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DATIVE CAUSATIVES IN HUNGARIAN*

1. INTRODUCTION

Analytic causative constructions cross-linguistically come in two types. In *Type 1* the causative verb is a three-place predicate and the *causee* argument bears the accusative case. In *Type 2*, the causative verb is assumed to take only two arguments, the causer and the event. In many languages, the performer of the action (*causee*) in *Type 2* is expressed by an oblique NP (Baker 1988, Alsina 1992, Burzio 1986). In *Type 2* causatives the infinitival verb describing the event must be transitive (this has become known as the "transitivity restriction" since Jaeggli 1986), whereas no such requirement holds for *Type 1*.

Traditional analyses of analytic causative constructions usually identify the oblique NP in *Type 2* as the "by-adjunct" of the infinitival predicate because it can be suppressed while its accusative counterpart in *Type 1* cannot. The difference between *Type 1* and *Type 2* is therefore often attributed to the change in the number of the arguments of the causative verb in them.

As the Hungarian data presented in this paper show, the accusative/oblique case alternation of the causee is not necessarily a consequence of changing the argument structure of the causative verb from dyadic to triadic. In *dative causative constructions* in Hungarian, the dative causee is just as much an argument of the causative verb as its accusative counterpart is in *accusative causatives,* i.e. both of them have three arguments. There exists,

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however, a third type of causative construction labelled here *by-causative,* sharing the syntactic properties of *by*-causatives with passive force in other languages. Here the *by*-causee may optionally appear as an adjunct.

1.1 THE DATA

Analytic causative constructions in Hungarian can be formed by either of the two causative verbs *hagy* 'let' and *enged* 'let', invariably expressing the *permissive* reading (Tompa 1965). For the "factive causative" interpretation, the causative suffixes *-at/-et* and *-tat/-tet* must be used (see Komlósy 1999 for details).[1] I will use *hagy* 'let, allow" as the paradigm case of analytic causative verbs here because *enged* 'let, allow' does not substantially differ from *hagy* 'let, allow' in its argument structure, the differences being mostly stylistic.

Analytic causative constructions may appear in three syntactic patterns (Ackerman 1992, Komlósy 1999). In *Type 1 Accusative causative constructions*, the causative verb (*hagy/enged* 'let, allow') is a three-place predicate taking a nominative causer, an accusative causee and a propositional argument expressed by infinitival clause. Here the infinitival verb may be either intransitive, as in (1a), or transitive, (1b):

Type 1 Accusative causative

(1a) Mari$_j$ hagyta az anyós-á-t$_k$ [soká-ig alud-ni PRO$_k$].
Mary let the mother-in-law- POSS3SG-ACC long-TERM sleep-INF
'Mary let her mother-in-law sleep.'

(1b) Mari$_j$ hagyta az anyós-á-t$_k$ [ki-vasal-ni PRO$_k$ a blúz-t].
Mary let the mother-in-law-POSS3SG-ACC PFX-iron-INF the blouse-ACC
'Mary let her mother-in-law iron the blouse.'

Type 2 causatives are further divided into *dative causatives* and *by-causatives* (Ackerman 1992), both of which are subject to the so-called *transitivity restriction*. In *Type 2a*, the causative verb shows definiteness and per-

[1] Hungarian is a morphologically rich language, in which the verb shows person and number agreement with the subject and also person and definiteness agreement with the object (see Bartos 1995 for details). In addition, it is a *null argument language*, where the omitted arguments can be reconstructed from the verbal morphology (see É. Kiss & Kiefer 1994 and É. Kiss 2002 on the syntactic structure of Hungarian in general).

son agreement with the object of the infinitival clause[2], to be discussed in 3.1:

Type 2a Dative causative

(2a) *Mari$_j$hagy-ott-0 az anyós-nak$_k$ [alud-ni PRO$_k$].
Mary let-PAST -3SG[-DEF] the mother-in-law-DAT sleep-INF
'Mary allowed the mother-in-law to sleep.'

(2b) Mari$_j$ hagy-t-a az anyós-nak$_k$ [ki-vasal-ni PRO$_k$
Mary let-PAST-3SG[DEF] the mother-in-law-DAT PFX-iron-INF
a blúz-t].
the blouse-ACC
'Mary allowed the mother-in-law to iron the blouse.'

Type 2b By-causative

(3a) *Mari$_j$ hagy-t-a a ruhák-at$_k$ [áz-ni t$_k$
Mary let-PAST-3SG[DEF] the dress-PL-ACC soak$_{vi}$-INF
(az anyós által)].
the mother-in-law by
'Mary let the dresses be soaked$_{vi}$ by the mother-in-law.'

(3b) Mari$_j$ hagy-t-a a ruhák-at$_k$ [ki-vasal-ni t$_k$
Mary let-PAST-3SG[DEF] the dress-PL-ACC PFX-iron-INF
(az anyós által)].
the mother-in-law by
'Mary let the dresses be ironed by the mother-in-law.'

The dative causee in the example in (2b) is an argument of the matrix causative verb, just like the accusative causee in (1b). The *by*-causee in (3b), however, is an adjunct, hence it is optional. The informal chart in (4) shows how the arguments in these three types of causative construction pattern. Other instances, where the causative verb takes a finite clause complement or a third NP argument, are not discussed in this paper as they are not instances of the analytic causative construction investigated here (but see Tóth 1999 for details).

[2] The square brackets in the glosses are used to indicate [±definite] object agreement. Morphologically it is not separable from the person/number agreement suffix in the past tense, so it is represented here merely as an abstract feature.

(4) *Causative constructions in Hungarian*

CAUSATIVE HAGY/ENGED	**ARG1**	**ARG2**	**ARG3**	**ADJUNCT**
Type 1 Accusative Causative	NP1 nominative causer	NP2 accusative causee	CP [-Fin] proposition	--
Type 2 Dative Causative	NP1 nominative causer	NP2 dative causee	CP [-Fin] proposition	--
Type 3 By-causative	NP1 nominative causer	--	CP [-Fin] proposition	(NP2) *By*-causee

1.2 PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS

Analytic causatives in Hungarian have received various syntactic analyses in the generative literature. Tóth (1999) argues that the causative verb in *accusative causative constructions* is a dyadic *ECM*-predicate while *dative causatives* are either *Dative Control* or *Dative ECM*-constructions. In the latter case, the dative NP is the subject of the infinitival clause receiving its dative case *via* exceptional case marking from the causative verb. The exceptional dative subject" analysis of *dative causatives* is also accepted by Den Dikken (2004). I will return to his analysis in *3.1,* where I will offer an alternative account of the object agreement facts. In *Part 4* I will show that the *clause union* account cannot explain the placement of postverbal, pre-infinitival quantified expressions and foci in causative constructions.

The analysis proposed by Tóth (1999) is based, among others, on the observation that *accusative causatives* may take an idiomatic expression as their infinitival complement, while *dative causatives* cannot. She takes this to be indicative of the *ECM*-property of *accusative causatives*:

Idiomatic expression with the accusative causative

(5a) Mari hagy-t-a a szög-et ki-búj-ni a zsák-ból.
Mary let-PAST-3SG[DEF] the nail-ACC PFX-thread-INF the sack-ADESS
'Mary let the cat out of the bag.'

Idiomatic expression with the dative causative

(5b) *Mari hagy-ott-0 a szög-nek ki-búj-ni a zsák-ból.
Mary let-PAST-3SG[-DEF] the nail-DAT PFX-thread-INF the sack-ADESS
'the same'

Idiomatic expressions in Hungarian do not serve as a diagnostic test to distinguish *ECM* from *Object Control* for two reasons: (i) their predominant word order is fixed as VSO (Hetzron 1975), therefore they cannot successfully be deployed in testing constituency; (ii) if this order is ruined for some reason or another, the expression loses its idiomatic content. This is also true of the idiomatic examples give by Tóth (1999).

For example, as soon as the idiomatic expression *veri az ördög a feleségét* "the devil is beating his wife" (meaning that it is raining and shining at the same time) is embedded in either type of causative construction, it loses its idiomatic sense; the sentences in (6) give equally good results under the interpretation that physical assault has taken place; these sentences are clearly not idiomatic and are therefore not symptomatic of anything:

(6a) Péter hagy-t-a a (szegény) ördög-öt ver-ni a feleség-é-t.
Peter let-PAST-3SG[DEF] the poor devil-ACC beat-INF the wife-his-ACC
'Peter let the (poor) chap beat his wife.'

(6b) Péter hagy-t-a a (szegény) ördög-nek ver-ni a feleség-é-t.
Peter let-PAST-3SG[DEF] the poor devil-DAT beat-INF the wife-his-ACC
'Peter allowed the (poor) chap to beat his wife.'

As Tóth (1999) later observes, the ungrammaticality of the *dative causative construction* in (5b) is due to the so-called *transitivity restriction* (Guasti 1992, 1996, 1997). For this reason, the above difference cannot be attributed to the *ECM* vs. *Control* properties of the causative verb. Even when the transitive idiomatic expression *mindent egy lapra feltenni* 'to put all the money on one card' meaning "to put all the eggs in one basket" is chosen, we get correct results in both types again:

(7a) Péter$_j$ hagy-t-a Mari-t$_k$ [az összes pénz-t egy lap-ra
Peter let-PAST-3SG[DEF] Mary-ACC the all money-ACC one card-on
fel-ten-ni PRO$_k$] ostobaság-á-ban$_{j/k}$.
PFX-put-INF foolishness-POSS3SG-INESS
'Peter let Mary put all the money on one card in his/her foolishness.'

(7b) Péter$_j$ hagy-t-a Mari-nak$_k$ [az összes pénz-t egy lap-ra
Peter let-PAST-3SG[DEF] Mary-DAT the all money-ACC one card-on
fel-ten-ni PRO$_k$] ostobaság-á-ban$_{j/k}$.
PFX-put-INF foolishness-POSS3SG-INESS
'Peter allowed Mary to put all the money on one card in his/her foolishness.'

The ambiguous interpretation of the subject-oriented depictive predicate in (7a) and (7b) shows that both *accusative causatives* and *dative causatives* have *Control* properties (see section (ii) of 2.1 for details). This becomes especially clear if we compare *Type 1* and *Type 2a* causative construction given in (7a,b), with a *perception* verb taking an infinitival clause complement:

(8) Péter$_j$ lát-t-a [Mari-t$_k$ az összes pénz-t egy lap-ra
Peter see-PAST-3SG[DEF] Mary-ACC the all money-ACC one card-on
fel-ten-ni ostobaság-á-ban$_{*j/k}$].
PFX-put-INF foolishness-POSS3SG-INESS
'Peter saw Mary put all the money on one card in *his/her foolishness.'

The subject-oriented depictive predicate construes with the closest available subject in (8). The fact that *Mary* is the only available subject for the subject-oriented depictive predicate, shows that the *perception* verb in (8) must be analyzed as a dyadic *ECM*-predicate. Neither the *accusative causative* nor the *dative casuative* patterns with the *ECM* construction given in (8), therefore the *ECM*-account receives no empirical support.

Tóth (1999) further argues that the causative verb in the *accusative causative* is dyadic because it does not accept a third argument, whether it is a clausal complement or an NP:

(9a) *Peter$_j$ nem hagy-t-a Mari-t$_k$ [hogy pro$_k$ az összes pénz-t
Peter not let-PAST-3SG[DEF] Mary-ACC that the all money-ACC
fel-tegy-e egy lap-ra].
PFX-put-SBJ3SG one card-on
'Peter didn't let Mary that she should put all the money on one horse.'

(9b) *Péter nem hagy-t-a Mari-t az-t.
Peter notlet-PAST-3SG[DEF] Mary-ACC it-ACC
'Peter did not let Mary it.'

By contrast, the causative verb in the *dative causative* type is triadic given that it accepts a finite complement clause or a pronoun as its third argument:

(10a) Péter$_j$ nem hagy-t-a Mari-nak$_k$ [hogy pro$_k$ az összes pénz-t
Peter notlet-PAST-3SG[DEF] Mary-DAT that the all money-ACC
fel-tegy-e egy lap-ra].
PFX-put-SBJ3SG one card-on
Peter did not allow Mary that she should put all the money on one card.'

(10b) Péter nem hagy-t-a Mari-nak az-t.
Peter notlet-PAST-3SG[DEF] Mary-DAT it-ACC
'Peter did not allow it for Mary.'

Whether a verb alternatively selects a finite clause complement or not is a lexical property of that verb, therefore, it is immaterial for its clause structure. The argument structure of the causative verb must be specified in the lexicon in such a way that these properties follow automatically.

Tóth (1999) also uses negative expressions and anaphors to support the *ECM*-analysis of *accusative causatives.* Unfortunately, negative expressions in Hungarian do not behave as true NPIs do in the so-called asymmetric negative concord languages (Puskás 2001, Surányi 2002). Therefore, their binding conditions are not conclusive for the syntactic structure of causative constructions. Pronominal binding cannot be used as a diagnostic test to tell apart *Object Control* from *ECM* as it gives equally good results in both constructions, though for different reasons.

The constituency tests presented in *Part 2* suggest that *accusative causatives* pattern with *dative causatives* in that they are both biclausal *Control* constructions. The difference between them is derived from the internal organisation of the matrix VP-shell.

The biclausal analysis proposed by Tóth (1999) is strongly influenced by the standard account of Italian causatives (Guasti 1992, 1996). While Tóth (1999) takes the causative verb in the *accusative causative construction* to be dyadic but that of *the dative causative construction* to be triadic, she makes no mention of *by-causatives* with passive force in her analysis at all.

If we systematically compare Hungarian causative constructions (Ackerman 1992; Komlósy 1999) with their Italian counterparts (Burzio 1986, Guasti 1996, 1997), we will discover that the two systems are not coextensive. First of all, *fare*$_1$ in the Italian accusative causative constructions accepts only intransitive infinitival verbs, (11a,b), while the causative verb in the Hungarian accusative causative construction occurs both with transitive and intransitive infinitival verbs, (1a,b):

Italian accusative causative (examples modelled on Guasti 1997)

(11a) Elena ha fatto lavora-re Gianni.
Elena have-3SG made work-INF Gianni-ACC
'Elena made Gianni work.'

(11b) *Elena ha fatto ripara-re la macchina Gianni.
Elena have-3SG made repair-INF the car-ACC Gianni-ACC
'Elena made Gianni repair the car.'

The Italian *fare*$_2$ in the *dative causative construction* imposes the so-called transitivity restriction on the infinitival verb, just like its Hungarian counterpart does. As will become clear in 3.1, however, the *dative causee* in Italian functions as the subject of the *infinitival clause*. In this respect, it differs substantially from *the dative causee* in Hungarian, where it is clearly an argument of the *causative verb*. Compare (2b) with (12) below:

Hungarian dative causative

(2b) Mari$_j$ hagy-t-a az anyós-nak$_k$ [ki-vasal-ni PRO$_k$
Mary let-PAST-3SG[DEF] the mother-in-law-DAT PFX-iron-INF

a saját$_{j/k}$ blúz-át].
the the own blouse-POSS3SG-ACC
'Mary allowed the mother-in-law to iron her own blouse.'

Italian dative causative

(12) Elena ha fatto [ripara-re la propria$_{*j/k}$ macchina **á** Gianni].
Elena have-3SG made repair-INF the own car DAT Gianni
'Elena made Gianni$_i$ repair *her/his own the car.'

In Italian *by-causatives,* the *da*-phrase is an adjunct, so the causative verb is dyadic. Italian *da*-causatives pattern with Hungarian *by-causatives* and not with *dative causatives*, contrary to what Tóth (1999) claims. Compare (3b) with (13b):

Italian by-causative

(13a) *Elena ha fatto lavora-re **da** Gianni.
Elena have-3SG made work-to by Gianni
'Elena made Gianni work.'

(13b) Elena ha fatto [ripara-re la macchina] **da** Gianni.
Elena have-3SG made repair-INF the car by Gianni
'Elena had the car repaired by Gianni.'

The chart in (14) summarizes these differences:

(14) *Transitivity restriction in Italian and Hungarian causative constructions*

CAUSATIVE VERB + INFINTIVAL CLAUSE	ITALIAN		HUNGARIAN	
	TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE
Accusative causative	×	✓	✓	✓
Dative caustive	✓	×	✓	×
By-causative	✓	×	✓	×

Guasti (1996) proposes that the Italian causative verb "restructures" with the infinitival verb. This means that they form one single VP, hence the construction becomes monoclausal. Guasti (1996) gives the following example in support of her restructuring account, where two temporal adverbials with different time reference appear in the causative construction:

(15) *Ieri ho fatto lavorare Gianni oggi.
yesterday have (I) made work Gianni tomorrow

Temporal adverbials are normally adjoined to T(ense)P. Locating two temporal adverbials with different time reference leads to ungrammaticality in (15). Guasti (1996) takes this to be evidence that there is only one temporal projection (TP), hence one clause here.

Subject-oriented adjunct predicates, on the other hand, have two possible interpretations. They either construe with the matrix subject or with the infinitival subject. This is an indication of the original biclausal structure (example from Guasti 1997):

(16a) Adele$_j$ ha fatto cuoc-ere il maiale$_k$ [con un limone in bocca]$_{j/k}$.
Adele have-3SG made cook-INF the suckling pig with a lemon in mouth
'Adele (with a lemon in the mouth) made the suckling pig cook (with a lemon in the mouth).'

The subject-oriented adjunct predicate *con un limone in bocca* 'with a lemon in the mouth' can be associated both with *Adele* and *il maiale* 'the suckling pig'. This is only possible if we assume a PRO subject in the infinitival clause at some point in the derivation:

(16b) Adele$_j$ ha fatto il maiale$_k$ [PRO$_k$ cuoce-re].
Adele have-3SG made the suckling pig cook-INF$_{intr}$
[con un limone in bocca]$_{j/k}$.
with a lemon in mouth

As will be shown in the rest of the paper, Hungarian causative constructions do not undergo restructuring. The object agreement facts in the dative causative construction can be explained by a syntactic well-formedness requirement imposed by the causative verb.

2. ARGUMENTS FOR THE CONTROL ANALYSIS OF ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN HUNGARIAN

Accusative causatives and *dative causatives* in Hungarian show *Control* properties. The main difference between them is that in *accusative causatives*, the object agreement features (person/number/definiteness) of the causative verb are checked locally, by the *accusative causee*. In *dative causatives*, on the other hand, the same object agreement features of the causative verb are checked by the object of the infinitival clause *via* Attract (Chomsky 1995).

Dative causatives cannot accept intransitive infinitival predicates, i.e. infinitival predicates without an object exactly because the causative verb requires that its object agreement features should be checked by the infinitival object, provided that there is one. Given that the *dative causee* occupies the intermediate specifier position of the matrix VP-shell, there is no suitable candidate to check the object agreement features of the causative verb within the matrix clause. In the lucky situation when a transitive infinitival verb is selected, its object has the relevant object agreement features, which, however, cannot be checked within the infinitival clause. Therefore, the object of the infinitival clause moves to the lowest specifier position of the matrix VP-shell to check the object agreement features of the causative verb by *Attract* (Chomsky 1995). A more detailed structural account of this construction will be given in 3.1. The proposed analysis is buttressed by the facts listed in (i)-(iv) below.

(i) Syntactic rules reflecting the argument structure of accusative causative constructions

Dalmi (2005) lists a couple of syntactic rules that move the infinitival clause and the accusative NP together as one syntactic unit. *Accusative causatives* are in sharp contrast with the *ECM*-constructions built on *perceptive* and *cognitive* verbs insofar as in the latter, such movement rules yield correct sentences, whereas in accusative causatives they always fail. The different syntactic behaviour of *perceptive/cognitive* vs. *causative* verbs suggests that they have different syntactic structures.

Perceptive verbs are dyadic predicates taking a *perceiver* and a *perceived* as their arguments cross-linguistically. If the second argument is an event expressed by an infinitival clause, the lexical subject of the infinitival clause appears in the accusative case. This has been called the *Exceptional Case-Marking (ECM)* construction since Chomsky (1981).

In the *ECM* construction in (17a), the whole infinitival clause has been fronted to a position preceding the parenthetical *szerintem* 'in my opinion'. Parentheticals typically appear on the left periphery of the clause, marking the borderline between the contrastive topic and the topic (Puskás 1997). The borderline is marked by the sharply rising intonation indicated by "/" here. The grammaticality of (17a) suggests that the bracketed elements form a single syntactic unit:

Contrastive topic with a parenthetical in ECM

(17a) [$_{Tc}$Mari-t füv-et nyír-ni]/, *szerintem*, [$_{T}$Kati]
Mary-ACC grass-ACC mow-INF in my opinion Kate

biztosan nem lát-t-a.
surely not see-PAST-3SG[DEF]
'Mary mowing the grass, *in my opinion*, Kate surely did not see.'

This is in sharp contrast with the *Object Control* predicates given in (17b):

Contrastive topic with a parenthetical in Object Control

(17b) *[Mari-t füv-et nyír-ni]/, *szerintem*, Kati biztosan
Mary-ACC grass-ACC mow-INF in my opinion Kate surely

nem hagy-t-a / hív-t-a / küld-t-e.
not let-PAST-3SG[DEF] / invite- PAST-3SG[DEF] / send- PAST-3SG[DEF]
'Mary (to) mow the grass, *in my opinion*, Kate surely did not let/invite/send.'

If the causative verb in (17b) showed the syntactic properties of *ECM*-constructions, we would get the same results with respect to Fronting as in (17a). The next constituency test exploits the syntactic property of resumptive pronouns, which also appear at the borderline between the contrastive topic and the topic:

Contrastive topic with a resumptive pronoun in ECM

(18a) [Mari-t füv-et nyír-ni], na **azt/** Péter
Mary-ACC grass-ACC mow-INF well that-ACC Peter

nem lát-t-a.
not see-PAST-3SG[DEF]
'Mary mow the grass, well, THAT Peter didn't see.'

Contrastive topic with a resumptive pronoun in Object Control

(18b) *[Mari-t füv-et nyír-ni], na **azt/** Péter
Mary-ACC grass-ACC mow-INF well that-ACC Peter

nem hagy-t-a.
not let-PAST-3SG[DEF]
'Mary mow the grass, well, THAT Peter didn't let.'

The contrast found between (18a) and (18b) is the same as the one between (17a) and (17b), showing that the accusative causee and the infinitival clause do not form a syntactic unit. In the next example, the whole infinitival clause is forced to move to the Focus Phrase (FP), which can normally host only a single XP constituent.[3] The infinitival clause of the *perception* verb and the accusative NP can comfortably be accommodated in FP in (19a). If, however, we try to squeeze the infinitival complement plus the *accusative causee* into the FP together as a single constituent in the *accusative causative* construction, we get poor results, (19b):

[3] Finite argument clauses in Hungarian are generated under a complex DP, where the case-marked lexical (or empty, pro) referring word and the CP form an expletive-associate chain (Kenesei 1994):

(i) $[_{DP}\ [_{DP}$ Az-t$]_i\ [_{CP}$ hogy Mari férj-hez ment$]]_i$, nem tudtam.
it-ACC that Mary husband-to went not knew (I)
'That Mary had got married, I did not know.'

Complex DPs cannot be focussed, this explains why (ii) is ungrammatical:

(ii) *$[_{FP}$ AZ-T$]_i\ [_{CP}$ hogy Mari férj-hez ment$]]_i$, nem tudtam.
'Only IT that Mary had got married, I did not know.'

Contrastive focus with clause negation in ECM

(19a) Kati csak [$_{FP}$ MARI-T FÜV-ET NYÍR-NI] nem látta.
Kate only Mary-ACC grass-ACC mow-INF not saw
'It was only [MARY MOW THE GRASS] that Kate did NOT see.'
(She saw others do various other things.)

Contrastive focus with clause negation in Object Control

(19b) *Kati csak [$_{FP}$MARI-T FÜV-ET NYÍR-NI] nem hagyta.
Kate only Mary-ACC grass-ACC mow-INF not let
'It was only [MARY MOW THE GRASS] that Kate did NOT let.'
(She let other people do all sorts of other things.)

What we can conclude from all this is that in the case of *perceptive* verbs like *lát* 'see', the accusative NP and the infinitival clause together form one single syntactic unit, whereas in the case of *causative* verbs like *hagy/enged* 'let/allow' and other *Object Control* verbs, they do not. This indicates that *perception* verbs take an *ECM*-infinitival clause complement with a lexical subject, while causative verbs are triadic predicates requiring an agent, a causee plus a *Control*-infinitival clause complement.

(ii) Split antecedents

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns do not accept a so-called "split antecedent", where the antecedent consists of two distinct referents. This has traditionally been used as a test to distinguish between *ECM* constructions (where the infinitival clause has a lexical subject) and *Object Control* constructions, which have a phonologically empty PRO subject in the infinitival clause (Koster & May 1982). The reason why (20a) is grammatical is that the infinitival clause contains a PRO subject, i.e. it is an *Object Control* construction. If Type 1 Accusative Causatives were, indeed, ECM-constructions *Type 1 Accusative Causatives*, the plural reflexive pronoun ought to be bound locally, by the singular causee. The singular causee, however, cannot serve as a potential antecedent for the plural reflexive, as this would cause an interpretation conflict, as in (20b):

(20a) Péter$_j$ hagy-t-a Mari-t$_k$ [le-fényképez-ni PRO$_{\mathbf{j+k}}$ maguk-at$_{\mathbf{j+k}}$].
Peter let-PAST-3SG Mary-ACC PFX-photograph-INF themselves-ACC
'Peter let Mary take a photograph of themselves.'

(20b) *Péter$_j$ lát-t-a [Mari-t$_k$ le-fényképez-ni maguk-at$_{j+k}$].
Peter see-PAST-3SG Mary-ACC PFX-photograph-INF themselves-ACC
'Peter saw Mary take a photograph of themselves.'

In (20a) both *Peter* and *Mary* are actively involved in the action while this interpretation is unavailable in (20b). This difference follows from the lexical-conceptual structure of *Control* vs. *ECM* verbs.

(iii) Subject-oriented depictive predicates

Subject-oriented depictive predicates, as their name suggests, construe with the subject and not with the object. In the *ECM*-construction in (21a), the depictive predicate *szórakozottságában* 'in his absent-mindedness' constues only *Mary* but not with the matrix subject. This inidicates that Mary is the lexical subject of the infinitival clause. The same subject-oriented depictive predicate is ambiguous in (21b) i.e. it construes both with *Peter* and *Mary*. The source of the ambiguity is that PRO accepts both NPs as its antecedent:

ECM

(21a) Péter$_j$ lát-t-a [Mari-t$_k$ meg-gyújta-ni a cigarettá-t
Peter see-PAST-3SG Mary-ACC PFX-light-INF the cigarette-ACC

szórakozottságában$_{*j/k}$].
in *his/her absent-mindedness
'Peter saw Mary light the cigarette in *his/her absent-mindedness.'

Object Control

(21b) Péter$_j$ hagy-t-a Mari-t$_k$ [meg-gyújta-ni PRO$_k$ a cigarettá-t
Peter let-PAST-3SG Mary-ACC PFX-light-INF the cigarette-ACC

szórakozottságában$_{j/k}$].
in his/her absent-mindedness
'Peter$_j$ let Mary$_k$ light the cigarette in his$_j$/her$_k$ absent-mindedness.'

If we were to analyze the *accusative causative* in (21b) as an *ECM*-construction with a lexical subject in the infinitival clause, we would expect a construal similar to that in (21a). The ambiguous interpretation of the subject-oriented depictive predicate indicates that the *accusative causative* is a *Control construction* (Thráinsson 1979, Andrews 1982).

Dative causatives pattern with *accusative causatives* with respect to *split antecedents* and *subject-oriented depictive predicates*. Such co-variation in grammaticality is taken to be an indication of identical syntactic structure:

Split antecedents with the dative causative

(22a) Péter$_j$ nem hagy-t-a Mari-nak$_k$ [le-fényképez-ni PRO$_{j+k}$
Peter not let-PAST-3SG Mary-DAT PFX-photograph-INF

maguk-at$_{j+k}$].
themselves-ACC
'Peter did not allow Mary to photograph themselves.'

Subject-oriented depictive predicate with the dative causative

(22b) Péter$_j$ hagy-t-a Mari-nak$_k$ [meg-gyújta-ni PRO$_k$
Peter let-PAST-3SG Mary-DAT PFX-light-INF

a cigarettá-t szórakozottságában$_{j/k}$].
the cigarette-ACC in his/her absent-mindedness
'Peter allowed Mary to light the cigarette in his/her absent-mindedness.'

(iv) Dative causatives vs. Dative Control

It has already been shown that the *accusative causative* shows *Control* properties. In the light of the examples in (22a,b), *dative causatives* cannot be analysed as *Dative ECM.* Here I will briefly explain that they cannot be analyzed as *Dative Control* either, contrary to Tóth (1999) given that the *Dative Control* class has different syntactic properties. *Dative causatives* involve a 3-place causative predicate while *Dative Control* constructions are built on 2-place unaccusatives (the *piacere*-class in Belletti&Rizzi 1988). In languages where *Dative Control* is found, the dative experiencer is required by the dyadic unaccusative predicate describing the physical, mental or psychological circumstances of the dative experiencer. The second argument is either a nominative theme or an infinitival clause:

(23) Mari-nak$_j$ nem sikerül-t [fel-olvas-ni PRO$_j$ a *saját*$_j$ vers-é-t].
Mary-DAT not succeed-PAST3SG PFX-read-INF the own poem-POSS3SG-ACC
'Mary didn't manage to read out her own poem.'

The *Dative Control* construction in (23), in fact, patterns with *Subject Control* constructions. In fact, in many languages, the dative experiencer in *Dative Control* shows subject properties (see Cardinaletti 1997, 2004 on Italian dative experiencers, Sigurðsson 2001, 2004 on Icelandic non-nominative subjects, and Dalmi 2000 on Hungarian dative experiencer subjects). In *dative causatives,* by contrast, the causative verb requires three arguments

(just like in *accusative causatives*), with the dative causee occupying the intermediate specifier position of the matrix VP-shell.

(24) Péter$_j$ nem [$_{VP}$ hagy-t-a Mari-*nak*$_k$ [fel-olvas-ni PRO$_k$ a *saját*$_{j/k}$ vers-
Peter not let-PAST-+SG Mary-DAT out-read-INF the own poem
ét]].
POSS3SG-ACC
'Peter did not allow Mary to read out his/her own poem.'

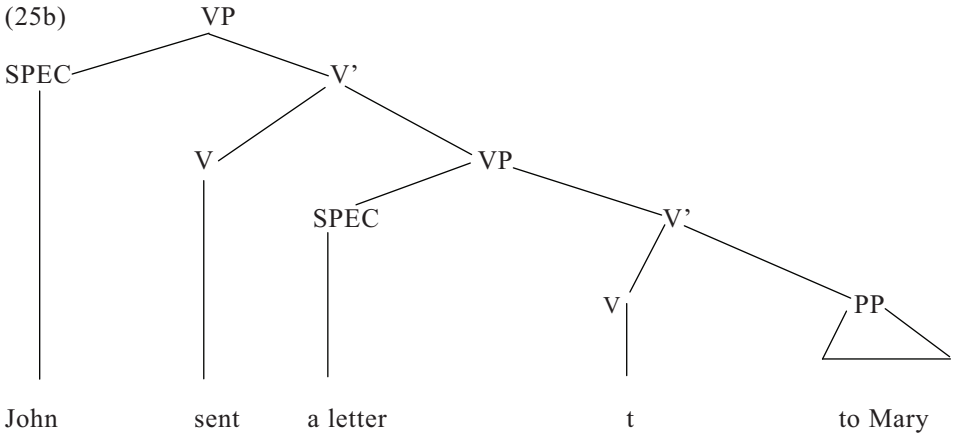
As the coindexation of the subject-oriented possessive reflexive *saját* 'own' suggests, it can be coreferential both with the nominative causer and with the dative causee. Such ambiguity is not found in dyadic *Dative Control* constructions.

3. DATIVE CAUSATIVES AS "DOUBLE OBJECT" CONSTRUCTIONS

In *dative causatives,* the *dative causee* is in the intermediate specifier position of the VP-shell, while the infinitival clause is in the complement position of the verbal head. This construction is similar to the so called "double object construction" given in (25), where the direct object and the indirect object are also accommodated in the intermediate positions of the VP-layer, and the verb performs head movement (Larson 1988):

(25a) John sent a letter to Mary.

(25b)



The existence of such intermediate layers can be verified by conjoining the direct and the indirect object. Conjoining the two NPs that do not normally form a natural syntactic unit is only possible if there is an intermediate VP present in the structure, containing both the direct object and the indirect object:

(26) John [$_{VP}$ sent [$_{VP}$ a letter to Mary] and [$_{VP}$ a book to Sue]].

In a similar vein, conjoining the dative causee and the infinitival clause yields a grammatical sentence in (26), so we have good reasons to believe that these two constituents also form an intermediate layer within the VP:

Conjunction

(27) Péter [$_{VP}$ hagy-t-a [$_{VP}$[Mari-nak] [ki-vasal-ni a ruhák-at PRO]],
Peter let-PAST-3SG Mary-DAT PFX-iron-INF the clothes-ACC

és [$_{VP}$[az anyós-nak] [le-mos-ni a szekrények-et PRO]]].
and the mother-in-law-DAT PFX-wash-INF the cupboards-ACC
'Peter allowed Mary(dat) to iron the clothes and the mother-in-law(dat) to wash the cupboards.'

3.1 Definiteness agreement in dative causatives

Den Dikken (2004) observes that in *dative causatives* the causative verb shows definiteness agreement with the object of the infinitival clause:

(28a) Péter hagy-**ott-0** Mari-nak megnéz-ni *egy* film-et.
Peter let-PAST-3SG[-DEF] Mary-DAT watch-INF a film-ACC
'Peter allowed Mary to see *a* film.'

(28b) *Péter hagy-**ott-0** Mari-nak megnéz-ni *a* film-et.
Peter let-PAST-3SG[-DEF] Mary-DAT watch-INF the film-ACC
'Peter allowed Mary to see *the* film.'

(28c) Péter hagy-**t-a** Mari-nak megnéz-ni *a* film-et.
Peter let-PAST-3SG[+DEF] Mary-DAT watch-INF the film-ACC
'Peter allowed Mary to see *the* film.'

(28d) *Péter hagy-**t-a** Mari-nak megnéz-ni *egy* film-et.
Peter let-PAST-3SG[+DEF] Mary-DAT watch-INF a film-ACC
'Peter allowed Mary to see *a* film.'

This leads him to conclude that in Hungarian *dative causatives* "clause union" takes place, whereby the original biclausal structure becomes monoclausal. He further assumes that in the original biclausal structure, the infinitival clause has a lexical subject with an exceptional dative case. However, the Hungarian facts show that the *dative causee* is an argument of the causative verb:

ITALIAN (example from Guasti 1997)

(29a) Elena$_j$ ha fatto [ripara-re la propria$_{*j/k}$ macchina a Gianni$_k$].
Elena have-3SG made repair-INF the own car Gianni-DAT
'Elena has made Gianni repair *her own/his own car.'

HUNGARIAN

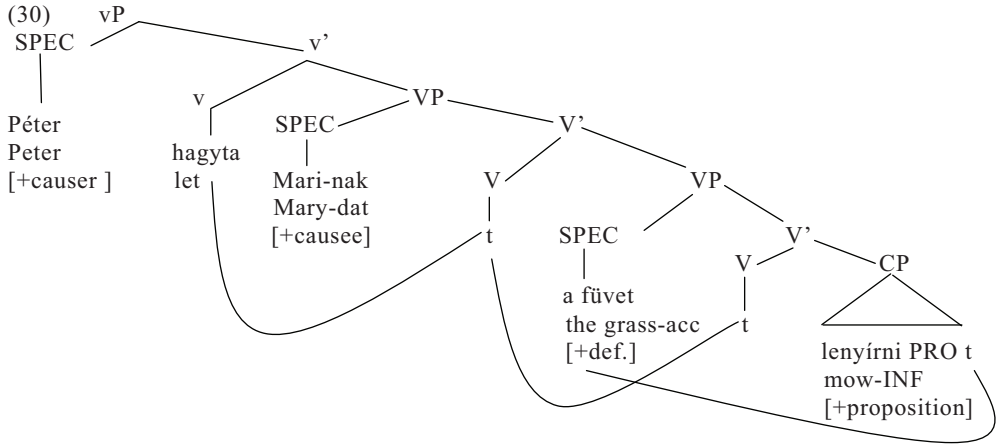
(29b) Mária$_j$ hagy-t-a Péter-nek$_k$[megjavíta-ni PRO$_k$ a saját$_{j/k}$ autóját].
Maria let-PAST-3SG[DEF] Peter-DAT repair-INF the own car
'Maria allowed Peter to repair his/her car.'

In the Italian example in (29a) the *subject-oriented possessive reflexive* construes with the *dative causee* but not with the matrix subject. Reflexives must be bound within their minimal domain. The fact that such construal is possible only with the *dative causee* suggests that the the *dative causee* is the argument of the infinitival verb. In the Hungarian example in (29b), however, both interpretations are available, given that PRO can accept both NPs as its antecedents. This clearly shows that (29b) is a *Control* construction[4].

Definiteness agreement with the infinitival object in *dative causatives* is required by the causative verb. Within the VP-shell, the *dative causee* occupies the intermediate specifier position. In the absence of the relevant object agreement features, the infinitival clause cannot occupy the lower specifier position, so it remains in complement position. Now we have an empty position and a causative verb with active object agreement features. The causative verb attracts the infinitival object to the designated object position of the matrix VP-shell:

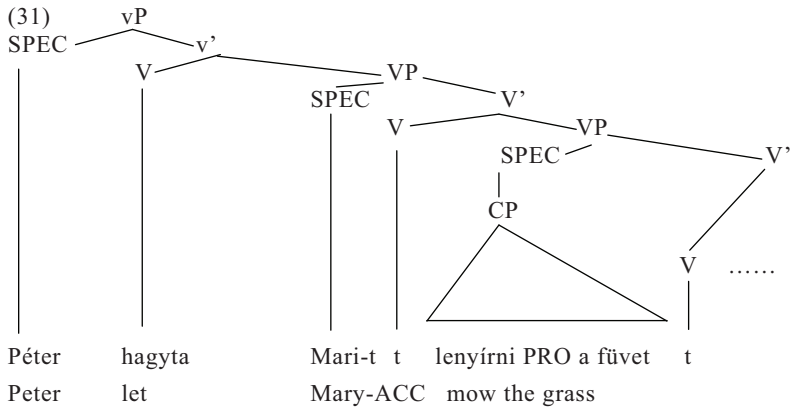
[4] Control is used here in the canonical sense, in which PRO has no case and does not move. This is motivated by the facts of Icelandic and Russian Control (see Sigurðsson 2006 and Neidle 1986 for the facts and arguments).

Dative causative



Dative causatives differ from *accusative causatives* (i) in showing overt definiteness agreement between the causative verb and the infinitival object and (ii) in the internal organisation of the matrix VP-shell. The *accusative causee* occupies the intermediate specifier position within the VP-shell, while the lowest specifier position hosts the infinitival CP. This is due to the fact that the accusative causee itself has the relevant object agreement features that the causative verb requires, which makes the lowest specifier position available for the infinitival clause:

Accusative causative



1st person subject--2nd person object agreement is marked by the *-lak/lek portmanteau* morpheme in Hungarian (see Bartos 1997 and Den Dikken

2004 for details). With a 1st person matrix subject and a 2nd person object inside the infinitival clause of the *dative causative construction,* this morpheme will show up on the causative verb:

(32) Nem hagy-ta-lak (én)$_j$ János-nak téged$_k$ [le-fényképez-ni PRO$_j$ t$_k$].
not let-PAST-1SG[2SG] (I) John-DAT you-ACC PFX-photograph-INF
'I did not allow John to photograph you.'

Here again the infinitival object moves by Attract overtly or covertly to check the object agreement features of the causative verb.[5] In the present case, where the infinitival object is lexical, it can either move to the lower specifier position of the matrix VP-shell, as it has done in (32), or it can stay within the infinitival clause, as in (33). In the latter case, covert movement to the matrix intermediate specifier position is assumed:

(33) Nem hagy-ta-lak (én) János-nak [le-fényképez-ni PRO (téged)].
not let-PAST-1SG[2SG] I John-DAT PFX-photograph-INF you-ACC
'I did not allow John to photograph you.'

The analysis proposed in this paper makes no reference to restructuring or clause union.[6] In this way, it does not simply eliminate an unnecessary complication in the grammar of Hungarian but it also preserves the C-domain of the infinitival clause, vital for cases when focussed and quantified expressions precede the infinitival verb but follow the causative verb. This will be discussed in the next section.

3.2 THE C-DOMAIN OF INFINITIVAL CLAUSES

In the following examples, the capitalized focussed or quantified expression precedes the infinitival verb:

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[5] Notice that Hungarian is a null argument language, where both the subject and the object can be safely dropped (Farkas 1987):
(i) Nem hagy-ta-lak [le-fényképez-ni PRO$_j$ t$_k$].
not let-PAST-1SG[2SG] PFX-photograph-INF
'I did not let you be photographed.

[6] The order *Nem hagytalak (pro) téged János-nak le-fényképez-ni* not let (I) you-ACC John-DAT PFX-photograph-INF), where the infintival object precedes the dative causee, can only be obtained by remnant VP-movement.

(34) Péter$_j$ nem hagy-t-a Mari-nak$_k$ [$_{CP}$[$_{FP}$ CSAK a koalák-at]
Peter not let-PAST-3SG[DEF] Mari-DAT only the koalas-ACC

dícsér-ni PRO$_k$].
praise-INF
'Peter did not allow Mary to praise ONLY about koalas.'

(35) Péter$_j$ nem hagy-ott-0 Mari-nak$_k$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{QP}$ MINDENKI-T] kigúnyol-ni PRO$_k$].
Peter not let-PAST-3SG Mary-DAT everyone-ACC PFX-mock-INF
'Peter did not allow Mary to mock at EVERYONE.'

The semantic content of the capitalized expressions unquestionably relates them to the infinitival verb *dícsérni* 'praise' and *kigúnyolni* 'mock at', respectively. So we can claim that these expressions appear in the operator field of the infinitival C-domain in both examples (see Puskás 1997 on the C-domain of Hungarian clause structure). If clause union had really taken place, we would expect that the focussed or quantified expression related to the matrix causative verb should be able to freely scramble post-verbally with those related to the infinitival clause:

(36a) Péter$_j$ nem hagy-t-a CSAK Mari-nak$_k$ [CSAK a koalák-at
Peter not let-PAST-3SG[DEF] only Mary-DAT only the koalas-ACC

dícsér-ni PRO$_k$].
praise-INF
'Peter did not allow Mary ALONE to praise ONLY koalas.'

(36b) *Péter$_j$ nem hagy-t-a [CSAK a koalák-at CSAK Mari-nak$_k$
Peter not let-PAST-3SG[DEF] only the koalas-ACC only Mary-DAT

dícsér-ni PRO$_k$].
praise-INF
'the same'

As we see in (36b), the free scrambling of the matrix and the infinitival *focussed expressions* is impossible (on the syntax of post-verbal focus and other operators see É.Kiss (1998). If the same test is applied to (37a), we get grammatical results because in this case the scope of the post-verbal quantified expression is shifted to the infinitival clause, (37b):

(37a) Péter$_j$ TÖBBSZÖR IS hagy-ott-0Mari-nak$_k$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{QP}$ MINDENKI-T]
Peter several times let-PAST-3SG Mary-DAT everyone-ACC

ki-gúnyol-ni PRO$_k$].
PFX-mock-INF
'Peter allowed Mary SEVERAL TIMES to mock at EVERYONE.'
(Peter's allowance occurred several times.)

(37b) Péter$_j$ hagy-ott-0 Mari-nak$_k$ [MINDENKI-T TÖBBSZÖR IS
Peter let-PAST-3SG Mary-DAT everyone-ACC several times

ki-gúnyol-ni PRO$_k$].
PFX-mock-INF
'Peter allowed Mary to mock at EVERYONE SEVERAL TIMES.'
(Mary's mocking occurred several times.)

This data argues for an analysis without restructuring or clause union, contra Den Dikken (2004). The definiteness agreement facts follow from the requirement imposed by the causative verb to check its object agreement features by the syntactic operation *Attract,* which explains why intransitive infinitival verbs are unacceptable in *Dative Causatives*.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper I argued that *accusative causatives* and *dative causatives* in Hungarian are both built on a 3-place causative verb and are both biclausal *Control* constructions. The two types differ in the organization of the matrix VP-shell. In the first type, the *accusative causee* is in the specifier position of the intermediate VP, and is capable of checking the object agreement features of the causative verb locally. In the second type, the *dative causee* sits in the same intermediate specifier position but it cannot check the object agreement features of the causative verb. The object of the infinitival clause is therefore attracted to the lowest specifier position of the matrix VP, where it can check these object agreement features. The proposed analysis discards restructuring or clause union, on the basis of evidence from the infinitival C-domain.

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STRUKTURY KAUZATYWNE Z CELOWNIKIEM W JĘZYKU WĘGIERSKIM

S t r e s z c z e n i e

W artykule przedstawione są argumenty za tym, że w języku węgierskim konstrukcje kauzatywne z celownikiem zachowują się w ten sam sposób, co konstrukcje kauzatywne z biernikiem, o ile obie te struktury wykazują cechy kontroli. Jednym z powodów uzasadniającym zaproponowaną analizę jest to, że jest ona w stanie wyjaśnić, dlaczego kauzatywy z celownikiem nie akceptują nieprzechodniego dopełnienia w formie zdania niefinitywnego; fakt, który pozostaje niewyjaśniony w ramach analizy odwołującej się do ECM/Kontroli celownika zaproponowanej przez Tóth (1999). Dobrze znane ograniczenie przechodniości derywowane jest przy użyciu wymogu dotyczącego tego, że cechy zgody z dopełnieniem czasownika kauzatywnego muszą zostać sprawdzone. Zaproponowana analiza jest również w stanie pomieścić wyrażenia emfatyczne i kwantyfikujące występujące w domenie C w zdaniu niefinitywnym; fakt, z którym nie mogą sobie poradzić ani analiza oparta o restrukturyzację (Guasti 1996, 1997), ani analiza oparta o związek zdań (Den Dikken 1999, (2004)). Cześć pierwsza wprowadza dane węgierskie i omawia wcześniejsze podejścia. Cześć druga pokazuje, że kauzatywy z celownikiem zachowują się pod względem składniowym tak jak kauzatywy z biernikiem, co zostało przyjęte jako dowód na to, że mają one identyczną strukturę. W części trzeciej omówione są niektóre zalety zaproponowanej analizy. Część czwarta zawiera podsumowanie artykułu.

Translated by Anna Bondaruk

Key words: Hungarian dative causatives, control, transitivity restriction, focussed and quantified expressions, C-domain.
Słowa kluczowe: węgierskie kauzatywy z celownikiem, kontrola, ograniczenie przechodniości, wyrażenia emfatyczne i kwantyfikujące, domena C.