent the subject’s roaming. Just as in the case of active matrix verbs, we also find both *non-imposition* and *barrier-removal* encoded by passive *let*, as in (21) and (22).

‘Things *were being let slide* because it was due to close in five weeks time.’ (BNC K3K 401)

Some relationships *have to be let go* in order that new ones can flourish. (BNC BNF 1571)

There are 4 tokens of *barrier-imposition* encoded by passive *let* in the BNC, one of which has been cited as (2), but none of *barrier-retention*.

All four forms of permission and prohibition are found encoded by passive *allow*. An instance of *non-imposition* has been cited as (1). *Barrier-removal* is exemplified in (23), *barrier-imposition* in (24) and *barrier-
**retention** in (25). The total numbers of tokens for both matrix verbs are given in Table 5.

(23) For years Judaism was suppressed in the Soviet Union, practised behind closed doors, and often in fear. The school was allowed to open only nine months ago. (BNC KRU 225)

(24) She hadn’t been allowed to bring anything off the boat except her patchwork leather shoulder-bag which had been thoroughly searched first. (BNC H7W 113)

(25) Because of the Sex Discrimination Act they’re not allowed to advertise a women only service or recruit only women drivers. (BNC K26 1622)

Table 5: The number of tokens of four types of permission/prohibition with passive allow and let in two samples with vertical percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>‘be let bare infinitive’ in BNC</th>
<th>‘be allowed to-infinitive’ in random sample of 1,000 tokens of allow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barrier-removal</td>
<td>11 58%</td>
<td>48 34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-imposition</td>
<td>4 21%</td>
<td>41 29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrier-retention</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17 12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To the question in the title of this paper ‘Why are there so few let passives?’ may now be added another. Why are there almost three times as many tokens of barrier-removal encoded by passive let when active let overwhelmingly favours non-imposition? The answer to both these questions lies, I suggest, in the semantics of non-imposition. Figures 5 and 6 illustrate passive barrier-removal and non-imposition, i.e. situations in which the permitter is not explicitly encoded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4</th>
<th>21%</th>
<th>35</th>
<th>25%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barrier-imposition</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Barrier-removal enabling the permittee (S) to pass
In Figure 5 a barrier is removed, enabling the permittee to move unhindered on his or her way. In Figure 6, on the other hand, a barrier is seen to remain unlowered. Moreover, there would appear to be little reason to encode the possibility of its being lowered. In Figure 2, which illustrates the situation with an active matrix verb, this possibility may be inferred from the very presence of the permitter. However, in situations such as the one illustrated in Figure 6 there is little motivation for explicit encoding of a possible (lowered) barrier.

This explanation, however, raises another question, which is why there are so many tokens of non-imposition encoded by allow. After all, if Figure 6 accurately reflects the situation pertaining to cases of non-imposition, should not such cases be equally rarely encoded by the ‘allow to-infinitive’ construction? In fact, as shown by Table 5, this is not the case. The difference between let and allow may be ascribed, I think, not to the matrix
verbs themselves, but to the form of the complement clause, in other words to the difference between the semantics of the bare and the *to*-infinitive. In Egan (2008: 99) a *to*-infinitive complement is said to encode ‘a situation, viewed as a whole [and] profiled as the more/most likely of two or more alternatives in some specified domain’. In other words the *to*-infinitive always encodes a targeted alternative, with one or more alternative situations lurking in the background, as it were. Figure 7, which illustrates *non-imposition* encoded by a passive matrix verb and a *to*-infinitive complement, incorporates the element of a latent alternative.

Figure 7: *Non-imposition* enabling the permittee (S) to pass, with an implied latent alternative of *barrier-imposition*
Is there any evidence of the implication of such latent alternatives among the tokens of ‘allow to-infinitive’ in the corpus?\(^4\) Five of the 41 relevant tokens are in if-clauses, as in (26), and five in questions, as in (27). In these cases there is a clear implication of a latent alternative to the situation actually realised in the complement clause.

(26) If the teeth are allowed to become sharp, the cheek then becomes bruised and cut, causing pain thus making it difficult for the horse to chew properly. (BNC BPB 852)

(27) Are you allowed to use bulletproof jackets? (BNC FM7 942)

There are no if-clauses or questions among the 4 tokens of non-imposition ‘be let bare infinitive’. Among the 11 tokens of barrier-removal ‘be let bare infinitive’ there is one if-clause. Among the 48 tokens of barrier-removal ‘be allowed to-infinitive’, there are no if-clauses and only one question.

Some other examples of non-imposition encoded by passive allow are cited as examples (28)–(32). To what extent are latent alternatives implied in these tokens?

(28) Family Division President Sir Stephen Brown, making an open court statement after an hour-long private hearing, said: ‘I do hope the child will be allowed to continue her life in these present...

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\(^4\) The notion of latent alternative implies an element of choice on the part of a human permittee. In (27) the fact that one is allowed to use a jacket, does not imply that one is obliged to use one. In other words the construction is [+Choice], to adopt the term used by Rudanko (2014).
circumstances in peace and without any form of harassment.’ (BNC K5D 11288)

(29) I remain astonished that this state of affairs is allowed to exist.
       (BNC CH1 8165)

(30) So far, Mr Berlusconi has been allowed to keep three national TV channels – the same number as RAI. (BNC CRC 2418)

(31) Expert witnesses are usually allowed to remain in court during the testimony of other experts in their field, and sometimes throughout the hearing if it is important that they hear all the evidence. (BNC J76 852)

In (28) the fact that the speaker expresses a hope that the complement situation may continue without interruption implies that there is a real possibility of this not happening. In (29) the fact that the continued existence of the complement situation arouses astonishment in the speaker implies that it should be brought to a halt. From the adverbials so far in (30) and usually in (31) we may infer that the realisation of the complement situation may be blocked in certain circumstances. In all four of these tokens the existence of a latent alternative is strongly implied by the speaker.

Turning our attention to negated passive matrix verbs, we saw in Table 5 that barrier-imposition, illustrated in Figure 8, may be encoded by both let as in (32) and allow as in (33).
(32) When I was left at school I was savage at not being let go home; and when I went home, my mother did nothing but find fault with my schoolboy manners. (BNC HXG 917)

(33) As it turned out, Mario wasn’t allowed to race at Monza because he’d driven a dirt-track race within the previous twenty-four hours, and it wasn’t until Watkins Glen at the end of 1968 that he first drove in a FI race. (BNC CD9 1448)

Neither (32) nor (33) encode a permanent ban on home-coming or racing as evidenced by the adverbials When I was left at school in the former and As it turned out in the latter. They are therefore classified as instances of barrier-imposition rather than barrier-retention. The latter form of prohibition with passive matrix verbs is illustrated in Figure 9.
The situation in Figure 9 is not encoded at all by *let* in the BNC, presumably for similar reasons to those adduced in the case of *non-imposition* above. Basically there is very little happening for the speaker to encode. In the case of the passive *allow* construction, on the other hand, the *to*-infinitive form of complement implies the possibility of a latent alternative, as illustrated in Figure 10, which may be compared to Figure 7.
Figure 10: *Barrier-retention* hindering the permittee (S) from passing, with an implied latent alternative of *barrier-removal*

One example of *barrier-retention* encoded by ‘be allowed to’ has already been cited as (25). Other typical examples are (34)–(37).

(34) During that time no Chadian resident was allowed to seek information about the prisoners, as they risked becoming prisoners themselves. (BNC CJP 23)

(35) The press are not normally allowed to be present during chambers applications. (BNC J76 824)

(36) The Club will make the necessary arrangements, but no-one is allowed to go into town before clearing immigration nor should the skipper or any of the crew visit immigration as they will be told, in
no uncertain terms, to return to the club immediately. (BNC G37 606)

(37) Magistrates who deal with family matters have been specially trained and are not allowed to sit in the Family Court until that training has been completed. (BNC B03 1986)

All four tokens (34) – (37) encode situations in which barriers have not been raised, specifically in order to hinder the permittee from proceeding. They all, however, also contain adverbials (underlined) which imply that there may exist circumstances in which the barrier in question might be raised. Thus in (34) the adverbial During that time allows us to infer that the barrier to seeking information may have been lifted at a later date. In (35) the adverbial normally allows us to infer that the barrier to the present of the press may be lifted in exceptional circumstances. In (36) the adverbial before clearing immigration allows us to infer that the barrier will be removed when this proviso is satisfied. Similarly, the adverbial until that training has been completed in (37) allows us to infer the future possibility of the rescindment of the prohibition. 7 out of a total of 17 tokens of barrier-retention encoded by passive allow contain this sort of adverbial as opposed to just 3 of 35 tokens of barrier-imposition passive allow and none of the 4 tokens of barrier-imposition passive let. There are, as we have already seen, no tokens of barrier-retention encoded by passive let. The
difference between the two sorts of prohibition in this respect is statistically significant at the level of p=0.01.

4. Passive let in COCA

In section 3 we saw that the passive let construction is used in the BNC for both forms of permission and one of two forms of prohibition. In this section we ask whether American English, as represented in COCA, displays the same distribution. The numbers for COCA are given in Table 6, with the numbers for the BNC repeated from Table 5 for ease of comparison.

Table 6: The number of tokens of four types of permission/prohibition with passive let in the BNC and COCA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘be let bare infinitive’</th>
<th>‘be let bare infinitive’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in COCA</td>
<td>in BNC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrier-removal</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-imposition</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrier-retention</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrier-imposition</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since there are at time of writing some five times as many words in COCA as the BNC (530m. compared to 100m.), we can conclude that the construction is equally common in the two varieties. Moreover, American English resembles British English in not employing the ‘be let bare infinitive’ construction to encode barrier-retention. There are proportionately more tokens of barrier-removal in COCA than in the BNC. As many as 74 of these are tokens of ‘be let go’ coding the [RELEASE] sense, exemplified by (37) and (38).\(^5\)

\[(37)\] After each snake had been marked, it was let go. (COCA Fiction 2009)

\[(38)\] She was let go after being questioned by police. (COCA News 2001)

Not all tokens of ‘be let go’ permissives encode the [RELEASE] sense. There are tokens of barrier-removal, which do not involve releasing, as in (39), as well as tokens coding non-imposition as in (40), and barrier-imposition as in (41).

\[(40)\] I actually felt as though this nuisance that was hanging onto me for these two years was now being let go and I could move forward with my life. (COCA Spoken 1991)

\(^5\) In addition there are 355 passive tokens of the causative [MAKE REDUNDANT] sense of ‘let go’.
(41) The house we moved into had been let go. (COCA Fiction 1998)

(42) And that’s another focus of this thing that should not be let go.

(COCA Spoken 1994)

(40) encodes the removal of a barrier to the speaker’s having surgery to amputate an arm and shoulder, which doctors for several years had tried to save. (41) encodes the deterioration of the property when steps had not been taken to stop this, in other words non-imposition, and (42) the need to put in place a mechanism to stop something (Bill Clinton’s peccadillos) being forgotten, i.e. barrier-imposition.

There are only seven tokens of ‘be let bare infinitive’ that contain verbs other than ‘go’, and four of these contain ‘stay’. Two of these encode non-imposition, as in (43), and two barrier-imposition, as in (44).

(43) […] this was so even when you were practically sure you would be let stay on for another ride. (COCA Fiction 2007)

(44) If he’s known then what he does now, Dawson Kalliam wouldn’t have been exiled and Feldin Maas wouldn’t have been let stay.

(COCA Fiction 2012)

The final three tokens contain the verbs ‘run’, ‘die’ and ‘be’, all three of which encode non-imposition.
We turn now to the passive *let* construction containing the *to*-infinitive rather than its bare counterpart, exemplified here by (45) – (47).

(45) I’m sure they were stopped and questioned on their way out, but my understanding is they *were let to leave* the property. (COCA Spoken 1966)

(46) Sir, we enlisted men can’t resign. That’d be desertion. But the officers *are let to walk off* whenever they like. (COCA Fiction 2003)

(47) My daddy Strother didn’t credit it, though, and he beat Mama near about to death, saying nothing that piddling could be his git, allowing as how I maybe wasn’t even human and *should not be let to live*. (COCA Fiction 2003)

(45) is an example of *barrier-removal*, (46) of *non-imposition*, nothing being done to stop the officers leaving, and (47) of *barrier-imposition*, the father wishing to terminate his son’s life.

According to the OED ‘A few examples of the use of to before the infinitive in this construction occur in all periods; now chiefly when *let* is used in the passive’ (definition 12, b.II.). As pointed out in the Introduction, the only token of this construction in the BNC actually occurs in a quotation from a nineteenth century text. There are, however, twelve tokens like (45) – (47) from Present-day English in COCA. Details are given in Table 7, with numbers for ‘be let bare infinitive’, repeated from Table 6.
Table 7: The number of tokens of four types of permission/prohibition with passive *let bare infinitive* and passive *let to-infinitive* in COCA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘be let to-infinitive’</th>
<th>‘be let bare infinitive’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barrier-removal</strong></td>
<td>5 43%</td>
<td>84 86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-imposition</strong></td>
<td>4 33%</td>
<td>11 11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barrier-retention</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barrier-imposition</strong></td>
<td>3 25%</td>
<td>3 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have seen that a large majority of tokens of ‘be let bare infinitive’ instantiate the lexicalised [RELEASE] sense of ‘let go’. This sense is not found at all with ‘be let to-infinitive’. If we exclude these tokens in an effort to compare more like with like, we arrive at the numbers in Table 8.
Table 8: The number of tokens of four types of permission/prohibition with passive *let bare* infinitive, minus the [RELEASE] sense of ‘let go’ and *let to-infinitive* in COCA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘be let to-infinitive’</th>
<th>‘be let bare infinitive’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barrier-removal</strong></td>
<td>5 43%</td>
<td>10 42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-imposition</strong></td>
<td>4 33%</td>
<td>11 46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barrier-retention</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barrier-imposition</strong></td>
<td>3 25%</td>
<td>3 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution of the two constructions shown in Table 8 does not involve any statistical difference. There is however a difference between the two, which is not apparent from the table. This is the type token ratio. Whereas the 24 tokens with the bare infinitive span over just five verbs, with *go* and *stay* accounting for all but three tokens, the twelve tokens containing the *to*-infinitive instantiate eleven different verbs. These include change of location and change of state verbs like *vanish, leave, pass* and *die* (the only verb to occur twice), but also stative verbs like *abide* and *live*.

So far all the examples but one of the two passive *let* constructions have been taken from fictional or spoken texts. One may wonder whether these texts are typical for the constructions. Details of the text types in which both
occur are given in Table 9. Note that the News and Magazine categories have been merged in the table and that tokens labelled News which occur in interviews have been assigned to the Spoken category.

Table 9: The number of tokens of passive *let bare* infinitive, minus the [RELEASE] sense of ‘let go’ and *let to-infinitive* according to the various text types in COCA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘be let to-infinitive’</th>
<th>‘be let bare infinitive’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spoken</strong></td>
<td>3 25%</td>
<td>11 46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fiction</strong></td>
<td>7 58%</td>
<td>10 42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>News/Magazine</strong></td>
<td>2 17%</td>
<td>2 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Academic</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We see in Table 9 that passive *let* constructions may be found in many genres. Both academic examples, cited as (48) and (49), are from the *Anthropological Quarterly*.

(48) The water *must be let run* from the crotch of the husband’s trousers down to the shoe. (COCA Academic 2005)
(49) According to many Thai Buddhists [...], love (rak) is a kind of attachment. It can bind us unhealthily to the object of person loved, and for that reason it *may need to be let go of*. (COCA Academic 2005)

These two examples are from different issues of the journal, (48) from an article entitled ‘Rethinking the Couvade’, and (49) from an article entitled ‘Orthodox Hybridities: Anti-Syncretism and Localization in the Evangelical Christianity of Thailand’. The reason for citing the titles is to give some impression of the register employed in the articles, which is obviously far from the norm of the spoken language. Having said that, both tokens appear completely idiomatic, at least to the ears of the present writer. Both passive *let* constructions, although they may be rare, would seem to be perfectly acceptable in a variety of registers in Present-day English. In the next section I will trace their evolution in American English over the past two centuries.

4. Passive *let* in COHA

The numbers of tokens of both passive *let* constructions in COHA are given in Table 10. The data have been divided between three periods with approximately the same number of words.
Table 10. Both passive *let* constructions in COHA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre-1901</th>
<th>1901 - 1960</th>
<th>Post 1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Approx. 130m. words</td>
<td>Approx. 140m. words</td>
<td>Approx. 130m. words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>be let</em> V</td>
<td><em>be let to</em> V</td>
<td><em>be let</em> V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrier-removal</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-imposition</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrier-retention</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrier-imposition</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 10, both constructions were almost twice as frequent in the nineteenth than the twentieth century. This difference may be ascribed to the total incidence of tokens coding *barrier-removal* in the two periods. If we subtract these from the totals, there is no appreciable difference between
the three periods in the table (the probability of their coming from similar populations is over .75 according to a Fisher Exact Test). (50) – (52) are typical examples of the *barrier-removal* sense in the earliest period.

(50) Just as the anchor *was let go* a signal gun was fired. (COHA Memoirs 1837)

(51) […] then, as her head pointed quartering down the river, the stern line *was let go*, and we shot away like an arrow from a bow. (COHA Magazine 1879)

(52) The canvas was carried clean from the bolt-ropes, the sheets *were let go*, and the lighter sails clewed up. (COHA Fiction 1868)

The majority of tokens coding *barrier-removal* in the nineteenth century contain the verb *go* used in a nautical context. Many of these usages would be rendered redundant with the decline of sailing ships.

Unlike the case of the ‘be let bare infinitive’ construction, there are very few instances of *barrier-removal* in COHA encoded by the ‘be let to-infinitive’ construction. As for *non-imposition*, it is found in both constructions, with approximately twice as many examples containing the bare infinitive. (53) and (54) are two nineteenth century examples containing the same verb, *grow.*
Every moment this hatred is let grow in the heart’s garden, it spreads and strengthens, till it gains dominion and makes men slaves, and madder than before. (COCA Fiction 1874)

It was her one, eager, passionate longing, in these childish days, that these locks of hers should be let grow. (COCA Fiction 1863)

Grow is one of only three verbs to occur with both forms of complement. The others are go and live. We should also note that, unlike the case in COCA, discussed in section 4, the type token ratio is similar for the two constructions. If one leaves aside the verb go, which is very common in the bare infinitive construction, with 112 tokens, and much less common in the to-infinitive construction, with just seven examples, the most recent of which is from 1905, there are then 26 tokens of ‘be let bare infinitive’, containing 22 different verbs, and 24 tokens of ‘be let to-infinitive’, containing 19 different verbs. Both constructions are used with motion verbs, such as run, recede and come in the bare infinitive construction, and walk and ride in the to-infinitive construction. However, they are also used with many other sorts of verbs. Moreover both constructions may be used to encode all four of Vendler’s (1967) situations types, illustrated here by (55) – (58), all containing the to-infinitive construction.

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6 One may note in passing that COHA contains 64 tokens of the the passive causative ‘be let go’ construction, meaning [MAKE REDUNDANT]. This construction seems to have been first used between the world wars, with all but four examples occurring after 1950.
(55) [Women] see their blood, and it does them good, while men are let to be vainer. (COHA Fiction 1953)

(56) I’m sorrier than I can tell that ever you were let to fool with powder. (COHA Fiction 1900)

(57) [...] so the earth was let to bring forth animals in the living likeness of itself. (COHA Fiction 1966)

(58) They have certain legends that must be preserved for their public and truth so much more fascinating than fiction in most of their cases must be let to drop by the wayside. (COHA Magazine 1928)

(55) encodes a stative predication and (56) an activity, (57) and accomplishment and (58) and achievement.

Before rounding off this section, mention must be made of one token that encodes barrier-retention, a form of prohibition that does not occur with passive let elsewhere in the BNC, COCA or COHA. This token is (59).

(59) But there’s times, Ann, when just for a bit they’re just like children.

They need comforting without being let to know they are being comforted. (COHA Fiction 1913)

I stated in section 2 that tokens of the ‘let x know’ (= ‘inform x’) construction were omitted from this study. However, (59) is not an instantiation of this multi-word verb. Rather know here means [REALISE].
The meaning of (59) is that the permittees (men!) should be allowed to remain in ignorance of the fact that they are receiving comfort: in other words that the veil disguising this fact should not be lifted.

6. Summary and conclusion

In this paper I have addressed the question of why there are so few let passives and have suggested that the answer is related to the fact that let prototypically encodes the form of permission which I have termed non-imposition. When the matrix verb is in the active voice the situation encoded is construed as one in which the permitter refrains from acting, thus allowing the complement situation to evolve: in other words ‘x did nothing to stop y happening’. When the matrix verb is in the passive, however, x is airbrushed from the picture, so to speak, leaving us with ‘nothing occurred to stop y happening’. Given that this statement could be applied to all situations in which something occurs, it cannot be said to be very informative. Hence it tends to be avoided. This avoidance is not, however, total. We have seen in the data from the BNC and COCA that both types of permissive and one type of prohibition (barrier-removal) are encoded, albeit not frequently, by the ‘be let bare infinitive’ construction. We have also seen that the same three types are encoded in the COCA data by the even rarer ‘be let to-infinitive’ construction.
I have argued that the difference between the passive constructions with *allow* and *let* in the BNC may be ascribed to a difference in the form of the infinitive complement. Whereas the bare infinitive merely encodes a situation as a whole (as described by Langacker 1990: 82), its *to*-infinitive counterpart encodes the targeted of several possible alternatives. It is the presence of latent alternatives in the background, as it were, that licences the use of the passive *allow* construction to encode the relatively content-less situation of permitter-free *non-imposition*. It is for the same reason, I suggest, that the ‘be let *to*-infinitive’ encodes *non-imposition* to a greater extent than *barrier-removal*, whereas the opposite is the case for the passive construction with the bare infinitive. Similarly, it is the presence in the background of the alternative of *barrier-removal* that licences the use of passive *allow* to encode *barrier-retention*, while the single example in COHA of passive *let* used to encode this form of prohibition also contains the *to*-infinitive.

References

Primary


Secondary


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