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CAUSATIVIZATION IN NORTH SÁMI

Erling Mikael Vinka

Department of Linguistics
McGill University, Montreal

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2002

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 0-612-88596-8
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 0-612-88596-8

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the syntax of productive morphological causatives in the Finno-Ugric language North Sámi, within the theoretical setting of the Chomskian Principles and Parameters/Minimalist framework. Providing rich and novel data, the thesis situates North Sámi in the general typology of causative constructions, demonstrating that causatives in this language invariably are of the so-called Faire Par-variety. The issues treated in this thesis are directly concerned with the anatomy of the verb phrase and the fine-grained details of its syntactic decomposition. Specifically, it is argued that the syntactic head that introduces the external argument and which provides the locus of agentivity must be distinct from the head hosting the Cause component of an agentive verb. It is shown that the Faire Par causative selects as its complement a truncated verbal projection corresponding to this Cause component. This captures a long-standing observation that the Base Verb in a Faire Par construction is restricted to a class that can descriptively be characterized as agentive. We thus take issue with other proposals that seek to constrain the formation of Faire Par causatives on other grounds. Furthermore, it is shown that the Base Object in a Faire Par causative is an argument of the causative formative, and not of the Base Verb. This conclusion is based on a number of selectional asymmetries that depend on whether the verb has undergone Faire Par-causativization or not.

Résumé

Cette thèse explore la syntaxe des constructions morphologiques causatives productives dans la langue finno-ougrienne, le sami septentrional, dans le cadre de la théorie des principes et paramètres/programme minimaliste de Chomsky. Apportant des données riches et nouvelles, la thèse situe le sami septentrional dans la typologie générale des constructions causatives, démontrant que les constructions causatives dans cette langue sont invariablement de la variété appelée Faire Par. Les points discutés se rapportent directement à l'anatomie du syntagme verbal et aux détails de sa décomposition syntaxique. Spécifiquement, nous proposons que la tête syntaxique qui introduit l'argument externe et qui procure le lieu de l'agentivité doit être distinct de la tête contenant la composante causale d'un verbe agentif. Nous montrons que le causatif Faire Par sélectionne comme son complément une projection verbale correspondant à cette composante causale. Ceci capture une observation de longue date selon laquelle le verbe de base d'une construction Faire Par est confiné à une classe qui peut être caractérisée descriptivement comme agentive. Nous critiquons alors d'autres propositions qui cherchent à contraindre la formation de constructions Faire Par causatives sur d'autres bases. De plus, nous montrons que l'objet de base dans une construction causative Faire Par est un argument de la tête causative et non du verbe de base. Cette conclusion est fondée sur un nombre d'asymétries sélectionnelles qui dépendent du fait que le verbe a subi ou non la causativisation Faire Par.

To Axel and Margreta Nilsson-Winka

Acknowledgments

This thesis deals with some aspects of the syntax of North Sámi, one of the major dialects of Sámi, the language of the Sámi people in northernmost Scandinavia, my people. I am grateful that I have come across a number of people who have actively encouraged to me to work on Sámi. One of the strongest forces leading me in this direction when I arrived at McGill was Mark Baker, who supervised my MA. Mark has remained a great influence even after leaving McGill for Rutgers University. I have also been very fortunate to have Lisa Travis as my thesis supervisor. Lisa's enthusiasm and her knowledge has served as great inspiration throughout every stage of the research. She has always had her door open, and she has gone far beyond the call of duty. Needless to say, Mark's and Lisa's works inspired me to apply to McGill in the first place.

I would also like to extend my deepest gratitude to Mikael Svonni, who has not only provided me with his native speaker judgments, but who has also exercised a great deal of influence on my thinking in his capacity as a linguist. Mikael has served as an unofficial co-supervisor throughout my MA and PhD, and without him, this thesis would not have materialized. An unfaltering source of inspiration and enthusiasm! Thank you, Mikael!

I would also like to thank my committee members Glyne Piggott and Nigel Duffield, who over the years have been so much more than committee members. Glyne, and Heather Goad, got me working on Sámi phonology. Nigel got me into verb particle constructions, by kindly encouraging me to pursue the syntax part of what was a pretty horrendous acquisition paper.

I would also like to thank Julie Auger, Jonathan Bobaljik, Brendan Gillon, Heather Goad, Claire Lefebvre, Michel Paradis and Lydia White for courses, graduate seminars and project meetings. I would also like to thank my fellow grad. students, Alan Bale, Kathleen Brannen, Walcir Cardoso, Mario Fadda, Lotus Goldberg, Ayse Gurel, Hiro Hosoi, Mika Kizu, John Lewis, Martyna MacGregor, Mikinari Matsuoka, Mizuki Mazzotta, Evan Mellander, Ileana Paul, Asya

Pereltsvaig, Philippe Prevost, Yvan Rose, Pablo Ruiz, Jeff Steele, O-T Stewart, Hidekazu Tanaka, Naoko Tomioka, Monica Ungureanu, Teresa Wu, Myunghyun Yoo, and everyone I have forgotten in this sleep-deprived state of mind. I also thank Lise Vinette, Andria De Luca and Linda Suen for running the department office. And if I have forgotten anyone in this sleep-deprived state, I thank you too!

I would also like to thank Arthur Holmer, Charles Reiss, Ed Zoerner, Gisela Håkanson, Graham Horwood, Ida Toivonen, Karina Vamling, Marcel den Dikken, Marit Julien, Mark Hale, Phil Brannigan, Ron Schaefer, Shiela Dooley Collberg. A special thanks to Christer Platzack and Jan-Olof Svantesson, who were instrumental for my coming to McGill.

I am also deeply grateful to Ella Blind, the late Johannnes Blind, Katarina Karlsson, who have lent me considerable amounts of their time to provide me with judgments. And thanks also to Tomas Omma, Hanna Outakoski and Nora Bransfjell. Thanks to Patrick Campana for French judgments, Pablo Ruiz for Spanish and Sônia Katsuura for Portuguese, Mario Fadda for Italian. Also thanks to Krister Stoor and Andrea Amft, and everyone else at Sámi Studies at Umeå University.

I owe a huge debt to Professor Norio Hirota, who was my supervisor during the years I spent at Gifu University in Japan. Hirota-sensei taught me syntax and Japanese and without being obliged in any sense, he made sure we had an informal syntax seminar on Saturday afternoon for a couple of years. More often than not, those seminars went on until late at night. Without Hirota-sensei I wouldn't have gotten hooked on syntax, and without Hirota-sensei's help and encouragement, I would not have ended up at McGill.

I would also like to acknowledge with appreciation the following sources of financial support during my study at McGill: Max Stern recruitment fellowship, Samefondens kulturråd, and J.W. McConnell McGill Majors. And thanks to the Paratyp project at Lund University.

Outside linguistics I would like to thank Mats Andersson, a great friend and fabulous academic whose encouragement is a major contributing factor for my going to grad school. I would also like to thank Göran Lindgren for friendship that goes back over twenty years. I would

also like to thank Patrick and Donna, Cecilia, Maira, Hiro and Yukiko, Walcir and Daria, Lotus. And a great thanks to Megumi and Jesse in Chicago!

I also thank Dima Kovalenin, Antanas Daguela, Le-san, Cheng Liang, Ho Yifei.

A very special thanks goes to Brian, John, Nick, Jason, Kevin, Roy, Clark, David, David, Michael, Bud, Mick, George, George, Robert, Bill, Dan. You guys kept me sane on more than occasion. Easy does it!

Turning now to relatives in Sápmi: Ingeborg Winka, Gösta and Cilla , Britta and Egon, Gunlis, Marcus, Camilla. Special thoughts go to my late grandparents Axel and Margreta Nilsson-Winka, to whom I dedicate this thesis. In-laws in São Paulo: Mariko, Estevão, Tizu, Garbriel, Mônica and Eiske. Thank you all!

I am deeply grateful to my mother Ingrid Vinka for everything. Her support over the years has been enormmous, in all those ways that only mothers can be. And I thank my father for everything.

Last but not least, I thank my wife Sônia for making the rainy days sunny, and the sunny days blissful. Without her encouragement, love and moral support, this would not have been possible. And I thank our daughter Leila, I'm so happy you're here!

I thank the Great Spirit, without whom all these flowers would be but dust.

And finally, as the author of this thesis, I'm responsible for anything that might have gone wrong, in other words, the usual disclaimers apply.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

This thesis uses the following abbreviations in glosses of examples:

1, 2 , 3 -person

Acc-accusative case

Act-actio

Appl-applicative

Ben-benefactive

Cause-causative

Dat-dative case

Erg-ergative case

fact-factual

FV-final vowel

Gen-genitive case

Ill-illative case

Inf-Infinitive

Intr-Intransitive

Loc-locative case

M-masculine

Nom-nominative case

N-neuter

O-object marker

Pass-passive

Prs-present tense

Ptc-past participle

Pst-past tense

punc-punctual

Px-possessive

Rel-relative marker

s-singular

d-dual

p-plural

S-subject marker

Tr-transitive

Chapter 1

Introduction

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1. Preliminaries

This thesis will undertake an investigation of North Sámi morphological causatives within the general theoretical setting of the current Chomskian Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 1998, 1999), with some consideration of certain aspects of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997, 2001). North Sámi belongs in the Finno-Ugric family, and it is by far the most widely spoken Sámi language.[1] North Sámi can be subdivided into three main dialects, or variants, namely the Torne, Kautokeino and Karašjok dialects. This study is exclusively concerned with the Torne dialect, and therefore, what we consistently refer to as North Sámi throughout this thesis, may more accurately be called the *Torne dialect* of North Sámi. Consider the pair of sentences in (1):

(1) a Máhtte cuvkii láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr.Pst.3s window.Acc
'Máhtte broke the window.'

b Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte láse.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc window.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to break the window.'

(1a) is a simple transitive clause consisting of the subject Máhtte (Nom), the verb cuvkii 'break,' and the direct object láse 'window.' The causative sentence (1b), obtained by attaching the suffix

-h- to the verb, has one argument more than the simple transitive clause.[2] In (1b) the causative agent mon 'I.Nom' serves as the subject and the DP corresponding to the logical subject of (1a) is expressed as an accusative object (the Causee). Although causatives have been thoroughly investigated in numerous languages, very little is known about the Torne dialect of North Sámi beyond some basic facts, documented in Konrad Nielsen's (1926-29) grammar of North Sámi, which more or less exhausts the accumulated scholarly knowledge.[3] This thesis deals with a number of facts concerning North Sámi causatives, and it touches on interrelated issues in Sámi syntax, as well as questions pertaining to causativization in general.

A major theoretical hypothesis in this thesis is that causativization provides a probe into the finer details of the internal structure of the verb phrase. Within the narrowly Chomskian tradition, a decompositional mood prevails in the view of the verb phrase. It has become widely accepted that the external argument of a verb is introduced in a higher, distinct phrase, such as Voi(ce)P (Kratzer 1996), or *v*P (Chomsky 1995). Consequently, a notion like agentivity is entrusted to this higher domain in the verbal complex. It is also commonly assumed that Kratzer's Voi or Chomsky's *v* include a Cause component by virtue of introducing an Agent (see Harley 1995a, b). This thesis argues on the basis of North Sámi that the Cause component must be divorced from the head that introduces the external argument, and constitutes a distinct joint in the verbal anatomy. While this view is not novel (e.g. Baker & Stewart 1999), it lends support to the decompositional approach and it has consequences for the way we view certain variants of causative constructions.

The present chapter will review some basic facts of causativization, and will outline empirical issues in North Sámi causative constructions that will be discussed in the following chapters. The larger organization of the thesis will be given at the end of this introductory chapter.

2. Issues in causativization

In this section we outline some basic issues in causativization, and how North Sámi relates to these.

2.1. Variations in the expression of causatives

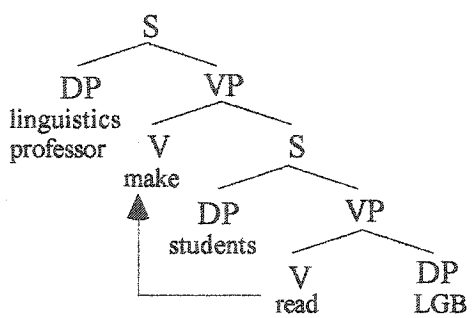
Morphological causatives have attracted much attention over the years, largely because they interface with three areas of the grammar, namely syntax, morphology and lexical semantics. The syntactic nature of morphological causatives has been thoroughly demonstrated in various studies, perhaps most notably Baker (1988a), who provided a unified theory for morphological and periphrastic causatives alike, such as Japanese (2) and English (3) (=translation of (2)):

(2)	Gengogaku-no	sensei-ga	gakusei-ni	LGB-o	yom-ase-ta.
	linguistics-Gen	professor-Nom	students-Dat	LGB-Acc	read-Cause-Pst

(3) The linguistics professor made the students read LGB.

Assuming a bi-clausal structure, Baker crystallizes the difference between Japanese and English to a question of whether the embedded verb (the Base Verb) incorporates via syntactic movement into the causative matrix verb or remains in-situ. The situation is depicted in (4), where the indicated V-to-V movement derives a Japanese-style morphological causative and the lack of such movement results in an English-style periphrastic construction.[4]

(4)



This analysis implies that the morphological and lexical semantic complexity associated with, say, (2) are direct consequences of the syntax. The former is a result of movement, which has the effect of blurring the underlying syntactic structure that provides the actual source for the lexical semantic complexity. Consequently, there are no profound differences among causative constructions that cut across the morphological - periphrastic dimension.

There is, however, strong evidence that not all causatives are created equally, as shown most prominently in work by Kayne (1975) and Burzio (1986). As shown in (5), a language like French has two alternative ways to express causatives.

(5) *French* (Patrick Campana, p.c.)

a J'ai fait lire un livre *(à Claude).
I made read a book Dat Claude
'I made Claude read a book.'

b J'ai fait lire un livre (par Claude).
I made read a book by Claude
'I made Claude/someone read a book.'

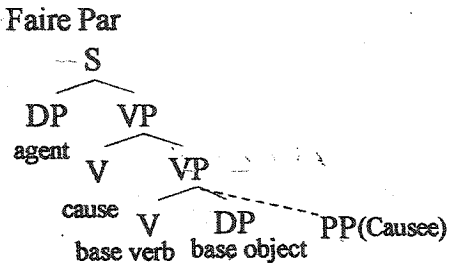
In (5a), the Causee à Claude is obligatorily expressed. The situation is slightly different in (5b), where the Causee surfaces as a by-phrase in a fashion akin to what is commonly found in passives, which is further emphasized by the fact that the Causee is entirely optional. Following Kayne (1975), (5a) will be called a *Faire Infinitive* and we refer to (5b) as a *Faire Par* causative. Chomsky (1988:13), for instance, notices that even when the Causee in (5b) is not expressed, the causative agent is interpreted as the entity that causes the book-reading event, but it itself is not understood as the actual reader of the book. The dual causative pattern of (5) is also found in languages with morphologically formed causatives, for instance the Bantu language Chichewa (Alsina 1992:518):

(6) a Nungu i-na-phik-its-a kadzidzi maungu.
porcupine S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV owl pumpkins
'The porcupine made the owl cook the pumpkins.'

b Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu (kwa kadzidzi).
porcupine S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV pumpkins by owl
'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.'

Within the Chomskian tradition, the contrast between the (a) and (b) sentences in (5) and (6) is standardly analyzed as a structural difference. Kayne (1975) and Burzio (1986) argue that (5a), and by extension also (6a), has a structure like (4) above, where the causative verb takes a full clausal complement. (5b) and hence also (6b) are assumed to involve a truncated structure, where the complement of the causative verb is VP, as shown in (7):

(7)



There are a number of differences between the two types of causatives given in (a) and (b) of (5) and (6). What the standard analysis captures most straightforwardly is phenomena that pick out the Causee. For instance, the Causee in (5a) and (6a) may serve as an antecedent for the purposes of A-binding and Control since these causatives are based on structure (4) above, in which the causative verb is assumed to take a clausal complement, and the Causee is analyzed as the Subject of the embedded clause. In contrast, the Causee in (5b) and (6b) behaves radically different in this regard, as would be expected from structure (7), the truncated causative.

However, there are asymmetries that do not immediately follow from the structural distinction between (4) and (7). For instance, the range of possible Base Verbs is narrower in causatives based on (7) than what is found in those based on (4). Consider the following contrast:

(8) *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992: 528):

a Chatsalira a-ku-mv-ets-a ana phokoso.
Chatsalira S-Prs-hear-Cause-FV children noise
'Chatsalira is making the children hear the noise.'

b *Chatsalira a-ku-mv-ets-a phokoso (kwa ana).
Chatsalira S-Prs-hear-Cause-FV noise by children
'Chatsalira is making the children hear the noise.'

(9) *Latin American Spanish* (Bordelois 1988:58):

a Hicieron ver la cuidad a los turistas.
made.3p see the city Dat the tourists
'They made the tourists see the city.'

b *Hicieron ver la cuidad (por los turistas).
made.3p see the city by the turistas
'They made the tourists see the city.'

Two main approaches are found in literature to deal with the contrast between (a) and (b) of (8) and (9). One view is that the Base Verb in the (b) sentences must be agentive (Bordelois 1988, Guasti 1990, Travis 1991, 1992), and another influential idea is that the Base Object must be affected (Alsina 1992, Guasti 1993, 1996). Neither of these auxiliary assumptions are necessary consequences of the hypothesis that the causative verb in (8b) and (9b) takes a VP complement rather than a larger chunk of structure.

A further difference between causatives based on (4) and (7) is concerned with what kind of object the Base Verb may take. Consider the French examples in (10). Specifically, causatives where the Causee has the status of an embedded Subject, the Base Verb may take a clausal complement, (10a), whereas clausal complements are illicit in the truncated causative, (10b):

(10) *French* (Patrick Campana, p.c.)

a On a fait affirmer *à Mary* [que John est innocent].
we made confirm Dat Mary that John is innocent
'We caused Mary to confirm that John is innocent.'

b *On a fait affirmer (*par Mary*) [que John est innocent].
we made confirm by Mary that John is innocent
'We caused Mary/someone to confirm that John is innocent.'

For approaches assuming that the Base Verb in the *Faire Par* construction must take an agentive verb, this issue is independent of the ill formedness of (8b) and (9b), whereas for the competing hypothesis relying on an affectedness condition these two facts reduce to a single issue.

In sum, there are three descriptive issues relevant to causativization. These are listed in (11):

(11) (i) the expression of the Causee,
(ii) the range of possible Base Verbs, and
(iii) the range of possible Base Objects.

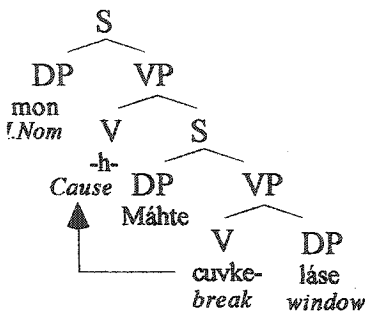
While point (11.i) follows from the standardly assumed structural distinction (4) versus (7), points (11.ii) and (11.iii) are more problematic.

2.2. Phenomenon of interest: North Sámi causatives

With this background, let us now turn to North Sámi causatives. (1) above provided a typical example of a North Sámi causative sentence, repeated below as (12a). As a first approximation it is reasonable to assume that (12a) involves an underlying structure in which the Causee is an embedded subject as shown in (12b), that is, a causative of the *Faire Infinitive* variety.

(12) a Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte láse.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc window.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to break the window.'

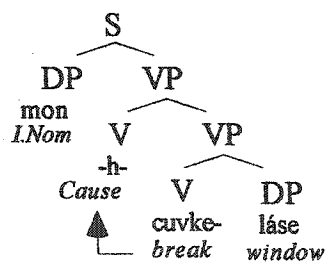
b



We should also notice that the Causee may also be omitted, as shown in (13a), which suggests that we are dealing with a *Faire Par* construction, (13b), where the causative verb takes a bare VP complement:

(13) a Mon cuvke-h-in láse.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s window.Acc
'I caused someone to break the window.'

b



If the structures given in (12) and (13) are representative of North Sámi, then we expect to detect an asymmetry in what kind of verb may head the complement of the causative complement, as we discussed in section 2.1. Specifically, a perception verb like gullat 'hear' should be fully possible when the Causee is realized, whereas this verb should be incompatible with the syntactic frame of (13). The reason, as may be recalled, is because structures like (13b) require

that the Base Verb be agentive, or alternatively that the Base Verb take an affected object. Consider now (14):

(14) a *Mon gula-h-in máná bajána.
I.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.1s child.Acc thunder.Acc
'I caused the child to hear the thunder.'

b *Mon gula-h-in bajána.
I.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.1s thunder.Acc
'I caused someone to hear the thunder.'

Contrary to expectations, both (14a) and (14b) are ungrammatical, which in turn suggests that (12b) is not the correct representation for causatives where the Causee is expressed. Rather, the indication is that (12a) is associated with the same kind of syntactic structure as the Causeeless causative in (13). This suspicion receives further support when we consider the possibilities for the Base Verb to appear with a clausal complement. Recall that clausal complements of the Base Verb are possible in the *Faire Infinitive* construction, but are incompatible with the truncated *Faire Par* causative. Consider the pair of sentences in (15):

(15) a *Hoavda muital-aht-ii mu
boss.Nom say/tell-Cause-Pst.3s I.Acc
[ahte bálka lea buorre].
that salary.Nom be.Prs.3s good]
'The boss caused me to say that the salary is good.'

b *Hoavda muital-aht-ii
boss.Nom say/tell-Cause-Pst.3s
[ahte bálka lea buorre].
that salary.Nom be.Prs.3s good]
'The boss caused someone to say that the salary is good.'

While the Causeeless sentence (15b) is ungrammatical as expected, we see that also (15a) is ungrammatical, in spite of the presence of the Causee.

In short, what makes North Sámi interesting in the light of the basic observations we have presented in (12) through (15), is the fact that the *surface appearance* of causatives like (12) and (13) suggests two alternative causative structures akin to what exists in Romance and Chichewa. However, once we consider slightly more sophisticated data, all indications are that North Sámi has only one causative variant, namely the truncated type. Assuming that this conclusion is correct, North Sámi provides an appropriate testing ground to choose between the agentivity and affectedness based theories that have proposed with the purpose of constraining the application of the truncated causative. The fact that North Sámi prohibits causativization of unaccusative verbs, as shown in (16) and (17), supports the agentivity based approach over the affectedness oriented theory, because the sole obligatory argument of the Base Verbs in these examples is clearly affected. Nevertheless, causativization fails in these cases:

(16) a Máret heavvanii.
Máret.Nom drown.Intr.Pst.3s
'Máret drowned.'

b *Máhtte heavvan-aht-ii Máreha.
Máhtte.Nom drown.Intr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret to drown.'

(17) a Fanas gopmánii.
boat.Nom upside down.Intr.Pst.3s
'The boat flipped over.'

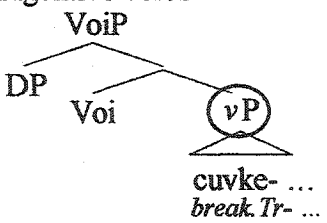
b *Mon gopmán-ahtt-en fatnasa.
I.Nom upside down.Intr-Cause-Pst.1s boat.Acc
'I caused the boat to flip over.'

The ill formedness of (16b) and (17b) is, however, predicted by the agentivity hypothesis.

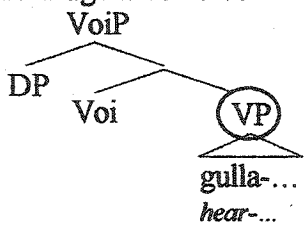
3. Basic proposal

Focusing on North Sámi causatives, this thesis will present an analysis of the *Faire Par* causative. We shall incorporate insights from the agentivity based approach (e.g. Travis 1991, 1992), and we shall also borrow from the affectedness based theory of Alsina (1992). A key issue is agentivity. We shall argue that agentive verbs are structurally distinct from verbs that are incompatible with an agentive interpretation, assuming that agentivity is a specification of Voice/*v*. In doing so, we propose that Kratzer's Voi(ce)P and Chomsky's *v*P are distinct syntactic projections (cf. Baker & Stewart 1999, Pylkkänen 1999). VoiP provides the locus for the external argument and agentivity, whereas *v*P is the syntactic expression of the Cause component standardly assumed to be present in agentive transitive verbs. Non-agentive verbs, in contrast, although they may combine with an external argument, crucially lack a *v*-projection:

(18) a Agentive verbs

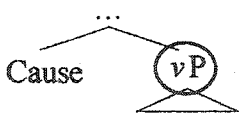


b Non-agentive verbs

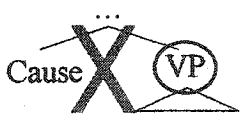


We will argue that the causative formative in the truncated construction selects a *v*P complement. This accounts for the optionality of the Causee, and at the same time we capture the selectional characterizations provided by the agentivity approach. Simultaneously, we are also predicting that the Base Verb is in fact not agentive as it does not combine with a VoiP, as we shall demonstrate in detail. Hence we arrive at the basic structure shown in (19a):

(19) a

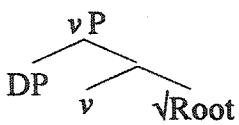


b



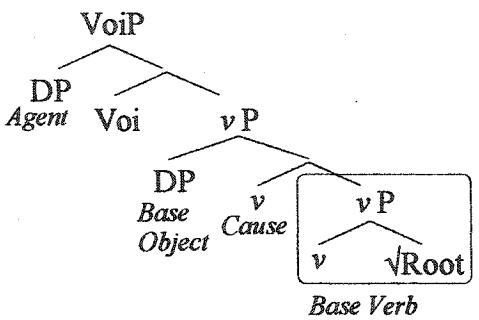
We furthermore propose that the Base Verb in these causatives does not take a direct internal argument (i.e. Theme/Patient). Instead, following Alsina (1992), we analyze the Base Object as an object of the causative formative. This analysis is enabled by another basic assumption. Following work in Distributed Morphology (e.g., Halle & Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997, 2001) we assume that lexical categories are syntactically determined. Phrase structure, Chomsky (1995) suggests, is built by successive combinations of syntactic objects. The indispensable operation for performing this task is Merge, which combines an element A with B, where either A or B projects. Specifically, a verb is created by a combining a verbalizing head such as *v* or V (see (18) above) and a category neutral Root. I will furthermore assume that Roots never take direct internal arguments. These are projected in the specifier of the verbalizing projection. Hence we arrive (20):

(20)



The assumption now is that the causative formative in, say, North Sámi selects and combines with a *v*P that is not composed of a direct internal argument. Rather, as we have mentioned, the object that is interpreted as the Base Object is generated in the specifier of the causative head, (21).

(21)



This analysis, we shall claim, captures the fact that the range of possible objects in an FP is more limited than what is found when the same verb is used as the main predicator in a clause. The reason, we claim, is directly related to the vicinity of the position of the DP that is interpreted as the direct internal argument and the Root. In (20), the Root is directly predicated of the DP, whereas in (21) this relation is only indirect. Our analysis also has consequences for the formation of idioms.

One consequence of analyzing North Sámi causatives like (14a) as instances of *Faire Par* causatives is that the accusative Causee must be treated in a way that renders it in the same family of expressions as the by-phrases in (14b) and (14c).

(14) a Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte láse. *North Sámi*
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc window.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to break the window.'

b J'ai fait lire un livre par Claude. *French*
I made read a book by Claude
'I made Claude read a book.'

c Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu kwa kadzidzi. *Chichewa*
porcupine S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV pumpkins by owl
'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.'

It will be claimed that the situation is parallel to the expression of benefactives in, for instance, Sesotho (15a) and Brazilian Portuguese (15b).

(15) a *Sesotho* (Machobane 1989:12)
Banana ba-pheh-el-a 'me nama.
girls S-cook-Appl-FV mother meat
'The girls are cooking meat for mother.'

b *Brazilian Portuguese* (Sônia Katsuura, p.c.)

Eu li um livro para Leila.

I read a book for Leila

'I read a book for Leila'

That is, the benefactive argument in Sesotho appears in an applicative phrase (Marantz 1993), whereas in Portuguese it is a prepositional object. Thus, I will argue that the North Sámi Causee is an applied object. This analysis also has consequences for the possibilities to base *Faire Par* causatives on unergative verbs, and it has some drastic repercussions for passive formation, for instance.

4. Organization of the thesis.

The thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 situates North Sámi in the broader perspective of causative typologies. We review in detail Kayne's (1975) distinction between *Faire Infinitive* and *Faire Par* constructions. We also consider some well-known cases of cross-linguistic variation in the domain of grammatical functions within the class of *Faire Infinitives*, treated for instance in Baker (1988a). Given the discussion in Section 2 above, we will be forced to conclude that North Sámi causatives are of the *Faire Par* variety, in spite of what initial impressions might suggest. The agentivity restriction on the Base Verb plays a crucial role in the decision making process.

The main concern in Chapter 3 is agentivity. Assuming that the Base Verb in North Sámi causatives can be descriptively characterized as agentive, we must establish if there are any independent tests for agentivity in the language. We present novel data from North Sámi using time-honored tests involving the distribution of purposive clauses and agent-oriented adverbs. These will be shown to serve as reliable diagnostics for agentivity. However, we also point out that the agentivity restriction on the Base Verb is at odds with Kratzer's (1996) hypothesis that the external argument is severed from the verb. Moreover, the agentivity tests clearly show that

the Base Verb in the North Sámi causative does not involve a VoiP. Rather, the agentivity restriction on the Base Verb in *Faire Par* causatives must be seen as a requirement that the verb has the *potential* of being agentive.

In Chapter 4 we seek to untangle the contradictory findings from Chapter 3. Here we examine the behavior of lexical causatives in North Sámi, taking as our starting point Harley's (1995a, b) hypothesis that VoiP includes a Cause component. Harley's account is, among other things, motivated by the ambition to provide a unified account for lexical and syntactic causatives, where the main idea is that the Cause component has the prominent consequence of introducing the external argument, and therefore it must be equated with Voi. However, North Sámi lexical causatives can undergo syntactic causativization, without introducing an argument, and on these grounds we propose a separation of Voi and Cause. With this modification, the basic insights of Harley's analysis can be maintained.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the projection of arguments in *Faire Par* causatives. Here we spell out the idea that the Base Object is not an object of the Base Verb. Instead we adopt the Alsinian view that the causative formative takes an object, which is interpreted as the direct internal argument of the verb. We suggest that this is the underlying reason why sentential objects are illicit in the *Faire Par* causative. We extend this idea to Verb-Object idioms, which are also illicit in this variety of causatives. On the topic of argument realization, we bring up the issue of the Causee in North Sámi, which we claim is an applied object.

Chapter 6 is concerned with one particular consequence of the idea that the North Sámi Causee is an applied object, namely passivization possibilities. As pointed out in Julien (1996), North Sámi causatives resist passivization, at least in the presence of both a Base Object and a Causee. We shall present an analysis that rests on McGinnis's (1998) Case Identity Constraint.[5] In essence, because the Causee enters a Case motivated AGREE relation with a licensing head other than T, the Causee is prevented from becoming the subject of a passive clause, while at the same time it blocks the Base Object from raising to subject.

In Chapter 7, the findings of the thesis are summarized, and we address some further issues and complications.

Notes to Chapter 1

[1]The Sámi area (or *Sápmi*) spans from central Sweden and Norway to the eastern tip of the Kola peninsula. Roughly speaking, three main areas can be distinguished, namely the Southern, Central and Eastern regions. The Southern languages are represented by South and Ume Sámi, Central Sámi consists of Pite, Lule, North and Inari Sámi, and the Eastern dialects are Skolt, Kildin and Ter. There are no reliable sources as to how large the Sámi population is, and the numbers are even more uncertain when it comes to numbers of speakers. It is estimated, however, that 80-90% of all native speakers speak North Sámi, meaning that the situation for the other dialects/languages is indeed precarious (Svonni, in press).

[2]The causative suffix exhibits a phonologically governed allomorphy. When it attaches to vowel-final stems (corresponding to even-parity stems in Nielsen (1926-29) and Nickel (1994)), as is the case in (1b), the suffix is realized as -h-. However, when the stem ends in a consonant (Nielsen's (1926-29) and Nickel's (1994) odd-parity stems), the shape of the suffix is -aht(t)-; at least that is how it will be represented in this thesis. It is probably more correct to say that -aht(t)- is -aht(t)V- (V=Vowel), but I will abstract away from this, for expository reasons.

[3]See also Julien (1996) and Sammallahti (1999, 2000) for discussions about causatives in dialects where the Causee is marked with Illative Case (Kautokeino and Karašjok). However, it is impossible to express the Causee with Illative in the Torne dialect (see Svonni & Vinka 2002a). There are good reasons to believe that the Torne dialect differs from the Illative dialects in important respects and there are further differences among the Illative dialects (see e.g. Vinka 1998). This issue, which is of great importance and interest, will be a matter of future investigations.

[4]Ignoring the Head Parameter (Travis 1984).

[5]Comparable to Chomsky's (1998, 1999) Defective Intervention Constraint.

Chapter 2

North Sámi and the Typology of Causative Constructions

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1. Introduction

Upon a quick glance at a North Sámi causative sentence like (1), one might intially be tempted to hypothesize that causativization proceeds along the lines of what is known about the behavior of causatives in other languages exhibiting the same kind of surface profile, namely what Kayne (1975) calls the *Faire Infinitive* construction.

(1) Máhtte cuvke-h-ii Máreha lásе.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc window.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret to break the window.'

Indeed, the *surface* pattern in (1) is familiar from a wide range of well-studied languages, for instance Bantu languages such as Chichewa (see Baker 1988a, Alsina 1992). A typical example of a Chichewa *Faire Infinitive* causative, such as (2), is quite similar to the Sámi example in (1). Both are obtained morphologically and word orders are identical.[1]

(2) *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:518)
Nungu i-na-phik-its-a kadzidzi maungu.
porcupine S-Pst-cook-caus-FV owl pumpkins
'The porcupine made the owl cook the pumpkins.'

Causatives like (2) have been subject to extensive study (Baker 1988a, Marantz 1984, Li 1990, Hoffman 1991, Alsina 1992, Watanabe 1996, to mention a few) and their fundamental theoretical underpinnings are reasonably well understood. However, as we will explore in detail in this thesis, the North Sámi causative construction in (1) is in fact not comparable to the Chichewa causative (2). Rather, I argue extensively below that (1) corresponds to an alternative realization of the Chichewa causative, namely the *Faire Par* construction exemplified in (3):[2]

(3) *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:518)

Nungu	i-na-phik-its-a	maungu	(kwa	kadzidzi).
porcupine	S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV	pumpkins	by	owl

'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.'

The most conspicuous difference between (2) and (3) lies in the expression of the Causee. In (2) it is expressed as a direct object, whereas in (3) it is realized as an optional adjunct by-phrase. In other words, we shall argue that the North Sámi Accusative Causee corresponds to the Chichewa adjunct Causee. This is supported by the fact that the Causee in North Sámi is optional, just like the Chichewa by-phrase. Hence, in addition to (1), (4) is also a possible causative sentence:

(4)

Máhtte	cuvke-h-ii	láse.
Máhtte.Nom	break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s	window.Acc

'Máhtte caused someone to break the window.'

It would of course be undermotivated to claim that (1) and (3) represent two different sides of the same coin if the realization of the Causee were the sole factor involved in distinguishing one causative from another. In this chapter we shall therefore provide a fairly descriptive overview of some basic causative types and in the process we shall provide substantial additional evidence that (1) and (3) are two instances of the same variety of causative construction. First, one must be aware that the Chichewa causatives (2) and (3) differ in various basic details. For instance, causatives like (3) have a more limited distribution than (2), such that the syntactic frame of (2)

where the Causee is expressed as a direct object is well-formed not only with agentive Base Verbs (as in (2)), but also with causativized non-agentive verbs, (5a). However, causatives like (3) are ill-formed in such contexts, (5b):

(5) *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992: 528)

a Chatsalira a-ku-mv-ets-a ana phokoso.
Chatsalira S-Prs-hear-Cause-FV children noise
'Chatsalira is making the children hear the noise.'

b *Chatsalira a-ku-mv-ets-a phokoso (kwa ana).
Chatsalira S-Prs-hear-Cause-FV noise by children
'Chatsalira is making the children hear the noise.'

One compelling reason for claiming that the North Sámi causative (1) is comparable to Chichewa (3) emerges from the fact that non-agentive verbs in North Sámi cannot participate in productive causativization, regardless of whether the Causee is expressed or not:

(6) a *Mon gula-h-in máná bajána.
I.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.1s child.Acc thunder.Acc
'I caused the child to hear the thunder.'

b *Mon gula-h-in bajána.
I.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.1s thunder.Acc
'I caused someone to hear the thunder.'

Thus, the contrast between the two superficially similar sentences (6a) and (5a) strongly suggests that the two are not equivalent. Similarly, both examples in (6) pattern like (5b), and consequently they should be assimilated. On these grounds, we are also forced to the conclusion that the Accusative Causee in North Sámi and the by-phrase Causee in Chichewa are on a syntactic par with each other.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses a basic distinction among causative constructions, namely the so-called *Faire Infinitive* and *Faire Par* varieties (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986). (2) above exemplifies the *Faire Infinitive* (FI) and (3) is an example of a *Faire Par* (FP) causative. This section highlights the properties of the Causee in the two varieties. (2) is characterized by the fact that the Causee is an argument, whereas the Causee in (3) is an adjoined phrase, similar to the by-phrase in a passive clause. Kayne's (1975) theory captures this asymmetry by analyzing (2), but not (3), as biclausal. In this section we also bring to light that North Sámi, in addition to (1) also has causatives that uncontroversially fit the *Faire Par* profile.

Section 3 discusses *Faire Infinitives* and concentrates on two well known patterns that are found across languages. We compare the behavior of North Sámi causatives against languages that are representatives of each variety of *Faire Infinitives.* The survey shows that North Sámi is both similar to and different from these representatives in fairly contradictory ways.

In section 4 we turn to the *Faire Par* causative. Here we emphasize the fact that only a subset of the verbs that can participate in the *Faire Infinitive* construction can also appear in the *Faire Par* construction (e.g. Guasti 1990, Travis 1992). The surprising fact about North Sámi, regardless of whether the Causee is realized or not is that these considerations unequivocally indicate that causatives in this language are of the FP variety. We shall also consider asymmetries in the argument taking properties of the Base Verb found in *Faire Infinitive* and *Faire Par* constructions. Section 5 concludes the chapter and summarizes the major points of the chapter.

The discussion in this chapter will by and large be descriptively oriented, in the sense that we shall employ some fairly blunt theoretical tools to tease out the basic behavior of North Sámi causatives. This will allow an empirical point of reference to which we will frequently refer back to in later parts of the thesis.

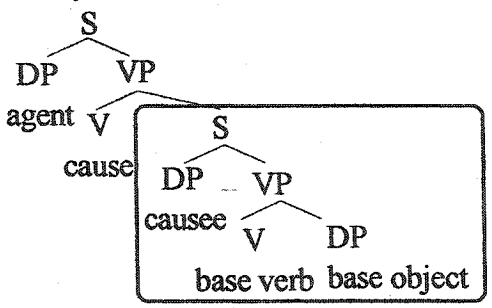
2. Basic causative types

In this section we will consider the distinction between the so-called *Faire Infinitive* and *Faire Par* variants among causative constructions.

2.1. The Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis

Ever since Kayne (1975) it has been recognized that in many languages causative constructions based on transitive verbs can appear in at least two different syntactic frames. As this view is also vigorously argued for in Burzio (1986), we will frequently refer to the specific approach about to be outlined as the *Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis* throughout the thesis. The first of the two variants and no doubt the one which has received most attention in the literature is the so-called *Faire Infinitive* (henceforth FI) causative, whose basic structure is schematically illustrated in (7):

(7) *Faire Infinitive*



Structure (7) has a long history in the syntactic literature on causatives, among others Kuno (1973), Shibatani (1976), Inoue (1976), Aissen (1979), Burzio (1986), Baker (1988a).[3] According to (7) causativization involves sentential complementation, with the immediate consequence that the Causee is analyzed as the Subject of the embedded clause. The Chichewa and French examples in (8a) and (8b) respectively illustrate causative sentences that are derived from the basic structure (7).

(8) a *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:518)

Nungu	i-na-phik-its-a	kadzidzi	maungu.
porcupine	S-Past-cook-caus-FV	owl	pumpkins

'The porcupine made the owl cook the pumpkins.'

b *French* (Patrick Campana, p. c.)

J'ai	fait	lire	un	livre	à	Claude.
I	made	read	a	book	Dat	Claude

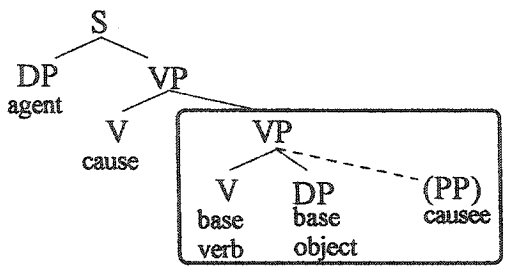
'I made Claude read a book.'

From a cross-linguistic perspective, the term *Faire Infinitive* is at best confusing. In many languages where this particular type of causative occurs, French notwithstanding, there is neither a *faire* nor an *infinitive*, as is evident from (8a). This naïve observation can be interpreted in a number of ways, with varying degrees of relevance. Trivially, most languages in the world are not French, or indeed Romance. However, if we view *faire* as referring to a causative verb, the term immediately becomes more technical in the sense that Kayne (1975) intended it to be. Nevertheless, a fair number of languages do not, at least pretheoretically, form causatives solely by means of an independent causative *verb*, but rather utilize some form of affixation, as Chichewa and North Sámi for instance. If we add the theoretical ingredient proposed in early work on causativization in the syntactic literature, for instance by Kuno (1973), Shibatani (1976), Inoue (1976), Aissen (1979) among others, that also morphological causatives should be analyzed as involving a bona fide causative verb,[4] we can in a meaningful way refer to this causative formative as *faire*. While the *infinitive* part of *Faire Infinitive* makes sense when we talk about French (8b), it is not a particularly enlightening piece of terminology in the context of Chichewa (8a). *Infinitive* is however aberrant just as long as we associate it with its perhaps most transparent meaning, namely infinitival morphology. For Kayne (1975), it certainly subsumed this meaning, but it also had a deeper, more important connotation, namely that of a *non-finite*

clausal complement. In other words, the notion *Faire Infinitive* refers to a biclausal causative, regardless of whether it is expressed periphrastically or morphologically (see also Baker 1988a).

The second of Kayne's (1975) two causatives, the *Faire Par* (FP) causative, is given in (9) below. (9) has also figured prominently in the syntactic literature, notably Burzio (1986), but also for instance Guasti (1990, 1993, 1996) and Travis (1991, 1992).

(9) *Faire Par*



(9) differs from (7) in important ways. The complement of the causative verb in (9) is a bare VP and not a clause, and therefore (9) does not provide a canonical Subject position in the embedded domain. Consequently, the Causee is not realized in (9), unless it is expressed in an adjunct by-phrase. Also the FP causative is found in Chichewa (10a) and French (10b). (8) and (10) thus differ in the expression of the Causee.

(10) a *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:518)

Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu (kwa kadzidzi).
porcupine S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV pumpkins by owl
'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.'

b *French* (Zubizarreta 1985:268)

On a fait construire la maison (par Casimiro)
we have made build a house by Casimiro
'We have had a house built by Casimiro.'

Let us briefly remark on the *par* component of the notion *Faire Par*. We may simply let *par* be equivalent to a by-phrase that expresses an agent associated with the Base Verb of the causative.

However, this is not good enough. We must also be aware of another thing about by-phrases, namely that they are optional. Thus, *Faire Par* denotes a kind of a causative construction where the Causee is either expressed as a by-phrase, or alternatively is not expressed at all. Therefore, in a technical sense, *par* is irrelevant for the characterization of FPs; as indicated in (9), the significant point, as mentioned above, is that the complement of the Base Verb is a bare VP.

Most work on syntactic causativization has concentrated on the FI-causative, as it presents some deep problems relating to long-standing issues in syntactic theory, such as locality and locality-related phenomena and phrase structure. The specific challenge of FIs is that they exhibit significant variation across languages. While our particular focus will be on the FP-variety, it is nevertheless important that we consider FIs in some detail, because as we mentioned in the introductory section, North Sámi causatives are superficially similar to the FI-profile. Apart from this initial discussion, however, FI causatives fall outside the present scope and will not be treated in any significant or novel way in this thesis.

2.2 The subjecthood of the Causee

We shall now discuss some further consequences of the Kayne-Burzio hypothesis, in particular that FIs involve sentential complementation and hence that this complement includes an embedded subject, whereas FPs are analyzed as consisting of a bare VP complement.

2.2.1 The FI and the subjecthood of the Causee

As we mentioned above, syntactic research in the 1970s (see the references cited above) established that morphological causativizes, just like periphrastic ones, are derived from a biclausal source. One of the basic motivations for the biclausal hypothesis comes from the fact that the Causee functions as a Subject, regardless of other factors that may vary across languages, such as variations in Case marking and periphrastic vs. morphological distinctions. Perhaps the most well known diagnostic that the Causee is a Subject involves binding of reflexive anaphors. In many languages such anaphors are strictly Subject-oriented, i.e. they must be anteceded by a

structural Subject, rather than by an Object (Kuno 1973, Aissen 1979, Baker 1988a, 1995b, among others).[5] For instance, consider the non-causativized Japanese sentence in (11) below. Kuno (1973) reports that the indirect Dative Object of a "simplex" ditransitive verb in Japanese cannot serve as a binder. The only possible antecedent for the anaphor zibun 'self' in (11) is thus the nominative DP John.

(11) John$_i$-ga Bill$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/*j}$-no syasin-o mise-ta.
John-Nom Bill-Dat self-Gen picture-Acc show-Pst.
'John$_i$ showed Bill$_j$ a picture of himself$_{i/*j}$.'

Also Accusative objects cannot serve as the antecedent for reflexive anaphors in Japanese, as shown in (12). Here we see that zibun cannot take Mary-o 'Mary-Acc' as its antecedent. Only the Subject John-ga 'John-Nom' may bind the anaphor:

(12) John$_i$-ga Mary$_j$-o zibun$_{i/*j}$-no uti-de koros-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Acc self-Gen house-i kill-Pst
'John$_i$ killed Mary$_j$ in self's$_{i/*j}$ own house.'

Kuno (1973) points out that the binding possibilities in Japanese causatives are radically different from what we encountered in the non-causative (11) and (12). Consider (13). Since causativization in Japanese is obtained morphologically by suffixation, causative verbs look superficially similar to "simplex" verbs, as both kinds of verbs are inseparable phonological words.

(13) a John-ga Mary$_i$-ni zibun$_i$-no uti-de hon-o yom-ase-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat self-Gen house-in book-Acc read-Cause-Pst
'John made Mary read a book in her own house.'

b John-ga Mary$_i$-o zibun$_i$-no uti-de hasir-ase-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Acc self-Gen house-in run-Cause-Pst
'John made Mary run in her own house.'

In stark contrast to (11) and (12) above, the Dative DP in (13a) and the Accusative DP in (13b), i.e. the Causee, *can* serve as the antecedent of zibun 'self' for the purposes of A-binding. The fact that the Causee has this ability, on par with the nominative Subjects in (11) and (12), is captured by the idea expressed in (7) above, namely that causatives are biclausal and consequently the Causee is the Subject of the embedded clause.

The pattern in (13) extends far beyond Japanese.[6] Regardless of various cross-linguistic differences in the expression of causatives, which we shall turn to in Section 3, the Causee in the FI constructions has the ability to antecede reflexives and possessive pronouns. Some examples are given in (14), with (14a) from Turkish, (14b) from Chichewa and (14c) from Italian.

(14) a *Turkish* (Aissen 1979:95)
Ayse bana$_i$ kendim-i$_i$ yak-tir-di.
Ayse.Nom I-Dat myself-Acc burn-Cause-Pst
'Ayse caused me to burn myself.'

b *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:520)
Alimi a-ku-lémb-éts-a mkángó$_i$ ndakatulo yâke$_i$.
farmers S-Prs-write-Cause-FV lion poem his
'The farmers are making the lion$_i$ write his$_i$ poem.'

c *Italian* (Guasti 1996:295)
Ho fatto riparare la propria$_i$ macchina a Gianni$_i$.[7]
(I) have made repair the own car Dat Gianni
'I made Gianni repair his own car.'

Each language in (14) exhibits different ways of realizing causation; Turkish and Chichewa have morphological causatives, whereas Italian causatives are periphrastic. In Turkish and Italian the Causee is marked by Dative Case, whereas in Chichewa the Causee appears with (abstract) Accusative Case. Nevertheless, the Causee in each example in (14) can serve as the antecedent for the purposes of A-binding, which has been adduced as further support for the biclausal analysis. The differences in the surface expression of the sentences in (14) emerge from various language particular factors, some of which are Case Theoretic (see Baker 1988a and Watanabe 1996).

Let us now turn our attention to North Sámi. We mentioned in the introductory section that a surface string like (15) bears a pronounced resemblance to FI causatives, since the Causee appears with Accusative Case.

(15) Mon oastti-h-in Máreha biepmu.
I.Nom buy-Cause-Pst.1s Máret.Acc food.Acc
'I caused Máret to buy food.'

When we consider binding phenomena and the ability of the Causee to serve as the antecedent for anaphors, the initial impulse to regard (15) as an FI is quite justified. As shown in (16), the Causee *can* serve as the antecedent for a reflexive anaphor:

(16) a Mon oastti-h-in Máreha$_i$ biepmu alcces-is$_i$.
I.Nom buy-Cause-Pst.1s Máret.Acc food.Acc self.Ill-3s.Px
'I caused Máret to buy food to herself.'

b Mon divu-h-in Máhte$_i$ skohtera iežas$_i$ áhččái.
I.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc ski-doo.Acc self.Gen.3Px father.Ill
'I caused Máhtte to repair the ski-doo for his own father.'

c Mon loga-h-in Máreha$_i$ girjji alcces-is$_i$.
I.Nom read-Cause-Pst.1s Máret.Acc book.Acc self.Ill-3s.Px
'I caused Máret to read a book to herself.'

(16) is thus consistent with and supports the hypothesis that North Sámi causatives are FIs. I therefore remind the reader to keep in mind that we promised at the outset of this Chapter to show that North Sámi causatives like (16) are *not* FIs, but rather FPs that happen to look deceptively similar to FIs.

The observant reader might have noticed that the North Sámi binding examples in (16) above all involve reflexive Illative indirect objects or reflexives contained in an indirect object.[8] I will therefore take a brief moment to point out that there is a reason for this particular choice of data. It turns out that a reflexive direct object of the Base Verb cannot take the Causee as its antecedent, as shown in (17) through (19). The (b)-examples are added as a point of reference showing that the intended binding relations indeed obtain in simplex clauses.

(17) a *Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte$_i$ iežas$_i$ láse.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc self.Gen.3s.Px window.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to break his own window.'

b Máhtte$_i$ cuvkii iežas$_i$ láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr.Pst.3s self.Gen.3s.Px window.Acc
'Máhtte broke his own window.'

(18) a *Mon basa-h-in Máhte$_i$ iežas$_i$.
I.Nom wash-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc self.Acc.3s.Px
'I caused Máhtte to wash himself.'

b Máhtte$_i$ basai iežas$_i$.
'Máhtte.Nom wash.Pst.3s self.Acc.3s.Px
'Máhtte washed himself.'

(19) a *Mon divu-h-in Máhte$_i$ skohter-is$_i$.
I.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc ski-doo.Acc-3s.Px
'I caused Máhtte to repair his own ski-doo.'

b Máhtte$_i$ divui skohter-is$_i$.
Máhtte.Nom repair.Pst.3s ski-doo.Acc-3s.Px
'Máhtte repaired his own ski-doo.'

For space considerations, I will have to set aside here the intriguing question of why the Causee cannot bind the Base Object. One possible direction, however, would be to consider (a) of (17) to (19) as some kind of antilocality effect (see e.g. Lidz 1997), such that the Causee in some sense is too close to the Base Object for binding to obtain.[9] Suffice it to say, for the time being, that many aspects of Binding in North Sámi are largely unknown, and at best poorly understood.[10]

Notwithstanding these problematic cases, we have nonetheless shown that the Causee to some extent is a possible antecedent for a reflexive anaphor. The Causee differs in this regard from other accusative direct objects, such as the direct object of a "simplex" ditransitive verb. Thus, on par with Japanese, (11) and (12) above, the accusative object cannot bind an indirect object reflexive (20a). Nor is it possible for the illative object to bind into the accusative object, (20b):

(20) a Máhtte$_i$ čájeha Máreha$_j$ alcces-is$_{i/*j}$.
Máhtte.Nom show.Prs.3s Máret.Acc self.Ill-3Px
'Máhtte$_i$ shows Máret$_j$ to himself$_i$/*herself$_j$.'

b Máhtte$_i$ čájeha Márehii$_j$ iežas$_{i/*j}$ gova.
Máhtte.Nom show.Prs.3s Máret.Ill self.Gen.3Px picture.Acc
'Máhtte$_i$ shows Máret$_j$ a picture of himself$_i$/*herself$_j$.' (Outakoski 2002)

It is therefore clear that the Causee is distinct from the objects of simple ditransitive verbs in a fashion reminiscent of Japanese.[11]

In sum, North Sámi complies to an albeit limited but important extent to the biclausal analysis of causatives, according to which the Causee is the Subject of a complement clause.

2.2.2. The FP and the non-subjecthood of the Causee

In order to appreciate why the Subjecthood of the Causee has been considered a hallmark of FIs, we can now contrast the binding possibilities in FIs like (21a) and (22a) with the FP in (21b) and (22b):[12]

(21) *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:520)

a Alimi a-ku-lémb-éts-a mkángó$_i$ ndakatulo yâke$_i$. FI
farmers S-Prs-write-Cause-FV lion poem his
'The farmers make the lion$_i$ write his$_i$ poem .'

b *Alimi a-ku-lémb-éts-a ndakatulo yâke$_i$ kwa mkángó$_i$. FP
farmers S-Prs-write-Cause-FV poem his by lion
'The farmers are having his$_i$ poem written by the lion$_i$.'

(22) *Italian* (Guasti 1996:295)

a Ho fatto riparare la propria$_i$ macchina a Gianni$_i$. FI
(I) have made repair the own car Dat Gianni
'I made Gianni repair his own car.'

b *Ho fatto riparare la propria$_i$ macchina da Gianni$_i$. FP
(I) have made repair the own car by Gianni
'I have had his own car repaired by Gianni.'

As we mentioned previously, Kayne (1975) and Burzio (1986) assumed that the crucial difference between FIs and FPs lies in the type of complement that the causative verb appears with. FIs are biclausal ((7)), whereas FPs are assumed to take a bare VP complement ((9)). The bare VP-hypothesis for FPs entails that the embedded verb is not associated with a Subject position, and therefore the Causee can only be expressed in an adjoined by-phrase, if it is to surface at all. This analysis captures the fact that the indicated binding relations in (21b) and (22b) are illicit, since the antecedent in the intended binding relations is contained in an adjunct,

rather than a Subject, in contrast to (21a) and (22a). The only possible antecedent in these cases is the matrix Subject, as it is the only Subject in the structure:

(23) *Italian* (Burzio 1986:249)

a Maria$_i$ si$_{i/*j}$ é fatta accusare (da Giovanni$_j$). FP
Maria self made accuse by Giovanni
'Maria made Giovanni accuse herself/*himself.'

b Maria$_i$ si$_{*i/j}$ é fatta accusare a Giovanni$_j$. FI
Maria self made accuse Dat Giovanni
'Maria made Giovanni accuse himself/*herself.'

In sum, the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis states that the Causee in an FI is the Subject of a complement clause and therefore it may serve as the antecedent for anaphoric elements. In contrast, the Causee in an FP, if expressed at all, is an adjunct, hence not a Subject and therefore it is not a possible antecedent in an A-dependency.

Recall that the Causee in North Sámi is only optionally realized (e.g. (4) above). Since one of the signifying characteristics of FPs is the possibility to omit the Causee, the Causeeless causative fits comfortably into the FP-profile. However, unlike what we find in languages like Italian and Chichewa, the North Sámi Causee cannot be expressed as a by-phrase, as shown in (24a). For the sake of comparison, we should also mention the fact that by-phrases are not found in this language.[13] Hence, it is impossible to express the agent in a passive clause as a by-phrase as well, (24b):

(24) a Mon oastti-h-in biepmu (*Máhtes / *Máhttii).
I.Nom buy-Cause-Pst.1s food.Acc Máhtte.Loc / Máhtte.Ill
'I caused (*Máhtte) to buy food.'

b Biebmu osto-juvvu-i (*Máhtes / *Máhttii).
food.Nom buy-Pass-Pst.3s Máhtte.Loc / Máhtte.Ill
'Food was bought (*by Máhtte).'

Regardless of whether by-phrases are available or not (in fact, we shall argue in this thesis that the Accusative Causee in (15) *is* the equivalent of the Italian/Chichewa by-phrase), we expect that a reflexive occurring in a Causeeless sentence like (25) could only take the matrix Subject as its antecedent, which turns out to be correct:[14]

(25) a Mon$_i$ oastti-h-in biepmu alcces-an$_i$/*alcces-is$_j$.
I.Nom buy-Cause-Pst.1s food.Acc self.Ill-1s.Px/3s.Px
(i) 'I caused someone to buy food to **myself**.'
(ii) *'I caused **someone** to buy food to **her/himself**.'

b Mon$_i$ loga-h-in girjji alcces-an$_i$/*alcces-is$_j$.
I.Nom read-Cause-Pst.1s book.Acc self.Ill-1s.Px/3s.Px
(i) 'I caused someone to read a book for **myself**.'
(ii) *'I caused **someone** to read a book to **him/herself**.'

c Mon$_i$ divu-h-in skohtera iehčan$_i$/*iežas$_j$ áhččái.
I.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.1s ski-doo.Acc self.Gen.3Px/1Px father.Ill
(i) 'I caused someone to repair the ski-doo for **my** own father.'
(ii) *'I caused **someone** to repair the ski-doo for **his** own father.'

It is therefore reasonable to conclude on the basis of the assumptions spelled-out so far that Causeeless North Sámi causatives are instances of *Faire Par* causatives.

2.3. Interim conclusions

In this section we have reviewed some of the arguments that have been raised in the literature over the years concerning the analyses of FI and FP-causatives. FI causatives are assumed to

involve a clausal complement which includes an embedded Subject, whereas the complement of an FP causative is a bare VP. This split predicts a number of distinctions among FIs and FPs, for instance with regard to the ability of the Causee to serve as the antecedent for the purposes of A-binding. Needless to say, as the theory has developed considerably since the appearance of Kayne (1975) and Burzio (1986), a modern account would look different; for instance, the deepened understanding of the structure of the verb phrase that has emerged in the last decade virtually eliminates the need to posit an S-complement for the FI-causative (e.g. the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis (Kuroda 1986, Kitagawa 1986, Koopman and Sportiche 1992)). Also the various "Split-VP" hypotheses (e.g. Larson 1988, Bowers 1993, Chomsky 1995, Kratzer 1996) have serious consequences for the analysis of FP and raise serious questions about what a "bare" VP is. These questions will be addressed in Chapters 3 and 4. Nevertheless, the Kayne-Burzio hypothesis sets the mark for what any theory must be able to capture, and as such their tools, which may seem fairly crude by today's standards, do a remarkably good job.

We have also seen, on the basis of binding possibilities, that North Sámi also appears to exhibit causatives of both the FI and the FP variety. It should also be remembered that the evidence in favor of an FI-causative in North Sámi will be discarded as invalid at a later stage.

3. FI parameters

One of the key issues in the study of causativization has been the variation in the expression of FIs, which was brought to general attention in for instance Aissen (1979) and Gibson (1980), and subsequently in Marantz (1984) and Baker (1988a). We briefly noticed the most easily detectable sign of cross-linguistic variation in (14) above, namely that the Causee in for instance a Chichewa FI is expressed as a direct object, whereas in Italian and Turkish it appears as an indirect object:

(26) a *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:518)

Nungu i-na-phik-its-a kadzidzi maungu.

porcupine S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV owl pumpkins

'The porcupine made the owl cook the pumpkins.'

b *Italian* (Guasti 1996:295)

Ho fatto riparare la macchina a Gianni.

(I)have made repair the car Dat Gianni

'I made Gianni repair the car.'

c *Turkish* (Aissen 1979:15)

Mehmet Hasan-a bavul-u aç-tir-di.

Mehmet.Nom Hasan-Dat suitcase-Acc open-caus-Pst

'Mehmet caused Hasan to open the suitcase.'

The difference in Case marking of the Causee in Chichewa and Italian/Turkish have far-reaching consequences for the interaction of causation with, for instance, passivization. In this section we shall provide a characterization of the properties that set (26a) apart from (26b)/(26c), and in the process briefly summarize the theories of Baker (1988a) and Watanabe (1996). We shall begin by considering the syntactic behavior of the Base Object, and then proceed to the Causee. In this section we also encounter indications that North Sámi does not entirely fit in under the FI-label.

3.1. Type 1 and Type 2 FIs

It is generally held that FI causatives come in at least two different varieties, cross-linguistically. On the one hand, we have the Chichewa pattern illustrated above in (26a), where the Causee is expressed as a direct object, and on the other hand, the Italian pattern where the Causee appears as an indirect object, (26b)/(26c). Chichewa exemplifies what Baker (1988a), with reference to Gibson (1980), calls a Type 2 causative, and consequently Type 1 is represented by Italian. The descriptive parameters are given in (27) and (29) below:

(27) Causative Rule 1 (Type 1)

GF in embedded clause	*GF in surface clause*
ergative	indirect object
absolutive	direct object

(Baker 1988a: 162)

A brief note is in order regarding the terminology in (27), where reference is made to an ergative-absolutive distinction. The crucial point here is that the expression of the Causee varies depending on the transitivity of the Base Verb. Absolutive, then, is a cover term for the object of a transitive Base Verb and the sole argument of an intransitive Base Verb. As we saw in the Type 1 causative examples (26b) and (26c) above, the Causee is expressed as an indirect object if the Base Verb is transitive, and in this case the Base Object is a direct object. This represents the ergative pattern. However, if the Base Verb is intransitive in such Type 1 causatives, as in (28), then the Causee functions as the direct object; in other words, the pattern is absolutive.[15]

(28) *Turkish* (Aissen 1979:20)

a *pro* çocug-u kos-tur-du-k
child-Acc run-Cause-Pst-1p
'We made the child run.'

b **pro* çocug-a kos-tur-du-k
child-Dat run-Cause-Pst-1p
'We made the child run.'

Let us now turn our attention to Causative Rule 2, or the Type 2 causative, given in (29):

(29) Causative Rule 2 (Type 2)

GF in embedded clause	*GF in surface clause*
Subject	direct object
object	2nd object

(Baker 1988a: 164)

A Type 2 causative is characterized by the fact that the Causee is always expressed as a direct object, whereas the Base Object is identified as a secondary object in the surface clause. As we shall make explicit, this essentially means that the Base Object is syntactically inert and does not participate actively any operations that affect grammatical functions, e.g. passivization. In other words, unlike the Type 1 causative, the Causee always functions as the direct object regardless of the valence of the embedded Base Verb:

(30) *Chichewa*

a Catherine a-na-kolol-ets-a mwana wake chimanga
Catherine S-Pst-harvest-Cause-FV child her corn
'Catherine made her child harvest the corn.' (Baker 1988a:165)

b Buluzi a-na-sek-ets-a ana
lizard S-Pst-laugh-Cause-FV children
'The lizard made the children laugh.' (Baker 1988a:162)

In sum, the Type 1 – Type 2 distinction among FIs is concerned with the grammatical functions borne by the objects in causative sentences. We shall now continue by considering the empirical consequences of the descriptive parameters (27) and (29).

3.2. The behavior of the Base Object under passivization

We will now consider the properties of the Base Object in the two causative types. The Causative Rules (27) and (29) state that the Base Object is assigned different grammatical functions in Type 1 and Type 2 constructions. Therefore, a Type 1 language like Turkish and a Type 2 language like Chichewa should behave quite differently with respect to syntactic operations that single out the direct object of the clause. Passivization provides an appropriate diagnostic, since it has the descriptive effect of promoting the underlying direct object to Subject. In the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky 1981 and subsequent work) passive is analyzed as the suppression of the external argument of a verb, along with absorption of the

verb's structural case (cf. Burzio 1986). This, along with the Case Filter (cf. Chomsky 1981) and the Extended Projection Principle (Chomsky 1982), forces the underlying direct object to raise to the Subject position of the clause.[16] Hence we loosely define "direct object" as the argument that receives structural Accusative case from an active verb. Consequently, indirect objects do not play a role in passive formation, since their case licensing is not directly contingent on the verb.

The Causative Rules (27) and (29) make important predictions about the outcome of passivization. Under the hypothesis that Turkish has Type 1 causatives, the Base Object serves as the direct object of the whole causative construction. We therefore expect that the Subject of a passivized causative based on a transitive verb should correspond to the Base Object of a comparable active sentence. Indeed, this prediction is borne out, as shown in (31):

(31) *Turkish* (Aissen 1979:15)

a Mehmet Hasan-a bavul-u aç-tir-di.
Mehmet.Nom Hasan-Dat suitcase-Acc open-caus-Pst
'Mehmet caused Hasan to open the suitcase.'

b Bavul Hasan-a aç-tir-il-di.
suitcase.Nom Hasan-Dat open-Cause-Pass-Pst
'The suitcase was caused to be opened by Hasan (by someone).'

The Base Object in causatives derived by Causative Rule 2 is by comparison syntactically inert (cf. Baker 1988a) and therefore it is anticipated that passivization of a Type 2 causative with a surface string similar to (31b), where the Base Object serves as Subject, should be impossible. The Chichewa example (32) illustrates the point, and the ill-formedness of (32b) is correctly predicted. It is this fact that is referred to by the notion "2nd object" in Causative Rule 2, (29).

(32) *Chichewa* (Baker 1988a:164-5)

a Catherine a-na-kolol-ets-a mwana wake chimanga
Catherine S-Pst-harvest-Cause-FV child her corn
'Catherine made her child harvest the corn.'

b *Chimanga chi-na-kolol-ets-edw-a mwana wake ndi Catherine.
corn S-Pst-harvest-Cause-Pass-FV child her by Catherine
'The corn was made to be harvested by her child by Catherine.'

In sum, the Base Object functions as the direct object of the whole causative construction in Turkish (Type 1), but not in Chichewa (Type 2).

Let us now consider North Sámi. Previously we noticed that the Causee in this language appears with Accusative case, thus resembling Chichewa. This similarity to the Bantu language is further enhanced when certain aspects of passivization is considered. That is, passivization of a North Sámi causative cannot result in the promotion of the Base Object to Subject, as illustrated in (33) through (35):

(33) a Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte guvssi.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc cup.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to break the cup.'

b *Guksi cuvke-h-uvvu-i Máhte.
cup.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s Máhtte.Acc
'The cup was caused to be broken by Máhte (by someone).'

(34) a Mon divu-h-in Máhte biilla.
I.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc car.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to repair the car.'

b *Biila divu-h-uvvu-i Máhte.
car.Nom repair-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s Máhtte.Acc
'The car was caused to be repaired by Máhtte (by someone).'

(35) a Mon loga-h-in Bireha girjji.
I.Nom read-Cause-Pst.1s Biret.Acc book.Acc
'I caused Máret to read a book.'

b *Girjji loga-h-uvvu-i Bireha.
book.Nom read-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s Biret.Acc
'The book was caused to be read by Biret (by someone).'

To reiterate, the fact that the Base Object is illicit as a passive Subject in (33) makes North Sámi look more like Chichewa than Turkish. Consequently, we have an indication that North Sámi forms causatives according to Causative Rule 2, a seemingly sound conclusion, which is also supported by case marking facts in active clauses. The reader is again reminded, however, that this tentative conclusion will be rejected.

The ill-formedness of the passivized Type 2 causatives above is straightforwardly captured under the Kayne-Burzio hypothesis that the FI involves clausal complementation. In fact, it is possible to assimilate the starred sentences (32b), (33b), (34b) and (35b) with so-called super-raising constructions (see Chomsky 1986a), illustrated in (36):

(36) *[S **mussels**$_i$ [VP seem [S John to [VP like t_i]]]]

(36) is ruled out because the DP mussels has illicitly moved from the object position of the complement clause, across the embedded Subject, into the matrix Subject position. Thus, (36) constitutes a violation of conditions concerned with syntactic locality. Baker (1988a) suggests that the trace left behind by DP-movement in (32b) (which is comparable to t_i in (36)) violates Binding Principle A; Chomsky (1986a) proposes that super-raising of the kind in (36) is prohibited by the Empty Category Principle. More modern theories invoke the Minimal Link Condition/Shortest Move, which we shall return to in Chapter 6. Suffice it to say that a locality condition, whichever way it is formulated, requires that the candidate closest to the landing site

move. Thus in a structure of the schematic form [...α...β...γ...], where α is a landing site for A-movement, β and γ arguments, and β asymmetrically c-commands γ, γ cannot move to α.

The well-formedness of the corresponding Type 1 causatives is more challenging, as they involve apparent violations of the locality requirement. Burzio (1986) and Baker (1988a) propose that FIs of this variety involve VP-raising, which traces its origin to the rule of predicate-raising in earlier transformational grammar (e.g. Aissen 1979). Baker (1988a) proposed that the entire VP headed by the Base Verb raises into the specifier position of the projection of the complement clause, which Baker takes to be a CP, thus assuming the more articulated clausal architecture of Chomsky (1986a).

(37) a [IP Mehmet [VP Cause [CP [VP *open suitcase*] [IP Hasan t_{VP}]

b [IP **suitcase**$_i$ [VP Cause-Pass [CP [VP *open* t_i] [IP Hasan t_{VP}]

By moving the whole embedded VP into SpecCP, as shown in (37a), the embedded Subject does not block further movement of the Base Object, (37b). Another approach, developed for instance in Watanabe (1996), argues that the Base Object in Type 1 FIs involves local movement of the Base Object to a position that C-commands the Causee. This proposal hinges on the idea of Equidistance (see Chomsky 1993, 1995), according to which a moved item may skip a potential landing site, if the potential landing site and the actual landing site are technically equally close to each other. For Watanabe AgrOP is the complement of Cause, a consequence of the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis (e.g. Kuroda 1988, Kitagawa 1986, among others).

(38) a [AgrSP Mehmet [AgrOP **suitcase**$_i$ [VP Cause [AgrOP t_i [VP Hasan open t_i]]]]]

b [AgrSP **suitcase**$_i$ [AgrOP t_i [VP Cause-Pass[AgrOP t_i [VP Hasan open t_i]]]]]

In (38a), suitcase moves into the embedded AgrO-projection, which in Watanabe's theory cannot license Case, and therefore suitcase continues to move from there into the matrix AgrOP, which in contrast is a Case licenser. In the passive (38b), the crucial movement to Subject proceeds from

the matrix AgrOP, not from the base position. Thus, for Watanabe (1996), the distinction between Type 1 and Type 2 constructions lies in whether or not the Base Object is always forced to move into the matrix domain, which is determined by Case Theory.

The findings so far are summarized in (39):

(39)

	Type 1	Type 2	North Sámi
Base Object to Subject	Yes	No	No

3.3. The behavior of the Causee under passivization

We now shift our focus from the Base Object to the Causee. Let us begin by considering the Causee in causatives based on intransitive verbs. As we mentioned above with regard to the Causative Rules (27) and (29), the distinction between the two types is neutralized in these cases, as shown in (40):

(40) a *Turkish* (Aissen 1979:15)

Mehmet Hasan-i agla-t-ti.

Mehmet Hasan-Acc cry-Cause-Pst

'Mehmet made Hasan cry.'

b *Chichewa* (Baker 1988a:162)

Buluzi a-na-sek-ets-a ana

lizard S-Pst-laugh-Cause-FV children

'The lizard made the children laugh.'

In both (40a) and (40b) the Causee is a direct object. Therefore passivization of causatives based on intransitive verbs have the result that the Causee becomes the Subject, as shown in (41):

(41) a *Turkish* (Aissen 1979:15)

Hasan (Mehmet tarafindan) agla-t-il-di.

Hasan Mehmet by cry-Cause-Pass-Pst

Hasan was made to cry (by Mehmet).'

b *Chichewa* (Baker 1988a:163)

Ana a-na-sek-ets-edw-a (ndi buluzi)

children S-Pst-laugh-Cause-Pass-FV by lizard

'The children were made to laugh (by the lizard).'

North Sámi is no different in this regard. In other words, the Causee in causatives based on intransitive verbs appears with Accusative Case in active clauses, and when the causative verb is passivized, the Causee functions as the Subject of the clause, as shown in (42) through (44):

(42) a Mon viega-h-in Máhte.

I.Nom run-cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc

'I caused Máhtte to run.'

b Máhtte viega-h-uvvu-i.

Máhtte.Nom run-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s

'Máhtte was caused to run.'

(43) a Máret danse-h-ii Bireha.

Máret.Nom dance-Cause-Pst.3s Biret.Acc

'Máret caused Biret to dance.'

b Biret danse-h-uvvu-i

Biret.Nom dance-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s

'Biret was caused to dance.'

(44) a Sii vácci-h-edje mánaid.

they walk-Cause-Pst.3p children.Acc

'They caused the children to walk.'

b Mánát vácci-h-uvvo-jedje.
children.Nom walk-Cause-Pass-Pst.3p
'The children were caused to walk.'

The situation becomes more complex when we consider causatives based on transitive verbs. According to the typology in (27) and (29) above, it is expected that the Type 1 FI (27) cannot produce a passive where the Causee serves as the Subject. This follows from the assumption that the Causee functions as an indirect object, rather than a direct object. Thus while we have seen that the Base Object in a Turkish FI can become the Subject in a passive clause, the following example shows that the Causee cannot:

(45) *Turkish* (Aissen 1979:15)

a Mehmet Hasan-a bavul-u aç-tir-di.
Mehmet.Nom Hasan-Dat suitcase-Acc open-Cause-Pst
'Mehmet caused Hasan to open the suitcase.'

b *Hasan bavul-u aç-tir-il-di.
Hasan.Nom suitcase.Acc open-Cause-Pass-Pst
'Hasan was caused to open the suitcase.'

On the other hand, sentences that are comparable to the ill-formed example (45) are expected to be well-formed in Type 2 constructions, since Causative Rule 2 states that the Causee is a direct object. Chichewa provides a good exemplification, (46):

(46) *Chichewa* (Baker 1988a:164-5)

a Catherine a-na-kolol-ets-a mwana wake chimanga
Catherine S-Pst-harvest-Cause-FV child her corn
'Catherine made her child harvest the corn.'

b Mnyamata a-na-kolol-ets-edw-a chimanga ndi Catherine.
boy S-Past-harvest-caus-Pass-FV corn by Catherine
'The boy was made to harvest the corn by Catherine.'

In short, Type 1 and Type 2 FIs are more or less each other's mirror images with regard to the assignment of grammatical functions to the arguments in causative sentences based on transitive verbs.

Let us now consider North Sámi from the perspective of the Causee. As we saw above, passivization cannot result in the promotion of the Base Object to Subject, and thus we concluded that causatives in this language are not of Type 1. However, as illustrated in (47) through (49) below, it is equally impossible for the Causee to become the Subject of a passivized causative when the Base Verb is transitive:

(47) a Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte guvssi.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc cup.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to break the cup.'

b *Máhtte cuvke-h-uvvu-i guvssi.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s cup.Acc
'Máhtte was caused to break the cup.'

(48) a Mon divu-h-in Máhte biilla.
I.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc car.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to repair the car.'

b *Máhtte divu-h-uvvu-i biilla.
Máhtte.Nom repair-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s car.Acc
'Máhtte was caused to repair the car.'

(49) a Mon loga-h-in Bireha girjji.
I.Nom read-Cause-Pst.1s Biret.Acc book.Acc
'I caused Biret to read a book.'

b *Biret loga-h-uvvu-i girjji.
Biret.Nom read-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s book.Acc
'Biret was caused to read the book (by someone).'

While examples (33) through (35) above can be viewed instances of locality violations, as the Base Object has been illicitly promoted to Subject, the same reasoning does not carry over to (47) through (49). Rather, these examples seem to be ill-formed for the same reason as the Turkish sentence (45b). Furthermore, given the well-formedness of the passivized causatives (42b), (43b) and (44b) above, which are based on intransitive verbs, we know that there is no specific ban on passivization of causatives in North Sámi.[17]

Let us briefly consider Baker's (1988a) and Watanabe's (1996) treatment of Type 2 causatives. To put it simply, these authors deal with Type 2 causatives on a par with ECM construction like (50). They differ in that Baker assumes that the Causee receives Accusative Case under government from the causative verb in the classical GB-fashion, whereas Watanabe argues that the Causee raises into the matrix AgrOP along the lines of early Minimalism (Chomsky 1993).

(50) I believe John to like mussels.

The Type 2 causative passivization facts given in (46), which showed that it is the Causee that becomes the Subject of a passive in such cases are easily accommodated in both theories.

Again, matters are somewhat more intricate when it comes to the Type 1 causative. In the earlier discussion we noted that Baker's (1988a) and Watanabe's (1996) approaches to Type 1 FIs differ more profoundly than their respective treatments of the Type 2 construction. However, what we did not bring forth in the previous subsection was their views on how the Causee in the Type 1 causative receives Dative Case. In this regard the two scholars converge on the assumption that it involves an instance of a special licensing mechanism, which we may refer to as Dative-insertion (see also Burzio 1986).

For both Baker and Watanabe, Case Theoretic considerations constitute the underlying basis for the distinction between Type 1 and Type 2 causatives, while assuming, however, very different theoretical underpinnings. Baker makes the specific assumption that languages with Type 2 causatives may sometimes license the Base Object with an inherent Case, whereas in Type 1 constructions this is never an option.[18] Conversely, Type 1 causatives allow the *Causee* to be licensed by an inherent Case, such as Dative Case. Specifically, in Type 1 causatives, the Base Object must always be assigned a structural Case, and the *derived* verb in such languages can assign exactly one such Case. Consider again (37a), repeated as (51):

(51) [IP Mehmet [VP Cause [CP [VP *open suitcase*] [IP Hasan t_{VP}]

Here suitcase is assigned structural Accusative Case, and the Causee Hasan will appear with Dative Case, as a result of the above-mentioned special rule of Dative-insertion. Consider now the impossible derivation from this structure of a passive in which the Causee becomes the Subject, (52):

(52) [IP **Hasan$_i$** [VP Cause-Pass [CP [VP *open suitcase*] [IP t_i t_{VP}]

In principle, the Causee can move to matrix Subject position and receive Nominative Case. The problem is that passive has absorbed the sole structural Case of the verb, and consequently the Base Object cannot receive Accusative Case, and as a result (51) involves a violation of the Case Filter (Chomsky 1981) with respect to suitcase.

In Watanabe's theory on the other hand, the case at hand is viewed as a locality violation. Since the Base Object appears with Accusative Case, it must have raised into the matrix AgrOP, as shown in (53a):

(53) a [AgrSP [AgrOP **suitcase$_i$** [VP Cause-Pass [AgrOP t_i [VP Hasan open t_i]]]]]

b [AgrSP **Hasan$_j$** [AgrOP suitcase$_i$ [VP Cause-Pass [AgrOP t_i [VP t_j open t_i]]]]]

However, in order for the Causee Hasan to reach the matrix Subject position as in (53b), it must move from its base position across two potential intermediate landing sites (the specifiers of the embedded and the matrix AgrO projections) in one fell swoop, which gives rise to a locality violation. Alternatively, if the Causee moves locally through the Agr-projections into the matrix Subject position, then the Base Object fails to be Case licensed.

Where does North Sámi fit into the picture? When viewed in isolation, the sentences (47b), (48b) and (49b) justify an account like the ones just reviewed. That is, the indication is that the relevant North Sámi sentences are Type 1 causatives, therefore it is not possible for the Causee to serve as the Subject of a passivized causative based on a transitive verb (recall that it can serve as the Subject if the Base Verb is intransitive (42) to (44)). However, an account along these lines contradicts the finding from the previous subsection that the Base Object cannot be promoted to subject for reasons of locality.

Table (54) summarizes the passivization findings so far:

(54)

	Type 1	Type 2	North Sámi
Base Object to Subject	Yes	No	No
Causee to Subject (intransitive)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Causee to Subject (transitive)	No	Yes	No

4. More on the *Faire Par* Causative

In this section we consider Grammatical Functions in FP-causatives, and then we shall discuss the important question that deals with the selectional restriction imposed on the Base Verb in FPs. We then discuss the additional fact that FIs and FPs differ with regard to what kinds of complements the Base Verb can occur with. At each point the behavior of North Sámi causatives is compared with the established cases of FI and FP causatives. Sámi will be shown to pattern entirely with FPs. This will allow us to posit that the North Sámi causative is solely an FP, with

no FI instantiation whatsoever. The conflicting behavior just seen with respect to Type 1 versus Type 2 FIs will be shown to become fully predictable, once it is realized that the relevant examples are not FIs at all, but rather FPs.

4.1. Grammatical Functions

In section 2.2.2 above we showed that binding phenomena suggest that FP causatives, in contrast to FIs, do not have an embedded subject. The absence of an embedded subject does not only affect Binding, but also other aspects of the syntax that are sensitive to Grammatical Functions. Consider the pair of Chichewa causatives in (55) below.

(55) *Chichewa*

a *Faire Infinitive (Type 2)* (Baker 1988a:164)

Catherine a-na-kolol-ets-a mwana wake chimanga

Catherine SP-Pst-OP harvest-Cause-Asp child her corn

'Catherine made her child harvest the corn.' (Baker 1988a:164)

b *Faire Par* (Baker 1988a:163)

Anyani a-na-meny-ets-a ana (kwa buluzi).

baboons SP-Pst-hit-Cause-Asp children by lizard

'The baboon made the lizard hit the children.'

Recall that the subject of a passivized Type 2 FI is expressed by the Causee and never by the Base Object as we saw in (32b) and (46b) above, repeated below as (56a) and (57a) respectively. We also concluded in our previous discussion that the ill-formedness of (57) for Type 2 FIs is due to a violation of locality, whether it be Principle A of the Binding Theory as in Baker (1988a), the Empty Category Principle (Chomsky 1986) or Shortest Move (see Watanabe 1996).

(56) *Faire Infinitive* (Baker 1988a:165)

a Mnyamata a-na-kolol-ets-edw-a chimanga ndi Catherine.
boy S-Past-harvest-caus-Pass-FV corn by Catherine
'The boy was made to harvest the corn by Catherine.'

b [$_{IP}$ **boy$_j$** [$_{VP}$ hit$_i$-Cause-Pass [$_S$ t_j [$_{VP}$ t_i corn]]]

(57) *Faire Infinitive* (Baker 1988a:165)

a *Chimanga chi-na-kolol-ets-edw-a mwana wake ndi Catherine.
corn S-Pst-harvest-Cause-Pass-FV child her by Catherine
'The corn was made to be harvested by her child by Catherine.'

b [$_{IP}$ **corn$_j$** [$_{VP}$ harvest$_i$-Cause-Pass [$_S$ her child [$_{VP}$ t_i t_j]]]

In contrast to the ill-formed (57), the Base Object may become the subject when an FP is passivized, (58).

(58) *Faire Par* (Baker 1988a:163)

a Ana a-na-meny-ets-edw-a (kwa buluzi) (ndi anyani).
children SP-Past-hit-caus-Pass-FV by lizard by baboons
'The children were made to be hit by the lizard by the baboons.'

b [$_{IP}$ **children$_j$** [VP hit$_i$-Cause-Pass [VP t_i t_j]]]

The approximate derivation of (58a) is given in (58b), which ignores all adjuncts. Since the complement of the causative formative does not include a subject, the Base Object *can* move into the matrix subject position, without violating any locality conditions on movement.

In section 2.2.2 we also showed that North Sámi allows causatives that fit into the FP-profile, and we have also demonstrated that causatives where the Causee is overtly expressed cannot be passivized, for instance (33b) and (47b) above, repeated here as (59):

(59) a *Guksi cuvke-h-uvvu-i Máhte.
cup.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s Máhtte.Acc
'The cup was caused to be broken by Máhte (by someone).'

b *Máhtte cuvke-h-uvvu-i guvssi.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s cup.Acc
'Máhtte was caused to break the cup.'

As we shall see in later discussion, the ill-formedness of (59) is compatible with the overall conclusion to be drawn, namely that North Sámi causatives are *not* FIs.[19] The Sámi Causeeless causative is different in this regard, however: it *can* be passivized, with the ensuing result that the Base Object becomes the Subject:

(60) a Guksi cuvke-h-uvvu-i.
cup.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s
'The cup was caused to be broken.'

b Biila divu-h-uvvu-i.
Car.Nom repair-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s
'The car was caused to be repaired.'

c Fanas gomih-ahtto-juvvu-i.
boat.Nom turn upside down.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s
'The boat was caused to be turned upside down.'

The well-formedness of the sentences in (60) is thus consistent with the Kayne-Burzio hypothesis that FPs do not involve an embedded subject. The passivization facts are also consistent with the binding facts presented previously.

4.2. Restrictions on the Base Verb

In the previous sections we have discussed cross-linguistic variations among FIs on the one hand, and on the other hand we have also considered some systematic differences between FIs and FPs. Furthermore, we have considered languages that have both FIs and FPs, for instance Romance languages and Chichewa. Also, preliminary findings point in the direction that North Sámi too has causative variants that belong in the FI and FP categories, although there is no perfect match with any of the two FI varieties.

We shall now turn to another contrast between FIs and FPs, namely the range of Base Verbs each allows. Up to this point, we have encountered Chichewa examples like (61), which seem to suggest that FIs and FPs are in free variation, as further illustrated in (62) by Latin American Spanish and North Sámi, (63):

(61) *Chichewa*

a Nungu i-na-phik-its-a kadzidzi maungu.
porcupine S-Past-cook-caus-FV owl pumpkins
'The porcupine made the owl cook the pumpkins.' (Alsina 1992:518)

b Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu (kwa kadzidzi).
porcupine S-Past-cook-caus-FV pumpkins by owl
'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.' (Alsina 1992:518)

(62) *Spanish*

a Hicieron destruir la cuidad a los soldados.
made.3p destroy the city to the soldiers
'They made the soldiers destroy the city.' (Bordelois 1988:57)

b Hicieron destruir la cuidad (por los soldados).
made.3p destroy the city by the soldiers
'They made the soldiers destroy the city.' (Bordelois 1988:58)

(63) *North Sámi*

a Mon divu-h-in Máreha biilla.
I.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.1s Máret.Acc car.Acc
'I caused Máret to repair the car.'

b Mon divu-h-in biilla.
I.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.1s car.Acc
'I caused someone to repair the car.'

Given the Kayne-Burzio dichotomy, the pattern in (61) through (63) is what we expect to find; that is, if one variant can occur, so can the other. Therefore, all things being equal, we now also predict that both the (a) and the (b) examples in (64) and (65) below should be grammatical, on a par with (61) and (62) above. However, as shown in (64) and (65), and as we mentioned in the introductory section, the prediction is only partly correct; the FIs are well-formed, whereas the FPs are ungrammatical.

(64) a *√Faire Infinitive*

Chatsalira a-ku-mv-ets-a ana phokoso.
Chatsalira S-pres-hear-caus-FV children noise
'Chatsalira is making the children hear the noise.' (Alsina 1992: 528)

b **Faire Par*

*Chatsalira a-ku-mv-ets-a phokoso (kwa ana).
Chatsalira S-pres-hear-caus-FV noise by children
'Chatsalira is making the children hear the noise.' (Alsina 1992: 528)

(65) a *√Faire Infinitive*

Hicieron ver la cuidad a los turistas.
made.3p see the city dat the tourists
'They made the tourists see the city.' (Bordelois 1988:58)

b **Faire Par*

*Hicieron ver la cuidad (por los turistas).
made.3p see the city by the turistas
'They made the tourists see the city.' (Bordelois 1988:58)

Various researchers have noted that although (61)/(62) and (64)/(65) involve transitive Base Verbs, the thematic properties of these Base Verbs are subtly different (Bordelois 1988, Guasti 1990, Travis 1992, among others). Verbs like Chichewa phik 'cook,' Spanish destruir 'destroy' take agents as their external arguments, whereas my 'hear' in (64) and ver 'see' in (65) are non-agentive experiencer verbs. On these grounds, Guasti (1990) and Travis (1992), to put it simply, hypothesize that the causative formative in FPs selects a VP headed by an agentive verb.[20] Hence, (64b) and (65b) are ungrammatical because the Base Verbs are non-agentive.

Let us now return to North Sámi. Up to this point, we have encountered quite a few indications that causative sentences where the Causee is overt share a number of properties with FI causatives. We have also seen that North Sámi causatives where the Causee is not expressed at all are identical in their syntactic behavior to FPs in other languages. Svonni & Vinka (2002a) pointed out that if (63a) and (63b) are instances of FIs and FPs respectively, then these should also be sensitive to the contrast between agentive and non-agentive Base Verbs. In doing so, Svonni & Vinka (2002a) examined the possibilities of causativizing non-agentive verbs in North Sámi, such as the perception verbs gullat 'hear' and oaidnit 'see,' and contrasted these with causatives based on agentive verbs. Consider (66) and (67):

(66) a *Mon gula-h-in máná bajána.
I.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.1s child.Acc thunder.Acc
'I caused the child to hear the thunder.'

b *Mon gula-h-in bajána.
I.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.1s thunder.Acc
'I caused someone to hear the thunder.'

(67) a *Mon oainni-h-in máná bohccuid.
I.Nom see-Cause-Pst.1s child.Acc reindeer.Acc
'I caused the child to see the reindeer.'

b *Mon oainni-h-in bohccuid.
I.Nom see-Cause-Pst.1s reindeer.Acc
'I caused someone to see the reindeer.'

Strikingly, and contrary to what is expected if Sámi had both FIs and FPs, both the (a) and the (b)-examples in (66) and (67) are ungrammatical. Given the judgments in (64) (Chichewa) and (65) (Spanish), the ill-formedness of (66) and (67) strongly suggest that these North Sámi sentences are FPs. Moreover, ill-formedness of (66a) and (67a) is entirely unexpected under any analysis treating these as FIs. Therefore (66a) and (66b) show that North Sámi does not have morphological causatives of the FI variety. But if they are not FIs, what are they? The simplest solution is to view them as FPs. We shall immediately consider a further argument pointing in that direction.

4.3. Restrictions on the complement of the Base Verb

In his study on causativization in Chichewa, Alsina (1992) noticed that the range of potential objects that a verb can take when used as a main verb is reduced when the verb serves as the Base Verb in an FP. Specifically, the complement of the Base Verb in an FP cannot be a clause. FIs, on the other hand, exhibit no such restriction. This contrast between FIs and FPs is illustrated by the French examples in (68):

(68) a *Faire Infinitive, French* (Patrick Campana, p.c.)
On a fait affirmer á Mary que John est innocent.
we made claim Dat Mary that John is innocent
'We made Mary claim that John is innocent.'

b *Faire Par, French* (Patrick Campana, p.c.)

*On a fait affirmer (par Mary) que John est innocent.
we made claim by Mary that John is innocent
'We made Mary/someone claim that John is innocent.'

For the purposes of this chapter it will suffice for us to notice that the FI (68a) is well-formed, whereas the FP (68b) is ill-formed; we defer a discussion of why this fact holds to Chapter 5. Notice however that the agentivity of the Base Verb is not at issue here. Let us consider an agentive North Sámi verb like muital-it 'tell/say.' The "simplex" verb muital-it can take both finite and non-finite complement clauses, (69a) and (b), as well as nominal complements, (70).

(69) a Mon muitalin [Máret boahtá disdaga].
I.Nom tell/say.Pst.1s Máret.Nom come.Prs.3s Tuesday.Acc
'I said that Máret will come on Tuesday.'

b Mon muitalin [Máreha boahtit disdaga].
I.Nom tell/say.Pst.1s Máret.Acc come.Inf Tuesday.Acc
'I said that Máret will come on Tuesday.'

(70) Máhtte muitalii máidnasa.
Máhtte.Nom tell/say.Pst.3s adventure tale.Acc
'Máhtte told an adventure tale.'

When the verb muital-it 'tell/say' is causativized, however, we find that the causative equivalents of (69) are ill-formed, as shown in (71), regardless whether the complement clause is finite or non-finite.

(71) a *Mon muital-ahtt-en (Máhte)
I.Nom tell/say-Cause-Pst.1 Máhtte.Acc

[ahte Máret boahtá disdaga].
that Máret.Nom come.Prs.3s Tuesday.Acc

'I caused Máhtte/someone to say that Máret will come on Tuesday.'

b *Mon muital-ahtt-en (Máhte)
I.Nom tell/say-Cause-Pst.1 Máhtte.Acc

[Máreha boahtit disdaga].
Máret.Acc come.Inf Tuesday.Acc

'I caused Máhtte/someone to say that Máret will come on Tuesday.'

What is crucial to notice in (71) is the fact that presence or the absence of the Causee has no impact whatsoever on the grammaticality of the sentences. This makes North Sámi crucially different from the French examples in (68), where we can see that the FI (68a) is perfectly well-formed. Rather, North Sámi patterns systematically on par with the illicit French *Faire Par* causative in (68b). In contrast, if the Base Verb takes a nominal object, the Sámi causative sentence is perfectly grammatical, (72). This means that there is no independent prohibition against causativization of the verb muitalit 'tell/say.Inf' and (72) shows furthermore that the ill-formedness of the examples in (71) must be attributed to the kind of object with which the Base Verb occurs.

(72) Mon muital-ahtt-en (Máhte) máidnasa.
I.Nom tell/say-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc adventure tale.Acc

'I caused Máhtte/someone to tell an adventure tale.'

In short, the Base Verb in North Sámi can never take a clausal complement. Under the assumption that the Causeeless causative is an FP, this is fully expected. However, if causatives with an Accusative Causee were instantiations of the FI variety, then we would expect (68) to be fine. Therefore, the indication is that the North Sámi Accusative Causee is related to the by-

phrase Causee found in Romance and Chichewa; and thus all causative sentences in North Sámi are of the FP variety.

4.4. Summary

In this section we have established that FP causatives can only be formed from agentive Base Verbs, and that the object of the Base Verb in an FP cannot be a complement clause. The table in (73) summarizes the basic findings of this section.

(73)

	FI	FP	North Sámi
Non-agentive Base Verb	Yes	No	No
Base Verb + S	Yes	No	No

One of the consequences that emerged from the discussion is that the North Sámi accusative Causee must be treated on par with the adjunct by-phrase found in Romance and Chichewa, a conclusion also drawn in Svonni & Vinka (2002a). Svonni & Vinka attempted to accommodate the North Sámi Causee by assuming that it is an optional argument of the causative verb. While Svonni & Vinka's analysis is fully compatible with existing proposals in the causative literature, for instance Marantz (1993) and Hoffman (1991), it is highly questionable whether such a compatibility is desirable, because the latter authors are exclusively concerned with FIs. Therefore, Svonni & Vinka's proposal suffers from the drawback that it fails to provide a principled account why the Sámi accusative Causee shares some core properties with the adjunct Causee in Romance and Chichewa. In Chapter 5 we shall argue that the North Sámi Causee is introduced into the specifier of an Applicative Phrase. This way, we claim, it is possible to capture the similarities it exhibits with the optional adpositional Causee, as well as as it enables a straightforward way to account for the dissimilarities between the two.

5. Conclusions

In this chapter we have presented a descriptive survey of FIs and FPs, reviewing a number of asymmetries that hold between the two. In the process we have contrasted productive morphological causatives in North Sámi against well-established representatives of the various causative types. We have encountered strong evidence that North Sámi has causatives of the FP variety, and at a first tentative glance it also appeared that the language also has FIs. However, based on observations regarding the kind of Base Verb that the causative requires, and restrictions imposed on the Base Object in FPs, we are forced to the conclusion that the FI is in fact not present in North Sámi. Rather, productive morphological causatives in North Sámi are invariably of the FP variety. In the following chapters we will encounter further evidence for this claim.

We have situated North Sámi causatives in the general map over causativization. We have kept the theoretical discussion to a minimum in this chapter, concentrating on the essential diagnostic ingredients of the Kayne-Burzio hypothesis. This hypothesis provides a good yardstick for approximations of various causative constructions. However, the fact that it must be supplemented with auxiliary assumptions in order to prevent overgeneration also suggests that it is insufficient. The putative agentivity restriction that holds for the Base Verb in FPs does not obviously follow from anything in the Kayne-Burzio hypothesis. Also the fact that the Base Verb in FPs cannot take clausal complements is entirely unexpected under this view. In subsequent chapters we shall take these facts into consideration, and propose a revised theory of FP causatives.

Notes Chapter 2

[1]The morphological nature of causative formation in both Sámi and the Chichewa example (2) is a widely attested pattern among the languages of the world, for instance Japanese (Kuno 1973, Inoue 1976, Shibatani 1976), Turkish (Aissen 1979), Mohawk (Baker 1996, 1997a), Chamorro (Chung 1982), to mention a few.

[2]Contrary to what was assumed in Baker (1988a), Alsina (1992) points out that both (2) and (3) are possible in a single dialect of Chichewa, namely the one spoken by Sam Mchombo.

[3]It is of course not the case that the *exact* structure (7) has figured in all these works; a lot has happened since the 1970s. For Baker (1988a), for instance, Kayne's embedded S corresponds to CP (Chomsky 1986). In still more contemporary work, such as Watanabe (1996), S ranges over AgrOP or AgrSP. These are not innocent details and they have considerable theoretical consequences.

[4]An approach that is further developed and explored in the seminal work on syntactic incorporation by Baker (1988a).

[5]For recent discussions on the notions subject and object, see Baker (2001) and McCloskey (1997).

[6]Notice that the exact nature of the binding phenomena is not important, i.e. whether we are dealing with anaphors or logophors in the sense of Reinhart & Reuland (1993). Thus, regardless of this distinction, the reflexive elements in (11) through (13) cannot be bound by standard direct and indirect objects, whereas they can be bound by a Causee.

[7]For a discussion about the more fine-grained properties of the Italian reflexive propria, see Harbert (1995:193) and the references cited therein.

[8]The term "Illative" can be used interchangeably with "Dative."

[9]Thanks to Tomokazu Takehisa for this suggestion.

[10]The most thorough investigation of Binding in North Sámi to this date is found in Outakoski (2002), who investigates in particular long distance anaphora.

[11]The reader should notice that (20) suggests that anaphors are subject-oriented in North Sámi, a fact which shall be important in another context.

[12]Notice that Japanese does not have FP-causatives. Turkish, at least given the discussion in Aissen (1979), appears to lack FPs as well; whether or not this is correct is not important for our purposes. However, Ayse Gürel (p.c) points out that the Turkish causee can be omitted in certain environments. I have not investigated this phenomenon.

[13]Bible translations do exhibit by-phrases, as do certain other translated documents. However, aside from these sources, by-phrases are simply not used by native speakers (at least not in the Torne dialect). It is therefore rather arbitrary what kind of expression we assign to the intended adjuncts in (24). However, I choose Locative Case because this is one of the realizations of the Biblical by-phrases, and Illative Case due to its proximity to Dative Case, which sometimes is taken to be an oblique marker in the intended sense. Notice, however, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that in some North Sámi dialects that are not under consideration here, the Causee is expressed with Illative Case.

[14]Notice that the translations of Causeeless FPs will denote the semantically implicit Causee as 'someone.'

[15]Surface Case marking is however not a diagnostic per se, as there are languages where the Causee exhibits an "ergative-absolutive" alternation in the sense of (27), but whose causatives nevertheless fail to qualify as Type 1. Japanese and Sanskrit are such languages. Therefore, the classification of FIs must ultimately be determined on other grounds, such as the interaction with passives. See Aissen (1979) and Baker (1988a).

[16]This rough characterization is in various technical details at odds with contemporary views on passivization. We shall return to this issue in Chapter 6.

[17]Such constraints are known to exist in French and Spanish (Kayne 1975, Aissen 1979, Zubizarreta 1985), as shown by the following examples from Aissen (1979:59):

(i) *French*
  a Robert a fait tomber Jean
    'Robert made Jean fall.'
  b *Jean a été fait tomber par Robert.
    Jean was made to fall by Robert.'

(ii) *Spanish*
  a La Doña hizo comer a los niños
    'The Doña made the children eat.'
  b *Los niños fueron hechos comer por la Doña.
    'The children were made to eat by the Doña.'

[18]See Baker (1988a:171-180) for discussion.

[19]Although the ill formedness of (59) is not a necessary consequence of that conclusion.

[20]There are other accounts that aim at capturing the restrictions found in FPs, for instance Alsina (1992) and Guasti (1993, 1996), which will be thoroughly reviewed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

The North Sámi Faire Par *Causative: Verbal Projections*

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1. Introduction

Most people that have been concerned with the distinction between FIs and FPs agree on certain basic things, for instance that FP formation is more constrained than the formation of FIs. Within the predominant branch of the Principles and Parameters framework that pursues a syntactic approach to causativization, there is also a wide consensus that the Kayne-Burzio hypothesis, which we explicated in the previous chapter, is well-suited to handle geometrical notions like prominence relations among arguments in FPs. At the same time, however, this hypothesis has little or nothing to say about the lexical-semantic restrictions that apply to the Base Verb. A general trend that has gained popularity among syntacticians over the past decade or so is to take such lexical-semantic questions seriously, with the hope that they might assist in unraveling deeper insights into syntactic theory. However, there is often a noticeable absence of consensus about what these insights might be. This kind of disagreement tends to stem what basic assumptions are being adopted and/or from the kind and range of data taken into consideration.

The debate about the relevant factors involved in constraining the application of FP formation has this flavor, although it has had a relatively low profile in comparison to other issues. The pertinent question that must be addressed is why there is a contrast between (1a) and (1b):

(1) *French* (Patrick Campana p.c.)

a J'ai fait détruire la voiture (*par Jean*).
I made destroy the car by Jean
'I caused Jean/somebody to destroy the car.'

b *On a fait écouter du bruit (*par Jean*).
we have made hear of the noise by Jean
'We caused Jean/somebody to hear the noise.'

In abstract terms, both sentences in (1) are identical. In each clause there is a causative agent, a causative verb, a Base Verb, a Base Object and an optional Causee. Hence, in the geometry of an abstract syntactic tree diagram based on the Kayne-Burzio analysis of FPs the two sentences are indistinguishable. However, a brief examination of the actual Base Verbs occurring in (1) reveals that they do not belong in same semantic class. For instance, détruire 'destroy' is an agentive accomplishment verb, whereas écouter 'hear' is an experiencer verb, and this fact appears to be intimately linked to the judgments indicated in (1). This semantic distinction has obvious consequences for the thematic properties of the two verbs, which has inspired two distinct hypotheses as to how the contrast in (1) should be approached. One view (e.g. Bordelois 1988, Travis 1992) assumes that the Base Verb must be agentive, and another hypothesis states that the Base Verb must take an affected argument (Guasti 1993, 1996). To simplify matters somewhat, these two hypotheses essentially focus on different slots in the theta-grid of the verbs. For instance, détruire 'destroy' but not écouter 'hear' takes an agent as its *external* argument. Conversely, détruire 'destroy' but not écouter 'hear' takes an affected *internal* argument.

In this chapter we shall argue for a position that is most closely related to the agentivity based approach. Essentially we shall show that any simplex verb that fails to qualify as agentive also fails to participate in the FP causative. This, we shall demonstrate, provides a strong argument against theories that seek to curb the formation of FPs in terms of affectedness. However, we shall also show that the agentivity hypothesis is problematic as well. The very

tests that diagnose whether or not a simplex verb is agentive consistently show that the Base Verb in an FP is void of agentivity. This result, however, is consistent with a certain hypothesis regarding the internal structure of the verb phrase. In recent years it has become widely accepted that the verb phrase has more internal structure than what meets the eye. Specifically, Kratzer (1996) and Chomsky (1995) claim that verbs do not take external arguments at all, and therefore they do not contain any information pertaining to the external argument. Rather, the external argument is introduced into the specifier of a functional head, Voice for Kratzer (1996) and *v* for Chomsky (1995), which may be agentive. Hence, we shall reach the conclusion that the causative formative in (1) combines only with those verbs that are eligible to combine with the agentive Voice head.

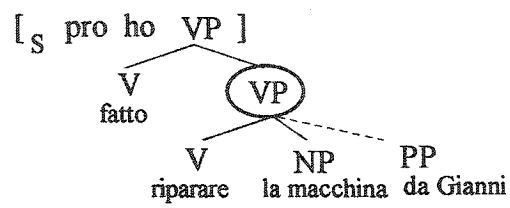
The chapter is organized as follows. In section 2 we discuss some of the major points that have been raised in the literature primarily in favor of the aforementioned affectedness hypothesis. However, causativization possibilities in North Sámi provide new evidence in favor of the idea that the agentivity hypothesis picks out the right subset of verbs that can be embedded under the FP-causative. However, in doing so, it is also imperative that we define some independent diagnostics that distinguish between agentive and non-agentive simplex verbs. This is the topic of section 3. We also adopt the theory of Kratzer (1996) in which the locus of agentivity is in a functional Voice-head that introduces the external argument in its specifier and takes the verb as its complement. In section 5, we apply the tests from section 4 to causativized verbs, and the findings strongly suggest that the Base Verb does not comprise of a Voice projection, as it fails to exhibit any signs of agentivity. These facts therefore support the idea that the agentivity specification is not part of the verb proper. This in turn provides support for a neo-Kayne-Burzio analysis of FPs. Section 5 provides some concluding remarks and sums up the major points made.

2. Previous approaches to *Faire Par*

As we discussed in some detail in Chapter 2, Kayne (1975) and Burzio (1986) proposed that *Faire Par* causatives, exemplified in (2a), have a syntactic structure in which the causative verb faire 'make' takes a bare VP complement, as schematically illustrated in (2b).

(2) a Ho fatto riparare la macchina (da Gianni)
(I) have made repair the car by Gianni
'I had the car repaired by Gianni.' (Guasti 1996:295)

b



In Chapter 2 we noticed that the Kayne-Burzio hypothesis makes a number of correct predictions. In particular, it provides an elegant way to account for why the Causee in FP does not exhibit any signs of subjecthood, in contrast to the Causee in the FI causative, hence accounting for a number of asymmetries whose common core has been captured by Chomsky's (1973) Specified Subject Condition, i.e. locality (see also Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980, Herschensohn 1980, Quicoli 1980, Hulk 1984 among others).[1]

However, structure (2b) also raises a number of questions. One of the challenges is why it does not result in a violation of the Theta Criterion (e.g. Chomsky 1981, 1986b). Since the Base Verb riparare 'repair' in (2a) is transitive, it has an external theta role (under classical assumptions, that is),[2] which to all appearances is not assigned and therefore we expect a theta violation to occur. However, since the sentence is fully grammatical, it is necessary empirically that no principle of grammar be violated. One possibility that has been considered in the literature is that the Base Verb in (2) has been passivized (see for instance Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980) and Rosen (1989)). While an account along these lines explains why the external argument of the Base Verb is suppressed and why it may surface in a by-phrase, it conflicts with several facts that

strongly suggest that passive is not a factor in the formation of FPs. Firstly, the Base Verb is conspicuously void of passive morphology. Hence, it must be assumed that FPs involve a null-morpheme for the passive, which is restricted to exactly this environment. This would not be extraordinary by itself, although it is somewhat remarkable that every language where FP causatives occur would resort to the null morpheme. After all, a fairly common strategy for adding additional support for the existence of null morphemes is by finding a language that uses an overt morpheme in the same context. This method is used for instance by Cinque (1999) in finding support for his claim that the CP-IP domain consists of a dozen or so functional projections. Along similar lines, Marantz (1993) and Baker (1988a) argue for the existence of a null applied morpheme in English on the basis of, for instance, the Bantu languages, where applied morphemes are overt.[3] In this context, the glaring cross-linguistic absence of an overt passive morpheme in the FP causative is suspicious, although admittedly not necessarily fatal. If it would turn out that the embedded domain in (2b) exhibits the range of syntactic properties normally associated with a passive, then there would nevertheless be good reasons to believe that we are dealing with a passive. However, the syntax of the Base Verb in FPs is not comparable to the syntax of passives. For instance, not all verbs that can be passivized are eligible to serve as Base Verbs in the FP. Consider the contrast between the well-formed passive (3a) and the ill-formed FP-causative (3b):

(3) *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992: 528)

a *Passive*

Phokoso	li-ku-mv-edw-a	(ndi ana).
noise	S-Prs-hear-Pass-FV	(by children)

'The noise is being heard (by the children)

b *Faire Par*

*Chatsalira a-ku-mv-ets-a phokoso (kwa ana).

Chatsalira S-Prs-hear-Cause-FV noise by children

'Chatsalira is making the children hear the noise.'

So, the question would now be why passive is fine in (3a), but not in (3b)? Moreover, Guasti (1990: 208) points out a further contrast that differentiates passives and FPs. Indefinite anaphors may occur in plain passives in Italian, being bound by the passive agent, (4a). However, an indefinite anaphor cannot be bound by the agent of the Base Verb in the FP causative:

(4) *Italian* (Guasti 1990:208)

a *Passive*

Questo genete di privilego viene sempre riservato sole a *se stessi* (da chiunque).

This kind of privileges is always kept only to oneself-p (by everyone)

b *Faire Par*

*In quello spettacolo il regista ha fatto flagellare *se stessi* (dagli attori).

In that show the director made flagellate oneself-p (by the actors)

The contrast between the passive (4a) and the FP causative (4b) is unexpected if the latter involves a bona fide passive Base Verb. Specifically, the syntax of passives and FPs is not comparable. In short, the cumulative effect of the points raised in this paragraph strongly argue against a passive analysis of the FP causative, and therefore we conclude that the Base Verb in (2b) has not been passivized. Rather, we seem to be dealing with a radically subject-less structure.

However, the contrast between (5a) and (5b) below touches an issue of another character, that we have discussed in the previous chapter.

(5) a Anyani a-na-meny-ets-a ana (kwa buluzi)
baboons S-Pst-hit-Cause-FV children by lizard
'The baboons made the lizard hit the children.' (Baker 1988a:165)

b *Chatsalira a-ku-mv-ets-a phokoso (kwa ana).
Chatsalira S-Prs-hear-Cause-FV noise by children
'Chatsalira is making the children hear the noise.' (Alsina 1992: 528)

The contrast between the two sentences in (5) is quite unexpected under the Kayne-Burzio structure (2b), because (5a) and (5b) are identical in terms of the syntactic building blocks they consist of. Both sentences are instances of FP-causatives, and the Base Verb in each is transitive and the Causee is optionally expressed as an adjoined by-phrase, thus conforming to the syntactic structure given in (2b) above. Nevertheless, only (5a) is well-formed. Therefore, the analysis (2b) must inevitably be complemented with some auxiliary assumption. In this section we shall consider two proposals that are concerned with how this additional condition should be characterized. In Chapter 2 we underlined that some researchers, e.g. Bordelois (1988), Guasti (1990) and Travis (1991, 1992), have proposed that the complement VP in an FP-causative must headed by an agentive verb. This hypothesis rules out (5b), as perception verbs like hear, see etc. are non-agentive, and by the same token (5a) is allowed, since the Base Verb meny 'hit' is agentive. We shall refer to this additional condition as the *Agentivity Hypothesis*, (6):

(6) The Agentivity Hypothesis

The Base Verb heading the bare VP complement in a *Faire Par* causative must be agentive.

Another influential school of thought, among whose most prominent proponents we find Alsina (1992) and Guasti (1993, 1996), argue that the relevant factor involved in constraining FP-formation is not agentivity, but affectedness. Notwithstanding the fact that Alsina (1992) and Guasti (1993, 1996) represent different theoretical orientations (LFG and late-GB, respectively),

they converge on the important point that the object of the embedded verb plays a crucial role: it must be an affected object. Hence, we refer to this approach as the *Affectedness Hypothesis*:

(7) The Affectedness Hypothesis

The object of the Base Verb in a *Faire Par* causative must be affected.

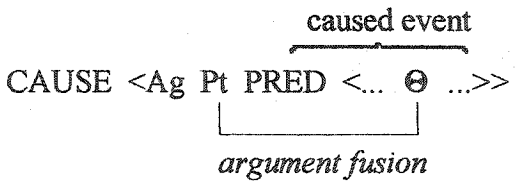
In this section we shall consider these Hypotheses and their implications in some detail. We reach the conclusion that an affectedness based approach fails on empirical grounds. However, the cases where the Affectedness Hypothesis breaks down are straightforwardly handled by the Agentivity Hypothesis.

2.1. Affectedness versus Agentivity

In order to handle contrasts like the one between (5a) and (5b) above, Guasti (1993) presents a theory that shares the basic tenet of the passivization approach, namely that the external argument is suppressed, with the consequence that the theta theoretic problem that we mentioned previously can be circumvented. Guasti (1993) specifically argues that the presence of an affected object in the causative complement enables the external argument of the embedded verb to be *lexically* suppressed. Therefore, (5a) above is well-formed since the object of the verb meny 'hit' is an affected argument, thus enabling the suppression of the external argument. This is different from passives, which Guasti assumes to be syntactically formed.[4] As a consequence, the Base Verb does not need not an extended projection, such as an S/IP.[5] In contrast, the object of a perception verb, for instance my 'hear' in (5b), does not qualify as affected. Therefore the external argument of the embedded verb in (5b) has been spuriously suppressed, which results in ungrammaticality.

The other major proponent of the Affectedness Hypothesis is Alsina (1992), who takes a route that is different from Guasti (1993, 1996). To begin with, he assumes that the causative formative is a three-place predicate which in addition to taking a causative agent and an embedded event, also takes a Patient argument (Pt), (8):

(8)



For Alsina, the affected argument in the causative template (8) is the Patient. The Patient undergoes *argument fusion* with an argument in the embedded event. Argument fusion is constrained in such a way that the embedded argument targeted for fusion must be able to match the affectedness specification of the Patient. Hence, Alsina's analysis of the contrast in (5) is similar in spirit to Guasti's (1993) account. That is, the well-formedness of (5a) is attributed to the successful application of argument fusion. Since the object of the Base Verb is affected, this argument may fuse with the Patient in (8). Similarly, the ungrammaticality of (5b) is a consequence of the fact that the Base Object is not affected, and therefore it is not a legitimate candidate for argument fusion. In brief, both an analysis relying on an agentivity restriction as well as approaches assuming an affectedness constraint can successfully account for the contrast between (5a) and (5b) above.

Now, consider once again the North Sámi causatives in (9):

(9) a Máhtte cuvke-h-ii (Máreha) láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc window.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret/someone to break the window.'

b *Máhtte oainni-h-ii (Máreha) láse.
Máhtte.Nom see-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc window.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret/someone to see the window.'

As may be recalled from Chapter 2, we argued in part on the basis of the contrast between (9a) and (9b) that productive morphological causatives in North Sámi must be FPs (compare (5)). Both the Agentivity Hypothesis and the Affectedness Hypothesis can account for the judgments

of the North Sámi sentences (9a) and (9b), under the assumption that these are FPs. The agentivity restriction captures the contrast between (9a) and (9b), since the Base Verb cuvket 'break.Tr.Inf' is agentive, and therefore it is correctly predicted that (9a) is grammatical. The ill-formedness of (9b), on that view, follows from the fact that the Base Verb is non-agentive. The Affectedness Hypothesis also makes correct predictions about the sentences in (9). The object of the verb cuvket 'break.Tr.Inf' is affected, and consequently (9a) is grammatical. It also rules out (9b), on the grounds that the thing perceived is not affected in any sense by the event denoted by the verb oaidnit 'see.Inf.'

While the agentivity and affectedness based theories make equivalent predictions concerning FPs derived from transitive verbs, they part company once intransitive verbs are taken into the picture. Unaccusative verbs provide an excellent testing ground for the two views, since they are prototypically non-agentive. The Agentivity Hypothesis firmly denies the possibility for such verbs to serve as Base Verbs in the FP causative, for the same reason that perception verbs are illicit in this causative frame ((5b) and (9b)). On the other hand, the Affectedness Hypothesis would not inherently prevent unaccusatives from appearing in FPs.

Alsina (1992) and Guasti (1993, 1996) make subtly different predictions in this matter as a result of their respective implementations of the affectedness constraint. For Alsina it is a prerequisite for argument fusion that there is an argument in the embedded event that can be affected. In other words, only those unaccusatives whose sole obligatory argument is affected are expected to be licit in causatives; however, a great many unaccusatives do take an affected argument, and thus they should be able to causativize. In Guasti's (1993, 1996) theory, on the other hand, the role played by affectedness lies in enabling lexical suppression of the Base Verb's external argument. Thus, if the embedded VP independently lacks an external argument, then it may trivially serve as the bare VP complement of the causative formative. Therefore, both Alsina and Guasti agree that there should be no principled exclusion of unaccusative Base Verbs in FP-formation.

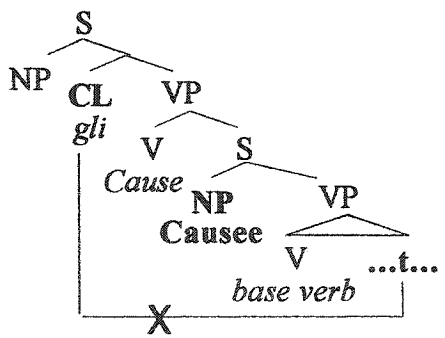
The precedent for this view is found in Burzio (1986), who argued that causativized unaccusatives invariably form FPs. In order to appreciate this claim, let us briefly consider Burzio's argument, which is based the behavior of dative clitics in Italian. Burzio noticed that dative clitics understood as arguments of the Base Verb cannot occur in causatives of the *Faire Infinitive* variety, (10a), but are fully grammatical in the FP-causative, (10b):

(10) a *Gli$_i$ faccio scrivere una lettera t_i a Maria.
to-him I will make write a letter Dat Maria
'I will make Maria write a letter to him.' (Burzio 1986:260)

b Gli$_i$ faccio scrivere una lettera t_i da Maria.
to-him I will make write a letter by Maria
'I will make Maria write a letter to him.' (Mario Fadda, p.c.)

The contrast between the two sentences in (10) follows from the hypothesis that they are structurally distinct. Specifically, the causative verb in (10a) takes a clausal complement, whose subject is the dative Causee a Maria.[6]

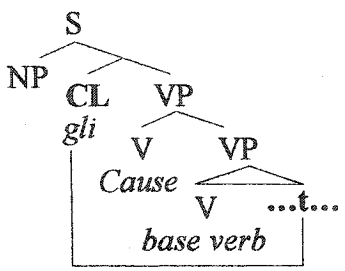
(11)



To put it simply, due to the presence of an embedded subject, namely the Causee, the dative clitic in (10a) fails to establish the right kind of relation with its trace, which results in ungrammaticality. However, the relation between the clitic and its trace in (10b) can be successfully established, a locality violation, since the embedded domain in an FP causative does

not involve an S node and consequently there is no structural subject that disrupts the path between gli and its trace:

(12)



Burzio (1986) then noticed that causativized unaccusatives behave exactly like the FP-causative (10b) in this regard, as shown in (13). That is, the dative clitic can successfully be related with the trace in the embedded VP in (13) on par with (11b):

(13) **Gli$_i$** faccio [$_{VP}$ apparire Giovanni **t$_i$**].
to-him I-will make appear Giovanni
'I will make Giovanni appear to him.' (Burzio 1986:274)

Therefore Burzio concluded that causativized unaccusatives such as (13) are FP-causatives. The cliticization test is important, because sentences like (13) do not involve a dative Causee in contrast to (10a), a consequence of the absolutive pattern found in Type 1 FIs based on intransitive verbs (see Chapter 2), nor is a by-phrase possible, unlike (10b), since these are reserved for the external argument of the Base Verb. The well-formedness of (13), according to Burzio, therefore shows that the complement of the causative formative is not an S; if Giovanni in (13) were an embedded subject, then sentence would be ruled out on par with (10a). Rather, the complement is a bare VP, and by parity of reasoning this means that (13) is an FP.

What this means for Guasti (1993, 1996) is that demotion of the external argument of the Base Verb, which is contingent on the existence of an affected object, is not a prerequisite for FP-formation. Rather, in line with Burzio, any VP which does not include an external argument can be embedded under Cause yielding an FP. Hence, Guasti's theory imposes no restrictions on

(FP-) causativization of unaccusatives, and furthermore, it preserves the claim of the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis that FPs by definition involve bare VP complementation. In other words, FP-hood is seen a purely structural property. Alsina's theory would predict that a great many, but as we mentioned above, not necessarily all unaccusatives can participate in the causativization operation.

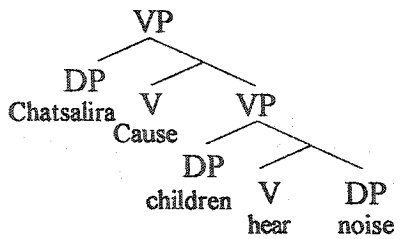
These considerations, if correct, would constitute effective counter-evidence against an agentivity based theory of FPs. Moreover, Guasti's (1993, 1996) theory makes a further claim, namely that the FI-FP dichotomy has nothing to do with causative formation per se, but is rather an artifact determined by whether or not a language has access to the option of performing the operation of lexical suppression of the external argument of a verb.

All things being equal, the agentivity based theory seems a less attractive alternative. It predicts that unaccusatives are incompatible with FP-causativization, and it asserts that the FI-FP dichotomy is real, thus facing both empirical and conceptual challenges. To meet those challenges would amount to showing that all things are *not* equal. Firstly, one should raise the question if the affectedness proponents, as well as Burzio (1986) who remained silent on these matters, have shown that causativized unaccusatives *must* be FPs. In other words, is it a requirement that a bare VP complement of a causative formative automatically implies that we are dealing with an FP?

The answer to this question is a firm "no." In fact, given some version of the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis (Kuroda 1988, Kitagawa 1986, Koopman & Sportiche 1992 among others), not only FPs, but indeed also FIs arguably involve some form of bare VP complementation, as argued in e.g. Li (1990) (see also Hoffman 1991, Marantz 1993 and Baker 1995b). Granted the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis, an FI causative like (14a) has the the approximate (partial) structural representation (14b):

(14) a Chatsalira a-ku-mv-ets-a ana phokoso.
Chatsalira S-Prs-hear-Cause-FV children noise
'Chatsalira is making the children hear the noise.'

b



One can further easily imagine that the causative formative in an FI selects a Complete Functional Complex (CFC) (Chomsky 1986b) as its complement, i.e. the minimal structural domain within which the thematic properties of the verb are satisfied (see Baker 1995a, c). In such a case, a transitive VP including the VP-internal subject and an unaccusative VP would be on equal footing, since in each instance we would have a verb phrase that is thematically complete. In other words, from this perspective it would be irrelevant whether the head of the VP is transitive or unaccusative. The complement in an FP, in contrast, does not constitute a CFC, since the projection of the complement excludes the external argument of the Base Verb. We mentioned above one fact from Italian that is highly pertinent. (4), repeated as (15), shows that indefinite anaphors are licit in passives, but impossible in Italian FPs, since the anaphor fails to find an antecedent in the embedded domain:

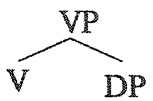
(15) a *Passive*
Questo genete di privilego viene sempre riservato sole a *se stessi* (da chiunque).
This kind of privileges is always kept only to oneself-p (by everyone)

b *Faire Par*
*In quello spettacolo il regista ha fatto flagellare *se stessi* (dagli attori).
In that show the director made flagellate oneself-p (by the actors)

The ill-formedness of (15b) is a strong indication that the projection of the Base Verb does not constitute a CFC, in contrast to the passive sentence (15a). Chomsky (1986b) argues that

anaphors must be bound within a Complete Functional Complex, and because binding does not obtain between the implicit Causee and the anaphor in (15b), we have fairly straightforward evidence that the bare VP complement in FPs is not a CFC. In spite of the slightly outdated character of the Complete Functional Complexes, the notion of a CFC is useful here because it predicts that a single-layered simplex VP, like the one given in (16), can be of two kinds: on the hand it may be a thematically complete projection of an unaccusative verb, and on the other hand it may be a thematically incomplete projection of a transitive verb:

(16)



We are now ready to reconsider (13) above, repeated here as (17), and we can now afford to concede that it may have an FP-looking syntactic structure, without implying that it is an actual FP.

(17) **Gli$_i$** faccio [$_{VP}$ apparire Giovanni **t$_i$**].
to-him I-will make appear Giovanni
'I will make Giovanni appear to him.' (Burzio 1986:274)

In other words, showing that a causative complement is a VP does *not* amount to showing that it *must* be an FP.

From these considerations alone, we are now faced with the prospect that it is virtually impossible to choose between the Agentivity Hypothesis and the Affectedness Hypothesis, at least as long as we consider languages like Italian and Chichewa. Since these languages have both FIs and FPs in their causative inventory, it is always possible to regard a causative based on an unaccusative verb to be an FP, as Guasti's (1993, 1996) version of the Affected Hypothesis would predict, or as an FI, as the Agentivity Hypothesis would predict. In a situation like this we have an unbreakable tie. What we need then, is a language that lacks the FI-variety of causatives altogether. Fortunately, we have argued that North Sámi is just such a language on the

basis in part of examples like (18), which show that non-agentive perception verbs cannot be causativized in this language.

(18) a Máhtte cuvke-h-ii (Máreha) láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc window.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret/someone to break the window.'

b *Máhtte oainni-h-ii (Máreha) láse.
Máhtte.Nom see-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc window.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret/someone to see the window.'

The fact that (18b) is ill-formed regardless of whether the Causee is present or not, makes it distinct enough from, say, Chichewa (19a) and Italian (19b), to facilitate a fruitful syntactic comparison.

(19) a Chatsalira a-ku-mv-ets-a *(ana) phokoso.
Chatsalira S-Prs-hear-Cause-FV children noise
'Chatsalira is making the children hear the noise.' (Alsina 1992: 528)

b Maria ha fatto vedere le foto delle vacanza *(a Gianni).
Mária has made see the photos of-the vacation Dat Gianni
'Maria made Gianni see the holiday pictures.' (Mario Fadda, p.c.)

The predictions of Affectedness Hypothesis and the Agentivity Hypothesis can now be tested. Specifically, the Affectedness Hypothesis predicts that causatives based on unaccusative verbs should be fully grammatical, whereas the Agentivity Hypothesis predicts that such causatives should be systematically impossible. Consider now the North Sámi example (20), where we find the unaccusative Base Verb heavvan- 'drown.Intr.' Since the sole argument of this verb clearly is affected (the entity that undergoes the drowning event does in fact die as a result of it), both Alsina (1992) and Guasti (1993, 1996) predict sentence (20) to be fully grammatical.

(20) *Máhtte heavvan-aht-ii Máreha.
Máhtte.Nom drown.Intr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret/someone to drown.'

However, (20) is ill formed, a fact that neither Alsina (1992) and Guasti (1993, 1996) can capture. An agentivity-based account of FP-formation, as we have mentioned, straightforwardly accommodates (20), which now is ruled out on par with (18b) above. Further examples are given in (21):

(21) a *Mon cuovkan-ahtt-en láse
I.Nom break.Intr-Cause-Pst.1s window.Acc
'I caused the window to break.'

b *Mon gopmán-ahtt-en fatnasa.
I.Nom upside down.Intr-Cause-Pst.1s boat.Acc
'I caused the boat to flip over.'

c *Máhtte luva-h-ii biktasiid.
Máhtte.Nom wet.Intr-Cause-Pst.3s clothes.Acc
'Máhtte caused the clothes to become wet.'

The inevitable lesson is therefore that affectedness oriented theories of the FI-FP distinction are flawed.

3. Agentivity

Since agentivity, or some notion related to it, plays a central role in constraining the formation of FP-causatives in general, and North Sámi causatives in particular, it is important that we give this topic some thought. Specifically, since we have claimed that the Base Verb in an FP-causative must agentive, it is important to consider if there are any independent tests that distinguish

between agentive and non-agentive verbs apart from causative formation. In the absence of such independent diagnostics, the Agentivity Hypothesis (6) is at best speculative. In this section we shall provide independent arguments for a distinction and needless to say they are not new; they have figured extensively in the literature over the years (Jackendoff 1972, 1987, Dowty 1991, Mithun 1991, Harley 1995a, Kratzer 1996, Foley & Van Valin 1984, to mention a few).

There is a general consensus across theoretical paradigms that agents initiate the action or event described by the verb, and agents furthermore often have clear volitional involvement in the eventuality. Experiencers on the other hand are different from agents in that they perceive or become aware of what the verb describes, and they generally exclude any volitional involvement. These arguments are not new, nor are the types of tests that we will employ to reveal the reality of the distinction, as we will exclusively be concerned with agent-oriented material such as adverbs and infinitival purpose clauses (see Jackendoff 1972, Faraci 1976, Roberts 1987, Roeper 1987, Jones 1991 and several others). The novelty is that we will present an investigation of the interaction of agentivity and agent-orientation in North Sámi, a task which as far as I can tell has not been undertaken until now.

3.1. VP internal subjects

Any discussion about agents and agentivity in a syntactic study could hardly be carried out without taking external arguments in general into consideration, since agents indeed are the most prototypical of external arguments (Baker 1995a, Dowty 1991). However, given our previous discussion, it is expected that it would be too strong a proposition to assert that all external arguments are agents. As an example, consider the sentences in (22):

(22) a Máhtte cuvkii láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr.Pst.3s window.Acc
'Máhtte broke the window.'

b Mánná gulai bajána.
child.Nom hear.Pst.3s thunder.Acc
'The child heard the thunder.'

What we are striving to show in this section, is that the verbs cuvket 'break.Tr.Inf' and gullat 'hear.Inf' differ with regard to the thematic role borne by their respective subjects, namely agent in (22a) and experiencer in (22b). However, this thematic contrast has little or no impact on the surface strings in (22). On the surface there do not appear to be any particularly interesting differences between (22a) and (22b). Indeed, each sentence in (22) consists of a transitive verb, a nominative subject and an accusative direct object. Thus, the surface strings are virtually identical. The similarities between (22a) and (22b) are further enhanced when we consider passives like (23a) and (23b), both of which are well-formed. [7]

(23) a Láse cuvke-juvvui.
window.Nom break.Tr-Pass.Pst.3s
'The window was broken.'

b Baján gullo-juvvui.
thunder.Nom hear-Pass.Pst.3s
'The thunder was heard.'

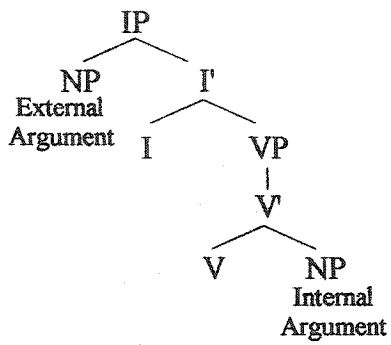
Passivization provides a reliable diagnostic for distinguishing external arguments from other arguments. Passivization has the effect of demoting or suppressing a verb's external argument, with an accompanying loss in the verb's ability to license structural accusative case (cf. Chomsky 1981, Burzio 1986). The combined effect is familiar: the underlying direct object is forced to undergo NP-movement into the subject position of the clause. The fact that the verbs cuvket 'break.Tr.Inf' and gullat 'hear.Inf' can be passivized shows that both verbs take an external argument. Thus, granted a descriptive generalization of passive which crucially relies on the demotion of an external argument, we infer that both the agent and the experiencer subjects in

(22) are external arguments. Therefore, we need some subtler means to determine whether these two external arguments are different in any substantial way. However, before we consider what tells them apart, it is important to reflect on some of the theoretical underpinnings connected with external arguments in general.

3.2. The external argument is not an argument of the verb

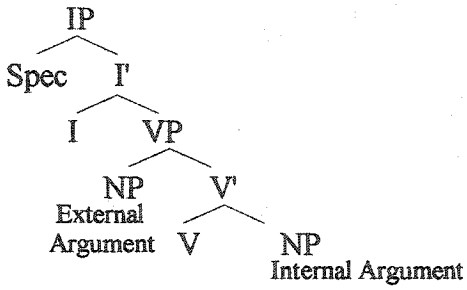
Up until around 1986, it was standardly assumed that external arguments originated in the specifier of S/IP, (24).

(24)



The external argument was under this view assumed to receive its theta role either compositionally from VP (Marantz 1984, Chomsky 1986a), or alternatively theta-marking of the subject was mediated through predication (e.g. Travis 1984). This contrasted with theta-marking of objects, which took place under government from the verb. Around 1986 a number of alternatives emerged. Kitagawa (1986:223) for instance remarks that the theory would be made simpler, and therefore conceptually sounder, if there was just one mechanism responsible for the execution of theta-marking, which would be government from a lexical head. This could be obtained by letting the external argument be generated in the specifier of VP, yielding (25) below.[8] Indeed SpecVP was the sole remaining "mystery" position predicted by X-bar theory in the clausal skeleton. Both IP and CP had well-defined specifier positions, whereas SpecVP had the flavor of a wild card position (see for instance Jackendoff 1977, Radford 1988).

(25)



Hence, there was much to gain and little to lose by assuming that external arguments are base-generated in the specifier of the VP. On the one hand, theta-marking could now be uniformly viewed as being carried out under lexical government, and on the other hand the gap in the X-bar theoretic paradigm was taken care of. Hence, all theta positions were now VP-internal. Consequently, it was also predicted that external arguments must move to SpecIP in order to receive structural Case. Given the independent existence of movement, this particular ingredient did not increase the complexity of the overall theory. On the empirical side, perhaps the most famous argument for the VP internal subject hypothesis comes from the existence of so-called floating quantifiers, such as *The students have all read the book.* The separation of the subject NP and the quantifier could now be analyzed as arising when the NP moves to SpecIP, stranding the quantifier in SpecVP (see Sportiche 1988).

However, Kratzer (1996) points out several reasons why the particular version of the VP internal Subject Hypothesis given in (25) is questionable.[9] Her argument goes back to Marantz (1984), who, as we mentioned above, assumed that the external theta-role is assigned compositionally by the VP to the NP in SpecIP in (24) above. Marantz observed that some Verb-Object combinations give rise to a special interpretation of the verb, as shown in (26) (cited from Harley 1995a:73):

(26) a kill a cockroach

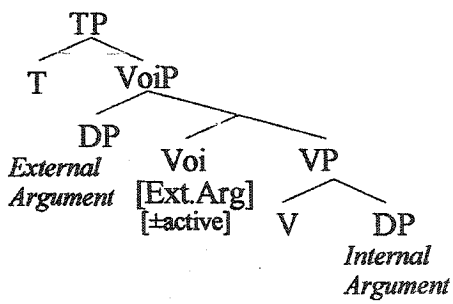
b kill a conversation (cause the conversation to end)

c kill an evening (while away the time span of the evening)

d kill a bottle (empty the bottle)

Subject-Verb combinations, on the other hand, never force a similar kind of special interpretation to the exclusion of the object. On these grounds, Marantz assumed that the external argument is not an argument of the verb at all, but is an argument of VP. Kratzer notices that this insight cannot be captured by (25), where it is assumed that external and internal theta-roles are assigned uniformly; (25) could very well create Subject-Verb idioms, excluding the object,[10] under the assumption that thematic discharge proceeds via Functional Application. Kratzer also points out that a return to (24) is not a viable option, since this structure essentially does not involve any source for the external argument. Kratzer's solution is to let the external argument be introduced into the specifier of the functional head Voi(ce), as shown in (27), which retains Marantz's insight that external arguments are not arguments of the verb. Notice also that since Voi is located below TP, the effect of the VP internal subject hypothesis is preserved.

(27)



In Kratzer's theory, grammatical voice is seen as a property of Voi, as indicated by the tentative feature [±active] in (27), meaning that Voi can be either active or passive. It is only in the former case that an argument is introduced into the specifier of the VoiP. If Voi is specified as non-active, it does not introduce an argument DP into its Spec position. Notice, however, that it has been proposed, e.g. in Jaeggli (1984) and Roberts (1987), that passive does not suppress the external argument. Rather, as a consequence of the morphological marking which is a hallmark of passivization, the external argument is expressed in an alternative way. Roberts (1987) for instance, drawing on Jaeggli (1984), argues that the external argument is realized as a

phonologically null DP (PRO/pro), which bears whatever external theta-role each individual verb assigns. This position is embraced also in Guasti (1993).

A related theory is presented in Baker, Johnson & Roberts (1989) (BJR). Following the precedent of Jaeggli and Roberts, BJR too argue that the external theta-role is syntactically assigned. However, it is not assigned to a phonologically null DP, but to INFL. BJR's approach has the advantage of avoiding the locality problems for NP-movement of the object, which are inherent in the PRO/pro approach. Specifically, under the assumption that the external argument is a phonologically null element, something special must be said why the underlying object can move past the argument in SpecVP to the Spec of IP in passives, but not in actives, (28):

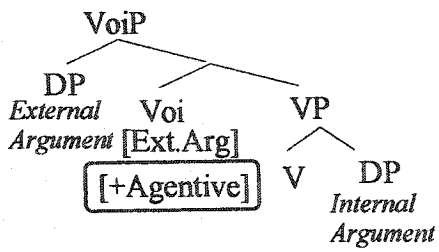
(28) a *[IP **cake**$_i$ I° [VP John eat t_i]]

b √[IP **cake**$_i$ I° [VP pro/PRO eat-Pass t_i]]

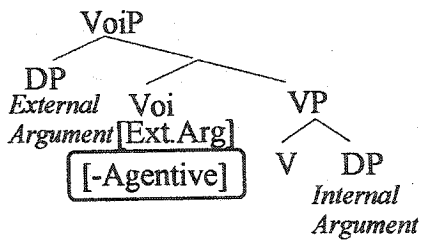
Kratzer's position, although distinct from both of the aforementioned theories since the verb is not responsible for the external theta-role, bears a closer affinity to BJR's theory since passives do not involve a phonologically null element. In Kratzer's theory it suffices to say that a [-active] Voi does not introduce an agent argument, hence there is no need to stipulate a null element in SpecVoiP.[11]

So far we have said nothing about the thematic status of the external argument. Kratzer suggests that in addition to Voi, there is a head "Holder" which introduces the external argument of stative verbs. For ease of exposition, we shall refer Holder as [-Agentive] Voi.[12]

(29) a



b



Kratzer's theory of VoiP has the further consequence that all varieties of external arguments are structurally assimilated.[13] Given that we know from (23) above that both agentive and non-agentive subjects can be demoted under passive, it is clear that the thematic status of the external argument, such as agent or experiencer, is not a crucial factor for the application of Passive. However, the agentive/non-agentive dichotomy does enter the picture in various cases, such as the ability to co-occur with adverbs and adverbial clauses that require the presence of an agent. In the next subsection we shall flesh out the behavior of such items in North Sámi.

3.3. Agent-orientation

In this subsection we shall examine the role of agentivity for the licensing of purpose clauses and agent-oriented adverbs in North Sámi, showing that there is a clear distinction between agentive and non-agentive verbs.[14] Thus, the distribution of agent-oriented items will be exploited as a diagnostic to determine whether a verb takes an agentive VoiP or not. The reader should be aware that we are concerned with independent tests for agentivity. Hence we are making claims about agentivity, and not necessarily concerning the analysis of the very elements that we are exploiting in our pursuit to attain this main goal. The importance of establishing independent tests for agentivity should be obvious: since we have indications that North Sámi causatives can only be based on agentive verbs, we expect at the end of the day to find that those simplex clauses that allow agent-oriented items consist of verbs that can successfully be causativized, and vice versa.

3.3.1. Purpose Clauses

It has been argued in the literature (Manzini 1983, Roberts 1987, Roeper 1987, among others) that the PRO subject of adverbial infinitival purpose clauses must be controlled by an agent, (30). In (30a) and (30b) we have transitive matrix verbs, while the matrix verb in (30c) is an unaccusative intransitive verb.

(30) a John sank the boat [PRO to collect the insurance].

b *John heard the thunder [PRO to learn about the weather].

c *The boat sank [PRO to collect the insurance].

The subject John of the agentive transitive verb sink in (30a) is a legitimate controller of PRO. On the other hand, (30b), whose subject is an experiencer, is ungrammatical. The contrast between (30a) and (30b) shows that Control into purpose clauses is contingent on the presence of an agent, which then implicates a non-trivial distinction among agentive and non-agentive verbs, independently of the analysis of Control.[15]

The pattern that emerges from (30) is easily captured by Kratzer's VoiP hypothesis. Recall from above that Kratzer (1996) acknowledges that not all external argument are agents, and proposes to handle the difference by allowing Voi to come in at least two different variants.[16] Granted Kratzer's theory, it is reasonable to assume that the contrast between (30a) and (30b) stems from different specifications of Voi, specifically with regard to [± Agentive]. Hence, we can state a licensing condition such as (31), which requires purpose clauses to be structurally supported by agentive Voi.

(31) Purpose clauses are licensed by [+Agent] Voi.

Thus the ill formedness of (30b) and (30c) can be attributed to the fact that perception verbs and unaccusative verbs are not positively specified for agentivity, in violation of (31). It is furthermore immaterial for these purposes whether unaccusatives consist a non-agentive Voi or whether they lack a Voi projection altogether.

In short, the distribution of purpose clauses provides a diagnostic for distinguishing between various specifications of VoiP. This in turn is important for the purposes of North Sámi causatives. We shall therefore now consider North Sámi purpose clauses.

3.3.2. North Sámi Purpose Clauses

Since we have claimed in the previous discussion that the Base Verb in Sámi causatives must be agentive, we now predict that if an agent-oriented item such as a purpose clause can occur in a simplex clause, then the main verb of the clause should be able to undergo causativization. As we shall see during the course of presentation, this prediction is correct.

To begin with, we shall demonstrate that the behavior of purpose clauses in North Sámi is in all essential ways identical to what is known to hold for English. Notice, however, that non-finite North Sámi purpose clauses do not involve the regular infinitive form of the verb, as shown by the ungrammatical sentence (32).[17]

(32) *Máhtte vuojuhii fatnasa
Máhtte.Nom sink.Tr.Pst.3s boat.Acc

[PRO **beahttit** dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.*INF* insurance company.Acc

'Máhtte sank the boat to cheat the insurance company.'

Rather, the verb must appear in the so-called actio-form, as shown in (33) below (cf. Nielsen 1926-9, Nickel 1994, Svonni & Vinka 2002b).[18] Notice furthermore that the verb in the actio-form precedes the purpose marker dihte 'in order to.' The "actio"-ized verb, however, retains all its Case assigning and argument taking properties.[19] Consequently, the well-formed sentences in (33) are fully comparable to the English example (30a) above.[20]

(33) a Máhtte vuojuhii fatnasa
Máhtte.Nom sink.Tr.Pst.3s boat.Acc

[PRO **beahttin** dihte dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.*ACT* in-order-to insurance company.Acc

'Máhtte sank the boat in order to cheat the insurance company.'

b Máhtte cuvkii láse
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr.Pst.3s window.Acc

[PRO beahttin dihte dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.Act in-order-to insurance company.Acc

'Máhtte broke the window in order to cheat the insurance company'

c Bárdni buoridii árvosáni
boy.Nom improve.Tr.Pst.3s grade.Acc

[PRO illudahttin dihte eatni].
make.happy.Act in-order-to mother.Acc

'The boy improved the grades in order to make mother happy.'

In other words, it is reasonable to assume that the sentences in (33) obey the licensing condition stated (31), that is, the purpose clauses are structurally supported by agentive Voi.

The examples in (34) below complete the comparison with English. (34) shows that purpose clauses are not licit in a main clause headed by a non-agentive transitive main verb (see (30b)), and likewise the subject of unaccusative verbs cannot serve as the antecedent for PRO, (35) (compare (30c)):

(34) a *Mánná gulai bajána
child.Nom hear.Pst.3s thunder.Acc

[PRO illudahttin dihte eatni].
make.happy.Act in-order-to mother.Acc

'The child heard the thunder in order to make mother happy.'

b *Mon oidnen bohccuid.
I.Nom saw.Pst.1s reindeer.Acc

[PRO illudahttin dihte máná].
make.happy.Act in-order-to child.Acc

'I saw reindeer in order to make the child happy.'

c *Biera dovdá Máreha
Biera.Nom know.Prs.3s Máret.Acc

[PRO illudahttin dihte su eatni].
make.happy.Act in-order-to his mother.Acc

'Biera knows Máret in order to make his mother happy.'

d *Máret diehtá dan ášši,
Máret.Nom know.Prs.3s that issue.Acc

[PRO illudahttin dihte ášševuoddji].
make.happy.Act in-order-to lawyer.Acc

Máret knows the issue in order to make the lawyer happy.'

(35) a *Fanas vujui
boat.Nom sink.Intr.Pst.3s

[PRO beahttin dihte dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.Act in-order-to insurance company.Acc

'The boat sank in order to cheat the insurance company.'

b *Láse cuovkanii
window.Nom break.Intr.Pst.3s

[PRO beahttin dihte dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.Act in-order-to insurance company.Acc

'The window broke in order to cheat the insurance company,'

c *Árvosátni buorránii
grade.Nom improve.Intr.Pst.3s

[PRO illudahttin dihte eatni].
make.happy.Act in-order-to mother.Acc

'The grades improved in order to make mother happy.'

d *Máhtte heavvanii
Máhtte.Nom drown.Intr.Pst.3s

[PRO beahttin dihte dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.Act in-order-to insurance company.Acc

'Máhtte drowned in order to cheat the insurance company.'

The ungrammaticality of (34) and (35) follows from the basic assumption that a purpose clause must be supported by a [+Agentive] Voi. Since both (34) and (35) are non-agentive, the purpose clauses fail to receive such support and consequently the sentences are ruled out. The unaccusative example (35d) furthermore shows that that the situation does not improve even if the surface subject is animate. Pragmatically one could very well imagine that Máhtte in (35d) drowned in order to provide his poverty-stricken family with money from his life insurance. The sentence is, however, ill-formed.

However, as is well-known, the possibility to control into purpose clauses does not hinge on the presence of an agentive surface subject (Manzini 1983, Roeper 1987). (36) shows that the implicit argument of a passivized agentive verb may serve equally well as the antecedent for PRO in both English and North Sámi:

(36) a The boat was sunk [PRO to collect the insurance].

b Fanas vuojuh-uvvu-i
boat.Nom sink.Tr-Pass-Pst.3s

[PRO beahttin dihte dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.Act in-order-to insurance company.Acc

'The boat was sunk in order to cheat the insurance company.'

c Láse cuvke-juvvu-i
window.Nom break.Tr-Pass-Pst.3s

[PRO beahttin dihte dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.Act in-order-to insurance company.Acc

'The window was broken in order to cheat the insurance company.'

d Árvosátni buorid-uvvu-i
grade.Nom improve.Tr-Pass-Pst.3s

[PRO illudahttin dihte eatni].
make.happy.Act in-order-to mother.Acc

'The grades were improved in order to make mother happy.'

Thus, the opposition between (35) and (36) illustrates an important difference between unaccusatives and passives, which can be straightforwardly captured by the VoiP hypothesis. Simply speaking, it can be argued that both actives such as (30a) and passives like (36a) involve an agentive Voi°. As a matter of course, their respective voice specifications differ, and we assume that the passive does not project a specifier, with the ensuing result that an external argument is not introduced. As mentioned previously, unaccusatives like (35) might come with a [-Agentive] Voi that does not introduce an external argument (cf. Collins 1997b, Kratzer 1996, Arad 1999, Chomsky 1998, 1999), or alternatively lack a Voi projection altogether (see Chomsky (1995) and Baker (1995a) for proposals along these lines). Thus, purpose clauses are licit in the vicinity of an agentive Voi, in accordance with (31) above.

For the sake of completing the picture, notice that non-agentive verbs that can be passivized may not appear with purpose clauses, for obvious reasons:

(37) a *The thunder was heard [PRO to learn about the weather].

b *Baján gullo-juvvu-i
thunder.Nom hear-Pass-Pst.3s

[PRO illudahttin dihte eatni].
make.happy.Act in-order-to mother.Acc

'The thunder was heard, in order to make mother happy.'

c *Bohccot oidno-juvvo-jedje
reindeer.Nom saw-Pass-Pst.3p

[PRO illudahttin dihte máná].
make.happy.Act in-order-to child.Acc
'The reindeer were seen, in order to make the child happy.'

Thus, the sentences in (37) are bad, not because they are passive, but because they are passives based on non-agentive verbs,[21] and consequently the licensing condition on purpose clauses is violated.

Unergative intransitive verbs behave on par with transitive agentive verbs with regard to purpose clauses, (38). This is hardly surprising, given that the sole argument of an unergative verb is an agent by definition (see e.g. Burzio 1986, Baker 1995a, forthcoming).

(38) a Máhtte dansii [PRO illudahttin dihte Máreha].
Máhtte.Nom dance.Pst.3s make.happy.Act in-order-to Máret.Acc
'Máhtte danced in order to make Máret happy.'

b Máhtte viegai [PRO illudahttin dihte Máreha].
Máhtte.Nom run.Pst.3s make.happy.Act in-order-to Máret.Acc
'Máhtte ran in order to make Máret happy.'

c Máhtte njurggui [PRO illudahttin dihte Máreha].
Máhtte.Nom whistle.Pst.3s make.happy.Act in-order-to Máret.Acc
'Máhtte whistles in order to make Máret happy.'

In this subsection we have seen that purpose clauses in North Sámi behave on par with more well-studied languages (Faraci 1977, Jones 1991, etc.). That is, this kind of adverbial clause can only occur in the environment of agentive matrix verbs, and consequently they provide us with independent evidence for a [±Agentive] distinction among verbs.

3.3.3 More agent-orientation: mielast- *'gladly'*

We have established that the distribution of purpose clauses in North Sámi conforms to the well-known English pattern, and crucially hinges on the existence of an agentive Voi. We shall now turn to another agent-oriented expression in North Sámi, namely the adverb mielast- 'gladly'. The main point here is to provide further support for the claim made in 3.3.2., namely that agent-oriented material must be licensed in the presence of an agentive Voi.

One important fact about the adverb mielast- 'gladly' is that it agrees in person and number with the subject of the clause, which as we shall below see has consequences for the

appearance of this adverb in passives. The complete inflectional paradigm for mielast- 'gladly' is given in (39).

(39)

mielast- 'gladly'	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1 PERSON	*mielastan*	*mielasteame*	*mielasteamet*
2 PERSON	*mielastat*	*mielasteatte*	*mielasteattet*
3 PERSON	*mielastis*	*mielasteaskka*	*mielasteaset*

With this fact in mind, let us now turn to (40) and (41). (40) illustrates that the occurrence of mielast- 'gladly' is licit in agentive contexts:

(40) a Máhtte mielast-is cuvkii láse.
Máhtte.Nom gladly-3s break.Tr.Pst.3s window.Acc
'Máhtte gladly broke the window.'

b Mon mielast-an divvon biilla.
I.Nom gladly-1s repair.Pst.1s car.Acc
'I gladly repaired the car.'

c Son mielast-is logai girjji.
s/he.Nom gladly-3s read.Pst.3s book.Acc
'S/he gladly read the book.'

(40) above shows that mielast- 'gladly' *can* occur in agentive contexts, however not that it *must*. Consider the examples in (41) below. (41) involves non-agentive verbs, and each sentence in (41) is ungrammatical in the presence of mielast- 'gladly.' Therefore, the indication is that this adverb is agent-oriented.

(41) a Mánná (*mielast-is) gulai bajána.
child.Nom gladly-3s hear.Pst.3s thunder.Acc
'The child gladly heard the thunder.'

b Mon (*mielast-an) oidnen Máreha.
I.Nom gladly-1s see.Pst.1s Máret.Acc
'I gladly saw Máret.'

c Mon (*mielast-an) dovddan Máreha.
I.Nom gladly-1s know.Prs.1s Máret.Acc
'I gladly know Máret.'

As the contrast between (40) and (41) shows, mielast- 'gladly' may only occur in agentive environments, hence its distribution is identical to purpose clauses. Thus, we may assume that both purpose clauses and agent-oriented adverbs such as mielast- 'gladly' fall under the licensing condition stated in (42):

(42) Agent-oriented material is licensed by [+Agent] Voi.

Let us now extend the domain of inquiry and take unergative verbs into consideration. As we would expect, mielast- 'gladly' is perfectly licit in such environments, (43):

(43) a Máhtte mielast-is dansii
Máhtte.Nom gladly-3s dance.Pst.3s
'Máhtte gladly danced.'

b Máhtte mielast-is viegai.
Máhtte.Nom gladly-3s run.Pst.3s
'Máhtte gladly ran.'

c Máhtte mielast-is njurggui.
Máhtte.Nom gladly-3s whistle.Pst.3s
'Máhtte gladly whistled.'

Nor does it come as a surprise to discover that mielast- 'gladly' cannot occur in clauses whose main verb belongs in the unaccusative class, (44):

(44) a Máhtte (*mielast-is) heavvanii.
Máhtte.Nom gladly-3s drown.Intr.Pst.3s
'Máhtte gladly drowned.'

b Máhtte (*mielast-is) dearvvašmuvai.
Máhtte.Nom gladly-3s become.well.Pst.3s
'Máhtte gladly got well.'

c Máhtte (*mielast-is) illosii.
Máhtte.Nom gladly-3s become.glad.Pst.3s
'Máhtte gladly became glad.'

The data in (40), (41), (43) and (44) follow without further stipulations from the hypothesis that mielast- 'gladly' and other agent-oriented elements are licit in the environment of an agentive Voi projection.

So far, mielast- 'gladly' has been shown to be able to occur in the environments of an agentive Voice projection, on par with purpose clauses. However, unlike purpose clauses, this particular adverb cannot appear in passive clauses, irrespective of whether Voi is agentive or not, as shown in (45) below, a fact we hinted at earlier on:

(45) a Girjjit (*mielastis) lohkko-juvvo-jedje.
books.Nom gladly.3p read-Pass-Pst.3p
'The books were gladly read.'

b Skohter (*mielastis) divvo-juvvu-i.
ski-doo.Nom gladly.3s repair-Pass-Pst.3s
'The ski-doo was gladly repaired.'

c Bohccot (*mielastis) goddo-juvvo-jedje.
reindeer.Nom gladly.3p kill-Pass-Pst.3p
'The reindeer were gladly killed.'

d Fanas (*mielast-is) vuojuh-uvvu-i
boat.Nom gladly-3s sink.Tr-Pass-Pst.3s
'The boat was gladly sunk.'

There is, I believe, a straightforward reason why the passive sentences above are ungrammatical in the presence of mielast- 'gladly.' The crucial point here is directly related to the fact that mielast- 'gladly,' in addition to being agent-oriented, exhibits an agreement effect with the subject. The person/number markers that appear on mielast- 'gladly,' given in (39) above, are in fact possessive suffixes, (46):

(46) a *North Sámi Possessive Suffixes* (Svonni & Vinka 2002b:38)

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1 PERSON	-n	-me	-met
2 PERSON	-t	-de/-tte	-det/-ttet
3 PERSON	-s	-ska/-skka	-set

b ráhkis/ráhkkás- 'darling', Nom, Gen and Acc Singular Possessive

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1 PERSON	*ráhkkásan*	*ráhkkáseame*	*ráhkkáseamet*
2 PERSON	*ráhkkásat*	*ráhkkáseatte*	*ráhkkáseattet*
3 PERSON	*ráhkkásis*	*ráhkkáseaskka*	*ráhkkáseaset*

An important descriptive characteristic of these suffixes is the fact they refer back to the DP that occurs in the specifier of the most local TP. Consider the pair of sentences in (47).

(47) a Máhtte$_i$ cummistii su$_{i/j}$ ráhkkása.
Máhtte.Nom kiss.Pst.3s s/he.Gen darling.Acc
'Máhtte$_i$ kissed self's$_i$/his$_j$ darling.'

b Máhtte$_i$ cummistii ráhkkásis$_{i/*j}$.
Máhtte.Nom kiss.Pst.3s darling.Acc.3sPx.
'Máhtte$_i$ kissed self's$_i$/*his$_j$ darling.'

Just like English his/her, North Sámi su 'her/his' may be bound or free in (47a). In (47b), on the other hand, where the object ráhkkis 'darling' has a possessive suffix attached to it, ráhkkásis 'darling.Acc.3sPoss,' only the bound reading is possible. Furthermore, as we mentioned in Chapter 2, reflexive elements in North Sámi are strictly subject-oriented, an observation due to Outakoski (2002):

(48) a Máhtte$_i$ čájeha Máreha$_j$ alcces-is$_{i/*j}$.
Máhtte.Nom show.Prs.3s Máret.Acc self.Ill-3Px
'Máhtte shows Máret to himself/*herself.'

b Máhtte$_i$ čájeha Márehii$_j$ ieža-s$_{i/*j}$ gova.
Máhtte.Nom show.Prs.3s Máret.Ill self.Gen-3Px picture.Acc
'Máhtte shows Máret a picture of himself/*herself.'

That is, the reflexive anaphors in (48) can only be bound by the matrix subject in both (48a) and (48b). As indicated, it is impossible for the Illative anaphor in (48a) to be bound by the Accusative direct object, and as shown in (48b), an accusative anaphor cannot be bound by an Illative object. It might objected that because the suffixes in (48) appear on the reflexive element, we have not shown that the suffix is subject oriented. However, the judgments remain unchanged in (49a) and (49b), which do not contain any 'self'-reflexives:

(49) a Máhtte$_i$ čájeha máná$_j$ eatnisas$_{i/*j}$.
Máhtte.Nom show.Prs.3s child.Acc mother.Ill.3sPx
'Máhtte shows the child to his /*its mother.'

b Máhtte$_i$ čájeha Márehii$_j$ govas$_{i/*j}$.
Máhtte.Nom show.Prs.3s Máret.Ill picture.Acc.3sPx
'Máhtte shows Máret his/*her picture.'

Given the subject orientation of the possessive suffix, it seems quite plausible that it is the possessive suffix appearing on mielast- 'with joy' that creates a conflict in passive clauses like

those in (45) above. On the one hand, the adverb is construed with the implicit agent, as encoded in the [+Agentive] Voi. On the other hand, it must agree with the syntactic subject. In other words, the adverb in, for instance, (45a) is forced to relate both to the Agent and the Theme, simultaneously. Let us assume that this is too much for it to handle, and as a result we end up with an interpretational conflict. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the fact that mielast- cannot occur in passive clauses is not due to a strict subject-orientation of agent-oriented adverbs (because such adverbs are not strictly Subject oriented), but because of the anaphoric suffix. Hence, we can maintain that mielast- 'gladly' is licensed in the environment of agentive Voi, unless independent factors conspire against its occurrence.

3.4. Summary

In conclusion, in this section we have presented independent support for a distinction among agentive and non-agentive verbs in North Sámi. Essentially following Kratzer (1996), it has been shown that agent-oriented expressions can occur if VoiP is specified for agentivity, which implies that purpose clauses and other agent-oriented adverbs occur in some position where they are sensitive to the agentivity specification of Voi.

What is of great interest however is the fact that the verbs that we have identified as agentive correspond to the set of verbs that may undergo productive causativization. For instance, the well-formedness of (50a) correlates to the well-formedness of the causative sentence (50b).

(50) a Máhtte mielast-is cuvkii láse.
Máhtte.Nom gladly-3s break.Tr.Pst.3s window.Acc
'Máhtte gladly broke the window.'

b Máhtte cuvke-h-ii Máreha láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc window.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret to break the window.'

On the other hand, the ungrammatical non-agentive sentences (51a), involving the perception verb gullat 'hear,' cannot be causativized, (51b):

(51) a *Mánná mielast-is gulai bajána.
child.Nom gladly-3s hear.Pst.3s thunder.Acc
'The child gladly heard the thunder.'

b *Máhtte gula-h-ii máná bajána.
Máhtte.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.3s child.Acc window.Acc
'Máhtte caused the child to hear the thunder.'

Moreover, unaccusative verbs do not provide the right kind of structural support for mielast- 'gladly' as shown in (52), and such verbs cannot be causativized, (52b):

(52) a *Máhtte mielast-is heavvanii.
Máhtte.Nom gladly-3s drown.Intr.Pst.3s
'Máhtte gladly drowned.'

b *Don heavvan-ahtt-et Máhte.
you.Nom drown-Cause.Pst.2s Máhtte.Acc
'You caused Máhtte to drown.'

Unergative verbs, on the other hand, pattern on par with (50) with regard to mielast- 'gladly' and causativization, (53):

(53) a Máhtte mielast-is viegai.
Máhtte.Nom gladly-3s run.Pst.3s
'Máhtte gladly ran.'

b Mon viega-h-in Máhte.
I.Nom run-Cause-Pst.3s Máhtte.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to run.'

These findings provide strong preliminary support for the hypothesis that productive morphological causatives in North Sámi are formed from agentive Base Verbs. Thus, we have shown that any "simplex" verb that can be classified as agentive on the basis of the tests we have presented can also be causativized. Conversely, the "simplex" verbs that are incompatible with these tests also fail to undergo causativization. This thus strengthens the Agentivity Hypothesis for causative formation.

4. Causatives and agent-oriented material

The take-home message from the previous section is that both active and passive verbs contain a Voi-projection, which is either positively or negatively specified for agentivity. An agentive Voi, regardless of whether it is active or passive, provides the right kind of structural support for agent-oriented constituents, such as purpose clauses. In other words, we have used agent-oriented items as probes to flesh out certain structural properties the verb phrase. Furthermore, the diagnostics for agentivity that we presented are of great importance because they signify that there is strong independent motivation to posit a distinction among agentive and non-agentive verbs, which is an issue that is central in constraining the formation of causatives of the FP-variety.

In this section we shall extend the scope of inquiry by taking productive causatives into account, of course concentrating on North Sámi. Specifically, having assumed the Agentivity Hypothesis for FP-formation in general, we would, at least naïvely, expect that the domain of the Base Verb in sentences like (54) below should provide an appropriate environment for the kind of agent-oriented material discussed in Section 3 above.

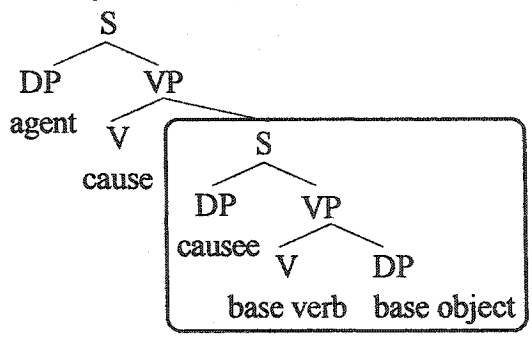
(54)	Mon	divu-h-in	(Bireha)	biilla.
	I.Nom	repair-Cause-Pst.1s	Biret.Acc	car.Acc
	'I caused Biret/someone to repair the car.'			

However, this prediction is not borne out. On the one hand, that is exactly what is expected from the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis, which stipulates that the Base Verb is not associated with an external argument. On the other hand the result is unexpected if, as we argued above, Voi provides the syntactic locus for agentivity. Coupled with the Agentivity Hypothesis, which stipulates that the Base Verb must be agentive, the consequence should be that the complement of an FP involves a [+Agentive] VoiP.

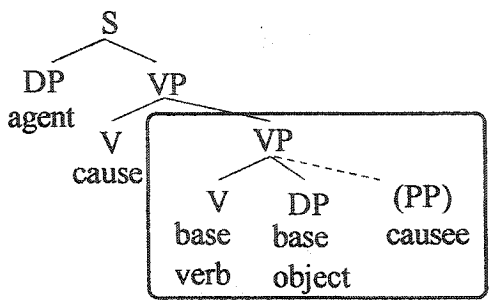
4.1. Preliminaries

In Chapter 2 we discussed some differences among FI and FP causatives, and to a certain extent these could be shown to follow from the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis. As may be recalled, FIs are analyzed as involving sentential complementation, whereas the complement of the causative formative in an FP is assumed to be a bare VP:

(55) a *Faire Infinitive*



b *Faire Par*



Since the FI involves an S-complement, the Base Verb is assumed to assign a theta-role not only to the Base Object, but also to the Causee. In section 2, we pointed out that the situation is

different in FPs. Burzio (1986: 249-250) assumes that the external theta-role of the Base Verb in the FP (55b) is not assigned at all, which he claims is a possibility if the overall structure does not have a position to which this theta-role could be discharged. Guasti (1993), on the other hand, assumes that the external theta-role of the Base Verb is lexically suppressed, and therefore it is not relevant for syntactic purposes. Disregarding questions that arise with both Burzio (1986) and Guasti (1993), the fact that they claim that the Base Verb in FPs does not assign an agent role leads us to expect that one should detect different possibilities for the interpretation of agent-oriented material, given the different structures in (55). In fact, Guasti (1990, 1993) provides some compelling pieces of evidence to this extent.

Guasti (1990, 1993) demonstrated that one point of divergence among Italian FI and FP causatives is concerned with the interpretation of agent-oriented items such as purpose clauses. Consider the two sentences in (56):

(56) a Il sindaco ha fatto costruire il monumento a architetto Nervi$_i$
the mayor has made build the monument Dat architect Nervi

[per PRO$_i$ ottenere appoggi politico].
in order to obtain support political

'The mayor made the architect Nervi build the monument to obtain political support.'

b *Il sindaco ha fatto costruire il monumento (dall architetto Nervi)$_i$
the mayor has made build the monument by architect Nervi

[per PRO$_i$ ottenere appoggi politico].
in order to obtain support political

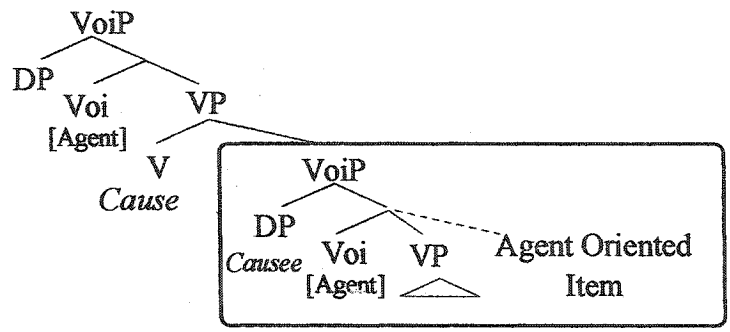
'The mayor made the architect Nervi build the monument to obtain political support.' (Guasti 1993:100)

Guasti (1993:111, 174-5) shows that the PRO subject of an infinitival purpose clause can be controlled by the Causee in an FI-causative, as shown in (56a). Thus in (56a), *the architect Nervi* can be understood as the controller of PRO in the purpose clause. This is quite as expected, given the assumption that the Causee in FIs is an external argument. Guasti (1993:100) also points out

that FP-causatives differ sharply from FIs in this regard. Consider the FP in (56b), whose only superficial difference from (56a) lies in the expression of the Causee. This minor difference in the surface expression has far-reaching consequences for the possibilities of accommodating purpose clauses. Guasti notices that, in contrast to (56a), the PRO subject of the infinitival purpose clause in (56b) cannot be controlled by the Causee.

Given the discussion in Section 3 above, the contrast between (56a) and (56b) implies the existence of an embedded VoiP in (56a), whereas the Base Verb in (56b) is not associated with a VoiP. Abstracting away from various surface phenomena, we reasonably assume that the causative complement in the FI (56a) minimally consists of a VoiP, as shown in (57) below.

(57) *Faire Infinitive*

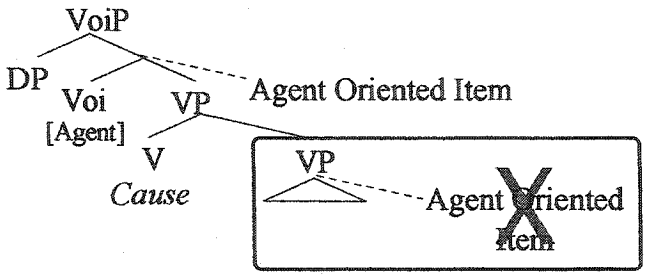


Along the lines of our previous discussion, the presence of the embedded VoiP provides the kind of structural support that the agent-oriented purpose clause requires, as tentatively indicated in (57). In fact, there are reasons to believe that (57) is not only the minimal option, but indeed also the maximal option. Marantz (1985) as well as Li (1990) point out that the domain of the complement in causatives of the variety we are referring to as FIs is conspicuously void of functional material, such as auxiliaries and negation (see also Burzio 1986), regardless of whether the causative is overtly periphrastic or not.[22] This is quite contrary to what one would expect if the complement is an S/IP as in (55), and even more so under Baker's (1988a) hypothesis that the complement is a CP, as we mentioned in Chapter 2. Li (1990) suggested that the complement is a bare VP which includes the VP-internal "external" argument of the Base Verb. However,

granted Kratzer's (1996) argument reviewed in Section 3 that VP-internal Subjects in fact are VoiP internal, we arrive at (57).

The ill formedness of (56b) thus implies that the Base Verb has not combined with a VoiP, which complies to the classical Kayne-Burzio hypothesis that the causative verb in an FP takes a bare VP complement. In our terms, this amounts to (58), which also has some drastic consequences for the proposed agentivity restriction on FP-formation, an issue that will be discussed extensively below.

(58) *Faire Par (preliminary)*



Given the discussion in the previous sections, we now expect that there should be a sharp contrast between FPs (56b)/(58) and passives in Italian. One of the major points expressed in Section 3 was concerned with providing evidence that both actives and passives alike consist of a VoiP. A passive clause can accommodate an agent-oriented item such as a purpose clause, and therefore (59) is perfectly fine, as pointed out by Guasti (1990, 1993):

(59) Questo edificio é stato costruito (dall' architecto Nervi)$_i$
this building has been built by the architect Nervi

[per PRO$_i$ ottenere appoggi politici]
in order to obtain support political

This building has been built by the architect Nervi, in order (for the architect Nervi) to obtain political support.' (Guasti 1990)

In short, the distribution of purpose clauses in FIs and FPs provides strong support for a structural distinction between the two, such that the Base Verb in FIs involves a VoiP, while in

FPs it does not.[23] However, in hypothesizing this kind of structural difference between the two, we have also created a conflict for the Agentivity Hypothesis, which we have previously argued to be instrumental in constraining the formation of FPs. The Agentivity Hypothesis requires that the causative formative in FPs take as its complement a VP headed by an agentive verb. However, Kratzer's (1996) VoiP hypothesis claims that agentivity is a property of Voi, and not of the substantive verb itself. Therefore, pushing the Agentivity Hypothesis to its limit, it implies that the causative formative in an FP should combine with a [+Agentive] Voi. This would be the strongest possible formulation of the Agentivity Hypothesis, and the only one compatible with Kratzer's theory. However, we would now predict that (56b) above should be perfectly possible. But quite to the contrary, the fact that (56b) is ungrammatical is an indication the Base Verb in an FP does *not* involve a VoiP. It is not possible to get around this problem by assuming that the Base Verb has combined with a [+Agentive] Voi that does not project an external argument. The reason for this is straightforward: this kind of feature specification is exactly what we find in passives, and if we were to assume a [+agentive, -External Argument] Voi for the Base Verb, we would still predict (56b) to be grammatical, as it would be parallel to the passive in (59) above. In short, the agentivity specification overrides [±External Argument]. Therefore, if we wish to retain the beneficial aspects of the Agentivity Hypothesis, we must seek a weaker formulation. The agentivity Hypothesis, it must be emphasized, emerged from assumptions that took for granted that the external theta-role is specified by the verb, contrary to what Kratzer (1996) argues. Rather the Agentivity Hypothesis must be descriptively characterized as a constraint that refers to V rather than Voi. Specifically, it refers to exactly those Vs that can head projections that can be combined with an agentive Voi head. As we shall see in later sections, this characterization has a number of implications and consequences that relate directly to questions pertaining to the anatomy of the verb phrase.

However, before we turn to these issues, we shall consider in some detail the distribution of agent-oriented material in North Sámi causatives.

4.2. Agent-oriented material in North Sámi causatives

Our main motivation for positing an agentivity restriction on the formation of FP causatives is to all appearances straightforward, and accounts for the familiar contrast between (60) and (61).

(60) a Máhtte cuvke-h-ii láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s window.Acc
'Máhtte caused someone to break the window.'

b Máhtte cuvke-h-ii Máreha láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc window.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret to break the window.'

(61) a *Máhtte gula-h-ii bajána.
Máhtte.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.3s thunder.Acc
'Máhtte caused someone to hear the thunder.'

b *Máhtte gula-h-ii Máreha bajána.
Máhtte.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc thunder.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret to hear the thunder.'

We have also provided independent evidence that simplex clauses headed by the Base Verbs in (60) and (61) do not behave uniformly with regard to the possibility to accommodate agent-oriented material, as shown by the contrast between (62a) and (62b):

(62) a Máret mielast-is cuvkii láse.
Máret.Nom gladly-3s break.Tr.Pst.3s window.Acc
'Máret gladly broke the window.'

b *Máret mielast-is gulai bajána.
Máret.Nom gladly-3s hear.Pst.3s thunder.Acc
'Máret gladly heard the thunder.'

We have noted on several occasions that the causative literature cites the argumenthood of the Causee as one of the fundamental criteria for distinguishing between FIs and FPs (cf. Burzio 1986, Alsina 1992). In the FI the Causee is an argument, either as in earlier theories by analyzing the Causee as the subject of an embedded S constituent, or as we suggested in the previous section, as analyzing it as a DP in the Spec of VoiP. In FPs, on the other hand, the Causee is optionally expressed in an adjoined by-phrase, as the complement of an FP only consists of a bare VP. We noticed in Chapter 2 that sentences like (60b) do not comply to this generalization, and that the Causee in North Sámi also displays some typical argument characteristics. At the end of Chapter 2 we speculated that the North Sámi Causee is an optional applied object, thus maintaining the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis that FPs take a bare VP complement. Setting aside the technical problems raised in Section 4.1. above, we expect, under the hypothesis that both (60a) and (60b) are instantiations of FPs, that agent-oriented material should not be able to be accommodated in the domain of the Base Verb in North Sámi. In the pages to follow, we shall show that this prediction is correct.

4.3. Purpose Clauses and mielast- *'gladly'*

Causativization in North Sámi obeys what we descriptively have characterized as a constraint that requires the Base Verb to be agentive and we have pointed out that theoretical problems which such a formulation creates in conjunction with the VoiP hypothesis. We have furthermore encountered evidence provided by Guasti (1990, 1993) ((56a) and (56b) above) that the embedded domain in FPs cannot accommodate agent-oriented material, which implies that the Base Verb has not combined with a Voi head. We now have a further, more fine tuned means of investigating the status of North Sámi causatives. In short, if the contrast between (60) and (61) is a sign that North Sámi causatives uniformly are of the FP-variety, then we also expect that there should be no substantial differences between (60a) and (60b) with respect to the ability to license agent-oriented material in the domain of the Base Verb, that is, such material should be impossible in either case.

Let us begin by considering purpose clauses in causatives where the Causee is not overtly expressed, exemplified in (63) through (65). These examples exhibit the same behavior as the Italian FP (56b). That is, the PRO subject of the purpose clause can only be controlled by the causative agent (interpretation (i)), and not by the implicit Causee, consequently excluding interpretation (ii). For the sake of expository simplicity we use the mnemonic IMP to denote the semantically implicit Causee in (63)-(65). Thus IMP has no theoretical status, but merely serves as a prop for the reader.

(63) Máhtte$_i$ vuojuh-aht-ii IMP$_j$ fatnasa
Máhtte.Nom sink.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s boat.Acc

[PRO$_{i/*j}$ beahttin dihte dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.Act in-order-to insurance company.Acc

(i) 'Máhtte$_i$ caused someone to sink the boat in order PRO$_i$ to cheat the insurance company.'

(ii) *'Máhtte caused someone$_j$ to sink the boat in order to PRO$_j$ to cheat the insurance company.'

(64) Mon$_i$ oastti-h-in IMP$_j$ dihtora
I.Nom buy-Cause-Pst.1s computer.Acc

[PRO$_{i/*j}$ čallin dihte nákkosgirjji].
write.Act in-order-to dissertation.Acc

(i) 'I$_i$ caused someone to buy a computer in order PRO$_i$ to write the dissertation.'

(ii) *'I caused someone$_j$ to buy a computer in order PRO$_j$ to write the dissertation.'

(65) Mon$_i$ studere-h-in IMP$_j$ mohawkgiela
I.Nom study-Cause-Pst.1s Mohawk.Acc

[PRO$_{i/*j}$ fitnan dihte Kahnawakii].
visit.Act in-order-to Kahnawake.Ill

(i) 'I$_i$ caused someone to study a Mohawk in order PRO$_i$ to visit Kahnawake."

(ii) *'I caused someone$_j$ to study a Mohawk in order PRO$_j$ to visit Kahnawake.'

To recapitulate, the fact that the implicit Causee cannot serve as the antecedent for PRO in the purpose clause follows from the updated Kayne-Burzio hypothesis that the Base Verb is not associated with a VoiP, as shown in (58) above. It may be recalled that purpose clauses are fully grammatical when occurring along with passivized agentive verbs, (66), whose well-formedness we attributed to the presence of a [+Agentive] Voi head.

(66) Fanas IMP_i vuojuh-uvvu-i
boat.Nom sink.Tr-Pass-Pst.3s

[PRO_i beahttin dihte dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.Act in-order-to insurance company.Acc

'The boat was sunk (by someone)$_i$ in order PRO_i to cheat the insurance company.'

In short, the indication is that the Base Verb in North Sámi heads a causative complement that does not include a VoiP.

Let us now turn causatives where the Causee is overt, as in (67).

(67) Máhtte cuvke-h-ii Máreha láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc window.Acc

'Máhtte caused Máret to break the window.'

As previously mentioned, the presence of the accusative Causee makes (67) look suspiciously similar to a bona fide FI-causative. If it indeed is an FI, then we expect the Causee to able to control into purpose clauses, on par with Italian ((56a) above). However, this prediction is not borne out, as shown in (68) - (70). The control possibilities in cases with an overt Causee are exactly the same as in (63) - (65) where the Causee is missing altogether syntactically. In other words, PRO cannot be anteceded by the Causee and, to all intents and purposes, the North Sámi accusative Causee displays a behavior that is fully comparable to the Romance adjunct Causee (cf. (56b) above).

(68) Máhtte$_i$ vuojuh-aht-ii Máreha$_j$ fatnasa
Máhtte.Nom sink.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc boat.Acc

[PRO$_{i/*j}$ beahttin dihte dáhkádussearvvi].
cheat.Act in-order-to insurance company.Acc

(i) 'Máhtte$_i$ caused Máret to sink the boat in order PRO$_i$ to cheat the insurance company.'

(ii) *'Máhtte caused Máret$_j$ to sink the boat in order PRO$_j$ to cheat the insurance company.'

(69) Mon$_i$ oastti-h-in Máreha$_j$ dihtora
I.Nom buy-Cause-Pst.1s Máret.Acc computer.Acc

[PRO$_{i/*j}$ čallin dihte nákkosgirjji].
write.Act in-order-to dissertation.Acc

(i) 'I$_i$ caused Máret to buy a computer in order PRO$_i$ to write the dissertation.'

(ii) *'I caused Máret$_j$ to buy a computer in order for PRO$_j$ to write the dissertation.'

(70) Mon$_i$ studere-h-in Máreha$_j$ mohawkgiela
I.Nom study-Cause-Pst.1s Máret.Acc Mohawk.Acc

[PRO$_{i/*j}$ fitnan dihte Kahnawakii].
visit.Act in-order-to Kahnawake.Ill

(i) 'I$_i$ caused Máret to study a Mohawk in order PRO$_i$ to visit Kahnawake."

(ii) *'I caused Máret$_j$ to study a Mohawk in order PRO$_j$ to visit Kahnawake.'

Under the premises that we have set down, this means more specifically that the Base Verb in not only (63) - (65), but also (68) - (70) must at most be a bare VP complement of the causative formative. In other words, it cannot be the case that the North Sámi Causee is introduced into the specifier of an embedded VoiP. If it were, then both interpretation (i) and (ii) in (68) - (70) should be possible. These findings therefore add additional support to the hypothesis that North Sámi causatives are FPs, while at the same time casting some clouds over the Agentivity Hypothesis. We also conclude that the realization of the Accusative Causee must be an optional argument.[24]

The behavior of the adverb mielast- 'gladly' lends further support to the hypothesis that the Base Verb is not associated with an embedded VoiP. As shown in (71) through (73) mielast-

'gladly' can only be construed with the agent of the causing event, but it can never be associated with the Causee regardless of whether it is implicit or overt:

(71) a Máhtte$_i$ Máreha$_j$ mielastis$_{i/*j}$ vuojuh-aht-ii fatnasa.
Máhtte.Nom Máret.Acc gladly.3s sink.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s boat.Acc
'Máhtte (gladly) caused Máret to (*gladly) sink the boat.'

b Máhtte$_i$ IMP$_j$ mielastis$_{i/*j}$ vuojuh-aht-ii fatnasa.
Máhtte.Nom gladly.3s sink.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s boat.Acc
'Máhtte (gladly) caused someone to (*gladly) sink the boat.'

(72) a Máhtte$_i$ Máreha$_j$ mielastis$_{i/*j}$ oastti-h-ii dihtora.
Máhtte.Nom Máret.Acc gladly.3s buy-Cause-Pst.3s computer.Acc
'Máhtte (gladly) caused Máret to (*gladly) buy a computer.'

b Máhtte$_i$ IMP$_j$ mielastis$_{i/*j}$ oastti-h-ii dihtora.
Máhtte.Nom gladly.3s buy-Cause-Pst.3s computer.Acc
'Máhtte (gladly) caused someone to (*gladly) buy a computer.'

(73) a Máhtte$_i$ Máreha$_j$ mielastis$_{i/*j}$ studere-h-ii mohawkgiela.
Máhtte.Nom Máret.Acc gladly.3s study-Cause-Pst.3s Mohawk.Acc
'Máhtte (gladly) caused Máret to (*gladly) study Mohawk.'

b Máhtte$_i$ IMP$_j$ mielastis$_{i/*j}$ studere-h-ii mohawkgiela.
Máhtte.Nom gladly.3s study-Cause-Pst.3s Mohawk.Acc
'Máhtte (gladly) caused someone to (*gladly) study Mohawk.'

It may be recalled from Section 3, that the distribution of mielast- 'gladly' is somewhat more restricted than purpose clauses. We noted that this adverb is excluded from passive contexts. It is therefore important to notice that construal with the Causee, overt or implicit, is not due to any independent factor prohibiting mielast- 'gladly' from being related to say accusative or phonologically null DPs. Mielast- may be construed with a subject that receives accusative Case

from a higher verb, as in the ECM construction (74a). (74b) provides an illustration that mielast- may also be construed with PRO in a subject control construction.

(74) a Mon balan [geatkki$_i$ mielastis$_i$ goddit buot bohccuid].
I.Nom fear.Prs.1s wolverine.Acc gladly.3s kill.Inf all reindeer.Acc
'I fear the wolverine to have gladly killed all the reindeer.'

b Geatki$_i$ lohpidii Stálus
wolverine.Nom promise.Pst.3s Stállu.Loc
[PRO$_i$ mielastis$_i$ goddit buot bohccuid].[25]
gladly.3s kill.inf all reindeer.Acc
'The wolverine promised Stállu to gladly kill all the reindeer.'

Since (74a) and (74b) are fully well-formed, we can also exclude the possibility that the ungrammatical instances of (71) - (73) would be contingent on the Causee being accusative or null.

Let us conclude this survey by taking causativized unergatives into account. Unlike causatives based on transitive verbs, the Causee is not optional in these cases, but is obligatorily expressed, which is the typical pattern from a cross-linguistic perspective (Baker 1988a). Since the Causee is obligatory, causativized unergatives might be thought to make better FIs than the examples we have encountered, as the Causee is also obligatory in FIs irrespective of the valence of the Base Verb. However, these causatives also comply to the pattern that we have established in the above discussion. To begin with, the Causee in a causative based on an unergative does not qualify as a controller for PRO contained in a purpose clause, (75):

(75) a Mon$_i$ viega-h-in Máhte$_j$
I.Nom run-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc
[PRO$_{i/*j}$ illudahttin dihte Máreha].
make.happy.Act in-order-to.Act Máret.Acc

(i) 'I caused Máhtte to run in order for me to make Máret happy.'

(ii) *'I caused Máhtte to run in order for him to make Máret happy.'

b Mon$_i$ danse-h-in Máhte$_j$
I.Nom dance-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc

[PRO$_{i/*j}$ illudahttin dihte Máreha].
make.happy.Act in-order-to.Act Máret.Acc

(i) 'I caused Máhtte to dance in order for me to make Máret happy.'

(ii) *'I caused Máhtte to dance in order for him to make Máret happy.'

Given the ill-formedness of the second interpretation in (75), i.e. the one where the intended controller is the Causee, it is also correctly predicted that it is also impossible for mielast 'gladly' to be construed with the Causee, (76):

(76) a *Mon Máhte$_i$ mielastis$_i$ viega-h-in.
I.Nom Máhtte.Acc gladly.3s run-Cause-Pst.1s
'I caused Máhtte to run gladly.'

b *Mon Máhte$_i$ mielastis$_i$ danse-h-in.
I.Nom Máhtte.Acc gladly.3s dance-Cause-Pst.1s
'I caused Máhtte to dance gladly.'

c *Mon Máhte$_i$ mielastis$_i$ njurggu-h-in.
I.Nom Máhtte.Acc gladly.3s whistle-Cause-Pst.1s
'I caused Máhtte to whistle gladly.'

Thus, causatives based on unergative verbs also are consistent with hypothesis that the complement does not comprise of a VoiP and that North Sámi only has FPs.

To summarize, in this section we have adduced further evidence for the classical hypothesis by Kayne (1975) and Burzio (1986) that the complement of FP-causatives is a bare VP and thus excluding the external argument of the Base Verb. The account given incorporates Kratzer's (1996) theory that the external argument is not an actual argument of the verb itself, but is rather introduced by a functional head Voi, which as the name suggests is also the locus of grammatical voice. A further consequence of the thesis that the causative complement does not

include a VoiP is that we now predict that the Base Verb cannot be associated with passive morphology. This prediction receives extensive cross-linguistic support from a wide range of related and unrelated languages, such as Romance, Bantu, Dravidian, Finno-Ugric etc. Illicit applications of passive in the domain of the Base Verb are illustrated in (77). (77a) provides an Italian example and (77b) is from North Sámi.[26]

(77) a *Giovanni farà essere invitato (a) Piero
Giovanni will-make be invited Dat Piero
'Giovanni will make Piero be invited to the party.' (Burzio 1986)

b *Mon cuvke-juvvo-h-in láse.
I.Nom break.Tr-Pass-Cause-Pst.1s window.Acc
'I caused the window to be broken.'

However, as we have emphasized above, the account provided so far has a severe shortcoming. We have presented evidence showing that the Base Verb in an FP must be agentive. Following Kratzer (1996) we have assumed that VoiP provides the locus of agentivity, such that Voi must come in different flavors on the basis of the asymmetrical behavior of agentive and non-agentive simplex transitive verbs. However, in this last section we have argued that the Base Verb does not comprise of a VoiP. If it is assumed that agentivity is a property of Voi, then it appears that we are forced to give up on the condition that the Base Verb must be agentive. In the next chapters we shall turn to this issue, and propose a solution to the paradox.

5. Conclusions

The main theme of this chapter has been to provide independent diagnostics for agentivity in North Sámi, an enterprise which is rooted in our assumption that something like the descriptive lines of the Agentivity Hypothesis is required to constrain the application of FP formation. Adopting Kratzer's (1996) theory about agentivity and external arguments, we furthermore

Adopting Kratzer's (1996) theory about agentivity and external arguments, we furthermore conclude that there are some serious problems with a requirement that the Base Verb in an FP must agentive. Although the Agentivity Hypothesis is successful in predicting which verbs may and which verbs may not form the basis in an FP, it is equally unsuccessful in predicting the syntactic behavior of these Base Verbs once embedded under Cause. However, once we view this discrepancy in the light of Kratzer's VoiP hypothesis, we realize that it is exactly what we should find. However, by adopting Kratzer's theory, or Chomsky's (1995) theory which is more or less equivalent, it is also clear that the agentivity hypothesis as such has lost a great deal of its potency. Furthermore, rather than referring to agentive verbs, it must refer to the kind of verbs that have the *potential* of being agentive. That is, any VP that can be selected by an agentive Voi head, can also be selected by the causative formative in an FP. The new challenge is therefore how to distinguish one VP from another, which is the topic of the next chapter.

Notes to Chapter 3

[1]See also Postal (1980) for an opposing view, which entirely rejects the SSC.
[2]In line with the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1995), we do not, however, assume a GB-theoretic theta theory in this thesis.
[3]Marantz and Baker differ in the view of what these morphemes are, but that is beside the point.
[4]The lexicon-syntax dichotomy is not unlike Wasow's (1977) distinction between verbal and adjectival passives. The gist of Wasow (1977) lies in his treatment of the former as syntactic and the latter as lexical. Levin & Rappaport (1986) provide in certain aspects a similar account. It is noteworthy, however, that in assuming that the external argument in adjectival passives is lexically suppressed, Levin & Rappaport also argue that the internal argument is *externalized*. Guasti (1993) does not assume a comparable externalization process to take place in FP-formation.
[5]More precisely, Guasti (1993, 1996) assumes that the Causee in FIs is generated as a Small Clause subject. Thus, her analysis of FIs is slightly different from Kayne (1975) and Burzio (1986), who assumed that these involve an S-complement, as we discussed in Chapter 2.
[6]Burzio (1986) derives the surface word order in FIs by assuming that the embedded VP raises into the matrix VP.
[7]In North Sámi, passive is formed by attaching the suffix -(j)uvvo- to the verb stem. Depending on the phonological shape of the stem, the passive suffix forces the stem consonant to appear in the so-called super-strong grade, and the final vowel of the stem becomes /o/ (Nielsen 1926-9, Nickel 1994, Svonni & Vinka 2002).
[8]Note, however, that Koopman & Sportiche (1992) assumed that the External argument is adjoined to the VP, thus creating a Small Clause structure.
[9]Including the Koopman & Sportiche approach.
[10]Idioms will be discussed in Chapter 5.
[11]On the Case theoretic side of the coin, Kratzer proposes that active Voi is the licenser/assigner of structural accusative Case. This provides an elegant and parsimonious way to capture and formalize Burzio's Generalization (cf. Burzio 1986), the famous descriptive generalization that states that a verb may assign case to an object if and

only if the verb also takes an external argument. In Kratzer's theory, this translates into bestowing an argument introducing Voi with case assigning abilities. Vice versa, if Voi does not introduce an argument, then it cannot assign structural case either. However, Burzio's Generalization has been questioned by numerous scholars on both theoretical and empirical grounds, see for instance Sobin (1985) and Marantz (1992).

[12]Arad (1999) provides further arguments for the hypothesis that there exists various Voi projections (or *v* in Arad's theory) with distinct semantic specifications.

[13]This bears a close resemblance to Dowty's (1991) notion proto-agent. See also Baker (1995a).

[14]Strictly speaking, we shall be concerned with rationale clauses.

[15]Given the scope of this thesis, we will not discuss Control here per se.

[16]It is not entirely uncontroversial to claim that rationale clauses require an agentive context. For instance, Williams (1985) provides (i) as a counter-example:

(i) Grass is green in order to promote photosynthesis.

Baker (2002) points out that behavioral adjectives may take agent subject, in which case green in (i) might be used behaviorally, perhaps seen in the context of some master plan. See also Bhatt & Pancheva (2001).

[17]However, if the matrix verb is an intransitive verb of directed motion, infinitival clauses are easily understood as denoting purpose. Cross-linguistically, this a widely attested property. See Baker (1996, 1997a) for discussion.

[18]Purpose clauses and so-that clauses are normally expressed as finite clauses introduced by the complementizers vai 'in order to' or ama- 'in order not to.' The infinitival actio-forms that we are examining here are stylistically quite high register, and are not particularly common in spontaneous speech. This does not detract from their usefulness, however.

[19]The obtained form beahttin 'cheat-Act' might be a nominalization of sorts, although its exact status is unclear. If a nominalization it would thus be somewhat similar to gerunds of the Acc-ing variety (see e.g. Abney 1987). Actio-forms may also occur as reduced relatives, in which case the gap always corresponds to the object. A genitive DP corresponding to the agent of the verb is obligatorily present in the these:

(i) a *(gumppe) goddi-n boazu
wolf.Gen Kill-Act reindeer.Nom
'the reindeer killed by a wolf'

b *(Máreha) lohkka-n girji
Máret.Gen read-Act book.Nom
'the book read by Máret'

[20]I am not claiming anything regarding the exact position of PRO; it is placed at the left edge of the infinitival clause here merely for convenience.

[21]Notice that the North Sámi sentences (37b) and (37c) are fully grammatical if the purpose clause is omitted.

[22]This observation does of course not extend to the entire multitude of constructions that have been labeled as causatives. There are clearly causative verbs that can take as their argument a tensed CP (cf. Burzio 1986, Belletti & Rizzi 1987). Notice also that structure (57) does not provide a straightforward way to exclude passive from applying in the embedded domain. To the extent that such passives should be ruled out, (57) is problematic.

[23]As we mentioned above, Guasti (1993) assumed along the lines of Jaeggli (1984) and Roberts (1987) that the external argument is not suppressed in passives, but is rather realized as a phonologically null DP. PRO in the rationale clause in (59) is under her assumptions controlled by this phonologically null element. The external argument of the base in an FP, on other hand, is assumed to be lexically suppressed, and thus it lacks a syntactic realization. The consequence, then, is that the implicit external argument of the lower verb is not accessible as a syntactic controller.

[24]We shall return to this issue in detail in Chapter 5.

[25]*Stállu* is force in Sámi mythology.

[26]It would now be predicted that FIs should allow a wider range of morphology to appear in the embedded domain. However, as far as I can tell, that prediction is only partially correct, and therefore problematic. The general picture emerging from a cross-linguistic perspective indicates that the Base Verb in FIs fails to passivize. It has been argued that passive may apply below the causative formative in certain languages, for instance Turkish (Aissen 1979). However, languages where this is possible tend to be head-final. As head-finality appears to have wide-spread (and poorly understood) consequences, such data must be approached with extreme care before any trustworthy conclusions can be drawn.

Chapter 4

Projections and Categories

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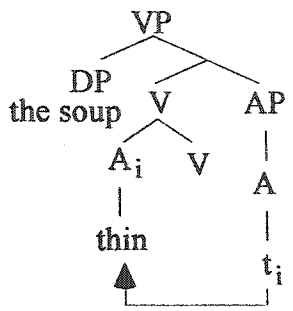
1. Introduction

Chapter 3 provided ample evidence that agent-oriented material cannot occur in the domain headed by the Base Verb in *Faire Par* causatives. We also noted that this fact conflicts with the Agentivity Hypothesis which has been proposed as a condition on the Base Verb in FP formation. Granted Kratzer's idea that the external argument is introduced by a functional Voice head, which provides specifications for agentivity, it therefore follows that the verb itself in a technical sense cannot be agentive. Moreover, since the complement of the causative formative in an FP does not involve a VoiP, it cannot be the case that the causative verb selects an agentive Base Verb. Rather, we concluded, the Agentivity Hypothesis must be stated in terms of verbs that are *potentially* agentive. As we shall see in this chapter, the VoiP hypothesis also has wide ranging implications for the formation of so-called lexical causatives and by extension causatives in general. Specifically, the Voice-hypothesis, the syntactic behavior of the FP-causative, and the morphological expression of causation will force us to a very specific conclusion about the internal structure of verbs, namely that Kratzer's VoiP and Chomsky's (1995) *v*P are two distinct projections in the syntax (e.g. Baker & Stewart 1999).

In a series of works, Hale & Keyser (e.g. 1992, 1993) propose to eliminate argument structure and theta-roles from the theory of Grammar, on the grounds that these notions can be derived by independently motivated syntactic principles. For instance, Hale & Keyser argue that deadjectival verbs are not formed in the traditional lexical sense, which relied on a specific rule of

category conversion, A→ V (e.g. Lieber 1981).[1] For Hale & Keyser, a deadjectival verb like thin as in *The soup thinned*, is syntactically formed in the manner shown in (1), at a level they call L-syntax.

(1)



In (1) the AP (thin) has combined with a V. Notice further that the DP the soup occurs in the specifier of VP. Hale & Keyser's claim is that the verb thin is derived via syntactic movement of A into V. This is an instance of head-movement, whose independent motivation and properties are extensively discussed in Travis (1984) and Baker (1988a). One important characteristic of (1) is the fact that the object in SpecVP is not an argument of the adjective, but indeed an argument of the verb. However, the verb itself is not the main predicator in (1). The question, then, is why is the SpecVP position filled at all. Here, Hale & Keyser appeal to the principle of Full Interpretation (Chomsky 1986b: 95-101), which is a requirement that syntactic structure must be fully interpreted. The DP enters a predication relation with the AP (e.g. Williams 1980, Bowers 1993) and will be interpreted as the direct internal argument (or the Theme), because it is generated in VP.[2] In the absence of a filled SpecVP, the complement of V, i.e. AP, would not be interpretable.

In short, Hale & Keyser (1993) derived deadjectival verbs by appealing to relations that can be defined over syntactic structures (head, complement and specifier) and syntactic movement (X°-movement), without resorting to the kind of rules or constraints that have been proposed to operate in the Lexicon. Thus, if argument structure and theta-roles are by-products of syntactic operations defined over syntactic structures, argument structure and theta roles as

such are superfluous. Hale & Keyser's syntax-biased approach has strongly influenced another recent development within the current Chomskian framework, namely Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997, Marantz 2001) which dispenses with the lexicalist Lexicon altogether.

These issues are of great importance for our overall enterprise, which consists of mapping out the properties of North Sámi productive causatives (and FPs in general) and characterizing the underlying factors. For instance the requirement that the Base Verb in an FP must be of the type that it can enter an agentive construction without itself being agentive warrants us to ask what the theoretical implications are. Our position is that it favors a radically syntactic view on "lexical" matters.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 examines lexical and syntactic causativization. Harley (1995a, b) presents a unified account for morphologically formed causatives in Japanese, by analyzing Cause as a component of Voi. Harley's starting point is Miyagawa's (1994) Late Insertion analysis of the Japanese causative suffix -sase-, which may occur in both lexical and syntactic causatives. On the basis of North Sámi, we are led to conclude that Harley's account must be modified; specifically, Cause must be separated from Voi. Section 3 discusses the internal structure of the verb phrase, focusing on verbalizing heads (Marantz 1997) and the position of objects. We will propose the existence of a causative verbalizing functional head and a non-causative variant (e.g. Embick 2001, Harley 1995a, b, 2002a). Furthermore we propose that the direct internal argument is always introduced into the specifier of the verbalizing head. Section 4 examines some instances of variable behavior verbs in North Sámi. On the one hand we notice a distinction between verbs of manner of motion and directed motion. Only the latter can fluctuate between unergative and unaccusative readings. We also bring up a property of manner of motion verbs, namely that the presence of causative morphology may have the effect of adding an internal , rather than an external argument. We also discuss instances of causativized perception verbs, which will be shown to be lexical causatives. Section 5 summarizes the main points of the discussion.

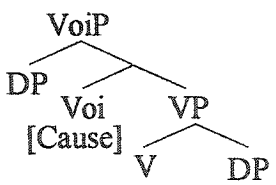
2. Lexical and syntactic causatives: Why Cause isn't Voice

In this section we argue that Kratzer's (1996) VoiP and Chomsky's (1995) *v*P should not be considered as different labels for the projection that introduces the external argument. Essentially, we shall argue that *v*P more or less corresponds to a transitivizing head that does not introduce an external argument.

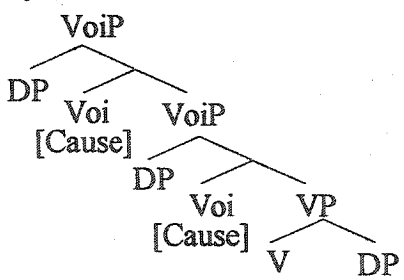
2.1. The elsewhere causative and blocking effects

Harley (1995a, b) develops a theory of causativization that rests both on Hale & Keyser's and Kratzer's (1996) insights. Harley equates eventhood with Voi, whereby she provides a straightforward way to unify so-called lexical and syntactic causatives. As is well known, lexical causatives can be characterized as mono-eventive (i.e. simplex) transitive verbs (e.g. kill), whereas syntactic causatives consists of two events (e.g. cause to die) (e.g. Fodor 1970). Both expressions involve a Cause component; it is abstract in English lexical causatives, but overt in syntactic causatives. Harley observed that regardless of whether a causative is lexical or syntactic, the presence of Cause also entails the presence of an Agent. Harley (1995a, b) therefore analyzes the agentive VoiP (in fact, EventP for Harley) as containing a Cause component, (2):

(2) a Lexical Causative



b Syntactic Causative



As is evident from (2a) and (2b), the basic distinction between lexical and syntactic causatives lies in whether we have two stacked VoiPs or not. Since Voi also demarcates the domain that Hale & Keyser refer to as L-syntax (for Harley, the domain of an Event) it is now also quite a simple matter to account for why the English lexical causative is null and the syntactic instance of

Cause is overt, e.g. make, as illustrated in (3). It can be informally stated that each L-syntactic domain requires a lexical verb, and in English, the "bare" Cause in (3b) is spelled out as make.

(3) a Peter die-$\emptyset_{Cause}$ (=kill) Bill

b John Cause (=make) [Peter die-$\emptyset_{Cause}$ (=kill) Bill]

Harley's idea is attractive, because it easily extends to languages where both syntactic and lexical causative are overtly expressed morphologically, and consequently this theory is well equipped to harness the behavior of causative suffixes, such as Japanese -sase-. In Japanese, the syntactic causative is always expressed by means of this suffix , but it has been noted that -sase- is also found in lexical causatives (Miyagawa 1984, 1989, 1994). Consider the table in (4), which lists a few Japanese intransitive-transitive verb pairs:

(4)

		Intransitive	Transitive	
a	*ar ~ e*	ag-ar-u	ag-e-ru	rise-raise
b	*re ~ s*	hazu-re-ru	hazu-s-u	come off -take off
c	*ri ~ s*	ta-ri-ru	ta-s-u	suffice-supplement
d	*e ~ as*	kog-e-ru	kog-as-u	become scorched- scorch
e	*i ~ os*	ok-i-ru	ok-os-u	get up-get up
f	*Ø ~ as*	nar-Ø-u	nar-as-u	ring-ring
g	*Ø ~ e*	ak-Ø-u	ak-e-ru	open-open
h	*ar ~ Ø*	matag-ar-u	matag-Ø-u	sit astride-straddle
i	*Ø~ sase*	niow-Ø-u	niow-ase-ru	smell-hint

(a) to (h) in (4) provides a sample of various suffixes that occur in the Japanese inchoative -lexical causative alternation.[3] By and large, it is fairly idiosyncratic which suffix occurs where. Miyagawa (1984, 1989, 1994), noticed that the lexical causative can be expressed by -sase- if and only if a certain verb does not already have a fixed transitive form. In his early work, Miyagawa accounted for this fact by stipulating two pre-syntactic levels of causative formation. In addition to the lexical level, where (a) to (h) in (4) above are formed, there is what Miyagawa calls Paradigmatic Structure (PS). Simply speaking, Miyagawa assumed that each verb is associated with an intransitive and a transitive slot. At the level of paradigmatic structure, unfilled transitive

slots are filled in by creating lexical causatives by means of the suffix -sase-. Thus, as shown in (5) it is impossible to form a lexical causative like *ag-ase-ru 'raise' because the transitive slot is filled by the existing form ag-e-ru 'raise.' In other words, existing forms block the creation of lexical causatives at PS.

(5)

	Intransitive	Transitive	
Lexicon	ag-ar-u	ag-e-ru	rise-raise
PS		*ag-ase-ru	

However, in the case of niow 'smell,' (4i), the transitive slot is not filled lexically, and therefore it is possible to suffix -sase- at Paradigmatic Structure:

(6)

	Intransitive	Transitive	
Lexicon	niow-Ø-u	-	smell - hint
PS		niow-ase-ru	

This quite ingenious account for the distribution of lexical -sase- in terms of blocking comes however with the price tag of a stipulated new level of representation. Miyagawa (1994), however, argues that this shortcoming can be avoided by assuming along the lines of Halle & Marantz (1993) that lexical insertion takes place after syntax, on the way to PF. According to Halle & Marantz, the syntax itself is void of phonology, consisting solely of abstract features; morpho-phonological expressions (Vocabulary Items) are inserted into the structures that are provided by syntax. Lexical insertion furthermore operates according to a subset principle, such that the Vocabulary Item whose specification is the closest match with the specification in terminal syntactic node is chosen, provided that the closest match does not contain any conflicting features. For instance, the Vocabulary Item may consist of fewer features than the syntactic node, but crucially, the features on the Vocabulary Item may not be a superset of what is specified on the syntactic node. Hence, Vocabulary Items compete for insertion. Consider the transitive column in (4). Here we find the causative suffixes -e-. -s-, -as-. -os-, -Ø- and -sase-. Each of these suffixes occur only with certain arbitrary verb classes, as indicated in (7), where the

verb class is identical to the alphabetical lines in (4). Thus, the suffix -e- is specified for occurring only with verbs belonging in class (a) and (g), -s- with verb of class (b) and (c) etc.

(7)

Cause	→	-e-	/$V_{a,g}$ ____
Cause	→	-s-	/$V_{b,c}$ ____
Cause	→	-as-	/$V_{d,f}$ ____
Cause	→	-os-	/V_{e} ____
Cause	→	-Ø-	/V_{h} ____
Cause	→	-sase-	*elsewhere*

However, -sase- is only specified for Cause, and hence it is in principle compatible with all verb classes. The reason why -sase- cannot form a lexical causative with every verb is because of competition. A verb form like *ag-ase-ru is impossible because there is another more highly specified suffix available, namely -e-, and consequently -sase- loses out. Therefore, -sase- can only occur when the other options fail. Hence, the assumption is that there is no idiosyncratic causative suffix that occurs with verbs of class (i). This approach also accounts for why the productive syntactic causative consistently is expressed by -sase-. Once a verbstem has combined with lexical Cause, class membership is irrelevant. Hence, the syntactic causative too falls under the elsewhere condition. Harley (1995a, b), however, remarks that Miyagawa does not address the question why the syntactic causative is bi-eventive in contrast to the mono-eventive lexical causative. This can be captured by the structures in (2), where Cause is consistently analyzed as an instantiation of the head that introduces the Agent.

Elegant though Harley's theory is, the claim that Cause is equal to Voi, as in (2) above, is untenable. The crucial evidence that discloses the flaw in Harley's account comes from the interaction of lexical causatives and FP-causatives. To see the point, let us consider syntactic and lexical causatives in North Sámi, where the situation in important respects is similar to what we have seen in Japanese. Just like Japanese -sase-, the productive North Sámi causative suffix -h-/-aht(t)- can also appear in both lexical and syntactic causatives. Moreover, its appearance in the

lexical causative is limited in the same way as -sase-, that is, it appears unless there is a more highly specified suffix available. Let us begin by considering the following North Sámi verb pairs:

(8)

		INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	
a	*Ø ~ d*	luvvat-*Ø*-t máizza-*Ø*-t	luvva-*d*-it máiza-*d*-it	*get wet - make wet* *get warm - make warm*
b	*n ~ d*	buorrá-*n*-it lahka-*n*-it	buori-*d*-it laga-*d*-it	*improve-improve* *get closer - bring closer*
c	*n ~ Ø*	cuovka-*n*-it guorra-*n*-it	cuvke-*Ø*-t gurre-*Ø*-t	*break - break* *empty - empty*
d	*s ~ Ø*	árro-*s*-it dápma-*s*-it	árri-*Ø*-t dápma-*Ø*-t	*be delayed - delay* *become tame - tame*
e	*n ~h*	lassá-*n*-it gopmá-*n*-it	lasi-*h*-it gomi-*h*-it	*increase - increase* *turn over - turn over*
f	*Ø ~ h*	cirgu-*Ø*-t riššu-*Ø*-t	cirggu-*h*-it rišu-*h*-it	*spray - spray* *splash - splash*

In this sample, we can identify -d-, -Ø- and -h- as lexical causative suffixes. This pattern is essentially the same as in Japanese, and Miyagawa's late insertion analysis extends straightforwardly to account for the distribution of the suffixes. Thus, -d- appears with verbs of class (a) and (b), -Ø- with classes (c) and (d). Finally, -h- can be treated as an elsewhere causative.

(9)

Cause → -d- /$V_{a, b}$ ____
Cause → -Ø- /$V_{c, d}$ ____
Cause → -h- *elsewhere*

Thus, a lexical causative like *buori-h-it 'improve' is impossible because of there is a more highly specified suffix, namely -d-, that specifically occurs with class (a) roots.

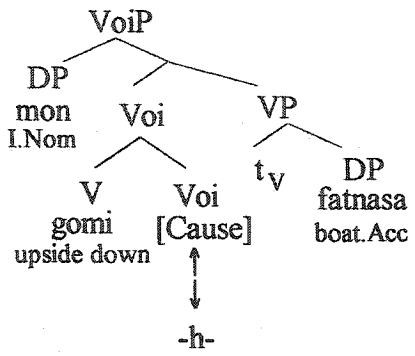
Recall now that under Harley's analysis, the Cause component in both lexical and syntactic causatives is a property of Voi. Hence, the projection of the verb gomi-h- 'upside down-Cause' along with its arguments in (10a) would necessarily be as illustrated in (10b):

(10) a Mon gomihin fatnasa

I.Nom upside down.Tr.Pst.1s boat.Acc

'I turned the boat upside down.'

b



However, Harley's hypothesis is incompatible with our conclusion from the previous chapter, namely that the embedded verb in North Sámi causatives in fact does not involve a VoiP, which in turn is a typical FP characteristic. Let us assume that Cause is a component of Voi, as Harley suggests. Next, let us also assume that the Base Verb in an FP does not involve a Voi projection, as we have argued extensively. When add these two assumptions together, we make the prediction that the Base Verb in an FP could *never* involve a lexical causative suffix. However, as shown in (11), the syntactic causative -h-/-aht(t)- attaches to stems that includes the lexical causative formative:[4]

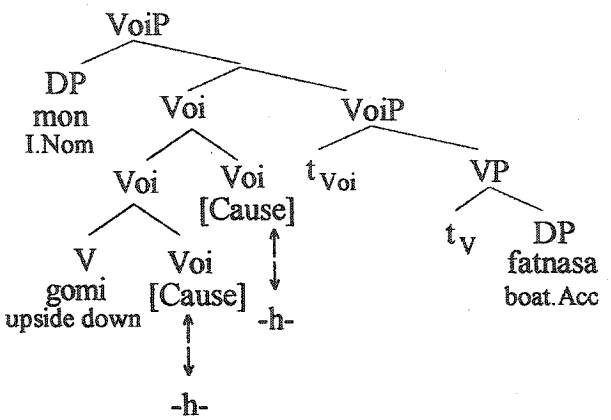
(11)

TRANSITIVE	FP-CAUSATIVE	
luvva-d-it	[luvva-*d*]-ahtt-it	*make wet*
máiza-d-it	[máiza-*d*]-ahtt-it	*warm*
buori-d-it	[buori-*d*]-ahtt-it	*improve*
laga-d-it	[laga-*d*]-ahtt-it	*bring close*
cuvke-Ø-t	[cuvke-Ø]-h-it	*break*
gurre-Ø-t	[gurre-Ø]-h-it	*empty*
árri-Ø-t	[ári-Ø]-h-it	*delay*
dápma-Ø-t	[dáma-Ø]-h-it	*tame*
lasi-h-it	[lasi-*h*]-ahtt-it	*increase*
gomi-h-it	[gomi-*h*]-ahtt-it	*turn over*
cirggu-h-it	[cirggu-*h*]-ahtt-it	*spray*
rišu-h-it	[rišu-*h*]-ahtt-it	*splash*

The only way to accommodate the FP-causatives in (11) under Harley's analysis, is to assume that the Base Verb has merged with a [+agentive] Voi qua Cause that does not introduce an external argument, as in (12b):

(12) a Mon gomi-h-ahtt-en fatnasa
I.Nom upside down-Cause-Cause-Pst.1s boat.Acc
'I caused someone to turn the boat upside down.'

b



However, under the analysis (12b), it is completely inexplicable why the embedded VoiP cannot license agent-oriented adverbs and purpose clauses, as we extensively illustrated in Chapter 3. True, we could claim that the lexical causative involves some kind of passive, as argued in Rosen (1989), but as we mentioned in Chapter 3, a passive analysis of FPs raises more questions than it answers. Therefore, we must reject (12b), and consequently we must also reject the premise that the Cause component is an element of Voi.[5] In short, the only way in which we accommodate North Sámi causatives with the hypothesis that Cause is a syntactic head, is by assuming that Cause is a separate head from Voi. That is, the (lexical) causative suffix found in the Base Verbs in (11), must be expontents of another syntactic head than Voi.

2.2. Cause is v

If the Cause component is not encoded in Voi, but in some other syntactic head, the question now, of course, what kind of head would that be? To begin with, we should notice that Kratzer's

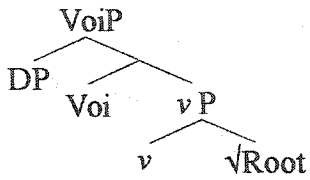
(1996) VoiP and Chomsky's (1995) *v*P have more or less been assumed to be two different labels for the same thing. In proposing *v*P, Chomsky (1995:315) adopts "a version" of Hale & Keyser's configurational approach to certain aspects of verb formation and in particular argument structure. Chomsky assumes, along the lines of Hale & Keyser (1993: 68-9), that the configuration *v*-VP implies causation and agentivity, which for Hale & Keyser is a V-VP configuration. However, as Chomsky points out in a footnote (Chomsky 1995: 389, fn. 89) his proposal differs from Hale & Keyser's in one important point. For Chomsky, in addition to implying agentivity, *v* also introduces the external argument (specifically the Agent). Consider the structure (13), which illustrates the causative implication in Hale & Keyser's (1993) theory:

(13)

Hale & Keyser (1993:79ff) assume that VP1 cannot take a subject in (13), because VP2 is not an L-syntax predicate (AP and PP are predicates at L-syntax, but not VP and NP). Therefore, the external argument is not part of L-syntactic representations, which, as the reader might recall from Section 3, rhymes well with Marantz's (1984) claim that external arguments are not part of a verb's theta-grid. If we now assume that Chomsky's *v* in fact should be characterized as Hale & Keyser V1 in (13), then we can straightforwardly appeal to Kratzer's original motivation for positing VoiP (see Section 3.2). It is fully possible to assume that Voi and v are distinct heads, which has also been independently proposed in the recent literature (Baker & Stewart 1999, Pylkkänen 1999, 2002). We therefore propose that lexical causatives in North Sámi have the structure given in (14) below. Here, we assume that the external argument is introduced by Voi, as before. However, we now also assume that *v*P be viewed in the sense proposed by Hale & Keyser and thus it corresponds to Harley's (1995a, b) abstract Cause component. *v* in turn has merged with a category neutral root, √Root (see Marantz 1997), hence providing the category

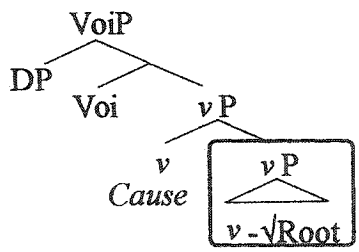
label for the root. For now, however, we will focus our attention on Voi and *v* exclusively, hence also temporarily ignoring where the direct object appears.

(14)



We now have a foundation upon which we can base a revision of the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis for FP formation. The complement of the causative formative in an FP can now be viewed as a *v*P. This way, we can maintain Miyagawa's late insertion analysis, and thus avoiding a retreat to a lexical treatment of "lexical" causatives. We are also able to maintain the basic intuition of Harley's proposal, namely that Cause is a syntactic head, and at the same time we sidestep the problems we encountered on this view. The causative formative itself is of course also a *v*:

(15)



However, before we elaborate more on this idea, we shall consider two independent proposals that argue for a splitting of Voi and *v*, namely Baker & Stewart (1999) and various work by Pylkkänen (e.g. 1999, 2002).

2.3. More motivation for splitting Voi and v

On the basis of the behavior of various serial verb constructions (SVCs) found in West African languages (see for instance Baker 1989, Stewart 1998, Collins 1997a, among others), Baker &

Stewart (1999) argue that both Kratzer's VoiP and Chomsky's *v*P are empirically motivated. (16) below illustrates three distinct types of SVCs from Edo, whose properties have been thoroughly investigated in Stewart (1998).

(16) a Ózò ghá gbè èwé khiẹ̀n ùhùnmwùn érẹ̀n. COVERT COORDINATION
Ozo FUT hit goat sell head its
'Ozo will kill the goat and sell its head.' (Baker & Stewart 1999:3)

b Ózò ghá gbè èwé khiẹ̀n. CONSEQUENTIAL SVC
Ozo FUT hit goat sell
'Ozo will kill the goat and sell it.' (Baker & Stewart 1999:3)

c Ózò ghá gbè èwé wù. RESULTATIVE SVC
Ozo FUT hit goat die
'Ozo will strike the goat dead.' (Baker & Stewart 1999:3)

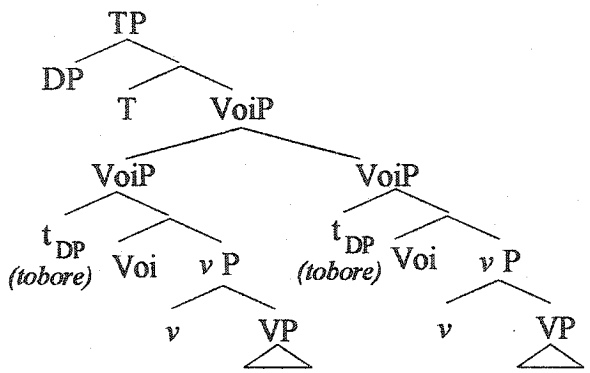
The sentences in (16) differ in various fine points. We will begin by considering the so-called *covert coordinations* (CC) (16a). Baker & Stewart claim that CCs involve two instances of VoiP. Covert Coordinations typically consists of two transitive verbs, each of which takes an overt object. One of the arguments Baker & Stewart provide as evidence for the existence of two VoiPs is based on the distribution of the of the reflexive-like element *tòbórè* 'by self.' This element can be right-adjoined to argument DPs. When appearing on subjects, *tòbórè* 'by self' has the additional option of being floated off the subject. Consider now (17):

(17) a Òzó ghá *tòbórè* lé èvbàré rrí órè. CC
Ozo Fut by.self cook food eat it
'Ozo will cook the food by himself and eat it.'

b Òzó lé izè *tòbórè* rrí órè. CC
Ozo cook rice by.self eat it
'Ozo cooked the rice and ate it by himself.'

Tòbórè 'by self' can appear before the first verb (17a) as well as before the second verb (17b). Thus, there is evidence for two agents in CCs. These originate in VoiP and raise by Across the Board Movement to SpecTP, with the result that *tòbórè* 'by self' can be stranded in the SpecVoiP of either verbal projection, (18):

(18)



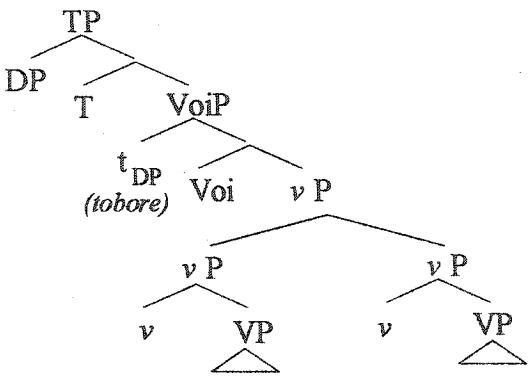
Consequential SVCs, (16b), are analyzed as involving a single VoiP with two *v*Ps. Since there is only one VoiP in CSVCs, we expect that *tòbórè* 'by self' should only be able to occur before the first verb, in contrast to the CCs in (17) above. Indeed, this is the case, as is shown by the contrast between (19a) and (19b):

(19) a Òzó ghá *tòbórè* lé èvbàré ré. CSVC
Ozo Fut by.self cook food eat
'Ozo will by himself cook the food and eat it.'

b *Òzó lé èvbàré *tòbórè* ré. CSVC
Ozo cook food by.self eat
'Ozo will by himself cook the food and eat it.'

Hence, Baker & Stewart propose the structure given in (20) for the CSVC:

(20)

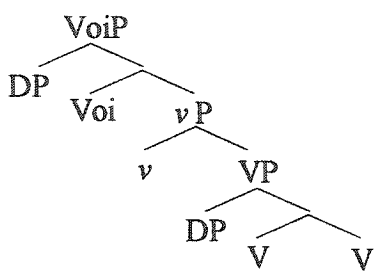


The major (superficial) difference between (16a) and (16b) lies in the fact that in the latter there are two transitive verbs, but only one overt object. However, since (20) involves two *v*Ps, and therefore also two VPs, it is predicted that CSVCs should have two objects, just like the CC. Baker & Stewart present some evidence that the second verb in an CSVCs does take an object, namely a null pro. To show the existence of this object, Baker & Stewart again appeal to *tòbórè* 'by self.' In CSVCs, *tòbórè* 'by self' can appear after the second verb, and it can still be interpreted as modifying the "shared" object.[6]

(21) Òtàsówié dé éwu$_i$ yó (--) tòbórè$_i$. CSVC
Otasowie buy dress wear by self
'Otasowie bought the dress and wore it by itself.' (Baker & Stewart 1999:29)

Finally, *Resultative* SVCs as in (16c) are characterized by the fact that the second verb must be unaccusative, and again there is only one object. (16c) is assumed to involve a combination at the V level:

(22)

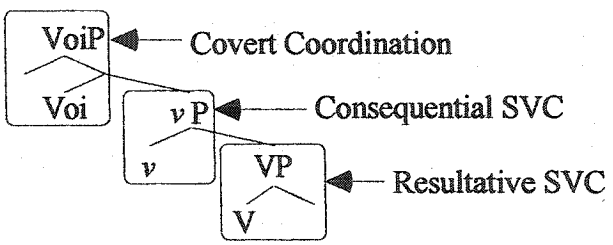


Baker & Stewart claim that (22) involves a doubly headed VP, where the object in SpecVP is a radically shared object, in the sense of Baker (1989).[7] They raise as an argument for this claim, the fact that *tòbórè* 'by self' cannot appear after the second verb, unlike what we saw in the CSVC (21):

(23) *Òzó sùá ògók$_i$ (--) dé tòbórè$_i$. RSVC
Ozo push bottle fall by.self
'Ozo pushed the bottle down by itself.'

In short, the typology of various serial verb constructions can be straightforwardly captured if it assumed that Kratzer's VoiP and Chomsky's *v*P are two distinct projections. The situation is summarized in (24):

(24)



Various works by Pylkkänen (e.g. 1999, 2001, 2002) arrive at a similar conclusion, namely that Voi and *v* are distinct. Pylkkänen is primarily concerned with adverbial modification in causative constructions. She notices that the level at which a causative head attaches gives rise to different interpretational possibilities of a variety of adverbs. Consider the examples in (25):

(25) a Omusomesa ya-wandi-s-a Katonga *ne obu nyikivu.* LUGANDA
teacher 3s.Pst-write-Cause-FV Katoonga with the dedication
'The teacher$_i$ made Katonga$_j$ write with dedication$_{i/j}$.' (Pylkkänen 2001:1)

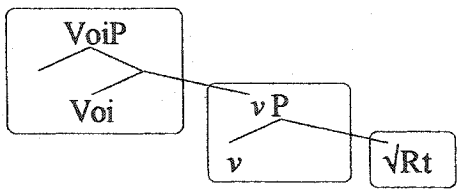
b *pro* Naa-butwiish-ya umuana *ukwiitemenwa.* BEMBA
1S.Pst-run-Cause boy willingly
'I_i made the boy_j run $willingly_{i/*j}$.' (Pylkkänen 2001:1)

b' Naa-butwiish-ya Mwape ulubilo.
I.past-run-CAUSE Mwape fast
'I made Mwape run quickly' (Pylkkänen 2001:1)

c $John_i$ awoke $Bill_j$ $grumpily_{i/*j}$. (Pylkkänen 2001:1)

In the Luganda example (25a), the pertinent point is that the adverb 'with dedication' can refer to the manner in which the Causee Katonga carries out the writing event. This, according to Pylkkänen, is an indication that causative head has combined with Voi. This finding thus reproduces Guasti's observation that the Causee in an FI can control into a purpose clause in Italian (see Chapter 3.4. above, ex. (65)). However, in (25b) Bemba, the adverb 'willingly' can only be construed with the causing event, which suggests that the causative head has combined with something smaller than VoiP. However, (25b') shows that an adverb modifying the running event is possible. Thus, the causative formative has combined with something that bigger than V (or √Root). The obvious candidate for the mystery head is *v*. Finally, the English example (25c), a so-called lexical causative, shows that the adverb 'grumpily' can only be understood in the sense that John, not Bill, is grumpy. The implication is therefore that the (abstract) causative head has combined with what for Baker & Stewart would be V. However, Pylkkänen adopts the view explicated in Marantz (1997) that V in (24) in fact is a category neutral root. Hence, we arrive at the structure shown in (26):

(26)



In this subsection we have presented two independent approaches that converge of the assumption that VoiP and *v*P are to distinct projections.

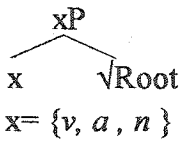
2.4. Summary

In this section we have shown that it is not tenable to equate Cause with Voi, contrary to Harley's (1995a, b) proposal. If we wish to maintain a unified account of syntactic and lexical causativization, then we are forced to assume that Cause is instantiated in some other syntactic position. This position, we have argued is *v*. In making this move, we can retain the benefits of the analyses presented by Miyagawa (1994) and Harley (1995a, b), and at the same time account for the syntactic and morphological properties of North Sámi FP-causatives.

3. Agentive and non-agentive verbs

In the section 2.2. we proposed that the complement of the causative formative in an FP is a *v*P assuming that VoiP and *v*P are distinct. As mentioned above, in this thesis I assume Root-based theory along the lines of Marantz (1997). Marantz proposes that syntactic categories such as noun and verb are determined in the syntax, by means of a universal set of functional heads provided by UG.[8] In lexicalist theories the standard assumption is that a lexical item like eat has a lexical entry, which among other things provides information about categorial membership. However, if there is no lexicon, then there are no lexical entries *of that sort* and consequently the determination of category must take place somewhere else, namely in the syntax. Marantz proposes that there are category neutral roots, and functional heads such as *v*, a, n, etc. that merge with these roots in the syntax , where the resulting syntactic configuration provides information about category membership:

(27)

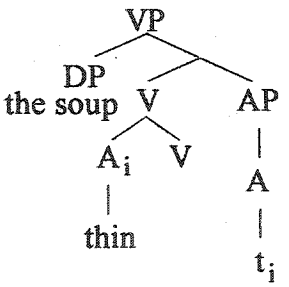


We now have to address two questions, namely (i), where and how do internal arguments originate? and (ii) how are descriptively agentive and non-agentive verbs differentiated?[9]

3.1. Severing the direct internal argument from its Root

Let us begin with the question pertaining to arguments, which to some extent is independent from the second question. I take the position that assumes that Roots never take arguments, and in this sense we diverge from say Marantz (1997) and Harley & Noyer (1997), who assume that Roots do take complement DPs. Rather, the arguments that a certain Root is associated with are introduced by means of functional heads, such as *v*, n (Marantz 2001, Baker 1997b).[10] This position is in some aspects similar to Hale & Keyser's (1993) proposal for deadjectival verbs, repeated below as (28).

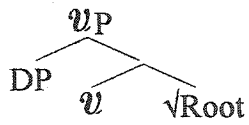
(28)



Recall that Hale & Keyser assume that the DP the soup is not an argument as such of the adjective. Rather, the DP is "forced" into the Spec of VP for reasons of Full Interpretation. If it is not there, the adjective cannot be assigned an interpretation. Specifically, the adjective needs to be predicated of a noun. I will adopt a similar view, namely that the "direct" internal argument of a verb appears in the specifier of the verbalizing element, which we for the time being denote v. Hence, regardless of whether we are dealing with an unaccusative or transitive verb, I propose

that in abstract terms the most deeply verbal projection in both transitives and unaccusatives is as depicted in (29):

(29)



In (29), v has merged with a category neutral root, creating a verb. Subsequently, [$_{vP}$ v √Root] merges a DP into its specifier. Hence, a verbalizing item like v serves a dual function; on the one hand it provides a Root with a category label, and on the other hand it introduces an argument associated with the root.

3.2. Flavors of verbalizers

Let us now turn to the second question, namely how do agentive verbs differ from non-agentive ones? The distinction, we assume, is structural. Arad (1999) for instance claims that *v* comes in different flavors, such as agentive *v*, stative *v* etc. Embick (2001) also suggests the existence of inchoative *v*, and similar proposals are found in Harley (1995ab, 2002a) and Folli & Harley (2002). Hence, there is an emerging consensus that there are verbalizing functional heads with diverse semantic content. As we showed in Chapter 3.3, agentive and non-agentive verbs alike may take external arguments:

(30) a Máhtte cuvkii láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr.Pst.3s window.Acc
'Máhtte broke the window.'

b Mánná gulai bajána.
child.Nom hear.Pst.3s thunder.Acc
'The child heard the thunder.'

The claim that both sentences in (30) have bona fide external arguments is supported by the fact that the corresponding passive sentences in (31) are well formed:

(31) a Láse cuvke-juvvui.
window.Nom break.Tr-Pass.Pst.3s
'The window was broken.'

b Baján gullo-juvvui.
thunder.Nom hear-Pass.Pst.3s
'The thunder was heard.'

The difference between the verbs in (30) lies in the "middle field" of the verb phrase, that is in the nature of the verbalizing functional head that merges with the root. Agentive verbs, I claim, involve *v*, which instantiates Cause, in the sense discussed in section 2. 1. Non-agentive verbs, on the other hand, all share the common thread of not involving a Cause component, and consequently they do not involve causative *v*. Primarily for the sake of ease of exposition, I will use the category label V for non-causative verbalizers.

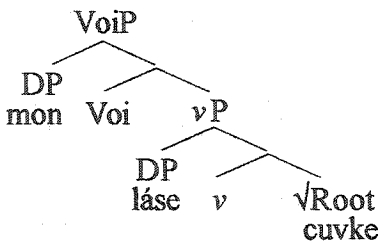
(32) a *v* causative verbalizer

b V non-causative verbalizer

Given these background assumptions, the verb phrases in the sentences (33a) and (34a) have the structures given in (33b) and (34b) respectively:

(33) a Mon cuvke-jin láse.
I.Nom break.Tr-Pst.1s window.Acc
'I broke the window.'

b *Agentive Verb*

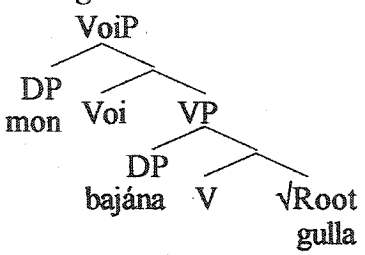


(34) a Mon gullen bajána.

I.Nom hear.Pst.1s thunder.Acc

'I heard the thunder.'

b *Non-Agentive Verb*

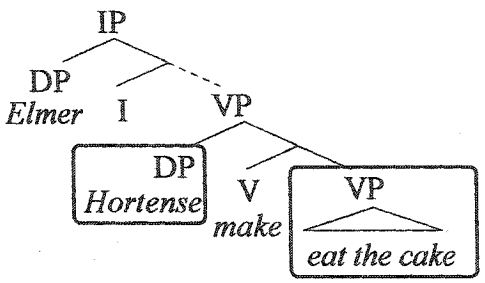


Thus, the main difference between (33a) and (34b) is thus found in the element that has merged with the root, *v* in the former and V in the latter.

However, given that we have assumed that *v* has causative content, it might raise a few eyebrows to see the internal argument as a specifier of *Cause*, as in (33b) above. This goes against the Jackendovian claim that the first argument of Cause is the Agent (Jackendoff 1976, 1983). But it is now important to recall that Cause does not introduce the agent, as we argued extensively in Chapter 3. In fact, (33) has a precedent in Marantz's (1993) treatment of syntactic causatives. Marantz argued that the Causee Hortense in (35a) is projected in the Specifier of make, as shown in (35b):

(35) a Elmer made Hortense eat the cake.

b

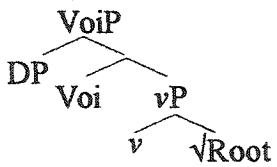


(Marantz 1993)

Marantz proposes that the Causee Hortense in (35b) is interpreted as being affected by the encircled VP, since it essentially denotes what she ends up being caused to do. Essentially, the Causee in (35) is an inner subject.[11] The DP in the Spec of *v*P in structure (33b) above can now be viewed as an inner subject, that undergoes some sort of causation.

In short, *v* has the ability to introduce an argument. However, it is far less clear that it is required to do so, as suggested by the presence unergative verbs. The analysis that I will adopt for unergative verbs, is that they too involve a *v*-merged Root, but in this case *v* does not introduce an argument, (36):[12]

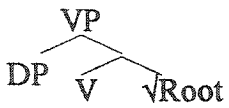
(36) Unergative



I will simply assume that there are two types of *v*. One is an argument-introducing *v* and the other is identical all respects, except that it does not introduce an argument.[13] When there is a need to tell the two apart, we shall refer to these to variants of *v* as v_{Tr} and v_{Intr}.

The considerations we have spelled out above carry over to the formation of unaccusative verbs. I assume that an unaccusative verb is formed by merging a root with V, on par with other non-agentives. Recall that V is also a verbalizer, and on par with *v* it is a functional head with argument introducing properties. V differs from *v*, however, in that it does not have causative content. V presumably comes in a few flavors, such as inchoative and stative. A typical unaccusative structure would be as shown in (37):[14]

(37)



This particular analysis of (agentive) transitive verbs and unaccusatives has a very strong and direct implication for the so-called causative inchoative variation, illustrated in (38) (= (8) above):

(38)

		INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	
a	*Ø ~ d*	luvvat-*Ø*-t máizza-*Ø*-t	luvva-*d*-it máiza-*d*-it	*get wet - make wet* *get warm - make warm*
b	*n ~ d*	buorrá-*n*-it lahka-*n*-it	buori-*d*-it laga-*d*-it	*improve-improve* *get closer - bring closer*
c	*n ~ Ø*	cuovka-*n*-it guorra-*n*-it	cuvke-*Ø*-t gurre-*Ø*-t	*break - break* *empty - empty*
d	*s ~ Ø*	árro-*s*-it dápma-*s*-it	árri-*Ø*-t dápma-*Ø*-t	*be delayed - delay* *become tame - tame*
e	*n ~h*	lassá-*n*-it gopmá-*n*-it	lasi-*h*-it gomi-*h*-it	*increase - increase* *turn over - turn over*
f	*Ø ~ h*	cirgu-*Ø*-t riššu-*Ø*-t	cirggu-*h*-it rišu-*h*-it	*spray - spray* *splash - splash*

An often debated issue has been whether the causative or the inchoative represents the more basic form, from which the other is derived, and as is clear from (38), morphology is quite uninformative in this context. Structure building theories (e.g. Hale & Keyser 1993) tend to assume that the causative is derived from the inchoative. One of the more prominent works supporting the view that the inchoative is derived from the causative is presented in Levin & Rappaport's (1995) work on decompositional lexical semantics. However, under the theory pursued here, neither the causative nor the inchoative is more basic than the other, a claim which goes back at least to Harley (1995a), and which is expressed also in Embick (2001). The crucial point is that both the causative and the inchoative are derived from the same Root. In the causative, *v* has merged with the Root, whereas in the inchoative it is V that has merged with the Root:

(39) a Causative

b Inchoative

3. 3. Summary

In this section we have argued that descriptively agentive and non-agentive verbs are distinguished by the flavor of the verbalizing head that merges with the category neutral root. Furthermore, we have proposed that the direct internal argument is introduced into the specifier of the verbalizing functional head that merges with the Root. We can now characterize the external argument as the element introduced into the specifier of VoiP, and the internal argument is the element occurring in the specifier of *v* or V.

4. Variable behavior

In this section we shall consider some instances of variable behavior in North Sámi intransitive verbs and how the present theory can accommodate and constrain these oscillations. We shall also examine variable behavior in perception roots, which appear either as non-causative transitives or as lexical causatives, in which case they always have an idiosyncratic interpretation.

4.1. Intransitives

One of the advantages of severing the direct internal argument from the root comes from intransitive verbs that exhibit variable behavior to the unaccusative-unergative distinction. As is well known, in many languages intransitive verbs may exhibit unergative properties in some cases and in other cases they may behave as unaccusatives (Hoekstra & Mulder 1990, Borer 1998, Arad 1998, among others).[15] Two of the most famous diagnostics for unaccusativity in Italian are concerned with auxiliary selection and the distribution of the partitive clitic ne (see for instance Burzio 1986, Belletti & Rizzi 1981). In transitive and unergative clauses the auxiliary 'have'

appears, whereas in passive and unaccusative clauses 'be' appears. The partitive clitic ne picks out the object of transitive verbs and the subject of unaccusatives and passives. In contrast, the subject of transitive and unergative verbs cannot undergo ne-cliticization. By these criteria, it can be concluded that the verb 'run' in (40) is unergative, as it occurs with the auxiliary 'have' and because ne-cliticization is impossible.

(40) a Gianni ha corso
Gianni has run

b *Ne hanno corso/i due
of-them have run two

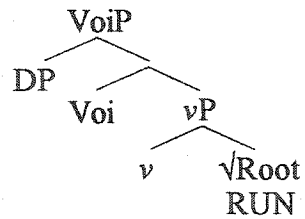
However, these diagnostics also indicate that we are dealing with an unaccusative when the very same verb occurs with a goal-phrase. As shown in (41a) and (41b), in these cases the auxiliary 'be' occurs and ne-cliticization is possible.

(41) a Gianni e corso a casa
Gianni is run to home (Hoekstra and Mulder, 1990)

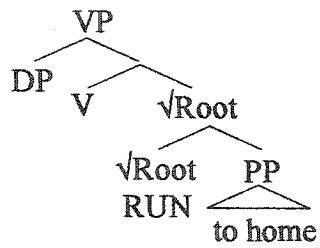
b Ne sono corsi due a casa
of-them are run+agr two to home (Hoekstra and Mulder, 1990)

What the contrast between (40) and (41) shows is that some roots may under certain circumstances be merged with either *v* or V, (see (42) below). The pertinent point here is that the unaccusative reading of these verbs is possible when a goal-phrase as been added. The root in (42a) denotes a particular manner of motion. It simply refers to an unbounded process, with no inherent endpoint. However, in (42b) the Goal PP provides an endpoint to the event, hence it serves as a delimiter (Tenny 1994, Borer 1998).

(42) a unergative *run*

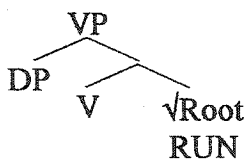


b unaccusative *run*



In other words, an inner subject can be licensed if the Root denotes a result. A bare "unergative" root on the other hand can only be construed with an entity that carries out the process, i.e. the Agent. Thus, we cannot obtain an unaccusative verb like the one depicted in (43):

(43)



(43), I contend, is ruled out by the principle of Full Interpretation, i.e. the requirement that the generated structures must be interpretable, because the argument in SpecVP and the Root cannot refer to a state or a resulting state, due to its inherent properties. (42b) above is interpretable, because the goal phrase enables the proper licensing of a specifier in VP.

Languages differ somewhat with regard to which intransitive verbs display this kind of variable behavior, but generally speaking, the phenomenon as such has been observed in numerous languages, as diverse as Hebrew (Borer 1998), Dutch, Italian (Hoekstra & Mulder 1990), English (Levin & Rappaport 1995). A split among intransitive verbs can also be identified in North Sámi. Verbs of directed motion (Levin 1993, Levin & Rappaport 1995) may oscillate between unergative and unaccusative interpretations, whereas other intransitive verbs fall into one category or the other.[16] For instance, verbs that specify a manner of motion are unambiguously unergative, whereas inchoatives are invariably unaccusative. While it is not a trivial task to establish what counts as a reliable unaccusative diagnostic, we find two

characteristics that distinguish unaccusatives from unergatives in North Sámi. We have discussed one of these diagnostics in some detail, namely ability to enter the productive morphological causative construction. The other diagnostic is the ability to form adjectival participles. Manner of motion verbs, such as viehkat 'run,' danset 'dance,' čuoigat 'ski,' etc, can consistently be causativized, as shown in (44):

(44) a Máhtte viega-h-ii bártni.
Máhtte.Nom run-Cause-Pst.3s boy.Acc
'Máhtte caused the boy to run.'

b Máret danse-h-ii neidda.
Máret.Nom dance-Cause-Pst.3s girl.Acc
'Máret caused the girl to dance.'

c Biera čuoigga-h-ii ádjá
Biera.Nom ski-Cause-Pst.3s old man.Acc
'Biera caused the old man to ski.'

However, basic verbs of this variety cannot form adjectival participles, (45):

(45) a *viehka-n bárdni
run-Ptc boy
'the run boy.

b *danse-n nieida
dance-Ptc girl
'the danced girl'

c *čuoiga-n áddja
ski-Ptc old man
'the skied old man'

Let us now compare (44) and (45) with inchoative unaccusatives. This class of intransitive verbs can never undergo productive causativization, (46):

(46) a *Mon cuovkan-ahtt-en láse.
I.Nom break.Intr-Cause-Pst.1s window.Acc
'I caused the glass to break.'

b *Mon gopmán–ahtt-en fatnasa
I.Nom upside down.Intr-Cause-Pst.1s boat.Acc
'I caused the boat to flip upside down.'

c *Mon rahpas-ahtt-en uvssa
I.Nom open.Intr-Cause-Pst.1s door.Acc
I caused the door to open.'

d *Máhtte heavvan-aht-ii Máreha.
Máhtte.Nom drown.Intr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc
'Máhtte made Máret drown.'

These verbs, however, can all form adjectival participles:

(47) a cuovkan-an láse
break.Intr-Ptc window
'the broken window'

b gopmán-an fanas
upside down.Intr-Ptc boat
'the flipped over boat'

c rahpas-an uksa
open.Intr-Ptc door
'the opened door'

d heavvan-an bárdni
drown.Intr-Ptc boy
'the drowned boy'

Verbs of directed motion, on the other hand, such as boahtit 'come/arrive,' joavdat 'arrive', vuolgit 'leave,' etc, can be causativized (48) and moreover, they can occur as adjectival participles (49). In other words, they exhibit variable behavior:

(48) a Máhtte bođi-h-ii bártni.
Máhtte.Nom come-Cause-Pst.3s boy.Acc
'Máhtte caused the boy to come/arrive.'

b Máret joavdda-h-ii neidda.
Máret.Nom arrive-Cause-Pst.3s girl.Acc
'Máret caused the girl to arrive.'

c Biera vuolggi-h-ii ádjá
Biera.Nom leave-Cause-Pst.3s old man.Acc
'Biera caused the old man to leave.'

(49) a boahtá-n bárdni
come/arrive-Ptc boy
'the arrived boy'

b joavda-n nieida
arrive-Ptc girl
'the arrived girl'

c vuolgá-n áddjá
leave-Ptc old man
'the departed old man'

This distinction may be accounted for by assuming that the manner component associated with manner of motion verbs such as viehkat 'run,' danset 'dance,' čuoigat 'ski,' etc, requires the presence of *v* in order to be interpreted (see for instance Hale & Keyser 1993 and Marantz 2001). Since the manners are concerned with the execution of the action, it is reasonable to assume that it relies on *v*, viz. Cause, for licensing. Thus if V merges with a root like √VIEHKA 'run' the root fails to be licensed.[17] Verbs of directed motion, however, are compatible with both *v* and Voi, because they do not involve a *v*-oriented manner component, and moreover they inherently denote some result (see Levin & Rappaport 1995). I will however leave for future research the fundamental issues of what the underlying factors might for the variable behavior observed above.

Summing up, we have claimed that intransitives that exhibit variable behavior with regard to the unaccusative-unergative distinction provides evidence for the claim that roots do not take argument DPs.

4.2. Transitivized unergatives

One salient descriptive effect of both "lexical" and "syntactic" causativization is that it adds a causative agent. Recall however that we showed in Chapter 3 that it is not the causative head itself that introduces this argument; rather it is introduced in a VoiP that takes the causative *v*P as its complement. Consequently, a basically intransitive verb such as viehkat 'run.Inf' in (50a), becomes a morphologically complex transitive verb when it is "syntactically" causativized, as shown in (50b):

(50) a Biret viegai.
Biret.Nom run.Pst.3s
'Biret ran.'

b Máhtte viega-h-ii Bireha.
Máhtte.Nom run-Cause-Pst.3s Biret.Acc
'Máhtte caused Biret to run.'

In both (50a) and (50b), Biret is interpreted as the runner. However, in the former sentence Biret might be running because she wants to, whereas in (50b) she is coerced by Máhtte one way or another to run. Crucially, Máhtte in (50b) is not the entity that carries out the running event. These are typical characteristics of syntactic causatives. However, it turns out that the surface string (50b) is ambiguous. In addition to the causative interpretation there exists another reading, where Biret is not necessarily running at all, but rather, as indicated in (51), Máhtte is the runner:

(51) Máhtte viega-h-ii Bireha.
Máhtte.Nom run-Cause-Pst.3s Biret.Acc
'Máhtte chased Biret, running.'

That is, the thematic status of Máhtte in (51) is parallel to the interpretation of the subject in (50a). In other words, under the readings indicated, (50b) and (51) are examples of two different kinds of transitivizing processes. In (50b) an external argument has been added to the basic intransitive verb, whereas in (51) the overall valence has been increased by the addition of an *internal* argument. Consequently, the combination viega-h 'run-Cause' in (51) means something close to 'chase by running.' This pattern is fully productive with intransitive verbs of manner of motion. A few more examples are given in (52):

(52) a Máret danse-h-ii neidda.
Máret.Nom dance-Cause-Pst.3s girl.Acc
(i) 'Máret caused the girl to dance.'
(ii) 'Máret chased the girl, dancing.'

b Biera čuoigga-h-ii ádjá

Biera.Nom ski-Cause-Pst.3s old man.Acc

(i) 'Biera caused the old man to ski.'

(ii) 'Biera chased the old man, skiing.'

Notice furthermore that the causative suffix is obligatory, (53). In its absence, it is impossible to for these verbs to take an accusative object:[18]

(53) a *Máhtte viega-i Bireha.

Máhtte.Nom run-Pst.3s Biret.Acc

'Máhtte chased Biret, running.'

b *Máret dans-ii neidda.

Máret.Nom dance-Pst.3s girl.Acc

'Máret chased the girl, dancing.'

c *Biera čuoigga-i ádjá

Biera.Nom ski-Pst.3s old man.Acc

'Biera chased the old man, skiing.'

In contrast, intransitive verbs of directed motion do not exhibit any ambiguity at all when occurring with a causative suffix, but can only be interpreted as syntactic causatives.

(54) a Mon bođi-h-in Bireha.

I.Nom come-Cause-Pst.1s Biret.Acc

(i) 'I made Biret arrive/come.'

(ii) *'I came after Biret'

b Mon mana-h-in Bireha.

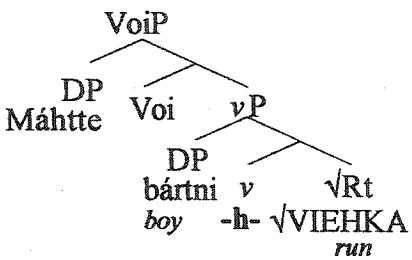
I.Nom go-Cause-Pst.1s Biret.Acc

(i) 'I made Biret go.'

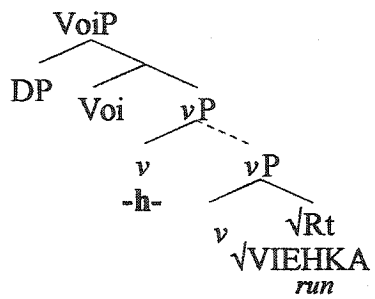
(ii) *'I went after Biret'

As is transparent from the terminology, the two types of motion verbs differ regards to whether they inherently denote direction or not and whether they denote the manner in which the motion is carried out. Thus, verbs like viehkat 'run' are neutral in terms of the direction in which the motion is targeted. In sentences like (51) and (52) under the "chasing"-interpretation, the addition of the causative suffix has the effect of adding a directional component to the verb, which in turn enables the introduction of a direct object, towards which the motion is directed. Given the interpretation of say (51), it is clear that its syntactic structure is unlike that of the productive causative. Instead, I propose that the projection of the verb in (51) is identical to a regular agentive transitive verb, (55a). The syntactic causative, on the other hand, involves involves two *v*-projections, as schematically shown in (55b) as point of reference:

(55) a



b



One significant piece of evidence that these are simple transitive verbs comes from facts pertaining to the possibilities of further causativization. Like many other languages, Sámi does not allow recursive productive causativization.[19] However, the surface string given in say (56a) which contains stacked causative suffixes is perfectly grammatical. But be careful to notice that the reading where the bárdni 'boy' is interpreted as the runner is excluded. Thus, (56a) for instance can only be interpreted as being based on (51), i.e. where bárdni 'boy' is being chased.

(56) a Mon viega-h-ahtt-en Máhte bártni.
I.Nom run-Cause-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc boy.Acc

(i) *'I caused Máhtte to cause the boy to run.'

(ii) 'I caused *Máhtte* to chase the boy, *running*.'

b Mon danse-h-ahtt-en Máreha neidda.
I.Nom dance-Cause-Cause-Pst.1s Máret.Acc girl.Acc
(i) *'I caused Máret to cause the girl to dance.'
(ii) 'I caused *Máret* to chase the girl, *dancing*.'

c Mon čuoigga-h-ahtt-en Biera ádjá.
I.Nom ski-Cause-Cause-Pst.1s Biera.Acc old man.Acc
(i) *'I caused Biera to cause the old man to ski.'
(ii) 'I caused *Biera* to chase the old man, *skiing*.'

We know independently that the so-called productive causative formative has the FP-property of being *v*-selecting. Therefore we conclude that the most deeply embedded suffix in the verb viega-h-ahtt-it is an exponent of a *v* that has combined with a Root (i.e. lexical causative) and not a *v*-selecting (i.e. syntactic) causative head (see e.g. Harley 1995a).

4.3. Causativized Perception Roots

A phenomenon similar to the one we have just considered is found in relation to perception roots. We have noticed in previous sections that perception verbs like gullat 'hear.Inf' cannot be causativized:

(57) *Máhtte gula-h-ii máná bajána.
Máhtte.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.3s child.Acc thunder.Acc
'Máhtte caused the child to hear the thunder.'

We have assumed that (57) is ill formed because the non-causative verbalizer V, which is involved in forming non-agentive verbs, does not meet the selectional requirements of the FP-causative formative, which only combines with *v*. However, if asked whether a verb like gula-h-it, which consists of the root √GULLA 'hear' and the suffix -h- is a well formed verb in the language, any

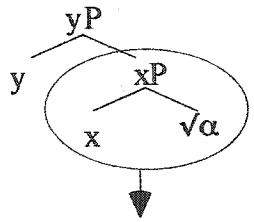
native speaker of North Sámi will inform us that it is. However, the meaning of gula-h-it is not 'cause someone to hear' but rather 'announce:'

(58) Báhppa **gula-*h*-ii** heajaid.
pastor.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.3s wedding.Acc
'The pastor *announced* the wedding.'

This kind of shift in meaning is not what one would expect if the verb in (58) were derived from the non-agentive verb gullat 'hear.Inf,' by means of syntactic causativization. For instance, when we announce something, as in (58), for sure our hope is that people are hearing what we are saying, and indeed they may be. But the pastor in (58) could have made the announcement to a sleeping congregation, in which case no one would have heard anything. Thus (58) exemplifies a case where root-suffix combination gives rise to a special meaning.

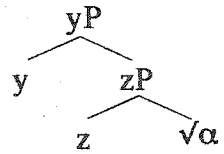
Special meanings have been considered as lexical phenomena par excellence. They are random, unpredictable, and therefore they have to be learned and memorized item for item. However, as Marantz (1997, 2001) points out, this does not necessarily mean that a generative lexicon is involved. Nor are special meanings restricted to word sized elements, but also larger phrases. Marantz argues that special meanings are stored in an Encyclopedia, which has no generative power. However, the Encyclopedia is expandable, as new coinages are invented. The Encyclopedia, however, is not just mere garbage can where things are stuffed in and memorized by brute force. Special meanings, according to Marantz, can occur in very specific syntactic environments. So for instance, in a configuration like (59a), the combination of x and a root $\sqrt{\alpha}$ might be such that it is related to a special, encyclopedic interpretation.[20]

(59) a



special interpretation

b



However, the combination of y and xP in (59) never triggers an idiomatic reading, because adjacency must hold between a root and a functional head. It might also be the case that the same Root √α, might combine with the functional head z, as in (59b), but in this case, the resulting structure is not associated with an encyclopedic meaning.

In the case of √GULLA 'hear,' the non-causative verbalizer V clearly has the status of z in (59b), as it does not give rise to an unpredictable meaning. However, if √GULLA 'hear' combines with *v*, the situation depicted in (59a) arises. The configuration *v*-√GULLA thus has an encyclopedic listing. The fact that we are dealing *v* is supported by three diagnostics. Firstly, in the surface form we find the elsewhere causative suffix -h- (see (9) above). Secondly, the agent-oriented mielast- 'gladly' can occur in (57), as shown in (60a), in contrast to (60b).

(60) a Báhppa mielastis **gula-*h*-ii** heajaid.
pastor.Nom gladly.3s hear-Cause-Pst.3s wedding.Acc
'The pastor gladly *announced* the wedding.'

b *Báhppa mielastis **gulai** bajána.
pastor Nom gladly.3s hear.Pst.3s thunder.Acc
'The pastor gladly heard the thunder.'

Now, if the verb in (60a) is a simple "lexical" causative (i.e. involving a single *v*), then it should be possible to causativize further. This is indeed the case as shown in (61):

(61) Mon báhpa **gula-*h*-ahtt-en** heajaid.
I.Nom pastor.Acc hear-Cause-Cause Pst.1s wedding.Acc
'I caused the pastor to announce the wedding.'

In fact similar considerations hold for other perception verbs as well. Thus, the examples in (62) and (63) show that verbs such as dovddat 'know (a person).Inf' and diehtit 'know (a fact).Inf' cannot undergo productive causativization:

(62) a Mihkal dovdá Máreha
Mihkal.Nom know.Prs.3s Máret.Acc
'Mihkal knows Máret.'

b *Mon doavdda-*h*-in Mihkkala Máreha.
I.Nom know-Cause-Pst.1s Mihkal.Acc Máret.Acc
'I caused Mihkal to know Máret.'

(63) a Máret diehtá vástádussa.
Máret.Nom know.Prs.3s answer.Acc
'Máret knows the answer.'

b *Mon dieđi-*h*-in Máreha vástádussa.
I.Nom know-Cause-Pst.1s Máret.Acc answer.Acc
'I caused Máret to know the answer.'

But again, the verbs doavdda-*h*-it 'know-Cause-Inf' and dieđi-*h*-it 'know-Cause-Inf' are perfectly well formed items in the language, however, with the idiomatic meanings shown in (64):

(64) a Mon **dovdda-*h*-in** Mihkkala Márehii.
I.Nom know-Cause-Pst.1s Mihkal.Acc Máret.Ill
'I *introduced* Mihkal to Máret.'

b Mon **dieđi-*h*-in** dan ášši Márehii.
I.Nom know-Cause-Pst.1s that.Acc issue.Acc Máret.Ill
I *informed* Máret about that issue.'

The hypothesis that the verbs in (64) are derived by merging *v* with a root, is supported by the fact that these verbs may undergo further causativization, which as we have argued involves a *v*-selecting causative formative:

(65) a Mon **gula-*h*-ahtt-en** báhpa heajaid.
I.Nom hear-Cause-Cause-Pst.1s pastor.Acc wedding.Acc
'I caused the pastor to announce the wedding.'

b Mon **dovdda-*h*-ahtt-en** báhpa Mihkkala Márehii.
I.Nom know-Cause-Cause-Pst.1s pastor.Acc Mihkal.Acc Máret.Ill
'I caused the pastor to introduce Mihkal to Máret.'

c Mon **dieđi-*h*-ahtt-en** Mihkkala
I.Nom know-Cause-Cause-Pst.1s Mihkal.Acc
dan ášši Márehii.
that.Acc issue.Acc Máret.Ill
'I caused Mihkal to inform Máret about that issue.'

To summarize, perception roots can often be combined with *v*. These cases are characterized by the fact (i) the root-suffix combination always triggers an idiomatic meaning and (ii) the verbalizing head is always spelled out by the elsewhere causative -h-, and (iii) they can undergo further causativization.

5. Conclusions

The lead motif of this chapter has been the syntactic decomposition of the verb phrase. We have attempted to identify some of the central units and to untangle at least a few their combinatorial

possibilities. In the process, we have identified three levels of structure in a regular transitive verb phrase. The most deeply embedded unit in the assemblage is the Root, a category neutral entity which carries with it certain aspects of meaning that are not subject to decomposition (Marantz 2001). However, crucial aspects of the interpretation of Roots hinge on the next structural level where category membership is determined, which in our study means the verb. Verbs, under the radically syntactic view that we have embraced, are functional heads associated with certain semantico-syntactic features, such as Cause (v), Inchoative or Stative (V). By relating Cause to this intermediate level, we have given up on an idea that has had a strong standing in the syntactic literature, namely that causative heads introduce external arguments. However, we have also seen that this move is warranted, given the interaction and stacking of causative heads in North Sámi, where the presence of Cause does not imply the presence of agentivity. The locus of Agentivity lies in the highest level of structure, namely Kratzer's VoiP.[21] Moreover, direct internal arguments are seen as being introduced into the Specifier of verbalizing head. This means that the heads v or V are to the Root, what Voi is to vP or VP, namely introducing a subject.

It has been shown that many classes of Roots may occur in a variety of verbal contexts, such as causative-inchoative environments, or other instances of non-causative/causative alternations as in the case of perception roots. Other Roots, e.g. those that pertain to manner of motion, may in North Sámi occur in transitive and intransitive causative frames.

A further goal of this chapter has been to provide a rich enough ontology, and to outline and explicate some fundamental theoretical assumptions that will play an important role in the discussion that follows.

Notes to Chapter 4

[1]One could of course imagine that zero-affixation is involved. However, the point is that Hale & Keyser argue that *no* lexical rule is required.
[2]See also Baker (1997, 2002) for further discussion on the relation between verbs and adjectives.
[3]For an extensive survey, see Jacobson (1992).
[4]See also Simango (1999) on Bantu.

[5]If we were so inclined, we could of course use this argument in favor of a retreat to a lexical treatment of lexical causatives. However, for reasons mentioned above, this would be a move in the wrong direction.

[6]While there is evidence that CSVCs involve a null object, Baker & Stewart admit that several questions remain concerning the licensing of this null element. See Baker & Stewart (1999: 33ff) for some discussion concerning this issue.

[7]Contra Collins (1997a).

[8]Or more correctly, *features* provided by UG. The feature bundles in turn make up the content of the head.

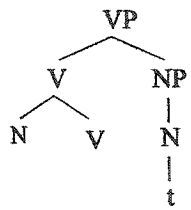
[9]Under the Voi hypothesis, all verbs are of course technically non-agentive. We continue, however, to use the terms agentive and non-agentive in as descriptive labels, which should be understood in the traditional sense

[10]Baker (1997) does not assume that verbs are formed from category neutral roots. Rather he takes verbs to be derived from adjectives.

[11]See also Bowers (1993) who argues that direct objects are inner subjects.

[12]Hale & Keyser (1993) propose that unergatives are derived by means of noun incorporation from what is basically a transitive source:

(i)



Our approach is similar in that we assume that Root is the complement of a verbalizing head.

[13]This is exactly the situation with [+agentive] Voi.

[14]As we have noted in previous discussions, it is an open question whether unaccusatives include a VoiP or not.

[15]One crucial factor is the addition of a goal phrase renders the verbal expression telic (See e.g. Tenny 1994).

[16]This is the only split that I am aware of. More subtle distinctions might be detected, but this requires more research, which among other things would involve detection of more sophisticated diagnostics than those reported below. It is, however, at the present time unknown what those more precise diagnostics would be.

[17]Obviously, Italian must be different. The difference would not lie in whether there is a manner component or not (after all these verbs do denote manner), but rather in what can license the manner. In Italian, any verbal environment seems to be able to do the job, whereas in North Sámi a *v* is required.

[18]It might be tempting to attribute the ill formedness of (53) to Case Theory, such that unergatives cannot assign accusative Case. Under this view (Baker 1988a) the addition of the suffix would bestow the verb with Case assigning abilities. However, as argued in Rothstein (1995) among several others, such an account fails to extend to examples like (i):

(i)	Máhtte	viega-i	gapmágiid	raŋŋil.
	Máhtte.Nom	run-Pst.3s	shoes.Acc	threadbare
	'Máhtte ran the shoes threadbare.'			

[19]It is unclear what this fact reduces to. As many languages allegedly permit stacking of causative formatives it appears that an extragrammatical constraint is at play.

[20]Roots, as Marantz points out, have inherently idiosyncratic meanings.

[21]This analysis has a further implication, relating to VoiP. Recall that we dismissed Chomsky's (1995) hypothesis that the configuration *v*-VP implies agentivity, and that the Agent is introduced into Spec*v*P. Given that we now have *v*P-VP distinction, we may assume that Voi is not inherently specified for agentivity (or the lack thereof). Rather in a configuration Voi-*v*P, the external argument is an agent, and in a Voi-VP configuration it is an experiencer. The only property required of Voi is that it introduces an external argument. I will not consider this possibility any further.

Chapter 5

The North Sámi Faire Par *Causative: Argument Positions*

1.Introduction

Alsina (1992) observes that there is a distinct difference between *Faire Infinitive* and *Faire Par* causatives with regards to the ability of the Base Verb to occur with a clausal complement. While clausal complements are fully acceptable in FIs (1), Alsina notices that they are impossible in the *Faire Par* causative (2).

(1) *Chichewa* Faire Infinitive (Alsina 1992:527)

Kalulu	i-ku-ganiz-its-a	njovu			
hare	S-Prs-think-Cause-FV	elephant			
[kuti	nyani	a-na-pony-a	mpira	pa	tsinwi].
that	baboon	S-Pst-throw-FV	ball		roof

'The hare made the elephant think that the baboon threw the ball on the roof.'

(2) *Chichewa* Faire Par (Alsina 1992:527)

*Kalulu	i-ku-ganiz-its-a	(kwa	njovu)		
hare	S-Prs-think-Cause-FV	by	elephant		
[kuti	nyani	a-na-pony-a	mpira	pa	tsinwi].
that	baboon	S-Pst-throw-FV	ball		roof

'The hare made the elephant think that the baboon threw the ball on the roof.'

The observant reader will now remark that the ungrammaticality of (2) is independently expected, since verbs describing mental processes, like 'think', tend not to be agentive,

and therefore we are dealing with a straightforward violation of the agentivity restriction on FP formation (i.e. the Base Verb does not involve *v*). Thus, the categorial status of the complement of the Base Verb should be of no consequence. While it is true that the choice of verb in (1) and (2) is not optimal, we should not be too quick to dismiss Alsina's claim. After all, we know that there are a number of systematic differences between FIs and FPs and it is wise to be attentive when such differences are mentioned. In fact, the kind of asymmetry that Alsina points at in (1) and (2) would be of particular interest, because it does not in any obvious way implicate the truncated character of FPs (i.e. the fact that they lack an embedded external argument), nor could the agentivity restriction be easily invoked. Indeed, this kind of data suits Alsina's LFG version of the Affectedness Hypothesis quite nicely (see Chapter 3). Giving Alsina the benefit of the doubt, let us try a North Sámi verb like muitalit 'say/tell' in (3), since in addition to taking a clausal complement, it is also agentive, as suggested by the licit occurrence of the agent-oriented adverb mielast- 'gladly':

(3)	Mon	*mielastan*	muitalin	[ahte	bálka	lea	buorre].
	I.Nom	gladly.1s	say/tell.Pst.1s	that	salary.Nom	be.Prs.3s	good]

'I said with joy that the salary is good.'

Recall that we argued in Chapter 3 that agent-oriented items such as mielast- 'gladly' are licensed in the vicinity of an agentive Voi projection. Moreover, as we argued in Chapter 4, agentive Voi takes a *v*P complement. In other words, muitalit 'say/tell.Inf' meets the structural requirements that the FP-causative imposes on the Base Verb. Let us now attempt to causativize muitalit 'say/tell.Inf,' as in (4):

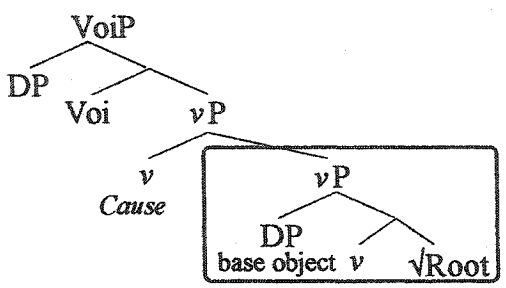
(4)	*Áhčči	muital-aht-ii	(mu)
	father.Nom	say/tell-Cause-Prs.3s	I.Acc

[ahte	bálka	lea	buorre].
that	salary.Nom	be.Prs.3s	good]

'Father caused me/someone to say that the salary is good.'

It turns out that (4) is indeed ungrammatical, and this presents a problem for our approach. The ill formedness of (4) is inexplicable under any version of the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis for FP formation, which assumes that the complement of the causative formative is a constituent comprising of the Base Verb and its object. (5) illustrates our updated version of the Kayne-Burzio hypothesis, where the syntactic causative formative takes a *v*P complement, with the Base Object occurring in the Spec of *v*P:

(5)



All things being equal, we would expect that whatever restrictions the Base Verb imposes on its object in a simple clause such as (3), those restrictions should also hold in (5).

As we have mentioned on a previous occasion, similar facts hold also in the Romance languages, as illustrated by the French sentences in (6).

(6) *French* (Partick Campana, p.c.)

a On a fait affirmer *à* *Mary* [que John est innocent].
we made confirm Dat Mary that John is innocent
'We caused Mary to confirm that John is innocent.'

b *On a fait affirmer (*par Mary*) [que John est innocent].
we made confirm by Mary that John is innocent
'We caused Mary/someone to confirm that John is innocent.'

(6a) shows that the *Faire Infinitive* causative imposes no restriction that prohibits the Base Verb from taking clausal complements. However, the *Faire Par* causative (6b) is ungrammatical on par with the North Sámi sentence (4).

Let us now return to the North Sámi verb muitalit 'say/tell.Inf' itself. In addition to taking clausal complements, this verb may also take a DP as its object, as shown in (7):

(7) Don muitalit máidnasa.
you.Nom say/tell.Pst.2s adventure tale.Acc
'You told an adventure tale.'

What this means is that muitalit 'say/tell.Inf' can be used as a testing ground for the converse of what Alsina suggested concerning (1) and (2), namely when the Base Object is a DP, then causativization should be possible. Indeed, when muitalit 'say/tell.Inf' takes a nominal object as in (7), then it is also possible to form a causative, (8):

(8) Mon muital-ahtt-en (du) máidnasa.
I.Nom say/tell-Cause-Pst.1s you.Acc adventure tale.Acc
'I caused you/someone to tell an adventure tale.'

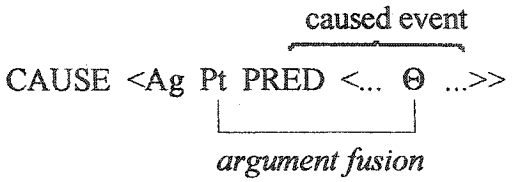
The striking contrast between (4) above and (8) clearly shows that the categorial status of the Base Object has an impact on the formation of FPs. It is therefore clear that in spite of the flaw that we pointed out above concering the choice of verb in (1) and (2), the point of Alsina's claim still holds, which we shall refer to Alsina's Generalization, (9):

(9) Alsina's Generalization
The Base Object in an FP must not be a clause.

In this chapter, I will argue that Alsina's Generalization suggests that the Base Verb in FP causatives does not take a direct internal argument. In this I follow the spirit of one ingredient of Alsina's theory of causative formation. Recall that Alsina proposes that the causative formative

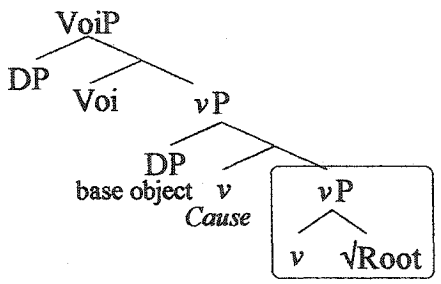
is a three-place predicate. In addition to taking a causative agent and a caused event, the causative predicate also takes a patient argument, which Alsina argues fuses with an argument in the caused event.

(10)



I will propose that FPs have the structure shown in (11), where the argument that is being interpreted as the direct internal argument of the Base Verb in fact is an object of the syntactic causative head. [1]

(11)



The reason why the Base Object must still be interpreted as an argument of the Base Verb, follows from the principle of Full Interpretation; if the Base Verb is essentially transitive, it must be matched up with an argument that satisfies the interpretational requirement of the verb. However, since the syntactic causative head has not combined with a Root, it is more limited in the type of objects it can support, and hence its specifier can only be filled by a DP. In short, the proximity to the Root determines what range of Verb-Object combinations are possible.

We shall also address the issue of the expression of the Causee in North Sámi, which surfaces as an accusative object. We shall propose that the difference between North Sámi (12a)

and, say, Chichewa (12b) boils down to the fact that North Sámi introduces the Causee in an Applicative Phrase.

(12) a Mon cuvke-h-in (Máhte) guvssi.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc cup.Acc
'I caused Máhtte/someone to break the cup.'

b *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:518)
Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu (kwa kadzidzi).
porcupine S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV pumpkins by owl
'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.'

In section 2 we shall consider Alsina's Generalization is some detail, examining its effects in North Sámi. Here we show that CPs may occur in FPs, with the proviso that they are non-arguments. In section 3 we present an analysis which claims that the Base Verb in an FP never takes a direct internal argument. Section 4 extends the analysis to exclude Verb object idioms from FPs, and section 5 discusses verb-root idioms. Section 6 discusses the realization of the Causee in North Sámi. Section 7 provides some concluding remarks.

2. Alsina's Generalization

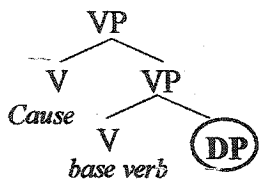
In the introductory section we brought to light an observation made in Alsina (1992) that causatives of the FP variety do not allow the Base Verb to take a clausal complement. Even if a verb exhibits the right structural profile, it can still not be causativized if it occurs with a clausal complement. The fact that the clausal complement is implicated is clear in examples like (13). Here, one and the same verb has undergone causativization, however with remarkably different results. Thus, (13a), where the verb muilatit 'say/tell.Inf' takes a DP as its direct internal argument, is perfectly grammatical. (13a) stands in sharp contrast to the ungrammatical (13b), where the direct internal argument is a clause:

(13) a Mon muital-ahtt-en (du) máidnasa.
I.Nom say/tell-Cause-Pst.1s you.Acc adventure tale.Acc
'I cause you/someone to tell an adventure tale.'

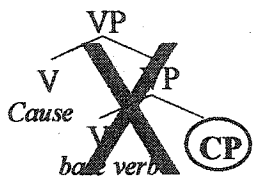
b *Áhčči muital-aht-ii (mu)
father.Nom say/tell-Cause-Prs.3s I.Acc
[ahte bálka lea buorre].
that salary.Nom be.Prs.3s good]
'Father caused me/someone to say that the salary is good.'

The contrast illustrated in (13) is problematic for the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis. Specifically, why would it be the case that a (simplified) structure like (14a) is well formed, whereas (14b) is not?

(14) a



b



In both (14a) and (14b), the Base Verbs selects their complements. The structural representation does not lend us any reason to suspect that the causative formative would be involved in the selection of the complement of the Base Verb. One could speculate that Case Theory is somehow involved, such that the causative formative has a structural Case that must be checked against a DP. Thus if the Base Object is a CP, then this Case could not be checked and it would cause the derivation to crash (cf. Chomsky 1995). However, such an account is untenable, because in addition to taking a finite CP complement, the verb muitalit 'say/tell.Inf' can take a non-finite TP-complement with the ensuing result that the subject of the embedded clause receives accusative Case, in standard ECM-fashion, (15):

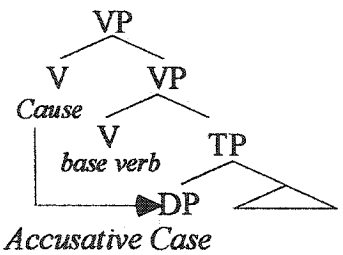
(15)

Don	muital-it			
you.Nom	say/tell-Pst.2s			
[Máreha	leat	lohkan	biibbala].	
Máret.Acc	be.Inf	read.Ptc	Bible.Acc	

(lit) 'You said Máret to have read the Bible.'

If the Case theoretic account were correct, then it is expected that it should be possible for a non-finite clause to be the complement of the Base Verb, with the obligatory Case of the causative formative assigned to the subject of the complement clause, along the lines shown in (16).[2]

(16)



However, such sentences are still ungrammatical, as shown in (17a). Consequently, Case Theory is not a factor in ruling out (13b).

(17)

*Áhčči	muital-aht-ii		(du)
father.Nom	say/tell-Cause-Prs.3s		you.Acc
[Máreha	leat	lohkan	biibbala].
Máret.Acc	be.Inf	read.Ptc	Bible.Acc

'Father caused you/someone to say that Máret has read the Bible.'

However, we should now also make it clear that it would be too strong a claim to maintain that CPs could not occur in the embedded domain. In fact, under certain circumstances they can, as illustrated in (18):

(18) Áhčči muital-aht-ii (mu) **dan**
father.Nom say/tell-Cause-Prs.3s I.Acc it.Acc

[ahte bálka lea buorre].
that salary.Nom be.Prs.3s good]

'Father caused me/someone to say that the salary is good.'

The presence of the CP in this case, however, is parasitic on the presence of another element, namely the accusative pronominal object dan 'it.Acc.' It is also important to notice that dan 'it.Acc' cannot be added freely to license CPs in causatives like (18). This strategy is possible only if the verb independently allows dan 'it.Acc' followed by a CP. For instance, muitalit 'say/tell.Inf' (19a) has this option, whereas dadjat 'say.Inf' (19b) does not:

(19) a Mon *mielastan* muitalin (dan)
I.Nom gladly.1s say.Pst.1s it.Acc

[ahte bálka lea buorre].
that salary.Nom be.Prs.3s good]

'I said it with joy that the salary is good.'

b Mon *mielastan* dadjen (*dan)
I.Nom gladly.1s say.Pst.1s it.Acc

[ahte bálka lea buorre].
that salary.Nom be.Prs.3s good]

'I said it with joy that the salary is good.'

Consequently, it is impossible to obtain a causative based on (19b), as shown in (20) which is ill formed regardless of the absence or presence of dan 'it.Acc.'

(20) *Áhčči daja-h-ii (mu) **(dan)**
father.Nom say-Cause-Prs.3s I.Acc it.Acc

[ahte bálka lea buorre].
that salary.Nom be.Prs.3s good]

'Father caused me/someone to say that the salary is good.'

Whatever makes the presence of dan 'it.Acc' possible with certain verbs and not others, it is this property that enables causativization of muitalit 'say/tell.Inf' with the presence of a CP, in contrast to dadjat 'say.Inf'.' Furthermore, there are good reasons to believe that in these cases, the pronominal object is the actual object of the verb, whereas the CP is a non-argument. We shall address this issue presently.

2.1. Object expletives

Postal & Pullum (1988) claim that truly expletive elements may occur object positions, and thus they argue against the Projection Principle of Chomsky (1981). The Projection Principle rules out the possibility for dummy elements like expletives to occur in subcategorized positions, since such positions are contingent on a verb's thematic structure. In other words, since the subject position of a clause is projected syntactically, as required by the Extended Projection Principle (Chomsky 1982), this position may be filled by a pleonastic, in contrast to the object position which is projected only if the verb takes an internal argument. However, Postal & Pullum (1988) suggest that examples like (21) present a problem for the Principles & Parameters enterprise:

(21) a I regretted (it) that he was late.

b They never mentioned (it) to the candidate that the job was poorly paid.

In (21) it appears optionally in the object position. Postal & Pullum take the position that the actual complements of each verb in (21) are the underlined clauses, and therefore, they claim, it cannot be a subcategorized object. In other words, for them it in (21a) and (21b) is an expletive object. As we have seen, similar phenomena are found in North Sámi, (22).

(22) a Mon váiden (dan) ahte son manŋŋii.
I.Nom regret.Pst.1s it.Acc that he.Nom be.late.Pst.3s
'I regretted (it) that he was late.'

b Sii eai namuhan (dan) sutnje
they.Nom Neg.3p mention.Ptc it.Acc him.Ill

ahte bálká ii leat buorre.
that salary.Nom Neg.3s be.Prs good

'They didn't mentioned it to him that the salary is not good.'

Authier (1991) indirectly accepts Postal & Pullum's conclusion that the element in the object positions in (21) to (22) is a dummy, by proposing an amendment to the Projection Principle. Authier claims that if a verb has an obligatory Case to assign, then an expletive must be base generated as a sister of V, in case the verb does not take a nominal object. The clausal complement is generated as a sister of V'. If this does not happen, the obligatory Case will not be assigned, which will result in ill-formedness. However, Rothstein (1995) points out that this account, in addition to weakening the Projection Principle, is flawed. Firstly, the "expletive" object in sentences like (21) to (22) is to all appearances optional. Thus, if the "expletive" is missing, Case must be assumed to have been assigned to the trace of the clause which has been extraposed. This would weaken the Case Theoretic account considerably. Secondly, Rothstein claims that potentially Case assigning verbs need not assign case obligatorily. For instance, an unergative verb may license accusative case on a small clause subject, as in (23a), which means that unergatives *can* assign case. Rothstein (1995) points out that Authier's logic now implies that unergatives should be able to take an expletive object, which would satisfy the Case properties of the verb; however, this prediction is wrong, (23b):

(23) a They laughed [him off the stage]. (Rothstein 1995:502)

b *They laughed it. (Rothstein 1995:502)

In short, Rothstein dismisses the very idea of object expletives. Rather, she argues, the apparent expletives are in fact arguments, contra Postal & Pullum (1988) and Authier (1991). Rothstein's hypothesis that the object "expletive" is an argument therefore predicts that these pronominal

objects should behave like pronouns and like theta-marked elements. Let us now consider the evidence that Rothstein presents for this position.

First, it can be followed by an adverbial quantifier, as shown (24). Here, it is ambiguous between a reading where it is bound by the quantifier, and another where it is free.

(24) I regretted it every time I have dinner with John. (Rothstein 1995:514)

On the bound reading, (24) has the interpretation "for every event of having dinner with John, I regret that event" (Rothstein 1995:515). On the free reading, (24) means "on every event of having dinner with John, I regret a special thing, or fact, or event" (ibid.). True expletives, on the other hand, cannot be bound by quantifiers, and they of course lack the ability to refer.

Rothstein (1995) continues by examining the properties of sentences like (21) above, where it is followed by a CP. In these cases, the contrasts are less pronounced, but Rothstein claims that the presence of it "denotes a specific event prominent in the discourse and the CP identifies that event explicitly" (ibid: 520). Rothstein suggests that these CPs are licensed in a right dislocated position by means of being predicated of the pronoun. If no object pronoun is found , then the CP itself is the complement. Hence, an object "expletive" is under Rothstein's hypothesis an argument.

I agree with Rothstein's claim that these "object expletives" are arguments. While I have not been able to investigate the fine-grained aspects of the interpretation of the North Sámi it-CP phenomena, we shall present several pieces of independent syntactic evidence that the pronoun is an argument. Moreover, in showing that the pronoun must be an argument, and that the CP is not, the determination of the exact status of CP is a separate matter. However, there are fairly strong indications that the North Sámi it-CP sequence is a constituent of the kind [it [$_{CP}$...]], hence a Complex NP. One piece of evidence pointing in this direction is the fact that it-CP can be fronted as a unit:

(25) [Dan ahte bálká ii leat buorre]
it.Acc that salary.Nom Neg.3s be.Prs good

sii eai namuhan sutnje
they.Nom Neg.3p mention.Ptc him.Ill

'They didn't mentioned it to him that the salary is not good.'

This tentative analysis would be consistent with the facts to be presented below. We shall now consider some evidence that the CP in North Sámi dan-CP sequences is not a verbal argument. First, we shall examine some asymmetries in wh-extraction possibilites, and then complementizer deletion facts

2.2. Extraction asymmetries

In this subsection we shall consider wh-extraction out of the CP in clauses like (26a) and (26b):

(26) a Don čuoččuh-it
You.Nom maintain-Pst.2s

[ahte Biret lea oastán báiddi].
that Biret.Nom be.Prs.3s buy.Ptc shirt.Acc

'You maintained that Biret had bought a shirt.'

b Don čuoččuh-it **dan**
You.Nom maintain-Pst.2s it.Acc

[ahte Biret lea oastán báiddi].
that Biret.Nom be.Prs.3s buy.Ptc shirt.Acc

'You maintained that Biret had bought a shirt.'

We will show that wh-extraction out of the bracketed constituent in (26a) is fully possible. However, it is systematically impossible to extract out the corresponding constituent in (26b), giving rise to an island violation. This thus adds support to the contention that the embedded CP is not an argument.

It is a well-known fact that wh-extraction of a direct object out of a complement clause is in general allowed (Huang 1981, Chomsky 1986a, Rizzi 1990, Manzini 1992 etc.). Given that it

is possible to wh-extract the object of the embedded CP in (27), the indication is that we are dealing with a complement clause:

(27) Maid$_i$ don čuoččuh-it
what.Acc you.Nom maintain-Pst.2s

[ahte Biret lea oastán t_i]?
that Biret.Nom be.Prs.3s buy.Ptc

'What did you maintain that Biret had bought?'

In contrast, it is not possible to extract out of the embedded CP in (26b), which involves the accusative pronominal object dan:

(28) *Maid$_i$ don čuoččuh-it **dan**
what.Acc you.Nom maintain-Pst.2s it.Acc

[ahte Biret lea oastán t_i]?
that Biret.Nom be.Prs.3s buy.Ptc

'What did you maintain that Biret had bought?'

Irrespective of whether the CP in (28) is an adjunct, or part of a complex NP as we tentatively suggested above, the ungrammaticality of (28) has the distinct flavor of an island-violation, and consequently, the CP cannot be a complement of the verb. A further example illustrating the extraction asymmetry is given in (29). (29a) shows that the pronominal accusative object dan 'it.Acc' is licit in declarative sentences. (29b) shows that in the absence of dan 'it.Acc' a wh-phrase may be extracted out of the embedded CP. (29c) which in contrast involves dan 'it.Acc' disallows wh-extraction of the object of the embedded CP:

(29) a Don muital-in **(dan)**
you.Nom say/tell-Pst.2s it.Acc

[ahte Máret lea lohkan biibbala].
that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc Bible.Acc

'You said that Máret has read the Bible.'

b Maid$_i$ don muital-it
what.Acc you.Nom say/tell-Pst.2s

[ahte Máret lea lohkan t_i]?
that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc

'What did you say that Máret has read?'

c *Maid$_i$ don muital-it **dan**
what.Acc you.Nom say/tell-Pst.2s it.Acc

[ahte Máret lea lohkan t_i]?
that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc

'What did you say that Máret has read?'

There are essentially two possible ways to account for the pattern presented above. On the one hand, dan 'it.Acc' may be seen as the object, and the CP might be a right dislocated constituent which is coindexed with pronoun, which is the kind of analysis proposed in Rothstein (1995).[3] The other possibility that we mentioned above in (25) is that the CP is a constituent of dan 'it.Acc' and hence these sequences would be complex NPs. If so, (28), and (29c) all constitute violations of the Complex NP Constraint. Whatever the correct analysis of these CPs turn out to be, one thing is clear: since they give rise to island effects they are not complements. However, since dan-CP can move as a constituent, as we saw in (25) above, I assume that we are dealing with a complex NP.

Consider now causatives. First of all, recall that the pronominal object is obligatory, as shown in (30). This makes the causative more restrictive than what the situation is with the corresponding non-causative verbs.

(30) a Áhčči muital-aht-ii (mu) *(**dan**)
father.Nom say/tell-Cause-Prs.3s I.Acc it.Acc

[ahte Máret lea lohkan biibbala].
that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc Bible.Acc

'Father caused me/someone to say that Máret has read the Bible.'

b Don čuoccuh-ahtt-et (Máhtte) *(**dan**)
you.Nom maintain-Cause-Pst.2s Máhtte.Acc it.Acc

[ahte Biera leai vuojuhan fatnasa].
that Biera.Nom be.Pst.3s sink.Tr.Ptc boat.Acc

'You caused Máhtte/someone to maintain that Biera had sunk the boat.'

c Doai namuh-aht-iime (Máhte) *(**dan**)
you.d.Nom mention-Cause-Pst.2d Máhtte.Acc it.Acc

[ahte Biera behtii dáhkádussearvvi].
that Biera.Nom cheat.Pst.3s insurance company.Acc

'You two caused Máhtte/someone to mention that Biera cheated the insurance company.'

On par with their non-causativized counterparts, it is impossible to extract out of the CP:

(31) a *Maid$_i$ áhčči muital-aht-ii (mu) **dan**
what.Acc father.Nom say/tell-Cause-Prs.3s I.Acc it.Acc

[ahte Máret lea lohkan t_i]?
that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc

'What did Father cause me/someone to say that Máret has read?.'

b *Maid$_i$ don čuoccuh-ahtt-et (Máhtte) **dan**
What.Acc you.Nom maintain-Cause-Pst.2s Máhtte.Acc it.Acc

[ahte Biera lea vuojuhan t_i]?
that Biera.Nom be.Pst.3s sink.Tr.Ptc

'What did you cause Máhtte/someone to maintain that Biera has sunk?'

c *Gean$_i$ doai namuh-aht-iime (Máhte) **dan**
who.Acc you.d.Nom mention-Cause-Pst.2d Máhtte.Acc it.Acc

[ahte Biera behtii t_i]?
that Biera.Nom cheat.Pst.3s

'Who did you two cause Máhtte/someone to mention that Biera cheated?'

Since the presence of the CP is contingent on the pronoun, and since wh-extraction out of the CP gives rise to an island violation, it is clear that the CP is not an argument of the verb. Moreover,

the idea that we are dealing with a complex NP is supported by the fact that it is possible to front it-CP also in causatives:

(32) [Dan ahte Máret lea lohkan biibbala]$_i$
it.Acc that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc Bible.Acc

áhčči muital-aht-ii (mu) t_i
father.Nom say/tell-Cause-Prs.3s I.Acc

'Father caused me/someone to say that Máret has read the Bible.'

2.3. Complementizer deletion

We shall now consider one more piece of evidence that the CP in it-CP constructions is not a complement clause. Kayne (1981) and Stowell (1981) among others noticed that it is possible to omit the complemetizer that introduces a finite complement clause. This characteristic is not shared by other sentential constituents contained in a matrix clause. For instance, while the complementizer is optional in the complement clause in (33a), it is obligatorily present in the subject clause, (33b):

(33) a Ben knew [(that) the teacher was lying]. (Stowell 1981:396)

b [*(That) the teacher was lying] was hardly obvious. (Stowell 1981:396)

Stowell (1981), following Kayne, assumes an ECP-based account for the distribution of the null-complementizer. Specifically, the null complementizer must be properly governed, which is possible only when the clause appears in the object position of a verb (see Pesetsky & Torrego 2000 for a recent discussion). While it is unclear whether North Sámi allows finite subject clauses like the one illustrated in (33b) above, it is a fact that the complementizer that introduces a clausal complement is optional.

(34) Don muital-it
you.Nom say/tell-Pst.2s

[**(ahte)** Máret lea lohkan biibbala].
that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc Bible.Acc

'You said that Máret has read the Bible.'

Even though the comparison to English is not complete, complementizer omission can still be used as a test for the hypothesis spelled out in the earlier discussion, namely that the CP in clauses containing a pronominal accusative object is not a clausal complement, but presumably part of a complex NP. This hypothesis in conjunction with complementizer-deletion facts leads us to expect that in the presence of dan 'it.Acc' forces the complementizer to be obligatory. As shown in (35) this prediction is borne out:

(35) Don muital-it **dan**
you.Nom say/tell-Pst.2s it.Acc

[***(ahte)** Máret lea lohkan biibbala].
that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc Bible.Acc

'You said that Máret has read the Bible.'

(36) and (37) provide two more examples illustrating the asymmetry ; thus ahte 'that' is optional in the absence of dan 'it.Acc,' and it is obligatorily present when dan 'it.Acc' occurs.

(36) a Don čuoččuh-it
You.Nom maintain-Pst.2s

[**(ahte)** Biret lea oastán báiddi].
that Biret.Nom be.Prs.3s buy.Ptc shirt.Acc

'You maintained that Biret had bought a shirt.'

b Don čuoččuh-it **dan**
You.Nom maintain-Pst.2s it.Acc

[***(ahte)** Biret lea oastán báiddi].
that Biret.Nom be.Prs.3s buy.Ptc shirt.Acc

'You maintained that Biret had bought a shirt.'

(37) a Don nanne-jit
you.Nom confirm-Pst.2s

[***(ahte)** Biret lea oastán báiddi].
that Biret.Nom be.Prs.3s buy.Ptc shirt.Acc

'You confirmed that Biret had bought a shirt.'

b Don nanne-jit **(dan)**
you.Nom confirm-Pst.2s it.Acc

[***(ahte)** Biret lea oastán báiddi].
that Biret.Nom be.Prs.3s buy.Ptc shirt.Acc

'You confirmed that Biret had bought a shirt.'

In the previous subsection we noticed that the it-CP construction behaves uniformly in both "simplex" clauses and causatives in that wh-extraction out the it-CP is impossible. It is therefore not surprising to find that causatives behave on par with simplex clauses also with regards to complementizer omission:

(38) a Áhčči muital-aht-ii (mu) **dan**
father.Nom say/tell-Cause-Prs.3s I.Acc it.Acc

[***(ahte)** Máret lea lohkan biibbala].
that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc Bible.Acc

'Father caused me/someone to say that Máret has read the Bible.'

b Don čuoččuh-ahtt-et (Máhtte) **dan**
you.Nom maintain-Cause-Pst.2s Máhtte.Acc it.Acc

[***(ahte)** Biera lea vuojuhan fatnasa].
that Biera.Nom be.Pst.3s sink.Tr.Ptc boat.Acc

'You caused Máhtte/someone to maintain that Biera has sunk the boat.'

c Doai namuh-aht-iime (Máhte) **dan**
you.d.Nom mention-Cause-Pst.2d Máhtte.Acc it.Acc

[***(ahte)** Biera behtii dáhkádussearvvi].
that Biera.Nom cheat.Pst.3s insurance company.Acc

'You two caused Máhtte/someone to mention that Biera cheated the insurance company.'

The fact that the complementizer cannot delete indicates the CP it introduces is not a complement clause.

2.4. Summary

Let us now summarize the discussion of pronominal objects that co-occur with CPs. On semantic grounds, Rothstein (1995) argued that the CP in it-CP constructions is not an argument when the pronoun is present. In the absence of the pronoun, however, the CP has argument status. We have shown that the essence of Rothstein's analysis makes the right predictions also for North Sámi. For instance, wh-extraction of an object out of the CP is possible when no pronoun is present, and impossible when present. Furthermore, complementizer omission is possible when the matrix clause does not occur with an accusative pronominal object, but is impossible when the pronoun is present. These properties fit nicely into the well-known typology of complement versus non-complement asymmetries, widely documented in the literature. The cumulative effect of these diagnostics unequivocally leads us in one clear direction, namely that in the presence of a pronominal object the CP is not a complement of the verb. We have tentatively assumed that the North Sámi it-CP construction is a complex NP headed by the pronoun, in a fashion reminiscent of the view in early transformational grammar of argument clauses (e.g. Akmajian & Heny 1975).

We noticed earlier that the impossibility for the base verb in an FP to a clausal complement presents a problem for the agentivity hypothesis, because the relevant verbs that we have considered qualify as agentive. On the other hand, it appears that the affectedness hypothesis makes the right predictions in this regard, because the clauses cannot be affected, as argued by Alsina (1992). However, this advantage is only apparent; the fact that CPs may occur, granted the presence of a pronominal object, is in fact not predicted by the affectedness hypothesis. There is no tenable motivation for claiming that the it/dan-CP in, say, (38) above would qualify in any meaningful as an affected argument. Therefore, Alsina's Generalization is independent of the selectional restriction imposed on the base verb in FP-causatives.

3. The Object of Cause

In the preceding discussion we have shown that the CP in dan-CP sequences is not an argument of the Base Verb. We have suggested that the accusative pronominal dan 'it.Acc' and CP form a complex NP, although we have left it an open question what its exact status is. For our purposes, however, it is less important to know what the CP is, than knowing what it is *not*. The facts presented furthermore show that Alsina's Generalization (i.e. that the Base Object in an FP must not be a clause) is an important member of the cluster of properties that sets FPs apart from FIs. However, we are now brought back to the original question, namely why the contrast between (39a) versus (39b)/(39c)?[4]

(39) a *Áhčči muital-aht-ii (mu)
father.Nom say/tell-Cause-Prs.3s I.Acc

[ahte Máret lea lohkan biibbala].
that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc Bible.Acc

'Father caused me/someone to say that Máret has read the Bible.'

b Áhčči muital-aht-ii (mu) **dan**
father.Nom say/tell-Cause-Prs.3s I.Acc it.Acc

[ahte Máret lea lohkan biibbala].
that Máret.Nom be.Prs.3s read.Ptc Bible.Acc

'Father caused me/someone to say that Máret has read the Bible.'

c Mon muital-ahtt-en (du) máidnasa.
I.Nom say/tell-Cause-Pst.1s you.Acc adventure tale.Acc

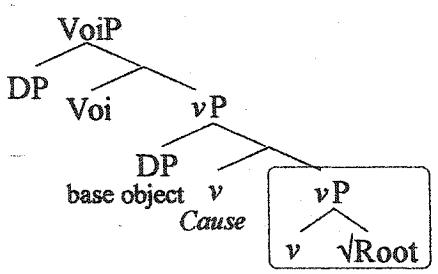
'I cause you/someone to tell an adventure tale.'

As we mentioned in section 1, the ungrammaticality of (39a) is not expected under the classical assumption that the complement of the causative formative in an FP consists of the Base Verb and its object. Given that simplex verbs like muital 'say/tell.Inf' can take either nominal or sentential complements, it is mysterious why this verb would have its selectional properties reduced when causativized. The problem is directly linked to the idea that the Base Object is an object of the Base Verb. However, given some basic tenets of Chomsky's Minimalist Program, it

is important to ask to what extent it is necessary to analyze the Base Object as an object of the Base Verb?

The main motivations for analyzing the Base Object as the structural object of the Base Verb is found in the Projection Principle, which states that lexical information must be preserved at all levels of representation, and X-bar theory. The former was eliminated in Chomsky (1993) and X-bar Theory has since been replaced with Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky 1994). What this means is that there is nothing in the theory that would require the Base Object in an FP to be generated as the direct internal argument of the Base Verb. But imagine now that what we see and interpret as an object of the Base Verb is not an object of the Base Verb. Instead, following Alsina (1992), let us assume that the Base Object is an argument of the causative formative. In other words, it is fully possible that FPs have the structure given in (40):

(40)



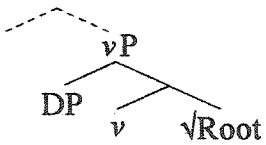
We have to stipulate, however, that the causative formative can only introduce a DP into its Spec, unlike the root selecting *v*. This fact could be related to locality to the Root. That is, the functional head that is the sister to the Root can introduce both DPs and CPs into its specifier, whereas a verbal head like the "syntactic" causative in (40) above can only introduce the most prototypical of arguments, namely DPs. While this is nothing more than an approximation, it is at least consistent with the basic tenet that the closer we get to the Root, the more likely we are to find more specific properties (Marantz 1997, 2001).[5] So, we assume that the Base Verb does not project a direct internal argument. Furthermore, in line with basic idea expressed in Chapter 4, we assume that the productive causative can introduce an argument as well by virtue of being of

category *v*. However, we have to constrain the kind of arguments that the causative head can introduce, restricting the range to DP:

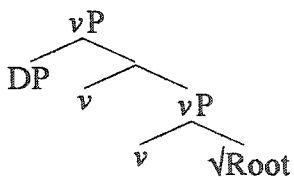
(41) *v* can introduce a direct internal argument of any categorial status into its specifier just in case *v* has merged with a Root.

Moreover, in (40) above, the DP in the higher causative specifier must be compatible with the Root for reasons of Full Interpretation. That is, if the Root fails to be interpretationally related to an argument, Full Interpretation is violated and the equivalent of a theta-violation will occur. We assume that the FP causative formative selects *v* as its complement. In addition to selecting *v*, it in fact selects intransitive *v* (v_{Intr}) (See Chapter 4). v_{Intr} is characterized by the fact that it does not merge an argument into its specifier. This, in turn, has the consequence that the Base Object is introduced in the projection of the causative formative, which also is a *v*. Let us therefore assume that the DP in the most local theta-merged Spec*v*P that c-commands the Root is interpreted as the direct internal argument. Thus, in (42a), the DP in the specifier of the *v* whose complement is the Root is the direct internal argument. However, in (42b), the DP in the specifier of the higher *v* will be interpreted as the direct internal argument:

(42) a Transitive



b FP-causative



The approach outlined makes a number of specific prediction, on the one hand concerning the possibilities to causativize unergative verbs, and on the other hand with regard to the possibilities to causative Verb-Object idioms. We shall now turn to the latter issue.

4. Verb-Object Idioms

It has been pointed out by numerous researchers that FIs and FPs behave differently with respect to the possibility to embed Verb-Object idioms under causation (Kayne 1975, Zubizarreta 1985, Burzio 1986, among others). As (43a) shows, Verb-Object idioms may occur in the FI causative. However, they are consistently incompatible with FP-causativization, as shown by the ill formed example in (43b):

(43) *French* (Zubizarreta 1985)

a *Faire Infinitive*

J'ai fait casser la croûte *à* *Jean.*

I made break the crust Dat Jean

'I made Jean have a snack.'

b *Faire Par*

*J'ai fait casser la croûte (*par Jean*).

I made break the crust by.Jean

'I made Jean have a snack.'

Again, the classical Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis is not well equipped to handle the contrast between (43a) and (43b). Since it is assumed that the Base Verb and the Base Object form a simplex VP that is embedded under the causative formative, no straightforward explanation can be sought to rule out (43b). In fact, the problem is further aggravated in the light of recent proposals on idioms, for instance Marantz (1997, 2001), Richards (2001) and Harley (2002b). Drawing to a certain extent on Larson (1988), these authors have in common that they assume that idioms are defined in local syntactic configurations. Consider for instance (44):

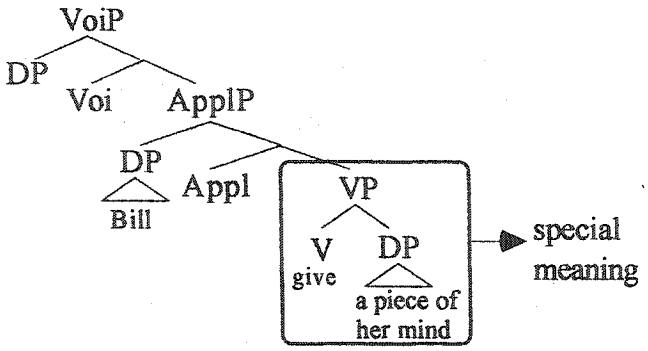
(44) a Lasorda sent his starting pitcher to the showers.

("Lasorda took his starting pitcher out of the game.") (Harley 2002b:9)

b *Lasorda sent the showers his starting pitcher. (Harley 2002b:10)

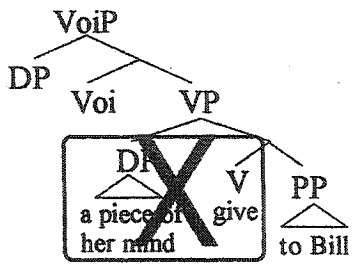
given in (48), where we can see that verb complement relation can be associated with special interpretation.

(48)



In other words, although the syntactic structure of (45) above is different from (48), the structural requirement imposed on special meanings is the same in both. By the same token, (47b) is deviant, because the complement of the verb give is excluded from the special meaning, as shown in (49), just as the case is in (46) above:

(49)



Because the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis assumes that the verb and the object in (43b) form a VP, it is quite unexpected that the idiomatic interpretation is excluded, especially if structure is involved in idiom formation along the lines we have just outlined. In this subsection, I claim that (43b) in essence is ill formed for the same reason that the Base Verb in FPs cannot take clausal complements, i.e. the Base Object is not an object of the Base Verb. A further illustration of the incompatibility of Verb-Object idioms in FPs is given in the Chichewa examples (50). Just like in French, Verb-Object idioms can be embedded under the Chichewa FI causative (50a), but as shown in (50b), the corresponding FP causative is ungrammatical:

(50) *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:526)

a *Faire Infinitive*

Nyani a-na-bwir-its-a kalulu dothi.

baboon S-Prs-scoop-Cause-FV hare dust

'The baboon caused the hare to die.'

b *Faire Par*

*Nyani a-na-bwir-its-a dothi (kwa kalulu).

baboon S-Prs-scoop-Cause-FV dust by hare

'The baboon caused the hare to die.'

What is crucial here is that (43b) and (50b) can only receive the compositional interpretations *I made Jean break the crust* ((43b)) and *The baboon made the hare scoop dust* ((50b)). Burzio assumes that Verb-Object idioms are a kind of anaphoric expressions, and since FPs involve bare VP complementation, the idiomatic interpretation is impossible, because the anaphoric object fails to be bound. However, if some kind of anaphoricity was involved, one would at least expect to find some language where the antecedent requirement could be satisfied by the causative agent, but as far as I can tell, no such cases have been reported to exist.

Moreover, there are cases of semi-idiomatic expressions, such as *break the law*, which are also ill formed when embedded under the FP, as shown in (51) and (52):

(51) *Spanish* (Pablo Ruiz, p.c.)

*Hicieron violar la ley (por los Marines)

make.3p violate the law by the Marines

'They made the Marines/someone break the law.'

(52) *North Sámi*

*Mon rihku-h-in (Máhte) lága.

I.Nom break-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc law.Acc

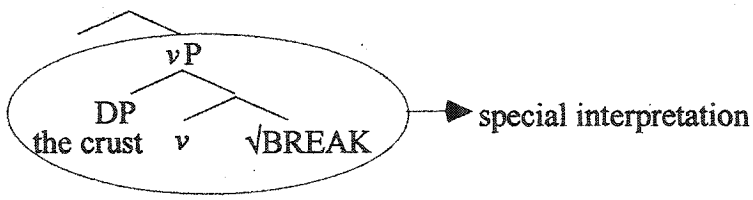
'I caused Máhtte/someone to break the law.'

It is highly unlikely that binding theoretic considerations would be operative in ruling out (51) and (52). At the same time, it seems quite reasonable that (51) and (52) are ill-formed for the same reason as (43b) and (50b).

4.1. Encyclopedic interpretation

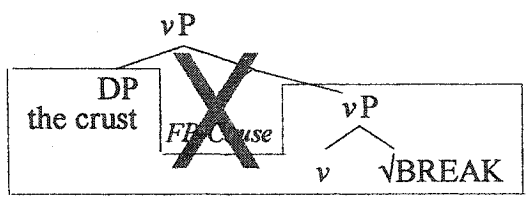
Marantz (1997) proposes that the head that introduces the external argument demarcates the domain for special interpretations, such that everything above this head is excluded from the idiom. Idioms are listed in the Encyclopedia, a non-generative but expandable list. Following the leading ideas of Harley (2002b), outlined above, let us assume that a Verb-Object idiom is defined in terms of the local domain defined by the verbalizing head *v*. That is, the meaning of idioms like casser la croûte 'have a snack' or semi-idioms like rihkkut lága 'break the law' is determined within the minimal domain of the head *v* containing the Root and the object, which is encircled in (53):

(53)



Recall from the previous section that we assumed that the causative formative in an FP select v_{Intr} as its complement, with the ensuing consequence that the direct internal argument is is in fact an argument of the the causative verb. We also assumed that the DP appearing in the most local Spec*v*P that c-commands the Root will be interpreted as the direct internal argument of the Base Verb. Now, we attempt to embed a Verb-Object idiom under the FP-causative, the resulting structure will be as shown in (54):

(54)



In (54), the adjacency required for special encyclopedic meanings is interrupted by the causative head. Hence, the verb and the object that constitute the idiom can only be assigned a compositional meaning. Indeed, an FP like (55) is well formed, with the compositional meaning.

(55) *Faire Par* (compare (43b))

J'ai fait casser la croûte (par Jean).

I made break the crust by.Jean

'I made Jean/someone break the cust.'

4.2. Interim conclusions

We have proposed that the fact that the Base Verb in an FP cannot take a clausal complement and the fact that Verb-Object idioms are illicit in FPs should have a unified account. Under the approach proposed here, both cases follow from the hypothesis that the causative formative in an FP selects v_{Intr}, which has the consequence that the Base Object in fact is an argument of the causative formative.

5. More special meanings

Recall from Chapter 4 that we have encountered another kind of special meaning which is a property of a verbalizing suffix and a root, such as gula-h-it 'hear-Cause-Inf = announce.'

(56) a Báhppa **gula-*h*-ii** heajaid

pastor.Nom hear-Cause-Pst.3s wedding.Acc

'The pastor *announced* the wedding.'

b Mon **dovdda-*h*-in** Mihkkala Márehii.

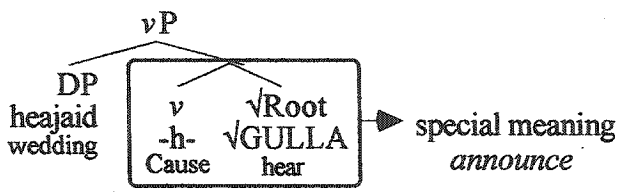
I.Nom know-Cause-Pst.1s Mihkal.Acc Máret.Ill

'I *introduced* Mihkal to Máret.'

c Mon **dieđi-*h*-in** dan áššši Márehii.
I.Nom know-Cause-Pst.1s that.Acc issue.Acc Máret.Ill
I *informed* Máret about that issue.'

What is important to notice about these instances of special meanings, is the fact that they only involve the root and the verbalizing head. That is, the object is not implicated. In other words, the special interpretation involved in (56) is determined over a smaller structural domain than the Verb-Object idioms that we encountered in the previous section. The domain relevant for these Verb-Root idioms is given in (57):

(57)



Since the direct internal argument is not implicated in this type of "smaller" idioms, it follows that they can causativize. In Chapter 4, we showed that this prediction is correct. In other words, because verb-root idioms do not involve an object, it follows that each verb in (56) can undergo further causativization, as shown in (58):

(58) a Mon **gula-*h*-ahtt-en** báhpa heajaid.
I.Nom hear-Cause-Cause-Pst.1s pastor.Acc wedding.Acc
'I caused the pastor to announce the wedding.'

b Mon **dovdda-*h*-ahtt-en** báhpa Mihkkala Márehii.
I.Nom know-Cause-Cause-Pst.1s pastor.Acc Mihkal.Acc Máret.Ill
'I caused the pastor to introduce Mihkal to Máret.'

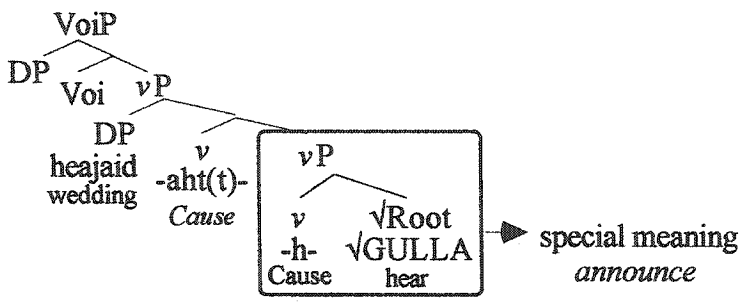
c Mon **dieđi-*h*-ahtt-en** Mihkkala
I.Nom know-Cause-Cause-Pst.1s Mihkal.Acc

dan ášši Márehii.
that.Acc issue.Acc Máret.Ill

'I caused Mihkal to inform Máret about that issue.'

Thus, in these cases of special meaning, FP-causativization does not disrupt the adjacency between the relevant elements.

(59)



The object occurs outside the local domain relevant for encyclopedic interpretation, and hence FP-causativization is possible.

6. The Causee

This section will be devoted to the expression of the Causee in North Sámi causatives. What is quite particular for North Sámi is the fact that productive causativization belongs in the *Faire Par* category in the overall typology. In previous chapters we have discussed the behavior of North Sámi causatives in some detail, and we have concluded that FPs and therefore also North Sámi causatives have the structure given in for instance (59) above, which we also take to hold for all FPs. In this section, we will be concerned with the expression of the Causee in North Sámi, which, recall, surfaces as an accusative object, (60). (60) is markedly different from FPs in the more often cited cases of Romance and Chichewa, where the Causee is optionally expressed as a by-phrase, (61)

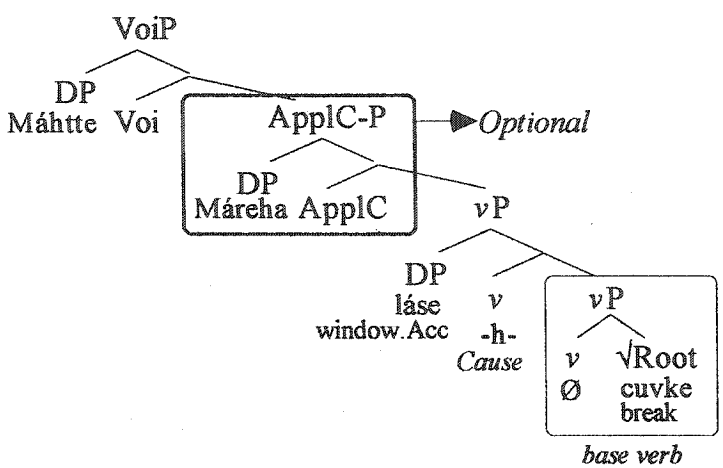
(60) Máhtte cuvke-h-ii (Máreha) láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc window.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret/someone to break the window.'

(61) a *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:518)
Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu (kwa kadzidzi).
porcupine S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV pumpkins by owl
'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.'

b *Italian* (Guasti 1996:295)
Ho fatto riparare la macchina (da Gianni)
(I)have made repair the car by Gianni
'I made Gianni repair the car.'

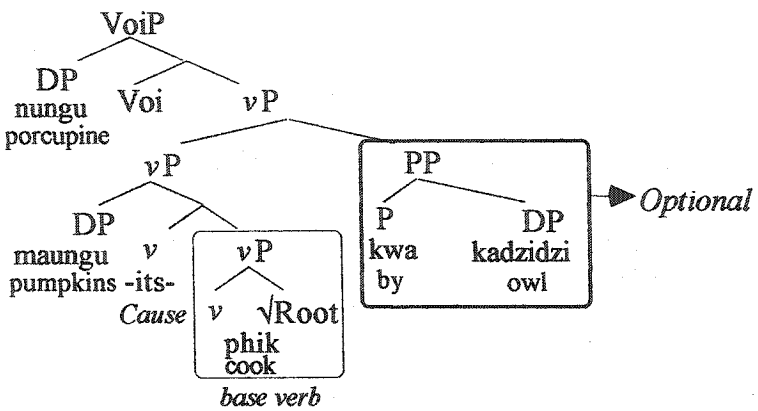
We shall propose that the North Sámi Causee is an applied object, along the lines shown in (62) below, where we let ApplC stand for Applied Causee. Analyzing the Causee as an applicative has some obvious advantages. Firstly, it explains why the Causee behaves like an argument, because under this view it *is* an argument. Secondly, it explains the optional nature of the Causee; it is obligatorily expressed whenever the derivation includes an applied head. Hence, the optionality of the Causee reduces to the fact that it is the applied head that may or may not occur.

(62)



It is the possibility of introducing the Causee in the Specifier of an ApplC that sets North Sámi apart from Romance or Chichewa FPs (63). In these languages, the Causee is introduced in a prepositional phrase that adjoins, we assume, to the higher of the two *v*P projections.

(63)



There are a number of consequences that arise from the different realizations of the Causee in (62) and (63). Firstly, (62) makes North Sámi deceptively similar to a *Faire Infinitive* on the surface, as may be recalled from Chapter 2. This superficial similarity has indeed a more profound impact on issues relating to Case and Locality, as we shall see in detail in Chapter 6. An analysis of the Causee as an applied object also has a direct impact on the possibility of forming FP causatives based on unergative verbs. Such FPs are impossible in languages where the Causee is expressed as a by-phrase as in (63). Under the hypothesis that the Base Verb must be matched with an argument, such FPs fail because they invariably lead to violations of the principle of Full Interpretation. Since the Causee is expressed as an adjunct, the derivation contains no argument that satisfies this condition. However, North Sámi style FP allow unergatives. Hence the contrast between Chichewa (64a) and North Sámi (64b):

(64) a *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:529)

*Chatsalira a-ku-nam-its-a kwa mwana.

Chatsalira S-Prs-lie-cause-FV by child

'Chatsalira is making the child lie (= tell lies).'

b *North Sámi*

Mon viega-h-in Máhte.

I.Nom run-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc

'I made Máhtte run.'

6.1. The Causee as an applied object

The surface expression of a North Sámi causative like (65a) looks identical to a standard FI such as the Chichewa causative in (65b). Therefore, one of the more striking claims we have made in this thesis is that the two sentences in (65) are not comparable.

(65) a Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte guvssi.

I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc cup.Acc

'I caused Máhtte to break the cup.'

b *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:518)

Nungu i-na-phik-its-a kadzidzi maungu.

porcupine S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV owl pumpkins

'The porcupine made the owl cook the pumpkins.'

However, once we take into consideration such matters as restrictions imposed on the Base Verbs, selectional mismatches pertaining to the Base Object etc., it becomes increasingly clear that the sentences in (65) are not of a kind, as we have discussed extensively. In fact, (65a) behaves like the *Faire Par* causative in (66):

(66) *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:518)

Nungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu (kwa kadzidzi).

porcupine S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV pumpkins by owl

'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.'

The North Sámi accusative Causee and the Chichewa by-phrase share the characteristic of being entirely optional. Optionality of expression is perhaps the most prominent trademark for by-phrase such kwa kadzidzi 'by owl,' in (66). However, not the same can be said about accusative DPs such as the FI-like Causee in the North Sámi sentence (65a). Nevertheless, given the overall character of North Sámi causatives, it is clear that (65a) and (66) must be reconciled.

The obvious question to raise is if we know about any independent cases that exhibit the same kind of variation of expression as (65a) and (66). We need not look very far to find such cases; indeed, they are rampantly occurring in natural languages. Consider (67) and (68):

(67) a Peter gave a book to Sally.

b Peter gave Sally a book.

(68) a Peter read a book for Sally.

b Peter read Sally a book.

These examples illustrate the dative- and benefactive alternations in English. The basic difference between (67) and (68) is that in the former the Goal phrase is obligatory whereas in the latter the benefactive phrase is not subcategorized for by the verb read. We also know that many languages do not permit prepositional datives comparable to (67), for instance Sesotho as illustrated in (69) and Mohawk, (70):

(69) *Sesotho* (Machobane 1989:113)

a Ntate o-f-a bana lijo.
father S-give-FV children food
'My father gives the children some food.'

b *Ntate o-f-a lijo ho bana.
father S-give-FV food to children
'My father gives some food to the children.'

(70) *Mohawk* (Baker 1995:20)

a O'neróhkwa' y-a-hiy-atʌ'nyéht-ʌ-' ne Shawátis.
box Tr-fact-1sS/MsO-send-ben-punc NE John
'I sent John a box.'

b *O'nerohkwa' y-a-k-atʌ'nyeht-e' Shawatís-hne.
box Tr-fact-1sS/NsO-food-send-punc Shawatis-Loc
'I sent a box to John.'

Other languages, such as Romance, have been suggested to be the opposite of Sesotho and Mohawk in only allowing the prepositional dative (see for instance Baker 1988a):[6]

(71) *Brazilian Portuguese* (Sônia Katsuura .p.c.)

a Eu li um livro <u>para Leila</u>.
I read a book for Leila
'I read a book for Leila'

b *Eu li <u>Leila</u> um livro.
I read Leila a book
'I read Leila a book.'

While our concern is not the dative or the benefactive alternations, they serve as good illustrations of how something that expresses more or less the same thing can be expressed in more than one way. That is a Goal or Benefactive DP can be either a prepositional object or it can be a primary object. Let us now return to causatives in North Sámi and Chichewa:

(72) a Mon cuvke-h-in (Máhte) guvssi.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc cup.Acc
'I caused Máhtte/someone to break the cup.'

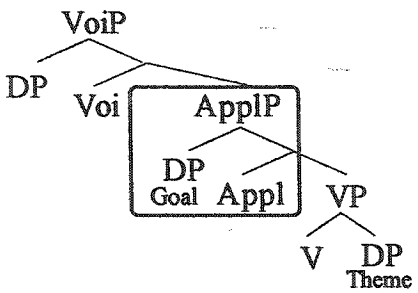
b *Chichewa* (Alsina 1992:518)

Nungu	i-na-phik-its-a	maungu	(kwa	kadzidzi).
porcupine	S-Pst-cook-Cause-FV	pumpkins	by	owl

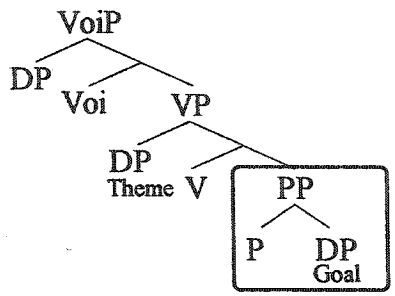
'The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.'

With regard to the expression of the Causee, we can now view North Sámi (72a) as the FP-causative counterpart to Sesotho ditransitives (69), whereas the Chichewa FP (72b) is the counterpart to Romance ditransitives (71). A view that has gained considerable ground in the past decade is that double object constructions (DOC) such as (67b) and (69a) etc. base-generate the first object in an applicative phrase (Marantz 1993, Ura 1996, McGinnis 1998, among others), as schematically shown in (73a). The prepositional construction (PC) is illustrated in (73b).[7]

(73) a DOC

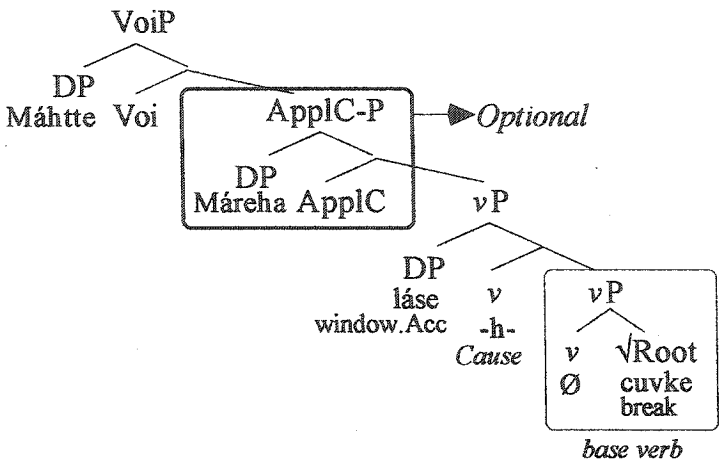


b PC

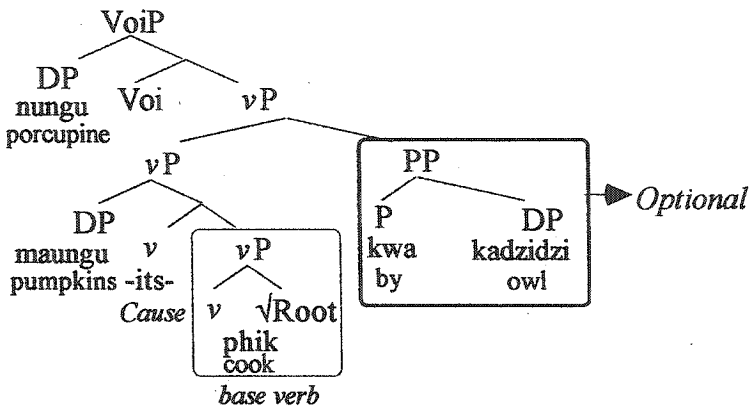


The difference in the expression of the Causee in (72) can clearly be stated descriptively in the same terms as the DOC and the PC; in both cases a certain participant is expressed either as a primary object or as an adpositional object. The Causee is in particular similar to Benefactives in this regard, since neither is obligatory. So, if something that we descriptively call a Goal or Benefactive object can be introduced by an applied head or by an adposition, the most straightforward solution for (72) is to adopt the essentials of the analysis in (73). In other words, in FPs where the Causee has distinct argument properties, we assume that it is introduced into the specifier of an applicative phrase (74a) – labeled ApplC, where C stands for Causee – whereas the adjunct by-phrase Causee uncontroversially is a PP (74b).

(74) a



b



In short, the main difference between Chichewa and North Sámi FPs boils down to the availability of ApplC. We shall now consider a way substantiate this claim.

6.2. Causativized Unergatives

The syntactic consequences contingent on the choice of Causee realization are quite far-reaching. Since an applied Causee is an argument, its effects are found in A-relations whether it be movement or binding, whereas the by-phrase Causee is an adjunct it plays no role in A-syntax. We shall later discuss these effects in North Sámi in some detail.

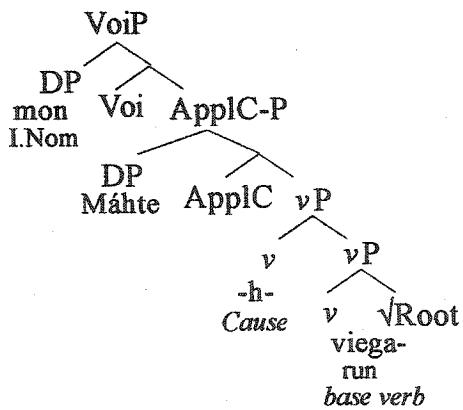
Having assumed that the North Sámi Causee is an applied object, we must raise the question of whether it is necessarily an applied object also when the Base Verb is unergative, as in (75). In fact, our theory forces us to say that it is, given that we have claimed the first

argument in a Spec*v*P is interpreted as the Base Object. Let us therefore subject this proposal to some scrutiny.

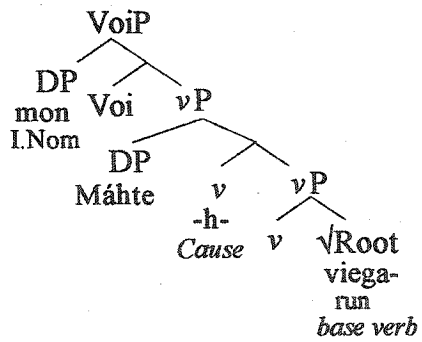
(75) Mon viega-h-in *(Máhte).
I.Nom run-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to run'

In fact, given the basic structure that we have assumed for FPs, there are two possible representations for (75). On the one hand, the Causee might be introduced into ApplC, as we argued above, (76a). However, since we have claimed that the causative formative itself may take an argument, there is no prima facie reason to exclude (76b), where the Causee is an object of the Causative formative, although it would force us to give up on the idea that the Spec of the causative formative is reserved for direct internal arguments. However, as indicated in (75), the Causee is obligatory when the Base Verb is unergative, which renders the Causee similar to a bona fide Base Object.

(76) a



b



We shall show that (76a) is the correct representation for causativized unergatives of the type given in (75), and we shall furthermore claim that it is the availability ApplC that enables FP causativization of unergatives. However, (76b) is appealing initially, because it would be simple

and straightforward way account for why the differences between North Sámi and say Chichewa are neutralized in causativized unergatives.

Let begin by assuming that (76b) is the correct structure for causativized unergatives in North Sámi and Chichewa. A first prediction is that the unergative Causee should behave syntactically identically to the Base Object in a Causeeless sentence such as (77):

(77) Mon cuvke-h-in *(guvssi).
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s cup.Acc
'I caused someone to break the cup.'

As we mentioned with regard to (75) above, also the Base Object in (77) is obligatory. This could be interpreted as showing that both the unergative Causee and the Base Object in (77) originate in the specifier of the causative formative, (76b). A further parallel is found in passivization possibilities. Recall from Chapter 2 that a sentence like (78a) where both the Causee and the Base Object have a syntactic expression has no corresponding passive, as shown in (78b) and (78c).

(78) a Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte guvssi.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc cup.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to break the cup.'

b *Guksi cuvke-h-uvvu-i Máhte.
cup.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s Máhtte.Acc
'The cup was caused to be broken by Máhte (by someone).'

c *Máhtte cuvke-h-uvvu-i guvssi.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s cup.Acc
'Máhtte was made to break the cup.'

(78b) shows that the Base Object may not become the subject of a passivized causative in North Sámi, and (78c) shows that it is also impossible for the Causee to become the subject. In this aspect, (75) and (76) behave differently. (79a) shows that the Base Object may become the

subject of passivized causative that lacks a Causee, and (79b) illustrates that the Causee may serve as the subject of a passive if there is not Base Object:

(79) a Guksi cuvke-h-uvvu-i. (compare (78b))
cup.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s
'The cup was caused to be broken.'

b Máhtte viega-h-uvvu-i. (compare (78c))
Máhtte.Nom run-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s
'Máhtte was caused to run'

These facts could be elegantly unified by assuming (76b).

If this was correct, then we would expect find similar situations in other languages as well. Take for instance Chichewa. Although this language only has access to the prepositional Causee in FPs, under (76b), we predict that the Causee of a causativized unergative should behave on par with the Base Object of an FP. Unlike North Sámi, however, passivization facts fail to suggest anything in Chichewa, because of the independent existence of FI-causatives (Type 2). As may be recalled from Chapter 2, Type 2 FIs are characterized by the fact that the Causee serves as the primary object of the whole causative construction. Thus in both passive clauses in (80) the Causee serves as the subject:

(80) a Mnyamata a-na-kolol-ets-edw-a chimanga ndi Catherine.
boy S-Pst-harvest-Cause-Pass-FV corn by Catherine
'The boy was made to harvest the corn by Catherine.' (Baker 1988a:165)

b Ana a-na-sek-ets-edw-a ndi bulusi.
children S-Pst-laugh-Cause-Pass-FV by lizard
'The children were made to laugh by the lizard.' (Baker 1988a:163)

The challenge, then, is to determine whether the Causee in the causativized unergative behaves like the Base Object of an FP-causative, or like the Causee of an FI-causative. Clearly,

passivization possibilities are uninformative in this regard. However, there is a more subtle test that distinguishes between structural positions in Chichewa (and other languages), namely possibilities for A-bar extraction (cf. Baker 1988ab, Alsina 1992, Marantz 1993 among others). For instance, it is well documented that the Base Object in an FP-causative can be A-bar extracted as shown in (81):

(81) Ndi mbuzi zi-mene kalulu ana-meny-ets-a kwa mkango.
be goats which hare S-Pst-hit-Cause-FV by lion
'It's the goats that the hare made the lion hit.' (Baker 1988a:216)

In contrast, the Causee in an FI cannot be A-bar extracted:

(82) *Uwu ndi alenje amene kalulu a-na-bay-its-a njovu.
this is hunters Rel hare S-Pst-stab-Cause-FV elephant
'These are the hunters which the hare made stab the elephant.' (Baker 1988a:223)

While there is no theoretical consensus regarding the asymmetry illustrated in (80),[8] it is generally agreed that it reflects that the Base Object and the FI-Causee are found in structurally different positions, which are associated with different properties. Regardless of how these asymmetries should be accounted for, we now have a foundation for testing the prediction that (76b) makes. In (76b), recall, the unergative Causee is assumed to occupy the same position as the Base Object in an FP. If this assumption is correct, then we expect that the Causee of a causativized unergative should be A-bar extractable on par with Base Object in the FP (81). With this as a backdrop, consider (83):

(83) Chatsalira a-ku-nam-its-a mwana.
Chatsalira S-Prs-lie-cause-FV child
'Chatsalira is making the child lie (= tell lies).' (Alsina 1992:529)

It turns out, however, that the Causee in (83) behaves exactly on par with the FI Causee in (82) above, that is, it is impossible to extract the Causee, (84):

(84) *Mwana amene Chatsalira a-ku-nam-its-a.
child Rel Chatsalira S-Prs-lie-cause-FV
'the child that Chatsalira is making lie ...' (Alsina 1992:529)

What this means, of course, is that we know that a Causee in a causativized unergative cannot be realized as hypothesized in (76b). Rather, causativized unergatives in Chichewa must be of the FI-variety. Although we have not, and indeed will not, commit ourselves to an analysis of FIs, it is reasonable to assume that the causative formative in these takes a VoiP as its complement (see Chapter 3). Thus, in both (82) and (84) in can be assumed that the Causee originates in the specifier of the embedded VoiP.

What this means for North Sámi is of course that it is reasonable to assume that (76b), where the unergative Causee is equated with the Base Object, is wrong too. Moreover, this is also what we expect on interpretational grounds. Therefore, (76a), where the Causee is in ApplC-P is the more reasonable hypothesis. In fact, the hypothesis that the Causee in the North Sámi FP is an applied object, makes a strong prediction about the possibilities to form FPs from unergative Base Verb; unless a language has access to the applied Causee, it will be impossible to create an FP out of an unergative verb. The Chichewa facts reviewed above provide a strong indication in this direction. However, there is a caveat concerning Bantu; it has been noted that the FI Causee and applied objects behave identically with regard to extraction possibilities, i.e. neither can be extracted. It could therefore be argued that, for some reason, Chichewa could utilize an applied Causee in the cause of unergatives, and consequently A-bar extraction is uninformative in this regard; it only rules out option (76b).

Ideally, to examine the situation we would need a language that is exactly like North Sámi in only accommodating FP causatives, but at the same time it should disallow the applied Causee. Marathi fits into this category (Alsina & Joshi 1993). Causatives in this Indo-Aryan language

conforms to the classical FP profile. That is, the Causee may be expressed as an adjoined by-phrase, or alternatively be left out altogether, (85a). What is special about Marathi, is the fact that the Causee may not be expressed as an argument (85b):

(85) a sumaa-ni (raam-kadun) shaam-laa maarawle.
Suma-Erg Ram-by Sham-Acc beat-Cause
'Suma made Ram beat Sham.' (Alsina and Joshi 1993:6)

b *sumaa-ni raam-laa shaam-laa maarawle.
Suma-Erg Ram-Acc Sham-Acc beat-Cause
'Suma made Ram beat Sham.' (Alsina and Joshi 1993:6)

Hence the contrast between (85a) and (85b) is indicative of two things: (i) the language does not have access to the North Sámi style applied Causee, and (ii) that the language lacks FIs.[9] All things being equal, our theory now predicts that it should be impossible to causativize unergatives in Marathi. For once, all things are equal. In other words, it is impossible to express a causativized unergative in any of the two descriptively available frames, (86):

(86) a *sumaa-ni (raam-kadun) bolawle.
Suma-Erg Ram-by speak-Cause
'Suma made Ram speak.'

b *sumaa-ni raam-laa bolawle.
Suma-Erg Ram-Acc speak-Cause
'Suma made Ram speak.'

(86a) shows that it is impossible for the Causee to be expressed in a by-phrase. This is quite expected, since the the Base Verb could not receive an interpretation, and hence we have a violation of Full Interpretation. The ill formedness of (86b), on the other hand, must be viewed on par with (85b); Causees in this language cannot be expressed as arguments. The upshot, of course, is that Marathi does not have access to applied causatives. The other consequence,

naturally, is that (86b) refutes the analysis (76b), where the Causee of an unergative was speculated to be generated in the specifier of the Causative formative.

To summarize, we have proposed that the North Sámi Causee is an applied object. This proposal captures the parallelism between say applied and adpositional Benefactives found in numerous languages. Moreover, we have suggested that North Sámi and Marathi are similar in the sense that both languages utilize FPs as their only means of productive morphological causativization The sole major difference between the two languages lies in the possibility to introduce the Causee as an applied object; this is the only way to realize the Causee in North Sámi, whereas the applicative construction is not available in Marathi, which relies on the adpositional option of expressing the Causee. Consequently, we correctly predict that unergatives can enter the FP causative in Sámi but not in Marathi.

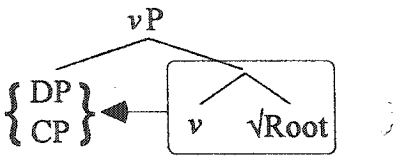
7. Conclusions

We began our discussion by pointing out a problem for the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis, according to which the Base Verb and the Base Object form a constituent and that it is this constituent that is selected by and embedded under the causative head in an FP. Alsina (1992) notices however that the FP causative imposes certain selectional restrictions on the Base Object, specifically prohibiting sentential objects. This kind of restriction is surprising under the Kayne-Burzio Hypothesis.

We have proposed an analysis in which the Base Object in an FP is not an object of the Base Verb, following Alsina (1992), but is rather a de facto argument of the causative formative, and consequently the Base Verb does not take a direct internal argument. The latter point we have assumed is due to selectional properties of the head of the FP-causative. This head selects as its complement the intransitive variant variant of v, v_{Intr}. Furthermore, we have suggested that the DP introduced into the specifier of the causative head is interpreted as an argument of the Base Verb, as required by Full Interpretation. Specifically, we have assumed a general principle

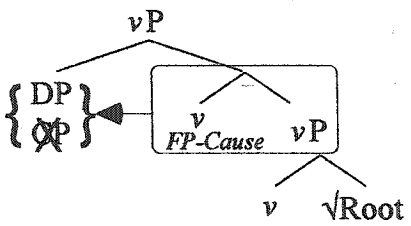
that forces root to be matched with the first DP in a Spec*v*P that c-commands the root. The selectional restriction we have assumed is related to the vicinity between the Root and Spec*v*P. A verbalizing head whose complement is a Root can introduce the whole range of categorial types of arguments compatible with Root, (87):

(87)



However, in the configuration that arises in an FP with the causative head taking an argument in its specifier, the category is restricted to DP. We have speculated that this restriction is a consequence of the fact that the complement of the argument introducing head is not a Root; rather, the Root is subpart of the complement:

(88)



This approach moreover provides a straightforward way to capture another fact about FPs, namely their prohibition against Verb-Object idioms. Assuming that idiomatic interpretation has a structural basis in which locality and constituency plays a crucial role, the idea that the Base Verb does not take an object has the immediate consequence that FPs do not provide a structural environment that enables idioms. The approach that we have suggested has the welcome result of reducing the ban on clausal complements and the ban on Verb-Object idioms to one problem.

The other major issue that we have dealt with is the North Sámi Causee. We have proposed that the Causee in this language is an applied object. In essence, the Causee is an

obligatory argument, whose presence hinges on the occurrence of an applicative head. The applicative analysis of the Causee has furthermore been shown to have consequences for the possibility of causativizing unergatives. Specifically, unergatives can undergo FP-causativization only if the language accommodates the applied Causee.

Notes to Chapter 5

[1]See also Baker (1997a) for a syntactic analysis of a certain causative formative as a three-place predicate.
[2]Recall from Chapter 2 that the base verb in FPs has no Case licensing ability. For a more detailed discussion about Case, see Chapter 6.
[3]Also Zaring (1994) offers a similar idea, dealing however with French Subject pronouns in sequences of the type *it-V-CP*. Zaring shows that it is possible to wh-extract out the CP when the subject pronoun is an expletive, in which case the CP is analyzed as a complement. In contrast, when the subject pronoun is an argument that the CP is co-indexed with, wh-extraction out of the CP leads to degradation and in many cases ungrammaticality.
[4]Notice that Guasti (1996:307) claims that Alsina Generalization is wrong, on the basis of Italian examples like (i):

(i) Gianni ha fatto sostenere da Maria
Gianni has made maintain by Maria
[che la scimmia abbia gettato la palla sul tetto]
that the monkey has thrown the ball on-the roof
'Gianni has made Maria maintain that the monkey has thrown the ball onto the roof.'

Given that Italian independently has allows null-objects (Rizzi 1986), it is fully possible that (i) should be assimilated with the it-CP phenomena we have discussed, in which case it is *pro*, as shown in (ii):

(ii) Gianni ha fatto sostenere ***pro*** da Maria
Gianni has made maintain by Maria
[che la scimmia abbia gettato la palla sul tetto]
that the monkey has thrown the ball on-the roof

[5]Of course we do not wish to rule sentences like (i):

(i) [To be a member of learned societies] will definitely strengthen your CV.

Here, however, the non-finite clause is not an internal argument, but rather introduced by Voice. The particular restriction we are discussing arises only when the base verb (i.e. v-$\sqrt{\text{Root}}$) is prevented from projecting its object.
[6]This is of course a matter of debate, depending in part on one's view of cliticization. However, the ungrammaticality of (71b) is beyond any discussion. One factor that one would have to take into consideration is the fact that (71) involves benefactives.
[7]Of course, this is not the only option. Larson (1988, 1990) proposed that the DOC is derived from an underlying PC. This route is also taken in Baker (1995abc) and Baker & Stewart (1999).
[8]But see the above mentioned references as well Den Dikken (1995) and Nakamura (1996) for proposals and discussions.
[9]Alsina and Joshi (1993) claims that non-agentive verbs form (what we call) FIs. However, on the basis of the examples they mention, these are typical instances where lexical causatives are easily confused with syntactic ones. Hence, in the absence of data suggesting the contrary, I suspect that Marathi only has productive causatives of the FP-variety. This particular matter, however, has no impact on the argument made in main text.

Chapter 6

Case and locality in North Sámi Causatives

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1. Introduction

In Chapter 5 we argued that the Causee in a North Sámi causative like (1) is a special kind of applied object.

(1) Máhtte cuvke-h-ii (Máreha) láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s Máret.Acc window.Acc
'Máhtte caused Máret/someone to break the window.'

The applicative analysis of the North Sámi Causee has a number of consequences. For instance, it makes North Sámi causatives such as (1) look deceptively similar to a *Faire Infinitive* construction on the surface. This superficial similarity impacts on issues relating to Case and Locality. As the reader may recall, North Sámi causatives cannot undergo passivization in the presence of the Causee, (2). (2a) shows that the Base Object cannot move into the Subject position of the clause when the Causee is expressed, and (2b) reveals that the Causee itself cannot become the Subject:

(2) a *Guksi cuvke-h-uvvu-i Máhte.
cup.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s Máhtte.Acc
'The cup was caused to be broken by Máhte (by someone).'

b *Máhtte cuvke-h-uvvu-i guvssi.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s cup.Acc
'Máhtte was caused to break the cup.'

However, if the Causee is not expressed, which in our terms means that the derivation does not consists of an ApplC projection, passivization yields a fully grammatical output, (3).

(3) a Mon cuvke-h-in guvssi.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s cup.Acc
'I caused someone break the cup.'
b Guksi cuvke-h-uvvu-i.
cup.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s
'The cup was caused to be broken.'

Two descriptive generalizations emerge from (2) and (3). Firstly, the Causee blocks raising to Subject of the Base Object, as illustrated by the contrast between (2b) and (3b). In theoretical terms, this means that (2b) is an example of a par excellence violation of Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995), which can be stated as in (4) (adopted in modified version from Pesetsky & Torrego 2002):

(4) THE MINIMAL LINK CONDITION (MLC) (Adapted from Pesetsky & Torrego 2002:2)
A PROBE feature F on α takes β as a GOAL if
(i) β bears F; and
(ii) β is c-commanded by α; and
(iii) no γ that also bears F c-commands β and is c-commanded by α.

Thus (4) rules out the (2b) as shown in (5). The GOAL closest to the PROBE T is the Causee and therefore the Base Object may not raise to T:

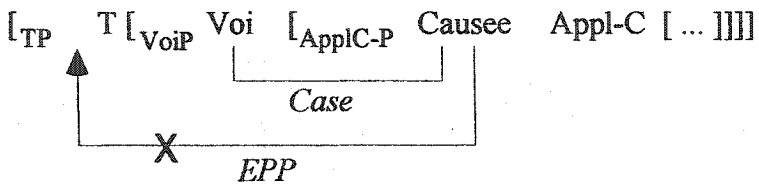
(5) *[TP Guksi$_i$ T [VoiP cuvke-h-uvvu-i [ApplC-P *Máhte* [vP t_i *v* [vP...]]]]]

cup.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s Máhtte.Acc

'The cup was caused to be broken by Máhte (by someone).'

The second descriptive generalization that can be extracted from (2) and (3) is that the Causee itself cannot raise to Subject, (2c). The theoretical underpinning of this descriptive statement is a constraint of the kind proposed in McGinnis (1998) and Chomsky (1998, 1999), which prohibits an argument that has entered a Case motivated AGREE relation from participating in further A-related operations, such as movement whose purpose is to satisfy an EPP property. Following McGinnis (1998) we refer to the relevant constraint as the Case Identity Constraint.

(6)



In this Chapter, we shall argue that the Causee in (6) enters an AGREE relation with Voi in passives, which in accordance with the Case Identity Constraint has the effect of barring further movement of the Causee.

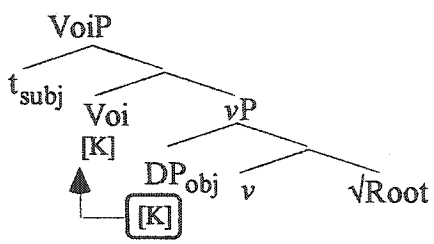
The Chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 outlines the theory of Case and Locality that we shall assume, essentially the PROBE-GOAL based theory of AGREE outlined in Chomsky (1998, 1999). Section 3 deals with Case in North Sámi causatives. We propose that ApplC licenses structural Case on the Base Object, whereas the Causee enters an AGREE relation with Voi for Case. In passives, we claim, a language specific constraint dictates that in the presence of two Case licensing heads, the Case of the lower head is suppressed, and moreover, North Sámi ApplC does not have the option of substituting an EPP feature for a Case feature. Section 4 discusses some instances of Scrambing in North Sámi causatives. Here we will show that within a

given domain, scrambling in active clauses by and large exhibits the same kind of locality effects as we observe in passives. Finally in section 5 some concluding remarks are given.

2. Case and Locality

We shall now outline some basic ingredients of the theory of Case and Locality that we assume, essentially Chomsky's (1998, 1999) PROBE-GOAL based theory of AGREE. This theory is in some respects considerably different from the Attract based theory of feature movement of Chomsky (1995), in that it does not necessitate movement to establish the equivalent of checking. However, some basic assumptions remain intact, for instance the idea that the fundamental force that triggers syntactic operations is so-called uninterpretable features, and the requirement that such features must be deleted by the end of the derivation. Failure to delete uninterpretable features has the effect that the derivation crashes. Among the uninterpretable features we notice for instance, person and number features on T and structural Case features as well as wh-features on C. In the Attract-based theory of Chomsky (1995), it is assumed that a feature of a head, for instance a Case feature on Voi, attracts a matching feature, namely Case on DP. Attracting Case features are assumed to be uniformly weak, i.e., they trigger covert movement of the feature on the Object.[1] Thus, the Case feature [K] on Voi attracts [K] on the Object, after the application of Spell-Out:

(7)



The PROBE-GOAL based theory of Chomsky (1998, 1999) dispenses with the notion of feature movement. The checking operation is replaced by the relation AGREE which establishes a

connection between a feature on a head and a matching feature on say a DP. Unlike covert feature movement, Agree applies as soon as possible,[2] hence dispensing with the need to posit two cycles. A PROBE is essentially a head with an uninterpretable feature, which consequently requires deletion, and the GOAL the is the syntactic object hosting a matching feature. Thus, the PROBE plays the same role as the attracting feature in (7), and the GOAL corresponds to the attracted feature. AGREE can be characterized as in (8a), (cf. Chomsky 1998, 1999) and it is subject to a locality condition such as (8b), which we refer to as the Minimal Link Condition (MLC)

(8) a AGREE (α β), where α is a PROBE and β is a matching GOAL

b THE MINIMAL LINK CONDITION (MLC)

A PROBE feature F on α takes β as a GOAL if

(i) β bears F; and
(ii) β is c-commanded by α; and
(iii) no γ that also bears F c-commands β and is c-commanded by α.

(Adapted from Pesetsky & Torrego 2002:2)

In the light of (8), consider (9) whereVoi has an uninterpretable Case feature, which requires deletion.[3] Voi is now a PROBE searching for a GOAL in its c-commanding domain that it can enter an AGREE relation with. In (9), the GOAL is the object DP. If the features on the PROBE and the GOAL match, then the features delete. Matching obtains under feature identity, and thus the AGREE relation in (9) amounts to licensing of accusative Case and there is no need to stipulate movement.

(9)

$[_{VoiP}$ Subj Voi $[_{vP}$ Obj v $\sqrt{Root}]]$

Agree

Weak features and AGREE do not result in overt displacement of syntactic objects. Overt movement is triggered by the presence of a so-called EPP feature. As the EPP feature is uninterpretable, it must be deleted, with the requirement however that something must be merged into a specifier of the head hosting it. This situation is exemplified in (10), where Voi has an EPP feature. Chomsky (1998) suggests that the EPP feature seeks out a syntactic object that has the uninterpretable feature [person], which is found on nouns (DPs).[4] The EPP feature triggers MOVE, which raises the GOAL, i.e. the object (or a copy of the object). DP_{obj} is then merged into an outer specifier of Voi, whereupon the features on the PROBE Voi and the GOAL DP match and delete.

(10)

$$[_{VoiP}\ \underset{\uparrow}{Obj}\ \ Subj\ \underset{[EPP]}{Voi}\ [_{vP}\ t\ \ v\ \ \sqrt{Root}]]$$

Move + Agree

So far we have considered licensing of the object. We shall now turn our attention to the external argument, i.e. DP_{subj} which is theta-merged into SpecVoiP. Consider now (11), where T has merged with VoiP:

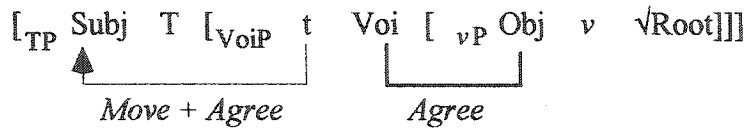
(11)

$$[_{TP}\ T\ [_{VoiP}\ Subj\ \ Voi\ [_{vP}\ Obj\ \ v\ \ \sqrt{Root}]]]$$

Agree

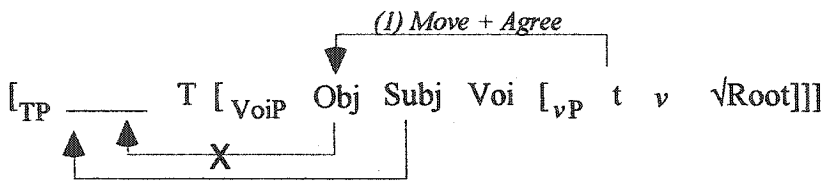
Assume that T has a Case feature and that it is also equipped with the EPP property. The PROBE T now scans the search space in its c-command domain, and there are two potential GOALs in this domain, namely DP_{subj} and DP_{obj}. However, since DP_{subj} asymmetrically c-commands DP_{obj}, DP_{subj} raises in accordance with (8b) and merges with TP, whereupon the features on the PROBE and the GOAL match and delete, (12):

(12)



Let us finally consider a case where T has merged with a VoiP consisting of multiple specifiers, as in (13). Here there are two GOALS visible for the PROBE T, namely the Subject and the Object, assuming along the lines of Chomsky (1995) that the two specifiers of Voi count as being equally close to T. However, as shown in (13), only the Subject can raise to SpecTP.

(13)



Chomsky (1995) accounted for this fact in terms of economy. Raising of the Object to SpecTP with ensuing checking of T's EPP feature could be followed by covert attraction of the Subject's Case feature, which would be a convergent derivation. However, this derivation would require two syntactic operations, which should be compared to a derivation where the Subject raises to SpecTP. In the latter scenario, one syntactic operation would result in checking of two features, which would be a more economical choice. McGinnis (1998) offers an alternative account, which claims that a DP which has checked Case, cannot undergo further movement that amount to deleting an EPP feature. McGinnis (1998:36) calls this constraint Case Identity:

(14) Case Identity

Once an argument has checked Case, it cannot undego further movement to check EPP. McGinnis (1998:36)

As we shall see presently, (14) plays a crucial role in our account of North Sámi causatives.

In this Section we have introduced and outlined the basic theoretical assumptions that will guide the rest of the chapter.

3. North Sámi

Let us now turn to our main issue, namely productive morphological causatives in North Sámi and the issues of Case and locality.

North Sámi causatives whose syntactic structure does not involve a Causee introducing ApplC (see Chapter 5) are on par with simple transitives clauses for the purposes of Case licensing. We have argued that such causatives involve a single Voi projection, as in (15).

(15) a Máhtte cuvke-h-ii láse.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.3s window.Acc
'Máhtte caused someone to break the window.'

b $[_{VoiP}$ Máhtte cuvke - h- [Voi] $[_{vP}$ láse t_{cause} […]]]
Agree

Consider (15b), a standard *Faire Par* structure where no Causee is expressed. In line with our basic assumptions, the Case feature on Voi (the PROBE) can AGREE with the features on the GOAL, i.e. the Base Object. Given our structural representation of FPs, (15b), locality is respected because there is no DP aside from the Base Object closer to the PROBE Voi that qualifies as a GOAL. Subsequently, T merges with Voi. In addition to hosting an uninterpretable Case feature, T is also equipped with the EPP property, which, recall, triggers movement. The result is that the external argument raises to SpecTP, satisfying the EPP and since it also has a Case feature that matches that on T, all relevant features are deleted:

(16) $[_{TP}$ T $[_{VoiP}$ Máhtte cuvke - h- [Voi] $[_{vP}$ láse t_{cause} […]]]]
Move + Agree *Agree*

This account straightforwardly extends to passivized causatives, such as (17). The crucial difference between (15) and (17) lies in the feature composition of Voi. Recall that the Case feature on Voi is standardly taken to be parasitic on the [+Active] specification (cf. Chapter 3 and Kratzer 1996) . Since Voi in (17) does not introduce an external argument, it also lacks a Case feature.

(17) Láse cuvke-h-uvvu-i.
window.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s
'The window was caused to be broken.'

After VoiP has been formed, it is merged with T. The only GOAL in the search space of the PROBE T is the Base Object, which has all its features intact, as the non-active Voi head does not host any AGREE inducing features. As before, T contains an EPP feature in addition to a Case feature. Hence, the Base Object raises to SpecTP because of T's EPP property and the Case features on T and DP AGREE and delete.

Thus, the fact that a passivized North Sámi causatives like (17) is grammatical, follows from the theory outlined. The account, furthermore, hinges on the basic standard assumption that FP-causatives do not involve a syntactically present Causee.

3. 1. The Applied Causee

We shall now turn our attention to the more challenging paradigm illustrated in (18), which involves the applied North Sámi Causee.

(18) a Mon divu-h-in Máhte biilla.
I.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc car.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to repair the car.'

b *Máhtte divu-h-uvvu-i biilla.
Máhtte.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.3s car.Acc
Máhtte was caused to repair the car (by someone).'

c *Biila divu-h-uvvu-i Máhte.
car.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.3s Máhtte.Acc
'The car was caused to be repaired by Máhtte (by someone).'

The problem presented by (18) lies in the fact that it is impossible to passivize causatives that consist of both a Base Object and a Causee. We also know that this restriction must be due to the presence of the Causee in (18). However, the Causee is not inherently implicated in preventing passivization. Recall from previous chapters, that the Causee in a causative based on an unergative verb arguably has the same structural status as the Causee in (18). Nevertheless, as shown in (19), if the Base Verb is unergative, then the Causee may raise to subject.

(19) a Mon viega-h-in Máhte.
I.Nom run-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to run.'

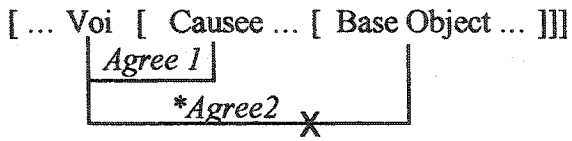
b Máhtte viega-h-uvvu-i.
Máhtte.Nom run-Cause-Pst.3s
'Máhtte was caused to run.'

In other words, the underlying structural position of the entity bearing the grammatical function of Direct Object is irrelevant for the purposes of passivization. Rather, the problem arises when there are two accusative objects within the verbal complex. Descriptively speaking, there are two ways to view the issue. On the one hand, one can say that neither object can become the subject, or alternatively that a passive does not accept any verb phrase internal accusatives. Both of these two descriptive statements are closely reminiscent of Levin & Rappaport's (1986) Sole Complement Generalization. That is, an argument can become the subject of a passivized North Sámi causative if and only if it also can serve as the sole object of an active causative clause.

One appealing idea would be to say that there is a single PROBE feature for Case on Voi in North Sámi causatives, which is matched with two DPs in the search domain. Hence, both the

Causee and the Base Object enter an AGREE relation with a single Voi. Assume further that passive has the familiar effect of suppressing the sole Case feature from Voi, with the understanding now that the Causee and the Base Object have to enter an AGREE relation with T. However, T is also equipped with the EPP property, which has the effect of forcing movement into its specifier. The effect would be that the Causee raises to SpecTP and AGREEs with both the EPP feature and the Case feature on T, with the result that the uninterpretable Case feature on the Base Object survives. This strategy, however, has a severe problem, namely the idea that a single Case feature on the active Voi head can enter two AGREE relations. Specifically, Chomsky (1999:13) claims that the head on an A-chain blocks matching of features. Thus, in (20) the Causee blocks the establishment of an Agree relation between Voi and the Base Object, which is in line with the Minimal Link Condition (8b) above.

(20)

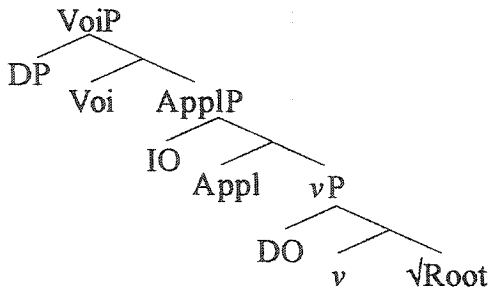


Therefore, since we are assuming that sentences like (18) above are a variety of an applied construction, we shall digress from North Sámi causatives and take few moments to consider some influential ideas concerning the syntax of applicative constructions in general.

3.2. Double Object Constructions

Double object constructions across languages share the common characteristic that the first object, i.e. the Indirect Object (IO) asymmetrically c-commands the second object, i.e. the Direct Object (DO), Barss & Lasnik (1986), Larson (1988), Aoun & Li (1989) among several others. While a number of structural solutions have been proposed (see the aforementioned references), it has become increasingly accepted that the IO is introduced into the specifier of an Applied Phrase (Marantz 1993), yielding (21):

(21)



The standard assumption is that Voi and Appl can each license a structural Case (Ura 1996, McGinnis 1998). So, for instance, in both the English sentence (22a), and the Chichewa applied benefactive construction (22b), the DO AGREEs with Appl, and the IO AGREEs with Voi, (22c):

(22) a John gave Mary a book.

b *Chichewa* (Baker 1988b)

Mavuto a-na-umb-ir-a mfunu mtsuko.

Mavuto S-Pst-mold-Appl-FV chief waterpot

'Mavuto molded the waterpot for the chief.'

c [$_{VoiP}$ DP Voi [$_{ApplP}$ IO Appl [$_{vP}$ *v* DO]]]
Agree Agree

It is also a well-known fact that passivization of applicatives exhibits a certain degree of cross-linguistic variation. For instance, passivization of a double object construction in American English always has the descriptive effect of promoting the IO to subject:[5]

(23) a Mary was given a book. AmE

b *A book was given Mary. AmE

The pattern in (23) is accounted for by assuming that passive has the effect of suppressing the Case feature on Voi, while leaving the Case on Appl intact. Now, both Ura (1996:166) and McGinnis (1998:41) notice that because the verbal complex in (21) hosts two structural Case features distributed over two heads, passivization may very well have the effect of suppressing one or the other of the two features. Thus, McGinnis (1998) for instance assumes that Voi

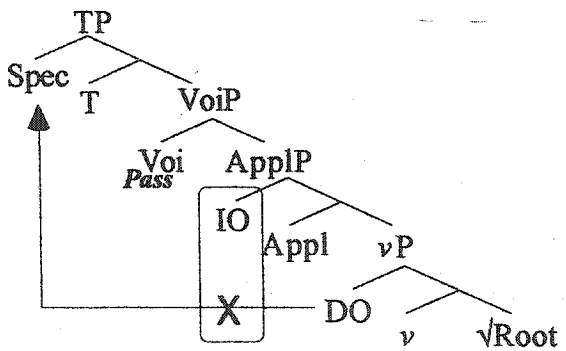
determines voice, but there is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between voice and Case in term of syntactic heads.[6] The fact that some languages do allow "long passives" of the type given in (23b) lends strong support to this hypothesis. For instance, while (23b) is ill-formed in American English, it is perfectly grammatical in British English, which allows both the "short" and the "long" passive of double object constructions, (24).

(24) a Mary was given a book. BrE

b A book was given Mary. BrE

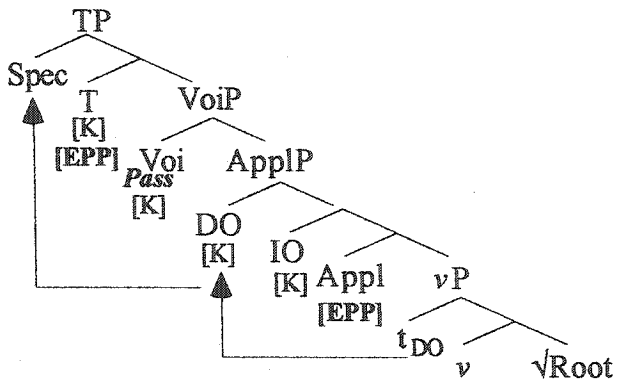
Thus, according to Ura (1996) and McGinnis (1998), passivization may result in the suppression of the Case feature on either Voi or Appl in British English. However, McGinnis (1998:45) observes that mere suppression of the Case feature on Appl is not sufficient to derive say (24b). Consider (25). Granted out our background assumptions, the Minimal Link Condition has the effect that the IO in SpecApplP prevents the DO from raising to SpecTP.

(25)



McGinnis (1998:45) therefore proposes that when the Case feature on Appl is suppressed it "instead has an EPP feature, which attracts the DO into its specifier."[7] Thus, instead raising in one fell swoop to SpecTP, the IO moves into a specifier of Appl, which renders the IO and the DO equally close to T, as shown in (26). IO can still enter an AGREE relation with Voi, and now DO can raise into the Spec of TP:[8]

(26)



However, McGinnis (1998: 55) and Ura (1996:181) notice that in some languages double object constructions may fail to passivize altogether, in spite of the independent presence of passive. McGinnis cites Modern Greek as one such language. Such languages are of particular interest for us, because they have the kind of profile that we find in North Sámi causatives. Let us consider the analysis McGinnis proposes for Modern Greek. The IO in a Greek double object construction carries morphological dative Case, and it precedes the accusative DO, (27). Notice furthermore, that the IO is optionally doubled by a clitic, (27a) versus (27b):

(27) *Modern Greek* (McGinnis 1998:56)

a **Tu** edosa tu Janni to vivlio
him.Dat gave-I the John.Dat the book.Acc
I gave the book to John'

b Edosa tu Janni to vivlio
gave-I the John.Dat the book.Acc
I gave the book to John'

In (27a) McGinnis assumes that the DO AGREEs with Appl. Appl also specifies the Indirect Object for morphological case. The dative clitic is now assumed to represent the AGREE relation between the IO and the Case feature on Voi. (27b), on the other hand, involves an alternative derivation, where Voi by hypothesis does not host a structural Case feature. While the relation

between Appl and the DO is as before, the IO is now licensed in a different way, namely by an inherent Case. This is possible, according to McGinnis, because Appl is the head responsible for introducing the IO Thus, when the IO is merged into the Spec of Appl, the operation results in bona fide AGREE with accompanying feature deletion. The consequences for passivization are quite drastic, depending on whether the IO checks a structural Case on Voi, or an inherent Case on Appl. Consider the following contrast:

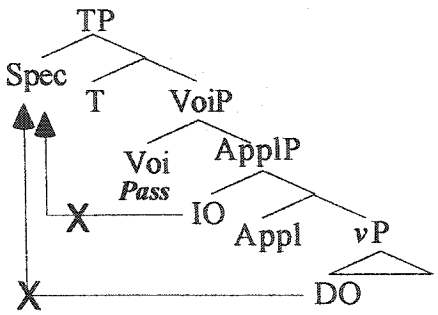
(28) *Modern Greek* (McGinnis 1998)

a To vivlio *tu* dothike tu Janni apo tin Maria
the book him.Dat was given the John.Dat the Maria
'The book was given to him by Mary.' (p. 55)

b *To vivlio dothike tu Janni apo tin Maria
the book was given the John.Dat by the Maria
'The book was given to him by Mary.' (p. 56)

McGinnis proposes that the grammatical (28a) has the same derivation as the British English passive (24b). That is, the Case feature on Appl is suppressed and instead Appl is equipped with an EPP feature, with the ensuing result that the DO raises to a specifier of Appl. Furthermore, the dative clitic in (28a) is the overt reflex of the AGREE relation that holds between IO and Voi. The DO is now free to raise to SpecTP, as we explicated previously. The more interesting question is of course why (28b) is ill-formed in the absence of a dative clitic. McGinnis proposes that when Appl has the option of licensing an inherent Case feature on the IO, then Appl also lacks the EPP property. Consider (29).

(29)



In (29) Appl AGREEs with IO for inherent Case. Moreover, Appl has no structural Case feature and, by hypothesis, it lacks the EPP property. Therefore, given the Minimal Link Condition, DO cannot raise directly to SpecTP, because of the the intervening IO. Moreover, since the IO has entered an AGREE relation for Case, the Case Identity constraint (14), repeated here as (30), prevents the IO from raising to Subject.[9]

(30) Case Identity

Once an argument has checked Case, it cannot undergo further movement to check EPP. McGinnis (1998:36)

In short the analysis of double object constructions as involving an ApplP has been shown in various works to provide a good model for capturing not only hierarchical relations among the objects, but also for the diverse Case properties found across languages.

3.3. The Case of the North Sámi Causee

The fact that it is impossible to passivize North Sámi causatives with two Accusative objects suggests that we are potentially dealing with a phenomenon similar to the Modern Greek scenario sketched above. At this point it is therefore important to consider what kind of Case is found on the Causee in (31):

(31) Mon divu-h-in Máhte biilla.
I.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc car.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to repair the car.'

We have glossed the Case as "Accusative" throughout this work, which of course is not a coincidence. However, one should be aware that this is not necessarily an obvious matter, since the Accusative and Genitive Cases are suppletive in North Sámi, as shown in the paradigms given in (32):

(32) a

mánná 'child'	**Singular**	**Plural**
Nominative	mánná	mánát
Accusative	**máná**	**mánáid**
Genitive	**máná**	**mánáid**
Illative	mánnái	mánáide
Locative	mánás	mánáin
Committative	mánáin	mánáiguin

b

beana 'dog'	**Singular**	**Plural**
Nominative	beana	beatnagat
Accusative	**beatnaga**	**beatnagiid**
Genitive	**beatnaga**	**beatnagiid**
Illative	beatnagii	beatnagiide
Locative	beatnagis	beatnagiin
Committative	beatnagiin	beatnagiguin

Thus, without having seen the complete picture, it might be tempting to consider Máhte in (31) as an inherent Genitive Case, which would enable us to treat the Causee fully on par with the Greek dative. This hypothesis can be tested quite easily, because the Accusative-Genitive suppletion is not complete, only near complete (Svonni & Vinka 2002b). The prenominal quantifier moadde/moatti 'some' provides a good example. Descriptively speaking, this quantifier shares the Case of the noun that it modifies, and, most importantly, it manifests a distinction between Accusative and Genitive. The Genitive form moatti appears when modifying a possessor, and the form moadde is restricted to modification of Accusative DPs. In (33a), the

quantifier modifies a Direct Object, and here the form moadde 'some.Acc' is required, as confirmed by the ill-formedness of (33b), where the Genitive moatti 'some.Gen' appears:

(33) a Mon oidnen **[moadde olbmo].**
I.Nom see.Pst.1s some.Acc people.Acc
'I saw some people.'

b *Mon oidnen **[moatti olbmo].**
I.Nom see.Pst.1s some.Gen people.Acc
'I saw some people.'

Let us now turn to (34). Here, the quantifier occurs on the noun olbmo 'people' which serves as the possessor of the DP biilla 'car.Acc.' Since olbmo is a possessor, we would expect it to bear Genitive Case. The contrast between (34a) and (34b) shows that moatti 'some.Gen' can modify the possessor, whereas the Accusative form moadde 'some.Acc' is illicit:

(34) a Biera bilistii **[[moatti olbmo] [biilla]].**
Biera.Nom destroy.Pst.3s some.Gen people.Gen car.Acc
'Biera destroyed some people's car.'

b *Biera bilistii **[[moadde olbmo] [biilla]].**
Biera.Nom destroy.Pst.3s some.Acc people.Gen car.Acc
'Biera destroyed some people's car.'

In other words, the form moadde is restricted to occur with Accusative head-nouns (33), and moatti with Genitive head-nouns (34).

Now we are in a position to test the hypothesis that the North Sámi Causee is marked by Genitive case. If moatti 'some.Gen' can occur with the Causee, then we have an important piece of support for the hypothesis. But if moadde 'some.Acc' is required, then the hypothesis is clearly refuted. Consider (35):

(35) a Mon cuvke-h-in **moadde** **olbmo** guvssi.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause.Pst.1s some.Acc people.Acc cup.Acc
'I caused some people to break the cup.'

b *Mon cuvke-h-in **moatti** **olbmo** guvssi.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause.Pst.1s some.Gen people.Acc cup.Acc
'I caused some people to break the cup.'

As we can see in (35), the evidence is that the Causee in fact is marked by Accusative case, due to the well formedness of (35a), involving the Accusative form moadde 'some.Acc' and the ill-formedness of (35b), where the Genitive form moatti 'some.Gen' appears.[10] Thus on the basis of the distribution of the forms moadde 'some. Acc' and moatti 'some. Gen' we conclude that the Causee in North Sámi appears with a morphological Accusative case.

3.4. Licensing

Given that we have provided evidence that the North Sámi Causee appears with Accusative Case, rather than with an inherent Genitive Case, we have an indication that we should refrain from treating the ill-formedness of say (36) on par with the Greek sentence (28b) repeated below as (37):

(36) *Biila divu-h-uvvu-i Máhte.
car.Nom repair-Cause-Pst.3s Máhtte.Acc
'The car was caused to be repaired by Máhtte (by someone).'

(37) *To vivlio dothike tu Janni apo tin Maria
the book was given the John.Dat by the Maria
'The book was given to John by Mary.' (McGinnis 1998: 56)

However, it would not be particularly outrageous to posit that the Causee appears with an inherent accusative Case, which would enable McGinnis' analysis of Modern Greek (37) to be

extended to (36). The question that arises if we analyze the Causee in (36) as an inherently Case-marked DP is why we do not find the same effect in (38), which shows that passive may successfully apply to causativized unergatives? After all, we have claimed that also in these instances, the Causee is introduced by ApplC.

(38) Máhtte viega-h-uvvu-i.
Máhtte.Nom run-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s
'Máhtte was caused to run.'

It could be claimed that ApplC does not check an inherent Case when it does not license a structural Case, as would be the case in a causativized unergative; however, by parity of reasoning this would hold of passive clauses like (36) as well. Because the Case feature on ApplC in (36) is suppressed by passive, it is not a Case licensing head, and therefore it should not license an inherent Case. But now we cannot extend McGinnis' analysis of Modern Greek to (36), because the punch-line of her account is that Appl checks an inherent Case also in the passive, which is exactly what prevents the IO from becoming the subject in a passive, granted Case Identity (30). This being the case, we cannot maintain that the Causee in (36) is inherently Case-marked. Therefore, if inherent Case does not play a role in ruling out (36), it would complicate the theory if we assumed that it were involved active clauses. Thus, an alternative account should be sought.

The other possibility, which would not have to stipulate checking of an inherent Case, would be to assume that in active clauses the Causee and the Base Object AGREE for Case with Voi and ApplC respectively, as in illustrated in (39b).

(39) a Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte láse.
I.Nom break.Tr-Past.1s Máhtte.Acc window.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to break the window.'

b

... [$_{VoiP}$ mon cuvke - h- Voi [$_{ApplC\text{-}P}$ Máhte ApplC [$_{vP}$ láse ...]]]...

Agree *Agree*

In the previous discussion, we emphasized the point that the Case properties of double object constructions are subject to parametric variation, and therefore different languages exhibit different possibilities in passives. In the Minimalist Program, the locus of this variation is taken to be a matter of which licensing head in the verbal geometry will have its case suppressed. For instance, passive of a double object construction in American English can only amount to suppressing the Case feature on Voi, whereas in British English either Voi or Appl may have their Case features suppressed. Whether or not suppression of Case on Appl yields a well formed outcome or not, depends on whether Case suppression is accompanied by the insertion of an EPP feature. Along these lines, the contrast between the American English and British English judgments in (40) can be accounted for, as we have explicated previously.

(40) a *A book was given Mary. AmE

b A book was given Mary. BrE

It is noteworthy, however, that the ill-formedness of the American English passive in (40a) can be ruled out either by assuming that passive only suppresses Case on Voi, or that suppression of Case on Appl does not entail the presence of an EPP feature. On the latter possibility, American and British English are set apart solely by the availability of an EPP feature on Appl.

However, in order to maintain an account of the illcit sentence (41) below in terms of Case suppression, where the Causee serves as the Subject of the passive clause, we must resort to more stringent measures. Specifically, the ill-formedness of (41) prevents us from assuming that the Case feature on Voi can be freely suppressed. If it could, while at the same time leaving Case on ApplC intact, (41) would be fully grammatical, contrary to fact.

(41) *Máhtte cuvke-h-uvvu-i guvssi.
Máhtte.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s cup.Acc
'Máhtte was caused to break the cup.'

Rather, the Case Identity constraint (30), which states that a DP that has AGREEd for Case is prevented from undergoing EPP motivated movement, suggests that the Causee has entered an AGREE relation for Case with Voi, and that this is the underlying reason why the Causee cannot raise further. By taking this route, we claim that under specific circumstances, the Case feature of Voi cannot be suppressed in North Sámi. I will assume that Case suppression in this languages is subject to a restriction that requires the most deeply embedded Case feature in the verbal complex to be suppressed under Passive. Hence, I assume that Case on ApplC is obligatorily suppressed. From this, then, the ill-formedness of (41) follows straightforwardly. Now, if ApplC independently lacks a Case feature, as we assume is the case in causativized unergatives, then Case of Voi is suppressed, with the result that the Causee can raise to SpecTP, (42):

(42) a Mon viega-h-in Máhte.
I.Nom run-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to run.'

b Máhtte viega-h-uvvu-i.
Máhtte.Nom run-Cause-Pst.3s
'Máhtte was caused to run.'

Our account of (41) and (42) also provide a straightforward answer to the question why it is impossible for the Base Object to raise to SpecTP, (43):

(43) *Guksi cuvke-h-uvvu-i Máhte.
cup.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pass-Pst.3s Máhtte.Acc
'The cup was caused to be broken by Máhtte.'

While we have proposed that the Case feature on ApplC is suppressed, it is important to recall that this does not necessarily entail the presence of an EPP feature in Appl. The ill-formedness of (43), therefore strongly suggest that ApplC does not have the option to be equipped with such a feature, with the consequence that Base Object cannot raise to a specifier of ApplC. Therefore, the only way guksi 'cup' in (43) could have reached SpecTP is by moving in one uninterrupted step from its base position, across the Causee. This explains the ill-formedness of (43), in violation of the Minimal Link Condition.

3.5. Summary

We have argued that North Sámi causatives based on transitive verbs cannot be passivized, because passive has the effect of suppressing the lowest Case feature on a licensing head in the verbal complex, which in this instance is ApplC. Furthermore, unlike what is found in double object applicatives in a great number of languages, suppression of Case on ApplC in Sámi is not accompanied by the insertion of an EPP feature. Consequently, the Base Object cannot bypass the c-commanding Causee, which in turn AGREEs with Voi, whose Case feature is intact. However, it is possible to passivize causatives based on unergative verbs, since now ApplC does not host a Case feature as well as causatives whose derivation does not involve an ApplC projection.

4. Scrambling

In this section we shall consider some basic properties of scrambling in North Sámi causatives, which exhibits some effects that closely resemble what we have seen in passives. The facts to be presented in this section provide additional support for a basic view on scrambling, proposed by Saito (1992, 1994) and further defended and developed in Richards (1997) and McGinnis (1998). Saito (1994) for instance proposed that scrambling is a substitution operation that is not driven by any sort of standard feature checking.[11] McGinnis (1998) by and large agrees with Saito.

Scrambling is substitution, i.e. movement into a specifier position. Scrambling is not driven by any of the standard features invoked in movement, in particular EPP. Nevertheless, given the basic assumptions of the overall theory assumed, McGinnis claims that some sort of feature is involved, namely [Scr]. This is also the view we shall assume.

4.1. Basic facts

In the previous discussion we have seen that the Base Object in passivized causatives can be characterized as frozen in place when the Causee is present. As we shall presently see, this observation is in a non-trivial sense also highly relevant in active causative sentences. Although North Sámi can be characterized as a "free word order" language, causative clauses are a point of interest since they exhibit some restrictions on word order permutations that bear a close resemblance to what we have observed in passive clauses. First of all, our descriptive characterization of the Base Object as frozen in place when appearing together with a Causee has, as we explicated in the previous section, the repercussion that it cannot not serve as the subject of a passive clause. This effect we have attributed to the Minimal Link Condition, which prevents the Base Object from moving into an A-position to the left of the Causee. Closer examination of North Sámi causatives reveals that this observation also extends to active sentences. Consider (44), which illustrates a basic causative sentence in North Sámi. Notice that (44) has an additional element of complexity, namely an auxiliary verb, whose presence is helpful for the purposes of distinguishing certain word order options from one another, as we shall see.

(44)	Mon	lean	loga-h-an	máná	girjji.
	I.Nom	be.Prs.1s	read-Cause-Ptc	child.Acc	book.Acc
	'I have caused the child to read the book.'				

(44) shows, among other things, that the Causee linearly precedes the Base Object. If we attempt to reverse the linear order among these two participants, the outcome is ungrammatical. In (45a) the order of the Causee and the Base Object has merely been flipped, whereas (45b) is slightly

more sophisticated in terms of complexity, since the Base Object not only precedes the Causee but also the causativized verb, albeit following the auxiliary.

(45) a *Mon lean loga-h-an girjji máná.
I.Nom be.Prs.1s read-Cause-Ptc book.Acc child.Acc
'I have caused the child to read the book.'

b *Mon lean girjji loga-h-an máná.
I.Nom be.Prs.1s book.Acc read-Cause-Ptc child.Acc
'I have caused the child to read the book.'

In order to provide a complete picture, notice that if the Base Object is moved far enough, for instance to a position immediately to the left of the auxiliary, as in (46a), or to the sentence initial position (46b), then the outcome is fully grammatical.

(46) a Mon girjji lean loga-h-an máná.
I.Nom book.Acc be.Prs.1s read-Cause-Ptc child.Acc
'I have caused the child to read the book.'

b Girjji mon lean loga-h-an máná.
book.Acc I.Nom be.Prs.1s read-Cause-Ptc child.Acc
'I have caused the child to read the book.'

There are good reasons to believe that (46) exemplifies A-bar dependencies, and as such it falls outside of the scope of our immediate interest. Turning to (45), (45a) shows that ApplC cannot host the kind of feature required to lift the Base Object across the Causee. The ungrammaticality of (45b), we claim is directly contingent on the ungrammaticality of (45a). Because the Base Object cannot make the shorter move in (45a), it is also prevented from making the slightly longer move in (45b). We should be careful to notice that the ill-formedness of this sentence cannot be attributed to the fact that Base Object occurs in the preverbal position. In fact, if the Causee is not expressed, as in (47), this word order is perfectly grammatical:

(47) Mon lean girjji loga-h-an.
I.Nom be.Prs.1s book.Acc read-Cause-Ptc
'I have caused someone to read the book.'

The well formedness of (47) bears a striking resemblance to passives of Causeeless causatives, which as the reader may recall are fully grammatical (e.g. (17) above). In short, the mobility of the Base Object is contingent on whether or not a causative sentence includes a Causee. Moreover, since the Causee has a blocking effect on word order permutations targeting positions below the auxiliary, and because we find similar restrictions in the passive, the indication is that we are dealing with an A-dependency.

While we have encountered ample evidence that the Base Object in passive clause containing a Causee is frozen in place, one should also recall that it is equally true that the Causee too is frozen place in passives, (e.g. (41) above). However, in active clauses the Causee exhibits a certain degree of mobility not found in passives. The Causee can move to the preverbal position, as we can see in (48).[12]

(48) Mon lean máná loga-h-an girjji.
I.Nom be.Prs.1s child.Acc read-Cause-Ptc book.Acc
'I have caused the child to read the book.'

Furthermore, once the Causee has moved to the preverbal position, as in (48), also the Base Object acquires the ability to move. However, it must still not appear to the left of Causee, but it may indeed precede the verb, as shown by the contrast between (49a) and (49b):

(49) a Mon lean máná girjji loga-h-an.
I.Nom be.Prs.1s child.Acc book.Acc read-Cause-Ptc
'I have caused the child to read the book.'

b *Mon lean girjji máná loga-h-an.
I.Nom be.Prs.1s book.Acc child.Acc read-Cause-Ptc
'I have caused the child to read the book.'

In short, the Base Object in an active causative sentence may move, but only if the Causee has moved first, or alternatively if the Causee is not present in the derivation.

It is important to notice that we have stressed that the Base Object cannot occur in an A-position to the left of the Causee. This naturally pertains to locality in A-movement, which is defined over A-positions. However, as we mention with regard to (46), it would be a too strong a statement to say that the Base Object cannot occur to the left of the Causee, because it would wrongly prohibit the Base Object from entering any kind of A-bar dependency. Quite unsurprisingly we can for instance question the Base Object, as shown in (50):

(50) Maid don leat loga-h-an máná?
what.Acc you.Nom be.Prs.2s read-Cause-Ptc child.Acc
'What have you caused the child to read?'

What is more noteworthy, however, is that a natural answer to the wh-question (50) involves the word order given in (51) (=(46a)), where the Base Object not only occurs to the left of the Causee, but also occurs between the Subject and the auxiliary lean 'be.Prs.1s.'

(51) Mon girjji lean loga-h-an máná.
I.Nom book.Acc be.Prs.1s read-Cause-Ptc child.Acc
'I have caused the child to read a book.'

(45b), where the Base Object immediately precedes the causativized verb, is still ungrammatical, and hence it is not a possible answer to the question in (50). It is therefore reasonable to assume that (51) is well formed for the same reason as (50) (and (46c)), that is, in these cases the Base Object has undergone A-bar movement. Moreover, it appears from the facts presented that

scrambling falls into the typology of A-movement if it targets a position below the auxiliary, whereas it fits into the A-bar typology if it targets a position above the auxiliary. The fact that the former type of movement is subject to quite strict locality restrictions, unlike the latter type, lends support to this conclusion. In the remainder of this Section, we shall be exclusively concerned with A-scrambling.

To summarize the empirical facts, we can conclude that the Base Object may never occur in an A-position that linearly precedes the Causee.

4.2. Complex Word Order Permutations

There are in principle two possible factors that could have triggered movement of the Causee to the preverbal position in (52) below. On the one hand, an optionally occurring EPP feature on Voi could have forced the Causee to move into an outer specifier of VoiP. Another possibility is that the Causee has scrambled into a specifier of VoiP, in which case the movement is triggered by an optional scrambling feature [Scr] (see McGinnis 1998).

(52)	Mon	lean	máná	loga-h-an	girjji.
	I.Nom	be.Prs.1s	child.Acc	read-Cause-Ptc	book.Acc
	'I have caused the child to read the book.'				

The main question is whether the word order in a sentence like (53) where both the Causee and the Base Object appear to the left of the causativized verb is derived by EPP movement of the Causee followed by scrambling of the Base Object, or whether movement of the two arguments have been triggered by scrambling.

(53)	Mon	lean	máná	girjji	loga-h-an.
	I.Nom	be.Prs.1s	child.Acc	book.Acc	read-Cause-Ptc
	'I have caused the child to read the book.'				

McGinnis (1998:115) offers a way to tell the two types of movement apart. McGinnis notices that in many languages exhibiting scrambling, a Direct Object may scramble to position where it c-commands the subject of the clause. This variety of scrambling has the well-known effect that it can for instance undo weak crossover (WCO) effects, as shown in (54):

(54) *Hindi* (McGinnis 1998:103)

a *Unkii$_i$ bahin sab-ko$_i$ pyaar kartii thii.
their sister everyone love do be
'Their$_i$ sister loved everyone$_i$.'

b Sab-ko$_i$ unkii$_i$ bahin *t* pyaar kartii thii.
everyone their sister love do be
'Their$_i$ sister loved everyone$_i$.'

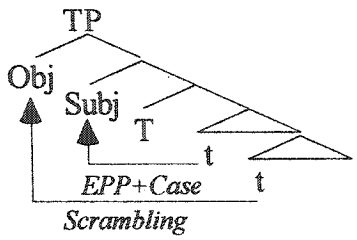
(54a) is a standard example of WCO. The sentence can be saved by A-scrambling of the object sab-ko 'everyone' to a position higher than, or equally high as the subject. Similar phenomena are known from Japanese. (55a), for instance, is ill-formed because the anaphor in the subject position fails to be bound. However, if the object scrambles as in (55b), it provides an antedecent to the anaphoric expression, and consequently also saves the sentence:[12]

(55) a *Otagai$_i$-no sensei-ga [Taroo-to Hanako]$_i$-o hometa.
each other-Gen teacher-Nom Taroo-and Hanako-Acc praise.Pst
'Each other's teacher praised Taroo and Hanako.'

b [Taroo-to Hanako]$_i$-o otaga$_i$-no sensei-ga *t* hometa.
Taroo-and Hanako-Acc each other-Gen teacher-Nom praise.Pst
'Each other's teacher praised Taroo and Hanako.'

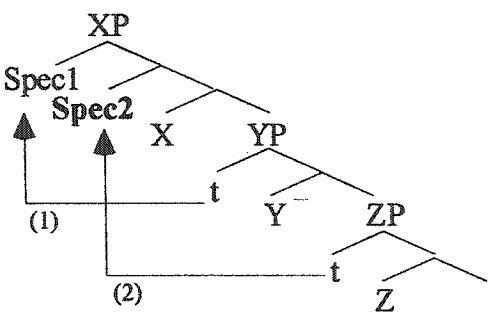
What is crucial about these sentences, according to McGinnis, is that prior to the application of scrambling, the Subject has raised to SpecTP for EPP reasons, as schematically illustrated in (56):

(56)



McGinnis' claim is that if scrambling takes place to a projection with a pre-existing specifier filled by a DP that has checked an EPP feature, then the scrambled DP moves into an outer specifier, in accordance with the extension condition (e.g. Chomsky 1998). In contrast, McGinnis argues, multiple scrambling targeting specifiers of the same head result in "tucking-in" (Richards 1997), where by the moved item moves into a specifier beneath the original specifier, as shown in (57):

(57) Tucking-in



With this background, let us now consider (49), repeated here as (58):

(58) a Mon lean máná girjji loga-h-an t_{Causee} $t_{Base\ Object}$.
I.Nom be.Prs.1s child.Acc book.Acc read-Cause-Ptc
'I have caused the child to read the book.'

b *Mon lean girjji máná loga-h-an t_{Causee} $t_{Base\ Object}$.
I.Nom be.Prs.1s book.Acc child.Acc read-Cause-Ptc
'I have caused the child to read the book.'

If the Causee had raised for EPP reasons in (58), then scrambing of the Base Object would be expected to obey the extension condition, with the prediction that (58b) should be well formed. However, the well formed sentence (58a) shows a classical tucking-in profile, where the linear order of the two moved items reflect their underlying depth of embedding. Granted that McGinnis' hypothesis is on the right track,[13] we conclude that the Causee in (58a) has not moved for EPP reasons, but rather, it has scrambled into a specifier of VoiP.

4.3. Summary

In this section we have shown that the Locality restrictions encountered in passivized causatives carry over to active clauses as well. Specifically, the observation that the Base Object cannot occur in a derived A-position to the left of the Causee has the distinct flavor of a phenomena falling under the Minimal Link Condition.

5. Conclusions

In the previous Chapter we have that the North Sámi Causee is an applied object. This, we have argued, has wide-spread consequences throughout the grammar. For instance, the possibility to form an FP-causative from an unergative verb hinges on the presence of the applied Causee. Moreover, this analysis explains why the Causee like an object, and it provides a straightforward way to approach issues pertaining to Case and Locality. The Causee we have argued AGREEs with Voi for Case, whereas the Base Object enters an AGREE relation with the Applicative head. Passive of Causatives where the Causee is expressed, which implies the existence of ApplC, are impossible. The reason is that the passive has the effect of suppressing the Case of the lowest licenser in the verbal complex, which is ApplC. This, coupled with the absence of an EPP feature in the lower domain has the effect that the Base Object cannot raise to the specifier of T. Likewise, the Causee is prevented from becoming the subject, because of the fact that it has entered an AGREE relation with Voi. Hence, the Causee cannot become the subject in a passive,

because of the Case Identity Constraint. We have also provided a first, preliminary look at scrambling in North Sámi. We have shown, in accordance with Richards (1997) and McGinnis (1998) that A-scrambling is subject to Locality. Furthermore, we have claimed that the occurrence of a preverbal Causee in Sámi cannot be seen as evidence for positing an EPP feature in Voi, because of the interaction of the creation of multiple specifiers.

Notes to Chapter 6

[1]See also Richards (1997) and Pesetsky (1999) for discussions about various typologies of overt and covert movement.
[2]Hence resembling Pesetsky's (1989) Earliness Principle.
[3]Unlike Chomsky (1995), Chomsky (1998, 1999, 2001) assumes that Case features are unvalued. For ease of exposition, however, we continue to sporadically refer to Nominative and Accusative features.
[4]This again is a divergence from previous work (Chomsky 1995, Ch.4), where the EPP feature was assumed to attract the interpretable categorial feature D(eterminer). I have nothing to say about this matter.
[5]Chichewa exhibits the same pattern. See for instance Baker (1988b), Alsina & Mchombo (1993), Marantz (1993), among others.
[6]One may for instance assume that the Case absorption phenomenon is deferred to the Numeration.
[7]For Ura (1996), this boils down to whether a language permits one unforced violation of Procrastinate or not.
[8]Given the hypothesis of Chomsky (1995) that multiple specifiers of a single head count as mutually c-commanding each other, it is of course possible that Voi Agrees with DO and that IO raises to SpecTP.
[9]This is explicitly mentioned in McGinnis (1998:57), although no explicit example illustrating the point is given.
[10]The *surface string* (35b) is of course grammatical under the irrelevant reading where moatti olbmo 'some people' modify guvssi 'cup,' in which case we are dealing with a Causeeless causative:

(i)	Mon	cuvke-h-in	**moatti**	**olbmo**	guvssi.
	I.Nom	break.Tr-Cause.Pst.1s	some.Gen	people.Gen	cup.Acc

'I caused someone to break some people's cup.'

[11]See also Mahajan (1990), Webelhuth (1992), Kikuchi, Oishi & Yusa (1994) among others for further discussions about scrambling.
[12]In fact (48) represents the word order preferred by native speakers. Recall that the accusative and genitive Cases are more or less suppressive in North Sámi, and consequently, a sentence (44) above, repeated here as (i), is ambiguous.

(i)	Mon	lean	loga-h-an	máná	girjii.
	I.Nom	be.Prs.1s	read-Cause-Ptc	child.Acc	book.Acc

'I have caused the child to read the book.'

For instance, (i) can mean either that I made the child read a book, or that I made someone read the childs book. Thus máná 'child' in (i) can be interpreted as the Causee or as the possessor of the base object. However, the sentences in (48) is unambiguous; here máná 'child' can only be interpreted as the Causee. Another way to disambiguate sentences like (i) is as we mentioned above by means of the prenominal quantifier moadde/moatti 'some.'
[13]The types of A-scrambling illustrated in (54) and (55) are not possible in North Sámi.
[14]McGinnis' assumption that e.g. Japanese involves EPP driven movement to SpecTP is not entirely uncontroversial. Several studies have suggested that the Japanese subject remains in-situ, for instance Kuroda (1988). See also Lasnik & Saito (1992:44-46) for a discussion.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

This thesis has been concerned with the syntactic properties of causatives in the Torne dialect of North Sámi. The discussion in the preceding chapters have made it abundantly clear that productive morphological causatives in this language are of the so-called *Faire Par*-variety. *Faire Par* causatives are distinguished by the following characteristics:

(1) a the Causee is optional
b the Base Verb is agentive,
c the range of Base Objects is restricted

The three points listed in (1), we have argued, has far-reaching consequences for both the conception of FPs in general, and the anatomy of the verb phrase. Point (1a) has since long been taken as evidence that the complement of the causative formative is a bare VP that does not include the external argument of the Base Verb (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986, among others). This hypothesis receives strong support from the fact that agent-oriented material can not be relate to the Causee in FPs, which is natural consequence if the embedded domain does not include an agent. In this thesis we have assumed, following Kratzer (1996), that external argument is introduced into the specifier of the functional projection VoiP, which is the locus of agentivity. Thus, we have concluded, the Base Verb in an FP is not associated with Voi.

Point (1a), however, conflicts with (1b), which states that the Base Verb must be agentive. Indeed, as we have discussed, an influential alternative has claimed with some success that FP-formation is constrained by an affectedness constraint (e.g. Alsina 1992, Guasti 1993), whose effect is that only those transitive verbs that take an affected object are legitimate candidates for the FP-causative. We have argued against this approach, however, on the basis that it predicts, contrary fact, that unaccusative verbs can be embedded under the FP-causative. One potential problem in this regard, lies in the fact that the unaccusative diagnostics in North Sámi are by and large unknown. For instance, we find no equivalents to the Italian ne-cliticization test (Burzio 1986), the Russian genitive of negation (Pesetsky 1982), Romance and Dutch auxiliary selection (Hoekstra & Mulder 1990), and so on. What we find, aside from causativization, is the ability to form adjectival participles, and consequently the inventory of diagnostics is at best sparse. However, the exact nature of unaccusativity is not crucial in any sense for the theory presented. Rather, the important point that we demonstrated in detail in Chapter 3, is the fact that verbs that do not qualify as agentive, regardless of their argument taking abilities, cannot serve as Base Verbs in the FP-causative. Unaccusatives are, of course, important in this respect because (a) they often take an affected argument, which sets them apart from transitive perception verbs, and (b) they are non-agentive, which makes them similar to transitive perception verbs.

However, we have also argued that the agentivity restriction on the Base Verb must be understood as *potentially agentive*, because the embedded domain fails to provide structural support for agent-oriented material such as purpose clauses and adverbs. Potentially agentive verbs, we have argued, are those verbs that have a Cause component. On these grounds we have proposed, along the lines of Baker & Stewart (1999) and Pylkkänen (1999, 2002) that Kratzer's(1996) Voi and Chomsky's (1995) *v* are distinct syntactic heads. In a decomposed verb phrase, one of the subcomponents of an agentive verb is *v*P, whereas non-agentive verbs lacks a *v* projection. This analytic strategy goes against accounts of syntactic and lexical causatives like Harley (1995a, b), who argue that Cause is a property of Voi. However, we have shown that the

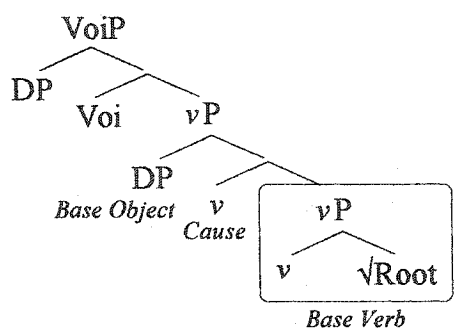
complement of the causative head in FPs does not include Voi, and we have presented additional evidence that the Base Verb may consist of overt morphological encoding of the Cause component. This, provided that we wish to maintain a radically syntactic view, and thus a unified account of causativization, urges a separation of Voi and Cause. Specifically, the causative formative in an FP selects a *v*P complement.

Point (1c) manifests itself in at least two ways. On the one hand, the Base Verb and the Base Object may not form a Verb-Object idiom, and on the other hand, the Base Verb may not take a clausal complement. These considerations, we have proposed, indicate that the Base Object is in fact not an object of the Base Verb. Rather, in the vein of Alsina (1992), what is understood as the Base Object is an argument of the causative formative.

Furthermore, North Sámi FP-causatives differ in one salient way from FP-causatives in the Romance languages and Chichewa, namely in the expression of the Causee. While the Causee in Romance and Chichewa is optionally expressed in an adpositional by-phrase, the North Sámi Causee surfaces by means of an optionally occurring applicative projection. Therefore, the immediate impression conveyed by North Sámi is that the language accommodates FI-causatives. This parametric difference, we have suggested, has the consequence that North Sámi freely allows FP-causativization of unergative verbs. The applied Causee, moreover, has been shown to exhibit a blocking effect in passives.

Everything taken together, we have arrived at the following basic structure for the FP:

(2)



While we have shown in detail that a North Sámi causative like (3) must be viewed as a *Faire Par* construction, a child learning North Sámi does not run through the battery of tests that we have explicated in this thesis. The question, then, is how could they know that they are dealing with an FP?

(3) Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte láse.
I.Nom break.Tr-Cause-Pst.1s Máhtte.Acc window.Acc
'I caused Máhtte to break the window.'

One might speculate that the fact that the Causee is optional, along with the general absence of by-phrases in the language provides the necessary clues. Furthermore, the particular Case frame associated with (3) differs from other constructions that are ditransitive on the surface. (3) has two Accusative objects, whereas "simplex" ditransitives only allow one Accusative:

(4) a Mon atten Márehii girjji.
I.Nom give.Pst.1s Máret.Ill book.Acc
'I gave Máret a book.'

b *Mon atten Máreha girjji.
I.Nom give.Pst.1s Máret.Acc book.Acc
'I gave Máret a book.'

Thus, Baker's (1988a) Case Frame Preservation Principle is seemingly violated in (3). Baker (1988a) and (1995b) points out that the Case properties of productive morphological causatives in most languages tend to mimic the pattern found in "simplex" ditransitive constructions. Thus, the fact that North Sámi lacks by-phrases, and that the Case frame in (3) does not comply to (4a), might provide the child learning North Sámi with the clues required to figure out that he or she is dealing with *Faire Par* causatives.

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