Defective causative and perception verb constructions in Romance. A minimalist approach to infinitival and subjunctive clauses

Elena Ciutescu

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Doctoral Dissertation

Supervised by Dr. Jaume Mateu Fontanals

Programa de Doctorat *Ciència Cognitiva i Llenguatge*
Centre de Linguistica Teorica
Departament de Filologia Catalana
Facultat de Filosofia i Lletres
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Eu nu strivesc corola de minuni a lumii
şi nu ucid
cu mintea tainele, ce le-ntâlnesc
în calea mea
în flori, în ochi, pe buze ori morminte.
Lumina altora
sugrumă vraja nepătrunsului ascuns
în adâncimi de întuneric,
dar eu,
eu cu lumina mea sporesc a lumii taină -
şi-ntocmai cum cu razele ei albe luna
nu micşorează, ci tremurătoare
măreşte şi mai tare taina nopţii,
aşa îmbogăţesc şi eu întunecata zare
cu largi fiori de sfânt mister
şi tot ce-i nenţeles
se schimbă-n nenţelesuri şi mai mari
sub ochii mei-
căci eu iubesc
şi flori şi ochi şi buze şi morminte.

Lucian Blaga – 'Eu nu strivesc corola de minuni a lumii'
(*Poemele luminii*, 1919)

Abstract

The present dissertation explores aspects of the micro-parametric variation found in defective complements of causative and perception verbs in Romance. The study deals with infinitival and subjunctive clauses with overt lexical subjects in three Romance languages: Spanish, Catalan and Romanian. I focus on various syntactic phenomena of the Case-agreement system in environments that exhibit defective C-T dependencies (in the spirit of Chomsky 2000; 2001, Gallego 2009; 2010; 2014). I argue in favour of a unifying account of the non-finite complementation of causative and perception verbs, investigating at the same time the mechanisms responsible for the micro-parametric variation exhibited by the three languages. I also defend the thesis that *Exceptional Case marking* (ECM) configurations are present in Romance languages and that infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs in Spanish and Catalan, as well as subjunctive clauses in Romanian, are manifestations of (Romance) ECM cases.

The principal aim of this dissertation is to analyse two (apparently) similar configurations paying detailed attention to the syntactic and semantic (a)symmetries between them. These two configurations are made up of causative/perception verbs that subordinate infinitival clauses. The focus is placed on the behaviour of the infinitival subject which can occur pre- or post-verbally, giving rise to issues of clausal architecture, word order patterns, the licensing of objects and subjects, and dependencies found at the level of the Case-agreement system.

The goal of the thesis is twofold. On the one hand, I propose a unified account for the two configurations based on causative and perception verbs taking infinitival complements. This account is then extended to the case of Romanian subjunctive in the realm of causative constructions. On the other hand, I investigate the syntactic strategies that account for the derivation of the two constructions. My proposal is that, even though causative/perception verb complements receive the same analysis, Catalan and Spanish differ substantially in the mechanisms (object shift, verb movement, raising-to-object) they use in the derivation of the two constructions that are subject to a parametric cut.

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Conclusions

Abbreviations

ACC Accusative Case

ARB SE Arbitrary reflexive SE

C Complementiser

CAUS Causative morpheme

CC Clitic climbing

CL Clitic

DAT Dative Case

DOM Differential Object Marking

DP Determiner Phrase

EA External argument

ECM Exceptional Case Marking

F Feminine

FI Faire-infinitive

FP Faire-par

FUT Future

IA Internal argument

INF Infinitive

LOC Locative

M Masculine

NP Noun Phrase

O Object

P Person

PASS Passive morpheme

PL Plural

PRES Present

PRES.PERF Present perfect

PRN Pronoun

PART Partitive

PAST.PERF Past perfect

REFL Reflexive

T Tense

SG Singular

SP Subject Prefix

SUBJ Subjunctive

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Interest of the project

The present dissertation explores aspects of the micro-parametric variation found in defective complements of causative and perception verbs in Romance. The study deals with infinitival and subjunctive clauses with overt lexical subjects in three Romance languages: Spanish, Catalan and Romanian. I focus on various syntactic phenomena of the Case-agreement system in environments that exhibit defective C-T dependencies (in the spirit of Chomsky 2000; 2001, Gallego 2009; 2010; 2014). I argue in favour of a unifying account of the non-finite complementation of causative and perception verbs, investigating at the same time the mechanisms responsible for the micro-parametric variation exhibited by the three languages. I also defend the thesis that *Exceptional Case Marking* (ECM) configurations are present in Romance languages and that infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs in Spanish and Catalan, as well as subjunctive clauses in Romanian, are manifestations of (Romance) ECM cases.

1.1. Motivation and aim

There are three main reasons for choosing this subject of inquiry. Firstly, there are no recent comparative studies of infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs with overt subjects in Spanish and Catalan. Secondly, there are no minimalist analyses of the Catalan causative constructions. The present investigation is meant to fill a gap in the Catalan literature on non-finite sentential complementation of the verbs *veure* 'see', *deixar* 'let'and *fer* 'make'. I seek to offer a new, updated account to the Catalan facts that can extend to the other Romance languages that display the same characteristics. Thirdly, Romanian causative constructions are severely understudied, although their behaviour can shed light on phenomena that are not yet well understood in other Romance languages.

The principal aim of this dissertation is to analyse two (apparently) similar configurations paying detailed attention to the syntactic and semantic (a)symmetries between them. These two configurations are made up of causative/perception verbsthat subordinate infinitival clauses. As a point of departure, I propose the structure IC *(Infinitival Complement)* which corresponds to the pattern in which the infinitival complement surfaces with a complete representation of its (external and internal) arguments: a preinfinitival subject and the verbal objects. The second structure I will call RIC is an abbreviation for *Reduced Infinitival Complement* and represents a constructions in which the infinitive is placed adjacently to the causative/perception. IC is present in Catalan with perception verbs and permissive *deixar* 'let' and in Spanish with both causative and perception verbs. RIC is found in all Romance languages, except for Romanian. The focus is placed on the behaviour of the infinitival subject which can occur pre- or post-verbally, giving rise to issues of clausal architecture, word order patterns, the licensing of objects and subjects, and dependencies found at the level of the Case-agreement system.

The goal of the thesis is twofold. On the one hand, I propose a unified account for the two configurations based on causative and perception verbs taking infinitival complements. This account is then extended to the case of Romanian subjunctive in the realm of causative constructions. On the other hand, I investigate the syntactic strategies that account for the derivation of the two constructions. My proposal is that, even though causative/perception verb complements receive the same analysis, Catalan and Spanish differ substantially in the mechanisms (object shift, verb movement, raising-to-object) they use in the derivation of the two constructions that are subject to a parametric cut.

1.2. Outline and structure of the thesis

The second section of **chapter 1** is an introduction to the infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs. I define and illustrate the IC and the RIC constructions and delve into the microvariation present in Romance, surveying the distribution and licensing of the embedded subjects in these configurations.The linguistic variation observed in Romance can be described as follows. In Western Romance, causative and perception verbs are compatible with two infinitival complement structures (IC and RIC), that license their subjects in different syntactic

positions. Catalan, French and Italian always build RIC structures with the verb *make*. Romanian does not allow RIC with causative and perception verbs, a direct consequence of the loss of the infinitive and the use of the subjunctive to replace it, especially in contexts of verbal complementation. Importantly, Spanish is compatible with both IC and RIC when it comes to the causative *hacer* 'make', an aspect that will be explored in the following chapters and accounted for in chapter 4.

Chapter 2 introduces various important aspects of the two constructions. One of my aims is to establish in what measure the morphological nature of the matrix predicates and their selectional properties determine the amount of complement they take (functional vs. lexical nature of the causative/perception verbs). I defend the thesis that light/functional verbs are lexically defective predicates, but not devoid completely of semantic content.They are different from auxiliaries, modals, and restructuring verbs, because they interact more closely with the lexical semantics and the argument structure of the embedded predicate.

The second chapter alsolooks into the main syntactic properties of the RIC construction, with special focus on the behaviour of clitic climbing, long object movement, impersonal *se*-passives, phenomena which question the presence of any syntactic border between the matrix verb and the infinitival complement

The last section of this chapter offers an overview of the main analyses, both classical and modern, and it comments on their weak points as seen from a current minimalist approach. Given the large amount of literature on causative and perception verb constructions, the overview of accounts is structured so as to capture the main lines of investigation**.** I am also interested in the concept of restructuring and how it can be comprehended in the context of a minimalist analysis of causative and perception verbs constructions. I will attempt to redefine this notion according to the latest theoretical developments in the understanding of the clausal architecture. The chapter concludes with a preliminary discussion on the status of the defective infinitival complement setting the groundwork for the analysis proposed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 discusses the main theoretical stances assumed throughout the thesis. They are all couched in the Minimalist Program (see Chomsky 1993 and ssq. work), and, more specifically, in the later developments in Minimalist theory, namely the Probe-Goal framework, as proposed by Chomsky (2000, 2001). This chapter is both an introduction to the notion of

defectiveness and its syntactic manifestation in the contexts studied here (as regarded in several recent minimalist works; see Chomsky 2000 and ssq. work, Solà 2002, López 2007, and, especially, Gallego 2009; 2010; 2014) and an investigation of possible Romance ECM-type constructions involving causative and perception verbs. Apart from this technical discussion, the goal of this chapter is also to provide a unified account of the infinitival complementation of the verbs introduced in the previous chapter and to discuss a series of exceptions that have received much attention in the literature. A unifying account may be a venturesome approach to the complementation of these verbs especially because they were considered for a long time to select complements with very few functional layers, i.e. VPs or TPs, never CPs. I start from the premise that the IC and RIC configurations are both biclausal structures and that the overt linear order is a consequence of the derivation of these constructions. The difference does not rest on the type of complement the matrix verb takes (contra a large amount of literature on the topic; see the chapter 2, §3), i.e., they are all defective CPs, but in the mechanisms at stake in the derivation of these configurations. In the current theory, the matrix predicate selects for (or merges directly with) a defective complement. Hence, no other syntactic artifices are used to account for the transparency of the embedded domain (such as restructuring, incorporation, unification of the two verbs in the lexical component). Building on Chomsky (2000 and ssq. work) and Gallego (2009, 2010, 2014) I propose the following pattern (for transitive, unergative and unaccusative complements):

(1) $[_{CP}\,[_{TP}\,[_{v\text{P}*}\,\text{EA}\ v^{*}\ [_{VP}\,\textit{SEE/MAKE}\ \ [_{CP}\,C_{def}\,[_{TP}\,T_{def}\,[_{v(*)\text{P}}\,(\text{EA})v^{(*)}\ [_{VP}\,V_{INF}(\text{IA})]]]]]]]]$

Defective clause are not necessarily smaller, they can involve a defective CP layer (see Ormazabal 1995, Solà 2002, Epstein & Seely 2006, Gallego 2009; 2010, Cornilescu 2013, for different contexts). I attempt to reconcile at a conceptual but also at an empirical level the treatment of the infinitival dependents of causative and perception verbs, by proposing a unified defective CP analysis.

An analysis that proposes a defective complement for both IC and RIC should account for (at least) three aspects that have been argued to run against a unified complementation approach to the verbs under investigation: the nature of the matrix predicate, the double positioning of the embedded subject and the problems raised by the phenomenon of cliticization.

My aim to offer a uniform explanation is just apparently challenged by these three potential problems addressed in the literature on the topics I examine. Chapter 3 also discusses other syntactic differences between RIC and IC and their implications for the semantics of these constructions, touching on issues of direct/indirect causation/perception.

Chapter 4 develops a minimalist analysis of the two constructions giving a systematic account of the facts noticed in chapter 2 and 3. The goal of this chapter is to capture the variation I have claimed along the previous chapters. In deriving RIC and IC, I differentiate between transitive and intransitive complements (especially because transitive contexts are more complex), and explain the assignment of Case.The defective C-T dependency is a φ-defective Probe of the fails to license Case to its Goal. This fact makes the embedded subject (but also object) be probed by elements in the matrix clause.I am especially concerned with issues of word order and movement in infinitives. Spanish and Catalan differ minimally in patterns of restructuring contexts. Spanish has a richer verb movement which explains other syntactic phenomena absent from Catalan. I relate the cross-linguistic differences (such as V-movement, object shift, DOM) found in these constructions to features of the universal functional category and phase head *v**, the locus of parametric variation.

The pre-infinitival position is special and, as I will demonstrate, it is possible only under certain circumstances. I will argue in favour of a raising-to-object approach for the Spanish and Romanian causative constructions with preinfinitival subjects. I will relate the availability of the preverbal subject in the complement of causative verbs in Spanish and Romanian to a general property of these languages of providing themselves with an object position (through the mechanism of *object shift* as previously argued by Gallego 2010; 2013, for Spanish, and Alboiu 1999, 2002, for Romanian) and link the possibility of having DOM with causatives in the two languages to this extra position in one of the specifiers of the *v*P that selects the causative predicate.

I extend the analysis of defective C-T dependencies to infinitival and subjunctive complements of *face* 'make' in Romanian. I show that complementisers which appear in these structures head defective configurations and that subjunctive dependents can be analyzed as non-finite clauses.Therefore I analyse subjunctive complements on a par with infinitival ones. Although they have agreement, from a point of view of Tense they can be considered temporally deficient they have anaphoric Tense, so they are assigned a value in relation to the time-frame

specification of its main predicate (cf. Picallo 1985). The embedded subject receives Case (independent from φ-features) from the matrix C-T complex (in the spirit of Pesetsky & Torrego 2001; 2004; 2007) in a raising-to-object configuration.

2. Introducing infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs

The present thesis investigates two contexts of non-finite complementation of causative and perception verbs. The constructions to which I refer are made up of causative/perception verbs which select for infinitival complements, as in the examples in (1). The constructions in (1a, b) are said to involve a process of complex predicate formation: the matrix verb and the embedded infinitive form a verbal complex with respect to various syntactic phenomena. Since Kayne's (1975) seminal work, examples (1a, b) are known in the literature as instances of the *faire-infinitive* construction. The grammaticality of (1c), as opposed to the ungrammatical example in (1d), suggests that the perception verb *veure* 'see' in Catalan also has the option of selecting for a second configuration in which the embedded subject appears pre-infinitively, breaking up the superficial adjacency between the matrix verb and the embedded infinitive. The causative *fer* 'make' is unable to entering this second construction.

(1) *Catalan*

a. Hem sentit cantar els nens.
hear-PRES.PERF-1.PL sing-INF the children
'We have heard the children sing.'

b. Hem fet cantar els nens.
make-PRES.PERF-1.PL sing-INF the children
'We have made the children sing.'

c. Hem sentit els nens cantar.
hear-PRES.PERF-1.PL the children sing-INF
'We have heard the children sing.'

d. *Hem fet els nens cantar.
make-PRES.PERF-1.PL the children sing-INF

Before setting out to discuss the technicalities of my approach to the infinitival complementation of these verbs, I will offer a comprehensive description of the data I will be looking into along this but also the following chapter.

2.1. Defining IC and RIC

Throughout this study, I will use the abbreviation IC and RIC for referring to the two patterns identified in (1). The label IC, which corresponds to the configuration (1c), stands for *Infinitival Complement* and designates a structure in which the infinitival complement surfaces with a complete representation of its (external and internal) arguments: a preinfinitival subject and the verbal objects. RIC is an abbreviation for *Reduced Infinitival Complement* and represents the constructions in (1a, b) in which the infinitive is placed adjacently to the causative/perception verb and the infinitival (logical) subject is found in sentence final position. RIC and IC are used as a notational convenience and I will delay the justification of the mechanisms responsible for generating the two word orders (see mainly chapter 4), concentrating for now on the empirical motivation that sustains my argumentation. In this chapter, I will deal especially with data coming from Catalan and Spanish, but I will also take into consideration evidence from other Romance languages.

2.2. Microvariation in Romance

Considering the complementation of predicates such as perception verbs, some linguists have noticed that verbs like 'see' or 'hear' can take infinitival complements with lexically specified subjects (cf. Chomsky 1980, Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980) in contexts almost identical.[1] The only apparent element that differentiates them is the placement of the embedded infinitival subject, which can be positioned pre- or post-infinitivally, as in (2) and (3):[2]

[1] As observed among others, for perception verb contexts, by Burzio (1986), for Italian; Kayne (1975), Manzini (1983), Reed (1991, 1992), Labelle (1996), Rowlett (2007), for French; Comrie (1976), Strozer (1976), Zubizarreta (1985), Goodall (1987), Rosen (1989, 1992), Hernanz (1982, 1999), Treviño (1992, 1994), Moore (1996), Di Tullio (1998), for Spanish; Alsina (2002), Ciutescu (2013a), for Catalan; Raposo (1989), Gonçalves (1999, 2001), Martins (2001, 2004, 2006), Duarte & Gonçalves (2002), Soares da Silva (2004), for Portuguese.

[2] I use the label Differential Object Marking (DOM) to mark those preinfinitival subjects that I analyse as different from the post-infinitival subjects. Therefore, I will use the DOM in front of preinfinitival subjects and subjects of intransitive verbs that receive structural accusative Case.

(2) *Spanish*

a. María vió *a* *los* *soldados* beber agua.
Mary see-PAST-3.SG DOM the soldiers drink-INF water
'María saw the soldiers drink water.'

b. María vió beber agua *a* *los* *soldados*.
Mary see-PAST-3.SG drink-INF water to the soldiers
'María saw the soldiers drink water.'

[Hernanz 1982: 266]

(3) *Catalan*

a. Vaig sentir *la* *teva* *cunyada* remugar.
hear-PAST-1.SG the your sister-in-law grunt-INF
'I heard your sister-in-law grunt.'

b. Vaig sentir remugar *la* *teva* *cunyada*.
hear-PAST-1.SG grunt-INF the your sister-in-law
'I heard your sister-in-law grunt.'

[GLC 2016: 1017]

Descriptively, the list that allows the double configuration above is quite restricted (cf. Hernanz 1982: 264), and is largely made up of three classes of verbs. Perception verbs, such as Sp. *ver* 'see', *oír* 'hear', *escuchar* 'hear/listen to', *observar* 'observe', *mirar* 'look at', *sentir* 'feel' etc., constitute a first class.[3] A second class that resembles that of perception verbs includes causative verbs, such as Sp. *hacer* 'make', *dejar* 'let', *mandar* 'send', etc.[4] *hacer* 'make' is a special case and I will dedicate an ample discussion to its non-finite complementation in the following subsections, as well as in chapters 3 and 4. As for this second

[3] Hernanz (1999: 2241) claims that, inside the class of perception verbs in Spanish, although extensive and encompassing verbs of both physical and intellectual perception, only those already mentioned can freely take infinitival complements. Other verbs of perception such as *examinar* 'examine', *descubrir* 'discover', *distingir* 'distinguish', *percibir* 'perceive', etc., select only for finite clauses.

[4] Following Postal's (1974) terminology, Hernanz (1982: 264) calls this specific class of verbs that enter the double configuration Type B-verbs (along with other object-to-subject raising), as opposed to Type A-verbs which would be typical raising verbs. Type B-verbs have the property of being mono-transitive verbs that do not select indirect objects (i.e., they are not object control verbs).

class, I exemplify the two infinitival contexts licensed by Spanish causative *dejar* 'let' and Catalan *deixar* 'let' in (4) and (5) below.

(4) *Spanish*

a. Abd el-Krim apenas dejó *a* *sus hombres* celebrar
Abd el-Krim hardly let-PAST-3.SG DOM his men celebrate-INF
la toma de Igueriben.
the conquest of Igueriben
'Abd el-Krim hardly let his men celebrate the conquest of Igueriben.'
[CREA: L. Silva, *Del Rif al Yebala*, 2001]

b. [N]o dejó leer el guión de la película *a los dos niños*
not let-PAST-3.SG read-INF the script of the film to the two children
protagonistas.
protagonists
'He did not let the two young protagonists read the script of the film.'
[CREA: Prensa, 1984]

(5) *Catalan*

a. Han deixat *els* *nens* jugar al parc.
let-PRES.PERF-3.PL the children play-INF at-the park
'They let the children play in the park.'

b. En Joan ha deixat comprar un gelat *a la* *Nausica*.
the John let-PRES.PERF-3.SG buy-INF an ice cream to the Nausica
'Joan let Nausica buy an ice cream.'
[Bonet & Solà 1986: 210]

In addition, there is a third group of verbs that licenses subjects in two different positions, in similar patterns. This group includes, beside verbs of physical perception and causation, verbs of propositional attitude such as Sp. *considerar* 'consider', *creer* 'believe', *juzgar* 'judge' or *notar* 'note'. Although these verbs of 'belief' do not take infinitival complements with overt

lexical subjects (at least not in Western Romance languages),[5] they select small clause complements whose subjects (the accusative DPs in examples in (5)) can optionally appear adjacent to the main predicate or in sentence final position (cf. Picallo 1985).[6]

(5) *Spanish*

a. Creo *a* *Juan* inteligente.
believe-PRES-1.SG DOM John intelligent
'I believe Juan to be intelligent.'

b. Creo inteligente *a* *Juan*.
believe-PRES-1SG intelligent DOM John
'I believe Juan to be intelligent.'

[Hernanz 1982: 266]

Catalan

c. Consideraren *en* *Joan* incompetent.
consider-PAST-3.PL the John incompetent
'They considered Joan incompetent.'

d. Consideraren incompetent *en* *Joan*.
consider-PAST-3.PL incompetent the John
'They considered Joan incompetent.'

[Picallo 1985: 99]

Going back to the infinitival complementation of causative and perception verbs, one can find the two configurations introduced above in other Romance languages as well, for example

[5] In Western Romance languages, epistemic verbs do not select infinitival complements with overt lexical subjects (as noted by Kayne 1975; 1981; 1989, Rizzi 1982, Manzini 1983, etc.). Romanian is the only Romance language that allows ECM configurations with infinitival/subjunctive complements for *believe*-type verbs (cf. Cornilescu 2013).

[6] Small clauses are, roughly speaking, propositional or eventive constructions that lack (some) verbal functional projections (cf. Williams 1975, Stowell 1983, Guéron & Hoekstra 1995, Moro 2000). The predicate of the small clause can contain an adjective phrase, a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, or an uninflected verb phrase (Rafel 2000, Basilico 2003). For a very good introduction to the types of small clauses, their categorical status and functional structure, see Cornilescu (2003: 392-416). For small clause analyses in Spanish and Catalan, see Picallo (1985), Contreras (1987), Hernanz (1988), Demonte & Masullo (1999), a.o.

in French (6), (Standard) Italian (7), and (European) Portuguese (8), with both transitive and intransitive embedded verbs, as noted in classical studies (cf. Kayne 1975, Burzio 1981; 1986):[7]

(6) *French*

a. J' ai vu *Jean* faire des bêtises.
I see-PRES.PERF-1.SG John make-INF of-the stupidities
'I have seen Jean do stupid things.'

b. J' ai vu faire des bêtises *à Jean*.
I see-PRES.PERF-1.SG make-INF of-the stupidities to John
'I have seen John do foolish things.'

[Kayne 1975: 232]

c. Il laissera *son amie* manger les gâteaux.
he let-FUT-3.SG his friend eat-INF the cakes
'He will let his friend eat the cakes.'

d. Il laissera manger les gâteaux *à son amie*.
he let-FUT-3.SG eat-INF the cakes to his friend
'He will let his friend eat the cakes.'

[Kayne 1975: 221]

(7) *Italian*

a. Vidi *Maria* mangiare la mela.
see-PAST-1.SG Mary eat-INF the apple
'I saw Maria eat the apple.'

[Casalicchio 2013: 273]

b. Ho visto fare un discorso *a Maria*.
see-PRES.PERF-1.SG make-INF a discourse to Mary
'I saw Maria give a discourse.'

[7] European Portuguese does not allow the embedding of transitives under perception verbs in RIC configurations (cf. Ana Lúcia Santos, p.c., Duarte & Gonçalves 2002)

(i) *O João viu lavar o carro à Ana.
the John see-PAST-3.SG wash-INF the car to Anne
'João saw Ana wash the car.'

[Duarte & Gonçalves 2002: 166]

[Casalicchio 2013: 277]

c. Piero lascia *Giovanni* riparare l'auto.
Peter let-PRES-3.SG John repair-INF the-car
'Piero lets Giovanni repair the car.'

[Burzio 1981: 409]

d. Piero lascia riparare l'auto *a Giovanni*.
Peter let-PRES-3.SG repair-INF the-car to John
'Piero lets Giovanni repair the car.'

[Burzio 1981: 409]

(8) *European Portuguese*

a. Vi *os policias* prender o ladrão.
see-PAST-1.SG the cops arrest-INF the thief
'I saw the cops arrest the thief.'

[Martins 2001: 11]

b. A mãe viu chegar *os miúdos*.
the mother see-PAST-3.SG arrive-INF the children
'Mother saw the children come.'

[Duarte & Gonçalves 2002: 161]

c. O João deixou *o pássaro* voar.
the John let-PAST-3.SG the bird fly-INF
'João let the bird fly.'

[Soares da Silva 2004: 586]

d. O João deixou cair *o livro*.
the John let-PAST-3.SG fall-INF the book
'João let the book fall.'

[Soares da Silva 2004: 584]

Among the Romance languages, Romanian has a special status in what concerns the use of infinitives in the complement of perception and causative verbs. As some authors have observed (cf. Nicula 2012, Niculescu 2013), Romanian admitted only marginally constructions

with full infinitives (i.e., proceeded by the particle *a* 'to') embedded under perception verbs, very likely influenced by other Romance languages, such as French. Examples (9a-c) are adapted from Niculescu (2013: 100) and (9d) is taken from Nicula (2013: 323): [8]

(9) *Romanian*

a. Văzut- am flăcăii scuturându- şi pletele...
seen have-PAST-1.SG lads tossing their tresses
şi fruntea lor a se încreţi fără de vreme.
and forehead their a-REFL-wrinkle-INF without of time
'I have seen the young men tossing their hair... and their forehead wrinkle before time...'

b. Două persoane din comitetul de unde atârnam
two persons from committee from where hang-IMPERF-1.SG
auziră a se vorbi de şcoala mea.
hear-PAST-3.PL a-REFL-talk-INF of school mine
'Two people from the committee to which I belonged heard someone talk about my school.'

---

[8] Full infinitives are now used only in contexts of indirect perception (cf. Nicula 2012, 2013). The pattern [SEE + *a*-INF] is restricted to environments in which the infinitive is either the verb *a fi* 'be' or the verb *a avea* 'have' and always describes an act of indirect/cognitive perception. *see*, in this case, has the meaning of 'consider'. Examples are taken from Nicula (2012: 97-98).

(i) a. Sunt abia pe la jumătatea cărţii, însă nu văd a fi ceva imoral în ea.
be-1.SG hardly on the middle book but not see-PRES-1.SG a-be-INF something immoral in she
'I have only got to the middle of the book, but I do not see anything immoral in it.'

b. Napoli, nu văd a avea mari jucători.
Naples, not see-PRES-1.SG a-have-INF great players
'Naples, I do not see it have great players.'

In this respect, compare (i) to the English example (ii).

(ii) We saw John to be a good student.
[Felser 1999: 2]

As is well known, when *see* takes a bare infinitival complement (BI, the infinitive without *to*) it reports direct perception and it is epistemically neutral (cf. Barwise 1981, Higginbotham 1983). Another complement option for *see* is an infinitival with an overt accusative subject (the *to*-INF), the *Accusative with Infinitive* construction (selected also by epistemic and volition verbs), which, semantically, takes on a non-neutral epistemic reading (cf. Dretske 1969, Moulton 2009). Syntactically BI are treated as VPs (Guéron & Hoekstra 1995) or AspP (Felser 1999), devoid of any other functional projections. The complement is a verbal small clause, denoting an event (Higginbotham 1983, Barwise & Perry 1983, Parsons 1990).

c. El a auzit a vorbi şi a arăta simţimentele prin glas,
he hear-PAST-3.SG a-talk-INF and a-show-INF feelings through voice
el voieşte să facă asemenea.
he want-PRES-3.SG să- do-SUBJ.PRES alike
'He heard someone talk and express his feelings, and he wants to do the same.'

d. S- au auzit în tabăra vrăjmaşilor multe sunete de trâmbiţe
REFL hear-PAST-3.PL in camp enemies many sounds of trumpets
a face gâlceavă.
a-make-INF noise
'In the enemy's camp, many trumpet sounds were heard making a noise.'

The patterns with infinitival complements are very rare. Present-day Romanian appeals exclusively to the use of gerund clauses in contexts of direct perception, which would correspond to the infinitive constructions found in Western Romance.[9] There are good reasons to believe that the gerund clause in Romanian successfully replaces the same syntactic position the infinitive occupies in a direct perception configuration in the other Romance Languages and covers many of its functions. Casalicchio (2013: 284) analyses the behaviour of some Ladin variants from Northern Italy that also show ungrammaticality or marginality when embedding infinitives under perception verbs. These languages select instead gerund clauses (as in Gardenese, a Ladin variety, or as in Sardinian and Romansh) or prepositional infinitives (as in Fodom and Ticinese). According to this author, there is a strong correlation between the lack of the infinitive selected by verbs of perception and the development of the gerund complement as an argument of the matrix verb. The gerund in Ladin dialects does not show the same distribution and syntactic behaviour as the Spanish gerunds, for example, which led Casalicchio (2013: 285-303, forthcoming) to the conclusion that the gerunds selected by verbs of perception in these language behave as ECM complements, and not as adjunct phrases (see also Borgonovo 1994). Since the Gardense gerund would correspond to the simple infinitive in standard Italian,

[9] Of course, perception verbs in Western Romance can also select gerund clauses, prepositional infinitives and pseudorelative constructions yielding a direct perception interpretation. Gerund is used predominantly in Spanish, Catalan, French, Sardinian, Romansh, and (Northern) Ladin (cf. Casalicchio 2013). Prepositional infinitive (infinitive introduced by the preposition *a*) is found in (European) Portuguese, in Gallo-Italian dialects, in some Rhaeto-Romance dialects (such as Friulian), but also in Fodom and Ticinese (cf. Casalicchio 2013: 310). Pseudorelatives are highly used in Italian, but also in Spanish, Catalan, and French. Romanian does not have pseudorelative complements (see Alboiu & Hill 2012, 2013, for arguments in favour of this claim).

this gerund should receive the same analysis as the infinitival complement. As I said, it is found in scenarios typical for infinitives. [10] Interestingly, Romanian, Gardense, and the other languages that are deprived of the simple infinitive in contexts of direct perception have maintained an ambiguous (monoclausal/biclausal) nature of the gerund. [11]

Romanian causatives *lăsa* 'let' and *face* 'make' can embed infinitive clauses. These constructions are, however, degraded (although not to the extent of those involving verbs of perception) and restricted to certain (formal) registers. The infinitive was replaced by the subjunctive in many contexts of complementation in Romanian (see Joseph 1983, Dyer 1985, Tomić 2004, Jordan 2009, GR 2013: §4.2.5, and references therein), and causative complements

[10] Many of the tests employed for determining the syntactic behaviour of the gerund complements in Gardense can be successfully applied to the Romanian gerund clauses. We concisely summarize the main ones: they can be used with impersonal/weather verbs, without an expressed subject (ia, b), the gerund subject can be preverbal or post-verbal, imposing no restriction word order (ic, d), and the gerund complement can accommodate clitics and negation (ie, f).

(i) a. Aud plouând (cu găleata).
hear-PRES-1.SG raining with bucket-the)
'I hear it raining cats and dogs.'

b. Aud vorbindu-se de asta.
hear-PRES-1.SG talking- REFL about this
'I hear someone talking about it.'

c. Văd frunzele căzând.
see-PRES-1.SG leaves falling
'I see the leaves falling.'

d. Văd căzând frunzele.
see-PRES-1.SG falling leaves
'I see the leaves falling.'

[GALR 2008: 534]

e. Am auzit- o cântând- o. (fata, melodia)
hear-PAST-1.SG CL-F-3.SG.ACC singing- CL-F-3.SG.ACC girl-the song-the
'I hear her singing it.'

f. L- am văzut pe Ion neoprindu-se la stop.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC-him see-PAST-1.SG PE John not-stopping-REFL at traffic light
'I saw John who did not stop at the traffic signal.'

[Niculescu 2013: 97]

[11] This observation opens the discussion of the lexical/functional nature of the main verb in these constructions too. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the gerund clause or to draw a parallel between the gerund complement and the infinitive one in Spanish and Catalan. The Spanish gerund complement diverges structurally from the infinitival one, as shown in Borgonovo (1994), Di Tullio (1998), Fernández Lagunilla (1999), Roegiest (2003: 312-314), and Casalicchio (2013: 276-280). For Catalan, the reader can consult Suñer (2002). The gerund clause selected by a verb of perception in Romanian has also received different analyses in the literature. The reader can turn to Avram (2003), Alboiu & Hill (2013b), Dindelegan (in GR 2013), and Niculescu (2013), for discussion.

made no exception. [12] Thus, for instance, the infinitival complements in sentences (10a, b) are usually expressed using subjunctive clauses (10c, d):

(10) *Romanian*

a. I- a lăsat pe copii a se juca
CL-M-3.PL-ACC let-PAST-3.SG DOM children a-REFL-play-INF
în curtea școlii.
in yard school
'S/He let the children play in the schoolyard.'

b. L- a făcut pe tânăr a lupta
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG DOM young man a-fight-INF
pentru fericirea lui.
for happiness his
'S/He made the young man fight for his happiness.'

c. I- a lăsat pe copii să se joace
CL-M-3.PL-ACC let-PAST-3.SG DOM children să-REFL-play-SUBJ.PRES
în curtea școlii.
in yard school
'S/He let the children play in the schoolyard.'

d. L- a făcut pe tânăr să lupte
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG DOM young man să-fight-SUBJ.PRES
pentru fericirea lui.
for happiness his
'S/He made the young man fight for his happiness.'

It is important to mention the fact that Romanian causatives do not build verbal complexes with their embedded verbs (and therefore, they do not license a post-verbal position for the embedded subject). They always occur in what seems to be a typical ECM structure, in

[12] The loss of infinitives is a typical feature of other languages included in the Balkan *Sprachbund*, such as Albanian, Macedonian, Bulgarian or Modern Greek. The replacement of the infinitive by the subjunctive began before the XVIth century. It is attested in all the Balkan dialects, although the degree of substitution differs for each language (cf. Tomić 2004, 2006). In contemporary Romanian, the process is still ongoing (cf. GR 2013: 221).

which the embedded subject checks accusative Case against the matrix *v*P and moves to a position in the matrix domain, as the *Differential Object Marker* (i.e., DOM marker) on the subject (the preposition *pe* 'on') suggests.

As regards the behaviour of the causative *make* in Western Romance, the overall picture is interesting as well: while it allows for a double infinitival complementation configuration in Spanish (11) and (European) Portuguese (12),[13] in Catalan (13), Italian (14), and French (15) the preinfinitival subject position is ruled out, and *make* always builds a verbal complex with the embedded predicate.[14]

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[13] Apart from the two configurations that shares with Spanish, Portuguese allows another environment in which inflected infinitives can be accommodated under the causative verbs (i). They are possible only with subjects in preinfinitival position. The subject-verb agreement in (i) is optional (see also Raposo 1989; Gonçalves 1999, 2001; Martins 2001, 2004, 2006; Costa & Gonçalves 1999).

(i) Mandaram os polícias prender(em) o ladrão.
send-PAST-1.SG the cops arrest-INF-INFL the thief
'They sent the cops to arrest the thief.'

[Martins 2006: 327]

The discussion is complex due to certain aspects of the behaviour of European and Brazilian Portuguese causatives that set them apart from other Romance languages. Among these aspects we find the competition between the three constructions, the pervasive use of *mandar* 'send to' to the detriment of *fazer* 'make', and the semantic differences between these two verbs (see Gonçalves 2002 and Soares da Silva 2012, who touch on all these isssues). Providing a detailed analysis of the Portuguese data and, especially, the construction in (i) falls beyond the range of investigation undertaken here.

[14] This fact is at least surprinsing since the preinfinitival position is attested in Old Catalan, as the data in (ia) shows. We find the same pattern in Old French (ib) and Old Italian (ic) as well:

(i) *Old Catalan*

a. Cor, per mèritz d' él, [...] à *feyts mortz ressuscitar.*
cause for merits of him have-PRES-3.SG made dead resurrect-INF
'Because, thanks to him, (...) and he made dead people resurrect.'

[Gavarró & Massanell 2013: 4]

Old French

b. Besoing *fai vielle trotter.*
need make-PAST-3.SG old run
'Need makes old woman run.'

[Bartra 2013: 3]

Old Italian

c. [...] alla 'mpresa / che *fe'* *Nettuno ammirar* l' ombra d' Argo.
the action that make-PAST-3.SG Neptune admire the-shadow of-Argo
'the action that made Neptune admire Argos's shadow.'

[Cerbasi 1997: 167-168]

Although Italian and Catalan are consistent in the use of the RIC pattern, modern French seems to be subject to certain dialectal variation. Reed (1992) cites some examples with preinfinitival subjects in Canadian French spoken in Ottawa (Ontario) and Hull (Québec).

(11) *Spanish*

a. Hizo *a los contribuyentes* pagar demasiados impuestos
make-PAST-3.SG DOM the contributors pay-INF too much taxes
'S/He made the contributors pay to many taxes.'

b. Hizo pagar demasiados impuestos *a los contribuyentes*.
make-PAST-3.SG pay-INF too much taxes to the contributors
'S/He made the contributors pay to many taxes.'

[Treviño 1994: 51]

(12) *European Portuguese*

a. A Maria fez *os miúdos* ler esse livro.
the Mary make-PAST-3.SG the children read-INF that book
'Maria made the children read that book.'

b. A Maria fez ler esse libro *aos miúdos*.
the Mary make-PAST-3.SG read-INF that book to-the children
'Maria made the children read that book.'

[Soares da Silva 2004: 588]

(13) *Catalan*

a. Al concert, van fer cantar l' Estaca *a Llach*.
to-the concert, make-PAST-3.PL sing-INF the-Estaca to Llach
'At the concert, they made Llach sing «l'Estaca».'

[Anna Pineda, p.c.]

b. *El Joan va fer *la Maria* comprar un llibre.
the John make-PAST-3.SG the Mary buy-INF a book

[Villalba 1992: 363]

(14) *Italian*

a. Piero fece riparare l'auto *a Giovanni*.
Peter make-PAST-3.SG repair-INF the-car to John
'Piero made Giovanni repair the car.'

b. *Piero fece *Giovanni* riparare l'auto.

Peter make-PAST-3.SG John repair-INF the-car

[Burzio1981: 409]

(15) *French*

a. Jean fera acheter ces livres *à Marie*
John make-FUT-3.SG buy-INF those books to Mary
'Jean will make Marie buy those books.'

[Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980: 156]

b. *Marie fera *Jean* lire ce livre.
Mary make-FUT-3.SG John read-INF that book

[Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980: 132]

The following chart is meant to illustrate the microvariation found in Romance with respect to word order, and, more specifically, to the placement of the embedded subject:

(16) *Microvariation in Romance with emphasis on the word order in the complement*

Matrix verb (V)	**Pattern**	**Romance languages**					
		Catalan	French	Italian	Spanish	E.Portuguese	Romanian
see	***IC***	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
let	[Subj V_{INF} Obj]	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
make		×	×	×	✓	✓	✓
see	***RIC***	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
let	[V_{INF} Obj Subj]	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
make		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×

Descriptively, the table in (16) shows several facts that concern the linguistic variation observed in Romance: (a) in Western Romance, causative and perception verbs are compatible with two infinitival complement structures (IC and RIC), that license their subjects in different syntactic positions (and whose Cases are determined in the larger structure in which the infinitive is inserted), (b) Catalan, French and Italian always build RIC structures with the verb *make* (a pattern in which the causative and the infinitival complement form a cohesive syntactic unit, behaving as a single Case-marking domain), and (c) Romanian does not allow RIC with causative and perception verbs, a direct consequence of the loss of the infinitive and the use of

the subjunctive to replace it, especially in contexts of verbal complementation. Importantly, Spanish is compatible with both IC and RIC when it comes to the causative *hacer* 'make', an aspect that will be explored in the following sections and accounted for in chapter 4.

Chapter 2

Infinitival complements to causative and perception verbs: Main empirical issues and previous accounts

1. Introduction

As shown in the previous chapter, the general claim made by many linguists is that causative and perception verbs take either a simple VP complement or a complement that lost its functional projections, if it ever had any. The phenomenon of clitic climbing, the presence of long object movement and impersonal *se*-passives have been used as criteria for diagnosing transparent infinitival complements that lack clausal properties. I define and detail them in the following lines. The outline of this chapter has the following structure. The first section examines the essential attributes of the matrix predicates and it addresses the lexical-functional nature of the causative and perception verbs. Section 2 looks into the main properties of the RIC construction, with special focus on the behaviour of clitic climbing, long object movement, *se*-passives, which argue in favour of a transparent infinitival domain. Section 3 offers an overview of the main analyses, both classical and modern, and it comments on their weak points as seen from a current minimalist approach. The chapter concludes with a preliminary discussion on the status of the defective infinitival complement.

2. The nature of the matrix verb

The fact that these predicates have been used in a type of reduced constructions (i.e., our RIC) lead many linguists to consider them semantically poor or even empty predicates (cf. Cerbasi 1997). In this sense, they resemble auxiliaries (see Aissen 1974; 1979, Aissen & Perlmutter 1976, Hyman & Zimmer 1976, Rochette 1988, Di Tullio 1998), semi-auxiliaries (see Hernanz 1999, Enghels 2012, Enghels & Roegiest 2013), affixes/bound morphemes (see

Zubizarreta 1985, Li 1990, Guasti 1993, Alsina 1996), semi-lexical verbs (cf. Emonds 2001) or semi-functional predicates (see Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990, Cinque 2004, 2006, Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004).

In their classical works, Rizzi (1982) and Burzio (1986) assume that only semantically weak verbs combine with other predicates to form complex predicates. Burzio (1981, 1986) is also among the first to maintain that Italian causative configurations are similar, in many respects, to the configurations built on a restructuring process.[1, 2] In the same vein, Rochette (1988: 223) deliberates over the uses of *laisser* 'let' and *faire* 'make' in French and Italian and claims that "there is such a requirement that the verb be understood as conveying little information in order to be able to appear in a restructuring context". Behind the possibility of restructuring, we find the ability of a speaker to use a main verb as an auxiliary: the less semantic import a verb has, the most likely it is to be used as a restructuring verb. Soares da Silva (2012) argues that analytic causative constructions are more grammaticalized in French and Italian than in Spanish and Portuguese, both in meaning (because of the semantic bleaching of the causative verb) and in synthesis (due to a stronger structural event integration).

Hernanz (1999: 2257) claims that *hacer* 'make' in Spanish has a semi-auxiliary status that enables it to be involved in a restructuring process that alters the complementation relation between these verbs and their non-finite complements, transforming a bisentential clause into a single complex clause, through the deletion of the boarders of the embedded clause.[3] More recently, Wurmbrand (2005: 314) states that *let* and *make* causatives are cross-linguistically verbs that restructure, and places them on an intermediate position on the scale of restructuring (1), in between restructuring predicates (modals, aspectual, motion verbs) that show a high

[1] Burzio (1981: 626) cites Van Tiel-Di Maio (1975), (1978) for Italian, and Rivas (1974), and Aissen & Perlmutter (1976) for Spanish. who pioneered the first proposals on the restructuring constructions that could extend and cover also causative constructions.

[2] For relevant discussion on restructuring based on modals, aspectual or motion verbs, predicates that had been said in the literature to be the typical candidates for restructuring constructions, the reader is referred to the analyses put forth in Evers (1975), Rizzi (1976, 1978, 1982), Aissen and Perlmutter (1976, 1983), Strozer (1976), Fresina (1981, 1982), Napoli (1981), Burzio (1981, 1986), Zagona (1982), Manzini (1983), Hernanz & Rigau (1984), Picallo (1985, 1990), Rochette (1988, 1990), Rosen (1989, 1990), Roberts (1993, 1997), Cinque (1998, 1999, 2001, 2006), Wurmbrand (1998, 2001, 2005, 2015), Solà (2002), inter alia. See also Cinque (2004: 165, fn.1; 2006: 11, fn. 1), Wurmbrand (2001: 5-15) and Wurmbrand (2005: 315-323) for lists which contain the major analyses that treat the phenomenon of restructuring in Romance and other languages (for Germanic languages see especially Wurmbrand 2001 and references therein).

[3] Hernanz(1982) does not explicitly use the notion of 'restructuring', but she assumes the same process for the building of the complex predicate, as in Hernanz (1999).

degree of restructuring across languages and other verbs (such as *try*, *dare*, or implicative verbs) that are subject to restructuring only in some languages.[4, 5]

(1) *Grades of restructuring*

Type of verb	**Grade of restructuring**	**Degree of restructuring**
Modal verbs	Generally among restructuring predicates	Highest
Aspectual verbs	Generally among restructuring predicates	
Motion verbs	Generally among restructuring predicates	
Causatives	Generally among restructuring predicates	
try, *manage*, *dare*	Some degree of restructuring (some languages)	
(Other) irrealis, implicative verbs	Minimal degree of restructuring (some languages)	
Propositional verbs	Generally not among restructuring predicates	
Factive verbs	Generally not among restructuring predicates	lowest

[adapted from Wurmbrand 2005: 314]

Discussing the interaction of causative/perception verbs with passives and restructuring predicates, Cinque (1998: 37, 2006: 69) concludes that causative and perception verbs should be placed in two distinct functional heads on his rigidly ordered cartography of the functional projections in a clause (as first proposed in Cinque 1998, 1999). Cinque does not assume a syntactic process of clause union in the case of restructuring verbs. In his analysis, these verbs are directly merged in a functional head in a monoclausal structure (they do not derive from a biclausal one).

[4] Wurmbrand (2001, 2005) includes in her list languages such as German, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, and Japanese.
[5] In a previous work, Wurmbrand (2001: 145) treats causative and perception verbs in German as semi-functional elements, positioned in a *voice* or *aspect* head.

(18) . . . Voice° > Perception° > Causative° > $Asp_{inceptive(II)}$ / ($Asp_{continuative(II)}$) > Andative° > $Asp_{completive(II)}$

[Cinque 1998: 49]

Causative and perception verbs are found on the hierarchy of Cinque's functional predicates (18), but they are slightly different from what Cinque (2006: 63, fn. 69) calls purely functional restructuring verbs. [6] First, the former predicates contribute an (external) argument to the complex predicate (as opposed to restructuring verbs) and also operate on the arguments of the lexical verb (as we have seen, in causative constructions, for example, external arguments of the embedded verb are expressed grammatically in the same way as internal arguments, i.e., as direct objects). Second, the specific slots their heads occupy on Cinque's universal hierarchy are not that rigid, they are able to occur in different positions across languages. Third, they can reiterate (Cinque 2006: 79, fn.18). Therefore, Cinque labels them semi-functional verbs (in accordance with Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004 who use the term 'quasi-functional verbs').

Despite the general assumption that verbs in restructuring configurations are less thematic than lexical verbs, I believe that it is not enough to claim that causative and perception verbs are semantically poor just for being good candidades for entering a reduced/ restructuring construction (cf. Watanabe 1993, Moore 1996, Hernanz 1999). A survey of the complementation of these verbs should take into account various pan-Romance aspects that concern the common uses of these predicates, but also the differences that occur within the same language.

2.1. On the notion of *complex predicate*

RIC with causative or perception verbs is said to be a showcase of what is largely known as a *complex predicate* (see Rizzi 1982, Burzio 1986, Rosen 1989, Guasti 1993; 1997; 2005),

[6] There is still a lot of debate on delimiting the class of (typical) restructuring verbs and the constructions in which they are inserted. On the one hand, there is the question of whether they are functional or lexical categories. On the other hand, there is the problem of monoclausality or biclausality approach to the restructuring configurations. Cinque (2006) defends the thesis according to which restructuring verbs are marked as functional in the lexicon, directly inserted in their corresponding functional heads, and always giving rise to monoclausal structures. These structures are normally transparent for phenomena such as clitic climbing or long object preposing. It has been argued however that the presence of transparency effects is not a sufficient reason to defend a monoclausal approach, and, implicitly, the functional nature of the restructuring verb. For relevant discussion see Hernanz & Rigau (1984), Kayne (1989), Llinàs (1991), Solà (2002), Amadas (1999, 2002), Wurmbrand (2004), Cardinaletti & Shlonsky (2004), González (2008), and Balza (2012).

since it involves a sequence of two verbal elements that behave like a single syntactic unit, especially for Case-checking purposes. RIC presents the diagnostics of an impoverished structure, which is normally deprived of Tense projections and which shows transparency effects such as clitic climbing (see Kayne 1989, 1991) or long passives (cf. Rizzi 1982, Aissen & Perlmutter 1983, Cinque 1998). Although a complex predicate is made up of two (or more) elements (or co-verbs, as Svenonius 2008 calls them), it behaves syntactically as a monoclausal structure (Alsina 1993; 1996; 1997, Butt 1995; 2003; 2010, Butt & Geuder 2001), with a single specification for Tense (but also for Aspect and Modality). [7]

The formation of a complex predicate can be obtained in different ways, in compliance with the syntactic theory and the principles and assumptions that hold in the frameworks they are studied. In the context of causative and perception verb constructions, a starting point of investigation should be delimiting whether we deal with a complex predication that is morphological or syntactic. For instance, (predominantly) in the case of causative constructions, the literature distinguishes between languages that have morphology-based causativisation processes (such as Turkish, Quechua, Urdu or Bantu languages) and languages that form the causative construction in the syntax (e.g., Romance languages).[8]

With respect to Romance languages, we can distinguish two main directions, the same that Wurmbrand (2007: 244) identifies for the analysis of other complex predicates in German: on the one hand, complex head approaches, and, on the other hand, XP-complementation approaches. Complex head approaches postulate that the two verbs form a lexical composite (base-generated as a single V), while XP-complementation accounts argue in favour of the independence of the two verbs, which would formally translate into the presence of different

[7] It is difficult to define the term 'complex predicate' because it can be understood in several ways. In a broad sense, any predicate can be complex (whether or not it contains features that are phonologically overt). According to Svenonius (2008), any predicate that consists of more than one piece is complex. In a narrow sense, linguists usually refer to serial verb constructions and light verb constructions as complex predicates. For Butt (1995, 2003, 2010) the term complex predicate designates a construction that involves two or more predicational elements (e.g., nouns, verbs and adjectives) which syntactically behave as a single unit, mapping their arguments onto a monoclausal structure, and contributing to a joint predication (cf. Butt 2010: 50). Svenonius (2008: 49) agrees with the view that complex predicates "may include a wide range of categories, but typically one piece is either a verb or an auxiliary" and the co-verb may be a verb, an adjective, or a noun.

[8] Shibatani (1976) argues that morphological causatives (e.g., Japanese *sase*-causatives) are, in fact, bi-clausal structures. Otherwise, phenomena related to scope yielded by adverbial modification and reflexive binding in these constructions would remain unexplained. These tests indicate that even some morphological causatives can embed a sentential complement, a fact that would enlarge the spectrum of productive causatives, which would be of both morphological and periphrastic type. For typological studies that focus on morphological causative constructions, see Comrie (1976, 1981), Shibatani (1976, 2001), Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000). For Chichewa causatives, a Bantu language, see Alsina (1993; 1996a).

syntactic heads. I believe that complex predicates that involve causative and perception verbs are obtained in the syntax, not in the lexicon, and presuppose the embedding of syntactic structure (i.e., a clause), in spite of the fact that their functional structure resembles that of a simple predicate. Therefore, I consider that the label 'complex predicate' applied to causatives and perception verb constructions is, to some extent, deceiving, for it induces the idea that two verbs are taken from the lexicon and merged together under the same verbal projection. This is not the case since the matrix predicate and the embedded head autonomous verbal projections, endowed with their own argument structure. As I will show in chapter 4, these configurations are attained derivationally, in the syntax, even though it is true that they apparently function as a complex predicate mostly when it comes to Case. Nevertheless, if Case can be accounted for in a different way, there is no need to recur to the theory of unification of the two verbal heads in a certain type of lexical V-V compound, as some monoclausal analyses have done (for example, the parallel structures proposed by Zubizarreta 1985, Di Sciullo & Williams 1987, or Goodall 1987).

An important aspect of the RIC construction with causative and perception verbs has to do with the complementation they take, and the mechanisms used to derive the superficial unification of the matrix verb and subordinate one. I should differentiate between those analyses that defend the existence of a clausal complement, as in the classical literature on the topic (see Kayne 1975, Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980, Rizzi 1982, Burzio 1986, Baker 1988), and those approaches that posit smaller categories, such as VPs (as in Manzini 1983, Marantz 1985, Rochette 1988, Rosen 1989, Li 1990, Masullo 1992, Villalba 1992, Guasti 1993; 2007, Labelle 1996, López 2001, a.o.). The strategies of verbal unification according to many of the two approaches are generally the same. They are obtained through V/VP movement (to the matrix clause or to a specifier position closer to the matrix clause), usually after the clausal borders are removed, or incorporation of the embedded verb into the head of causative/perception verb takes place.

Within Relational Grammar, Aissen & Perlmutter (1976, 1983) apply a structure-changing operation and derive a simple structure from a biclausal one. The infinitive starts out as clausal complement, but then a transformation removes the sentential boundaries and monoclausality is obtained through a process of clause union. In the transformational tradition, the monoclausal behaviour has been achieved in several ways. In approaches that treat the infinitival clause as a sentential complement, the formation of a complex verb is attained

derivationally. For instance, Burzio (1986) and Hernanz (1999) assume that causative and perception predicates are able to trigger CP-deletion. Subsequently, the head of the embedded sentence is removed, and in the absence of clausal borders, the verb phrase is allowed to move, a procedure that brings closer the matrix and the embedded verb. To attain a monoclausal structure, several authors claim that the embedded infinitive is allowed through overt incorporation in the matrix V (as in Den Dikken 1990, Guasti 1993, Villalba 1992; 1994) or covert incorporation, as in Baker (1988). Not all biclausal analyses assume a monoclausal outcome even though certain tools of clause unification have been presupposed. Kayne (1975), Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980), Rizzi (1982) and Baker (1988) choose to preserve the embedded sentential boundaries, although come up with different mechanisms to justify argument structure projections, issues of word order or Case-checking properties. In their opinion, RIC configurations are also derived by V-movement (or VP-movement, depending on the transitivity of the embedded verb). Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980) recurs to thematic rewriting rule or reanalysis (see also Rochette 1988). The common trait of these analyses is the claim that the verbal movement does not destroy the embedded sentential boundary.

Independent of the mechanisms used for the unification of the two verbs, in biclausal analyses it predominates the idea that the complements are tense-deficient and the arguments of the infinitive require the matrix clause for Case. In monoclausal analyses, on the other hand, it is claimed that this is not just a question of tense deficiency. The reason that drives the building of the verbal complex is said to be a consequence of the need of matrix predicates to fill their thematic structure (see Strozer 1976, Rosen 1989, Alsina 1993, 1996, Roberts 1997), as they are not fully lexical verbs (thus resembling auxiliaries, light verbs, or even restructuring verbs). This aspect is crucial for the understanding of the verbal complex, at least from the standpoints of Rosen (1989), Alsina (1993, 1996) and Butt (1995). These works treat matrix verbs involved in complex predicate formation as a type of light verbs whose argument structure is incomplete. Rosen (1989) posits a process of *Argument Merger* to account for complex predicates in Romance. In her view, the argument structure of the matrix predicate is incomplete, therefore the argument structures of the two verbs should combine, and one of the arguments of the light verb is replaced with the argument structure of the embedded predicate, which is complete (this argument is usually an Event argument). Albeit cast in a different framework, Alsina (1993, 1996) and Butt (1995) coin the concepts of *Predicate Composition* and *Argument Fusion*

respectively in order to account for Romance and Urdu complex predicates. Butt (1995) also proposes that the complex predicate formation is triggered by the presence of a transparent event in the argument structure of a light verb.[9]

Within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar, Alsina (1993, 1996, 1997) considers that the causative predicate is an incomplete predicate that must undergo predicate composition with another predicate in order to be syntactically well formed.The argument-taking abilities of the matrix causative verb need to be completed by the argument structure of another predicate, which eventually yields one single, complex, argument structure. Therefore, the incomplete predicate behaves as a defective verb (cf. Alsina 1996: 201). The complex predicate is formed in syntax in Catalan, by joining the causative verb and a verb phrase headed by the embedded predicate into a larger phrase, through composition.[10] The two predicates compose when they are in a structural sisterhood relation: each incomplete predicate is the lexical head of a VP and the sister of a VP. Alsina assumes that the causative construction in Romance, as in Chichewa, starts out as a monoclausal construction (cf. Alsina 1996, it is a flat structure,), and it behaves as a single clause in the syntax.[11, 12] Alsina's proposal accounts for a limited number of constructions, and, more specifically, for Catalan, Italian and French word order facts, languages in which the causative verb always gives signs of 'composition', since it is restricted to the RIC pattern. We have seen that in both Catalan and Spanish (and in other Romance languages) other causative and perception verbs are not restricted to this configuration. These predicates are able to enter a double pattern. Therefore, the affirmation that these verbs are always incomplete predicates would take us to an undesired outcome: it would leave unexplained cases where ~~we~~ do not find any complex predicate formation. I will come back to the issues of morphological

[9] More technically, Butt (1995:144-145) proposes that a transparent event, in contrast to a simple event, has a deficient nature, it cannot stand on its own and must either unify with another event structure. In her view, only transparent Events may trigger complex predicate formation.

[10] Butt (1995), following Alsina (1993), also claims that periphrastic complex predicates are monoclausal configurations whose argument composition is handled in the syntax (through the process of Argument Fusion).

[11] Alsina examines both Romance causatives and Bantu causatives (which are formed morphologically, i.e., in the lexicon), but he does not distinguish between complex predicates which are formed in the lexicon and ones which are handled in the syntax. Predicate composition applies (both in morphology and in the syntax) by composing the predicate information of two sister constituents (cf. Alsina 1997: 232).

[12] In Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG), the argument structure can contain semantic information about lexical items. The result of combining argument structures will have effects on the syntactic expression of arguments. Within LFG, this mismatch in semantic and syntactic information is represented in terms of independent levels of representation, which are related to one another by a theory of linking. The c(onstituency)-structure projects both f(unctional)-structure and a(rgument)-structure information. Therefore, it is possible to show that complex predicates must be simple with respect to grammatical functions (relations), but may be either simple or complex with regard to c-structure (i.e., phrase structure).

defectiveness and the lexical-functional distinction in §4. Before that, I will refer first to the main properties of the reduced construction.

2.2. Degrees of verbal lightness

Although Romance causative and perception verbs are close to restructuring verbs, the class to which these verbs belong is far from homogeneous. There are certain factors that determine the speakers to choose one of the two available constructions to the detriment of the other. One of the aspects to which I want to refer first is the fact that some of these verbs seem to have more semantic content.

Catalan causative *fer* 'make', as opposed to *deixar* 'let', shows a higher degree of fusion with the infinitival complement and hence restricted only to the reduced construction (our RIC).[13] The gradual morphological impoverishment of these verbs is observed when considering other patterns of subordination, such as finite complements. While perception verbs can take indicative complements – the pseudorelative construction in (2a, b) – and *deixar*-causative subjunctive complements (2c, d), the configuration *fer* 'make' in subjunctive complements with a raised object as in (3) is ungrammatical in Catalan.[14] This shows the inability of *fer* 'make' (in its causative variant) of selecting DP objects.

(2) a. Va veure el nen que jugava sol.
see-PAST-3.SG the child that play-PAST-3.SG alone
'He saw the child (who was) playing alone.'

b. El va veure que jugava sol.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-3.SG that play-PAST-3.SG alone
'He saw him playing alone.'

[13] Both *fer* 'make' and *hacer* 'make' are found among the most important light verbs in Catalan and Spanish. In addition to being part of verbal complexes, *fer* is used in building idioms, fixed expressions and verbal paraphrases (Lorente 2002, §8.2.2.1). On the other hand, *hacer* 'make' is, according to RAE (2010: 670, §34.7.2), one of the most important five transitive light verbs in Spanish, along with *dar* 'give', *echar* 'put', *tener* 'have', and *tomar* / *coger* 'take' (*hacer caso* 'pay attention' / *daño* 'harm' / *memoria* 'remind' / *un favor* 'do a favour', etc.) and it is also found in verbal paraphrases (*hacer (buenas) migas* 'have a good relation with sb', *hacer las paces* 'make peace').

[14] PR is not a form of ordinary relative clause, as argued by Kayne (1975, 1981a), Radford (1975, 1977), Burzio (1981, 1986), Hernanz (1982), Rosselló & Solà (1987), Guasti (1988), Rafel (2000b), a.o.

c. ?Va deixar el nen que jugués sol.
let-PAST-3.SG the child that play-SUBJ-PAST-3.SG alone
'He let the child play alone.'

d. ?El va deixar que jugués sol.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC let-PAST-3.SG that play-SUBJ-PAST-3.SG alone
'He let him play alone.'

(3) a. *Va fer el nen que jugués sol
make-PAST-3.SG the child that play-SUBJ-PAST-3.SG alone

b. *El va fer que jugués sol.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG that play-SUBJ-PAST-3.SG alone

The differences between perception and causative verbs can be also noted in their possibility of easily selecting DP complements (4). Causative verbs (4b-c) show a higher degree of marginality/ungrammaticality:

(4) a. He vist els nens / Els he vist
see-PRES.PERF-1.SG the children CL-M-3.PL-ACC see-PRES.PERF-1.SG

b. ?He deixat els nens / ?Els he deixat
let-PRES.PERF-1.SG the children CL-M-3.PL-ACC let-PRES.PERF-1.SG

c. *He fet els nens / *Els he fet
make-PRES.PERF-1.SG the children CL-M-3.PL-ACC make-PRES.PERF-1.SG

These contrasts are meant to support the conclusion that *fer* 'make' in Catalan is lighter than *veure* 'see' and *deixar* 'let', but also lighter than *hacer* 'make' in Spanish. The sentences in (5) taken from Hernanz (1982) and Treviño (1994) capture the flexible character of causative predicates in Spanish, which can take subjunctive complements more naturally than in Catalan.[15]

(5) *Spanish*

[15] This structure is totally ruled out in Italian and French, but it is the norm for Romanian.

a. Dejé a María que fuera al baile con su novio.
let-PAST-1.SG DOM Mary that go-SUBJ.PAST-3.SG to-the ball with her boyfriend
'I let Mary go to the ball with her boyfriend.'

[Hernanz 1982: 274]

b. Hice a los niños que copiaran el ejemplo.
make-PAST-1.SG DOM the children that copy-SUBJ.PAST-3.PL the example
'I made the children copy the example.'

[Treviño 1994: 23]

The asymmetries between the two classes of verbs also become relevant when analysing the word order patterns. As shown, Catalan and Spanish *veure/ver* 'see' or *deixar/dejar* 'let' can be used in both configurations, RIC and IC, indistinctively. While Catalan speakers make use quite naturally of both RIC and IC with *veure* 'see', they tend to prefer the reduced construction with *deixar* 'let'. A preinfinitival subject in the *deixar*-construction is interpreted as (more) marked (or totally impossible in a *fer-infinitive* construction) than in the *veure*-construction, as also observed by Alsina (2002: 2424):

(6) a. ?Hauríem de deixar la Maria explicar la seva proposta.
should let-INF the Mary explain-INF the her proposal
'We should let Maria explain her proposal.'

b. He sentit en Roc cantar la Marsellesa.
hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG the Roc sing-INF the Marseillaise
'I have heard Roc sing the Marseillaise.'

The choice of IC or RIC can be subject to intralinguistic or dialectal factors that may come into play. For instance, in Catalan, there is a category of native speakers who simply reject the IC construction with perception and permissive verbs. There is a second class of speakers I consulted who accept pre- and post-infinitival subjects in complements of perception and permissive verbs, particularly when they are [+human]. Nevertheless, even this last category tends to prefer the RIC construction with these verbs. The same situation is observed for Spanish (cf. Hernanz 1999, NGLE 2009), with the important mention that corpus studies (cf. Roegiest

2003 and Enghels & Roegiest 2013) reveal the use of a high percentage of preinfinitival subjects in complements of perception verbs. Borgonovo (1994: 187) and Di Tullio (1998: 218) point out the marked character of RIC in the case of perception verbs in Spanish, claiming that this process is quite infrequent with *ver* 'see' and *oír* 'hear'. Di Tullio (1998: 206) also considers that the subjects in infinitival complements are sensitive to the lexical characteristics of the embedded verb. The preinfinitival position prevails with transitives and unergatives, while with unaccusatives it is preferred the post-infinitival one. Nevertheless, the two linguists conclude that restructuring, at least with perception verbs, has a strong facultative character. The studies I mentioned so far defend the high frequency of IC with perception verbs and a relative one with causative *dejar* 'let'. The conclusions of these studies are contradicted by the NGLE (2009: §26.10a). The pre-infinitival subject position is frequent in literary language (see the corpus studies mentioned above), but uncommon in oral language.

I should make the remark that, indeed, as Di Tullio (1998) observes, the uses of IC or RIC in Catalan seem to be conditioned or influenced by the transitivity of the embedded infinitive. There is a strong tendency in Catalan to opt for RIC whenever the infinitive is unaccusative, irrespective of the semantic nature of the subject:

(7) *Catalan*

a. He vist arribar el president. / ??He vist el president arribar.
see-PRES.PERF-1.SG arrive-INF the president / see-PRES.PERF-1.SG the president arrive-INF
'I have seen the president arrive.'

b. Veig caure la dolça nit / ??Veig la dolça nit caure.
see-PRES-1.SG fall the sweet night / see-PRES-1.SG the sweet night fall-INF
'I see the sweet night fall.'

In addition, native speakers of Spanish and Catalan prefer to use post-infinitival subjects whenever they have the features [-human] or [-animate] as in (25-26a, b). As a particularity, notice that Spanish embedded inanimate objects (26) can be personified and marked with DOM.

(8) *Catalan*

a.	Sentia	cantar	els	ocells.
	hear-PAST-1.SG	sing-INF	the	birds
	'I heard the birds sing.'			
b.	He vist	florir	els	ametllers.
	see-PRES.PERF-1.SG	bloom-INF	the	almond trees
	'I have seen the almond trees bloom.'			

(9) *Spanish*

a.	¿Usted no	ha oído	hablar	a	los	árboles?
	you not	hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG	talk-INF	DOM	the	trees?
	Haven't you heard the trees talk?'					

[CREA: Torcuato Luca de Tena, 1979]

b.	No	han visto	salir	el	sol	ni	a	la	luna desplazarse.
	not	see-PRES.PERF-1.SG	go out-INF	the	sun	nor	DOM	the	moon move-INF
	'They have not seen the sun come out or the moon move.'								

[CREA: Prensa, 1984]

Infinitival subjects are not, however, entirely restricted to this pattern. The example (10), taken from Alsina (2002: 2424), shows that even abstract or non-dynamic subjects can occur preinfinitivally.[16]

(10) *Catalan*

He vist	el	temps	fer	solcs	en	el	seu front.
see-PRES.PERF-1.SG	the	time	make-INF	wrinkle	in	the	his forehead
'I have seen time wrinkle his forehead.'							

[16] This property is directly linked to the presence of AcI constructions in Latin:

(i) audio diem venire, quo…
'I hear the day is coming, when…'

[Maraldi 1980: 50]

The strong preference for RIC with intransitive verbs can be also questioned in Spanish. NGLE (2009: §26.10) states that, in spite of the marked preference for post infinitival subjects (*Vi llegar a los niños* 'I saw the children arrive' as opposed to *Vi a los niños llegar* 'I saw the children arrive'), the use of pre-infinitival subjects in (11) has acceptable outcomes:

(11) *Spanish*

a. Veíamos la lluvia caer.
see-PAST-1.PL the rain fall-INF
'We saw the rain fall.'

b. Dejemos las cosas estar.
let-PRES-3.PL the things be-INF
'Let it be.'

c. Hacía al público temblar de emoción.
make-PAST-3.SG DOM-the audience tremble-INF of emotion
'He made the audience tremble with emotion.'

Even in a language like Spanish that allows both IC and RIC with causative and perception verbs, causative *hacer* 'make' is more likely to restructure. I agree with Hernanz (1999: 2257) who claims that <*hacer*-infinitive> establishes a tighter relation than <*ver*-infinitive>. After analysing various aspects of the syntax of these constructions, including questions of word order, she concludes that there may be a tighter relation between the causative verb and its complement than between the perception verb and its complement. This is suggested, among other things, by the tendency speakers have for always building verbal complexes with *hacer* 'make', whereas they prefer both RIC and IC with perception verbs. This difference is based in essence on the semantics of the matrix predicate. *ver* 'see' can select a nominal argument, while *hacer* 'make' cannot. Causative *hacer* 'make' is restricted to always selecting a clausal argument, i.e. an infinitival clause or a *that*-clause, resembling in this sense true ECM verbs of the *believe* type. In Hernanz's work, the burden is placed on the 'auxiliary' status the causative verb has, which blocks any possible interpretation of the embedded subject as the true object of the causative predicate. With respect to the second configuration in which *hacer* 'make' can take an infinitive complement, Hernanz (1999: 2248) claims that the

construction <*hacer*-infinitival subject-infinitive> (i.e., our IC) is more marked then the restructuring one. Citing Treviño's (1994) (Mexican Spanish) examples of causative constructions with preinfinitival subjects, Hernanz (1999: 2256) considers they have a marked linear word order and the use of "heavy" phrases appears to rescue the constructions from an, otherwise, unnatural derivation. NGLE (2009: §26.10b) corroborates Hernanz's conclusion, specifying that (12a) is the preferred, unmarked variant.

(12) a. La policía hizo abandonar el edificio a todo el mundo.
the police make-PAST-3.SG abandon-INF the building to all the people
b. ?La policía hizo a todo el mundo abandonar el edificio.
the police make-PAST-3.SG DOM all the people abandon-INF the building
'The police made everybody abandon the building.'

[NGLE 2009: 2009]

This observation opens the discussion of whether there is a kind of process of stylistic reordering that has implications for meaning and the linear ordering when the subject is 'heavy' (cf. Lozano & Mendikoetxea 2010). Indeed, Jaume Mateu (p.c.) also suggests that the occurrence of the infinitival subject in a preverbal position could be determined by stylistic factors or weight effects that place complex structures at the end of the clause. NGLE (2009: 26.10b) corroborates this observation and states that, generally, the possibility of building IC sequences with perception/causative verbs is favoured by the use of large complements, as *con tal variedad de matices* 'with such a variety of nuances' in (13): [17]

[17] Jaume Mateu's (p.c.) observation opens the discussion of whether there is a kind of process of stylistic reordering that affects meanings contrast and linear ordering when the subject is 'heavy' (cf. Lozano & Mendikoetxea 2010). Lozano & Mendikoetxea (2010: 480) claim that end-weight effects, which have received little attention in Spanish, should be less noticeable due to Spanish being a language that allows a relatively free word order. Nevertheless, (ia) shows that canonical word order appears to be less 'natural' than (ib), where the heavy object is in sentence-final position following the adjunct.

(i) a. #Vi [$_{NP}$ a los chicos de los que quería haberte contado varias historias] [$_{PP}$ en el parque].
'I saw the boys I would have liked to tell you stories about in the park.'
b. Vi [$_{PP}$ en el parque] [$_{NP}$ a los chicos de los quería haberte contado varias historias].
'I saw in the park the boys I would have liked to tell you stories about.'

Lozano & Mendikoetxea (2010) conclude that weight effects serve general processing and planning mechanisms, and that (end) weight appears to be a universal phenomenon, a linguistic manifestation of extralinguistic properties which probably interact in language design (see Chomsky 2005).

(13) Nunca había visto a este actor interpretar Hamlet con tal variedad de matices.
'I have never seen this actor play Hamlet with such a variety of nuances.'

Apart from the constituents that are long and heavy, constituents that are related to the information structure of the sentence, namely, focus, also tend to occur towards the end of the sentence.[18] In (31) the preinfinitival position is favoured by the contexts of contrastive focus (cf. Vivanco 2015):

(14) a. El miedo hizo a Nerea gritar, no a Miguel.
the fear make-PAST-3.SG DOM Nerea scream-INF not DOM Michael
'The fear made NEREA scream, not Miguel.'
[Vivanco 2015: 356, *Spanish*]

b. La huelga hizo el tren llegar tarde, no el avión.
the strike make-PAST-3.SG the train arrive-INF late not the plane
'the strike made the TRAIN arrive late, not the plane.'
[Vivanco 2015: 357, *Spanish*]

In Catalan one can obtain this sequence only with perception verbs, because of the lack of IC configurations with causative *fer* 'make':

(15) He vist la Maria cantar, i no en Joan.
see-PRES.PERF-1.SG the Mary sing-INF, and not the John
'I saw MARIA sing, and not Joan.'

The preinfinitival position is also said to disambiguate (cf. Cano 1981, NGLE 2009).The constituent *a su mujer* 'to his wife' in (16) can be interpreted as a causee as in *hizo que su mujer trajera un regalo* 'He made his wife bring a present' but also as a goal as in the interpretation

[18] The focus of the sentence is the point of information which is perceived as most salient and relevant from the speaker's point of view (cf. Cornilescu 2003: 69).

'He made someone bring a present to his wife'. Cano (1981) claims that the ambiguity disappears when the causee is place preinfinitivally.

(16) *Spanish*

a. Juan hizo traer un regalo a su mujer.
John make-PAST-3.SG bring-INF a present to his wife
'Juan made his wife bring a present/Juan made someone bring a present to his wife.'

b. Juan hizo a su mujer traer un regalo.
John make-PAST-3.SG DOM his wife bring-INF a present
'Juan made his wife bring a present.'

According to NGLE (2009: §26.10b) a second case in which IC is preferred in Spanish for stylistic reasons is the one exemplified in (17) in which a structure contains two similar *a*-DPs.

(34) a. ??Vio besar a su novio a su hija.
see-PAST-3.SG kiss-INF DOM his boyfriend to his daughter

b. Vio a su hija besar a su novio.
see-PAST-3.SG DOM his daughter kiss-INF DOM his boyfriend
'He saw his daughter kiss her boyfriend.'

[NGLE 2009: 2009, *Spanish*]

These constructions are not totally ruled out but they are not natural precisely because of their ambiguous connotation they provide. They can be marginally accepted.[19]

[19] Marginally, some speakers allow the 'a DP a DP' order, in Spanish, but also in other Romance languages. the second a-DP phrase can be a goal (i) or a directional phrase (ii):

(i) a. ?Je ferai porter ce message à Pierre$_{GOAL}$ à Jean$_{CAUSEE}$
I make-FUT-1.SG take-INF this message to Peter to John
'I will make Jean take this message to Pierre.'

[Ruwet 1972: 255, *French*]

b. ?? Facio scrivere una lettera a Giovanni$_{GOAL}$ a Maria$_{CAUSEE}$
make-PRES-1.SG write-INF a letter to John to Mary

2.3. Coping with the lexical-functional distinction

Treviño (1994: 69) argues that precisely the trait causative *hacer* 'make' has of entering the double IC – RIC configuration confirms the lexical status of this verb. Her proposal is to differentiate between French/Italian and Spanish in terms of distinct processes that originate in different lexical properties: in French and Italian, the causative and the embedded predicate fuse at the level of argument structure due to the auxiliary condition of the causative verb, while in Spanish, the causative is simply a lexical verb. I partially side with Treviño's opinion in the sense that I also uphold the view that causative *hacer* 'make' in Spanish is not as light as *fer* 'make' in Catalan, although I put off for now the implementation of this idea (see chapter 3, §4.1.3.).

A closer examination of the behaviour of causative and perception verbs tends to challenge the reduced semantic contribution of these verbs in Romance. Apart from the optionality of the double infinitival patterns in which they can occur, the following arguments question the functional nature of these predicates. First, they can select finite CP complements (*que*-indicatives (18a) and *que*-subjunctives (18b)) which set them apart from auxiliaries or modals (see also Hernanz 1999). If the light verb *v* would select a CP complement this would lead to a curious outcome, since the literature on *v* has shown that it usually selects a lexical verb (cf. Chomsky 1995) or a root (cf. Marantz 1997), never a CP.

(18) a. Va veure que el Dani havia tocat el clarinet.
see-PAST-3.SG that the Dani play-PAST.PERF-3.SG the clarinet.
'He saw that Dani had played the clarinet.'

b. Va fer que el noi pagués les entrades al concert.

'I make Maria write a letter to Giovanni.'

[Burzio 1986: 260, Italian]

(ii) Susana hará caminar a la oficina a José.
Susan make-FUT-3.SG walk-INF to the office DOM John
'Susana will make José walk to the office.'

[Zagona 2000: 29, *Spanish*]

make-PAST-3.SG that the boy pay-SUBJ.PAST-3.SG the tickets to-the concert
'She made the boy pay the tickets to the concert.'

Second, both causative and perception verbs contribute their own arguments to the structures under investigation, unlike modals, auxiliaries, or other light verbs. For example, their external subjects are fully specified and generated inside the matrix clause (i.e. they are not subject-to-subject raising verbs), and take as their complements non-finite clauses that denote event arguments.

Third, adverbs of manner, which typically modify an event referred to by a verb, may take scope over either the causative/perception verb or the infinitive, being interpreted as modifying the caused event or the causing event.[20]

(19) *Catalan*

a. L' ha fet callar ràpidament.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PRES.PERF-3.SG shut up-INF quickly
'He made him shut up quickly.'

b. L' ha vist armar l' embolic accidentalment.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see- PRES.PERF-3.SG provoke-INF the mess accidentally
'He saw him make a mess of it accidentally.'

In (36a), the manner adverbial phrase *ràpidament* 'quickly' can refer either to the event of causing someone to shut up or to the event of someone shutting up. Similarly, (19b) yields the same interpretation, since the perception verb construction also presupposes two separable events that can be independently subject to adverbial modification. Syntactically, this translates into the presence of two verbal projections to which the adverbs can adjoin (adverbs are adjoind to the projection they modify, cf. Sportiche 1988, Rizzi 1990, Guasti 1996b), giving rise to two construals: a VP headed by *fer* 'make' and another a different VP headed by the embedded verb.

[20] Alsina (1993: 244) gives other examples of adverbial interpretation in causative constructions, where the adverbs *sense por* 'without fear' and *a contracor* 'against one's will' can modify either the causative verb or the embedded predicate:

(i) a. He fet saltar la Maria sense por.
'I have made Mary jump without fear.'

b. He fet beure el vi a la Maria a contracor.
'I have made Mary drink the wine against her/my will.'

For that reason, perception and causative verbs behave more like lexical verbs and not like functional ones.

Fourth, they can be passivized, and passivization is expected with lexical verbs, not with functional ones (cf. Cinque 2006). Nevertheless, passivization with causatives and perception verbs in the two constructions I analyse is viewed as a marginal phenomenon, sometimes subject to dialectal restrictions and idiolectal variations. Bello (1847) previously noticed that passive constructions as those in (20) are rare in Spanish, and they imitate the (classical) Latin model.

(20) *Spanish*

a. Las flores fueron vistas marchitarse.
the flowers be-PAST-3.PL see-PAST.PART wither-INF-REFL
'The flowers were seen to wither.'

b. El reloj fue oído dar las doce.
the clock be-PAST-3.SG hear-PAST.PART give-INF the twelve
'The clock was heard to strike twelve.'

[Bello 1847: §1101]

NGLE (2009: 2013, §26.10m) refers to these cases of passivisation as having a colloquial use, and contrasts them with the reflexive passives (e.g. *Se veían pasar los trenes* 'The trains were seen to pass by', NGLE 2009: 2013), which are usually preferred.[21] In spite of being quite uncommon, I could find samples of passivization with both *see* (21) and *make* (22), in the literature on these verbs.

(21) *Spanish*

a. Un submarino atómico [...] ha sido visto navegar
a submarine atomic be-PRES.PERF-3.SG see-PAST.PART navigate-INF
en las aguas internacionales
in the water internacional

[21] Old Spanish used more frequently the periphrastic passive and NGLE (2009: 2013, §26.10m) records many examples of periphrastic passive with perception verbs. The same grammar gives examples of cases with *hacer* 'make' and *dejar* 'let' passives.

'An atomic submarine has been seen to navigate in the international waters.'

[CREA: Lucrecia Escudero, 1996]

b. José Martínez Rodríguez fue visto dirigirse a
José Martínez Rodríguez be-PAST-3.SG see-PAST.PART head-REFL-INF to
una casa cercana
one house close
'José Martínez Rodríguez was seen to head to a close house.'

[CREA: Prensa, 1991]

c. ?Maria fue vista robar el carro.
Mary be-PAST-3.SG see-PAST.PART steal-INF the car
'Maria was seen to steal the car.'

[Santorini & Heycock 1988: 54]

d. Los presos fueron vistos fugarse por la policía.
the prisoners be-PAST-3.PL see-PAST.PART run away-REFL-INF by the police
'The prisoners were seen to run away by the police.'

[Hernanz 1982: 283]

Apart from the *make* contexts (22), NGLE (2009: 2012) gives also examples of the *dejar*-periphrastic passives, which, as in the case of *see*-passives above, are quite rare and used in a rather colloquial fashion (the reflexive *se*-passive being preferred). The patterns are mainly recorded with embedded unaccusative and unergative verbs.[22]

(22) *Spanish*

a. Juan fue hecho venir.
John be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART come-INF
'Joan was made to come.'

[Cano 1981: 242]

[22] Passives in constructions with transitive complements are ungrammatical. According to Cano (1977), transitives do not passivize (**Fue hecho traer un regalo* 'He was made to bring a present'). The passive operation can only absorb accusative Case and leave the dative argument unaffected (cf. Folli & Harley 2007: 226).

b. El testigo fue hecho comparecer ante el tribunal.
the witness be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART appear-INF before the court
'The witness was made to appear in court.'

[Cano 1981: 242]

c. Ninguno de los dos proyectos fue hecho descarrilar.
none of the two projects be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART go off-INF the rails
'Neither of the two projects was made to run off the rails.'

[CREA: Prensa, 1997]

d. Fue hecho arrodillarse.
be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART kneel down-REFL-INF
'He was made to kneel down.'

[NGLE 2009: 2012]

e. Fue hecho callar por el capellán.
be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART shut up-INF by the priest
'He was made to shut up by the priest.'

[adapted from NGLE 2009: 2012]

f. Fue hecho renunciar de su intención.
be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART give up-INF of his intention
'He was made to give up his intention.'

[NGLE 2009: 2012]

What I meant with the data above is to show that causative and perception verbs in Spanish are able to passivise, a fact that argues against the poor nature of these verbs. Despite the general low productivity of passives with causative and perception verbs, Spanish seems to be more flexible than Catalan, a language in which the passivisation has a strongly marked character, quite restricted with *fer* 'make' and impossible with *veure* 'see'.[23] Alsina (1996, 2002) notices that Catalan marginally allows passivisation when the verbal complement is an

[23] Although it is attested in Old Catalan, as Bastardas's (2003) example proves:
(i) La princessa […] fou vista riure ne alegrar-se de cosa deguna
'The princess was not seen to laugh or cheer at anything.'

[Bastardas 2003: 115]

unaccusative verb. However, constructions based on transitive or unergative complements are totally ruled out (23b-c).

(23) *Catalan*

a. Els conills van ser fets sortir del cau.
the rabbits be-PAST-3.PL make-PAST.PART get out-INF from-the burrow
'The rabbits were made to get out from the burrow.'
[Alsina 1996: 187]

b. *El nen ha estat fet treballar molt.
the boy be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART work-INF a lot
'The boy was made to work a lot.'
[Alsina 2002: 2434]

c. *L' enginyer ha estat fet modificar el disseny.
the engineer be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART modify-INF the plan
'The engineer was made to modify the plan.'
[Alsina 2002: 2434]

Alsina (2002: 2435) suggests that the passive subject should bear the semantic role of theme or pacient of the infinitive to yield correct results otherwise the passive constructions are ungrammatical. He concludes that the restriction seems to be strictly semantic, untranslatable in syntactic terms.[24]

Folli & Harley (2007), on the other hand, try to capture the differences in passivisation from a syntactic perspective. Folli & Harley claim that *fare* 'make' in Italian takes different flavours (sometimes lexical, sometimes functional), depending on the specific syntactic environments in which it is found. [25] A fine-grained examination of this verb reveals that *fare* does not always behave as a light predicate in spite of the common approach, which sustains that

[24] Passivisation is not impossible altogether with causative verbs in Catalan. In chapter 2, §2.2., I give examples of contexts with long passives, in which the internal object of the infinitive turns into the subject of the passive.
[25] Contra what firmly defended Cinque (2006) and Zubizarreta (1985), for whom the possibility of *fare* of being part of a complex predicate confirmed its functional nature. At the opposite side, see Pitteroff & Campanini (2013) who take *fare* to be always a main verb in Italian analytic causative constructions.

fare 'make' and the infinitive fuse into a strong cohesive unit. [26] Folli & Harley build their argumentation on the contrast provided by the two structures in (24)

(24) a. Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina a Mario.
John make-PAST-3.SG repair-INF the car to Mario
'Gianni has made Mario repair the car.'

b. Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina da Mario.
John make-PAST-3.SG repair-INF the car by Mario
'Gianni has made the car be repaired by Mario.'

At this point it would be relevant to introduce what Kayne (1975) calls the *faire-par* (FP) causative construction (see 41b), also much debated in the literature.[27] FP (Sp. *por*/Cat. *per*/It. *da*) is not a typical passive construction because there is no copula and no past participle. Kayne (1975) shows that the difference in preposition bet FI and FP corresponds to several syntactic and semantic differences between the two types of causative constructions. The structural differences between the *a*-phrase and the *da*-phrase can be shown with respect to: idioms, inalienable possession, binding, the status of *a*/*da* phrases (*a*-phrase is an argument, while *da*-phrase is an adjunct), the optionality of the two phrases in FI and FP respectively, a certain class of non-passivisable transitive verbs, and the obligation/affectedness dimension, relevant in the FI case, but totally absent in the FP.

In order to better understand Folli & Harley's arguments, first I should say a few words about the syntactic structure of predicate configurations, the projection of arguments and the representation of verbal meaning. In the most traditional view, argument structure is a cover term for the information about the number of arguments of a given predicate, their semantic and syntactic type, and their hierarchical organization.

Argument structure, one of the pivotal concepts in modern linguistics, describes a range of phenomena related to the representation and realization of the structural relations between a verb and its arguments (cf. Hale & Keyser 1993 and ssq. work). It gives information about the

[26] As argued for Italian by Burzio (1981, 1986), Marcantonio (1981); Zubizarreta (1985, 1986), Santorini & Heycock (1988), Guasti (1993, 1996), inter alia.
[27] For FP analyses see Kayne (1975), Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980), Burzio (1981), Marcantonio (1981), Radford (1978), Legendre (1990), Guasti (1991b, 1993, 1996a, 2007), Watanabe 1993, Treviño (1994), Ippolito (2000), Tubino (2011), Saab (2015), Sheehan & Cyrino (2016), a.o.

number of arguments of a given predicate, a fact that has consequences for the overall organization of the clause. With respect to verbal meaning, one important facet of argument structure is the attempt to establish the contribution of the semantics of the lexical predicates or to determine the composition of syntactic pieces and configurations.[28] Back in the GB era, the semantic relations established between the type of situation denoted by a verb and its participants in the event were characterized by means of thematic roles (see Fillmore 1968, Gruber 1965, Jackendoff 1972, 1990, Emonds 1989, Dowty 1991, Reinhart 2002). They were not primitives of the semantic theory. θ-roles were inferred from the meaning of the predicates, so they acquired substance only in the context of the predicates that required them. The Minimalism dispenses with semantic formatives such as θ-roles (e.g. agent, theme, goal). These roles are understood now as relational notions obtained from the whole configuration.

Recently, it has been defended that, when deriving the information concerning the argument structure of a predicate, there is no need to invoke the conceptual meaning of the predicate, if the meaning of the verbal predicate can be (compositionally) read off an abstract structure (cf. Marantz 2005, Harley 2011). Linguists have tried to find "a more structured, more principled way, so that the observed regularities could potentially be explained by some grammatical, structural, uniform and predictable part of meaning, as opposed to the part [of] meaning contributed by general conceptual structure and world knowledge" (cf. Borik & Mateu 2014: 2). Therefore, it is not the lexical semantics of a verb that determines its syntax, but rather the functional structure in which a verb is inserted and the syntactic positions in which its arguments are realized. The structural meaning is not provided by the lexical predicate and it depends exclusively on the particular kind of configuration in which the verb is inserted. The verb root is inserted into the structure to provide it with conceptual semantic content. Roots are expected to freely appear in various configurations that are compatible with their meaning in some sense (cf. Mateu & Acedo-Matellán 2012). The final meaning of the construction is obtained compositionally. The syntactic structure and its functional heads determine the event structure and the number of arguments that are syntactically present.

Against this background, Folli & Harley (2007) propose two different flavours of the little *v*, v_{DO} and v_{CAUSE}, found in the two different types of Italian causative constructions, FI and

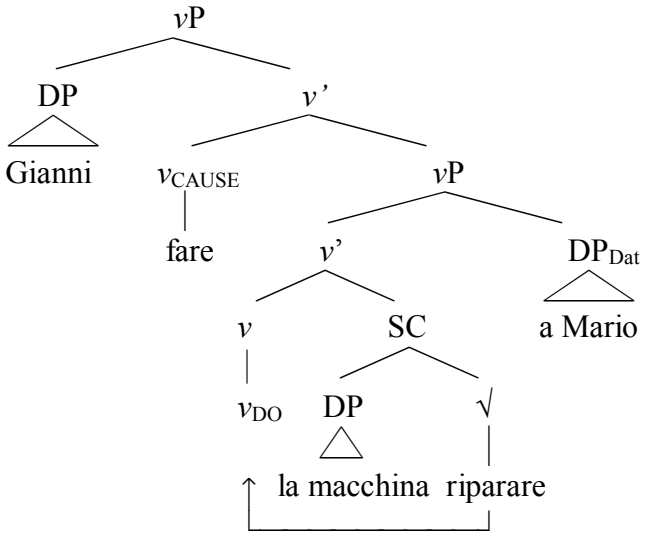
[28] Hale & Keyser's (1993, 2002) configurational theory of argument structure.

FP. In the FI construction (25), *v* is the expression of a v_{CAUSE} that selects a *v*P complement (whose Specifier is merged to the right). In the *faire-par* (FP) construction (26), *fare* is a variety of v_{DO}, whose external argument is always an agent. It selects a nominalised VP complement (following Marantz 1997), with no subject position. The logical subject of the construction is expressed as an adjunct *da*-phrase. The crucial difference between FI and FP is the absence of that external-argument-introducing vP in the latter (Folli & Harley 2007: 207). In the trees below, I illustrate the two types of *v* realized by *fare* in each environment.

(25) *FI*

a. Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina a Mario.
'Gianni has made Mario repair the car.'

b.

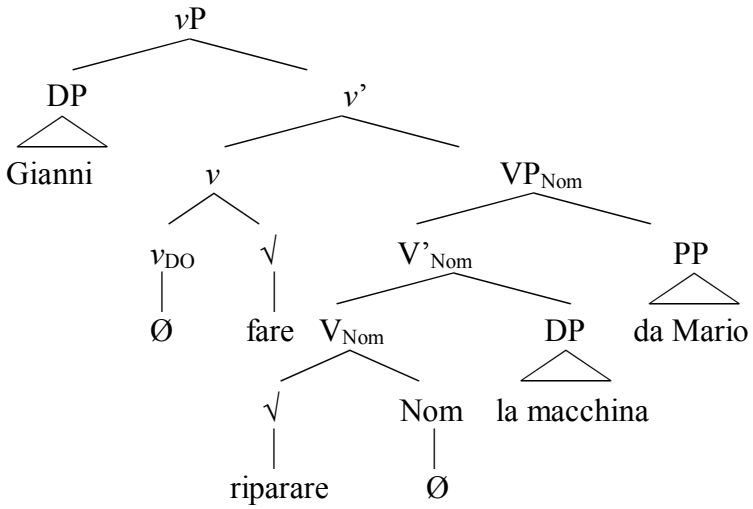


[adapted from Folli & Harley 2007: 230]

(26) *FP*

a. Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina da Mario.
'Gianni had the car repaired by Mario.'

b.



[adapted from Folli & Harley 2007: 231]

For now, I am concerned with passivisation facts, and I want to refer first to the problems that emerge from Folli & Harley's (2007) comparison of FPs to passive constructions.[29] Folli & Harley (2007: 231) claim that FI never passivizes because in this structure *fare* is a functional element that only spells out the light v_{CAUSE} content of this verb: "Because FI *fare* is not a root element but a functional vocabulary item that is deterministically inserted to realize the *v* head itself, it cannot be the input to passivization. There is no passive of an FI *fare*". In FP, instead, *fare* is a lexical element, a root. Once inserted into the derivation, it can modify a null v_{DO} head. Since it has lexical content, *fare* in FP is supposed to be able to passivise.[30] Folli & Harley (2007) claim that unaccusative causative constructions can passivise, while causatives of unergatives cannot. Building on Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002), they argue that causatives of unergatives presuppose the embedding of an agentive *v*P which is incompatible with their idea of passivisation. According to the analysis in (43), FPs cannot embed *v*Ps, they always take nominalised VP complements. In addition, only a light verb *fare* would select a vP complement, and not a main verb *fare*, which could be eventually passivized. Unaccusatives would not raise this problem, because they are by definition subjectless. Contrary to what Folli &

[29] Folli&Harley's (2007) analysis rise important questions regarding the derivation of the FI structure, and I will return to the details of their investigation in the context of Spanish causatives (see chapter 3, §4.1.2.).

[30] By analogy, Tubino (2011: 226-231), drawing heavily on F&H's (2007) work on Italian passives, claims that Spanish *hacer* 'make' is also a lexical verb associated with a root *√HAC-* in FP in Spanish, while in FI it acts like a functional verb v_{CAUSE}.

Harley (2007) claim, I believe this is empirically incorrect. Examples in (27) go against their analysis. Guasti (1993, 2007) claims that causatives that embed unergatives also passivize in Italian (they are also judged grammatical by native speakers).[31]

(27) *Italian*

a. Gianni è stato fatto parlare a lungo.
'Gianno is made to talk for a long time.'

[Guasti 1993: 31]

b. Molti bambini sono stati fatti piangere per nulla dal dottore.
'Many children have been made to cry for nothing by the doctor.'

[Guasti 2007: 150]

I am also concerned with the nature of the VP_{Nom} complement, which is not clear from the structure above. Folli & Harley (2007: 217) follow Guasti (1990) and Travis (1992) in proposing a nominalised complement for *fare* in FP, because of the similarity between deverbal nominals and infinitives with respect to their morphological form. Nevertheless, the authors do not elaborate on this idea and just assume in a note (Folli & Harley 2007: 217, fn.18) "that some nominalizing head has attached to the verb root, but we remain agnostic about its realization". I believe that a good part of their analysis hinges on this implementation of the FP construction, and in the absence of more details, the representation of a nominalised VP could be interpreted as a simple stipulation of their theory.

In spite of the unproductivity of this syntactic property of (Western) Romance languages, passivisation may be used as an argument in favour of (a certain) semantic content of the causative and perception predicates, along with other facts presented in the previous sections (degrees of verbal lightness, the occurrence of preinfinitival subjects, the embedding of CPs). Dealing with RIC and IC implies, to a relevant degree, the understanding of the nature of their matrix verbs.

[31] In this respect, Italian differs from Catalan. We do not have an answer for the lack of passivisation in Catalan constructions.

Given the preceding discussion, a preliminary conclusion to be drawn with respect to the data analysed above is that the RIC configuration with causative and perception verbs is *optional* in Romance, being obligatory only with the causative *fer* 'make' in Catalan, French and Italian. The choice between IC and RIC with the same classes of verbs can vary from speaker to speaker (due to intralinguistic differences) and it can be subject to stylistic or discourse factors. Apart from this, the variation among causative and perception verb constructions depends, to a certain extent, on the lexical properties of these verbs.

Often, the notions of restructuring/functional/light verb overlap in many important studies. There are nuances, of course, especially in the case of causative and perception verbs. Let's take the Catalan causative verb *fer* 'make' that only allows the RIC configuration. It is unlikely that this verb is always restructuring/functional because it clearly alternates with a lexical verb variant when takes a full clause complement. At the same time, restructuring verbs are lexically defective predicates, but not devoid completely of semantic content (cf. Svenonius 2008: 77), because they interact more closely with the lexical semantics and the argument structure of the lower predicate and this is the case of *fer* 'make'. I take it to be indeed 'lighter' than its Spanish counterpart and given the mixed nature of light verbs (some semantic information, but predicationally dependent, cf. Butt 1995), this verb would actually seem to be quite a good candidate to enter a light verb analysis., As Butt 1995 claims, light verbs are elements which serve to modulate the main predication in a subtle manner.

Overall, I am not attracted by the idea of associating Romance *make/let/perception* verbs to two versions (one lexical/one functional) or two different entries in the lexicon, in function of the structure they appear. I do not believe that the lexicon contains a series of the same verb, for example, Catalan fer_1, fer_2, fer_3, etc., to match all the contexts *fer* 'make' can occur in a causative structure. The same reasoning goes for perception verbs. The postulation of different entries of the same verb would be a complication of the theory. Drawing on Solà (2002: 237), I assume that causative and perception verbs are lexical verbs with a restructuring option (see also Amadas 1999 for aspectual verbs). I see these verbs as primarily lexical in nature.

The first part of following chapter continues the analysis of the empirical issues of the IC and RIC constructions looking into their main syntactic properties, with special focus on the behaviour of clitic climbing, long object movement, and *se*-passives. The second half of the chapter offers an overview of the main analyses, both classical and modern, and it comments on

their weak points as seen from a current minimalist approach. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the status of the defective infinitival complement, setting the groundwork for an ECM proposal elaborated in chapter 3.

3. Syntactic properties of infinitival complements

3.1. Clitic climbing

In the absence of overt accusative Case markers in Catalan and in the presence of an ambiguous situation created by the Case particle/preposition *a* 'to' in Spanish, the test of clitics is needed in order to identify the direct and indirect arguments in these constructions and the Case patterns they present. I start with the premise that clitics translate the features of the Case-assignment properties of both the matrix and the embedded verbs. In this section I only offer pattens that reflect the standard use of clitics.

3.1.1. Perception verbs

I take first Catalan examples with perception verbs that embed intransitive verbs (examples 28-29). If the complement is transparent, clitic movement to the matrix domain should be allowed. This fact is confirmed by the data in the examples below. The phenomenon involving clitics that move out of the embedded complement is known as *clitic climbing*. As shown in (1c-2c), the clitic representing the infinitival subject cannot remain *in situ* when dealing with embedded unergative and unaccusative predicates. The infinitival subject is assigned accusative, as cliticization and past participle agreement facts (30) prove.

(28) *Embedded unergative, Catalan*

a. Vaig veure córrer *en Joan*.
see-PAST-1.SG run-INF the John
'I saw Joan run.'

b. *El* vaig veure córrer.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG run-INF

'I saw him run.'

c. *Vaig veure córrer- *lo*.
see-PAST-1.SG run-INF- CL-M-3.SG-ACC

(29) *Embedded unaccusative, Catalan*

a. Vaig veure marxar en Joan.
see-PAST-1.SG leave-INF the John
'I saw Joan leave.'

b. *El* vaig veure marxar.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG leave-INF
'I saw him leave.'

c. *Vaig veure marxar- *lo*.
see-PAST-1.SG leave-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC

Participle agreement, which is still possible in contemporary Catalan, is also found in constructions with causatives and perception verbs embedding infinitives. If the pronoun refers to the subject, the participle agrees with the accusative pronoun, in formal registers or in certain dialects (cf. Bel 2002; GLC 2016): [32]

(30) a. Aquesta dona, l'he sentida cantar.

[32] Agreement with verbs of perception and causation *fer* 'make' is licit only when the accusative pronoun refers to the subject. There is no participial agreement when the pronoun is the direct complement of the infinitive (cf. Fabra1918: 94-96, Bel 2002: 1134, GLC 2016: 1018):

(i) a. Aquesta cançó, l'he sentit / *sentida cantar.
this song-F CL-F-3.SG-ACC-have heard / *heard-AGR.F.SG sing-INF
b. Aquestes danses, les hem vist /*vistes ballar.
these dances-F CL-F-3.PL-ACC have seen / seen-AGR.F.PL sing-INF

Nevertheless, the picture is not simple because of the contrast in (ii). Contrary to the rule, certain dialects (Balearic Catalan, for example) seem to allow participial agreement with the complement of the infinitive:

(ii) a. Jo les hi he sentides cantar (aquestes cançons, a na Maria)
I CL-F-3.PL-ACC CL-DAT see-PRES.PERF-F-3.PL sing-INF these songs-F to the Mary
[Rosselló 2002:]

b. Aquestes carpetes, les he fetes arxivar.
these files-F CL-F-3.PL-ACC make-PRES.PERF-F-3.PL close-INF
[Gavarró & Massanell 2013: 11]

this woman-F-3.SG CL-F-3.SG-ACC-hear-PRES.PERF-F-3.SG sing-INF
'This woman, I heard her sing.'

b. Aquestes noies, les he vistes ballar.
these girls-F-3.PL CL-F-3.PL-ACC see-PRES.PERF-F-3.PL dance-INF
'These girls, I saw them dance.'

[Bel 2002: 1137]

A particularity that Catalan has regards the possibility that clitics attach to the matrix verb pre or post-verbally (cf. GLC 2016):

(31) a. (La) vaig sentir(-la) remugar una bona estona,
CL-F-3.SG-ACC hear-PAST-1.SG-CL-F-3.SG-ACC grunt-INF a good while
la teva cunyada.
the your sister-in-law

[GLC 2016: 1017, *Catalan*]

In (32) the perception verb takes a transitive infinitive whose arguments attach to the higher host. [33] The dative-accusative alternation suggests that two verbs tend to form a complex predicate that inherits arguments from its members. In this complex predicate, the internal argument of the infinitive bears accusative form, while the subject of the infinitive turns into the third argument of the complex predicate *sentir cantar* 'hear sing'. This fact is suggested first by the use of the dative preposition *a* with the lexical DP and then by the appearance of dative clitic *li* in the pronominal form. Example (5d) illustrates the climbing of the entire clitic cluster to the matrix domain.

(32) *Embedded transitive, Catalan*

a. Vaig sentir cantar *una ària* *al* *tenor*.
hear-PAST-1.SG sing-INF an aria-F-SG to-the tenor-M-SG

[33] GLC (2016: 1020) gives also the following contexts, for causative/permissive verbs:

(i) No (me'ls) van deixar(-me'ls) veure, els meus nebots.
not CL-1.SG-ACC/DAT CL-3.PL-ACC let-PAST CL-1.SG-ACC/DAT CL-3.PL-ACC see-INF, the my nephews

'I heard the tenor sing an aria.'

b. *La* vaig sentir cantar *al* *tenor*.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC hear-PAST-1.SG sing-INF to-the tenor-M-SG
'I heard the tenor sing it.'

c. *Li* vaig sentir cantar *una* *ària*.
CL-M-3.SG-DAT hear-PAST-1.SG sing-INF an aria-F-SG
'I heard him sing an aria.'

d. *La* *hi* vaig sentir cantar.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC CL-M-3.SG-DAT hear-PAST-1.SG sing-INF
'I heard him sing it.'

References to the formation of verbal complexes based on causative and perception verbs taking bare infinitives as their complements are mentioned in the most important Spanish grammars (Bello 1847, GRAE 1931, RAE 1973, NGLE 2009). Although some of these analyses are not well elaborated, I should remark the interest showed to these constructions. Mention to the formation of complex predicates one can find especially in Bello (1847) and NGLE (2009). Bello (1847: § 1100), for instance, gives the examples in (33) and argues, using the test of clitics, that *oigo sonar* 'hear sing' and *vimos arder* 'see burn' taken as a complex verb assign accusative to *las campanas* 'the bells' and *el bosque* 'the forest', respectively. The accusative clitic climbs out of the embedded clause and attaches to the matrix host, as in the Catalan constructions above.

(33) *Spanish*

a. Oigo sonar *las* *campanas*.
hear-PRES-1.SG ring-INF the bell-F-PL
'I hear the bells ring.'

b. *Las* oigo sonar.
CL-F-3.PL-ACC hear-PRES-1.SG ring-INF
'I hear them ring.'

c. Vimos arder *el* *bosque*.
see-PAST-1.PL burn-INF the forest-M-SG
'We saw the forest burn.'

d. *Lo* vimos arder.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.PL burn-INF
'We saw it burn.'

A property of Spanish worth mentioning in the context of the constructions I investigate is the presence of *a* 'to', a preposition that usually marks definite animate DPs (cf. Laca 1995, Torrego 1998, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, López 2012, Ordóñez & Roca 2018), a phenomenon known as *Differential Object Marking* (DOM) since the seminal work of Bossong (1985). This preposition *a* 'to' morphologically bears the same form in dative as in accusative, which is a possible source of confusion and which has given rise to many theories about its origins (see Laca 2006, Fábregas 2013, Ordóñez & Roca 2018).

In simple sentences, *a* 'to' introduces both accusative and dative DPs (34), and it is usually analysed as a Case marker (see Demonte 1991, Torrego 1998, López 2012, etc). In Spanish causative and perception verb constructions (and in contrast with Catalan facts), preposition *a* will always mark definite animate DPs, independent of the transitivity of the embedded verb.[34]

(34) *Spanish*
a. Vi al niño / a Juan.
see-PAST-1.SG DOM-the child-ACC / DOM John-ACC
'I saw the child/Juan.'
b. Vi el coche / *al coche

[34] The use of accusative *a* is not only restricted to contexts of animate and definite DP objects, but it is also obligatory with other objects that are specific (strong quantifiers, pronouns, partitives) as well as with complements doubled by dative clitics, small clause subjects and raised objects. The semantic conditions that are associated with DOM are often related to animacy, definiteness and the (argument) structure of the verb (see Fábregas 2013). Aissen (2003: 436-437) proposes the definiteness and animacy scales below and claims that the higher in prominence a direct object is, the more likely it is to be overtly case-marked.

(i) Definiteness scale: personal pronoun > proper noun > definite NP > indefinite specific NP > non-specific NP
(ii) Animacy scale: human > animate > inanimate
[adapted from Aissen 2003: 437]

Ormazabal & Romero (2013) argue that the semantic notions of definiteness and animacy (and other concepts such as specificity and topicality) that are tightly connected to the presence or absence of *a,* depend on the syntactic configurations where the DOM object is licensed.

see-PAST-1.SG the car-ACC / a-the car

'I saw the car.'

c. Le di un libro a Juan.

CL-M-3.SG-DAT give-PAST-1.SG a book-ACC to John-DAT

'I gave a book to Juan.'

Spanish accusative *a*-marked objects have the same morphological form as dative *a*-objects, to which I add the syncretism in form found with directional *a* 'to' (cf. Fábregas 2013). Given the confusing scenarios the use of *a* can create, we can check the Case of the arguments in (35) with the help of passivization, which is restricted to direct objects (35a) and prohibited with indirect objects (35b), and clitics (35c, d), which have different morphological forms for each Case.

(35) *Spanish*

a. El niño/Juan fue visto.

'The child/Juan was seen.'

b. *Juan fue dado un libro.

'Juan was given a book.'

c. Lo vi.

'I saw him.'

d. Le di un libro.

'I gave him a book.'

Going back to perception verb constructions, (36) and (37) illustrate contexts of intransitive complementation to perception verbs. As in the case of Catalan, the clitic always climbs out of the embedded intransitive complement to the matrix domain, otherwise it would give ungrammatical results (as in 36c-37c). The clitic corresponding to the embedded subject never attaches to the infinitive.

(36) *Embedded unergatives, Spanish*

a. Vi correr *a* *Juan.*

see-PAST-1.SG run-INF DOM John

'I saw Juan run.'

b. *Lo* vi correr.

CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG run-INF

'I saw him run.'

c. *Vi correr*lo*.

see-PAST-1.SG run-INF- CL-M-3.SG-ACC

(37) *Embedded unaccusatives, Spanish*

a. Vi salir *a* *Juan*.

see-PAST-1.SG go out-INF DOM John

'I saw Juan go out.'

b. *Lo* vi salir.

CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG go out-INF

'I saw him go out.'

c. *Vi salir*lo*.

see-PAST-1.SG go out-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC

In transitive infinitive dependents (38), the arguments of the infinitive follow the same pattern as those in the verbal complex above-mentioned (see the Catalan examples) and behave as belonging to the matrix domain. When both object clitics climb to the matrix domain, they form a dative-accusative clitic cluster, in our case *se las* (11d):[35]

(38) *Embedded transitives, Spanish*

a. Vi comprar *flores* *a* *María*.

see-PAST-1.SG buy-INF flower-F-PL to Mary

'I saw María buy flowers.'

[35] Spanish disallows the clitic combinations {le/s lo/s}, {le/s la/s}, and *se* always replaces the dative clitics le/s (see Bonet 1994; 1995, Ordóñez 2002). MRAE (2010: §16.4.2a) explains that "en presencia de los pronombres de acusativo, los de dativo adquieren la forma invariable *se* si ambos presentan rasgos de tercera persona" ("in the presence of accusative pronouns, dative pronouns take the invariable form *se* if both of them have 3rd person features" -translation mine, EC).

b. *Las* vi comprar *a María*.
CL-F-3.PL-ACC see-PAST-1.SG buy-INF to Mary
'I saw María buy them.'

c. *Le* vi comprar *flores*.
CL-F-3.SG-DAT see-PAST-1.SG buy-INF flower-F-PL
'I saw her buy the flowers.'

d. *Se* *las* vi comprar.
CL-F-3.SG-DAT CL-F-3.PL-ACC see-PAST-1.SG buy-INF
'I saw her buy them.'

Clitic placement in transitive contexts can be a source of structural ambiguity, as some works have pointed out (see also Alarcos 1970, Labelle 1996, Hernanz 1999, Alsina 2002, Ciutescu 2013a, GLC 2016). The embedded subject in transitive complements to perception verbs does not always surfaces as a dative object and the embedded object clitic can remain *in situ*, and this fact is usually correlated with the option perception verbs have of entering IC, or, in other words, of taking an infinitival complement with preverbal subject, as in (39) below.

(39) *Catalan*

a. He vist *en Joan* comprar *la revista*.
see-PRES.PERF-1.SG the John buy-INF the magazine-F-SG
'I have seen Joan buy the magazine.'

b. *L'* he vist comprar- *la*.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PRES.PERF-1.SG buy-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC
'I have seen him buy it.'

Spanish

c. Vi a María comprar flores.
see-PAST-1.SG DOM Mary buy-INF flower-F-PL
'I saw María buy flowers.'

d. *La* vi comprar*las*.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG buy-INF-CL-F-3.PL-ACC

'I saw her buy them.'

The data seem to suggest that pronominalizing the subject of the infinitive in transitive complements to perception verbs does not necessarily presuppose complex predicate formation. The subject and the object of the infinitive receive accusative and pronominalize as accusative, as the use of *la* and *las* clearly show. In the *in situ* variant, and the object clitic can stay in the complement, as in (39b, d).

According to the GLC (2016), when the embedded clause has a direct object and an indirect complement, speakers prefer the preinfinitival position. Even more often, the speakers choose to express the infinitival subject through an accusative or a dative clitic as in (40b).

(40) a. Vaig sentir la veïna explicar contes als nens petits.
hear-PAST-1.SG the neighbour tell-INF tales to-the children young
'I heard the neighbour tell the children tales.'

b. La/Li vaig sentir explicar contes als nens petits.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC/CL-3.SG-DAT hear-PAST-1.SG tell-INF tales to-the children young
[GLC 2016: 1018, *Catalan*]

The variation found in the positioning of the embedded subject reflects, in fact, a difference in the derivation of these structures. This is the claim Alsina (2002) makes in *Gramàtica del català contemporani* (GCC). Alsina examines the two constructions in which perception verbs can embed an infinitive and identifies two patterns. One is a *non-argumental object control construction* (41a), whose matrix object controls the embedded subject of the infinitive. The infinitival subject receives no semantic role from the matrix verb, but exclusively from the infinitive. The second pattern (41b) is a *causative construction*, similar to the one found in Catalan with causative *fer* 'make', in which the matrix predicate and the infinitive form a *causative periphrasis* (cf. Alsina 2002: 2425). As already said and illustrated, the order in (41a) would be excluded with Catalan *fer* 'make', which would give ungrammatical results.

(41) *Catalan*

a. Vaig veure *en* *Josep* córrer darrere l'autobús.

see-PAST-1.SG the Joseph run-INF behind the-bus
'I saw Josep run to catch the bus.'

b. Vaig veure córrer *en* *Josep* darrere l'autobús.
see-PAST-1.SG run-INF the Joseph behind the-bus
'I saw Joseph run to catch the bus.'

Alsina (2002: 2427) argues in favour of a structural difference between (41a) and (41b), although this is not obvious from cliticization facts. The infinitival subject receives accusative in both situations (*El*$_{ACC}$ *vaig veure córrer darrere l'autobús* 'I saw him run to catch the bus'). The differences are not perceivable when dealing with embedded intransitives (as in (41a, b) where we have an unergative infinitive), therefore a transitive infinitive could create an appropriate environment to capture the contrast. Alsina (2002: 2427) states that the presence of *li* (the dative clitic) or *la/lo* (the accusative clitic) in for the infinitival subject in (42) is due to the availability of the two above-mentioned configurations. The choice of *li* is evidence for the formation of a verbal complex, i.e. the *causative construction* in Alsina's terms, while the choice of *la/lo* is a sample of the non-argumental object control construction (again, in Alsina's words).

(42) a. No m' agradaria sentir-li / -lo
not CL-1.SG-ACC like-COND-1.SG hear-INF-CL-3.SG-DAT / CL-M-3.SG-ACC
insultar els meus amics.
insult-INF the my friends
'I wouldn't like to hear him insult my friends.'

b. La / li vaig veure reparar un rellotge en cinc minuts.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC / CL-3.SG-DAT see-PAST-1.SG repair-INF a clock in five minutes
'I saw her repair the clock in five minutes.'

[Alsina 2002: 2427, *Catalan*]

In conclusion, Alsina claims the IC and RIC structures are fundamentally different, although the test of clitics would favour a possible double analysis only in the case of the transitive complements. The terminology Alsina uses can be deceiving. It is not clear why he chooses to assimilate the perception verb construction to the causative one. In addition, he does

not elaborate on the control pattern and the legitimacy of a non-argumental object (i.e. the infinitival subject) is questionable under a classical control analysis.

3.1.2. Causative verbs

For Catalan causative verbs in Catalan, I identify the same clitic patterns I recorded for perception verbs (see also Villalba 1992; 1994, Alsina 1993; 1996b, Amadas 2002, GCC 2002, GLC 2016). The main difficulty of Case marking in Catalan causatives is once again the dative-accusative variation of the embedded subject, determined by the transitivity of the embedded verb.The behaviour of clitics, both in configurations with transitive infinitives and intransitive ones, indicate that these clauses behave as a single Case-marking domain. Applying the same reasoning as in the previous subsection to the scenarios with Catalan *fer*-infinitive, I expect to find clitic climbing to the matrix domain of the corresponding object clitics. Indeed, the data in (43 through 45) show this is correct. As in the case of perception verb complements, when the infinitive is intransitive, the object clitic always climbs out of the complement, as the ungrammaticality in (43c-44c) show (see also Villalba 1992, 1994):

(43) *Embedded unergative, Catalan*

a. El Joan ha fet plorar *la Maria*.
the John make-PRES.PERF-1.SG cry-INF the Mary
'Joan made Maria cry.'

b. El Joan *l'* ha feta plorar.
the John CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PRES.PERF-F-1.SG cry-INF
'Joan made her cry.'

[Villalba 1992: 366]

c. *El Joan ha fet plorar-*la*.
the John make-PRES.PERF-1.SG made cry-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC

(44) *Embedded unaccusative, Catalan*

a. El Joan va fer venir *la Maria*.
the John make-PAST-3.SG come-INF the Mary

'Joan made Mary come.'

b. El Joan *la* va fer venir.
the John CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG come-INF
'Joan made her come.'

c. *El Joan va fer venir-*la*.
the John make-PAST-3.SG come-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC

(45) *Embedded transitive, Catalan*

a. El professor fa tocar *la flauta a la Montse*.
the teacher make-PRES-3.SG play-INF the flute-F-SG to the Montse
'The teacher makes Montse play the flute.'

b. El professor *la* fa tocar *a la Montse*.
the teacher CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PRES-3.SG play-INF to the Montse
'The teacher makes Montse play it.'

c. El professor *li* fa tocar *la flauta*.
the teacher CL-F-3.SG-DAT make-PRES-3.SG play-INF the flute-F-SG
'The teacher makes her play the flute.'

d. El professor *la* *hi* fa tocar.
the teacher CL-F-3.SG-ACC CL-F-3.SG-DAT make-PRES-3.SG play-INF
'The teacher makes her play it.'

Recall that, unlike Catalan, Spanish allows for two positions for the infinitival subject of complements to causative *hacer* 'make' and *dejar* 'let', and manifests the same word order flexibility found in configurations with perception verbs.[36] The double configuration is attested in the majority of Spanish dialects (with certain restrictions in Rioplatense Spanish, cf. Bordelois 1974; 1988). The following constructions are meant to illustrate these two configurations, indicated by a superficially different placement of the infinitival subject, with all classes of embedded verbs.

(46) *Embedded transitives, Spanish*

[36] Remember that Catalan permits this double configuration only for causative *deixar* 'let'.

a. Juan hizo abrir la puerta *a Pedro*.
John make-PAST-3.SG open-INF the door to Peter
'Juan made Pedro open the door.'

[Treviño 1992: 310]

b. Hizo *a Sofía* leer en voz alta el document.
make-PAST-3.SG DOM Sophie read-INF in voice loud the document
'He made Sophie read the document loudly.'

[MRAE 2010: §26.5.1]

(47) *Embedded unergatives, Spanish*

a. Mozart no hizo cantar así *a las sopranos* de su tiempo.
Mozart not make-PAST-3.SG sing-INF like this DOM the sopranos of his time
'Mozart did not make the sopranos of his time sing like that.'

[CREA: Prensa, Chile, 2000]

b. Él hizo *a la gente* cantar, bailar y aplaudir.
he make-PAST-3.SG DOM the people sing-INF dance-INF and applaud-INF
'He made people sing, dance and applaud.'

[CREA: Prensa, Mexico, 1996]

(48) *Embedded unaccusatives, Spanish*

a. Hice salir *a Juan*.
make-PAST-1.SG go out-INF DOM John
'I made John go out.'

[Aissen 1979: 48]

b. [H]izo *a la muchachita* salir corriendo.
make-PAST-3.SG DOM the little girl go out-INF running
'He made the little girl rush outside.'

[CREA: Belli Gioconda, 1992]

Standard patterns of cliticization of causative construction are given in (49 through 51). The dative clitic *le* and the accusative clitics *la/lo* climb out of the complement to the main clause, attaching to *hacer* 'make':

(49) *Embedded transitives, Spanish*

a. Su fama de torero guapo y elegante *le*
his fame of toreador handsome and elegant CL-M-3.SG-DAT
ha hecho conocer a muchas mujeres.
make-PRES.PERF-1.SG meet-INF DOM many women
'His fame of being a handsome and elegant toreador made him meet many women.'

[CREA: Prensa, 1990]

b. *Le* hizo escribir un artículo.
CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST-3.SG write-INF an article
'S/He made him write an article.'

[CREA: Prensa, 1995]

(50) *Embedded intransitives, Spanish*

a. A su madre *la* hizo llorar con lágrimas de sangre.
DOM his mother CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG cry-INF with tears of blood
'His mother, he made her cry bloody tears.'

[CREA: Fernando Arrabal, 1982]

b. Este estúpido juego de palabras *la* hizo reír hasta
this stupid play of words CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG laugh-INF until
recuperar la inocencia.
recover-INF the innocence
'This stupid word game made her laugh till she regained her innocence.'

[CREA: Fernando del Paso, 1977]

(51) *Embedded unaccusatives, Spanish*

a. *Lo* hizo llegar a la Casa Blanca.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG arrive-INF to the House White
'He made him reach the White House.'

[CREA: Prensa, 1997]

b. [S]u ausencia […] *la* hizo caer en la melancolía.

his absence CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG fall-INF in the melancholy
'His absence made her fall in melancholy.'

[CREA: Juan Campos Reina, 1990]

As previously noticed in perception verb contexts, the embedded subject clitics never attach to the infinitive verb. The impossibility of attaching clitics to the unergative/unaccusative infinitive in causative constructions confirms the fact that they always target the host verb *hacer* 'make'.

(52) *Spanish*

a. *Hicieron bailar*la* (a Julia).
make-PAST-3.PL dance-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC (DOM Julia)

[Hernanz 1999: 2249]

b. *Hizo llegar*la*.
make-PAST-3.SG arrive-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC

The behaviour of clitics in Spanish causatives embedding transitive complements parallels once again the situation pointed out for contexts with perception verbs. Given (26), I can determine two clitic climbing patterns (see also Strozer 1976, Alarcos 1980, Treviño 1994). While the dative clitic *le* standing for the infinitival subject must always climb, the embedded object either may cliticize on *hacer* or may remain *in situ* (26b) (cf. Torrego 2010, MRAE 2010). When both the subject clitic and the object clitic climb to the matrix domain, we get the clitic cluster in (53c):[37]

(53) *Transitive complements, Spanish*

a. Hizo abrir *las ventanas al conserje*.
make-PAST-3.SG open-INF the windows to-the caretaker
'He made the caretaker open the windows.'

[37] The clitic cluster {le lo} is an impossible combination. As a result, it should become {se lo} as in *Le hizo leerlo* (He made him read it)> **Le lo hizo leer* > *Se lo hizo leer* (cf. RAE 2010)

b. *Le* hizo abrir*las*.
CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST-3.SG open-INF-CL-F-3.PL-ACC
'He made him open them.'

c. *Se* *las* hizo abrir.
CL-M-3.SG-DAT CL-F-3.PL-ACC make-PAST-3.SG open-INF
'He made him open them.'

[Alarcos 1980: 188]

Although I do not want to touch on the issue of dialectal variation in Spanish causatives (this would take me too far afield) but I must note here that *dejar*-causatives allows the embedded subject to surface also as a direct object clitic more easily than *hacer*-causatives, as the asymmetry in (54c-55) shows (examples in (54) are from Alarcos 1980: 188).

(54) a. Dejaron tocar *el piano* *a* *la* *niña*.
let-PAST-3.PL play-INF the piano to the little girl
'They let the little girl play the piano.'

b. *Le* dejaron tocar*lo*.
CL-F-3.SG-DAT let-PAST-3.PL play-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC

c. *La* dejaron tocar*lo*.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC let-PAST-3.PL play-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC

d. *Se* *lo* dejaron tocar.
CL-F-3.SG-DAT CL-M-3.SG-ACC let-PAST-3.PL play-INF
'They let her play it.'

(55) ?*La* hicieron tocar*lo*.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.PL play-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC

Recall that *dejar* 'let' can also build constructions with preinfinitival subjects, a position that can be directly probed by the the higher *v*-V_{dejar} cluster that can assign Case to the infinitival subject, which is eventually interpreted as an accusative object. Taking into account that NGLE

(2009: §16.13) states that there is a preference for speakers of Peninsular Spanish to use dative clitics in causative constructions with transitive complements even in non-leísta dialects.

Briefly summarizing the conclusions I have arrived at in this subsection, the phenomena of clitic climbing is beyond any doubt strong evidence in favour of the transparent character of the infinitival complement. Once I assume that the frontiers between the matrix clause and the embedded sentence have dissolved I expect to have clitic climbing to the main clause. At the same time, I cannot ignore the cases that show speaker variation, that seem controversial or make an exception from the rule. Importantly, at least two issues should be accounted for. The first one refers to the the optional vs. the obligatory character of restructuring/complex predicate formation. I have shown that in the case of Catalan *fer*-causatives the behaviour of the clitics seems to suggest that RIC is compulsory. The second issue has to do with establishing the head responsible for Case assignment. Object clitics that stay attached to infinitives question the lack of Case-assigning properties of these verbs in the complements of causative and perception verbs in Catalan and Spanish.

3.2. Long object movement

Long object movement (or simply *long passive* as in Rizzi 1976; 1982, Burzio 1986, Cinque 1998) is available to those structures that present restructuring effects. The infinitive behaves again as a transparent domain that allows the raising of an internal argument of the infinitive to the position of the matrix subject. Passivisation of the matrix predicate makes the embedded object to move to matrix subject position and agree with the matrix verb. The matrix verb is the one bearing the passive morphology, and not the infinitive.

Spanish (Treviño 1994, Tubino 2011), Catalan (Alsina 1996, Amadas 2002), Italian (Rizzi 1982, Burzio 1986) and French (although quite marginally; see Rowlett 2007: 782) have this phenomenon, but Romanian does not, which is easily explained if we take into consideration the lack of complex predicate formation in modern Romanian.

(56) *Spanish*

a. El palacio fue hecho reconstruir por el presidente.
the palace was made rebuild-INF by the president

'The president had the palace built again.'

[Treviño 1994: 78]

b. El edificio fue hecho derribar por Juan.
the building was made demolish-INF by John
'Juan had the building demolished.'

[Tubino 2011: 146]

(57) *Catalan*

a. La torre de vigilància va ser feta construir pel rei de França.
the tower of surveillance was made-AGR build-INF by king of France
'The king of France had the surveillance tower built.'

[Amadas 2002: 142]

b. Aquests llibres van ser fets llegir als estudiants per la Gemma.
these books were made-AGR read-INF to-the students by the Gemma
'Gemma had these books read by the students.'

[Amadas 2002: 142]

Long passives are sensitive to intervening subjects (cf. Wurmbrand 2001), hence they only take place when nothing prevents the embedded object to raise. Wurmbrand (2001) argues that long object movement resembles the impersonal passive in the sense that there is no thematic relation between the internal object of the infinitive and the verb that undergoes passivisation.

Rizzi (1982) notes that the passive derivation applies after the verbal complex is formed (58):

(59) *Italian*

a. Piero ha fatto mangiare quel dolce anche a Mario.
'Piero has made even Mario eat that cake.'

b. Quel dolce è stato fatto mangiare anche a Mario da Piero.
'Piero had that cake eaten even by Mario.'

[Rizzi 1982: 39]

In the same spirit, Amadas (2002: 143) observes that the process of passivisation cannot be dissociated from the argumental relations established inside the complex predicate. Namely, passivization takes place if the verbal complex includes an external argument and a direct internal one. A first condition for the passivisation of these constructions is that the infinitive should be a transitive verb whose internal argument can appear as a subject in the passivized construction. However, notice that, quite surprinsingly, the *by*-phrase does not refer to the external argument of the embedded infinitive, but to the external argument of the causative predicate (*el rei de França* 'the king of France', *la Gemma* 'Gemma', in the Catalan examples).[38] The infinitival subject is omitted in the first sentence (60a), but it is present in the Italian example (60) and in (60b) below. The infinitival subject is interpreted as the third argument of the causative construction and therefore it bears dative Case.

(60) *Catalan*

a. El rei de França va fer construir la torre de vigilància.
'The king of France made (someone) build the surveillance tower.'

b. La Gemma va fer llegir aquests llibres als estudiants.
'Gemma made the students read those books.'

What we see in the structures (59) and (60) is the fact that the passivized causative is able to assign Case to arguments that are not thematically linked to it in any way. Passive is a process that presupposes the absorption of the external θ-role (cf. Chomsky 1982, Jaeggli 1986), blocking accusative Case assignment to the internal argument, which must be assigned nominative. As a result, the subject of the causative is demoted and interpreted as an adjunct *by*-phrase. The external argument of the infinitive is incapable of occurring as the subject of the passive because it already suffered the consequences of restructuring or complex predicate formation. Remember that long passives are sensitive to intervening subjects, and take place when nothing prevents the infinitival object to raise.

[38] The same argument goes for the Spanish examples in (59).

I take long object movement to be a sign of absence of any barriers between the two clauses, a transparent domain that allows movement from the complement to the matrix clause, under certain conditions.

3.3. Impersonal *se* –passives

Long passives with causatives are quite rare in actual speech, yet they are attested in the literature. The passive interpretation is usually obtained with the help of impersonal or reflexive *se*-passives, which are more common (cf. M. L. Hernanz, p.c.).

(61) *Spanish*

a. ? Las maquinas fueron hechas trabajar todo el verano.
the machines were made work-INF whole the summer
'They had the machines work the whole summer.'

b. Se hicieron trabajar las maquinas todo el verano.
SE make-PAST-3.PL work-INF the machines whole the summer
'The machines were made to work the whole summer.'

Impersonal *se*-passives and reflexive *se*-passives with causative and perception verb constructions are characterized by the presence of the clitic *se* instead of the passive morphology.[39] *Se* is a passivisation marker (cf. Mendikoetxea 2012: 482). As we will see, the two forms of *se*-passives do not have the same properties and behave differently with respect to Case and agreement.[40]

This particular type of impersonal/passive *se* was analysed as an arbitrary subject and was labelled as ARB SE, a functional category heading its own projection (as in Mendikoetxea 1990). In simple transitive constructions with ARB SE, the verb may or may not agree with its

[39] Reflexive passives were first observed by Aissen & Perlmutter (1976) for restructuring verbs such as *querer* 'want', *empezar* 'begin', *terminar* 'finish', *acabar* 'end', etc.

[40] For more discussion on (impersonal and reflexive) *se*-constructions and proposals of analyses, consult Zubizarreta (1982), Hernanz & Rigau 1984, Campos (1989), Bartra (2002), and, especially, Mendikoetxea (1990, 1999, 2012) and Dobrovie -Sorin (2007).

object (examples (62) are taken from Mendikoetxea 1990: 316). [41] This phenomenon is also present in other Romance languages.[42]

(62) *Spanish*

a. Se leen los libros.
SE read-PRES-3.PL the book.PL
'Books are read.'

b. Se lee los libros.
SE read-PRES-3.SG the book.PL
'One reads the books.'

In (62a), the passive *se* absorbs the accusative Case of the transitive verb. For that reason, the internal argument is assigned nominative and triggers agreement. (62b) is an instance of impersonal *se* in which *se* absorbs nominative Case, and accusative Case is assigned to the DP object 'los libros'. The two forms of reflexive passives are represented schematically in (63) below.

(63) a. $[_{NP}\ e_i]\ [_{INFL}\ SE_{ACC}]\ [_{VP}\ V\ NP_i\ ] \rightarrow$ passive *se*

b. $[_{NP}\ e_i]\ [_{INFL}\ SE_{iNOM}]\ [_{VP}\ V\ (NP)] \rightarrow$ impersonal *se*

[adapted from Mendikoetxea 2012: 482]

In reflexive passives of causative and perception verb construction, accusative objects, as in the case of simple transitive clauses, can turn into the subject of the passive *se* construction, as noticed by Alarcos (1970: 190) and Hernanz (1999). The internal objects of the infinitival verbs is assigned nominative and agrees with the matrix verb.

(64) *Passive* se *with causative verbs*

[41] Mendikoetxea (2012: 478) defines the element *se* in (34) as «some sort of nonalternating INFL-related element, a morphological marker of 'passivization' or 'impersonalization'».
[42] Dobrovie-Sorin (2007) claims that nominative *se* developed via a diachronic reanalysis from accusative *se* only in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, but not in French and Romanian.

a. Se hicieron sonar las sirenas.
SE make-PAST-3.PL call-INF the sirens
'Sirens were called.'

[Hernanz 1999: 2255]

(active version: *Hizo sonar las sirenas* 'S/He made the sirens call')

b. Se dejaron morir las hogueras.
SE let-PAST-3.PL die-INF the bonfires
'The bonfires were dampening down.'

[Alarcos 1970: 190]

(active version: *Dejó morir las hogueras* 'S/He let the bonfires die')

(65) *Passive* se *with perception verbs*

a. Se escuchan zumbar las abejas.
SE hear-PRES-3.PL buzz-INF the bees
'The bees were heard to buzz.'

[Hernanz 1999: 2245]

(active version: *Escucha zumbar las abejas* 'S/He hears the bees buzz')

b. Se ven correr [...] las aguas negras.
SE see-PRES-3.PL run-INF the water-PL black-PL
'The black rivers are seen to flow.'

[CREA: Prensa, 1997]

(active version: *Ve correr las aguas negras* 'S/He sees the black rivers flow')

Di Tullio (1998: 216) relates the presence of agreement in the reflexive *se* passive with the process of restructuring. The sentences in (65) display a visible alternation with respect to verbal agreement with the embedded DPs. In (65b, d) (and also (63-64) above), the matrix verb agrees with the infinitival subject, evidence for the building of a complex predicate. The post-verbal embedded subjects *las campanas* 'the bells' and *las gaviotas* 'the seagulls' become the subjects of the verbal clusters {*oyen sonar*} and {*ven volar*}. On the other hand, (66a, c) are just instances of impersonal passives with nominative *se*, in which no agreement takes place (the verb is in the third person singular) and the embedded DPs are analysed as direct objects.

(66) *Spanish*

a. Se oye {sonar las campanas}.
SE$_{NOM}$ hear-PRES-3.SG ring-INF the bell-PL
'One can hear the bells ring.'

b. Se {oyen sonar} las campanas.
SE$_{ACC}$ hear-PRES-3.PL ring-INF the bell-PL
'The bells were heard to ring.'

c. Se ve {volar las gaviotas}.
SE$_{NOM}$ see-PRES-3.SG fly-INF the seagull-PL
'One can see the seagulls fly.'

d. Se {ven volar} las gaviotas.
SE$_{ACC}$ see-PRES-3.PL fly-INF the seagull-PL
'The seagulls are seen to fly.'

[adapted from Di Tullio 1998: 216]

The two variants of *se* constructions are also observed in Catalan. [43]

(67) *Catalan*

a. Se sent {cantar els ocells}.[44]
SE$_{NOM}$ hear-PRES-3.SG sing-INF the bird-PL
'One can hear the birds sing.'

b. Se {senten cantar} els ocells.
SE$_{ACC}$ hear-PRES-3.PL sing-INF the bird-PL
'The birds were heard to sing.'

c. Se sent {les seves veus cantar}.[45]

[43] Bartra (2002: 2161) claims that reflexive passives (in simple transitive structures) in Catalan are subject to geographic variation: in Central, Balearic and Valencian dialects, they always agree. In Northwestern dialects, they usually do not agree. In all dialects, when the DP is definite and is preverbal, they always agree with the verb. Movement of the object DP to a preverbal position always triggers agreement with the verb. This is also found in passives with causative and perception verbs. These constructions resemble middle constructions, and yield a generic interpretation.

[44] https://www.timeout.cat/girona/ca/que-fer/les-13-millors-platges-de-la-costa-brava (accessed July 2015)

[45] http://www.coloniesjorditurull.org/cantaesplai/cas/letra.php?id=278 (accessed July 2015)

SE$_{NOM}$ hear-PRES-3.SG the their voice-PL sing-INF

'One can hear their voices sing.'

d. Se {senten cantar} les veus.

SE$_{ACC}$ hear-PRES-3.PL sing-INF the voice-PL

'Their voices were heard to sing.'

One of the tests we can apply to structures with impersonal *se* to determine the Case of the embedded DP is the test of pronominalization. In (68), with an embedded unergative complement, the DP *els ocells* 'the birds' from (68a) pronominalizes as the accusative clitic *els*. In *se* passives, on the other hand, because overt DP is interpreted as a subject, it triggers agreement with the verb.

(68) *Catalan*

a. Se' *ls* sent cantar.

SE$_{NOM}$ CL-3.PL-ACC hear-PRES-3.SG sing-INF

'One can hear them sing.'

b. (Ells) Se senten cantar.

they SE$_{ACC}$ hear-PRES-3.PL sing-INF

'They are heard to sing.'

A further argument in favour of assigning a different analysis to impersonal *se* construction comes from the example (69). Here I deal with a causative construction that involves a transitive complement. This configuration is more complex because the embedded verb has two arguments. As in a normal causative configuration, the infinitival object *molins d'oli* 'oil mills' bears accusative Case and the infinitival subject is post-verbal and introduced by the dative preposition *a*. No agreement takes place between the verb and the accusative DP argument.[46]

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[46] Agreement can be also triggered by causative verbs, as Alsina (2002: 2435) notes:

i. S'han deixat construir xalets en zones naturals.

(69) *Catalan*

A l' época de la casa dels Medinacelli no es va deixar construir
to the time of the house of Medinacelli not SE_{NOM} let-PAST-3.SG build-INF
molins d' oli *a cap veí* de la vila d' Arbeca.[47]
mill-PL of oil to no neighbour-SG of the village of Arbeca
'At the time of the Medinacellis, no one let the inhabitants of the village of Arbeca build oil mills.'

I point out that the pronominalization of the infinitival subject in the following impersonal *se* examples obeys the same principles as in a common causative/perception verb construction. The Case-marking relationships are established in accordance with the embedded type of complement.

(70) *Spanish*

a. [C]antidades de oxígeno que se les hizo respirar
quantity-PL of oxygen that SE_{NOM} CL-3.PL-DAT make-PAST-3.SG breathe-INF
a los jugadores
to the players
'Quantities of oxygen that the players were made to breathe.'

b. Durante meses se les vio dar saltos
during months SE_{NOM} CL-3.PL-DAT see-PAST-3.SG make-INF jumps
'During months one saw them jump.'

c. Fue entonces cuando se *la* vio sonreír
be-PAST-3.SG then when SE_{NOM} CL-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-3.SG smile-INF
por primera vez
for first time
'It was then when she was seen to smile for the first time.'

An important observation is in order regarding animate DPs. In Spanish, animate arguments in transitive structures are introduced by the DOM preposition *a*, which is also a Case

[47] http://www.arbeca.cat/turisme.php?cs=5&csb=12 (accessed july 2016)

marker. As pointed out in (71), the presence of *a* indicates that the transitive object has been already assigned Case, and hence we can explain the lack of verbal agreement and the presence of an impersonal *se* construction.

(71) Se vio a los niños.
SE$_{NOM}$ see-PAST-3.SG DOM the children-PL-ACC
'One saw the children / The children were seen.'
[Mendikoetxea 2012: 483]

In the context of causative and perception verb constructions, the behaviour of animate DPs makes no exception. Di Tullio (1998: 216) and Hernanz (1999: 2245, fn.56) observe that there is an incompatibility between (bare) animate nominals and *se* passives.

(72) a. *Se ven sonreír niños.
SE$_{ACC}$ see-PRES-3.PL smile-INF children
b. *Se vieron jugar los niños.
SE$_{ACC}$ see-PAST-3.PL play-INF the children

Bartra (2002) suggests that, given the diversity of values that *se* can take, *se* can be interpreted with reflexive or reciprocal values (which do not exist with inanimate DPs), especially with DPs in preverbal position in simple structures, such as (73a). A post-verbal DP in a non-agreeing construction (73b) supports the interpretation of *se* as a subject and, consequently, of the internal DP as an object.

(73) a. En Joan es critica.
the John SE criticize-PRES-3.SG
'One criticizes Joan.'/ 'Joan is criticized.' vs. 'Joan criticizes himself.'
[Bartra 2002: 2159]
b. Es critica en Joan.
SE criticize-PRES-3.SG the John
'One criticizes Joan.' / 'Joan is criticized.'

Animate DPs favour the impersonal construction. They must be DOM *a*-marked objects. In (74) we give contexts that include both bare nominals and definite DPs.

(74) *Spanish*

a. Son obras en las que se ve trabajar a obreros del
be-PRES-3.PL works in the that SE_{NOM} see-PRES-3.SG work-INF DOM worker-PL of
mundo entero.
world entire.
'There are labours in which one can see workers from the whole world work.'
[CREA: Prensa, 1982]

b. Se oía a los frailes cantar gregoriano.
SE_{NOM} hear-PAST-3.SG DOM the monk-PL sing-INF Gregorian
'One could hear the monks sing Gregorian.'
[MRAE 2010: §26.5.1]

c. Se ve bailar a las chicas.
SE_{NOM} see-PRES-3.SG dance-INF DOM the girl-PL
'One can see the girl dance.'
[Alarcos 1970: 190]

d. Se dejó cantar a los niños.
SE_{NOM} let-PAST-3.SG sing-INF DOM the child-PL
'One let the children sing.'
[Alarcos 1970: 190]

The impersonal *se* construction is present even with animate, but not human, nominals, on condition that these objects are marked with DOM (75). Recall that animate, but not human, DPs can trigger agreement with the verb in passive *se* constructions.

(75) a. Se vio correr a los gatos y bajar asustados
SE_{NOM} see-PAST-3.SG run-INF DOM the cat-PL and descend-INF frightened
las escaleras de los edificios altos.

the stairs of the buildings tall-PL

'One could see the cats run and nervously descend the staircases of the tall buildings.'

[CREA: Benedicto Revilla, 1997]

b. ¡Hasta se oye cantar a los pájaros!

even SE_{NOM} hear-PRES-3.SG sing-INF DOM the birds

'One can even hear the birds sing!'

[CREA: Prensa, 1989]

In conclusion, DOM objects in Spanish are restricted to the impersonal *se* construction since they bear accusative Case.[48] The basic generalization behind these facts is that only those objects, which are not overtly marked for accusative case, are allowed to show verb-subject agreement effects. Complements that are headed by the *a*-marker are frozen in this construction and unable to raise to subject position. The DOM DP is already Case-marked and is inert for further movement (cf. Ormazabal & Romero 2013, Saab 2014; 2015). In consequence, the verb establishes a relation of a default 3rd person singular agreement with the impersonal *se*. Saab (2012, 2014, 2015) suggests that impersonal *se* (which has an arbitrary reading) arises as a default strategy at the semantic-pragmatic interface. According to Saab (2014, 2015), under the impersonal reading, the embedded *v* must be φ-complete to value the Case feature of the internal argument assigning it accusative. However, the external theta-role remains unassigned and a default rule applies at the semantic-pragmatic interface giving the relevant arbitrary reading.

[48] Despite the fact that Catalan is not a language in which DOM is expressed on the object (except for those situations in which it is dislocated or topicalized), impersonal *se* is also triggered with animate DPs, as (i) shows:

(i) Catalan

a. Es veu ballar les noies.
SE_{NOM} see-PRES-3.SG dance-INF the girl-PL
'One can see the girls dance.'

b. Es deixa cantar els nens.
SE_{NOM} let-PRES-3.SG sing-INF the child-PL
'One let the children sing.'

c. Es fa treballar els obrers.
SE_{NOM} make-PRES-3.SG work-INF the worker-PL
'One made the workers work.'

4. Overview of previous accounts. Critical comments to them

The previous section looked into the main properties of the RIC construction and described phenomena, such as clitic climbing, long object movement, and reflexive passives, which question the presence of a syntactic border between the matrix verb and the infinitival complement. In the second part of this chapter, I review the most important analyses that focused on infinitival dependents of causative and perception verbs.

Given the large amount of literature on causative and perception verb constructions, the overview of accounts is structured so as to capture the main lines of investigation**.** I focus on three main aspects, ignoring for the moment other details that may be relevant to our discussion to which I will come back in the subsequent chapters. I try to see whether or/and how the microvariation shown above is captured in these works, looking at the (amount of) complement (a clause (a CP) or a smaller category) embedded under a causative or a perception verb, the mechanisms at stake in deriving RIC, and the consequences these mechanisms have for the Case valuation of the infinitival arguments. I am also interested in the concept of restructuring and how it can be comprehended in the context of a minimalist account of causative and perception verbs constructions. I will attempt to redefine this notion according to the latest theoretical developments made to the understanding of the clausal architecture.

With respect to the second type of constructions analyzed in this thesis (i. e., IC), a large number of studies were concerned with demonstrating that these structures belonged either to ECM configurations, especially in the case of perception verbs, or to control patterns, mainly for the Spanish causative construction. I should say that the classical accountsof causative constructions pay little attention to the IC construction and focus almost exclusively on the RIC one.

4.1. Sentential complementation

Kayne's (1975) pioneering work was written in the transformational model offered by Chomsky's (1965, 1973) *Extended Standard Theory*. Kayne coins here, for the first time, the well-known and largely used notions of *faire-infinitive* (FI) and *faire-par* (FP) constructions.[49]

[49] The *faire-par* construction is exemplified in (i):

With respect to the *faire*-infinitive construction, Kayne (1975) proposes that the derivation of a sentence like *Il a fait partir son amie* 'He made his friend leave' involves the application of a transformation (FI) "that has the effect of changing the relative order of embedded subject and verb" (p. 211). This transformation is followed by another one, the obligatory insertion of *à*, if the embedded verb is transitive. Kayne shows that *faire* 'make'*, laisser* 'let'*, voir* 'see'*, entendre* 'hear'*,* etc., and the infinitive that follows them do not form a complex verb morphologically, so they are not 'united under a single V node' (p. 219). The two verbs are two independent items and they can be separated by other lexical elements. His arguments come from clitic placement in questions (48a), positioning of the negative element *pas* (48b), clitics in imperatives (48c), deletion of the matrix verb (48d), coordinated structures (48e), and adverbials (48f). I adapted Kayne's French examples (our 48c, d, e, f) to Catalan:

(48) *French*

a. Fera-t-il partir Marie?
make-FUT-t-he leave-INF Mary
'Will he make Marie leave?'

b. On ne fera pas partir Jean.
they not make-FUT NEG leave-INF John
'They will not make Jean leave.'

[Kayne 1975: 218]

Catalan

c. Fes-lo llegir aquell llibre.
make-IMP=CL-M-3.SG-ACC read-INF that book
'Make him read that book.'

d. Maria farà ballar en Joan i [farà] cantar en Pau.
Mary make-FUT dance-INF the John and make sing-INF the Paul

(i) Elle fera manger cette pomme par Jean.
she make-FUT eat-INF that apple by John
'She will have that apple eaten by Jean.'

[Kayne 1975: 234]

We will deal only briefly with these structures when we analyse the argument structure of the infinitive, in the following chapter. Generally, the construction FP is put aside in this study.

'Maria will make Joan dance and Pau sing.'

e. El professor farà llegir llibres i recitar versos als seus estudiants.
the teacher make-FUT read-INF books and recite verses to-the his students
'The teacher will make his students read books and recite poems.'

f. El fiscal el farà sens dubte dir la veritat.
the prosecutor CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-FUT without doubt tell-INF the truth
'The prosecutor will no doubt make him tell the truth.'

Kayne claims that the FI construction is underlyingly biclausal: *faire* 'make' and verbs akin to it are thus followed by a sentential complement (e.g., *faire* [$_S$ *son amie partir*] 'make his friend leave'). He also notes that *laisser* 'let', *voir* 'see', and *entendre* 'hear', undergo FI optionally, as opposed to *faire* 'make', which blocks the pre-infinitival position.[50] Kayne assigns different deep structures to the two constructions, deriving those constructions with pre-infinitival subjects from an underlying sequence of the type *laisser/voir/entendre* _NP_S (e.g., *laisser Marie* [$_S$ *elle manger tout*] 'let Marie eat everything') to which he applies the rule of Equi-NP deletion in order to erase the embedded subject.[51] In the case of *faire* 'make', FI is obligatory. The ungrammaticality of **Il a fait son amie partir* 'He made his friend leave' (Kayne 1975: 203) follows from a combination of two factors: (i) the compulsory application of the rule FI, and (ii) the fact that *faire* doesn't subcategorize for an [__NP S] (p. 228). Kayne (1975) argues that *faire-infinitive* is, at the core, a verb-moving transformation (VP-movement in the case of embedded transitives), that moves the V/VP out of the embedded clause. However, in Kayne's opinion, the application of FI never affects the embedded sentential boundaries, as the restriction on certain cliticization patterns seems to demonstrate. Two of the examples that Kayne (1975: 281-283) gives to illustrate his assumptions are the one in (49). He concludes that the impossibility of the embedded dative clitic to climb to the main clause must be due to the presence of a clausal boundary that prevents the clitic *lui* to move to the matrix domain (the "dative-cliticization problem" cf. Burzio 1986: 240 ff):

(49) *French*

a. Je ferai écrire mon ami à sa soeur malade.

[50] Kayne assigns *laisser* 'let' and *voir* 'see' a double subcategorization configuration.
[51] This construction would equate in modern terms to a control configuration.

I make-FUT write-INF my friend to his sister sick
'I will make my friend write to his sick sister.'

b. *Je lui ferai écrire mon ami.
I CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-FUT write-INF my friend

Rizzi (1976, 1978, 1982) agrees with Kayne (1975) that FI is a verb-moving transformation that should be distinguished from restructuring precisely because it does not affect the boundaries of the embedded sentence. Restructuring is, in his view, an optional abstract rule meant to explain the reanalysis process undergone by certain verbs (such as modals *want*, *must*, *can*, aspectuals *start*, *finish*, *be about to*, *continue*, and motion verbs *come*, *go*, etc.) and the infinitival verb they take as a complement. Restructuring is regarded as a cyclic rule that transforms a biclausal structure into a simple clause with "a unique verbal complex consisting of the main and the embedded verb" (cf. Rizzi 1982: 2) by deleting the sentential boundaries between the two clauses.[52] Looking at constructions that involve causative and perception verbs, Rizzi (1982: 27-39) examines the possibility of extending his restructuring proposal to these constructions. While he agrees that the FI seems to build a verbal complex (that "cannot be simply a V" (p. 38)), there are differences between this process and restructuring that hint to the fact that the two rules cannot be collapsed: while restructuring destroys the underlying complex structure, the FI does so only apparently. He notices that the Italian counterpart of French (49) is also ungrammatical (50a) and uses Kayne's theoretical argument of the preservation of the embedded boundaries, along with other two empirical arguments, to argue against restructuring in these constructions. As opposed to restructuring verbs (50b), the dative clitic representing the indirect argument of the embedded clause cannot climb past a specified subject (in the transformational model, this restriction was called the Specified Subject Constraint (SSC); see Chomsky 1980, 1981) in order to attach to *fare* 'make'. In addition, Italian causative and perception verbs do not trigger any change in the choice of the auxiliary (50c) and cannot embed passives (50e).[53]

[52] The present subsection introduces the relevant details of Rizzi's proposal that make explicit reference to the causative constructions and ignores the particulars of those restructuring analyses based on modals, aspectual or motion verbs. See the footnote 21 above for a list of bibliography that treats the phenomenon of restructuring.

[53] This impossibility of causative/perception verbs to embed passives was first observed by Rizzi (1976). Cinque (1998: 42) explains the ungrammaticality of (72e) appealing to his hierarchy in which the causative/perception

(50) *Italian*

a. ?*Mario gli farà scrivere Piero.
Mario CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-FUT write-INF Peter
'Mario will have Piero write to him.'

b. Mario gli vuole scrivere.
Mario CL-M-3.SG-DAT want-PRES write-INF
'Mario wants to write to him.'

[Rizzi 1982: 29]

c. Mario lo ha/*è fatto/ lasciato/visto venire.
Mario CL-M-3.SG-ACC has/*is made/ let /seen come-INF
'Mario has made/let/seen him come.'

[Rizzi 1982: 28]

d. Mario ha/è voluto tornare a casa.
Mario has/is wanted come back-INF to home
'Mario has wanted to come back home.'

[Rizzi 1982: 2]

e. *Gianni ha fatto /visto essere picchiato Piero da Mario.
John has made /seen be-INF beaten Peter by Mario

f. Piero gli poteva essere presentato.
Peter to him can-PAST be presented
'Piero was allowed to be introduced to him.'

[Rizzi 1982: 28]

Rizzi concludes that FI leaves intact the input structure, thus lacking the main trait of the restructuring rule.

Other proponents of a verb-movement rule for the derivation of the causative constructions with *hacer* 'make' and *dejar* 'let' are Aissen (1974, 1979) and Aissen & Perlmutter (1976, 1983). Aissen (1974) proposes the rule of Verb Raising (VR) (in Aissen (1979) it is called

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functional head is placed lower than the Voice head, and hence the causative/perception verb can be passivized, but it cannot embed a passive; the embedded verb cannot bear passive morphology.

'Predicate Raising'), a syntactic rule that transformationally derives a simple structure from a bisentential underlying structure: VR "extracts the embedded V from its clause and moves it into the matrix clause so that it forms a verb unit with the matrix verb" (p. 333).[54] Aissen's (1974, 1979) analysis differs from Kayne and Rizzi's proposals in that the PR rule removes the sentential boundaries and creates a monoclausal construction.[55] Working in the framework of Relational Grammar developed by Perlmutter & Postal (1983), Aissen & Perlmutter (1976: 21) put forward the rule of 'clause union' "which makes all dependents of the embedded verb into depedents of the matrix verb". As in Kayne's (1975) work, this rule is optional with certain verbs such as *dejar* 'let'. This verb can trigger either 'clause union' or subject-to-object raising, when the embedded subject is found pre-infinitivally. The rule of raising-to-object had already been proposed by Radford (1977) for Italian and Hernanz (1982) for Spanish. Hernanz (1982), for example, defends that the class of perception and causative verbs embedding infinitives experiments a process of raising, understood as a transformation at that time, in which the subject/object of the infinitive moves to the object position of the matrix verbs only after the frontiers between these verbs and their dependent clauses vanish.

Aside from Kayne (1975) and Rizzi (1982), two other linguists tried to obtain the effects of transparency of the subordinate clause without deleting the embedded boundary. Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980) (henceforth, R&V) argue that *faire* 'make' subcategorizes for an infinitival CP complement whose C is null. For R&V, a sentence is always introduced by a complementizer. They identify three categories of English predicates that select infinitival complements headed by a null complementizer: verbs of the *believe* class, subject-to-subject raising verbs (e.g. *seem*), and verbs of the type *make*/*let*/*see*/*hear*/*help*. The complementizer can be overt (such as *that*, *for*, etc.), or null (following Chomsky & Lasnik 1977), of the form [$_{\text{COMP}}$ e], where "e" is an identity element. Thus, a sentence like (51a) would receive the analysis in (51b):

(51) a. The boys make Lucy sing.

b. The boys make [$_{\text{CP COMP}}$ *e* [Lucy sing]]]]

[54] See also Marantz (1984), Aoun (1985), and Reed (1990, 1991), who also assume an embedded sentential clause in the *faire*-constructions.

[55] See also Radford (1977, 1979), Van Tiel-Di Maio (1978), and Marcantonio (1981), for other proposals of verb-raising that derive a monoclausal structure from a bisentential one. In these analyses the embedded verb and the matrix one form a unique verbal constituent, and the verb-raising rule entirely removes the sentential boundaries between the two verbs.

Along the same lines, a Romance causative construction such as (52a) would have the underlying configuration (52b):

(52) *French*

a. On fait sortir Marie du bureau.
'They make Marie leave the office.'

b. *faire* [$_{CP}$ [$_{COMP}$ e] Marie [$_{VP}$ sortir du bureau]]

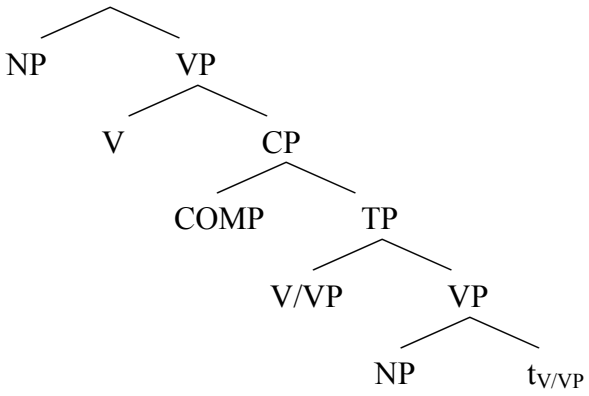
[adapted from R&V 1980: 131]

With respect to the differences between *laisser* 'let'*/voir* 'see' and *faire* 'make' and the possibility of the former verbs to take complements with pre-infinitival subjects, they assume that *laisser* 'let' and *voir* 'see' are assigned a feature in the lexicon that triggers the deletion of the complementizer, giving rise to constructions similar to the English ones (with *make*, *believe*, etc.). The causative *faire* 'make', instead, does not have this feature and cannot erase the CP barrier, whence the ungrammaticality of those constructions in which *faire* is followed by a lexical embedded subject (i.e., **On fait Marie sortir* 'They make Mary leave').

R&V(1980) were also concerned with finding a way to show that "under certain conditions, *faire* and the verb embedded under it combine to form a semantically complex verbal unit and […] the embedded subject becomes an 'argument' of this complex verbal unit" (R&V 1980: 99). Therefore, their grammar introduced the notion of thematic rewriting rule, a formal device that had the effect of creating new verbal complexes in the course of the transformational derivation, modifying the argument structure of the sentence, with the important mention that the thematic rules did not have the property of collapsing the two verbs into a single lexical unit.[56] R&V (1980: 129) assumed that the derivation of structures with post-infinitival subjects involved VP fronting – which moved the embedded verbal constituent to Spec, TP, inside the CP. The structure is given in (53) below.

[56] They used the device of thematic rewriting rules to modify the thematic indices of embedded verb found in the complement of *faire*. The rules were meant to just co-index the heads of the base structure (the matrix verb and the embedded one), reanalysing the sequence "*faire* V" as a single verbal complex.

(53)



[adapted from R&V 1980: 130]

In R&V's (1980) proposal, the V(P) remains within the embedded clause for government and Case marking reasons. In this way, the embedded subject is assigned Case by the embedded verb. Such an assumption has been empirically challenged by Burzio (1981, 1986), who observes that, if the embedded subject were governed by the lower verb, data such as (54) should be grammatical. However, as we see, the clitic *lo* (that stands for the embedded subject) cannot remain on the lower verb since it would give ungrammatical results. The case of the infinitival subject must be thus valued by the matrix verb.

(54) a. *Farò lavorarlo.
make-FUT work-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC

[Burzio 1981: 367]

b. *Farò intervenirlo.
make-FUT intervene-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC

[Burzio 1986: 277]

Burzio (1981: 368, 1986: 256-262) also notices that the distribution of clitics is similar in FP and FI constructions, so there is no clear evidence for the existence of a clause boundary between the causative and the embedded verbs at S-structure, since this would block cliticization of the embedded object to the matrix verb. In his analysis, the complement of an FP is a base-generated VP:

(55) a. La_i farò [$_{VP}$ riparare t_i] [a Giovanni t_{VP}]
'I will make Giovanni repair it.'

b. La_i farò [$_{VP}$ riparare t_i] (da Giovanni)
'I will have it repaired by Giovanni.'

[adapted from Burzio 1986: 256]

That VP movement occurs within the embedded CP is further discredited by the results of wh-movement (56a) and passivization (56b), that would give ungrammatical outcomes if sentential boundaries were still present in the derivation:

(56) a. Il brano che non so a chi hai fatto leggere e'
the passage which not know-PRES-1.SG to whom have made read-INF is
"Adio monti".[57]
Adio monti
'The passage which I don't know whom you got to read it is "Adio monti".'

[Burzio 1981: 369]

b. Quei brani furono fatti leggere a Giovanni.
those passages were made read-INF to John
'Giovanni was made to read those passages.'

[Burzio 1981: 371]

Burzio (1986) argues that in FI constructions *fare* 'make' subcategorizes for a sentential complement that is affected by VP-movement. The causative verb resembles ECM verbs in that it triggers S" (i.e., CP) –deletion (see Chomsky 1981): the complementizer deletion removes the C of the embedded clause without affecting its structure. In this way, the embedded CP will no longer be a barrier and the embedded verb will be transparent for government. Burzio defends convincingly the claim that the VP complement is always extracted from the embedded clause (contra R&V 1980), and that it is moved completely (contra Kayne 1975 who argued for a V-movement in the case of intransitives). For an embedded subject to be Case governed by *fare*

[57] Federico Silvagni (p.c.) finds rather unnatural (56a) but the presence of a clitic improves the structure:

(i) Il brano che non so a chi l' hai fatto leggere e' 'Adio monti'
the passage which not know-PRES to whom CL-M-3.SG-ACC have made read-INF is Adio monti

'make', the sentential boundaries should first delete and then VP movement applies, avoiding the violation of the projection principle.

This VP-movement rule applies only to embedded transitives and unergatives, but not to unaccusatives. Unaccusatives take a VP complement and not a sentential one, and this trait brings this construction close to the FP one.[58] Therefore the following FI constructions have different derivations: (57a-b) are syntactically derived, while in (57c) the causative verb directly subcategorizes for a VP-complement.

(57) *Embedded transitive*

a. Maria ha fatto [$_{VP}$ riparare la macchina] [$_{S}$ a Giovanni t_{VP}]
'Maria has made Giovanni repair the car.'

[adapted from Burzio 1986: 230]

Embedded unergative

b. Maria fa [$_{VP}$ lavorare] [$_{S}$ Giovanni t_{VP}]
'Maria makes Giovanni work.'

[adapted from Burzio 1986: 233]

Embedded unaccusative

c. Maria fa [$_{VP}$ intervenire Giovanni]
'Maria makes Giovanni intervene.'

[Burzio 1986: 269]

Regarding the Case-marking relationships, intransitive verb complements do not pose any problems for Case assignment, because the embedded subject/object is assigned Case by the matrix causative under government. More problematic are, in Burzio's view, the contexts that involve transitive complements, in which the embedded subject surfaces with dative Case. Burzio (1986: 234) maintains that dativization in these constructions "is a reflex of some general

[58] For differences/similarities between FI and FP see Burzio (1981: 364-375, 1986: 256-262). For analyses of FP in Spanish, see also Strozer (1976) and Jaeggli (1981). Some of the similarities between the two structures reviewed by Burzio concern cliticization, movement of embedded objects, matrix past participle agreement, and Case dependencies between the matrix verb and embedded objects. More recent approaches to FP are found in Legendre (1990), Guasti (1991b, 1993, 1996a, 2007), Treviño (1994), Ippolito (2000), Torrego (1998, 2010) and Tubino (2011).

mechanisms of Case assignment", and proposes the phenomenon of *Case absorption*, which is related to the ability of *fare* 'make' to assign Case to the embedded subject. Nevertheless, the specifics of his proposal are not fully developed and, in conclusion, it is not clear how the subject gets its Case in these constructions.[59]

Burzio also observes that, while the application of the causative rule appears possible not only with *fare*, but with other verbs (*lasciare* 'let'*, vedere* 'see'*, guardare* 'look at'*, osservare* 'observe'*, udire* 'hear'*, ascoltare* 'listen to'), the rule seems obligatory only with *fare* 'make'. All the other verbs appear to trigger the causative process optionally. In agreement with R&V (1980), he considers correct the assumption that the obligatoriness of the causative rule with *fare* must be related to the mechanisms of the Case Theory, the application of this rule being necessary for the assignment of Case to the embedded subject. The obligatoriness of the causative rule is not a topic devoid of problems. Recall that this restriction applies to Italian, French and Catalan, but it is not valid for Spanish, a language in which the causative *make* allows both IC and RIC.

Burzio (1986: 287-304) analyzes infinitival complements of perception verbs with pre-infinitival subject as complex NPs on a par with pseudorelative (PR) complements, in which the head of the NP controls the subject of the infinitive, as in (58).[60]

(58) *Italian*

a. Ho visto [$_{DP}$ Giovanni$_i$ [$_{CP}$ che$_i$ [e$_i$] parlava con Maria]]
have seen John who was talking with Mary
'I have seen Giovanni who was talking to Maria.'

[59] A similar mechanism, *Case transmission*, was proposed by Rosen (1992). The function of this mechanism was to pass the ability of the causative verb to assign Case down to the embedded verb, which is the one that actually Case-marks the infinitival complements, in Rosen's view.

[60] The pseudorelative complement, "peculiar finite complement structures of perception verbs" (Cinque 1995: 5), has received various analyses in the literature. It has been analyzed as two separate constituents (as in Kayne 1975, Suñer 1978, 1984), as a sole constituent (a complex NP, made up of a clause, the pseudorelative, and the NP as its antecedent, as in Graffi 1980, Kayne 1981a, Burzio 1981, 1986) and as a complex CP/SC (by Radford 1975; 1977, Guasti 1988; 1993, Campos 1994, Cinque 1992). Cinque's (1992) SC proposal reconciles these three analyses, arguing that the PR can assume one of the three structures, in function of the context. Declerck (1982a) also proposes a threefold structural ambiguity for the English ACC-ing construction, as well as Miller & Lowrey (2003), in the same spirit, for French. For a good introduction and specific details of all these analyses see Casalicchio (2013, chapter 1, especially pp. 43-71) and references therein. Recent proposals were put forth by Rafel (1999; 2000; 2001) Di Lorenzo (2010), Cechetto & Donati (2011), and Casalicchio (2013).

[adapted from Burzio 1986: 296]

b. Ho visto [$_{DP}$ Giovanni$_i$ [$_{CP}$ PRO$_i$ parlare con Maria]]
have seen John talk with Mary
'I have seen Giovanni talk to Maria.'

[adapted from Burzio 1986: 298]

Burzio (1986) rejects both a sentential structure and a (classical) object control structure for the infinitival complements, although he admits that a perfect comparison between these complements and the tensed ones of the pseudorelative type cannot be perfectly drawn (Burzio 1986: 300-304). Nevertheless, Burzio considers that the remaining problems are minor and do not contradict his proposal. I enumerate some of these problems: the failure of the infinitival complement to pass tests such as pseudo-clefting, clefting, equative-deletion, right node raising, but also the impossibility of coordinating the infinitival clause with a simple DP, or passivizing the whole infinitival constituent, as well as applying right dislocation of the infinitive complement. I believe that these problems are not trivial at all and these tests only confirm that a complex NP/DP analysis is not the right approach to the analysis of the infinitival complement. The syntactic structure of the infinitive differs substantially from the PR tensed complements. PR complements are syntactically and semantically akin to gerunds, not to infinitives (cf. Casalicchio 2013). I will not insist here on the differences between PR and infinitival complements. Casalicchio (2013, § 4.4 and §5.2.2) gives pertinent arguments against the approach of overlapping these two analyses.

Regarding the mechanism of restructuring, Burzio (1986) gives evidence in support of the idea that, at least in certain respects, causative constructions present a range of similarities found also in restructuring constructions.[61] What these two constructions have in common is the way in which they are derived: by VP-movement. All the same, Burzio acknowledges that there

[61] Arguments came from clitic climbing, past participle agreement, contexts with sequences of infinitives, and *tough*-constructions. Burzio himself admits that overlapping the process that operates with causative constructions with the one implicated in restructuring is not new. Previous approaches were taken in Aissen and Perlmutter (1976), Radford (1977), and Van Tiel-Di Maio (1978).

are differences between the two constructions and links them to independent properties the structures that undergo VP-movement in his theory have.[62]

More recently, restructuring analyses for causative and perception verb constructions are proposed by Di Tullio (1998) and Hernanz (1999). Di Tullio (1998: 214-217) also notes that perception verbs in Spanish have a double behaviour when followed by an infinitive. One is the possibility of occurring with a clausal complement (i.e., our IC complement). The second one is a restructuring configuration in which the perception verb is similar to an auxiliary and forms with the infinitive a verbal complex that is also responsible for the assignment of Case. Although Di Tullio (1998) claims that the unification effect between the two verbs is due to restructuring, her view on this process is not too different from what R&V (1980) and Manzini (1983) call *reanalysis*. Besides the data I introduced in the previous section (the manifestation of dative Case on the embedded subject, clitic climbing, and reflexive passives), Di Tullio further adds evidence drawn from extraction (81), meant to confirm, on the one hand, that the two verbs restructure, and, on the other hand, that they behave differently from control verbs (59e-f).

(59) *Spanish*

a. *¿Qué la viste leer?
what CL-F-3.SG-ACC see-PAST read-INF

b. ¿Qué le viste leer?
what CL-F-3.SG-DAT see-PAST read-INF
'What did you see her read?'

c. *La novela que la vi leer
the novel that CL-F-3.SG-ACC see-PAST read-INF

d. La novela que le vi leer
the novel that CL-F-3.SG-DAT see-PAST read-INF
'The novel that I saw her read'

e. ¿Qué la forzaste a leer?

[62] In the case of restructuring, for example, Burzio (1986) claims there is always an anaphoric embedded subject PRO referentially bound by the matrix subject that could explain the prohibition on embedded passives and on the change of auxiliary on causative constructions, previously discussed by Rizzi (1982). On other similarities and differences between restructuring and causative constructions in Italian, see Burzio (1981: 557 and ff.) and Burzio (1986: 343-348, 369-382).

what CL-F-3.SG-ACC force-PAST to read-INF

'What did you force her to read?'

f. La novela que la forcé a leer.

the novel that CL-F-3.SG-ACC force-PAST to read-INF

'The novel that I forced her to read.'

[Di Tullio 1998: 216]

In (59), notice that extraction is possible only when the infinitival subject surfaces with dative Case, as the occurrence of the dative clitic *le* proofs. Thus, the complement must be transparent enough to allow extraction of an embedded argument.

Hernanz (1999: 2240) argues for a restructuring analysis "which subsumes the inflected verb and the infinitive under the same clausal unity. This allows the governing action of the matrix verb to transcend the sentential boundary and extend over the infinitival subject."[63] Although the same process is involved in both <*ver*-infinitive> and <*hacer*-infinitive> configurations, the *ver*-construction is slightly different. The restructuring process brings about different outcomes in the two constructions. While in the first configuration it simply deletes the clausal borders which separate the matrix domain from the subordinated one, in the second configuration *hacer* 'make' is engaged in an additional process of fusion with the infinitive in a sole verbal complex (Hernanz 1999: 2257). The two results are given below:

(60) <*ver*-infinitive>

a. [$_{CP}$ … [$_{V}$ Vimos] [$_{CP}$ Julia bailar]].

b. [$_{CP}$ … [$_{V}$ Oímos] (a) Julia bailar].

'We saw Julia dance.'

(61) <*hacer*-infinitive>

a. [$_{CP}$ … [$_{V}$ Hicimos] [$_{CP}$ Julia bailar]].

[63] Translation mine, *E.C.* This original version is "que subsume en una sola unidad oracional el verbo flexionado y el infinitivo […] Ello permite que la acción rectora del verbo dominante trascienda la frontera oracional y se extienda sobre el sujeto del infinitivo" (see Hernanz 1999: 2240).

b. [$_{CP}$… [$_{VP}$ Hicimos bailar] (a) Julia].
'We made Julia dance.'

[adapted from Hernanz 1999: 2257]

Restructuring would derive a monoclausal structure (60-61b) from a biclausal one (60-61a). In the case of perception verbs, the derivation results in a complement that retains a certain degree of autonomy with respect to the matrix clause. Hernanz (1999) claims that the unity of *hacer*-infinitive resembles in many respects that of a verbal periphrasis, and this fact explains word order aspects, absence of semantic restrictions on the matrix subject (62b) or constraints on the occurrence of reflexives (62c-d).

(62) *Spanish*

a. Los piratas/??arrecifes vieron zozobrar la nave.
the pirates / reefs see-PAST-3.PL founder-INF the ship
'The pirates/??reefs saw the ship founder.'

b. Los piratas / arrecifes hicieron zozobrar la nave.
the pirates / reefs make-PAST-3.PL founder-INF the ship
'The pirates/reefs made the ship founder.'

[Hernanz 1999: 2256]

c. Vio *sentar / sentarse a las damas.
see-PAST sit down / sit down-INF-REFL DOM the ladies
'He saw the ladies sit down.'

d. Hizo sentar a las damas en un lugar preferente.
make-PAST sit down-INF DOM the ladies in a place special
'He made the ladies sit down in a special place.'

[Hernanz 1999: 2254-55]

I believe that one of the reasons Hernanz (1999) needs to propose (61) is to account for the preference Peninsular Spanish speakers have of building verbal complexes with *hacer* 'make'. I say 'preference' because the second construction (with the pre-infinitival subject) is

also used in the Peninsula, so there is no real reason for not deriving (60) also for *hacer*-constructions. Perception verbs, on the other hand, are found in both configurations. It is true, however, that the tendencies speakers have to build verbal complexes with *ver*/*oír* 'see/hear' are weaker than in the *hacer*/*dejar* 'make/let' cases.

There are various ideas to keep in mind from these previous approaches that are important to the understanding of the constructions under investigation in a new, modern key. With respect to the sentential complement, Aissen (1974, 1979), Aissen & Perlmutter (1976), Hernanz (1982, 1999), as well as Burzio (1986) share an important view, i.e., the proposal of transforming a biclausal structure into a single clause, deleting the clausal barriers. Once the clausal boundaries erase, the operation renders the infinitival complement transparent for a series of phenomena. In essence, the purpose of the deletion process is to achieve well-formedness. In accordance with the Minimalist theory and against all these proposals, I have to abandon the notion of rule and conceive of the transparent complement in a more straightforward way. Nevertheless, as Wurmbrand (2006: 315-316) correctly points out, the challenge for the biclausal approaches of this kind is to provide evidence for the initial clausal structure of the infinitival complement. If I want to maintain the view that causative and perception verbs still select for clauses in these constructions, it is desirable to redefine the subordinate clause. I retain from these authors the need for a defective complement, in the sense that this complement should be poorer than a CP complement in terms of complementizer and Tense properties, a fact that would ultimately explain the syntactic transparency (cf. Gallego 2009, 2010, 2014). I want to advance the hypothesis that the defective complement clause should not be necessarily small, but it can involve a defective CP layer (cf. Ormazabal 1995, Solà 2002, Epstein & Seely 2006, Gallego 2009, 2010, 2014, Cornilescu 2013, for other constructions; for further discussion, justification and details of this approach, see chapter 3 and chapter 4).

The postulation of a defective complement brings us invariably to the issue of word order and the operation of unification of the matrix and embedded verbs, but also to the licensing of Case. Because the MP eliminates from the theory the mechanism of government, Case-licensing that previously took place under government had to be abandoned (see Chomsky 1991, 1993, 1995, Lasnik & Saito 1991).[64] The motivation of the strategy of clause union in the works I

[64] Case should now be understood as the expression of an agree relationship with a probe (cf. Chomsky's 2000, 2001 Probe-Goal system).

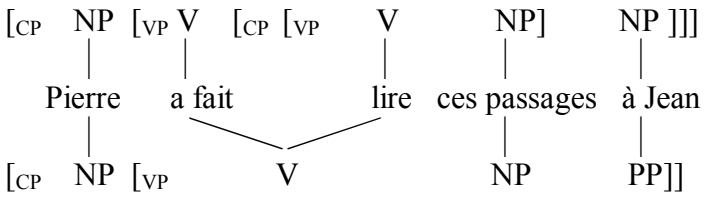
mentioned was also directly linked to this mechanism of government. Before introducing the incorporation approach, that was an important GB proposal with consequences for word order and Case, I introduce a series of works on parallel structures, meant to explain the simultaneously monoclausal/biclausal behaviour of causative and perception verbs.

4.2. Parallel configurations

Several classical works (Zubizarreta 1982; 1985; 1986, Di Sciullo & Williams 1987, Goodall 1987) have postulated parallel structures in order to account for what Baker (1988: 433) calls 'hybrid' behaviour of the embedded lexical subject: the fact that it is a subject in the deep structure and an object in the surface one.

Zubizarreta (1985, 1986) proposes a simultaneous top and bottom structure (63) for causatives in languages such as French and Spanish, meant to explain the linguistic differences across Romance.[65]

(63) *Structures for French and Spanish Causatives*



'Pierre made Jean read these passages.'

[adapted from Zubizarreta 1985: 283]

Zubizarreta (1985, 1986) claims that Spanish and French causative constructions differ in many respects from Italian ones. In French and Spanish *faire*/*hacer* 'make' functions morphosyntactically as a main verb that can take a clausal complement and as a morphosyntactic affix (a bound morpheme), whereas in Italian *fare* 'make' behaves uniquely as a morphosyntactic affix that attaches to verbs and gives rise exclusively to monoclausal *fare*-infinitive construction. French and Spanish causative sentences, but not Italian ones, are associated in parallel with two

[65] For Zubizarreta, the causative constructions are built via a lexical process. Her analysis is partially inspired by Williams (1979).

syntactic structures: one biclausal, and another one monoclausal. In the monoclausal structure, the two verbs are presyntactically united under a single V node – the *Complex Verb Hypothesis* (see Zubizarreta 1985: 274-280) – forming a complex predicate (a kind of V-V compound; see 64b) that has effects on the argument structure and accounts for Case-marking, word order, passivization, and the ability of anaphors to be referentially bound to the matrix subject.[66]

(64) *Italian*

a. Piero fece leggere quei brani a Giovanni.
'Piero makes Giovanni read those passages.'

b. Piero [$_{VP}$ [$_{V}$ fece leggere] quei brani a Giovanni]

[adapted from Zubizarreta 1985: 277]

Zubizarreta (1985) argues that the Case marking assignment works in the same way in French, Spanish and Italian, in spite of the fact that they differ with respect to the possibilities of accommodating reflexive clitics (65) or allowing passivization of the embedded objects (66).

(65) a. On a fait se raser Pierre.
they make-PAST REFL shave-INF Peter
'They made Pierre shave himself.'

(*French*)

b. Lo hicimos afeitarse a Pedro.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST REFL shave-INF-REFL DOM Peter
'We made Pedro shave himself.'

(*Spanish*)

c. *Mario ha fatto accusarsi Piero.
Mario has made accuse-INF-REFL Peter
'Mario has made Piero accuse himself.'

(*Italian*)

[Zubizarreta 1985: 274]

[66] See also Van Tiel-Di Maio (1978) and Marcantonio (1981) that unite the two verbs under a single V node.

(66) a. *La maison a été faite construire (par Casimiro).
the house be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART build-INF by Casimiro
(*French*)

b. *La casa fue hecha construir (por Casimiro).[67]
the house be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART build-INF by Casimiro
(*Spanish*)

c. Quei brani furono fatti leggere (da Giovanni).
those passages be-PAST-3.PL make-PAST.PART read-INF by John
'Giovanni had those passages read.'
(*Italian*)

[Zubizarreta 1985: 268]

This observation forces Zubizarreta to assume a rather queer explanation for those languages in which causatives are associated in parallel with two syntactic configurations: Case-marking proceeds as in the case of the reduced structure (as in the Italian cases), but the binding principles apply only to the biclausal structure. In her view, this should account for the surface word order and Case-marking of complements, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, for the possibility of having passivization, as well as for the distribution of reflexive clitics.

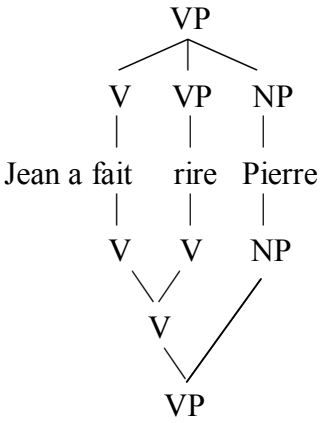
Baker (1988: 433) draws attention to the fact that the proposals of parallel structures are confronted with a "serious conceptual problem [...] of how in general the principles of grammar apply to the two contradictory structures." The problem is related to the way in which the principles of the subsystems of the GB theory are relevant to the two simultaneous structures. According to Zubizarreta's analysis for Spanish, for example, principles of Case theory apply to the monoclausal structure (the bottom structure), while other modules (like θ-theory, binding theory) apply to the clausal one (the top structure).

[67] (66b) is considered ungrammatical in Zubizarreta (1985). However, our Spanish informants do accept it. As we have seen, passivization, although marginal, is possible in Spanish (see §2.3.2. above; see examples from Treviño 1994: 78, Tubino 2011: 146). The following example is taken from Torrego (1998: 97):

(i) Este palacio fue hecho construir por el rey X.
this palace was made rebuild-INF by the king X
'The king X had the palace built.'

Other linguists that construct the causative structures from parallel derivations are Goodall (1987) and Di Sciullo & Williams (1987). Building on a previous work by Williams (1979), Di Sciullo & Williams (1987: 91) propose for the causative construction a process of co-analysis, meant to replace the Thematic Rewriting rule of R&V (1980). As in Zubizarreta (1985), *faire* is ambiguously a main verb or a member of a complex predicate, a compound in Di Sciullo & Williams' terms.

(67)



'Jean made Pierre laugh.'

[Di Sciullo & Williams 1987: 93]

In (67) the top structure is syntactic, while the bottom half involves morphology as well. Di Sciullo & Williams need this lexical component in order to explain the apparently common argument structure and the change in thematic roles, specifically the internalization of the subject of the embedded verb and its realization as a dative argument. At the syntactic level, the causative verb as an independent predicate assigns an agent role to its subject, while the embedded verb does not alter its argument structure and assigns a theme role to its object. The co-analyzed structure is not derived through different stages, but it actually involves two derivations that take place simultaneously (as in Zubizarreta 1985). In Di Sciullo & Williams's analysis, the post-infinitival order of the embedded subject follows from precisely the morphological requirement that the causative *faire* and the embedded predicate be adjacent to form a compound.

Goodall (1987) shares with this latter analysis the view of two different but simultaneous structures for the causative constructions. As in Di Sciullo & Williams (1987), *faire* 'make' is lexically specified to take a clausal complement or to be sister a verb (Goodall 1987: 105-106). In the analysis developed by Goodall, both types of structure coexist at all levels of representation. Both Goodall (1987) and Di Sciullo & Williams (1987) distance themselves from Zubizarreta (1982, 1985) in claiming that there are no special requirements from the grammar when accounting for the Case (Case, in their analyses, is assigned by the complex verb) or argument structure facts. In their view, the sentential and the reduced layers of the causative structure can be concomitantly accessed for any operation by the modules of the grammar. This is, of course, a complication of the grammar that should be able to access both structures and choose whatever it likes, apparently at random. Nothing is said about what constrains the grammar to make these choices.

These analyses also call for revision, under assumptions of the minimalist theory, where there are no modules of the grammar. Minimalism dispenses with all the subtheories mentioned above, therefore the behaviour of causative/perception verbs should be accounted for through the selection of different complements (and different mechanisms that apply to the derivations), rather than to recur to mere stipulations about how the grammar treats these configurations.

4.3. Incorporation

Baker's (1988) solution to (at least a part of) the problems mentioned so far is the incorporation approach, developed in principal for morphological causatives in languages such as Chichewa, Chamorro, and Malayalam. He notices that Romance causatives behave in a manner similar to morphological causatives with respect to Case-marking and passivization phenomena.

The example in (68) is a case of morphological causatives. The subject of the embedded verb surfaces as a direct object, triggers (optional) object agreement and can become the subject when the verbal complex is passivized (68b). With transitive complements, the subject of the embedded verb surfaces as an oblique, in a prepositional phrase, while the embedded object acts as the object of the causative verb on the surface. It can also trigger agreement and become the subject of the passivized verb (68d).

(68) *Chichewa*

a. Buluzi a-na-(wa-)sek-ets-a ana
lizard SP-PAST-(OP-)laugh-CAUS-ASP children
'The lizard made the children laugh.'

b. Ana a-na-sek-ets-edw-a (ndi buluzi)
children SP-PAST-laugh-CAUS-PASS-ASP by lizard
'The children were made to laugh by the lizard.'

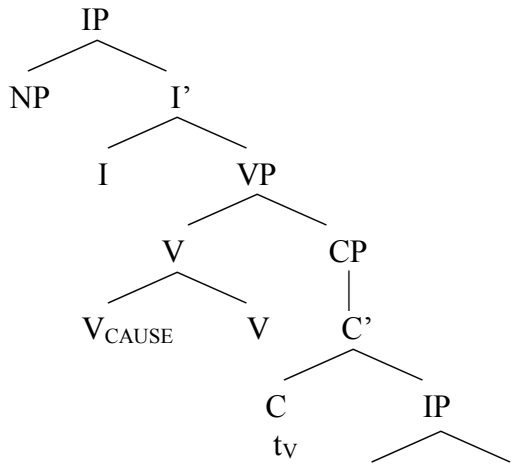
c. Anyani a-na-(wa-)meny-ets-a ana kwa buluzi
baboons SP-PAST-(OP-)hit-CAUS-ASP children to lizard
'The banoons made the lizard hit the children.'

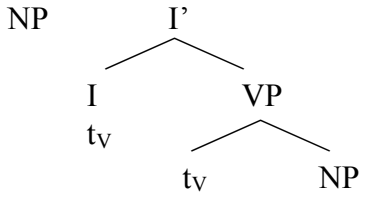
d. Ana a-na-meny-ets-edw-a kwa buluzi (ndi anyani).
children SP-PAST-hit-CAUS-PASS-ASP to lizard by baboons
'The children were made to be hit by the lizard (by the baboons).'

[adapted from Baker 1988: 163]

In Baker's (1988) approach to Romance, the causative verb always takes a CP complement. Baker claims that the embedded verb cannot incorporate directly, so it has to first move inside that clause before it can be incorporated. This can be obtained through V-to-C movement (in the case of embedded intransitives (69)) or VP-to-Spec,CP movement (in the transitive cases (70)), a way to make Case marking of the embedded subject possible.

(69) *Embedded intransitives*

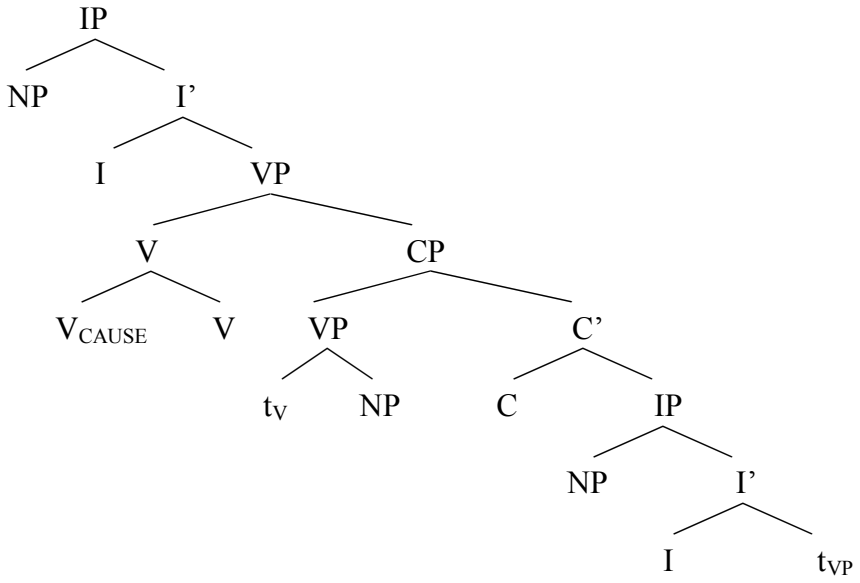




[adapted from Baker 1988: 169]

The verb passes first through the embedded I, then reaches the C position from where it is directly incorporable. These movements are therefore head-to-head instances. Head Movement (HM) was understood at that time as a case of Move α. As an instance of Move α, HM was subject to standard well-formedness conditions that applied to any movement operations. In (69), the verb passes through the I position, avoiding minimality barriers and obeying the Head Movement Constraint (the locality condition, cf. Travis 1984, Baker 1988, Rizzi 1990), and then passes through C, obeying also the Empty Category Principle (ECP), governing all the way up its traces. The embedded verb has to find a position governed by the matrix verb from which it can incorporate, since CP would always act as a barrier. The first option has been just depicted, i.e. passing through C. The second one is reaching the Spec, CP position. However, given the structure preservation condition, this time the whole VP has to move to Spec, CP, and from there the embedded V incorporates into the matrix V (obeying the ECP), as in (70):

(70) *Embedded transitives*



[adapted from Baker 1988: 170]

Raising VP to Spec, CP makes it possible for the causative verb to govern and, therefore, Case-mark the object of the transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb after the embedded verb gets incorporated (in GB, Case assignment occurs under Government; see Chomsky 1981; 1986). Thus, these DPs may cliticize onto the matrix verb and may become the subject if the main verb is passivized.

Baker's analysis is complex but not devoid of technical problems. Li (1990: 400), for instance, observes that Baker's theory overgeneralizes because not every verb that can take a clausal complement is capable of triggering verb incorporation (VI). VI triggers seem to be either causatives or modal-like verbs that tend to behave as bounded/affixal morphemes. He argues against a CP analysis for the complement, highlighting also the lack of arguments for an embedded TP. LI (1990) opts for a bare VP (like in the case of modals and motion verbs) whose head would directly adjoin to the VI-triggering matrix verb. Another problematic issue of Baker's analysis is the movement of V into C or the movement of the VP into Spec, CP given the A'(-bar) nature of Spec, CP.

In Baker's view, incorporation can take place in Romance, but there is an obvious aspect that needs to be accounted for, which is the morphology of the two verbs. They are two separate words, inflected for Tense and Agreement in the case of *faire* 'make' and marked with an infinitival ending in the case of the embedded verb. Moreover, the adjacency between the two verbs can be broken (some adverbs can intervene between the two, as well as object clitics; see also examples under (70) above). Following R&V (1980), Baker claims that the two verbs become "reanalyzed" as one verb, as one complex predicate that has a certain semantic load. The outcome of this reanalysis is the co-indexation of the two verbs. Baker argues this strategy is not too different from his mechanism of verb incorporation, therefore the two could be overlapped: reanalysis is abstract incorporation. Romance incorporation is a case of "incorporation without incorporation" (Baker 1988: 203), because the two verbs do not fuse morphologically into one. The embedded verb enters into a reanalysis relation with the matrix verb by incorporating into it at Logical Form (LF).

In conclusion, in Baker (1988), incorporation takes place at LF and no actual syntactic incorporation occurs. Guasti (1991, 1993 and subsequent work) argues against this hypothesis and tries to demonstrate that causatives in Italian (and more generally Romance) are formed at S(urface)-structure (SS), and not at LF, where Baker claimed VI applied. Baker himself questions in a footnote (p. 462, n.37) the place where abstract incorporation takes place: being an instance of HM at LF it was not clear how it could have implications for the assignment of Case in syntax.

Guasti (1993, 1996a, b, 2007) claims that incorporation (i.e., head-to-head movement) takes place in syntax, and another mechanism, excorporation, is the one responsible for the fact that the causative and the embedded verb are morphologically two different words (and for the possible occurrence of different lexical material between them).[68] Assuming that subjects are generated VP-internally (cf. Zagona 1982, Kitagawa 1986, Fukui & Speas 1986, Koopman & Sportiche 1991, among others), and floating quantifiers mark the positions through which the subject has moved (cf. Sportiche 1988), Guasti (1991: 214) claims that (71) is a clear example that the infinitive moves from the complement to the matrix domain, and this is to be related to the fact that incorporation of the infinitive previously takes place at SS. The infinitive forms a complex head with the causative verb in syntax. Following Li (1990) and Manzini (1983), Guasti (1991, 1993) also claims that the causative verb takes a VP (small clause) as its complement (see also Villalba 1992, for Catalan). In a later work, Guasti (2007: 160, 163) updates her analysis and proposes that the complement is a bare lexical structure that projects up to a *v*P.[69] Guasti (1993; 1996b; 2007) also assumes that specifiers of VP/*v*P occur to the right in Italian (cf. Bonet 1990, Giorgi & Longobardi 1991, Landau 2002, Folli & Harley 2007), so the dative subject linearly follows the embedded verb.

(71) *Italian*

a. I professori$_j$ facevano commentare tutti$_j$ il libro a Ugo.
'All the teachers made Ugo comment on the book.'

b. [$_{IP}$ I professori$_j$ [facevano commentare$_i$]$_k$ [$_{vP}$ tutti$_j$ t$_k$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ quel libro a Ugo]]]]

[68] A process of excorporation, although differently defined, is also invoked in Den Dikken (1990) and Roberts (1991).

[69] Following Larson (1988), Hale & Keyser (1993), Chomsky (2000), Guasti (2007: 160) also defends that the thematic information linked to a verb is conveyed by a *v*P.

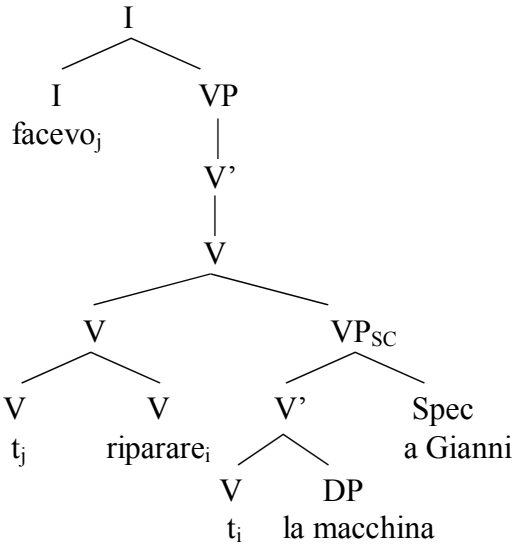
[Guasti 2007: 163]

However, as we have seen, this complex verb is made up of two predicates that are, at least superficially, two separate words. Therefore, in order to account for this, Guasti (1993 and subsequent work) proposes that the causative morpheme must excorporate to combine with the inflectional morphemes, as shown in (72). Excorporation is another instance of head-movement (Guasti 2007: 163-164), so "there is no special rule of causative formation: causative sentences are derived by a primitive process operating in various constructions".

(72) *Italian*

a. Facevo riparare la macchina a Gianni.
'I made Gianni repair the car.'

b.



[adapted from Guasti 1997: 139]

c. [$_{VP}$ fare riparare$_i$ [$_{vP}$ [$_v$ [$_v$ t$_i$] [$_{VP}$ [$_V$ t$_i$] [$_{DP}$ la macchina]]] a Gianni]]

[Guasti 2007: 163]

Regarding the workings of Case theory, Guasti (1993: 98) claims that syntactic incorporation in causative constructions gives rise to a rearrangement of the Case-marking

relationships: "incorporation of the governed verb by the causative verb destroys the normal Case relationships". Guasti (1993: 53, 85, 1997: 129, 2007: 164) argues that the causative verb and the infinitive become a single complex verb that inherits arguments and properties from its members and governs them. The verbal complex also inherits the Case features from its components, becoming the new Case assigner, a result that is considered a side effect of incorporation both by Baker and by Guasti. The arguments of the infinitive are subject to a process of grammatical function change (as defined in Baker 1988). The infinitival subject becomes the direct or indirect object of the verbal complex, depending on the transitivity of the embedded verb, and the direct object of the infinitive also becomes the direct object of the complex verb. [70]

I should point out that Guasti (1993, 2007) does not explain exactly how Case operates in the causative constructions and where she draws the line between the processes decided at the level of argument structure and the ones that take place in syntax. Under her assumptions, *fare* 'make' is able to assign accusative Case to the object of the (intransitive) infinitive, but it does not assign it a θ-role, which is supplied by the infinitive (Guasti 1993: 98). Yet the causative verb has an optional property of assigning an extra (dative) Case to the infinitival subject, together with a thematic role, but only when the embedded verb is a transitive. Guasti (1993: 95) claims that in this scenario the causative verb expresses a three place relation holding among the causer (or the agent), the caused event and the person towards which the causation is directed, that is the dative object. In this case, the embedded subject gets a double θ-role only in transitive infinitives: one from the infinitive and another one from *fare* 'make' (which is a benefactive, malefactive or an affectee role).

Several theoretical aspects need further clarification. First, Guasti's (1993: 98) proposal is compatible with a version of the theta criterion according to which a single NP is allowed to receive more than one theta-role, as long as they are assigned to the same position (cf. Chomsky 1986). Even assuming Guasti's theoretical system, increasing the number of θ-roles in the

[70] In a similar vein, Villalba (1992) also proposes an incorporation approach for Catalan causative constructions and argues that the embedded infinitival subject receives accusative or dative Case from the complex verb formed through this process.

causative construction seems to complicate the theory unnecessarily.[71] The issue of a double theta-role assignment that functions only with arguments of the transitive verbs but never with intransitives is questionable. For example, the subject of an embedded unergative can be an agent, but once it becomes an argument of the whole complex predicate can be interpreted as a theme or a patient. So it would receive a second θ-role. Guasti avoids this matter. Second, Guasti (1993: 97) claims that the affected argument is associated with an inherent dative Case. I do not see how the extra dative Case can be inherent, since it is supposed to be assigned post-incorporation or, at least, to be a reflex of the incorporation process.[72] A last observation is related to the fact that, in Guasti's theory, this option of taking an affectee object that *fare* 'make' has is activated only when it embeds a transitive complement. The affectee role is optional and dependent on the presence of the structural accusative object. Consequently, through this odd mechanism, an *affectedness* effect is obtained, which is not present in the constructions based on intransitive complements (see also Alsina 1992). Given Guasti's considerations on the inheritance of arguments after the formation of the complex predicate in causative constructions, and the assumption that the causee is is a shared argument of both the infinitive and the causative verb (cf. Guasti 1993: 98), I fail to understand why the affectedness effect cannot operate in the case of intransitive complements.

Apart from the behaviour of Italian causatives, Guasti is also concerned with French and Spanish facts. In Guasti (1993, 1996b) French causative verbs are analyzed as being able to enter two different configurations. Guasti (1993, 1996) argues that the difference between Italian and French is structural. Italian causatives select only VP complements, whereas French, apart from the VP complement, can take a structure that includes some functional projections (Mood Phrase (MP) in the case of causatives, or AgrP as in the case of perception verbs), at least under certain circumstances. These certain circumstances make reference especially to the occurrence of anaphoric reflexive clitics (like *se*/*si*), negation, and some object clitics, that can appear in complements of French causatives but not in Italian ones, which could suggest a larger structure.

[71] Of course, the Minimalist Program does not consider thematic roles to be semantic primitives, and totally dispenses with the notion of 'θ-role assignment', but we try to understand Guasti's reasoning when postulating different theta-roles for the same argument.

[72] For Villalba (1992: 370, 377), for example, claims that the dative case of the embedded subject is not an inherent case and it is not linked to a theta-role or to a dedicated semantic interpretation, as in Guasti (1993). The embedded object receives accusative Case under adjacency from the complex verb and the dative one by means of a last resort rule.

The presence of *se* in the French example (73) is claimed to block incorporation and signal an MP structure (headed by a null modal particle (M)).

(73) *French*

a. Il a fait se_i réveiller la $fille_i$.
he make-PAST-3.SG REFL wake up-INF the girl
'He made the girl wake herself up.'

b. Il a fait [$_{MP}$ M^0 [$_{IP}$ *pro* se_i réveiller la $fille_i$]]

[Guasti 1993: 78]

Guasti (1993) extends the analysis to Spanish. Similarly to French, Spanish can select a larger complement (an MP in Guasti's view), as the distribution of the reflexive *se* (74a), the embedded object clitic *la* and negation (74b) seem to suggest.

(74) *Spanish*

a. Juan hizo lavar*se* las manos a María.
John make-PAST wash-INF-REFL the hands DOM Mary
'Juan made Mary wash her hands.'

b. Nos hicieron *no* divulgar*la*.
CL-1.PL-us make-PAST not reveal-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC-it
'They made us not reveal it.'

[Guasti 1993: 86]

Regarding the infinitival complementation of perception verbs, Guasti (1993) cites evidence from adverb placement, negation, and floating quantifiers, and concludes that Romance perception verbs take an AgrSP complement (that also contains a non-finite TP layer), rather than a bare VP, as in the case of causatives.[73]

(75) Ho visto [$_{AgrSP}$ Paolo rubare$_i$ [$_{TP}$ t_i' [$_{VP}$ t_i una macchina]]]

[73] Belletti (1990) also claims that the infinitive construction selected by perception verbs in Italian is an AgrP without a TP. See also Mensching (2000) who proposes that French *voir* 'see' and *laisser* 'let' subcategorize for an AgrP complement in an ECM configuration based on a Split-Infl hypothesis (cf. Pollock 1989). An AgrP analysis was also proposed by Watanabe (1993) for Italian causatives. He assumes that reduced causatives c-select AgrOPs as their complements.

'I have seen Paolo steal a car.'

[Guasti 1993: 120]

It is not clear why she chooses different complements (MPs for causatives in French and Spanish, and AgrSPs for perception verbs in French, Spanish and Italian) since her analysis is based on complements that accommodate the same linguistic facts. I think that Guasti needs this theoretical artifice to maintain the incorporation approach for those verbs (causatives in French and Spanish) that can take also larger complements, and also to justify the word order in perception verb cases (i.e., complements with preverbal subjects).[74] In the case of perception verbs, Guasti investigates only complements with pre-infinitival subjects, on the assumption that perception verbs do not restructure. I believe this stipulation is at the core of differentiating the two complements, although they accommodate the same phenomena (clitics, negation, etc.). Guasti claims that verbs of perception can never be incorporation triggers, as opposed to *fare*-causatives which are morphologically poorer. She also excludes the anaphoric nature of Tense in perception verb constructions (i.e., the Tense of the matrix verb and the one of the embedded verb must match) as a possible cause of incorporation, because incorporation seems to be impossible with perception verbs (Guasti (1993: 90). Contrary to Guasti's claims, I want to point out the fact that Italian can build verbal complexes with perception verbs as well and the cliticization facts in (76) show precisely this scenario. [75]

(76) *Italian*

a. Maria ha visto Paolo riparare la macchina.
Mary see-PRES.PERF-3.SG Paul repair-INF the car
'Maria has seen Paolo repair the car.'

[74] Guasti places the pre-infinitival subject in AgrS, the canonical position in which subjects lend according to the analysis she adopts, the Split-IP hypothesis (see Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990).

[75] The data was consulted with Italian native speakers, Andrea Bellavia, Jan Casalicchio and Federico Silvagni (p.c). Burzio (1986) also gives the example (i) without further insisting on the issue of complex predicates with perception verbs.

(i) Gliel' ho visto prendere
CL-M-3.SG-DAT CL-F-3.SG-ACC have seen take
'I have seen him take it.'

[Burzio 1986: 221]

b. Maria *l'* ha visto riparar*la*.
Mary CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PRES.PERF-3.SG repair-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC
'Mary has seen him repair it.'

c. Maria ha visto riparare la macchina a Paolo.
Mary see-PRES.PERF-3.SG repair-INF the car to Paul
'Maria has seen Paolo repair the car.'

d. Maria gliel' ha vista riparare.
Mary CL-M-3.SG-DAT=CL-F-3.SG-ACC see-PRES.PERF-3.SG repair-INF.
'Mary has seen him repair it.'

These structures with post-infinitival subjects embedded under perception verbs seem to weaken Guasti's proposal that differentiates between similar complement depending on the properties of the main verbs. Di Tullio (1998: 217-218) also considers that Guasti's approach is inadequate at least for Spanish, in view of the fact that this language makes extensive use of the two configurations, both with perception verbs and with causatives. Therefore we believe that the asymmetry between the two classes of verbs in terms of the complement is not founded.

Before concluding this subsection, I want to say a few words about the mechanism of incorporation which seems to be theoretically quite problematic from the point of view of the current minimalist theory. From the beginning, the proposal of verb-incorporation was empirically inadequate for the Romance causative constructions. As we have seen, there is no true incorporation process in these cases, since the matrix verb and the embedded one always keep intact their autonomy as independent morphological word. The lexical material that intervenes between the two verbs argues against a V-to-V incorporation analysis (see Kayne 1975, Roberts 1997, Ippolito 2000). Recall that the main arguments come from clitic placement, negation elements, verbal ellipsis, coordinated verbal phrases, and adverbials. To all this, I would add the occurrence of a preinfinitival DP subject, as in Spanish, that also breaks the adjacency between the two verbs. Moreover, this discontinuity should be accounted for and authors had to propose a second mechanism that would justify the linear word order (such as excorporation, see (94) above), a fact that would complicate the theory even more. In conclusion, I believe that incorporation (à la Baker 1988 and Guasti 1993) is difficult to maintain.

Apart from these observations, I consider that an incorporation approach also faces some serious conceptual problems. Several linguists who work on (classical) restructuring verbs (Roberts 1997, Wurmbrand 2005; 2015a) point out that the analysis through which infinitive incorporates within the matrix predicate presupposes bringing the two words under the same single X^0, but the result is a complex predicate that cannot be spelled out as such (i.e., as a head), thus violating the structure preservation constraint (cf. Emonds 1970, Chomsky 1986).[76] I believe that this theoretic aspect is also important for those proposals that treat causative and perception verb construction as complex predicates. The same question arises in these cases: how these complex VPs are built from the incorporation and then the excorporation of bare V heads. The syntactic mechanism of incorporation had the role of explaining the adjacency of the two verbs. However, the complex predicate effect can be attained derivationally, through VP-movement (as in Burzio 1986) with no reason to recur to head-incorporation.

More generally, these considerations open the debate on head-movement and the atomicity of (complex) heads (cf. Vicente 2007). Since Postal's (1969) Lexical Integrity Hypothesis, it has been assumed that it is impossible to extract a constituent out of a complex head. As Vicente (2007: 16) points out, "complex heads are syntactically indivisible, i.e., one may not target a proper subpart of a complex head and move it to the exclusion of the rest of the head." Therefore, no process of 'excorporation' or other similar mechanism should be able to take place. I conclude that the problems raised by the implementation of an incorporation approach in a more recent minimalist-style analysis of head-movement are not trivial.

4.4. Perception and causative predicates as ECM verbs

At first glance, Romance causative and perception verb constructions with preinfinitival subjects seem to be another instance of ECM constructions similar to those found in English with causative and perception verbs like *make*, *let*, *see* or *hear* (77a-c), with causative verb *cause*

[76] More recently, Wurmbrand (2015b) revives the incorporation approach in the context of classical restructuring verbs such as *try*, and proposes that restructuring complements involve a Voice head (but no embedded subject), and this the *voice* head is, in fact, the one that undergoes incorporation. We cannot extend her approach to our cases, because our infinitival complements have embedded subjects and we cannot see how incorporation can apply when the subject position is filled with lexical material.

(77d) or with canonical ECM verbs of the *believe*-type (77e).[77] On standard assumptions, the Case of the embedded subject is valued by the causative/perception/ECM verb, although, thematically, it is θ-marked by the embedded predicate of the infinitival clause. In these configurations, the subject of the infinitival complement appears in accusative and the embedded direct complement of the infinitive has its Case licensed in the subordinate domain. [78]

(77) *English*

a. I made/let them buy a new car.

b. I saw him drive a Maserati.

c. I heard her sing the famous aria.

d. Mary caused John to leave.

e. I believe him to be intelligent.

Due to the IC pattern in which they appear, perception verbs easily fit in the category of ECM predicate. Among the authors who propose an ECM configuration for these verbs we find Manzini (1983), Rosen (1992), Borgonovo (1994), Moore (1996), in the classical literature on perception verbs, and, more recently, Felser (1999), Castillo (2001), López (2001), Rowlett (2007), Ciutescu (2013a), and Saab (2014), among others. There are several works that put forth an ECM analysis also for the permissive verb *let* and I want to mention Manzini (1983), Rosen (1992), Maier (1994), or Den Dikken & Longenecker (2004). Causative verbs, mainly because of the lack of the IC pattern in the majority of Western Romance languages, have not been catalogued as ECM predicates. Nevertheless, linguists working on Spanish, such as Treviño

[77] ECM is parametrically constrained. ECM *believe*-type verbs in Western Romance do not take infinitival complements, as first observed, among others, by Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980), Kayne (1981), Rizzi (1982), Manzini (1983), and Burzio (1986).As opposed to Western Romance languages, Romanian can take infinitival complements in ECM constructions. More recent approaches to ECM in Spanish in other environments than those dealt with in this thesis can be found in Ormazabal (1995), Martin (1996), Torrego (1998), Rooryck (2000), Zagona (2000), Castillo (2001), San Martin (2004), and Gallego (2010). For more general theoretical issues on ECM construction, see Lasnik & Saito (1991), Koizumi (1995), Bošković (1997a, b, 2002), and Lasnik (1999, 2001, 2002).

[78] For studies on the syntax of infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs in English and other Germanic languages see, among others, Gee (1975, 1977), Kirsner & Thompson (1976), Akmajian (1977), Declerk (1982a), Barwise & Perry (1983), Higginbotham (1983), Marantz (1984), Santorini & Heycock (1988), Mittwoch (1990), Safir (1993), Ritter & Rosen (1993), Felser (1998, 1999), Huddlestone & Pullum (2002), Cornilescu (2003), Noël (2004), Hornstein et al. (2008), Ishihara (2009), Moulton (2009), Radford (2009), for English; Declerk (1982b), Wilder (1988), Bennis & Hoekstra (1989), Gunkel (1999), Felser (2000), Terbeek (2008), for Dutch and German; Rawoens (2011), Rawoens & Egan (2013), for Swedish.

(1994), Franco & Landa (1995), Torrego (1998, 2010), or Ciutescu (2015), relate the syntax of these verbs to that of ECM constructions. Furthermore, it has been said that the differences existing between these classes of predicates are reflected in the complement they take. I introduce the most relevant analyses.

Before Rosen (1989), Strozer (1976), Li (1990), Guasti (1993) and Manzini (1983) had already claimed that causative and perception verbs select, in fact, VP small clause complements. Rosen (1989) discusses both causatives and perception verbs that subcategorize for infinitival complements and assumes that, in the reduced constructions, the French causative or the causative-like verb (i.e., *voir* 'see', *laisser* 'let') is a reanalyzer that cannot value the Case of the embedded subject and therefore must enter a process of *reanalysis* with the embedded verb (as previously discussed in R&V 1980), which is, in her theory, the one that actually assigns Case to the embedded object/subject. Perception *voir* 'see' and permissive *laisser* 'let' can appear in a second (ECM) configuration in which they are able to assign Case to the preinfinitival embedded subject. In conclusion, they are optional reanalyzers (they are at the same time Case assigners and reanalyzers), while *faire* 'make' is a reanalyzer obligatorily, prohibiting a configuration with preinfinitival lexical subjects. The superficial word order is, in Manzini's opinion, a matter of where the subject is generated: to the left as in the ECM configuration (78a), or to the right as in the reduced variant (78b).

(78) *French*

a. J'ai laissé/vu [$_{VP}$ Marie [$_{VP}$ rire]].
'I let/seen Marie laugh.'

[adapted from Manzini 1983: 173]

b. J'ai fait/laissé [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ rire] Marie].
'I made/let Marie laugh.'

[adapted from Manzini 1983: 198]

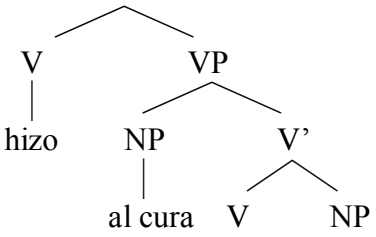
In a similar vein, Treviño (1994), working in the realm of Spanish causative constructions, suggests that the complement *hacer* 'make' is an instance of ECM. She puts forward a bare VP-complementation analysis and argues against the building of verbal

complexes through the strategy of verb movement. For Treviño (1994), the complement of *hacer*-causatives is totally devoid of any functional projections and proposes the structures in (79-80) for IC and RIC contexts.

(79) *Spanish*

a. Juan hizo al cura aceptar la limosna.
John make-PAST-3.SG DOM-the priest accept-INF the alms
'Juan made the priest accept the charity.'

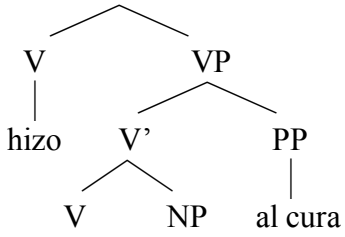
b.



[adapted from Treviño 1994: 91]

(80) a. Juan hizo aceptar la limosna al cura.
John make-PAST-3.SG accept-INF the alms to-the priest
'Juan made the priest accept the charity.'

b.



[adapted from Treviño 1994: 91]

In Treviño's (1994) analysis, the infinitival subject occupies the preverbal canonical position (Spec, VP). Case is structural, assigned under government to the subject *in situ*, so the embedded subject has no need to raise to the matrix clause. On the other hand, the post-infinitival position is a prepositional phrase (PP). Case is assigned to the embedded subject by the dative preposition *a*, which is semantically empty and whose only function is to assign Case

to the argument, and to the embedded object by the embedded transitive predicate, which does not lose its capacity for assigning Case. Treviño (1994: 67-68) maintains that, when there is no complex predicate formation, both the matrix verb and the infinitive retain their properties of assigning Case to their arguments. Treviño also claims that the specific Case-markings of the embedded subject correlate with particular structural positions and each position conveys a distinct semantic interpretation. A preinfinitival subject expresses direct causation and it cliticizes as an accusative clitic (81b). A post-infinitival subject renders an indirect causation meaning. The embedded subject always cliticizes as a dative clitic, or it can be doubled by a dative clitic (81d).[79]

(81) *Spanish*

a. Hizo *a su hermano* vender la casa.
make-PAST-3.SG DOM his brother sell-INF the house
'He made his brother sell the house.'

b. *Lo* hizo vender la casa.
CL-M-3.PL-ACC make-PAST-3.SG sell-INF the house
'He made him sell the house'

c. Hizo vender la casa *a su hermano*.
make-PAST-3.SG sell-INF the house to his brother
'He made his brother sell the house.'

d. *Le* hizo vender la casa (*a su hermano*).
CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST-3.SG sell-INF the house (to his brother)
'Juan made Peter publish that.'

[adapted from Treviño 1994: 113]

Interestingly, Treviño admits that the positioning of a post-verbal subject does not always entail an indirect causation interpretation, but it can have an ambiguous direct/indirect meaning. Hence, (81d) could render both a direct and an indirect interpretation. For the moment, I retain from Treviño's argumentation the fact that the two subject positions can have implications for the semantics of the construction.

[79] The transitivity of the complement plays no role. The two configurations occur with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Putting aside for now the question of the semantic distinction in (81), I would like to address some potential problems for Treviño's analysis. First, it is not clear the status of the post-infinitival DP subject. Treviño claims it is a PP, a kind of adjunct phrase. However, it has been claimed, on several occasions, that this DP must be an argument (cf. Kayne 1975; Burzio 1986; Villalba 1992; Ordóñez 2008). Second, there are reasons to believe that the positioning of the subject is not strictly correlated with a certain type of clitic. Treviño personally gives the following examples in which the infinitival subject can be expressed through an accusative or a dative clitic, irrespective of the transitivity of the complement.

(82) *Embedded transitive*

a. El gitano *lo* /*le* hizo comprar
the gipsy CL-M-3.SG-ACC/CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST-3.SG buy-INF
sus inventos.
his inventions
'The gipsy made him buy his inventions.'

Embedded unergative

b. Anastasia *lo* /*le* hacía trabajar duramente.
Anastasia CL-M-3.SG-ACC/CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST-3.SG work-INF hard
'Anastasia made him work hard.'

Embedded unaccusative

c. Fue eso lo que *lo* /*le* hizo caer.
be-PAST that which that CL-M-3.SG-ACC/CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST-3.SG fall-INF
'That was what caused him fall.'

[Treviño 1994: 53, *Spanish*]

The same variation is also found with perception verbs (cf. Di Tullio 1996; Roegiest 2003; NGRLE 2009) with transitive/intransitive complements (83), and this distinction does not necessarily have implications for the direct/indirect perception of the events, but rather for the degree of autonomy the infinitival subject has in the caused/perceived event (see chapter 3, §4.2. for a detailed discussion on this microparametric variation in Spanish). The infinitive in perception verb complements induces a direct (non-epistemic) perception reading (see also Borgonovo 1994; Hernanz 1999; Rizzi 2000; Rodríguez Espiñeira 2000).

(83) *Spanish*

a. *Lo*/*le* vio beber whisky.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC/CL-M-3.SG-DAT see-PAST drink-INF whisky
'(S)He saw him drink whisky.'

b. *Lo*/*le* vi correr.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC/CL-M-3.SG-DAT see-PAST run-INF
'I saw him run.'

c. *Lo*/*le* vi llegar.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC/CL-M-3.SG-DAT see-PAST arrive-INF
'I saw him arrive.'

As we have seen, Treviño links the presence of a post-infinitival subject to the dative clitic. She claims that only in these cases the subject can be doubled by the clitic. I believe this affirmation is fundamentally wrong since the pre-infinitival embedded subject can be doubled by a dative clitic in (almost) all Spanish dialects, as observed by Ordóñez (2008: 4).

(84) *Peninsular Spanish*

Juan le hizo a María comprarlo.
John CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST DOM Mary buy-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC
'Juan made Mary buy it.'

Myriam Cantú (p.c.) confirms that the doubling <(dative) clitic–pre-infinitival subject> pattern is also possible in Mexican Spanish.

(85) *Mexican Spanish*

Le hice a Juan firmar el contrato.
CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST DOM John sign-INF the contract
'I made Juan sign the contract.'

Moreover, I found the examples (86) on Mexican Spanish, drawn from the CREA corpus. (86b) shows an instance of accusative clitic doubling. Similar configurations obtain in Rioplatense Spanish (86c).

(86) *Mexican Spanish*

a. Luego le hizo a su mujer masticarlo […]
then CL-F-3.SG-DAT make-PAST DOM his wife chew-INF=CL-M-3.SG-ACC
'Then he made his wife chew it'

[CREA: Rubín, R., 1991, Mexico]

b. La extraña fuerza que los hacía a ellos dos
the strange force that CL-M-3.PL-ACC make-PAST DOM PR-3.PL-ACC two
digerir los dolores
digest-INF the pains
'The strange force that made them both bear the pains'

Rioplatense Spanish

c. Yo la hice a María trabajar.
I CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST DOM Mary work-INF
'I made Mary work.'

[Ordóñez & Saab 2016: 4]

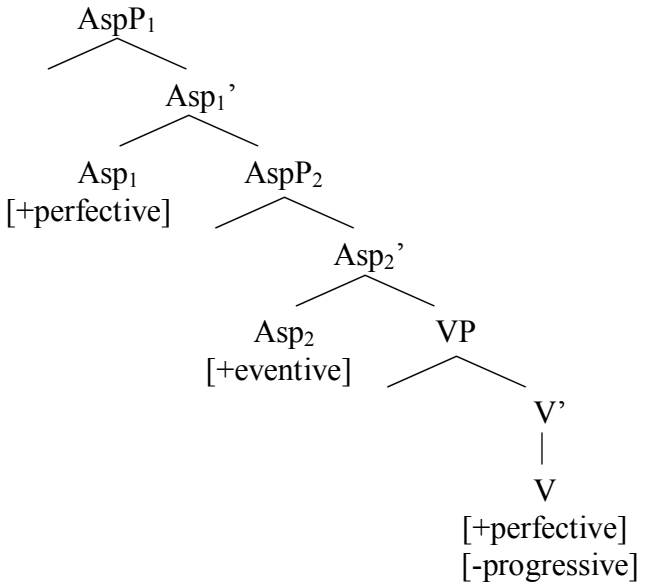
Treviño (1994) discards a CP/TP analysis for the infinitival clause in causative constructions, either because of the lack of syntactic phenomena associated with the C-domains (the presence of *wh*-phrases or topic positions, usually accommodated by a CP layer), or because of the lack of Tense, Aspect or Modal operators, present in TP complements. She also excludes the presence of a non-finite Tense in the complement, for economy reasons.

There are other authors who argue against a TP analysis for causative and perception verbs, but who also oppose a simple VP analysis. Castillo (2001), for example, defends an Asp(ect)P complement for perception verbs in Spanish. According to Castillo (2001: 133) Aspect (contrary to Tense) can function simply as a predicate operator. The difference is grounded on the selectional properties of the perception verb. These verbs are endowed with a bundle of features, all of them related, in one way or another, to the Aspect layer. For instance,

the embedded complements of perception verbs refer to actions and events, which are [+perfective]. The [+/-perfective] feature is located in the Aspect head. This feature can further divide, if we take into account the distinction between (bare) infinitives and gerund (-ing) forms. The feature [+perfective], can be marked as [+/-] progressive. In addition, verbal predicates are distinguished from non-verbal ones with the help of a last parameter [+/-eventive], also located on the Asp head. Castillo (2001) proposes for IC a structure that looks like (87):

(87) a. Vi a María bailar.
'I saw María dance.'

b.



[adapted from Castillo 2001: 135, *Spanish*]

An AspP analysis for the infinitival complements is also proposed for causative verbs by Vivanco (2015). She argues that the infinitive can have aspectual information different from the matrix verb, although the final interpretation is given by the AspP that dominates the causative verb, which has aspectual consequences for the entire structure.

(88) En diez minutos, Patri hizo a Ruth estar tocando el piano
in ten minutes Paty make-PAST DOM Ruth be-INF playing the piano

(toda la tarde / *ahora).

all the afternoon / now

'In ten minutes, Patri made Ruth play the piano (all the afternoon, *now).'

[Vivanco 2015: 366, *Spanish*]

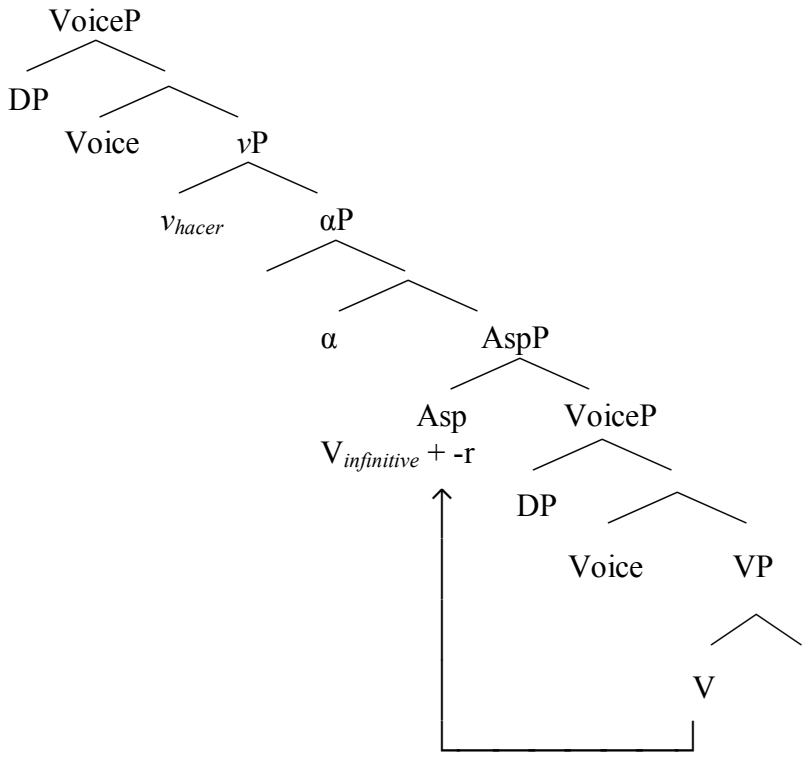
In (88), the embedded event is imperfective, while the matrix event is perfective. The infinitive can also accommodate temporal modifiers, but these have to be compatible with the ultimate aspectual meaning given by the matrix verb. That is why an adverb like *ahora* 'now' is not consistent with a past (perfective) interpretation of the verb *hacer* 'make'. Vivanco concludes that analytic causative constructions are monoclausal structures dominated by a single (matrix) Tense layer but two AspPs since there are two VPs in the structure.

Vivanco (2015) is also concerned with the issue of word order and assumes that a strategy of predicate raising over the embedded subject could explain the post-infinitival subject position. The infinitive verb moves from its base position to an Asp head. This may not be new (it was already proposed in the classical literature on the topic, beginning with Kayne 1975 and Burzio 1986), but Vivanco states that her analysis differs from the traditional predicate raising inasmuch as the infinitive does not move in order to trigger restructuring. The movement is motivated by the necessity the infinitive verb has of incorporating into the verbal ending morpheme –r, situated in the head of the AspP.[80] She follows Wurmbrand (2001) who defends that, if the complement is smaller than a TP, no extra operation (verb raising, restructuring or S-deletion) is really necessary to obtain the monoclausal structure. According to Vivanco (2015) analytic causatives are from the very beginning of the derivation a single syntactic domain.[81]

[80] Vivanco (2015: 358) assumes another functional projection in the complement of causative predicates. She claims that a MoodP can also be inserted on top of the AspP.

[81] Vivanco's (2015: 389-391) final structure contains, in fact, two α nodes. The second αP is situated above the VP. The α heads are in charge of assigning Case to the embedded subject and to the embedded object, respectively.

(89)



[adapted from Vivanco 2015: 357]

Regarding (89) and the issue of word order in causative constructions, I want to make a sole observation. Vivanco assumes that, when the embedded subject is post-infinitival, the whole VP (the verb and its direct object) moves to the Asp head. Of course, as I already noticed above, incorporation of a phrase in a head is far from unproblematic. This is a movement that, at least in the current theory, should be disallowed (cf. Wurmbrand 2005, Vincente 2007).

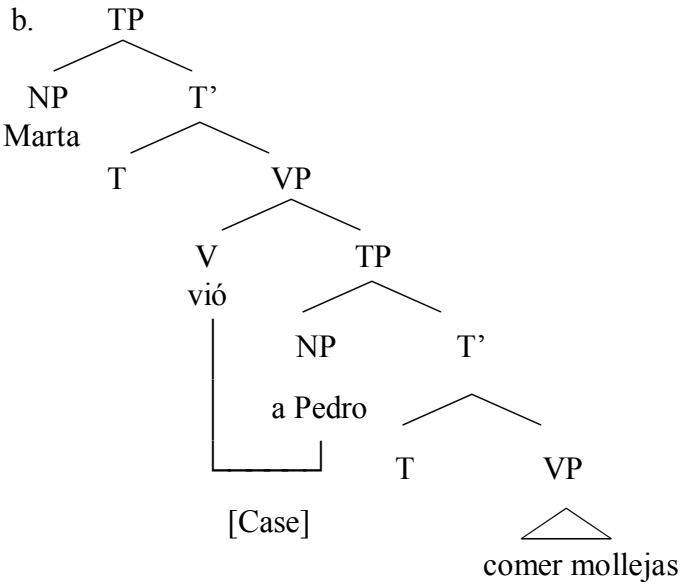
Notwithstanding all these approaches, other considerations on causative and perception predicates as ECM verbs converge in support of a TP complementation analysis. Proponents of the ECM approaches associate the preverbal subject with a TP complement, under the assumption that this subject moves higher in the structure (to a Spec, TP position or even to a higher projection in the matrix clause), to get its Case valued. Looking at perception verbs and *let*-causatives from a pan-Romance perspective, I concluded they can always take infinitival complements (IC) with preverbal subjects, as well as reduced infinitival complements (RIC). This variation brought various authors to assume that each configuration connects to a different

complement.[82] Perception verbs and causative verb *let* select a TP complement in IC configurations, and a VP complement in RIC contexts. Apart from the preinfinitival subject marked with accusative Case, arguments brought in favour of a TP complement came from the presence of clitics, negation, and, sometimes, temporal adverbial modifiers in the embedded domain.

As I briefly mentioned above, an ECM analysis is also proposed by Moore (1996). Moore (1996) claims that Spanish causative and perception verbs are clause union triggers and can potentially be ECM verbs. Moore's proposal is a little bit different from the ECM analyses we have seen until now. In contrast with other authors (see above) who associate the preinfinitival subject position to an ECM configuration, Moore proposes an ECM pattern also for the structures with post-infinitival subject, like in the (90c) example. A (non-finite) TP analysis is assumed in both structures (90a, c). His representations are given in (90b, d).

(90) a. Marta vio *a* *Pedro* comer mollejas.
Marta see-PAST DOM Peter eat-INF gizzards
'Marta saw Pedro eat gizzards.'

b.

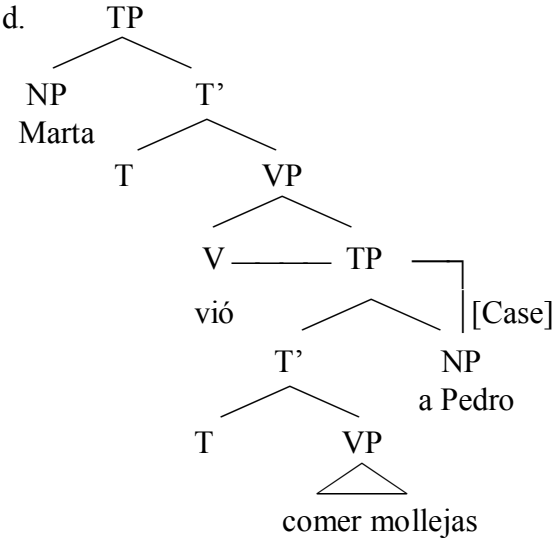


[82] This double complementation strategy is observed in Rosen (1992), Maier (1994), Labelle (1996), Den Dikken & Longenecker (2004), and Rowlett (2007), especially for French, and, by extension, for all Western Romance languages.

[adapted from Moore 1996: 118]

c. Marta vio comer mollejas *a Pedro.*
Marta see-PAST eat-INF gizzards to Peter
'Marta saw Pedro eat gizzards.'

d.



[adapted from Moore 1996: 119]

According to Moore (1996), (90c, d) is a non-reduced construction. In his analysis, overt post-infinitival DP subject positions are not always mapped on to the reduced structures, they can also appear in TP complements. Under the assumption that Spanish does not require strict adjacency between a Case assigner and the Case assignee, as English ECM, he argues that post-infinitival subjects can also occur in TP complements.[83] Notice that Moore (1996) does not conceive of the ECM construction as other (above-mentioned) works on the topic. He supports his theory with data coming from embedded negation. He claims that the presence of negation in (91b) is a sign of a TP structure in the complement of *ver* 'see'.

(91) a. Vimos *a Pedro no* comer el potaje.
see-PAST DOM Peter not eat-INF the thick soup
b. Vimos *no* comer el potage *a Pedro.*

[83] English is claimed to be a language that needs strict adjacency to obtain grammaticality in ECM constructions (see Chomsky & Lasnik 1977, Stowell 1981):

(i) *I believe sincerely Mary to be intelligent.

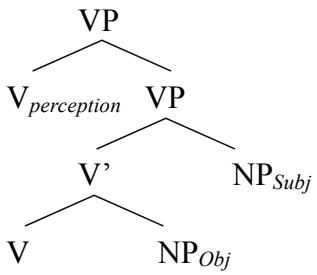
see-PAST not eat-INF the thick soup to Peter
'We saw Pedro not eat the soup.'

[Moore 1996: 118, *Spanish*]

Although a unifying approach to the analysis of the infinitival complement is more than appealing, I should say that Moore's data are controversial. (91b) is judged ungrammatical by all Spanish native speakers I consulted. If (91a) can be marginally accepted, the (91b) example is ruled out. Therefore, the behaviour of negation is not a clear sign of the presence of a TP complement in the reduced configurations. Moreover, under standard minimalist assumptions, the embedded Spec, IP is a Caseless position, the embedded subject is Case-checked after undergoing movement to a position in the matrix clause (see Chomsky 1993; 1995, Chomsky & Lasnik 1993, Bošković 1997).

Moore's analysis attempts to reconcile the monoclausal/biclausal behaviour of the perception verb constructions. Therefore he proposes that his (90d) structure is, in fact, ambiguous. Perception verbs can also be ECM predicates in the reduced variant, taking a VP complement (92). In this construction, the subject is always post-infinitival or expressed through a (dative) clitic that climbs. In conclusion, clitic climbing is possible only out of this VP-complement.[84]

(92)



[adapted from Moore 1996: 141]

Moore's analysis also deals with causative constructions. Following Dorel (1980), he argues that causative verbs (both *dejar* 'let' and *hacer* 'make') behave ambiguously as direct

[84] Moore (1996: 145) claims that Case alternations only occur in reduced constructions (dative is a strategy to avoid a situation of conflict between two accusative objects in the same VP complement), and no alternations take place in unreduced constructions, in which the ECM verb assigns structural accusative Case to the infinitival subject, while the embedded verb assigns accusative to the embedded object.

object control verbs (when the infinitival subject, i.e., the causee, is preverbal; see also Moore 1997) and as ECM verbs (with the subject in a post-infinitival position).[85] As in the case of perception verbs, Moore (1996) argues that causative verbs in their ECM configurations take either TP (in the biclausal variant) or VP complements (in the monoclausal/reduced variant). This affirmation should explain the negation facts (93) found in the complement of causative verbs, since sentential negation is incompatible with reduced constructions.

(93) a. Le hicieron a José *no* comerlas.
CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST DOM John not eat-INF-CL-F-3.PL-ACC
'They made José not eat them.'

b. Le hicieron *no* comerlas a José.
CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST not eat-INF-CL-F-3.PL-ACC to John
'They made José not eat them.'

[Moore 1996: 124, Spanish]

If I understand him correctly, Moore suggests that (93b) is an ECM structure in which the causative verb takes a TP complement that accommodates negation, and therefore it must be a sample of unreduced configuration. Again, as in the cases (91) above, our native speakers marginally accept (93a) and totally reject (93b). The presence of a negation phrase in (93) is, therefore, controversial.

In addition, Moore (1996) considers that the TP vs. VP difference in complementation has consequences for the interpretation of the causative constructions. On the assumption that biclausal and monoclausal causative constructions yield different interpretations of indefinite causees (see Diesing's 1991 Mapping Hypothesis), Moore claims that preinfinitival causees (94a) have a generic reading, suggesting that they are VP-external (94b). On the other hand, (94c) is supposed to yield an existential reading, with a post-infinitival subject in a VP complement (94d). Moore argues that the alleged generic versus existential meaning of (94a) as opposed to (94c) is due to the contrast produced by an indefinite preinfinitival subject found in a TP complement, while a post-infinitival one is related to a VP complement.

[85] Other control analyses for causative constructions are provided in Bordelois (1974, 1988) and Strozer (1976).

(94) a. Pedro le hace a un gato cazar ratones.
Peter CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-3SG DOM a cat hunt-INF mice
b. Pedro le hace [$_{TP}$ a un gato [$_{VP}$ cazar ratones]]
'Pedro makes a cat (generic) hunt mice.'
c. Pedro le hace cazar ratones a un gato.
Peter CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-3SG hunt-INF mice to a cat
d. Pedro le hace [$_{VP}$ cazar ratones a un gato]
'Pedro makes a cat (existential) hunt mice.'

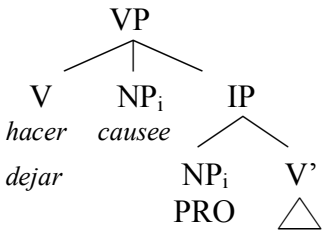
[Moore 1996: 4, *Spanish*]

I believe that the distinction Moore draws is not that sharp, and it has, in fact, little empirical justification. First, (94a) is usually ruled out. It could marginally improve if the indefinite (animate, but not human) DP is replaced by a definite one (i.e., *Le hace al gato cazar ratones* 'He makes the cat hunt mice'), but, again, this is an unnatural outcome. Second, the (94c) construction can also be interpreted as generic. As Anna Gavarró (p.c.) points out, the indefinite DP (95) found in a post-infinitival position can also be interpreted as generic. Consequently, I believe Moore's generalization does not hold.

(95) Este vendedor le hace comprar un parasol a un esquimal.
this salesman CL-M-3SG-DAT make-PRES-3.SG buy-INF a parasol to an Eskimo
'This salesman makes an Eskimo buy a parasol.'

Moore complicates the patterns of subordination of causative verbs when he attributes them three different complements. The (direct object) control analysis (96) is, perhaps, the most controversial.

(96)



[adapted from Moore 1996: 125]

A (large) number of works have shown that a control analysis to causative and perception verb constructions is inadequate.[86] Moore (1996) starts his argumentation from the observation that causative verbs, as opposed to perception verbs, impose selectional restrictions on the embedded subject when this one occupies the preinfinitival position (Moore 1996: 125): "If a verb imposes selectional restrictions on a syntactic position, then there is evidence that the verb assigns a θ-role to that position. This assumption leads to the conclusion that causative verbs θ-mark a pre-infinitival causee." This affirmation is meant to explain the contrast in (97):

(97) a. Hicieron a Marta trabajar.
make-PAST-3.PL DOM Martha work-INF

b. Hicieron trabajar a Marta.
make-PAST-3.PL work-INF DOM Martha
'They made Marta work.'

c. *Hicieron la lavadora funcionar.
make-PAST-3.PL the washing machine work-INF

d. Hicieron funcionar la lavadora.
make-PAST-3.PL work-INF the washing machine
'They made the washing machine work.'

[adapted from Moore 1996: 124, *Spanish*]

An inanimate DP is banned from the preinfinitival position (97c), but not from a post-infinitival one (97d). This animacy restriction Moore places on the infinitival subject is questioned by Franco & Landa (1995) who defend an ECM analysis for *hacer* 'make' from an early minimalist point of view (Chomsky 1993, 1995). They claim that the ill-formed construction (97c) improves if the embedded subject is immediately preceded by the particle *a,* as (98):

[86] Many authors have successfully demonstrated that causative and perception verb constructions are no instances of control. We refer to Hernanz (1982, 1999, 2002), Treviño (1994), Franco & Landa (1995), Moore (1997), Di Tullio (1998), Torrego (1998), Campos (1999), López (2001), Kayne (2004) and Ordóñez (2008). We side with these authors, but we do not intend to review all the analyses and present all their pertinent arguments in this study. See Hernanz (1982, 1999, 2002) who gives a good characterization of the behaviour of Spanish causative verbs (*dejar* 'let' and *hacer* 'make') but also perception verbs (*ver* 'see', *oír* 'hear'), that clearly diverge from object control predicates such as *obligar* 'oblige', *forzar* 'force' (direct object control verbs), or *permitir* 'allow', *prohibir* 'prohibit', *ordenar* 'order' (indirect object control verbs).

(98) a. ?Hicimos a la lavadora funcionar.
make-PAST-3.PL DOM the washing machine work-INF
'We made the washing machine run.'

b. El viento hizo a las nubes disiparse.
The wind make-PAST-3.SG DOM the clouds disappear-INF
'The wind made the clouds disappear.'

[Franco & Landa 1995: 204, *Spanish*]

Ormazabal & Romero (2013: 160) make the same point. The preinfinitival DP is found in a DOM position and the list of objects that move to this position is quite large, including animate and specific DO, pronouns and ECM subjects, both animate and inanimate, as in (99): [87]

(99) a. Hizo *(a) la lavadora funcionar.
make-PAST-3.SG DOM the washing machine work-INF
'He made the washing machine work.'

b. Oyó *(a) la bicicleta estamparse contra el suelo.
hear-PAST-3.SG DOM the bicycle smash-INF against the ground.
'He heard the bicycle smash against the ground.'

[Ormazabal & Romero 2013: 160, *Spanish*]

Moreover, the impossibility of causative verbs to select nominal complements in their sense of persuasion or coercion (not creation) interpretation has already been noticed in the literature (cf. Hernanz 1982, 1999, Burzio 1986). The embedded subject is not thematically related to the matrix verb hence the ungrammaticality of (100):

(100) *Hice / *Dejé a Marta
make-PAST-1.SG / let-PAST-1.SG DOM Martha

[87] This generalization is crucial for our analysis and we return to this issue in chapter X where we attempt to account for the special status of this position in Spanish. For the time being, we just want to highlight the fact that the preinfinitival subject can also be an inanimate DP.

The same observation carries over to perception verbs. *Juan vio a Marta trabajar* 'John saw Martha work' does not imply that John only sees Marta (**Vi a Marta* 'I saw Martha'), yet John directly and visually perceives the whole event 'Marta trabajar' denoted by the predicative complement. Events, like things, can be physically perceived (cf. Gisborne 2010). What the perception verb actually selects is the entire infinitival clause with the subject included. As Di Tullio (1998) and Hernanz (1999) claim, there are reasons to consider these contexts of perception verbs taking infinitival complements as belonging to the same category of the causative verbs that do not semantically select their direct object. The (derived) object is the subject of the infinitive, and not directly thematically selected by the verb of perception. In conclusion, these verbs are two-place predicates, taking an external argument and one internal argument, the infinitival clause.

Further confirmation of the view that the infinitival DP subjects are not arguments of the causative verb comes from a classic test in the generative grammar literature took over by Franco & Landa (1995) and propose for causative constructions: an expletive pronoun can occur in the subject position of the infinitive predicate.[88] This property brings Spanish causative constructions closer to an ECM analysis.[89]

(101) a. Han sacado un producto que hace *pro* llover litros y litros de agua.
'They have released a product that makes it rain liters and liters of water.'

b. No dejan *pro* haber manifestaciones durante la Semana Grande.
'They don't let there be demonstrations during Great Week.'

[Franco & Landa 1995: 209, *Spanish*]

Similarly, Hernanz (1999: 2242-2243) makes close remarks for perception verbs. Generic (102a) or expletive (102b) subjects also occur in complements of perception verbs. If the embedded subject were underlingly the object of these predicates (as in a control configuration) the data in (102) would be unexpected since *ver* 'see' and *oír* 'hear' cannot take implied objects (102c, d).

[88] Expletives do not receive a θ-role.
[89] As a matter of fact, Franco & Landa's (1995) refute several of Moore's claims. Moore himself goes back to his analysis in Moore (1997) where he comes to the conclusion that a control analysis for IC with *hacer* 'make' cannot hold as there are too many discrepancies between the behaviour of this predicate and object control verbs.

(102) *Spanish*

a. Todo el mundo ha oído *pro* cantar la Traviata.
'Everybody has heard some person sing La traviata.'

b. Estos niños nunca han visto *pro* nevar.
'These children have never seen it snow.'

c. *Todo el mundo ha oído
all the world hear-PRES.PERF-3.SG

d. *Estos niños nunca han visto
these children never see-PRES.PERF-3.PL

Given all these facts, I conclude there is no sound evidence to maintain an object control analysis for these structures, and an ECM approach could deal more straightforwardly with the Spanish causative scenarios.

4.5. A defective TP complement

Traditionally, ECM complement clauses are believed to be TPs which lack the CP layer found in complete (finite) clauses (cf. Chomsky 1988). This status is given by the T(ense) in ECM/raising contexts which is 'defective' in the sense of not being able to assign Case to its subject.[90] Therefore, the subject moves to the matrix clause for Case valuation purposes (see Lasnik & Saito 1991; Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001; Martin 1996; Bošković 1997; San Martin 2004).

More recently, a defective TP for the IC was proposed by Di Tullio (1998) and Felser (1999) for perception verbs and Torrego (2010) for causative predicates.[91,92] In the context of French causatives, Kayne (2004), Roberts (2010), and more recently Rouveret (2016) have assimilated *faire* 'make' to ECM constructions, taking their complement to be a defective TP. I follow Kayne (2004) and Solà (2002), who defend a T_{def} head in raising configurations. I assume

[90] Rochette (1988: 84) speaks of a "degenerate" Infl(ection) that has neither Tense nor Agreement specifications.
[91] Other TP proposals for IC complements mentioned in footnote 40 (Rosen 1992; Maier 1994; Labelle 1996; Den Dikken & Longenecker 2004; Rowlett 2007) do not specify which the nature of the T head is. I deduce it is non-finite, therefore defective.
[92] Guéron & Hoekstra (1988) and Bennis & Hoekstra (1989) also suggest that the embedded infinitive is Tense-deficient and therefore it moves to the matrix clause to be in a local relation with a tense head.

also assume that the complement of both causative and perception verbs contain a T_{def} head in the complement that is not able to check Case features (due to its deficiency in phi-features).

Di Tullio (1998: 212) claims that defectiveness is the failure to establish an independent relation with the Tense in the matrix clause. The temporal meaning of the embedded clause must be obligatorily simultaneous to that of the matrix clause. T is defective because it does not have a complementizer with a temporal operator, so it is forced to establish an anaphoric relation with the Tense in the matrix clause. The generalization that the embedded event has to be interpreted as simultaneous with the time of the matrix event goes back to Stowell (1982). Since Stowell, ECM complements are considered tenseless clauses (as opposed to control complements, for instance; see Bošković 1997, Chomsky 2001, Martin 1996; 2001, San Martin 2004), the temporal interpretation of ECM being entirely dependent on the Tense of the matrix predicate. Stowell (1982) defends that infinitives, like tensed clauses, have a clausal structure, although they lack the morphological feature [±Past], it does not necessarily imply that they lack a Tense operator. In the case of ECM/raising predicates the temporal interpretation of their complement is defined by the Tense of the matrix predicate.[93]

Infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs share with these ECM complements the expression of Tense. The Tense of the embedded clauses is anaphoric, i.e. the events described by the matrix verbs and those by the complements are simultaneous so the Tense of the complement must coincide with the Tense of the matrix clause (see Guasti 1993, Labelle 1996, Felser 1999). In line with all these authors, I also assume that relations of predication need a temporal interpretation and extend this view to the Tense in the infinitival complements of causative/perception verb that are identified by the matrix Tense. The infinitival clauses contain a Tense operator, which fixes the understood time frame of the complement clause relative to the Tense of the matrix rendering a simultaneous interpretation.

That the Tense in causative and perception verb constructions is defective is confirmed by the impossibility of aspectual auxiliaries (103) and distinct temporal adverbs (104) (see also Bordelois 1988, Hernanz 1999, López 2001, Alsina 2002, NGLE 2009), as well as the absence of other inflectional elements. The time of the complement clause event is fixed in relation to the time of the matrix clause event (cf. Stowell 1982, 1993).

[93] Other authors have taken a step further in claiming that every verb must be identified by tense (cf. Higginbotham 1985; Guéron and Hoekstra 1988, 1995; Zagona 1988; Enç 1996).

(103) *No aspectual auxiliaries*

a. *El rector va fer haver imaginat el curs abans d' ahir.
the rector make-PAST-1.SG have imagined the class before of yesterday
[Alsina 2002: 2432-33, *Catalan*]

b. *Él lo hizo haber venido.
he him make-PAST-1.SG have come
[Bordelois 1988: 60, *Spanish*]

c. *La vaig veure haver arribat.
her see-PAST-1.SG have walked
(*Catalan*)

d. * Las vi haber caminado.
them see-PAST-1.SG have walked
[Hernanz 1999: 2247, *Spanish*]

(104) *No temporal adverbs*

a. L' amo va fer (*avui) cuinar l' ànec (*demà) a la criada.
the master make-PAST-1.SG today cook-INF the duck tomorrow to the servant
'The master made the servant today cook the duck tomorrow.'
(*Catalan*)

b. El sargento hizo a los soldados limpiar el campamento (*mañana).
the sergeant make-PAST-1.SG to the soldiers clean-INF the camp tomorrow
'The sergeant made the soldiers clean the camp (tomorrow).'
[Torrego 2010: 451, *Spanish*]

Negative operators are also disallowed in the infinitival complement of causative and perception verbs (cf. Bordelois 1988, Guasti 1993, Felser 1999, Rodríguez Espiñeira 2000, Alsina 2002, Bastardas 2003, NGLE 2009):

(105) *Catalan*

a. *Vaig fer no contestar la carta a la Berta.
make-PAST-1.SG not answer-INF the letter. to the Bertha
[Alsina 2002: 2432]

b. *L' he deixat no sortir.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC let-PAST-1.SG not go out-INF
[Alsina 2002: 2433]

(106) *Spanish*

a. *La hizo no trabajar demasiado.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-1.SG not work-INF too much
[López 2001: 225]

b. *las vi no caminar.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG not walk-INF
[Hernanz 1999: 2247]

For many speakers negated causative complements are marginal or even impossible. To the extent that sentences such as (107) can be marginally accepted, the negation is not interpreted as an instance of sentence negation, but as constituent negation.

(107) La victima nos hizo no divulgar la noticia.
'The victim made us not divulge the news.'
[Trevino 1994: 60, *Spanish*]

Higginbotham (1983) and Mittwoch (1990) argue against negation in the infinitival complement and show that the *not-VP* constituent produces a different semantic implication than the one obtained in the cases of matrix verb negation.

Reconciling the traditional view on the ECM with Di Tullio's (1996) and Guasti's (1993) observations on Tense that are not strictly related to the defectiveness of the nominal features, I assume that the T heads contain three three independent features: φ-features, Case, and [tense],

as a deictic anchor (see also Gallego 2010: 103). In a feature inheritance process as proposed by Chomsky (2008), these features are not initially specified in the T head but generated in the C head and inherited by T through a mechanism of feature transmission. It is plausible then to postulate for the T_{def} head a larger (defective) structure in which it is merged, that offers a solution to this conceptual issue.

5. Conclusions

This chapter had two main goals. A first goal was to analyse phenomena that question the presence of any syntactic border between the matrix verb and the infinitival complement. I looked into issues of clitic climbing, long object movement, and reflexive passives that argue in favour of the transparency of the embedded clause. The second goal was to offer an overview and a critique of the previous approaches to IC and RIC constructions, considering both the advantages and the problems they raise. I concluded that perception and causative verbs are more adequately treated as ECM predicates (of the Romance kind) that take defective complements, usually analyed as defective TPs. Chapter 3 elaborates on this hypothesis and establishes a direct dependency between C and T in their defective variants in the infinitival complement, in the light of more recent proposals to clausal architecture (cf. Chomsky 2007; 2008, Gallego 2009; 2010; 2014).

Chapter 3

The structure of the infinitival complement: a unified account. Reconsidering three potential counterarguments to it

1. Introduction

The present chapter introduces the main theoretical stances assumed throughout the thesis. They are all couched in the Minimalist Program (see Chomsky 1993 and ssq. work), and, more specifically, in the later developments in Minimalist theory, namely the Probe-Goal framework, as proposed by Chomsky (2000, 2001). In the following sections, I aim at showing that both IC and RIC constructions can be approached in a simpler and straightforward way, in the light of the significant improvements brought about by the Minimalist Program to the understanding of the mechanisms that lie behind the derivation of these syntactic constructions.

This chapter is both an introduction to the notion of defectiveness and its syntactic manifestation in the contexts studied here (as understood in several recent minimalist works; see Chomsky 2000 and ssq. work, Solà 2002, López 2007, and, especially, Gallego 2009; 2010; 2014) and an investigation of possible Romance ECM-type constructions involving causative and perception verbs. Apart from this technical discussion, the goal of this chapter is also to provide a unified account of the infinitival complementation of the verbs introduced in the previous chapter and to discuss a series of exceptions that have received much attention in the literature.

In the last section of chapter 2 I reached the conclusion that, in spite of the occurrence of clitics and negation in the subordinate clause, the Tense in causative and perception verb constructions is defective, hence the lack of aspectual auxiliaries, temporal adverbs and other inflectional elements in the subordinate domain. I also concluded that infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs are akin to other (standard) ECM complements and share with them the expression of Tense. The Tense of the embedded clauses is anaphoric, i.e. the events described by the matrix verbs and the infinitives are simultaneous so the Tense of the

complement coincides with the Tense of the matrix clause (see Guasti 1993, Labelle 1996, Felser 1999, Wurmbrand 2001). As a direct consequence of the lack of independent Tense specification, ECM complements, as well as causative and perception verb complements, have no propositional or force properties. All these verbs are possible only with infinitives that lack the CP layer (i.e., they are not control structures). A second point that the three classes of verbs (pure ECM, causative and perception verbs) have in common regards the presence of overt subjects that originate in their complements and the prohibition on embedded PRO subjects, a property they share with raising constructions. A third aspect in which causative/perception resemble ECM verbs is the have a structural object Case position to fill, and the matrix predicate (in fact the complex *v**-V) participates in the match, valuation and assignment of Case to the infinitival subject.[1] In this way, causative and perception verb (as well as certain pure restructuring verbs, as claimed by Wurmbrand 2001) involve a form of *Exceptional Case Marking*.

As I have previously said, the intuition that the infinitival complement of causative and perception verbs is defective and resembles ECM complements is already found in classical analyses (see Burzio 1981; 1986, Hernanz 1982, among the first ones). Burzio (1981: 368; 1986: 256-262) states that the causative verb resembles ECM verbs in that it triggers the deletion of the sentential boundary (i.e., CP–deletion). Hernanz (1982: 210) argues in favour of a raising-to-object analysis only possible in a scenario in which there are no CP frontiers between perception/causative verbs and their dependent clauses. Recently, an ECM-like analysis that involves a defective TP for the IC configuration can be found in Di Tullio (1998), Felser (1999) and Torrego (2010). The challenge my proposal faces is to prove that an analysis identical to that suggested for the IC construction is valid as well for the RIC one, at least in Spanish and Catalan. Unifying the two analyses under the same identical label would go against the tendency found in the majority of classical accounts. A question that emerges is related to the notion of restructuring (i.e., clause-downsizing) or complex predicate formation that has been also applied to the constructions I am investigating. This notion needs clarification and a new definition in the actual paradigm. Therefore, my proposal is to simplify the take on this issue and to regard

[1] As I have also suggested in the previous chapter, the infinitival subjects I examine behave like direct objects in many respects. They are assigned accusative Case (at least in intransitive complements), they can undergo DP-movement in passive scenarios (with certain restrictions), they can be reflexive pronouns, and they cannot be replaced by a (control) PRO subject.

restructuring (or the process of complex predicate formation) in the context of causative and perception verb constructions as a verb selecting for a defective complement that lacks complementizer and tense properties. Hence, restructuring would be regarded as ECM, *lato sensu*. This hypothesis is also (partially) present in three works on French RIC causatives, Kayne (2004), Roberts (2010) and Rouveret (2016), who all assimilate the infinitival complements of *faire* 'make' to ECM complements, taking them to be a defective TP.

The main contribution of my approach is to refine the ECM analysis and extend it beyond the original area of application of pure ECM verbs. In this study, I explore the idea that Romance has ECM constructions, and I attempt to demonstrate that the infinitival dependents to causative and perception verbs are instances of a (subtype of Romance) ECM configuration. I start from the premise that the IC and RIC configurations are both biclausal structures and that the overt linear order is a consequence of the derivation of these constructions. The difference does not rest on the type of complement the matrix verb takes (contra a large amount of literature on the topic; see the previous chapter, §3), i.e., they are all defective complements (defective CPs as I will soon argue, a proposal inspired by Gallego's 2009, 2010, 2014 work), but in the mechanisms at stake in the derivation of these configurations.

Chomsky's (2000, 2001) theoretical framework provides a new perspective on complementation and it is a good starting point for a new approach to the analysis of infinitival clauses in Romance. Building on Chomsky (2000 and ssq. work) and Gallego (2009, 2010, 2014) I hope to convince the reader that the theoretical framework adopted here offers the right tools to discard any syntactic manipulations or artifices used until now to derive the two constructions.

2. Setting the groundwork for a unified account

2.1. Theoretical assumptions

The present study aims to be a generative investigation that takes place within the framework of the so-called *Minimalist Program* (or *Minimalism*) as primarily developed by Chomsky (1993, 1995). Minimalism is, in fact, a research program that has undergone since then further changes, improvements and simplifications, always seeking to obtain theoretical adequacy from natural, simple and elegant syntactic accounts. This section outlines the basic conceptual structure of the

recent versions of the minimalist project and, most notably, the Probe-Goal system put forward by Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004), also taking into consideration the latest modifications brought about by Chomsky (2005, 2007, 2008, 2013).

The central tenet of the Generative Grammar is that humans possess an inborn language component, a *Faculty of Language* (FL), that accounts for, at least, one salient property of the human natural language: the impressive (tacit) knowledge, ability and creativity (i.e., *competence*) that (native) speakers show when producing and understanding language (i.e., *performance*). Chomsky (2005) identifies three factors that enter into the design of the faculty of language (see also previous works such as Chomsky 1965, 1975, 1993a): genetic endowment, experience and principles that are not specific to the FL. The first two factors previously occupied much of the linguistic debate in the *Principles & Parameters* (P&P) framework, and mainly in its well-developed version, the *Government and Binding* theory (see Chomsky 1981, 1982, 1986, Chomsky & Lasnik 1993), which tried to overcome the conceptual tension between descriptive and explanatory adequacy (observed by Chomsky 1955, 1965).[2]

According to the first factor, children are biologically endowed with a set of features or principles for developing a particular grammar on the basis of their linguistic experience. This genetic endowment, the FL, incorporates a *Universal Grammar* (UG) that takes the linguistic experience of the language as input and delivers a particular grammar (e.g., English, Catalan, Romanian, etc.) as output. UG provides the speaker with a fixed set of principles that can combine in a limited number of ways (parameters) to match the input language. Speaker's linguistic capacities are, therefore, a joint function of the environmental input and the principles of the UG. The second factor is strongly related to what Chomsky (1965) defines as explanatory adequacy. It was initially meant to cast some light on Plato's problem (see Chomsky 1986b) and much research within generative linguistics focused on solving it. The main question to be answered is how a child acquires a grammar of his native language on the basis of a (poor) primary linguistic data, a problem of language acquisition to concern any linguistic theory. The P&P framework focused precisely on demonstrating that language acquisition was genetically

[2] Chomsky (1965: 24-25) identifies two levels of adequacy:

(i) A grammar (regarded as a theory of a language) is descriptively adequate "to the extent that it correctly describes the intrinsic competence of the idealized native speaker".

(ii) To the extent that a linguistic theory succeeds in selecting a descriptively adequate grammar on the basis of primary linguistic data [i.e. the information available to the child in the process of language acquisition], we can say that it meets the condition of explanatory adequacy.

predetermined by the inborn FL and it developed according to the fixed invariant universal principles (or rules of grammar) of the UG. According to this theory, the process of language acquisition helps the child to assign values to the open parameters of the UG according to the input language. In this way, the P&P framework succeeds in solving the problem raised by language acquisition (which is now a matter of parameter setting; see Chomsky 2005: 8) concentrating on the first factor: "innate linguistic theory that provides the basis for language learning" (Chomsky 1965: 25). The focus is placed on the study of the competence of the native speaker of a language, and more precisely on its cognitive system internalized within the mind/brain (the *I-language*; see Chomsky 1986b). Chomsky (2005: 9) notices that the P&P theoretical model helped to overcome "a difficult conceptual barrier to shifting the burden of explanation from the first factor, the genetic endowment, to the third factor."

The success achieved within the P&P approach led to the formulation of the Minimalist Program. The Minimalist project is mainly concerned with the third factor of the language faculty: "language-independent principles of data processing, structural architecture, and computational efficiency" (Chomsky 2005:9). In the quest for a principled explanation for properties of language, the Minimalist Program for linguistic theory assumes that language interacts with the external performance systems (the Sensorimotor (SM) and the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) systems) in an optimal way. Thus, UG must be optimally designed "approaching a 'perfect solution' to minimal design specifications" (cf. Chomsky 2000: 93). This is what Chomsky (2000: 96) calls the *Strongest Minimalist Thesis*:

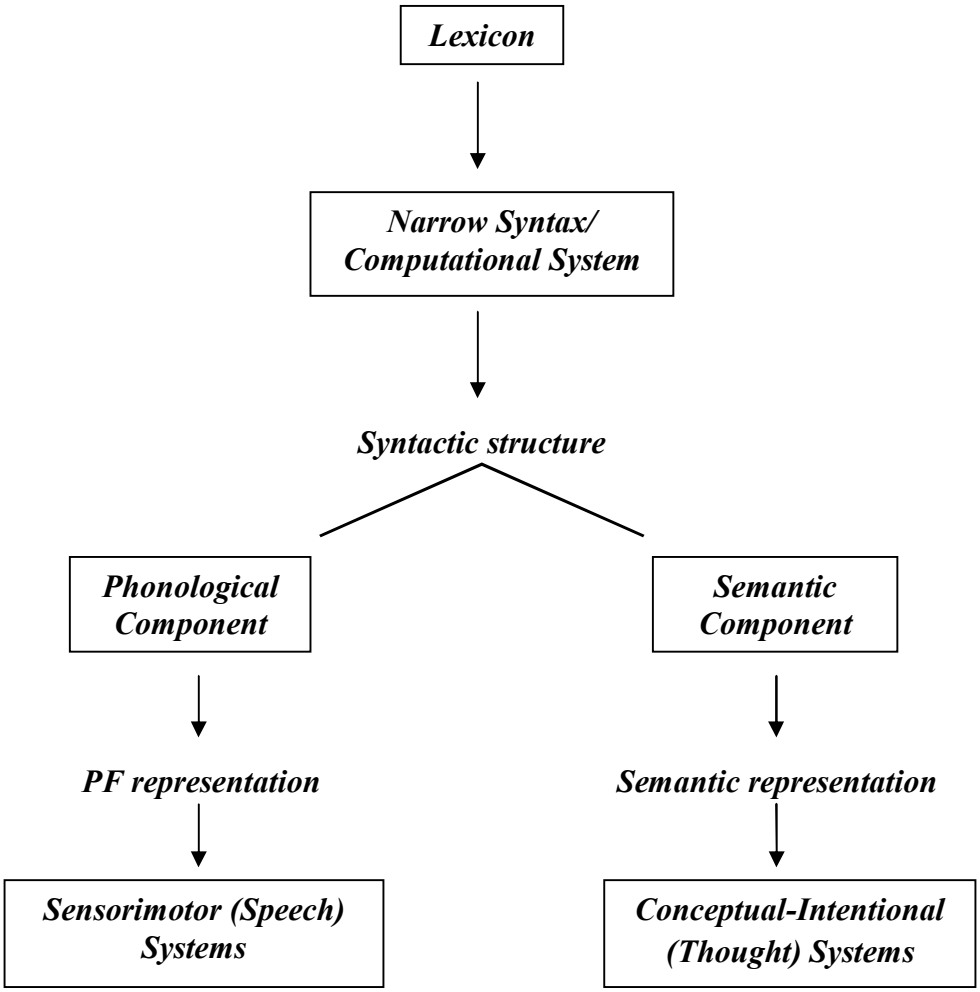
(1) Language is an optimal solution to legibility conditions

In order to be maximally efficient, this optimal system should obey principles of discrete infinity, non-redundancy and structural economy (see Chomsky 1995: 168), but also structural elegance and symmetry. These principles should apply to both the architecture of the language and the working methodology for a theory of grammar.

The Minimalist Program restricts the components of the FL to only those that interface with performance systems and addresses the question of what conditions are imposed on them.[3] Since linguistic expressions are pairings of sound and meaning, the minimalist conception of the faculty of language assumes that linguistic representations converge only if they converge at the two external systems (i.e., SM and C-I).

The architecture of LF according to the Minimalist Program resembles the one in (2):

(2) *A minimalist model for FL*



[3] Chomsky's minimalism has the goal of reducing the properties of FL to virtual conceptual necessity (Chomsky 2000: 111) and interface conditions. Minimalism is concerned with the mechanism that follow from conceptual necessity (see Chosmky 2000 and ssq. work, Gallego 2010)

Under the minimalist perspective, the FL contains a *lexicon* and a *computational component* (i.e., *narrow syntax*). The lexicon comprises a collection of *lexical items* (LI) that are assemblages of linguistic features. LI contain semantic, formal and morphophonological properties (and, hence, also idiosyncratic information) and they are treated by the narrow syntax as atomic units of the FL, "each a structured array of properties (*features*) to which Merge and other operations apply to form expressions" (cf. Chomsky 2007: 6).

The items drawn from the lexicon are combined together in the computational system that arranges them and makes up syntactic structures.[4] The Minimalist program entertains the idea that there is a mutual interaction between the computational component and the external systems. The computational operations interact with the properties of the external performance systems (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004) and the performance systems (which also have properties of their own) interact with the computational component to satisfy their properties. Syntactic objects constructed in core syntax serve as input for two other components. They are mapped onto semantic and phonological (PF) representations that belong to the semantic and phonological components which act as interfaces between narrow syntax and the performance systems. The semantic representation interacts with the thought system, and the PF representation with the speech system.

An operation of *Transfer* at the interfaces renders the syntactic structure inaccessible to further operations or subsequent manipulation and hands constructed objects over to the mapping components (see Chomsky 2004). The notion of transfer is related to the concept of *phase* (for the *Phase Impenetrability Condition*, see Chomsky 2000 and subsequent works). The main idea behind this concept is that syntax operates through small derivational cycles (for example, the verb phrase, the *v**P phase, or the clause, the CP phase; see Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, 2008), that cannot be modified by other computational operations (like Merge or Agree) after they are transferred to the interfaces.[5] Transfer applies at the phase level (cf. Chomsky 2004: 111).

[4] There is no motivation for additional representations in the syntactic architecture, such as numerations or lexical arrays (as previously argued by Chomsky 1993; 1995a, b; 2000; 2001).

[5] In fact, no structure is eliminated by the Transfer operation. Once a phase is completed and transferred it remains accessible due to an edge feature (see Chomsky 2000: 107, 2007:11, 2008: 141), but it cannot be modified by syntactic operations at later cycles. Only elements at the edge (i.e. the highest specifier(s) and the highest head) of this phase are accessible to operations from outside.

The syntactic expressions are subject to the principle of *Full Interpretation* (see Chomsky 1986b), a principle that requires that all the features of the syntactic structures should be legible at the interfaces. If these structures satisfy the principle of Full Interpretation, they are said to converge at the semantic and the PF levels. If they do not, the derivation is said to crash. Chomsky's (2000: 95) proposes two classes of features of LI. Certain features are interpretable (have values from the lexicon and are legible to the external systems at the interface) while others are uninterpretable (they receive no interpretation at the semantic level). For example, structural Case is an example of uninterpretable feature that LIs can have (see Chomsky 2000, 2001, building on Vergnaud's 1977/2006 observations). Agreement features (the φ-feature set: person, number, gender) is another example. They can have both interpretable and uninterpretable variants, depending on what category of word they appear on. Only those syntactic expressions that contain features that are interpretable at the interface level converge at the relevant level.

2.2. Chomsky's (2000, 2001) Probe-Goal framework

At the level of the computational component, the system makes use of three basic operations: *Merge*, *Agree* and *Move*. The first operation, *Merge*, is an indispensable and computationally simple structure-building operation. Merge (*pure* or *external Merge*) takes two elements (α, β) from the lexicon and creates from these two a new syntactic object (or a phrase) whose head (γ) is either α or β (see Chomsky 1995a, 1995b, 2000, 2001, and the formulation of the *Bare Phrase Structure* - BPS). The (asymmetric) operation is strictly binary, unbounded, and imposes a hierarchical structure (in which α and β are terms of γ but not vice versa). The objects α and β establish a relation of c-command in which α c-commands all the members of β (cf. Epstein 1999, Chomsky 2000).

(3) Merge (α, β) = {γ, {α, β}}, where γ ∈ {α, β}

The element γ becomes the label of the new syntactic object that corresponds, in fact, to the head of the syntactic object (or the *Probe*, cf. Chomsky 2004; 2008). Although the very

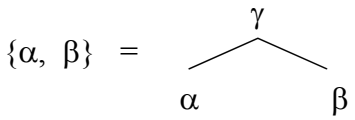
status of the *label* creation (or *labeling*) as an extra operation is a controversial one,[6] recent proposals (see Chomsky 2007; 2008; 2013, Gallego 2010) reinforce the idea that labels are needed: every syntactic object should be labeled in order to receive an interpretation when it is transferred to the interfaces. Chomsky (2007, 2008, 2013) claims that labels are not created, but identified, and he proposes minimal search algorithm that provides a label for the syntactic object in order to be interpreted at the interfaces (see Gallego 2010, Chomsky 2013; 2015). This fixed labeling algorithm operates at the phase level, along with other operations (except for external Merge; see Chomsky 2004: 122; 2007: 17; 2013: 43, Gallego 2010: 18-19).

Going back to Merge, this operation must satisfy (at least) two principles of efficient computation: the *Inclusiveness Condition* and *No Tampering Condition* (cf. Chomsky 1995, 2005, 2007, 2008). The first principle precludes the introduction of extraneous, new objects or features (traces, indices, or the bar-levels of X-bar Theory) in the course of computation. The second condition regulates the enlargement of the phrase marker, stating that Merge cannot change or break up the components of the syntactic object already created (see Chomsky 2008: 138), but it can apply 'to the edge' of the syntactic object/structure allowing its 'expansion'.

The following operation, *Move*, is another type of Merge, also called *internal Merge*, and presupposes the movement or displacement of a syntactic object that is already a member of the set it forms (cf. Chomsky 2004). Internal merge turns this object into a *discontinuous object* (not two distinct objects) or a *chain*, which is seen as a collection of occurrences of the syntactic object. The original occurrence is considered the copy of the new one (see the *Copy Theory of Movement*, cf. Chomsky 1993, 1995, 2000, 2001).

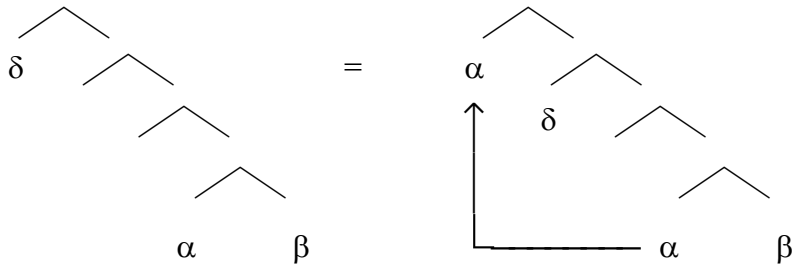
The two (external and internal) Merge operations are schematically represented in (4):

(4) a. *External Merge*



[6] For example, in the first BPS approaches Chomsky (1995a, b,) suggests that an extra operation of *label* creation should not a desirable property of the system. Collins (2002) as well argues that labels do not have a real theoretical status, being just a notational device, used to express the asymmetries observed when merging different lexical items.

b. *Internal Merge*



The two operations of Merge correspond to different semantics. External Merge gives rise to configurations that reflect argument information (the 'base structure', see Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002, Chomsky 2004), whereas internal Merge (the derived structure) yields discourse-oriented properties (cf. Chomsky 2004, 2008; Gallego 2010).

The third basic operation in the computational system is *Agree*. Chomsky (2000, 2001) introduces Agree in the context of what is called the Probe-Goal framework. Agreement phenomena indicate that there is indeed an algorithm that relates features of syntactic objects. The assumption of much current work is that Agree is a structure-dependent operation, part of the narrow-syntactic computation, which relates a *Probe* in need of valuing some uninterpretable φ- feature to an appropriate *Goal* that has a matching interpretable feature, within the Probe's search space (that is, its c-command domain). Chomsky (2000: 101) defines Agree as "an operation which establishes a relation (agreement, Case checking) between an LI α and a feature F in some restricted space (its *domain*)". In Chomsky (2001: 3) Agree is defiened as follows: "We therefore have a relation Agree holding between α and β, where α has interpretable inflectional features and β has uninterpretable ones, which delete under Agree."

An over-simplified example of a standard configuration for Agree in the Probe-Goal framework (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001) would look like the one in (5). The Probe A has an unvalued feature F that it needs to value and looks for a matching and valued feature of the same type (i.e., the Goal) within its c-command domain.

(5) *Agree*

$A_{[F:--]}$ … $B_{[F: val]}$

(Probe) (Goal)

To illustrate it with a more concrete example, take (6). The uninterpretable φ-features of T (Tense) establish an Agree relation with the interpretable φ-features of a nominal DP that may be local or remote (long-distance), yielding the surface effect of subject-verb agreement in (6).[7]

(6) a. $Mary_{[3.SG]}$ $is_{[3.SG]}$ /*are beautiful.

b. $[\ T_{[\varphi]}\ [\ DP_{[3.SG]}\ ]]\ \Rightarrow\ [\ T_{[3.SG]}\ [\ DP_{[3.SG]}\ ]]$

Agree (T, DP)

The φ-feature set of the Probe T and that of the Goal DP match, and the Goal's (interpretable) φ-features assign a value to the uninterpretable feature bundle of the Probe. T has now valued its [person] and [number] features and the predicate can therefore agree with the subject.

The Probe-Goal dependencies operate under certain conditions, as they are proposed in Chomsky (2001):

(7) *Conditions on Agree*

a. Both the Probe and the Goal must be active for Agree to apply.

b. The Probe must have a complete set of φ-features (it must be φ-complete) to delete uninterpretable features of the matched Goal.

[adapted from Chomsky 2001: 6]

[7] If the Goal is remote and Agree must apply long-distance, there are two two locality requirements that should be obeyed: (a) Relativized Minimality/Minimal Link Condition which prevents agreement to take place between a Probe and Goal if there is a potential Goal closer to the Probe, and (b) the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) which prevents probing into a phase (i.e. the complements of v* and C, cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001 and ssq. work). For certain exceptions to these two conditions see Hiraiwa (2005), López (2007) and Gallego (2010).

To these two conditions, a third one should be added. It is related to the notion of *Match*. Chomsky (2000, 2001) claims that both Probe and Goal match if they share the same type of feature (they must be non-distinct features, see Chomsky 2001: 5), independently of its value. Agree depends on this Match relation to proceed with the valuation process. Agree is therefore a match-valuation relation. Once the unvalued uninterpretable features are valued by Agree the features must be deleted from narrow syntax. Only a Probe with a full bundle of ϕ-features is capable of deleting the feature that activates the matched Goal. A successful valuation process makes valued features no longer active and the item that contains them is 'frozen in place' (for example, a DP whose structural Case has been checked).[8]

Chomsky (2000: 102, 2001: 6) assumes three functional categories relevant for the clausal architecture (the *core functional categories*) C (that expresses force/mood), T (the locus of tense/event structure) and v (the light verb), that enter the computational system with a set of uninterpretable φ-features in need of matching, valuation and erasure. The uninterpretable features serve to implement operations such as structural Case agreement or dislocation (Move). C can be unselected or selected by substantive categories while *v* is selected by functional categories only. T is selected by C or V. If selected by C, it has a full set of φ-features (T_{comp}) and also a tense-modal structure. If selected by V, T is *defective* (T_{def}). T_{def} is found in raising and ECM structures.

The light verb *v* can also have a defective counterpart. Chomsky (2001: 9) introduces a strong vs. weak distinction for *v*. *v** is φ-complete (number and person) and selects a φ-complete V. v_{def} is φ-incomplete (as in unaccusative and passive constructions) then V is also defective (it lacks a [person] feature). T_{def} and v_{def} cannot value the Case feature on the EA and IA, respectively, and, consequently they cannot be involved in totally successful Agree dependencies. For example, T_{def} can have a [person] feature that can be deleted by a nominal

[8] See also Pesetsky & Torrego (2007), who distinguish between *interpretable* and *uninterpretable* features, on the one hand, and *valued* and *unvalued* features, on the other hand. They combining the concepts of *valuation* and *interpretability*, and propose a fourfold feature typology:

(i) [uF] [1]: uninterpretable, valued [*i*F] [1]: interpretable, valued
[uF] [ ]: uninterpretable, unvalued [*i*F] [ ]: interpretable, unvalued

The feature that participates in Agree bears the same index. The empty pair of brackets signals that a feature has not been involved in Agree.

element α that matches that feature by moving to [Spec, T_{def}], but T_{def} is nonfinite and cannot delete the structural Case feature of α, so that α can undergo further movement and agreement.

In Chomsky's system, structural Case belongs to the category of uninterpretable features determined by the context, whose value is a consequence of a Probe-Goal relation. Nominative Case is assigned at the CP layer (taking into account that TP is not a phase) while accusative Case is assigned at the v*P one (cf. Chomsky 2001, 2004, Chomsky 2007). Therefore, structural Case assignment (as well as the valuation of uninterpretable features) takes place at the level of the v*P and CP phases (see Chomsky 2000:106, 2001:12, 2004:107, 2005:17, 2007:18, 2008:143). Chomsky (2001: 6) argues that:

> Structural Case is not really a feature of the probes (T, *v*), but it is assigned a value under agreement, then removed by Spell-out from the narrow syntax. The value assigned depends on the probe: nominative for T, accusative for *v*. Case itself is not matched, but deletes under matching of φ -features.

In consequence Case assignment is seen as an effect of an Agree dependency. Or, as López (2007: 47) points out, it can be regarded as a sub-case of agreement.

A typical case of φ-feature valuation and Case assignment at the levels of the CP and *v**P phase according to Chomsky's (2000, 2001) is given in (9) below. The example is a transitive constructions in which an object merges with V in a VP phrase that consequently merges with *v** and the *v**P is built up. It is at this level that the object receives its θ-role. The external argument is introduced by *v**, which also has the ability to assign accusative Case to the object.[9]

(8) Mary loves John.

[$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ T $_{[u\varphi]}$[$_{v*P}$ Mary$_{[3.SG]}$ *v**$_{[u\varphi]}$ [$_{VP}$ love John $_{[3.SG]}$]] (Match)

[$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ T$_{[3.SG]}$[$_{v*P}$ Mary$_{[3.SG]}$ *v**$_{[3.SG]}$ [$_{VP}$ love John$_{[3.SG]}$]] (Valuation: T's and *v*'s φ-features are valued)

[$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ T$_{[3.SG]}$[$_{v*P}$ Mary$_{[3.SG][NOM]}$ *v**$_{[3.SG]}$ [$_{VP}$ love John$_{[3.SG][ACC]}$]] (Case assignment: T's and *v*'s φ-features are deleted and the two DPs receive Case)

[9] In fact it is the whole complex v*-V the one that assigns Case.

After valuation the φ-features are deleted and the two DPs are assigned Case, nominative and accusative, respectively.

2.3. On the concept of defectiveness

The example presented above is a case of successful Agree relations. Nevertheless, as was noted when I introduced Chomsky's core functional categories, there are scenarios in which Agree fails to take place. One of these is the case when Match relates two elements, one of which, although active, lacks a relevant feature (for T a [number] feature, while for *v* a [person] feature, cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001). It is said that this element is *defective*. Those Probes that do not have a complete φ-bundle fail to establish complete agreement and are unable to assign structural Case. This idea of defectiveness can be formalised with the following definition borrowed from Gallego (2010: 82, 169):

(9) An LI is defective if it lacks some feature(s) of a given class.

Recall that Chomsky (2000, 2001) introduced two versions (one complete and one defective) of both T and v. Chomsky (2000: 102) restricts defectiveness to T, and we have seen that he proposes a two varieties of T: a φ-complete T, selected by C, and capable of assigning structural Case (nominative or null), and a φ-defective T (selected by V) and unable of assigning structural Case (see Gallego 2009: 168). However in Chomsky (2001), he introduces two versions of v and proposes that *v** also has a defective counterpart (*v*, for passive and unaccusative VPs).

At this point, I am particularly concerned with the manisfestation of T_{def} and especially with the analysis of ECM clauses in Chomsky's system. It is one of my goals to investigate whether the discussion on ECM may carry over to the Romance languages I study. In Chomsky's approach, raising/ECM infinitivals headed by T_{def} lack C (and also the distributional freedom of CP), tense structure and assign no Case to the embedded subject.

Interestingly, Gallego (2009:168, 2010: 166) notices that an intriguing aspect of Chomsky's system is the asymmetry presented by C as opposed to T and v. C is always φ-complete (see Chomsky 2000: 102, 2001:8), lacking a φ-defective counterpart. In the light of Chomsky's more recent observations (see Chomsky 2007, 2008), Gallego argues that C as well can have complete and defective versions and proposes a new typology of Probes.

(10) *Typology of Probes*

Probe	Variety	Assigns Case
C	φ-complete C*	Yes (Nominative/Null)
	φ-defective C	No
v	φ-complete v*	Yes (Accusative)
	φ-defective v	No

[adapted from Gallego 2009: 176, 2010: 170]

Taking (10) seriously, raising and ECM structures can be conceived of as embedding a defective C layer that also contains a defective T:

(11) $[_{CP}\ C_{def} \ldots [_{TP}\ T_{def} \ldots\ [_{v*P}\ v^*\text{-}V]]]$

In accordance with Gallego's (2009, 2010) typology of Probes, two standard cases of defective C-T dependencies (raising-to-subject and ECM) are analysed as the examples in (12):

(12) *Raising-to-Subject*

a. John seems $[_{CP}\ C_{def}\ [_{TP}$ <John> T_{def} to $[_{v*P}$ <John> *v** love Mary]]]

ECM (or Raising-to-Object)

b. John believes Mary $[_{CP}\ C_{def}\ [_{TP}$ <Mary> T to $[_{v*P}$ <Mary> *v** love Harry]]]

The complex C-T_{def} matches the infinitival subject in some of its features to implement raising, but not all such that it could preclude inactivation of the embedded DPs. One important assumption of Gallego's proposal is that: "[A]bsence of a φ-complete C entails absence of a φ-

complete T, which makes subject DPs remain active, their Case depending on a higher Probe. What this higher Probe turns out to be is the relevant factor: in raising environments it is C*-T, while in ECM environments it is *v**-V" (cf. Gallego 2009: 178). Therefore the embedded DPs have to reach the matrix domain to value all their features and their Case.

There are both theoretical and empirical reasons to defend different varieties of defective C-T dependencies. As Gallego points out (2009: 176, 2010: 170), the presence of a defective C in the table (10) above has the advantage of capturing the intuition that selection is always encoded through this category. This approach offers a uniform treatment of complementation: defective dependent clauses are introduced by subordinators as any other finite complement clauses. C is still the locus of subordination, although in a defective way.

Another theory internal reason concerns Chomsky's (2008) φ-feature inheritance mechanism. Chomsky (2008) proposes that some features are transmitted from the phase heads (C and v*) to non-phase heads (T and V). Chomsky (2008: 143) analyses the case of T that has been long argued to share inflectional features with C. He notices that, for example, the φ-features and Tense on T appear to be derivative from C and not inherent. They are determined and transmitted by the C head (see Chomsky 2008: 143), so T cannot appear alone.[10] This is in fact an asymmetry already present in Chomsky (2000, 2001), where, although CP and v*P are the phases, it is T and v* that are responsible for the valuation of structural Case features. Gallego (2014) goes even further and suggests that the Chomsky's φ –feature inheritance process can be dispensed with altogether if it can be shown that non-phase heads are copies of phase heads, and hence, the same linguistic item (see Gallego's (2014: 42) *Feature Inheritence as Copying Thesis*).[11] Gallego argues that C-T act as a unit for different syntactic operations, and there evidence that T is selected only if C is.[12] Therefore, an immediate conclusion is that the TP layer never lacks a CP one. A natural extension of this claim is that TP never lacks this CP layer, in spite of being defective. From all these theoretical stances, I draw the conclusion that defective environments such as raising-to-subject and ECM (that include perception and causative verb constructions) select for a defective CP as long as they also select for a defective TP.

[10] For further consequences of the φ-inheritence process, see Chomsky (2008) and Gallego (2014).
[11] The idea that C and T can be regarded as a discontinuous object is present in Stowell (1981).
[12] Inflectional features are always present in C even though there is not immediately obvious evidence of this at the PF level (cf. Gallego 2014: 58).

There is a clear cut between Germanic and Romance languagues. Most Romance languages display raising-to-subject constructions (see Rizzi 1982, Kayne 2000, Torrego 2002, Gallego 2009) rather easily.[13] The same is not true about standard ECM (raising-to-object) which involves *believe*-type verbs. The following data show that ECM is parametrically constrained in Romance. While Romanian allows it, *believe*-type verbs in Western Romance never take infinitival complements (see Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980, Kayne 1981, Rizzi 1982, Manzini 1983, Burzio 1986, among the first ones):

(13) a. *Sostengo Gianni essere intelligente.
assert-PRES-1.SG John be-INF intelligent
'I consider Gianni to be intelligent.'

[Kayne 1981: 353, *Italian*]

b. *Jo crois Marie être fatiguée de ça.
I believe-PRES-1.SG Mary be-INF tired of that
'I believe Marie to be tired of that.'

[Manzini 1983: 172, *French*]

c. *Juan cree Maria ser inteligente.
John believe-PRES-3.SG Mary be-INF intelligent
'Juan believes Mary to be intelligent.'

[San Martin 2004: 102, *Spanish*]

d. Îl cred (pe copil) a fi mai inteligent decât pare.
CL-M-3.PL-ACC believe-PRES-3.SG DOM child to be-INF more intelligent than seem-PRES-3.SG
'I believe him/the child to be more intelligent than he seems.'

(*Romanian*)

In spite of all these examples and ignoring for the moment the exception raised by Romanian case, the claim that Romance lack ECM structures is not founded since, as I have

[13] Gallego (2009: 182 and ff.) who focuses on case of Sp. *parecer* 'seem', convincingly argues for the existence of defective C-T dependencies with Spanish raising-to-subject verb.

shown in the previous two chapters, perception and causative verb can successfully candidate for the category of ECM verbs.

3. The proposal: a defective CP structure for the infinitival complement

I believe it is worth trying to extend Gallego's (2009, 2010) proposal to the contexts analysed in this thesis. ECM infinitival complements have been characterised as involving a defective T (see Solà 2002, Kayne 2004, Rouveret 2016). In the context of French causatives, Kayne (2004), Roberts (2010), and, more recently, Rouveret (2016) have assimilated causative verb constructions to defective structures of the ECM kind, taking their complement to be a defective TP. Following Gallego (2009, 2010, 2014) let us suppose that the T_{def} head is necessarily selected by a C_{def}. The defective clauses introduced here are not necessarily smaller, they can involve a defective CP layer (see also Ormazabal 1995, Solà 2002, Epstein & Seely 2006, Cornilescu 2013, for different environments). The infinitival complement of causative and perception verbs (14) would have the structure in the configuration (15):

(14) *Spanish*
El público vió/hizo al cantante bailar.
'The audience saw/made the singer dance.'

(15) El público vió/hizo al cantante [$_{CP}$ C_{def} [$_{TP}$<el cantante> T_{def} [$_{v*P}$ <el cantante> *v** bailar]]]

A defective CP layer does not constitute a barrier for movement processes, and, since TP_{def} will not be able to value Case features on the infinitival subject (due to its deficiency in φ-features), this DP subject has to move to a position in the matrix clause where it can receive Case. Notice that my proposal is based on the assumption that both IC and RIC configurations are based on the structure in (15) that involves a defective CP layer. The next chapter deals with the actual mechanisms at stake for deriving the two word orders.

Theoretically, the solution I am putting forward here has the welcome result of capturing in an updated minimalist fashion the intuition of several classical works (see mainly Rouveret &

Vergnaud 1980, Burzio 1986, and Baker 1988) that causative/perception verb constructions are biclausal structures whose CP level is not missing but present in a defective way.

Empirically, it is not easy to find evidence of the presence of a C_{def} head in the complements I investigate. Nevertheless, I want to discuss two pieces of data that argue in favour of this thesis. The first one is related to an idea suggested in Picallo (2007) that demonstrative pronoun *eso* 'that' can take as its antecedent a CP clause. The infinitival complement in (16) can be taken as antecedent by *eso* 'that'.

(16) *Spanish*

a. Le han visto [tomar antidepresivos]$_i$ pero eso$_i$
CL-M-3.SG-DAT see-PRES.PERF-3.PL take-INF antidepressants but that
no significa que no pueda llevar una vida normal.
not mean-PRES-3.SG that not can-SUBJ-3.SG take-INF a life normal
'They have seen him take antidepressants but that does not mean he cannot live a normal life.'

b. Le han hecho [renunciar a la corona]$_i$ pero eso$_i$
CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PRES.PERF-3.PL give up-INF to the crown but that
no supone que tenga que renunciar también a su herencia.
not presuppose that have to-SUBJ-3.SG give up-INF also to his inheritance
'They have made him give up the throne but that does not mean that he has to give up the inheritance as well.'

Gallego (2009: 177) records similar cases involving the verb *parecer* 'seem' and notes that both C and D are analogous in being able to establish anaphoric dependencies. The data in (16) seems to suggest that the defective clause can involve a CP layer.

A second piece of evidence in favour of the presence of a defective C head is the occurrence of the preposition *de* 'of' in Spanish in those environments known as deísta dialects. Infinitives (and other non-finite verb, i.e., Romanian supines, for examples) are sometimes introduced by overt complementizers (17):

(17) *Spanish*

a. Vi *de* cantar a Marta.
see-PAST-1.SG of sing-INF DOM Martha
'I saw Marta sing.'

[Peinado 2017: 36]

b. Sentí a tus amigas *de* llegar por la mañana.
hear-PAST-1.SG DOM your friends of arrive-INF by the morning
'I heard your friends come in the morning.'

[Camus 2013: 25]

c. No hagas *de* rabiar a tu hermana.
not make-PRES-2.SG of get-INF angry DOM your sister
'Don't make your sister get angry."

[Camus 2013: 25]

d. Mi madre no me dejó *de* salir
my mother not CL-M-3.SG make-PAST-3.SG of go out-INF
'My mother didn't let me go out.'

[adapted from Peinado 2017: 33]

We can consider that *de* 'de' is a subordination hallmark (cf. Camus 2013), or a non-tensed versions of C (see Gallego 2014: 57-58). It is a defective preposition that easily allows the climbing of clitics to the matrix domain.

(18) *Spanish*

a. La oí *de* llegar cuando era tarde.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC hear-PAST-1.SG of arrive-INF when be-PAST-3.SG late
'I heard her arrive when it was late.'

[Peinado 2017: 37]

b. Las hice *de* reír.
CL-F-3.PL-ACC make-PAST-1.SG of laugh-INF
'I made her laugh.'

c. Les hice a mis amigas *de* traer el libro.
CL-F-3.PL-DAT make-PAST-1.SG DOM my friends of bring-INF the book

'I made my friends bring the book.'

[Peinado 2017: 11]

The preposition *de* 'of' is ruled out from Catalan contexts (19). There is however a differet defective preposition, *a* 'to', that may occur in scenarios with perception verbs.

(19) *Catalan*

a. Va sentir (*de) cantar la Maria.
hear-PAST-3.SG of sing-INF the Mary
'He heard Maria sing.'

b. Va veure (*de) sortir la Maria.
see-PAST-3.SG of go out-INF the Mary
'He saw Maria go out.'

[Villalba 2002: 2269]

(20) *Catalan*

a. Han sentit (a) dir que vindrà.
hear-PRES.PERF-3.PL to say-INF that come-FUT-3.SG
'They heard him say he would come."

b. Jo no m' en refio, perquè ja
I not CL-M-3.SG CL.PART trust-PRES-1.SG because already
l' he vist (a) venir.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PRES.PERF-3.SG to come-INF
'I don't trust him because I've seen him come.'

c. N' he sentit (a) parlar.
CL.PART hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG to say-INF
'I've heard it said.'

[Villalba 2002: 2397]

As Rafel (2000: 112, fn. 87) observes, these cases cannot be examples of the Prepositional Infinitive Construction because they do not express an event in progress. I take them to be another instance of defective subordinators.

Given the preceding discussion, I conclude that Romance languages have φ-defective Probes of the ECM type that fail to license Case to their Goals. Defective clause are not necessarily smaller, they can involve a defective CP layer (see Ormazabal 1995, Solà 2002, Epstein & Seely 2006, Gallego 2009; 2010, Cornilescu 2013, for different contexts). The discussion above attempts to reconcile at a conceptual but also at an empirical level the treatment of the infinitival dependents of causative and perception verbs, by proposing a unified defective CP analysis.

4. Reconsidering three potential problems for a unified account

The proposal discussed in section 2 attempts to reconcile the treatment of the complements of the two infinitival constructions involving causative and perception verbs in terms of defective CP subordinate clauses (CP_{def}). An analysis that proposes a defective complement for both IC and RIC should account for (at least) three aspects that have been argued to run against a unified complementation approach to the verbs under investigation: the nature of the matrix predicate, the double positioning of the embedded subject and the problems raised by the phenomenon of cliticization. My aim to offer a uniform explanation is just apparently challenged by these three potential problems addressed in the literature on the topics I address.

4.1. The variable behaviour of the matrix predicate in IC and RIC

4.1.1. The monoclausal–biclausal conflict and the nature of the matrix verb

Authors who focused their research on both IC and RIC structures simultaneously made a clear connection between the positioning of the subject and the amount of complement selected by the verb *see/make* (see Rosen 1992; Guasti 1993; Maier 1994; Labelle 1996; Moore 1996; Rowlett 2007, a.o.). On the one hand, the use of a post-infinitival subject would signal an inflectionally impoverished structure whose complement could not be larger than a VP/*v*P. On the other hand, the presence of a preinfinitival subject in the embedded domain was said to be a clear indication of the selection of a larger complement that included a (usually, non-finite) Tense layer which easily accommodated phenomena related to more complex structures (bringing them close to the

ECM configurations). In his introduction on reduced constructions, Moore (1996) speaks of a monoclausal/biclausal tension, generally reflected in many of the studies that tackle the topic of restructuring in infinitives, and which has not been resolved yet. Indeed, many works concur with this conclusion: the opposition between IC and RIC constructions is due to the difference in the underlying structure of these sentences, namely the monoclausal versus the biclausal nature of these structures.

The majority of these analyses claim that a preinfinitival subject favours the presence of an embedded TP, whose Spec, T it occupies. Apart from this aspect, the same authors appeal to two other pieces of evidence, namely clitic placement in the complement and possible embedded negation, that would support a biclausal approach to these constructions (as pointed out in Rosen 1992, Reed 1990; 1996, Borgonovo 1994, Davies 1995; 2000, Achard 2001, Rowlett 2007, Soares da Silva 2012, Ciutescu 2013a, b, a.o.). Although in Ciutescu (2013a, b) I initially defended this double treatment of the infinitival complement in Spanish and Catalan (*v*P in RIC vs. TP in IC), I now believe that there are sound reasons to consider some of the evidence examined there (such as the presence of clitics and negation in the embedded clause) as unreliable diagnostics for differentiating the complements in those terms.

I agree with these previous works that the infinitival complements of causative and perception verbs have given rise to many speculations about the way they are selected and labelled. Although not always fully developed, all these works investigate the same monoclausal/biclausal 'tension' Moore (1996) talks about. Their discussion usually boils down to issues of word order (especially the licensing of the infinitival subject) and the presence (or absence) of the TP layer. For example Davies (1995: 73), who analyses the diachronic changes from the RIC to the IC constructions in Spanish, argues that the increased presence of overt subjects in the embedded domains is 'synonymous with the shift from reduced to non-reduced structures', which eventually motivates the shifts in word order, Case marking, clitic placement (including the use of embedded *se*-clitics). In some considerable measure these previous analyses fall short of accounting for this conflict in complementation. Many of these works specify neither the origin nor the operations at stake for deriving the two constructions, especially the monoclausal one.

With respect to these claims, I strongly believe that merely the occurrence of a post-infinitival subject and the option of clitic climbing are not necessarily proofs of a monoclausal

structure. I argue specifically against the pervasive claim found in the monoclausal approaches that clitic climbing is a sufficient and necessary condition for restructuring/complex predicate formation. Similarly, in the case of the IC configuration, I will show that both person clitics and reflexive/reciprocal *se*-clitics in the embedded complement of causative and perception verb constructions are not exclusively properties of this configuration. They also occur in Catalan causatives which is a language that lacks IC structures with causative verb *fer* 'make'. I have excluded from the discussion an argument usually provided in the above-mentioned analyses and with which I dealt in the preceding chapter: the presence of negation. I concluded that the occurrence of negation in the infinitival complement in the contexts I investigate can only be interpreted as constituent negation, and not as clausal negation. The presence/absence of negation is not a reason to discard either of the two analyses. As for the possibility of finding *se*-clitics on the embedded infinitive verbs, I will argue that this property is not conditional on the presence of a TP in the complement and Romance languages vary significantly in allowing *se*-clitics in the infinitival clause, and this is mainly due to independent reasons.

Therefore, in the following lines, I will reconsider three potential problems for a unified account and attempt to account for the exceptions they raise. One problem is related to the variable nature of the matrix predicate in IC and RIC and its consequences for the monoclausal-biclausal conflict. The positioning of the infinitival subject and the Case alternations it produces are a second issue considered here. Apart from justifying them syntactically, I also investigate the possible semantic/pragmatic effects that are associated with the two infinitival subject positions, as well as providing a lexical-semantic characterization of the embedded subject. The third problem concerns the phenomenon of clitic climbing and the possibility of having embedded clitics (*in situ* clitics) which would bring about different semantic outcomes. My assumption is that clitic climbing is not enough to defend restructuring (or a monoclausal configuration) and my aim is to examine the factors that motivate the behaviour of these clitics.

To begin with, I would like to dwell on the aspect of the nature of the matrix verb and its role in the constructions I investigate. It has been pointed out on several occasions that the variable behaviour of the causative and perception verbs gives rise to a lexical-functional dichotomy of these predicates that would correspond in turn to the IC and RIC structures, and that would have semantic consequences. Rowlett (2007) addresses this lexical-functional opposition and links it directly to a certain type of structure. The author discusses a series of

French verbs (among them perception and causative predicates) and correlates their allegedly lexical and functional versions with the two configurations labelled by us IC and RIC. Drawing on Haegeman (2006), who introduces the notation *F(unctional)-verbs* and *L(exical)-verbs*,[14] Rowllet claims that a causative/perception verb would have a lexical use in the IC construction and functional use in the RIC configuration (using, again, our notation). Rowlett assumes that when transparency effects are present (mainly clitic climbing, but also the lack of clausal negation) the functional verb is merged in a functional head, causing a monoclausal structure (cf. Cinque 2006), and hence resulting in a complex predicate. In their lexical use, these verbs appear in a biclausal structure, which should be incompatible with transparency effects. They have a complete argument structure (a nominal experiencer/causer and a clausal theme), and can assign Case via ECM in a TP pattern, which can accommodate clitics and negation, and trigger past participle agreement. Rowlett (2007: 769) also notes that French causative *faire* 'make' behaves differently from permissive *laisser* 'let' (whose behaviour is similar to *voir* 'see' and other perception verbs) in that it does not allow a preinfinitival subject, negation or embedded clitics, which confirm, in his view, a functional version of *faire* 'make' in this language. Despite its poor syntactic behaviour, the author claims that, exceptionally, *faire* 'make' can have a lexical version.[15] The distinction between the functional and the lexical versions of the same predicate

[14] Haegeman's (2006) article is concerned with Italian *sembrare* 'seem', a verb that displays this lexical split. She claims that *sembrare* has a dual status: on the one hand, it is a lexical verb, with an experiencer argument; on the other hand, it behaves like a restructuring verb. She refers to restructuring *sembrare* as F-*sembrare* and to lexical *sembrare* as L-*sembrare*.

[15] Rowlett (2007), however, follows Bouvier (2000) and assumes that this lexical *faire* 'make' is, probably, morphologically defective. Bouvier (2000: 6) compares long passive contexts in French and Italian. On the assumption that passives in French require past participle agreement, Bouvier proposes that French causative participle *fait* is morphologically defective, lacking feminine and plural features and having only a default form.

(i) *Une jupe a été fait faire (par Marie).
a skirt-F be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART make-INF (by Mary).
'A skirt was caused to be made by Mary.'

(ii) Un pantalon a été fait faire.
a pant-M be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART make-INF
'Pants were caused to be made.'

(iii) Il a été fait faire une jupe (?par Marie).
there be-PAST-3.SG make-PAST.PART make-INF a skirt-F (by Mary).
'A skirt was caused to be made.'

The contrast between (i) and (ii) follows from the defectiveness of French causative *faire*'make', which does not license feminine and plural DPs in its specifier. The source of the ungrammaticality of (i) is the impossibility to agree with the participle. This problem does not arise if the object exhibits the morphologically unmarked set of features (ii) or if the target of the object is filled by an impersonal expletive, as in (iii).

implies possible consequences for the semantics of the two verbs, and by extension, for the two constructions in which they are inserted. Rowlett (2007: 769) claims that *faire* is also compatible with a biclausal configuration (see also Den Dikken & Longenecker 2004), in spite of not being able to take infinitival complements with overt subjects (the IC configuration) and hence (21) would be grammatical, at least for some speakers, and it would argue in favour of a lexical version of the causative verb. In this configuration the infinitival subject surfaces as an accusative clitic and the complement can also host accusative object clitics.

(21) Jean la fait (ne pas) manger le gâteau.
John CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PRES-3.SG NEG eat-INF the cake
'Jean makes her (not) eat the cake.'

[Rowlett 2007: 769, *French*]

The proposal of two causative *faire* 'make' verbs in French is not new. Hyman & Zimmer (1976), and, then, Cannings & Moody (1978), Dorel (1980) and Bailard (1982) have previously noted that, in certain French dialects (e.g. Languedoc-Roussillon region, Quebec French), it is possible to find in causative constructions an accusative-dative clitic alternation with embedded transitive predicates, although this contrast is impossible with overt infinitival subjects.[16] Hyman & Zimmer (1976: 194) compare (22b) with (22c) and conclude that there are two possible *faire* 'make' verbs that have two different meanings.

(22) *French*

a. J'ai fait manger des épinards à Maurice.
I make-PAST-1.SG eat-INF some spinach to Maurice
'I made Maurice eat spinach.'

b. Je l' ai fait manger des épinards
I CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-1.SG eat-INF some spinach
'I made him eat spinach.'

[16] More recently, the monoclausal-biclausal contrast in French causative constructions is explored in Reed (1990, 1992, 1996, 1999), Authier & Reed (1991), Baschung & Desmets (2000). Reed (1999) also provides an analysis for the behaviour of French perception verb *voir* 'see' and permissive verb *laisser* 'let' when they are part of what she calls *cohesive* (our RIC pattern) and *non-cohesive* structures (our IC pattern), which are directly linked to direct/indirect perception/causation readings.

c. Je lui ai fait manger des épinards.
I CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PAST-1.SG eat-INF some spinach
'I made him eat spinach.'

In (22b) *faire*$_1$ is synonymous to *force*, and the interpretation of the whole configuration is that of direct causation. In (22c) *faire*$_2$ can translate as *have*/*get* and the configuration would be associated with indirect causation. From a semantic point of view, causation is a relation between two events (represented by the two predicates), a causing event and a caused event, such that the realization of the first event has a decisive influence on bringing about the second (cf. Parsons 1990, Kemmer & Verhagen 1994, Pylkkänen 2002). The examples in (22) differ in how they codify certain aspects of this causal relationship. More precisely, they differ in how directly the first event is understood to have occasioned the second. In addition, they also differ in the degree of control and responsability they assign to each of the participants that take part in these events. Consequently, the action of the subject in (22b) is seen as having determined the actions of the embedded subject (*Maurice* or the 'causee', if I use the semantic notation) in a more direct manner than in the example (22c). Hyman & Zimmer (1976) point out that the accusative clitic indicates a low degree of autonomy/control or even lack of control on the part of the infinitival subject over the event denoted by the subordinate predicate, and, as a result, the causer exercises direct causation over the causee. On the contrary, the use of a dative clitic suggests that the causee has a certain degree of control or autonomy over the caused event (see also Strozer 1976, Dorel 1980, Enghels 2012b). Dorel (1980) makes the same claim: French has two *faire* 'make' verbs that show these two different semantic dimensions in two different syntactic configurations. The first one is a 'clause union' (monoclausal) configuration that would yield the indirect causation interpretation and the second one is a direct object control (biclausal) structure that gives the direct causation reading.

In the realm of Spanish causatives, Strozer (1976) proposes two *hacer* 'make' verbs that also yield two different interpretations. She claims that the Case alternation we have seen in (23) for French does not depend on the transitivity of the embedded predicate, but it rather depends on the direct versus indirect causation (see also Treviño 1992, 1994). Strozer correlates the accusative-dative clitic alternation with two different semantics for the causative *hacer* 'make'. In (23a) *hacer* 'make' has a *forzar* 'force' reading expressed syntactically through the use of

accusative clitics (*lo* 'him') which implies the direct causation interpretation, while in (23b) *hacer* 'make' receives a *causar* 'cause/have' connotation, which is linked to the dative Case and, as a result, it renders an indirect causation meaning.

(23) a. Patty {lo/*le} hizo estudiar a la fuerza.
Patty CL-M-3.SG-ACC/DAT make-PAST-3.SG study-INF at the force
'Patty made him study by force.'

b. El perro {*lo/le} hizo tropezar.
the dog CL-M-3.SG-ACC/DAT make-PAST-3.SG stumble-INF
'The dog made him stumble.'

[Strozer 1976: 461, *Spanish*]

Strozer (1976) introduces in her analysis another element that has consequences for the interpretation of (23), namely the importance of agentivity in Spanish causatives. An agentive subject constrains the infinitival subject to participate in the embedded event (that can be compatible with adverbs such as *by force*), and, therefore the embedded subject will be assigned accusative Case, as in (23a). In contrast, in (23b) we have a non-agentive matrix subject that is not exerting force, control or influence on the embedded subject. The dative Case reflects, in this sense, a high degree of autonomy on the part of the infinitival subject. This is consonant with Kemmer & Verhagen's (1994) claim that accusative causees are understood to be more affected by the actions of the matrix subject and have a lower degree of autonomy, whereas dative causees are less affected and more autonomous.

I do not fully agree with the generalization Strozer proposes. As noted by Moore (1996) and Campos (1999) and confirmed by our data, the majority of the native speakers consulted (specifically non-leísta) do not show the sharp syntax-semantics distinctions Strozer defends. For example, Campos (1999: 1544) claims that they prefer to use the direct object clitic *lo* in both cases illustrated in (23). A similar example (24) I found shows that the logical subject of the embedded clause, the dog, is clearly compatible with an accusative clitic. Therefore, I am entitled to question whether a certain type of causation obtains when a specific clitic is used. Moreover, agentivity can be a condition for the distinction in (23) but it is important to redefine

this notion with respect to both the matrix subject and the embedded one, since certain elements that are not [person/human] can be endowed with an agentive power.

(24) *Spanish*

La	empleada	dio	un	puntapié	al	perro	porque
the	employee	give-PAST-3.SG	a	kick	to-the	dog	because

la	
CL-F-3.SG-ACC	

hizo	tropezar.[17]
make-PAST-3.SG	stumble-INF

Moore (1996) also concludes that he could not reproduce Strozer's claims in a consistent way. He also draws attention to those contexts that are ambiguous with respect to direct and indirect causation and that depend on the analyses given to the causative constructions. Strozer proposes that the two readings in (23) are read off directly from the different structures. *hacer* 'make' with the interpretation of *forzar* 'force' is an direct object control structure whose object (i.e., the preinfintival subject) is always assigned accusative. This is a three-place argument structure and the object is s-selected. [18] On the other hand, *hacer* 'make' understood as a *causar* 'cause' verb takes a clausal complement (i.e., it is a binary structure resembling the ECM configuration), a VP complement or a clausal complement in a indirect object control pattern.[19] In Strozer's analysis, these complements are always associated with a post-infinitival subject with dative Case. Although Strozer is not directly concerned with word order facts, her analysis clearly suggests that only preinfinitival subjects would exhibit accusative Case. This, however, creates a confusing situation, mainly because examples such as (25) with post-infinitival subjects can also yield direct causation as well as indirect causation. Thus, *hacer* 'make' can mean *force* in this configuration that is not a control structure and the derived object would be Case-licensed in accusative.

(25) a. Hizo correr a Juan.

[17] Actitudes para triunfar, pag 69 [ref. missing]
[18] Recall that, along this study and predominantly in chapter 2, § 3.4, we argued that a control analysis for infinitival constructions that involve *hacer*/*dejar* verbs is unsupported. Semantically, one can maintain that they have control uses, but syntactically this claim is unfounded. See also footnote 46, chapter 2, for references on this matter.
[19] It has been claimed also for English causatives that, through its semantics, *make* (but also *let*) has control as well as raising properties (cf. Mittwoch 1990, Cornilescu 2000: 342-342).

made-PAST-3.SG run-INF DOM John
'He made Juan run.'

b. Lo hizo correr.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG run-INF
'He made him run.'

This can be a possible example of the ambiguity Moore has in mind when saying that certain sentences can be open to more than one interpretation and "perhaps this ambiguity figures into the inconsistent judgements shown by many speakers" (Moore 1996: 188). I come back to these semantic considerations in §4.2., where I analyse more contrasts linked to the positioning of the infinitival subject.

As in the case of *hacer* 'make', Strozer (1976:483) suggests two translations for *dejar* 'let', correlated with two distinct interpretations. When this verb means *allow*/*permit* it licenses dative clitics and has an indirect causation meaning. In the second case, it has a *let happen*/*not intervene* reading associated with the accusative in a direct causation pattern.

This double semantic paradigm is also observed by Enghels & Roegiest (2013) for *dejar*-constructions with overt infinitival subjects. The examples are relevant to the extent that the positioning of the infinitival subject proves to be related, again, to the polysemy of *dejar* 'let'. Enghels & Roegiest (2013: 513-514) claim that (26) shows this correlation. In (26a) *the father*, the matrix subject, does not allow *the child* to watch his favourite TV programme. In this example, *let* has the meaning of *allow*/*permit*/*authorise* and the infinitival subject (the derived object) is understood as agentive. In (26b) the post-infinitival subject lacks responsibility for the embedded event and the subject of *dejar* 'let' exerts a stronger sense of control over the embedded event and implicitly over the causee. In this case, *dejar* has the meaning of *causar* 'cause' and enters the complex predicate pattern which, as a whole (*dejar ver* 'let see'), can receive the interpretation of *show*.

(26) a. [E]l padre egoísta no deja al niño ver su programa
the father selfish not let-PRES-3.SG to-the child see-INF his programme
preferido y éste se lo gana preparándole una merienda
favourite and this one REFL it win prepare-PRES.PART-to him a meal

'The selfish father does not let the child watch his favourite TV programme and this one earns it by preparing him a meal.'

b. [E]l padre egoísta no deja ver al niño su programa
the father selfish not let-PRES.3SG see-INF to-the child his programme
preferido
favourite
'The selfish father does not let the child watch his favourite TV programme.'

[adapted from Enghels & Roegiest 2013: 513, *Spanish*]

Enghels & Roegiest (2013: 513) maintain that *dejar* 'let' has a complex argument structure and bring this verb closer to the lexical category of control verbs. They propose that in (26a) *dejar* 'let' behaves like a control verb, while in (26b) *dejar* 'let' is a semi-auxiliary that, together with the infinitive, functions as one ditransitive lexical verb. In this configuration the matrix subject uses its coercive power to convert the infinitival subject into a benefactive. Notice that Enghels & Roegiest (2013) associate the RIC structure with a totally different interpretation than Strozer (1976). If the infinitival subject is interpreted as a benefactive it would be marked with dative Case. Recall that, for Strozer, the dative reflects a higher degree of autonomy on the part of the infinitival subject.

To show some scepticism with respect to the interpretation of the data above, I would say that these differences are subtle and frequently subject to the speakers' judgements and preferences. It is not clear in which measure we can speak of two verbs *make* or *let* (or even two verbs *see*/*hear*, as maintained by Rowlett 2007). One challenge is to state whether the lexicon contains two (or more) entries of these verbs, or whether they acquire different uses in different structures they are inserted. Another challenge is to demonstrate syntactically that a certain structure is associated with a certain matrix verb or a certain interpretation given to the matrix verb. To some extent, the semantic contrasts presented above are ascribed to the semantic properties of the matrix verb. These are obtained from a lexical-functional variation of the matrix verb (cf. Folli & Harley 2007, Rowlett 2007, Torrego 2010) or due to the meanings the same verb has depending on the context, whether it belongs to IC or RIC derivations (cf. Hyman & Zimmer 1976, Strozer 1976, Dorel 1980, Reed 1999, Enghels & Roegiest 2013).

A preliminary conclusion I draw from the proposals above is that the matrix predicates seem to have different semantics dependent on the IC or RIC patterns in which they is inserted. Thus, on the one hand, in IC structures, the causative verbs have either control uses or raising uses, in a biclausal configuration. They are claimed to have more lexical content and agentive properties. As a result, they translate as *force*, *make*, *allow* or *permit*. On the other hand, in RIC structures, the same proposals argue that these predicates are not fully thematic lexical verbs. They take infinitival complements that are base-generated VPs, in monoclausal configurations. They translate as *cause*, *get* or *have*. This situation resembles the long-lasting opposition between main and light verbs in similar patterns.

Since their uses are linked to the positioning and expression of the infinitival subject, a legitimate question to be asked is what happens semantically in those languages (Catalan, French, and Italian) that only have RIC configurations with post-infinitival subjects. What is the proper interpretation of the matrix verb, as well as the interpretation of the entire construction? As I have emphasised above for Spanish, contexts such as (27) tend to be ambiguous with respect to the direct/indirect interpretation. In both cases French *faire* 'make' and Catalan *fer* 'make' mean *make*/*force* (in a direct causation pattern) or *get*/*cause* (in an indirect causation context).

(27) *French*

a. J'ai fait manger des épinards à Maurice.
I make-PAST-1.SG eat-INF some spinach to Maurice
'I made Maurice eat spinach.'

Catalan

b. Hem fet cantar els nens.
make-PRES.PERF-1.PL sing-INF the children
'We have made the children sing.'

In a similar vein, Treviño (1994) and Vivanco (2015) maintain that there are two possible readings in a Spanish causative structure like (28).

(28) Víctor hizo trabajar a Sara.

Victor make-PAST-3.SG work-INF DOM Sara

'Víctor made Sara work.'

[Vivanco 2015: 348, *Spanish*]

In one interpretation, (28) has an obligation reading (*La obligó/forzó a trabajar* 'He compelled/forced her to work'). The second interpretation is a case of indirect causation (*Causó indirectamente que ella trabajara* 'He indirectly caused that she worked'). This is consonant what I have pointed out when I criticised Strozer's semantic model.

Given all these facts, another legitimate question is whether one obtains the same identical interpretations in IC and RIC configurations which contain overt subjects as in IC and RIC configurations that contain clitics.[20]

The observations from the present section corroborate my account that the key to the understanding of these differences is not to be found in the monoclausal-biclausal contrast. They do not necessarily rely on the clause size in the subordinate domain.

I believe that the semantics of the matrix verb should be analysed compositionally taking into account various factors, with special focus on those syntactic aspects that have semantic effects. My claim is that the entire construction is relevant when determining the meaning of the matrix verb. Factors that may influence, apart from the nature of the matrix predicate, are the (event) type of embedded verb and the distribution of the infinitival subject. In addition, the semantic features of the central arguments (mainly those of the matrix and the embedded subjects) are also aspects that should be considered.

4.1.2. Spanish *hacer* 'make': lexical or functional?

One might attempt to avoid the problem of speculating about the distinct uses of the matrix verb by proposing that their semantic content is somehow codified in the syntactic structure of the verb. This is the work undertaken by Folli & Harley (2007) who argue that a good deal of the differences found in the Italian causative construction follow from the interaction of the meanings attached to particular syntactic structures and the encyclopaedic content and lexical specifications on the roots themselves. Remember that, in chapter 1, §3.3., I introduced the

[20] Section §4.2.2. is concerned with these semantic considerations.

specifics of their analysis, especially the discussion on the different flavours of *fare* 'make'. The authors try to demonstrate that *fare* 'make' may occur in two versions: a functional v_{CAUSE} head (usually found in FI causatives) and a lexical, agentive v_{DO} (found in FP constructions).[21] The aspect that interests me and I will repeat it here refers to the syntax of this causative verb when it embeds transitive and unergative infinitives in RIC constructions (the only possible configuration in Italian).[22] Folli & Harley (2007) claim that, in these cases, the verb *fare* 'make' is a functional v_{CAUSE} that takes a *v*P complement headed by a v_{DO} whose subject is an agent.

Spanish *hacer* 'make' provides a nice case study of the lexical-functional variation mainly because it easily enters both IC and RIC configurations. Building on Folli & Harley (2007), Torrego (2010) examines the distribution of the infinitival subject and its relation with the matrix domain (mainly the causative verb and its subject). Her aim is to link Case patterns of dative-case-marked objects to the nature of the causative verb, and to distinguish between *loísta* and non-*loísta* variants of Spanish as well.

Torrego (2010) identifies two causative structures that would correspond to two different *hacer* 'make' verbs. The contrast with which she starts her analysis is the one in (29) and focuses on the description and analysis of (29a) which illustrates a full-fledged DP in a preinfinitival position and no clitic doubling.

(29) a. La entrenadora hizo a la atleta repetir el ejercicio.
the trainer make-PAST-3.SG to the athlete repeat-INF the exercise

b. La entrenadora (le) hizo repetir el ejercicio
the trainer (CL-F-3.SG-DAT) make-PAST-3SG repeat-INF the exercise
a la atleta.
to the athlete
'The trainer made the athlete repeat the exercise.'

[adapted from Torrego 2010: 448, *Spanish*]

[21] See also Tubino (2011: 226-231) who draws heavily on F&H's (2007) and claims that Spanish *hacer* 'make' can be the morphological realization of two distinct verba heads. It may be a lexical verb associated with a root *√HAC-* in FP in Spanish, while in FI it acts like a functional verb v_{CAUSE}.

[22] Recall that Folli & Harley (2007) propose that causative constructions with embedded unaccusatives are not instances of FI but of FP passives.

Torrego (2010) correlates the presence of a preinfinitival subject in (29a) with a lexical *hacer* 'make'. Following Folli & Harley (2007), she claims that the causative verb needs to have an agent as external argument when it occurs with a preinfinitival subject. Folli & Harley (2007) observe, for Italian, that functional *fare* 'make' does not impose selectional restrictions on its external argument, so the causers may be both agents and causes, while lexical *fare* 'make' only allows agents as causers. Torrego (2010: 449) claims that in the preinfinitival order of the causative complement, as in FP causatives across Romance, the external argument of *hacer* 'make' must be an agent. Therefore, according to Torrego, if the external argument of *hacer* 'make' is not an agent but a cause, this determines ill-formedness (30).

(30) a. ?? La recesión ha hecho a la atleta perder el trabajo.
the recession make-PRES.PERF-3.SG to the athlete lose-INF the job
'Recession has made the athlete lose her job.'

b. ?? Su buena forma ha hecho a la atleta ganar la carrera.
her good shape make-PRES.PERF-3.SG to the athlete win-INF the race
'Her good shape has made the athlete win the race.'

Torrego also maintains that the post-infinitival order does not exhibit this constraint and (31) is perfectly grammatical.

(31) a. La recessión le ha hecho perder el trabajo
the recession CL-F-3.SG-DAT make-PRES.PERF-3.SG lose-INF the job
a la atleta.
to the athlete
'Recession has made the athlete lose her job.'

b. Su buena forma le ha hecho ganar la carrera
her good shape CL-F-3.SG-DAT make-PRES.PERF-3.SG win-INF the race
a la atleta.
to the athlete
'Her good shape has made the athlete win the race.'

[Torrego 2010: 449, *Spanish*]

In conclusion, in a construction based on the lexical version of *hacer* 'make', the subject of the causative verb must be animate and agentive, and the preinfinitival subject (i.e., the causee) too should be animate and agentive and marked by the (dative) preposition 'a'. To this cluster of properties, Torrego adds the mention that no (dative) clitic doubling is possible. She claims that these features would correspond to the patterns found in loísta dialects and explicitly states that (32a) is a construction attested only in these dialects.[23] Torrego suggests that loísta dialects treat the preinfinitival subject DP as an accusative object because it is assigned structural Case by the lexical *hacer* 'make', although it is inherently a dative. Thus, the preinfinitival subject is able to occur as an accusative clitic, as in (32b).

(32) *Spanish*

a. El sargento hizo a su subordinado arreglar el camión.
the sergeant make-PAST-3.SG to his subordinate fix-INF the truck
'The sergeant made his subordinate fix the truck.'

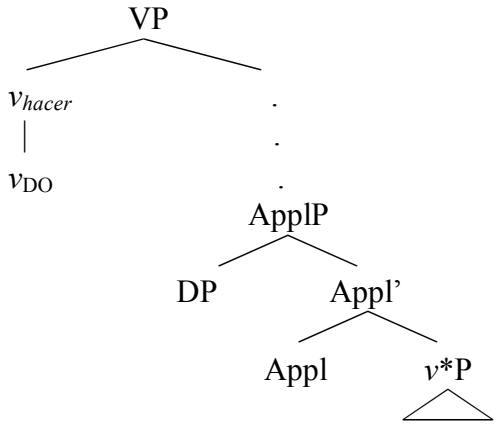
b. El sargento lo hizo arreglar el camión.
the sergeant CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG fix-INF the truck
'The sergeant made him fix the truck.'

[adapted from Torrego 2010: 447]

Torrego (2010: 460) states that "the dative morphology of lexical datives does not suffice to Case-license the dative causee, and therefore datives behave like accusatives with dative morphology – they are quirky". The infinitival subject receives, thus, structural Case. In agreement with Folli & Harley, lexical *hacer* 'make' is a v_{DO}. She proposes that the causative complement contains an Appl(icative)P, by analogy with Spanish agentive predicates (e.g., *contratar a alguien* 'hire someone') and that they are hidden ditransitives (*dar a alguien un contrato* 'give a contract to someone') involving an Appl head. The source of the animacy feature and the dative morphology on the preinfinitival subject is the ApplP. Torrego (2010: 458) proposes the structure in (33) for the lexical causative *hacer* 'make'.

[23] In loísta dialects, a dative DP occurs in the accusative when cliticises.

(33) *Torrego's lexical 'hacer'*

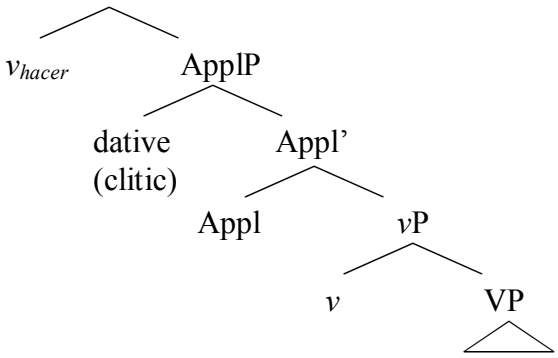


[adapted from Torrego 2010: 458]

In this representation, the infinitival subject is inherently Case-marked by the Appl, but structurally Case-licensed in the accusative within the matrix domain by *v-hacer*. The Appl head is possibly a high Appl, and therefore a strong phase (cf. McGinnis 2004), that would prevent complex predicate formation or vP-restructuring of the embedded infinitive (cf. Torrego 2010: 464).

The second structure that Torrego (2010) discusses is the causative construction with a dative clitic doubling (34a). This structure involves a functional *hacer* 'make', and is based on Ippolito's (2000) proposal.

(34) *Torrego's functional 'hacer'*



The causee in this causative construction is expressed with a dative (doubling) clitic and the DP causee can be omitted. The dative clitic bears inherent Case.

Torrego upholds that the presence of the dative clitic *le* cancels the agentive restriction on the matrix subject in the construction with preinfinitival order in causative constructions. Hence, the structures in (30) above become grammatical even if the matrix subject is non-agentive (35). She concludes that this structure is found in all Spanish dialects (therefore, including loísta dialects), as well as in French and Italian.

(35) a. La recesión le ha hecho (a la atleta)
the recession CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PRES.PERF-3.SG to the athlete
perder el trabajo.
lose-INF the job
'Recession has made the athlete lose her job.'

b. Su buena forma le ha hecho (a la atleta)
her good shape CL-M-3.SG-DAT make-PRES.PERF-3.SG to the athlete
ganar la carrera.
win-INF the race
'Her good shape has made the athlete win the race.'

[Torrego 2010: 465, *Spanish*]

To recap, Torrego's analysis proposes that when *hacer* 'make' is functional, the infinitival subject always requires the presence of a dative clitic to double it when the matrix subject is not agentive. In addition, the clitic realization is always dative when the infinitival subject DP is not lexically expressed. The chart (36) below summarises Torrego's conclusions on the two causative constructions:

(36) *Torrego's (2010) two causative constructions*

a. Lexical *hacer*-construction La entrenadora hizo a la atleta repetir el ejercicio. 'The trainer made the athlete repeat the exercise.'	b. Functional *hacer*-construction La entrenadora/Su buena forma le hizo (a la atleta) repetir el ejercicio (a la atleta). 'The trainer/Her good form made the athlete win the race.'
→ attested in *loísta* dialects	→ attested in all Spanish dialects (*loísta* included)
→ the infinitival subject occurs preverbally, but it is never doubled by a clitic → When cliticises, it is an accusative clitic	→ the infinitival subject is (always?) doubled by a dative clitic

There are certain aspects of Torrego's proposal that are controversial. Setting aside, for the moment, the issue of how Torrego implements the derivations of two causative constructions (see chapter 4, §2.1.3. where I argue against the applicative analysis), I want to review some of her empirical arguments that are, in the end, crucial for her analysis.

First, it is no clear whether Torrego associates the lexical *hacer* 'make' exclusively with the occurrence of a preinfinitival subject. If, at the beginning of the article, she specifically says that "the central question we need to address is why the preinfinitival position of the causee correlates with the structure in which *hacer* is a lexical verb" (p.450), Torrego concludes the paper by stating that "when *hacer* is a functional head [...], a preinfinitival DP causee requires a dative doubling clitic."

Unfortunately, Torrego's conclusions undermine her own analysis. The thesis she puts forward is that the preinfinitival subject position is special and linked to a certain syntactic structure. The pieces of information in (36) show an apparently ambiguous situation: both lexical *hacer* and functional *hacer* allow for the same word order patterns. Presumably, the presence/absence of the dative clitic only should make a difference, but I dare to say this is just a syntactic artifice. As I show below, it is not true that the dative clitic is always present or related to the functional-*hacer* construction. Another way to look at Torrego's analysis is that, in the functional-*hacer* construction, the position of the embedded subject is not relevant. Torrego

(2010: 446) considers that word order is not a matter of syntax, but of linearization at Spell-Out. However, her statement obviously does not apply to the lexical-*hacer* construction. My confusion also comes from the fact that she maintains that the (36b) construction is identical with the one found in French and Italian, but these languages totally lack the preinfinitival subject position. Therefore, I conclude that, probably, Torrego has in mind two different word orders for the (36b) configuration that are based on the same derivation and do not have any syntactic or semantic effects (although the preinfinitival position should be special and have a different semantics). However, this should have consequences for her analysis. If the infinitival subject occurs in a preverbal position, it is found in a structural Case position, but Torrego claims that in (36b) the infinitival subject DP bears dative Case, a typical inherent Case. It thus gives rise to a contradictory situation.

It is even more difficult to understand the two structures Torrego proposes when they involve clitics. If transitive complements are more complex, what happens when the complements contain intransitive verbs as in (37)? The default clitic for this case is an accusative clitic (irrespective of the pre- or post-infinitival position of the subject) and the dative clitic is assumed to be trait of dialectal variation (specific to leísmo contexts).[24] According to Torrego's analysis, *hacer* 'make' would be lexical in (37a), but functional in (37b). In the absence of substantial evidence that would support this claim, I am inclined to say that Torrego's assumption is just a theoretical postulation.

(37) *Spanish*

a.	Lo	hizo	reír/	caer.
	CL-M-3.SG-ACC	make-PAST-3.SG	laugh/	fall-INF
b.	Le	hizo	reír/	caer.
	CL-M-3.SG-DAT	make-PAST-3.SG	laugh/	fall-INF

'S/he made him laugh/fall.'

Another problem raised by Torrego's analysis refers to the observation that the functional *hacer*-causative construction "crucially involves a dative clitic causee" (p.466). This is, however,

[24] Leísmo is known as the extension of the dative clitic *le* to contexts where etymologically one would expect the accusative clitics *lo* (masculine) or *la* (feminine).

not true. Dative clitics can double or not the infinitival subject. The clitic is not obligatory (cf. Tubino 2011: 215).

(38) a. (Le) hice llorar a Juan.
(CL-M-3.SG-DAT) make-PAST-1.SG cry-INF DOM John
'I made Juan cry.'

b. (Le) hice vender el coche a Juan.
(CL-M-3.SG-DAT) make-PAST-1.SG sell-INF the car to John
'I made Juan sell his car.'

[Tubino 2011: 215-216, *Spanish*]

Moreover, the matrix subject can be non-agentive and, although the preinfinitival subject is animate and agentive, there is no dative clitic doubling. Remember that in Torrego's analysis, when the matrix subject is nonagentive, dative clitics are compulsory. They would always double the infinitival subject. Torrego's (2010) claims are strongly contradicted by Spanish data drawn from Peninsular dialects, but also from Central/South American languages.

(39) *Peninsular Spanish*

a. [E]s esa sensación indescriptible [...] que hizo a hombres
is that sensation indescribable that make-PAST-3.SG to men
como Jensen arriesgar sus vidas.
like Jensen risk-INF their lives
'It is that unusual feeling that made men like Jensen risk their lives.'

b. [U]n golpe que hizo a Santiago volver a un lado
a punch that make-PAST-3.SG DOM Jacob turn-INF to a side
la cara.
the face
'A punch that made Santiago turn his face to the other side.'

c. Es una esperanza que ha hecho a mucha gente

is a hope that make-PRES.PERF-3.SG to many people recuperar la ilusión.
recover-INF the ilusion
'It is a hope that made many people recover their illusion.'

(40) *Latin American Spanish*

a. [E]l vino hizo a Ramón olvidarse hasta del tiempo.
the wine make-PAST-3.SG to Ramon forget-REFL-INF even of-the time
'The wine made Ramón forget even the time.'

b. La elección de estos dos volúmenes hizo a Odiseo reflexionar.
the choice of these two volums make-PAST-3.SG DOM Odyssee
meditate-INF
'The choice of these two volums made Odiseo meditate.'

c. Esa grandeza monetaria hizo a sus marqueses resistir hasta el último momento.
that richness economic make-PAST-3.SG DOM his marquises
resist-INF until the last moment
'That economic richness made his marquises resist until the very last moment.'

The data in (41) also challange a property that Torrego (2010: 450) links to the lexical *hacer* 'make'. There are cases when the infinitival subjects can be doubled in the preverbal position, by an accusative clitic (especially in Latin American Spanish). The fact that they are really datives in disguise is not clear either, since they can be doubled by accusative clitics. This observation also weakens her applicative analysis in which the embedded subject is inherently Case-marked by the Appl.

(41) a. Fue sin duda su aliento o el calor natural de su belleza,

be-PAST-3.SG without doubt her breath or the heat natural of her beauty
lo que lo hizo a él girarse y
what that CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG DOM he turn-REFL-INF and
abrazarla.
hug-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC
'It was without any doubt her breath or the natural heat of her beauty that made him turn around and hug her.'

(Guatemalan Spanish)

b. Parece que eso lo hizo a él reaccionar
seem-PRES-3SG that that CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST DOM he react-INF
'It seems that that made him react.'

(Venezuela)

c. [L]a extraña fuerza que los hacía a ellos dos
the strange force that CL-M-3.PL-ACC make-IMPERF-3.SG to them two
digerir los dolores sin cambiar la conducta
endure-INF the pain-PL without change-INF the behaviour
'The strange force that made the two of them endure the pain without any change in their behaviour.'

(Mexico)

Torrego (2010: 452) also claims that an inanimate is altogether banned in the preinfinitival order, with or without dative morphology.

(42) a. Hice funcionar la radio (a base de golpes).
make-PAST-1.SG work-INF the radio (on basis of kicks)
b. *Hice (a) la radio funcionar (a base de golpes).
make-PAST-1.SG DOM the radio work-INF (on basis of kicks)
'I got the radio to work (by hitting it).'

On the contrary, other linguists show that both animate and inanimate DPs can occupy a preinfinitival position, provided that this DPs is *a*-marked (see Trevino 1994, Ordóñez 2008,

Tubino 2011; 2012, Ormazabal & Romero 2013). Treviño (1994) and Ordóñez (2008) suggest that the occurrence of the preposition *a* is clearly due to the *hacer*-verb which imposes it on the preinfinitival position, be it an animate or an inanimate DP (see also Ordóñez & Saab 2018).

(43) a. Hizo al agua salir por la ventana.
make-PAST-3.SG DOM-the water go out-INF through the window
'S/he got the water come out through the window.'

b. Hizo a las paredes del templo producir voces de espanto.
make-PAST-3.SG A the walls of-the temple produce-INF voices of scare
'S/he got the walls of the temple produce scaring voices.'

[Treviño 1994: 119, *Spanish*]

Moreover, Tubino (2011: 257) observes that this position improves if a dative clitic doubles the DP causee:

(44) Le he hecho a la radio emitir programas
CL-3.SG-DAT make-PRES.PERF-3.SG A the radio broadcast-INF programmes
día y noche.
day and night
'I got the radio broadcast programmes night and day.'

In the light of all these facts, I conclude that in Torrego's analysis there are important discrepancies between her theoretical postulations and my empirical findings. This strongly suggests that, on the one hand, the lexical-functional treatment of the Spanish hacer 'make' cannot be right, and, on the other, the applicative analysis falls short of accounting for crucial aspects of the Spanish causative construction.

4.2. The subject of the infinitive

In this section I want to investigate the measure in which the distribution of the infinitival subject is an indication of the difference in the complementation and, implicitly, in the analysis of the IC

and RIC constructions. The presence of the post-infinitival has been associated with a reduced complement, while the preinfinitival subject has been claimed to signal a more complex structure (see Rosen 1992, Guasti 1993, Maier 1994, Labelle 1996, Moore 1996, Reed 1999, Rowlett 2007, Torrego 2010, a.o.). In the following lines I aim at showing that the positioning of the embedded subject can be determined by other factors besides the size of the complement. I chiefly examine the ingredients that are involved in the interpretation of the two constructions, especially the semantic features of the infinitival subject and the nature of the embedded verb.

In chapter 2 I have listed the main factors that favour the uses of one structure to the detriment of the other, and these factors referred, among others, to the syntactic processing, stylistic devices or other discourse-related rules. Apart from the study already undertaken and the contexts already mentioned (see chapter 2, §2.3.) I want to explore in more detail the distribution of the embedded subject and its semantic implications.

The IC construction with a preinfinitival subject is said to render an interpretation that is divergent from that provided by a reduced construction with a post-infinitival subject. Kayne (1975) was among the first to claim this when studying the variation between IC and RIC with French *laisser* 'let' and *voir* 'see', verb that allow both configurations. Kayne (1975: 232) points out that (45) are not synonymous and differ in meaning.

(45) *French*

a.	Le	gardien	a laissé	le	prisonnier	s'	echapper.
	the	guard	let-PAST-3.SG	the	prisoner	REFL	escape-INF
b.	Le	gardien	a laissé	s'	echapper	le	prisonnier.
	the	guard	let-PAST-3.SG	REFL	escape-INF	the	prisoner

'The guard let the prisoner escape.'

Kayne finds in the first construction (45a) a degree of intentionality on the part of the matrix subject (*the guard*), which is absent in the second structure.

In the case of the perception verb (46), the nonsynonymy refers to the fact that (46a) appears to involve a stronger sense of visual perception of *Jean* than does the second (46b) which places emphasis rather upon the activity than on the embedded subject. Kayne concludes

that *Jean* in (46a) is interpreted as the direct object as the matrix verb, whereas in (46b) the entire embedded clause is considered the complement of the perception verb.

(46) *French*

a.	J'ai vu	Jean	faire	des	betises.			
	I see-PAST-1.SG	John	make-INF	some	silly things			
b.	J'ai vu	faire	des	betises	a	Jean.		
	I see-PAST-1.SG	make-INF	some	silly things	to	John		
	'I saw Jean do silly things.'							

In the following lines I investigate the parameters that determine the relation between the nature of the main subject as well as that of the embedded one, and their relation with respect to the infinitive verb and, more generally, to the embedded event.

4.2.1. A semantic characterization of the infinitival subject and its relation with the embedded event

Various authors point out that the position the embedded subject fills in IC and RIC has certain consequences for the interpretation of the embedded event (see Treviño 1994, Achard 2001, Soares da Silva 2012, Enghels & Roegiest 2013). According to Achard (1998, 2001) the target of the causative verb is not the same in the two structures. For example, in IC the target is the preinfinitival subject, a particular entity that is coerced into performing an activity, whereas in RIC the target is the whole event, made of the matrix and the embedded event in a kind of complex event. This complex event is, in part, due to the binding force of the causative verb (cf. Givón 1980, Langacker 1991). Givón (1980: 334) establishes a direct connection between the semantic and syntactic dimensions of complementation and proposes that "the stronger is the semantic bond between the two events, the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of the two clauses into a single though complex clause". For that reason, a clause integration ('clause union') strategy has direct consequences for an 'event integration'. This event integration highly depends on the semantic properties of the main verb and its argument structure. Due to their

selectional properties, perception verbs instantiate the weakest bond, whereas causative verbs exemplify the strongest bond with the embedded domain.

There are, however, other factors that determine the two patterns. Givón (1980) claims that there are two semantic parameters which operate to measure the notion of incorporation or complex predicate formation. One is concerned with the degree of control and agentivity from the part of the matrix subject over the embedded event. It seems that a high degree of control from the matrix subject entails a lower degree of autonomy of the subordinate event, and consequently, incorporation is more frequent in these cases. The other parameter is the independence of the embedded event with respect to the matrix event. I am going to define and describe these notions below.

As maintained by Achard (1998: 101), who follows considerably Givón (1980, 1990), the causative *faire* 'make' is a perfect candidate for the reduced infinitival construction "because the responsibility of the subject for the occurrence of the complement process gives the main verb the highest possible level of binding strength toward the subordinate process and therefore provides the closest possible bond between the two verbs". In other words, the event realized by the infinitive verb is tightly connected to the matrix predicate whose subject is in charge of producing the embedded process, which is directly induced by the subject of the main verb. The responsibility of the matrix subject is another way of addressing what Givón understands by 'control of the matrix subject'. This is one of the main properties of the matrix subject that makes it directly responsible for the realizing of the subordinate process.[25]

Another parameter worth mentioning is the animacy of both the matrix and the embedded subject. Unlike the subjects of perception verbs, the subject of the causative verb can be [± animate] and, semantically, this fact allows for interpretations that exceed just the semantics of the subject DP and has consequences for the entire structure. Torrego (1998) claims that the distribution of the pre- or post-infinitival subject is not a neutral choice and that the examples (47) carry different meanings. In (47a) the matrix subject is interpreted as a cause, whereas in (47b) it is an agent.

[25] More recently, Baschung & Desmets (2000) propose the distinction between strong and loose control in the two configurations, RIC and IC, respectively, referring at the control exercised by the main subject over the infinitival subject.

(47) a. El profesor hizo pensar a Juan.
the teacher make-PAST-3.SG think-INF DOM John
b. El profesor hizo a Juan pensar.
the teacher make-PAST-3.SG DOM John think-INF
'The teacher made Juan think.'

[Torrego 1998: 107, *Spanish*]

This does not seem to be completely true. Cano (1981: 247) shows that, while inanimate subjects in causative constructions are interpreted as 'causes', [human] subjects oscillate between an agentive and a causal interpretation. An agentive subject expresses a coercion meaning, whereas a cause subject produces a situation involuntarily. In (48), *Juan* can be an agent or a cause: "puede entenderse como que provocó tal situación a consciencia, o simplemente que tal situación fue una consecuencia no buscada" Notice that in this example the embedded subject is post-infinitival.

(48) Juan hizo llorar a su madre.
John make-PAST-3.SG cry-INF DOM his mother
'Juan made his mother cry.'

[Cano 1981: 247, *Spanish*]

Cano (1981) also highlights the role of the embedded verb in the interpretation of the participants in the causative construction claims that a matrix subject would always receive a cause interpretation with a verb like *cambiar* 'change', be it [human] or not.

(49) a. Juan me hizo cambiar de traje.
John CL-1.SG-DAT make-PAST-3.SG change-INF of suit
'Juan made me change my suit.'
b. Las insinuaciones de Juan hicieron cambiar de vestido a María.
the innuendoes of John make-PAST-3.PL change-INF of dress to Mary
'Juan's innuendoes made Mary change her dress.'

[Cano 1981: 249, *Spanish*]

Agents, however, are not only human DPs, but, in fact, animate DPs (cf. Treviño 1994, Rodríguez Espiñeira 2000). Animate causes, for example, are prototypically agentive and they can be part of the IC construction. An agent is usually characterised as [+animate] and [+control]. I understand control in terms of agentivity or intentionality, a concept that involves conscious and deliberate action.[26] Achard (1998: 98) notes that the more agentive the causee is with respect to the infinitival process, the more difficult it is to construe it as a mere object with respect to the matrix domain, and thus it is more difficult to occur in an RIC construction. The RIC pattern is associated with subjects that are not prototypically agentive. Infinitival subjects are more object-like given the influence that the matrix event has on the embedded one. Therefore inanimate causees are expected to be found in this reduced construction (cf. Achard 1998, 2001). RIC constructions encode a low degree of agentivity/intentionality on the part of the infinitival subject, whereas IC configurations are characterised by a highly agentive subject (see also Reed 1999).

When the subject of the causative verb is inanimate, an indirect causation reading is preferred (cf. Treviño 1994, Roegiest & Enghels 2008, Vivanco 2015). A direct causation reading would presuppose that the matrix subject forces or compels the embedded subject to do something and this meaning is achieved only if certain conditions are obeyed. One of them is that both the matrix and the subordinate subjects be agentive. To obtain an obligation effect (cf. Alsina 1992, Guasti 1993, Ippolito 2000), the subjects of both *make* and the embedded verb should be [+animate] and [+agentive].

If the verb is an unaccusative, the subject is an internal argument and it is interpreted as a pacient. Therefore with embedded unaccusatives, the reading is that of mediated/indirect causation because the embedded subject is conceived as a theme, not as an agent. Moreover, if the embedded subject is inanimate, it is interpreted as a pacient of the complex predicate, not as an agent or cause. This animacy criterion could explain the contrast in (50) where *the handkerchief* or *the papers* are not felicitous in a preinfinitival position.

[26] Givón (1980: 341) defines this semantic dimension of the causative construction like this: "the main-clause agent imposes his/her will over the manipulee, who thus displays less control, less choice, less independence of action. Such a manipulee is thus more patient-like, less agent-like".

(50) a. *El viento hizo los papeles volar.
the wind make-PAST-3.SG the papers fly-INF
b. El viento hizo volar los papeles.
the wind make-PAST-3.SG fly-INF the papers
'The wind made the papers fly.'

(51) a. *María dejó su pañuelo caer.
Mary let-PAST-3.SG her handkerchief fall-INF
b. María dejó caer su pañuelo.
Mary let-PAST-3.SG fall-INF her handkerchief
'María let her handkerchief fall (to the ground).'

[M. L. Hernanz, p.c., *Spanish*]

There is a last comment on the animacy parameter I want to make. Achard (1998, 2001) claims that the difference in the degree of agentivity of the infinitival subject lies at the core of the difference in the two patterns analysed in this study. In the case of causative *laisser* 'let', if its subject is construed as agentive enough to be a valid source for the infinitival process, the embedded process can have some degree of independence from the causing event. If it is not, the caused event is incorporated into a complex event, and the causee is interpreted as the object of the complex verb (cf. Achard 2001: 132). Just to illustrate this claim, consider (52) below. In these examples, *le feu* 'the fire' is inanimate, but it is not a patient. It has greater potential for generating the process in the complement and, therefore, it can easily be used in an IC configuration.

(52) a. J'ai laissé brûler le feu jusqu' à l' aube.
I let-PAST-3.SG burn-INF the fire until to the dawn
b. J'ai laissé le feu brûler jusqu' à l' aube.
I let-PAST-3.SG the fire burn-INF until to the dawn
'I let the fire burn until dawn.'

[Achard 1998: 106, *French*]

Folli & Harley (2008) who also consider the effects of animacy in external argument position show that source of the animacy effect has its origin in the notion of teleological capability. Teleological capability is defined as "the inherent qualities and abilities of the entity to participate in the eventuality denoted by the predicate: (cf. Folli & Harley 2008: 191). If inanimate entities are teleologically capable of producing the activity described by the predicate then they can be true agents and hence they can initiate events.

Soares da Silva (2004: 594) makes a similar observation. If inanimate causees are conceptualized as sources of energy of the event expressed by the infinitive, they can occupy the preinfinitival position.[27]

(53) *European Portuguese*

Fez a bola (ganhar altura e) passar por cima de guarda-redes
make-PAST-3.SG the ball (gain height and) pass-INF through top of goalkeeper
'He made the ball (gain height and) pass over the goalkeeper.'

The examples above have received a slightly different explanation using another concept. Enghels (2007: 48) adds a new parameter to the list and proposes that the dynamism of both the subjects and the embedded events should be taken into account. She holds that agentive entities and dynamic ones distinguish themselves with respect to the animacy criterion. An agentive entity is necessarily animate, but a dynamic one can also be inanimate.[28] The inanimate category can contain dynamic entities (e.g., cars, machines, computers, natural forces). An entity is dynamic when it is able to directly cause a mental or physical change of state. An entity is agentive when it causes, directly and intentionally, a change of state of which it is responsible, and when it controls the event. Enghels claims that dynamic DPs are easily placed preinfinitivally when they are conceived as real subjects. Non-dynamic DPs, on the other hand, are used post-infinitivally, and they are conceived as objects of a complex predicate.

Dynamism is Enghels' theory is obtained compositionally, in the structure, and it is not an inherent property of the DPs (cf. Enghels 2007: 200):

[27] Examples () above can also be analysed along the same lines.
[28] Enghels (2007: 48): "[L]es entités agentive et les entités dynamiques se distinguent uniquement par rapport au trait [±animé]: une entité agentive est nécessairement animée, une entité dynamique peut aussi être inanimée" (The agentive and dynamic entities distinguish themselves from one another only with respect to the [±animate] feature: an agentive entity is necessarily animate, a dynamic entity can also be inanimate – translation mine, EC).

"[L]e trait [±animé] ne peut pas être directement corrélé à la dynamicité. Le trait [± animé] dénote une propriété inhérente d'une entité alors que le caractère [± dynamique] est plutôt une propriété apportée au SN [i.e., *syntagme nominal --EC*] par son employ dans la phrase."[29]

Abstract (e.g. *independence*) and non-dynamic (e.g., *house*, *table*) nouns are not normally found in dynamic contexts. There are, however, some exceptions. Enghels & Roegiest (2013) in a corpus study on causatives with Spanish *dejar* 'let' show that even a abstract nouns can be used pre-infinitivally and construed as sources of energy, mainly due to the properties of the embedded verb. The preverbal position is correlated with a higher degree of dynamism, but the infinitive can also be dynamic, as in (54). Thus, transitive or unergative verbs favour a preinfinitival position of the subject.

(54)	[D]eja	a	la	voluntad	seguir	su	juego.
	let-PRES-3.SG	A	the	will	follow-INF	its	game
	'Let the will follow its game.'						

[Enghels & Roegiest 2013:512, *Spanish*]

This claim brings me to the second parameter I want to draw special attention to. The role of the embedded verb is another aspect that should not be neglected when analysing causative and perception verb constructions. In the realm of Spanish perception verb constructions, Enghels (2007: 224) contends that there is a correlation between the semantic nature of the infinitival subject and that of the infinitive verb on the one hand and the syntactic position of this subject on the other. Previously suggested by Di Tullio (1998) and Rodríguez Espiñeira (2000), word order inside the infinitive clause is sensitive to the properties of the embedded infinitive verb. Enghels (2007: 208, 2012a) shows that corpus studies reflect that dynamic subject DPs of transitive and unergative infinitive are placed preinfinitivally, while non-dynamic subject DPs of unaccusative verbs tend to occur post-infinitivally. Transitives and unergatives are characterized

[29] The [±animate] feature cannot be directly related to that of dynamism. The [±animate] feature denotes an inherent property of an entity, while the [±dynamic] character is mainly a property assigned to the NP when inserted in a phrase.'

by selecting dynamic agentive subjects, while the subjects of the unaccusatives are less dynamic and rather functions as a patient (cf. Enghels 2012a: 51). This conclusion is also present in Roegiest (2003: 316) whose corpus study on Spanish *oír* 'hear' and *ver* 'see' reveal that factors related to the dynamism or the potential agentivity of the main arguments (including the transitivity of the embedded verb) support and favour the preinfinitival position.

The category of perception verbs is not homogenous. Auditory verbs have a predilection for dynamic DPs and infinitive verbs, because, according to Enghels (2007: 224), the embedded DP of an auditory verb is not conceptualized as a perceived object, but as a source of energy of the perceived event, which endows it with dynamism. Verbs of sensory perception, instead, easily take non-dynamic DPs and embedded infinitives. In this case, the infinitival subject is conceived as the object of perception and this can explain the high number of post-verbal DPs with perception verbs. Enghels (2007: 224) sustains that the syntactic position of the embedded subject can be considered as a reliable test of the way in which it is conceived this embedded DP: as a subject or as an object. She also shows that, in corpus studies, incorporation is less frequent with auditory verbs than in the case of sensory perception verbs. This is because auditory verbs, as opposed to sensory perception verbs, tend to select dynamic and autonomous subordinate events. In another Spanish corpus study, Roegiest (2003: 311) arrives to the conclusion that the use of the preposition *a* with direct objects in *oír*-constructions is more frequent than with *ver* 'see'. The object that lacks the DOM marker behaves as a patient or a theme. It is well known that the embedded subject can be the direct object of a perception verb without triggering the prepositional marker *a*, as in (55).

(55) a. Vi salir el sol.
see-PAST-1.SG come out-INF the sun
'I saw the sun come out.'

b. Vi navegar el barco.
see-PAST-1.SG navigate-INF the ship
'I saw the ship navigate.'

This means that the Spanish object preposition *a* (in the form of the DOM particle for accusative direct objects (i.e., *A*) and the dative *a*-preposition) is not a hallmark of syntactic

cohesion. As noticed by Roegiest & Enghels (2008: 309), it rather reflects the degree of participation or agentivity of the arguments that take part in the action caused by the infinitive verb: "En español la marca de objeto (dativo o acusativo) apenas funciona como indicio de cohesión sintáctica [...] Refleja el grado de participación o de agentividad del argument en la acción causada por el infinitivo". In the same vein, Enghels (2012a: 49) claims that the absence of *a* is characteristic for direct objects which do not have any control over the processes described by the infinitival verb, whereas the presence of *a* indicates that the direct object has a higher degree of dynamism. That is why the semantic properties of the object marked with accusative *a* have been compared to those of the subject or the indirect object (see Bossong 1998, Roegiest 2003).[30] Roegiest (2003: 299) contends that that the occurrence of the prepositional marker and the dative pronouns (*le/les*) for the direct objects in certain Spanish dialects suggests that the former bears semantic and syntactic features that can be assimilated to those of the indirect object.

These contrasts are not present in Catalan, a language that does not have DOM. However, there is an increasingly tendency in certain Catalan dialects (for example Southern (Occidental) Catalan dialects or Tortosí Catalan) to use a DOM particle with certain verbs, although standard Catalan grammars disallow it. Among them we can find also perception verbs:

(56) *Tortosí Catalan*

a. Acabo de veure a mon pare.
finish-PRES.1.SG of see-INF DOM my father
'I have just seen my father.'

b. Lo xiquet s' ha emocionat al sentir cantar
the child REFL overwhelm-PRES.PERF-3.SG to-the hear-INF sing-INF
a sa mare.
DOM his mother
'The child has been overwhelmed to hear his mother sing.'

[30] It is well known that there are selectional constraints on the dative DPs require them to be animate or metaphorically animate (dative Case is generally linked to animacy, cf. Bordelois 1974, Marcantonio 1981), a feature that brings them close to that of agentivity or dynamism (cf. Enghels 2007).

The role of the infinitive verb is also analysed in Spanish causative constructions and, as in the case of perception verbs, the situation is complex because the polysemy of the matrix verb seems to have again a considerable impact on the syntactic behaviour of the entire construction (cf. Enghels & Roegiest 2013). I would add to this first observation the function assumed by other elements of the causative construction such as the semantic traits of the infinitive and the responsibility of both the matrix subject and the embedded one.

As already discussed (see also chapter 2, §, and above), in perception verb contexts, the event referred to by the infinitive verb exists independently of its perception, and therefore the relation between the main participants in the construction is not as tight as in the causative construction. Due to their selectional properties, causative (and manipulative) verbs that take subordinate infinitives in analytic causative constructions are representative of the way in which a strong level of event integration can be obtained. The event described by the causative complement is inevitably the results of the action performed by the main causative verb.

There is a common view in the works that deal with the semantics of causative constructions that the matrix subject is the primary cause for the producing of the embedded event. The main subject is an intentional controlling subject that exerts some force such that the event described by the lower predicate takes place. Consequently the participant in the embedded event has no (volitional) ability to either accept or refuse the action, hence the non-agentive reading for the embedded subject (cf. Ritter & Rosen1991, Achard 1998; 2001, Reed 1999, Roegiest 2003). This trait is usually instantiated by the subject of *make* in Romance languages that allow only RIC configurations. There are, however, differences between causative verbs, and I refer here to the Romance *make* versus *let* case. Achard (2001: 141) notices that the subject of French *laisser* 'let', mainly because of its polisemy, merely acts as a potential agent: it has the possibility of preventing the causee from performing the infinitival process, but elects not to do so. In a similar way, Reed (1999: 320) claims that verbs like *laisser* 'to let' and *voir* 'to see' "attribute primary responsibility for the embedded event's occurrence to the embedded subject". This explains the highly agentive reading associated with the embedded subject in these constructions. The use of *let* implies that the subject of this verb exerts some influence, but has no authority to force the event described by the lower predicate. In this case, the subject of the

embedded event still has volitional control over his actions.[31] Hence a higher degree of independence or autonomy conveyed by the infinitival predicate is associated with *let*-causatives.

There is a tendency to link *make* to a coercive type of causation, *while* let would represent a non-coercive or a permissive type of causation in which the causer simply allows the causee to proceed with his action. Roegiest & Enghels (2009: 255) establish for Spanish *dejar* three semantic meanings that also reflect the degree of implications of the participants in these constructions. The (57a) sentence means *liberar* 'let go', the (57b) sentence conveys a *no oponerse* 'not to oppose/*no impedir* 'not to hinder' reading, and the (57c) example has the connotation of *permitir* 'allow'.

(57) *Spanish*

a. Juan dejó volar el pájaro.
John let-PAST-3.SG fly-INF the bird
'Juan let the bird fly.'

b. Juan contó mentiras y lo dejé
John tell-PAST-3.SG lies and CL-M-3.SG-ACC let-PAST-1.SG
contarlas.
tell-INF-CL-F-3.PL-ACC
'Juan told lies and I let him tell them.

c. Juan quiso ir al cine y lo dejé ir.
John want-PAST-3.SG go-INF to-the cinema and CL-M-3.SG-ACC let-PAST go-INF
'Juan wanted to go to the cinema and I let him go.'

Soares da Silva (2012: 523) accounts for this change in meaning in terms of semantic bleaching: "The shift from 'to let go' (cessation of impingement) to 'not to impede' (non-occurrence of impingement) implies a weakening of the causer's power and a power transfer from the causer to the causee; the shift from 'to let go' to 'to allow' implies a shift in attenuation and a transition from concrete and physical interaction to abstract and social interaction." He also maintains that the process of semantic bleaching is not as obvious in the case of Romance *make*.

[31] The Romance situation is parallel to the one expressed by the English *make* versus *have* contrast (cf. Shibatani 1973, Ritter & Rosen 1991: 67).

In the light of all the facts just presented, I conclude that one aspect that differentiates Romance *let* from Romance *make* is the teleological (in)capability (in terms of Folli & Harley 2008) of the external argument of these predicates to generate an event and control it during its unfolding, as well as controlling the embedded subject. The other aspect is the degree of autonomy of the embedded event. Consider the next examples (58) taken from Roegiest & Enghels (2009):

(58) a. María me hace encender la lámpara.
Mary CL-1.SG make-PRES-3.SG light-INF the lamp
'María makes me light up the lamp.'

b. María me deja encender la lámpara
Mary CL-1.SG let-PRES-3.SG light-INF the lamp
(aunque prefiere la oscuridad)
although prefer-PRES.3SG the darkness
'María lets me light up the lamp (although she prefers the darkness).'

[Roegiest & Enghels 2009: 256, *Spanish*]

Roegiest & Enghels (2009) claim that the producing of the embedded event in (58a) depends on the main event and the coercive action of the matrix subject. On the contrary, in *dejar*-causatives (58b) the embedded event has an internal dynamism that endows it with a higher degree of autonomy which accounts for its producing, irrespective of the causers' attitude. This degree of autonomy of the embedded event may vary according to the polisemy of *dejar* 'let'. That is why in (58b) above the embedded event of *dejar* 'let' in its sense of *no impedir* 'not to hinder/impede' has greater autonomy than the event in (58a) which is generated by a verb whose 'allow' meaning presupposes an external subject that controls, to a certain degree, the resultant event.

The relevant conclusion for the present purposes seems to be that the positioning of the embedded subject is determined by other factors besides the size of the complement. Other aspects that are involved in the interpretation of the two constructions, especially the semantic

features of the infinitival subject and the nature of the embedded verb, account for the distribution of the infinitival subject.

In the next subsection I investigate the role the infinitival subject plays in the interpretation of the IC and RIC constructions.

4.2.2. Implications for the semantics of the IC and RIC constructions

4.2.2.1. Direct vs. indirect causation

In rough terms, direct causation means that the matrix subject acts directly on the infinitival subject, whereas in indirect causation it does not have immediately control over it (cf. Shibatani 1975), and the embedded event is brought about through an intermediary intervention (cf. Kemmer & Verhagen 1994). The notion of direct causation can be paraphrased as 'compel/force/oblige someone to do something', whereas indirect causation means to 'cause/trigger that someone does something/something happens'. As regards complementation, direct causation has been usually associated with a defective infinitival complement, while indirect causation has been signalled by finite *that*-complementation (59).[32]

(59) a. El profesor hizo que copiaran el texto.
the teacher make-PAST-3.SG that copy-SUBJ.PERF-3.PL the text
'The teacher made it so that they would copy the text.'
[NGLE 2009: 3025, *Spanish*]

b. Feu que arribin sans i estalvis.
make-IMPER-2.PL that arrive-SUBJ.PRES-3.PL safe and sound
'Make it so that they arrive safe and sound.'
(Catalan)

There is no general consensus among linguists on the relation syntax –semantics with respect to direct-indirect causation. Treviño (1989), for instance, claims that (60) can have both

[32] My observations here concern full DPs, because I deal with the interpretation of clitics and their implications for the direct-indirect causation contrast in §, this chapter.

direct and indirect causation interpretation. In the direct reading, Juan forces Pedro to finish his homework, while in the indirect reading Juan determines him through other means ("because he promised to take him to the game" according to the interpretation given by Treviño 1989: 327, for example).[33]

(61) Juan hizo que Pedro terminara la tarea.
John make-PAST-3.SG that Peter finish-SUBJ.PERF-3.SG the homework
'Juan made (it so that) Pedro finish(ed) the homework.'

[Treviño 1989: 326, *Spanish*]

On the other hand, according to Reed (1999), infinitival complementation does not always codify direct causation, as in the English example (62). In (62b) the causative *get* produces an indirect implication reading, whereas the use of *make* suggests a coercive meaning, and, hence, a direct causation interpretation. The semantics of each verb and the degree of responsibility of each participant in the events have to be taken into consideration (cf. Kemmer & Verhagen 1994, Reed 1999).[34]

(62) a. Veronica made her boyfriend kill her sister.
b. Veronica got her boyfriend to kill her sister.

[Reed 1999: 291]

Treviño (1994: 117-118) defines direct and indirect causation as follows:

(63) *Direct causation*
X causa directamente a Y ser causante de un evento Z.

[33] In my view, there is no implication of direct causation in Treviño's example (). My understanding of the () is that the main subject did something or generated a situation that made the embedded subject to act accordingly. The tensed complement expresses indirect causation.
[34] Kemmer & Verhagen (1994: 120), for example, propose four types of causation: direct physical causation, indirect physical causation, inducive causation and enablement/permission. English *make* is ambiguous and can occur in the first three situations of causation, given the right contexts. The English causative *have* and *get* are restricted to the inducive causation pattern, and it is in essence another type of indirect causation. The enablement and permission causation is successfully expressed by English *let*.

'X (i.e., the matrix subject) directly causes Y (i.e., embedded subject) to be the cause of the event Z.'

(64) *Indirect causation*

X causa indirectamente el evento Z (que puede contener un sujeto)

'X (i.e., the matrix subject) indirectly causes the event Z (which can contain a subject).'

[Treviño 1994: 117-118, *Spanish*]

To (63), Treviño adds two important semantic conditions. Condition B is not compulsory in indirect causation cases:

(65) a. Condition A: the embedded subject has to be animate.

b. Condition B: the embedded subject should be (predominantly) agentive and [+conscious]

[adapted from Treviño 1994: 118]

I have already stressed the fact that although the animacy character is important it is not enough to explain the array of subjects that can occur in the preinfinitival position. I consider that Folli & Harley's (2008) concept of 'teleological capability', which also contains the animacy component, can successfully replace the animacy one.[35] With respect to (65b), Treviño claims that condition B is provided and satisfied by the subordinate predicate. I agree with the fact that the lexical semantics of each causative verb must be considered when accounting for the direct-indirect contrast. However this is not the only aspect to bear in mind when analysing these structures. As Wierzbicka (1988) observes, natural languages differ in the way they design the interaction of grammar and conceptual structure with respect to causative constructions. The excerpt drawn from Wierzbicka (1988: 240) is illustrative in this sense:

Generally speaking, the common use of ready-made labels such as 'direct/indirect causation','contactive/distant causation' or 'strongly coercive/weakly coercive causatives' is based on the mistaken (in my view) assumption that there are certain types

[35] Or even Enghels' s (2007) notion of dynamism of the subject.

of causation which can first be described *a priori,* and then identified in individual languages. But detailed semantic analysis shows that the actual causative constructions are usually rather unique in the meaning they encapsulate. What is called 'direct causation' or 'strongly coercive causation' in one language is usually different from what is called 'direct causation' or 'strongly coercive causation' in another. This is not to say that there are no recurring motives, no cross-linguistic similarities in the area of causation.

Taking note of this statement, Romance languages provide good examples to investigate the (dis)similarities in the realm of causation. It has been noted, especially for French (cf. Trevino 1989, Reed 1999) that causative constructions with *faire* 'make' in the majority of French dialects are vague with respect to the direct/indirect distinction. (66) can be true in a context in which Jean forces Pierre to read the book or in a situation in which he convinces him to do it through some indirect means.

(66) Jean a fait lire un livre à Pierre.
John make-PAST-3.SG read-INF a book to Peter
'Jean made Pierre read a book.'

[Trevino 1989: 328, *French*]

Wierzbicka (1988: 246) claims that Italian is similar to French in what concerns the semantics of the causative constructions. Italian causative *fare* 'make' has a wide range of use and its semantics is compatible with both direct and indirect causation interpretations. (67) is equally good in a situation when the speaker considers inviting Elena to lunch as in a situation when he considers forcing Elena to come, against her will.

(67) Allora, la faccio venire domani, la mia Elena, a pranzo?
so CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PRES-1.SG come-INF tomorrow the my Helen to lunch
'So, should I invite my Elena to come over to lunch tomorrow?'

[Wierzbicka 1988: 246, *Italian*]

I also claim for Catalan *fer*-infinitive constructions that the RIC configuration can render both the direct and the indirect causation meaning. Thus, I conclude that a structure like (68) is semantically ambiguous, as previously argued for French and Italian.

(68)	El	músic	va fer	ballar	el	públic.
	the	musician	make-PAST-3.SG	dance-INF	the	audience
	'The musician made the audience dance.'					

The musician either made the spectators or listeners at his concert dance, indirectly, through his songs, or he forced them to dance. The two readings are possible. As Vivanco (2015: 351) remarks for Spanish, analytic causative constructions have a mediated (indirect) causation interpretation, even though in certain circumstances an obligation reading effect can be added to the configuration. Vivanco refers expressly to the matrix subject and claims that it always behaves as an indirect causer, although it can sometimes act volitionally and become, thus, a direct causer.

The double semantic contrast encoded in (69) is simply reduced to one of indirect causation if the matrix subject is an inanimate causer that lacks the teleological capability of generating an event on its own and bring it to an end (cf. Folli & Harley 2008). (69) can only mean indirect causation.[36] The music cannot be volitional and act as a direct causer.

(69)	La	música	va fer	ballar	el	públic.
	the	music	make-PAST-3.SG	dance-INF	the	audience
	'The music made the audience dance.'					

The direct/indirect causation scenarios I just presented concern those Romance languages (Italian, French, Catalan) that only allow causative *make* in RIC configurations. The possibility of having both IC and RIC in these languages with other verbs, such as *let* or perception verbs, has given rise to an interpretative option not found with the causative verb *make*. Reed (1999), for example, argues there is a systematic link between the syntactic structure of a French

[36] For Folli & Harley (2008: 201) a direct causer is felicitous in the external argument position of a causative verb if it is connected to the notion of teleological capability.

periphrastic causative construction and its semantic interpretation. She maintains that RIC and IC with French *laisser* 'let' and perception verbs are, in fact, different syntactic structures (RIC monoclausal, and IC biclausal) that make use of these configurations to encode direct (70a) and indirect causation (70b).

(70) a. Je laisserai fumer ces cigares à Jean.
I let-FUT-1.SG smoke-INF these cigars to John
b. Je laisserai Jean fumer ces cigares.
I let-FUT-1.SG John smoke-INF these cigars
'I will let Jean smoke these cigars.'

[Reed 1999: 294, *French*]

Reed (1999) follows Achard (1993) who is the first to correlate constructions as the one above above with different meanings. In their view, monoclausal structures unambiguously encode direct causation and biclausal ones encode indirect causation. The semantics of both the matrix and the embedded subject seem to be crucial to their analyses. A monoclausal context encodes a low degree of agentivity (or even non-agentivity) on the part of the embedded subject, while in biclausal structure the causee is highly agentive. In direct causation, the subject of the causing event is the direct cause (cf. Reed 1999: 318) and takes full responsibility for initiating the embedded event, be it agentive or not (cf. Achard 1998: 99). In indirect causation, the subject of the caused event is the direct cause. As pointed out on several occasions in semantico-centric approaches (see Reed 1999, Achard 2001, Soares da Silva 2012), the RIC construction conveys a single complex event and therefore the relation between the participants is the most direct way of causation. The IC construction profiles an indirect relationship between the two events, because of the intervening (agentive) role played by the embedded subject (cf. Soares da Silva 2012: 528). Reed (1999: 301) extends her proposal to scenarios containing perception verbs. According to her analysis, example (71a) is a monoclausal structure in which "the matrix subject observes the soldiers firing, on command, at a target at the range", and, hence, (71a) encodes direct causation. On the other hand, in (71b) the soldiers are highly agentive and act on their own. This second biclausal example yields, in her view, an interpretation of indirect causation.

(71) a. J' ai vu tirer les soldats.
I see-PAST-1.SG shoot-INF the soldiers
b. J' ai vu les soldats tirer.
I see-PAST-1.SG the soldiers shoot-INF
'I saw the soldiers shoot.'

[Reed 1999: 300-301, *French*]

One problem related to these analyses is that, syntactically, the monoclausal-biclausal conflict does not exist, as I have argued. The semantic contrasts are built upon a syntactic premise that is, at least, controversial. Another problem is that, semantically, the use of the same 'direct/indirect causation' label for direct/indirect perception is confusing. Reed (1999) assimilates the concept of 'causation' to that of 'perception' which I find inaccurate. Putting aside these issues, I am concerned here with the definition of 'indirect causation/perception' for examples such as (70b-71b). I consider that an important factor is missed in the analyses that defend an indirect implication for the pre-infinitival subject position on the basis of semantic notions as 'agentivity'. In my opinion, both (71a) and (71b) imply direct perception of a shooting event whose subject is syntactically expressed. The subject of the main clause saw the soldiers act (unaided, on their own). There is a direct interaction between the infinitival subject and the matrix domain and this has to have direct consequences for the interpretation, as Rizzi (2000) argues for Italian. Rizzi (2000), among others, claims that infinitival complements differ from ordinary tensed complement of perception verbs in that the subjects of the former are directly perceived. Rizzi (2000) links the direct perception interpretation to the verbal government and claims that only those arguments governed by the perception verb can be perceived directly.[37] Therefore, the direct perception interpretation is obtained when the infinitival subject is (syntactically) analysed the object of the perception verb. There is no doubt that in constructions like () the infinitival subject syntactically behaves as the direct object of the perception verb (cf. Hernanz 1982, 1999)

As a result, the pre-infinitival position is somehow special (and I will deal with this issue in detail in the next chapter, §), because it always expresses direct perception when it gets closer or raises high enough to the matrix domain. For these reasons, I conclude that both (70-71a) and

[37] In minimalist terms, the matrix perception verb should act as a Probe for those arguments.

(70-71b) can mean direct perception/causation, but only the (b) examples are vague with respect to the direct/indirect causation/perception.

Before ending this subsection, I want to dedicate a few lines to the interpretation of Spanish causative construction. Spanish is a particular case because it allows both IC and RIC with causative *make* and, hence, there are various ways of understanding the semantic behaviour of the infinitival subject. Treviño (1994) was among the first to argue that the positioning of the subject in causative constructions is open to different interpretations. [38] As maintained by Treviño (1994: 107-108), the pre- and post-infinitival positions of the causees derive two causative configurations, one that expresses direct causation (e.g. the preinfinitival configuration) and one that expresses indirect causation (the post-infinitival position) and, in certain cases, these meanings correlate with the assignment of accusative Case for direct causation and of dative for indirect causation.[39] In Treviño's analysis the direct causation reading obtains when the subject occupies its canonical position, Spec, VP/vP. This claim is consonant with what I defended for the *dejar*'let'/*ver* 'see' cases above. The pre-infinitival position is special and, as I will demonstrate in the next chapter, it is possible only under certain circumstances. I will argue in favor of an object raising approach for the Spanish (and Romanian) causative constructions with preinfinitival subjects. I will relate the availability of the preverbal subject in the complement of causative verbs in Spanish and Romanian to a general property of these languages of providing themselves with an object position (through the mechanism of *object shift*) and link the possibility of having DOM with causatives in the two languages to this extra position in one of the specifiers of the *v*P that selects the causative predicate. As in the case of RIC configurations with permissive *dejar* 'let' and perception verbs, I also believe that the Spanish RIC construction with *hacer* 'make' can render both the direct and the indirect causation interpretation. The IC configuration is restricted to the direct one.

The lexical aspectual nature of the embedded verb seems to also contribute to a (in)felicitous direct-indirect interpretation. In (72) a verb like *odiar* 'hate', due to its lexical

[38] Recall the introduction to the Treviño's analysis I made in chapter 2, §3.4.

[39] More recently, Enghels (2012b: 15) claims that direct causation is usually linked to accusative Case whereas indirect (mediated) causation is associated with dative Case. In other words, Case can signal the degree of autonomy of the embedded event. In the case of *hacer* 'make', when the main causer has little control on the embedded event and the embedded event is more dynamic, the embedded subject is marked with dative Case. Accusative is more frequent when the causer shows more control and coercion.

properties, blocks the direct interpretation of the subject. This verb does not allow the producing of a situation that can be easily manipulated by the subject of the causative verb.

(72) a. ?? Ese maestro hará a Pedro odiar las matemáticas.
this teacher make-FUT-3.SG A Peter hate-INF the mathematics
b. Ese maestro hará odiar la matemáticas a Pedro.
this teacher make-FUT-3.SG hate-INF the mathematics to Peter
'This teacher will make Pedro hate mathematics.'

[Treviño 1994: 114, *Spanish*]

It is difficult to force someone to conscientiously hate another person. It is a case of influence or even determination on the part of the main subject, which is rather associated with indirect causation. (72) would more readily mean that 'the teacher's attitude or actions will make Pedro hate mathematics'. In conclusion, the semantics of the infinitival verb seems to matter when dealing with the direct-indirect causation contrasts.

4.2.2.2. Aspectual differences with perception verbs

A similar observation can be made for perception verbs. A first contrast that has been mentioned in the literature regarding possible semantic differences between the two IC (73a) and RIC (73b) constructions with perception verbs has to do with the aspectual interpretation of the embedded verb.

(73) *Catalan*
a. Hem vist el Dani tocar el clarinet.
see-PRES.PERF-1.PL the Dani play-INF the clarinet
b. Hem vist tocar el clarinet al Dani.
see-PRES.PERF-1.PL play-INF the clarinet to-the Dani
'We have seen Dani play the clarinet.'

The source of ambiguity comes from the aspectual interpretation of the event expressed by the infinitive. The internal temporal structure of the events in (73) can be compatible with a

perfective or an imperfective viewpoint aspect (cf. Comrie 1976, Giorgi and Pianesi 1997, Smith 1991). The semantic content of perfectivity presupposes that the event is viewed as bounded, as closed or completed. The situation is viewed as a single whole. On the contrary, the imperfective viewpoint makes visible just part of the situation, with no information about (the initial or final) endpoints, and therefore it is said to have a progressive aspectual value. The constructions in (73) do not necessarily present the situation 'Dani playing the clarinet' as a whole, as completed. They may reveal just some internal stage in the development of the situation, in which only a part of the event is perceived. Therefore (73) can have two readings.

Nevertheless, there is no uniform view on aspect in the literature on infinitival perception verb complements. By analogy with linguistic facts in Germanic languages, Felser (1999: 232) considers that the infinitival complement of perception verbs in Romance languages refers to an event that coincides entirely with the event of the perception verbs, and therefore, it signals perfectivity and is understood as describing a completed event. Rafel (2000b: 164-165) comes to the same conclusion in the case of Spanish. In his opinion, (74) "describes an event in which Juan crosses the street, but, […] the event of crossing the street is presented as started, carried out, and finished." In other words, the embedded event has a complete action implication. Rafel considers (74b) ungrammatical mainly because there is a semantic conflict between the meaning of the perception verb complement (i.e., completed) and the meaning of the adjunct clause. The latter one also describes an event which seems to prevent the completed event from happening and this gives rise to a contradictory situation and the example is ruled out.

(74) a. Vi a Juan cruzar la calle.
see-PAST-1.SG DOM John cross-INF the street.
'I saw Juan cross/-ing the street.'

b. *Vi a Juan cruzar la calle, pero de repente
see-PAST-1.SG DOM John cross-INF the street, but of suddenly
apareció un camión y lo atropelló.
turn up-PAST-3.SG a truck and CL-M-3.SG-ACC run over-PAST-3.SG
[Rafel 2000b: 164-165, *Spanish*]

On the other hand, Rizzi (2000) sustains that Romance constructions lack the complete event implication. In a parallel Italian example, Rizzi states that the infinitive in (75) implies an

incomplete event, on a par with pseudorelative constructions. (75) means that Maria does not necessarily reach the other side of the street. The reading 'Mary does not completely finish crossing the street', is, of course, in contradiction with what Rafel (2000b) maintains for Spanish.

(75) Ho visto Maria attraversare la strada.
see-PAST-1.SG Mary cross-INF the street
'I saw Maria crossing the street.'

[Rizzi 2000: 229, fn.11, *Italian*]

In fact, Rafel's example (74b) is not as infelicitous as he claims. Ono (2004: 411), for example, discusses a similar case in English (76) and concludes that accomplishments do not always signal completion.

(76) […] She watched Walter Manning cross the street, headed for the garage where he kept his car. […] She watched the expression on his face as the car smashed into him and then hurled his broken body aside.

In agreement with Ono (2004), I believe that in (74b) above the use of the infinitive does not block the progressive reading. However, I do not claim, as Rizzi (2000) does, that the infinitival complement is restricted to the incomplete event implication. In consequence, I take a stand based on data consulted with native speakers of Spanish and Catalan. The investigation shows that the embedded event can be interpreted as both perfective and progressive, if the lexical aspectual features of the infinitive allow it.

A natural question that follows is whether IC and RIC convey different interpretations and whether there is any syntactic evidence that can contribute to disambiguating the contexts that seem problematic. Casalicchio (2013: 306), citing Lepschy (1976), associates the infinitival complementation of perception verbs in RIC and IC with different readings. He claims that in the reduced construction (77a) the event is understood as perfective, closed, while in (77b) the event is in progress and has not attained yet culmination. The English translation intends to capture the change in interpretation.

(77) a. Gli ho visto scrivere una lettera.

CL-M-3.SG-DAT see-PAST-1.SG write-INF a letter

'I saw him write a letter.'

b. L' ho visto scrivere una lettera.

CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG write-INF a letter

'I saw him writing a letter.'

[Casalicchio 2013: 306, *Italian*]

Lepschy's (1976: 157) original examples are similar to (77) and were meant to show that (77a) does not place emphasis on duration, while (77b) corresponds to a subject that is in the process of 'writing a letter'. Lepschy also suggests that the accusative points to an imperfective interpretation of the embedded verb, whereas the dative indicates a perfective one.

Alsina (2002: 2428) makes the same observation for Catalan. He considers that the event of 'repairing the watch' is complete in the construction in (78a). In contrast, (78b) is interpreted as seeing just a part of the process of repairing, without the completion of the action.

(78) a. Li vaig veure reparar un rellotge.

CL-3.SG-DAT see-PAST-1.SG repair-INF a watch

'I saw him/her repair a watch.'

b. La vaig veure reparar un rellotge.

CL-F-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG repair-INF a watch

'I saw her repairing a watch.'

[Alsina 2002: 2428, *Catalan*]

A preliminary conclusion I can draw is that all the authors I mentioned make the same correlation: the IC configuration with accusative clitic/DP implies an incomplete embedded event, whereas the RIC configuration with dative clitic/DP implies a complete embedded event. As Alsina (2002) points out, the distinction in (79) should account for the difference in acceptability between (79a) and (79b). In principle, (79b) fails to convey the right interpretation because the event expressed by the infinitive should be simultaneous with the matrix event (as the adverb *ara* 'now' also suggests) and this is not achieved in (79b) which implies a complete event.

(79) a. Ara la sento cridar el meu nom.
now CL-F-3.SG-ACC hear-PRES-1.SG call-INF the my name
b. ? Ara li sento cridar el meu nom.
now CL-3.SG-DAT hear-PRES-1.SG call-INF the my name
'Now I hear her call/-ing my name.'

[Alsina 2002: 2428, *Catalan*]

Such an assumption is challenged by the judgements of the native speakers I consulted. (79b) is perfectly grammatical, and it is even the preferred option with [+masculine] DPs/clitics. I believe as well that the generalisation proposed by Lepschy (1976), Casalicchio (2013) or Alsina (2002) is too strict. It is not obvious that the RIC configuration always entails a perfective reading, while the IC one a progressive one. The difference, in my view, lies in the lexical aspectual structure that the embedded verb encodes (cf. Vendler 1967, Smith 1991, Rodríguez Espiñeira 2000). The aktionsart of the infinitive and its telicity (the property of having a natural or intended endpoint) contributes a great deal to the interpretation of the embedded event as (im)perfective or (un)bounded in the temporal domain (cf. Guéron 2008).[40] Naturally, the infinitive complement must be event denoting and express something perceptible.

Consider the following examples (80). They were constructed with achievement verbs, which denote punctual acts, occurring at a single moment, encoding the termination of the act, and resulting in a change of state (cf. Vendler 1967). (80) are interpreted from an aspectual point of view as perfective, although compatible with accusative/dative clitics or pre-/postinfinitival subjects.

(80) *Catalan*
a. L' hem vist trencar la finestra.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PRES.PERF-1.PL break-INF the window
b. Li hem vist trencar la finestra.

[40] Guéron (2008) regards events as made up of sequences of spatial configurations. She tells apart the notion of (im)perfectivity, which denotes (un)boundedness in the temporal domain, from (a)telicity, which denotes (un)boundedness in the spatial domain. Predicates can have spatial interpretations within the vP but temporal interpretations when outside the vP.

CL-3.SG-DAT see-PRES.PERF-1.PL break-INF the window
'We have seen him break the window.'

On the contrary, the constructions below denote processes (in these cases accomplishments, usually understood as durative processes, going on in time). In the examples (81), I believe the embedded verb can allow either a perfective or an imperfective reading. On the one hand (81) can entail that someone witnessed the entire act of drawing, i.e. X has seen an event *e*, which is an event of drawing whose agent is *the child* and the theme is a *circle*, and that *e* has reached its end (i.e., telos). On the other hand, the infinitival complement can refer to a progressive event, from which it is possible to infer that the event of *drawing* is still ongoing.

(81) *Catalan*

a. He vist el nen dibuixar un cercle.
see-PRES.PERF-1.SG the child draw-INF a circle

b. He vist dibuixar un cercle al nen.
see-PRES.PERF-1.SG draw-INF a circle to-the child
'I have seen the child draw/-ing a circle.'

The interpretations of the native speakers that I consulted are consistent. Some of them show preferences for a progressive reading in IC (but not exclusively in this structure). This can be due to the fact that the imperfective aspectual trait bring the infinitival complement closer to other complements that perception verbs take and that have in common the same progressive value: gerunds (82a), pseudorelatives (82b), and prepositional infinitives (82c):

(82) *Gerunds*

a. Veig el Dani tocant el clarinet.
see-PRES-1.SG the Dani playing the clarinet
'I see Dani playing the clarinet.'

(Catalan)

Pseudorelatives

b. Hem vist el Dani que tocava el clarinet.
see-PRES.PERF-1.PL the Dani who play-IMPERF-3.SG the clarinet

'We have seen Dani who was playing the clarinet.'

(Catalan)

Prepositional infinitives

c. Eu vi os meninos a ler(em) esse livro.
I see-PAST-1.SG the children to read-INF(-AGR) that book.
'I saw the children reading that book.'

[Raposo 1989: 277, *Portuguese*]

As opposed to infinitival complements that can also render the perfective aspectual reading, complements with gerunds, pseudorelatives and prepositional infinitives always signal an imperfective/progressive interpretation (cf. Guasti 1988, Di Tullio 1998). Apart from sharing the aspect, the four complements also provide a direct perception interpretation. The aspect of the infinitive is somehow neuter, as compared to gerunds complements that usually express an activity in progress, or to participle complements, which are interpreted as completed (cf. Di Tullio 1998). What I understand by 'neuter' is the possibility the embedded infinitive has of carrying either a perfective or an imperfective event interpretation, as I have already stressed.

4.3. The behaviour of clitics

The present subsection deals with the third problem raised by the analyses that distinguish RIC and IC in terms of complementation. In the previous chapter (§2.1.), I introduced standard patterns of clitic climbing from the infinitival complement to the matrix domain. I have shown that clitics which correspond to the embedded subject always climb, while object clitics of the infinitive can either remain in the embedded clause or climb. As noted, the climbing of the clitic cluster represented by the embedded subject-object to the matrix clause occurs only when the subordinate clause if transparent enough to allow it. If the embedded complement is not an environment defective enough (in terms of tense or other feature specification), clitics cannot climb out of this domain. The phenomenon of clitic climbing is, therefore, sensitive to syntactic complexity. The aim of the following discussion is to single out and explore several contexts in which cliticization in infinitival complements does not behave as expected.

Clitic climbing is generally claimed to be possible only after a previous operation of restructuring (or complex predicate formation) takes place, usually through a mechanism of clause size reduction (see the overview of these analyses in chapter 2, §3). The process of restructuring is, in essence, a rule that can be interpreted in a new light, thanks to the theoretical innovations brought about by the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995 *et seq.*) and the phase-based approach to the syntactic analysis in particular (see Boeckx & Gallego 2008, Gallego 2016). Thus, restructuring requires an embedded domain with a defective nature that is able to ensure the transparency diagnosed via a range of properties. In consequence, restructuring presupposes a lexical predicate that does not project to a full CP.

With respect to causative and perception verb constructions, I tried to simplify the view on the non-finite complements of these predicates and intended to obtain this effect through an analysis that unifies the behaviour of these complements and I proposed the CP_{def} complement to causative and perception verbs.

In the present analysis, clitic climbing is not a sufficient condition to defend a process of restructuring or complex predicate formation. In our constructions, clitic climbing is optional. There are exceptional cases in which, in the very same contexts, clitics fail to climb, although the required syntactic conditions are met, or they allow optionality.[41]

The problem that arises in monoclausal accounts of the constructions under study is precisely the argument that clitic climbing is a sufficient and necessary condition for restructuring. The VP-analysis fall short of explaining the presence of embedded clitics in the complements, especially in those languages, like Catalan, that allow at the same time, RIC configurations and clitics in the subordinate clause.

4.3.1. Observations on the cliticization of the infinitival subject

Cliticization of both the subject and the object of the infinitive imposes a series of limitations or constraints. GLC (2016: 1018-1020) specifies that clitic climbing is obligatory when the subject

[41] If they allow optionality it would be relevant to investigate the reason why they do it and whether there are any semantic effects associated with it. From the point of view of a proposal that unifies the analysis of complement clauses for both IC and RIC I except to find (subtle) differences in interpretation. I will leave this matter to future reasearch.

and the (inanimate) object of the infinitive are both expressed through clitics (see also § 2.1., chapter 2).

(83) a. Te' ls van sentir tancar (, els finestrons).
CL-M/F-2.SG-DAT CL-M-3.PL-ACC hear-PAST-3.PL close-INF (the shutters)
'They heard you close them (the shutters).'

b. Us la faré portar (, la maleta).
CL-M/F-2.PL-DAT CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-FUT-1.SG bring-INF (the bag)
'I will make you bring it (the bag).'

Climbing of the subject clitic, while the object clitic stays in situ, would normally give ungrammatical results. This affirmation is not totally true if I take into account the behaviour of clitics in perception verb constructions in Catalan. I showed that these configurations allow accusative (for both object and subject) clitics, whereas causative constructions do not (see also §2.1.2., chapter 2). In other words, perception verbs in Catalan have access to both IC and RIC configurations, while Catalan causative verbs can only occur in RIC, a fact that would explain the absence of an accusative-accusative pattern:

(84) a. El vaig veure comprar-lo, a en Joan, el pa.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG buy-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC to the John the bread
'I saw him buy it, Joan, the bread.'

b. *El vaig fer comprar-lo, a en Joan, el pa
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-1.SG buy-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC to the John the bread

I want to extend this discussion to cases that are controversial and I focus first on causative constructions. I have shown that Catalan rules out the possibility of having preinfinitival subjects in the complement of causative verbs and I concluded in the previous chapter that Catalan is devoid of an IC configuration with the verb *fer* 'make'. Therefore, Catalan bans preinfinitival DP subjects in accusative in causative constructions. In spite of this, there are situations in which the infinitival subject can be expressed through an accusative clitic

even in causative or permissive constructions. This is an unexpected fact, taking into consideration the observations already made in the previous chapter. In this sense, I start with an excerpt from GLC (2016: 1021):

> "[Q]uan el verb en infinitiu duu com a complement directe un pronom feble de primera o segona persona, aquest pronom s'adjunta a l'infinitiu, i el que representa el subjecte, que va en acusatiu, s'adjunta al verb causatiu".[42]

GLC (2016) illustrates this statement with the examples in (85). Two facts are of particular interest to us. Firstly, both *la* 'her'/*em* 'me' and *te* 'you' bear accusative Case and, secondly, the embedded clitic is not allowed to climb. Its climbing would entail an alteration in meaning and would convey a different semantics.[43, 44]

(85) a. La van fer curar-te.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST heal-INF-CL-M/F-3.SG-ACC
'They made her heal you.'

b. Deixa' m besar-te per última vegada.
let-IMPER-2.SG CL-M/F-1.SG-ACC kiss-INF-CL-M/F-2.SG-ACC for last time
'Let me kiss you for the last time.'

[GLC 2016: 1021]

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[42] Translation mine, *EC*: "When the verb in the infinitive takes a first or second person clitic as its direct object, this clitic attaches to the infinitive, and the one that stands for the subject, which is in accusative Case, attaches to the causative verb."

[43] In case the clitic climbs, this would entail a change in the interpretation. *Te la van fer curar* means 'They made you heal it'. The clitic *te* would refer to the subject of the infinitive (i.e., the causee) and the clitic *la* to the object of the infinitive.

[44] These patterns are found with perception verbs as well, but, according to the empirical facts presented in the previous chapter and throughout the present one, these patterns are expected, simply because perception verbs have access to both IC and RIC configurations.

i. L' han vist maltractar-vos?
CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PRES PERF-3.PL abuse-INF-CL-M/F-2.PL-ACC
'Have they seen him abuse you?'

ii. Les van sentir insultar-la.
CL-F-3.PL-ACC hear-PAST-3.PL insult-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC
'They heard them insult her.'

[GLC 2016: 1018, *Catalan*]

In the cases above, the standard patterns do not seem to apply: whenever the infinitive is transitive, its subject receives dative Case. First, the infinitival subject can bear accusative even when the infinitive verb has a direct object. Second, as GLC (2016) notes, this situation is strictly related to the use of first and second person clitics which somehow force the infinitival subject clitic to occur in accusative. Third, Case differences arise whenever the clitics in the configurations above are replaced by lexical DPs and I want to highlight a couple of contexts. To begin with, GLC (2016: 1021) provides the following contrast:

(86) a. El deixaran despertar-nos.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC let-FUT-3.PL wake-INF-CL-M/F-1.PL-ACC
'They will let him wake us.'

b. Li deixaran despertar els nois.
CL-3.SG-DAT let-FUT-3.PL wake-INF the boys
'They will let him/her wake the boys.'

[GLC 2016:1021]

GLC (2016) claims that the contrast in (86) confirms the special status of the infinitival subject. It cliticises as an accusative pronoun when the embedded object is a first/second person clitic, but it cliticises as a dative clitic in the presence of an embedded full DP object. Example (87) should be ruled out precisely because the embedded object is a third person clitic. In this case, since the object is a third person clitic, the infinitival subject is expected to occur in dative and cliticise, together with the embedded object clitic, as a clitic cluster to the matrix domain.

(87) *La/*El van fer curar-lo/la.
CL-F/M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.PL heal-INF-CL-M/F-3.SG-ACC

From the statement made by the GLC (2016) according to which the clitic that refers to the infinitival subject is accusative in configurations similar to (85-86a), I deduce that (88a) would be ungrammatical with the infinitival subject expressed as a dative clitic, in contrast with (88b), which contains a lexical DP as the direct object of the infinitive verb.

(88) a. *Li van fer curar-te.
CL-M/F-3.SG-DAT make-PAST-3.PL heal-INF-CL-M/F-2.SG-ACC

b. Li van fer curar el malalt (, al metge).
CL-3.SG-DAT make-PAST-3.PL heal-INF the patient to-the doctor
'They made him (the doctor) heal the patient.'

Given (88), I assume that clitics and full DPs have different syntactic regimes in the causative configurations above and they conform to different Case alternations. The general idea to keep in mind is that the infinitival subject can be accusative when the infinitive is transitive even in Catalan, contrary to what has been always claimed. This scenario is likely to happen whenever the object of the infinitive is a first/second person clitic. Anna Pineda (p.c.) suggests that the factor at stake must be [person]. This must be due to an idiosyncrasy first and second pronouns have, as opposed to the third person ones.[45]

Stretching things a bit further, it might be interesting to investigate whether there are any cases in which an accusative clitic that refers to the infinitival subject can co-occur in a causative construction whose complement contains a full lexical DP object. Let us assume that sentence (89) is acceptable in Catalan, although it is not stated in any of the (modern) Catalan grammars (Fabra 1956, Badia 1994, GCC 2002, GLC 2016).

(89) *El van fer curar el malalt.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.PL heal-INF the patient

This pattern was noticed for other two languages that lack IC configurations with causative verbs.[46] Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980) briefly look at French and find (90)

[45] Perhaps this restriction is due to the same Person Case Constraint (PCC) (cf. Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991, Kayne 2000, Ormazabal & Romero 1998; 2002; 2007, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Ordóñez 2002; 2012), proposed for other environments. PCC is a universal constraint on clitic and agreement clusters according to which first and second person clitics are incompatible with a third person clitics. The ungrammaticality can be due to the fact that 1st and 2nd person clitics compete for the same feature as the 3rd dative clitic.

[46] See also the French dialectal variation illustrated in Hyman & Zimmer (1976), Authier & Reed (1991) and Reed (1999).

grammatical, and Burzio (1986) considers the relative (dialectal) acceptability of (91a) as compared with (91b) for Italian.

(90) a. Cela les a fait se poser des questions.
that CL-F-3.PL-ACC make-PAST-3.SG REFL ask-INF some questions
'That made them question themselves.'

b. Jean les a fait rencontrer Marie.
John CL-F-3.PL-ACC make-PAST-3.SG meet-INF Maria
'Jean made them meet Marie.'

[Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980: 129, *French*]

(91) a. ?Maria lo ha fatto riparare la macchina
Maria CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG repair-INF the car
'Maria made him repair the car.'

b. *Maria ha fatto Giovanni riparare la macchina.
Maria make-PAST-3.SG Giovanni repair-INF the car

[Burzio 1986: 232, *Italian*]

Bastardas (2003: 123, fn. 22), who cites Solà (1997), claims that *fer* 'make' and *deixar* 'let' alongside *sentir* 'hear' and *veure* 'see' can occur in configurations with two accusative objects.

(92) Ell la feia baixar les escales.
he CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-IMPERF-3.SG descend-INF the stairs
'He made her descend the stairs.'

[Bastardas 2003: 123, n22, *Catalan*]

One of the accusatives, the subject of the infinitive, would necessarily be a clitic, and the other would be the object of the infinitive:

"Els quatre verbs mencionats (*fer, deixar, sentir* i *veure*) poden actualment construir-se amb dos acusatius, un acusatiu, forçosament pronominal, fent de SLI un altre de CDI.[47] Solà (1997: 173) en dóna exemples (*Ell la feia baixar les escales*). [...] [L]a construcció amb dos acusatius [...] pot considerar-se una «innovació». Però la construcció amb dos acusatius existeix, i, sobretot amb *fer*, la veig usada espontàniament per escriptors de llengua ben pulcra."[48]

[Bastardas 2003: 123, n22, *Catalan*]

And Bastardas (2003) gives the following example taken from Jaume Cabré, an example which he considers quite natural and spontaneous.

(93) S' imaginava el seu cor desbocat, que el feia
REFL imagine-PAST-3.SG the his heart wild that CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG
mirar les dones amb una ànsia que al vell més d' una vegada
look at-INF the women with an anxiety that to-the old man more of one time
l' havia fet tremolar.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST.PERF-3.SG tremble-INF
"He imagined his wild heart that made him gaze at women with an anxiety that made the old man tremble more than once."

[Bastardas 2003: 123, n22, *Catalan*]

The two examples drawn from Solà (1997) are given in (94a, b). What Solà suggests, in fact, these examples confirm the presence of an accusative-accusative pattern with Catalan causative verbs.

(94) a. Ell la feia baixar les escales de les criptes
he CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-IMPERF-3.SG descend-INF the stairs of the crypts

[47] *SLI* stands for *subjecte lògic de l'infinitiu* 'the logical subject of the infinitive'.
[48] Translation mine, EC: "The four verbs mentioned so far (*make, let, hear* and *see*) can now be built with two accusatives, one accusative, necessarily pronominal, corresponding to the logical subject of the infinitive and another one corresponding to the object. Solà (1997: 173) gives examples (*Ell la feia baixar les escales* 'He made her descend the stairs'). [...] [T]he construction with two accusatives [...] can be considered an innovation. However the constructions with two accusatives exists and, mainly with *fer* 'make', I see it is used spontaneously by writers who have a very good mastery of their language."

i ella el feia anar d' altar en altar a l'
and she CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-IMPERF-3.SG go-INF from altar in altar at the
església de Sant Nicolau.
church of Saint Nicholas
'He made her descend the stairs of the crypts and she made him go from chapel to chapel in the church of Saint Nicholas.'

b. Arió va demanar que el deixessin tocar la cítara
Arió ask-PAST-3.SG that CL-M-3.SG-ACC let-SUBJ.PERF-3.PL play-INF the zither
abans de llançar-lo al mar.
before of throw-INF-CL-M-3.SG-ACC to-the sea
'Arió asked that they would let him play the zither before they threw him into the sea.'

[Solà 1997: 172-173, *Catalan*]

It is not an easy task to find recorded examples of the accusative-accusative pattern. The only example I could come across is (95).

(95) Després, per riure-se'n encara més, el van fer
after for laugh-INF-REFL-CL.PART even more CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.PL
cavalcar un cavall cec.[49]
ride-INF a horse blind
'Then, to laugh at him even more, they made him ride a blind horse.'

Not all transitive complements can give rise to accusative-accusative scenarios. Bastardas admits that this pattern with double accusatives is obviously subject to certain restrictions (which he does not further develop) since it is ungrammatical with many transitive complements. Therefore a construction such as (96) is totally ruled out in his opinion (and in the opinion of all Catalan native speakers I consulted).

[49] The example is taken from Jules Vernes, *Miquel Strogoff*, Lluís Quintana's version, 2012, p.114, Barcelona: Edicions Castellnou.

(96) *El va fer pagar les entrades.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG pay-INF the tickets
[Bastardas 2003: 123, n22, *Catalan*]

The main problem I see with the double accusative patterns that were analysed as good by Solà and Bastardas (and I refer strictly to the *fer*-constructions) is that they involve verbs that seem to be somehow special. The intuition I want to pursue is that the (allegedly) felicitous cases with transitive complements are due to an ambiguity created by the complement verb. As Jaume Mateu (p.c.) correctly observes, the examples (94) and (95) have in common verbs that have both transitive and intransitive uses. Given the preceding discussion, I would like to suggest that the transitive verbs in these examples are in fact (hidden) intransitive verbs, and this fact would facilitate the creation of an IC (accusative-accusative) pattern with these verbs. The intransitive uses of these predicates would presuppose the presence of a preposition which is absent in our examples but which is totally adequate in the situations above. Consider the examples in (97):

(97) a. Ell la feia baixar *per* les escales.
he CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-IMPERF-3.SG descend-INF down the stairs
'He made her descend down the stairs.'

b. El van fer cavalcar *en* un cavall cec.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.PL ride-INF on a horse blind
'They made him ride a blind horse.'

If this intuition is on the right track then the examples given by Bastardas and Solà do not contain pure transitive verbs in complement position. This fact would also explain the impossibility noticed by Bastardas that not all transitive complements are felicitous in the contexts that can be closely identified with our IC configuration.

Although the data above, as well as French and Italian examples, are suggestive rather than conclusive, what is clear is that they are subject to certain constraints. In case it were plausible to assume a new configuration for Catalan causative *fer* 'make', as Bastardas (2003) suggests, this double accusative pattern would have some important limitations: the infinitival subject should be a clitic and not a (full) DP phrase and it would (almost) surely be constrained

by dialectal variation. For those speakers who could produce this new pattern for Catalan causative *fer* 'make' the relation between this configuration and the standard RIC one should be seen as analogous to the two infinitival constructions with perception verbs (98).

(98) a. L' he sentit cantar una cançó.
CL-M-3.SG-ACC hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG sing-INF a song

b. Li he sentit cantar una cançó.
CL-3.SG-DAT hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG sing-INF a song
'I have heard him/her sing a song.'

I suppose that, for this category of native speakers that Bastardas and Solà refer to, the infinitival subject can be expressed with a clitic in accusative or in dative, in both causative and perception verb constructions. I must say that I could not found Catalan speakers that easily accepted the controversial examples illustrated above. It is worth investigating the issue but I will leave this possibility open for future research.

All these observations reinforce the necessity for a discussion on the special status of the subject position of infinitival complements to causative and permissive verbs in Catalan. Remember that there are scenarios in which the infinitival subject as a clitic occurs in accusative Case. I gave examples taken from GLC (2016) that contained accusative-accusative patterns with causative *fer* 'make' and permissive *deixar* 'let'. I repeat for convenience one of these examples as (99).[50]

(99) La van fer curar-te.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.PL heal-INF-CL-M/F-3.SG-ACC
'They made her heal you.'

[50] Verbs of causative alternation like *curar* 'heal' are not very natural in these examples as Jaume Mateu (p.c.). The pattern in (99) improve with verbs like *despertar* 'wake up' or *acompanyar* 'accompany', which do not presuppose a change of state.

(i) a. La van fer despertar-te.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.PL wake up-INF-CL-M/F-3.SG-ACC
'They made her wake you up.'

b La van fer acompanyar-te a casa.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.PL accompany-INF-CL-M/F-3.SG-ACC to house
'They made her accompany you at home.'

In conclusion, even in a restrictive language like Catalan which normally produces only RIC configurations with causative verbs that involve transitive complements, there are situations in which the causatives force a second construction, similar to languages like Spanish and Portuguese. In this structure, the clitic standing for the embedded infinitival subject receives accusative. This would pose real problems for analyses that propose that the infinitival subject is always introduced by an Appl(icative) head in this kind of constructions (the Case of this subject is clearly determined structurally; see chapter 4 for an analysis), as well as for those proposals that defend a monoclausal treatment of the same constructions. It also confirms the ability of the matrix *fer* 'make' of assigning accusative Case.

4.3.2. Object clitics that do not climb

The proponents of a monoclausal version of the causative and perception verb constructions claim that the subordinate clause cannot accommodate clitics.There are, however, several patterns in which the embedded verb can host clitics. Clitics can easily attach to the infinitive, in Catalan and in Spanish, when the infinitival subject is not lexically expressed, in complements of both causative (100a-b) and perception verbs (100c-d) (cf. Alarcos 1970, Hernanz 1982, Villalba 1994, GLC 2016):[51]

(100) a. Hizo abrir las ventanas.
make-PAST-3.SG open-INF the windows
'S/he made someone open the windows.'

b. Hizo abrirlas.
make-PAST-3.SG open-INF-CL-F-3.PL-ACC
'S/he made someone open them.'

c. Oigo cantar una canción.
hear-PRES-1.SG sing-INF a song
'I hear someone sing a song.'

[51] These examples can be ambiguous because they are compatible with two readings. One reading is the one we are interested in, in which the absent phrase refers to the infinitival subject. The second reading is a passive reading in which the phrase that is not lexically expressed is an agentive *by*-phrase. We are not concerned with these structures here.

d. Oigo cantarla.
hear- PRES-1.SG sing-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC
'I hear someone sing it.'

[Alarcos 1970: 181, *Spanish*]

(101) a. Van fer vacunar els nens.
make-PAST-3.PL vaccinate-INF the children
'They made someone vaccinate the children.'

b. Van fer vacunar-los.
make-PAST-3.PL vaccinate-INF-CL-M-3.PL-ACC
'They made someone vaccinate them.'

c. He sentit cantar una cançó.
hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG sing-INF a song
'I have heard someone sing a song.'

d. He sentit cantar-la.
hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG sing-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC
'I have heard someone sing it.'

(*Catalan*)

Clitics can also attach to the embedded verb without any difficulty when the object to which they refer is dislocated, to the right or to the left.[52]

(102) *Catalan*

a. (Les) Fan pujar(-les) als viatgers,
CL-F-3.PL-ACC make-PRES-3.PL take-INF CL-F-3.PL-ACC to-the tourists
les maletes.
the bags
'They make the tourists themselves take their bags aboard.'

[GLC 2016: 1020]

b. Aquestaària, (l') he sentit cantar(-la)

[52] Catalan native speakers tend to prefer right dislocation in these cases.

this aria CL-F-3.SG-ACC hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG sing-INF- CL-F-3.SG-ACC
a la soprano.
to the soprano
'This aria, I heard the soprano sing it.'

There is an obvious contrast with respect to the possibilities of cliticization that other Romance languages have (at least) in causative constructions. Catalan and Spanish clearly differ from Italian and French, which rule out object clitics in the causative complement.

(103) a. La casa, el ayuntamiento hizo restaurarla.
the house the town hall make-PAST-3.SG restore-INF- CL-F-3.SG-ACC
'The town hall had someone restore it, the house.'
[Hernanz 1999: 2249, *Spanish*]

b. Els regals, faré posar-los junts a la Maria.
the presents make-FUT-1.SG put-INF- CL-M-3.PL-ACC together to the Mary
'I will make Maria put them (the presents) together.'
[Villalba 1994: 123, *Catalan*]

c. *Maria ha fatto ripararla a Gianni.
Mary make-PAST-3.SG repair-INF- CL-F-3.SG-ACC to John
[Guasti 1993: 54, *Italian*]

d. *Elle fera le manger a Jean.
she make-FUT-3.SG CL-M-3.SG-ACC eat-INF to John
[Kayne 1975: 270, *French*]

In my view, the degree of restructurability of the matrix verb is not a sufficient condition to be a decisive trigger for clitic climbing (see Sitaridou et al. 2015). From a formal perspective, under the Minimalist theory, Tense plays a role in the climbing of the clitic, provided that the embedded verb is non-finite. The main assumption is that clitics can climb out of any infinitival clause provided it is not a CP.

The monoclausal analyses (that usually postulate a VP-complement) fail to account for Spanish and Catalan facts. Under the VP option, clitic climbing is assumed to be obligatory, just like clitic climbing with perfective and passive auxiliaries (cf. Hernanz & Rigau 1984, Llinàs

1990-91, Luján 1993, Solà 2002). Catalan causative constructions have been claimed to have VP-complements (cf. Villalba 1993, 1994). They fail every test on a TP complement analysis: (aspectual) auxiliaries or tense features, adverbials or negation phrases, pre-infinitival subjects.

In spite of all this, they still accommodate clitics in the embedded clause. Following Solà who defended the same proposal for restructuring verbs (104), I want to reinforce the idea that the available two positions for clitics in causative and perception verb constructions are evidence for the biclausal status of these configurations.

(104) a. Al pati, *hi* volen anar els nens a jugar.
to-the courtyard LOC want-PRES.3PL go-INF the children to play-INF

b. Al pati, volen anar-*hi* els nens a jugar.
to-the courtyard want-PRES.3PL go-INF-LOC the children to play-INF

'The children want to go to the courtyard to play.'

[Solà 2002: 238, *Catalan*]

Consider now the properties of another configuration in which clitics are prevented from climbing. Usually, causative and perception verbs permit clitic climbing provided that the object of the infinitive is inanimate.

In Catalan, there is a strong preference for climbing, whenever the object clitic is inanimate, both in causative and in perception verb constructions.

(105) a. Me l' han vist portar moltes vegades, aquest abric.
CL-1.SG-DAT CL-M-3.SG-ACC see-PRES.PERF-3.PL wear-INF many times, this coat

'They saw me wear it/this coat many times.'

b. Els el feien posar, l' abric, als nens.
CL-M-3.PL-DAT CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-IMPERF-3.PL put-INF the coat to-the children

'They made them/the children put (it) on (the coat).'

[GLC 2016: 1018, *Catalan*]

In Spanish, on the other hand, when the object of the embedded infinitive is inanimate, the clitics corresponding to the arguments of the infinitive verb can form a cluster and climb (106a), but the object clitic can also opt for staying in situ (106b). [53]

(106) *Spanish*

a. Se lo hice/ oí decir.
CL-DAT CL-M-3.SG-ACC make/ hear-PAST-1.SG say-INF

b. Le hice/ oí decirlo.
CL-3.SG-DAT make/ hear-PAST-1.SG say-INF -CL-M-3.SG-ACC
'I heard/made him/her say it.'

However, when the object of the infinitive is animate, the (accusative) clitic corresponding to this object remains in the embedded clause. There is no simultaneous climbing of the clitics corresponding to the subject and the direct object of the infinitive, if the direct object is animate (cf. Bordelois 1974, Luján 1980, Hernanz 1999, Torrego 2010, Ordóñez 2012). Perception verb complements are affected by the same constraint. This observation is due to Luján (1980). Climbing of the clitic to the causative or perception verb is forbidden when the clitic has animate reference as shown in (107):

(107) *Spanish*

a. Juan me dejó /hizo / vio/ oyó llamarla.
John CL-1.SG-DAT let / make/ see/ hear-PAST.3SG call-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC
' Juan let/made/saw/heard me call her.'

b. *Juan me la dejó / hizo / vio /oyó llamar.
John CL-1.SG-DAT CL-F-3.SG-ACC let / make / see/ hear-PAST call-INF

[53] Cf. Bordelois 1974, Demonte 1977, Luján 1978, Aissen 1979, Suñer 1980, Treviño 1994, Hernanz 1999, Moore 1996, Roegiest 2003, Ordóñez 2012.

NGLE (2009) claims that the clitic clusters in (107) should be the first of the combinatorial properties of the clitics in Spanish. *me* 'me' is supposed to have dative Case, and *la/lo* 'her/him' accusative Case, so they should be compatible to form a cluster when the accusative clitic climbs. However, this is impossible.

In Catalan, the accusative object clitic also attaches to the embedded infinitive if it corresponds to an animate DP (see also GLC 2016: §26.6.1). [54]

(108) *Catalan*

a. Les van sentir insultar-la.
CL-F-3.PL-ACC hear-PAST-3.PL insult-INF- CL-F-3.SG-ACC
'They heard them insult her.'
[GLC 2016: 1018]

b. No et deixaran convidar-les.
not CL-2.SG-ACC/DAT let-FUT-3.PL invite-INF-CL-F-3.PL-ACC
'They will not let you invite them.'
[GLC 2016: 1021]

c. M' han fet acompanyar-la a escola.
CL-1.SG-DAT make-PRES.PERF-3.PL accompany-INF-CL-F-3.SG-ACC to school
'They have made me accompany her to school.'
[GLC 2016: 1021]

As first discussed by Bordelois (1974), the embedded accusative clitic is prevented from climbing when two important conditions are obeyed. One is animacy, as we have seen. The other one is related to the agentivity of the embedded verb. Bordelois (1974) notes that, in causative constructions, the embedded object clitic does not climb to the main clause when the subordinate

[54] Recall that the clitic standing for the infinitival subject can also bear dative Case with perception verbs. We always have the two options with this class of verbs. Because the first and second person clitics coincide in the dative/accusative form, we cannot know whether we are dealing with one Case or the other. The difference can be clearly seen with third person clitics. Only third person pronouns differentiate between DAT (*le/les*) and ACC (*lo/la/los/las*).

(i) L' / Li han vist acompanyar la nena a l' escola.
CL-M/F-3.SG-ACC / CL-3.SG-DAT see-PRES PERF-3.PL accompany-INF the little girl to the school
'They saw him/her accompany the little girl to school.'

infinitive verb is agentive. A verb like *conocer* ‘know/let know’ or *tener* ‘have’ (that are stative predicates), allows clitic climbing, while an agentive verb such as *saludar* ‘greet’ (or others of the same class, like *ayudar* ‘help’, *educar* ‘educate’, *besar* ‘kiss’, *abrazar* ‘hug’, *castigar* ‘punish’, *amenazar* ‘threaten’) does not allow it. The contrast in (109b-c) is meant to show this observation.

(109) *Spanish*

a. Él me lo hizo conocer.
he CL-1.SG-DAT CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG know-INF
‘He made me know it.’

b. Él la hizo saludarlo.
he CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG greet-INF- CL-M-3.SG-ACC
‘He made her greet him.’
[Bordelois 1974: 89, fn. 19]

c. *Él se lo hizo saludar.
he CL-DAT CL-M-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG greet-INF

Sáez (2009), analysing the class of *ayudar* ‘help’-verbs, claims that the clitic *la* cannot climb out of the embedded clause in (110) because there is something special about the clitic that stands for the direct object of embedded predicate (and, possibly, the same applies to the other verbs I mentioned above). *la* should be an inanimate clitic, that should be able to climb. This is clearly not the case.

(110) *Spanish*

a. Tú me hiciste ayudarla.
you CL-1.SG-DAT make-PAST-2.SG help-INF- CL-F-3.SG-ACC
‘You made me help her.’

b. *Tú me la hiciste ayudar.
you CL-1.SG-DAT CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-2.SG help-INF

In (110), *la* behaves as [+animate] clitic and this has consequences for climbing. When it climbs, it gives rise to a competition between two animate DPs that are co-arguments. In Sáez's (2009) opinion (110) is ungrammatical because both *me* and *la* check their [+animate] feature against the same animacy-related functional head (cf. Ormazabal & Romero 1998). If there is no restructuring, each clitic belongs to a different clause and they do not compete for the same functional head.

This should also explain the contrast noted by Bordelois (1974). The third person clitic is able to climb, because it bears an [-animate] feature, typical of a direct object. There is no competition between the two arguments, and restructuring is possible. The clitic *me* has an [+animate] feature, while *la* has an [-animate] one.

(111)	Me	la	hizo	conocer	(la	decisión).
	CL-1.SG-DAT	CL-F-3.SG-ACC	make-PAST-3.SG	know-INF	the	decision

'S/he made me know it (the decision).'

The clitic *la* in the *ayudar*-complements, although accusative, behaves as a dative one, and it is subject to the *me-lui* constraint (or the Person Case Constraint, see note 43 for references).[55] Although superficially accusative, the object of *ayudar* 'help' acts as an indirect object. Sáez (2009: 65) proposes that both clitics compete for checking their animate feature against the same animacy-related functional head. This competition is not present in (111) where the clitics are different.

Another work that deals with these contrasts is Torrego's (2010). Building on Bordelois (1974), Torrego emphasizes the role of animacy and agentivity in causative configurations and the ban on clitic climbing and complex predicate formation when these two factors are present. She also posits an applicative analysis for the lexical structure of Spanish agentive verbs. Torrego analyses these verbs as ditransitive verbs whose infinitival objects are licensed by an Appl head, i.e., they are not regular direct objects.[56] According to Torrego, in the causative configurations in (109c -110b), there is a second Appl head that selects the VP (that, in its turn,

[55] The *me-lui* constraint states that a dative clitic cannot co-appear with a first or second person clitic, but it can appear with a third person one.
[56] In a ditransitive analysis, a verb like *saludar a X* 'greet X' would be descomposed in *dar un saludo a X* 'give X a greeting '.

selects the $ApplP_2$) as a complement. This Appl head ($Appl_1$, which introduces the clitic *lo* in (109c) or *la* in (110b)) is a high Appl (cf. Pylkkänen 2002) that acts as a strong phase (cf. McGinnis 2004), which prevents complex predicate formation or restructuring of the infinitive.[57] Therefore, the embedded clitic cannot climb.

(112) [Agent *v** [$_{VP}$ V_{HACER} [$_{ApplP1}$ Cl $Appl_1$ [$_{VP}$ V [$_{ApplP2}$ Cl $Appl_2$ N]]]]]

[adapted from Torrego 2010: 464]

When the embedded infinitive is not agentive, although it selects an animate object, clitic climbing is possible because there is no (low) ApplP to interfere in the climbing. Also, if the embedded verb is a transitive agentive and selects an inanimate object, clitic climbing can occur without problems.

Whether the ban on clitic climbing in (109-110) is due to a combination of agentivity and animacy factors present in the complement (cf. Bordelois 1974, Torrego 2010) or to a competition between animate co-arguments (as proposed by Sáez 2009), restructuring should be disallowed. However, an investigation carried out by Pineda (2014) shows that there are speakers who accept clitic climbing in the previous constructions, in Spanish and Catalan.

(113) a. Tú me hiciste llamar / telefonear a la directora.
you CL-1.SG-DAT make-PAST-2.SG call-INF / phone-INF to the headmaster
'You made me call/phone the headmaster.'

b. Tú me la hiciste llamar / telefonear.
you CL-1.SG-DAT CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-2.SG call-INF / phone-INF
'You made me call/phone her.'

[Pineda 2014: 407, *Spanish*]

[57] Appls are classified by Pylkkänen (2002) as high or low depending on whether they are located above VP or below VP. High Appls denote a relation between an event and an individual, and low Appls denote a relation between individuals.

Clitic climbing is even more present in Catalan, where they occur with the entire class of verbs Pineda studies. Other agentive verbs such as *hit, shoot, pay,* and *steal* conform to the same pattern (cf. Pineda 2014: 207).

(114) a. Em vas fer trucar / telefonar la directora, tu.
CL-F-1.SG-DAT make-PAST-2.SG call-INF / phone-INF the headmaster you
'You made me call/phone the headmaster.'

b. Me la vas fer trucar / telefonar.
CL-F-1.SG-DAT CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-2.SG call-INF / phone-INF
'You made me call/phone her.'

[Pineda 2014: 407, *Catalan*]

Data from GLC (2016) confirms Pineda's (2014) results. Catalan is less restrictive than Spanish.

(115) a. No et deixaran convidar-les.
not CL-2.SG-DAT let-FUT-3.PL invite-INF-CL-F-3.PL-ACC
'They will not let you invite them.'

b. No te les deixaran convidar.
not CL-2.SG-DAT CL-F-3.PL-ACC let-FUT-3.PL invite-INF
'They will not let you invite them.'

[GLC 2016: 1021]

The data presented in these subsections seem to argue against a 'poor' complement clause. Spanish and Catalan distance themselves from other Romance languages in that clitic climbing is not obligatory in RIC contexts. Solà's (2002) conclusions are right: clitic climbing is expected in restructuring scenarios, but this is not the only option. Restructuring is not a sufficient condition to account for clitic climbing, because the RIC patterns also allow clitics in situ. As I said, my proposal is to simplify the take on this issue and regard restructuring in the context of causative and perception verb constructions as a verb selecting for a defective complement that lacks complementizer and tense properties (hence, restructuring would be

regarded more as an ECM phenomenon). In the light of this discussion, I believe that there is no need to appeal to the postulation of two different structures or to specific positions where they can occur (cf. Cardinaletti i Shlonsky 2004). Clitics can attach to different verbal forms, or more precisely, to different phase heads (cf. Boeckx & Gallego 2008; Gallego 2016; see chapter 4, §2.2.1)

4.3.3. Reciprocal and reflexive clitics

The last set of clitics that I would like to discuss concerns reciprocal and reflexive *se* clitics. They belong to the embedded predicate and are prevented from climbing to the matrix clause (116-117b, d).

(116) *Spanish*

a. Juan la hizo lavar*se*.
John CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG wash-REFL-INF
'Juan made her wash herself.'

b. *Juan *se* la hizo lavar.
John REFL CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-PAST-3.SG wash-INF

c. La he oído quejar*se* toda la noche.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG complain-REFL-INF all the night
'I have heard her complain all night long.'

d. **Se* la he oído quejar toda la noche.
REFL CL-F-3.SG-ACC hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG complain-INF all the night

[Hernanz 1999: 2244]

(117) *Catalan*

a. Li han fet rentar-*se* les mans.
CL-3.SG-DAT make-PRES.PERF -3.PL wash-REFL-INF the hands
'They have made her wash her hands.'

b. **Se* li han fet rentar les mans.
REFL CL-3.SG-DAT make-PRES.PERF -3.PL wash-INF the hands

[Anna Pineda, p.c.]

c.	L’	he sentit	queixar-*se*	de	tu.
	CL-F/M-3.SG-ACC	hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG	complain-REFL-INF	of	you
d.	**Se* l’	he sentit	queixar	de	tu.
	REFL CL-F/M-3.SG-ACC	hear-PRES.PERF-1.SG	complain-INF	of	you

[GLC 2016: 1018]

The antecendent of the clitic *se* (the embedded subject) must be found in the same subordinate clause as the reflexive/reciprocal clitic, otherwise the construction is ruled out (Hernanz 1999, Treviño 1994).

(118) *La cantante$_i$ hizo maquillarse$_i$.

the singer make-PAST-3.SG make up-REFL-INF

[Hernanz 1999: 2251]

The reflexive/reciprocal clitic *se* in the complement of causative and perception verb constructions is allowed in Spanish, French, and Catalan, but disallowed in Italian causative constructions (cf. Ruwet 1972, Zubizarreta 1985, Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993).[58]

In a corpus-based study on diachronic Spanish, Davies (1995) shows that reflexive *se* was never present on the embedded verb in causative and permissive constructions in Old and Middle (or Early Modern) Spanish, but its use increased in Modern Spanish, both with *dejar* ‘let’ and *hacer* ‘make’. Davies (1995) also mentions that *se* was never found with perception verbs in Old Spanish. In its modern use, the reflexive is almost always present in complements of verbs of perception.

In old Catalan it was possible to find complements to perception verbs without *se*, but nowadays it is the norm to maintain it attached to the embedded verb (cf. GLC 2016: §26.6.1). As opposed to what happens with perception verbs, the absence of the reflexive/reciprocal *se* with causative verbs in these constructions is common. Alsina (1996, 2002) and Bastardas (2003) share the same opinion, that the presence of the reflexive clitic attached to the embedded

[58] Pesetsky (1995: 99-100) comments on the disappearence of *se* in Italian. He suggess that the fact that *se* cannot surface in Italian causatives does not seem to be due to a constraint on the compatibility between the syntactic operations underlying causatives and reflexives but rather to a morphological constraint on *se*-placement in Italian causatives.

verb in the causative construction in Catalan, "although not ungrammatical, is disfavoured". Bastardas (2003) concludes that a construction such as *El va fer alterar-se* 'He made him get anxious' is not ungrammatical, but it does not sound very natural.

In this respect, the nature of the embedded verb seems to be relevant. Alsina (2002: 2436) provides a list of verbs that tend to drop the reflexive/reciprocal clitic *se* when embedded under a causative verb: *aixecar-se* 'wake/stand up', *endur-se* 'take away', *aturar-se* 'stop', *vestir-se* 'dress', *rentar-se* 'wash', *pentinar-se* 'comb', *canviar-se* 'change', *mudar-se* 'move out', a.o. GLC (2016: §26.6.2.), on the other hand, claims that pronominal verbs never drop the *se* clitic (e.g. *adonar-se* 'realise', *recordar-se* 'remember', *queixar-se* 'complain', *penedir-se* 'repent', *anar-se'n* 'leave') if the embedded subject is third person clitic.

First, recall that analyses that defend a monoclausal-biclausal configuration for the causative/perception verbs (Zubizarreta 1985, Guasti 1993, Baauw & Delfitto 2005, a.o.) assume that the occurrence of *se* blocks incorporation/restructuring and signals a richer structure (remember Guasti's (1993, 1996) analysis; see chapter 2, §3.3.). Guasti (1993) makes these claims in the context in which Italian causatives, as opposed to French ones, disallow *se* in in the infinitival complement of the RIC configuration. Her answer to this asymmetry is that structurally Italian causatives select only VP complements, whereas French can take a structure that includes some functional projections. Second, the presence of *se* is correlated with the presence of a preinfinitival subject (see Davies 1995). I believe both arguments are wrong.

I propose that reflexive/reciprocal *se*-clitics in the infinitival complement are not properties exclusively of the IC configuration. They also occur in Catalan causatives (with the exceptions recorded by Alsina 1996; 2002, Bastardas 2003, GLC 2016), and Catalan is a language that lacks the IC structure with causative *fer* 'make', exactly as in Italian. Spanish follows the same pattern (as shown by Treviño1994, Hernanz 1999, a.o.). Moreover, it is irrelevant whether the subject is pre- or post-infinitival:

() a. El reportero hizo acusarse$_i$ a la vecina$_i$.
the reporter make-PAST-3.SG accuse-REFL-INF to the neighbour
b. El reportero hizo a la vecina$_i$ acusarse$_i$.
the reporter make-PAST-3.SG to the neighbour accuse-REFL-INF
'The reporter made the neighbour accuse herself.'

[Treviño1994: 75]

Therefore, I conclude that person clitics and reflexive/reciprocal *se*-clitics in the infinitival complement of causative and perception verb constructions are not exclusively properties of the IC configuration, they can occur in RIC. This is unexpected under previous analyses that treated these complements as merely VPs.

5. Conclusions

The present chapter had three goals. First, I introduced the theoretical framework and the notion of defectiveness as understood in a series of recent works (see Chomsky 2000; 2001, Solà 2002, Gallego 2009; 2010; 2014).

My second aim was to propose a unified account of the infinitival complement. I explored the idea that Romance has ECM constructions, and I set to demonstrate that the infinitival dependents to causative and perception verbs could be analysed as instances of a (subtype of Romance) ECM configuration. I started from the premise that the IC and RIC configurations were both biclausal structures and that the overt linear order was a consequence of the derivation of these constructions. Infinitival complements to causative and perception verbs are all defective complements (defective CPs as I argued in a proposal inspired by Gallego's 2009, 2010, 2014 work). I concluded that the difference did not rest on the type of complement the matrix verb took but in the mechanisms at stake in the derivation of these configurations (contra a large amount of literature on the topic; see the previous chapter, §3).

The third goal of this chapter was to reconsider three potential problems for a unified account and attempt to account for the exceptions they raise. One problem was related to the variable nature of the matrix predicate in IC and RIC and its consequences for the monoclausal-biclausal conflict. The positioning of the infinitival subject and the Case alternations it produced were a second issue considered here. Apart from justifying them syntactically, I also investigated the possible semantic/pragmatic effects that are associated with the two infinitival subject positions, as well as providing a lexical-semantic characterization of the embedded subject. The third problem concerned the phenomenon of clitic climbing and the possibility of having embedded clitics (*in situ* clitics). I tried to demonstrate that the conflictive patterns that the data above produced do not argue against a unified account.

CHAPTER 4

The minimalist syntax of infinitival and subjunctive clauses

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I concluded that Romance languages have φ-defective Probes of the ECM type that fail to license Case to their Goals. Spanish and Catalan causative and perception verbs that embed infinitival complements with overt lexical subjects exemplify one of these instances of Romance ECM. My proposal attempted to reconcile at a conceptual but also at an empirical level the treatment of the infinitival dependents of causative and perception verbs, by putting forward a unified defective CP analysis. I argued that defective clause are not necessarily smaller, they can involve a defective CP layer (see Ormazabal 1995, Solà 2002, Epstein & Seely 2006, Gallego 2009; 2010; 2014, Cornilescu 2013, for different contexts). The presence a defective CP layer helps to capture a subordination dependency that holds between matrix and embedded domains, on the assumption that T is present only if C is, even though in a defective fashion.

I started from the premise that the IC and RIC configurations with both perception and causative verbs are biclausal structures and that the overt linear order is a consequence of the derivation of these constructions and not of the different functional projections their complements can embed (*v*P/VP in RIC vs. TP in IC, as proposed by the classical literature on the topic). Schematically, the pattern I proposed for the Romance constructions reduces to the one in (1):[59]

(1) $[_{CP}[_{TP}[_{vP*}$ EA $_{v*}$ $[_{VP}$ *SEE/MAKE* $[_{CP}$ C_{def} $[_{TP}$ T_{def} $[_{v*P}$ EA *v** $[_{VP}$ V_{INF} IA]]]]

[59] The pattern reflects a transitive complement

Taking (1) seriously, it follows that the difference between IC and RIC does not rest on the type of complement the matrix verb takes but in the mechanisms responsible for the derivation of these configurations. I am now concerned with this latter issue of accounting for the syntactic behaviour of these constructions, capturing at the same time the micro-parametric variation I have considered along the previous chapters.

The present chapter is divided as follows: the second section is dedicated to the derivation of the RIC constructions. I deal in turn with transitive, unergative and unaccusative complements. I try to make sense of the differences found in the different word order patterns in Spanish and Catalan and offer an account of the Case assigning properties of the matrix verbs. Section 3 focuses on the IC construction in Spanish, paying special attention to issues of word order and the licensing of subjects, and especially the creation of a dedicated position for the infinitival subject through object shift. The last section analyses the complementation of causative constructions in Romanian, arguing at the same time for an ECM approach to subjunctives in this language.

2. The derivation of the RIC construction

Another proposal I have made along this thesis concerns the notion of restructuring (i.e., clause-downsizing) or complex predicate formation that has been also applied to the constructions I am investigating. The framework I assume offers the possibility of simplifying the notion and redefining it. The stand I take on restructuring reflects an approach that concerns, in principal, the cases discussed here, but it could extend to other (classical) restructuring contexts. In my view, restructuring involves a defective domain that lacks complementizer and tense properties (see also Wurmbrand 2001, Solà 2002, Gallego 2016) and shows transparency for syntactic phenomena such as clitic climbing, long object movement or impersonal passives.

As I have already shown and discussed, there is an important consequence of the creation of a complex predicate: the RIC constructions behaves as a single Case-marking domain. The aim of this chapter is to account for the Case patterns we find in the two infinitival configurations, with special focus on those factors that condition the micro-parametric variation I have defended along this thesis.

2.1. Transitive complements

2.1.1. The licensing of the subjects and objects

I start with the RIC pattern that contains transitive complements. This is indeed a complex structure because it licenses both accusative and dative arguments (2).

(2) *Catalan*

a. El professor fa tocar *la flauta a la Montse*.
the teacher make-PRES-3.SG play-INF the flute-F-SG to the Montse
'The teacher makes Montse play the flute.'

b. El professor *la* *hi* fa tocar.
the teacher CL-F-3.SG-ACC CL-F-3.SG-DAT make-PRES-3.SG play-INF
'The teacher makes her play it.'

c. Vaig sentir cantar *unaària al tenor*.
hear-PAST-1.SG sing-INF an aria-F-SG to-the tenor-M-SG
'I heard the tenor sing an aria.'

d. *La* *hi* vaig sentir cantar.
CL-F-3.SG-ACC CL-M-3.SG-DAT hear-PAST-1.SG sing-INF
'I heard him sing it.'

As we can see from the examples that reflect *Clitic climbing* (2b, d), the subordinate domain in restructuring environments is defective enough to allow the accusative and the dative clitics to climb to the matrix clause. The embedded defective C-T complex cannot probe the infinitival subject and assign it nominative Case, which remains active. The infinitival object, however, seems that it is active too since its Case is also dependent on a higher Probe. In other words it must be the case that the embedded Probe (*v**) fails to assign Case to the Goal DP. This somehow affects the infinitival subject whose Case is contingent on the assignment of an accusative Case in a restructured structure.[60]

[60] This claim is true at least in Eastern Romance languages (Catalan, French and Italian) where accusative-dative clitic patterns in causative and perception verb constructions are clear and consistent. Spanish, as shown, is subject to dialectal variation (i):

(i) *Spanish*

Recall from the previous chapter that, T_{def} and v_{def} cannot value the Case feature on the EA and IA, respectively, and, consequently they cannot be involved in totally successful Agree dependencies. I also assumed that defectiveness is not restricted to φ-features alone, but it can apply to Case/Tense features. In our cases, although the Probes may match the Goals in (some of) their φ-feature bundle, they still fail to value their Case feature and Goals remain active. This is enough to implement the raising of these objects. The embedded DPs have to reach a position from where it can value all their features and their Case.

The key in these contexts is to try to understand why the embedded subject/object remains active. In the case of the infinitival subject it is clear: the embedded C-T complex is a defective Probe. It can trigger movement of the external argument but it cannot satisfy agreement, thus leaving the subject active for a matrix Probe. What I want to propose in the following lines is that the embedded *v** is must be also defective because it cannot assign Case (see also Gallego 2016 for other restructuring environments). I follow Solà (2002) who argues that accusative checking is a property of categories that have complete bundle of φ-features (person, gender, number) and *v* in restructuring can be assimilated to participial agreement which lacks the trait [person]. The agreement is only partial [number, gender] and only a full set of φ-features can check structural Case (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001). In conclusion, the transitive *v* in RIC cannot be responsible for valuing the accusative Case of the direct object.

Roberts (2010) also proposes an embedded v for French causative constructions for two reasons. First, the embedded object fails to agree with this verb. Second, the subordinate infinitive is not a target for clicisation. We have seen, however, that this is not the case in Catalan and Spanish, languages in which clitics can attach to the infinitival verb. The solution I offer to this contrast has to do with the locus of accusative Case in RIC, v*. This verb can establish an Agree relation even at a distance (long-distance Agree, as in Chomsky 2000, 2001).

---

a. Le he hecho/ he visto venir a Juan
CL-DAT make / see-PRES.PERF come-INF DOM John
'I made Juan come.'

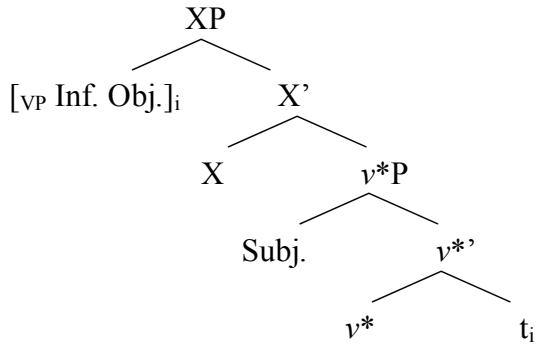
b. [e]l cura Lubencio lo hacía recitar versos en latín
the priest Lubencio CL-F-3.SG-ACC make-IMPERF recite-INF verses in Latin
'The priest Lubencio made him recite verses in Latin.'
[CREA: Argüelles, F., 1993, Spain]

This configuration will be seen as an instantiation of the operation Agree holding between a matrix Probe and an embedded Goal. I come back to the implementation of this idea in §2.1.3.

2.1.2. Two strategies for word order: Verb movement and object shift

Before turning to that issue, I want to discuss some non-trivial aspects of word order in RIC. It has been claimed that the infinitive in causative/perception verb constructions does not stay in its base position, but moves to a position higher up in the structure (cf. Sportiche 1988, Guasti 1993; 2007, Ordóñez 1998, Koopman & Szabolszi 2000). Recall that Guasti (1993, 2007) brings evidence that the infinitival subject can launch floating quantifiers. Sportiche (1988) was among the first to argue that floating quantifiers are part of a DP left behind by DP movement, and they signal the positions that the DP occupies. The movement of the infinitive (sometimes as high as to land in the matrix domain, to be close enough to the causative/perception verb, cf. Cyrino 2010) has served linguists to explain the apparent VOS word order in the complement of these verbs and the effect of restructuring. In two previous works (Ciutescu 2013a, b) I argued that RIC in Catalan and Spanish involve, in fact, VP-fronting to the specifier of a *v**P in the matrix clause, leaving behind the infinitival subject.[61]

(3) *VP-fronting*



This analysis resembles Belletti's (2001, 2004) derivation of the VOS sequences in Italian by fronting the VP. Catalan, a language that generates SVO and VOS, but not VSO word

[61] Throughout this chapter I will use the traditional X-bar notation, for presentational convenience. Copies and traces are shown here only for purposes of derivational exposition. As already assumed, a transitive verbal projection is made a functional (or semi-lexical) projection, *v**P, in whose Spec external arguments are introduced, and a lexical VP or √P, which introduces internal arguments.

order (cf. Solà 1992, Rosselló 2002, Vallduví 2002, Ordóñez 1998; 2000; 2007), resorts to VP-fronting to derive the VOS sentences.[62] At this point, the relevant question to be asked is: are we really dealing with a case of VP/vP-fronting in causative/perception verb constructions as defended in the classical literature?

Homer et al. (2009) and Hu (2015) suggest that in the causative complement the infinitive and the object are moved separately over the embedded object. Facts from variable binding interaction reveal that this might be the case in French and in Italian (4-5):

(4) a. Ho fatto lodare i propri$_i$ studenti ad ogni insegnante$_i$.
make-PAST praise-INF the own students to each teacher
'I made each teacher praise his own students.'

b. *Ho fatto lodare ogni studente$_i$ al proprio$_i$ insegnante.
make-PAST praise-INF each student to the own teacher
'I made the teacher praise his own student.'

[Ippolito 2000: 11-12, Italian]

(5) a. Jean fera réécrire chaque chapitre$_i$ à son$_i$ auteur.
John make-FUT rewrite-INF each chapter to his author
'Jean will make his author rewrite every chapter.'

b. *Jean fera réécrire son$_i$ chapitre à chaque auteur$_i$.
John make-FUT rewrite-INF his chapter to each author
'Jean will make every author rewrite each chapter.'

In causative constructions, shifted objects can bind into post-verbal subjects. The examples in (4-5a) show that the infinitival subject may contain a possessive anaphor bound by a quantified object. This is not the case with simple sentences. Italian, French and Catalan (cf. Belletti 2004, Ordóñez 1998, Gallego 2013) do not allow objects to bind into subjects, as opposed to Spanish that does.

[62] For a clarifying discussion of the properties of the VOS sentences in Romance see Ordóñez (1998) and Gallego (2010, 2013).

Catalan presents the same patterns. The embedded direct object can c-command the embedded subject:

(6) a. Vaig fer castigar cada alumne$_i$ al seu$_i$ professor.
make-PAST punish-INF every student to his professor
'I made his professor punish every student.'

[Alsina 1996: 220, n. 16]

b. *Va fer castigar el seu$_i$ profesor a cada alumne$_i$.
make-PAST punish-INF the his professor to every student

Alsina's theory on quantifier binding predicts erroneously that a quantified dative object causee can bind a possessor of the direct object (so the two interpretations ∃ >∀ and ∀>∃ would be available in Catalan). However this is not true, and my native speakers have unanimously rejected the (b) example (contra Villalba 1992, Alsina 1996).

On the other hand, Alsina (1996) is right that the infinitival subject may contain a possessive anaphor bound by a quantified object. All his data have also been confirmed by the Catalan native speakers enquiried:

(7) a. Farem defensar cada proposta$_i$ al seu$_i$ autor.
'we will have every proposal defended by its author.'

b. Farem llegir cada escrit$_i$ al seu$_i$ detractor principal.
'We will have every paper read by its main opponent.'

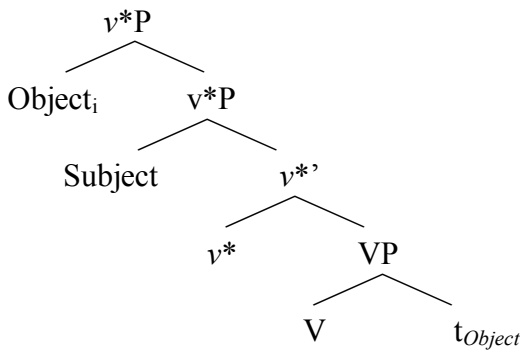
c. Farem acabar de construir cada casa$_i$ al seu$_i$ arquitecte original.
'We will have every house completed by its original architect.'

[taken from Alsina 1996: 219]

In conclusion, in transitive causative constructions, the infinitival subject remains lower than the object. I adopt this view and propose that in both Catalan and Spanish the infinitive and the object move as a separate entity over the embedded subject. To illustrate it I resort to an

object shift (or scrambling) strategy as argued by Ordóñez (1998) for the simple VOS structures. In this configuration the IA moves out of the VP to a specifier position c-commanding the *in situ* EA (cf. Ordóñez 1998, Solà 2002, Gallego 2010).

(8) *Object shift*



This is consistent with the view that an internal argument that has to receive structural Case from a higher Probe must escape from the complement domain of its phase, for otherwise it will be out of sight. Also, the object can undergo movement only if the infinitival verb has moved as well (cf. Gallego 2013). These structures involve therefore two different mechanisms: object shift and verb movement.

At this point of derivation Spanish and Catalan look alike, although other syntactic asymmetries argue in favour of a richer verb movement in Spanish. Ordóñez (2007) convincingly demonstrates that Spanish is provided with an extra subject position that Catalan lacks. The general hypothesis put forward by Ordóñez (2007) is that post-verbal subjects in Spanish can access a higher Spec, Subj(ect)P position that Catalan cannot. Thus, Spanish also resorts to a kind of subject raising strategy that is absent in Catalan. The assumption of two different positions for subjects could in principle explain the parametric variation in the two languages: different distribution of subjects respect to adverbs, quantifiers, and restructuring contexts. With respect to this latter category, Ordóñez (2007) argues that modals, auxiliaries, causatives and perception verbs all involve overt movement of infinitives to a specific position in the complex predicate. Infinitives move overtly above the Spec, SubjP to a higher inflectional projection. The data (9) seems to confirm it.

(9) a. Ayer nos hizo leer Juan el libro.
yesterday CL-DAT make-PAST read-INF John the book
'Yesterday Juan made us read the book.'

b. Ayer oyó cantar Pedro La Traviata.
yesterday heard to sing Pedro *la Traviata*.
'Yesterday Pedro heard the singing of la Traviata.'

[Ordóñez 2007: 274-275, *Spanish*]

In contrast, Catalan does not allow such rich verb movement. Presumably it does not have the same complex functional structure above the embedded *v*P/VP as Spanish.

(10) *Ahir li va fer tocar el professor el piano.
yesterday CL-DAT make-PAST play-INF the professor the piano.

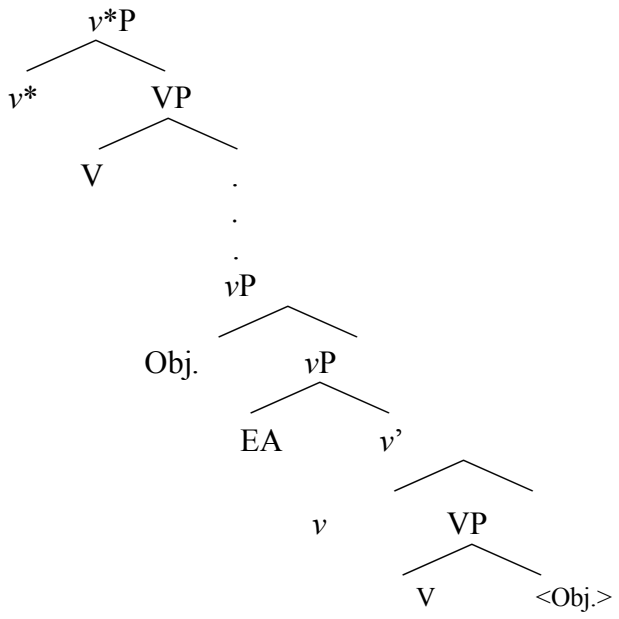
[Ordóñez 2007: 277, *Catalan*]

I conclude that both Spanish and Catalan make use of mechanisms such as verb movement and object raising in the embedded complement but only Spanish, due to its rich verb movement, induces further verb movement.

2.1.3. Accusative and dative Case assignment

The accusative in RIC configurations depends on the matrix v* Probe. This verb can establish an Agree relation at a distance (long-distance Agree, as in Chomsky 2000, 2001) with the embedded object. This configuration will be seen as an instantiation of the operation Agree holding between a matrix Probe and an embedded Goal. As I have argued, the embedded *v* is defective and cannot assign Case to its object which remains active. The object moves to the edge of the embedded verb (as I have shown above) and is assigned Case by the matrix *v**, at a distance (I ignore the functional projections between the matrix and the embedded domain).

(11)



This analysis is partially inspired in Gallego's (2016) study on clitic climbing. Recall that both Clitic climbing and clitics in situ are possible with causative and perception verbs, as in (12). They resemble, in this sense, the two positions occupied by the infinitival subject.

(12) a. Pedro (lo) hizo leer(lo) a Juan
Pedro CL-ACC made read-INF-CL-ACC to Juan
'Pedro made Juan read it.'

b. Pedro (lo) vio leer(lo) a Juan
Pedro CL-ACC saw read-INF-CL-ACC to Juan
'Pedro saw Juan read it.'

[Ordóñez 2012: 438, *Spanish*]

These examples do not differ much from the ones that contain lexical DPs. They also do not differ from other restructuring contexts. The optionality in clitic climbing is easily explained in configurations which contain defective domains. Therefore, it is plausible to extend a proposal like Solà's (2002) or Gallego's (2016) and to assume that these clitics are also active and Case-licensed by the matrix *v**. Gallego (2016: 21) proposes the following two patterns that can account also for the cases I presented here.

(13) *Case licensing of clitics*

a. v^* [$_{\varphi\text{-defective}}$… v … CL] CLITIC CLIMBING: NO

long-distance Agree

b. CL v^* [$_{\varphi\text{-defective}}$… v… t] CLITIC CLIMBING: YES

[Gallego 2016: 24]

The dative on the embedded subject was previously inserted by a language-particular rule, a dummy preposition that played the role of a default Case-assigner (cf. Manzini 1983, Zubizarreta 1985, Baker 1988, Reed 1989, Villalba 1992; 1994, Watanabe 1993, Roberts 2010, Saab 2014). The dative Case in causative and perception verb constructions is structural and not inherent. That is why it is compatible in the same structure with an inherent dative argument (14):

(14) *Catalan*

a. Li ha fet enviar una postal a la Marta.
'I made him send a postcard to Marta'

Spanish

b. Le he visto entregar el libro a María.
'I saw him give a book to Mary.'

The infinitival subject is in a position where it cannot value either nominative or accusative Case and, as a result, it receives dative as last resort through a morphological strategy. In minimalist terms, *a* can be seen as preposition that probes the features of the infinitival subject precisely because T in infinitive is defective. I adopt the analysis of Kayne (2004), in which *a/à* is seen as a Probe, a functional head that is part of the Case-agreement system that induces the movement of the embedded subject. I assume that the embedded subject always has to leave its initial merge position in order to be probed by higher heads (Chomsky 2008, Gallego 2010).

A derivation à la Kayne (2004: 202-203) would look like the one in (14) below. The derivation starts from a biclausal analysis (*Jean a fait manger une tarte à Paul* 'Jean made Paul

eat a cake.'). The embedded subject raises to the Spec of *a*. The preposition also moves to a functional projection (let us call it XP). In the end, the causative VP raises to the left of the *à* head and the infinitival subject:

(14) a. à [$_{VP}$ fait [Paul manger une tarte]]

b. Paul$_i$ à$_j$ [$_{VP}$ fait t$_i$ manger une tarte]

c. [$_{XP}$ à$_j$ X] [[Paul$_i$] t$_j$ [$_{VP}$ fait manger t$_i$ une tarte]]

d. [[$_{VP}$ fait manger t$_i$ une tarte]$_k$ [$_{XP}$ à$_j$ X] [Paul]$_i$ t$_j$ t$_k$]

[adapted from Kayne 2004: 202]

Because *a/à* is generated somewhere in the matrix domain, the embedded subject has to raise to be the object of this preposition. I conclude that *à DP*s end up with structural Case.

2.1.4. Against an applicative analysis

Viewing the insertion of the preposition *a* 'to' as a last resort operation calls into questions the semantic effects associated with it. The post-infinitival *a DP* in transitive complements has been related to an affectedness/obligation dimension (cf. Hyman and Zimmer 1976, Alsina 1992; 1993, Guasti 1996, Folli & Harley 2007), which is also reflected in a (second) malefactive/benefactive/affectee θ-role from the causative predicate (see Marcantonio 1981, Guasti 1993; 1996; 2007, Torrego 1998, Ippolito 2000, López 2001).[63] Several linguists have linked it to being an applied argument, bearing dative Case inherently (Ippolito 2000, Ordóñez 2008, Torrego 2010, Pitteroff & Campanini 2014).

In FI, the matrix subject of the causative verb is said to force the subject of the infinitival verb to perform the embedded action, becoming an affected argument. Alsina (1992, 1996) and Guasti (1993, 1996) obtain this affectedness/obligation effect from a mechanism that assigns a double θ-role to the infinitival subject. Both Alsina (1992, 1996) and Guasti (1993, 1996) claim that the causative verbs express a three-place relation. The way in which this relation is conceived depends on the authors. For Alsina (1992, 1996), it includes a causer (or an agent) that acts on an individual (the patient), in bringing about an event. Since the participant is acted upon

[63] The first (agent) θ-role is assigned in the subordinate domain.

by the causer, it can be said to be an argument of the causative predicate and to bear a thematic role, such as patient, to this predicate, in addition to being an argument of the caused event. The patient is an argument of this event and it can fuse either with the infinitival subject or with the infinitival object. If it fuses with the (logical) subject, the FI pattern is produced and, consequently, an obligation effect is brought about (by assigning two θ-roles to the infinitival subject). If the patient fuses with the embedded object, the FP construction is created. Like Alsina, Guasti (1993, 1996) maintains that the causative verb is a three-place predicate which includes the causer (or the agent), the caused event (or the theme) and a benefactive/affectee role associated with an inherent dative Case assigned to the infinitival subject in the FI configuration.

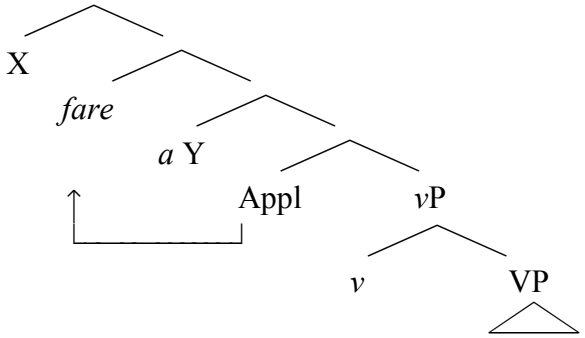
In Guasti's analysis, this optional property that the causative verb has of assigning an extra (dative) Case to the embedded subject together with a thematic role is possible only when the embedded verb is a transitive. The affectee/benefactive role is dependent on the presence of the structural accusative object. Consequently, through the odd mechanism of assignment of more than one θ-role to the same argument, an affectedness effect is obtained, which is not present in the constructions based on intransitive complements (see also Alsina 1992). The causee (i.e., the infinitival subject) is a syntactically shared argument but only in transitive environments. Guasti's analysis is almost identical to Alsina's with the difference that she replaces Alsina's concept of thematic fusion that takes place in the lexicon with the one of syntactic fusion.

The main problem with these approaches is that transitive causatives are not three-place predicates (they are not control predicates). In the case of causative verbs taking infinitival complements, two-argument slots are involved (as in the case of perception verbs). One slot concerns the matrix subject and the second one refers to the caused event, the infinitival phrase (which contains the infinitival subject and the object). The postulation of various θ-roles for the same argument is theoretically unattractive, as I have already argued in chapter 2, §4.3.

Another delicate issue has to do with the measure in which the Case on the embedded subject is relevant for the presence/absence of an obligation/affectedness dimension. Ippolito (2000), for example, argues that in FI the causative verb selects for an Appl light verb that is responsible both for the Case and for the semantics of the embedded subject. She proposes that the infinitival subject is the argument of an Appl head that bears an affectedness meaning. In this scenario, the event is understood as happening either to the benefit or to the detriment of the

causee (cf. Ippolito 2000: 18).The Appl head introduces an affectee (benefactive or malefactive) argument in its specifier and assigns inherent dative Case to it. In (15) the causative *fare* 'make' selects for an Appl head that eventually incorporates into it.[64]

(15)



[adapted from Ippolito 2000: 19]

The analysis that Ippolito proposes cannot account for the Case-marking alternations that we find in causatives of intransitive verbs in Italian (but also in Catalan and French), where the infinitival subject always receives accusative Case, and not dative. This is a general problem of those analyses that propose an Appl approach to causative constructions (see Ippolito 2000, Torrego 2010, Pitteroff & Campanini 2014).[65] Applied objects are supposed to bear inherent dative Case (cf. Cuervo 2003, Pylkkänen 2008) but Case facts in causative constructions do not support this claim.

On the same vein, Pitteroff & Campanini (2014) claim that the obligation effect arises only with transitive infinitives and the presence of the dative argument triggers it. In the absence of dative marking, the obligation effect disappears (Pitteroff & Campanini 2014: 219). In contrast with Ippolito (2000), they try to retain the applicative analysis and still account in a structural way for the dative Case on the causee (invoking, in my opinion, a complication of the derivation of the structure through a process of phase extension à la den Dikken 2007). Of course, as in the previous analyses, the effect of obligation is absent both in FI-causatives that embed intransitive predicates and in FP constructions. While there are sound reasons to argue against an obligation effect in FP (see the classical literature, starting with Kayne's 1975

[64] See chapter 2, §4.3.
[65] I have argued against Torrego's (2010) analysis in chapter 3, §4.1.2.

argument that the *par/da/por DP* is an adjunct, not an argument), it is not clear why this effect is restricted to transitive contexts, and prohibited in intransitive ones.

I insist that this claim is not founded. First, according to the definition of the obligation effect that 'the matrix subject forces the subject of the infinitival verb to perform the embedded action, becoming an affected argument' can also apply to the subject of infinitival intransitives, in a more direct manner in the case of unergative verbs, and, perhaps, in an indirect manner, in the case of unaccusatives. Second, that this effect is obtained only in the presence of a dative argument is, again, a mere postulation. These dative objects are not prototypes of goals or recipients of a benefactive/malefactive action or affectation and this is obvious in the case of perception verbs. RIC with perception verbs that take transitive complements embeds an *a DP* phrase and this DP is not seen as an affectee or a beneficiary. I consider that accusative objects are, in fact, the ones that are subject to a sense of affectedness or obligation (especially causees in preinfinitival position) and not dative objects. This idea is also observed by Kemmer & Verhagen (1994) and Verhagen & Kemmer (1997), who, focusing mainly on Dutch evidence, argue that dative causees tend to indicate greater autonomy and less affectedness than accusative. This pattern is instantiated cross-linguistically: peripheral objects are less affected by the event. Accusative Case allows for the highest degree of affectedness of the causee. Therefore a dative causee is conceptually less integral to the event than the matrix subject and the embedded object. This also explains why it tends to be dispensable or replaced by a clitic. Recall that Hyman & Zimmer (1976) make the same point: causation is interpreted to be more direct and the causee more affected when it has accusative Case rather than when it is marked dative.

Moreover, I argue that the sense of obligation discussed in the works cited above is lacking, at least, in Catalan and Spanish where there is no such interpretation. If this claim is too strong, then the interpretation is at most ambiguous. All causees (not just the dative ones) could render, in certain situations, an interpretation of force or obligation but, definitely, it is not always the case. This interpretation is obtained in direct causation scenarios which presuppose that both the causer and the causee are animate and agentive.

Dative Case is indeed structural in causative and perception verb constructions. Dative arises in the presence of accusative objects, at least in Catalan, French and Italian. One might claim that Spanish could be different because of the dialectal variation present in this language (and hence a language in which the Case alternation does not depend on the transitivity of the

embedded clause). The presence of dative clitics *le/les* in contexts built on intransitive complements might suggest an Appl head that introduces these arguments.[66] This is the proposal that Torrego (2010) makes. She extends Ippolito's analysis to FI constructions in Spanish. In fact, Torrego invokes an Appl analysis for both FI (my RIC) and IC constructions, on the assumption that the causee (the infinitival subject) in Spanish always receives dative Case, inherently or 'in disguise' as a quirky Case. There are strong arguments that argue against an applicative analysis for Spanish. Tubino (2011, 2012) gives plenty of arguments against an Appl projection in Spanish *hacer*-constructions. One of the relevant issues in this case is the property the causee has of behaving like an external argument and not like an applied object, semantically and syntactically. The claim that the infinitival subject retains certain traits of the grammatical subject is not new (see Kayne 1975, Raposo 1981, Burzio 1981; 1986, Hernanz 1982, Villalba 1992, Guasti 1993, among others). Among the main properties (due to the classical literature), we find the following ones: the infinitival subjects can bind subject-oriented anaphors; they can be controllers of PRO and antecedents of reciprocals and arbitrary *pro*; they can be possessors in expressions of inalienable possession and bind the possessed entity. To these syntactic evidence, Tubino (2012) adds other semantic properties which are not found with other applicatives such as: the causee may be interpreted as a volitional agent, the causee is compatible with agent-oriented modifiers, and the causee is compatible with depictive secondary predication. Neither syntactically nor semantically do the dative objects behave as applied arguments.

The animacy effect on the infinitival subject in (15) is also said to be due to the Appl(icative) analysis (cf. Ippolito 2000, Pitteroff & Campanini 2014). Only agentive embedded subjects (and not causers) are possible in the transitive complement. Inanimate subject entities do not appear in the complement of these constructions.

(16) Gianni ha fatto rompere la finestra a Maria / *al ramo
John make-PAST-3.SG break-INF the window to Maria/ to-the branch
'John made Maria/*the branch break the window'

[Folli & Harley 2007: 212, *Italian*]

[66] Nevertheless, as in other Romance languages, the infinitival subject in Spanish can receive accusative in the absence of an internal argument. It is difficult to maintain an Appl analysis in these contexts.

A way to account for this property is to assume Folli & Harley's (2007) proposal that the *v*P complement of the causative verb is headed by a v_{DO} that takes intentional agent subjects. In this configuration, there is no need to assign an extra role to the cause. Causative constructions do not consist of a single domain of θ-role assignment. Each of the verbs assigns its θ-roles in its own domain. Recall from chapter 2, §2.2., that Folli & Harley (2007) propose different complements for the FI and FP constructions and argue that the presence or absence of a sense of obligation is a direct consequence of this implementation: different structures entail different θ-relations. In FI, the matrix subject has control over the embedded one through an obligation relation. According to their view, the dative argument must be intentional (Folli & Harley (2007: 212). The problem with an approach that takes into account only the properties of the embedded subject is that the sense of obligation is expected to arise in all cases, even with matrix inanimate subjects, which is not true. Inanimate subjects cannot conceptually force someone to do something. In (17) the heat determined Mary to drink water, it did not force her.

(17) La calor hizo beber mucha agua a María.
the heat make-PAST-3.SG drink-INF much water to Mary
'The heat made Mary drink a lot of water.'

In addition, I do not agree with Folli & Harley's (2007) conclusion that the complement of FI always embeds *v*Ps with agentive subjects. Spanish is a good example because it allows inanimate causees in the subordinate domain (17). Due to its IC configuration, it even endows the embedded subject with a more affected character promoting it to a preinfinitival position (18b) (see also Treviño 1994, Ordóñez 2008, Ormazabal & Romero 2013a; b, Ordóñez & Saab 2018). These objects are marked by the DOM preposition *a*, which somehow provides it with the quality of behaving as animate objects.

(18) a. El mago hizo levitar a las sillas
the magician made levitate DOM the chairs
'The magician made the chairs levitate.'

[Ormazabal & Romero 2013b: 226, *Spanish*]

b. Hizo a las paredes del templo producir voces de espanto
made DOM the walls of the temple produce voices of scare
'He made the walls of the temple produce voices of scare.'

[Treviño 1994: 119, *(Mexican) Spanish*]

Notice that example (18a) embeds an unergative verb and it can involve an affectedness dimension (a meaning captured, in this case, by the DOM object), contrary to what Folli & Harley's (2007) claims.

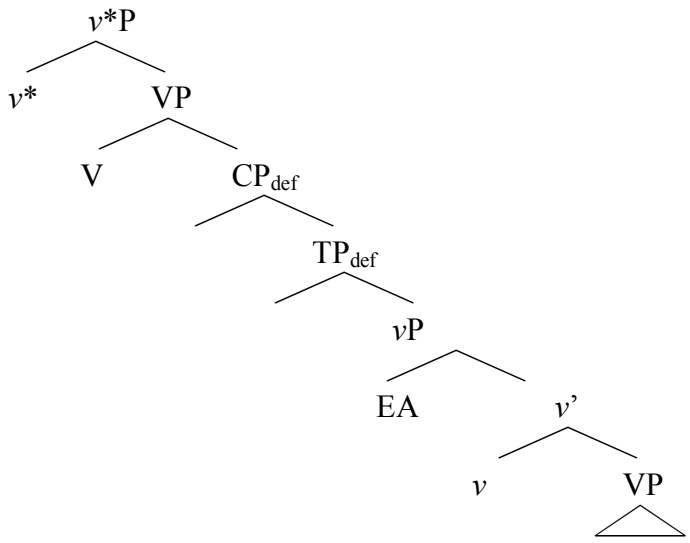
I conclude that there is indeed a sense of obligation/affectedness in causative constructions in IC, whenever the object presents DOM markers. A priori, this obligation is not present in Spanish and Catalan, but it can be added when certain conditions are met. One of the cases is a direct causation scenario in which both the embedded subject and the matrix one are agentive (or forced to behave similarly). Either way, an applicative analysis is not the appropriate approach to the complementation of these verbs.

2.2. Intransitive complements

2.2.1. Unergative infinitives

In the case of unergative complements, the complement starts from the structure in (19):

(19)



Due to the defectiveness of the embedded CP layer, the infinitival subject cannot receive Case in the complement. It is, once again, probed by the matrix *v** and assigned accusative Case. At this point I want to draw a distinction between subjects that have the DOM marker (*Vi/hice bailar a Maria* 'I saw/made Mary dance') and those that do not (*Sentí/Hice sonar las campanas* 'I heard/made the bells ring'). In the case of Spanish, definite animate *a DP*s always raise from the subordinate domain to a position in the matrix clause (possibly a Spec, *v**P) where they are DOM-ed. However in the case of the DPs that do not present any signs of raising, it could be that they receive Case at a distance, in the embedded clause. The same line of reasoning applies to the Catalan constructions. I suggest that neither definite animate DPs nor inanimate ones leave the complement. There is, however, an emerging tendency in colloquial Catalan to mark certain accusative objects with the preposition *a* (*Va fer plorar (a) la Maria* 'I made Mary cry'), although in standard Catalan is forbidden. In this cases I would probably assume that the *a DP* also raises to the main clause.

2.2.2. Unaccusative infinitives

As already assumed, *v* is φ-incomplete in unaccusative (as well as in passive) constructions. As in the contexts above, the infinitival subject is probed by the matrix v* and assigned Case. I propose that, as in the case of unergative complements, when DOM is absent as in (19), agreement in this syntactic dependency probably takes place without movement out of the embedded domain.

(20) a. Vi salir humo
see-PAST come-INF smoke
'I saw smoke come out.'

b. hizo caer las hojas
make-PAST fall –INF the leaves
'It made the leaves fall.'

Vicente (2007: 97) claims that, under full *v*P fronting, the matrix verb can pied-pipe the entire ECM complement along.

(21) Ver caerse las torres gemelas, Juan las vió (caerse)
see.INF fall.INF.SE the towers twin Juan CL saw fall.INF.SE
'As for seeing the WTC towers collapse, Juan saw them (collapse).'

[Vicente 2007: 97, *Spanish*]

Notice that Vicente uses an unaccusative verb with an inanimate argument. This may suggest that these DPs do not move out of the embedded clause and receive Case at a distance in the complement.

3. The derivation of the IC construction

Remember that defective CP layer does not constitute a barrier for movement processes, and, since the C-T_{def} dependency is not able to value Case features on the infinitival subject (due to its deficiency in φ-features), this DP subject has to move to a position where it can receive Case. The φ-incomplete C-T dependency makes the subject DPs remain active, their Case depending on the higher Probe.

This optionality and the particularity that Spanish causatives have to mark all their definite and animate DPs with the preposition *a* led linguists (e.g. Torrego 1998, 2010) to propose that all subjects marked with *a* are in fact datives ("the pre-infinitival argument is a disguised accusative" (Torrego 1998, 95)), and that they are, sometimes, licensed in positions where they can receive structural (quirky) Case, such as the pre-infinitival position, in which they behave as accusative objects (and they are interpreted as so, especially in the *loísta* dialect), in spite of lexically being datives:

> [T]he Case patterns found in the causative domain reflect general Case patterns of datives for each language: dative clitics (with or without lexical doubles) bear inherent Case in all Spanish variants, as well as in French and Italian; lexical datives (with no dative clitic) in *loísta* variants, on the other hand, check structural Case (i.e., they are "quirky").

[Torrego 2010: 466]

In a previous work (cf. Ciutescu 2015) my analysis was not consistent with the conclusions above mentioned that this subject is a fake accusative. I claimed that the preinfinitival subject was a true direct object, with which the causative *hacer* 'make' agrees and to which it assigned Case. I also claimed that accusative preposition *a* (pursuing insights from López 2012), was different from dative *a*. López (2012) considers that the different morphology of the pronominal clitics and the animacy requirement the accusative a must have are good reasons to distinguish the two types of *a*. In my analysis accusative *a* was the counterpart of Romanian *pe*. Accusative *a* is associated with animate nouns, and in the case of Romanian, almost always restricted to [human] traits. That accusative *a* could be analyzed as a notion distinct from dative *a* could be suggested by the following construction, again a RIC context, in which the infinitival subject checks dative Case, but this fact does not hinder the internal argument of the transitive predicate to be marked accusative and, as a result, to be DOM-ed.

(22) María les hizo visitar a un enfermo a unas empleadas.
Mary CL.3.F.PL.DAT made visit A a sick to some employees.
'Mary made some employees visit a sick person.'

[López 2012: 24, *Spanish*]

Recent investigations on *a*-marked direct objects (Laca 1995, Ormazabal & Romero 2011) has reached the conclusion that these objects are not prototypical direct objects. *a*-marked direct objects are somehow similar to subjects, either because they either have potential properties of subjects or are somehow similar to indirect objects. López (2012) shows that DOM is created in syntax, being a morphological expression of a syntactic configuration.

3.1. Word order and the licensing of subjects and objects

Spanish IC constructions with causative *hacer* 'make' are special. I have shown that the preinfinitival position is even available for inanimate DPs if and only if they are marked by DOM. What I claim for these constructions is that the embedded subject is not just exceptionally Case marked, but it also raises to an object position of the matrix verb (and, consequently, is marked with DOM *a*). Spanish, due to its rich verb movement, can 'force' the presence of any infinitival subject in a preverbal position if certain conditions are met.

Almost every important work on causative construction (but also perception verb constructions) concludes that the embedded subject receives exceptional Case from the causative verb. However, there is still an open debate as to which position it raises, if it does. I assume an ECM analysis in which the infinitival subject raises into the matrix clause's object position. In standard ECM, the DP moves from a *non-finite* complement clause to a matrix Case position (e.g. Koizumi 1995, Lasnik 1999; 2001, Bošković 1997; 2003; 2007) and targets a *v**P projection.

I would like to argue that IC represents one of the configurations available in Spanish and the only one available in Romanian and I want to put forward a proposal that explains why we can derive this object position with causatives in the two languages.

Following a suggestion made in a paper by Ordóñez (2008), I claim that the possibility of generating the infinitival subject in an intermediate position, in between the causative verb and the infinitive, can be related to a more general property of this language, shared with Romanian and Portuguese, of having different subject positions in a sentence. Ordóñez (2008) considers the differences between Catalan and Spanish causatives and claims that the parametric difference in Spanish causatives, as opposed to Catalan, can be related to different possibilities of positioning the subject in the two languages. If languages differ with respect to the possibilities of projection of the post-verbal subjects, it is plausible to believe that we could also have variation with respect to possibilities of placing the causee.

I want to relate the preverbal subject position in Spanish and Romanian causatives to the possibility of deriving the VOS word order through *object shift* in these two languages (Ordóñez 1998, 2007; Gallego 2007, 2010, 2013; Alboiu 1999, 2002).We pursue this line of investigation and extend it to causative constructions: the same reasoning for deriving the VOS order in simplex sentences can be employed in deriving the pre-infinitival subject order in complex sentences, such as the causative construction.

The main argument for proposing a Romance object shift-based analysis for causatives is to be found in a recent paper by Gallego (2013) where he claims that Romance languages make use of different strategies for deriving the VOS word order, which, in their turn, give rise to important asymmetries between Romance languages: Galician, European Portuguese, and Spanish (the Western block) derive VOS through object shift, while Central-Eastern Romance languages (represented by Italian, Catalan, and French) generate it through the strategy of VP fronting (cf.

Belletti 2004). We want to extend this proposal to the case of causatives and claim that Spanish and Romanian can license an additional specifier (through object shift) that can be targeted by the embedded subject of a causative complement. Object shift presupposes moving the object to a specifier position above the in situ subject. This specifier position will be targeted by the preinfinitival embedded subjects in the IC described above.

This is a configuration in which *v* has multiple specifiers and allows us to restrict the variation in Romance to the *v* domain. As I have already explained a few paragraphs above, once selected by the little *v*, the causative verb enters into a Case/agreement structure with the infinitival subject and assigns it accusative Case, after the valuation of the φ-features of *v*. However this derivation is not enough to explain the properties of the embedded subject which behaves as a matrix object and ends up higher in the structure.

I want to correlate the possibility of applying the strategy of object shift to the derivation of causatives with the availability of DOM with these subjects. As shown in the previous section Spanish and Romanian display a process of Differential Object Marking (see Torrego 1998; López 2012, for other questions related to the conditions under which DOM is licensed). Once we derive an additional specifier in the *v*P periphery targeted by the shifted object, we also have this position available for DOM. The derived position targeted by these is one and the same (see also Gallego 2013).

In Ciutescu (2015) I claimed that the object raises above the in situ subject and lands in an extra specifier of *v*. Considering evidence from binding and DOM, we want to pursue the idea that, in Spanish (and Romanian), the object raises to a dedicated extra position at the edge of *v*P through the strategy of object shift. It has been argued in the literature on object shift that the shifted object moves to a position higher than the subject and from this position it c-commands the subject, before the subject moves to a higher position. In Ciutescu (2015) I argued that this property is present in Romance causatives as well. The binding facts in (a-c) confirm this property. The contrast in (22a-b) shows that a post-infinitival position prohibits a binding interpretation.

(22) a. ?Un reportaje sobre sí mismo$_i$ hizo a Messi$_i$ ser más cercano.
a coverage on him himself make-PAST DOM Messi be-INF more close
'A coverage of himself made Messi be more familiar.'

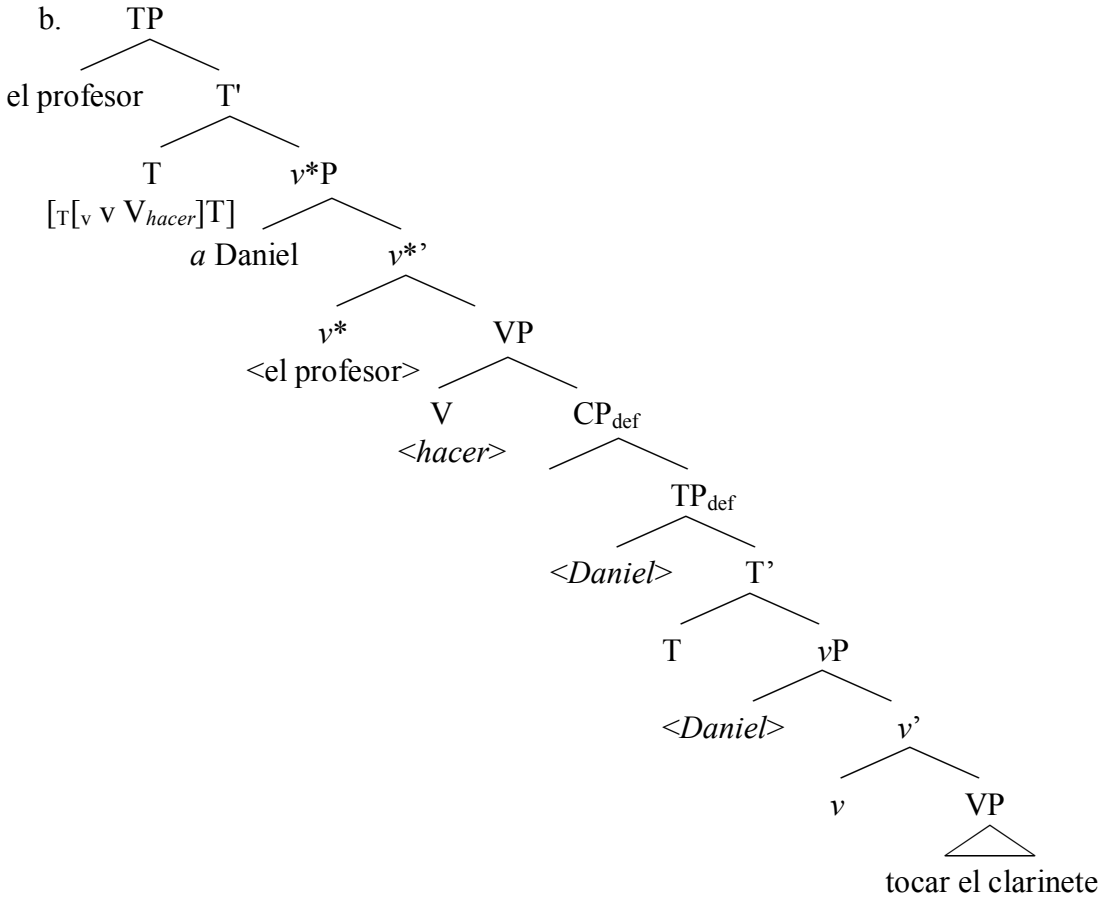
b. *Un reportaje sobre sí mismo$_i$ hizo ser más cercano a Messi$_i$.
a coverage on him himself make-PAST be-INF more close DOM Messi

c. L- a făcut pe băiat însăși mama lui să se înscrie
CL-3.SG-M-ACC make-PAST DOM boy herself mother his să REFL join-INF
în armată.
in army
'His own mother made the boy join the army.'

The history of the derivation is depicted in the tree diagram (11):

(23) a. *El profesor hizo a Daniel tocar el clarinete*.
'The teacher made Daniel play the clarinet.'

b.



I have assumed that the preinfinitival subject moves to a dedicated position in the matrix clause (see also Ordóñez& Saab 2018).The infinitival subject is not just exceptionally Case-marked but it also raises to higher object position in the main clause. Considering evidence from binding and DOM, we pursue the idea that Spanish builds this position for the embedded subject through object shift (or scrambling; see Ordóñez 1998; 2007)

This parametric difference in Spanish causatives, as opposed to Catalan, is related to different possibilities of positioning the subject in the two languages. If languages differ with respect to the possibilities of projection of the post-verbal subjects, it is plausible to believe that we could also have variation with respect to possibilities of placing the embedded subject. I claim that Spanish provides itself with more landing sites for the embedded subjects, namely different specifiers (extra positions at the edge) of the *v*P (cf. Ordóñez 2007, Gallego 2010; 2013), but it also has a richer verb-movement. This derivation accounts for another syntactic fact. As known, Spanish and Romanian display a process of Differential Object Marking. Once we derive an additional specifier in the *v*P periphery targeted by the shifted object, we also have this position available for DOM. The derived position targeted by these is one and the same (cf. Gallego 2013). Once again, the key factor is *v**, the locus of φ-features and structural Case, but also the functional category which determines the parametric variation (cf. Torrego 1998, Gallego 2010; 2013, Ordóñez & Roca 2017).

4. Other micro-parametric differences in Romance: The case of Romanian

Among other causative verbs, *face* 'make' has, arguably, the most interesting syntactic behaviour, allowing a wide array of complements.

(24) a. L- au făcut pe portar să renunţe la club.
Cl.Acc made pe.DOM goalkeeper să quit-SUBJ at club
'They made the goalkeeper quit the club.'

b. Au făcut ca portarul să renunţe la club.
made that goalkeeper.the să quit.SUBJ at club
'They made the goalkeeper quit the club.'

Face$_{causative}$ behaves as an exceptional Case marking verb, in the sense that it s-selects a sentential complement whose subject is not an argument of the causative verb. Causatives create a configuration in which the indicative behaves as a non-finite verb, insofar it exhibits anaphoric tense and coreference of matrix object and embedded subject (cf. Hill 2002). T has non-finite properties despite its inflection.

I argue that these causative constructions are ECM constructions: absence of a φ-complete T makes the subject DP of the causative complement remain active, so its Case depends on the higher Probe (in ECM environments it is v*). The defective clause is not necessarily smaller, it can involve a (defective) CP layer (Ormazabal 1995, Solà 2002, Epstein & Seely 2006, Gallego 2007, 2009, 2010, 2014, Cornilescu 2013). Romanian causative complements are rich enough to accommodate clitics (25a) and negation (25b) (the embedded verb can assign accusative):

(25) a. Mama a făcut-o să le spele. (vasele)
mother.the made Cl.3rd.f.sg.Acc să Cl.3rd.f.pl.Acc wash.subj (the dishes)
'Mother made her wash them.'

b. Mama l-a făcut să nu mai mănânce atâtea dulciuri.
'Mother made him not eat so many sweets.'

4.1. Patterns of complementation

The patterns of complementation of Romanian *make* in present-day Romanian are the following:

(26) DE + $V_{indicative}$

a. L- au făcut pe Ioan de a plecat.
CL.3rd.m.sg.ACC make.IND.PAST PE John.ACC DE leave.IND.PAST
'They made John leave.'

b. Au făcut copilul de a plecat.

make.IND.PAST child.the.ACC DE leave.IND.PAST
'They made the child leave.'

(27) SĂ + $V_{subjunctive}$

a. L- au făcut pe Ioan să plângă.
CL.3rd.m.sg.ACC make.IND.PAST PE John.ACC SĂ cry.SUBJ
'They made John cry.'

b. Au făcut copilul să plângă.
make.IND.PAST child.theACC SĂ cry.SUBJ
'They made the child cry.'

(28) A + $V_{infinitive}$

L- am făcut a plânge.
CL.3rd.m.sg.ACC make.IND.PAST a cry.INF
'I made him cry.'

(29) L- a făcut de a pleca.
CL.3RD.M.SG.ACC make.IND.PAST DE A leave.INF
'He made him leave.'

4.1.2. Subjunctives as defective domains

The test of pronominal clitics to check the Cases of the arguments in the following causative structures. If the embedded subject is Case-marked by the matrix verb we would expect it to surface with accusative Case. This is what we clearly find in Romanian causative constructions where the embedded subject is assigned accusative and can be replaced by accusative clitics. The internal argument of the embedded verb also receives accusative, this time from the infinitive/subjunctive.

Present-day Romanian uses subjunctive complementation for the causative constructions with *lăsa* 'let', *face* 'make', *pune* 'have', *trimite* 'send'. Infinitival complementation is quite degraded nowadays. However, it can still be found in some formal registers. Their presence and use is acknowledged by the Romanian Grammars (e.g. GALR, *The Grammar of Romanian*).

Romanian has bare (e.g. *compune* 'compose') and long infinitives (*a compune* 'to compose'). Only long infinitives can be embedded under causative verbs.

(30) a. L- au făcut a compune piesa într-o oră.
CL.3M.SG.ACC made to compose.INF song.the in an hour
'They made him compose the song in an hour.'

b. L- au făcut a o compune într-o oră.
CL.3M.SG.ACC made to CL.3.F.SG.ACC compose.inf in an hour
'They made him compose it in an hour.'

c. Mama a făcut-o pe Maria să spele vasele.
mother.the made-CL.3.F.SG.ACC dom Mary SĂ wash.subj dishes.the
'Mother made Mary wash the dishes.'

d. Mama a făcut-o să le spele.
mother.the made-CL.3.F.SG.ACC SĂ CL.3.F.PL.ACC wash.subj
'Mother made her wash them.'

A preliminary conclusion we draw after looking at the structures above would be that the embedded subject raises to a position where it behaves as the object of the causative *make*, and where it gets marked by the preposition *pe,* therefore displaying an instance of Differential Object Marking (DOM).

Romanian has two Case-marking domains precludes climbing of the embedded clitic object to the matrix clause, has no long passives with causatives, and can accommodate negation to the subordinated clause. I believe that the answer to the inability of Romanian to opt for restructuring in causatives is related to a richer morphology: its complement involves a richer structure that licenses Case, as opposed to the restructuring cases in the other Romance languages that are more defective environments.

I pursue an idea of Gallego (2010) that subjunctive dependents are defective structures, in the sense of Chomsky (2000, 2001). At the relevant level of abstraction, a subjunctive dependent clause seems to be the counterpart of an ECM. I take the subjunctive complements in Romanian to be defective too, similar to the infinitival ones. The subjunctive is syntactically finite, but temporally deficient: the tense of the embedded clause has to establish an anaphoric relation with

the tense in the main clause. The temporal interpretation of the embedded clause must be simultaneous to that of the main one.

I conclude the discussion with a few observations on Romanian subjunctives selected by causative *hacer* 'make'. I have analysed the subjunctive complement as a defective C-T_{Subj} dependency, along the lines proposed by Gallego (2010). I have also provided a list of the so-called defective complementisers that occur in causative complements in Romanian and which seem to confirm that the proposal of a defective CP complement for these constructions is on the right track. The IC configuration in Romanian is a clear example of subject-to-object raising to the matrix domain for Case checking purposes. Therefore I have argued that there are reasons to see the causative constructions with subjunctive complements as counterparts of another ECM construction in Romance. The answer to the parametric difference between Spanish and Romanian, languages that generate IC configurations, can be found once more in the morphological nature of the *v* head. In Romanian, the embedded *v**P is φ-complete and can assign structural Accusative Case. Consequently, the embedded object is frozen in place, its clitic counterpart cannot climb to the matrix domain, and negation of the embedded event is possible.

5. Conclusions

This chapter has addressed the question of microparametric variation in Romance IC. I argued in favour of an object raising approach for the Spanish and Romanian causative constructions with the embedded subject preceding the infinitive/subjunctive verb. I related the availability of the preverbal subject in the complement of causative verbs in Spanish and Romanian to a general property of these languages of providing themselves with an object position through *object shift* and linked the possibility of having DOM with causatives in the two languages to this extra position in one of the specifiers of the *v*P selecting the causative predicate. Since this mechanisms are not available in Catalan, this language does not have IC configurations with causative verbs. I also discussed properties of Romanian subjunctives and proposed that they are best analysed as instances of defective C-T dependencies of the ECM type.

Conclusions

The aim of the present investigation has been to give a descriptive and explanatory account of various syntactic phenomena related to the infinitival complementation of causative and perception verbs in Romance, with special focus on three languages: Spanish, Catalan and Romanian.

The main conclusions I have reached at the end of this study refer to relevant aspects of the two constructions examined here. Along this thesis, I have tried to show that both IC (Infinitival Complement) and RIC (Reduced Infinitival Complement) are complex structures that need a wide-ranging discussion of at least three main issues: the role of the matrix verb, the type of complement it selects and the dependencies established between the matrix and the subordinate domain. This broad view has helped me to find a (preliminary) answer to the micro-parametric variation found in Romance. I discuss the most important findings in the following lines.

Causative and perception verbs have a mixed nature. Apparently, they are good candidates for entering restructuring constructions but they do not behave as (classical) restructuring verbs. They have their own argument structure (they always project an external argument) and they are not devoid of semantic content. Perception verbs behave, cross-linguistically, as full lexical verbs, although this claim has been sometimes contested, mainly because of their property of easily entering the RIC configuration. Causative (and permissive) verbs have been largely analysed as functional elements (see chapter 2, §3). Spanish and Romanian facts contradict this view. Romanian causative *face* 'make' is clearly a lexical verb. Spanish *hacer* 'make' is somewhere in between. Its RIC use is pervasive, but it can also select for IC complements. I take Catalan *fer* 'make'to be indeed 'lighter' than its Spanish counterpart and, as I have argued, this has consequences for its selectional capacities: it is restricted to the RIC configuration. In spite of that, *fer* 'make' has an interesting syntactic behaviour and it can give rise to very interesting clitic patterns (as I have argued chapter 3, §4.3.). Drawing on Solà (2002), I have advocated for a view in which causative and perception verbs are lexical verbs with a restructuring option (see also Amadas 1999, 2002 for aspectual verbs). I see these verbs as primarily lexical in nature.

Focusing on the RIC pattern I have argued that this structure is related to that of restructuring (i.e., clause-downsizing) or complex predicate formation. I have concluded that this notion needed simplification and a new definition in the actual paradigm. My proposal has been to simplify the take on this issue and to regard restructuring (or the process of complex predicate formation) in the context of causative and perception verb constructions as a defective domain that lacks complementiser and tense properties (see also Wurmbrand 2001, Solà 2002, Gallego 2016). Restructuring requires an embedded domain with a defective nature that is able to ensure the transparency diagnosed via a range of properties (such as clitic climbing, long object movement or impersonal passives). In consequence, restructuring presupposes a (semi-)lexical predicate that does not project to a full CP (see chapter 2, §2 and chapter 3, §4.3.).

At the end of chapter 2 I concluded that perception and causative verbs are more adequately treated as ECM predicates (of the Romance kind) selected for (at least) defective TPs complements. Chapter 3 elaborates on this hypothesis but adds a new twist and establishes a direct dependency between C and T in their defective variants in the infinitival complement, in the light of more recent proposals to clausal architecture (cf. Chomsky 2007; 2008, Gallego 2009; 2010; 2014).

I have tried to refine the ECM analysis and extend it beyond the original area of application of pure ECM verbs. I started from the premise that the IC and RIC configurations are both biclausal structures and that the overt linear order is a consequence of the derivation of these constructions. The difference does not depend on the type of complement the matrix verb takes (contra a large amount of literature on the topic; see the chapter 2, §4), i.e., they are all defective CPs as I argue, a proposal inspired by Gallego's 2009, 2010, 2014 work), but on the mechanisms at stake in the derivation of these configurations.

As a direct consequence of the lack of independent Tense specification, ECM complements, as well as causative and perception verb complements, have no propositional or force properties. All these verbs are possible only with infinitives that lack the CP layer (i.e., they are not control structures). A second point that causative/perception verbs have in common with pure ECM verbs regards the presence of overt subjects that originate in their complements and the prohibition on embedded PRO subjects, a property they also share with raising constructions. A third aspect in which causative/perception verbs resemble ECM predicates is the fact that they have a structural object Case position to fill, and the matrix predicate (in fact

the complex *v**-V) participates in the match, valuation and assignment of Case to the infinitival subject/object. In this way, causative and perception verbs (as well as certain pure restructuring verbs, as claimed by Wurmbrand 2001) involve a form of *Exceptional Case Marking*.

In chapter 3, §2 and §3, I have put forward an analysis of the complement IC/RIC that builds on the theoretical framework and the notion of defectiveness as understood in a series of recent works (see Chomsky 2000; 2001, Solà 2002, Gallego 2009; 2010; 2014). The proposal discussed in these sections attempted to reconcileat a conceptual but also at an empirical level the treatment of the complements of the two infinitival constructions involving causative and perception verbs in terms of a unified defective CP analysis.The challenge my proposal faced was to convince the reader that an analysis identical to that suggested for the IC construction was valid for the RIC one, at least in Spanish and Catalan. Unifying the two analyses under the same identical label goes against the tendency found in the majority of classical accounts. Given the discussion in §3, I have concluded that Romance languages have φ-defective Probes of the ECM type that fail to license Case to their Goals. Defective clause are not necessarily smaller, they can involve a defective CP layer (see Ormazabal 1995, Solà 2002, Epstein & Seely 2006, Gallego 2009; 2010, Cornilescu 2013, for different contexts). The presence a defective CP layer helps to capture a subordination dependency that holds between matrix and embedded domains, on the assumption that T is present only if C is, even though in a defective fashion. Schematically, the configuration I propose for transitive, unergative and unaccusative complements in the one in (1) below.

(1) $[_{CP}[_{TP}[_{vP*}$ EA *v** $[_{VP}$*SEE/MAKE* $[_{CP}$ C_{def} $[_{TP}$ T_{def} $[_{v(*)P}$(EA)$v^{(*)}$ $[_{VP}$ V_{INF}(IA)]]]]]]]]

The second half of chapter 3 deals precisely with a series of counterarguments to a unified account. Authors who focused their research on both IC and RIC structures simultaneously made a clear connection between the positioning of the subject and the amount of complement selected by the verb *see/make* (see Rosen 1992; Guasti 1993; Maier 1994; Labelle 1996; Moore 1996; Rowlett 2007, a.o.). On the one hand, the use of a post-infinitival subject would signal an inflectionally impoverished structure whose complement could not be larger than a VP/*v*P. On the other hand, the presence of a preinfinitival subject in the embedded domain was said to be a clear indication of the selection of a larger complement that included a (usually, non-finite) Tense layer which easily accommodated phenomena related to more complex

structures. In this respect, I have considered three potential problems and the exceptions they raise: the variable nature of the matrix predicate in IC and RIC and its consequences for the monoclausal-biclausal conflict, the positioning of the infinitival subject and the Case alternations it reflects and the phenomenon of clitic climbing and the possibility of having embedded clitics (*in situ* clitics). Apart from justifying them syntactically, I have also investigated possible semantic/pragmatic effects that have been associated with the two infinitival subject positions, as well as providing a lexical-semantic characterization of the embedded subject. I have concluded that neither of these issues undermines the proposal of a unifying analysis.

The last chapter has developed a minimalist analysis of the two constructions, giving a systematic account of the facts noticed in chapter 2 and 3.The goal of this chapter has been to capture the variation I have claimed along the previous chapters. In deriving RIC and IC, I have differentiated between transitive and intransitive complements (especially because transitive contexts are more complex), and accounted for their Case-assignment properties. In the case of transitive complements, I have argued that the phenomenon of clitic climbing of both clitics (accusative-dative) seemed to suggest that the embedded transitive *v**P had also a defective nature. In the case of the defective C-T complex I have concluded that it could not probe the infinitival subject and assign it nominative Case, which remained active and dependent on another Probe. The infinitival object, however, seemed active too since its Case was contingent on a higher Probe. In other words I considered the possibility that the embedded Probe *v** failed to assign Case to the Goal DP.

I proposed that the embedded transitive $v^{(*)}$P was also defective because it could not assign Case (see also Gallego 2016, for other restructuring environments). I followed Solà (2002) who argued that accusative checking was a property of categories that had complete bundle of φ-features (person, gender, number) and *v* in restructuring could be assimilated to participial agreement which lacked the trait [person]. The agreement was only partial [number, gender] and only a full set of φ-features could check structural Case (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001). In conclusion, the transitive *v* in RIC could not be responsible for valuing the accusative Case of the direct object which depended on a higher Probe.

This proposal introduces an interesting parametric cut. It accounts for many of the properties that Spanish and Catalan RIC constructions have in common. Apparently, Spanish and Catalan differ minimally in patterns of restructuring contexts. A closer look at these two

languages tends to contradict the claim. Spanishhas a richer verb movement which explains other syntactic phenomena absent from Catalan (cf. Ordóñez 2007). Focusing on evidence coming from the positioning of the embedded subject, the movement of the infinitive and scope and binding interactions between external and internal arguments I have concluded thatSpanish, indeed, resorts to verb movement and object shift to derive its linear word.I have related the cross-linguistic differences foundin these constructions to features of the universal functional category and phase head *v**, the locus of parametric variation. With respect to the assignment of dative Case, I have argued that this Case is structural and I have adopted an approach à la Kayne (2004) in which the preposition (dative) *a* behaved as a Probe for the embedded subject.

As for the IC construction with causative *hacer* 'make' in Spanish I have assumed that the preinfinitival subject moves to a dedicated position in the matrix clause (see also Ordóñez& Saab 2018).The infinitival subject is not just exceptionally Case-marked but it also raises to higher object position in the main clause. Considering evidence from binding and DOM, we pursue the idea that Spanish builds this position for the embedded subject through object shift (or scrambling; see Ordóñez 1998; 2007)

This parametric difference in Spanish causatives, as opposed to Catalan, is related to different possibilities of positioning the subject in the two languages. If languages differ with respect to the possibilities of projection of the post-verbal subjects, it is plausible to believe that we could also have variation with respect to possibilities of placing the embedded subject. I claim that Spanish provides itself with more landing sites for the embedded subjects, namely different specifiers (extra positions at the edge) of the *v*P (cf. Ordóñez 2007, Gallego 2010; 2013), but it also has a richer verb-movement. This derivation accounts for another syntactic fact. As known, Spanish and Romanian display a process of Differential Object Marking. Once we derive an additional specifier in the *v*P periphery targeted by the shifted object, we also have this position available for DOM. The derived position targeted by these is one and the same (cf. Gallego 2013). Once again, the key factor is *v**, the locus of φ-features and structural Case, but also the functional category which determines the parametric variation (cf. Torrego 1998, Gallego 2010; 2013, Ordóñez & Roca 2017).

I conclude the discussion with a few observations on Romanian subjunctives selected by causative *hacer* 'make'. I have analysed the subjunctive complement as a defective C-T_{Subj} dependency, along the lines proposed by Gallego (2010). I have also provided a list of the so-

called defective complementisers that occur in causative complements in Romanian and which seem to confirm that the proposal of a defective CP complement for these constructions is on the right track. The IC configuration in Romanian is a clear example of subject-to-object raising to the matrix domain for Case checking purposes. Therefore I have argued that there are reasons to see the causative constructions with subjunctive complements as counterparts of another ECM construction in Romance. The answer to the parametric difference between Spanish and Romanian, languages that generate IC configurations, can be found once more in the morphological nature of the *v* head. In Romanian, the embedded *v**P is φ-complete and can assign structural Accusative Case. Consequently, the embedded object is frozen in place, its clitic counterpart cannot climb to the matrix domain, and negation of the embedded event is possible.

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