

# Inflectional Shells and the Syntax of Causative HAVE

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## 1. Background

What is the structure of English *have* causatives?

- Standard view: causatives are monoclausal complex predicates → allow clitic climbing, long passives, bare infinitive complements. Complement of a causative verb is fully *lexical* (VP/vP)

Regarding *have*, we encounter a **size paradox**:

### ▶ **have-causatives are SMALL:**

- Ritter and Rosen (1993,1997) argue that they consist of one event; *have* is a “functor predicate” with a bare VP complement.
- In line with literature treating causatives as *complex predicates*: causative verb as a functional head within a single clausal projection (Harley 1995, Pyllkkänen 2008, a.o.).

### ▶ **have-causatives are BIG:**

- The complement of *have* can include high functional inflection: perfect and progressive aspect, passive.

- (1) a. The director is having the chorus sing in the first scene.  
b. The director has the chorus be singing when the show starts.
- (2) a. The writer had four characters marry in the first scene.  
b. The writer had the villain have been married three times.
- (3) The doctor had the patient be examined by a specialist in order to rule out another diagnosis.

### ▶ But *have*-causatives still look smaller than *make*-causatives.

- Independent temporal modification: OK with *make*, not with *have*.
- Passivization: OK with *make*-, not with *have* (and *make* requires complement with infinitival *to*).

- (4) a. We made the children clean up the playground.  
b. The children were made to clean up the playground.

- Neither type of causative is *fully* biclausal (cf. clitic climbing in Romance, bare infinitives in English) → two different-sized sesquiclausal structures.

## 2. Theoretical Puzzle

- Previous views of sesquiclausality (serial verbs, complex predicates, causatives):

- More than one clause: two lexical predicates.
- Less than two clauses: only one IP complex.

- Problem arises because of the tacit assumption that the presence of a higher order head entails the presence of all lower heads:

T >> Ev >> v >> V

### Is this justified?

- What other forms of sesquiclausality might be possible?

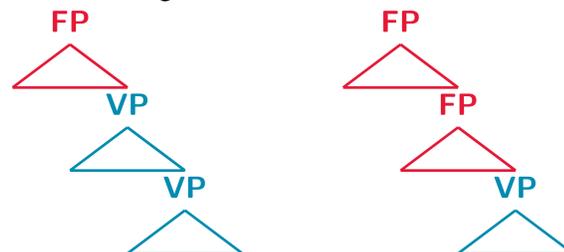
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## 3. Proposal

### Our Proposal: Inflectional Shells.

- Some sesquiclausal structures have two inflectional complexes, and only one verbal complex.

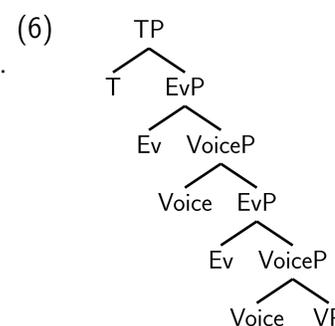
- (5) Two types of sesquiclausality:  
a. *Restructuring Infinitives* b. *Inflectional Shells*



- On this view, the structure of *have* causatives in English is as in (6):

- have* realizes a head that introduces agent/causer (Voice<sup>0</sup>).

- Voice<sup>0</sup> is both below and above a temporal inflectional head, in this instance Ev<sup>0</sup> (associated with progressive aspect by Cowper 1999, 2005).



## 4. Causation and Events

- Ritter and Rosen (1993, 1997): *have* causatives involve **one** event, while *make* causatives involve **two**:

*have*: 1 event

① Causer + Agent + Predicate

*make*: 2 events

① Causer + CAUSE → ② Agent + Predicate

- Evidence: independent temporal modification with *make*; causative event can be independently negated.

- (7) a. On Tuesday the manager made the team lose on Wednesday.  
b. \*On Tuesday the manager had the team lose on Wednesday.

- (8) a. I didn't **make** Bill write the article, but he wrote it anyway.  
b. I didn't **have** Bill write the article, \*but he wrote it anyway.

- Structure for *have* above, though, suggests multiple events.

- A slightly different view of complex causation events:

*have*: 2 events (1 contains 2)

①Causer + ②Agent + Predicate

*make*: 3 events (1 contains both 2 and 3)

①②Causer + CAUSE → ③Agent + Predicate

- Analogy: affixation vs. compounding

- affixation: complex word from one word ≈ complex event from smaller event.
- compounding: complex word from two words ≈ complex event from two events.

## 5. HAVE vs. MAKE Causatives

Differences between *have* and *make* causatives:

- make* has a lexical root, *have* does not.
  - The root of *make* introduces the third event: the event of causing.
- The causation of *have* is **configurational**, with *make* it is **lexical**.
  - That is, the Voice<sup>0</sup> realized as *have* gets a causative interpretation only when it introduces a second agent, and when its complement is an event (not a state)
  - Coerces agentive interpretations of passives and unaccusatives.

- (9) a. I had the children fall (#accidentally).  
b. I had the patients be examined (#against their will).

- “Control” requirement for causative *have* is also configurational.
  - Known restriction that *have* causatives require the causee to be in the control of the causer.
  - If causative *have* realizes a causative/agentive Voice<sup>0</sup> above another agentive Voice<sup>0</sup>, pragmatic explanation.
  - Single events cannot have two entirely distinct agents – one agent must be within the control of the other, a “puppet” agent.
  - make*, by contrast, is a lexical verb of causation, so allows any kind of causation.
  - Also gives us a way to understand data involving the temporal span of causation (Ritter and Rosen, 1993):

- (10) a. Sue made Mary stop smoking.  
b. Sue had Mary stop smoking. (cf. Her doctor had Mary stop smoking)

- If causative *have* is coherent only if one agent is in the control of another, makes sense that the span of the caused event is limited by the span of control or authority.

## 6. The Many Faces of HAVE

- have* has many non-causative uses: possessive, modal, perfect, etc.
- Some of these look especially similar to causative *have*: resultative, experiencer:

- (11) a. Mary had the car spraypainted by experts.  
b. Mary had the car (all) spraypainted by noon.  
c. Mary had her car spraypainted by vandals.

- All three uses of *have* involve extension of a core eventuality.
- Causative *have*: **complex event**; *have* spells out Voice<sup>0</sup> above another Voice<sup>0</sup>.
- Resultative *have*: **complex state**; *have* spells out (stative) argument introducing head above a stative/resultative phrase (cf. low result phrase, Borer 2005, Ramchand 2008)
- Experiencer *have*: **simple event**; *have* spells out Appl<sup>0</sup> above Voice<sup>0</sup> (Kim 2011). No inflectional shells because no recursive structure: *have* simply adds another thematic role to a single event.

For references and further detail, please see handout.