

The Syntax of Causatives in the Romance Languages*

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1 Introduction

The Spanish sentence in (1) describes an event that caused the dough to be flat. The contrast between this sentence and its English translation shows that Romance languages very much differ from Germanic ones in the way they express caused results (Talmy 1976, 1985). As Folli & Harley (2016) put it, English speakers hammer the dough *flat* and cut *off* the head of snakes, Romance do not. Instead, Romance speakers *flatten* the dough by hammering it and their *cut*-verbs already encode the result expressed by the English particle *off*.

- (1) Hannah aplastó la masa martillándola. (Sp.)
Hannah flattened the dough hammering=it

‘Hannah hammered the dough flat.’

Verbs denoting causing events like e.g. Spanish *aplastar* in (1) are called causative verbs. This chapter offers an overview of recent research in Romance on these verbs. Illustrating data will be taken from French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan. Spanish *aplastar* ‘flatten’, French *tuer* ‘kill’, or Italian *aprire* ‘open’ are examples of *lexical* causative verbs. Lexical causatives denote a set of events and leave the nature of these events completely unspecified (e.g., *aplastar* does not tell us whether the described event involves a hammer, a bulldozer or black magic); what they lexically specify is the nature of the result state yielded by these events. Romance languages also have *analytical* (or periphrastic) causatives, where the causing event is expressed by a first morpheme – a causative verb such as French

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faire or Italian *fare* – and the result is expressed by an embedded infinitive; for instance, Italian *fare ridere* ‘make laugh’ expresses a set of events causing some laughing event.

This chapter is structured as followed. Section 1 looks at the building blocks of lexical causative verbs and thereby define this class more precisely. It first focuses on the way CAUSE is encoded and on the related vexing question of whether both transitive and intransitive variants of causative verbs have causative semantics. It then turns to the differences between reflexively marked vs. unmarked anticausative verbs and between agentive and non-agentive uses of causative verbs, before zooming into the morphosyntactic make-up of verbs with causative semantics. Section 2 offers a typology of lexical causatives in Romance, starting with verbs devoid of modal semantics (extensional causative verbs), and then turning to modal ones (defeasible causative verbs). Section 3 focuses on three subtypes of verbs that have been observed to have causative *uses* in some contexts but not in others (creation verbs, motion verbs, and result-implied activity verbs). Section 4 is devoted to the causative alternation, section 5 to resultatives and section 6 to analytical causatives.

2 The building blocks of causative and anticausative verbs

2.1 Where is CAUSE encoded?

Many lexical causative verbs undergo the causative alternation, i.e., can be used in transitive (two-place) constructions, as in (2a), but also in intransitive (one-place) constructions, as in (2b).

- (2) a. Amrei a refroidi la soupe. (Fr.) (causative)
 ‘Pierre cooled the soup.’
 b. La soupe a refroidi. (Fr.) (anticausative)
 ‘The soup cooled.’

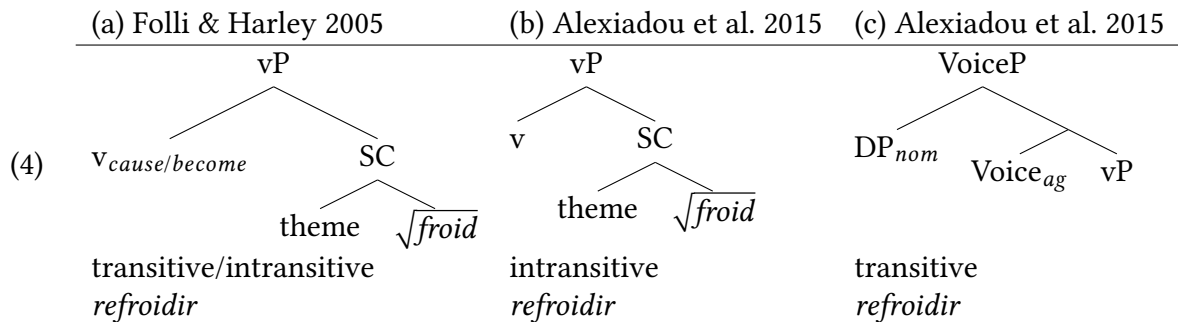
A lot of work has been devoted to the question of whether one variant is basic and the other one derived, or whether both variants are derived from a common stem (Schäfer 2009, Tubino-Blanco 2020 offer good overviews on the matter). A related question is whether the anticausative (also called *inchoative*) variant of causative verbs involves causative semantics or not. The label ‘*anti-causative*’ itself suggests that it does not, and indeed the first view on the matter, characteristic of lexical approaches (Dowty 1979, Parsons 1990) is that causative semantics holds of the transitive variant only. The causative variant is then understood as specifying a cause of the change denoted by the anticausative, and is roughly analyzed as meaning ‘cause to V-intransitive/anticausative’ (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995).

An assumption commonly underpinning this view is that the changes denoted by inchoative verbs are *not* causing events. Inchoative events and causing events are fundamentally different subtypes of events. From this assumption and the related view that the causative VP ‘adds something’ to the anticausative counterpart, causative and anticausative variants of the same verb do not have the same event structure. Causative verbs denote one sub-event more than their anticausative counterparts (the causing event). In the spirit of lexical approaches of Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995), which annotate the causative meaning on the verb itself, the causative and anticausative variants of *refroidir* ‘cool’ in French can be schematized as in (3).

- (3) a. causative *refroidir* ‘cool’:
[[*x* DO-SOMETHING] CAUSE [*y* BECOME [STATE_{cool}]]]
b. anticausative *refroidir* ‘cool’: [*y* BECOME [STATE_{cool}]]

One of the problems raised by such analyses decomposing causative verbs into three subevents is that they predict too many scoping ambiguities for event modifiers (see Fodor 1970, Pylkkänen 2008, Neeleman & Van de Koot 2012, Martin & Schäfer 2014b, Martin 2018, Alexiadou et al. 2015 for relevant discussion). This problem is solved in analyses that keep the number of events constant for the anticausative and the causative variants. These analyses are often rooted in neo-constructionist approaches of the lexicon explored by Mateu (2002), Schäfer (2008), Ramchand (2008), Mateu (2012), Alexiadou et al. (2015), Acedo-Matellàn (2016) among others. Beyond their differences, these approaches share the assumptions that all composition is syntactic; (non-decomposable) word *roots* appear as independent syntactic nodes, and combine with functional categories to form verbs. A shared hypothesis –the ‘little *v*’ hypothesis– is that external arguments are not projected as true arguments of their verbs (Kratzer 1996); rather, they are arguments of a ‘light’ verbal projection (aka little *v*) above VP.

Within this latter framework, the causative meaning conveyed by lexical causatives has been traced to two different sources. Under a first approach, the causative semantics which was annotated on the verb itself in lexical approaches is simply moved to a specific building block of the lexical causative, namely a dedicated little *v* called *v_{cause}* (Folli & Harley 2005, Pylkkänen 2008), see (4a). A second approach goes a step further and assumes that the causative relation is neither syntactically nor semantically encoded, but comes as a pragmatic inference when the *v* head introducing an unstructured event is combined with a state-denoting expression, see (4b) (Schäfer 2008, Embick 2009, Alexiadou et al. 2015 among others).



Such approaches have captured the causative alternation exemplified in (2) in two different ways. A first one, illustrated by [Harley \(2012\)](#), does it by positing different flavours of *v*: a causative functional head v_{cause} for the causative variant (see (4a)) and an inchoative one v_{become} for anticausatives (see (4a) again). Such an account shares the assumption characteristic of lexical approaches just mentioned that inchoative events and causing events are different types of events, and that anticausatives do not have causative semantics. A second one, taken up by [Kratzer \(2003\)](#), [Schäfer \(2008\)](#) and [Alexiadou et al. \(2015\)](#), posit that the intransitive variant of causative verbs remain causative, and only differ from the transitive by the absence of *Voice*. In this framework, *Voice* does the job taken up by v_{cause} in Harley's framework, namely introducing the external argument. Thus for instance, while anticausative *refroidir* 'cool' corresponds to the structure in (4b), (agentive) causative *refroidir* 'cool' is built by adding a *Voice* layer on top of (4b), as in (4c). On this view, the causative alternation is just a *Voice* alternation. The predicate BECOME (as in (3) or [Harley's \(2012\)](#) semantically annotated head v_{become}) can be dispensed with.

The latter view gives up the assumption that inchoative and causing events are fundamentally different types of events. Causing events are transitions from a state of not being *P* to a state of being *P*. Inchoative events (changes-of-state) are thus – a subtype of causing events, namely the most proximate causes of the state (i.e., the closest causes in time and space). For instance, becoming warm is the most proximate cause of the state of being warm. The predicate BECOME is redefined as hyponym of CAUSE in a context where (agentive) *Voice* is absent ([Martin 2020](#)). Also, anticausative verbs have causative semantics just like their causative counterparts. Schematized in representations à la Levin & Rappaport, the difference between causative and anticausative *refroidir* can then be translated as in (5). In (5b), the causing event is identified with some change-of-state, while in (5a), the causing event is 'bigger', since it glues together some action by *x* and some change-of-state of *y*. Crucially however, the difference in the 'size' of causing events (which is directly proportional with the number of participants to these events) is not

translated in the semantics: both forms just denote a set of events causing some state.

- (5) a. agentive causative *refroidir* ‘cool’: $[[x_{agent} [EVENT]] CAUSE [y STATE_{cool}]]$
b. anticausative *refroidir* ‘cool’: $[[EVENT] CAUSE [y STATE_{cool}]]$

2.2 Marked vs. unmarked anticausative verbs

In many Romance languages, the picture gets a bit more complex, since verbs undergoing the causative alternation divide into two morphological and three distributional classes (see Schäfer 2008, Tubino-Blanco 2020 for overviews).¹ With a first class of verbs, the anticausative is morphologically *unmarked* (see (6)), and, thus, does not differ morphologically from its causative counterpart. With a second class of verbs, the anticausative is *marked* with the formally reflexive clitic *se/si* (see (7)). The third class allows *both* markings, as seen in (8).

- (6) a. Ana brûle la maison. (Fr.)
Ana burn.s.PRS.3SG the house
‘Ana is burning the house.’
b. La maison (*se) brûle.
the house REFL burn.s.PRS.3SG
‘The house is burning.’
- (7) a. Le temps qui passe amoché/détruit tout.
the time that passes damage/destroy.s.PRS.3SG everything
‘The passage of time damages/destroys everything.’
b. Tout *(s’)amoché/ *(se) détruit avec le temps.
everything REFL.damage/ REFL. destroy.s.PRS.3SG with the time
‘Everything gets damaged/destroyed with the passage of time.’
- (8) a. Gaston casse le vase.
Gaston break.s.PRS.3SG the vase
‘Gaston is breaking the vase.’
b. Le vase (se) casse.
the vase REFL break.s.PRS.3SG
‘The vase is breaking.’

¹In Spanish, French or Italian, most anticausatives are reflexively marked, but in French or Italian, unmarked anticausatives are more frequent than in Spanish.

It has been proposed that the presence vs. absence of the reflexive clitic goes along with differences in meaning; see Zribi-Hertz (1987), Labelle (1992), Doron & Labelle (2011), Heidinger (2010, 2015, 2019) on French, Mendikoetxea (1999, 2012), Heidinger (2015) on Spanish, Folli (2002, 2014) on Italian. A first claim in this connection first proposed by Rothemberg (1974) for French is that reflexively marked anticausatives express externally caused changes-of-state while unmarked ones express internally driven changes-of-state (see sections 3.1 and 4.2.1 on this distinction). This reasoning should explain the contrast between (9a) and (9b) with the verb *rougir* which is optionally marked with the reflexive (examples and judgments from Labelle 1992): a handkerchief cannot be held responsible for its becoming red, and thus the verb must be reflexively marked (external causation), while by contrast, a human who is blushing is necessarily physiologically co-responsible for their change-of-state, and thus the verb must remain unmarked (internal causation).

- (9) a. Il vit le mouchoir #(se) rougir. (Fr., externally caused)
 he see.PFV.3SG the handkerchief REFL redden.INF
 ‘He saw the handkerchief getting red.’
- b. Jeanne #(se) rougit. (Fr., internally caused)
 Jean REFL redden.PFV.3SG
 ‘Jeanne blushed/reddened.’

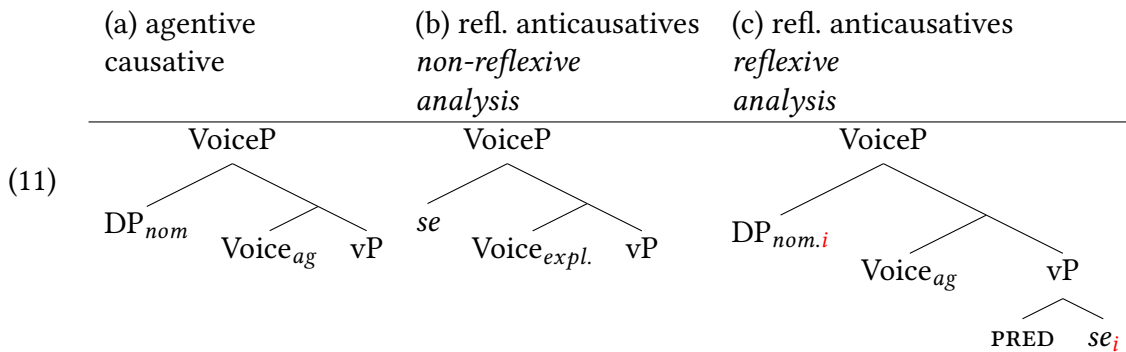
A second claim is that reflexive anticausatives focus on the achievement of a result state while unmarked ones are less telic, or are more process-oriented (see Zribi-Hertz 1987, Labelle 1992, Labelle & Doron 2010, Heidinger 2010 on French; Folli & Harley 2005: section 3.5, Manente 2009, Cennamo 2015 on Italian; Vivanco 2017 on Spanish). For instance, Folli & Harley (2005) claim that the reflexive form in (10) is unacceptable, and this because the variant with *si* encodes some result state. This is supposed not to be possible in the presence of a durative adverbial, that they assume to modify a VP with a simple event structure only (i.e., not involving a result state).

- (10) Il cioccolato (*si) é fuso per un’ora. (It.)
 the chocolate REFL is melted for an=hour
 ‘The chocolate melted for an hour.’ (Folli & Harley 2005, ex. (32))

Existing analyses have taken different forms. Some adopt an optimality-theory approach intended to regulate the different forms (Legendre et al. 2016 on French).

Other authors have proposed that marked vs. unmarked anticausatives have different syntactic structures. Labelle (1992) argues that reflexive anticausatives are unaccusative while unmarked ones are unergative. Doron & Labelle (2011) and Labelle & Doron (2010) propose that both forms are unaccusative but differ in their event structure and the position in which the root is merged in the structure. The empirical inadequacies of both kinds of alternatives have been examined in Schäfer (2008) for Italian and Martin & Schäfer (2014a) for French. The latter propose that the presence vs. absence of *se* cannot be associated with syntactic differences driving meaning differences. In their approach, problems arise with animate subjects only; e.g. for them, (9a) and the French counterpart of (10), both with inanimate subjects, are good with or without the reflexive. But (9b), with an animate subject, is indeed marked with the reflexive. They derive these few remaining meaning aspects within a pragmatic account in terms of competition between the different readings of the reflexive. Thus for instance, they account for the problem of (9b) with a reflexive as the result of the competition between the marked anticausative reading and the semantically reflexive reading, competition which crucially only arises with animate subjects.

Authors such as Schäfer (2008) arguing against systematic semantic differences between marked vs. unmarked anticausatives do not deny syntactic differences between the two: for them, the presence of *se* in marked anticausatives (6)-(8) reflects the presence of syntactic extra-layer on top of vP, a middle or ‘expletive’ Voice (that is, without semantic import), as illustrated in (11b) below. The presence of this expletive Voice projection may trigger (morpho-)syntactic differences (e.g., auxiliary selection in French) but does not add any semantics (Schäfer 2017).



The latter view illustrated in (11b) contrasts with the analysis developed by Chierchia (2004) for Italian and Koontz-Garboden (2009) for Spanish, implemented as in (11c) in a Voice framework for the purpose of comparison. According to the latter authors, Romance reflexively marked anticausatives are *semantically* reflexive, as

the paraphrase in (12) illustrates. In (11c), a reflexive Voice introduces an external argument – a performer – identified with the internal argument.

- (12) La porta si è aperta. (It.)
 the door REFL open.PFV.3SG

‘The door opened.’

≈ some property of the door (or some state the door is in) caused it to open.
 (Chierchia 2004)

One of the issues raised by reflexive analyses of marked anticausatives is that they lose the entailment from the causative (*John opened the door*) to the anticausative (*The door REFL opened*): assuming (11c), if John causes the door to open, it is not necessarily true that the door opened, since (12c) entails that (some property of) the door caused the opening. More arguments against the reflexive analysis of marked anticausatives are detailed in Horvath & Siloni (2013) and Schäfer & Vivanco (2016).

2.3 Agentive vs. non-agentive uses of causative verbs

A property shared by many causative verbs is that they can be used with animate (agent) subjects or with inanimate subjects (see section 4.1.1). Examples illustrating the latter case often involve an eventuality-denoting subject, as in (13b). Event-denoting inanimate subjects are often called ‘causer’ subjects.

- (13) a. Extraterrestres mataron a los últimos humanos. (Sp.)
 ‘Aliens killed the last humans.’ (agent subject)
 b. El consumo de combustibles fósiles mató a los últimos humanos. (Sp.)
 ‘Consumption of fossil fuels killed the last humans.’ (causer subject)

The difference is often translated in the syntax via an alternation between the functional head introducing agent subjects and the functional head introducing causer subjects (see e.g. Pylkkänen 2008, Schäfer 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015). The agent-introducing functional head does not introduce any further event. It only relates the external argument x it introduces to the verbal event (that is, the event e introduced by the VP), and specifies that x is the agent of e (Kratzer 1996). The meaning of the agentive predicate in (13a) can thus be schematized as in (14). In (14), the event ‘glues together’ an action (performed by Rachida) and a change-of-state (endured by the computer).

- (14) *Extraterrestres matar a los humanos* ‘Aliens kill humans’
 [[aliens_{agent} [EVENT]] CAUSE [humans STATE_{dead}]]

By contrast, the causer-introducing functional head introduces a further event e' , as well as a relation R between this event e' and the verbal event e . For Pylkkänen (2008) and Alexiadou et al. (2015), R is the relation of identity. Thus for instance, the event of consuming fossil fuels is identified with the killing event in (13b). The meaning of the non-agentive predicate in (13b) can then be represented as in (15a).

- (15) *El consumo de combustibles fósiles matar a los últimos humanos* ‘The consumption of fossil fuels kill humans’:
- a. [[EVENT_{consumption}] CAUSE [humans STATE_{dead}]]
 - b. [[EVENT_{consumption}] CAUSE [[EVENT] CAUSE [humans STATE_{dead}]]]

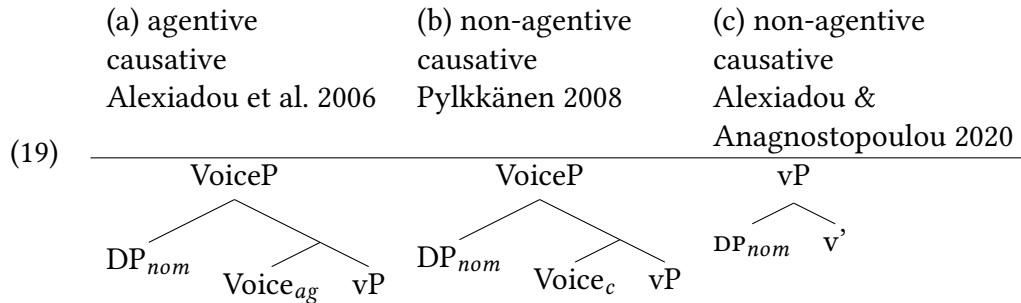
Martin (2018, 2020) reports empirical problems raised by such a view and argues that the relation R between the event denoted by Causer subjects and the verbal event is in most cases the causal relation. In this perspective, sentence (13b) expresses a more complex causal chain than (13a) and in fact involves two different (causing) events, as in (15b). The first one is the event denoted by the subject (the consumption of fossil fuels), and the second is the verbal (causing) event, which Martin claims to be as a rule identified as inchoative events, just as with anticausatives. In this perspective, a causative VP built with an event-denoting subject is in fact interpreted the same way as its anticausative part.

In favour of the idea that the event denoted by causer subjects *causes* the verbal event (rather than being identical to it), Martin (2018) notes that with causer (but not with agent) subjects, it is possible to add a temporal modifier within the subject DP that refers to a time different from the modifier applying to the VP, see (16)-(18).

- (16) *El consumir hoy combustibles fósiles matará a los humanos en un futuro cercano.* (Sp.)
‘Today’s consumption of fossil fuels will kill humans in a close future.’
- (17) *La consommation d’énergies fossiles aujourd’hui va tuer les humains demain.* (Fr.)
‘Today’s consumption of fossil fuels will kill humans tomorrow.’
- (18) *Le scosse che quel bebe ha subito tre mesi fa l’hanno ucciso martedì scorso alla fine.* (It.)
‘The shaking that this baby underwent three months ago eventually killed him this Tuesday.’

There is also discussion on whether agentive vs. non-agentive lexical causative statements differ structurally. Pylkkänen (2008) (as well as Schäfer 2008 and Alexiadou et al. 2015 after her) assumes that they only differ by the semantics of Voice,

see (19a) vs. (19b). But [Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou \(2020\)](#) propose that at least for some non-agentive lexical causatives (e.g., causative psych-verbs), a Voice layer is missing, and the causer subject is introduced in the specifier of vP; see (19b) vs. (19c).



2.4 Morphosyntactic make-up of (anti-)causative verbs

Verbs with causative semantics exhibit different derivational patterns across and within languages. What [Arad \(2005\)](#) calls word-derived verbs are derived from a word (a noun or an adjective); see, e.g. *redd-en* in English or *en-gord-ar* ‘fatten’ in Spanish. What [Arad](#) calls root-derived verbs are neither deadjectival nor denominal, see, e.g., *break* in English and *romper* ‘break’ in Portuguese. In a recent broad-scale typological study, [Beavers et al. \(2021\)](#) have shown that across languages, a subtype of word-derived verbs, namely verbs derived from a predicate denoting a property concept (*red*, *dry*, *nice* – basically deadjectival verbs in Romance), tend to have *marked* verbal forms, that is, forms involving an overt affix in their morphosyntactic makeup (see, e.g., Spanish *en-gord-ar*), and *unmarked* stative forms (see, e.g., Spanish *gordo*). *Break*-type ones show the opposite pattern; their stative form is morphologically derived with a (participial) affix (see., e.g., Portuguese *romp-ido* ‘broken’).

[Beavers et al.’s \(2021\)](#) data sample on French and Spanish suggest that the tendency to morphologically mark change-of-state verbs of the *red*-type is quite salient in these languages, which raises the question of how affixes participate to the syntactic and semantic profile of the derived verb.

Two main effects of affixes have been discussed in the literature, namely transitivity and causativization. In French, verbs derived with the prefixes *a-*, *en-*, *dé-* or *é-* or the suffixes *-ifier/-iser* have been claimed to generally have a transitive and causative meaning ([Corbin 1987](#), [Junker 1987](#), see also [Boons 1987](#) on denominal verbs in *en-*). In particular, [Junker \(1987\)](#) argues on the basis of a study on 400 deadjectival verbs that only *unmarked* (morphologically simple) deadjectival verbs can be intransitive only (e.g., French *faiblir* ‘become weak(er)’, from *faible*),

morphosyntactic makeup	example	unergative	(anti-)causative	non-core (activity) transitive
(unprefixed) verbs	<i>bêt-ifi-er</i>	✓	✓	✗
suffixed with <i>-iser/-ifier</i>	<i>diplomât-is-er</i>	✓	✓	✗
	<i>tyrann-is-er</i>	✗	✗	✓
	<i>alcool-is-er</i>	✗	✓	✗
prefixed verbs	<i>a-bêt-i-r</i>	✗	✓	✗
	<i>en-niais-er</i>	✗	✓	✗

Table 1 Restrictions imposed by the morphosyntactic makeup of French verbal formations on their unergative, (anti-)causative and non-core (activity) transitive uses (based on [Martin & Piñón 2020](#))

while *marked* (morphologically complex, affixed) ones minimally have a causative transitive use (e.g., *af-faiblir* ‘make weak(er)’, *a-mocher* ‘make ugly/uglier’). As a result, the anticausative form of affixed verbs very often needs to be reflexively marked (e.g., *s’affaiblir* or *s’amocher*), for the external argument projected by the affixed verb needs to be absorbed by the reflexive ([Labelle 1992](#), [Heidinger 2015](#)). Subsequent works on French confirm these general tendencies (see [Zribi-Hertz 1987](#), [Labelle 1992](#), [Namer 2002](#), [Mazziotta & Martin 2013](#)) but also show that affixes present interesting differences in their syntactic/semantic profile. [Aurnague & Plénat \(2008\)](#) observe that verbs derived in *é-* are systematically transitive and causative, while verbs derived with *dé-* more often have intransitive uses. [Martin & Piñón \(2020\)](#) argue that prefixes *a-/en-/dé-* have a stronger causativizing/inchoativizing effect than the suffixes *-is-* and *-ifi-*. The latter, but not the former, regularly yield verbs with activity (non-causative) meaning when derived from behavior-related predicates like *bête* ‘stupid’. For instance, *bêt-ifi-er* can mean become/cause to be (more) stupid (causative use) or behave in a stupid way (non-causative use), while *a-bêt-ir* has the former meanings only.

For Spanish, *a-/en-* prefixes are also reported to typically form causative transitive verbs ([Mendivil 2003](#), [Martínez Vera 2016](#), [Sotelo & Payet 2015](#)), while also allowing in some cases (reflexively unmarked) anticausative uses ([Mendikoetxea 1999](#)), but no unergative/activity readings. Like in French, Spanish *a-/en-* verbs contrast with suffixed (*-iz-*) ones. [Fábregas \(2015\)](#) argues that the latter mostly have a causative meaning, but may also have a non-causative activity use, like French *-is-/ifi-* verbs (e.g., *vandalizar* ‘behave like a vandal’; see also [Honrubia 2011](#) on these verbs). For Catalan, [Padrosa Trias’s \(2007\)](#) study suggests that most Catalan *en-* verbs are causative transitive verbs.

There are thus two generalizations to be explained, recapitulated in Table 1 for French. First, the theoretical analysis must capture that *prefixed* verbal formations are never devoid of change-of-state semantics. Inherent ‘change-of-state’-hood for such prefixed verbs is accounted for in analyses positing that the prefix indicates

that the theme enters or exits the result state described by the root (see [Acedo-Matellán 2006](#), [Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2013](#): section 4.2 on Catalan), or that the prefix is the head of a result projection ([Martínez Vera 2016](#) on Spanish). The assumption that prefixed verbs project an external cause explains the prevalence of causative uses ([Labelle 2001](#) on *en-* in French denominal formations, [Martínez Vera 2016](#) on *a-/en-* in Spanish deadjectival verbs). But the existence of (reflexively unmarked) anticausative uses is then not accounted for (but see [Martínez Vera 2016](#) for a potential solution). Secondly, the analysis must explain why *suffixed* verbal formations (Spanish *-iz-*verbs or French *-is/-ifi-*verbs) are compatible with but do not require causative/change-of-state semantics. In [Fábregas \(2015\)](#) and [Martin & Piñón \(2020\)](#), this is obtained by dissociating these suffixes from the head introducing this semantics.

3 Subtypes of causative verbs

Verbs with causative semantics are traditionally sorted into different subtypes. Causative verbs have been classified according to the type of external arguments they combine with (agent or causer, see section 2.3), the type of causation events they denote (externally or internally caused changes-of-state) as well as whether they encode a sublexical modal operator or not. Existing classifications are discussed in turn, starting with causative verbs devoid of modal semantics (redubbed extensional causative verbs) in section 3.1, and turning to modal causative verbs in section 3.2.

3.1 Extensional causative verbs

EXAMPLE	Levin and Rappaport (1995)	Alexiadou et al. (2006)	Rappaport (2020)
<i>assassiner</i> ‘assassinate’	externally caused	agentive	agentive
<i>tuer</i> ‘kill’		external cause	external cause
<i>ouvrir</i> ‘open’	cause unspecified	cause unspecified	cause unspecified
<i>flétrir</i> ‘decay’	internally caused CoS	internal cause	

Table 2 Grammatical classes of extensional change-of-state verbs

One of the most influential distinction among verbs with causative semantics goes back to [Levin & Rappaport Hovav’s \(1995\)](#) difference between externally vs. internally caused change-of-state verbs. The two classes distinguished by [Levin](#)

& Rappaport Hovav (1995) have distinct syntactic and semantic properties. On the semantic side, externally caused change-of-state verbs entail the existence of an external entity in control over the change. Internally caused change-of-state such as French *flétrir* ‘decay’ cannot be externally controlled. This is often evoked to account for why internally caused change-of-state verbs do not transitivize, or at least not so easily as externally caused ones. As shown in section 4.2.1, however, this semantic characterization has been put under recent criticism by Rappaport Hovav (2020). For her, these verbs do not form a grammatical class distinct from cause-unspecified verbs such as *open* (see Table 2).

Alexiadou et al. (2015) divide the class of externally caused change-of-state verbs into three different subclasses. *Agentive verbs* denote sets of events which are necessarily brought about by an agent (such as French *assassiner* ‘assassinate’). Alexiadou et al. (2015) do not mention as examples of this class verbs that imply the existence of an agent which is not necessarily intentional, such as French *peindre* ‘paint’ or Brazilian Portuguese *xeroxar* ‘photocopy’ (Cyrino 2013), but they fit well in this set, since they are also inherently agentive (one can accidentally paint something, but as pointed out by Kiparsky 1997, in order for an event to be a painting event, it must ‘qualify as the kind of event which is normally done with the purpose of directly bringing about [a] state [in which something is painted]’). Agentive verbs are expected to be necessarily used transitively, since they entail the involvement of an agent. This generalization holds in most languages, but Brazilian Portuguese presents an interesting exception in the Romance family, since as detailed in section 4.1.2, it has agentive causative verbs that can be used intransitively, with the theme as single argument.

Externally caused change-of-state verbs express events which are necessarily instigated by an argument different from the theme, but this time not necessarily an agent (such as French *tuer* ‘kill’). These verbs are also expected not to alternate. Section 4.1 presents arguments based on French in favor of the view that this subclass is smaller in Romance languages than in Germanic. *Cause unspecified change-of-state verbs* express events that can be causally driven either by the theme itself or by an external argument (such as French *ouvrir* ‘open’).

3.2 Modal causative verbs

Causal statements are not usually conceived as involving a modal meaning. But in fact, a causal statement can obviously also be modalized, either overtly (think of *necessarily cause P*, where the causative verb is modified by a necessity modal adverb), but also covertly. Cases of covert sublexical modal operators hidden in predicates that otherwise have the paradigmatic morphosyntactic properties of causative predicates have been first investigated in Oehrle (1976) and Koenig &

Davis (2001) and then in research devoted to non-culminating uses of causative verbs, including in Romance languages (Martin & Schaefer 2013, Fritz-Huechante et al. 2020). A list of these verbs in French is given in (20). For instance, French *enseigner* ‘teach’ is ditransitive just like *apprendre* ‘teach/learn’ and therefore most plausibly causative within the proposal that indirect objects are introduced by low applicative heads or stative/possessive event predicates (Pylkkänen 2008, Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2008). Nevertheless, *enseigner* does not entail a new state of knowledge like *apprendre* does, see the contrast in (21).

- (20) *offrir* ‘offer’, *encourager* ‘encourage’, *rassurer* ‘reassure’, *prévenir* ‘predict’, *expliquer* ‘explain’, *inciter* ‘incite, urge’, *montrer* ‘show’, *enseigner* ‘teach’, *soigner* ‘treat/cure’, *suggérer* ‘suggest’, *réparer* ‘repair’.
- (21) Pierre a OK enseigné/#appris la règle à Marie, mais elle ne la connaît toujours pas. (Fr.)
 ‘Pierre taught the rule to Mary, but she still doesn’t know it.’

An intriguing property of verbs like *enseigner* ‘teach’ first observed by Oehrle (1976) for English (sometimes referred to as ‘Oehrle’s effects’) is that a statement built with such a verb does not entail successful causation in the presence of an agentive subject (as just illustrated in (21)), but does so in the presence of a causer subject (typically event-denoting). The relevant contrast is illustrated for Spanish in (22) (from F. Fabregas, p.c., see Fritz-Huechante et al. 2020 for experimental evidence supporting the same type of contrasts with Spanish causative psych-verbs). Examples (22a/b) entail that the TV set is working/ the belief that the evacuation is the right thing to do when the subject is non-agentive, but only defeasibly imply it when the subject is agentive. Hence why the continuation in *pero...* denying the occurrence of the expected result state triggers a contradiction with non-agentive subjects (but not with agentive ones).

- (22) a. El fontanero/ #el golpe arregló la televisión, pero
 the plumber the impact repair.PFV.3SG the television but
 seguía sin funcionar. (Sp.)
 continue.IMP.3SG without work
 ‘The plumber/the impact repaired the tv set, but it still wasn’t working.’

- b. El presidente/ #el huracán justificó la evacuación, pero
the president/ #the hurrican justify.PFV.3SG the evacuation but
nadie se lo creyó. (Sp.)
nobody REFL it believe.IMP.3SG

‘The president/the hurricane justified the evacuation, but nobody believed it.’

Martin & Schaefer (2013) show through various means that these verbs do have the morphosyntax and (bi-eventive) event structure of causative verbs (core transitive verbs in Levin’s (1999) terms), despite the fact that with an agent, they do not entail, but rather (defeasibly) implicate, a full causation event. To explain why some verbs do not entail the occurrence of the result state despite encoding it lexically, Koenig & Davis (2001) (who concentrate on agentive uses only) introduce a covert sublexical modal component, which evaluates relations between participants and eventualities at various world indices. Their proposal is illustrated in the paraphrase given in (23) for the agentive version of (22a), where the part in italics indicates that the tv-set is working in a subset of possible worlds only, namely those where the plumber’s goal is achieved. Since the real world w_0 is not necessarily such a world, the tv-set may remain dysfunctional in w_0 .

- (23) The plumber caused the tv-set to be working *in all worlds where the goal of the repair is achieved.*

On this view, such verbs involve a causal relation just as is the case with run-of-the-mill, extensional causative verbs (e.g., *ouvrir* ‘open’). Martin & Schäfer (2012) propose that defeasible (modal) causatives encode a sublexical necessity modal operator (a modal base) scoping over the encoded result, whose flavour can vary with the thematic role associated with the subject.

That an agent subject is required to cancel the result inference has been attributed to a variety of factors, namely, a change in the flavour of the modal basis (Martin & Schäfer 2012), pragmatic factors having to do with some distinctive properties of actions (Martin 2015), the (abductive) reasoning that underpins the culmination inference (Gyarmathy & Altshuler 2020), semantic factors linked to the proposal presented in section 2.3 through (14)-(15), according to which causing events denoted by transitive causative VPs are classified differently with causer vs. agent subjects (Martin 2020), or structural factors as in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2020), who propose that some causative verbs lack Voice altogether when used agentively, and simply contain a VP, just like their anticausative counterparts (see (19c) in section 2.3).

3.3 Verbs with manner and result uses

While causative verbs have causative semantics across all uses, it is well-known that some verbs which are not inherently causative may nevertheless display causative semantics in some contexts. In the tradition of studies on the English verb lexicon along the lines of Levin (1993) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995), it is generally assumed that (morphologically simple) verbs are divided into two classes. Inherently causative verbs such as *break* denote events yielding some result and are therefore also called *result* verbs, while activity verbs such as *hit* describe manners of doing or ways of happening, and are henceforth called *manner* verbs. In various works, Levin & Rappaport defended the hypothesis first proposed by Kiparsky (1997) that manner and result components are in complementary distribution, in that a verb *root* lexicalizes only one (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2013). The very much discussed potential counter-examples *cut* or *climb* have been analyzed as *ambiguous*, leading to either manner or result uses, but not both simultaneously (Levin & Rappaport Hovav's (2013) manner/result complementarity). We call these verbs *manner-or-result-verbs*.

Manner-or-result-verbs have also been investigated in the Romance family. Which verbs show a similar ambiguity in Romance languages is still very much under discussion. We discuss in turn three subtypes of verbs showing mixed behavior in Romance languages, namely creation verbs, motion verbs, and activity verbs such as French *laver* 'wash'.

3.3.1 Optionally causative manner verbs

A first class of verbs showing characteristics of both manner (non-causative) and result (causative) verbs are transitive manner verbs like French *laver* 'wash', which defeasibly implicate a result state that obtains when the event they describe is successful (Talmy 1991, Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1998, Anagnostopoulou 2015). For example, the first clause of French sentence (24a) (just like its English translation) triggers the inference the denoted washing event caused that the internal argument (the car) to be clean(er). But this inference is defeasible, as shown by the felicity of the continuation in the second clause in (24a), which specifies that the car is just dirty as before. A verb like *laver* 'wash' thereby differs from a result verb like French *nettoyer* or *récurer* 'clean' in (24b). The first clause of (24b) *entails* that the state of being clean(er) holds true of the verb's internal argument as is verified by the fact that the second clause in (24b), where the achievement of such a result state is explicitly denied, is judged contradictory.

- (24) a. Edouard a lavé la voiture, mais elle n'est pas du tout plus propre qu'avant.
 'Edouard washed the car, but it is not at all cleaner than before.' (Fr.)
 b. Edouard a nettoyé/récuré la voiture, #mais elle n'est pas du tout plus propre qu'avant.
 'Edouard cleaned/scrubbed dirty out of the car, but it is not at all cleaner than before.'

However, there are contexts where verbs like *laver* do in fact involve a linguistically represented result state in their event structure. In [Martin & Schäfer \(2014b\)](#) it was observed that, in non-agentive contexts, such verbs entail rather than imply that the event successfully triggers the expected result state. The example in (25a) differs from (24a) only in the choice of the external argument, a human agent in (24a) and a non-animate causer DP (*la pluie* 'the rain') in (25a). With a causer subject it can no longer be denied that the internal argument undergoes a change developing towards the associated result state. This confirms [Folli & Harley's \(2005\)](#) and [Schäfer's \(2012\)](#) generalization according to which non-agentive (causer) subjects require a VP whose event structure contains a result state. [Alexiadou et al. \(2017\)](#) label these verbs *optionally causative manner verbs*.

- (25) a. La pluie a lavé la voiture, #mais elle n'est pas du tout plus propre qu'avant.
 (Fr.)
 'The rain washed the car, but it is not at all cleaner than before!'
 ([Martin & Schäfer 2014b](#))
 b. Gustave/#la chaleur et l'humidité a/ont repassé ma chemise mais ce fut sans effet. (Fr.)
 'Gustave/ the heat and humidity ironed my skirt but it had no effect.'
 (Fr., [Alexiadou et al. 2017](#))
 c. Margot/ #la poussière lui a gratté la gorge, mais il n'a rien senti.
 'Margot/Dust scratched her throat but he didn't feel anything.' (Fr.)

These contrasts suggest that these verbs are in fact ambiguous between mono-eventive verbs implicating a result and bi-eventive verbs entailing a result, i.e. they seem to be lexically equipped to enter both event structures in (26):

- (26) a. [[*x* DO-SOMETHING] CAUSE [*y* BECOME[STATE_{clean}]]]
 b. [*x* DO-SOMETHING_{wash} *y*]

[Alexiadou et al. \(2017\)](#) show that French *wash*-verbs display mixed syntactico-semantic behavior. In some respects, they pattern with manner (activity) verbs, that is [Levin's \(1999\)](#) non-core transitive verbs, and thereby differ from result (causative) verbs ([Levin's](#) core transitives). Firstly, they are often morphologically simple (*laver*

‘wash’) or derived from instrumental nouns (*balayer* ‘sweep’, from *balai* ‘broom’), while result verbs are typically polymorphemic (e.g., *en-courager* ‘encourage’). Secondly, they allow object drop in non-generic contexts, like manner verbs, while result verbs do not, see (27). Thirdly, they enter the conative alternation, while result verbs do not, see (28). Fourthly, they typically do not form anticausatives across Romance (except in Brazilian Portuguese, see [Carvalho 2016a](#)), see (29).

- (27) a. Pierre a lavé/balayé/râclé/gratté/... toute la journée. (Fr.)
 ‘Pierre washed/swept/scraped...the whole day.’
 b. *Pierre a encouragé/détruit/réveillé... toute la journée. (Fr.)
 ‘Pierre encouraged/destroyed/woke up... the whole day.’
- (28) a. Amrei balaye/gratte/frappe à ma porte. (Fr.)
 ‘Amrei is sweeping/scraping/hitting at my door.’
 b. *Onur casse/détruit à ma porte. (Fr.)
 Intended: ‘Onur is breaking/destroying at my door.’
- (29) a. La cour s’est balayée/lavée. (Fr.) (Passive reading only)
 ‘The yard has been swept/washed.’ (NOT: ‘The yard swept/washed.’)
 b. Le verre s’est cassé. (Fr.) (Passive or anticausative)
 ‘The glass has been broken.’ OR ‘The glass broke.’

But in other respects, *laver*-verbs pattern with result verbs: with causer subjects, they entail a result state (see (25)), and with some contextual support, they license the result-state oriented reading of durative adverbials ([Piñón 1999](#)), as well as the restitutive reading of *again* for some speakers. Crucially however, when they entail a result state, they still keep their manner component. For instance, both with causer and agent subjects, *laver* ‘wash’ specifies a property of the events it denotes (i.e., the involvement of a dirt-removing fluid force). This is a point by which optionally causative manner verbs differ from defeasible causative result verbs like French *encourager* ‘encourage’ ([Martin & Schaefer 2013](#)); e.g., *encourager* does not specify in any way how the feeling of getting more courage is triggered. But what these both classes have in common is that with an agent subject, they (defeasibly) implicate, rather than (non-defeasibly) entailing, some result, i.e., they form two subtypes of *implied-result verbs*, see Table 3.

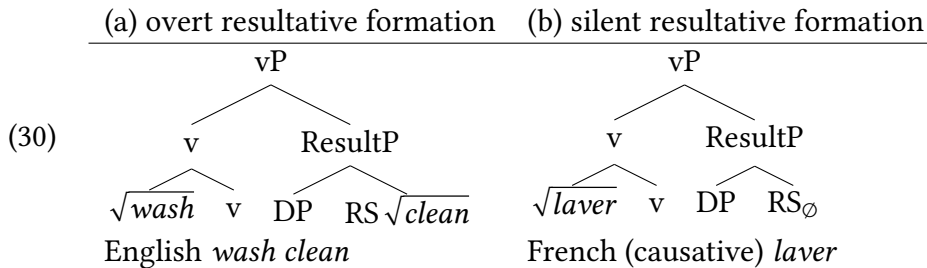
Table 3: Typology of verbs with causative uses

IMPLIED-RESULT VERBS		ENTAILED-RESULT VERBS
optionally causative	defeasible causative	extensional causative

Table 3: Typology of verbs with causative uses

IMPLIED-RESULT VERBS		ENTAILED-RESULT VERBS
manner verbs	result verbs	result verbs
<i>laver</i> ‘wash’	<i>offrir</i> ‘offer’	<i>donner</i> ‘give’
<i>gratter</i> ‘scratch’	<i>encourager</i> ‘encourage’	<i>séduire</i> ‘seduce’

Alexiadou et al. (2017) account for the behavior of verbs like *laver* ‘wash’ by distinguishing *overt* vs. *covert* resultative formation. Overt formation of strong resultatives (see (30a)) is impossible in Romance in general (see section 5). But optionally causative manner verbs can built causative structures (obligatorily with causers but also optionally with agents), by entering *silent* resultative formation (see (30b)). In (30b), the manner root still modifies the eventive v-head which is now augmented with a silent result state RS_{\emptyset} .



3.3.2 Creation verbs

A second type of verbs that has been argued to have both manner and result uses in Romance are verbs of creation such as Italian *intagliare* ‘sculpt’ (Folli & Harley 2016, 2020) or French *ciseler* ‘carve’ (Schirakowski 2020). Folli & Harley argue on the basis of event structure/aspectual tests and the interpretation of derived nominalizations that while verbs of this class name a manner of acting in the Product/Creation reading illustrated in (31a), they name the result of the event in the Material/Result reading illustrated in (31b).

- (31) a. Maria ha intagliato una bambola.
 Maria carve.PFV.3SG a doll
 ‘Maria carved a doll.’ (Manner use, Product/Creation)

- b. Maria ha intagliato un pezzo di legno.
 Maria carve.PFV.3SG a piece of wood
 ‘Maria carved a piece of wood.’ (Result use, Material/Result)
- c. *Maria ha intagliato un pezzo di legno in una bambola.
 Maria carve.PFV.3SG a piece of wood in a doll
 ‘Maria carved a piece of wood into a doll.’
 (Manner use, Created Result)

Folli & Harley argue that the third possible reading of the English creation verbs, namely the ‘Created Result’ structure illustrated in (31c), is not available in Romance and Italian in particular. They assume that under this third reading, the verb names the manner of an event whose result is expressed in the PP (*in una bambola* ‘into a doll’ in (31c)). For Folli & Harley, the ungrammaticality of examples such as (31c) in Italian is a syntactic reflex of a head movement parameter, that they called *the Talmian parameter*, summarized in (32).

- (32) *The Talmian parameter* (Folli & Harley 2016, 2020). Romance languages have a positive setting for the *result-to-V movement parameter*, which forces the head of the ResultP complement of *v* to head-move to *v*.

That is, in verb-framed languages like Romance, the syntax imposes the requirement that if a complement of the verb describes a property of some result yielded by the verbal event, then this result must be “encoded in the verb”. Thus, the problem of (31c) arises because on the one hand, in the Created result reading, the verb *intagliare* ‘carve’ must (by assumption) name the manner, while on the other hand, it should also incorporate the result given the presence of the result-naming projection *in una bambola* ‘into a doll’. By contrast, in Germanic, the result-to-V movement parameter is set to off: a manner verb can combine with a result-naming projection.

A recent experimental study, however, indicates that the Created Result (manner) reading illustrated in (31c) is available in French (Schirakowski 2020). Schirakowski’s (2020) results show that French sentences like (33) are acceptable and report examples attested in corpora.

- (33) Marie a sculpté le bois en (une) poupée.
 Maria carve.PFV.3SG the wood in a doll
 ‘Maria carved the wood into (a) doll.’ (Fr., Schirakowski 2020)

But the grammaticality of (33) does not necessarily go against Folli & Harley's (2020) hypothesis. One possibility is that in (33), the verb names the result after all, and the PP is a weak resultative (as in *casser en morceaux* 'break into pieces'), specifying a property of the result rather than introducing it (see section 5). Another possibility is that the PP in (33) is an adjunct. Folli & Harley's (2020) result-to-V movement parameter only requires Result-naming *complements* to undergo head movement and is obviously irrelevant for adjuncts external to the argument structure of the predicate. This parameter is thus respected in (33) if *en une poupée* is merged to a VP built with a manner verb. The contrasts in (34) suggest that the PP in (33) might be an adjunct in French, by contrast with its counterpart in English.

- (34) a. Marie a sculpté le bois avec un burin en une poupée.
'??Mary carved the wood with a chisel into a doll.'
- b. Maintenant tu façannes la pâte en petits bâtons ou bien tu le fais en petites boules, comme tu veux.
'??Now you shape the dough into small sticks or you do it into small balls, as you wish.'

That PPs describing a result may be adjuncts rather than complements is often dismissed as a possibility, for it is often implicitly assumed that *syntactic* resultativity is a necessary condition for *semantic* resultativity, and thus that adjuncts cannot describe some result of the verbal event. However, there is nothing wrong with a result-naming adjunct PP. Syntactic resultativity entails semantic resultativity, but the inverse is not true. Adjuncts can also augment the VP with a result, telos or boundary description (Gehrke 2008: chapter 4, Folli & Ramchand 2005: 88, Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2015, Bigolin & Ausensi 2021). Disentangling syntactic and semantic resultativity is also useful to understand the distribution of manner and result uses across motion verbs in Romance, to which we turn next.

3.3.3 Motion verbs

Motion verbs are traditionally divided into two classes (Beavers et al. 2010). *Manner of motion* verbs describe ways (or manner) of moving, and may implicate, but do not systematically entail, a change-of-location. For instance, Spanish *bailar* 'dance' does not, as shown by its compatibility with *sin desplazarse* 'without displacement' (del Mara Bassa Vanrell 2013):

- (35) Juan bailó sin desplazarse. (Sp.)
Juan danced without displace.INF.=REFL
'Juan danced in place.' (del Mara Bassa Vanrell 2013: 31)

Path verbs encode the path along which an entity moves, and sometimes also the location at which the entity arrives at the end of the path (but not the manner in which the entity moves). The path or location introduced by path verbs can be further specified by a PP, as in (36).

- (36) Julie est montée dans l'arbre en grimant. (Fr.)
 Julie go.up.PFV.3SG in the=tree in climbing.
 'Julie climbed up into the tree.' (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005)

Path verbs like French *monter* 'go up' are often analysed as a subtype of result verbs (see, e.g., Beavers et al. 2010), for they also denote an event leading to some result state, namely, the state of being at the endpoint of the path defined by the VP.

Talmy, but also, as Cappelle (2018) recalls us, others before him (Bally 1965, Tesnière 1959 or Vinay & Darbelnet 1958), have observed that in languages like French, Spanish or Italian, combining a manner-of-motion verb with a morphologically simple preposition does not yield a directional interpretation like in Germanic. Thus for instance, sentences (38)-(39) receive a locative interpretation devoid of causative semantics, while the English counterpart (37) may (or must in the case of *into*) express a caused change-of-location.

- (37) The bottle floated into the cave/under the bridge. (Eng., Talmy 1985)
- (38) *all locative only*
- a. La barca galleggió sotto il ponte. (It., Folli & Ramchand 2005: 82)
 'The boat floated under the bridge.'
- b. La bouteille a flotté dans la grotte. (Fr., Troberg 2010: 128)
 'The bottle floated in(*to) the cave.'
- c. La botella flotó a la cueva. (Sp., Beavers et al. 2010: 11)
 'The bottle floated in(*to) the cave.'
- (39) Anne a marché à la plage. (Fr., Cummins 1996: 34)
 'Anne walked at/*to the beach.'

Across Romance languages, however, a subset of motion events has been identified as displaying an ambiguity similar than the one just illustrated with creation verbs with manner and result uses, that is, as verbs that can be used either as manner-of-motion verbs, or as path verbs (see Folli & Ramchand 2005 about Italian, Cummins 1996, Sikora 2009 for French, Talmy 1985: 123, Achard 1989, de Cuyper 2004, Fábregas 2007, Vázquez 2015 for Spanish). Under the assumption that path

verbs are a subtype of result verbs, this makes these ‘elastic’ manner-of-motion verbs possibly falling within the class of verbs with causative/result *uses*.

Camminare-verbs in (38)-(39) are ‘rigid’ manner-of-motion verbs (no path/result uses). Sentences (40) illustrate the specificity of ‘elastic’ manner-of-motion verbs, or *correre*-verbs. As the directed motion reading is the only plausible in examples (40), these sentences turn out unacceptable with *camminare*-verbs, but are fine with *correre*-ones. Importantly, the *a/in*-PP in (40) is clearly a complement rather than an adjunct, as shown through a variety of diagnostics by Bonami (1999) for French, del Mara Bassa Vanrell (2013) for Spanish and Folli & Ramchand (2005) for Italian.²

- (40) a. #Bailó/OK corrió a la habitación. (Sp.)
‘He danced/ ran into the room.’ (Lewandowski & Mateu 2019)
- b. J’ai #marché/ OK couru au bar. (Fr.)
‘I walked/ ran to the bar.’ (Sikora 2009)
- c. Gianni è #camminato/OK corso in spiaggia (It.).
‘Gianni walked/ ran to the beach.’ (Folli & Ramchand 2005)

Folli & Ramchand (2005) and Folli & Harley (2016, 2020) all root the contrast in (40) into differences in the syntax and semantics of *camminare*- versus *correre*-verbs. In contrast with *camminare*-verbs, *correre*-verbs can optionally lexicalize a result (path+location).³ Folli & Harley’s (2016) Talmian parameter (32) is therefore obeyed (the result is incorporated in the verb itself). The *a*- or *in*-PP can then fill the complement position of the Result head, and thereby specify the location defining the path’s endpoint projected by the verb. Folli & Ramchand (2005) explain the problem of the variant built with a *camminare*-verb in (40) as resulting from the combination of several factors. Firstly, in Romance, *camminare*-verbs cannot be used as path/result verbs. Secondly, they assume that *a*-PPs, differently from *to*-PPs in English, cannot encode a path beyond a location (but see Gehrke 2008 for a different view). A third assumption is that Romance languages lack a covert Result head that could license a Result projection with these verbs (active in Germanic double object constructions and true resultatives). As a result, with *camminare*-verbs, no overt or covert pieces can expone the path component necessary to yield a directed motion description in (40).⁴ On the other hand, Folli & Harley’s (2016) Talmian parameter automatically filters out the combination of a manner verb like

²For instance in Italian, *correre*-verbs select *be* as an auxiliary when used as path verbs and the PP cannot be omitted (Folli & Ramchand 2005).

³Folli & Harley argue that in that case, the manner of moving component is dropped (observing that one can run to the hospital by car).

⁴Note that this third assumption is incompatible with Alexiadou et al.’s (2017) proposal that Romance *wash*-verbs enter silent resultative formation in their non-agentive uses, see section 3.3.1.

camminare with a covert or overt Result head external to the verb (independently of the question of whether *a*-PPs are able to encode a path or not).

But Romance languages also have morphologically *complex* prepositions such as French *jusqu'à*, Italian *fino a* and Spanish *hasta*, projecting a more complex structure than just a location. A VP formed with a rigid manner of motion (*camminare*)-verb and a PP headed by such a complex preposition routinely has a directed motion interpretation, as seen in (41). Crucially, such PPs headed by such complex prepositions are *adjuncts* rather than complements to the verb, as shown for Spanish by del Mara Bassa Vanrell (2013), for Italian by Folli & Ramchand (2005) and for French by Bonami (1999). This means that such examples also obey Folli & Harley's (2020) Talmian parameter (32), as result-to-V head movement is irrelevant for adjuncts.

- (41) Gianni ha camminato fino a casa.
'Gianni walked up until (he was) home.' (Folli & Ramchand 2005: 99)

4 The causative alternation

An important question around the syntax of causatives concerns the conditions under which a predicate can alternate between transitive and intransitive frames, as for instance the French verb *refroidir* 'cool' in (2) (Schäfer 2008; see Heidinger 2010, 2015, 2019 on French and Spanish; Mendikoetxea 1999 on Spanish; Folli 2014 on Italian, Carvalho 2016a on Brazilian Portuguese; Llabrés & Fontanals 2018 on Catalan). The issue raised by the causative alternation has two faces, addressed in turn in the following subsections. The first problem is to account for which causative verbs can be used in an intransitive frame, as anticausative verbs (section 4.1). The second task is the mirror of the first; i.e., one also has to define the conditions under which anticausative verbs can be used in a transitive frame, as causative verbs (section 4.2).

A general idea going back to Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) is that it is mainly the difference between manner versus result verbs that is relevant to explain how verbs participate in the causative alternation. What all alternating verbs have in common is that they specify a result, and have as single argument the internal argument of the transitive form. Non-alternating verbs are manner verbs or change-of-state verbs that specify that an agent is at the source of the change. The challenge is to account for the exceptions.

4.1 Restrictions on the intransitive formation

4.1.1 Verbs of creation and destruction

As just mentioned, a standard view is that only transitive result verbs that are not inherently agentive can be used intransitively. For English, a first well-known type of counter-examples to this generalization concerns verbs such as *destroy* or *kill*, which may have both causer or agent subject but nevertheless strictly do not alternate in any kind of contexts. The very strong transitivity of ‘*destroy*-verbs’ leads Rappaport Hovav (2014b) to the conclusion that such verbs form a truly *grammatical* class.

For Romance, however, things are more complex, for the anticausative can also be marked with a reflexive (see section 2.2), and the ensuing reflexively marked form is formally identical to passive, middle and semantically reflexive formations (Zribi-Hertz 1982, Schäfer 2008, Reinhart & Siloni 2004 Dobrovie-Sorin 2017, Schäfer 2017; see also Cennamo 2015 on Italian). Thus in order to establish whether the Romance counterparts of English *destroy*-verbs do not alternate either, one has to show that a felicitous reflexively marked variant of these verbs is not anticausative, but passive, middle or semantically reflexive. For some verbs such as *tuer* ‘kill’, things are pretty clear, in that the reflexively marked form of these verbs is obviously rather a passive or middle (when the subject is not human) or semantically reflexive (when the subject is human), as shown in (42).

- (42) a. Le temps se tue à coup de parties de cartes.
the time REFL=kill.PRS.3SG by means of games of cards
‘Time is getting killed by means of card games. (✓passive/middle, ✗AC)
- b. Pierre se tue au travail.
Pierre REFL kill.PRS.3SG at work
‘Pierre is killing himself at work.’ (✓reflexive, ✗AC)

But for other verbs of destruction, the exact range of meanings of the reflexively marked form is not so easy pin down, and the diagnostics usually relied on are not always easy to manipulate. One of the main diagnostics for anticausativity is the ‘no particular cause’ reading of *by itself* phrases (*tout seul*, *de/par lui-même* in French, *a sí mismo/por sí solo* in Spanish, *da sé* in Italian; see Chierchia 2004, Koontz-Garboden 2009, Schäfer 2007, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Schäfer & Vivanco 2016 for discussion). Such phrases have several interpretations; the first one is ‘alone’, and is not relevant for the causative alternation (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995). On a second one, called ‘no particular cause’ reading by Alexiadou et al. (2015: 21), these adverbials indicate that nobody or nothing can be identified that

caused the antecedent of *by itself* to participate in the VP-event. Thus for instance, (43a) entails that nothing/nobody can be identified that caused the branch to break. As shown in (43b), *de lui-même* is not compatible with the periphrastic passive, because the passive asserts ‘exactly what *by itself* denies’ (Alexiadou et al. 2015: 21), namely the possible identification of an external cause of the VP-event (the implicit external argument). Crucially, in Romance languages that also have a reflexive passive, *by itself*-phrases appear to be incompatible with reflexive passives, too. For instance, in (43c-d), where *se* receives a passive reading, *de lui-même* is not felicitous in French.

- (43) a. La branche s’est cassée (d’elle-même).
 the branch REFL=break.PFV.3SG from=itself
 ‘The branch broke by itself.’ (Fr., ✓*se*-passive, ✓AC)
- b. #La branche a été cassée d’elle-même.
 the branch has been broken from=itself
 Intended: ‘#The branch was broken by itself.’ (Fr., *be*-passive)
- c. Le temps se tue (#de lui-même).
 the time REFL killPRS.3SG from itself
 ‘Time is getting killed (by itself).’ (Fr., ✓*se*-passive, ✗AC)
- d. Le record du monde s’est cassé (#de lui-même).
 the record of=the world REFL=breakPRS.3SG from itself
 ‘The world record got broken (#by itself).’ (Fr., ✓*se*-passive, ✗AC)

Applying this test to some French verbs of destruction already suggests that the strong transitivity of these English verbs does not always extend to Romance. For instance, *de lui-même* clearly has the ‘no particular cause’ reading in (44), leading to the conclusion *se détruire* is used as an anticausative, as also suggested *en passant* by Reinhart (2002: 281).

- (44) Le papier-carton se recycle, ou se détruit de lui-même,
 the paper-carboard REFL recycles, or REFL destroys from itself,
 parce qu’il est biodégradable.
 because it is biodegradable
 ‘Cardboard paper is recycled or gets destroyed by itself, for it is biodegradable.’ (Fr., Internet)

In (45a) are given more examples of French verbs patterning with *détruire*, and in (45b) more examples of non-alternating ones. The split between the two classes remains to be investigated in Romance languages.

- (45) a. Like *détruire* ‘destroy’: *éliminer* ‘eliminate’, *annihiler* ‘annihilate’, *abîmer* ‘ruin’, *gâcher* ‘waste’, *détériorer* ‘deteriorate’, *empoisonner* ‘poison’.
 b. Like *tuer* ‘kill’: *massacrer* ‘butcher’, *abattre* ‘dispatch, slaughter’, *exécuter* ‘execute’, *immoler* ‘immolate’, *liquider* ‘liquidate’, *crucifier* ‘crucify’, *décimer* ‘decimate’, *ravager* ‘ravage’, *raser* ‘raze’, *dévaster* ‘devastate’

Creation verbs such as *build* or *write* are other well-known examples of non-alternating predicates (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995), which is expected given their strong agentivity in English. But again, it is unclear that their Romance reflexive counterparts inherit this property. Labelle & Doron (2010) collected natural occurrences of true anticausative uses of the French verb *construire* ‘build’, reporting spontaneous creation events that do not involve any external argument. Their examples are all generic (they call them middle anticausatives), but it is not difficult to find episodic examples, also for other creation verbs, such as (46a-b), for instance. In these examples, the creation process does not involve an implicit agent, which makes the passive reflexive reading implausible.

- (46) a. L’univers s’est créé de lui-même. (Fr.)
 the=universe REFL=build.PFV.3SG from itself
 ‘The universe developed by itself.’ (Internet)
 b. Le bâtiment s’ouvre sur un jardin commun qui se
 the building REFL=opens on a garden common which REFL
 dessine de lui-même, sans haies ni clôtures. (Fr.)
 draws by itself, without hedges nor fences
 ‘The building opens on a common garden which takes shape by itself,
 without hedge nor fence.’ (Internet)

If creation verbs in Romance more easily enter the transitive alternation than Germanic creation verbs, it is arguably because they display manner and result uses in Romance, as shown in section 3.3.2, but also because they accept non-agentive (and non-literal) subjects more easily. For instance, the wind can build a snow wall in Romance, but not so easily in Germanic, as shown in (47). The German example (47b) is fully acceptable only in the presence of the result particle *auf*.⁵

⁵Relatedly, German *aufbauen* forms an anticausative, but *bauen* does not, see e.g. *Widerstand hat sich OKaufgebaut/ #gebaut*. ‘Resistance took form.’

- (47) a. Le vent a construit un mur de neige. (Fr.)
 ‘The wind built a wall of snow.’
 b. Der Wind hat eine Schneewand #gebaut/OK aufgebaut.’ (Ger.)
 Intended: ‘The wind built a wall of snow.’

Given that causer subjects need a result state (Folli & Harley 2005, Schäfer 2012, see also section 3.3.1), this, in turn, suggests that creation verbs used non-agentively have a result use in Romance. This is further confirmed by the compatibility with the result-state oriented reading of durative adverbials, as shown in (48) ((48) asserts that the result state of the building event held for years, not that the building event lasted for years).⁶

- (48) Cet événement a construit son rapport aux femmes pendant
 this event build.PFV.3SG his relation at=the women for
 des années.
 INDEF. years
 ‘This event shaped [literally: built] his relation with women for years.’

4.1.2 Xerox-verbs

A second counter-example to the generalization according to which only transitive verbs with both agentive and non-agentive uses alternate concerns so-called xerox-sentences illustrated in (49). Such types of sentences are possible in Brazilian Portuguese, but not in European Portuguese (Galves 1985, Cyrino 2013, Carvalho 2016b). Thus for instance, (49a) shows that *xerocar* ‘to xerox’, although inherently agentive, can promote the internal argument in an unaccusative structure. The unacceptability of the *by*-phrase shows that the agent is syntactically inactive in such sentences, albeit conceptually present.

- (49) a. O livro está xerocando (*pelo aluno). (BrP.)
 the book is xeroxing by=the student
 Literally: ‘The book is xeroxing (by the student).’ (Cyrino 2013: 286)

⁶By contrast, in Germanic where creation verbs are more strongly agentive, morphologically simple creation verbs are often analysed as non-scalar/non-result verbs (the scale being provided by the incremental theme); see, e.g., Rappaport Hovav (2014a: section 12.6). Thus even if creation verbs obviously denote events yielding a certain state (i.e., a state of existence), they do not *lexicalize* this state.

- b. O relógio consertou. (BrP.)
the watch repaired

Literally: ‘The watch repaired.’ (Cyrino 2013: 288)

Whitaker-Franchi (1989) argues that only verbs presupposing the manipulation of an instrument are allowed in this construction. But J. Carvalho (p.c.) notes that some inherently agentive causative verbs entering this alternation that do not fulfill this property, like *calçar* ‘to put shoes on’:

- (50) a. João calçou os sapatos. (BrP)
 ‘João put the shoes on.’
 b. O sapato calçou.
 ‘The shoes put on.’

Cyrino’s (2007) diachronic corpus search suggests that the appearance of xerox-sentences coincides with the loss of the reflexive marker in anticausatives, impersonals, middles and passives and the emergence of the SV order. As observed by Carvalho (2016b), Brazilian Portuguese xerox-sentences are reminiscent of the anticausative variant of inherently agentive (result) verbs found in Mandarin Chinese. Inherently agentive result verbs can also alternate in Salish languages or Hindi.

4.2 Restrictions on the transitive formation

Two well-known sets of anticausative verbs are traditionally taken to resist causative formation. The first is the set of so-called internally caused change-of-state verbs introduced in section 3.1, e.g. Catalan *podrir* ‘rot’ (see Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995 on English, Heidinger 2015, 2019 on French and English, Mendikoetxea 1999 on Spanish, Abrines 2016 and Llabrés & Fontanals 2018 on Catalan, Folli 2002 on Italian). The verb *blossom* came to be the paradigmatic example of these verbs, but it turns out to be a quite inappropriate choice given Rappaport Hovav’s (2020) convincing arguments that these verbs have been misclassified and actually are unergative emission verbs. The second is the set of verbs that Schäfer (2008) calls ‘pure’ unaccusatives such as French *tomber* ‘fall’, which normally does not alternate in standard adult language, except in certain idioms (e.g., *tomber le masque* ‘drop the mask’). These two subclasses of non-alternating verbs with causative semantics are addressed in turn in the next two subsections.

4.2.1 Internally caused change-of-state verbs

In (51) are reproduced Catalan internally caused change-of-state verbs from Llabrés & Fontanals (2018), ordered according to the percentage (given in parenthesis after

the verb) of occurrences of transitive uses found in the *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana* by Abrines (2016).

- (51) *germinar* ‘germinate’ (0%), *fermentar* ‘ferment’ (0%), *brostar* ‘germinate’ (0%), *mustiar* ‘decay’ (0%), *oxidar* ‘oxidize’ (0%), *florir* ‘blossom’ (3,2%), *brotar* ‘sprout’ (4,3%), *rovellar* ‘rust’ (12,5%), *podrir* ‘rot’ (15%), *marcir* ‘rot’ (25%), *pansir* (30%), *inflar* ‘pump up’ (34%), *mudar* (34,6%), *descomprondre* ‘decompose’ (40%), *erosionar* ‘erode’ (50%), *corcar* ‘rot’ (50%), *corrompre* ‘corrupt’ (69,4%)

A number of studies have shown that verbs categorized as internally caused change-of-state verbs do in fact appear in causative frames (see McKoon & Macfarland 2000 for English, Alexiadou 2014, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2020 for Greek, Llabrés & Fontanals 2018 for Catalan, Mendikoetxea 1999 for Spanish). But crucially, when these verbs are used transitively, they typically have a subject that specifies what Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2012) call ‘ambient conditions’, see (52b). Agentive subjects are excluded as illustrated in (52a); see McKoon & Macfarland (2000) among others.

- (52) a. *The farmer withered the crops. (Eng.) (Rappaport Hovav 2020)
 b. Early summer heat blossomed fruit trees across the valley. (Eng.)
 (Rappaport Hovav 2014b)

Llabrés & Fontanals (2018) observe that inanimate ‘ambient condition’ subjects facilitate the transitive use of these verbs in Catalan too, as their contrast (53a) suggests, and Mendikoetxea (1999) makes the same observation for Spanish, see (53b).

- (53) a. *El fuster/OK la humitat podreix la fusta. (Cat.)
 ‘The carpenter/humidity rots the wood.’ (Llabrés & Fontanals 2018)
 b. ??Juan/OK la humedad oxidó les hierros de la verja. (Sp.)
 ‘Juan/humidity rusted the irons.’ (Mendikoetxea 1999)

French has not been investigated in this respect (but see remarks in Girard-Gillet 2020). But a corpus research on the literary database *Frantext* confirms that in French too, the transitive use of such verbs, although rather infrequent, does exist and is mostly possible with non-agentive subjects. Table 4 gives the results of a corpus search on all transitive vs. intransitive uses of four French internally caused change-of-state verbs in *Frantext* since 1900 (*pourrir* ‘rot’, *fleurir* ‘bloom’, *faner* ‘wilt’ and *rouiller* ‘rust’). The number of transitive occurrences in this corpus is given for each of these four verbs (column 3 gives the number of non-agentive

Verb	Total hits	trans. hits	trans. hits	trans. hits
			Non-agentive	Figurative
<i>pourrir</i> ‘rot’	1855	83 (4,4%)	53 (63,8%)	59 (71%)
<i>faner</i> ‘wilt’	832	17 (2%)	17 (100%)	12 (70,5%)
<i>rouiller</i> ‘rust’	1009	12 (1,1%)	12 (100%)	5 (41%)
<i>fleurir</i> ‘bloom’	2245	9 (0,4%)	9 (100%)	8 (89%)

Table 4 Transitive (non-agentive and figurative) uses of four French internally-caused change-of-state verbs in Frantext (from 1900-)

hits out of all transitive hits given in column 2).⁷ As Table 4 shows, most of the transitive verbs for these verbs are non-agentive (and also used figuratively or abstractly, something also observed for English by Rappaport Hovav 2020).

Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) argue that since these verbs denote changes which occur spontaneously, because of some internal properties of the theme, they cannot enter a transitive structure implying the existence of an external cause of the change which would be expressed by the transitive variant. When they do transitivize, it is because the change is then conceived as externally caused. Roughly the same kind of reasoning is extended to French in Heidinger (2015) and Spanish in Mendikoetxea (1999).

Rappaport Hovav (2020) emphasizes the circularity of this reasoning, since the only evidence for the different conceptualizations of the change is the participation of the verb to the causative alternation. Furthermore, as she points out, for many verbs classified as internally caused, it is very clearly possible to identify causes external to the entity undergoing the change. When metal rusts, there are external causes for this – moisture, humidity, etc. Rappaport Hovav thus concludes that there is no grammatically encoded distinction between internally and externally caused change-of-state verbs, and argues that all change-of-state verbs can in principle combine with an external argument, in line with the English, Catalan, Spanish and French data just presented.

To explain why so-called internally caused change-of-state verbs appear much less frequently in transitive frames and why they mostly select causer subjects when so used, Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2012) and Rappaport Hovav (2014b) resort to ‘the direct causation constraint’ traditionally associated with lexical causatives. Lexical causative verbs (e.g. *kill*) are associated with this constraint for they express *direct* causation only, while periphrastic (bi-clausal) causatives (e.g. *cause to die*)

⁷Transitive occurrences that are not in a regular semantic relation with the intransitive variant were excluded (e.g., *Jean a fleuri la table* ‘John put flowers on the table’ vs. #*La table a fleuri* ‘The table flowered’).

may also express *indirect* causation (Ruwet 1972, and Wolff 2003; but see critical discussion in Neeleman & Van de Koot 2012 and Martin 2018). Rappaport Hovav & Levin's (2012) idea is that in (52b), the ambient conditions are a direct cause in Wolff's (2003) sense (no intermediate entities intervenes between the Causer and the Causee). On the other hand, in (52a), the agent is not: ambient conditions form an intervening cause between Causer and Causee.

It is not obvious, however, that the subject of felicitous transitive uses of internally caused change-of-state verbs can always obviously be defined as a direct cause under Wolff's (2003) definition. For instance, in the English example (52b), it is not entirely clear that the summer heat is a 'direct' cause of the state of being blossomed; surely, other factors must intervene at some point, such as the watering of the plants. Furthermore, recall from section 2.3 that under some analyses (Martin 2018, 2020), the causal chain is in fact more complex when the transitive causative is combined with a causer subject than with an agent subject, since causers introduce a further causing event on top of the verbal event; compare for instance the semantic representations one would assume following Martin (2018, 2020) for Catalan examples (53a) in (54) (involving two causing events) and (55) (involving only one):

- (54) a. La humitat podreix la fusta.
 b. [[EVENT_{humidity}] CAUSE [[EVENT] CAUSE [the wood STATE_{rotten}]]]
- (55) a. *El fuster podreix la fusta.
 b. [[the carpenter_{agent} [EVENT]] CAUSE [the wood STATE_{rotten}]]]

A potential alternative account for the restrictions imposed by internally caused change-of-state verbs also resorts to the directness constraint of lexical causatives, but redefined through causal sufficiency (Martin 2018 and references therein). The idea is that lexical causative statements by default trigger the implicature that it is foreseeable from the start of the causal chain that the first event in the chain is a *sufficient cause* to trigger the result state, in the causal model assumed in a default context at the beginning of the causal chain. In other words, the act of the agent (in the case of the agentive use) or the event denoted by the subject (in the case of the non-agentive one) has to be a 'decisive' cause, sufficing to trigger the result state, and this in the background of other causal factors assumed to be already satisfied at the beginning of the causal chain. Why verbs like *decay* are more difficult to transitivize than verbs like *open* can then be explained as follows. It is easy to identify a decisive, sufficient external cause of some state of being open in a default causal background (some action or some strong gust of wind often suffices to cause a door to be opened if it is not locked). By contrast, a decisive,

sufficient cause of some state of being decayed is often conceived as internal to the entity (which blocks the transitive use), and relatedly, external causes for the type of states expressed by these verbs are generally conceived as necessary but not sufficient for the result state. For instance, a direct exposition to the sun generally does not suffice *per se* to trigger the decay of a healthy plant. The contrast in (53a) can then be accounted for as follows: in the causal model assumed in a default context, a particular level of humidity, but not the act of a forester, can be conceived as the sufficient cause for the rotting of the piece of wood. However, in the right context, the agent's performance can be presented as sufficient for the result to obtain, and the agentive transitive variant is then acceptable (as also noted by Rappaport Hovav 2020 for English). This is the case in (56a), where the speaker aims to blame the subject's referent to be the (fully responsible) sufficient cause for the degradation of their socks/their mood.⁸

- (56) a. vous me pourrissez toutes vos chaussettes (Fr., André Bazin)
you me rot.PRST.2SG all your socks
'You are rotting all your socks on me.'
- b. Tu flétris mon humeur. (Fr., Twitter)
'You are wilting my mood.'

An account through causal sufficiency is also supported by the fact that the transitive variant seems easier to obtain with internally caused change-of-state verbs expressing changes towards destruction than with those expressing changes towards improvement: sufficient, decisive causes are easier to find for the former. Finally, the very strong intransitivity of *blossom*-verbs noted by Rappaport Hovav (2020) in English (and confirmed by the distribution of transitive uses of Catalan verbs in (51)) is accounted for under Rappaport Hovav's (2020) proposal that these verbs are *not* change-of-state verbs, but rather a special class of (unergative) substance emission verbs. As expected, the rare transitive uses of these verbs often have an emitter subject, as for instance in (57).

⁸A reviewer suggests that English seems nevertheless more permissive than French in the transivization of internally caused change-of-state verbs. This might be due to a difference in the division of labor between lexical and analytical causatives in French and English. French has a light causative verb *faire* yielding monoclausal structures (see section 6). Thus using *faire* to overtly express the causal relation between the subject event and the verbal event (rather than keeping it silent using a lexical causative) does not change anything to the overall semantics, and may for this reason be the preferred option in French. English *make* is semantically 'heavier' (and relatedly yields a bi-clausal construction). That the use of English *make* is more semantically restricted might explain why the lexical verb is in turn more flexible.

- (57) La plante ne saurait faire autrement (...) que de fleurir
 The plant NEG know-COND.1.3SG do otherwise (...) than to blossom
 ses fleurs. (Fr.)
 its flowers
 ‘The plant couldn’t do otherwise than blossoming her flowers.’
 (Paul Claudel)

4.2.2 Pure unaccusative verbs

Romance languages all have a set of pure unaccusative verbs, that do not have a transitive (causative) variant in the standard variant of the language. In (58)-(61) are given lists of these verbs.⁹ The only way to causativize these verbs is syntactic: one has to embed them under a causative verb such as French/Italian *faire/fare* ‘make’.

- (58) Catalan: *venir* ‘come’, *arribar* ‘arrive’, *entrar* ‘enter’, *pujar* ‘go up’, *baixar* ‘go down’ (Pineda 2018)
- (59) Italian: *evaporare* ‘evaporate’, *scoppiare* ‘burst’, *appassire* ‘fade’, *esplodere* ‘explode’, *ritornare* ‘return’, *arrivare* (Pineda 2018)
- (60) French
- a. *be*-verbs: *aller* ‘go’, *partir* ‘leave’, *tomber* ‘fall’, *arriver* ‘arrive’, *mourir* ‘die’, *naître* ‘be born’, *rester* ‘remain’
 - b. *be/have*-verbs: *(dis)-paraître* ‘(dis)appear’
 - c. *have*-verbs: *pleuvoir* ‘rain’¹⁰, *échapper* ‘escape’, *exploser* ‘explode’

⁹For French and Italian, there is a large agreement that the selection of auxiliary *be* for an intransitive is a sufficient condition to be unaccusative; for Italian, there is a fair correspondence between the choice of *be* and unaccusativity defined by other means; for French, things are more complex since only a small set of verbs whose Italian counterparts take *be* are also *be*-takers (Ruwet 1989; see the discussion in Legendre 1994 and Legendre & Sorace 2003). Spanish and Catalan only have one auxiliary (*have*) (Terracinese, a central Italian dialect, is a language with *be* as the only auxiliary, see Tuttle 1986).

¹⁰Ruwet (1989) claims that French weather verbs are unaccusative in most of their uses. Levin & Krejci (2019) argue that in English and Italian, precipitation events can be systematically construed as substance emission events (under which weather verbs are unergative) or as directed motion events (yielding an unaccusative syntax). It remains to be checked whether their arguments can be extended to French.

- (61) Spanish: *aparecer* ‘appear’, *caer* ‘fall’, *llegar* ‘arrive’, *occurir* ‘happen’, *venir* ‘come’ (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1583)

For non-standard (dialectal, colloquial) variants of several Romance languages, however, the transitive variant of some of these verbs is attested (see Pineda 2018 for an overview). Rohlfs (1954) and Ledgeway (2000) specify that the non-standard transitive pendant of these verbs is more frequent in the dialects of southern Italy. It is also reported in Western Peninsular Spanish (Lara Bermejo 2019) as well as in Spanish variants in Andalucía, Aragon and Avila (Llorente Maldonado 1980, Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino 2017). Transitive uses of some pure unaccusatives are also reported in Toulousain French (Séguy 1950), or Québec French (Labelle 1989), but these transitive uses can also be found in Hexagonal French, as shown in (62), for instance (Larjavaara 2000 collects a lot of attested examples, including in literary texts).

- (62) Le groupe n’a pas fait que tenir ses promesses, il les a
The band NEG=has NEG made only hold his promises, it them has
explosées. (Fr.)
exploded

‘This band not only held their promises, they exploded them.’

(in ‘Les Inrocks’)

Furthermore, they are also common under the guise of ‘causative errors’ in Romance child languages, as illustrated in (63), from Sarkar (2002).

- (63) il va tomber le château? (Fr.) (BEN, 1;10.21, Sarkar 2002)
he will fall the castle

‘He’s gonna fall down the castle?’

Verbs with a transitive variant in certain standard Romance varieties seem easier to transitivity in non-standard variants of other Romance languages (where the transitive use is not standard). For instance in Spanish, the non-standard transitive use for *entrar* ‘enter’, whose counterpart is transitive in standard French (e.g., *(r)entrer la clé dans la serrure* ‘put the key into the lock’), is more widespread than for *caer* ‘fall’, whose counterpart in standard French is also inherently intransitive. Agentivity seems to be a facilitating factor. Whether these tendencies are systematic remains to be checked.

Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino (2017) have argued on the basis of Spanish data that if a directed motion unaccusative verb has a causative variant, then the existence

of a reflexively marked unaccusative variant is expected (see Pineda 2018 on the possible extension of this correlation in other Romance languages). The optional reflexive variant of directed motion unaccusative verbs common for verbs in (64a) is an example of Spanish optional *se* constructions (Campanini & Schäfer 2011, Armstrong 2013, García Fernández 2015, Pineda 2018, de Benito Moreno 2020), see (64a) from García Fernández (2015: 281). Verbs in (64b) reject the clitic in the standard variant, but accept it in non-canonical (perhaps dialectal) variants (García Fernández 2015: 282).

- (64) a. *ir(se)* ‘leave’, *venir(se)* ‘come’, *subir(se)* ‘get on’, *bajar(se)* ‘get off’, *caer(se)* ‘fall’.
 b. *entrar(*se)* ‘enter’, *huir(*se)* ‘run away’

The *se*-variant has been argued to reinforce the resultative/telic interpretation (García Fernández 2015), to present the theme as more affected (Camacho 2014), or to present the event as unexpected or undesirable (Aaron 2003). de Benito Moreno (2020) critically reviews these different accounts on the basis of extensive corpus searches.

In French, the reflexive variant of directed motion unaccusative verbs (*se rentrer* ‘go back’, *se descendre* ‘go down’, *se tomber* ‘fall’) is hardly studied, but it is reported in Walloon French (Franz 1912) and is also used in non-canonical French, see (65) (Creissels 2003: section 5.1). Speakers consulted often report an emphatic flavor for this variant.

- (65) Bon, je vais me rentrer. A demain. (Fr.)
 well I will REFL go home to tomorrow
 ‘Well, I’m going home. See you tomorrow.’ (Simone de Beauvoir)

While all non-canonical transitive uses of unaccusatives mentioned above through examples in (62) have causative semantics, this is not always the case. Sentence (66) is not an occurrence of causativisation of *arrivare*: the speaker of (66) does not mean that he made the theme arrive. Examples of the latter type are closer to instances of preposition drop, i.e. omission of the preposition in certain locative and directional contexts, and found in varieties of English, Greek, Arabic and German.

- (66) L’ho arrivato. (It.)
 PRN.ACC.3SG arrive.PFV.1SG.
 Literally: ‘I arrived him.’ (i.e., I reached him) (Pineda 2018: 247)

5 Resultatives

The strong restrictions Romance languages impose on truly resultative constructions are one of the most discussed properties by which Romance languages diverge from Germanic languages. Talmy's (2000) and others seminal observation that resultative formation is much more restricted in Romance than in Germanic is still uncontroversial (see, e.g., Merlo 1989, Napoli 1992, Folli & Ramchand 2005 on Italian, Mallén 1991, Mateu 2012, Bigolin & Ausensi 2021 on Spanish, Kaufmann & Wunderlich 1998 for a cross-linguistic overview, see also the discussion in Mateu & Rigau 2010, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2019). But whether Romance languages do allow some subtypes of resultatives in some corners of the language is still a lively debated question. Washio's (1997) distinction between weak and strong resultatives is here illuminating. Attested resultatives in Romance languages often turn out to be what Washio (1997) calls *weak* resultatives (e.g., English *break into pieces*), *spurious* resultatives (Kaufmann & Wunderlich 1998, Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2015, e.g., English *tie his shoelaces tight*), or adjuncts, as argued by Bigolin & Ausensi (2021) (e.g., Spanish *golpear hasta la muerte* 'beat to death').

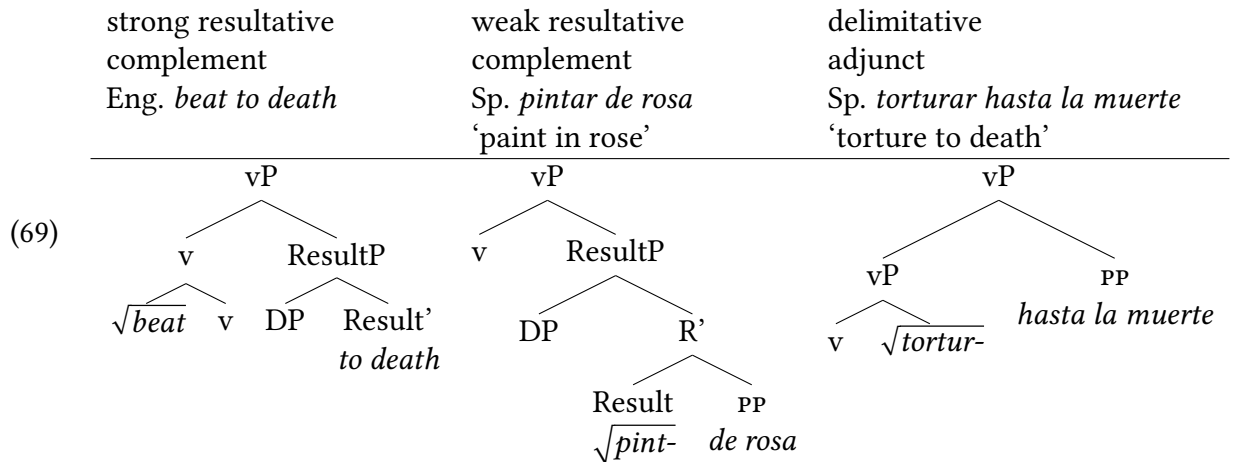
In strong resultatives (e.g., (67)), "the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are completely independent of each other" in that "it is impossible to predict from the semantics of the verb what kind of state the patient comes to be in as the result of the action named by the verb" (Washio 1997).

(67) Kristin hammered the metal flat. (manner verb, strong resultative)

By contrast, weak resultatives as in (68) just narrow down (specify) the result state licensed by the verb itself.

(68) Amrei broke the glass into pieces. (result verb, weak resultative)

Thus the difference between the two types of resultatives correlates with the difference between non-core (manner) and core (result) verbs, since it can be determined by checking whether the verb in the construction entails a result state in isolation or not. If it entails a result state in isolation (as, e.g., *break*), it is a result verb, and the resultative is weak for it modifies the result already encoded in the verb (see (69b)). If the verb is a manner verb (as, e.g., *hammer* or *wash*), the resultative is strong for it augments the event structure with a result state (see (69a)).



Translations in (70b-c) of (70a) and (70d), built with manner verbs, show that strong resultatives are not possible in Romance.

- (70) a. Hannah hammered the metal flat. (Eng.)
 b. *Jean a martelé le métal plat. (Fr., Washio 1997: 28)
 c. *Gianni ha martellato il metallo piatto. (It., Merlo 1989: 30)
 d. *Maria martilleó el metal plano. (Sp., Mateu 2012: 258)
 e. *Il a marché les jambes raides. (Fr., Washio 1997: 27)
 'He walked his legs off (stiff).'

Examples (71)-(72), which all contain a result verb, illustrate that weak resultatives turn out impossible in Romance when the secondary predicate is an AP (see (71)), but are acceptable when the resultative is a PP (see (72)), as observed by Folli & Ramchand (2005) for Italian, Dagnac (2009) for French, and Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal (1991), Mallén (1991), Acedo-Matellán (2012), Fábregas & Marín (2018) for Spanish.

- (71) a. *Gianni ha rotto il vaso aperto. (It., Folli & Ramchand 2005: 101)
 Intended: 'John broke the vase open.'
 b. *Elle a teint ses rideaux bleus rouges. (Fr.)
 Intended: 'She dyed her blue curtains red.'
- (72) a. Gianni ha rotto il vaso in mille pezzi. (It., Folli & Ramchand 2005)
 'Gianni broke the vase in thousand pieces.'
 b. Elle a teint ses rideaux en rouge. (Fr., Dagnac 2009)
 'She dyed her curtains in red.'
 c. Juan cortó la cebolla en rodajas. (Sp., Fábregas & Marín 2018: 119)
 'Juan cut the onion in slices.'

Resultative complement PPs thus have to be weak in Romance, and may appear with causative (result) verbs only. If the causative verb *rompere* ‘break’ in (72a) is replaced by the non-core transitive (manner) verb *martellare* ‘hammer’, the sentence becomes infelicitous, as (73) illustrates:

- (73) *Gianni ha martellato il vaso in mille pezzi. (It.)
Intended: ‘Gianni hammered the vase into thousand pieces.’

It has been claimed however that strong resultative PPs (diagnosed by the presence of a manner verb) are in fact sometimes possible in Romance (see [Rodríguez Arrizabalaga 2014](#) for Spanish, [Celle 2003](#) for French), see the examples in (74), built with transitive manner verbs.

- (74) a. Los torturaban hasta la muerte y los dejaban tirados entre los cascotes.
‘They tortured them to death and left them lying around among the pieces of rubble.
(Sp., [Rodríguez Arrizabalaga 2014](#): 120, *apud* [Bigolin & Ausensi 2021](#))
b. Bertrand Cantat est maintenant accusé d’avoir battu à mort sa compagne.
‘Bertrand Cantat is now accused to have beaten her partner to death.’
(Fr., [Celle 2003](#): 5)

However, [Bigolin & Ausensi \(2021\)](#) have provided arguments showing that the PP does not contribute to the argument structure of the VP and behaves as an adjunct. As such they are not examples of [Washio’s \(1997\)](#) strong resultatives (which are complement to the verb). Rather, they constitute another case of what we could call ‘delimitative adjuncts’, i.e. PPs which are merged as adjuncts external to the argument structure of the predicate and provide a boundary to the verbal event ([Beavers 2008](#)). Delimiters are not complements of the verb (thus not syntactically resultative), but may nevertheless yield resultative semantics when they spell out some result of the verbal event, like the PP does in (74).

Examples (75) provide a last type of potential counter-examples to the generalization according to which strong resultatives are banned from Romance languages (see [Napoli 1992](#), [Folli & Ramchand 2005](#) on Italian, [Riegel et al. 1997](#) on French)

- (75) a. Il a coupé mon veston *court/ OK trop court.
‘He cut my jacket short/ too short.’ (Fr., [Riegel et al. 1997](#): 241)
b. Gianni ha cucito la camicia *stretta/troppo stretta.
‘John sewed the dress tight/too tight.’
(It., [Folli & Ramchand 2005](#): 102)

Mateu (2012: 258, fn. 9) and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015) argue that in these examples, the adjectival phrase does not occupy the inner small clause predicate and is rather adjoined to the verb. On this view, they are what Washio (1997) calls spurious resultatives (as *tight* in English *tied ones' shoelaces tight/loose*). Syntactically, spurious resultatives are adjoined to the verb, and semantically, they specify a manner property of events which impacts the shape of the result state the event leads to. For instance, tying ones' shoelaces tightly typically yields a state of shoelaces being tight (see Fábregas & Marín 2018 for similar observations about *cortar la cebolla fina* 'cut the onion thin' in Spanish).

6 Analytical causatives

6.1 Transparency effects in *faire*-constructions

Romance languages have a class of causative verbs taking non-finite complements, as for instance *obbligare/obligar/obligar/obligar* 'oblige', *forzare/forzar/forçar/forcer* 'forcer' or *fare/hacer/fazer/faire* 'make', see (76a). Causatives as in (76a) are called analytical because the causative predicate *faire* describing the causing event *e* and the infinitive in the complement describing the result of *e* are two different verbal entities.

- (76) a. Marie a fait pleurer Jean. (Fr.) (post-infinitival subject)
 Marie has made cry Jean
 b. *Marie a fait Jean pleurer. (pre-infinitival subject)
 Marie has made Jean cry
 c. Marie l'a fait pleurer/ *a fait le pleurer.
 Marie him.ACC=has made cry/ has made him.ACC cry

When a causative verb as *tuer* 'kill' is embedded under a causative verb such as *faire*, the resulting structure forms *double causatives* (e.g., *faire tuer* 'make kill'), expressing a chain of two causing events.¹¹

A striking distinctive property of *faire* and its cognates in other Romance languages is that they show several properties characteristic of restructuring configurations.

¹¹In child French (as in other child languages), double causatives sometimes lead to what Martin et al. 2021 call causative concord interpretations, i.e., are used to express the meaning of a simple lexical causative. For instance, French children sometimes use *faire fermer les yeux* 'make close the eyes' to mean *fermer les yeux* 'close the eyes' (Bezinska et al. 2008, Martin et al. (2021)). Causative concord uses of double causatives persist with some verbs in non-standard adult French (e.g., the French *Académie française* warns against the non-prescriptive use of *faire montrer* 'make show' for *montrer* 'show'). When the embedded verb is inherently transitive like *montrer*, these cases cannot be reanalysed as the result of reflexive drop under *faire* of a reflexively marked inchoative verb (see section 6.3).

The contrast between (76a) and (76b) shows that in French (as in Italian), the infinitive must be placed adjacently to *faire* while the subject of the infinitive must be placed in sentence final position. Also, (76c) shows that *faire* must host the clitic although it is an argument of the infinitive. Constructions with a pre-infinitival (non-cliticized) subject as in (76b) are forbidden in French, Italian and Catalan, but possible in other Romance languages such as Spanish, see (77) (Labelle 2017, Ciutescu 2018 and references therein). Example (77) further shows that clitic climbing is optional in Spanish, by contrast with French.¹²

- (77) (El campamento), el sargento hace a los soldados limpiarlo
(the camp) the sergeant makes DOM the soldiers clean-it
todas las mañanas. (Sp.)
all the mornings

‘(The camp), the sergeant makes the soldiers clean it every morning.’

(Torrego 2010: 451)

The ‘transparency effects’ just illustrated through examples (76) (the use of a post-infinitival subject in the embedded domain and climbing of clitics) are often taken to mark a clear deviation from a bi-clausal structure. For some authors (e.g., Zubizarreta 1985, Di Sciullo & Rosen 1991, Rowlett 2007) *faire* and the infinitive form together a single complex verb. Kayne (1977) rejects the single complex verb approach on the basis of the observation that enclitics and adverbials may separate the two verbs.¹³ On a second view, the causative verb and the embedded verb in (76) are two independent lexical heads, but transparency effects take place because the complement of the former is reduced, not bigger than VP or vP, yielding a monoclausal structure. On the other hand, the use of a pre-infinitival subject in the embedded complement and the possibility to leave clitics *in situ* as in (77) are often taken to indicate the selection of a more complex complement, yielding a structure similar to Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) or control configurations (Guasti 1993, Labelle 1996, Rowlett 2007, Torrego 2010 among others).

¹²Clitic climbing is also optional in Catalan (Labelle 2017: 317-318), indicating that the option of leaving clitics *in situ* and the licensing of a preinfinitival subject in the embedded domain do not necessarily go hand in hand.

¹³In order to maintain a single predicate analysis despite the separability issue, it has been proposed that *faire* is an auxiliary (Abeillé & Godard 2003). As pointed out by Labelle (2017), the problem, however, is that *faire*, contrary to auxiliaries, adds an external argument to the verb (and sometimes an adjunct).

6.2 *Faire à, faire par* and ECM-type causatives

The case on the infinitival subject is mainly determined by the transitivity of the embedded verb. When the infinitive is intransitive, its argument receives accusative case in standard variants, as can be seen when it is cliticized as in (76c).¹⁴ When the infinitive is transitive, the embedded object receives accusative case, and the embedded subject receives dative case, as illustrated in (78a). Another possibility is to express the embedded subject with a *par/da*-marked phrase, as in (78b). The referent of the matrix subject (the speaker in (78)) is called the Causer, and the external argument of the embedded transitive verb (the general in (78)) is called the Causee. Since Kayne (1977), the construction in (78a) is called *faire-infinitive* (FI) and the one in (78b) is called *faire-par* (FP).

- (78) a. J'ai fait nettoyer les toilettes au général. (Fr.) (FI)
 I have made clean.INF the toilets to.the general
 'I made the general clean the toilets.' (Hyman & Zimmer 1976)
- b. J'ai fait nettoyer les toilettes par le général. (FP)
 I have made clean.INF the toilets by the general
 'I had the toilets cleaned (by the general).' (Hyman & Zimmer 1976)

There are two ways to cliticize the Causee in FI. The standard one is simply to have a dative clitic appearing onto *faire*, see (79a). Another one, sometimes considered ungrammatical (Kayne 1977) but commonly found in colloquial or non-canonical varieties of French, cliticizes the Causee with accusative case onto *faire*, see (79b). In the latter (double accusative) structure, the Causee receives accusative case from the causative verb, as in ECM configurations. Such configurations are possible only when the Causee is cliticized in French (Abeillé et al. 1997, Labelle 2017: 303), Italian (Burzio 1986: 232, Sheehan 2020: 378-379) and Catalan (Sheehan 2020: 380-382). In Spanish or Portuguese, such constructions (F-ECM for short) are possible with non-cliticized Causees, too (recall (77)).

- (79) a. Je lui ai fait nettoyer les toilettes. (Fr.) (FI)
 I him.DAT have made them.ACC clean
 'I had him clean the toilets.'

¹⁴In French, dative clitics as in *Marie lui a fait pleurer* 'Marie him.DAT has made cry' are regularly found in child French and colloquial adult French when the intransitive is unergative; see, e.g., Hyman & Zimmer (1976), Abeillé et al. (1997), Lamiroy (2013). In Spanish, a dative clitic instead of the expected accusative clitic (*leísmo*) with intransitive complements is also characteristic of certain dialects (Fernández-Ordóñez 1999, Ciutescu 2018: 159).

- b. Je l'ai fait nettoyer les toilettes. (Fr.) (F-ECM)
I him.ACC=have made them.ACC clean
'I had him clean the toilets.'

There are semantic differences between FP and FI as well as between FI and F-ECM, but the structures are generally compared two by two only, and often on the basis of the same criteria, leading to a confusing picture calling for clarification.

On the one hand, [Hyman & Zimmer \(1976\)](#) rightly point out that the accusative case in F-ECM (see (79b)) conveys a lower degree of control (or lack of control) of the Causee, and thus a more direct causal relation between matrix and embedded events, while the dative clitic as in (79a) indicates higher control or autonomy of the Causee and a more indirect causation (see [Strozer 1976](#) for a similar characterization of the accusative-dative clitic alternation with Spanish *hacer*, and [Ciutescu 2018: 147-149](#) for a critical review). As [Ciutescu \(2018: 148\)](#) points out, this is in line with [Kemmer & Verhagen's \(1994\)](#) claim that accusative Causees have a lower degree of control on the embedded event than dative Causees.

On the other hand, [Folli & Harley \(2007\)](#) notoriously argue that in FI, independently of whether the Causee is cliticized or not (thus (78a) or (79a)), the causal relation is more direct than in FP, in that the Causer *obliges* the Causee to be involved in the embedded event. This sense of obligation is supposed not to be present in FP, which conveys less direct causation.

The respective descriptions of FI by [Hyman & Zimmer \(1976\)](#) and [Folli & Harley \(2007\)](#) are not compatible: for [Hyman & Zimmer \(1976\)](#), FI with cliticized Causee conveys indirect causation/autonomy of Causee, while for [Folli & Harley \(2007\)](#), FI (independently of whether the Causee is cliticized or not) conveys direct causation/lack of control of the Causee. Another problem is that, as [Vecchiato \(2011: 121\)](#) underlines, the data put forward by [Folli & Harley \(2007\)](#) in favour of the obligation effect are not as clear as they assume. After all, both (78a/b) clearly imply that the speaker obliged the general to clean the toilets. The same skepticism is expressed in [Ciutescu \(2018: 152\)](#), for whom FI in Catalan or French is systematically ambiguous between a coercive/direct causation reading (the speaker forces the general to clean the toilets) or an instigative/indirect causation reading (the speaker indirectly incites the general to clean the toilets).

The strongest argument [Folli and Harley](#) put forward in favour of the obligation effect in FI is that FI, but not FP, seems to come with an animacy restriction on the Causee, as their contrast in (80) suggests. The reasoning is that obligations can be exerted on animates only.

Effect	FI	FP	F-ECM
Causee affected	+		
Theme affected		+	
Animate Causer		+	
Causee lacks control			+

Table 5 Semantic effects characterizing FI, FP and F-ECM

- (80) Gianni ha fatto disinfettare il computer al tecnico/ *al
 Gianni has made disinfect the computer to.the technician/ to.the
 programma. (It.)
 program

‘Gianni made the technician/the program disinfect the computer.’

But as [Vecchiato \(2011: 132\)](#) notices, the problem raised by *al programma* in (80) may also reflect a competition effect between *al* and the instrumental preposition *con*. [Vecchiato](#) argues that in context in which the inanimate is clearly not instrumental, the Causee of FI can also be inanimate in Italian. In fact, [Kayne \(1977: 240\)](#) already provides many examples of French FI with inanimate Causee, see e.g. (81).

- (81) Il a fait prendre l’air à ses vêtements. (Fr.)
 he has made take.INF the=air to his clothes

‘He made his clothes take some fresh air.’ ([Kayne 1977](#))

A more convincing view on the difference between FI and FP goes back to [Spang-Hanssen \(1963\)](#), and does not enter into conflict with [Hyman & Zimmer’s \(1976\)](#) insights on the differences between FI and F-ECM (see Table 5). The idea is that *in FI, the Causee is affected, while in FP, the object of the infinitive is affected*. Thus for instance, [Hyman & Zimmer \(1976\)](#) argue that in (78a), the speaker aims to affect the general (the Causee), while in (78b), the speaker aims to get the toilets affected (to get them cleaned). Positing a ‘Causee affected’ inference for FI also accounts for the contrast between FI in (80) and (81): the clothes are (positively) affected in (81), but the program is neither positively nor negatively affected in (80) (see also [Guasti 1996, Guasti 2017: 28](#)). Furthermore, [Folli and Harley’s](#) obligation effect can easily be reanalyzed as a by-product of a ‘Causee affected’ inference, since ‘Obligees’ are often conceived as negatively affected.

The ‘Causee affected’ inference of FI has been traced back to the dative marking (characteristic of Malefactive/Benefactive roles in Romance) on the Causee ([Hyman](#)

& Zimmer 1976, Guasti 2017; see also Pitteroff & Campanini 2013 who analyse the *a*-argument as an applicative). The ‘Theme affected’ inference of FP (aka the *Affectedness Constraint*) has been linked to the lexical restrictions imposed by FP, which host verbs entailing affectedness on their object only. Verbs like *voir* ‘see’, *perdre* ‘lose’, *gagner* ‘win’ thus tend to select FI only (Guasti 1993, 1996, 2017). Also, a *par*-marked Causee would be unacceptable in (81), for fresh air cannot be affected by clothes.

Another robust semantic difference between the two constructions is that FI, but not FP, is compatible with inanimate Causers (Kayne 1977: 230, Burzio 1986: 268, Guasti 2017: 12, Folli & Harley 2007: 217), as illustrated by Kayne’s contrast in (82).

- (82) La famine a fait manger des rats aux/ #par les habitants
the famine has made eat some rats to.the by the inhabitants
de la ville. (Fr.)
of the city

‘The famine made the inhabitants of the city eat rats.’ (Kayne 1977)

To summarize, the FP is about affecting the embedded theme in some way, and this must be initiated by an animate Causer. The FI is about affecting the Causee, and this can be initiated by an animate or inanimate Causer.

FP and FI have also been shown to present syntactic differences and similarities (beyond the transparency effects mentioned in section 6.1):

- i. The Causee must be syntactically expressed in FI, while it can be omitted in FP (Burzio 1986:228, Guasti 1996, Folli and Harley 2007:200).¹⁵ This is taken to reflect that the Causee is an adjunct in FP, while it is a Case-marked argument in FI.
- ii. In FI, but not in FP, the Causee shows subject properties (e.g. with regard to subject-oriented expressions such as French *à contre-coeur* ‘unwillingly’,

¹⁵Counter-examples have been noticed in the literature (and are easy to find in corpora, especially in generic contexts); for instance, there are verbs compatible with FI only (for they do not entail affectedness on their object) which allow the omission of the Causee, see (83). See also Ruwet (1989: 318-320) for more French examples, and Folli & Harley (2007: 218) for Italian ones.

- (83) a. Arrêtez de vous excuser chaque fois. Ça fait perdre du temps. (Fr.)
‘Stop apologizing each time. It makes [one/us] lose time.’ (Anne-Marie Garat, *Aden*)
b. Ce matin j’ai fait lire Aristote en classe et ils ont beaucoup aimé.
‘This morning I made [students] read Aristote and they liked it a lot’.

en hurlant ‘while screaming’) and can c-command and bind into the VP (Kayne 1977, Burzio 1986: 250; see (84) from Zubizarreta 1985: 270).

- iii. Verbs that do not passivize (such as e.g. the VP *casser la croûte* on its idiomatic use ‘have a snack’) can enter FI, but not FP (Kayne 1977, Zubizarreta 1985).
 - iv. Both FI and FP reject embedded passive morphology (periphrastic passives) in French, Italian or Spanish; see, e.g., (85) from Zubizarreta 1985:278.
- (84) Elles ont fait peindre sa_i maison à Jean_i /par Jean_{*i}. (Fr.)
 they have made paint his house at/by Jean
 ‘They made Jean paint his house.’
- (85) *Piero face (essere) letti quei brani (da Giovanni). (It.)
 Giovanni make.PAST be read those passages (da Giovanni)
 ‘Piero made these passages be read (by Giovanni).’

Numerous analyses of FI and FP implementing properties [i.]-[iv.] have been proposed (see Santorini & Heycock 1988, Pitteroff & Campanini 2013, Folli & Harley 2007, Guasti 2017, Labelle 2017 for careful comparisons between the main approaches). Properties [i.]-[iv.] follow from Kayne’s treatment of FP as involving the removal of the external argument out of the embedded predicate, just like passivization. Since FP *is* passivization, it requires a passivable verb, involves *par*-marked adjuncts just as passives, and rejects already passivized verbs.¹⁶ For Guasti (1996), there are two verbs *fare*; FI-*fare* takes one argument more than FP-*fare* (the benefactive/malefactive), and the embedded subject is suppressed in FP, but not in FI. Like Guasti, Folli & Harley (2007) posit an ambiguity between two *fare*. But unlike her, they do not assume that the embedded subject is ‘suppressed’ in FP; rather, it is not there to begin with because FP-*fare* selects for a VP rather than an agent-projecting vP. Hence the non-argumental status of the *da*-marked Causee in FP. Folli & Harley (2007) analyse FP-*fare* as the full, lexical verb denoting actions (spelling out the ‘*v_{do}*’ functional head), also found in the creation use of *fare* with nominals (*fare una torta* ‘make a cake’). This is how they account for why FP rejects inanimate subjects (recall (82)). A related claim of Folli & Harley (2007) is that the embedded VP selected by FP-*fare* is nominal (see also Guasti 1990). This is convincing in Italian which, unlike French, has many deverbal nominals which are

¹⁶Zubizarreta 1985 explores a similar idea to account for property iv. through her *Principle of Morphological Nonredundancy*: passive morphology and the ‘affix’ *fare* both block the external argument and thus cannot be attached in the same clause.

morphologically identical to the infinitive form (e.g., *Questo continuo parlare dell' Covid* 'This continuous talking of the Covid'). Following Guasti (1996), Folli and Harley suggest that the nominal property of the embedded VP in FP can account for the 'Causee-affected' inference (the Affectedness constraint), for this effect is also observed in passive nominalizations.¹⁷ By contrast, Folli & Harley's FI-*fare* selects an external-argument-introducing vP. This accounts for the argument status of the dative marked Causee. FI-*fare* realizes v_{cause} , which is for them the reason why FI accepts inanimate matrix subjects.

6.3 Analytical causatives across Romance

Analytical *faire*-causatives present a large array of intricate differences across Romance languages (overviewed in Sheehan & Cyrino 2016, Labelle 2017, Guasti 2017, Ciutescu 2018), that still need to be fully understood. A first one concerns passivization of *faire* (see Labelle 2017: 304–305). In Italian, it is indubitably acceptable when it is the embedded object which becomes matrix subject. But judgments differ when the embedded *subject* becomes nominative; for instance, Vecchiato 2011: 114 finds Burzio's (1986) example (86) very marked, while Burzio considers it fully acceptable.¹⁸ There is no consensus as to whether Spanish allows it (Zubizarreta 1985 claims it to be unacceptable, but Treviño 1992: 312 provides examples with the embedded verb *construir* 'build'; in fact, Torrego 1998 considers that *hacer* can passivize with transitive infinitives only if the embedded verb is *construir* 'build'). It is not possible in Catalan, nor in French (Kayne 1977; the few reported counter-examples are very marked and intriguingly almost always contain the creation verbs *faire* 'make' or *construire* 'build' as embedded verbs). It is unclear when *faire* passivization is possible and what the relevant factors are.

- (86) Gianni fu fatto riparare la macchina. (It.)
Gianni was made repair the car

'Gianni was caused to repair the car.' (Burzio 1986:232)

A second difference concerns passives in the complement of the causative verb. As mentioned in the previous section, embedded passives are unacceptable in French, Spanish or Italian. But Brazilian Portuguese is exceptional in that it has lost FI and

¹⁷See e.g. the unacceptability of **the job's loss (by John)* (Guasti 1996: 308). See Labelle (2017: 324-325) for counter-arguments to the claim that VP is a nominal complement in FP.

¹⁸See Vecchiato (2011) on the view that the weak acceptability of sentences such as (86) undermines Folli & Harley's (2007) analysis of FP. For Folli & Harley 2007, only FP-*fare* passivizes in Italian; FI-*fare* does not for functional verbs lack passives. Tubino Blanco (2010) claims that the same is true of Spanish, with the caveat that the Spanish construction is more restricted than in Italian.

forbids FP (thus using mostly F-ECM constructions; see, e.g., Sheehan & Cyrino 2016), and allows embedded passives as in (87a). Farrell (1995: 119) points out that embedded passivization affects the interpretation: while (87a) describes an event in which my actions affected my daughter, (87b) describes an event in which they affect the doctor:

- (87) a. Eu fiz a minha filha ser examinada pelo médico. (BrP.)
 I made my daughter be examined by the doctor
 b. Eu fiz o médico examinar a minha filha. (BrP.)
 I made the doctor examine my daughter

A third difference relates to downstairs weak reflexives (reflexive clitics *se*). Contrary to non-reflexive clitics, the reflexive clitic does not climb on *faire* as seen in (88)-(89) (Kayne 1977: section 6.2; see Labelle 2017: 317, Marty & Oikonomou 2017 for discussion).

- (88) Marie a fait se laver Paul [*s'est fait laver Paul]. (Fr.)
 Marie has made REFL wash Paul/ REFL=is made wash Paul
 'Marie made Paul wash himself.'

- (89) Marie a fait se réveiller Paul [*s'est fait réveiller Paul].
 Marie has made REFL wake up Paul/ REFL=is made wake up Paul
 'Marie caused Paul to wake up.'

Literal counterparts of sentences such as (88) and (89) are acceptable in Spanish, but impossible in Italian (or European Portuguese).¹⁹ In standard Italian, when reflexively marked verbs are embedded under *fare*, the reflexive clitic must be dropped, as seen in (90) (Burzio 1981: 384, Zubizarreta 1985: 267-268). Resulting sentences such as (90) (without the problematic reflexive clitic) are therefore ambiguous since they can yield a reflexive or a passive interpretation of the embedded structure. Forcing the reflexive interpretation is possible with the non-clitic reflexive *se stesso*, with some variability across speakers (Burzio 1986: 264, see discussion in Santorini & Heycock 1988: 45).

- (90) Maria ha fatto lavar(*si) Gianni. (It.)
 Maria has made wash=REFL Gianni
 'Maria made Gianni wash himself.' (OR 'Maria made Gianni get washed [by somebody].')

¹⁹In European Portuguese, the reflexive clitic can appear in F-ECM constructions only; see Guasti (2017: 32).

- (91) Il vento ha fatto dissipar(*si) le nubi. (It.)
the wind has made disperse=REFL the clouds

‘The wind made the clouds disperse.’

French is standardly taken to show the opposite pattern: when a verb is reflexively marked under a specific interpretation in French, it must keep the reflexive under *faire* to obtain this interpretation. For instance, *se* cannot be dropped in (88) if the target meaning of *laver* ‘wash’ is reflexive nor in (89) if the target meaning of *réveiller* ‘wake up’ is anticausative. However, it has been noted that with some French verbs (some of which are listed in (92)), dropping the reflexive is possible while keeping the meaning conveyed by the reflexive, and this only when the verb is embedded under a causative verb, (Ruwet 1973: 191, Danell 1979: chapter 3, Everaert 1986: chapter 7, Creissels 2003: section 3.3.2). Searches in corpora suggest that the phenomenon might be in fact more widespread than previous literature suggests since even anticausative verbs that very strongly require the reflexive (e.g. *s’éteindre* ‘shut off’ or *s’écrouler* ‘fall down’) seem to be sometimes used without reflexive under *faire*. French still remains drastically different from Italian since it never allows reflexive drop with naturally reflexive verbs (e.g., *se laver* ‘wash’), see (Ruwet 1973: 191), as well as under reciprocal construals.

- (92) Verbs reported to allow reflexive drop under *faire* in French: *s’en aller* ‘go’ (Kayne 1977, Everaert 1986: 190), *se promener* ‘walk’ (Ruwet 1973), *s’asseoir* ‘sit’ (Everaert 1986: 196), *se taire* ‘shut up’, *se lever* ‘raise’ (Creissels 2003), *s’évanouir* ‘faint’, *s’envoler* ‘fly away’ (Legendre 1986: 168), *s’arrêter* ‘stop’ (Danell 1979)

Spanish offers a third picture. Reflexive drop under *hacer* is traditionally taken not to be possible in Spanish (Zubizarreta 1985). But it has been noticed that optional omission of *se* for otherwise reflexively marked verbs is possible in Spanish, too (Kempchinsky 2004, Cuervo 2017), as also confirmed by the corpus data collected by Cuervo (2021). The range of verb types allowing reflexive drop as characterized by Cuervo (2021) is strikingly similar to French. But Spanish seems even more permissive than French; for instance, Kempchinsky (2004) reports it to be possible with naturally reflexive verbs, with some cross-speakers variability (see, e.g., (93)). Spanish still differs from Italian in that it neither requires nor allows reflexive drop across all verb types.

- (93) La madre hizo bañar al niño. (Sp.)
the mother made bathe to=the child

‘The mother made the child bathe’ (OR ‘The mother made someone bathe the child.’)

A full account of the cross-linguistic variation between these three language types is still missing. Which verbs allow reflexive drop in embedded clauses in which language stills needs to be characterized in detail. Furthermore, whether the omission of *se* triggers syntactic/semantic differences has not been investigated in detail yet. In French, subject-oriented adverbials like *en chantant* ‘while singing’ seem to access the Causee more easily in the presence of *se* than when it is omitted (e.g. in (94), the interpretation under which the Causee is singing seems easier to obtain in the presence of *se*). Relatedly, the Causee seems more agentive in the *se*-variant, and the Causer more agentive in the absence of *se* (Danell 1979). Similarly, Cuervo (2021) claims that in Spanish, the causation is more indirect and the Causee represented as more agentive in the presence of *se*.

- (94) J’ai fait (se) lever Marie en chantant. (Fr.)
I=have made REFL stand Marie while singing

‘I made Marie stand up while singing.’

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