



Remarks on causative constructions and case marking in French : a review of S.R. Kayne's French syntax: the transformational cycle and A.C. Quicoli's "Conditions on quantifier movement in French"

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 著者 (英) | Satoru Nakai |
| journal or publication title | Doshisha studies in English |
| number | 20 |
| page range | 124-137 |
| year | 1979-01 |
| URL | http://doi.org/10.14988/pa.2017.0000001562 |

Remarks on Causative Constructions and Case Marking in French*

— A Review of S.R. Kayne's *French Syntax:
The Transformational Cycle* and A.C. Quicoli's
"Conditions on Quantifier Movement in French" —

Satoru Nakai

The present paper is a review of the analyses of French causative constructions by Kayne (1975) and Quicoli (1976) from the point of view of case marking. The notion of "subject" in the Specified Subject Condition (cf. Chomsky (1973)) will also be examined.

1. Kayne's Analysis

Kayne (1975) derives (1a) and (2a) from (1b) and (2b), respectively, by the Faire-Infinitive and A-Insertion Rule, which is reproduced in (3).

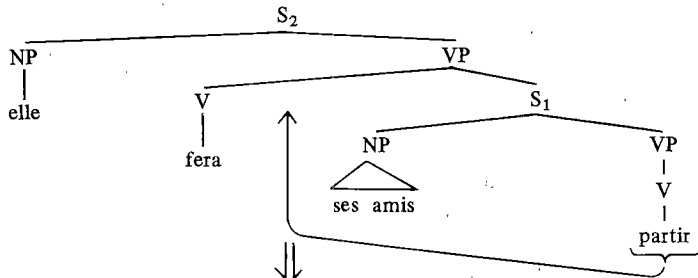
- (1) a. Elle fera partir ses amis.
 'She will have her friends leave.'
 b. Elle fera [_S ses amis partir]
- (2) a. Elle fera manger ce gâteau à Jean.
 'She will have Jean eat that cake.'
 b. Elle fera [_S Jean manger ce gâteau]

(3) FI/A-Ins (Kayne (1975: p. 207)):

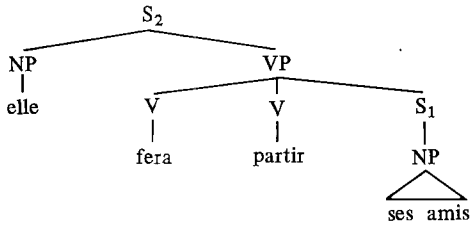
| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--------------|---|----|---|---|---|------|---|---|
| X | - | <i>faire</i> | - | NP | - | V | - | <NP> | - | Y |
| 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | 4 | | 5 | | 6 |
| ----> 1 2 4 5 <à> 3 6 | | | | | | | | | | |

According to Kayne, the verb and its object NP are raised out of the embedded sentence and placed under the higher VP node. So the derivations of (1) and (2) are as follows:

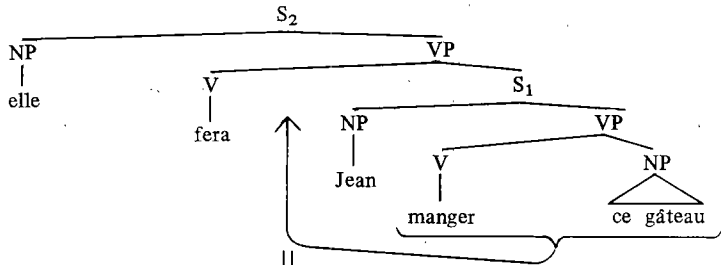
(1b)



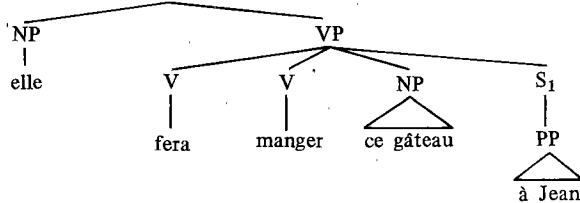
(1a)



(2b)



(2a)



It should be borne in mind that Kayne does not prune the S_1 node, which does not branch.

Kayne does not prune the S node because he wants to make use of the Specified Subject Condition (cf. Chomsky (1973)) to block the application of Clitic Placement to certain sentences. The following sentences support Kayne's analysis. The *b* sentences are derived from the *a* sentences by the Faire-Infinitive Rule. The *c* sentences are derived from the *b* sentences by Clitic Placement.

(4) a. Je ferai \uparrow [S[NP mon ami] écrire à PRO]

b. Je ferai écrire [S[NP mon ami] à PRO]

c. *Je lui ferai écrire mon ami.

'I will have my friend write to him.'

(5) a. Je ferai \uparrow [S[NP PRO] connaître cette fille]

b. Je ferai connaître cette fille [S[pp à PRO]]

c. Je te ferai connaître cette fille.

'I will have you meet the girl.'

(6) a. Elle fera \uparrow [S[NP son enfant] manger PRO]

b. Elle fera manger PRO [S[pp à son enfant]]

c. Elle le fera manger à son enfant.

'She will have her child eat it.'

Clitic Placement is possible in (5) and (6) but is impossible in (4). Kayne explains this fact in terms of the Specified Subject Condition, which is formulated in the following way (Kayne (1975: p. 287)):

No rule can involve X, Y in the structure

. . . X . . . [S . . . Z . . . -WYV . . .] . . .

where Z is the subject of WYV.

The Specified Subject Condition prohibits an item from moving from the position Y over the subject to the position X.

In (4b), Clitic Placement moves the *PRO* over the NP *mon ami* to the left of *ferai*. The NP *mon ami* is the subject because it is immediately dominated by the S node. Therefore, the Specified Subject Condition is violated. The sentence (4c) is ungrammatical.

In (5b), the *PRO*, which was the subject (that is, the *PRO* was immediately dominated by the S node before the application of the Faire-Infinitive Rule as shown in (5a)), is now dominated by the PP node. Therefore it is not the subject any more. Besides, the *PRO* itself moves. There is no violation of the Specified Subject Condition. (5c) is grammatical.

In (6b), the *PRO* is before *son enfant*, which was the subject in (6a). When the *PRO* moves, it does not move over *son enfant*. There is no violation of the Specified Subject Condition. (6c) is grammatical.

We have outlined Kayne's analysis of the Faire-Infinitive construction. Now we will point out the defect of his analysis.

According to Kayne, whether a clitic takes an accusative form or a dative form depends on whether the clitic was the direct or the indirect object before the application of Clitic Placement. His Clitic Placement Rule is formulated as follows:

Clitic Placement (Kayne (1975: p. 201)):

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
| W | NP | V | X | Pro | Y | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | → | 1 | 2 | 5 | + 3 4 6 |

where W, X, Y are variables, and Pro is either "+dative" or "+accusative."

When the *PRO* is [+dative], the clitic takes the dative form (*lui, leur*, etc.) and when the *PRO* is [+accusative], the clitic takes the accusative

According to Kayne's analysis, the inner S node is not pruned. Since the S node is immediately dominating [_{NP} PRO], [_{NP} PRO] is the subject and not the object. The clitic should be in the subject form. But the subject form is ungrammatical.

(9) d. *Elle *ils* fera partir.

That a clitic takes the accusative form implies that the clitic was the object before Clitic Placement. And the evidence for the view that the NP following the infinitive in the Faire-Infinitive construction is the object of the compound verb *faire* + *infinitive* is provided by *Tough-Movement*.

Tough-Movement replaces the impersonal subject *il* by the NP immediately following the *faire* + *infinitive* regardless of whether the NP is originally the object of the infinitive or the subject of the infinitive. See the following examples:

(10) a. Il est facile de faire sortir *Jean* de sa chambre.

'It is easy to have Jean go out of his room.'

b. *Jean* est facile à faire sortir de sa chambre.

'Jean is easy to have go out of his room.'

(*Jean* is originally the subject of *sortir de sa chambre*.)

(11) a. Il sera difficile de faire accepter *cette décision* au Comité.

'It will be difficult to have the committee accept the decision.'

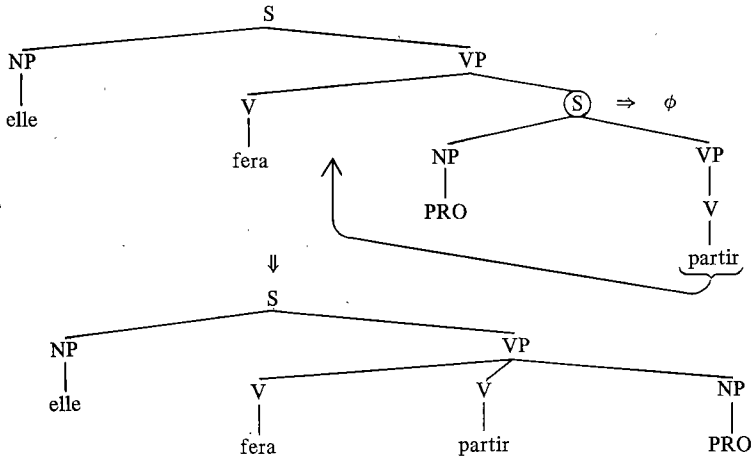
b. *Cette décision* sera difficile à faire accepter au Comité. (Kayne (1975: p. 337, footnote 73))

'The decision will be difficult to have the committee accept.'

(*Cette décision* is originally the object of *accepter*.)

In order to mark the NP following the infinitive [+accusative] in terms of the dominance theory of case marking, we have to prune the

inner S node after verb raising. If the inner S node is pruned, then [NP PRO] becomes the object (because it is now immediately dominated by the VP node).



This alternative analysis can explain the clitic placement in (9) correctly, but it cannot explain why the dative cliticization is impossible in (12). Since *mes amis* is the object of *faire* + *infinitive* under this alternative analysis, the Specified Subject Condition should be irrelevant here. The *PRO* can move over *mes amis* because *mes amis* is not the subject but the object.

- (12)a. Je [_{VP} ferai écrire *mes amis* à *PRO*]
 [+accusative]
 (after the application of Faire-Infinitive/A-Insertion)

b. *Je *leur* ferai écrire mes amis.

'I will have my friends write to them.'

In summary, Kayne's analysis suffers from a contradiction. In order to make use of the Specified Subject Condition, he must leave the inner S node unpruned. In order to derive the accusative clitic form, he must

get the inner S node pruned. Next, let us go on to Quicoli's analysis of the French causative construction, which also suffers from a contradiction.

2. Quicoli's Analysis

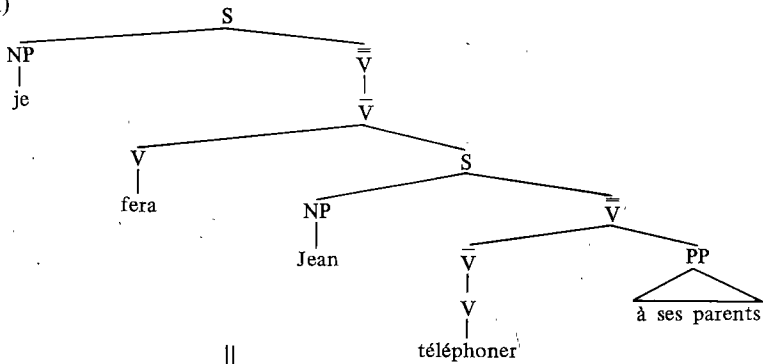
Quicoli (1976) rejects Kayne's analysis and proposes the \bar{V} -Preposing Rule. He derives (13b) from (13a) by preposing \bar{V} within the embedded clause. (Hence, no raising)

(13) a. Je fera [_S Jean téléphoner à ses parents]

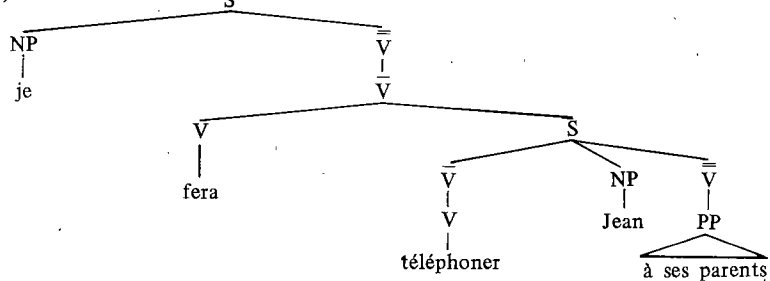
b. Je fera [_S téléphoner Jean à ses parents]

'I will have Jean telephone his parents.'

(13a)



(13b)



If we replace *Jean* by *PRO* and apply \bar{V} -Preposing and Clitic Place-

ment, we get (14c).

(14) a. Je fera [_S PRO téléphoner à ses parents]

↓ \bar{V} -Preposing

b. Je fera [_S téléphoner PRO à ses parents]

↓ Clitic Placement

c. Je *le* fera téléphoner à ses parents.

'I will have him telephone his parents.'

The *PRO* has become an accusative clitic. Quicoli explains this by assuming that the case marking is done according to the linear order of elements. According to the linear order theory of case marking, in the string *V NP NP*, the NP immediately following the verb is marked as the object of the verb and the other NP's following the verb are marked as datives. The clitic takes the accusative form in (14c) because the *PRO* immediately follows the verb *téléphoner* before Clitic Placement applies. (See (14b))

The linear order theory of case marking is also supported by the Laisser-Infinitive causative construction. In the case of *laisser* causatives, \bar{V} -Preposing is optional. For example,

(15) a. Je laisserai [_S Jean lire ce livre]

b. Je laisserai lire ce livre à Jean.² (\bar{V} -Preposing applied)

c. Je laisserai Jean lire ce livre. (\bar{V} -Preposing not applied)

'I will let Jean read the book.'

Replacing *Jean* by *PRO* and applying Clitic Placement, we will get (16b) and (16c).

(16) a. Je laisserai [_S PRO lire ce livre]

b. Je *lui* laisserai lire ce livre.

c. Je *le* laisserai lire ce livre.

'I will let him read the book.'

(16b) is derived from (16a) in the following way:

Je laisserai [_S PRO lire ce livre]
 ↓ \bar{V} -Preposing
 Je laisserai [_S lire ce livre à PRO]
 ↓ Case Marking
 Je laisserai [_S lire ce livre à PRO]
 [+dative]
 ↓ Clitic Placement
 Je *lui* laisserai [_S lire ce livre]

(16c) should be derived in the following way:

Je laisserai [_S PRO lire ce livre]
 ↓ \bar{V} -Preposing (does not apply)
 ↓ Case Marking
 Je laisserai [_S PRO lire ce livre]
 [+accusative]
 ↓ Clitic Placement
 Je *le* laisserai [_S lire ce livre]

Notice that the *PRO* is marked [+accusative] because it immediately follows the verb *laisserai*, although the verb *laisserai* is in the higher clause and the *PRO* is in the lower clause.

Now let us return to (13). If we replace *ses parents* by *PRO* and apply Clitic Placement, we get an ungrammatical sentence.

- (17) a. Je fera [_S Jean téléphoner à PRO]
 ↓ \bar{V} -Preposing
 b. Je fera [_S téléphoner Jean à PRO]
 ↓ Case Marking
 c. Je fera [_S téléphoner Jean à PRO]
 [+accusative] [+dative]
 ↓ Clitic Placement
 d. *Je *leur* fera téléphoner Jean.

Quicoli tries to explain the ungrammaticality in terms of the Specified Subject Condition. He says that *Jean* is the subject of the embedded sentence and the *PRO* cannot move over *Jean* because of the Specified Subject Condition. But notice that prior to Clitic Placement, *Jean* is marked [+accusative] by Case Marking. *Jean* is not the subject of the embedded sentence any more. Quicoli cannot use the Specified Subject Condition to explain the ungrammaticality of (17d). If he thinks that *Jean* is the subject because it is immediately dominated by the S node (even after \bar{V} -Preposing and Case Marking), then he is mixing up two case marking theories.³

3. The Modified Specified Subject Condition

In order to make use of the Specified Subject Condition under the linear order theory of case marking, we have to clarify the notion "subject" in the condition. We propose the following assumptions:

1) Case Marking Rules:

NP → [+subject] / _____ V

NP → [+accusative] / V* _____

NP → [+dative] / V*(NP) à _____

(V* = an indefinitely long string of verbs)

2) Case Marking is obligatory.

3) Case Marking is cyclic.

4) Case Marking is done with respect to the verb of the current cycle.

If the verb(s) of previous cycle(s) is(are) positioned next to the verb of the present cycle, the string of verbs is considered as one verb and the case marking is done with respect to the compound verb.

5) The features should be indexed with respect to the cycle on which

they are assigned to the NP's. For example, NP $[+accusative-S_1]$ means that the feature [+accusative] is assigned to the NP on S_1 cycle.

6) Modified Specified Subject Condition:

No rule can involve X, Y in the structure

... X ... [S_i ... Z ... -WYV ...] ...

where Z is [+subject- S_i] and Y is [+F- S_j].

(F = dative or accusative)

7) The morphological realization of a clitic depends on the feature assigned to the clitic on the latest cycle.

If a clitic is assigned [+accusative] on the latest cycle, the clitic is realized as an accusative clitic.

Let us illustrate the derivation of (17d) under these assumptions.

S_1 cycle:

[S_2 Je fera [S_1 Jean téléphoner à PRO]]

↓ Case Marking

[S_2 Je fera [S_1 Jean [+subject- S_1] téléphoner à PRO] [S_1 PRO] [+dative- S_1]]

S_2 cycle:

↓ \bar{V} -Preposing

[S_2 Je fera [S_1 téléphoner Jean à PRO] [S_1 Jean] [+subject- S_1] [S_1 PRO] [+dative- S_1]]

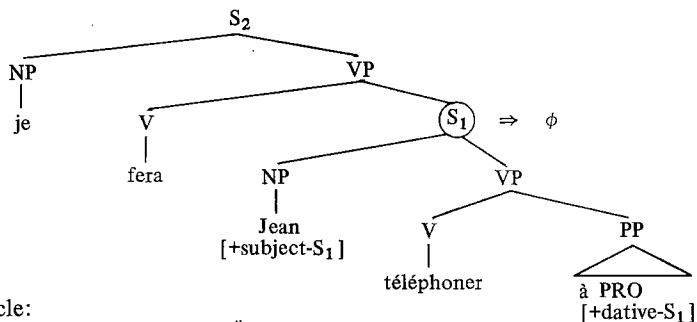
↓ Case Marking

[S_2 Je [+subject- S_2] fera [S_1 téléphoner Jean [+accusative- S_2] à PRO] [S_1 Jean] [+subject- S_1] [S_1 PRO] [+dative- S_1]]

Clitic Placement cannot apply here. Since *Jean* has the feature [+subject- S_1] and the *PRO* has the feature [+dative- S_1], the Modified Specified Subject Condition blocks Clitic Placement.

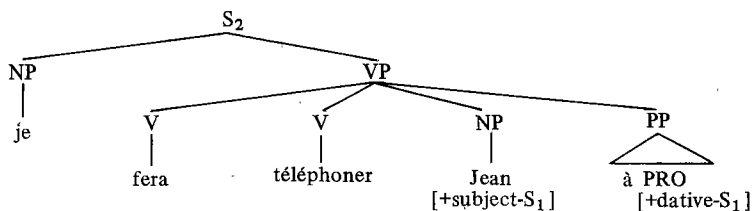
Incidentally, the Modified Specified Subject Condition is compatible with the dominance theory of case marking (if the S node is pruned). The derivation of (17d) under the dominance theory of case marking and the Modified Specified Subject Condition is illustrated below. Clitic Placement is also blocked by the Modified Specified Subject Condition. S₁ cycle:

Case Marking:

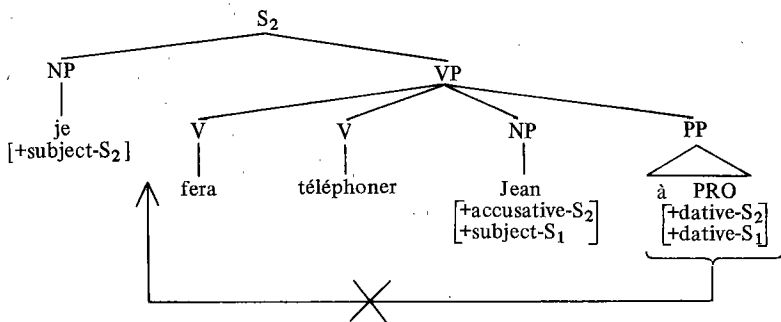


S₂ cycle:

Faire-Infinitive:



Case Marking:



FOOTNOTES

* I am grateful to Lisa Selkirk and Ronald Taylor for their comments and criticism on an earlier version of this paper.

1. The indirect object (i.e., NP with the feature [+dative]) is the NP which is immediately preceded by *à*. This is not a dominance relation.
2. I assume that \bar{V} -Preposing includes *à*-Insertion.
3. As Lisa Selkirk and Ronald Taylor pointed out to me, my criticism depends crucially on the assumption that Quicoli considers the subject to be the NP immediately dominated by S. If Quicoli thinks that "subject" is a semantic notion and that "subject" and "nominative case" should be distinguished, my criticism becomes irrelevant. But Quicoli does not mention anything about the distinction between "subject" and "nominative case."

REFERENCES

- Chomsky, N. (1965) *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Chomsky, N. (1973) "Conditions on Transformations," in S. Anderson and P. Kiparsky, eds., *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Kayne, S.R. (1975) *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Quicoli, A.C. (1976) "Conditions on Quantifier Movement in French," *Linguistic Inquiry* Vol. 7, No. 4, 583-607.