

The Locality of Clitic Placement and the Analysis of French Causatives

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Introduction

- French has two causative constructions, which both involve a reordering of the elements of the clause embedded under the causative morphemes *faire* 'make' or *laisser* 'let'.

(1) Flo makes Max read the book.

(2) Flo **fait** lire le livre **à Max**.

Faire à

Flo makes read the book to Max

'Flo has Max read the book.'

(3) Flo **fait** lire le livre (**par Max**).

Faire par

Flo makes read the book by Max

'Flo has Max read the book.'

Introduction

◇ How different are the two constructions?

- 1 Word order;
- 2 Case patterns;
- 3 Clitic placement;
- 4 Thematic Restrictions;
- 5 Interpretation.

Introduction

◇ How different are the two constructions?

(4) *Idioms*

Flo a fait casser la croûte à/ *par Max.

Flo has made break the crust to/ by Max

'*Flo made Max eat.*'

(5) *Non passivizable expressions*

Flo fera quitter la ville à/ *par Max.

Flo make.FUT leave the city to/ by Max

'*Flo will make Max leave the city.*'

Introduction

(6) *[La victime]_i; **se** fait dévaliser t_i (à) Pierre. Faire à
 The victim SE makes rob to Pierre
 'The victim is getting robbed by Pierre.'

(7) [La victime]_i; **se** fait dévaliser t_i par Pierre. Faire par
 The victim SE makes rob by Pierre
 'The victim is getting robbed by Pierre.'

- We're going to argue that they involve **different reordering mechanisms**.
- Studying these mechanisms will lead us to propose a modification of the theory of **locality**.

Introduction

- My goals:
 - (i.) Use clitic placement as a probe into the structure of causatives.
 - (ii.) Establish some necessary properties that any analysis will have to have.
 - (iii.) Conclude that these properties falsify all previous analyses.
 - (iv.) Show that Relativized Minimality should be amended.
 - (v.) Propose that some effects previously attributed to Relativized Minimality should fall out from Phase theory.

Introduction

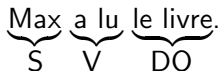
- Plan:

- I. Basic Data: Word Order and Case
- II. Restricting the Space of Possible Analyses
- III. Analysis: Reordering Mechanisms
- IV. Consequences: New Insight on the Locality of Movement

Word Order

- French is SVO.


(8) Max a lu le livre.
Max has read the book
'Max read the book.'

Max a lu le livre.

 S V DO

French Clitics

(9) Marie likes **him**.

(10) Marie **l'_i** aime **t_j**.
 Marie him likes




- **Cliticization** involves **movement**: to simplify, it is the clitic itself which moves.
- The final cliticization site is in the T region.
- Clitics are attracted by **Clitic probes linked to T**.
- They need a **verbal host**.

Middle Se

- It is base-generated at the VP periphery and its presence triggers **A-movement** of a lexical DP (its 'associate').
- The surface subject is an underlying internal argument.

(11) Les écharpes se vendent bien.
 The scarves SE sell well
 'Scarves sell well.'

(12) *Agentive Middle*
[les écharpes]_i SE vendent **t_j** bien


Basic data: Templates

(13) donner **DO** **IO** Simple Ditransitive
ACC DAT

(14) faire V **DO** **S** *Faire à*, trans. V
ACC DAT

(15) faire V **S** **IO** *Faire à*, ind. trans. V
ACC DAT

(16) faire V **DO** par-**S** *Faire par*, trans. V
ACC

Basic data

- (17) Jean donne le livre à Pierre. **V DO IO**
 Jean gives the book to Pierre Simple Ditransitive
- (18) Jean **fait/laisse** examiner le livre à Pierre. **V DO S**
 Jean makes/lets examine the book to Pierre
'Jean makes/lets Pierre examine the book.' Faire à
- (19) Jean **fait/laisse** téléphoner Pierre à Marie. **V S IO**
 Jean makes/lets phone Pierre to Marie
'Jean makes/lets Pierre call Marie.' Faire à
- (20) Jean **fait/laisse** examiner le livre par Pierre. **V DO par-S**
 Jean makes/lets examine the book by Pierre
'Jean makes/lets Pierre examine the book.' Faire par

- Where are we?

- I. Basic Data: Word Order and Case
- II. Restricting the Space of Possible Analyses
- III. Analysis: Reordering Mechanisms
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Questions

- Are causative constructions monoclausal?
- If so, we predict similarity with standard double object constructions.
- If not, how is the word order derived?

Placement of the Dative Clitic: Templates

- (21) **CI** donner **DO** **IO**
ACC DAT
Simple Ditransitive
- (22) **CI** faire V **DO** **S**
ACC DAT
Faire à, trans. V
- (23) ***CI** faire V **S** **IO**
ACC DAT
Faire à, ind. trans. V
- (24) *faire **CI** V **S** **IO**
ACC DAT
Faire à, ind. trans. V

Placement of the Dative Clitic

- Comparing *Faire à* and double object constructions:

- (25) Jean **lui** donne le livre **t_j**.
Jean to-him give the book
- (26) Jean **lui** **fait/laisse** examiner le livre **t_j**.
Jean to-him makes/lets examine the book
'Jean makes him examine the book.'
- (27) *Jean **lui** **fait/laisse** téléphoner Pierre **t_j**.
Jean to-her makes/lets phone Pierre
'Jean makes/lets Pierre call her.'
- (28) *Jean **fait/laisse** **lui** téléphoner Pierre **t_j**.
Jean makes/lets to-her phone Pierre
'Jean makes/lets Pierre call her.'

Placement of the Dative Clitic: Templates

(29) **CI** donner **DO** **IO**
ACC DAT
Simple Ditransitive

(30) **CI** faire V **DO** **S**
ACC DAT
Faire à, trans. V

(31) ***CI** faire V **S** **IO**
ACCDAT
Faire à, ind. trans. V

(32) *faire **CI** V **S** **IO**
ACCDAT
Faire à, ind. trans. V

- ⇒ The Dative internal arguments cannot cliticize in *Faire à*. No such problem in double object constructions, which are **monoclausal**.

Taking Stock

- Are causative constructions monoclausal?
- *Answer: Faire à* is not monoclausal (*contra* Zubizarreta, Alsina, Guasti *inter alia*).
- If not, how is the word order derived?
- *Answer:* Comparing the two constructions *Faire à* and *Faire par* is going to give us an answer.
 - First we look at the placement of Dative Clitics;
 - Second, we look at the placement of Middle Se.

Dative Clitics (internal arguments) in *Faire à*: Templates

(33) ***CI** faire V **DO** **IO** **S** *Faire à*

ACC DAT DAT

(34) *faire **CI** V **DO** **IO** **S** *Faire à*

ACC DAT DAT

Dative Clitics (internal arguments) in *Faire à*

- Dative clitics cannot cliticize as **lui, leur** neither on *faire* nor on the embedded verb.

(35) Flo fait rendre un livre **à la maîtresse** à
 Flo makes give-back a book to the schoolteacher to
 Max. **V DO IO S**
 Max
 'Flo has Max give back a book to the schoolteacher.'

Dative Clitics (internal arguments) in *Faire à*

- Dative clitics cannot cliticize as **lui**, **leur** neither on *faire* nor on the embedded verb.

(36) *Flo **lui** fait rendre un livre à Max.

↓
 ***CI** faire V **DO** **IO** **S** Faire à
 ACC DAT DAT

(37) *Flo fait **lui** rendre un livre à Max.

↓
 *faire **CI** V **DO** **IO** **S** Faire à
 ACC DAT DAT

Dative Clitics in *Faire par*: Templates

(38) **CI** faire V **DO** **IO** par-S *Faire par*

ACC DAT

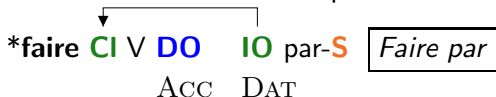
(39) *faire **CI** V **DO** **IO** par-S *Faire par*

ACC DAT

Dative Clitics in *Faire par*

- Dative clitics can cliticize as **lui, leur**, onto *faire* but not onto the embedded verb.

(40) Flo fait rendre un livre **à la maîtresse** par
 Flo makes give-back a book to the schoolteacher to
 Max. **V DO IO par-S**
 Max
 'Flo has Max give back a book to the schoolteacher.'

Dative Clitics in *Faire par*(41) Flo **lui** fait rendre un livre par Max.(42) *Flo fait **lui** rendre un livre par Max.

Placement of *Se*: Templates

(47) faire SE V **DP_i t_i** *Faire à*

(48) ***DP_i** SE faire V **t_i S** *Faire à*

(49) **DP_i** SE faire V **t_i par-S** *Faire par*

(50) No equivalent of (47) in *Faire par*, because of the incompatibility between *Se* and the *par*-phrase, which are both underlying subjects.

- N.B.: Double object constructions:

(51) **DP_i** SE donner **t_j IO**

Placement of *Se*

- (52) Les écharpes **se** vendent bien.
 The scarves SE sell well
'Scarves sell well.'

- **Se** can appear on the embedded verb, but not on *faire*.

- (53) Le froid fait **se** vendre de nombreuses écharpes. **V S**
 The cold makes SE sell of numerous scarves
'The cold weather makes it so that many scarves are sold.'

- (54) *[La victime]; **se** fait dévaliser t_i (à) Pierre dans son
 The victim SE makes rob to Pierre in her
 sommeil.
 sleep
'The victim is getting robbed by Pierre in her sleep.'

- The *Faire à* and *Faire par* constructions differ:

- *Faire à*:

(55) *[La victime]_i; **se** fait dévaliser t_i (à) Pierre dans son
 The victim SE makes rob to Pierre in her
 sommeil.
 sleep
 ‘The victim is getting robbed by Pierre in her sleep.’

- *Faire par*:

(56) [La victime]_i; **se** fait dévaliser t_i par Pierre dans son
 The victim SE makes rob by Pierre in her
 sommeil.
 sleep
 ‘The victim is getting robbed by Pierre in her sleep.’

Placement of Se: Templates

- (57) faire SE V $DP_i t_i$ *Faire à*
- (58) * DP_i SE faire V t_i S *Faire à*
- (59) DP_i SE faire V t_i par-S *Faire par*
-

- \Rightarrow *Faire à* and *Faire par* differ w.r.t. the **locality of movement**.

Summary of the Data

- Can Dative clitics cliticize? Can DO move to *Se* in Middle *Se*?

	Dative Clitic		DO in Middle <i>Se</i>	
Simplex Clauses	Yes		Yes	
Causatives	<i>On Faire</i>	<i>On embed.</i>	<i>On Faire</i>	<i>On embed.</i>
<i>Faire à</i>	No	No	No	Yes
<i>Faire par</i>	Yes	No	Yes	No

Table: Clitic Placement

Reordering

- The causative verb *laisser* allows two word orders:

- (60) Jean **laisse** Pierre examiner le livre. **S V DO**
 Jean lets Pierre examine the book
- (61) Jean **laisse** examiner le livre à Pierre. **V DO S**
 Jean lets examine the book to Pierre
- (62) Jean **laisse** Pierre téléphoner à Marie. **S V IO**
 Jean lets Pierre phone to Marie
- (63) Jean **laisse** téléphoner Pierre à Marie. **V S IO**
 Jean lets phone Pierre to Marie

- ⇒ The above pairs are strongly suggestive of **reordering**.

Taking Stock

- A monoclausal analysis is untenable.
- The two constructions differ w.r.t. the locality of movement.
- Reordering seems to be involved in the non canonical surface order of causatives.
- But what is the nature of the reordering mechanisms?

- Where are we?

- I. Basic Data: Word Order and Case
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Binding

- In **Faire à** (non canonical word order), S can A-bind into DO or IO:

(64) Jean **fait** examiner son; livre [à chaque auteur]; **V DO S**
Jean makes examine his book to each author

- **New Data:** Importantly, **DO can A-bind into S** in the non canonical word order:

(65) Jean **fait** examiner [chaque livre]; à son; auteur. **V DO S**
Jean makes examine each book to its author

Faire à Involves Individual A-movement of DO

- The binding facts show that the **DO A-moves past S.**
- DO doesn't cross S through VP-preposing followed by A-movement: the Accusative position and the Dative position are in the same domain because the Dative **depends** on the presence of the Accusative (**locality relation** between the Case positions).
- So DO A-moves past S into the Accusative position **on its own.**

No Smuggling in *Faire à*

(66) ***DP_i** SE faire V **t_i** **S** *Faire à*

(67) **DP_i** SE faire V **t_i** par-**S** *Faire par*

(68) ***CI** faire V **DO** **IO** **S** *Faire à*

ACC DAT DAT

(69) **CI** faire V **DO** **IO** par-**S** *Faire par*

ACC DAT

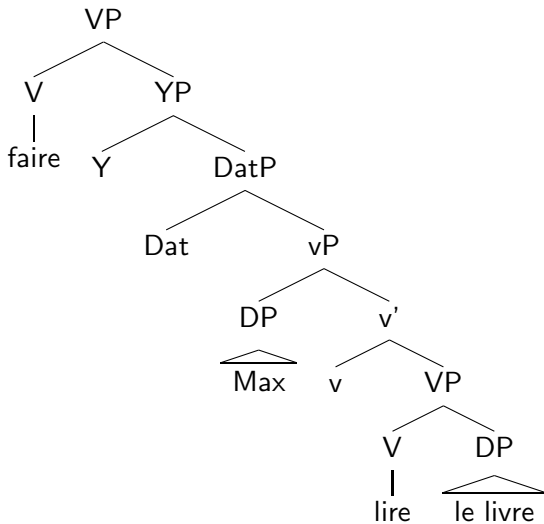
- The associate of *Se* and *IO* are not smuggled in *Faire à* (but might be in *Faire par*).
- So VP preposing in *Faire à* is a relatively short movement.

How Reordering Works in *Faire* à

From **faire S V DO** to the surface order **faire V DO S**.

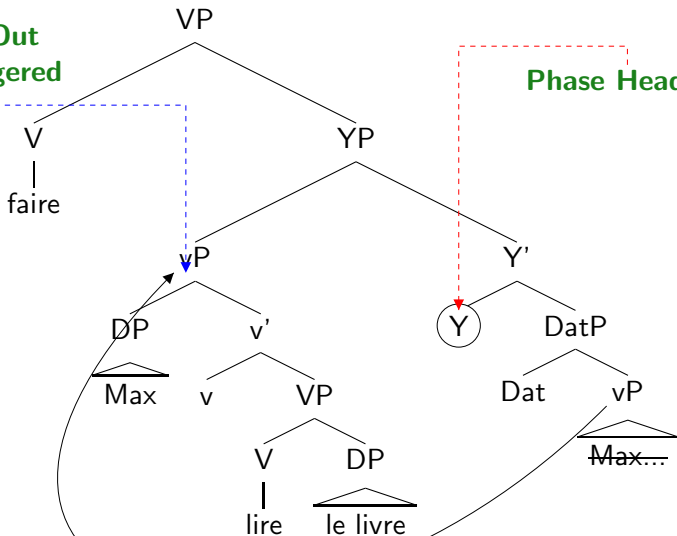
- 1 The Accusative position and the Dative position (embedded subject) have to be in the same domain (because the Dative **depends** on the presence of the Accusative).
- 2 The Dative of the embedded subject is assigned by *faire*, since no embedded subjects are ever Dative-marked otherwise.
- 3 Therefore the Dative of the embedded subject is assigned in the matrix (and the probe has an EPP feature).
- 4 Therefore the Accusative position is in the matrix too (EPP feature too).
- 5 DO moves for Case, violating Relativized Minimality: **the A-position above S is a Case position**.
- 6 S and DO move into the the matrix, therefore V does too.

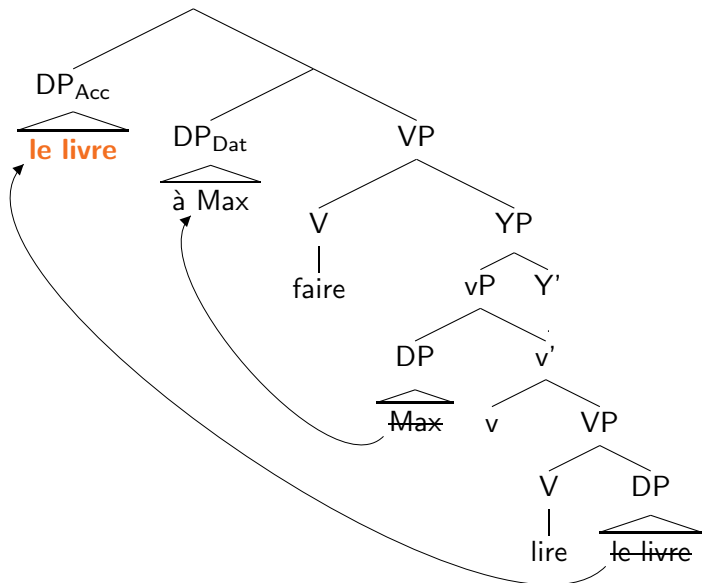
Derivation

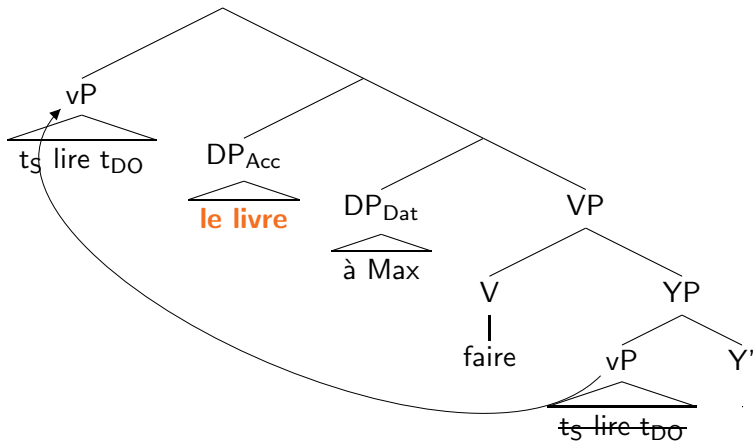


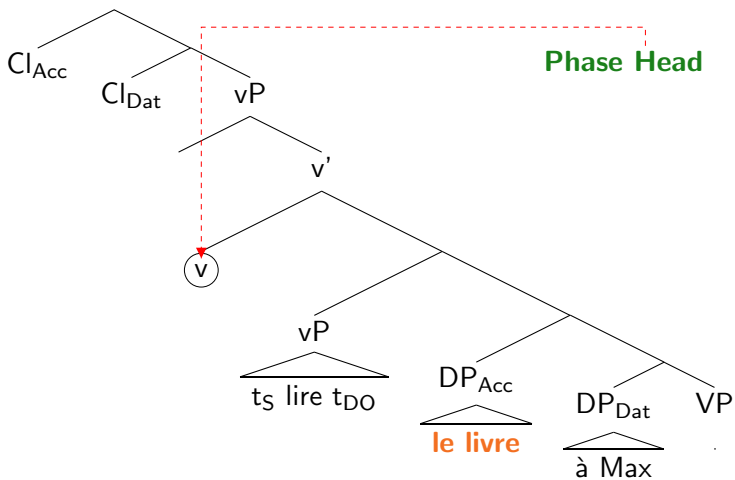
Spell-Out
is triggered

Phase Head









Summarizing

- *Faire à* is not monoclausal.
- Reordering is involved (*contra* Harley & Folli *inter alia*).
- DO A-moves across S on its own.

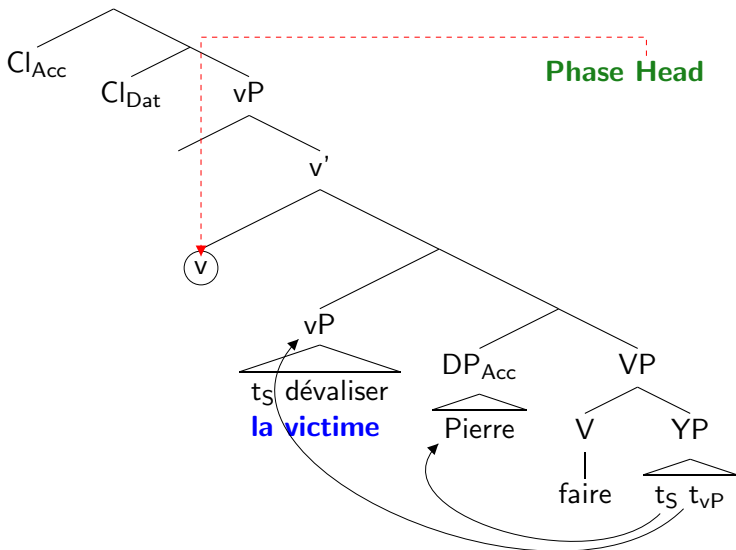
Se in *Faire à*

- 1 The DP associated with *Se* doesn't receive Accusative case, so the position above the subject is not available to it ("Case absorption" in the presence of *Se*).

(70) [Les écharpes]_i; **se** vendent t_i bien.
The scarves SE sell well
'Scarves sell well.'

- 2 But the associate of *Se* cannot A-move into the matrix (it is trapped within a phase).

(71) *[La victime]_i; **se** fait dévaliser t_i; (à) Pierre dans son
The victim SE makes rob to Pierre in her
sommeil.
sleep



The Dative Clitic in *Faire à*

- 1 There is a Dative position (but no Accusative position) in the complement of V *faire*.
- 2 The Dative clitic is Case-marked in the lower phase, from where it cannot escape, nor survive: it has **no verbal host** given that vP is preposed past it.

(72) *Jean **lui** fait téléphoner Pierre **t_i**.

↓

***CI** faire V **S** **IO**

ACCDAT

Faire à, ind. trans. V

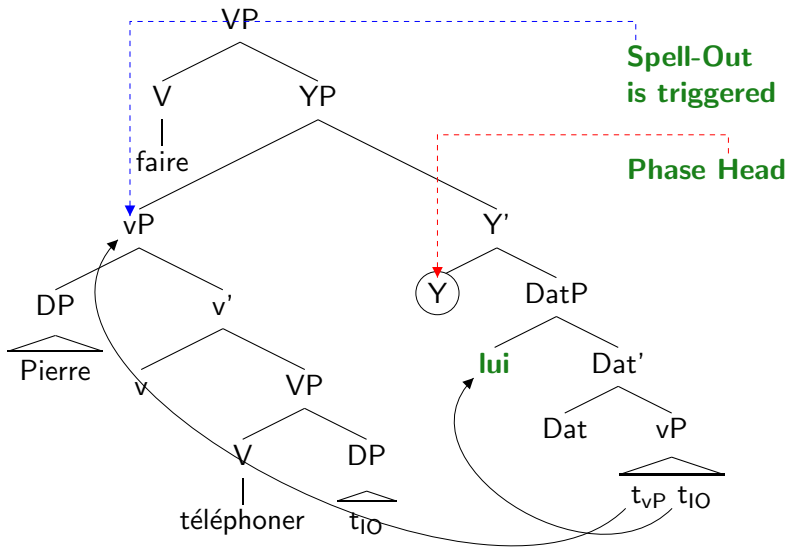
(73) *Jean fait **lui** téléphoner Pierre **t_i**.

↓

*faire **CI** V **S** **IO**

ACCDAT

Faire à, ind. trans. V



- Where are we?

- I. Basic Data: Word Order and Case
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Consequences for Relativized Minimality

- A Case-marked DP does not intervene for Case assignment.
- Therefore A-movement across a Dative-marked experiencer is possible:

(74) John_i seems to Mary to be t_i sick.

(75) Jean_i lui_j t_i téléphone t_j. (*French*)
Jean to-him phones

- Cases where A-movement is not possible are not due to RM.

(76) *Jean_i semble à Marie être t_i malade. (*French*)
Jean seems to Marie to-be sick

Locality Falls Out of Phase Theory

- There are two avenues to capture locality: RM and Phase Theory.
- RM is not at work here.
- \Rightarrow Therefore the explanation should come from **Phase theory**.
- The associate of *Se* and Dative clitics are trapped inside phases.

Conclusion

- Theories of French Causative constructions must account for the patterns of clitic placement: this rules out monoclausal analyses and rules in theories based on reordering mechanisms.
- There is good evidence that Relativized Minimality is not what governs the placement of clitics (it is actually violated by DO).
- The facts are captured by Phase Theory.
- The originality of our analysis lies in the idea that DO moves independently of V (no smuggling past S) in *Faire à* (cf. Kayne 1975).

Thank you!

- Special thanks to Richard Kayne, Hilda Koopman, Carson Schütze, Kie Zuraw, and the audiences at the Syntax/Semantics Seminar at UCLA and at the Syntax Seminar at the École normale supérieure in Paris.

Accusative Clitics in *Faire à*

- The DO can cliticize as **le, la, les**, onto *faire*, but not onto the embedded verb.

- (77) Le maniaque fait dévaliser **[la victime]**; à son
The maniac makes rob the victime to his
complice dans son; sommeil.
accomplice in her sleep
'The maniac has his accomplice rob the victim in her sleep.'
- (78) Le maniaque **la** fait dévaliser à son complice dans son
sommeil.
- (79) *Le maniaque fait **la** dévaliser à son complice dans son
sommeil.

Accusative Clitics in *Faire à*

- There is no Accusative position in the embedded TP (a fact for which we need an explanation).
- So no risk of being trapped in TP.
- They can escape from the Phase through the Accusative position in the matrix.
- Conjecture: they cliticize by \bar{A} -movement.

(80) Le maniaque **la** fait dévaliser à son complice dans son sommeil.

(81) *Le maniaque fait **la** dévaliser à son complice dans son sommeil.

Summary

	Accusative Cl.	Ext. Arg.	Dative Cl.	Se
On <i>Faire</i>	Yes	Yes	No	No
On <i>Embed.</i>	No	No	No	Yes

Table: Clitic Placement in *Faire à*

Accusative Clitics in *Faire par*

- The DO can cliticize as **le, la, les**, onto *faire* but not onto the embedded verb.

- (82) Le maniaque fait dévaliser **la victime** par son
The maniac makes rob the victime by his
complice dans son sommeil.
accomplice in her sleep
*'The maniac has his accomplice rob the victim in her
sleep.'*
- (83) Le maniaque **la** fait dévaliser par son complice dans son
sommeil.
- (84) *Le maniaque fait **la** dévaliser par son complice dans son
sommeil.

Summary

	Accusative Cl.	Dative Cl.	Se
On <i>Faire</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes
On <i>Embed.</i>	No	No	No

Table: Clitic Placement in *Faire par*

A Question

- Can there be a **Caseless** probe attracting the associate of *Se*?
- If there were one, the associate of Middle *Se* could potentially escape from the Phase.
- But in fact there just doesn't seem to be such a Caseless probe.

(85) ***Jean**_i **se** fait **t**_j sursauter dans son sommeil.
Jean SE makes shake in his sleep
'*Jean is caused to shake in his sleep.*'

There is a low Middle Se

- The verbal element that moves is bigger than a head: it can contain the morpheme **se** and the low Genitive clitic **en**.

- (86) Le froid fait **se** vendre de nombreuses écharpes.
The cold makes SE sell of numerous scarves
'The cold weather makes it so that many scarves are sold.'
- (87) Flo fait **en** persuader Max au meilleur avocat de la ville.
Flo makes of-it persuade Max to-the best lawyer of the city
'Flo has the best lawyer in the city persuade Max of it.'

Agreement Facts

- **New Data:** The moved element doesn't contain a Person-licensing projection, therefore it is small.

(88) Flo ne fait se/ *me raser que moi.
Flo NEG makes SE.3rd/ SE.1st shave that me
'Flo makes only me shave.'