A Cyclic Agree account of the Romance *faire*-infinitive:

new evidence from Catalan

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Abstract: Despite certain complications stemming from the availability of both (i) optional Differential Object Marking and (ii) (for some speakers) Exceptional Case Marking, Catalan like Italian and French, displays a transitivity-sensitive pattern in causatives under FACERE whereby the causee can be realised as dative only where its complement is 'transitive'. We propose an analysis of this pattern based on Cyclic Agree (building on Bobaljik & Branigan 2006, Béjar & Rezac 2009). On our approach, transitivity-sensitive dative arises where a probe agrees with a DP which requires case licensing, having previously probed (potentially defectively) a closer XP of any kind. Downward Cyclic Agree is possible, in this context, because neither goal c-commands the other, making them both visible to a single higher probe. This model captures the basic transitivity-sensitive pattern and the strict Person Case Constraint (PCC) effects observed in this domain as well as the fact that dative is triggered not only by DPs requiring structural/dependent case but also by 'defective interveners' (PPs, CPs, case-marked DPs/clitics). We show that this Agree-based account has potential advantages over competing dependent-case approaches because of its ability to handle: (i) c-command patterns between the causee and other arguments, (ii) the behaviour of PP complements and (iii) the strict PCC effects observed under FACERE in Catalan (and across Romance).

1. Introduction

This article offers an in-depth description of Catalan causatives and proposes a Cyclic Agree analysis of transitivity-sensitive dative case in this domain, which could potentially extend to other Romance languages. On this approach, transitivity-sensitive dative case arises as an effect of Cyclic Agree, where a probe has previously probed another XP but is able to probe again because it has remaining unvalued features (see Anagnostopoulou 2005, Béjar & Rezac 2009, and especially Bobaljik & Branigan 2006).[1] Our focus is on Romance and, in particular, Catalan '*faire*-infinitive' causatives, where the case of the causee is determined by the transitivity of the complement of the FACERE 'make' verb. Such causatives are available in many Romance languages, displaying many common properties but also some small divergences, some of which, we argue, provide crucial insights as to the precise nature of this transitivity-sensitive dative case.

The structure of this article is as follows. Section 2 introduces *faire*-infinitive causatives in Romance, with a special focus on new quantitative data from Catalan, highlighting the existence of a clear transitivity-sensitive pattern, despite complicating factors. In Section 3, we present our Cyclic Agree analysis and show how this captures various intricate properties of the Catalan *faire*-infinitive including word order, clitic climbing and transitivity effects. In Section 4, we contrast our approach with dependent case approaches to Romance causatives based on case competition (Folli & Harley 2007, Pitteroff & Campanini 2013), highlighting the differences and some potential advantages of a Cyclic Agree approach. Finally, Section 5 concludes by briefly outlining the implications of our analysis for wider debates on the role of Agree in case assignment.

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[1] Béjar & Rezac (2009) argue that a head first probes it complement domain but can then prove upwards if it has remaining unvalued features. The facts outlined in Section 3 show that this is not what happens in Catalan causatives. Rather, we claim, in the Catalan *faire*-infinitive, the probe can probe downwards twice because neither of its two goals c-commands the other. In line with Béjar & Rezac's proposal, we assume that possibilities for downward probing must be exhausted before upward probing is possible in Cyclic Agree. As a reviewer notes, the kind of cyclic Agree proposed here has something in common with Chomsky (2000), Anagnostopoulou (2003) and Béjar & Rezac (2003), which "make appeal to ordering operations by first relating to a closer goal, displacing it, and then relating to a farther goal". The difference here is that no displacement is required as the closer goal does not c-command the non-local one and so does not function as an intervener. See Rezac (2004, chapter 2) for a more general discussion of cyclicity.

2. The Romance *faire*-infinitive

2.1 Transitivity-sensitive causatives

In a number of Romance languages, under the FACERE cognate verb (and other causative/permissive and perception verbs), causees which function as the thematic subject of a *transitive* predicate (in a sense to be determined) are realized as dative (1), (3), whereas those functioning as the thematic subject of an *intransitive* predicate are necessarily accusative (2), (4). Romance causatives with this pattern of case assignment are often referred to as *faire*-infinitives, following Kayne's (1975) discussion of what he called the *faire-infinitif* in French.[2] In Standard Italian, which generally disallows Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) by *fare* and also lacks Differential Object Marking (DOM), the transitivity-sensitive pattern can be observed with both clitic and full DP causees (Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993, 1996):

(1)   Gianni {**gli/*l'**}   ha fatto lavare   i   piatti.

        Gianni him.DAT/*ACC= has made wash.INF   the   dishes

        'Gianni made him wash the dishes.'

(2)   {***Gli/L'**}   ho   fatto   parlare.

        him.*DAT/ACC= have.1SG   made   talk.INF

        'I made him talk.'

(3)   Maria   ha   fatto   lavare   i   piatti ***(a)**   Gianni.

        Maria   has   made   wash.INF   the   dishes   DAT   Gianni

        'Maria made Gianni wash the dishes.'

(4)   Ho   fatto   parlare   **(*a)**   Gianni.

        I.have   made   talk.INF   DAT   Gianni

        'I made Gianni talk.'

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[2] As a reviewer reminds us, this transitivity-sensitive pattern is of course attested across a wide range of languages (Comrie 1974; Comrie 1976; Comrie & Polinsky 1993), meaning that the potential scope of our analysis extends well beyond Romance. Given the complexity of the data, we limit our discussion to Romance, and mainly to Catalan, here but it is an important issue whether our analysis extends beyond Romance languages.

This DAT/ACC alternation is often considered to be the canonical Romance causative pattern, and, as already noted, it is attested to varying degrees in many other Romance varieties, but it is often obscured by two independent grammatical properties: (i) the availability of ECM complements under FACERE, leading to all causees being accusative; and (ii) Differential Object Marking (DOM) by *a*, leading to all animate full DP causees being homophonous with datives.[3] In Italian and French, (i) is relevant to some degree (see footnote 3 above on Italian and Hyman & Zimmer 1976, Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980, Abeillé, Godard & Miller 1997, Sheehan 2020 on French). As we will see shortly, both (i) and (ii) apply to varying degrees to varieties of Catalan, obscuring somewhat but not altogether the role of transitivity.[4]

2.2 The *faire*-infinitive in Catalan

Like French and Italian, Catalan causatives under *fer* 'make' permit a case pattern whereby the causee appears in accusative case if the lower verb is intransitive (either unergative or unaccusative) (5) and dative case if the lower verb is transitive (6), as described by Fabra (1956: §96), Alsina (1996, 2002) and Villalba (1992, 1994):

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[3] In fact, Italian is not free from variation in this regard. Burzio (1986: 232) notes that ECM is relatively acceptable for some speakers if the causee is a clitic (i), but never if it is a full DP (ii). This is similar to the pattern we describe below for some Catalan speakers, though it appears to be less wide-spread in Italian (see Sheehan 2020a for a phase-based analysis of what she calls the clitic-ECM pattern, which is attested in many Romance varieties):

    (i) ?Maria   lo   ha   fatto   riparare   la   macchina
         Maria   him.ACC has   made   repair.INF the   car
         'Maria made him repair the car.'
    (ii) *Maria ha   fatto   Gianni riparare   la   macchina
         Maria has made Gianni repair.INF the   car
         'Maria made Gianni repair the car.'

The LAXARE verb tends to permit the ECM pattern more readily in Italian, Catalan and French, even with full DP causees. We limit ourselves to FACERE here for this reason, as we are primarily interested in the transitivity-sensitive pattern, and the ECM pattern necessarily shows no sensitivity to transitivity. Note that DOM is also acceptable in varieties of Italian spoken in Southern Italy.

[4] At the behest of a reviewer, we have removed a discussion of Brazilian Portuguese, European Portuguese & Spanish for space reasons. Brazilian Portuguese no longer displays transitivity-sensitive case marking under FACERE (Cyrino 2011; Bonfim & Salles 2016; Sheehan & Cyrino 2016, 2018) while both Spanish and European Portuguese varieties retain it. The more widespread existence of ECM with FACERE in the latter two languages makes the transitivity-sensitive pattern considerably more complex and in some Spanish and Galician varieties it is lost as dative is extended to intransitive causees (see Gonçalves 1999, Martins 2018 on European Portuguese; and see Treviño 1993, Torrego 1998, 2010, Tubino-Blanco 2010, 2011, Ordóñez & Roca 2017 and Ordóñez & Saab 2017 on Spanish).

(5)   a.   He   fet   parlar/venir **la**   **Núria**.

           have.1SG   made   talk/come.INF the   Núria

           'I made Núria talk/come.'

      b.   **L'**   he   fet   parlar/venir.

           her.ACC   have.1SG   made   talk/come.INF

           'I made her talk/come.'

(6)   a.   He   fet   comprar   un   llibre **a**   **la**   **Núria**.

           have.1SG   made   buy.INF   a   book   to   the   Núria

           'I made Núria buy a book.'

      b.   **Li**   he   fet   comprar   un   llibre.

           her.DAT   have.1SG   made   buy.INF   a   book

           'I made her buy a book.'

However, the availability of both DOM and ECM obscures these patterns to some degree.[5] First, many speakers permit DOM (though this is proscribed in Standard Catalan and therefore stylistically marked and usually optional, Alsina 2016: 380; for the actual extension of DOM in Catalana see Pineda in press), and this means that even causees which function as the subjects of intransitive verbs can be introduced by *a*, as illustrated by (7):[6]

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[5] The same is true in many varieties of Spanish, a language, which, due to space limits, we do not discuss here.

[6] The description of Catalan is supported by the data from two surveys carried out with 57 and 25 Catalan native speakers during 2017 and 2018. The survey consisted of a questionnaire where speakers were asked to provide their grammaticality judgments for different examples presented in a plausible context. Most individuals were Catalan linguists, they knew the subject under investigation (and our interests in variation) and were specifically asked to ignore the prescriptive grammar. In cases where no numbers are provided, the examples are based on the native intuition of the first author but verified with other native speakers.

(7) El   psicòleg   va fer   parlar   **(a)   la   Maria**.

     the   psychologist   make.PST.3SG talk.INF   DOM   the   Maria

     'The psychologist made Maria talk.'   [no DOM=42/57, DOM = 44/57]

Moreover, some speakers also allow ECM causatives with clitic causees under *fer* (8), a possibility previously noted by Solà (1994: §9.3) (see also Torrego 1998: §3).[7]

(8) Ell **la**   feia   baixar   les escales de   les criptes.

     he   her.ACC make.IPFV.2SG descend   the stairs   of   the crypts

     'He made her descend the stairs of the crypts.'   (Solà 1994: §9.3)

Ciutescu (2018: 214-217) suggests that this pattern is only possible with embedded verbs which alternate between being transitive/intransitive (*baixar les escales* 'descend the stairs'*, baixar per les escales* 'descend down the stairs'*; mirar les dones* 'watch the women'*, mirar a les dones* 'look at the women'). According to her, the existence of an intransitive form for these verbs facilitates the accusative marking of the causee under *fer* in transitive contexts like (8).[8]

    This cannot be the whole story, however, as examples can be found with a range of embedded verbs, some of which are more rigidly transitive. For example, our survey data confirm that a significant minority of speakers allow ECM with *fer* where the embedded verbs are *rentar* 'wash' (9) and *escombrar* 'sweep' (10), which do not undergo the transitive/intransitive alternation of the *baixar* type. Note, however, that acceptability is variable and sensitive to the semantics of the embedded predicate, an issue that we return to shortly:[9]

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[7] Bastardas (2003: 123, fn. 22) notes that this innovative pattern is used spontaneously by Catalan writers such as Jaume Cabré.

[8] It appears to be the case that *some* Catalan speakers do make a distinction along the lines proposed by Ciutescu (2018), allowing ECM only with verbs like *baixar*. Sebastià Salvà (p.c.), a speaker of Balearic Catalan, for example informs us that this is the case for him. We leave a full investigation of this issue to future research noting only that this is subject to variation.

[9] We use % to indicate that the example is acceptable for some speakers but not others.

(9) **Li/%l'**   he   fet   rentar   els   plats.

     him.DAT/.ACC   have.1SG   made   wash.INF   the   dishes

     'I have made him wash the dishes.' [DAT =25/25 speakers, ACC = 7/25 speakers]

(10) **Li/%l'**   he   fet   escombrar   el   menjador.

      him.DAT/. ACC   have   made   sweep.INF   the   dining room

      'I have made him sweep the dining room.'[DAT = 25/25 speakers, ACC=10/25 speakers]

Interestingly, at least for a number of speakers, there seems to be a semantic contrast between the

dative causee and the ECM pattern in (9)-(10), since the latter implies a higher degree of coercion,

as also observed for French (see the references cited above).[10] Note that in these kinds of examples

all our speakers accept the transitivity-sensitive dative pattern [25/25], but some of them

additionally accept the accusative ECM pattern with a slightly different meaning.[11] Preverbal full

DP causees are never possible under *fer*, regardless of the presence/lack of *a*, so it appears that

ECM is only possible under *fer* with clitic causees (note that this is also the case in French and

Italian – see footnote 3 above and Sheehan 2020).[12]

Despite the possibility of DOM and ECM, then, transitivity-sensitivity is nonetheless

evident in Catalan from the fact that (i) dative marking is *required* rather than being optional on

full DP transitive causees (11), and (ii) dative clitic causees are universally accepted in transitive

contexts (12), but not in intransitive contexts (13):[13]

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[10] The accusative/dative contrast associated with different degrees of control of the event by the causee was also described for Japanese by Shibatani (1973), as an anonymous reviewer reminds us.

[11] Beyond causatives, Pineda (2020b) describes another area where the dative/accusative alternation appears to be semantically correlated: with a group of verbs, including Catalan *robar* 'rob' or *contestar* 'answer', among many others in several Romance languages, the case alternation is connected to different degrees of affectedness. Our analysis of transitivity-sensitive datives in causative contexts does not extend to this other context, however, as this use of dative is not sensitive to transitivity, but see Section 3.6 for more details.

[12] Preverbal DP causees with *deixar* are more acceptable:

(i) ?Hauríem   de   deixar **la**   **Maria** explicar   la seva   proposta
     should.1PL   of   let.INF   the   Maria   explain.INF   her   proposal
     'We should let Mary explain her proposal'   (Alsina 2002: 2424)

[13] Dative clitics in examples like (13) can be occasionally heard among speakers with a heavy influence of Spanish, whose Catalan grammar shows this and many other signs of attrition.

(11) L'amo ha fet rentar els plats *(**a**) un treballador.

the owner has made wash.INF the dishes to a worker

'The owner made a worker wash the dishes.' [DAT 25/25, ACC 0/25]

(12) El Joan **li/** **%l'** ha fet rentar els plats.

the Joan him.DAT/%ACC= has made wash.INF the dishes

'Joan made him wash the dishes.' [all allow DAT, 7/25 also allow ACC, cf. (9)]

(13) **L'/*Li** he fet parlar/venir.

him.ACC/*him.DAT= have made talk/come.INF

'I made him talk/come.'

In sum, once we control for DOM and ECM, we can observe that embedded predicates with a DP-internal argument systematically count as transitive in Catalan. Because of the DOM confound (see (7)), we will mainly use examples where the causee is a clitic in the remainder of the discussion, except where the behaviour of full DPs is particularly instructive.

In sum, Catalan is like Italian and French in displaying transitivity-sensitive dative case under FACERE and *unlike* many Spanish varieties and Galician which also permit dative in intransitive contexts (Ordóñez & Roca 2017, Carrilho & Sousa 2010), as Table 1 summarises.

	ECM		DOM
	clitic causees	**DP causees**	
Italian	%	✘	✘ **(except for South. It.)**
French	%	✘	✘
Catalan	%	✘	%

Table 1. Facts obscuring the transitive-sensitive pattern in *faire*-infinitive

In the following section we lay out our analysis of the transitive sensitive pattern in Catalan in terms of Cyclic Agree, further elaborating on the concept of transitivity in this domain, before contrasting this analysis with a dependent case approach in Section 4.

3   A Cyclic Agree analysis

The Romance *faire*-infinitive poses several interesting challenges for case theory, the most difficult being that dative case is only assigned in 'transitive' contexts (as outlined in the previous section). As we will show shortly, this is not limited to verbal complements containing an additional DP argument. In this section, we outline an account of transitivity-sensitivity in terms of Cyclic Agree, inspired by a proposal by Bobaljik & Branigan (2006). Numerous researchers have made the case that Agree need not always be a dependency between a head and a single XP (Richards 1997, Chomsky 2001, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Bobaljik & Branigan 2006, Béjar & Rezac 2003, 2009, Coon & Keine 2020, amongst others). Building on this, we adopt the idea that a probe can instigate multiple probing cycles (Cyclic Agree) provided: (i) it has remaining unvalued features and (ii) there is no intervention effect blocking agreement with a second goal. Béjar & Rezac (2009) discuss cases where a probe first probes downwards for the closest goal and can then probe upwards if it has remaining unvalued features. Bobaljik & Branigan (2006) propose for the French *faire*-infinitive that a single probe can agree with two arguments as a marked parametric option. Our novel proposal is that transitivity-sensitive dative can arise as the result of secondary Agree, where a probe first targets (potentially defectively) the closest XP but then goes on to probe again *downwards*, as it has remaining unvalued features. Rather than the closer goal being displaced, to make the lower goal visible (as in the proposals of Chomsky 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Béjar & Rezac 2003, Bobaljik & Branigan 2006), however, we argue that what is special about the *faire*-infinitive is that the closer goal does not c-command the farther goal, because it has been smuggled past it in inside a larger constituent (VP/vP). In essence, a probe can agree downwards with two goals in the absence of any movement, as long as these goals do not c-command each other and hence do not function as interveners.

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In this section, we outline this proposal which, we argue, elegantly captures transitivity patterns in the *faire*-infinitive and connects them to strict Person Case Constraint (PCC) effects in this domain. Our claim, then, is that an account in terms of Cyclic Agree can account for the transitivity effect of the *faire*-infinitive (which is not only a 'two DPs effect') at the same time as capturing the strict PCC.

Following a long tradition in the Romance literature (Kayne, 1975, Zubizarreta 1985, Burzio 1986, Belletti 2017, 2020), we assume that the Catalan *faire*-infinitive involves VP/vP-fronting.[14] This 'smuggling-style' account makes an XP base-generated lower than the causee visible to a higher probe (voice) because it leads to a structure in which the spelled-out copies of the two arguments (XP and causee in Figure 1) fail to c-command each other:
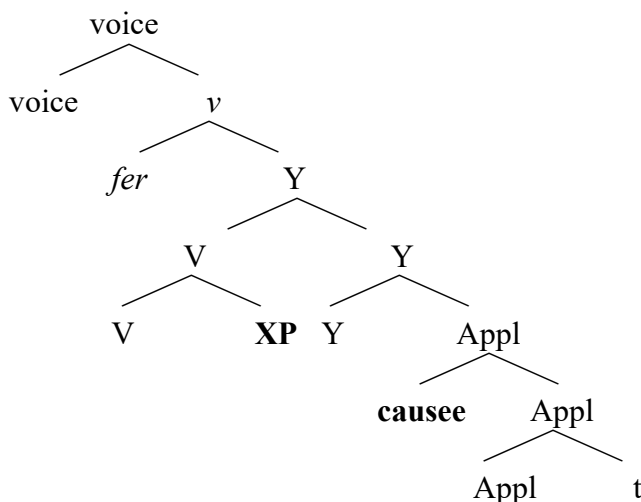
Figure 1: Basic structure of the Catalan *faire*-infinitive[15]

In such contexts, in an intuitive sense, XP looks closer to voice than the causee is (as an anonymous reviewer points out). We can formalise this intuition by adapting Rackowski & Richards' (2005) definition of closeness so that it holds of categories in the Copy Theory of Labelling approach proposed by Sheehan (2013) (an extreme version of Chomsky's (1995) Bare

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[14] We assume the Copy Theory of Labelling from Sheehan (2013), whereby labels are copies of terminal nodes. We nonetheless use the term vP/VP fronting loosely here to denote fronting of the complex V-V or v-v category and other categories it contains.

[15] We remain agnostic as to the precise position targeted by this VP/vP movement. What is crucial for our analysis is that it targets a position above the causee but below the voice probe. This is lower than the position targeted in Belletti's (2020) analysis, for example.

Phrase Structure). On this approach, both intermediate (X') and maximal (XP) labels are copies of a projecting head and all copies of a single lexical item form a single category. In this approach to phrase structure, c-command is a relation between categories, ruled out in instances of partial dominance but *not* full dominance:[16]

(14) A c-commands B iff A and B are categories, A ≠ B, A does not partially dominate B, and

any category that totally dominates A also totally dominates B. (Sheehan 2013: 370)

According to this definition, the category comprising the two copies of V c-commands both *XP* and *causee* because every category which totally dominates V-V (voice and v) also totally dominates both *XP* and *causee*.[17] The same is not true for the category comprising the three copies of Y as that category partially dominates *XP* and therefore cannot c-command it according to (14). Crucially, for our purposes, an asymmetry therefore emerges between *XP* and *causee* on a category-based approach to c-command in the Copy Theory of Labelling. Now consider a category-based definition of closeness, adapted from Rackowski & Richards (2005: 579):

(15) A goal α is the closest one to a given probe if there is no distinct goal β such that for some

[category- AUTHORS] Y, Y commands α but does not c-command β.

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[16] Both an anonymous reviewer and Klaus Abels point out to us that this is a rather unusual view of dominance and its relationship to c-command, taken from Sheehan (2013). It means, for example, that a category can both totally dominate and c-command another category. Essentially, a category totally dominates (and c-commands) all categories in its complement but partially dominates (and so cannot c-command) categories in its specifier. It is also crucial that there is no inclusion relation between partial and total dominance: if a category totally dominates another, it does not partially dominate it. We thank both the anonymous reviewer and Klaus for encouraging us to clarify these issues.

[17] The following definitions are minimally adapted for total and partial dominance from Sheehan (2013: 370), drawing on Chomsky (1986) and Wilder (2008), in the context of a copy theory of labelling. 'Terminal segments' are the lowest copies of a lexical item (heads) and nonterminal segments are higher copies functioning as labels:

(i)   Total dominance: a category X totally dominates a category Y iff X ≠Y and the sum of the paths from every terminal segment of Y to the root includes every nonterminal segment of X exactly once.

(ii)   Partial category dominance: a category X partially dominates a category Y iff X ≠ Y, the path from every segment of Y to the root includes a copy of X but X does not totally dominate Y.

According to (15), *XP* counts as a closer goal to matrix voice than *causee* does, because, after VP-fronting, the category Y-Y-Y c-commands *causee* but not *XP*. As an anonymous reviewer notes, this definition of c-command is by no means standard, but Sheehan (2013) shows that it makes many empirically supported predictions regarding word order and extraction asymmetries. Here, it serves the purpose of capturing the intuition (shared by the reviewer) that XP is a closer goal for voice than the causee.

In this context, then, matrix voice will be forced to first probe *XP* but, if it has remaining unvalued features after doing so, then it will be able to also probe *causee*. Crucially, this is only possible, we claim, because *XP*, despite being closer to voice, does not c-command *causee*. Smuggling therefore plays a crucial role in our analysis in facilitating two cycles of downwards Agree. In what follows, we show that this Cyclic Agree occurs wherever the theme lacks person features. Following Harley & Ritter (2002), Béjar & Rezac (2003), Anagnostopoulou (2005) and Adger & Harbour (2007), we assume that this is the case for non-1st/2nd person themes/patients. In such cases, the probe targets a non-1st/2nd person XP agreeing in number alone and is then free to probe the causee, agreeing with it in person only. Our proposal is that it is this secondary Agree operation which leads to the assignment of a secondary structural case (dative), deriving the *faire*-infinitive transitivity-sensitive case pattern. Following Adger & Harbour (2007), we assume that external argument causees are always specified for person in the *faire*-infinitive, hence the requirement that they be animate. This means that even 3rd person causees will always bear a person feature, making them able to satisfy the remaining phi-features of the probe.

In the remainder of this section, we expand on this basic analysis and provide extensive evidence for it. We begin by showing, in Section 3.1, that word order and binding patterns are consistent with a smuggling approach. We then discuss dative case assignment in simple cases where XP is a full DP (3.2) or clitic object (3.3). Following that, we consider contexts where the XP is a PP (3.4). and a CP (3.5). Section 3.6 provides independent evidence for Cyclic Agree from strict PCC effects and Section 3.7 considers the status of dative in ditransitive contexts in

Catalan, arguing that while some instances of dative in this context may result from Cyclic Agree, this is not always the case.

3.1. The structure of the Catalan *faire*-infinitive

As noted above, we adopt the widespread idea that the Catalan *faire*-infinitive involves VP/vP-fronting or 'smuggling' (see also Kayne 1975, Zubizarreta 1985, Burzio 1986, Belletti 2017, 2020). The strongest evidence for this proposal comes from word order permutations but we also discuss binding and clitic intervention which we show are compatible with, though not directly evidence for, a smuggling account.

3.1.1. Word order

First, consider word order in the *faire*-infinitive. When both the causee and XP arguments are expressed as full DPs, the embedded object (XP) must precede the dative causee in a pragmatically unmarked sentence (unless it is a finite CP, as discussed below):

(16) He   fet   comprar   **{un   llibre}** *a   la   Núria* **{# un   llibre}.**

    have.1SG made   buy.INF   a   book   to   the   Núria   a   book

    'I made Núria buy a book.'

If one assumes that word order is regulated by some version of Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA), then this can be taken as evidence that either the embedded object or some constituent containing it must asymmetrically c-command the dative causee. If one rejects the LCA, however (see Abels & Neeleman 2012), then the word order facts are inconclusive as

the dative could still occupy a position c-commanding the embedded object in (16) by occupying a high right-hand specifier (as Folli & Harley 2007 propose for Italian).[18]

A challenge for the right-hand specifier approach comes from word order with PP complements. As Villalba (1992) notes, PP complements can either precede or follow the causee:

(17) a. Farem creure/confiar **la Maria** en l' atzar

make.FUT.1PL believe/trust.INF the Maria in the fate

'We will make Maria believe in the fate.'

b. Farem creure/confiar en l' atzar **a la Maria**

make.FUT.1PL believe/trust.INF in the fate to the Maria

'We will make Maria believe in the fate.' (Villalba 1992: 364)

The word order in (17)a is apparently problematic for the right-hand specifier analysis, as, on that approach, the causee would be expected to follow everything contained in vP, including PP complements, unless they can also optionally move to a higher position on the right. Now consider too the case of the causee in (17): accusative wherever the PP follows the causee and dative where the PP precedes it (on the possibility that the *a* in (17b) is DOM, see the discussion in 3.4 below). On an account which assumes smuggling and Cyclic Agree, this case contrast follows because a smuggled PP counts as a defective intervener (as shown in Section 3.4). On an account whereby the PP can optionally move higher to the right, it is not clear why this movement in V-Causee-PP orders would lead to the causee being realised as accusative.

Further potential support for the smuggling account comes from the distribution of low adverbials, which can occur either preceding or following a DP/PP object or following the causee (18). The first two positions are consistent either with a smuggling approach or a right-hand

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[18] It is a hotly contested topic whether some version of the LCA is necessary in order to capture word order asymmetries of natural language. While the LCA is still widely assumed (see Cinque 2005), recent work has claimed that it holds only in a more restricted sense (Sheehan 2013) or not at all (Abels & Neeleman 2012).

specifier approach as the adverb clearly surfaces inside VP. The third position of the adverb, however, is problematic for the right-hand specifier view of the causee as the adverb follows the causee but scopes below it:

(18) a. Van fer   [VP   parlar   **{detalladament}**   de   política

make.PST.3PL   speak.INF   in.detail   of   politics

{detalladament}] a   la   Maria **{detalladament}**.

in.detail   to   the   Maria in.detail

'They made Maria speak in detail about politics.'

On a smuggling approach, the possibility remains that the low adverb in (18)c is stranded in a low position after VP/vP fronting. In sum, then, evidence from word order patterns supports the smuggling approach.

3.1.2. Binding

Data from binding point to symmetry between the causee and XP, supporting the idea that movement is involved in the basic derivation. We first consider quantifier binding, then condition C before integrating these data with the insights from word order. A Quantifier Phrase (QP) object can bind a variable contained in a causee (19)a, just as a QP causee can bind a variable contained in by an XP object (19)b. According to some accounts of quantifier-variable binding, this suggests that, whether or not it is first 'smuggled' past the causee inside a fronted vP, the object goes on to raise to a higher position, from which it c-commands the causee, permitting variable binding:[19], [20]

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[19] A reviewer suggests that one would expect WCO effects in (19). However, note that we assume, following Pineda (2016, 2020a), that it is not the case that only traces in the base positions count for binding. This is actually supported by the absence of WCO effects in Catalan (and Spanish) ditransitives, where, regardless of clitic doubling, there is also an Applicative head introducing a dative argument (the IO), which is higher than the DO, just like in the *faire*-infinitive the dative causee is higher than the object (see Pineda 2016, 2020a for more details).

[20] Interestingly, Pitteroff & Campanini (2013: 214, fn. 4) make the opposite claim about Italian c-command relations, based on the following example, in which, they claim, the theme cannot bind into the causee:

(19) a. (Li)   vaig fer   llegir [cada llibre]$_i$ al seu$_i$ autor.

          him.DAT   make.PST.3SG read.INF each book   to its author

          'I made its author read each book.'

      b. (Li)   vaig fer   llegir   el seu$_i$ llibre a [cada autor]$_i$.

          him.DAT   make.PST.3SG read.INF   his   book   to each author

          'I made each author read his book.'

As Barker (2012) shows, however, it is not surface c-command but scope which is relevant for quantifier-variable binding. These patterns are thus not clear evidence that the embedded object c-commands the causee, but merely that the former can outscope the latter.[21]

Data from Condition C show the same pattern. For example, if the theme is expressed as a stressed strong pronoun or an epithet in Catalan, then it triggers a condition C violation if co-referent with an R-expression contained in the causee - dative clitic doubling of the causee is optional here, in line with clitic doubling of datives in Catalan more generally (though this is also subject to variation across speakers, see Pineda 2020a) and makes no difference to acceptability:

(20) (Li)   vaig fer   saludar-lo   a   ELL$_{*i/j}$ [a

      (him.DAT) make.PST.1SG   greet.INF=him.ACC DOM   him   to

---

(i) Il   responsabile delle   risorse umane ha   fatto   punire   ogni
    the   manager   of.the   resources human has   made   punish.INF   every
    dipendente$_j$ al   suo$_{i/*j}$ capo.
    employee   to.the his   boss
    'The HR manager made his boss punish every employee.'
The Italian speakers we have consulted find this example strange and would prefer the causee to be introduced by *da* 'by' (which would be an example of the faire-par construction, with a different structure). In any case, in the equivalent example in Catalan, the object would be able to bind the causee. Costantini (2010) claims that parallel examples in Italian are marginal, but Burzio (1986) reports such examples to be acceptable. The Italian speakers we consulted freely accepted minimally different examples where the theme is inanimate
(ii) Ho   fatto   leggere [ogni libro]$_i$ al   suo$_i$ autore.
    Have.1SG   made   read.INF each book   to.the   its   author
    Lit: 'I made its author read each book.'
In fact, our brief investigations suggest that the object can bind the causee also in French (see also Hu & Rouveret 2016), Portuguese and Spanish, but we limit our discussion to Catalan here for space reasons.
[21] We thank an anonymous reviewer for forcing us to be clearer on this issue.

un   amic   del   Joan$_i$].[22]

a   friend of.the   Joan

'I made a friend of Joan's greet him.'

(21)   (Li)   vaig fer   trair   aquell idiota$_i$ [a un amic

(him.DAT) make.PST.1SG betray.INF   that   idiot   to a friend

del   Joan$_{*i/j}$]

of.the Joan

'I made a friend of Joan's betray that idiot.'

The reverse also holds, moreover. Just as the theme can bind into the causee, if the causee is a stressed strong pronoun or an epithet, it also triggers a condition C violation if co-referent with an R-expression contained in the theme, again whether the dative causee is clitic doubled or not. Once again, such examples are fully acceptable without co-reference:

(22)   a. (Li)   vaig fer   saludar   [un amic del   Joan$_i$]   a ELL$_{*i/j.}$

(him.DAT) make.PST.1SG greet.INF   a friend of.the Joan   to him

Intended: 'I made him greet a friend of Joan's.'

b. (Li)   vaig fer   trair   [un amic del   Joan$_{*i/j}$]   a aquell idiota$_i$.[23]

(him.DAT) make.PST.1SG betray.INF a friend of.the Joan   to that   idiot

'I made that idiot betray a friend of Joan's.'

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[22] Postverbal direct objects that are strong pronouns are near-systematically clitic-doubled in Catalan, although the 3rd person ones can remain undoubled in most dialects: *També (l') avisaran a ell* 'They will warn him too' (Todolí 2002: §6.5.5.3*a*). More specifically, according to GIEC (2016: §19.3.2.1a), 3rd person pronouns may not appear duplicated 'in very restricted contexts [...], for example, when the pronoun is focused by an adverb of the type *només* 'only' or *fins i tot* 'even' or by an emphatic intonation: *Només a ella escolta (i a ningú més)* '(S)he only listens to her (and to nobody else)'' [our translation].

[23] An anonymous reviewer suggests that the problem with (22)b could boil down to being pragmatically unnatural, but the native speakers consulted (including one of the authors of the paper) agree in not considering the coindexing expressed in the sentence grammatically possible.

Under traditional accounts, these facts might be taken as evidence that the theme moves from a position asymmetrically c-commanded by the causee to a position c-commanding the causee. The patterns in (20)-(22) would then fall out from the possibility of targeting either the base generated position of the theme or its derived position in the resolution of binding conditions.

Problematic for this traditional approach is the fact that a DP contained in a PP object can also bind material in the causee without c-commanding it. In (23)a, a Condition C violation is triggered by the epithet *aquell idiota* 'that idiot' where it is co-referential with an R-expression contained in the causee. Likewise, a stressed pronoun contained in the PP triggers a Condition C violation in the same context:

(23) a. Vaig fer   parlar   d' aquell idiota$_i$ a   un amic del   Joan$_{*i/j}$

make.PST.1SG speak.INF   of that idiot   DAT a   friend of.the Joan

'I made a friend of Joan's speak about that idiot.'

b. Vaig fer   parlar   d' ELL$_i$ a   una   amiga   del   Joan$_{*i/j}$

make.PST.1SG   speak.INF of HIM   DAT   a   friend   of.the   Joan

'I made a friend of Joan's speak about HIM.'

In recent work, Bruening (2014a) argues based on examples parallel to these that binding is sensitive to a precede-and-command rather than a c-command requirement. Under his approach, the patterns in (20)-(22), like the scope facts discussed above, merely show that the embedded object precedes the causee within the same phase in its surface position and follow it within the same phase in its base position. The patterns in (23) also follow from the same account. It is not clear how to interpret these facts then, but, at least under Bruening's approach, they are consistent with a smuggling approach whereby XP moves past the causee as part of a larger constituent.[24]

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[24] According to Villalba (1992: 346-347), the fact that in (ia) only the causee can be the antecedent for the anaphor, not the subject, constitutes a piece of evidence that the causee must be represented as the higher argument of the

3.1.3. Intervention in cliticisation

As noted by an anonymous reviewer, Bobaljik & Branigan (2006), building on facts first pointed out by Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980), provide evidence from French cliticization patterns to argue for the opposite c-command relations between dative causees and embedded objects in the French *faire*-infinitive. However, in Catalan the effects described for French simply do not hold. Unlike in French, argumental *hi* and *en* can be cliticised past a full DP causee in transitive (24) and unergative contexts (25):

(24) El   Joan   **hi**   farà   posar el   llibre al   Pere.

the   Joan   LOC   make.FUT.3SG put.INF the   book   to.the Pere

'Joan will have Pere put that book on it.'

(25) El   professor   **hi**   farà   pensar   els seus alumnes

the   teacher   LOC   make.FUT.3SG think.INF   the his students

'The teacher will make their students think about that.'

This would follow if the locative PP in Catalan causatives can optionally be carried along by VP fronting, though we do not have a full explanation here for this contrast with French and we will not discuss it further. We revisit the position of PPs and their connection to transitivity in Section

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verbal projection, c-commanding the other arguments of the embedded verb. The same holds for idioms containing a possessive with an anaphoric nature (Villalba 1992: 349-350). In this respect, an anonymous reviewer points out that, if we generalize the reconstruction analysis, we cannot explain why in (i) the causee can be the antecedent of the anaphor (only after reconstruction) but the subject of the matrix clause can't. The restriction on anaphor binding by the matrix subject, which has been noted across Romance and remains unsolved, is undoubtedly interesting but beyond the scope of the paper.

(i)   a. Els   professors$_i$ faran   inscriure's$_{*i/j}$ al   Joan$_j$.

the   teachers   make.FUT.3PL   sign.in.INF-REFL to.the   Joan

'The techaers will make John sign in.'

b. La   Maria$_i$ va fer   portar   la seva$_{*i/j}$ creu   amb   dignitat al   Joan$_j$.

the   Maria   make.PST.3PL   carry.INFher/his cross   with   dignity to.the   Joan

'Mary made John carry his burden with dignity.'   (Villalba 1992: 346-350)

3.4. The facts presented in Section 3.1, taken together, are consistent with the idea that the Catalan *faire*-infinitive involves smuggling. Assuming this to be the case, in line with previous studies of the *faire*-infinitive, we now present our proposal in more detail in a variety of different scenarios.

3.2 Scenario 1: Simple cases

Consider first the simple case where both the theme and the causee are 3rd person full DPs, both of which require structural case:

(26)   He   fet   comprar   *un*   *llibre* **al**   **Joan.**

        have.1SG   made   buy.INF   a   book   to.the   John

        'I made John buy a book.'

We assume that both DPs enter the derivation unspecified for case. As we show in the following section, the complement of *fer* 'make' can be non-phasal in such contexts, meaning that both arguments must be assigned case by the matrix voice probe. For concreteness, we adopt Pitteroff & Campanini's (2013) proposal that the causee is introduced by Appl in such contexts. In line with the definition of closeness in (15), after VP-fronting into the matrix clause, the object *un llibre* counts as the closest potential goal to matrix voice and so it is probed first. *Voice* has both number and person features and, we assume (following Harley & Ritter 2002, Béjar & Rezac 2003, Anagnostopoulou 2005, Adger & Harbour 2007), a 3rd person object DP lacks a person feature, being specified only for number:

(27) [$_{voice}$ *voice*$_{[uphi]}$ [$_v$ fer [$_Y$ [$_V$ comprar *un llibre*$_{[MSG]}$] Y [$_{Appl}$ **el Joan**$_{[3MSG]}$ Appl t$_{vP}$]]]]]

Un llibre therefore agrees with voice only in number, and values it as [SG]. This is sufficient for *un llibre* to be assigned accusative case. *Voice* therefore has a remaining unvalued person feature and so is able to probe again. Given the configuration in (27), the causee ***el Joan*** is also visible to

voice, as it is not c-commanded by *un llibre.* Following Anagnostopoulou (2005) and Adger & Harbour (2007), we assume that unlike themes/patients, even 3rd person causees have a person feature, as they must be animate. *Voice* therefore agrees with **el Joan** in person and is valued as [3]. The number feature of **el Joan** does not enter into an Agree relation with voice but partial agreement for person is sufficient for secondary case assignment to take place and dative is assigned. In this way, Cyclic Agree leads to a transitivity-sensitive case pattern.

3.3 Scenario 2: 3rd person clitics

Now let us consider what happens when one or both of the arguments are 3rd person clitics. Putting to one side the possibility of ECM for some speakers, as this arguably involves a different derivation with different semantics (see Section 2), 3rd person clitics pattern exactly like full DPs in displaying the transitivity-sensitive pattern. This favours a view of clitics in which they originate in argument positions and agree with the voice probe in the same way as full DP arguments. For ease of exposition, we adopt Roberts' (2010) view that cliticization results from head movement under Agree.[25] On this view, where both clitics climb into the matrix clause, this is because they both agree with the same matrix probe. In Italian and French, this appears to be the only option, as clitic climbing is obligatory under FACERE but not so in Catalan.

In Catalan, clitic climbing of the embedded object is always optional in the *faire*-infinitive (Villalba 1992: 361-362), whether the causee is a full DP (29) or a clitic (30). Note that this low object clitic position is especially productive when the DO clitic is the neuter *ho* 'it', as in (30)b, or a locative or partitive clitic (see Paradís 2019: 46).[26]

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[25] What Roberts (2010) proposes is that clitics function as defective goals in that they bear a proper subset of the features of the probe and this means that they undergo head-movement to the probe. We do not adopt the defective goal aspect of his proposal as verbs do not usually inflect for person unlike clitics. Moreover, as we shall see shortly, that approach also faces problems from instances where multiple clitics move to the same head (probe).

[26] It is true that, according to the Catalan prescriptive grammar (GIEC 2016: 1018-1020, see also Ciutescu 2018: §3.1.2), in *faire*-constructions inanimate object clitics must generally climb if the causee is also expressed by a clitic. However, many speakers also accept the option without climbing (see Solà 1972, Villalba 1994, Alsina 2002: 2433). Anna Paradís (p.c.) notes that the split is more acceptable with 1st/2nd causees than with 3rd person, which is probably because of the DAT-ACC morphological identity of 1st/2nd person clitics, making examples such as (i) the following

(28) Jean {le fera lire /*fera le lire} à Marie

Jean it.ACC make.FUT.3SG read.INF make.FUT.3SG it.ACC read.INF to Marie

(29) El Joan {el farà llegir / farà llegir-lo}

the Joan it.ACC make.FUT.3SG read.INF make.FUT.3SG read.INF=it.ACC

a la Maria.

to the Maria

(30) a. El Joan li ho farà llegir

the John her.DAT it.ACC.NT make.FUT.3SG read.INF

'John will make her read it.'

b. ?El Joan li farà llegir-ho

the John her.DAT make.FUT.3SG read.INF=it.ACC

'John will make her read it.'

In Roberts' (2010) approach, cliticisation is connected to case assignment and so this optionality suggests that the accusative case is optionally assigned to a clitic in the complement of *fer*. We assume that a given domain counts as a phase and hence an accusative-case domain only if *voice* is minimally present, following Harwood (2013) and Sheehan & Cyrino (2018). In Catalan, reflexive/anticausative *se,* which we take to be a marker of voice, is also optionally present in the complement of *fer* (see also Bastardas 1980, Alsina 2002: §20.3.4.4):

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potential examples of ECM. Another interesting point is that the split is notably more accepted when the clitic lower down is a locative or a partitive one (Paradís 2019: 46; Anna Paradís, p.c.), as in (ii):

(i) Em/Et van fer llegir-lo
   me/you.DAT make.PST.3PL go.INF=it.ACC
   'They made me/you read it.'

(ii) a. Em van fer anar-hi. b. Em van fer comprar-ne.
   me make.PST.3PL go.INF=LOC me make.PST.3PL buy.INF=PTV
   'They made me go there.' 'They made me buy some.'

See also Fontich (2021: 520 and chapter 12).

(31)   La   Berta   ha   fet   enrojolar(ˀ-se)   en   Damià.

the   Berta   has   made   blush.INF(REFL)   the   Damià

'Berta has made Damià blush.'   (Alsina 2002: §20.3.4.4)

This optionality suggests that the complement of *fer* can be either be a phasal *voiceP* or something smaller and non-phasal. Following Pitteroff and Campanini, we assume that non-phasal complements of *fer* are *ApplP*, but they could also just be vP as proposed by Folli & Harley (2007) (see also Fontich (2021: 526, 740-741) for the specific case of Catalan). Crucially for us, the presence of embedded *voice* interacts with clitic climbing of the object. Where *se* is present, clitic climbing is blocked (32), because, we assume, the complement of *fer* is phasal. Where *se* is absent, on the other hand, clitic climbing of the embedded object is obligatory (33), as there is no low accusative case available in a non-phasal complement.

(32)   a.   Li   he   fet   endur-se'ls   a   casa

him/her.DAT   have.1SG   done   take-REFL-them.ACC   to   home

'I have made him/her take them home.'

        b.   *Li   he   fet   endur-los   a   casa

him/her.DAT   have.1SG   have.1SG   take-them.ACC to   home

'I have made him/her take them home.'

(33)   Els   hi   he   fet   endur(*-se)   a   casa

them.ACC   him/her.DAT   have.1SG   done   take(*REFL)   to   home

'I have made him/her take them home.'

(Alsina 2002: §20.3.4.4)

These cliticization patterns and their connection to the distribution of *se* are in line with Roberts' (2010) approach whereby cliticisation results from Agree (and thus case assignment).

Then, how does the derivation proceed in the *faire*-infinitive where one or both arguments are 3rd person clitics, as in (29) or (30)a? Let us consider the scenario first where the complement of *fer* is a non-phasal ApplP, lacking *voice*, and both arguments are clitics, originating as pronouns in argument positions. We assume that the syntactic structure in such cases is parallel to that described in the previous section:[27]

(34)   [voice *voice*[uphi] [v fer [Y [v llegir NSG] Y [Appl **3SG** Appl tVP]]]]]

In this context, the derivation proceeds as described in Section 3.2. Matrix voice probes and comes across the NSG object pronoun, which is the closest goal. As a non-participant theme argument, this pronoun lacks a person feature but agrees with matrix voice in SG number and so cliticises to it via head-movement, being realised as *ho*. *Voice* then probes again and agrees with the 3SG causee, agreeing in person only with it. This secondary Agree leads to a dative realisation of the clitic pronoun and to its cliticisation to matrix voice as *li,* yielding (30)a.[28]

Now consider contexts where the complement of *fer* contains *voice* marking and so is a phase and an accusative case domain. In such contexts the embedded object will agree with the embedded *voice* in number and cliticise to it.

(35)   [voice **3SG** *voice* [v llegir+v NSG]]]]]]]

Following Roberts (2010) and ultimately Chomsky (2008), we assume that accusative case features originate on voice but are passed via inheritance to *v*. The result is cliticisation of the object clitic onto *v*. The derivation proceeds and the vP fronts before matrix *voice* is merged.

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[27] We represent the position targeted by the fronted vP as the matrix spec VP here. According to Belletti (2017), it is spec causP, a position which is actually higher that that presented here. The precise position of the vP does not affect the mechanics of our proposal as long as the vP landing site is lower than matrix voice.

[28] Note that in contexts like this this defective goal analysis runs into problems as the dative agrees with matrix voice only in person but cliticisation takes place nonetheless. For this reason, we cannot adopt this aspect of Roberts' (2010) approach, so we leave open the precise mechanism triggering cliticisation A similar issues potentially arises for object clitics specified for gender.

(36)   [$_{\text{voice}}$ *voice*$_{[\text{uphi}]}$ [$_{\text{v}}$ fer [$_{\text{Y}}$ [$_{\text{v}}$ llegir+v=**ho$_i$** t$_i$] Y [$_{\text{voice}}$ **3SG** voice t$_{vP}$]]]]]

Here a potential issue arises because there are two voice phase heads and so, even according to the weaker version of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001), we might expect the contents of the lower vP to no longer be visible to matrix *voice*. We assume that vP fronting again has a role to play here. More specifically, the movement of the vP to a position higher than the lower voice phase head serves to keep it in the derivation and active, avoiding spellout (which applies only when the higher *voice* is merged according to Chomsky 2001).[29] This further means that, even though the NSG object has case, it remains visible as a goal to the matrix voice probe.[30] As the NSG object clitic still counts as a closer goal for matrix voice, it is targeted for Agree. As it already has a case and a host, it does not cliticise onto the matrix v. The matrix voice probe goes on to agree with the causee in person only, leading to dative case assignment, and cliticisation of the dative causee onto the matrix v. This captures the fact that non-1$^{\text{st}}$/2$^{\text{nd}}$ person clitics pattern like full DPs in triggering the transitivity-sensitive pattern whether or not clitic climbing takes place. Note that, as a reviewer points out, this essentially means giving up the activity condition as a component of Agree. We show further evidence that this is required in the following three sections, especially in Section 3.6. In a phase-based approach, activity is largely superfluous and we assume that its effects are identical to phase impenetrability, except in cases where phasal transfer is interrupted, as in the present case, where the lower argument is 'smuggled' out of its phase.

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[29] A reviewer notes that this is the case only if we adopt the second, less restrictive version of the PIC. For independent arguments in favour of this version of the PIC see Sheehan & Cyrino (2018).

[30] A reviewer notes that the connection between Agree and case breaks down here, and we agree. In a phase-based approach it usually the case that the presence of a phase head blocks Agree into a case domain but, we claim, in instances of smuggling this pattern is subverted. Further evidence that this is the case comes from the fact that the PCC also holds in the absence of clitic climbing, as discussed in Section 3.7.

3.4 Scenario 3: PP interveners

Dative is obligatory where the complement of *fer* is a verb taking a DP complement (once we control for ECM), but there are other contexts where dative becomes available in Catalan causatives, albeit more variably and sometimes optionally. Consider first the case of PP complements. Kayne (1975) notes that, in French, some PP complements optionally trigger dative on the causee.[31] French allows both **causee > PP** and **PP > causee** orders and causees which precede the PP are accusative (37)a, whereas those that follow PPs are dative (37)b.

(37)　a.　　Cela　　fera　　　　　changer　**Jean**　d'　avis.

　　　　　that　　make.FUT.3SG　change.INF Jean　　of　opinion

　　　b.　　Cela　　fera　　　　　changer　　d'　avis　　**à**　　**Jean**.

　　　　　that　　make.FUT.3SG　change.INF of opinion　　DAT　Jean

　　　　　'That will make Jean change his mind.'　　　　　(Kayne 1975: 210, fn. 9)

Catalan patterns with PP complements are parallel to those in French, although this only becomes clear once we control for the complicating factor of DOM in Catalan. Observe the contrast in (17) noted by Alsina (1991, 1996) and Villalba (1992). As in French, the position of the PP complement appears to determine the case morphology on the causee for a group of speakers: causees preceding the PP can be accusative whereas those following it are introduced by *a*. In our survey, *a* marking on the causee in (38) is accepted by 53/57 speakers, and rejected by only 4/57:[32]

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[31] Kayne also notes that this is not true of all PP complements, and the same is true of Catalan (see footnote 37). In such cases, the dative, where possible, is generally optional though Kayne notes that some speakers accept dative and reject accusative causees with the verb *téléphoner* 'to telephone':

(i)　Elle　{**lui**/ **%le**}　　　　fera　　　　　　téléphoner　　　　à　　ses　parents.

　　　She　him.DAT/him.ACC　make. FUT.3SG　telephone.INF　　to　his　parents

　　　　　'She will make him call his parents.'　　　　　(Kayne 1975: 210, fn. 9)

[32] The example is disliked for a few speakers because of the binding ambiguity: they point out that, for the interpretation that Maria talks about her problems, it would be better to have the causee preceding the PP.

(38) El psicòleg va fer   parlar dels   seus   problemes **a**   **la Maria.**

   the therapist make.PST.3SG talk.INF of.the her   problems   A   the Maria

   'The therapist made Maria talk about her problems.'

Interestingly, however, *a* seems to be required also where a non-argumental PP precedes the causee; more speakers accepted (39) with *a* (53/57) than without (38/57) and this involves a non-argumental PP. However, this *a*-marking is DOM, and thus does not correspond to dative case, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (40), where most speakers (50/57) reject an unambiguously dative (i.e., pronominal) causee.[33] Let us recall that, despite Catalan prescriptive norms, DOM is quite pervasive in most varieties (Sancho Cremades 2002: 1737, Pineda in press):[34]

(39) El psicòleg   va fer   parlar durant més de   dues hores **%(a) la Maria**

   the psychologist made.PST.3SG talk.INF during morethan   two   hours DOM the Maria

   'The psychologist made Maria talk for more than two hours'

(40) *El   psicòleg   **li**   va fer   parlar durant més de dues hores.

   the   psychologist her.DAT make.PST.3SG talk.INF for   more than two hours

   'The psychologist made her talk for more than two hours'

---

[33] An anonymous reviewer suggests an interesting prediction of our claim. We expect that idioms formed by a light verb and a bare nominal with no argumental status (such as *fer figa* or *fer pena*) allow accusative causees, and this prediction is borne out:
(i)   a. La   pèrdua de   sang   el   farà   fer   figa
          the   loss   of   blood   him.ACC make.FUT.3SG do   fig
          'The loss of blood will make him falter'
       b. Aquella   jaqueta   el   feia   fer   pena.
          that   jacket   him.ACC make.IPFV.3SG do   sorrow
          'That jacked made him look pitiable.'
Another prediction pointed out by the same reviewer has to do with nominal attributes in copulatives: both dative and accusative causees seem to be accepted, the alternation being for some speakers linked to the degree of control, hence presumably connected to the ECM/*faire*-infinitive distinction.
(ii)   El/Li   faré   ser   el   meu   confident.
       him.ACC/DAT   make.FUT.1SG be.INF   the   my   confidant
       'I will make him be my confidant.'

[34] Although the prescriptivist grammar reduces the use of DOM to a few contexts (pronouns, contexts of ambiguity, dislocations...), DOM is widespread across most Catalan dialects with proper names and human definites and indefinites. Such a huge gap between the norm and the language is acknowledged in the *Gramàtica del català contemporani* (Sancho Cremades 2002: 1737) and is exhaustively exemplified in Pineda (in press).

So, there seems to be a preference for causees which are not adjacent to the verb to be marked with DOM in Catalan (possibly for processing reasons). This means that it is possible that the *a* in (38) (and (17)) might also have the status of DOM. This would be true if accusative cliticisation were the only option here, as Alsina (1996: 206, fn. 7) claims. In our survey, 28/57 speakers chose an accusative pronominal causee in the pronominal version of (38) (see (44)). However, this causee can be either accusative or dative for 18/57 speakers and 11/57 required dative as the only option. Further examples of dative cliticisation of causees following argumental PPs are provided by Fontich (2021: §7.4.2.4, §12.3.1.3):[35]

(41) **Li**   vaig fer   somiar   en   la   victòria

       him.DAT   make.PST.1PL dream.INF   of   the   triumph

       'I made him dream of the triumph.'   (Fontich 2021: 529)

Thus, in Catalan, where an argumental PP intervenes linearly between *fer* and the causee, dative can be triggered (see also Sheehan & Pineda 2019). We propose that this is because PPs can function as defective interveners. Defective intervention is claimed to arise where an inactive goal is closer to a given probe than a caseless goal and this prevents the probe from reaching the caseless goal. The presence of this 'defective intervener', it is claimed, can lead to a crash in the derivation in some cases, because Agree cannot take place and the goal fails to be case licensed

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[35] Evidence from clitic doubling also suggests that the *a* marking in (38) can stand for dative, since causees following argumental PPs can be clitic doubled (ia), just like regular dative arguments can in Catalan (Pineda 2020a). On the contrary, causees following non-argumental PPs (such as *parlar durant més dues hores* 'talking for more than two hours') cannot (ib):

(i) a. (Li)   va fer   parlar dels   seus problemes a la   Maria.
           her.DAT   make.PST.3SG talk.INF of.the   her problems   to the   Maria.
           'He/she made Maria talk about her problems.'
    b. (*Li)   van fer   parlar   durant més   de   dues hores **a**   **la Maria**.
          her.DAT   make.PST.3SG talk.INF   during more   than two hours DOM the Maria
          'He/she made Maria talk for more than two hours.'

(see McGinnis 1998; Chomsky 2000; Béjar 2003 for discussion; the term itself comes from Chomsky). Defective intervention has played an explanatory role in analyses of: the frequent ban on full experiencers in raising contexts (Rizzi 1986; McGinnis 1998; Torrego 1998; Boeckx 2008); the ban on experiencers in tough constructions (Hartman 2011, 2012); the Person Case Constraint (Anagnostopoulou 2003 and others); and Icelandic agreement with nominative objects (Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2004; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008).[36] As noted above, in many cases, the intervention problem can be overcome if the intervener is moved to a position above the goal, enabling the probe to probe downwards again in a Cyclic Agree approach (see Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2004). Where this happens, the probe has already attempted to probe the intervening goal and this leads to a partial valuation of phi-features. Our claim is that, in the case at hand, the intervening goal does not need to move in order for the probe to probe again (because the defective intervener does not c-command the lower goal), but that when the goal does probe, the effect will be dative case assignment as effect of secondary Agree.[37] In (42), where the matrix voice probes, its closest goal is the (defective) PP and this is sufficient to trigger dative on the causee, we claim:

(42) [$_{voice}$ *voice*$_{[uphi]}$ [$_v$ fer [$_Y$ [$_V$ parlar **[$_{PP}$ dels …]**]] Y [$_{Appl}$ **Maria** *Appl* t$_{VP}$]]]]

As an anonymous reviewer notes, the unmarked order here is V-PP-causee and in the reverse the PP is necessarily focused. We thus assume that in the marked V-causee-PP order, the PP moves to a low focus position in the vP-periphery between voice and v before vP fronting takes place:

(43) [$_{voice}$ *voice*$_{[uphi]}$ [$_v$ fer [$_v$ parlar t$_i$] t$_{fer}$ [$_{voice}$ **Maria** *voice* [$_{Foc}$ **[$_{PP}$ dels …]** Foc]]]

This has the effect of removing the PP as a closer goal and rendering the causee accessible to be probed first and fully by the probe. In such cases, then, the causee receives accusative case, as

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[36] Bruening (2014b) has challenged the need for defective intervention as an explanatory mechanism, but see Marchis Moreno & Petersen (2017) for a reply to his objection.

[37] A reviewer asks why PPs count as defective interveners if the activity condition holds. As noted in the previous section, the activity can be abandoned, and its effects captured via the phase impenetrability condition. This means that DPs contained in a PP will also be visible to a probe.

expected, and dative is ruled out.

Finally, where the causee is a clitic, we assume that structural ambiguity arises because the surface position of the PP when matrix *voice* probes is ambiguous: it could be inside the fronted vP or in the low focus position below the base position of the causee clitic. This situation leads to variability, with some speakers accepting/requiring dative and others rejecting it, as noted above.

(44) Com que el professor {**la/%li**} va fer parlar dels seus problemes, [...]

since the teacher her.ACC/%DAT make.PST.3SG talk.INF of.the her problems

'Since the teacher made her talk about her problems, […]'

We assume that this is because, without a clear context, either a focused or non-focused reading of the PP is possible. In conclusion, argumental PPs (such as *dels seus problems* 'about her problems') can also count for transitivity in Catalan in those contexts where they count as a closer goal for the matrix *voice* probe.[38, 39]

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[38] Àlex Alsina (p.c.) points out that dative does not seem to be available with predicates with argumental PPs such as *dependre de* 'to depend on' (i) and suggests that the relevant difference might be that such verbs, in addition to animate subjects (iia), can easily take inanimate subjects (iib).

(i)   *Li / ᵒᵏEl   van fer   dependre   dels   seus   pares.
         him.DAT/ACC   make.PST.3PL   depend.INF   on.the   his   parents
         'They made him depend on his parents.'
(ii)   a.   Aquest   noi   depèn   dels   seus   pares.
               this   guy   depend.PRS.3SG on.the   his   parents
               'This guy depends on his parents.'
         b.   El   preu   depèn   del   tipus   d'   habitació.
               the   price   depend.PRS.3SG on.the   type   of   room
               'The prize depends on the room type.'

The same effect may also be relevant in French as the verb *rentrer* 'to go back' which Kayne notes not to permit dative (recall fn. 31), also allows inanimate subjects:

(iii)   a. *Elle   fera   rentrer   à   son   enfant   dans   sa
            she   make.FUT.3SG   go.back.INF   to   his   son   to   his
            chambre.
            room
            'She will make his son go back to his room.'   (Kayne 1975: 204)
         b.*On   *lui*   a fait   rentrer   dans   sa   chambre.
            one   him.DAT has made   go.back.INF   to   his   room
            'Has was made go back to his room.'   (Kayne 1975: 210, fn. 9)
(iv)   De   l'   eau   est   rentrée   dans   le   moteur.
         of   the   water   is   re-entered   in   the   motor
         'Some water got into the motor.'

We leave this matter to one side here but it certainly warrants further investigation.

[39] The same is true for intransitive verbs taking a dative argument:

(i)   El/Li   faré   cantar   a   la   Mare de Déu.
         him.ACC/DAT   make.FUT.1SG sing.INF   to   the   Mother of God
         'I will make him sing to the Virgin Mary.'

Further evidence that this analysis is along the right lines comes from a contrast between Italian vs. Catalan and French in this domain. As noted by Burzio (1986), the wide focus order in Italian places PPs after the causee, which necessarily surfaces as accusative and never dative. The order with a preposed PP, which Burzio describes as "not completely impossible", is clearly marked (indicated with ? by him, as replicated below, and considered marked by our informants too):

(45) a. Farò   scrivere/telefonare   Giovanni **a Maria**.

         make.FUT.1SG   write/telephone.INF   Giovanni to Maria

      b.?Farò   scrivere/telefonare   **a Maria** Giovanni.

         make.FUT.1SG   write/telephone.INF   to Maria Giovanni

         'I will make Giovanni write/phone to Maria.'

This may explain the fact that although some Italian speakers are reported to allow dative causes with these verbs (see Radford 1977: 230 ff), this seems to be more restricted and subject to dialectal variation and, as Burzio notes, in both Italian and French, where two arguments surface after the verb (*a Maria a Giovanni*), it is always the second that is parsed as the causee. Table 2 below summarizes these facts.

	Argumental PPs		Non-argumental PPs	
	Clitic causees	DP causees	Clitic causees	DP causees
French	ACC/DAT	ACC [causee > PP] DAT [PP > causee]	ACC	**ACC**
Catalan	ACC/DAT	ACC [causee > PP] DAT [PP > causee]	ACC	ACC (optionally with DOM)
Italian	ACC/%DAT	ACC [causee > PP] %DAT [PP > causee]	ACC	ACC

Table 2. *Faire*-infinitive with PP complements

3.5 Scenario 4: CP interveners

Now consider CP arguments of the complement of *fer* which, somewhat unexpectedly, can always occur with dative causees in Catalan, whether finite or non-finite:

(46) {**Li/%L'**} han fet pensar [que estava equivocat].

him.DAT/%ACC= have.3PL made think.INF that be.IPFV.3SG wrong

'They made him think that he was wrong'

(47) {**Li/%la**} van fer prometre cantar / llegir el diari.[40]

her.DAT/%ACC make.PST.3PL promise.INF sing.INF/ read the newspaper

'They made her promise to sing/read the newspaper.'

Note that this is true regardless of the transitivity of the most embedded verb, unlike the pattern with restructuring verbs.[41] Accusative is also possible here for those speakers who permit ECM. Actually, matters are more complex than this. Several Catalan speakers dislike (47) with either dative or accusative, and only find the construction natural with a finite CP complement. However, among the speakers who accept non-finite complements here, dative case is triggered (modulo ECM). What (46)-(47) show, then, is that, in *faire*-infinitive contexts, CP complements always count for transitivity in Catalan, triggering dative causees (modulo ECM).

The behaviour of CPs in Catalan again appears to be a more general pan-Romance pattern. Kayne (1975) notes in passing that finite CPs in French count for transitivity, triggering dative on causees under *faire*, and Pearce (1990) shows that this was true also in Old French:

(48) Elle a fait admettre **à** **Jean** qu' il avait tort

she make.PST.3SG admit.INF to Jean that he had.3SG wrong

'She made Jean admit that he was wrong.' (Kayne 1975: 210)

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[40] In Catalan, non-finite complements can also often be introduced by *de*, especially in formal contexts. In spoken language, *de* tends to be supressed. This does not affect dative case assignment, however.

[41] For space reasons we do not discuss restructuring predicates here but what we observe, as noted by Burzio (1986) for Italian, is restructuring for transitivity, with the case on the causee sensitive to the transitivity of the verb in the complement of the restructuring verb. This means dative is ruled out in (ia), but possible in (ib) (along with ECM):

(i) a. **L'/*li** han fet acabar de **dormir / cridar / plorar**
          him.ACC= have.3PL made finish.INF of sleep / shout / cry.INF
          'They made him stop sleeping/shouting/crying'
     b. %**Li/%l'** han fet acabar de **construir** **l'** **edifici** ràpidament
          him.DAT= have.3PL made finish.INF of build.INF the building quickly
          'They quickly made him stop building the building.'

Non-finite CPs behave the same, once we distinguish between non-restructuring/restructuring verbs. With non-restructuring verbs such as *promettre* 'promise' causees are always dative regardless of the valency of their complement:[42]

(49) Marie {**lui/**   ***l'**}   a   fait   promettre de faire quelque chose / partir.

      Marie him.DAT/.ACC   has made promise   DE do   some   thin   leave

Patterns are similar in Italian though there are some contexts with dative/accusative optionality for reasons we do not yet understand (see also Burzio 1986: 276).

From our perspective, this means that, in Catalan (and Romance more broadly), CPs must also be fronted with the vP to a position which makes them the closest goal to the main clause *voice* probe. Non-finite CPs normally precede the causee, suggesting that they occupy the same vP-internal position as PPs (50)b, but finite CPs usually linearly follow the causee (50)a:

(50) a. Han   fet   admetre   **a**   **la**   **Maria** [que   havia   mentit]

         have.3PL   made   admit.INF   to   the   Maria   that   had.3SG lied

         'They made Maria admit she had lied.'

     b. Han   fet   admetre   [haver   mentit] **a**   **la**   **Maria**.

         have.3PL   made   admit.INF   have.INF   lied   to   the   Maria

         'They made Maria admit she had lied.'

The surface position of finite CPs is unexpected on our approach. As we saw in the previous section, PPs which follow the causee do not trigger dative case. Note, however, that these rightmost finite CPs are not focused, unlike Catalan PPs in this position. We therefore tentatively assume that they are extraposed due to their heaviness but that a copy of them nonetheless

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[42] In Italian (as in French) it seems to make no difference whether the non-restructuring predicate takes a complement introduced by *a/di* or nothing at all. This is evidence that *di/a* can be C-elements in Italian (Ledgeway 2016: 1013, 1015) as CP complements behave differently from PP.

occupies a position inside the fronted vP which is closer to the matrix voice probe than the causee (see van Urk & Richards (2015) for a similar proposal for Dinka CPs). Voice therefore agrees defectively also with finite CPs but can probe again as both of its person and number features remain unvalued. This means that matrix *voice* can agree with the causee, leading to dative case assignment under secondary Agree. While the surface position of finite CPs is not immediately predicted by the Cyclic Agree approach, as we discuss in Section 4, nor is the different behaviour of PP and CP complements fully explained by competing approaches.

3.6 Scenario 5: PCC contexts

In this section, we consider cases where the XP which counts as the closest goal to the matrix voice probe is a $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person clitic pronoun. In Catalan as in Italian, French and Spanish, causatives with dative causees are subject to a strict form of the Person Case Constraint (PCC) (Bonet 1991, Postal 1989, Sheehan 2020b): where the object of the embedded transitive predicate is $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person, a dative 3rd person causee is systematically ruled out, whether it is a clitic (51)b or a full DP (51)a (Bonet 1991: 195):

(51) a. *Et/*Em/^{ok}El   van fer   curar   **a**   **la**   **metgessa**

you.ACC/me.ACC/him.ACC   make.PST.3PL heal.INF   to   the   doctor.F

'They made the doctor[FEM] heal you/me/him.'

b. *Me   **li**   van fer   escollir

me.ACC=her.DAT   make.PST.3PL choose.INF

'They made her choose me.'

This is subtly different from the pattern observed in ditransitive contexts in which only dative clitics are ruled out and full DPs introduced by *a* are fully grammatical (see Sheehan 2020b for a

potential analysis of this difference which can be observed in several Romance languages). In these PCC contexts, an ECM complement is fully grammatical in Catalan:[43, 44]

(52) **La** van fer escollir-me

her.ACC make.PST.3PL choose.INF=me.ACC

'They made her choose me.'

Further evidence that this is not merely a ban on certain clitic clusters comes from examples where object clitic climbing fails to occur, because, as noted in Section 3.3, it is optional in Catalan (though not in French or Italian). According to our speakers, a dative causee is only possible, even in the absence of object clitic climbing, where the embedded object is 3rd person:[45]

(53) **Li** van fer {*escollir-me / *curar-te/ ?curar-la}.

her.DAT make.PST.3PL choose.INF=me.ACC/heal.INF=you.ACC/heal.INF=her.ACC

Intended: 'They made her choose me / heal you / heal her.'

Most recent approaches to the PCC claim that it arises where "two arguments are in the domain of a single probing head" (Nevins 2007: 290) (see Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, Nevins 2007, Rezac 2008, Coon & Keine 2020). We follow this line of proposals in claiming that the strict PCC effect here results from the fact that $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person object clitics, in being specified for both person and number, exhaust all of the features of the matrix voice probe and so make secondary Agree,

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[43] In fact, as pointed out by Anna Paradís (p.c.), this ECM solution is provided by the Catalan prescriptive grammar (GIEC 2016: 1021): 'when the verb in the infinitive takes a 1st or 2nd person clitic as its direct object, this clitic attaches to the infinitive, and the one that stands for the subject, which is in accusative case, attaches to the causative verb' [our translation], as shown in (i) (see also Ciutescu 2018: 201-212):

(i) a. **La** van fer curar-te.
   her.ACC make.PST.3PL heal.INF=you.ACC
   'They made her heal you.'
   b. **El** deixaran. despertar-nos
   him.ACC let.FUT.3PL weak.INF=us.ACC
   'They will let him weak us.' (GIEC 2016: 1021)

[44] See also Schifano & Sheehan (2019) for a discussion of this effect in Italian.

[45] Recall footnote 26.

and hence dative case assignment, impossible. Consider first cases where the complement of *fer* is a non-phasal ApplP:

(54)   [$_{voice}$ *voice*$_{[uphi]}$ [$_v$ fer [$_Y$ [$_v$ curar 1SG] Y [$_{Appl}$ **3SG** Appl t$_{vP}$]]]]]

When the matrix voice probes, it first comes across the 1SG object and agrees with it. This results in both its person and number features being valued meaning it cannot probe again. For this reason, voice cannot agree with the causee and this leads to a crash in the derivation. Where the causee is a clitic, we can attribute this to the fact that the causee does not have a host to cliticise to, but the ungrammaticality of (51)a suggests that the requirement for the causee to agree holds also for full DPs, suggesting that case licensing is at stake (contra Preminger 2019).

Now consider instances where the complement of *fer* is phasal so no clitic climbing takes place.

(55) [$_{voice}$ *voice*$_{[uphi]}$ [$_v$ fer [$_Y$ [$_v$ curar+v=**me$_i$** t$_i$] Y [$_{voice}$ **3SG** voice t$_{vP}$]]

In this context, vP fronting still ensures that a case-valued 1SG pronoun is the closest goal to the matrix voice probe. Somewhat surprisingly, the features of this DP remain accessible to the probe, exhausting both its person and number features. For this reason, the probe cannot probe again and so the causee cannot receive dative case and the derivation crashes (again whether the causee is a clitic or a full DP). In other words, PCC effects hold also where no clitic climbing takes place.

The Cyclic Agree approach therefore provides an account of transitivity-sensitive dative case and of PCC effects as two sides of the same coin. This is supported by the fact that no PCC effects obtain in ECM contexts (see Sheehan 2020b for an overview). These two phenomena have different analyses in a dependent case approach, with dative case being due to the presence of a case competitor and the PCC being due to multiple or cyclic Agree. This is the first reason to favour a Cyclic Agree approach to transitivity-sensitive dative. In Section 4, we highlight some other challenges posed by our data for dependent case approaches. First, though, we consider the status of dative in ditransitive contexts.

3.7 Scenario 6: Ditransitive contexts

The proposal sketched in the previous subsections raises the question of whether dative is always a dependent case, assigned under Cyclic Agree. We argue that dative can also be inherent in Catalan, though there are intervening issues that may obscure this. Transitivity-sensitivity is observed elsewhere in the grammar of Romance languages. A case in point is provided by *payer*-type verbs in French which can be either ditransitive, with an accusative theme and a dative recipient (56)a, or transitive, with an accusative recipient (56)b. Such verbs could have an analysis based on Cyclic Agree, similar to that proposed for the *faire*-infinitive.

(56) a.

Il	paye	500	euros	*à*	*son*	*employé*
he	pay.PRS.3SG	500	euros	to	his	employee

'He pays his 500 euros to his employee.'

b.

Il	paie	*son*	*employé*	le	5	de	chaque mois.
he	pay.PRS.3SG	his	employee	the	5	of	each month

'He pays his employee on the 5th of the month.'

In Catalan, the dative case observed with *pagar* 'pay' is inherent, however. In addition to the accusative encoding (57)b, a dative encoding of the recipient is also available (57)c. As shown by Pineda (2020b), this alternating pattern whereby the recipient can either take accusative case or *preserve* the dative (also featured in the ditransitive structure), is attested also in Spanish, Asturian and several Italian varieties, with a semantically consistent group of verbs (Pineda 2020b: 131). Thus, for those Romance speakers accepting (57)c (and its cognates in the mentioned Romance languages), dative can also be inherent.

(57) a.

(Li)	paga	500	euros	*al*	*seu*	*empleat.*
CL.DAT	pay.PRS.3SG	500	euros	to	his	employee

'He pays his 500 euros to hi employee.'

b. Paga   *el seu empleat*   el   5   de   cada   mes.

pay.PRS.3SG   his   employee   the   5   of   each   month

'He pays his employee on the 5th of the month.'

c. (Li)   paga   *al seu empleat*   el   5   de   cada   mes.

CL.DAT pay.PRS.3SG to.his employees   the   5   of   each   month

'He pays his employeeson the 5th of the month.'

With most of the verbs of this type discussed by Pineda (2020b) ('pay', 'help', 'phone', 'hit', 'teach', 'pray', etc.) PCC effects cannot be tested as they only take inanimate direct objects when ditransitive, with the exception of *robar* 'rob, steal'. This verb permits the alternation mentioned in (57) and at the same time is subject to the PCC in a context where someone (for example a baby) is stolen from someone else (for example their mother), though only with a dative clitic:[46]

(58) a. Em   van robar   a   la meva   mare.

me.ACC   steal.PST.3PL   to   my   mother

'They stole me from my mother.'

b. *Me   li   van robar   (a   la meva   mare).

me.ACC   her.DAT   steal.PST.3PL to   my   mother

'They stole me from her (from my mother).'

There are also verbs which do not display a dative/accusative alternation at all, so that an indirect object is always dative regardless of the presence of a direct object. With those verbs, then, we are presumably dealing with inherent dative case, which is not triggered by Cyclic Agree:

(59)   Cantarem   (una   cançó) *(a*   *la*   *Mare de Déu*

sing.FUT.1PL   a   song   to   the   Virgin Mary

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[46] Note that PCC effects with ditransitives apply only to clitic clusters (see Bonet 1991). See Sheehan (2020b) for an analysis of this based on the dual status of *a* as a preposition and a case marker in Romance. In these terms, the grammaticality of (58a) can be attributed to the fact that it involves a PP rather than a dative recipient.

'We'll sing (a song) to the Virgin Mary.'

Most such verbs cannot take an animate direct object so we cannot test the PCC. The only verb which we have been able to identify from this class which can take an animate theme is *donar*. In addition to its ditransitive use (60)a, it can be used with no direct object, though with a meaning of 'donate, do charity'(60)b:

(60) a. Donarem   un   regal   *als*   *nens*

       give.FUT.1PL   a   present   to.the   children

       'We'll give a present to the children'

   b. És   important   donar   *als*   *pobres*

       is   important   donate.INF   to.the   poor

       'It is important to donate to the poor'

The PCC holds also with *donar*, contrary to what we would expect if dative is inherent, but we assume that this may be because the intransitive use of *donar* in (60)b is actually a different verb with a different argument structure so that the dative in (60)a is the effect of Cyclic Agree. A prediction of our approach is that for ditransitive verbs which retain dative on recipients in the absence of a theme, there should be no PCC effect, but we have not been able to find any other verbs with the relevant features on which to test this prediction, unfortunately. The different behaviour of full DPs in causatives and ditransitives when it comes to PPCs effects is due to the possibility that goal *a*-DPs in ditransitives can also be PPs (see Pineda 2020a and Sheehan 2020b).

4.   The dependent case approach and its challenges

Section 3 outlined a Cyclic Agree approach to the Catalan *faire*-infinitive and to transitivity-sensitive case patterns more generally. The core idea we have presented is that dative is a secondary case which is assigned when a probe agrees with a DP after previously probing a closer XP, where XP can be a DP, PP or CP. This kind of Cyclic Agree is possible, we have argued

because of the specific structure of the *faire*-infinitive whereby, because of VP/vP-fronting, neither of the two goals c-commands the other. In this section, we briefly contrast this approach with the main competing account of transitivity-sensitive patterns based on dependent case.

Dependent case approaches have been around for some time (see Anderson 1976, Yip, Maling & Jackendoff 1987, Marantz 1991) but have become increasingly popular in recent years (see McFadden 2004, Baker & Vinokurova 2010, Baker 2015, Levin & Preminger 2015, Nash 2017). The crucial claim of these kinds of approaches is that overt morphological case is triggered not by a dependency between a DP and a functional head, but by the presence of two DPs in a local domain. In Baker's (2015) phase-based approach, where two DPs are spelled out in the same phase, the higher, the lower, or, in some cases, both receive a special morphological case.

The dependent-case approach is particularly attractive as an analysis of transitivity-sensitive patterns whereby arguments with the same thematic role receive a different case depending on whether another argument is present in a local domain. Agree-based and inherent-case approaches can capture such patterns (see Bobaljik 1993, Legate 2008) but they require additional stipulations (see Baker & Bobaljik 2017). The dependent case approach, on the other hand, very naturally captures transitivity-sensitive patterns and provides a functional rationale for the existence of such patterns, namely the need to distinguish two phrases in a local domain which are too similar (see Richards 2010, Baker 2015).

Building on Marantz's (1991) original proposal, Folli & Harley (2007) and Pitteroff & Campanini (2013) propose different dependent case analyses of the Italian *faire*-infinitive. We focus here on the more recent proposal for ease of exposition, highlighting some of the ways in which it differs from our approach. Pitteroff & Campanini (2013), like us, assume that *fare* can embed a non-phasal ApplP.[47] Like us, they further assume that the lower vP fronts to a position in the matrix clause. In these aspects, our proposals are very similar (small details aside):

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[47] We have simply assumed that ApplP is not a phase but they provide a rationale for this in terms of head movement whereby Appl raises to v and then v+Appl raise to the matrix voice which has the effect of extending the phasal domain so that the Theme and Causee are spelled out together (see Gallego 2007, Den Dikken 2007).

(61) Spell-out configuration in Italian faire-infinitive (Pitteroff & Campanini 2013: 227)
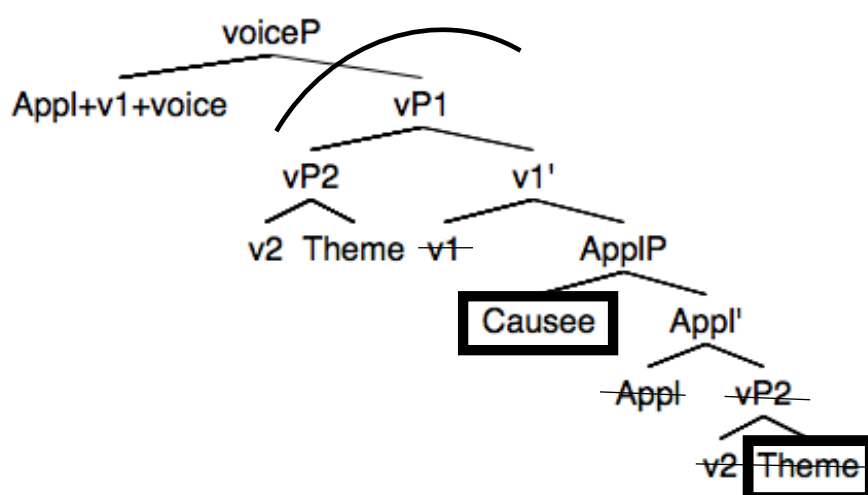
What differs in their proposal is that they adopt a dependent case approach to dative whereby it is triggered by the presence of a case competitor in the same phase/case domain. Concretely, they propose that the lower copy of the theme triggers dependent dative on the causee, as per (62):

(62) Distribution of two dependent cases (Pitteroff & Campanini 2013: 228)

If a case domain π contains two DPs α and β, both eligible for structural (dependent) case, and α c-commands β, α surfaces with dative, and β with accusative case.

As discussed in Section 2, in Standard Italian, there is no DOM and so transitivity-sensitivity is apparent regardless of whether the causee is a pronominal clitic or a full DP. In cases where the theme and/or causee are clitics, we must assume that the calculation of case precedes cliticization (though Pitteroff & Campanini do not discuss this issue). Note that according to the structure that Pitteroff & Campanini posit, no c-command relations hold between the copies of the causee and theme which are spelled out (as is the case for us); a lower copy of the theme is targeted in order for (62) to be able to apply.[48,] This provides an elegant account of the basic transitivity-sensitive pattern in the *faire*-infinitive making subtly different predictions from our Cyclic Agree approach.

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[48] Folli & Harley (2007) propose a more conservative dependent case approach whereby the causee and object agree with different heads but morphological case is determined post-syntactically.

We can summarise the three crucial ingredients of this dependent case approach to dative in the *faire*-infinitive as follows:

a. The causee and theme are transferred in the same domain (unlike in ECM contexts). [49]

b. Dative is triggered where the causee asymmetrically c-commands a copy of the theme.

c. Dative case obtains where both arguments are DPs eligible for structural case.

The data that we have presented in Section 3 pose challenges for all of (a), (b) and (c).

First, recall that Catalan has only optional clitic climbing in the *faire*-infinitive.

(63) El Joan   {el   farà   llegir / farà   llegir-lo}

  the John   it.ACC make.FUT.3SG read.INF make.FUT.3SG read.INF=it.ACC

  a   la   Maria.

  to   the Mary

We argued in Section 3.3 that this is because the complement of *fer* in Catalan can be phasal (with *se* being possible, unlike in Italian). If this argumentation is correct, then this raises a potential challenge for premise (a) above. Whereas in Italian, dative is only assigned in contexts with obligatory clitic climbing (restructuring), the same is not true in Catalan. It seems then, that it is not a necessary condition for transitivity-sensitive dative that the theme be spelled out in the same phase as the causee. In Italian it is, but this is not always the case in Catalan.[50]

Moreover, the Catalan patterns suggest that what is relevant to dative assignment is not the base position of the second argument but rather whether the complement is smuggled via vP fronting to a position between the matrix probe and the causee, also calling into question premise (b). This is particularly clear in the case of PPs, where focused PPs which surface after the causee

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[49] Although Pitteroff & Campanini do not discuss ECM complements (because the latter are not generally possible in Italian under *fare*, as also noted in Section 2), we can assume, based on their analysis of German causatives in the same paper, that a crucial difference must ensure that the causee and theme are not transferred in the same domain in instances of ECM, so that no dative case is assigned and both arguments receive accusative case.

[50] An anonymous reviewer comments that the pattern in (63) is also problematic for the Cyclic Agree approach as if there are two case domains then there should be no need to assign a secondary dative case. As we show in Section 3, however, defective interveners (CPs, PPs and case-valued DPs) all trigger dative because of smuggling which serves to keep material which should have undergone phrasal transfer alive in the derivation.

do not trigger dative. What is crucial, then, is not the base-generated position of arguments or whether they originate in the same phase but whether their final position makes them a closer goal for the matrix *voice* probe. As a reviewer notes, this pattern is not so clear for finite CPs, which are always extraposed and yet still trigger dative. On a dependent case approach, the fact that the causee asymmetrically c-commands a finite CP complement would be sufficient to trigger dative and so these data pattern as expected. The approach, however, offers no account of the behaviour of PPs where there is greater optionality of positioning. Both approaches face issues in dealing with the different behaviour of PPs vs. CPs then.

Finally, consider (c): the claim that dative will surface only where there are two DPs in a local domain requiring a structural case. We have shown this not to be the case in Catalan. First, case-marked clitics appear to be able to trigger dative on the causee and also to exhaust the phi-features of the voice probe, leading to PCC effects. Second, intervening PPs and CPs also lead to dative on the causee. This calls into question one of the most attractive aspects of the dependent case approach: that it stems from the need to distinguish between two arguments in a local domain which are too similar. In the Catalan *faire*-infinitive, dative is not limited to contexts where two DPs surface in a local domain, and the same is true also of French and Italian.[51]

The behaviour of CPs and PPs in the Romance *faire*-infinitive is unexpected from a dependent case view in which only DPs are expected to be case competitors.[52] To save the approach, we must either claim that PPs and CPs count as DPs in Catalan (and Romance languages more generally) or it is necessary to amend the dependent case rule so that it is less specific:

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[51] As a reviewer reminds us, not all dependent case approaches take categorial identity to be a crucial component of dependent case. Nonetheless, once dependent case rules are weakened to refer to disparate categories, notably categories that do not themselves display case distinctions and so cannot be considered to be true 'case competitors', the approach becomes more descriptive and less theoretically attractive.

[52] Baker (2015), in discussing CP arguments, makes it clear that:

   "Without tinkering with the dependent case rule, we expect fully nominalized clauses to both undergo and trigger dependent case assignment, whereas true CPs should neither trigger dependent case nor undergo it." (Baker 2015: 197)

All else being equal then, the prediction is that a non-nominalised CP object should not trigger dative on the causee on his approach either.

(64) Distribution of dependent dative (revised version)

If a domain π contains an XP α and a DP β, and α c-commands β, β surfaces with dative.

The first option seems problematic. While non-finite CPs have been claimed to show some nominal properties, the same is not true of finite CPs. In fact, finite CPs and DPs are well known to show different distributions in French, for example, like in English (cf. Stowell 1981). We provide a few examples to illustrate this here.

First, reflexive verbs such as *s'apercevoir* 'to realise', *s'attendre* 'to expect', *s'habituer* 'to get used to', *se plaindre* 'to complain', *se méfier* 'to mistrust', can take nominal or CP complements, but whereas nominal complements must be introduced by a preposition, finite CP complements cannot be, except in instances of nominalisation with *ce* 'that', a clausal determiner (see Zaring 1992: 58, fn. 7).

(65) Je   m'   habitue   à *(ce) qu' elle fasse   la   vaisselle

I   me   accustom.PRS.1SG   to   that she do.SBJV.3SG   the   dishes

à   la   main.

to   the   hand

'I'm getting used to her doing the dishes by hand.'   (Zaring 1992: 72)

In Catalan, the preposition is usually dropped with finite clausal complements, though it is retained (or introduced) in colloquial Catalan, so the effect is less clear-cut but still apparent if we compare finite CP complements (66)a with nominal complements (66)b:

(66) a.   No   s'acostuma   (a) que li   parlin   anglès.

no   accustom.PRS.3SG   (to) that him.DAT   talk.SBJV.3PL English

'He does not get used to people talking to him in English'

b.	No	s'acostuma	*(a)	aquesta	calor
	no	accustom.PRS.3SG	to	this	heat

'He does not get used to this heat'

For this reason, we are left with the option of restating the dependent case algorithm as per (64). The statement of the rule in this way also undermines an explicit fundamental tenet of dependent case theory namely that "[t]he same constituents are subject to case theory both as undergoers of case marking and as triggers of dependent case marking" (Baker 2015: 197). So, in order for the theory to avoid circularity, we would need evidence that in those languages in which CPs count for transitivity, they can also undergo case marking (see Ingason 2018 for potential indirect evidence in Icelandic). Even though it is possible to formulate a dependent case rule which is sensitive to CPs, then, the format of this rule serves to undermine one of the main attractions of the dependent case approach. Moreover, this more general version of the dependent case rule could not be used in other contexts where transitivity-sensitivity cases like ergative and accusative are sensitive to the DP/non-DP distinction. It seems more attractive to attribute the effect to Cyclic Agree combined with the vP-fronting (smuggling) derivation which creates a situation where two goals are visible to a single probe.

Of course, it is also fair to say that under standard approaches to Agree, it is somewhat unexpected that case-marked DPs, PPs and CPs would be visible to a probe searching for an argument with person and number features. This is true but evidence for defective intervention and cyclic Agree has been outlined in a number of languages (see the discussion in Section 3). Also, the fact that PCC effects go hand in hand with the assignment of transitivity-sensitive dative in Catalan is a strong argument that Cyclic Agree is involved in this domain.

5. Conclusions

In this paper we have proposed a novel account of the Romance *faire*-infinitive based on Cyclic Agree, whereby transitivity-sensitive dative arises as an effect of secondary Agree where a probe

has previously probed a closer XP. Essentially, our claim is that this is possible because of vP-fronting, as this creates a structure in which two goals become accessible to a single probe. Patterns of case with PP objects in Catalan, French and Italian strongly support the idea that dative is triggered by this kind of surface intervention. As well as illustrating how this kind of approach can handle not only the patterns with full DPs but also those with clitics, PPs, and CPs we have compared the Cyclic Agree approach with dependent case approaches which, while similar in spirit, make subtly different assumptions and predictions. We have shown that there are a number of reasons to favour a Cyclic Agree approach to the Catalan *faire*-infinitive over a dependent case account, notably (i) the fact that non-DPs trigger transitivity-sensitive dative, (ii) the fact that surface position rather than the base position of the second argument is crucial, (iii) the fact that PCC effects go hand in hand with assignment of transitivity-sensitive dative and (iv) the fact that we get dative case or PCC effects even without clitic climbing.

Our proposal contributes to wider debates regarding the role of Agree in case assignment. More specifically, it suggests that attempts to reduce all instances of structural case to a dependency between XPs are too strong (see for example Levin & Preminger 2015).[53] While the dependent case approach is attractive in its apparent simplicity and offers an explanatory account of transitivity-sensitivity, we have shown that, in relation to the Romance *faire*-infinitive, at least, matters are not as simple as they first seem and dative is not triggered by the presence of a second DP c-commanded by the causee, but rather by the presence of any XP goal which is closer to their common probe. We have shown, moreover, that Cyclic Agree offers an alternative account of transitivity effects, binding them to PCC effects, which are usually analysed as resulting from Agree. The idea that a single Agree-based account is successful here means, we would argue, that Agree-based analyses are also worthy of investigation in relation to other transitivity-sensitive case patterns.

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[53] See Bárány & Sheehan (2020) for further reasons to favour an Agree-based approach to some instances of what look like 'dependent cases', notably from global case splits, where case assignment is sensitive to the specific phi-features of two arguments in a local domain.

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Data-availability statement

The full original data generated by this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

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