

Session 1A Abstracts

FRENCH EXCEPTIVE (*NE*)...*QUE* AT THE SYNTAX-SEMANTICS INTERFACE
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Van Riemsdijk (2002, 2005), Kayne (2005, 2006, 2012) and others have argued for the presence in syntax of silent elements (SE's). SEs are not elided elements (i.e. elements that undergo PF-deletion); they are items that enter the derivation with formal and semantic features but no phonological features (cf. Her & Tsai 2015). Further, the meaning of SEs is recoverable from their pronounced counterparts rather than through overt discourse antecedents, as is the case for PF-deletion ellipsis.

In this paper, we will pursue a SE approach to French exceptive (*ne*)...*que* sentences like (1).

(1) Je (**n'**)ai acheté **que** quelques tomates. 'I only bought a few tomatoes.'

We will build on a proposal first argued for in Baciú (1978) and more recently in O'Neill (2011) and Homer (2015) that *ne*...*que* is a hidden comparative that contains covert material, which they take to be a silent n-word followed by silent AUTRE 'other', as illustrated in (2).

(2) Je (**n'**)ai acheté **RIEN** AUTRE que quelques tomates.

'I bought NOTHING OTHER than a few tomatoes.'

We will first provide novel evidence for the existence of a silent n-word component. For example, the overt n-word *rien* 'nothing' that optionally (obligatorily in non-prescriptive Canadian French) appears in the exceptive construction can, in colloquial registers, occupy a pre-participial position, as in (3b).

(3) a. Je (**n'**)ai acheté **rien que** quelques tomates.

b. Je (**n'**)ai **rien** acheté **que** quelques tomates.

If the conjugated verb is a modal like *être obligé* 'be required', this results in two possible scope relations for *rien* with respect to the modal, which yields two different readings, as (4) illustrates.

(4) a. On est **obligé de ne rien** apprendre que l'espagnol. 'We are required to learn only...'

b. On **n'est rien obligé** d'apprendre que l'espagnol. 'We are only required to learn...'

In (4a) and (4b), *ne* and *rien* are clausemates; that is, *ne*, in some sense, marks the scope of *rien*. Further, in (4a), the deontic modal *être obligé* c-commands *rien* and therefore scopes over it, yielding an interpretation according to which one is required to learn Spanish and nothing else. In (4b), on the other hand, *rien* c-commands the modal and takes wide scope, and the sentence is taken to mean that all one is required to learn is Spanish. Assuming that (*ne*)...*que* contains a covert RIEN, we then expect similar readings to be available and, if *ne* is present, we expect it to "reveal" the scope of covert RIEN and select one reading or the other, depending on its position. These are indeed the right predictions, as the paradigm in (5) makes clear.

(5) a. On est obligé d'apprendre que l'espagnol.

b. On est **obligé de n'**apprendre que l'espagnol.

c. On **n'est obligé** d'apprendre que l'espagnol.

While (5a) is, in the absence of *ne*, ambiguous between the two readings associated with (4a) and (4b), (5b) only has the reading available in (4a) and (5c) the reading available in (4b).

Next, we will challenge the hypothesis, defended by O'Neill (2011) and Homer (2015) that *ne*...*que* configurations also contain a silent AUTRE 'other' that introduces the comparative complementizer *que* 'than'. One problem with AUTRE pointed out in Homer (2015) is that its overt counterpart *autre* does not trigger the preadjacent inference associated with exclusives.

(6) I don't know if Alice bought tomatoes but I'm sure that...

a. #...elle n'a acheté que des tomates.

b. ...elle n'a acheté rien d'autre que des tomates.

Given the discourse background in English, the infelicitous continuation in (6a), which involves the minimal realization of *ne*...*que* attests to the obligatory presence of the inference that Alice

bought tomatoes (the prejacent inference). Unexpectedly, however, the hypothesized total realization *ne...rien d'autre que* in (6b) is felicitous, which indicates that it does not (or not necessarily) yield the same inference.

There is a second problem with AUTRE, one that has gone unnoticed in the literature. Total realizations with *autre* appear to systematically enforce a complement exclusion reading even in those cases where the minimal realization (*ne*)...(*rien*) *que* does not display such a reading. For example, *rien que* is sometimes associated with what Grosz (2012) calls a ‘minimal sufficiency reading’ (this reading has been discussed in the semantic literature on English *just* by Grosz 2012, Coppock & Beaver 2014 and Coppock & Lindahl 2014). The sentence in (7) illustrates the phenomenon in French.

(7) **Rien que** l'idée de boire me répugne. ‘Just the thought of drinking disgusts me.’

The sentence in (7) does not have the complement exclusion inference that nothing other than the idea of drinking disgusts me. It implies instead that *at least* the idea of drinking disgusts me, which is the minimal sufficiency reading. The alleged maximal realization *rien d'autre que*, while being substitutable to *rien que*, does not, however, yield the same interpretation. Thus, (8), unlike (7), does have the complement exclusion inference that nothing else besides the idea of drinking disgusts me and therefore disallows the minimal sufficiency reading.

(8) **Rien d'autre que** l'idée de boire me répugne. ‘Only the thought of drinking disgusts me.’

Given these problems, we will propose that a more likely candidate for the second silent component of *ne...que* is DE PLUS ‘more’, thus taking French exceptive *ne...que* (9) to be nearly identical to its Spanish counterpart (10), which is like French in having as a “first component” an overt or covert n-word; namely *nada* ‘nothing’ but which, unlike French, obligatorily spells out the “second component” as *más* ‘more’.

(9) Sophie (**n**)a mangé (**rien de plus**) **que** des dates. ‘Sophie only ate dates.’

(10) Sofía **no** comió (**nada**) **más que** dátiles. ‘Sofia only ate dates.’

Sofía NEG ate nothing more than dates

Unlike (*ne*)...*rien d'autre que*, (*ne*)...*rien de plus que* does not give rise to Homer’s (2015) prejacent problem, as (11) shows.

(11) I don’t know if Sophie drank wine but I’m sure that...

a. #...elle n’a bu *que* du vin.

b. #...elle n’a bu **rien de plus** *que* du vin. ‘...she drank nothing more than wine.’

The infelicitous continuation in (11a), which involves the minimal realization of *ne...que*, signals the obligatory presence of the inference that Sophie drank wine (the prejacent). Given that the new hypothesized total realization of *ne...que* in (11b) is also infelicitous, we must conclude that it yields the same inference. This immediately solves Homer’s (2015) prejacent problem.

Second, unlike (*ne*)...*rien d'autre que*, (*ne*)...*rien de plus que* yields the minimal sufficiency readings of *rien que* in the appropriate contexts. This is illustrated in (12).

(12) Rien de plus *que* l'idée de boire me dégoûte. (minimal sufficiency reading)

In (12), *rien de plus que* mimics its minimal realization counterpart in (7) in that it does not have the complement exclusion inference that nothing other than the idea of drinking disgusts me but implies instead that at least the idea of drinking disgusts me (the minimal sufficiency reading).

Finally, just like (*ne*)...*que*, and in the same contexts, (*ne*)...*rien de plus que*, can have a single or a double-negation reading when combined with another n-word like *jamais* ‘never’.

(13) a. Un ordinateur ne fera **jamais (rien de plus)** **que** ce qu’on lui fera faire. (prominent single negation reading) ‘A computer will never do anything more than what we make it do.’

b. J’ai juré de ne **jamais** me retrouver avec **rien (de plus)** **que** dix euros en poche. (prominent double negation reading) ‘I swore to always find myself with more than 10 euros in my pocket.’

Reinterpreting Ne-cliticization as Split-topicalization

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Introduction: *Ne*-cliticization has been widely discussed in Italian syntax (Burzio 1986, Belletti and Rizzi 1982, Perlmutter 1989 a.o.), with comparison to similar constructions in other Romance languages (see Cardinaletti and Giusti 2006 for an overview). In this paper, however, we propose a novel way to investigate this construction, from a more cross-linguistic perspective. More specifically, we show that there are a number of similarities between (quantitative) *ne*-cliticization and split-topicalization, which is attested in many languages such as German and Japanese, and we will propose a unified account of the two constructions, based on Zamparelli's (1995) and Ott's (2011) proposals on those constructions.

Split-topicalization: Split-topicalization has been discussed for many languages, with extensive focus on German. As shown in (1), the head noun can be topicalized by stranding its modifier in situ in German. There are a number of characteristics of split-topicalization. First, the topic has to be non-specific (Ott 2011). Thus, a definite article is not allowed with the topic, as in (2).

- (1) **Bohnen**_i mag er (nur) [**grüne** t_i]. (2) ***Die** bohnen_i mag er (nur) [grüne t_i].
beans likes he only green the beans likes he only green
'As for beans, he likes (only) green ones.'

Second, this construction has a topic-secondary focus intonation: the left-dislocated noun has a topic intonation, and the stranded modifier has a secondary focus intonation. Third, the stranded modifier has to have a strong form in German as in (3a). This form is not allowed in the non-split case as in (3b).

- (3) a. Geld_i hat er [kein-es/*kein t_i]. b. Er hat [*kein-es/**kein** Geld].
money has he no-STRONG/no-WEAK he has no-STRONG/no-WEAK money
'As for money, he has none.' 'He has no money.'

van Hoof (2006) argues the strong form in split-topicalization is a "nominalizer" of the stranded modifier. In fact, strong forms nominalize adjectives as in (4). If a stranded modifier is a more nominal element like numerals, it doesn't need a strong form (or it doesn't have the strong/weak distinction), as in (5).

- (4) Er hat **keines**. (5) Autos_i hat er sogar [**drei** t_i]
he has no-STRONG cars has he even three
'He has none.' 'As for cars, he has even three.'

The form of nominalizer is different in other languages. E.g., in Japanese, the nominalizer is *-no*, which is homophonous between a genitive marker and a pronominal element, as in (6a). *-No* is not allowed in the non-split case as in (6b), patterning with the strong form in German (Sugawara (2010)).

- (6) a. **Jisho**_i-wa Taro-ga furui-**no** ___i-o tsukau. b. Taro-wa furui(*-no)jisho-o tsukau.
dictionary-TOP Taro-NOM old-NO -ACC use Taro-TOP old-NO dictionary-ACC use
'As for dictionaries, Taro uses an old one.' 'Taro uses an old dictionary.'

Ne-cliticization: We argue that *ne*-cliticization also shows the properties discussed above. First, the referent of *ne*, which is a topic, has to be non-specific, so that a definite article is disallowed, as in (7)

- (7) **Di ragazze**/***Delle ragazze**, ne ho vista una bella.
of girls of.the girls NE I.have seen.F.SG INDEF.F.SG beautiful.F.SG
'As for girls, I saw a beautiful one.'

Second, the topic (*di ragazze* in (7)) receives a topic intonation, and the stranded modifier (*una bella* in (7)) receives a secondary focus intonation. Third, the stranded modifier has to be nominalized when it is not nominal. When an indefinite article is attached to a singular masculine noun, it has a weak form (8a), but when attached to a stranded modifier of *ne*-cliticization, it has to have a strong form (8b) like in German.

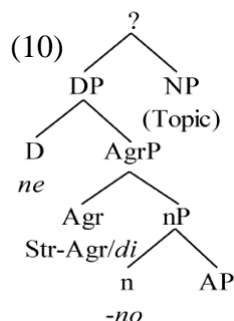
- (8) a. Ho letto **un**/*uno lungo libro. b. Ne ho letto *un/**uno** lungo.
I.have read INDEF.M.WEAK/STR long.M.SG book NE I.have read INDEF.M.WEAK/STR long.M.SG
'I have read a long book.' 'I have read a long one (book).'

As for plural, a stranded modifier has to co-occur with *di*, which is a genitive marker, as in (9). Thus, Italian shows both the strong form nominalization like German and the genitive-like nominalization like Japanese.

- (9) Ne ho viste *(**di**) belle.
NE I.have seen.F.PL of beautiful.F.PL
'I saw beautiful ones.'

Thus, *ne*-cliticization and split-topicalization share certain properties.

Analysis: The similarities discussed above indicate presence of the same underlying mechanism in these constructions. Interestingly, Ott 2011 and Zamparelli 1995 independently propose a symmetry-breaking analysis in Moro's (2000) sense for split-topicalization in German and *ne*-cliticization in Italian, respectively, in which the topic is a predicate of the stranded modifier in the base position and undergoes left-dislocation. Thus, following their insights regarding unification, we propose a unified base-structure for split-topicalization in German and Japanese and *ne*-cliticization as in (10). We assume the stranded



modifier (DP) and the topic (NP) are sisters in the base-position, which creates a symmetry problem, so the topic has to move to solve it (movement of the stranded modifier is in principle possible, but it violates a general topic-comment schema; see Ott 2011). Note that we assume *ne* is base-generated within the stranded modifier, unlike Zamparelli, who assumes *ne* is a topic. Our proposal is supported by the fact that in (7) the past participle agrees with the stranded modifier, not the topic: *ne* shares the ϕ -feature with *n* and Agr, and mediates past participle agreement with the stranded modifier as an object clitic, which generally triggers past participle agreement. *Ne* selects AgrP, whose head is a strong form in German and singular in

Italian or *di* in plural in Italian. This assumption is motivated by the fact that *di* appears only with the plural modifiers and shows complementary distribution with the singular strong form. Following Lobeck 2006, we assume strong agreement licenses ellipsis of the head noun (or *n*). In Japanese, *-no* is not an agreement form but a light noun in Hiraiwa's (2016) sense, which is *n* and has a pronominal status (Sugawara 2010). Finally, we suggest *di* with the topic in (7) is a topic marker, on a par with the topic marker *-wa* in Japanese.

Consequences: There are interesting consequences of our proposal for both *ne*-cliticization and split-topicalization. First, it accounts for the otherwise puzzling gender pattern found with 'egg(s)' in *ne*-cliticization. In Italian, 'egg' is masculine when singular (11a), but it is feminine when plural (11b).

- (11) a. **Un** uovo /***una** uova b. ***due** uovo /**due** uova
 INDEF.M. egg.M INDEF.F egg.F two egg.M two egg.F

When it is used in a partitive construction, both 'one' and 'egg' have to be feminine, as in (12).

- (12) a. **Una** delle uova b. ***uno** delle uova c. ***uno** delle uova d. ***una** delle uova
 one.F of.the egg.F one.M of.the egg.F one.M of.the egg.M one.F of.the egg.M

Crucially, *ne*-cliticization with 'egg' is grammatical only when the stranded modifier is masculine, as in (13a), which is not allowed in the partitives as in (12c).

- (13) a. Di uovo/a, ne ho mangiato **uno** solo. b. *Di uovo/a, ne ho mangiata **una** sola.
 Of egg.M/F NE Ihave eaten.M one.M only.M of egg.M/F NE Ihave eaten.F one.F only.F

This is not expected in analyses where *ne* + the stranded modifier and the *di*-phrase constitute a partitive construction (e.g., Cardinaletti and Giusti 2006), since they expect that *ne*-cliticization in (13) and partitives in (12) would show the same gender pattern. In contrast, our analysis can capture the difference: there is no partitive construction involved so that when the stranded modifier is singular, its gender has to be masculine, as in the usual singular case (11a). In addition, the gender of the elided singular *n* (*uovo*) is expected to be independent of that of the topic, which can be masculine or feminine as in (13a). Thus, the gender pattern indicates that *ne*-cliticization is not a partitive construction. Second, our proposal predicts that we may find a counterpart of the clitic *ne* at least in some languages. This is borne out in Brabant Dutch as in (14), where a d-pronoun occurs between the topic and V in C. If the d-pronoun in (14) is analyzed as a phrase that moves to Spec,CP, it is unclear how come the topic *koeien* can appear at the same time, given that Brabant Dutch is a V2 language where only one constituent can fill Spec,CP. However, given Zwart's (1993) argument that weak d-pronouns are heads/clitics, which van Hoof 1997 specifies as D, *die* in (14) can be considered as a counterpart of *ne*: *die* starts from D in (10) and incorporates to the verb *heeft* as a clitic like *ne*, and only *koeien* is located in Spec,CP, without violating the V2 requirement.

- (14) [Koeien]_i **die** heeft-ie [een helehoop _i] in de achterste wei.
 cows D-pro has-he a whole.heap in the rearmost meadow
 'As for cows, he has quite a lot in the rearmost meadow.' (van Hoof 1997)

Selected Ref: Cardinaletti, A. and G. Giusti 2006. The syntax of quantified phrases and quantitative clitics. In *The Blackwell companion to syntax*. Ott, D. 2011. The syntax of split topics. Harvard diss. Zamparelli, R. 1995. Layers in the determiner phrase. U. of Rochester diss.

Perspectives under Ellipsis
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Synopsis: We make a new observation that there is a contrast in felicity between (1a) and (1b), under a context where Macron is in Paris but Obama is not; and crucially, neither A nor B is in Paris.

- A: (1) *Macron thinks that Obama will come to Paris.*
B: (1a) *# I doubt that he will come to Paris.*
(1b) *I doubt that he will.*

The question is why the elided version (1b) is felicitous, given that the unelided version (1a) is not. We argue that a PF-deletion analysis of ellipsis cannot readily account for this contrast, at least without making substantial new assumptions about how to interpret deictic verbs of motion. We propose that an LF-copying analysis of ellipsis can better explain this contrast.

The Semantics of *Come*: Cinque (1972), Oshima (2006a,b) and Barlew (2017) observe that *come* is anchored to an individual's perspective, and carries the presupposition that the perspective holder (or in Barlew (2017)'s term, "the anchor") is located (or at least *thinks* s/he is located) at the destination of *come*. For example, in (1), *come* is anchored to Macron's perspective; the anchor Macron is located in Paris, and the destination of *come* is also Paris, so the presupposition of *come* in (1) is satisfied. According to Barlew (2017), the possible anchors for the perspective of *come* are salient individuals in a given context, normally including the speaker, the addressee, the attitude holder, etc. With regards to (1), the speaker A, the addressee B, and the attitude holder *Macron* are all salient individuals, but only the perspective holder *Macron* satisfies the presupposition. For (1a), the possible anchors are A and B. Neither of the possible anchors, A or B, can satisfy the presupposition of *come*, so (1a) is infelicitous. It is worth pointing out that the infelicity of (1a) shows that the attitude holder *Macron* from the previous utterance cannot serve as a possible anchor of *come* in (1a).

Under PF-deletion: Under a PF-deletion analysis (Merchant 2001), the elided material in (1b) is derived by initially building the full VP *come to Paris* as in (1a), and then deleting it at PF. If this is true, (1b) should be infelicitous for the same reason as (1a): there is no available anchor for *come* in (1b) that will satisfy the location presupposition. (Note again that *Macron* from the previous utterance is not a possible anchor, as the infelicity of (1a) demonstrates; the possible anchors in (1b) only include A and B, neither of which is in Paris.)

Under LF-copying: Under an LF-copying analysis (Chung et al. 1995), the elided material in (1b) is derived by copying the LF of the VP from (1a). Crucially, this copied LF can contain information about the (possible) anchor(s) of *come*. For example, according to Oshima's (2006a,b) analysis, the VP in (1) contains the output of a function from the context to a set of possible anchors. A simplified version of this analysis for (1) at LF would be [_{VP} *come*^{speaker, addressee, Macron} to Paris]; the set of possible anchors for *come* is shown in superscript. If the elided VP in (1b) is a copy of this LF, then we account for the felicity of (1b), since the information about possible anchors is copied from the antecedent; the possible anchors in (1b) are the same as the ones in its antecedent. The infelicity of (1a) is still accounted for, since the VP in (1a) is *not* derived by the LF-copying operation, but built up as in (1). A simplified version of the analysis for (1a) would be [_{VP} *come*^{speaker, addressee} to Paris].

A different view of *come* and *go*: We also explore whether the PF-deletion view might be able to account for (1b) by adopting a non-standard analysis of *come* and *go*. Suppose the unelided source of (1b) is not (1a), but rather *I doubt that he will <go to Paris>*. PF-deletion might then

correctly predict the felicity of (1b), but only if we assume that the verbs *come* and *go* can be treated as identical under ellipsis. We explore one possible implementation of this idea, where *come* and *go* are essentially two realizations of a single abstract lexical item *MOVE*, spelled out as *come* or *go* depending on the choice of anchor. That is, (1) could underlyingly be *Macron thinks that Obama will MOVE to Paris*. In narrow syntax, *MOVE* is anchored to *Macron*. At PF, since the anchor *Macron* is located at the destination of *come*, namely *Paris*, *MOVE* is spelled out as *come*. (1b) could also be *I doubt that he will MOVE to Paris*. In narrow syntax, *MOVE* is anchored to the attitude holder (i.e., the speaker B). At PF, since B is not at the destination of *come*, *MOVE* would be realized as *go*, but be unpronounced due to deletion. However, one conceptual problem for this analysis is that the spell-out rules for *MOVE* would require PF to access information about where the anchors' locations, which is not encoded syntactically.

Problems with a bound variable treatment of *come/go*: Furthermore, under this different view of *come/go*, the anchoring of the perspective of *come* happens in narrow syntax. It is natural to ask what syntactic mechanism might be involved in anchoring the perspective. One potential mechanism is to anchor the perspective of *come* by variable binding. A possible analysis for (1) in narrow syntax is shown in (2), where *MOVE* is bound by *Macron*.

(2) *Macron_i thinks that Obama will MOVE_i to Paris.*

This is not a completely novel mechanism, considering this is how pronouns get interpreted: in both (3a) and (3b), *him* is a bound variable. (“<...>” means that “...” is syntactically present, but gets deleted at PF.)

(3a) *Macron_i thinks that Mary will visit him_i.*

(3b) *John_j also thinks that she will <visit him_{*j/i}>.*

However, we argue against this bound-variable treatment of *MOVE*. Crucially, previous work has identified constraints on the interpretation of bound-variable pronouns under ellipsis, and the interpretation of *MOVE* under this analysis fails to obey these constraints. For instance, Takahashi & Fox (2005) point out that bound-variable pronouns give rise to “MaxElide” effects in examples like (3a-b): *him* in (3b) can refer to *Macron*, but not *John*. This poses a problem for applying the variable binding mechanism to *MOVE*: if the mechanism used for interpreting pronouns is the same used for *MOVE*, we would predict that in (4b), *MOVE* in the ellipsis site could not be bound by *I*. However, the fact that (4b) is felicitous indicates that it should be possible for *MOVE* in the elided site to be bound by *I*, where *MOVE_i* in the antecedent is spelled out as *come*, and *MOVE_j* in the ellipsis site would have been realized as *go* if pronounced.

(4a) *Macron_i thinks that Obama will MOVE_i to Paris.*

(4b) *I_j also think that he will <MOVE_j to Paris>.*

In this sense, we have to either treat *MOVE* as a variable, but one which behaves differently from pronouns, or appeal to another syntactic mechanism to anchor *MOVE*. Either way, this involves invoking an *ad hoc* mechanism for *come/go* without independent motivations.

Conclusion: To account for the facts in (1a-b), we must either reject the PF-deletion analysis of ellipsis for this case, or else reject a standard view of *come/go* as two separate lexical items.

Selected References: •Barlew, J. (2017). *The semantics and pragmatics of perspectival expressions in English and Bulu: The case of deictic motion verbs*. OSU Dissertation. •Chung et al. (1995). Sluicing and logical form. *Natural Language Semantics* 3 (3): 239-282. •Cinque, G. (1972). Fillmore’s semantics of “come” revisited. *Lingua e Stile*, 7:575-599. •Merchant, J. (2001). *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis*. OUP: Oxford. •Oshima, D.Y. (2006a). GO and COME revisited: What serves as a reference point? In Antić, Z. et al editors, *Proceedings of BLS 32*. Berkeley, CA. Takahashi, S. and Fox, D. (2005). MaxElide and the re-binding problem. In E. Georgala and J. Howell (eds.), *Proceedings of SALT 15*. Ithaca, N.Y.

On the subject of subjectless ‘let’ complements

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1. Introduction We argue that the division of indirect causative constructions into ‘active’ versus ‘passive’ variants is too coarse-grained. The Icelandic counterpart has more passive properties than previously assumed, but is still not quite as clear cut as languages like Danish, French or German in its passive properties. Nevertheless, its properties are fairly close to those of the so-called New Impersonal Passive (NIP), suggesting that assimilating the structure of the embedded infinitive to the overall Voice system is essentially correct.

2. Background Indirect causatives (ICs) are causative constructions where the agent is left unspecified, as in Icelandic (1); they show considerable cross-linguistic variation (Larson 2014).

- (1) Ég lét { *húsið } byggja { húsið }.
I let { *house.the } build { house.the }
‘I had the house built.’ (Icelandic)

According to a well-known Scandinavian paradigm, Icelandic and Swedish only allow the object to follow the verb (VO) in ICs, whereas Danish only allows the object to precede the verb (OV); Norwegian and Faroese allow both orders. Interestingly, passive by-phrases are said to be allowed only in the OV order—they are thus ruled out in Icelandic and Swedish.

- (2) Hun måtte lade { tæppet } støvsuge { *tæppet }.
she must.PST let { rug.the } vacuum.clean { *rug.the }
‘She had to have the rug vacuum cleaned.’ (Larson 2014:182) (Danish)
- (3) ?? Martin lat bygga huset af Peter.
Martin let build house.the by Peter
‘Martin had the house built by Peter.’ (Vikner 1987:271) (Swedish)
- (4) Han lod kapellet udsmykke af Matisse.
he let chapel.the decorate by Matisse
‘He had the chapel decorated by Matisse.’ (Vikner 1987:271) (Danish)

Following Pitteroff’s (2014) analysis of German, we can analyze the OV order as the embedding of a passive Voice head, which is unavailable in Icelandic and Swedish. For the VO order, we show that at least Icelandic is not exactly passive, but not exactly active either. This raises the question of whether VO in the other languages is similar, as well as how these properties arose diachronically.

3. Analysis In previous “active” analyses of the Icelandic/Swedish type (Taraldsen 1984, McFadden 2004, Wood 2011), ‘let’ embeds a bare VP with no external argument layer, as in (5).

- (5) [VoiceP EA [VP ‘let’ [VP build the.house.ACC]]] (Bare Active Analysis)

However, drawing on Alexiadou et al. (2015), there are reasons to assume that there is a VoiceP layer in the complement, encoding external argumenthood. First, by-phrases are allowed, as long as they are indefinite and nonspecific; see (6). Second, instrument phrases are allowed; see (7).

- (6) Ég lét gera við tölvuna { *af Jóni / af fagmanni }.
INOM let repair computer.the.ACC { *by Jón / by professional }
‘I had the computer repaired (by a professional).’ (Adapted from Jónsson 2009:294)

- (7) Jón lét mála húsið með mjög litlum penslum.
 John let paint the.house with very small paint.brushes
 ‘John had people paint the house with very small paint brushes.’

Third, the embedded verb must be transitive, and may not be unaccusative. Such transitivity restrictions are most naturally encoded in a Voice layer, and are harder to capture without one (though see Wood & Sigurðsson 2014). These facts suggest that the embedded verb projects at least a Voice layer, but do not tell us whether that Voice is passive, or has a syntactically projected but phonetically silent Weak Implicit Argument (WIA), as in Legate’s (2014) analysis of the NIP. The two possibilities are shown in (8)–(9); ϕ P in (9) is a WIA, by hypothesis bearing nominative case.

- (8) [VoiceP EA [VP ‘let’ [VoiceP Voice_{Pass} [VP build the.house.ACC]]]] (Passive Analysis)
 (9) [VoiceP EA [VP ‘let’ [VoiceP ϕ P Voice [VP build the.house.ACC]]]] (NIP Analysis)

We argue that the analysis in (9) is on the right track. First, if the matrix verb is passivized, the embedded object stays accusative and is not promoted to subject position; see (10a). This is expected if there is a null EA present, but surprising otherwise (see Wurmbrand 1998 on long passives).

- (10) a. Það var látið drepa Maríu. b. * María var látin drepa.
 EXPL was let kill.INF María.ACC María.NOM was let kill.INF
 ‘Somebody let someone kill María.’

Second, although by-phrases are possible, identifying a Voice layer, the fact that they are restricted (roughly to indefinites) is unexpected if we are dealing simply with passive Voice. Such restrictions are found, however, with other silent EA constructions in Icelandic, such as the Impersonal Modal Construction (E.F. Sigurðsson 2012). Third, Icelandic ICs license, for some speakers at least, an accusative remnant in sluicing; see (11). That is normally not possible with embedded passives; see (12). It is well-known that unlike VP-ellipsis, sluicing does not allow Voice-mismatches (Merchant 2013), so the existence of (11) strongly supports a structure like (9) over one like (8).

- (11) Kóngurinn lét myrða konuna sína, en ég veit ekki hvern.
 king.the let murder wife his but I know not who.ACC
 ‘The king had his wife murdered, but I don’t know who
 (he had <who> murder his wife).’
 (12) * Hún taldi hafa verið veidda marga fiska, en ég veit ekki hvern.
 she believed have been caught many fish but I know not who.ACC
 INTENDED: ‘She believed many fish to have been caught, but she didn’t know who (she
 believed to have caught many fish).’

4. Implications The resulting analysis fits indirect causatives into the Voice system, but only if we go beyond the classic active/passive dichotomy, and treat voice alternations not as primitives, but as the products of individual, interacting components.

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