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Indirect causatives in Basque: The syntax of implicit causees

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Abstract
In Basque there is a morphological causative construction where the causative suffix is added to the verbal root and an additional argument—the causer—is added to the already existing ones. In this paper we analyze indirect causatives (ICs), that is, morphological causative constructions where the causee—the caused-to-act subject—is left implicit, with no morphological reflex. Our analysis argues that both causative constructions, the direct and the indirect ones, involve a Voice-over-Voice projection and discusses its consequences for Case and Agreement. Additionally, we explore the nature of the implicit causee, and claim that it is syntactically projected as a strong implicit argument but with deficient φ-features. In these respects, it is similar to the impersonal subject found in Basque. Nevertheless, it differs in one key aspect: the causee is projected in a phrase with its own probe, resulting in distinct behavior concerning the PCC. This paper contributes to the discussion on the different versions of Voice, the syntactic nature of implicit arguments and how they interact in different constructions like causatives and impersonals.

Keywords Causatives · Indirect causatives · Implicit causee · PCC · Impersonals

1 Introduction

Basque has a morphological causative marked by the causative suffix *arazi*.[1] In Standard Basque, this causative marker is added to the verbal root in order to build a

[1] In the construction under analysis the causative construction is formed with the suffix *-arazi* 'cause,' but this form is subject to dialectal variation (Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 599) and may take the forms *erazi*, *arazi*,

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causative construction (Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia 1989; Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 2019; de Rijk 2008). In causative constructions involving transitive, ditransitive and unergative verbs, the causee is marked by dative case, and a corresponding dative marker is added in the auxiliary (1).[2,3,4]

(1) Ane-k ume-ei liburu-ak irakurr-araz-ten
Ane-ERG child-DET.PL.DAT book-DET.PL.ABS read-CAUS-IPFV
dizkie.
have.3PLABS.3PLDAT.3ERG
'Ane makes the children read the books.'

The causative construction in (1) is built on a transitive verb, although it shows a ditransitive shape, as it involves an ergative argument (the causer), a dative argument (the causee), and the absolutive argument as the internal argument. Like in other languages (Aissen and Perlmutter 1976; Rizzi 1978; Aissen 1979; Manzini 1983; Burzio 1986; Wurmbrand 2003), we consider the causative construction to be the result of *restructuring* or *clause union* of an originally causative verb and the embedded verb, so that the complex predicate formed ('verb-cause') heads a monoclausal construction (Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 2019).

Side by side with this causative construction, in Basque we find a second, related construction in which the causee is implicit. Labeled *indirect causative* by various authors, this sort of construction has been documented in languages such as Georgian (Nash 2020), Icelandic (Sigurðsson and Wood 2021), Sason Arabic (Akkuş 2021a,b, 2022a,b), Haiki (Harley 2013) and Italian (Folli and Harley 2007). We exemplify this kind of construction in (2), which is in fact the counterpart to the causative construction in (1), but with an implicit causee.[5] We will follow some of the works above and refer to this construction as indirect causative (IC), as opposed to the sort of causative depicted in (1), which we will call *direct causative*.

(2) Ane-k liburu-ak irakurr-araz-ten ditu.
Ane-ERG book-DET.PL.ABS read-CAUS-IPFV have.3PLABS.3ERG
'Ane makes people read the books.'

erazo, *arazotu*, *eragin*, etc. All these forms contain the old causative morpheme *-ra-* and some of them are used as independent verbs (e.g. *eragin*, consisting of the verb *e-gin* 'do' and *-ra-*, *e-ra-gin*). In this paper we focus on *arazi*. It is noteworthy that the final *-i* corresponds to the participial suffix, which varies depending on the aspectual value (*-i* for perfective, *-ten* for imperfective).

[2]In Basque unaccusative and unergative predicates, the marking of animate causees is subject to dialectal variation (Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia 1989, 99–107; Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 602–606). In Standard Basque, the causee of unaccusative predicates is marked absolutive. By contrast, southwestern varieties tend to mark dative the animate causee of unaccusatives (see also footnotes 9 and 28).

[3]Some examples provided in this paper have been taken from published research articles or linguistic corpora. The relevant referencing information is provided next to each example. All the unreferenced examples are based on the authors' native speaker intuitions.

[4]We follow Leipzig glossing conventions with the following additions: INE inessive, NACT non-active, PCC Person Case Constraint, PLC Person Licensing Condition, PRF prefix, PROS prospective, PSR possessor, REL relational, SOC sociative, SUP superlative, TERM terminative.

[5]In the examples the implicit argument has been translated as 'someone' when it has an existential interpretation and as 'someone' or 'people' when it is generic or quasi-universal.

Contrary to direct causatives like the example in (1), in ICs like (2) there is no explicit causee marked by dative case and cross-referenced by a dative marker in the auxiliary (de Rijk 2008). Like (1), this IC involves an explicit causer, which is marked by ergative case and agreement (*Anek*) and is the external argument of the complex predicate 'cause-read.' Moreover, the internal argument of the lexical verb also behaves as the internal argument of this complex predicate and is thus marked by absolutive case and agreement, like in (1). As a result, this construction is seemingly transitive, consisting of an external ergative argument and an internal absolutive argument. Nevertheless, as we will argue, there is also an implicit causee that is semantically and syntactically active.

The constructions presented so far, namely, direct causatives and ICs, are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 Basque direct and indirect causatives, exemplified using the verb irakurri 'read'

Causatives		
Verb type	Direct causatives (explicit causer and causee)[a]	Indirect causatives (IC) (implicit causee)[b]
Transitive verbs *irakurri* 'read'	ERG-DAT-ABS *irakurrarazten die* (1)	ERG-ABS *irakurrarazten du* (2)

[a]The direct causative can have an implicit causer. This would be an *impersonal direct causative*, illustrated in (i). Note that the causee appears overtly marked by dative case and a dative marker in the intransitive auxiliary *izan* 'be.' In this paper we will not discuss this construction as we intend to focus on ICs and personal direct causatives.

(i) Ume-ei liburu-ak irakurr-araz-ten zaizkie.
child-DET.PL.DAT book-DET.PL.ABS read-CAUS-IPFV be.3PLABS.3PLDAT
'Someone makes children read the books.'

[b]In this paper we are mainly concerned with ICs that are built on transitive and unergative verbs. Note that ICs can be built also with unaccusative verbs (i), but their use is much more restricted, in a way similar to unaccusative verbs in the impersonal construction (Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1986; Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2000; among others; see Ortiz de Urbina 2003a for Basque).

(i) a. ??Jon-ek eskola-ra etorr-araz-ten du goizeko 8etan.
Jon-ERG school-DET.ALL come-CAUS-IPFV have.3ABS.3ERG at 8 in the morning
'Jon makes people come to school at 8 in the morning.'

In this paper we will mainly focus on the IC construction and compare it with the direct causative. In our analysis, the causative is a monoclausal Voice-over-Voice configuration (Nie 2020), where the causer is projected in the specifier of upper Voice and the causee is merged in the specifier of lower Voice, particularly when the embedded verb is transitive or unergative. In ICs too, we will argue that the embedded VoiceP is also projected and that the implicit causee is syntactically active.

As we will see, the implicit causee shares several distributional properties with the impersonal subject. Basque has an impersonal construction that has been labeled either *impersonal* (Ortiz de Urbina 1989, 1991, 2003a, 2011; Albizu 1997c, 2001; Fernández and Berro 2021; Berro et al. 2022) or *mediopassive* (Brettschneider 1979;

Ortiz de Urbina 2006, 2019; de Rijk 2008; Rezac 2009a). In this kind of impersonal[6] construction, the internal argument is the sole explicit argument, although there is also an implicit external argument that is syntactically active (Fernández and Berro 2021; Berro et al. 2022). The internal argument is marked by both absolutive case and agreement, as in (3-b), whereas the external argument is implicit. Thus, (3-b) is syntactically transitive, but morphologically intransitive, with a single case-marked argument and the intransitive auxiliary *izan* 'be.' Compare the impersonal in (3-b) with its personal counterpart in (3-a).

(3) a. Ume-ek liburu-ak irakur-tzen dituzte.
child-DET.PL.ERG book-DET.PL.ABS read-IPFV have.3PLABS.3PLERG
'Children read the books.'

b. Liburu-ak irakur-tzen dira.
book-DET.PL.ABS read-IPFV be.3PLABS
'People read the books.'

We will demonstrate that the implicit causee can be paired with the impersonal subject in certain aspects—unlike what we see in languages like Georgian (Nash 2020), Icelandic (Sigurðsson and Wood 2021) or Sason Arabic (Akkuş 2021a,b, 2022a,b). We will argue that the implicit causee is similar to the impersonal subject in that it is syntactically projected and bigger than a φP. It is a strong implicit argument but with deficient φ-features: it has an underspecified [person] feature and no [number] feature. Nevertheless, there is an asymmetry between the impersonal subject and the implicit causee. Specifically, the impersonal subject induces *Person Case Constraint* (PCC) effects when paired with a 1st or 2nd person internal argument (Berro et al. 2022). In contrast, the implicit causee does not exhibit such effects. We will posit that this asymmetry results from the implicit causee being projected in a phrase containing its own probe.

Therefore, this paper contributes to the growing body of literature on the different types of implicit arguments (Bhatt and Pancheva 2005; Landau 2010; Šereikaitė 2021; Akkuş 2021a,b, 2022a,b; and others). It shows that implicit causee of ICs is not a typical strong implicit argument, as it lacks a [number] feature and has an underspecified [person] feature. This is a third type of implicit argument that should be added to Landau's typology of implicit arguments. Landau differentiates two types of implicit arguments that are projected in the syntax: weak ones, impoverished arguments consisting of a φ-set, and strong ones, which are regarded as full DPs. The implicit causee analyzed in this paper is strong but φ-deficient.

Together with the nature of implicit arguments, different versions of Voice will be considered. We will claim that in causatives, lower Voice is thematically dependent

[6] Apart from the construction under discussion exemplified in (3-b) (Ortiz de Urbina 2003a, 579–584), the term "impersonal" has also been applied to three other constructions in Basque: (i) those involving a non-referential interpretation of personal pronouns and agreement markers, mainly 3rd person plural and 2nd person singular (Rodet 1992; Ortiz de Urbina 2003a, 572–576); (ii) weather expressions (Ortiz de Urbina 2003a, 577–579; Arteatx and Artiagoitia 2018); and (iii) tenseless clauses without overt subject arguments (Ortiz de Urbina 2003a, 585–587). On the other hand, even though the impersonal in (3-b) is labeled as detransitivized, in this paper we will follow Berro et al. (2022) in claiming that the construction is actually syntactically transitive and involves an impersonal pronoun in subject position.

on upper Voice, as it assigns half of the theta-role regularly assigned by Voice. Particularly, upper Voice introduces an *initiator*, whereas lower Voice introduces a *doer* (Lundin 2003; Sigurðsson and Wood 2021). Furthermore, it is different from regular Voice in that it assigns dative case to the argument in its specifier position. In this respect it could be considered a kind of applicative Voice. In this paper we will explore how the featural specification of both implicit and explicit arguments interacts with different versions of Voice heads: the way in which arguments are Case-licensed and the emergence of different types of agreement markers. Thus, this paper makes also a contribution to the study of Case and Agreement mechanisms. In particular, we will propose that dative markers are different from absolutive ones in that the former result from clitic doubling, whereas the latter result from regular Agree operations. Finally, the implicit causee differs from the explicit one in that the former does not generate a clitic adjoined to it, whereas the latter does.

This paper is structured as follows. In Sect. 2, we will present some facts about the causative construction in Basque that suggest it is monoclausal and structured in a Voice-over-Voice configuration. In Sect. 3, we will briefly review the properties of the implicit causee as reported in other languages. In Sects. 4 and 5, we will analyze the nature of the implicit causee in Basque showing that it is syntactically projected and bigger than a φP. In Sect. 6, we will argue that the implicit causee has an underspecified [person] feature and no [number] feature and, in Sect. 7, we will explain why it fails to trigger the PCC in the presence of a 1st or 2nd person internal argument. In Sect. 8, we will present our main conclusions.

2 The causative construction in Basque

2.1 A monoclausal construction

Before focusing on ICs, let us first present the Basque morphological causative. The morphological causative formed with the morpheme *arazi* behaves as a single clause in terms of anaphor binding, case marking and agreement pattern (Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 2019). It is a single Case domain, given that case marking is rearranged once the causer and the causative marker are added (1). Specifically, when the embedded verb is transitive, the subject caused to act is marked not with ergative case, but instead with dative, and the ergative is assigned to the causer argument. On the other hand, all three arguments, the causer, the causee and the internal argument, are cross-referenced in a single auxiliary, a fact that shows that the three arguments Agree with a specific inflectional element, a relation that generally holds in Basque in a syntactic local domain (Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 2019). Thus, following Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia (1989), Ortiz de Urbina (2003b, 2019), and the general tendency in cross-linguistic studies (Rizzi 1978; Burzio 1986; Wurmbrand 2003; Rezac 2011; and many others), we regard the 'verb-cause' sequence made up of the predicate and *arazi* in Basque as a complex predicate that occurs in a monoclausal structure.

There are important pieces of evidence that make us think that the causative construction is monoclausal. Firstly, in Basque morphological causatives the subject caused to act must be animate when the embedded verb involves an external argument (4-b). This pattern coincides with that observed in monoclausal causatives in

other languages (Folli and Harley 2007, 212–213), and it contrasts with the distribution attested in analytic causatives like (4-c). Analytic causatives are constructions where the verb meaning 'cause' serves as the main verb and takes an embedded clause as complement (see Ortiz de Urbina 2003b for the variation found in this kind of configuration in Basque). The main verb meaning 'cause' is *eragin* and takes as a complement a nominalized instance of the verb *apurtu* 'break,' *apur-tze-a*, formed with the nominalizing suffix *-t(z)e* (4-c). As can be seen in (4-c), in the analytic causative the subject caused to act can be an inanimate initiator.[7]

(4) a. Ane-k / Abarr-a-k leiho-a apur-tu
Ane-ERG / branch-DET-ERG window-DET.ABS break-PFV
du.
have.3ABS.3ERG
'Ane/The branch has broken the window.'

b. Jon-ek Ane-ri / *abarr-a-ri leiho-a
Jon-ERG Ane-DAT / branch-DET-DAT window-DET.ABS
apurt-araz-i dio.
break-CAUS-PFV have.3SGDAT.3ABS.3ERG
'Jon has made Ane/*the branch break the window.'

c. Jon-ek eragin du Ane-k / abarr-a-k
Jon-ERG cause.PFV have.3ABS.3ERG Ane-ERG / branch-DET-ERG
leiho-a apur-tze-a.
window-DET.ABS break-NMLZ-DET.ABS
'Jon has caused Ane/the branch to break the window.'

This animacy requirement actually suggests that Basque morphological causatives are akin to Romance *faire-infinitif* causatives (FI causatives) (cf. examples (20a, b) in Folli and Harley 2007, 212) (see Sect. 4).

Secondly, as pointed out by Ortiz de Urbina (2003b, 593; 2019, 282–283), verbal inflection marking can attach only to the causative morpheme, and not to the embedded verb. Instances where an aspectual suffix attaches to the embedded verb and occurs between that and the causative morpheme are ungrammatical (5).

(5) Ane-k ume-ei liburu-ak irakurr-araz-ten/
Ane-ERG child-DET.PL.DAT book-DET.PL.ABS read-CAUS-IPFV
*irakur-tzen-araz-ten dizkie.
read-IPFV-CAUS-IPFV have.3PLABS.3PLDAT.3ERG
'Ane makes the children read the books.

Thirdly, further evidence in favor of a monoclausal analysis is that the complement of *arazi* cannot be negated (Ortiz de Urbina 2019, 282), as we can see in (6-a). The only way to have the embedded verb negated would be to build an analytic causative

[7] It must be noted that analytic causatives have been argued to involve a less direct type of causation than morphological causatives (see Ortiz de Urbina 2019 and references therein). Similarly, the French *faire*-infinitive causative construction has been argued to involve a direct relation between the causer and the embedded event (Kayne 1975) or an obligation effect (Folli and Harley 2007 also for Italian *fare*-infinitives). See Sect. 2.2 for a discussion on the obligation effect in Basque causatives.

(6-b).

(6) a. *Edari-ek zuzen ez ibil-eraz-ten zaituzte.
drink-DET.PL.ERG straight NEG walk-CAUS-IPFV have.2ABS.3PLERG
Intended: 'Drinks make you not walk straight.'

b. Edari-ek (zu-k) ondo ez gida-tze-a eragi-ten
drink-DET.PL.ERG you-ERG well NEG drive-NMLZ-DET cause-IPFV
dute.
have.3ABS.3PLERG
'Drinks cause you not to drive properly.'

Note that in the analytic causative the subject caused to act (a 2nd person pronoun *zuk* 'you') is marked ergative (6-b)—also like in (4-c)—but is not cross-referenced in the auxiliary. We interpret this distribution as evidence for a biclausal analysis. Both the causer—*edariek* 'drinks'—and the subject caused to act—*zuk* 'you'—are in the ergative case. However, only *edariek* 'drinks' is referred to by an agreement marker in the auxiliary. This is the case because the two ergative arguments belong to different clauses: *edariek* 'drinks' belongs to the main clause and is therefore cross-referenced in the auxiliary. In contrast, *zuk* 'you' is the subject of the embedded clause.

Lastly, morphological and analytic causatives show an asymmetric behavior regarding temporal adjuncts (Shibatani 1973), as shown in examples (7) and (8).

(7) a. Ane-k ume-ei gaur liburu-ak irakurr-araz-i
Ane-ERG child-DET.PL.DAT today book-DET.PL.ABS read-CAUS-PFV
dizkie.
have.3PLABS.3PLDAT.3ERG
'Today, Ane has made the children read the books.'

b. Ane-k ume-ek gaur liburu-ak irakur-tze-a
Ane-ERG child-DET.PL.DAT today book-DET.PL.ABS read-NMLZ-DET
eragin du.
cause.PFV have.3ABS.3ERG
'Ane has caused [the children to read the books today].'
'Today, Ane has caused the children to read the books.'

In (7-a), the adverb *gaur* 'today' necessarily modifies the complex predicate *irakurr-araz-i* 'read-CAUS-PFV.' Thus, it takes scope over both the causing event (*arazi*) and the caused event (*irakurri* 'read'). On the other hand, in the analytic causative in (7-b), the adverb can modify either the causing event or the caused event. It is also noteworthy that the morphological causative does not accept contrasting temporal modifiers (8-a), whereas the analytic causative does (8-b), given that the analytic causative is bieventive, and each temporal modifier can have its own event to modify.

(8) a. Ane-k Lea-ri liburu-a (*bihar) irakurr-araz-i
Ane-ERG Lea-DAT book-DET.ABS tomorrow read-CAUS-PFV
dio gaur.
have.3ABS.3SGDAT.3ERG today
'Today, Ane has made Lea read the book tomorrow.'

b. Ane-k Lea-k liburu-a bihar irakur-tze-a eragin
Ane-ERG Lea-ERG book-DET.ABS tomorrow read-NMLZ-DET cause
du gaur.
have.3ABS.3ERG today
'Today, Ane has caused Lea to read the book tomorrow.'

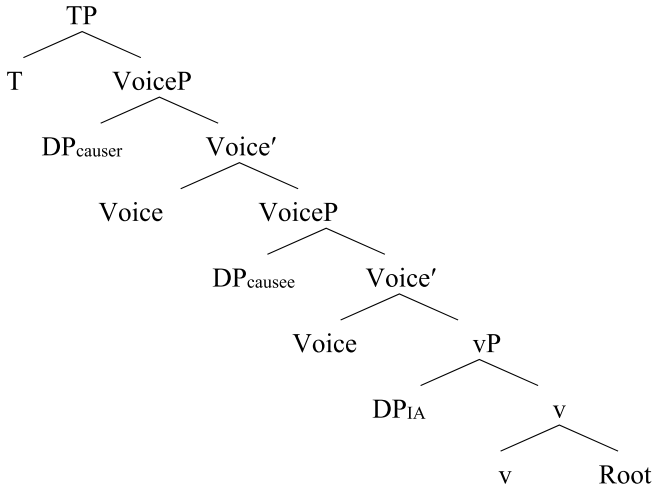
Hence, their compatibility with temporal modifiers supports the monoclausal and monoeventive analysis of Basque morphological causatives (and the biclausal and bieventive analysis of the analytic ones).

All these data suggest that whereas the analytic causative is a biclausal construction and involves two verbal domains, the morphological causative construction analyzed in this paper is a monoclausal construction consisting of a single verbal domain, that is, a single extended projection of a single lexical verb. In relation to that, the causative marker *arazi* cannot be considered a verb, given that it cannot be independently used without being attached to a verbal root. In this respect, it differs from causative verbs of the type found in Romance languages.

2.2 The causative construction as Voice-over-Voice

In the spirit of the analysis by Folli and Harley (2007) put forth for French and Italian FI causatives (see Sect. 3), we propose that the causative *arazi* is the realization of an upper Voice (v in their analysis) and that the embedded predicate heads another VoiceP projection (another vP in their analysis) (see also Tubino 2011 for Hiaki; Pitteroff and Campanini 2014 for German). In the present analysis, the causer is introduced in the specifier of upper Voice, whereas the causee is merged in the specifier of the lower Voice. (9) shows the structure of a causative construction that involves an embedded transitive verb.

(9)



The structure in (9) has a Voice projection over a Voice projection (Nie 2020), a phenomenon called *Voice-stacking* in Sigurðsson and Wood (2021) in connection with ICs in Icelandic (see also Nash 2020 for Voice-over-Voice in Georgian ICs). The

presence of the lower VoiceP is supported, among other reasons, by the acceptability of agent-oriented modifiers associated with the causee. Note that (10-a) and (10-b) are ambiguous, given that *ozenki* 'out loud' and *luparekin* 'with a magnifying glass' can also modify the causing subevent, which is introduced by upper Voice (although pragmatically the modification of the reading event is more easily obtained).

(10) a. Ane-k ikasle-ei liburu-a ozenki irakurr-araz-ten
Ane-ERG student-DET.PL.DAT book-DET.ABS loud read-CAUS-IPFV
die.
have.3ABS.3PLDAT.3ERG
'Ane makes the students read the book out loud.'

b. Ane-k ikasle-ei liburu-a
Ane-ERG student-DET.PL.DAT book-DET.ABS
lupa-rekin irakurr-araz-ten
magnifying_glass.DET-COM read-CAUS-IPFV
die.
have.3ABS. 3PLDAT.3ERG
'Ane makes the students read the book with a magnifying glass.'

We propose that Voice-stacking has two consequences. On the one hand, the argument introduced by lower Voice, that is, the causee, has to be animate. This property has already been addressed in Sect. 2.1 and has been shown to be only present in the monoclausal causative but not in the analytic one. We will refer to this property as the *animacy condition of the causee*. This condition is related to Voice-stacking, given that it only affects the causees introduced by lower Voice in morphological causatives, in other words, causees involving transitive and unergative verbs. The contrast with transitive verbs was illustrated in (4-b), repeated here as (11-a). In (11-b) we show an unergative verb that necessarily requires an inanimate subject, and in (11-c) an unergative that involves an animate subject.[8] The former is ungrammatical in the causative, whereas the latter is fine.

(11) a. Jon-ek Ane-ri / *abarr-a-ri leiho-a
Jon-ERG Ane-DAT / branch-DET-DAT window-DET.ABS
apurt-araz-i dio.
break-CAUS-PFV have.3ABS.3SGDAT.3ERG
'Jon has made Ane/*the branch break the window.'

b. *Jon-ek makina-ri funtzionaraz-i
Jon-ERG machine.DET-DAT function.CAUS-PFV
dio.
have.3ABS.3SGDAT.3ERG
'Jon has made the machine work.'

c. Jon-ek Ane-ri dantzaraz-i dio.
Jon-ERG Ane-DAT dance.CAUS-PFV have.3ABS.3SGDAT.3ERG
'Jon has made Ane dance.'

[8] Unergative verbs that require or are generally combined with an inanimate subject (e.g. *funtzionatu* 'work,' *distiratu* 'shine') can occur in the causative construction as long as their inanimate subject is marked absolutive. We will assume they are not introduced in the specifier of lower Voice, but within vP.

As shown in (4-c), the subjects caused to act in analytic causatives that involve a transitive verb do not need to be animate. Similarly, the causees of morphological causatives that involve an embedded unaccusative verb (12) do not need to be animate either (Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 603). We argue that in these cases the animacy condition is not in force because these two arguments are not introduced in a Voice-over-Voice configuration. In particular, the causee *prezioak* 'the prices' (12) has been merged as the internal argument of the embedded verb, like unaccusative subjects. This is why it bears absolutive case instead of dative (cf. (11-c)).

(12) Politika horrek prezio-ak jeitsi-eraz-i
policy that.ERG price-DET.PL.ABS go.down-CAUSE-PFV
zituen.
have.3PLABS.3ERG.PST
'That policy made the prices go down.'

(Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 605)

As can be seen, only the causees introduced by lower Voice are subject to the animacy condition. This is not a peculiarity of Basque causatives. Related effects have been observed in other languages such as French and Italian. Kayne (1975, 239) observed that in French FI causatives there is a direct relation between the causer and the embedded event, what Folli and Harley (2007) characterized as an obligation effect: the causer obliges the causee to carry out the event denoted by the predicate. For a causee to be obliged, it must be necessarily animate and, thus, the obligation effect is related to the animacy condition.

In Basque, it seems that the obligation effect is not always present in causatives. It arises when the embedded predicate is agentive and does not depend on whether the causee is marked dative or absolutive. For instance, a causative involving an unaccusative predicate where the subject has control over the event and surfaces with absolutive is also interpreted with a sense of obligation.[9] This is illustrated with the verb *etorri* 'come' in (13).

(13) Irakasle-a-k gu etorr-araz-i gintuen.
teacher-DET-ERG we.ABS come-CAUS-PFV have.1PLABS.3ERG.PST
'The teacher made us come.'

The obligation effect arises together with agentive verbs, and agentive verbs can be transitive, unergative or unaccusative. Crucially, the embedded verb does not need to be agentive in Basque, as also noted by Kayne (2005) for French. In fact, the causee can be also interpreted as the experiencer or perceiver of the embedded transitive predicate (14). In the following examples, the causees are experiencers or perceivers of the events of losing a job or hearing something respectively. The embedded predicates are not volitional, thus the causees introduced by lower Voice are not agents but rather affectees and there is no obligation effect.

[9]This may not be the case in southwestern Basque varieties, where animate causees tend to be marked dative (see footnotes 2 and 28). In those varieties, animacy would go together with dative case and, as a consequence, also correlate with the sense of obligation if the predicate is agentive.

(14) a. Zure lagun-a-ri lan-a galdu-araz-i
your friend-DET-DAT job-DET.ABS lose-CAUS-PFV
diozu.
have.3ABS.3SGDAT.2SGERG
'You have made your friend lose his/her job.'

b. Jon-i arrazoi-a entzun-araz-iko
Jon-DAT reason-DET.ABS hear-CAUS-PROS
diot.
have.3ABS.3SGDAT.1SGERG
'I will make Jon hear the reason.'

Therefore, with transitive (and unergative) predicates, the causee must be animate, but it can be either an agent or a non-volitional affectee, depending on the semantics of the embedded predicate. In any case, the animacy condition of the causee is in force with all semantic classes. Summing up, the presence of the animacy condition seems to be correlated with the projection of a lower Voice layer, as only the causees of transitive and unergative embedded verbs are subject to it. The obligation effect, in contrast, arises in the presence of agentive embedded verbs.

We believe that the animacy condition of the causee is structurally derived, given that it only affects the arguments introduced by lower Voice. In relation to that, Sigurðsson and Wood (2021), who in turn rely on an analysis by Lundin (2003), propose that, when the embedded verb is agentive, Voice-stacking causes the role associated with the external argument to be split into two components. More specifically, they propose that when one Voice layer is projected over another, the agent role introduced by Voice is split into *initiator* and *doer* components (Lundin 2003). The causer takes the *initiator* role, whereas the causee assumes the *doer* role, and both are related to the same event (introduced by the embedded verb). This is why the causer can be either animate or inanimate, but the causee must necessarily be animate. In fact, in order to be a doer, there must be intention, and for that to be possible, the argument must be sentient.

On the other hand, the second consequence of Voice-stacking is that the lower Voice head Case-licenses the argument—the cause—that sits in its specifier position. Unlike the causer, the causee occupies an intermediate position within the clause. Causees never hold the highest argument position in the clause; a causer is always projected above them. When the embedded verb is transitive, causees are not positioned as the lowest arguments either. They are projected in the middle, in a Voice-over-Voice structure. Being merged neither as the highest nor the lowest DP, the causee necessitates an additional probe, a functional head from which it can get Case and be licensed. In this paper we consider this probe to be lower Voice, although we are aware of the fact that lower Voice exhibits similarities to an Applicative head (Rezac 2007). The analysis is, therefore, compatible with an alternative approach where the probe that syntactically licenses the causee is projected in a separate layer such as ApplP (Ippolito 2000; Torrego 2010; Pitteroff and Campanini 2014; and others) or PP (Kayne 2005). Nevertheless, in such an approach, ApplP or PP would not be thematically related to the causee, as this argument is the-

matically related to lower Voice. Their sole function would be to Case-license the causee.[10]

Therefore, having two Voice projections has clear consequences especially for the lower one. Lower Voice is different to regular Voice projections in two aspects. On the one hand, it is thematically dependent on upper Voice and assigns half of the regular theta role. It is not associated with volition, but it introduces an argument responsible for performing the event or an affectee of the event. On the other, lower Voice resembles an Appl head (Pylkkänen 2008 [2002]) in that it Case-licenses the argument sitting in its specifier and in that the Case assigned eventually realizes as dative.

Having introduced the direct causative construction, our subsequent sections will delve into ICs and explore the nature of the implicit causee. We will first examine the properties of the implicit causee as reported in other languages (Sect. 3) and then focus on the properties of the implicit causee in Basque (Sects. 4, 5 and 6).

3 Implicit causees across languages

In several works ICs have been regarded as causative constructions where the embedded verbal phrase lacks an external argument. In fact, in the literature about monoclausal causative constructions, two types of constructions have been reported: in one of them, the embedded verb has an embedded external argument, whereas in the other, it does not. This division has been actually proposed for *faire-infinitif* (FI) and *faire-par* (FP) causatives (Kayne 1975; Folli and Harley 2007; Rezac 2011; and others).

(15) a. Marie fera boire cette eau à son chien. FI
Marie will.make drink this water to her dog
'Mary will have her dog drink this water.'
b. Marie fera boire cette eau par son chien. FP
Marie will.make drink this water by her dog
'Mary will have this water drunk by her dog.' (Kayne 1975, 239)

FI causatives and FP causatives have been distinguished based on several properties, with one notable distinction being that FIs involve an embedded verbal phrase that includes an external argument, whereas FPs lack this embedded external argument. The Basque direct morphological causative aligns with FI causatives, among other things, due to the animacy condition imposed on the causee (see Sect. 2). However, the structure of Basque ICs could be perhaps interpreted as akin to FP causatives, characterized by the absence of an embedded external argument. This is not the approach that we are going to defend in this paper. In our analysis, Basque ICs include an embedded VoiceP and a projected argument in its specifier.

[10] Legate (2014) proposed an applicative Voice for *bak*-causatives in Acehnese. The lower Voice posited in this paper differs from the applicative Voice configuration of Acehnese in that the causee retains agent-like properties (it can be associated to agent-oriented modifiers) and in that lower Voice assigns Case to the causee.

The implicit causee of ICs has been reported to have different distribution across languages and, consequently, different theoretical analyses have been proposed to account for its nature. For instance, the implicit causee is argued to be a φP in Icelandic (Sigurðsson and Wood 2021), a free variable introduced by active Voice in Sason Arabic (in the case of 'make'-causatives, see Akkuş 2021a,b) or not projected at all in Georgian (Nash 2020), Hiaki (Harley 2013) and Italian (Folli and Harley 2007).

The IC construction in Icelandic is shown in (16-a) together with its direct counterpart in (16-b) (Sigurðsson and Wood 2021, 580). The IC embedded under the verb 'make' of Sason Arabic is illustrated in (17) (Akkuş 2021b, 233).

(16) Icelandic

a. Ég lét byggja hús.
I.NOM let.PST build.INF house.ACC
'I made (someone) build a house.'

b. Ég lét Guðrúnu byggja hús.
I.NOM let.PST Guðrún.acc build.INF house.ACC
'I made Guðrún build a house.'

(17) Sason Arabic
aɣa sa addil beyt-ma.
village.lord made.3SG build.INF house-a
'The village lord made (someone) build a house.'

In Icelandic ICs, the embedded verb seems to be agentive with respect to certain diagnostics but passive-like in others, and so is its counterpart in Sason Arabic. Sigurðson and Wood (2021) show some evidence in favor of an embedded VoiceP layer in Icelandic ICs: certain *by*-phrases (18-a) and agent-oriented instrumentals (18-b) are allowed. In 'make'-causatives of Sason Arabic, *by*-phrases with indefinite noun phrases (19-a) and agent-oriented instrumentals (19-b) are also accepted.

(18) Icelandic

a. ... frekar en að láta stjórna landinu af einhverjum
rather than to let.INF rule.INF country.the.DAT by some
samtökum ...
association
'... rather than have the country ruled by some association ...'

b. Jón lét mála húsið með mjög litlum penslum.
Jón let.PST paint.INF house.the.ACC with very small paintbrushes
'Jón had people paint the house with very small paintbrushes.'
(Sigurðsson and Wood 2021, 589)

(19) Sason Arabic

a. mafya sa qadıl hasm-u ✓mı nes-ma gbir / ✓/?mɩ
mafia made murder.INF enemy-his by person-a big / by
nes-ma / *mɩ tamirci.
person-a / by repairman
'The mafia leader made his enemy murdered by a big person / someone / *the repairman.' (Akkuş 2021b, 239)

b. aɣa sa hazd haşiş wara mazgun-ma.
village.lord made.3M cut.INF grass with sickle-a
'The village lord had the grass cut with sickles.' (Akkuş 2021b, 241)

Other pieces of evidence also support the presence of an embedded VoiceP in Icelandic ICs: verbs that do not have an external argument are not acceptable in Icelandic ICs and, in verbs that have stem-alternation, transitive stems are selected. The former is also true in Sason Arabic 'make'-causatives (Akkuş 2021b).

Sigurðsson and Wood (2021) further argue that the embedded VoiceP of Icelandic ICs should not be considered passive but *quasi-active* and they present a battery of evidence for that: the similarity of the acceptable *by*-phrases of ICs to *by*-phrases of other active constructions, the lack of movement of the internal argument when 'let' is passivized, the recoverability of the causee under sluicing and the compatibility of the IC construction with certain verbs that cannot passivize. On the basis of all these, the authors argue that the implicit causee is syntactically projected in the specifier of the embedded Voice. Nevertheless, the silent causee is smaller than a DP as it cannot license secondary predicates (20) or bind reflexive anaphora (Condition A), such as simplex reflexives like *sig* (21-a) and complex reflexives like *sjálfan sig* (21-b). They consider the silent causee to be a φP.

(20) Við látum ekki aðstoða börnin okkar {*fullur/ *fullan}.
we let.PRS not assist.INF children our {*drunk.NOM/ *drunk.ACC}
'We don't let (people) assist our children (*while the people are drunk).'
(Sigurðsson and Wood 2021, 611)

(21) a. Hún$_i$ lét φ_j raka sig$_i$/*$_j$.
she.NOM let.PST shave.INF REFL.ACC
'She made (someone) shave her.' (Sigurðsson and Wood 2021, 612)
b. *Hún$_i$ lét φ_j gagnrýna sjálfa sig$_i$/$_j$.
she.NOM let.PST criticize.INF SELF.ACC REFL.ACC
Intended: 'She made (someone) criticize herself.'
(Sigurðsson and Wood 2021, 613)

Akkuş (2021b) also argues that the embedded VoiceP of 'make'-causatives in Sason Arabic could be active. According to him, when the IC involves a *by*-phrase, the embedded VoiceP is passive, whereas when it does not, it is active. The active nature of VoiceP is supported by the impossibility to move the internal argument to subject position when the causative 'make' is passivized, by the recoverability of the causee in sluicing and by the compatibility of 'make' ICs with nonpassivizable idioms.

Even though VoiceP is argued to be active in Sason Arabic, the implicit causee does not behave like a projected and full DP. In fact, like in Icelandic 'let' ICs, the implicit causee of 'make' ICs in Sason Arabic cannot bind a reflexive (22-a) or a reciprocal (22-b) anaphor, and cannot license a depictive (23) (if not Ā-moved, as shown by Akkuş 2022b).[11]

[11] This is also true for null causees of geminate causatives and *give* causatives in Sason Arabic, as explained by Akkuş (2022a).

(22) a. iya$_i$ satte addil$_k$ odav (*mışa rouk / roen$_k$).
she made do.INF homework for himself / themselves
'She$_i$ made (some person$_k$ / people$_k$) do the homework for himself$_k$ /themselves$_k$.'

b. *iya satte bās$_k$ baz-en$_k$.
she made kiss.INF each other-3PL
'She made (some people) kiss each other.' (Akkuş 2021b, 262)

(23) nana$_i$ mı-ni-si amıl$_k$ araba (sarxoş$_{i/*k}$).
we NEG-1PL-make drive car drunk
'We$_i$ don't let (anyone$_k$) drive the car drunk$_{i/*k}$.' (Akkuş 2021b, 263)

As we will see in Sect. 5, the distribution exhibited by the implicit causee in Basque ICs is actually different, as the causee is able to bind reflexive and reciprocal anaphors and bind depictives. We will show that the implicit causee of Basque ICs differs from the implicit causee of those languages and shows a behavior more akin to null impersonal pronouns of the type attested in Basque (Berro et al. 2022), Spanish (Ormazabal and Romero 2019), Turkish (Legate et al. 2020) and other languages. Therefore, Basque ICs, like direct causatives, are akin FIs and not FPs.[12] In relation to this, it must be noted that Basque does not allow the causee to be realized by a *by*-phrase (24).

(24) Ane-k gela garbi-araz-ten du
Ane-ERG room.DET.ABS clean-CAUS-IPFV have.3ABS.3ERG
(*norbait-ez).
(someone-INS)
Intended: 'Ane has the room cleaned by someone.'

With regard to this, Basque shows no exception: the causee cannot be introduced as an oblique in ICs.[13] Hence, in this respect Basque ICs differ from Icelandic 'let'-constructions (Sigurðsson and Wood 2021), Sason Arabic 'make'-causatives (Akkuş 2021b), Italian FPs (Folli and Harley 2007) or German *lassen*-middles (Pitteroff 2015, 12–13) among others.

[12] Some of the diagnostics used in the literature to differentiate FIs from FPs cannot be applied to Basque, particularly those related to passivization, as Basque lacks passives, i.e. the presence of non-passivizable idioms (Kayne 1975, 235–236; Folli and Harley 2007, 198) and the embedding of locative NPs that cannot be passivized (Kayne 1975, 237; Folli and Harley 2007, 200) in FIs but not in FPs.

[13] We have found only one piece of historical evidence of an IC with a causee introduced as an oblique, which is the following sentence from Elizanburu's *Piarres Adame* (19th century) mentioned by Ortiz de Urbina (2003b, 604; 2019, 291, fn. 13).

(i) Mutil-ez zain-araz-ten zitian bere arthalde handi-ak.
boy-DET.PL.INS look_after-CAUSE-IPFV have.3PLABS.3ERG.PST his flock large-DET.PL.ABS
'He had his large flocks looked after by boys.'

As pointed out by Ortiz de Urbina (2019, 291, fn. 13), the oblique can be interpreted either as a passive agent or as an instrumental.

4 The indirect causative construction in Basque

Our proposal is that Basque ICs involve an embedded VoiceP, like Icelandic 'let' and Sason Arabic 'make' ICs. One of the pieces of evidence in favor of this analysis is that, like the explicit causee, the implicit one exhibits animacy restrictions. As explained in Sect. 2, the causee of a direct causative with an embedded transitive verb must always be animate. The implicit variant of the causee also needs to be animate and has an additional specification: it must be human (25).

(25) Jon-ek leiho-a apurr-araz-i du.
Jon-ERG window-DET.ABS break-CAUS-PFV have.3ABS.3ERG
'Jon has made someone break the window.'
Not possible: 'Jon has made something break the window.'

A non-human animate (e.g. a dog) is also fine as an explicit causee (26-a). However, when the causee is implicit, like in (25) and (26-b), it is not sufficient for the causee to be animate, it must be also human. Thus, an interpretation where some animal is performing the action denoted by the embedded verb is excluded (26-b). Only a human can be interpreted as the causee, which is quite unnatural with the predicate 'eat fodder.'[14]

(26) a. Jon-ek txakurr-a-ri pentsu-a jan-araz-i
Jon-ERG dog-DET-DAT fodder-DET.ABS eat-CAUS-PFV
dio.
have.3ABS.3SGDAT.3ERG
'Jon has made the dog eat fodder.'

b. Jon-ek pentsu-a jan-araz-i du.
Jon-ERG fodder-DET.ABS eat-CAUS-PFV have.3ABS.3ERG
'Jon has made someone eat fodder.'
Not possible: 'John has made some animal eat fodder.'

In Sect. 2.2, we proposed that explicit causees of embedded transitive and unergative verbs must be animate as a consequence of Voice-stacking. Our argument posits that if ICs did not involve an embedded VoiceP, Voice-stacking would not occur, and consequently, the animacy restriction on the implicit causee would not be in force.

The presence of an embedded VoiceP is also supported by the acceptability of agent-oriented adverbs (27-a) and instrumentals (27-b) that modify the embedded event.[15] Like in direct causatives (10), (27-a), (27-b) are also ambiguous, with the modifiers modifying the causing subevent or the reading event. Nevertheless, pragmatically, the latter interpretation is more easily achieved.

[14] An anonymous reviewer points out that not all speakers may agree with this judgement, i.e. that the implicit causee can be indeed interpreted as an animal. For us and the native speakers consulted the arbitrary interpretation of the causee goes together with the human interpretation.

[15] We are using the term "agent-oriented modifiers" but the reader should be aware of the fact that in this case we are referring to "*doer*-oriented modifiers," given that the agent role is split into *initiator* and *doer* in causatives and the causee bears the *doer* role.

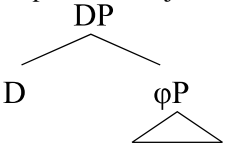
(27) a. Ane-k liburu-a ozenki irakurr-araz-ten du.
Ane-ERG book-DET.ABS loud read-CAUS-IPFV have.3ABS.3ERG
'Ane makes people read the book out loud.'
b. Ane-k liburu-a lupa-rekin
Ane-ERG book-DET.ABS magnifying_glass.DET-COM
irakurr-araz-ten du.
read-CAUS-IPFV have.3ABS.3ERG
'Ane makes people read the book with a magnifying glass.'

Additionally, the presence of lower VoiceP is also evidenced by the fact that the implicit causee can control into purpose adjunct clauses (28). Either the implicit causee or the explicit causer can control the PRO subject of the purpose adjunct clause.

(28) Ane-k liburu-a irakurr-araz-i du sari-a
Ane-ERG book-DET.ABS read-CAUS-PFV have.3ABS.3ERG prize-DET.ABS
irabaz-te-ko.
win-NMLZ-REL
'Ane has made [someone$_i$ read the book PRO$_i$ to win the prize].'
'[Ane$_i$ has made [someone read the book] PRO$_i$ to win the prize].

Furthermore, as we will see in Sect. 5, the syntactic diagnostics presented in this paper lead us to suggest that the silent causee in Basque is similar to the implicit subject of Basque impersonals, so it is syntactically projected and bigger than a φP.

(29) Different types of implicit arguments
a. Implicit causee of 'make'-causatives in Sason Arabic: λx (but not projected)
b. Implicit causee in Icelandic


c. Impersonal subject and implicit causee in Basque


Nevertheless, the impersonal subject and the implicit causee behave differently in certain contexts, as we will see in Sect. 7.

5 The implicit causee is syntactically projected

In Sect. 4, we have advanced our proposal about the syntactic presence of the implicit causee in Basque. In this section we will provide the evidence for that claim. Particularly, we will show that the implicit argument can (i) be interpreted as the possessor of a definite noun phrase expressing a body part, (ii) license secondary predicates, (iii) block clitic climbing and (iv) bind reflexive and reciprocal anaphora. We will show

that in some of these aspects, the implicit causee behaves like the null impersonal pronoun.

5.1 The syntactic activeness of the implicit causee

Since the implicit causee of ICs is syntactically projected, it can establish syntactic relations with other elements of the clause. For instance, it can be interpreted as the inalienable possessor of a body part denoted by the internal argument (see MacDonald 2017 and Ormazabal and Romero 2019 for similar facts in Spanish impersonals and Sigurðsson 2017, 215–217 for Icelandic). In several languages the definite determiner can function as an anaphora and form an inalienable possession relationship with another argument (Guéron 1985, 2006, 2014, 2017; among others). As highlighted in the literature (see particularly Guéron 2006 and also MacDonald 2017 for a recent discussion), the establishment of an inalienable possession relationship between a human possessor and a body part necessitates the syntactic presence of the possessor. Furthermore, the possessor must belong to the same minimal sentential domain as the body part and occupy a position enabling it to c-command the said body part. This is why the argument *eskua* 'the hand' in (30-a) can be interpreted as *Jon*'s hand, but not in (30-b), even if the sentence is uttered in a context that involves Jon.

(30) a. Jon-ek esku-a altxa-tu du.
Jon-ERG hand-DET.ABS raise-PFV have.3ABS.3ERG
'Jon has raised his hand.'
b. #Esku-a handi-a da.
hand-DET.ABS big-DET be.3ABS
Intended: 'Jon's hand is big.'

As can be seen in the impersonal example in (31), internal argument *eskua* 'the hand' can be interpreted as the possessed body part of the impersonal subject, supporting Berro et al.'s (2022) claim that the impersonal subject is syntactically projected.

(31) Hitz-a eskatzeko, esku-a altxa-tuko da.
word-DET.ABS ask.NMLZ.KO hand-DET.ABS raise-PROS be.3ABS
'People$_i$ will raise their$_i$ hand in order to ask for the floor.'

The implicit causee shows exactly the same behavior: it can establish an inalienable possession relationship with the internal argument (32).

(32) Ane-k esku-a altxaraz-i du hitz-a
Ane- ERG hand-DET.ABS raise.CAUS-PFV have.3ABS.3ERG word-DET.ABS
eska-tze-ko.
ask-NMLZ-REL
'Ane has made someone$_i$ raise his$_i$/her$_i$ hand in order to ask for the floor.'

Another piece of evidence in favor of the syntactic activity of the implicit causee comes from depictives. As can be seen in (33), the implicit causee can license adjectival depictives, together with the explicit causee (33).

(33) Ane-k gidoi-a mozkortuta irakurr-araz-ten du.
Ane-ERG script-DET.ABS drunk read-CAUS-IPFV have.3ABS.3ERG
'Ane makes [people]$_i$ read the script drunk$_i$.'
'Ane$_i$ makes [people] read the script drunk$_i$.'

The factors that regulate the grammaticality of secondary predicates in constructions involving implicit arguments have been recently discussed in several works. In fact, adjectival depictives and predicative PPs do not seem to behave similarly in the same contexts, as shown by Pitteroff and Schäfer (2019, 158–159) with examples of the so-called New Passive and impersonal passive in Icelandic. They argue that adjectival depictives are ungrammatical because adjectives must inflect for φ-features and for the morphological case of their subject (see also Jónsson 2009) and if the implicit subject is not projected, the derivation crashes. On the contrary, predicative PPs are accepted because PPs are uninflected and no feature valuation is required. However, as shown by Legate et al. (2020, 781), the agreement requirement of the predicate is not the only factor restricting the grammaticality of secondary predicates, given that non-agreeing depictives may also be ungrammatical if the relevant subject is not projected (see data from Turkish passives and impersonals in Legate et al. 2020, 780–781). Thus, apart from their agreement requirement, it seems that secondary predicates need to be supported by a syntactically projected argument (see also data for Spanish in Ormazabal and Romero 2019).

In Basque, some adjectives can be inflected for number, but only when they are in adnominal position, or in the case of individual-level adjectives, also when they are in predicative position, with copular verbs (e.g. *be*) or adjective-taking verbs (e.g. *seem*). As secondary predicates, the adjectives in Basque are not inflected and thus resemble Turkish non-agreeing adjectives.[16] As can be seen in (33) ICs support causee-oriented secondary predicates. The adjective *mozkortuta* 'drunk' is predicated of the causee (it could be also predicated of the causer). In this reading, the implicit causee is the entity being drunk while reading the script. This test shows that the implicit argument of IC constructions is a strong implicit argument, i.e. a DP, given that secondary predicates can only be predicated of DPs (Landau 2010).

In Basque there are no passive constructions where the validity of this test can be checked. Nevertheless, secondary predicates are not acceptable when referring to an implicit direct object of verbs such as *jan* 'eat.' For instance, if the predicate *gordinik* 'raw' is inserted in a sentence such as (34ab), the object is no longer arbitrarily interpreted (34-b).

(34) a. Jan dut.
eat-PFV have.3ABS.1SGERG
'I have eaten (some unspecific food, singular or plural).'
b. Gordinik jan dut.
raw eat-PFV have.3ABS.1SGERG
'I have eaten it (some specific food, singular) raw.'

[16]We thank our two reviewers for bringing to our attention the contrast between predicative PPs and adjectives and the Icelandic and the Turkish data.

Therefore, it seems that not all implicit arguments can license secondary predicates in Basque. Only those that are projected can.

The tests above suggest that the implicit causee is syntactically projected even though it is not morphologically realized by a case-marked overt DP or cross-referenced in the auxiliary.

5.2 The implicit causee blocks clitic climbing

Additional evidence for the syntactic projection of the implicit causee comes from the blocking of clitic climbing of a dative recipient. Even though the implicit causee is morphologically invisible—it is not pronounced as a dative DP and it is not cross-referenced by a dative marker in the auxiliary—it prevents another dative argument from being cross-referenced in the auxiliary. Let us illustrate these facts one by one, starting with a direct causative: in a direct causative construction, a dative recipient can be introduced in the clause, like in (35). Note that after adding the recipient, there are two dative arguments in the causative, the explicit causee—*guri* 'us'—and the recipient—*pobreei* 'the poor'—but the auxiliary can only accommodate the dative marker that cross-references the causee—*dizkigu* (dative 1st person plural) vs. # *dizkie* (dative 3rd person plural).

(35) Eliza-k pobre-ei txanpon-a k eman-araz-ten
church.DET-ERG poor-DET.PL.DAT coin-DET.PL.ABS give-CAUS-IPFV
dizkigu/ #dizkie gu-ri.
have.3PLABS.1PLDAT.3ERG/ have.3PLABS.3PLDAT.3ERG us-DAT
'The Church makes us give coins to the poor.'
(slightly modified from Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 608)

Thus, the dative recipient argument is prevented from being cross-referenced by a dative marker in the verbal auxiliary (Euskaltzaindia 1987; Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia 1989; Albizu 2001; Ortiz de Urbina 2003b; Odria 2014, 2017, 2019), a fact that has also been attested in other languages (see for instance Rezac 2011, 126–127 for French). One could postulate that the recipient dative cannot Agree because it is too deeply embedded in order for agreement to be possible. However, the internal argument does Agree and triggers absolutive plural agreement in the auxiliary. Thus, that cannot be an explanation. Additionally, we could also think that the slot for the dative clitic is already occupied in sentences such as (35) by the dative marker corresponding to the causee, and this is the reason for not introducing another marker onto the agreement complex. Interestingly, the impossibility of having a dative clitic corresponding to the lower dative recipient remains also in ICs (Hualde 1988; Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia 1989; Rodet 1992; Albizu 1997a, 2001; Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 2019; Odria 2014, 2017). Therefore, in this respect, the implicit causee behaves akin to the explicit causee. Consider example (36).

(36) Eliza-k pobre-ei txanpon-a k eman-araz-ten
church.DET-ERG poor-DET.PL.DAT coin-DET.PL.ABS give-CAUS-IPFV
have.3PLABS.3ERG
ditu. /#dizkie.

have.3PLABS.3ERG / have.3ABS.3PLDAT.3ERG
'The Church makes people give money to the poor.'
(slightly modified from Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia 1989, 107)

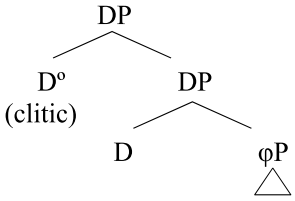
Example (36) involves an explicit causer, marked with ergative case and agreement (*elizak* 'the Church'), an implicit causee, a 3rd person internal argument (*txanponak* 'coins') and a 3rd person dative recipient (*pobreei* 'the poor'). It is noteworthy that the transitive verbal form lacks a dative marker. Intriguingly, if the dative argument in (36) had a dative marker in the auxiliary (like in *dizkie*), its interpretation would shift to a causee, resulting in 'The Church makes the poor give money' (Albizu 2001, 57; Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 611; 2019, 300–309). It is important to note that, as discussed in the literature, there is no morphological impediment for the dative argument in (34) to trigger a dative marker in the finite verbal form (Albizu 2001). The auxiliary *dizkie* is grammatical in this other interpretation, a fact that shows that this verbal form indeed has a slot for a dative marker that is actually available.[17]

We argue that the lack of dative marking corresponding to the recipient on the auxiliary is due to the clitic nature of the dative markers and to the fact that the implicit causee is actually projected in the specifier of lower Voice. We consider that dative markers are not agreement markers *per se*, given that agreement markers are the result of a regular valuing Agree operation that consists of copying the interpretable φ-features of a given DP to a particular functional head (Rezac 2008a, 89–90). Be it a causee or any other dative, we argue that the dative markers in the agreement complex are actually the morphological realization of a D° clitic head that is generated adjoined to the dative DP in a big DP structure *à la* Nevins (2011) (37-a).[18] Given D°'s morpho-syntactic and morpho-phonological defectiveness, the clitic head Agrees with a suitable functional head that bears a φ-probe as a host and leaves its original position to move to the specifier position of the mentioned functional head (Rezac 2008a, 2011; Roberts 2010; Nevins 2011; Harizanov 2014; Kramer 2014). In the causative construction, the dative clitic of the causee moves to the specifier of upper Voice. Once in that position the dative clitic undergoes m(orphological)-merger or syntactic rebracketing with it (Matushansky 2006; Nevins 2011): the two heads in spec-head relation become a complex head. In this fashion, the clitic head brings the interpretable φ-feature bundle of the dative DP to upper Voice and ends up adhering to the agreement complex itself. In (37-b) we show the move and m-merger operations of the clitic in a direct causative construction.

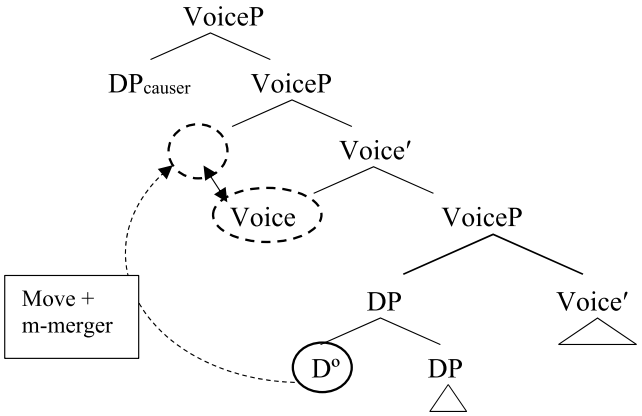
[17] Non-agreeing datives in the IC constructions in (35) and (36) are truly significant because Basque has obligatory dative agreement with any dative argument. In this respect, it must be noted that some Basque varieties—northeastern ones—allow certain type of datives not to agree (Pikabea 1993; Ortiz de Urbina 1995; Etxepare and Oyharçabal 2009, 2013; Fernández and Landa 2009; Fernández et al. 2009; Ormazabal and Romero 2017; Bilbao et al. 2022). However, we consider that this dialectal phenomenon must be separated from the dative agreement blocking explained above, given that the blocking observed in (34) and (35) applies to all dialects and is strictly related to the syntactic structure, that is to say, to the combination of particular arguments, and not to the properties of the non-agreeing dative.

[18] The clitic nature of dative markers has also been proposed by Etxepare (2006, 2014), Rezac (2006, 2007, 2008a,b, 2011), Arregi and Nevins (2008, 2012), Preminger (2009, 2014), Rezac et al. (2014) and Odria (2017, 2019).

(37) a. Explicit dative DPs



b. Generation of dative markers in direct causative constructions



In direct causative constructions like (35), the recipient cannot be cross-referenced by a dative clitic in the finite verbal form because the causee's clitic has already occupied the slot for dative clitics in the specifier position of upper Voice.

Regarding ICs, the reason for not allowing a dative clitic associated with the recipient is different. We consider that the implicit causee does not generate a D° clitic due to its φ-deficient nature, as we will explain in see Sect. 7. Therefore, in (36) upper Voice is a suitable host for a dative clitic. However, the implicit causee functions as an intervener for A-movement. The D° belonging to the recipient dative cannot move to upper Voice across the implicit causee.[19]

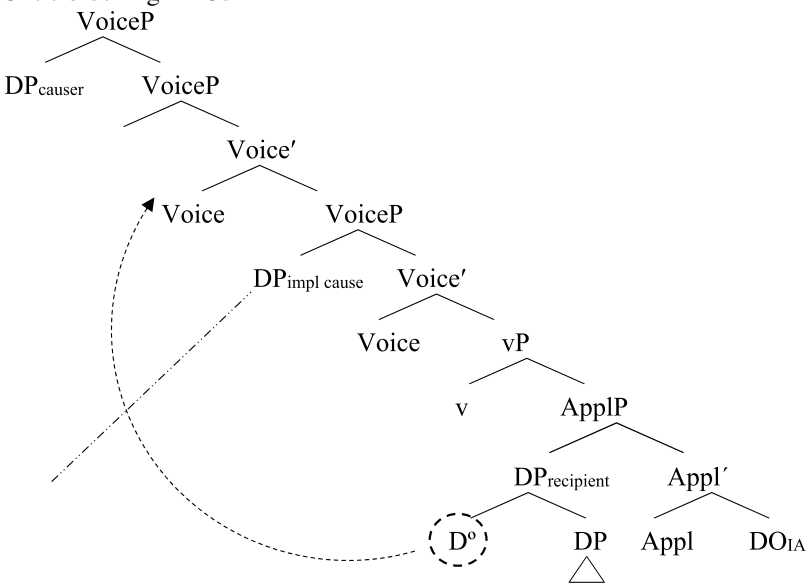
[19]The fact that non-clitic-doubled indirect objects can intervene in A-movements has been attested in Greek. As shown by Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2014), the nominative argument cannot move to the specifier of T in a passive structure if the genitive indirect object does not clitic-double.

(i) a. To vivlio ?* (tis) xaristike tis Marias apo ton Petro
the book.NOM CL.GEN award.NACT the Maria.GEN from the Petros
'The book was awarded Mary by Peter.'

b. To grama ?*(tu) taxidromithike tu Petru apo tin Ilektra
the letter.NOM CL.GEN mailed-NACT the Petros.GEN from the Ilektra
'?*The letter was mailed Peter by Ilektra.'

Anagnostopoulou (2014) argues that clitic doubling voids the status of the argument doubled as an intervener. If the clitic is moved to T, locality is respected and the nominative argument can move. We argue that, in a similar fashion, the implicit causee in Basque functions as an intervener.

(38) Clitic blocking in ICs



By contrast, absolutive agreement markers that cross-reference the internal argument can occur in the verbal auxiliary in both direct (35) and indirect (36) causatives. This is because absolutive markers are the morphological realization of an Agree relation consisting of φ-valuation that takes place *in situ* (Chomsky 2000, 2001). As a consequence, the presence of a causee does not block their appearance. The fact that the dative marker on the auxiliary arises as a consequence of movement whereas absolutive agreement is triggered *in situ* was already proposed by Albizu (2001) regarding these constructions.

Summing up, these facts support the syntactic activeness of the implicit causee, and also its actual projection in the specifier of lower Voice. Otherwise, if the implicit causee were not syntactically projected in that particular position, the dative clitic of the recipient would be exclusively blocked in direct causatives, contrary to fact.

5.3 Binding of anaphora

Another piece of evidence in favor of the syntactic projection of the implicit causee comes from binding, particularly from Condition A. This diagnostic actually suggests that the implicit causee is bigger than a φP. According to Landau (2010) only strong implicit arguments, that is, DPs, can act as antecedents for Condition A binding. Having a D feature, the binder enters into an Agree relation with T and forms a chain with the anaphor, which also Agrees with T. As we will see, the implicit causee can bind reciprocal and reflexive anaphors. Let us first focus on the Basque reciprocal anaphor *elkar* 'each other.' As previously pointed out by several authors (Salaburu 1986a,b; or Rebuschi 1988, 1989; among many others), *elkar* must be bound by a c-commanding antecedent in its local domain (Condition A of Binding Theory). Hence, it cannot appear in subject position either marked by ergative case in a transitive

construction or marked by absolutive case in an unaccusative one. Interestingly, *elkar* can be in certain cases bound by an implicit argument. In fact, it can occur in an impersonal construction coindexed with the implicit subject (Albizu 1997c; Berro et al. 2022; Artiagoitia 2003; Ortiz de Urbina 2003a) as in (39).

(39) elkar engaina-tzen denean, . . .
each_other.ABS deceive-IPFV be.3ABS.when
'When people deceive each other. . . '
(Ortiz de Urbina 2003a, 588)

Coming back to causatives, as can be seen in (40), *elkar* can be bound by the implicit causee in an IC.

(40) Ikastaro-an, irakasle-a-k elkarr-ekin hitz egin-arazi-ko
course-DET.INE teacher-DET-ERG each_other-COM word do-CAUS-PROS
du.
have.3ABS.3ERG
'In the course the teacher will make people$_i$ talk to each other$_i$.'

Therefore, with regard to binding of the reciprocal anaphor, the causee behaves like a strong implicit argument (i.e. a DP).

Let us look now at reflexive anaphors. In Basque, together with the person-specific reflexive anaphors, there is a reflexive anaphor that is not specified for a given person value and that requires a human antecedent in its local domain (Berro et al. 2022): *norbere burua* [oneself.GEN head] 'oneself.' This kind of anaphor is used in impersonal constructions with an implicit antecedent, like the one in (41-a), or with the explicit antecedent *norbera* 'oneself,' which is a non-specific personal pronoun, like in (41-b), (41-c), (41-d).[20]

(41) a. Ikastaro-an, norbere buru-a marraz-tuko da.
course-DET.INE oneself.GEN head-DET.ABS draw-PROS be.3ABS
'In the course people$_i$ will make a picture of themselves$_i$.'

b. Norbera-k norbere buru-a-ri kalte egi-te-a
oneself-ERG oneself.GEN head-DET-DAT harm do-NMLZ-DET
da hori.
be.3ABS that.ABS
'That is to harm yourself.'
(Labayru Hiztegia)

c. Norbera-k norbere burua aintzat hartu ezik,
oneself-ERG oneself.GEN head-DET.ABS take_into_account if_not
ez dau inork egin-go.
NEG have.3ERG nobody.ERG do-PROS
'If one does not take himself/herself into account, nobody will do so.'
(Labayru Hiztegia)

[20] *Norbera* can be morphologically deconstructed into *nor* 'who' and *bera*, an emphatic demonstrative used as a 3rd person pronoun.

d. Norbera ardura-tu bedi norbere buru-a-z.
oneself.ABS worry-PFV be.3ABS.SUBJ oneself.GEN head-DET-INSTR
'That every person worries about himself/herself.'
(Sareko Euskal Gramatika)

Norbere burua cannot be logophorically licensed without a proper c-commanding antecedent. For example, it is ungrammatical if it does not have an antecedent at all, like in an unaccusative construction where *norbere burua* occupies the subject position (compare (41-a) to (42-a)), or in a transitive sentence where the antecedent is specified with 1st, 2nd or 3rd person (42-b).

(42) a. Gaur ikasle-ek marrazki-ak egin-go
today student-DET.PL.ERG drawing-DET.PL.ABS do-PROS
dituzte. *Norbere buru-a egon-go da
have.3PLABS.3PLERG. oneself.GEN head-DET.ABS be-PROS be.3ABS
marrazki-etan.
drawing-DET.PL.INE
'Today, students will make drawings. Oneself is going to be in the drawings.'

b. *Ni-k / zu-k /hark norbere buru-a marraz-tuko
I-ERG/you-ERG/he.ERG oneself.GEN head-DET.ABS draw-PROS
dut/duzu/du.
have.3ABS.1SGERG/ have.3ABS.2SGERG/ have.3ABS.3ERG

Therefore, we conclude that this reflexive anaphor requires an antecedent in its local domain, and that this antecedent must be human but arbitrarily interpreted, without a specific value for the [person] feature. Both the impersonal subject (Berro et al. 2022) and the unspecified pronoun *norbera* 'oneself' can serve as antecedents for it (41). Coming back to ICs, we see that the implicit causee can bind this particular type of reflexive anaphor. In (43), the implicit causee is the antecedent of the reflexive anaphor *norbere burua*. The examples involve an implicit causee in an IC along with the explicit causer *irakasleak* 'the teacher' in (43).

(43) Ikastaro honetan norbere buru-a den bezala
course this.INEone self.GEN head-DET.ABS be.3ABS.COMP like
ikus-arazi-ko du irakasle-a-k.
see-CAUS-PROS have.3ABS.3ERG teacher-DET-ERG
'In this course, the teacher will make people$_i$ see themselves$_i$ as they are.'

Given that the implicit causee can act as an antecedent of the reflexive anaphor *norbere burua* [oneself.GEN head] 'oneself,' it must be considered a DP, that is, a strong implicit argument.

6 The nature of the implicit causee

In this section we will explore the nature of the implicit causee. Firstly, we will show that it must be human and that it can have quasi-universal or existential readings.

It must be noted that, in these properties the implicit causee resembles the implicit subject of impersonals, as described by Fernández and Berro (2021) and Berro et al. (2022). Secondly, we will argue that the human interpretation arises from an underspecified [person] feature. As this is the only φ-feature present in the implicit causee, it must be considered a φ-deficient argument.

6.1 The nature of implicit arguments in impersonals and ICs

Berro et al. (2022) argue that the subject position in Basque impersonals is occupied by a null pronoun that has an unspecified [person] feature and no [number] feature and must be interpreted as human. The human condition on the impersonal subject is in force even with predicates that in their personal variant allow both human and non-human, and even inanimate, external arguments. The following example shows both the personal and impersonal variants of the verb *eraman* 'take.' In (44-a) it can be observed that in the personal variant both a human entity (*langileak* 'workers') and an inanimate entity (*haizea* 'the wind') can serve as the external argument of the predicate. In the impersonal variant in (44-b), with an implicit external argument, only the human interpretation can be obtained.

(44) a. Langile-a-k/ Haize-a-k teilatueta-ko teila-ak
worker-DET-ERG/ wind-DET-ERG roof.PL-REL tile-DET.PL.ABS
eraman ditu hondartza-raino.
take.PFV have.3PLABS.3ERG beach.DET-TERM
'The worker/The wind has carried the roofing tiles to the beach.'

b. Teilatueta-ko teila-k eraman dira hondartza-raino.
roof.PL-REL tile.DET-PL.ABS take.PFV be.3PLABS beach.DET-TERM
'Someone has carried the roofing tiles to the beach.'
Not possible: 'A non-human force (e.g. the wind) has carried the roofing tiles to the beach.'

(Berro et al. 2022, 16)

Berro et al. (2022) claim that the human condition of the implicit external argument in impersonals follows from the type of null pronoun sitting in the specifier of Voice. According to them, it is a null pronoun that is necessarily interpreted as human. Interestingly, this pronoun behaves like the impersonal pronouns found in other languages such as Dutch *men* (Fenger 2018) in its human condition and also in that it can have either an existential or a quasi-universal—generic inclusive—reading (Cinque 1988).[21]

The implicit causee shows a similar behavior. In Sect. 4 we showed that the implicit causee must be human. In the following examples we show that the implicit causee can have either an existential (45) or a quasi-universal (46) reading.

[21] Some authors (Cinque 1988; Egerland 2003; Fenger 2018) propose that impersonal pronouns may be of two types. The ones that behave like the Basque impersonal arguments and have different types of interpretations have been claimed to be functionally poorer: according to Fenger (2018) Dutch-type pronouns lack φ-features (are just Ns). As a consequence, their interpretation is not restricted and can only occur with nominative case. We do not feel comfortable with this view given that the implicit arguments in Basque seem to have a more complex structure than N because they license a number of syntactic operations (see Sect. 5).

(45) Jon-ek lehendakari-a irain-araz-i du
Jon-ERG president-DET.ABS offend-CAUS-IPFV have.3ABS.3ERG
prentsaurreko-an, baina ez dakit zergatik.
press_conference-DET.INE but not know.3ABS.1SGERG why
'Jon has made someone offend the president at the press conference, but I do not know why.'

(46) Jon-ek pasta jan-araz-ten du Italia-n.
Jon-ERG pasta.DET.ABS eat-CAUS-IPFV have.3ABS.3ERG Italy-INE
'Jon makes people eat pasta in Italy.'

As can be seen, the two implicit arguments, namely the impersonal subject and the implicit causee, behave similarly: they are interpreted as human and can have either an existential or a quasi-universal interpretation. As explained, the human condition of the implicit arguments is limited to their implicit version, thus it is reasonable to think that it is caused by the nature of the null pronouns. We claim that the implicit causee is a null pronoun with an underspecified [person] feature, and hence identical to the implicit external argument of impersonals. Having an underspecified [person] feature leads to the necessarily human interpretation of the implicit causee, which is arbitrarily interpreted as 1st, 2nd or 3rd person. For instance, the examples below can be uttered in a context where the implicit causee can be interpreted as a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person human entity, as evidenced by the acceptable different continuations (A, B and C) (47). 1st, 2nd or 3rd person implicit arguments are grammatical as long as they are human.

(47) Ikastetxe honetan liburu luze-egi-a k irakurr-araz-ten
school this.INE book long-too-DET.PL.ABS read-CAUS-IPFV
dituzte.
have.3PLABS.3PLERG
'In this school, they make people read books that are too long.'

A Ni-ri, esate baterako, *Miserableak* irakurr-araz-i
I-DAT for_example Les Misérables read-CAUS-PFV
zidaten.
have. 3ABS.1SGDAT.3PLERG.PST
'For example, they made me read *Les Misérables*.'

B Zu-ri, esate baterako, *Miserableak* irakurr-araz-i
you-DAT for_example Les Misérables read-CAUS-PFV
zizuten.
have.3ABS.2SGDAT.3PLERG.PST
'For example, they made you read *Les Misérables*.'

C Nire lagun ba-ti, esate baterako, *Miserableak* irakurr-araz-i
my friend-DAT for_example Les Misérables read-CAUS-PFV
zioten.
have.3ABS.3SGDAT.3PLERG.PST
'For example, they made a friend of mine read *Les Misérables*.'

As we will explain in Sect. 6.2, the implicit causee bears an underspecified [person] feature that covers all and only human entities that are arbitrarily interpreted as 1st, 2nd or 3rd person. In this sense, being underspecified also implies not having a specified person value.

6.2 The φ-feature composition of the implicit causee

In this section, we will provide evidence for the unspecified person interpretation of the causee and also for the analysis that this argument has no [number] feature.[22]

Since the implicit causee of ICs has no specific person value, it cannot bind person-specific reflexive anaphors like *nire burua* [my head] 'myself,' *zure burua* [your head] 'yourself,' *bere burua* [his/her head] 'himself/herself' or *beren burua* [their head] 'themselves' (48).

(48) *Ikastaro honetan nire buru-a/ zure buru-a/ bere
course this.INE my head-DET.ABS your head-DET.ABS his/her
buru-a/ beren buru-a den bezala
head-DET.ABS their head-DET.ABS be.3ABS.COMP like
ikus-arazi-ko dute.
see-CAUS-PROS have.3ABS.3PLERG
Intended: 'In this course, we will make people see themselves as they are.'

In order for those person-specific anaphors to be grammatical in causatives, an explicit causee would need to be included, one for each of the person-specific anaphors (49). Although the person-specific causees can be unpronounced, their corresponding dative clitic must be included in the auxiliary.

(49) a. Ikastaro honetan nire buru-a den bezala
course this.INE my head-DET.ABS be.3ABS.COMP like
ikus-araz-iko didate (ni-ri).
see-CAUS-PROS have.3ABS.1SGDAT.3PLERG I-DAT
'In this course, someone will make me see myself as I am.'

b. Ikastaro honetan zure buru-a den bezala
course this.INE your head-DET.ABS be.3ABS.COMP like
ikus-araz-iko dizute (zu-ri).
see-CAUS-PROS have.3ABS.2SGDAT.3PLERG you-DAT
'In this course, someone will make you see yourself as you are.'

[22] A similar composition has been attributed also to the implicit external argument of impersonals in Berro et al. (2022). However, contrary to Berro et al. (2022), where the implicit external argument is considered to bear an unspecified [person] feature, we argue that the [person] feature of the implicit causee is underspecified. However, being underspecified also implies not having a specific person value—i.e. 1st, 2nd or 3rd—hence, in this regard our approach would be similar to Berro et al. (2022). See also Kayne (1993), Mendikoetxea (2008), Rezac and Jouitteau (2016), Nevins (2007) and others for other φ-feature characterizations also covering only human entities.

c. Ikastaro honetan bere buru-a /beren burua
course this.INE her head-DET.ABS their head-DET.ABS
den bezala ikus-araz-iko diote
be.3ABS.COMP like see-CAUS-PROS have.3ABS.3SGDAT.3PLERG
/diete (hari/haiei).
have.3ABS.3PLDAT.3PLERG she.DAT/they.DAT
'In this course, someone will make him/her see herself/themselves as she/they is/are.'

Thus, the implicit causee does not have a specific—i.e. 1st, 2nd or 3rd—value for its [person] feature, otherwise it would be able to license the person-specific anaphors above. But it does serve as an antecedent of *norbere burua* 'oneself' (Sect. 5.3). The features shown by this anaphor are helpful to identify the presence of an underspecified [person] feature as well as the absence of a [number] feature in the implicit causee. In fact, *norbere burua* requires a human antecedent, but unlike in the other reflexive anaphors, the antecedent must not be specified for person. The unspecified and arbitrary nature of the [person] feature in the causee is equivalent to the impersonal *se/si* clitic attested in Romance, characterized as [0-person] by Kayne (1993) and Mendikoetxea (2008). This underspecified [person] feature could be also parallelized to Rezac and Jouitteau's (2016) [human] person feature, a φ-feature meaning person that subsumes the other person features, and also Richards (2008) [Person] feature. This [human] feature selects all 1st, 2nd and 3rd person arguments to the exclusion of non-human 3rd person arguments.[23]

With regard to the [number] feature, the implicit causee can be interpreted as either one person or a group of people. Contrary to what we see with [person], there is no specific requirement with regards to the interpretation of the [number] feature, and thus it seems reasonable to propose that the implicit causee lacks the [number] feature. This claim is supported by two pieces of evidence. On the one hand, we see that even when the implicit causee behaves as the antecedent of *norbere burua*, which is morphologically singular, the implicit causee can be interpreted as either singular or plural—see (39) for example. This means that the singular morphology of *norbere burua* is the realization of a default value, given that it does not actually imply a singular value for the antecedent binding it. In fact, contrary to what happens with 1st, 2nd or 3rd person reflexive anaphors, which can be morphologically singular—*nire/zure/bere burua* 'myself/yourself/himself/herself'—or plural—*gure/zuen/beren burua* 'ourself/yourself/themselves'—Basque has no plural counterpart for *norbere burua*. Note that the same is true for *norbera* ((41-b), (41-c), (41-d)) 'oneself,' the only explicit antecedent available for *norbere burua*.

In relation to that, if the implicit causee had a singular value for its [number] feature, it would not be able to bind the reciprocal anaphor *elkar* 'each other,' which nec-

[23]Nevins (2007) proposes that impersonal pronouns are [ØParticipant, ØAuthor], with no specification for [±Participant] or [±Author]. As noted by Nevins (2007, 308), given that a Ø value for a feature F is compatible with both + and – values, impersonal pronouns are differentiated from 3rd person pronouns in that they are truly underspecified for [person] features. This account can explain the arbitrary interpretation of the impersonal pronoun but not its human nature. Therefore, we conclude that there should be another feature that restricts the interpretation to human entities and include all 1st, 2nd and 3rd person arguments.

essarily requires a plural antecedent. In fact, *elkar* is ungrammatical if its antecedent is singular (50-a).

(50) a. *Mutil-a-k elkar besarka-tu du.
boy-DET-ERG each_other.ABS hug-PFV have.3ABS.3ERG
b. Mutil-ek elkar besarka-tu dute.
boy-DET.PL.ERG each_other.ABS hug-PFV have.3ABS.3PLERG
'The boys have hugged each other.'

However, as we saw in Sect. 5.3, *elkar* can be bound by the implicit causee in ICs. Therefore, we conclude that this evidence supports the presence of an underspecified [person] feature and the absence of [number] features in the implicit causee. In these respects, the implicit causee is like other clitics or weak pronouns such as impersonal *se/si* in Romance (Kayne 1993; D'Alessandro 2004; Mendikoetxea 2008) or impersonal *on* in French (Rezac and Jouitteau 2016). Given its poor φ-featural composition, we consider the implicit causee a φ-deficient argument.

7 Failure to trigger the PCC

In previous sections we argued that the implicit causee is syntactically projected as a φ-deficient strong implicit argument. Moreover, as a causee, we posited its projection within lower Voice, a head that assigns the *doer* theta role and that syntactically licenses the causee. The combination of these properties, namely having deficient φ-features and being projected with its own probe, makes the implicit causee special for certain syntactic operations. Notably, it diverges from the explicit causee or the impersonal subject by failing to trigger *Person Case Constraint* (PCC) effects. This observation may initially seem contradictory to our characterization of the implicit causee as a silent pronoun that bears a [person] feature, especially considering that the impersonal subject—also a silent pronoun with a similar φ-composition—indeed prompts PCC effects. However, we will propose that this discrepancy arises from the properties inherent in the implicit causee.

7.1 PCC in causatives

Before analyzing the behavior of the implicit causee with respect to the PCC, let us first describe briefly the distribution of the explicit causee and dative indirect objects in ditransitive constructions. As happens in many other languages (Bonet 1991, 1994; Albizu 1997a,b), in Basque ditransitives a 1st or 2nd person internal argument is incompatible with an agreeing dative (indirect object) (Laka 1993; Albizu 1997a,b). Example (51) shows Laka's (1993) classic examples of Basque ditransitives: (51-a), with a 1st person direct object, is ungrammatical due to the PCC; by contrast, (51-b) has a 3rd person direct object and no PCC.

(51) a. *Zu-k harakina-ri ni sal-du
you-ERG butcher.DET-DAT I.ABS sell-PFV
naiozu.
have.1SGABS.3SGDAT.2ERG
'You have sold me to the butcher.'

b. Zu-k harakina-ri liburua sal-du
you-ERG butcher.DET-DAT book.ABS sell-PFV
diozu.
have.3ABS.3SGDAT.2ERG
'You have sold the book to the butcher.'

(Laka 1993, 27)

As the constraints occur with all 1st, 2nd and 3rd person datives, the PCC attested in Basque corresponds to the Strong version of the PCC. In ditransitives, it is explained as a syntactic constraint that arises when the direct and indirect objects co-occur in the same Agree/Case locus, namely, v (when equivalent to transitive Voice). The higher argument establishes a person-Agree relation with v/Voice, and this prevents the lower argument from Agreeing in [person] features with v/Voice (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Béjar and Rezac 2003; Rezac 2007, 2008a, 2009b, 2011; see also Laka 1993; Albizu 1997a,b, 2001; Ormazabal and Romero 2007; Odria 2014, 2017, 2019 for Basque).

The direct causative construction exhibits a distribution pattern identical to that of ditransitives. As can be seen in example (52), if the internal argument is 1st or 2nd person, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical (Albizu 1997a,b, 2001; Rezac 2009b, 2011; Odria 2017, 2019).

(52) *Zu-k ni hari eraman-araz-i ko
you-ERG I.ABS he/she.DAT carry-CAUS-PROS
naiozu
have.1SGABS.have.3SGDAT.2ERG
'You will make him/her take me.'

By contrast, in ICs, PCC-like effects do not arise in the presence of a 1st or 2nd internal argument (53).

(53) Herri-ra zu-k eraman-araz-i behar-ko nauzu
village-ALL you-ERG carry-CAUS-PFV must-PROS have.1SGABS.2ERG
(ni).
I.ABS
'You will have to make someone take me to the village.'

(adapted from Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 610)

One can think that the failure to trigger the PCC is the result of lacking a syntactically active embedded external argument. However, it is noteworthy that similar implicit arguments do induce PCC effects in alternative constructions, such as impersonals.

7.2 PCC in impersonals

In impersonals the internal argument must necessarily be 3rd person (Euskaltzaindia 1987; Rodet 1992; de Rijk 2008, 279–280; Ortiz de Urbina 2003a; Rezac 2009a, 2016; Fernández and Berro 2021; Berro et al. 2022). With a 1st or 2nd person inter-

nal argument, the sentence is interpreted as inchoative and not as an impersonal.[24] Compare (54-a) with the example in (54-b), which shows a 3rd person internal argument.

(54) a. Ni/Zu uretan hondora-tu nintzen/zinen.
I.ABS/you.ABS water.INE sink-PFV be.1SGABS.PST/be.2ABS.PST
Inchoative: 'I sank under the water.' / 'You sank under the water.'
Intended impersonal (not possible): 'Someone sank me under the water.' / 'Someone sank you under the water.'

b. Itsasontzi-a uretan hondora-tu zen.
boat-DET.ABS water.INE sink-PFV be.3ABS.PST
Inchoative: 'The boat sank under the water.'
Impersonal: 'Someone sank the boat under the water.'

Though the verb *hondoratu* 'sink' allows a transitive variant and should be eligible for the impersonal construction, (54-a) must necessarily be interpreted as an inchoative. The impersonal reading is excluded, because impersonals only allow 3rd person absolutive internal arguments (54-b). Following Rezac (2009a), Berro et al. (2022) suggested that the person constraint observed in the impersonal construction is reminiscent of the PCC attested in ditransitives. According to them, the PCC of impersonals is triggered because the implicit external argument and the overt internal argument compete to Agree with the same functional head, namely T.[25] In that situation, T initially probes the structurally highest argument within its c-command domain, which corresponds to the external argument. According to Berro et al. (2022), the implicit external argument of Basque impersonals has an underspecified [person] feature. When it Agrees in [person] with T, T gets a default value—i.e. 3rd person—for its uninterpretable [person] feature (see for Italian D'Alessandro 2004; for Spanish Mendikoetxea 2008; Ordóñez and Treviño 2016; MacDonald 2017). In this way, the person-Agree relation established between T and the external argument prevents the internal argument from undergoing person-Agree with T. Assuming that 3rd person arguments bear [number] but not [person] features (see, among others, Anagnostopoulou 2003; Béjar and Rezac 2003; Adger and Harbour 2007; and Rezac 2007, 2008a, 2009b, 2011), it can be explained that only 3rd person arguments are allowed in the construction. 1st and 2nd person internal arguments have both [person] and [number] features. In this configuration, their [person] features remain unlicensed, as there is no functional head able to enter into person-Agree with them (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Béjar and Rezac 2003; Adger and Harbour 2007; Rezac 2007, 2008a, 2009b, 2011; and others). This violates the Person Licensing Condition (PLC), which states that "an interpretable first/second person feature must be

[24] Nevertheless, see Ortiz de Urbina (2006), Fernández and Berro (2021), and references therein about contrasts between Contemporary Basque and previous historical instances of the language. In Classical Basque, grammatical impersonal examples like (54-a) are attested.

[25] Berro et al. (2022) argued that in impersonal sentences Voice is defective. It lacks uninterpretable φ-features and a Case to assign. Therefore, T is the only probe available for Agreement and there are two arguments: the impersonal subject and the internal argument.

licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category" (Béjar and Rezac 2003, 53).[26,27]

The distribution of the impersonal subject suggests that the inability of the implicit causee to induce the PCC is not inherently tied to its implicit nature. However, if, as we proposed in Sect. 6, the implicit causee shares a resemblance with the impersonal subject by bearing an underspecified [person] feature, one may expect PCC effects to manifest when competing with a 1st or 2nd person internal argument in the same Agree domain. This expectation contradicts the observed facts, as shown in example (53). In this particular instance, it seems that the implicit causee is inert at least as far as the PCC is concerned. However, in Sect. 5, we showed that the implicit causee is not inert for a number of other syntactic tests, as it can bind secondary predicates and anaphors and block clitic climbing. Thus, the reason for not inducing the PCC must be related not to its syntactic absence, but to other factors.

7.3 Explicit and implicit causees and Agree

We argue that the failure of the implicit causee to cause the PCC is the result of its particular combination of properties: on the one hand, it is a causee, but unlike explicit causees, it bears an underspecified [person] feature and, consequently, does not generate a clitic; on the other, it is a strong implicit argument, but unlike the impersonal subject, it is projected within a phrase that includes its own Case-licenser

[26]Contrary to the Agree approach of the PCC that considers the constraint results from a Case-license failure, Coon and Keine (2021) have recently argued that the PCC is the result of an irresolvable conflict that occurs in the movement operation necessary to create clitics when a given probe Agrees with more than one nominal. It is outside of the scope of this paper to determine whether the source of the PCC is due to a failure of nominal licensing or any other problem in the morphological realization of a probe Agreeing with more than one argument. The PCC structures we are analyzing are compatible with both approaches. The PCC attested in morphological causatives disappears in analytic causatives that have a biclausal rather than monoclausal structure, and this indicates that the PCC is solved when each argument has a separate probe to Agree with. Hence, regardless of whether the problem involves the licensing of the nominal or the morphological realization of the probe, we see that the PCC is a restriction that takes place only when two arguments Agree with the same functional head (see, along with the references cited so far, Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018; Preminger 2019; and Deal 2021).

[27]As noted by D'Alessandro (2004) for Italian impersonals, the PCC attested in this kind of construction could also be accounted for by a Multiple Agree analysis (Anagnostopoulou 2005; Nevins 2007, 2011). In order for Multiple Agree to take place, the two arguments agreeing with a given functional head must show non-conflicting values for the set of uninterpretable features that are being valued in such head. Given that the external argument values the uninterpretable [person] feature as 3rd person by default, the fundamental condition on Multiple Agree would only be satisfied when the internal argument is equally 3rd person. Nevertheless, as the person value for 1st and 2nd person internal arguments conflicts with respect to the 3rd person value obtained from Agreeing with the implicit subject, PCC effects arise due to the lack of featural identity, which makes it impossible to apply Multiple Agree. Note that this discards a Cyclic Agree approach *à la* Béjar and Rezac (2009) (see also Deal 2021 for a recent version of a Dynamic or Cyclic Agree in PCC contexts). In Cyclic Agree the probe first searches for a suitable goal in its c-command domain and Agrees in a subsequent cycle with its specifier in case the first attempt to Agree happens to be unsatisfactory. Agree on a given probe is then considered to apply cyclically, first with its complement and then with its specifier. Given that the PCC configuration we are dealing with includes the arguments involved in the same Agree domain we believe that in this case there is no need to resort to cyclicity, as the valuation of the uninterpretable [person] feature in upper Voice (or T in impersonals) applies in one step, in a single cycle (see Nevins 2011 for the basic differences lying behind the Multiple Agree and the Cyclic Agree approach of the PCC).

(lower VoiceP) and, thus, it does not compete with another argument to be Case-licensed. Let us explain the proposal step by step.

7.3.1 The explicit causee and the PCC

As outlined in Sect. 2.2, the suggested causative construction involves Voice-stacking—a configuration where a Voice layer is projected atop another Voice layer. The causee is introduced as a DP in the specifier of lower Voice, a probe that assigns Case to the argument in its specifier. Note that, if such a head were not projected, there would be no functional head to Case-license the causee when the embedded verb is transitive.[28] In fact, upper Voice assigns Case to the internal argument and T does so to the causer. Therefore, the causee needs its own probe. A probe is a functional head that bears uninterpretable φ-features and its function is to Case-license a given DP, so that the derivation fulfills the requirements of Full Interpretation at the LF-interface. In this case, lower Voice values and deletes its uninterpretable φ-features with the causee, and consequently, the causee is assigned Case, which is eventually realized as dative case. After this operation, lower Voice is no longer available for Agreement.

As explained in Sect. 7.1, explicit causees intervene in Agree relations, just like a dative argument in a ditransitive configuration. The relevant example was shown in (52), repeated in (55) for convenience.

(55) *Zu-k ni hari eraman-araz-iko naiozu
you-ERG I.ABS he/she.DAT carry-CAUS-PROS have.1SGABS.3SGDAT.2ERG
'You will make him/her take me.'

As can be seen, it is not possible to license in the same derivation an explicit causee (regardless of its person specification) and a 1st or 2nd internal argument. This blocking suggests that the [person] feature of the dative argument—serving either as the indirect object or the causee—is somehow visible for (upper) Voice.

We argue this is due to the fact that the explicit causee has a D° clitic adjoined. Remember that, according to our account, dative markers on the auxiliary are clitics licensed by means of movement, whereas absolutive agreement markers are the result of regular Agree operations (Sect. 5.2). Given clitics' deficient nature, D° Agrees with upper Voice and moves to its specifier where it can be licensed. In this way, by means of clitic doubling the [person] feature of the explicit causee is visible to upper Voice and, as a consequence, the dative clitic blocks the person-Agree established between the internal argument and (upper) Voice. Consequently, 1st and 2nd person internal arguments are banned in this context because they remain unlicensed, as has been argued for ditransitives (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Béjar and Rezac 2003; Adger and Harbour 2007; Rezac 2007, 2008a, 2009b, 2011; and others). By contrast, if the

[28] It should be noted that dative marking is generally subject to the transitivity of the embedded predicate in Standard Basque but not in southwestern varieties, where causees tend to be marked dative if they are animate. Thus, in those varieties animate causees are also marked dative even when the embedded predicate is unaccusative. In Standard Basque, the causee is marked dative only if the embedded verb is transitive; or, alternatively, agentive unergative. In this respect, Standard Basque is more similar to French and Italian, whereas southwestern varieties pattern with Spanish. The analysis pursued in this paper is aimed at explaining Standard Basque usage.

internal argument is 3rd person, the intervention effect does not arise (56) because, as argued for ditransitives, 3rd person arguments bear a [number] feature but lack a [person] feature.

(56) Zu-k hari liburu-a eraman-araz-iko
you-ERG he/she.DAT book-DET.ABS carry-CAUS-PROS
diozu.
have.3ABS.3SGDAT.2ERG
'You will make him/her take the book.'

Overall, we argue that the PCC in direct causatives follows the same mechanism as the PCC in ditransitives.

7.3.2 The implicit causee and the lack of PCC

As we have seen in the example (53), the implicit causee patterns differently as compared to the explicit causee; 1st and 2nd person internal arguments are grammatical in ICs. We argue that the absence of PCC with the implicit causee is actually related to the fact that the implicit causee has no specified value for its φ-features. Particularly, in Sect. 6, we proposed that the implicit causee has an underspecified [person] feature and no [number] feature. It is, therefore, φ-deficient. With no specified φ-features, a clitic head D° is not projected. Since there is no D° movement to upper Voice, the [person] features of upper Voice will remain available for licensing by the internal argument, thus preventing the emergence of any PCC effects. In other words, the fundamental difference between implicit and explicit causees lies in the lack of a specified value in the φ-feature composition of the former and in its consequent lack of a D° clitic.

It is noteworthy that even if the implicit causee lacks a clitic, it is still a DP, a strong implicit argument that must be Case-licensed, similar to the impersonal subject. However, unlike in impersonal constructions, the licensing of implicit causees is made possible by lower Voice. Lower Voice assigns Case also to explicit causees, but as mentioned above, explicit causees generate a clitic, whereas implicit ones do not. When the explicit causee's D° moves to upper Voice, both D° and the absolutive argument are in the same Agree domain, trying to be licensed with the same probe. The implicit causee does not generate a D° clitic and, therefore, the absolutive DP has no competitor.

The fact that the lack of PCC effects is linked to the absence of the dative clitic seems to be related to a PCC repair strategy allowed by some speakers with certain verbs. In Basque, a way to escape the PCC triggered by a dative indirect object is to remove the dative clitic (56) (Albizu 1997a, 2001; Artiagoitia 2000; Rezac 2009b, 2011; Fernández and Rezac 2010, 2016; Oyharçabal and Etxepare 2012; Odria 2014, 2017, 2019). Compare (57-a) to (57-b).

(57) a. *(Zu-k) etsaia-ri (ni) sal-du naiozu.
you-ERG enemy-DAT I.ABS sell-PFV have.1SGABS.3SGDAT.2ERG
b. (Zu-k) etsaia-ri (ni) sal-du nauzu.
you-ERG enemy-DAT I.ABS sell-PFV have.1SGABS.2ERG
'You have sold me to the enemy.'

In this scenario too, it is the presence of the dative clitic that triggers the PCC. Once removed, the derivation converges.

This approach explains why the implicit causee does not have a corresponding dative clitic in the auxiliary. Again, it is in this particular aspect that implicit causees depart from explicit ones; as implicit causees have no specified value for the [person] feature, there is no specific φ-features to project as a D°. Having no D°, the auxiliary will not be able to cross-reference the implicit causee. This is corroborated by the fact that the unspecified person feature has no morphological realization in Basque, as attested also in impersonals (Berro et al. 2022).

8 Conclusions

In this paper we have analyzed ICs in Basque and in doing so we have explored the structure of causatives, discussed the nature of implicit arguments and explained the PCC effects observed in this construction. In line with previous proposals about Basque morphological causatives (Deustuko Hizkuntzalaritza Mintegia 1989; Ortiz de Urbina 2003b, 2019; de Rijk 2008), we consider the causative a single domain for case and agreement, and thus a monoclausal construction. In the spirit of Folli and Harley's (2007) proposal for FI causatives in Romance, in our account the causee is introduced by the head that usually introduces external arguments, namely Voice (Kratzer 1994, 1996), and the causer is introduced in an additional Voice layer projected on top of that. In this analysis, this leads to the Voice-over-Voice configuration (Nie 2020) that Sigurðsson and Wood (2021) call Voice-stacking (see also Nash 2020). We argue that lower Voice is different from the regular Voice head in that it assigns the *doer* role, but not the *initiator* role, and in that it Case-licenses the argument sitting in its specifier, i.e. the causee, with dative case.

After analyzing the syntactic behavior of the implicit causee, we have proposed that it is semantically active and syntactically projected, as it can be interpreted as the possessor of a definite noun phrase expressing a body part, license secondary predicates, block clitic climbing and bind reflexive and reciprocal anaphora. We have claimed that the implicit causee has an underspecified [person] feature and no [number] feature. Consequently, it is interpreted as human and as either a person or a group of people. As it is a DP with only a [person] feature, this kind of implicit argument represents another type that should be added to Landau's typology of implicit arguments: a strong implicit argument with φ-deficient features. Additionally, it must be noted that the implicit causee is not like the explicit one in that it does not generate a D° clitic adjoined to it, given its φ-deficient features. As a consequence, the implicit causee does not induce PCC-like effects, departing from explicit causees.

This paper contributes to the discussion on the various versions of Voice, the syntactic nature of implicit arguments, and their interaction in different constructions such as causatives and impersonals. An important conclusion of this paper is that implicit arguments may be syntactically active and have a D-layer; however, their featural composition and syntactic position can still condition their syntactic distribution in different ways.

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Data Availability Basque data has been provided by the authors of the manuscript, who are all native speakers, or has been taken from duly cited sources. Data from other languages has likewise been taken from cited sources.

Declarations

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