On obligatory obligation: the composition of Italian causatives

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Since Kayne (1975), it has been recognized that Romance causatives with *faire* fall into two classes, the *faire par* (FP) and *faire infinitif* (FI). In the FP construction, the Causee argument is optionally expressed in an adjunct *by*-phrase, while in the FI construction, as argued by Guasti (1996), the dative Causee is not optional, and occurs in an argument position. We argue from Italian data that the observed syntactic and semantic differences between the two constructions do not follow simply from the argument/adjunct distinction, but rather reflect a selectional difference: FI constructions embed a particular vP, while FP constructions do not; they embed a nominalized VP. We claim that the semantic characteristics of the complement vP in the FI construction explain an 'obligation' requirement on the FI Causee, which is absent in the FP construction. Consequently, we can eliminate the need to refer to an independent level of semantic representation (theta-grids, as in Guasti) to account for the different interpretations of the two constructions. Further, we show that the theta-grid approach is misleading as it leads Guasti to conflate several distinct structures under the FI label, including passives of *fare*. We argue that passives of *fare* causatives are all FP constructions. When a dative argument is present, it is a Benefactee, not the dative Causee of the FI.

1   Introduction

Since Kayne (1975), it has been recognized that Romance causatives with *faire* fall into two classes, the *faire par* (FP) and *faire infinitif* (FI). In French causatives, there are two possible case-markers for the embedded Causee: the preposition *par* 'by', or the preposition *à*, 'to'. Kayne showed that the difference in preposition corresponds to several syntactic and semantic differences between the two types of causative.

Certain idioms, like those illustrated in (1)-(3) below, occur in the FI construction perfectly well, but cannot be interpreted idiomatically in the FP construction (Kayne, 1975, p. 235):

(1) a.   Sa famille a cassé la croûte.
             His family has broken the crust.
             "His family had a snack".

     b.   Son fils fera la malade.
             His son made the patient.
             "His son will play sick"

(2) a. Il fera faire la malade à son fils.
         He will make make the patient to his son.
         "He will have his son play sick."

     b. Il a fait cassé la croûte à sa famille.
         He had made break the crust   to his family.
         "He had his family have a snack."

(3) a. #Il fera faire la malade par son fils.
         He will make make the patient by his son.
         "He will have his son play sick."

     b. #Il a fait cassé la croûte par sa famille.
         He had made break the crust by his family.
         "He had his family have a snack."

     Secondly, the Causee can have an inalienable possession relationship with the embedded object in the FI, but not in the FP (*op.cit.* p. 236):

(4) a. Elle fera lever la main à Jean.
         She will make raise the hand to John.
         She will have John raise his hand.

     b. #Elle fera lever la main par Jean.
         She will make raise the hand by John.
         She will have John raise his hand[1].

     Further, Kayne (*op.cit.*239) notes that there is a semantic difference between the FI and the FP. In the two sentences in (5), the FI 'implies a more direct relation between 'Marie' and 'the drinking' than the FP.

(5) a. Marie fera boire cette eau par son chien.
         Marie will make drink this water by her dog.
         "Maria will have this water drunk by her dog."

     b. Marie fera boire cette eau à son chien.
         Marie will make drink this water to her dog.
         "Maria will have her dog drink this water."

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[1] Interestingly this is not true in Italian:

(i) Il presidente fece alzare la mano da cinque dei suoi uomini quando arrivò il momento decisivo
     The president made raise the hand by five of his men when arrived the moment decisive
     "The president had five of his men raise their hand in the decisive moment."

We have no explanation for the different behaviour of Italian inalienable possession DPs in these constructions.

Kayne mentions the distinction but doesn't find an explanation for it in his analysis; he says, "We are not in a position to give a semantic characterization for the general case". As in the analyses of Alsina (1992) Guasti (1996) and Ippolito (2000), it is precisely this semantic characterization that we aim to include in our account of the two constructions. We want to argue that Kayne's observed 'direct relation' between the subject and the embedded event is in fact a sense of <u>obligation</u>: the subject of *fare* in the FI obliges the subject of the embedded verb to perform the relevant action, while in the FP, the optional *by-* phrase DP simply provides additional information about the caused event: it specifies who did it without implying any direct relationship to the subject of *fare*.

We can show that obligation is the relevant notion by building on an observation of Hyman and Zimmer (1975): the FI enforces a sense of obligation on the Causee that is absent in the FP construction. Consider the following sentences:

(6)   a.   Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina a Mario/da Mario.
               John got Mario to repair the car.

       b.   Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina ??al meccanico/dal meccanico.
               John got the mechanic to repair the car.

In ((6)b),the FI *al meccanico* seems odd because it is the job of mechanics to repair cars; in the typical case, one does not oblige a mechanic to repair one's car, while the FP *dal meccanico* is natural because the FP construction does not entail obligation on the part of the Causee. Intuitively, in the FI construction, what is being caused by the matrix subject is the entire event of 'the mechanic repairing the car'; while in the FP construction, what is being caused is simply 'the repair of the car', with the agent or instrument of the repair possibly unspecified.

Another observed difference between FP and FI, observed by Burzio (1986:250), has to do with binding. The *a*-phrase Causee in the FI can bind a pronoun into the embedded object, while the *da*-phrase cannot, as we show below with bound variable pronouns:

(7)   a.   Gianni$_j$ ha fatto temperare la sua$_{i/j}$ matita a ogni ragazzo$_i$.
               Gianni has made shapen the his pencil to every boy.
               "Gianni had every boy sharpen his pencil."

       b.   Gianni$_i$ ha fatto temperare la sua$_{*i/j}$ matita da ogni ragazzo$_i$.
               Gianni has made sharpen the his pencil to every boy.
               "Gianni$_j$ had his$_{*i/j}$ pencil sharpened by every boy$_i$."

In (7)a, *a ogni ragazzo*, 'to every boy' can bind the pronoun *sua* 'his' in the embedded object,

Guasti (1996) gives an argument from Pearce (1990) which shows that in the FP construction, the *da*-phrase is optional, while the *a*-phrase in the FI is not. When the embedded clause contains no Causee, therefore, Guasti, with Burzio, argues that it is necessarily a case of FP. Recall that the FI allows

idiomatic interpretations, while the FP does not; an example from Italian given by Guasti is in (8) below:

(8)   a.   La maestra ha fatto prendere la medicina al bambino.
            The teacher has made take the medicine to-the child.
            "The teacher had the child ingest/bring the medicine."

        b.   La maestra ha fatto prendere la medicina dal bambino.
            The teacher has made take the medicine by-the child.
            "The teacher had the medicine *ingested/brought by the child."

In (8)a above, we see that with the FI the 'idiomatic' reading of *prendere la medicina*, 'ingest the medicine' is available, but in the FP, it is not—only the literal 'bring' interpretation is possible. Crucially, when we see a causative of *prendere la medicina* without a Causee, as in (9) below, only the 'bring' interpretation, not the 'ingest' interpretation is available, showing that in Causee-less structures, the construction is FP, not FI.

(9)   La maestra ha fatto prendere la medicina.
          The teacher has made take the medicine.
          "The teacher had the medicine *ingested/brought (by someone)."

The key differences we have so far observed between FP and FI, then are as follows:

    A.   The Causee is marked with dative case in the FI, and by a preposition *da* in FP.
    B.   Idioms are available in the FI but in the FP.
    C.   The *a* phase in the FI can bind the embedded object, while the FP *da* phrase cannot.
    D.   There is a sense of obligation on the Causee in FI but not FP.
    E.   The Causee may be omitted in the FP but not the FI.

The general thrust of most extant approaches to these contrasts is that in the FI causatives, the complete argument structure of the embedded verb is present, including the agent argument. In the FP causatives, on the other hand, the *da*-phrase is an adjunct, and the embedded verb only brings its internal arguments with it.

All the differences between the constructions noted above are intended to fall out in various ways from this general approach, no matter what specific implementation is proposed. (A.) In the FI, the dative case which the agent argument receives is assigned by the normal structural case-marking mechanisms present in the clause, while the *da*-phrase, as an adjunct, is independently case-marked by a preposition. (B.) If the idiomatic interpretation of the embedded verb depends on the entire argument structure being present, idioms should be possible in the FI, but not the FP. (C.) If the adjunct Causee in the FP is a true PP, then the *da*-phrase Causee should not be able to c-command out of the PP and bind into the embedded object, while the agent *a*-phrase in the FI, base-generated in its usual position c-commanding the embedded object,

should be able to bind into it. (E.) Since the *da*-phrase Causee is an adjunct, not an argument, it may be omitted in the FP, while the *a*-phrase Causee of the FI may not.

In our view, the most problematic effect to account for is D, the sense of obligation present in the FI. This effect is closely related to the most unsatisfactory aspect of the previous proposals of Alsina (1992) and Guasti (1997). In both these proposals, the obligation effect is intended to fall out from a double-theta-role assignment to the FI Causee: one role is assigned from the causative verb (giving an 'affectedness' or 'obligation' effect), and another from the embedded verb, the normal agent role. But double-theta-assignment is problematic for theory-internal reasons, and both Alsina and Guasti must employ extra or unusual technology to make it possible (we review their proposals in more detail below). In contrast, in a purely constructionalist approach in which theta-roles are a reflex of a particular structural position (see Hale & Keyser 1993, van Hout 1996, Borer 1998, Ritter and Rosen 1998, among many others), the presence or absence of a sense of obligation falls out as a by-product of the different structures embedded by the causative verb in the FI and the FP: different structures entail different theta-relations. This is the essential thrust of our proposal, which is very close in spirit to that of Ippolito (*op.cit*), and Landau (2002), although our analysis will differ from theirs in crucial ways.

The paper is structured as follows. In section 2, we review the accounts of Alsina, Guasti and Ippolito, and the problems we perceive with each. In section 3, we present our analysis of the two constructions, in which the FI embeds a vP complete with agent argument, while the FP embeds a vP-less structure, and show how this accounts for the effects noted above. In section 4, we present further evidence for a distinction based on the presence or absence of a vP, considering causatives which embed unaccusatives, statives, perception verbs and psych verbs. In section 5, we consider in detail the structure of the FP construction and the position of the *da*-phrase. We show an unexpected effect of selection between the subject of *fare* and the possibility of FP, and relate it to an effect observed with verbs of creation by Harley (2001) and Folli and Harley (2002). Finally, in section 6, we analyse the formation of the passives of causatives and we provide an explanation for the availability of such constructions only with certain classes of verbs, in particular transitives and unaccusatives.

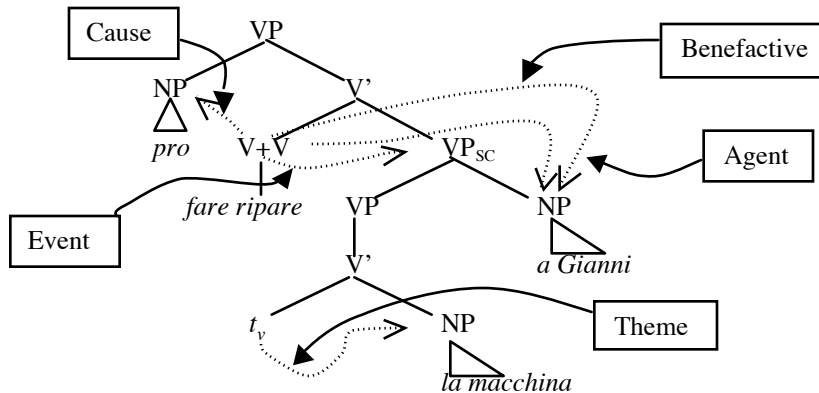## 2   Recent approaches to the FP/FI distinction

For Alsina (*op. cit*.), causative formation is a lexical process. A causative verb like *fare* has three theta-roles to assign: an external Causer argument, an internal Patient argument, and an Event argument. The Patient argument of the causative verb 'fuses' with one of the two arguments of an embedded transitive verb. If it fuses with the logical subject of the embedded verb, the 'obligation' construction of the FI is created; if it fuses with the logical object of the embedded verb, the result is a FP. Fusion with the logical object can only occur when the logical subject of the embedded verb is lexically suppressed. Guasti (1996:303) argues against this approach to the FP. Her objection is primarily

based on the fact that there is no evidence that the interpretation of the embedded object is dependent on the matrix causative verb in any way—the semantics of the embedded object are dependent on the embedded verb only.

Guasti's approach is essentially similar to Alsina's, except that for Guasti, the theta-role fusion happens as the result of a syntactic incorporation process. The lower verb incorporates into the higher causative verb, and then together the two verbs assign a theta-role each to the Causee under government, accounting for the obligation effect in essentially the same way as Alsina, yet allowing causative formation to be a syntactic process. The theta-role assigned by the causative, however, is not that of Patient, but rather that of Benefactive. In contrast to Alsina, however, the FP causative involves no theta-role fusion; the embedded object receives its theta-role exclusively from the embedded verb. The matrix causative in the FP does not assign a third Benefactive theta role, but just Causer and Event, and embeds a VP without an external argument position, which has been suppressed on the embedded verb by a lexical operation. The *da*-phrase is optionally adjoined to the embedded VP. The operations involved in the FI and FP causatives for Guasti are illustrated in (10) below:
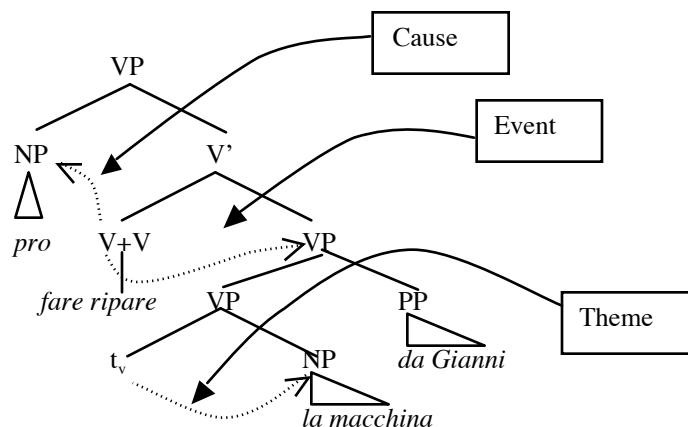
(10)   a.   Guasti: derivation of FI:

fare$_1$ <<causer, event> benefactive>
ripare   <agent, theme>

b.   Guasti: derivation of FP:

fare₂   <causer, event>
ripare   <agent, theme> → *ripare* <theme>   *via lexical operation*

Although Guasti's approach moves closer to a purely syntactic account, via the use of incorporation, it still relies crucially on a lexical operation of suppression in order to account for the FP construction.

Ippolito (2000) shows that incorporation account is difficult to maintain, in the face of the fact that the causative verb and the embedded verb are not an X° of the type normally created by head-movement. Adverbial elements can intervene between *fare* and the embedded verb, as shown in (11) below:

(11)   Arturo ha fatto **ancora una volta** riparare la macchina a Corrado.
              Arturo has made again one time repair the car to Corrado.
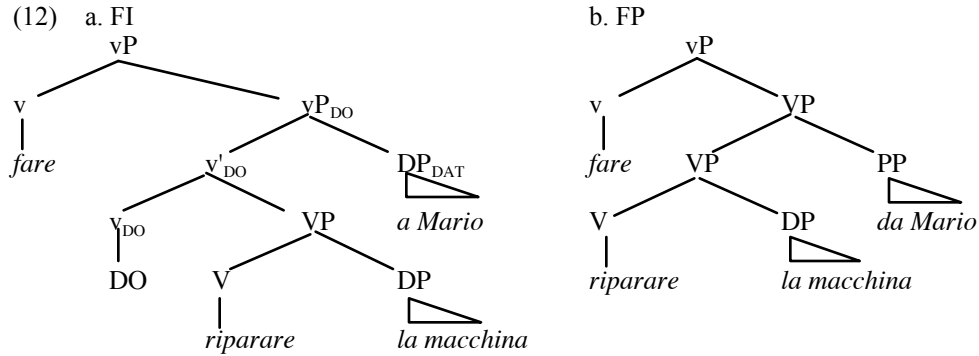   "Arturo had Corrado repair the car again."

On normal assumptions about adverb placement, the presence of an intervening adverb shows that the causative *fare* and the embedded verb *ripare* are independent phrases, with at least enough intervening structure to allow an adverb to adjoin in between them.

Ippolito's account essentially imports aspects of Guasti's theta-theoretic account into neo-Davidsonian syntax. Rather than allow the causative verb to assign two internal theta-roles, Ippolito has the causative verb in the FI selecting for an applicative light verb, which assigns a benefactive/malefactive role to the element in its specifier, the Causee, as well as assigning dative case. Subsequently, the head of that applicative phrase incorporates into the causative verb, with consequences for passivization and clitic climbing. In the FP, the applicative head is not present. In neither the FP nor the FI is the Causee part of the argument structure of the embedded verb — that is, unlike Guasti's account, the Agent role of the embedded verb is not assigned to the Causee at any point in the derivation. We will discuss aspects of Ippolito's proposal below when relevant for our analysis: its essence, however, is the opposite of ours.

With the advent of an external-argument-selecting vP (Hale and Keyser 1993, Kratzer 1996 and many others), the possibility arises of creating a purely syntactic account of the difference between the FP and the FI. Unlike Ippolito's account, rather than create an applicative head to assign Guasti's benefactive theta-role to a Causee which is not an argument of the embedded verb, we simply retain the usual argument structure for the embedded verb in the FI. We will argue that this argument structure includes the external-argument-assigning vP of Hale & Keyser and Kratzer. The difference between the FI and the FP is simply the absence of that external-argument-assigning vP in the latter.

3 Analysis of differences between FI & FP

The crucial substructures that we assume distinguish the FI and FP are in (12) below:

(12) a. FI   b. FP

Here, we follow Guasti in assuming that Italian exhibits rightward specifiers. Although this is an unusual approach, we feel there is independent justification for it within the vP realm in Italian. In particular, in places where we expect to see small-clause like structures in Italian vPs, the subject of the small clause is in the unmarked case on the right: compare the word order possibilities of a simple adjectival small clause in (13) below in English and Italian:

(13) a.   John made Mary happy.
      b.   Gianni ha fatto felice Maria.

Of course, movement of the lower VP or its subparts to the left — presumably to a position c-commanding the Causee — is also an option when considering this structure (although Ippolito shows that any such movement could not involve incorporation); we feel, however, that the rightwards-specifier option is fundamentally simpler and we'll stick with it until shown otherwise.

The crucial 'suppression' of the subject in the FP, on this account, is a simple consequence of the failure to embed vP under *fare* in that structure. No lexical operation is necessary, and the adjunct position and optionality of the *by*-phrase hence falls out naturally. The structural consequences for the Causee in

the FI and the FP construction also fall out without the need of further machinery.

First, the dative-case-marked DP in spec-vP in the FI will c-command, as usual, the base-position of the embedded object; consequently the assymetric binding facts in (7) above are accounted for straightforwardly (as they are for Guasti). In the FP, the DP will not c-command out of the adjoined PP, and consequently will not be able to bind the object. (Assuming movement of the object to a higher case-checking position (see discussion in section XX), the object, will, in contrast, c-command the *da*-phrase, producing the observed assymmetric binding relation in the other direction, as observed by Ippolito (2000: 13):

(14)   Ho fatto rimproverare Arturo dalla propria famiglia.
             I made scold   Arturo   by.the own family.
            "I had Arthur scolded by his own family."

Similarly, the fact that the dative causee in the FI can control a PRO in an adjoined gerund, while the *by*-phrase in the FP cannot, confirms that the dative Causee is a true external argument in the FI but the *by*-phrase Causee in the FP is not:

(15) a.   Gianni$_i$ ha fatto leggere Dostoevsky a Maria$_j$ PRO$_{i/j}$ per passare l'esame.
            John had made read Dostoevsky to Mary PRO to pass the exam.
            "John had Maria read Dostoevsky to pass the exam."

      b.   Gianni$_i$ ha fatto leggere Dostoevsky da Maria$_j$ PRO$_{i/*j}$ per passare l'esame.
            John had made read Dostoevsky by Mary PRO to pass the exam.
            "John had Dostoevsky read by Mary to pass the exam."

      c.   Maria ha fatto leggere tutto Delitto e Castigo a Gianni$_i$ senza PRO$_i$ mangiare.
            Maria has made read all Crime and Punishment to Gianni without eating.
            "Maria had Gianni read all of Crime and Punishment without eating."

      d   *Gianni ha fatto leggere tutto Delitto e Castigo da Maria$_i$ senza PRO$_i$ mangiare.
            Maria has made read all Crime and Punishment da Gianni without eating.
            "Maria had all of Crime and Punishment read by Gianni without eating."

We can extend this argument to differentiate our analysis from that of Ippolito. For us, the dative Causee in the FI is selected for by the normal external-argument projection, vP; consequently, it is not surprising that it can control a purpose-clause, as shown above. For Ippolito, on the other hand, the

dative Causee is in the specifier of an Applicative head, which is identical to the benefactive-assigning applicative head in ditransitive verbs, on her analysis.

(16) a.   Il bambino$_i$ mi$_j$ ha mangiato tutto senza PRO$_{i/*j}$ piangere.
              The child 1sg.DAT has eaten all without PRO crying.
              "The child ate everything for me without crying."

      b.   Il bambino$_i$ mi$_j$ ha lavato i piatti per PRO$_{i/*j}$ guadare la televisione.
              The child 1sg.DAT has washed the dishes PRO to watch the television.
              "The child washed the dishes for me to watch television."

       Crucially, this implies that in the FI, the dative Causee can control a PRO in a purpose clause or an adjunct infinitive, but in the FP, the *da*-phrase cannot ((15) above). Ippolito says that the dative Causee in the FI is introduced by an applicative head, identical to that present in a regular ditransitive applicative construction. In (16) above, we showed that the dative DP introduced in a true applicative cannot control into a purpose clause or infinitival adjunct, lending support to the position that it occupies spec-vP, not spec-APPL.

       The two distinguishing factors between the FI and the FP that remain to be explained are the availability of embedded idioms and the sense of obligation in the FP. We consider the former in section 5 below. Let us now turn to the question of obligation.

       We can capture this effect if, as proposed by Folli and Harley (2002), the light verb which introduces external arguments comes in different 'flavors'. There, it is argued that there is a little v_{DO} which requires that its subject is an Agent (i.e. intentional), rather than a Cause. This little v is distinct from little v_{CAUSE} which places no intentionality restrictions on its external argument. This proposal is based on the observation that a change in the intentionality of the subject is associated with a change in argument structure in examples like the following:

(17) a.   John ate the apple.
      b.   John ate up the apple.
      c.   *The sea ate the beach.
      d.   The sea ate away the beach.

      e.   Gianni   ha   mangiato   una mela.
              G.   has   eaten   an apple.
              'Gianni has eaten an apple.'

      f.   Gianni   si   é mangiato   una mela.
              G.   REFL   is eat.PST   an apple.
              'Gianni ate an apple up.'

      g.   *Il mare   ha mangiato   la spiaggia.
              The sea   has eat.PST   the beach.
              'The sea ate the beach.'

h. Il mare   si   é mangiato   la spiaggia.
    The sea   REFL   is eat.PST   the beach.
    'The sea ate the beach away.'

In ((17)a-d), when the agent of a verb of consumption like *eat* is not intentional, like 'the sea', a small clause structure is required in English; similar facts obtain in Italian, as in ((17)g-h). Folli and Harley analyze this paradigm by assuming that different external-argument-selecting little *v*s also select for different kinds of complements: true intentional-agent-selecting v_{DO} allows a nominal complement, while the *v* which selects for Causer external arguments, CAUSE, requires a small-clause complement. Consequently, when a DP which can only be a Causer, not an Agent, appears in the external argument position of vP, it forces an interpretation on the sentence according to which *v* = CAUSE and consequently forces the complement to v to be a small clause, rather than a nominal.

We can get some mileage out of this device in the analysis of obligation. If in the FI construction, *fare* requires its vP complement to be headed by DO—i.e. if *fare* selects for v_{DO}— we can explain the obligation effect observed above. It is impossible for FI to embed a vP with a Causer external argument, rather than an Agent—the dative argument, in other words, must be intentional:

(18) a.   Il ramo ha rotto la finestra.
            The branch broke the window.

      b.   Gianni ha fatto rompere la finestra *al ramo/a Maria.
            John got *the branch/Maria to break the window.

      c.   Il programma ha disinfettato il computer.
            The program disinfected the computer.

      d.   Gianni ha fatto disinfettare il computer *al programma/al tecnico.
            John got *the program/the technician to disinfect the computer.

Even though the Cause argument is appropriate in the simple transitive in ((18)a) and ((18)c), it may not be embedded under FI, as in ((18)b) and ((18)d). Semantically, in the FI construction, the subject of *fare* is causing the whole embedded event: X DO Y; as a result, the implication is that the subject of *fare* is obliging X to participate.[2]
We can confirm this diagnosis when considering a verb like *disturbare* 'disturb' or *assobire* 'absorb'. These verbs are not acceptable under *fare*, no matter whether the subject is animate or inanimate (similar facts have been noted for French by Herschensohn 1992 and Legendre 1993):

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[2] Notice a terminology problem: Above, we have followed the literature in calling the embedded subject a "Causee". Here, we are showing that the Caus**ee** must be an Agent, not a Caus**er**, of the embedded event. Below, we'll refer to the embedded subject of the FI as the 'dative subject' to avoid confusion, restricting our use of labels like Agent and Causer to environments where the distinction is crucial for the analysis.

(19) a. La guerra/Gianni ha disturbato Maria.
          The war has disturbed Maria.

      b. *Il programma televisivo ha fatto disturbare Maria alla guerra/a
          Gianni.
          The television program has made disturbed Maria to-the war/to
          Gianni.

      c. La discussione/Gianni ha assorbito Maria.
          The discussion has absorbed Maria.

      d. *La lezione ha fatto assorbire Maria alla discussione/a Gianni.
          The lesson has made absorbed Maria to-the discussion/to Gianni.

This 'anti-selection' effect can be explained in the following way under the assumptions presented here. If an internally-caused verb like these object experiencer psych-verbs *requires* a v_{CAUSE} to introduce its external argument—that is, if the external arguments of these verbs are necessarily Causes (i.e. stimuli) and can never be Agents (i.e. direct initiator)—and if *fare* selects for a v_{DO} in its complement, then these verbs should be inherently incompatible as FI with *fare*. [3] (See Landau 2002 for an alternative, case-based account.)

4   Case assignment in FI causatives

To account for the case-marking patterns of the FI in Italian, we propose to adopt a version of the account of case-checking proposed in Harley (1995) for Japanese causatives, which show similar properties to the Italian case. In both languages, when an intransitive verb is embedded under a causative, like *fare*, the single embedded argument receives accusative case:

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[3] Notice that this is *not* the T/SM effect observed by Pesetsky: that effect, in Italian does not exist with *fare*, as shown by the following:

(i)   Maria e interessata alla discussione
       Maria is interested   to-the discussion.

(ii)   La discussione interessa Maria.
       The discussion interests Maria.

(iii) La programma televisivo ha fatto interessare Maria alla discussione.
       The programme televised has made interested Maria to-the discussion.
       "The television programme got Maria interested in the discussion."
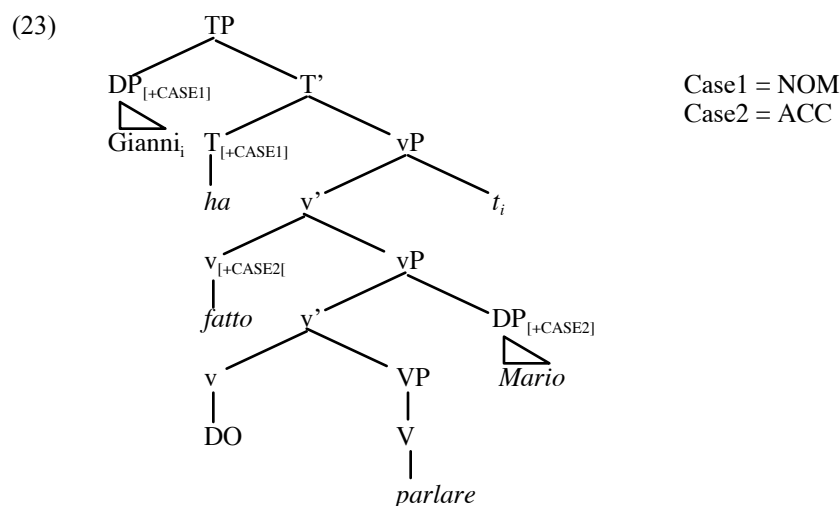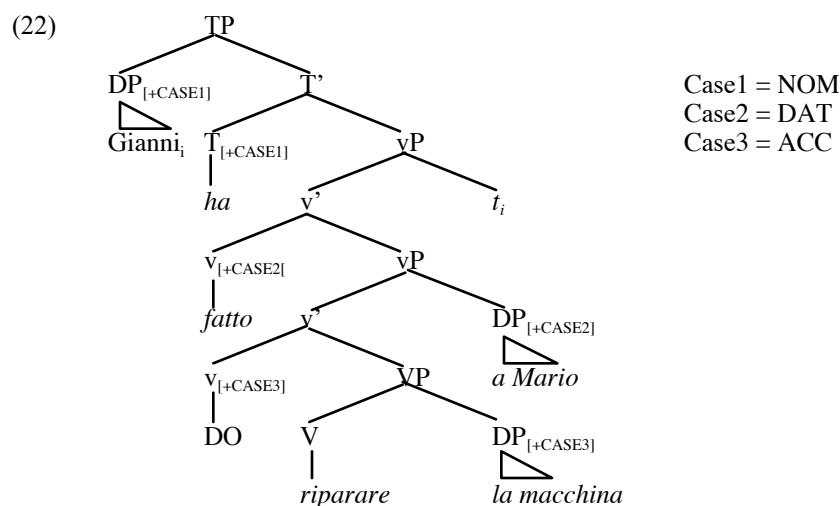
(20)   a.   Gianni ha fatto correre Maria.
                 Gianni has made run Maria.
                 "Gianni had Maria run."

When a transitive verb is embedded under *fare*, as we have seen, the Causee receives dative case and the embedded object is marked accusative:

(21)   Gianna ha fatto riparare la macchina a Maria.
        Gianna has made repair the car to Maria.
        Gianni had Maria repair the car.

Clearly, the case-marking domain of the causative sentence is that of a single clause, where two structurally case-marked arguments receive nominative and accusative, and three structurally case-marked arguments receive nominative, dative and accusative. According to the proposal of Harley (1995), the morphological realization of structural case assigned by any given structural case-assigning position depends on the assignment of case by other structural case-assigning positions in the same clause. For instance, in a dative-subject construction in Icelandic, the object receives nominative case even though it checks its case at the structural-case position of a normal object, because nominative case is not assigned elsewhere in the clause. Similarly, Harley claims that in Japanese causatives, the Causee always checks case against the same structural case-assigning position no matter whether it receives dative or accusative, and the determination of which case it realizes is made by the other structural cases that are assigned in the clause. Consequently, causatives of intransitives have accusative-marked Causees, while causatives of transitives have dative-marked Causees.

Here, it's not crucial whether the case-checking features project their own functional projection (AgrP) or not. We'll assume that *fare*, as a light v, either brings its own [+CASE] feature with it, or brings a case-checking AgrP with it. The embedded vP also has its own [+CASE] features, as does the matrix TP. The Causee and embedded object check their features via Agree, with the closest available +CASE feature. The spell-out of these features is determined relativistically, à la Harley 1995:

(22)

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            TP
        ┌────┴──────┐
   DP[+CASE1]        T'
      ◺          ┌───┴────────┐
   Gianni_i   T[+CASE1]        vP
                 │         ┌────┴────┐
                ha        v'         t_i
                      ┌────┴──────┐
                 v[+CASE2[        vP
                    │         ┌────┴──────┐
                  fatto      v'       DP[+CASE2]
                         ┌────┴───┐      ◺
                    v[+CASE3]    VP    a Mario
                        │      ┌──┴──────┐
                       DO      V       DP[+CASE3]
                               │          ◺
                            riparare   la macchina
```

Case1 = NOM
Case2 = DAT
Case3 = ACC

(23)

```
            TP
        ┌────┴──────┐
   DP[+CASE1]        T'
      ◺          ┌───┴────────┐
   Gianni_i   T[+CASE1]        vP
                 │         ┌────┴────┐
                ha        v'         t_i
                      ┌────┴──────┐
                 v[+CASE2[        vP
                    │         ┌────┴──────┐
                  fatto      v'       DP[+CASE2]
                         ┌────┴───┐      ◺
                         v       VP    Mario
                         │        │
                        DO        V
                                  │
                               parlare
```

Case1 = NOM
Case2 = ACC

The causatives of unergative intransitives are particularly crucial for our analysis. We saw above that in those cases the Causee retains accusative marking.. In Ippolito's analysis, they should occur in the specifier of an Applicative phrase selected by *fare*. In the transitive cases, this Applicative head assigns lexical dative case to it specifier. Why should it fail to do so when the complement is intransitive? Ippolito's analysis cannot explain the absence of dative case in causatives of intransitives whether unergative or unaccusative (for discussion of our analysis of unaccusatives, see section 6 below). Contra Ippolito (*op.cit.*), we argue that the Causees of the lower predicate are in their usual position: spec of an agentive vP headed by DO Further, the interpretation of these causatives involves the same sense of obligation as discussed above, even in the absence of dative case.

14

Notice that unergative verbs like *parlare* can take non-intentional Agents as long as that Agent is an inherent cause of talking, i.e. as long as the Agent is teleologically able to talk (cf. Higginbotham 1997). However, such agents cannot be obliged to talk — and accordingly a causative with a non-intentional agent of the unergative is ungrammatical:

(24) a.   La radio ha parlato di SARS.
            The radio has talked of SARS.
            "The radio talked about SARS."
      b.   *Gianni ha fatto parlare la radio di SARS.
             John has made speak the radio of SARS.
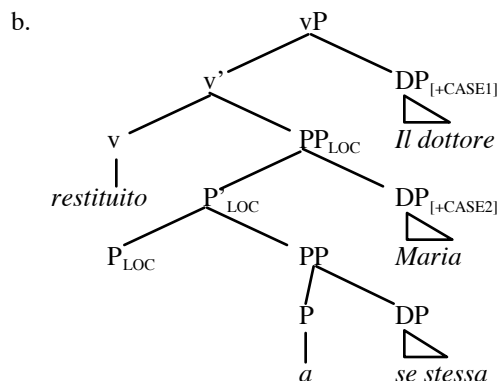   "John made the radio speak about SARS."

Clearly, the animacy restriction on the FI obligation causative has nothing to do with the assignment of dative case; rather, it has to do with the semantic properties of the embedded structure.

The structural case account presented here yields another prediction concerning the position of an embedded *indirect* object with a causative. In Romance, clause-final indirect objects can be either 'high' or 'low', as shown by the symmetrical binding between Theme and Goal noted by Giorgi & Longobardi (1991):

(25) a.   Il dottore ha restituto se stessa a Maria.
            The doctor has returned herself to Mary.
            "The doctor returned Mary to herself."
      b.   Il dottore ha restituto Maria a se stessa.
             The doctor has returned Mary to herself.
             "The doctor returned Mary to herself.

When the dative *a*-phrase binds the accusative Theme, under an account like that of Harley (*op.cit.*) or Miagawa (1997), it is receiving structural dative case — 'high' dative. When the Theme binds the dative Goal, as in ((25)b), it is receiving prepositional case, 'low' dative.

(26) a.

(Later movement to Spec-TP ends up placing the subject on the left.)

b.

```
                              vP
                     _____/  _____
                   v'                     DP[+CASE1]
            _____/  _____                 ◺
          v                 PPLOC          Il dottore
          |            _____/  \_____
      restituito     P'LOC           DP[+CASE2]
              _____/  _____          ◺
            PLOC            PP         Maria
                        ___/  \___
                       P          DP
                       |          ◺
                       a       se stessa
```

Given the account of causative case assignment adopted here, where there are three structural cases available per clause but no more, the "high" dative case should be unavailable for the embedded indirect object when a ditransitive verb is causativized. Essentially, (26)b should be able to be embedded under *fare*, but not (26)a. This seems to be the case, given the binding judgements in (27) below:

(27) a. *La madre gli ha fatto restituire se stessa a Maria.
          The mother to-him has made restore herself to Maria.
          "The mother made him (e.g. the doctor) restore Maria herself."
      b. La madre gli ha fatto restituire Maria a se stessa.
          The mother to-him has made restore Maria to herself.
          "The mother made him (e.g. the doctor) restore Maria to herself."[4]

The main obstacle to this structural-case analysis is the behavior of passives of *fare*. We defer discussion of those examples until after we present our analysis of FP.
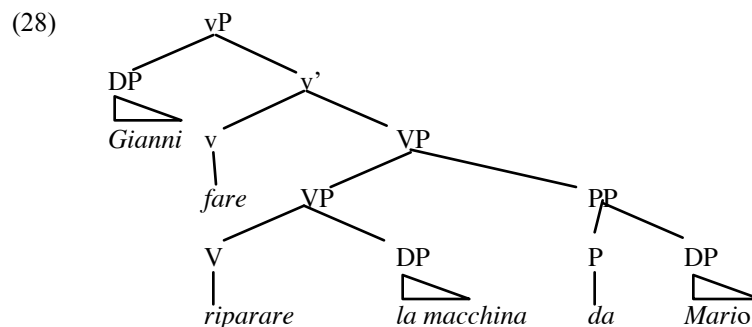
5   The FP causative

Above, we accounted for the obligation reading of the FI by claiming that it embedded a vP headed by v_{DO}. The central observation from the literature (Kayne 1975:236-242) is that there are many parallels between the FP construction and the passive: the *da*-phrase is the same as the adjoined *da*-phrase in a passive construction, it does not occupy an argument position. In an agent-selecting light-verb framework, this is naturally accounted for if we assume that the FP does not embed a vP. The absence of the vP will guarantee the absence of an argumental agent.

Consequently, as outlined above, we propose the following structure for the FP construction. (The *da*-phrase is adjoined either to vP or to VP; either

---

[4] Note that only the Causee can cliticize in these constructions: the embedded indirect object cannot. This is expected via the MLC, as argued by Ippolito.

way, all the effects concerning control and binding observed earlier will be accounted for).

(28)

   The embedded VP will be the equivalent of an unaccusative VP: it is structurally agentless, although of course for a verb like *riparare* 'repair' which implies an external cause, a *da*-phrase can be adjoined to the structure. In this sense, these VPs are like the nominalized forms discussed in Marantz (1997). These nominalizations permit or forbid an adjoined agent based on the encyclopedic content of the nominalized root, whether that agent is expressed as a possessor of the DP or in a *by*-phrase

(29) a. *John's growth of tomatoes.
   b. John's destruction of the city.
   c. *The growth of tomatoes by John.
   d. The destruction of the city by John.

   In fact, we wish to claim, following Travis (1992) that FP embeds the equivalent of a nominalization—a 'gerundive' form, which denotes essentially "the event of Xing". As above, we predict that the possibility of an adjunct *da* phrase specifying an Agent or External Cause depends entirely upon the internal semantics of the verb root. Is the verb a verb which may be externally caused? The addition of a *da*-phrase to a FP causative is only possible when the semantics of the verb root are compatible with it. Accordingly, a truly unaccusative verb embedded in a FP construction *cannot* have a *da*-phrase associated with it:

(30) *Gianni ha fatto arrivare il pacchetto da Mario.
   Gianni has made arrive a package by Mario.

   Of course, *fare* can take a simple nominal as a complement, resulting in a 'make' or 'creation' meaning:

(31) Gianni ha fatto una torta.
   Gianni has made a cake.

   The claim that the VP embedded under *fare* in a FP construction is in fact a nominal makes an interesting prediction about the nature of the subject of

fare in FP. As mentioned above, Folli and Harley (2002) showed that v_{DO} enforces an animacy restriction on its external argument. Harley (2001) argues that only v_{DO} can take a nominal eventive complement, as in Hale and Kesyer's (1993-2002) framework for unergative verbs. A Cause external argument, i.e. a non-intentional one, is incompatible with v_{DO}. Consequently, we predict that if the FP involves a nominal complement, the *fare* must necessarily be a v_{DO}, and therefore must select for an animate agentive external argument—in other words, the subject of *fare* in a FP construction can never be a Cause. This does seem to be the case. Consider the examples below:

(32) a. La rabbia fece rompere il tavolo a Gianni/*da Gianni.
          The rage made break the table to Gianni/by Gianni.
          "Rage made Gianni break the table."

      b. La generosità fece donare la casa a Gianni/*da Gianni.
          The generosity made give the house to Gianni/by Gianni.
          "Generosity made Gianni donate the house."

As we showed above, the availability of the *da*-phrase depends on the encyclopedic content of the embedded verb. We saw that that was the case for non-alternating unaccusative verbs above. It also predicts that other verbs which do not allow external causation should not allow *da*-phrases in the FP construction. Statives and psych verbs are all bad with *da* phrases. In (33)a below, we see that transitive stative verbs like *avere* cannot co-occur with a *da*-phrase; this is parallel to the ungrammaticality of the English example in (33)b:

(33) a. Gianni ha fatto avere una macchina a Maria/*da Maria.
          Gianni has made have a car   to Maria/by Maria.
      b. *The having of a car by Maria.

The same is true of transitive stative psych predicates, which similarly lack an external-argument-introducing v_{DO}, which again doesn't allow a *by*-phrase in its nominal form:

(34) a. La grandine ha fatto temere un disastro ai/*dai contadini.
          The hail got the farmers to fear a disaster.

      b. *The fear of a disaster by the farmers.

Finally, we see a similar contrast with verbs of perception, which also do not involve a v_{DO} in their lexical syntax. These, of course, contrast nicely with verbs of agentive perception, which can involve a v_{DO} and do allow a *da*-phrase:
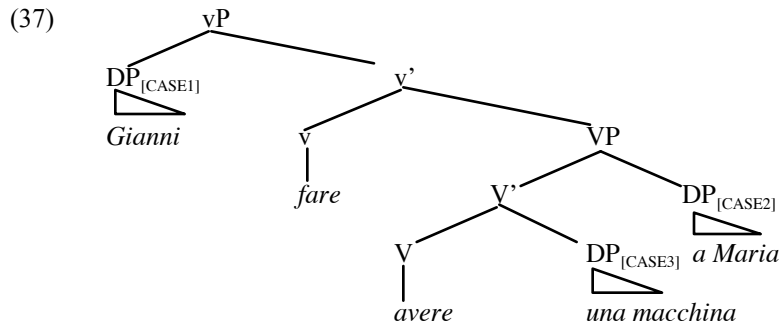
(35) a. Gianni ha fatto sentire il concerto a Maria/*da Maria.
          Gianni has made hear the concert to Maria/by Maria.

      b. Gianni ha fatto ascoltare il concerto a Maria/da Maria.
          Gianni has made listen.to the concert to Maria/by Maria.

(36) a. Gianni ha fatto vedere l'eruzione a Maria/*da Maria.
          Gianni has made see the eruption to Maria/by Maria.

      b. Gianni ha fatto guadare l'eruzione a Maria/da Maria.
          Gianni has made watch the eruption to Maria/by Maria.

These sentences do not involve the true FI, which requires a v_{DO} in the complement of *fare* and produces a sense of obligation on the subject of the complement. Yet they have an *a*-marked embedded 'subject'. How can we allow for both an *a*-marked phrase and rule out the FI structure?

Again, since ditransitive case-marking is present in the *fare*+complement structure, these stative verbs, both of whose arguments are VP-internal, are perfectly well-formed embedded in a FP just as they are. Their structure is illustrated in (37) below:

(37)

Finally, the fact that non-passivizable idioms can occur in the FI but not very well in the FP follows from the fact that the complete argument structure of the V is present in the FI, all the way up to its own vP, while the vP is missing in the FP. Non-passivizable idioms require the presence of their own vP—likely the assignment of accusative case by vP is part of the idiom—while passivizable ones are happy with other vPs (like *fare*). This contrast shows up, albeit somewhat more weakly, even in English nominalizations:

(38) Nominalizations of non-passivizable idioms:
      a.   #Mary regretted the kicking of the bucket (by John).
      a'   #The bucket was kicked (by John).
      b.   #Bill enjoyed his seeing of the light.
      b'   #The light was seen (by Bill).
      c.   #Sue regretted the biting of the big one by Bill.
      c'. #The big one was bitten by Bill.

(39) Nominalizations of passivizable idioms:
      a.   Mary regretted the stacking of the deck (by Bill).
      a'   The deck was stacked by Bill.
      b.   John relished the crossing of t's and dotting of i's.
      b'   T's were crossed and i's were dotted (by John).

c.   John regretted the passing of the buck (by Sue).
c'   The buck was passed by Sue.

While (39)a-c are not perfect, they're much better than (38)a-c, in the judgment of several English-speaking consultants.

6   Passives of causatives: FP, not FI

The primary obstacle to a straightforward structural-case account of the Italian causative is the fact that the dative-marked Causee cannot passivize. In the equivalent construction in Japanese, which shows an identical dative/accusative alternation on its Causees due to transitivity, passivization of the embedded Causee is fine, as predicted by the structural case account[5].

The paradigm of passivization of Italian causatives assumed in the literature is the following:

(40)   a.   <u>embedded objects of transitive verbs passivize</u>:
La macchina fu fatta riparare a Mario
The car was made repaired to Mario[6].

b.   <u>internal argument of unaccusative verbs passivize</u>:
Il pachetto fu fatto arrivare (da Gianni).
The packet was made arrive (by John).

c.   <u>dative arguments of ditransitives do not passive:</u>
*Maria fu fatta mandare un pacchetto (da Gianni).
Mary was made sent a packet (by Mario).

Crucially, (40) c is ungrammatical, even though if the dative Causee in the FI is receiving structural case in the same way from the same position that the accusative Causee receives it, then we expect the dative Causee to be the subject of the passive, not the embedded object. Moreover, in (c), however, we see that the accusative embedded object is the subject of the passive, apparently stranding the dative Causee, while when the accusative Causee is passivized, the dative subject's case should change from dative to accusative (since now only two structural cases are being assigned in the clause).

What we would like to argue here is that the *fare* of the passive is not identical to the active *fare*: it's not light verb *fare*, but main verb *fare*. While active *fare* can take two different kinds of complements, the FI and the FP, our claim is that passive *fare* can only take the FP-type complement.

---

[5] We can see this in Japanese when *-rare*, the passive morpheme, is attached outside *-sase*, the causative morpheme:

(i)   Tanako-ga   pizza-o   tabe-sase-rare-ta
Tanako-NOM   pizza-ACC   eat-CAUS-PASS-PAST
"Tanako was made to eat pizza"

[6] ' Mario' is the repairer, not the beneficiary.

On Obligatory Obligation

We can begin to investigate the problem by considering various kinds of verb classes that can be embedded in the passive of a causative. Crucially, the passives of causatives of different classes of intransitive verbs are not all grammatical. Passives of causatives of unaccusatives like *arrivare,* as in (40)c above, are perfect, while passives of causatives of true unergatives are very marked, as shown in (41) and (42) below.

(41)   a.   Gianni ha fatto telefonare Marco.
                G.   has made telephone Marco.
                "Gianni got Marco to telephone"

        b.   *Marco è stato fatto telefonare (da Gianni).
                Marco is been made telephone (by Gianni).
                "Marco was gotten to telephone (by Gianni)."

        c.   Gianni ha fatto ridere Marco.
                G.   has made laugh Marco.
                "Gianni got Marco to laugh."

        d.   ??Marco è stato fatto ridere (da Gianni).
                Marco is been made laugh (by G.).
                "Marco was gotten to laugh (by Gianni)."

        e.   Gianni ha fatto piangere Marco.
                Gianni has made cry Marco.
                "Gianni got Marco to cry"

        f.   ??Marco è stato fatto piangere (da Gianni).
                Marco is been made cry (by Gianni).
                "Marco was gotten to cry (by Gianni)".

(42)   a.   Gianni ha fatto partire Marco.
                Gianni has made leave Marco.
                "Gianni got Marco to leave"

        b.   Marco è stato fatto partire.
                Marco is been made leave.
                "Marco was gotten to leave."

        c.   Gianni ha fatto cadere Marco.
                G.   has made fall Marco.
                "G. got Marco to fall."

        d.   Marco è stato fatto cadere (da Gianni).
                Marco is been made fall (by Gianni).
                "Marco was gotten to fall (by Gianni)."

e. Gianni ha fatto arrivare il pachetto.
G. has made arrive the package.
"Gianni got the package to arrive."

f. Il pachetto fu fatto arrivare (da Gianni).
The package was made arrive (by Gianni).
"The package was gotten to arrive (by Gianni)."

When we look at the passivized causative of a verb like *saltere,* 'jump', which can mean either unergative 'jump' or unaccusative 'explode', only the unaccusative version is acceptable under passivized *fare*:

(43) a. Il ponte Vecchio fu fatto saltare.
The Vecchio bridge was made to explode.

b. ?? Marco fu fatto saltare.
Marco was made to jump.

A Google search for "fu fatto ridere" and "fu fatto piangere" turned up not a single hit, while "fu fatto partire" had many, and "fu fatto saltere" turned up many on the 'explode' meaning but none on the 'jump' meaning.

The main difference between unergatives and unaccusative verbs, of course, is the presence of v_{DO} in the former, necessary to introduce the external argument. The fact that causatives of unergatives are bad in the passive suggests that the FI cannot be passivized, since the FI requires v_{DO} in its complement. The *fare* of the passive is not identical to the active *fare*. While active *fare* can take two different kinds of complements, the FI and the FP, our claim is that passive *fare* can only take the FP-type complement.

This makes sense when we consider what exactly the operation of passive consists of in a vP framework. Passive is the result of replacing an agentive vP with a non-agentive one—changing out the Voice head, in Kratzer's terms. The verbal participle which occurs in the passive is not itself a vP, but a VP—a *main* verb, in other words. When the verb *fare* is passivized, showing up as a participle, it is main verb *fare*, not the light verb.

In our analysis above, we have proposed that the *fare* of the FI be a light verb—a default realization of an agentive vP. If one were to try to passivize a *light* verb, there would be no residual participle. That is, a passive of the FI is impossible, since it would involve switching *v* heads, from *fare* to something else, and no participial VP residue would remain.

Is there any reason to think that the FP *fare* is any different? Since we have proposed that it takes the equivalent of a nominalization as its complement, the FP *fare* ought to be the same *fare* that occurs in simple SVO constructions with 'main verb' *fare*:

(44) Gianni ha fatto una torta.
Gianni has made a cake.

This *fare* is, of course, passivizable:

(45)   Una torta fu fatta da Gianni.
        A cake was made by Gianni.

        In essence, the *fare* of the FP is much more like main verb *fare* than the *fare* of the FI. When a causative is passivized, the participle *fatto* guarantees that we are dealing with 'main verb' *fare*. Consequently, there just *is* no passive of the FI.[7]
        But what about the availability of the *a*-phrase in passives of causatives? Isn't the possibility of an *a*-phrase diagnostic of the FI? Our hypothesis is that, when the *a* phrase is present in a passive of a causative it's because a benefactive has been formed on the FP. In confirmation of this, consider the sentences below:

(46) a.   ?Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina a Mario dal meccanico[8].
             Gianni has made repair the car   to Mario by-the mechanic.
             "Gianni had the car repaired by the mechanic for Mario."

      b.   Gianni gli ha fatto riparare la macchina dal meccanico.
             Gianni to-him has made repair the car   by the mechanic.
             "Gianni had the car repaired by the mechanic for him."

      c.   La macchina gli e stata fatta riparare dal/*al mecchanico.
             The car   to-him is been made repaired by/*to the mechanic.

        As (46)a-b shows, the FP construction can also include a benefactive *a* phrase, but as shown in (46)c while the benefactive of FP is acceptable, the benefactive of a FI is not.
        From this we conclude then that these passives are passives of the FP, not passives of FI, and that the *a*-phrase in passives is benefactive, not an external argument. One last problem then has to be addressed. Why can't benefactive arguments be the subject of passives?
        We follow Ippolito in assuming that a benefactive argument receives lexical dative case from the applicative head which introduces it, and hence cannot check subject case when the FP is passivized.
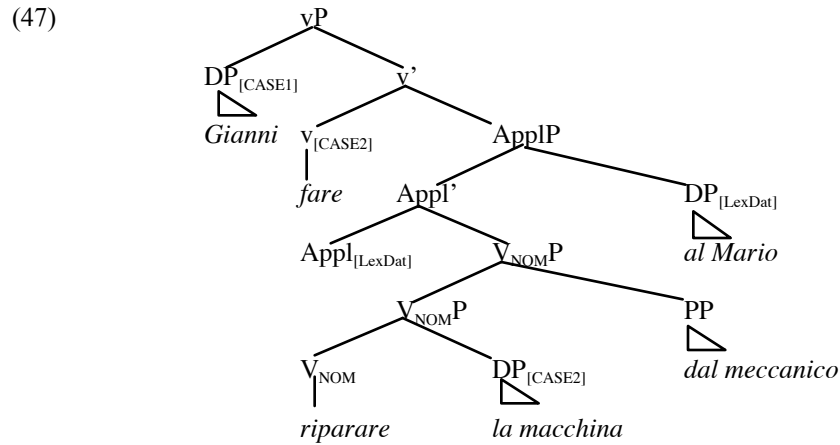
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[7] In Japanese, of course, this is not the case; rather than replace the light verb *sase* and select for a participle of the main verb, the passive v *rare* simply attaches outside it. The structurally case-marked dative Causee remains in the structure, and participates in the structural case-marking of the clause, becoming the nominative-marked subject. Passives of causatives of unergatives are perfectly fine in Japanese.

[8] This sentence is grammatical, but marked. For certain speakers it improves if the beneficiary *a Marco* is in clause final position as in:

(i)   ?Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina dal meccanico, a Mario[8].
        Gianni has made repair the carb   by-the mechanic, to Mario .
        "Gianni had the car repaired by the mechanic for Mario."

What is crucial for the argument to go through is that the beneficiary argument CAN be present and this is supported by the perfect grammaticality of the example with the clitic in (46)c, suggesting that the markedness of the examples with the full DP is due to processing load.

From this, we can conclude that while there is no passive of the FI *fare,* the fact that the FP can allow a benefactive *a phrase* is the essential reason why we see passives of causatives that contain an *a*-phrase, as in (40)a above. The structure of a FP with a lexical-dative-assigning APPL head introducing the benefactive argument is shown in (47):

(47)

This Appl. head can introduce a benefactee *a*-phrase into any FP construction, including an unaccusative:

(48)   Gianni ha fatto. arrivare il pacchetto a Maria/*da Maria
        John caused the packet to arrive for Maria (M=beneficiary, *not deliverer)*

Since the passive vP removes a structural case feature that is available in the active, the only other structurally case-marked element—the embedded object—is the one which becomes the surface subject, as it moves to spec-TP for nominative case. The lexically case-marked benefactee is not involved in the structural case domain of the clause and does not, consequently, raise
        In support of this hypothesis, notice that in the passives of FP with transitives we can use again arguments from semantic fit to test the beneficiary role played by *a*-phrases. We said that in the active causatives, the dative Causee is made to perform the caused action. In the passive, however, the apparently stranded dative 'Causee' receives a more benefactive reading. We can test this difference again by contrasting semantically appropriate and inappropriate beneficiaries:

(49)   a.   La torta fu fatta assaggiare a Gianni
               The cake was made to taste to John

        b.   La ferita fu fatta disinfettare dalla inferemiera/??alla infermiera
               The wound was made to disinfect by the nurse/?? to the nurse.

(50) Il dottore ha fatto disinfettare la ferita alla infermiera/dalla infermiera.
      The doctor had made disinfect the wound to the nurse/by the nurse.

In (49)a, the passive with an "a" phrase is perfectly acceptable because *Gianni* is a suitable beneficiary, while (49)b is odd-sounding with the *a*-phrase because it is contextually difficult to imagine a situation where a nurse benefits from a disinfection of someone else's wound. Notice that if we construct a scenario where the nurse is a new trainee then the sentence is grammatical and clearly it receives a beneficiary interpretation. In (50), the nurse is both a fine agent and a reasonable obligee (if the obliger is a doctor), which allows for either the FP or the FI.

Of course, since the *da*-phrase in the FP is optional, the availability of benefactives of the FP means that most *DP fare V DP a DP* strings have two analyses: a FI one and a FP+benefactive one, which we believe is the basis of some previous misanalyses of FIs constructions as benefactive constructions. This structural ambiguity is only distinguished in two classes of verbs: causatives of unergative verbs (which don't have a FP analysis period) and causatives of agentless verbs like unaccusatives and statives (which don't have a FI analysis, since they can't co-occur with v_{DO} .See the examples in (41) and (42) above). Causatives of transitive, agentive verbs, however, will be string-ambiguous between a FI and a benefactivized FP without the optional *da*-phrase. On this analysis, the sure way to force a FP reading, of course, is to either add a *by*-phrase, or to passivize the embedded object.

7   Conclusion

In this paper, we have looked at the formation of FI and FP constructions in Italian and considered previous analyses of this phenomenon. We showed how the crucial semantic fact identified by Kayne — that FIs create a sense of obligation on the Causee absent in the FPs — is due to a fundamental selectional difference between the two constructions. Only FIs are formed with a true light verb *fare,* which itself selects for a vP headed by v_{DO}, in its complement. The v_{DO}, which introduces the Causee agent into the embedded event, ensures that the Causee must be acting under his/her own volition. Since the only way of causing someone to act under their own volition is to oblige them to in one way or another, the FI implies obligation.

FPs, on the other hand, contain a 'main' verb *fare*, which selects for a structurally agentless nominalized VP complement, just as the main verb of creation *fare* can take a nominal complement. This verb, as a main verb, can be passivized. The *da*-phrase is an optional adjunct. The absence of a structural vP in nominalizations accounts for the contrast in the FP between passivizable and non-passivizable idioms. A case-dependency account of the varying structural case on the Causee in the FI was proposed.

Finally, we identified a puzzling difference between embedded unergative and unaccusative verbs in passivized causatives: the former are ungrammatical, while the latter are fine. This suggests that the passivized causative is the FP, not the FI, since the FI, requiring v_{DO}, is fine with embedded unergatives, while the FP, embedding only a structurally agentless nominalized

V, is predicted to be bad with unergatives (if their only argument is eliminated because of the absence of an embedded vP in the FP, case-related problems would result). The evidence of the intransitive verbs, which points to the fact that the FP passivizes but the FI doesn't, suggests the answer to the one remaining major puzzle facing the analysis: why can't a dative argument, apparently the Causee of the FI, become the subject of a passive of the causative? The answer is that it is actually *not* the embedded Causee of a FI, but the Beneficiary, optionally introduced into a FP by an applicative head. It receives lexical dative case, and hence cannot A-move.

The account presented here provides an explanation for a wide constellation of facts concerning the Italian causative, including several that, to our knowledge, have never been explained in a principled way before. In particular, the sense of obligation on the Causee in the FI, and the unavailability of a passive of a causative of an unergative verb, are accounted for.

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