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Diachronic Evidence and the Form of French Grammar

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
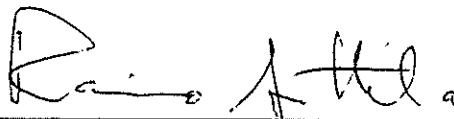
in Linguistics

by

Joëlle Stépien Bailard

1982

The dissertation of Joëlle Stépien Bailard is approved.

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Raimo Anttila

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Edward L. Keenan

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Paul Schachter

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University of California, Los Angeles

1982

To my parents.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Diachronic Evidence and the Form of French Grammar

by

Joëlle Stépien Bailard

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 1982

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The primary objective of this thesis is to show how diachronic evidence may be brought to bear on synchronic analysis. The fundamental issue addressed is whether the formation of passive and causative sentences is a structure-dependent or syntactic-function-dependent phenomenon. It is shown that, in order to give a descriptively adequate synchronic analysis consistent with the variety of changes which have taken place from Classical Latin to contemporary French as well as the typological shift now in progress, both operations must be viewed as being crucially syntactic-function-dependent.

With respect to passive, this historical study shows that in the midst of all the changes syntactic functions emerge as the only constants which are associated with passivizability, more specifically Subject and Direct Object, but in certain cases Indirect Object also.

It is suggested that this role of syntactic functions in passivization may be understood when one considers the phenomenon as a sentential

one and syntactic functions as factors which encode the relative prominence of various nominals within the sentence.

As for causatives, evidence is given which suggests that in certain cases, i.e. for 'Double Dative' and 'Double Accusative' sentences, the syntactic rules necessary to describe the correspondences between ordinary and causative sentences must refer not only to syntactic functions but also to the semantic functions of nominals in relation both to the causative verb and to the dependent infinitive.

On the basis of the observed evidence, it is argued that verbs must be lexically subcategorized for their arguments both in terms of syntactic and of semantic functions, both types of functions, that is, being primitives of the grammar.

With respect to the interaction of syntax and semantics, it is shown furthermore that the sequence of events which led to the current faire+infinitive construction constitutes a gradual implementation of Subject to Object Raising, in the sense that one argument of a dependent verb becomes reanalyzed as an argument of the higher verb, and that the motivation for these developments ultimately is to be found in the semantics of the higher verbs and the contribution made by syntactic functions to sentence interpretation.

This study, finally, confirms the claim made by relational grammarians that the evolution of French causatives constitutes support for the Relational Accessibility Hierarchy, and suggests that this hierarchy is also the general principle which underlies the interpretive rules used to constrain the output of the base component of the grammar, and which are abduced from the oppositions observed between basic sentences and related causative sentences.

Introduction

One approach to dealing with the diachronic and synchronic aspects of language has been to assume, following Saussure (1916), that the two must be viewed as disjoint. One consequence of this is that for many generative linguists, a goal, or the goal, of linguistics has been to try to construct a grammar which would constitute a description of the linguistic competence of some ideal hearer-speaker. This pursuit typically has been embedded in Cartesian philosophy, and more directly, its origins may be found in the Port-Royal idea that language is the expression of logical thought.

Given that the grammar proposed for any particular state of some specific language is to be taken as an instantiation of Universal Grammar, from that perspective, linguistic change must then be viewed in terms of parametric variation arising essentially from language-internal factors.

It has been claimed by Lightfoot (1979a), for instance, that there is no theory of linguistic change, in the sense that the theory developed for synchronic analysis makes predictions as to what constitutes possible linguistic changes.

An alternative approach to the problem is to take the Saussurian dichotomy as an artifact which, while useful for some pursuits as a heuristic device, may if it is adopted as an axiom, instead lead to a misconception of the nature of human language. This is the approach suggested by Andersen (1973), who suggested that any theoretical construct proposed for synchrony should be accepted only on the condition

that it can be integrated with the theory necessary to account for linguistic innovation.

Underlying this approach to the relation of diachrony and synchrony, which is the one adopted here, is the assumption that language is a social institution which exists only through a community of speakers, and which, like any other social institution, is constantly the locus of innovations. These innovations when adopted by the community result in linguistic change.

Change in this view thus constitutes an essential defining characteristic of language, and its motivation, as Andersen pointed out, whether it is triggered by language-internal or language-external factors, is crucially a therapeutic one.

One of the consequences of the therapeutic nature of linguistic change is that reanalysis which may lead to simplification in one area of the grammar frequently has the effect of introducting new complexities in the system as a whole. The typological shift toward verb-initial sentences which French is now undergoing is but one illustration of this.

Given that the ultimate goal of generative linguistics is to define what constitutes a potential human language, one of the tasks for linguists, if we accept that language does not exist in the absence of change, is then at the same time that they try to explain why changes take place to discover what remains constant in the midst of changes. In this way, then, the study of diachronic evidence, may help us to make predictions as to what might constitute future changes, and to formulate an analysis for a particular state of some language which reflects the

nature of that system as it is revealed to us by its evolution.

It is my hope that this study of French passive and causative sentences will in a small degree contribute to our understanding of the role of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic functions in the grammar of French, and hence in Universal Grammar.

Chapter 1

Salient Points in the Evolution of Functions of Nominals

0.   Introduction

For French, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic functions of nomin-
als have all variously been proposed, in combination or separately, as
relevant to the form of the syntactic rules necessary to describe pas-
sive and causative sentences.

Basic differences persist among linguists as to the status these
different types of functions of nominals should be given in Universal
Grammar as well as in the grammar of individual languages. In this
chapter, I shall first present some of the facts about French passives
and causatives which are of interest with respect to the various types
of nominals in question. The remainder of the chapter will consist of
a brief outline of the characterization of these functions in functional
and in generative grammar.

1.   A Few Facts About French Passives and Causatives

In addition to transformational analyses such as that of Kayne
(1975), there have been a number of approaches which have been suggested
for French passives and causatives based on one or another of the func-
tional properties of nominals.

Radford (1976, 1978), for instance, argued that French causatives
constitute evidence in favor of Relational Grammar over Transformational
Grammar. Cannings and Moody (1978) have claimed that the properties of
nominals crucial for explaining the unacceptability of a number of
causative sentences are not syntactic but semantic ones, namely "thematic

relations". Ronat (1974), similarly, suggested that certain constraints

on passivization also can be explained in terms of thematic relations.

Her proposal was with respect to contrasts such as the following:

(1) Toutes les sonates ont été jouées par $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Toscanini} \\ \text{*ce violon}\end{array}\right\}$.

   'Every sonata has been played by $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Toscanini} \\ \text{this violin}\end{array}\right\}$.'

Finally, Hyman and Zimmer (1976) and Adjemian (1978) have argued

that topicality is one property of nominals which must be taken into

account in relation to causatives.

Leaving aside diachronic evidence for the moment, the data from

Modern French which motivated Radford's claim includes sentences such

as the following:

(2) Elle avait fait entrer $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Jean} \\ \text{*à Jean} \\ \text{*par Jean}\end{array}\right\}$.

   'She had let Jean come in.'

(3) Elle a fait préparer la mayonnaise $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{*Marcel} \\ \text{à Marcel}\end{array}\right\}$.

Marcel   'She made Jean prepare the mayonnaise.'

(4) Elle avait fait envoyer une lettre au client $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{*la secrétaire} \\ \text{*à la secrétaire} \\ \text{par la secrétaire}\end{array}\right\}$.

   'She had had the secretary send a letter to the client.'

When the verb introduced by _faire_ is a verb of action, it is

generally the case that with full NPs the arguments of the lower verb

may take only the form illustrated here. If the embedded verb is a one-

argument verb, the "embedded subject" may appear only in the form of a

Direct Object. The embedded subject of a verb subcategorized in the

active for both Subject and Direct Object may appear only preceded by à

when that embedded Subject bears in relation to the lower verb the role

of Agent. If the embedded verb of action is one subcategorized for Direct and Indirect Object in the active, then the embedded Agent may appear only preceded by par, at least with the constituent ordering shown here.

The existence of such restrictions on the form of the lower Agent is one of the facts which led Radford and also Comrie (1976) to claim that the form of the arguments in French causative sentences provides support for Relational Grammar, and more specifically for the Relational Accessibility Hierarchy first proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1972).

Cannings and Moody, by contrast, tried to explain the use of à and par in sentences such as (2) and (3) in relation to a semantic notion which they call "deixis", a composite notion which includes orientation in discourse, what Hyman and Zimmer and Adjemian refer to in terms of topicality, and the orientation which can be inferred from particular thematic relations. A key assumption of Cannings and Moody is that the meaning of à in Modern French is based on its opposition with par, the two prepositions differing essentially in terms of orientation.

Hyman and Zimmer's suggestion as to the relevance of topicality, unlike Cannings and Moody's interpretive analysis, did not attempt to account for the use of à and par in all causative sentences, but was brought to bear primarily on the difference in interpretation which correlates with the à/par contrast in pairs such as (3)-(5):

(5) Elle avait fait préparer la mayonnaise par Marcel.
     'She had had the mayonnaise prepared by Marcel.'

Adjemian, finally, discussed topicality in relation to such sentences as the following:

(6) Il le lui fera porter à Pierre.
    'He will have him take it to Pierre.'

(7) Je lui ferai porter ce message (à Pierre).
    'I will have him take this message (to Pierre).'

(8) *Je lui ferai porter ce message à Jean.
    'I will have Jean take this message to him.'

(9) Je lui ferai porter ce message (par Jean).
    'I will have this message taken to him (by Jean).'

Adjemian's suggestion is that the reason <u>lui</u> in such sentences as (8) is not interpreted as the Goal of the lower verb is because, while both <u>lui</u> and <u>a NP</u> may independently represent the Goal, as in (9) and (7) respectively, when the two cooccur as in (8), the clitic, which represents topical informaion is more likely to be interpreted as Agent rather than as Goal because Agents are the NPs which constitute the best candidates for becoming the Topic of a sentence.

We shall now see how the various properties of nominals referred to here have been integrated into different approaches to syntactic analysis.

We shall see that when we take into account the interpretive strategy which is generally used to associate verbs with their Objects, we find that the type of evidence illustrated in (2)-(9) is quite compatible with a syntactic function analysis, as suggested by Radford. The notion of topicality is of considerable interest though with respect to passivization and causativization which are both as we shall see essentially syntactic-function dependent phenomena.

2. The Functionalist Approach to Linguistics

The functionalist approach to linguistics is generally associated with the Prague School, in particular Mathesius and Firbas. The inspiration, however, for what came to be an important contribution of the Prague School linguists to syntactic analysis must be credited to Henri Weil (1844), with his comparison of word order in the classical languages and in Modern languages. It was he who first suggested that the form of sentences is influenced by discourse factors.

Weil's main object of inquiry was sentential word order in the Classical languages, and his conclusion was that the determinant factor in that matter was one pertaining to discourse, what has since been referred to as "topicality". Thus, for Classical Latin, Weil suggested that the unmarked word order was to proceed from the known to the unknown. He divided the sentence into two parts, the "Theme" and the "Rheme", corresponding to what the sentence is about, and what is being said about those constituents in question, respectively.

For Weil, the Theme of a sentence, which he described as a notion equally present in the mind of the addressee and in that of the speaker, constitutes the point of departure which one would use as the basis for some statement which would bring into the discourse new information. Weil gives the following example:

(10) a. Idem Romulus Roman condicit.
     b. Hanc urbem condicit Romulus.
     c. Condicit Romam Romulus.

He explains the word order distribution as follows:

> The point of departure, the rallying point of the interlocutors,
> is Romulus the first time, Rome the second, and the third time

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the idea of founding. And so the information which is to be imparted to another, the goal of the discourse, is different in the three forms of expression. (Weil, 1887, p. 30)

Weil's interpretation of such facts is that, in Classical Latin, the order of words reflects the order of ideas.

The importance of Weil's study, as noted for instance by Adjemian (1978), resides in the fact that he was the first to relate sentential word order not to logic, as had been done by a number of his predecessors, led by a combination of rising nationalistic fervor and philosophical aspirations to try to show that the French language was superior to other vernaculars as the expression of logical thought, but, as just mentioned, to the order of ideas. For Weil, all men think alike, and the order of words within the sentence can and should be no other than the order of ideas. Where languages differ is in their ways of combining this discourse-determined order with the syntactic order.[1]

As for the relationship between the pragmatic functions he proposed and the better known syntactic functions with which we are primarily concerned, Weil considered that the predominant role lies with the pragmatic ones, that the language user's intended goal first determines the Theme and the Rheme and consequently the word order, and also derivatively the Subject and Object. We shall see in Chapter 3 how Fillmore (1977) proposes a similar interpretation of the relationship between Topic and Subject to explain certain constraints on passivization.

Weil's idea that word order reflects the language user's communicative goal was to bear fruit in the following century with the work of the Prague School on sentential word order and intonation, notably with

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respect to Czech and Russian under the direction of Mathesius (1928) and later with Firbas (1964).

With respect to Romance, one notable study which incorporates Prague School concepts within a Generative Semantics model is that of Contreras (1976) on Spanish. For French, Adjemian's functionalist analysis of causatives was mentioned earlier. Another study is that of Hyman and Zimmer (1976), whose 'Natural Topic Scale' is of relevance both to causativization and passivization. We shall return to these last two analyses at some length.

3.   The Status of Pragmatic, Semantic and Syntactic Functions in Dik's Functional Grammar and the Extended Standard Theory.

3.1   Dik's Three Levels of Functional Primitives

One other recent formal proposal of interest with respect to the interaction of different types of functions of nominals is the Functional Grammar presented by Dik (1978). Dik shares with Weil and the Prague scholars the belief that the study of language must be approached from the point of view of its value as communication, and what makes his proposal for a Universal Grammar of interest is that from that starting point, he tries to integrate into his model a number of assumptions about nominals from a variety of generative models.

Dik recognizes among his grammatical primitives a set, or in his words a level, of pragmatic functions and one of semantic functions. But in addition, in interaction with these, he also has among his primitives a set of syntactic functions, which he claims allows him to capture with his model all the generalizations which can be captured with Relational Grammar as well as many others which cannot.

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The functions he posits are as follows:

(11) i. Semantic Functions: Agent, Goal, Recipient, Benefactive,
           Instrumental, Local, Temporal
     ii. Syntactic Functions: Subject and Object
    iii. Pragmatic Functions: Theme and Tail, Topic and Focus

For Dik, syntactic functions are partly determined by a semantic

function hierarchy, and make their own contribution to meaning:

> I believe that such syntactic functions make their own
> contribution to the semantics of linguistic expressions,
> a contribution different from that of the semantic functions.
> In fact, I shall develop the view that the final semantic
> content of any linguistic expression is co-determined by
> functions from each of the three functional levels. On the
> other hand, the form of the linguistic expression will be
> equally co-determined by these three levels of function.
> More specifically, both the form and the semantic content
> of linguistic expressions may vary according to different
> function-assignments made to their constituents on each of
> the three levels of function. (pp. 13-14)

Dik's Functional Grammar is thus clearly in disagreement also

with Transformational Grammar with respect to the latter's claims about

the autonomy of syntax from semantics. We shall come back to this issue

with respect to the syntactic rules necessary to describe the form of

French causative sentences. For the moment, I shall simply mention a

few of the points of detail in which Dik makes proposals about

particular functions which are at odds with proposals of the same type

by other linguists and on which it will be necessary to take a position

in this thesis.

First, where Relational Grammar (e.g. Keenan and Comrie, 1972)

identified three terms of grammatical relations, Subject, Direct Object

and Indirect Object, Dik recognizes among his primitives only two

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syntactic functions, Subject and Object. I shall claim that, for French at least, one must recognize as primitives Direct and Indirect Object as well as Subject.

Second, Fillmore (1968) had proposed the following set of semantic roles:

(12) Fillmore's Semantic Roles
      Agent, Instrumental, Objective, Factitive, Locative, Benefactive

Fillmore also suggested that one could explain the assignment of the subject function across sentences on the basis of a hierarchical order-ing of these semantic roles, the choice of the subject being generally determined as follows:

(13) Subject Assignment Rule
      "If there is an A, it becomes the subject, otherwise if there
      is an I, it becomes the subject, otherwise the subject is the
      O." (Fillmore, 1968, p. 33)

The Semantic Function Hierarchy proposed by Dik is the following:

(14) Dik's Semantic Function Hierarchy
      Agent > Goal   >   Recipient   >   Benefactive
            (=Fillmore's Patient)(=Fillmore's Objective)
      Instrumental > Local > Temporal

Another semantic hierarchy which has been proposed to capture generalizations about Subject function assignment, in the passive, as opposed to Dik and Fillmore whose proposals for Subject assignment are pertinent to active sentences, is Jackendoff's "Thematic Hierarchy" (Jackendoff, 1972):

(15) Thematic Hierarchy

    1. Agent

    2. Location, Source, Goal

    3. Theme

We shall come back to Jackendoff's notion of Theme and the

Thematic Hierarchy in the following section of this chapter, as these

concepts have been argued for in relation to French passive and causa-

tive sentences in a number of analyses. Let us here point out only that

the Theme as understood by Gruber and Jackendoff is somewhat different

from their other thematic relations, which for their part are quite

similar to Fillmore's semantic roles.

For Dik, the Theme is more traditionally identified as a notion

pertaining to discourse. His use of Theme, however, must not be equated

with that of Weil or of the Prague scholars. We saw with (11) that Dik

replaces the old Theme/Rheme dichotomy with a four-way division: Theme,

Tail, Topic, Focus. He classifies Topic and Focus as functions "internal

to the predication", while Theme and Tail are said to be external to it

on the other hand:

(16) Dik's Pragmatic Functions

    Theme: The Theme specifies the universe of discourse with
            respect to which the subsequent predication is presented
            as relevant.

    Tail: The Tail presents, as an 'afterthought' to the predica-
            tion, information meant to claify or modify it.
    . . .
    Topic: The Topic presents the entity 'about' which the predica-
            tion predicates something in the given setting.

    Focus: The Focus presents what is relatively the most important
            or salient information in the given setting. (p. 19)

Dik's Theme thus would seem to be equivalent to Weil's Theme and his

Focus to Weil's Rheme, since what is more likely to be considered most important or salient will be the new rather than the old information in the sentence.

It is not clear, though, what Dik's proposed Topic and Tail should be taken to refer to. While after-thought material, by definition, will be found after the predication, it does not follow that all material on the right of a sentence should be considered to be evidence of an after-thought, or that it must necessarily be pragmatically different from constituents to the left of the sentence.

As for Topic, it will be necessary to discuss at some length the notion of topicality in further chapters, in relation both to passive and to causative sentences, and I shall for now simply suggest that it may be useful to consider the possibility that some languages may allow marked topicalization of several constituents in the same sentence, as proposed, for instance, for French by Hirshbühler (1974, 1975) and for Japanese by N. McCawley (1976), and that some languages may allow topicalization only on the left but others on the left and on the right. What is discussed by these two authors as Topics, however, would appear to correspond not to Dik's Topic, but to his Theme.

To summarize, Dik's Functional Grammar is of interest because it makes a number of explicit claims about the several types of functions of nominals which must be present in Universal Grammar and about the particular functions of each type which must be recognized, but also because of his claims as to the interaction of his three levels of function for determining the form and the meaning of linguistic expressions.

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This last point will be important with respect to causative sentences. It will be shown that while, since Old French, there have existed generalizations about case marking of the arguments of a sentence introduced by a factitive verb which are based on syntactic functions in some cases, the particular semantic function of the lower subject will trigger a case marking and which constitute strong support for the Relational Accessibility Hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1972) different from what one would expect on the basis of syntactic regularities alone. The issue of the interaction of various types of functions of nominals will also be relevant to the analysis of certain problematic Modern French causative sentences discussed by Ruwet (1972) and by Adjemian in terms of perceptual filter and of thematicity respectively.

4.   Functions of Nominals in Transformational Grammar

4.1   Chomsky's Views on Functions of Nominals

Whereas for Dik the goal of grammar is to identify the rules which govern verbal interaction, in Transformational Grammar, as in Relational Grammar which we shall be contrasting with it with respect to both passives and causatives, the main concern has been with describing the form of sentences independently of the context in which they are used. Where meaning has been discussed, studies have, accordingly, centered on those aspects of meanings which are sentence-related.

Kuno (e.g. Kuno, 1972; 1976) studied the relevance of such discourse-bound notions as topicality and speaker's empathy with respect to English and Japanese, and we will see that Adjemian makes use of

these and similar notions in his analysis of French. Overall, though,
little serious consideration was given until recently within the trans-
formational framework to pragmatic factors as independent entities,
and Kuno's work on discourse related factors, for instance, for the most
part has not yet been integrated into a transformational analysis.

Pragmatic functions, when they have been found relevant to trans-
formational analyses, like syntactic and semantic functions, have
generally been treated as derived notions.

Thus, Subject and Direct Object were defined in <u>Aspects</u> for
English as [NP, S] and [NP, VP], respectively, and Topic was defined as
the leftmost NP immediately dominated by S in the surface structure, and
Comment as the rest of the surface string.

Recently, it has been proposed that there may be some languages
for which deep structure and surface structure coincide. Japanese, for
instance, is now characterized as one of these "non-configurational"
languages (Hale, 1978; Chomsky, 1981), that is, a language which does
not have a VP node and where sentential word order is relatively free.
But syntactic functions are still consistently treated as derived
notions in the Government Binding framework. Thus, while for English
syntactic functions are, as before, assumed to be assigned on the basis
of deep structure constituency, for "free word order" languages such as
Japanese, syntactic functions are assigned randomly, but they are still,
in the end, characterized in terms of the [NP, S], [NP, VP], etc.
structural configurations initially formulated on the basis of English.

Chomsky mentions as another example of a language for which syn-
tactic functions cannot be defined in terms of deep structure configura-
tions Classical Arabic, which is analyzed as being VSO in deep structure.

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He proposes that a syntactic definition of syntactic functions can be retained even for that language, if we accept a suggestion by Aoun (1979) that there is in fact a kind of "discontinuous VP".

Chomsky proposes to make use of that suggestion by expressing verbal government with superscript indices, in the style of Rouveret and Vergnaud (1980): "The verb and its complements will be coindexed, forming an abstract VP; configurational languages are then a special case, with no discontinuities in superscripting" (p. 128).

It is this use of coindexing which allows syntactic functions to be characterized in terms of syntactic structures even for non-configurational languages, thus, on Japanese, Chomsky says:

> Assume further that GFs (Grammatical Functions) are represented exactly as in English: [NP, S] for subject, [NP^1, VP], [NP^2, VP] for primary and secondary object in the case of double-object constructions. The basic difference between Japanese and English, then, is that the configurations that determine GFs (whether GF-θ or GF-$\bar{\theta}$) are not represented in the syntax in the X-bar system in D- or S-structures in Japanese. (pp. 128-129)

For Japanese, the configurations are assumed to be represented only in the lexicon.

(GF-θ refers to grammatical functions at the level of representation where they are relevant to the assignment of thematic roles and GF-$\bar{\theta}$ to the grammatical functions where they are relevant to Logical Form in other ways.)

In short, English and Japanese differ in that for English the assignment of grammatical functions is made at the underlying D-structure level directly whereas for Japanese at that level there is only a random assignment.

For Japanese, ungrammatical sentences resulting from this random assignment of syntactic functions will be filtered out as a result of certain properties of the lexicon. It is assumed that subcategorization of a verb in the lexicon entails the assignment of thematic roles, and that syntactic representations are projections of the thematic structure (hence the subcategorization) indicated in the lexicon.

This property of the lexicon together with the "θ-criterion" are responsible for ensuring that for an active sentence in Japanese containing a verb like <u>tabe</u> 'eat', for instance, while either one of the nominals which the verb is subcategorized as requiring may be assigned the Subject function or the Object function, it will always be the case that one of the two NPs will be a Subject and the other an Object.

The assignment of thematic roles assumed to be constrained by the θ-criterion is as follows:

(17) θ-Criterion

Each argument bears one and only one θ-role, and each θ-role is assigned to one and only one argument.

θ-roles, for Chomsky, are not equivalent to the thematic roles proposed by Gruber (1965) and Jackendoff (1972), and which, as was mentioned earlier, have been invoked in some analyses of French passive and causative sentences (e.g. Ronat (1974), Cannings and Moody (1978)).

The Theme relation was characterized by Jackendoff (1972) as follows. With verbs of motion the Theme is defined as the NP understood as undergoing the motion, as in:

(18) <u>The rock</u> moved away.

(19) John rolled <u>the rock</u> from the dump to the house.

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(20) Will inherited <u>a million dollars</u>.

(21) Dave explained <u>the proof</u> to his students.

Examples (18)-(19) were given by Jackendoff to illustrate the Theme as the NP in motion in sentences involving a change in physical position, and (20)-(21) in sentences involving change in possession or in some other abstract way, by analogy with cases such as the ones preceding.

With verbs of location, the Theme was defined as the NP where location is being asserted, as in (22) through (25), with the Theme in (24)-(25) being, again, selected by analogy with the concrete cases in (22)-(23):

(22) <u>The rock</u> stood in the corner.

(23) Herman kept <u>the book</u> on the shelf.

(24) <u>The book</u> belongs to Herman.

(25) Max knows <u>the answer</u>.

From the examples discussed by Jackendoff, it would appear that the Theme for him and for Gruber generally coincides with that NP which one might characterize as the Topic of the sentence, in the sense that it is the NP that the sentence is about.

Note that for Jackendoff and Gruber, Theme in this appears to be different from their other major thematic relations, Location, Source, Goal and Agent. These are like Fillmore's case roles in that they identify the semantic function of some NP in relation to the verb, and on that basis the NPs identified by Jackendoff as Theme in each of the sentences in (18) through (25) would have to be assigned one of several different semantic roles to be in parallel with the semantic roles which

Jackendoff illustrates with the examples given in (26)-(28).

(26) John stayed in the room. (Location)

(27) Harry went from Bloomington (Source) to Boston (Goal).

(28) John deliberately rolled down the hill. (Agent)

Thus, for example (18), we might identify the rock as a Force, possibly while in (19) it would be the Patient; and the book, similarly, would be identified as Patient in (23), but as Possessed in (24). This point will be of interest with respect to Cannings and Moody deictic analysis of French causative.

That Jackendoff's and Gruber's Theme is somehow different from their other thematic relations also seems to be Anderson's interpretation. Anderson (1977) notes:

> The Theme of a clause, as identified by Gruber (1965) and
> Jackendoff (1972) is a central participant in the proposition
> the clause expresses: with a verb of motion, it is the entity
> that moves (perhaps in some abstract sense), with a verb
> specifying location it is the entity whose location is thus
> defined, with many transitive verbs it is the "patient", the
> entity that undergoes the action described, etc. We could
> thus specify the Theme to be the element filling the first
> argument position of GO (x,y,z), STAY (x,y), or BE (x,y),
> etc. In a sense, the Theme is the "logical topic" of the
> clause. (p. 367)

Anderson (1977) was interested in making use of Jackendoff's Thematic Hierarchy to explain certain restrictions on passivization in English. Anderson argued against Wasow (1977) that lexical redundancy rules such as the ones they both claimed should be used instead of transformations to relate passive sentences containing one of the so-called "adjectival passives", e.g. untouched, uninhabited, should not any more than transformations be allowed to refer to syntactic functions, and that the restrictions on the acceptability of sentences containing

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one of these passive forms should be formulated in terms of the
Thematic Hierarchy.

Anderson proposed the general rule that Themes are to be found in
the position of intransitive Subjects or of transitive Direct Objects,
from which it would follow that the Subject of an "adjectival passive"
is assigned the function of Theme, and could thus never correspond to
an indirect object (p. 371).

We shall see in chapter 3 that historical changes in the subcate-
gorization of verbs for Object in French, which are responsible, for
instance for the existence of today's "pseudo-passives", e.g. être obéi,
être pardonné, raise strong doubts as to the general validity of such a
claim. It will be shown, rather, that both synchronic and diachronic
facts point to syntactic functions as the proper entities to be refer-
red to in the rules necessary to describe passivization in French.

This position that passivization is essentially a syntactic func-
tion dependent phenomenon is in contradiction also with the analysis
of passive proposed by Chomsky (1981), who assumes that for French and
for English, among others, passive participles can be divided into two
classes, syntactic and lexical, and who, like Anderson, rejects the idea
that passivization should be stated in terms of syntactic functions:

> The traditional characterization of passive as involving a
> change of object to subject is correct in one important
> sense: this is the core of passive. But it is otherwise
> unacceptable on grounds of factual inaccuracy...incompleteness...,
> circularity...and redundancy (in that independent principles
> of much broader scope determine both when movement is necessary
> and that the new grammatical function assigned is that of
> subject). (p. 124)

The Relational Grammar characterization of passive as involving
a change of Object to Subject, clearly cannot be appropriate for

impersonal passives. As Keenan (1975) suggested, what seems to be common

to passivization processes is not "promotion to Subject", but rather

<u>demotion</u> of the active Subject. However it does not follow from this

that syntactic functions are not central to passivization. For Chomsky,

though, passive sentences are seen as having the following properties,

(II) being a consequence of (I):

> (I) [NP, S] does not receive a θ-role
>
> (II) [NP, VP] does not receive Case within VP, for
>   some choice of NP in VP.

In the Government Binding framework, thematic roles are said to be

determined by two factors: "intrinsic lexical items which are heads of

phrase categories (as the verb is the head of VP) and GPs such as

subject, object, clausal complement, head, etc.". They are thus quite

different, in fact, from the ones associated with Gruber and Jackendoff.

Another interpretation of Theme which is of interest is that of

Cannings and Moody (1978). In their thematic relation analysis of

French causatives, they discuss Gruber's and Jackendoff's Theme in these

terms:

> With verbs involving a transaction, the Goal is the recipient,
> the Theme "moving to him/her..."
> With verbs of informing, the Goal is the addressee, the Theme,
> the information conveyed. (p. 334)

It will be shown in chapter 4 that, for French causative sentences,

the meaning-related properties of nominals are not the only aspects

which must be taken into account in order to give an adequate descrip-

tion of the form of these nominals, that indeed one must concurrently

take into account the syntactic functions of the nominals associated

with the lower verb. As to interpretation, we will see that contrary to Cannings and Moody's suggestion, the Theme relation as they view it can provide no explanation for a number of problems noted in relation to case marking, and that what is needed is an analysis which recognizes the distinction between semantic functions and Topic as "what the sentence is about".

To return to Chomsky's proposal on thematic roles, the θ-criterion. is given by Chomsky as one of the conditions which sentences must meet to be considered well-formed at the level of "Logical Form". This criterion, as noted by Chomsky (p. 139) was rejected by Jackendoff (1972), who argued that in a sentence such as John deliberately rolled down the hill, for instance, John has the dual thematic role of Agent and Theme.

We saw above why there is reason to think that Agent and Theme as used by Jackendoff.may not be comparable entities, but the question remains of interest as to whether the bi-uniqueness criterion proposed by Chomsky is supported by empirical evidence, whether one adopts Jackendoff's or Chomsky's characterization of thematic relations. The crucial point for us is whether this bi-uniqueness criterion is compatible with the synchronic and idachronic evidence involving French causatives.

It will be argued in chapter 4 that, in order to describe clitic assignment in causative sentences of the type illustrated in (29) and (30), it is necessary to assume that the object clitic bears two semantic functions:

(29) ...la lueur d'angoisse qui réveille le tigre et le (acc)
     fait dévorer le dompteur. (R. Massip)
   '...The glimmer of anxiety which awakens the tiger and
     makes him devour the trainer.'

(30) Je me multipliais pour lui (dat) faire apprécier la rue
     provinciale. (R. Massip)
   'I spared no efforts to make her appreciate the provincial
     street.'

The explanation proposed for the clitic case marking in these two

sentences, from Harmer (1979), will be that the clitic is assumed to

have the role of Patient (or, in the terms of Gruber and Jackendoff,

Theme) in relation to the higher verb in both cases, but, that the

clitic, in addition, must be identified as Agent in relation to the lower

verb in the case of (29) whereas in (30) it must be analyzed as Experien-

cer in relation to apprécier.

In the framework of Chomsky (1981), however, such causative sen-

tences because of the θ-criterion, cannot be analyzed as involving

Subject-to-Object Raising, precisely because such a rule would allow for

assignment of thematic notes to one particular NP by more than one verb.

What makes the contrast between (29) and (30) of interest is the

existence of a sequence of changes affecting causative sentences from

Latin to Modern French which, depending on what analysis is adopted for

the case marking contrast presented here, may be shown to be related

among themselves and also with the case marking contrast observable

today.

Subject-to-Object Raising is one type of analysis which has been

proposed in various forms for French causatives, though as was mentioned,

assuming that the θ-criterion is part of Universal Grammar precludes

the existence of such a rule. In Chomsky's words:

> The requirement that subcategorization entails θ-marking has
> several consequences. Consider, for example, a hypothetical
> rule R of raising-to-object. If the raised element α is in a
> θ-position in D-structure, then α will be doubly θ-marked at
> S-structure and at LF, violating the θ-criterion. The reason
> is that the position to which moves is subcategorized and
> therefore θ-marked. (p. 38)

Chomsky adds that the rule R is in fact barred on independent

grounds whatever the status of the D-structure position of α. Such a

rule is incompatible with the assumption that transformations must be

structure-preserving.

Subject-to-Object Raising had been proposed, however, by, among

others, Radford (1976, 1978), Comrie (1976). Furthermore, it has been

noted that Subject-to-Object Raising does not only appear compatible

with the facts pertaining to contemporary French, but that it also ap-

pears to be an appropriate characterization from the historical point of

view as well. This has been noted by, for instance, Hyman and Zimmer

(1976) and Radford (1976).

The historical facts in question include change from a finite to

an infinitive clause, replacement of the nominative case marking of the

lower verb Agent by a case traditionally associated with Objects and

certain word order changes.

We shall be discussing these changes at length in chapter 4. The

point to note for now is that a Subject-to-Object Raising analysis,

which is now no longer acceptable in current transformational theory,

would be compatible these various diachronic changes as also with the

synchronic facts, whereas it is not clear what unitary explanation

could be provided in the Government-Binding framework for the synchronic facts, mentioned here together with the historical facts we are also interested in, and which as Radford has claimed, appear to constitute strong support for Relational Grammar over Transformational Grammar.

The hybrid nature of θ-roles which has just been mentioned, as determined partly by lexical subcategorization of the verb and partly by syntactic structure is representative of the general approach to meaning which had led also to the characterization of Topic-Comment in Aspects noted earlier. This approach involves predicting aspects of meaning from the syntax whenever possible.

Another manifestation of this approach relative to pragmatic functions was the proposal by Chomsky (1972) to determine the Focus of a sentence for English on the basis of surface structure as follows: "The focus is the phrase containing the intonation center, and the presupposition is determined by replacement of the focus by a variable" (p. 91).

In recent years, however, one of the aspects that the move toward reducing the role of the transformational component has taken has been to give emphasis to the semantic component. In Chomsky (1977), this interpretive component, or component of Logical Form, was characterized as being made of two subparts, a set of rules which can only consider material within the sentence and another set which can look at larger context, not necessarily linguistic.

As a consequence of this, problems involving pragmatic functions now tend to be dealt with in terms of rules of interpretation. Jaeggli (1980), for instance, suggests that one of the manifestations of

topicalization in Romance, "Left-Dislocation", as exemplified in (31), does not involve a movement transformation, but that, instead the structure involved is generated by phrase-structure rules and the acceptability of the sentence, considerations of resumptive pronoun agreement aside, is determined by a rule of interpretation:

(31) Les chrysanthèmes, Marie dit qu'elle les a mis sur la
        table de la salle à manger.
    'The chrysanthemums, Marie says that she put them on the
        dining room table.'

In Jaeggli's words:

> A rule of predication relates an element in the sentence to
> the element in TOPIC position. The sentence must be "about"
> the item focused in the left-dislocated phrase. This rule
> perhaps falls outside sentence grammar;" (p. 92)

This analysis presupposes that a syntactic node TOPIC is generated by the phrase-structure rules, in the present case with the structure $[_{\bar{S}}$ TOPIC $[_{\bar{S}}$ COMP [S... In other words, the topicality of an element remains determined by its position in the syntactic structure, rather than conversely as with Dik or the Prague School. The point of interest though is that the role of interpretive as distinct from syntactic factors in determining the acceptability of sentences is becoming increasingly recognized in generative grammar. We shall discuss at some length a proposal by J.-Y Morin (1968) to constrain the output of the grammar by using interpretive rules as well-formedness conditions.

4.2   Bresnan's Lexicalist Model

One other development in generative grammar which must be mentioned because of its bearing on the status of syntactic functions and hence on

the analysis of passive and causative sentences is the Lexicalist M

developed by Bresnan (1978, 1980).

Bresnan is in agreement with Relational grammarians about passivization and causativization being essentially syntactic functions dependant and not structure-dependent phenomena. Where she differs from them is in her attempt to make use with respect to such syntactic function-based phenomena of the lexical instead of the syntactic component.

We saw in the previous section that the concept of the lexicon has evolved in such a way that in Chomsky (1981) it plays a much larger role than it had earlier. Bresnan's model constitutes yet another manifestation of this tendency to emphasize the role of the lexicon, and one aspect in which her model differs crucially from Chomsky's is in the treatment of syntactic functions.

For Bresnan, as in Relational Grammar, syntactic functions are universal primitives but, in her analysis, all syntactic phenomena which bring into play these syntactic functions are ipso facto to be described in terms of lexical processes.

Thus, she proposes for passive the following universal rule:

(32) Passive in Universal Grammar

   (SUBJ) $\mapsto$ $\emptyset$ / (OBL)

   (OBJ) $\mapsto$ (SUBJ)

How these regularities about passivization manifest themselves in a particular language will depend on the language specific encoding for syntactic functions. English grammar, for instance, would include the following rules:

(32) Partial Syntactic Encoding (English)

a. $\quad S \to NP \quad\quad VP \quad\quad\quad VP \to V \quad (NP) \quad\quad (PP)$

b. $\quad\quad (\uparrow SUBJ) = \downarrow \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad (\uparrow OBJ) = \downarrow \quad (\downarrow CASE) = BY$

$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad (\uparrow BY\ OBJ) = \downarrow$

where the set of equations in (b) maps the constituent structure positions in (a) onto the syntactic functions below.

(34) Morphological change : $V \mapsto V$
$$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad [Part]$$

The purpose of the rule given in (33) is to describe how the active/passive change which is shown in (32) and which is taken to be a universal one gets realized in English given the general encoding properties of Subject, Object and Oblique in that language.

In agreement with the role she assigns syntactic functions in her model, it is in terms of these and not of constituent structure that Bresnan formulates her lexical entries. One of her lexical forms for <u>give</u>, for instance, is:

(35) give $\quad ((SUBJ), (OBJ), (\left\{ \begin{array}{c} TO\ OBJ \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}))$

It is with respect to the difference between active and passive verb forms that Bresnan proposes to make use of rules of morphological change like that in (34).

Bresnan's analysis of English passive, one of her attempts to eliminate from the grammar cyclic transformations so as to make it less powerful, in effect replaces a transformational rule used to capture sentence-to-sentence relations with a transformation-like rule which instead relates passive and active verb forms in the same sentences and is part of the lexicon. With respect to the similar problems raised

by causativization, Kuroda (1981) points out that it is not obvious, even for a language where one of the differences between sentences to be described involves agglutination, that it necessarily follows that the rule in question must be considered lexical rather than syntactic.

With respect to the use of word formation rules in lexicalist analyses, however, assuming that lexical processes may be central to expressing causativization in certain languages, it is not clear what descriptive adequacy could be gained by appealing uniformly to word formation processes to capture both the differences between manger/ faire manger and Japanese taberu/tabesaseru.

As Bedell (1974) pointed out whether a process should be inter- preted as involving a lexical process or meaning related rules rather than syntactic rules is not determined on empirical grounds, but on the basis of theory-internal assumptions as to the role of the various grammatical components. Chapter 2 will discuss some of the assumptions about the interaction of components which are now part of generative theory. As to French causatives, let us now simply mention that I shall assume that, for French, one must distinguish, as suggested by Ruwet (1972), three types of causatives, and that while two types are to be considered lexical, e.g. tuer 'to kill' and faire suer 'to bother', sentences containing such regular forms as faire manger 'to make (some- one) eat' should be related to corresponding simple sentences by means of a syntactic rather than lexical rule. As for passives, I shall argue that while word formation rules are involved in the formation of the passive participles, passivization like causativization, in its essential properties is a sentential, not a lexical phenomenon.

We shall now turn to trying to present a model which is compatible with the various issues raised by French passives and causatives, bearing in mind the various claims which have been made as to the role of the syntactic lexical and interactive components and there interaction.

Footnotes to Chapter 1:

[1]For a study of the Grammairiens Philosophes' view on word order, see Scaglione (1972).

Chapter 2

Outline of the Phrase Structure Rule Model

0.   Introduction

This chapter presents the various types of rules which are to be used in the following two chapters in the analysis of passive and causative sentences, beginning with some of the phrase structure rules which will be necessary to generate the Modern French sentences which will be the standard against which related sentences belonging to earlier stages of the language will be evaluated.

The next two sections of the chapter discuss the word formation rules relevant to passivization and causativization in French, and the interaction of morphology and syntax.

Sections 4 and 5 discuss syntactic function and semantic function assignment. It is argued that the lexicon must specify as part of the lexical entries for verbs their subcategorization for syntactic functions and for semantic functions.

Section 6 introduces the redundancy rules which describe the correspondences between active and related passive or causative sentences, and section 7, finally, shows how such redundancy rules are used as the basis which allows interpretive rules to assess which among the passive and causative rules generated by the phrase structure rules are to be considered as well-formed.

1.   Some Necessary Phrase-Structure Rules

1.1   Phrase-Structure Rules for "Basic Sentences"

The phrase-structure rules used to describe the form of Modern French passive and causative sentences will include the following:

(1) S → NP - VP

(2) VP → $\begin{bmatrix} VP \\ \alpha tense \\ \beta mood \\ \gamma person \\ \pm masc \\ \pm sg \end{bmatrix}$

(3) VP → V' - (NP) - (AP) - (PP)

(4) V' → $\left(\begin{Bmatrix} V' \ (NP) \\ (V') \ (PRO)^2 \ (CL)^2 \end{Bmatrix} \right)$ -V

(5) PP → Prep NP

(6) NP → $\left(\begin{Bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ Su \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ DO \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ IO \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ Obl \end{bmatrix} \end{Bmatrix} \right)$

(7) (a) NP → $\begin{Bmatrix} (Det) \ N \\ Pron \end{Bmatrix}$

   (b) Pron → [±PRO]

(8) PRO → $\left(\begin{Bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} PRO \\ NOM \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} PRO \\ DIR \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} PRO \\ IND \end{bmatrix} \end{Bmatrix} \right)$

(9) CL → $\begin{bmatrix} CL \\ \pm Source \end{bmatrix}$

   The use of phrase-structure rules allowing for the expansion of major category nodes as bundles of features follows the proposal for Romance by Strozer (1976). For English, an analysis of a model using such phrase-structure rules may be found in Wotschke (1973). An

alternative to Strozer's proposal is offered by Rivas (1977), which combines a more traditional use of phrase-structure rules with that of "Extension Rules" of the type illustrated in (10):

(10) Extension Rule for Noun Number Assignment

EXT: $[+MAJ, +N, -V] \rightarrow F_{number}$

Extension rules like (10) are used to add certain feature specifications to some of the categories generated by the phrase-structure rules, in this case [$\pm$plural] to the category noun.

The term PRO is used here, following Emonds (1975), to refer to clitic pronouns, e.g. _me_, _se_, _le_, _lui_, in contrast with [Pron, -PRO] which refers to the "strong pronouns" such as _moi_, _eux_ ..., and in contrast also with CL which refers to the prepositional clitics _y_ and _en_.

Rules (8) and (9) will make it possible to distinguish, for instance, between sentences such as (11)-(12) on the one hand and (13)-(14) on the other:

(11) Il _le_ voit.
'He sees him.'

(12) Il _lui_ parle.
'He talks to him.'

(13) Il _en_ vient.
'He is coming from there.'

(14) Il _y_ retourne.
'He is going back there.'

The superscript 2 following (PRO) and (CL) in (4) reflects co-occurrence restrictions which are illustrated in (15) through (19):

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(15) Il <u>le lui</u> a rendu.

'He has returned it to him/her.'

(16) Il <u>l'y</u> avait rencontré la veille.

'He had met him there the day before.'

(17) Je <u>vous en</u> reparlerai.

'I will talk to you about it again.'

(18) Il <u>nous les y</u> avait envoyés aussitôt.

'He had sent them to us there immediately.'

(19) Il <u>s'y en</u> trouvait quelquefois.

'It was sometimes found there.'

As these examples suggest, a verb may be found with as many as two
Object clitics if they differ in case, two different prepositional
clitics or yet a combination of three from both types.

The restrictions on the cooccurrence of clitics will be of
importance with respect to causative sentences, as can be seen from
these examples:

(20) Il avait fait apporter <u>les deux étampes à Marie par l'antiquaire</u>.

'He had had the antique dealer bring the two prints to Marie.'

(21) Il <u>les lui</u> avait fait apporter.

'He had had him bring them.'
. 'He had had them brought to her.'

(22) a. *Il <u>le les lui</u> avait fait apporter.

b. *Il <u>lui les lui</u> avait fait apporter.

c. Il <u>l'</u>avait fait <u>les lui</u> apporter.

a-b-c. 'He had had him bring them to her.'

With respect to Object clitics, a discussion of the ordering
restrictions which are associated with person and case, and which must
be superimposed on the constraint described by (4), may be found in

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Emonds (1975). I will assume that Modern French grammar contains an output constraint similar to the one proposed for Spanish Object clitics by Perlmutter (1971):

Surface structure constraint on clitics:

		me				
Nom	ne	te	III	III	y	en
		nous	Acc	Dat		
		vous				
		se				

This will be necessary to rule out sequences such as the ones in (23)(a) and (24)(a):

(23) a. *Il <u>les</u> <u>me</u> donne.

     b. Il me les donne.

  a-b. 'He gives them to me.'

(24) a. *Il <u>lui</u> <u>les</u> donne.

     b. Il <u>les</u> <u>lui</u> donne.

  a-b. 'He gives them to him/her.'

The rules in (3) and (4) are adapted from the rules proposed by Emonds (1975;1976), which were as follows:

(25) VP → V' (NP)....

$$V' \to \begin{Bmatrix} V' \\ (PRO)\ (CL)\ tense \end{Bmatrix}^{-V}$$

Rules (3)-(4) will allow us to describe, among others, such sentences as the following with full NPs:

(26) Il avait <u>fait sortir</u> Albertine.

    'He had made Albertine go out.'

(27) Il avait <u>laissé</u> Albertine <u>repartir</u>.

    'He had let Albertine leave again.'

Sentences (26) and (27) would have the structures illustrated in (28) and (29), respectively:

(28)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\left[\begin{array}{c} NP \\ Su \end{array}\right] \quad\quad \left[\begin{array}{c} VP \\ \alpha mood \end{array}\right] \\
| \\
Pron \\
| \\
\left[\begin{array}{c} PRO \\ NOM \end{array}\right] \quad V' \quad\quad \left[\begin{array}{c} NP \\ DO \end{array}\right] \\
\quad\quad V' \quad V \quad V \quad N \\
\quad\quad V \\
il \quad\quad\quad avait \quad fait \quad sortir \quad Albertine
\end{array}
$$

(29)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\left[\begin{array}{c} NP \\ Su \end{array}\right] \quad\quad \left[\begin{array}{c} VP \\ \alpha mood \end{array}\right] \\
| \\
Pron \\
| \\
\left[\begin{array}{c} PRO \\ NOM \end{array}\right] \quad V' \\
\quad V' \quad V \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} NP \\ DO \end{array}\right] \quad V \\
\quad V \quad\quad N \\
il \quad avait \quad laissé \quad Albertine \quad repartir
\end{array}
$$
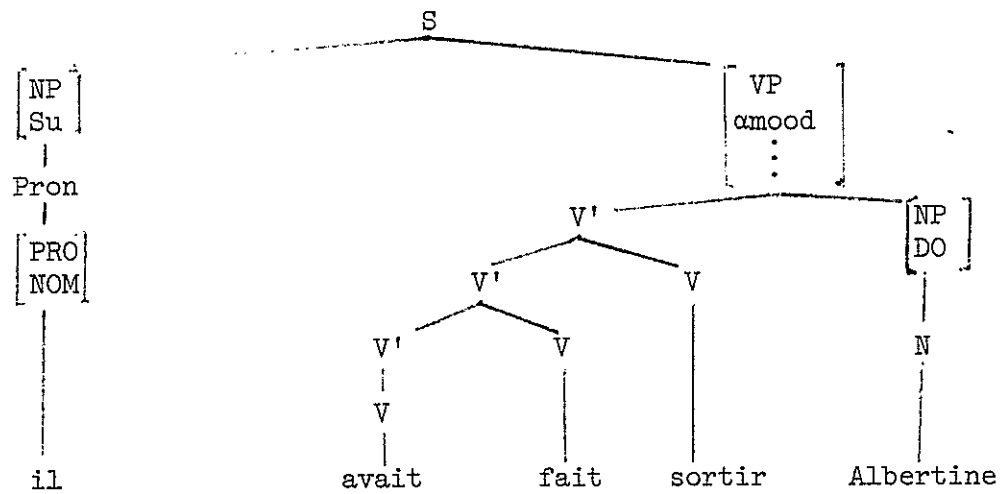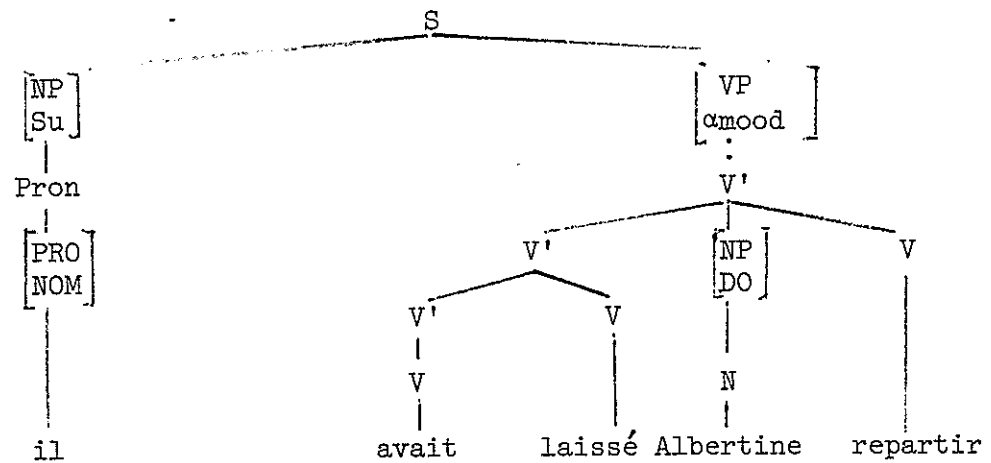
With respect to passive sentences, rule (3) will allow us to describe sentences such as the following:

(30) Les deux Hiroshige avaient été emportés par les cambrioleurs.
   'The two Hiroshiges had been taken away by the burglars.'

(31) Albertine avait été enchantée de sa réaction.
   'Albertine had been delighted with his reaction.'

These sentences will have the following structure:

(32)

```
                                   S
              ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
           ┌─────┐                          ┌──────────┐
           │ NP  │                          │   VP     │
           │ Su  │                          │  αmood   │
           └─────┘                          │    ⋮     │
              │                             └──────────┘
              N                          ┌───────────────────┐
              │                        V'                    PP
              │                   ┌─────────┐            ┌────────┐
              │                  V'          V         Prep    ┌─────┐
              │              ┌────────┐      │          │      │ NP  │
              │             V'         V     │          │      │ Obl │
              │             │          │     │          │      └─────┘
              │             V          │     │          │         │
              │             │          │     │          │         │
           Albertine      avait       été  enchantée    de    sa réaction
```

It is assumed here that all French passive participles are
characterized as [+adjective, +verb]. The reasons for this, as well as
a more detailed characterization of participles, will be given in the
next chapter.

2.   Metarules

All the sentences in this chapter so far may be considered as
"basic" in the sense that they all conform to the SVO type which is
said to be the canonical order in Modern French, and which may be viewed
as pragmatically unmarked, as being associated with the minimum of
presuppositions.

It is a well-known fact among historical linguists working on
Romance, however, that French is now undergoing a typological shift,
away from SVO. I have argued (Bailard, 1982) that Modern French is
moving toward VOS. Harris (1976, 1978) has argued that it is moving
toward VSO.

Another aspect of the change now in progress is the diffusion of
pleonastic pronouns. This use of pronouns is one which is familiar to
all in relation to Spanish, as in these sentences from Strozer (1976):

(33) Lola <u>se</u> la dará a sus amigos.
     'Lola will give it to her/his/their/your friends.'

(34) <u>Le</u> hablé a Lola.
     'I spoke to Lola.'

In French, we find:

(35) <u>Il</u> a eu un accident <u>Jean</u>.
     'Jean had an accident.'

(36) <u>Il</u> n'a pas pu parler à Paul <u>Jean</u>.
     'Jean was not able to talk to Paul.'

(37) <u>Il</u> est allé au cinéma <u>Jean</u>.
     'Jean went to the movies.'

(38) <u>Il</u> a fait tomber un oeuf <u>Jean</u>.
     'Jean dropped an egg.'

(39) <u>Il</u> a envoyé une lettre à Paul <u>Jean</u>.
     'Jean sent Paul a letter.'

(40) <u>Il</u> est parti sans sa serviette <u>Jean</u>.
     'Jean left without his briefcase.'

Such VOS sentences, when pronounced with a unified intonation contour, appear to be pragmatically very similar to the corresponding SVO sentences.[1] Examples (35)-(40), thus, are equivalent to the following:

(41) Jean a eu un accident.

(42) Jean n'a pas pu parler à Paul.

(43) Jean est allé au cinéma.

(44) Jean a fait tomber un oeuf.

(45) Jean a envoyé une lettre à Paul.

(46) Jean est parti sans sa serviette.

Sauvageot (1962) compared "le français avancé", which is what he calls this innovative type that is now encountered everywhere in casual conversation, to the Bantu languages, pointing out that the pleonastic clitics in effect at this point function as simple agreement markers.

Other sentences typical of everyday French are sentences such as (47)-(49), with pronominal Subject:

(47) Je le lui ai donné moi le livre à Jean.
       i j k   i   j   k
      'I gave the book to Pierre.'

(48) On y va nous.
      'We're going.'

(49) Je ne sais pas moi.
      'I don't know.'

Sentences like (35)-(40) and (47)-(49) are all consistent with a VOS hypothesis. In addition, though, given the appropriate pleonastic clitics, one also finds, with a nominal Subject and on a par pragmatically with the corresponding VOS and SVO sentences, perfectly acceptable VSO sentences such as one interpretation of (51):

(50) Elle aimait bien Marie sa mère.
       i   *i,j   i,*j
      'Her mother liked Marie.'

(51) Elle l' aimait bien Marie sa mère.
       i,j i,j   i,j   i,j
      { 'Marie liked her mother.' }
      { 'Her mother liked Marie.' }

Y.-C. Morin and St-Amour (1977) point out a similar use of clitics in causative sentences:

(52) J'aurais pas de mal à te les faire te les imaginer.
      'I would have no difficulty to make you imagine them.'

(53)　Le concentré d'orange...fais-<u>le</u> juste <u>le</u> dégeler.

　　　'The orange concentrate...just let it defrost.'

(54)　Des questions, ça <u>en</u> fait s'<u>en</u> poser à André.

　　　'As for questions, it makes Andre ask himself some.'

　　The typological shift under way should not be dismissed as a superficial or ephemeral development.　It would be difficult to pinpoint when this typological innovation first arose, given the impact on French of prescriptive grammar, but the discrepancies between the canonical SVO construction and the sentences which permeate everyday French were noted over fifty years ago, and put to use, by Céline, who was then assailed by the critics for putting into print the "parler faubourien".

　　The following quote shows how accurately Céline has captured the characteristics of everyday French.　Note how the canonical order is juxtaposed with the innovative V-initial order.　For setting the stage, the first is used.　The second appears when the narrator turns to reporting a conversation:

(55)　Après la conversation est revenue sur le Président Poincaré
　　　que s'en allait inaugurer, justement ce matin-là, une
　　　exposition de petits chiens; et puis, de fil en aiguille,
　　　sur Le Temps où c'était écrit.　"Tiens, voilà un maître
　　　journal, Le Temps!" qu'<u>il</u> me taquine <u>Arthur Ganate</u> à ce
　　　propos.　"Y en a pas deux comme lui pour défendre la race
　　　française! ---<u>Elle</u> en a bien besoin <u>la race française</u>, vu
　　　qu'elle n'existe pas!" que <u>j</u>'ai répondu <u>moi</u> pour montrer que
　　　j'étais documenté, et du tac au tac.　(Céline, 1933)

　　　'After that the conversation came back to President Poincaré
　　　who was going to go inaugurate, precisely that morning, a
　　　small dog show; and then from one thing to the next, to Le
　　　Temps where　it had been written.　"There is a top newspaper,
　　　Le Temps!" Arthur Ganate teases me about that.　"There are
　　　not two like it　to defend the French race!--The French race
　　　sure needs it, given that it does not exist!"　Answered I to
　　　show that I was well informed,　and without any hesitation.'

Sentences such as (52)-(54), which are of much interest historically, will be considered ill-formed by the majority of linguists, so we shall not be further concerned with them here. However, to be descriptively adequate, a grammar of contemporary French must generate not only sentences such as the ones, for instance, in (18) through (31), but also such sentences as (35)-(36), (47)-(49) and (51). In addition, one would wish to capture the correspondences between these and the corresponding SVO sentences.

One device proposed in the approach to context-free phrase-structure grammar known as Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG), as in e.g. Gazdar and Sag (1980), to describe sentence-to-sentence relations in "metarules". Such rules in effect take phrase-structure rules as their input to produce additional phrase-structure rules. Example (56) shows the metarule proposed for English passive:[2]

$$(56) \quad \langle n[\quad V \quad X] \rangle \Rightarrow \langle n[\quad V \quad X \quad (PP)] \rangle$$
$$\begin{array}{c} TVP \\ [\beta] \end{array} \qquad \begin{array}{c} VP \\ \begin{bmatrix} \beta \\ PAS \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \qquad [by]$$

This rule goes together with the following phrase-structure rule:

$$(57) \quad \langle 16, [\quad V \quad VP], \quad V' \quad (VP') \rangle$$
$$\begin{array}{c} VP \\ \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \\ PAS \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \\ PAS \end{bmatrix}$$

16 being the index of the rule and $v,16=be$.[3]

Similarly, to account for cliticization in Romance languages Gazdar and Sag propose the metarule in (58):[4]

$$(58) \quad [\quad V \quad \bar{N} \quad X] \Rightarrow [\quad N \quad V \quad X]$$
$$\quad \bar{V} \quad [-PRO] \qquad \bar{V} \quad [+PRO]$$

The metarules of GPSG are characterized as being different from transformational rules in that they do not map trees into trees, but rules into rules and that they are more local.

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Rules like the metarules of GPSG, which take phrase-structure
rules as their input to produce additional phrase-structure rules, would
allow us to generate sentences such as (35)-(40), with postverbal
nominal Subject and pleonastic nominative clitic, and to capture the
correspondence between these and their canonical counterpart in (41)-
(46). Like transformations, however, the metarules we need here must
be allowed to have as their input rules having as their domain the
entire sentence. Thus, disregarding meaning here, we may have:

(59) $\begin{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ +Su \\ \\ \alpha Pers \\ \beta Masc \\ \delta Sg \\ \gamma PRO \end{bmatrix}_S & VP \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} PRO \\ +NOM \\ \alpha Pers \\ \beta Masc \\ \delta Sg \end{bmatrix}_S & VP & \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ +Su \\ -PRO \\ \alpha Pers \\ \beta Masc \\ \delta Sg \\ \gamma Pron \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

The same rule would also allow us to relate sentences (48)-(49),
with pleonastic nominative clitic and postverbal pronominal Subject,
and their more conservative counterpart in (60)-(61):

(60) On y va.
      'We are going.'

(61) Je ne sais pas.
      'I don't know.'

I am assuming here that, in today's French, on, in addition to its
function as indefinite pronoun, is also interpreted as a first person
plural personal pronoun.

Consider now example (51):

(51) Elle l' aimait bien Marie sa mère.
      i,j i,j   i,j   i,j
      $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{'Marie liked her mother.'}\\\text{'Her mother liked Marie.'}\end{array}\right\}$

This example corresponds to the following two canonical

sentences:

(62) Marie aimait bien sa mère.
      'Marie liked her mother.'

(63) Sa mère aimait bien Marie.
      'Her mother liked Marie.'

In innovative sentences of the type illustrated by (51), then,

the syntactic function of the full NPs cannot be inferred from their

form nor from their position in the sentence. The structure of sen-

tences like (51) and their relation to their canonical counterpart may

be described as follows:

$$
(64)\quad
\left[\begin{matrix}
\text{NP} \\
\text{+Su} \\
\text{-Pron} \\
\alpha\text{Pers} \\
\beta\text{Masc} \\
\delta\text{Sg}
\end{matrix}\right]_S
\quad \text{V'} \langle\grave{a}\rangle_2 \quad
\left[\begin{matrix}
\text{NP} \\
\langle+\text{DO}\rangle_1 \\
\langle+\text{IO}\rangle_2 \\
-\text{Pron} \\
\gamma\text{Pers} \\
\varepsilon\text{Masc} \\
\Upsilon\text{Sg}
\end{matrix}\right]
\Longrightarrow
$$

$$
\left[\begin{matrix}
\text{PRO} \\
+\text{Nom} \\
\alpha\text{Pers} \\
\beta\text{Masc} \\
\delta\text{Sg}
\end{matrix}\right]_S
\left[\begin{matrix}
\text{PRO} \\
\langle+\text{Dir}\rangle_1 \\
\langle-\text{Dir}\rangle_2 \\
\gamma\text{Pers} \\
\varepsilon\text{Masc} \\
\Upsilon\text{Sg}
\end{matrix}\right]
\quad \text{V'}
\begin{cases}
\left[\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\+\text{Su}\\-\text{Pron}\\\alpha\text{Pers}\\\beta\text{Masc}\\\delta\text{Sg}\end{matrix}\right]
\langle\grave{a}\rangle_2
\left[\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\\langle+\text{DO}\rangle_1\\\langle+\text{IO}\rangle_2\\-\text{Pron}\\\gamma\text{Pers}\\\varepsilon\text{Masc}\\\Upsilon\text{Sg}\end{matrix}\right] & \text{a.} \\[2em]
\langle\grave{a}\rangle_2
\left[\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\\langle+\text{DO}\rangle_1\\\langle+\text{IO}\rangle_2\\-\text{Pron}\\\gamma\text{Pers}\\\varepsilon\text{Masc}\\\Upsilon\text{Sg}\end{matrix}\right]
\left[\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\+\text{Su}\\-\text{Pron}\\\alpha\text{Pers}\\\beta\text{Masc}\\\delta\text{Sg}\end{matrix}\right] & \text{b.}
\end{cases}
$$

The use of pleonastic clitics in French has been given far less attention than in Spanish, but it should not be dismissed as a minor development limited to a particular type of clause.

The shift toward V-initial order with pleonastic Subject clitics is most widespread in main or independent clauses. The following example shows this construction in a WH-question:

(65)   Comment aurais-je pu   me   douter moi de cette horreur
        how   would-have I could refl suspect me of this horror
           en quittant la   place Clichy?
           in leaving the place Clichy
        'How could I have suspected this horror when leaving Place Clichy?'

However, the examples below, also from Celine, should suffice to show that this phenomenon is far from being restricted to non-subordinate clauses. Examples (66)-(67) show the innovative construction in cleft sentences while in (68) we have it in an embedded WH-clause:

(66)   C'est à moi qu'il s'adressait le capitaine.
        'It is me that the captain was addressing.'

(67)   C'est sur moi qu'il est retombé Robinson.
        'It is on me that Robinson fell back.'

(68)   Ça se   remarque bien comment que ça brûle un village, même
        it refl notices well how   that it burns a village   even
           à vingt kilomètres
           at twenty kms
        'It is very noticeable how a village burns, even at twenty
           kilometers.'

Other types of clauses where the construction occurs in Céline include sentential Object clauses, as in (69)-(70), and a reason clause, thus:

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(69) On pouvait dire qu'<u>il</u> avait une sacrée voix <u>Mandamour</u>.
'One could say that Mandamour had a hell of a voice.'

(70) Je me   pensais aussi (derrière un arbre) que <u>j</u>'aurais
     I refl thought also   behind   a tree   that I would-have

        bien voulu le voir ici <u>moi</u>, le Déroulède, dont   on
        well wanted him see here me   the Deroulede of-whom one

           m'   avait tant   parlé m'   expliquer comment qu' <u>il</u>
           to-me had   so-much talked to-me explain   how   that he

        faisait, <u>lui</u>, quand il prenait une balle en plein bidon.
        did   him   when he took   a   bullet in full   drum

     'I was thinking to myself also (behind a tree) that I sure would
     have loved to see here that Déroulède whom they had been
     telling me about so much to explain to me how he did it
     when he caught a bullet right in the gut.'

(71) Ça   te   suffit   parce qu'<u>ils</u> t'   ont   raconté
     that to-you suffices because they   to-you have told

        <u>les autres</u> qu'il y   avait pas mieux que l' amour et
        the others   that there was   not better than the love and

        que...
        that
     'It is enough for you because they've told you that there was
     nothing any better than love and that...'

Finally, the next examples combine a whether clause and a time clause,

an Object clause and a why clause, respectively:

(72) S'<u>ils</u> avaient pas changé un peu <u>les hommes</u>, pendant qu'il
        avait vécu lui, ...
     'Whether men had not changed a bit, while he had been living...'

(73) J'aurais   bien voulu qu' il m'   explique celui-là pendant
        I would-have well wanted that he to-me explain   that   one while

        qu' il y   était, ce   réserviste, pourquoi j'avais pas
        that he there was   that reserve-man why   I had   not

        de   courage non plus   moi, pour faire la   guerre, comme
        some courage not either me   to   make the war   like

        tous les autres...
        all the others

        'I would have liked it very much for that one, that reserve
        soldier, to explain to me while he was at it why I did not
        either have any courage, to make war, like all the others...'

I have discussed the use of pleonastic clitics in contemporary

French here in order to give some indication of the ways in which

syntactic functions manifest themselves in areas of the grammar other

than causativization and passivization. What data such as this show

is that, even from a purely synchronic point of view, if we were to

assume that syntactic functions such as Subject, Direct Object or

Indirect Object in (64) were derived notions based on constituent order-

ing, we could not adequately describe some sentences which are perfectly

acceptable in today's French. If we were to define the Subject, for

instance, as the leftmost NP in the sentence or, avoiding any reference

to directionality, as the NP immediately dominated by S, neither

characterization would allow us to account for the acceptability of

such common sentences as (47) or (51).

Modern French, even though word order variation is now more re-

stricted, in this is thus similar to Old French, as we shall see in the

following chapters. In Old French, word order variation was such that

it has led St-Amour and Dubuisson (1979) to propose that Old French

should be considered a free word order language.

Such variation is of interest in relation to passivization and causativization because what we find emerging as the constants in the analysis of these phenomena in the midst of the typological shift which manifests itself in changes in word order, in inflection and in the use of prepositions is precisely syntactic functions. It is this which to me constitutes proof that syntactic functions must be considered as primitives, which get encoded in various ways as various times, and in some cases at the same time, rather than as notions to be derived from other aspects of syntax.

3.   The Lexicon

3.1   The Interaction of the Syntax and the Lexicon

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, there has been in Transformational Grammar since Chomsky (1970) a tendency to treat problems which had been previously accounted for by means of transformations as being problems pertaining to the lexicon.

With respect to passive, for instance, as was noted, it is now assumed that in French as in English certain passive participles are adjectival and others verbal, with the first type being generated lexically and the second syntactically. Among these forms taken to be adjectives for English are the un-deverbal forms. The equivalent in French would involve forms such as the one in sentence (74), for which there is no corresponding active:

(74) La maison est inhabitée.
      'The house is uninhabited.'

(75) *Jean inhabite la maison.
      'Jean uninhabits the house.'

Other sentences which would have to be generated by phrase-structure rules given current assumptions on the power of transformations are those like (76), for which there does exist a corresponding active sentence, but with a verb which occurs with an Indirect instead of a Direct Object:

(76) Marcel n'avait pas été obéi.
      'Marcel had not been obeyed.'

(77) Albertine une fois de plus n'avait pas obéi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*Marcel} \\ \text{à Marcel} \end{array} \right\}$.
      'Albertine once more had not obeyed Marcel.'

Ruwet (1972) already analyzed stative participles such as the one in (77) as being adjectives and base-generated, together with such forms as persuadé, for instance in (78) in contrast to (79):

(78) Pierre est persuadé $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{de son bon droit} \\ \text{qui Paul ment} \end{array} \right\}$.

      'Pierre is convinced $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{of his being in the right} \\ \text{that Paul lies} \end{array} \right\}$.'

(79) Pierre a été persuadé par Marie $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{de son bon droit} \\ \text{que Paul mentait} \end{array} \right\}$.

      'Pierre has been convinced by Marie $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{of his being in the right} \\ \text{that Paul was lying} \end{array} \right\}$.'

Such sentences as (79) he considered real passive sentences, derived by transformations.

In recent transformational analyses, however, a distinction is being made among past participle forms which can clearly be interpreted as being passive and not stative based on certain co-occurrence restrictions. With respect to this, we shall see in the following chapter that Ruwet (1972) was correct when he suggested that tests having to do, for instance, with co-occurrence with degree adverbs do not give clear

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results in French as to whether certain passive forms should more appropriately be analyzed as adjectival or as verbal.

The point of interest here is that those passive forms which for any of a number of reasons are being assigned to the category of adjective are as a consequence all assumed to be base generated and the regularities observed among them described by means of lexical redundancy rules. Given the proliferation of lexicalist analyses, though, it may be useful at this point to specify in what sense some of these qualify as lexicalist.

We mentioned earlier J.-Y. Morin's lexicalist interpretivist analysis of French causatives. The aspect of the lexicon which is central to that analysis of causatives, unlike the analyses, for instance, of Miyagawa (1980) and Farmer (1980) for Japanese causatives, is not word formation, or Bresnan's current assumption that all syntactic function dependent phenomena must be treated as involving lexical instead of syntactic processes, but rather the assumption mentioned earlier as to the status of the lexicon as the locus for treating irregularities.

We shall be discussing at some length in chapter 4 the various problems which French causatives present for a transformational analysis given current theory. What is important for now is that where Ruwet (1972) had proposed a lexical analysis for irregular French causatives, Morin proposes such an analysis for regular ones as well starting from the same premise about the regularity of syntactic processes.

With respect to periphrastic causatives, Ruwet's suggestion was that faire+infinitive sequences such as faire tomber in (80) should, like causative verbs such as tuer 'to kill' be entered in the lexicon:

(80) Il avait _fait tomber_ son verre.
      'He had dropped his glass.'

Regular _faire+infinitive_ sentences with corresponding simple sen-
tences such as (26)-(27), by contrast, for him like for Kayne, were
taken to involve transformations, and this is also the position found in
Government Binding analyses, as was mentioned.

For other languages such as Japanese which is now classified as
having free word order, however, it is currently assumed in the trans-
formational model that the formation of all passive and causative sen-
tences is a lexical rather than a syntactic process, as in the examples
(81)-(83) corresponding to the active sentences in (82) and (84),
respectively:

(81) Tanaka san wa sensei ni _homeraremasita_.
      'Mr. Tanaka was praised by the teacher.'

(82) Sensei wa Tanaka san o _homemasita_.
      'The teacher praised Mr. Tanaka.'

(83) Taroo ga Ziroo ni hon o _yomaseta_.
      'Taro made Ziro read the book.'

(84) Ziroo ga hon o _yonda_.
      'Ziro read the book.'

There is no reason a priori why non-configurationality should be
crucially related to how causatives are structured, but given recent as-
sumptions about the possible role of word formation rules or, as in
Stowell (1981) of word incorporation rules, to create "discontinuous
lexical items" the possibility must be considered that if Old French,
and maybe even Modern French, given the typological shift we described,
came, like Japanese, to be classified in Transformational Grammar as
non-configurational languages, all regular passives and causatives would
be treated as lexical in French as well.

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The analysis of French passives and causatives in that case, though based on different assumptions, would end up with the same conclusions as in Bresnan's framework, where all syntactic-function-dependent phenomena are treated as involving lexical processes.

For Bresnan, as we saw, the shift to treating such phenomena as passivization in English as a lexical process was motivated originally by the desire to eliminate cyclic transformations from the grammar so as to make it less powerful.

In Chomsky's framework, similarly, the reasons why sentences such as the ones in (74), (76) and (80) (regardless of how French is classified with respect to word order) have come to be treated as problems involving lexical rules all have to do with the various constraints which have been successively imposed on transformations.

Forms such as the participles _inhabité_ and _obéi_, for instance, are being treated as lexical rather than syntactic because of their irregularity, following Chomsky (1970) who suggested that the lexicon is the repository of idiosyncrasies. Given the goal to make transformations as general as possible, the problematic irregular forms are assigned to the category of adjectives, so that since transformations have been forbidden to change categorial labels, these passive forms must then be assumed to be generated by lexical rules.

Similarly, the reason why sequences such as _faire tomber_ 'to drop' must be in the lexicon is that the construction cannot result from a productive operation applying in a uniform manner. _Faire tomber_ and _faire pousser_ 'to grow, to raise' belong to a group of _faire+infinitive_ constructions the meaning of which cannot be related, as we shall see,

in a uniform way to that of ordinary sentences with the same verb found here after _faire_. _Faire pousser_, for instance, cannot be related to _pousser_ semantically in exactly the same manner as _faire manger_ 'to cause to eat' is to _manger_ 'to eat'.

In short, for passive participles as for periphrastic causatives, the decision to treat some of these lexically rather than syntactically follows from certain theory-bound assumptions as to the respective roles of transformations and of the lexicon. As Bedell (1974) observed, it is not obvious that a list of features in the lexicon is superior as an explanation to a list of conditions on transformations, nor is there any reason to assume that treating a problem in terms of interpretive rules will result in a superior analysis than one using transformations.

With respect to the expanded role of the lexicon, the decision to treat the formation of _regular_ passive and causative sentences in Japanese as a lexical process, as in Miyagawa (1980) and Farmer (1980), like the earlier decision by Chomsky to make use of the lexicon to treat exceptional constructions, does not have to do with empirical claims, but with new assumptions about language typology, and with how these assumptions can be made to appear consistent with the properties which have been assigned to the syntactic component. How or why increasing the power of the lexicon while decreasing that of the syntactic component might result in a theory with superior explanatory adequacy again remains to be shown.

The issue is of interest, though, because, as was noted, it has been suggested that Old French is, like Japanese is currently said to be, a non-configurational language (St-Amour and Dubuisson, 1979).

As for the issue of the interaction of the syntax and the lexicon, I will assume following Chomsky (1970) that idiosyncrasies are of the domain of the lexicon inasmuch as they are properties of particular words, as are word formation and the description of correspondences between related lexical items. The question which arises then is the status of those regular correspondences between ordinary sentences and passive or causative sentences.

With respect to French passive sentences, I had suggested (Bailard, 1980), following Wasow's proposal for English, that since French passive sentences are not compatible with a transformational analysis, the relations between such sentences and corresponding active sentences should be described by means of lexical redundancy rules. However, if we retain the traditional definition of syntax as having to do with the arrangement of words into sentences, passivization like causativization, as I mentioned here earlier, must be considered to be essentially a syntactic and not a lexical phenomenon.

We shall now consider various analyses of passive and causative sentences and evaluate the role which is to be assigned here to the lexicon with respect to these types of sentences in the light of the division of the syntax and the lexicon which was suggested above.

We shall discuss some of the consequences such a lexicalist analysis in the Government Binding sense of Old French, and possibly also of Modern French regular faire+infinitive sentences might have shortly.

I mentioned earlier Bedell's observation as to the arbitrariness of the developments in Transformational Grammar which have led to treating

problems having to do with irregularity in terms of the lexicon or the interpretive component so as to allow syntactic operations to apply uniformly. The point is pertinent to the analysis proposed by J.-Y. Morin (1978). His arguments for using rules of interpretation instead of transformations to constrain the output of the base with respect to the formation of causative sentences, centered as we shall see, on certain differences in the behaviour of some of the verbs which occur in what is loosely called causative sentences, namely the verbs of perception, as opposed to _faire_ and _laisser_, thus:

(85) Il avait _fait boire_ du saké _à Marie_.
      'He had made Marie drink some sake.'

(86) *Il avait _vu boire_ du saké _à Marie_.
      'He had seen Marie drink some sake.'

Morin's decision not to use transformations, then, appears to hinge on his acceptance of the claim that transformational rules must be without exceptions.

I would like to suggest that, beside the fact that there exist a number of problems for a transformational analysis of French causatives given current theory, the overriding reason not to use transformations for causative as for passive sentences has to do not with issues of irregularity or non-productivity, but with causativization and passivization being essentially, as the next two chapters will clearly show, not structure-dependent but syntactic-function-dependent phenomena.

3.2 The Relevance of the Lexicon to Causitivization and Passivization

Morin (1978) was to my knowledge the first to propose a lexicalist analysis of regular faire+infinitive sentences. As was mentioned, Morin's proposal involves using subcategorization features together with rules of interpretation serving as well-formedness conditions instead of transformations. The lexical entry Morin proposes for faire, for instance, is as follows:

(87) faire: [+[____((se) V inf) NP NP à...])]]

The rules of interpretation given as responsible for determining the acceptability of faire+infinitive sentences are as in (88)-(89):

(88) NP → [+ft$_1$ (V)]/$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{faire} \\ \text{laisser} \end{Bmatrix}$ V X (à) ____

(89) NP → [ft$_1$ (V)]/$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{être} \\ \text{faire} \\ \text{laisser} \\ \vdots \end{Bmatrix}$ V X par ____

Where ft$_1$ indicates that the input NP is interpreted as occupying the highest position in the Thematic Hierarchy of a verb when it is in the context shown here.

One problem which must be noted with this proposal is that it does not offer any suggestion as to how syntactic correspondences between causative sentences and related simple sentences which Kayne (1975) was attempting to capture with his transformational analysis are to be incorporated into the grammar.

Also, while interpretive rules are necessary to explain the unacceptability of many causative sentences generated by the base as will be shown in chapter 4, which deals with the history of French causatives, an analysis which proposes to use as the general means for determining the acceptability of causative sentences rules of

interpretation formulated in terms of the Thematic Hierarchy, such as the one proposed by Cannings and Moody (1978), is descriptively inadequate. The reason for this is that the concepts referred to are so vague as to make it impossible to differentiate among various synchronic states in the evolution of the causative construction.

We shall see that interpretive analyses such as Morin's and Cannings and Moody's, where the only syntactic rules are phrase-structure rules, like various previous analyses which attempted to explain causativization in purely syntactic terms, are unable to account for the contrast between such sentences as (9) and (10) of chapter 1:

(9)   ...la lueur d'angoisse qui réveille le tigre et le (acc) fait
        dévorer le dompteur. (R. Massip)
    '...The glimmer of anxiety which awakens the tiger and makes him
      devour the trainer.'

(10) Je me multipliais pour lui (dat) faire apprécier la rue
        provinciale. (R. Massip)
    'I spared no efforts to make her appreciate the provincial street.'

Such contrasts have existed in French causative sentences at least since the 11th-12th century and remain an important phenomenon in today's French, as the data collected by Harmer (1979) testifies.

Assuming that Morin is correct, though, in his conclusion that a transformationalist analysis of French causatives is unsatisfactory, as was argued also by Strozer (1976) and Rivas (1977) with respect to the generation of clitics, and given the evolution in the role attributed to the lexicon, let us consider what could be the function of lexical rules with respect to the formation of French causative sentences.

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In the framework of Bresnan (1980), given her assumptions about syntactic functions, it would appear to follow that word formation rules should be the ones responsible for the production of the _faire+ infinitive_ form. In the Government Binding framework, on the other hand, this would not necessarily follow if one retains the traditionally held assumption that French is an SVO language, or at least a language with a VP constituent. However, even for configurational language, word incorporation rules have been appealed to recently to replace transformations with respect to phenomena which had not traditionally been analyzed as involving word formation. This is the case, for instance, with Stowell's analysis of the "double object construction" in English, as in e.g. _he sent John a package_ (Stowell, 1981).

Also, as some of the data presented above in this chapter suggests, there is reason to question the configurational status of contemporary French. And the same also applies to Old French. St-Amour and Dubuisson (1979) proposed that Old French, where causativization takes a form very similar to that it has in today's French, should be considered a W* language, i.e. a language with free word order. We shall see that Old French exhibits, if not complete word order freedom, at least considerable variation. For now, the following examples should suffice to make this clear:

(90) Deus fist l'imagene por soue amour parler. (Alexis, 11th C.)
     'God out of his love made the statue speak.'

(91) Une grande cuve fait Amile aporter, son compaingnon a fait
          dedans entrer. (Ami et Amile, 12th C.)
     'Amile has a large basin brought, he had made his friend
          enter it.'

The word order found in (90)-(91) might be taken to be motivated by metrical considerations. However, Old French scholars have noted that Medieval prose also shows considerable word order variation. More specifically, according to Foulet (1930), the four orders below were all frequently used:

SVO (I)

SOV (II)

VSO (III)

OVS (IV)

As for the relative frequency of these constructions, Foulet gives the following indications. Construction II was probably the least often found in ordinary usage. Construction IV like construction II was most often encountered in poetry, and in conversation style they appear to fall behind I and III. Foulet believes that constructions I and III were also the preferred ones in the spoken language.

Given this, then, and the fact that, for some other languages classified as non-configurational, transformations have been replaced in some analyses of causative sentences by word formation rules, it may be worthwhile to examine the relevance of word formation rules to causitivization both in general and with respect to French more specifically.

As mentioned earlier, there have been proposals recently to use word formation rules in the analysis of regular Japanese causative sentences. Miyagawa (1980), for instance, proposed for causative sentences such as the one in (83), corresponding to the simple sentence in (84) the rule reproduced in (85):

(83) Taroo ga Ziroo ni hon o yomaseta.

'Taro made Ziro read the book.'

(84) Ziroo ga hon o yonda.

'Ziro read the book.'

(85) _Sase_ WFR

$$
\begin{bmatrix} [x] \\ +V \\ -\text{ergative} \\ [(NP)^n\underline{\quad}] \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} [[x]sase] \\ +V \\ -\text{ergative} \\ [(NP)^{n+1}\underline{\quad}] \end{bmatrix}
$$

Kuroda (1981) has argued against such a lexicalist interpretation of causativization in Japanese on several grounds, one of these being that there is evidence that, contrary to the view which has generally been held in traditional Japanese linguistics and in generative linguistics, the causative morpheme may not be a bound form.

What is of interest here is Kuroda's general conclusion, which is based on a language where one would expect lexical processes to play an important role given its agglutinative nature, and parallels exactly the conclusion of Ruwet (1972) about causativization in French. That conclusion was that for Japanese one must make a distinction between what he calls "syntactic causatives", a highly productive class, in which yomaseta in (83), for instance, would fall, and "lexical causatives", with highly idiosyncratic properties, as much from the point of view of morphology as of semantics.

In French, other periphrastic causative constructions with idiosyncratic properties beside _faire tomber_, _faire pousser_ are as in (86)-(88):

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(86) Ça me <u>fait suer</u>.

'It bothers me/makes me angry.' (lit.: it makes me sweat)

(87) Va te faire cuire un oeuf.

'Go get lost.' (lit.: go cook yourself an egg)

(88) Il l'a envoyé $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{paître} \\ \text{promener} \end{Bmatrix}$.

'He told him to get lost.' (lit.: he sent him to graze/to take
a walk)

There do not exist corresponding non-causative sentences with the
appropriate meaning. The only possible meaning of the sentences below
is the one indicated in the translation:

(89) Je sue.

'I sweat/am sweating.'

(90) Tu te cuis un oeuf.

'You cook/are cooking yourself an egg.'

(91) Il s'est promené.

'He went for a walk.'

(<u>Paître</u> does not have a past participle in current standard usage.)

Similarly problematic for a syntactic analysis where transforma-
tions are taken to apply uniformly in all cases are sentences such as
(92)-(94):

(92) Il avait fait voir son permis à l'agent.
'He had shown his license to the policeman.'

(93) On a commencé à y faire pousser du maïs.
'They have started growing corn there.'

(94) Il a fait tomber un verre.
'He dropped a glass.'

Compare these with (95)-(97):

(95) Il avait finalement pu lui faire voir ce qui n'allait pas.
    ~ 'He had finally been able to make him see what was not going
        right.'

(96) L'engrais fait pousser le maïs.
    'The fertilizer makes the corn grow.'

(97) Il a fait tomber le verre en le poussant du pied.'
    'He made the glass fall by pushing it with his foot.'

The meaning of these last three sentences can be derived in a

systematic way from that of corresponding simple sentences as can be

seen from the following:

(98) Il avait finalement vu ce qui n'allait pas.
    'He had finally seen what was not going right.'

(99) Le maïs y pousse bien.
    'Corn grows well there.'

(100) Le verre est tombé.
    'The glass fell.'

With the faire+infinitive sentences in (92)-(94), on the other

hand, while they have a meaning which is more obviously related to that

of simple sentences with the verbs in question than are those in col-

loquial sentences such as (86)-(88), that relationship is still not a

predictable one. If we accept that idiom chunks are part of the

lexicon, we may assume that the meaning of the causative periphrases in

(92)-(94) is provided in the lexicon just as must that of causative

verbs such as cuire 'to cook' or casser 'to break', as in these examples

from Ruwet (1972):

(101) Adèle cuit le ragoût.
    'Adele is cooking the stew.'

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(102) Ce galopin à cassé la branche.
       'This rascal broke the branch.'

(103) Le chimiste a fondu le métal.
       'The chemist melted the metal.'

(104) Le chef a réuni l'équipe.
       'The boss got the team together.'

(105) Pierre a brisé la branche.
       'Pierre broke the branch.'

A number of these causative verbs are verbs which may also be used intransitively:

(106) Le ragoût cuit.
       'The stew is cooking.'

(107) La branche a cassé.
       'The branch broke.'

(108) Le métal a fondu.
       'The metal melted.'

Other verbs like the ones in (104)-(105) may be used without a causative meaning only with a reflexive pronoun, as in these examples also from Ruwet:

(109) L'équipe $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *a \\ s'est \end{array} \right\}$ réuni(e).
       'The team met.'

(110) La branche $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *a \\ s'est \end{array} \right\}$ brisé(e).
       'The branch broke.'

As Ruwet pointed out, there are only a small number of verbs which enter into the relation illustrated by (101)-(110). He gave these examples of what is most usually the case:

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(111) ??Adèle marine les maquereaux.

'Adèle is marinating the mackerels.'

(112) Les maquereaux marinent.

'The mackerels are marinating.'

(113) *Pierre a trébuché Paul.

'Pierre tripped Paul.'

(114) Paul a trébuché.

'Paul tripped.'

(115) ??Le médecin a avorté Iphigénie.

'The doctor made Iphigénie abort.'

(116) Iphigénie a avorté.

'Iphigénie had an abortion.'

Ruwet's proposal for treating the correspondences between intransitive or middle verbs and homophonous causative verbs by means of a lexical redundancy rule was that since the verbs in question show idiosyncrasies with respect to their subcategorization for reflexive pronouns, as shown here by (107) (with _casser_) versus (110) (with _briser_), and the lexical entry is the natural place for dealing with these idiosyncrasies, verbs like the ones in (89)-(93) should be entered in the lexicon as intransitive, with their transitive use being accounted for by means of the following lexical redundancy rule:

(117) $[+V], [+(se)...\underline{}X], [+[\alpha F]...] \rightarrow$

$[+V], [+CAUSE], [+...NP \ X[, [+\underline{}[\alpha F]]$

Where F represents the features of the object NP relevant
for the selection of the verb being used transitively.

With respect to the issue of irregularity, Ruwet noted also that only a fraction of the middle verbs may be used causatively as in (104)-(105), thus:

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(118)

$$\text{La victime s'est} \begin{cases} \text{assise} \\ \text{accroupie} \\ \text{prosternée} \\ \text{affalée} \\ \text{affaissée} \end{cases}.$$

$$\text{'The victim} \begin{cases} \text{sat down} \\ \text{squatted} \\ \text{prostrated himself} \\ \text{dropped} \\ \text{collapsed} \end{cases}.\text{'}$$

(119)

$$\text{Les prêtres ont} \begin{cases} \text{agenouillé} \\ \text{?accroupi} \\ \text{?prosterné} \\ \text{*affalé} \\ \text{*affaissé} \end{cases} \text{la victime de force.}$$

$$\text{'The priests} \begin{cases} \text{sat the victim down by force} \\ \text{made the victim} \begin{cases} \text{squat} \\ \text{prostrate himself} \\ \text{drop} \\ \text{collapse} \end{cases} \text{by force} \end{cases}.\text{'}$$

Furthermore, as he observed, this aspect of language is one where we must expect much dialectal variation as well as changes through time. In this respect, S. de Vogel (1927) gives the following examples of verbs which used to have a causative meaning, but now are predominantly used only intransitively:

(120) Or vous ont mort Savrasin et Persan. (Aliscan, 12th C.)
'The Saracenes and the Persians have killed you.'

(121) M'ordonner du repos c'est croître mon malheur. (Cid. 17th C.)
'To order me to rest is to increase my woes.'

(122) Le tombent dans un fosse. (Rose, 13th C.)
'They make him fall/drop him into a ditch.'

S. de Vogel remarks that tomber is now predominantly used as intransitive only, except with a few nouns, e.g. tomber un ministre, un lutteur 'to make a minister, a wrestler fall'. Mourir and croître

by contrast, are now no longer used transitively at all, thus:

(123) Le roi est mort.
     'The king has died/is dead.'

(124) *Ils ont mort le roi.
     'They have killed the king.'

(125) Le blé croît presque partout.
     'Wheat grows almost everywhere.'

(126) *L'an dernier, ils ont crû du blé.
     'Last year they grew wheat.'

Finally, one more reason for Ruwet why causative verbs like fondre should be listed individually in the lexicon alongside with the corresponding intransitive, as is actually done in French dictionaries, was the fact that the two members of such a pair may have different selectional restrictions, which cannot be predicted. Ruwet gives the following examples:

(127) Le cuisinier a éparpillé les petits pois.
     'The cook scattered the peas.'

(128) Les petits pois se sont éparpillés.
     'The peas scattered.'

(129) ?*Les policiers ont éparpillé les manifestants.
     'The police scattered the demonstrators.'

(130) Les manifestants se sont éparpillés.
     'The demonstrators scattered.'

(131) On a écoulé l'eau de pluie par cette canalisation.
     'They drained the rainwater through this canal.'

(132) L'eau de pluie s'est écoulée par cette canalisation.
     'The rainwater drained through this canal.'

(133) *Le temps écoule $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{la rivière} \\ \text{la journée} \end{Bmatrix}$.

'Time makes $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{the river} \\ \text{the day} \end{Bmatrix}$ go by.'

(134) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{La rivière} \\ \text{La journée} \end{Bmatrix}$ s'écoule.

'$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{The river} \\ \text{The day} \end{Bmatrix}$ goes by.'

(135) On a tassé $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{la farine} \\ \text{les désaccords} \end{Bmatrix}$.

'They $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{tamped the flour} \\ \text{settled the disagreements} \end{Bmatrix}$.'

(136) La farine s'est tassée.

'The flour settled.'

(137) Les désaccords se sont tassés.

'The disagreements subsided.'

For Ruwet, then, the decisive criteria for choosing between the syntax and the lexicon as the proper place to accommodate certain facts about causativization were productivity and regularity, in agreement with Chomsky (1970).

In this respect, Ruwet pointed to Kayne's observation that, for verbs such as fondre, écouler, French dictionaries give an entry both for the transitive and for the intransitive usage whereas for reflexive verbs such as se nettoyer 'to clean', se vendre 'to sell' they give no special entry, which indicates that speakers do indeed distinguish between the regular process involved in the formation of se-moyen verbs and the semantic and syntactic idiosyncratic properties of the others.

Ruwet's conception of the syntax and of the lexicon thus appears quite different from that of J.-Y. Morin since for Morin the syntax has no role to play with respect to causativization beyond providing the necessary phrase-structure rules.

Note also that Ruwet's rule in (117), unlike some of the rules proposed to relate pairs of verb forms in recent proposals like Bresnan's for English passive or Miyagawa's for Japanese causatives is not proposed as a word formation rule, but as a rule describing redundancies between items which are taken to be entered in the lexicon independently of each other.

In addition, there was no implication in Ruwet's analysis that the entries in the lexicon should each be analyzed as a word, that they should show the same intonational or syntactic properties which had been isolated for those lexical units traditionally characterized as being a word. The reason why certain <u>faire+infinitive</u> sequences were included by Ruwet in the lexicon was because they are idioms. Ruwet's lexicalist analysis of certain French causatives in that respect differs importantly from more recent lexicalist analyses of various phenomena.

The lexical redundancy rules presented in Chomsky (1970) were rules which described non-productive relationships, but another characteristic of these rules was that they dealt with facts involving derivational morphology. More stringent versions of the "lexicalist hypothesis" have been proposed by Jackendoff (1972), who suggested that all phenomena involving morphological processes should be dealt with by means of lexical redundancy rules, and by Aronoff (1976), who, to preserve the autonomous status of the lexicon, argued that derivational morphology was never to be dealt with in the syntax, but that inflectional morphology could be.

I referred earlier to Stowell (1981). Stowell proposes to use

word incorporation rules to explain various facts pertaining, for instance, to cliticization in Romance languages and the double object construction in English. Such an analysis, which is formulated in terms of the Government Binding framework, represents yet another step, and a rather drastic one, away from the spirit of Chomsky (1970), since, for problems like the English double object construction, it seems to entail a redefinition of the notion of "word".

It is far from obvious, though, at the moment in what ways such attempts to extend the role of the lexicon so as to make it capable of handling a vast number of phenomena which had up to now been considered as part of the domain of syntax, and which often had proved problematic in terms of the efforts which were being made to reduce the role of the transformational component, will ultimately prove beneficial from the point of view of descriptive or explanatory adequacy.

With respect to the English double object construction, for instance, it is not obvious that the fact that there exist limitations based on the stem-class of the verb constitute evidence that V - NP sequences like gave John in he gave John a book should be analyzed as a word. The fact that give and other monosyllabic verbs as well as disyllabic verbs with first syllable stress occur in this configuration while other verbs do not, e.g. *he donated UCLA his books, might be interpreted as evidence that certain syntactic operations may be blocked when their output would result in an unacceptable prosodic pattern. Before one might be entitled to conclude, however, that this is evidence that the process involved is one of word formation, it would be desirable to show that there exists independent evidence that the proscribed

intonation pattern is one which is associated with words and nothing else.

As for the French clitics, if we were to assume that both cliticization and regular causativization result in incorporation, we would have to conclude that French clitics are sometimes prefixes and at other times, since they may appear between the causative verb and the dependent infinitive, infixes, a hypothesis which to my knowledge no one has yet found it desirable to advance. This would be necessary because of sentences like (22)(c), a type we will be discussing at some length in succeeding chapters:

(22)   c.   Il l'avait fait les lui apporter.
            'He had had him bring them to her.'

Furthermore, even in the case where some independent evidence might be brought forth which would support the hypothesis that French clitics should sometimes be considered as infixes, one would yet have to contend with the existence of faire sentences such as the following, from Harmer (1979), where determiners and nouns, which are themselves taken to occur with inflectional suffixes, may be found between faire and the dependent infinitive:

(138)   Ce qui faisait Armand répondre à ceux qui lui demandaient par
           où l'on pouvait rejoindre sa mère: 'Par la cheminée.' (Gide)
        'Which made Armand answer to those who would ask him how one
           could reach his mother: 'By the chimney'.

(139)   Rien de plus difficile que de faire le public revenir d'un
           premier jugement trop hâtif.   (Le Figaro Littéraire)
        'Nothing more difficult than to make the public take back an
           overly hasty judgment.'

(140) Et qui _fait_ _son imagination_ _s'égarer_ dans l'irréel. (G. Cohen)
'And which makes his imagination get lost in irreality.'

(141) L'autre (rumeur) _faisait_ _Ludo_ _se battre_ dans une crise
     intérieure. (J. Fougere)
'The other (rumour) and Ludo fighting some internal crisis.'

(142) On pourrait voir isi une articulation assez proche de celle
     qui _a fait_ _Chomsky_ _installer_ sa doctrine sur les répertoires
     distributionnels de Harris et de ses élèves. (J.-C. Chevalier)
'One could see here an arrangement reasonably close to that
     which made Chomsky set up his theory on the distributional
     apparatus of Harris and of his students.'

These sentences all belong to the more careful register, but we
have also examples such as the following, recorded by Damourette and
Pichon (1911-50) and Morin and St-Amour (1977) respectively:

(143) J'avais été obligée de _faire_ _le concierge_ _venir_.
'I had been obligated to have the concierge come.'

(144) Je vais ouvrir; ça _fait_ _la chaleur_ _venir_ dans la salle à manger.
'I am going to open; it makes the heat come into the dining room.'

Sentences such as the above represent relics of the earlier usage,
when _faire+infinitive_ sentences reflected the overall far greater word
order freedom of the language. We find in Old French, for instance:

(145) Ço   dist l' imasgene: _fai_ _l'_ _ome Deu_ _venir_. (Alexis, 11th C.)
     this said the statue   make the man God come
'The statue said this: have the holy man come.'

(146) Deu _fist_ _l'_ _imasgene_ por soue amour _parler_. (Alexis, 11th C.)
     God made the statue   by his love speak
'God out of his love made the statue speak.'

(147) A   _fait_ _le_ _feu_ par les rues   _fichier_. (Cambrai, 12th C.)
     has made the fire by the streets set
'He had fire set in the streets.'

(148) En   fist li rois un lai trover. (Guingamor, 12th C.)
       of-it made the king a   poem find
       'The king had a poem made about it.'

In today's French, sentences such as (138)-(144) are highly
marked. Yet they constitute clear evidence that for a number of speak-
ers faire+infinitive is not conceived of as a word, or at least that if
faire+infinitive is conceived of as a word, then so is verb+Object (as
in Stowell's analysis of the English double object construction).

Aside from that, if one chose to assume that the majority of
speakers have a very different analysis for the faire+infinitive complex,
assuming that this ever constitutes a word would then imply that causa-
tive faire is drastically different from the other verbs which have been
analyzed as involving "Subject to Object raising". With laisser, voir,
etc. the word order illustrated in (138)-(144) is a perfectly acceptable
one in today's French. Thus, in addition to sentences like the ones in
(149), we also have the ones in (150):

(149)
              ⎧ laissé ⎫
              ⎪ vu   ⎪
     Il avait ⎨ entendu ⎬ manger Marie.
              ⎪ regardé ⎪
              ⎩ écouté ⎭

              ⎛ ⎧ let   ⎫   ⎞
              ⎜ ⎪ seen   ⎪   ⎟
     'He had ⎜ ⎨ heard   ⎬ Marie eat ⎟ .'
              ⎜ ⎩ watched ⎭   ⎟
              ⎝ listened to Marie eating ⎠

(150)

$$\text{Il avait}\begin{Bmatrix}\text{laissé}\\\text{vu}\\\text{entendu}\\\text{regardé}\\\text{écouté}\end{Bmatrix}\text{Marie manger.}$$

$$\text{'He had}\begin{Bmatrix}\begin{Bmatrix}\text{let}\\\text{seen}\\\text{heard}\\\text{watched}\end{Bmatrix}\text{Marie eat}\\\text{listened to Marie eating}\end{Bmatrix}\text{.'}$$

Adverbial phrases are also frequently encountered between the two verbs:

(151) Il le lui fera sûrement regretter.
       'He will certainly make him regret it.'

(152) Ton histoire le fera sûrement drôlement marrer.
       'Your story will certainly make him laugh a great deal.'

(153) Il s'était laissé tout bêtement embarquer dans une histoire
          de fous.
       'He had stupidly let himself get taken into some cracy scheme.'

In short, then, on internal grounds, since the higher verb and the dependent infinitive may be separated by a variety of complex structures, such as full NPs and adverbial phrases, for French in order to be able to conclude that word formation is the process involved in the regular production of sentences containing periphrastic causatives or any of the verbs of perception which also allow Subject to Object raising, one would have to be willing to extend the meaning of 'word' so as to allow it to refer to sequences containing not only items traditionally assumed to be words but also phrases.

Similar distributional evidence suggests that more idiosyncratic faire/laisser + infinitive sequences also should not be analyzed as words unless one redefines 'word' as just mentioned:

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(154) L'an prochain, nous ne ferons probablement pousser que des
        tomates.
       'Next year, we will probably grow nothing but tomatoes.'

(155) Un de ces jours, il ferait même tomber son râtelier dans
        sa soupe que ça ne m'étonnerait pas.
       'One of these days even if he were to drop his dentures in
        his soup, I would not be surprised.'

(156) Ça me fait plutôt drôlement suer.
       'It rather bothers me a great deal.'

(157) Elle le laissera sans doute tomber comme le précédent.
       'She will probably dump him like the previous one.'

Given the way adverbials may be interposed between the higher and the
dependent verb, and in keeping with the traditional assumptions as to
what constitutes words in French, I will assume that it is as idiom
chunks rather than as words that sequences such as faire suer are
entered in the lexicon.

Synchronically, then, it would appear that the constructions
faire+infinitive and laisser+infinitive are two which differ in degree
rather than in kind, and this is confirmed by the diachronic evidence.
We shall see in chapter 4 that, while in Old French, both verbs allowed
a great deal of word order variation, causative faire, then as now, was
already a more restrictive verb than laisser.

In conclusion, while there are reasons in agreement with Chomsky's
Lexicalist Hypothesis why one would use a lexical redundancy rule to
relate certain verbs to their homophonous causative counterpart, there
appears to be no justification given the assumptions of Chomsky (1970)
for appealing to the lexicon with respect to periphrastic causatives
except for listing certain faire+infinitive sequences as idiom chunks.

Word formation in the traditional sense is not involved except to the extent that the regular infinitive formation rules must be brought to bear as in all cases where an infinitive is at issue. As for lexical redundancy rules, we shall see presently that, while the properties of the particular infinitive involved are quite relevant to the stating of correspondences between causative and simple sentences, the facts of interest are not correspondences between lexical items but highly regular ones between pairs of sentences.

For infinitives such as <u>parler</u>, <u>finir</u>, then, we shall have in the grammar the following word formation rules:

$$(158) \quad \begin{bmatrix} /X/ \\ +V \\ +conj\ 1 \\ W \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} /X+\vartheta+r/ \\ +V \\ +infinitive \\ INF\ (W) \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(159) \quad \begin{bmatrix} /X/ \\ +V \\ +conj\ 2 \\ W \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} /X+r/ \\ +V \\ +infinitive \\ INF\ (W) \end{bmatrix}$$

Where X represents the root of the verb, $-\vartheta-$ the thematic vowel of the first conjugation and INF (W) the meaning of the derived infinitive.

As for the role of word formation rules with respect to passive, we saw how Bresnan (1980) proposes to describe passivization in English, and given the similar relevance of syntactic functions to that phenomenon in French, passivization in French as well would be considered in her framework as outlined there to be a lexical process in all cases. Note that Grimshaw (1982) observes that there is no necessary reason why syntactic-function-dependent phenomena should be considered lexical, though she also adopts the assumption that they are.

With respect to Transformational Grammar, also, it was noted

that Wasow (1977) suggested that two types of passivization should be

recognized for English, one lexical and one transformational, one

of the criteria for deciding that a particular passive participle should

be classified as lexical being that that passive participle must be

characterized as adjectival.

In this respect, it will be shown in the next chapter that, for

French, it will be necessary to characterize as [+adjective] all

passive participles. More precisely, on the basis of synchronic and

diachronic evidence involving facts about cooccurrence with degree

adverbs and with auxiliaries and also about agreement, we shall see

that all passive participles must be characterized as [+adjective,

+verb].

Consequently, independently of the assumption that passivization

is not a structure-dependent process, if we accept, as now appears to be

generally done within transformational theory, Wasow's criterion which

forbids category-changing transformations, we are led to conclude in

any case that passivization in French in all instances must be assumed

to be non-transformational.

Given the assumptions mentioned earlier about the role of the

lexicon though, and given that for French, as we shall see, there is

no reason to assume that sequences such as obéir à 'to obey', se moquer

de 'to mock' or parler de 'to talk about' constitute a word, the one

purpose which word formation rules will be used for in relation to passivi-

zation is the formation of the passive participle. Thus, the formation

of the passive participle aimé in (160) may be described by means of

the passive participle formation rule in (162):

(160) Il est aimé de tous.

'He is liked by everybody.'

(161) Tout le monde l'aime bien.

'Everybody likes him.'

(162) Passive Participle Formation Rule I

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
/X/ \\
+V \\
+conj\ 1 \\
+Tr \\
W
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
/X+e/ \\
+passive\ participle \\
\\
W'
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Where X represents the verb root and W and W' the meaning of that root and of the derived passive participle respectively.

W' is taken to be a function of the meaning of the root. The feature specification [+conj 1] will serve to differentiate between first-conjugation forms like aimé and other passive participles such as fini 'finished' or reçu 'received'. As for [+Tr], this is necessary to account for the fact that in Modern French, as opposed to Old French or Classical French, only a verb subcategorized for Object in the active may have a passive participle, for instance:

(163) Il y avait été fait une incision.

'There had been a cut made there.'

(164) Il vous sera envoyé un remboursement.

'There will be a reimbursement sent to you.'

The impersonal passive construction illustrated in (163)-(164) is frequently encountered in official or bureaucratic writing, as in the next three examples below noted by Grevisse (1936):

(165) Celui...auquel il a été volé une chose. (Code civ. art 2279)

'The person...from whom there has been something stolen.'

(166) Il sera sursis à toute procédure. (Code de procédure civ. art. 35)

     Lit: There will be delayed to any procedure

     'Any procedure will be delayed.'

(167) Il en sera parlé. (Littré)

     Lit: There about-it will be talked.

     'It will be talked about.'

"Transitive" is here used in the fashion traditional in French grammar (cf. e.g. Grevisse (1936)), to refer to any verb subcategorized for Object. Similarly, I will use throughout the terms "transitive direct" and "transitive indirect" to distinguish between verbs such as tuer 'to kill' and the ones such as surseoir 'to postpone', parler 'to talk' or changer as in 'to change one's mind, clothes', the Objects of which are currently introduced by the prepositions à and de respectively: surseoir à l'exécution, parler à quelqu'un, changer d'avis. A verb subcategorized for Direct and Indirect Object will be referred to as ditransitive.

Thus, in Modern French, tuer will be listed as [+Tr Dir], surseoir and parler, as [+Tr Ind] and voler and envoyer as [+Di Tr]. Verbs such as aller, venir will be listed as [-Tr], and will, accordingly, not occur in the impersonal passive construction:

(168) *Il a été $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{allé} \\ \text{venu} \end{array} \right\}$.

     'There has been $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{going} \\ \text{coming} \end{array} \right\}$.'

Verbs subcategorized for an optional Object, e.g. boire, manger, when used in the active without a nominal functioning as their Object will be labelled as "pseudo-intransitive". The distinction will be necessary in chapter 3 to describe the difference between these verbs

verbs and true intransitive verbs, on the one hand, such as <u>aller</u>, which do not have a passive participle in Modern French, and verbs like <u>parler</u> and <u>accorder,</u> on the other, which have a passive participle and which differ from each other with respect to passivization in that <u>parler</u> may occur only in the impersonal passive construction while <u>accorder</u> may occur both in the impersonal and in the personal passive, thus:

(169) *Les résultats des élections ont été <u>parlé (de)</u> partout.
'The election results were talked about everywhere.'

(170) Il y aurait été conclu des accords secrets.
'There were supposedly some secret deals made there.'

(171) Des accords secrets y auraient été conclus.
'Some secret deals supposedly were made there.'

A pseudo-intransitive may not in Modern French be used in the impersonal passive.

(172) La récolte a été <u>mangée</u> par les rats.
'The crop was eaten by the rats.'

(173) *Il a été <u>mangé</u>.
'There was eating.'

Intransitive and pseudo-intransitive verbs could still be used in the impersonal passive until the seventeenth century:

(174) Tu le savras,   gaires n' iert   <u>demoré</u>. (Huon de Bordeaux,
                                                              13th C.)
      you it will-know little neg will-be delay
      'You will know it, there will be but little waiting.'

(175) Il fut <u>dansé</u>, <u>sauté</u>, <u>ballé</u> E du nain nullement <u>parlé</u>.
          (La Fontaine, 17th C.)
      'There was dancing, jumping, ball-playing And no talking about
          the dwarf.'

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Having the feature [+Tr] in rule (162), then, will allow us to capture the fact that the lexicon of Modern French, contrary to that of earlier stages of the language, does not contain passive participles of intransitive verbs.

In transformational analyses of passive, as was said, the formation of the passive participles was taken to be a part of the syntactic process. Given that transformations as currently used appear generally inappropriate for French passives as we shall see in the next chapter, word formation rules such as the one in (162) will then be responsible for generating all the passive participles. Word formation rules are thus generally to be considered productive rules, in the sense that they allow us to account for the introduction of new lexical items into the language. Thus rule (162) allows us to describe the fact that when a new transitive verb becomes part of the French lexicon, a corresponding passive participle form also, as a consequence, becomes available to the speakers.

For instance, we find that in Quebec French, corresponding to the transitive verbs _stopper_, _toaster_, _switcher_, _pitcher_, we have also _être stoppé_, _être toasté_, _être switché_, _être pitché_ (Judith McA'Nulty, personal communication.)

In short, word formation rules as conceived of here, have the function of describing relations between pairs of existing words and also of making predictions as to what constitutes a possible word for French, as did the lexical redundancy rules proposed by Jackendoff (1975).

As for the syntax, the grammar of Modern French will have to include at least two rules which refer to passive participles, one to describe canonical passive sentences such as (172), which will be relevant for all verbs subcategorized for Direct Object and an impersonal passive rule, more general, which can be used with transitive direct verbs and a number of transitive indirect ones.

We will return to these two types of passive sentences, canonical and impersonal, in the next chapter.

3.3 Lexical Entries

We saw above the role which is assigned here to word formation rules in the formation of causative and passive sentences. We shall now turn to describing the form of lexical entries.

To begin with passive, a rule describing the formation of passive participles was given in (162). Such rules will operate in conjunction with lexical entries including information of the sort illustrated in (176)-(177):

(176) parler: /parl+/
+V
+Tr Ind
+conj 1
PARLER

(177) finir: /fini+/
+V
+Tr Dir
+conj 2
FINIR

PARLER and FINIR here represent the meanings of the verbs and Tr Ind or Tr Dr refer to their categorization for Object. Conj 1 may be interpreted to indicate that the verb in question is characterized by

the thematic vowel -ə, while conj 2 indicates that the -i root is one

of a verb which in the finite tenses forms its plural with the addition

of the affix -iss- e.g. finissons 'find, 1 pl', as opposed to ouvrons

'open, 1 pl' corresponding to the infinitive ouvrir 'to open', (conj

3).

By convention a verb listed as transitive indirect will be as-

signed the preposition à to introduce its Object unless otherwise

indicated.

The passive auxiliary être, in its turn, will have as part of

its entry in the lexicon the following:

(178)   être: +V
$$+\begin{bmatrix} NP \\ Su \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} [+\text{pass part}]$$
                      PASS

Where PASS represents the meaning of the verb.

The information given in (178) will ensure that only the ap-

propriate verb forms will cooccur with passive être, thus precluding

the possibility of our grammar generating, for instance, sentences such

as (168). It will not however allow us to rule out sentences such as

(173), since there does exist a passive participle mangé. This will

have to be specified by the syntactic rules which will be given in

chapter 3 to describe the correspondences between passive and active

sentences.

More generally, as suggested by (176)-(178), the information to

be included in a lexical entry will be only that which is necessary to

identify the particular item in question.

One of the consequences of the fact that lexical entries are to

include only unpredictable information will be that regular passive

participles will not be individually listed, but will be assumed to

become available to the language user as a result of the existence of

the relevant word formation rules. The label "passive participle" will

be understood to be a cover term for those items having the feature

specification [+past, +passive, +adjective, +verb], for reasons which

will be presented in the following chapter.

With respect to causative sentences, Morin (1978) had proposed as

part of his lexical interpretive analysis to have in the lexicon the

following entry for <u>faire</u>:

(179) faire: [+V, [+____ (V inf) NP (à NP) (par NP)]]

The presence of the optional (V inf) constituent suggests that

Morin tried to treat as a single item the lexical verb <u>faire</u> and <u>faire</u>

as causativizer. I will assume that we are instead dealing with two

distinct items, and be concerned here only with <u>faire</u> as a grammatical

element, and I will propose for the latter as part of the syntactic

information which should be part of its lexical entry the following:

(180) faire: +V
$$\underset{[+\text{inf}][+\text{DO}]\quad[+\text{IO}]}{+\underline{\qquad}\ V\qquad NP\ (\text{à NP})\ (\text{par NP})}$$

Similarly, for <u>laisser</u> we will have:

(181) laisser: +V
$$+\underline{\qquad}\left\{\begin{array}{llll} NP & V & (NP) & (\text{à NP}) \\ [+\text{DO}] & [+\text{inf}] & [+\text{DO}] & [+\text{IO}] \\[4pt] V & NP & (\text{à NP}) & (\text{par NP}) \\ [+\text{inf}] & [+\text{DO}] & [+\text{IO}] \end{array}\right.$$

The syntactic subcategorization given in (180)-(181) will be taken to be part of the lexicon of standard speakers. For these, the difference between (180) and (181) will explain the difference in acceptability illustrated by (26)-(27) together with (182)-(183):

(26) Il avait fait sortir Albertine.
    'He had made Albertine go out.'

(27) Il avait·laissé Albertine repartir.
    'He had let Albertine leave again.'

(182) Il avait laissé repartir Albertine.
    'He had let Albertine leave again.'

(183) *Il avait fait Albertine sortir.
    'He had made Albertine go out.'

For those speakers with "archaic" sentences like the ones in (125)-(131), by contrast, <u>faire</u> and <u>laisser</u> will both be assumed instead to have the characterization given in (165) for <u>laisser</u>.

What semantic function the two Direct Objects in (181) receive will have to be determined by interpretive rules. We shall return to this issue in a later section of this chapter and in chapter 4.

With respect to <u>laisser</u>, the sub-entry $[+\underline{\hphantom{xx}}\ \underset{[+\text{inf}]}{V}\ \ \underset{[+\text{IO}]}{NP\ (\grave{a}\ NP)}$ (par NP)] in (181) will allow us also to account for the occurrence of such sentences as:

(184) Jean laissera arrêter son fils par les agents.
    'Jean will let his son be arrested by the police.'

(185) Jean laissera boire du vin à cet enfant.
    'Jean will let that child drink some wine.'

(186) Max avait laissé envoyer le télégramme au journal par le reporter.
    'Max had let the telegram be sent to the newspaper by the reporter.'

The difference in the syntactic sub-entries in (180)-(181) re-
flects, among other considerations that, while with <u>laisser</u> the Agent
associated with the lower verb can be either pre- or post-verbal, as
we saw, when the Patient in the lower clause is a full NP, the latter
cannot precede the infinitive, thus:

(187) * Jean laissera son fils arrêter.
     'Jean will let his son be arrested.'

(188) *Jean avait laissé le télégramme envoyer.
     'Jean had let the telegram be sent.'

As for (180), the subcategorization shown there is necessary be-
cause in addition to sentences like the one in (26), we also have
sentences such as:

(189) Il avait fait $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{porter la note} \\ \text{*la note porter} \end{array} \right\}$ par Françoise.

'He had had the note delivered by Françoise.'

(190) Il avait fait $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{porter la note à Albertine par Françoise} \\ \text{*Françoise porter la note à Albertine} \end{array} \right\}$.

'He had had Françoise deliver the note to Albertine.'

By convention, the NPs referred to in lexical entries will be
assumed to be full NPs, as opposed to Pronouns or Pros, unless otherwise
specified.

No mention was made in the lexical entries given here of how the
various syntactic functions for which a verb is subcategorized are to
be assigned to particular arguments. I am assuming that part of the
meaning of the verb includes specifying the array of semantic functions
of its arguments, and with respect to Subject assignment, the absence
of any information to the contrary is to be interpreted as an indication

that with parler and finir, for instance, we are dealing here with the unmarked case. That is to say, the function of active Subject is assigned to the Agent.

Clearly such a convention does not allow us to explain what argument gets assigned the Subject function with such verbs as, for instance, recevoir 'to receive', or plaire 'to please'. Furthermore, as we shall see, with ditransitive verbs, one cannot predict which Object will correspond to the semantic role of Patient, for instance, as opposed to Goal.

For many verbs, then, we shall find it necessary to include in addition to the information pertaining to syntactic function subcategorization some indication as to the mapping of syntactic functions onto semantic functions.

We shall return to this issue after discussing why it is necessary, for French at least, to posit two types of Objects, and how the various syntactic functions distinguished get realized.

4.   The Encoding of Syntactic Functions

We saw in the previous chapter how Chomsky (1981), for instance, assignes syntactic functions to arguments in the lexicon on the basis of θ-role assignments, while Dik (1978) assigns the functions of Subject and Object on the basis of his semantic function hierarchy, much as Fillmore (1968) had suggested for the selection of Subject. The rule proposed by Dik is as follows:

(191) Syntactic Function Assignment in FG

	Agent	Goal[5]	Recipient
(a)	Subject	Object	
(b)	Subject		Object
(c)		Subject	
(d)			Subject

According to Dik, Subject assignment to non-Agent arguments re-
sults in a passive construction, and Object assignment to a non-Goal
in the Double Object construction.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, though, Dik's proposal was
based on the premise that only two syntactic functions need to be
distinguished, Subject and Object, and his proposal thus cannot be
adequate for French, since for French one needs to distinguish, in addi-
tion to Subject, two types of Objects.

One aspect of the syntax of contemporary French where the distinc-
tion is necessary is in relation to Object clitics, as was shown in
section 1 of this chapter with respect to clitic cooccurrence and to
the contrasts between such sentences as (11) and (12):

(11) Il _le_ voit.
'He sees him.'

(12) Il _lui_ parle.
'He talks to him.'

We shall see also in the next chapter that the distinction between
Direct and Indirect Object is crucial with respect to passivization.
In Modern French, quite genrally the only nominals which can occur as
Subject in the canonical passive construction are those which also occur
in the active as the Direct Object of the verb in question. Compare
in this respect sentences (192)-(193) with (194)-(195):

(192) Un terroriste a assassiné le consul.
       'A terrorist has assassinated the consul.'

(193) Le consul a été assassiné (par un terroriste).
       'The consul has been assassinated (by a terrorist).'

(194) Le doyen avait répondu aux délégués immédiatement.
       'The dean had answered the representatives immediately.'

(195) *Les délégués avaient été répondus (à) (par le doyen)
          immédiatement.
       'The representatives had been answered (by the dean)
          immediately.'

As will be shown in the next chapter, generally one cannot for French distinguish between Direct and Indirect Object on the basis of semantic functions. In the history of French, changes in subcategorization of the verb for Object is a well-documented phenomenon. What historical linguists have found is that numerous changes have taken place both from Direct to Indirect Object and conversely, and often in the absence of any concomitant semantic change. (For a list of verbs which have undergone such a change in the subcategorization for Object, see Table III in chapter 3.)

With respect to Subject, we will be discussing the assignment of syntactic functions to non-Agents in more detail later, but an obvious case not covered by Dik's proposal as described in (191) can be found in sentences such as the following:

(196) Marie avait reçu une lettre.
       'Marie had received a letter.'

According to Dik's terminology, Marie would be identified here as Recipient and la lettre as Goal. We shall see in the next chapter

that such data is also not readily compatible with Fillmore's
proposal.

In short, for French at least, one must minimally distinguish
the following syntactic functions: Subject, Direct Object and Indirect
Object, and furthermore, these cannot be identified derivatively on
the basis of the semantic functions.

Let us now return to the issue of the encoding of the various
syntactic functions necessary for French.

For French, the relevant factors to the encoding of syntactic
functions have included, usually in some combination, inflection, the
use of prepositions and linear ordering. Difficulties arise when one
attempts to give a simple characterization of the realization of syn-
tactic functions because, as we have been suggesting, there does not
exist a one-to-one correlation between a particular syntactic function
and a particular morpheme or a particular position in the sentence.
One must, among other factors, take into account whether a nominal is
or is not a clitic.

It is because of the lack of a systematic correspondence between
the semantic functions of arguments and syntactic functions, on the one
hand, and the problems with deriving this second type of function on
the basis of their realizations at any one point in the history of the
language that we are assuming that syntactic functions must be consider-
ed as primes, in agreement in this respect with Relational Grammarians
and also with Bresnan (1980) and Grimshaw (1982). This last proposal
which is presented as being part of the lexicalist approach known as
Lexicalist Functional Grammar (LFG), assumes as RG does that syntactic
functions must be considered as primes of the grammar and, as made
explicit in various lexicalist analyses, that
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subcategorization of a verb in the lexicon must specify the syntactic functions with which the various arguments of a verb may occur.

One argument brought forth by Grimshaw (1982) in her proposal for subcategorizing verbs in terms of syntactic functions is that this approach to subcategorization is more restrictive than one based on linear ordering. Thus, since entries do not encode linear ordering as part of the subcategorization, it follows that no verb can ever impose any idiosyncratic ordering.

Another desirable consequence of having verbs subcategorized in this way is that it leads us accurately to expect that no verb should allow only one of the possible structural realizations of a particular syntactic function referred to.

For French, for instance, we do not find verbs occurring with a postnominal full NP Direct Object but not with the corresponding accusative clitic.

Grimshaw also notes that verb subcategorization in terms of syntactic functions rather than constituent ordering will allow us to avoid certain spurious generalizations. For Modern French, having the feature [+Tr DIR] will make it possible to distinguish sentences like (26) from those like (197) corresponding to the simple sentence in (198):

(26)   Il avait fait sortir Albertine.
       'He had made Albertine go out.'

(197) L'appât du gain les avait faits devenir médecins.
       'The lure of money had made them become doctors.'

(198) Ils étaient devenus médecins.
       'They had become doctors.'

One syntactic difference between predicate complements such as

médecins here and a Direct Object is the fact, to which we shall return

in the next chapter, that only Direct Objects have corresponding clitics

which agree in number and gender with their antecedent:

(199)   Ils $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{*les} \\ \text{l'} \end{matrix} \right\}$ étaient devenus.

     'They had become that.'

The phrase-structure rule given in (6) will thus have to be

modified so as to allow, in addition, for the feature specification

[+NP, +Pred Comp]:

(6') NP → $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ Su \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ DO \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ Pred\ Comp \end{bmatrix} \\ \vdots \end{matrix} \right\}$

Similarly, while with respect to the par-NP phrases no mention

was made in the lexical entries discussed above of the fact that the

NP occurring with par has the feature value [+Oblique], since in the

case of par that feature value is always redundant, for à-NP phrases,

on the other hand, specifying the syntactic function of the NPs in-

volved will allow us to capture the fact that the only à-NP phrases we

are concerned with here in relation to causative sentences are those

where the nominal has the function of Indirect Object, not of Oblique,

and which accordingly can alternate with a dative clitic. Thus, cor-

responding to (200), we may find example (201), whereas the only clitic

which may occur instead of the à-NP phrase in (202) is the preposi-

tional clitic y:

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(200) Il avait fait boire du saké à Marie.

'He had made Marie drink some sake.'

(201) Il $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{lui} \\ \text{*y} \end{array} \right\}$ avait fait boire du saké.

'He had made her drink some sake.'

(202) Il avait fait envoyer un télégramme à Antibes.

'He had had a telegram sent to Antibes.'

(203) Il $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{y} \\ \text{*lui} \end{array} \right\}$ avait fait envoyer un télégramme.

'He had had a telegram sent there.'

The usefulness of the IO/Oblique distinction is not limited to causative sentences. With simple sentences, similarly, we find:

(204) Il va à Antibes.

'He is going to Antibes.'

(205) Il $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{y} \\ \text{*lui} \end{array} \right\}$ va.

'He is going there.'

(206) Il avait parlé à Marie.

'He had talked to Marie.'

(207) (d) Il $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{lui} \\ \text{*y} \end{array} \right\}$ avait parlé.

We shall return to this issue in chapter 4 in relation to Cannings and Moody's proposal for an interpretive analysis of causatives.

The feature specification [+NP, +IO] as opposed to [+NP, +OBL] in the subcategorization of <u>faire</u> and <u>laisser</u>, then, will indicate that the only <u>à</u> NP phrase of interest is the one where <u>à</u> is a grammatical marker rather than a preposition with locative meaning.

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More importantly, in view of the phenomena we are interested in here, the feature characterization of nominals for syntactic functions in lexical entries such as the ones discussed here reflects the fact, that as will be shown at some length in succeeding chapters, for passive as also for causative sentences, syntactic functions are the only notions which emerge as constants, in the sense that causativization and passivization remain unaffected by whatever overall changes may take place in the language with respect to word order or to other features with respect to which the coding properties of syntactic functions may be formulated for a particular state of the language.

To be consistent with the use of subcategorization discussed above, it will be necessary to amend phrase-structure rule (5) in order to allow for the subdivision of prepositional phrases into two types (which will be reflected in lexical entries), as follows:

$$(5') \quad PP \rightarrow P \left\{ \begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ IO \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ OBL \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

We saw in chapter 1 how Bresnan (1980) specified how the active/passive operation which she views as part of Universal Grammar and as involving changes in syntactic functions gets realized in English. The process was described as follows:

(14) Partial Syntactic Encoding (English)

    (a) S → NP VP   VP → V (NP)   (PP)

    (b)   (↑SUBJ)= ↓   (↑OBJ)=↓ (↓CASE)=BY

                                                    (↑BY OBJ)= ↓

where the set of equations in (b) maps the constituent structure

positions in (a) onto the syntactic functions below.

(15) Morphological change : V $\vdash$ V
                                    [Part]

One of the effects of this encoding rule is to spell out how

certain syntactic functions, Subject and Object, are encoded in English

generally, quite independently of their involvement in the passive/

active opposition. Similar encoding rules will be necessary for

French.

With respect to the interaction of components, in this analysis

of French, the lexicon will, as in the lexicalist framework, be acting

in relation to the phrase-structure rules as a filter which eliminates

from the grammar output all sentences which do not show the proper

number of arguments with the proper syntactic functions. What the

lexicon as outlined here together with the phrase-structure rules will

not be able to do, however, is to ensure that the grammar not generate

sentences with full NPs having a syntactic function incompatible with

a particular constituent ordering.

Thus, while subcategorization alone would ensure that we do not

generate sentences such as:

(208) *Il avait donné Marie un bouquet de chrysanthèmes.
      'He had given Marie a bunch of chrysanthemums.'

since Modern French does not have any verb subcategorized for 'Double

Object', to ensure that the grammar does not generate declarative

sentences with, for instance, an initial NP bearing the function of

Direct Object, a set of syntactic function encoding rules, such as

the following, which take into account where appropriate whether an argument is realized as a noun or as a pronoun, will be necessary:

(209) Subject Encoding Rule

$$\begin{bmatrix} NP \\ Su \end{bmatrix} \quad : \quad [\underline{\quad} X]_S$$

(210) Direct Object Encoding Rule

$$\begin{bmatrix} NP \\ DO \end{bmatrix} \quad : \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} \overline{+PRO} \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\quad} V \\ \begin{bmatrix} \overline{-PRO} \end{bmatrix} / V \underline{\quad} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

(211) Indirect Object Encoding Rule

$$\begin{bmatrix} NP \\ IO \end{bmatrix} \quad : \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} \overline{+PRO} \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\quad} V \\ \begin{bmatrix} \overline{-PRO} \end{bmatrix} / V - [Prep\underline{\quad}]_{PP} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Where Prep $= \left\{ \begin{matrix} \grave{a}_1 \\ de \end{matrix} \right\}$

(212) Oblique Encoding Rule

$$\begin{bmatrix} NP \\ OBL \end{bmatrix} \quad : \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} \overline{+CL} \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\quad} V \\ \begin{bmatrix} \overline{-CL} \end{bmatrix} / V - [Prep\underline{\quad}]_{PP} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Where Prep $= \left\{ \begin{matrix} \grave{a}_2 \\ par \\ \vdots \\ \vdots \end{matrix} \right\}$

Rules such as the ones in (209)-(212) will constitute well-formedness conditions. Sentences will be considered well-formed only if, for instance, the first NP they contain bears to the verb the relation of Subject.

These encoding rules, in the form given here, clearly are adequate only for the more conservative sentence type. Thus, given the characterization of Subject presented in (209), additional information

will have to be incorporated in the interpretive component of French grammar, for instance, to explain the acceptability of the innovative sentence type with pleonastic Subject clitic such as _il est sorti Jean_ 'Jean has gone out'. For such sentences, the interpretive component will have to specify that _despite_ its label the Subject clitic in a certain register is actually functioning as Sauvageot remarked, as nothing but an agreement marker.

5.   Semantic Function Assignment

Reasons were given in the previous section as to why we are assuming here that verbs are subcategorized in the lexicon for the syntactic functions which are associated with each of a verb's arguments, in agreement with the lexicalist model proposed by Bresnan and Grimshaw, according to which the lexical entry also states which syntactic functions are associated with which of the verb's arguments.

One other issue with respect to subcategorization is whether the assignment of syntactic functions in the lexicon will allow us to determine what semantic function each argument of a verb is assigned, or whether the lexical entry for a verb must specify as well how these semantic functions are assigned.

The choice of a verb of action, for instance, leads to one of the following sets being selected for the nominals which may occur in an active sentence:

(213) Agent
       Agent   Patient
       Agent   (Patient)
       Agent   Patient   Beneficiary
       Agent   ....
         ⋮
         ⋮

And the verbs __sursauter__ 'to jump', __manger__ 'to eat', __donner__ 'to give', must in the active have with them nominals bearing the semantic functions specified in (214)-(216):

(214) sursauter: ____ +Agent

(215) manger   : ____ +Agent, (+Patient)

(216) donner   : ____ +Agent, +Patient, +Beneficiary

With respect to the correspondence between syntactic and semantic functions, it appears that Subject selection in the active is generally consistent with a semantic hierarchy, as proposed by Fillmore (1968). Thus, with verbs of action, the active Subject is generally the Agent, as with, e.g. __vendre__ 'to sell', __acheter__ 'to buy'. For such cases, specifying the syntactic function of the Agent in the lexical entry would thus seem redundant. Accordingly, for verbs of action, we might assume that selection of the Subject in the unmarked case proceeds in the manner suggested by Fillmore, with the function of Subject being associated with the Agent in the absence of some indication to the contrary. However, even with verbs of action, while it is true that specifying the meaning of a verb will determine what set of arguments that verb may occur with in a fairly general way, additional specifications will have to be given in certain cases at least with respect to what constitutes a possible Subject.

Thus, with the verbs involving a change in physical state, e.g. __fondre__ 'to melt', __geler__ 'to freeze', not all nouns which could fulfill the role of Agent or Cause may appear as active Subjects:

(217) Le technicien a fondu le métal.
       'The technician melted the metal.'

(218) *Le soleil a fondu la glace.
      'The sun melted the ice.'

(219) Le froid avait gelé l'eau des fontaines.
      'The cold had frozen the water in the fountains.'

(220) ?Elle avait gelé le sorbet.
      'She had frozen the sherbet.'

It is also not clear, as was mentioned, how a semantic hierarchy
might allow us to predict Subject assignment with such verbs as
plaire 'to please' and recevoir, the first of which takes an Indirect
Object as the Goal or Beneficiary and the second takes one as a Subject.
In such cases again the mapping between syntactic and semantic func-
tions must be specified in the lexicon.

It was suggested in the previous section with respect to Objects .
generally that it is not possible, based on the meaning of the verb,
to predict overall what type of Object that verb governs in the active.
An illustration of this can be found with aider 'to help', for which
the majority of speakers currently show the Goal of the action as a .
Direct Object, e.g. aide-le 'help him', while others still will show
the now archaic Indirect Object, e.g. aide-lui 'help him'.

Conversely, knowing the meaning of a verb and the syntactic
functions that it governs will not allow us to determine the semantic
functions of the various arguments. Thus, with vendre and prendre
'to take', in both cases the Direct Object refers to the entity under-
going a change in ownership, but in the first case the Indirect Ob-
ject will have the function of Goal while in the second the Indirect
Object may be interpreted as Goal or as Source:

(221) Je le <u>lui</u> ai vendu.

'I sold it to him.'

(222) Je le <u>lui</u> ai pris.

'I took it $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{for him} \\ \text{from him} \end{Bmatrix}$.'

To summarize, it would appear that, contrary to Chomsky (1981), who assumes that syntactic functions may be taken to be projections from the argument structure associated with a verb, and contrary also to what is assumed in the Lexicalist Functional model, lexical entries must include information relating both to semantic functions of the various arguments subcategorized for by the verb and to their syntactic functions.

6.   Syntactic Redundancy Rules.

We have seen in the previous section that the lexicon will serve to filter out a number of ungrammatical sentences which the phrase-structure rules would allow us to generate. One function which the lexicon as characterized here will not be able to fultill is to capture the sentence-to-sentence relations we are interested in and which are exemplified by (223)-(224) or (225)-(227):

(223) Les cambrioleurs avaient emporté les deux Hirochige.
      'The burglars had taken away the two Hiroshiges.'

(224) Les deux Hirochige avaient été emportés par les cambrioleurs.
      'The two Hiroshiges had been taken away by the burglars.'

(225) L'antiquaire avait apporté les deux étampes.
      'The antique dealer had brought the two prints.'

(226) Il avait fait apporter les deux étampes à l'antiquaire.
      'He had had the antique dealer bring out the two prints.

(227) Il avait fait apporter les deux étampes (par l'antiquaire).

'He had had the two prints brought out (by the antique dealer).'

With respect to pairs like (223)-(224), we have already described the morphological correspondence which exists between such pairs of items as <u>abondonner</u> and the passive participle <u>abandonné</u> with rule (162). What remains to be described, then, is the syntactic structures in which the two related verb forms occur, and also the correspondences, in this case the mirroring, in the distribution of the nominals with which these verb forms may occur. For the passive construction illustrated in (28), we will argue in the following chapter that to describe both generalizations, we need a rule such as the one in (228):

(228) PASSIVE RULE I

$$
\begin{bmatrix} x & X & y \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix} & [+V] & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +DO \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}_S \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} y & \text{être} & X' & (\text{par} & x &) \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +Adj \end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Obl \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}_S
$$

> Where X and X' represent the active form of a verb and the corresponding passive participle.

Similarly, the correspondences between sentences (225) and (226) will be described by means of the redundancy rule in (229):

(229) CAUSATIVE RULE I

$$
\begin{bmatrix} x & X & y \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix} & [+V] & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +DO \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}_S \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} w & \text{FAIRE} & X'' & y & \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{à} & x \\ & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +IO \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right. & \text{(i)} \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +Inf \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +DO \end{bmatrix} & & \left. \begin{matrix} \text{(par} & x &) \\ & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Obl \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right\} & \text{(ii)} \end{bmatrix}_S
$$

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Redundancy rules such as the ones in (228) and (229), then, differ from the metarules of GPSG and from those given in section 1 of this chapter in that the metarules generate sets of additional phrase-structure rules, while the redundancy rules discussed here are intended to describe relations holding between sentences which the phrase-structure rules allow us to generate.

It is these redundancy rules which will serve as the basis for the interpretive rules which will ultimately determine whether a particular passive or causative sentence which the phrase-structure rules and the lexicon allow us to produce is to be considered as being well-formed.

7. Interpretive Rules

We saw that Morin (1978) had proposed to use interpretive rules as well-formedness conditions to constrain the output of the base component. The specific interpretive rules he proposed, however, were formulated in terms of thematic relations, and I have suggested that the key notions of relevance to causativization, as to passivization, are not semantic but syntactic functions. The interpretive rules which will be proposed here, accordingly, like the redundancy rules discussed above which relate passive and causative sentences to active ones, will also be taken to be sensitive primarily not to constituent structure or to semantic functions but to syntactic functions.

Thus, on the basis of the opposition described by the redundancy rule in (229), which is relevant to sentences involving a transitive direct verb, we shall postulate that the following interpretive rule plays a part in constraining the output of the base:

(230) INTERPRETIVE RULE I

> In a full-NP FAIRE+infinitive sentence, interpret as the
> Agent of the transitive direct infinitive the Indirect Object
> or the par+Oblique phrase.

More generally, we shall see that what the various such inter-
pretive rules which will be necessary for the other types of verbs as
well achieve together is to ensure that, with a few exceptions, the
form of French causative sentences is in conformity to the predictions
of the RAH.

Footnotes to Chapter 2:

[1]For a different analysis of the innovative construction, see Lambrecht (1981).

[2]I omit here the details given by Gazdar and Sag which pertain to the interpretation of the constructions being described.

[3]The numeral indices are used to insure that only the desired auxiliaries will occur in some particular verb phrase.

[4]The rule in (58) was proposed by Gazdar, Sag and Pullum in a presentation on GPSG given at the University of Southern California, 1981.

[5]Dik's use of 'Goal' should not be confused with the use of that word in other proposals about semantic functions. For Dik, Goal refers to what is more generally known as Patient.

Chapter 3

French Passive

0. Introduction

As was mentioned in the previous chapters, it has been argued by several linguists that the passive-active relation in English should be described by means of lexical redundancy rules rather than by transformational rules. Beside Bresnan (1978, 1980) and Wasow (1977) (for some passives), a transformational analysis of English passives has been argued against by, among others, Shopen (1972), Freidin (1975) and Schachter (1976, 1978).

For French as for English there have been a number of transformationalist analyses proposed for passive, e.g. Ruwet (1967), Kayne (1975), Vinet (1977). Ronat (1974) also accepted the transformationalist analysis for 'Object Preposing', but argued that the passive Agent-Phrase should be generated by phrase-structure rules. Chomsky (1981), following Burzio (1981), on the other hand, divides French passive participles into adjectival and verbal, with the ones called adjectival being, in agreement with Wasow's proposal, considered lexical, that is to say generated without the application of a transformation, and the ones called verbal considered syntactic and derived by the application of the Move-α transformation.

In this chapter, I will present some evidence, synchronic and diachronic, which suggests that, to account for the facts involving the canonical passive in French, the model which is necessary is one, which, contrary to Burzio's and Chomsky's assumptions about the nature of French

passive participles, allows us to treat all such participles as having

adjectival properties, and which in addition makes explicit that

passivization is not a structure-dependent process, but, as argued

variously in Relational Grammar and in LFG, a process dependent on

syntactic functions.

More specifically, I will show that, on the basis of co-occurrence

of the passive participle with degree adverbs and with other verbs, we

must characterize passive participles in French systematically as being

[+verb, +adjective], in accordance with the traditional characterization

of the passive participle, so that, since in the Government Binding

(GB) framework as in the Extended Standard Theory (EST) transformational

rules are not allowed to change categorial labels, we must conclude

that, for French, all canonical passive sentences must be generated by

phrase-structure rules.

Next, we shall see that the evidence involving the passive Agent-

Phrase and its evolution suggests that the rules necessary to describe

the passive-active relation in French, which are formulated crucially

in terms of syntactic functions, must be allowed to refer also to the

semantic properties of the verb.

Following this, we shall consider how certain restrictions on

passivization in unrelated languages having to do with the semantic

properties of the arguments which may appear together with a verb may

be brought to bear on determining what aspects of passive in French may

be explained as being properties of Universal Grammar as opposed to

French specific.

The last section of the chapter will deal with the evolution of

the subcategorization of French verbs for Objects. It will show that, while the semantic characterization of the verb is relevant to determining the form of the passive prepositional phrase, passivization otherwise is, as suggested above, essentially a syntactic-function dependent phenomenon, as argued in Relational Grammar and in Bresnan's lexicalist framework so that a formulation of the redundancy rules relevant to passive in terms of thematic roles would be inappropriate for French, and that the rules must refer explicitly to the syntactic functions of Subject and Direct or Indirect Object which are the only notions which emerge as constants in the midst of the various changes which can be seen to have taken place in the form of active and passive sentences.

1.   The Passive Constructions of Modern French

Before we begin our study of the various aspects of the construction which I have referred to as the canonical passive, it may be useful first to state what is understood here by passive and active.

We shall characterize the active as the voice which corresponds to unmarked selection of the Subject, that is to say, the form of the verb which is found when the noun-phrase which is selected as Subject is the most natural choice with respect to the particular verb being used.

Generally, the criterion which determines whether the Subject chosen is marked or unmarked will be whether the semantic role of the NP used as Subject is higher than or inferior to the one played by the other arguments of the verb along the hierarchy proposed by Fillmore (1968). The semantic roles identified by Fillmore includes Agentive, Instrumental, Objective, Factitive, Locative, Benefactive..., and the

hierarchy upon which the unmarked Subject choice depends involves, as noted in chapter 1, the following relations, in descending order:

Agentive > Instrumental > Objective

As was mentioned, the semantic role in a given sentence which occurs first in the hierarchy will determine what would be the unmarked Subject of the sentence. Thus, generally we shall find that a sentence is in the active when the Subject is the noun phrase having the highest available semantic relation to the verb.

Passive, accordingly, can be characterized as the voice which is found when the language user wishes to give preeminence within the sentence to a nominal other than the one which would be considered the unmarked Subject (personal passives, i.e. for French, canonical passive and personal se passive) or yet to the event rather than to one of the participants (impersonal passives, in French: impersonal il passive, impersonal se passive).[1]

The characterization of passive and active given here is similar to the one suggested by Harris (1978). The present formulation differs from the one used by Harris only in that Harris views the use of a passive Subject as resulting from the 'ousting' of the deep structure Agent and that he does not distinguish between personal and impersonal passive.

With respect to interpretation, the Subject will be characterized generally, following Li and Thompson (1976) as the NP which provides the orientation or the point of view of the action, experience, state,... denoted by the verb. This characterization is attributed by Li and Thompson to Michael Noonan; it is also the one found in Fillmore (1977).

In other words, the Subject is the NP which is most foregrounded or given preeminence within the sentence.

As for the grammatical properties of the Subject, for Modern French, more specifically, we may characterize the Subject as that NP which commands verb agreement and, in standard speech, as we have seen, as the NP which is typically the first in a declarative sentence. However, as we shall see with the impersonal construction, the use of a Subject NP in Modern French has become systematicized in such a way that an NP may have the two properties just mentioned but not play any semantic role in the sentence.

To return to passive, the constructions which may be designated as passive according to the characterization I have given in Modern French are illustrated by examples (1) through (4):

Canonical Passive

(1) Les responsables ont été arrêtés par la police hier.
     'The persons responsible were arrested by the police yesterday.'

Personal se passive

(2) Ces caractéristiques se retrouvent aussi chez Matisse.
     'These characteristics are also found in Matisse.'

Impersonal non-reflexive passive

(3) Il a été intenté un procès.
     'A suit has been filed.'

Impersonal se passive

(4) Il s'y vend surtout des tableaux.
     'Mostly pictures are sold there.'

It is with the construction illustrated in (1) that we shall be concerned primarily in this chapter.

2. The General Constraint on the Acceptability of the Canonical

    Passive

It has been suggested here that for French one cannot generally predict what will be an acceptable passive Subject on the basis of the semantic functions of the various arguments associated with a particular verb, contrary to the proposals which have been made for English by Jackendoff (1972) or Dik (1978). Let us now consider more systematically what evidence indicates that the main constraint on passivization in French is syntactic rather than semantic.

The canonical passive in French differs from its English counterpart in one major respect. In English, we can have passive sentences where the noun functioning as the passive Subject would in the corresponding active sentences take the form of a prepositional phrase, e.g. <u>this bed has been slept in</u>, <u>John has been sent for</u>. In French, a verb generally is acceptable in the canonical passive construction only if the NP functioning as the passive Subject may also function as the Direct Object of that same verb in the active. A verb subcategorized for Indirect but not for Direct Object typically cannot appear in the passive. This can be seen by comparing examples (5) through (8) below with examples (9) through (12). In (5) through (8), all the verbs are subcategorized for Direct Object, and they passivize:

(5) a. La chatte <u>avait été blessée</u> par un coyotte.
         'The cat had been wounded by a coyote.'

     b. Un coyotte avait blessé la chatte.
         'A coyote had wounded the cat.'

(6) a. Le sommet <u>avait été atteint</u> par la première équipe le 10 juin.

'The summit had been arrived at by the first team on June 10.'

b. La première équipe avait atteint le sommet le 10 juin.

'The first team had arrived at the summit on June 10.'

(7) a. Toutes les pièces <u>avaient été envahies</u> par la fumée.

'All the rooms had been invaded by the smoke.'

b. La fumée <u>avait envahi</u> toutes les pièces.

'The smoke had invaded all the rooms.'

(8) a. Le fils du directeur <u>a été promu</u> secrétaire-trésorier par le conseil d'administration.

'The director's son has been promoted to secretary-treasurer by the board of directors.'

b. Le conseil d'administration <u>a promu</u> le fils du directeur secrétaire-trésorier.

'The board of directors has promoted the director's son to secretary-treasurer.'

Compare these pairs of sentences with the following four pairs, which have an identical or very similar meaning:

(9) a. *La chatte <u>avait été fait mal (à)</u> par un coyotte.

'The cat had been wounded by a coyote.'

b. Un coyotte avait fait mal $\begin{Bmatrix} *\emptyset \\ \text{à} \end{Bmatrix}$ la chatte.

'A coyote had wounded the cat.'

(10) a. *Le sommet <u>avait été arrivé (à)</u> par la première équipe le 10 juin.

'The summit had been arrived at by the first team on June 10.'

b. La première équipe <u>était arrivée</u> $\begin{Bmatrix} *\underline{\text{le}} \\ \underline{\text{au}} \end{Bmatrix}$ sommet le 10 juin.

'The first team had arrived at the summit on June 10.'

(11) a. *Toutes les pièces <u>avaient été entrées (dans)</u> par la fumée.

'All the rooms had been entered by the smoke'

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b. La fumée <u>était entrée</u> $\left\{\begin{array}{c}*\emptyset \\ \underline{dans}\end{array}\right\}$ toutes les pièces.

'The smoke had entered all the rooms.'

(12)   a. *Le fils du directeur <u>a été donné</u> (<u>à</u>) une promotion par le
        conseil d'administration.

   'The director's son was given a promotion by the board
    of directors.'

b. Le conseil d'administration <u>a donné</u> une promotion $\left\{\begin{array}{c}*\underline{le} \\ \underline{à}\end{array}\right\}$ fils
    du directeur.

   'The board of directors gave the director's son a promotion.'

Examples (9) through (12) differ from the ones in (5) through (8)
in that in (9) through (12) the passive Subject cannot function as Direct
Object to the verbs involved, only as the Object of a preposition.

With regard to meaning, we shall assume, following Fillmore (1977)
that the Object of the verb, like the Subject, is one of the NPs which
is brought into perspective within the sentence, but that the Object
differs from the Subject in that it does not reflect the primary point
of view on the event in question. We shall return later to the problem
of deciding whether there exists a functional difference between Direct
and Indirect Object. For the moment, we shall be concerned with the
grammatical properties which are associated with the Direct Object in
French.

To qualify as a Direct Object in French, an NP must satisfy the
following three tests: (1) Clitic Replacement, (2) Wh-word Replacement
and (3) past participle agreement, as follows. To be identifiable as
a Direct Object, a postverbal full NP may be replaceable by a clitic
which agrees with it in gender and number (<u>l(e)</u>, <u>l(a)</u> or <u>les</u>) and, in
questions, one must be able to replace that NP with either <u>que</u> 'what',

qui 'whom' or _lequel_ 'which'. Thus, corresponding to the active sentence in (7), we may have:

(13)

$$\text{La fumée} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{les}} \\ *\underline{\text{le}} \\ *\underline{\text{la}} \\ *\underline{\text{l'}} \end{array} \right\} \text{avait toutes envahies.}$$

'The smoke had invaded all of them.'

(14) Qu'avait envahi la fumée?

'What had the smoke invaded?'

Example (13), in addition to illustrating clitic agreement, shows the property that the Direct Object has of commanding past participle agreement when it precedes the participle.

It was mentioned in chapter 2 that the rules used to describe the correspondences between passive and active sentences will refer to syntactic functions, as in (15):[2]

(15) PASSIVE RULE I

$$\begin{bmatrix} x & X & y \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix} & [+V] & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +DO \end{bmatrix} \\ S \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} y & \text{être} & X' & (\text{par} & x &) \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +Adj \end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Obl \end{bmatrix} \\ S \end{bmatrix}$$

Where X and X' represent the active form of a verb and the corresponding passive participle.

We shall now discuss the evidence which suggests that a transformational analysis is not appropriate for French canonical passive sentences.

3. The Passive Participle and Degree Adverbs

Wasow (1977) used four tests as his basis for classifying English passive participles as either verbal or adjectival, and accordingly for determining whether the active-passive relation for a given verb should

be accounted for by means of a transformational rule or of a lexical redundancy rule. The same four tests were adopted by Lightfoot (1979b) as the basis for determining which of the two types of rules would be more appropriate for various periods of English. The four tests used by Wasow and Lightfoot to identify adjectival passives may be described as follows:

-occurrence in prenominal adjectival position

-cooccurrence with verbs compatible with ordinary adjectives

-occurrence with an un-prefix not found in a corresponding
    active form

-occurrence with degree adverb _very_

The reason for the conclusion shared by both authors that the adjectival passives should be accounted for by means of a redundancy rule was, as was mentioned before, that in the framework in which they were working, EST, as in GB, transformational rules were not allowed to change categorial labels.

We shall now apply to the French passive participle two of these tests beginning with the last, namely the one involving cooccurrence with degree adverbs.

In Modern French, the two degree adverbs used with verbs and adjectives are _très_ and _beaucoup_, and, of the two, only _très_ may cooccur with the ordinary adjectives:

(16)
Le préfet est $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{très} \\ *\underline{beaucoup} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} populaire \\ adroit \\ puissant \end{array} \right\}$.

'The prefect is very $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} popular \\ clever \\ powerful \end{array} \right\}$.'

With a verb in the active <u>beaucoup</u> is the norm:

(17)

La presse locale $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ennuie}\\\text{critique}\\\text{respecte}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{beaucoup}}\\\text{*}\underline{\text{très}}\end{array}\right\}$ le préfet.

'The local press much $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{disturbs}\\\text{criticizes}\\\text{respects}\end{array}\right\}$ the prefect.'

(18)

La presse locale avait $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{beaucoup}}\\\text{*}\underline{\text{très}}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ennuyé}\\\text{critiqué}\\\text{admiré}\end{array}\right\}$ le préfet.

'The local press had much $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{disturbed}\\\text{criticized}\\\text{admired}\end{array}\right\}$ the prefect.'

With <u>être+past participle</u>, <u>très</u> is the norm as with the ordinary

adjectives when the construction is being used with a stative meaning,

that is to say, when the participle is being used to describe the state

resulting from an action or event rather than that action or event

itself. The usage of degree adverbs with stative participles is

illustrated in (19):

(19)

Elle est $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{très}}\\\text{*}\underline{\text{beaucoup}}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{agitée}\\\text{soulagée}\\\text{blessée}\end{array}\right\}$ (*par quelqu'un).

'She is very $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{agitated}\\\text{relieved}\\\text{hurt}\end{array}\right\}$ (*by someone).'

The sentences in example (19), for instance, differ from passive

sentences in that they have no corresponding actives. We cannot conclude

from the sentences in (19) that someone or something is now in the

process of causing the person in question to be feeling agitated, re-

lieved or hurt.

When however we look at some past participles being used with a

passive meaning, the facts are more complex. With certain participles,

only <u>beaucoup</u> is acceptable:

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(20) La route avait déjà été $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\underline{\text{beaucoup}}\\ ??\underline{\text{très}}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{déblayée}\\ \text{élargie}\end{array}\right\}$ par les

habitants de la commune.

'The road had already been much $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{cleared}\\ \text{widened}\end{array}\right\}$ by the people of

the village.'

(21) A sa sortie de prison, il a affirmé avoir été $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\underline{\text{beaucoup}}\\ *\underline{\text{très}}\end{array}\right\}$ battu

par les gardiens.

'When he got out of jail, he claimed he had been beaten a lot

by the guards.'

(22) Il se plaint d'avoir été $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\underline{\text{beaucoup}}\\ ??\underline{\text{très}}\end{array}\right\}$ réprimandé par ses

parents pendant toute son enfance.

'He complains of having been much reprimanded by his parents

during his entire childhood.'

With other participles, though, both très and beaucoup are acceptable

when the sentence has a passive meaning:

(23)

Elle avait été $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\underline{\text{beaucoup}}\\ \underline{\text{très}}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{critiquée}\\ \text{admirée}\\ \text{soupçonnée}\end{array}\right\} \quad \text{par la presse}\\ \text{effrayée par les jeunes gauchistes}\end{array}\right\}$.

'She had been $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{much}\\ \text{very}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{criticized}\\ \text{admired}\\ \text{suspected}\end{array}\right\} \quad \text{by the press}\\ \text{scared by the young leftists}\end{array}\right\}$.

In (23), the sentences have the same interpretation whether the

particiste is preceded by beaucoup or by très. What the data here sug-

gests is that some passive participles are interpreted consistently as

verbal with respect to degree adverbs and some as both verbal and

adjectival. In other words, the distribution with degree adverbs leads

us to conclude that all passive participles should be characterized as

[+verb], and that in addition some of them at least must be characterized

as [+adjective]. A dichotomy such as the one originally suggested by
Wasow for English, i.e. [+verb] or [+adjective], would thus not be
appropriate for French.

Historically, it has been noted that beaucoup was used with
ordinary adjectives quite frequently until the seventeenth century and
also sometimes in the following centuries, thus we have:

(24) Leur savoir   à la France est beaucoup nécessaire. (Molière,
     their knowledge to   France is   much   necessary   17th C.)
     'Their knowledge is very necessary to France.'

(25) L'eau qui sort d'une même source ne peut pas être beaucoup
         différente. (Balzac, 19th C.)
     'The water which comes out of the same spring cannot be much
         different.'

It has also been noted that très was used sporadically with the active
participle, which many (probably most) linguists would agree to classify
as strictly verbal:

(26) Ils m'   ont très assurée que la   vendange   de cette année
     they to-me have very assured that the grape-crop of this year
         n' auroit   empiré. (Sévigné, 17th C.)
         neg would-have worsened
     'They have much assured me that this year's grape crop supposedly
         has not worsened.'

This earlier use of the degree adverbs might appear unrelated to
the present situation if we accepted the usual transformationalist
analysis where verb and adjective are assumed always to be distinct
categories, but certain observations by transformationalist linguists
themselves suggest that this analysis may not be the one appropriate for
French. Kayne (1975), for instance, has noted the 'part-adjectival'
behaviour of the French participle.

What is at issue here is not the treatment of lexical categories as matrices of features, which Chomsky (1970) pointed out is not incompatible with the transformational model, but more specifically the proposal that verb and adjective need not always be disjoint properties, and that for French more particularly passive participles can and should be characterized as [+verb, +adjective]. Such a description is consistent with Kayne's observation and, as we shall see, with the traditional interpretation of the participle, and it is also one which, as I will show presently, is needed for independent reasons. Characterizing the passive participle as [+verb, +adjective] would provide a basis for explaining the extension by some of the speakers of the characterization [+verb] to some ordinary adjectives and of the characterization [+adjective] to some active participles, inappropriately as it turns out from a more general perspective, by analogy with the passive participle.

In transformational analyses of passive sentences, on the other hand, adjective and verb are taken to be mutually exclusive; thus, according to Chomsky (1981) "A natural decision would be that syntactic passive participles are not adjectives ([+N, +V]) but are neutralized verb-adjectives with the feature structure [+V]" (P. 55).

Much as we have seen with French passive participles, however, Chomsky notes that there are for English some among the passive participles which he characterizes as syntactic which are sometimes treated as adjectival and sometimes as verbal.

Where we differ here, then, for French, is in our suggestion that such an ambiguous nature is not characteristic of a few isolated passive forms, but rather a general property of passive participles.

To come back to the contemporary usage with passive participles, the contrast between examples (20)-(22) (with <u>beaucoup</u>) and (23) (with <u>très</u> and <u>beaucoup</u>) suggests that subcategorization of a passive participle for [$\pm$très___] is not an idiosyncratic property of lexical items. It seems that the crucial difference between the passive participles which can occur with <u>très</u> and the ones which cannot would be whether the passive Subject is directly affected by the action or events expressed by the participle.[3]

Thus, the examples in (20)-(22) suggest that <u>très</u> cannot occur freely with passive participles which convey some physical change in the state of the Subject.

In other words, <u>très</u> is found with forms having the properties [+adjective, -verb], [+adjective, +verb], but not [+verb, -adjective].

As for the more general problem of describing the S-to-S relation, a transformational analysis of passive sentences with <u>très</u> is simply impossible in all the cases where the passive sentences are in the simple tenses unless we assume that the transformation operates before lexical insertion. <u>Très</u> is never found with a non-complex verb form. We do not have in French sentences such as:

(27)

$$*\text{La presse} \begin{cases} \text{l'admire} \\ \text{la critique} \\ \text{la soupçonne} \\ \text{l'effraie} \end{cases} \text{très.}$$

$$\text{'The press much} \begin{cases} \text{admires} \\ \text{criticizes} \\ \text{suspects} \\ \text{scares} \end{cases} \text{her.'}$$

To summarize, then, with respect to the cooccurrence of passive participles with degree adverbs, it appears that <u>beaucoup</u> constitutes

the unmarked form and that the acceptability of <u>très</u> in alternation with

<u>beaucoup</u> is restricted to a semantically defined sub-group. More

crucially, it was found that French passive participles may all occur

with the same degree adverb as other verb forms having the features

[+verb, -adjective], and that in addition some of those participles also

occur with the degree adverb found with forms characterized as

[+adjective, -verb]. Thus, we must conclude that, for some pairs of

active and passive sentences, a transformational analysis is not possible.

4.   The Verb-Participle Cooccurrence Restrictions

The second of the tests used by Wasow and Lightfoot which we will

use for French is the one involving cooccurrence of the passive parti-

ciple with verbs.

In Modern French, the following verbs are all used with ordinary

adjectives: <u>paraître</u>, <u>sembler</u>, <u>devenir</u>, <u>rester</u>, e.g.:

(28)
$$\text{Il} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{avait} \\ \text{était} \end{array} \right. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{paru}} \\ \underline{\text{semblé}} \\ \underline{\text{devenu}} \\ \underline{\text{resté}} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{triste}} \\ \underline{\text{heureux}} \\ \underline{\text{impopulaire}} \\ \underline{\text{optimiste}} \end{array} \right\} .$$

'He had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{appeared} \\ \text{seemed} \\ \text{become} \\ \text{remained} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sad} \\ \text{happy} \\ \text{unpopular} \\ \text{optimistic} \end{array} \right\}$.'

Compare (28) with the following examples showing the same verbs

with <u>past participle (+ par NP)</u>:

(29)
$$\text{*La route} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{avait} \\ \text{était} \end{array} \right. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*}\underline{\text{semblé}} \\ \text{*}\underline{\text{paru}} \\ \text{*}\underline{\text{devenue}} \\ \text{*}\underline{\text{restée}} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{dégagée}} \\ \underline{\text{réparée}} \\ \underline{\text{élargie}} \end{array} \right\} \text{(par les gens de la} \atop \text{commune).}$$

'The road had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{seemed} \\ \text{appeared} \\ \text{become} \\ \text{remained} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cleared} \\ \text{repaired} \\ \text{enlarged} \end{array} \right\}$ (by the people of the village).'

(30)

$$*\text{Il}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{avait}\left\{\begin{array}{l}*\underline{\text{semblé}}\\ *\underline{\text{paru}}\end{array}\right\}\\ \text{était}\left\{\begin{array}{l}*\underline{\text{devenu}}\\ *\underline{\text{resté}}\end{array}\right\}\end{array}\right\}\text{battu (par les gardiens).}$$

$$\text{'He had}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{seemed}\\ \text{appeared}\\ \text{become}\\ \text{remained}\end{array}\right\}\text{beaten (by the guards).'}$$

(31)

$$*\text{La vitrine}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{avait}\left\{\begin{array}{l}?\underline{\text{semblé}}\\ *\underline{\text{paru}}\end{array}\right\}\\ \text{était}\left\{\begin{array}{l}?\underline{\text{devenue}}\\ *\underline{\text{restée}}\end{array}\right\}\end{array}\right\}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{cassée}}\\ \underline{\text{démolie}}\end{array}\right\}\text{(par les manifestants).}$$

$$\text{'The shop window had}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{seemed}\\ \text{appeared}\\ \text{become}\\ \text{remained}\end{array}\right\}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{broken}\\ \text{demolished}\end{array}\right\}\text{(by the demonstrators).'}$$

Examples (29) through (31) show that past participles which occur in the passive periphrasis with <u>être</u> and which take <u>beaucoup</u> cannot occur freely with verbs which occur before ordinary adjectives when the <u>par</u> Agent-Phrase is present.

If we had for French passive participles a dichotomy such as Wasow claimed exists in English, we should expect that those past participles which occur with <u>très</u> as ordinary adjectives do, on the other hand would occur freely with the verbs which were shown in (28) occurring with ordinary adjectives. This is not the case, however with all such verbs:

(32)

$$\text{Le premier ministre}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{semblait}\\ \text{paraissait}\\ ?\text{devenait}\\ ?\text{restait}\end{array}\right\}(\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{critiqué}\\ \text{soupçonné}\end{array}\right\}\text{par la presse).}$$

$$\text{'The prime minister}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{seemed}\\ \text{appeared}\\ \text{became}\\ \text{remained}\end{array}\right\}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{criticized}\\ \text{suspected}\end{array}\right\}\text{(by the press).'}$$

(33)

Le premier ministre $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{semblait}\\\text{paraissait}\\\text{devenait}\\\text{restait}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{respecté}\\\text{détesté}\end{array}\right\}$ (par la presse).

'The prime minister $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{appeared}\\\text{seemed}\end{array}\right\}\text{to be}\\\text{was becoming}\\\text{remained}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{respected}\\\text{hated}\end{array}\right\}$ (by the press).'

Devenir and rester, then, make a distinction between ordinary adjectives and passive participles, whether these are some which may occur with très or not.

As for sembler and paraître, it is interesting to note that while these two verbs may occur with passive participles which take tres (e.g. (32)-(33)), they do not, any more than devenir and rester, occur freely with those passive participles of action verbs, which typically take only beaucoup, e.g. (30), and which one might on that basis characterize as [+verb, -adjective]. Note furthermore that sembler and paraître do occur with certain [+verb, -adjective] forms, namely infinitives:

(34) Il $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{parut}\\\text{sembla}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ne pas le voir}\\\text{changer d'avis}\end{array}\right\}$.

    'He $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{appeared}\\\text{seemed}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{not to see him}\\\text{to change his mind}\end{array}\right\}$.'

With respect to the need to distinguish between passive participles and ordinary adjectives, we have seen that in contemporary French there are verbs which behave differently in relation to these two categories. In addition, while there are no verbs in contemporary French which will co-occur with passive participles but not with ordinary adjectives, there was such a verb in earlier French. Consider the following sentences:

(35) La conjuration s'en allait dissipée

  Vos desseins avortés, votre haine trompée. (Corneille, 17th C.)

 'The conspiracy was getting dispersed

  Your plans aborted, your hatred betrayed.'

(36) La messe s'en va dite. (Early 20th C.)

 'Mass is about to be finished saying.'

I have found no mention of s'en aller ever being used with the ordinary adjectives, but we see with examples (35)-(36) that it was used with the passive participle until early in the century; and we note further that s'en aller was also used with the present participle until this century. The following example is from a popular song, from the eighteenth century, I believe:

(37) Trois beaux canards s'en vont baignant,

  Le fils du Roy s'en va chassant.

 'Three pretty ducks are aswimming

  The King's son is ahunting.'

What we have here with s'en aller, then, is a verb the use of which was restricted to participles, which constitutes positive evidence that a feature distinction allowing us to differentiate the participles from ordinary adjectives, and also from other verb forms, the infinitives, which as Grevisse notes also could follow s'en aller earlier, as in (38) below, is useful in the grammar of French for the period at least until the first quarter of this century:

(38) Que de biens, que d'honneurs sur toi

  s'en vont pleuvoir (Boileau, 18th C.)

 'What goods, what honors will

  rain on you!'

This is consistent with the negative evidence for contemporary French obtained from the study of those verbs now used with ordinary adjectives.[4]

S'en aller would thus have been subcategorized as occurring in the context [+____[+verb, ±adjective]], but not before a form [-verb, +adjective], as opposed to e.g. devenir: [___[+adjective, ±verb].

To summarize, co-occurrence with verbs as with degree adverbs provide little justification for assuming that French passive participles might fall into two mutually exclusive classes [+verb, -adjective] and [-verb, +adjective], as is now assumed for French in the Government Binding framework as it is for English following Wasow's claim.

What we seem to have in French with the passive participle, rather, is, as I suggested earlier, a hybrid category [+verb, +adjective], which gets treated in certain respects like ordinary adjectives and in other respects like strictly verbal forms, depending in part on the semantics of the participles involved.

More generally, what we may conclude for French from the historical and synchronic evidence about cooccurrence with verbs is that passive participles now differ from ordinary adjectives, while in the not very remote past passive participles behaved similarly to the forms which we know as present participles with respect to cooccurrence with verbs. And from this combination of facts, in turn, we may conclude that what characterizes the passive participle in common with the present participle but sets these two apart from the ordinary adjective is the feature value [+verb].

5.   What is the Participle?

In English, the morphology of the past participle provides a very obvious, if possibly misleading, reason why many linguists had chosen to consider it simply as one among the verb forms. Wasow, however, when he argues for his lexicalist analysis of some passive sentences, points out that many generativists have remarked on the adjectival behaviour of the English passive participle.

In French, of course, there is also some morphological justification, when we look at the participle in general, to classify it as verbal. This is the fact that the participle shares with the strictly verbal forms the property of being marked for a tense/aspect distinction, e.g. choisi 'chosen' vs. choisissant 'choosing'. It does not follow from this, however, that the French participle is always [-adjective].

The reason why forms like Latin amatus 'loved' were given the label participium by the Roman grammarians (who were in this as in many other cases following the example of the Greek grammarians) was precisely because they saw these forms as 'partaking of the verb and of the noun', the latter category being for the ancient grammarians subdivided into nomen substantivus and nomen adjectivus. A similar characterization of the participle for French can be found in Girault-Duvivier's Grammaire des Grammaires (1856) and, more recently, Grevisse (1936) characterizes the French participle as a form which is 'sometimes verbal, sometimes adjectival'. The implication here is different from what Wasow's observations on the properties of English passives might lead one to conclude: it does not follow from the older definitions that certain participles behave systematically like verbs and others systematically like

adjectives. What we can conclude from the older characterizations, rather, is that in certain constructions, or with respect to certain rules, participles behave like verbs while with respect to other rules they may behave like adjectives. And what we have found for French is that, with respect to cooccurrence with degree adverbs, passive participles quite systematically behave like verbs and that some in addition behave like adjectives, and that, with respect to cooccurrence with verbs, passive participles do not behave like ordinary adjectives now, and did not earlier either. I believe that this evidence amply supports the traditional view as described above.

One possibility to be considered is whether we should not characterize participial forms in French systematically as [+adjective], whether they are part of the passive or of the active conjugation, and subcategorize them as [±verb] and [±passive], so that our grammar would not need to include [±participle] at all as a distinct feature.

We have already seen that the Direct Object commands agreement of a following active past participle used with <u>avoir</u>. However, even this partial agreement, while still the norm in the literary language or 'careful' language, is in the process of disappearing from everyday speech, unlike Subject agreement. With respect to agreement, then, the active participle differs from the ordinary adjectives in contemporary French, and historical grammarians have often noted that even in Old French, agreement of the past participle with <u>avoir</u> was irregular (cf. Brunot, 1905, for instance):

(39) Toz <u>est mudez</u>, <u>perdude</u> (f sg) <u>at</u> sa color (f sg). (Alexis,
                                                              11th C.)
    all is changed lost   has its color
    'Everything is changed, has lost its color.'

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(40) En ses granz plaies des pans   (m pl) li   at   fichiet (m sg).
        in his large wounds some dressings (m pl) to-him has placed
          (Roland, 12th C.)
        'In his large wounds he has placed some dressings.'

This irregularity has led grammarians to suggest that the active past

participle should not be considered adjectival even for Old French, that

it is a purely verbal form.

        In Old French, as in Latin, the active past participle still re-

tained the same word order freedom as the ordinary adjective:

Latin
(41) a. Habeo amicitiam cognitam.
     b. Habeo cognitam amicitiam.
     c. Amicitiam habeo cognitam.
          'I have known friendship.'

Old French
(42) Li Empere   out sa raison (f sg) fenie (f sg). (Roland)
        the Emperor   had his speech   finished
        'The Emperor had finished his speech.'

(43) Si li a rendu (m sg) sa promesse (f sg). (Chatelaine de Vergi)
        'Then he gave her back her promise.'

Note that in (43), as in (40), there is no agreement between the Direct

Object and the past participle.

        In Modern French, the positional freedom, which in Old French

would have been the main basis for classifying active past participles

as [+adjective], also has disappeared. Today, we cannot any longer find

a Direct Object between the auxiliary and the past participle (outside

of the imperative, that is, where a clitic may be inserted), nor may

the participle occur before the finite verb:

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(44) Tout est changé, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*}\underline{\text{perdu}}\text{ a sa couleur} \\ \text{a }\underline{\text{perdu}}\text{ sa couleur} \end{array} \right\}$.

'All is changed, has lost its color.'

(45) L'Empereur a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*son discours }\underline{\text{fini}} \\ \underline{\text{fini}}\text{ son discours} \end{array} \right\}$.

'The Emperor has finished his speech.'

This restriction on the order of the Object in relation to the auxiliary and the past participle has been interpreted, correctly, I believe, as concommitant with a syntactic reanalysis of the active participle as becoming a part of the verb (Brunot, 1897; Fauconnier, 1974); that is, it should not be considered (since Old French at least) as adjectival, but as strictly verbal.

Analyzing the active past participle in French as [+verb, -adjective] would allow us to explain why when word order became more rigid, the order that prevailed was (Obj) Aux - Participle (Obj) and not Aux - Obj - Participle; once speakers began to analyze the auxiliary and the participle as being both strictly verbal, given their systematic cooccurrence, it is only natural that they would consider both constituents as forming a unit. Analyzing the active participle as [-adjective] also would allow us to explain the continuing reduction in Direct Object agreement, this last vestige of the earlier adjectival quality of the past participle with habeo; the change would be simply an analogical extension of the general rule for French the verbs agree only with their Subject. For the present, though, the active participle agreement rule, to the extent that it is still observed, constitutes an exception to the more general Subject-agreement rule.

One other consequence of characterizing the active past participle as [+verb, −adjective] for contemporary French would be that it would give us a ready explanation for the fact that today, unlike in past centuries, it is generally beaucoup and not très which occurs with it as degree adverb.

We saw earlier that très is generally not acceptable with avoir+past participle, e.g. (18), but this is also the case with être as active auxiliary. When a degree adverb can be used with a verb of motion, it will be beaucoup and not très. Beaucoup is the norm also with reflexive verbs:

(46) Nous sommes $\left\{ \dfrac{\text{beaucoup}}{\text{*très}} \right\}$ sortis la semaine dernière.

  'We went out a lot last week.'

(47) Ils se sont $\left\{ \dfrac{\text{beaucoup}}{\text{*très}} \right\}$ vus la semaine dernière.

  'They saw each other a lot last week.'

Active past participles, then, differ from the passive participles with respect to the degree adverbs in that the former occur only with beaucoup. A difference between the two subcategories of past participles exists with respect to agreement with être: a past participle used with être as reflexive active auxiliary, just as with avoir, may agree only with a preceding Direct Object:

(48) Ils se sont $\left\{ \dfrac{\text{amusés}}{\text{tapé(*s) dessus}} \right\}$.

  'They $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{had a good time} \\ \text{hit each other} \end{array} \right\}$.'

With se taper dessus, se is interpreted as the object of the preposition, not as a Direct Object of the verb.[5]

Consequently, even if we were to label the active participle here as [+adjective], a special rule would still be necessary to describe these facts about agreement. That is, there will have to be in the grammar some rule to the effect that active participles with <u>avoir</u> or in the reflexive agree only with a preceding Direct Object.

We thus end up with a situation where passive past participles can be distinguished from the active ones as [+verb, +adjective] vs. [+verb, -adjective]. If our analysis is to accommodate all verb forms ultimately, we shall have to find some means of distinguishing between the active past participle and other verb forms which also meet the same definition. That is, our feature analysis will have to be such eventually as to distinguish the following possibilities:

(49) a. [+verb] : [$\pm$finite]
     b. [-finite] : [$\pm$participle]
     c. [+participle] : [$\pm$past]

(49)(b) will allow us to distinguish a participle from an infinitive, e.g. <u>aimer</u> 'to love' vs. <u>aimé</u> 'loved', <u>aimant</u> 'loving', and (c) to distinguish further between the last two.

We could then use [$\pm$adjective] to distinguish between active and non-active past participles, which would leave us with only one more difference to account for, the difference between the past participle forms used in passive and those used to describe a resulting state rather than an action, event or process. This could be taken care of by characterizing the participle forms with stative meaning as [-verb, +adjective].

But we would be missing some distinctions if we did not have a

means of differentiating between these stative forms and the ordinary adjectives, one being that the former are deverbal forms, which must be distinguished somehow also from the other deverbal adjectives in -ant. Given these considerations, a more appropriate characterization of the stative participle would then be [-verb, +participle, +past, +adjective], [+past] being necessary to avoid confusion with the other 'adjectifs verbaux', the forms in -ant. This would give us the following classes of past participles:

(50) Active Past Participle = [+verb, +part, +past, -adjective]
Passive Past Participle= [+verb, +part, +past, +adjective]
Stative Past Participle= [-verb, +part, +past, +adjective]

vs.

Adjective = [-verb, -part, +adjective]

As to the use of the feature [participle] for French, this also allows us to account for a distributional difference between stative participles and ordinary adjectives; of the two only the participle may occur with an agentive prepositional phrase:

(51) Le hameau est maintenant $\left\{ \dfrac{\text{inhabité}}{*\text{désert}} \right\}$ par qui que ce soit.

'The hamlet is now $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{uninhabited} \\ *\text{deserted} \end{array} \right\}$ by anybody.'

(52) Son record est resté $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{inégalé}} \\ \underline{\text{insurpassé}} \\ *\underline{\text{admirable}} \\ *\underline{\text{impossible}} \end{array} \right\}$ par qui que ce soit.

'His record has remained $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{unequaled} \\ \text{unsurpassed} \\ *\text{admirable} \\ *\text{impossible} \end{array} \right\}$ by anyone.'

At the same time, having the feature [+adjective] in the characterization of the stative and of the passive participle allows us to

account for their similarity, as in cooccurrence with degree adverbs.

The analysis I am proposing, then, differs from the ones which have been proposed until now essentially in that it allows positive values for features to cooccur which have generally been treated in modern linguistics as mutually exclusive, but, for French at least, it seems a necessary modification if we want our grammar to be descriptively adequate.

To summarize the contents of this section, I have proposed that in order to reconcile the apparently contradictory findings involving the French passive participle, the grammar must make use of the suggestion by earlier grammarians that the participle is a hybrid categroy and that the passive participle, in particular, should be characterized as [+verb, +adjective]. I then pointed out the additional feature distinctions which would be necessary in order to distinguish these forms from all other verb forms.

What is crucial here is that the characterization [+verb, +adjective], which I have shown that we need for all passive participles in order to account for a variety of otherwise apparently contradictory facts, leads us to conclude that, contrary to the views expressed by Ronat (1974) or Vinet (1977) for instance, cannonical French passive sentences cannot be transformationally derived preserving the generalization that transformations do not change category labels.

Table I

Summary of the Properties of Verbal and Adjectival Forms for Modern French

	ordinary adjective e.g. grand	deverbal adjective e.g. frappant	stative past participle e.g. frappé	passive past participle e.g. frappé	active past participle e.g. frappé, allé	present participle e.g. frappant	infinitive e.g. frapper	finite verb e.g. frappe
+ ___ {par / de} NP	−	−	±	+	−	−	−	−
+ {très ___ / ___ très}	+	+	+	±	−	−	−	−
+ {beaucoup ___ / ___ beaucoup}	−	−	±	+	+	+	+	+
+être ___	+	+	+	+	±	−	−	−
+paraître ___	+	+	+	±	−	−	+	−
+sembler ___	+	+	+	±	−	−	+	−
+devenir ___	+	+	+	±	−	−	−	−
+rester ___	+	+	+	±	−	−	−	−
+s'en aller	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−

Table II

Feature Analysis of French Verb Forms

Example:

Ordinary adjective:	+adjective −participle −verb	<u>grand</u>	'large'
Deverbal adjective:	+adjective +participle +present −verb	<u>frappant</u>	'striking'
Stative past participle:	+adjective +participle +past −verb	<u>frappé</u>	'struck'
Passive past participle:	+adjective +participle +past +verb	<u>frappé</u>	
Active past participle:	−adjective +participle +past +verb	<u>frappé</u>	
Present participle:	−adjective +participle +present +verb	<u>frappant</u>	
Infinitive:	−adjective −participle +verb −finite	<u>frapper</u>	'to strike'
Finite verb form:	−adjective +verb +finite ±present ±past αmood	<u>frappe</u>	'strike(s)'

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6. The Pseudo-Passives

We have seen that the characterization of the passive participle which is necessary to account for a variety of facts in French is not compatible with a transformational analysis. We shall see now that there is evidence independent of this characterization which is also incompatible with a transformational analysis of passive for French in recent transformationalist models.

It has been noted that there exist in Modern French a small number of exceptional verbs (probably between 10 and 20 in all) which passivize even though they are not subcategorized for Direct Object. Among these verbs, which are known as pseudo-passives, are the ones in the following sentences:

(53) Toutes ces lettres ont été répondues.
      'All these letters have been answered.'

(54) Cet enfant a été bien appris.
      'This child has been well taught.'

(55)
      Il a été $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{pardonné} \\ \underline{désobéi} \\ \underline{obéi} \\ \underline{moqué} \end{array} \right\}$.

      'He has been $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{forgiven/pardoned} \\ \text{disobeyed} \\ \text{obeyed} \\ \text{mocked} \end{array} \right\}$.'

(56) Multum était déjà usité par Cicéron.
      'Multum was already used by Cicero.'

For passive sentences such as these, the putative active source would have to be for most speakers either a sentence with a transitive indirect verb or, in the case of usiter, a verb which does not occur at all in the active:

(57) Il a <u>répondu</u> $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{*toutes les lettres} \\ \text{à toutes les lettres} \end{array}\right\}$.

'He answered all the letters.'

(58) Il $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{*l'} \\ \text{lui} \end{array}\right\}$ a $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{obéi}} \\ \underline{\text{désobéi}} \\ \underline{\text{appris}} \end{array}\right\}$.

'He $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{obeyed} \\ \text{disobeyed} \\ \text{taught} \end{array}\right\}$ him.'

(59) Elle $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{*l'a } \underline{\text{moqué}} \\ \text{s'est } \underline{\text{moqué}} \text{ de lui} \end{array}\right\}$.

'She mocked him.'

(60) *Cicéron usitait $\left(\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{à} \\ \text{de} \end{array}\right\}\right)$ ce mot.

'Cicero used this word.'

With <u>pardonner</u>, as Grevisse notes, the verb in the active is still sometimes found with a Direct Object instead of an Indirect Object as is now the norm, thus:

(61) Mon Dieu, pardonnez-<u>la</u>, elle ne sait pas ce qu'elle dit.
      (Supervielle, 20th C.)
      'My Lord, forgive her, she knows not what she is saying.'

What is important here is that the corresponding passive is acceptable to those speakers which use <u>pardonner</u> with an Indirect Object only to refer to the human Patient (e.g. here, <u>lui</u> instead of <u>la</u>).

If we were dealing here with a productive process, one might suggest that the correspondences between examples (53) through (55) and (57) through (59) could be handled together with the ones between canonical passive and active sentences by means of a transformation containing as its input an optional preposition. Such a transformation was proposed by Kayne (1975), as we shall see in the following chapter, for causative sentences.

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The problem with the passive sentences, though, is that such a passive transformation, if it were to apply normally, would yield the wrong result in a great many cases, since there are only a few transitive indirect verbs which passivize in the way we have been discussing, thus:

(62) *Marcel avait été fortement déplu (à) (par ce nouveau développement).
'Marcel had been very displeased (by this new turn of events).'

(63) *La santé est nui (à) (par la paresse).
'Health is harmed (by laziness).'

(64) *Sa sincérité est doutée (de) (par beaucoup de gens).
'His sincerity is doubted (by many people).'

The reason why the pseudo-passives discussed here are problematic for transformational analysis is not the presence of the preposition per se with today's active forms of the verbs, but the exceptionality of the pseudo-passives'. "Minor transformations" are generally not allowed, hence we must assume that the pseudo-passives would be among the forms to be described by means of redundancy rules, regardless of whether we might have reasons otherwise to characterize them as [+verb, -adjective] rather than [+verb, +adjective].

These facts about the pseudo-passive verbs together with the [+verb, +adjective] character of the French passive participles may be described by amending the rule in (15) as in (65), and having the relevant verbs marked in the lexicon with the feature [+pseudo-passive]:

(65) PASSIVE RULE I'

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
x & (se) & X & \left\langle\begin{Bmatrix}\grave{a}\\ de\end{Bmatrix}\right\rangle y \\
\begin{bmatrix}+NP\\ +Su\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+V\\ \langle +Pseudo\text{-}\rangle\\ Pass\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\ +\begin{Bmatrix}DO\\ \langle IO\rangle\end{Bmatrix}\end{bmatrix} \\
-S
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
y & \hat{e}tre & X' & \left(\begin{Bmatrix}par\\ de\end{Bmatrix}\ x\right) \\
\begin{bmatrix}+NP\\ +Su\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+V\\ +Adj\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\ +Obl\end{bmatrix} \\
\cdot S
\end{bmatrix}
$$
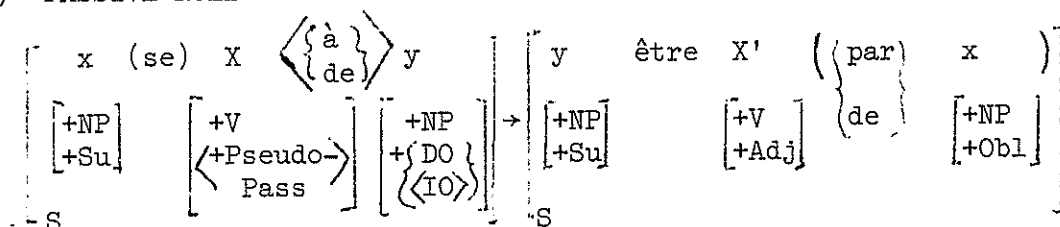
It was mentioned in the previous chapter that even though generally transitive indirect verbs, i.e. verbs which in the active take an Object introduced by à or de, may not occur in a canonical passive sentence, such verbs, like the transitive direct ones (i.e. verbs which in the active take a Direct Object), have a passive participle.

We saw that passive participles of transitive indirect verbs, like those of transitive direct verbs, are found in impersonal passive sentences. Thus:

(66) Il   sera   sursis à toute procédure.
      there will-be delayed at any   procedure
      'Any procedure will be delayed.'

(67) Il   en   sera   parlé.
      there of-it will-be spoken
      'It will be talked about.'

Note that there is no relation between the passive participle of a transitive indirect verb being acceptable in the impersonal passive and its acceptability in the pseudo-passive construction. The Objects shown in (66)-(67) may not occur as Subjects in personal passive sentences:

(68) *Toute procédure sera sursis (à).
      'Any procedure will be delayed.'

(69) *Ce sera parlé (de).
      'It will be talked about.'

Conversely, a verb to which the pseudo-passive rule is relevant may be unacceptable in the impersonal passive. Compare, for instance, (70)-(71) and (72)-(73):

(70) Il avait été désobéi $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{aux}\\ \text{*les}\end{array}\right\}$ ordres du préfet.

'The prefect's orders had been disobeyed.'

(71) On dit qu'il sera pardonné ce jour-là (à) un certain nombre
        de criminels.

'They say that that day a number of criminals will be pardoned.'

(72) *Il a été bien appris (à) cet enfant.
'This child was well taught.'

(73) *Il avait été moqué $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{des}\\ \text{les}\end{array}\right\}$ manifestants.

'They had mocked the demonstrators.'

Our grammar will thus have to distinguish in the lexicon among those passive participles of transitive indirect verbs which are acceptable in the pseudo-passive construction and those which are acceptable in the impersonal construction. This can be done by marking the transitive indirect verbs to which the impersonal passive rule is pertinent with the feature [+impersonal passive] with the impersonal passive rule being formulated as follows:

(74) PASSIVE RULE II

$$
\left[\begin{array}{ccccc}
x & X & \left\langle\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{à}\\ \text{de}\end{array}\right\}\right\rangle & y & \\
\left[\begin{array}{c}+\text{NP}\\ +\text{Su}\end{array}\right]_S & \left[\begin{array}{c}+\text{V}\\ \langle+\text{IMP PASS}\rangle\end{array}\right] & & \left[\begin{array}{c}+\text{NP}\\ +\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{DO}\\ \langle\text{IO}\rangle\end{array}\right\}\end{array}\right]
\end{array} \right] \rightarrow
$$

$$
\left[\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{il} & \text{être} & X' & \left\langle\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{à}\\ \text{de}\end{array}\right\}\right\rangle & y & \left(\begin{array}{cc}\text{par} & x\end{array}\right.\\
\left[\begin{array}{c}+\text{Cl}\\ +\text{Su}\\ +\text{3rd}\end{array}\right]_S & & \left[\begin{array}{c}+\text{V}\\ +\text{Adj}\end{array}\right] & & \left[\begin{array}{c}+\text{NP}\\ +\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{DO}\\ \langle\text{IO}\rangle\end{array}\right\}\end{array}\right] & \left.\begin{array}{c}\\ \left[\begin{array}{c}+\text{NP}\\ +\text{Obl}\end{array}\right]\end{array}\right)
\end{array} \right]
$$

Passive Rule II will capture the correspondences between such sentences as (75)-(76), and (66)-(77):

(75) Il n' y   sera   servi que des boissons sans   alcool
     It neg there will-be served only some drinks   without alcohol
     'Only non-alcoholic beverages will be served there.'

(76) On n'y servira que des boissons sans alcool.
     'They will serve there only non-alcoholic beverages.'

(77) On surseoira à toute procédure.
     'We will delay any procedure.'

To return to the pseudo-passives, one might suggest that the verbs for which I am proposing the rule in (65) might simply be listed as exceptions in the lexicon and that it is not necessary to have a rule to account for the passive-active relation as it pertains to this rather small number of items, but we shall see in section 7 that the pseudo-passives are not irregular in every respect. To anticipate, we shall see that the choice of the postverbal preposition is affected by the same semantic considerations in the case of the pseudo-passives as in that of the direct transitive verbs.

There is one form among the pseudo-passives which the redundancy rule in (65) will leave unaccounted for: être usité. For this item, the active verb form is absent from the lexicon of the vast majority of the speakers (the one person who is cited by grammars as using usiter is the grammarian Thérive), and usité will have to be simply entered in the lexicon as in the same manner as its opposite inusité, for which there is also no active *inusiter.

However, it will become clear that it is preferable to generate sentences containing usité as well as the other pseudo-passives

independently from active sentences when we turn to the history of these anomalous verbs.

We saw in chapter 2 that, when a new transitive direct verb gets borrowed, a passive participle also becomes available. Thus, with toasté, in Canadian French, we find sentences such as:

(78) Il n'a pas été assez toasté ce pain-là.
'That bread was not toasted long enough.'

With existing French verbs which come to take a Direct Object as the result of a subcategorization change, similarly, we find that a corresponding canonical passive becomes available, thus with favoriser, which Grevisse (1936) notes has changed from transitive indirect to transitive direct, we find:

(79) Il n'a jamais été favorisé par le sort.
'He has never been favored by Fate.'

When, on the other hand, a verb ceases to be transitive direct, generally, the corresponding passive disappears, as with surseoir which we saw in (68), and which now takes an Indirect Object.

When we consider their evolution, we find that today's pseudo-passives are verbs which underwent the same change as surseoir for Object subcategorization in the active, but not with respect to passivizability.

Those verbs which are irregular nowadays in that they passivize even though they are unacceptable with a Direct Object in the active have not always been exceptional in this manner. They are verbs which earlier were used with a Direct Object, at times in alternation with an Indirect Object, as the use of preposition and case marking was far

less rigid than now. Grevisse (1936) gives the following examples, among others:

(80) Les lettres que je reçois et celles _que_ (DO) je _réponds_.
     (Rousseau, 18th C.)
   'The letters that I receive and the ones that I answer.'

(81) L'infante lui dit que la plus grande beauté d'une femme était
     d'_obéir_ _son mari_ (DO). (Malherbe, 16-17th C.)
   'The infant told her that the greatest beauty of a woman was
   to obey her husband.'

(82) Tous _l'_(DO)avaient _pardonné_. (Loti, 20th C.)
   'All had forgiven him.'

(83) Qui _apprendrait_ _les hommes_ (DO) à mourir _leur_ (IO) _apprendrait_
     à vivre. (Montaigne, 16th C.)
   'He who would teach men how to die would be teaching them
   how to live.'

(84) Pareil à ceux dont il _moquait_ _la cupidité et la laideur_ (DO).
     (Nouvelles Litéraires)
   'Similar to those of whom he mocked the cupidity and ugliness'

Today's pseudo-passives are thus verbs which used to be transitive direct

but at some point underwent a change in their subcategorization for

Object or in the acceptability of their active form per se.

   If the transformationalist interpretation of the passive-active

relation where passive sentences are derived from corresponding active

ones, or to be more exact, with both types of sentences being derived

from the same or a similar underlying structure, were correct, and since

'minor' transformations have not been allowed in recent versions of

transformational grammar, we should then expect when some verbs would

undergo either of the two changes we just saw that they should become

unavailable as input for the passive transformation, with the consequence that the corresponding passive forms should disappear.

This consequence would not so obviously follow from a Move-α analysis, since there passive and active sentences come from related but different underlying structures.

In a Move-α analysis, or in all relatively recent transformational analyses, the underlying structure of passive sentences, while different from that of active sentences, nevertheless is partly determined by the constituent structure assumed to be relevant to corresponding active sentences. Thus, <u>John was killed</u> is given by Chomsky (1981) as being derived from an underlying structure $[_{NP}$ e] INFL be $[_\alpha$ kill* John]. In other words, it remains critical to the analysis that the passivized verb is one which may occur in the active with an immediately following NP, precisely the structure assumed for <u>kill</u> in the active.

The fact that the suddenly anomalous passives did not disappear as a consequence either of the disappearance of the active form or of a change in the subcategorization of the verb for Object suggests that for French the active and passive forms of a given verb should be generated independently of each other. With respect to passivization, then, there can be no implication that when a verb ceases to occur in the frame $[+NP_1 \underline{\quad} NP_2]$ it should also cease to occur in the personal passive construction. A transformational analysis, though, leads us to a false prediction here as to what changes may or may not occur.

Also, beside the problems which stem from the restrictions which have been placed on the power of transformations with respect to rule features, there is the more basic problem that, in a transformational

analysis, it is assumed that passivization is a structure-dependent process. It was shown in the previous chapter, though, that syntactic functions, in contemporary French at least, cannot be derived on the basis of constituent structure, but that what is crucial to the acceptability of passivization in canonical sentences is the subcategorization of the verb with respect to Object, regardless of how Objecthood is encoded for a given state of the language.

We shall return to the issue of syntactic functions in the rules necessary to describe passivization in relation to the claim made by Anderson (1977) that the rules used to account for the English "adjectival" passives should not refer to syntactic functions.

For the moment, let us simply point out, that if we agree that language should be approached in such a way that the acceptance of any theoretical construct proposed to account for linguistic synchrony should depend on the possibility of integrating that concept with the theory necessary to account for linguistic change, the historical evidence here about subcategorization appears to support a non-transformational interpretation of passivization for synchronic French syntax, just as does the evidence involving the passive participle.

7. The Passive Agent-Phrase

The evolution of the passive Agent-Phrase is another aspect of passivization which is problematic for a transformational analysis.

In contemporary French, the Agent of a canonical passive sentence, when it is expressed, typically takes the form, as is well known, of a prepositional phrase par+NP, thus:

(85)

$$\text{Il a été} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{tué}} \\ \underline{\text{blessé}} \\ \underline{\text{bouleversé}} \end{array} \right\} \text{(par le tremblement de terre).}$$

$$\text{'He was (lit.: has been)} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{killed} \\ \text{hurt} \\ \text{much upset} \end{array} \right\} \text{(by the earthquake).'}$$

It is also well known that there are some systematic exceptions to this rule:

(86)

$$\text{Elle est} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{aimée}} \\ \underline{\text{détestée}} \\ \underline{\text{appreciée}} \\ \underline{\text{regrettée}} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{de}} \\ \underline{\text{par}} \end{array} \right\} \text{tous ses sujets.}$$

$$\text{'She is} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{loved} \\ \text{hated} \\ \text{appreciated} \\ \text{missed} \end{array} \right\} \text{by all her subjects.'}$$

(87)

$$\text{Elle avait été} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{vue}} \\ \underline{\text{entendue}} \\ \underline{\text{aperçue}} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{des}} \text{ voisins} \\ \underline{\text{par}} \text{ les voisins} \end{array} \right\} .$$

$$\text{'She had been} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{seen} \\ \text{heard} \\ \text{looked at} \\ \text{listened to} \end{array} \right\} \text{by the neighbours.'}$$

Verbs of emotion and verbs of perception which do not imply volition then may cooccur with _de_ as well as with _par_ NP; this is not true on the other hand for any of the verbs given in example (88):

(88)

$$\text{*Il a été} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{tué}} \\ \underline{\text{blessé}} \\ \underline{\text{bouleversé}} \end{array} \right\} \text{du tremblement de terre.}$$

$$\text{'He was} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{killed} \\ \text{hurt} \\ \text{much upset} \end{array} \right\} \text{by the earthquake.'}$$

I mentioned earlier that Ronat (1974) argued that the passive Agent-Phrase should be generated by means of phrase structure rules. Ronat's argument was that there exist restrictions on the selection of

the passive Agent which are unparalleled with respect to active Subject selection. She gave the following examples:

(89) a. $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Cet homme} \\ \text{Cette maison} \end{Bmatrix}$ a connu toute la famille.

'This $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{man} \\ \text{house} \end{Bmatrix}$ has known the whole family.'

   b. Toute la famille a été connue par $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{cet homme} \\ \text{*cette maison} \end{Bmatrix}$.

'The whole family was known by this $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{man} \\ \text{house} \end{Bmatrix}$.'

(90) a. $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Toscanini} \\ \text{Ce violon} \end{Bmatrix}$ a joué toutes les sonates.

'$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Toscanini} \\ \text{This violin} \end{Bmatrix}$ has played every sonata.'

   b. Toutes les sonates ont été jouées par $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Toscanini} \\ \text{*ce violon} \end{Bmatrix}$.

'Every sonata has been played by $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Toscanini} \\ \text{this violin} \end{Bmatrix}$.'

Example (90)(a) with an Instrumental as Subject strikes me as being as unacceptable as the corresponding passive sentence. But, more generally, what appears to be problematic with those nominals which cannot occur in a par-phrase as in (89) or (90) is that they cannot be construed as Agents or Experiencers, unlike in, for instance (85), where the Oblique NP while not being animate may nevertheless be interpreted as some sort of Agent by analogy. The unacceptable sentences in (89)(b) and (90)(b) will thus be ruled out because they are semantically ill-formed.

Where Ronat's analysis focussed on the lexical constituents of the passive prepositional phrase, we are focussing here on the choice of preposition, and we shall see that the manner in which the selection of the preposition is determined supports the independent generation of the entire passive construction, not just of the Agent-Phrase.

All the verbs in examples (86) and (87) can be considered as verbs of experiencing rather than as true verbs of action. We see that par may be used to introduce either an Experiencer or an Agent whereas de can introduce only an Experiencer. We have then a correlation between the possible form of the postverbal preposition and the kinesis expressed by the verb, with the less clearly agentive preposition occurring only with the less active verbs.

In most recent versions of the transformational model, however, as was noted, rule features have not been allowed. Furthermore, the feature at issue here is a semantic one, and having a semantic rule feature in the description of a transformation would violate the transformationalist assumption that the syntax is autonomous from semantics.

Note that while in the transformational model reference to syntactic functions has not been allowed in lexical redundancy rules, reference to semantic functions has been on the other hand, as in the proposal by Anderson (1976), which is formulated in terms of the Theme relation.

What I am suggesting here is that, while the crucial property of a verb with respect to passivization is its subcategorization for Object, verb subcategorization with respect to the semantic functions of the arguments, more precisely of the active Subject, is also relevant to the form of the passive sentence. Consequently, the passive rule in (91) will be amended as follows:

(91) PASSIVE RULE I''

$$
\left[
\begin{array}{cccc}
x & X & \left\langle \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \grave{a} \\ de \end{array} \right\} \right\rangle_1 & y \\
\left[\begin{array}{l} +NP \\ +Su \\ \langle +Exp^{cer} \rangle_2 \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{l} +V \\ \langle +Pseudo\text{-}Pass \rangle_1 \end{array} \right] & & \left[\begin{array}{l} +NP \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +DO \\ \langle +IO \rangle_1 \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]
\end{array}
\right]_S \rightarrow
$$

$$
\left[
\begin{array}{cccc}
y & \hat{e}tre & X' & \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} par \\ \langle de \rangle_2 \end{array} \right\} \right. \quad y \\
\left[\begin{array}{l} +NP \\ +Su \end{array} \right] & & \left[\begin{array}{l} +V \\ +Adj \end{array} \right] & \left. \left[\begin{array}{l} +NP \\ +Obl \end{array} \right] \right)
\end{array}
\right]_S
$$
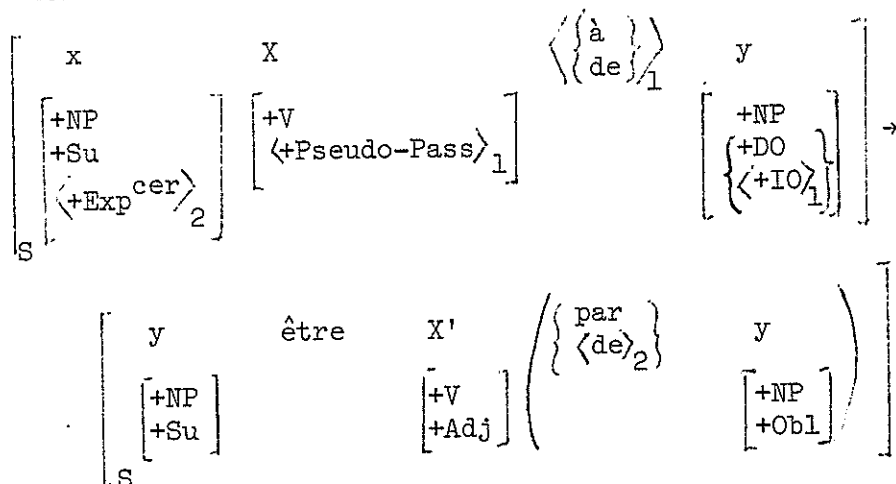
The feature characterization [+Experiencer] will indicate that the optional presence of de+NP is restricted to passive sentences having a verb which in the active has a Subject which bears in relation to it that semantic role.

That it is the subcategorization of the verb with respect to the semantic function of the argument which appears as the active Subject and not some structural property which is relevant to the form of the passive Oblique phrase again is supported by the historical facts which led to the present situation.

In earlier French, it was de and not par, which was generally used to introduce the passive Agent. Haase (1916) notes that de was used regularly until the seventeenth century, and Grevisse (1936) gives the following examples from Post-Renaissance French:

(92) Je suis vaincu du temps. (Malherbe, 17th C.)
      'I am defeated by time.'

(93) L'esprit de curiosité donné de Dieu à l'homme. (Voltaire, 18th C.)
      'The inquisitive spirit given by God to man.'

(94) J'étais tourmenté <u>de</u> la Muse. (Chateaubriand, 19th C.)

'I was tormented by the Muse.'

As with the verbs in example (72), only <u>par</u> would be acceptable
here in contemporary French:

(95) Je suis <u>vaincu</u> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*du} \\ \underline{\text{par le}} \end{array} \right\}$ temps.

'I am defeated by time.'

(96) L'esprit de curiosité <u>donné</u> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*de} \\ \underline{\text{par}} \end{array} \right\}$ Dieu à l'homme.

'The inquisitive spirit given by God to man.'

(97) J'étais <u>tourmenté</u> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*de} \\ \underline{\text{par}} \end{array} \right\}$ la Muse.

'I was tormented by the Muse.'

As for <u>par</u> in earlier French, one of its main functions was to
introduce a Cause, e.g.:

(98) Il me cache ses maux <u>par</u> l'intérêt qu'il sait que j'y prends.
     (Mme de Sevigné, 17th C.)
'He hides his problems from me because of the interest that he
     knows I take in them.'

(99) Evêque, je meurs <u>par</u> vous. (Jeanne d'Arc, 15th C.)
'Bishop, I die because of you.'

Brunot (1905), among others, believed that it is out of this causal
function that the agentive function of <u>par</u> arose, from a semantic shift
facilitated by the ambiguity of the prepositional phrase in certain
passive sentences, e.g.:

(100) <u>Par</u>   cel saint ome sont lour anemes salvedes.

$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{By}\\\text{Because of}\end{array}\right\}$ this holy man are their souls saved.

   (Alexis, 11th C.)

'Their souls are saved $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{by}\\\text{because of}\end{array}\right\}$ this holy man.'

With the reflexive personal passive, similarly, which earlier occurred freely with an Agent-Phrase, we find that <u>par</u>, while unambiguously agentive in some cases, could be interpreted as introducing either an Agent or a Cause in other cases, thus:

(101) L'élection s'en faisait par tout le peuple. (Bossuet, 17-18th C.)
    'Their election was done by the entire population.'

(102) Cependant <u>par</u>   Beaucis le festin <u>se   prépare</u>.

Meanwhile $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{by}\\\text{because}\end{array}\right\}$ Beaucis the feast refl prepares

   (La Fontaine, 17th C.)

'Meanwhile the feast is being prepared $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{by}\\\text{because of}\end{array}\right\}$ Beaucis.'

What seems to have happened here was that when <u>par</u> became re-analyzed as the Agent marker in the passive and took over the syntagmatic distribution of the older passive Agent marker <u>de</u>, <u>de</u> in its turn also underwent a semantic shift; it ceased, that is, to be agentive. Such chains of meaning shifts have long been familiar to semanticists; cf. for instance Bréal (1897), pp. 137-145 inter alia. I suggest that the reason why <u>de</u> survived in passive sentences with a verb of experiencing is that in such sentences the function of the post-verbal NP is not that of Agent but more exactly that of Experiencer, and that <u>par</u> has spread there and partially replaced <u>de</u> because of the analogy between these passive sentences and the more ordinary ones. The replacement of

de by par, then, was dependent on how the prepositional de-phrase could be interpreted, Agent vs. Experiencer, and what provided the clue for the earlier French users as to what was a possible interpretation in a given sentence was the semantics of the verb, just as it is central synchronically in determining the acceptability of de in the passive.

The claim that the meaning of de has shifted and as a result is no longer that of indicating the Agent is supported by the observations of traditional grammarians about Modern French. According to Grevisse, for instance, de is used mostly when the meaning of the verb is weakened or when that verb is being used figuratively, or when a sentence is stative rather than passive; and Nyrop (1930) similarly notes that de is found more often when the verb is being used figuratively and also that the use of de instead of par correlates with a difference in the interpretation of the sentence: he points out that par can always be used in the place of de without forcing a change in the meaning of the sentence, but not conversely. Consider the following sentences:

(103)

La malade avait été abondonnée $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{des}} \\ \underline{\text{par}} \text{ les} \end{array} \right\}$ médecins.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *\underline{\text{de}} \\ \underline{\text{par}} \end{array} \right\}$ son mari.

'The sick woman had been $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{forsaken by the doctors} \\ \text{abandoned by her husband} \end{array} \right\}$.'

In (103), abandonnée may be considered less active in the context par les médecins than in the one par son mari. In the first case, it means that the doctors have stopped treating the person while in the second an action actually took place, and we find that de can occur only when abandonner may be interpreted as the absence of action, as expected from a preposition which can no longer be interpreted as agentive.

The directionality of the change described here is consistent with the Transitivity Hypothesis proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). For Hopper and Thompson, Transitivity is seen as a global property of an entire clause such that an activity is 'carried' or 'transferred' from an Agent to a Patient. Their claim is that, if two clauses in a language differ in that the first of the two is higher in Transitivity according to any of the ten components of Transitivity which they identify and if a grammatical or semantical difference shows up else-where in the clause, that difference will also show the first clause to be higher in Transitivity. Among the ten components are kinesis and potency of the Agent. And in the data we have just seen, indeed, the acceptability of the preposition with non-agentive meaning in the passive construction correlates with the verb being interpreted as being low in kinesis.

It seems plausible also that an NP might be interpreted as more potent when it is definite than when it is non-specific with respect to agency, and accordingly we might expect that, if a language does choose to mark that distinction in the choice of the governing preposition and if the Transitivity Hypothesis is valid, the less agentive preposition should be found with the non-specific and not with the definite NP, and this is indeed the case in French. Examples:

(104)

Le peuple était <u>accablé</u> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{d'} \\ *\underline{des} \end{array} \right\} \\ \underline{par} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{les} \\ \underline{des} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$ impôts.

'The people were burdened $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{with} \\ \text{by the} \end{array} \right\}$ taxes.'

(105)

$$\text{La place était } \underline{\text{encombrée}} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{de} \\ *\underline{\text{des}} \end{array} \right\} \\ \underline{\text{par}} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{des} \\ \underline{\text{les}} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \text{ curieux.}$$

'The square was crowded $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{with} \\ \text{by the} \end{array} \right\}$ curious people.'

The acceptability of <u>de</u> depends not only on the inherent meaning of the verb but also on the intention of the speakers in using that verb as reflected by the choice of lexical items in the prepositional phrase and in some cases on the non-specificity of the postverbal noun which seems to decrease the agentiveness of that noun. Note however that the meaning of the verb remains crucial. In addition to having a non-specific postverbal noun, the sentence must have a verb low in kinesis, thus:

(106) Il a été <u>blessé</u> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *\underline{\text{de}} \\ \underline{\text{par}} \end{array} \right\}$ quelqu'un.

'He was hurt by someone.'

If we want to take such data into account, it follows that the rules which describe the passive-active relation cannot be formulated strictly in structural terms, but rather must be allowed to refer to the semantic (as well as the syntactic) functions of the arguments for which a verb is subcategorized.

8.   Passivization across Languages

I have suggested above that passivization is neither a transformational rule nor a lexical rule, but a rule which while making reference to properties of lexical entities is nevertheless a syntactic rule in that its function is to describe a relation between sentences, one that is crucially mentioned by the interpretive rules of the language. That

passivization in French and generally across languages is essentially
not a lexical but rather a sentential phenomenon is apparent from re-
strictions on the applicability of the operation cross-linguistically,
which are related to 'topicworthiness', to use the term proposed by
Hyman and Zimmer (1976). Such restrictions may be found in such diverse
languages as Navajo, Japanese and Turkish, for instance.

Thus, in Navajo, it has been observed (Hale, 1972; Frishberg,
1972) that the acceptability of passive depends on the relative posi-
tions of the passive Subject and of the passive Agent in a "hierarchy
of beings". Compare, for instance examples (107) through (110) with
(111)-(112), all reproduced from Frishberg (1972):

(107) łį́į́ dzaanééz yi- ztał
       horse mule   him-kicked
       'The horse kicked the mule.'

(108) dzaanééz łį́į́' bi- ztał
       mule   horse him-kicked
       'The mule was kicked by the horse.'

(109) diné 'ashkii yoo'į́
       man   boy   him-see
       'The man sees the boy.'

(110) 'ashkii diné boo'į́
       boy   man him-see
       'The boy is seen by the man.'

(111) dzaanééz tsé yiztał
       mule   stone kicked
       'The mule kicked the stone.'

(112) *tsé   dzaanééz biztał
        stone mule   kicked
       'The stone was kicked by the mule.'

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In the first two pairs of examples, the NPs involved in each sentence are of equal rank, [+animate, -human] in the first pair, and [+animate, +human] in the second. In sentences (111)-(112), by contrast, the Agent is higher on the hierarchy than the potential passive Subject, [+animate] vs. [-animate].

Hale (1972) had proposed the following conditions for the operation described here, which he referred to as Subject-Object inversion:

Subject-Object Relation	Inversion
Equal in rank	Optional
Subject outranks Object	Blocked
Object outranks Subject	Obligatory

Frishberg points out that by taking into account the native concept of animacy, one can explain certain apparent counter-examples to these conditions.

Frishberg suggests that the acceptability of sentences such as (114) below, which Hale (1972) found problematic, can be shown to be consistent with the other examples given above when one takes into account the fact that the Navajos view lightning as being animate:

(113) 'ii'ni' łį́į́' yiyisxį́
      lightning horse killed
      'The lightning killed the horse.'

(114) łį́į́' 'ii'ni' biisxį́
      horse lightning killed
      'The horse was killed by lightning.'

Similar types of restrictions may be seen in Japanese, thus:

(115) sensei wa Tanaka san o home- mashita
      teacher Top Tanaka Mr. DO praise-past
      'The teacher praised Mr. Tanaka.'

(116)   Tanaka san wa   sensei ni   home-   rare-mashita
        Tanaka Mr. Top teacher Obl praise-pass-past
        'Mr. Tanaka was praised by the teacher.'

(117)   watashi ga mado   o   ake- mashita
        I   Su window DO open-past
        'I opened the window.'

(118)   *mado   ga watashi ni   ake- rare-mashita
        window Su I   Obl open-pass-past
        'The window was opened by me.'

Inanimate Objects may sometimes appear as passive Subjects.
Thus, (120), corresponding to active sentence (119), is a possible
sentence:

(119)   suri   wa watashi no   okane o nusumi-mashita
        pickpocket Top I   Poss money DO steal- past
        'A pickpocket stole my money.'

(120)   watashi no   okane wa suri   ni nusuma-re- mashita
        I   Poss money Top pickpocket Obl steal- pass-past
        'My money was stolen by a pickpocket.'

However, the passive construction more likely to be used in such
a case is the one illustrated in (121):

(121)   watashi wa   suri   ni okane o nusuma-re- mashita
        I   Top pickpocket Obl money DO steal- pass-past
        'I had my money stolen by a pickpocket.'

The preferred passive construction, the 'adversity passive', which
is being illustrated in (121) makes it possible to avoid having an
inanimate passive Subject together with a human non-generic Agent by
making into the passive Subject the person affected by the event being
described in the clause.

In Turkish, finally, there exist restrictions on passive having
to do with the person of the various NPs involved. Thus, we can have
a passive Subject in the first or second person cooccurring with a
human Agent in the third person, as in:[7]

(122)
kadın $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{sen-i} \\ \text{ben-i} \\ \text{o-nu} \end{Bmatrix}$ gör-dü.

woman $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{me-acc} \\ \text{you-acc} \\ \text{him-acc} \end{Bmatrix}$ see-past

'The woman saw $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{me} \\ \text{you} \\ \text{him} \end{Bmatrix}$.'

(123) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ben} \\ \text{sen} \\ \text{on} \end{Bmatrix}$ kadın taraf-ından gör- ül- dü.

I woman by see-pass-past

'$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{I was} \\ \text{You were} \\ \text{He was} \end{Bmatrix}$ seen by the woman.'

However, sentences will be unacceptable if the potential passive
Subject is [-third person, +human] and the passive Agent [-third person],
or if the potential passive Subject and the Agent are both
[-third person]:

(124) (Sen) ben-i gör-dü-n.
'You saw me.'

(125) *(Ben) sen-im taraf-ından gör-ül-dü-m.
'I was seen by you.'

(126) (Ben) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{sen-i} \\ \text{kadin-i} \end{Bmatrix}$ gör-dü-m

'I saw $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{you} \\ \text{the woman} \end{Bmatrix}$.'

(127) *Sen ben-im taraf-ımdan gör-ül-dü-n.
'You were seen by me.'

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(128) *Kadın $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ben-im taraf-imdan} \\ \text{sen-im taraf-indan} \end{array} \right\}$ gör-ül-dü.

'The woman was seen by $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{me} \\ \text{you} \end{array} \right\}$.'

Similarly, in French we find:

(129) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{J'ai} \\ \text{Tu as} \end{array} \right\}$ été battu par un flic.

'$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I was} \\ \text{You were} \end{array} \right\}$ beaten by a cop.'

(130) *Il a été battu par $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{moi} \\ \text{toi} \end{array} \right\}$.

'He was beaten by $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{me} \\ \text{you} \end{array} \right\}$.'

(131) Un flic $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{m'} \\ \text{t'} \end{array} \right\}$ a battu.

'A cop beat $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{me} \\ \text{you} \end{array} \right\}$.'

(132) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Je l'ai} \\ \text{Tu l'as} \end{array} \right\}$ battu.

'$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I} \\ \text{You} \end{array} \right\}$ beat him.'

It was suggested above that restrictions on passivization such as the ones just illustrated were related to topicworthiness, that is to say the degree to which the inherent properties of the various nominals involved make them naturally more likely to be made topics of sentences. In relation to this, Hyman and Zimmer proposed a 'Natural Topic Scale', which among the variables it takes into account, includes a 'personal hierarchy', animacy and humanness, as follows:

3rd person	3rd person	3rd person	1st, 2nd person
nonhuman	human	human	reflexive
	indefinite	definite	

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

NATURAL TOPIC SCALE

Other proposals pertaining to topicworthiness similar to that of Hyman and Zimmer have also been made by Givón (1976), who set up a 'universal hierarchy of topicality' and by Kuno (1976) with his 'Speech-Act Empathy Hierarchy'.

Why topicworthiness is pertinent to the acceptability of the passive voice may be understood when we view passivization, as suggested at the beginning of this chapter, as an operation which results in marked Subject selection. As was noted, the Subject may be characterized as that nominal which with respect to a verb sets the primary perspective from which the scene or event denoted by the sentence is to be viewed, and is thus given preminence within the sentence.

It would then seem natural that, in many languages, there should be restrictions with the effect that the NP made preminent in this way would be the one considered most topicworthy in the sentence in question.

For French, for instance, assuming that the topic scale proposed by Hyman and Zimmer is part of Universal Grammar, we may explain the contrast in the acceptability of passive illustrated in (129)-(132) by stipulating that the entry for _par_ in the lexicon specifies that one of the functions of _par_ is to introduce a passive Agent, i.e. an argument which is being markedly presented as non-topical and that when

that _par_ phrase is occurring in a canonical passive sentence, and the Agent is [-3rd person], then that sentence will be ruled out as being semantically ill-formed, since a [-3rd person] argument is usually present in the mind of the language users.

In conclusion, to view passivization as being other than a sentential phenomenon would make it impossible to provide a natural explanation of the co-occurrence restrictions having to do with the relative topicworthiness of the arguments occurring with a verb in French and cross-linguistically.[7]

9. The Form of Passive Redundancy Rules

It was mentioned in the first chapter that, according to Wasow (1977), the redundancy rules necessary for English passive sentences should be allowed to operate on syntactic functions, whereas Anderson (1977), who agreed with Wasow's general conclusion that two distinct sources are necessary for English passives, proposed that the relevant redundancy rules should be formulated instead in terms of thematic relations in the sense of Gruber and Jackendoff. I suggested in chapter 1 that Anderson's Theme Rule was not adequate for French, and we shall now consider in detail the evidence which supports the view that, for French, passivization must be described in terms of syntactic functions rather than in terms of thematic relations or, alternatively, in terms of constituent structure, as has been argued variously, by e.g. Kayne (1975) and Burzio (1981).

The key issue here for French is that, as was noted, the main fact which we would like to be able to account for, synchronically as well as diachronically, is that while Subject and Direct Object have not been uniformly coded in terms of position, case or agreement, those

two syntactic notions, yet, are the ones which emerge as the constants in describing the passive-active relation.

Let us first consider Anderson's Theme Rule. According to the rule, Themes are to be found in the position of intransitive Subjects or of transitive Direct Objects, and the Subject of a non-transformational passive is assigned the function of Theme and consequently can never correspond to an Indirect Object. For Anderson, the Theme, as we saw, is the 'logical topic' of the clause, i.e. 'the element that the clause is about in a purely logical sense divorced from any particular use of the clause in discourse'.

First, with respect to thematic relations, Anderson's general Theme assignment rules presupposes a very strict parallelism between the assignment of syntactic functions and the semantic role of arguments, but even a rapid comparison of two relatively similar languages like French and English should suffice to cast doubt on the potential of this rule as a universal. While there are many similarities in the subcategorization for Object of French and English verbs sharing the same meaning (e.g. <u>tuer quelqu'un</u> and '<u>to kill someone</u>', <u>voir quelqu'un</u> and '<u>to see someone</u>'), there is also a considerable portion of this class of verbs which differ in the two languages with respect to sub-categorization (e.g. <u>apprendre à quelqu'un</u> vs. '<u>to teach someone</u>', <u>écouter quelqu'un</u> vs. '<u>to listen to someone</u>'). Additional examples of such disparity may be found in Table III, p. 166.

To return to French in particular, there are, as we have seen, several verbs which are not readily compatible with any derivation of passive sentences by means of a transformation. Consequently, even if

we were to assume that such a transformational source was needed for some of the passive sentences containing one of the pseudo-passive participles, these would not be a possible output of that rule in a 'standard' analysis such as Kayne's. As for a Move-α analysis, generating the pseudo-passives transformationally would entail some so far non-independently justified assumptions as regards deep structure changes limited to the particular verbs involved. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, these verbs would then have to be among the ones generated directly in the base, and with regard to such verbs, it is not clear in what way the complement of <u>pardonner</u>, <u>obéir</u> or <u>se moquer</u> could be said to be less thematic now than when it used to take the form of a Direct Object. The clause is just as much about the Patient (whatever this means) today even though the Patient is introduced by a preposition.

In other words, one cannot conclude that an argument of a sentence is or is not what the sentence is about depending on whether in the active that argument takes the form of a Direct or of an Indirect Object.

That the interpretation of an Object may be the same whether that Object is direct or indirect was noted by many traditional grammarians such as Grevisse (1936). One might suggest that the pseudo-passives are two-word verbs, as Wasow suggested for English with respect to, for instance, <u>sleep in</u>, <u>talk about</u> so that the following NP is a Direct Object even though it does not look like one, and that the pseudo-passives are thus not counter-examples to Anderson's Theme Rule. There is however no evidence to support such a claim. We do not have in French, unlike in English, any passive sentence where the verb may be

followed by a bare preposition:

(133) *Il sera <u>parlé à</u>.
'He will be talked to.'

(134) *Le lit a été <u>couché dans</u>.
'The bed has been slept in.'

Nor can we have a stranded preposition in the active:

(135) *Qui <u>parlait-il à</u>?
'Who was he talking to?'

(136) *Qu'a-t-il <u>couché</u> <u>dans</u>?
'What did he sleep in?'

If such sentences were acceptable, they would lend support to a claim that the verb and the preposition form a unit, but this is not the case. In WH-questions, for instance, it is with the noun that the preposition forms a unit:

(137) <u>A qui</u> parlait-il?
'To whom was he talking?'

(138) <u>Dans quoi</u> a-t-il couché?
'In what did he sleep?'

To return to the pseudo-passives, the prepositions for which these verbs are subcategorized are exactly the two which are identified traditionally as introducing an Indirect Object (cf. Grevisse (1936) for instance) and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary there is no reason to assume that with <u>obéir</u> or <u>se moquer</u> <u>à+NP</u> or <u>de+NP</u> is anything but an Indirect Object.

Also, if Anderson's Theme Rule were valid for French and if it were the case that the Theme function was always assigned to that

constituent 'that the clause is about', then we should expect overall

a great stability in the subcategorization of individual verbs for

Objects in the absence of some perceptible change in the meaning of

these verbs. We have already seen, though, a few instances of verbs

which have undergone a change in their subcategorization for Object

without undergoing at the same time any shift in meaning, and when we

look at the history of French we find that this situation is far from

rare. Brunot (1905) gives the following examples:

(139) Qu'a-t-il soupé?' Luy? Rien.
      'What did he eat for supper? Him? Nothing.'

(140) Je vous conjure de surseoir le jugement que vous voulez donner.
         (Astrée, 17th C.)
      'I implore you to postpone the judgement which you want to
       give.'

(141) Biron lui contredisant tout exprès. (Brussy-Rat, 17th C.)
      'Biron contradicting him on purpose.'

(142) Il ... lui empêche de rendre les derniers devoirs à sa
         Maîtresse. (Perrault, 17th C.)
      'He prevents him from performing his last duties toward
       his mistress.'

In these examples, from post-Renaissance French, the Patient takes the

form of a Direct Object in (139)-(140) and of an Indirect Object in

(141)-(142). In Modern French, the same sentences would be rendered as

follows:

(143) De quoi a-t-il soupé? Lui? De rien.
      'What did he eat for supper? Him? Nothing.'

(144) Je vous conjure <u>de surseoir au jugement</u> que vous voulez donner.

     'I implore you to postpone the judgement which you want to give.'

(145) Biron <u>le contredisant</u> tout exprès.

     'Biron contradicting him on purpose.'

(146) Il <u>l'empêche</u> de rendre les derniers devoirs à sa maîtresse.

     'He prevents him from performing his last duties toward his

         mistress.'

We have here two verbs which used to take a DO but no longer do so, and two verbs which did not formerly take one but which do so now and which passivize: être contredit 'to be contradicted', <u>être empêché</u> 'to be prevented.'

    Many of the grammarians who have remarked on such changes have also noted that there was in earlier French much more freedom in how the Object was linked to the governing verb. (For additional evidence, cf. example (83) where the Goal of <u>apprendre</u> 'to learn' takes the form of a DO in one clause and that of an IO in the other clause of the same sentence), and that the verbs which they do cite as having undergone such a change in transitivity represent only a small number of the verbs which have been so affected. A list including some of the verbs mentioned by Brunot (1905) and Nyrop may be found in Table III.

Table III[8]

1. <u>Verbs Transitive</u>   <u>Current Usage:</u>   <u>Meaning:</u>

   <u>in the 17th C.</u>

(Parentheses around the preposition indicate that with the verb
in question some argument may appear either as a Direct or
Indirect Object.)

consentir	consentir (à)	to consent to
coopérer	coopérer à	to cooperate to
courir	courir (après)	to run after
crier	crier sur	to shout after
croire	croire à, en	to believe in
délibérer	délibérer de	to deliberate about
jouir	jouir de	to enjoy
obéir	obéir à	to obey
prétendre	prétendre à	to lay claim to
profiter	profiter de	to benefit
protester	protester de	to protest
redoubler	redoubler de	to double
surnager	surnager sur	to float over
surseoir	surseoir à	to postpone
témoigner	témoigner de	to give evidence of
informer	s'informer auprès de	to interrogate
ressembler	ressembler à	to resemble
survivre	survivre à	to survive
apprendre (à)	apprendre à	to teach (someone)

(Table III continued)

2. **Verbs Intransitive in the 17th C.:**   **Current Usage:**   **Meaning:**

Verbs Intransitive in the 17th C.:	Current Usage:	Meaning:
aider à	aider	to help
conjurer à	conjurer	to plot
contredire à	contredire	to contradict
contrarier à	contrarier	to conflict with
empêcher à	empêcher	to prevent
étudier à	étudier	to study
manquer à	manquer	to fail
toucher (à)	toucher	to touch
viser (à)	viser	to aim at
atteindre à	atteindre	to reach
éviter à	éviter	to avoid
favoriser à	favoriser	to favor
prier à	prier	to pray to
fournir de	fournir	to provide with
entendre à	entendre	to hear, listen to
servir (à)	servir	to serve (someone)

With respect to the synchronic aspect of French passive, a proposal was made by Ronat (1974) to make use of the suggestion by Jackendoff (1972) in relation to English that the general constraint on the canonical passive should be formulated in terms of the Thematic Hierarchy Condition. Jackendoff's claim, from which Anderons's later Theme Rule developed, was as follows:

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Thematic Hierarchy Condition

The passive _by_ phrase must be higher on the Thematic
Hierarchy than the derived Subject.

Jackendoff's Thematic Hierarchy, as we saw, was formulated as
follows:

1. Agent

2. Location, Source, Goal

3. Theme

Ronat argued that the unacceptability of passive with verbs like
coûter or _peser_ was support for Jackendoff's claim. However, going
back to examples (5) through (12), which were chosen so that the
semantic role of the passive Subjects be identical in the passive sen-
tences which were acceptable as in the four which were not, we can see
that the condition proposed by Jackendoff is not sufficient to account
for the general facts about the canonical passive in French.

In examples (5) through (8), we may say that the passive Subjects
have the semantic functions of Patient, Goal, Location and Beneficiary
respectively. The passive Subjects in the following four examples have
exactly the same semantic functions but these last four examples are
unacceptable, in contradiction to what we should expect if Jackendoff's
claim held for French.

As was pointed out, the crucial difference is that the verbs in
the active in (9) through (12) may not occur with a Direct Object. The
unacceptability of passive with verbs where the postverbal NP in the
active is a measure-phrase may be explained in the same manner: the
measure-phrase fails to qualify as a Direct Object. Although in the

active sentences corresponding to (109) and (110) below the measure-phrase immediately follows the verb, it does not meet the other two criteria which we discussed earlier with respect to identifying Direct Objects in French. With verbs like <u>mesurer</u>, the clitic is sometimes found to agree with the noun it is replacing, but this is more the exception than the rule:

(147) *<u>70 francs</u> ont été <u>coûtés</u> par les billets.

       '70 francs were cost by the tickets.'

(148) * $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{Une tonne}} \text{ était } \underline{\text{pesée}} \\ \underline{\text{Dix kilos}} \text{ étaient } \underline{\text{pesés}} \end{array} \right\}$ par la valise.

      ' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{One ton was weighed} \\ \text{Ten kilos were weighed} \end{array} \right\}$ by the suitcase.'

(149) Les billet <u>coûtaient</u> <u>70 francs</u> chacun.

      'The tickets cost 70 francs each.'

(150) La valise pesait $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{une tonne} \\ \text{Dix kilos} \end{array} \right\}$.

      'The suitcase weighed $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a ton} \\ \text{ten kilos} \end{array} \right\}$.'

(151) Ces billets-là $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{l'}} \quad \text{ont coûté aussi} \\ ??\underline{\text{les}} \text{ ont coûtés aussi} \end{array} \right\}$.

      'Those tickets cost that much too.'

(152) La valise $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ??\underline{\text{la}} \\ \underline{\text{le}} \\ ?\underline{\text{les}} \end{array} \right\}$ pesait bien.

      'The suitcase easily weighed that much.'

Also, the WH-word used instead of a measure-phrase will usually be <u>combien</u> 'how much/many' rather than the Direct Object form <u>que</u>:

(153) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ?\underline{\text{Qu'}} \\ \underline{\text{Combien}} \end{array} \right\}$ ont coûté les billets?

      ' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{What} \\ \text{How much} \end{array} \right\}$ did the tickets cost?'

(154) $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{?Que} \\ \underline{\text{Combien}} \end{Bmatrix}$ pesait la valise?

'$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{What} \\ \text{How much} \end{Bmatrix}$ did the suitcase weigh?'

With respect to participle agreement as well as to clitic agreement, the norm is for the participle not to agree with the measure-phrase even if it or a corresponding clitic precedes that participle. This is also shown in example (151).

The post-verbal measure-phrase found with coûter or peser thus fails to meet the grammatical criteria for Direct Object. So, when we formulate the redundancy rules necessary for passive in terms of Subject and Object, as the evidence from the pseudo-passives suggests that we should do, we then can account for the non-passivization of coûter and peser with our general rule, without any additional reference to semantic roles.

It does not necessarily follow, of course, even if the general required condition for passivization is a syntactic one, that the functions of Subject and Direct or Indirect Object must be mentioned in the rules. One could argue that these syntactic functions are assigned derivatively on the basis of some coding property, that such functions are simply convenient to capture generalizations about a given process across languages or diachronically. However, if we were to assume that the functions of Subject and Direct Object are not primes in the grammar, how could we explain the correlation throughout the history of French between the acceptability of an NP as passive Subject and the acceptability of that same NP as the Direct Object of the verb in question in the active?

While Modern French retains a few irregular verbs such as obéir and se moquer, the far more frequent case is to find the canonical passive of a verb which has ceased to be subcategorized for Object become unacceptable. Brunot and Bruneau (1933) give the following Medieval example:

(155) Ne serai mes ne soupé ne digné. (Charroi de Nîmes, 14th C.)
'I will not any more be supped or dined.'

Dîner and souper were formerly used both transitively and intransitively. Only the second usage remains today, and the two verbs no longer passivize:

(156) *Je ne serai plus ni dîné ni soupé.
'I will not any more be supped or dined.'

However, as I suggested earlier, if we were to assume that Subject and Direct Object were not primitives in the grammar, how could we then account for their being precisely the syntactic notions which emerge as the constants in the passive-active relation, unaffected by all the various changes in their coding properties: word order, case marking, verb agreement?

To speak of the most recent developments, with respect to word order, we saw in chapter 2 that everyday French, as a consequence of the diffusion of pleonastic clitics which is also seen in Spanish, differs critically from the written or careful language as for the position of the Subject in certain sentences, thus:

(157) Ils _avaient_ le choix _les serpents_ en fait de rats, je les

      they had   the choice the snakes   in fact of rats, I   them

        entendais grignoter .les rats tout ce   qui   peut l' être

        heard   munching   the rats all   that which can   it be

        au   mur,   sur le   plancher, tremblants, au   plafond.

        at-the wall, on   the floor,   shaking,   on-the ceiling

          (Céline, 193)

    'The snakes had the choice as to rats, I could hear them, the

      rats, eating everything that can be eaten, on the wall,

      on the floor, shaking, on the ceiling.'

As for case marking, we have already discussed the erosion of
the declension system in the Old French period. Passivization has been
as unaffected by the disappearance of the -_us_ or -_am_ endings (nom masc
sg and fem sg respectively), for instance, as by any of the changes in
word order just described. Nor has the gradual loss of Direct Object
agreement on the participle made any difference in the conditions on
passivization.

    Finally, as I suggested, it would be erroneous to believe that
syntactic functions are _always_ encoded in some regular way. In French,
certainly, while this is generally the case, it is also well-known that,
in earlier stages of the language in particular, the verb often did not
agree with its Subject. This fact, combined with a relatively free word
order, in many cases had the effect that the subjecthood of an NP ended
up not being coded at all. Even today, verb-Subject agreement is some-
times omitted in literature, not to speak of everyday speech:

(158) _Trois generacions_ (f pl) _chei_ (sg), en enfer, et en terre

        aussi. (Graal, 13th C.)

    'Three generations fell, in hell, and on earth also.'

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(159) Parmi Paris en <u>vat</u> (sg) <u>trois paires</u> (f pl). (Rutebeuf, 13th C.)
       'Across Paris go three pairs of them.'

(160) Dans une ville <u>vivait</u> (sg) <u>deux hommes</u> (pl): un riche et un
              pauvre. (Daniel-Rops, 20th C.)
       'In a town lived two men: a rich one and a poor one.'

In (158), the Subject precedes the verb, while in (159), it fol-
lows it, and in neither sentence is the plural number of the Subject
marked on the verb. Nor are the Subject NPs case-marked: they are both
feminine and, in Old French, only masculine retained a nominative versus
oblique contrast. In the Modern French sentence (160), similarly, we
have neither case marking nor Subject-verb agreement, and in addition
the Subject follows the verb, whereas in written French, as we have
seen, it most frequently precedes it.

The same remarks essentially apply to Direct Object. Grevisse
writes about Direct Object agreement that 'les regles actuelles ne se
sont vraiment imposees qu'au XIXe siecle'. Certainly, the modern pre-
scriptive rule, known as Marot's rule, according to which the past
participle used with <u>avoir</u> must agree with a preceding Direct Object
(16th C.) was still largely ignored by the Classical writers:

(161) <u>Toutes les misères</u> (f pl) que durant notre enfance <u>ont</u> (pl)
              enduré (m sg) <u>nos pères</u>)pl). (Corneille, 17th C.)
       'All the miseries that our parents endured during our childhood.'

(162) On ne <u>les</u> (pl) <u>a</u> jamais <u>vu</u> (m sg) assis. (La Bruyère, 17th C.)
       'One has never seen them sitting down.'

(163) <u>Quelle ideé</u> (fsg) <u>a eu</u> (m sg) le patron. (G. Duhamel, 20th C.)
       'What an idea the boss had.'

(164) As-tu <u>vu</u> (m sg) <u>la tête</u> (f sg) qu'il <u>a fait</u> (m sg)? (Proust,
                                                              20th C.)
       'Did you see the face he made?'

In such cases where the coding properties fail, the addressee must in order to identify these syntactic functions, fall back on the inherent meaning of the constituents and on his knowledge of the world.

I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that the use of Subject has become grammaticalized in Modern French. The same remark applies to the Direct and Indirect Object. In Modern French, unlike in Old French, whenever a verb occurs with two Objects, the two must appear in a different form. Brunot and Bruneau (1933) give this example:

(165) Old French

    Et puis se <u>le</u> revesti on <u>le palle</u>. (Constantinople,
    and then then him clothes one the pallium   12th C.)

(166) Modern French

    Et puis alors <u>lui</u> revêtit-on <u>le pallium</u>.
    and then then to-him clothes one the pallium

(165)-(166) 'And then one put on him the pallium.'

In the Old French original, both the person and the garment which is being put on him are appearing in the form of Direct Objects. In the Modern French rendition given by Brunot and Bruneau, the garment is functioning as Direct Object but the person as an Indirect Object. Alternatively, the authors might have chosen to present the person affected as the Direct Object and the pallium as the Indirect Object as in:

(167) Et puis alors <u>le</u> revêtit-on <u>du pallium</u>.
    and then then him clothes one of-the pallium
    'And then one clothed him with the pallium.'

What is crucial now then is that the Objects differ in form from each other. I should point out that revêtir is exceptional in the latitude it gives the language user as to which of the Objects he will encode as Direct and Indirect. Much more usual is the case of apprendre discussed as one of the pseudo-passives. In the 16th century example which was given in (83), and which is reproduced below for convenience, we have the Patient occurring with apprendre in the same sentence once as the Direct Object and once as the Indirect Object:

(168) Qui apprendrait les hommes à mourir leur apprendrait à vivre.
         (Montaigne)
       'Whoever would teach men how to die would be teaching them how
         to live.'

In the Modern French equivalent, the Patient may appear only in the form of Indirect Object:

(169) Qui apprendrait $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} *\underline{les} \\ \underline{aux} \end{array} \right\}$ hommes à mourir $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{leur} \\ *\underline{les} \end{array} \right\}$ apprendrait
       à vivre.
       'Whoever would teach men how to die would be teaching them
         how to live.'

To understand the syntactic contrast between (166) and (167), one must ask what is the pragmatic function of the Direct and of the Indirect Object. I mentioned earlier that the Subject may be characterized generally as the noun phrase which gives the orientation for considering a scene, as suggested by Li and Thompson (1976), Fillmore (1977). According to Fillmore (1977), Subject and Direct Object have the common property of being elements which are put into perspective within the sentence, or, as he calls them, of being the 'nuclear elements of the

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sentence'. The Indirect Object is not included with the Subject and

the Direct Object as nuclear element, and it is not clear what status

it might have for Fillmore. For French, however, the evidence suggests

that we do need to distinguish between the two types of Object syntactic-

ally and also with respect to their role in the sentence.

While it would be difficult to make any generalization with re-

spect to earlier French, for Modern French, the use of Direct and

Indirect Object has become regularized in such a way that we may suggest

that while both Objects are nouns which are brought into perspective

within the sentence as is the Subject, an Indirect Object, in opposition

to a Direct Object with a particular verb, may be considered as being

typically less directly or less completely affected by the realization

of what is expressed by the verb than is a Direct Object.

For verbs which allow the language user a choice as to which

argument may occur as Direct Object and which as Indirect Object, then,

as is the case for revêtir, according to Brunot and Bruneau, we may say

that the argument occurring as Direct Object, le pallium in (130), and

the person that garment is put on in (131), is being given greater

prominence than the argument appearing as Indirect Object.

What does not follow from this is that, although generally a Direct

Object in French more often has the function of Patient than that of

Beneficiary of Experiencer,having an NP occurring in the active as a

Direct Object should generally be interpreted as being more prominent

or more foregrounded than if it were an Indirect Object. The difference

in prominence being discussed here is relevant only to those verbs which

give the speaker a choice as to what type of Object an argument with a

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particular semantic function may appear as. For a great proportion of verbs for a given state of the language, as the diachronic evidence clearly shows, whether a Patient, for instance, may appear as a Direct or rather as an Indirect Object must be specified in the lexical entries.

It is this difference in foregrounding we have been discussing here which is reflected in Relational Grammar by the Accessibility Hierarchy, where Subject, Direct Object and Indirect Object are all classified as 'terms', with Subject and Direct Object being 'nuclear terms' and the Indirect Object a 'non-nuclear term', in opposition to the other nominals in the sentence which are all grouped together as 'non-terms', and where the terms are organized hierarchically in the order they are listed here.

As for the selection of these relational terms generally, for active sentences, we may say, as suggested at the onset of this chapter, that, as was proposed by Tesnière (1959) and Fillmore, once a particular verb has been chosen to depict a given scene or event, this selection is determined by the inherent saliency of the arguments, some elements being more inherently worthy of being put in perspective. As suggested by Fillmore (1977), then, we may assume that "something like a SALIENCY HIERARCHY determines what gets foregrounded, and something like a CASE HIERARCHY determines how the foregrounded nominals are as-signed grammatical functions" (p. 80), within the limits specified above.

At the top of this inherent Saliency Hierarchy is humanness, which we saw is also a feature high on the Natural Topic Scale proposed by

Hyman and Zimmer. And at the top of Fillmore's Case Hierarchy is the Agent, so that the Saliency Hierarchy and the Case Hierarchy are hardly independent from each other.

It is this interconnection which explains why for the majority of verbs it is the Agent which constitutes the unmarked choice for the Subject, that is the choice of Subject associated with the active voice, and, as I suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the passive voice, accordingly, for French, is the form that the verb takes in a sentence when there is marked selection of Subject, and that is to say, when the Subject selected is not the argument most inherently worthy of giving the orientation for viewing the scene depicted by the sentence, and accordingly of being given the most preeminence. In the case of a passive sentence, discourse considerations override the inherent saliency hierarchy and the semantic case hierarchy with the result that a less worthy element is given induced preeminence, induced saliency.

Choosing a noun as Subject, then, is to give it situationally warranted saliency, but so is choosing a noun as Direct Object or as Indirect Object; when the language user selects a verb, he is ipso facto deciding what number of NPs may be brought into perspective, depending on the subcategorization of the verb. It is this bringing a noun into perspective, following the selection of a verb, and hence giving that argument prominence, making it salient within the sentence, or foregrounding it, in other words, which justifies the special status attached to the three terms of Relational Grammar.[9]

If the interpretation of relational terms I am presenting here is correct, it would allow us to explain the correlation across languages

between the selection of passive Subjects and the process known as Dative Movement.

If Subject, Direct Object and Indirect Object all differ with respect to each other in their degree of prominence within the sentence, with Direct Object being an intermediate position, we may consider Dative Movement to be a process which allows the speaker of a language to give _more_ prominence to a certain NP than would be natural, given the choice of the verb, on the basis of its semantic role, and personal passivization as a process which allows a speaker to give the _greatest_ _amount_ of saliency possible within the sentence to an NP other than the one which would naturally receive it on the basis of its semantic role.

For a language to take as passive Subject an NP used in the active as Indirect Object and never as Direct Object with the verb in question would be to allow an extreme increase in saliency while disallowing a moderate one. In other words, the language would be functionally inconsistent.

This would explain why French, for instance, except in a very small number of cases, does not allow as passive Subject of a verb a noun which functions also as its Indirect Object. French does not have a Direct Object creating rule as English does with Dative Movement.

As for the possibility of treating Objects as derived notions, we have seen that the functions of Direct and Indirect Object may not be derived on the basis of meaning, and we cannot either always identify an Object as Direct or Indirect on the basis of its form. Thus, while in Modern French with full NPs the presence or absence of a preposition will unequivocally identify an Object as being Direct or Indirect,

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such a formal distinction is frequently absent with pronouns. This is
the case, for instance, in sentences such as <u>il nous a présentés au</u>
<u>consul</u> 'he presented us to the consul' versus <u>il nous a presenté le</u>
<u>consul</u> 'he presented the consul to us.' The syntactic function of <u>nous</u>
can be determined here only by elimination, because the form of the full
NP Object is unambiguous.

Thus, as Kayne (1975) points out, with conjoined VPs, a pronominal
form ambiguous with respect to case may be used as the Object of the
two (or more) verbs involved with that form being analyzed as having
different values with respect to case in relation to the various verbs.
Consider, for instance, sentence (170)-(172), from Kayne (1975):

(170) Paul <u>l'</u>   a   frappé et <u>lui</u>   a   donné
       Paul him-(acc) has hit   and to-him-(dat) has given
          des coups de pied.
          some kicks
       'Paul has hit him and kicked him.'

(171) Paul <u>nous</u> a frappés et donné des coups de pieds.
       'Paul has hit and kicked us.'

(172) On sait que la police <u>t</u>'a frappé et donné des coups de pied.
       'One knows that the police hit and kicked you.'

Emonds (1975) had suggested that non obligatory clitics in French
should be derived transformationally, so that one would avoid having to
assign case to pronouns. The data discussed in this thesis, however,
has shown that, as suggested for Spanish by Strozer (1976) and Rivas
(1977), it is dubious that a transformational analysis of clitic pro-
nouns based on constituent ordering in some more basic type of sentence,
whether it is phrased in terms of deletion or of movement, could be
shown overall to allow for a simplication of the grammar.

Given, then, that for Modern French the grammar must make refer-
ence to a system in which the three functions of Subject, Direct Object
and Indirect Object must be distinguished, and that these syntactic
functions cannot always be identified derivatively on the basis of
form or meaning, we must conclude that these syntactic functions must
be considered as primitives in the grammar, so that rules to which these
functions are relevant, as is the case with our passive rules, must
refer to them explicitly.

It is for these reasons that the redundancy rules used to account
for the passive-active relation in French have been formulated in terms
of syntactic functions.

As suggested earlier, the reference to Direct Object in the major
passive rule eliminates the need for an additional condition to explain
the non-passivization of verbs like coûter and peser, a fact which is
paralleled in many languages. More specifically related to the history
of French is the fact that the reference in the redundancy rules to
syntactic rather than to semantic functions is consistent with the fact
that changes in the subcategorization of verbs for Object and concomi-
tant changes in passivization have never been limited to instances where
a semantic change also takes place, as would be reasonable to expect if
we were dealing with a rule such as the 'Theme Rule' proposed by Anderson
for instance.

One would need to examine the verbs affected individually to be
able to determine to what extent such syntactic changes are caused by
analogical influences, but, in principle at least, we should expect, in
the absence of a one-to-one correlation between semantic and syntactic

functions in active sentences, that changes in subcategorization might take place because of analogy.

That is precisely what we have now with the ongoing change involving the two verbs meaning 'to remember'. At some earlier time in French se souvenir cam to be used with de with a non-sentential complement, but the form has exactly the same meaning in most constructions as se rappeler which historically has not been used with de, thus generally we find: se souvenir de quelque chose, se rappeler quelque chose 'to remember something'. Now, however, we also often hear in non-careful French se rappeler de quelque chose, again with exactly the same meaning. The directionality of the change, with se rappeler > se rappeler de rather than se souvenir de > se souvenir, might be related to frequency of occurrence. In everyday speech, se rappeler is more often found than se souvenir.

As for why, in French, as in languages where passivization correlates with morphological differences, part of these morphological differences at least are found on the verb, here in the form of an auxiliary with a past participle form, this may be understood if we consider that the passive redundancy rules are statements about correspondences between pairs of sentences relating to how, more specifically from whose perspective, the scene or event being conveyed by the sentences gets presented, and the constituent which embodies that scene or event is precisely the verb.

Another fact which the formulation used here allows us to describe is the restriction in earlier French of the verb s'en aller to the past participles being used with a passive interpretation. This is possible, again, because the passive rules refer to the

feature characterization [+verb, +adjective], which as we saw is distinctive of the passive participles.

Similarly, specifying [+verb, +adjective] in the formulation of the rules allows us to account for the use of <u>beaucoup</u> in passive sentences, as also for the possibility of our finding <u>très</u>, because, again of the hybrid nature of the passive participle.

Before concluding this chapter, it may be useful to stress that, although in order to explain passivization in French satisfactorily one must refer to the syntactic functions of Subject, Direct Object and Indirect as has been done by relational grammarians, and that these syntactic functions indeed are the key notions for describing passivization, we should not conclude from this that the model necessary for French syntax overall is one which would differ from Relational Grammar only in that it would contain redundancy rules instead of transformation-like operations.

We have seen here that we need to refer to the semantic function of the argument in a passive Oblique phrase in order to explain the choice of the preposition. Also, it was suggested in the previous chapters that, for French causative sentences, for instance, one needs a model of grammar which allows syntactic rules to refer simultaneously to syntactic functions and to semantic functions. The fourth and last chapter of this thesis will present the evidence about causatives, diachronic and synchronic, which supports that view.

We are thus in agreement here with Dik (1978) who assigns to each argument of the verb a syntactic and a semantic function, and which allows for the interaction of the distinct levels of functions in the formulation of syntactic rules.

One obvious difference between Dik's proposal about syntactic functions and the one made here is in the actual inventory of these functions, since, as I have shown, for French, one needs to set up as primitives both Direct Object and Indirect Object, whereas Dik recognizes only the first of the two.

To return to passive, that we need to recognize a set of semantic functions in addition to that of syntactic functions is obvious from the fact that while the general conditions for passivization in French must ultimately be stated in terms of syntactic functions, the very selection of the active or of the passive voice depends on the semantic roles of the arguments of the verb.

10. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that apparent contradictions involving cooccurrence of the French passive participle with verbs and with degree adverbs could be resolved by characterizing the passive participle systematically as [+adjective, +verb] and that because of this characterization of the passive principle, it follows, given the restrictions placed on the use of transformations, that all canonical passive sentences in French should be accounted for by means of redundancy rules rather than by transformations. Furthermore, given the current tendency to make transformations as general as possible, using redundancy rules in the manner described here provides an alternative means to show the relations between passive and active sentences compatible with the existence and the development of the pseudo-passives. This is because the passive redundancy rules express a generalization about pairs of sentences but do not make a claim as to how any passive sentence

comes to be part of the grammar output, whereas, given that minor

transformations are not allowed, an analysis using transformations

cannot account for the fact that in a few excpetional cases the dis-

appearance of an active transitive verb form did not cause the disap-

pearance of the corresponding passive.

Finally, I proposed that, given the very frequent changes in the

subcategorization of French verbs for Object, independently of semantic

change, and given the impossibility of systematically deriving the

syntactic function of the various arguments on the basis of coding

properties diachronically and synchronically, the passive redundancy

rules should be formulated so as to refer explicitly to Subject and to

Direct or Indirect Object.

The formulation of the passive rules proposed here for French

thus, like Relational Grammar analyses, is felicitous from a language

use point of view in that it directly reflects the universal tendency

for languages to link the possibility for an NP to be a passive Subject

with a certain verb to its being also allowed to occur as the Direct

Object of that verb, so that an NP, in effect, may be presented as very

salient only if it is also allowed to be presented as moderately salient

with that verb. In other words, our formulation of the French passive

rules clearly reflects the function of voice opposition which is to

allow the language user to vary the saliency of arguments in a sentence.

Footnotes to Chapter 3:

[1]The distinction between personal and impersonal passive described here is consistent with the proposal by Keenan (1975) that what passive rules have in common is not "promotion of a Direct Object to Subject", but rather "demotion of the Subject".

[2]I omit from these rule and the following all variables which are not crucial to the passive/active opposition or simple sentence/ causative sentence opposition, as the case may be. Thus, it is assumed that other rules of the grammar will account for the placement of verb-phrase-internal adverbs.

[3]What I have said about the active participle in Modern French needs to be qualified. Dubois (1967) notes that $\underline{très}$ is encountered with certain active participles:

Il a $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{très} \\ \underline{beaucoup}\end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}aimé \\ apprécié\end{array}\right\}$ ce film.

'He $\left\{\begin{array}{l}liked \\ appreciated\end{array}\right\}$ that movie very much!

The general situation remains that for the great majority of the speakers either of the degree adverbs may occur with the passive participle of some verbs even though in the active they use only $\underline{beaucoup}$ with those same verbs. For those speakers who use $\underline{très}$ with some active participles, the participles will have to be treated as exceptions. It must be pointed out that this usage is found with only a few active participles. A speaker using $\underline{très}$ with $\underline{apprécié}$ and $\underline{aimé}$ would still find it unacceptable in e.g.:

*Il a $\underline{très}$ critiqué le president.
'He criticized the president a lot.'

*Sa remarque m'a $\underline{très}$ vexé.
'His remark hurt me much.'

[4]The use of a verb meaning 'go' as a passive auxiliary goes back to Latin:

Saepe roges aliquid,   saepe repulsus $\underline{eas}$. (Propertius)
often-you-may ask something often turned-down-you-may-go
'If you often ask for something, may you often be turned down.'

This usage is found in other Romance languages beside French:

Italian

La buone usanze $\underline{vanno}$ rispettate.
the good usage goes respected
'Good habits must be respected.'

Spanish

Todo _ira_ perdido.   (Cervantes)
all will go lost
'Everything will be getting lost.'

[5]Some might prefer to call _dessus_ an adverb.   However, Grevisse
(1936) lists it among the prepositions, with _dessous_, _dedans_, and while
it is very often found without a following NP, _dessus_ still is encounter-
ed in constructions such as _dessus la table_, _dessus la place_.

[6]The Japanese data was provided by George Bedell and the Turkish
data by Eser Erguvanli.

[7]A further discussion of this issue is to be found in Bailard
(in progress).

[8]The entries in Table III represent the more frequent usage for
the period in question.   It should not be taken as an indication that
the change is in all cases complete.   It is well-known for instance
that _aider_ still occurs with a dative object in some dialects, in
particular with pronouns, as in _aide-lui donc_!

[9]This is not to say, however, that there is no important difference
between Subject and Object.   Keenan (1976) pointed out that, semantically
for instance, Subjects differ from Objects in that Subjects typically
refer independently, whereas Objects often do not.

Chapter 4

The Faire+Infinitive Construction

0. Introduction

This final chapter of the dissertation consists of a study of the evolution of the form of causative sentences from Latin to Modern French and of proposals for the analysis of Modern French compatible with the historical findings.

The first section of the chapter discusses the passive/active opposition with facio, the consequences of the various changes which took place in Vulgar Latin for the form of active and passive causative sentences in French, and some of the analyses which have been proposed with respect to this opposition in Modern French.

The second section evaluates certain analyses which have been proposed to explain the evolution of the active causative construction with full NPs, and shows that the claim by e.g. Radford (1976) that a Subject to Object reanalysis took place which led to clause union is supported by data provided by Morin and St-Amour (1977). We find that the latter's analysis of causative sentences in terms of "permeability" of the V+infinitive complex in its turn constitutes support for our view that the syntactic reanalysis which took place has its origins in the semantics of the governing verb. An analysis of full NP active causative sentences is proposed in agreement with the historical evidence which shows that causativization is essentially a syntactic-function-dependent phenomenon.

Next the evolution of active causative sentences with clitics is discussed, and this study confirms our earlier findings about the relevance of syntactic functions to causativization, but it shows that in addition some syntactic rules must refer simultaneously to the semantic functions of nominals.

Finally, an analysis of Modern French causative sentences with clitics is given which makes use of the Relational Accessibility Hierarchy, which the historical evidence also provides evidence for, as the underlying principle for the interpretive rules necessary to account for the constraints on the acceptability of causative faire+ infinitive sentences.

1.   The Passive-Active Distinction in Faire+Infinitive Sentences

1.1   Saltarelli and Chamberlain's Passive-to Active Reanalysis

It is a rather widely held assumption that French causative

sentences may receive either an active or a passive interpretation.

Thus, it is said by many linguists that sentences like (1) below are

passive sentences while sentences like (2) are active sentences:

(1) J'ai fait préparer la mayonnaise par Marcel.
     'I had the mayonnaise prepared by Marcel.'

(2) J'ai fait préparer la mayonnaise à Marcel.
     'I had Marcel prepare the mayonnaise.'

In transformational analyses, this assumption has been reflected,

for instance, by having two distinct causative transformations (e.g.

Kayne (1975)) or one causative transformation operating on either an

active or a passive embedded sentence (e.g. Hyman and Zimmer (1976)).

Recently, this interpretation of the construction has been

challenged on diachronic grounds by Saltarelli and Chamberlain

(Saltarelli (1980), Chamberlain and Saltarelli (1982)). They have

argued that faire+infinitive sentences cannot be interpreted as passive.

Saltarelli and Chamberlain's interpretation of the meaning of

the faire+infinitive construction is based on the claim they make that

a reanalysis took place in Vulgar Latin as a result of which the re-

flexes of Latin facio+infinitive could receive only an active reading,

and that faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un, for instance, origin-

ally came from the Latin passive construction with ab aliquo.

Their conclusion was based on two facts: the replacement of

ab+ablative by the dative and the replacement of the Classical Latin

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passive infinitive form by the active one. We shall see, however, that when we evaluate these two changes in the context of the more general changes which were taking place during the period in question, we are led to a conclusion in disagreement with that of Saltarelli and Chamberlain.

The Classical Latin causative construction with <u>facio+infinitive</u> is illustrated in (3) and (4):

(3) ut   <u>pervenire</u> facerent   ad eum <u>clamorem egeni</u>
    Comp reach   they-would-make to him cry (acc) of-the-needy
    'so that they would make the cry of the needy reach him'
         (Cicero, 1st C.B.C.)

(4) <u>quem</u> Plato...in Phaedro <u>laudari</u>   <u>ab Socrate</u> facit
    which Plato...in Phaedrus be-praised by Socrates makes
    'which Plato has praised by Socrates in Phaedrus'
         (Cicero, 1st B.C.)

Example (3) shows a dependent clause with an active infinitive and example (4) a dependent clause with a passive infinitive with <u>ab</u> and the ablative.

Examples of the Vulgar Latin usage are given in (5) through (7):

(5) <u>it</u>   fecisse   <u>vobis</u>   ex   more   conscripse(i)
    this have-made you (dat) from custom be-written-down
    'to have made this be written down by you according to custom'
         (Formulae, 6th C. A.D.)

(6) aperire fecit   <u>filiis</u>   <u>matris</u>   <u>viscera</u>
    open   made (3sg) sons (dat) mother(gen) viscera (acc)
    'he had the mother disembowelled by the sons'
         (Vita Caesari)

(7) filium suum   ...tonsorare facit   (Fredegarius, 7th C.A.D.)
     son(acc) his(acc)...shave   he makes
     'he has his son shaved'

Sentence (5) shows a Vulgar Latin dative replacing the earlier _ab_ phrase together with a form of the verb which is unmistakably passive, while in (6) we have another instance of the dative with an infinitive form which by that time could be either passive or active, but the occurrence of a dative instead of an accusative indicates that the sentence should be interpreted as he had the sons disembowel the mother. With example (7), similarly, the absence of another expressed argument makes a passive reading the only possible one there, despite the -are ending on the infinitive which, as in (6), could by that period be interpreted as passive or as active.

Such examples show that Saltarelli and Chamberlains' claim that the _facio+infinitive_ construction could receive only an active reading is not valid for the period being described here. We shall now see how the situation described above came about.

With respect to the Latin infinitive, I suggested earlier that a number of changes took place during the Vulgar Latin period. One of these changes was a sound change which took place in Late Latin (5th-8th C.) involving the merger of final -i and final -e. It is that sound change which was responsible for the replacement of the Classical passive infinitive by the active for the first, second and fourth conjugation verbs, e.g. _amare_ 'to love', _amari_ 'to be loved' > _amare_ 'to love, to be loved'. That change was followed by the replacement of the passive infinitive by the active also for the third conjugation and the irregular verbs, and it is this second development that

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affected the infinitive which is crucial to Saltarelli and Chamberlain's analysis, since it is that which eliminated the formal active-passive distinction.

One must remember, however, that the Vulgar Latin merger of the passive and active infinitive forms was not the only change to affect the Latin voice system during that period. At that time, the entire medio-passive system was in the process of collapsing. Thus, it is during that period that took place the generalization of the reflexive construction as the mark of the middle voice, e.g. C. L. movebantur > V.L. se movebant 'they moved', and of the periphrastic sum+past participle construction as the mark of the passive, e.g. C.L. amor > V.L. amatus sum 'I am loved'. Additional examples of these changes may be found in Muller and Taylor (1932).

In other words, two existing constructions each took over part of the functions previously associated with another construction. In the context of such instances of semantic shift involving the Late Latin voice system, whereby forms with an original active meaning came to function as passive and middle forms respectively, it is not clear why one should assume that the Classical active infinitive forms with facio could not also come to be interpreted as passive. The change which affected the third conjugation and the irregular verbs would appear to be a simple analogical extension of the change which had affected the other verbs as a result of the general confusion which characterized the Late Latin verb system together with the word-final vowel merger.

Furthermore, for their overall claim to be valid, with respect to the Agent-Phrase, just as in the case of the -re infinitive, Saltarelli and Chamberlain would also have to show that, unlike ab-NP, the dative case in Latin, and later in Romance the preposition a which replaces it, never is interpreted as marking a passive Agent. This is not the case, though.

It was mentioned in the previous chapter that de and par were both frequently used to introduce the passive agent in pre-Classical French, but a has also been used sporadically for that function, thus:

(8) J'aime ma porte aux vents battue. (Hugo, 19th C.)
     'I like my door beaten by the winds.'

(9) Son père, fermier, était riche, ayant épousé la fille de son
        maître un gros propriétaire de l'endroit--séduit aux qualités
        honnêtes et laborieuses du bon serviteur. (Henriot, 20th C.)
     'His father, a farmer, was rich, having married the daughter of
        his master--seduced by the honest and hard-working qualities
        of his good employee.'

A is also frequently used with manger and connaître, as in the following sentences:

(10) Dans une retraite ignorée du monde et connue à ses seuls amis.
        (Voltaire, 18th.)
      'In a retreat unknown to the world and known to his friends only.'

(11) Ce châle était mangé aux mites. (Fr. Mauriac, 20th C.)
      'That shawl was moth-eaten'.

As for Old French, the "dative of agent" can be found not only with causative verbs but also in similar constructions involving a verb of perception, such as:

(12) Dire l' ai   oi   a plusors. (Rou, 12th C.)
      say   it I-have heard to many
      'I have heard it said by many.'

      It is clear, then, that the reflexes of the Latin dative are not
incompatible with the passive agent in French. With respect to passive
causatives more specifically, Harmer (1979) remarked that the construc-
tion with a is one which belongs to the earliest stages of the language.
Thus, beside sentences such as (13) through (15), we also have such
sentences as (16) through (18):

(13) Que par le col le fera   pendre...ou mourir par amis
      that by the neck him will-make hang... or kill   by friends
        prives. (Rose, 13th C.)
        private
      'That he will have him hanged by the neck...or murdered by some
        private friends.'

(14) Et se c'est chose douteuse, fai- le enquerre par saiges gens
      and if it is thing doubtful make it enquire by wise   people
        isnellement et diligenment. (Joinville, 14th C.)
        rapidly   and diligently
      'And if it is a doubtful thing, have it investigated by some
        wise people, rapidly and diligently.'

(15) Et fist li roi de France faire par grant fusion   de
      and made the king of France make by great quantity of
        carpentiers un grant bevfroi a III estages... Entrues que
        carpenters a large belfry at 3   stories   while   that
        on le carpenta et apparilla, on fist par les villains
        one it built   and made-ready one made by the villains
        dou   pays,   amener, aporter et acharyer grant fuison
        of-the country bring   bring   and carry   great quantity
        de bois. (Froissard, 14th C.)
        of wood

'And the king of France had a high belfry of three stories
built... While they were building it and getting it ready, they
had a large quantity of wood brought and carried by the
villains of the country.'

(16) A mil   Franceis funt bien ciercer la vile. (Roland, 11th C.)
      to thousand French   make well search the town
      'They have the town searched carefully by a thousand Frenchmen.'

(17) Je lour   fis dire, a mon Sarrazin, que il me   sembloit
      I to-them made say   to my Saracen   that it to-me seemed
          que ce n' estoit pas bien fait. (Joinville, 14th C.)
          that it NEG was   NEG well done
      'I had it said to them, by my Saracen, that it seemed to me that
          it was not well done.'

(18) Mais bien lui   fis- je bailler tant   de coups de fouet
      but   well to-him made-I give   so-many of lashes of whip
          aux   bourreaux qu' il me   fut dit qu' il en   etait
          to-the executioners that he to-me was said that he of-it was
          mort au   bout de dix ou douze jours apres. (Monluc, 16th)
          dead at-the end of ten or twelve days after
      'But I had him be given so many lashes by the executioners that
          it was said to me that he died from it ten or twelve days
          afterward.'

Sentence (16) might be construed as active instead of passive.
That is to say, it might also be interpreted as 'they have a thousand
Frenchmen search the town'. In (17), however, the punctuation makes
clear that the a phrase here is not to be interpreted as the Subject
of the infinitive, but is rather incidental. In (18), similarly, the
context shows that the a phrase, again, is incidental, just as is
generally the case with the Agent in a simple passive sentence (hence
its frequent optionality cross-linguistically).

In short, when one considers the changes involving the infinitive

and the Agent-Phrase with _facio_, we find that the Latin dative and,

later in Old French, the preposition _a_, which both are found in clauses

with an active interpretation, also occur with the Agent in clauses

having a passive interpretation, and that the Vulgar Latin -(r)e

infinitive, similarly can be interpreted as either active or passive.

Consequently, on the basis of the changes in question, it would appear

that, contrary to Saltarelli and Chamberlain's claim, there is no

reason to assume that a reanalysis took place in Late Latin which would

have had the effect of making an active interpretation the only pos-

sible interpretation of the _faire+infinitive_ construction.   And, indeed,

the ambiguity present at earlier stages of French remains a character-

istic of the construction to this day:

(19)   a-b.   Au dîner, les chefs ont décidé de faire manger

              le missionnaire.

a.   'At dinner, the chiefs decided to make the missionary eat.'

b.   'At dinner, the chiefs decided to have the missionary eaten.'

In example (19), _le missionnaire_ may be interpreted as having

either the semantic function of Agent in relation to the dependent

infinitive or that of Patient, the Agent of the infinitive being in

the second case unexpressed.

It thus appears that the more frequently held view that the

faire+infinitive construction can have two interpretations is war-

ranted, and we shall, consequently, throughout the rest of this

chapter make a distinction between active causative constructions and

passive causative constructions, the first being constructions where

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the argument appearing as an Object or Oblique bears the relation of Agent or Experience to the dependent infinitive, and the second ones where that argument instead bears the relation of Patient to the infinitive. We shall return to this issue of ambiguity at some length in further sections of this chapter.

For convenience, I will at times refer to the Agent of active causatives and the Patient of passive causatives as the Subject of the infinitive, but this should not be taken as an indication that Modern French causative sentences are taken to be bi-clausal. We shall see, that this is indeed one of the aspects in which Modern French differs from Old French.

1.2   The Representation of the Passive-Active Distinction in

        Modern French Faire+Infinitive Sentences

1.2.1   Cannings and Moody's Interpretive Analysis

During the last decade, a great number of studies of French causatives have been presented which approached causativization as a transformational operation, for instance, Kayne (1975), Goldsmith (197), Emonds (197), Quicoli (1980, 1981). A number of objections about certain aspects of transformational analyses of Romance causatives have been raised by, in particular, Strozer (1976), Rivas (1977) and J.-Y. Morin (1978).

Morin's study is concerned primarily with a number of problems which he claims are not compatible with a transformational analysis of French causatives, in particular the one proposed by Kayne (1969, 1975). Morin suggests that many of these problems are of the domain of the interpretive component of the grammar rather than of the syntax. One

study he refers to as providing a partial answer is the interpretive analysis proposed by Cannings and Moody (1978).

We shall return to the specific issues raised by Morin with respect to transformational analyses, as well as to those noted by Strozer and Rivas, in section 4 of this chapter, but, first, we shall address the claims made by Cannings and Moody, since these bear crucially on the passive-active distinction we have been discussing.

Cannings and Moody's analysis may be characterized as an attempt to make use of interpretive rules to constrain the output of the grammar with respect to faire+infinitive sentences, all of which are assumed to be generated by base rules. More precisely, it is an analysis based on the opposition of à and par, which tries to show that general considerations of interpretive coherence will suffice to explain the existing constraints on the distribution of these two prepositions in causative sentences. It will be shown, however, that such an analysis is incompatible with changes which have taken place in the use of à and par historically and that, synchronically as well, it leaves a number of facts unaccounted for.

Our conclusion will be that, while Cannings and Moody are correct in assuming that interpretive factors play a role in determining the form of causative sentences, one nevertheless cannot infer which causative sentences à or par may occur in on the basis of some vague, abstract meaning assigned to a particular preposition which appears compatible with its distribution in the language in general.

Cannings and Moody's general claim is that restrictions on the use of à and par in faire+infinitive sentences can be explained in

terms of "deixis". Deixis, as characterized by them, is a composite

notion which includes orientation in discourse (what Hyman and Zimmer

(1976) refer to as topicality), as well as the orientation which is

implicit in the choice of the labels which they use to characterize the

various thematic relations they make use of.

The key assumption, with respect to the function of prepositions,

is that the meaning of à in Modern French is based on its being in

opposition with par, the two prepositions differing essentially in

terms of orientation. To illustrate this contrast, they give examples

such as (20)-(21):

(20) L'entraîneur fait courir le 100 mètres à son fils (pour que ses
     muscles se developpent bien).
     'The coach has his son run the 100 meters dash (so that his
     muscles would develop properly)'.

(21) L'entraîneur fait courir le 100 mètres par son fils (parce que
     son meilleur coureur s'est tordu la cheville).
     'The coach is having his son run the 100 meter dash (because his
     best runner twisted his ankle)'.

Of their two components of deixis, the one Cannings and Moody

make the most use of is the system of thematic relations. It was men-

tioned earlier that Cannings and Moody's characterization of Theme was

based on that of Gruber and Jackendoff. Cannings and Moody's own

characterization of the three thematic relations which they consider

central to explaining the distribution of à and par, Theme, Goal and

Source, is as follows:

> Our interpretation of "Goal" is a deictic orientation of
> the "Theme" (which may be an object or a situation) toward
> a given object or person which may be translated in spatial
> or more abstract terms. Thus, with verbs of movement, the

spatial progression is toward the object of A...
[i.e. the preposition à]

    With verbs involving a transaction, the Goal is the
recipient, the Theme moving to him/her...

    With verbs of information, the Goal is the addressee,
the Theme, the information conveyed. (p. 334)

The notion of Goal is extended by Cannings and Moody to include

what in Fillmore's terms would be an Experiencer or Beneficiary, as for

instance with verbs conveying punishment or reward. And with respect

to the concept of Source, we are told:

        The deictic opposite of A is DE, which generally signals
    what Gruber calls Source, and this preposition shares with
    PAR the deictic property of orientation away from its object.

As for the Theme, Cannings and Moody suggest that, in the _faire à_

construction, "the Theme is a kind of generic change of which the ob-

ject of A is the Goal" (p. 335), and they assume also, following

Jackendoff, that the Subjects of intransitive verbs are always Themes.

Cannings and Moody themselves, however, note that it is by no means

clear that the theory of thematic relations in its present formulation

could provide the optimal characterization of the semantic relations

holding between elements in causative sentences, and that the precise

delineation of notions such as Goal and Theme becomes highly proble-

matic as soon as one goes beyond the domain of simple verbs of movement.

    With respect to the use of prepositions, while what Cannings

and Moody tell us about the meaning of à, _par_ and _de_ is accurate as

far as it goes, it is not obvious that such generalizations are suf-

ficient to allow us to make predictions as to which sentences à and

par may be acceptable in.

    In relation to the canonical passive, for instance, we saw in

the previous chapter that, for Modern French, we must refer to some fairly specific semantic notions, namely those of Agent and Experiencer, in order to explain the distribution of de and par as the two prepositions introducing the passive Agent-Phrase. Diachronic analysis, similarly, suggests that a much more precise analysis than that made possible by the meaning distinction suggested by Cannings and Moody will be necessary if one wishes to be able to describe accurately certain differences in the use of prepositions which can be observed when one compares two stages of the language a few centuries apart.

No one, I believe, would deny that the meaning of any preposition cannot but be based on its opposition with the other prepositions with which the former enters into a system. Furthermore, the statements about à, de and par which are reproduced above may be said to hold for Late Medieval and Classical French as well as for contemporary French. Yet, we may observe the following contrasts:

Classical French

(22) Cependant par Beaucis le festin se prépare. (La Fontaine, 17th C.)

'Meanwhile the banquet is getting prepared $\begin{Bmatrix} by \\ because\ of \end{Bmatrix}$ Beaucis.'

Modern French

(23) *Pendant ce temps-là le festin se prépare par Beaucis.

'Meanwhile the banquet is getting prepared $\begin{Bmatrix} by \\ because\ of \end{Bmatrix}$ Beaucis.'

Medieval French

(24) Evesque, je meurs par vous (Jeanne d'Arc, 15th C.)

'Bishop, I die because of you.'

Modern French

(25) Evêque, je meurs $\begin{Bmatrix} *par \\ à\ cause\ de \end{Bmatrix}$ vous.

'Bishop, I die because of you.'

Two of the facts which an adequate analysis of the use of prepositions in French should be able to capture, then, are that in Modern French par may not be used to introduce an Agent in just any type of passive sentence as in Classical French but rather only in the canonical passive, and that in Modern French par may not be used to introduce a Cause (?Source) which is animate, as it could in Medieval French, although it still may be used to introduce a non-animate Cause:

Modern French

(26) Elle avait agi par pitié.
      'She had acted out of pity.'

Such differences suggest that, for any stage of the language, in order to enable one to make accurate predictions as to the acceptability of par, it will not suffice to make reference to such a notion as Cannings and Moody's deixis or to appeal to general requirements of semantic coherence at the sentence level. For the cases at hand, rather than relying on some global semantic filters or rules of interpretation, one will have to include in the syntax some fairly specific statements spelling out in which types of sentences par may be used to introduce an Agent or a Cause and, in the latter case, one will have to make reference to animacy in relation to particular constructions.

As for the personal reflexive passive illustrated in (23), one would have to specify that in the Modern French construction the Agent is generally omitted, though when the Agent is generic one may find it introduced by chez generally, a situation quite different from that which prevailed in Classical French, as shown by example (22) and the following:

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Classical French

(27) Le prétérit se conjugue <u>par</u> la plupart de cette sorte
      (Vaugelas, 17th C.)

    'The preterit conjugates itself by most of that type.'
    'The preterit is conjugated by most in that way.'

Modern French

(28) Le passé surcomposé s'emploie beaucoup $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{*par} \\ \hline \text{chez} \end{array}\right\}$ les habitants
      de cette région.

    'The passé surcomposé is much used $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{by} \\ \text{among} \end{array}\right\}$ the people of this
      area.'

With respect to <u>de</u>, according to Cannings and Moody the preposition used to introduce a Source, that preposition also is quite compatible with the function of Agent as it is characterized by them. That their characterization of Agent is consistent with the abstract meaning they posit for <u>de</u> is shown by sentences such as (10).

To return to causatives, then, one must also stipulate with respect to <u>à</u>, <u>par</u> and <u>de</u> that it is <u>par</u> and not <u>à</u> or <u>de</u> which is the norm in passive causative constructions, as well as in active causative constructions with a ditransitive infinitive such as is illustrated in (29):

(29) Elle a fait envoyer une lettre au client $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{par} \\ \text{*de} \\ \text{*à} \end{array}\right\}$ la secrétaire.

    'She had the secretary send a letter to the client.'

With respect to <u>à</u>, the Old French examples (16) through (18) showed that there is no inherent reason either why the dative of Agent should not be used in causative sentences to introduce a passive Agent. Again, for Modern French, that this use of <u>à</u> is unacceptable must be stipulated in the syntax.

Another problem with Cannings and Moody's thematic explanation, as noted by the authors themselves, is their characterization of Goal with respect to sentences such as the following, which they would like their analysis to be able to account for:

(30) Faites goûter le vin à l'esclave (il meurt de soif)
      'Have the slave taste the wine (he is dying of thirst).'

(31) Faites goûter le vin par l'esclave (il se peut qu'on y ait
          mis du poison).
      'Have the wine tasted by the slave (someone may have poisoned it).'

The solution Cannings and Moody propose here is to supplement the interpretation of the problem sentences in terms of their notion of Goal with references to such concepts as "interest", "punishment", "testing", "pleasure".

In other words, the vagueness of the key concepts which they choose leaves them no choice but to reinsert in their analysis in an ad hoc manner the basic distinction Goal/Experiencer/Beneficiary.

Thus, in (29), for instance, au client may be characterized as the Goal, but the use of à in sentences like (30) is more compatible with a Beneficiary or Experiencer interpretation, in contrast with par in (31) which indicates the agentive function of the person.

Furthermore, it has been noted by several linguists, e.g. Kayne (1975), Morin and St-Amour (1977), that, as with the canonical passive, there exist restrictions as to which prepositions may be used to introduce the Agent in a passive causative sentence. Kayne noted that the verbs which occur in the faire...+de NP construction are also verbs which are compatible with a canonical passive with de, which are typically, as we saw, verbs of experiencing. Thus, corresponding to

(32) and (33), we find sentences such as (34) and (35) respectively:

(32) Son beau-frère avait été $\left\{\dfrac{\text{emprisonné}}{\text{interrogé}}\right\}$ $\left\{\dfrac{\text{par}}{\text{*de}}\right\}$ la Gestapo.

 'His brother-in-law had been $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{emprisoned}\\\text{interrogated}\end{array}\right\}$ by the Gestapo.'

(33) Le vieillard était respecté $\left\{\dfrac{\text{de}}{\text{par}}\right\}$ toute sa famille.

 'The old man was respected by all his family.'

(34) Il avait fait $\left\{\dfrac{\text{emprisonner}}{\text{interroger}}\right\}$ son beau-frère $\left\{\dfrac{\text{par}}{\text{*de}}\right\}$ la Gestapo.

 'He had had his brother-in-law $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{emprisoned}\\\text{interrogated}\end{array}\right\}$ by the Gestapo.'

(35) Sa bonté et sa sagesse avaient fait respecter le vieillard $\left\{\dfrac{\text{par}}{\text{de}}\right\}$ toute sa famille.

 'His kindness and his wisdom had made the old man be respected by all his family.'

In short, with respect to par and de, the use of prepositions in causative sentences is quite consistent with out findings relative to passive which suggested that, to be able to describe accurately the use of these prepositions, one needs to distinguish between Agent and Experiencer. Sentences (34)-(35) show that the same difference is pertinent to passive causative sentences.

On the basis of the distribution of à, par and de in causative sentences, then, we must conclude that the inventory of semantic functions which must be distinguished for French must include at least the following: Agent, Experiencer, Beneficiary and Goal—in addition to Patient which typically in causative sentences takes the form of a Direct Object. (We shall see in section 3 that the distinction Patient/Experiencer is also crucial in explaining the use of clitic case marking in active causative sentences.)

Furthermore, with respect to the opposition of à and par, the diachronic evidence shows that, contrary to Cannings and Moody's suggestion, for a given state of the language, in order to describe accurately the distribution of these two prepositions in causative sentences, one cannot simply rely on general principles of semantic coherence in agreement with some vague underspecified meanings assigned to the prepositions in question. Rather, one must stipulate as part of the grammar how each of the two prepositions may be used in that type of sentence.

We shall now turn to the formulation of the rules necessary to describe the passive/active contrast in Modern French, beginning with Hyman and Zimmer's proposal.

1.2.2 Hyman and Zimmer's Analysis of the A/Par Contrast

It was mentioned earlier that Hyman and Zimmer (1976) had suggested that the use of à and par in Modern French causative sentences could be accounted for by having one transformation taking as its input either an active or a passive sentence. The contrast between their examples which are given here in (36) and (37), for instance would be due to the difference in deep structure shown in (38)-(39):

(36) J'ai fait nettoyer les toilettes au général.
     'I had the general clean the toilets.'

(37) J'ai fait nettoyer les toilettes par le général.
     'I had the toilets cleaned by the general.'

(38) J'ai fait   S
     le général nettoyer les toilettes

(39) J'ai fait   S
     le toilettes être nettoyées par le général
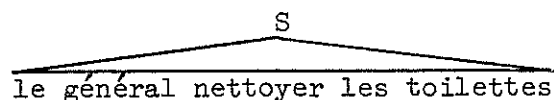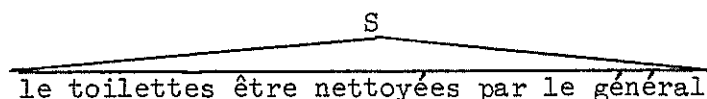
Hyman and Zimmer's analysis is of interest here because of the differences which they suggest with respect to the role of syntax in contrast with Cannings and Moody although they hold very similar views on the meaning of à and par in causative sentences.

Hyman and Zimmer agree with Cannings and Moody that the use of à and par in that type of sentence reflects a difference in orientation. They differ from Cannings and Moody, however, as to which particular aspects of orientation are the relevant ones. More specifically, where Cannings and Moody viewed as crucial the kind of orientation which is explicit in the names given to the various thematic functions, Hyman and Zimmer focused on the other component of Cannings and Moody's notion of deixis, namely orientation in discourse, or topicality.

With respect to topicality, we mentioned in relation to passive that Hyman and Zimmer had proposed a 'Natural Topic Scale'. However, it was from their interest in causative rather than in ordinary passive sentences that their proposal originated, and more precisely from their observations about some restrictions on the use of à and par with faire+infinitive.

Their interpretation of sentences (36) and (37) is that in (36) the higher Agent did something to the general, i.e. it is important that the general do the toilet-cleaning, whereas in (37) the general is more incidental to the task, and what is important there is that the toilet-cleaning be done (by someone). In other words, among the arguments of the infinitive, le général is more topical in (36) than in (37) and les toilettes is more topical in (37) than in (36).

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It is because of this similarity in signaling a difference in orientation which is also found with the passive-active opposition in ordinary sentences that Hyman and Zimmer proposed including in the deep structure of (36) an embedded active sentence and a passive one in the deep structure of (37). Among the differences in acceptability which Hyman and Zimmer's interpretation of the à/par contrast allows us to account for are the following:

(40) J'ai fait battre $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{un oeuf} \\ \text{l'oeuf} \end{Bmatrix}$ à Maurice.

     'I had Maurice beat $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{an egg} \\ \text{the egg} \end{Bmatrix}$.

(41) J'ai fait battre $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{un oeuf} \\ \text{l'oeuf} \end{Bmatrix}$ par Maurice.

     'I had $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{an egg} \\ \text{the egg} \end{Bmatrix}$ beaten by Maurice.'

(42) ?J'ai fait battre un flic à Maurice.

     'I had Maurice beat a cop.'

(43) J'ai fait battre un flic par Maurice.

     'I had a cop beaten by Maurice.'

(44) ??J'ai fait battre le flic à Maurice.

     'I had Maurice beat the cop.'

(45) J'ai fait battre le flic par Maurice.

     'I had the cop beaten by Maurice.'

Hyman and Zimmer observe that the unnaturalness of sentences (42) and (44) is due to the inherent topicworthiness of the human noun appearing as a Direct Object, a syntactic function, which as we saw earlier is associated with prominence for the NP in question within the sentence, and which conflicts with à Maurice since, in opposition with par, in causative sentences, à indicates that an NP is topical.

As for the more pronounced unacceptability of (44) in relation to

(42), this is due to the fact that definiteness makes the human Patient even more topicworthy. No such conflict exists with respect to topicality in the _par_ sentences corresponding to (42) and (44), since the _par_ NP phrase presents the Agent of the infinitive as incidental to the task described by the infinitive.

Furthermore, as we observed in relation to passivization, Hyman and Zimmer found that the person of the human Patient also is pertinent to the acceptability of _à_ in the active causative construction.

We saw that in French with the canonical passive there is a restriction against the cooccurrence of a [+human, +3rd person] Patient with a [-3rd person] Agent. With causatives, Hyman and Zimmer noted the following contrast:

(46) ?*Il $\left\{\begin{array}{c} m' \\ t' \end{array}\right\}$ a fait battre _à_ Maurice.

'He had Maurice beat $\left\{\begin{array}{c} me \\ you \end{array}\right\}$.

(47) Il $\left\{\begin{array}{c} me \\ te \end{array}\right\}$ fera battre _par_ Maurice.

'He will have $\left\{\begin{array}{c} me \\ you \end{array}\right\}$ beaten by Maurice.'

As Hyman and Zimmer note, _me_ and _te_, which represent the speaker and the hearer, are likely to be topical in any discourse. With respect to sentences such as (46)-(47), my or your getting beaten is more topicworthy, i.e., more likely to be in the mind of the speakers, then is the fact that Maurice did the beating, hence the unacceptability of (46) which, in opposition with (47), presentes Maurice as topical.

Hyman and Zimmer's interpretation of such restrictions as we have just been discussing was that (contrary to what is assumed in Cannings and Moody's interpretive analysis) French speakers are no

longer free to imagine the appropriate situation, but rather are constrained by the syntax of their language, which is the assumption underlying all transformational analyses of causatives.

In conclusion, Hyman and Zimmer showed that the use of à and par with faire+infinitive is constrained by the particular interpretation which is associated with these two prepositions as determined by the pertinent rules of French syntax. It is these rules particular to à and par in causative sentences which together with the Natural Topic Scale, which is itself not part of French grammar, determine the unacceptability of such sentences as (42), (44) and (46). We shall return presently to the question of how the differences in interpretation discussed here might best be integrated in a more general account of causativization in Modern French.

1.2.3 The Arguments for a Transformational Analysis of French Causatives

It was mentioned that the transformational analysis proposed by Kayne (1975) differed from that of Hyman and Zimmer in that he postulated two causative transformations. Kayne's study of French has become known as one of the most important works with respect to the development of the transformational model as applied to Romance. With respect to causatives, it is on his analysis that most other transformational analyses have been based, and it is also in relation to his analysis that arguments against a transformational treatment of causativization have been developed.

We shall now review briefly Kayne's analysis as well as some of the arguments in support of it and against it.

Kayne's two rules for faire+infinitive sentences with à and par
were as follows:

(48) FI/A-Ins

X - faire - NP _ V <NP> Y

$$\rightarrow \quad 1\ 2\ 4\ 5\ <à>\ 3\ 6$$

1   2   3   4   5   6

(49) FP

X - faire - NP - V - Y par Δ Z

$$\rightarrow \quad 1\ 2\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 3\ 8$$

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

The formula in (48) is actually an abbreviation for three rules,
two of which make up Faire-Infinitive (FI), and A-Insertion (A-Ins),
and the rules were proposed to generate sentences such as (19) and
(36). The rule given in (49), Faire-Par (FP) was given by Kayne to
account for the formation of sentences such as (37):

(19) a-b.   Au dîner, les chefs ont décidé de faire manger le missionaire.
     a.   'At dinner, the chiefs decided to make the missionary eat.'
     b.   'At dinner, the chiefs decided to have the missionary eaten.'

(36)   J'ai fait nettoyer les toilettes au général.
     'I had the general clean the toilets'

(37)   J'ai fait nettoyer les toilettes par le général.
     'I had the toilets cleaned by the general.'

Much of the appeal of Kayne's transformational treatment of
causatives was that it appeared to present a simple and elegant solu-
tion to a number of problems which had previously not been shown to be
related. In particular, it allowed (in conjunction with the Clitic-
Placement transformation postulated by Kayne) to account not only for

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<u>faire+infinitive</u> sentences with full NPs but also for those containing

Object clitics.

With respect to clitics, though, Strozer (1976) and Rivas (1977)

proposed that in Romance these should be generated by base rules rather

than by a transformation. Rivas noted that Kayne's analysis of French

rejected the generation of clitics in preverbal position without the

generation of coreferential NPs on empirical grounds, and argued for

the superiority of his Clitic placement analysis over base-generating

clitics in preverbal position together with coreferential NPs on formal

grounds.

The arguments given by Kayne, as summarized by Rivas, in favor

of CL-placement and against the generation of clitics by phrase-

structure rules were as follows:

i) Clitic base generation would involve a considerable extension of

the phrase structure rules, without a corresponding simplifica-

tion of the transformational component.

ii) Clitic base generation would require a complicated filter device

to exclude surface pairs of clitics with coreferential NPs.

iii) Unless a lexical redundancy rule were introduced, one would

also generate sentences like *<u>Marie nous part</u> 'Marie departs us',

*<u>Marie leur aime</u> 'Marie loves to them'.

Rivas, though, pointed out that the extension of the phrase-

structure rules is not considerable since the only rule necessary is

the one which generates the clitics attached to the verb, and that,

since there are cases where clitics could not have an NP origin, such

a rule is necessary in any case. He gave the following examples for

Spanish:

(50) Me le$_i$ escribiste una carta a María$_i$.
      'You wrote a letter to Maria for me.'

(51) *Me$_i$ le escribite una carta a mí.
      'You wrote a letter to her for me.'

In French, similarly, in certain dialects, we find sentences such as the following:

(52) Je vais te   le lui   faire payer.
      I   go   for-you it to-him make   pay
      'I am going to make him pay for it (you'll see).'

In (52), lui represents the Goal of the intended action, while te here is the so-called 'dative of interest'. As in (51), the corresponding sentence with a 'strong pronoun' form is unacceptable:

(53) *Je vais   le lui faire payer à toi.
      'I am going to make him pay for it (you'll see).'

Furthermore, as Rivas noted, there exist situations in Romance in which a clitic and a coreferential noun coexist, so that we need to account for the following three possibilities: only clitic, only NP, or both. The type of sentence Rivas was discussing was illustrated for French in chapter 2 with examples such as the following:

(54) Elle$_{i,j}$ l'$_{i,j}$ aimait bien Marie$_{i,j}$ sa mère$_{i, j}$.
      'Marie liked her mother.'
      'Her mother liked Marie.'

As for the subcategorization problem, Rivas pointed out that the same subcategorization and agreement rules which will exclude sentences like *Marie aime à tous les hommes 'Marie loves to all the men' and *Marie part tous les hommes 'Marie departs all men' will also exclude

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sentences like *Marie leur aime and *Marie nous part.

To sum up, whatever advantages might have been derived with re-
spect to providing striking and elegant results, as claimed by Kayne,
in that a set of rich and superficially complex data would follow
simply from the application of the causative transformations and of the
Clitic-Placement transformation in accordance with the "principle of
the transformational cycle" disappeared once it became clear that there
was little independent justification for positing a Clitic-Placement
transformation in the first place, and a number of problems with doing
so.

With respect to full NP causative sentences, similarly, some
observations made by Morin (1978) suggest that the apparent simplicity
of Kayne's transformational analysis may be deceptive. Morin's main
point is that, as given, Kayne's transformational rules may account
only for a portion of all V+infinitive sentences with full NPs.

First, about the transformation reproduced here in (48), Kayne
himself noted that it is actually an abbreviation for three distinct
transformations. A-Ins, which is ordered by Kayne to apply after FI,
has this form in isolation:

(55) A-Ins

X - faire - V - NP - NP - Y
$$\rightarrow \quad 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ \grave{a} \ 5 \ 6$$
1   2   3   4   5   6

A-Ins was intended to apply in the derivation of sentences such
as Jean fait boire un peu de vin a son enfant 'Jean has his child drink
a little wine', after FI would have applied to yield Jean - fait -
boire - un peu de vin - son enfant.

FI itself is an abbreviation for the two following rules:

(56) X - faire - NP - V - NP - Y

$$\rightarrow 1\ 2\ 4\ 5\ 3\ 6$$

    1   2   3   4   5   6

(57) X - faire - NP - V - Y

$$\rightarrow 1\ 2\ 4\ 3\ 6$$

    1   2   3   4   6

The rule in (56) would be involved in the derivation of sentences like <u>Jean fait boire un peu de vin à son enfant</u>, while (57) would yield sentences like <u>Marie a fait pleurer son enfant</u> 'Marie made her child cry'.

Note that the various rules given here in (55) through (57) are all necessary in order to account for the causative sentences with <u>faire+infinitive</u> alone.

As Kayne observed, the second term of both FI and A-Ins would have to be modified in some way if sentences comparable to the two above but with <u>laisser</u> instead of <u>faire</u> are to be generated. This is because in Kayne's analysis FI and A-Ins are obligatory with <u>faire</u> but may also apply optionally with <u>laisser</u> and other verbs, as shown by (60)-(61) as opposed to (58)-(59):

(58) Max a laissé manger <u>la tarte</u> <u>à Marie</u>.
     'Max let Marie eat the pie.'

(59) Il avait entendu dire <u>cela</u> <u>à un de ses amis</u>.
     'He had heard a friend of his say that.'

(60) Max a laissé <u>Marie</u> manger <u>la tarte</u>.
     'Max let Marie eat the pie.'

(61) Il avait entendu <u>un de ses amis</u> dire <u>le contraire</u>.
     'He had heard a friend of his say the opposite.'

(62)

$$\text{Max a} \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{laissé} \\ \text{vu} \\ \text{entendu} \\ \text{regardé} \\ \text{écouté}\end{array}\right\} \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{manger } \underline{\text{Marie}} \\ \underline{\text{Marie}} \text{ manger}\end{array}\right\}.$$

$$\text{'Max} \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{let} \\ \text{saw} \\ \text{heard} \\ \text{watched} \\ \text{listened to}\end{array}\right\} \text{Marie eat.'}$$

Kayne's solution was to use <u>faire</u> in the rules in question as an abbreviation for a list of verbs including <u>faire</u>, <u>laisser</u>, <u>voir</u>, <u>entendre</u>, <u>regarder</u> and <u>écouter</u>. One alternative he rejected would have involved supplementing V by some syntactic feature(s) capable of distinguishing the verbs subject to FI from those which were not.

Morin, however, showed that Kayne's approach to the problem just discussed is not adequate for all the verbs at issue. Morin based his objections on the following contrast:

(63)

$$\text{Max a} \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{vu} \\ \text{entendu} \\ \text{regardé} \\ \text{écouté}\end{array}\right\} \underline{\text{Marie}} \text{ manger } \underline{\text{la tarte}}.$$

$$\text{'Max} \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{saw} \\ \text{heard} \\ \text{watched} \\ \text{listened to}\end{array}\right\} \text{Marie eat the pie.'}$$

(64)

$$\text{*Max a} \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{vu} \\ \text{entendu} \\ \text{regardé} \\ \text{écouté}\end{array}\right\} \text{manger } \underline{\text{la tarte}} \underline{\text{à Marie}}.$$

$$\text{'Max} \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{saw} \\ \text{heard} \\ \text{watched} \\ \text{listened to}\end{array}\right\} \text{Marie eat the pie.'}$$

While the verbs of perception behave like <u>laisser</u> when they are occurring with an infinitive without a Patient which takes the form of

a Direct Object, such as pseudo-intransitive _manger_ in (62), when the infinitive has its Direct Object following it, the Agent of that infinitive cannot take the form of an $\grave{a}$-NP phrase and follow that verb.

As a consequence, Morin suggested, to be descriptively accurate, Kayne's FI rule would have to be amended as follows:

(65) FI

$$X \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +FI \\ <-PERCEPTION> \end{bmatrix} \quad NP \quad V \quad NP \quad Y$$

$$\rightarrow \quad 1 \; 2{+}4{+}5 \quad <\grave{a}> \quad // \; 3 \; \emptyset \; \emptyset \; 6$$

$$1 \qquad 2 \qquad\qquad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6$$

In other words, the FI transformation would have to have two rule features, a syntactic one and a semantic one.

The fact that the example in (59), from Kayne is acceptable where other similar sentences with verbs of perception are not might be due to the particular infinitive used. _Entendre dire_, like the English 'hearsay' often functions as a single lexical item; another, perhaps preferable, translation for (59) might be 'I heard it from a friend'.

Note, furthermore, that the transformations discussed here were proposed for sentences having at most two NPs after the infinitive. Nothing was said about sentences taking a _par_-NP phrase in addition to $\grave{a}$-NP.

This type of sentence could be taken care of, as was the occurrence of $\grave{a}$, by making use of pairs of angled brackets. The point is that a transformational analysis of full NP _V+infinitive_ sentences, like any other type of analysis, if it is to be adequate for more than _faire+infinitive_ sentences with at most two NPs after the infinitive, would have to involve several rules, some of which at least would have

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to contain semantic and syntactic rule features.

This is in addition to the fact that, as we saw, given the distribution of clitic in French as in some other Romance languages where we find that we need phrase-structure rules which can describe sentences showing a verb with a clitic alone, or with a noun alone, or yet a verb with a clitic and a coreferential noun, an anlysis which relies on the interaction of causative transformations with a Clitic-Placement transformation offers no inherent advantage with respect to describing correspondences between any V+infinitive sentence with Object clitic and the related V+infinitive sentence with full NPs.

1.2.4 A Non Transformational Representation of the A/Par Contrast

Morin's conclusion from his observations about V+infinitive sentences in relation to Kayne's proposal was that a transformational treatment was both ad-hoc and without generality, so that the phenomena in question should instead be dealt with in the lexical and interpretive components, with rules of interpretation functioning as well-formedness conditions.

With respect to the descriptive adequacy of rules of interpretation, we saw in the first part of this chapter that the type of interpretive analysis proposed by Cannings and Moody, for instance, based on some abstract meaning assigned to à and par was unable to predict when these two prepositions might be acceptable even with faire alone, not to speak of the other verbs which appear in the structure V-infinitive-NP-à/par NP.

Morin's proposal would involve instead having a number of rules of the following form in the interpretive component:

(66)
$$NP \rightarrow [ft_1, (V)] \Big/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} faire \\ laisser \end{array} \right\} \quad V \quad X \quad (à) \quad \underline{\quad}$$

(67)
$$NP \rightarrow [ft_1, (V)] \Big/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} voir \\ entendre \\ écouter \\ \ldots\ldots \end{array} \right\} \quad V \quad \underline{\quad}$$

(68)
$$NP \rightarrow [ft_1, (V)] \Big/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} faire \\ laisser \\ voir \\ entendre \\ écouter \\ être \end{array} \right\} \quad V \quad X \quad par \quad \underline{\quad}$$

The feature complex $[ft_1, (V)]$ indicates that the NP occurring in the structural environment described in the rules holds the highest thematic relation ('fonction thématique') in the array for which the infinitive is subcategorized. (<u>Etre</u> here shows that Morin intends the same rule of interpretation to describe the function of <u>par</u> in ordinary passive and in causative sentences.)

The fundamental problem here, as with Cannings and Moody's proposal is that, as we showed in chapter three, one cannot predict what syntactic function an argument of a verb will have on the basis of its semantic function in relation to the particular verb, but the key factor which determines in what form a full NP Agent of an infinitive in a causative sentence will appear is precisely the subcategorization of that infinitive for Object. This is what is suggested by the contrast in the form of the dependent Agent in, for instance, <u>faire pleurer son enfant (DO)</u> 'to make one's child cry' versus <u>faire boire du vin à son enfant (IO)</u> 'to make one's child drink some wine', and we shall return to this characteristic of French causatives at some length.

The other aspect of Morin's analysis which must be considered is what function he assigns to the lexicon.

In recent transformational analyses as in non-transformational analyses, there are a number of phenomena which are now treated as lexical where earlier they were considered to be syntactic. Thus, regardless of whether one adheres to the transformational model or to some lexicalist alternative, lexical subcategorization might be used to block the formation of sentences such as the ones in (64).

Assuming that lexical subcategorization refers to syntactic functions as argued in chapter 2, this can be accomplished by differentiating the lexical entries for verbs like _voir_ as opposed to _laisser_ and _faire_ as follows:

(69) faire: +____ V   NP .   (à NP)   ($\begin{Bmatrix} par \\ de \end{Bmatrix} \begin{matrix} NP \\ [+Obl] \end{matrix}$)
                  [+inf][+DO]   [+IO]

      laisser: +____ $\begin{Bmatrix} \begin{matrix} V & NP & (à & NP) & (par\ NP) \\ [+inf] & [+DO] & & [+IO] \end{matrix} \\ \begin{matrix} NP & V & (NP) & (à & NP) \\ [+DO] & [+inf] & [+DO] & & [+IO] \end{matrix} \end{Bmatrix}$

      voir: + ____ $\begin{Bmatrix} \begin{matrix} V & NP & (à & NP) & (par\ NP) \\ [+inf] & [+DO] & \begin{bmatrix} +IO \\ -Agent \end{bmatrix} & \end{matrix} \\ \begin{matrix} NP & V & (NP) & (à & NP) \\ [+DO] & [+inf] & [+DO] & \begin{bmatrix} +IO \\ -Agent \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \end{Bmatrix}$

In addition, while transformations as currently used do not appear appropriate to describe the complexity of causative sentences, as with passive, one would like an alternative analysis to be able, among other things, to provide a description of the various correspondences, syntactic as well as semantic, which hold between various subtypes of causative sentences and related simple sentences, a goal which had been

the primary motivation behind transformational analyses, and relational analyses as well.

With respect to the first issue, it was precisely that which Morin suggested could be solved by modifying Kayne's set of transformations as in (65). This revised version of Kayne's analysis which Morin rejected in favor of his lexical interpretive analysis, like the transformation which might be used to describe the restrictions on the use of de as an alternative to par in the passive, would be incompatible with the view of transformations incorporated in EST and in the GB framework on two grounds. The semantic rule feature in (65) is incompatible with the assumption that syntax is autonomous from semantics. Also it is like the syntactic rule feature, in contradiction with the trend to make transformations maximally general which had led to the currently accepted Move-α formulation.

As with passivization, it does not, however, follow from the restrictions which have been placed on the descriptive power of transformations that the lexicon or the interpretive component is necessarily more appropriate to account for certain aspects of causativization.

The empirical problems associated with the interpretive part of the analysis Morin proposed have been pointed out. We shall see that rules of interpretation may be used to constrain the output of the phrase-structure rules, but such rules, to be adequate here, will have to take into account subcategorization of the infinitive for syntactic functions, rather than to refer to linear order as was done by Morin, as well as, in certain cases, to subcategorization of the infinitive for semantic functions. Before this, though, it may bear repeating briefly

what are the arguments against trying to describe the relations between
simple and causitive sentences in the lexical component.

The decision as to whether the rules escribing the correspond-
ences we are interested in should be assigned to the lexical or to the
syntactic component depends entirely on how we view the respective role
of these two components, and we are assuming here that while the lexi-
con should not be viewed simply as the repository of idiosyncrasies,
the part of the grammar which is concerned with the interaction of
words within sentences is the syntax, according to the traditional
view.

Consequently, there is no reason to assume that, for regular
French causative sentences, lexical rules are of more than limited
relevance. What lexical rules will be required to do here, as explained
in chapter 2, is to describe the formation of infinitives, in the same
manner that lexical rules are necessary to describe the formation of
passive participles.

Given the current view of the lexicon in the lexicalist frame-
work as well as in GB, one might develop a notational variant of Kayne's
proposal in agreement with the expanded use of word formation rules,
which have succeeded lexical redundancy rules in recent lexicalist
treatments of passivization and causativization, e.g. Bresnan (1981),
Farmer (1980), Miyagawa (1981). But with causative as with regular
passive sentences, it is unclear why postulating such word formation
rules should be held superior as an explanation to having certain con-
ditions on transformations.

Inasmuch as we retain the traditional notion of a word, as opposed

to the more recent notion which allows such strings as <u>give John</u> to be called words, as pointed out in chapter 2, there exist serious problems with assuming that <u>faire+infinitive</u> might constitue a word, and no motivation   for such an assumption in the first place.

Given this traditional division of the syntax and the lexicon, in short, as far as describing relations between the form of causative sentences and simple sentences is concerned, arguments in favor of a lexicalist as opposed to a syntactic, though not necessarily transformational, analysis disappear.

We have discussed here a number of facts which apparently could not be described in a transformational analysis in a non ad-hoc manner. More crucially, though, nothing was said so far about how a transformational analysis might be brought to shed some light on syntactic change. The reason is that it is not clear that that approach might be of any value for explaining the sequence of changes which have taken place in the form of causative sentences from Latin to Modern French.

It will be argued in the following section of this chapter that, as was claimed by Radford (1976, 1978), those changes in the form of causative sentences which have led to the present state of affairs cannot be shown to be related if causativization is approached as a structure-related as opposed to a syntactic function-related phenomenon. We shall see that for full NP sentences at least the diachronic as well as the synchronic facts all can be explained if instead causativization, like passivization, is viewed in terms of syntactic functions.

For this reason, we shall describe the relations holding between simple ordinary active or passive sentences and corresponding causative sentences, all of which are taken to be base-generated, by means of syntactic redundancy rules such as the following:

(70) CAUSATIVE RULE I

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
x & X & y \\
\begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Su\end{bmatrix} & [+V] & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+DO\end{bmatrix} \\
& & \\
S & &
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
w & FAIRE & X'' & y & \left\{ \begin{matrix} à & x & (i)\\ & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+IO\end{bmatrix} & \\ \left(par & x \right) & (ii)\\ & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Obl\end{bmatrix} & \end{matrix} \right. \\
\begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Su\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+V\\+Inf\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+DO\end{bmatrix} & \\
& & & & \\
S & & & &
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Where X and X'' represent an active finite form and the infinitive of a verb, respectively.

The rule in (70) will describe the relations between such sentences as (71) below and (36)-(37):

(71) Le général a nettoyé les toilettes.
      'The general cleaned the toilets.'

The rule in (70) is different from what Hyman and Zimmer were proposing to do by positing such deep structures as the ones in (36) and (37) in that it does not relate the use of à with the Agent of the infinitive in the causative sentence and the active voice in a corresponding sentence, on the one hand, and the use of par with the dependent Agent of the causative sentence with passive in the simple sentence.

What such a rule does show, unlike any transformational analysis, or the alternatives proposed by Cannings and Moody or Morin, is that causativization is a syntactic-function based phenomenon.

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The difference in interpretation may be described by means of an interpretive rule such as (72), which will serve as a well-formedness condition to ensure that the Agent gets assigned the proper syntactic function, together with the information included in the lexical entries for the prepositions in question:

(72) INTERPRETIVE RULE I

In a full NP FAIRE+infinitive sentence with a transitive direct infinitive, interpret an NP as Agent of the infinitive iff it is an Indirect Object or an Oblique.

That not any preposition might occur with a passive Agent will be accounted for by the specifications to that effect given in the lexical entry for _faire_.

As for the difference in interpretation which is associated with the choice of _par_ as opposed to _à_, we may assume as was mentioned in the previous chapter that this will follow from the lexical entry provided for _par_, which will have to specify, among other facts, that one of the functions of that preposition is to introduce a passive Agent, that is to say an Agent which is not being given the prominence which is associated with that type of argument in the unmarked case.

As given, the rule in (70) is adequate only for full NP causative sentences with _faire_ and a direct transitive infinitive. The rule will obviously have to be modified, or additional rules provided, to accommodate as well sentences having a dependent verb with a different subcategorization for Object. We shall see, furthermore, that with Object clitics, semantic functions as well as syntactic functions must in certain cases be referred to.

Before attempting to resolve these various issues, though, we shall first show what the evidence is which leads one to conclude that causativization is fundamentally a syntactic-function based phenomenon.

2.   The Active Causative Construction

2.1   The Evolution of the Active Causative Construction

2.1.1 Radford's Relational Interpretation of Romance Causatives

It was mentioned in chapter 1 that the Government Binding model as set forth in Chomsky (1981) precludes the possibility of Subject to Object Raising, a position which is at odds with a number of analyses which have been proposed for French causatives. In this second section of chapter 4, we shall first consider the historical 'Clause Union' analysis offered by Radford (1976), who, I believe, makes the strongest case that Subject to Object Raising is a necessary type of rule on the basis of data from Romance.

The aim of Radford's proposal about the evolution of the causative construction was to show the superiority of Relational Grammar over Transformational Grammar. His thesis was that it is only if they are considered from a relational point of view that the various stages which can be identified in the history of Romance causatives can be shown to be related. According to him, all the syntactic changes which took place may be interpreted as progress from an obviously bi-clausal construction to a structure involving Clause Union, and, consequently, Radford argues, a structure-based model such as the transformational one offers no explanation for the sequence of events which comprises such apparently unrelated changes as the replacement of the Latin subjunctive by the infinitive+accusative construction and the replacement

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of that construction in turn by the <u>infinitive+dative</u>.

The Latin <u>infinitive+accusative</u> construction was illustrated in examples such as (3) in the previous section of this chapter. The other Latin active causative construction which Radford was interested in is illustrated below:

(73) <u>Faciam</u>, <u>ut</u>   ejus   diei   locique   meique
      may-I-do COMP this- gen day- gen place- gen -and mine- gen -and
          semper <u>meminerit</u>.   (Plautus, 3rd C.B.C.)
       always   remember-pres perf subj 3rd
      'May I act in such a way that this day and place and me will
          always be remembered.'

(74) Non potuisti   nullo modo <u>facere</u>, <u>ut</u>   mihi   illam
      NEG you-could-have in-no way do   COMP me- dat   that- acc
          epistolam   non <u>mitteres</u>.   (Cicero, 1st C.B.C.)
       letter- acc   NEG you-might-send- imperf subj
      'You could not in any way have acted so that you could not send
          me that letter.'

In sentences (73) and (74), which belong to Early and Classical Latin, respectively, we find the sentential Object of <u>facio</u> taking the form of a finite tensed clause, in the present perfect subjunctive in the case of (73) and in the imperfect subjunctive in the case of (74). Both <u>ut</u> clauses also show, as is the norm, Verb-Subject agreement, in each case with a non-expressed Subject, which, given the use of null anaphora in Latin grammar in general, one may infer would have been nominative pronouns if they were overt.

The various properties of the Object clauses just described mark them as relatively independent syntactically from the matrix clauses, in contrast to the Object clause found in (3), which no longer

exhibits a finite verb and where the Agent of the dependent verb appears as the Object of the higher verb.

Radford's suggestion with respect to this difference was that, in a structurally based analysis, where Subject, Direct Object and Indirect Object are not taken as primes, the changes which the causative construction underwent, from having a syntactically independent finite tensed clause to an _infinitive+accusative_ clause, and later in Romance, as we shall see, an _infinitive+dative_ construction could not but be presented as an accidental set of events, whereas in relational terms, all these various stages may be interpreted as involving first Subject to Object Raising and then Clause Union.

Support for Radford's reanalysis hypothesis was provided by Saltarelli (1980), who pointed out the existence of yet another stage in the development of the Latin causative construction, thus:

(75) _fac_ sextilium   ... ne _somnuum_   contigat. (Def. Tabel, ?C.)
      do Sextilius- acc   NEG sleep- acc   reach- subj- 3sg
      'Do that sleep Sextilius does not reac.'
      (i.e., 'Don't let Sextilius sleep.')

(76) _Fac eos_   ne currere _possint_. (Def. Tabel., ?th C.)
      do these- acc NEG run   they-can- subj
      'Do so that these are not able to run.'

In these two sentences, the dependent verb remains tensed and finite, but the Subject it agrees with is in the accusative, as if it were in part already functioning as the Direct Object of the higher verb.

This, Saltarelli observed, constitutes additional evidence for the gradual nature of the change from a clausal complement to the

accusative with infinitive construction, and it strengthens Radford's

claim that the evolution of the causative construction in Latin and in

Romance must be considered in terms of grammatical relations rather

than of constituent structure.

The consequences of the chain of events we have been describing

may be illustrated for Old French as follows:

(77) Son chien et son porc volt avoir, et son oncle fere savoir
      his dog and his pig wants have and his uncle make know
         L'aventure   qu'il   ot veue; (Guingamor, 12th C.)
         the adventure that he has seen
      'He wants to have his dog and his pig, and to let his uncle
         know the adventure that he has seen.'

(78) Et a sa gent   i fait entendre. (Floire Bl., 12th C.)
      and to his people it makes hear
      'And he has his people hear it.'

Sentence (77), with the infinitive+Direct Object is but a

continuation of the Latin usage illustrated in example (3). Both

sentences may be said to be instantiations of Subject to Object Raising.

Sentence (78), with the infinitive+Indirect Object, on the other hand,

illustrates a more advanced stage than any we have seen before in the

sequence of changes undergone by the causative construction since

Latin, and Radford argued that such sentences are proof that the pre-

vious stage illustrated here by (77) indeed involved a structural

reanalysis, and that the use of the Indirect Object here shows that at

that stage speakers must have interpreted the construction as uni-

clausal.

His thesis was that this change in the case marking of the depend-

ent Agent in Old French together with the use of case marking in Modern

French can be explained only if we assume that case marking is being

assigned in a uni-clausal structure in agreement with the Relational

Accessibility Hierarchy, first proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1972),

and with Comrie's (1976) analysis of causatives across languages.

According to Keenan and Comrie (1972), when an operation involves

a change in syntactic relations such that the status of some argument

in the clause affected gets raised, in the sense that that argument

gets interpreted as an argument of the higher verb, it gets assigned

a case marking corresponding to the syntactic function

corresponding to the highest position available on the Relational

Hierarchy.   It is assumed that any one clause can have only one

argument taking the form of Subject, Direct Object and Indirect Object,

and that these three "terms" together with the other relational notions

identified are organized hierarchically as follows: Subject > Direct

Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive NP > Object of Comparison.

Support for the claim that the Relational Accessibility Hierarchy

plays a role in determining the form of Modern French active causative

sentences is provided by sentences such as the following:[4]

(79) Elle a fait revenir Jean/*à Jean/*par Jean.
      'She made Jean come back.'

(80) Elle a fait nettoyer les toilettes au général/*le général/*par
          le général.
      'She had the general clean the toilet.'

(81) Elle a fait envoyer une lettre au client par la secrétaire/
          *la secrétaire/*à la secrétaire.
      'She had the secretary send a letter to the client.'

Example (80) with the par phrase is not an ungrammatical sentence, but it can be used only with the meaning 'she had the toilet cleaned by the general', hence its being marked as unacceptable as an active causative.

Sentences (79) through (81) are typical in that, when the verb introduced by faire is a verb of action, it is generally the case that with Full NPs the arguments of the dependent infinitive may take only the form illustrated here. That is to say, if the infinitive is intransitive, the Agent of that infinitive, or Causee, may take only the form of a Direct Object. If the dependent infinitive is a transitive direct verb, the dependent Agent may appear only in the form of an Indirect Object. If the dependent verb occurs with both a Direct and an Indirect Object, as in (81), then the Agent of that ditransitive infinitive may take only the form of an adverbial par phrase, at least with the constituent ordering being illustrated here.

On the basis of sentences such as (79) through (81), then, we may conclude that French, to use Comrie's terms, does not allow doubling on Subject, Direct or Indirect Object, and that the form taken by the dependent Agent is in agreement with the RAH.

To summarize, when we consider the evolution of the form of active causative sentences from Latin to Modern French as presented here, for sentences involving full NPs at least, Radford's conclusion that the sequence of changes involved represents strong support for Relational Grammar appears quite justified. We shall now return to the contrast illustrated by Old French examples (77) and (78) in order to evaluate what factual basis exists which would support Morin and St-Amour's

counterclaim that Radford, and Hyman and Zimmer, who agree with Radford

on this, were mistaken in concluding that a structural reanalysis did

take place during the Old French period.

2.1.2 Morin and St-Amour's Interpretation of Word Order Variation

in Old French

It is well-known that, in contemporary French, the counterpart of

the construction illustrated in (77), with the dependent Agent preced-

ing the infinitive, while it has not become extinct or unacceptable,

contrary to what is frequently believed, is highly marked, the normal

construction for active causative sentences with a transitive direct

verb being the one shown in example (80) instead. However, with re-

spect to the infinitive+accusative construction, we have the examples

such as those in chapter 1 from (   ) through (   ), two of which are

reproduced below:

(82) Ce qui _faisait_ _Armand_ _répondre_ à ceux qui lui demandaient par
        où l'on pouvait rejoindre sa mère: 'Par la cheminée.' (Gide)
      'Which made Armand answer to those who would ask him how one
        could reach his mother: 'By the chimney'.'

(83) On pourrait voir ici une articulation assez proche de celle
        qui _a_ _fait_ _Chomsky_ _installer_ sa doctrine sur les répertoires
        distributionnels de Harris et de ses élèves. (J-C. Chevalier)
      'One could see here an arrangement reasonably close to that which
        made Chomsky set up his theory on the distributional apparatus
        of Harris and of his students.'

Morin and St-Amour argue that it is this construction illustrated

by (82) and (83) which constitutes an innovation, and not the one shown

in (80) as generally believed. They suggest that the construction

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which is generally held to be the innovative one actually is the one which can be traced back to Early Old French. We shall now consider in some detail the evidence one might find in favor of such a claim with respect to full NP causatives. (We shall consider separately the part of Morin and St-Amour's discussion involving clitics, since the form of clitics in Old French was determined by a number of factors which do not similarly affect the use of case marking with full NPs.)

Morin and St-Amour's analysis was not limited to the causative construction, but dealt as well with other instances of the verb+ infinitive construction, involving, for instance, verbs of perception and the semi-auxiliary modal verbs such as devoir and pouvoir. We shall, following Morin and St-Amour, consider these other instances of verb+infinitive, since, as we shall see, they form with faire+infinitive a continuum, as much from the point of view of syntax as of semantics.

Beginning with the verbs of perception, Morin and St-Amour argued that, of the two constructions je vois venir Pierre and je vois Pierre venir, it is the first and not the second which was prevalent in early Old French and that indeed very few non-ambiguous instances of the second can be found for the period prior to the second half of the fourteenth century.

From the twelfth century, however, we find pairs like the following:

(84) Par mi   les huis vit   la flame raier. (Cambrai, 12th C.)
     by middle the doors he-saw the flame glow
     'Through the doors he saw the flames glow.'

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(85) Sor sa poitrine <u>vit</u> <u>ardoir</u> <u>son sautier</u>. (Cambrai, 12th C.)
      on his chest   he-saw shine his rosary
      'On his chest he saw his rosary shining.'

However, while it is unclear what the relative frequency of the
first construction was in relation to that of the second, such examples
as (84) with the Direct Object <u>before</u> the infinitive are not difficult
to find even in very early texts, thus:

(86) Soventes feiz les <u>veit</u>   <u>grant duel</u> <u>mener</u>. (Alexis, 11th C.)
      many   times them he-saw great grief show
      'Many times he saw them showing great grief.'

(87) Quand Louis, le rei presie, <u>Vit</u> <u>si</u>   <u>murir</u>   <u>ses chevaliers</u>
      when Louis the king esteemed saw thus die/kill his knights
          <u>ses compainnes</u> <u>detrenchier</u> (Gormont et Isembart, 12th C.)
          his companions cut-up
      'When Louis, the esteemed king, saw his knights being killed/dying
          his companions massacred'

Note that in these last two examples the full NP preceding the
infinitive is the Patient of that infinitive, not the Agent unlike in
(84), and that the NP following the infinitive in (87) is ambiguous as
to its being Patient or Agent of the dependent verb, because of the
ambiguity of <u>murir</u>, which in Old French can mean both 'to die' or 'to
kill'. In other words, with 'see', it is irrelevant for the word order
whether a full NP is the Agent or the Patient of the infinitive.

Similarly, word order variation is attested with <u>devoir</u>, <u>pouvoir</u>
and <u>vouloir</u> in some of the earliest texts, thus with <u>vouloir</u> we have:

(88) <u>Volt</u>   lo <u>seule</u> <u>lazsier</u>. (Eulalie, 9th C.)
      she-wants the world leave
      'She wants to leave the world.'

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(89) Ne <u>volst</u> <u>li enfes</u> <u>son pere</u> <u>corrocier</u>. (Alexis, 11th C.)
      NEG wants the child his father anger
      'The child does not wish to make his father angry.'

(90) Si vos <u>voulez</u> <u>guerre</u> <u>commencier</u> (Artu, 13th C.)
      if you want   war   begin
      'If you want to start a war'

(91) Missire Gauvain, se vos <u>voulez</u> veoir votre grant duel (Artu, 13th
                                                                          C.)
      my-lord Gauvain if you want   see   your   great sorrow
      'My lord Gauvain, if you wish to see your great sorrow'

(92) <u>L' enseigne Carle</u>   n' i <u>volt</u> mie oublier. (Roland, 12th C.)
      the standard Charles NEG it wants NEG forget
      'He does not want to forget Charles' standard.'

    In examples (88) and (90), we have the Patient of the dependent
infinitive between the higher verb and the infinitive, while in (89)
both the Agent of the higher verb and the Patient of the lower verb
separate the two verbs, and in (92) the Patient of the infinitive pre-
cedes both verbs. Example (91), from the same text as (90), shows yet
another variation, with the Patient of the infinitive, again a Direct
Object, following both verbs.

    Similarly, with <u>pouvoir</u> we find:

(93) Mais <u>la dolour</u> ne <u>puedent</u> oblider. (Alexis, 11th C.)
      but the grief NEG they-can forget
      'But they cannot forget the grief.'

(94) Que je ne <u>puis</u> pes   ni <u>amor</u> <u>trover</u> vers   elz (Artu, 13th C.)
      that I NEG can peace nor love find   toward her
      'That I cannot find peace or love toward her'

(95) Plus qu' arbaleste ne <u>poet</u> <u>traire</u> <u>un quarrel</u> (Roland, 12th C.)
      more than cross-bow NEG can draw   an arrow
      'Further than a cross-bow can shoot an arrow'

(96) Il ne <u>pooit</u> <u>trover</u> <u>pes</u>   <u>ni</u> <u>merci</u> envers le roi
      he NEG could find   peace nor pity toward the king

        Artu. (Artu, 13th C.)
        Arthur
      'He could find neither peace nor pity toward King Arthur.'

      As for <u>devoir</u>, the following two patterns at least are attested

in the early stages of the language:

(97) <u>Iceste chose</u> nos <u>dousses</u>   <u>noncier</u> (Alexis, 11th C.)
      this   thing us you-should-have tell
      'You should have told us this thing.'

(98) Comme l'on <u>doit</u> <u>recevoir</u> <u>son enemi</u>   (Artu, 13th C.)
      as   one   must receive   his enemy
      'As one must receive one's enemy'

      There is thus no question that, with certain verbs at least, a

dependent infinitive could be either preceded or followed by a Direct

Object. Furthermore, with some of these verbs it is irrelevant to the

word order whether the nominal appearing as a Direct Object bears with

respect to the lower verb the function of Agent or that of Patient, as

shown, for instance by example (87).

      Morin and St-Amour's claim more specific to causative verbs, and

to <u>faire</u> in particular, however, appear more debatable.

      It is the case that with <u>laisser</u> some word order variation existed

with respect to embedded Agents, or Experiencers, which are the nominals

Morin and St-Amour are interested in ultimately, as well as with respect

to embedded Patients:

(99) Si tu <u>laisses</u> <u>viure</u> <u>Jhesum</u> (Passion, 10th C.)
      if you let   live. Jesus
      'If you let Jesus live'

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(100) Et <u>larrai</u>   <u>les destriere</u> aler a lor   bandon (Charlemagne,
       and I-will-let the horses   go   at their will   12th C.)

       'And I will let the horses go at their will'

(101) Si   lor   <u>lait boire</u> l' aigue et l' erbe
       thus to-them lets drink the water and the grass

         <u>pasturer</u>.   (Aiol, 1 th C.)
         graze

       'Thus he lets them drink the water and graze on the grass.'

With <u>faire</u>, though, that the same variation was present in early

Old French is not obvious. When one considers the semantic function of

the Direct Object, as with the other verbs we just saw, the early texts

suggest that <u>faire</u> is less free than these other verbs in this respect

and the restrictions appear to contradict Morin and St-Amour's position.

      Thus, one can find instances with a full NP functioning either as

the Agent or as the Patient of the lower verb occurring between <u>faire</u>

and the dependent infinitive, e.g.:

(102) Co   dist l' imasgene: <u>fai</u> <u>l'</u> ome Deu   venir. (Alexis,
       this said the statue   make the man of-God come   11th C.)

       'The statue said this: have the holy man come.'

(103) Deu <u>fist</u> <u>l'</u> <u>imasgene</u> por soue amour <u>parler</u>. (Alexis, 11th C.)
       God made the statue   by his love speak

       'God out of his love made the statue speak.'

(104) <u>A</u> <u>fait</u> <u>le</u> <u>feu</u> par les rues   <u>fichier</u>. (Cambrai, 12th C.)
       has made the fire by the streets set

       'He had fire set in the streets.'

(105) En   <u>fist</u> li rois <u>un lai</u> <u>trover</u>. (Guingamor, 12th C.)
       of-it made the king a   poem find

       'The king had a poem made about it.'

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Similarly, one can find early examples with an embedded Agent or Patient in sentence-initial position:

(106) <u>Son compaignon</u> <u>a</u> <u>fait</u> dedans <u>entrer</u>. (Ami et Amile, 12th C.)
his companion he-has made inside enter
'He made his companion enter it.'

(107) <u>Les chevaliers</u> <u>a</u> <u>fait</u> <u>monter</u>. (Guingamor, 12th-13th C.)
the knights he-has made mount
'He had the knights mount.'

(108) <u>Sas</u> i <u>fait</u> <u>pendre</u> e cinces deramedes. (Alexis, 11th C.)
sack there she-makes hang and clothes torn
'She has a sack hung there and some torn clothes.'

Instances of post-infinitive lower Patient are also relatively easy to find. Thus, in addition to the sentence-final heavy NP in (108), we have also:

(109) Par moltes terres <u>fait</u> <u>querre</u> <u>son enfant</u>. (Alexis, 11th C.)
by many lands makes seek his child
'He has his child sought in many countries.'

(110) Si 'n <u>facet</u> <u>faire</u> <u>un cors</u>. (Charlemagne, 12th C.)
thus of-it he-makes make a race
'Thus he has them run a race.'

Instances with <u>faire</u> and the Agent of the lower verb following the infinitive appear to be quite rare however in the early stages of the language. Morin and St-Amour do not provide any example of this to support their claim, and the Chanson de Roland, for instance, shows at most four unambiguous examples in all, two of these containing further-more a heavy NP, thus:

(111) Si fait suner <u>ses cors e ses buisines</u>. (Roland, 11th C.) 1968
       'He has his horns and his trumpets sound.'

(112) Li empereres <u>ad fait</u> <u>suner</u> <u>ses cors</u>. (Roland, 11th C.) 1796
       'The emperor had his horns sound.'

On the basis of the evidence examined above, it appears that
Morin and St-Amour are quite correct when they suggest that for Old
French, as for Latin, word order does not provide a very useful clue as
to constituent structure. In a sense, sentences with verbs which allow
the word order variation V-infinitive-NP/V-NP-infinitive are uninterest-
ing since they may be regarded as merely an instantiation of the more
general fact that Old French exhibited considerable word order variation
(up to four different orders for a time, as Foulet (1930) pointed out).

What is of interest here, then, contrary to Morin and St-Amour's
suggestion, is the fact that, at a stage when French exhibited the
greatest freedom in word order, sentences with <u>faire+infinitive</u> already
showed some perfectly idiosyncratic restrictions, an indication that
<u>faire</u> was considered by the language users of that period as being
distinct from the other verbs occurring with an infinitival complement
whereas for Latin, to my knowledge, no basis exists for positing such
a distinction.

It is only with the stabilization of word order in Late Old
French, however, that this differentiation in the status of <u>faire</u> may
be said to have clear structural consequences, in the sense that it is
by that time that, as Radford has argued, <u>faire+infinitive</u> sentences
may be said to exhibit Clause Union, as evidenced by both the NP case
marking and, in the context of the general word order shift toward SVO,
the position of the dependent Agent NP.

The question arises as to why, before these syntactic manifesta-
tions of direct-objecthood emerged, Old French speakers had less free
order variation with _faire_ to begin with, and why these restrictions
involving _faire_ have endured. In Modern French, as we saw, _laisser_ and
verbs of perception are still used with both V-infinitive-NP and
V-NP-infinitive order.

The fact that it is with _faire_ and not with one of the other
verbs discussed here that this rigidification of word order has become
almost complete may be explained in terms of the "binding scale" pro-
posed by Givón (1981), binding being characterized as follows: "The
stronger the influence exerted over the agent of the complement clause
by the agent of the main clause, by whatever means, the higher the main
clause verb is in the binding scale".

Of the verbs at issue here, _faire_ is the highest in terms of
influence, in that it alone is associated with causative acts which are,
to use Givon's terms, intended/deliberate/controlled, and the gradual
increase in syntactic subordination which we have delineated here may
be interpreted as a reflection of this high degree of semantic sub-
ordination of the Agent of the infinitive.

To summarize, then, the study of data discussed by Morin and
St-Amour and of additional Old French data involving causative sentences
with full NPs fails to prove their claim that Radford and Hyman and
Zimmer were mistaken in saying that a structural reanalysis took place
at some point in the history of French which resulted in Clause Union.
It was found, to the contrary, that in Old French _faire_ already behaved
differently from the other verbs appearing with an infinitival

complement, and that, with respect to faire+infinitive, it is indeed the structure V-NP-infinitive, as generally believed, which was used widely in Early Old French, and not the V-infinitive-NP structure.

In short, word order changes, like the other historical developments we have discussed appear to justify thoroughly Radford's claim that the evolution of French causatives constitutes strong support for the view that syntactic functions must be viewed as primes of the grammar.

We have discussed Morin and St-Amour's claims about Old French causatives with respect to sentences involving full NPs because the analyses they were taking issue with involved primarily that type of sentence. We shall see in section 3, however, that the evolution of clitic placement and clitic case marking in French also fully supports the conclusion that a restructuring took place.

It must be noted also that, while much of their evidence involved full NPs, it was ultimately the problem of clitic placement which had motivated Morin and St-Amour to challenge the claim that restructuring had taken place at some point in the evolution of French V+infinitive sentences.

What they were interested in was the "permeability" of the V+infinitive complex, that is to say, the extent to which that constituent allowed 'Clitic Climbing', as in je le fais réparer 'I have it repaired', as opposed to *je le veux réparer' 'I want to repair it'. The second sentence which is ungrammatical in Modern French was perfectly acceptable in Old French as was also the sentence with faire. The sentence one must use today with vouloir instead is je veux le réparer.

However, in cases involving one clitic only, Clitic Climbing is now obligatory with verbs of perception, e.g., _je l'ai vu faire_ vs. *_j'ai vu le faire_ 'I saw it done'.

Morin and St-Amour's conclusion was that the changes which have taken place between Old and Modern French·are changes in permeability, in the sense that _faire_, _laisser_, according to them, have retained as their complement a permeable infinitival predicate whereas verbs such as _vouloir_, _penser_...no longer have such a complement.

It is not clear, though, why one might think that it should necessarily follow from the fact that the two groups of verbs have differed as they suggest with respect to clitic placement that no restructuring took place with _faire_. Indeed, the study of the Old French sentences presented here shows that Morin and St-Amour were mistaken in concluding that changes in permeability with respect to clitic placement, which appear to me unquestionable, were incompatible with Clause Reduction.

Morin and St-Amour's observations on permeability are themselves of interest, however, in that they appear to confirm our own observations about the relevance of the meaning of the higher verb to word order variation in sentences with full NPs.

The difference in the position of the clitic with _faire_ as opposed to _vouloir_ would seem to suggest a positive correlation between the decrease in permeability and the degree of control, or binding in Givon's sense, of the higher verb.

The existence of a relationship between the rigidification of word order or permeability of the _V+infinitive_ complex with respect to

clitics and also to full NPs, on the one hand, and the semantics of the higher verb, on the other hand, is not unique to French. Warner (1982) reports similar findings with respect to the evolution of Clitic Climbing in Spanish.

Warner found that, from Old Spanish to Modern Spanish, there was a gradual reduction in the domain and in the frequency of Clitic Climbing, which resulted in a situation similar to that mentioned for French in that the verbs with which Clitic Climbing remains obligatory are the ones which we can consider high in terms of binding, namely causative and perception verbs.

Warner's interpretation of the rigidification of word order in Spanish is in agreement with the one proposed here for French, in that he sees the differences between Old and Modern Spanish as due not to one but to several factors. His conclusion was that the differential reduction in Clitic Climbing suggests that, in Old Spanish, causative and perception verbs were structurally different, and that the differences in the use of Clitic Climbing which emerged in time were due to the semantics of the higher verb in interaction with other factors particular to the history of Spanish such as a shift in linearization tendencies. For him, the semantic factor which determined the fact that some verbs kept on allowing a clitic between themselves and the governed infinitive was "the semantically high profile" of these governing verbs as an independent predicate.

In conclusion, study of the data involving French causative sentences offers no evidence in favor of Morin and St-Amour's claim that no restructuring took place and that the V-infinitive-NP structure

preceded the V-NP-infinitive structure. What the French data shows is instead, very much as in Spanish, the existence of a positive correlation between higher degree of binding and increased word order rigidification, and more particularly, with a greater degree of fusion of the higher verb with the infinitive in the sense that the two elements do not accept freely intervening nominals and that those nominals which are found are of a form which strongly supports the claim that Clause Union took place. What this suggests, then, is that the model necessary to describe French syntax is one which recognizes syntactic functions as primes, as Relational Grammar does, but which, in addition, allows us to refer to semantic properties of verbs in the description of syntactic processes.

2.2 A More Thorough Representation of Modern French V+Infinitive
     Sentences with Full NPs

We saw in the previous section of this chapter that, for French causative sentences with full NPs, the historical as well as the synchronic evidence provides strong support for the claims made by Radford and Comrie that causativization is crucially a syntactic function dependent phenomenon rather than, as has been assumed in transformational analyses, a structure-dependent one. To repeat briefly, the various historical changes which have been observed in the form of active causative sentences since Latin may all be understood as stages in a graduate shift from a bi-clausal to a mono-clausal structure, with Subject to Object Raising leading to Clause Union.

It is because of such considerations that I suggested in section 1 of this chapter that the syntactic correspondences between simple

sentences and related causative sentences should be described by means
of rules such as the one in (70), which refers explicitly to syntactic
functions, while the differences in interpretation which Hyman and
Zimmer described by means of a transformation taking as its input either
an active or a passive sentence could be accounted for instead by means
of rules of interpretation.

The rule which was given in (70) is reproduced below for conveni-
ence:

(70) CAUSATIVE RULE I

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
x & X & y \\
\begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Su\end{bmatrix} & [+V] & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+DO\end{bmatrix} \\
\\
S & &
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
w & FAIRE & X'' & y & \left.\begin{matrix}\begin{pmatrix}\grave{a} & x \\ & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+IO\end{bmatrix}\end{pmatrix} & (i)\\ \\ \begin{pmatrix}par & x \\ & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Obl\end{bmatrix}\end{pmatrix} & (ii)\end{matrix}\right. \\
\begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Su\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+V\\+Inf\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+DO\end{bmatrix} \\
S & &
\end{bmatrix}
$$

The rule in (70) was proposed for sentences with direct transitive
infinitives. With respect to full NP active causative sentences, addi-
tional rules will be necessary for sentences containing instead an
intransitive or pseudo-intransitive infinitive and an indirect or a
di-transitive infinitive.

We must account, for instance, for the fact that, with an intransi-
tive or pseudo-intransitive infinitive, the Agent of that infinitive
will take the form of a Direct Object, while that of a di-transitive
infinitive shows up as an Oblique.

Thus, to describe the correspondences between pairs of sentences
such as the ones in (113) -(114) and (115)-(116), which Kayne described
by means of his F1 rule, we will need a rule like the one in (117):

(113) Albertine était revenue.

'Albertine had come back.'

(114) Il avait fait revenir Albertine.

'He had made Albertine come back.'

(115) Le missionnaire avait mangé.

'The missionary had eaten.'

(116) Le chefs avaient décidé de faire manger le missionaire.

'The chiefs had decided $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{to make the missionary eat}\\\text{to have the missionary eaten}\end{array}\right\}$.'

(117) CAUSATIVE RULE II

$$\begin{bmatrix} x & X \\ \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Su\end{bmatrix} & [+V] \\ S & \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} w & FAIRE & X'' & x \\ \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Su\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+V\\+Inv\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+DO\end{bmatrix} \\ S & & & \end{bmatrix}$$

The ambiguity of sentences such as <u>Les chefs avaient décidé de faire manger le missionnaire</u> may be explained by comparing the rules in (70) with that in (117), which show similar right side environments for <u>faire+infinitive</u> with respect to syntactic functions.

Similarly, to describe the correspondences between active <u>faire+infinitive</u> sentences with a di-transitive infinitive and simple sentences, such as in (118)-(119), we shall need the rule in (120) below:

(118) Françoise avait porté la lettre à Albertine.

'Françoise had taken the letter to Albertine.'

(119) Marcel avait fait porter la lettre à Albertine par Françoise.

'Marcel had had Françoise take the letter to Albertine.'

(120) CAUSATIVE RULE III

$$\begin{bmatrix} x & X & y & à & z \\ \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Su\end{bmatrix} & [+V] & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+DO\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+IO\end{bmatrix} \\ S & & & & \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} w & FAIRE & X'' & y & à & z & (par\ x) \\ \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Su\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+V\\+Inf\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+DO\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+IO\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Obl\end{bmatrix} \\ S & & & & & & \end{bmatrix}$$

In addition, we shall also have to account for pairs of sentences with an indirect transitive verb such as (121) and (122) with the faire+infinitive sentence showing the dependent Agent as a Direct Object, as did the causative sentences in (114) and (116) (which both contain an infinitive without any Object of its own).

(121) Ses collègues avait collaboré au projet.
       'His colleagues had collaborated on the project.'

(122) Il avait fait collaborer ses collègues à son projet.
       'He had had his colleagues collaborate on his project.'

Hence the rule in (123), which subsumes the rule given above in (117).

(123) CAUSATIVE RULE II'

$$\begin{bmatrix} x & X & \left\langle \begin{matrix} \grave{a} & z \end{matrix} \right. \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix} & [+V] & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +IO \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\ S & & \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} w & FAIRE & X'' & x & \left\langle \begin{matrix} \grave{a} & z \end{matrix} \right. \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +Inf \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +DO \end{bmatrix} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +IO \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\ S & & \end{bmatrix}$$

The four rules given here have been discussed in relation to _faire_, but _faire_ is not the only verb to which they are relevant. Thus, the relevance of the rules in (70), (117) and (123) to _laisser_ may be seen from examples such as (58) and (62) and the following:

(124) Sa secrétaire ne parlerait plus à ancun reporter.
       'His secretary would not speak to any reporter anymore.'

(125) Il ne laisserait plus parler sa secrétaire à aucun reporter.
       'He would not let his secretary speak to any reporter anymore.'

Accordingly, we shall. following Kayne, take FAIRE as a cover term for the class of verbs to which the rules are pertinent.
Note, however, that not all of the verbs which occur with an infinitival complement in such 'causative' sentences behave identically with respect

to all of the rules given in (70), (117), (120) and (123). Thus, for voir, while the rule in (117) is pertinent, the one in (70) with à is not. For instance, we saw with (62) that voir may occur before a pseudo-intransitive followed by its Agent, and the same is true for intransitive infinitives:

(126)
$$\text{Il n'avait pas vu} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{s'éloigner} \\ \text{revenir} \\ \text{monter} \end{array} \right\} \text{Albertine.}$$

$$\text{'He had not seen Albertine} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{go away} \\ \text{come back} \\ \text{go up} \end{array} \right\} .\text{'}$$

The Agent of the infinitive cannot follow voir immediately, however, if the infinitive is a direct transitive one, as was shown by example (64).

As was mentioned in the first section of the chapter, voir may occur in the same syntactic frame as do faire and laisser,

$$\left[+ \underline{} \begin{array}{cccc} V & NP & (\text{à} & NP & (\text{par NP})] \\ [+\text{Inf}] & [+\text{DO}] & & [+\text{IO}] \end{array} \right.$$, but differs from them with respect

to the interpretation an à+NP phrase in this frame may receive.

With verbs of perception, as with faire or laisser, there do not appear to be similar constraints on the use of the V+infinitive construction with direct transitive infinitives when the sentence has a passive reading as when it has an active reading and the Agent is introduced by à instead of par. Compare the examples with à in (64) above with the following from Kayne:

(127) Jean laissera arrêter son fils par les agents.
    'Jean will let his son be arrested by the police.'

(128) J'ai vu peindre votre maison par ces ouvriers.
    'I saw your house painted by those workers.'

With respect to passive causative sentences, the sentence in
(119) was given a translation suggesting that the Agent is viewed as
active, but such sentences are in fact ambiguous. Sentence (119), for
instance, may also be translated as 'he had had the letter taken to
Albertine by Françoise'.

There exists considerable evidence in favor of interpreting sen-
tences like the ones in (37) and (119), with the second translation
which was just suggested for it, as being related to simple passive
sentences rather than to active sentences in certain ways. For
instance, we mentioned earlier the alternation of par with de, which
had been noted by Kayne. Kayne's observation was that those verbs which
occur in causative sentences with de are also the ones which occur with
de in ordinary passive sentences. This was shown above with examples
(32)-(35). Kayne gave these two examples:

(129) Marie est haïe de tout le monde.
       'Marie is hated b y everybody.'

(130) Marie est arrivée à se faire haïr de tout le monde.
       'Marie managed to get herself hated by everybody.'

(131) Paul est obéi de/par ses enfants.
       'Paul is obeyed by his children.'

(132) Paul arrive à se faire obéir de tout le monde.
       'Paul manages to get himself obeyed by everyone.'

A number of additional similarities between ordinary passive
sentences and passive causative sentences were observed by Kayne beside
the restrictions mentioned here with respect to the use of de and par.
Thus, he noted that, with direct transitive verbs which cannot passivize,
the corresponding causative sentence with par is not acceptable either

whereas the active causative sentence is. Kayne gave these examples:

(133) Jean quittera ma maison demain.
       'Jean will leave my house tomorrow.'

(134) *Ma maison sera quitée par Jean demain.
       'My house will be left by Jean tomorrow.'

(135) Je ferai quitter ma maison à Jean demain.
       'I will have Jean leave my house tomorrow.'

(136) *Je ferai quitter ma maison par Jean demain.
       'I will have my house left by Jean tomorrow.'

With respect to idioms, similarly, those which are not passiviz-
able with etre cannot occur with faire...par either:

(137) Sa famille a cassé la croûte.
       'His family had a snack.'

(138) *La croûte a été cassée par sa famille.
       'A snack was had by his family.'

(139) Il a fait casser la croûte à sa famille.
      ''He had his family have a snack.'

(140) *Il a fait casser la croûte par sa famille.
       'He had a snack had by his family.'

Conversely, those idioms which can occur in ordinary passive
sentences can also occur in the passive causative construction:

(141) Son client portera plainte.
       'His client will bring suit.'

(142) Plainte sera portée par son client.
       'Suit will be brought by his client.'

(143) L'avocat fera porter plainte par son client.'
       'The lawyer will have suit brought by his client.'

Furthermore, as we should expect if canonical passive sentences and passive causative sentences are related, we find that we do not have _faire...par_ sentences with intransitive infinitive verbs. Thus:

(144)

$$\text{Albertine} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{était} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{tombée} \\ \text{partie} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{avait} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sursauté} \\ \text{ricané} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} .$$

Albertine had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fallen} \\ \text{left} \\ \text{jumped} \\ \text{snickered} \end{array} \right\}$.'

(145)

*Il avait fait $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{tomber} \\ \text{partir} \\ \text{sursauter} \\ \text{ricaner} \end{array} \right\}$ par Albertine.

Nor do we generally find _faire...par_ sentences with indirect transitive infinitives:

(146)

Elle avait $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{parlé} \\ \text{pensé} \\ \text{souri} \end{array} \right\}$ à Albertine.

'She had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{talked to} \\ \text{thought of} \\ \text{smiled to} \end{array} \right\}$ Albertine.'

(147)

*Il avait fait $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{parler} \\ \text{penser} \\ \text{sourire} \end{array} \right\}$ à Albertine par sa cousine.

'He had had Albertine $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{talked to} \\ \text{thought of} \\ \text{smiled at} \end{array} \right\}$ by his cousin.'

The interpretive rule given in (72) will thus have to be taken to refer to sentences with _de+_ as well as _par_+Oblique phrases, and Agent as being a cover term for Agent or Experiencer, as the case may be.

As for the assignment of the prepositions which may introduce the passive Agent, diachronic and synchronic evidence was given above, with

respect both to ordinary passive sentences and to passive causative
sentences, that what preposition may be used in such sentences cannot
be predicted on the basis of some vague or abstract meaning assigned to
particular prepositions. It is for this reason that par and de must be
mentioned in the lexical entry for causative faire as being the only two
prepositions acceptable to introduce an Oblique Agent. The distribution
of de, as opposed to par, will be accounted for by specifying in the
lexical entry for that preposition that it has a meaning compatible
only with that of verbs of experiencing.

As for those idioms or verbs which are ruled out in both simple
passive sentences and passive causative sentences, we may assume that
the same problems which make the phrases uninterpretable with their
usual meaning in the first type of sentence are responsible for their
being unacceptable in the second type.

With respect to those few verbs like obéir which may be found in
a faire...de/par sentence even though in ordinary simple active sentences
they are found with an Indirect rather than with a Direct Object, they
will have to be marked as positive exceptions to the rule in (148).

To account for such exceptional verbs and for the de/par alterna-
tion, the syntactic rule given in (70) will have to be reformulated as
follows:

(148) CAUSATIVE RULE I'

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
x & X & \langle\grave{a}\rangle & y \\
\begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix} &
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \langle +Pseudo\text{-} \\ \text{Pass} \rangle_1 \\ \langle +Exp^{cing} \rangle_2 \end{bmatrix} &
\begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ \{+DO \\ \langle +IO\rangle_2 \} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\Rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
w & FAIRE & X'' & y & \begin{pmatrix} \grave{a} & x \\ & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +IO \end{bmatrix} \end{pmatrix} (i) \\
\begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +Inf \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +DO \end{bmatrix} & & \begin{pmatrix} \{ par \\ \langle de\rangle_2 \} & x \\ & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Obl \end{bmatrix} \end{pmatrix} (ii)
\end{bmatrix}
$$

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Additional interpretive rules will have the task of ensuring that, with an intransitive or pseudo-intransitive infinitive, the Agent always appears as a Direct Object, and that with a di-transitive infinitive it always appears as an Oblique:

(149) INTERPRETIVE RULE II

     In a full-NP FAIRE+infinitive sentence, interpret as the
     Agent of an intransitive or pseudo-intransitive infinitive
     the Direct Object.

(150) INTERPRETIVE RULE III

     In a full-NP FAIRE+infinitive sentence, interpret as the Agent
     of a di-transitive infinitive the par+NP phrase.

The rules of interpretation proposed here will be pertinent also to sentences with _laisser_ and with verbs of perception, with the exception noted above in relation to the form of the Agent with verbs of perception occurring with a transitive direct infinitive.

It is these interpretive rules, taking as their input the causative sentences produced by the phrase-structure rules described in chapter 2 in opposition with the relevant simple sentences which allow us to explain in a manner consistent with our earlier findings relative to the subcategorization of verbs for syntactic and semantic functions and with the fact that causativization is a syntactic-function dependent phenomenon what constitutes an acceptable Modern French causative sentence with _faire_.

The rules given above are all proposed for sentences of the form _V-infinitive-NP_ rather than _V-NP-infinitive_. Additional syntactic and interpretive rules would be necessary for those verbs like _laisser_, and unlike _faire_, which occur in both types of structures.

We shall now turn to causative sentences with Object clitics, focussing there also on sentences with _faire_.

3.   Active Causative Sentences with Object Clitics

3.1   Clitic Case Opposition in Modern French

3.1.1 Problems for Syntactic Analyses of the _Le/Lui_ Contrast

Typically, analyses of French causatives with clitics have either focused uniquely on syntactic factors or uniquely on semantic factors. The first part of section 3.1 will present some of the problems which arise with strictly syntactic analyses of clitic case marking.

It was mentioned in the first part of this chapter that part of the motivation for Kayne's transformational analysis of French causatives was to try to give a unified account of the form of _faire+infinitive_ sentences with full NPs and of those with Object clitics. Thus, Kayne proposed to relate sentences such as _Marie a fait pleurer son enfant_ 'Marie made her child cry' and _Marie l'a fait pleurer_ 'Mary made him cry', and _Max a fait manger la tarte à Marie_ 'Max made Marie eat the pie' and _Max lui a fait manger la tarte_ 'Max made her eat the pie', respectively, by having his Clitic-Placement rule applying postcyclically to the structures derived from the application of the FI/A-Ins transformations reproduced here in (48).

Kayne's Clitic-Placement rule had the form shown in (151):

(151) Clitic-Placement (Cl-Pl)

W   NP V   X   Pro   Y
                      → 1 2 5 + 3 4 6
1   2   3   4   5   6

The preposition à was assumed to be left behind after Pro moved,
and deleted later, in the case of dative clitics.

Kayne's arguments for treating clitics transformationally were
discussed above, and we saw that, beside lacking independent motivation,
the transformational analysis of clitics was unable to account for a
number of facts relative to the distribution of clitics in ordinary
sentences, such as sentences showing both a clitic and a coreferent NP
and sentences with a clitic without corresponding sentences showing a
full NP which might serve as the source of the clitic.

One problem with his Clitic-Placement analysis of which Kayne was
aware was the existence of sentences such as the following:

(152)   ...la lueur d'angoisse qui réveille le tigre et le fait
          dévorer le dompteur. (R. Massip)
        '... the glimmer of anxiety which awakens the tiger and makes
          him devour the trainer.'

(153)   Elle restait jolie. Qu'on le lui dise la faisait hausser les
          épaules. (A. Perrin)
        'She remained pretty. To be told that she was made her shrug
          her shoulders.'

(154)   Il se rappelait...ce que, le souffle coupé, la joie la faisant
          rejeter la tête en arrière, elle avait répété dans son
          bonheur. (P. Vialar)
        'He remembered...what, out of breath, joy making her throw back
          her head, she had repeated in her happiness.'

Kayne noted that sentences like the ones in (152)-(154) could not
be derived from the deep structure he postulated for active causative
sentences, and treated such sentences as marginal.

The reason they were not compatible with his proposal was that for

him both A-Ins, which fed Clitic-Placement, and FI were obligatory transformations.

Bordelois (1974), who proposed to generate clitics by means of an Equi NP Deletion transformation, suggested that sentences of the form shown in (152)-(154) could be accounted for by postulating an optional case changing rule which would change the dative into the accusative. As noted by Quicoli (1980), however, there is no evidence which would justify the existence of such a rule.

A transformational analysis of the problem presented by sentences like (152)-(154) was also proposed by Quicoli (1980), which has now been superseded by a reinterpretation (Quicoli (1982)) compatible with Government Binding, where he tries also to account for another problem having to do with clitic case marking, namely the existence of the so-called 'Double Dative' sentences.

This type of sentences, which is also incompatible with Kayne's analysis which ties the presence of the dative clitic to A-Ins, is shown in (155):

(155) De penser à Talleyrand lui fit songer au père de Noël Schoudler.
         (M. Druon)
       'Thinking of Talleyrand made him think about Noel Schoudler's
         father.'

Note that the basic assumption is that this Double Dative dialect is still to be viewed as a deviation from the norm, an assumption which conforms to what has been the prescriptive norm since the 19th Century at least (cf. e.g. Girault-Duvivier (1856), Damourette et Pichon (1935-1938)), according to which neither the Double Dative nor the Double

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Accusative are to be used. The data collected by Harmer (1979), from which most of the literary examples in this chapter are taken, should suffice to show that double dative and double accusative sentences are found in the works of a number of writers whose prose one would hesitate to qualify as non-standard, and that the prescriptive norm hardly reflects general usage in Modern French.

We shall see, indeed, that the Double Dative and the Double Accusative (which both occur in the dialect of this speaker) in no way constitute incidental phenomena, but have been, rather, characteristic of the French language since at least the medieval period, and that their distribution, furthermore, bears little relation to constituent ordering or structural properties of the verb.

Quicoli (1982) follows Postal (1980) in treating sentences like (155) as non-standard, making a distinction between 'Standard French (SF), which for him includes 'Double Accusative' sentences, and a 'Double Dative dialect (DD), which includes both double accusative and double dative sentences.

Quicoli's proposal to account for this so-called dialectal variation is to retain an analysis based on what is taken to be the standard dialect, making use of a Move-$\overline{\text{V}}$ transformation together with surface-filters, and to differentiate the two dialects in terms of parametric variation with respect to the structural subcategorization of verbs. Specifically, he suggests that the presence of case alternation in the 'Double Dative dialect' might be accounted for by differentiating in the lexical entry of the relevant verbs as follows:

(156) $$\overset{\text{SF}}{[_{\overline{\overline{V}}} [_{\overline{V}} \text{ téléphoner}] [_{NP} \text{ (à) NP]]}}$$

(157) i. $$\overset{\text{DD}}{[_{\overline{\overline{V}}} [_{\overline{V}} \text{ téléphoner}] [_{NP} \text{ (à) NP]]}}$$

     ii. $$[_{\overline{\overline{V}}} [_{\overline{V}} \text{ téléphoner } - \text{ (à) NP]]}$$

We shall see shortly, however, that the determinant factor for the acceptability of the Double Dative appears to be tied to the semantics of the infinitive involved, and it is not clear why one might assume that the semantic distinction in question, which has to do with agency, should be related to a difference in structural subcategorization of the type suggested here.

I have referred above to sentences having a clitic in the dative and an Indirect Object introduced by à as Double Dative sentences, following Quicoli and Postal. Note however that the acceptability of a dative clitic is unrelated to what specific preposition an infinitive is subcategorized for with respect to its Object. Harmer (1979) gave the following examples, among others, of sentences with lui and de+NP:

(158) Ma façon de dessiner leur fit, toutefois, douter du jugement
        de Cassegrain qui m'avait engagé. (J. Faizant)
    'My way of drawing made them, however, question the judgment
      of Cassegrain who had hired me.'

(159) D'autres joies...lui feront profiter heureusement de ses
        dernières années. (Nouvelles Litéraires)
    'Other joys...will make him happily take advantage of his later
      years.'

The de NP phrases in such sentences have the same syntactic function as the à NP phrase in (155), that of Indirect Object, and not Oblique, and I shall refer to sentences like (158)-(159), as well as to sentences like

(155) as Double Dative sentences. As we shall see, the same rules apply in relation to the acceptability of the dative clitic in Double Dative sentences with de NP as in those with à NP.[1]

Double Dative sentences with de NP constitute yet one more dimension of the problem for anyone trying to relate systematically the presence of a dative clitic in faire+infinitive sentences to a structural property.

Note furthermore that, contrary to the prescriptive norm, which would lead us to expect only the accusative, clitics in the dative are also found with infinitives having no Object at all:

(160) Un craquement lui fit regarder du côté du lit. (L. Estang)
       'A snapping noise made him look in the direction of the bed.'

(161) Surtout ne pas dresser les élèves en perroquets: leur faire
           comprendre, avant de leur faire apprendre. (Dauzat)
       'Especially one should not train students like parrots: make
           them understand, before making them learn.' ·

To go back to sentences (155) and (158)-(159), note that the dative there is not obligatory. Nor is the accusative in (152)-(154). This is shown by examples (162)-(166), which represent what is generally considered the canonical usage:

(162) ...et lui fit dévorer le dompteur.
       '...and made him devour the trainer.'

(163) Qu'on le lui dise lui faisait hausser les épaules.
       'To be told that mde her shrug her shoulders.'

(164) ...la joie lui faisant rejeter la tête en arrière.
       '...joy making her throw back her head.'

(165) De penser à Talleyrand le fit songer au père de Noël Schoudler.
       'Thinking of Talleyrand made him think of Noël Schoudler's father.'

(166) Ma façon de dessiner toutefois <u>les</u> fit douter du jugement de
        Cassegrain qui m'avait engagé.
    'My way of drawing, however, made them question the judgement
    of Cassegrain who had hired me.'

With respect to (159), the dative strikes me as preferable in the particular context in question, but the accusative appears equally acceptable, if not more so, in a very similar sentence such as:

(167) Il $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{les}} \\ \underline{\text{leur}} \end{array} \right\}$ avait fait profiter de l'occasion.
    'He had made them take advantage of the opportunity.'

Similarly, the accusative may be used instead of the dative with a pseudo-intransitive like <u>regarder</u>.

(168) Un craquement <u>le</u> fit regarder du côté du lit.
    'A noise made him look in the direction of the bed.'

With <u>apprendre</u> also, the accusative is quite unremarkable, but the dative seems to me less marked, generally, with <u>comprendre</u> than does the accusative when comprendre·is used without a Patient with <u>faire</u>:

(169) $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{Leur}} \\ ?\underline{\text{Les}} \end{array} \right\}$ faire <u>comprendre</u>, avant de <u>les</u> faire apprendre.
    'Make them understand, before making them learn.'

We have a dative/accusative alternation, then, in <u>faire+infinitive</u> sentences where the infinitive occurs with a following Direct Object or Indirect Object, or where the infinitive is being used pseudo-intransitively. Where we do not find variation in Modern French is with intransitive infinitives. There, only the accusative is acceptable, thus:

(170)

$$\text{Elle} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{les}} \\ *\underline{\text{leur}} \end{array} \right\} \text{a fait} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{partir} \\ \text{sourire} \\ \text{souffrir} \end{array} \right\}.$$

'She made them $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{leave} \\ \text{smile} \\ \text{suffer} \end{array} \right\}$.'

To summarize, aside from the facts about the distribution of clitics in simple sentences which constituted problems for a transformational account, and the lack of independent justification for such an account, there also exist a number of problems with generating clitics transformationally in faire+infinitive sentences. The alternation of dative with accusative clitics in sentences with a transitive direct, transitive indirect or pseudo-intransitive infinitive which is encountered in contemporary French raises strong doubts as to the possibility of giving a non ad-hoc explanation of the distribution of dative and accusative clitics in strictly structural terms.

The dative/accusative alternation with faire+infinitive is equally problematic for Relational Grammar.

We saw in the previous section of this chapter that the evolution of French causative sentences with full NPs and the form of Modern French sentences with full NPs appears quite compatible, as argued by Radford and Comrie, with a Subject to Object Raising/Clause Union analysis and with the Relational Accessibility Hierarchy. With respect to clitics, there is also one fact which may be construed as evidence for the concept of a hierarchy of syntactic functions. When both the Agent and the Patient of the infinitive take the form of clitics, the clitic referring to the Patient may be placed immediately before the infinitive or it may be placed before the causative verb with the clitic referring

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to the Agent of the infinitive. Thus, corresponding to the sentence

elle a fait préparer la mayonnaise à Marcel 'she made Marcel prepare the

mayonnaise', we may have either (171) or (172):

(171) Elle l'/*lui a fait la préparer.
       'She made him prepare it.'

(172) a. Elle la lui/*l' a fait préparer.
       b. *Elle l'a fait préparer par lui.
     a-b. 'She made him prepare it.'

When the clitic referring to the Patient of the infinitive is not

"raised", as in (171), it and the clitic referring to the Agent of the

infinitive are in the accusative, whereas if the Patient of the same

direct transitive infinitive is placed before faire, the clitic cor-

responding to the Agent of the infinitive must be in the dative. As

with full NPs, this case difference may be interpreted as evidence that

the form of the Agent of the infinitive is determined by the RAH, in the

sense that the case in which that Agent may appear must be the one cor-

responding to the highest available position in the RAH, assuming again

that a verb can have only one argument taking the form of Subject, and

of Direct or Indirect Object. As with full NPs, we might have concluded

on the basis of (171) and (172) alone that, with clitics also, French

does not allow doubling on Subject or on Direct Object. However, it is

not clear how the facts illustrated in sentences (152)-(154), (155), and

(158)-(161) could be made to appear consistent with these assumptions

of Relational Grammar.

According to the RAH, only the dative should occur before faire+

infinitive in sentences such as (152)-(154), since the position of the

clitic representing the Agent of the infinitive may be taken as evidence that faire+infinitive in some cases constitutes a unit and that the full NP following the lower verb is functioning as the Direct Object of the entire verbal unit, which should preclude the possibility of our finding a second nominal in the accusative associated with faire+infinitive. Conversely, in sentences (155) and (158) through (161), the RAH would lead us to expect that the clitic should always be in the accusative, since the highest term position available in these cases is that of Direct Object.

It is because Object clitic case marking with faire+infinitive presents such apparently unsolvable problems for well-known syntactic models that attempts have been made to explain this dative/accusative alternation in semantic instead of syntactic terms.

3.1.2 Semantic Analyses of Object Clitic Case Marking

Cannings and Moody's semantic analysis of the à/par contrast was discussed in the first section of this chapter. Another part of their proposal was that the distribution of le and lui also could be explained in terms of thematic relations. Specifically, Cannings and Moody argued that the dative clitic has the same meaning as that they assigned to the preposition à.

If it were the case that the dative clitic and à were semantically equivalent, we should expect that wherever a verb may occur in the context V-à NP, the same verb, by their analysis, should also occur in the context lui-V. However, as was pointed out in chapter 2, this is not what we find even in simple sentences. We saw that, with arguments which are often referred to as Goals, it is necessary to distinguish between location and human nouns, thus:

(173) Il va à Paris.
       'He is going to Paris.'

(174) Il y/*lui va.
       'He is going there.'

(175) Il vint à eux.
       'He came to them.'

(176) *Il leur vint.
       'He came to them.'

(177) Il a répondu à Jean.
       'He answered Jean.'

(178) Il lui/*y a répondu.
       'He answered him.'

(179) Il a donné un coup de pied à Jean sans le faire exprès.
       'He accidentally kicked Jean.'

(180) Il lui/*y a donné un coup de pied sans le faire exprès.
       'He accidentally kicked him.'

While à+NP may be used with any of the semantic roles with which the dative clitic is used, the converse is not true. Furthermore, the contrast between (175)-(176) and (177)-(180), shows clearly that even the specification [+Goal, +Human] would not be able to explain how lui is used even in simple sentences alone.

With respect to the use of lui in causative sentences, Cannings and Moody argued that their thematic explanation was supported by the unacceptability of sentences such as (182) occurring after (181):

(181) C'est moi qui ait dû lui faire tailler les buissons #aux/par les
           jardiniers, puisque lui s'obstinait à laisser traîner les choses.
       'I am the one who had to get the gardeners to cut the bushes for
           him, since he persisted in letting things go.'

(182) #Les jardiniers <u>lui</u> ont taillé les buissons.

'The gardeners cut the bushes for him.'

(The sign # indicates that the sentence is unacceptable in
the particular context given.)

It is not clear, however, how their analysis would lead us to ex-
pect (182) to be unacceptable, to preclude that <u>lui</u> might be interpret-
albe as Goal by their definition. Furthermore, it is not obvious that
the unacceptability of (182) is due to semantic rather than to stylistic
factors. Consider the following examples:

(183) Il aura intérêt à me tailler ces rosiers un peu plus
         soigneusement la prochaine fois.
       'He'd better trim these rosebushes for me a little more
         carefully next time.'

(184) Surveille-<u>moi</u> ça de très près.
       'You watch that for me very carefully.'

(185) Allez-<u>moi</u> mettre votre blouse. (Courteline)
       'Go and put on your blouse for me.'

Sentences (183) through (185) are all perfectly ordinary sentences.
They differ from (182) in that they are characteristic of a more casual
style and the choice of a first person pronoun suggests a personal in-
volvement which is difficult to associate with the tone of (182) pos-
sibly because of the use of a verb and determiner low in affectivity.
This difference in personal involvement might well be responsible for
the difference illustrated here in the acceptability of the so-called
"dative of interest".[2] Certainly, sentence (182) is also quite question-
able even outside of the context in which it was presented, whereas (186)
which is grammatically similar to it is perfectly acceptable:

(186) Ils <u>lui</u> ont massacré ses rosiers.

'They ruined his rosebushes.'

The dative clitic here may receive exactly the same interpretation as in the other simple sentences where we found it to be acceptable. It can be taken to refer either to a Beneficiary or Experiencer. Where the dative clitic may not be used instead of <u>à</u> + NP, as shown by examples (173) through (176), is precisely where that phrase has the function of Goal in the usual sense of the word.

Cannings and Moody were thus mistaken in their assumption that <u>à</u> has exactly the same semantic function as the dative case on clitics. While the notion of Goal that they proposed might be roughly appropriate in relation to <u>à</u>, it is inaccurate to claim that it corresponds to the basic meaning of the dative clitic.

We shall see presently that the same notions of Beneficiary and Experiencer which may serve to explain the use of <u>lui</u> in simple sentences are just as pertinent with respect to causative sentences.

Another interpretation of clitic case marking before <u>faire+ infinitive</u> which must be mentioned is that by Hyman and Zimmer (1976), having to do with directness of causation. Hyman and Zimmer suggested that the case difference reflected a difference between direct (i.e. 'make') and indirect (i.e.'have') causation, with the accusative implying direct causation and possibly the use of force or pressure, and the dative, indirect causation.

This interpretation of the use of dative and accusative clitics in causative sentences is similar to the one proposed by Strozer (1976) for Spanish. Strozer gave the following examples:

(187) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{Lo} \text{ (acc)} \\ *\underline{Le} \text{ (dat)} \end{array} \right\}$ hice correr <u>a la fuerza</u>.

'I made/*had him run by force.'

(188) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{Los} \text{ (acc)} \\ *\underline{Les} \text{ (dat)} \end{array} \right\}$ hizo quemar las casas <u>a la fuerza</u>.

'He made/*had them burn down the houses by force.'

Strozer suggested that, in Spanish, only the accusative clitic is acceptable when coercion is intended with direct causation (i.e. 'make' as opposed to 'have'). She illustrated her claim by adding expressions expressing reluctance or lack of reluctance, as in:

(189) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{Lo} \\ *\underline{Le} \end{array} \right\}$ hice correr en esa carrera <u>porque no quería correr</u>.

'I made/*had him run in that race because he did not want to.'

(190) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *\underline{Lo} \\ \underline{Le} \end{array} \right\}$ hice correr en esa carrera <u>porque quería correr</u>.

'I *made/had him run in that race because he wanted to run.'

(191) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{Los} \\ *\underline{Les} \end{array} \right\}$ hizo quemar las casas <u>porque no querían quemarlas</u>.

'He made them/*had them burn down the houses because they did not want to burn them down.'

(192) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *\underline{Los} \\ \underline{Les} \end{array} \right\}$ hizo quemar las casas <u>porque querían quemarlas</u>.

'He *made/had them burn down the houses because they wanted to burn them down.'

For French, though, unlike for Spanish, directness of causation and coercion do not appear to be the exact factors involved in determining the use of <u>le</u> and <u>lui</u> in causative sentences.

That this cannot be the general explanation for the use of the dative and accusative clitics before <u>faire</u> can be seen by comparing sentences (152) through (154) with sentences (193) through (195):

(193) Je me multipliais pour <u>lui</u> faire apprécier la rue provinciale.
(R. Massip)
'I spared no efforts to make him appreciate the provincial street.'

(194) Il rêvait et elle n'avait pas le moyen de <u>lui</u> faire prendre
conscience de la totale absurdité de son entreprise. (A. Perrin)
'He was dreaming and she had no way of making him realize the
total absurdity of his endeavor.'

(195) ...une adresse que rien ne <u>lui</u> ferait oublier et qui était celle
de Frida. (P. Vialar)
'...an address that nothing would cause him to forget and which
was Frida's.'

Sentence (152) where Massip uses an accusative can only be under-
stood as meaning 'to make', but (193) where he uses the dative may be
interpreted as implying either 'to make' or 'to have'. Similarly (153)
and (154) with the accusative can also be interpreted as meaning only
'to make', but this is also true of (194) with the dative, and that is
also one of the possible readings of (195).

On the basis of sentences such as these, then, we might say that
the accusative clitic in opposition to the dative is consistently associ-
ated with direct causation but that the latter may be interpreted as
indeterminate with respect to directness of causation.

Another analysis of clitic case marking with <u>faire+infinitive</u>
having to do with force is that of Dorel (1982). Dorel proposed that
the presence of an accusative clitic as opposed to a dative in a sentence
where the Subject of the infinitive is animate would be an indication of
forcible causation. Sentences (196) through (198) below, however, sug-
gest that this is not the case:

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(196) Elle <u>leur</u> a fait recommencer l'expérience.
    'She had/made them do the experiment over again.'

(197) Elle <u>lui</u> a fait bouffer de la vache enragée pendant dix-huit ans.
    'She made him go through hell for eighteen years.'

(198) Il $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{lui} \\ \underline{l'} \end{array} \right\}$ 'a fait avaler ses épinards de force.
    'He made him swallow his spinach by force.'

Both (196) and (197), which have a dative are compatible with the idea that coercion was involved, and (198) shows clearly that a dative clitic and the expression of coercion are not mutually exclusive.

With an inanimate Cause or Agent, similarly, it is not clear that the presence of an accusative clitic should be construed as an indication that the realization of the event which was caused to occur must, as Dorel suggested, be interpreted as resulting from greater or more compelling force than the presence of a dative clitic. Thus, we find sentences such as:

(199) Seul un empêchement sérieux aurait pu <u>le</u> faire retarder ainsi son départ.
    'Only a serious problem could have made him postpone his departure in this way.'

(200) Seule la crainte de la mort aurait pu <u>leur</u> faire trouver l'énergie nécéssaire pour franchir ces derniers kilomètres.
    'Only the fear of death could have made them find the energy necessary to get over these last few kilometers.'

I suggested earlier that the presence of <u>lui</u> with <u>faire+infinitive</u> is related to the semantic functions of Experiencer and Beneficiary. With respect to passive causatives with full NPs, Hyman and Zimmer noted a suggestion by Pinkham (1974) that embedding of a passive

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sentence (in their terms) after _faire_ cannot occur (or not so readily)
when the embedded verb is a verb of experiencing as opposed to a verb
of action, because with a verb of experiencing the Object of the em-
bedded verb is not affected by the realization of the clause, thus:

(201) J'ai fait voir le film à Maurice.
       'I had Maurice see the film.'

(202)??J'ai fait voir le film par Maurice.
       'I had the film seen by Maurice.'

They noted also the following contrast:

(203) J'ai fait lire la lettre à Maurice.
       'I had Maurice read the letter (to himself).'

(204) J'ai fait lire la lettre par Maurice.
       'I had the letter read by Maurice (to others).'

Hyman and Zimmer suggested that here also there is a difference
in affectedness, the letter being affected in (204) but not in (203).
They did not, however, make use of this notion in trying to explain
clitic case marking.[3]

The following section of this study of clitic case marking will
show that affectedness, as it is relevant to the Experiencer/Patient
contrast is pertinent also to the _le/lui_ contrast with _faire+infinitive_.

3.1.3 The Interaction of Syntactic and Semantic Functions

The analyses of Object clitics case marking in active _faire+_
infinitive sentences which have been discussed had the common property
that they tried to explain the distribution of the dative and accusative
in terms of one type of criteria only, either syntactic or semantic.
Let us now reconsider the various case marking problems which have been

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noted, while taking into account this time two aspects of nominals which

other analyses have treated as if they were mutually exclusive, syn-

tactic and semantic functions.

In the first two sections of this chapter, it was shown that,

with respect to full NP faire+infinitive sentences, the diachronic and

the synchronic evidence appeared far more compatible, as Radford argued,

with a relational analysis than with a transformational one. Where

Relational Grammar failed was when we tried to explain why not all verbs

which showed a similar syntactic behaviour as faire in that they took

a verbal predicate as their complement in Old French had evolved in the

same manner since then, and why it was faire of all the verbs at issue,

with which Clause Union had become obligatory.

The reason why Relational Grammar could provide no explanation

for this was due to the fact that, in that model, only one aspect of

nominals is assumed to have explanatory value in relation to syntactic

phenomena, namely syntactic functions.

With respect to synchrony, similarly, we found that Relational

Grammar made accurate claims as to the form of the arguments in Modern

French faire+infinitive sentences with the exception that, in passive

causative sentences, it could not explain why the Oblique NP sometimes

was introduced by de instead of par. We saw that, to explain the

distribution of the two prepositions, one had to take into account the

meaning of the verb and the semantic functions of its arguments.

Taking into account the syntactic and the semantic functions for

which an infinitive is lexically subcategorized with respect to its

arguments, similarly, will allow us to explain the le/lui contrast

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before _faire_ in active causative sentences with an indirect transitive, direct transitive or pseudo-transitive infinitive.

With a direct transitive infinitive, for instance, the accusative instead of the dative, which a relational analysis, in keeping with the prescriptive norm, would lead us to expect, is acceptable if the infinitive is a true verb of action. Thus, we have (162)-(164) as well as (152)-(154).

If, by contrast, the embedded transitive direct verb is a verb of experiencing, then only the dative is acceptable, hence the consistent use of the dative before as _apprécier_, _prendre conscience_ and _oublier_. Thus sentence (193) would be quite odd with an accusative.

(205)??Je me multipliais pour _le_ faire apprécier la rue provinciale.
    'I spared no efforts to make him appreciate the provincial street.'

With a verb of action, the language user may choose to register the agentiveness of the argument being pronominalized, in which case that Agent appears in the accusative, or he may choose to represent that argument in terms of the effects on it of its own action or of some other event, i.e. to treat it as Experiencer. With a verb of experiencing, on the other hand, one does not have such a choice. Hence the regular presence of the dative clitic.

Why it is that when a nominal may be interpreted as Agent in relation to the dependent infinitive that it may be found in the accusative, typically the case associated with _Patients_ in ordinary active sentences, may be explained by the fact that, as suggested by Givon (1980), with respect to the event being described by the entire sentence, the higher Agent in a causative sentence may be viewed as having greater control

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over the argument of the infinitive which bears to that verb the relation of Agent than that of Experiencer. That is to say, in relation to the higher Agent, a dependent Agent constitutes a better Patient than does a dependent Experiencer.

The contrast noted here is consistent with the Transitivity Hypothesis which has been proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). For Hopper and Thompson, Transitivity is seen as a global property of an entire clause such that an activity is "carried" or "transferred" from an Agent to a Patient. Their claim is that, if two clauses in a language differ in that the first of the two is higher in Transitivity according to any of the ten components of Transitivity which they identify and if a grammatical or semantical difference shows up elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also show the first clause to be higher in Transitivity. Among the ten components are kinesis (i.e. activity) and potency of the Agent.

In the data we have just been discussing, we find that indeed the presence of the accusative correlates with higher kinesis,and for French the accusative is the case associated with a typical Patient.

This fact is at odds with another claim made by Hopper and Thompson, that universally datives are the canonical Objects, that they are more likely to be animate and/or referential. However, one other criterion which according to Hooper and Thompson contributed to high Transitivity is the affectedness of the Object, and in that respect we saw that, in French, the use of the dative clitic is quite consistently associated with an Object which has the function of Experiencer or of Beneficiary, not of Patient. When the Object of a verb is truly

functioning as Patient, in the sense that it is presented as the entity
undergoing the change due to the realization of the action described by
the verb, then that Object in French (as in many languages) will typical-
ly take the form of a Direct Object, not of an Indirect one:

(206) Il l'/*lui à tué/blessé/frappé.
       'He killed/wounded/hit him.'

The interpretation of the dative clitic as a marker of the Ex-
periencer in opposition to the accusative clitic before faire+infinitive
is consistent with certain observations by Kayne and by Cannings and
Moody about some semantic contrasts associated with a difference in
clitic case. Kayne noted that for the speakers who use the accusative
as well as the dative clitic before an embedded transitive direct verb,
there are systematic restrictions on the use of these clitic forms hav-
ing to do with the antecedent of the pronouns, that for the speakers who
accept les/leur in sentences (207)-(208), les can refer to children,
but not to articles of clothing, whereas in the "normal" sentence with
the dative, leur can refer to either:

(207) Je les ai faits prendre l'air.
       'I made them get some air.'

(208) Je leur ai fait prendre l'air.
       ,{I made them get some air}.'
        {I aired them out   }

With the accusative clitic the sentence may be interpreted to
mean either that some person got exposed to some air or was caused to
undertake some activity, since "prendre l'air" is often associated with
some form of exercise such as walking. With the leur sentence, on the
other hand, no dynamic interpretation is possible when the clitic has

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an inanimate antecedent and even when the dative is referring to an

animate noun the most likely interpretation, for this speaker at least,

is the less kinetic one, namely that the embedded subject got exposed

to some air rather than made to engage in some form of activity.

Similarly, one of the contrasts which Cannings and Moody noted

that their analysis could not account for involved the following

sentences:

(209) Ça lui a fait gagner Paris en un temps record.
       'That made him win Paris in record time.'

(210) Ça l'a fait gagner Paris en un temps record.
       'That made him reach Paris in record time.'

According to Cannings and Moody, given their analysis, sentence

(209) should be ambiguous between 'winning Paris' and 'reaching Paris',

but it is felt by many speakers to have only the former reading, while

the same speakers prefer (210) on the movement reading.

Given that one of the functions of the dative clitic in and out-

side of causative sentences is to mark the Experiencer as opposed to

the Patient, it is then quite natural that, when a case opposition is

associated with a difference in the interpretation of the verb, the oc-

currence of the dative clitic should be associated with the less kinetic

reading (e.g. 'win' rather than 'reach') and the occurrence of the

accusative clitic with the more kinetic one.

The same semantic distinction Agent/Experiencer allows us to ex-

plain the use of the clitics before embedded transitive direct and be-

fore embedded pseudo-intransitive verbs. We saw with examples (155) and

(158)-(159) that, in contradiction with the prescriptive rule again, the

dative clitic may be used before transitive indirect infinitives, but it is not found before all such verbs. All the examples which are reported have in common that the lower verb is one of experiencing, not of action. We do not find examples such as:

(211) *Il <u>lui</u> a fait parler à Jean.
        'He made him talk to Jean.'

Similarly, the only cases where the dative clitics may occur before an embedded pseudo-intransitive is when the verbs are verbs of experiencing, hence the contrast in acceptability between (160) and (161) on the one hand and (212) on the other:

(212) *Il <u>lui</u> a fait boire.
        'He made him drink.'

To summarize, while the conditions under which the dative clitic may be used to represent an embedded subject differ depending on the subcategorization of the verb for Object, a consistent semantic explanation can be given for the existent usage of the <u>le</u>/<u>lui</u> opposition in Modern French active causatives when we take into consideration the meaning of the lower verb and the distinction between Agent and Experiencer together with the concomitant distinction Patient/Experiencer in relation to the higher verb.

3.2   Object Clitic Case Marking in Earlier French

I have argued above that Object clitic case marking in Modern French causative sentences may be explained by assuming that this type of sentence underwent Subject to Object Raising, and by taking into account the semantic functions of the clitic in relation to the causative

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verb and in relation to the dependent infinitive. The evidence from earlier stages of the language confirm this.

It was mentioned earlier that Morin and St-Amour (1977) appealed to clitic case marking as one of the features to be taken into account in their attempt to establish that it was the V-infinitive-NP structure and not the V-NP-infinitive structure which represented the earlier usage in Old French. We saw that the study of full NP sentences did not support their claim, but to the contrary, was totally consistent with claims which had been made as to the V-NP-infinitive structure being the anterior one. Some of their observations on the complexity of clitic case marking in Old French, however, are themselves of interest..

Morin and St-Amour noted that in certain cases there exist a number of independent factors which may make it impossible to decide on constituent structure based on the form of clitics alone in certain cases. They point out, for instance, that with inalienable possession a double Direct Object construction is acceptable in Old French in causative and non-causative sentences alike, thus:

(213) Il <u>les</u> fera   tous les membres trainchier. (Cambrai, 12th C.)
       he them will-make all the limbs   cut-off
       'He will have the limbs of all of them cut off.'

(214) Plus de .VII. fois <u>les</u> baise les bouces et les nes (Aiol,
       more of seven times them kisses the mouths and the noses   12th C.)
       'He kisses their mouth and their nose more than seven times.'

Another case where the form of clitics could not be used as evidence of constituent structure is where elision applies, making it impossible to identify a clitic as being dative or accusative, as in (216)

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in opposition to (215) where both sentences involve the same verb of perception and the same embedded verb:

(215) Oncques Dieu ne <u>li</u>   oy   jurer   et sa mere ne
       never   God neg to-him heard swear   and his mother neg
         ses sains. (Joinville, 14th C.)
         his saints
       'I never heard him swear by God nor his mother nor his saints.'

(216) Je <u>l'</u>   en   oi   jurer   sa foi et sa
       I him/to-him of-it heard swear   his faith and his
         crääance. (Florence de Rome, 13th C.)
         belief.

       'I heard him swear to it upon his faith.'

Among the examples provided by Morin and St-Amour where Object clitic case marking would not be affected by either of the two factors just mentioned are the following:

(217) Passer   <u>le</u> ferai   mer sans   nul terme
       cross   him I-will-make sea without any delay
         prenant. (Gaufrey, 13th C.)
         taking
       'I will make him cross the sea without taking any delay.'

(218) Por l' amende de cel mesfait <u>les</u> fist toutes lor   dras
       for the fine   of this misdeed them made all   their clothes
         oster   et es chemisse demorer. (Rutebeuf, 13th C.)
         remove   and in shirt   remain
       'As a fine for that misdeed he had them all remove their
         clothing and remain in their shirts.'

(219) Si <u>lor</u>   lait boire   l' aigue et l' erbe pasturer.
       thus to-them lets drink   the water and the grass graze
         (Aiol, 12th C.)
       'Thus he lets them drink the water and graze on the grass.'

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(220) Caignet, fai <u>leur</u>   un sac avoir. (St-Nicolas, 12th C.)
       dog   make to-them a   sack have
       'Dog, let them have a sack.'

Examples (217) and (218) show Agents of transitive direct infinitives
in the accusative and (219) and (220) in the dative.

   Also of interest are sentences (221) and (222) below, which both
involve intransitive infinitives, and (223), which involves a transitive
indirect infinitive:

(221) Wistaces <u>lor</u>   faisait mesdire   Quand devroient   lor
       Wistaces to-them made   speak-ill   when   should-have their
          eures   dire. (Eustace, 13th C.)
       'Wistace made them speak ill of others when they should have
          been saying their prayers.'

(222) Lais <u>les</u> jouer en pais. (St-Nicolas, 12th C.)
       let   them play in peace
       'Let them play in peace.'

(223) La mavaistie de sa   pensee ne <u>li</u>   laisse a chang
       the evilness of his thought neg to-him lets   to song
          consentir. (Lyon, 12th C.)
          consent
       'The wickedness of his thinking does not let him consent to
          the singing.'

   I have found no example of transitive indirect infinitive with an
accusative in Old French, and Foulet (1930) notes that Old French fre-
quently uses the dative with transitive direct and pseudo-intransitive
verbs where Modern French shows an accusative.

   As with Modern French Object clitics, a Relational Grammar analysis
would here also leave a number of cases unaccounted for. The RAH hypo-
thesis is consistent with the accusative case marking found in (222) and

with the datives in (219) and (220), but not, on the other hand, with

the accusatives in (217) and (218), nor with the datives in (215), (221)

and (223).

As with Modern French again, when we take into consideration the

meaning of the dependent infinitives, we find that there exists a rela-

tionship between the presence of an accusative clitic and the notion of

activity.

Thus, the verbs we find the accusative with in (217), (218) and

(222) are all verbs of action. Like Modern French, Old French allows

the dative as an alternative with such verbs. Old French differs from

Modern French, however, as noted by Foulet, in that it frequently shows

the dative with intransitives as in (224):

(224) L' unde de mer tant   la serre   que _ariver_
       the wave of sea so-much it is-tight-around that arrive
          lur   _fait_ a   terre. (St-Brendan, 12th C.)
          to-them makes to land
       'The current of the sea pushes against it so much that it
          makes them land.'

And while the dative may be used with intransitives high in activity,

the accusative does not appear to have been much used with intransitives

low in activity.

Old French, in short, is similar to Modern French in that it shows

a correlation between high activity and the presence of the accusative,

but it shows a use of clitic case marking with causatives overall which

appears to have been less constrained by syntactic factors.

It is interesting that the problem which occupies us here has been

the object of the attention of French grammarians since the very inception

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of "grammaire raisonnée", and some remarks of some of the early fore-
bears of current proponents of autonomous syntax give little hope that
the problem might be solved in purely syntactic terms.

Harmer (1979), for instance, observes that the following quote from
seventeenth century grammarian Féraud (pub. 1787) can hardly be called
very illuminating or even consistent:

> Remarquez que quand cet infinitif est un verbe actif de sa
> natûre (i.e. transitive direct), on met le régime relatif
> au datif. 'On lui fit avoir un emploi.' Quand ce verbe à
> l'infinitif est neutre, régissant naturellement le datif, on
> met le 2nd régime à l'accusatif. 'On le fit renoncer à ses
> prétentions.' ...Mais quand cet infinitif est un verbe neutre,
> régissant de sa nature l'ablatif [la prép. de] on demande si
> le second régime doit être au datif ou à l'ablatif (sic).
> Doit-on dire, on lui fit user, ou, on le fit user d'un régime
> doux? J'aimerais mieux la première manière, et elle me
> paraît plus conforme à l'analogie; mais l'une et l'autre sonnent
> mal, et il vaut mieux prendre un aûtre tour (p. 211).

> 'Note that when that infinitive is an action verb by its nature,
> one puts the dependent object in the dative. On lui fit avoir
> un emploi. 'They got him a job.' When that infinitive verb
> is neutral, naturally governing the dative, one puts the 2nd
> object in the accusative. On le fit renoncer à ses
> pretentions. 'They made him renounce his claims.' But when
> that infinitive is a neutral verb governing by its nature the
> ablative [prep. de] one wonders whether the second object must
> be in the dative or the ablative. Must one say, on lui fit
> user, or, on le fit user d'un régime très doubx? 'They had
> him follow a very mild diet.' I would prefer the first way,
> and that one seems to me more in agreement with analogy,
> but both sound bad, and it is preferable to use some other
> expression.

Apparently, Féraud disapproved of the "illogical" use of the
dative which he had noted, but could not bring himself to recommend the
more rational (from his point of view) alternative which was not consis-
tent with actual usage.

Such scruples had apparently disappeared by the time of Girault-
Duvivier (1856), though, who, as Harmer notes, was also aware of the
problem:

Doit-on dire, en parlant d'un homme: _Je l'ai vu faire bien des sottises_, ou _je lui ai vu faire bien des sottises_; et en parlant des animaux: _C'est la brutalité qui les fait suivre les mouvements de leur colère_, ou _qui leur fait suivre les mouvements de leur colère?_

Must one say, speaking of a man: _Je l'ai vu faire bien des sottises_, ou _je lui ai vu faire bien des sottises_ 'I saw him make many mistakes', and speaking of animals: _C'est la brutalité qui les fait suivre les mouvements de leur colère_, or _qui leur fait suivre les mouvements de leur colère_ 'It is their animal nature which makes them follow their angry impulses'?

Girault-Duvivier concluded in favor of reason:

Une des propriétés du verbe _faire_ est de s'identifier avec l'infinitif qui le suit immédiatement et de ne former avec cet infinitif qu'un seul et même verbe, dont le sens est toujours actif. D'où il résulte, que le verbe _faire_ doit être précédé des pronoms _lui_, _leur_, et non des pronoms _le_, _la_, _les_, lorsque l'infinitif a un régime direct, car un verbe actif ne peut avoir deux régimes directs: _on lui fit obtenir emploi_, _on lui fit faire cette démarche_: et qu'il veut les pronoms _le_, _la_, _les_ toutes les fois que le verbe à l'infinitif n'a point après lui de régime direct: _On le fit renoncer à ses prétentions_: _on le fit consentir à cette demande_ (p. 66).

One of the properties of the verb _faire_ is to identify itself with the infinitive which immediately follows it and to form with this infinitive one and the same verb, of which the meaning is always active. From which it follows, that the verb _faire_ must be preceded by the pronouns _lui_, _leur_, and not the pronouns _le_, _la_, _les_, when the infinitive has a direct object, for an active verb cannot have two direct objects: _on lui fit obtenir un emploi_ 'they made him get a job' _on lui fit faire cette démarche_ 'they made him take these steps (toward obtaining X)', and that it requires the pronouns _le_, _la_, _les_ every time the verb in the infinitive does not have after it a direct object: _on le fit renoncer à ses prétentions_ 'they made him give up his pretentions', _on le fit consentir à cette demande_ 'they made him agree to this request'.

Classical writers appear to have been as uninhibited, at least, as the medieval and contemporary authors, as these examples gathered by Harmer show:

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(225) On ne <u>la fera</u> point <u>dire</u> ce qu'elle ne dit pas. (Sévigné, pub.
18th C.)
'One will not make her say what she does not say.'

(226) Le Père, pour <u>lui faire faire</u> ce sacrifice entier, le mena
à l'église. (Sévigné, pub. 18th C.)
'The father, in order to make him make that sacrifice in its
entirety took him to church.'

(227) Il m'assura qu'il <u>la ferait consentir</u> que je susse la passion
qu'il avait pour ·elle. (Princesse de Clèves, 17th C.)
'He assured me that he would make her consent to my being
made aware of his passionate feeling toward her.'

(228) Le cardinal de Lorraine <u>lui fit</u> bientôt <u>voir</u> qu'il ne se
trompait pas.' (Princesse de Clèves, 17th C.)
'The cardinal of Lorraine soon made him see that he was not
mistaken.'

The point here is that the case marking opposition at issue is
not, as has been frequently suggested, an incidental fact which one
might be justified in treating in some ad hoc manner whenever it is
found to be inconsistent with a general syntactic analysis being pro-
posed, as would befit some inconsequential dialect variation, but is
rather a phenomenon which has been a part of French throughout its
history.

To return to our comparison of clitic case marking in Old French
and Modern French, note that there exist several differences. We saw
with (224) that the dative could be used with an intransitive infinitive
in Old French, but as mentioned earlier, this is generally not the case
for Modern French, as shown by example (170). Also, Old French appears
to use the dative quite consistently not only with intransitive infini-
tives low in activity, and also often with intransitive infinitives high

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in activity, but, with transitive indirect infinitives as well, while Modern French which requires the accusative with intransitive infinitives also often shows it with transitive indirect infinitives.

This comparison also supports the observation made earlier that it is not desirable for a·given state of the language to try to give a general explanation of Object clitic case marking in causative sentences in strictly structural terms or in terms of syntactic functions alone, and to assume that those instances where clitic case marking is in conflict with what would be assigned on the basis   syntactic factors constitute inconsequential deviations from the norm.

As for the role of semantic factors in explaining Object clitic case marking, this comparison also suggests that, at various points in time, when the dative and the accusative are occurring in opposition with a particular type of verb, e.g. transitive direct, one may interpret the dative there as an indication that the nominal is being considered in its role as Experiencer rather than of Patient. This diachronic study, however, shows clearly that one cannot, for any particular stage of the language, predict with what type(s) of verbs this opposition will be made use of.

In other words, for any given stage of French, the assignment of Object clitic case marking in causative sentences must be in part specified by language specific grammar rules.

We shall now turn to assigning Object clitic case marking in active faire+infinitive sentences in Modern French.

3.3 A Formal Representation of Modern French Active Causative

Sentences with Object Clitics

Having shown how Object clitics have been used during the history

of French in active causative sentences, we shall now give the rules

which are necessary to describe the syntactic correspondences between

sentences of that type and ordinary active sentences in Modern French,

it being assumed that these causative sentences with Object clitics,

like the ones with full NPs are all generated by base rules, for reasons

discussed in section 1.2.3.

The relations between active sentences with an intransitive or a

pseudo-intransitive verb and corresponding faire+infinitive sentences

with an active reading with one Object clitic may be described as

follows:

(229) CAUSATIVE RULE IV

$$
\begin{bmatrix} x & X \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \\ \langle +Exp^{cer} \rangle \end{bmatrix}_S & \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \langle +Pseudo- \\ Intr \rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} w & v & FAIRE & X'' \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix}_S & \begin{bmatrix} +CL \\ \begin{Bmatrix} +DO \\ \langle +IO \rangle \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +Inf \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

The rules abbreviated in (229) are relevant to sentences such as

(170) and (212), and also (160) and (168).

The use of dative and accusative clitics with faire and a direct

transitive infinitive, as in e.g. (152), (162), (193) and (205) is

described by the rules in (230)

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(230) CAUSATIVE RULE V

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
x & & X & y \\
\begin{bmatrix}
+NP \\
+Su \\
\langle +Agt\rangle_1 \\
\langle +Exp^{cer}\rangle_2
\end{bmatrix} & [+V] & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+DO\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}_S
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
w & v & FAIRE & X'' & y \\
\begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Su\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+CL\\\langle +DO\rangle_1\\\langle +IO\rangle_2\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+V\\+Inf\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+DO\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}_S
$$

Finally for <u>faire+infinitive</u> sentences with a transitive indirect

infinitive, as in (155), (158) and (165) we shall use the rule in (231):

(231) CAUSATIVE RULE VI

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
x & & X & \left\{\begin{array}{c}à\\de\end{array}\right\} & z \\
\begin{bmatrix}
+NP \\
+Su \\
\langle +Agt\rangle_1 \\
\langle +Exp^{cer}\rangle_2
\end{bmatrix} & [+V] & & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+IO\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}_S
\rightarrow
$$

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
w & v & FAIRE & X'' & \left\{\begin{array}{c}à\\de\end{array}\right\} & z \\
\begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+Su\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+CL\\\langle +DO\rangle_1\\\left\langle\begin{array}{c}+DO\\+IO\end{array}\right\rangle_2\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+V\\+Inf\end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+IO\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}_S
$$

The rules given here are of interest with respect to a variety of

assumptions about lexical subcategorization. We mentioned in the first

chapter that it has been generally assumed in Transformational Grammar

that predicates are lexically subcategorized for their arguments in

structural terms, and not in terms of syntactic functions, and semantic

roles in that model have been similarly assigned derivatively. Thus, in

the Government Binding framework, thematic relations are assigned in

this general way:

> Two factors enter into the determination of θ-roles:
> intrinsic properties of lexical items which are heads of
> phrase categories (as the verb is the head of the VP) and
> GF's such as subject, object, clausal complement, head...
> (Chomsky, 1981, pp. 42-43).

Fillmore (1968), on the other hand, treated syntactic functions
as derivatively assigned on the basis of the subcategorization of the
verb for semantic roles, differing from TG in that no mention at all was
made by him of the syntactic subcategorization of the verbs for its
arguments in lexical entries.

And we saw that Grimshaw (1982), finally, making explicit an
assumption inherent in Relational·Grammar, has proposed that verbs need
to be subcategorized for their arguments not in structural terms but in
terms of syntactic functions, and that semantic functions may be assigned
derivatively on that basis.

The diachronic changes in subcategorization for syntactic functions
discussed here earlier made clear, however, that there is no necessary
relation between particular syntactic functions or structural configura-
tions and particular semantic functions, so that consequently the syn-
tactic and semantic functions of each argument of a verb must be speci-
fied in the lexicon.

And what the syntactic rules given here suggest is that, in cer-
tain cases, Object clitic case marking in _faire+infinitive_ sentences is
jointly determined by the subcategorization of the infinitive for syn-
tactic _and_ for semantic functions.[4]

This interpretation of Object clitic case marking is consistent
also with the historical changes described earlier with full NPs which
were shown to have been a gradual process leading to Subject to Object
Raising and Clause Union.

Note that it is only in those cases where the Agent of the infinitive is the only argument of that verb being cliticized that we must refer to semantic as well as syntactic properties of the verb to assign that Agent its syntactic function. Such sentences must clearly be viewed as marked. When no argument of the infinitive is cliticized or when two are, then the form of the argument is in keeping with the RAH and the constraint against doubling on relational terms proposed by Comrie (1976).

The interpretive rules given in section 2, for instance, for full NP sentences in effect would constitute a means to ensure that the realization of the Agent in that type of sentence is consistent with these two principles from Relational Grammar, which appear to have considerable validity cross-linguistically with respect to a syntactic function-dependent process such as causativization.

Similarly, when only one argument of the infinitive is preposed before _faire_ even though two are clitics, or when two arguments of the infinitive are preposed before _faire_, then the case marking of the Agent again is as predicted by Relational Grammar:

(232) Je $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{les} \\ \text{*leur} \end{array} \right\}$ ai faits $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{m'écouter} \\ \text{me regarder} \end{array} \right\}$.'

    'I made them $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{listen to me} \\ \text{look at me} \end{array} \right\}$.'

(233) Elle $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{les} \\ \text{*leur} \end{array} \right\}$ a faits $\left\{ \text{les} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{recommencer} \\ \text{échanger} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{nous embrasser} \right\}$.

    'She made them $\left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{do them over again} \\ \text{exchange them} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{kiss us} \right\}$.'

In sentences with a transitive direct infinitive such as (232)-(233), where only one clitic is raised, the second clitic is interpreted

as the Direct Object of the infinitive so that the Agent of the infini-
tive may also take the form of a Direct Object.

When both the Patient and the Agent of the infinitive are raised,
then the clitic corresponding to the Patient of the infinitive is actu-
ally interpreted syntactically as the Direct Object of the higher verb,
so that to avoid doubling on Direct Object, the Agent of the infinitive
then takes the form of an Indirect Object, the next available position
on the RAH in relation to the causative verb:

(234)   Je le $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{leur} \\ \text{*les} \end{array} \right\}$ ai fait $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{écouter} \\ \text{recommencer} \end{array} \right\}$.

       'I made them $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{listen to it} \\ \text{do it over again} \end{array} \right\}$.'

The interpretive rules in section 2.3, then, might be replaced by
a more general statement as follows:

(235)   INTERPRETIVE RULE I'

       Unless otherwise specified, in a FAIRE+infinitive sentence,
       interpret an argument as the Agent of the infinitive iff
       (1) the form of the other arguments in the sentence is such
       that the syntactic subcategorization requirements of the
       infinitive are met by them and the first argument in ques-
       tion is of a form in agreement with the RAH and the 'no
       doubling on relational terms' constraint, or (2) that
       argument is an Oblique.

How these conditions will be considered to be fulfilled will vary,
as suggested above, depending on whether _faire_ follows one or two
clitics.

The reason for the disjoint conditions in (235) is that, as was
noted in section 2.2, in relation to full NP sentences, when a causative

sentence has a passive rather than active reading, the Agent of the infinitive always takes the form of an Oblique.

Similarly, with a Patient of an infinitive appearing as a raised clitic, we find:

(236) Je les ai fait réparer ($\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{par} \\ *\text{de} \end{array} \right\}$ Jean).

'I had them repaired (by Jean).'

(237) Ça les a fait détester ($\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{par} \\ \text{de} \end{array} \right\}$ tout le monde).

'It made them be hated (by everybody).'

The relations between sentences such as (237)-(238) and <u>Jean les a répáres</u> 'Jean repaired them', <u>Tout le monde les déteste</u> 'Everybody hates them,' may be described by means of the following rule:

(238) CAUSATIVE RULE VII

$$\begin{bmatrix} x & X & y \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix}_S & [+V] & \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +DO \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} w & v & \text{FAIRE} & X'' & \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{par} \\ \text{de} \end{array} \right\} & x \right) \\ \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Su \end{bmatrix}_S & \begin{bmatrix} +Cl \\ +DO \end{bmatrix} & & \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +Inf \end{bmatrix} & \left(& \begin{bmatrix} +NP \\ +Obl \end{bmatrix} \right) \end{bmatrix}$$

As with the sentences with full NP Direct Objects earlier, the rules in (229) and (238) together explain the ambiguity of sentences such as:

(239) Je l'ai fait chanter.

' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I made him sing.} \\ \text{I had} \end{array} \right\}$ '

That only <u>par</u> or <u>de</u> will occur with an Oblique NP subcategorized for by the infinitive will be ensured, as was mentioned, by the stipulation to that effect in the lexical entry for <u>faire</u>.

As for the occurrence of the preposed clitics representing arguments of the infinitive, this will be allowed for by having <u>faire</u> marked as a [+Clitic Climbing] verb.

Given the general interpretive constraint in (235), then, excep-
tional occurrences of dative and accusative clitics may be accounted for
by means of the additional stipulation below:

(240)   INTERPRETATION RULE II'

   In a faire+infinitive sentence with a raised Object clitic,

   (1) interpret that clitic as Agent of the infinitive if it is
       in the accusative and the infinitive is a [+Transitive Direct,
       +Action] verb

or (2) it is in the dative and the infinitive is a

$[+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pseudo-Intransitive} \\ \text{Transitive Indirect} \end{array} \right\}$, +Experiencing] verb.

   One exception must be mentioned, which involves the use of a
dative for some speakers with certain verbs of communication such as
téléphoner, télégraphier:

(241)   Je lui ai fait $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{télégraphier} \\ \text{téléphoner} \end{array} \right\}$.

   'I had him $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{telephone/send a telegram} \\ \text{telephoned/cabled} \end{array} \right\}$.

   For those speakers, the verbs in question will have to be marked
in the lexicon as exceptions to the general interpretive rules, and the
ambiguity of sentences like the ones in (241) may be explained by having
in addition to the rules in (229) pertaining to datives the following:

(241)   CAUSATIVE RULE VIII

$$
\left[\begin{array}{cccc} x & X & \grave{a} & y \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +NP \\ +Su \end{array}\right] & [+V] & & \left[\begin{array}{c} +NP \\ +IO \end{array}\right] \\ S & & & \end{array} \right]
\rightarrow
\left[\begin{array}{ccccc} w & v & FAIRE & X'' & \left(par \quad x\right) \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +NP \\ +Su \end{array}\right] \left[\begin{array}{c} +Cl \\ +DO \end{array}\right] & & & \left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ +Inf \end{array}\right] & \left(\left[\begin{array}{c} +NP \\ +Obl \end{array}\right]\right) \\ S & & & & \end{array} \right]
$$

To sum up, we have seen that in certain cases clitic case marking is jointly determined by the subcategorization of the infinitive for syntactic functions and for semantic functions, but that, generally, the form of the Agent of the infinitive is in agreement with the claims of Relational Grammar.

One remaining problem has to do with the interpretation of Object clitics in cases where one such clitic might be taken to have two possible antecedents, but only one interpretation is possible for it.

I have referred in chapter 1 to a problem noted by Ruwet (1972) and discussed also by Adjemian (1978). One of the facts which interested Ruwet involved certain restrictions which constituted a problem for the transformational analysis proposed by Kayne (1969), having to do with the contrast in acceptability between sentences such as the ones exemplified in (242)(a)-(c) and (243) through (244) on the one hand and (247) through (250) on the other. Let us first consider examples (242) through (246):

(242)   a. ?Je ferai porter <u>à Jean</u> ce message <u>à Pierre</u>.
       b. *Je ferai porter ce message <u>à Jean</u> <u>à Pierre</u>.
       c.??Je ferai porter ce message <u>à Pierre</u> <u>à Jean</u>.
   a-c. 'I will have Jean take this message to Pierre.'

(243)   <u>Jean, à qui</u> j'ai fait porter ce message <u>à Pierre</u>...
     'Jean, whom I had take this message to Pierre...'

(244)   <u>A qui</u> as-tu fait porter ce message <u>à Pierre</u>?
     'Whom did you have take this message to Pierre?'

(245)   C'est <u>à Jean</u> que j'ai fait porter ce message <u>à Pierre</u>.
     'It is Jean whom I had take this message to Pierre.'

(246)   <u>A Jean</u>, j'ai fait porter ce message <u>à Pierre</u>.
     'Jean, I had (him) take this message to Pierre.'

As pointed out by Ruwet and by Adjemian, there exist differences in the degree of unacceptability of sentences (242)(a)-(c), but what is important is that none of the three is as acceptable as a similar sentence with only one à NP phrase:

(247) Je ferai porter ce message à Jean.
       'I will have Jean take this message.'

(248) Je ferai porter ce message à Pierre par Jean.'
       'I will have Jean take this message to Pierre.'

The problem here is that in a transformational analysis, such as Kayne's, one of the structures in (242)(a)-(c) must be generated at some stage to serve as the input to the further operations held to be necessary to account for the formation of cleft sentences, WH-questions, relative clauses and topicalization construct.

(With respect to topicalization, Hirschbühler (1974, 1975) has shown that a transformational analysis of sentences such as the one in (246) would be problematic, but a transformational rule (WH movement) is still the usual source for sentences such as the ones in (243) through (245), cf. e.g. Milner (1978), Kayne (1975), Kayne and Pollock (1978).)

The other difficulty discussed by Ruwet involves the difference in acceptability of sentences containing a sentence-initial Indirect Object depending on whether the lower Agent is introduced by à or par, for instance:

(249) *Pierre, à qui j'ai fait porter ce message à Jean...
       'Pierre to whom I had Jean take this message...'

(250) *A qui as-tu fait porter ce message à Jean?
       'To whom did you have Jean take this message?'

(251) *C'est à Pierre que j'ai fait porter ce message à Jean.
'It is to Pierre that I had Jean take this message.'

(252) *A Pierre, j'ai fait porter ce message à Jean.
'To Pierre, I had Jean take this message.'

(253) Pierre, à qui j'ai fait porter ce message par Jean...
'Pierre, to whom I had this message taken by Jean...'

(254) A qui as-tu fait porter ce message par Jean?
'To whom did you have this message taken by Jean?'

(255) C'est à Pierre que j'ai fait porter ce message par Jean.
'It is to Pierre that I had Jean take this message.'

(256) A Pierre, j'ai fait porter ce message par Jean.
'To Pierre, I had this message taken by Jean.'

Ruwet proposed to explain these differences in acceptability on the basis of a perceptual strategy. In essence, his proposal was that if a causative sentence is structurally ambiguous in surface structure (and hence semantically ambiguous in certain cases), its acceptability depends on at least one of the two ambiguously interpretable NPs being in a surface structure position that reflects its deep structure position.

Another problem which has been noted involves sentences with two Object clitics. As was mentioned in chapter 1, Adjemian (1978) argued that a complete analysis of faire+infinitive causative sentences in Modern French, that is to say, an analysis which tries to explain re-strictions on such sentences as well as the ones mentioned in relation to Ruwet's proposal for a perceptual filter, requires a model which integrates discourse-function based factors, i.e. for the case at hand, which can identify the Topic of a sentence and specify as well the related pragmatic features Theme and Rheme.

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The data Adjemian was interested in involved sentences like the following:

(257) Il le _lui_ fera porter à Pierre.
       'He will have him take it to Pierre.'

(258) Je _lui_ ferai porter ce message à Pierre.
       'I will have him take this message to Pierre.'

(259) *Je _lui_ ferai porter ce message à Jean.
       'I will have Jean take this message to him.'

With respect to Adjemian's use of the term Topic, we saw in chapter 1 that, like Dik (1978), he distinguishes between ·the two notions Topic and Theme. It was mentioned that Adjemian retains the Prague School definition of Theme as "old information" and, more specifically, as suggested by Chafe (1976) and Contreras (1976), information assumed to be present in the hearer's consciousness, while rhematic information is, consequently that "which is added to the hearer's knowledge, or brought into the hearer's consciousness by the act of verbal communication" (p. 50). Adjemian's concept of Theme is thus not to be confused with the one adopted by Cannings and Moody for whom Theme was one of the semantic relations argued for by Gruber and Jackendoff. With respect to Topic, Adjemian is in agreement with Dik that the Topic is what the sentence "is about".

To go back to _lui_ and à in _faire+infinitive_ sentences, recall Cannings and Moody's general analysis, which equates the meaning of _lui_ with that of à, to indicate a Goal, and requires that only one argument per sentence be assigned that thematic role. According to that analysis, there would be no reason why (257) and (258) should be any more acceptable than (259). In this regard, they note the following examples, for

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instance, the last two of which were first mentioned by Ruwet (1972):

(260) Il leur en voulait de _lui_ avoir fait croire _à une autre visite_.
    'He was angry at them for having led him to believe in an
        additional visit.'

(261) C'est _à Pierre_ que j'ai fait répondre _à Jean_.
    'I made _Pierre_ answer Jean.'

(262) C'est _à Pierre_ que j'ai fait penser _à Jean_.
    'I made _Pierre_ think about Jean.'

For such sentences, Cannings and Moody speculated that additional semantic considerations might be involved, in their words, "the semantic completeness of the Theme and its ability to be in some way oriented toward the Goal of the causative action."

We saw earlier that, in sentences such as (260), the use of the dative clitic is tied to the verb being one of experiencing rather than action. As for sentences such as (261) and (262), which must be contrasted with (251), we saw that Ruwet had proposed to capture such differences in acceptability by means of some perceptual filter phrased in terms of the discrepancies between deep structure and surface structure argument position. Adjemian suggestion is that in order to provide a real explanation for these facts, as well as for the contrast between (257)-(258) and (259), one must refer to topicality. He points out that for (257) to be acceptable, it must be in a discourse context where the NP under discussion is the embedded subject. That is to say, the dative clitic in sentences which contain also a full NP Indirect Object must correspond to the Agent of the infinitive and not to the Goal or Beneficiary. Thus:

(263) -Que fera-t-il faire <u>à Jean</u> de ce message?

      -Il le <u>lui</u> fera porter à Pierre.

     '-What will he have Jean do with this message?

     -He will have him take it to Pierre.'

(264) -Et comment <u>Pierre</u> a-t-il reçu ce message?

     -#<u>Jean</u>, je le <u>lui</u> ai fait porter <u>à Pierre</u>.

     '-And how did Pierre get this message?

     -Jean, I had him take it to Pierre.'

The use of the dative clitic in sentences such as the last example is interpreted by the speakers as topic-switching.

In Adjemian's terms, the dative clitic here would correspond to the NP which is both thematic and topical. His explanation for this is that, given the general syntactic constraint which prevents sequences of adjacent dative clitics, or the use of a dative clitic before each of the two verbs when the lower verb is direct transitive, of the two thematic arguments which would be potential dative clitic antecedents, the most crucial to satisfy the basic well-formedness constraint on discourse structure which motivates one to clearly identify what he is talking about is the topic.

The syntactic constraint referred to by Adjemian is exemplified below:

(265) a.⎰*Il <u>lui lui</u> fera porter.⎱
      b.⎱ Il <u>lui</u> fera <u>lui</u> porter.⎰

     'He will have ⎰ him carry it   ⎱ .'
                  ⎱ it carried to him⎰

(266) Il le lui fera porter.

     'He will have ⎰ a. him carry it   ⎱ .'
                  ⎱ b. it carried to him ⎰

(267) Il <u>le</u> fera <u>le</u> (<u>lui</u>) porter.
      'He will have him carry it (to him).'

An alternative analysis of such constraints on interpretation of dative clitics as have been shown here would be that the language user makes use of an interpretive strategy of the type suggested by Ruwet, which we might rephrase as a "minimal distance strategy".

That is to say, if a dative clitic is occurring between the two verbs it will normally be interpreted as the Indirect Object of the verb immediately on its right, as is the unmarked procedure in ordinary sentences. And given that the syntactic function requirements of the infinitive for Object have been met, (265)(b) will be ruled out because it is inconsistent with the RAH. Example (265)(a) is ruled out by the general constraint against sequences of adjacent clitics of the same case which was mentioned in chapter 2.

The same interpretive strategy would explain why it is the second accusative clitic in sentences like (267) which is interpreted as the Patient of the infinitive. Only if no Direct Object is adjacent to the transitive direct verb will an accusative clitic preceding <u>faire</u> be identified as the Patient of the infinitive, at the same time that, because of its preposing it qualifies with respect to syntactic function assignment as the Direct Object of the causative verb, which causes the dative to be the case required by the RAH for the higher Agent in (265)(a).

The ambiguity of sentence (266) is due to the fact that <u>porter</u> is lexically subcategorized for an optional Indirect Object. Thus, the sequence of two Object clitics can be interpreted as meaning that we

are dealing here with a two-place predicate with Direct Object and no

Indirect Object, in which case the dative is interpreted as Agent of

the infinitive, or as meaning that we are dealing with a two-place

predicate with its Direct Object and its Indirect Object, or Patient and

Goal, but with its Agent being left unspecified.

Such a minimal distance strategy would also account, like Ruwet's

filter, for the facts he had noted as to how in a sentence with two

à+NP phrases, such as (243)-(246), the one full NP following the

infinitive will be interpreted as the Indirect Object of that infinitive

and not as its Agent.

To return to causative sentences with ordinary word order and to

Object clitic case assignment, we may assume then, that in order to

evaluate the acceptability of a sentence, a language user proceeds

cyclically in the sense that his being able to identify a nominal as

being a potential infinitive Agent depends on his having identified

first nominals which meet the subcategorization requirements of the

infinitive for Object(s).

Following this, except for the cases provided for in (240), a

causative sentence is taken to be well-formed only if the case marking

of the argument not accounted for as being an Object of the infinitive

has a syntactic function compatible with the RAH and the 'no doubling

on relational terms' constraint.

4. Conclusion

In short, as was suggested earlier, the form of French causative sentences diachronically and synchronically supports the view that causativization is essentially a syntactic-function-dependent phenomenon, and this study confirms that French causatives constitute strong support for the Relational Accessibility Hierarchy, a fact which can be understood when we take into account the meaning of the governing verb and the contribution of syntactic functions to sentence interpretation.

Footnotes to Chapter 4:

[1]As noted in chapter 2, I take the Indirect Object to be the Object introduced by the prepositions à or de. One indication that we are dealing in (158)-(159) with the Indirect Object de phrase and not the Oblique is that in these examples the preposition phrase is not optional, unlike in those cases where the de phrase in a causative sentence corresponds to the Subject of the corresponding simple active sentence, as in:

(a) Tout le monde déteste Marie.
    'Everybody hates Marie.'

(b) Marie a réussi à se faire détester (de tout le monde).
    'Marie has succeeded in getting herself hated (by everybody).'

[2]That is to say, lui is not likely to be interpreted as a pronoun intended to show that some other party got affected by the action performed with a verb like tailler 'to cut, to trim', which gives no indication of any emotional involvement, and a Direct Object equally neutral in this respect. In (   ), by contrast, both the choice of the verb and the presence of a possessive in the Direct Object suggest that the owner of the rosebushes is expected to feel affected by the action performed.

[3]By 'affected', Hyman and Zimmer mean here that the letter in (204) underwent some process (i.e. it was read out loud), in the same manner that a film may be said to be affected, they suggest, if it censored, as opposed to being seen by someone.

[4]A discussion of the problems presented by clitic case marking in French causative sentences with respect to the θ-criterion proposed by Chomsky (1981) is given in J. Bailard (1982), L'évolution de la construction faire+infinitif: la valeur explicative du critère-θ pour la syntaxe historique. Presented at the Canadian Linguistic Association Conference, Ottawa, June 4-6.
    For a discussion of problems pertaining to the θ-criterion in relation to English, see S. Lappin (1982), Thematic roles and the θ-criterion, U. of Ottawa.

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