

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, e.g. Inalienable Possession*

Flo fera lever la main à/ *par Max.

Flo make.FUT raise the hand to/ by Max

'*Flo will make Max raise his hand.*'

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

Assumptions about French Clitics

(8) Marie likes **him**.



(9) Marie **t_j** 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 (Unaccusative Hypothesis, Kayne 1988, Pesetsky 1995, Sportiche 1998).

(10) Les chapeaux se vendent bien.
 The hats SE sell well
'Hats sell well.'

(11) *Agentive Middle*
[les chapeaux]_i SE vendent **t_i** bien


Basic data: Templates

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

(13) faire V **S** *Faire à*, intrans. V
ACC

(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** rire (*à) Marie. **V S**
Jean makes/lets laugh (to) Marie *Faire à*
- (19) Jean **fait/laisse** examiner le livre *(à) Pierre. **V DO S**
Jean makes/lets examine the book to Pierre *Faire à*
- (20) Jean **fait/laisse** téléphoner Pierre à Marie. **V S IO**
Jean makes/lets phone Pierre to Marie *Faire à*
- (21) Jean **fait/laisse** examiner le livre par Pierre. **V DO par-S**
Jean makes/lets examine the book by Pierre *Faire par*

- Where are we?

- 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

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

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

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

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

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

Placement of the Dative Clitic

- Comparing *Faire à* and double object constructions:

- (26) Jean **lui** donne le livre **t_i**.
Jean to-him give the book
- (27) Jean **lui** **fait/laisse** examiner le livre **t_i**.
Jean to-him makes/lets examine the book
'Jean makes/lets him examine the book.'
- (28) *Jean **lui** **fait/laisse** téléphoner Pierre **t_j**.
Jean to-her makes/lets phone Pierre
'Jean makes/lets Pierre call her.'
- (29) *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

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

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

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

(33) *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 1985, Alsina 1992, Guasti 1996 *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

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

ACC DAT DAT

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

ACC DAT DAT

Dative Clitics (internal arguments) in *Faire à*

- Dative clitics cannot be cliticized as **lui, leur**, neither onto *faire* nor onto the embedded verb.

(36) 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 be cliticized as **lui**, **leur**, neither onto *faire* nor onto the embedded verb.

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



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



Dative Clitics in *Faire par*: Templates

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

ACC DAT

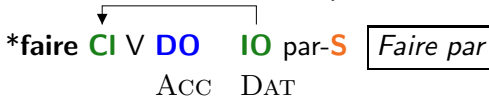
(40) *faire **CI** V **DO** **IO** par-S *Faire par*

ACC DAT

Dative Clitics in *Faire par*

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

(41) 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*(42) Flo **lui** fait rendre un livre par Max.(43) *Flo fait **lui** rendre un livre par Max.

Placement of *Se*: Templates

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

- (51) No equivalent of (48) in *Faire par*, because of the incompatibility between *Se* and the *par*-phrase.

- N.B.: Double object constructions:

- (52) **DP_i** SE donner **t_j IO**
- (53) Ce genre d'esclaves, **ça** se donne **t_j** aux ennemis.
This type of slaves, it SE gives to-the enemies

Placement of *Se*

(54) Les chapeaux **se** vendent bien.
 The hats SE sell well
'Hats sell well.'

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

(55) Le froid fait **se** vendre de nombreux chapeaux. **V S**
 The cold makes SE sell of numerous hats
'The cold weather makes it so that many hats are sold.'

(56) *[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*:

(57) *[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*:

(58) [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.'

A Causal Middle Construction

- (59) [La victime]; **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.'

- The surface subject is not an argument of *faire*.
- Therefore raising-to-subject is involved: the **Unaccusative Hypothesis** for **Se** accounts for this fact.

Placement of Se: Templates

- (60) faire SE V $DP_i t_i$ *Faire à*
- (61) * DP_i SE faire V t_i S *Faire à*
- (62) 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:

- (63) Jean **laisse** Pierre examiner le livre. **S V DO**
 Jean lets Pierre examine the book
- (64) Jean **laisse** examiner le livre à Pierre. **V DO S**
 Jean lets examine the book to Pierre
- (65) Jean **laisse** Pierre téléphoner à Marie. **S V IO**
 Jean lets Pierre phone to Marie
- (66) 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:

(67) Jean **fait** examiner son_i livre [à chaque auteur]_i. **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:

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

(69) *Son_i auteur examine [chaque livre]_i.
Its author examines each book

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*(70) ***DP_i** SE faire V **t_i** **S***Faire à*(71) **DP_i** SE faire V **t_i** par-**S***Faire par*(72) ***CI** faire V **DO** **IO** **S**
ACC DAT DAT*Faire à*(73) **CI** faire V **DO** **IO** par-**S**
ACC DAT*Faire par*

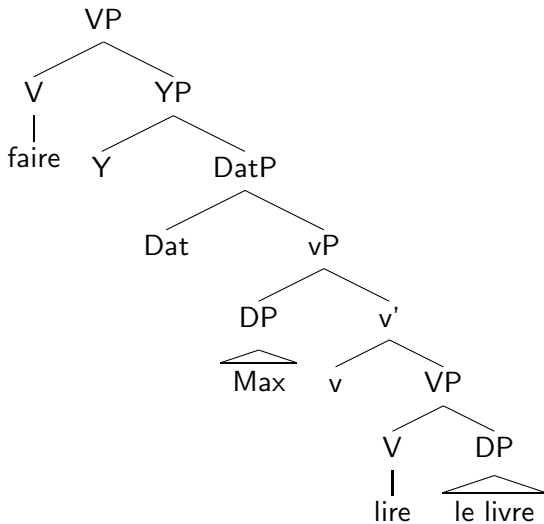
- The associate of *Se* and *IO* are not smuggled in *Faire à* (but might be in *Faire par*).
- So VP preposing in *Faire à* is a relatively short movement.

How Reordering Works in *Faire à*

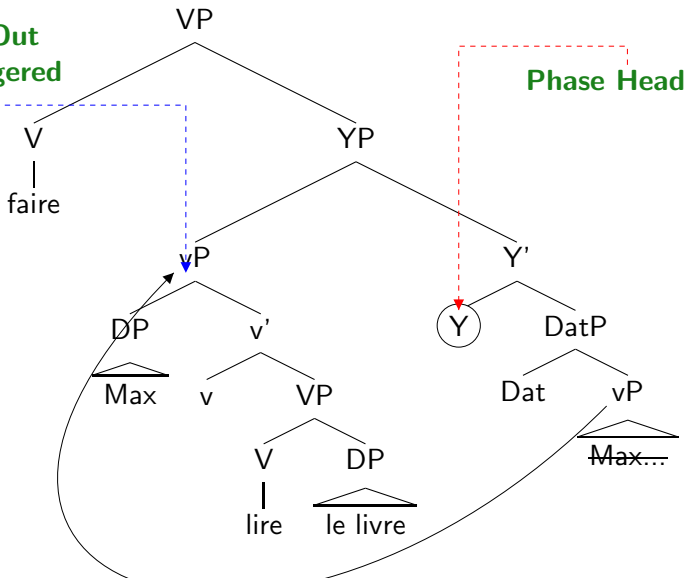
From **faire S V DO** to the surface order **faire V DO S**.

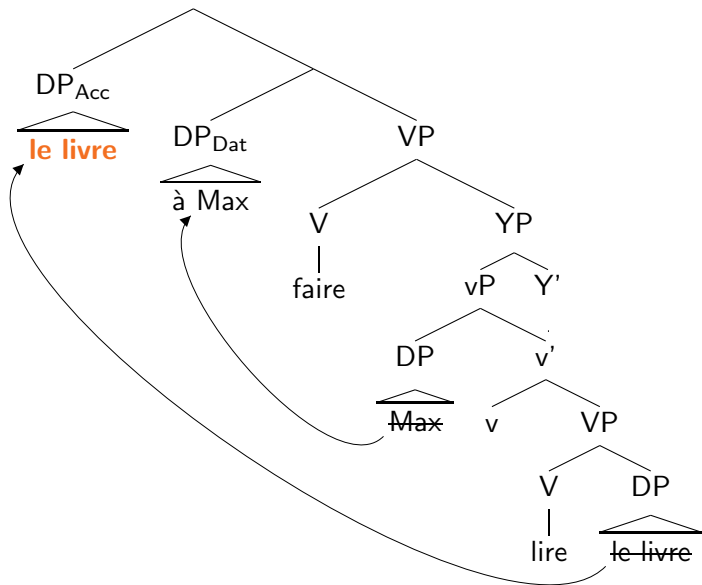
- 1 The Accusative position and the Dative position (embedded subject) have to be in the same domain (because the Dative **depends** on the presence of the Accusative).
- 2 The Dative of the embedded subject is assigned by *faire*, since no embedded subjects are ever Dative-marked otherwise.
- 3 Therefore 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.

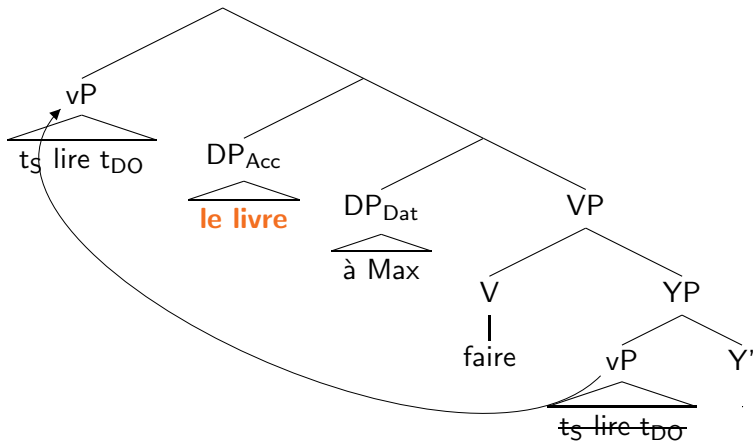
Derivation

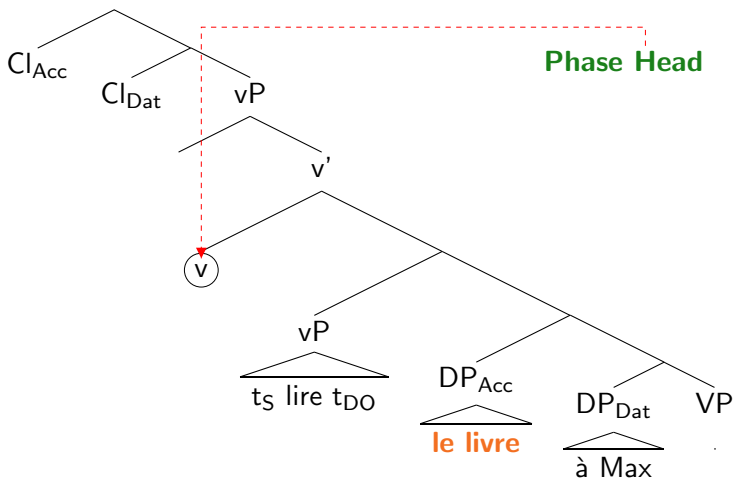


Spell-Out
is triggered









Summarizing

- *Faire à* is not monoclausal.
- Reordering is involved (*contra* Harley & Folli 2007 *inter alia*).
- DO A-moves across S on its own.

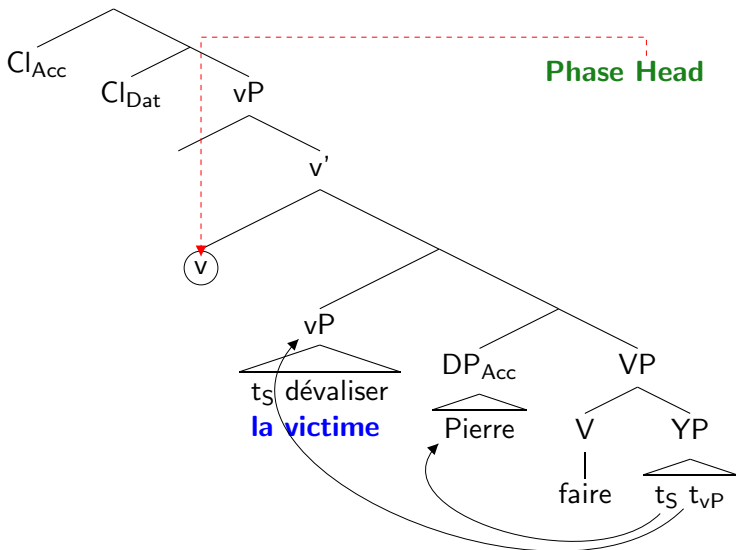
Se in *Faire à*

- 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*).

(74) Ils_i **se** vendent t_i bien.
They.NOM SE sell well
'*They sell well.*'

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

(75) *[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, and in which it cannot survive: it has **no verbal host**, given that vP is preposed past it.

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

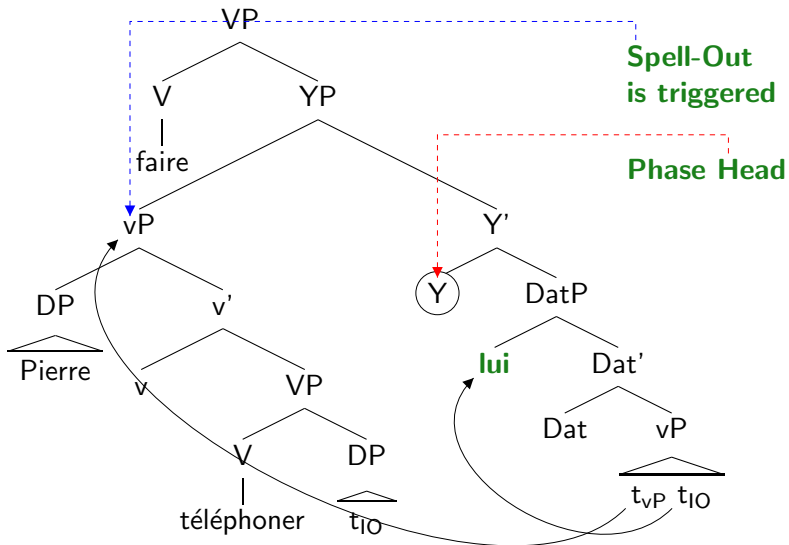
↓
 ***CI** faire V **S IO**
 ACCDAT

Faire à, ind. trans. V

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

↓
 *faire **CI** V **S IO**
 ACCDAT

Faire à, ind. trans. V



The Verbal Element that Moves Is Bigger than V

- The verbal element that moves is bigger than a head: it can contain the morpheme **Se** and the low Genitive clitic **En**.
- Therefore there is a low **Se**.

(78) Le froid fait **se** vendre de nombreux chapeaux.
The cold makes SE sell of numerous hats
'The cold weather makes it so that many hats are sold.'

(79) Flo fait **en** persuader Max au meilleur avocat de la
Flo makes of-it persuade Max to-the best lawyer of the
ville.
city
'Flo has the best lawyer in the city persuade Max of it.'

The Verbal Element that Moves Is Bigger than V: Agreement Facts

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

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

- Where are we?

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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:

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

(82) 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.

(83) *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!

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Accusative Clitics in *Faire à*

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

- (84) 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.'
- (85) Le maniaque **la** fait dévaliser à son complice dans son
 sommeil.
- (86) *Le maniaque fait **la** dévaliser à son complice dans son
 sommeil.

Accusative Clitics in *Faire à*

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

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

(88) *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.

- (89) 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.'
- (90) Le maniaque **la** fait dévaliser par son complice dans son
 sommeil.
- (91) *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.

(92) ***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.'