

## Variation and change in the Romance *faire-infinitif*

Michelle Sheehan and Sonia Cyrino

This talk has two main goals. Firstly, we provide an inherent-case analysis of the *faire-infinitif* (FI) (Kayne 1975), assimilating it to ergative alignment in languages such as Basque and Dyirbal. Our proposal is that the same parameter hierarchy determines alignment in both domains, relative to different thematic heads, modelling both the broad similarities and micro-parametric differences between varieties. Secondly, we provide further evidence for the hierarchy from the history of Spanish, French and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) - a language which has lost the FI in the last two centuries. The FI is widely attested across Romance even in some varieties which make very limited use of infinitival complementation (Ledgeway 2013). Its behaviour, at least in **French** (Kayne 1975, Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980), **Italian** (Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993, 1997, Folli & Harley 2007), **Spanish** (Bordelois 1974, Zubizarreta 1985, Treviño 1994, Torrego 2010, Tubino Blanco 2010), **European Portuguese** (EP, Raposo 1981, Gonçalves 1999, Davies 1995, Martins 2006) and **Catalan** (Villalba 1992, 1994) is interesting from a parametric perspective as these languages all basically pattern alike in terms of: (i) DAT(ive) case on transitive causees (1a-b), (ii) V(O)S order in the caused event, (1a-b) and (iii) the ‘obligation’ effect on causees (2):

- (1) a. Il fera [boire un peu de vin **à son enfant**] (Fr.)  
he make.FUT drink.INF a bit of wine to his child  
‘He’ll make his child drink a bit of wine.’  
b. Il fera [chanter **son enfant**]  
he make.FUT sing.INF his child  
‘He’ll make his child sing.’ (Kayne 1975)

- (2) \*Su ironía hizo irritar=me (a) su respuesta. (Sp.)  
his irony made irritate.INF=me to his reply  
‘His irony made his reply irritate me.’ (Bordelois 1974)

In other respects, though, the languages display interesting micro-parametric variation in terms of (amongst other things): (i) object clitic climbing (obligatory in Italian, EP and French, optional in Spanish and Catalan) (3); (ii) passivization and long *se/si* passives (OK in Italian and EP only) (4); (iii) the behaviour of embedded reflexive/anticausative verbs (no *si/se* in Italian or EP) (5):

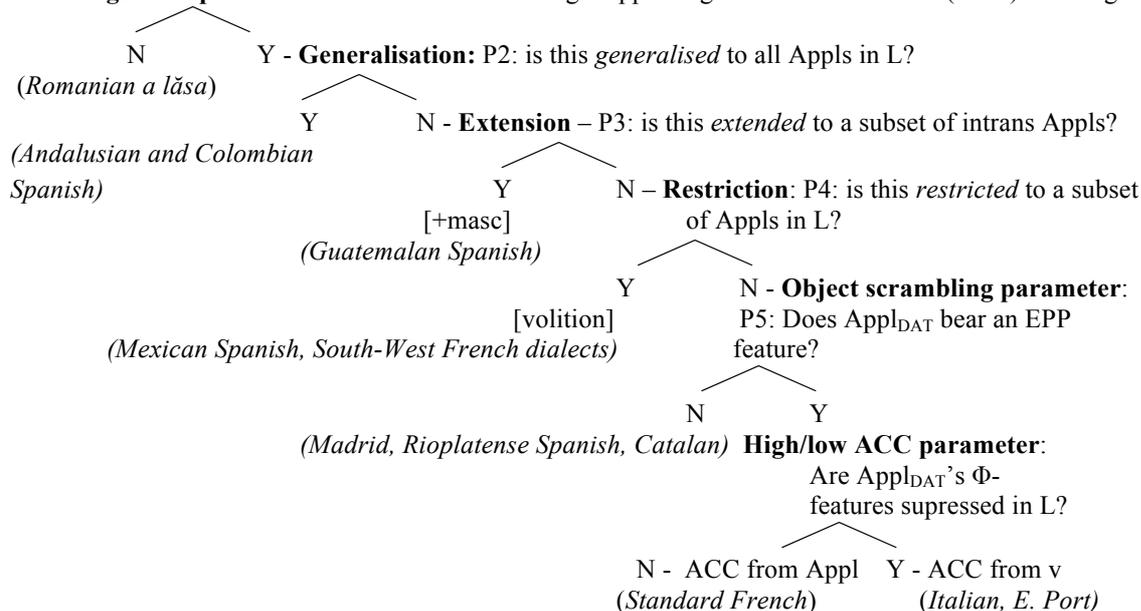
- (3) Els regals, faré posar-los junts a la Maria. (Cat.)  
the gifts make.FUT put.INF=them together to the Maria (Villalba 1994)  
‘The gifts, I’ll make Maria put them together.’  
(4) O carro foi mandado arranjar aos mecânicos (pelos pilotos). (EP)  
the car was ordered fix.INF to.the mechanics (by.the pilots) (Gonçalves 1999)  
(5) Il vento ha fatto dissipare/\*dissiparsi le nubi. (It.)  
the wind has made dissipate/ dissipate=SI the clouds (Zubizarreta 1985)

We argue that the right way to model this is via a parameter hierarchy, whereby a series of parameters connected to a single functional head stand in transitive dependencies, defining ever more complex linguistic systems and giving a pathway for diachronic change.

Given that the causee in FI must generally be animate, we propose an analysis in terms of the applicative head Appl (following Pykkänen 2008, Ippolito 2000, Ordóñez 2008, Torrego 2010, Pitteroff and Campanini 2013). Note that while Appl is not present in all causative constructions cross-linguistically, it can be present in ECM causatives as well as FI. Romanian has a gerundive ECM causative with *a lăsa* ‘let/leave’, which nonetheless requires an animate causee. Across the languages, V(O)S order in FI results from (possibly remnant) VP movement to spec vP for the purpose of complex predicate formation. The differences between the languages stem from the following dependent parameters:

(6) Causative alignment parameter hierarchy

**Basic alignment parameter:** P1: Does transitive high Appl assign a theta-related case (DAT) in a language L?



P1 is fairly self explanatory. P2-P3 determine whether DAT is generalized to all intransitive contexts, as in Andalusian, Colombian and Catalanian Spanish (Ordóñez 2008, Ordóñez and Roca 2014), or a subset thereof as in Guatemalan Spanish. P4 allows for the restriction of DAT to a subset of semantic contexts, as in Mexican Spanish and Langedoc-Roussillon French (Treviño 1994, Authier & Reed 1991). All such possibilities are paralleled ergative systems, as we show. P4 concerns whether Appl<sub>DAT</sub> bears an EPP feature. If it does, then the object scrambles to an outer specifier of ApplP, from where, it can only cliticise onto the causative verb. The final parameter determines whether the internal argument receives ACC from Appl or v (elsewhere Burzio's generalization makes Appl a case assigner). Where ACC comes from Appl, the result is a ban on passivization. Moreover, following Kayne (1988), if *se* is a passive-like morpheme then it can only be inserted where a single thematic head assigns both (i) an external theta-role and (ii) a structural case. These conditions are met in French, Spanish and Catalan but not in Italian or EP, hence the effect in (5).

We then give evidence that French, Spanish and BP have all moved up the hierarchy in (6) (see also Davies 1995, Martins 2006 on the history of Portuguese; Cyrino 2010 on BP). Present day BP lacks the *faire*-infinitif. 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century BP, though, had FI with VS order, and allowed long *se/si* passives, like modern EP/Italian:

- (7) [...] que por este modo **se faziam conhecer** e celebrar. (BP, 1878)  
that for this way se.CL made.PL know and render famous

‘... that in this way made themselves to be known and to be rendered famous.’

Object clitic climbing seems to have become optional in 16c Spanish (both examples from Primaleón, 1500s), after the time when *se* become possible in causative contexts:

- (8) a. Y la naturaleza **le hizo amarlo** [...] (Golden Age Spanish)  
and the nature 3S.DAT=made love= 3S.ACC  
b. [...] la naturaleza **se lo hizo** amar y preciar mucho[...]  
the nature 3S.DAT=3S.ACC= made love and appreciate much

We find no examples like (8a) before this time. French, likewise, patterned with Italian/EP in terms of past participle agreement until the mid 18c (Montesquieu, Loporcaro 2010: 237)

- (9) La simplicité des lois les a faites souvent méconnaître  
the simplicity of.the laws 3PL.ACC= has made.F.PL. often overlook  
‘The simplicity of the laws has often resulted in their being overlooked’