

# An analysis of AGR<sub>0</sub> projections for Spanish causatives<sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

As the Generative Grammar framework has been going through various theoretical stages, different accounts of Romance causative constructions have been proposed (cf. Aissen 1979, Bordelois 1988, Kayne 1975, Moore 1991, Rosen 1983, Treviño 1990, and Zubizarreta 1985, among many others). The challenge that these constructions pose for any syntactic theory lies in several fronts which we address here, namely, Case licensing, Case alternation of the embedded subject, affix-like properties of the causative verb, the XP status of the subordinate clause and, in some languages, the placement of clitics. Relevantly, causative constructions of the type illustrated in (1) and (2) have been recently reanalyzed as ECM constructions in Chung (1993a) for Korean, and Landa and Franco (1992), Franco (1993b), and Moore (1991) for Spanish:

- (1) Juan (*lo*<sub>i</sub>)                    hizo correr a Pedro<sub>i</sub>.  
Juan ACC.cl-3Sg    made to run to Pedro  
Juan made Pedro run.
- (2) a. Juan (*le*<sub>i</sub>)                    hizo a Pedro<sub>i</sub> pagar la renta. (Peninsular Spanish mostly)  
Juan DAT.cl-3Sg    made to Pedro pay the rent  
Juan made Pedro pay the rent.
- b. Juan (*le*<sub>i</sub>)                    hizo pagar a Pedro<sub>i</sub> la renta. (Latin American &  
Juan DAT.cl-3Sg    made pay to Pedro the rent                    Peninsular Spanish)  
      (Same as in (2a))

In (1), the Causee *a Pedro* '(to) Pedro' which is the subject of an intransitive clause selected by the causative verb has Accusative Case, as shown by the coreferential accusative clitic *lo*, whereas the same Causee in (2) as subject of the subordinate transitive clause occurs with dative Case, as evidenced by the dative clitic doubling. With respect to Case licensing, there are two traditional well-motivated

(1) This is a revised and expanded version of the papers read at the Sixth Colloquium Series on Linguistic Theory, held at University of Deusto in the Spring Semester of 1995, and at the 1995 Georgetown University Round Table in Linguistics, Second Pre-session on Spanish Linguistics, held on March 6-7, 1995. We thank both audiences for their feedback and encouragement.

assumptions along the lines of Chung's (1993a), Franco's (1993b) and Moore's (1991) works, to which we subscribe. First, the complements of the embedded verb check their Case in the subordinate clause. Second, the embedded subject checks its Case in the main clause. Actually, this approach to Case licensing in Spanish causative constructions of the type illustrated in (1) and (2) above has laid the foundations to argue for the possibility to categorize Spanish causative verbs as Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) verbs.

In this paper, we discuss the Spanish causative sentences in (1) and (2) in the light of Chomsky's (1989) & (1993) analyses of ECM constructions which suggest that the subordinate subject raises to Spec of  $AGR_O$  of the main clause to have its phi-features as well as its Case licensed. On a first look, our adoption of this proposal for Spanish causatives within the Minimalist framework offers us two advantages already. Namely, it coherently accounts for structural Case licensing as a Spec-head relation and also dissipates "old dilemmas" related to Case licensing in causative constructions, such as whether the Causee gets its Case licensed by the matrix verb or the embedded verb (cf. Rosen 1989 for the latter view). The second claim defended here is geared on the assumption adopted in Fernández-Soriano (1989), Franco (1991 & 1993ab) among others, under which Spanish object clitics are morphological heads that project syntactic functional  $AGR_{OP}$ s. Thus, the occurrences of object clitics in causative constructions, whether they double an argument or not, are structurally mapped similarly to those in simple sentences analyzed in the studies just mentioned (see section 1). Taking this projection of functional categories as the core of our hypothesis, we account not only for basic orders of constituents,<sup>2</sup> but also for the restrictions that operate on clitic placement in these constructions. In the next sections, we develop an ECM structural implementation of causative constructions based on the agreement analysis of clitics.

### 1. The Agreement Hypothesis and Case licensing in Spanish causative constructions

In accordance with the Agreement Hypothesis of Spanish object clitics (see Borer 1984, Silva-Corvalán 1981 and Suñer 1988 to mention some), we are going to propose a configuration in which the Causee clitic stands for a higher up main clause  $AGR_O$ , whilst potentially additional object clitics would correspond to the  $AGR_{DO}$

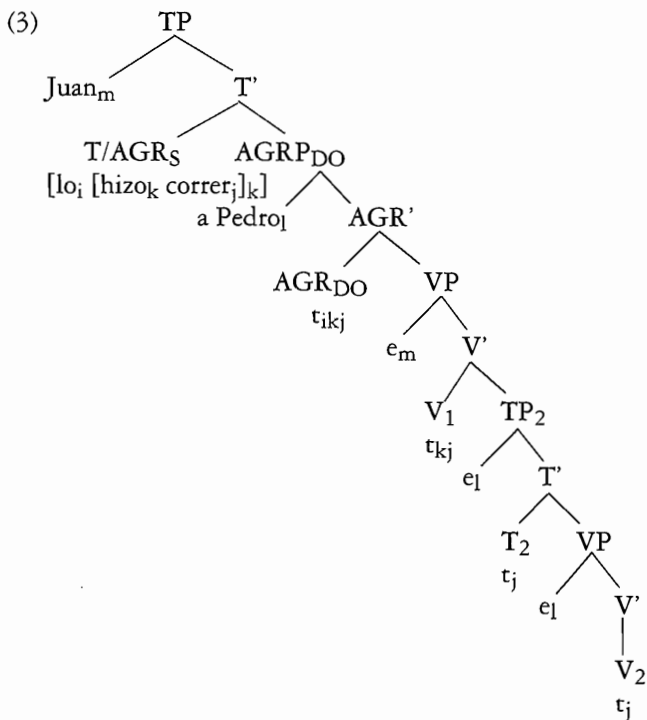
- (2) There is an additional element order in Spanish causative constructions which is illustrated in (i):
- (i) Juan (le<sub>i</sub>)            hizo pagar la renta a Pedro<sub>j</sub>. (Peninsular Spanish mostly)  
       Juan DAT.cl-3Sg made pay the rent to Pedro  
       Juan made Pedro pay the rent.

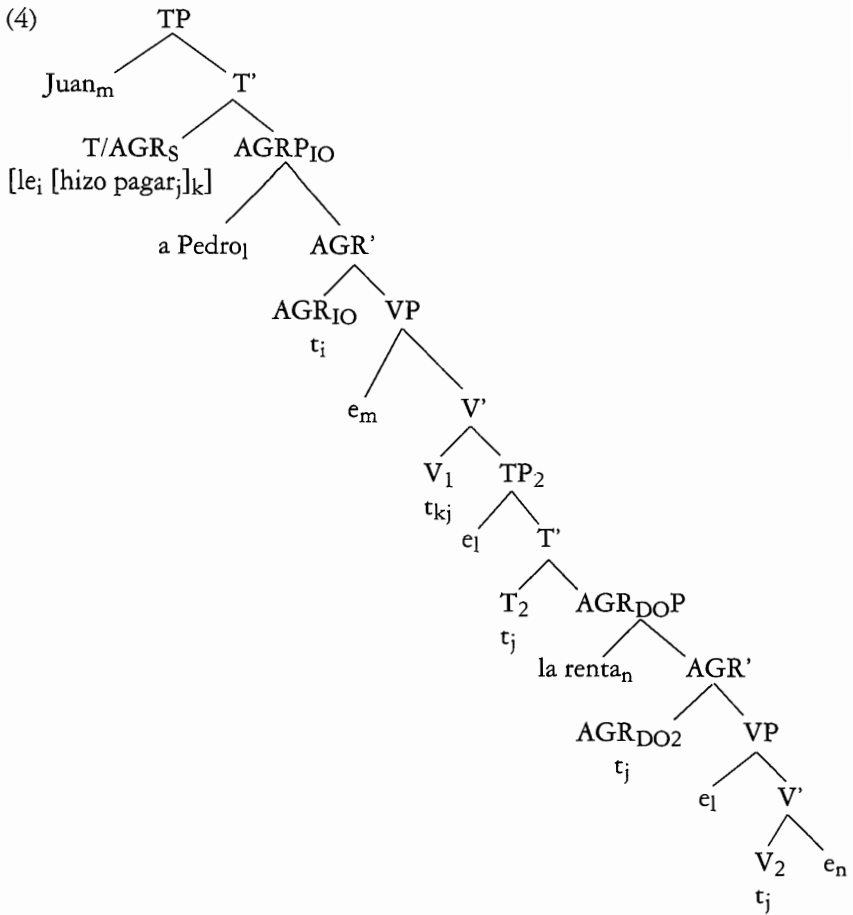
In (i), the causee *Pedro* occupies a sentence final position. This constituent order can be associated with regular subject inversion in declarative sentences in Spanish and Italian (cf. Rizzi 1982) as exemplified in (ii):

- (ii) Ha pagado la renta Pedro.  
       Has paid the rent Pedro  
       Pedro has paid the rent.

This constituent order is not of our immediate concern here. Still, for the time being, we are going to assume that the same analyses that account for subject inversion in (ii) can explain the word order in (i).

and AGR<sub>IO</sub> heads of the subordinate infinitival clause. Assuming that Causee arguments function like the subordinate subject in ECM constructions under Chomsky's (1993) Minimalist Program, the structural mapping and derivation of sentences such as the ones exemplified in (1) and (2b) would be as in (3) and (4) respectively:





The derivation consists of two types of movement, XP movement and X° movement, and is carried out as follows:

- (i) The embedded verb  $V_2$  incorporates into the superordinate causative verb  $V_1$  (via  $T_2$ ) and the amalgam  $[V_1 V_2]_k$  incorporates subsequently to the higher functional heads  $AGR_O$  and  $T/AGRS$ , in this order, picking up the inflection.
- (ii) The upper subject moves to Spec of Tense/ $AGRS$  to check its nominative Case and  $\Phi$  features, whereas the subordinate subject, that is, the Causee, moves to Spec of matrix  $AGR_{DO}$  (via Spec of  $T_2$ ) in order to do its own checking.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to these steps common to both trees, the derivation in (4) involves

(3) It goes without saying that we are assuming, throughout, the Internal Subject Hypothesis developed in Kuroda (1988), Koopman & Sportiche (1991) and related work, under which subjects are generated in Spec of VP.

the movement of the embedded object *la renta* 'the rent' to Spec of AGR<sub>DO2</sub> at some point of the derivation. The well-formedness of the movement of the arguments in the embedded clause is ensured by the same conditions that regulate in a simple sentence that the subject raises to Spec of T and the object raises to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub>, namely, the Equidistance Principle<sup>4</sup> which is based on the notion of minimal domain. In other words, the answer to the legitimate question of what it is that prevents the lower subject from moving to AGR<sub>DO2</sub> or why the movement of the subject is not blocked by the Spec of AGR<sub>DO2</sub> position is based on the concept of the minimal domain of a chain. In the derivation in (4), when the [V + AGR<sub>DO2</sub>] complex raises to T<sub>2</sub>, it creates a minimal domain which contains two positions equidistant from the lower subject canonical position, namely, Spec of T<sub>2</sub> and Spec of AGR<sub>DO2</sub>. Therefore, any movement from Spec of VP to the Specifier of T<sub>2</sub> will not be "intercepted" by Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> since both target positions are considered to be equidistant from the launching site. Moreover, the embedded subject cannot move to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> because the lower object would have no place to move to check its features. Even if there was one available DO target for movement further up than Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub>, the trace of the subject would fall out of the minimal domain of the verb-chain and, consequently, would block the movement of the object. In this way, the derivation would crash.

Furthermore, we would like to claim that the main clause functional AGR<sub>O</sub> head that takes a VP complement projected by a causative verb has a *strong* NP-feature [+Cause] which, Case reasons aside, drives the overt movement of the Causee *a Pedro* in (3) and (4). Suffice it to say, the proper checking of this feature guarantees the non-occurrence of semantically infelicitous Causees incapable of any action.

The cross-dialectal variation in the optionality versus obligatoriness of the application of verb incorporation to the causative shown in the two sentences in (2) can be accounted for by the parametrization of the causative affixal requirements that have been claimed in Zubizarreta (1985) for Romance causative verbs. Thus, Peninsular Spanish *hacer* 'to make' would satisfy the lexical host requirement for stranded affixes (see Lasnik 1981) either in the overt syntax, as in (2a), or at LF, as in (2b), whereas Latin American *hacer* must do it in the overt syntax, that is, (2b) being the only choice available for the latter. In this regard, Peninsular Spanish *hacer* behaves like the Spanish verb *dejar* 'let' in all varieties, and its French and Italian counterparts, which exhibit an across-the-board optionality for the incorporation of the lower verb,<sup>5</sup> perhaps as a reflection of a more primitive stage in the development of Romance clause union causatives.

(4) Chomsky (1993) appeals to this principle to explain apparent cases of crossing, for instance, subject raising to Spec of AGRs over Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> and object raising over the trace of a subject in VP. Chomsky argues that there is no actual crossing, but the skipped positions at stake and the landing sites are equidistant from the launching sites according to the Equidistance Principle which is formulated as follows:

*Equidistance Principle*

If  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant from  $\tau$  (Chomsky 1993).

(5) For the sake of exposition, this can be seen in the French sentences below in which the verb

Relevantly, our explanation for the contrast between the sentences in (2) is based on the parametrization of the strength of the morphological head feature of *hacer*, which is necessary in any case to explain the syntactic distribution of the Romance counterparts of the English *let*. Alternatively, Moore (1991) accounts for this contrast by assigning to (2a) and (2b) two different structures, namely, an object control structure and an ECM one, respectively. In principle, this adds unwanted complexity to the structural subcategorization frame of the lexical entry of verbs like *dejar* which would take three structures, that is, the control one, the ECM and the one with overt complementizers. Also, as will be argued in the next section, the shortage of evidence for the object control analysis of the causative structure in (2a) and the number of empirical problems that the ECM analysis of causatives in general avoids prevent us from accepting Moore's proposal without reservations.

## 2. Against a control analysis for causative predicates

Moore (1995) proposes a control analysis for the type of structure exemplified in (2a) on the account of the arguments given in (5) (example (17) in Moore's paper):

- (5) a. Requires causee to be animate  
 b. Embedded actives and passives are non-synonymous  
 c. Denotes direct causation  
 d. Cliticizes with an accusative clitic  
 e. [the causee] Occurs after main verb—canonical position for objects

The argument in (5a) does not hold since there is plenty of counterevidence which shows that inanimate Causees are possible in Spanish:

- (6) El viento hizo a las nubes disiparse.  
 The wind made the clouds disappear

Yet, we still need to account for the asymmetry pointed out in Moore (1991) and (1995) which is illustrated in (7) below:

- (7) a. \*Hicimos la lavadora funcionar.  
 We made the washing machine run  
 b. Hicimos funcionar la lavadora  
 (same as in (7a))

According to Moore, the causee *la lavadora* 'the washing machine' in (7a) is a canonical object and is therefore subject to the selectional restrictions (be [+animate]) of the causative verb which Moore claims to be an object control verb. Contrastively, according to Moore, the causative verb in (7b) selects an ECM predi-

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*laisser* 'to let', unlike the verb *faire* 'to make', does not need to be adjacent to the embedded infinitive (examples from Kayne 1975:203):

- (i) a. Il a laissé/fait partir son amie.      b. Il a laissé/\*fait son amie partir.  
 He let/made his friend leave.              He let/made his friend leave.

cate so that the causee, as the subject of the subordinate clause, escapes the restrictions of the upper verb.

However, a further investigation of the facts in (7) is at urge. To begin with, one of the possible reasons why in (7b) the causee escapes the selectional restrictions of the causative verb in Moore's terms is because the whole sentence can be interpreted with a compositional meaning obtained by the adjacency of the causative verb and the lower verb. Hence, what looks like a causee in (7b) can also be viewed as the object of the subordinate as in the synonymous paraphrases given below:

- (8) a. Arrancamos la lavadora.  
We started the washing machine.  
b. Echamos a andar la lavadora.  
We turned on the washing machine  
c. Arreglamos la lavadora.  
We fixed the washing machine.  
d. Hicimos andar la lavadora  
We made the washing machine run.

Bearing the data in (8) in mind, the asymmetry in (7) is not as determining as it may seem to discern the status of the predicate.

Moreover, it is our contention that the issue at stake here has nothing to do with the animate inherent lexical nature of the Causee *per se*. Note that the crucial requirement is that the causee is preceded by the so-called personal *a*. This is supported by the data in (6). Additionally, the ill-formed sentence in (7b) improves if the causee is immediately preceded by the particle *a*, as in (9):<sup>6</sup>

- (9) ?Hicimos a la lavadora funcionar.  
We made the washing machine run.

One may argue that in fact, what the particle *a* does is to raise elements from [-animate] status to [+animate]. However, even though the particle *a* often correlates with animacy marking, this type of claim would only lead to the abandonment of the strict notion of animacy and to an oversimplification of the facts. Although there is no general agreement on the characterization of the grammatical formative personal *a*, a number of studies claim that its presence underscores the specificity, the individuation, the topicality or the distinctiveness of the DO (cf. Ramsey 1956, Lois 1982, King 1984). Be that as it may, our next task is to determine which one of these properties of the particle *a* seems to directly correspond to the role that this element plays in the particular instances in (6) and (8).

Interestingly, Moore (1995), inspired by the works of Kuroda (1992) and (1994), suggests a rather illuminating correspondence, that is, he associates the direct causa-

(6) Actually, even in Peninsular Spanish there is a strong tendency to incorporate the lower verb into the causative verb *hacer* when the subordinate sentence is intransitive. Therefore, we should consider this as an additional source of reinforcement for the ungrammaticality of (7a) and of the unnaturalness of (9). This tendency is much more relaxed in this variety when the verb of the subordinate sentence is transitive, as in (2a) above.

tion on the causee expressed in (2a) with categorical judgements —as in Kuroda (1992)— which involve the recognition of an individual and the predication of a property to that individual. If this were the case the particle *a* would be responsible for endowing *la lavadora* ‘the washing machine’ with the properties of an individual out of which predication obtains.<sup>7</sup>

To sum up, contra the argument in (5a), the causative verb does not place selectional restrictions on the causee in (7a) or (9); however, if there is a predication relation to follow, predication requirements demand for the causee to be recognizable as an individual entity which in Spanish is signaled by the particle *a*. For the time being, the fulfillment of this requirement does not help us to elucidate whether we are dealing with an ECM predicate or an object control structure.

The second argument in (5b) is known in the traditional literature (see Chomsky 1965) as the lack of synonymy between the embedded active and the embedded passive version in object control structures, which is illustrated in (10) below (example (12) in Moore 1995), as opposed to ECM constructions that freely passivize without altering the interpretation of the active sentence as in (11):<sup>8</sup>

- (10) a. Hicimos al médico examinar a Pedro.  
We made the doctor examine Pedro.  
b. ???Hicimos a Pedro ser examinado por el médico.  
We made Pedro be examined by the doctor.
- (11) a. John believes Pete to have killed Dave.  
b. John believes Dave to have been killed by Pete.

For the sake of data, it is usually the case that passivization facts do not shed much light on the nature of Spanish syntactic structures. The reason behind this is that there is, among native speakers, a problem of acceptability of many passive structures such as the one exemplified in (10b) to mention one.<sup>9</sup> Notice, moreover, that

(7) This proposal would also account for contrasts in interpretation such as that between (i) and (ii):

- (i) Vi a las flores secas. (ii) Vi las flores secas.  
I saw the flowers dried up. I saw the dry flowers or I saw the flowers dried up.

In (i), the small clause predication reading is highly preferred, if not exclusive. In the line of thought discussed above, this interpretation can be explained if we assume that the NP *las flores* is individuated due to the presence of the particle *a*. This follows if we take into account that the particle *a* is not occurring with an animate object in (i), as is normally the default case for this particle, but fulfilling one of its supplementary, but more marked and significant functions, namely, the indication that something or someone is an individual entity. Coincidentally, this individuation of an entity is, as mentioned before, the main initial requirement for predication to take place. Relevantly, the sentence in (ii) in which the particle *a* does not precede *las flores* is ambiguous between the small clause reading and the restrictive reading imposed by the adjective *secas* ‘dry’ (fem. pl.).

(8) For clarity of exposition, we give English examples to illustrate the embedded passivization with ECM constructions. Although in a number of studies (see footnote 9 below), some perception verbs in Spanish have been characterized as taking ECM predicates, there is no prototypical ECM verb in Spanish like the verb ‘believe’ in English.

(9) Fernández-Lagunilla (1989), González (1988) and Moore (1991) propose an ECM analysis of Spanish perception verbs such as *ver* ‘to see’ and *oír* ‘to hear’. However, even with these verbs, passivization of the embedded clause is not accepted by many speakers:



even in the uncontroversial ECM causative structure in Moore's analysis (i.e., the structure with verb incorporation, as in (2b)), passivization of embedded clauses does not convey synonymy:

- (12) a. Hicimos examinar al médico a Pedro.  
 made-1PL examine to-the doctor to Pedro  
 We made the doctor examine Pedro.  
 b. ?? Hicimos ser examinado por el médico a Pedro.  
 made-1PL be examined by the doctor to Pedro  
 We made Pedro be examined by the doctor.

Thus, the standard passivization test cannot be used since, leaving the marginal status of the sentences in (10b) and (12b) aside, the expected semantic contrast discussed above between ECM causative structures and causative structures of object control is not yielded by lower clause passivization.

Further research into passivization facts reveals that, as mentioned in Moore (1995), the Causee does not pattern like the controller object of direct object control predicates in Spanish since only the latter can be the passive subject of the main clause, as shown in (13):<sup>10</sup>

- (13) a. \*Juan fue hecho comprar pan.  
 Juan was made buy bread.  
 b. Juan fue forzado a comprar pan.  
 Juan was forced to buy bread.

The verb *forzar* 'to force' is standardly assumed to be an object control verb in Spanish (see Moore 1991 & 1995, among others); thus, the passivization of the object in (13b) is problem free. In contrast, the causee in (13a) fails to undergo passivization which somehow poses a challenge for the object control analysis of causative verbs.

The third argument in (5c) refers to the direct causation that the causative verb exerts on the object. In effect, causative verbs have affected objects in the sense of Rizzi (1986); however, this does not automatically make them object control verbs.

- (i) Vimos al médico examinar a Pedro. (ii) ???/\*Vimos a Pedro ser examinado por el médico.  
 We saw the doctor examine Pedro. We saw Pedro being examined by the doctor.

Again, the degraded grammatical status of the sentence in (ii) calls into question the validity of the passivization test for Spanish since it is often the case that the ungrammaticality resulting from passivization is not due to constraints on syntactic structure, but to independent reasons which are not of our main concern here.

(10) A simple and straightforward explanation for (13a) is that, in Spanish, datives do not passivize. This explanation would be consistent with the most frequent Case pattern in causative constructions in which, once more, the embedded subject causee of a lower transitive clause (*Juan* in this instance) bears dative Case, whereas the embedded subject causee of an intransitive clause bears accusative Case. Accordingly, passivization of the latter only yields mildly deviant, if not correct sentences:

- (i) El mensajero fue hecho entrar. (ii) ?El jugador fue hecho entrenar al día siguiente.  
 The messenger was made enter (literally). The player was made train the next day (literally).

As a matter of fact, causative verbs participate in small clause constructions which are known to exhibit properties similar to those of ECM constructions, as in (14):

- (14) a. Los payasos dejan a la gente contenta.  
 Clowns make (leave lit.) people happy.  
 b. Juan hizo al chico inútil.  
 Juan made the kid spoiled

In this line of thought, Chomsky (1993) suggests that subjects of small clauses and subjects of ECM clauses fare in parallel fashion syntactically, that is, they raise out of the subordinate clause to spec of AGRO in the main clause to check their features. As a reminder, this is exactly the analysis we are proposing here for the Causee in (2).

The fourth argument in (5d) states that the the cliticized version of the Causee in (2a) is done via the accusative clitic. This piece of evidence contradicts our data since, to the best of our knowledge, the Peninsular dialects which relevantly happen to be the ones that allow (2a) in Spanish normally cliticize the Causee with an etymologically dative clitic, unless we are dealing with a *laísta/loísta* dialect.<sup>11</sup> In any case, we would like to make clear that the problem that we find with the statement in (5d) is not so much Moore's data *per se*, but the way those data have been used in the argumentation. That is, it is legitimate to use the argument of cliticization of the causee with the accusative clitic to show that speakers establish a difference between direct versus indirect causation, as originally claimed in Strozer (1976) and Treviño (1990), but we cannot use this argument to determine the valency of the causative verb in (2a) for the following reasons. First, in the dialects that exhibit this clitic accusative/dative alternation with transitive verbs, the structure under study in (2a) does not take place, as shown in Strozer (1976), and Aissen and Perlmutter (1983). Second, even if we assumed that some Peninsular speakers cliticize Causees of transitive sentences with accusative clitics, there is no way to show whether this operation of cliticization takes place from the initial structure in (2a) in which the causee is interpolated between the main and the lower verb, or from the one in (2b) with a Causee in subordinate post-verbal position. The only way to solve this dilemma would be by checking clitic-doubling structures with causative sentences in which the Causee is duplicated by a clitic. Singularly, the Peninsular dialects that allow both clitic doubling and (2a) clitic double the Causee with the dative clitic *le*.

The fifth argument in (5e) resorts to the position of the Causee in (2a), which occurs after the main verb, this being a canonical position for direct objects. Nevertheless, this evidence is only circumstantial since even derived objects in unchallenged ECM constructions occur after the main verb in Spanish.

Furthermore, there is a classic test in the generative grammar literature that helps us to determine the subjecthood of the constituents, that is, the possibility of occurrence of an expletive pronoun in the hypothetical subject position under study.

(11) Then the problem becomes a morphological issue, as claimed in Landa (1993) for *laísta* IO clitic doubling.

In this regard, assuming with many others that Spanish expletive pronouns are phonologically null and always preverbal, Spanish causative constructions fall under the ECM analysis by allowing expletive subject *pros* to occur as Causees:

- (15) 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.

Thus, the well-formedness of the sentences in (15) turns out to be problematic for an object control analysis of causative constructions, which normally bans expletive pronouns after the main verb, as shown in (16):

- (16) a. \*Forzaron *pro* a llover litros y litros de agua.  
They forced to rain liters and liters of water
- b. \*Forzaron *pro* a haber manifestaciones.  
They forced for there to be demonstrations.

For the reasons stated above, there is not enough evidence to categorize the causative verb construction in the sentence in (2a) as an object control verb. Moreover, it is arresting to note that Spanish object control verbs with affected objects take either accusative or most likely dative controllers, which makes the Case alternation of the Causee geared on the transitivity of the subordinate clause (see sections 1 and 4) a cumbersome package for the object control analysis of causative structures. Conversely, the parallel behavior of causative verbs with small clauses and the occurrence of null expletive subject pronouns as causees advocate for a uniform ECM analysis of causative constructions.

### 3. The categorial status of the complement clause

The XP status of the subordinate clause in causative constructions has also been subject to debate since the early days of generative grammar (see Aissen 1979, Bordelois 1974 & 1988, Kayne 1975, Strozer 1976). Under our analysis in (3) and (4), the subordinate clause has been given a TP status. In a way, this can be considered a reconciliatory solution between the VP and the CP status respectively proposed by Moore (1991) and Baker (1988) for the complement clause of a causative verb. Several difficulties arise when it comes to categorizing the subordinate clause as a VP, a CP or even as an AGR<sub>O</sub>P. For instance, the problem with the VP status of the complement clause is that the embedded verb may be transitive; hence, for the sake of uniformity, we presume that in the presence of subordinate objects a lower AGR<sub>O</sub>P can be projected above the embedded VP (see tree (4) above). However, the embedded clause cannot be AGR<sub>O</sub>P<sub>2</sub> either since its Specifier cannot be skipped by the Causee, by virtue of the fact that the economy principles would rule out (block) the latter's one-swoop movement to the matrix Spec of AGR<sub>O</sub>P<sub>1</sub> (cf. Chomsky 1993, Chung 1993b). That is to say, "shortest move" would force the Causee to land in Spec of the lower AGR<sub>O</sub> in the absence of any other landing site

equidistant from the Spec of VP<sub>2</sub>. Consequently, in this instance, the subordinate object would be deprived of its ordinary checking position for Case and  $\Phi$  features, which eventually would result in an ill-formed derivation. Thus, in order to allow the derivation to converge, Spec of T<sub>2</sub> becomes a necessary position as an intermediate landing site, so that the Causee does not wrongly check its Case in Spec of lower AGR<sub>O</sub>.

At first sight, it seems that in (4), the initial movement of the Causee to Spec of T<sub>2</sub> is of an unselfish nature as opposed to Chomsky's (1993) Principle of Greed since the Case licensing of the Causee takes place in the upper AGR<sub>OP</sub>. In this regard, Lasnik (1994) suggests that this movement constitutes a technical problem for all ECM constructions. Even though we are not ready to take any stand on this issue, it may well be the case that Tense heads are always strong for NP-features. This would force the movement of all subjects out of the VP, which would allow us to elegantly derive the core subject-predicate relation or, in contemporary terms, the Extended Projection Principle. In fact, this is a clear instance of Lasnik's (1994) Principle of Enlightened Self-Interest under which elements move to satisfy not only their own morphological needs but those of the target as well.

The Binding Theory also shows us that the lower clause is a minimal government domain for Binding relations. For instance, as shown in (17) a subordinate dative object can be coreferential with the Causer:

- (17) Juan<sub>i</sub> me<sub>k</sub> hizo entregarle<sub>i</sub> pro<sub>k</sub> la carta a él<sub>i</sub> en persona.  
 Juan Dat.cl made hand in Dat.cl the letter to him in person  
 Juan made me hand in the letter to him in person.

In (17), the subordinate sentence cannot be a VP since, in accordance with Principle B of the Binding Theory (cf. Chomsky 1981), a pronoun —*a él* 'to him' in this case— must be free in its governing category, that is, an NP or an IP (or TP for that matter). Thus, the fact that the dative pronoun *a él* takes the matrix subject as its antecedent precludes the complement clause from being a VP if we are to abide by the Binding Principles. In this way, the two possible statuses left attributable to the subordinate clause are TP or CP.

The CP status for the infinitival clause is not problem free either. Notice that if the complement clause were a CP we would have to stipulate that in Spanish, causative constructions can select a specific null C° head whose occurrence is not paralleled in other realms of the grammar. That is to say, independently of the debate over whether there are null C° heads in the productive component of today's Spanish grammar or not,<sup>12</sup> we have to particularly posit that this novel null C° head of Spanish causatives never selects a tensed clause as its complement, which is rather

(12) Kenesei and Ortiz de Urbina (1995) argue for the existence of a null C° head in Spanish. However, most of their examples are drawn from fossilized formulaic expressions in formal writing:

- (i) Ruego [C me disculpe].  
 I beg you forgive me.

The realization of an overt complementizer in (i) becomes necessary in today's spoken Spanish, as shown in (ii):

unusual. The second problem encountered when assigning the lower clause in (17) a CP status is that we miss any natural way to account for the difference between the causative reduced structure and the full-fledged bi-clausal causative sentence which, unlike in Italian, is available in Spanish:

- (18) Juan (\* $le_i$ ) hizo que Pedro  $e_i$  entregara la carta al juez $_i$ .  
 Juan cl-Dat made that Pedro hand in the letter to the judge  
 Juan made Pedro hand in the letter to the judge.

Both causative structures, the one in (18) and the one exemplified in (17) and throughout this paper are, to a great extent, interchangeable in Spanish. However, the construction in (18) does not allow clitic climbing. This contrast between the two can be easily accounted for if we establish a difference in complement selection by Spanish causative verbs. In this way, the causative verb *hacer* selects either a CP or a TP as its complement. When the causative verb selects a CP, as in (18), the causative construction behaves like a regular sentence with a sentential complement containing an inflected verb in the subjunctive mood. That is to say, the subordinate subject (the Causee) in (18) checks its Case in the inflected lower clause, and incorporation of the lower verb or of any other head is blocked by an overt  $C^0$  head, which consequently prevents clitic climbing from taking place. Contrastively, we have assumed that, in the structures exemplified by (17) and the rest of examples without overt complementizers, the causative verb selects a TP, the lower verb with its inflectional morphemes incorporates to the causative one and, Casewise, the whole sentence behaves like an ECM construction. A hypothetical alternative CP status of the clausal complement in (17) and the sort is therefore discarded on principled grounds, namely, head movement via incorporation across CPs is banned in Romance.

To put it differently and in more general terms, the major drawback of the CP status of the embedded clause in causatives is that the universality of the **bounding** properties inherent to all CPs would be sacrificed. That is to say, this hypothetical null CP against which we want to argue would not only be insensitive to clitic climbing, but also to long distance anaphoric binding and passivization across it, as illustrated in (19):

- (19) a. Juan $_i$  se hizo nombrar *pro*<sub>arb</sub> a sí mismo $_i$  presidente.  
 Juan cl-reflex made appoint to himself president  
 Juan made (people) appoint him president.  
 b. Esas casas fueron hechas construir con los mejores materiales.  
 Those houses were made built with the best materials  
 Those houses were made with the best materials.

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(ii) (Le) ruego que me disculpe.

Most importantly, it should be noted that, unlike the hypothetical CP complement for causative verbs, the null CP in (i) proposed by Kenesei and Ortiz de Urbina (1995), observes the bounding properties of CPs in general by not allowing clitic climbing:

(iii) \*  $Me_i$  ruego  $e_i$  disculpe.

Thus, under the CP complement analysis, some **residual** cases of embedded anaphors bound by the Causer such as that of (19a) would require an awkward exception to the general ban against anaphoric binding across complementizers. In the same vein, in order to account for the correct passive structure in (19b), one would have to claim an intriguing novel transparency of the CP node for NP-movement. To our advantage, the TP status of the subordinate clause in causative constructions is consistent with the type of bounding properties that this clause exhibits.

#### 4. The Case alternation in Spanish causatives

One of the most typical features of causative constructions is the Case alternation of the embedded subject or Causee. There is a well-known descriptive generalization regarding this Case alternation proposed first in the seminal work of Kayne (1975) and standardly assumed ever since. In rough, the generalization states that: (i) when the embedded verb of a causative construction is intransitive, the embedded subject receives accusative Case; and (ii) when the embedded verb is transitive, the embedded subject receives dative Case.<sup>13</sup>

Many dialects of Spanish<sup>14</sup> fall under the descriptive adequacy of this generalization as illustrated by the Case of the clitic in (1) and (2a) above and repeated as (20) and (21) for our convenience:

- (20) Juan (lo<sub>i</sub>)                    hizo correr a Pedro<sub>i</sub>.  
       Juan ACC.cl-3Sg made to run to Pedro  
       Juan made Pedro run.
- (21) Juan (le<sub>i</sub>) hizo a Pedro<sub>i</sub> pagar la renta. (Peninsular Spanish mostly)  
       Juan DAT.cl-3Sg made to Pedro pay the rent  
       Juan made Pedro pay the rent.

Interestingly, the analysis proposed here allows us to provide a formal solution to the Case alternation phenomenon. In this paper, we show that this long-standing puzzle can be solved in the light of Chomsky's Minimalist Program and Lasnik's (1994) Principle of Enlightened Self-Interest. That is to say, if the Causee came specified with accusative Case in a transitive subordinate clause, the need to raise the Causee to the main clause AGR<sub>O</sub> would be in principle obviated since its Case licensing can be satisfied by moving this constituent to the spec of the subordinate AGR<sub>DO2</sub>, that is, by shortest movement. However, the latter movement jeopardizes the success of the derivation in two ways. On the one hand, the natural direct object

(13) Despite the fact that this generalization seems to hold for many languages, there are some languages which allow some variation in the pattern. For instance, according to Mejías-Bikandi (1990), in some dialects of Basque, when the verb *joan* 'to go' is embedded in a causative structure the lower subject takes dative Case. Contrastively, the verb *etorri* 'to come' abides by the pattern described above. Baker (1988) too discusses some cross-linguistic departures from the general Case alternation pattern.

(14) As a word of caution, causative constructions exhibit one of the highest degrees of cross-dialectal variation in Spanish. In this investigation, we have mostly used data from standard Spanish and Peninsular Spanish.

of the subordinate transitive clause loses the only potential landing site for its Case checking, as explained above. On the other hand, the main clause AGR<sub>O</sub> head becomes an illegitimate object at PF since the *strong* NP-features of this head cannot be discharged due to the absence, in its specifier, of an NP available for feature checking. Significantly, the standard dative Case of the Causee in (21) turns out to be problem-free and necessary for the derivation to converge since this Case could only be checked directly in Spec of the matrix AGR<sub>O</sub>.

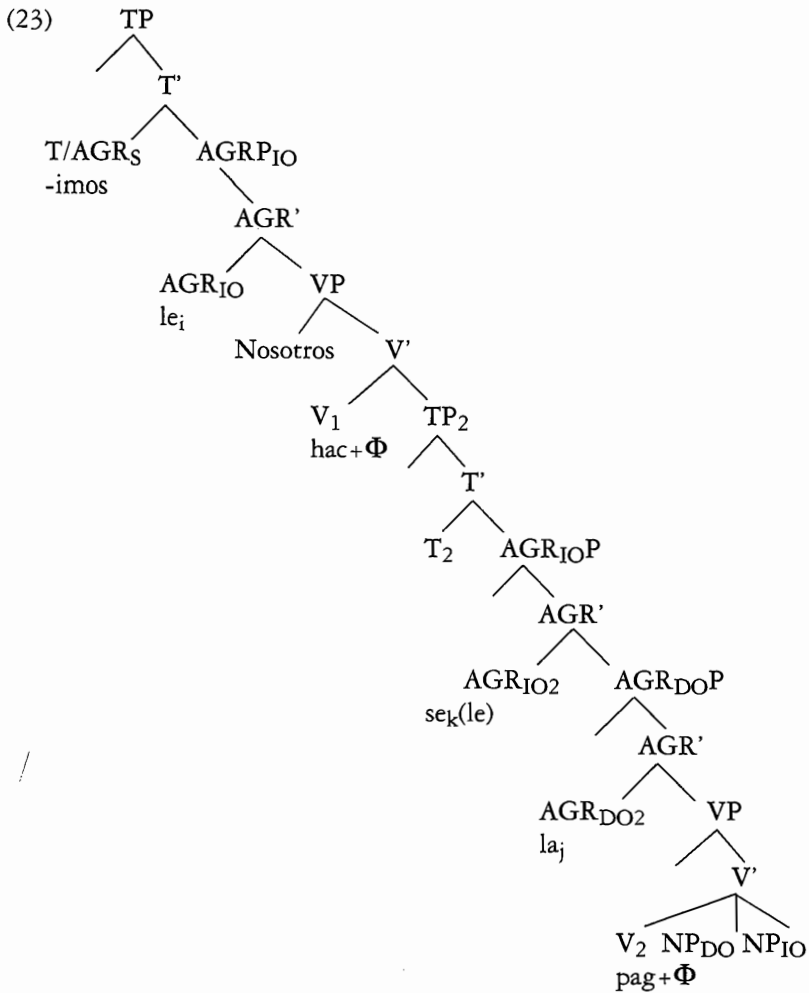
Finally, the choice of the projection of matrix AGR<sub>DO</sub> or AGR<sub>IO</sub> in causative constructions is read out of the complement selection of the causative verb. In this way, the causative verb by virtue of its being a clause union verb projects an underspecified AGR<sub>O</sub> phrase which takes the value Dative or Accusative depending on whether this verb takes a functionally simple TP complement or a complex one, that is, a TP whose head is sister to an AGR<sub>OP</sub>.

#### 4. Default clitic placement in causative constructions

Throughout this paper, we have assumed a specific structural configuration in which the Causee clitic stands for a higher up main clause AGR<sub>O</sub>, whilst the remaining object clitics correspond to the AGR<sub>DO</sub> and AGR<sub>IO</sub> heads of the subordinate infinitival clause, regardless of whether these object clitics double an argument or not. Thus, let us consider a causative sentence such as (21) in which all the thematic arguments of the embedded verb are *pros* licensed by the agreement morphology (i.e., object clitics in Jaeggli 1986) on the verb complex:

- (22) Nosotros  $le_i$                     hicimos pagar  $se_k$                      $la_j$   $pro_i$   $pro_k$   $pro_j$ .  
 We            Dat.CL-3Sg    made            to pay Dat.CL-3    Acc.CL-3Sg.F  
 We made him/her pay it for her/him.

In (22), the Causee is  $pro_i$ , identified by the matrix AGR<sub>IO</sub>  $le_i$  'him/her'; the lower direct object  $pro_j$  is identified by AGR<sub>DO</sub>  $la_j$  'it'; and the subordinate indirect object is identified by AGR<sub>IO</sub>  $se_k$  'him/her/them'. For the sake of illustration, the corresponding initial structural representation for (22) is as in (23):



Since object clitics are heads, they can only move or be moved for phonological support by head movement. In order to yield (22) from (23), the lower verb *pagar* 'to pay' undergoes head to head movement picking up all the inflectional heads on its way to the incorporation with the causative verb *hacer* 'to make'.<sup>15</sup> When the lower agreement heads amalgamate with the lower verb, they attach to the right of the raising verb since, in Spanish, [-finite] verbs, as opposed to [+finite] verbs, take clitics to the right.

Significantly, there are some data that seem to advocate for the syntactic configuration proposed in (23) and, specifically, for the structural relation of the agreement

(15) At this point of the discussion, it becomes irrelevant whether the verb picks up all the inflectional morphology on its way to the T/AGRS head, as in Chomsky (1989), or whether the verb is mapped onto the syntax "fully clothed" with all the inflectional morphemes and on its way up checks its features against the relevant morphosyntactic functional heads, as in Chomsky (1993).



heads, which in turn predicts the order of the morphemes following Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle. For instance, our mapping of the Causee clitic as the head of matrix AGR<sub>O</sub> in the structure in (23) explains straightforwardly the impossibility for the affixation of this clitic to the lower verb, as shown in (24):

- (24) \*Juan e<sub>i</sub> hizo trabajarnos<sub>i</sub> (a nosotros<sub>i</sub>).  
 Juan made to work CL-1.Pl to us  
 Juan made us work.

Within the null hypothesis which bans downstairs movement, the lowering of the Causee clitic in a structure such as the one in (23), or in (4) for that matter, would result in illicit movement yielding ungrammaticality as in (24) above. Additional examples of the phenomenon of clitic climbing, given in (25) and (26), also seem to support the configuration of the AGR heads in (23), which somehow strengthens the explanatory power of our analysis:

- (25) \*Juan nos<sub>i</sub> la<sub>j</sub> hizo escribirle<sub>k</sub>.  
 Juan Dat.cl-1Pl Acc.cl-3Sg.F made to write Dat.cl-3Sg.  
 Juan made us write it to him/her.
- (26) \*Juan nos<sub>i</sub> le<sub>k</sub> hizo escribir<sub>j</sub>la<sub>j</sub>.  
 Juan Dat.cl-1Pl Dat.cl-3Sg made to write Acc.cl-3Sg.F  
 Juan made us write it to him/her.

The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (25) stems from a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) (see Travis 1984), again, if we assume the structural mapping in (23) suggested in this research for this type of sentence. Thus, the HMC violation in question results from the illicit movement of AGR<sub>DO</sub> *la<sub>j</sub>*, which on its way up skips the AGR<sub>IO</sub> *le<sub>i</sub>* head.

As for the ungrammaticality of (26),<sup>16</sup> if we took the tree in (22) as the starting point of the derivation, the upward movement of the lower AGR<sub>IO2</sub> would not incur any HMC violation, but the incorporation movement of the lower verb into the causative would be blocked by the trace of the moved AGR<sub>IO2</sub>.<sup>17</sup> Notice that the sources of ungrammaticality of sentences (25) and (26) can be subsumed under a

(16) It is important to note that the ungrammaticality of (26) does not stem from any morphological feature filter on a particular combination of feature matrixes. In terms of feature compatibility, the clitic combination [CL-1Pl CL-3Sg] is permissible in Spanish, as shown in (i):

(i) Nos le<sub>i</sub> dieron una paliza a nuestro hijo<sub>j</sub>.  
 Eth.Dat.cl-1Pl Dat.cl-3Sg gave-3Pl a beating to our son  
 They beat up our son.

(17) Even if we assumed the alternative well-formed derivation, that is, a derivation in which the verb picks up all the lower inflectional morphology before it incorporates to the matrix verb head to form the complex amalgam [*nos hizo escribirsela*], the morphological constraints would not allow the movement of AGR<sub>IO2</sub> while leaving AGR<sub>DO2</sub> behind to yield [*\*nos le hizo escribir<sub>j</sub>la*]. In lay terms, the morphological principle that seems to be at work is "birds of a feather flock together." In the Transformational framework, the prohibition against "split cliticization" was captured in Aissen and Perlmutter's (1983) work under the Multiple Clitic Constraint as (i):

(i) If any clitic associated with an infinitive climbs, all clitics associated with that clitic must climb.

violation of the economy principles since the moved constituent fails to perform the "shortest" movement in both cases. In sum, the only possible order of occurrence for the three object clitics ( $AGR_O$  heads) simultaneously in a causative sentence in Spanish is that of (22).<sup>18</sup> This fact follows directly from the structural mapping of object agreement heads given in (23) and the conditions on well-formedness of head movement.

This analysis is somehow reminiscent of Moore's (1994) account of clitic placement which is based on a supplementary relativization of Rizzi's (1990) Relativized Minimality. Thus, under Moore's analysis, the clitic must govern its argument position. Intervening T' heads in Li's (1990) terms, such as Infl and clitics, will prevent a matrix clause clitic from establishing this government relation. This is schematized in (27):

- (27) a.  $*cl_i + V \dots \text{Infl} \dots ec_i$   
 b.  $*cl_i + V \dots cl_j \dots ec_i$

However, Moore (1994) never took into consideration the clitic placement facts in causative constructions, and his analysis, as it stands in (27), is too strong and would run afoul for the sentences in (22) and (17). That is to say, Moore's constraint in (27b) would wrongly predict these examples as ungrammatical since there is, at least in the flavor of Moore (1994), an intervening clitic between the Causee clitic and its trace or the coreferential argument position, depending on whether one adopts the movement or the in-situ analysis of clitics.

In this way, we claim that the ruling out of a derivation of banned clitic orders and occurrences in certain positions via the application of the Head Movement Constraint or Relativized Minimality is crucially geared on a well-determined hierarchical articulation of the functional  $AGR$  clitic heads within the INFL nodes, which has been proposed in (23).

## 5. Conclusion

We have seen that the  $AGR_O$  analysis of clitics can be extended to other phenomena in the grammar of Spanish and be used in the mapping of grammatical formatives. Specifically, we have shown that in the light of an ECM analysis of causative verbs, the prototypical issues in causative constructions can be approached under the proposal that the clitic related to the Causee projects a functional  $AGR_{OP}$  category for the Case checking of the Causee in the main clause, whereas the clitics related to the complements of the embedded verb project the corresponding  $AGR_O$  phrases in the lower clause fulfilling a parallel Case checking function. Pursuing this line of research, we claim that the structural mapping of clitics under the object

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In this article, we account for the ill-formedness of the split-cliticization cases that the Multiple Clitic Constraint may cover on general independent grounds, namely, the structural mapping of causative constructions and morphosyntactic conditions on movement.

(18) See Franco and Landa (1995) for a full-fledged account of clitic placement in Spanish causative constructions.

AGR heads represented in (23) in combination with the economy principles that regulate XP and X<sup>o</sup> movement are sufficient to derive Case licensing and Case alternation as well as the basic element order in causative structures.

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