Dative extension in causatives: *faire-infinitif* in Latin American Spanish
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1. This paper attempts to model micro-parametric variation in Spanish causatives, with a special focus on Panamanian, Rioplatense, Costa Rican and Guatemalan Spanish, but drawing also on Mexican and Peninsular varieties. Data are from work with native informants backed up with large-scale questionnaires where possible, as well as the existing literature (on Mexican, Treviño 1993; Rioplatense, Bordelois 1974, 1988, Saab 2014; and Peninsular Spanish, Torrego 2010, Ordóñez 2008, Ordóñez and Roca 2014, Tubino Blanco 2010, 2011).

2. Case patterns in Spanish causatives are complicated substantially by the fact that some varieties, along with Portuguese, permit both ECM and *faire-infinitif* complements to *hacer* 'make' (with some restrictions – e.g., Panamanian, Mexican, Costa Rican and, for some speakers, Rioplatense) whereas others, along with French and Italian generally, permit only the *faire-infinitif* (e.g., Guatemalan Spanish).

(1)   a. Juan le/lo   hizo   comer manzanas.   [C. Rican/Mexican/Panamanian]
          Juan him.DAT/.ACC= made   eat   apples

        b. Juan le/*lo hizo   comer manzanas.   [Guatemalan]
          Juan him.DAT/.ACCC=   made   eat   apples
          'Juan made him eat apples.'

(2)   Je lui/*l'   ai   fait   manger des   carottes.   [French]
        I   him.DAT/.ACC=   have   made   eat.INF of.the   carrots
        'I made him eat carrots.'

The two constructions are clearly structurally distinct, however, as they are in other Romance varieties, with ECM permitting negation and banning clitic climbing, unlike *faire-infinitif*:

(3)   *La   hice   a   Juan   besar.   [Panamanian]
        her.ACC made.1S   DOM   Juan   kiss

(4)   Su falta de hambre   *le/lo   hizo [no comer la torta]   [Rioplatense]
        his lack of hunger   him.DAT/.ACC=   made   not eat.INF the cake
        'His lack of hunger made him not eat the cake.'

There is however variation amongst the varieties with respect to the possibility of ECM with: an inanimate causer and a non-pronominal causee.

None of the Latin American varieties we report on are leísta and only Rioplatense permits clitic doubling of accusatives. In all the varieties, true datives must be clitic doubled and so examples such as the following are necessarily examples of *faire-infinitif*:

(5)   El profesor ??(le)   hizo   leer   este libro a Juan.   [Panamanian]
        The teacher him.DAT   made   read.INF   this book to Juan
        'The teacher made Juan read this book.'

3. We focus here on modelling variation in the properties of *faire-infintif* across these Spanish varieties, adopting the idea from Ippolito (2000), Ordóñez (2008), Torrego (2010), Pitteroff and Campanini (2014) that the causee is introduced by the high applicative head Appl (Pylkkänen 2008). Thus, we assume the following structure for the *faire-infinitif* :

(6)   [vP **causer** VFARE [ApplP **causee** Appl [vP V (**O**)]]]

DAT(ive), we take to be an inherent Case assigned by (transitive) Appl to its specifier (Ippolito 2000, Torrego 2010). This accounts for the following shared properties of FI across Romance varieties:

    (i)   reduced complement (lacking auxiliaries, negation, temporal adverbials);
    (ii)   clause union properties (e.g. clitic climbing);
    (iii)   DAT(ive) case on transitive causes;
    (iv)   obligatorily animate causee.

V(O)S order results from (remnant) VP movement to spec vP (in the spirit of Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986, Baker 1988). Spanish varieties vary with respect to whether they also have object scrambling.

4. We then propose the following parameter hierarchy for *faire-infinitif* in order to account for variation across Spanish (and Romance) varieties, including the following parameters:

(7)   **Basic alignment parameter**: Does transitive high Appl assign DAT?

             N

 (*English 'have'*)   Y - **Generalisation:** is this *generalised* to all high Appls?

             Y   N - **Extension** – is this *extended* to a subset of intrans. Appls?

(SW French, Costa Rican)

                    Y   N - **Object scrambling parameter**:
             [+masc]   Does Appl$_{DAT}$ bear an EPP feature?
             (Guatemalan Spanish)

                         N   Y
             (Madrid Spanish, Catalan)   **High/low ACC parameter**:
                                 Is Appl$_{DAT}$'s accusative
                                 Case supressed?
                    N - ACC from Appl   Y - ACC from v
             (Rioplatense Spanish, Standard French)   *(Italian, E. Port, Panamanian)*

In Costa Rican Spanish, DAT is extended in the *faire-infinitif* to all causee 'subjects' of unergative predicates. As ECM is not possible with inanimate causers in this language, the following are *faire-infinitif* examples:

(8)   a.   Sus ganas de bailar   **la/*le**   hicieron venir a la fiesta. (CR Sp.)
             her desires to dance   her.ACC/her.DAT=made.PL come to the party
             'Her desire to dance made her come to the party.'
        b.   Su entusiasmo   **le/*la** hizo   bailar   en la fiesta.
             her enthusiasm   her.DAT made dance.INF   in the party

In Guatemalan we find a surprising pattern whereby DAT is also extended to the causee 'subjects' of unaccusative verbs (see also Ordóñez 2008, Ordóñez and Roca 2014 on Catalonian Spanish). While this at first seems problematic for the inherent Case approach, we argue that it follows if, following Cuervo (2003), the dative clitic actually realizes the Appl head. It's presence with unaccusatives can be attributed to the fact that causative *hacer* fails to assign ACC and so the Appl head is necessary even where it fails to introduce a specifier in order to license the subject of an unaccusative.

(9)   V$_{-Case}$ [Appl$_{+Case}$ V **O**]

The parameter dividing Rioplatense and Panamanian Spanish from the other varieties determines whether object scrambling takes place. Where it does, we see obligatory clitic climbing as the object clitic is c-commanded only by the causative verbal cluster. This also leads to scope differences across the Spanish varieties. In Panamanian Spanish, the *faire-infintif* is the most monoclausal causative as Appl fails to assign a structural case. This in turn makes reflexive SE-insertion fail, as Appl introduces an 'external' argument but fails to assign a case.

Selected References: Ippolito, M. 2000. Remarks on the argument structure of causatives.Unpublished ms.MIT. **Torrego, E,** 2010. Variability in the case patterns of causative formation in romance and its implications. *LinguisticInquiry* 41: 445-470. **Kayne, R.** 1975. *French syntax : the transformational cycle*: Current studies in linguistics series. Cambridge, Mass:MIT Press. **Pitteroff, M. & Campanini, C.** 2014. Variation in analytic causative constructions: a view on German and Romance. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 16 (2-3): 209-230.