Causative VP-omission in English

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1 Introduction

In English, a small class of verbs allow [DP + uninflected VP] complements:

(1)   Causatives

    a.   Mary **made** [the children leave].
    b.   Mary **let** [the children leave].
    c.   Mary **had** [the children leave].
    d.   Mary **helped** [the children leave].

(2)   Perception verbs

    a.   Mary **saw** [the children leave].
    b.   Mary **heard** [the children leave].
    c.   Mary **felt** [the children leave].

Of these, at least *make* and *let* allow **VP-omission** (VPO):[1]

(3)   a.   Mary made John chop wood, then Sally made him Ø too.　　　Ø = chop wood
    b.   X: Why is John destroying Sally's Lego?
        Y: She let him Ø.　　　Ø = destroy her Lego

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[1] *Contra* Van Craenenbroeck's (2017, ex. 59h) (i); cf. (ii):

(i)   *Madame Spanella didn't make me eat rutabagas, but Holly made me.

(ii)   Madame Spanella didn't make me eat rutabagas, but Holly DID make me Ø.　　　Ø = eat rutabagas

But VP-omission is impossible with causative *have* and perception verbs:

- With causative *have*, the result is plain unacceptability:

  (4)   *Mary had Steve chop wood, then Sally **had** him Ø, too.   *Ø = chop wood

- With perception verbs, only lexical transitive interpretations are available:

(5)   A: Did the suspect leave the house?
        B: #I didn't **see** him Ø, even though I was watching him all day.
        B': #Even though I was watching him all day, I didn't **see** him Ø.

                                                                    *Ø = leave the house

(6)   A: Did Mary hear John go to the loo at 3am?
        B: #She didn't **hear** him Ø, although she was listening to him snore all night.
        B': #Even though she was listening to him snore all night, she didn't **hear** him Ø.

                                                                    *Ø = go to the loo (at 3am)

- We set aside *help*, *force* and other causation verbs until §3.3, though the basic idea is the same: they don't permit VP-omission.[2]

Plan for today

- §2-3: What is the 'Ø'?

  → **Not** verb phrase ellipsis (VPE) (§2).
    Instead, it's some sort of null complement anaphora (NCA) (§3)

- §4 What licenses the 'Ø'?

  → Being in the complement of a Voice » V functional sequence.

    ... plus a 'Voice uniformity' condition.

- §5 Conclusion (sanitised)

- §6 Complications and other miscellanea

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[2]Of the two further English verbs that (sometimes) permit uninflected VP complements, the picture is unclear. *Would (have) rather(ed)* seems degraded with VP-omission (i). *Bid/bade* is also quite strange (ii), to the extent it is still in anyone's English:

(i)   ?Mary would rather Tom leave, while John would rather Suzie Ø.   Ø = leave

(ii)   ?Mary bade John leave, and she also bade Bill Ø.   Ø = leave

2 Causative VP-omission isn't VPE

There is a **missing complement** 'Ø' of some kind in (7), which is interpreted as verb phrase-like:

(7)   Mary made John chop wood, then Sally made him Ø, too.   Ø = chop wood

Since time immemorial (Hankamer and Sag 1976), there have been two main approaches to analyzing 'missing verb-containing complements':

- 'Surface' anaphora: **ellipsis** (for our purposes, specifically *verb phrase ellipsis* (VPE))

- 'Deep' anaphora: **Null Complement Anaphora** (NCA)

This section provides two arguments that the 'Ø' in (7) is **not** an ellipsis site.

2.1   No A'-movement out of Ø

- A'-movement is possible out of VPE sites (a) (Haïk 1987, Fiengo and May 1994, Johnson 2001, Merchant 2013), but impossible with causative VP-omission (b):[3]

  (8)   a.   Whose dessert did Mary say John ate *t*?
             And whose did she say BILL did ~~eat *t*~~?
        b.   Whose dessert did Mary make John eat *t*?
             *And whose did she **make** BILL Ø?   *Ø = eat *t*

  (9)   a.   I know what Mary thinks John should eat *t*.
             I know what ABBY thinks he should ~~eat *t*~~, too.
        b.   I know what Mary lets John eat *t*.
             *I know what ABBY **lets** him Ø, too.   *Ø = eat *t*

- Covert A'-movement out of the VP-omission site is impossible too:

  (10)   *Surface scope context*: Mary is a new doctor on the ward. Dr. Smith told her that she ought to visit every patient. Then, later that day, the chief nurse told her to do the same.
         a.   Some doctor made Mary visit every patient, and some nurse did ~~make her visit every patient~~, too.
         b.   Some doctor made Mary visit every patient, and some nurse made her Ø, too.

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[3]As implied by the ~~strikethrough~~, the possibility of A'-movement out of ellipsis sites argues that they contain syntactic structure, to the extent that the base position of movement needs representing.

(11)   *Inverse scope context*: Mary is a new doctor on the ward. Every patient has their own doctor and nurse. Each patient's doctor makes Mary go and visit their own patient. Then each of the nurses makes Mary go and visit their own patient, too.

    a.   Some doctor made Mary visit every patient, and some nurse did ~~make her visit every patient~~, too.

    b.   *Some doctor made Mary visit every patient, and some nurse made her, Ø too.   (adapted from Depiante 2000)

- Likewise pseudogapping, which probably involves A'-movement out of VP (Jayaseelan 1990), is worse with VP-omission (re (b), cf. note 1):

(12)   a.   Jo didn't let Ed attend the first session, but she did ~~let him attend t_i~~ the second$_i$.

    b.   ?*Jo didn't let Ed attend the first session, but she DID **let** him Ø the second.

    *Ø = attend t

2.2   No A-movement out of Ø

- Raising is impossible out of the VP-omission site:[4]

(13)   *There appeared to be a chef cooking in the kitchen, after the manager made there Ø.   *Ø = appear to be a chef ...

(14)   *It seemed that John was winning only because I made him Ø.

    *Ø = seem to be winning

→ There is no elided structure for the causee to raise out of (*pace* Bruening 2019).

Interim summary: the Ø after the causee is *not* a VPE site.

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[4]Though cf. the 'agentive *appear*' reading of (i), discussed in more detail as (85) in §6.6:

(i)   a.   In my novel, I made the butler appear to die.

    b.   But in my screenplay, I made the valet Ø.   Ø = appear to die

2.3   Important caveat: inducing VPE with functional material

In all of the tests so far, Ø has directly followed the causee DP.

- But it's possible to insert *not* or an **auxiliary** after the DP:[5]

  (15)   a.   I was going to submit the evidence, but he made me **not**.
         b.   ?He shouldn't have been humiliated in front of the class like that, but the teacher let him **be**.

- However, *not* and auxiliaries license VPE independently (cf. Williams 1994, Potsdam 1997), as diagnosed by A'-movement:

  (16)   a.   Which films did John make his kids watch *t*?
              And which films did he make them **not** ~~watch *t*~~?
         b.   In my screenplay, I remember which monster I let Ed be eaten by *t*.
              ?I just can't remember which monster I let Mary **be** ~~eaten by *t*~~.

→   Therefore the silence after *not*/aux is VPE, and not causative VP-omission.

- More evidence: silence is usually impossible after causative *have* (cf. (4)); yet it becomes OK with *not*/aux:

  (17)   a.   They were on the verge of selling the land, but I had them **not**.
         b.   ?In my screenplay, I had Mary be eaten by a monster. Then I had John **be**.

- This is because the silence after [*have not*/aux] is VPE, shown by the acceptability of A'-extraction:

  (18)   a.   Which film did you have him show *t*?
              And which film did you have him **not** ~~show *t*~~?
         b.   In my screenplay, I remember which monster I had John be eaten by *t*.
              ?I just can't remember which monster I had Mary **be** ~~eaten by *t*~~.

- Additionally: T/Infl/*did* can license a larger VPE site in the 'usual' way (19), shown by acceptability of A'-movement (20):[6]

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[5]The examples with auxiliaries are somewhat awkward, but crucially, they neutralise the acceptability distinction between *make/let* and *have* causatives.

[6](20) is not a 'MaxElide' effect, bigger ellipsis (a) defeating smaller (b). Causative VP-omission is bad in (i), despite there being no larger VPE option:

(i)   *I remember what Mary made ME eat, but I don't remember what she made YOU Ø.   *Ø = eat *t*

(19)   I remember that Mary made me eat cheese,
and that John did ~~make me eat cheese~~, too.

(20)   I remember what Mary made me eat *t*, and ...
      a.   what JOHN did ~~make me eat *t*~~, too.
      b.   *what JOHN made me Ø, too.   *Ø = eat *t*

Causative VP-omission isn't VPE: summary

- You can have VPE above or below a causative...

- ...but silence right after the causee is not VPE.

    (21)   a.   DP made DP *not*/aux VP
               b.   DP made DP *not*/aux Ø   ✓VPE
               c.   DP made DP Ø   *VPE
               d.   DP did Ø   ✓VPE

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3   A Null Complement Anaphora analysis

If the 'Ø' in (22) isn't an ellipsis site, what is it?

(22)   Mary made John chop wood, then Sally made him Ø too.   Ø = chop wood

  → A **null VP pro-form**, of the kind found in **Null Complement Anaphora** (NCA).

(23)

3.1 What is NCA?

Some lexical verbs can omit their complements, with the silence interpreted anaphorically (Hankamer and Sag 1976, Depiante 2000, Haynie 2010).

Close meaning pairs can differ (Fillmore 1986):

(24) a. Suzie wanted someone to jump over the fence, so Mary **tried** Ø.
      b. *Suzie wanted someone to jump over the fence, so Mary **attempted** Ø.

(25) a. I'll leave if you **make** me Ø.
      b. *I'll leave if you **cause** me Ø.

(26) a. I'll speak if you **let** me Ø.
      b. I'll speak if you **allow** me Ø.

Analysing these 'Ø's as separate from VP-ellipsis captures some of their distinct properties:

- A'-movement is impossible (§2.1):

  (27) I remember what Mary was willing to watch, but not ...
        a. what she refused to ~~watch *t*~~.
        b. *what she refused Ø.   *Ø = to watch *t*.

- A-movement is impossible (§2.2)

- Other NCA properties (...cf. §6.1)

3.2 More evidence that VP-omission is NCA: only VPs may be omitted

Make can take small clause complements of various categories; but only VPs can be omitted:

(28) a. Mary made John [$_{VP}$ rest],
          and his agent made him, too.   Ø = VP

      b. *Bicycle Thieves* made Mary [$_{AdjP}$ teary],
          *then *Requiem for a Dream* made her, too.   *Ø = AdjP

      c. Mary made John [$_{DP}$ a star],
          *and his agent made him, too.   *Ø = DP

      d. Mary made John [$_{PP}$ into a star],
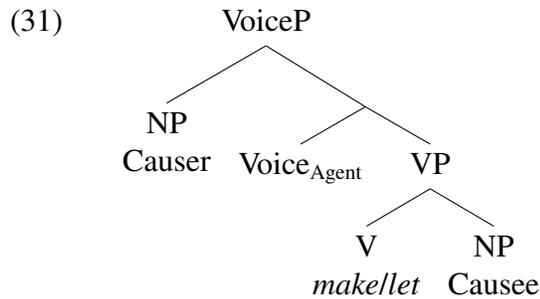   *and his agent made him, too.   *Ø = PP

7

Being categorially-restricted is a signature of NCA (Haynie 2010):[7]

(29) a. John couldn't [VP win], but at least he tried Ø.   Ø = [TP to win]
      b. *John wasn't a fan of [DP the soup], but at least he tried Ø.   *Ø = [DP the soup]

(30) a. Mary suggested [CP that we leave], and I agreed Ø.
                                    Ø = [TP to leave]/[CP that we should leave]

      b. *Mary was at loggerheads [PP with the City Council], but I agreed Ø.
                                    *Ø = [PP with the City Council]

3.3   Against a 'simple transitive' account of VP-omission

One account of NCA is that the verb has no complement (Shopen 1972, Grimshaw 1979, Napoli 1983).

For VP-omission, this would imply the following structure:[8]

(31)   VoiceP
           ╱   ╲
        NP   ╱   ╲
      Causer Voice_Agent   VP
                        ╱   ╲
                      V   NP
                   make/let Causee

Make/let would introduce underspecified causation semantics, then the caused event would be determined pragmatically.

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[7]Some of Haynie's (2010: 41, exx. 98a,b, 99b) examples:

(i) a. Last spring the grass became [AdjP green], *and the trees also became.
     b. After finishing school, Robin became [DP a lawyer], *and Lindsay also became.
     c. April got [PP into a good medical school], *and Andy also got.

[8]At first glance, a pair like (i) might provide evidence in favour of (31). The caused event cannot be modified adverbially with VP-omission in (b):

(i) a. You've made Mary leave tomorrow and you've made me do so on Tuesday.
     b. ?You've made Mary leave tomorrow and you've made me Ø on Tuesday.

However, NCA sites are unmodifiable generally:

(ii) We need someone to pick up rubbish today.

      a. Sorry, I've already volunteered to pick up rubbish tomorrow.
      b. *Sorry, I've already volunteered Ø tomorrow.

$\rightarrow$ We will claim that (31) is not correct for *make*/*let*, but *is* correct for some causation verbs (*help*/*force*).

Problems with (31):

- *Make*, when used as a simple transitive, means 'create' rather than 'cause':

    (32)   My mother/this city/God made me.

- *Let* doesn't even have a simple transitive interpretation:

    (33)   #Anna let the mistake.

- It would be hard to encode the "VP-only" restriction on antecedents (§3.2) under a wholly-pragmatic model.

- *Make* (34) and *let* (35) resist passivisation from (a) to (b). They retain this resistance under VP-omission from (c) to (d), pointing to the structural uniformity of *make*/*let* with and without an overt complement:

    (34)   I didn't want to eat the haggis, but ...
          a.   my hosts made me eat the haggis.
          b. *I was made eat haggis by my hosts.
          c.   my hosts made me Ø.
          d. *I was made Ø by my hosts.

    (35)   She shouldn't have watched those movies, but somehow ...
          a.   someone let her watch those movies.
          b. *she was let watch those movies.
          c.   someone let her Ø.
          d. *she was let Ø.

However, the simple transitive structure does make sense for some other causation verbs:

3.3.1 *Help*

- *Help* (36) can take a [DP + VP] complement (a), a DP complement (b), or no complement at all (c):

    (36)   a.   Mary helps her friends file their taxes.
           b.   Mary helps her friends.
           c.   Mary helps.

- The A'-movement test (37) shows there is no VPE in (b) or (c):

(37)   I remember which files Mary helped me submit *t*, but I can't remember...
- a.   which files Sarah helped me submit *t*.
- b.   *which files Sarah helped me.
- c.   *which files Sarah helped.

- Based on (38), we suggest that (b) doesn't involve NCA either. Rather, *help* with a DP complement is just a simple lexical transitive. Only with intransitive *help* (c) does NCA return:

(38)   A poor Brexit strategy helped Labour lose the election...
- a.   An unpopular leader helped it lose, as well.
- b.   #An unpopular leader helped it, as well.   *Ø = lose
- c.   An unpopular leader helped Ø, as well.   Ø = Labour lose the election

3.3.2 *Force*

- *Force* doesn't take [DP + VP] complements:[9]

(39)   *I forced [Bill eat].

- But *force* can take a DP complement. From Google:

(40)
- a.   it looks like i forced him but i swear he wanted to do it
- b.   What you should know is that nobody forced him when we did our symbolic wedding in December.
- c.   I'm also pretty sure that the celeb attendees who aren't stars of a Disney episodic are only there because their publicists forced them
- d.   They never forced me but since everyone else in my family wears it, I knew they wanted me to
- e.   If I ask him to go somewhere with me and he actually says yes, I feel like I forced him

- As expected, there's no VPE here:

(41)   *I recall what I forced Mary to eat *t*, but not what I forced Bill.   *Ø = to eat *t*

- We suggest that, as with *help*, *force* here is a simple lexical transitive, with no VPE or NCA.

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[9]*Order* may behave similarly.

- The 'anaphoric' meaning in (42) is pragmatic:

(42) a. [Performing any delicate task:] Now it's important not to force it/them.
   b. Many bulbs will not flower again after you have forced them.

The NCA analysis: summary

- What is the 'Ø'?

 → Not VPE, but NCA

- Is the 'Ø' a syntactic terminal?

 → Yes — by comparison with *help/force*

- Next: What licenses the Ø_{VP}?

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4 Licensing NCA

We propose the structure from (23), repeated as (43):

(43)

VoiceP
- DP Causer
- Voice$_{\text{Agent}}$
- VP
  - V *make/let*
  - VoiceP
    - DP Causee
    - Voice$_{\text{Agent}}$
    - Ø_{VP} ← null pro-form
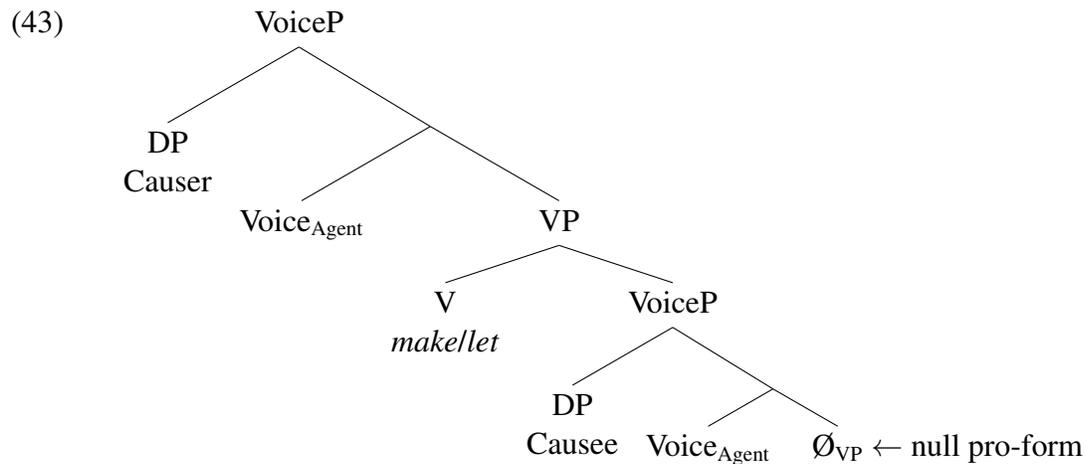
- Ø_{VP} is interpreted anaphorically.

In this section: how is Ø_{VP} licensed?

 → By being in the complement of a V » Voice functional sequence.

  ... plus a 'Voice uniformity' condition: **all Voice heads must be agentive**.

11

4.1 Voice and VP-omission

There is an interaction between Voice and VP-omission (though the judgments are subtle—input appreciated!):

- VP-omission with *make* requires both causer and causee to be animate:[10, 11]

  (44)   Mary made John leave the house, and Sally made him Ø, too.

  Ø = leave the house

- Inanimate caus<u>er</u>: no VP-omission (Mittwoch 1990:113):[12]

(45)   **Success** made Bill relax
        *...before it made Melinda.

(46)   a.   **The famine** made her sell her jewellery.
        b.   Why did she sell her jewellery?
              *Because **the famine** made her.

(47)

Tree diagram:
- VoiceP
  - DP *the famine*
  - Voice_Causer (in red), VP
    - V *make*
    - VoiceP
      - DP *her*
      - Voice_Agent
      - *Ø ← conditions for Ø-licensing are **not** met

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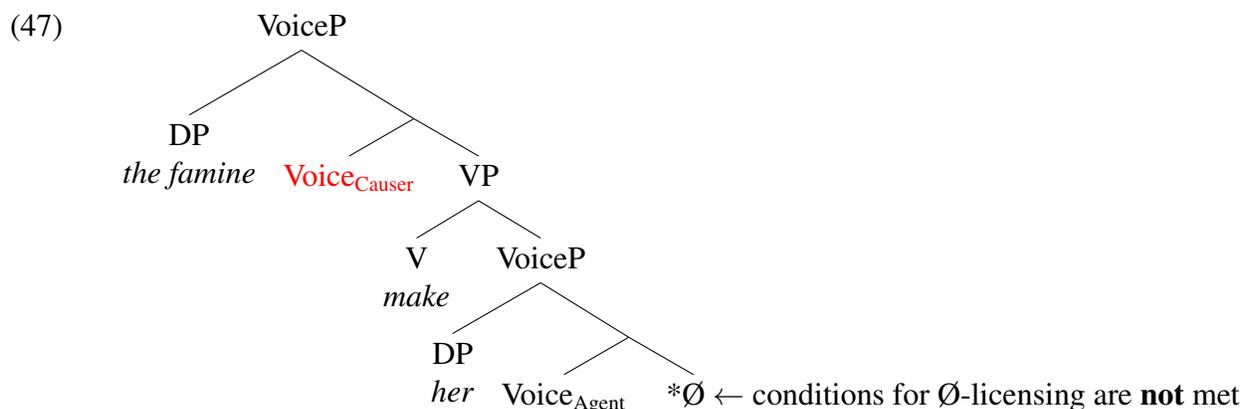
[10]We assume that inanimate DPs cannot serve as agents, and thus cannot be merged as the specifier to Voice_Agent.

[11]We set aside *let* until §6.3.

[12]The judgments may become clearer when they don't involve question-answer pairs:

(i)   I sold my jewelry because my financiers/*finances made me Ø.

However, there is also at least one example in *COCA* with an inanimate causee:

(ii)   Cole was always the smart one... the genius with no ambition, never wanting to settle down till the accident made him.   (*Scissors*, 1991 movie)

Cf. note 4 and the more detailed discussion in §6.6.

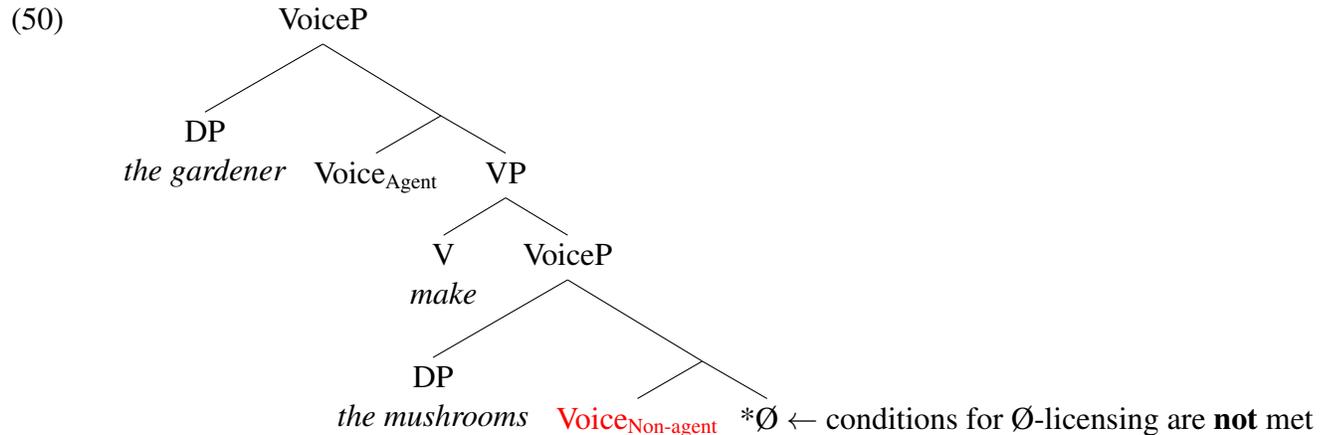- Inanimate caus<u>ee</u>: no VP-omission

(48)   Mary made **the flowers** come out
        *...but only the gardener could make **the mushrooms**.

(49)   (?)I needed the posters to stick, but I couldn't make **them**.[13]

(50)

```
                        VoiceP
                       /      \
                      /        \
                   DP           \
              the gardener  Voice_Agent   VP
                                        /    \
                                       V      VoiceP
                                     make    /     \
                                            /       \
                                         DP          \
                                    the mushrooms  Voice_Non-agent   *Ø ← conditions for Ø-licensing are **not** met
```

- Inanimate caus<u>er</u> and inanimate caus<u>ee</u>: no VP-omission

(51)   *The sun made the flowers come out and **the rain** made **the mushrooms**.

(52)   How did the dumbbells stick to the wall?
        ***The powerful glue** made **them**.

Proposal

- $\emptyset_{VP}$ is licensed when:

    (a) It is in the complement of a V » Voice functional sequence
    (b) **All** local Voice heads are Voice$_{Agent}$ ('Voice uniformity')

4.2   Another look at *have*
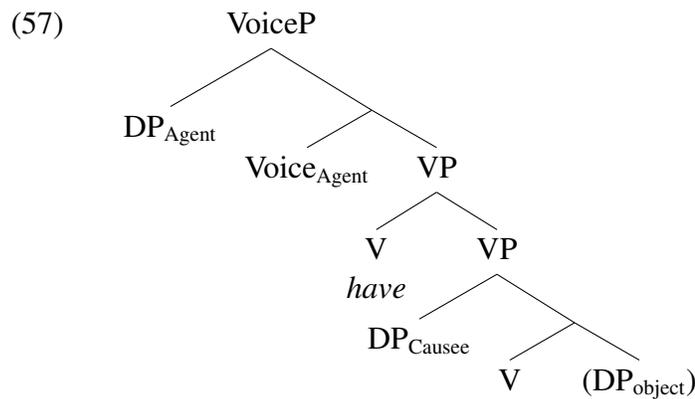
This picture is refined by ***have***.

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[13]Example (49) strikes us as OK (or close to it). There is a clearly an interaction with the presence/absence of *contrast* on the causee, which we have yet to pin down—see also fn. 14.

- VP-omission is out with **causer**-*have*, cf. (4):

 (53) a. *Mary had the lawyers inspect the house, while Sally had the surveyors Ø.

                      *Ø = inspect the house

     b. *I planted the evidence because my boss had me Ø.

                        *Ø = plant the evidence

- But VP-omission improves somewhat with **experiencer**-*have*:[14]

 (54) a. (?)Mary had John play a trick on her, while Sally had Bill Ø.

                     Ø = play a trick on her

     b. (?)First Susan had Tim run out on her, then she had Steve Ø.

                        Ø = run out on her

A frequently-made claim about *have*-clauses: they are are **monoeventive** (Ritter and Rosen 1997, Bjorkman and Cowper 2013, Myler 2016).

(55) a. They **made** the team throw the game on Monday by threatening them on Sunday night.

   b. *They **had** the team throw the game on Monday by threatening them on Sunday night.   (Bjorkman and Cowper 2013:2)

 → Our implementation of monoeventivity: *have*-clauses involve one Voice$_{Agent}$ head per clause.

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[14]Experiencer-*have* still involves NCA rather than VPE, as it becomes bad with A'-movement:

(i) The boys decided to play some tricks on the girls.
    I know which trick Mary had John play *t* on her,
    * but I don't know which trick Sally had Bill Ø.   *Ø = play *t* on her

Note however that contrasting embedded Agents are necessary for VP-omission in (54). Contrasting experiencers are woefully insufficient in (ii):

(ii) a. *Mary had John play a trick on her, and Sally had him Ø, too.   Ø = play a trick on her
   b. *First Susan had Tim run out on her, then Abby had him Ø, too. Ø = run out on her

We're not sure what to make of this right now (see also (49)). In VP-omission examples collected from *COCA*, contrasting embedded agents are **unattested**, insofar as we haven't found any (e.g. there are **zero** VPO examples of *made NAME* before punctuation(!)). Non-contrasting embedded agents are quite common (many hits for *made me*, *made you*, *made him*, *made her*, *made us* before punctuation).

– Experiencer-*have*: Voice$_{Agent}$ is **below** *have*; experiencer merged in high Spec-VP (similar to Kim 2012, Bjorkman and Cowper 2013):

(56)

```
                    VP
          _____|_____
      DP_Exp'er              |
                       V         VoiceP
                      have    ____|____
                           DP_Agent    |
                               Voice_Agent   VP
```

– Causer-*have*: Voice$_{Agent}$ is **above** *have*; causee merged in low Spec-VP:

(57)

```
                   VoiceP
          _____|_____
      DP_Agent             |
                    Voice_Agent    VP
                             ____|____
                            V        VP
                          have    ____|____
                              DP_Causee    |
                                      V    (DP_object)
```

→ *N.B.* The lower verb **lacks** a Voice head. The lower subject is merged in Spec-VP (not Spec-VoiceP).[15]

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[15]The structure in (57) is compatible with Kim's (2012) proposal that *have*-causees are merged in a Spec-ApplP above the embedded VP:

(i)   [$_{VoiceP}$ DP$_{Agent}$ [$_{VP}$ *have* [$_{ApplP}$ DP$_{Causee}$ [$_{VP}$ V (DP$_{Object}$)]]]]

In (i), the lower VP constituent still cannot be targeted for Ø-replacement, because it is not in the complement of Voice$_{Agent}$.

- This syntax for *have*-clauses derives the contrast in licensing $\emptyset_{VP}$:

(58)   **Experiencer-*have*: $\emptyset_{VP}$ is in the complement of (the only) Voice$_{\text{Agent}}$**

```
              VP
            /    \
         DP        \
    Experiencer   V    VoiceP
                 have   /    \
                     DP       \
                       Voice_Agent   Ø ← conditions for VPO are met
```

(59)   **Causer-*have*: $\emptyset_{VP}$ is not licensed**
   a.   *option #1: Ø replaces entire VP constituent, including causee

```
              VoiceP
            /        \
      DP_Agent         \
              Voice_Agent    VP
                            /   \
                          V      Ø ← in the complement of V, not Voice_Agent
                        have
```

   b.   *option #2: Ø replaces V' constituent, leaving causee behind

```
              VoiceP
            /        \
      DP_Agent         \
              Voice_Agent    VP
                            /   \
                          V      VP
                        have    /   \
                          DP_Causee   Ø ← VPO site doesn't correspond to VP
```

- Predictions:

  - experiencer *have* need not embed an agentive event ((a) sentences below)

  - absent agentivity, VPO is ruled out ((b) sentences below)

(60)   John had his car die on him. . .
   a.   . . . while Mary had her van die on her.
   b.   *. . . while Mary had her van Ø.   *Ø = die on her

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(61)　　John had a twig fall on him. . .

　　　　a.　　. . . but Mary had a tree fall on her.

　　　　b.　*. . . but Mary had a tree Ø.　　　　　　　　　　　*Ø = fall on her

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Licensing Ø$_{VP}$: summary

- *Have* clauses are monoeventive, involving one Voice$_{Agent}$ per clause.

- Experiencer *have* can embed Voice$_{Agent}$; when it does, Ø$_{VP}$ is licensed.

- Causer *have* cannot embed Voice$_{Agent}$; Ø$_{VP}$ is never licensed.

5　Conclusion (sanitised)

- It's possible to omit the VP constituent from *make* and *let* causatives, as well as experiencer-*have* constructions.

- What is the 'Ø'?

  - an instance of Null Complement Anaphora (not VPE).

- What licenses Ø$_{VP}$?

  (a) It is in the complement of a V » Voice functional sequence

  (b) **All** local Voice heads are Voice$_{Agent}$ – the 'Voice uniformity' condition

- Experiencer-*have* constructions license Ø$_{VP}$ because there is *just one* Voice$_{Agent}$ head.

5.1　Table of causation/perception verbs

(62)

complement type	*make*	*let*	*have*	*force*	*help*	perception
no complement (intr.)	*	*	*	*	OK	*
[DP VP]	OK	OK	OK	*	OK	OK
[DP to VP]	*	*	*	OK	OK	*
DP Ø$_{VP}$ (VP-omission)	OK	OK	*/OK	*	*	*
DP (no VP-omission)	OK	*	OK	OK	OK	OK

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6 Complications

In this section: various miscellanea.

§6.1 Is the 'Ø' NCA?

§6.2 Extending the analysis to perception complements

§6.3 *Let*

§6.4 Causee agency in *make* vs. *have* causatives

§6.5 Causer-*have* in author contexts

§6.6 Raised causees

6.1   Is the 'Ø' really NCA?

- We concluded that causative VP-omission is an instance of Null Complement Anaphora, not Verb Phrase Ellipsis.

- We based our conclusion on the incompatibility of causative VPO with A-bar extraction (§2.1), expletive subjects (§2.2), and categories other than VP (§3.2).

- The results of other classic diagnostics for NCA vs. VPE (Depiante 2018) are not clear.

6.1.1   Pragmatic antecedents

- VPE disallows pragmatic antecedents (a), NCA permits them (b); causative VP-omission is middling (c):

(63)   [Knowing that Tommy has never liked to clean up his room, two close acquaintances have the following dialogue:]
What happened this time?

  a. *Tommy refused to ~~clean his room~~.
  b.   Tommy refused Ø$_{NCA}$.   Ø = to clean his room
  c.   ?(?)His mother made him Ø$_{VPO}$.   Ø = clean his room

- The reason (b) is better than (c) could have to do with the 'semantic complexity' of the missing contextual material:[16]

  – NCA, propositional, *PRO$_{Tommy}$ clean his room*, (approximately) type $<t>$

  – VPO, predicate, $\lambda x.\ x\ clean\ x's\ room$, type $<e,t>$.

---

[16]Cf. Jacobson (2019a,b) on 'MaxElide' effects.

6.1.2 Voice mismatches

- Voice mismatches are awkward with VPE (a) (though see vast literature), fine with NCA (b), (c) ?? with causative VP-omission:

(64)   Voice match:
Someone had to take the oats to the bin, so . . .
  - a.   Bill did ~~take the oats to the bin~~.
  - b.   Bill volunteered Ø.
  - c.   Mary made BILL Ø.

(65)   Voice mismatch:
The oats had to be taken to the bin, so . . .
  - a. ?*Bill did ~~take the oats to the bin~~.
  - b.   Bill volunteered Ø.
  - c. ??Mary made BILL Ø.

6.1.3 Missing antecedents

- Antecedents for pronouns can be provided by VPE (a) but not by NCA (b); causative VP-omission is middling (c):

(66)   Johnny refused to give up his pie, so . . .
a. Peter did ~~give up~~ **his pie** . . .
b. *Peter volunteered Ø . . .
c. ??Mary made Peter Ø . . .
because **it** was too big for him anyway.

6.2 Potential extension to perception complements

Could our account derive the unavailability of VP-omission with perception verbs too?

- Perhaps . . . Recall (2), repeated here:

(67)   Perception verbs
  - a.   Mary **saw** [the children leave].
  - b.   Mary **heard** [the children leave].
  - c.   Mary **felt** [the children leave].

- And recall that with perception verbs, you can only get lexical transitive interpretations, not NCA-like VPO:

(68)　　A:　Did the suspect leave the house?
　　　　B:　#I didn't **see** him Ø, even though I was watching him all day.
　　　　B':　#Even though I was watching him all day, I didn't **see** him Ø.

<div align="right">*Ø = leave the house</div>

- To derive this under our theory, we might propose that perception complements lack Voice, like complements of *have*-causatives (57).

- This gets right the obligatory mono-eventiveness of perception complements (the 'Simultaneity Condition', Felser 1998).

- But it involves claiming that 'agency' is also not a part of perception complements.

　　→ Perhaps agency is something we cannot directly perceive?

- A challenge for this idea is that the perceiv-ee passes diagnostics for agentivity quite happily:

(69)　　a.　I saw him cheat [in order to win the game].
　　　　b.　I saw him deliberately cheat.
　　　　c.　I saw him murder someone.

6.3　*Let*

- With *make*, we saw in §4.1 that both causer and causee need to be animate to allow VPO.

- With *let*, the pattern of degradation with **inanimate** (natural or environmental) causers and causees seems similar, but weaker and less clear:

(70)　　Mary let John escape, and Sally let Bill Ø.　　　　　　　　Ø = escape

(71)　　?A hidden tunnel let Mary escape, and **a tiny window** let Suzie Ø.　?Ø = escape

(72)　　??OK, so I'll let the hydrogen escape, YOU let **the oxygen** Ø.　　??Ø = escape

(73)　　How does the gas escape the container?
　　　　?***A small vent** near the base lets **it** Ø.　　　　　　　　?*Ø = escape

- For brief discussion of (73), see Mittwoch (1990:114). She implies that it is *, though doesn't provide the actual example.

6.4 Causee agency in *make* vs. *have* causatives

Our claims regarding Voice$_{\text{Agent}}$:

(i) Voice$_{\text{Agent}}$ may be present below *make*, as in (74) (cf. (43)):

    (74)   [DP Voice$_{\text{Ag}}$ *make* [DP (Voice$_{\text{Ag}}$) VP]]

(ii) Voice$_{\text{Agent}}$ is always absent below causative *have*, as in (75) (cf. (57)):

    (75)   [DP Voice$_{\text{Ag}}$ *have* [DP (*Voice$_{\text{Ag}}$) VP]]

This section defends (ii).

- There is a sizeable literature on *have* vs. *make* causation in English (Givón 1975, Ritter and Rosen 1993, 1997, Kim 2012, Bjorkman and Cowper 2013, a.o.).

- With *make*, any event can be embedded; e.g. (76) unaccusative (a), agentive (b). The causing and caused events are separate; the subject does not have total control over the caused event:

    (76)   a.   Oh no! I unintentionally made the children fall off the climbing structure.
               b.   Oh no! I unintentionally made my knights murder Thomas Becket.

- *Have* is different (77): it is monoeventive, and the subject has total control over the whole event.

    (77)   a. #Oh no! I unintentionally had the children fall off the climbing structure.
               b. #Oh no! I unintentionally had my knights murder Thomas Becket.

- Bjorkman and Cowper look at (78), where the children must act volitionally, though under the instruction of the teacher, and conclude that the causee is **always** agentive:

    – i.e., the children must let go of the climbing structure

    – not merely slip off as a result of the teacher e.g. oiling it

    (78)   The teacher had the children fall off the climbing structure.

    $\rightarrow$ Their syntactic implementation: the causee is **always** merged in an embedded Spec-VoiceP.

> **What we think**
>
> - The 'agency' of the children in (78) is not true agency (cf. Givón 1975, Kim 2012).
>
> - The agent-like ('puppet' or 'minion') interpretation they receive is pragmatic: it's the only reading that is compatible with the agent (the teacher) maintaining total control over the falling event.
>
> - If the children simply "unaccusatively" fall off the climbing structure, then the teacher is not in total control of the event.

Here are some clear examples of non-agents embedded under *have*-causatives. What makes them OK is that the agent retains *total control* over the entire event.

(79) a. A number of people might believe that it is very hokey and ve – very silly to use an actual puzzle as a prop and **have it come together** as O.J. Simpson's face. (*COCA*, *CBS Morning*, 1995)
   b. Conceivably, a professor could form a company and **have it become** a sponsor in order to get rights to his or her own work ... (*COCA*, *Technology Review*, 2000)
   c. Well, Jyllian. **Have it go** on record that you and I will go along with this idea, but we are not 100% on board (*COCA*, *Slender*, 2016 movie)
   d. You should get him a cake and you should **have it say**: "You're gay, you're fabulous." (*COCA*, *Date and Switch*, 2014 movie)
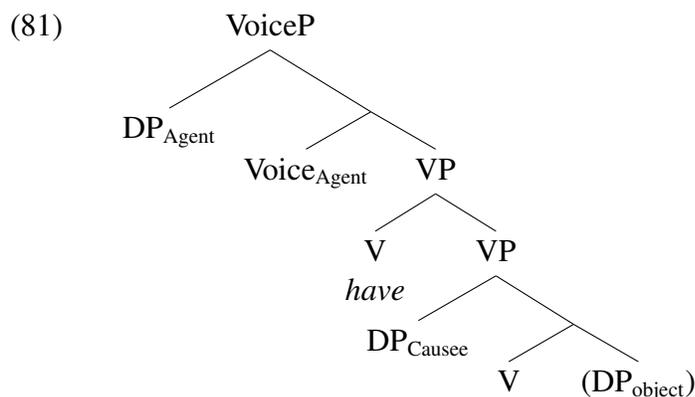
By contrast, intentional and deliberate agency eludes *have*-complements:[17]

(80) a. Although I didn't realise it, my nemesis **made** me intentionally lose the match — I feel like such an idiot!
   b. ??Although I didn't realise it, my nemesis **had** me intentionally lose the match — I feel like such an idiot!

Ultimately:

- Bjorkman and Cowper claim that there is *always* a Voice head embedded under *have* in causer-*have* constructions, in order to account for the obligatory presence of (some) agency in (78)...

- ... By contrast, we claim that there is *never* a Voice head under *have* in causer-*have* constructions (81), to account for (a) monoeventiveness and (b) the obligatory *lack* of total agency for the causee

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[17]Diagnostics for causee agenthood are always passed when the subject has total control over the causee's mind or body, as in author or mind-control contexts. See §6.5.

(81)

```
                    VoiceP
                   /      \
           DP_Agent        \
                      Voice_Agent   VP
                                   /  \
                                  V    VP
                                have  /  \
                               DP_Causee  \
                                      V   (DP_object)
```

6.5 Causer-*have* in author contexts

- VP-omission remains bad with *have* in author contexts (cf. (16-b) and related examples):

  (82) a.   In my novel, I had the butler (deliberately) murder the cook.
        b.   *But in my screenplay, I had the valet.

- We would have to say that, syntactically, the structure is as in (81), with no Voice_Agent below *have*.

- Intentional adverbs like *deliberately* (a) would have to be licensed semantically.

- That is, in author contexts, the causee's "agency" is understood to be less than total, since they remain under total control of the subject. The agency is *not* syntactically grounded by way of a Voice head.

6.6 Raised causees

Raised causees might complicate our 'VP only' analysis of *have*-causatives in (81).

- If the underlined NPs in (83) have raised from a lower position, they must raise *to* some position:

  (83) a.   I had/made <u>there</u> appear to be two dishes on each table.
        b.   ?For a while, I had/made <u>the shoe</u> seem to be on the other foot.

- That position cannot be Spec-VP or Spec-VoiceP; so more functional structure needs to be present above the lower VoiceP to accommodate raising in (83).

- Then again, it is not possible to follow up the examples in (83) with VPO (cf. §2.2):

(84) a. I had/made there appear to be two dishes on each table . . .
      *and you had/made there Ø, too.

                                    *Ø = appear to be two dishes on each table

      b. ?For a while, I had/made the shoe seem to be on the other foot . . .
          *and you had/made it Ø, too.   *Ø = seem to be on the other foot

- Maybe causative *have* sometimes takes a complement bigger than VP (83);
  but in the continued absence of Voice$_{\text{Agent}}$, there won't be any VPO (84).

- However, VPO is possible with *make* and a seemingly raised causee (recall note 4):

(85) a. In my novel, I made the butler appear to die.
      b. But in my screenplay, I made the valet Ø.   Ø = appear to die

- If (85) involves raising, and VPO is good in (b), the causees won't be sitting in Spec-Voice$_{\text{Agent}}$P, nor will Ø be sitting in the complement of Voice$_{\text{Agent}}$.

- However, (85) might not involve raising, considering its meaning:

  – on its own, (a) has a plain raised meaning: 'I made it appear that the butler died'

  – but (a) also, marginally, has an 'agentive *appear*' reading: 'I made the butler pretend to die'

- In our judgement, VPO in (b) disambiguates to the 'agentive *appear*' reading; in which case, Voice$_{\text{Agent}}$(P) would be present, as desired.

- The author context in (85) may make the 'agentive *appear*' reading more salient. Without it, perhaps (86) is worse:

(86) a. *I made John seem to cry, and you made him, too.
      b. *I made John seem to cry, and I made Bill, too.

                                    *Ø seem to cry

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