The range of causatives with *fàchere* 'make' in Sardinian: Hybrid impersonal constructions between mono- and biclausality

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Abstract

Sardinian has several types of MAKE-construction: the analytic causative constructions corresponding to French *faire-inf* (FI) and *faire-par* (FP); subject control constructions similar to the colloquial idiomatic use of the pronominal Italian verb *farcela* 'be able to, to manage' (a kind of dynamic ability); and particular impersonal constructions that express the deontic modality of possibility. Furthermore, there are several lexicalized expressions that involve MAKE, similar to Italian *far vedere* 'to show' (lit. 'to make see'). The impersonal construction, which I call the "impersonal causative", is of particular interest in this paper: It always selects an infinitive (not inflected, which would be possible at least in some varieties of Sardinian), introduced by *a*; apparently,

it shows transparency effects, but it must nevertheless be interpreted as a biclausal structure; it is, in principle, only possible with the third person of the verb MAKE; with regard to its interpretation it encodes modal possibility and is thus more related to (less strong causative) LET than to strong causative MAKE; and it shows up in two different types, at least in some varieties, with or without number agreement (the latter also with an overt subject in a personal infinitive), which has interesting consequences for the interpretation of the argument structure of MAKE.

1. Introduction

This article discusses causative constructions in Romance, in particular in Sardinian (both Logudorese and Campidanese[1]), where we find an impersonal weak causative, which raises some questions relevant to causative constructions in general. In (1), I start with a couple of text samples from a translation of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* into Sardinian, where the Sardinian verb *fàchere* 'to make' appears three times, in a different construction each time:

(1)   Sardinian (Logudorese; Falconi 2002–2007: 65, my highlighting[2])
    a. Totu fit su suo – ma cussu fit nudda. Sa chistione fit de ischire de chie fit isse, in cantu fint de totu sos poderes de s'iscurigore chi si lu cheriant remonire. Fit custu **su pensamentu chi mi faghiat trinnigare**. **Non faghiat a l'ischire**, non si podiat bisare, forsis non fit nemmancu de cunsizare.
    b. Aia su diretore subra batéu e tres o bator peregrinos cun sos bachissos issoro. Onzi pagu tretu giumpaiamus carchi istatzione in sos oros de su riu chi pariat arrancada a cussos calancones de su nudda. Bidendenos passende, dae cussos cubones derocados nde bessiant **omines biancos chi a manizadas nos faghiant a ischire de sa cuntentesa issoro** e nos daiant su benennidu. Pariant tentos dae una fatura.

(1')   a. 'Everything belonged to him – but that was nothing. The question was to know whom he belonged to, how many altogether were the powers of the darkness who wanted to get him for them. It was **this thought that made me shiver**. **It was impossible to know it**, one could not imagine it, maybe it was not even advisable to do so.'[3]
    b. There was the manager on board and three or four pilgrims with their canes. Every once in a while, we passed some station on the banks of the river,

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[1]   Sardinian comprises many different varieties that are usually divided into two major areas, Campidanese (in the South) and Logudorese (in the North); furthermore, some researchers distinguish the central Nuorese area from Logudorese. In this paper, I represent the examples as found in the sources, i.e. no common orthography is adopted.

[2]   The translator Nanni Falconi is born in Pattada, but lives in Tempio Pausania.

[3]   My back-translation from the Sardinian text; Conrad's original says: "Everything belonged to him—but that was a trifle. The thing was to know what he belonged to, how many powers of darkness claimed him for their own. That was the reflection that made you creepy all over. It was impossible—it was not good for one either—trying to imagine."

which appeared to cling to those gorges of nothingness. Seeing us passing by, from those steep cubes came out **white men who, by their hand waving, showed us their happiness** and greeted us. They seemed to be caught by a spell.[4]

The three constructions relevant here are repeated in (2):

(2)   Sardinian (Logudorese; Falconi 2002–2007: 65)
   a. Fit   custu   su pensamentu chi   mi=faghiat
      be.3SG.IPFV   this   the thought   that me.ACC.CL=make.3SG.IPFV
      trinnigare.
      shiver.INF
      'It was this thought that made me shiver.'
   b. Non faghiat   a l=ischire […]
      not make.3SG.IPFV   A it.CL=know.INF
      'It was impossible to know it.'
   c. nde=bessiant   omines biancos chi a manizadas
      from.there.CL=come.out.3PL.IPFV men   white   that at hand-wavings
      nos=faghiant   a ischire de   sa cuntentesa issoro
      us.CL=made.3PL.IPFV A know.INF of   the satisfaction their
      'there came out white men who, by their hand waving, showed us their happiness'

(2a), as can be seen from its English translation, is a causative construction with MAKE + infinitive (with clitic climbing), in this case of an unergative verb. (2b) is an instance of what will be called here an impersonal (weak) causative construction, where the infinitive is introduced by *a* (no clitic climbing). (2c) is a fixed expression,[5] *faghere a ischire*, literally meaning 'to make (somebody) know', which is equivalent to 'to signal, to inform, to let know'. Here, the clitic is before MAKE, but it belongs to the whole verbal complex. Note that the infinitival verb is the same in (2b) and (2c), but the meaning is clearly different.[6] While type (2a) has been studied extensively for Romance (cf. § 3.2), there are only a few mentions of type (2b) in Sardinian grammars and, in the research literature, there is only Casti (2004, 2012, 2021), who has noted this construction and studied it more thoroughly. Fixed expressions such as that in (2c)

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[4]   My back-translation from the Sardinian text; Conrad's original says: "I had the manager on board and three or four pilgrims with their staves—all complete. Sometimes we came upon a station close by the bank, clinging to the skirts of the unknown, and the white men rushing out of a tumble-down hovel, with great gestures of joy and surprise and welcome, seemed very strange—had the appearance of being held there captive by a spell."

[5]   Since MAKE is a general support verb in many more or less fixed and highly frequent expressions or collocations, it can also be found in causative constructions that are quasi-lexicalized, see e.g. Italian *far vedere* 'to show', *far sapere* 'to inform', *farsi sentire* 'get in touch' etc. and the corresponding expressions in Sardinian given in (6), repeated later as (49).

[6]   As will be shown later, although both infinitives are introduced by *a*, the lexicalized verbal complex *fagher a ischire* in (2c) can be distinguished from the impersonal causative *fagher* + *a* INFINITIVE in (2b) by more than just a difference in interpretation. The latter has no clitic climbing, whereas the verbal complex shows full verbal agreement in all persons.

and the use of MAKE as a pronominal verb are found all over in Romance (which is easily explained by the light verb character of this verb).

This paper will concentrate on the description and analysis of the impersonal construction in (2b), but in the process it will embed the findings within the broader context of causative constructions in general and in Romance and Sardinian in particular. In Section 2, the diachronic context will be briefly illustrated, before the definition of a causative construction is discussed (§ 3); the focus in Section 4 is on Sardinian causative constructions. Section 5 presents an analysis of the construction in (2b), whereas in Section 6 some problematic (hybrid, or contaminated) cases are presented: these data show that the causative constructions with *fàchere* in Sardinian somehow oscillate between a biclausal and a monoclausal structure,[7] a dynamic situation that is probably to the result of the interplay between reaction and counterreaction to language contact with Italian.

2. Descendants of Latin FACERE in Romance

The Romance languages, interestingly, do not have a distinction between the verb *do* and *make* in the way that English does (e.g. *I had something to do* vs. *I made cookies for tea time*), with both meanings instead expressed by the verbs derived from Latin FACERE. Therefore, in Romance, we find both causative meanings as well as other meanings more closely related to *do* (e.g. a kind of *do*-support in some Northern Italian Dialects, cf. Benincà & Poletto 2004 or a use similar to German *tun* 'do' in a Spanish-German contact variety, cf. González Vilbazo & López 2012). In any case, it is quite clear that MAKE, like DO, has a light verb character not only in Romance and is therefore predisposed to move towards more grammaticalized uses.

In this chapter, I first discuss some diachronic aspects of FACERE and its descendants (§ 2.1), before offering a (selective) view on the various somehow grammaticalized uses of these descendants in Romance (§ 2.2).

2.1. Diachronic considerations

In Latin, the verb FACERE already had uses that were not that of a full verb. FACERE could represent a kind of copula, cf. (3):

(3)   Latin (V[th] cent., cf. Cennamo 2006: 327)
        si autem et   thimum   et   absenthium cum fermentum
        if then   and   thyme   and   absinth   with yeast
        admisceas   optimum   facit   medicamentum
        mix.SBJ.2SG very-good   make.3SG   remedy.ACC
        'If you then mix both thyme and absinth with yeast, this makes/is an excellent remedy.'

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[7]   Note that, in fact, the definition of mono- vs. biclausality may be an issue in itself. As a working definition, I start from the assumption that there is a kind of CP barrier between the matrix and embedded clause in biclausal constructions whereas in monoclausal contexts there is transparency between the structure hosting the causative verb and the embedded proposition. One initial indicator of the biclausality of (2b) is that the clitic, which represents the object of the embedded infinitive, does not climb into the matrix clause.

In Old Sardinian, we find the same verb used as a passive auxiliary, cf. (4):

(4)   Old Sardinian (Cennamo 2006: 326)[8]
       su   seruum   uostru   […]   iectatu   […]   fekit   de   donnu
       the   servant your.PL   throw.PRTC   make.3SG.PST by   master
       'Your servant was cast out by his master…' (Lit. 'he made cast out')

The causative construction is found in late and medieval Latin texts parallel to its appearance in the early Romance documents. As described in Rinke (2023: 152-156), Latin preferred causative complements of FACERE 'make' to be introduced by the complementizer *ut* followed by a finite clause (in the subjunctive) or, for verbs like IUBĒRE 'order', to have the shape of a Latin AcI-construction. Only in Late, i.e. Vulgar Latin, do infinitive complements increase and soon become the normal option (cf. Chamberlain 1986, Vincent 2016).

2.2. Types of constructions with MAKE in Romance

In addition to the causative constructions, which are presented in Section 3, there are several other interesting examples that involve MAKE and that go beyond a clearly lexical use of the verb. For the sake of simplicity, but also because Italian is currently an important operating adstrate language for Sardinian, the following examples – which are only a selection – are taken just from Italian: In (5a), Italian *fare* is used in a collocation with the word for 'weather' and rendered, like in the Latin example (3), with the copula in English. (5b) and (5c) both show *fare* + infinitive in very frequent fixed expressions, (5b) as the pronominal verb *farcela* used in colloquial language meaning 'to succeed, to manage' (which represents a context for subject control), and (5c) the expression *far vedere*, a complex predicate meaning 'to show'. In (5d) we see *fa*, literally 'it makes', which is used as the postposition corresponding to English 'ago'; and *fa* in (5e) is also not used as a verbal form, but as an (invariable) quotative marker, which (exclusively) introduces direct speech (parallel to English quotative *like*). This quotative marker can, as the example shows, also be doubled by a verb of saying:

(5)   Italian ((5e) is from Lorenzetti 2011)[9]
       a. Ha   fatto   bel tempo.
          has   make.PTCP   nice weather
          'The weather was nice.' (Lit. 'it made nice weather')
       b. Non ce=la=faccio   ad alzarmi.

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[8]   From the *Condaghe di S. Nicola di Trullas;* cf. also Cennamo (2018, 2019). Casti (2021) has examples from some varieties of Sardinian in which the use of MAKE as a passive auxiliary seems to be preserved, although with an additional modal meaning (Casti 2021: 229, ex. (252) and (253)).

[9]   An anonymous reviewer and native speaker does not accept the sequence *fa dice* without an intervening pause. However, in Lorenzetti (2011) there are more examples of this kind; note that *dice* can function as a pure invariable quotative marker, too, e.g. in (i) from Calaresu (2004: 41):

       (i) ... quelli erano scocciati giustamente *dice* NOI ABBIAMO PRENOTATO...
           '... those were upset righteously *says* WE HAVE A RESERVATION'

not   there.CL=it.CL=make.1SG to get.up.INF
'I don't succeed in getting up.'

c. Te=lo=farò   vedere.
    you.CL=it.CL=make.FUT.1SG   see.INF
    'I will show it to you.'

d. L=ho   visto   tre   giorni   fa.
    him.CL=have   seen.PTCP   three days   make.3SG
    'I saw him three days ago.'

e. E   allora   alla   stazione   fa   dice: «Ma   io   ero…»
    and then   at-the station   make.3SG say.3SG but   I   was…
    'And then at the station he said: "But I was…." '

Some similar examples are also found in Sardinian, e.g. the fixed expressions in (6), which – differently from Italian, cf. (5c) – contain the element *a* (< Lat. AD)[10] introducing the infinitive:

(6)   Sardinian (Puddu 2000, s.v. *fàchere*)
       fàcher   a ischire, fàcher   a cumprendhere, fàcher   a bìdere
       make.INF   A know.INF make.INF   A understand.INF make.INF   A see.INF
       'to let know, to suggest, to show'

3. Causative constructions

To begin with, a discussion of what causative constructions might be is required. Whereas it is quite accepted that examples like (2a) from Sardinian are typical causative constructions, this is less the case for (2b), which still contains the causative verb MAKE + infinitive (although introduced by *a*), but whose meaning is often paraphrased as 'to be possible' or 'to work' (e.g. by Puddu 2000 s.v. *fàghere*). Indeed, in an earlier reviewing process, I had the following (anonymous) comments to those examples (the highlighting is mine):

(7)   a. "I'm not sure that [the examples at issue] are **true causatives**, because the author translates them as a modal of possibility. […]"
       b. "[…] a big challenge remains, that is, that these are **genuinely causative structures** (this does not seem so obvious from the English translations, for instance, where a possibility modal is used instead of a causative verb). […]"
       c. "… I wonder if **fakere in some examples can be compared to German "lassen"** (lassen sich nicht = it's impossible); this could be developed in the presentation, to make a crosslinguistic point."

Indeed, as the last reviewer notes, there are not only causatives with verbs corresponding to MAKE, but also those with LET, and this is where the Sardinian impersonal causative construction with MAKE fits in. Some languages use only one of

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[10]   As also in (2b), I gloss this *a* as A, thus deviating from the Leipzig Glossing Rules, in order to leave its status open (but see § 4.3).

the two verb types for causative constructions, while some distinguish between the two. An important distinction in this respect is the distinction between "strong" and "weak" causative force (cf. Comrie 1976; 1981), which could be expressed as follows, in semantic terms: A strong causative meaning arises when there is a relation of obligation between the causer and the causee, whereas a weak causative allows a permissive reading. That is to say, either the causer causes/orders the causee to do something (obligation reading – strong causative), or the causer does not cause the causee not to do something, i.e. the causer doesn't prevent/hinder the causee from taking action (permissive reading – weak causative). The Sardinian type discussed here clearly is of the weak type.[11] In Section 3.1., I illustrate the distinction between strong and weak causatives with the help of not only Romance but also Germanic data; I then discuss the well-known syntactic (but also semantic) distinction between *faire-par* (FP) and *faire-inf* (FI) constructions (cf. § 3.2), which has its origins in Kayne (1975); and finally, in Section 3.3, I introduce more data concerning the impersonal weak causatives in Sardinian that are at the centre of discussion in this paper.

3.1. Strong vs. weak causatives

In Italian, causative constructions with *fare*, the MAKE-type, allow both weak and strong causative interpretations (cf. (8a, b), in which one interpretation seems more natural than the other, but where both are possible), whereas the LET-type only allows the weak reading (cf. (8c) and (8d)[12]). In German, instead (9), the causative verb of the LET-type, i.e. the causative verb *lassen*, allows both interpretations (cf. Gunkel 1999:133, also his fn. 3):

(8)　Italian ((8a-c) from Treccani, definition *Costruzione causativa;* (8d) from Skytte, Salvi & Manzini 1991: 501)
　　a. Mia madre 　mi=fa 　　studiare 　anche 　di notte.
　　　 my 　mother 　me.CL=make.3SG study.INF also 　　at night
　　　 'My mother makes me study at night as well.'
　　b. Mio padre 　mi=fa 　　　　andare in 　vacanza da sola.
　　　 my 　father 　me.CL=make.3SG go.INF in 　holiday 　by alone
　　　 'My father lets me go on holiday by my own.'
　　c. Ho 　　　lasciato 　uscire 　i 　　ragazzi.
　　　 have.1SG let.PTCP 　go-out.INF the 　young-people
　　　 'I let the young people go out.'
　　d. Piero si=lascia 　　　picchiare 　dai 　　bambini più 　　piccoli.
　　　 Piero CL.REFL= let.3SG beat.INF 　by.the 　children more 　small
　　　 'Piero lets himself be beaten up by the smaller children.'

(9)　German (Gunkel 1999: 133)
　　Ich lasse Karl 　　die 　　Blumen gießen.
　　I 　let.1SG Karl.ACC the 　　flowers 　water.
　　'I have/make/let Karl water the flowers.'

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[11]　Sardinian also has *lassare* 'to let', which seems to work in a way similar to *fàchere* (cf. Jones 1993: 270; Casti 2021: 169-173).
[12]　Reflexive versions of this causative verb are possible if the subject of the embedded infinitive is an internal argument (cf. Skytte, Salvi & Manzini 1991: 501-502).

In Spanish, instead, the two interpretations are expressed by two distinct verbs, as in English, namely *hacer* 'to make' for the strong causative, and *dejar* 'to let' or the weak causative:[13]

(10)   Spanish (Hernanz 1999: 2253)
        El   frío   hacía   temblar   a Juan.
        the   cold   make.IPFV.3SG   shiver.INF   to Juan
        'The cold made Juan shiver.'

(11)   Spanish (Hernanz 1999: 2260)
        Dejaron   tocar   el piano a la   niña.
        let.PST.3PL play.INF the piano to the girl
        'They let the girl play the piano.'

3.2. Causative constructions in Romance: *Faire-par* and *faire-inf*

The well-known distinction made for French by Kayne (1975) between *faire-par* (FP) and *faire-inf* (FI) constructions is illustrated in (12-14):

(12)   French (Kayne 1975)
        a. Marie   fera   boire   son chien.
           Marie   make.FUT.3SG drink.INF   her dog
           'Mary will have her dog drink.'
        b. Marie   fera   boire   cette eau.
           Marie   make.FUT.3SG drink.INF   this   water
           'Mary will have this water drunk.'

(13)   French (Kayne 1975)
        Marie   fera   boire   cette eau   à son   chien.
        Marie   make.FUT.3SG drink.INF   this   water to her   dog
        'Marie will have her dog drink this water.'

(14)   French (Kayne 1975)
        Marie   fera   boire   cette eau   par son   chien.
        Marie   make.FUT.3SG drink.INF   this   water by   her   dog
        'Marie will have this water drunk by her dog.'

In (12a), the embedded verb *boire* 'drink' is used as an intransitive (unergative) verb and thus the embedded external argument appears in the accusative (as would the internal argument of an unaccusative verb). In (12b) *boire* is used as a transitive verb and the structure has similarities to a passive insofar as the agent of the transitive verb

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[13]   As mentioned above, the degree of causative force was introduced by Comrie (1976, 1981). There is a further distinction in the "scale of causative force" concerning strong causative force, which is the distinction between the more neutral MAKE-type and the COMMAND/ORDER-type; the latter is expressed by verbs like *mandar* in Spanish and Portuguese (cf. also Rinke 2023; also ex. (15b)). For an overview, cf. Table (4) in Simone & Cerbasi (2001: 446-447).

is demoted, although no passive morphology is detectable. In (13) and (14), however, the same verb is used in a transitive structure including the subject (external argument) of the embedded verb, which must appear in an oblique structure, in the dative in (13) and in the prepositional structure usually reserved for reactivated agents in passive constructions in (14).[14] Examples such as (14) are called FP and the agent argument of the infinitive is a syntactic adjunct, whereas (13) is FI and the dative is a syntactic argument. The differences between FP and FI are outlined in Guasti (2006: 152ff.) for Italian (cf. also Guasti 1993, 1996, Folli & Harley 2007, Labelle 2017) with the help of several tests (idiomatic expressions, different interpretations of the same verb) and these tests show that (12b) must also be interpreted as a case of FP; in this respect, cf. the statement of Labelle (2017: 323) that "null causee sentences are instances of FP" (note that this is not the case for (12a), since there is still a causee, i.e. 'the dog'). The syntactic realization of the embedded subject of a causative construction thus depends on the verb class and argument structure of the embedded verb and, at least in some cases, MAKE acts as a demoter of the agent. With regard to the semantic difference between FI and FP, Guasti (2006), among others, has shown that the dative argument in FI is affected (a kind of applicative) and thus contained within the argument structure of causative MAKE, whereas this is not the case with FP, which then, in her interpretation, has a less complex structure.[15] Another distinction made (cf. e.g. Labelle 2017: 319-320) is that between direct causation (FI), i.e. a direct relation between causer and causee, and indirect causation (FP), where the causee is not necessarily the agent of the action triggered by the causer.

Causative constructions of the FP- and FI-type have usually been considered to be monoclausal (or monoclausal, but "bipredicative", cf. Labelle 2017: 319; or to contain a kind of "complex predicate", cf. Sheehan 2016), with MAKE entering into a clausal union or syntactically incorporated structure with the embedded infinitive. Indeed, in comparison and contrast to perceptive constructions (cf. Guasti 1993, Sheehan 2016), there are several facts that show that the embedded infinitive, in both FPs and FIs, can only be represented by a reduced structure that excludes a complementizer domain, tense, aspect and also negation (although there are a few counterexamples): It is very rare for the embedded infinitive to be negated and it cannot be complex (e.g. an analytic form expressing anteriority or perfectivity). Furthermore, clitic climbing is obligatory and the position of the causee is strictly post-infinitival, at least in the monoclausal Italian causatives (cf. Guasti 2006).

Of course, there are also causative constructions that must be interpreted as truly biclausal, cf. the Spanish example in (15a), with an overt complementizer, and the Portuguese example in (15b), which hosts an inflected infinitive.

(15)   Spanish and Portuguese (cf. Rinke 2023:150 from Costa & Gonçalves 1999:63)
        a. El   profesor   hizo   que copiaran   el   texto.
          the   professor make.PST.3SG that copy.SBJ.PST.3PL the text
          'The teacher made it so that they would copy the text.'

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[14]   It has, however, been noted that this agent-role in causative constructions is not active (cf. the overview in Guasti 2006 and Labelle 2017).

[15]   Guasti (2006) proposes the following two thematic grids:
        <<causer/agent, event>, benefactive>   FI
        <<causer/agent, event>   FP

b. Os   pais   mandaram   eles   comprarem   os   livros.
   the   parent   order.PST.3PL them.NOM.3PL buy.INF.3PL   the   books
   'The parents ordered/made them buy the books.'

In (15a), the complement consists in a finite (though subjunctive) embedded clause,[16] and in (15b) the embedded verb is an inflected infinitive that agrees with the overt nominative subject of the embedded clause, which is different from the subject of the main clause. Although there is no complementizer visible, the embedded structure must at least contain the functional structure for nominative agreement (for explicit subjects in infinitive structures, cf. Mensching 2000, among others).

3.3. Impersonal (weak) causatives

The weak impersonal causative constructions in Sardinian were only briefly mentioned in the literature and were first described, in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), by Casti (2004, 2012, 2021), from whose work most of the data concerning this causative construction stem. These constructions are represented in (16):[17]

(16)   Sardinian (Campidanese; Casti 2012: 143-144)
        a. Cussas   mattas   ge   fait   a   ddas=segai   immoi
           this.F.PL plant.F.PL AFF   make.3SG A   CL.ACC.3F.PL=cut.INF now
        b. Cussas   mattas   ge   faint   a   ddas=segai   immoi.
           this.F.PL plant.F.PL AFF   make.3PL A   CL. ACC.3F.PL=cut.INF now
           'It is indeed possible to cut those plants now.'

Both (16a) and (16b) have the same meaning, but whereas in (16a) we have an impersonal form of the causative verb, which is in the default form of the third person singular, in (16b) this verb shows agreement with the causee, which can thus be analyzed as a subject. Further properties of this construction worth mentioning are the frequent, and according to Casti (2021) close to obligatory, presence of an affirmation (*ge* < Lat. IAM) or negation particle (*no*) (with the exception of interrogative clauses, cf. Casti 2021: 147, 155; but see also (26)). The presence of an accusative clitic (*ddas*) in the embedded structure that refers to the causee also seems to be necessary (but see § 6.3, (60), (63b)); this clitic cannot climb.

Sardinian also has FI and FP causatives, which are clearly parallel to the Romance causative constructions, i.e. similar to their Italian or French counterparts, but since Sardinian also has personal and inflected infinitives, similar to Portuguese

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[16]   Obviously, Romanian also has a clearly biclausal structure in causatives, since the causative verb selects a subjunctive. However, the Romanian subjunctive is in many cases a substitute for the Romance infinitive, e.g. also in raising contexts, and does not clearly indicate clausehood. For an overview of Romance canonical causatives as complex predicates, see again Sheehan (2016).

[17]   With regard to variation depending on the locality at issue, see the enlightening map by Casti (2021: 231). There it can be seen that not all varieties that have this construction with impersonal MAKE in the default form (i.e. third person singular, as (16a)) also allow number agreement (as (16b)).

(cf. (15b)),[18] an infinitive complement to causative MAKE does not necessarily mean that the embedded structure is monoclausal. We will take a closer look at the properties of several types of construction with MAKE + infinitive in Sardinian in the next section, in order to be able to systematically analyze examples like (16), i.e. the impersonal weak causative in the focus of this paper.

4. Causatives in Sardinian

In what follows, I first discuss the FP- and FI-types of causative construction in Sardinian (cf. § 4.1) and provide more details concerning the impersonal weak causatives (cf. § 4.2). Since in the latter constructions there is a complementizer- or particle-like element, namely *a*, which could be interpreted as an indicator of a biclausal structure, an excursus on Sardinian control structures and the role and status of *a* is required (§ 4.3), before we can return to the analysis of the Sardinian impersonal constructions under discussion in Section 5.

4.1. The Romance type: FP and FI

The following instances of causative constructions mostly stem from Jones's *Sardinian Syntax* (1993) and show that in (Nuorese) Sardinian the (personal) causative constructions with Sard. *fàchere*[19] work in a parallel way to Italian and French:

(17)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 270)
      a. Maria   at   fattu   dormire   su   pitzinnu.
          Maria   have.3SG   make.PTCP sleep.INF   the   boy
          'Maria made the boy sleep.'
      b. Su   politzottu at   fattu   issire   sa   dzente.
          the   policeman have.3SG   make.PTCP   go.out.INF   the   people
          'The policeman made the people leave.'

      The subject of unergative (17a) and unaccusative (17b) (intransitive) infinitive becomes the object of the verbal complex MAKE + infinitive, whereas the subject of transitive verbs either appears as an argument in the dative (18) or as an adjunct, in an agent PP/*by*-phrase (19):

(18)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 270-271)
      Juanne at   fattu   lavare   s' istelju a   su   theraccu.
      Juanne have.3SG   make.PTCP   wash.INF the dishes to   the   servant
      'John made the servant wash the dishes.'

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[18]   Personal infinitives are morphological infinitives that nevertheless have overt subjects, whereas inflected infinitives additionally have overt person and number endings.
[19]   For further data concerning FI and FP in Sardinian, both in Campidanese and in Logudorese, cf. Casti (2021: 162-169).

(19)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 270-271)
        Juanne   at   fattu   lavare   s'istelju dae   su theraccu.
        Juanne   have.3SG make.PTCP wash.INF   the dishes by   the servant
        'John had the dishes washed by the servant.'

According to Jones (1993: 271), "the use of *a* [= the dative][20] tends to imply that the understood subject of the infinitive is affected in some way by the action whereas the use of *dae* [= the preposition introducing the agent adjunct corresponding to *by*] places emphasis on the realisation of the action denoted by the infinitive and portrays the subject of the infinitive as an instrument in the realisation of this action." The constructions are clearly monoclausal in the sense of a "complex verb with a shared argument structure" (Jones 1993: 271), as can be seen from obligatory clitic climbing, among other features, cf. also the following examples that embed a ditransitive infinitive:

(20)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 270-271)
        Juanne lis=faket   iscriere   una   líttera a   s' avocatu.
        Juanne CL.DAT.PL=make.3SG   write.INF a   letter   to   the lawyer
        'John will make them write a letter to the lawyer.'

(21)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 270-271)
        Juanne lis=faket   iscriere   una líttera   dae   s'   avocatu.
        Juanne CL.DAT.PL=make.3SG   write.INF a   letter   by   the lawyer
        'John will have a letter written to them by the lawyer.'

With a ditransitive verb, the dative clitic in (20) refers to the subject argument of the infinitive (with the DP introduced by the preposition *a* representing the dative recipient of the embedded infinitive), whereas the clitic in (21) must represent the dative argument of the infinitive and cannot represent its subject argument, since this is unmistakably realized in an adjunct position by the *by*-phrase.

4.2. Impersonal (weak) causatives

Example (16a) is repeated here as (22):

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[20]   Note that in principle the *a* could also mark an accusative, since Sardinian has Differential Object Marking. As shown by Jones (1993: 271) the pronominal test demonstrates that with unergative verbs the causee, here *a Juanne*, is clearly in the accusative:

(i)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 271)
        a. Faco   travallare   a   Juanne.
           make.1SG   work.INF   ACC   Juanne
           'I make Juanne work.'
        b. *Li=/lu=faco   travallare.
           CL.DAT.3SG=/CL.ACC.3SG=make.1SG   work.INF
           'I make him work.'

In (18), however, the causee *a su theraccu* is clearly dative, and could be substituted by a dative clitic *li*, cf. also the dative clitic *lis* for the causee 'them' in (20).

(22)   Sardinian (Campidanese; Casti 2012: 143-144)

Cussas	mattas	ge	fait	a	ddas=segai	immoi.
this.F.PL	plant.F.PL	AFF	make.3.SG	A	them.CL.ACC.3F.PL=cut.INF	now

     'It is indeed possible to cut those plants now.'

The main components of this construction are the causative verb MAKE in the third person singular (*fait*), i.e. an impersonal form;[21] an argumental infinitive clause, in this case of a transitive verb,[22] introduced by *a*, which could in principle be interpreted as a complementizer, a preposition, or an infinitival element (cf. § 4.3). The subject of the embedded infinitive is topicalized (topic left-dislocated) and doubled by a clitic (*ddas,* clitic resumption) in the embedded structure. The appearance of the affirmative particle *ge* in the context of positive polarity is particularly noteworthy and is, according to Casti (2021: 146), mostly considered necessary by speakers. Indeed, most other contexts without *ge* are marked by negative polarity. According to Casti, it is only in interrogatives that these particles are absent (cf. Casti 2021: 147, 155).

     As mentioned previously, the construction in Sardinian has only been discussed in passing (Blasco Ferrer 1986: 215, fn. 117, Corda 1989: 46; Puddu 2000, s.v. *fàchere*; Puddu 2008: 315) before the more thorough and systematic studies by Casti (2004, 2012, 2021). The construction is also found as a calque form Sardinian in Regional Italian (its contact variety), cf. (23):

(23)   Regional Italian (Blasco Ferrer 1986: 215, fn. 117)[23]

Non	fa	a	prendere	questa	via.
not	make.3.SG	A	take.INF	this	way

     'Non si può prendere questa via.' 'It is impossible to take this way.'

     As the translations show, the impersonal form (default third person singular) means that there is no referential subject, i.e. no overt causer in this structure. The causative verb therefore gets a kind of modal meaning, which can be derived from the generalizing impersonal context and a weak interpretation of MAKE: Literally, 'it makes', i.e. 'it works out', i.e. 'it is possible to carry out an action'; or 'it doesn't make', i.e. 'it doesn't work', 'i.e. it is not possible to carry out an action'. This meaning can be rendered, as in English, by modal (im)possibility; in German, the verb *lassen* 'to let' could be used. A possible translation of (22) into German could be the following:[24]

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[21]   Most of the examples, at least in the sources I have consulted, are synthetic tenses (they are either in the present tense or in the imperfect). However, Casti also offers examples in which the verb MAKE is in the compound perfect (cf. Casti 2021: 160).

[22]   For these impersonal (weak) causatives, Casti (2012) has examples for all kinds of verb classes, i.e. for transitive verbs ('to shorten trousers', 'to sew cloths', 'to build houses', 'to cut plants' 'to repair shoes', 'to open boxes'); for unaccusative verbs ('to come', 'to pass', 'to go out'); and for unergative verbs ('to smoke').

[23]   A speaker of regional Italian in Sardinia (Gabriele Ganau, p.c.) proposes to translate this construction as Italian *conviene* + infinitive, i.e. 'It is not convenient to take this way.'

[24]   Cf. also the Italian causative construction in (8d) with the weak causative used as a reflexive, which is similar to the German example, but missing a modal meaning.

(24)   German
        Diese   Pflanzen   lassen sich jetzt   wirklich   schneiden.
        this.F.PL   plant.F.PL.ACC let.3PL REFL now   AFF   cut.INF
        'It is indeed possible to cut those plants now.'
        (Literally: 'These plants let themselves cut now, indeed.')

The interesting fact in these Sardinian impersonal weak causative constructions with default third person singular agreement on MAKE is that the topicalized embedded subject can (at least in some varieties, cf. fn. 17) agree with the causative verb – similar to (24) in German – , cf. (16b) repeated here as (25):

(25)   Sardinian (Campidanese; Casti 2012: 143-144)
        Cussas mattas   ge faint   a   ddas=segai   immoi.
        this.F.PL plant.F.PL AFF make.3.PL A   CL.ACC.3F.PL=cut.INF   now
        'It is indeed possible to cut those plants now.'

At first sight the construction exemplified in (25) reminds us of the passive medial *si*-constructions in Italian, which are derived from impersonal *si* and a verb in the default third person singular, and where we find the same type of agreement once the (former accusative) argument is raised to subject position (cf. e.g. D'Alessandro 2007). However, there are two observations to be made that make the agreeing structures in Sardinian problematic: First, an infinitive introduced by the complementizer-like particle *a* in Sardinian usually serves as a clause boundary, especially in (arbitrary) control structures, where *a* prevents clitic climbing and subject raising (cf. § 4.3 for more details).[25] And, second, an element that now seems to be an agreeing subject is doubled by an accusative clitic in the embedded infinitive (note that clitics in Sardinian infinitive clauses are proclitic, like in French and unlike in Italian). Another interesting fact is that the embedded infinitive can be negated, including when MAKE is in the plural, cf. (26):

(26)   Sardinian (Logudorese; Casti 2012: 167)
        Cussas bestes   fachen   peri a no   las=incutziare.
        this.F.PL clothes make.3PL also A not   CL.ACC.F.PL=shorten.INF
        'It is also possible not to shorten those clothes.'

The possibility of negation is often taken as an indicator of biclausality, which would mean that the DP agreeing with the causative is indeed the subject of the main clause and not a subject raised out of the infinitive clause. Note also that (26) is one of the cases in which the affirmative particle *ge* is not present (but the adverb *peri* 'also' might have a similar function in this case).

Note that the agreeing subject can also appear postverbally, e.g. in questions (as mentioned before, the affirmative or negative particle is not allowed, cf. Casti 2021: 147,155):

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[25]   Of course, this is not the case for (31a) below, where *a* is a preposition, or with (31b), where *a* is an infinitival particle similar to Engl. *to* in an auxiliary construction.

(27)   Sardinian (Casti 2012: 167)
      a. Faint   a   ddus=cosiri   cussus bistiris? (Campidanese)
      b. Fachen   a   las=cosiri   cussas bestes? (Logudorese)
         make.3PL A   CL.ACC.F.PL=sew.INF   this.F.PL clothes
         'Is it possible to sew these clothes?'

Furthermore, the infinitive introduced by *a* can be fronted (in this case, in a cartographic approach, into a topic position above focus, where the Logudorese question particle is located, cf. Remberger 2010), which Jones (1988) takes as a clear indication that this is not an auxiliary construction, cf. (28):[26]

(28)   Sardinian (Casti 2012: 158)
      a. A ddus=cosi(ri)   is cartzonis,   faint?   (Campidanese)
      b. A las=cosiri   sos cartzones, a faint? (Logudorese)
         A CL.ACC.F.PL=sew.INF the.M.PL trousers   Q make.3PL
         'Can the trousers be sewn?'

A further configuration is possible in Sardinian: Since this language has personal infinitives[27] (cf. Jones 1996), overt nominative subjects in the embedded clause are also possible, constituting a further argument for biclausality, cf. (29) and (30):

(29)   Sardinian (Logudorese; Casti 2012: 151)
       No   fachet   a bi=colare   deo   in   cussa   ianna.
       not   make.3.SG A there=pass.INF I.NOM in   this   door
       'It is not possible for me to pass through this door.'

(30)   Sardinian (Logudorese; Casti 2012: 158)
       Cussas iscatullas no fachiat   a las=aperrere   Maria.
       this.F.PL boxes   not make.PST.3.SG A CL.ACC.F.PL=open.INF Maria.NOM
       'It was not possible for Mary to open those boxes.'

The nominative subject is in a postverbal position after the infinitive. Note that *deo* 'I', the subject of the infinitive of the unaccusative verb in (29), is clearly nominative. This means that there is a nominative-assigning functional projection present in the embedded clause. Furthermore, in (30), *cussas iscatullas* 'these boxes', the object of the embedded transitive infinitive, is also topic left-dislocated. In this case, in presence of a nominative subject for the transitive infinitive, namely *Maria*, there is no agreement with the finite causative verb and *cussas iscatulas* still represents the – topic left-dislocated – object of the transitive infinitive.

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[26]   The *a* in (28b) is a polar question particle derived from Latin AUT and is only found in Logudorese/Nuorese.

[27]   I have not encountered any examples with an inflected infinitive in this construction in the data available and therefore I cannot say whether this is an option.

4.3. Excursus: Control constructions in Sardinian and the role of *a*

Sardinian *a*, as we have already seen, can have several functions when it introduces an infinitive. It is a preposition in structures where it can also introduce noun phrases, i.e. the infinitive is nominal, cf. (31a); it is a complementizer belonging to the infinitival clause when this is an argument clause, e.g. a subject clause as in (31b,c); and, finally, there are auxiliary and semi-auxiliary constructions, which are clearly monoclausal (e.g. they have clitic climbing) where *a* is part of the analytic form (cf. the infinitive introducing element *to* in English), e.g. in the future, cf. (31d):

(31)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 260-262; 146)
      a. Cussu   liputzu   servit   *a*   nudda   / *a*   secare   petha.
         this   knife   serves to.P nothing / to.P cut.INF meat
         'This knife serves to nothing/to cut meat.'
      b. Nos cumbenit *a*   ghirare   como.[28]
         us= suits   to.C   return.INF now
         'It suits us to return now.'
      c. Est   justu *a*   si   vindicare.
         be.3SG   right to.C   CL.REFL=avenge.INF
         'It is just to avenge oneself.'
      d. L'appo   *a* fákere.
         it=have.1SG   to do.INF
         'I will do it.'

In order to understand the possible role of complementizer-like particles in Sardinian infinitive constructions, let us look at Sardinian control structures.
    In (32), we see examples of subject control into a complement clause, which is introduced by the complementizer *de*; (33) is an example of (indirect) object control into a complement clause, introduced by *a*; in (34), subject control is established for an adverbial adjunct clause (a purpose clause) introduced by *a*; if no controller is available, arbitrary control arises, as in (35), where an infinitival clause, introduced by *a*, is the subject of the clause:

(32)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 264)
      Credo   de   ti=connóskere.
      believe.1SG of   you.CL=know.INF
      'I believe that I know you.'

(33)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 278)
      Juanne nos=at   natu   a   coláremus.
      Juanne us.CL=have.3SG tell.PTCP A   pass.INF.1PL
      'John told us to call by.'

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[28]   One observation by Jones (1993: 263) with respect to the choice between *a* and *de* as introducing complementizers is that "*a* is possible only with complements of verbs which are 'futureoriented'". However, this restriction holds only for direct object clauses, e.g. (33), whereas with subject clauses *a* is possible even without future orientation. *A* can also introduce an adjunct clause expressing an immediate purpose but this, again according to Jones (1993: 266), seems to be possible only with movement verbs (such as that given in (34) below).

(34)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 265)
         So   falatu   a   ti=vídere.
         be.1SG   come-down.PTCP   A   you.CL=see.INF
         'I came down to see you.'

(35)   (Logudorese; Jones 1993: 267)
         Est   diffitzile a   sonare   las launeddas.
         be.3SG   difficult   a   play.INF the pipes
         'It is difficult to play the pipes.'

Controlled clauses are usually introduced by *de, a, chene* 'without'*, pro* 'for, in order to' *etc*. The inflected infinitive can also appear in controlled clauses, as in (33). According to Jones, the inflected infinitive is used "primarily in cases where the subject is independently specified" (Jones 1993: 282). This raises the question of whether (33) still is a control structure proper, with the subject of the embedded clause controlled by the pronoun *nos* or if this is a pure coincidence, since the reference of the subject in the embedded structure is established by the form of the inflected infinitive. With regard to (35), in which the infinitive clause has the function of the subject of the main predicate, some languages allow the raising of the internal argument out of a transitive infinitive into the subject position of the main clause (the so-called *tough*-constructions, e.g. Engl. *These pipes are difficult to play*). We will return to these constructions later (cf. (44)).

Interestingly, there are cases in which the presence or absence of *a* correlates with the referential properties of the embedded subject, cf. (36), with subject identity, vs. (37) and (38), where the subject of the main clause is different from the subject of the embedded clause:

(36)   Sardinian (Campidanese; Sa-Limba 1999-2011)
         Du=boglio   faghere.
         CL.ACC.3.M.SG=want.1.SG do.INF
         'I want to do that.'

(37)   Sardinian ((35a) from Sa-Limba 1999-2011; (35b) from Casti 2021: 154)
         a. Cherjo   a   benner   tue.   (Logudorese)
            want.1.SG A   come.INF   you.NOM
            'I want you to come.'
         b. Non bollu   a bènni   cussu. (Campidanese)
            not   want.1.SG A come.INF this.NOM
            'I don't want this person to come.'

(38)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 2000: 116)
         No   cheren   a   cantaremus.
         not want.3PL   A   sing.INF.1PL
         'They don't want us to sing.'

Example (36) is a case of subject control, in this case with the verb WANT; there is no complementizer-like element that introduces the infinitive and we have subject identity and obligatory clitic climbing. In (37), the complement of the same verb WANT

is introduced by A and the embedded (non-inflected, but personal) infinitive has an overt postverbal nominative subject pronoun (*tue* 'you' or *cussu* 'this one'), which is different from the subject of the main clause. In the same type of construction, i.e. with non-identical subjects, an inflected infinitive can appear, cf. (38) (which is different from (33) where we have at least a potential controller in the main clause). The most interesting case, then, is the following:

(39)   Sardinian (Logudorese; Mensching 1994: 42)
         Sas   fadas   non cherían   a   toccare   s'abba   issoro.
         the   fairies not want.PST.3.PL a   touch.INF   the water   their
          'The fairies didn't want anybody to touch their water.'

         In (39) we do not see an overt subject in the infinitive clause, nor do we have an inflected infinitive, but we also do not have subject control (– the sentence doesn't mean that the fairies didn't want to touch their water themselves –), since the reference of the external argument of the embedded infinitive must be non-identical to the subject of the main clause, i.e. arbitrary (arbitrary PRO). This seems to hint at the possibility that, at least in these cases, *a* is responsible for the blocking of subject control – as it can, in principle, be responsible for allowing overt nominative subjects. Note that the interpretation of (39) is close to passive-like and could also be translated as 'The fairies didn't want their water to be touched.' (cf. also Remberger 2005).
         However, in the fixed lexicalized expressions mentioned in (6), where the semantics is more one of a complex predicate with only one possible subject, which always agrees with the finite verb, Sardinian nevertheless has the infinitive introduced by *a*. It therefore seems as if the role of *a* as an indicator of a CP is not that clear in these infinitive constructions.

5. Analysis: Back to the impersonal causative

As we have seen, impersonal (weak) causatives in Sardinian are somehow problematic, because they oscillate between the properties of monoclausal and biclausal structures. Typical characteristics of a biclausal structure displayed by these constructions would be the ability to negate the infinitive, the presence of *a*, and the potential for the infinitive to have overt nominal subjects. The main arguments against a biclausal structure would be the possibility of the subject of the infinitive to raise and agree with the finite causative verb. So how can these structures in (16), repeated here as (40), be analyzed?

(40)   Sardinian (Campidanese; Casti 2012:143-144)
         a. Cussas mattas   ge   fait   a   ddas=segai   immoi
            this.F.PL plant.F.PL AFF   make.3SG   A   CL.ACC.3F.PL=cut.INF now
         b. Cussas mattas   ge   faint   a   ddas=segai   immoi.
            this.F.PL plant.F.PL AFF   make.3PL   A   CL.ACC.3F.PL=cut.INF now
            'It is indeed possible to cut those plants now.'

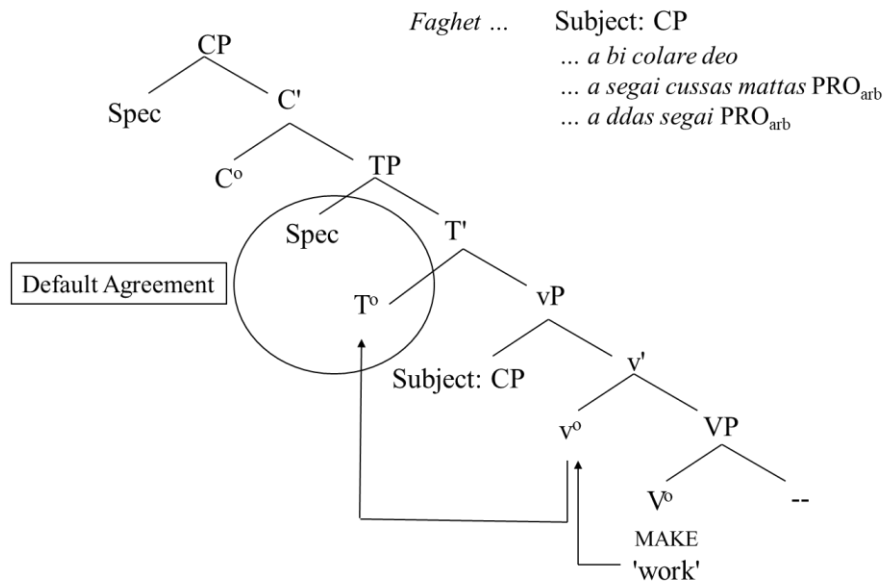Note that a contextual null subject for the impersonal causative is also possible in (40a), cf. (41):

(41)   Sardinian (Campidanese; Casti 2021: 152)
       No   fait.
       not   make.3SG
       'It's not possible. / It doesn't work.'.

In cases like (41) the subject clause is not expressed because it is somehow provided by the context (i.e. it is a null-subject *pro*, as could also appear in Italian *Non funziona* 'It doesn't work', *Non conviene* 'It is not convenient', or *È difficile* 'It is difficult').

In the construction in (40a) the impersonal (weak) causative is in its default verbal form and its subject is a CP – the infinitive clause introduced by *a*. Clitics are pre-infinitival and cannot climb. The subject of the infinitive clause is arbitrary, as in examples such as (35), which also represents an infinitival subject clause introduced by *a*, a typical environment for arbitrary control. In this type of biclausal structure the causative verb is merged in a VP proper and then raised to T where default agreement (with the subject clause) takes place. The subject clause either has an explicit subject in the nominative, or it is arbitrary, as in (35).
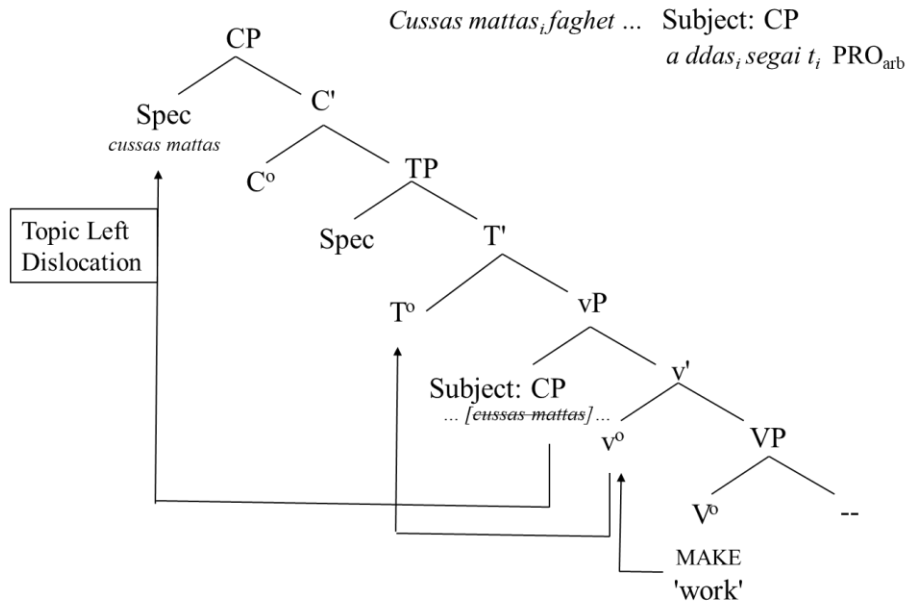
The preverbal noun phrase *cussas mattas* in (40a) can also be non-expressed or can appear in the infinitival clause, instead of the clitic, but in a post-infinitival position.[29] Thus, the argument structure of (40a) can be represented as in Figure 1 (note that an example like (35) would basically have the same argument structure).

Figure 1. The impersonal construction (Type (40a), cf. also (29))
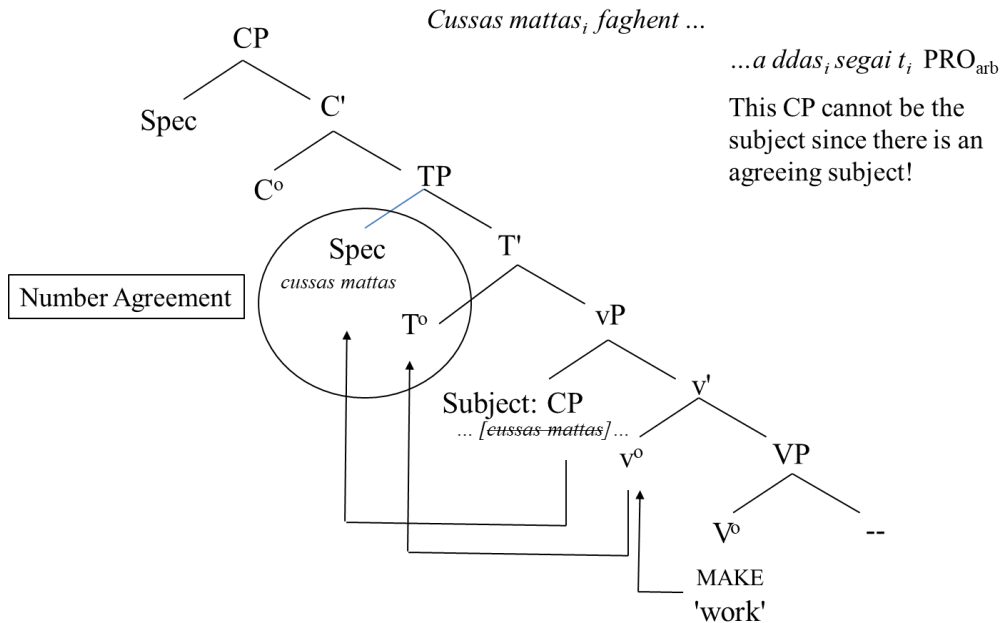

Now, as in (40a), it is possible for the object in the embedded infinitive subject clause to move into a left-peripheral topic position, which in both Sardinian and Italian gives rise to clitic resumption in the embedded clause, cf. Figure 2.

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[29]   Cf. e.g. also example (ic) in fn. 36, where the internal argument of a transitive verb *custu traballu* is in its base position. In Casti (2021) we also find clitic right-dislocated objects in this construction (cf. Casti 2021: 147)

Figure 2. The impersonal construction (topic left dislocation for type (40a))

Left-dislocation to a position in the left periphery is possible because the Topic position in the cartographic left periphery à la Rizzi (1997), here simplified as a CP, is outside the propositional domain of the complex clause.
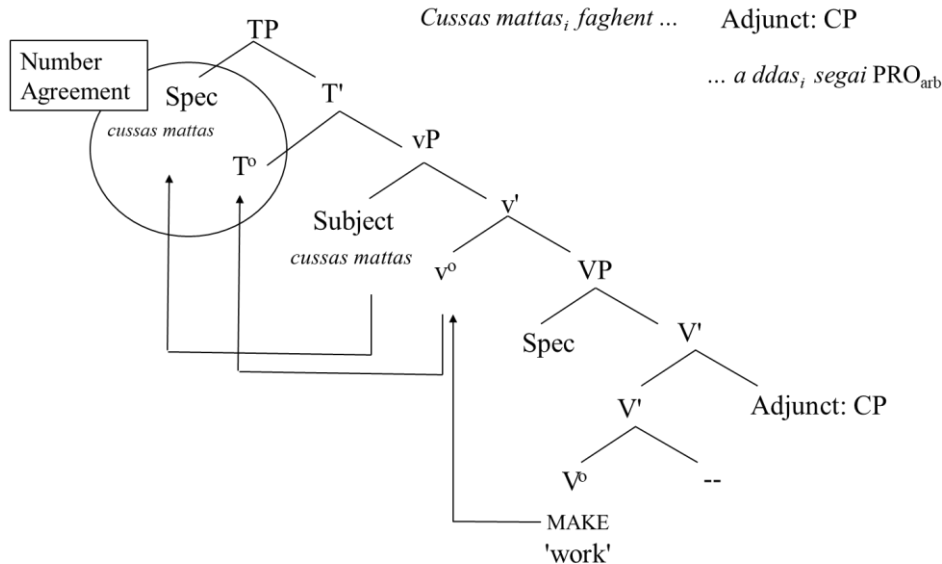
However, when the left-dislocated internal argument agrees with the causative verb in number, as in (40b), it must move from the embedded subject clause to the TP of the main clause. The data described in Section 4.3, however, would predict that *a* functions as a barrier to this kind of argument movement. The situation is illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Agreeing left-dislocated internal argument of the embedded argument clause (impossible derivation, because of the presence of two subjects for the matrix verb).

Moreover, if the embedded internal argument, in this case *cussas mattas* 'these plants/bushes', agrees with the causative verb, it must be the syntactic subject of the main clause, receiving nominative case. This also means that the embedded CP introduced by *a* cannot be the subject in (40b). Furthermore, the subject of the causative verb cannot have its origin in the CP, at least not as a subject, since clitic resumption is in the accusative.[30]

My proposal is therefore that weak causative constructions with number agreement have a completely different underlying structure. The causative verb is no longer impersonal but is on its way to becoming a personal (though still defective, since reduced to the third person) verb with a proper thematic role, meaning something like 'to work, to function'. The embedded infinitive clause introduced by *a* then is an adjunct clause, specifying the immediate action and purpose in respect to which the subject works or functions.[31] This idea is represented in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Alternative proposal: Infinitival adjunct instead of complement (Type (40b)).

Here, the subject of the causative is merged in Spec,vP above MAKE, the argument position for external arguments, and is then raised to Spec,TP for agreement

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[30]   Casti, in his RRG analysis, does not explicitly recognize that the infinitive clause introduced by *a* in the non-agreeing (impersonal) construction like (16a)/(40a) is a subject argument clause. Furthermore, Casti claims that both constructions have clitic resumption (cf. Casti 2021:153); in the agreeing (personal) construction such (16b)/(40b), he analyzes the agreeing subject as being raised from or controller of a position internal to the infinitive clause, which cannot be possible, according to UG principles, since there is a (truly anaphoric) accusative clitic already representing the internal argument. Subjects cannot usually be resumed by accusative clitics in Sardinian.

Nevertheless, Casti is the first to have collected systematic data concerning the phenomenon, and his books and articles offer a wealth of relevant examples and speaker judgments that show that the constructions under discussion cannot be monoclausal.

[31]   Note that these types of purpose adjunct clauses usually appear with verbs of movement, cf. fn. 27; but one could certainly argue that the verb MAKE contains a component of directionality.

(and might be moved further into a topic position in the left periphery). As we have seen, infinitive clauses introduced by *a* can host arbitrary PRO, which again also explains the clitic in the accusative, which is anaphoric to the subject of the causative. Arbitrary PRO gives rise to a kind of passive interpretation. The sentence (40b) in Figure 4 literally means, then: 'These plants/bushes work with respect to the immediate purpose that one cuts them.' The possibility reading arises from the interplay of the meaning of the causative verb and the infinitive introduced by *a*.

The underlying structures for (16) (= (40)) are thus as follows:

(42)   a. The impersonal causative (= (16a)/(40a))
        [TopicP [Cussas mattas]$_i$ [ForceP [TP ge fait$_j$ [vP [CP-subject a ddas$_i$ segai t$_i$ immoi PRO$_{arb}$] t$_j$ [VP [V' V°$_j$ …]]]]]]]

        b. The agreeing structure (= (16b)/(40b))
        [ForceP [TP [Cussas mattas]$_i$ ge faint$_j$ ... [vP t$_i$ t$_j$ [VP [V' V°$_j$ …] [CP-adjunct a ddas$_i$ segai immoi PRO$_{arb}$]]]]]][32]

There could be a further step, allowing agreement in the first and second person as well, cf. the constructed example in (43):

(43)   *Fàchere* from causative to a non-defective personal verb?
        Constructed example:
        *Ge faghes   a ti   bisitare.
         AFF make.2SG   A CL.2SG=visit.INF
        [TopicP [subject pro]$_i$ [ForceP ge [TP t$_i$ faghes$_j$ [vP t$_i$ t$_j$ [VP [V' [V' V°$_j$ …] [CP-adjunct a ti bisitare$_{TRANSITIVE}$ t$_i$ PRO$_{arb}$]]]]]]]]
        literally meaning something like:
        'You surely work with respect to somebody visiting you.'
        'It is possible for you to be visited.'

However, examples like these are not attested in Sardinian, i.e. with agreement in the first and second person the interpretation of an arbitrary PRO, which would eventually lead to a passive-like interpretation, is not found; however, in addition to the canonical causatives (FI and FP) there are examples with the first and second person agreeing with the verb, but these seem to be obligatory control structures (cf. the discussion in § 6.2).

What do seem to be attested in Sardinian are the following parallel *tough*-constructions:

(44)   Sardinian (Logudorese: Bono; Russo Cardona 2023)
        a. Custa   pedra   no el   fazile a   la=ciapare.
           this.F.SG stone.F.SG not is   easy   A   CL.F.SG=find.INF
           'This stone is not easy to find.'

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[32]   Note that, in an alternative scenario, the infinitival clause could also be in the complement of MAKE, once we suppose an empty object that is then modified by the CP-adjunct; see the English idiomatic expression *to make it (to do something)*.

b. Custu   vasu   el fazile,   a   Mario, a
   this.M.SG vase.M.SG is easy   to   Mario to
   bilu=dare.
   CL.DAT.M.SG=CL.ACC.M.SG=give.INF
   Mario, this vase is easy to give to.

c. Cust' arbur el fazile a no   esser   bidu.
   this tree is easy A not   be.INF   see.PTCP
   'This tree is easy not to see.'

Russo Cardona (2023), studying Italo-Romance varieties, distinguishes between monoclausal and biclausal *tough*-constructions.[33] The latter, not only found in Sardinian (44), but also in the Lucanian dialect of Francavilla (PZ), do not allow clitic climbing (cf. (44a)), have a dedicated topic position in the left periphery of the infinitival clause (cf. (44b)), and allow negation and analytic forms in the infinitival clause (cf. (44c)).[34] Monoclausal *tough*-constructions, however, as found in other Italo-Romance varieties, do allow clitic climbing, but not negation nor analytic forms in the infinitival clause, which seems to have a reduced structure. The biclausal *tough*-constructions in (44) can be seen as a parallel to the impersonal causatives analyzed here and they involve a predicate cognate with the causative verb MAKE discussed here.

In the following section, some problematic data will be discussed.

6. Problematic cases

Impersonal causative constructions in Sardinian seem to represent a phenomenon that concerns the unclear boundaries between monoclausal and biclausal structures, on the one hand, and the wide range of options for the realization of subjects offered by the syntactic properties of Sardinian itself on the other. At this point, another factor comes into play, namely contact with Italian, which is clearly not insignificant, since nearly all speakers of Sardinian by now also speak the national language. Language contact has been shown to be a factor in the development of causative constructions in other cases, such as in the case of Greek or in the case of the Arberësh varieties in contact with Italian in Southern Italy.

For these contact situations with Italian, it has been shown that hybrid structures, i.e. structures that do not belong to either of the languages in contact are a typical phenomenon (cf. Ledgeway 2013, 2023; Ledgeway et al. 2020). Hybridization has been shown to exist in causative constructions in Albanian in contact with Italian (cf. Manzini & Savoia 2007: ch. 10, 2018: ch. 12; Manzini & Roussou, this volume) as well as in causative constructions in Greek in contact with Italian (cf. Ledgeway et al. 2020; 2023).

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[33]   Russo Cardona's data all concern third person verbal forms (singular and plural).

[34]   Russo Cardona does not analyze the biclausal *tough*-constructions as adjuncts, but explains the presence of the clitic as a last resort strategy for a moved internal argument. He also points out that these constructions are related to *tough*-predicates followed by subjunctives in Calabrian, where the object clitics are also present. One of the anonymous reviewers also hints at the connection between impersonal causatives and Balkan-type subjunctives. Unfortunately, this is far too complex a topic to be integrated into this paper, although it would merit a closer and more systematic investigation.

In Italian, infinitival causatives mark the causee with the accusative when the infinitive is intransitive and by the dative (or an adjunct PP in the case of FP) when the verb is transitive. In Magna Graecia Greek, where the use of the infinitive is reduced and substituted by a finite structure introduced by *na* (a subjunctive marker), the causee in this clearly biclausal structure is in the nominative, in both cases. There are innovative patterns arising in which there is still a finite structure introduced by *na*, as in the traditional Magna Graecia Greek pattern, but the case marking follows the Italian pattern, as in the following examples (45), with the causee in the accusative, and (46a), with the causee in the genitive (see the causative-genitive syncretism) or an oblique form (46b), cf. Ledgeway et al. (2020), Ledgeway (2023).

(45)   Calabrian Greek (Ledgeway 2023)
Èkama   na   tragudì   to   GGiorgio.
make.PST.1SG SUBJ   sing.SBJ.3SG the.ACC   Giorgio
'I made Giorgio sing.'

(46)   Calabrian Greek (a) and Salentino Greek (b) (Ledgeway 2023)
a. Èkama   na   kantalisi   mia kanzuna tu   Giorgiu.
   make.PST.1SG SUBJ sing.SBJ.3SG a   song   the.GEN Giorgio
b. Èkama   na   tragudì   na   tragudi sto   GGiorgio.
   make.PST.1SG NA   sing.SBJ.3SG a   song   to-the   Giorgio
   'I made Giorgio sing a song.'

In Standard Albanian (as in Standard Greek, but not in the traditional pattern of Magna Graecia Greek) the causee with transitive verbs in the finite structure introduced by the subjunctive marker *të* is usually in the accusative (as is the object of the transitive verb). In Arberësh, there seem to be several patterns with transitive verbs, where the subject of the nominative can be nominative, dative, or in an oblique form as in (47), while the accusative is chosen if there is one single argument in the embedded clause (as in Standard Albanian and Greek and Magna Graecia Greek), cf. (48a), although the nominative is also possible, cf. (48b):

(47)   Arbëresh (Vena di Maida; Manzini & Roussou 2024: 2)
u bɐɾɐ   tə   piɕə   krumiʃt-inə buʃtr-i /   buʃtr-itə /
I make.PST.1SG SUBJ drink.PST.1SG milk.ACC   dog.NOM / dog.DAT /
ŋga buʃtr-i
by dog.NOM
'I made the dog drink the milk.'

(48)   Arbëresh (Vena di Maida; Manzini & Roussou 2024: 23)
a. u bɐɾɐ   pə   tə   ikənə   ɲeri-unə
   I make.PST.1SG   for PRT   run.3SG   man.ACC
   'I made the man run.'
b. bɐɲɲa   tə   harə   diaʎ-i
   make.1SG PRT   eat.3SG boy.NOM
   'I made the boy eat.'

The local conservative pattern for transitive infinitives such as those in (48) seems to be that with the causee marked in the accusative, which is interestingly as in Magna Graecia Greek, whereas the genitive/dative, and the *by*-phrase seem to be innovations, which are probably the result of language contact with Italian, as in the case of Calabrian Greek.

We now have more data sets related to Sardinian causative constructions that seem to show hybridity. All these phenomena might be due to contact between Sardinian and Italian and thus might be interpreted as precursors of a changing system. One of these phenomena is the varying use of the complementizer-like *a* both in – very frequent – fixed expressions as well as in "canonical" causative constructions (like FI) (cf. § 6.1). The other two relate to extended subject agreement with the causative verb (§ 6.2) and the appearance of by-phrases in the embedded structure (§ 6.3).

6.1. Contamination: The infinitive introduced by *a* or not

If we look at the entry for *fàchere* 'make' in Puddu's (2000) monolingual dictionary, cf. (6) repeated here as (49), we also find fixed expressions, like Italian *far vedere* 'to show' mentioned in (5c):

(49)   Sardinian (Puddu 2000, s.v. *fàchere*)
        fàcher   a ischire, fàcher   a cumprendhere, fàcher   a bìdere
        make.INF A know.INF make.INF A understand.INF make.INF A see.INF
        'to let know, to suggest, to show'

These include *a*. However, in Puddu (2000), there are also canonical causative constructions, such as those described in Section 4.1, cf. (50). But contrary to the examples given by Jones and others taken from Falconi (2002-2007) for Nuorese and Logudorese (cf. (51), (52), and (54)) and from Blasco Ferrer for monoclausal structures with clitic climbing (cf. (53)) they also include the complementizer-like element *a*:

(50)   Sardinian (Puddu 2000, s.v. *fàchere*)
        faghet   a rìere,   faghes   a prànghere, fato   a faeddhare[35]
        make.3SG A laugh.INF make.2SG A cry.INF   make.1SG A talk.INF
        'this makes laugh, you make cry, I make talk'

(51)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 275)
        Sos pitzinneddos   faken   rídere.
        the children   make.3PL laugh.INF
        'Children make one laugh.'

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[35]   Similarly, *fàchere a creer* 'to make believe':

  (i) Sardinian (Logudorese; Falconi 2002-2007)
      Cando apo fatu a creer a custu pitzinnu castigadu totu cusu chi li faghiat praghere
      de a creer…
      'When I made this poor boy believe all that what pleased him to believe…'

(52)   Sardinian (Nuorese: Lula; Jones 1993: 275)
        Su   vinu faket   nárrere istupidádzines.
        the   wine make.3SG tell.INF silly-things
        'Wine makes one say silly things.'

(53)   Sardinian (Blasco Ferrer 1986: 162)
        a. lu   fago   léghere   a issu (Logudorese)
        b. ddu   fatzu   ligi   a issu (Campidanese)
           CL.ACC.M.SG=make.1SG read.INF   to him
           'I make him read it.'

(54)   Sardinian (Logudorese; Falconi 2002-2007)
        Su   mare ce   ozu   faghiat   bantzigare dae una parte a
        the sea that today make.IPFV.3SG rock.INF   from one side to
        s'atera   s'alberadura de la nave …
        the other   the beam   of the ship
        'The sea that made the beam of the ship rock from one side to the other…'

This inconsistency in the use of *a* could thus either be a diatopic difference between Sardinian varieties, or it could also show a tendency to insert *a* in constructions that would usually be considered monoclausal, perhaps by hypercorrection.[36] I would assume that Sardinian *a* in these constructions is about to lose its function as a sentential boundary and become a kind of "defective subordinator", particularl in complex predicates (cf. Ciutescu 2018 for infinitives introduced by *de* in monoclausal structures in some Spanish varieties).

Note that examples like the following are found online, with *a* also introduced in a canonical causative construction in which MAKE and the infinitive are assumed to form a (non-lexicalized) complex predicate:

(55)   Sardinian
        Su Coronavirus   faghet   a tìmere is biddas   prus piticas.
        the coronavirus   make.3SG A fear.INF the villages   more small
        'The corona virus makes the smaller villages get frightened.'

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[36]   Of course, the examples listed by Puddu (2000) for the impersonal causative in his lexical entry all include *a* to introduce the infinitive:

   (i)   Sardinian (Puddu 2000, s.v. *fàchere*)
         a. Fait a passai de custa parti puru po intrai a domo.
             'One can also pass by this door to enter the house.'
         b. No at fatu a che acusiare deo e apo mandhadu.
             'It was not possible for me to come close to this place and (so) I sent somebody.'
         c. Chi no seus in dusu, no fait a fai custu traballu.
             'If there are not two of you, it will not work out to do this work.'
         d. Candu nd'est artziau fadiat a dhu timi!
             'When he got up from there, it was possible to get frightened by him.'

Note, again, that (id) contains the same verb in the infinitive as (55); both infinitives are introduced by *a*, but whereas (55) is a FI or FP (depending on the whether the small villages are the internal or external argument of the infinitival verb), (id) is an impersonal causative construction.

It seems as if the speaker had reinterpreted *a* as a fixed introducer for the infinitive after MAKE also in the FI / FP constructions.

6.2. Hybrids: First and second person agreeing subjects

A further case of hybridization is found in two Sardinian varieties in the Campidanese area, where in the impersonal constructions at issue, agreement with the causative verb seems to be possible not only in the third, but also in the first and second person, as in the following examples from Casti (2012, 2021):

(56)   Sardinian (Campidanese; Casti 2012:144/257/259)
      a. Deu no faccu   a ddue=passai   in cudda   porta. (Tortoli)
         I   not make.1.SG A LOC.CL=pass.INF   in that   door
         'I cannot pass through that door.'
      b. Bos atrus   no   fadeis   a passai. (Muravera-Villaputzu)
         you others not do.2PL   A pass.INF
         'You cannot pass through.'

Casti claimed that these examples are instances of the same impersonal type described in Section 4.2. However, I would suggest that this is another case in which language contact is at work. Sardinian has the impersonal (weak) causative that also allows subject agreement when the transitive infinitive is adjoined, as we saw previously. But the examples in (56) clearly do not involve transitive structures, which are the only constructions that allow subject agreement in the impersonal causatives. Both (56a) and (56b) contain intransitive unaccusative infinitives and what agrees with MAKE here is the subject of the infinitive, not the object. However, I would argue that we do not have an impersonal construction at all in these examples, but a control structure; the subject *deo* 'I' or *bos* 'you.PL' is not raised but controls a subject PRO in the embedded infinitive, parallel to Italian *farcela* 'to be able to, to succeed in', cf. (57), a translation of Sardinian (56a):

(57)   Italian
      Non ce=la=faccio   a passare per   quella porta.
      not there.CL= CL.F.SG=make.1.SG a pass.INF through this   door.
      'I don't get through this door.'

I am convinced instead that language contact also triggered the use of MAKE in personal verb forms in the first and second person; thus, the meaning of a fixed expression of a pronominal verb (cf. (5b) above) is copied over to Sardinian *fàchere*, in some varieties. Sardinian already has a construction with the same verb with an infinitive complement introduced by *a* (indicative of a sentential boundary in control structures) that allows a similar interpretation of weak causation that ends up in a possibility reading ('it doesn't make' => 'it won't work out' => 'it's impossible' => 'X can't'). Impersonal third person MAKE (agreeing or otherwise) is concerned with arbitrary control or overt subjects in the infinitival clause. With first and second person subjects subject control becomes possible, as in Italian *farcela*.

So, when Casti (2012: 26) writes with respect to the agreement in the first and second person that "this finding is completely new", he is right insofar as the

construction must be a recent development that is the result of pressure from the influence of Italian.

Casti also notes that the Italian expression *farcela* is present in Sardinian, a probably calqued loan expression including the pronominal clitics[37]; this can similarly be observed in further examples from Falconi (2002-2007), from where the examples were taken that also opened this article:

(58)   Sardinian (Logudorese; Falconi 2002-2007)
        Già   bi=la=fato.
        AFF   there.CL= CL.F.SG=make.1SG
        Italian: 'Sicuramente ce la faccio.' 'I will surely make it.'

(59)   Sardinian (Logudorese; Falconi 2002-2007)
        Non bi=la=fato   a   abbaidare totu   custu.
        not   there.CL=IT.CL.F.SG=make.1SG A watch.INF all   this
        'I'm not able to look at all this.'

6.3. Hybrids: Passive readings and the subject in a *by*-phrase

A further complication arises when we look at the following three examples (60) to (62):

(60)   Sardinian (Casti 2012:161-162; a: Camp.; b: Log.)
        a. Cussus   cartzonis   no fadiant   a incurtzai   de   sa   sarta.
        b. Cussos   cartzones   no fachian   a incurtziare dae sa   sarta.
           this.M.PL trousers   not make.PST.3PL A shorten.INF by the tailor
           'It was not possible to have these trousers shortened by the tailor.'

(61)   Sardinian (Campidanese; Casti 2012: 162)
        No fadiat   a   incurtzai cussus   cartzonis de   sa   sarta.
        not make.PST.3SG A   shorten.INF this.M.PL trousers by   the   tailor
        'It was not possible to have these trousers shortened by the tailor.'

(62)   Sardinian (Campidanese; Casti 2012: 162)
        *Cussus   cartzonis   no fadiat   a   incurtzai   de sa   sarta.
        this.M.PL   trousers   not make.PST.3SG A shorten.INF by the   tailor

In these examples we see an agent of the infinitive that is contained within a PP, as in the FP construction. However, there is still no causer in the main clause, but the internal argument of the infinitive is raised to subject, agreeing with the causative verb in (60), whereas it remains in its lower position in (61) and therefore no agreement arises. As can be seen in (62), when the agent PP is present raising the object of the infinitive to subject without agreement with the causative verb seems to be impossible. Note also that in (61), unlike in examples such (16) (= (40)), there is no clitic referring to the raised internal argument of the transitive infinitive.

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[37]   Cf. e.g. Casti (2021: 233-253), where he lists many examples with this pronominal verb.

According to Simone Pisanu (personal communication), at least in Pula (also in the Campidanese area), the clitic in the embedded clause can be absent when there is subject agreement with the finite causative verb.

(63)   Sardinian (Campidanese: Pula; Simone Pisanu, p.c.)
     a. Cussus   cartzonis no fait   a ddus=incurtzai.
        this.PL.M trousers   not make.3SG A CL.ACC.M.PL=shorten
     b. Cussus   cartzonis no fainti   a incurtzai.
        this.PL.M trousers   not make.3PL A shorten.INF
        'These trousers cannot be shortened.'

However, Casti's examples also show agreeing structures *with* the clitic (cf. 16b=40b). What might be stated as a rule is that the presence of a *by*-phrase disallows clitic doubling of the internal argument of the infinitive and that, at least as shown in (60) and (62), the presence of a *by*-phrase makes subject agreement with the finite causative verb obligatory. The examples in this section therefore seem to be fundamentally different from the impersonal causative described in Section 4.2. In my opinion, the examples including a *by*-phrase are weak causatives that could be rendered by an Italian (or German) translation with LET, as for example in (64) (cf. also (8c)):

(64)   Italian and German
     a. Questi pantaloni non si   lasciano accorciare   dalla   sarta.
        this.F.PL trousers   not CL.REFL let.3PL   shorten.INF by-the tailor
     b. Diese   Hosen   lassen sich nicht   von   der Schneiderin kürzen.
        this.F.PL trousers let.3PL REFL not   by   the tailor   shorten.INF
        'It is not possible to have these trousers shortened by the tailor.'

That means that the causative verb MAKE corresponds to Italian *lasciarsi* + infinitive, a reflexive version of the weak causative, where the causer is demoted by the reflexive and the causee raised to subject. Because of the presence of the *by*-phrase, we cannot assume that an arbitrary PRO is there in the structure.

7. Conclusions

This article has discussed causative constructions in Romance, and in particular in Sardinian. For the Sardinian data we have relied on the distinction between strong and weak causatives (or causative force) introduced by Comrie (1981). The main focus was a particular construction with the verb *fàchere* 'make', which – in most varieties – appears in an impersonal form that introduces an infinitival CP, which serves as the subject of the finite verb. In these constructions, an internal argument of a transitive infinitive in the subject clause can be left-dislocated. This led to the possibility of number agreement with the finite causative verb in several (but not all) varieties. I showed that, in this case, the causative verb changes its argument structure and the former subject CP must be interpreted as an adjunct. The impersonal causative remains defective, allowing number agreement only in the third person.

In the last section it has been shown that the data in the Sardinian varieties under discussion remain somewhat unclear: they might relate to the existence of this impersonal structure, but that might also depend on the presence of Italian as a contact language. Many interesting points in the data would merit further investigation, both in the Sardinian varieties as well as in the regional Italian of Sardinia, such as the presence of polarity particles observed by Casti, or the different modal flavors that a verb such as MAKE can develop. The interplay between modality and affirmation and negation in mono- vs. biclausal structures is certainly relevant here. For reasons of space these interesting questions must be postponed to future research.

To return to where we started, let's conclude with another example of the impersonal weak causative in Sardinian from the literature: In Falconi's (2002-2007) text, though it is a translation, we find many examples of the impersonal structure but all are introduced by *a* and there is never agreement with a raised subject. This seems to be the most stable construction in all the Sardinian varieties mentioned here:

(65)   Sardinian (Logudorese: Falconi 2002-2007)
        Non faghiat   a lu=connoscher   e   a non
        not   make.3SG   A   CL.ACC.M.SG=know.INF   and   A   not
        l=istimare,   no   est   beru?
        CL.ACC.M.SG=esteem.INF   not   is   true
        'It was not possible to know him and not to esteem him, don't you think?'

Acknowledgments

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