

Spanish causatives: two specs for causees and two ways to resolve case

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Abstract

Spanish, contrary to Catalan, French and Italian, allows causees to appear in pre-infinitival position. This paper takes as initial point of departure the asymmetries between the pre-infinitival position vs. the post-infinitival discussed in Ordóñez and Saab (2017). I provide a cartographic account in which more than one site for causees must be posited. This proposal follows the same reasoning that posits more than one subject position in the clausal spine (see for instance Cardinaletti 2004). I characterize the higher pre-infinitival position as a criterial position in the sense of Rizzi (2006, 2007). Following that proposal, I address the question of the interaction of case in this higher causee projection. I adopt Baker and Vinokurova's (2010) proposal that UG must allow two ways for case resolution: case via agreement and dependent case. I will show that Spanish spoken in Catalonia is uniform in its case assignment solution of dative case for causees. I propose that the higher causee projection is an applicative head which assigns dative uniformly. However, for Catalan, Italian and French and

many other dialects of Spanish, case assignment depends on the transitivity of the infinitival verb. In these varieties I invoke dependent case.

Keywords: Causatives, Dependent Case, Word order, Dativization, Spanish Dialects.

1. The different distribution of causees in *faire-a* constructions: a comparison of Spanish versus Catalan, Italian and French.

The study of causative constructions¹ from a generative point of view has played a crucial role in the development of theories of case and movement. In the seminal work by Kayne (1969) these *faire a* constructions are studied side by side to the English equivalent. While causative constructions in languages like English have the subject in pre-infinitival position, this is not the case in Romance languages like French. The causee must always be in post-infinitival position.

(1) I made Marie work

(2) French

a. J'ai fait travailler Marie.

I have made work-INF Marie

b. *J' ai fait Marie travailler.

I have made Marie work-INF

For some authors like Guasti (1996), Baker (1988) the post-infinitival position of the causees is due to overt head movement of the infinitival, which incorporates to the verb *faire*. This is exemplified below in French and Catalan:

(3) a. French

J'ai fait [travailler]_i [TP Marie [travailler]_i]].

b. Catalan

He fet [treballar]_i [TP la Maria [treballar]_i]].

have-1SG made work-INF the Maria work-INF

Another interesting property of these causative constructions is that the causee shows different morphological manifestations depending on whether the infinitival is transitive or not. Transitive verbs require the causee to appear preceded with the preposition *a/à*, which is also found with dative complements. It is generally claimed that there is a process of dativization of the causee in all these Romance languages.

¹ In this paper I will discuss *hacer* with animate subjects. I will not discuss direct causation as in (Treviño 1994) and causatives with inanimate subjects (Torrego 2010) until the conclusion. Causative *hacer* with inanimate subjects or those involving direct causation have different properties from the ones discussed here.

- (4) Catalan
 He fet llegir el llibre a la Maria
 have-1SG made read-INF the book to the Maria
 ‘I made Maria read the book.’

The movement of the infinitival must necessarily be linked to the process of dativization. Since English lacks infinitival movement, it is not surprising that dativization is not allowed. Alternatively, one might think that the properties of the preposition *to* are substantially different from Romance *a/à*; and it does not work as a proper licenser for the causee in postverbal position:

- (5) * I made read the book to Maria.

The fact that this pre-infinitival position is possible in Spanish is a challenge for the hypothesis that assumes that the infinitival verb obligatorily incorporates as a head to the causative verb in Romance:

- (6) He hecho (a María) leer el libro (a María)
 have-1SG made to Maria read-INF the book to Maria
 ‘I made Maria read the book.’

In this paper I provide a cartographic approach that accounts for this additional pre-infinitival position. I am assuming a new projection CauseeP in which specifier causees might land. Moreover, I propose that this specifier of CauseeP is a criterial position in the sense of Rizzi (2006, 2007).

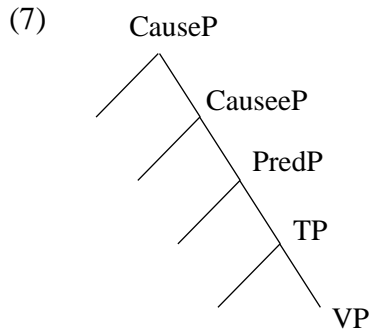
In the following sections I study the two causee positions that must be posited in Spanish and review and analyze the asymmetries between both as discussed in Ordóñez and Saab (2017).²

2. Pre-infinitival versus post-infinitival causees in Spanish.

Cartography is an instrumental methodology and theory that allows us to establish the distributional properties of the different components of syntax. By drawing maps in terms of syntactic trees, we provide taxonomies that will better help us make correlations and ultimately understand the limits of syntax. Spanish shows that two possible causee positions must be postulated in the previous example (6). A quick comparison with English clearly shows that the Spanish causee is not in a pure ECM construction since English does not allow causees in post infinitival positions. Since infinitival verbs move in Spanish, I assume that the pre-infinitival causee position must be above the landing site of the infinitival verb. I follow Belletti’s (2017, 2020) proposal (see also Burzio 1986) that the movement of the infinitival verb is phrasal. This phrasal movement takes the infinitival VP to the specifier of a PredP. The tree spine I assume is the following (see (7)): There is a *CauseP* hosting the verb *hacer*,

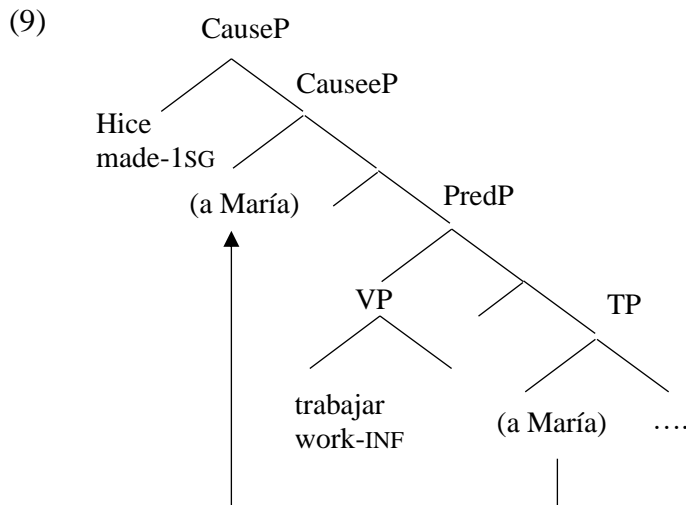
² Ordóñez and Saab (2017) do not provide a cartographic approach and do not give a detailed analysis as I am doing here.

which is followed by *PredP* and *TP*. The causee in all Romance languages starts in the embedded *Spec,TP*³. CauseeP is a dedicated position for causees.



Given this general initial spine structure, phrasal movement of the VP containing the infinitive would yield the following tree with two causee positions: one post-infinitival position in *Spec,TP* and one pre-infinitival position *Spec,CauseeP*, see (9).⁴

- (8) Hice (a María) trabajar (a María)
 made-1SG P María work-INF P María
 ‘I made Maria work.’



Ordóñez and Saab (2017) show that the post-infinitival causee position is the unmarked position and the pre-infinitival one is derived by movement. One of their arguments is the morphological manifestation of causees. Causees are normally animate and are marked with *a*. This is unsurprising because Spanish is a language with DOM for animate specific objects, Torrego (1998). In the following example the animate causee of an intransitive verb will have DOM.

³ I follow Kayne in assuming that causees start as subjects in *TP*. For a different view see Pineda and Sheehan (2023). They assume it is in a low applicative head.

⁴ The source of the dative and DOM *a* depends on the case options for this projection. See section 5 and case resolution. I assume all causees start in *TP* and move to *CauseeP*. I will not assume they stay in *Spec,VP* because the whole *VP* is smuggled.

- (10) Spanish
 Hago reír a Juan
 make-1SG laugh-INF P Juan
 ‘I make Juan laugh.’

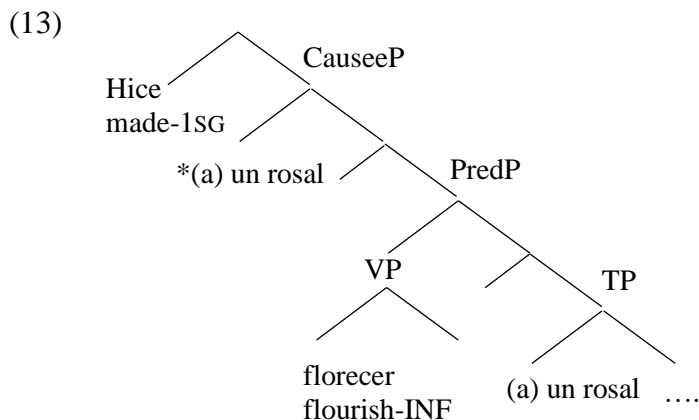
However, when the embedded intransitive verb contains an inanimate causee, DOM marking becomes optional as in example (11). Nevertheless, *a* marking becomes obligatory when the inanimate causee is moved to pre-infinitival position (from Ordóñez and Saab 2017, Torrego 2010, Treviño 1994)⁵.

- (11) a. Juan hizo florecer el rosal / al rosal.
 Juan made bloom-INF the rose bush / P+the rose bush
 b. Juan (lo) hizo al rosal / *el rosal florecer
 Juan CL.ACC made P+the rose bush / *the rose bush bloom-INF
 ‘Juan made the rose bush bloom.’

Similar examples can be found with indefinites, which do not necessarily need to be preceded by the preposition *a*, even when they are animate (see López 2012).

- (12) a. Juan hizo huír un galgo / a un galgo
 Juan made run.away-INF a greyhound / P a greyhound
 b. Juan hizo a un galgo / *un galgo huír
 Juan made P a greyhound / a greyhound run.away-INF
 ‘Juan made a greyhound run away.’

In the following tree I represent the two positions and show how *a* marking is obligatory in the higher Spec of CauseeP, while it seems to be optional in Spec,TP. According to the proposed clause spine, the analysis will be as follows (see (13)):



The fact that DOM is required in the higher position after movement recalls similar contrasts in many Romance varieties where peripheral positions require DOM. This is the case for instance, in Balearic Catalan according to Escandell (2009), where

⁵ This position is not permitted in Río Plata Spanish according to Bordelois (1974).

an object moved to the left periphery requires *a* marking, but not when that object is *in situ*. This suggests that the marker *a* is linked to movement to a peripheral position.

- (14) a. Ja els he rentat es plats
 already CL have.1SG washed the dishes
- b. An es plats ja els he rentat
 P the dishes already CL have.1SG washed
 ‘I have already washed the dishes.’

Another indication of the pre-infinitival position being derived by movement is provided by clitic doubling⁶. If obligatory clitic doubling correlates with overt movement, the fact that clitic doubling must occur in pre-infinitival structures would suggest that this is a position derived by movement. The facts presented in Ordóñez and Saab (2017) show that this is the case:

- (15) a. Ayer (le) hice leer el libro a Juan.
 yesterday CL.DAT made-1SG read-INF the book to Juan
- b. Ayer *(le) hice a Juan leer el libro.
 yesterday CL.DAT made-1SG to Juan read-INF the book
 ‘Yesterday I made Juan read the book.’

A reason for why I assume that this pre-infinitival position is an exclusive position for causees is that any other complement of the embedded infinitival verb cannot move there. Thus, it is not permitted with DOM objects of the embedded transitive verb as shown in the following contrasts:

- (16) a. El juez hizo traer al testigo. (DOM Object)
 the judge made bring-INF P.the witness
- b. *Juan hizo al testigo traer. (DOM Object)
 Juan made P.the witness bring-INF
 ‘Juan made someone bring the witness.’

Non-DOM complements of the embedded infinitival are also impossible:

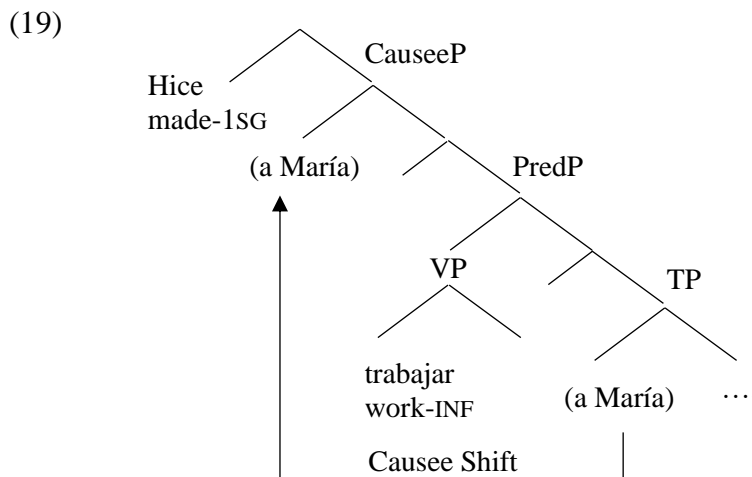
- (17) a. Juan le hizo hablar con María.
 Juan CL.DAT made speak-INF with María
- b. *Juan le hizo con María hablar.
 Juan CL.DAT made with Maria speak-INF
 ‘Juan made him/her speak to the witness.’

⁶ For an interesting explanation of how movement triggers clitic doubling, see Pineda (2019). If we adopt her theory for our examples, I will propose that the pre-infinitival CauseeP would be outside the domain in which the pronoun is just a spell out of applicative morphology. This will need to be a pronoun with full number agreement.

Not all causees are permitted either. In *faire par* constructions, the causee preceded with *par* is not permitted in the pre-infinitival positions: (see Ordóñez and Saab 2017):

- (18) a. Juan se hizo arreglar el auto por el mecánico.
 Juan SE made repair-INF the car by the mechanic.
- b. *Juan se hizo por el mecánico arreglar el auto.
 Juan SE made by the mechanic repair-INF the car
 ‘Juan made the car be repaired by the mechanic.’

The existence of these two positions for causees is not surprising given the proliferation of subject positions as proposed by Cardinaletti (2004): *SubjP*, *Spec,VP* and *Spec,TP*. An important question is understanding what triggers the movement from *Spec,TP* to *Spec,CauseeP*. We could assume with Ciutescu (2015)⁷ that this is akin to object shift, although it would affect only causees. We could label it ‘causee shift’.



In the next section I analyze the properties of such new Causee Projections.

2.1. CauseeP as a Criterial Position.

In this section I will compare the two projections in which the causee can be *Spec,TP* and *Spec,CauseeP*. I will show that *CauseeP* must be considered a criterial position. The reasons to reach such conclusion is that it triggers a topicality effect like those found for subjects in languages like Spanish. For instance, existential quantifiers must always have wide scope over other quantifiers, and the specifier of *CauseeP* also bans sub extractions.

We start with the scope interactions in *Spec,TP* and *Spec,CauseeP*. As pointed out by Rizzi (2007), criterial positions can limit scope ambiguities of quantifiers. Costantini (2012) studies scope of Causees and other complements in the context of

⁷ Romanian does not have causatives with infinitives and therefore it is not possible to test this causee shift.

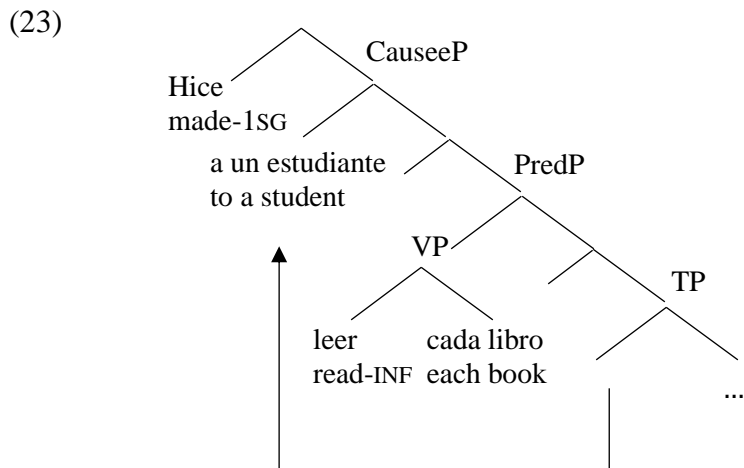
causative construction in Italian. He points out that the existential quantifier allows inverse scope with respect to the universal quantifier.⁸

- (20) Ho fatto leggere ogni libro ad almeno uno studente.
 have-1SG made read-INF every book to at most one student
 $\exists > \forall; \forall > \exists$

As pointed out by Ordóñez & Saab (2017), while scope ambiguity is maintained with the causee in Spec,TP in (21), such ambiguity disappears when the existential quantifier moves to Spec,CauseeP in (22).

- (21) Le he hecho leer cada libro a un estudiante.
 CL have-1SG made read-INF every book to one student
 $\exists > \forall; \forall > \exists$
- (22) Le he hecho a un estudiante leer cada libro.
 CL have-1SG made to one student read-INF every book
 $\exists > \forall; ??\forall > \exists$

This can be explained under the present proposal if the Specifier of CauseeP is linked to topicality. As it is well known, topicality forces a wide scope reading of the indefinite in (22). Such an effect does not occur with post-infinitival causees. I will therefore assume that overt movement of indefinites to Spec,Causee is the main reason for its specific interpretation.



Similar to the previous restriction is the fact that bare plural causees are not permitted in Spec,CauseeP. Observe the following contrasts with bare plural causees in pre-infinitival and post-infinitival position (see Ordóñez & Saab 2017):

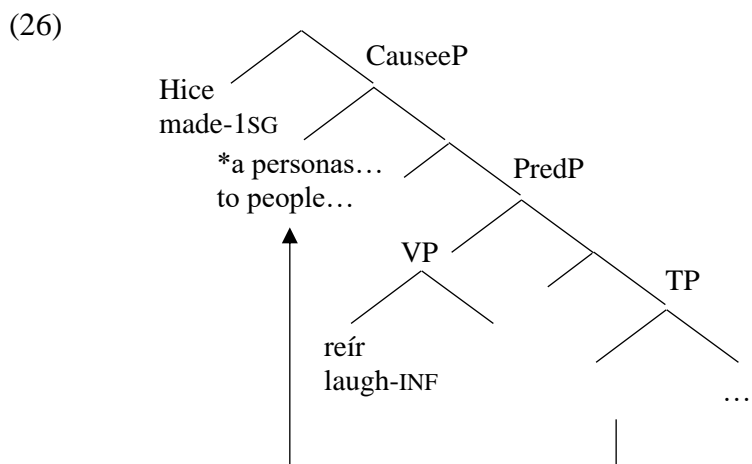
⁸ In Ordóñez and Saab (2017) we did not consider the nature of this position and its criterial character of Spec,CauseeP. Spec,TP with infinitivals is not a criterial position.

- (24) a. No *hagas reír a personas desconocidas.*
 not make laugh-INF to unknown people
 b. ?? No *hagas a personas desconocidas reír.*
 not make to unknown people laugh-INF

The effects are similar to the ones found with IO moving over the position of DO in transitive sentences:

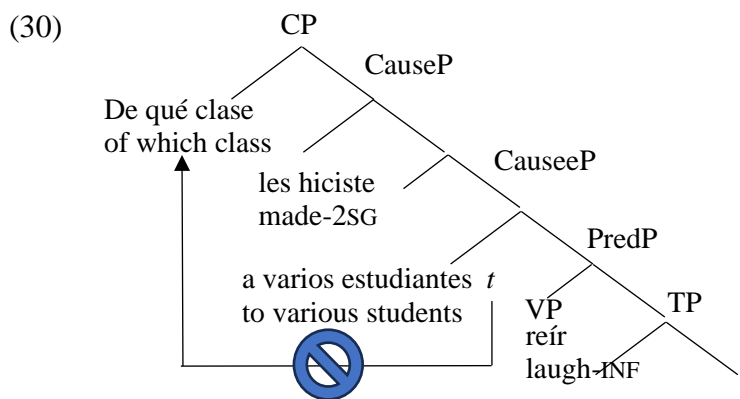
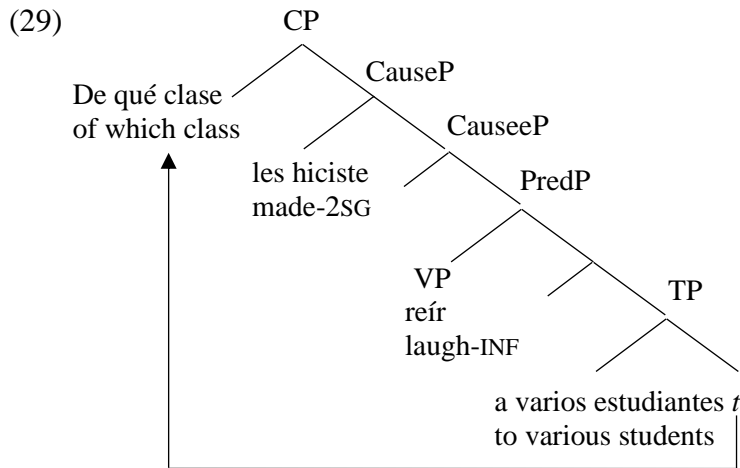
- (25) a. No *des tus llaves a personas desconocidas.*
 not give your keys to unknown people
 b. ?? No *des a personas desconocidas tus llaves*
 not give to unknown people your keys
 ‘Don’t give your keys to unknown people.’

In both cases movement to a higher projection limits the distribution of these bare plural IO. The topicality feature of Spec of Causee is limiting the distribution of bare plurals. Below I provide the analysis with the movement of the causee from Spec,TP to Spec,CauseeP:



The wide scope requirement of indefinites and the ban on bare plural causees are good reasons to assume that this Causee Projection is criterial. Further evidence for this criterial position is corroborated by subextraction. Causees in CauseeP do not allow subextraction as opposed to causees in the final Spec,TP. (27) is a sentence with an indefinite causee. Subextraction from indefinites is allowed in Spec,TP in (28a) but not in Spec of CauseeP in (28b). The contrast is represented in (29) versus (30). In (30) subextraction occurs from the specifier of CauseeP.

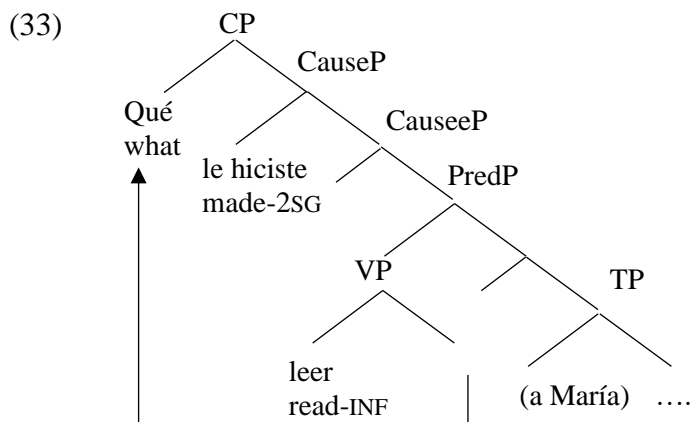
- (27) *Les hiciste reír [a varios estudiantes de esa clase].*
 CL.DAT.PL made-2SG laugh-INF P various students of this class
 ‘You made various students of this class laugh.’
- (28) a. ?¿De qué clase_i les hiciste reír [a varios estudiantes *t_i]*?
 of which class CL.DAT made-2SG laugh-INF P various students
 b. *¿De qué clase_i les hiciste [a varios estudiantes *t_i]* reír?
 of which class CL.DAT.PL made-2SG P various students laugh-INF
 ‘Which class did you make various students of laugh?’



Another property of CauseeP is that it creates intervention effects (see Ordóñez & Saab 2017), which differ clearly from Spec,TP in causative constructions in languages like English or causative constructions with the causee in post-infinitival position in (32):

(31) What_i did you make [Mary [read *t_i* the other day]?

(32) ¿Qué_i le hiciste leer *t_i* a María?
 what CL.DATmade-2SGread-INF to Maria



However, wh-movement over the pre-infinitival causee position is deviant as shown in the following example:

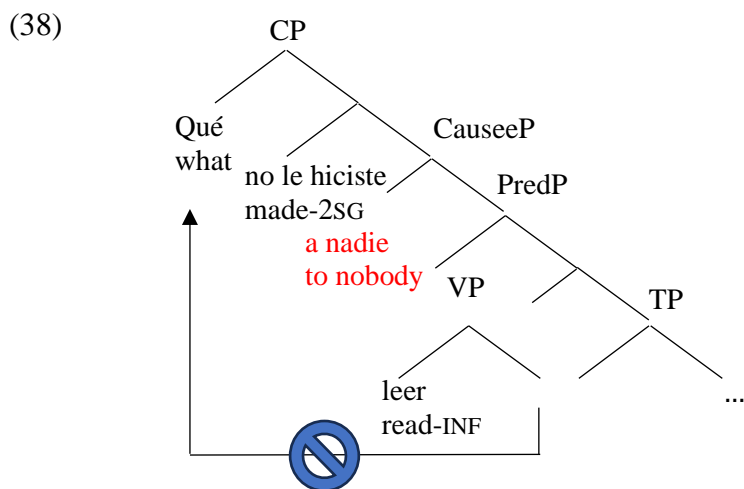
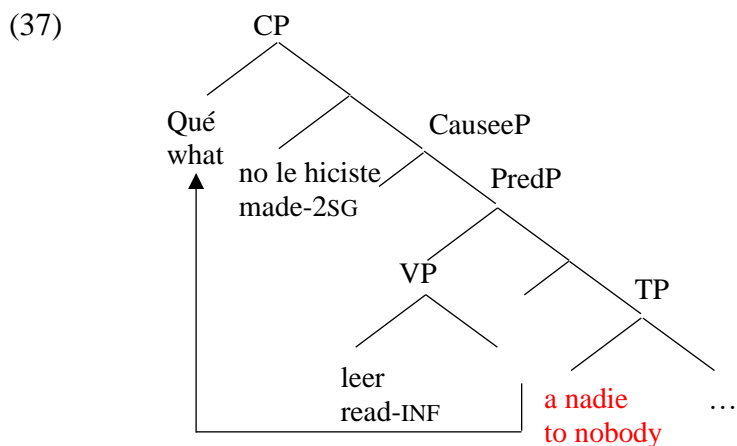
- (34) ?? ¿Qué_i le hiciste a María leer *t_i*?
 what CL made-2SG to Maria read-INF

The contrast is very clear with NPIs. NPIs in Spec,CauseeP block wh-movement.⁹

- (35) ¿Qué no le hiciste leer a nadie?
 what not CL made-2SG read-INF to anybody
 ‘What didn’t you make anybody read?’

- (36) *¿Qué no le hiciste a nadie leer?
 what not CL made-2SG to anybody read-INF

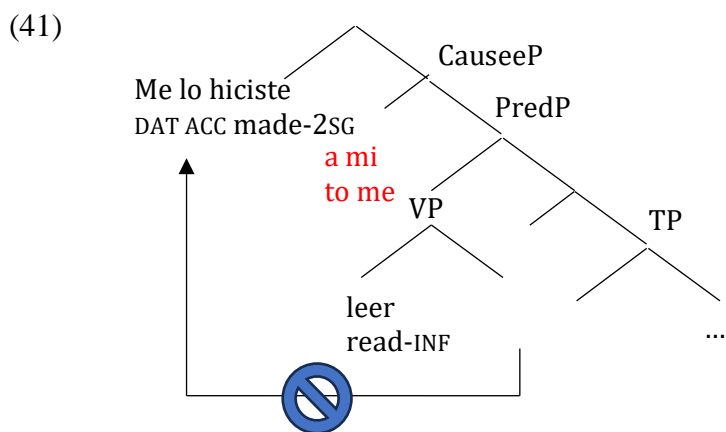
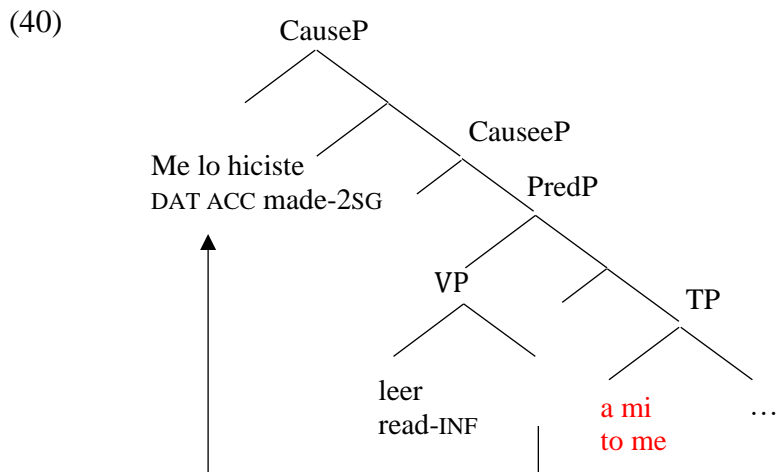
Since I am adopting a VP movement approach to PredP, I will follow Belletti (2017) and assume that VP smuggles the *wh* question over Spec,TP, therefore no intervention occurs with a Causee in Spec,TP. However, the causee in Spec,CauseeP produces intervention effects in (38), since it is above the landing site of the smuggled VP. The object moves over the Spec,CauseeP.



⁹ As pointed out by a reviewer, the extraction is worse with negative quantifiers. It is possible that the intervention of negative features produces a worse relativized minimality effect.

Similar intervention effects are also found with clitic climbing. It is well known that causative constructions allow clitic climbing of the object of the infinitive as in (39). Clitic climbing can occur with a causee in Spec,TP. In our smuggling derivation the object clitic moves from the VP to its final landing site in Cause as in (40) and the intervention is avoided. However, it is not possible to climb across a causee in the Spec of CauseeP as in (41). These contrasts were also pointed out by Treviño (1994):¹⁰

- (39) a. Me lo hicieron leer a mí.
 CL.DAT.1SG CL.CL.ACC made-3PL read-INF to me
 ‘They made me read it’
- b. ?* Me lo hicieron a mí leer.
 CL.DAT.1SG CL.ACC made-3PL to me read-INF
 ‘They made me read it’



¹⁰ These effects do not occur with the clitic that corresponds to the causee. It can move alone as in (i). We assume that the clitic corresponding to the causee originates or moves with the causee phrase to the causee Spec or it originates in the Causee head if it is taken to be a spell out of the Appl head. Thus the fact that causee clitics climb is not problematic because they have access to the higher Causee head. Such derivation does not occur with the object clitic in the VP.

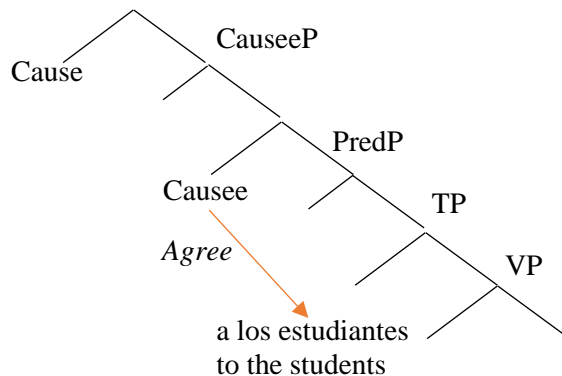
- (i) Me hicieron leerlo
 me made-3PL read-INF-it

In conclusion, I have provided evidence for a second landing site for causees in Spanish above PredP. I have also shown that it is this position that blocks wh-movement and clitic movement, and it has effects on scope possibilities (see Ordóñez & Saab 2013, 2017). This is expected if CauseeP is a criterial position.

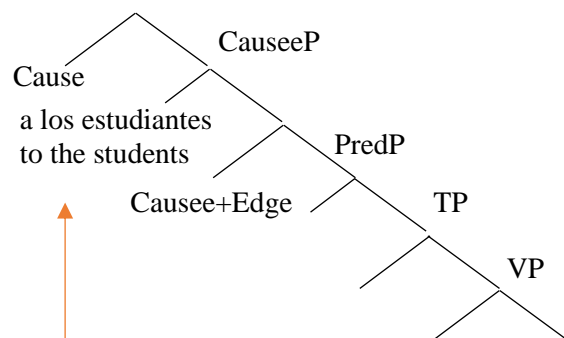
3. CauseeP and case resolution for causees in *faire a* constructions.

I have proposed that there are two landing sites for causees in Spanish: a pre-infinitival (Torrego 2010, López 2012) and a post-infinitival position in Spec,TP. I have proposed that the pre-infinitival one is a criterial position. This explains why DOM is generalized in this position even with inanimate subjects of unaccusatives and indefinites. This position requires clitic doubling for most dialects (see also Pineda 2019). Both positions, the lower Spec,TP and the higher one, are related via movement, in agreement with proposals by Ciutescu (2015). The higher position is a criterial position that forces wide scope reading of indefinites, bans sub extraction and blocks wh-movement and clitic climbing. We can assume that CauseeP has an optional edge feature that triggers movement as in (43):

(42)



(43)



That extra projection is not found in other Romance languages like Catalan, French and Italian. I link this property to the fact that Spanish licenses more post verbal subject positions than the other Romance languages. Independently, we need a theory that allows for extra landing positions for subjects. The evidence for extra subject positions in Spanish comes from the fact that VSO orders are perfectly possible, as

opposed to Catalan, Italian and French. The extra position for subjects is justified by Ordóñez (2007, 2018) because subjects in Spanish can move to a specifier between the position of the moved object floating quantifier *todo* and the final position of the verb as in (44).

- (44) Ayer lo hizo/encontró Juan todo bien.
yesterday it did/found Juan all well

Another example that provides evidence for a higher specifier position is the fact that certain pronoun subjects can intervene between the auxiliary *have* and the past participle.

- (45) Había usted dicho que lo lograría. (from Sánchez López 1993:281)
have you said that it would.do-1SG

It is important to consider whether this extra position can be linked to case resolution for causees. I will start with Catalanian Spanish since it offers a uniform case solution for all causees. But, not all Romance languages have the same case resolution for causees. In Catalan, Italian and French case depends on the transitivity of the embedded infinitive. My proposal is that UG must provide two different alternatives: When the case is uniform for causees, there is case via agreement; When case changes depending on the transitivity of the verb, this is dependent case. Thus, we need both, case via agreement and dependent case, as proposed in Baker and Vinokurova (2010).

I will start with Catalanian Spanish, which has dative independently of the transitivity of the embedded infinitival:

- (46) *Le* hicimos reír mucho. [*le* = a Juan/María]
CL.DAT made-1PL laugh-INF a lot

- (47) *Le* hicimos traer los libros. [*le* = a Juan/María]
CL.DAT made-1PL bring-INF the books

For Catalanian Spanish I assume that the higher position I have called CauseeP is an applicative head with case assignment capabilities (Torrego 2010, Ordóñez 2008, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007). This extra head is responsible for dative case (see also Ippolito 2000). That analysis predicts uniform case assignment for both pre-infinitival and post-infinitival causees and also transitive and intransitive verbs. This also correlates clearly with the fact that the pre-infinitival position in some cases must be doubled (see Pineda 2019)¹¹:

- (48) *Le* hicimos a Juan/María reír mucho.
CL.DAT made-1PL to Juan/María laugh-INF a lot

¹¹ Pineda (2019) proposes that the cases of obligatory doubling correspond to cases in which the clitic is the applicative head.

- (49) Le hicimos a Juan/María traer los libros.
 CL.DAT made-1PL to Juan/María bring-INF the books

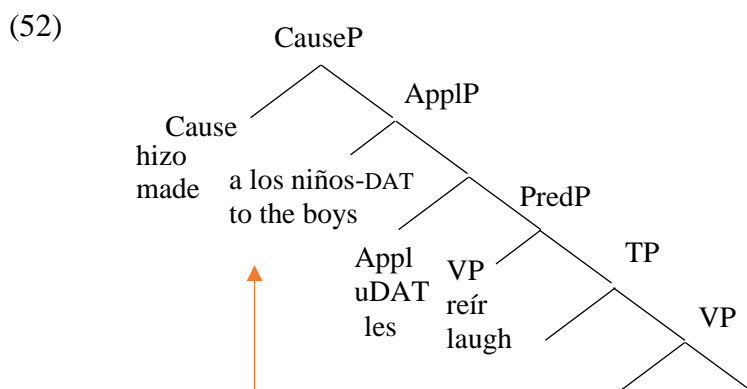
Ordóñez and Roca (2018) show that this dativization is not the same as so-called *leísmo* (Ormazabal and Romero 2013). *Leísmo* is a phenomenon in Spanish in which the direct object apparently is in the dative, because it takes the dative clitic. However, datives in the previous causative constructions behave like real datives and not like accusatives. Datives in causative constructions in Catalanian Spanish can double, contrary to accusatives as we see in the contrast between (50a) and (50b).

- (50) a. *No le vimos a nadie ayer. [le = a nadie] Accusative
 not CL saw-1PL to nobody yesterday
- b. No le hicimos reír mucho a nadie [le = a nadie] Dative
 not CL.DAT made-1PL laugh-INF a lot to nobody

Ordóñez and Roca (2018) also show that, as it is typical in Spanish, datives can also fail to agree in number when they are doubled. Pineda (2019) provides an analysis in which the doubled clitic is more of a spell out of an applicative head when there is no agreement in number with the dative doubled complement.

- (51) a. Le hicimos reír mucho a los niños
 CL.DAT-SG made-1PL laugh-INF a lot to the children-PL
 ‘We made the children laugh a lot.’
- b. Le hicimos traer los libros a los niños
 CL.DAT-SG made-1PL bring-INF the books to the children-PL
 ‘We made the children bring the books.’

All these facts indicate that dative is uniformly assigned. We assume that causees in Catalanian Spanish are applicatives and probe down to the causee in Spec,TP. If the edge feature is activated, then there is movement of the causee to Spec of the applicative head as in (52):



However, we do not expect this to be the case solution for all Romance languages and all the Spanish dialects. There are other dialects of Spanish, and also

Catalan, French and Italian, which manifest different case solutions depending on whether the causee is in a transitive or intransitive verb. With transitive verbs it is dative, with intransitives it is accusative:

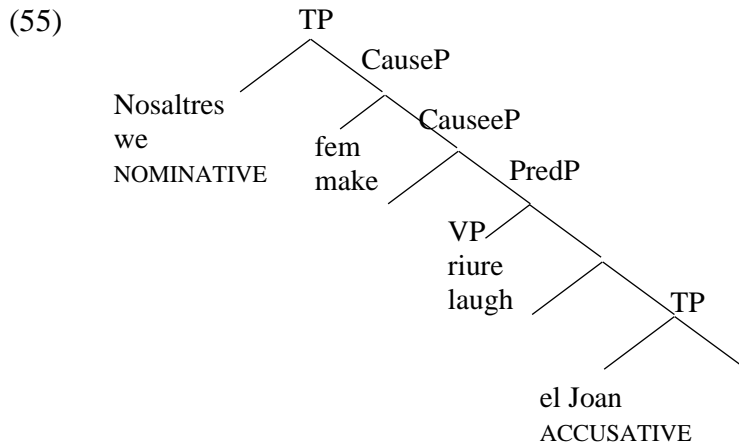
- (53) *Lo/la* hicimos reír mucho (a Juan/María).
 CL.ACC.M/F made-1PL laugh-INF a lot to Juan/María
- (54) *Les* hicimos traer los libros (a Juan/María) .
 CL.DAT.PL made-1PL bring-INF the books to Juan / María

To account for these systems with different case marking for transitive and intransitive verbs, I will explore the idea that dependent Case must be deployed (see Folli and Harley 2007, Marantz 1991).¹² I agree with Baker and Vinokurova (2010) that both mechanisms for assignment of case, *Agree* (Chomsky 2000, 2001) and Dependent Case, must be made available for UG. In their study of case in Sakha, a Turkic language, they conclude that nominative and genitive are assigned by *Agree*. However, they show that the mechanism for accusative and dative is dependent case. I will modify their proposal and will assume that there can be a choice between the two mechanisms in the case of causative constructions in Romance. The same construction might be deploying one or the other mechanism as parametric choices. The fact that some dialects show uniform dative and other dialects make a distinction depending on the case properties of the infinitive indicates that languages can choose one or the other mechanism. If case is assigned by an applicative head via *Agree*, then uniform dative case is assigned, which is what we find in Catalanian Spanish. However, in varieties in which case depends on the transitivity of the infinitive, I am going to assume that dependent case is invoked.

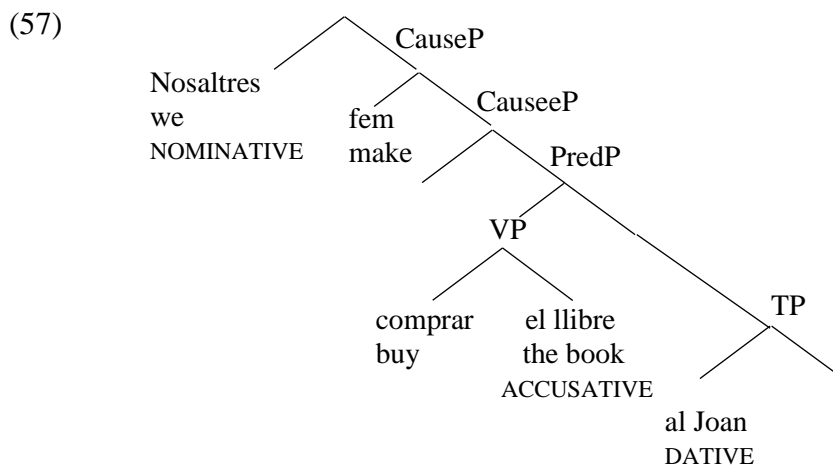
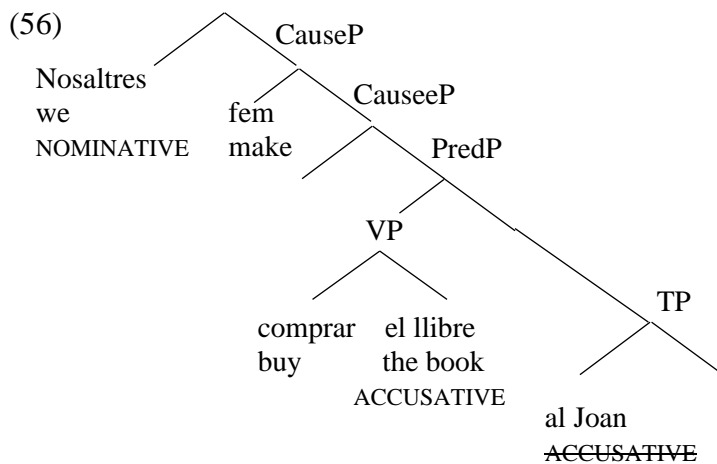
Dependent case is assigned to an NP which has another NP in a given domain or phase. Folli and Harley (2007:221)'s proposal is that "the morphological realization of structural Case assigned by any given structural-Case-assigning head depends on the assignment of Case by other structural-Case-assigning positions in the same domain".¹³ I will assume that the causative verb *hacer* defines the phase for calculation of case. Under this dependent case mechanism there is assignment of accusative to the causee when c-commanded by a DP causer in nominative case. I will illustrate the mechanism in Catalan, in which accusative is permitted with intransitive verbs:

¹² See Pineda and Sheehan (2023) and footnote 13 for an alternative to dependent case in terms of cyclic agree. According to their approach to Catalan, the Voice head assigns case cyclically to the object of the embedded infinitive verb first and then to the causee. This explains the fact that causees receive dative when accusative is already assigned.

¹³ Pineda and Sheehan (2023) are critical of a dependent case approach. In order to account for the parametric distinction we are discussing here, one can present an alternative in which languages have different probes. Thus, Catalanian Spanish uniformly has applicative head as probe. On the other hand, French, Catalan and Italian have voice as probe. Maybe languages combine both. See the discussion in the conclusion about direct and indirect causation. I leave this for further research.



The rule of dependent Case that assigns accusative to the causee is blocked when there is an accusative already assigned by independent means in the same domain or phase. This is what we find when the infinitive contains an accusative case to be deployed to the object. Any intermediate accusative in the transitive blocks dependent accusative case to the causee. Thus, dative is assigned instead. From this perspective the calculation of assignment of accusative case is blocked by another accusative case in the same domain as represented in (56).



4. Conclusion and further questions.

In this paper I have presented evidence for postulating two positions for causees in Spanish. The higher Spec position is filled via movement, and it serves as a criterial position since it affects the scope of quantifiers, limits the distribution of bare causees and blocks wh-movement and clitic climbing.

In the second part I linked this higher position to the generalized assignment of dative case in Catalanian Spanish. I proposed that the applicative head is responsible for assigning dative case uniformly in this dialect. I also proposed that languages in which case assignment differs depending on the transitivity of the infinitive verb employ dependent Case. Thus, we support Baker and Vinokurova (2010) that both agreement and dependent case must be made available in UG.

An interesting generalization emerges in languages with case assignment via agreement as Catalanian Spanish. These languages are the ones that allow this higher projection CauseeP. However, languages with only dependent case mechanism like Catalan, French and Italian do not have this extra projection. It seems that this generalization needs to be qualified for Rio de la Plata Spanish and many other varieties of Spanish. Further detailed analysis and experimental evidence is needed in order to understand how those systems interact. But the fact that the use of dative is generalized in many dialects which otherwise do not use dative for DOM objects is indicating that the applicative head is active in these varieties. As pointed out by Colomina, Gallego and Roca (2019), Hernanz (1999), it is very common to have *leísmo* in causatives, in dialects which otherwise are not *leísta*. Also, Company (1998, 2003) pointed out that this dativization of causees dates back to early texts in Spanish. From this perspective, it indicates that the Causee Head has independent case capabilities in all these varieties from early on.

Finally, I studied causative constructions with animate causers and its alternations in word order. Torrego (2010) has pointed out that examples in which the subject is not a causer, but an inanimate cause, have different word order constraints. For instance, with a cause as main subject, the causees are marginal in pre-infinitival position.

- (58) ?El mal tiempo hizo a los deportistas suspender sus actividades.
 the bad weather made to the athletes cancel-INF their activities

However, Vivanco (2019) has pointed out that these judgements are very delicate. The sentences are far from being ungrammatical and they improve clearly with a clitic as in (59). Furthermore, we agree with Vivanco that the reasons for the restriction on the preverbal position are due to prosody. Vivanco gives a grammatical sentence like the one in (60) in which the predicate is heavy.

- (59) El mal tiempo les hizo a los deportistas suspender sus actividades
 the bad weater CL.DATmade P the athletes cancel-INF their activities
- (60) El hambre hizo a Víctor plantearse robar la comida
 the famine made P Victor think.about-INF rob-INF the food
 del mercado
 from.the market

Therefore, I don't think we can conclude that the pre-infinitival position restrictions in these cases are only necessarily linked to the nature of the verb. However, I acknowledge that the causative verb I have studied in this paper is the one mostly linked to what Vivanco calls mediated causation (indirect causation). I have not examined the distinction between direct and indirect causation pointed out by Treviño (1994) in Mexican Spanish. That distinction could possibly be linked to different flavors of causation verb (Folli and Harley 2007, Tubino Blanco 2011):

- (61) a. Juan le hizo confesar su culpa (from Treviño 1994)
 Juan CL.DAT made confess-INF their guilt
- b. Juan la hizo confesar su culpa
 Juan CL.ACC made confess-INF their guilt

In this paper I have not explored how direct causation is analyzed. I do not think they involve an applicative head. But this is speculative at this point.

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