Snyder & Hyams (2015, S&H) account for children's late acquisition of English *be*-passives (age 4+), in terms of smuggling (Collins 2005): *be*-passives (BPs) require the object to move past an intervening argument (a PRO subject or a by-phrase). Simple A-movement would violate relativized minimality, so the object must be "smuggled" out, inside a larger phrase. S&H propose that prior to about 4, children cannot smuggle. In contrast, English *get*-passives (GPs) are attested by age 2-3. S&H argue, on the basis of control facts, that the lower V in a GP has nothing in SPEC,vP. Hence, minimality is respected and smuggling isn't needed.

Interestingly, Guasti (2016:185) conjectures that French (and other Romance) *faire-par* causatives ('FP') as in (1) will be acquired substantially earlier than *faire-à* causatives ('FA',2), because the two exhibit striking parallels to GPs and BPs, respectively. In both FPs and GPs, the lower V must be actional and must take a directly-affected object (3-4), while in FAs and BPs this isn't necessary. Here we evaluate the plausibility of Guasti's conjecture, and find considerable support for it. Moreover, we argue that the acquisitional time-course of FP vs. FA (much like GP vs. BP) can be understood as a direct consequence of S&H's smuggling account.

To begin with the link to smuggling, the S&H account for delayed BPs - based on a need for smuggling in A-movement - might at first glance seem irrelevant to Romance causatives, which do not appear to require A-movement. Yet, Belletti & Rizzi (2012) argue that precisely in FAs with an embedded transitive, smuggling actually is needed - not for purposes of A-movement, but for case-valuation of the lower verb's direct object. Without smuggling, the dative causee (in SPEC,vP) intervenes. In contrast, according to Folli & Harley (2007) the FP embeds a nominalized VP with an optional PP adjunct (cf. the by-phrase in English derived nominals). No smuggling is needed in FPs, because the *par*-phrase (if present) is not an intervening argument for either movement or case-valuation. Note that FAs with unergative verbs (5) do not require smuggling, since there is no embedded object in need of case valuation. Therefore the prediction of S&H’s smuggling account is slightly different from Guasti’s conjecture: FAs with transitives (and hence, with a dative-marked causee) will be delayed, but both FPs and FAs with unergatives will be acquired earlier.

Investigation: From CHILDES (MacWhinney 2000) we selected 11 longitudinal, spontaneous-speech corpora for French; located all child utterances containing any form of the verb *faire*; selected the causatives; and classified them as FP (with transitive or unaccusative V; cf. 1,6), FA-transitive (cf. 2), or FA-unergative (cf. 5). The strong prediction of S&H is that FA-transitives will not appear until the same late age-range when BPs appear; any production of FAs with a clear dative-marked causee by a child younger than 4 would be a counterexample. Results: (i) None of the 11 children used a single FA-transitive prior to age 4 (Binomial $p < .0001$; see 7); (ii) as expected, shortly after 4, some children began using clear-cut FA-transitives; (iii) also as expected, FPs appeared much earlier; in fact, two children produced FPs with *par*-phrases well before age 3 (2;05,12 and 2;09,16); (iv) finally, FA-unergatives appeared at an early age, sometimes even before 3 (2;07,28; 2;09,15 and 2;11,14). Thus, our acquisitional evidence provides exciting new support for the S&H smuggling analysis of English passives, by showing that it makes accurate predictions for Romance causatives.
(1) Jean a fait laver la voiture (par Paul).  
'John had the car washed (by Paul).'

(2) a) Jean a fait [laver la voiture] à Paul.  
'John made Paul wash the car.'
b) Jean lui, a fait [laver la voiture] t,  
'John made Paul wash the car.'

(3) a. ?* John got liked.  
[The verb liked is non-actional]
b. ?* The answer got found.  
[The underlying object, the answer, is not affected]

(4) a. ?* Ils ont fait aimer Jean (par Marie).  
'They had John loved (by Mary).'
b. ?* Ils ont fait trouver la solution (par le chercheur).  
'They had the solution found (by the researcher).'

(5) Jean a fait courir Marie.  
[FA-nergative; causee occupies lower Spec,vP]  
'John made Mary run'

(6) Jean a fait tomber Marie.  
[FP-unaccusative; lower Spec,vP is empty]  
'John made Mary fall'

NB: Folli & Harley 2007 and Guasti 1996 argue faire-causatives with lower Spec,vP empty are FPs.

(7) Statistics: To check for statistical significance of the observed delay in FA-transitives, we first calculated the total number (U) of child utterances in our sample that were produced after the given child was already producing both datives and FPs, but before the age of 4. To estimate the per-utterance frequency of FA-transitives in speakers whose grammar allows them, we analyzed all parental utterances in our 11 corpora; we calculated each parent’s per-utterance frequency of FA-transitives, and then took the median, F. To calculate the probability that U would be as high as observed (or even higher), under the null hypothesis that FA-transitives were always available to children as soon as they had both FPs and dative arguments, we calculated the binomial probability $p = (1-F)^U$: U=33,244 utterances. $F = (7 \ FAs)/(22,778 \ parental \ utterances)$.  
$p = .00003651 < .0001$