MICRO-PARAMETRIC VARIATION IN ROMANCE CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Elena Ciutescu[*1]

Abstract: The paper deals with the syntax of analytic causative constructions with infinitival and subjunctive complementation. The study puts special emphasis on the syntactic position of the embedded subject (sensitive to the type of complement selected by the causative verb) and delves into the micro-parametric variation of Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian causatives. Sound empirical evidence indicates that Romance causatives are built on two different underlying structures: one involves complex predicate formation; the other Exceptional Case Marking of the embedded subject by the causative verb. We argue in favour of (i) treating the complex *faire*-infinitive construction as an instance of restructuring, in which *faire* is a restructuring verb and the infinitive a defective domain (Catalan), and (ii) analyzing the causative constructions with pre-infinitival subjects in Spanish and Romanian as cases of Exceptional Case Marking (in Chomsky's 2000 and 2001 framework).

Keywords: analytic causatives, restructuring, Exceptional Case Marking, object shift

1. Introduction

In Romance languages, causative verbs that take infinitival complementation are compatible with two types of analytic constructions. In the first configuration, available in all Western Romance languages (see (1a-d, f)), the causative verb and the embedded infinitive form a complex predicate, a process that has obvious effects on the assignment of Case to the arguments of this complex. This construction is also known in the literature as the *faire*-infinitive (FI) construction (since Kayne's 1975 pioneer work on French causatives). In the second configuration (found only in Spanish (1e), Portuguese (1g) and Romanian (1h)), the causative verb takes as its complement an embedded clause with SVO word order, in which the embedded subject precedes the infinitive and is Case-marked by the causative predicate, as we will see in the following section where the Case patterns will be identified through the test of cliticization.

(1) a. Vaig fer comprar un cotxe a la Maria. (Catalan)
made buy-INF a car to the Maria
'I made Maria buy a car.'

b. Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina a Mario. (Italian)
Gianni has made repair-INF the car to Mario
'Gianni has made Mario repair the car.'

c. Pierre a fait manger la tarte à Jean. (French)
Pierre made eat-INF the cake to Jean
'Peter made Jean eat the cake.'

[*] Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona/Centre de Lingüística Teòrica, elena.ciutescu@uab.cat.

[1] I would like to thank Ángel J. Gallego and Jaume Mateu for comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this paper. I would also like to thank the audience of the 14th ACED Conference (Bucharest, 6-8 June 2012), where this material was presented. The present research was supported by grants from the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (FFI2011-23356), and Generalitat de Catalunya (FI-DGR 2011).

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

d. Le hice abrir la puerta a Juan. (Spanish)
CL.3SG.M made open-INF the door to Juan
'I made Juan open the door.'

e. Hice a Juan abrir la puerta. (Spanish)
made to Juan open-INF the door
'I made John open the door.'

f. Os pais mandaram comprar os livros aos
the parents made buy-INF the books to+the
meninos. (European Portuguese, Costa and Gonçalves 1999: 63)
children
'The parents made the children buy the books.'

g. Os pais mandaram os meninos comprar(em)
the parents made the children buy-INF(INFL.3PL)
'The parents made the children buy the books.'
os livros. (European Portuguese, Costa and Gonçalves 1999: 63)
the books

h. L- am făcut pe Ion să cumpere o maşină scumpă. (Romanian)
CL.3SG.M made PE Ion SĂ buy-SUBJ a car expensive
'I made Ion buy an expensive car.'

The present paper discusses the possibility of reducing the variation among Romance analytic causative constructions with non-finite complementation to two configurations: one in which the causative and the embedded verb involve a restructuring mechanism that creates a "verbal complex" with its own thematic and Case properties, and a second one in which the causative verb behaves as an Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) verb that takes as its complement a clause and assigns accusative Case to the embedded subject[2]. We defend the proposal that Romance languages divide into three classes: Catalan, Italian, and French present the first configuration, Spanish and Portuguese are compatible with the two types and Romanian is restricted to the ECM construction.

Our study focuses on data coming from Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian since they are representative of each group. The causative verb in the three languages is compatible with both infinitival and subjunctive complements. We will mainly deal with the FI constructions in the case of Catalan and Spanish, because they present restructuring effects; in the case of Romanian, we will analyze the most productive causative construction nowadays, that in which the causative verb takes a subjunctive complement. Constructions built on causative verbs that take infinitival complementation have become obsolete in present-day Romanian.

The goal of the paper is threefold: (i) to show that the causative verb in the *faire-infinitive* construction belongs to the class of restructuring predicates (Wurmbrand 2001, and subsequent work, Cinque 1998, 1999 and 2006, Svenonius 2008), (ii) to propose an ECM analysis for those constructions in which the embedded subject precedes the

[2] Portuguese inflected infinitives have a special behaviour. When the causative verb takes an inflected infinitive as its complement, the embedded subject is assigned nominative by the infinitive, and the causative verb cannot exceptional Case mark it (see the analyses in Gonçalves 1999, Martins 2001, 2006).

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

infinitive/subjunctive verb (Torrego 1998 and 2010, Tubino Blanco 2011), (iii) to relate the availability of the SVO word order in the complement of causative verbs in Spanish to a general property of this language of providing itself with a second position for the subject (the VOS sequence) through *object shift* (Gallego 2007, 2010, 2013).

The paper is organized as follows: in section 2, we offer a brief overview of the data. The empirical evidence offered in this section supports the proposal of two different configurations for the Romance causatives. In section 3, we introduce the notion of restructuring in the context of causative constructions and demonstrate that Catalan and Spanish FI are instances of this syntactic process. In section 4, we explain the ECM constructions licensed by Spanish and Romanian causative verb 'to make'. The conclusions are summarized in section 5.

2. The data

This section will be mainly descriptive and intended to introduce the reader to the cross-linguistic variation in the area of Romance causatives, with special focus on the three languages already mentioned in the introduction. We will present the distributional properties of the subject in the infinitival (or subjunctive) complement and specify the Case it bears when the embedded verb presents different transitivity patterns. We resort to cliticization as a Case test for delimiting the Case-marking alternations of the verbal arguments.

2.1 Catalan

In Catalan (Villalba 1992 and 1994, Alsina 1992, 1996 and 2002), the embedded subject (also known in the literature by the semantic notion of "cause") is always found in a post-infinitival position, similar to Italian (Marcantonio 1981, Guasti 1993, and subsequent work, Ippolito 2000, etc.) and French causatives (Kayne 1975, Reed 1992, Baschung and Desmets 2000, Rowllet 2007). It cannot break the adjacency between the causative verb and the infinitive.

(2) a. El Joan va fer comprar un llibre a la Maria. (embedded transitive)
the Joan made buy-INF a book to the Maria

b. *El Joan va fer la Maria comprar un llibre.
the Joan made the Maria buy-INF a book
'Joan made Maria buy a book.'

(3) a. Vaig fer córrer en Lluís. (embedded unergative)
made run-INF the Lluís

b. *Vaig fer en Lluís córrer.
made the Lluís run.INF
'I made Lluís run.'

(4) a. El Joan va fer venir la Maria. (embedded unaccusative)
the Joan made come-INF the Maria

b. *El Joan va fer la Maria venir.
the Joan made the Mary come-INF
'Joan made Maria come.'

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

The infinitive seems to share its arguments with the causative verb and Case reflects this unification of argument structure. The subject of the infinitive is sensitive to the transitivity of the embedded verb. Since a verb can assign accusative only once in a transitive configuration and this Case is already given to the direct object of the infinitive, the subject surfaces as an indirect object (always marked by the preposition *a* (see the analysis of Kayne 2004 for the preposition *a* in the context of French causatives) and is assigned dative by the entire verbal complex. The embedded subject is assigned dative Case when the embedded infinitive is transitive and accusative otherwise. The possibility of clitic climbing, illustrated in (5a-d) shows that both the embedded subject and the direct object must cliticize on the causative verb[3].

(5) a. El Joan **li** va fer comprar un llibre.
the Joan CL.3SG.F.DAT made buy-INF a book
'Joan made her buy a book.'

b. **L'** **hi** vaig fer comprar (el llibre).
CL.3SG.M.ACC CL.3SG.M.DAT made buy-INF (the book)
'I made him buy it.'

c. **El** vaig fer córrer.
CL.3SG.M.ACC made run-INF
'I made him run.'

d. **La** va fer venir.
CL.3SG.F.ACC made come-INF
'He made her come.'

e. *Van fer ballar- **la**.
made dance-INF CL.3SG.F.ACC
'They made her dance.'

f. *El Joan va fer venir- **la**. (Villalba 1992: 361)
the Joan made come- INF CL.3SG.F.ACC
'Joan made her come.'

2.2 Spanish

The same reasoning presented above goes for the Spanish causative construction with post-infinitival subjects (Bordelois 1974, Cano Aguilar 1981, Treviño 1992 and 1994, Moore 1996, Torrego 1998, Hernanz 1999, Ordóñez 2008, Torrego 2010, Tubino Blanco 2011). The embedded subject cliticizes on the causative verb, never on the infinitive. It is assigned dative or accusative depending on the transitivity of the embedded verb. However, as already mentioned in the introduction, Spanish presents another position in which the infinitival subject can be merged. Consider the following examples:

[3] Italian patterns with Catalan in this respect too. Guasti (2007: 146) shows that the following contrast is due to the impossibility of placing the clitic after the infinitive.

(i) Elena lo fa lavorare /*Elena fa lavorarlo.
'Elena makes him work.'

(ii) Questo treno li fa arrivare in ritardo./*Questo treno fa arrivarli in ritardo.
'This train makes them arrive late.'

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

(6) a. Juan (**le**) hizo abrir la puerta (a Pedro/a María).
Juan CL.3SG.M/F.DAT made open-INF the door (to Pedro/to María)
'John made him/her open the door.'

b. Juan hizo a Pedro abrir la puerta. (embedded transitive, Treviño
Juan made to Pedro open-INF the door 1992: 310)
'Juan made Pedro open the door.'

c. Juan **le**/**lo** hizo abrir la puerta.
Juan CL.3SG.M.ACC made open-INF the door
'Juan made him open the door.'

d. Hizo a Sofía leer en voz alta el documento. (NGLE 2010: 504)
made to Sofia read-INF in voice loud the document
'He made Sophie read the document loudly.'

e. **La** hizo leer el documento.
CL.3SG.F.ACC made read-INF the document
'He made her read the document.'

In (6a) the causee surfaces with dative Case and can be doubled or replaced by the dative clitic *le*. On the contrary, in (6c, e) the pre-infinitival subject cliticizes, again, on the main verb, but this time as an accusative. This may suggest that in the constructions (6b-e) we actually deal with two Case-marking domains. The embedded subject gets its case from the causative verb as in the ECM cases[4].

The idea of two underlying structures for the *faire*-causatives in Spanish cannot be posited so easily for those constructions built on embedded intransitives. The subject always cliticizes on the main causative verb, and surfaces with an accusative form (see (7) and (8) below).

(7) a. Juan hizo correr a Pedro. (embedded unergative)
Juan made run-INF to Pedro
'Juan made Pedro run.'

b. Juan hizo a Pedro correr.
Juan made to Pedro run-INF
'Juan made Pedro run.'

c. **Lo** hizo correr.
CL.3SG.M.ACC made run-INF
'John made him run.'

(8) a. Hizo llegar tarde a María. (embedded unaccusative)
made arrive-INF late to María
'He made María arrive late.'

b. Hizo a María llegar tarde.
made to María arrive-inf late
'He made María arrive late.'

[4] The availability of a clitic *le* in the ECM structure, even though having dative morphology, doesn't seem to represent a problem. We believe this clitic *le* is not a *bona-fide* dative clitic. It tends to behave as in the case of 'Le/Lo mató' (*He killed him*), where it receives structural accusative Case.

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

c. **La** hizo llegar tarde.
CL.3SG.F.ACC made arrive-INF late
'He made her arrive late.'

However, an interesting observation, illustrated with the data in (9), is the impossibility of the clitics being attached to the unergative/unaccusative infinitive. This captures very nicely the idea that *hacer* has the force to assign accusative Case and attracts the clitics to the matrix domain.

(9) a. **La** hicieron bailar /*hicieron bailar**la**
CL.3SG.F.ACC made dance-INF made dance-INF CL.3SG.F.ACC
(a Julia). (Hernanz 1999: 2249)
(to Julia)
'They made her dance.'

b. **La** hizo llegar tarde. /*Hizo llegar**la** tarde.
CL.3SG.F.ACC made arrive-INF late made arrive- INF CL.3SG.F.ACC late
'He made her arrive late.'

The behaviour of the internal argument of the infinitive may provide us with an answer for the two structures we are trying to sketch. The embedded object may sometimes cliticize on *hacer* or may remain *in situ*. When the subject precedes the infinitive, the clitic corresponding to the internal argument of the infinitival clause is precluded from climbing, the infinitival subject acting as an intervener (Ordóñez 2008). This may be supporting evidence for postulating an ECM configuration in (10a, c) which seems to present two Case-marking domains.

(10) a. Hizo a Leonardo construir**la**. (Treviño 1992: 316)
made to Leonardo build-INF CL.3SG.F.ACC
'He made Leonardo build it.'

b. ***La** hizo a Leonardo construir. (Treviño 1992: 316)
'He made to Leonardo build it.'

c. (El campamento), el sargento hace a los soldados
(the camp) the sergeant makes to the soldiers
limpiar**lo** todas las mañanas. (Torrego 2010: 451)
clean-INF CL.3SG.M.ACC every the morning
'The camp, the sergeant makes the soldiers clean it every morning.'

d. *El sargento **lo** hace a los soldados limpiar.
'The sergeant makes the soldiers clean it.'

e. **Se** **lo**[5] hizo comer a Leonardo.[6]
CL.3SG.M.DAT CL.3M.SG.ACC made eat-INF to Leonardo.
'He made Leonardo eat it.'

f. ***Se lo** hizo a Leonardo comer.
'He made Leonardo eat it.'

[5] Spanish disallows the clitic combination *le + lo* (see Bonet 1994, 1995, Ordóñez 2002, etc.).
(i) *Le lo hizo comer
CL.3SG.M.DAT CL.3SG.M.ACC made eat

[6] I would like to thank Maria Lluïsa Hernanz (p.c.) for bringing to my attention the contrast in 10 (e, f).

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

La/*lo* cannot climb up to the matrix verb (in 10a-d) because it would find in its way to that position an element that forbids it to move higher up in the structure. This problem is not present in the restructuring configurations (in 10e-f) in which the infinitive is rendered transparent and the dative clitic co-occurs with the causee within the same configuration.

2.3 Romanian

Romanian (Uşurelu 2005, *GALR* 2008) seems to pattern with English and Spanish causatives. We claim that its causative constructions present ECM effects, as previously noticed by Rivero (1991) for other Romanian verbs.

The subject precedes the infinitive/subjunctive, and always cliticizes on the main causative verb. It is always doubled by an accusative clitic and may be marked (when human) by the preposition *pe*, a preposition typical of the accusative Case[7]. In (11) the causative selects infinitival complementation, while in (12) the embedded verb is represented in the subjunctive.

(11) a. L- au făcut (pe el) a compune piesa într-o
CL.3SG.M.ACC made PE 3SG.M.ACC to compose-INF song-the in an
oră.
hour
'They made him compose the song in an hour.'

b. L- au făcut a o compune într-o oră.
CL.3SG.M.ACC made to CL.3SG.F.ACC compose-INF in an hour.
'They made him compose it in an hour.'

c. pre acel al meu ziditoriu [...] a- l uita mă vei
PE that mine creator [...] to CL.3SG.M.ACC forget-INF CL.1SG.ACC will
face. (Dimitre Cantemir, *Divanul*, p. 31)
make
'You'll make me forget my God.'

d. M- a făcut a plânge.
CL.1SG.F.ACC made to cry-INF
'He made me cry.'

e. L- au făcut a pleca.
CL.3SG.M.ACC made to leave-INF
'They made him leave.'

(12) a. Profesoara a făcut-o (pe Maria) să citească paragraful.
teacher-THE made CL.3SG.F.ACC PE Maria SĂ read-SUBJ paragraph-THE
'The teacher made her (Maria) read the paragraph.'

b. A făcut-o să-l citească cu intonație.
made CL.3SG.F.ACC SĂ CL.3.SG.M.ACC read-SUBJ with intonation
'She made her read it with intonation.'

[7] See López (2012) for an analysis of the DOM constructions in Spanish and Romanian. See also Cornilescu (2000) and Chiriacescu and von Heusinger (2010).

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

c. L- a făcut pe băiat să alerge cu viteză.
CL.3SG.M.ACC made PE boy SĂ run-SUBJ with speed
'He made the boy run fast.'
d. A făcut-o pe Maria să iasă afară târziu.
made CL.3SG.F.ACC PE Maria SĂ go out-SUBJ out late.
'He made Maria get out late.'
e. *A făcut-o să citească/alerge/iasă pe fată. [8]
made CL.3SG.F.ACC SĂ read / run /go out-SUBJ PE girl
'He made the girl read/run/get out.'

Descriptively, there are two important aspects that we handled up to this point: the position of the causee and the micro-parametric variation we are given by the type of the infinitive we have in the subordinate clause (transitive, unergative or unaccusative) which has consequences for case-assignment (inside the infinitival domain). The data above show that Romanian is an instance of ECM. We deal with two Case-marking domains in the case of Romanian. In Catalan and Spanish *faire*-infinitive, a causativized clause behaves like a single Case-marking domain (see Folli and Harley 2007: 198, for discussion on Italian causatives). The internal argument of the infinitive becomes the direct object of the causative too, which forces the embedded subject to appear in a post-infinitival position and to be assigned dative case. However, Spanish has a second type of causative construction, as we have seen from the data; Spanish causatives are compatible with two types of syntactic configurations indicated by the pre- and post-infinitival position of the embedded subject. The pre-infinitival causee behaves as an argument of the causative verb which exceptional Case marks it.

3. A restructuring approach to the *faire*-infinitive construction

It has been long said in the literature on causatives that these verbs form a complex predicate with the infinitive selected for being their complement (see the analyses in Aissen 1974 and 1979, Kayne 1975, Comrie 1976, Rouveret and Vergnaud 1980, Zubizarreta 1985, Burzio 1986, Goodall 1987, Baker 1988, Treviño 1992, Guasti 1991, Treviño 1994, Alsina 1997, Hernanz 1999, López 2001, den Dikken and Longenecker 2004, etc.). The process of forming this complex predicate is known by different names, e. g. "verb raising" (Aissen 1974, Evers 1975a and 1975b, Aissen 1979), "incorporation" (Guasti 1993, Cinque 1998 and 2006), "restructuring" (Rizzi 1976 and 1978, Burzio 1986, Hernanz 1999), "clause union" (Aissen and Perlmutter 1976), etc. The approaches have been many and distinct, but no proposal analyzed the topic in recent minimalist terms, except for López (2001).

In line with Hernanz 1999, Wurmbrand (2001 and 2006), and Svenonius (2008), we would like to suggest that causative verbs of the *faire* type could be a good candidate for the category of restructuring verbs. Since the works of Aissen and Perlmutter (1976), Rizzi (1976, 1978 and 1982), Rouveret and Vergnaud (1980), Burzio (1986), Cinque (1998 and 1999), etc., it has been claimed that certain infinitives that lack clausal

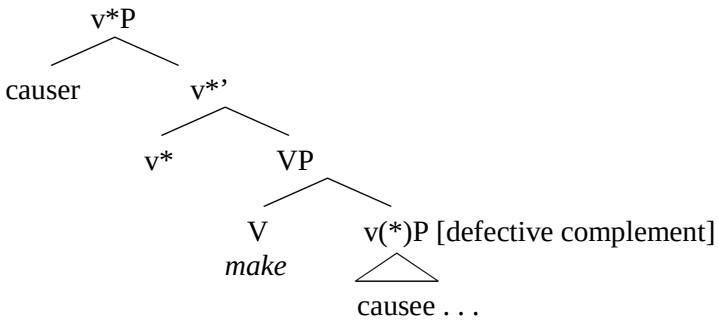
[8] Such examples are, however, accepted as grammatical by other native speakers of Romanian.

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

properties create a special relation with the matrix predicate due to their transparent behaviour regarding some processes such as cliticization, passivization, etc. (Wurmbrand 2001, 2004 and 2006). They are therefore inclined to undergo a process of restructuring or verb complex formation (see Wurmbrand 2006 for an overview of the phenomenon of restructuring and references therein). Previous analyses were based on the idea that this process of restructuring transformed a bi-clausal structure into a mono-clausal one.

The phenomenon of restructuring, as we understand it, is the result of a complex structure that involves a main verb selecting for a defective predicate that lacks complementizer and tense properties (following Chomsky 2000 and 2001).

(13)



For a transitive configuration we propose a structure like the one in (14):

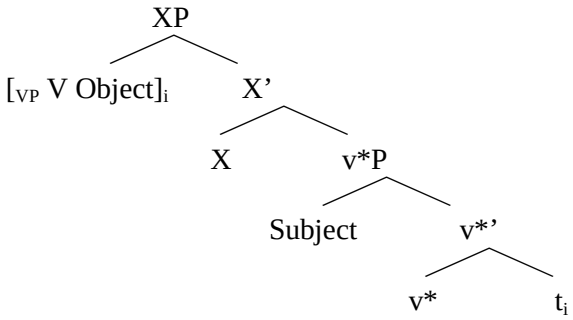
(14) a. Vaig fer comprar flors a en Joan. (Catalan)
'I made Joan buy flowers.'

b. ... [$_{v*P}$ XP v* [$_{VP}$ fer [$_{vP}$ Joan v [$_{VP}$ comprar flors]]]]...

c. ... [$_{TP}$ XP fer [$_{v*P}$ [$_{VP}$ comprar flors] [$_{v*P}$ *a* Joan [$_{v*P}$ t_{XP} v* [$_{VP}$ t_{fer} [$_{vP}$ t_{Joan} v t_{VP}]]]]]...

This analysis resembles Belletti's (2004) derivation of the VOS sequences in Italian by fronting the VP. Catalan (a language that generates SVO and VOS, but not VSO) also resorts to VP-fronting to derive the VOS sentences (for a clarifying discussion of the properties of the VOS sentences in Romance see Gallego 2010: 217-247 and Gallego 2013).

(15) VP-fronting (adapted from Gallego 2010: 224)



BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

In the next subsections we will present evidence that supports the conclusion that the infinitival complement of the causative verbs is defective. It does not project functional layers, clitics can climb to the matrix verb, and long distance passivization is available in the context of analytic causatives (see Wurmbrand 2001 who uses this test to demonstrate the defectiveness of the infinitival complement).

3.1 Causative complements do not include any functional projection[9]

(16) No negation[10]

a. *Vaig fer no contestar la carta a la Berta. (Catalan, Alsina 2002: 2432-2433)
'I made Berta not answer the letter.'

b. *Él lo hizo no venir. (Spanish, Bordelois 1988: 60)
'He made him not come'

c. *La hizo no trabajar demasiado. (Spanish, López 2001: 225)
'He made her not work too much.'

(17) No auxiliaries

a. *El rector va fer haver imaginat el curs abans d'ahir. (Catalan, Alsina 2002:2432-2433)
the rector made have imagined the class two days ago

b. *Él lo hizo haber venido. (Spanish, Bordelois 1988: 60)
he him made have come

c. *La hizo haber trabajado demasiado. (Spanish, López 2001: 225)
her made have worked too much

(18) No temporal adverbs

a. L' amo va fer *(avui) cuinar l' ànec *(demà) a la criada. (Catalan, Torrego 2010: 451)
the master made today cook the duck tomorrow to the servant
'The master made the servant today cook the duck tomorrow.'

b. El sargento hizo a los soldados limpiar el campamento *(mañana). (Spanish, Torrego 2010: 451)
the sergeant made to the soldiers clean the camp tomorrow
'The sergeant made the soldiers clean the camp (tomorrow).'

---

[9] The same tests apply for French and Italian too (cf. Bordelois 1988, Guasti 1993 and subsequent work, den Dikken and Longenecker. 2004, Rowlett 2007).

[10] However, Spanish, although marginally, allows negation in the embedded clause:

(i) El jefe hizo a sus clientes no divulgar la noticia. (Torrego 2010: 451)
'The boss made his clients not spread the news.'

(ii) Él me hizo no ir. (Treviño 1994: 60)
'He made me not go.'

We relate this property to the availability of the ECM structure with causative verbs in this language.

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

3.2 Clitic climbing and passivization

The combinatorial and ordering properties of the clitics have been dealt with in the previous section (subsections 2.1, 2.2). There we concluded that in the case of Catalan and Spanish causatives with post-infinitival causees, the clitics cannot stay in the complement domain. They are forced by some mechanism of restructuring to climb up and attach to the causative verb.

Long distance passivization (long passive in Wurmbrand's 2001 terms) is available in those structures that present restructuring effects. The infinitive is transparent (as in the case of clitic climbing) and allows the raising of its internal argument to the position of the matrix subject. Spanish, Catalan, French and Italian present this phenomenon, but Romanian precludes the possibility of it, which is easily explained if we take into consideration the different configurations discussed in this paper.

(19) a. El palacio fue hecho reconstruir por el presidente. (Spanish, Treviño
the palace was made rebuild by the president 1994: 78)
'The president had the palace be built again.'

b. El edificio fue hecho derribar (por Juan). (Spanish, Tubino Blanco
the building was made demolish by Juan 2011: 146)
'The building was caused to be demolished (by Juan).'

(20) a. El pont va ser fet enderrocar per ordre de
the bridge was made demolish by order of
l' alcalde. (Catalan, Alsina 2002: 2434)
the mayor
'The bridge was caused to be demolished by the mayor.'

b. L' església (li) va ser feta restaurar a
the church to him was made restore to
l' arquitecte Pujals. (Catalan, Alsina 2002: 2434)
the architect Pujals
'The architect Pujals was made to restore the church.'

(21) a. Ce banc avait été fait faire pour nous (par
this bench had been made make for us by
mon père). (French, Rowlett 2007: 782)
my father
'This bench had been done for us by my father.'

b. Le château médiéval à Fontainebleau a été fait
the castle medieval at Fontainebleau was made
construire par Louis. (French, Rowlett 2007: 782)
built by Louis
'The medieval castle at Fontainebleau was built by Louis.'

(22) Il libro fu fatto leggere a Mario (da Gianni). (Italian)
the book was made read to Mario by Gianni
'Mario was read the book by Gianni.'

(23) *Cartea a fost făcută (de profesor) să fie citită de studenți.[11] (Romanian)
book-the was made by teacher să be read by students.
'The teacher made the students read the book.'

[11] Once *cartea* 'the book' receives accusative Case from the embedded predicate it remains frozen in place and cannot move higher up in the structure (Chomsky 2000).

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

4. An ECM analysis of the Spanish and Romanian causative constructions

There are contexts in which a matrix predicate is able to Case mark the subject of a complement clause. This type of Case marking exhibited in these constructions is referred to as Exceptional Case Marking (since Postal 1974, Chomsky 1981, 1986, etc.). In section 2, it was proposed that Spanish and Romanian causatives display ECM effects. For the ECM analysis we follow Chomsky (2000 and 2001) in analyzing the infinitival complement as headed by a defective T, which lacks complementizer properties and assigns no Case to its subject. It is clear that *hacer* takes more than just a VP complement as its complement since the embedded infinitive has a subject. We believe that the embedded infinitive must be a TP, for it allows negation (fn. 8) and hosts clitics (see examples in (10) and Torrego 2010)[12].

We propose the following structure:

(24) a. Hice a Juan reparar el coche.
b. ... [$_{v*P}$ XP v* [$_{VP}$ hacer [$_{TP}$ a Juan T [$_{v*P}$ [$_{VP}$ reparar el coche]]]]...
c. ... [$_{TP}$ XP hacer [$_{v*P}$ a Juan [$_{v*P}$ t$_{XP}$ v* [$_{VP}$ t$_{hacer}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_{Juan}$ T [$_{v*P}$ t$_{Juan}$ v* [$_{VP}$ reparar el coche]]]]]]...

The defective complement is selected by the causative verb (V) and the infinitival subject receives Case from the matrix verb. The functional small v that selects V has a complete set of φ features on the basis of which it functions as a probe. When selected by v, V is φ complete and enters into a Case/agreement structure. The object (the infinitival subject) agrees with V and is assigned accusative. The Romanian data can be analyzed along the same lines. We take the subjunctive complements to be defective too, similar to the infinitival ones (see Gallego 2010 for an analysis of the subjunctives as ECMs).

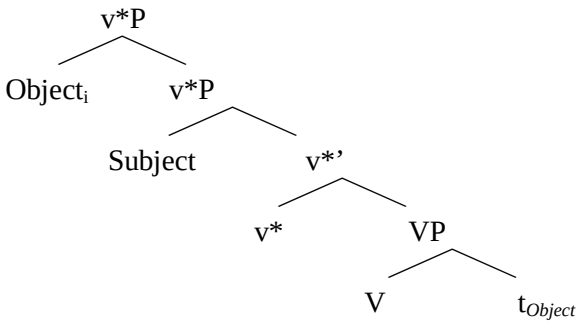
We find particularly interesting the fact that Spanish is compatible with the two configurations described above. The possibility of generating the causee in an intermediate position, in between the causative verb and the infinitive, can be related to a more general property of this language, shared with Romanian and Portuguese, of having three possible subject positions in a sentence (corresponding to the three word orders available in these languages, namely SVO, VOS, and VSO). In order to explain this intermediate extra position Spanish (and Romanian) has in causative constructions, we resort to the analysis put forward by Gallego (2010 and 2013) where he claimed that, in Spanish, as opposed to Catalan and Italian, VOS obtains by moving the object to a position that c-commands the subject. All null subject languages (NSLs) allow for the SVO order, but only some of them can display VOS (French cannot, in Italian it is marginal). Gallego concludes that European Portuguese, Galician and Spanish are the only ones that allow the VSO patterns. The availability of VSO in Spanish is related to the fact that this language can generate VOS via **Object Shift**[13].

[12] We leave open to future research the possibility of having a CP complement under causative verbs in the ECM constructions.
[13] The possibility of having object shift in Spanish and Romanian is also linked to the availability of DOM in these two languages.

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

Ordóñez (1998) was the first to notice that Spanish can resort to the strategy of object shift (or scrambling) to derive the VOS order. Object shift presupposes moving the object to a specifier position above the *in situ* subject.

(25) Object shift (adapted from Ordóñez 1998)



Gallego (2010: 265) claims that "if a language L can resort to an object shift-based derivation for VOS, then it licenses the position necessary to generate VSO". This is also called the **VOS-VSO Generalization** (Gallego 2013: 35). In this way, Spanish provides itself with a third subject position. Catalan and Italian instead lack this third position (see also Ordóñez 2007).

Another author that argues for an object raising analysis in VOS constructions is Alboiu (2002). She demonstrates that, in Romanian, the object NP raises across the in-situ subject, irrespective of its semantic type. Different phenomena such as binding interactions, lack of weak cross over effects, as well as stranded quantifiers support her analysis. Both Alboiu (2002) and Gallego (2010) analyze this Object Shift/Raising as a case of A-movement.

Ordóñez (2008) also claims that 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 causee.

5. Conclusions

This paper addressed the question of micro-parametric variation in Romance analytic causative constructions. It was shown that these constructions are built on two different configurations. Catalan causatives (and Western Romance languages in general) involve a process of restructuring. We treated the *faire*-infinitive as an instance of complex structure that involves a causative verb that takes as its complement a defective complement. We showed that Spanish has, in fact, two types of FI constructions that should receive separate analysis. We argued in favour of an ECM approach for the Spanish and Romanian causative constructions with the embedded subject preceding the infinitive. We also related the availability of the SVO word order in the complement of

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

causative verbs in Spanish (and Romanian) to a general property of this language of providing itself with a subject position through object shift (Gallego 2010 and 2013).

References

Aissen, J. 1974. Verb raising. *Linguistic Inquiry* 5: 325-366.

Aissen, J. 1979. *The Syntax of Causative Constructions.* New York: Garland.

Aissen, J., and Perlmutter, D. 1976. Clause reduction in Spanish. In H. Thompson, K. Whistler (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of Berkeley Linguistic Society*, 1-30. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistic Society.

Alboiu, G. 2002. *The Features of Movement in Romanian.* Bucharest: Editura Universității din Bucureşti.

Alsina, A. 1992. On the argument structure of causatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23: 517-555.

Alsina, A. 1996. *The Role of Argument Structure in Grammar. Evidence from Romance*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Alsina, A. 1997. A theory of complex predicates: Evidence from causatives in Bantu and Romance. In A. Alsina, J. Bresnan and P. Sells (eds.), *Complex Predicates*, 203-246. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Alsina, A. 2002. L'infinitiu. In J. Solà, M. R. Lloret, J. Mascaró and M. Pérez Saldanya (eds.), *Gramática del catalá contemporani*, vol. 3, 2389-2454. Barcelona: Empúries.

Baker, M. 1988. *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Baschung, K., and Desmets, M. 2000. On the phrasal vs. clausal syntactic status of French infinitives: Causative constructions and subject inversion. *Journal of French Language Studies* 10: 205-228.

Belletti, A. 2004. Aspects of the Low IP area. In L. Rizzi (ed.), *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, vol. 2, 16-51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bonet, E. 1994. The person-Case constraint: A morphological approach. In H. Harley and C. Phillips (eds.), *The Morphology-Syntax Connection*, 3-52. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Bonet, E. 1995. Feature structure of Romance clitics. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13: 607-647.

Bordelois, I. 1974. The Grammar of Spanish Causative Complements. PhD dissertation, MIT.

Bordelois, I. 1988. Causatives: From lexicon to syntax. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 57-93.

Burzio, L. 1986. *Italian Syntax: A Government-Binding Approach.* Dordrecht: Reidel.

Cano Aguilar, R. 1981. *Estructuras sintácticas transitivas en el español actual*. Madrid: Editorial Gredos.

Chiriacescu, S. and K. von Heusinger. 2010. Discourse prominence and *pe*-marking in Romanian. *International Review of Pragmatics* 2: 298-332.

Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, N. 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In R. Martin, D. Michaels and J. Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by Step. Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89-155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. 2001. Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, 1-52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cinque, G. 1998. The interaction of passive, causative, and 'restructuring' in Romance. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 8: 29-51.

Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cinque, G. 2006. *Restructuring and Functional Heads. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, vol. 4. New York: Oxford University Press.

Comrie, B. 1976. The syntax of causative constructions: Cross-language similarities and divergences. In M. Shibatani (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics. The Grammar of Causative Constructions*, 261-312. New York: Academic Press.

Cornilescu, A. 2000. Notes on the interpretation of the prepositional accusative in Romanian. *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics* 1: 91-106.

Costa, J. and Gonçalves, A. 1999. Minimal projections: Evidence from defective constructions in European Portuguese. *Catalan Working Papers in Lingustis* 7: 59-69.

den Dikken, M. and Longenecker, A. 2004. Relating the predicate to its subject. Ms., City University of New York.

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

Evers, A. 1975a. The Guillotine principle. In A. Kraak (ed.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1972-1973*, 147. Amsterdam: Von Gorcu.
Evers, A. 1975b. The Transformational Cycle of Dutch and German. PhD dissertation, University of Utrecht.
Folli, R., and Harley, H. 2007. Causation, obligation, and argument structure: On the nature of little v. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38: 197-238.
Gallego, Á. J. 2007. *Phase Theory and Parametric Variation*. PhD dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
Gallego, Á. J. 2010. *Phase Theory*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Gallego, Á. J. 2013. Object shift in Romance. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*: 1-43. http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs11049-013-9188-6.
Goodall, G. 1987. *Parallel Structures in Syntax. Coordination, Causatives, and Restructuring*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Gonçalves, A. 1999. Predicados complexos verbais em contextos de infinitivo não preposicionado do português europeu. PhD dissertation, University of Lisbon.
Gramatica Limbii Române (GALR, II). 2008. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române.
Guasti, M. T. 1991. Incorporation, excorporation and lexical properties of causative heads. *The Linguistic Review* 8: 209-232.
Guasti, M. T. 1993. *Causative and Perception Verbs: A Comparative Study*. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier.
Guasti, M. T. 1996a. Semantic restrictions in Romance causatives and the incorporation approach. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27: 294-313.
Guasti, M. T. 1996b. A cross-linguistic study of Romance and Arbëresh causatives. In A. Belletti and L. Rizzi (eds.), *Parameters and Functional Heads. Essays in Comparative Syntax*, 209-238. New York: Oxford University Press.
Guasti, M. T. 1997. Romance causatives. In L. Haegeman (ed.), *The New Comparative Syntax*, 124-144. New York: Longman.
Guasti, M. T. 2007. Analytic causatives. In M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, vol. I, 142-172. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Hernanz, M. L. 1999. El infinitivo. In I. Bosque and V. Demonte (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, 2197-2356. Madrid: Espasa.
Ippolito, M. 2000. Remarks on the argument structure of Romance causatives. Ms, MIT.
Kayne, R. 1975. *French Syntax*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
Kayne, R. 2004. Prepositions as probes. In A. Belletti (ed.), *Structures and Beyond*. *The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, vol. 3, 192-212. New York: Oxford University Press.
López, L. 2001. The causee and the theory of bare phrase structure. In J. Gutierrez-Rexach and L. Silva-Villar (eds.), *Current Issues in Spanish Syntax and Semantics*, 221-241. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
López, L. 2012. *Indefinite Objects. Scrambling, Choice Functions, and Differential Marking*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Marcantonio, A. 1981. The distribution of *a* and *da* in Italian causative constructions. *Journal of Italian Linguistics* 6: 1-33.
Martins, A. M. 2001. On the origin of the Portuguese inflected Infinitive: A new perspective on an enduring debate. In L. J. Brinton, (ed.), *Historical Linguistics 1999: Selected Papers from the 14th Conference on Historical Linguistics*, 207-222. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Martins, A. M. 2006. Aspects of infinitival constructions in the history of Portuguese. In R. Gess, and D. Arteaga (eds.), *Historical Romance Linguistics: Retrospective and Perspectives*, 327–355. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Moore, J. 1996. *Reduced Constructions in Spanish*. New York: Garland.
Nueva gramática de la lengua española (NGLE). 2010. Madrid: Espasa.
Ordóñez, F. 1998. Post-verbal asymmetries in Spanish. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16: 313-346.
Ordóñez, F. 2002. Some clitic combinations in the syntax of Romance. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 1: 201-224.
Ordóñez, F. 2007. Cartography of postverbal subjects in Spanish and Catalan. In S. Baauw, F. A. C. Drijkoningen, and M. Pinto (eds.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2005: Selected Papers from Going Romance, 8-10 December 2005, Utrecht*, 259-280. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din București
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)

Ordóñez, F. 2008. Las causativas y la distribución del sujeto causado en el español de Río de la Plata y el español peninsular: evidencia para un núcleo aplicativo. Paper presented at the *Workshop Romania Nova ALFAL*, August 2008, Montevideo.
Postal, P. 1974. *On Raising: One Rule of English Grammar and its Theoretical Implications*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Reed, L. 1992. Remarks on word order in causative constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23: 164-172.
Rivero, M.-L. 1991. Exceptional Case Marking effects in Rumanian subjunctive complements. In D. Wanner and D. A. Kibbee (eds.), *New Analyses in Romance Linguistics*, 273-298. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Rizzi, L. 1976. Ristrutturazione. *Rivista di grammatica generativa* 1: 1-54.
Rizzi, L. 1978. A restructuring rule in Italian syntax. In: S. J. Keyser (ed.), *Recent Transformational Studies in European Languages*, 113-158. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Rizzi, L. 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
Rouveret, A., and Vergnaud, J.-R. 1980. Specifying reference to the subject: French causatives and conditions on representations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 11: 97-202.
Rowlett, P. 2007. Cinque's functional verbs in French. *Language Sciences* 29: 755-786.
Svenonius, P. 2008. Complex predicates and the functional sequence. *Tromsø Working Papers on Language & Linguistics. Nordlyd* 35: 47-88.
Torrego, E. 1998. *The Dependencies of Objects*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Torrego, E. 2010. Variability in the case patterns of causative formation in Romance and its implications. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41: 445-470.
Treviño, E. 1992. Subjects in Spanish causative constructions. In P. Hirschbühler and K. Koerner (eds.), *Romance Languages and Modern Linguistic Theory*, 309-324. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Treviño, E. 1994. *Las causativas del español con complemento de infinitivo*. México: El Colegio de México.
Tubino Blanco, M. 2011. *Causatives in Minimalism*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Uşurelu, C. 2005. *Categoria factitivului în limba română*. Bucharest: Editura Universităţii Bucureşti.
Villalba, X. 1992. Case, incorporation, and economy: An approach to causative constructions. *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics*: 345-389.
Villalba, X. 1994. Clitic climbing in causative constructions. *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics* 3 (2): 123-152.
Wurmbrand, S. 2001. *Infinitives: Restructuring and Clause Structure*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Wurmbrand, S. 2004. Two types of restructuring: Lexical vs. functional. *Lingua* 114: 991-1014.
Wurmbrand, S. 2006. Verb clusters, verb raising, and restructuring. In M. Everaert, H. van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, vol. V, 227-341. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Zubizarreta, M. L. 1985. The relation between morphophonology and morphosyntax: The case of Romance causatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16: 247-289.

BDD-A9895 © 2013 Universitatea din Bucureşti
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.34 (2026-11-13 23:56:50 UTC)