

Chapter 6

The Romance Person Case Constraint is not about clitic clusters

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This chapter provides further evidence that the Person Case Constraint (PCC) in Romance is not limited to clitic clusters. Previously, this has been shown for Spanish (Ormazabal & Romero 2013), but I show that, in Italian, French, and Catalan causatives, a 1st/2nd person direct object is incompatible not only with dative clitics but also with full dative arguments (see also Postal 1989; Bonet 1991). This is different from the manifestation of the PCC in ditransitive contexts where only dative clitics are ruled out. The difference follows, I argue, if ditransitives in these languages have two underlying structures so that a DP introduced by *a/à* can be either dative or locative, in line with broader cross-linguistic patterns (see Harley 2002; Demonte 1995; Cuervo 2003 on Spanish; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Fournier 2010 on French; Holmberg et al. 2019 on Italian, and the discussion in the introduction to this volume). For this reason, indirect object DPs marked with *a/à* must trigger PCC effects in causatives but not in ditransitives, as only in the former are they unambiguously dative. Further support for this claim comes from Spanish, a language which morphologically distinguishes locative vs. dative phrases in ditransitives via clitic doubling (Cuervo 2003) and which shows PCC effects with all animate direct objects (Ormazabal & Romero 2007, 2013). I show that these facts are compatible with approaches to the PCC based on intervention (Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005 amongst others), but raise challenges for those which rely crucially on the weak/clitic status of datives (Bianchi 2006; Stegovec 2017).



1 The Person Case Constraint

Like many languages, French, Spanish, Catalan and Italian are subject to the Person Case Constraint (PCC), originally called the **me lui constraint* by Perlmutter (1971):¹

- (1) Strong Person Case Constraint (based on Bonet 1991: 181–182)
 - a. In a combination of a direct object and an indirect object, the direct object has to be third person
 - b. where both the indirect object and the direct object are phonologically weak.

In Romance languages, this strong version of the constraint rules out the possibility of a 1st/2nd person direct object clitic (glossed here as ACC) in the presence of a dative clitic, for example, the following combination of 1st person accusative and 3rd person dative clitics (see Perlmutter 1971; Kayne 1975; Postal 1981 on the PCC in French):

- (2) French (Kayne 1975: 173)

*Paul me lui présentera.
 Paul 1SG.ACC= him.DAT= present.3SG.FUT
 Intended: ‘Paul will introduce me to him.’

The presence of (1b) is seemingly crucial to the definition of the PCC because the effect disappears, in ditransitives, where the indirect object is a non-clitic (Kayne 1975; Rezac 2008). The meaning intended to be conveyed by (2) can easily be conveyed using an unfocussed tonic pronoun introduced by *à*, which is exceptionally allowed in such contexts:²

- (3) French (Kayne 1975: 174)

Paul me présentera à lui.
 Paul 1SG.ACC= present.3SG.FUT to 3SG
 ‘Paul will introduce me to him.’

¹Though the PCC was first discovered as the **me-lui constraint* and investigated in Romance (Perlmutter 1971), it has been found to hold in a wide range of unrelated languages (see Bonet 1991; Albizu 1997; Rezac 2008; Haspelmath 2004; Adger & Harbour 2010). In fact, one of the key contributions of Bonet (1991) was to unify the Romance constraint with a parallel effect observed in rich agreement systems. I thank an anonymous reviewer for asking me to clarify this. See also Bonet (2007) for an overview.

²I gloss *a/à* as ‘to’ throughout for expositional purposes, but one of the main claims of this paper is that sometimes this morpheme is a realisation of dative case marking and at other times it is a locative preposition.

At least for some speakers, Italian, Spanish and Catalan seem to be subject to a weaker form of the PCC, as described by Bonet (1991), again building on Perlmutter (1971):³

- (4) Weak Person Case Constraint (based on Bonet 1991: 181–182):
 - a. In a combination of a direct object and an indirect object, if there is a third person, it has to be the direct object
 - b. where both the indirect object and the direct object are phonologically weak.

In the Romance context, this weaker version of the PCC allows for the possibility of a 1st/2nd person accusative clitic as long as the dative is also 1st/2nd person, with many speakers preferring a reading whereby the 2nd person clitic functions as the direct object in such cases (see Bonet 1991: 180, fn 5 citing a personal communication from Alex Alsina on Catalan; Ormazabal & Romero 2010: 332 on Spanish, but see also the discussion in Bonet 2007):

- (5) Italian (Bianchi 2006: 2027)⁴

%Mi ti ha affidato.
 1SG= 2SG= has entrusted
 'He entrusted you to me/me to you.'
- (6) Catalan (Bonet 1991: 179)

%Te' m van recomanar per la feina.
 2SG= 1SG= PST recommend for the job
 'They recommended me to you/you to me for the job.'
- (7) Spanish (Perlmutter 1971: 61)

%Te me recomendaron.
 2SG= 1SG= recommended.3PL
 'They recommended me to you/you to me.'

³There are other subtle differences between the languages too, which require an explanation, notably order in the clitic cluster. A more substantive difference is that Italian, like Spanish and Catalan and unlike French, allows 1st/2nd person reflexive direct objects to combine with dative clitics (see Kayne 1975; Bianchi 2006). We abstract away from this difference here for reasons of space.

⁴Note that Bianchi actually gives this example to be ungrammatical but then discusses at length the fact that some speakers accept such examples. I represent this with %.

French is usually reported to disallow this clitic combination altogether (Kayne 1975; Quicoli 1984) and certainly combinations of 1st and 2nd person objects seem to be more restricted in French than in the other three languages. However, Bonet (1991: 180) cites Simpson & Withgott (1986) who report that some speakers nonetheless allow them.

Ormazabal & Romero (2007) discuss the weak/strong distinction in Romance and note that there is substantial sensitivity to individual verbs and variability across speakers regarding the acceptability of examples such as (5)–(7). For this reason, they conclude that there is no clear-cut distinction between strong and weak PCC “languages”. Actually, the fact that in combinations of 1st and 2nd person objects, it is almost always the 2nd person clitic which must be the direct object suggests rather that there is merely variation regarding the extent to which person features are decomposed in PCC contexts (see also Anagnostopoulou 2005 for an account along these lines). This can also be seen in Spanish *leísta* dialects in which 3rd person animate direct objects also trigger PCC effects (Ormazabal & Romero 2007, 2010, 2013):⁵

- (8) Spanish (Ormazabal & Romero 2007: 321)

Te lo/*le di.
2SG.DAT= 3SG.M.ACC=/him.ACC= gave
‘I gave it/him to you.’

In these *leísta* dialects, animate 3rd person singular masculine direct objects are marked with the clitic *le*, rather than *lo*, which is usually reserved for inanimate 3rd person singular masculine direct objects. According to Ormazabal & Romero, the animate direct object clitic *le* is ruled out in (8) in the presence of a dative clitic, as a PCC effect. In such contexts, the inanimate masculine 3rd person singular direct object clitic *lo* is possible and can exceptionally be interpreted as either animate or inanimate. The implication is that the PCC can apply differently in different languages, depending on which features are syntactically active. In Spanish, animacy is marked also on 3rd person clitics and so animate 3rd person direct objects also trigger PCC effects. In French, Italian and Catalan, animacy is not syntactically active in 3rd person contexts, and so animate arguments do not trigger PCC effects unless 1st/2nd person. Likewise, for most French

⁵The observant reader will notice that I have not specified that only animate 3rd person singular masculine *clitics* induce PCC effects. As we shall see below, this is because animate full DP direct objects marked with personal *a* also trigger PCC effects in Spanish (see Ormazabal & Romero 2013).

speakers, [person] is not decomposed into [speaker] and [addressee], and so we see only the strong PCC.

In what follows, I will not address low level variation across varieties (and speakers) regarding which precise person features are sensitive to the PCC. Instead, I will focus mainly on “strong PCC contexts”, in which a 1st/2nd person direct object is combined with a 3rd person dative as this combination is robustly ruled out in all the Romance languages under discussion.⁶ This is because my focus here is to show that the Romance PCC is not limited to clitic clusters, contrary to the commonly held view, and to discuss the theoretical implications of this fact. I will, however, return at several points to Spanish and 3rd person animate objects, as these are particularly revealing regarding the true nature of the PCC.

2 Some core properties of the PCC

Substantial cross-linguistic work on the PCC has identified that it has a number of core characteristics. Firstly, note that Bonet’s definition of the PCC alludes to the necessarily weak status of both arguments. This is because, as she showed, the PCC holds both in languages with rich agreement such as Basque, in (a subset of) contexts where the verb shows agreement with both internal arguments, and also in Romance ditransitives, in contexts where both internal arguments are clitics. It would appear, then, if we consider only ditransitives, that the PCC is sensitive to the weak status of datives (Bonet 1991; Anagnostopoulou 2005; Bianchi 2006; Stegovec 2017). As noted above for French, making the indirect object into a full pronoun mitigates the PCC. In Italian, the same is true, and making the direct object into a strong pronoun has the same effect. In (9a), the dative is a full pronoun, whereas in (9b) the accusative direct object is. In both cases, no PCC effect is observed (Bianchi 2006):

(9) Italian (Bianchi 2006: 2041)

- a. Mi presenteranno a lui.
1SG.ACC= introduce.3PL.FUT to him
- b. Gli presenteranno me.
them.DAT= introduce.3PL.FUT 1SG.ACC
‘They will introduce me to him.’

⁶It would, of course, be very interesting to look into what determines micro-parametric variation of this kind but doing so is beyond the scope of the current chapter.

This sensitivity to the weak status of *both* internal arguments is something which is also often reported in broader cross-linguistic studies (see Stegovec 2017, but cf. Ormazabal & Romero 2007). In languages such as Basque, the PCC has been shown to hold only where both arguments agree with the verbal complex (Laka 1996). In non-finite contexts, where there is no agreement, the PCC fails to hold and 1st/2nd person direct objects are freely available, for example (Laka 1996; Preminger 2019):

- (10) Basque (Preminger 2019: 7, citing Laka 1996: 98)
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------|---------|
| Gaizki | irudi-tzen | Ø-zai-Ø-t | [zuk | ni |
| wrong | look-IPFV | 3SG-be-SG.ABS-1SG.DAT | 2SG.ERG | 1SG.ABS |
| harakin-ari | sal-tze-a]. | | | |
| butcher-ART.SG.DAT | sell-NMLZ-ART.SG.ABS | | | |
- 'It seems wrong to me [for you to sell me to the butcher.]'

Unsurprisingly, then, some analyses of the PCC rely crucially on *both* internal arguments being weak pronouns/clitics/agreement morphemes (Bianchi 2006, Stegovec 2017).

Data from Spanish ditransitives challenge the claim that clitic-hood of both arguments is crucial to the Romance PCC, however. As Ormazabal & Romero (2013) note, animate direct objects marked with personal *a* (so-called differential object marking – DOM) are ruled out in Spanish wherever an associated dative is clitic-doubled. Consider the paradigm in (11):

- (11) Spanish (Ormazabal & Romero 2013: 224)
- a. Enviaron *(a) todos los enfermos a la doctora Aranzabal.
sent.3PL DOM all the.PL sick.PL to the doctor Aranzabal
'They sent all the sick people to doctor Aranzabal.'
 - b. Enviaron *(a) Mateo/tu hijo a los doctores.
sent.3PL DOM Mateo/your son to the doctors
'They sent Mateo/your son to the doctors.'
 - c. Le enviaron *(a) todos los enfermos a la doctora
3SG.ACC= sent.3PL DOM all the sick.PL to the doctor
Aranzabal.
Aranzabal
'They sent doctor Aranzabal all the sick people.'

- d. *Les enviaron (a) Mateo/tu hijo a los doctores.
 3PL.DAT= sent.3PL DOM Mateo/your son to the doctors
 Intended: ‘They sent the doctors Mateo.’

These examples show that where the indirect object is not doubled by a dative clitic, a DOM-marked direct object is fully grammatical (11a–b). However, where the indirect object gets clitic-doubled, either the direct object must occur without DOM, as in (11c), or the example is simply ungrammatical (11d). Animate direct objects occurring without DOM are “deanimised”, they claim, and this is highly semantically constrained.

The reason why animate full DP direct objects can trigger PCC effects in Spanish, according to Ormazabal and Romero is because they are marked with DOM, and this is a morphological reflex of Agree with *v*. More generally, it has been claimed that the PCC holds wherever the relevant kind of direct object overtly agrees with *v* and not otherwise (see Preminger 2019). There is a parametric difference between Spanish and the other languages with respect to the syntactic behaviour of animate full DPs: only in Spanish do they agree with *v*.

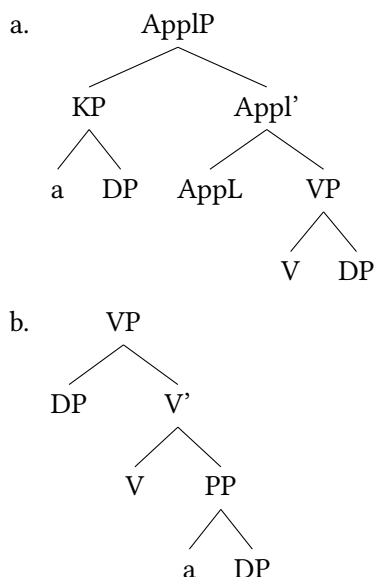
A possible interpretation of these data is that the PCC holds only where both internal arguments agree with the same functional head, with clitic doubling being the realisation of dative agreement in Spanish. In other words, these data show that the clitic-hood of the direct object is not essential to the Romance PCC, but they also seem to suggest that the clitic-hood of the *indirect* object is crucial. If clitic doubling is a form of agreement, then it is in precisely those contexts where the indirect object fails to “agree” that the PCC also fails to hold (11a–b).

There is an alternative interpretation of these facts, however, which is more likely to be correct. Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2003) use a number of tests to show that examples like (11a–b) without clitic doubling of the indirect object are instances of the prepositional dative construction. Examples (11c–d), on the other hand, are instances of the double object construction (DOC), as diagnosed by the presence of clitic doubling of the dative.⁷ In fact, according to Cuervo (2003) clitic doubling *le* is not the reflex of agreement, but rather the spellout of the Appl head itself. In other words, the second “a DP” in the two sets of examples has a different syntactic status: in (11a–b), it is a locative, base-generated below the direct object (12a), and, in (11b–c), it is a dative, introduced by an Applicative

⁷Pineda (2013; 2020) challenges the details of this claim with data suggesting that clitic doubling is not obligatory in the DOC. What is crucial for our purposes is that where there is clitic doubling, this implies the DOC and in the absence of clitic doubling indirect objects have the possibility of functioning as locative PPs.

(Appl) head above the direct object (12b) (see Harley 2002; Harley & Miyagawa 2017, building on the initial insights of Oehrle 1976):⁸

- (12) Structures for the double object construction (a) and the prepositional dative (b)



On these (well-motivated) assumptions, there is an alternative reason that the PCC holds only in the presence of a dative clitic: because this element serves to indicate the presence of an Applicative head. The presence of the clitic in (11c–d) therefore indicates a radically different underlying structure, which is not morphologically disambiguated in Italian, French and Catalan.⁹ In order to ascertain whether the PCC is sensitive only to this structural difference or to the presence of the dative clitic itself, we need a context in which an indirect object marked with *a/à* is not clitic-doubled but cannot function as a locative. If the PCC holds in such contexts then we will know that the weak status of the

⁸There is disagreement in the literature regarding the position of this low Applicative below or above V. I remain agnostic on this point here as either way an indirect object introduced by Appl will function as an intervener between *v* and the direct object.

⁹Ormazabal & Romero (2013) offer a different competition-based account of this pattern whereby the two *a*-marked DPs compete for the same Case position in spec *v*P. Space precludes a full discussion, but, while attractive, it seems that their account cannot be extended to the causative data to be discussed below, where the PCC holds with full DPs even in the absence of clitic doubling.

indirect object is not crucial to the PCC. In the following section I show that the *faire-infinitif* causative is such a context, and that in such cases the PCC can be observed to hold for all datives, not just clitics.

3 The PCC in causatives

A consideration of causatives shows that the PCC data for French, Italian and Catalan in ditransitive contexts are actually misleading. As Bonet (1991) and others have noted, the PCC (somewhat unsurprisingly) also holds with dative clitic causees in the *faire-infinitif* (Postal 1981; Quicoli 1984; Rezac 2008):¹⁰

- (13) French (Rezac 2008: 66, citing Postal 1981; Quicoli 1984)

*Je vous lui laisserai voir.

I 2SG.ACC= her.DAT= let.3PL.FUT see

Intended: 'I will let her see you.'

As Bonet further notes, however, following Postal (1989), full DP datives are also banned in the presence of first/second person direct objects in this context in French:

- (14) French (Postal 1989: 2)

a. *Marcel vous a fait épouser au médecin.

Marcel 2PL.ACC= has made marry to.the doctor

Intended: 'Marcel had the doctor marry you.'

b. *On nous a fait choisir à Jacques.

one us.ACC= has made choose to Jacques

Intended: 'One/we had Jacques choose us.'

c. *On vous laissera connaître à Louise.

one 2PL.ACC= let.3SG.FUT know to Louise

'We will let Louise meet you.'

These kinds of examples contrast minimally with examples involving a 3rd person direct object (even an animate one), which are fully grammatical, as Postal notes:

¹⁰I use the term *faire-infinitif* here to denote a particular kind of Romance causative, following Kayne (1975). Its crucial properties include: (i) dative on transitive causees, (ii) VS order for the caused event, (iii) causees which are agentive and (iv) causers which are not. Space precludes a discussion of minor differences between languages and I merely adopt the most uncontroversial account here, for expository reasons.

(15) French (Postal 1989: 2)

- a. Marcel l' a fait épouser au médecin.
Marcel her.ACC= has made marry to.the doctor
'Marcel had the doctor marry her.'
- b. On les a fait choisir à Jacques.
one them.ACC= has made choose to Jacques
'We had Jacques choose them.'

Postal calls this the "Fancy Constraint" and perhaps for this reason it is not usually discussed in connection with the PCC. It is, however, essentially a simpler version of the PCC, which we will call the "Simpler PCC":

(16) Simpler PCC (first version)

- a. In a combination of a direct object and dative in a causative construction, the direct object has to be third person.
- b. If the direct object is phonologically weak.

I call (16) "simpler" because it imposes no requirement on the status of the indirect object. This is the version of the PCC which holds also in Catalan and Italian causatives (the Catalan example is from Bonet and the Italian example from my own informants).

(17) Catalan (Bonet 1991: 195)

- *Em van fer escollir a la Teresa.
1SG.ACC= go.3PL make choose to the Teresa
'They made Teresa choose me.'

(18) Italian

- *Ti ho fatto picchiare a mio fratello.
2SG.ACC= have.1SG made beat to my brother
Intended: 'I made my brother beat you.'

The same effect can be observed in Spanish (both Peninsular and Rioplatense), though it is more difficult to observe because of the additional availability of an ECM construction with these verbs (see Strozer 1976; Torrego 2010). Because of these complications, I discuss Spanish in a separate section below.

As Postal also notes, the Fancy Constraint holds only where the causee is dative, and not where it is introduced by a preposition like *par/de* or where the causee is not overtly expressed:

(19) French (Postal 1989: 3)

- a. Marcel vous a fait épouser par le médecin.
Marcel 2PL.ACC= has made marry by the doctor
'Marcel had the doctor marry you.'
- b. On nous a fait choisir.
One us.ACC= has made choose
'They had us chosen/We had ourselves chosen.'

This is further potential evidence that we are dealing with the PCC. Though the structure of the *faire-par* construction remains contested, there is widespread recognition that the 'by phrase' in examples like (19a) has adjunct-like properties and is not even projected in (19b) (see Guasti 1996; Folli & Harley 2007; Sheehan & Cyrino 2016 for recent discussion). In any case, evidence from binding shows that a *by*-phrase causee does not c-command the accusative object in the *faire-par* construction, whereas a dative causee in the *faire-infinitif* does, as Burzio (1986) shows:

(20) Italian (Burzio 1986)

- Ho fatto riparare la propria_i macchina a Gianni_i / *da Gianni_i.
have.1SG made repair the own car to Gianni / by Gianni
'I made Gianni repair his own car.'

In fact, there is evidence that in the *faire-par* construction, c-command relations are reversed, with the accusative object binding into the *by*-phrase causee (Sheehan & Cyrino 2016):

(21) Italian (Sheehan & Cyrino 2016: 286)

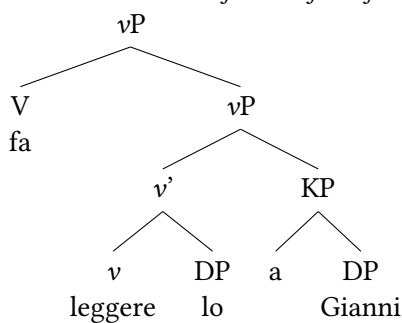
- a. Ho fatto leggere [ogni libro]_i dal suo_i autore.
have.1SG made read each book by.the its author
'I had each book read by its author.'
- b. *Ho fatto leggere il suo_i libro da [ogni autore]_i.
have.1SG made read the his book by each author

It seems reasonable to assume, then, that the lack of PCC effects in such contexts can be attributed to the fact that the *by*-phrase does not intervene (in c-command terms) between *v* and the accusative argument.

The dative causee in the *faire-infinitif*, however, is argument-like, obligatory and merged in a position which c-commands the accusative internal argument. This is reflected by the anaphor binding pattern in (20). Folli & Harley (2007)

propose that dative causees are merged in a righthand specifier of a lower *vP*, a proposal which I adopt here for ease of exposition, though other options are possible. In Italian and French, at least, all accusative and dative clitics must cliticise onto the causative verb (Kayne 1975; Burzio 1986; Guasti 1993). If cliticisation is mediated by Agree, as Preminger (2019) claims, then a defective intervention configuration clearly arises as the FARE verb which I take to be an instance of a higher *v*, is clearly higher than the causee. The direct object clitic *lo* is therefore c-commanded by *v* and ‘a Gianni,’ and ‘a Gianni’ is c-commanded by the higher FARE *v*, despite the unmarked word order:

(22) Basic structure of *faire-infinitif*



Postal proposes that, while the Fancy Constraint is widespread in French, it is not observed where the verbal complement of *faire* is headed by *connaître/reconnaître* or *voir*, providing the following data:

(23) French (Postal 1989: 4)

- a. On vous fera connaître à Louise.
one 2PL.ACC= make.3SG.FUT know to Louise
‘We made Louise meet you.’
- b. Jacques nous a fait voir à ses chefs.
Jacques us.ACC= has made see to his bosses
‘Jacques made his bosses see us.’

This is a potentially important distinction, which might shed important light on the nature of the PCC, if robust. Judgments on such examples are varied, however, and, although the effect might be less categorical than with other verbs, experimental results suggest that at least with *voir*, the PCC still holds in its simpler form.

Given the sensitivity of judgments of this kind, 14 such examples were included as fillers (with a parallel context) in a large online survey, taken by 42

people. Questions were presented in randomised order and rated on an 8-point scale from 0 to 7. Mean scores are given across participants. The results show a clear contrast: examples with 3rd person direct objects were clearly grammatical, receiving an average of acceptability of just under 5, regardless of the features of the indirect object (24a). Examples with two clitics received a slightly lower average mean (24b), probably for processing reasons. All examples were presented along with a context (given in French) set in a busy classroom at the beginning of the school year:

(24) French non-PCC contexts of *faire-voir* ‘show’

- a. La professeure **te/lui/me** fait voir **Jean**, qui se
the teacher 2SG.DAT/her.DAT/1SG.DAT= makes see Jean, who SE
sent nerveux.
feels nervous
‘The teacher shows you/her/me Jean, who is feeling nervous.’
[mean rating: 4.98/4.86/4.62]
- b. La professeure **me le** fait voir.
the teacher 1SG.DAT= him.ACC= makes see
‘The teacher shows me him.’ [mean rating: 4.45]

This is as expected as these are non-PCC contexts in French because the direct object in all cases is 3rd person.

There is a clear contrast when we consider examples with 1st/2nd person direct object and a 3rd person causee, the ‘strong PCC’ context. These were most unacceptable with dative clitics (25a), but were also rated very low with full DP datives (an average of around 2 on the 8-point scale) (25b):

(25) French PCC contexts of *faire-voir* ‘show’

- a. *Le professeur **me/te** lui fait voir.
the teacher 1SG.ACC/2SG.ACC= him.DAT= make see
Intended: ‘The teacher shows me/you to him.’
[mean ratings: 0.49/0.50]
- b. *?La professeure **me/te** fait voir à Marie, qui se
the teacher 1SG.ACC/2SG.ACC= makes see to Marie, who SE
sent à l’aise.
feels at the ease
Intended: ‘The teacher shows me/you to Marie, who is feeling at ease.’
[mean ratings: 1.79/2.05]

While further empirical investigation of the kinds of contrasts noted by Postal with individual verbs is clearly warranted, these initial experimental data suggest that the simpler PCC also holds with full dative DPs even where the embedded verb is *voir*.

The implication of the Catalan, Italian and French causative patterns is that the PCC in Romance languages is *not* limited to contexts where the indirect object is a clitic or an element triggering morphological agreement. The languages in question fail to have clitic doubling of datives and yet the PCC still holds even where the dative is a full DP. In this way, the data show that the PCC holds wherever (i) the direct object has the relevant (language-specific) person/animacy feature; (ii) *v* establishes a detectable Agree relation with this direct object; and (iii) an indirect object of any kind intervenes in that Agree relation. This can lead either to ungrammaticality (strong PCC) or interaction between phi-features (weak PCC).

There is evidence that Postal's Fancy Constraint is just the PCC from the kinds of repairs which are available in this context. Recall that in ditransitive contexts, changing a dative clitic into a tonic pronoun marked with *a/à* serves to repair the PCC. In causative contexts, PCC violations can only be repaired by making the *direct* object into a tonic pronoun:

(26) French

Je n' ai fait frapper que toi à Jean.
I NEG have made hit but 2SG to Jean
'I only made Jean hit YOU.'

(27) Italian

Ho fatto picchiare TE a mio fratello.
have.1SG made beat 2SG to my brother
'I made my brother beat YOU.'

But, unlike in ditransitive contexts, changing the status of the dative does not help here: tonic pronouns are also banned in the presence of 1st/2nd person direct object clitics, just as full dative DPs are:

(28) Italian¹¹

*Ti ho fatto picchiare a lui/LUI.
2SG.ACC= have made beat to him/HIM
Intended: 'I made him/HIM beat you.'

In sum, we have seen that a “simpler PCC” applies to causatives such that a 1st/2nd person direct object clitic is ruled out in the presence of any kind of dative in French, Italian and Catalan. Why do the data pattern differently in causative vs. ditransitive contexts? In ditransitive contexts we saw that, with the exception of Spanish (which has clitic doubling), no PCC effect was observed with full DP datives. In §5, I propose that this is because ditransitives are structurally ambiguous in French, Italian and Catalan, just as they are in Spanish. As we saw for Spanish ditransitives, then, the PCC holds only where a DP is dative and not where it is locative. Before presenting this proposal, however, I discuss the behaviour of Spanish in causative contexts, as these data present additional complications, but essentially serve to reinforce the point being made.

4 Spanish causatives

According to Torrego (2010), clitic doubling of datives in the *faire-infinitif* is optional, at least for some Spanish speakers (see also Pineda 2013; 2020 regarding ditransitives). I take the VS order in (29) to indicate that this is an instance of the *faire-infinitif* nonetheless:

(29) Spanish (Torrego 2010: 448)

La entrenadora (le) hizo repetir el ejercicio a la atleta.
the trainer (her.DAT=) made repeat the exercise to the athlete
‘The trainer made the athlete repeat the exercise.’

In a PCC context then, a 1st/2nd person clitic is unsurprisingly ruled out in the presence of a clitic-doubled dative. Note that this a spurious ‘se’ context in Spanish:

¹¹Another possible repair for some Italian speakers is to make the causee accusative, giving rise to an ECM-type complement without clitic climbing (Schifano & Sheehan 2017):

(i) %Lo/*gli fece picchiar=mi.
3SG.ACC/3SG.DAT= made beat.INF=1SG.ACC
‘She made him beat me.’

ECM is not usually possible with Italian FARE (but see Burzio 1986; Schifano & Sheehan 2017 for discussion). This repair is not possible with full DP causees, for unclear reasons, making it only partially parallel to what is described for Spanish below.

- (30) Spanish
 *Marcelo se te hizo saludar al invitado.
 Marcelo him.DAT= 2SG.ACC= made greet to.the guest
 Intended: ‘Marcelo made the guest greet you.’

What is more interesting, from our perspective, is what happens where the dative clitic is absent. Examples such as (31a–b) should be potentially ambiguous with either the clitic or the full DP functioning as the causee. This is because, as in the other Romance languages, 1st and 2nd person clitics are not morphologically distinguished for accusative and dative case and because, due to DOM, all animate internal arguments in Spanish are introduced by *a*. In both cases, however, the 1st/2nd person clitic can only be construed as a dative causee:

- (31) Spanish
- a. Marcelo te _____ hizo ver al _____ médico.
Marcelo 2SG.ACC=.*ACC/DAT= made see to.the doctor
(i) ‘Marcelo made you see the doctor.’
(ii) *‘Marcelo made the doctor see you.’
- b. Nos _____ dejará ver a Luisa.
us.*ACC/DAT= let.FUT see to Luisa
(i) ‘He made us see Luisa.’
(ii) *‘He made Luisa see us.’

This is essentially the same effect described for Italian, French and Spanish: it is not possible to have a 1st/2nd person direct object in the presence of a dative argument. The only difference is that the presence of DOM means that the example is not ungrammatical, as the alternative reading in (i) is available. There is much more to be said about Spanish causatives, however.

In addition to the *faire-infinitif*, many varieties of Spanish appear to permit ECM complements of *hacer* ‘make’. For our purposes, the relevant properties of this type of complement is that: (i) transitive causees can be realised as accusative clitics; (ii) SV order is observed in the caused event; (iii) clitic climbing is not possible (Strozer 1976; Treviño 1992, 1993; Torrego 2010; Tubino 2011). Consider the following examples by way of illustration of these properties in Mexican Spanish:

(32) Mexican Spanish (Treviño 1992: 311, 169)

- a. Juan lo hizo leer estos libros.
Juan him.ACC= made read these books
'Juan made him read these books.'
- b. Él hizo [a Sadat exportar=las desde Francia].
He made to Sadat export.INF=them.ACC from France
- c. *Él las hizo [a Sadat exportar desde Francia].
he them.ACC= made to Sadat export.INF from France

Once we accept that in Spanish, unlike in French, Italian and (for the most part) Catalan, an ECM-type of complement is available under the FARE cognate verb, some apparently quirky properties of Spanish causatives can be attributed to the PCC.¹²

First, consider the curious fact that animate direct object clitics cannot climb onto the causative verb in Spanish causatives (Rivas 1977; Bordelois 1988; Torrego 2010):

(33) Spanish (Torrego 2010: 463)

- a. *El me lo hizo saludar.
he 1SG.DAT= him.ACC= made greet
'He made me greet him.'
- b. El me hizo saludar=lo.
he 1SG.DAT= made greet=him.ACC

In the current context, and bearing in mind the fact that Spanish displays PCC effects with animate 3rd person direct objects, (33a) looks like a PCC effect. If this is the case, then it is not the clitic cluster that is a problem, nor the dative 1st person clitic, but rather the animate direct object which attempts to Agree with *hacer* 'make' past the dative causee.¹³ Example (33b) is grammatical, however, because it involves a more biclausal ECM construction in which the accusative clitic does not form an Agree dependency with the matrix little *v*, but rather with a little *v* in the embedded clause. As the causee asymmetrically c-commands this lexical verb, it does not function as an intervener in (33b).

¹² Actually a minority of Catalan speakers do seem to permit ECM under *fer*, but this is certainly not a majority pattern (see Pineda et al. 2018).

¹³ As noted above, a similar effect is attested with the 3rd person masculine singular animate clitic *le* in *leísta* dialects of Spanish. I am not sure to what extent animate direct object clitics in non-*leísta* dialects also trigger PCC effects in ditransitives.

As this ECM causative is “biclausal” in the relevant sense, it also fails to be subject to more standard PCC effects. Speakers of Latin American varieties of Spanish and many Peninsular varieties readily accept examples such as the following:

(34) Spanish

- a. (?)Marcelo hizo al invitado saludar=te.
 Marcelo made to.the guest greet=2SG.ACC
 ‘Marcelo made the guest greet you.
- b. (?)Dejará a Luisa ver=nos.
 let.FUT to Luisa see=us.ACC
 ‘They will let Luisa see us.’

These examples clearly have an interpretation whereby the 1st/2nd person clitic is construed as a direct object, as indicated in the gloss, and so there is no PCC effect in evidence. Again, this is because the direct object clitic does not agree with the matrix little *v*. In this way, PCC effects in Spanish causatives are more nuanced than in the other Romance languages under discussion.

Now consider examples involving an animate direct object with DOM. As discussed above, these kinds of direct objects trigger PCC effects in Spanish ditransitives in the presence of clitic doubling. With causatives, the pattern is slightly different:

(35) Spanish

- a. *Ana hizo saludar a su marido al invitado.
 Ana made greet to her husband to.the guest
- b. *Ana le hizo saludar a su marido al invitado.
 Ana him.DAT= made greet to her husband to.the guest
- c. Ana hizo al invitado saludar a su marido.
 Ana made to.the guest greet to her husband
- d. %Ana le hizo al invitado saludar a su marido.
 Ana him.DAT= made to.the guest greet to her husband
 ‘Ana made the guest greet her husband.’

If we take the basic position of the causee to indicate the difference between the *faire-infinitif* and ECM causatives, then these data show that PCC holds with DOM-marked full DP direct objects in the *faire-infinitive* regardless of whether the indirect object is clitic-doubled. In (35a–b), the VS order in the caused event

indicates that this is an instance of the *faire-infinitive*, with clause union. For this reason, a DOM-marked direct object is not possible, by hypothesis, because the dative blocks agreement with the causative verb. Crucially, this is true not only in (35b), where we see clitic doubling of the dative parallel to what we saw with ditransitives, but also in (31a), where there is no dative clitic. This follows if, as noted above, clitic doubling is optional in the Spanish *faire-infinitive* (see also Pineda 2013; 2020, who claims this is true also in Spanish ditransitives). Regardless of clitic doubling, then, the presence of a dative causee will trigger a PCC effect. As described in (12) above, in ditransitive constructions, a non-doubled indirect object has the option of being interpreted as a locative, and it is this fact which makes the presence of a clitic crucial to the PCC in this context. The same is not true in the *faire-infinitif*, where DPs introduced by *a/à* always have the status of datives, base-generated between the direct object and the causative *v*.

Now consider (35c–d), which have SV order in the caused event and so can be taken to be instances of ECM causatives. All speakers accept (35c), and this is as expected if this is a biclausal ECM context. Additionally, however, speakers from Argentina and certain parts of Spain also allow (35d). In fact, these speakers also allow, even prefer, clitic doubling of the ECM causee with clitic direct objects, even in “strong PCC” contexts, with 1st/2nd person direct objects:

(36) Spanish

- a. %Marcelo le hizo al invitado saludar=te.
 Marcelo him.DAT= made to.the guest greet=2SG.ACC
 ‘Marcelo made the guest greet you.’
- b. %Clara le hizo al invitado saludar=lo.
 Clara him.DAT= made to.the guest greet=him.ACC
 ‘Clara made the guest greet him.’

I leave open the status of the matrix dative clitic in such examples. The fact that such examples are not subject to the PCC suggests that they cannot be instances of the *faire-infinitif* with a fronted causee. Ormazabal & Romero (2013) analyse them as instances of raising to object. It still remains unclear to me, however, how a dative clitic doubles an accusative causee (see also Ordóñez & Saab 2017 for one proposal). What is clear from these data, however, despite the open questions, is that Spanish also displays PCC effects with both clitic and full DP datives, in parallel with the other Romance languages under discussion, once we control for the availability of ECM (or raising to object) complements.

5 Theoretical implications

Early approaches to the PCC characterised it as a morphological constraint (see Bonet 1991, for example). More recently, however, significant challenges have been raised for this position (see Preminger 2019 for an overview), and the facts discussed here can be seen as further evidence that the PCC is not about morphology. In fact, the main aim of this chapter has been to show that the relevance of the PCC is *not* limited to clitic clusters in Romance. As we have seen, when we consider Spanish DOM-marked direct objects and *faire-infinitif* causatives, the PCC can be shown not to care about the weak/strong status of the indirect object. All that matters is the syntactic structure and the agreeing status of the direct object.

While there have been many syntactic analyses of the PCC, most recent approaches reduce to the idea that it arises where “two arguments are in the domain of a single probing head” (Nevins 2007: 290). A line of research stemming from Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) formalises this in terms of defective intervention, whereby a probe attempts to agree with a goal with person features over a dative intervener (see Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Nevins 2007; Rezac 2008; Preminger 2019). A distinct, but related approach, by Adger & Harbour (2010) attributes the PCC to the fact that a single head with one set of person features cannot both agree with an animate [+participant] Theme and introduce an animate [+participant] argument in its specifier as these functions both require a distinct person feature. Note that, in their system, 3rd person Themes are always [-participant], whereas animate recipients/benefactives are [+participant] even if they are 3rd person. Both kinds of approaches rely crucially on the fact that the direct object must Agree with a functional head. In the defective intervention approach, this is a head higher than the dative, such as *v*. In Adger & Harbour’s alternative account, it is Appl, the same head which introduces the applied argument.

Bianchi (2006) and Stegovec (2017), on the other hand, provide analyses which aim to capture the fact that (in ditransitives) the PCC holds only if both internal arguments are weak elements. In Stegovec’s (2017) approach, for example, weak arguments enter the derivation without a person feature and must receive one via agreement with a phase head. As the indirect object generally intervenes between the direct object and the phase head *v*, this leads to an intervention problem wherever both are weak 1st/2nd person pronouns. The Spanish data in ditransitives are already problematic for these latter kinds of accounts, as are the Romanian facts presented by Cornilescu (2020 [this volume]) [§6], and the caus-

ative patterns show quite clearly that, in Romance at least, this kind of approach makes the wrong predictions.

Mainstream accounts can, however, easily accommodate the Simpler PCC defended here. In the defective intervention approach, based on Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005); Béjar & Rizac (2003) and Rizac (2008), the PCC arises because a dative argument intervenes between a probe (v) and its [+person] goal, the accusative direct object:

- (37) $v_{[\text{phi}:]} > \text{DP}_{\text{DAT}} > \text{DP}_{[+\text{person}]}$

On this kind of approach, it is actually mysterious why the PCC would only apply to dative clitics. For the defective intervention account to extend to causatives, it has to be the case that the internal argument of the embedded predicate agrees with *fare* (if *fare* is an instance of little v , or with the v dominating it, otherwise), with the causee acting as an intervener:

- (38) $\text{fare}_{[\text{phi}:]} > \text{DP}_{\text{DAT}} > \text{DP}_{[+\text{person}]}$

Given that internal arguments obligatorily cliticise onto *fare/faire* in both Italian and French, this kind of analysis seems promising.

On Adger & Harbour's (2010) approach, as noted above, the basic prediction is also that there would be no sensitivity to the clitic/non-clitic distinction, just as there is no sensitivity to the case-marking of the higher argument. For them, the PCC arises where a single head must both agree with the internal [+participant] direct object and introduce an animate [+participant] specifier:

- (39) $*[\text{ApplP DP}_{[+\text{participant}]} \text{Appl} \dots \text{DP}_{[+\text{participant}]}]$

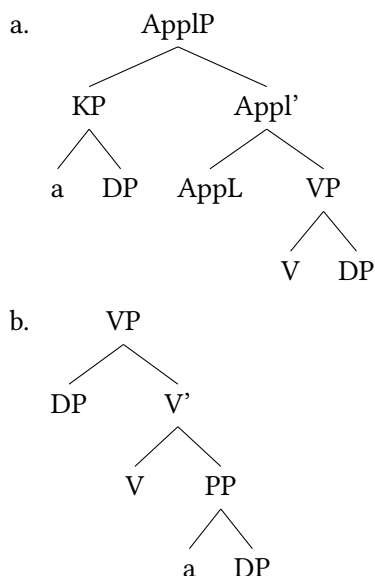
This leads to ungrammaticality because a given head can only enter into an Agree relation with the same feature once, and the spec-head relation is conceived of as Agree-based. Whichever head introduces the causee in the *faire-infinitif*: Appl (Ippolito 2000; Ordóñez 2008; Torrego 2010; Pitteroff & Campanini 2014) or v (Folli & Harley 2007), this head will be prevented from agreeing with a [+participant] Theme.¹⁴

So why, then, does it appear to be the case that the PCC holds only where the dative is a clitic in ditransitive contexts in Romance? The answer, I propose,

¹⁴Note that it is more controversial to claim that the lowest direct object is Case-licensed by *fare/faire*. Belletti & Rizzi (2012) argue that it is, against Folli & Harley's (2007) position. The controversy relates partly to the status of passivisation of the *faire-infinitif* in Italian and French. As Preminger (2019) shows, it is, in any case, possible, and perhaps necessary, to restate this kind of account without the need for abstract Case as long as cliticisation involves Agree.

comes from the two potential structures for ditransitives and the fundamental ambiguity of *a/à* as a dative/locative marker, discussed above in relation to Spanish. Following Holmberg et al. (2019) and Fournier (2010), we propose that (like Spanish) Catalan, Italian and French have two distinct structures for ditransitives (see Demonte 1995; Cuervo 2003; Harley 2002; Harley & Miyagawa 2017). These are as illustrated above by (12), repeated here as (40):

- (40) Structures for the double object construction (a) and the prepositional dative (b)



In the extensive literature on the topic, it has been argued that many unrelated languages permit both kinds of structures, regardless of surface case morphology (see Marantz 1993; Pesetsky 1995; Cuervo 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Pytkäinen 2002, 2008; Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004; Bruening 2010; Harley & Miyagawa 2017). The issue remains contentious, however, as several of the other papers in this volume show; see, especially: Calindro (2020 [this volume]) and Cépeda & Cyrino (2020 [this volume]) on Brazilian Portuguese, Cornilescu (2020 [this volume]) on Romanian, and Antonyuk (2020 [this volume]) on Russian. If the Romance languages under discussion have two structures for ditransitives, as outlined above, then PCC effects are predicted to hold only in structures like (40a) and not in those like (40b) (see Rezac 2008 on parallel contrasts in Basque). It is only in configurations like (40a) that the indirect object will function as an

intervener. Where *a/à* is the head of a locative PP which is base-generated below the accusative direct object, no intervention effect will arise.

In other words, it is this structural ambiguity in ditransitives which gives rise to the false impression that the PCC only holds with dative clitics. Full DPs introduced by *a/à* which occur with ditransitive verbs can be either dative or locative, having either the structure in (40a) or that in (40b), whereas dative clitics are unambiguously dative, and so must have a structure akin to that in (40a).¹⁵ Consider, by way of illustration, the French examples in (2)-(3) above, repeated here as (41a-b):

(41) French (Kayne 1975: 173–174)

- a. *Paul me lui présentera.
 Paul 1SG.ACC= him.DAT= present.3SG.FUT
 Intended: ‘Paul will introduce me to him.’
- b. Paul me présentera à lui.
 Paul 1SG.ACC= present.3SG.FUT to him
 ‘Paul will introduce me to him.’

Example (41a) is ungrammatical because it must have the structure in (40a), whereby the dative intervenes between *v* and the direct object (in its base position). Example (41b), however, is grammatical because it can be constructed with the structure in (40b). I assume that, with the structure in (40a), it is also ungrammatical, in parallel with (41a), and so only (40b) is possible (see also Anagnostopoulou 2003; Rezac 2008 for similar proposals).

Further support for this view comes from the fact that, in French and Catalan, the indirect object can be (exceptionally) realised as a locative clitic as a PCC repair strategy (see Postal 1990; Rezac 2008 on French; Bonet 1991, 2007 on Catalan):

(42) French

- %Paul m’ y présentera.
 Paul 1SG.ACC= there= present.3SG.FUT
 ‘Paul will introduce me to him.’

What is usual about such examples is that the locative clitics cannot unusually index animate arguments. Presumably, this is exceptionally permitted in such contexts to avoid ungrammaticality.

¹⁵For concreteness, I assume that clitics originate in argument positions, but there are other possibilities.

More generally, this proposal sheds new light on one of the main kinds of PCC repairs: they simply involve the prepositional dative construction not a PF repair. This explains immediately why there is no quantifier stranding in such contexts (Kayne 1975; Rezac 2008):

(43) French (Rezac 2008: 98)

- a. Elle la leur a **tous** présentée.
 she her.ACC= them.DAT= has all introduced
 ‘She has introduced her to all of them.’
- b. Elle m’ a (*tous) présentée à eux.
 she 1SG.ACC= has all introduced to them
 ‘She has introduced me to (*all of) them.’

Example (43a) shows that cliticisation permits quantifier float. The fact that this is not possible in (43b) follows if this repair involves a different base-generated structure, rather than a PF repair.

In causative contexts, *a/à* always indicates dative so these repairs are not possible, as noted above. This is because causees cannot be introduced as locatives headed by *a/à*, presumably for semantic reasons. Note that they can be introduced as adjunct PPs, however (in the *faire-par* construction), and this too is not subject to the PCC for parallel reasons: because the PP adjunct fails to intervene between the probe and the direct object.

6 Conclusions

In this short article, I have argued that the PCC is simpler than previously thought. It blocks a 1st/2nd person direct object in the presence of any kind of intervening dative argument. The reason we observe PCC only with clitics in ditransitives is that *a/à* is fundamentally ambiguous between being a locative and a dative marker and so only clitics are unambiguously dative.¹⁶ We have seen, furthermore, this is actually what is predicted by many, though not all, existing analyses of the PCC: any kind of dative will act as a defective intervener. In order for this to be the case, we must accept that there are two distinct structures for Romance ditransitives. While this has long been proposed for Spanish (Demonte

¹⁶ A reviewer asks why the PCC does not hold optionally with full DPs even in ditransitive contexts. My claim is that it does but that this is not detectable as the locative repair is, in such cases, homophonous with the PCC-violating structure. In Spanish, where they are not homophonous, differences arise, as shown in (11) above.

1995; Cuervo 2003), it remains more controversial for Italian, French and Catalan. Nonetheless, recent research has proposed, on a completely independent basis, that there are also two underlying structures for ditransitives in these languages.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in the glosses of this chapter follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

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