Fare light verb constructions and Italian causatives: Understanding the differences

Josep Alba-Salas

This article examines two different types of Light Verb Constructions (LVCs) with *fare* 'do' in Italian: the *fare una telefonata* 'make a phone call'-type, and the *fare paura* 'frighten'-type. These LVCs differ in terms of the noun predicates involved, their configurational patterns, the thematic properties of their surface subject, and the presence of a *double analyse*, whereby the prepositional complement of the noun predicate can be analyzed either as being inside its maximal projection or as a direct syntactic dependent of the light verb. Importantly, these structures also involve two different, yet homophonous, forms of light *fare*: a transitive variant requiring an obligatorily animate subject (in *fare una telefonata* LVCs), and (in the case of *fare paura* structures) an unergative version licensing a Cause argument, i.e. the same verb found in traditional causatives. Unlike other analyses, my proposal challenges the traditional assumption that there is a single light *fare* distinct from its causative counterpart, and it proposes a configurational definition of LVCs that encompasses both types of *fare* LVCs while distinguishing them from traditional causatives.

1. Introduction and Overview

Traditionally, light verbs have been characterized as semantically defective predicates with incomplete or even empty argument structures. The assumption is that these verbs must combine with a noun predicate (often known as a Verbal Noun) to license the arguments of the clause (e.g. Jespersen 1954, Gross 1981, Cattell 1984, Mirto 1986, Grimshaw & Mester 1988, Dubinsky 1990, 1997, La Fauci 1997, Alonso-Ramos 1998).

This paper focuses on Light Verb Constructions (LVCs) with *fare* 'do' in Italian. Light *fare* combines with two types of Verbal Nouns (VNs). The first one involves action nominals like *telefonata* 'phone call' in (1). The second type involves VNs designating physical or emotional states, such as *paura* 'fear' in (2). While LVCs with action nominals are quite numerous in Italian, there are only a handful of *fare paura*-type LVCs.

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(1) Monica farà una telefonata a Eva.
Monica will-do a phone-call to Eva
'Monica will give Eva a call.'

(2) Mark fa paura a Ali.
Mark does fear to Ali
'Mark frightens Ali.'

Light *fare* is homophonous with causative *fare* 'make', which combines with an infinitive and is found in traditional causatives like (3). Light *fare* is also homophonous with heavy (i.e. semantically full) *fare* 'make'. An example is shown in (4).

(3) Mark fa ridere Ali.
Mark makes laugh Ali
'Mark makes Ali laugh.'

(4) Mark fa un paio di scarpe.
Mark makes a pair of shoes
'Mark makes a pair of shoes.'

Fare una telefonata-type LVCs have received some attention in explanatory accounts, including La Fauci (1980) within Lexicon-Grammar, Di Sciullo & Rosen (1990) within GB, and La Fauci & Mirto (1985), Mirto (1986) and La Fauci (1996, 1997) within RG (cf. also Cicalese 1995 and Stichauer 2000). By contrast, *fare paura* structures have not been treated in Italian. In fact, to the best of my knowledge, Giry-Schneider (1984, 1987) are the only studies that have considered these structures in French, within the framework of Lexicon-Grammar.

The contrast between light and heavy *fare* has received minimal attention in explanatory accounts, which have tended to focus on the differences between light *fare* and other heavy verbs (La Fauci 1980, 1996, 1997, Mirto 1986, Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990, but see Alba-Salas 2002 for an exception). Similarly, only a handful of studies have considered the contrast between causative *fare* and its light counterpart (La Fauci & Mirto 1985 and Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990; cf. Gross 1981, Giry-Schneider 1987, Gross 1989 and Danlos 1992 for French, and Alonso-Ramos 1998 for Spanish).[1] Despite this research gap, the standard view is that light *fare* has a unique argument structure and subcategorization frame that distinguishes it from both heavy and causative *fare*.

This paper has three main goals: (i) to account for the empiri-

cal contrasts between *fare una telefonata*- and *fare paura*-type LVCs; (ii) to propose a definition of LVCs that encompasses both types of structures; and (iii) to capture the relationship between these LVCs, particularly the *fare paura*-type, and traditional causatives like (3).

Fare una telefonata- and *fare paura*-type LVCs differ not only with respect to the VNs involved (i.e. state vs. action nominals), but also in terms of their configurational properties and the argument structure and subcategorization frame of the light verbs involved. Simply put, these LVCs involve two different, yet homophonous, forms of light *fare*. *Fare una telefonata* constructions involve a transitive variant that requires an obligatorily animate subject. By contrast, *fare paura* LVCs involve an unergative variant whose subject is mapped onto a Cause argument, i.e. the same *fare* found in traditional causatives. As we will see below, this distinction illuminates the differences between the two types of LVCs in terms of their structural patterns, the surface realization and thematic properties of the subject of the VN, and the *double analyse* phenomenon, whereby the prepositional complement of the VN (if any) can be analyzed either as being inside its maximal projection or as a direct syntactic dependent of the light verb.

An important innovation of my account is that it complements the traditional semantic definition of light verbs with a configurational characterization. According to my proposal, an LVC is a structure where a verb combines with a noun predicate whose subject is also a direct syntactic dependent of the verb. More precisely,

(5) An LVC is a structure where
  (i) a verb combines with a noun predicate (x), and
  (ii) x licenses a dependent (y) as its subject, and
  (iii) y is also a direct syntactic dependent of the verb.

My proposal does not deny that lightness is a lexical property in the traditional sense that light verbs, unlike their heavy counterparts, lack fully-specified argument structures. However, lightness is also a structural property: a verb is light if it is used in the configuration in (5). Hence, a light verb can be characterized by the fact that it combines with a noun predicate whose subject is also a direct syntactic dependent of the verb.

This configurational approach contrasts with other proposals, which have tended to characterize LVCs only in terms of the lexical properties of the light verb (e.g. La Fauci & Mirto 1985, Mirto 1986,

La Fauci 1996, 1997; cf. also Grimshaw & Mester 1988, among others, for Japanese). As I noted earlier, this light valence approach assumes that light *fare* has a unique valence distinct from heavy and causative *fare*. Thus, *fare* LVCs are defined not by their inherent structural properties, but rather by the fact that they contain light, as opposed to heavy or causative *fare*.

As I argue below, my proposal offers some advantages over the light valence approach. On the one hand, the definition in (5) neatly encompasses both *fare una telefonata*- and *fare paura*-type constructions despite their structural differences, grouping them together in a 'natural class' of LVCs. On the other hand, my proposal captures the basic continuity between *fare paura* LVCs and traditional causatives, which involve not only the same verb (i.e. causative *fare*), but also the same structural patterns. As I also argue below, traditional causatives do not fit the definition in (5) because they fail to satisfy the built-in categorial requirement that in LVCs the verb combines with a noun predicate, not with any type of predicate. This arbitrary requirement captures the traditional, but equally arbitrary, view that LVCs in Romance differ from causatives in that the light verb combines with a nominal, rather than with another verb –a view that obscures the key parallels between causatives and LVCs.

My account uses the framework of Relational Grammar (RG), but it also considers proposals made within other theoretical frameworks in order to assess their strengths and limitations. The discussion does not assume in-depth familiarity with RG, whose principles will be introduced as they become relevant to the argumentation.

Although the empirical facts considered here could be treated in competing frameworks, my choice of RG is motivated by several considerations. First, RG provides a simple analysis using minimal, yet powerful, theoretical machinery. Second, the RG view of subjects as syntactic primitives allows us to capture the configurational properties of LVCs with a simple statement like (5). Third, the RG notion that nouns can be both predicates and syntactic arguments provides a straightforward way of capturing the special role of the Verbal Noun in LVCs.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: section 2 focuses on *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs, section 3 considers *fare paura*-type constructions and their relationship to traditional causatives, and section 4 summarizes the conclusions.

2. Fare una telefonata-type LVCs

2.1. Empirical Properties

These LVCs involve action VNs such as *telefonata* 'phone call', *promessa* 'promise', *corsa* 'run' and *caduta* 'fall', and they are entirely productive. A few examples appear in (6) (for a more complete list, see Alba-Salas 2002).

(6) Monica farà una corsa / una telefonata/promessa a Eva.
Monica will-do a run a phone-call/promise to Eva
'Monica will run/give Eva a call/make a promise to Eva.'

As in other LVCs, here the argument structure is determined primarily by the VN, not by the light verb. This claim is corroborated by three well-known facts. First, the number and type of arguments in the LVC varies with the Verbal Noun (e.g. Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990, cf. Grimshaw & Mester 1988). Thus, our example in (1) above, *Monica farà una telefonata a Eva* 'Monica will give Eva a call', includes the two arguments licensed by *telefonata*: *Monica* (the caller) and *Eva* (the person called). By contrast, (7) below includes only the single argument required by *viaggio* 'trip', i.e. *Eva* (the traveler).

(7) Monica farà un viaggio.
Monica will-do a trip
'Monica will take a trip.'

Second, the same set of arguments found in the LVC can also appear in its nominalized counterpart without *fare*, as illustrated in (8).

(8) la telefonata di Monica a Eva
the call of Monica to Eva
'Monica's call to Eva'

Third, the VN imposes selectional restrictions on the arguments that appear in the LVC. For example, *telefonata* requires an obligatorily agentive subject. This explains the ill-formedness of (9).

(9) a.# La penna ha fatto una telefonata a Eva.
the pen has done a call to Eva
'The pen gave Eva a call.'

cf. b. #la telefonata della penna (a Eva)
the call of-the pen to Eva
lit. 'the pen's call (to Eva)'

Another well-known property of *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs is that the subject is obligatorily coreferential with the agent of the action designated by the VN (e.g. La Fauci 1980, Mirto 1986; cf. Gross 1976, and Giry-Schneider 1978b, 1987 for French). Thus, the example in (10) is ill formed because the agent of *telefonata* (*Paolo*) is different from the subject of *fare* (*Monica*).[2]

(10) *Monica farà una telefonata di Paolo a Eva.
Monica will-do a call of Paolo to Eva
lit. 'Monica will give Paolo's call to Eva.'

Fare una telefonata-type LVCs are only compatible with animate subjects. This property is illustrated in (11), which involves the VN *caduta* 'fall'.[3,4] As (12) shows, the morphologically related verb *cadere* 'fall' does not impose any animacy restrictions on its subject. Crucially, the animacy requirement does not stem from the VN either, since *caduta* can license inanimate subjects (13). Hence, the animacy requirement in (11) is imposed by light *fare* independently of the VN –a property that has been neglected in previous analyses.[5]

(11) Gianni/#il muro di Berlino ha fatto una caduta
Gianni/the wall of Berlin has done a fall
ieri.
yesterday
'Gianni/the Berlin Wall fell down yesterday.'

(12) Gianni/il muro di Berlino è caduto ieri.
Gianni/the wall of Berlin is fallen yesterday
'Gianni/the Berlin Wall fell down yesterday.'

(13) la caduta di Gianni/del muro di Berlino
the fall of Gianni/of-the wall of Berlin
'Gianni's fall/the fall of the Berlin Wall'

As (14) shows, VNs like *telefonata* are count nouns, so they can be pluralized and made definite.

(14) Monica ha fatto quelle/due telefonate.
Monica has done those/two calls
'Monica made those/two calls.'

More importantly, in *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs the VN is the underlying direct object (or P-initial 2, in RG terms) of light *fare*. This is evidenced by the fact that the nominal can be cliticized with partitive *ne* 'of it/them' (15) and can appear in a participial absolute (16) and a participial adjective construction formed with light *fare* (17) (cf. Perlmutter 1978, 1989, Rosen 1981, 1990, Burzio 1986).[6]

(15) [Di telefonate], Monica ne ha fatte tre.
of calls Monica NE has done three
'Calls, Monica will make three (of them).'

(16) Fatta la telefonata, scoppiarono gli applausi.
done the call burst:3RD:PL the applauses
'The phone call having been made, there was a thunder of applause.'

(17) le telefonate fatte ieri da questo numero
the calls done yesterday from this number
'the calls made yesterday from this number'

The syntactic freedom of the VN and its status as the underlying object of *fare* contradict Di Sciullo & Rosen's (1990) claim that the light verb and the VN form a quasi-opaque syntactic domain. In fact, contrary to what Di Sciullo and Rosen argue, light *fare* and the VN can be separated by referential items. For example, when we form a question, a subject may intervene between *fare* and the VN (18).

(18) Ha fatto Monica una telefonata a Eva?
has done Monica a call to Eva
'Did Monica give Eva a call?'

Another key property of *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs is that the prepositional complements licensed by the VN (if any) can be analyzed either as being inside its maximal projection or as direct syntactic dependents of *fare*. This phenomenon is known in the literature as the *double analyse* or double analysis (e.g. La Fauci 1980, Mirto 1986, cf. Gross 1976, Giry-Schneider 1978a, 1978b, 1987, and Abeillé 1988 for French).

The *double analyse* is illustrated in (19). Here we have the option of clefting *a Eva* 'to Eva' alone (a), *una telefonata* 'a call' alone (b), or the entire sequence comprised by the VN and its prepositional complement (c).

(19) a. È [a Eva] che Monica farà [una telefonata].
is to Eva that Monica will-do a call
'It's Eva that Monica will call.'

b. È [una telefonata] che Monica farà [a Eva].
is a call that Monica will-do to Eva
lit. 'It's a call that Monica will give Eva.'

c. È [una telefonata a Eva] che Monica farà.
is a call to Eva that Monica will-do
lit. 'It's a call to Eva that Monica will make.'

This structural ambiguity is confirmed by cliticization facts. As (20) shows, we can cliticize *a Eva* alone (a), *una telefonata* alone (b), or the entire sequence *una telefonata a Eva* (c).

(20) a. Non ti preoccupare di Eva. Monica
not you:REF worry of Eva Monica
le farà una telefonata dopo.
her:DAT will-do a call later
'Don't worry about Eva. Monica will give her a call later.'

b. Di telefonate, Monica ne ha già fatte quattro
of calls Monica NE has already done four
a Eva oggi.
to Eva today
'Phone calls, Monica has already made four of them to Eva today.'

c. La telefonata a Eva la farà Monica dopo.
the call to Eva it:ACC will-do Monica later
'The call to Eva, Monica will make it later.'

Taken together, these movement and cliticization facts indicate that *a Eva* can be analyzed either as being inside the maximal projection headed by *telefonata* (21) or as a direct syntactic dependent of *fare* (22).

(21) Monica farà **[**una telefonata **[**a Eva**]]**.

(22) Monica farà **[**una telefonata**] [**a Eva**]**.

Moreover, the cliticization facts suggest that the different constituent structures in (21) and (22) correlate with a difference in clause nodes. As is well known, clitics in Romance mark clause

boundaries, since they attach to the predicate of the (tensed) clause in which they originate (e.g. Aissen & Perlmutter 1976, Rosen 1987). This is illustrated in (23), where *Luca* is the indirect object of the embedded verb *telefonare* 'call' (a). If *Luca* is pronominalized, the corresponding dative clitic *gli* 'to him' must cliticize to *telefonare* (b). The pronoun cannon cliticize to the matrix verb *sapere* 'know', since this predicate is outside the clause in which the pronoun originates (c).

(23) a. Maria sa [che Luigi telefonerà a Luca].
Maria knows that Luigi will-call to Luca
'Maria knows that Luigi will call Luca.'

b. Maria sa [che Luigi gli telefonerà].
Maria knows that Luigi to-him will-call
'Maria knows that Luigi will call him.'

c. *Maria gli sa [che Luigi telefonerà].
Maria to-him knows that Luigi will-call
'Maria knows that Luigi will call him.'

Based on these facts, it is reasonable to conclude that the *fare* LVC in (21) actually involves two clauses: a (tensed) matrix clause headed by the light verb, and a (non-finite) embedded clause headed by the VN. Hence, *fare* and the prepositional complement of the noun predicate are not clausemates. By contrast, the structure in (22) is monoclausal, so there is no clause boundary between light *fare* and the prepositional complement of the VN. I turn to this key distinction in the next section.

2.2. Analysis

Unlike other accounts of LVCs (e.g. Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990, Grimshaw & Mester 1988 for Japanese), here I claim that argument-sharing between the light verb and the VN takes place in the syntax, rather than in the lexicon. My account is formulated in the framework of Relational Grammar, whose basic tenets are introduced in note 7 immediately below.[7]

As we saw earlier, the VN is both the main predicate of the clause and the underlying direct object of *fare*. To capture these properties, I draw on Dubinsky's (1990) view of Japanese VNs as bearing both the Predicate (P) and the direct object (2) relations simultaneously –an analysis that has been widely adopted in the RG literature (Mirto 1990, Pelletier 1990, La Fauci 1996, 1997, Alba-Salas 2002).[8]

As we also saw earlier, *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs have a double analysis. My claim is that the structural ambiguity results from the fact that these LVCs have both a biclausal and a monoclausal representation (cf. Mirto 1986, La Fauci 1996, 1997). When the prepositional complement of the VN is a direct dependent of *fare*, as in (22), we have a monoclausal structure with two predicates (light *fare* and the VN). In RG terms, this corresponds to a typical serial construction. Its representation is illustrated in (24). In the first stratum, *telefonata* is the initial predicate and licenses *Monica* as a subject (or 1) and *Eva* as an indirect object (or 3). The VN also licenses a direct object (a 2) that is borne by *telefonata* itself. Thus, the noun predicate bears both the P and 2 relations simultaneously, so it is P,2 multiattached. In the second stratum light *fare*, the new predicate, 'usurps' (i.e. chômeurizes) the P relation held by the VN and inherits all the syntactic dependents of *telefonata*, including the VN itself as a 2. The resulting 2,P-Chômeur multiattachment of *telefonata* is resolved in the third stratum in favor of the higher relation, i.e. the 2 –just as we would expect from other cases of multiattachment (cf. Rosen 1981). Technicalities aside, what matters here is that *a Eva* is a direct syntactic dependent of *fare* because the structure involves a single clause node.[9]

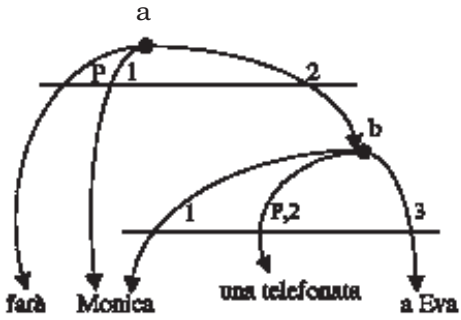
(24)

1		P,2	3
1	P	2,Cho	3
1	P	2	3
Monica	farà	una telefonata	a Eva
Monica	will-do	a call	to Eva

When *a Eva* is inside the maximal projection headed by *telefonata*, as in (21), we have a biclausal structure. In RG terms, this corresponds to a typical subject Control configuration, where the subject of the matrix verb is also the subject of the embedded verb via crossclausal multiattachment. The only difference is that here the embedded predicate is a noun, not a verb. Descriptively, I use the term N-clause to refer to this type of embedded clause headed by a nominal. The corresponding representation is given in (25). In the matrix clause *fare* licenses *Monica* as a subject and the embedded N-clause as an object. As in the serial structure, inside the N-clause *telefonata* also bears both the P and 2 relations simultaneously and licenses *Monica* as a 1 and *Eva* as a 3. However, here the P,2 multiattachment of *telefonata* is not resolved. By hypothesis, this follows from the fact

that the multiattachment occurs in a non-finite clause, but this is not crucial to my argumentation. What is important is that whereas *Monica* is a dependent of both the matrix and the embedded clauses by virtue of the subject Control configuration, its prepositional complement *a Eva* remains inside the downstairs clause, so it is not a direct dependent of *fare*.

(25)



a = matrix clause

b = embedded clause (N-clause)

My account explains why the VN behaves as the underling object of *fare*. In the serial construction, this property follows from the fact that the VN is the P-initial 2 of the light verb. In the Control structure, the N-clause headed by the VN bears the 2 relation to *fare*. My proposal also explains the obligatory coreference between the subject of *fare* and the agent of the VN. This results from the fact that the subject licensed by the VN is also the 1 of the light verb, either via cross-clausal multiattachment (in the Control structure) or because the subject is inherited by *fare* (in the serial construction). By virtue of this property, both versions of *fare una telefonata* structures fit my configurational definition of LVCs in (5), since *fare* combines with a noun predicate whose subject is also a direct syntactic dependent of the verb.[10]

My proposal elaborates upon previous treatments of the *double analyse* within Lexicon-Grammar (e.g. Gross 1976, Giry-Schneider 1978a, 1987). This structural ambiguity stems from the lexical properties of light *fare*. Specifically, it derives from the fact that *fare* has two uses: as a (subject) Control verb that selects a (non-finite) embedded clause as its complement, and as a transitive serializer that combines with another predicate in the same clause.

The valence and argument structure of Control *fare* is given in (26). Technicalities aside, what's important is that Control *fare* licenses a subject that also bears the 1 relation to the embedded predicate, just like 'any old' subject Control verb. The only difference is that the

embedded predicate is a noun, not a verb. As we can see, the object of Control *fare* is mapped onto an Event role.[11] Its subject is obligatorily animate, thus explaining the animacy requirement illustrated in (11).

(26) $[P\ (fare_{control}, b) < c_i >) \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [1\ (a, b) < c_i >) \rightarrow /+animate/ \\ [2\ (d, b) < c_i >) \rightarrow /Event\text{-}Action/ \\ (1\ (a, d) < c_j >) \end{array} \right\}$
$\&\ (P\ (g, d) < c_j >)$
$\&\ (2\ (g, d) < c_j >)$

Like its Control counterpart, transitive serial *fare* also licenses an animate subject and an Event object. In other words, both variants of light *fare* license the same semantic arguments. The difference has to do with their syntactic valence, since transitive serial *fare* combines with a nominal bearing the Predicate relation in an earlier stratum in the same clause, so it appears in monoclausal structures and inherits all the dependents licensed by that predicate. These properties are formalized in (27).[12]

(27) $[P\ (fare_{transitive.serial}, b) < c_i >) \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (1\ (a, b) < c_i >) \rightarrow /+animate/ \\ (2\ (d, b) < c_i >) \rightarrow /Event\text{-}Action/ \\ (P\ (d, b) < c_{i-1} >) \end{array} \right\}$

By tracing the *double analyse* back to the lexical properties of light *fare*, I explicitly reject a derivational account of this phenomenon where the monoclausal structure in (24) is somehow derived from its biclausal counterpart in (25) or vice-versa. Evidence against this alternative account comes from a subset of *fare* LVCs that have all the properties of their *fare una telefonata*-type counterparts except for the *double analyse*. These are what I descriptively call *fare un investimento* 'make an investment'-type LVCs. They involve VNs designating financial transactions, such as *investimento* 'investment', *comp(e)ra* 'purchase', *pagamento* 'payment' and *offerta* 'offer'. *Fare un investimento*-type LVCs show obligatory subject coreference (28). The VN is a count noun (29) and behaves like the underlying object of *fare* (30).

(28) Tino farà un investimento di 100.000 dollari (*di Eva).
Tino will-do an investment of 100,000 dollars of Eva
lit. 'Tino will make a 100,000-dollar investment (of Eva's).'

(29) Tino farà parecchi investimenti (di 100.000 dollari).
Tino will-do several investments of 100,000 dollars
'Tino will make an investment/several investments (of 100,000-dollars).'

(30) a. Tino ne ha già fatti tre.
Tino NE has already done three
'Tino has already made three (of them).'

b. Fatto l'investimento (di 100.000 dollari), scoppiarono gli applausi.
done the-investment of 100,000 dollars burst: 3RD:PL the applauses
'The (100,000-dollar) investment having been made, there was a thunder of applause.'

c. l'investimento (di 100.000 dollari) fatto da Tino
the-investment (of 100,000 dollars) done by Tino
'the (100,000-dollar) investment made by Tino'

However, the VN and its prepositional complement cannot be moved (31) or pronominalized independently of each other (32). Hence, the prepositional complement is obligatorily inside the maximal projection headed by the VN (33).

(31) a. *È [di 100.000 dollari] che Tino farà [un investimento].

b. *È [un investimento] che Tino farà [di 100.000 dollari].

c. È [un investimento di 100.000 dollari] che Tino farà.

(32) a. [Quell'investimento di 100.000 dollari] l'ha fatto Tino.
that-investment of 100,000 dollars it-has done Tino
'It was Tino who made that 100,000-dollar investment.'

b. *[Quell'investimento] l'ha fatto [di 100.000 dollari], non [di 200.000].
that-investment it-has done of 1000,000 dollars not of 200,000
'He invested 100,000 dollars, not 200,000.'

(33) a. Tino farà **[**un investimento **[**di 100.000 dollari**]]**.
b. *Tino farà **[**un investimento**] [**di 100.000 dollari**]**.

Under my proposal, *fare un investimento*-type LVCs only have the Control representation in (25), so the prepositional complement of

the VN is never a clausemate of light *fare*. The absence of a monoclausal representation like (24) follows from the fact that *investimento*-type VNs (which constitute a relatively homogeneous semantic class) combine only with Control *fare*, but not with its serial variant. This is not an ad-hoc solution, given the emerging consensus in the Romance literature that VNs lexically select the light verb with which they combine (Abeillé 1988, Alonso-Ramos 1997, 1998, Alba-Salas 2002). Such a view captures the empirical fact that, although there are some general patterns, light verb + VN combinations are ultimately unpredictable both within and across languages (La Fauci 1980, Abeillé 1988, De Angelis 1989, Danlos 1992, Gross 1996, Alonso-Ramos 1997, 1998, Cicalese 1999, Stichauer 2000, Alba-Salas 2002). For example, in English the VN *walk* combines with *take*, whereas its Spanish equivalent *paseo* appears with *dar* 'give', and its Italian equivalent *passeggiata* combines with *fare*. Similarly, Italian *paura* takes *fare*, but its Spanish equivalent *miedo* combines with *dar*. Even within the same language we cannot predict the choice of light verb based on the semantics of the VN alone. Diachronically, a given VN may be compatible with certain light verbs at some point in its historical development, but not in others, e.g. French *envie* 'envy' and its Old French counterpart *anvaïe*, as documented in Chaurand (1983). Synchronically, two synonymous VNs may differ with respect to the light verb that combines with them. For example, Spanish *propósito* and *determinación*, both meaning 'decision', combine with different light verbs, i.e. *hacer* 'do' and *tomar* 'take', respectively (Alonso-Ramos 1997). In this context, the contrast between *fare una telefonata*- and *fare un investimento*-type LVCs indicates that VNs not only select the light verb with which they combine, but a particular variant thereof. Thus, *telefonata*-type VNs select both Control and transitive serial *fare* (hence the *double analyse*), whereas *investimento*-type nominals select only the Control variant. I return to this important point in section 3.2 below.

My account offers some advantages over Di Sciullo & Rosen (1990). Building upon Grimshaw (1990), Di Sciullo and Rosen argue that obligatory subject coreference in what I call *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs results from the fact that light *fare* licenses the subject of the clause. This is so, they claim, because the external argument of the VN is lexically suppressed. Thus, for example, in *Monica farà una telefonata a Eva* 'Monica will give Eva a call' in (1), *Monica* is licensed by *fare*, not by the VN. The problem with a lexical suppression analysis is that VNs can license a subject in heavy verb constructions. For example, in *Guarini ha intercettato una telefonata di Monica a Eva*

'Guarini intercepted Monica's call to Eva' *telefonata* licenses its own subject (*Monica*) distinct from the subject of *intercettare* 'intercept' (*Guarini*). To explain these facts we must claim that the subject of a VN is lexically suppressed only in LVCs, but not in heavy verb constructions. This construction-specific mechanism is somewhat ad-hoc and misses a key generalization captured by my proposal: whereas in *fare* LVCs the subject of the VN is 'shared' by the light verb (hence the obligatory coreference), in heavy verb constructions the subject of the VN appears inside its maximal projection, so it is not a direct syntactic dependent of the verb. The latter claim is evidenced by the lack of a *double analyse* (34). As (35) shows, all the dependents licensed by the VN (including its subject) must remain inside its maximal projection.

(34) a. *È [a Eva] che Guarini ha intercettato [una
is to Eva that Guarini has intercepted a
telefonata di Monica].
call of Monica
lit. 'It's to Eva that Guarini intercepted Monica's call.'

b. *È [una telefonata] che Guarini ha intercettato
is a call that Guarini has intercepted
[di Monica a Eva].
of Monica to Eva
lit. 'It's a call that Guarini intercepted Monica's to Eva.'

c. È [una telefonata di Monica a Eva] che
is a call of Monica to Eva that
Guarini ha intercettato.
Guarini has intercepted
'It's Monica's call to Eva that Guarini intercepted.'

(35) a. Guarini ha intercettato [una telefonata di Monica [a Eva]].
b. *Guarini ha intercettato [una telefonata di Monica] [a Eva].

Under my analysis, the contrast between light *fare* and *intercettare*-type predicates follows from two independently-motivated assumptions. First, in *fare* LVCs, contrary to what we find in heavy verb constructions, the light verb is lexically selected by the VN, not the other way around. Second, light *fare* –unlike *intercettare*-type verbs—must 'share' (i.e. bind) the subject licensed by the VN by virtue of its status as a Control verb and a serializer, hence the obligatory coreference. Thus, there is no need for construction-specific

mechanisms to either guarantee argument-sharing or to lexically suppress the subject of the VN. In *fare* LVCs the VN must obligatorily license a subject because (both variants of) light *fare* must bind an embedded subject. If the VN did not license a subject, the structure would be ill formed because it would violate the lexical properties of *fare*. By contrast, in heavy verb constructions VNs may optionally license a subject. If they license a subject, this dependent will remain inside the maximal projection of the noun predicate, since *intercettare*-type verbs are not Control or serial predicates. And if the VN does not license a subject, the structure will still be grammatical, since *intercettare*-type verbs do not bind the subject of an embedded predicate.

By explaining the *double analyse* or lack thereof in both heavy and light structures, my proposal offers an added advantage over Di Sciullo & Rosen (1990), La Fauci & Mirto (1985) and La Fauci (1996, 1997), which do not deal with this structural ambiguity. My account elaborates upon the insights of Lexicon-Grammar studies, which associate the *double analyse* in French LVCs with two different constituent structures without explicitly articulating whether it derives from the properties of the light verb or from more general principles of grammar (e.g. Gross 1976 and Giry-Schneider 1987).

My proposal differs substantially from Mirto's (1986) RG account of the *double analyse*. According to Mirto, the two structures associated with *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs derive from a single underlying representation where the VN and its prepositional complement appear inside an embedded clause, cf. (21). If no special syntactic process applies, the sentence shows the same surface constituent structure. The representations where the VN and its complement are each direct dependents of *fare* (cf. (22)) are derived via one of two alternative mechanisms that split the VN + PP sequence into two separate constituents. One option is for the VN alone to be raised into the matrix clause, leaving the complement inside the complex NP. The other option involves Clause Union, which collapses the originally biclausal structure into a single clause, so that both the VN and its complement become direct syntactic dependents of *fare*.

Though appealing, Mirto's pioneering Clause Union analysis is based on a view of serialization that has been abandoned in RG (see Davies & Rosen 1988 for details). Moreover, his proposal came at a time when the option for noun predicates to bear both the Predicate and direct object relations was not yet available in the theory (cf. Dubinsky 1990, La Fauci & Loporcaro 1997). It is important to note that simply upgrading the theoretical machinery would not suffice to

save a derivational account like the one proposed by Mirto. In fact, such an account does not explain what motivates Raising and Clause Union in the first place, so it must rely on construction-specific mechanisms. And, empirically, the analysis does not explain why some *fare* LVCs have a *double analyse* (e.g. *fare una telefonata*) but others do not (e.g. *fare un investimento* and *fare paura*). Why should Raising, Clause Union or any other derivational mechanism apply to some *fare* LVCs, but not to others? My analysis avoids these problems by claiming that there are different variants of light *fare*, and that these different variants are lexically selected by different types of VNs. The next section offers further evidence for this important claim.

3. Fare paura-type LVCs

3.1. Empirical Properties

Unlike *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs, these structures involve only a handful of VNs designating physical or emotional states, such as *paura* 'fear', *pena* 'pity', *impressione* 'impression', *schifo* 'disgust' and *male* 'harm', e.g. (36) (see Alba-Salas 2002 for additional examples).

(36) Mark fa paura/schifo/male a Ali.
Mark does fear/disgust/harm to Ali
'Mark frightens/disgusts/harms Ali.'

Paura-type VNs are also predicates that can license their own arguments. This is illustrated in (37), where *paura* licenses *Ali* as an experiencer.

(37) la paura di Ali
the fear of Ali
'Ali's fear'

As (38) shows, in *fare* LVCs the experiencer of *paura* is introduced by the dative preposition *a*. Like a typical indirect object, this dependent can be pronominalized with a dative clitic (39).

(38) Mark fa paura a Ali.
Mark does fear to Ali'
'Mark frightens Ali.'

(39) Mark gli fa paura.
Mark him:DAT does fear
'Mark frightens him.'

Unlike *fare una telefonata* LVCs, *fare paura* structures lack a *double analyse*. In fact, as (40) shows, *paura* and *Ali* can only be clefted as separate constituents. Hence, the prepositional complement of the VN is always a direct syntactic dependent of *fare* (41).[13]

(40) a. È [a Ali] che Mark fa [paura], non a Sara.
is to Ali that Mark does fear not to Sara
'Mark frightens Ali, not Sara.'

b. È [paura] che Mark fa [a Ali], non schifo.
is fear that Mark does to Ali not disgust
'Mark frightens Ali, he doesn't disgust him.'

c. *È [paura a Ali] che Mark fa, non [schifo a Sara].
is fear to Ali that Mark does not disgust to Sara
'Mark frightens Ali, he doesn't disgust Sara.'

(41) a. Mark fa [paura] [a Ali].
b. *Mark fa [paura [a Ali]].

Unlike *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs, *fare paura* structures are compatible with inanimate subjects (42) (for a discussion of potential counterexamples, see section 3.2).

(42) Il buio/questa situazione fa paura a Ali.
the dark/this situation does fear to Ali
'Darkness/this situation frightens Ali.'

In *fare paura* LVCs the VN has less syntactic freedom than its counterpart in *fare una telefonata* structures. For the most part, this follows from the fact that *paura*-type VNs are mass nouns, so they cannot be pluralized or made definite (43) unless they are modified with an adjective or a relative clause (44).

(43) *Mark fa quella paura/paure a Ali.
Mark does that fear/fears to Ali

(44) Mark fa ad Ali quella paura che tutti conosciamo.
Mark does to Ali that fear that all know:1ST:PL
'Mark frightens Ali in that way we all know about.'

However, as in *fare una telefonata* structures, here the VN also behaves as the underlying direct object of *fare*, since it can be *ne*-cliticized (45).[14]

(45) A te non ha fatto paura viaggiare in aereo?
to you not has done fear travel in plane
A me ne ha fatta tanta!
to me NE has done a-lot
'You were not scared of traveling by plane? I was.'

3.2. Analysis

Fare paura-type LVCs involve the same verb found in traditional causatives like *Mark fa ridere Ali* 'Mark makes Ali laugh', i.e. causative *fare*. As (46) shows, this is an unergative serial verb that combines with another predicate bearing the P relation in a previous stratum. Its subject is linked to a Cause theta-role (cf. Davies & Rosen 1988).

(46) $[P\ (fare_{causative}, b) < c_k >) \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\ 1\ (a\ ,\ b) < c_k >) \rightarrow /\text{Cause}/ \\ (\ P\ (d,\ b) < c_{k-1} >) \end{array} \right\}$

As (46) also shows, causative *fare* does not care about the categorial identity of the predicate with which it combines –it can causativize other (non-finite) verbs (as in traditional causatives) or nouns (as in *fare paura* LVCs).[15] An important difference is that in *fare paura* LVCs, contrary to what we find in traditional causatives, it is the causativized predicate (the VN) that actually selects causative *fare*. This is so because, as we saw earlier, VNs lexically select the light verb that combines with them.

Fare paura-type LVCs and traditional causatives do not just involve the same verb. They also involve the same configurational patterns. To understand this key point we need to review some relevant facts about Italian causatives. As is well known in the RG literature, these structures show three basic patterns of revaluation. If we causativize an unergative verb, the inner subject or causee revalues to 2, so it behaves like the surface direct object of *fare* with respect to case-marking and cliticization. This pattern is illustrated in (47). The structure in (47) is serial (i.e. monoclausal) and contains two predicates: *ridere* 'laugh' (the initial predicate), and causative *fare* (the new predicate). In the first stratum unergative *ridere* licenses *Ali* (the causee) as a subject. In the second stratum causative *fare*

chômeurizes *ridere* and introduces its own subject, *Mark* (the causer). Since the Stratal Uniqueness Law prevents two syntactic dependents from bearing the same grammatical relation in the same stratum, *Ali* cannot keep the subject relation. Hence, *Ali* undergoes 1-2 (subject to direct object) revaluation.

(47)

	P		1
1	P	Cho	2
Mark	fa	ridere	Ali
Mark	makes	laugh	Ali

The second pattern is illustrated in (48), where the causativized verb (*mangiare* 'eat') is transitive. Here the inner subject (*Ali*) revalues to 3 after causative *fare* introduces the new subject (*Mark*) in the second stratum. This explains why *Ali* behaves like the surface indirect object of *fare* with respect to cliticization and prepositional case-marking.

(48)

		P	2	1
1	P	Cho	2	3
Mark	fa	mangiare	una mela	a Ali
Mark	makes	eat	an apple	to Ali

The third pattern is also found with transitive verbs. As (49) shows, here the inner subject is simply chômeurized by the 1 of causative *fare*, so it surfaces as a '*by*-phrase'.

(49)

		P	2	1
1	P	Cho	2	Cho
Mark	fa	interrogare	Ali	da Fabiani
Mark	makes	question	Ali	by Fabiani

'Mark has Fabiani question Ali.'

The contrast between 1-3 revaluation and no-revaluation with transitive verbs correlates with affectedness of the causee. As Guasti (1996) argues, dative case-marked causees like the one in (48) (which in our theory are associated with 1-3 revaluation) are affected by the event caused. By contrast, '*by*-phrase' causees (our no-revaluation pattern in (49)) are not affected.

To summarize, the inner subject of Italian causatives revalues to

a direct object if the previous stratum contains an unergative predicate (47). If the previous stratum contains a transitive predicate, the inner subject revalues to an indirect object when it is affected by the event caused (48), otherwise it is simply chômeurized by the new subject (49).

Now we can return to *fare paura*-type LVCs. Their representation is illustrated in (50). Like the causatives above, this is a serial structure. The VN is the initial predicate and also bears the 2 relation, so it is initially P,2 multiattached –just as in *fare una telefonata* LVCs. In the initial stratum *paura* licenses *Ali* as a subject. In the second stratum, causative *fare* chômeurizes the P relation held by *paura* and introduces its own subject (*Mark*). This forces 1-3 revaluation of *Ali*, just as in traditional causatives with a transitive verb. In addition, *fare* inherits the VN as a 2. The 2,Chômeur multiattachment of *paura* is resolved in favor of the 2 relation in the third stratum, according to our familiar mechanism.

(50)

		P,2	1
1	P	Cho,2	3
1	P	2	3
Mark	fa	paura	a Ali
Mark	does	fear	to Ali

A key insight derived from my proposal is that *fare paura*-type LVCs are just like causatives with a transitive verb, where an inner (affected) subject undergoes 1-3 revaluation. In this respect, my proposal extends the empirical range of causative revaluation patterns in Italian at no extra cost for the theory.

This analysis accounts for the possibility of *ne*-cliticizing *paura*, since the VN is the underlying object of *fare*. Moreover, it also explains why *Ali* –the final 3 of *fare*—behaves like an indirect object with respect to cliticization and prepositional marking. In addition, the analysis explains why the VN and its prepositional complement cannot be moved together. Since the structure is monoclausal, both *paura* and *Ali* are direct syntactic dependents of *fare*, hence the lack of a *double analyse*.

This proposal explains why *fare paura*-type LVCs are compatible with inanimate subjects (42), just like traditional causatives (51) and unlike *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs (11).

(51) Il buio/questa situazione fa ridere Ali.
the dark/this situation makes laugh Ali
'Darkness/this situation makes Ali laugh.'

The contrast between (11) and (42) follows from the fact that *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs involve Control and transitive serial *fare*, which require an animate subject, cf. (26) and (27). On the other hand, *fare paura*-type LVCs contain causative *fare*, whose subject is mapped onto a Cause role, cf. (46). Together with the structural differences between *fare paura*- and *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs, this semantic contrast corroborates the claim that VNs select not just a light verb, but a particular variant thereof: whereas *telefonata*-type nouns select Control and transitive serial *fare,* nominals like *paura* combine with causative *fare*. Lexical selection ensures that only *paura*-type VNs, but not *telefonata*-type nominals, appear in causative configurations like (50).

According to the proposal developed here, the semantic and structural differences found in *fare paura* and *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs follow from the fact that these constructions involve different versions of *fare*. By contrast, previous analyses that posit a single light *fare*, thus failing to distinguish between these two types of LVCs (e.g. La Fauci & Mirto 1985, Mirto 1986, Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990, La Fauci 1996, 1997).

My proposal captures the relationship between *fare paura* constructions and LVCs with *avere* 'have', such as (52). Contrary to what we find in *fare paura*- and *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs, here the argument structure is entirely determined by the VN, since *avere* makes no semantic contribution.

(52) Ali ha paura.
Ali has fear
'Ali is afraid.'

Building upon Mirto (1990), I claim that *avere* LVCs have the representation in (53). The key point is that the first stratum in (53) –where *paura* licenses *Ali* as an experiencer—corresponds exactly to the first stratum of our *fare paura* LVC in (50). The remaining strata are asemantic (in the sense that they do not involve any further theta-role assignment) and follow from the need to resolve 2,Cho multiattachment of the VN.

(53)

1		P,2
1	P	Cho,2
1	P	2
Ali	ha	paura
Ali	has	fear

The connection between *fare paura*- and *avere paura*-type LVCs has been made within Lexicon-Grammar. In fact, Giry-Schneider (1984, 1987) notes that in French what I call *fare paura*-type LVCs are a 'causative version' of *avere paura* structures in terms of their propositional content. Thus, our example in (38) can be paraphrased as 'Mark causes Ali to be afraid'. This paraphrase contains two separate propositions, one embedded inside the other:

(54) Max causes x (x = Ali is afraid)

The embedded proposition in (54) ('Ali is afraid') corresponds to the semantic content of the *avere* LVC in (52). My analysis formalizes Giry-Schneider's insight by claiming that the propositional structure in (54) mirrors the relational structure of *fare paura*-type LVCs. As (55) shows, the VN licenses *Ali* as an experiencer in its P-initial stratum, i.e. the stratum where a predicate theta-marks its subcategorized syntactic dependents. This stratum corresponds to the embedded proposition in (54), 'Ali is afraid'. The second stratum is the P-initial stratum of causative *fare*, which introduces its Cause argument. This stratum corresponds to the matrix proposition in (54), 'Mark causes *x*'.

(55)

		P,2	1	x = 'Ali is afraid'
1	P	Cho,2	3	'Mark causes x'
1	P	2	3	
Mark	fa	paura	a Ali	
Mark	does	fear	to Ali	

As we can see, *fare paura* LVCs are indeed 'causative versions' of their *avere paura* counterparts, both semantically and configurationally.

My proposal also explains why *paura*-type VNs cannot appear with a dative case-marked complement in a nominalization without *fare*, e.g. **la paura a Ali* literally 'the fear to Ali' (cf. Giry-Schneider 1984). In such cases, the experiencer must be introduced by *di* 'of',

e.g. *la paura di Ali* 'Ali's fear'. This restriction follows from the fact that *paura*-type VNs license their experiencer as a 1, not as a 3. As (56) shows, nominalizations like **la paura a Ali* are ungrammatical because they violate the valence of *paura*, since *Ali* (the experiencer) would hold the indirect object relation. By contrast, *la paura di Ali* 'Ali's fear' is well formed because *Ali* bears the 1 relation to the VN.

(56) a.

P,2	1
la paura	di Ali
the fear	of Ali

b.

P,2	1	3
*la paura	(di Mark)	a Ali
the fear	of Mark	to Ali

cf. c.

P,2	1	3
la telefonata/visita	(di Mark)	a Ali
the call/visit	of Mark	to Ali

The fact that the experiencer of *paura* is an initial 1 argues against the alternative representation in (57), where the VN licenses *Ali* as a 3, and it provides additional support for the 1-3 revaluation analysis in (50).

(57)

1		P,2	3
1	P	2,Cho	3
1	P	2	3
Mark	fa	paura	a Ali

incorrect representation

My proposal also illuminates the relationship between *fare paura* structures, *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs and traditional causatives. Like *fare una telefonata*-type constructions, *fare paura* structures fit the configurational definition of LVCs in (5) because the subject of the VN is also a direct syntactic dependent of the light verb. The only difference with respect to *fare una telefonata* LVCs is that here the subject of the VN is the indirect object of *fare*, not its subject. The definition thus encompasses both types of *fare* structures in a natural class of LVCs –a welcome result given the fact that they involve different types of VNs, different versions of *fare*, and different syntactic configurations.

Another welcome result of this approach is that it formalizes the distinction between *fare paura*-type LVCs and traditional

causatives like (47), (48) and (49), which do not fit the definition of LVCs because (5) explicitly requires light verbs to combine with noun predicates, not just any type of predicate. This arbitrary categorial requirement accommodates the traditional view, often implicit in the literature, that LVCs in Romance are characterized by the fact that the light verb combines with a noun predicate, rather than with another verb. Such a view obscures the key structural parallels between LVCs and traditional causatives, missing the generalization that traditional causatives are LVCs with an inner verb or, alternatively, that *fare paura*-type LVCs are causatives with an inner noun predicate.

This limitation is inherent to the light valence approach to LVCs. As we saw in section 1, the light valence approach assumes that there is a light *fare* distinct from causative *fare* in terms of its argument structure and subcategorization frame. In the Romance literature this approach goes back to Gross (1981)'s Lexicon-Grammar study on French *faire* 'do/make'. According to Gross, light and causative *faire* differ in two ways. First, causative *faire* combines with infinitives, whereas its light counterpart combines with nouns. Second, causative *faire* introduces its own semantic argument (i.e. the causer, realized as its surface subject), whereas light *faire* does not have any arguments. For example, in the causative *Luc fait dormire Max* 'Luc makes Max sleep', *Luc* is the argument of *faire*, not of *dormire* 'sleep'. By contrast, in the LVC *Luc fait une promenade* 'Luc takes a walk', *Luc* is the argument of *promenade* 'walk', not of *faire*.

Gross's insightful proposal, which does not provide any syntactic representations or formalize the lexical properties of light and causative *faire*, has several limitations. First, the view that light 'do' is semantically empty does not explain why the subject of *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs in both French and Italian is obligatorily animate, as illustrated in our Italian example in (11) and its French equivalent in (58).

(58) Jean/#le mur du Berlin a fait une chute
Jean/the wall of Berlin has done a fall
hier.
yesterday
'Jean/the Berlin Wall fell down yesterday.'

Second, the claim that causative 'make' combines only with verbs does not account for *fare paura*-type LVCs in French and

Italian, where the causative verb appears with a nominal and also introduces a cause argument, cf. our Italian example in (50) and its French equivalent in (59).

(59)

	P,2	1	
1	P	Cho,2	3
1	P	2	3
Mark	fait	peur	à Ali
Mark	does	fear	to Ali

'Mark frightens Ali.'

A different proposal is presented in Giry-Schneider's (1984, 1987) study on French *faire*. Like Gross, Giry-Schneider assumes that causative *faire* –unlike its light counterpart—introduces an 'extra' argument to the clause, i.e. a causer. However, Giry-Schneider distinguishes two types of causative *faire*: one combining with infinitives (i.e. our traditional causative), and another one combining with nominals. In turn, the latter comes in two 'flavors', depending on the thematic properties of its subject. The first one imposes no animacy restrictions on its subject, and it appears in *fare paura*-type LVCs like (59). The second type requires an agentive subject and is found in sentences like (60)-(62).

(60) Marc/#le rocher a fait à Paul un bleu.
Marc/the rock has made to Paul a bruise
lit. 'Marc/the rock gave Paul a bruise.'

(61) Marc/#cela a fait son affaire à Paul.
Marc/this has done its affair to Paul
lit. 'Marc/this got back at Paul.'

(62) Marc/#cela fait une grande place à la pêche
Marc/this does a big place to the fishing
dans ses loisirs.
in his pastimes
lit. 'Marc/this gives an important place to fishing among his pastimes.'

Like Gross, Giry-Schneider does not provide any valences or syntactic representations. More importantly, her proposal introduces two unnecessary complications. First, it posits two separate entries for causative *faire*, depending on the categorial status of the predicate that combines with them. Such a distinction is not needed if we

assume –as my proposal does—that the categorial identity of the predicate combining with the Romance causative verb is irrelevant. Second, her analysis posits two different types of causative *faire*, depending on the animacy restrictions on the subject. Such a distinction is unnecessary if we assume that cases like (60)-(62) do not actually involve causative *faire*. Under this alternative analysis, in (60) and (62) we have heavy *faire* combining with a common noun (*bleu* 'bruise' and *place* 'place', respectively), so the agentivity requirement could be traced back to the thematic properties of this variant (cf. #*le rocher a fait une chaise (à Paul)* 'the rock made (Paul) a chair'). On the other hand, examples like (61) involve idiomatic expressions whose animacy requirement is imposed by the entire sequence *faire son affair (à quelqu'un)* 'get back (at someone)', not by *faire* alone.

A similar critique could be made regarding La Fauci & Mirto's (1985) RG account of Italian causatives and LVCs, which draws explicitly on Gross's proposal. La Fauci and Mirto argue that causative and light *fare* are both serial verbs, but they differ in two respects. First, causative *fare* combines with a verb, whereas its light counterpart combines with a noun. Second, causative *fare* initializes a new subject (the causer). By contrast, light *fare* licenses a new direct object (the VN, linked to a theme) and assigns an agent role to the subject inherited from the VN. According to their proposal, causative structures are characterized by 1-3 revaluation of the inner subject. On the other hand, LVCs are characterized by (i) P-2 revaluation of the VN, and (ii) the fact that *fare* inherits its subject as a 1 (cf. (24)).

Such a proposal does not explain the *double analyse* in *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs. Since there is only one type of light *fare*, and this variant is serial, there is no representation where the prepositional complement of the VN appears inside its maximal projection (cf. (24) and (25)).

Moreover, the claim that causative *fare* only combines with verbs misses the parallel between traditional causatives and *fare paura*-type constructions. Because La Fauci and Mirto do not consider *fare paura* structures, it is unclear whether they would analyze them as involving causative or light *fare*. According to their proposal, if these structures involved light *fare*, we would have an LVC. But if they involved causative *fare*, we would have a causative structure. Let us consider each possibility in turn.

The hypothetical representation for the LVC appears in (63). Since La Fauci and Mirto assume that in LVCs there is no revaluation of the inherited subject, the VN would have to initialize *Mark* as a 1 and *Ali* as a 3.

(63)

1		P	3
1	P	2	3
Mark	fa	paura	a Ali

The analysis violates the Union Law, which allows revaluation across P-sector boundaries (i.e. across strata where two distinct elements bear the P relation) if, and only if, (i) the revalued nominal holds the 1 relation in the stratum before the boundary, and (ii) its revaluation is motivated by the entry of another subject (Gibson & Raposo 1986, Davies & Rosen 1988, Rosen 1997). The representation in (63) violates this independently motivated principle by positing P-2 revaluation of *paura* across the P-sectors of the VN and the light verb. More importantly, the analysis is empirically inadequate. Indeed, as we saw earlier, *paura*-type nominals license their experiencer as a 1, not as a 3.

The causative analysis is shown in (64). Here *paura* initializes *Ali* as a 1 in the first stratum. In the second stratum causative *fare* initializes *Mark* as its new subject, causing 1-3 revaluation of *Ali*. The VN also undergoes P-2 revaluation across P-sectors.

(64)

		P	1
1	P	2	3
Mark	fa	paura	a Ali

Again, P-2 revaluation of the VN violates the Union Law. Moreover, the analysis contradicts La Fauci and Mirto's claim that P-2 revaluation of the inner predicate occurs only in LVCs, but not in causatives. To resolve this problem we would need to posit initial P,2 multiattachment of the VN, as in my analysis in (50).[16] Yet, our revised analysis would still have to explain why causative *fare* is compatible only with *paura*-type VNs, but not with many other nominals, and why such a restriction applies only to noun predicates, but not to verbs, which can freely combine with this verb. As I noted above, the contrast stems from the fact that *paura*-type VNs lexically select causative *fare*. In this respect, *fare paura* constructions pattern differently from traditional causatives and together with other LVCs, where it is the VN that selects the verb, not the other way round. *Fare paura* constructions, then, behave like traditional causatives in some respects, and like LVCs in others. This insight is obscured in an analysis where *fare paura* structures are either LVCs involving light *fare* or causatives involving causative *fare*, but not both.

My proposal also offers some advantages over Di Sciullo & Rosen's (1990) account of the relationship between Romance causatives and LVCs. Di Sciullo and Rosen claim that causative *fare* is a semi-light verb, since it has a partially specified argument structure. They formalize this insight using two notions from Hale & Keyser (1986): (i) Lexical Conceptual Structure or LCS, which specifies the nature of the event expressed by a predicate and the semantic roles of its participants, and (ii) Argument Structure or AS, which includes the argument variables licensed by this predicate. According to Di Sciullo and Rosen, the LCS of causative *fare* includes an agent and an event. The AS contains two variables. Of these, only the variable linked to the external argument is specified. The other variable is unspecified, so it must be replaced by the specified variable of the infinitive that combines with *fare*. This process involves a pre-syntactic operation called Argument Substitution. Their proposal yields the entry in (65), where *x* stands for the specified variable linked to the external argument (the agent), and *u* represents the unspecified variable (1990:117).

(65) $\text{fare}_{\text{semi-light}}$: LCS: ([agent] causes [event])
AS: (x, u)

According to Di Sciullo and Rosen, semi-light *fare* is also found in what I call *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs. In these constructions, they claim, *fare* licenses its own subject (an agent), since the external argument of the VN is lexically suppressed.

The notion of Argument Substitution as a pre-syntactic operation creating a semi-opaque syntactic domain is inconsistent with the fact that in *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs the light verb and the VN can be separated by referential items (cf. (18)). Moreover, the claim that semi-light *fare* licenses an agent cannot explain why *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs, unlike causatives, require an animate subject even though (according to Di Sciullo and Rosen) they involve the same verb (cf. (11) and (51)). Finally, positing a single syntactic valence for semi-light *fare* does not explain why *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs have a *double analyse*, whereas causatives and *fare paura* structures do not. To account for this contrast, we would have to posit some construction-specific mechanism applying only to *fare una telefonata* LVCs, but not to other structures with semi-light *fare*. This would be an ad-hoc solution.

My analysis also differs from Alonso-Ramos's (1998) account of the causative/LVC contrast in Spanish. Working within Meaning-Text

Theory (*Théorie Sens-Texte*), Alonso-Ramos claims that the term causative refers to a semantic notion: a causative is any verb that expresses the meaning of causation. Importantly, causative verbs can combine with VNs. This is the case of Spanish *dar* 'give' in (66).

(66)	Eva	le	da	envidia	a	Miguel.
	Eva	him:DAT	gives	envy	to	Miguel
	'Eva makes Miguel envious.'					

Alonso-Ramos claims that in (66) causative *dar* is used as a light verb because it does not contribute anything to the argument structure of the clause. In her view, the VN *envidia* 'envy' (which she defines as '*x*'s unpleasant emotion caused by *y*') already includes a sense of causation, thus making the meaning of *dar* redundant (1998:196-197).

As in my proposal, in Alonso-Ramos' analysis causative verbs can have light uses, so there is no inherent lexical contrast between causatives and light verbs. The difference is that in her view, contrary to what I argue, causative verbs do not necessarily have to license a subject. In fact, her proposal claims that in (66) the surface subject (*Eva*) is actually licensed by the VN. This claim is empirically inadequate. Indeed, in (66) the subject is not licensed by the VN, as evidenced by the fact that *envidia* cannot head a complex nominalization with the two arguments found in the LVC, i.e. **la envidia de Eva a Miguel* literally 'Eva's envy to Miguel'.

My proposal solves this problem by analyzing (66) on a par with *fare paura* LVCs in Italian –a proposal that is consistent with the fact that *fare paura* LVCs in Italian are expressed with *dar* in Spanish (cf. *dar miedo* 'frighten). Like causative *fare*, *dar* introduces a new subject linked to a Cause (*Eva*), triggering 1-3 revaluation of the subject of the VN (*Miguel*) (67). As in the case of *fare paura* LVCs, (67) involves a causative verb but is light in my configurational sense.

(67)		P,2	1
1	P	Cho,2	3
1	P	2	3
Eva	le-da	envidia	a Miguel[17]

Also as in the case of *fare paura* LVCs, the representation in (67) accounts for all the relevant empirical properties, including, but not

limited to, the lack of a *double analyse*, the possibility of pronominalizing *Miguel* with a dative clitic and *envidia* with an accusative pronoun, and the relationship between (66) and LVCs like *Miguel tiene envidia* 'Miguel is envious', literally 'Miguel has envy'.

4. Conclusions

This article has focused on two different types of *fare* LVCs in Italian: the *fare una telefonata*-type, and the *fare paura*-type. In both cases the VN behaves as a predicate and as the underlying object of *fare*. However, these LVCs differ in several respects. *Fare una telefonata*-type LVCs (i) involve action VNs, (ii) require an obligatorily animate subject, and (iii) have a *double analyse*, so the prepositional complement of the VN (if any) can be analyzed either as being inside its maximal projection or as a direct syntactic dependent of the light verb. By contrast, *fare paura*-type LVCs (i) involve state VNs, (ii) allow inanimate subjects, and (iii) lack a *double analyse*.

According to my analysis, these two types of LVCs differ not only in terms of the VNs involved (action vs. state nouns), but also with respect to their configurational properties and the argument structure and subcategorization frame of the verbs involved. *Fare una telefonata*-type LVCs involve two transitive variants (Control and serial *fare*) that license an obligatorily animate subject. The *double analyse* thus stems from the fact that these LVCs have two representations: as biclausal (subject Control) structures where only the subject of the VN, but not is prepositional complement, is a direct syntactic dependent of the verb, and as monoclausal (serial) constructions where all the arguments licensed by the VN are direct dependents of *fare*. On the other hand, *fare paura*-type LVCs involve an unergative verb whose subject is linked to a Cause role –the same predicate found in traditional causatives. Since this verb is serial, *fare paura*-type LVCs are monoclausal, so all the arguments of the VN are direct syntactic dependents of *fare*, hence the lack of a *double analyse*.

My proposal has complemented the traditional semantic characterization of LVCs with a configurational definition: in an LVC a verb combines with a noun predicate whose subject is also a direct syntactic dependent of the verb. This definition encompasses both *fare una telefonata*- and *fare paura*-type LVCs. In *fare una telefonata* LVCs the subject of the VN is also the subject of the light verb, either via cross-clausal multiattachment (in the Control structure) or because the subject is inherited by *fare* (in the serial construction). On the other

hand, in *fare paura* LVCs the subject of the VN is the indirect object of *fare* by virtue of 1-3 revaluation, just like the (affected) inner subject in traditional causatives with transitive verbs. My approach thus captures the empirical contrast between the two types of *fare* structures while at the same time grouping them together in a natural class of LVCs.

My proposal captures the relationship between *fare paura* structures and traditional causatives, which involve the same verb (causative *fare*) and the same revaluation pattern of the inner subject. However, only *fare paura* constructions, but not causatives, fit my definition of LVCs. This is so because the definition requires light verbs to combine with nouns, rather than with other verbs –a categorial requirement meant to accommodate the traditional, yet arbitrary, characterization of Romance LVCs as involving VNs, not just any type of predicate. In this sense, my proposal exposes the artificial boundaries imposed by our traditional characterization of LVCs while at the same time emphasizing the basic continuity between causatives and light *fare* structures.

My proposal offers some important advantages over analyses that posit a single light *fare* distinct from causative *fare* in terms of its argument structure and subcategorization frame. As we saw earlier, this light valence approach is empirically inadequate, and it obscures the basic continuity between traditional causatives and *fare paura* LVCs.

My analysis shows that, contrary to what is often assumed, a homophonous light verb can 'come in different flavors'. In fact, light *fare* has three variants differing in terms of their valence and argument structure: Control, transitive serial, and causative *fare*. Whereas *telefonata*-type VNs combine with Control and transitive serial *fare*, nominals like *paura* appear with its causative variant. If correct, this analysis reveals that VNs select not just the light verb that combines with them (as suggested in the literature), but rather a specific variant thereof.

My proposal is consistent with the view that light verbs fall in a continuum of semantic defectiveness ranging from semantically vacuous predicates to verbs with partially specified argument structures (Kearns 1989, Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990, Pelletier 1990, Kim 1993, Kim 1994, Butt 1995, Matsumoto 1996, Miyamoto 1999, Alonso-Ramos 1998). As we have seen, causative *fare* licenses its own Cause argument, whereas its Control and transitive serial variants impose selectional restrictions over and above those imposed by the VN. These facts confirm that, contrary to what is sometimes assumed, in

LVCs the noun predicate does not always exhaustively determine the meaning of the clause. This property precludes any attempt to define LVCs based solely on the semantic defectiveness of the light verb, and it underscores the advantages of a configurational definition like the one proposed here.

Address of the Author:

Josep Alba-Salas, College of the Holy Cross, P.O. Box 138A, One College Street, Worcester, MA 01610-2395, USA <jalba@holycross.edu>

Note

[1] Causative *fare* alone has received a good deal of attention in the literature (e.g. La Fauci & Mirto 1985, Davies & Rosen 1988 and Rosen 1983, 1987, 1990 within RG; Kayne 1975, Marcantonio 1981, Burzio 1986, Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990, and Guasti 1993, 1996 within GB).

[2] Examples like (10) are only possible with the interpretation of 'Monica will make the call to Eva that Paolo should have made/that Paolo usually makes', where Monica is still the agent of the action designated by the VN. See note 10 for a brief discussion of how my analysis below accounts for this alternative interpretation.

[3] The subject of *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs is not necessarily an agent. This is evidenced by two facts. First, in cases like *fare una caduta* the subject is typically construed as a patient, not as the willing instigator of the action. Second, in examples like *fare un sogno* 'have a dream' the subject is an experiencer, not an agent.

[4] An anonymous reviewer notes some potential counterexamples to the claim that *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs require animate subjects:

(i) La condensazione fece un'inattesa apparizione nel corso
the condensation did an-unexpected appearance in-the course
dell'esperimento.
of-the-experiment
'Condensation made an unexpected appearance in the course of the experiment.'

(ii) Il ramo ha fatto un graffio alla fiancata dell'auto
the branch has done a scratch to-the side of-the-car
'The branch scratched the side of the car.'

These cases, however, are not necessarily counterexamples. In fact, examples like (i) appear to involve some form of anthropomorphization whereby an inanimate entity acquires human-like properties (cf. *the sun made a spectacular entrance in the room*). On the other hand, cases like (ii) might involve a different variant of *fare* that does not require animate subjects, i.e. causative *fare*. As we will see below, *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs contain a version of *fare* that licenses animate subjects. However, other LVCs contain causative *fare*, whose subject is linked to a Cause role and thus can be inanimate. Under my proposal, causative *fare* would not only be found in *fare paura*-type LVCs (see section 3.3), but also

with nominals like *graffio* 'scratch' in (ii) and *danni* 'damages' in (iii), hence the possibility of inanimate subjects.

(iii) L'uragano ha fatto molti danni nella regione.
the-hurricane has done many damages in-the region
'The hurricane caused a lot of damage in the region.'

[5] An anonymous reviewer suggests that the animacy requirement in the *fare una caduta* LVC in (11) is imposed by the VN, not by *fare*. The claim is that there are two types of *caduta*: one that requires an obligatorily animate subject (let's call it $caduta_1$) and another one that doesn't ($caduta_2$). Under this alternative analysis, cases like (i), where the VN is qualified with the adjective *involontario* 'involuntary', would presumably reject an inanimate subject because they involve $caduta_1$. Similarly, the LVC in (11) would be incompatible with inanimate subjects because only $caduta_1$, but not $caduta_2$, combines with light *fare*.

(i) l'involontaria caduta di Gianni/#del muro di Berlino
the-involuntary fall of Gianni/of-the wall of Berlin
lit. 'Gianni's/the Berlin Wall's involuntary fall'

Though insightful, this alternative analysis is problematic. Indeed, the ill-formedness of (i) follows from the fact that the action designated by the VN is qualified with an adjective that presumes the subject's ability to act with willingness or lack thereof, effectively excluding inanimate entities. The possibility that (i) involves $caduta_1$, as opposed to $caduta_2$, is irrelevant. In fact, (i) could also involve $caduta_2$, which does not impose any animacy requirement on its subject, and still be semantically anomalous because *involontario* requires an animate subject. The same applies to examples involving the morphologically related verb *cadere* 'fall'. As (ii) shows, when qualified with the adverbial *involontariamente* 'involuntarily', this verb is incompatible with animate subjects.

(ii) a. Gianni/#il muro di Berlino è caduto involontariamente.
Gianni/the wall of Berlin is fallen involuntarily
lit. 'Gianni/the Berlin Wall fell down involuntarily.'
b. Gianni/il muro di Berlino è caduto.
Gianni/the wall of Berlin is fallen
'Gianni/the Berlin Wall fell down.'

The fact that (iia) rejects *il muro di Berlino* does not necessarily mean that this sentence involves a version of *cadere* that requires animate subjects, i.e. $cadere_1$, distinct from $cadere_2$. Similar to what we saw in (i), here the semantic anomaly follows from the presence of the adverbial *involontariamente*, which is incompatible with inanimate subjects regardless of the putative selectional requirements of *cadere* (i.e. regardless of whether we have $cadere_1$ or $cadere_2$). These considerations undermine the case for two different types of *caduta* and *cadere*, and they provide indirect support for the claim that the animacy requirement in *fare una caduta* LVCs derives from light *fare*. At any rate, it is worth noting that the claim that light *fare* selects an animate subject is not critical to my argumentation. What is important is that *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs differ from their *fare paura*-type counterparts not only in terms of the VNs involved, but also with respect to their configurational properties and the type of light *fare* involved (see below).

[6] The status of *ne*-cliticization as an unaccusative diagnostic has been questioned by Lonzi (1985) and Saccon (1992) (both cited in Levin and Rappaport 1996:275-276). As Lonzi (1985) notes, several unergative verbs allow *ne*-cliticization. However, *ne*-cliticization is subject to a restriction that is not found with unaccusatives: as (i) shows, the sole argument of unergatives can be *ne*-cliticized only when these verbs are found in a simple tense (a), but not when they occur with an auxiliary (b) (examples from Lonzi 1985, cited in Levin and Rappaport 1996:275-276).

(i) a. Ne cammina tanta, di gente, su quei marciapiedi.
'So many of them (people) walk on those sidewalks.'
b. *Ne ha camminato tanta, di gente, su quei marciapiedi.
NE has walked so-many of people on those sidewalks
'So many of them (people) walked on those sidewalks.'

Despite this important qualification, *ne*-cliticization can still be used as a diagnostic for the unaccusative/unergative contrast (and thus for underlying objects), since unaccusatives allow *ne*-cliticization even when they occur with an auxiliary, cf.

(ii) a. Ne arrivano tanti, di ragazzi.
NE arrive so-many of guys
'So many of them (guys) arrive/are arriving.'
b. Ne sono arrivati tanti, di ragazzi.
NE are arrived so-many of guys
'So many of them (guys) arrived.'

To avoid any confusion, here (a) I use *ne*-cliticization as a diagnostic only in cases where unaccusatives, but not unergatives, can occur, i.e. in sentences where the verb is auxiliated, and (b) I complement this test with other unaccusative diagnostics whenever possible.

It is also worth noting that although in *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs the VN behaves as the underlying object of *fare*, the behavior of this nominal with respect to other syntactic properties typically associated with objects may differ somewhat across structures (cf. Giry-Schneider 1987, Alba-Salas 2002). For example, some of these LVCs allow passivization (e.g. *La telefonata (a Eva) è stata fatta da Monica* 'The call (to Eva) was made by Monica'), whereas others tend to resist it (e.g. **La caduta è stata fatta da Monica* lit. 'The fall was done by Monica'). As Alba-Salas (2002) argues, these differences seem to follow from the semantic properties of the VNs involved, not from the nominal's status as the direct object of *fare*.

[7] Like other generative theories, RG posits several levels of syntactic structure and seeks to uncover the universal principles underlying language-specific variation. However, RG claims that grammatical relations like subject and direct object are undefined primitives, not notions derived configurationally. Moreover, it posits a set of structures subject to language-specific and universal well-formedness conditions on syntactic representations. Each individual language selects its own subset of structures from this universal set, determining their morphosyntactic realization via language-specific rules.

RG distinguishes two basic types of grammatical relations: *term* and *non-term*. Term relations include Subject (or 1), Direct Object (or 2), and Indirect Object (or 3). Non-term relations belong to one of three types. The first one is the Predicate (or P) relation, which is borne by the dependent licensing the nominals of a clause. Importantly, this relation is not only held by verbs, but also by adjectives, and certain nouns, prepositions and phrases used predicationally. Together with the three term relations (i.e. 1, 2 and 3), Predicates form a natural class known as foundational relations. The second type of non-term relations include a variety of Obliques, including Benefactive, Instrumental, Locative, Temporal and Manner. The third type of non-term relations includes so-called Chômeurs (abbreviated as Cho). This undefined primitive, which has no parallel in other theories, owes its colorful name to the French name for 'idle' or 'unemployed'. A Chômeur is a clause dependent that bears a foundational relation in a given stratum but which loses this grammatical relation to another clause dependent in a subsequent stratum. Simply put, a Chômeur is an *ex-1*, an *ex-2*, an *ex-3* or an *ex-P* (examples to follow).

RG representations show the grammatical relations held by each syntactic depen-

dent of the clause. For example, the representation in (i) shows that in *Eva eats an apple* the verb *eat* is the Predicate and licenses *Eva* as its subject and *an apple* as its direct object.

(i)

1	P	2
Eva	eats	an apple

Clauses involve a sequence of levels or strata in which a given dependent may bear distinct grammatical relations. Each stratum is represented with a separate line. Our example in (i) contains a single stratum. By contrast, the structure in (ii), where the past participle of *eat* occurs with the auxiliary *have*, contains two strata. The first stratum has the same array of grammatical relations in (i), so *Eva* is the subject, *an apple* is the direct object, and *eat* is the predicate. In the second stratum, however, *eat* no longer holds the P relation. In fact, the P relation has been 'usurped' by *have*, which 'inherits' *Eva* as a subject and *an apple* as a direct object. In RG terms, we say that *eat* (the initial predicate of the clause) has been chômeurized by *have* (the final predicate), so *eat* is a Chômeur in the final stratum. By convention, we use a dotted line to separate the strata where each predicate holds the P relation.

(ii)

1		P	2
1	P	Cho	2
Eva	has	eaten	an apple

In (ii) *eat* loses the P relation to *have* by virtue of the Stratal Uniqueness Law, a universal principle that prohibits two syntactic dependents from bearing the same foundational relation (1, 2, 3 or P) in the same stratum (Perlmutter & Postal 1983). If *eat* kept the predicate relation in (ii), the second stratum would contain two dependents bearing the P relation, thus violating the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

The process whereby *eat* becomes a Chômeur is also constrained by two other universal conditions. The first one is the Chômeur Law. This principle mandates that if a dependent is demoted to another grammatical relation, it must acquire the Chômeur relation, unless a language-specific rule prescribes another alternative (Perlmutter & Postal 1983). The second condition is the Motivated Chômage Law, which imposes that a clause dependent can only acquire the Chômeur relation if it has lost its foundational relation to another dependent (Perlmutter & Postal 1983). This principle prevents Chômeurs from either appearing in the initial stratum of the clause or appearing 'spontaneously' in a non-initial stratum. The representation in (ii) obeys the Chômeur Law and the Motivated Chômage Law because *eat* becomes a Chômeur only after the past auxiliary usurps its P relation.

For a more detailed, up-to-date introduction to RG, see Blake (1990) and Alba-Salas (2002).

[8] Unlike Dubinsky and others, however, I claim that Italian VNs bear the P and 2 relations in the initial, as opposed to an intermediate, stratum –a requirement that follows from independently motivated conditions on syntactic representations. Because this claim relies on complex empirical and theory-internal considerations and is not critical to my argumentation, I do not pursue it here any further (see Alba-Salas 2002 for details).

[9] The monoclausal version of *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs tests out as serial with respect to Rosen's (1997) diagnostics for the serialization vs. auxiliation contrast. First, these LVCs can be causativized, e.g. *Monica mi ha fatto fare una telefonata a Eva* 'Monica made me give Eva a call'. Second, these structures can form participial absolutes, e.g. *fatta la telefonata, scoppiarono gli applausi* 'the call hav-

ing been made, there was a thunder of applause'. However, *fare una telefonata*-type LVCs challenge Rosen's (1997) claim that auxiliaries are characterized by the fact that they inherit a 1, whereas serial verbs inherit a 2. In fact, serial *fare* LVCs share both properties, since the light verb inherits both a 1 (the subject of the VN) and a 2 (the VN itself). A similar situation arises in heavy constructions with an auxiliated transitive verb, e.g. *Eva ha mangiato una mela* 'Eva ate an apple', where the auxiliary also inherits a subject and a direct object. These facts reveal that Rosen's definition must be understood as the canonical configurations for auxiliation and serialization, not as a fool-proof criterion for the distinction.

[10] As we saw in note 2, examples like *Monica farà una telefonata di Paolo a Eva* in (10) are ungrammatical under the interpretation that both Monica and Paolo will call Eva ('*Monica will give Paolo's call to Eva'), but they are possible with the reading of 'Monica will make the call to Eva **that** Paolo should have made/that Paolo usually makes'. Importantly, in this alternative reading Monica is still the agent of the action designated by the VN. Under my analysis, this interpretation would correspond to a Control structure where *Monica* is the subject of both the VN and the light verb, just as in (25). The only difference is that here the N-clause headed by the VN contains an extra dependent: *Paolo*, a (genitive case-marked) Oblique licensed by *telefonata*. The claim that *Paolo* is inside the maximal projection headed by the VN is corroborated by the fact that this oblique and *telefonata* cannot be moved independently of each other:

(i) a. *È [di Paolo] che Monica farà [una telefonata a Eva].
b. *È [una telefonata a Eva] che Monica farà [di Paolo].
c. È [una telefonata di Paolo a Eva] che Monica farà.

[11] The Event role is akin to the so-called Davidsonian argument E (for Event), a special type of theta-role associated with the spatio-temporal location of the event denoted by a predicate (Higginbotham 1985, cf. Kim 1994). The notion that light 'do' assigns an Event role to its object has been proposed in a number of studies within LFG (e.g. Matsumoto 1996 for Japanese) and GB/Minimalism (e.g. Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990 for Italian, Miyamoto 1999 for Japanese, Kim 1994 for Korean).

[12] Readers unfamiliar with RG should keep in mind that in this theory semantic role assignment takes place in a predicate's P-initial stratum, i.e. in the first stratum where a predicate bears the P relation. In addition, a syntactic dependent may be theta-marked by more than one predicate in the clause as long as this dependent is lexically-selected by (and thus part of the argument structure of) the relevant predicates. To illustrate these points, consider our serial LVC in (24). In the first stratum the VN assigns the corresponding theta-roles to its P-initial dependents (*Monica*, the agent, and *Eva*, the goal or recipient). On the other hand, light *fare* imposes its animacy restriction on its inherited subject (*Monica*) and assigns an Event role to its direct object (the VN) in its P-initial stratum, i.e. the second stratum. Thus, *Monica* is both the agent of *telefonata* and the obligatorily animate subject of *fare*. The same is true in the Control structure in (25), but with two minor differences. First, here Control *fare* assigns the Event role to the entire N-clause, not just the VN. Second, in this biclausal structure *fare* does not inherit *Monica* from a previous stratum. Instead, *Monica* is the agent of the VN and the obligatorily animate subject of *fare* by virtue of the fact that it bears the 1 relation in both the matrix and the embedded clauses.

[13] An anonymous reviewer notes that, under certain pragmatic conditions, it is possible to front both *paura* and *Ali*, e.g.

(i) Paura	ad Ali	Mark	non	ne	ha	mai	fatta	(troppa),
fear	to Ali	Mark	not	NE	has	never	done	too-much

al massimo	gli	ha	fatto	proprio	schifo.
to-the maximum	to-him	has	done	actually	disgust

'Mark never (quite) frightened Ali, at most he sort of disgusted him.'

Unlike the clefting examples cited above ('It is X that…'), cases like (i) do not seem to involve movement of a single constituent. Instead, they appear to involve left-dislocation of the VN and topicalization of its prepositional complement, as evidenced by the fact that my native speaker consultants typically insert a pause between *paura* and *ad Ali*. Hence, (exceptional) examples like (i) do not invalidate the claim that *fare paura*-type LVCs lack a *double analyse*.

[14] *Fare paura* constructions tend to resist participial absolute (i) and participial adjective formation (ii). However, as an anonymous reviewer notes, these LVCs can form participial absolutes and participial adjectives under certain circumstances (iii).

(i) ??Fatta (la) paura (a Ali), scoppiarono gli applausi.
'Ali having been frightened, there was a thunder of applause.'

(ii) ??la paura (a Ali) fatta da Mark
'the fear that Mark causes in Ali'

(iii) a. Fatta paura ad Ali, non restò altro di divertente da fare e ci annoiammo tutta la serata.
'Ali having been frightened, there was nothing fun left for us to do, and we were bored for the rest of the day.'

b. La paura proditoriamente fatta al povero Ali da quel porco di Mark ci mette nella condizione di dover chiedere scusa al nostro amico arabo.
'The fear treacherously instilled in Ali by that pig Mark put us in the uncomfortable situation of having to apologize to our Arabic friend.'

The restrictions illustrated above stem from the fact that *paura*-type VNs are mass nouns that designate states and tend to reject definite articles in *fare* LVCs (cf. Giry-Schneider 1978b, 1987, Pivaut 1994 for French). This claim is corroborated by the behavior of heavy *fare* constructions involving mass nouns such as *pane* 'bread' in *Mark fa pane* 'Mark makes bread'. As we can see below, these constructions tend to resist participial absolute (iv) and participial adjective formation (v) when the noun is not definite.

(iv) Fatto il/*Ø pane, scoppiarono gli applausi.
'(The) bread having been made, there was a thunder of applause.'

(v) il/*Ø pane fatto da Mark
'(the) bread that Mark made.'

At any rate, the (exceptional) possibility of forming participial adjectives and participial absolutes with *fare paura* LVCs confirms the results of *ne*-cliticization, i.e. that the VN is the underlying object of *fare*.

[15] In fact, causative *fare* can also combine with adjectival predicates, e.g. *Mark la fa felice* 'Mark makes her happy' (see Alba-Salas 2002 for details).

[16] An alternative analysis where P-2 revaluation of the VN occurs via intermediate P,2 multiattachment in a stratum before the P-sector boundary is problematic on empirical and theory-internal grounds (see Alba-Salas 2002).

[17] The fact that in (67) the clitic is attached to the verb reflects the RG view that indirect object clitics in Spanish and other clitic-doubling languages function as object agreement markers.

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