

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?

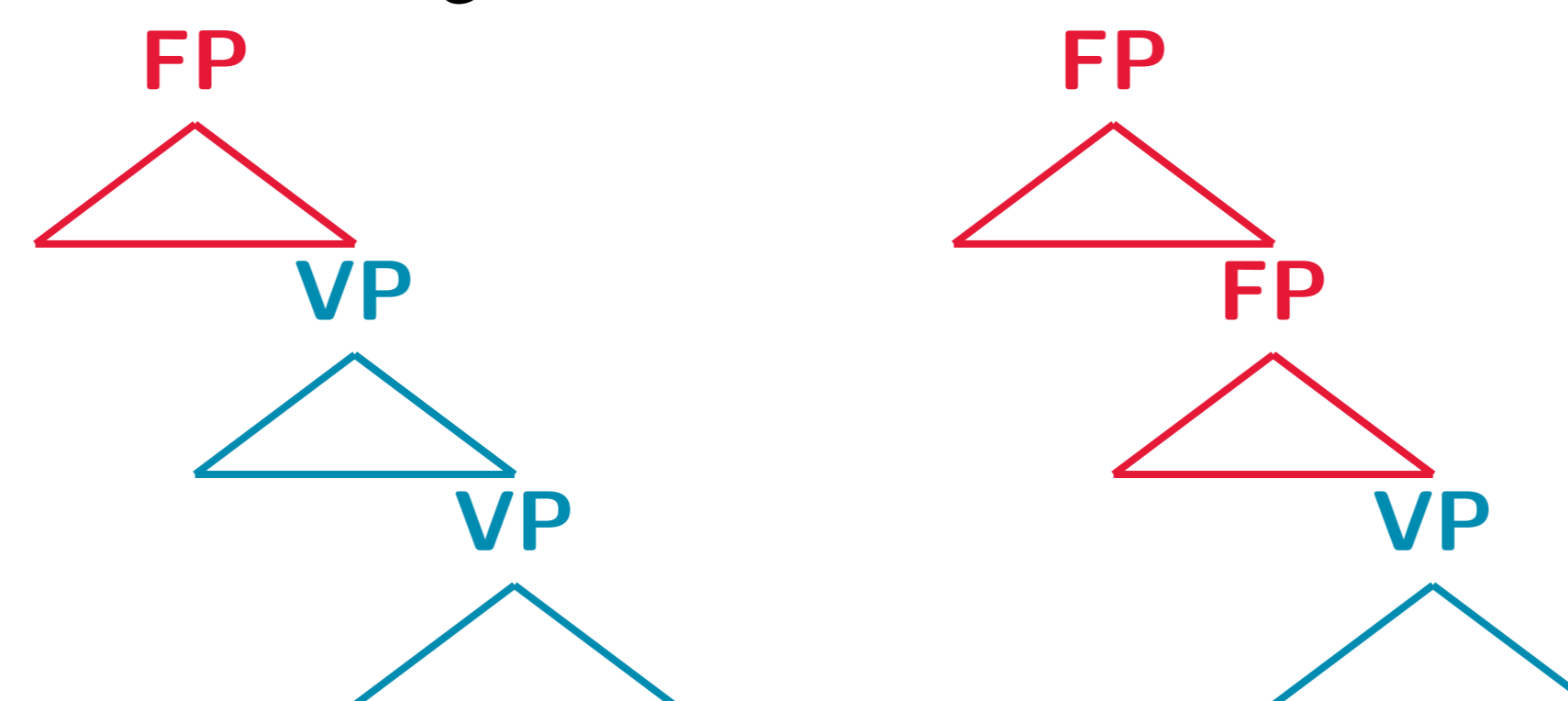
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3. Proposal

Our Proposal: Inflectional Shells.

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

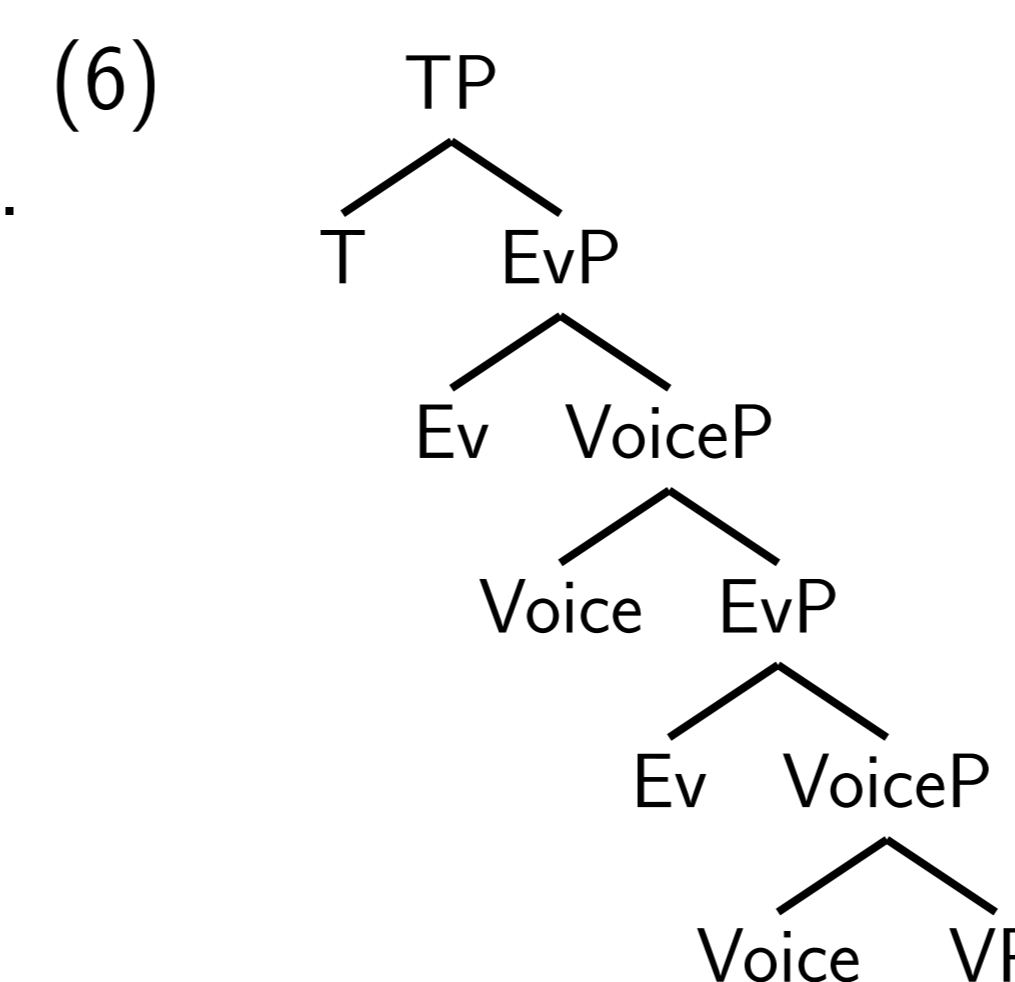
- (5) Two types of sesquiclausality:
a. *Restructuring Infinitives* b. *Inflectional Shells*



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

- have* realizes a head that introduces agent/causer (Voice⁰).

- Voice⁰ is both below and above a temporal inflectional head, in this instance Ev⁰ (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 Voice⁰ 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 Voice⁰ above another agentive Voice⁰, 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 Voice⁰ above another Voice⁰.
- 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 Appl⁰ above Voice⁰ (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.