

## Object Controlled Restructuring in Spanish

John Moore  
Department of Linguistics, 0108  
University of California, San Diego  
9500 Gilman Drive  
La Jolla, CA 92093-0108  
(619) 534-1155, FAX (619) 534-4789

moorej@ucsd.edu

*Abstract:* This paper argues that OBJECT CONTROLLED RESTRUCTURING constructions in Spanish (introduced with predicates such as *permitir* ‘permit’) challenge common analyses that treat Restructuring predicates as LIGHT VERBS or modals/auxiliaries (e.g. Roberts 1997). It further argues, counter Kayne (1989), that Object Controlled Restructuring cannot be assimilated with the CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTION. Several systematic differences between the two constructions argue in favor of a matrix-clause controller in the case of *permitir* predicates, and the lack of such a controller in the case of causatives. These include differences in Case-marking, constituent structure, and the ability to participate in the FAIRE-PAR construction. Such differences show that object controlled Restructuring exists independently of causatives; thus, as true Restructuring triggers, these verbs pose a challenge for approaches that seek to assimilate Restructuring to modal/auxiliary constructions.

## Object Controlled Restructuring in Spanish

### 1. Introduction

A good deal of work in Romance syntax has concentrated on the analysis of RESTRUCTURING or CLAUSE REDUCTION constructions (cf. Aissen and Perlmutter 1983 and Rizzi 1978, among others). These are constructions which involve infinitival complements, but behave as single clauses in a number of respects, e.g., they allow CLITIC CLIMBING as in (1):

- (1) Marta  $LO_i$  quiere [comprar  $EC_i$ ].  
'Marta wants to buy it.'

There have been numerous analyses of these constructions. One general approach emphasizes the MODAL or LIGHT VERB character of Restructuring triggers (Napoli 1981, Myhill 1988, Rosen 1990, among others). Under this approach, triggers have an impoverished argument structure or semantic elaboration, and can, therefore, behave in a modal-like fashion. A similar approach was recently proposed in Roberts (1997), where he speculates that the core cases of Restructuring might be assimilated with other auxiliaries by decomposing modal and aspectual restructuring triggers in an abstract  $D^0$  or  $P^0$  and an abstract copula BE (cf. Kayne 1993). Under his approach, the embedded verb raises to check features of these Restructuring auxiliaries.

This paper examines a class of Spanish Restructuring constructions that challenges this general approach. In particular, I discuss OBJECT CONTROLLED RESTRUCTURING constructions, such as those introduced by *permitir* 'permit':

- (2) Marta no te<sub>j</sub>  $LO_i$  permitió [PRO<sub>j</sub> comprar  $EC_i$ ].  
'Marta didn't permit you to buy it.'

Other predicates that participate in these constructions include *ordenar* 'order' and *mandar* 'command'. Constructions like these are discussed in Luján (1980), Aissen and Perlmutter (1983),

Bordelois (1988), and Moore (1996) but have otherwise received little notice in the literature.

Nevertheless, Restructuring triggers such as these fit uneasily in the modal-like, light verb category. Given their articulated semantics, and the fact that they select indirect object controllers, they seem to be poor candidates for BE+D<sup>0</sup>/P<sup>0</sup> decomposition. Kayne (1989, p. 248) notes that this class of constructions is problematic for the head movement account he proposes for Restructuring; therefore, he suggests that constructions like (2) may be “hidden instances of the causative construction”. While he does not elaborate, his proposal opens a possible way to reconcile these constructions with a light verb analysis of Restructuring; Restructuring remains a light verb phenomenon, while *permitter* constructions participate in whatever mechanism is used for causatives. In fact, Bordelois (1988) assimilates causative and object controlled Restructuring constructions by treating both as involving object control. Alternatively, one might extend the semi-light verb analysis of causatives proposed in Di Sciullo and Rosen (1990) to the constructions under question.

This paper argues against such a conflation. I point out several systematic differences between the object controlled Restructuring and causative constructions that argue in favor of a matrix-clause controller in the case of *permitter* predicates, and the lack of such a controller in the case of causatives. Given these arguments against assimilating object control Restructuring with causative constructions, we must conclude that such non-light Restructuring predicates do, indeed, exist, raising doubt that the modal/auxiliary analysis is the only route to Romance Restructuring.

The paper will be organized as follows: section 2 summarizes basic facts about Restructuring and causative constructions. Section 3 will review some previous accounts of Restructuring and Romance causatives, and discuss how object control trigger verbs are problematic for these analyses. In section 4 I provide evidence that object controlled Restructuring constructions differ

systematically from causative constructions. Furthermore, I argue that the differences between union and restructuring phenomena can be attributed to contrasting non-control versus control analyses.

## 2. Reduced Constructions

Both Restructuring and causative constructions belong to the class of REDUCED CONSTRUCTIONS (Moore 1996). Potential examples of these constructions are given in (3), where we see that they involve infinitival complements to verbs such as *querer* ‘want’, *acabar de* ‘finish’, *hacer* ‘make’, and *dejar de* ‘stop’. Henceforth, verbs that participate in these constructions will be referred to as TRIGGER VERBS.

- (3) a. Quiere [cantar una saeta].  
      ‘S/he wants to sing a *saeta*.’  
      b. Acabo de [comer].  
      ‘I just finished eating.’ (‘I just ate.’)  
      c. Me hicieron [trabajar toda la noche].  
      ‘They made me work all night.’  
      d. Dejó de [fumar].  
      ‘S/he stopped smoking.’

Since the influential works of Aissen and Perlmutter (1983) on Spanish, and Rizzi (1978) on Italian, it has been recognized that this class of trigger verbs participate in infinitival constructions that exhibit what one might characterize as MONO-CLAUSAL characteristics. That is, despite the superficial fact that the Spanish examples in (3) resemble bi-clausal, infinitival constructions, they allow clitics associated with the embedded verb to attach to the matrix verb (4a), they allow passivization across both the embedded and matrix verbs (4b), they allow the matrix subject to bind a reflexive that is an embedded object (4c), and they allow *tough*-movement over three clauses (4d). Given that clitic placement, passivization, and anaphoric binding are local, clause-bounded phenomena, and *tough*-movement in Spanish is limited to adjacent clauses, the examples in (4)

indicate that the trigger verbs and their infinitival complements exhibit a degree of cohesiveness that suggests that they may not be two full-fledged clauses.

(4) a. CLITIC CLIMBING (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983, 15)

*Te<sub>i</sub> los<sub>j</sub> quiero [mostrar *ec<sub>j</sub> ec<sub>i</sub>].*  
'I want to show *them to you.*'*

b. LONG PASSIVE (Ibid., P33b)

*Las casas<sub>i</sub> fueron acabadas de [pintar *e<sub>i</sub> ayer].**  
'The houses were finished to paint yesterday.'  
(‘Someone finished painting the houses yesterday.’)

c. LONG REFLEXIVE

*Curro<sub>i</sub> se hizo [afeitar *ec<sub>i</sub>].**  
'Curro made (someone) shave himself.'

d. LONG TOUGH-MOVEMENT (Ibid., 63)

*Estas galletas<sub>i</sub> son casi imposibles de [dejar de [comer *ec<sub>i</sub>]].**  
'These cookies are almost impossible to stop eating.'

Aissen and Perlmutter and Rizzi show that these unexpected mono-clausal properties show up just in case the matrix verb belongs to the class of trigger verbs. In other words, not all infinitival constructions exhibit mono-clausal characteristics. Compare the examples in (4) with those in (5):<sup>1</sup>

(5) a. \* Luis *las<sub>i</sub>* insistió en [comer *ec<sub>i</sub>].*

'Luis insisted on eating them.' (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983, 13a)

b. \* *Las paredes* fueron tratadas de [pintar *e<sub>i</sub> ayer].*

'The walls were insisted on to paint yesterday.'

(‘Someone insisted on painting the walls yesterday.’) (Ibid., P36b)

---

<sup>1</sup> There are a number of complicating factors. It is not the case that all infinitival constructions introduced by trigger verbs may exhibit all of the mono-clausal phenomena in (4). While pretty much all of them allow clitic climbing, long passives are restricted to a subset of such constructions; this is probably for independent reasons. Long reflexives are tricky because subject control and raising to subject constructions give the impression of long reflexivization, even without matrix trigger verbs (due to the coindexed empty category in the embedded subject position). Thus, clitic climbing remains the best diagnostic for reduced constructions (*tough-movement* should also be a consistent diagnostic, except that it yields variable results, perhaps due to its independently marked nature).

- c. \* *Curro<sub>i</sub> se nos forzó a [afeitar ec<sub>i</sub>].*  
‘Curro forced us to shave himself.’
- d. \* *Sinfonías como éasa<sub>i</sub> son fáciles de [soñar con [componer ec<sub>i</sub>].*  
‘Symphonies like that one are easy to dream of composing.’ (Ibid., 67)

Aissen and Perlmutter and Rizzi independently note that the class of trigger verbs varies from speaker to speaker, and conclude that membership in the class is a lexical property of the verbs in question.

Reduction triggers are often divided into two classes: One class contains causative verbs like *hacer* ‘make’ and *dejar* ‘let’, as well as the perception verbs; following RG terminology I refer to these as UNION triggers. The other class consists of RESTRUCTURING verbs such as *querer* ‘want’, *poder* ‘can’, and *soler* ‘tend’. These classes of reduction triggers are illustrated in (6):

(6) REDUCTION TRIGGERS

- |                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| a. UNION            | b. RESTRUCTURING     |
| <i>hacer</i> ‘make’ | <i>querer</i> ‘want’ |
| <i>dejar</i> ‘let’  | <i>poder</i> ‘can’   |
| <i>ver</i> ‘see’    | <i>soler</i> ‘tend’  |

Union triggers might be distinguished from restructuring triggers by the fact that union triggers occur in reduced constructions where the matrix subject is distinct from the embedded subject, as illustrated in (7):

- (7) a. *Pepe se lo hizo comprar a Curro.*  
‘Pepe made Curro buy it.’
- b. *Marta se la vió romper al niño.*  
‘Marta saw the child break it.’

The Restructuring triggers in (6b) are either subject control verbs (*querer*) or raising to subject verbs (*poder* and *soler*). Thus, they only occur in constructions where the matrix subject is non-distinct from the embedded subject; furthermore, the embedded subject is never phonologically realized.

This is illustrated in (8):<sup>2</sup>

- (8) a. *José<sub>i</sub>* lo quiere [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* comprar].  
‘*José<sub>i</sub>* wants [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* to buy it].’  
b. *Los niños<sub>i</sub>* lo suelen [*e<sub>i</sub>* romper].  
‘*The children<sub>i</sub>* tend [*e<sub>i</sub>* to break it].’

In addition to the union and restructuring triggers considered so far, Spanish exhibits reduced construction behavior with a class of object control predicates. Examples of these constructions are given in (9), where the possibility of clitic climbing indicates that these are indeed reduced constructions.

- (9) a. *Marta se lo<sub>j</sub> permitió* [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* arreglar *ec<sub>j</sub>*] al mecánico<sub>i</sub>.  
‘*Marta* allowed the mechanic<sub>i</sub> [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* to fix *it<sub>j</sub>*].’  
b. *Se<sub>i</sub> lo<sub>j</sub> mandaron* [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* construir *ec<sub>j</sub>*] a la empresa nueva<sub>i</sub>.  
‘*They* commanded the new company<sub>i</sub> [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* to build *it<sub>j</sub>*].’  
c. *Se<sub>i</sub> la<sub>j</sub> ordenaron* [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* limpiar *ec<sub>j</sub>*] *pro<sub>i</sub>*.  
‘*They* ordered them<sub>i</sub> [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* to clean *it<sub>j</sub>*].’

The verbs in (9) are of interest because like union triggers, they occur with an overt NP that corresponds to the embedded subject but is distinct from the matrix subject. However, like restructuring triggers, these are control verbs.

## 2. Previous Accounts

As noted above, the defining characteristic of reduced constructions is the greater degree of cohesion between the matrix and embedded clauses. This property has motivated many researchers

---

<sup>2</sup> Rizzi (1978) discusses other differences between Restructuring and union constructions, and argues that they should be subject to different analyses; Aissen and Perlmutter argue union and restructuring are instances of the same phenomenon, and that differences between them should follow from lexical differences between the trigger verbs in question. This difference in analysis may be a function of differences between Italian and Spanish. In particular, Rizzi points out two primary differences between union and restructuring based on auxiliary selection and embedded passivization; however, Spanish has no auxiliary selection, and the passivization facts are far from clear.

to analyze reduction triggers as undergoing some type of COMPLEX PREDICATE formation. The implementation of such a process has differed in details, e.g. PREDICATE RAISING (Aissen 1979), CLAUSE UNION (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983, Gibson and Raposo 1986), PARALLEL STRUCTURES (Manzini 1983, Zubizarreta 1982 and 1985, and Goodall 1987), SYNTACTIC INCORPORATION (Baker 1988), ARGUMENT STRUCTURE MERGER (Rosen 1990), and ARGUMENT LINKING (Alsina 1992), among other approaches. Most of these proposals are formulated to capture the intuition that two predicates share a single argument structure. In this section I will review two proposals and discuss how Object Controlled Restructuring might be accommodated by them.

## 2.1 Argument Structure Merger

Rosen's (1990) ARGUMENT STRUCTURE MERGER proposal treats Restructuring triggers as LIGHT VERBS; that is, verbs with no independent argument structure. Through the merger process, the argument structure of the trigger verb acquires the structure of the embedded predicate:<sup>3</sup>

(10) Restructuring as a LIGHT VERB construction, via ARGUMENT STRUCTURE MERGER:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{querer} ( \quad ) \\ \textit{leer} (x (y)) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \textit{querer leer} (x (y)) \\ \text{'want to read'}$$

*Querer* 'want' is a control verb and imposes selectional restrictions on its external argument; yet the merger analysis in (10) would seem unable to express these semantic characteristics, as the trigger verb *querer* has no independent argument structure. However, Rosen points out that such semantic information can be represented at the level of LEXICAL CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE (Jackendoff 1983, Rappaport and Levin 1988, among others). Given the notion of ARGUMENT STRUCTURE as a

---

<sup>3</sup> Rosen also proposes that the Davidsonian event arguments (<e>) are linked into a single event as a function of argument merger.

syntactic level of representation, this proposal is certainly coherent.

How would object controlled Restructuring be represented under such a system? Clearly, something other than the light verb account is required, as the matrix subject of these constructions does not exist in the embedded verb's argument structure, and indirect object controllers do not exist as objects in the embedded verb's argument structure. This is precisely where Kayne's conjecture that such constructions may be covert causatives is relevant. Rosen proposes that Romance causative constructions also involve argument structure merger, yet the matrix causative predicate has a partially articulated argument structure. Di Sciullo and Rosen (1990) characterize these predicates as SEMI-LIGHT VERBS.

(11) Causatives as SEMI-LIGHT VERB constructions, via ARGUMENT STRUCTURE MERGER:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{hacer} \ (x \ ( \ )) \\ \textit{leer} \ (y \ (z)) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \textit{hacer leer} \ (x \ (y \ z))$$

‘make read’

Under this approach, the causative predicate has an under-specified event argument, but a fully specified external (causer) argument. The result of the merger is a complex predicate that has a valence that is one greater than the valence of the embedded predicate. While Rosen does not discuss verbs of the *permitir* class, we might, following Kayne's suggestion, extend this analysis to object controlled Restructuring:

(12) Object controlled Restructuring as SEMI-LIGHT VERB constructions:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{permitir} \ (x \ ( \ )) \\ \textit{leer} \ (y \ (z)) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \textit{permitir leer} \ (x \ (y \ z))$$

‘permit to read’

Again, the control properties of *permitir* could be handled in the Lexical Conceptual Structure - it

would have to specify a semantic role for the highest argument of the event argument.<sup>4</sup> Such an analysis would be needed for the permissive causative *dejar* ‘allow’, which behaves like *hacer* syntactically, but is semantically similar to *permitir*.<sup>5</sup>

While cast in a different framework, and in rather different terms, a proposal in Roberts (1997) bears certain similarities to the light verb approach. He proposes that modal and aspectual Restructuring triggers decompose into an abstract D<sup>0</sup> or P<sup>0</sup> and an abstract copula BE; this follows Kayne’s (1993) proposal for *be* versus *have* auxiliaries. Since modals and auxiliaries (under this approach, D<sup>0</sup> or P<sup>0</sup>) do not have articulated argument structures, but rather, inherit the argument structure of the embedded predicate, Roberts’ analysis is very much akin to Rosen’s light verb approach. Furthermore, it is unlikely that semantically articulated predicates such as *permitir* are candidates for such lexical decomposition. Since the same is true of causative predicates like *hacer* and *dejar*, Roberts might also avoid the difficulty by assimilating object controlled Restructuring to the general class of causative predicates.

## 2.2 Causatives as Object Controlled Restructuring

Bordellois (1988) explicitly unifies the analyses of Spanish causatives and object controlled Restructuring.<sup>6</sup> However, unlike the accounts suggested above, she does so by assuming a fully

---

<sup>4</sup> Such semantic information might be expressed on the AFFECTEDNESS TIER, as in Jackendoff (1991).

<sup>5</sup> The other object controlled Restructuring triggers, *ordenar* ‘order’ and *mandar* ‘command’ are semantically close to the causative *hacer* ‘make’. The assimilation of these predicates to causatives will require some lexical specification with respect to the Case assigned to the embedded subject (see section 3.1); Rosen (1990) proposes a similar mechanism for Japanese non-coercive causatives.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Fauconnier (1983) for a similar proposal within a Relational Grammar framework.

specified object control structure for both:

(13) *hacer/permitir* [ \_\_\_\_ S (NP)]

Under this account, both predicates select an optional indirect object controller:

- (14) a. Marta  $LE_i$  hizo [ $PRO_i$  barrer la vereda] a  $PABLO_i$  .  
'Marta made Pablo sweep the sidewalk.'  
b. Marta  $LE_i$  permitió [ $PRO_i$  barrer la vereda] a  $PABLO_i$  .  
'Marta permitted Pablo to sweep the sidewalk.'
- (15) a. Marta hizo [ $PRO_{ARB}$  barrer la vereda].  
'Marta had the sidewalk swept.'  
b. Marta permitió [ $PRO_{ARB}$  barrer la vereda].  
'Marta permitted the sidewalk to be swept.'

Hence, this approach is essentially the opposite of the light verb analysis; it takes seriously the idea that object controlled Restructuring is similar to causative constructions by treating the latter as object controlled restructuring.

Both of the above analyses are instantiations of Kayne's suggestion. The semi-light verb approach is consistent with the idea that Restructuring, in its core cases, is reducible to modal/auxiliaries constructions; Bordelois object controller account is essentially silent on this, although it admits to the existence of object controlled Restructuring.

#### 4. Against Conflation

We have seen ways that object controlled Restructuring constructions might be analyzed in a manner that is similar to the analysis of causatives constructions. One account, the SEMI-LIGHT VERB ANALYSIS treats neither construction as involving syntactic control. The other, Bordelois' UNIFORM CONTROL ANALYSIS treats both as instances of indirect object control. In this section I will argue that the constructions crucially differ in that only verbs of the *permitir* class involve indirect object control, while causatives do not. Thus, the NON-CONFLATED account I propose assumes

subcategorizations such as those given in (16):<sup>7</sup>

(16) *permitir, mandar, ordenar* [ \_\_\_ VP NP]    INDIRECT OBJECT CONTROL

*hacer, dejar, ver, ...*            [ \_\_\_ VP ]        NO CONTROL

If the account in (16) is correct, then we must admit to there existing Restructuring constructions that are neither light verbs nor causatives. Three basic differences between object controlled Restructuring and causatives will be presented: differences in Case marking, constituency, and the ability to participate in the *faire-par* construction.

#### 4.1 Case Marking

The most obvious difference between the two constructions has to do with the Case-marking of the argument that corresponds to the embedded subject. There has been an immense literature on this topic with respect to causative constructions. One reason this area has attracted so much interest is that the causee/embedded subject of causative constructions alternates between direct and indirect object, subject to various factors. First, there is an alternation based on the transitivity of the embedded predicate. As illustrated in (17), the subject of embedded intransitives can show up as direct objects, while embedded transitive subjects may be indirect objects:

---

<sup>7</sup> The lexical information given as subcategorization frames in (4) are for concreteness. Alternatively, these subcategorizations could be derived through argument structures via canonical realization, as in Rosen (1990). The embedded event argument is realized as a VP, following Zagona (1982), Pearce (1990), Rosen (1990), and Moore (1996), among others. This is the sense in which these are REDUCED CONSTRUCTIONS. Other analyses assume alternative realizations for this constituent; the analysis in (4) is not necessarily incompatible with such approaches. If we assume a VP-complement account, the embedded subject (e.g. the causee of causative constructions) will be realized as a VP-internal subject (cf. Zagona 1982, Kuroda 1988, and Koopman and Sportiche 1991, among many others).

- (17) a. Esa película *LO* hizo llorar. INTRANSITIVE BASE PREDICATE  
 ‘That movie made *HIM (DO)* cry.’  
 b. Los propietarios *LES* hicieron pagar el alquiler. TRANSITIVE BASE PREDICATE  
 ‘The owners made *THEN (IO)* pay the rent.’

Although this is the pattern most often described for Spanish causative (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983, Rosen 1990, among many others), it is not inviolable. In certain semantically or pragmatically marked cases, the causee may be Case-marked with the Case that is the opposite that one would expect based on the transitivity of the embedded predicate. This has been discussed by Strozer (1976), Finnemann (1982), and Treviño (1992), among others. The essential pattern that emerges is as follows: if the embedded predicate is intransitive, and the causee is an IO instead of the expected DO, then the causation is indirect; if the embedded predicate is transitive and the causee is DO instead of the expected IO, then the causation is direct. When the Case is as expected, based on transitivity, the causation is vague with respect to direct/indirect.

- (18) a. *LE* hice correr. INDIRECT CAUSATION (Strozer 1976, 6.122a)  
 ‘I had *HIM (IO)* run.’  
 b. *LOS* hico quemar las casas. DIRECT CAUSATION (Strozer 1976, 6.122d)  
 ‘He made *THEM (DO)* burn down the houses.’

A similar pattern is attested in some dialects of French (Authier and Reed 1991 and Reed 1992). A detailed account of the interaction between the two Case-marking patterns in Spanish is presented in Ackerman and Moore (1997).

In contrast, verbs of the *permitir* class only take indirect objects. Hence, in the following examples, we see that a direct object controller is impossible, regardless of the transitivity of the embedded predicate:

- (19) a. Su abuelo no *LE* permitio’ jugar en el patio.  
 1 ‘His grandfather didn’t permit *HIM (IO)* to play in the patio.’  
 b. \* Su abuelo no *LO* permitio’ jugar en el patio.



- (23) a. *hacer-jugar* (x, y)  
           ‘make-play’    |  
                           Acc
- b. *hacer-pagar* (x, y, z)  
           ‘make-pay’    | |  
                           Acc Dat

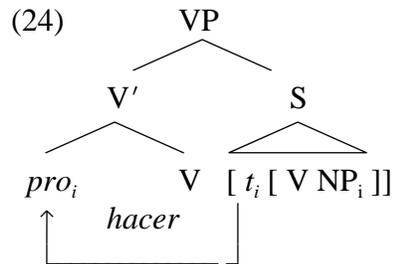
Rosen does not discuss the semantic/pragmatic alternation found in Spanish, but she does propose an analysis of similar facts in Japanese causatives. In Japanese, there is a semantically-driven alternation when the embedded predicate is intransitive; the condition that governs this direct/indirect object encoding is the familiar direct/indirect causation. Since the indirect object is unexpected when the embedded predicate is intransitive, Rosen proposes that the causative predicate responsible for this Case marking may lexically specify a Dative causee.<sup>8</sup> Rosen does not discuss Restructuring predicates of the *permitir* class; however, I assume that a similar mechanism could be extended to account for the Dative case that is invariant in constructions involving these predicates.

Bordelois (1988) discusses the Case alternations in causative constructions, and proposes an analysis that accounts for some of the data. Given that both causative and *permitir* class predicates take indirect object controllers, we would expect invariant Dative case marking for both construction types. This is correct for the *permitir* class, but not for causatives. To account for the direct object causee found in conjunction with embedded intransitives, she first discusses UNACCUSATIVE base predicates. Recall that under her analysis, the indirect object controller is optional. She argues that this is the case when the base predicate is unaccusative. In this situation, the embedded unaccusative subject has no way to receive Case. She proposes a technical solution to this dilemma, whereby the

---

<sup>8</sup> As an alternative, she suggests that the causee could be unmarked, and receive Dative Case as the default Case in Japanese.

expletive subject associated with the unaccusative's internal argument cliticizes to the causative predicate, from whence it receives accusative Case:



The rather unorthodox mechanisms required for this analysis notwithstanding, it does not account for the direct object, accusative Case-marking in the case of embedded unergatives. To achieve this, Bordelois relies on an inexplicit analogical process (the unergatives allow direct object causes on analogy with the unaccusatives). Furthermore, it is unclear how the direct objects associated with direct causation arise when the embedded predicate is transitive. Finally, it is unclear why a similar analysis is disallowed when the embedded verb is unaccusative and the trigger verb belongs to the *permitir* class. As illustrated in (25), the controller must be an indirect object:

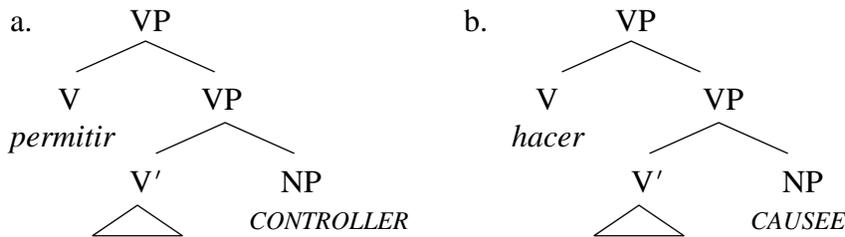
- (26) a. *LE permitieron venir.*  
 'They (IO) permitted her/him to come.'  
 b. \**LO permitieron venir.*

Thus, both the non-conflated and semi-light verb approaches seem to be able to handle the Case-marking facts. The uniform control account appears to require a number of stipulations, and even given these, does not account for the full range of facts. Notwithstanding, the choice between the non-conflated analysis and the conflated semi-light verb account cannot be determined by the Case-marking facts alone.

## 4.2 Constituency

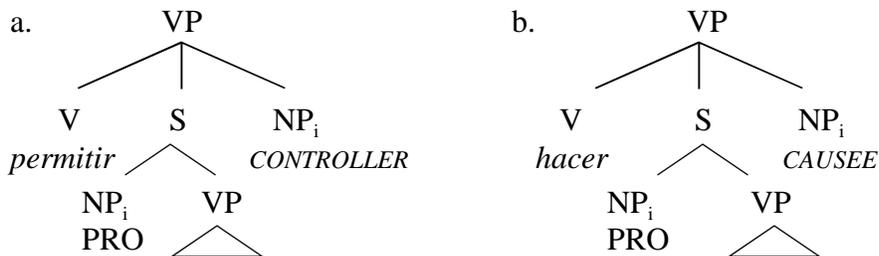
A second area in which the two constructions differ is in constituent structure. At issue is whether the controller/causee forms a constituent with the embedded clause. Under the semi-light verb account both the controller of *permitir* verbs and causee of causative predicates form a constituent with the embedded clause:

(27) SEMI-LIGHT VERB ACCOUNT:



On the other hand, the uniform controller account claims that both the controller of *permitir* verbs and causee of causative predicates are matrix clause controllers and hence, not constituents of the embedded clause:<sup>9</sup>

(28) UNIFORM CONTROLLER ACCOUNT:



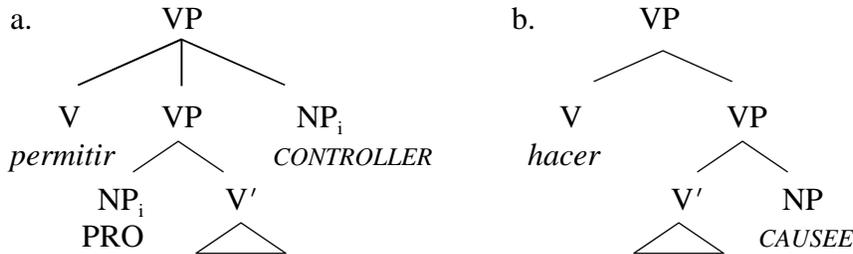
Finally, the non-conflated approach predicts that the controller of *permitir* verbs should fail to form a constituent with the embedded clause, while the causee of causative predicates should form such

---

<sup>9</sup> Again, the Bordelois assumes a full sentential (S) clausal complement, while Rosen assumes a VP-complement. This difference is orthogonal to the issue of constituency.

a constituent:<sup>10</sup>

(29) NON-CONFLATED ACCOUNT:



There are two arguments that show a difference in constituency, as predicted by the non-conflated account. The first has to do with the possibility of a sentential anaphor referring to the embedded clause independent of the controller/causee. Given the constituent structures in (29), we expect such sentential anaphora to be possible in the case of *permitir* constructions, but not in the case of causative constructions. The examples in (30) illustrate that this is borne out:

- (30) a. Mi padre no me permite/ordena/manda [salir por la noche]<sub>i</sub>, pero me madre sí me LO<sub>i</sub> permite/ordena/manda.  
 ‘My father doesn’t permit/order/command me to go out at night, but my mother does permit/order/command that I do it.’
- b. \* Mi padre no me hace/deja [salir por la noche]<sub>i</sub>, pero mi madre si LO<sub>i</sub> hace/deja.  
 ‘My father doesn’t make/let me to go out at night, but my mother does make/let me do it.’

These facts are unexpected under the alternative hypotheses. The fact that an anaphor can refer to the embedded clause, while stranding the controller in (30a) shows that there are two pronominalizable constituents - this is expected under a control hypothesis. The fact that this type

---

<sup>10</sup> In these and subsequent representations, I adopt a minimally articulated phrase structure. I omit functional projections that are not crucial to the argument and I allow n-ary branching. Furthermore, I give only the reduced structures, i.e., those with VP-complements. In many cases both a reduced and unreduced structure is possible, the latter might be represented with a full IP-complement. The phrase structures here are for expository purposes, and could be translated into any of a number of systems. The only important point has to do with whether these are control structures or not.

of anaphora is disallowed with a matrix causative predicate indicates that there embedded clause is not a constituent independent of the causee. Neither the semi-light verb nor uniform control approaches make the necessary structural distinction between object controlled restructuring and causative constructions to account for these facts.

A second argument comes from clefting. As illustrated in (31), the embedded clause may cleft independently of the controller in object controlled Restructuring constructions; however, such clefting cannot strand a causee in causative constructions:

- (31) a. Lo que me permitió/ordenó/mandó fue [barrer la vereda].  
‘What s/he permitted/ordered/commanded that I do was [sweep the sidewalk].’  
b. \* Lo que me hizo/dejó fue [barrer la vereda].  
‘What s/he made/allowed me to do was [sweep the sidewalk].’

The data in (31) is what we would expect under the non-conflated account. The other two accounts would predict that the two construction types should behave the same with respect to clefting.

A final argument has to do with the ability of the embedded clause to passivize independent of the controller/causee. Again, the semi-light verb approach predicts that no such passivization should be possible, the uniform control approach predicts that both object controlled Restructuring and causative constructions should allow uniformly allow it, while the non-conflated approach predicts that it should be allowed only in the case of object controlled restructuring. As illustrated in (32), this last prediction is borne out:

- (32) a. Me fue permitido/ordenado/mandado [salir por la noche].  
‘It was permitted/ordered/commanded [that I go out at night].’  
b. \* Me fue hecho/dejado [salir por la noche].  
‘It was made/allowed [that I go out at night].’

Bordelois (1988) addresses these last two arguments, and attributes the above contrasts to the lack of an Infl element in causative constructions. She proposes that this lack of an embedded Infl

enforces a strict locality between the matrix and embedded predicates in causative constructions. Object control constructions, on the other hand, have an embedded Infl, and do not require such adjacency.<sup>11</sup> Examples like those in (33) are claimed to provide evidence for the contrasting adjacency adjacency requirement:

- (33) a. Le ordenaron *a Juan* barrer la vereda. (Bordelois 1988 (46a))  
‘The ordered Juan to sweep the sidewalk.’  
b. \* Le hicieron *a Juan* barrer la vereda. (Bordelois 1988 (46b))  
‘The made Juan sweep the sidewalk.’

However, examples like (33b) are not ungrammatical for all speakers; nevertheless, speakers who accept (33b) exhibit the judgements in (31) and (32). Furthermore, causative constructions with the matrix predicate *dejar* do not require adjacency:

- (34) Dejaron *a Juan* barrer la vereda.  
‘The let Juan sweep the sidewalk.’

Thus, the data in (31) and (32) cannot be explained by an adjacency requirement, and are most likely to indicate the difference in constituent structure that is proposed under the non-conflated account.

Before leaving the issue of constituent structure, we must consider one other putative argument for the uniform control approach. Bordelois cites the example in (35) as illustrating the parallel between the two construction types:

- (35) No solo le ordenaron, sino que le hicieron barrer la vereda. (Bordelois 1988 (51))  
‘Not only did they order him to, but they made him sweep the floor.’

The argument is based on the assumption that the elided material in the first conjunct must be

---

<sup>11</sup> The reason for the adjacency requirement in the absence of Infl follows from the assumption that either Infl or the matrix predicate can identify the embedded predicate’s tense. Furthermore, Bordelois claims a categorial difference (S versus S’) between the two constructions. She proposes that causatives take S complements, which are not maximal projections and therefore, cannot passivize.

identical to the overt constituent in the second conjunct:<sup>12</sup>

(36) No solo le<sub>i</sub> ordenaron [PRO<sub>i</sub> barrer la vereda],  
sino que le<sub>i</sub> hicieron [PRO<sub>i</sub> barrer la vereda].

However, this conclusion is not necessary, given the idea that the elided material need not be reconstructed with exactly the identical syntactic material as the overt counterpart. If we assume that *hacer* selects only a clausal complement, then the structure of the second conjunct would be as in (37):<sup>13</sup>

(37) ... le<sub>i</sub> hicieron [EC<sub>i</sub> barrer la vereda]

The difference between the bracketed material and what needs to be reconstructed for the elided material in the first conjunct is minimal - the difference is only in the type of empty category that occupies the subject position. This type of mismatch is explicitly argued for in the VEHICLE CHANGE proposal of Fiengo and May (1994). Hence, the example in (35) does not provide a compelling argument for the uniform control approach. Rather, data from sentential anaphora, clefting and passive argue strongly that object controlled Restructuring and causative constructions have distinct constituent structures.

#### 4.3. *Faire-par* versus *Faux-faire-par*

Another reason to suspect that object controlled Restructuring and causative construction might be subject to the same analysis comes from the fact that the nominal corresponding to the embedded subject may be omitted in both constructions. This was illustrated in (15), repeated here in (38):

---

<sup>12</sup> Bordelois treats this example as a case of CONJUNCTION REDUCTION; however, it is more likely to involve RIGHT NODE RAISING.

<sup>13</sup> *EC* represents the empty category that corresponds to the causee argument of the embedded clause. It corresponds to the clitic on the matrix verb, and is either *pro* or NP-trace, depending on the analysis of object clitics.

- (38) a. Marta hizo [barrer la vereda].  
           ‘Marta had the sidewalk swept.’  
       b. Marta permitió [barrer la vereda].  
           ‘Marta permitted the sidewalk to be swept.’

Bordelois (1988) uses such examples to argue that both causative and *permitir* construction select an optional controller. Under the semi-light verb account, one might seek to assimilate the example in (38b) with the well-known *faire-par* construction.

In his discussion of French causatives, Kayne (1975) distinguishes between two construction types: *FAIRE-INFINITIVE* constructions, in which the causee is overtly realized as an object, and *FAIRE-PAR* constructions, in which the causee is either realized in an oblique *par*-phrase, or omitted altogether:

- (38) a. Elle a fait visiter la ferme à ses parents.      *FAIRE-INFINITIVE* (Kayne 1975, p. 204 (6c))  
           ‘She had her parents visit the farm.’  
       b. Elle fera manger cette pomme par Jean.      *FAIRE-PAR* (Ibid. p. 234 (89a))  
           ‘She’ll have that apple eaten by Jean.’  
       c. Elle fera manger cette pomme.              *FAIRE-PAR* (no *par*-phrase)  
           ‘She’ll have that apple eaten.’

The examples of Spanish causative constructions considered so far have overtly realized objects; hence, we have been dealing exclusively with *faire-Infinitive* constructions. Spanish also has the counterpart to Kayne’s *faire-par* construction; however, as illustrated in (39), the Spanish equivalent of these constructions are much better when the oblique *por*-phrase is omitted:

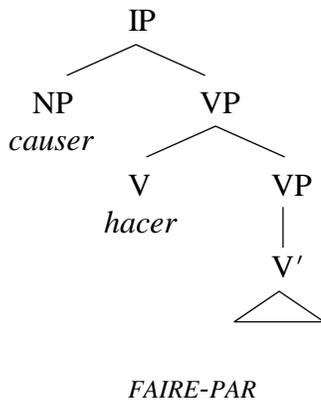
- (39) a.?? Hicieron diseñar la casa por los mejores arquitectos.  
           ‘They had the house designed by the best architects.’  
       b. Hicieron diseñar la casa.  
           ‘They had the house designed.’

Whenever an argument is phonologically null, there are at least two positions regarding its syntactic status. It could be that there is no syntactic position corresponding to the embedded subject in (39b),

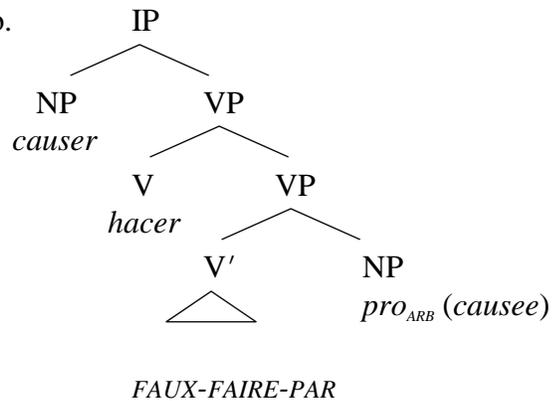
or there could be a phonologically yet syntactically present (as proposed in Rizzi 1986 for certain null objects).

In what follows, I argue that causative constructions are often structurally ambiguous between these two analyses. Hence, I distinguish two construction types: (a) true *FAIRE-PAR* constructions, in which the missing causee is a syntactically unexpressed oblique, and (b) *FAUX-FAIRE-PAR* constructions, where the causee is a phonologically silent object pronoun with arbitrary reference ( $pro_{ARB}$ ) (cf. Guasti 1989 and Moore 1996 for discussions of *FAUX-FAIRE-PAR*).

(40) a.

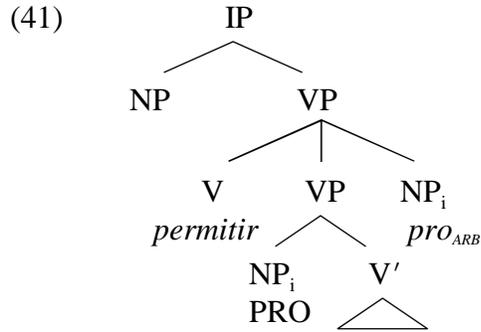


b.



As is evident from these diagrams, the *faire-par* construction lacks a VP-internal subject position; this is consistent with an analysis whereby the external  $\theta$ -role is suppressed. The *faux-faire-par* construction, on the other hand, has an embedded subject position, and is, therefore, a type of *faire*-infinitive construction, albeit one where the causee is phonologically silent.

Interestingly, object controlled Restructuring predicates do not participate in the *faire-par* construction. That is, I argue that *permitir* constructions like the one in (38b), which lack overt controllers, should be analyzed as a type of *faux-faire-par* construction:



*FAUX-FAIRE-PAR* with Object Control

Thus, object controlled Restructuring does not allow the type of structural ambiguity found with causative constructions. I argue that this is a direct consequence of the non-conflated analysis. Hence, the differences that motivate this contrast between causative and object controlled Restructuring constructions argue against conflation.

The first argument that object controlled Restructuring constructions do not participate in *faire-par* constructions comes from the impossibility of expressing the embedded subject as an oblique *por*-phrase. Although this is marginal in Spanish, even with causative constructions, the contrast is, nevertheless, robust. Thus, some speakers accept examples like (42a), but all speakers reject

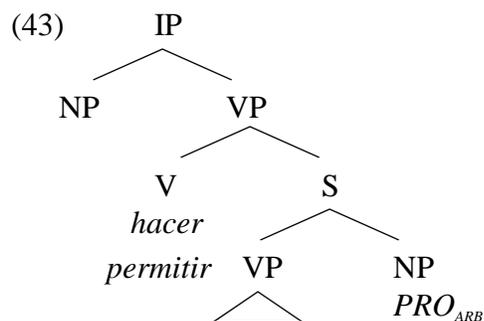
(42b):

- (42) a. Hicieron diseñar la casa *POR EL MEJOR ARQUITECTO*.  
 ‘They had the house designed by the best architect.’  
 b. \* Permitieron diseñar la casa *POR EL MEJOR ARQUITECTO*.  
 ‘They permitted the house to be designed by the best architect.’

There are a number of accounts of the oblique causee in *faire-par* constructions (cf. Kayne 1975, Aissen 1979, Zubizarreta 1985, Perlmutter 1986, Goodall 1987, Guasti 1990, Legendre 1990, Rosen 1990, Postal 1992, Moore 1996, among others). In all of these accounts, the embedded subject is suppressed or demoted, yielding an oblique encoding. Under the non-conflated analysis, the

suppression of the embedded subject of *permitir* would not affect the matrix controller; hence, under this account it is expected that object controlled Restructuring predicates should not participate in the *faire-par* construction. Under the semi-light verb account, however, there is no matrix controller, hence nothing should prevent both constructions from allowing *faire-par*.

The uniform control approach also makes the wrong predictions with respect to *faire-par*. Under this account, constructions with no overt causee/controller would be analyzed as in (43):



This structure results from omitting the optional controller argument, leaving the embedded clause with a  $PRO_{ARB}$  subject. However, given this analysis, it is unclear how the causee can be realized as an oblique, as in (42a). Presumably the external argument must be suppressed, as in the accounts mentioned above; however, if this were possible, then it is unclear what would allow this in the case of *hacer*, but not in the case of *permitir*.

A second argument for the distinction between causative and object controlled Restructuring constructions with respect to *faire-par* constructions comes from the behavior of reflexives. In (44) we see that *faire-par* and *faire-infinitive* constructions contrast in reflexive binding options. In (44a) we see that the matrix subject can reflexively bind an embedded object in a *faire-par* construction;

(44b) shows that this kind of binding is impossible in the case of the *faire*-infinitive construction:<sup>14</sup>

- (44) a. *CURRO<sub>i</sub>* se hizo [insultar *EC<sub>i</sub>* (por sus compañeros)]. *FAIRE-PAR*  
‘Curro got himself insulted (by his friends).’  
b. \* *CURRO<sub>i</sub>* se hizo [insultar *EC<sub>i</sub>* a sus compañeros]. *FAIRE-INFINITIVE*  
(Moore 1996, p. 148 (25))

These data provide motivation for the claim that *faire-par* constructions have no syntactic position that corresponds to the embedded subject. If the embedded clause had such a syntactic position in (44a), we would expect it to create an opaque domain and prevent anaphoric binding, as the embedded subject in the *faire*-infinitive construction in (44b) does. This provides evidence that the external argument of the embedded verb in a *faire-par* construction does not project. Thus, the possibility of anaphoric binding between the matrix subject and embedded provides a positive diagnostic for the *faire-par* construction in cases where the causee is unexpressed.

Object controlled Restructuring constructions, on the other hand, do not permit this type of reflexive binding, neither when the controller is overt, as in (45a), nor when the controller is silent (45b):

- (45) a. \* *CURRO<sub>i</sub>* se permite insultar *EC<sub>i</sub>* a sus compañeros.  
‘*Curro<sub>i</sub>* permits his friends to insult *him<sub>i</sub>*.’  
b. \* *CURRO<sub>i</sub>* se permite insultar *EC<sub>i</sub>*.<sup>15</sup>  
‘*Curro<sub>i</sub>* permits (people) to insult *him<sub>i</sub>*.’

The ungrammaticality of (45b) can be accounted for if we assume that there is an embedded subject position that creates an opaque domain, and prevents anaphoric binding between the matrix subject and the embedded object.

---

<sup>14</sup> In these and subsequent examples *EC* is used to mark the embedded object position that is bound by a higher subject.

<sup>15</sup> (45b) is marginally grammatical under a different reading. That is, it can, for some speakers, mean ‘Curro permitted himself to insult people.’

The claim that *faux-faire-par* constructions are, in reality, *faire*-infinitive constructions makes a further prediction regarding anaphoric binding. Since these constructions do contain an embedded subject position, it should be possible for this phonologically silent subject to reflexively bind an embedded object. Since it is claimed both causative and object controlled Restructuring constructions are compatible with the *faux-faire-par* construction, we should expect such binding with both verbs like *hacer* and *permitir*. From the examples in (46) we see that this prediction is borne out:<sup>16</sup>

- (46) a. Nosotros, los accionistas, siempre hemos hecho peinarse con gomina para entrar en nuestro banco.  
 ‘We, the investors, have always made *people<sub>i</sub>* comb *themselves<sub>i</sub>* with gel before entering our bank. (Moore 1996, p. 160 (49a))
- b. En el Partido Popular permiten peinarse con gomina.  
 ‘In the Popular Party they allow *one<sub>i</sub>* to comb *oneself<sub>i</sub>* with gel.’ (Moore 1996, p. 158 (42b))

It is precisely the fact that examples like (44a) and (46a) are grammatical that argues that causative constructions are compatible with both *faire-par* and *faux-faire-par* constructions. This contrasts with object controlled Restructuring constructions, which do not allow the former (cf. 45b) but do allow the latter (46b).

Finally, causative and object control constructions differ in their behavior with respect to passivization. It is well-known that embedded objects may passivize in Italian causative constructions, both in Italian *faire*-infinitive and *faire-par* constructions:

---

<sup>16</sup> While the data in (46) are clearly consistent with a *faux-faire-par* analyses, Legendre (1990) gives examples of French *faire-par* where the oblique causee is able to marginally antecede an embedded reflexive. Hence, The example in (46a) may marginally represent a true *faire-par* construction.

- (47) a. *Quei brani* furono fatti leggere a Giovanni. PASSIVIZATION OUT OF FAIRE-INFINITIVE  
 ‘They had Giovanni read those passages.’  
 b. *Quei brani* furono fatti leggere (da Giovanni). PASSIVIZATION OUT OF FAIRE-PAR  
 ‘They had those passages read by Giovanni.’  
 (Zubizarreta 1985 (84b&a))

However, the facts in Spanish are less clear. Zubizarreta (1985) cites corresponding Spanish examples as ungrammatical, but also notes that there is a good deal of variation in this area. I have found speakers fairly willing to accept passivization of the embedded object of a Spanish *faire-par* construction (48a), but rather reluctant to accept the corresponding *faire-infinitive* examples (48b):

- (48) a. ? *Este coche* fue hecho arreglar por mi hermano.<sup>17</sup> PASSIVIZATION OUT OF FAIRE-PAR  
 ‘My brother had this car fixed.’  
 b. \*? *El coche* fue hecho arreglar al mecánico. PASSIVIZATION OUT OF FAIRE-INFINITIVE  
 ‘My brother had the mechanic fix that car.’

Unsurprisingly, *permitir* constructions pattern with (48b):

- (49) \*? *El coche* fue permitido arreglar al mecánico.  
 ‘My brother had the mechanic fix that car.’

Above I argued that that object controlled Restructuring constructions are incompatible with the *faire-par* construction; I argued that cases where the controller is not realized overtly are *faux-faire-par* constructions. If this is true, we predict that even when the controller is unexpressed, passivization should be very marginal, as is the case for *faire-infinitive* constructions, and object controlled Restructuring constructions with overt controllers. We find this prediction borne out in examples like (50):

- (50) \*? *Estos vestidos* no fueron permitidos comprar.  
 ‘It was not permitted that someone buy these dresses.’

Hence, we have provided evidence that there are systematic syntactic differences between

---

<sup>17</sup> The *por*-phrase in (48a) does not correspond to the causee argument, rather the causer (matrix agent).

causative *faire-par* constructions and object controlled Restructuring constructions with silent controllers. These differences follow from the non-conflated account; the external argument suppression associated with *faire-par* is impossible in conjunction with object controlled Restructuring because this external argument suppression does not effect the matrix controller. Such an explanation would not be available under the two accounts which seek to conflate causative and object controlled Restructuring constructions. The evidence from the *faire-par/faux-faire-par* ambiguity corroborates evidence from case-marking and constituency. Given this body of overwhelming evidence, it is clear that Kayne's suggestion that object controlled Restructuring is a type of causative construction cannot be maintained.

## 5. Conclusion

In the previous section I have argued that object controlled Restructuring constructions are not “hidden incidents of the causative construction”. Rather, they are object control constructions that participate in the general phenomenon of Restructuring. This poses a problem for the general approach to Restructuring predicates that seeks to assimilate them with other light verbs such as modals and auxiliaries. This means that the syntactic consequences of underspecified argument structure (or BE+ P<sup>0</sup> incorporation) cannot be the only route to the other syntactic effects associated with Restructuring. While the results here are negative with respect to syntactic analyses of Restructuring, it may be that there is, nevertheless, some semantic unity to the class of predicates that participate in reduced constructions. In section 2 we surveyed this class, and noted that they tend to consist of CORE RESTRUCTURING predicates, which are modals, aspectuals, and auxiliaries, causative and perception verbs, and object controlled Restructuring predicates. The class of object controlled Restructuring predicates are unusual, as they are semantically akin to causative predicates

(e.g., *permitir* ‘permit’ vs. *dejar* ‘allow’ and *mandar* ‘command’ vs. *hacer* ‘make’), while syntactically more akin to the core Restructuring verbs. It is also interesting to note that while most Romance languages exhibit reduced constructions triggered by the core Restructuring and causative/perception verbs, Spanish is unusual in allowing reduced constructions with the class of indirect object control verbs (cf. Napoli 1981 and Zubizarreta 1982). While it is not clear what to make of all of this, it does suggest that object controlled Restructuring may provide a unique opportunity to investigate the syntax/semantics interface of reduced constructions.

## References

- Ackerman, Farrell and John Moore (1997) 'Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Dimensions of Causee Encoding,' Ms., UC San Diego.
- Aissen, Judith (1979) *The Syntax of Causative Constructions*, Garland, New York.
- Aissen, Judith L. and David M. Perlmutter (1983) 'Clause Reduction in Spanish,' in David M. Perlmutter, ed. *Studies in Relational Grammar 1*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 360-403. Revised from 'Clause Reduction in Spanish,' *BLS 2* (1976).
- Alsina, Alex (1992) 'On the Argument Structure of Causatives,' *Linguistic Inquiry* 23, 517-555.
- Authier, J. Marc and Lisa Reed (1991) 'Ergative Predicates and Dative Cliticization in French Causatives,' *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 197-205.
- Baker, Mark C. *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Bordelois, Ivonne (1988) 'Causatives: From Lexicon to Syntax,' *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6, 57-94.
- Di Sciullo, Anna Maria and Sara Thomas Rosen (1990) 'Light and Semi-light Verb Constructions,' in Katarzyna Dziwirek, Patrick Farrell, and Errapel Mejías-Bikandi, eds., *Grammatical Relations: A Cross-Theoretical Perspective*, CSLI/SLA, Stanford, 109-125.
- Fauconnier, Gilles (1983) 'Generalized Union,' *Communication and Cognition* 16, 3-37.
- Fiengo, Robert and Robert May (1994) *Indices and Identity*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Finnemann, David (1982) *Aspects of the Spanish Causative Construction*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- Gibson, Jeanne and Eduardo Raposo (1986) 'Clause Union, The Stratal Uniqueness Law, and The Chômeur Relation,' *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 4, 295-331.
- Goodall, Grant (1987) *Parallel Structures in Syntax: Coordination, Causatives and Restructuring*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Guasti, Maria Teresa (1989) 'Romance Infinitive Complements of Perception Verbs,' *MIT Working Papers* 11, 31-45.
- Guasti, Maria Teresa (1990) 'The 'Faire-Par' Construction in Romance and Germanic,' in Aaron L. Halpern, ed., *The Proceedings of the Ninth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, CSLI/SLA, Stanford, 205-218.
- Jackendoff, Ray S. (1983) *Semantics and Cognition*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Jackendoff, Ray S. (1991) *Semantic Structures*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Kayne, Richard S. (1975) *French Syntax*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Kayne, Richard S. (1989) 'Null Subjects and Clitic Climbing,' in Osvaldo Jaeggli. and Kenneth J. Safir, eds., *The Null Subject Parameter*, Kluwer, Dordrecht, 239-262.
- Kayne, Richard S. (1993) 'Towards a Modular Theory of Auxiliary Selection,' *Studia Linguistica* 47, 3-31.
- Koopman, Hilda and Dominique Sportiche (1991) 'The Position of Subjects,' *Lingua* 85, 211-258.
- Kuroda, S. -Y. 'Whether We Agree or Not: A Comparative Syntax of English and Japanese,' *Linguisticae Investigationes* 12, 1-47.

- Legendre, Géraldine (1990) 'French Causatives: Another Look at *Faire-par*,' in Katarzyna Dziwirek, Patrick Farrell, and Errapel Mejías-Bikandi, eds., *Grammatical Relations: A Cross-Theoretical Perspective*, CSLI/SLA, Stanford, 247-262.
- Luján, Marta (1980) 'Clitic Promotion and Mood in Spanish Verbal Complements,' *Linguistics* 18, 381-484.
- Manzini, Maria Rita (1983) *Restructuring and Reanalysis*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Moore, John (1996) *Reduced Constructions in Spanish*, Garland, New York.
- Myhill, John (1988) 'The Grammaticalization of Auxiliaries: Spanish Clitic Climbing,' *BLS* 14, 352-363.
- Napoli, Donna Jo (1981) 'Semantic Interpretation vs. Lexical Governance: Clitic Climbing in Italian,' *Language* 57, 841-887.
- Pearce, Elizabeth (1990) *Parameters in Old French Syntax: Infinitival Complements*, Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Perlmutter, David M. (1986) 'Some Consequences of the Unaccusative Hypothesis for the Theory of Clause Union,' talk delivered at the Sixteenth Meeting of the Northeastern Linguistic Society, MIT.
- Postal, Paul M. (1992) 'Phantom Successors and the French *Faire-par* Construction,' in Diane Brentari, Gary N. Larson, and Lynn A. McLeod, eds., *The Joy of Grammar: A Festschrift in Honor of James D. McCawley*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 289-321.
- Rappaport, Malka and Beth Levin (1988) 'What to do with  $\theta$ -Roles,' in Wendy Wilkins, ed., *Thematic Relations (Syntax and Semantics, vol. 21)*, Academic Press, San Diego, 7-36.
- Reed, Lisa (1992) 'On Clitic Case Alternations in French Causatives,' in Paul Hirschbühler and Konrad Koerner eds., *Romance Languages and Modern Linguistic Theory: Papers from the 20th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 205-224.
- Rizzi, Luigi (1978) 'A Restructuring Rule in Italian Syntax,' in Samuel J. Keyser, ed. *Recent Transformational Studies in European Languages*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 113-158. Revised from 'Ristrutturazione,' *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 1 (1976).
- Rizzi, Luigi. (1986) 'Null Objects in Italian and the Theory of *pro*,' *Linguistic Inquiry* 17, 501-57.
- Roberts, Ian (1997) 'Restructuring, Head Movement, and Locality,' *Linguistic Inquiry* 28, 423-460.
- Rosen, Sara Thomas (1990) *Argument Structure and Complex Predicates*, Garland, New York.
- Strozer, Judith (1976) *Clitics in Spanish*, Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Treviño, Esther (1992) 'Subjects in Spanish Causative Constructions,' in Paul Hirschbühler and Konrad Koerner, eds., *Romance Languages and Modern Linguistic Theory*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 309-324.
- Zagona, Karen T. (1982) *Government and Proper Government of Verbal Projections*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.
- Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa (1982) *On the Relationship of the Lexicon to Syntax*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa (1985) 'The Relation Between Morphology and Morphosyntax: The Case of Romance Causatives,' *Linguistic Inquiry* 16, 247-289.

