

When Restructuring and Clause Union Meet in Catalan and Beyond*

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Abstract

This paper considers what happens when clause union meets restructuring by examining contexts where the causative FACERE verb takes a restructuring verb as its complement in Catalan, in comparison with French and Italian. We show that in Catalan and Italian and to some degree also French, in such contexts, the case realisation of the causee as accusative/dative depends on the transitivity of the next clause down. We call this effect, first discussed by Burzio (1986) for Italian, ‘restructuring for transitivity’. We then move our attention to the interaction between restructuring for transitivity and other restructuring and clause union phenomena such as clitic climbing and *se* deletion, and discuss several theoretical challenges posed by these interactions.

Keywords: causative constructions, restructuring verbs, clause union, transitivity, case alternations, clitic climbing

Resum

Aquest article estudia què ocorre quan hi ha unió de clàusules i reestructuració i, per fer-ho, examina els contextos en què el verb causatiu *fer* pren un verb de reestructuració com a complement en català, francès i italià. Mostrem que en català i italià, i en certa mesura també en francès, en aquests contextos la realització de cas de l'argument causat (el

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subjecte de l'infinitiu) com a acusatiu o com a datiu depèn de la transitivitat de la clàusula subordinada. Aquest efecte, que fou detectat per primer cop per Burzio (1986) per a l'italià, l'anomenem *reestructuració per a la transitivitat*. A continuació ens centrem l'atenció en la interacció entre la reestructuració per a la transitivitat i altres fenòmens de reestructuració i unió de clàusules, com ara el salt de clíctic i la supressió de *se*, i discutim diversos reptes teòrics que plantegen els fenòmens objecte d'estudi.

Paraules clau: construccions causatives, verbs de reestructuració, transitivitat, alternances de cas, salt de clíctic

1. Introduction

This paper investigates what happens when 'clause union' meets 'restructuring' in complements of the causative FACERE 'make' verb in Catalan (in comparison with other Romance languages).¹ Following Rizzi (1982), we adopt the view that restructuring (under aspectual, modal and other verbs) is distinct from clause union (under causative and perception verbs) despite their apparent similarities. As Rizzi notes, in Italian, we see restructuring for auxiliary selection (under *venire* 'come', *cominciare* 'start', *volere* 'want') but no such effect under clause union (under causative/perception verbs). Similarly, in French, clitic climbing is blocked in restructuring contexts but obligatory in clause union contexts. From a pan-Romance perspective then, it makes sense to maintain a distinction between these two phenomena. In this paper, we explore what happens when a clause union verb (FACERE) selects a restructuring verb, focusing on the implications for case assignment.

As is well known, in many Romance languages, the case-marking of the causee under FACERE usually depends on the transitive or intransitive nature of its complement, as shown in the contrast in (1)-(2). The causee bears accusative case if its complement is intransitive (either unergative or unaccusative) (1) and dative case if its complement is

¹ We focus here on French and Italian as comparator languages because, unlike Spanish and European/Brazilian Portuguese, they usually require clause union under the cognate FACERE verb. In Spanish and Portuguese, the FACERE cognate verb often takes larger ECM complements, something that is much more restricted, though not impossible in Catalan, Italian and French (see Pineda & Sheehan in press, Sheehan 2020). We also focus exclusively on the FACERE verb as additional variation is observed with other causative and perception verbs (see Sheehan 2020).

transitive (2), as noted by Fabra (1956: §96), Alsina (1996, 2002) and Villalba (1992, 1994):

- (1) 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.
 him.ACC have.1SG made talk/come.INF
 ‘I made her talk/come.’
- (2) 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.’

Before moving forward, a clarification is in order: in Catalan, this dative/accusative alternation can be obscured by two independent properties. On the one hand, when the embedded infinitive is transitive some speakers accept not only a dative clitic (2b) but also an accusative one, i.e. they treat these structures as Exceptional Case Marking (from now on, ECM) complements (for more examples of ECM in Catalan, see Solà 1994: §9.3, Pineda & Sheehan in press). Thus, ECM leads to clitic causees of both transitive and intransitive verbs being accusative. On the other hand, Differential Object Marking (from now on, DOM), consisting of the use of *a* to introduce human, definite objects, such as (*a*) *la Núria* in (1a), results in accusative full DP causees being homophonous with dative full DP causees (2a). Although DOM is generally proscribed in Standard Catalan, it is undeniably extended in the language, not only in colloquial registers but also in formal

settings (media, institutional communications, academic contexts, political discourses, etc.), as shown in Pineda (in press, 2021).²

A parallel transitivity-sensitive pattern is found in French (see Kayne 1975) and Italian (Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993, 1996), as per the following Italian examples:

- (3) a. Ho fatto parlare/venire **Gianni**.
 have.1SG made talk/come.INF Gianni
 ‘I made Gianni talk/come.’
- b. **L’** ho fatto parlare/venire.
 him.ACC have.1SG made talk/come.INF
 ‘I made him talk/come.’
- (4) a. Ho fatto lavare i piatti **a Gianni**.
 have.1SG made wash.INF the dishes to Gianni
 ‘I made Gianni wash the dishes.’
- b. **Gli** ho fatto lavare i piatti
 him.DAT have.1SG made wash.INF the dishes
 ‘I made him wash the dishes.’

Establishing transitivity is straightforward where the complement of FACERE is a verb taking a DP complement or no complement at all, but, as Pineda & Sheehan (in press) show, it is more complex where the complement of FACERE contains a verb which selects a PP or clausal complement. In this paper, we focus on the context where the complement of FACERE is headed by a *restructuring* verb, by which we mean (following Rizzi 1982) a verb which permits clitic climbing (and other restructuring phenomena). As we show in Section 3, what seems to happen in such contexts is a kind of restructuring for transitivity in Catalan (as noted by Burzio 1986: 276 for Italian). Before we consider these facts and their theoretical implications, however, we first consider full clausal complements, which also behave somewhat unexpectedly in Catalan and the other Romance languages under discussion, with some apparent variation across languages (not fully explored in Pineda & Sheehan in press).³

² See Pineda & Sheehan (in press) for an overview of these factors in Catalan, French and Italian.

³ In some cases, there is interspeaker variation (speakers of the same language/dialect have different grammatical judgments) as well as optionality, as we will see.

2. CP complements and transitivity in Catalan

In the Catalan examples above we saw that if the embedded verb has a DP complement, such as *un llibre* ‘a book’, then this complement counts for transitivity and the causee usually bears dative case (modulo the availability of ECM for some speakers, see fn. 1, 2). The same is true when the embedded verb has a finite CP complement (again, modulo ECM). As is evident in (5), the factive/non-factive status of the complement makes no difference nor does its mood:

- (5) a. **Li** han fet pensar [que estava
 him.DAT have.3PL made think.INF that was.3SG
 equivocat].
 wrong
 ‘They made him think that he was wrong’
- b. No **li** han pas fet pensar [que estigués
 NEG him.DAT have.3PL NEG made think.INF that be.SBJV.PST.3SG
 equivocat], al contrari.
 wrong at.the contrary
 ‘They didn’t make him think that he was wrong, on the contrary.’
- c. **Li** han fet lamentar/odiar [que li
 him.DAT have.3PL made regret/hate.INF that him.DAT
 hagués tocat la loteria].
 had.SBJV.PST.3SG touched the lottery
 ‘They made him regret / hate winning the lottery.’
- d. **Li** han fet negar [que hi
 him.DAT have.3PL made deny.INF that there
 estigués implicat].
 be.SBJV.PST.3SG involved
 ‘They made him deny that he was involved.’
- e. **Li** han fet dir [que hi
 him.DAT have.3PL made say.INF that there
 estava implicat].
 be.PST.IPFV.3SG involved
 ‘They made him say that he was involved’

French appears to pattern with Catalan in this regard, according to Kayne (1975), as does Italian, according to our informants:⁴

- (6) a. **Gli/*L'** hanno fatto pensare [che si
 him.DAT/*ACC have.3PL made think.INF that REFL
 sbagliava].
 be.wrong.PST.IPFV.3SG
 'They made him think the was wrong.'
- b. **Gli/*L'** hanno fatto dubitare [che fosse
 him.DAT/*ACC have.3PL made doubt.INF that be.SBJV.PST.3SG
 una buona idea].
 a good idea
 'They made him doubt that it was a good idea'
- c. **Gli/*L'** hanno fatto dire [che era
 him.DAT/*ACC have.3PL made say.INF that be.PST.IPFV.3SG
 coinvolto].
 involved
 'They made him say that he was involved'
- d. Il presidente **gli/*I'** ha fatto credere [che non
 the president him.DAT/*ACC has made believe.INF that not
 sia passata legge].
 be.SBJV.PRS.3SG passed the law
 'The president made him believe that the law had not been approved.'

When we consider non-finite CP complements, we see a difference between restructuring and non-restructuring verbs, however. As Pineda & Sheehan (in press) show, many non-restructuring verbs in Catalan such as *prometre* 'promise' (selecting a non-finite complement) trigger dative on the causee (modulo ECM).

⁴ Many thanks to Norma Schifano for help with the Italian data which is based on a survey of 5 speakers.

- (6) a. **Li /%L'** han fet admetre [haver
 him.DAT/% ACC have.3PL made admit.INF have.INF
 mentit].
 lied
 'They made him admit he had lied.'
- b. **Li /%L'** han fet defensar [haver votat
 him.DAT/% ACC have.3PL made defend.INF have.INF voted
 en contra].
 against
 'They made him defend to have vote against (it).'
- c. **Li /%L'** han fet negar [estar-hi
 him.DAT/% ACC have.3PL made deny.INF be.INF=LOC
 implicat].
 involved
 'They made him deny being involved in that.'
- d. **Li/%la** van fer prometre [cantar].
 her.DAT/% ACC made.3PL promise.INF sing.INF
 'They made her promise to sing.'

They note, however, that many Catalan speakers often dislike both dative and accusative options in (6), and only find the construction natural with a finite clausal complement, which unsurprisingly, also triggers dative (modulo the availability of ECM):

- (7) **Li** van fer prometre [que cantaria].
 her/him.DAT made.3PL promise.INF that sing.COND.3SG
 'They made her/him promise to sing.'

In any case, where these non-restructuring verbs take a non-finite complement in Catalan, they trigger dative, showing that non-finite clauses can also count for transitivity. There are two exceptions to this pattern, however, not discussed by Pineda & Sheehan (in press), but raised by Burzio (1986) for Italian, as we show next.

Some Italian verbs align with Catalan *prometre* with respect to this pattern. Burzio (1986: 275) notes that the following verbs all trigger dative on the causee when selected by *fare* and followed by a non-finite CP complement: *affermare* ‘claim’, *desiderare* ‘wish’, *dire* ‘say’, *cercare* ‘try’, *sostenere* ‘claim’, *sperare* ‘hope’.⁵

- (8) **Gli/?*lo** feci affermare di aver letto l’ articolo.
 him.DAT/?*ACC made.1SG claim.INF of have.INF read the article
 ‘I made him claim to have read the article.’

Note that these verbs all select non-finite clauses introduced by *di* in Italian. Burzio notes, however, that some other verbs taking non-finite clausal complements permit either dative or accusative in the same context (*acconsentire* ‘consent’, *contribuire* ‘contribute’, *dubitare* ‘doubt’, *esitare* ‘hesitate’, *mirare* ‘aim’, *provare* ‘try’), as per the following example:

- (9) **?Gli/?lo** feci acconsentire [a studiare la cosa].
 him.?²DAT/?ACC made.1SG consent.INF to study.INF the thing
 ‘I made him consent to study the thing.’⁶

These clauses are predominantly introduced by *a*. In Catalan, with non-finite clauses introduced by *a*, dative is only (very) marginally possible, and ungrammatical for most speakers:

- (10) **??/*Li/L’** han fet accedir [a concedir una
 him.??/*DAT/ACC have.3PL made accept.INF to give.INF an
 entrevista].
 interview
 ‘They made him accept to agree to an interview.’

⁵ As an anonymous reviewer points out, the classification of *promise* alongside *claim*-type verbs and factive verbs needs to be nuanced, since it has been shown in the literature that the latter systematically block all transparency effects in different languages; whereas this is not the case of desiderative verbs such as *promise* (see Hinterhölzl 2006; Lee-Schoenfeld 2007 and Wurmbrand 2015 for German; Wiklund 2007 for Swedish; Alarcos-Llorach 1970: 138; Luján 1980 for Spanish; Llinàs-Grau 1991: 272 and Paradís 2019: ch. 3 and ch. 4, for Catalan).

⁶ An anonymous reviewer notes that, for them, the dative is almost ungrammatical here, as is the case in Catalan. This differs from the judgements in Burzio (1986), suggesting further variation in Italian which merits further investigation.

This implies that non-finite clauses introduced by *a* are not sufficiently ‘nominal’ to count for transitivity (see Paradís 2019: 5.2.1.2 on some peculiarities of *de* and *a* in Catalan).⁷ Burzio also claims, moreover, that dative causees are impossible where *fare* selects a pronominal verb taking a non-finite CP complement:⁸

- (11) Questo **lo/*gli** farà pentire/vergognare [di non
 this him.ACC/*DAT make.FUT.3SG regret/feel.ashamed.INFof not
 aver studiato]
 have.INF studied
 ‘This will make him regret / feel ashamed not to have studied.’

Catalan patterns the same in this respect: only accusative causees are possible and dative is blocked:

- (12) **El/*li** farà penedir(-se)/avergonyir(-se) de
 him.ACC/*DAT make.FUT.3SG regret.INF=SELF/feel.ashamed.INF=SELF of
 no haver estudiat
 not have.INF studied

Pineda & Sheehan (in press) propose a Cyclic Agree account of the Catalan *faire* infinitive whereby dative case on the causee results where the matrix voice first probes another closer argument before probing the causee. In Pineda & Sheehan’s (in press) analysis, the special behaviour of *a*-clauses remains unexplained, but the behaviour of reflexive verbs follows if these verbs are unaccusative and so the causee ‘subject’ is base-generated

⁷ Given that PPs also count for transitivity when they precede the causee, as Pineda & Sheehan (in press) show, one option would be to explore the idea that *de* is also a preposition when it introduces a non-finite clause, and that the latter are nominal. This cannot be an exhaustive explanation though, as clause-introducing *de* is often omitted in Catalan (as Paradís 2019 also notes) unlike the preposition *de*. Moreover, finite CPs count for transitivity without being introduced by a preposition so it would remain unexplained why *a*-clauses fail also to trigger dative. We leave this matter to future research, assuming, for now, that some clauses are more nominal than others.

⁸ Note that these verbs are usually pronominal (*pentirsi*, *vergognarsi*) but *si* is deleted in clause union contexts (Burzio 1986). As is apparent from the next example, the suppression of *se* is optional in this context in Catalan. See Pineda & Sheehan (in press) for an account of this.

inside the VP that fronts. If this happens then the causee will be closer to the matrix probe than the clausal argument, resulting in it receiving accusative case.⁹

As expected, with non-restructuring verbs that trigger dative in the presence of a non-finite clausal complement, there is no sensitivity to the transitivity of the next-clause-down. Whether we have an intransitive predicate (5)-(6) or a transitive one (13), the causee remains DAT (again, modulo the possibility of ECM in Catalan).

- (13)a. **Li/%La** van fer prometre [llegir el diari].
 her.DAT/%ACC made.3PL promise.INF read.INF the newspaper
 ‘They made her promise to read the newspaper.’

The same pattern holds for French and Italian, but we omit the data for reasons of space. As Pineda & Sheehan (in press) note, non-finite CPs normally precede the causee, suggesting that they occupy the same VP-internal position as PPs (14), but finite CPs usually linearly follow the causee (14):

- (14)a. Han fet admetre [haver mentit]**a la Maria**.
 have.3PL made admINF have.INF lied to the Maria
 ‘They made Maria admit she had lied.’
 b. Han fet admetre **a la Maria** [que havia mentit]
 have.3PL made admINF to the Maria that had.3SG lied
 ‘They made Maria admit she had lied.’

In order for the dative case on the causee in (14b) to be triggered by intervention, we need to assume that finite clauses undergo extraposition after probing has taken place (see Pineda & Sheehan, in press for discussion).

3. Restructuring contexts

In this section we show how restructuring verbs behave in causative constructions in Catalan in comparison with other Romance languages.

⁹ To account for the behaviour of *a*-clauses, we are forced to the idea that *a* lacks the feature necessary to make it a defective intervener unlike *de* and the finite complementizer *que*. We leave a full investigation of this puzzling effect to future research.

3.1. Italian and French causatives

In contexts where the FACERE verb selects a restructuring verb as its complement and so clause union meets restructuring, we see a case pattern which we will call optional ‘restructuring for transitivity’. Burzio (1986: 334) identifies this pattern in Italian, but the label is ours:

- (15) **Gli/lo** farò andare a prendere il libro
 him.DAT/ACC make.1SG.FUT go.INF to get.INF the book
 ‘I will make him go and get the book.’

As Burzio (1986: 335) notes, if the verb in the next clause down under *andare* in (15) were the intransitive *telefonare* ‘telephone’, then the causee would be necessarily accusative. Where the complement of a restructuring verb is transitive, however, as in (15), the causee can be either dative or accusative, according to Burzio. According to our informants, dative is, in fact, preferred to accusative in this context for many speakers. We illustrate this with the verbs *cominciare* ‘start’ and *riuscire* ‘manage’, which allow for clitic climbing for all the speakers we consulted. With these verbs, we again find dative is possible (and often preferred) only where the complement of *fare* is transitive:

- (16) a. Non so cosa {***gli/lo**} faccia
 NEG know.1SG what him.*DAT/ACC make.SBJV.PRS.3SG
 cominciare a **piangere**.
 start.INF to cry.INF
 ‘I don’t know what makes him start to cry.’
- b. Non so cosa {**gli/%lo**} faccia
 NEG know.1SG what him.DAT/%ACC make.SBJV.PRS.3SG
 cominciare a **scrivere un altro libro**.
 start.INF to write.INF an other book
 ‘I don’t know what makes him start to write another book’

- (17) a. Questo **{*gli/l'}** ha fatto riuscire [a
 this him.*DAT/ACC has made manage.INF to
sopravvivere].
 survive.INF
 ‘This has made him manage to survive’
- b. Questo **{gli/%l'}** ha fatto riuscire [a
 this him.DAT/%ACC has made manage.INF to
trovare un amante].
 find.INF a lover
 ‘This has made him manage to find a lover.’

The facts in French are more complex. French lacks clitic climbing but has been shown to have other reflexes of restructuring, for example long passives (Cinque 2004: 41, citing Grevisse 1993: 1124f):

- (18) Le château n' était pas achevé de
 the castle NEG be.PST.IPFV.3SG not finished of
 meubler
 furnish.INF
 ‘The castle was not finished furnishing’

With French restructuring verbs like *finir* ‘finish’ and *terminer* ‘stop’ we might expect to find restructuring for transitivity under causative *faire* ‘make’. We have not investigated this statistically but there appears to be substantial variation across speakers. One speaker we tested always required accusative causees with these verbs, showing no sensitivity to restructuring. Another generally required dative causees but also allowed accusative sensitive to the transitivity of the complement:

- (19) a. Son appel **{l'/lui}** a fait terminer de
 his/her call him/her.ACC/DAT has made finish.INF of
 pleurer.
 cry.INF
 ‘His/her call has made him/her finish crying.’
- b. Sa détermination **{*l'/lui}** a fait terminer

his/her determination him/her.*ACC/DAT has made finish.INF
 de faire sa remarque.
 of make.INF his/her remark
 ‘His/her determination has made him/her finish making his/her remark.’

A third speaker had the expected pattern but only with the verb *finir* ‘finish’:

- (20) a. Sa détermination {I’/ ??lui} a fait finir
 his/her determination him/her.*ACC/DAT has made finish.INF
 de parler.
 of talk.INF
 ‘His/her determination has made him/her finish talking.’
- b. Sa détermination {I’/lui} a fait finir de faire sa remarque.
 (see (19b) for gloss and translation)

In (20), dative is possible only where the complement of the restructuring verb is transitive, as was the case in Italian. There is thus some evidence that some speakers have restructuring for transitivity in French while others do not.

Note that in French too, accusative remains possible even if the embedded verb is transitive. This shows that restructuring for transitivity in such contexts is optional (as is the case more generally with restructuring phenomena).

3.2. Catalan causatives

In Catalan, in restructuring contexts, we find the same optional sensitivity to the transitivity of the next-verb-down where clause union meets restructuring. Thus, with a restructuring verb which itself selects a ‘transitive’ verb with a DP complement, a dative causee becomes possible for many speakers under *fer*. This can be seen in Catalan with restructuring predicates like *començar a* ‘start’ or *acabar de* ‘stop’:¹⁰

¹⁰ There is considerable variation both within and across Romance varieties with respect to which verbs permit restructuring (Cinque 2004, Paradís 2019). A full investigation of this variation is well beyond the scope of this paper but note that this phenomenon provides a new tool for such a comparison.

- (21) a. ***Li/L'** han fet acabar de
 him.*DAT/ACC have.3PL made finish.INF of
estudiar/jugar
 study/play.INF
 'They made him stop sleeping/shouting/crying'
- b. **%Li/%I'** han fet acabar de
 him.%DAT/%ACC have.3PL made finish.INF of
construir I' edifici ràpidament
 build.INF the building quickly
 'They quickly made him stop building the building.'
- (22) **(Li)** han fet acabar de llegir el llibre **a**
 him.DAT have.3PL made finish.INF of read.INF the book to
I' autor.
 the author
 'They made the author finish reading the book.'

In order to investigate case-marking variation in causatives, we included this issue in a survey with 57 Catalan native speakers.¹¹ Our survey confirms that the causee must bear accusative case if the embedded verb is intransitive (23). It also confirms that while a dative causee becomes *possible* for many speakers when the next clause down is transitive (24), this is not the only attested pattern. The availability of accusative causees here is probably not (only) due to the possibility of ECM, as accusative is more widely accepted here than in other contexts. Note also that accusative remains possible also in Italian and French even in transitive restructuring contexts, as discussed in the previous section. It should be noted, however, that just under half of speakers find examples like (24) degraded, with both dative and accusative causees: they dislike *començar a* + infinitive

¹¹ This survey, which was carried out in 2017, 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, so they had some idea of 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.

under causative *fer* and prefer a finite clause: *han fet que comenci a plorar* ‘have.3PL made that (s)he starts to cry’.

(23) [...] *li/okl’ han fet començar a **plorar**
her.*DAT/ACC have.3PL made start.INF to cry.INF
a mitja classe.
in half class
‘They made her start crying in the middle of the clause’

[DAT=4/57, ACC=37/57]

(24) [...] li/l’ han fet començar a **escriure** **una**
her.DAT/ACC have.3PL made start.INF to write.INF a
queixa.
complaint

‘They made her start writing a complaint.’ [DAT=27/57, ACC=18/57]

It should be clarified that for each sentence the two options (DAT and ACC) were tested separately, as independent sentences. Interestingly, a combined analysis of the results reveals interesting patterns: in (24), out of the 18/57 speakers who accepted the ACC, only 7 accepted also the DAT (the remaining 11 only approved the ACC); at the same time, out of the 27/57 speakers who accepted the DAT, 20 had this as the only possibility and (as noted) 7 allowed both cases. Finally, 19/57 speakers rejected both cases, requiring a finite complement. In sum, the majority of speakers who accept such examples, do so only with a dative causee, but there is variation across speakers.

4. Theoretical challenges

4.1. C-command relations

Somewhat surprisingly, *el llibre* ‘the book’ (the object of the complement of *fer*) can bind the causee *l’autor* ‘the author’ in example (25) but the causee can also bind the direct object, as in (25). In the context where a bookshop is having a launch for multiple books at the same time and they have asked each author to read from their book but in each case, they have stopped the author reading, as all authors chose passages which were too long, both of the following examples are grammatical:

- (25) a. **(Li)** han fet acabar de llegir [cada llibre]_i
 him.DAT have.3PL made finish.INF C read.INF each book
 al seu_i autor.
 DAT.the its author
 Lit ‘They made its author finish reading each book.’
- b. **(Li)** han fet acabar de llegir [el seu
 him.DAT have.3PL made finish.INF C read.INF his
 llibre]_i a cada_i autor.
 book DAT each author
 ‘They made each author finish reading his book.’

According to standard assumption, the acceptability of (25) suggests that the most embedded theme can c-command the causee, but the data from epithets and pronouns suggest that, if binding is really sensitive to c-command, the effect is stronger than this; the most embedded theme *must* c-command the causee, as it triggers a condition C violation when co-referent with a name contained in the causee:

- (26) a. Vaig fer acabar d’ ajudar **aquell idiota**_i [a una amiga
 make.PST.1SG finish.INF C help.INF that idiot DAT a friend
 del Joan*_{i/j}]
 of.the Joan
 ‘I made a friend of Joan’s stop helping that idiot.’
- b. Vaig fer acabar d’ ajudar-lo **a** **ELL**_i [a una
 made.PST.1SG finish.INF C help.INF=him.ACC DOM him DAT a
 amiga del Joan*_{i/j}]
 friend of.the Joan
 ‘I made a friend of Joan’s stop helping HIM.’

The problem is that it seems unlikely that the object of *ajudar* could actually c-command the causee at surface structure in such examples if they involve VP-fronting (as Burzio 1986 and many others have proposed).¹² What seems more likely is that binding is

¹² A reviewer asks why one needs to posit VP-fronting in Catalan causatives and what the motivation for such a movement would be. Pineda & Sheehan (in press) provide evidence from adverb placement for VP

determined not by c-command but by precede-and-command, as Bruening (2014) has proposed. If that is the case, then the embedded object precedes the causee within the same phase. On a Cyclic Agree approach like that put forth by Pineda & Sheehan (in press), this is sufficient to lead to a dative causee as long as the object of *ajudar* occupies a position contained in a branching specifier which c-commands the causee. In restructuring contexts such as these, the embedded object will still be probed before the causee, triggering dative because of the way that closeness is calculated in such contexts (see Pineda & Sheehan, in press).

4.2. Interaction with other kinds of restructuring

It is also interesting to consider the interaction between restructuring for transitivity and other restructuring phenomena. When the embedded verb is transitive, a dative causee is the preferred option (27) (modulo ECM), but if clitic-climbing fails to take place accusative becomes more widely accepted (28), even amongst speakers generally disallowing ECM under *fer*. The availability of accusative case in (28) should thus be seen as different from the ECM we observe in Catalan causatives more generally.

(27) Què **li/%l'** ha fet començar-lo a escriure? (el llibre)
 what him.DAT/%ACC has made start=it.ACC.M.SG to write.INF (the book)
 ‘What made him start writing it?’

(28) Què %**li/%l'** ha fet començar a what
 him.%DAT/%ACC have.3SG made start.INF to
 escriure'l? (el llibre)
 write.INF=it.ACC.M.SG (the book)
 ‘What has made him start writing it?’

In sum, clitic climbing favours dative case on the causee, but the lack of clitic climbing does not rule it out (see also Cinque 2006 for similar interactions between other restructuring phenomena).

fronting (or rather vP fronting). The motivation for this, we assume, is the same as whatever drives verb movement. Because a light verb blocks verb movement to T, we get phrasal vP movement.

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, Ciutescu 2018: 4.3.3):

- (29) La Berta ha fet enrojolar([?]-se) en Damià.
 the Berta has made blush.INF([?]REFL) the Damià
 ‘Berta has made Damià blush.’ (Alsina 2002: §20.3.4.4)

Pineda & Sheehan (in press) take this optionality to suggest that the complement of *fer* can be either a phasal *voiceP* or something smaller and non-phasal.¹³ Following Pitteroff & Campanini (2013), they 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). First note that whether *se* is expressed or not, the clitic causee must climb and, in the presence of a DP object, it must be dative (modulo ECM):

- (30) La Berta **li/*l'** ha fet endur(-se) la roba
 the Berta him.DAT/*ACC has made taking=SE the clothes
 a casa seva
 to home his
 ‘Berta has made him take his clothes home.’

¹³ A reviewer notes that negation is sometimes possible in the complement of *fer* and asks how this is consistent with the proposal that this verb takes a reduced complement. Simple examples seem to suggest that negation is blocked under *fer*:

- (i) *^{??}El van fer no venir.
 him.ACC made.3SG NEG come.INF
 (intended) ‘They made him not to come’

However, it is certainly possible to create examples containing negation which sounds much more natural (see also Paradís 2019: 45, fn. 55):

- (ii) Aquella pastilla li fa no notar el
 tat pill him/her.DAT make.PRS.3SG NEG notice.INF the
 mal.
 pain
 ‘That pill makes him/her not to feel the pain’

Understanding this effect is beyond the scope of the current paper but it is true that examples such as (ii) pose a challenge for the analysis of clause union in Pineda & Sheehan (in press).

Where a *se*-marked verb is embedded under a restructuring verb, moreover, restructuring for transitivity is obligatory, regardless of whether *se* is overtly expressed (see (31) in which only dative is possible):¹⁴

- (31)a. La Berta I' ha fet acabar d'
 the Berta him.ACC has made finish.INF of
 enfadar(-se).
 get.angry.INF(=SE)
 'Berta has made him finish getting angry.'
- b. La Berta li/*I' ha fet acabar d' endur(-se)
 the Berta him.DAT/*ACC has made finish.INF of take.INF(=SE)
 la roba a casa seva.
 the clothes to home his
 'Berta has made him finish taking his clothes home.'

Now consider how this interacts with clitic climbing of direct objects. It is usually possible to have cliticisation of a direct object clitic onto an intermediate restructuring verb (32), but this is not possible where the embedded predicate is a *se*-verb (33), regardless of whether the *se* is present or omitted:

- (32) La roba, la Berta li ha fet acabar-la
 the clothes the Berta him.DAT has made finish.INF=it.ACC.F.SG
 de traslladar a casa seva
 of take.INF to home his
 'The clothes, Berta has made him finishing taking them home.'
- (33) *La roba, la Berta li ha fet acabar-la
 the clothes the Berta him.DAT has made finish.INF=it.ACC.F.SG
 d' endur(-se) a casa seva

¹⁴ As an anonymous reviewer points out, in those contexts involving a clitic cluster the omission is mandatory, i.e. clitics must climb together and, given the identity between both clitics, the embedded reflexive must be deleted (see also the identity avoidance effect proposed by Martins & Nunes (2017)):

(i) Te'ls ha fet emportar(*-te)
 You.DAT=them.ACC has made take.INF(=you.REFL)
 '(S)he has made you take them with you.'

of taking to home his
 ‘The clothes, Berta has made him finishing taking them home.’

In such contexts, the only possibility is for *se* to remain and no clitic climbing to take place (34) or for *se* to be deleted and clitic climbing to the matrix clause to take place (34).¹⁵

(34) a. La roba, la Berta li ha fet acabar
 the clothes the Berta him.DAT has made finish.INF
 d’ endur-**se-la** a casa seva
 of take.INF=SE=it.ACC.F.SG to home his

‘The clothes, Berta has made him finish taking them home.’

b. La roba, la Berta l’hi (la+hi)¹⁶ ha fet
 the clothes the Berta it.ACC.F.SG+him.DAT has made
 acabar d’ endur a casa seva
 finish.INF of take.INF to home his

‘The clothes, Berta has made him finishing taking them home.’

What is interesting here is that the causee must be dative in both cases whether clitic climbing takes place or not. In terms of the analysis in Pineda & Sheehan (in press) it seems that the presence of embedded *voice* (i.e. *se*) blocks clitic climbing of the object but not restructuring for transitivity. This adds a further layer of complexity to the phenomenon and suggests that different restructuring phenomena are sensitive to different structural cues.

4.3. Microvariation

It is well known that the class of restructuring verbs is subject to some degree of

¹⁵ Note that the possibility whereby *se* is omitted and the object clitic does not climb is therefore ruled out:

(i) La roba, la Berta **li** ha fet acabar d’
 the clothes the Berta him.DAT has made finish.INF of
 endur-**la*.
 take=it.ACC.F.SG

‘The clothes, Berta has made him finish taking them.’

¹⁶ Note that in formal registers, the combination *la hi* (corresponding to the accusative feminine clitic *la* + the dative clitic *li*) instead of *l’hi* is preferred, but in order to represent a more natural sentence we opted for the latter.

microparametric variation across Romance (Cinque 2004: 27). It is therefore unsurprising that some verbs which disallow clitic climbing in Italian nonetheless permit clitic climbing in Catalan. This is the case with *renunciar* ‘give up’, for example, with which clitic climbing seems especially acceptable with the locative clitic *hi*.^{17, 18}

- (35) Podria anar a París, però **hi** renunciaré a anar.
 could.1SG go.INF to Paris, but CL.LOC renounce.FUT.1SG to go.INF
 ‘I could go to Paris but I’ll give up my chance to go there.’

As Paradís (2019) shows, there is actually a great deal of variation regarding clitic climbing in Catalan. To a large extent, where speakers allow clitic climbing they also allow restructuring for transitivity. For example, *renunciar* behaves like other restructuring verbs in allowing restructuring for transitivity, meaning that accusative is preferred in (36) whereas dative becomes possible in (37):

- (36) {L’/%Li} han fet renunciar [a
 him.ACC/%DAT have.3SG made renounce.INF to
 fumar / queixar-se].¹⁹
 smoke/complain.INF

¹⁷ The same is true for the neuter clitic *ho* ‘it’ (i). On the contrary, as an anonymous reviewer points out, *renunciar* does not seem to behave as a restructuring verb when it comes to clitic climbing of masculine and feminine clitics (ii).

- (i) Ho renunciaré a fer
 it renounce.FUT.1SG to do.INF
 ‘I will give up my chance to do that.’
 (ii) ^{??/*}El renunciaré a comprar, aquell llibre
 it.ACC.M.SG renounce.FUT.1SG to buy.INF that book
 ‘I will give up my chance to buy that book.’

The particular behaviour of locative and neuter clitics (and partitive ones) in Catalan is also found in the availability of a split pattern with the causee upwards and the object clitic remaining with the embedded infinitive (see Pineda & Sheehan in press, especially fn. 26).

¹⁸ An anonymous reviewer points out that *hi* is clearly referring to somewhere to go, since *anar* ‘to go’ demands the explicitation of the location (**renunciaré a anar* is ungrammatical). Thus, in no case *hi* is a pleonastic doubling clitic for the PP *a anar*, a type of phrase that can be replaced by *hi* in the given context:

- (i) M’ han convidata sopar. → M’hi han
 me.ACC have.3PL invited to have.dinner.INF → me.ACC=LOC have.3PL
 convidat [where *hi* = *a sopar*]
 invited
 ‘They have invited me to have dinner.’ → ‘They have invited me to that.’

¹⁹ The “preposition” *de* is usually suppressed in the spoken language *admetre de* + infinitive → *admetre* + infinitive and maybe this creates a difference with respect to verbs with other non-finite markers/prepositions such as *renunciar a*, which cannot be suppressed. With the latter, accusative is the

‘They made him renounce to smoke / complain.’

- (37) {[%]Li/[%]I} han fet renunciar [a comprar aquell
 him.[%]DAT/[%]ACC have.3SG made renounce.INF to buy.INF that
 llibre].
 book

‘They made him renounce to buy that book.’

The connection between clitic climbing and restructuring for transitivity is not perfect, however, as is predicted if they are actually sensitive to subtly different structural cues. The verb *detestar* ‘hate’ allows clitic climbing (38) for some speakers but, unlike *renunciar*, it does not display restructuring for transitivity. Rather, *detestar* behaves like a non-restructuring verb in triggering dative regardless (39) (modulo ECM).²⁰

- (38) %Aquesta cançó, la detesto cantar.
 this song CL.AC.3SG.F hate.1SG sing.INF
 ‘As for this song, I hate singing it.’

- (39) a. **Li**/[%]I’ han fet detestar [cantar].
 him.DAT/[%]ACC have.3PL made hate.INF sing.INF
 ‘They made him hate to sing.’
 b. **Li**/[%]I’ han fet detestar [menjar
 him.DAT/[%]ACC have.3PL made hate.INF eat.INF
 verdura].
 vegetables
 ‘They made him hate to eat vegetables.’

general option but several speakers also allow for a dative causee (ii), whereas *admetre* straightforwardly behaves like a transitive verb, modulo ECM (i):

- (i) Li/[%]L’ han fet admetre el seu error.
 him.DAT/[%]ACC have.3PL made admit.INF his mistake
 ‘They made him admit his mistake.’
 (ii) L’/[%]Li han fet renunciar a la seva família.
 him.ACC/[%]DAT have.3PL made renounce.INF to his family
 ‘They made him renounce to his family.’

²⁰ A reviewer notes this may be due to the fact that verbs meaning ‘hate’ do not tend to permit restructuring cross-linguistically (see Wurmbrand (2015) for different languages, Hinterhölzl (2006) for German, Wiklund (2007) for Swedish and Paradís (2019) for Catalan).

Future studies should consider these minimal differences between different restructuring phenomena both within and across languages.

4. Conclusions

In this short article, we have discussed restructuring for transitivity in Catalan (and Italian and French). We began by showing that restructuring verbs pattern differently from verbs taking a non-finite clausal complement in these languages in being sensitive to the next clause down. We then charted the interaction between restructuring for transitivity and other restructuring and clause union phenomena such as clitic climbing and *se* deletion. The picture we are left with is one of considerable complexity whereby different restructuring phenomena pattern differently even in the same language. Surprisingly, restructuring for transitivity is left unaffected by *se* deletion, suggesting once again that Rizzi's (1982) distinction between restructuring vs. clause union remains apt.

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